
URBANISATION IN THE TIME OF CLAUDIUS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE



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One might, therefore, ask: why bother until sufficient evidence is available for study? The answer to that is that ignorance is no excuse for inertia, and one needs a framework for conjectural thinking. The truth can only be approached by hard work and effort in collecting informations and working out possible solutions. This may stimulate others to look for more evidence to add to the body of knowledge and the hypotheses can be continually corrected and adjusted.

(Webster 1980, 122)

To Tobias and my parents

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Introduction

Even if coming from Italy since the first years of my university I was always fascinated about the situations in the provinces of the Roman Empire rather than that at Rome and in the other cities in Italy. Appealing for me were and are the different ways and solutions the local inhabitants chose and used to adapt to the new Roman lifestyle trying, thus, in the same way, not to forget and reject all their uses and costumes. This kind of emulation encompasses all kinds of aspects of the life both in the city and in the countryside. It is clear from the archaeological works that this imitation assumed various levels of degree in the provinces according to the historical, cultural and geographical factors. In fact in this process not only the Roman influence took part and played a big role but also the locals were deeply involved in it: it was not merely a process of copying but a transposition and adaptation into the local communities of the Roman aspects (and maybe not all of them). What is involved here is the concept of Romanisation in its broad meaning¹. Regional studies are the best changes in reading the dynamics of Romanization. It is only studying the provinces and the diverse people and cultures they embraced that we can fully understand the actions of the Roman Empire.

My focus in this dissertation, thus, is not to deceive how the indigenous communities tried to emulate the Roman models in ideology, architecture, urban planning, etc. Since almost 20 years scholars argue about the concept and the meaning of Romanisation but the discussion is still open and produces heterogeneous ideas. Recently different names as for example creozalization are suggested in order to avoid a stressed romanocentric view.

The perspective I am trying here to follow focuses primarily on the figure and reign of a specific emperor. I did not want to talk again about Augustus or Trajan or Hadrian: there are already important works about these emperors. I wanted to study an emperor so far not really taken into great consideration in the modern studies and I wanted to prove that every emperor, even if he reigned for a short time or with health problems, was an efficient and interesting emperor.

After some research the choice fell to the emperor Claudius. I thought that Claudius was much more than only a sick man not able to ameliorate and bring a contribution to the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Already in the accounts of the ancient historians the emperor was mocked for his physical aspects and for his peculiar behaviours. Modern

¹ See paragraph 3.1

scholars are not so much interested in this emperor and they rather follow passively the opinions of the old sources or they concentrate their attention to some peculiarities of his life or to other personalities of the time. It is exactly this lack of interest that pushes me to go deeper into the history and peculiarities of his reign and his politics.

After a period of preliminary research I decided to concentrate the attention on the western provinces with a long tradition of colonisation namely the Iberian peninsula (Tarraconensis, Baetica and Lusitania), France and West of Germany (Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Belgica) and North Africa (Africa Proconsularis). I confronted also these provinces with Britannia, the new province that Claudius conquered, and areas already under the influence of the Roman Empire (Noricum and Mauretaniae). The comparison is thought to be helpful in order to judge how Claudius acted differently in the new provinces.

Looking further I did not find works especially dedicated to his urban activities in the provinces. Only a small article of Venturi² deals with his activities in Italy and in particular at Rome and Ravenna: the aim of the work is to pinpoint, through the sources and the more significant urban interventions, the fundamental tendencies and the aims of Claudius' policy in a sector not taken too much in consideration, namely these ones of the town planning and construction industry. As Venturi already pointed out, his urbanistic activities moved according to precise tendencies that are determined by his political choices and his attitudes. For some works in Italy we have a clear reference (with inscriptions) of his personal involvement but mostly these evidences are not supported by an indication of his direct participation.

Taking as starting point Venturi's work I figured out that an analysis of Claudius' activities in the provinces would be of interest in order to get an idea of his political attitude in a broader context and see how his interests in the provinces influence the urban works.

The first aim of the project is to find structures, urban development and changes in the cities which are directly connected to Claudius. In this way for every collected evidence are reported all the possible information combined with pictures. The street network is taken into consideration, as well.

As a matter of fact there are few indications that an emperor, in a province, acted directly for the construction of a building or complex: this is true also for Claudius and I am not trying here to say that Claudius was responsible for every work that was done in the time

² VENTURI 1985.

of his reign.

What instead I would like to reveal is that the urban activities of his time were just correlated to Claudius' ideas and visions of the world and to his politics. First of all the *liberti*, so close to the emperor, were active in this process of spreading Claudius designs; but we do not have to forget how also the governors and the elites of the cities were involved in the development and in what way they played a role. Through his speeches and political acts he influenced them somehow and he was able to bring his conceptions and beliefs also into the provincial context and into the heads of the local elites without being personally involved in any way.

The second goal of the study is a reflection on planning issues and strategies adopted by the emperor. In particular I will pursue a comprehensive examination of new buildings or the additions to prior ones (with statues for example) and the underlying intentions as well as how and in which way the prototypes in Italy influenced the construction in the provinces. It is useful also to understand the motivation for the foundation of the new cities and in what way and why Claudius was more engaged in some provinces than others. In the end are investigated the archaeological remains, the development and justification of the road network. As double consequence these considerations seek to define a characterization and peculiarity of Claudius operations in every province.

The last aim is connected to Venturi's work. Venturi highlights the dominant trends of Claudius' works for Italy. She stresses as important the lack of interest in sanctuaries and buildings for amusement, the inclination for utilitarian works and the preference for commemorative and honorary monuments. I think that also in the provinces of the *Imperium Romanum* it will be possible to find some of these tendencies connected to his politics. Therefore I retrieve if the trends found by Venturi are applicable also in the provinces and I try to find new ones as well which can explain his political actions.

It is clear that it is not be possible to find the same results in the old and the new provinces because of the different situations and problems involved, but I hope to find, at least in the old provinces, constant trends in his actions.

The first passage of the research encompasses the cultural and historical situation in the time of Claudius. In order to achieve a complete overview of Claudius's life and ideology I decided to invest some time and collect, in the first chapter, all the information available up now including not only his biography but also his writings, speeches and the coinage issued under his principate. This chapter is not merely a collection of information but it provides also some analysis of Claudius ideology and concepts based on his life and

writing.

It is clear that the negative accounts of the ancient historians³ influences also the opinions of the modern scholars. Again in 1990 Levick claimed that Claudius was out of the public scenario before becoming emperor⁴; recently Hurlet suggests the opposite: the first years of exclusion might have been due not only to his physical problems but also to the coincidence of his birth with the fact the Domus Augusta was full of heirs⁵. Many scholars always claimed their accounts to have been written through the eyes and the perspectives of the old sources instead of the historical facts, and they never tried to have a glimpse also on the urban activities.

In order to perceive the most precise historical background of the period also the juridical and civic situations of every province was analysed; furthermore the governors were not just listed but for each of them was produced a detailed account. The governors are not only the representative of the emperor in the provinces but they could also authorise the construction of buildings or complexes on behalf of the emperor. Some of them were personal friends and close representatives of the emperor and they knew very well Claudius' positions. To this reason it is thought that the account of their career, not only during Claudius principate, might highlight some peculiarities of their personalities⁶.

The province of the time of Claudius were the result of a long history of different cultural, geographical and historical factors. To perceive better these realities it was thought to retrieve the situation before the coming of the Romans⁷. This account is followed also by a report of how these cultures integrated into the new Roman system whether already with an annexation or with commercial relationships. Because such a work would be a new topic for a dissertation the accounts are limited to the basic and important notions.

As already pointed out earlier, the analysis of the acculturation does not represent one of the topic here but it is thought that it would be helpful to add a summary, in the beginning of the third chapter, of all the research made so far regarding Romanization and its concept, without trying, thus, to come up to some new conclusions.

The next chapter is the most important one and it is the result of a long search and collection of all the accounts of Claudius' activities in the provinces. It was evident that,

³ Svetonious, *De vita Caesarum Claudius*; Tacitus *Annales*, Seneca *Apocolocyntosis*; Josephus *De bello judaico* and *Antiquitates judaicae*; Cassius Dio *Historiae*

⁴ LEVICK 1990.

⁵ HURLET 1997.

⁶ Correlated to this aspect is also the presence of military forces. In the Appendix 1 all the *legiones*, *ala* and *cohorts* are listed with all the archaeological and epigraphical evidences of their camps or fortresses.

⁷ In Appendix 2 e.g. the *civitates* of the *Galliae* are listed.

because of the amount of provinces, a study of all the cities and small towns was not possible. Thus I was engaged with the capitals of the provinces and the most important cities. For the specific case of the Gallic provinces, I have decided to have a look at secondary agglomeration, as well, because of their important role in the societies.

In the chapter, at one hand, for every province are collected both all the evidences with a clear description and pictures and the proof correlated to the street system with a fully description of the streets touched by Claudius' reforms. On the other hand, I also give considerations and problems that arose from the analysis of the evidences as for example the comparison with the prototypes in Italy. After that I report, as well, if Venturis guidelines are present and which monuments are interested; moreover I list also the new trends that I have found: in this way the reader can find, in the fourth chapter, already for every province, a final review.

The last chapter is dedicated to the conclusive recapitulation where the final conclusions and assumptions are summed up. The fifth chapter intends to recapitulate all the new postulation and hypothesis so far stated, highlighting the peculiarities and the new ideas that come from this research.

With this work I have tried to provoke some genuine and positive interest on Claudius and encourage new scholars to follow this direction of study even if I know that the investigation is not easy to carry on. Indeed I hope that my work is a first attempt in this path with the knowledge that it needs to be ameliorated in some points⁸.

Very interesting is also the duality in the urban action between the old and the new provinces that represents very well how Claudius and the governors acted differently according to the given situations.

It is obvious that the work tries to be as representatives as possible but, as already told, it was not possible to have a look into all the urban evidences. Especially the small realities, whose study somehow was begun with the analysis of secondary agglomerations in Galliae, is an aspect that merits further investigation and study. This inquiry would be important to see how Claudius was active in this sector in correlation with the countryside and all the problems correlated and if they were differences between the two fields.

Interesting would be also the study of the provinces of the eastern Empire: it would be possible also here to conduct the same analysis. A comparison between the two parts of the

⁸ A small version of this Phd work is in preparation. CAPPELLETTO submitted.

Imperium Romanun would be of much interest in order to perceive the differences of actions.

In this study the ideology of Claudius is thought to be one of the reasons that affects the works of the emperor in the urbanistic field; in a specific way it is highly important the reconstruction of emperors life based on historical sources and modern historians. The reconstruction tries to focus the attention in all the aspects of Claudius' life: these facets are believed to be in strict correlation with the ideas that Claudius had for the urban field even if, no one so far, have thought of them in such a perspective.

1 Cultural and chronological setting

In that study the ideology of Claudius is thought to be one of the reasons that affects the works of the emperor in the urbanistic field: in a specific way it is highly important the reconstruction of emperor's life based on historical sources and modern historians. The reconstruction tries to focus the attention to all the aspects of Claudius' life: these facets are believed to be in strict correlation with the ideas that Claudius had for the urban field.

1.1 Claudius' life

Tiberius Claudius Drusus⁹ was born on 10th August 10 BC¹⁰ in *Lugdunum* where his father was commanding the Roman forces in Gaul. The birthplace, of which he was proud, altered him throughout his life to the needs and rights not only of Gaul but also of the other Roman provinces.¹¹ Claudius' father was Nero Claudius Drusus, born in 28 BC as the younger son of the woman who had already parted from her husband to become Augustus's wife Livia Drusilla while Nero Drusus's wife Antonia was the daughter of Augustus' defeated rival Antonius, by Augustus' sister Octavia.

Nero Drusus' death was a tragic personal blow to his mother Livia, to Augustus the loss of a brilliantly successful general, for his family it was a severe political setback because it entailed the advance for his brother Tiberius who became Augustus' partner in power. Antonia insisted on widowhood in spite of Augustus' urging: physically she may not have been strong but she was strong minded. From her father Mark Antony she inherited wide connections, especially in the East, which were to be significant for Claudius, and like her mother-in-law Livia she played an important role as educator and patron.

⁹ He bore the surname Germanicus and exchanged his *cognomen* Drusus for that of his older brother Tiberius Claudius Nero, known as Germanicus, when the latter was adopted by Tiberius in AD 6, he thus came to be known as Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus (CIL III 381). Svetonius (*Div. Claud.* 2) says explicitly *mox fratre maiore in Iuliam familiam adoptato Germanici cognomen assumpsit*. This may be explained as a revival of the well-known ancient rule dating perhaps to the year 240 BC, preserved in the frag. 44 of Dio, where the *cognomen* passed to the elder son and only passed to the second when the eldest became a member of another family.

¹⁰ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 2.1. Svetonius connects this happening with the dedication of the altar of the trois Gaules but this date is in contradiction with the testimonies of Dio (*Hist.* 54. 32, 1) and the *Periocha* of Titus-Livius (*Per.* 137) who fix it on 1st August AD 12. It is worth to mention that Svetonius used the word *dies* as anniversary day, cf. HURLET 1997, 540, note 27.

¹¹ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 1-2; Sec. *Apoc.* 6; FABIA 1929, 5.

Ironically Tiberius' own action blights his prospects: he threw up his assignment in Armenia and retired in Rhodes. His renunciation may have been due to pique at the mistrust shown him by Gaius and Lucius¹² or rather by their mother Julia, Tiberius' estranged wife. But some part in it may have been play by regret for his brother and grief for Nero Drusus' death.

Between 5 BC and AD 2 Augustus pinned his hope of securing power for his dynasty on the survival to manhood of Marcus Agrippa's sons Gaius and Lucius. This phase came to an end when both died on service abroad in AD 2 and AD 4. A few months after the death of Gaius, in June AD 4, Augustus adopted Tiberius along with Agrippa Posthumous (Gaius and Lucius' younger brother). Tiberius had himself adopted his nephew, Germanicus, action which made him, as his son Drusus, an adoptive descendant of Augustus.

The first known public acknowledgment that something was wrong with Claudius came when he took the *toga virilis*, probably at the age of 14 in *c.* AD 5/6: normally a ceremonious occasion for rejoicing but in this case, it was a furtive nocturnal event. In the same year when Germanicus and Claudius presented games for their father Drusus he appeared swathed in a *pallium*, the dress of the invalid but Svetonious presents him as the president of the plays.¹³

These events are to be seen in connection with his condition: there is comparatively rich information on Claudius' state of health but historians' opinions seem to have reflected current medical preoccupations. Just before the Second World War it was commonly accepted that Claudius had poliomyelitis but till recently the view that he suffered from cerebral palsy, involving some degree of spasticity, was more satisfactory.¹⁴ The start may have been a difficult birth: he may have been premature and perhaps suffered an injury that might have caused palsy; on the other hand, the possibility of a pre-or post natal infection cannot be ruled out.

In 1989 Martin and Dr. Grmek advanced the hypothesis of the Little disease.¹⁵ Spastic diplegia, historically known as Little's Disease, is a form of cerebral palsy (CP) that is a chronic neuromuscular condition of hypertonia and spasticity in the muscles of the

¹² Agrippa's sons, adopted by Augustus, were next in line for the succession.

¹³ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 2,2.

¹⁴ For the diagnoses see: GARZETTI 1974, 587; SCARAMUZZA 1940, 238, 'Infantile paralysis in some form' is postulated by Scullard; cf SCULLARD 1982, 288. Cerebral palsy is advanced by other scholars: LEON 1948, 82, 86; MOTTERSHEAD 1986, 146-147.

¹⁵MARTIN 1989.

lower extremities of the human body, usually those of the legs, hips and pelvis precluding a good walk, there is also a constant salivation and a a jerk voice. Thus the intelligence rests intact and normal.

An interesting work, appeared in 2002, as result of a work of doctors and historians, has point out that Claudius suffered a hereditary degenerative dystonias¹⁶ which include Wilson's disease, iron storage disorders and various lipidoses, glycogenoses, aminocidopathies and other process that, in the case of Claudius, lacking evidence of a familial disorder or of multiorgan dysfunction or cognitive impairment can be excluded. A dystonia caused by a congenital or acquired structural is worth considering, given Claudius' premature birth at 32 weeks' gestation: these traumatic delivery adverse effects of prematurity itself might have produced neurologic disabilities which became apparent only later in childhood. He has also several infections during childhood, one possibly encephalitis, which may have resulted in postencephalitic dystonia. This is described as the Claudian Complex, a stable lifelong dystonia with involvement of the cranial-cervical muscle groups and less prominent involvement of the arms and legs and normal life span.

The ancient authors, thus, have different and heterogeneous opinions. Svetonius insists that when standing or seated Claudius was a figure of dignity¹⁷ and Seneca admits that he was well built: there were no questions of deformity or any of the gross twisting movements of arms and hands that are sometimes found with cerebral palsy and are due to lesions in the basal ganglia and related to brain structures. All the same Dio¹⁸ remarks that *his head and hands shook slightly*¹⁹ and Seneca portrays him sending the goddess Fever off to the execution with a wave of his limp hand:²⁰ there was weakness on that side, spasticity or stiffness, which may also have affected the hand.²¹

According to Seneca he had a cracked and hardly intelligible voice; it belonged to no land-animal²² but was the kind of voice sea-creature might have had, raucous and throaty. Dio and Svetonius claim that Claudius was used to give his speeches in the

¹⁶ VALENTE ET AL. 2002.

¹⁷ Svet., *Div. Claud.* 30.

¹⁸ For a very good analysis of Dio's work see RICH 1990.

¹⁹ Dio *Hist.* 60. 2.

²⁰ Sen. *Apoc.* 6,2: *illo gestu solutae manus.*

²¹ Limp: a phrase used by Virgilius, *Aen.* 2, 723f. Svet. *Div. Claud.* 30: his knees let him down; Sen. *Apoc.* 5,3: *insolitum incessum*, 5,2: *pedem dextrum trahere.*

²² Sen. *Apoc.* 3.3.

senate to his *quaestor* to read, but those would be routine announcements.²³ As reported by Svetonius when Claudius was emotionally involved, he had disagreeable traits. More commonly, he would lapse into irrelevance, meandering or even uncontrollable laugh when he was distracted.²⁴ All this sounds if he had real physical difficulties in speaking which may have been due to lesions of the cerebral cortex associated with the palsy but which were aggravated at times of emotional strain. But, well prepared and calm, he could be, if not brilliant, at least persuasive and even elegant: still when he spoke impromptu or added remarks to a prepared speech he revealed that he had no sense of what was appropriated to his dignity as *princeps*. The only marked change over time in his health is recorded by Suetonius: after he became Emperor it was much better than before and he was troubled only by painful stomach disorders; this suggests that there was a psychological component in his condition which was mitigated after he had something to live for.²⁵

For historians the most important aspect of disability caused by cerebral palsy is its effects on Claudius' mental and emotional state: it may be accompanied by epilepsy and mental retardation but there is no sign of either in Claudius. He was often referred to as a stupid but he was not mentally backward. He did, however, display personal defects combining apparent apathy with well-attested outbursts of anger.

Claudius was given no experience of warfare, oratory and the law and spent his days in the household of the mother and grandmother but the family ignored him and a tutor administered savage beatings.²⁶ The man sought consolation in drinking and dicing and he also wrote voluminous histories in Latin and Greek about the age of Augustus, the Etruscans and the Carthaginians.²⁷

As a secondary outcome and at superficial level Claudius' disabilities must have affected his public *persona* and behaviour because he was aware that he was an object of curiosity and derision. It was the sensitivity for Romans in matters of *decorum* (appearance, bearing, dress and speech) that made his family hesitating to let him appear in public.²⁸

²³ Dio *Hist.* 60. 2, 3; Svet. *Div. Claud.* 41.

²⁴ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 30: *risus indecens, ira turpior spumante rictu, umentibus naribus, praeterea linguae titubantia*; Dio *Hist.* 60. 2.

²⁵ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 31.

²⁶ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 2.2.

²⁷ See 1.3.1.

²⁸ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 4, 1.5: *motus habitus incessus*, for the importance of the appearance see MEHL 1974, 69 citing Tac. *Ann.* 11.12, 2 (C. Sillus).

His own mother had no sympathy for the son and she referred to him as a monster and when anyone was inept (*socors*) she said he was more stupid than her son.²⁹ Also his grandmother Livia spoke to him as little as possible and gave him instructions in short. Claudius' diseases were reasons of shame for the imperial family: in view of the eminence of the Julio-Claudians and the handsome appearance of most of them we can understand how a less highly endowed would have been treated with aversion and regarded as something to be concealed from public view as Augustus feared he might be ridicule the family.³⁰

In AD 12 a final decision on Claudius' future in public life was sought by Augustus and Tiberius in response to a query from Livia and in consultation with Claudius' mother Antonia³¹. The occasion that prompted Livia to raise the question was the *Ludi Martiales*, held in May of the year of Germanicus' consulship (AD 12). He participated to and he was charged to organize the meal of the priests with the order to follow the advice of M. Plautius Silanus, his brother in law. According to Svetonius, Augustus judges Claudius only able to be *augurus*;³² furthermore an attentive analysis of the chapter 4 suggests to moderate the interpretation because Augustus' judgements are not so negative as Svetonius wanted to be thought and this is justified by the historical sources that look after the exterior appearances and give advices to all the princes of the imperial family³³.

A more acute difficulty raised a few weeks later when Germanicus left Rome to celebrate the Latin festival appointing some young relatives to act as a Prefect of the city: Claudius would have been the obvious choice, unless he were accompanying his brother to Alban Mount (where the Festival was held), a possibility that however his family had already ruled out. Augustus and Tiberius decided to exclude Claudius from taking any part in public life except when his peculiarities could be masked or controlled by friendly advisers.³⁴

The outcome of these anxious deliberations on the part of Claudius' closest relatives was negative and Augustus had no positive idea for helping Claudius to improve

²⁹ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 3, 2.

³⁰ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 4, 1-4.

³¹ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 4

³² Svet. *Div. Claud.* 4,7.

³³ HURLET 1997, 542-543.

³⁴ This fact collimates with Claudius' presence in a staturary group in Pavia in AD 7/8 as heirs in the Claudian side of the imperial family. It is clear his subordinate position but, it is also true, that he was still an option for the succession of the dynasty, cf. HURLET 1997, 543-546.

beyond recommending him to find a good model whose gesture he can imitate. It has to be said that, however, Augustus had a certain respect for Claudius, as the letters, before cited, show.³⁵

Augustus showed in his will of 2nd April AD 14 the adherence to the plan agreed two years before: Claudius was named but only among heirs of third degree “*inter tertios et paene extraneos*” in Svetonius’ own phrase;³⁶ that is he would inherit only if two intervening heirs declined their inheritance.

When Augustus died on 19th August, the annual elections to the consulate had been held but those for the lower magistrates, the quaestorship, were still to come. Tiberius was asked by Claudius for a post, but he refused, remaining faithful to decisions taken jointly by him and Augustus; indeed, he offered him consular decorations (*ornamenta consularia*), an honour accorded to foreign potentates and to knights whose distinctions would ensure them the office of consul.³⁷

This was the definitive exclusion from political actions and Claudius’ only achievement was to be appointment as member of the new priesthood that was devoted to the cult of the deified Augustus, the *Sodales Augustales*.³⁸ But it was not enough for Claudius because he applied again perhaps just before the elections of the following summer; this time the answer was rude: *I have sent you forty gold pieces for the Saturnalia and then Sigillaria* (December 2 and 22) Tiberius replied.³⁹

A sign by the Senate that demonstrates affection towards Claudius happened in AD 15 when a fire in Rome destroyed part of Claudius’ family house:⁴⁰ the Senators proposed the restoration of his house at public expense and the honour of giving his opinion among the consulars. But Tiberius declined both proposals, making the first redundant by paying for the restoration himself and for the second invoking Claudius’ infirmities.

It seems that signs of the Senate’s regard given in AD 15 were followed up between AD 19 and AD 21 with efforts to bring forward Claudius as a claimant to the succession at least alongside Drusus Caesar, after the death of Germanicus in AD 19.⁴¹ It was latest to

³⁵ These remarks about Claudius in a letter to Livia: *Misellus ἀτυχεῖ: nam ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις, ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια* (Svet. Div. Claud. 4).

³⁶ Svet. Div. Claud 4, 7.

³⁷ Svet. Div. Claud 5.

³⁸ Tac. Ann. 1,54 2. According to Fasolini this step is a big one, cf. FASOLINI 2006, 36. Claudius was at the same level of Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus but not adopted, cf. HURLET 1997, 549.

³⁹ Svet. Div. Claud. 5.

⁴⁰ Svet. Div. Claud. 6, 2.

⁴¹ In the honorific arch, erected by orders of the Senate, also the statue of Claudius was represented; cf. HURLET 1997, 550-551. The composition of this group symbolizes the new function of Claudius, the

that period a comment ascribed to Claudius' sister Livilla who hearing that Claudius would come to the power she pities the Roman people if they were ever to have him as emperor:⁴² this remark is easily understood because Livilla was married with Drusus and her children's prospects depended on his.

But these tentative efforts on Claudius' behalf came to nothing even when Drusus Caesar died in AD 23 and Tiberius was looking for the next generations, to Germanicus' sons Nero and Drusus Caesar, who were not yet out of their teens. But Sejanus, Prefect of the Guards, now presenting himself to Drusus Caesar's widow as the champion for the rights of her twin son Tiberius Gemellus himself, came to aim for supremacy in one form or another. By about AD 27 or already in AD 24⁴³ Claudius had been divorced Urgalanilla⁴⁴ on the grounds of adultery and moreover for suspicion of murder. Aelia Paetina, became Claudius' next wife, at least in AD 28. Family loyalty would have counted for more than these marriage connections with the upstart Sejanus and Claudius' loyalty to the memory of his brother and to Germanicus' family has never been questioned. In AD 31 the execution of Sejanus broke the connections and in the same year must date the repudiation of Paetina.

When Gaius Caesar (Caligula) came to power on Tiberius' death on 16th March AD 37, Claudius' political position apparently improved. Gaius was an inexperienced young man of 24 who had held only one magistracy and he had had no dealings with the army. He buttressed his claim to the Principate by repudiating everything that Tiberius had done. Claudius became Gaius' colleague in the consulship held from 1st July until 31st August AD 37. Taking office at the age of nearly 46 he left the equestrian order of which he had been the socially most illustrious member all his adult life. Claudius was not a new man of equestrian stock but he was a politician who more than others needed support wherever he could find it: a trace of the respect he had earned may be seen from a document from Alexandria Troias where an equestrian officer ordered in his will that a monument be erected in Claudius' honour.⁴⁵ The public role, achieved by Claudius, can be seen in the fact that the Senate decided that his house, destroyed by the fire in AD 38, would reconstruct with public money; another confirmation came from the third

only members of the *Domus Augusta* closed to Germanicus who had the power to receive Germanicus' political heritage and maintain the survival of the lineage.

⁴² Svet. *Div. Claud.* 3, 2.

⁴³ Levick put the divorce in 24: LEVICK 1990, 25. See also Svet. *Div. Claud.* 26, 2; SYME 1986, 430.

⁴⁴ From this union was born a child Claudius Drusus who was engaged with Sejanus' daughter.

⁴⁵ CIL III 381. For other three inscriptions with Claudius' dedication see HURLET 1997, 556-557.

marriage with Messalina, nephew of Antonia Maior, reinforcing his dynastic positions.⁴⁶

He was popular with the people but great counters or senators would not have seen him as someone to cultivate. Claudius was known as a decent man of culture and learning, but those qualities, essentials though they were for a Roman in office, were nothing without *decorum*. The new *Princeps* was soon taking Claudius for a joke, an embarrassment or a subject for bullying, threatening him with loss of his consulship for slowness.

Gaius spent nearly four years exploring what it means to be *Princeps* and the limit of what he could do as *Princeps*. He became hated and feared, he achieved no success in the field; moreover, the political classes found no improvements in his regime and property owners had to finance his experiments in government. He even antagonized the officers of the Praetorian Guard by inflicting cruel duties and personal humiliation on them. Finally, he attacked members of his own family, his two sisters Agrippina and Livilla, and his brother-in-law Lepidus, who he had treated as a prospective successor, discrediting the imperial family. Caligula's assassination⁴⁷ was on the cards from the autumn AD 39 onwards, became a subject of speculation and was achieved on 24th January AD 41.⁴⁸

There is a spectrum of possibilities for the degree of Claudius's involvement in the attack of Gaius: they range from leading a group of his own into a coalition with other plotters, to acquiescence in a plan already devised by one group or another or by a coalition. But we do not know if he played some roles in the conspiracy at all or had knowledge of it. What we know for sure it is that he owned his accession to the power to the Praetorians and because of it Claudius' debt to the Praetorians Guard was advertised on gold and silver coinage already in c. 41/42 AD.

Like Gaius, Claudius received the title Augustus and all significant power at once, against the wish of all the majority of the Senate. He refused the title *Pater Patriae*, never held by Tiberius, but he took it in January AD 42 when news broke of Appius Silanus' "conspiracy".

⁴⁶ WOOD 1992.

⁴⁷ According to Hurllet the role of Claudius cannot be anymore consider as insignificant but he was always, till Gaius, affected by certain faults of behavior which did not exclude him completely from the dynastic role, cf. HURLET 1997, 559.

⁴⁸ For the precise account of the events see LEVICK 1990, 29-38; Svet. *Div. Claud.* 10.

Over the charismatic surname (*cognomen*) Caesar, Claudius was clear and determined. Although blood relationship with Gaius justified assuming it instantly and so keeping the *nomen* alive he probably had it formally voted to him. “Caesar” was legitimately transmitted to Octavian as a condition of his taking over Caesar’s bequest and it passed to Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus and Gaius by legitimate adoption and inheritance. It had never been part of Claudius’ name. For Claudius the name “Caesar” probably had a particular meaning as the dynast that he most revered.

Claudius’ accession, like Gaius’ entire principate, made steps on a road leading towards the coalescence of the power so that it was no longer worth enquiring in virtue of what authority any action was taken, *imperium or auctoritas*. This would seem like the apotheosis of *auctoritas* or, in its detested form, *potentia*, a virtual tyranny. The timidity of the Senate contributed much to this and this coalescence exposed and enhanced the military and the popular aspect of the roman body politic.

For these elements ancient constitutional niceties dear to the Senate were less important than the legitimacy of the recently established dynasty. Since Gaius and Claudius had nothing besides blood to commend them, their accessions mark a further strengthening of the hereditary element in the Principate.

For that reasons Claudius deployed every relatives he could in order to display connections. Since his own connection to Augustus lay through Livia and Antonia it made sense for Claudius to honor both of the women: Antonia is displayed in coins issued in the first year of reign associating her with *Costantia*⁴⁹ while Livia was officially acknowledged *Diva Augusta*⁵⁰ whose consecration took place in AD 44 on 17th January.⁵¹ Claudius emphasized also the brother Germanicus entering at Naples in a festival a Greek comedy that Germanicus wrote and issuing, as well, coins;⁵² also the father Drusus was revived with Circus games on his birthday, as well with coins which alluded to his military success in the north.⁵³

1.1.1 *Marriage, court and the amici*

The prominence of women in the principates of Gaius and Claudius shows how much progress had been made towards making the supreme position virtually the hereditary possession of a single family.

⁴⁹ RIC I² n° 67-68, GIARD 1988 n° 9-1-17; TRILLMICH 1978, 17-19; VON KAENEL 1986 n° 15-16.

⁵⁰ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 11, 2; Dio *Hist.* 60. 5, 2.

⁵¹ The evidence is the record of the Arbal Brethem, see SCHEID 1998, n° 17.

⁵² VON KAENEL 1986 n° 79; RIC 84; RIC I² n° 105-106; GIARD 1988, n° 241-244.

⁵³ As for example illustrated in VON KAENEL 1986, n°12-14; RIC I² n° 69-74.

Suetonius and the other ancient authors accused Claudius of being dominated by women and wives, of being uxorious, and of being a womanizer.

Claudius married four times, after two failed betrothals. The first betrothal, between AD 4 and AD 8, was to his distant cousin Aemilia Lepida,⁵⁴ but was broken for political reasons. The second was to Livia Medullina, which ended with Medullina's sudden death on their wedding day.

The first wife was Plautia Urgulanilla, granddaughter of Livia's confidant Urgulania and daughter of M. Plautius Silvanus. During their marriage she gave birth to a son, Claudius Drusus. Unfortunately, Drusus died of asphyxiation in his early teens, shortly after becoming engaged to Junilla, the daughter of Sejanus.

Claudius later divorced Urgulanilla for adultery and on suspicion of murdering her sister-in-law Apronia. When Urgulanilla gave birth after the divorce, Claudius repudiated the baby girl, Claudia, as the father was allegedly one of his own freedmen. Soon after (possibly in AD 28), Claudius married Aelia Paetina, a relative of Sejanus, if not Sejanus's adoptive sister. During their marriage, Claudius and Paetina had a daughter, Claudia Antonia. He later divorced her.

Valeria Messalina was the third wife: she was related to Ottavia, sister of Augustus; with this choice Claudius consolidated again his position showing not to be a stupid man as protraid by the sources. Messalina would be accused of sexual promiscuity and along with his next and last wife, Agrippina the Younger, of manipulating her husband into committing many of the cruel and arbitrary deeds that took place during his reign. Her reputation had basis in fact; excesses were added to her story as time passed.

It probably took place in AD 37 or AD 38, early in the reign of Caius. Their first child, Claudia Octavia (Octavia) was born in early AD 40 at the very latest, for a second child, Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, called Britannicus after his father's conquest of Britain in 43, was born a few weeks into Claudius' reign.

Messalina was said to have used her influence to push a large number of prosecutions. As accomplice she had the powerful imperial freedmen, especially Narcissus, the foremost of Claudius' secretaries, whose period of dominance coincided with her tenure as imperial wife.⁵⁵ The first of her alleged victims was Appius Junius Silanus. He had been in command of three legions in Spain when he was brought to Rome and married

⁵⁴ This choice is not casual but it has a dynastic meaning.

⁵⁵ MELMOUX 1977.

to Messalina's mother. The measure was evidently an attempt to lessen any threat that his military power gave him. As the story goes, Messalina and Narcissus claimed that they had dreamed that Appius intended to assassinate Claudius. Appius' sudden entrance into Claudius' chamber for an early morning audience appeared to confirm their dreams, and he was summarily executed for a crime that he did not commit. In reality, Claudius himself may have been involved in this charade. Messalina and Narcissus may not have been the instigators.⁵⁶

With the help of the courtier Lucius Vitellius she manipulated Claudius into condemning the wealthy Publius Valerius Asiaticus, whose gardens she wanted. Claudius was unaware of his wife's true reasons and he was easily influenced by the accusations brought by the accuser Sosibius, Britannicus' *aeducator*⁵⁷. These vents elaborated by Tacitus enable us to see Claudius as a myopic fool, incapable of seeing below the surface, a mere puppet in the hands of his wife and her agents.⁵⁸

Messalina's promiscuity was integral to many reports of her political manipulation. Although it cannot be known with whom Messalina really slept and where exaggeration began, there is no reason to think that she was a chaste wife. Liaisons with the upper-class men Vettius Valens and Plautius Lateranus are well attested, and her final and fatal connection with Gaius Silius was surely real⁵⁹

Messalina's story ended in AD 47. In the autumn of that year, she unilaterally declared herself divorced from Claudius and married Gaius Silius, the consul-elect, in a private but proper ceremony. Odd as it seems, the marriage evidently took place. Silius had earlier divorced his wife, ostensibly in preparation for this move, and Messalina had been transferring to him possessions that belonged to the imperial family. When Claudius was out of Rome, an extravagant party celebrated the event. But too many knew about the secret marriage. When he learned of it, his fearful response indicates that he recognized it as a coup attempt. He turned for help to his most trusted freedman Narcissus, the one who had apparently worked so closely with Messalina earlier. She retreated to the gardens of Lucullus for safety, the same gardens that had once belonged to Valerius Asiaticus. Domitia Lepida urged her to make an honorable end by suicide, but she did not have the will or perhaps the strength to kill herself, and so the centurions

⁵⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 11.29. Suet. *Div. Claud.* 29.1, 37.2. Dio *Hist.* 60. 14, 3-4. See DOREY 1966, 147 and LEVICK 1990, 58-59, for suggestions of Claudius' complicity.

⁵⁷ Tac: *Ann.* 11.

⁵⁸ VESSEY 1971, 386-30.

⁵⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.30, 36; 13.11; Dio *Hist.* 60. 22,4-5; 28.2-4; Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 29.8.20.

who had been dispatched to execute her helped the deed along. Silius and a number of others, members of the upper classes and of the imperial bodyguard, were killed as well.⁶⁰

The last wife was Agrippina Minor. The choice was not so simple because every power group around the imperial family suggests a different name. The choice of Narcissus, Aelia Paetina, according to Melmoux, shows that *the libertus* wanted to leave the situation with Britannicus as successor;⁶¹ thus Barzanó claims that the choice of Aelia is to be linked to the daughter he had with her, Antonia, and to her husband Cornelius Silla; but if this possibility was not possible another line of succession might have been the son of Vespasianus.⁶² The other candidate Lollia Paulina was an admirable choice because she was wealthy, well connected and decently behaved. Was instead Pallas' name; Agrippina Minor, to be the favourite: she was recommended despite the fact she was his niece and despite the fact that she was likely Mesallina by character as by inheritance. More she brought with her her son Nero. Marrying Agrippina means to rebuild the links between the *gens Claudia* and the *ges Iulia* reinforcing the position of the princeps and also legitimate it. Claudius tried, as Augustus did, to seek a project of consolidation of the imperial family. Tacitus is quite informative about the circumstances leading to the marriage: his concern is solely to present it as evidence for Agrippina's insatiable ambition and Claudius' feeble and murderous pliability. Thus all the evidence indicate that the marriage contravened both the law and the *mos maiorum*.⁶³

The emperor's servants, freedmen and slaves were also affected by changes that were coming in with Gaius and especially with Claudius.⁶⁴ Some of them were performing duties that might occupy a magistrate.⁶⁵ The enhanced status of Claudius' servants was shown in separate but overlapping ways. Pallas, Narcissus and Callistus had real power and access to the emperor. Callistus was the court official who attends to the petition (*a libellis*), Pallas *a rationibus* was the imperial accountant and Narcissus the secretary (*a epistulis*).⁶⁶ Narcissus received the *ornamenta quaestoria* and Pallas the *ornamenta*

⁶⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 11.12, 26-38; Suet. *Div. Claud.* 26.2, 29.3, 39.1; Dio *Hist.* 60. 31, 2-5; Juv. 10.329-45.

⁶¹ MELMOUX 1977, 66.

⁶² BARZANÓ 1993.

⁶³ For details see GREEN 1998.

⁶⁴ These people form the so called *familia* of the imperial court, for the creation of the court and the circles see PATERSON 2007.

⁶⁵ WEAVER 1979.

⁶⁶ MELMOUX 1977.

praetorian.⁶⁷ Pallas⁶⁸ was the slave of Antonia, mother of Claudius and, most likely, he was emancipated either after AD 31 and during her lifetime or at latest by her will; when Antonia died on 1st May AD 31 Claudius came into her right as patron of Pallas. During Gaius' reign he performed services of some sort like managing his properties as a general steward. The first reference of his relations with Claudius is dated to the year AD 48;⁶⁹ Dio also has not previously mentioned Pallas and he specifies only Narcissus.⁷⁰ It may be reasonable to think that Pallas was in service before AD 48 and had gradually won credit until by 48 joining Callistus and Narcissus as the most trusted imperial freedmen. As head of the imperial *fiscus* he had to look after the emperor's accounts and under Pallas' direction the control of these accounts was centralized but not in the meaning of a storage of funds (the *fiscii* were scattered over the Empire) rather a bureau of accounts. Evidences suggest that this centralized administration began with Claudius but it is not clear if the emperor or Pallas initiated it.⁷¹ Pallas was good in managing the financial operations of the empire, whose position gave him opportunities to become wealthy, but he had good capabilities to convince Claudius to marry Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus first⁷² and then to make him adopt the son, Nero to be, although Claudius had already a son Britannicus, citing the example of Augustus and Tiberius.

Another role in the court was played by the *amici*: roughly they were everyone with the same social status as the emperor that is of senatorial and equestrian orders. Beside the general *salutatio* it was custom that the senators and *equites* went to greet him daily, the *cotidiana officia*. It is clear that a closer group of companions, the *comites*, and advisors forms an important sub-category, the *cohors amicorum*, the entourage of the emperor which travel with him when he was out of Rome. The choice, for the emperor, was very difficult because the *comites* were called regularly to advise the emperor, to form his

⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 12.53.

⁶⁸ For a detailed account see OOST 1958.

⁶⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.29,1.

⁷⁰ Dio *Hist.* 40.14, 3; 15. 5; 16. 2; 5; 19. 2.

⁷¹ For an opposite view see WEAVER 1979, 83-88. Credit for the establishment of the bureau for *hereditates* is claimed also Claudius but confirmatory evidence is elusive and it seems that the headship remained linked with the *patrimonium* till the Flavian period.

⁷² After the death of Messalina the three freedmen suggest that Claudius would marry again. Callistus favored Lollia Pauliana, Narcissus Aelia Paetina, already once married to Claudius while Pallas Agrippina. The view of Callistus and Narcissus was personal while this one of Pallas was based on a political order because with that marriage Claudius could unite the Julian and Claudian families. With the choice of Agrippina, Narcissus became the most important rival of Pallas while Callistus was soon removed by death, presumably of natural cause (Dio *Hist.* 40. 33). See also DOREY 1966.

concilium, to dine informally with him and to enjoy relaxation even if they rarely lived in the palace.

1.1.2 Innovations⁷³

First fiscal procurators and the servants of his household were awarded honours without effective content that showed their service to be comparable with those performed by senators of a particular rank. Under the Republic favored knights were allowed to wear the insignia of the highest senatorial office, the *consularia ornamenta*.⁷⁴ That continued, but began to be extended to distinguished equestrian officers, Prefects of the Guards. Claudius was particularly generous, according to Svetonius, offering consular decorations even to procurators in the provinces who were holding posts of second rank. More peculiar was the award of honour to freedmen usually at lower point on the scale and a related form of recognition was the admission to the Senate of freedmen in attendance on the Emperor.

The second change concerns the titulature of equestrian governors⁷⁵. *Equites* sent to govern small provinces or district had been styled by the military title of Prefect. Prefect vanished from all provinces except Egypt where the title was buttressed by law and “presidial procurators” replaced them. This change didn’t take place simultaneously all over the Roman world: the first known instance of the title procurator (*pro legato*) in a formal epigraphic reference to an equestrian governor occurs in AD 44 in the newly provincialized area of Mauretania. It seems that the title “procurator” prevailed only gradually, encouraged by the emperors preferred usage: according to Saller and Garnsey this was designed to reflect the success of pacification.⁷⁶ What determined the emperor’s preference may be detected from the case of Judea and Mauretania: the use of the title “procurator” emphasizes Claudius’ personal control of the province, prefects might have been taken to be the appointees of the preceding senatorial commander and that was not to be tolerated. There was a legal point as well: below the first procurators there was no senatorial commander to act as their superior.⁷⁷

Effective was the use made of Claudius of the power to make and advance senators: by introducing and advancing members favorable to himself from Italy and the provinces

⁷³ LEVICK 1978.

⁷⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.21, 2.

⁷⁵ BRUNT 1983.

⁷⁶ GARNSEY, SALLER 1987, 23.

⁷⁷ See also chapter 2.

Claudius created a new imperial class which had the wealth and power to supersede the old aristocracy, changing the face of the Senate.

The influence of the emperor continued at the quaestorial election where *homini noves* could become *questores Caesaris* under Claudius. Anyway the majority of the newcomers proved loyalty to the empire.

His influence of the senatorial career was used by those families which had come into prominence earlier in the principate forming, so, the new nobility. The *novi homines* were eulogized for the *domestica parsimonia*⁷⁸ while the old nobility were impoverished as result of *studium magnificentiae*.⁷⁹

It was, however, the intermediate group between the old patricians and the new arrivals who, probably, benefited mostly of the imperial patronage: they were those with sufficient ability and long enough standing to have a certain prestige even in the Senate; here the rulers of the future were produced because once the consulship was achieved there was no limit of the honours as for example the proconsulship in Africa or Asia where, it is told that Claudius sometimes sent out his own candidates.⁸⁰ While the proconsulates gave senatorial prestige, the governorship of military province was of greater importance since they combined with seniority the familiarity of the army.

In granting the *ornamenta triumphalia*, which could be the final crown to a successful career, Claudius had another opportunity to reward fidelity and winning support.

1.2 The sources

As Dio warned⁸¹, it is hard to know the truth about an age in which much was kept secreted or distorted to please the powerful and in which the vastness of the empire defied full familiarity and understanding.

The erudite Claudius was himself a prolific writer but, regrettably, his extensive works remains only as “sherds and patches” mentioned in other authors.

With little extant from Claudius himself⁸² we must go to the scattered evidence in other authors for much of our information. At least ten consulars and even the empress Agrippina wrote histories or memoirs for the Julio-Claudian period.⁸³

⁷⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 11.22.

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.55, 12.52, Dio *Hist.* 60. 11.

⁸⁰ Dio *Hist.* 60. 25, 6.

⁸¹ Dio *Hist.* 53.19, 2-6.

⁸² See paragraph 1.3.

⁸³ Tac. *Ann.* 4.53; Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 7.46; SYME 1958b, 293-294; WILKES 1972, 186-187.

The historical work of Aufidius Bassus seems to be interwoven with that of Claudius: he wanted to continue the annalistic history of Livy and he wrote *Historiae* of his time and *De Bello Germanico* on the German campaigns of Tiberius.⁸⁴ More likely Aufidius had access to Claudius' *Historiae*. An influential but little-known historian was Cluvius Rufus, who may have been the prime source for Josephus, Svetonius and Dio's accounts of Claudius.⁸⁵

Seneca, Pliny and Josephus are the earlier writers whose works remain in sufficient quantity to help us to study Claudius. Younger, cultivated contemporaries, they left considerable information about Claudius's work, although their judgments were often coloured by their biases.

Seneca (4 BC/AD 65) knew Claudius most intimately and influenced Claudian tradition more strongly. In AD 41 Seneca was accused of adultery with Claudius' nephew and condemned to exile in Corsica (AD 41/49):⁸⁶ there he wrote a consolation on the death of his brother to Polybius, the secretary *a libellis* or Claudius. Seneca comforts the bereaved by prasing Claudius's rule and urging Polybius' devotion to the emperor. Giving Claudius an almost divine status, Seneca stresses the imperial clemency, insinuating a petition that Polybius see to Seneca's recall from exile, but he remained in exile till Agrippina wished him to tutor Nero. In his essays⁸⁷ Seneca could mention Claudius with bland neutrality. But Seneca's grievances over his Corsican exile, exploded after Claudius' death in a harsh and cruel satire the *Apocolocyntosis*⁸⁸ where Claudius' physical infirmities are brutally lampooned. Far more than his work of obsequious flattery, Seneca's biting satire has influenced his successors.

Pliny the Elder (AD 23/79) began his career during Claudius' principate though he would not have known the emperor personally. His histories are so completely lost that little is known about them. But, since he seems to have continued the history of Aufidius Bassus and sought to improve his work, the period he covered included some years of Claudius' reign, and he may well have used Claudius' own history. In his *Naturalis Historia* Pliny did quote Claudius for a group of specific facts that deal with

⁸⁴ TOWNED 1962, 365.

⁸⁵ SYME 1958b, 287; MOMIGLIANO 1932b, 305 opposed to this position.

⁸⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 13.42; Dio *Hist.* 60.8, 4-5, 61.10.

⁸⁷ Sen. *De Clem.* 1.23.1; *Ben.* 1.15.1.

⁸⁸ Much uncertainty remains about the authorship, the title and the date. Bagnani argues that Petronius wrote the satire, cf. BAGNANI 1958, 33-45. But the consensus favors Seneca's authorship shortly after Claudius' death: see BALDWIN 1964, 39; CURRIE 1962, 92-97; GRIFFIN, 1976, 133; MOTTO 1973, 26; SCARAMUZZA 1940, 8; SULLIVAN 1966, 378-380. See now the critical report over recent research by K. Bringmann, cf. BRINGMANN 1985.

geography and natural phenomena⁸⁹ and a number of other references connected to land. Pliny was interested in grammar and he may have used the emperor's work in the same subject. Our meager information is that Pliny knew Claudius' writing and he seems to have trusted Claudius' intelligence and found his antiquarian digressions interesting.

Josephus (AD 37/100) covered the age of Claudius in both his *De bello Judaico* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* and provides information not found elsewhere.⁹⁰ He did not know Claudius but had access to sources close to him like Cluvius Rufus and he claims that he is presenting genuine copies of the *acta senatus* which concerned the Jews. Such primary materials could be very precious indeed, but Josephus dilutes their value by revisions of the original documents in order to emphasize and glorify the role of the Jews in the Empire. Josephus' passages referring to Claudius are important but must be used with acute awareness of his biases.

Tacitus (AD 55/166) provides the most complete picture of the time. But there is a lacuna from *Annales* VII to I (AD 37/47) so when the account starts again Claudius is coming to end of his reign. Tacitus researches his material well and used a number of authors (like A. Bassus and M. Servilius Nonianus) from whom he could make selections or seek consensus.⁹¹ What is harder to determine is his direct research into *acta senatus* and the speeches, edicts, and letters of Claudius'. Syme,⁹² working through Tacitus, has found repeated evidence of Claudius' style, vocabulary, antiquarian digressions and ideas. He studied and blended into his work Claudius' speeches, the *acta* and other sources⁹³ although followed the ancient convention of rewriting speeches to incorporate them into his history. Syme hears Claudian tones in all of the speeches attributed to Claudius. Momigliano and Townend find Syme overzealous but not wrong in tracing these Claudian influences on Tacitus.⁹⁴ Even when using the original materials, Tacitus can be faulted for twisting the evidence against Claudius: above all Claudius is made to appear a fool. There is no estimate of Claudius' impact in the empire, its economic, legal or social changes or on the intellectual life of the age.

⁸⁹ See footnote n° 20 in HUZAR 1984, 615.

⁹⁰ E.g. Claudius' accession to the power: Jos. *A. J.* 19.162-273.

⁹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 13.20; SYME 1958b, 271-303; TOWNED 1962, 366; WILKES 1972, 192.

⁹² SYME 1958b, 295 and note 13, 397, 703-710.

⁹³ SYME 1958b, 295-296, 378.

⁹⁴ MOMIGLIANO 1961, 55-58; TOWNED 1962, 358-359.

Tacitus' brilliant denigration and derision have decisively molded all subsequent interpretations of Claudius.

According to Vessey Tacitus' portrayal of Claudius is a consistent one. The ultimate proof of the indictment lays not on the motivations but on the events. From him it seems clear that Claudius was ignorant of his wives' and freedmens' machinations leading him to despotism, arbitrary murder and injustice; still Tacitus is prepared to give Claudius credit for his foreign policy and to recognize his own, but frustrated, *clementia*. His academic pursuit and talent, thus, were not guarantee of his fitness to rule.⁹⁵

Griffin, on the contrary, sees two-sided nature of his portrait. The condemnatory side depicts Claudius as susceptible to manipulation by his people because of his timidity, absent-mindedness and gullibility. To the respectable side belong his intellectual accomplishments, his general success in foreign policy, his work as censor in replenishing the patriciate and minimizing the invidia of expulsion of the Senate.⁹⁶

The other most influential source for Claudius was Svetonius (AD 69/140) who was probably not deriving the materials of his *Divus Claudius* directly from Tacitus but their attitudes and informations are closed to.⁹⁷ He could have worked directly from Claudius' *Memoirs* as judged by specific facts about laws and imperial policies. Many disconnected details are strung together with little generalization and the *Life* shows the positive and the negative sides. Svetonius juxtaposes energy and sloth, effectiveness and ineffectiveness. It's again not a history of the whole age but a personal and court portrayal. He tries to portray Claudius as an inept and fearful man who relied on the people around him and wished to return to private life. But it seems that some of this critical description has origin by the first account of Claudius, namely the *Apocolocyntosis*. He supplies evidence that undercuts Claudius as a feeble man, he claims that freedmen and wives dominated him but the first half of the biography details acts that seem to bear the stamps of Claudius.

Cassio Dio (late 2nd-early 3rd century) is the only major later source to cover the reign of Claudius but his presentation comes down only through the abbreviations of Xiphilinus and Zonaras. Various sources must have been available to Dio: he seems to have used chiefly imperial annalistic sources but there is also evidence of his use of

⁹⁵ VESSEY 1971.

⁹⁶ GRIFFIN 1990.

⁹⁷ SYME 1958b, 502, 781-782; TOWNED 1962, 89.

various memoirs, of Tacitus and Pliny the Elder. In general the picture of Claudius is painted rather favorably.

In summary we depend on Tacitus and Svetonius, secondarily on Josephus and Dio. All of the authors reflect the ignorance and fear, therefore ridicule, of Claudius' physical disabilities.

1.3 **The erudite emperor**

Claudius' family had not neglected his education and he remained devoted to the cultivate pursuits (*disciplinae liberales* as Suetonius calls them consisted in literature, rhetoric, music, mathematics and jurisprudence). We know little of his education. The family was trying to discipline the erratic boy into normal self-control. For his studies, he received much of the standard training of the sons of the aristocracy.

Though the great age of free speech had passed, rhetoric and oratory were basic to an aristocrat's training. Claudius could speak elegantly both in Latin and in Greek: Augustus had expressed pleased surprise at his clear delivery⁹⁸ but his physical and nervous disabilities could render him inarticulate when he was distracted and, more commonly, he would lapse into irrelevance, meandering or even uncontrollable laughter.⁹⁹

Claudius liked Greece and was expert in Greek, evidently better at it than previous emperors.¹⁰⁰ He insisted in the superiority of the language and throughout his life used it freely and quoted Greek even in the Senate.¹⁰¹ He showed special allegiance to Athens, and when in Naples or other Greek centers he enjoyed the role of Grecophile, following Greek fashion and living style.¹⁰² Yet his Roman traditionalism never allowed the Greek to predominate. Essentially, he was qualified to balance both languages and cultures, and that understanding and sympathy for both Greek and Latin languages was fundamental to the breath of his scholarship and ideas.

1.3.1 Pre-principate writings¹⁰³

Claudius' interest in history led him to produce several major or at least long works during his enforced leisure: in Greek he wrote 20 books of Etruscan history¹⁰⁴ and eight

⁹⁸ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 4, 6.

⁹⁹ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 41; Dio *Hist.* 60. 2, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Jos. *A. J.* 19. 213; Dio *Hist.* 60. 8.

¹⁰¹ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 42, 1.

¹⁰² Svet. *Div. Claud.* 25; Dio *Hist.* 60. 60, 1-2.

¹⁰³ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 42, 2.

¹⁰⁴ HUZAR 1984, 622-623.

of Carthaginian history¹⁰⁵ while in Latin he began to write the history of Rome from the assassination of Julius Caesar, a topic nearer to home but dangerously domestic. When he finished two books, which covered the years 44/43 BC, Livia and Antonia persuaded him to break off and start again, with a time gap *A pace civili* and from this point onwards he produced a history in 41 books probably corresponding, as Bücheler has suggested,¹⁰⁶ to the 41 years from Octavian's assumption of the name Augustus to his death (27 BC/AD 14)¹⁰⁷: no doubt he applauded Augustus's reign since he regularly spoke of Augustus as his model and the work was published before AD 43 when Seneca mentions it.¹⁰⁸

His own "Memories" must have provided the best evidence for his reign¹⁰⁹ but they are gone and little can be determined about their use by later historians. The real name of the work was *Tiberii Claudii Caesaris de vita sua libri VIII*: probably he was drafting his memoirs during all his life but he must have published it before his death. Svetonius dismisses them as lacking taste, though not style.¹¹⁰

Along with an interest in history went one in language and an understandable concern for speakers: before he came to power he wrote a monograph advocating the introductions of new letters¹¹¹ into the Latin alphabet.¹¹² When he became emperor he had these suggestions carried into effect and the inscriptions of his time provide us with authentic examples of the use.¹¹³ This kind of evidence, however, is external; we should like to have the arguments by which the future Emperor supported his proposal.

But we hear nothing about a deeper interest in philosophy or poetry and drama except for acts of piety towards his dead brother Germanicus, the production of a Greek comedy and the publication of Claudius' translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena* are no compositions of his own.

Claudius' desire for reforms springs from this minute and loving familiarity with history, it is this which teaches him that continual progress is in the very law of Rome's

¹⁰⁵ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 42, HUZAR 1984, 623.

¹⁰⁶ BÜCHELER 1864, 48.

¹⁰⁷ This work is quoted only once in the date of the Secular Game of Augustus (Svet. *Div. Claud.* 21, 2).

¹⁰⁸ Sen. *Polyb.* 8.2.

¹⁰⁹ The only sure detail taken from the "memoirs" concerns his brutal tutor (Svet. *Div. Claud.* 2, 2). But Momigliano judges that Svetonius drew a number of facts and decisions of Claudius from them, cf. MOMIGLIANO 1961, 8.

¹¹⁰ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 41, 13.

¹¹¹ These were **ꝛ**, to represent the sound between u and i in maxumus, maximus, etc.; **ꝛ**, for the sound of bs as ps; **ꝛ** for consonant u.

¹¹² Svet. *Div. Claud.* 41, 3.

¹¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 11.14. as example CIL VI, 40414-40415.

tradition. A reformer because he was aware of the Roman tradition, because he was a traditionalist: the seeming paradox contains a true definition of Claudius' personality. The question about the sense in which we should interpret Claudius' support for the Republican tradition, as this was incorporated in the Principate, can now be answered: in the maturity he felt the past as a complex of institutions, customs and memories worthy to be preserved or restored only in so far as they served the need of the day.

Much of Claudius' earlier writing was occasioned by the enforced leisure of the Julio-Claudian prince deemed incapable of a public role. Since AD 41 when he became emperor in place of multi-volumes histories and learned essays he wrote and spoke addresses from the throne, legal judgments and decrees in response of the current issues of the empire: considerable more of this original material has been preserved than for his earlier studies. The problems of appraising his work now consists in understanding and evaluating the issues to which he was responding and demanding, how much of the writing he actually wrote and how much was formulated by imperial secretaries and bureaucrats.

1.3.2 *Imperial speeches*

Two public speeches are preserved and represent Claudius's own composition. One is on a fragmentary papyrus and can be dated *c.* AD 42/51.¹¹⁴ Here it's Claudius who addresses the Senate¹¹⁵ on an increasing problem of unsettled legal cases which are congesting court dockets: he offers the practical aids of enlarging the pool of possible jurors by lowering the age from 25 to 24 and insisting that the jurors should attend the courts to settle the case promptly. The speech is addressing to the Senators and Claudius is urging them to join him in the decrees for court reform or, if they disapprove his proposals, to act promptly in proposing their own measures. The Latin style is clumsy, undistinguished with some grammatical laxity. It is typical of Claudius even the text seems to be under the control of Livian words and ideas.

A substantial part of another speech remains in what are Claudius' own words. It's a bronze tablet found at *Lugdunum* (Lyon) in 1528.¹¹⁶ The upper part is missing but from the remaining portion we can understand that is a verbatim copy of the speech taken

¹¹⁴ CHARLESWOTH 1951, 3.

¹¹⁵ As Bonnefond-Coudry states, the main characteristic of the relationship with the Senate is that Claudius preferred, in comparison with Tiberius, an immediate and autonomous expression of his opinion before the questioning taking the form of *oratio principis*. It seems that Claudius wanted to change not only the working of the Senate but also the role itself in a way that it is really associated to the management of the empire, cf. BONNEFOND-COUDRY 1995.

¹¹⁶ CIL XII 1668=ILS 212.

from the *acta senatus*.¹¹⁷ The topic relates the granting eligibility to the Senate to such *primores* of Gallia Comata as already have individual citizenship and belong to the *civitates foederatae*. The area of the speech is very important for Claudius and is an exhortation to a broad vision of Roman citizenship.¹¹⁸

The value of this verbatim record is further enhanced by its being reported by Tacitus:¹¹⁹ It is a unique possibility in which Tacitus's version of a speech can be checked against the original. Indeed the comparison tells more about Tacitus' attitude and methods of work than it does about Claudius. The re-worked speech is much more condensate and reordered and the style is tacitean, although it carries a flavor of Claudius' pedantry. Efforts to fill the missing part in the tablets with Tacitus' version are tempting but the method is not sure. For sure Tacitus had seen the speech because some phrases are cited verbatim but, like all the historians, he rewrote the speech entirely, condensing and reorganizing the content and transforming it in an ordered and coherent speech.

The speech represents Claudius at his most typical: he stresses the continuity of the history, the evolving change in Roman imperial responsibility, the equality of all able men. At times he wanders from his theme in self-centered digressions of pride, spite or favoritism. His style is with Livian phrases, archaisms, legalisms and "racy colloquialisms."¹²⁰

A number of other speeches are reported by Tacitus and Svetonius but they have all been recast in the historians' individual styles, so they merely indicate some of the issues on which Claudius made public speeches.¹²¹

Seneca and Svetonius also included Claudian speeches but of different types. Seneca, in his *Consolatio ad Polybium*, creates the kind of speech that Claudius might have given to comfort Polybius for the death of his brother. Svetonius' reference to speeches ranges widely in different topics consisting with his over-all representation of Claudius as both able and disordered.¹²²

¹¹⁷ For all the editions and commentaries see HUZAR 1984, footnotes n° 96, 627-628.

¹¹⁸ For a precise account of the speech see HUZAR 1984, 629-630.

¹¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.24.

¹²⁰ FABIA 1929, 71-77; LAST, OGLIVE 1958, 478-479; WELLESLEY 1954, 26-31.

¹²¹ For an account of these speeches see HUZAR 1984, 632-634.

¹²² HUZAR 1984, 634.

The over-all judgment of Claudius' oratory must be mixed: he knew the rules of eloquence and he had studied Cicero and Livy, yet he was not a distinguished orator since he had no special genius or even style of his own.

1.3.3 *Imperial edicts*

These distractions in oral presentations are not present in formal edicts and letters but the other stylistic oddities and other distinctive reasoning of Claudius consistently reappear. Several edicts have been at least partially preserved in inscriptions but most of them are known only through later authors. Though Claudius was capable of over using edicts for trivialities, he was also attentive to larger issue in Rome and in the provinces.

An edict of c. 49/50 AD on a fragmentary marble table from Tegea in Greece deals with the *cursus publicus*. It provides the customary introduction for his edicts: *T. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus pontif. Max. trib. potest. VIII, imp XVI, p. p., dicit*.¹²³ The *dicit*, followed by a text in the first person, is common for the imperial edicts but the long *cum* clause, which launches the one remaining sentence and contains a series of prepositions leading to a conclusion, is typical of Claudius. This edict deals with the imperial post system established by Augustus, who stationed runners and vehicles along the military roads to carry imperial dispatches efficiently. The costs of horses, vehicles, fodder and inns were charged to the city in which the service passed and abuse had grown up. What Claudius had proposed cannot be determined but enough remains to determinate that Claudius is seriously attempting to make constructive reforms.¹²⁴

Another edict, dated Ides of March AD 46 found on a bronze tablet near Trent in 1869,¹²⁵ attempts to resolve two disputes: about property-holding in a section of northern Italy and about citizenship rights for several northern Italian tribes (primarily the Anaunes).¹²⁶ The edict is an appropriate one to study Claudius' style in some details. It is complete and bears numbers of elements very familiar of Claudian writing. There are some engraved errors but the use of N instead of M before Q appeared elsewhere in Claudius and was probably his idiosyncrasy. The syntax is correct and yet some unusual patterns bespeak Claudian authorship. As in the Tegean decree, this edict begins with Claudius' name and titles plus *dicit*, and then the body of the text is in the first person. The opening sentence begins with a *cum* clause which becomes entangled in an over

¹²³ CIL III 7251.

¹²⁴ Svet. *Div. Aug.* 49.

¹²⁵ CIL V 5050.

¹²⁶ For the specific topic see HUZAR 1984, 636.

long disjointed sentence. In the kindest judgment Claudius was attempting the periodic style of Livy but Claudius' harsh breaks in thoughts and rhythm and his heaviness of style and verbal excesses appear as travesties of the period sentence. Claudius intrudes personally in a conversational but tastes of fashion. The idea is that Claudius understood the problems and had decided on realistic solutions for them but had not fully organized his thoughts when he dictated his drafts to a secretary.

Fragments of another Claudian decrees remain and some edicts are referred to by other officials.¹²⁷

Josephus, Tacitus and Dio mention other Claudian decrees. For example, Josephus quotes two decrees that Claudius issued about the Jews in the empire,¹²⁸ but the reliability of such evidence is challenged by modern scholars. The edicts are in style of Claudius and, indeed, are closely parallel to the Claudian letter addressed to the people of Alexandria dated shortly after these edicts. In the light of the similarities of the documents and the fact that Josephus was publishing his work when the inscriptions could well have been extant, it's reasonable to see these edicts as genuine. If we accept the edicts and the letter to the Alexandrians¹²⁹ as work of Claudius we have more extant writings by Claudius on the Alexandrian Jews than on any other topic. The preservation in other topics like Britain must have occupied more of Claudius' time but these three documents give us a unique opportunity to compare his treatment of a single issue.¹³⁰

1.3.4 Imperial letters

The letter he wrote to the Alexandria in AD 41 and the edict of Lyon are the most valuable evidence for Claudius' style and ideas.

Around 1920, in the Fayum, cache of papers, belonging to a tax-collector from the early Roman period, was illicitly excavated. They are mostly registers of name but they found a buyer in Harold idris Bell, assistant keeper in the department of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. On the back of one of these registers Bell found, copied in the hand of the tax collector, a transcript of a letter written by Claudius. He published his discovery with other texts in an abundant volume in 1924.¹³¹

The letter answers local problems and there are some careless misspellings. The papyrus suffers from some damages and in some point the content is obscure. The letter is in

¹²⁷ HUZAR 1984, 637-638.

¹²⁸ Jos. *A. J.* 19.279-85; 286-291, 304-305.

¹²⁹ For the problems concerning Jews in Alexandria see HUZAR 1984, 638-639 with bibliography.

¹³⁰ HUZAR 1984, 640-641.

¹³¹ BELL 1924.

Greek but full name titles and Latin-like phrases suggest that a Latin original version may have been translated into Greek. Even if the letter lacks a date, it seems that it can be dated to AD 41 since Claudius responds to embassies from Alexandria sent to congratulate him for his accession to the throne and the Prefect, who published it, adds the date 10 November AD 44. The publication of the letter is unusual because it's a special letter: the *responsa* of an emperor presented by embassies.¹³²

Back in the beginning of the 20th century, when the storiography had a bad impression of Claudius, the document cast new light on Claudius as Bell says 'one would never suspect that Claudius was weak minded'.¹³³ After this discovery, the portrait of Svetonius was never again accepted as real.

The Jewish question, although only a quarter of the letter, is Claudius' central concern. His own vocabulary grows stronger. His imperial power is affirmed, not deprecated as in his reluctant acceptance of honors. Claudius' settlement had to be diplomatic but firm and his presentation is intelligent and balanced between the two groups. He treats the majority of the Jew and not citizens: he differentiates the Alexandrians from the Jews who have long lived in the city "not their own". He does not increase the privileges of the Jews although confirming the established ones: it's a careful compromising impartiality.

The letter seems to have been written by Claudius or more likely in close cooperation with his secretaries.¹³⁴ It's well written, with an orderly sequence of ideas with almost none of the pedantry and irrelevancy so often evident in his writing. But still Claudius' characteristic traits mark it as his own. In any case despite Claudius' pronouncements the conflicts between Alexandrians and Jews continued unabated throughout the empire. Beside Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians a number of his short official letters can be found in the papyri or in the ancient authors: normally they focus on a specific matter but when the letter responds to decrees issued by provinces or cities, they tend to follow the details of the decree and then perhaps add some special concern of Claudius.

In other letters he grants privileges to artist and athletes as for example in AD 43 he reaffirms the privileges granted by Augustus to the victors of the cult of Dionysus¹³⁵ or

¹³² For the content of the letter see HUZAR 1984, 641-643.

¹³³ BELL 1924, 22.

¹³⁴ BELL 1924, 6, 21; SCARAMUZZA 1940, 67; TCHERIKOVER, FUKS 1960, 38.

¹³⁵ SMALLWOOD 1967, num. 373.

in AD 47 he thanks the Guild for participating in games given in his honor by the kings of Commagene and Pontus.¹³⁶

The extant letters, then, are few, scattered and official. They show Claudius in his ceremonial functions and formal courtesies. They also give an image of an engaged ruler aware of the problems and needs of the empire. The vast bulk of his official letters are lost as all private correspondence.

1.3.5 Legal case

Law was one of the areas of study and administration in which Claudius was most active¹³⁷. Augustus had involved him with the courts on a number of issues, so did Tiberius. Especially in constitutional and criminal cases the power of the *imperium* could be invoked. As a logical step in his gradual centralization of authority he extended his participation including civil and fiscal cases as well. He wanted justice, even equity, and the courts were to be his means of achieving that goal. The greatest problem of the courts was a backlog of cases and here Claudius was effective in clearing the dockets. He tried to reduce the number of cases by limiting the fees charged by court advocates.¹³⁸

As a judge he functioned with the same moral good will, emotional instability and intellectual effort that brought him to other aspects of his reign. Normally he was fair, generous as committed to legal traditions but when under pressure he could become erratic, careless and foolish and when hurried or annoyed he could pass judgments after hearing only one side or neither side.¹³⁹

The most evident development in judicial procedures, as in other aspects of his reign, was the increased centralization and authoritarianism as more cases were decided within his own chamber or through his appointed officials.

1.4 The coinage

If we want to have a complete view of Claudius and his idea the exam of the coinage is thought to bring new lights on the emperor. Analysing the coins we realize that the choice of the legends and the different representations is not casual and the precision

¹³⁶ SMALLWOOD 1967, num. 374.

¹³⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 13.4; Sen. *Apoc.* 10-12; MAY 1936, 138-153.

¹³⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 11.7.

¹³⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.5, 12.22; Svet. *Div. Claud.* 15, 16, 29, 33, 37, 38; Sen. *Apoc.* 12, 14; Dio *Hist.* 60. 33, 8; Dig. 22.5.3 section 5.

and the coherence imply a very detailed preparation.¹⁴⁰ This analysis detects the presence of four directions which define the axis of his reign: enhancement of various members of the imperial family, attention to the idea of the Victory, the respect of the Augustean examples and some “Claudian values” which are closely bound to his figure and policy.

1.4.1 *Enhancement of the members' family*

It is possible to perceive two chronological moments (before and after the marriage with Agrippina Minor) which materialize in different choices of the emperor.

At the very beginning Claudius decided to glorify his parents.¹⁴¹ Their titulature and profiles appear in the coins minted between AD 41 and 42 both in precious coinage and in bronze.

The gold and silver coins dedicated only to Drusus (titulature in verso NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS GERMANICUS IMP) remember the deeds that made him call Germanicus: the titulature in the reverse is DE GERM (NIS) while the representations could be a triumphal arch with a knight between prizes, or a *vexillum* under two hexagonal shields¹⁴² (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Coin with Drusus on the verso and an arch or *vexillum* on the recto (after Von Kanel 1986, tafel 4,281; tafel 5, 317).

¹⁴⁰ For a different opinion see BELLONI 1974, 1048.

¹⁴¹ MANNSPERGER 1974, 952.

¹⁴² GIARD 1988, 80, n° 1-2, 4-6, 81, n° 7; VON KAENEL 1986, 9, n° 12-14; RIC I 75-77, BMC 95-107; RIC I² pg. 125, n° 69-74; TRILLMICH 1978, 71-72.

Thanks to Svetonius,¹⁴³ we know that the represented arch was build in AD 9 on the Via Appia; Von Kanel thinks, on the contrary, that the arch is not a real one but it is conceived in the meaning of the military propaganda as *topos* of the military virtue.¹⁴⁴ Anyway, with this representation, Claudius makes possible that the prestige of his father's victories could become his prestige and these victories could legitimize his accession to the throne. In the bronze coinage on the verso to Claudius' bust with laurel wreath is associated, on the recto, an arch with titolature NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS GERMN IMP S C¹⁴⁵ while when, on verso, Drusus is depicted without wreath on the recto Claudius is seated on the *sella curulis* over a *globus* and weapons and with the right hand holds a laurel branch and with the left a scroll.¹⁴⁶ It is clear that these two typologies of coins must be considered as an unity because of the same disposition of the legend, construction in chiasm and opposite direction of the busts. In this way the victories of Drusus and the pacific action of Claudius are put in relationship in such a way that the military action of the father could secure that one of the son.¹⁴⁷

To the mother Antonia, already *sacerdos divi Augusti* during Gaius,¹⁴⁸ the emperor pays homage with the appellation of Augusta and he associates her, in the heavy coinage, to Costantia¹⁴⁹ while in the bronze to the son *capite velato*.¹⁵⁰ Not only in Lyon or Rome are minted coins with Antonia but also in small mints as for example at Alexandria where Claudius is represented with laurel wreath in the verso and in the recto Antonia as *Sebaste*¹⁵¹ in order to commemorate the presence of Antonia and Druso when the city was the last stronghold of Antony's resistance (Figure 2). At Tomis to Antonia as *Sebaste* is associated the ear between two torches¹⁵² or at Klazomenai to Kybele.¹⁵³

¹⁴³ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 1, 7.

¹⁴⁴ VON KANEL 1986, 238.

¹⁴⁵ GIARD 1988, 97, n° 162-164; VON KAENEL 1986, 22, n° 56; RIC I 62D; BMC 121-123, RIC I² pg. 128, n° 98.

¹⁴⁶ GIARD 1988, 93, n° 126-127, 94, n° 128-136, pg. 95, n° 137-14; VON KAENEL 1986, 22, n° 57; RIC I 78, BMC 157-159, RIC I² pg. 127, n° 93.

¹⁴⁷ NONY 1982, 895-896.

¹⁴⁸ Dio *Hist.* 59. 3, 3-4.

¹⁴⁹ GIARD 1988, 81, n° 9-14; KENT ET AL. 1973, tafel 47, 178; TRILLMICH 1978, 17-19; VON KAENEL 1986, 10, n° 16; RIC I 80; BMC 112-114; RIC I² pg. 124, n° 65-6. The usage of *Augusti* instead of *Augusta* indicated that the personification and the quality are thought to as belonging to the emperor.

¹⁵⁰ GIARD 1988, 95, n° 143-145; ; TRILLMICH 1978, 20; VON KAENEL 1986, 10, n° 59; RIC I 82D; BMC 167-168.

¹⁵¹ MILNE 1933, 3, n° 61-64; TRILLMICH 1978, 159.

¹⁵² TRILLMICH 1978, 161

¹⁵³ TRILLMICH 1978, 170.



Figure 2: *Tetradrachmon* with Antonia as Sebaste (after Trillmich 1978, tafel 15, 17).

Also in the first years of the principate *duopondes* are minted which portray in the verso a *quadriga* and titolature GERMANICUS CAESAR while on recto one can see Germanicus with armour during *adlocutio* and title SIGNI RECEPIT DEVICTIS GERMS-C¹⁵⁴ (Figure 3); in the *sestertii* of the year AD 42/43 he is only depicted on verso. Also for Agrippina Maggiore are minted some *sestertii* where she is represented in the verso and associated to Claudius.¹⁵⁵



Figure 3: *Duopondius* with Germanicus in *adlocutio* gesture (after Kent et Al. 1973, tafel 46, n° 174).

Through these coins Claudius wants to affirm his double parentage: from father's side he goes back to Livia while, from mother's side to Ottavia, Augustus' sister and to Mark

¹⁵⁴ KENT ET AL. 1973, tafel 46, n° 174; KÜTHMANN 1959-60, 51.

¹⁵⁵ GIARD 1988, 105, n° 236-237, 240; VON KAENEL 1986, 29, n° 78; RIC I 85; BMC 219-223; RIC I² pg. 128, n° 102; TRILLMICH 1978, 15.

Antony. The double parentage is very important in the Claudian propaganda which bases on the idea of a Roman world symbolizing by the unity, in the person of the emperor, of two big political tendencies. Evocating also Germanicus and the wife one can remember also Julia, daughter of Augustus. This accuracy in the domestic heritage from both sides makes him less vulnerable to people's eyes but in this scrupulous attention we can perceive certain insecurity.

In this perspective it is obvious that Claudius decided to honour also the couple Augustus-Livia in a series of coins from Lyon in the year AD 42 after he consecrated Livia on 17th January¹⁵⁶. In *dupondii* on the verso to Augustus (DIVUS AUGUSTUS)¹⁵⁷ is connected Livia DIVA AUGUSTA¹⁵⁸ seated with in the hand a torch, a popy and corn.¹⁵⁹ The couple is the founder of a new power and a link whose Claudius is the most imminent representative and he is also the protector.

The study of the coins with the depictions of his close relatives makes possible to perceive a quantitative difference between the coinage with Britannicus, the two daughters and the first wife Messalina and this one with Agrippina Minor and Nero.

Between AD 41 and AD 48 are coins which associated the portrait of Claudius with these ones of the wife Messalina and the sons Antonia, Ottavia and Britannicus: surprisingly all these coins come from minor and local mints and not from Lyon or Rome.

The only attestations,¹⁶⁰ where Britannicus appears alone, come from the mint of Thracia (exactly Perinthos) with titolature TI CLAUD CAESAR AUG F BRITANNICUS and the figure of Mars¹⁶¹ and from Ilion to the figure of Britannicus with a small owl is linked Claudius¹⁶²(Figure 4).

¹⁵⁶ Livia became the second *Diva* in the Roman Empire and the first one to be honoured in the coins.

¹⁵⁷ Interesting is also the presence of *dupondii* (AD 42) with on the verso Augustus and on the recto Claudius in *sella curulis* with a *globus*; KENT ET AL. 1973, 99, tafel 46, n°175; KÜTHMANN 1959-60, 56-61. The titolature CONSENSU SENAT ET EQ ORDIN P Q conveys the political situation after Gaius: with the agreement of the Senate, the *equites* and the Roman people Claudius tries to legitimate his power.

¹⁵⁸ MANNSPERGER 1974, 952.

¹⁵⁹ GIARD 1988, 107, n° 256-262; VON KAENEL 1986, 32, n° 80; RIC I 86; BMC 224-225; RIC I² pg. 128, n° 101.

¹⁶⁰ Some scholars think that *Spes* in *χώρα*-like form refers to the birth of Britannicus in the sense of the perpetuity of the line, MANNSPERGER 1974, 953; SUTHERLAND 1976, 116.

¹⁶¹ VON KAENEL 1984, 129-141.

¹⁶² TRILLMICH 1978, 168; BMC 40-41. For a coin with Britannicus, Ottavia and Antonia see TRILLMICH 1978, 152.



Figure 4: *Semis* with Britannicus and Claudius (after Trillmich 1978, tafel 16, 17).

From the cretian mint come some coins with the representation of Messalina and Claudius¹⁶³ and of the three sons of Claudius.¹⁶⁴ To the mint of Cesareia in Cappadocia, between AD 43 and AD 48; are attributed coins with, in the verso, Messalina and, on the recto Ottavia, Britannicus and Antonia¹⁶⁵ (Figure 5)¹⁶⁶ and coins with Messalina and Antonia Augusta;¹⁶⁷ at Alexandria¹⁶⁸ were found coinage with Messalina and Claudius¹⁶⁹ and again the Claudius' sons.¹⁷⁰



Figure 5: *Didrachm* with Messalina and the three sons (after Sutherland 1951, plate XII, 5).

¹⁶³ TRILLMICH 1978, 144.

¹⁶⁴ TRILLMICH 1978, 145.

¹⁶⁵ RIC I² 124; BMC 24; COLAVITO 1958, 33; GIARD 1988, 112, 292; SUTHERLAND 1951, 141; TRILLMICH 1978, 151.

¹⁶⁶ The representation stands out as a statement of that solidarity and integrity in the imperial house of which the need was maybe felt.

¹⁶⁷ TRILLMICH 1978, 148.

¹⁶⁸ MILNE 1933.

¹⁶⁹ TRILLMICH 1978, 157.

¹⁷⁰ TRILLMICH 1978, 158.

After the marriage with Agrippina Minor in AD 50 and till AD 54 were produced coins with the wife and her son Nero.¹⁷¹ In the precious coinage Agrippina Minor, linked to the emperor, is honoured as the new Augusta with corn wreath (as the new Ceres)¹⁷² while on others Claudius is paired with a reverse bust of Nero with the full legend NERO CLAUD CAES DRUSUS GERM PRINC IUVENT.¹⁷³ In the period AD 52/54 in the gold and silver issues Nero achieved the distinction in the observe portrait type: with the titolature NERO CLAUD CAES DRUSUS GERM PRINC IUVENTIT Nero is paired to the the priestly symbols of the four Sacred Colleges and the legend SACERD(os) CCOPT(atu)s IN OMN(ia) CONL(egia) SUPRA NUM(erum) EX S C.¹⁷⁴ (Figure 6)



Figure 6: *Aureus* with Nero and the four Sacred Colleges' symbols (after <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s1915.html>).

But the respect tributed to the official mints spreads also to the less important mints. In Thracia¹⁷⁵ we have coins with the depiction of Agrippina AGRIPPINA AUG GERMANICI F CAESARIS AUG and on the recto either Ceres¹⁷⁶ or a *carpentum*.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ MANNSPERGER 1974, 953-954.

¹⁷² GIARD 1988, 88-89, n° 76-84; SUTHERLAND 1951, 143; VON KAENEL 1986, 18, n° 50; RIC I 92; BMC 72-76; RIC I² pg. 125, n° 75.

¹⁷³ GIARD 1988, n°85-90, SUTHERLAND 1951, 143; VON KAENEL 1986, 18, n° 51; RIC I 93; BMC 79-81; RIC I² pg. 126, n° 82-83.

¹⁷⁴ GIARD 1988, 89, n° 91-93; VON KAENEL 1986, 20, n° 52; RIC I 98; BMC 84-87; RIC I² pg. 125, n° 76-77.

¹⁷⁵ Recently Mattingly argues that these coins were produced in Lyon during the last year of Claudius' kingdom and through troops they arrived till Thracia. Cf. MATTINGLY 2004, 299-300.

¹⁷⁶ RIC 90 (without legend); VON KAENEL 1984, 142.

¹⁷⁷ RIC 89; RIC I² pg. 129, n° 103; VON KAENEL 1984, 141-142.

Also Nero is glorified in two versions: in the first one on the verso Nero NERONI CLAUDIO DRUSO GERMANICO COS DESIG is linked to shield lying against a spear and the the legend EQUESTER ORDO PRINCIPI IUVENT¹⁷⁸ and in the second one on the verso to Nero with titolature NERO CLAUD CAES DRUS GERM PRINC IUVENT is linked the representation of *simpulum*, *littus*, tripod and patera with the title SACER CCOPT IN OMN CONL SUPRA NUM EX S C.¹⁷⁹

The mint in Ephesus, after ten years of no emission, minted some *cisophori* with the Claudian observe being paired with Agrippina's portrait and legend AGRIPPINA AUGUSTA CAESARIS AUG¹⁸⁰ and with the cult statue of Diana with the legend DIANA EPHESIA¹⁸¹ (Figure 7) as in addition the mint of Pergamom exalted the figure of Nero.¹⁸²



Figure 7: *Chistophorus* with Claudius and Agrippina Minor and on the reverse the cult-stature of Diana (after Kent et Al. 1973, tafel 49, 188).

It is possible to put in this theme also the coins with the praetorian soldiers¹⁸³. It is surprising how clearly, he manifests the way through which he was able to take the power: the amount of money that he promised to the praetorians is represented by these coins. In some coins it is depicted, under the inscription IMPER RECEPT,¹⁸⁴ a military camp and a character with spear and eagle always interpreted as a soldier¹⁸⁵ but recently

¹⁷⁸ GIARD 1988, 111, 28; RIC I 91; RIC I² pg. 129, n° 108; VON KAENEL 1984, 144-145.

¹⁷⁹ RIC I² pg. 129, n° 107; VON KAENEL 1984, 145.

¹⁸⁰ GIARD 1988, 112, n° 294-297; RIC I² pg. 130, n° 117; BMC 234.

¹⁸¹ COLAVITO 1958, 35-36; GIARD 1988, 113, n° 302-303; KENT ET AL. 1973, 101 n° 188; SUTHERLAND 1951, 144; RIC I² pg. 130, n° 119; BMC 231-233.

¹⁸² GIARD 1988, 113, n° 307; RIC I² pg. 131, n° 121; BMC 236.

¹⁸³ BELLONI 1974, 1046-1047; MANNSPERGER 1974, 951; MATTINGLY 1960, 157.

¹⁸⁴ GIARD 1988, 82, n° 23, 85, n° 43-45, 86, n° 52-53; VON KEANEL 1986, 7, n° 2; 11, n° 18, e 21, 12, n° 23; RIC I 22, 25; BMC 5, 20-21, 37-38; RIC I² pg. 122, n° 7-8, pg. 122, n° 19, 25, pg. 123, n° 36-37.

¹⁸⁵ ALFÖLDY 1970, 214-215.

Clay argues that the figure is not a soldier but a military goddess that, staying in relation with the Praetorians, might have been indicated as *Fides Praetorianorum*, an interpretation which goes well in reading the legend IMPER(atore) RECEP(T)o or IMPER(atore) RECEP(us) (in fidem praetorianorum).¹⁸⁶ (Figure 8)



Figure 8: Aureus with a military camp and goddess (after Von Kaenel 1986, tafel 1, 22).

Other coins have the legend PRAETOR RECEP(T)O with a soldier who gives the hand to the emperor as sign of agreement and harmony:¹⁸⁷ for Mattingly¹⁸⁸ the legend stays for *praetorianus receptus* without noting that the gesture between the praetorian and the emperor is a sign of *fides* while Clay prefers the ablative PRAETOR(ianis) RECEP(T)O

¹⁸⁶ CLAY 1982, 43.

¹⁸⁷ GIARD 1988, 83, n° 24-26, 84, n° 39, 85, n° 46; KENT ET AL. 1973, 99 n°176; VON KAENEL 1986, 7, n° 1, 10, n° 17, 11, n° 20; RIC 29, 39, 40; BMC 8-10, 22, 28; RIC I² pg. 122, 11-12, 23, pg. 123, n° 29.

¹⁸⁸ BMC, Cliii.

(*in fidem imperatoris*).¹⁸⁹ It is possible to read the legend also as simple nominative PRAETOR(iani) RECEP(T)i (*in fidem imperatoris*) and the hypothesis of Istinsky PRAETOR(io) RECEP(T)us must be discarded.¹⁹⁰ (Figure 9)



Figure 9: *Denarius* with a praetorian soldier (after http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/claudius/RIC_0024.jpg).

These coins, besides representing a mutual sign of gratitude and trust, are ways to legitimize and recognize the work of the Praetorians. Claudius wants to highlight the fact that the praetorian soldiers were so much important in the political situations: indeed, in AD 46/47, moment, where it was not more necessary to put in evidence the legitimization of the consensus, these coins are still minted and in circulation.

1.4.2 Enhancement of the Victory

As Gag  demonstrated, Victory is the founder of the empire and upon its power it is based the acknowledgement of a power protected and wanted by the gods.¹⁹¹ No emperor could escape to his duty and least of all Claudius who did not, before becoming emperor, participate to any military campaign. In AD 41/42 some precious coins were minted with the observe representation of the Victory as a goddess seated on an early firmament with a wreath in her hand or standing in the act of inscribing a record on a shield.¹⁹² From the time of Augustus onwards, gold *quinarii* had borne a Victory type; the tradition was observed but innovation was also admitted: VICTORIA

¹⁸⁹ CLAY 1982, 43.

¹⁹⁰ ISTINSKY 1853, 8.

¹⁹¹ GAG  1933.

¹⁹² GIARD 1988, n  34-36; VON KAENEL 1986, 8, n 4, 10-11; RIC I 50-51; RIC I² pg. 122 n 17-18.

AUGUST(i) suggested that Claudius was not only the heir to the dynastic family established by Augustus but enjoyed the assistance of Victory in his own right (Figure 10).



Figure 10: *Quiniarius* with Victory (after Giard 1988, pl. XX; 36).

This short apparition fits perfectly with the retrieval of the Augustean propaganda's *leit motiv*.¹⁹³ According to Martin, it is not possible to link this Victory to a precise victory but Von Kaenel suggests that the correlation with the presence in titulature of GERM is a clue of the victories against Chatti and Chuaci¹⁹⁴ while it is possible to discard the idea of an ideological victory against Gaius.¹⁹⁵

Thus, as previously mentioned, the emission of coins with the effigy of the father Drusus and his victory in Germany can be correlated to the issues of the Victory's coins but Claudius needed to make a stronger idea that the gods gave to him the Victory. Already in the beginning of the Principate were spread coins with, in the obverse, the bust of Claudius paired to the representation, on the reverse, of an arch and trophies and the legend DE GERMANIS¹⁹⁶ and after the conquest of Britannia in AD 46 coins with the same illustration but the legend DE BRITANN(is)¹⁹⁷ (Figure 11).

¹⁹³ For an exhaustive examination of Victory see FEARS 1981a.

¹⁹⁴ VON KAENEL 1986, 235.

¹⁹⁵ LEVICK 1990, 88.

¹⁹⁶ VON KAENEL 1986, 7, n° 5; RIC I 7; BMC 2; RIC I² pg. 122, n° 3.

¹⁹⁷ GIARD 1988, 86, n° 54-57, 87, n° 62, 88, n° 70; KENT ET AL. 1973, 100, n° 179; VON KAENEL 1986, 12, n° 27, 14, n° 31, 15, n° 35, 16, n° 39, 43, 17, n° 47; RIC I 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15; BMC 32-35, 49-50; RIC I² pg. 123, n° 33-34, 44-45.



Figure 11: *Denarius* with the arch of the Britannia's victory (after http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/clauidius/RIC_0034.jpg).

This correlation could be read with the fact that the coinage propaganda borrows the rhetorical demonstration going back to the *exemplum* of Cicero.¹⁹⁸ The *exemplum* is built somehow in a complex way because first the old victories have assured the present peace but in a second moment the victories of the son equal these of the father modifying slightly the type and creating, in this way, a *unicum*.¹⁹⁹

But in the same year began also appearing *aurei* und *denarii* inscribed with PACI AVGVSTAE²⁰⁰ that, on the contrary of the Victory, appear till the end of Claudius' reign²⁰¹ (Figure 12).



Figure 12: *Aureus* with Pax (after http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/clauidius/RIC_0027.jpg).

¹⁹⁸ DAVID 1980.

¹⁹⁹ This peculiarity can be explained with different theories, cf. NONY 1982, 897-898.

²⁰⁰ FEARS 1981b, 894. This concept is linked to the letter sent to Alexandria in november AD 41 through which the emperor required the peace on the divided city, cf. SMALLWOOD 1967, n° 370.

²⁰¹ GIARD 1988, n° 21-22, 37-42, 49-51, 61, 65-67; VON KAENEL 1986, 7, n° 3, 11 n° 19 and n° 22, 12 n° 24, 14 n° 28; 15 n° 32 and n° 36, 16 n° 40, 17 n° 44 and n° 48; RIC I 26-27, 29-30, 38-39; RIC I² pg. 122 n° 9, 21, pg. 123 n° 27-28; 38-39, 46-47, 124 n° 51-52, 57-58, 61-62; BMC 6.6, 26.27, 39-41, 51-53, 58.59, 61-63, 68-69.

The type is a winged female figure that advances to the right and in her left hand she holds a *caduceus* with snake and she bends her right arm upwards to draw a part of her robe across the face in the gesture of the *Pudicitia*. Greek called the *caduceus* with the term *kerykeion* reminding us that the Roman theory of Peace owed a great debt to the Greek conception of Eirene, of which *Pax* is considered a translation.

But primary the Herald's staff is an emblem of the god Hermes-Mercury for he was the peace-bringer. The peace is carrying a symbol which was originally borrowed from another divinity and in this case the loan was of Greek origin but this appropriation and the intentional mixtures of identities and ideas became a characteristic feature of Roman thought. Indeed Mercury had big importance during Augustus with whom, as giver of peace and prosperity, was identified and the association was renewed in the Julio-Claudian dynasty. But the staff has another reason for attention during the early Principate because it was associated, more that with Mercury and Peace, with a third conception the *Felicitas*.

It is appropriate, thus, that *Pax* has borrowed another feature namely the wings. Because the wings are primarily linked with Victory and Victory is merely a narrowly defined manifestation of the general concept of *Felicitas*, their names and cults are united.

In relation to the position of *Pax* (that of *Pudicitia*), here there is a topical suggestion implicating the moral contrast between the new emperor and his scandalous predecessor Caius. The gesture can refer also to *Pudor*, the modesty in a more general sense, and the equivalent of *aidos*, which plays a great part in the Greek doctrine of the Mean.²⁰²

In front of her there is a snake. In the 90 per cent of the other appearances it is associated with another personification namely *Salus* (Well being) with a first reference to the Common Wealth and through the 2nd century BC to the allusion of personal health. Both versions could be read here because both have a meaning for Claudius: on the one hand he had been fragile and on the other hand he took a deep interest in the primitive significance of it as it is shown in the revival of the most and ancient ritual of *augurium salutis*²⁰³ where *Salus* was identified with the prosperity of the State. Dio²⁰⁴ tells us that this ceremony should be performed during a period of peace: so, it is very easy to see why it is with Peace that the snake of *Salus* is associated. Moreover, Augustus founded in 11/10 BC a cult in which *Pax* and *Salus* were worshipped together

²⁰² GRANT 1972, 159-161.

²⁰³ Tac. *Ann.* 12. 23, ILS 9337.

²⁰⁴ Dio *Hist.* 37. 24.

and Ovidio says²⁰⁵ that in the same year was venerated also *Gianus*, a god of remote antiquity who was likewise linked with Peace for when wars came to an end the gates of Janus's temple were closed and after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra the orders went out for the closure of this temple. Peace, *Salus* and Janus must be regarded as linked together.²⁰⁶ But the striking point is the set of coincidences of dates: these coins coincided with the third centenary of the temple of Janus, the bicentenary of the *augurium salustis* and the half-centenary of the joint cult of these deities with *Pax*.²⁰⁷

The adjective AUGUSTAE, used instead of AUGUSTI, suggested Claudius' inheritance of the tradition and power of peace-by-victory-in-prosperity established by Augustus but the dative dedicatory, combined with the element of the *Pudicitia*, says that the power could not be handled with personal impunity. Claudius was aware of the dangers of the transformation of the *princeps* from a personal character alone in the system which depended upon him into the central symbol of the system. This awareness came from his *humanitas* which, as scholar, had developed and enriched. With Claudius the personality of the principate emerged itself and the theory of the imperial responsibility, cursorily treated in Augustus' coinage, through unfortunate circumstances by Tiberius' coinage and absent from that of Gaius, is for the first time expressed in conceptions that are the germs of the Seneca's work *De Clementia*.

1.4.3 Augustean praise

With the Victory it is possible to see how Claudius tried to approach the Augustean environment. The representation of Ceres²⁰⁸ as AUGUSTA who holds ears of corn and torch,²⁰⁹ (Figure 13) in the *dupondii* of AD 41/42, is a very good example and we can also add the coins with a *modius*²¹⁰ which is the symbol of Annona, the deity of corn supply

²⁰⁵ Fasti III, 881.

²⁰⁶ GRANT 1950b, 71-72.

²⁰⁷ GRANT 1950b, 72, SUTHERLAND 1976, 114.

²⁰⁸ MANNSPERGER 1972, 953.

²⁰⁹ GIARD 1988, 98, n° 174-175, 103-104, n° 222-225; VON KAENEL 1986, 22, n° 58, n° 28, n° 73; RIC I 67D-E; BMC 136-137, 197-198; RIC I² 127, n° 94; 129, n° 110.

²¹⁰ GIARD 1988, 99, n° 174-175, 100, n° 187-191, 100, n° 195-197; VON KAENEL 1986, 26, n° 63, 65, 67; RIC 72; BMC 179-180, 182-184; RIC I², 126, n° 90.



Figure 13: *Duopondius* with *Ceres Augusta* (after http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/clauius/RIC_0094.12.jpg).

These ones are put in relation with coins minted in the same years where Antonia has a corn-wreath²¹¹ and Livia with torch and ears of corn: all these typologies go back to the famine of grain in AD 41 who eclipsed even the change of the emperor in importance.

According to Sutherland this coinage suggests, as well, both the preparation for the new harbour in Ostia, begun in AD 42 (thought to make easy the import of corn) and the abolition of the post of *quaestor Ostiensis* from the list of senatorial responsibilities placing instead it in the hand of an imperial *procurator portus Ostiensis* and an imperial *praefectus annonae* at Rome.²¹²

Because it was *Augusta* and not *Augusti*, *Ceres* became an essential element and an indispensable imperial adjunct. More the term is applied not to a personification but to Olympian deity but because the emperor is shown in the role of provider of corn, *Ceres* is transformed into a personification and blessing of the corn supply.

Through the influence of Stoics the Olympian deity came to be thought in a philosophical light as the embodiments and personification of moral qualities. This goes along with the identification of the goodness with the individual or deified *Augusta*.²¹³

The Augustean instance can be noted also in the issues, both in precious metal and in bronze, with the legend *EX SC OB CIVES SERVATOS* representing on the observe the

²¹¹ To Antonia is also associate Costantia, see 1.4.4.

²¹² SUTHERLAND 1951, 132-133.

²¹³ See the issue of Livia with the attributes of *Ceres*. Some scholars think *Ceres* as the symbol for Livia.

bust of Claudius and on the reverse the *corona civica*.²¹⁴ The S. C, which is constant in Claudius' *aes*, is here replaced by the formula EX S. C. referring to the Senate's assignment of the *corona civica* but the fact that the Senate had reluctantly confirmed the elevations of the Praetorians' nominee suggests that the prerogative was more than a piece of constitutional ceremonial.

The same meaning has also coins issued in AD 46/47 with the legend SPQR PP OB C S:²¹⁵ they remember the Augustean coins with the representation of Victory, the *princeps* himself and *corona civica*. The association with the Senate and the Roman people made possible, with the title of *Pater Patriae*, to confirm the decision taken by the Senate to allow Claudius the same *corona civica* previously attributed to Augustus.

In the same set makes more sense the issue of *quadrantes* at Lyon with the image of a sacel and the inscription ROM ET AUG:²¹⁶ in this it is remembered that Claudius was born in the same day of the inauguration of the altar (on 1 August 10 BC) and that Augustus is associated to the deity *Roma* (Figure 14).



Figure 14: *Quadrans* with the altar of Augustus and Rome at Lyon (after Von Kaenel 1986, tafel 50, 2099).

Their exact date is not certain. TR P, without numbers, could be AD 41/42 but it could also indicate tenure of tribunicia power in later years of the reign. Thus, the fact that Claudius appeared as *princeps* in AD 41/42 coincided with the 50th anniversary of his birth at *Lugdunum* and it seems plausible that these *quadrantes* refer to his birth.

²¹⁴ GIARD 1988, 83, n° 30-33, 96-97, n° 152-161; VON KAENEL 1986, 8, nn° 6, 8, 22, n° 54, 27, n° 69; RIC I 19, 20, 60D, 61; BMC 3-4, 16-19, 115-116, 185-186; RIC I² 122, nn° 5-6, 15-16, 128, n° 96.

²¹⁵ VON KAENEL 1986, 12, n° 26, 14, n° 30, 15, n° 34, 16, n° 38, 42, 17, n° 46; 18, n° 49; RIC I 9, 42, 44-47; BMC 32-35, 42-47, 54, 56, 57, 60, 64-67; 70-71; RIC I² 123, n° 40-41.

²¹⁶ GIARD 1988, 90-91 n° 98-107; VON KAENEL 1986, 32, n° 81; RIC 70; BMC 227; RIC I² 121, n° 1.

Corralated are also coins issued at Ephesus with the reverse showing the temple of Augustus and Rome with the inscription ROM ET AUG with a representation of Claudius being crowned by a female figure, possibly Asia herself in view of the legend COM(une) ASI(ae) while the observe bears Claudius' portrait.²¹⁷

1.4.4 Claudian values²¹⁸

Through these coins we can perceive more his essential ideas in governing the Empire. Two notions seem to have an important place in the Claudian conceptions: *Costantia* and *Libertas*.

Original is the use of *Costantia* which does not appear before Claudius and it is present in the metal precious's coins as in these ones in bronze. The titolature in *aurei* and *denarii* changes three times referring both to Claudius but also to Antonia: TI CLAUD CAESAR AUG P M TR P²¹⁹; TI CLAUD CAESAR AUG GERM P M TR P;²²⁰ ANTONIA AUGUSTA²²¹ while in bronze's coins is TI CLAUD CAESER AUG P M TR P IMP.²²²

In the *aurei* and *dupondii*'s examples paired to Claudius (Figure 15) *Costantia* seats on a curule seat, with her hand raised to her mouth in a gesture of silence and self restraint; while associated to Antonia she is standing with a torch and a cornucopia while in the bronze's coins she is standing with helm and boots and she hold a spear.



Figure 15: *Aureus* with *Costantia* paired to Claudius (after http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/claudius/RIC_0013v.jpg).

²¹⁷ BMC 196.228.

²¹⁸ For an explanation of the virtues on the coins see WALLACE-HADRILL 1981, 315-316.

²¹⁹ VON KAENEL 1986, 7, n° 7; RIC I 1; BMC 1; RIC I² 121, n° 2 e n° 7

²²⁰ GIARD 1988, 83, n° 27-29; VON KAENEL 1986, 8, n° 9; RIC I 2; BMC 11-15; RIC I² 122, n° 13-14.

²²¹ GIARD 1988 pg. 81, n° 9-14; KENT ET AL. 1973, 100, n° 178; TRILLMICH 1978, 19; VON KAENEL 1986, 10, n° 16; RIC I 80; BMC 109-111; RIC I² 124, n° 65-66.

²²² GIARD 1988, 99, n° 176; VON KAENEL 1986 25, n° 61; RIC I 68D; BMC 140-142; RIC I² 127, n° 95.

Resolution and tenacity have not appeared before as an imperial attribute. But Claudius understood that without these qualities he could scarcely hope to carry out his imperial policy. While Gaius had removed the obstacles that blocked his personal dictated policy Claudius preferred the method of persuasion and personal examples.²²³ The genitive singular masculine AUGUSTI indicates that the personification belongs to the emperor so it is the virtue of the individual.

When *Costantia* is paired with Antonia she has the corn-wreath of Ceres and *Costantia* carries the torch of Ceres (as Livia)²²⁴ putting these coins into the group of these calling attention to his measures against the corn shortage and the *Costantia*, here, as for CERES AUGUSTA, refers to his role of food-provider and showing that they are not merely identifications of imperial ladies with the goddess (Figure 16).



Figure 16: *Aureus* with *Costantia* linked to Antonia (after Kent et Al. 1973, tafel 47, 178).

But Antonia is associated with an inscription which describes a virtue of Claudian reign where Claudius began to devote public honour to her showing *Pietas* linked by the ancient authors as *Costantia*.²²⁵ In these coins Claudius appears not only in his important role of *auctor frugum* but also in his piety.²²⁶

In the other two cases of *aurei* and *duopondii* the attributes are quite different because of the presence of the curule chair and the gesture. The chair refers to the curule magistracies symbol of old Republican institutions and to his modesty not to want to be

²²³ BELLONI 1974, 1047-1048; MANNSPERGER 1974, 952; SUTHERLAND 1976, 129.

²²⁴ See 1.4.1

²²⁵ GRANT 1950a, 26.

²²⁶ Virg. *Georg.* I, 1.27.

put in a higher positions; in this way it is also stressing his Augustean persistence in the *mos maiorum* whose, the *respublica restituta*, called itself maintainer.

The gesture is that one of Silence. Silence is a common personification in the latin literature: according to Plutarch the goddess Tacita goes back to the time of Numa and she is linked with Muta²²⁷ or Angerona²²⁸ but it has also a Greek background in the *locus classicus* of Simonides' verses *in silence also there is a gift that brings no risk*. Plutarch says that this personification was dear to Augustus but, whatever Augustus had in mind, Claudius is not recommending the quality to the people but attributing to himself. It is the *Costantia Augusti*, in fact himself, making the gesture looking very much as he is applying to himself the *favete linguis* idea, the ritual silence of a solemn rite and in this case the inauguration of his reign.²²⁹

In *asses* *Costantia* is wearing military dress (Figure 17). The *Gloria*, required by an emperor, lacks to Claudius because he had to military background and again because his brother was the famous Germanicus. But soon he conquered Britain and he received also at least three *salutationes* as imperator for victories in the field (North Africa and Germany). *Costantia* here is depicted as the three amazonain ladies Minerva, Roma and Virtus. Here was a picture that conveys a message that was understood by everyone even if they could nor read the legend.



Figure 17: *As* with *Costantia* as warrior (after Von Kaenel 1986, tafel 32, 1649).

²²⁷ Ovid. *Fasti* II.583.

²²⁸ Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 3.64.

²²⁹ The declaration of perpetual amnesty can be considered as a form of silence, GRANT 1972, 171.

On the contrary, the *costantia pietatis* and the *costantia tacendi* appealed to a highly educated circle because being conception of philosophers and above all Stoics. *Costantia* is used to render one of the essential stoic doctrine “living according to plan-consistency of living”.²³⁰ *Costantia* is so important for Stoicism but as well for Romanitas that *Pietas* and Silence could be seen through stoic eyes; although their depictions are not directly influenced by Stoicism they do, indeed, show how Roman and Stoic ideas were very linked together.

In this light it seems that the *asses* have not only conveyed a military meaning. The military metaphor, under the Stoic influence, was in relation to life in general and to the Principate: army words appear like *statio mortalis* and *statio principis*.

Costantia Augusti is the virtue of an individual and it was chosen because it was considered a fundamental and important quality. According to Seneca and Marcus Aurelius it is the necessary precondition for the pursuit of each and all virtues.

Each of the three coins has a popular aspect: military glory, the civilistic one and the corn supply but the inscription that they share seems to possess a more philosophical character appealing to the elevated Roman tradition and to the stoic ethics.

The coins with *Libertas*²³¹ are minted only at Rome and depict this personification as a standing figure with a cap of freedom²³² in her hand as new imperial virtue in the coinage (Figure 18).



Figure 18: As with *Libertas* (after <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s1859.html>).

²³⁰ GRANT 1950a, 34-36.

²³¹ BELLONI 1974, 1047.

²³² GIARD 1988, 99, n° 177-180, 104, n° 230-232; VON KAENEL 1986, 25, n° 62, 29, n° 77; RIC I 69D-E; BMC 145-146, 202-205; RIC I²130, n° 113.

Libertas, the characteristic feature of the free republic and distinguished from the age of the kings, was absorbed into a new monarchical system. From a meaning of civic liberties for the free citizens, *Libertas* evolved into a term with a significance closed to this of the Egyptian word *maat* where it proclaimed the ideal operation of good constitutional government, the hallmark of monarchy as opposed to tyranny and the assurance of the well being and security of the individual.

The production of this type, under the control of the Senate, shows how from the first time Claudius insisted on the constitutional freedom after the autocratic behaviour of Gaius and it makes no sense to try to find a particular happening for the issues as Grant supposes.²³³ The content of this liberty is complex because it is not only an individual liberty. It evokes the free play of the institutions, which guarantee the collective civic liberties, it contains the preservation of the goods and persons who cannot be submitted to the arbitrary will. It is also the care of the emperor towards the Senate, its members and its functioning.

Costantia summarizes all the other notions of his principate upon which he creates a sort of administration's programme. He (re)established the *libertas* and he can survive thanks to his *Costantia* consolidated by the works promised to the Praetorians, Senate and people.

1.5 Synthesis

It is not longer possible to consider the role of Claudius before he became emperor without meaning. He was a member of the imperial family with some physical problems but never totally out the public scenario as we can perceive in the imperial representation; his misfortune lies on his dynastic status that the historical circumstances have, for a long time, maintained in a subordinate role keeping him outside the public scene.

The impression of the emperor's learning, as far as it depends on remains of his own writing and speeches, seems distorted. The overall leadership of the empire was based on intelligent understanding of the historical precedents and current issues, after 40 years of study that gave him the opportunity to see the Principate in perspective. Within the empire the senatorial aristocrats were placed and used as much as possible, the bureaucrats were ably directed, the poor and weak had increased legal protections and

²³³ GRANT 1950b;75.

the comforts of improved food and water supplies,²³⁴ the Romanized provincials were drawn towards full equity in the empire.²³⁵ Law, commerce, intellectual life were strong and spreading internationally.

In the major aspects of the empire Claudius was personally involved and his concern was for Rome's well-being, not his own. He had a long view of Rome's role and of justified innovations guided by historical precedents. His policies of developing reforms, increasing the centralization and empire-wide equality stand as tributes to Claudius' wisdom.²³⁶

For Claudius, with his deep sense of historical perspective, the Augustean principate was a tactical base to which a return must be made even if only to depart from it by a different path to that which had been chosen by Gaius. Respect for the Augustean model can be seen in his outwardly deferential treatment of the Senate, in his refusal to hold multiplied consulships, in his *lectio Senatus* and the secular Games which he celebrated as censor in c. 47/48 AD followed by the *lusus Troiae*, in his preference for swearing by the Blessed Augustus, in the honours which he paid in memory of Livia and even in the punishment of Chaerea, murderer of Gaius, and his chief fellow-conspirators. In other respect too, his administration pointed to the high standards of Augustus.

²³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12. 22.4, 12.43, 12.53; Svet. *Div. Claud.* 18, 20, 25; Dio *Hist.* 60. 11, 5, 60. 25, 4; GARZETTI 1974, 132, 137.

²³⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 14.18; Dio *Hist.* 60. 8, 1; GARZETTI 1974, 130; LEVICK 1990, 92-93; MOMIGLIANO 1961, 63; SYME 1939, 506; SYME 1958b, 497.

²³⁶ DENOZ 1997, 239-240.

2 Legates and governors: their competence and preparation in planning

As intermediary between the figure of the emperor and the provincials, the role of the governors and the relationship with the emperors constitute an important aspect in order to understand the administration of the empire. The works concerning the role of these governors are abundant²³⁷ but what really is missing, is a specific study of the relationship between the imperial power and the government of the provinces.

Even if these relationships are not so well analysed it is important to identify provincial governors and legates during the Claudian time because of this specific and positive influence but also because of the possibility of governors as potential builders. In this peculiar aspect, we have to keep in mind that, on the one hand, high-ranking officers, governors, legates and procurators had the power to authorise major constructions on behalf of the emperor but many also had the wealth to be personal benefactors of public buildings. It's also thought that some governors in some provinces were specifically chosen for their competences in relation to the contingent situation and they could use their knowledge to solve urban problems. These men were representatives of Rome and their relationship with the cities were military and juridical.²³⁸

Nevertheless, the governors represented, as well, the link between the emperor and the people in a way that they could expand the image of the imperial power. Thus, the different grades of the provincial administration convey the range of imperial power in such a way and such proportions that needs to be analysed. In his three domains²³⁹- justice,²⁴⁰ finance and public works²⁴¹- it is very clear how he can accomplish this "function". In the *basilicas* where the justice was exercised, imperial statues have been found in all the Empire; the governor could contribute to the financing of imperial images through an intervention or redistribution;²⁴² regarding the building activity, on the other hand, he could not act on behalf of the cities in the diffusion of imperial images as the construction of buildings leaving his care to the local authorities or

²³⁷ For example, MILLAR 1984 or ECK 1999b.

²³⁸ MANN 1996b, 103.

²³⁹ RODDAZ, HURLET 2001, 155-157.

²⁴⁰ The governor exercises, in the financial domain, an activity, which is bound to the general question of tax system and includes a control over the cities.

²⁴¹ Dig. I, 16, 7, 1-2; I, 18, 5.

²⁴² See the *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, CIL XII 6038=ILS 6964, 1. 26-28.

euergestists, and he could not put his name only as initiator of the project but he could encourage, sometimes, the cities to build ‘une place à l’image du pouvoir imperial au sein de leur espace urbain’.²⁴³

The high-ranking officials of the different provinces varied greatly in number and status. The number of legions stationed in the provinces determined the rank of the governors. If there was more than one legion then the governor was consular,²⁴⁴ otherwise he was praetorian just as the legionary commander.

Still today the distinction into “imperial” and “senatorial” provinces is in use,²⁴⁵ though this division corresponds to no separation of administrative practise or of a political responsibility, but simply reflects the method and conditions of appointment and the length of tenure of *legati Augusti pro praetore* (legates of Augustus with praetorian rank) on the one hand and of proconsuls on the other. *Proconsules* were assigned by lot; they assumed their *insignia* on leaving the *pomerium* and retained them until their return and could perform non-contentious judicial acts on the way to and from their provinces.²⁴⁶ *Legati Augusti pro praetore* were appointed by the Emperor and served until replaced: they assumed the *insignia* only on entering their province; they exercised a full *imperium* within the province no less than did a proconsul.

It is highly significant that the term “senatorial provinces” remained in use as a common description of those provinces which, from 27 BC, reverted to being governed by a proconsul selected by lot and serving normally one year. In so far as the “settlements” of 27 BC, and after, which gave constitutional expression to Augustus’ monarchy position, were a compromise between the Senate and the Emperor: consequently, the division of the provinces carried out must have been a division between Emperor and Senate. But it was that because the sovereign body in the Roman *res publica*, to which the *Imperium* and the provinces belong, was not the Senate but the Roman people. As we will see from the sources, it was the people to whom Augustus gave back certain provinces and these provinces to be known as *publicae provinciae* or even more explicitly as *provinciae populi Romani*.²⁴⁷ This law was completed by another one that described

²⁴³ RODDAZ, HURLET 2001, 157.

²⁴⁴ For example *Tarraconensis*, for long being garrisoned by several legions, had its troops reduced to one, the VII Gemina, during the 70s, but continued to be given a consular governor, no doubt at least in recognition of its very large size.

²⁴⁵ MILLAR 2002b.

²⁴⁶ HURLEY 2005, 153-154.

²⁴⁷ It may be relevant to recall some features of the public vocabulary, which can be explained in the light of the *Tabula Siarensis* and *Tabula Hebana*, cf. MILLAR 2002b, 315-316.

some rules for governors of the provinces handed to the Roman people concerning a period of one year and the interval of five years between the maintenance of a high magistrature and the government of a province.²⁴⁸

Our earliest and most explicit description is that given by Strabo in the concluding chapter of *Geography*:²⁴⁹ ‘he [Augustus] divided the entire territory [of the empire] in two, and assigned one half to himself and the other to the people’. The rest concerns the method of appointment to the two types of provinces and there is no allusion to the Senate. There is no further description of this division till we come to Svetonius’ *Life of Augustus* where a reference to the lot appears,²⁵⁰ but again there is no reference to the Senate as a body. Where such reference appears, though only in a tangential way, is in Cassius Dio’s account of the same arrangement.²⁵¹ It is said that Augustus “gave back” the peaceful provinces without saying to whom²⁵² and adding that the Senate (*gerousia*) might have the untroubled benefit of the farthest part of the empire. This is an allusion to the Senate but such allusion as part of the phrase equivalent *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (SPQR) has a sense quite different from one, which would imply an administrative or constitutional competence of the Senate *per se*. Only at one moment in his detailed description, Dio speaks as if the provinces governed by *proconsules* of consular or praetorian rank were in some way the collective concern of the Senate as such: here²⁵³ he contrasts the fact that emperors sometimes appointed to “their” provinces governors who were still in their years of office as praetor or consul.

Of course, it cannot be claimed that there is complete consistency and lack of ambiguity in the languages that the narrative sources use, but in spite of these ambiguities the fact remains that no text speaks of the proconsular provinces as being “senatorial” or as being the provinces of the Senate. More important is the fact that a perfect designation for them with wholly different connotations is attested: to Tacitus these provinces were *publicae provinciae*²⁵⁴ and more specifically still to Gaius, writing in the middle of 2nd century AD, the provinces were still divided into provinces of the Roman people and provinces of Caesar.

²⁴⁸ FERRARY 2001, 111-113.

²⁴⁹ Strab. *Geo.* 840.

²⁵⁰ Svet. *Div. Aug.* 47: *ceteras [provincias] proconsulibus sortito permisit.*

²⁵¹ Dio *Hist.* 53. 12, 2-3.

²⁵² Millar had noted that the word τῆ βουλή appears in the versions of Xiphilinus and Zonaras at that point but not in the transmitted text of Dio, cf. MILLAR 1966, 156.

²⁵³ Dio *Hist.* 53. 14, 1-2.

²⁵⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 13.4, 3.

The fact that this pseudo-technical expression conveys presuppositions about administrative practice, which our evidence doesn't support, is a reason enough for suggesting that we should cease to use it.

The third type of province²⁵⁵ is the procuratorian province,²⁵⁶ which was held by a procurator of equestrian rank: as stated and explained by Horovitz they were independent governors with the same powers as the other governors.²⁵⁷ He responded to the jurisdiction,²⁵⁸ he was responsible for tax collections and for the salary of the troops and he decided alone how to manage the money in the province²⁵⁹ but, of course, he had to answer to *allgemeine Verwaltung* like surveillance over the cities, the control of public works and the reparation of the water line.²⁶⁰ According to Millar²⁶¹ and Liebs²⁶² they possessed the *ius gladii* only in special cases when the emperor lent it, but Šašel states the contrary.²⁶³ In same case they bore also in the titlature *pro legato*: it is not, as explained by Horovitz ²⁶⁴ that they had military power, but the power in the civil jurisdiction and in the territorial administration.²⁶⁵

The development of the procuratorship under Claudius was marked in a more substantial way. Tacitus reports²⁶⁶ that in AD 53 the emperor, after repeated comments on the subject, brought a motion to the Senate granting them power 'on a fuller and more generous scale than before': their decisions must have the same force as if they have been delivered by Claudius himself. Precisely which procurators were included in the grant, whether they were all knights or freedman as well, which kind of privileges they could enjoy are questions that have been under continuous discussion: by Stockton, followed by Seager, Claudius gave judicial powers to the major equestrian procurators²⁶⁷ while Millar suggests that Claudius gave to imperial procurators, some of

²⁵⁵ PFLAUM 1950, 110.

²⁵⁶ For a consideration of the power of these procurators, see HOROVITZ 1938; PFLAUM 1950; PFLAUM 1960.

²⁵⁷ ŠAŠEL 1974, 474.

²⁵⁸ ECK 1995b, 335-336.

²⁵⁹ ECK 1995b, 338-339.

²⁶⁰ ECK 1995b, 339.

²⁶¹ MILLAR 1964, 181.

²⁶² LIEBS 1981.

²⁶³ ŠAŠEL 1974, 474.

²⁶⁴ HOROVITZ 1939, 54.

²⁶⁵ ŠAŠEL 1974. Accordig to Liebs this expression means that he possessed the *ius glaudii*. Cf. LIEBS 1981, 223.

²⁶⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 12.60.

²⁶⁷ SEAGER 1962, STOCKTON 1961.

them *liberti*,²⁶⁸ the power to make decisions and exercise jurisdiction within imperial properties.²⁶⁹

It seems likely that the hypothesis of Millar is the more reliable: Tacitus probably means that Claudius was making an extension of the juridical powers not to “praesidial” procurators, who already enjoyed, but to the procurators of the Emperor’s private property whose powers he mentions at the end of the chapter:²⁷⁰ this suggests that the losers were senatorial officers because they lost jurisdiction over territory and persons within the imperial domains even when they were involved in disputes with outsiders.

Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis and Africa Proconsularis²⁷¹ were senatorial provinces²⁷² with a proconsul of praetorian rank for Baetia and Gallia and of consular rank for Africa. In the sixth imperial provinces the governors of Hispania Citerior and Britannia held consular rank while the governors of Lusitania, Gallia Belgica, Lugdunensis and Aquitania had praetorian. The governors of the three procuratorial provinces (Mauretania Tingitana, Caesariensis and Noricum), organized by Claudius, were equestrians with the title of procurator.²⁷³ (Figure 19)

The commander of a legion was a senator of praetorian rank with the title of *Legatus legionis* while in the procuratorial provinces, because the procurator had also the military power, there were only *auxilia*.²⁷⁴ In provinces with more than one legion, he was subordinate to the governor and obliged to follow orders but in practical terms the powers of legionary commanders excel these of the governors. Other legates were senators serving on the staff of either the military commander or governor.

²⁶⁸ According to Millar and Brunt, when in the last sentence of the chapter, Tacitus mentions *libertos quos rei familiari profecerat* he is again referring to the jurisdiction and not to the political power of the great freedmen secretaries; cf. BRUNT 1966, 461; MILLAR 1964, 187.

²⁶⁹ MILLAR 1964, MILLAR 1965.

²⁷⁰ BRUNT 1966, 466.

²⁷¹ In the beginning, the proconsul of consular rank had also the military power but in Gaius’ time the power was given to the *Legatus legionis* of III Augusta who was chosen directly by the emperor. The *Legatus legionis* was set in Numidia and he didn’t have just the military power but he was also the civil governor of Numidian tribes: see ROMANELLI 1959, 247-250. For the formation of this province, see FISHWICK, SHAW 1977.

²⁷² When Octavian acquired the title of Augustus in 27 BC, Narbonensis was under the imperial control.

²⁷³ LE GALL, LE GLAY 1987, 169.

²⁷⁴ HOROVITZ 1939, 219.

| | SENATORIAL PROVINCES (Proconsul) | IMPERIAL PROVINCES (<i>legatus pro praetore</i>) | EQUESTRIAN PROVINCES (procurator) |
|-----------------|---|--|---|
| Praetorian rank | Hispania Baetica; Gallia Narbonensis | Lusitana, Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Belgica, Gallia Lugdunensis | |
| Consular rank | Africa proconsularis | Hispania Citerior (Tarraconensis); Britannia | |
| Equestrian rank | | | Noricum, Mauretania Caesariensis-Tingitana |

Figure 19: Juridical division of the provinces (author's rielaboration).

2.1 The Spanish Provinces: Tarraconensis, Lusitania and Baetica

Under the arrangements of 27 BC, so Dio reports in the list of provinces' divisions *as they existed in his own day*, Baetica belonged to the People and the Senate while to the emperor felt the remainder of Spain: namely the districts of Tarraco and Lusitania.²⁷⁵ Disregarding or misunderstanding of Dio's principle, created a view that the tripartite division was operative either from the "division" of 27 BC or from the time of Augustus' journey to the West shortly afterwards in the same year. Other evidence suggests that in 27 BC he simply re-established the two provinces of Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, which according to *the fasti et commentarii triumphorum*, had been attributed to a single governor since 39 BC and continued to be subject to the superior *imperium* of the *princeps*.²⁷⁶ A supposed partition in 27 BC creates insuperable difficulties: in *Res Gestae* 28 Augustus himself says *Colonias in [......]Iutriaque Hispania[...] militum deduxi* which seems to show at the very least that Spain was not partitioned definitively into three provinces from 27 BC.²⁷⁷ But most significant of all is the fact that no proconsul of Baetica is attested surely before Tiberius and the first

²⁷⁵ Dio *Hist.* 53. 12, 4-5.

²⁷⁶ LE ROUX 1982, 54-58; MACKIE 1983, 353-354: the two scholars argue that Baetica was handed over to the Senate in 25 BC but this view is based upon the standard opinion that Dio lists the provinces as they stood in 27 BC.

²⁷⁷ Even if Alföldy and Le Roux conclude that the Augustus' *formula* reflects that the administrative structure of the three Spains was fixed progressively; cf. ALFÖLDY 1969, 223; LE ROUX 1982, 55.

legatus pro pr. of Lusitania is to be placed between 10 and 11 BC: in practice the partition of Hispania Ulterior seems to have come after the governorship of *P. Carisius* and *L. Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus*²⁷⁸ and the creation of Baetica and Lusitania to be a consequence of the Cantabrian war (26/16 BC). Everything supports the view, anyway, that the reorganization of Spain was connected with the later journey of Augustus to the West between 16 and 13 BC.

It follows that if neither the three Spains nor the three *Galliae* were created before 16/13 BC, Dio is clearly being anachronistic in reporting the settlements in 27 BC by reference to provinces that had not yet been brought into existence.²⁷⁹ It must nevertheless be admitted that his peculiar retrospective approach does have its drawbacks; in particular it tends to obfuscate his account and has in practice caused considerable confusion among modern commentators. In the discussion of the sub-division of Hispania Ulterior all scholars seem to have understood Dio to mean that Baetica was already in existence in 27 BC:²⁸⁰ as a result some researchers have taken him seriously while others, who argue that the evidence points to a subdivision of Ulterior in *c.* 16/13 BC, have shown that he is mistaken.

Hispania Citerior (Tarraconensis) and Lusitania were imperial provinces, but in Tarraconensis the *legatus* belonged to consular rank while in Lusitania he was of praetorian rank; Baetica was a senatorial province of praetorian rank.

2.1.1 *Hispania Tarraconensis*²⁸¹

The importance of the position is attested by the status of the governor that was a senator with a long administrative career, well on in year, and with a close relationship with the emperor. The normal duration was three years.²⁸²

The governor has one or more legions under his command and because of that his military function was very important: during the winter he stayed in Tarraco and Carthago Nova while in spring he began a traverse in the rest of the province and above all he went to the North-East because of its importance for the mines and the numerous administrative problems.

²⁷⁸ ALFÖLDY 1969, 131-134.

²⁷⁹ For other examples see FISCHWICK 1994b, 121.

²⁸⁰ See FISCHWICK, 1994b, 126 and note 34.

²⁸¹ MAR ET AL. 2015, 224-225; NAVARRO SANTANA 2009, 353-357; OZCÁRIZ GIL 2009, 326-328.

²⁸² ALFÖLDY 1969, 215-126.

Nevertheless, other officials helped the *legatus pro praetore* in specific sectors. The *legatus augusti iuridicus* was useful in administrating the justice and he belonged to the praetorian rank and he was appointed directly by the emperor. We can assume that the office was created during Augustus' reign²⁸³ because of the big extension of the province²⁸⁴ and without the presence of *iuridicus* the governor was not able to realize in an effective way his work. The majority of the inscriptions regarding a *legatus iuridicus* have been found in the *conventus Caesaraugustanus* probably meaning that, in the time of Augustus, only this part of the province was administrated by the *legatus iuridicus*;²⁸⁵ while in the centre and at North-East the *legatus legionis* was in charge who had the charge of one legion and his primary function was to maintain peace in the region.²⁸⁶ During the 1st century AD the *iuridicus* had the power in the entire province. The majority of *legati iuridici* belonged to modest families: in the first years of Augustus' principate the magistrature could be exercised after the *praetura* in an age of 32/33.

The *procurator* had the financial duties, the charge was held by an equestrian position and he was not under the control of the *legatus pro praetore* but the emperor could use him to control the loyalty of the governor.

| |
|----------------------|
| Legatus pro praetore |
|----------------------|

| |
|---|
| <p><i>C. Appius Iunius Silanus</i> (patrician, from Italy) ? AD 40/4 cos. ord. AD 28 (PIR² IV 3, 347 n° 822)</p> |
|---|

| |
|---|
| <p>Dio <i>Hist.</i> 60. 14, 2 f; RE suppl IX, 1745, n°2; Alföldy 1969, 15/16.</p> |
|---|

| |
|---|
| <p>In 32 BC he was condemned for crime against the emperor but he was absolved; between c. 38 and 39 BC he was <i>Pater Arvalis</i> and soon after he took the charge in this region. In AD 41 he went from Spain to Italy where he married Claudius' mother in law Domitia Lepida.</p> |
|---|

²⁸³ Some scholars think that Claudius or Hadrian created the position of *iuridicus* but some evidences confirm the hypothesis of Augustus' institution as the text of Strabon (3. 4, 20), the presence of Calpurnio Piso and C. Caetronius C. f. Cam. Miccio. According to Ozcàriz the *legatus iuridicus* was specifically created by Augustus for this province, cf. OZCÁRIZ GIL 2006-2007, 529-533.

²⁸⁴ There were three *dioceses* and three *legati iuridici* as Mommsem supposed, see NAVARRO SANTANA 2009, 355.

²⁸⁵ As already Alföldy imaged, see ALFÖLDY 1969, 241-246.

²⁸⁶ HAENSCH 1997, 171-174.

In Claudius' time the iconographic and archaeological evidences are so scanty that unluckily they do not permit us to presume other public offices as *Legati Iuridici*, *Legati* of legions and *Tribuni laticlavii*.

2.1.2 *Hispania Baetica*²⁸⁷

The proconsul was in charge one year from the 1st July till the 30th June of the next year; sometime, but only in extraordinary cases, the emperor could choose an imperial *legatus*. The Senate every year decided the governor between the senators who have held the *praetura* in the five previous years so basically all the senators were 35 years old. It is sure that other factors were taken in consideration but, unluckily, we have very few information about the development of the choice of the *proconsul*.²⁸⁸

He administrated the justice and he took care of administrative affairs but he had no military competence. While the *questor*, chosen from the young senators in the beginning of the career (25 years),²⁸⁹ had the charge of the finance and the *procurator* was responsible for the imperial properties, the *legatus pro praetore provinciae Baetica* helped the governor and above all he had charge of the justice.²⁹⁰

| |
|--|
| Proconsul |
| <p><i>Umbonius Silo</i> 43/44 (from Italy)</p> <p>Dio <i>Hist.</i> 60. 24, 5; Alföldy 1969, 153-154.</p> <p>This proconsul is unknown but we can compare his name with an inscription in Saguntum CIL II 3839 : [-----] us L. f. Gal. Hispan[us P]ompeius Marcel[us...]onius <i>Silo</i>. As Dio says in AD 44 he was expelled from the fight against the rebels in Mauretania but it is not possible to correlate his government with the mauretanian war in AD 41/42: most likely Claudius punished him with the end of the proconsulat.</p> |

Also for that province we don't have any references to *Legatus proconsulares* or to *quaestores*.

²⁸⁷ OZCÁRIZ GIL 2009, 328-329.

²⁸⁸ See for more details ALFÖLDY 1969, 268-269.

²⁸⁹ Normally the young senators of important families did that charge in Rome while the others in the province.

²⁹⁰ NAVARRO SANTANA 2007; NAVARRO SANTANA 2009, 350-351.

2.1.3 *Lusitania*²⁹¹

The *legati* were chosen by the *Princeps*: the senators of praetorian rank were between 30-40 years, but the majority were 35/40 years old.²⁹² The governor had full *imperium*: he had the free liberty to establish the rules for his administration but in any case, inside the *mandata* of the emperor and he had full judicial power that included also the *ius gladii*. Because the charge of this province was not so much prestigious senators from modest origins were sent here.²⁹³

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| Legatus pro praetor |
| <p><i>L. Calventius Vetus Carminus</i> (from Italy) ? AD 39/44/45 cos. suff. AD 51 (with Claudius)</p> <p>AE 1950,217 (Ammaia); CIL VI 1544 (Rome); RE suppl. XIV, 85, n°2; Alföldy 1969, 137-138.</p> <p>The senator was most likely a <i>homo novus</i>. From the inscription at Rome we perceive that the unknown man was in charge of this office between the end of the <i>imperium</i> of one <i>princeps</i> and the beginning of the new one. There are different possibilities but the most appropriate is the change of power in AD 41 or AD 54. It's possible to think that the unknown man was in AD 41 <i>legatus</i> in Lusitania and he could be Carminius. Because already in AD 46 another <i>legatus</i> held the office, the year AD 44 or AD 45 represents the last year of governors in Lusitania and most likely he was in charge already with Gaius.</p> <p>We can prove this hypothesis with the fact that his son L. Carminius Lusitanicus was born when the father was governor of Lusitania and he took the <i>cognomen</i> from this province: because presumptively L. Carminius Vetus was about 40 years old his son was born in AD 41. If we put the beginning of the office in AD 41 it is possible to compare him with the unknown <i>leg. C[a]sarum</i> and replace the first line of the Roman inscription. Before becoming <i>legatus</i> he was <i>quaestor trib. pleb. curator locor. publ. praetor</i> and also <i>praef. frum. dandi</i> und afterwards he became also <i>proconsul Africae</i>.</p> |
| <p><i>M. Porcius M. f. Cato</i> 45/46? (from Italy)</p> <p>CIL II 608 (Metellinum in Lusitania), Alföldy 1969, 139-139.</p> |

²⁹¹ For the creation of the province see ALFÖLDY 1969, 223-225.

²⁹² OZCÁRIZ GIL 2009, 329.

²⁹³ ALFÖLDY 1969, 295.

The titel *Leg. Caes[ari]* shows clearly the the legatus was in charge during the 1st century AD and before the Flavians. Augustus, Tiberius and Gaius cannot take into account as possibilities. The 6° *tribunicias potestas* of Nero was in AD 59/60 but in that period another governor held the office (M. Salvius L. f. Otho) so only Claudius remains as possible.

Probably he belonged to the family of *Porcii Catones* and he was the son or nephew of M. Porcius Cato. He became *legatus* in c. AD 45/46 but it's impossible to determinate how long he remained in Lusitania.

2.2 Africa Proconsularis²⁹⁴

From the principate of Augustus this province was administered by a proconsul who had also the command of a legion, the III Augusta, but after the reorganization of Africa under Gaius²⁹⁵ his power was reduced by the legation of III Augusta (*legatus augusti propraetore*). At the beginning it was only a division²⁹⁶ of the duties and not a territorial one, as Dio states: the *legatus* was charged of the military task and he must report to the emperor while for the rest the province was controlled by the proconsul who had, anyway, the command of the *auxilia*.²⁹⁷

The consular proconsulship of Africa, for most senators, was the highest distinction to which they could aspire but the chosen senator must have done a brilliant career before departing for Africa.

The proconsulate in Africa was a senatorial governorship, drawn by the Senate. To be admitted in the drawn, the senator must have held a consulship at least in the five previous years. This delay, established in 27 BC rather than in 19/18 BC,²⁹⁸ was not always respected in the first half of Augustus' principate, while from Tiberius and for all the 1st century AD, the gap was about ten years and in Claudius' principate of eight years. The privilege connected to the marriage and the fatherhood was taken also in account. But the numerous presence of consuls made necessary a reform, more likely

²⁹⁴ For the unification of *Africa Vetus* and *Nova* see 3.3.

²⁹⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 4.48; Dio *Hist.* 59. 20, 7; BENABOU 1972.

²⁹⁶ With this change also eastern Mauretania was affected because the zone of South -East was included again in the Numidian sector. Numidia regained the territorial entity that it had with Caesar but he did not receive the official character of provincial status.

²⁹⁷ A small militar detachment that consists of the soldiers of his *officium* and a cohorts of III Augusta in Cartagho.

²⁹⁸ For the discussion see HURLET 2005, 148, note 9.

under Tiberius, who gave the priority to the ancient consuls: in that way only two consuls (one for Africa and the other for Asia) were eligible considering also the marriage, the number of sons (*ius liberorum*) and, maybe, the origins of the family and the type of consulship (ordinary or suffet). We notice that during the 1st and 2nd century AD the *sortito* was influenced more and more by the power of the emperor.²⁹⁹

The period of charge, as for all the senatorial governorship, was of one year likely from the 1st July³⁰⁰ (following Mommsen) but in the sources it's not possible to establish a rigid calendar that the proconsul, possibly, had to respect; anyway, this principle was most of the time abandoned.³⁰¹ The consular rank of the proconsul gives us, when the consular year is known, not only a *terminus post quem* for the governorship in that province but also a detailed representation of the problem regarding the interval between the consulship and governorship of a province.³⁰²

Because of the territory was big, the proconsul must specialize in three fields: the justice, the management of the finances of provincial government, of *concilium provinciae* and of the communities in order to supervise the taxes and the control of construction's activities in the cities. For one part of the government's period, he remained in Carthago and for the rest he travelled in order to control and to check out the province. The activities of the proconsul needed to be evaluated in the relations with the cities and in his role as representative of the central power providing the cities the means to exercise their rights.³⁰³

Even if the proconsul was the major office in Africa and he disposed of *summum imperium*, he was always in relation with the emperor because of the principle that the imperial power had the authority to send instructions to the governors of public provinces (*imperium magnum*).

The proconsuls under the Julio-Claudian dynasty belonged to *amici* or *comites* as Crook had already pointed out:³⁰⁴ almost every one belongs to patrician families and they have extraordinary activities.

²⁹⁹ For the procedure *extra sortem* in the Julio-Claudian dynasty see HURLET 2005, 152, note 24.

³⁰⁰ The departure from Rome had to follow a rigid calendar and practice, see HURLET 2005, 153-154.

³⁰¹ Normally this happened in a situation of military crisis and in certain determined period, see HURLET 2005, 146, note 5.

³⁰² THOMASSON 1960, 15-22.

³⁰³ See DONDIN-PAYRE 1990, 333-349.

³⁰⁴ CROOK 1955, 14, for example Galba (n° 314).

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| Proconsul |
| <p><i>L. Salvius Otho</i> (Ferentium, Regio VII) AD 40/41 or under Claudius; cos. suff. AD 33 Svet. <i>Div. Otho</i> 1, 2; Vogel 1982, n° 13; Thomasson 1996, n° 31.</p> <p>The period of charge of the father of the emperor Otho is not known. His governorship in Dalmatia falls in AD 42/43³⁰⁵ and when we would like to take in account Svetononius he was already <i>proc. Africae</i> between Piso (AD 39/40) and Barea (AD 41/43). But we cannot trust completely the words of Svetonius: it can be that he was proconsul before or after Galba and so after his governorship in Dalmatia. At Rome he found out about the attempt of some soldiers to kill Claudius and for that he was honored with a statue in the Palatine and obtained the <i>adlectio inter paros</i>.³⁰⁶</p> |
| <p><i>Q. Marcius Barea Soranus</i> (Baetica ?) AD 41/43; cos. suff. AD 34 (with T. Rustius Nummius Gallius, CIL VI 244) RE XIV 1549 n ° 37; CIL VIII 11002 (Gigthis); CIL VIII 19492 (Cirta); AE 1935, 32=BAH 38, 39 =AE 1962, 121 (Hippo Regius); IRT 273 =AE 1951, 85 (Leptis Magna); Vogel 1982, n° 14; Thomasson 1996, n° 30.</p> <p>From the first inscription, because of Claudius' first <i>tribunicia potestas</i> (AD 41/42) and his second consulship (1st January–31th December AD 42), we can gather that the governorship of Barea, surely, began in AD 41/42 while the last two inscriptions show that the charge was extended till AD 42/43. The inscription from Cirta refers to the fact that he had a small command in Numidian after the division of the power.</p> |
| <p><i>L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba</i> (Rom) AD 44/5/46 or AD 46/47; cos. ord. AD33 (with L. Cornelius Lentulus Sulla Felix) Svet. <i>Div. Galba</i> 7; Plut. <i>Galba</i> 3, 2; Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 1.49, 2; AE 1966, 595=Le Glay 1966 (Caesarea); Vogel 1982, n° 15; Thomasson 1996, n° 32.</p> <p>After the return of Claudius and the members of his entourage from Britannia in the beginning of AD 44³⁰⁷ also Galba was taken in account for the possible place of proconsul but it was a choice of the emperor (<i>extra sortem</i>) and not of the Senate.³⁰⁸ The reason of this choice was, as Svetonius reports, <i>intestina dissensio</i> and <i>barbarum tumultus</i>, but we don't know when it's possible to locate these riots. Most probably</p> |

³⁰⁵ See also THOMASSON 1984, 90, n° 47.

³⁰⁶ Svet. *Div. Otho* 1, 7: *Namque et senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, prosecutus est eum et Claudius adlectum inter patricos conlaudans amplissimis verbis hoc quoque adiecti: Vir, quo meliore liberos habere ne opto quidem.*

³⁰⁷ DOREY 1966, 148.

³⁰⁸ The Senate, in this province, should have the power to decide the proconsul.

Svetonius refers to scuffles regarding the competence between the proconsul and the new independent *Legatus* of Legio III Augusta, but Dio and Aurelius Victor quote the inhabitants of Numidia (with a relation of Ademon's revolt). According to Le Glay, the inscription at Caesarea shows that Galba was not only the proconsul of Africa Proconsularis but he was sent by Claudius with the full civil and military power to North Africa. About the veracity of this document Degrassi³⁰⁹ disagrees and also Thomasson who points out the presence of *Serg(ius)* instead of *Serv(ius)*, more appropriate for the family *Sulpicia*.³¹⁰

It seems improbable that Galba's governorship in Africa began in AD 44 immediately after his return from Britannia so most likely he became *Proc. Africae* in AD 45 and for two years (*biennio*).

Before the proconsulship he was *praetor* in Aquitania for one year (AD 31/32),³¹¹ *legatus* in Germania superior³¹² and he was *legatus pro praetor* in Hispania Citerio in AD 60/68. For his service in Germania and Africa he received also the *triumphalia ornamenta*.

M. Servillus Nonianus (Rom) Claudius AAD 46/47?; cos. ord. AD 35 (with C. Cestius Gallus, CIL VI 33950)

BSAF 1907, 328=CIL VIII 24585 a=BSAF 1931, 108=AE 1932, 24 (Carthago); RE suppl. VI 819; Vogel 1982, n° 16; Thomasson 1996, n° 33.

Thanks to Carcopino³¹³ we know another proconsul but, unluckily, we cannot estimate the period of charge: probably he came to Africa one year or two after Galba. From Tacitus³¹⁴ we know that he died in AD 59.

... *L. f. Cam. anus* 47/53 (Tibur, Regio IV)

BC 1915, 292 = AE 1916, 110; Vogel 1982, n° 21; Thomasson 1996, n° 34.

The inscription is very much fragmentary but Vogel completed in line 4 with *legatus procos. provin. Africae* although there are no parallels of this diction. We deal with a proconsul who did a very fast career and we know that he was *aedilis* or *tribunus plebis*. According to the publisher, the man is Ianus Silanus but it's not possible to be sure

³⁰⁹ He says that Galba as consul has the preanomen Lucius 'che naturalmente avrà usato anche qualche proconsole', cf. DEGRASSI 1966, 331.

³¹⁰ THOMASSON 1996, 36.

³¹¹ SYME 1958a, 2.

³¹² RITTERLING, STEIN 1932, 13, n° 3.

³¹³ CARCOPINO 1931.

³¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 14.19.

because the inscription says that he became a patrician under Claudius (*adlectio in patricios*) while the family Iulii Silanii became patrician in Augustus' time thanks to *lex Saenia*. Cagnat assigns that fragment to L. Tampius Flavianus,³¹⁵ whose native country was Fundi, which belongs to *tribus Aemilia* while the *tribus* of Fundi in the inscription is *Camila*. Groag³¹⁶ indicates as possible candidate L. Apronius Caesianis (born in Fundi and consul in AD 39) who belongs to the *tribus Aemilia*.³¹⁷ He fought under his father (*Proc. Africae* in AD 18/21) against Tacfarinas so he seems to be a good candidate to cover this charge. Syme³¹⁸ and Birley³¹⁹ agree with this hypothesis while, on the contrary, Lewis³²⁰ points out that Apronius Caesianus was only *VIIvir epulonum*.³²¹

T. Statilius Taurus (Volcei, Regio III) AD 52/53 or (AD 51/52); cos. ord. AD 44 RE III A 2205, PIR S 619; Tac. *Ann.* 12.59; Tac. *Ann.* 14.46, 1, Vogel 1982, n° 18; Thomasson 1996, n° 35.

In the two tests of Tacitus, most likely of the two brother T. Statilius Taurus and T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus, consuls respectively in AD 44 and AD 45, the first is to take into account. It is well known that when Tacitus refers to the consul in AD 45 he omits the name Corvinus. This consul was a mediocre man who was involved in conspiracy against Claudius. T. Statilius Taurus was accused by *legatus* Tarquinius Priscus of attempted extortion and witchcraft (*pauca repetundam crimina, ceterum magicas superstitions*). As the accusal was elevated in AD 53, as Tacitus reports, it is possible that he was proconsul in AD 51/52 but also AD 52/53.

M. Pompeius Silvanus Stabarius Flavinius (Gallia Narbonnensis ?)³²² AD 53/56; cos. suff. AD 45 cos. Suff. II 76

IRT 338 =AE 1948, 17 (Leptis Magna); CIL VIII 11006; AE 1968, 549= Di Vita-Evrard 1965³²³ (Leptis); Tac. *Ann.* 13.52; Vogel 1982, n° 19; Thomasson 1996, n° 36.

The first inscription tells us that Pompeianus was *proc. Africae* during Claudius' XII

³¹⁵ CAGNAT 1918, 134-139.

³¹⁶ PIR² A 972.

³¹⁷ The *Camila* is the tribe of Tibur whereas Fundi was enrolled in the *Aemilia*. To claim Tibur as the patria of Aproni one might perhaps adduce the nomenclature of a certain *L. Rubelus T.f. Geminus Caesianus*.

³¹⁸ SYME 1957, 520.

³¹⁹ BIRLEY 1962, 223.

³²⁰ HOFFMAN LEWIS 1955, 36.

³²¹ CIL X 7257.

³²² See ECK 1972.

³²³ This inscription testifies the three years as Proconsulat.

tribunicias potestatis (in year AD 53) and the third one³²⁴ declares that Nero was *Cos. Desig. II* in AD 56 and Pompeius was proconsul for the third time in the same year (*Proco s III*) so we can conclude that he was proconsul from AD 53/54 till AD 55/56. A small fragment of *Fasti Sodal. Aug. Claud.*³²⁵ shows his presence at Rome in AD 65, later he was *legatus* of Vespasianus in Dalmatia (AD 69/70),³²⁶ at his return he was assigned with a *cura pecuniae* of the Senate, he had the charge of *curator aquarum* (AD 71/73) and in the end he took the second consulship with Tampilus Flavianus (AD 76?)³²⁷. He was also *XV vir sacris Faciundis*³²⁸ and *Sodalis Augustalis Claudialis*.³²⁹

Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (Rom) AD 56/57 ?; *Cos. suff.* AD 46

RE IV A 745, Tac. *Ann.* 13.52; Vogel 1982, n° 20, Thomasson 1996, n° 37.

It has been suggested that Camerinus was *proc. Africae* before Pompeius as Tacitus states. This hypothesis is not likely because the interval between the consulship and proconsulship is only about four years, a short interval that has no parallel. Most likely, he was proconsul for the period AD 56/57 before being Arval in Rome in AD 57³³⁰ or in the beginning of AD 58³³¹ and in AD 58 begin the trial.³³²

Curtius Rufus end of Claudius' kingdom or begin Nero' s period

Tac. *Ann.* 11.20; Plin. E. 7, 27, 2; Vogel 1982, n° 23, Thomasson 1996, n° 38.

Even if he did not come from a patrician family (*gladiator genitu dedecus natalium*) he was able to reach high political positions. In AD 45 he took the *Fasces* and in AD 46 he was consular *Legatus* in Germania Superior where he received *triumphi insigna*. Probably he is the same Rufus who was *consul suffectus* with Pompeianus in AD 45. In the end he was *proc. Africae*, a charge during which he died.

In his charge, the proconsul was assisted by two or three praetorian *legati proconsulis*. We have some information from Dio³³³: they were chosen by the proconsul in number of two for the senatorial province of praetorian rank (they were praetorian or belonged to a low rank) and in number of three for the senatorial province of consular rank with

³²⁴ From this inscription, we know also the other two names of Pompeius Stabarius Flavianus.

³²⁵ AE 1946, 124.

³²⁶ CIL III 9938

³²⁷ CIL IV 2560.

³²⁸ IRT 338.

³²⁹ AE 1964, 124.

³³⁰ CIL VI 2039.

³³¹ CIL VI 2040.

³³² A trial in which was involve also Pompeianus.

³³³ Dio *Hist.* 53. 14, 7.

the same rank (depend on who was authorized by the emperor). But we know that *legati* of consul rank were very rare.³³⁴

We do not know precisely what the duty of the *legati* was: Dio tells us that they are called *assessores* meaning that their experience was applied as magistrates. The Digest speaks about that duty and as well Ulpianus.³³⁵ The proconsul could assign his jurisdiction to the *legatus* but when he got the approval from the emperor he could have this duty back. Because the jurisdiction of the proconsul begins with his first arrival in the province, before he could exceptionally give the assignment to the *legatus* who can only deal with civil questions and criminal matters and employ the enquiry decision remaining to the proconsul.³³⁶

Very few of these *legati* are known from historical sources while the majority from inscriptions: the first ones show the *legatus* in action with the proconsul and they were found, mostly, in Tripolitania; the inscriptions represent career's inscriptions and appeared only from the Flavian period onwards becoming important in the 2nd century AD.³³⁷

We have several inscriptions concerning the activity of the proconsul and nearly half of them are remembering the *legatus* in the same time: the only inscriptions which refer to the *legatus* are dedicatory inscriptions. What the *legatus* did was always in the name of the proconsul: this subordination is well recognizable in the official titles because the *legatus* has the propraetorian degree while the proconsul the proconsular one.³³⁸

The situation regarding the territorial division of power for proconsul and *legati* through *conventus*³³⁹ or διοίκησις is still not clear and in any case this division can be dated for sure only in 2nd century AD.³⁴⁰ Already at the beginning of the 20th century Kornemann said that the διοίκησις was juridical dominations entrusted to the *legati*, in number of three.³⁴¹ After Albertini stated that

‘Il n’est pas certain non plus que chaque légat ait été toujours chargé, sous l’autorité du proconsul, d’administrer une circonscription déterminée; je crois que le proconsul

³³⁴ THOMASSON 1991, 56.

³³⁵ *Liber primus de officio proconsulis*.

³³⁶ THOMASSON 1996, 24.

³³⁷ THOMASSON 1994, 133.

³³⁸ For a list of the variations see THOMASSON 1960, 6.

³³⁹ Actually, the word *conventus* designates an assize but as natural extension, it can refer to the geographical area for which assizes were held in a certain town; in Greek this sense is frequently translated by the word διοίκησις.

³⁴⁰ The earliest example of a legate assigned to a fixed area occurs under Hadrian (ILS 1061).

³⁴¹ KORNEMANN 1900, 1173-1179, 1903 716-727.

puovait, à son gré, ou bien subdivider sa province en autant de resorts qu'il avait de légats, ou bien se faire assister par ses légats pour tout l'ensemble de la province, en partageant, non plus les territoires, mais les attributions'.³⁴²

Afterwards Castagnol affirmed that there were only two of them because the third one was the *legatus* of Legio III not under the power of the proconsul anymore.³⁴³ Thomasson, in 1960, proposed a more nuanced version of Kornemann's hypothesis 'wie in Hispania Citerior und Asia ein conventus, so ist also meiner Meinung nach in Africa Proconsularis dioecesis der Teilbezirk der Provinz gewesen, dessen Verwaltung, besonders die Rechtsprechung, am Hauptort dieses Teilbezirkes konzentriert wurde'.³⁴⁴

Burton admitted that the hypothesis of "bestimmte Verwaltungsbezirke", the dioceses and distinct from *conventus* regularly controlled by legates seems inadmissible; the evidence for Asia and Africa implies that the proconsul could, but he was not obliged to appoint, one or more of his *legates* to a necessary assize-centre (*conventus*) whose synonymous is διοίκησις.³⁴⁵ In a latter publication, Thomasson said that this territorial division did not have anything to do with the *legatus* because it was only a financial dominion.³⁴⁶ also Christol recently followed this idea.³⁴⁷

Because of his *imperium proconsulare maius* the emperor had the possibility to intervene in the administration of a senatorial province commissioning a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.³⁴⁸ Thomasson³⁴⁹ does not agree with one of Plaum's opinions³⁵⁰ 'enlever au proconsul intéressé de droit de nommer un des ses légats' (to take away from the proconsul the right to appoint one of his legates). He rather thinks that this adoption was so distressed for two reasons: first the time of charge for this *legatus* was only one year and second the proconsul and the senatorial class were unnecessarily offended. We know that the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, in Africa and in other provinces, have the charge

³⁴² ALBERTINI 1930-1935, 28.

³⁴³ CASTAGNOL 1958, 7-19.

³⁴⁴ THOMASSON 1960, 78-79. 'That it is so say the systems of Asia and Africa were generally similar; but the latter was divided into areas known as dioceses at whose centres legates frequently, if not necessarily, administered justice especially in the second and third centuries', cf. BURTON 1975, 96.

³⁴⁵ BURTON 1975, 97.

³⁴⁶ THOMASSON 1996, 13-14.

³⁴⁷ CHRISTOL 1999, 79.

³⁴⁸ THOMASSON 1990, 73-78.

³⁴⁹ THOMASSON 1996, 15.

³⁵⁰ PFLAUM 1962, 1233.

to take care of boundaries' delimitation between the communities:³⁵¹ the problem here lies on the fact that these *legati Aug. pro praetore* are known only through inscriptions as *Legati* of legio III Augusta.³⁵²

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| Legatus (proconsulis) pro praetor |
| <p><i>Q. Allius Maximus</i> legatus of Q. Marcius Barea Soanus AD 41/43; cos. suff. AD 49 RE I1586; AE 1935, 32.</p> <p>He is <i>leg. pro pr. II</i> and <i>patronus</i> of Hippo. Most probably being consul in AD 49, he is identical with Maximus proconsul in Asia in AD 57/58.</p> |
| <p><i>P. Fabius Firmanus</i> legatus under Claudius AE 1988, 1111 (inscription from Furnos Maius).</p> <p>Probably the inhabitants of Furnus Maius honoured their <i>patrunus</i> in occasion of his consulship. Thanks to a <i>tabula cerata</i> (AE 1973, 162) we know that he became <i>consul suffectus</i> with L. Tampius Flavianus maybe not before AD 45 but in the second half of the Claudius' reign.³⁵³</p> |
| <p><i>M. Tarquinus Priscus</i> legatus of T. Statilius Taurus in AD 52 RE IV a 2394f, Tac. Ann. 12.59, 1; Tac. Ann. 14.46,1.</p> |
| <p><i>Q. Cassius Gratus</i> legatus of M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinius 53/56 IRT 338=AE 1948,17; AE 1968, 649.</p> <p>He was proconsul of Creta-Cyrene between his praetorship and his three years charging in Africa as <i>Legatus</i>.</p> |
| <p><i>Q. Iulius Secundus</i> legatus of M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinius ? AD 55/56 X 2 803, CIL VIII 8837.</p> <p>The omission of <i>Aug.</i> proves that he was only <i>legatus proconsulis</i> but the problem regards the localization of his charge. Tupusuctu is on Mauretania Caesariensis. Some scholars think that he was <i>legatus</i> in Baetica while Alföldy is against this hypothesis.³⁵⁴ Thomasson argues that this <i>colonia</i> of veterans had begun contacts with him as <i>legatus proconsulis</i>: for this purpose, a bronze plaque mentioned Cirta, not very far away from Tupisuctu, where a <i>legatus</i> can have his base and the city could send ambassadors.</p> |

³⁵¹ Aichinger says that it's not possible to understand whether, in the duty of demarcation, the person is the commander of Legio III Augusta, the *legatus* of proconsul or the *legatus Augustus pro praetor*, cf. AICHINGER 1982, 194

³⁵² For a list see PFLAUM 1962, 1234.

³⁵³ For a good argumentation of the time see ECK 1975, 339-343.

³⁵⁴ ALFÖLDY 1969, 180.

C. *Gavius Macer* legatus of M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus ? (AD 53/56)

RE suppl. XIV, 126; RE suppl. 109; IRT 531

The inscription is dated to the Julio-Claudian period. From the three proconsuls in charge in that period Pompeius seems to be the most likely. In the case, we accept the hypothesis of Alföldy³⁵⁵ (the quaestor in AD 19) he was *legatus* during the proconsul of C. Vibius Marsus (AD 27/30).

2.2.1 *Numidia*

III Augusta was the *legio* of North Africa under the command of the proconsul till the time of the emperor Gaius:³⁵⁶ the fact that a legion was controlled by a proconsul was the only case. Tacitus and Dio state two different opinions for that happening because no one knows the reasons of this action and no one knows exactly when the *Legio* assumes full powers, whether under the proconsulship of Sulanus or under Piso. Most likely Haywood is right saying that it was a military action.³⁵⁷ Again Tacitus and Dio tell us what changed in the charge of the proconsul: Tacitus attests that the *Legio* did not follow the orders of the proconsul but rather those of the imperial *legatus*, the *beneficia* between proconsul and *legatus* were shared equally and the competences (*mandata*) were not clearly defined. Dio, on the contrary, reports about a division of the province Africa.

Thomasson thinks that Tacitus is right reporting the reform but he speaks only about the division of the authority while Dio, with the geographical division, anticipates an event that happened later.³⁵⁸ In fact the inscriptions clearly mention no territorial division but only the different charge of proconsul and *legatus*: civil and military matters. Instead Pflaum insists in saying that Gaius had divided Africa in two parts and he could elect the *legatus* of *Legio* III Augusta who governed also the West half of the province³⁵⁹. Thomasson sees, in this quotation, important points even if the words of Pflaum are a bit confusing.³⁶⁰ It is clear that the Emperor selected the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* but, in the case Pflaum believes that the proconsul had the possibility to choose the *legatus* he is surely wrong. There are, so far, no evidences, that one of the *legati*

³⁵⁵ ALFÖLDY 1979, 533-534.

³⁵⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 4.48,1.

³⁵⁷ HAYWOOD 1962, 116.

³⁵⁸ For an account of the becoming of Numidia as province see THOMASSON 1996, 16.

³⁵⁹ PFLAUM 1962, 1233.

³⁶⁰ THOMASSON 1960, 83-88; 1996, 16.

proconsulis, as representative of the proconsul, had the command of the *legio*. Further Pflaum believes that the province was divided in two parts and he thinks that Africa had three *dioceses* namely Carthaginiensis, Hipponiensis and a third one, Numidia, which seems to be under the control of the *legatus*. According to Chastagnol, the *legatus* of *legio* III Augusta was counted under the three legati of proconsular Africa³⁶¹ ‘et que le trios légats se confondent avec ceux de Numidie, d’Hippone et de Carthage’³⁶² assuming that from AD 39 one of the *legatus proconsulis* administered the *diocesis Numidia*. Pflaum claims also that Gaius gave to the *legatus* of III Augusta the administration of Numidia.

The titles of *legatus* III Augusta can change but normally it is present in the inscriptions as *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* or *leg. Aug.*; more complex are the versions *leg. Aug. pr. pr. leg. III Aug.* or *leg. Aug. pr. pr. exercitus provinciae Africae* or *leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Africae*. The easy titles are known from the beginning of the office while the others, more complicated, are attested from the second half of 2nd century AD.

It is very difficult to know the dates of the charge’s period: the duty is not one year as for the proconsul but the standard period was two to three year: only for Q. Anicius Faustus (197/201) we know that he was in charge for four years.

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| Legatus of Legio III |
| <i>C: Velleius Paterculus</i> under Claudius or Nero ? RE VIII A 660, CIL VIII 10311 (in the way between Rusicade-Cirta) Probably Velleius Paterculus was <i>cos. suff.</i> in AD 61 and so he could be legatus under Claudius or Nero. |

2.3 Galliae

Gallia Narbonensis was a senatorial province with a proconsul of praetorian rank while Gallia Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica were imperial provinces with a *legatus* of praetorian rank. As the emperor’s representative, the governor of a Gallic province held power and this position preceded the consulship.³⁶³ Among his areas of responsibility, the most important were to act as inspectors of buildings and director of public

³⁶¹ See above.

³⁶² CHASTAGNOL 1958, 8.

³⁶³ DRINKWATER 1983, 94.

works.³⁶⁴ He was assisted by a small staff of equestrian *procuratores provinciae* who were responsible for the collection of taxes from all *civitates*: there were only one for Lugdunensis and Aquitania and one for Belgica.³⁶⁵

The *concilium totius Galliae*, an assembly of the representatives of the cities, is not an Augustean institution because already during the wars these *concilia* were mentioned:³⁶⁶ the aim was to create a sort of political unity between them and the imperial authority.³⁶⁷

2.3.1 Gallia Narbonensis

The proconsul was chosen among the senators who had already passed the praetorship and he was assisted by a *legatus* and a *quaestor*.

Since this province was peaceful the names of the governors very seldom appear in literary sources: for that we have no mention of a proconsul during Claudius' time and just as well none for *legates*, *quaestores* and *procuratores* who were in charge of the imperial properties.

2.3.2 Gallia Aquitania

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| <i>Legatus proprietor</i> |
| Manilius Cornutis RE XIV 1140, 22; Pl. <i>Nat. Hist.</i> 26.4. |
| L. Divus Avitus 54 cos. suff. AD 56 CIL XII 1354, RE V 1868; Pl. <i>Nat. Hist.</i> 34.47. |

2.3.3 Gallia Lugdunensis

For this province we have no mention of governors in Claudian time and it is only mentioned, as for Belgica, the financial procurator Lato.

2.3.4 Gallia Belgica

For the second office of Agrippa from 29/20 BC to the reign of Tiberius the known governors were virtually belonging to the imperial house: Tiberius (16/15 BC), his brother Drusus (13/11 BC), Tiberius again (9/7 BC, AD 4/6, AD 10/13) and later

³⁶⁴ JULLIAN 1921, 418.

³⁶⁵ DRINKWATER 1983, 98-99.

³⁶⁶ FICHTL 2004, 121-123.

³⁶⁷ CHRISTOL 1985; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1998, 170.

Germanicus (AD 13/17). The emperor's relative, most likely, governed both Belgica and Germania with proconsular *imperium* and his own legates as required.

The *legatus*, who resided at Reims, had total responsibility for all civil administration and small military detachments and attended to serious juridicial matters: unluckily we have no mention of a *legatus* prior to M. Aelius Gracilis (AD 55/56).

Concerning, instead, the financial arrangements in the beginning, likewise, Belgica and Lugdunensis were under the jurisdiction of a single *procurator* of equestrian rank while, after the creation of two *Germaniae* he was appointed for Belgica and the new two provinces.

The command of the german army divided between two legati in the vanguard of the *exercitus Germanicus superior* and the *exercitus Germanicus inferior* were formally included in the Belgica's authority, indeed they were autonomous.

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| Procurator |
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| <p><i>Graecinius Laco</i> sometime before AD 44 AD</p> |
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| <p>Dio <i>Hist.</i> 57. 23, 2; CIL V 3340.</p> |
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| <p>He was <i>praefectus vigilum</i> in AD 31 and for the action against Sertorius he was awarded with the <i>ornamenta quaestoria</i> by the Senate. In AD 44 he received the <i>ornamenta consularia</i> by Claudius and so it is assumed that he became procurator sometime before.</p> |
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The first known procurator of only Belgica is Cornelius Tacitus in AD 57.

Gallia Belgica had no *legiones* but at *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne sur Mer) was stationed the *classis Britannica* that was under the authority of *legatus Britanniae*.

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| Legatus Britanniae |
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| <p>T. Claudius Seleuceus</p> |
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| <p>CIL XIII 3542</p> |
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| <p>Thanks to the name we can assume that he was emancipated by Claudius.</p> |
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2.4 Britannia

Britannia was an imperial province and as there was more than one legion,³⁶⁸ the governor was of consular rank. In this province he was also required to be an able and experienced general and a good and trustworthy administrator.³⁶⁹ His term of office was for approximately three years and it would have been the culmination of his career that began as praetor and included the command of a *legio*.³⁷⁰ As governor his military duties would have entailed responsibility for army's recruitment and the appointment of the tribunes and centurions.³⁷¹ His diplomatic duties involved dealing with client kings, supervising the *civitates*, administering justice and maintaining the roads and the public courier system. Assisting him were legionary commanders of praetorian rank chosen by the emperor and who had jurisdiction over their districts and the auxiliaries in that region.³⁷²

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| Legatus pro praetor |
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| <p><i>A. Plautius A. f. Ani</i> AD 43/47 cos. AD 29</p> |
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| <p>Tac. <i>Agr.</i> 11, <i>Ann.</i> 11.36.4, 13.32.2; Svet. <i>Div. Claud.</i> 24, 2; <i>Div. Vesp.</i> 4, 1; Dio <i>Hist.</i> 60.19-20. 60. 30,2; Eutropius 7.13.</p> |
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| <p>The selecton of A. Plautius to command the Claudian invasion can readily be explained even though little is known of his previous experience in provincial government and military service.³⁷³ One can only speculate about possible military appointments, as military tribune or as legionary legate: he could have active service under Tiberius or under Silvanus in the campaign of AD 6/9 in Illyricum or in Moesia. It was though that he played some part in suppressing a slave uprising in Apulia in AD 24³⁷⁴ but recent research³⁷⁵ have predated the riot in AD 9/10 and the Aulius Plautius mentioned in the inscription must be his father.</p> |
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³⁶⁸ See Army appendix.

³⁶⁹ BIRLEY 1981, 388; HOLDER 1982, 57.

³⁷⁰ After this he could become governor with praetorian rank and, after gaining the consulship, become a governor in Moesia Inferior or Germania Inferior; cf. FRERE 1978, 223. To these provinces Birley adds Germania Superior and Moesia Superior, Pannonia Superior, Cappadoccia and Syria, cf. BIRLEY 1981, 29.

³⁷¹ *Ala* commanders were equestrian officers chosen personally by the emperor on the basis of confidential reports from the governors. Auxiliary commanders held their commissions for three years, cf. HOLDER 1982, 61-62.

³⁷² It was impossible to attain a consulship having only had legionary command or a proconsulship after being praetor; cf. BIRLEY 1981, 20.

³⁷³ We need to remember that the family Plautii has an established solid relationship with the imperial family; Plautia Urgalina, daughter of the first consul belonging to this family, was the first wife of Claudius, DOREY 1966, 148-149.

³⁷⁴ CIL IX, 2335 = ILS 961.

He was *praetor urbanus* in AD 27 as it's reported in the *Fasti* of Arvales' college;³⁷⁶ later he held the office of *consul suffectus* in the second half of AD 29 with *Lucius Nonius Asprenas*; in the same year he belonged to Arvales.³⁷⁷

He was holding office as a consular governor early in Claudius' reign in a province which we can not say for sure if it was Dalmatia or Pannonia. But an inscription attested that he build a road in the *ager Tergestinus* between Trieste and Rijeka.³⁷⁸ Although the responsibility for a road in this area might have fallen on the governor of Dalmatia rather than of Pannonia, the fact that he took one of the Pannonian legions, IX Hispania, as part of the invasion force, points to the latter province. It is to be considered that in AD 39 C. Calvisius Sabinus, governor of Pannonia, was recalled to Rome and forced to commit suicide and it is therefore likely that Plautius had replaced him, because he occupied as early as AD 41 a position of great importance. More significant was his role in AD 42 at the time of the coup by Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, legate of neighbourung Dalmatia.³⁷⁹

He arrived in Britain in the summer of AD 43 and was back at Rome for his *ovatio* in AD 47, according to Dio.³⁸⁰

P. Ostorius Q (?) F. Scapula AD 47/52 cos. a. inc.

Tac. Agr. 14, Ann. 12.31-40.1.

He was *suffect* with the ill-famed P. Suius Rufus: several records of the pair survive including an inscription from Phrygia which preserves part of the month³⁸¹ and a wax table from a suburb of Pompeii dated 10th November.³⁸² Syme suggested that the year might be AD 45.³⁸³ Christol and Demougin believe that Ostorius Scapula, consul with

³⁷⁵ AE 1990, 222.

³⁷⁶ AE 1987, 163: [Cn]aeus) Le]ntulus Gaetulicus. / [C(aius) Calu]sius Sabinus. / [S]uffecti: L(ucius) Silanus, D(ecimi) f(ilius). / C(aius) Vellaeus Tu[tor]. / [A(ulus) Pl]autius, u[rb(anus)]. / [L(ucius) Sexti]lius Pacon[ianus, per(egrinus)].

³⁷⁷ CIL I², p. 71: L(ucius) Rubell(ius) [Geminus]/ C(aius) Fufius G[eminus]/ suffecti) A(ulus) Pla[utius]/ L(ucius) Aspr[enas].

³⁷⁸ CIL V 698 = ILS 5889.

³⁷⁹ Suet. *Claud.* 13, Dio *Hist.* 60. 14, 2-15; GALIMBERTI 1999.

³⁸⁰ Dio *Hist.* 60. 30, 2.

³⁸¹ AE 1949, 250.

³⁸² AE 1973, 152. Birley and Barbieri say that the *praenomen* Quintus is an error; cf. BARBIERI 1975, 156-157; BIRLEY 1981, 41.

³⁸³ SYME 1970, 27-28: This dating, according to the scholar, would assume the presence of Scapula in Britain during the invasion as one of Claudius' *comites*. If so, it makes no sense that Tacitus, in the *Annales*' episode of the invasion of British's forces in the territories of the allies, highlights how the new commander on his arrival did not know the army, *exercitu ignoto*: this is impossible if he had accompanied the emperor in the province.

Rufus Suillius, was not the politician sent to Britain but a distant cousin.³⁸⁴ The two scholars propose for the consulate of Publius a date in the time of Caligula or in the last years of the reign of Tiberius. This hypothesis derives from a comparison of the first governors of the province: Aulus Plautius was consul in AD 29 and ruled between AD 43 and AD 47; Aulus Didius Gallus, consul in AD 39, was sent to Britain from AD 52 to AD 57; Veranius Quintus, consul in AD 49, ruled from AD 57 to AD 58. The time's interval between the consulate and the governorship is between eight and fourteen years. It seems that the first *legati* were chosen from consuls who had covered the charge for a long time and had gained experience and expertise in managing positions of great responsibility.

The new province still required a governor capable of energetic campaign after Plautius' recall and it is likely that Claudius and his advisers may have looked for a successor to Plautius among those men with some experience of Britain. But Tacitus' phrase *exercitu ignoto* appears to rule out any possibility that Scapula had served in the army of Britain before his governorship: it's reasonable to admit that he had had some military experience and he might have had a brief spell in the island as *comes* of Claudius.

Didius Gallus AD 52/57 cos. AD 9

Tac. *Agr.* 14, *Ann.* 12.40, 14.29, 1.

One fragmentary inscription³⁸⁵ from Olympia records Gallus' *cursus honorum*: it was obviously erected in his honour shortly before he became governor of Britain:³⁸⁶ it seems that he was *quaestor* in AD 19 and, if the line of the inscription has been correctly restored; he had the signal honour, for a new man, of being *quaestor* of Tiberius. He was tribune of the plebs or aedilis in AD 21 and praetor in AD 23.

He was consul in AD 39 and not in AD 36, as previously thought, with *Cn. Domitius Afer* as testified by two wax tablets found in Pompeii³⁸⁷ and Frontinus informs us that he became *curator aquarum* in the second half of AD 38 continuing to serve as a curator till AD 49. Before AD 46 Gallus, as legate of the emperor, was absent from Rome in the victorious campaigns against Mithridates, usurper of the kingdom of the

³⁸⁴ CHRISTOL, DEMOUGIN 1984, 173-174.

³⁸⁵ Another inscription from Athens (AE 1947, 76) have been associated with Gallus by Oliver but the association to Gallus seems highly doubtful, cf. OLIVER 1941, 239-241

³⁸⁶ ILS 970.

³⁸⁷ AE 1973, 138: *Cn(aeo) Domitio Afro, A(ulo) Didio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus), / XVII K[alendas] Octobre.*

Bosphorus, where he reinstated on the throne the rightful king and ally of Rome, Cotys³⁸⁸: in that occasion he received the *triumphalia ormamenta*.

After AD 49 he obtained the proconsulship of a province, whose name is not legible in the inscription at Olympia, but it could be Africa or Asia: for Africa the space in the text seems to be insufficient, while Asia is easier even if related lists of Asia are incomplete for the years AD 49/51.

*Quintus Veranius*³⁸⁹ AD 57/58 cos. AD 49

IGRR III 703 (*Cyrene*, Lycia); CIL VI 41075 = AE 1953, 251.

On the basis on these two inscriptions it is possible to reconstruct with great precision and almost completely the *cursus honorum* of Veranius, since the first document provides evidence of the beginnings of his career while the second one shows the last assignments. The one and only judiciary which is not attested epigraphically is the praetorship, but it may be deducted in accordance with the general rules established by the *Lex Villia Annalis*.

He was chosen as member of the triumvirate of the coin (within *vigintiviratus*), which took care of the issue of coins, this was the most prestigious charge; after he was *tribunus militum* of *IV Scythica*, when the *legio* operated in *Moesia*, because the presence of this *legio* is attested in AD 33³⁹⁰. In AD 37 he became questor when Tiberius gave the kingdom to Gaius.

The date when he was *tribunus plebis* is well known and dates back to AD 41: from 24th to 25th January of that year, Veranius played a significant role in the difficult appointment of the new emperor who would replace Gaius, killed by the Praetorians. He was in fact part of the most distinguished men chosen by the Senate to convince Claudius, proclaimed emperor by soldiers, not to use force to get the Empire but to receive it instead on the proposal of the Senators.

AD 42 is the earliest date to place the praetorship, although the usual two years from the *tribunus plebes* were not yet passed.³⁹¹ In AD 43 Claudius unified the territories of

³⁸⁸ OLIVER 1948, 221; TORELLI 1982, 183-184.

³⁸⁹ Even if he was not a governor under Claudius' time it's important to mention him because of the prestige he had during his governorship.

³⁹⁰ BIRLEY 1981, 51.

³⁹¹ In this regard Dio (Dio *Hist.* 60. 10, 4 and 60. 15, 4) says that Claudius varied its number of magistrates from year to year and especially in the early stages of his reign he used the judiciary to hand out individual awards, even admitting exceptions to the rules laid down by law. Cf. BIRLEY 1981, 52. Gordon discusses four possibilities: he had been praetor in AD 42, he was *praetor designatus* in the same year, the third one places the praetorship in AD 43 and the last one only for the initial part of that year; cf. GORDON, 1952, 245.

Lycia with these of Pamphilia creating a new province³⁹² and he decided to send Veranius as first governor.³⁹³

When he came back to Rome he received the *ornamena triumphalia*, the designation of consul and the appointment of patrician. In AD 49 Claudius chose him with C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus as consul³⁹⁴ while between AD 49/54 he was *curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* and finally in AD 57 Nero chose him as governor of Britannia.

2.5 Noricum³⁹⁵

This province was governed by a procurator from the equestrian order, appointed directly by the emperor. The titlature changed some time from *procurator Augusti in Norico* to *procurator Augusti provinciae Noricae* but the variations did not indicate any difference in their rank. The position of presidial procurator was one of the ducenary procuratorship:³⁹⁶ this was to indicate that the post was high in the imperial administration. Assuming that he served for three years there must be about 40 to 50 equestrian governors of the province. As a rule, an *eques Romanus* could only hold this position after quite a long previous career including, normally, earlier procuratorial posts. At all events, he had to have served either in the equestrian *res militiae* or in the centurionate up to the second primpilate. Only C. Baebius Atticus, the earliest known governor, under Claudius, was appointed straight after his military service; his successors had already served at least in one position as a centenary procurator, more often in two or even three posts as ducenary procurator, before appointment to Noricum. Among the ducenary procuratorships those in Africa, Lusitania, Asturia and Calleacia, Sardinia, Raetia and Thrace as well as that of the *vicesima hereditatum*, could precede

³⁹² Brandt challenges the constitution of the new province 'Vor allem aber, und darin liegt wohl das wichtige Argument, gibt es neben der fragwürdigen Information Dios kein einziges Dokument, welches die Existenz einer Provinz Lycia et Pamphilia vor den 70er Jahren belegt' (BRANDT 1992, 98). On the contrary Syme puts in discussion this view (SYME 1995) attesting the presence of Licinius Macianus as imperial *legatus* in AD 58 at Antalya (AE 1915, 48) and at Oenoanda (ILS 8816).

³⁹³ IGRR IV 902: [-- - ὁ / δῆ]μος ἐτείμησεν / Κο[ί]νον Οὐρη[άν]ιον πρεσβευτή[ν / Τ]ιβηρίου Κλαυδ[ίου] // Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ / ἀντιστράτηγο[ν], / ἐπιμεληθέντα / τῶν σεβαστῶν ἔρ// γων, ἀναλόγως / ταῖς τοῦ πιστεύσαντος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος / Σεβαστοῦ, τοῦ κτίσ//του τῆς πόλεως, ἐντο/λαῖς, καὶ τῆς Σεβασ/[τῆς] συνκλήτου.

³⁹⁴ CIL II 1438 = ILS 5971, riga 8-9: *Q(uinto) Veranio / C(aio) Pompeio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus)*; CIL VI 8639, riga 9: *[Q(uinto) Veranio A(ulo)] Pompeio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus)*; CIL X 6638, 9-10: *Q(uinto) Veranio / A(ulo) Pompeio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus)*; AE 1978, 127, 1: *C(aio) Pompeio Ga[ll]o Q(uinto) Vera[nio] co(n)s(ulibus)*.

³⁹⁵ See also KELLNER 1974.

³⁹⁶ PFLAUM 1950, 254; PFLAUM 1960, 28; WINKLER 1969, 29.

the Norican governorship. A procurator of Noricum could be promoted from this province to Mauretania Tingitana, Mauretania Casesariensis, Gallia Belgica, two Germanies and also to Raetia.

The administration of this province was a task that demanded no little experience and skill. As well as his duties in the spheres of finance and economy he had to administer justice and command the army, composed of auxiliary units. In fulfilling this role, he had to find the right tone for dealing also with a native and celtic-speaking population attached to its local traditions. The government had to take all these factors into consideration when selecting an *equus Romanus* to be governor of Noricum. The earlier procuratorships in a man's career would give him good opportunities of gaining administrative experience mostly under the supervision of a superior from the senatorial order. However, an *equus* of Greek or eastern origin would hardly have been in a position to govern a province like Noricum with its celtic population even with experience of this kind: in fact, all the procurators known were men from the western half of the empire, including natives of the neighbouring celtic areas or even of Noricum itself. It was no doubt of importance also that certain among the governors of Noricum had already served in the adjacent Danubian provinces, for example as prefect of a cohort in Pannonia or as procurator in Raetia: here they would have found prior opportunities of familiarising with the problems of defending the Danubian frontier and of cultivating relations with the Celts.

Very little is recorded of the activities of individual procurators: they are mentioned principally in the inscriptions of their subordinates including a long series of *beneficarii* inscriptions from Celeia. The procurator's headquarters were at Virunum, possibly on the eastern edge of the town where a large complex of buildings is perhaps to be regarded as the governors's palace.

Unfortunately, the only known governor under Claudius was C. Baebius Atticus³⁹⁷ and, strangely, as already said, he was appointed straight after his military service.

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|---|
| Procurator Augusti in Norico |
| <i>C. Baebius Atticus</i> between AD 41 and AD 54 |
| CIL V 1838=ILS 1348; CIL V 1839 (Julium Carnicum); Winkler 1969, 33-35, |

³⁹⁷ Jantsch, after a restoration of an inscription found at Klagenfurt, postulates Trebonius as predecessor of Atticus also because the *cognomen* lacks; cf. JANTSCH 1935, 261.

Winkler 1976, 106.

He had been, in successive order, before becoming governor of Noricum, senior centurion of *legio V Macedonica*; prefect of the tribal settlements of the Moesians and Treballians;³⁹⁸ prefect of the settlements in the Maritime Alps; tribune of the eighth cohort of Praetorian Guards; and *primipilus iterum*, a very senior and responsible legionary office reserved for ex-senior centurions of proved administrative experience and ability.³⁹⁹

His *cursus*⁴⁰⁰ is very similar to that one of M. Vergilius Gallius Lusius⁴⁰¹ but the command of an auxiliary cohort is replaced by two places as *praefectus civitatum* first in Moesia and Treballiae and second in Alpes maritimes.

According to Stein⁴⁰² Atticus was originated from Julium Carnicum⁴⁰³ where two inscriptions, set up by *tribunes* of Noricum, have been found. But Sutherland⁴⁰⁴ thinks that a series of *aes*, coniated under Tiberius and attributed to the colonia Dium in Macedonia, carry the name of duoviri C. Baebius P. F and L. Rusticelius. Basterna. The fact the name of the first *duovirus* is the same does not justify the identification of the two men and it seems also strange that the *praenomen*, in the first case, was deleted and remained instead that one of Basterna.

2.6 Mauretania Tingitana and Caesariensis

The two provinces were created by Claudius most likely in AD 43 with the division in two of the ancient kingdom of Mauretania: they were equestrian province and the procurator settled at Caesarea and Tingi.⁴⁰⁵

The title most often attested is *procurator Aug.* (or *Aug. n.*)/ *Augg. / Auggg* or in variant *procurator eius/eorum* and often for Mauretania Caesariensis only *procurator suus*, but for both provinces is attested also only *procurator*.⁴⁰⁶ The title *pro legato*⁴⁰⁷ indicates that the power of *legatus* was given to the procurator, who commands the *auxilia* in the

³⁹⁸ Between AD 1 and AD 6.

³⁹⁹ DEMOUGIN 1992, 404-405.

⁴⁰⁰ Also Sex. Pedius Sex. F. An. Lusianus Hirrutus, after being *primus pilus* is charged with the same duty.

⁴⁰¹ CIL X 4862, PFLAUM 1960, n° 7.

⁴⁰² STEIN 1927, 379.

⁴⁰³ WINKLER 1973, 61.

⁴⁰⁴ SUTHERLAND 1941, 79.

⁴⁰⁵ For the account of the events see paragraph 3.5.3.

⁴⁰⁶ For a close examination of all the titles used see MAGIONCALDA 1989, 11-14.

⁴⁰⁷ ŠAŠEL 1974 and also see paragraph 1.5.

province and he could command military detachments in the case of trouble situation: this title is assigned frequently to governors of Mauretania Tingitana as for example Fadius Celer. The title of rank was *v(ir) e(gregius)*.⁴⁰⁸

The inscriptions regarding the governors in Mauretania Caesariensis come, in the majority of the cases, from Caesarea, Rapidum and Auzia; in minor numbers from other localities of Africa (Numidia, Mauretania Tingitana) and other places of the Empire. The type of inscription belongs to dedication for the procurator from civilian, soldiers, cities, remembering of restoration of public buildings and votive inscriptions placed by the governors *pro salute* of the imperial family. For Mauretania Tingitana till the middle of 2nd century AD the testimonies come from military diplomata but also the inscriptions, above mentioned, are attested: the majority of them come from Volubilis and Banasa and rarely from other cities of the province.

It is possible to trace the political career of some of the governors but often we know only a part of the *corsus* because of the lack of evidences and the silence of the inscriptions.

The procurators were officials belonging to the ducenarian category and they could be recruited from *primipilatus* order⁴⁰⁹ or from the questrian order. It is interesting to note that the recruitment among the soldiers was regular for the procurators in Mauretania and the confirmation can be seen examining the procuratorial careers of *primipili*.

On the basis of these data, even if relative, it's possible to perceive that the soldiers occupied a big proportion. In the case of equestrian governors, when we have information of their equestrian *militia*, they had always done, at least, three *militiae equestres*.

It is clear that in both cases for the governor were chosen men who had a military formation, more they had a good experience in the provincial administration with the charge of provincial offices, which were in clear prevalence to the urban ones.

| |
|---|
| Procurator pro legato Mauretania Caesariensis |
|---|

| |
|--|
| <i>M. Licinius Crassus Frugi</i> cons. ord. AD 27, Claudius's legatus (in Mauretania ?). |
|--|

| |
|-------------------------------------|
| RE XIII, 338; CIL VI 31721=ILS 954. |
|-------------------------------------|

| |
|---|
| The inscription is not completed and in the last line is mentioned a province: the name |
|---|

⁴⁰⁸ MAGIONCALDA 1989, 16-18.

⁴⁰⁹ For an exhaustive description of this office see DOBSON 1974.

of this province, which begins mit M and finishes with A, can be Moesia, Macedonia or Mauretiana. Some scholars agree with the hypothesis that the province is Mauretania as Gasco⁴¹⁰ and Fishwick⁴¹¹ while in historical source⁴¹² there are no mention of Crassus but only of Paulinus and Geta.⁴¹³ Macedonia ist not probable as solution because first it did not exist as province itself but in connection with Moesia and Achaia as united province and second, it was a *provincia inermis* and it would be hard to get *ornamenta triumphalia* here. On the contrary Papazoglou⁴¹⁴ says that in the missing part it is possible to fill the gap with *M[oesia Acha]ia [et Macedonia]*: the scholar corroborates his argumentation with the official terminology where Tacitus and Svetonius mention this group of provinces in the Balkan region always in the same order.⁴¹⁵ Aichinger has the same opinion⁴¹⁶: it is not possible that Crassus Frugi, coming from a patrician family and *cos. Ord.* in AD 27 was a governor in a low level province as Moesia or Macedonia. Most likely he was governor of the unit Moesia-Achaia-Macedonia, from AD 41, when Memmius Regulus ended his period in that region, till AD 43 when he was called by Claudius to participate to the annexation of Britannia. Because Crassus belongs to Claudius' circle of *amici*⁴¹⁷ it seems very likely that he chose a trusted man to put in command in a such delicate region.⁴¹⁸

C. Svetonius Paulinus *cos. II ord.* .66 praetorian commander in AD 42.

RE IV 591, Dio *Hist.* 60. 9,1.

Cn. Hosidius Geta praetorian commander in AD 42.

RE VIII 2490; Dio *Hist.* 60. 90, 1,4.

He was consul not long before the *ludi saeculares* in AD 47. ⁴¹⁹

Procurator pro legato Mauretania Tingitana

M. Fadius Celer Flavianus Maximus AD 44

CRAI 2924, 77=AE 1924, 66= ILM 56 (Volubilis)=IAM2, 369.

⁴¹⁰ GASCOU 1974a.

⁴¹¹ FISHWICK 1970, 478-479.

⁴¹² Dio *Hist.* 60. 9.

⁴¹³ According to Gascau the part referring to Crassus is missed because of the *damnatio memoriae* against Gaius who called Crassus to fight against Aedemon.

⁴¹⁴ PAPAZOGLU 1979.

⁴¹⁵ Tac: *Ann.* I 80, 1; Svet. *Div. Claud.* 25, 3.

⁴¹⁶ AICHINGER 1979.

⁴¹⁷ DOREY 1966, 147-148.

⁴¹⁸ See also the Greek inscriptions, cf. MROZEWICZ 2005, 99.

⁴¹⁹ CIL X 1401.

The base of the statue was dedicated between 25th january AD 44 and january AD 45. A fifth-year tenure would be reasonable for the first appointee, of whom nothing else is known.

According to Demougin the title *procurator Augusti pro legato* is interesting because it means that the turmoils had not been yet ended ⁴²⁰ while for Spaul it means “Governor of an imperial (equestrian) province”⁴²¹.

⁴²⁰ DEMOUGIN 1992, 356-357.

⁴²¹ SPAUL 1994, 255.

3 Cultural and historical situations

This chapter seeks to draw attention to the cultural and historical situations in the province taken into account bearing in mind the difference between the “old” provinces and the “new” conquered ones. In the first case, the question will be focused on the ways the Romans linked with the local populations in order to encompass what innovations they brought, what they created new and what they took from the locals. Regarding instead the new provinces, the aim is both to resume briefly the steps leading to the conquest with a background of the customs and habits of the inhabitants and to take into consideration the first steps of Roman conquest.

Before beginning with the development of these themes, it is worth to recall the meaning, the implications and the present discussions among scholar regarding Romanization even if, in the present research, it is not an issue of central importance.

3.1 Romanization

“Romanization” is a descriptive rather than a definitional or explanatory term. It is an accommodating name for a construct or paradigm created by modern scholars to describe the process of cultural transformation by which indigenous peoples were integrated into the Roman Empire. In recent years, however, both the concept and the world itself have come under attack because of its associations with an obsolete colonial and Romanocentric view of cultural change. Rather than abandoning the term it is appropriate to deconstruct and revitalize it as useful description of an important cultural process.

As a construct, “Romanization” contains ambiguous or erroneous postulations that until recently have not been examined. We hence need to deconstruct it by exposing problems with the concept of Romanization and devising changes to that concept with the aim of eliminating its incorrect connotations.

It has been said that, in the provinces of the Roman Empire ‘romaniser c’est municipaliser en meme temps qu’urbaniser’⁴²²: the statement perhaps oversimplifies, not just because it diverts attention from the private, non-urban, aspects of cultural change. We are left with the impression that Romanization was a spirit of package whose elements all came in a single wrapper and a package which someone, whatever

⁴²² GAGÉ 1964, 153-154.

the provincials themselves or the Roman government, quite consciously and deliberately set out to get or to impose. Whatever the ambitions on either side, we should not expect the process to have been so straightforward.

Adopting the idea of this generalised process between two autonomous systems, we favour to establish these two systems as given.⁴²³ So one problem is the meaning of “Roman”⁴²⁴ which is understood to be the culture of Rome, but such an assumption is vulnerable on two accounts.⁴²⁵ First, Roman culture was not homogeneous and no culture exists in isolation from others. Second, it is still problematic to consider artifacts as Roman. The solution must be to recognize in the fact that Rome had no enduring or local culture and using that term “Roman” we are referring to a series of continuously evolving traits that are found, with local variations, throughout the Mediterranean.

Another problem is the simplistic opposition between “Roman” and “native”.⁴²⁶ The description of Romanization as ‘a dialectical process, determined on the one hand by Roman imperialist policy...and on the other by natives responses to Roman structures’⁴²⁷ creates a false picture of the opposing. If “Roman” is an imprecise concept, the meaning of “native” is even harder to determine. While we may be able to form a partial picture of native culture in the pre-Roman period from archaeological remains, we are not able to define what constitutes “native” during the period of Romanization because the native culture had already begun to naturalize to the culture of the conqueror. Assumptions, made on the basis of a supposed dichotomy of “Roman” and “native”, can obscure our perception of the multivariate acculturation process. We are rarely confronted with a simple dichotomy of things “Roman” supervening on what was “native”, indigenous.

A further problem is its “romanocentric” outlook. Because only one part of the process is named, the word “Romanization” implies a unilateral downloading of a pre-packaged culture rather than a process of mutual adaptation in a wide variety of manners and it presupposes the imposition of a superior Roman culture upon an inferior native one.⁴²⁸

⁴²³ ‘...apparently homogeneous cultural systems are in reality unstable internally and multifaceted in terms of their meanings..’ cf. BARRET 1997, 51.

⁴²⁴ As Grahame says ‘we can hardly give the extent to which a conquered society become Roman when we already have a priori understanding of what it meant to be Roman in the first place’, cf. GRAHAME 1998, 175.

⁴²⁵ BARRET 1997, 51.

⁴²⁶ HINGLEY 1997.

⁴²⁷ MILLET ET AL. 1995, 2-3.

⁴²⁸ KEAY 2001, 120. ‘We need to rid ourselves of the assumption that Roman material culture was technologically superior to the material culture in use before the conquest’, cf. HINGLEY 1996, 44.

Romanization was not an admission that Roman culture was superior but a conscious choice by provincial individuals⁴²⁹ to borrow and to adapt Roman traits for personal reasons which might include social advantage or emulation of their neighbours.⁴³⁰ This point of view also minimizes or negates the reciprocal nature of the process and the force that provincial cultures had on Rome.

The word Romanization, despite the name, needs to be seen as a process of reciprocal adaptation in which both Romans and provincials get in on the act, responding each other's culture in numerous ways. The natives are not objects of Romanization but human actors in particular social situations.

The idea of Romanization as "cultural" change has also posed another problem because of the ambiguous meaning of the term "culture". When we speak of indigenous and Roman cultures, we understand cultures in the anthropological sense of "a set of traits characterizing a particular people".

A final dispute is that the term often implies a sudden and absolute process of assimilation, indeed it was a progressive process. Not only previously but also in the recent times scholars such as Keay⁴³¹ and Woolf⁴³² still argue that this process was speedy and that the indigenous people were uncivilized. We must see the transition from indigene to provincial as a long process of 'identity transformation'.⁴³³ Contemporaneously it is not suitable speaking of homegenity of a Mediterranean-wide unit in Roman culture or of Roman material culture, indeed the evidence shows an immense diversity in Romanization between regions: the attention points on the 'multiple cultural and ethnic experiences across the empire,⁴³⁴ the role played by the indigenous, on regional variations and on local adaptations.⁴³⁵

In responding to these problems, all of them involving incorrect perceptions of Romanization, it is better to establish parameters and rules in order to make its study a valid and meaningful exercise. We shall review some commonly used models of Romanization noting their merits and shortcomings (Figure 20).

⁴²⁹ Some scholars recall a passage from Tacitus as the prove of a conscious politics of Romanization, cf SAVINO 1999, 29-30. But this hypothesis is rejected by scholars who see in the Romanization' goal only this one political without intention of Romanize the natives.

⁴³⁰ GRAHAME 1998, 176.

⁴³¹ KEAY 1996, 147.

⁴³² WOOLF 2000, 129.

⁴³³ LE ROUX 1995, 17.

⁴³⁴ BELTRAN LLORIS 1999, 131; DOWNS 2000, 198; WOOLF 1998, 19.

⁴³⁵ SAVINO 1999, 30.

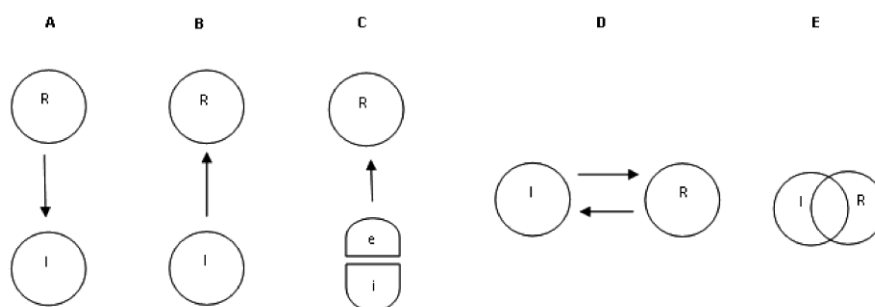


Figure 20: Models of Romanization, showing the roles of Romans (R) and indigenous (i) actors. Arrows indicate the direction of initiative. A dominance model, B self-romanization, C elite model (e=elite), D interaction model, E integration model (rielaboration after Curchin 2004, fig. 1.4).

In the dominant model (A) Rome imposes its culture on conquered peoples: Romanization is a “top-down” process initiated by Rome. This model uses a colonial perspective and denies any participation of indigenes, seen as passive receptors. While it is true that Rome was a conqueror with an imperialist policy that included ‘systematic economic exploitation and the imposition of Roman law’⁴³⁶ we have no evidence that Rome had a conscious policy of imposing its culture. In this case just as the intervention of Roman military forces was directed from the centre so Roman urbanization became its civil counterpart as we can perceive from the famous passage of Tacitus describing the role of Agricola as governor in Britain where ‘he encouraged individuals and helped communities to build temples, public squares and private houses’.⁴³⁷

In the second kind of model, the self-Romanization model⁴³⁸ (B), the indigenous romanize themselves, the so called ‘adoption by imitation’ as Wightman calls.⁴³⁹ Millet, explaining in detail this model,⁴⁴⁰ says that ‘the motor of Romanization can be seen internally driven, rather than externally imposed’.⁴⁴¹ The virtue of this “bottom-up” model is that it recognizes the initiative of the natives but, at the same time, it makes them appear to understand that their own culture is inferior to that of Rome.

⁴³⁶ KEAY 2001, 122.

⁴³⁷ Tac. *Agr.* 21: *hortari privatium, adiuuare publicae, ut templa foro domos extruerent.*

⁴³⁸ The name was coined by Sherwin White, cf. SHERWIN-WHITE 1973, 222.

⁴³⁹ WIGHTMAN 1983, 239.

⁴⁴⁰ MILET 1990b.

⁴⁴¹ MILET 1990b, 38. His theory greatly derives from Haverfield’s model, cf. HAVERFIELD 1915.

In the elite model (C), often labelled as acculturation, the natives assimilate themselves to Roman culture for their own advantage, *aemulatio honoris*, setting examples of romanity for the subordinates. It is still a “bottom-up” process because it denies the initiative of the population. Such an approach easily leaves the mass of the population out of the account or includes them as passive group. This tendency derives from the premise that what only happens at the top of the society needs to be considered because these historical and archaeological groups have been seen as more significant in comparison with the action on small scale.⁴⁴²

In the interaction model (D), called also bricolage by some scholars, not only does the exposure to Roman culture affect the native but the exposure to indigenous culture affects the Romans as well. It is a two-ways process where a ‘dynamic and multi-faceted interaction between a core and its periphery results in mutual adaptation between conqueror and conquered’⁴⁴³ Even if the model recognizes the participation of the indigenous and Romans it regards them as separate, albeit interactive, entities involved in bidirectional interchange. Recently it was labelled as *obsolete* by Woolf.⁴⁴⁴

The integration model (E), known also as transculturation,⁴⁴⁵ sees Roman and indigenous elements mixed together through intensive contacts. The two cultures undergo a process of mutual permeation and amalgamation to form a new “provincial” culture, but still some elements remain untouched. It recognizes a more intimate relationship between Roman cultures and indigenous and it minimizes the Roman versus native consideration by seeing both culture as constituent parts of a unified whole.

As Curchin claims ‘..Romanization was not a deliberate or conscious policy... it was spontaneous rather than planned, gradual rather rapid and resulted in integration rather than subjugation of the indigenous cultures It was a phenomenon brought about through the fusion of two cultures...’.⁴⁴⁶

Recently Woolf replaces the “Romanization theory” with the notion of “cultural revolution” which, according to the scholar, would have costs but also advantages. The term “Roman cultural revolution” was first used by Wallace-Handrill⁴⁴⁷ in a review

⁴⁴² JAMES 2001; HINGLEY 1996, 43-44; HINGLEY 1997.

⁴⁴³ ALCOCK 1989, 93, HOPKINS 1996, 42.

⁴⁴⁴ WOOLF 2001, 174.

⁴⁴⁵ FEAR 1996, 274.

⁴⁴⁶ CURCHIN 2004, 14.

⁴⁴⁷ WALLACE-HADRILL 1989.

discussion of P. Zanker's study: he did not use this term in other works but it was recently adopted as the title for a collection of an essay on the subject⁴⁴⁸ to which Wallace-Handrill contributed the lead essay.⁴⁴⁹ Woolf uses the term 'as set of currently popular arguments about the transformation of the metropolitan Roman culture around the turn of the millennium. As yet there is only a limited consensus about the causation of these change'.⁴⁵⁰ According to Rawson the Roman cultural revolution may be thought of 'as the formative period of the high culture of the early empire',⁴⁵¹ during which the literary, intellectual, aesthetic and monumental styles were created and were repeated for the next 300 years. That was a period of appropriation and emancipation from Greek models: this relationship was only one facet of the wider preoccupation with tradition and innovation.

The cultural revolution problematic is useful to us because we can see how authority was granted in Italy and in the provinces alike to those who succeed in dominating cultural production. The dispute about continuity versus change is not a provincial problem but instead a local case of a dilemma faced by all participants, how to reconcile tradition with innovations and how to manage changes in areas of culture which are central to collective identity. An approach of this kind would be very useful for archaeologists and historians to point out the differences from one area to another: distinguishing the products of local cultural revolutions may be more helpful for future analysis than simply classify areas regarding the degree of Romanization.

The "cultural revolution" theory raises questions about the role played by Rome and its local imperial elite in the creation of the early imperial culture. But the participation of the West in the process might be seen as one by which Rome succeeded in challenging Greek cultural hegemony: as Wallace-Handrill says '[Augustus] wanted a universalizing culture, not local knowledge, to define his empire and a new sense of being Roman'.⁴⁵² We need to answer to the question how Romans could represent their culture as more than just local with the assumption that their *mores* came to be shared

⁴⁴⁸ HABINEK, SCHIESARO 1997.

⁴⁴⁹ WALLACE-HADRILL 1997. He writes in relation to late republican intellectual preoccupation with ancestral customs that 'what seems to us in retrospect an inevitable adoption of superior civilization and rationality also involves a redefinition of authority: a collapse of the authority of the traditional republican ruling class; a shift in the control of knowledge from social leaders to academic experts and an appropriation of that authority by Augustus'. Cf. WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 12.

⁴⁵⁰ WOOLF 2001, 175:

⁴⁵¹ RAWSON 1985.

⁴⁵² WALLACE-HADRILL 1997, 22.

by half the empire and the attention to the cultural revolution in the West relativizes the significance of Rome's meeting with Hellenism.

Still other concepts such as hybridization and creolization have been developed to encompass the complexities that the Romanization implies.⁴⁵³ If these terms are considered as processes in which 'different clusters of meanings and symbolic forms, historically of varying provenances'⁴⁵⁴ meet, these processes continue to see the cultures as independent entities. Indeed when this view of the culture is not taken into consideration and we focus on attention on the question of what the people and how they see the world, it is possible to perceive the dynamics of the colonial situation, for 'cultural mixture is the effect of the practise of mixed origins'.⁴⁵⁵ If hybridity is understood as 'the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominant discourse as they articulate the sights of cultural difference'⁴⁵⁶ it refers to the ways in which the groups built a separate identity in the colonial context and they are able to put themselves with respect to the colonial culture.

As Webster says 'Creolization is a linguistic term indicating the merging of two languages into a blender dialectand it has come to be used generally for the process of multicultural adjustment through whichAfrican-American and Africa Caraibbean societies were created... it is a term increasly employed in colonial archaeology in the Americas, and one that could usefully be brought to bear on the Roman provinces'⁴⁵⁷. Taking into account the experiences in America, Webster points out that, while the creole culture is a mixture of different traits, the creolization process, which may be seen as a process of resistant adaptation, performs, in a context of asymmetric power, relations created not by a single but by a mixed culture.

According to Crawley⁴⁵⁸ such approaches still assume that there were separate people or cultural systems involved: the Mediterranean societies, with complex and long economic and cultural inter-relations, are difficult to fit into models of cultural changes and so, despite the efforts of scholars, the concept of Romanization remains illogical.

⁴⁵³ Hybridization: VAN DOMMELEN 1997, For the term creolization in general see for example the articles in STEWART 2007 and in particular; HANNERZ 1992; HANNERZ 1996; HYLLAND ERIKSEN 2007.

⁴⁵⁴ HANNERZ 1994, 189.

⁴⁵⁵ FRIEDMAN 1995, 84.

⁴⁵⁶ BHABHA 1985, 153.

⁴⁵⁷ WEBSTER 2001, 217.

⁴⁵⁸ CRAWLEY QUINN 2003, 28.

Only recently the use of this word has been challenged:⁴⁵⁹ for example Mattingly,⁴⁶⁰ reviewing the collection of paper “Italy and the west” by Keay and Terrenato, is not convinced of the editor’s definition of “weak Romanization”, he thinks that ‘more profitable analytical concepts should be deployed to service debate’⁴⁶¹ with a wide range of approaches to choose from (identity, discrepant experience, elite negotiation and emulation strategies, resistance⁴⁶², integration, creolization, power discourse, cultural change and acculturation, cultural bricolage);⁴⁶³ furthermore the fact that the emphasis has started to be how one area differs for another is the strongest argument to abandon the use of the term Romanization, and individual identity needs to be studied. These studies attempt to address in terms of negotiation of identities and to redefine Romanization in a more complex fashion but the issues of why society changes in different ways often remain unaddressed. Indeed, Pitts argued that, in many cases, identity is replacing Romanization as the dominant paradigm in Anglo-American Roman archaeology without any change in analytical mindset.⁴⁶⁴ The use of globalization over Romanization, for Pitts, is that it provides a culturally neutral interpretative framework. Roman influence is not ruled out but the term facilitates a more inductive and holistic approach where no single cultural trajectory is privileged. The emphasis on globalizing process acknowledges a more complex world view in which cultural change could be multidirectional and differentially negotiated. Globalization, more, encourages the understanding of the differences between cultures in the context of overarching processes.⁴⁶⁵

3.2 The old provinces

Aim of this section is to highlight, briefly, the historical situation before the Romans arrived in the Iberian Peninsula, in the Galliae and Africa and what they did to encourage the so called “Romanization”. The peculiar situation of each province is thought to be very important because it created the basis for the successive and various developments: for the Roman era it is very interesting to see how the different cultures

⁴⁵⁹ HINGLEY 1996,

⁴⁶⁰ MATTINGLY 2002.

⁴⁶¹ MATTINGLY 2002, 537.

⁴⁶² MATTINGLY 2002, 540.

⁴⁶³ For the referenced bibliographies see MATTINGLY 2002, 537-538.

⁴⁶⁴ PITTS 2007.

⁴⁶⁵ PITTS 2008.

adapted to the coming of the Romnas and how their cultures amalgamate with the Roman culture.

3.2.1 *Spanish provinces*

Lip-service is often paid to the range of cultural variation in the Iberian Peninsula prior of the arrival of the Romans. The writings of Livy, Polybius and Strabo are all scrutinized and the point is made that Rome met a range of peoples during the conquest; this implies, on one side, seeing the late pre-Roman Iron-Age peoples from the Graeco-Roman perspective as different (to some degree primitive) and very often warlike and, on the other side, these traits facilitated the progress of Roman armies and the Roman way of life across the peninsula.

Roman involvement in Iberia is a result for a struggle with Carthage for dominance in the western Mediterranean; the initial phase of the Roman presence in the peninsula happened in 218 BC during the second Punic war. The foci of the conflict against Carthage laid in the North-East, South-East and South and were followed by a period of consolidation (206/195 BC).

Sustained contacts with the Phoenicians, Greeks and later Carthaginians in South and North-eastern Spain together with distinctive underlying later Bronze Age traditions had given rise to one of the best known pre-Roman peoples of Iberia: the Iberian peoples of southern Spain and the Mediterranean coast.

It has been argued that they were migrating tribes who arrived in the peninsula between 3000 and 2000 BC. But where the Iberians came from and how they got, there is open to dispute. Some scholars believe that they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar from northern Africa, while others favour a European provenance, which sees them entering via the eastern end of the Pyrenees and proceeding down the Mediterranean coast.

Greek geographers give the name Iberian, probably connected with that of the Ebro (Iberus) River, to these tribes settled on the southeastern coast, but, by the time of the Greek historian Herodotus (mid-5th century BC), it is applied to all the peoples between the Ebro and Huelva rivers, who were probably linguistically connected and whose material culture was distinct from that of the North and West. Of the Iberian tribes mentioned by classical authors, the Bastetani were territorially the most important and occupied the Almería region and mountainous Granada region. The tribes to the West of the Bastetani are usually grouped together as “Tartessian”, after the name Tartessos given to the region by the Greeks. The Turdetani of the Guadalquivir River valley were the most powerful of this group. Culturally the tribes of the North-East and of the

Valencian coast were greatly influenced by the Greek settlements at Emporion (modern Ampurias) and in the Alicante region, those of the South-East by influences from the Phoenician trading colonies at Malaca (Málaga), Sexi (Almuñéca), and Abdera (Adra), which later passed to the Carthaginians.

Within this broad grouping, there was significant variation which cannot be equated to individual Iberian peoples mentioned by the classical sources. Although there are unequal archaeological evidences, it seems clear that by the 6th-5th centuries BC a range of competing archaic states has developed in the South and South-East while further North and in the lower Ebro Valley a less centralized network had emerged. It is possible to speak about cities even if it is unclear to perceive how far they were political centres in the Greek or Etruscan tradition.

Religious sanctuaries have yielded bronzes and terracotta figures, especially in mountainous areas. There is a wide range of ceramics in the distinctive Iberian styles. Exported pottery has been found in southern France, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa and Greek imports were frequent. The splendid *dama de Elche* (“The Lady of Elche”), a bust with characteristic headdress and ornaments, also shows Greek influence. The Iberian economy had a rich agriculture, mining and metallurgy.

The other well-known people of Iberia, the Celtiberians, are best acknowledged from accounts by the classical sources. The ancient authors located them on three areas: in the center and the West of the Peninsula, in the eastern Meseta and in the North-West and the South-West of the Iberian Peninsula⁴⁶⁶. The archaeologist Martín Almagro Gorbea⁴⁶⁷ claims the difficulty of maintaining Bosch Gimpera’s⁴⁶⁸ or Almagro Bach’s theory⁴⁶⁹ seeing the origin of the Spanish Celts as related to the Urnfield culture, which did not spread beyond the North-East quadrant of the Peninsula.⁴⁷⁰ In his view the origin must be sought to be in the Indo-European “Proto-Celtic”,⁴⁷¹ a substratum preserved in the western regions which existed in the late Bronze Age, at the start of the 1st millennium BC: he considered this culture proto Celtic because its characteristic

⁴⁶⁶ For a detailed account see LORRIO, RUIZ ZAPATERO 2005, 177-185.

⁴⁶⁷ ALMAGRO GORBEA 1992; ALMAGRO GORBEA 1993; ALMAGRO GORBEA 1994; ALMAGRO GORBEA 2001. See the critiques in ARENAS ESTEBAN 1999b, 195; BURILLO MOZOTA 1998, 109; RUIZ ZAPATERO, LORRIO 1999, 34.

⁴⁶⁸ BOSCH GIMPERA 1932.

⁴⁶⁹ ALMAGRO BASCH 1952.

⁴⁷⁰ RUIZ ZAPATERO 1985.

⁴⁷¹ Already before Ruiz Zapatero and Lorrio point out the existence of a preliminary pro-Celtiberian stage in the high mountain ranges of the Jalón, Duero and Tajo Rivers, followed by the “Prehistoric Celtiberian” or “Ancient Celtiberian”, cf. RUIZ ZAPATERO. LORRIO 1988.

elements were Celtic but they were more archaic than these of the Central European Celts since they were derived from the Atlantic tradition. Anyway the culture was refined by the arrival of the Urnfield Culture from the Ebro Valley to the Iberian Mountains around the 9th or 8th centuries BC explaining the cultural, socio-economic, linguistic and ideological similarities between these two cultures: according to Ruiz Zapatero and Lorrio it is very important to determine the undeniable influence of the Urnfield culture.⁴⁷² From the 6th century BC onwards, they began to spread further afield, absorbing the “Proto Celtic” and exploiting these affinities. Though, the Iberian Celts emerged from a long and complex process of Celticization which did not exclude ethnic movements. However, the domination of only one culture, as proposed by the invasionist theory, is no longer considered to be a crucial element in explaining their emergence and development. This process indicated that the Celtiberians evolved and spread out in the peninsula, leading to the acculturation of other *substrata*.⁴⁷³

Arenas,⁴⁷⁴ on the contrary, reduces the indigenous *substratum* to a set of itinerant peoples and he points out that the Urnfield culture was not the only possible source of influence sharing, in this way, with Pratz⁴⁷⁵ the view that other sources also played an important role, including the Mediterranean population as well as local ones.

An analysis of the cemeteries, weapons and material culture had made possible to establish the cultural sequence from the 6th century to the Roman conquest.⁴⁷⁶ The early celtiberian period (c. 600/450 BC) could be defined by the appearance of the first hill forts (known locally as *castros*) occupying places that were easy to defend, fortified with surrounding walls in order to protect a number of individual dwellings suggesting an organization that was not very complex or hierarchical;⁴⁷⁷ during the middle celtiberian period (c. 450/225/220 BC) the settlements grew in size and number as the cemeteries indicating a demographic growth and a systematic occupation of the territory while the late period (c. 225/220-1st century BC) was a period of transition as the result of the clash against Rome provoking in the Celtiberians the adoption of a more urban

⁴⁷² RUIZ ZAPATERO, LORRIO 1999.

⁴⁷³ ALMAGRO GORBEA 2001, 110.

⁴⁷⁴ ARENAS ESTEBAN 1999a, 1999b.

⁴⁷⁵ GONZALEZ PRATZ 2002.

⁴⁷⁶ For an account of different aspects of their life see BURILLO MOZOTA 2005, 443-460.

⁴⁷⁷ ‘The hillfort is not simply an urban concept, but it is the physical expression of a range of economic, social and ideological values within a cultural system’, cf. ALMAGRO GORBEA 1995, 175. This *castro*-type survived until the Roman era in the West and North of the Iberia Peninsula. See BURILLO MOZOTA 2005, 431-433.

way of life: in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC the communities lived in the *oppida*,⁴⁷⁸ fortified town, which acted as central units,⁴⁷⁹ they had the control of the surrounding area, the *chora*; and housed socio-political institutions. The city-states were autonomous, meaning that their administrative bodies could enter into alliances, declare war or peace and elect their own military leader.

They drew some cultural inspirations from Greek influence transmitted indirectly through the medium of the Iberians to the East and, to some extent, through the Celtic influences to the North.

The development of both cultures could be, partially, ascribed to the pan-Mediterranean cultural convergence manifest covering the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

In southern and to lesser extent in central Portugal⁴⁸⁰ and Spanish Extremadura we see the Phoenician influence from the 8th century BC where a settlement system with a relationship between coastal sites at the mouth of the rivers (*emporiae*), established *ex nihilo*, and the inland indigenous settlements gave way to a peculiar situation from the 5th century BC.

Because of the long history of contact with the Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians the indigenous Iberian peoples had very strong cultural traditions which affected the contacts between Roman and local cultures. At the same time, it should be emphasized that this was not a one-way process: Rome was dealing with peoples and not territories and all her strategies were to some extent tempered by the responses of the native communities.

After several campaigns the territory, in 197 BC, was divided into two provinces *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania ulterior Baetica*:⁴⁸¹ the governors used their *imperium* to develop an *ad hoc* series of measures which ensured the maintenance of the peace, the exploitation of silver mines in South-eastern Spain and upper Andalusia, the administration of the justice and the more systematic payments of taxes to the Roman State.⁴⁸² Thus the *provinciae* were being romanized in the sense that they were being drawn into a closer economic relationship to Rome.

⁴⁷⁸ See ALAMAGRO GORBEA 1995, 184-185; BURILLO MOZOTA 2005, 433-438.

⁴⁷⁹ BURILLO MOZOTA 1998, 210.

⁴⁸⁰ HIPÓLITO CORREIA 1995.

⁴⁸¹ As Richardson has argued the creation of the two provinces did not represent the creation of two well-defined territorial units, cf. RICHARDSON 1986. Moreover, it is probable that in general the Roman provinces were not perceived as distinctive territories until at least the early 1st century BC and more probably the administrative reforms of Augustus, cf. NICOLET 1991, 189-207.

⁴⁸² RICHARDSON 1976.

In the more settled regions of the South and East the intensification of surplus and the use of coinage would also have enable native elites to purchase imported Italian wine and other luxuries that would have helped to consolidate the social position of the latter. By contrast, the communities of central and western Iberia were in a state of frequent military confrontation with Rome and similarly paying for the maintenance of Roman troops in the fields. In this process it is clear that Rome made some rudimentary concessions to the realities of the two *provinciae* rather than imposing ready-made systems upon both of them. In both *provinciae*, therefore, Rome did not drastically intervene in the day to day work of the government: governors were content to work through the pre-existing social system and settlement patterns.⁴⁸³ This may partially explain why the “Roman urban system” in Iberia was little more than rudimentary before the mid to later 1st century BC: in fact the only mechanism for creating a specifically Roman urban system in conquered territory was brought through the founding of Latin and Roman colonies. There were few of them in Iberia prior to the mid 1st century BC⁴⁸⁴ since Romans and Italians probably never settled in sufficient numbers to merit them.⁴⁸⁵ Rome thus “managed” the *Hispaniae* during the Republic by working through native settlements systems rather by imposing a preconceived “Roman urban system” as such.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸³ This is supported by the fact that the many native settlements, which eventually came to be supplanted by Romans centres in Citerior, were only gradually abandoned in the course of the 2nd and 1st century BC, cf. BENDALA ET AL. 1986; in Ulterior by contrast the continuity between native and Roman was far more pronounced, cf. KEAY 1992.

⁴⁸⁴ The only official foundation was the latin colony of Carteia (171 BC) as the result of a special petition to the Roman Senate while the cases of Emporion and Valentia are more enigmatic and also the character of other “Roman” towns like Italica, or Roman sponsored centres like Iliturgues, Gracchuris or Pompaelo is difficult to discern owing to the varieties of either archaeological or literary evidences, cf. KEAY 1995, 296-298.

⁴⁸⁵ Amongst the early evidence which implies the presence of substantial numbers of non-military personnel is the statement by Livy (34.9.12-13) about contractors no longer being required to furnish grain to the Roman army in Hispania Citerior in 195 BC. More explicit is the statement of Diodorus (*Hist.* 5. 35-6) drawing upon eyewitness account by Posidonius, about the inrush of Italians in the 2nd century BC who made profits from mines which are generally assumed to be those of southern Spain. These were surely contractors rather than workers and they need not have been present in overwhelming numbers. Finally, one should mention the Legio Vernacula which was raised in Ulterior in the 50s BC and which played an important role in the last phase of the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey in the province in 49 BC. It is generally understood to have been composed of Romans citizens in the province at this time and be an index of the size and economic strength of lower class Roman citizen in the province at this time. However, it has been recently suggested that the legion was composed of native Spaniards and that the total number of the Roman citizen settlers in Ulterior was relatively small (FEAR 1991). An analysis of the circumstantial literary evidence for the unofficial settlement of discharged veterans in the *Hispaniae* does not support the idea of Italian or Roman settlements on a large scale prior to the mid 1st century BC (BRUNT 1971, 204-233).

⁴⁸⁶ KEAY 2001, 127-128.

For a long time after Sutherland's opinion it was thought that Hispanic Romanization was 'the result of a rigorous central government directed by the enlightened policy and the unquestioned power of one supreme statesman-the Princeps'.⁴⁸⁷ While it is true that the Principate made an active policy of assimilation, the indigenous population played a much larger role than previously thought: the process can better be described as acclimatization to Roman ways than as Roman customs superseding those of the indigenous populations.

Clearly Italic and, to a lesser degree, Roman artistic and architectural symbols were present in Iberia during the 2nd and early 1st centuries BC. The mechanism of the "emigración itálica" involved that Italic settlers were rare and would have been a minority in a native cultural context. If they did bring Italic architectural ideas with them one does not have to assume that they would automatically have imposed them upon the native communities in which they settled.

However it would be absurd to argue that Roman, Italic and Hellenistic forms were absent from Republican Iberia: recent archaeological research has begun to show Roman and Italic influences on different aspects for the daily life of the communities, predominately in eastern Spain and in the lower valley of Ebro.

The direct impact of Rome on Iberia between the late 3rd and mid 1st centuries BC would thus have been limited to the intervention of powerful individuals or groups. The level of immigration focused primarily upon centres like Carthago Nova, Corduba, Tarraco, Valentia; although these were centres of Roman owners there is little evidence that were culturally "Roman" until the 1st century BC. Their layout and decoration was dictated by native traditions rather than being imposed by a minority of Roman or Italic elites population. Why native elites in certain parts of Iberia should have chosen to adopt certain aspects of Italic and Roman material culture at all is not clear: a motivation would be that such a choice was a way of reinforcing their position at the top of the social hierarchy in order to access to these goods and ideas facilitated by Rome as means of retaining native loyalties in the context of the crucial patron-client relationships which underwrote the success of Roman control in the peninsula.

This was because until the end of the 2nd and the beginning of 1st century BC Roman architectural and artistic traditions were not sufficiently distinct to be employed on a large scale in a provincial context and at the same time, however, elites trying to define

⁴⁸⁷ SUTHERLAND 1939, 152.

their ethnicity in mixed towns or the patronage of individual governors may have been responsible for the appearance of individual buildings or monuments at some of them⁴⁸⁸.

After the annexation not all the territories were conquered and different revolts, organized by native populations, took place but the Romans were able to defeat them and conquered more territories. But till the complete annexation, in the Augustean's time, more several riots happened and Hispania was the theatre of the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey.

This period marks a striking departure from the pictures of limited Roman interference and cultural influence: the juridical concept of the Roman town began to be increasingly applied to native towns and thus new Roman concepts in politics and justice, social organization and urban topography began to replace native traditions.⁴⁸⁹

The political, social and demographic changes in Italy and at Rome, resolved with conflicts, had direct repercussions in Iberia where the Roman and the native communities had a long history of client-patron links with established Roman families at Rome. It was an important success of Caesar because, in the interests of broader regional security, loyalty to him was rewarded with varying degrees of legal status and privilege. Personal loyalty was the bases upon which Caesar chose some natives centres for his *coloniae* and rewarded other communities with the grant of municipal rights.⁴⁹⁰

After that time the *Hispaniae* fell under the control of Octavian and as Augustus he reinforced and completed Caesar's pattern of colonization and located new *coloniae* in Baetica and Citerior (some of which came to be included within the new provinces of Lusitania) in order to articulate a more integrated system of political control, ensuring the long term Roman hegemony and developing a more systematic exploitation of its economic resources. Some of these were completely new settlements with no native predecessors and he also granted municipal status to a number of native settlements: the personal link between these urban communities and Augustus and his family was even more important than it had been under Caesar.

Once the conquered people began realizing themselves as members of a province and city or peoples, the task of the Principate to integrate the indigenous populations became

⁴⁸⁸ This dialogue was essential to Rome's control of native populations.

⁴⁸⁹ The mid 1st century BC was characterized by a new awareness of Rome's dominant position in the world, a sense of pride born out of achievement and a religious sense of mission; cf. BRUNT 1978.

⁴⁹⁰ KEAY 1995, 302.

easier. While the political layout did change to reflect the new geographical organization, many structural aspects did not become as Romanized as they did in other areas.⁴⁹¹

The last territories to be occupied were in the North during the Cantabrian war (29/19 BC) when the last free tribes, the Cantabri and Astures, were subjugated:⁴⁹² war and diplomacy were used in order to force authority in the region. The war needed the presence of some legiones (II Augusta, IIII Macedonica, V Alaudae, VI Victrix; IX Hispania, X Gemina and the XX Valeria Victrix)⁴⁹³ but, in the end of the war, the majority departed for other provinces.

According to some scholars⁴⁹⁴ here the Romanization was faster than in the regions of the South and West because the continuous presence of the army stimulated this process. Furthermore, during Augustus' reign, at the time of the conquest, the process has already expanded throughout the empire; this was the time when the first purely Roman model seems to have appeared and it will have stimulated the Romanization in the North as well in other regions. The fortresses and *castella* were centres of irradiation of Roman habits; the soldiers, besides their own role, were very important for administration, road infrastructures and economic exploitation.⁴⁹⁵ On the contrary Keay thinks that the native communities were not able to demonstrate loyalty to the emperor and State in an urban context.⁴⁹⁶ There were only three Roman centres in this early period (*Asturica Augusta*, *Lucus Augusti* and *Bracara Augusta*); the majority of the population lived in the small hilltop settlements (*castros*) as they had done in the pre-Roman period.

As Le Roux stresses, the important role played by the army in the development of the economic's life (above all in the North-West) can be seen in two basic forms: the first one consisted in providing their needs in the field of the supplies and normal life while the second concerned its participation in exploitation and enhancement of the territories. We have different examples⁴⁹⁷ that show us how the army was an intermediary for the possession of territories as instrument bound to the Empire and as provincial institution cooperating with the locale people. The role of the army wasn't that of a force

⁴⁹¹ KLEIN 2008, 26.

⁴⁹² MORILLO CERDÁN 2000.

⁴⁹³ MORILLO CERDÁN, GARCÍA MARCOS 2000, 590.

⁴⁹⁴ FERNÁNDEZ OCHO; LE ROUX 1977; MORILLO CERDÁN 2005.

⁴⁹⁵ For the urban problem see FERNÁNDEZ OCHOA, MORILLO CERDÁN 2006.

⁴⁹⁶ KEAY 1995, 303.

⁴⁹⁷ LE ROUX 1977, 347-349.

connected directly to the economic life trying to change it: it played an intermediary role between an army after wars and a permanent army.

Keay, on the contrary, attempts to bridge the divide, by interpreting the evidence for cultural change within three interrelated theoretical frameworks. Ideology⁴⁹⁸ has been chosen as the theoretical framework to study the way in which cultural form was developed in the Roman world. Patronage⁴⁹⁹ has been seen as the mechanism through which Roman cultural symbols were transmitted into the *Hispaniae*. Social competition⁵⁰⁰ is understood to have been the driving force behind the desire of cultural change. This approach emphasizes the importance of the continuity between the Iron Age and Roman period and the way in which it is marked by contrasting cultural symbols.

The layout of the Caesarian towns is largely unknown since much has been obscured by later buildings; however close associations with Caesar may have been influential in the gradual transformation of the urban landscape in this class of settlement.

The augustean period saw the deliberate cultivation of an imperial ideology for the first time in the Roman history: a crucial role in the development of this ideology at Rome was played by a complex and internally cohesive system of artistic and architectural symbols. The effect to this was to create a “standardized visual language” of characteristic Roman cultural identity for the first time: this meant that Roman cultural symbols could be identified by provincial communities.

There is a growing body of evidence which suggests that these broader forms of imperial symbolism were adopted by Caesarian and Augustean *coloniae* and they were catalysts in the development of culturally specific Roman towns. These kinds of developments probably began as spontaneous acts of loyalty to the emperor but this is not to say that they would have been without some form of encouragements from the State: after all they were ultimately in Rome’s interest.

⁴⁹⁸ ‘So, in various ways, ideology relates the contingency of the present to a natural and timeless order or to a mythical past’. Cf. SHANKS, TILLEY 1987, 180-185.

⁴⁹⁹ Patronage is defined as a particular kind of relationship and as a system of relationships: in the first case patronage is defined as an elementary or cell structure or social life with discrete, yet universal characteristics. In the second it is defined as a system of such relations, constituting a social mechanism which functions strategically in the reproduction of the major social institutions of power. JOHNSON, DANDEKER 1990.

⁵⁰⁰ It was necessary that rich people should possess the sheer ability to spend money on public magnificence. It was also necessary that the community, or individual within it, should have to relevant architectural awareness and technological skills and that a great deal of hard work should be put on it to see that building programmes, public feasts and like were adequately organized. Urban magnificence involved effort, as well skills and money, cf. JOHNSON 1985; MACKIE 1990.

While in the new colonies architects were able to draw more freely upon models in Rome and Italy and integrate ideological symbols in town planning, the extant Iberian and Roman republican urban fabric did not allow town planners and architects the greatest freedom.

The foundation of the Caesarian and Augustean colonies marks the birth of the Roman urban system in eastern and southern Hispania. The colonies symbolized the transformation of the cultural territories of the Iberian peoples into a specifically Roman landscape.

Ideology, patronage and social competition amongst Roman elites created distinctive and prestigious symbols of Roman power in Iberia. The personal element made them especially appealing to the elites of the native towns and created chain-effects of emulation down to the social state provoking an unprecedented degree of cultural convergence by urban communities within the *Hispaniae*. Social competition and a need to retain an eminent social position ensured that elites attempted to identify with the emperor as closely as possible.⁵⁰¹

The model proposed raises three important points. First of all, the point “raise and the decline” of towns in the early imperial *Hispaniae* has much to do with the desire of provincial elites to spend money on monuments or inscriptions in honour of a particular emperor. The second point concerns the provincial administrative system. One can argue that rather than imposing an administrative system upon the provinces Augustus developed one which was adapted to the realities of the urban developments over the previous 20 to 30 years. All of these facets of the administrative system were thus part of a systematization of an earlier republican experimentation and a reading of provincial space into political and ideological terms. The final point concerns cultural unity; the Augustean period might be seen to usher in a movement towards cultural unity unprecedented in the history of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. This unity was tempered by the contrasting degrees of alacrity with which ideological symbolism was used in eastern and central Tarraconensis, Baetica and North-West Tarraconensis. Different regional cultural traditions also condition the character of this unity.

The use of Roman cultural symbols in their broader social, cultural and ethnic contexts points to the development of a range of overlapping and interlocking Hispano-Roman

⁵⁰¹ In eastern and central Tarraconensis and Lusitania we can see a readiness to adopt sophisticated types from the Augustan period onwards while in Baetica the process has taken place later.

culture. While the adoption of Roman buildings, inscriptions, names, eating habits etc may have been inspired by prototypes in the *coloniae*, provincial capitals and Rome itself, it does not necessarily follow that the communities in which they appear share the same Roman social, religious or cultural values. It is important instead to look beyond the occurrence of individual cultural symbols to note the broader cultural context in which they were deployed.

3.2.2 *North West Africa*⁵⁰²

Thanks to Polybius and archaeological researches, we know that, in the 2nd century BC, the division between private estate of the elite, which sustained the families and the public revenues from the African territories, represents one of the most central aspects of North African history. The landscape around Carthage was farmed by the estates of the Carthaginian elite but outside that area were other cities that seem to have had urban status and independent city-territories⁵⁰³ as for example the Numidian king Minipsa's capital at Cirta or the four cities qualified as *Regia* (Thimisida, Bulla, Hippo and Zama), further afield there were other towns as Volubilis in Mauretania or the "Libyphoenician" towns in Tripolitania that passed under the control of Carthage in the 2nd century BC: also these cities had urban elites which, most likely, owned private estates. From time to time they have owned allegiance and maybe taxes to the Numidian or Mauretanian monarchies but otherwise they may be seen as rather normal Mediterranean towns.

It seems that 'at the beginning of the 2nd century BC Africa was occupied by a series of towns and their territories with internal structures not apparently very different from those of the rest of the Mediterranean world'.⁵⁰⁴ At most, the coastal towns were Punic but further inland they were Berbers-Lybian, Numidians and Mauri whose Punic culture had some Hellenistic overlay.⁵⁰⁵

But outside the limits of city's territories there was the world of villages, whose links to the urban society were reduced to the payments of tribute. If we concentrate on the area extending 100km to the West and to the South of Carthage, surveyed by Peyras and Ferchiou,⁵⁰⁶ we see a bulk of settlements allocated on the hills above the valleys, rarely

⁵⁰² In some way this chapter may be taken in consideration also for the section regarding Mauretaniae (3.3.3).

⁵⁰³ CAMPS 1993.

⁵⁰⁴ FENTRESS 2006, 8-9.

⁵⁰⁵ See for example DESANGES 1984-85.

⁵⁰⁶ FERCHIOU 1987; FERCHIOU 1990; FERCHIOU 1994; PEYRAS 1991. Even if the two authors share an exhaustive knowledge of the region, the studies cannot be considered completed because no

more than 4km from their neighbours: few of them can be qualified as a city as for example Thougga, Vaga and probably Thizika and Mactar, mentioned by Plinius as *oppida libera*.⁵⁰⁷ So far it is not possible to define how many of them were settlements before the Romans because of the scarcity of pottery. Indeed, the works of Peyras and Ferchiou clear up that most of them had small and fortified settlements in the highest point of the site making possible to compare them with the known fortified settlements described by Appian in the *chora* of Carthage.⁵⁰⁸ Furthermore Ferchiou, analysing the funerary landscape, suggests that the *tumuli*, without surrounding cemeteries and dated by the black-glaze pottery before 50 BC, were the tombs of the owners of the estates whose workforce was in the *oppida*.⁵⁰⁹ Previously Whittaker argued that while the properties may have been undifferentiated within an *oppida*, the nobility exercised complex rights over them and in many cases the villages came under the direct control of the nomadic groups.⁵¹⁰ Ferchiou's case seems to convince but there are some problems in it: the *tumuli* are rooted in the indigenous tradition and have no relations to the punicized customs of the numidiam upper classes; moreover in the *tumuli* we may see close ties between the fortified villages of the *oppida* and the person commemorated but the ties imply identification rather than domination.

Thanks to a comparison with the pre-modern and contemporary Kabylie, whose landscapes diverges from the picture offered by Whittaker, we can infer that the taxes would have been paid by the large community. The administration was held by a council of elders as it is suggested by references as *seniores* and *principes*, who represent the leading citizens of each villages, while the subsistence economy was a mixture of pastoralism and agriculture and a percentage of their products was taxed by Carthage.

But so far it is only possible to postulate how these settlements became urban centres about the time between the 4th and the 2nd centuries BC but, most likely, some factors such as royal involvement in the creation of an administrative centre or capital, increasing involvements in external trade and the dislocation of the veterans worked here together very well.

excavations have ever taken place and Peyras has never recorded surface pottery. In general, we could say that no modern survey has occurred.

⁵⁰⁷ Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 5. 30.

⁵⁰⁸ App. *Punica*, 101.

⁵⁰⁹ FERCHIOU 1987.

⁵¹⁰ WHITTAKER 1978.

At the end of the third Punic war, in 146 BC, Rome was able to annex the territories that Carthage controlled directly and created the first African province⁵¹¹ whose boundaries, from the river *Tusca* (oued el Khebir), at East of Tabarke to *Thaenae* (Thyna), were delimited by the *Fossa Regia*.

The city of Utica was elected the new capital and most of the territories were considered *ager publicus populi Romani*. In this early period the area between Bizerta and Enfidaville till the border of the province was parcelled, the so called “North centuriation”, whose aim was to distribute *ager publicus* to the *coloni* transferred after the province’s constitution and whose orientation seems to be determined at sunrise of summer solstice. Much of Carthage’s land was sold to rich property owners, other peasant farmers were immigrants from Italy and many Italian merchants were heading here. With no kinship-ties to their new homes the new settlers owned land expropriated from its owner, individually. It is agreed that the Roman administration adopted “en bloc” the Carthaginian system within the area of Africa Vetus and left the administrative structures of the region alone, and the settlements continued to pay their tribute: by Roman nomenclature they were now *civitates stipendiarii*.⁵¹² Particularly interesting is the continuity of the Punic administrative district system of *pagi* each of them containing a number of little settlements.

After the defeat of Jugurtha, thanks to Marius, the *lex Appulia Saturnia* decreed that a certain number of veterans could be installed in the territories of oriental Numidia (Uchi Maius, Thibaris, Mustis) and in the same period some other veterans, thanks to the father of Caesar, arrived to the isle of Cercina (Chergui).

In the second half of 1st century BC Africa was involved in the conflict between Caesar and Pompeius: in this juncture the oriental part of Numidia became the new province of Africa Nova (to differentiate it from the old territories) that bordered Mauretania. Only in 40 BC when Titus Sestius, the proconsul, defeated a pretender to the numidian throne, all Numidia was included in the new created province and the *Fossa Regia* became the border between the two new provinces. With Caesar began also the era of the establishment of colonies especially in the coast because he wanted to improve the

⁵¹¹ ‘Assigning a commander to Africa made it a *provincia* in the contemporary sense of the magistrates’s assignement but no more turned it into a province in any formal or institutional sense than had assigned it as a *provincia* during the preceding war ... there is no reason to see the settlement of 146 BC as marking formal change in the status of Africa’, CRAWLEY QUINN 2004, 1596-1597.

⁵¹² AE 1963, 196.

ship traffic between Italy and Africa in order to resolve the problem of grain's supply to Rome.

Crawley Quinn tries to find out whatever Romanization is a good concept for explaining the change during the republican time:⁵¹³ she surveys the evidences for socio-economic and cultural changes but a great obstacle is presenting by the archaeological evidences that are not uniform because of different reasons.

As Quinn says the evidences suggest that in the costal region 'the overall picture is one of successful coastal trading communities forming an economic and cultural network with other western Mediterranean regions, which acted as catalyst for both urban development and intensive agricultural production in the nearby countryside. It is interesting to note that a similar pattern of increasing rural settlement and intensive agriculture is recorded in many European regions in their "pre-Roman" periods'.⁵¹⁴

but in the tell, between the coastal trading zone and the emerging Numidian states, different changes took place and the surveys reveals a pattern of fortified hillforts⁵¹⁵ with an increased sense of communal identity.⁵¹⁶

There is scarce evidence for a direct Roman involvement during the late Republic and there are few signs of acculturation to Roman or Italic practice. Furthermore, the use of Latin and the construction of Italian style-buildings occur only very late and only in particular places around Utica, Carthage and Cap Bon: they might be linked to the presence of Romans or Italians in these areas, although change also coincides with the 'Cultural Revolution' identified in the late republican and Augustean periods at Rome. The pattern of cultural and economic networks in Africa is very diverse and goes in different ways but rarely oriented towards Italy, at least until the period of civil wars.

The disorder after the assassination of Caesar had consequences in Africa Nova and Vetus which, *de facto*, were reunified from 40 BC, when the territories were assigned to the triumvir Lepido.⁵¹⁷ After him, from 35 BC at least, it is sure that all the proconsuls had jurisdiction in the entire territory: it is not possible to establish when this unification was officialised and to date with precision the year of the creation of Africa

⁵¹³ CRAWLEY QUINN 2003.

⁵¹⁴ CRAWLEY QUINN 2003, 14.

⁵¹⁵ See above the surveys of Peyras and Ferchiou.

⁵¹⁶ CRAWLEY QUINN 2003, 19.

⁵¹⁷ FISHWICK, SHAW 1977, 371; GASCOU 1972, 22.

Proconsularis which, at the latest, could go back to the Augustean reorganization in 27 BC⁵¹⁸ (Figure 21).



Figure 21: Africa in the Augustean and Julio-Claudian phase (after Bullo 2002, fig. 3).

The capital was the new colony of Carthage where, in 29 BC, 30,000 *coloni* were sent by Octavianus continuing to use the municipal system of *pagi*:⁵¹⁹ some of the *pagi* were established with veterans while others with *cives romani* who lived alongside an already community; furthermore, the *pagi* were *immunes* (as Carthage). This expropriation to the new immigrant settlers caused enmity between the new settlers and the villages. The intromission of the new Roman citizens, who sometime had an entirely separate administration (*pagi civium romanorum*) must have had effects on their social structures as the indigenous community (now the *civitas*) was flanked by Romans with different rights: this difference in juridical status must have been a long-running grievance

⁵¹⁸ Fishwick and Shaw argue that what was later called Proconsularis probably began to be created under the administration of Lepidus c. 40 BC, see FISHWICK, SHAW 1977. Almost all the arguments enlisted in support of this view have come under fire in recent years from Gasco who would put back the origins of Proconsularis to the administrative arrangements of 27 BC (GASCOU 1984, 1987). On the contrary in a present paper, Fishwick returns to the first hypothesis: through the use of the ancient sources and among the *fasti et commentarii triumphorum* and *fasti triumphalies Barberiani* he confuted the idea of Gasco, cf. FISHWICK 1993, FISHWICK 1994a.

⁵¹⁹ Here the meaning is totally different as the *pagi* in Galliae. See GASCOU 1982.

because the members of *civitates* achieved Roman citizenship only in the reign of Septimius Severus.

No open settlements took place for at least a century after the establishment of Africa Proconsularis: most of the new sites are defined as “agglomérations rurales” meaning that the settlement was nucleated with a preference for the village form. In the village of the previous period we see a gradual change from commonly held property to individual accumulation of landed properties.⁵²⁰ The traditional mixed economy of the villages was victim of the new regime because the taxation and the increasing amounts of land for cultivation made the pasture disappear. The pastoralism may have driven by the nature of Roman agriculture, further afield, towards an approach to stock-raising linked to the market of woolen goods and the control of the market by Romans must have limited the political independence of the nomadic clans and broken their capacity of organizing clients.

The emperor gave impulse to the colonization, a phenomenon we have to intend as juridical promotion of already established urban centers in conjunction with the transfer of a certain number of households to which were offered property rights in the African grounds.⁵²¹ Besides *coloniae* and *municipia* there were also *oppida civium Romanorum*, quoted by Plinius the Elder and, as well, almost 30 *oppida libera* which had a form of autonomy but some centers were reduce at the condition of *civitates stipendiariae* with different kinds of auto-government. These politics had the purpose to consolidate Roman power in the territories in the back of Carthage and, in the same time, to defend the principal routes of access in the heart of the region.

As for the *coloni* send by Caesar also those ones transferred by Augustus took advantage by the “North centuriation”⁵²² as for example part of the people in Cartaghe or at Hippo Diarrhytus, Maxula and Neapolis but also the veterans in Uthina and Thuburbe Minius. In the same year the Sahel, even if excluded from the policy of Augustus, was equalized to the territories of the *chora* of Carthage and centuriated. The so known “East centuriation”, which characterized the hinterland of Hadrumetum, the area between Thysdrus and Acholla reflected the ancient territorial district of Byzantium: because it is not possible to date the operation and to associate it to a new

⁵²⁰ For a view of the passage from the collective clan territory to individual owners in the great senatorial and imperial estates see FENTRESS 2006, 25-27; WHITTAKER 1978, 355-361.

⁵²¹ BULLO 2002, 12-13.

⁵²² See BULLO 2002, 19-25.

project, it is thought that it was functional to the cadastral arrangement of the new unified province. Furthermore, Augustus organized the *pertica* of Carthage: portions of territories were given to the inhabitants of the city, also in a certain distance from the city when there were no territories available.⁵²³

After the war against Tacfarinate, fully described by Tacitus,⁵²⁴ Tiberius decided to continue the work of Augustus and created the “South centuriation”. This parceling involved the hinterland of the Gulf of Gabes (Lesser Syrte) till the actual border between Tunisia and Algeria and it was made by the *mensores* of Legio III Augusta; in this case, as well, there was no colonization.

Beside that, it is worth to mention the presence of *praedia*: a big number of them were in the valley of Bagradas but epigraphic evidences indicate other *praedia* in the South-East territories of oued Khalled.⁵²⁵

Numerous were, of course, the private properties of the emperor, which were controlled, from Augustus onwards, by a procurator of equestrian rank.⁵²⁶ they were located in the valley of Bagradas but also in the Sahel and in Tripolitania. From Ghardimaou, in the South bank of the river Majerda comes a fragment of slab which carries a dedication to Claudius⁵²⁷ dated in AD 52: though the fragmentary state of preservation we see that the dedicator, whose name is conserved only for the third element, Celer, was a *procurator*.⁵²⁸ From Calama (Guelma), about 100km East to Cirta, come two funerary inscriptions belonging to a couple of imperial slaves; the woman was *vilica*⁵²⁹ while the man was *saltuarius* (forester)⁵³⁰: their presence attests clearly the existence of private imperial property which was managed without the provincial administration.⁵³¹

The work of Benabou *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*⁵³² adopts the point of view of the Africans and tries to be the protector of the African culture, and in the successive discussions⁵³³ the attention is focused on the resistance of the African people against the Romans: yet this concept is not thought anymore to be adequate to the actual

⁵²³ BULLO 2002, 32-33.

⁵²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 2.52; 3. 20-21; 32 and 72-74; 4. 23-36.

⁵²⁵ CIL III 25902, 25943, 26416.

⁵²⁶ KOLENDO 1991, 16-17.

⁵²⁷ CIL III 14727.

⁵²⁸ The letters *dif*---which follow the office do not find comparisons in the normal *corsus honorum*, see KOLENDO 1971; PFLAUM 1950, 3-44; 1960, 1092.

⁵²⁹ CIL III 17500=ILAlg I, 323.

⁵³⁰ ILAlg I, 324.

⁵³¹ KOLENDO 1991, 11.

⁵³² BENABOU 1976.

⁵³³ See for example SEBAÏ 2005; THÉBERT 1978.

process of romanisation, also the idea itself of Berbers, as whole unit in Roman time, has been not proved. Moreover in Africa, before the coming of the Romans, other peoples had settled here alongside with the natives making, as Théber says, a culture *authentiquement africaine*.⁵³⁴ The process of acculturation, which implies that a society assimilates or is imposed traits from another culture, denies the importance of the pre-Roman period⁵³⁵ and the relations of power between the two cultures. The notions of Romanisation, resistance and acculturation all together are not able to describe the African situation and every situation needs to be evaluated separately.

3.2.3 *Galliae*

Before going deep into the subject it's important to make a difference between *Tres Galliae* and *Provincia* or *Gallia Narbonensis*. *Tres Galliae* is a political and geographical ensemble organized by Augustus and Tiberius formed by *Gallia Aquitania*, *Gallia Celtica* or *Lugdunensis* and *Gallia Belgica*. These three provinces formed a territorial set and they represented, according to the Roman authorities, a big unity regarding the administration. On the contrary, *Narbonensis*, conquered before Caesar, was considered more closed to Italy in some respects. For these reasons, the treatise will follow the mentioned division in order to have a logical and clear vision of the events and situations.

3.2.3.1 *Gallia Narbonensis*

One question relates the division between Iberians in the West and Ligurians in the East who, nowadays, are considered the real natives of the region:⁵³⁶ Pseudo-Scylax,⁵³⁷ in the 4th century BC, has a mixture of the two stretches from the Pyrenees to the Rhône.

The Rhône seems not to be a limit while the ancient sources cite Hérault, the ancient Oranos, as the border between the two communities. Although it is not possible to speak about a real frontier border, the archaeological evidences confirm that, beyond Hérault, ruled people, belonging to the Iberians, who were different from those settled in eastern Languedoc and Provence. The Iberians, who did not come from Spain as previously thought, occupy the western Languedoc not excluding, anyway, periodical forays, even if it was more probable that the Ligurians expanded in the "Iberian territories". This

⁵³⁴ THÉBERT 1978, 74.

⁵³⁵ See in the section 3,1 the elite model.

⁵³⁶ Barrauol says that the two of them represent the same ethnic Mediterranean core, cf. BARRAUOL 1969, 157.

⁵³⁷ Pseudo Scylax *Per.* 3.

amalgamation produced a reality very much original in comparison with the rest of the *Galliae*.

At one certain point celtic people arrived East of the Rhône. Strabo⁵³⁸ remarks that some earlier writers called *Sallyes* the Ligurians while more recent ones called them Celto-Ligurians⁵³⁹ testifying also a fusion that implies an interpretation already old in Augustus's time because Strabo takes a lot of informations from Poseidonius with elements of the 2nd century BC. The Celts, installed here, seem to come from North Italy: instead of a massive migration it is better to talk about a progressive and gentle absorption; it is obvious that the date of beginning of this process, which distressed the ethnic composition and enhanced the civilisation, is difficult to determine.

Since Barroul the date when the Celts first appeared in this area is a matter of debate⁵⁴⁰ with the elaboration of three hypotheses. The first one dates this process in the period between 4th and 3rd centuries BC as consequence of massive invasion from the central Europe, the so called *expansion celtique* of Hubert.⁵⁴¹ While the second one, called *conciliatrice* by Py,⁵⁴² keeps the idea of a recent celtisation but in the form of modest celtic infiltration: the date of this process, eventually, can go back, after the discovering of statues in Bourgogne and Glauberg⁵⁴³ to the end of 6th century BC and beginning of the 5th century BC. The third theory, proposed again by Py,⁵⁴⁴ consists in an old celtisation, before Iron Age, and considers the late invasions as marginal. Py's idea is not in contradiction with the historical sources that never talk about a celtic invasion but with modern historiography: according to Py, the Ligures could possibly also be Celts who evolved differently from their neighbours, and the presence of Iberians can be seen as caused by economic roots rather than ethnic ones.⁵⁴⁵

One of the most important aftermaths is the constitution of big confederations, which the tradition tends to define as political entities in precise territories: *Allobroges*, *Vocontii*, *Cavares* and *Salluvii* were East of Rhône, *Helvii*, *Volcae* and *Arécomiques* at West.

⁵³⁸ Strabo *Geogr.* IV, 6, 3.

⁵³⁹ The term, according to Py, could report to a heterogeneous composition, cf. PY 1993, 41-42.

⁵⁴⁰ BARROUL 1969, 157-161.

⁵⁴¹ HUBERT 1950.

⁵⁴² PY 2003, 304.

⁵⁴³ GROS 2008a, 9.

⁵⁴⁴ PY 1993, 2004.

⁵⁴⁵ For the evidences he takes into account to confirm his theory see PY 2003.

But we do not have to forget that the question is primarily linguistic: if they were a minority they could introduce their rule and language without noticeably altering the way of life of the local population so their arrival would not be recognisable archaeologically at once. Trogus believed that Ligurians and Gauls (Celts) were in occupation during the foundation of *Massalia*, and Livy⁵⁴⁶ says that Gauls (Celts) were in the process of invading Italy and overcame the position of the ligurian *Sallyes* and helped the Phocaeans to found *Massalia*.

The characteristic features of the Celts are the hill-forts, the so called *oppida*, even if it is possible to note some modifications apported by the Greeks as for example the stone-columns with capitals at Ensérune or the application of bastions to forts as at Entremont. It is, anyway, true that this kind of city represents, in the social scenario of the population from 5th to 2nd centuries BC, the first step of the evolution of town in Roman time. Beside the existence of *oppida*, the reflections about the peripheral territories pointed out the attention to other types of housing.⁵⁴⁷

Trogus calls them cities and even if the use of the word may, possibly, come from the redrafting of Justin, it is not wrong because many of them represent, in embryonic form, the nucleated organisation typical of the Mediterranean world. Connected to the hill-forts are the tribes and, though the tribes had by then lost their full political identity, they were still recognised by Plinius.

In these territories, it is important to take in mind also that the native background was affected by the Greek colonisation. The critical historical event had been the foundation of the Phocaean colony of *Massalia* (Marseille) in or about 600 BC.⁵⁴⁸ The Greek influence was important but it did not exercise a direct transfer of socio-political or ideological models, instead it contributed to enlarge the scale of political integration and, as well, an external *stimulus* that generated a local answer.

⁵⁴⁶ Liv. *Ab Urbe cond.* V, 34.

⁵⁴⁷ ARCELIN 2004, 227-228.

⁵⁴⁸ The date is remarkably well attested by a number of sources. Timaeus (quoted by Pseudo-Scymnus 211-214) puts it 120 years before the battle of Salamis (in 600 or 599 BC). Plinius (*Nat. Hist.* 5. 34), followed by Pompeius Trogus, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (that is, by Varro's reckoning between 616 BC and 579 BC) and Solinus (*Collecta Memorabilia* II, 52) in the 45th Olympiad (600-595 BC). Furthermore, the date is surely confirmed by archaeological evidences. But the fullest account of the actual foundation is that one given by Pompeius Trogus, since he was a Gaul from the tribe of *Vicontii*. He repeats the version that was current in the city in the 1st century but, unfortunately, his statement is preserved only in the epitome of his work made by Justin in the 3rd century AD (*Historica Philippicae ex Trogo Pompeio* XLIII, 4, 11-12). See FERDIÈRE 2005, 34.

The early Roman involvement in transalpine Gaul arose from the Carthaginian threat because, after visiting Carthage in 218 BC, Q. Fabius, M. Livius, L. Aemilius, C. Licinius and Q. Baebius, according to Livy,⁵⁴⁹ tried to establish alliances with various tribes but, unluckily, the writer does not record the name of the tribes. A generation after Optimius's battle in 153 BC against the Ligurians, peace seems to have reigned in southern Gaul and we have no mention of any interference with Romans in transit: this allowed to Rome to defeat forever Carthage in the third Punic war. But in 125 BC the *Salluvii* attacked Massalia and a Roman force was sent to their assistance: the victories of Flaccus, also against some other *Ligures* and *Volcontii*, were not decisive and in the following year his place was taken by another consul, C. Sextius Clavinius, who succeeded in forcing them to withdraw from the coast and established a Roman garrison at Aix, thereafter to be known as *Aquae Sextiae*. But the victories of Sextius seemed to have settled a domino effect developed when the leaders of *Salluvii* fled to the *Allobroges*: it was at this stage that Rome became involved, definitely, in Transalpine Gaul. Romans send Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 122 BC and only after the second battle in 121 BC they were able to establish their power. Even if the Romans maintained a garrison at Aix, they were happy to have control of an area East off the Rhône to the Massaliotes that they still regarded as useful and reliable ally. In the area West of the Rhone the first route was built, the via Domitia, probably from *Ugernum* to Col du Perthus in the Pyrenees following the line of an old route known as *Via Heraclea*. The presence of milestones, which bear the name of Domitius, confirms the fact that it was not only a commercial road but constituted also *limes* and needed to be protected by military posts which, unfortunately, are not recorded or established archaeologically. It is thought that the province was established by Domitius about 120 BC but the idea was challenged by Badian⁵⁵⁰ who considered the framing of a *lex provinciae*, the presence or not of a governor and the Via Fomitia as a sign of an already founded province. Also in the 1st century BC ancient historians were unlikely to name the governors unless involved in a war.⁵⁵¹ Recently Ferdière presented the evidence that even if Domitius organized the province, it was organized only in c. 100 BC.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ Liv. *Ab Urbe cond.* XXI, 18, 1 ad 19, 6-20, 9.

⁵⁵⁰ BADIAN 1966, 901-907.

⁵⁵¹ For the period till the governorship of Caesar and his civil war see RIVET 1988, 54-62.

⁵⁵² FERDIÈRE 2005, 61.

When Caesar became governor of these territories, *Massalia* finally collapsed but he did not take it over and it became a *civitas foederata*. Still it is obscure what happened to its dependent Greek towns but the gaulish territories controlled by *Massalia* were reduced to a very small area and the rest attributed to other cities, especially Arles, founded in 46 BC.

Because of its minor significance during the civil wars the literary sources offer only very few references to the administration: it is known that Ti. Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius, was sent to create new *coloniae* but only Svetonius relates them as *coloniae in quibus Narbo et Arelate erant*⁵⁵³ and this statement raises a difficult question.

After the assassination of Caesar and in the time of the second triumvirate, *Narbonensis* was a place of competition and in 39 BC, when Octavianus paid a brief visit Agrippa was sent as proconsul⁵⁵⁴ and he was not recalled until 38 BC. Even if the triumvirate continued, more or less till 32 BC, Octavian had now effective control of all the western part of the empire: in order to realize the promises to his veterans, he sent a few of the oldest of them to be colonists in Gaul. In 27 BC when he acquired the title of Augustus, all Gaul, including *Narbonensis*, was placed under his imperial control.⁵⁵⁵ In this year, he held a *conventus* in Narbonne,⁵⁵⁶ he made a *lex provinciae*,⁵⁵⁷ he took a census of the three northern provinces⁵⁵⁸ and organized their administration.

In the new reorganization, Augustus established also the frontiers of the province considering the boundaries of the people and choosing not to integrate the territories still turbulent into the pacified region of *Narbonensis*. He took into account the progress of the Romanisation regarding the Latin right which permitted many families to have the full citizenship and to increase the old military clients in number.

Only in AD 22, *Narbonensis* returned to the senatorial control and became *inermis*. This decision may be perceived through historical reasons as the early integration and the already established urbanization.

⁵⁵³ Svet. *Div. Tib.* 4, 1.

⁵⁵⁴ App. *BC V*, 75.

⁵⁵⁵ Dio *Hist.* 53. 12, 5.

⁵⁵⁶ Only in this period the name changes from Gallia Transalpina to *Narbonensis*.

⁵⁵⁷ CHASTAGNOL 1999, 9-14; GROS 2008a, 25.

⁵⁵⁸ See section 3.2.3.3.2.

There were 23 *civitates* which were constituted by a territory and depended on a capital, the *caput civitatis*; these capitals were Roman colonies, latin colonies or *civitas foederatae*.⁵⁵⁹

3.2.3.2 *Tres Galliae*

Already before the conquest Caesar divided this big region in three different geographical and cultural units: *Aquitanii*, *Gauls* in Latin and *Celts* in their language (the *Celtica*) and *Belgi*⁵⁶⁰ but still they had traits in common.

When the process of provincial integration began, there were two sorts of agglomerations: on one hand the administrative centres, the *oppida*, chosen for defensive qualities and often fortified⁵⁶¹, and on the other hand sites as the *vici*, of secondary importance, mostly settlements lacking of walls.

Most likely *oppida* had political and economic functions that made them administrative centres: they were administrative centres of a *pagus* or capital of a people (*civitates*). The origin of these functions could be put in relation with the moment when the Gallic society arrived to a certain degree of political organization and economic development: this progress needs to be correlated with their contacts with the neighbouring people and in particular the Italians. According to Caesar in his *Bellum Gallicum*, in the moment of his wars, existed different *oppida*, some with more prestige than others, but to which Caesar never gave the title of *caput*, used by the Romans to designate a capital. Thanks to certain indications in his text and the use of the words *urbs* for the three *oppida* of Alesia, Avaricum and Gergoia⁵⁶² it is possible to presuppose that some of them were also administrative centres.⁵⁶³ Information from archaeological investigations can be used as well to perceive the role of such capital: normally some people had more than

⁵⁵⁹ See the list in GROS 2008a, 30.

⁵⁶⁰ Caes. *De Bello Gallico*, I, 1: *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important, proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. Qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una, pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.*

⁵⁶¹ For more information see BEDON 1999, 27-35.

⁵⁶² Caes. *De Bell Gall.* VII, 12, 4 (*Avaricum*), VII, 36, 1 (*Gergoia*); VII, 68, 3 (*Alesia*).

⁵⁶³ Two kinds of centres can be highlighted: one is located in the middle of the *civitas* while the other one is totally dislocated, see FICHTL 2004, 65-66.

one *oppidum* and one among them is always the biggest suggesting considering it as administrative centre. The current researches admit that, in the majority of the people of Comata, one *oppidum* in the final period of La Tène had the functions of administrative centre but, most likely, in a less complex role as in the capitals of the Mediterranean.⁵⁶⁴

But we do not have to see the *oppida* as administrative centre so stable as we can imagine for a capital. All these changes, abandons, new creations in different place seem to show us that, on the contrary of the Mediterranean people, the Gallic *civitates* had no notion of durability of capitals as some circumstances can prove: no architectural equipment and light materials, the succession to power of different clans, the variations of political contexts and the increasing role of economy. More important at all is the fact that the *oppida* exist for short time in order to reach the role of collective memories' places.

But still it is important to stress that, in some ways, it is possible to call them also cities: for example, in the *Bellum Gallicum* we can perceive that, for the majority of the people, the *oppida*, which were administrative centres, were considered cities as Diodorus call them *poleis*. The ancients were not shocked to use the term *urbs* or the equivalent *polis* for places in Comata and they saw in several *oppida* a reality closed to their administrative insitutions.

The *civitates*⁵⁶⁵ of this period, which somehow remained also after the Augustean reorganization, had a level of advanced organization. They consisted of a number of subtribes or *pagi* with rather unstable political ties: the many examples of fission or fusion of the tribes indicate that these formations were able to adapt to new political circumstances.⁵⁶⁶ Public assembly was attended by the king, the nobility and the greater public (i.e. the warriors bearing the weapons). It made important decisions concerning war and peace, election of military leaders, legislation and justice. It was not only a political institution but had also social and religious functions. Beside this assembly, the tribes recognized a smaller, more aristocrate assembly, the council of elders or nobles, denoted in latin as *Senatus*. The *vergobret* was the first magistrate and was elected by the Senate every year: the post was still in use during the Julio-Claudian

⁵⁶⁴ FICHTL 2006, 46-47.

⁵⁶⁵ It is thought that at the end of 4th century BC the formation of big sanctuaries played an important role for the first territorial organization, as for the creation of the cities in Greece. Not organized groups of people met with other more important groups closed to sanctuaries, and these movements made the birth of the "classic" *civitates*. See FICHTL 2006, 49-50; FICHTL 2007.

⁵⁶⁶ See for example FICHTL 2006, 44-46.

period. There were also magistrates with money activities: the *argantodannos* and *argantocometerecus*.

The *pagi*, on the other hand, had not only military power but also political one even if in lower positions compared to the *civitates*. It was formed by a stable sociocultural group in its own territory.

It is Caesar himself who states the reasons for the intervention: the news that the *Elvetii* left their territories and wanted to cross *Gallia Transalpina* and the threat of the Germans upon the Gauls.⁵⁶⁷ The immediate result of the war was the conquest of the territories which were not directly organized administratively and were part of the *Gallia Transalpina*. Only some months before his murder he constituted a distinctive province which was called *Gallia Comata*: according to Caesar,⁵⁶⁸ Sallustius⁵⁶⁹ and Plinius the Elder⁵⁷⁰ *Gallia Comata* bordered in the South-East with *Gallia Transalpina*, in the South with *Tarraconensis*, in the East with *Alpes Poeninae* and the course of Rhin till the lake of Constance; the river Rhine made the North-East border with Germany, in the North and West with the so called *Oceanus*. The establishing of urbanism and architecture according to the Roman standards concerned not only the capitals of *civitates* and it began before the reform of Augustus with the creation of three *coloniae* in the East sector of Comata namely *Colonia Iulia Equestris* (Nyon) on the lake Lemman, *Augusta Raurica* (Augst) in the bend of Rhine and *Lugdunum* (Lyon) in confluence of Rhône and Saône and a peregrine city *Lugdunum Convenarum* (Saint Bertrand de Comminges). This colonial policy does not meet urbanity's will but strategic purposes.

Augustus decided to divide *Gallia Comata* in three provinces namely *Gallia Aquitania*, *Gallia Lugdunensis* and *Gallia Belgica*⁵⁷¹ most likely during his *conventus* in Narbonne with the Gallic chefs:⁵⁷² Augustus did not divide *Gallia Comata* alone but he got help by Tiberius, according to Goudineau⁵⁷³. Each province was subdivided into a number of *civitates* to be administered from a new urban centre, the *civitas* capital with a senate or *ordo decurionum*. Sometimes they were found on the same site of an *oppidum* but more usually they were established nearby while some *civitas* capitals abandoned the

⁵⁶⁷ For the sequences of the events see FERDIÈRE 2005, 71-84.

⁵⁶⁸ Caes. *De Bell Gall.* I,1, 5-7.

⁵⁶⁹ Sal. *Hist. Frag.* I, 11.

⁵⁷⁰ Plinius the elder IV, 105.

⁵⁷¹ BEDON 1999, 70-72.

⁵⁷² The stay between 27-26 BC is considered the most likely thanks to Dio *Hist.* 53. 12, 5; Tib. I, 1-12.

⁵⁷³ GOUDINEAU 1990, 169.

oppidum altogether in favour of better access to communications and transport networks. The *ordo decurionum* was the continuation of the old council of nobles but the new reorganization did not retain the public assembly and the *pagi* were “depoliticized” with no political autonomy anymore and completely subordinated to the *civitas*. In the celtic period the term *civitas* referred to the Gallic tribes while from Augustus changed its meaning and included the whole tribal territory but it is wrong to consider them as natural and direct heirs of the celtic populations. In fact, we observe a big difference between the long list of 110 Gallic people of Plinius the Elder⁵⁷⁴ and the chiffre of 64 *civitates* indicate by Tacitus⁵⁷⁵ but these regroupments are not systematic and some people of small importance had been kept.⁵⁷⁶ Nevertheless historians postulate that *colonia* and *civitas* form a city and that, in its entirety, could have had the status of *colonia* but it is not possible to distinguish one from the other.⁵⁷⁷

But the division of Augustus lasted very short because in the beginning of Tiberius’ reign he reorganized the provinces and above all Lugdunensis and Belgica. Goudineau thinks also that, already from this period, two districts, occupied and organized by the soldiers, were established alongside the river Rhine which were going to be, under Domitian, Germania Inferior and Superior.

Between 27 /13 BC began a period of integration, which was accomplished through different steps: sometimes the *civitates* had changed their territories and they received particular statutes and their institutions were modified because they were incompatible with the Roman traditions.

The process of urbanization experienced a combination of continuity and sharp changes. As already seen, the pre-Roman period was characterised by an “embryonic” urbanization with some forms of permanent centres which were the foci of their regions. This situation changed dramatically with the integration into the Roman empire leading to such a degree as resulting in discontinuity created by two major forces, namely the imposition of an overall military strategy for the Rhenish frontier, which headed to the construction of the road system and the building of forts and consequently to the interruption of the *oppida*’s hierarchies, and the willingness to see the elevation of a very limited number of places to run the *civitas* capitals. They were used by Romans to

⁵⁷⁴ Pl. *Nat. Hist.*, 4. 106-198.

⁵⁷⁵ Tac. *An.*, 3.4, 1.

⁵⁷⁶ FERDIÈRE 2005, 141-142.

⁵⁷⁷ DONDIN-PAYRE 1997, 287.

maximize the efficiency of the local government and to make it easier to supervise the activities of the governors.

For the aristocrats the *civitas* capital became the stage where they could show and increase their local status: the *aemulatio* between individuals, tribes and family was made manifest in public munificence adorning the *civitas* capital with public buildings and amenities trying to look as the Mediterranean cities.

On the contrary of Goudineau,⁵⁷⁸ who sees these cities as ‘artificial’ and the ‘result of unreal needs with unfair cargo’, Drinkwater interprets them by the shape and adornment which was part of their very real function by the imperial power and the *civitas* aristocrats.⁵⁷⁹ The new style of buildings suggests important and deep-rooted shift in attitude and indicates that the aristocrats left their ways to be part of the Roman lifestyle. But they accomplish this evolution not following directly what had occurred before but staying *sui generis*. Although the towns tried to assume a very similar shape with the domination of some master plan, they were not, in the end, identical presenting great local variations above all in the use of indigenous building materials and even indigenous techniques and styles that surpass the lack of any sort of overall architectural inspiration. The buildings were located inside the grid plan without a uniform building regulation and they were unified only by porticoes and covered walkways that were able to cover the irregularities of the individual structures: ‘the grid was the paramount, it gave the city its shape and held it together.’⁵⁸⁰

But to have a complete view of the situation we must have in mind that not only the capital *civitates* characterised the landscape of *Galliae* but also the so called “agglomerations secondaires”, topic very much in consideration in the recent time.⁵⁸¹

The understanding of the urbanization in the Gallic provinces as the dissemination of new values of an ideology or as the spreading of a cultural movement has many consequences and may be seen in the relative uniformity of Roman urban design in Gaul and in the West.⁵⁸² This kind of thinking can be correlated to the relationship between “Romanization” and “Roman cultural revolution”.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁸ FÉVRIER ET AL. 1980, 307, 386.

⁵⁷⁹ DRINKWATER 1985, 51.

⁵⁸⁰ DRINKWATER 1985, 51.

⁵⁸¹ See section 4.4.1.

⁵⁸² It is important to consider the uniformity as “relative” because of the risk to overestimate the similarities when the regional styles emerged so vivid and precise in urban technology and design.

⁵⁸³ See the introduction of this chapter.

3.2.3.2.1 Aquitania

Caesar named Aquitania the triangle shaped territory between the Ocean, the Pyrenees and the Garonne River. More so than Caesar, Strabo insists that the primeval *Aquitani* differ from the other Gauls not just in language, institutions and laws (*lingua institutis legibusque discrepantes*) but in body make-up too, deeming them more close to the Iberians.⁵⁸⁴

The creation of Aquitania binds the celtique space between Garonne and Loire and the ethnic Aquitania between Garonne River and Pyrenees: the South part of the last one was conquered only from the campaigns of Messala Corvinus (in 27 BC).

3.2.3.2.2 Lugdunensis

During Caesar's invasion, the leader called this area Celtica and it was the only region where no other people than *Galli* or *Celtae* lived. The borders were in the South the river Garonne and in the North the rivers Seine and Marne but the region was bigger than the later Provincia Lugdunensis.

Economic and cultural relations began already before the conquest as for example merchants were in Orléans in 52 BC⁵⁸⁵ while, during the late La Tène period, the relationships increased as is shown for example by the presence of more conspicuous of amphorae Dressel 1.

The *civitates* had a clear territory where three kinds of settlements are perceived: the fortified settlements, the *oppida*, the open settlements with similar function as *oppida* and the sanctuaries. According to Fichtl⁵⁸⁶ the *oppidum* is characterised by a rampart, by a datation between 2nd and 1st centuries BC, by the dimensions bigger as 15 ha and by its political and economic functions. The open settlement is so called because of the absence of the ramparts. As already mentioned, the people did not have capitals as it is common intended: Caesar's references to *oppida* may, eventually, have been influenced by the Roman point of view: still the *civitates* of the province, were, for the majority, the early *oppida*.

With Augustus' organization of Lugdunensis the *Audui* were divided from the *Senones* and *Tricasses* who belonged to Belgica, but some time later the territory was enlarged to the detriment of Aquitania and Belgica (as for example the lost of the *civitates* of *Caleti* and *Veliocassi*).

⁵⁸⁴ Strab. *Geogr.* 4,2.

⁵⁸⁵ Caes. *De Bell Gall.* VII.3,1.

⁵⁸⁶ FLICHTL 2004, 62.

In Lugdunensis there was the biggest amount of *civitates*: almost half of them share a border with one of the other Gallic provinces and 11 bordered with the see. As already said, some of the *civitates* did not have a correspondent in pre-Roman times and some of them, in this change, disappears completely.

3.2.3.2.3 Belgica

Before the conquest the area of *Menapii*, *Nervi* and *Tungri* which cover part of the Dutch province of Zeeland, Noord-Brabant and Limburg (practically the whole of modern Belgium and part of the region Nord/Pas de Calais in North France),⁵⁸⁷ was inhabited by groups whose level of political integration was weak because they seem to lack strong centres of gravity from which native control could have been exercised and their rural settlement system shows no proto-urbanisation signs. When Augustus between 27 and 12 BC created Gallia Belgica the area was divided in three *civitates*: the *civitas Menapiorum* with capital Cassel (*Castellum Menaopiorum*), the *civitas Nerviorum* with capital Bavay (*Bagacum*) probably respect the ancient territorial division while the *civitas Tungrorum* with Tongren (*Atuatuca*) as capital was artificially created because of the resettlement of left-bank Germans into the former territories of *Eburoes* and other small tribes.⁵⁸⁸

The position of the capitals was important because they were nodes of the first Roman roadsystem developed under Augustus: it consists of an East-West axis connecting Köln with the port of Boulogne (*Gesoriacum*) and several North-South roads connecting the East-West axis with military post on the edge of the central loess area which were demanded for the introduction of the *cursus publicus* and made possible the development of the first *vici* in the area (as Velzek, Asse and Elewijt). On the other hand, settlements created with the provision of road-stations (*stationes*, *praetoria* and *mansiones*) and staging-posts (*mutationes*) were located at regular intervals along the main roads; but they are difficult to perceive. For discovered buildings there are doubts about the official status and it is problematic to assume if they could have provided the stimulus for urban development. Also the other settlements, located on the secondary road-network established by Claudius, owe their birth to an official core (as for example Verzok, Wervik and Kerkhove).

⁵⁸⁷ This area can be divided into three geographical units: the northern zone consists of low-lying sandy plateau bordered to the North by the clay areas of Meuse-Rhine deltas, the central unit is the fertile loess area of Belgium and northern France; South of the river Sambre and Meuse the landscape is characterized by wooden and hilly areas of the Ardennes.

⁵⁸⁸ HASELGROVE 1990, 50-52.

Beside the military factor, another one is responsible for the establishment of the centres of the area, namely the economic one. Sites at regular distances along the river, as Meuse and Schelde, sometimes located at nodes where the water-route intersects the roads system, had really economical success. Of some other settlement, although inhabited in the middle of the 1st century BC, only one or two have developed from a Late Iron Age predecessor. This aspect needs to be put in correlation with the observation that most of the local centres are located on the new Roman roads system. So it is very likely that the majority of them, with evidence of artisan and commercial activities, grew out of a single road-connected establishment.⁵⁸⁹

The regions South and North of the loess area, the coastal plain and Meuse valley excluded never had such a dense network of local centres: on the plateau of Ardenne this could be expected, but in the flat northern region there were no obstacles to the elaboration of a roads system. According to Slofstra⁵⁹⁰ the northern part of the later *civitas Tungrorum*, the sandy area between Demer and Meuse, was only included in the *civitas* from the organisation of Domitianus onwards and before that time the tribes, who lived here, were relatively autonomous as a result of client agreement with the Romans.

This area, with the absence of an official *civitas* organisation, suggests, that it, just the Rhine area, was part of the northern frontier for the 1st century AD: according to Slofstra⁵⁹¹ the frontier zone was not only Rhine zone in *sensu stricto* but also the hinterland between Meuse and Demer and this explains also the persistence of the tribal traditions until AD 70.

In order to understand the way the absence of Augustean policy influenced the development of the settlement system in this area we must observe the relations, determined by the politico-geographical context, between the tribal elites and the Roman authorities. A deliberate policy of integration was implemented in the *civitas Tungrorum* and it was aimed at the cooperation of the tribal elites in the new political system. The cooperation, on the one hand, was enforced and their reception in the personal *clientela* of the Roman *nobilitas* put them under obligation of political loyalty but, on the other hand, it was made attractive by favouring the elites (as offering access to luxury material goods) and the policy of urbanisation offered them the advantages of

⁵⁸⁹ VERMEULEN 1995, 183-186.

⁵⁹⁰ SLOFSTRA 1991.

⁵⁹¹ SLOFSFRA 1991, 136-137.

a town. An autonomous *civitas* organisation, as the Romans had in mind, was only possible when the elites had first been won over politically and had been slightly “civilised”.

The political–geographical position of the northern area and the absence of urban centers is the reason why the elites did not undergo the same development but the tribes still had obligations to the Romans in forms of taxes and auxiliary troops. These relations with the Romans had some consequences. First the elites, responsible for tax collection and recruitment of troops, increased their power in politics, in military sphere and in economic terms pretending to have more control over the land. Second, having contacts with the Romans, the elites acquired prestige goods and were able to control their distribution and consumption. Finally, they desired to have the control of the cult at least at local level: if this cult was focused on the veneration of ancestors it may be regarded as an instrument of the local elite to ensure the support of their ancestors. That social-political process of hierarchisation led to increased differentiation and classification of the settlement structure.

The absence of a network of local centres is also confirmed by archaeological evidences that present a situation of peripheral character with a handful of fairly modest local centres such as Waasmunster, Kontich and Grobbendonk. The scarce attention to this area can be explained not only by political-geographical factors but also by ecological ones because the sandy soil and the general lack of resources were responsible for the low economic potential. But these regions, regarding the religion, are not lacking evidences of Roman conquest. A survey demonstrates that almost all *vici* had one or more temples near the core with, sometime, an elaborate architecture that emphasizes the role of the *vicus* as religious centres. In any case, it must be proved if only the presence of the temples stimulated the development of the local centre. Generally spoken, scholars agree in thinking that the sanctuaries were built in a second phase of elaboration as at Liberchies or Valezeke where the temple was located some distance away from the main street and not well integrated in the simple town grid. Nevertheless in the sandy regions the temples seem to have played a dominant role in the enlargement as at Kontich and Grobbendonk.

In this complex situation with the very size of the *civitates*, the lack of good communication and, especially in the sandy area, the decentralized nature of the indigenous population, it seems logical that the *vici* had some administrative powers as capitals of a *pagus* allowing certain decisions to be taken away from the capitals

because also some of them were first of all religious centres: the religion could be estimated as playing an important role in the political unification and smooth the administration of the northern *civitates*. As in the big cities, also in the *vici* the public buildings and the private houses indicated the status of the aristocracy competing with the new Roman system and in that mechanism the local centres magnetized some of the local aristocracy's wealth. According to Drinkwater⁵⁹² in these secondary centres the lesser important aristocracy were able to maintain their status and the centres themselves formed the power bases for the elites to control the *pagi*.

The slow adaptation to Roman techniques which became more and more widespread under the *Pax Romana*, as for example the use of stone building's materials for walls and floors, is the consequence of an intentional act or choice with ideological goals, namely the desire of the elites to use the symbols and the forms of *Romanitas* by emulating Roman material culture that made their maintenance of the power in the society. Studies in roman-british settlements have demonstrated that with the analysis of the street system, the public zone and the public and private buildings we are able to perceive the elite's actions in the local centres.⁵⁹³ As the ties with the capital were always weak, the centres located far away from the capitals had more freedom to influence the surrounding rural population and to pass ideological dimension for Romanization.

But, following Hiddink, the term *vici* is applied undifferentiatedly in Germania Inferior and the northern part of Gallia Belgica and observes that the term itself had not an unequivocal meaning in the Roman period or it does not refer to one specific type of settlement and leading to confusion about the definition among the scholars. He doubts the small-town nature of the *vici* and because he wants to accentuate the fact that this type of settlements belongs to a rural rather an urban context he introduces the term "rural centers".⁵⁹⁴ What can be questionable is the origin of these rural centers which needs not always be official because developed out of military settlements: the only well-excavated rural centre Grobbendonk is a welcome exception.⁵⁹⁵

For the expedition to Britain the north region saw a period of improvement concerning the road system and the cities with a street grid plan and stone buildings: Claudius

⁵⁹² DRINKWATER 1985.

⁵⁹³ VERMEULEN 1995, 190-195.

⁵⁹⁴ HIDDINK 1991.

⁵⁹⁵ SLOFSFRA 1991, 152-153.

accomplished a task which his father Drusus had begun, namely the persuadation of northern Gauls to adopt the forms of Graeco-Roman urbanization but to what extent he provided assistance in form of architects and engineers remains conjectural. His attention bore fruits for the appearance was changed dramatically over the next decades.

3.3 The new provinces

Under Claudius' reign, the Roman Empire changes to an active policy in order to expand the territories. This question is not very present in the historical sources we possess because these conquests, achieved in the first years of his principate, were presented for the most in the lost parties of Tacitus' *Annales*.

This decision to expand the boundaries and the change of the sphere of the domination shows how actively Claudius and his administration worked for the security of the Empire and of the people living in the periphery. It is clear that Claudius returned to the policy of the young Augustus after the long period of consolidation begun in his last year and continued by the successors.

The choice of studying these provinces depends upon the decision to make a comparison between these new lands and the other provinces which had already achieved a degree of urbanisation. The correlation will highlight the reasons and the methods applied by Claudius because of the different cultural and historical backgrounds.

The account here presents, on the one hand, Britannia that was conquered by Claudius and, on the other hand, Noricum and the Mauretanian which were organized as provinces after a period of *hospitium* for the former and the vassal reign of Jubas and Ptolemy for Mauretanian.

This section will analyse, as for the other provinces, the historical and cultural situation before the Roman's coming but also the events leading to the annexation of the territories of Britannia and the formation of the province of Noricum and Mauretanian. The reports are not intended to be exhaustive on the topic but it is thought that they can give a glimpse of the situation with all the important and salient informations and records.

3.3.1 Britannia

A lot has been written about the social, historical and economic situations of Britain before the coming of the Romans: for our scope it is not necessary to report everything

but it is thought that some important aspects must be stressed.⁵⁹⁶ The material culture of Iron age peoples on the Continent from long recognized in two artistic periods with sub-phases Hallstatt (*c.* 1000/500 BC) and La Tène (*c.* 500-1st century BC), was used also as base line for the British archaeologist but the most important transition points from the early to mid Iron Age (*c.* 400/300 BC) and from the mid to late Iron Age do not correlate with social and material cultural trends on the Continent and the system; established by Hawkes in 1931,⁵⁹⁷ which used a triple division in British Iron Age (from 6th to 5th century BC), British Iron Age B (from 4th to 2nd century BC) and British Iron Age C (in the 1st century BC) after the second world war showed all the rigidity in it. Anyway, a comparatively little material of Hallstatt phase is present while much more material with reminiscence of La Tène culture was found: these connections need to be explained in terms of long-established contacts and cultural convergence between different indigenous societies rooted in the local Late Bronze Age cultures. Britain was a geographical unit but not an uniform cultural or ethnic entity because it was the home of a multiplicity of social formations, diverse in lifestyle economy material culture and social organization.

The majority of the informations comes from the archaeological evidences which, for most of the cases, does not support the informations provided by the ancient sources: those of Caesar and Strabo are relevant for the people of the South, while Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Herodian are important for the northern people.

A key feature in the Iron Age was the hillfort which in the imagination is associated with the site of Maiden Castel in Dorset: it is true indeed that it was no longer central in the late Iron Age while the peak is in the 6th- 5th centuries BC when large portions of landscape organized around it.

Although a considerable variation in terms of shape and size, every hillfort was characterised by an earth ramparts encircling a high point in the landscape. More likely there is a link between the rise of hillforts and the emergence of a new style of the elite group, initially producing short-term hillforts but gradually settling down in the 4th century BC. The excavations inform us that the hillfort had a storage agricultural function beyond the immediate needs of their resident community and social devises

⁵⁹⁶ For an exhaustive treatise see CUNLIFFE 1991.

⁵⁹⁷ HAWKES 1931.

were used to reinforce the authority. By the 4th century BC the religious function seems to have acquired an incipient role with shrines near to the centre.

During the late pre-Roman Iron Age (c. 120 BC to AD 43) in the Lowland Zone of southern and eastern Britain policies underwent profound change in material cultures and ways of life with the expansion of rural settlements and the innovation of more farming regimes. These developments are bound up to population growth, to the increasing specialization and social differentiation with the nascent aristocracies and the dynasties of the classical sources.

By the end of the 2nd century BC we notice an abandonment of these hillforts and the emergence of nucleated sites called *oppida*. They were pre-Roman towns but not really in the Roman or modern sense since they were characterised by a dispersed pattern of settlement. With the abandonment of hillforts not only *oppida* appeared but a new kind of settlement types arose as for example enclosed farmsteads, unenclosed settlements with village-like appearance. In the *oppida* are recorded different kind of activities as domestic structures, coin production and varited crafts.

As Millet already stated ‘one of the principal problems in any appreciation of this period lies in distinguishing long-term processes of the change which were fundamentally indigenous from those stimulated by external events, especially the proximity of the growing Roman world’.⁵⁹⁸ Many of the developments in this period have been associated with populations movements, particularly from Belgium to Britain as stated by Caesar⁵⁹⁹ but this idea is nowadays less attractive and archaeologists prefer to stress the peculiar regional characteristics of Britain. The key may lie between the two extremes with the linguistic evidence suggesting movements of people who perhaps were able to dominate.⁶⁰⁰ Neither migrations nor kingship relationships explain the changes which, most likely, are to be seen in the ‘working of society within the broader historical context’.⁶⁰¹

It is, in this context of social situation, that we might explain the earliest imported Gallo-Belgic coins: the different types (from A to F) are concentrated in the Thames region and in Kent with a scatter along the Sussex coast and northwards into Essex and Hertfordshire; the ealierst minted coinage was a cast tin bronze issue found in Kent and

⁵⁹⁸ MILLET 1990a, 9.

⁵⁹⁹ Caes. *De Bell Gall.* V, 12.

⁶⁰⁰ In 1991 Cunliffe supported this theory, see CUNLIFFE 1991, 110-112 and JAMES 2001, 190.

⁶⁰¹ MILLET 1990a, 10.

lower Thames valley with a Masillote prototype and it began soon after 100 BC. Two decades before the beginning of the Gallic war several tribes began to strike their own coinage: the British A, found in the South and East of Britain, imitated the Gallo-Belgic C.⁶⁰²

The development of Roman Gaul, as Millet points out,⁶⁰³ had an impact in the trade between Britain and Roman Gaul: at first the peace after the revolts in Gaul and the road system, which reached the Channel and the formalization of the *civitas* organization and as second the activity in the present-day Germany has been suggested as a stimulus for the further development of the isle as Cunliffe had already drawn attention to.⁶⁰⁴ This process of acculturation, the “Gallicization”, implying a one-way flow, denies the fact the cross-Channel processes were developing in a bidirectional interchange even if the cultural relationship may have remained asymmetric. These relationships form a precedent preparation for the integration into the Roman world or, discarding the ‘Romanocentrism the imperial episode may be seen from an insular perspective as constituting a development albeit a redirection, of pre-existing processes’.⁶⁰⁵ The trade contacts made the elites redefined in term of access to and control of imported cultural symbols: localized chiefdoms were so replaced by territorial groupings that were not enshrined in the late Roman administrative structures (*civitates*).

A good indicator is the presence of amphorae in Britain showing that, before it was part of the Empire, it was receiving supplies of olive oil and vine.⁶⁰⁶ But in Britain arrived also Arretine from southern Gaul and a range of Gauloish vessel and Gallo-Belgic table wares. Whatever the causes are, the origin of the increase of contacts can be probably dated to 15/10 BC in conjunction with a major phase of Romanization of the coinage.⁶⁰⁷

It was with Caesar and his campaigns (55/54 BC) that the Romans had really relations with Britain⁶⁰⁸ but soon afterwards a revolt in Gaul diverted his attention and Rome

⁶⁰² CUNLIFFE 1991, 114, for new ideas see CREIGHTON 2000, 26-54.

⁶⁰³ MILLET 1990a, 31-33. ‘The importance of Rome as a focus of change, whether intended or not, has been enshrined in the application of core-periphery models, which anticipate greater impacts closest to and weakest impacts from the core state in the tribal periphery but this model is very much focused on southern and South-eastern Britain theorizing Britain as a whole and not as a fractured regional set of societies’ (MATTINGLY 2007, 56).

⁶⁰⁴ CUNLIFFE 1984, 15. But it is not simple to assess if the military presence, opposed to the civic settlements, was really an incentive for the changes in Britain.

⁶⁰⁵ JAMES 2001, 191.

⁶⁰⁶ GALLIOU 2009, 355-356.

⁶⁰⁷ CUNLIFFE 1991, 123.

⁶⁰⁸ On the contrary of the first campaign, that was a total disaster, with the second one Caesar was able to reach terms with Cassivellaunus and other British chiefs who they gave hostages and must pay an annual

showed little attention till AD 43.⁶⁰⁹ From the report of the two campaigns in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* we have not much information except that Cassivellaunus had come in terms and tribes had generally offered hostages and agreed to pay what could variously be translated as tribute or indemnity to Rome. The situation would demand that the area was turned into a province and Caesar, since the political situation was fragmentary, imposed a king: on the southern he put Commius of the Gallic tribes of Atrebates while in the East, from the dynasty of *Catuvellauni*, Tasciovanus⁶¹⁰ who seems to be the ruler and maybe he could be a Gallic implant.⁶¹¹ But now it is very clear that these contacts affected southern Britain even if not directly controlled and the results were more profound than we had thought.⁶¹² The British elites were not only cosmopolitan in terms of Gallo-Roman but also of Italian-Roman society and they may have been affected by the imperial ideology shifts matured in the Augustean period.

During Augustus' reign we know that he had for sure relations with individual British rulers and he received also refugees. But he demands also hostages (*obsides*) who lived according to Roman lifestyle and learned Latin. It is clear that this kind of contacts was instable and agreements must be removed every time leadership changed.

Only with Gaius, Britain was taken seriously into consideration for an attack:⁶¹³ Adminius, one of the sons of Conubelinus⁶¹⁴ and ally of Romans, just before his father's death, argued with him and fled to the imperial court in Lyon and asked Gaius for a Roman intervention on his behalf.⁶¹⁵ At Boulogne Gaius gathered various troops but they were scarcely prepared and Gaius preferred to present to the Senate Adminius's subjection as the capitulation of the entire Britain people.⁶¹⁶

tribute. Believable Caesar wanted to return the following year and begin a territorial annexation, cf. CUNLIFFE 1991, 119-120.

⁶⁰⁹ MILLET 1990a, 31.

⁶¹⁰ It has been assumed that he was descendant of Cassivellaunus.

⁶¹¹ For a genealogy of the two dynasties see CREIGHTON 2000, 76, fig. 3.7; CREIGHTON 2006, 21-23. For a glimpse see CREIGHTON 2006, 23-30.

⁶¹² CREIGHTON 2001.

⁶¹³ Augustus and then Tiberius preferred to maintain the supremacy through diplomacy: Tac. *Agr.* 13.2. Thus there are indications that Augustus had started make preparations for war in 34 BC and 26-27 BC and he intended to command a campaign; in any case he enhances the diplomatic activities.

⁶¹⁴ He was the king of the tribus of *Catuvellauni*, see MATTINGLY 2007, 74.

⁶¹⁵ NONY 1988, 296-297.

⁶¹⁶ NONY 1988, 298-299.

So it was left to Claudius to become the real conquer of Britain.⁶¹⁷ The reason for Claudius' invasion of Britain in AD 43 seems to have been prestige-related rather than due to economic incentives. The emperor was in a weak political situation and needed military successes to legitimate his power. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Claudius was present when the troops took the capital of *Catuvellauni*.⁶¹⁸ Though there is a *casus belli* which was, namely, Verica's help-request, king of the *Atrebates*, who was overthrown by the *Catuvellauni*. It was Aulus Plautius⁶¹⁹ who organised the conquest with four legions: Tacitus and Svetonius reported only the II Augusta⁶²⁰ while the other three, II Valeria, IX Hispania and XIV Gemina, are recorded only through epigraphical evidences.⁶²¹ The troops were reluctant to cross the Ocean and Claudius had to send Narcissus because he could speak to the soldiers.⁶²² The expedition from Boulogne,⁶²³ in three divisions in case a single landing should be opposed, reached the coast⁶²⁴ where the Romans did not find any resistances from the Celts: the first conflict

⁶¹⁷ Tac. *Agr.* 13: *Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitiae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.*

⁶¹⁸ MILLET 1990a, 40-42.

⁶¹⁹ According to Black, beside Plautius another commander was in Britain, Gn. Sentius Saturninus, who was present at the inauguration ceremony: only so we can explain the statement of Eutropius (7.13.2) *Britanniam intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post C. Caesarem attigerat, eaque devicta per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium, inlustres ac nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit.* Plautius land in Kent and the latter on the Sussex coast. 'There is nothing inherently improbable in Eutropius' statement that the Claudian invasion of Britain had two commanders. A strategy involving two romans forces securing potentially hostile territory South to the Thames before uniting to be led by Claudius in person in the decisive advance against Camulodunum makes military sense. Archaeological evidences currently available points to two early coastal bases used by the Roman army, at Richborough in Kent and Chichester Harbour in Sussex, both plausible locations for landings in AD 43' (BLACK 2000, 8). Also Sauer agrees with Black's theory. Different scholars and not only Black suggest that the notice in Eutropius have a true core but they assumed that Saturninus accompanied Claudius later and gained the military laurels in the emperor's short presence or he may have fulfilled a special mission prior Claudius' arrival. Sauer suggests that this may have been in the West to protect the territory of *Atrebates* and part of the *Dobunni* while the fact that Plautius advanced eastwards is impossible to ascertain (SAUER 2002, 338-339).

⁶²⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 3.44; Svet. *Div. Vesp.* 4.

⁶²¹ For XX Valeria: RIB 220, 201; for Hispania: RIB 225, CIL V, 7165; for XIV Gemina there are not evidences in the first stages but it is possible to consider the *legio* among the invasion's forces thanks to the inscriptions found at Wroxeter and dated before AD 56: ILS 2696.

⁶²² Dio *Hist.* 60. 19, 2: Καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε αὐτῷ ἐπέσησαν πρὶν τὸν Νάρκισσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πεμφθέντα ἀναβῆναί τε ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλαυτίου βῆμα καὶ δημηγορήσαι τι ἐθελῆσαι· τότε γὰρ πολλῶ που μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀχθεσθέντες οὔτε τι ἐκείνῳ εἰπεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν, συμβοήσαντες ἐξαίφνης τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον "ἰὼ σατουρνάλια", ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις οἱ δοῦλοι τὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν σχῆμα μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐορτάζουσι, καὶ τῷ Πλαυτίῳ εὐθὺς ἐκούσιοι συνέσποντο.

⁶²³ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 17.

⁶²⁴ It is still matter of debate the location of the landing. Some scholars suggest Kent because the region was better known and closer to the Gaul (FRERE, FULFORD 2001, 48; MANLEY 2002, 87-110) while others Sussex because there was the territory of Atrabati (HIND 1989, 12-14).

was against Caratacus and Togodumnus who both were defeated.⁶²⁵ Once the territories South to the Thames were conquered,⁶²⁶ Plautius waited for Claudius who entered into the capital of *Catevallauni*, *Camulodum*, as winner even if the Romans still had much to accomplish. After maybe 16fifteen days on the island, he began the journey back and sending ahead Silvanus and Pompeius with a report of the victory. The Senate, once it received the report, voted Claudius honours and they decided to award him a triumph and establish annual games to perpetuate the memory of the victory, also arches were build at least one in Rome and one in Gaul, gave the honorary name Britannicus to his son and the emperor (even if Claudius never used it in the official titlature) and Messalina was granted the right on formal occasions to sit with the Vestals at games and use a special carriage, granted previously only to Livia. Thanks to archaeological discoveries in the Renaissance the arch voted by the Senate was, most likly, located in Via Flaminia because of its link with the arch of the father in Via Appia. Probably the arch was completed in AD 46 as coins depict a British arch as well.⁶²⁷ But the rest of the arch seems to date to AD 51 for the inscriptions which celebrates Claudius' victory over British kings,⁶²⁸ the reliefs complete this message belonging to the triumphal parade in AD 44 or the ceremony in AD 51: it may be that an arch was built in AD 46 but then, with the *damnatio memoriae* of Messalina in AD 48, it would have been redesigned because of the sanctions the Senate imposed on her memory.⁶²⁹ The Senate, eventually, may have honoured Claudius also with another monument, unknown to literary sources: in the beginning of the 16th century pieces of marble monuments were discovered and when reassembled were seen to portray scenes of a sacrifice and a procession attended by men in togas and laurel: their technique and style suggest a Claudian date and the

⁶²⁵ Recently Hind had proposed an interesting hypothesis related Togodumnus. Dio's report restes on an assumption rather than on detailed knowledge and it is possible to suggest that Togodunmus is none other than Cogidunmus, one individual operating in the years soon after the invasion in the South-central part of Britain: 'the fact is that neither the name in Tacitus' text nor that presented in the inscription is secure beyond challenge. Indeed it has recently become accepted that the name in Tacitus' *Agricola* should be read Togidunmus and, if so, that in the inscription should read Togibudnus, since the first two letters are missing and have been restored to agree with the namen of the king according to Tacitus', cf. HIND 2007, 98-100.

⁶²⁶ Various scholars attempt to outline in details the movements of the troops according to the historical and archaeological sources; here these cosiderations are not quoted because they lie outside the present contribution. Cf. BIRD 2000; BLACK 2000; FRERE, FULFORD 2001; HIND 1989; SAUER 2002.

⁶²⁷ GIARD 1988 n° 54-57; KENT ET AL. 1973, n° 179; VON KAENEL 1986, n° 27; RIC I² nn° 33-34.

⁶²⁸ CIL VI 40416.

⁶²⁹ This is the hypothesis suggested by FLOWER 2006, 187-188. Several inscribed stones, near the arch, record dedications to Germanicus, Antonia, Agrippina, Nero, Britannicus and Octavia dating to AD 51-54 and were associated with the arch but, as Rose points out, the thesis is hard to believe, cf. ROSE 1997, 113-115.

altar may celebrate the emperors's safe return from Britain. According to this hypothesis, the reliefs show a celebration carried out in fulfillment of vows made before Claudius's departure and the apex is the sacrifice of bulls to Mars Aventer; in this case the altar could be seen as sort of a thanksgiving. A further reason is the presence in one of the reliefs of a *flamen* with the *apex* who can be identified with Silanus but still, because he is not known from other portraits, the identification is only theoretical.⁶³⁰

One of the *legatus legionis* C. Hosidius Geta⁶³¹ obtained the *insignia* even if he was not yet a consul: to him is also attributed one inscription⁶³² where it results that he was invested with the *adlectio inter patricios* which, possibly, can be related to his success in Britain.

With the awareness of the British elites relationships with the Roman society,⁶³³ the Claudian invasion may have been more initially the consolidation of a long-established hegemonic power than a military aggression.

By AD 47 conquered territory extended as far as North and West as the natural line between Exeter and Lincoln. This line was officialised with the construction of a road, the "Fosse way", a battle front but not a frontier: it marked only a pause in campaigning as Plautius was replaced by Scapula who needed, first, to deal with attacks by hostile tribes. In AD 51 British were defeated in central Wales even if the Silures remained a successful enemy.

If we accept that Rome adapted what was already there we should assume that the first *civitates*⁶³⁴ were based on the social grouping of Later pre-Roman Iron Age and that means that the tribal elites became the *decuriones*. Using the existing system, Rome reinforced the position and power of the native aristocracy and ensured the cheapest collection of taxes. The constitutions of the *civitates* secured the agreement with the tribal aristocracies and incorporated them in the new system. As Millet says that 'the Romanization of institutions and possessions of the aristocracy should thus have played

⁶³⁰ OSGOOD 2011, 91-96.

⁶³¹ From two passages of Dio (*Hist.* 60. 9, 1 and *Hist.* 60. 20, 4) we know C.n. Hosidius Geta, winner over the Mauri in 43 AD (see section 3.3.3), and C. Hosidius Geta: more probably they were brothers but, after Reimarus' correction on Dio's text, they were identified and believed one single person.

⁶³² CIL IX 2847: C. ? [---] id[---] regi sacr. flam[---] patric. Leg. Caesaris pro[---] Claudi in Britannia ad [---]ro pr. In Hiberia ad se[---] ornamenta triumph[---].

⁶³³ For of the elite negotiation model see JAMES 2001, 197-205.

⁶³⁴ Since 1960s there is a debate, mainly between Mann and Frere, regarding the existence or not of these entities.

an active part in the process of social change and not simply have been a reflection of it'.⁶³⁵

The birth of the cities, till recently, was thought to put in correlation with the role played by the armies: Webster states that the *vici* first developed as service centres for the military camps then, when the army moved on, form the nuclei of the towns.⁶³⁶ This hypothesis provides no explanation why the *vicani* would not change place and suggests that late Pre- Roman Iron Age societies lacked of developed urbanism. Hopkins proposes that the imposition of taxation acted as a stimulus for increasing production⁶³⁷ but also this model is based on the assumption that the pre-Roman societies were primitive in the organization: the collection throught the *civitates* will have consolidated their importance as territorial centres. The model proposed by Millet⁶³⁸ emphasizes that the Roman invasion and the military contacts worked together throught the existing tribal organization and so reinforcing it: these would explain while in some areas where the tribal aristocrats were allowed to compete within the system were soon romanized. The main result may have been the development of a system where the power remained in the hands of the traditional elites.

Thought the change of the administration and the introduction of the taxation many existing customs continued alongside or integrated with the new ways.

3.3.2 *Noricum*

A lot was told about Noricum's situation before the Roman annexation and here this condition is briefly summerised. However, the attention is focused on the occupation of the territories and the successive reforms of Claudius.

It is assumed that the country in the early Iron Age was peopled by Veneti and Illyrians⁶³⁹ of the Hallstatt culture and they intermingled with the Celts during the celtic migration in the beginning of 5th century BC with La Tène culture. In reality the question of pre-Celtic population is so far from being solved: still it is true that the prehistorians are able to distinguish spatially and temporarily between prehistoric cultures but what of the individual "non-Celtic" cultures may be attributed to a

⁶³⁵ MILLET 1990a, 69.

⁶³⁶ WEBSTER 1966.

⁶³⁷ HOPKINS 1980.

⁶³⁸ MILLET 1984.

⁶³⁹The term Illyrian is proving to be more unreliable because it should be applied only to a small group of people living in the Balkans between the mounth of the river Narenta and the Acroceraunian mountains; moreover, the discovery by linguistic studies that the Venetic was not some kind of dialect of Illyrian but an independent Indo-European language is significant because one can assume the existence of an independent Venetic people and take into account their presence in Noricum.

particular peoples and tribes, when the differences can be detected only in their artefacts, is difficult to decide. The spread of the La Tène culture is connected with the movements of the Celts but in Noricum, on the fringe of the Celtic world with a strong non celtic population, there is a possibility that the achievements of the Celts were taken over by other peoples.

The Veneti are attested thanks to the inscriptions in Venetic in the upper Gail valley and on the Gurina: all inscriptions probably derive from the 2nd century BC. Latin inscriptions in the other parts of South-western Noricum point to Venetic elements in the population: in the upper Drau valley, in the lower Isel valley and upper Möll valley personal names show pronounces with “northern Adriatic” character. The archeological finds in this area and in the adjacent Pustertal underline the continuing existence of a nearly Iron Age population. In the Pustertal and East of there, the Mealu-Fritzen culture continued into the imperial period as did the “retarded” culture of eastern Tirol and Carinthia and in the Gail Valley and the upper Drau valley: thus, one may postulate so an original venetic population in the whole of the South-western Noricum. It can be that the same people lived also in East of Gurina.

This venetic population was related to the Veneti of North-eastern Italy so it is possible to call them *Carni* as the people living South of the Carnic Alps where it is certain that the name denoted not only a single tribe in the 10th *regio* of Italy.

Regarding instead the Illyrians there is no so good evidence: one can only speak of Illyrians in the eastern Alpine lands in the broader sense of the word but it is questionable if one can use the term also for most parts of Noricum.

There is no evidence of Illyrians in South-western Noricum but much more difficult is the question of pre-celtic population in the northern part of the country because there is no proof that the Hallstatt people, living here, belong to the Illyrians; indeed, only in southern and South-eastern Noricum one can speak about “Illyrian” elements in the population as one can infer from the personal names. From the geographical distribution of the Illyrian names, one can perceive that they are found on the fringes on the celticised central Carinthian settlement area supposing that the Celts, with their migration, drove the Illyrians out of the central country of Carinthia.

The first celtic migrations reached North-western Noricum via Raetia in 400 BC but already in 350 BC they occupied eastern Bavaria, the northern part of the province of Salzburg and the Upper and Lower Austria; not long afterwards they went to the upper Salzach valley but they did not cross the northern edge of the Alps. La Tène culture was

absorbed gradually into the Iron Ages cultures and the pre-Celtic population became celticised; indeed, the celtic settlements in the North were permanent and they remained there till the Roman period. The Celts reached southern Noricum only at late date: North-eastern Slovenia in the 3rd century BC, Carinthia in the second half of the 3rd century BC and Lower Styria after 20 BC. The major discoveries are the celtic *oppida* on the Magdalensberg and near Feistritz in the Drau valley, St. Andrä near Villach, Feldkirchen and Klagenfurt-Untergorotschitzen.

The importance of the role of the Celts in these areas can be perceived from the traces they left behind, namely the onomastic material concerning the name of the places⁶⁴⁰ and personal names (above all in the Villach area, in the Glan valley, in the Görtschitz and Lavant valley, besides the Mur valley and everywhere in North-eastern Styria and North-eastern Slovenia).

Still problematic is the question regarding the origin of the Celts who settled in southern Noricum: scholars agreed only in the fact that these Celts must have separated from their kinsmen and they did not emigrated South from the northern part of the zone beyond the Alps. Moreover, the differences in onomastic features between North and South Noricum, in this time, can prove two different origins of the Celts. One hypothesis suggested an origin from northern Italy for the Celts established in the South: the migrations are to be put in relation with the fact the Romans defeated them on several occasions but their attempt to have a foothold in 186 BC did not prove that they wanted to return “home”. Indeed, at that time the Romans knew almost nothing about them and the identification with the descendants of *Boii* is difficult. The recent hypothesis claims that these Celts came from Pannonia or the Balkans in different waves and most likely originated as results of Celts being driven out of Asia Minor or of Balkans in the 3rd century BC.⁶⁴¹

Taurisci and Norici are the two terms used by the ancients, from the 2nd century BC onwards, to designate the population of Noricum making no distinctions between the non-Celts and the Celts. Nowadays scholars⁶⁴² agree saying that the name Taurisci designates a people spread over the East alpine lands and the name stemming from the Tauern and attesting a mixed celticised population from 3rd century BC of southern and

⁶⁴⁰ The names in southern and South-eastern are Celtic like Virunum, Teurnia, Solva, Celeia, Santicum and Juenna.

⁶⁴¹ ALFÖLDY 1974, 23-24.

⁶⁴² ALFÖLDY 1966, SWOBODA 1964.

eastern Noricum and North-western and South-western Pannonia but it was pushed aside since 2nd century BC and the name Norici became more and more dominant. This name, in origin, defines only a tribe in central Carinthia: the rulers of this tribe gradually united the whole Noricum into a tribal federation during the 2nd century and 1st century BC and so, as a result, the name extended to the whole country replacing the name of Taurisci. By the mid 2nd century BC also the southern tribes were labelled Norici, before the conquest of the Romans also the tribes of North-western and after 60 BC the people of eastern Noricum as well (Figure 22). The ancients, using likewise *Taurisci* and *Norici*, talked of different phases.

| Period | Western Noricum | Southern Noricum (Carinthia, Upper Styria, East Tirol, Pustertal) | Eastern Noricum (lower Austria, lower Styria, north-eastern Slovenia) | North-Western Pannonia | South-Western Pannonia |
|----------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Before 150 BC | (Taurisci) | (Taurisci including in central Carinthia, Norici) | (Taurisci) | (Taurisci) | (Taurisci) |
| 150-100 BC | (Taurisci) | (Taurisci=Norici) | (Taurisci) | Taurisci | Taurisci |
| 100-40 BC | (Norici) | Norici | Taurisci | Boii and Taurisci | Taurisci |
| 15 BC | Norici | Norici | Taurisci as prt of the Norici | Boii under the norican rule | Taurisci |
| After Augustus | <i>Quodam Taurisci appelklati, nunc Norici</i> | | | Boii | Civitates of the Latobici, Varcaini etc... |

Figure 22: The changes of use of the term *Taurisci* and *Norici* (rielaboration after Alföldy 1974, 2).

After the migration of Celts in central Carinthia they began to build a strong and centralized political power whose strength was based on the iron, mined mainly in northern Carinthia. From the second half of the 3rd century BC the chief of the Norici ruled central Carinthia: unluckily we are unaware of the development of the kingdom and only via the contacts with the Romans we have some information.

The known history of Noricum began with the decision in 183 BC to found Aquileia, a reaction to the attempt of *Galli transalpini* three years earlier to build an *oppidum* in this region. Thanks to Pliny we have some information about the try which was, in any case, stopped because the emigrants were accompanied back to their homeland.⁶⁴³ Even if Livy noted several details, he did not define these *Galli Transalpini* more precisely: Sartori argues that these Galli were Taurisci settled in present day Slovenia.⁶⁴⁴ It is a

⁶⁴³See Livy 39, 22, 6, 39, 54, 3, 39, 45, 6; Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 3.1,31.

⁶⁴⁴SARTORI 1960.

general assumption that the Senate's negotiation with the "elder", the *seniores* in Livy's report, of a transalpine people, reflects the first contact between the Romans and the *Regnum Noricum*. Dobesch returns to the hypothesis of Egger who said that the homeland of the Galli is to seek in Carinthia: the Alps, described in Livy as unaccessible, would suit the Carnic Alps and the Karavanke mounts while the less known pass would be either Plöckenpaß or the route through Pontebbe and Tarvisio. Furthermore Dobesch sees that these Galli are not like a different people living in loose confederation but rather a kind of antagonism between the *seniores* and the younger men of the gens.⁶⁴⁵ Yet according to Šašel the 'emigrants belonged to one or several of the tribes living at the edge of the postulated confederation, which may have been represented by a council of noblemen, probably of several tribes of the leading people, as well as of minor dynasts of other people included in the confederation, perhaps headed by a king despite the fact that such is no mention in the sources'.⁶⁴⁶

The reasons for their crossing, overpopulation and scarcity of fertile land, could correspond to the regions of several tribes living in the hinterland of Aquileia but the unknown roads along which they descended could refer to the Taurisci who dominated the trade along Sava and Ljubljana rivers. If we assume that the *Ambisontes* lived along the river Aesontius (present-day Soča or Isonzo), a hypothesis may be that these Galli could have been the *Ambisontes* and this would fit with the known facts of their history and the suggestion, as well, that the *seniores* who received the senatorial embassy would represent the nucleus of the Norican Kingdom.⁶⁴⁷ But still there was no a strong confederation of several tribes and this is clear from the fact that a group could undertake a migration of its own without the leading *gens* being aware of that.

In 178 BC a contingent, commanded by one Catmelus, fought side by side with the Romans against the Istrians. It seems that Catmelus, defined as *regulus* by Livy,⁶⁴⁸ was the brother of king Cincibilis. From the denomination of the annalist, Cincibilis and his family were already seen as a royal house and the variation between *rex* and *regulus* suggest that the ruler's position was not regarded as firm authority.

Some time after a deputation from the transalpine Gallic king Cincibilis, led by the king's brother, went to Rome, to complain in front of the Senate of the encroachments

⁶⁴⁵ DOBESCH 1980, 52-54.

⁶⁴⁶ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 23.

⁶⁴⁷ ALFÖLDY 1974, 31.

⁶⁴⁸ Livy 41, 1, 8.

of C. Cassius Longinus, one of the consuls of the year 171 BC. In return a Roman embassy brought rich presents and also the permission to sell horses in the Roman territories. Permanent basis for a positive relationship between Rome and Noricum created the conditions for *hospitium publicum*, a regulation for hospitality.⁶⁴⁹ This embassy shows how the influence of the Norican king was increasing: even if the action of Longinus had not affected Cincibilis' own country the delegation spoke for his *socii*.

In 168 BC an embassy in Rome of *regulus Gallorum* Balanos, most likely the son of Cincibilis, offered help for the third Macedonian war. But the Senate apparently refused the offer.⁶⁵⁰

Trading relations developed from the mid-2nd century BC onwards and the first pioneers that appeared were gold-hunters and traders: the Romans accepted the monopoly in gold mining of the country's rulers. In that time the Norican power extended to South-western Noricum and in the end of 2nd century BC the whole of southern Noricum was under the control of the Norican king.

After the conflict with the *Boii*⁶⁵¹ the Norican reign, in the 1st century BC, expanded the territories: to the North it reached the Danube and into the zone beyond it while in the South-West and South and South-East the boundaries of the *regnum* coincide with that one of the latter Roman province. It is assumed the tribes formed a league and the leaders recognized the chief of the Carinthian Norici as *rex* and higher authority. Though in the inscriptions at Magdalensberg the presence of all the tribes suggests that also the other tribes were not out of existence; indeed every tribe still managed the internal affairs. The *rex* was at the apex of the social pyramid, he owned great estates and the iron mines were inherited by Augustus as *patrimonium regni Norici*.

The economic life depended on agricultural production, pastoralism, mining, industry (iron-melting and metal-working) and trade: in the 1st century BC the internal trade and commercial relations with other Celts flourished with the beginning of a local Celtic coinage used only for local trading purposes.

From 17 BC onwards the Gauls and the Germans, the Alpine and the Danubian lands, together with the northern Balkans, stood in forefront of political interest of the

⁶⁴⁹ DOBESCH 1976: for an example of this early relationship between Noricum and Rome see the stele of *Popaius Senator*, cf. SUSINI 1978, 343-353.

⁶⁵⁰ Livy 44, 14, 1.

⁶⁵¹ ALFÖLFDY 1974, 39-41.

programme of expansion. Heavy fighting against the tribes in Dalmatia and Pannonia began in 16 BC resulting, during the *bellum Pannonicum* of 12/9 BC, in the conquest of the northern Dalmatian mountain country and the zone beyond it as far as the Danube. It was in connection with this vast offensive on the empire's northern frontiers that the *Regnum Noricum*, also, came under Roman rule.

The exact date of the annexation⁶⁵² is disputed: most scholars place it in 15 BC but others prefer 16, 14 or 8 BC or even the period 9/6 BC.⁶⁵³ The difficulties arise from the fact that the ancient authorities scarcely mention any fighting in Noricum and appear to give a different date for the annexation.⁶⁵⁴ Svetonius does not mention any fighting in the *regnum Noricum* at all in his brief accounts of the Alpine campaigns⁶⁵⁵ while Strabo, in AD 18, gives an account of the Alpine wars of 15 BC⁶⁵⁶ and he mentions among several peoples certain *Norici* who dwelt in the districts around Aquileia and the *Taurisci*, which also belonged to the *Norici*; these were all stopped by Tiberius and Drusus.⁶⁵⁷ According to Velleius, in 15 BC, Tiberius subdued by force of arms not only the *Raeti*, *Vindelici*, Pannonians and *Scordisci* but also the Noricans and added their territory to the empire as new province,⁶⁵⁸ while in another passage he enumerates the provinces to which Tiberius' soldiers accompanied him as a victorious commander and Noricum is not listed.⁶⁵⁹

Florus wrote an account of the *Bellum Noricum* but he seems not really to have meant a war against the inhabitants of the Norican kingdom when he speaks of *Norici* since all that he describes is the subjugation of the *Breuni* and *Ulceni* in Raetia and of the *Vendelici*.⁶⁶⁰ A century and half after the events, Appian admits that he was not able to find any details about the conquest of Noricum and he draws the conclusions that the Noricans might have been overrun in connection with Caesar's Gallic wars or with the

⁶⁵² See also also SWOBODA 1935.

⁶⁵³ ALFÖLDY 1974, 52, note 2.

⁶⁵⁴ WINKLER 1977, 198.

⁶⁵⁵ Svet. *Div. Aug.* 21, 1. *Div. Tib.* 16.

⁶⁵⁶ See also Livius. *Liv. Per.* CXXXVIII: *Raeti a Tib. Nerone et Drusus, Caesari privignit, dimiti.*

⁶⁵⁷ Strabo IV 6, 8-9: *But the Vindelici and the Norici occupy the greater part of the outer side of the mountain, along with the Breuni and the Genaui...directly after these peoples come the peoples that dwell near the recess of the Adriatic and the districts round Aquileia, namely the Carni as well certain of the Norici; the Taurisci, also, belonged to the Norici. But Tiberius and his brother Drusus stopped all of them from their riotous incursions by means of a single summer-campaign, so that now for thirty-three years they have been in a state of tranquility and have been paid their tributes regularly....*

⁶⁵⁸ Vell. II 39,3: *Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias, ut hos armis, ita auctoritate Cappadociam populo Romano fecit stipendiarium.* Most likely he talks about the people living in Val Pusteria.

⁶⁵⁹ Vell. II 104, 5.

⁶⁶⁰ Florus II 22.

Pannonian campaigns of Augustus.⁶⁶¹ However Cassius Dio,⁶⁶² two generation after, is better informed: he reports for the year 16 BC that *the Pannonians together with the Norici invaded Histria and were subdued by Silius and his legates*.⁶⁶³ In Festus we find another important passage⁶⁶⁴ where he states that the *regnum Noricum* was annexed in 16 BC.

It is certain that in 15 BC there was some actual fighting in the territory of the Norican kingdom. Most likely the *Ambisontes*,⁶⁶⁵ who figured as the only one of the Norican peoples among the *gentes Alpine devictae* on the inscription of La Turbie, set up in 7 or 6 BC,⁶⁶⁶ threw in its lot with *Raeti* and *Vindelici* in 15 BC, as Velleius reports, and were defeated with them.⁶⁶⁷ Likewise it can hardly be simply through a mistake that Florus gives in his account of the Alpine campaign the title *Bellum Noricum*: he may have read in his sources the participation of a Norican tribe on the side of the *Raeti* and *Vindelici* in their war against Tiberius and Drusus. But this expedition must be located only in the western part⁶⁶⁸ where the *Ambisontes* were settled.

Some scholars think that the greater part of the *regnum* was not affected at all in the aftermath of the alpine campaign but this option cannot be accepted. Strabo makes quite clear in his passage quoted that Tiberius and Drusus forced the submission of all the peoples there enumerated in the summer campaign of 15 BC and not just the *Raeti* and *Vindelici* but the three groups of Noricans too.⁶⁶⁹ so the incursion of Pannonians and Noricans into Histria must be seen as the pretext to the Romans for the annexation of the *regnum Noricum* into roman domains.

It needs to be stressed, anyway, that most scholars think that the account of Dio as well those of other ancient sources need to be taken with precautions because the presence of *Norici* is based on a change with *Raetii* and the evenements must be considered in their whole.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶¹ App. Ill. 29.

⁶⁶² Dio Hist. 54. 20, 2.

⁶⁶³ P. Silius Nerva, cos. 20 BC; proconsul of Illyricum in 17 BC and 16 BC (CIL III 2973).

⁶⁶⁴ Festus Brev. 7: *Sub Iulio Octaviano Caesare Augusto per Alpes Iulias iter factum est* (=the Illyrian expedition of 35-33 BC), *Alpinis omnibus victis* (=15 BC) *Noricum provincaie accessserunt. Bathone Pannoniorum rege subacto in dicionem nostrum Pannoniae venerunt* (= AD 9).

⁶⁶⁵ Dobesch does not think that only the *Ambisontes* fought against the Romans, cf. DOBESCH 1986, 134, note 11.

⁶⁶⁶ ŠAŠEL 1972a.

⁶⁶⁷ ALFÖLDY 1974, 53; WINKLER 1969, 19.

⁶⁶⁸ PAVAN 1956, 59.

⁶⁶⁹ DOBESCH 1986; SCHERRER 2002, 12.

⁶⁷⁰ PAVAN 1956, 58; SARIA 1950, 442; SWOBODA 1932, 180.

But the modern view⁶⁷¹ states that these data, associated with the scattered evidences from ancient sources, make perfectly clear that, on the one hand, the formerly independent Noricum kingdom lost its independence and, on the other hand, that it most probably occurred without having been waged against it but rather in a form of annexation which should most probably be dated to 15 BC.⁶⁷²

Kneissl, however, has another opinion, stating that the *Regnum Noricum* till Claudius, when it became a province⁶⁷³ just as Thracia, maintained the previous status of *hospitium publicum*. To prove his hypothesis, he says that the accounts of Dio and Velleius do not support the annexation of Noricum in Augustus' time; moreover in Svetonius' *Life of Augustus* such an activity of Augustus or Tiberius is not mentioned. Among the 40 groups listed in the *Tropaeum Alpium*, which are passed on in Plinius as well,⁶⁷⁴ only the *Ambisontes* are cited but not the *Regnum Noricum*.⁶⁷⁵ But he quotes also references to corroborate the supposition: he highlights the fact that no Roman officials before Claudius' time are known and also the lack of inscriptions or clues in Magdalensberg, where the officials were supposed to govern, can be seen as confirmation of his thesis.⁶⁷⁶ He mentions also the lack of military camps in Noricum; the presence of seven inscriptions of soldiers belonging to Legio VII Augusta and Cohors Montanorum prima, he says, cannot be taken as the proof of existence of camps.⁶⁷⁷

But these arguments are untenable because being contradicted by extant literary evidences, strategic reasons and as well epigraphic data.⁶⁷⁸ Immunitas, awarded to C. Iulius Vepo from Celeia along with citizenship (CIL III 5232),⁶⁷⁹ no doubt for special merits during the Augustean conquest of the South-eastern Alpine area, would not have much sense in an independent Norican kingdom. His tombstone, erected during his lifetime in an entirely romanized manner, presupposes the existence of a stonecarving workshop, an already developed stone-cutting craft and sufficient knowledge and

⁶⁷¹ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 32.

⁶⁷² Miltner argues that the occupation of Noricum was Augustus' plan right from the beginning of the alpine campaigns, cf. MILTNER 1937, 209.

⁶⁷³ Most likely in AD 47/48, cf. WINKLER 2005, 437.

⁶⁷⁴ Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 3. 316.

⁶⁷⁵ KNEISSL 1979, 264-265.

⁶⁷⁶ KNEISSL 1979, 266-267.

⁶⁷⁷ KNEISSL 1979, 266-269.

⁶⁷⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 32-33.

⁶⁷⁹ *C(aius) Iulius Vepo donatus civitate romana viritum et immunitate ab divo Aug(usto) vivos fecit sibi et Boniate Antoni(i) fil(iae) coniugu er (s)uius*. ŠAŠEL 1954: he acquired citizenship rights sometime between 20-10 BC.

distribution of Latin. Other evidences proving beyond all doubts that Noricum had been annexed before Claudius are the two moulds recently discovered at Magdalensberg, carved into two marble slabs, large enough to produce gold bars with a weigh of 5.60 and 14.50 kg manufactured in the name of Caius Caesar.⁶⁸⁰

The traditional good relations between Rome and the natives remained unaltered after the annexation: between 11 BC and 2 BC inscriptions were set up on the Magdalensberg in honour of the ladies of Augustian imperial house (Livia and Julia) and they were dedicated by the assembly of several Norican tribes.⁶⁸¹ Thanks to these inscriptions and the list of Ptolemy,⁶⁸² we are able to understand how the Norican tribes (*Norici, Ambilini, Ambidravi, Uperaci, Saevates, Laianci, Ambisontes* and *Elveti*)⁶⁸³ were organized within the territory.⁶⁸⁴

The boundaries of the new province correspond with those of the independent *regnum Noricum*, however Rome's strategic interests soon led to some changes:⁶⁸⁵ in the North the Danube line was established as a strategic frontier while in the East Noricum had to give up a wide strip of land to the province of Pannonia. There was a legionary garrison, probably from the time of the *bellum Pannonicum* of 12/9 BC and its presence there made necessary the inclusion of this North area in the provincia of the *legatus Augusti pro praetore Illyrici*.⁶⁸⁶ Carnuntum was part of the province in AD 6⁶⁸⁷ till when the Legio VX Apollonaris was transferred there from Emona most likely in AD 14.⁶⁸⁸

Rome regarded the Danube as the northern frontier of her domains in Noricum but this does not exclude the possibility that the Roman state claimed certain rights in the eastern sector of the zone beyond the Norican *limes*. However the erection of the Danubian *limes* and of small outposts North of the Danube was part of Claudius' reform.

The annexation resulted in the introduction of a Roman administration: the prevailing view is that the subjugation did not bring the immediate creation of the province and it

⁶⁸⁰ PICCOTTINI 1994, AE 1993, 331 n° 1-2; AE 1995, 116 and 1197.

⁶⁸¹ ŠAŠEL 1967.

⁶⁸² Ptol. *Geogr.* II.13, 2.

⁶⁸³ After a reconsideration of *Tropaium Alpium* Šašel believes that the *Ambisontes* must be localized in the Isonzo area. Cf. ŠAŠEL 1972a.

⁶⁸⁴ ALFÖLDY 1974, 66-70; ALFÖLDY 1988, 41-44; SCHERRER 2002, 32-34. The inscriptions show an extension of the territories exactly inside the areas of the future *municipia claudiana*.

⁶⁸⁵ FISCHER 2000b, 20-21.

⁶⁸⁶ SARIA 1939, 150.

⁶⁸⁷ Vell. II, 109, 2: *a Carnunto qui lucus Norici regni*.

⁶⁸⁸ PAVAN 1956, 59.

is thought that till Claudius there was a “state of occupation” and the country must have been governed either by a native prince like in Alpes Cottiae⁶⁸⁹ or a by a high ranking Roman centurion.⁶⁹⁰ In reality very little is known about the administration in this period:⁶⁹¹ neither native or Roman *praefecti* nor *procuratores* are attested. It may be that, from 15 BC, a Roman *praefectus civitatum* from the highest grades of the centurionate in the Pannonia army ruled the country. One may cite as parallel the situation in Raetia where at least at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius a *primus pilus* of the Upper Germany army was serving as *praefectus* of Raetia, the Vincelici and the Vallis Poenina.⁶⁹² Detachments of the Pannonians legions are in fact attested in Noricum under Augustus and Tiberius; however it does not necessarily follow that they were under the orders of the Pannonian legate, in fact detachments from Pannonia were stationed in Noricum after the time of Claudius as well. Besides, the situation was quite different from that in Raetia, which had been conquered after a heavy fighting. In Noricum peace reigned unbroken and as early as the time of Augustus many natives were granted Roman citizenship; here and there was a relatively large number of Roman immigrants. All these circumstances not only made possible but required that a totally different policy should be pursued here than that adopted in Raetia: a purely military administration would hardly have been able to cope with the complicated task of a civilian authority for which appropriated specialised capacities were required.

A more likely possibility is that Augustus and Tiberius installed the descendants of the native kings as *praefecti* and the majority of the administrative work (especially minor) remained in the hands of native functionaries who certainly must have been familiar with Latin language and have possessed at least partial citizenship. Such administration must have existed, although inscriptions barely mention any officials for the period, up to the middle of the 1st century AD. The explanation is not that there was no bureaucracy, rather that there were almost no Italian or foreign officials and the local functionaries in this period were still not Romanized in this sense.

Thus the problem remains unresolved but one must not exclude the option that a normal provincial administration with a praesidial procurator was installed in Noricum before

⁶⁸⁹ Here the son of Cottoius reigned as *praefectus civitatum*, see CIL V 7251.

⁶⁹⁰ WINKLER 1976, 103-104.

⁶⁹¹ FISCHER 2002b, 18.

⁶⁹² WINKLER 1977, 200.

Claudius.⁶⁹³ It is told that with Claudius Noricum became a province because from that time the first procurator is known, the first cities with Roman rights were established and a new capital Virunum is founded.⁶⁹⁴ As it happened in the creation of other new provinces where the bestowal of the “province-status”, a concept to take in mind, seems to be connected with an imperial decree which regulates the country: this seems not to be the case with Noricum.⁶⁹⁵

It is, at any rate, probable that a civilian administration of a permanent kind was installed in Noricum at once after the annexation. The so-called Repräsentationhaus on the Magdalensberg did not, to be sure, necessarily serve as a residence of a high official but rather the building adjoined an official structure with a tribunal and, extending in front of this, a courtyard surrounded by colonnades: one may be justified in seeing this building-complex, which was constructed shortly after 15 BC, as the seat of the official whose task was to act as the highest authority for the administration of the country.⁶⁹⁶

Whereas scarcely any members of the civil authorities are known from this period the sources of this time supply a larger amount of evidences for the Roman army which likewise played a role in running the country: the presence of strong force in Pannonia and Raetia was a sufficient guarantee and in Noricum only small garrisons were all that were necessary. The garrison troops of the earliest imperial period were not yet concentrated on the Danube Limes but dispersed in the interior and the most important military strongpoint was the Magdalensberg.⁶⁹⁷ The fact that the troops were splitted in individual units was a way to control better the country and supervise the individual native *civitates*, on which the administration of particular sections of the country and particular groups of population was based.

The tribes of the eastern Alps, who had formed the *regnum* under the leadership of the Norici before the annexation, continued to exist as communities of the native population with the name of *civitates peregrinae* or more probably, because of a treaty with Rome, as *civitates foederatae et stipendiariae*. Unfortunately, very little is known of their history because the inscriptions on the Magdalensberg and Ptolemy do not even give a

⁶⁹³ ALFÖLDY 1974, 62; WEBER 1988, 615. According to Pflaum, Noricum was already a procuratorial province under Caligula, cf. PFLAUM 1957, 1247.

⁶⁹⁴ WEBER 1988, 615. But see the contrary opinion in ALFÖLDY 1988, 38, note 3.

⁶⁹⁵ WEBER 1988, 615.

⁶⁹⁶ WINKLER 1977, 200-201.

⁶⁹⁷ A military inscription mentions three troops of the Pannonian Legio VIII August; CIL 4858. Other two inscriptions name soldiers belonging to Cohors Montanorum Prima, an auxiliary unit raised in Noricum under Augustus.

complete list of the *civitates*⁶⁹⁸ and the sources are somehow different in reporting. The sources are also silent about how the *civitates* were administered before the foundation of the first *municipia* under Claudius.

The centre of the administration under Augustus and Tiberius was on the Magdalensberg⁶⁹⁹ where the already existing settlement now enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity. The Roman settlement acquired a new character after 15 BC: the existing buildings used for trade and commerce around the market-place were demolished to provide space for new buildings as for example the mentioned Repräsentationshaus and the temple dedicated, after the death of Augustus, to Dea Roma and Divus Augustus.⁷⁰⁰

It seems that Roman merchants only settled in a few places in the country apart from the Magdalensberg and in small numbers: there is hardly any trace in the time of Augustus and Tiberius of Italian merchants and other foreign immigrants at the sites of the later towns founded by Claudius and Vespasian. Probably the only area which was at all intensively visited by Italian merchants was that traversed by the “Noricain main high way”⁷⁰¹ on its way North: along the line of this road, under surveillance by small military posts, there were probably a number of trading-stations at an early date.⁷⁰² Although there can be talk of an extensive Italian colonisation, the Roman influences, strengthened from 15 BC onwards, were of great importance for the native population: the process of romanisation was beginning.

When Rome annexed the Norican kingdom there was only a very small number of Roman citizens: apart from foreign settlers the vast majority of the population consisted of *peregrini*. Around 15 BC members of the Norican royal house and few leading nobles may have had the Roman citizenship, under Augustus and Tiberius citizenship was granted only on a *virum basis* (for example Vepo from Celeia) and not to whole communities.⁷⁰³ The same sources, which testify so miserly the awarding of citizenship rights, also emphasize that great services to the state (or the emperor) were required to earn them. A widespread distribution of these rights at that period cannot be considered, as it had only recently been annexed: only after half a century did the first

⁶⁹⁸ See Above and FISCHER 2002b, 19-20.

⁶⁹⁹ See ALFÖLDY 1974, 70-74.

⁷⁰⁰ After a change in the original design this temple ought to have achieved its final form under Claudius but it was never completed.

⁷⁰¹ See paragraph 4. 6.3.

⁷⁰² ALFÖLDY 1974, 75.

⁷⁰³ ALFÖLDY 1974, 76.

cities and their inhabitants achieve municipal status. In the case of *viritim* citizenship the possibility is that a civilian rendered to the state (or to the emperor) considerable help.

The reign of Claudius marked a profound turning-point in the history of Noricum.

3.3.3 *Maureania Tingitana and Caesariensis*⁷⁰⁴

Carthage was established in the second half of the 8th century BC by Phoenicians from Tyros. In 7th century BC Carthage took the protection of the Phoenician cities in the West threatening by the Greeks and already in 5th century BC the city was able to expand the power to the western boundaries of Cyrenaica (Lybia) to Gibraltar and it took control of the coastal areas of North Africa and South Spain, the western part of Sicily as well Sardinia and Malta. The expansion can be distinguished by the founding of commercial settlements on the coast. The contacts with the native population the “Berber”⁷⁰⁵ or the Greek “Libyan” (as the non-Punic Africans were called) were really minor but in 450 BC Carthage began to subject these people and to develop the inner part of the country: in the following years originated Libyan-Carthaginian relationship which created a strong influence in the life and religion of the Berbers. In the territory of nowadays Morocco lived the Berber people of Mauri. The growing political control and domination of Carthage implicated a process of emulation and competition which affects the Berber society: these Berber populations seem to have been under chiefdoms⁷⁰⁶ as Diodorus reports for the war against the Greek in 406 BC.⁷⁰⁷ If the formation of large territorial entities was a response of the growing power of Carthage, the forms of kingship reflects those of the Hellenistic monarchies.⁷⁰⁸ With the aim to present the king as the perfect Hellenistic monarch it was required a court and an aristocracy to organize the state and its armies.

⁷⁰⁴ That term designates the african region at West to Fretum Promonturium (Cape Bongarum) and precisely the costal area between the river Ampsaca (Uadi el-Kebir) and the Atlatic ocean; beyond Atlas Montes only the West part was occupied but always with undefined borders.

⁷⁰⁵ The term is first recorded in Arab authors and it derives from the Greek term *Barbaroi*, latin *Barbarus*, cf. SEBAĬ 2005, 48-49. Camps observes that the word barbar appears often in the Semitic language and a tribe as the Bavares of the early empire could have given their name to the whole as the term Mauri, Moor, derives from what was in origin a specific group cf. CAMPS 1995. For a short overview see also the introduction in BRETT, FENTRESS 1996.

⁷⁰⁶ For the civil institutions and the language see BRETT, FORTRESS 1996, 37-40.

⁷⁰⁷ Dio. *Hist.* 13. 80, 3.

⁷⁰⁸ DESANGES 1984-85.

In their contact with other population, the Berber elites spoke more than one language: their own Libyan, Punic and from time to time also Greek or later, Latin. This bi-and trilingual culture is typical of Berber elites in all periods who were able to move between the hegemonic culture and their own; they were also linked to each other and to Carthaginians by family's bonds as well by allegiance.⁷⁰⁹

The first king mentioned for Mauretania is Baga in the end of 3rd century BC (204 BC) who had power only in the North of Morocco while Numidia had two different kingdoms: at East the Numidian Massyle whose kings could be Ailymas and Gaïa, and his son Massinissa⁷¹⁰ and at West the Numidan Masaesyle with capitals Siga and Cirta (Costantina) whose most important king was Syphax⁷¹¹ and he ruled as well over the Mauri.⁷¹²(Figure 23)

| AFRICA'S HISTORICAL EVOLUTION | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Beginning of the roman conquest | Carthage | Kingdom of eastern Numidia | Kingdom of western Numidia | Kingdom of Mauretania |
| From 146 BC | Africa | Kingdom of Numidia | | Kingdom of Mauretania |
| From 105 BC | Africa | Kingdom of Numidia | | |
| From 45 BC | Africa Vetus | Africa Nova | Western Mauretania | Eastern Mauretania |
| From 23 BC | Africa Proconsularis | | | Kingdom of Mauretania |
| From 41 AD | Africa Proconsularis | | | Mauretania Caesariensis Mauretania Tingitana |

Figure 23: Africa's historical evolution (author's rielaboration)

In the end of the second Punic war the Mauri were able to take control over the Phoenician settlements on their coast as Tingis (Tanger) and Lixus (Laranche). With the

⁷⁰⁹ See the account of Navaras during the mercenary war of 240 BC, cf. Pol. *Hist.* I, 78; LORETO 1995.

⁷¹⁰ For his help in the Second Punic War, Massinissa received the kingdom of Syphax, and became king of Numidia. After the third Punic war, Massinissa had a big territory to control with aims to expand the territory. But after his dead the reign was divided by Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus into three parts, each of them governed by the sons Micipsa, Mastanabale and Gulussa. Micipsa received as part of his inheritance the Numidian capital of Cirta (along with the royal palace and treasury in there), Gulussa the charge of war and Mastarnable the administration of justice. In 118 BC Micipsa died and Numidia, following the king's wish, was divided into three parts. A third each ruled by Micipsa's own sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and the king's adopted son, Jugurtha, Mastarnable's illegitimate son. Jugurtha, killing one cousin and attacking the other in Cirta, violated the agreements with Rome causing a war (see above).

⁷¹¹ In the second Punic war both Syphax and Massinissa played an important role. The major shift in the balance was caused by Syphax after have married Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, because she persuaded him to go to her father's side. When Syphax was taken prisoner by the Romans, Massinissa was able to unify the two kingdoms and from that time onwards there was only one reign of Numidia.

⁷¹² In a recent contribution Rebuffat doubts the presence of Masaesyles in Maureatania, cf. REBUFFAT 2011, 70-73.

destruction of Carthage the Punic domination was at the end but the ghost of Carthage was still living. The romans had no interest, in the beginning, in the Numidian and Mauritanian kingdoms: if in the Numidia, already with the Punicians, had have begun a civilization's process, in Mauretania the people had still a nomadic lifestyle.

During the war against Jughurta the king of Mauretania Bocchus I (c. 118/81 BC) fought with the Romans. In 46 BC Mauretania was divided into two kingdoms: Bocchus II (80/ 33 BC) in East and Bogud II (80/38 BC) in West; the two of them were the first kings who minted their coins (Figure 24).



Figure 24: Coins from the reign of Bocchus IIa. Observe: figure of Bocchus II with the legend BQ-S:bb. Reverse: naked male figure with Thyros' wand and small bull (after Risse 2001, abb. 10-11, a-b).

In the civil war between Caesar and Pompeius, in the beginning both kings were with Caesar to fight, against Juba I (60/46 BC), king of Numidia, but afterwards Bocchus chose to stay with Pompeius. With the defeat of Juba I, his territory was divided: the area around Cirta as far as the sea was given to the mercenary Sittius while the rest of Numidia joined the old provinces of Africa with the creation of Africa Nova. After the assassination of Caesar and during the civil war between Marc Antony and Octavianus the Mauretanian kings were in different sides. In absence of Bogdus Bocchus took over

the part of his reign, he gained also the western part of Numidia and he governed till 33 BC. After his death⁷¹³ there was a period of *interregnum*⁷¹⁴ till Augustus in 25 BC annexed the kingdom and incorporated also the western part of Numidia comprising the nowadays North Morocco and the North Algeria. He established 12 colonies as Iulia Costatia Zilil (Asilah), Iulia Campestris Babba and Iulia Valentia Banasa: these cities with these ones founded since 38 BC seem to be Roman enclaves depending of the administration of Baetica.⁷¹⁵

He gave to Juba II, son of Juba I who had been brought up in Rome by Augustus,⁷¹⁶ the Kingdom of Bocchus⁷¹⁷ as *basileia*⁷¹⁸ in order to compensate the territories taken during the war against Antonius and he gave him as wife Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra. In this way Juba II served as representative of Rome and of the emperor in the Numidian territories assuring the *Pax Romana*.⁷¹⁹ He made Iol the capital and gave it the name of Caesarea (Cherchel). In his kingdom it is evident the “oriental” character of the mauretian monarchy, already evident with the Hellenistic culture of the numidian kings and confirmed by the Juba’s identification as progenitor in Heracles.

The annexation of this territory⁷²⁰ began during the kingdom of Gaius because Ptolemy,⁷²¹ son of Juba II, imprisoned, was killed at Lyon when the emperor was in Gaule (AD 40): the date given by Dio⁷²² is confirmed by the last coins struck by Ptolemy in the year XX of his reign (AD 40) and not thereafter. Beyond that the timing and the whereabouts of Ptolemy’s movements are not certain: we know that Gaius went

⁷¹³ Contrasting are scholars’ opinions regarding the fact that Bocchus would have left the reign to Octavianus, cf. COLTELLONI-TRANNOY 1997, 19-22; GSELL 1928, 200-211; ROMANELLI 1959, 150.

⁷¹⁴ According to Dio (*Hist.* 49.43, 7) the territory of Mauretania was one province of the Imperium. Coltelloni-Trannoy claims that it was not a province in *sensu stricto*, cf. COLTELLONI-TRANNOY 1997, 11, 26-27; some scholars think that Mauretania was dependent of Baetica, cf. MARION 1960.

⁷¹⁵ SCHETTINO 2003, 291, note 10.

⁷¹⁶ SCHETTINO 2002; 2003, 292.

⁷¹⁷ Strab. XVII, 3, 7. For this passage we can see two errors: first Strabon seems not to be aware of the unification of Mauretania thanks to Bocchus II, second even if Mauretania was divided into two kingdoms the king assured an unified sovereignty.

⁷¹⁸ The *basileia* had oriental characteristics.

⁷¹⁹ Augustus’ decision is to contain the extension of the *imperium* and withdraw the “virtual *limes*”, cf. Svet. *Div. Aug.* 48, 1-2.

⁷²⁰ For different insurrections already during Augustus’ time which led to establish the garrison of III Augusta at Ammaedara see FAUR 1973, 255-256 and the bibliography cited. Now Romans have to protect Juba II and it was not Juba II who protects Roman interests in the area.

⁷²¹ He fought with the *proconsul Africa* against a numidian and mauretian riot and for that Tiberius conferred the *ornamenta triumphalia* and the title *rex socius atque amicus populi romani* (Tac. *Ann.* 4.26).

⁷²² Dio *Hist.* 59. 25, 1.

North in September AD 39⁷²³ and he didn't enter Rome until his ovation accorded to his birthday on 31st August AD 40,⁷²⁴ though a fragment of *Acta Fratium Arvalium*⁷²⁵ shows that he was in the neighbourhood of Rome in the end of May before going South to spend the time between June and August in Campania.⁷²⁶

According to Dio, Gaius killed Ptolemy because of his wealth while Svetonius says that the pretext was his wearing of a garment of purple in a public spectacle which can have been one of those in Lyon.⁷²⁷ This chronology does not go together with the imprisonment of a few weeks, taking place only in Rome, referred by Seneca.⁷²⁸ Svetonius refers only that he was killed suddenly not necessarily meaning that he was executed soon after being imprisoned while Dio points out that the execution took place between Gaius' folly and his march to the Ocean when he was at *Lugdunum*.⁷²⁹

According to Fishwick,⁷³⁰ the thesis of Hofmann,⁷³¹ which alludes to the fact that Ptolemy was wearing a robe appropriate for the high priest of the cult of Isis, in the spectacle connected to the dedication of the temple of Isis Campestri on colle Palatino,⁷³² is very plausible because Gaius soon after his election proclaimed the admission of Isis to the pantheon, reaction against Tiberius' ban of the worship of Isis to Roman citizens.⁷³³ Ptolemy had inherited the function of high priest from his mother Selene. Moreover the scholar says that Ptolemy was invited to Rome to consecrate the sanctuary of Isis: this assumption is important because it has implications for the chronology. The date of consecration is not certain but can be placed between AD 36 and AD 39: this means that Ptolemy was in Rome in AD 39 and the event of the purple robe took place before Gaius went to Germany but it's impossible to understand when Ptolemy was arrested. But of course we have some problems to conciliate all the historical information: it seems like that Dio, referring that he was executed in Lugdunum, wasn't aware of the Ptolemy's presence in Rome. Probably from Rome he

⁷²³Dio *Hist.* 59. 21, 1.

⁷²⁴Svet. *Div. Gaius* 8, 1; 49, 2.

⁷²⁵CIL VI, 32347. '...ce fragment ait été rapporté à l'an 40 par les editeurs du Corpus inscriptionum latinorum. Nous ne sommes pas obligés de suivre leur opinion....'. See CARCOPINO 1943, 195.

⁷²⁶GELZER 1918, 406; SMALLWOOD 1967, 14 n°10.

⁷²⁷Svet. *Div. Gaius* 35, 1.

⁷²⁸Sen. *De tranq. Animae* XI, 12.

⁷²⁹CARCOPINO 1943, 191-199; GELZER 1918, 404: they think that Ptolemy was invited to come to Lugdunum but this hypothesis seems not to take in consideration the passage of Seneca.

⁷³⁰FISCHWICK 1970, 469-470.

⁷³¹HOFFMANN 1959. The main evidence in favour of his thesis is the fact that Svetonius uses the word *abolla* indicating a flying garment which was different in cut from the shorter *paludamentum*.

⁷³²Romanelli says that the spectacle was set in Lugdunum, cf. ROMANELLI 1959, 257.

⁷³³KÖBERLEIN 1962.

was sent to Lyon in the first months of AD 40 and there killed; so it seems likely he was executed after a long rather than a short imprisonment which at least fits Svetonius' expression *repente percussit*. We have no certain reasons for the murdering of Ptolemy but in any case, we can place his killing in an ugly interval of hunts and denunciations.⁷³⁴ Faur questions this theory⁷³⁵ and it seems to him unluckily that the revality between the two was not recorded in the ancient sources.

Another theory for the killing suggests the participation of Ptolemy in the revolt of Gaeticus:⁷³⁶ even if this is the most credible hypothesis it has some controversial points like for example the fact that Ptolemy was to be a rival of Gaius. A third one states that the desire of annexation would be linked to the incapability of Ptolemy to oppose the tribes but, as Coltelloni-Trannoy says, the rebellion of the tribes was never a matter of real danger.⁷³⁷

According to a recent speculation Gaius' creation of the Numidia as political and military unity affecting also the eastern Mauretania is the sign of a broad plan in Africa which could possibly invest all political and administrative situations. General reasons and specific ones regarding the particular administrative make possible to believe that also Mauretania was part of this plan. It seems that Gaius wanted to reduce the power of Mauretania leaving to Ptolemy only the Tingitana. Believing to this hypothesis Gaius made as Caesar did with Numidia that went under the direct control of Rome.⁷³⁸

According to Plinius the Elder,⁷³⁹ Aedemon, a *libertus* of the king, tried to fight against the Roman occupation; ⁷⁴⁰ reading Dio,⁷⁴¹ it seems likely that he was defeated before the death of Gaius because Claudius, not yet emperor, was persuaded by his emancipated slaves to accept the triumph⁷⁴² but this statement is contradictory with the words of Plinius. This uprising can be dated in the late spring or beginning of summer

⁷³⁴ FISHWICK 1970, 472. Faur notes that a possible reason for Ptolemy's murdering was his ambition to the Roman throne; this tendency can be tracked in his monetary issue in AD 38/39 which presents the king and a throne with a crown and a sceptre symbolizing the triumph in AD 24 against Tacfarinas (FAUR 1973, 261-267). 'Il est vrai que le roi clients doit mettre ses soldats à la disposition des Romains mais il a voulu exprimé dans ces émissions la propre fierté d'un roi africain', cf. KOTULA 1964, 82.

⁷³⁵ COLTELLONI-TRANNOY 1997, 57; FAUR 1977, 249-253.

⁷³⁶ COLTELLONI-TRANNOY 1997, 58; FISCHWICK, SHAW 1976, 491-494.

⁷³⁷ COLTELLONI-TRANNOY 1997, 55-59.

⁷³⁸ SCHETTINO 2003, 306-312.

⁷³⁹ Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 5.11: *romana arma primum Claudio prinie in Mauretania bellavere.*

⁷⁴⁰ It seems like that the insurrection began in Tingitana where Aedemon was a sort of regent.

⁷⁴¹ Dio *Hist.* 60. 8, 6.

⁷⁴² THOMASSON 1982, 31-32.

AD 40:⁷⁴³ we are not certain about how long lasted the revolt and who rallied to Aedemon⁷⁴⁴ because there is not definite statement in the sources that Ptolemy's subject rose in the name of their imprisoned or executed king. It is difficult to believe that M. Licinius Crassus, consul in AD 27, can be the victor of the battle against Aedemon. This hypothesis comes from the incomplete inscription *M(arcus) Licinius M(arci) f(ilius) M(enania tribu) Crassus Frugi pontif(ex) pr(aetor) urb(anus) cons(ul) leg(atus) Ti(berii) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Ge[r]manici in M[...].a*.⁷⁴⁵ the name of this province which begins mit M and finishes with A can be Moesia, Macedonia or Mauretania; according to Svetonius, Licinius took the *triumphalia ornamenta* for the second time, since the second occasion was the recognition of the expedition in Britannia⁷⁴⁶ it has been suggested that the first time may have been in connection with the triumph in Mauretania but the main object is that this consul belonged to a high rank for a challenge of low level and Dio makes no mention of this man.⁷⁴⁷ Instead some scholars as Gascaou,⁷⁴⁸ Carcopino,⁷⁴⁹ Levick⁷⁵⁰ and Romanelli⁷⁵¹ think that Licinius could be the *legatus* who defeated Aedemon.

Most likely Plinius confused this insurrection with those one that accured in AD 41 and AD 42 and it was suppressed by two of Claudius' *legati* Svetonius Paulinus and Cn. Hosidius Geta,⁷⁵² These expeditions are related to the basic facts of life in the region namely the nomads moving along the line of the river Mouloya formed a living frontier between Tingitana and Caesariensis threatening the communications.⁷⁵³ While the expedition of Paulinus is an expedition against the Barbarians who took up arms, Geta defeated them twice and he constrained them to accept his conditions.

⁷⁴³ Also Faur agrees in that date; cf. FAUR 1973, 270. Kotula instead placed the uprising in 41 AD, cf. KOTULA 1964, 85.

⁷⁴⁴ Most likely the barbarians, from the beginning, took part of the insurrection with Aedemon.

⁷⁴⁵ CIL VI, 31721=ILS 954.

⁷⁴⁶ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 17,6.

⁷⁴⁷ See also FISHWICK 1970, 478-479.

⁷⁴⁸ GASCOU 1974a. He exposes two basic arguments for his thesis: the first one concerns the inscription itself while the second one is related to the historical events considering different sources. He admits that M. Licinius Crassus was chosen by Gaius when Ptolemy began the revolt and he was still in charge at the beginning of Claudius' reign but only till autumn when Claudius called him, in order to obtain the *triumphalia ornamenta* in a campaign that ended during Gaius' time (*Pl. Nat. Hist.* 5. 2).

⁷⁴⁹ CARCOPINO 1943, 191.

⁷⁵⁰ LEVICK 1990, 149.

⁷⁵¹ ROMANELLI 1959, 261.

⁷⁵² Cons. Suff. 44 (AE 1968, 5). The two consuls came one after another: the rapid succession seems to show what was the kind of model chosen by Claudius for senatorial governors, see REBUFFAT 1998, 297-299.

⁷⁵³ KOTULA 1964, 86.

The organization of the province was made by Claudius after the campaign of Geta in AD 42 so most likely the process must be placed in the following years considering also the administrative and legal complexities in the creation of a province. The discovering in 1923 of an inscription at Volubilis associated to the *procurator pro legato Augusti* M. Fadius Celer Flavianus⁷⁵⁴ on an occasion precisely dated between 25th January AD 44 and 24th January AD 45 shows that the complete division was accomplished by 24th January AD 45, but it is impossible to know the precise date of the organization.⁷⁵⁵ (Figure 25)

The border between the two provinces⁷⁵⁶ was the river Moulouya: the bigger province, to the East, was called M. Caesariensis with the capital Caesarea, while the West province was nominated Tingitana and presumably the capital was Tingis as Dio writes, but it could be that the historian reports the situation of his time confusing it with Claudius' period. This opinion is shared also by Gasco.⁷⁵⁷ Carcopino declares Volubilis the capital of this province. He adds that this part of Mauretania was divided in two parts: one including Tingis and the Augustean *coloniae* on Atlantic coast (Mauretania Tingitana) while the other all the cities and regions with *peregrinus* status (Mauretania Ulterior): he bases his hypothesis on an incompleting inscription that he integrates *provinciae no [vae Mauretaniae] Ulterioris Tin[gitaniaeque]* and the different historical expression used by Plinius to indicate once the northern part of the province *Tingitana provincia*⁷⁵⁸ and another time the meridional part *Inferior Mauretania*.⁷⁵⁹ Most likely Volubilis, in the beginning, was the capital but we don't know till when it remained and it is also possible that this province had two capitals Tingis on the coast and Volubilis more inland.

⁷⁵⁴ ILM 56.

⁷⁵⁵ Carcopino thinks that Fadius Celer was procurator of all the region which was not divided and this division happened only later in AD 47-48 because the inscription mentions Mauretania in singular; CARCOPINO 1943, 182.

⁷⁵⁶ Claudius opted for the old geographical repartition; according to Schettino (SCHETTINO 2003, 308). This division between Bogus and Bocchus is to attribute to Caesar and Claudius followed the caesarian model. Creating only two provinces and not a series of them Claudius made clear the existence of a mauretania large reality. Cf. COLTELLONI-TRANNOY 2011.

⁷⁵⁷ GASCOU 1981, 228.

⁷⁵⁸ Plinius *Nat Hist.* 5, 2, 17.

⁷⁵⁹ Plinius *Nat Hist.* 5, 10, 51.

- A. D. 37 (March)* Accession of Gaius; Ptolemy in Mauretania.
- A. D. 37-39 (Sept.)* Ptolemy invited to Rome; dedication of temple of Isis Campestris; incident of purple cloak; arrest of Ptolemy.
- A. D. 39 (Sept.)* Gaius goes north.
- A. D. 39/40 (Winter)* Gaius at Lugdunum; Ptolemy summoned from Rome; executed before Gaius' march to the Ocean.
- A. D. 40 (Spring?)* Outbreak of revolt of Aedemon.
- A. D. 40* Gaius near Rome (late May); in Campania (June-August); enters Rome (August 31st).
- Before 25th January, *A. D. 41* Suppression of Aedemon.
- A. D. 41 (Autumn?)* Command of Suetonius Paulinus.
- A. D. 41/42 (Winter)* Expedition against Moors.
- A. D. 42* Command of Cn. Hosidius Geta; advance into desert (Winter?); defeat of Salabus.
- A. D. 43 (?)* Division of Mauretania.

Figure 25: Tentative chronological table (after Fischwick 1970).

4 The evidences and the analysis

The present chapter will illustrate the results of the analysis gathering from the involvement and the urban activities of Claudius.

The discussion here presented is the result of a detailed bibliographical research which intends, on the one hand, to cover Claudius' engagement in the provinces regarding the political, administrative⁷⁶⁰ and juridical system and, on the other hand, the activities accomplished in the urban sphere in his time through the agency of the governors and private benefactors.

For every province the discussion and analysis is divided into three big sections: the first two, whose structures do not change considerably from province to province, explain respectively Claudius' involvements and the roadsystem. The improvement and restauration of the roadsystem is one of the main characteristic of Claudius' principate: in the provinces this impulse answered a specific political choice of the imperator, namely the valorization of the provinces and the pacification between the Roman citizens and the provincial elements.

Thanks to the epigraphical evidence of the milestones it is possible to perceive the roadsystem interested in Claudius' activities. All milestones are illustrated through tables which include five fields: the route (and its ancient name if known), the place of discovery of the milestone, the *formula*, the chronology and the numbers of miles (when indicated). For each one is also indicated the bibliography and the CIL or other *corpora inscriptionum* correlated to. For most of the milestones it is sure to which route they belong to but sometimes the evidences are not very clear and the scholars disagree about the affiliation. In detail then the mentioned routes are elucidated regarding the problems of the stretches and problems of the miles between historical references as *Tabula Peutingeriana* and reality.

The third section, which involves the illustration and the examination of the evidences, undergoes modifications for every province. As already pointed out in the presentation of the book, this section is not a merely collection of the testimonies but the data themselves are intended to be the starting point for different and challenging aims. First of all from the epigraphical remains it is possible to infer some peculiar political

⁷⁶⁰ Specifically regarding Claudius' involvement in the administrative field it is very relevant to asset which routes he ameliorated and understand the reasons of these choices.

situations which are going to be explained and describe in the light of Claudius' period.⁷⁶¹ It is surprising how some concepts or institution might assume a total different meaning from region to region according to the specific characteristics of the province. In some cases, though, the epigraphies are the only proof of buildings or complexes which, nowadays, have completely disappeared. For all physical remains will be analysed the reasons that pushed Claudius to the construction, their specific and symbolic meaning/s inside the city's plan in relation also with the position in the city; important to take into consideration, when possible are, as well, the similarities and/or differences with the prototypes in Italy.

With all these considerations we are in the situation to make a clear summing up of the peculiarities of Claudius' activities in every province taken into account, but comparing the evidences and the evaluations it is also possible to appreciate trends and tendencies, already observed by Venturi in Italy for Rome and Ravenna,⁷⁶² which associate the provinces, notwithstanding the differences in the cultural, geographical and political fields.

4.1 Venturi's guidelines

As previously and shortly cited, Venturi's work needs to be much more used. The theme there presented by the scholar seems to be sunk into oblivion because no one, so far, understood fully the implications regarding the works, life and policy of Claudius.

Following, in a schematic way, are reported the parameters which Venturi underlines as peculiar of Claudius' activities in Italy.

| | |
|---|--|
| Lack of interest in sanctuaries and amusement buildings | This seems to be in contrast with the interest, instead, of religious questions. |
| Attention to commemorative and honorary monuments | In Italy it gets with the monumentalisation of a portion of functional complex, almost |

⁷⁶¹ As Venturi explains (VENTURI 1985, 275) 'è chiaro infatti che la portata dell'impegno economico e tecnico delle iniziative edilizie e urbanistiche e le loro conseguenze sul piano sociale erano tali che la scelta di intraprendere (o di non intraprendere) ciascuna di esse non poteva non essere determinata da motivi e scopi ben precisi e, quindi, costituiva un vero e proprio atto politico. Se ciò risulta evidente nel campo delle opere pubbliche, ove gli obiettivi pratici e politici sono di solito più immediatamente verificabili, non va dimenticato, e il caso che ci riguarda ne è una conferma, che anche gli interventi nel settore monumentale hanno un loro strategia'.

⁷⁶² VENTURI 1985.

| | |
|---|--|
| | trying to provide, with the work's utility, a further economic message. |
| Preference for works with utilitarian character | Due to Claudius' pragmatism and his attention to good function of state's apparatus. |

A constant in Claudius's policy is the programmatic use of public works to answer to the problems of economy both through the functions of the works and the use of workforce. Claudius gave impulse to the public works in order to contribute to the prosperity of the subjects and to make circulate a great amount of gold.

4.2 Spanish provinces⁷⁶³

The research on the Iberian Peninsula has shown that Claudius engaged himself quite a lot in the political and economic situation of the three provinces.

One point, still matter of discussions, is the creation or not of *conventi*. They were used by the governors to administrate the justice and protect the interests of the Roman citizens and avoid recourse of the army. Albertini notices that the *conventus* was a Roman reality whose institution and functions obeyed to imported laws fitted to the local realities. There were not incompatibilities between the communities and the organization of the justice in *conventus*.⁷⁶⁴ The function of these provincial subdivisions was to assure the functioning of assizes⁷⁶⁵ for the juridical affairs in the power of the local authority. There are no reasons to admit that they have, as well, competences in taxes,⁷⁶⁶ in civil state or religion:⁷⁶⁷ they were not territorial communities with autonomy and proper money, but played another role besides the jurisdiction: they served for periodical meetings of notables, ambassadors and delegations, they organized also the activities connected to the imperial cult⁷⁶⁸ and they established the census.

Their existence is certified first by Plinius the Elder in the third book of *Naturalis Historia*⁷⁶⁹ and in the fourth;⁷⁷⁰ after Plinius only few historians mention the *conventi*.

⁷⁶³ For a preliminary overview see CAPPELLETTO 2014a.

⁷⁶⁴ ALBERTINI 1923, 83-116.

⁷⁶⁵ BURTON 1975.

⁷⁶⁶ Ozcáriz Gil suggests, instead, also that the *conventus* had functions in the fiscal administration but in particular as control districts for *portiorum*-tax; cf. OZCÁRIZ GIL 2009, 334.

⁷⁶⁷ DOPICO CAÍNZOS 1986, 277.

⁷⁶⁸ DOPICO CAÍNZOS 1986, 275-276.

⁷⁶⁹ Pl. *Nat Hist.* III, 3, 7 (Baetica): *Iuridici conventus ei quattuor Gaditanus, Cordubensis, Astigitanus, Hispalensis*; Pl. *Nat Hist.* IV, 35, 111-112: *deinde conventus Lucensis a flumine Navia et a Cilenis*

But in Plinius' reference we face a problem regarding the use of the word *nunc* and the interpretation of the passage literally meaning a change. We can assume that, in the time of publication under Vespasian, there were 14 *conventi* (seven+four+three) but we can not infer whatever the situation was due to a change or was already established.

If we take into account also Strabon⁷⁷¹ we could have some problems because he refers to the presence of numerous *legati* employed as auxiliaries of the governor in the juridical domaine: one in Baetica, one in Lusitania and three in Tarraconensis (two in the North- West and one in the interior), but these districts can not be compared to the *conventi* mentioned by Plinius. Reading these texts, it is possible to conclude that the *conventi* were civil jurisdictions used by the governor to have a better control of the province. The *conventi* are also testified by a series of epigraphes in all the Spanish provinces.⁷⁷²

Some scholars proposed different chronologies for the establishment of *conventi*: Albertini, after a long discussion based on Plinius' text, advanced a Claudian date⁷⁷³ while Étienne argued a Flavian one⁷⁷⁴ followed by Lomas⁷⁷⁵ and Tranoy.⁷⁷⁶ This assumption is based on the actions and reforms of Vespasian and Domitian reinforced by the dossier of imperial cult; though Alföldy in 1983, after a long analysis of the inscription from Sagunto⁷⁷⁷ supports again Albertini's hypothesis.⁷⁷⁸

Thanks to the epigraphic evidences and the historical sources⁷⁷⁹ nowadays it is thought that Augustus had made this division because of the silence of the evidences in other time and the "indigénisme".⁷⁸⁰ Alföldy⁷⁸¹ for the inscription from Sagunto *M. Acilio M.*

conventus Bracorum; Pl. Nat. Hist. 3. 3, 18 (Tarraconensis): *..nunc universa provincial dividitur in conventus septem, Carthaginiensem, Tarraconensem, Caesaraugustanum, Cluniensem, Asturum, Lucensem, Bracarum..*

⁷⁷⁰ Pl. Nat. Hist 4.20, 117 (Lusitania): *..universa provincia in conventus tres, Emeritensem, Pacensem, Scalabitanum...*

⁷⁷¹ Str. III; 4. 19-20.

⁷⁷² See SANCHO ROCHER 1981, 17-25.

⁷⁷³ ALBERTINI 1923, 83-104.

⁷⁷⁴ ÉTIENNE 1958, 185-189.

⁷⁷⁵ LOMAS SALMONTE 1975, 144-148.

⁷⁷⁶ TRANOY 1981, 150-153.

⁷⁷⁷ CIL II, 3840=ILS 1376=CIL II² 14, 1, 333.

⁷⁷⁸ ALFÖLDY 1983, 518-520.

⁷⁷⁹ DOPICO CAÍNZOS 1986; SANCHO ROCHER 1981, 31-32. The *tabula hospitalis*, dated to 1 AD, cites a *Conventus Acae August(a)e* whose one of the communities *Civitas Lougeitorum* belongs to *Gens Asturum*: it is the future *conventus Asturum*; HAENSCH 1997, 168-169; LE ROUX 2004, 344-348.

⁷⁸⁰ LE ROUX 2004, 348.

⁷⁸¹ ALFÖLDY 1983, 520.

*f. G[al(eria)(tribu)] Rufo procurat(ori) Caesarum Tarrachon(ensis)*⁷⁸² supposes a datation under Augustus or Tiberius, even if with some hesitations because *Tarrachonensis* is an *unicum* as, as well, *proc. Caesarum* and can be, in the same way, suitable for Vespasian or Titus. More important is the relationship between the *fiscus* and *conventus* because the procurator received tributes from the *conventus* together,⁷⁸³ though the statue was erected at Sagunto and not at Tarragona. In Tarragona there are other inscriptions⁷⁸⁴ that testify the *Genii* of the *conventi*⁷⁸⁵ where the priests indicated their origins (city and *conventus*) and two controversial inscriptions: the bronze *Tabula Lougeiorum*⁷⁸⁶ and the facsimile text:⁷⁸⁷ these inscriptions testify how the Augustean organization in the North-western Tarraconensis was different from the rest of the territory⁷⁸⁸ it makes more sense that the *conventi* were created during the Augustean reform of the provinces with the goal to establish administrative systems in order to create a *equilibrium* between the authority's power and the provincial interests (Figure 26).

⁷⁸² In La Roux's account the epigraph is spelt out as *M. Acilio M. f. C[or(nelia)] Rufo procurator(i) Caesarum Tarracon(ensis)*.

⁷⁸³ Grammatically *conventus* might be in genitiv but in this form, it has never been attested a procurator of one *conventus*: The *conventus* dedicated the statue.

⁷⁸⁴ LE ROUX 2004, 345-347.

⁷⁸⁵ RIT 24-27, AE 2001, 1253-1257.

⁷⁸⁶ AE 1984, 553; AE 1987, 561, AE 1990, 543. Canto and Le Roux doubt the authenticity of this document and others coming from North Hispania, cf. ALFÖLDY 2007, 334, note 38. The inscription, dated to AD 1, cites a *Conventus Aetae August(a)e* while Le Roux says 'on ne peut pas s'empêcher non plus de voir dans Ara Augusta una deformation ambiguë de (Brac)ara Augusta' (LE ROUX 2004, 346, note 48).

⁷⁸⁷ AE 1997, 766, ECK 1997.

⁷⁸⁸ ALFÖLDY 2007, 333-338.



Figure 26: *Conventi iuridici* (after Alföldy 2007, tafel XVIII).

Another point to take in account regarding Claudius' activities in the Spanish provinces is the so-called *Ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus*. Everything we know about it can be reduced to a reference in Frontinus.⁷⁸⁹ It is possible to affirm that the *ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus* was a system of country's measuring in different provinces over tributary ground. The country was assigned to only one beneficiary which may be a city, a *civitas*, a *collegium* or an owner of a big estate. In the *civitates stipendiariae* it was the only measuring possible for the Roman administration. Because of the absence of works regarding the formal aspects of the *ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus* it is important to start with the epigraphical evidences attested by the *termini* of Augustus in the nord of Lusitania. The division in the North of Lusitana, in the region between the river Duero and Tajo was, first, carried out by Augustus between AD 4/5 and AD 5/6⁷⁹⁰ where Rome, so far, did not exercise a real occupation. The characteristics of the *termini* allow us to affirm that the measuring was an official one carried out by the legion as the inscription from Guardão attests:⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁹ Front. *Th.* 1-2: *ager est mensura comprehensus, cuius modus universus civitati est adsignatus, sicut in Lusitania Salmanticensibus aut Hispania citeriore Palantinis et in compluribus provinciis tributarium solum per universitatem populis est definitum, eadem ratione et privatorum agrorum mensurae aguntur, hunc agrum multis loci mensores, quamvis extremum mensura comprehenderint, in formam in modum limitati condidereunt.*

⁷⁹⁰ As the *termini* testified, cf. ARIÑO GIL 2005, 96-102.

⁷⁹¹ ARIÑO GIL 2005, 98-99.

the shape and the material are always the same, the name of Augustus is always present repeated in the same formula (with slight variants).⁷⁹² Their formal characteristics point to two different directions: the titlature states a commemorative character while the forms and dimensions are of a monumental character. The *termini* are landmarks that mark the boundaries between cities but they have also a topographical reference for the *agrimensores*.

After Augustus the only emperor who contributes to this division is Claudius: his support is testified by two *termini* both dated to AD 43: one found at Goujoim⁷⁹³ and the other at São Pedro de Balsemão⁷⁹⁴ in the district of Viseu. More likely the intervention of Claudius was the result of a need as for example the checking of the boundaries between cities because of their essence as *limites muti*. As in the Augustean *termini* one can perceive the propaganda character manifested by the demarcation of *prata militaria* and as well the text and form of the *termini*. This propaganda character is also present in another inscription from Sevilla.⁷⁹⁵ The *termini agrorum decumanorum* can have two meanings: they can be the limits of the lands with the tax of *decumae*⁷⁹⁶ or they are in relation with a land divided by *limitatio* but in any case, they are territories belonging to the public domain. According to Canto⁷⁹⁷ there is also the possibility that they are the territories assigned to Legio X Gemina. The mention of *restituti* and *renovati* could possibly allude to a *renomatio* that happened in AD 49: the boundaries were reestablished and the landmarks were changed, here one can see the word “restoration” with the meaning of the return to the ancient state.

It is worth to mention another use of the term *terminus* referring to the relation between a city and a *Legio*: one *terminus* is attested at Castricalbón while eight more at Sot de la Vega and they indicate the boundaries (the *terminus pratorum*) between *civitas Beduniensium* (or *Luggonum*) and *Cohors III Gallorum*.⁷⁹⁸ The other inscription

⁷⁹² ARIÑO GIL 2005, 102-103.

⁷⁹³ ARIÑO GIL 2005, 104-105; COELHO DA SILVA 1981-1982, 94: he admits also a possible attribution to Nerva; AE 1979, 331; HAE 1 1989, 694; LE ROUX 1994, 50, n° 10; VAZ 1979, 135-138.

⁷⁹⁴ CIL II 6199; ILER 1840; ALARCÃO 1988, 19; ARIÑO GIL 2005, 105; LE ROUX 1994, 50, 41, n° 11 thinks that an honorary inscription can be possible.

⁷⁹⁵ CIL II 1438, ILER 5871; AE 1998, 724; LE ROUX 1994, 49-50, n° 9; MUÑIZ COELLO 1980, n° 134; PLANA MALLART 1994, 272-273.

⁷⁹⁶ MUÑIZ COELLO 1980, 167-176. See also Cic. *II Ver.* 3,45.

⁷⁹⁷ CANTO 1989, 172-173.

⁷⁹⁸ TEJA, IGLESIA JIL 1992, 313; HAE 1.869; HAE 1.035-042.

mentioning *prata* was found in Dalmatia.⁷⁹⁹ The paucity of the attestation makes scholars still debat about the real meaning of the word.⁸⁰⁰

Thanks to an inscription⁸⁰¹ founded in 1971 in the North part of the western *porticus* of the *forum* we are aware that Claudius granted the status of Roman *municipium* to Baelo Claudio;⁸⁰² before the discovery of the inscription Galsterer cites different epigraphical evidences suggesting that the city became *municipium* during Augustus.⁸⁰³ He founded also a city Claudiomeriul or Claudionerium, present-day Janozo.⁸⁰⁴

During Claudius' reign quite a lot of senators from Hispania were able to be included in the Senate of Rome. Because of some hostile senators in Rome he decided to eliminate physically some of them, but he had also the possibility to reorganize it: in AD 47/48 he purged the Curia and introduced new people,⁸⁰⁵ he granted the *latus clavus*, he revived the censorship,⁸⁰⁶ he introduced also *equites* to the Senate through the tribunate. In that way it was easy to create a particular environment for new members of the senatorial order. According to Caballos Rufini it was the real launch for the hispanian senators, among the senators who were able to entre the Curia we can cite M. Aelius Gracilis, C. Dillius Vocula, Domitius Balbus, M. Fabius Prioscus, Iunius Gallio Ammaeanus, M. Raecius Taurus, O. Iulius Rufus, Q. Iunius Marullus and M. Manilius Vopiscus.⁸⁰⁷

4.2.1 *Baetica*

The most important city where we can perceive Claudius' activities is the capital of the province *Colonia Patricia Corduba* (Corduba). The most impressive piece of work is a complex outside the *pomerium*.⁸⁰⁸ (Figure 27)

⁷⁹⁹ CIL III 13250.

⁸⁰⁰ See LA ROUX 1977, 350-353 for an exhaustive summary of the theories.

⁸⁰¹ AE 1971, 172; IR n° 68; BONNEVILLE ET AL. 1988, n°14.

⁸⁰² In correlation with the privileges granted to the cities in Mauretania Tingitana.

⁸⁰³ GALSTERER 1971, 17-18.

⁸⁰⁴ TRANOY 1981, 56, footnote 149.

⁸⁰⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 11.25; Dio *Hist.* 50. 3, 1. It is now the moment when the procedure of *adlectio* was introduced.

⁸⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 11. 13. He was able to appoint new members directly, at a later stage, as *tribunicios*.

⁸⁰⁷ CABALLOS RUFINO 1993, 9.

⁸⁰⁸ JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1991; JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1994; JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1996a; JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1996b; MURILLO RETONDO 2010, 84-87.

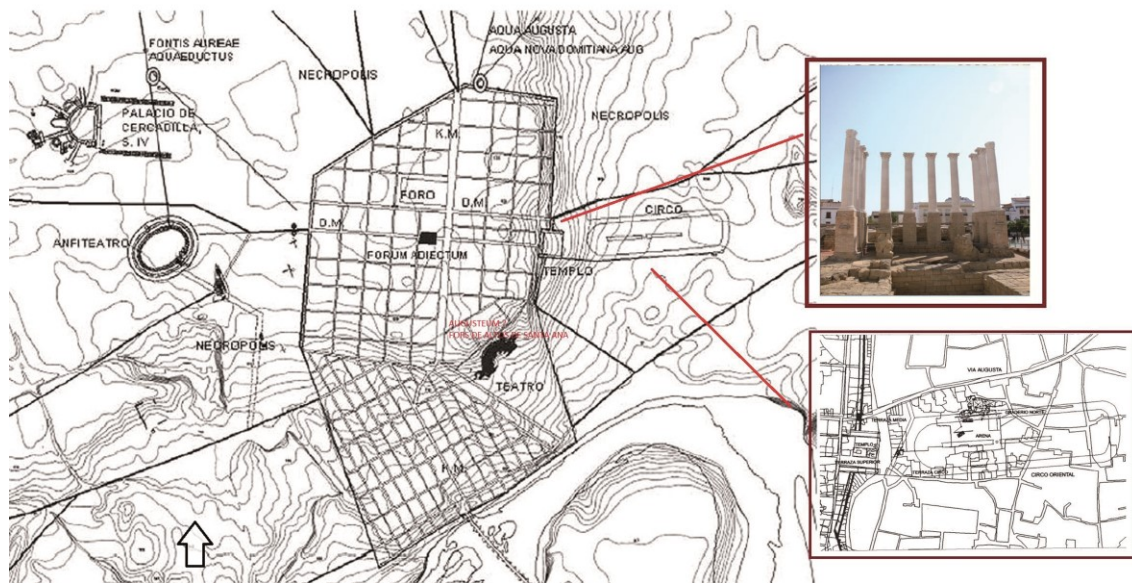


Figure 27: Plan of Corduba with a detail of the complex outside the wall (rielaboration after Márquez Moreno 2009, fig. 2, Murillo Retondo et al. 2001, fig. 9 and personal picture).

We know that the project was unitary but it was undertaken over some generations, in particular the foundations of the temple and the first and middle terrace are dated to the Claudian period.⁸⁰⁹ Otherwise the found pieces of pottery in the temple;s founding as well in the square and in intermediate square lead to postulate a beginning of the work in the late claudian time or in the first years of Nero's reign.⁸¹⁰ The project was very much ambitious⁸¹¹ because it was only possible with the destruction of the oriental *vicus*, the dismantling of part of the town wall⁸¹² and the change of the last stretch of the Via Augusta.⁸¹³

The complex is divided into three levels which are hierarchized but in a unitarian complex. The first one is represented by a square with a temple, the second by another square for passage and the last by a *circus*.⁸¹⁴

The first terrace was surrounded by a *porticus triplex* on the northern, western and southern sides while the eastern one faced the exterior of the city over buttresses in form

⁸⁰⁹ JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1994, 245; MÁRQUEZ MORENO 1998, 65.

⁸¹⁰ MURILLO RETONDO ET AL. 2003, 68, 73.

⁸¹¹ MURILLO RETONDO 2010, 84.

⁸¹² This opening and the violation of the sacral character of the *pomerium* required an imperial authorization and a precise purifying ritual. Monterosso thinks that the temple is a *piaculum* or exvoto and not in connection with the second square and the circus above the old *pomerium* for purify its rupture and re-establish symbolically the colony, MONTEROSSO CHECA 2012, 82-89.

⁸¹³ Dated to the neronian time, cf. GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 248.

⁸¹⁴ GARRIGUET MATA 2007, 301-303; JIMÉNEZ SALVADOR 2004, 159-160.

of *anterides*. The communication with the city is provided by the western porch with an access to the *cardo minor* in C/Maria Cristina while the entrance to the second square is accomplished through stairs in the *cryptoportici* in the northern porch.

The temple is prostyle, hexastyle, pseudoperipteral and in Corinthian style elevated over a cementing of 31.27 x 14.72 m and a *podium* of 3.5 m. The plan, the ornamentation and the dimension were very similar to the Maison Carrée. Its model is the temple of Apollo built by Augustus between 36 BC and 28 BC in the Palatino hill but surprisingly also the temple of the divus Claudius. The decoration was made with Luni- marble but also with quarries from Alamdén-Estremoz and around Corduba. The capitals and a fragment of the frieze are dated to the third quarter of the 1st century AD.⁸¹⁵ Márquez argues as well that the capitals have copied those ones of the temple in Calle Moreia that dominated the *forum novum*,⁸¹⁶ supposing the work of a local studio in the advanced Julio-Claudian period.⁸¹⁷

The situation for the intermediate square is not clear: it is sure that the western border is defined by the containment's wall of the superior place. It is sure that its paving dates to the neronian time.⁸¹⁸ The *circus* is disposed on a different axe in comparison to the temple because of the difficult topography of the zone in this period. We are aware of the neronian foundation's walls in the North sector and of different drains.⁸¹⁹

The dating of the end of Claudius's reign soies very well with Márquez's date of the capitals but Garriguez Mata and others think that date a building only from its architeconical elements misleads the period of construction;⁸²⁰ moreover, it is also unfitting to date the complex thanks to scattered pieces of elements found in the proximity as Ventura did.⁸²¹ Interesting, thus, are the hypothesis that Garriguet Mata suggests for the date and the dedication of the temple. If the temple would have been built in AD 40, it could be dedicated to *Diva Livia* or to some imperial virtue or to the *domus Augusta* but he discartes this idea.⁸²² If the temple would have been built between AD 49 and AD 54, it could be again dedicate to the *domus Augusta* with

⁸¹⁵ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 1990, 188-191.

⁸¹⁶ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2004a, 121-122.

⁸¹⁷ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2004b, 349.

⁸¹⁸ GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 248.

⁸¹⁹ MURILLO RETONDO ET AL. 2001, 87.

⁸²⁰ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2004b, 349.

⁸²⁰ GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 248-249.

⁸²¹ See note 43 in GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 249.

⁸²² MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2004b, 349.

⁸²² GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 251-255.

emphasis to the *Gens Iulia* or to an imperial virtue⁸²³ but again the hypothesis seems to be not plausible. According to him, the temple was built in the beginning of the neronian time. This period was very much favourable for the elites of the city as well for these of Baetica (and in particular the *gens Annae*) and they wanted to show publicly the adhesion to Rome: the scholar suggests as a matter of fact the construction of this temple dedicated to Divus Claudius.⁸²⁴ He states also that Seneca himself or some personality of Hispania Ulterior intervened, also financially, in the construction of the temple.⁸²⁵ To him, the temple was then consacred in AD 60 even if with Nero's decision to undo the decision of the Senate.⁸²⁶

The other impressive evidence for this period is the number of statues.

At Avenida Ronda de los Tejares were discovered 11 statues of *togati*: they represent a homogeneous ensemble of a very high quality, created in Carrara's marble by a foreign workshop.⁸²⁷ According to López López⁸²⁸ these *togati* constitute a gallery of imperial personalities while Garriguet assumes that they are *summi viri*.⁸²⁹ It is possible that the statues were part of the ornamentation of the *forum adiecum* but also in the porch of the temple at calle Claudio Marcello.⁸³⁰ (Figure 28)

⁸²³ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2004b, 349.

⁸²³ GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 255-257.

⁸²⁴ Claudius was the second emperor, after Augustus, to become *Divus* with a decision of the Senate. This *consecratio* had consequences in the sphere of the imperial cult. In Rome itself the temple of *Divus Claudius* was erected (remember the similarities with the temple in Corduba) or at *Camulodunum*, cf. GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 257-258; 261.

⁸²⁵ GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 262, 264.

⁸²⁶ GARRIGUET MATA 2014, 267.

⁸²⁷ LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1996a; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1996b; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n° 13-24; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998b; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998c.

⁸²⁸ LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, 163-166.

⁸²⁹ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, 86.

⁸³⁰ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, 86.



Figure 28: *Summi viri* (after López López 1998, cat nn° 13-14, láminas XV-XVI).

In the calle Moreia no. 4 was found an armoured statue:⁸³¹ (Figure 29) according to Trillmich it is Aeneas in the scene of escape from Troia or Romulus with *spolia opima*.⁸³² On the breastplate the image of two griffons and the vegetal *candelabrum* is one of the best known propagandistic sequences from the *Mars Ultore* statue in the *Forum Augustum*.

⁸³¹ LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000, 51, n° 4; MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2009, 113-114; TRILLMICH 1996a, 185-189.

⁸³² TRILLMICH 1996a, 185-189.



Figure 29: Aeneas or Romulus (authors' picture).

From differentes places in the city come different types of statues and small fragments.⁸³³ (Figure 30)

⁸³³*Togati*: LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a cat n° 28; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000, n° 5; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n° 10-11; *togatus* with *bullae*: LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n° 25; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n° 35; dressed statue: LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n° 62; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000, n° 8; fragments of dressed statues: LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n° 63-68; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000, nn° 9-12. More fragments: LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat nn° 26, 27. The *togatus* with the *bullae* (GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n°35, lamina X, LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, n° 25, lamina XXIV) has parallel in Taraco and the foot (LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n°26; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000, n°6) with the sculptures in the *Marmor Forum* at *Agusta Emerita* (cf. TRILLMICH 1996b, 98-102).



Figure 30: a) *Togati* (after López López 1998 cat n° 10, lámina XII and López López, Garriguet Mata 2000 n° 5, lámina 2.1); b) *togatus* with *bullae* (Garriguet Mata 2001, n° 35, lámina X); c) different fragments (after López López 1998, cat nn° 62- 65, 68, láminas LXIII, LXIV, LXV, LXVII); d) fragment of a foot (López López, Garriguet Mata 2000, n° 5, lámina 2.2).

Some of them are pretty much recognizable and they are to put in correlation with the decoration of the colonial *forum*.⁸³⁴ one statue represents a seated Jupiter belonging to the group of Jupiter-Kostüm II and has a parallel for example in the statue of Augustus from Leptis Magna,⁸³⁵ another may be associated to the Diva Augusta⁸³⁶ and another one is a portrait of Claudius which is a work of a local workshop as we can perceive from the course treatment and the simplification of the hair.⁸³⁷ (Figure 31)



Figure 31: Head of Claudius seated, Jupiter and supposed Livia (after author's picture and Garriguet Mata 2001, nn° 39-40).

Despite the importance of the province only in two other cities we have tangible evidence of the emperor's activities.

Regina, in the *conventus Cordubensis*, is set in a very important position because it is the meeting point of the streets from *Augusta Emerita* and *Corduba*, *Hispalis* and *Astigi*. We know that it was an *oppidum stipendiarium* as we can infer from one inscription of the year AD 50/70 dedicated to the *Genius oppidi* from one *Xvir maximus*.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁴ The news of the destruction in 1928 of some other statues presuppose the existence of a sculptural group whose model can be seen in the cycle from *Rusellae*, cf. GARRIGUET 2001, 106.

⁸³⁵ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n° 39; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000; n° 3. Not listed in BALTY 2007, 56-66.

⁸³⁶ LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 1996, 60-61; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ, GARRIGUET MATA 2000, n° 7; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n° 40; LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, cat n° 52.

⁸³⁷ GARRIGUET MATA 1996, 56-57, 2002, n° 6a; PILAR 2001, 262-263.

⁸³⁸ STILOW 1993.

In the centre there is a situation similar to the one in *Baelo* with three temples. There was found a head which can be identified with Claudius with characteristics that can be assimilated to other pieces in the provincial contexts.⁸³⁹ (Figure 32)



Figure 32: Head of Claudius (after Nogales Basarrate, Da Silvia 2010, fig. 3).

It may be correlated to a pedestal from the closed place Llerena bearing an inscription to Claudius:⁸⁴⁰ (Figure 33) Claudius' *imago*, epigraphically attested, is to be correlated to a public context. This presence, which is related, thanks the epigraphical materials,⁸⁴¹ to the works of the imperial family, is a proof that an image of Claudius, thus modest, is present in the incipient process of urbanization and monumentalization in the *forum* promoted by local people.

⁸³⁹ NOGALES BASARRATE, DA SILVA 2010, 178-181.

⁸⁴⁰ CILII 2, 7, 978; CIL II 1027; HØJTE 2005, 304, n° 66.

⁸⁴¹ ÁLVAREZ MARTINEZ 1982.



Figure 33: Claudius' inscription in Llerena (after Nogales Basarrate, Da Silvia 2010, fig. 4a).

The same material used for both pieces suggests that the inscription belongs to the head and they were produced by a local workshop: it has been argued that the promoters belonged to the local community and came from a servile extraction.⁸⁴²

The other city involved in Claudius' project is *Baelo Claudia*. It became a Roman *municipium* with Claudius according to Plinius and the inscriptions of Q. Papius Urbicus:⁸⁴³ according to Gall the promotion was due to the will to reconstruct in a magnificent way the buildings in the city,⁸⁴⁴ recently Sillières suggested, instead, that the presence of Claudius' name is only a way to show the gratitude for his help in the reconstruction after the earthquake in *c.* AD 50 and it is not a sign of the promotion;⁸⁴⁵ as a matter of fact the city was already *municipium* under Augustus and the citizens were inserted in the Galeria tribe.⁸⁴⁶ After this hypothesis Le roux argues that all the premises for this theory are not certain and well proved and he returns to the first hypothesis.⁸⁴⁷

If we accept the Claudian promotion, we would expect, as well, a reorganization of the city. Thus the most important improvements seem to happen late, still in Claudian period some activities were undertaken.

In the *forum* it seems possible to suggest such a date for the fountain in front of the three temples as the construction of the retaining wall of the temples' terrace and the

⁸⁴² NOGALES BASARRATE, DA SILVA 2010, 178-182.

⁸⁴³ LE ROUX ET AL. 1975.

⁸⁴⁴ LE GALL 1980, 724.

⁸⁴⁵ SILLIÈRES 2004, 492-493, 502.

⁸⁴⁶ The fact that this indication is not present anymore is due to the epigraphical poverty and the change with Claudius when the citizen went to the tribes Claudia or Quirina, cf. SILLIÈRES 2004, 503.

⁸⁴⁷ LE ROUX 2008, 596-595.

beginning of the temples themselves.⁸⁴⁸ It may be possible that the temples A and B were built in the middle of the 1st century AD, and some years later, the temple C if you consider the stratigraphical findings between AD 40 and AD 60.⁸⁴⁹

Other possible buildings erected in this time are the *basilica* and *curia*⁸⁵⁰ according to the rarity of the South-gallish terra sigillata and the demolition of the boutiques of the eastern porch⁸⁵¹ and the *macellum*.⁸⁵²

A dedication to Britannicus was found⁸⁵³ and a statue of a *togatus* in the temple B⁸⁵⁴ (Figure 34): the peculiarity of this statue lies in the fact that it is not totally worked and above all for the bottom part; the comparison with the six *togati* from Mérida in the marble *forum* permits to see a certain distance regarding the artistical quality but also a stylistical relationships.⁸⁵⁵ It seems plausible to suppose that the sculptor of Baelo tried to imitate the works of Mérida; still it is not possible to take these works as ways of comparison, better it is to consider the *princeps* with *bullae* form *Veleia*. Its association with another statue certifies that the statue was set with the Jupiter statue but this association is not so widespread. It is also suggested that the *togatus* represents a member of the imperial family: this hypothesis goes well with the shoes, the *calcei patricii*; anyway, the fact to place this kind of statue nearby the image of Jupiter is very rare.⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁴⁸ BONNEVILLE ET AL. 1982, 23.

⁸⁴⁹ BONNEVILLE ET AL. 1981, 405-411; BONNEVILLE ET AL. 2000, 42; MIERSE 1999, 192.

⁸⁵⁰ BALTU 1991, 314-318.

⁸⁵¹ DIDIERJEAN, SILLIÈRES 1977, 511; SILLIÈRES ET AL. 1975, 522.

⁸⁵² DIDIERJEAN, SILLIÈRES 1977, 497; DIDIERJEAN ET AL. 1988, 90-93.

⁸⁵³ IRCP 69b; BONNEVILLE ET AL. 1988, 27-28, n° 5. It is possible that the inscription testifies the presence of a cycle of the Claudian family.

⁸⁵⁴ GARRIGUET 2001, n° 29.

⁸⁵⁵ See the section regarding Lusitania.

⁸⁵⁶ BAENA del ALCÁZAR 1996, 39; GARRIGUET 2001, n° 29; TRILLMICH 2000, 205-209.



Figure 34: *Togauts's* statue in *Baelo* (after Garriguet 2001, n° 29).

In Cartama *Vestinus* and the sons dedicated a base between AD 53 and AD 54.⁸⁵⁷ At Epora in AD 43 father and sons were responsible for care of something,⁸⁵⁸ at Castro del Rio in AD 45 a *libertus* dedicated *sua pecunia* an image (a statue?) to Claudius,⁸⁵⁹ at Iliturgi in AD 44 was dedicated a *statua equestris*.⁸⁶⁰

4.2.1.1 Evaluations

Complex

The complex at Corduba with the articulation of temple, terrace and *circus* answers to the scheme of a provincial *forum* according to Gros' interpretation⁸⁶¹ of the complex in the Palatine as model for the sanctuaries in the provincial areas (examples at Tarraco and Ancyra). This model with a precise formal and liturgical rhetoric was intended for the exaltation of the imperial family. The famous model of the Circus Maximus and the

⁸⁵⁷CIL II 1953; HØJTE 2005, 303, n° 60.

⁸⁵⁸ CIL II2, 142; CIL II 2158; HØJTE 2005, 304, n° 62.

⁸⁵⁹ CIL II2, 5, 394; CIL II 1569.

⁸⁶⁰ CIL II2, 7, 30.

⁸⁶¹ GROS 1996, 229.

complex in the Palatine⁸⁶² is connected to the figure of Augustus, who refunded the city and was a big *benefactor* of the province.

It is not longer possible to see as prototype for the temple at Corduba the Maison Carrée⁸⁶³ because of the misinterpretation of the dataing⁸⁶⁴ and the importance of the model of the temple *Apollon in Palato*.⁸⁶⁵ Thus the prototypes of capital are to be sought in these ones of the temple of *Mars Ultor*.⁸⁶⁶

The problem here, besides better knowing the organisation of the square, is the meaning of the place in the light of the other squares in the city. First suggested by Fishwick⁸⁶⁷ and then for many scholars⁸⁶⁸ it was the site for the imperial cult of the province (that is the provincial *forum*) even in spite of the contradiction between the elevation of the complex and the supposed introduction of the provincial cult with the Flavians;⁸⁶⁹ between Tiberus and the Flavian dynasty the provincial centre for the cult was constituted by the complex of the *forum coloniae* and *forum novum* at Calle Moreia, where the manifestations for the imperial local cult concentrated, and a possible *Augusteum* in the Foros de Altos Santa Ana⁸⁷⁰ at est of the *cardo maximus* and West of the theatre.⁸⁷¹

Sculptural works

In all the three capitals we see a big proliferation of statues.

At Corduba the *togati* at Avenida Ronda de los Tejares represent an ensemble of high quality in Luni's marble. They were executed after a single model and under the

⁸⁶² The complex is part of the earliest Octavian's independent building project and part of his Palatine residence and *area Apollonis*, a sanctuary to Apollon, which also encompassed a library and served as a meeting place for the Senate.

⁸⁶³ JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1991, 121; JIMÉNEZ SALAVADOR 1994, 245.

⁸⁶⁴ ANDERSON 2001.

⁸⁶⁵ ZINK 2009.

⁸⁶⁶ PILAR 1999, 48.

⁸⁶⁷ FISCHWICK 1994-1995.

⁸⁶⁸ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2005, 47; MURILO RETONDO ET AL. 2003; MURILLO RETONDO 2010, 88; VAQUERIZO GIL 2003, 48, 50-51.

⁸⁶⁹ The contradiction is not as strong if we consider it as a gradual process in which the local and provincial elites adapted according to the necessities and not as a rude imposition, cf. MURILLO RETONDO ET AL, 2003, 84; MURILLO RETONDO 2010, 88. As a matter of fact Ventura (VENTURA 2007, 232) suggests that the imperial cult began already with Tiberius and specifically between AD 25 and AD 37 even if the first *flamines* are attested with the Flavian reform (PANZRAM 2003).

⁸⁷⁰ MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2005, 47; MURILLO RETONDO ET AL. 2003, 82; MURILLO RETONDO 2010, 87-88; VAQUERIZO GIL 2003, 47-48; VENTURA 2007, 233.

⁸⁷¹ Because of the discovery of *flamines'* inscriptions and a well-preserved floor, Stilow, in the beginning, suggested it as a provincial *forum*, cf. STILOW 1990; for a contrary opinion see: TRILLMICH 1993c; TRILLMICH 1996. To the complex are associated portraits of Tiberius and Livia, a group of honorary statues and remains of a possible cult to Diana and Apollo (GARRIGUET MATA 1999; GARRIGUET MATA 2002). The association between edifice and places for the imperial family has been already noticed by Gros, cf. GROS 1996.

direction of one excellent artist who directed the others sculptors. The master knew very well Claudius' urban model: the typological and stylistic characteristics participate to the regularity in the *togati* production in all the Empire. They were part of the proliferation's phenomenon of the imperial *togati* personalities.

Stilistically spoken these statues are similar to those ones conserved in the theatre and in the Marble Forum at *Augusta Emerita*.⁸⁷²

The statue at Calle Moreria no. 4 belongs to part of the decorations of the colonial *forum*, in particular the *forum adiectum*, being as close to the sculptural adornment of Augustus' *forum* as happened in Tarragona and Mérida.⁸⁷³ Also the statue of the seated Jupiter, most likely Augustus, and Diva Augusta⁸⁷⁴ were part of this *forum* and the destruction of other pieces make them belong to a cycle as the one at *Rusellae*.

Also at *Regina* and *Baelo*, despite the paucity of the statues, it is possible to suggest the presence of a cycle of imperial statues in the *forum* of both cities. The *togatus* in the cella of the temple B in Baelo, according to Bonneville and other scholars,⁸⁷⁵ must have been seen as someone from the imperial family because of the size and the presence of *calcei patricii*: in this way the temple B, after being the *Capitolium*, saw the introduction of the imperial cult.

Forum

Only Baelo shows a supposed reorganization of the *forum*: such a date is suggested for the fountain in front of the three temples as the construction of the retaining wall of the temples' terrace, the beginning of the temples themselves,⁸⁷⁶ temples A and B and some years later the temple C. Another possible building erected in this time is the *basilica*. To the *basilica* is attached also a *curia* reconstructed by Balty.⁸⁷⁷

The presence of three temples is attested also at *Regina* but we do not know their date.

Dedications

We have some inscriptions that testify actes of donation for Cladius and for the cities from private. Unlickily the remains of the buildins or statues are not preserved.

⁸⁷² LÓPEZ LÓPEZ 1998a, 166; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, 85.

⁸⁷³ PILAR 1999, 46.

⁸⁷⁴ PILAR 1999, 46.

⁸⁷⁵ BONNVILLE AT AL. 2000, 192-193.

⁸⁷⁶ BONNEVILLE ET AL. 1982, 23.

⁸⁷⁷ BALTY 1991, 317.

4.2.2 *Tarraconensis*

As opposed to Baetica, the evidence in this province is substantial and ranges widely. In the capital *Iulia Urbs triumphalis Tarraco* (Tarragona), in the *conventus tarraconensis*, the most evident ones are statues belonging to specific cycles. Correlated to this period is the reconstruction of the *basilica*: the building was reinforced and enlarged. The new columns were bigger than the previous ones and the angular columns were reinforced with attached semicolumns. To contrast the weight and the volume of the edifice it was necessary to duplicate the section of the perimetral walls. As consequences of this reform a lateral access at the East, close to the first *forum*, was enlarged creating a new porched space recognized as *chalcidicum*⁸⁷⁸ and previously called Plaza de las Estatuas (Figure 35)⁸⁷⁹. The Corinthian capitals and the cornices are typical of the half-Augustean style created in Rome after the temples of *Mars Ultor*.⁸⁸⁰ Its type of *basilica* with columned *peristasis* and an exedra on one of the long sides finds parallels in the *basilicas* at Cosa, Corinth of *c.* AD 40 and *Herdoniae*. But what strikes in the building is the presence of 12 *tabernae* at both side of the court: two examples are in Africa (Thamugadi and Sabratha) but the best evidence is the *basilica* at Bavay.⁸⁸¹

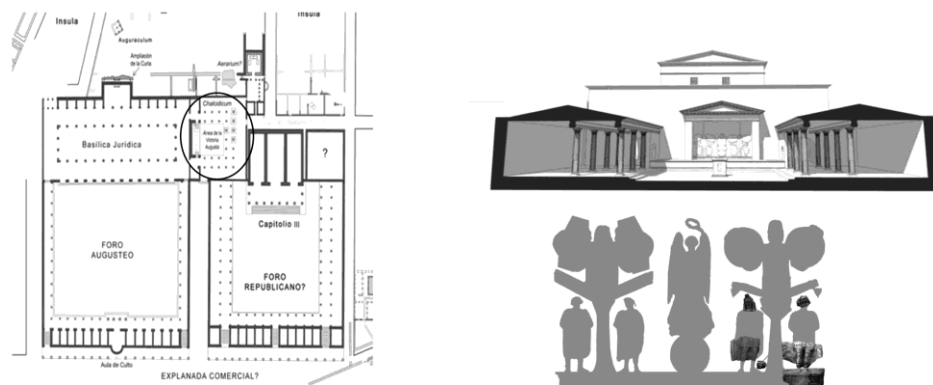


Figure 35: Plan of the civic and religious centre of Tarraco, assiometry of the *chalcidicum* and the reconstruction's hypothesis of the Victory monument (rielaboration after Mar et Al. 2015, fig. 154-155 and fig. 160).

⁸⁷⁸ In the known examples it is both a porch or a *stoa* with public character or a structure like *atrium*. See also *De arch.* V, 1, 1; FENTRESS 2005; MAR ET AL. 2010b, 61-62; MAR ET AL. 2015, 278-280. TORELLI 2005.

⁸⁷⁹ MAR ET AL. 2015, 246-247.

⁸⁸⁰ MAR ET AL. 2010b, 53-57.

⁸⁸¹ MAR, RUIZ de ARBULO 1987, 38; MAR ET AL. 2010b, 55; MAR ET AL. 2015, 261-264.

The *chalcidicum* is a sort of squared square and decorated with a double porch in a U-shape. Some blocks, discovered *in situ*, depict prisoners from the Western and Eastern *Imperium* (the four borders); very likely they belong to an altar representing the roman domination over the world with trophies as in Sant Bertrand de Cominges there was a central element maybe a Victoria.⁸⁸² The discovery of epigraphies dedicated to Tiberius and the son⁸⁸³, various statues belonging to an imperial cycle⁸⁸⁴ and the blocks,⁸⁸⁵ has allowed the scholars to envisage the building as a space for the imperial cult⁸⁸⁶. Even if the *chalcidium* was set up in correlation with the first phase of the *basilica* in the Augustean time, the space was intensely used and reformed in the Julio-Claudian period.

Regarding the statues we have: a head representing probably Augustus,⁸⁸⁷ a statue depicting a *princeps* with *bullae aureae* (it could maybe be Nero or Britannicus)⁸⁸⁸ very similar to other two ones in the theatre and whose best parallel is to found in the Nero's statue at Velleia;⁸⁸⁹ two fragments of a *togatus*' statue;⁸⁹⁰ a statue of a woman in the type of Allia-Berlin whose prototype goes back to the Hellenistic period,⁸⁹¹ the lower part of a female statue,⁸⁹² and different parts belonging to a Roman copy of the Venus of Cnidus but not a replication of Praxiteles' original rather of hellenistic transmutation.⁸⁹³ (Figure 36)

⁸⁸² MAR ET AL, 2015, 273-278. See also the piece of epigraphy RIT 58: *[Vi]ctor[iae] / [A]ugustae / [colon]ia triu[m] / [phalis Tarraco]*.

⁸⁸³ RIT 67, RIT 68

⁸⁸⁴ See *Infra*.

⁸⁸⁵ LAMUÁ ET AL. 2011, 863-872.

⁸⁸⁶ MAR ET AL, 2015, 278-280.

⁸⁸⁷ KOPPEL 1985, n° 44.

⁸⁸⁸ KOPPEL 1985, 50.

⁸⁸⁹ KOPPEL 1985, n° 48; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n° 75.

⁸⁹⁰ KOPPEL 1985, nn° 49-50. They are both products of local workshops.

⁸⁹¹ BAENA del ALCÁZAR 2000, 4, lam. IV, 2; KOPPEL 1985, n° 56; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n° 79. If the head is really Augustus, it is possible to see this statue as Livia as a parallel in Louvre shows, cf. KOPPEL 1985, 50.

⁸⁹² KOPPEL 1985, n° 57. This statue and, most likely, also the previous one, are imported goods.

⁸⁹³ KOPPEL 1985, n° 60. Various pieces of the statue were discovered in the *basilica* and in theatre and it is not possible to know if the *basilica* was the original displacement place.

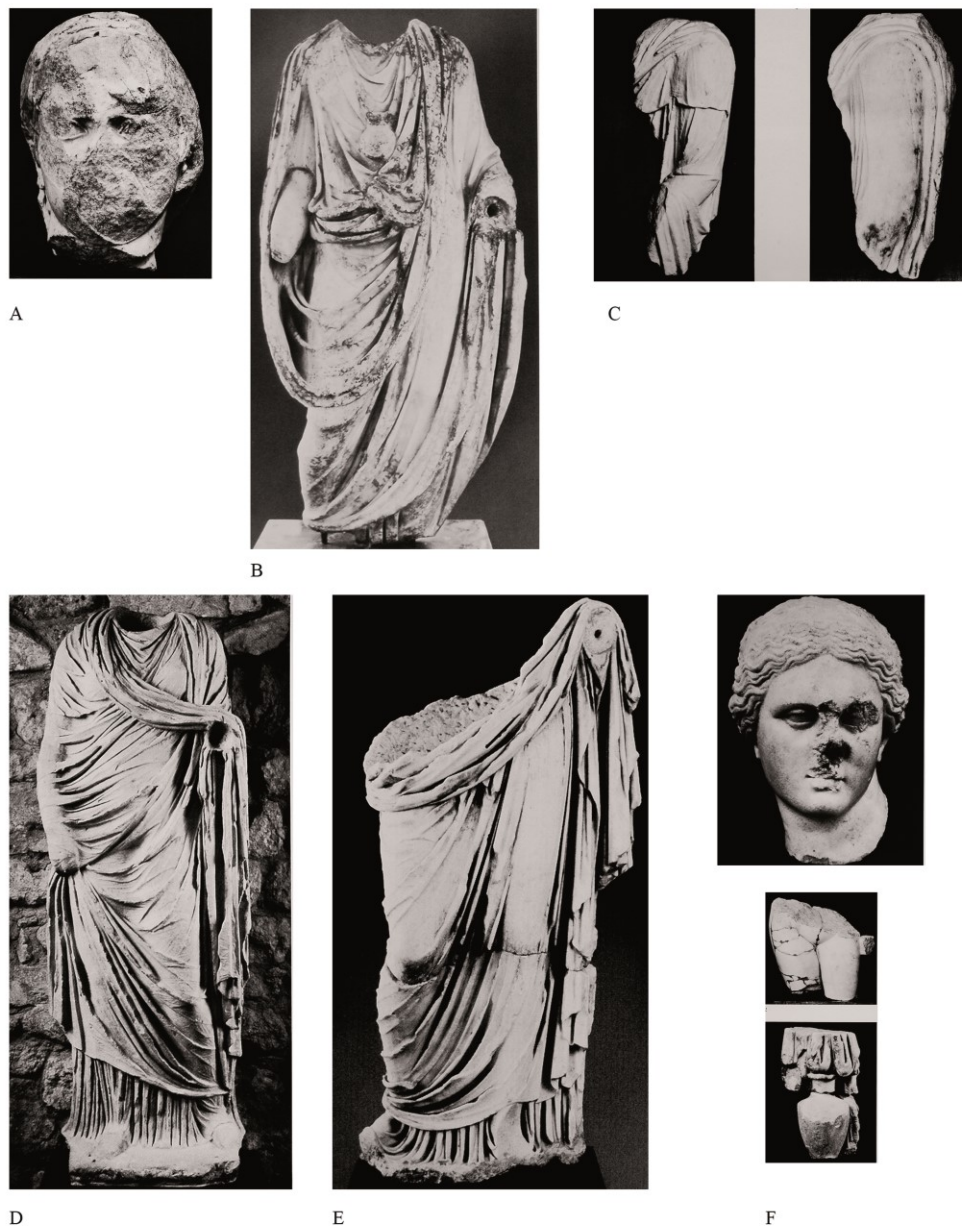


Figure 36: a) Augustus (?); b) *princeps* with *bulla aurea*; c) two fragments of a *togatus*; d) female statue; e) terminal part of a female statue; f) copy of Venus of Cnidus (rielaboration after Koppel 1985, nn° 44, 48-50; 56-57, 60, tafel 12, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22).

Also in the theatre, built under Augustus, were found statues belonging to the *scaenae frons*, dating to the Claudian period and belonging to the second phase. One statue, bigger than natural, shows a *togatus*⁸⁹⁴ with the heavy use of the drill creating a chiaroscuro contrast. The statue could represent Claudius. We have another two identical

⁸⁹⁴ KOPPEL 1985, n° 5.

statues with *bulla aurea* appreciated as pendant.⁸⁹⁵ the first one can be compared to the *togatus* with *bulla aurea* in Parma while the second one to Nero in Louvre and both to the boy from Veio; they could be Nero and Britannicus.⁸⁹⁶ (Figure 37)

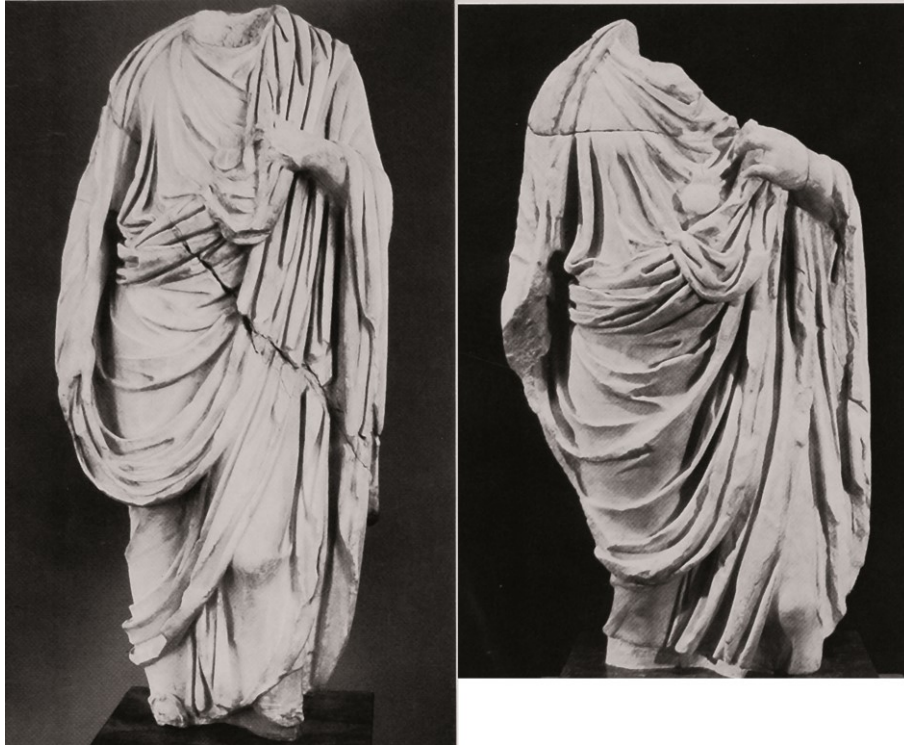


Figure 37: The two statues with *bulla aurea* (after Koppel 1985, nn° 6-7, tafel 6).

Another statue of *togatus* is placed chronologically in this period:⁸⁹⁷ according to Koppel, the statue has parallels with the *togatus* statue of Cicero in Naples and the Claudius from the Parma's group assuming in this way a representation of the emperor,⁸⁹⁸ according to Garriguet the statue is comparable with the *togati* of Velleia and he places it between Tiberius and the first years of Claudius' principate.⁸⁹⁹ (Figure 38)

⁸⁹⁵ BOSCHUNG 2002, nn° 2.9, 27.9; KOPPEL 1985, nn° 6-7; 1995b, 183-184; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, nn° 73-74; MAR ET AL. 2010a, 192.

⁸⁹⁶ ARCE 2002, 239.

⁸⁹⁷ MAR ET AL. 2010a, 192.

⁸⁹⁸ KOPPEL 1985, n° 5; KOPPEL 1995a, 182.

⁸⁹⁹ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, n° 72.



Figure 38: *Togatus* from the theatre (after Koppel 1985, n° 5, tafel 5).

In the *schola* of the *collegium fabrum* was found a statue of Claudius in his young aspect.⁹⁰⁰ The disposition of the fringes is very similar to the canonical representation of the emperor:⁹⁰¹ for the presence of details of locks the statue may be considered as a product of an extrapeninsular workshop.⁹⁰² (Figure 39)

⁹⁰⁰ ARCE 2002, 245; KOPPEL 1985, n° 75.

⁹⁰¹ BOSCHUNG 1993, 70-71.

⁹⁰² GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 158.

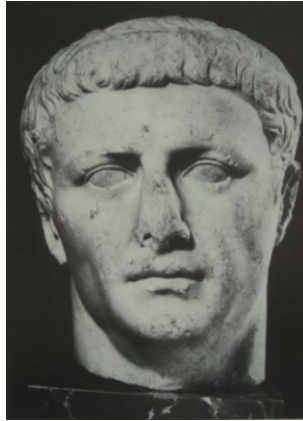


Figure 39: Head of Claudius from the *Collegium fabrum* (after Koppel 1985, n° 75, tafel 24).

Other cities in Tarraconensis were affected by Claudius' activities.

In the *conventus carthaginensis*, *Segobriga* became *municipium latinum* in 15 BC as attested by an inscription in a pedestal with a decurional decree *M(arco) Drus[us] L(ucio) Pisone (?) Co(n)s(ulibus)] decre[to decurionum]*:⁹⁰³ in the following years the plan of the *forum* was set up and the *basilica* and the southern and northern porches built.

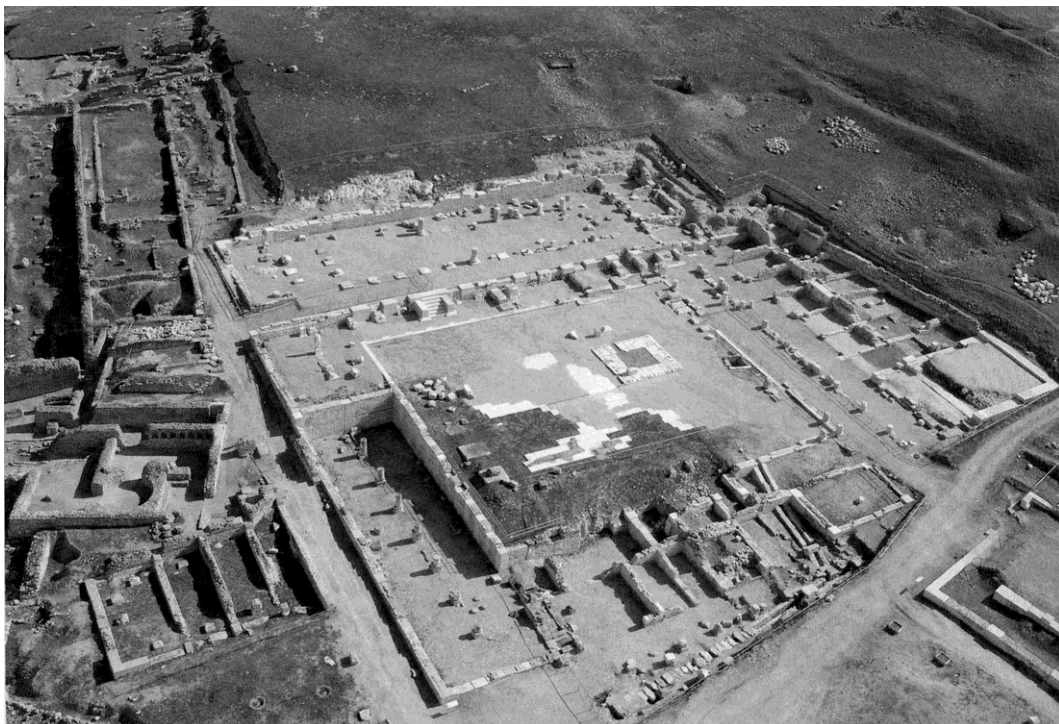


Figure 40: Areal view of the *forum* of *Segobriga* (Noguera et Al. 2008, fig. 1).

⁹⁰³ ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN, TRUNK 2004, 219, fig. 1; ABASCAL, ALMAGRO GORBEA, CEBRIÁN 2006, 188; NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 283.

The *forum* and its annexes (Figure 40) were the parts mostly involved in Claudius' activities. In the North of the northern porch, in the middle of the 1st century AD, a new building over a *cryptoporticus* was put up: it was of rectangular plan, with three naves by a corinthian *peristasis*, between the porch and body was an apse in ashlar bearing the inscription [----Sempr]onia Argantia M(arcus) Iuliu[s---] [----Ce?]phale d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia):⁹⁰⁴ it is possible to consider the space as a defined set for the imperial cult (Figure 41).



Figure 41: Inscription of the new building on the northern side of the *forum* (after Abascal, Cebrián, Trunk 2004, fig. 23).

In the zone a head of Agrippina Maior was found: it finds similarities in the heads in the Musei Capitolini, at Venice and Paris suggesting a date in the first year of Claudius' principate or in the very end, as it attests the comparison with a head from the *forum* of *Aenimum* (Coimbra):⁹⁰⁵ still it is possible to perceive some differences (as for examples the simplification of the hair style in the head of Segobriga and its serious aspect) between the two heads due to two different workshops.⁹⁰⁶ (Figure 42)

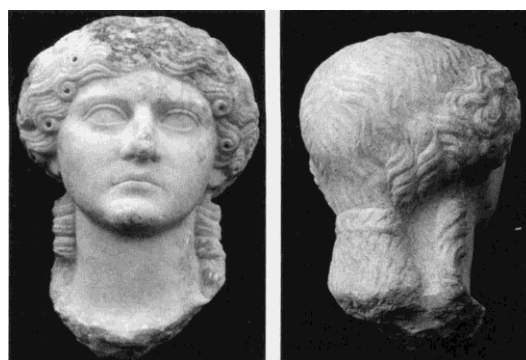


Figure 42: Head of Agrippina Maior (after Noguera, Abascal, Cebrián 2008, fig. 6a-b).

⁹⁰⁴ ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN, TRUNK 2004, fig. 23.

⁹⁰⁵ ABASCAL ET AL. 2007, 699; laminas 5-6; GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 170-171, lam. XI, 1-2; NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 290.

⁹⁰⁶ GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 170-171.

In the square of the *forum*, in front of the inscriptions in bronze letters attesting the paving in limestone slabs in the beginning of the Principate, a *togatus* statue was found in 2001.⁹⁰⁷ The acephalic statue is bigger than natural and it represents a very important personage; the statue is inserted in the type B of Goette defined by the *toga* with umbo in a U shape.⁹⁰⁸

Also in the *basilica*, on the eastern side of the *forum* and built between 15 BC and AD 10, different kind of statues belonging to Claudius' time were discovered and all of them from a local workshop. All the statues were found around the *podium* in a Π shape in the southern end of the central nave (Figure 43).

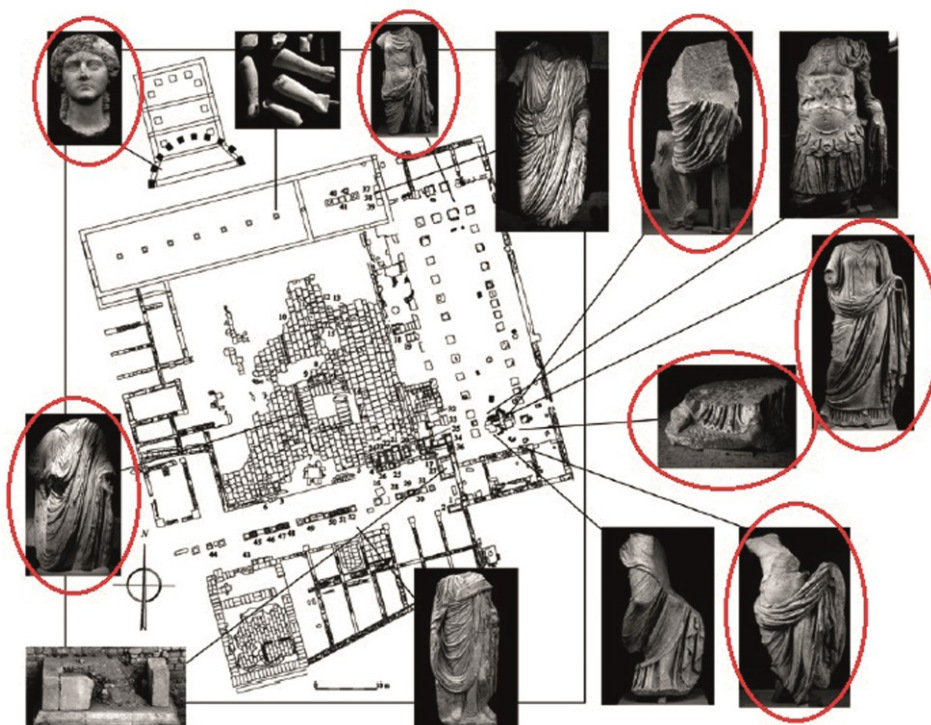


Figure 43: Localisation of the next cited statues in the *forum* (after Abascal et Al. 2007, fig. 9).

The first male statue, broken in two parts and representing the lower part of the torso, completely naked, has a mantel arranged in a way that makes it belonging to the Hüftmantel-type.⁹⁰⁹ This kind of statue finds parallels in the statues of the theatre in

⁹⁰⁷ ABASCAL, ALFÖLDY, CEBRIÁN 2001.

⁹⁰⁸ GOETTE 1990, 113-129; NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 299-301, lamina 13:

⁹⁰⁹ For an account see BALTŲ 2007, 51-56.

Mérida, in the *forum* at *Conimbriga* and at Cordoba but still there are no stylistical equals amongst them.⁹¹⁰ (Figure 44)

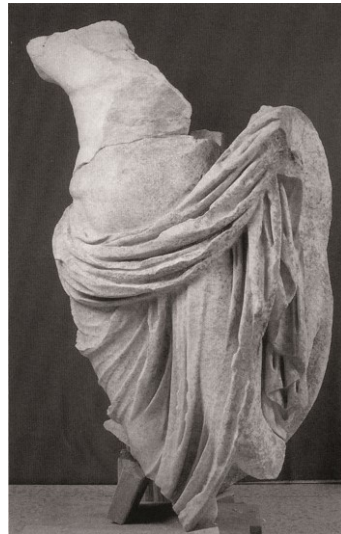


Figure 44: Hüftmantel-type statue (after Noguera, Abascal, Cebrián 2008, fig. 15a).

Another statue, again in pieces, with a heroic tone, is attributed to the Hüftmantel-type and may have represented an emperor or a prince of the Julio-Claudian family.⁹¹¹ (Figure 45)



Figure 45: Second Hüftmantel-type statue (after Noguera, Abascal, Cebrián 2008, fig. 16a).

⁹¹⁰ NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 304-306, lámina 15.

⁹¹¹ NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 308, lámina 16.

Among the female statues three are dated to the time of Claudius. The first one, of natural size and in the Themis of Rhamnous-type, is characterized by the *stola* in meander shape over the *balteus* which is typical of the late Claudian period as the female statue of the theatre, the three *togati* with *bullae* from Tarragona and the *togatus* in the theatre of Mérida⁹¹². Of the second one only the base and the ending of the dress remain.⁹¹³ The last one, found in the northern *aedes*, belongs to the Themis of Rhamnous-type.⁹¹⁴ (Figure 46)



Figure 46: a) Themis of Rhamnous-type statue, b) inferior part of a statue, c) second Themis of Rhamnous type-statue (rielaboration after Noguera, Abascal, Cebrián 2008, fig. 20a, 22 and 26a).

The theatre, begun with Tiberius, was accomplished maybe under Claudius or Nero. To this period belong statues of *togati* and a female statue of Kore type.⁹¹⁵ The precise chronology for the building is not clear: an inscription speaks about a *praefectus fabrum* relating it to the Tiberius⁹¹⁶ and the majority of the *togati* belongs to this period but the

⁹¹²NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 314-317, láminas 20-21.

⁹¹³NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 317-318, lámina 22.

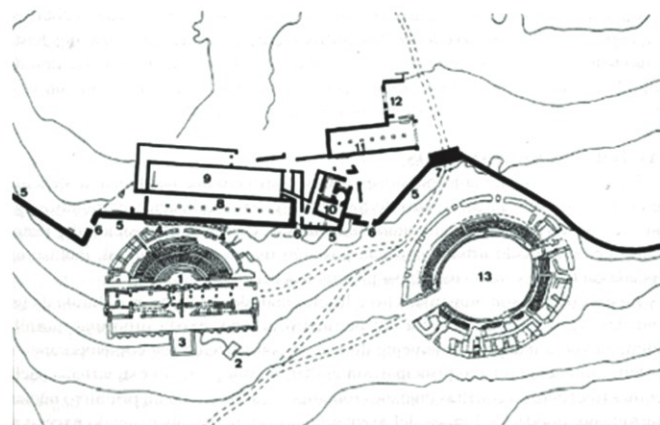
⁹¹⁴NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 321-3122, lámina 26.

⁹¹⁵GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat nn° 47-55.

⁹¹⁶Segrobriga II, n° 46.

inscriptions of the *sodales claudiani* and a head of Agrippina speaks in favour of a later date.

To the theatre is associated, *intra muros*, a *cryptoporticus*: the superior floor is at the same level as the *porticus in summa cavea* and so it is logical to think a perfect way of communication. This relation may have been explained by ideological and cultural reasons but also by practical motives: because of the absence of a *porticus post scaenam* the *cryptoporticus* fulfills its functions. Above there would have been a *gymnasium* with *natatio*, this space was connected to the West by baths in Republican style but built in the late Augustean or Tiberian period (Figure 47). The complex of *gymnasium* and baths is inspired to the Greek *gymnasia* and they must have served for the imperial cult following the tradition of *paideia*. This monument grouping, the only of its kind in Spain, is a way to attract the Iberian elites into the Roman system of clientships.⁹¹⁷



1= theatre, 3= aula sacra, 4= ambulacrum, 8= cryptoporticus, 9= gymnasium, 10= thermal baths, 11= basilica, 13=amphitheatre.

Figure 47: The theatre-gymnasium complex (rielaboration after Sesé Alegre 1997, fig. 3).

Two funerary inscriptions testify the presence of *sodales claudiani*: they attest the presence of the imperial cult;⁹¹⁸ a pedestal, bearing an inscription and now lost, shows again the imperial cult for the family.⁹¹⁹

The origins of *Asturica Augusta* (Astorga), capital of the *conventus Asturum*, are related to the military conquest of the North-West of Hispania during Augustean period. The

⁹¹⁷ ABASCAL, ALMAGRO GORBEA, CEBRIÁN 2006, 190; ALMAGRO GORBEA, ABASCAL PALAZON 2008, 24-25.

⁹¹⁸ CIL II 3114, 5879, Segobriga II n°57-58.

⁹¹⁹ CIL II 3105; ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN, MONEO 1998-1999, 192.

site could have been occupied by the *Legio X Gemina* or one of its vexillations⁹²⁰ and during the reign of Tiberius the first settlement was transformed into a town.⁹²¹ (Figure 48)

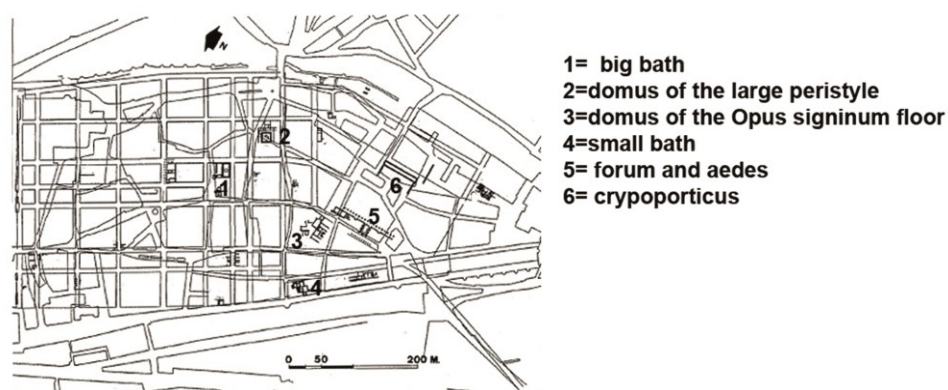


Figure 48: Plan of *Asturica* (rielaboration after García Marcos, Vidal Encinas 1996, fig. 1).

The city has a trapezoidal form and an orthogonal scheme that follows the dominant northeast-southeast street defining regular *insulae* but it ends in the East of the city where the *forum* is located.

The *forum* is placed on the most elevated zone of the city, it is of quadrangular shape and it is bordered on the western and southern side (the only two sides so far known) by porches with semicircular and semiquadrangular exedras. One of these, on the South side, is bigger, with *in antis* plan and a floor in *opus sectile*, may be an *aedes augusti*. In the centre of the square, are placed the so-called *ergastula*, built in *opus caementicium*: it is a semi-underground building and above a Π-shaped porch; it might surround a temple, even if we do not have yet evidence of it. To the South a hypothetical *basilica* is located, built with solid *opus caementicium*, the interior was organized around a central nave and *ambulacrum*, the long sides were flanked by 18 columns; recently scholars propose the remains as building for commercial purposes.⁹²² (Figure 49)

⁹²⁰ GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2012, 259-262. For the camp of the *Legio* see GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2012, 262-266.

⁹²¹ SEVILLANO FUERTES, VIDAL ENCINAS 2001, 655-658.

⁹²² GARCÍA MARCOS, VIDAL ENCINAS 1995, 382-385; GARCÍA MARCOS, VIDAL ENCINAS 1996, 137-138; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2012, 284-289; SEVILLANO FUERTES, VIDAL ENCINAS 2001, 661-662.

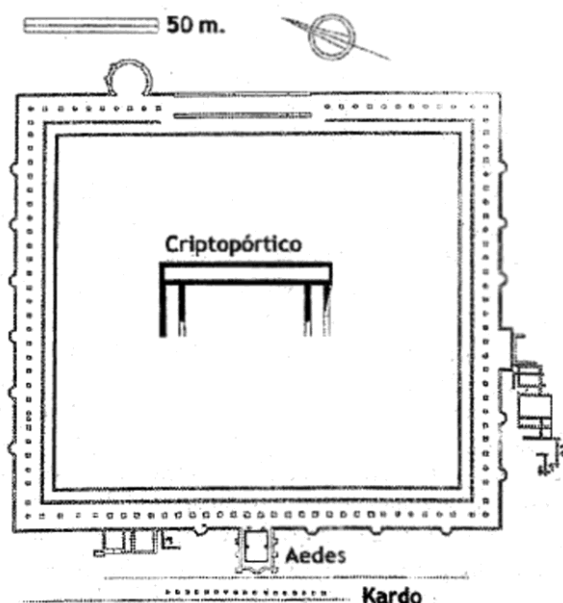


Figure 49: Reconstruction of the *forum* (after Sevillano Fuertes, Vidal Encinas 2001, fig. 3).

The small bath, on the South-eastern site of the city, developed in the middle of the 1st century AD with a *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and a *caldarium*.⁹²³ (Figure 50)

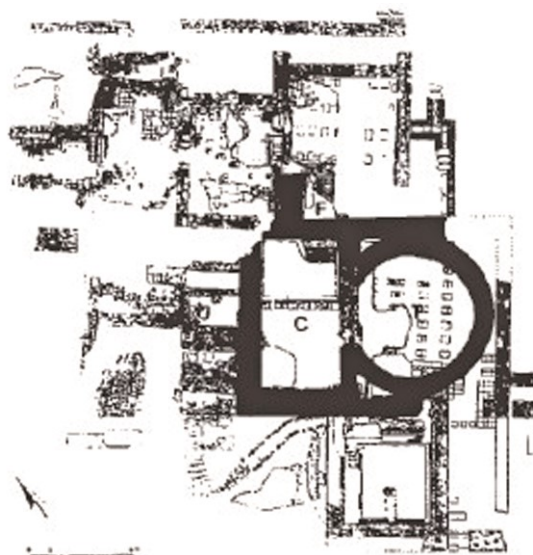


Figure 50: Small bath (after García Marcos, Búron Álvarez 2000, fig. 2 fase I).

Even if not with a long history of urban development the city, already from the beginning, was equipped with private houses. From the Claudian period there are

⁹²³GARCÍA MARCOS, BURÓN ÁLVAREZ 2000; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2012, 283-284; SEVILLANO FUERTES, VIDAL ENCINAS 2001, 664.

evidences of the first stage of the House of the large Peristyle (*domus* del Gran peristilio) in the centre of the city. It consists of a series of structures whose function is uncertain because of the destruction in the latter phase. Thus a surviving rectangular area has been identified as *impluvium*, covered with marble slabs and the remains of an *atrium* would have acted as coordinating element.⁹²⁴

The other detected house is the *Domus* del pavimento de opus signinum (house of the *Opus signinum* floor) located in the vicinity of the North-western angle of the *forum* and its plan provides an insight into the urban development of the town throughout the 1st century AD. The earliest rooms were allocated in the South and, like all the buildings of this sector of the town, were orientated in a North-West to South-West direction. One of the rooms (no. 1) has remains of an *opus signinum* floor with cross-shape motifs arranged in regular interval and in centre a drawing now lost: this kind of floor is known in eastern Spain and the Ebro Valley but this is so far the most northern example known for this period.⁹²⁵ This kind of floor is well spread in Italy as for example at Rome, at Pompeij (casa del Panadero, Casa della Accademia della Musica), Azio and Ostia. In Spain the majority of this floor spread in the coastal regions. The pregnant comparisons are to be found in the mediterranean part of Spain as at Cartagena or Ampurias. Because this floor dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC its presence in this house is a residual manifestation of an Italic taste and the room might have been a *triclinium* or *tablinium*.⁹²⁶(Figure 51)

⁹²⁴ BURÓN ÁLVAREZ 2001, 267; GARCÍA MARCOS, VIDAL ENCINAS 1995, 378-379; GARCÍA MARCOS, VIDAL ENCINAS 1996, 136; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2012, 276-277; SEVILLANO FUERTES, VIDAL ENCINAS 2001, 666.

⁹²⁵ BURÓN ÁLVAREZ 1997, 39-51; BURÓN ÁLVAREZ 2001, 265-266; GARCÍA MARCOS, VIDAL ENCINAS 1995, 385-386; GARCÍA MARCOS, VIDAL ENCINAS 1996, 138; LASHERAS, CORRUCHAGA 1984, 165-170; SEVILLANO FUERTES, VIDAL ENCINAS 2001, 667-668.

⁹²⁶ BURÓN ÁLVAREZ 1997, 43-45.

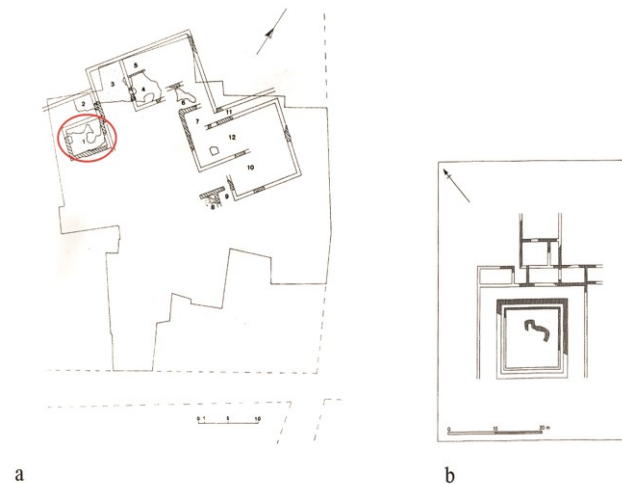


Figure 51: a) *Domus* of the *Opus Signinum* floor; b) *Domus* of the large peristyle (rielaboration after García Marcos, Vidal Encinas 1995, fig. 6 and Burón Álvarez 1997, plano 6).

In *Bilbilis*, in the *conventus Caesaraugustanus*, the emperor concluded the works in the theatre which was set up as a unity system with the *forum* and the temple.⁹²⁷ The works encompassed the architectural decoration of the *scaenae frons* and the painted decoration of the *porticus* in the *summa cavea* were concluded.⁹²⁸ (Figure 52)

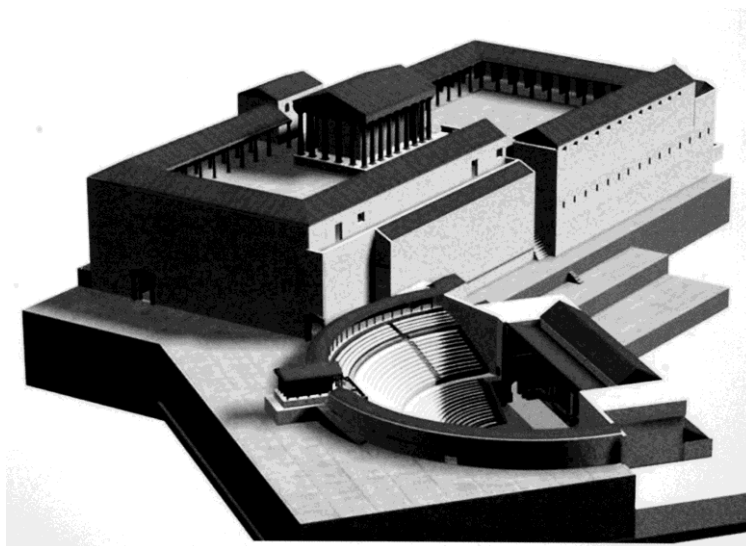


Figure 52: Complex of *forum*-theatre in *Bilbilis* (after Martín Bueno, Sáez Preciado 2010, fig. 7).

⁹²⁷ PILAR GALVE, ANGELES MAGALLÓN, NAVARRO 2006, 187-190.

⁹²⁸ MARTIN BUENO, NÚÑEZ 1993, 132; MARTIN BUENO, SÁEZ PRECIADO 2010, 263; PILAR GALVE, ANGELES MAGALLÓN, NAVARRO 2006, 191.

The *scaenae frons* is a mixture of straight section separated by infrasemicircular exedras with the *valvae* at the back. The 22 columns are organized into two floors and they are circa 1.35 m high: in both floor the columns have cortinthian capitals but those of the second floor have a small unit. The capitals present an archaic trait in the treatment of the acanthus leaves with the track of the drill and the triangular perforation typical till the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The marble utilised come mostly from Tunisia as giallo antico but also from Turkey as Pavonazzetto and Africano from Teos.⁹²⁹

Even if found somewhere in the city a head of Claudius (Figure 53) after a portrait of Caius is to be attributed to the sculptural cycle of the *forum*:⁹³⁰ the statue is connected to a pedestal in the western porch and it was made by a provincial workshop.⁹³¹

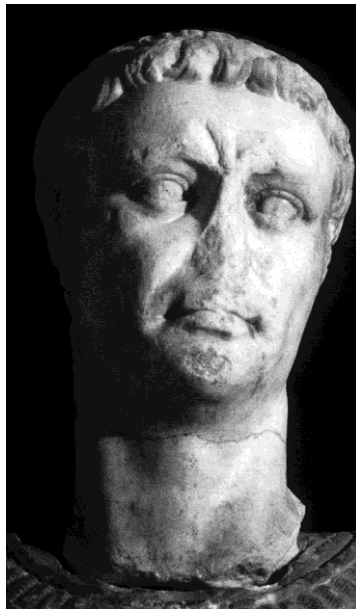


Figure 53: Head of Claudius (after Ramírez de Arellano, Martín Bueno 2008, fig. 3).

At *Bracara Augusta*,⁹³² capital of the *conventus Bracaraugustanus*, we do not have much evidence. Some merchants engaged in trade dedicated an inscription in AD 42 to C. Caetronius Miccio *legatus iuridicus* of the province between AD 23 and AD 33.⁹³³ Underneath the *terma dal alto da cidade* there are remains of a market or *basilica* of this period.⁹³⁴

⁹²⁹ MARTIN BUENO, SÁEZ PRECIADO 2010, 252-253.

⁹³⁰ BELTRÁN LLORIS 1992; RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO, MARTÍN BUENO 2008, 239 lamina 3.

⁹³¹ GARRIGUEZ MATA 2006, 159-160.

⁹³² For the fondation of the city see NÚÑEZ HERNÁNDEZ 2007, 101 and previous bibliography.

⁹³³ CIL II 2423; ALFÖLDY 1967.

⁹³⁴ NÚÑEZ HERNÁNDEZ 2007, 111-112.

The site of *Colonia Clunia Sulpicia*, capital of the homonymous *conventus*, is located on the northern fringe of the Meseta; there is evidence for occupation in the area during the Iron Age but it is not clear when the city itself was settled. In any case it sat within a network of roads that linked the major settlement in the northern peninsula. Evidence prior to the 1st century AD is not present and, most likely, the earlier native and republican settlement may have been located somewhere else. Under Tiberius the city began to take the shape we can reconstruct, influenced perhaps by *Bilbilis*, and he established a *municipium*. But it was Claudius who stimulated the articulation of *Clunia* into a real Roman shape city and it is possible that it took the role as capital *conventus* (Figure 54).

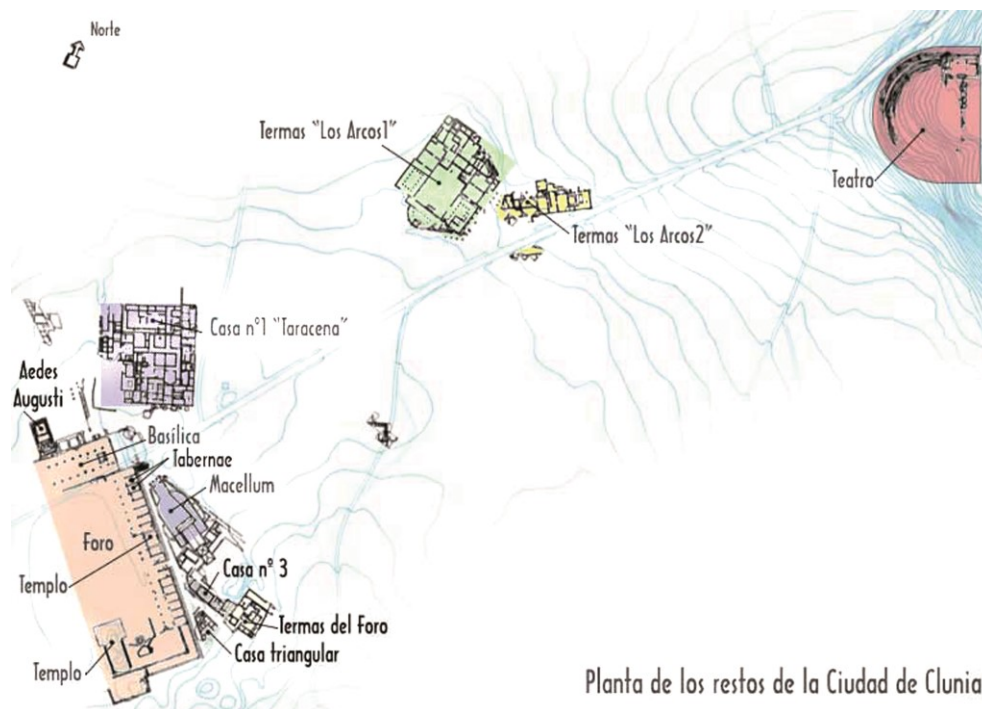


Figure 54: Plan of *Clunia* with its most outstanding remains (after http://www.spanisharts.com/arquitectura/imagenes/roma/i_ciudad_clunia.html).

The *forum* has an axis aligned from the North-West to the South-West and it is bounded on its side by a *cardo* and the *Decumanus Maximus* enters via the northern gateway. These streets do not cross at right angle but form an oblique angle: there may have been an earlier orthogonal plan already in place when the *forum* was built (Figure 55).

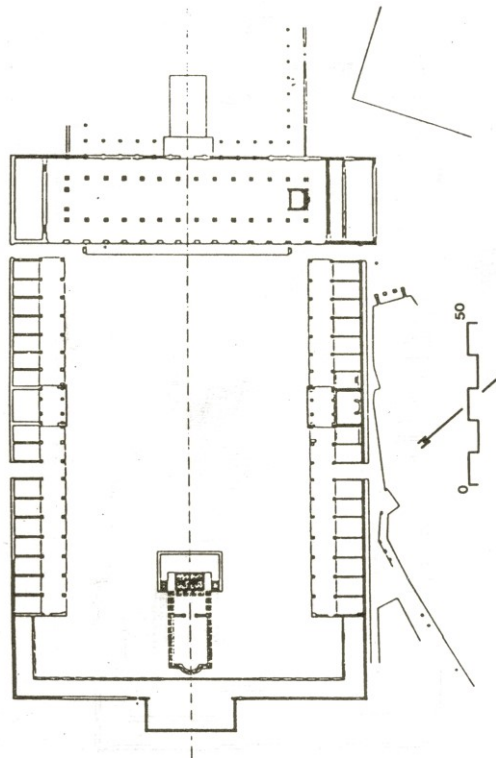


Figure 55: Plan of the *forum* (after Mar, Ruiz de Arbulo 1988, fig. 16).

The plaza is one of the biggest in all the peninsula, at the South is located a temple while at the North side is set a three-aisled *basilica* which divided the square to another closed space, not too well understood. Along the long sides are the remains of *tabernae*. The temple, because of the fragmentary remains, is not so well reconstructed but it is clear that it did not have a rectangular plan. It has been identified as dedicated to Jupiter but the only support for this attribution is an inscription that refers to the cult I.O.M/L. T. R./ EXP. AUGURI/NI...⁹³⁵ In the northern side of the *basilica* stood a structure interpreted as *Augusteum/Aedis Augusti* (Figure 56) for the imperial cult divided into two parts: a temple with a *pronoas* and a room with a semicircular structure:⁹³⁶ according to Balty instead this building is a *curia*.⁹³⁷

⁹³⁵ CIL II 2775.

⁹³⁶ CAVAHLO 1998, 192; DE PALOL 1987, 154; DE PALOL, GUITART 2000, 31-32; MAR, RUIZ de ARBULO 1988, 284.

⁹³⁷ BALTY 1991, 338-341.

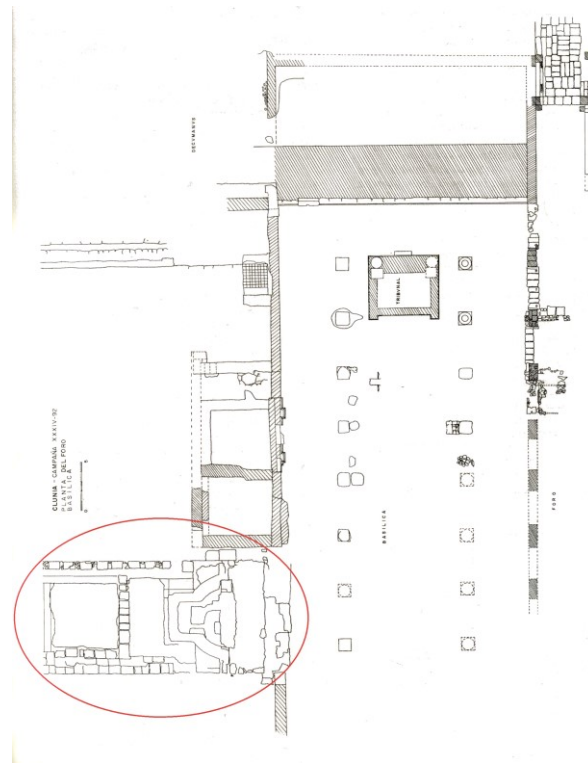


Figure 56: *Basilica und Aedes Augusti* (after De Palol, Guitart 2000, fig. 8).

A head of Octavia, daughter of Claudius, was found in the *taberna* 10. The statue finds parallels in examples from the *nymphaeum* of Baia and from the Museo civico di storia ed arte di Trieste showing perfectly the provincial character of this piece.⁹³⁸

In the same *conventus* the *Tiermes's forum*, even if not so much excavated, presents a closed similarity with the Clunia's *forum*: temple and *basilica* on the short sides and square between them.⁹³⁹ (Figure 57)

⁹³⁸ GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 171-172. De Palol and Guitart interpreted the head as belonging to Nero, cf. DE PALOL, GUITART 2000, 77-78.

⁹³⁹ DE LA CASA ET AL. 1994, 12-13.

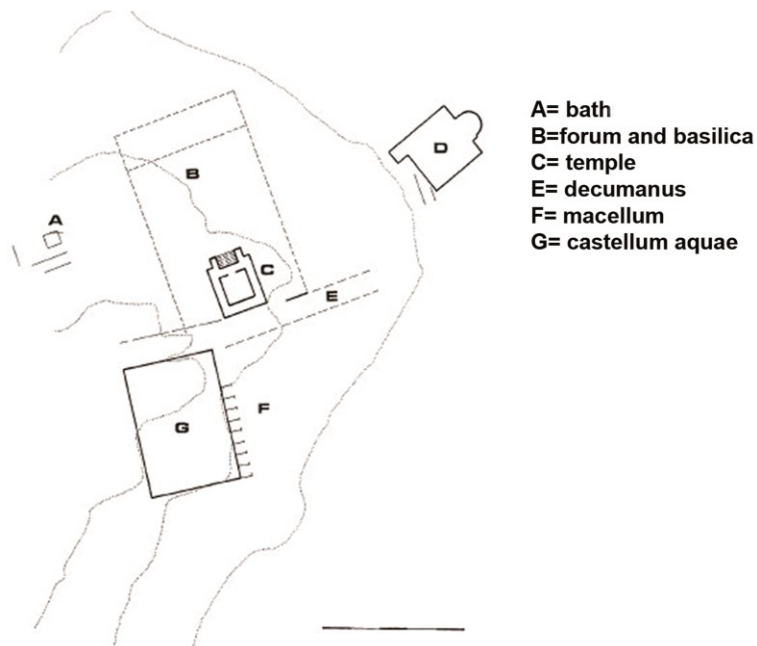


Figure 57: Plan of *Tiermes* (rielaboration after De la Casa et Al. 1994, fig. 4).

Labitolosa (La Puebla de Castro), in the *conventus Caesaraugustanus*, was a small *civitas* *botayz* the Flavian dynasty. The excavations, carried on from 1991 to 2007, have discovered so far six big monuments, namely the two thermal baths, some houses and part of the *forum* with annexes (*curia*, Bâtiment Est, Grand Bâtiment). Around the middle of the 1st century AD the city knew a period of fervent edification of the public monuments. The city presents a storey aspect. The square of the *forum* is dominated at North by a long terrasse (40-50 m) where on the centre the Grand Bâtiment is set. It is clear that the construction of this building, of Bâtiment Est and the layout of the terrasse represents an united architectural programme with the goal to give to the city a monumental *parure* worthy of a city in the stage of romanisation.

The Grand Bâtiment sets on the border of the *forum* between the Bâtiment Est and the *curia*. It is a big podium inserted in the hill. Surely it had a public function but the excavators are not sure for which specific function it has been used (maybe a religious one?). The hypothesis of an open courtyard in the internal part does not help further in the identification as we do not have parallels in the Roman world.⁹⁴⁰ The Bâtiment Est is

⁹⁴⁰ MAGALLÓN BOTAYA, RICO 2013, 99-118.

even less clear regarding the organization and the function and it seems to be a little be late of the previous one but the excavators do not know when.⁹⁴¹

The termas I,⁹⁴² (Figure 58) dated to the years of Claudius⁹⁴³ and built on previous buildings, have a dimension of 33.3 x 115.5 m and an area of 524 m², including the two apses of its South. Following an axial plan (retrograde itinerary) we can follow the rooms of a classic thermal bath: *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, *caldarium* and *praefurnium* (attached was the furnace that heated the rooms and the water); there was also the *solarium* or terrace outside on the South side for sun bathing, a corridor around the building on the North side and in the North-West, are located two rooms whose use is unknown.

The enclosure to the *frigidarium* is a door on the southern side. On the eastern wall there are rests of walled doors.⁹⁴⁴ It is located on the South side and has a size of 10.24 x 7.53 m and an apse of 4.10 m of diameter, with floor in *opus spicatum* (similar to the *solarium*) and the undecorated walls are covered with white mortar. The room 1b was the real *frigidarium* with a use also as *apidyterium*. The apse was used as pool for cold water was located on the southern part of the room and it had stairs to enter it, the dome must have had modelled with stucco decoration in the form of a large shell.⁹⁴⁵

It was possible to access to the *tepidarium* by a door in the western part of the *frigidarium*. It had no apse and its dimensions were 9.30 x 4.80 m; fragments of marble of its vault felt over the *hypocaustum*; its walls were decorated with wall paintings imitating marble with a yellow and red backgrounds.⁹⁴⁶

Another door gave access to the the *caldarium*.⁹⁴⁷ It was rectangular (9.60 x 5.60 m), with an apse on the South side and a pool, called *alveus* or *solium*, where the bathers could sit or completely submerged. It offers a good example of *suspensura* still in place. The vaulted ceiling was similar to the *tepidarium*, its walls were painted in white without traces of painted decoration. The walls of the pool were made of marble; on the West side was the *testudo alvei*, i.e. metal boiler that heated the water⁹⁴⁸; in the apse

⁹⁴¹ MAGALLÓN BOTAYA, RICO 2013, 118-124.

⁹⁴² PILAR GALVE, ANGELES MAGALLÓN, NAVARRO 2006, 201-202; <http://www.catedu.es/aragonromano/labitolo.htm>; SILLIÉRES ET AL. 2000, 193-198.

⁹⁴³ Under the floor of the *tepidarium* was found an *As* of his reign, FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 195.

⁹⁴⁴ FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 136, 141-142.

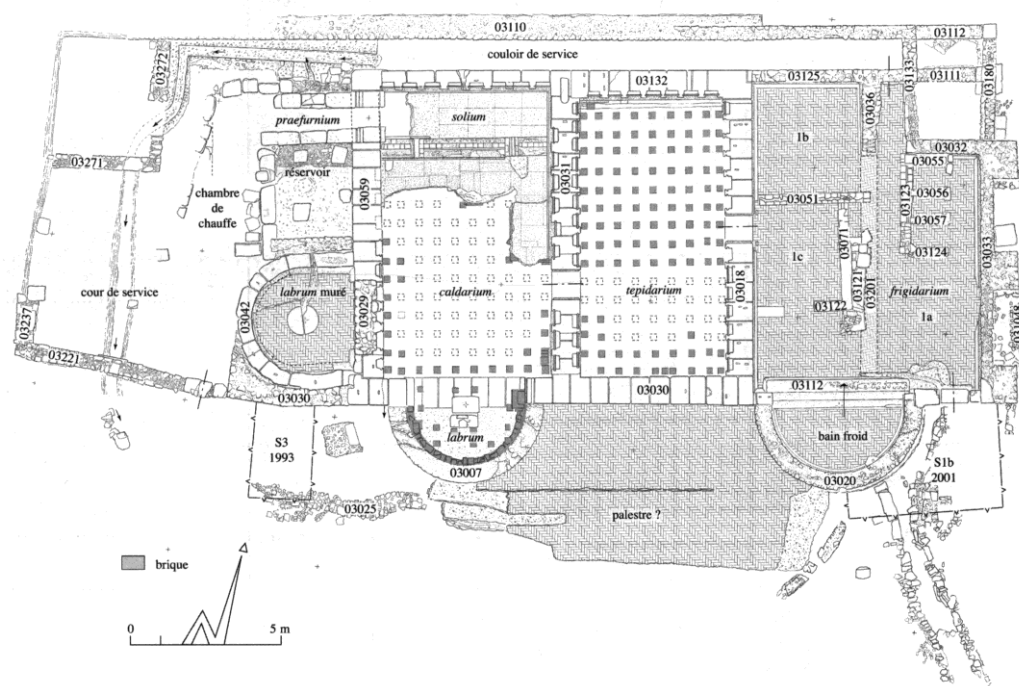
⁹⁴⁵ FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 144-151.

⁹⁴⁶ FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 155-163.

⁹⁴⁷ FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 163-176.

⁹⁴⁸ FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 172-173.

(*opus caementicium*) one would find the *labrum* or cold-water bath to cool in illuminated by a circular window.⁹⁴⁹



I

Figure 58: Thermal bath at *Labitolosa* (after Magallón Botaya, Sillières 2013, 131, fig. 4).

At Zaragoza (*Colonia Caesaraugusta*) the majority of the *forum*'s evidences are pertinent to the Julio-Claudian phase.⁹⁵⁰ The surface of the square is expanded with a different orientation towards the temple; the *tabernae*, from the long sides were allocated to the short side so that the major axis was placed in relation to the axis of the temple. Not knowing other kind of modifications. It seems very plausible to think that the *forum* took the final organization with this reform. Most likely this reorganization was due to structural mistakes in the construction of the foundations during the augustean construction.

The remains of this second *forum* encompass the foundations in *opus caementicium* (under the *atrium* of San Bartolomé) and the rear part of the temple. The foundations belong to the *tabernae* that closed the oriental side: with the remains at the Museum it is possible to specify the dimensions as well.

⁹⁴⁹ FINCKER ET AL. 2013, 174.

⁹⁵⁰ For the history of the excavations see FATÁS 2008, 679-684.

For the volume and meaning the more important structure is the basement of the temple: according to its measures it seems that the temple was one of the biggest in the peninsula. It was set on the South side of the square and enclosed by a *II-temenos* composed by a double porch. According to the evidence, it was a *pseudo-periteros* with Corinthian order built in *opus quadratum*. Keeping in mind the dimensions, the *peristasis* had six columns in the front and 11 on the side, a relation which was used for many peripteri temples as Apollo Palatinus or the temple at Cordoba.⁹⁵¹ (Figure 59)

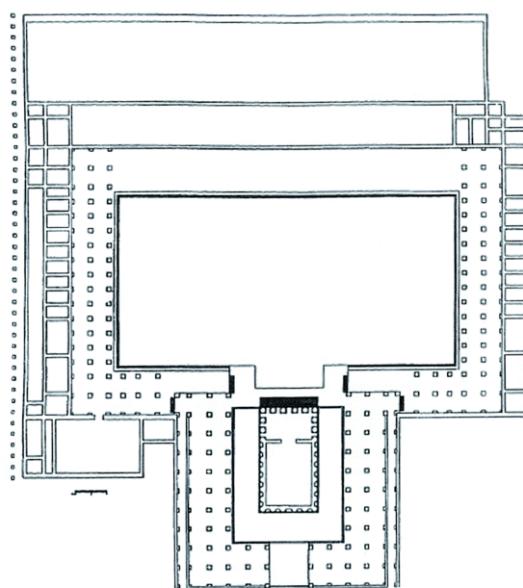


Figure 59: Hypothetical reconstruction of the *forum* at Zaragoza (after Hernández Vera, Núñez Marcén 2000, fig. IV).

At Castulo, head of the mine district of Oretania and in the *conventus Carthaginiensis*, comes an inscription in seven pieces⁹⁵²: Publius Cornelius Taurus and his wife Valeria Verecunda⁹⁵³ built *de sua pecunia* a building:⁹⁵⁴ the son Publius Cornelius Taurus dedicated the monument (most likely the parents were already dead) and commemorated some plays: because of three copies, set up in the different entries, most likely the inscription refers to the amphitheatre as in Mérida.⁹⁵⁵ The *Cornelia* family

⁹⁵¹ DE ASÍS ET AL. 2007, 54; HERNÁNDEZ VERA, NÚÑEZ MARCÉN 2000, 186-188.

⁹⁵² CIL II 3269, HAE 1528, 2627; AE 1953, 85, AE 1973, 280.

⁹⁵³ Nothing indicates that she was a city patroness, cf. KAJAVA 1990, 29.

⁹⁵⁴ But the financial engagement is to attribute also to Claudius but we do not know the reason that pushed Claudius to support, cf. HORSTER 2001, 79, 205, 209, 357-358.

⁹⁵⁵ CABRERO PIQUERO 1993, 192.

was very important in Castulo and together with the *Valeria* created a big compound: both were in friendship with Claudius. Also the *cognomen* Taurus has a big tradition of imperial friendship as testified by T. Statilius Taurus. It is possible to see a relationship between Cornelius Taurus of Castulo and the Tauri at Rome.⁹⁵⁶

4.2.2.1 Evaluations

Theatre

The scheme of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre in Bilbilis with a straight sections and exedras is very frequent in the theatrical Roman architecture as we can see at Leptis Magna, Corinth and Brescia. According to Courtois, this kind of organization is to date to the 2nd century AD but this hypothesis is to discard for the Spanish examples because this plan was set from Augustean period onward assuming a peculiarity for this province.

At Tarraco the theatre saw the adding of some statues to the *scaenae frons* but the scheme did not change.

Forum

The scheme of *Clunia's forum* is in the group of *fora* with the *basilica* at the short sides. To this group we could count, tentatively, also the *forum* of Tiermes. The scheme, originated in Italy in the 1st century BC, became more popular in the time of Augustus and under the Julio-Claudian dynasty. It is the normal evolution from the *fora* at Cosa or *Alba Fucens* to those ones at Brescia or *Velleia*.

At *Julium Carnicum* (Zuglio) the temple, on the short side, is set in the opposite side of the *basilica* as at *Clunia*. At *Virunum*, *Augusta Raurica* and *Lugdunum Convenarum*, the religious areas are in the axis of the plaza but independent from it and the *basilica* on the short side; a similar result is to be seen in also at *Herdonia*. But the most impressive parallelism is to find in Feurs where the *basilica* has the same number of columns as at *Clunia*.

At *Segobriga*, even if the majority of the buildings in the *forum* are constructed in the beginning of the principate still, during Claudius' time, the complex undertook some developments. The *forum* of this small city constitutes a clear example of Roman uses and forms' adaptation where epigraphical programs and imperial images are set up.

From the pedestals we can infer that there were *statua equestris* and *statua pedestris* belonging to different dynastic cycles. For our research are important the statues in the

⁹⁵⁶BLAZQUEZ 1988, 223-225; CABRERO PIQUERO 1993, 192-193.

basilica which were most likely posed in the *aedes*: this cycle, linked to those of the theatre and to the exedra, focus on the theme of the princeps and his family's exaltation testifying an interest in the diffusion of the imperial cult in the ancient Celtiberia. The cult of the imperial family is characterised by a religious charge as testified by the female statue with a late Hellenistic model proving the divinisation of the personality.⁹⁵⁷ In the *basilica* there is a first Augustean cycle with statues of Augustus and Livia and then with Claudius the cycle was completed. The *aula* with exedra represents another place to display other statues suggesting that the building is dedicated to the imperial cult.⁹⁵⁸

The scheme at Zaragoza is not very frequent but there are examples in Magdalensberg⁹⁵⁹ and in the colony of *Iulia Augusta Philippes*.⁹⁶⁰ At *Asturica Astorga*, thanks to the archaeological evidences, we can reconstruct a *forum* with a strange and unique plan that finds no parallel at all because of the absence of a *basilica* and the *cryptoporticus* in the middle.

Complex

The complex *forum*-theatre at Bilbilis dates to the Tiberian phase, but at *Segobriga* to the theatre is associated a *cryptoporticus* which is at the same level as the *porticus summae caveae* and used instead of the *porticus post scaenam*. Above a *gymnasium* with *natatio* is connected to an Augustean or Tiberian bath. The combination of baths and *gymnasium* has, in this moment and space, a precise meaning i.e. to bring the elites into the Roman system of clientship and to bring forward the imperial cult.

Sculptural works

All the statues, analysed in the previous pages, were found in different cities of the province. The majority of them stood in the *fora* as for example at *Segobriga*, *Tarraco*, *Bilbilis* and *Regina*; some stood in the *scaenae frons* as at Tarraco or in specific places as the exedra at *Segobriga* or the *collegium fabrum* at Tarraco.

All the statues are representation of the imperial family as *togati* or in heroic or divine attitude.

⁹⁵⁷ The Themis of Rhamnous type is a reference to the iconography of Muses and of Tyché-Fortuna.

⁹⁵⁸ NOGUERA, ABASCAL, CEBRIÁN 2008, 324-333.

⁹⁵⁹ BALTY 1985.

⁹⁶⁰ SÈVE, WEBER 1986.

The statues with *bullae aureae* from *Tarraco* have traits in common and they represent Nero or Britannicus. It seems that the statues were manufactured in the same workshop. Again from the capital two female statues have some Hellenistic features.

The head of Agrippina Maior at *Segobriga* is very similar to the head in Coimbra but some differences suggest that they were made by two local workshops. From *Segobriga* the Hüftmantel type statue has parallels in Mérida, Conimbriga and Cordoba but again it seems to have been locally manufactured.

The head of Octavia from Clunia is a unique piece because it is, so far, the only representation of this princess not only in the Spanish Peninsula but also in the western provinces. The comparison with the *nymphaeum* of Baiae shows its regional character.

Baths

While at *Asturica Augusta* the small baths, in Claudian period, show only an initial plan at Labitolosa the thermal baths are fully developed and its rooms are arranged axially which is very common for a relatively small building.

Domestic houses

So far only at *Asturica Augusta* are known some remains of houses: the *domus* del pavimento de opus signinum is a great example of chronology for the *opus signinum* in a remote region and it is a good example of a *domus* of Italic style where the rooms are arranged around an open space.

4.2.3 Lusitania

The capital of the province *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida) has a lot of evidence of Claudius' engagement.

Till recently it was thought that the *forum adiectum* or Marmor forum as it was called by Trillmich, was set up during Claudius' time at one side of the *forum coloniae* (municipal *forum*) with the so called temple of Diana.⁹⁶¹ (Figure 60)

⁹⁶¹ TRILLMICH 1990, 309, 311; TRILLMICH 1995; TRILLMICH 2004a, 325-328.



Figure 60: Actual reconstruction of the remains of the *forum adiectum* in Mérida (Dr. Caterina Parigi's pictures).

The iconographic programme copied the Augustean *forum* at Rome as we can perceive by the *clipei* and the caryatides in the high level while the lower level was decorated with statues in niches. Some scholars thought of an *Augusteum*, a complex for the imperial cult⁹⁶² where an *ara Providentiae*, reconstructed from different scattered pieces, could have here been collocated.⁹⁶³ Trillmich points out however that both the *forum Augustum* and the *templum Pacis* were not dedicated to the cult of Augustus.⁹⁶⁴

The new reconstruction is totally different from the previous hypothesis of a *quadriporticus* and an open area where the *ara* was set and encompasses a porch on the northern, southern and eastern sides integrated in a square with a temple in the centre.⁹⁶⁵ (Figure 61)

⁹⁶² ÁLVAREZ MARTINEZ, NOGALES BASARRATE 2003, 290-294, 317-322; NOGALES BASARRATE, 2007a, 490-493; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTINEZ 2005, 317-318; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTINEZ 2006b.

⁹⁶³ See the bibliography in note 102 in TRILLMICH 2007, 434.

⁹⁶⁴ TRILLMICH 2007, 434-435.

⁹⁶⁵ AYERBE VÉLEZ, BARRIENTOS VERA, PALMA GARCÍA, 2009b, 753-769.

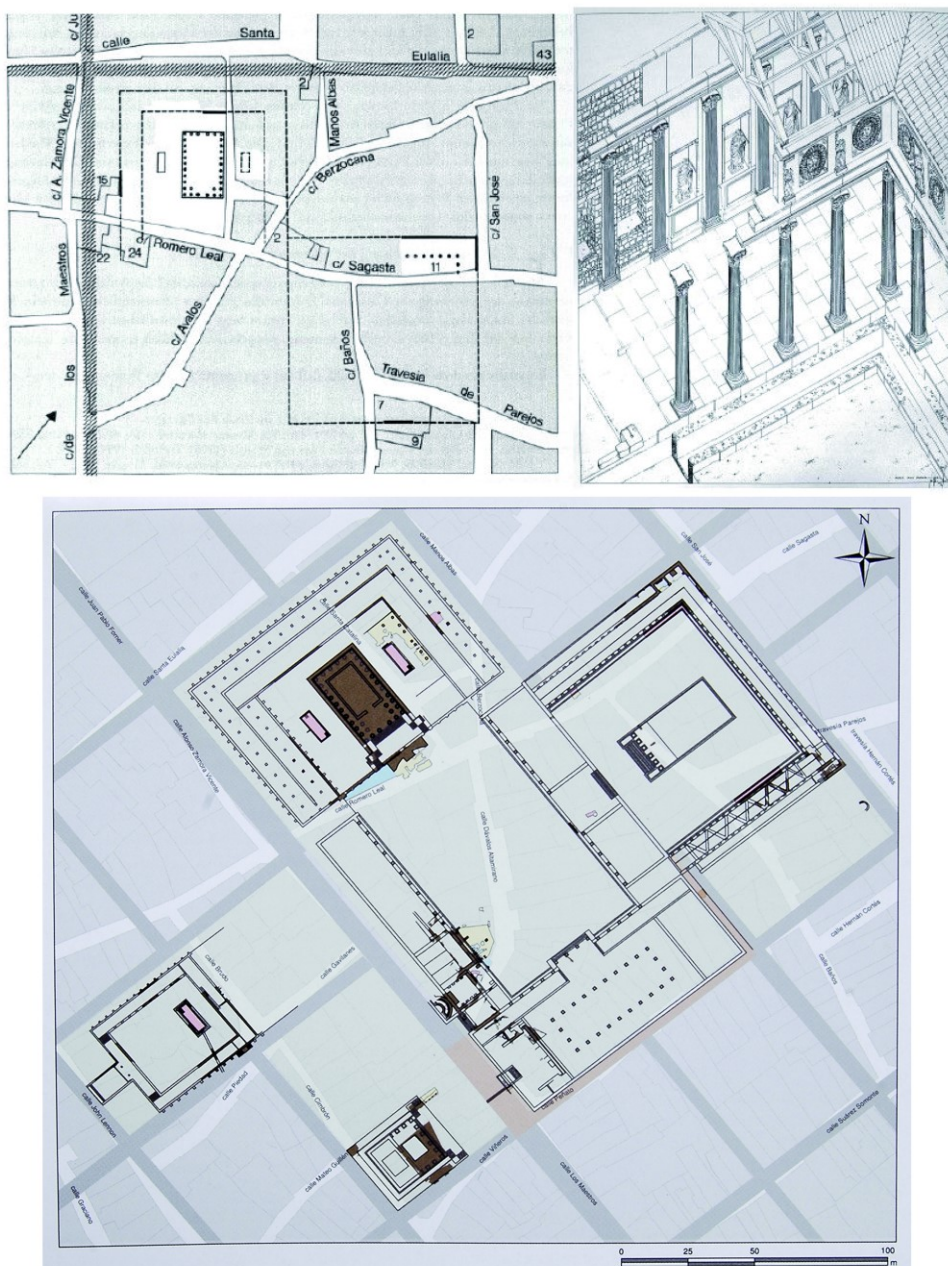


Figure 61: Old and new reconstruction of the *Marmor Forum* (rielaboration after Trillmich 1995, fig. 1-2 and Mateos Cruz, Pizzo 2011, fig. 3).

There are two series of *clipei*: one with Jupiter Ammon and the other with Medusa;⁹⁶⁶ according to Trillmich every series has three subtypes⁹⁶⁷ while De la Barrera offers two subtypes for the series with Jupiter and four for Medusa.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶⁶ JURADO PEÑA 2009, 605-606.

⁹⁶⁷ TRILLMICH 1990, 311.

⁹⁶⁸ DE LA BARRERA 2000, 159-162.

Only one of the *clipei* with Jupiter is made with Carrara marble: most likely it was designated as masterpiece and model for the other *clipei* made with local marble. It is not easy to date precisely these *clipei*; according to the typology of Matz, because of the form of the horns and the fact that they are hidden in the tangles of the hair, they could be dated to the Claudian period but it is also true that, as Verzàr-Bas pointed out, even if they follow the same source of inspiration, the contexts of execution are really different. The *clipei* with Jupiter recreated with accuracy the Roman models: it seems logical to think that the *marmorarii* might have been educated in Italy.⁹⁶⁹ (Figure 62)



Figure 62: *Clipeus* with Jupiter Ammon (after Arce et Al. 1997, fig. 172).

The *clipei* with Medusa are free production with a strong classical imprint made by *officinae* from Mérida but with Italian masters. The stylistical differences are due to the participation of eterogenous teams.⁹⁷⁰ (Figure 63)



Figure 63: *Clipeus* with Medusa (after De la Barrera 2000, lámina 97).

⁹⁶⁹ DE LA BARRERA 2000, 159-160.

⁹⁷⁰ DE LA BARRERA 2000, 161.

Also, the caryatides have as prototype the same statue of the Augustus' *forum*, but the models are various as we can see by the different heads. The differences among them are visible in the treatment of the *peplos*. Their attitude with a hand on the dress and the other holding the *kalathos* is very close to the scheme of Augustean period and they are a copy of these in the Apollo temple on Palatine.⁹⁷¹ (Figure 64)



Figure 64: Caryatides (after Arce et Al. 1997, fig. 170-171).

Also the capitals follow the style of the active workshop in the Mars Ultor temple. According to the last hypothesis, instead, this *forum* was erected in the last year of Claudius' principate, but most likely in the beginning of Nero's time, being not merely a replication of the *forum Augustum* but as a really *forum Iulium* putting the Julii as guarantors of the new *aurea aetas*.⁹⁷²

⁹⁷¹ DE LA BARRERA 2000, 162; JURADO PEÑA 2009, 606-616; TRILLMICH 2004a, 328.

⁹⁷² TRILLMICH 2007, 436-440.

From this complex come also different series of statues which till recently were thought to be erected in the last years of Claudius' time but we must take in considerations the new hypothesis of Jurando who insists on a Flavian date, moment of big splendour for all the three capitals⁹⁷³ and the hypothesis of Trillmich who chooses a Neronian date when Julia Agrippina tried to put her son L. Domitius Ahenobarbus before Britannicus and convinced Claudius to adopt him as Nero Claudius Caesar Drusu Germanicus.⁹⁷⁴

The first discovery is a statue without head with the inscription AGRIPPA on one side of the plinth.⁹⁷⁵ The drapery is very similar to the the drapery of the vestment of one the *flamines* in the *Ara Pacis* that could be identified as *Laena* associated to the vestment of a commander. Earlier Trillmich, based on an etymological relation between *laena* and the *cognomen Lanatus*, postulated the hypothesis that the statue might have represented Agrippia Menenius Lanatus, *consul* in 503 BC and triumphator over the *Sabini*; recently the same scholar suggests instead that it is the king Agrippa from Alba Longa. Trillmich suggests, as well, that there was a gallery with mythical *reges*.⁹⁷⁶ Another statue is very similar, a copy to the previous one,⁹⁷⁷ and a head of Ascanius as king of Alba Longa could be part of the gallery.⁹⁷⁸ (Figure 65)

⁹⁷³ JURANDO PEÑA 2009, 614-616.

⁹⁷⁴ TRILLMICH 2006, 235. Possibly these works were due to M. Salvius Otho *amicus* of Nero and *legatus augusti pro praetor* in AD 58-68.

⁹⁷⁵ Trillmich suggests that the inscription, invisible to all, is needed only for the set up, TRILLMICH 2004a, 239.

⁹⁷⁶ JURADO PEÑA 2009, 60; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTINEZ 2006b, 432; TRILLMICH 1995, 283-285; TRILLMICH 1996b, 100-102; TRILLMICH 2004a, 329; TRILLMICH 2006, 234-235.

⁹⁷⁷ TRILLMICH 1995, 285; TRILLMICH 2004a, 330-331; TRILLMICH 2006, 235-237. The differences are not chronological but only due to two different hands.

⁹⁷⁸ TRILLMICH 1995, lam. 28.



Figure 65: Statue with the inscription “Agrippa” and a copy (after Trillmich 2004a, fig. 15-16).

We have a serie of six *summi viri* with the *toga triumphalis*, personalities of the Roman myth and history and they bear the inscription EX OFFICINA GAI AULI.⁹⁷⁹ It is clear that the series was begun in the Italian workshop of *C. Aulus*⁹⁸⁰ and then completed by local sculptors as it is possible to see a model and different copies.⁹⁸¹ (Figure 66)

⁹⁷⁹ JURADO PEÑA 2009, 608-610; TRILLMICH 1993a, 51; TRILLMICH 1995, 288; TRILLMICH 1996a, 185; TRILLMICH 1996b, 98-99.

⁹⁸⁰ For the inscription see RAMÍREZ SABÁDA 2003, 141-148.

⁹⁸¹ TRILLMICH 2004a, 331-333; TRILLMICH 2006, 240.



Figure 66: Original and copy of *summi viri* (after Trillmich 2004a, fig. 17-18).

Both the kings and the *summi viri* were located in the interior of the porch in niches between the columns.

Different pieces of statues⁹⁸² are grouped together to form the the so-called “escape of Aeneas with Ascanius and Anchises” as suggested in different occasions by Trillmich thanks to his association of Ascanius’ statue kept in Madrid with the pieces in Mérida.⁹⁸³ (Figure 67)

⁹⁸² The statue of Ascanius, the middle part of a *toracatus* statue representing Aeneas and a head *capite velato* of Anchises. According to Dardenay the part of *toracatus* belongs to a *summus vir* or to an emperor, cf. DARDENAY 2010, 88-93.

⁹⁸³ DE LA BARRERA, TRILLMICH 1996; TRILLMICH 1992; TRILLMICH 1994; 81-84; TRILLMICH 1995, 288-289; TRILLMICH 1996b, 96-97.

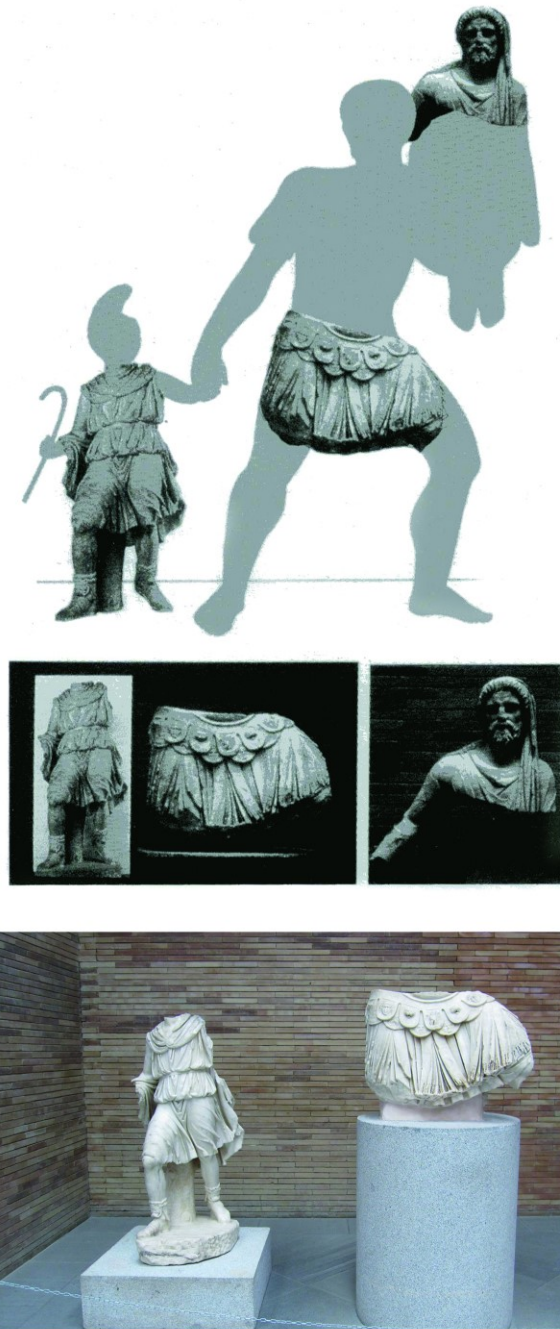
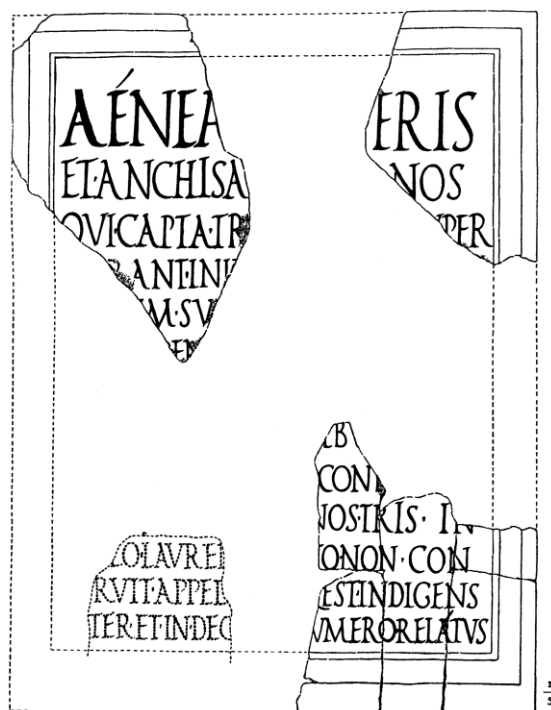


Figure 67: Pieces and reconstruction of the Aeneas'group (rielaboration after Nogales Basarrate, Álvarez Martínez 2006b, fig. 6 and Dr. Caterina Parigi's picture).

Associated to this *forum* is an inscription in a *tabula marmorea*; it is an *elogium* to Aeneas present also in the *forum Augustum* and with the copy in Pompeij it is the second one in the provinces of the *Imperium* (Figure 68).⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁸⁴ DE LA BARRERA 1996; DE LA BARRERA, TRILLMICH 1996, 128-136.



*Aénea[s, Ven]eris | et Anchisa[e f(i)lius), Troia]nos, | qui
capta Tr[oia bello s]uper | [fue]rant in It[alia]m adduxit. |
Bell]um su[scepit] -- | --]en[-- | --]ibu[-- | --] oppidum Lavi-
nium] cond[idit] | et ibi regnavit an]nos tris. In | [bel?]lo Lau-
ren[ti subi]to non con | [pa]ruit app[el]latus]q[ue] est Indigens |
[pa]ter et in deo[rum n]umero relátus.*

Figure 68: Inscription of Aeneas (after De la Barrera, Trillmich 1996, fig. 2).

Recently an old small piece of a statue was reinterpreted by Nogales Basarrate. The piece shows only part of a griffon (Figure 69). The scholar suggested that this piece is part of the upper part of a statue representing *Romulus*; as iconographical comparison she cited the statue from Cordoba that, in her opinion, represents no more Aeneas but *Romulus*.⁹⁸⁵

⁹⁸⁵ NOGALES BASARRATE 2008.



Figure 69: Reconstruction of Romulus from the armour's piece with grifon (after Nogales Basarrate 2008, fig. 6a and 6b).

The supposed *ara* has representations of wreaths and *bucranei* inside with *gemmae laurus* on the entrances while outside there are different scenes where in one of them we can see Agrippa.⁹⁸⁶ (Figure 70)

⁹⁸⁶ NOGALES BASARRATE 2007a, 496; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2006b, 432-435.

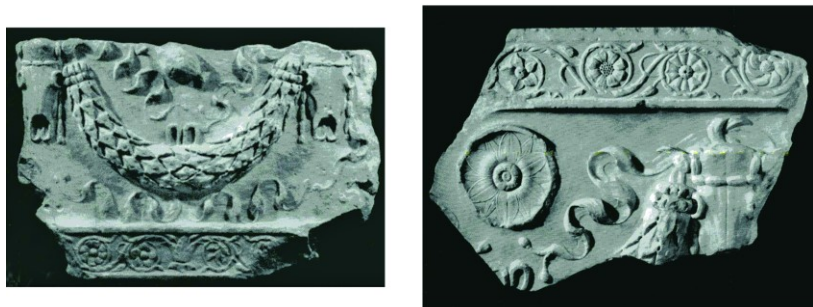


Figure 70: Pieces of the *ara* (after Nogales Basarrate, Álvarez Martínez 2006b, fig. 7, a-b).

The so-called temple of Diana, built in the Augustean period, presents a rich iconographical programme; part of it was implemented in Claudius' time.⁹⁸⁷ It is a *peripteros*, hexastyle with 11 columns on the long sides and a disposition of the front making it belong to the *templum rostratum*.⁹⁸⁸

There are two male statues: the first one is an imperial statue of seated Jupiter⁹⁸⁹ with comparison in the Museo of Sassari from *Turris Libysosnis* and in the Villa Borghese but the most pertinent parallel comes from Cordoba,⁹⁹⁰ the second male torso with a stocky anatomy in the type of Jupiter-Kostüm II⁹⁹¹ has parallels in the theatre of *Caere* or in old *forum* at *Leptis*: this kind of type is mostly widespread during Claudius' time.⁹⁹² The third one is a female statue: according to Álvarez and Nogales it represents Antonia in the Kore Berlin-London-type⁹⁹³ while Garriguet⁹⁹⁴ and previously Nogales Basarrate⁹⁹⁵ saw the type as Kore of Praxiteles and it is very similar to a female statue from the theatre of *Segobriga*,⁹⁹⁶ the Livia from the theatre of *Leptis*, the Livia from the basilica of *Velleia* and the statue from the theatre of *Caere*⁹⁹⁷ and probably the statue represent Livia (Figure 71).

⁹⁸⁷ JURANDO PEÑA 2009, 601.

⁹⁸⁸ See for example ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ, NOGALES BASARRATE 2004, 295-307.

⁹⁸⁹ GARRIGUET MATA 2001 cat n° 9; MADERNA 1988, 24; NOGALES BASARRATE 1996, 118-123 (not Jupiter-Kostüm II); NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2005, 216, fig. 2b.

⁹⁹⁰ GARRIGUET MATA 2001 cat n° 39.

⁹⁹¹ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 10; NOGALES BASARRATE 1996, 123-126; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2005, 216, fig. 2c. See also BALTY 2007, 56-67.

⁹⁹² GARRIGUET MATA 2001, 68-69. The two statues are very similar to the male statue of the type Hüftmantel from the theatre (GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 12).

⁹⁹³ NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2005, 216-217, fig. 2d.

⁹⁹⁴ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 11.

⁹⁹⁵ NOGALES BASARRATE 1996, 126-129.

⁹⁹⁶ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 53.

⁹⁹⁷ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, 7.



Figure 71: Statue of seated Jupiter, statue of Jupiter-Kostüm II, female statue (rielaboration after author's picture and Nogales Basarrate, Álvarez Martínez 2005, fig. 2, c-d).

There are also a statue of *togatus*⁹⁹⁸ and a very badly preserved head in the style of Antonia Minor but most likely belonging to a rich woman of the society.⁹⁹⁹ (Figure 72)



Figure 72: Statue of a *togatus* and a head of a rich woman (after Álvarez Martínez, Nogales Basarrate 2004, fig. 13a and Nogales Basarrate 1989-1990, lamina 15).

⁹⁹⁸ ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ, NOGALES BASARRATE 2004, 315; GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 3. It has stylistical comparison with another *togatus* from the theatre (GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 13).

⁹⁹⁹ NOGALES BASARRATE 1989-1990, 184-190; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2005, 216.

It is possible that the seated statues of the emperor with those of the empress were located in the tribuna as at Leptis but also in the manner of *rostra*.¹⁰⁰⁰ (Figure 73)

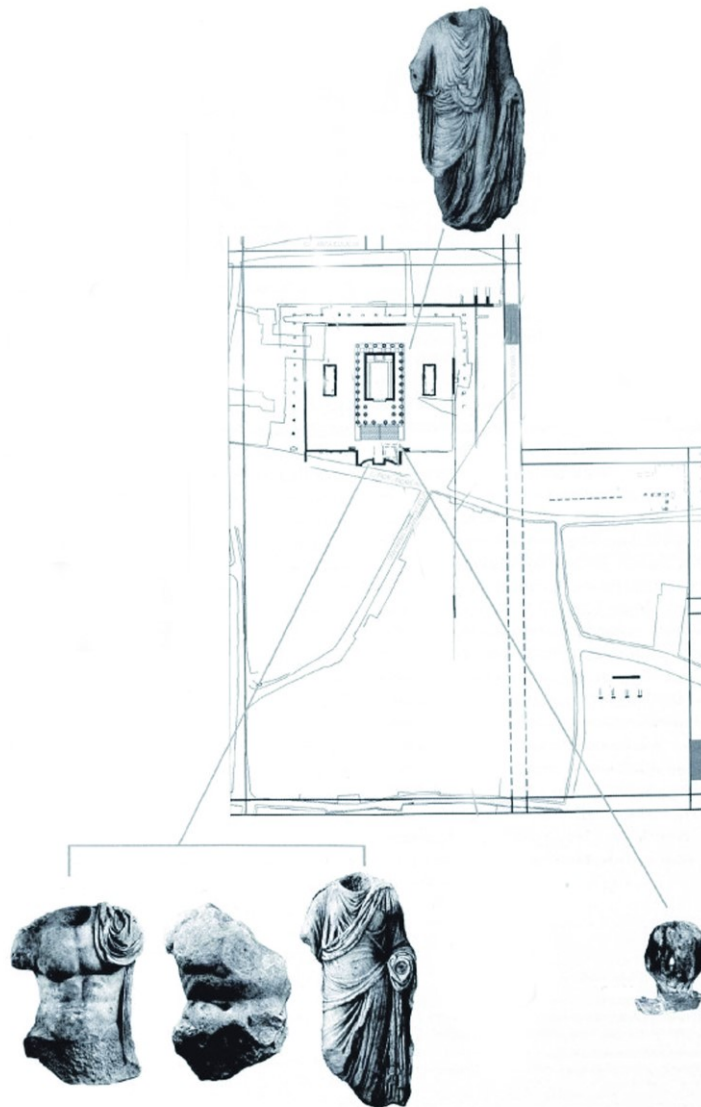


Figure 73: Position of the statues in the Diana's temple in the old reconstruction of the colonial forum (rielaboration after Álvarez Martínez; Nogales Basarrate 2004, fig. 10).

Also the theatre saw a period of improvement from granite to marble¹⁰⁰¹ with some additions as the podium¹⁰⁰² and more statues of the *scaenae frons* were added.¹⁰⁰³ We

¹⁰⁰⁰ÁLVAREZ MARTINEZ, NOGALES BASARRATE 2004, 317.

¹⁰⁰¹ NOGALES BASARRATE 2000, 29; NOGALES BASARRATE 2007a, 466-468.

¹⁰⁰² DURÁN CABELLO 2004, 122-123.

¹⁰⁰³ NOGALES BASARRATE 2007b, 113.

have a *togatus* in the Hüftmantel-type¹⁰⁰⁴ (Figure 74) representing an emperor, maybe Claudius, that has similarity with the two statues of Jupiter of the temple of Diana¹⁰⁰⁵ and the *togatus* from Conimbriga.¹⁰⁰⁶



Figure 74: Hüftmantel-type statue from the *scaenae frons* (after Nogales Basarrate, Álvarez Martínez 2006a, fig. 7D).

There are three statues with armour:¹⁰⁰⁷ two of them¹⁰⁰⁸ could be Britannicus and Nero but one is the original and the other is the copy.¹⁰⁰⁹ (Figure 75)

¹⁰⁰⁴ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 12.

¹⁰⁰⁵ ÁLVAREZ, MARTÍNEZ, NOGALES BASARRATE 2004, 315; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2006a, 150-151; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2006b, 429.

¹⁰⁰⁶ GARRIGUET MATA 2001 cat n° 33.

¹⁰⁰⁷ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat nn° 15-17.

¹⁰⁰⁸ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat nn° 16-17, TRILLMICH 1993b, 115.

¹⁰⁰⁹ ARCE 2002, 239; TRILLMICH 2004a; 328-329.



Figure 75: The three armoured statues (rielaboration after Garriguet 2001, n°15, lámina V and Trillmich 2004a, fig. 13-14).

A statue of a *togatus*¹⁰¹⁰ was also found: it could be possibly Augustus, Agrippa or Claudius. The last piece is the head of Agrippina Minor when she acquired the title of Augusta in AD 50¹⁰¹¹ in the last type (Napoli-Parma type)¹⁰¹² and produced in local workshops.¹⁰¹³ (Figure 76)



Figure 76: *Togatus*' statue and head of Agrippina (after Garriguet 2002, n° 13 and Trillmich 2004b, fig. 3).

¹⁰¹⁰ GARRIGUET MATA 2001, cat n° 13; TRILLMICH 1993b, 115-116.

¹⁰¹¹ TRILLMICH 1982; TRILLMICH 1993b, 114-116; TRILLMICH 2004a, 334; TRILLMICH 2004b, 281.

¹⁰¹² BOSCHUNG 1993, 73.

¹⁰¹³ GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 168.

The amphitheatre, according to Golvin, has a full structure¹⁰¹⁴ and knew amplifications with Claudius.¹⁰¹⁵ It is built over the hill on the eastern and western side and on embankment on the northern and southern side. The works are also proved by an inscription¹⁰¹⁶ that testifies an imperial evergetism.

Aeminium (Coimbra), in the *conventus scallabitanus*, was a native settlement and it was chosen for its remarkable geographical position. With the transition of the *legiones* of Decimus Brutus began the first contacts with the Romans as we can perceive from the sherds of Dressel 1 and black glazed pottery. But only with Augustus this territory began to be exploited and a city was found, indeed the *civitas* was instituted in final years of Tiberius's principate or under Caius.

Most likely the process of monumentalization began with Claudius as we can perceive by the construction of the *forum*. Still this assumption poses some problems: first the only known tribe for Lusitania is the Quirina and only in the settlements that became *municipia* in the Flavian dynasty we find this tribe, secondly the time between the constitution of the *civitas* which presupposes a *forum* before the Claudian one and the attribution of the latin right is very short.

The *forum* of Claudian time was built in the same position of the Augustean one. The site had a natural steep slope and therefore it was needed a horizontal platform. The best solution is a *cryptoporticus*, a gallery or a complex of galleries partially lower than the surrounding exterior ground level. Once it was built it could be put in use but this was always a secondary role. The Claudian intervention, which is remarkable for the originality of its design and its outstanding technical craftsmanship achievement, would have been conceived and executed by the same architect who built the lighthouse at A Coruña where he left an inscription dedicated to Mars in which he identifies himself as *Caius Sevius Lupus, architectus aeminiensis*.¹⁰¹⁷

The *decumanus maximus* reached the *forum* at an angle and then, making a turn, it continued South while another street followed this façade to the North. Their lower point was where the street splited and there would have been a square. There was a fountain against the western façade: it was square in shape and vaulted, it had most likely four steps that descended to a tank into which the water spilled from a spout fed

¹⁰¹⁴ GOLVIN 1988, 109-110.

¹⁰¹⁵ BENDALA GALÁN, DURÁN CABELLO 1994, 256-259; DURÁN CABELLO 2004, 214-215; NOGALES BASARRATE 2000, 36.

¹⁰¹⁶ AE 19997, 779; CANTO ET AL. 1997, 288-291.

¹⁰¹⁷ CIL II 2559.

by a spring beneath the cryoportico. Likely the fountain, off centred, was part of a *nymphaeum*, but because the absence of any other remains it is impossible to recreate it.¹⁰¹⁸

The lower level of the cryoportico had seven cells covered by barrel vaults and they communicate through narrow passages with low vaults; the upper level is made up of two galleries in a II shape, between the arms seven smaller cells are linked via a narrow passage.¹⁰¹⁹

The entrance to the *forum* was on the eastern façade. The presence of ionic capitals with two different modules leads to reconstruction of a two-storey portico that surrounded the square on three sides.

The *basilica* was on the northern side with a semicircular apse, which was in the beginning designed in a square shape: this apse could have been the site of a local cult and site of the tribunal but also for administrative meetings. But most likely the two rectangular compartments could have had administrative functions but both of them are too small to be a *curia*. Maybe one could have been a *tabularium* and the other a room for the meeting of the *duumviri*.¹⁰²⁰ (Figure 77)

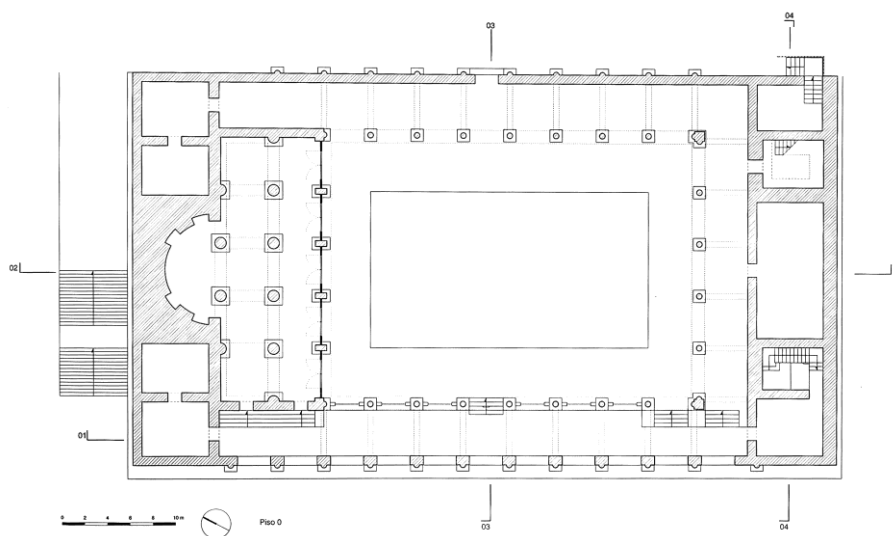


Figure 77: Plan of the *forum* of Coimbra (after Alarcão 2009, fig. 24).

On the opposite side, directly in front of the *basilica*'s door, opens a space: it could have been a *curia* but also a small local assembly room. Its transversal position with the entrance on the longer side suggests, instead, that this compartment could have been an

¹⁰¹⁸ ALARCÃO 2009, 43.

¹⁰¹⁹ ALARCÃO 2009, 46-47.

¹⁰²⁰ ALARCÃO 2009, 67; ARVAHLO 1998, 195.

aula for the imperial cult.¹⁰²¹ This hypothesis might be linked to the discovery of a head of Livia and Agrippina Major done during Claudius' time. The head of Agrippina Major is a provincial reproduction of the Museo Capitolino typus: according to Trillmich and Tansini the head was achieved in the late Claudian time because of the treatment of the eyes and mouth.¹⁰²² The head of Livia is here represented young and *capite velato* in the *Salus* type.¹⁰²³ (Figure 78) It is more likely that there were other statues as e.g. one of Augustus and one of Claudius.



Figure 78: Head of Agrippina Major and head of Livia (after Alarcão 2009, fig. 47-48).

The juridical-administrative status of *Ammaia* (São Salvador de Arameha), in the same *conventus*, is still matter of discussion. There are four inscriptions which help us to better understand the situation of the municipal promotion.¹⁰²⁴

The first one is a dedication to Claudius,¹⁰²⁵ dated to AD 44/45, where the status of *Ammaia* is of a *civitas* and it testifies, as well, the annual vote to the emperor (Figure 79).

¹⁰²¹ ALARCÃO 2009, 71.

¹⁰²² DE SOUZA 1990, n° 32; GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 169-170; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 306; TANSINI 1995, 31; TRILLMICH 1984, 150-151.

¹⁰²³ DE SOUZA 1990, n° 34; GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 166-167; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 306.

¹⁰²⁴ MANTAS 2000, 410-413; MANTAS 2004; MANTAS 2010, 171-173.

¹⁰²⁵ IRPacensis 615; AE 1950, 217; AE 1969/1970, 238; HØJTE 2005, 303, n° 58.



Figure 79: Inscription to Claudius with the annual vote from Ammaia (IRPacensis 615).

The second is the famous inscription of *P. Cornelius Macer viritim civitate donato*.¹⁰²⁶ The problem here is that the letter Q is interpreted as *Quirina* but the presence of this tribe in Claudius' time is opposed to the hypothesis that this tribe was attributed only with the Flavian dynasty. Moreover, the fact that Macer was *quaestor* and *duumvir* poses problem of the identification of these magistracies as existence of a municipal status. In this way if we believe in this assumption, it is possible a municipal promotion during Claudius eventually after AD 47/48 but it may have been possible before this promotion a phase with Latin right as we can perceive by the inscription to the Genius.¹⁰²⁷

The *forum*, even if scarcely detached, in the centre of the city, was orientated to the grid plan: it is possible that the planification goes back to the time of Claudius. The dimensions (66 x 99 m) fit perfectly the dimensions suggested by Vitruvius. Unluckily the *forum* was used as quarry of materials and on the South was constructed a highway; so what was investigated is the *podium* of the temple, some walls and the slabs of the square which are very similar to these ones used at *Augusta Emerita*. Still it is possible to detect the plan with a temple on one short side and the *basilica* in front of it with a close comparison at *Liberalitas Iulia Eborae*. The Claudian date for the *forum* comes from the only piece of decoration, a young *togatus* with *bullae aureae* which can represent

¹⁰²⁶ IRPacensis 618, CIL II 519.

¹⁰²⁷ IRPacensis 604.

Britannicus but also Nero: this kind of representation is widespread in Hispania as at *Tarraco, Segobriga*.¹⁰²⁸ (Figure 80)

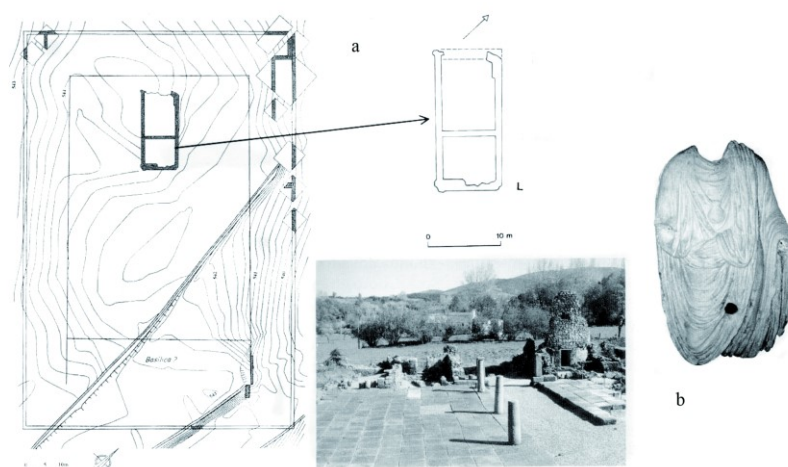


Figure 80: a) plan and picture of the *forum*, b) *togatus* (rielaboration after Nogales Basarrate, Gonçalves 2008, fig. 9).

Still matter of discussion is the evolution and the reconstruction of the *forum* at *Conimbriga* (Condeixa-a-Velha), 15km away from Coimbra: here it is not the place to summarize all the suggestions made up till today.¹⁰²⁹ After the various propositions, Étienne and Alarcão in 1997 came back to the subject and they restudied the materials from peculiar surveys suggesting that the three-aisled *basilica* of the first *forum* dates to the Claudian time: in this way the definition of Augustean *forum* is not more pertinent and we need to call it Augustan-Claudian *forum*.

In the supposed temple of the *forum* a head of Agrippina Minor was found: it belongs to the Napoli-Parma type¹⁰³⁰ and it seems clear, if we compare it with the head found at Mérida, that it was produced in a local workshop¹⁰³¹ as demonstrated also other two male statues in Hüftmantel-type and of a *togatus*:¹⁰³² (Figure 81) the first one is very similar to the statue from the theatre of *Augusta Emerita*.¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁸ MATAS 2010, 173-178; NOGALES BASARRATE; GONÇALVES 2008, 680-681.

¹⁰²⁹ For a present-a-day summary see ÉTIENNE 2006.

¹⁰³⁰ BOSCHUNG 1993, 73; FITTSCHEN, ZANKER 1985, 6.

¹⁰³¹ DE SOUZA 1990, n° 36; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 302; TRILLMICH 1982, 113 n° 3.

¹⁰³² GARRIGUET MATA 2001, nn° 33-34.

¹⁰³³ GARRIGUET MATA 2001 cat n° 12.

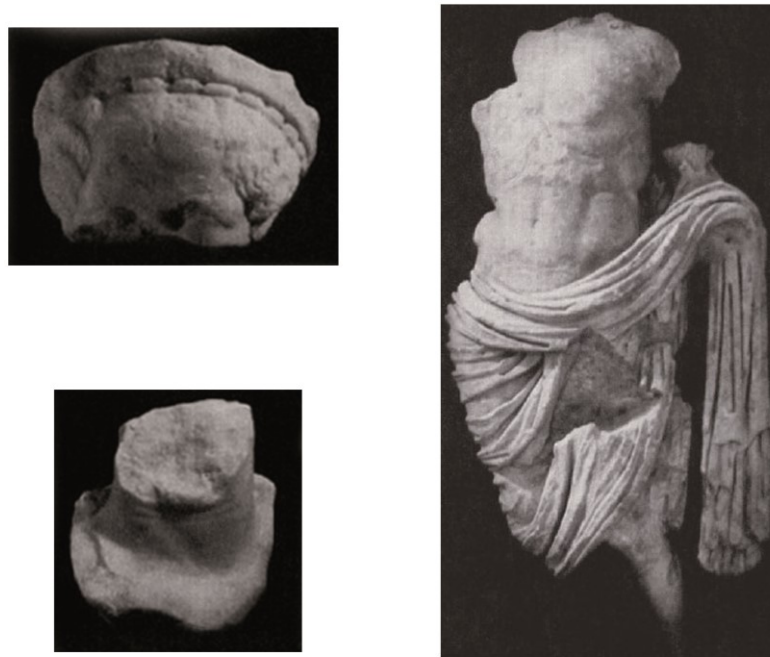


Figure 81: Head of Agrippina and Hüftmantel-type statue from *Conimbriga* (after Nogales Basarrate, Gonçalves 2004, fig. 5B a and Nogales Basarrate, Álvarez Martínez 2006, fig. 7c).

From the porches comes another female statue, part of a head that follows the Schlichter type of Antonia: most likely the statue represents a very important woman in the society of the city.¹⁰³⁴

In Claudius' time the cabins in the centre were destroyed and replaced by some new houses, stocking houses and streets even if some old building still remained.¹⁰³⁵ In the western sector the rue des thermes was set up in the moment of the construction of the two *insuale* around (*insula* du vase phallique and *insula* au nord des thermes), this street taked the aqueduct as central axis. The other streets, that articulated on the rue des thermes, are parallel to the direction of the thermal baths orientated North-South. On the South side of the Augustean-Claudian *forum* there was a square in trapezoid shape, a sort of place for the circulation into the *forum*. Coming to this space, the rue de la patère Emmanuel followed the North-South direction. Some *insulae* were also investigated as the *insula* de la patère Emmanuel, *insula* à l'ouest du forum, *insula* du vase phallique

¹⁰³⁴ NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 312, fig. 5A.

¹⁰³⁵ ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE 1986, 123; PFANNER 1989, 193.

(the name comes from the discovery of a ritual vase with three *phalli*), *insula* a nord des thermes.¹⁰³⁶

In the closer zone to the southern walls of the thermal baths *horrea* were built, the rooms were organized along a long corridor.¹⁰³⁷ It is possible that the *insulae* were occupied in irregular ways according to the owners' richness and some juridical customs. Most likely the owners belonged to the middle class while the *principes* and *magistri* began to settle down in the noble quartier along the axis *Selium-Aeminium*.¹⁰³⁸

The amphitheatre, according to Golvin's division, belongs to the type with full structure but an excavation is needed to clarify this aspect and it is not possible to say if the steps were carved into the rocks or were set up on an embarkement. Thus the amphitheatre was built in this period stretching till to the Neronian time.¹⁰³⁹

At *Salacia Urbs Imperatoria* (modern Alcácer do Sal, Portugal), a harbour *civitas*, in the *forum*, a head of Claudius rielaborated from one of Caius was found which is very similar to the head of Claudius found in the *collegium fabrum* of *Tarraco*, this one of *Bilbilis* and also at *Cordoba* and being part of a provincial version of the official type: most likely it was located in a niche because the rear part is not finished.¹⁰⁴⁰ (Figure 82)

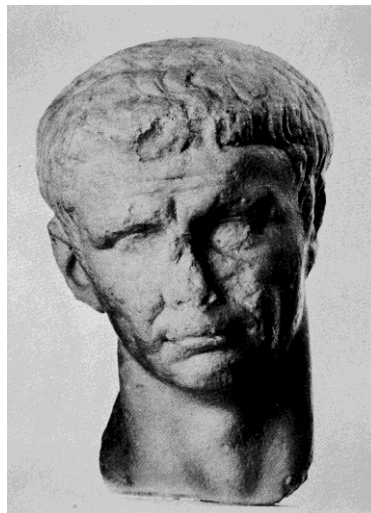


Figure 82: Head of Claudius at *Salacia* (after De Souza 1990, n° 155).

¹⁰³⁶ ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE 1977, 67-78.

¹⁰³⁷ ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE 1977, 78-79.

¹⁰³⁸ ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE 1977, 81.

¹⁰³⁹ CORREIA 1994, 337; GOLVIN 1988, 126.

¹⁰⁴⁰ DE SOUZA 1990, n° 155; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 319; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2008, 672-673.

At *Myrtilis* (Mértola) some statues were found but it is not possible to put them in a specific complex. From the Claudius's period three statues remain. One is a female statue in a pray gesture and it could represent Livia: the statue, with other ones, was set in a space for the *consecratio*.¹⁰⁴¹ A *togatus* was erected in the same period and it can be compared with the *togati* of Caius Aulus from Mérida.¹⁰⁴² The last one is a head of Augustus using a head of Caius after the *damnatio memoriae* and it follows the Prima Porta style.¹⁰⁴³ It is possible to connect these statues with the promotion into *municipium* (Figure 83).



Figure 83: a) female statue, b) head of Augustus, c) *togatus* (rielaboration after De Souza 1990. n° 9-11).

In the villa at *Milreu* (Estoi) a head of Agrippina Minor was found. It belongs to the Milan type but it is very clear the provincial character because of the wavy locks.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴¹; DE SOUZA 1990, n° 9; GARRIGUET MATA 2001 cat n° 28; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 322-323.

¹⁰⁴² NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 323; DE SOUZA 1990 n°11.

¹⁰⁴³ DE SOUZA 1990, n° 10; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 322. Another head of Augustus using one Caius' head comes from *Sellium*, cf. DE SOUZA 1990, n° 150; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 326.

¹⁰⁴⁴ DE SOUZA 1990, n° 121; GARRIGUET MATA 2006, 167; TRILLMICH 1974; TRILLMICH 1982, 115.

4.2.3.1 Evaluations

Aedes Augusti¹⁰⁴⁵

Normally the imperial cult is performed in the temples or with the incorporation of an area of rectangular or semicircular shape into the *basilica* becoming an *aedes*. The importance of the *basilica* was increased with the reorganization of the *forum* in Augustus' time. Even with different shapes the axially was reinforced by the addition of annexed rooms in the short or long sides.

This annex, because Vitruvius' text does not make clear, could have been interpreted only as a *curia*.¹⁰⁴⁶ In this way the tradition, requiring that the meetings of the local Senate must have placed in a sacred space, is completed by the submission to the new imperial power.

According to David,¹⁰⁴⁷ the presence of a tribunal in the *basilica* is linked to the Republican period. With the beginning of the Empire the new political structure imposed a new organization in the *basilica* and we can see rooms with apse in one of the long sides: it is the *Aedes Augusti* that Vitruvius described for the *basilica* at Fano and it is usually used for the *decuriones*' assembly in small cities. Concurrently temples for the imperial cult and *curiae* for the local senators were set introducing another kind of power that controlled that of the magistrats. The set up of these temples imposed a reduction and subordination of the space (and consequently of the power) of the local magistrates. Sometimes the *Aedes* took the place of the courthouse but sometimes the tribunal remained but in a way that it was clear to everyone that the judge represented a delegation of the *princeps*. The courthouse, as place for the local power, submitted, spatially and symbolically, to the *Aedes Augusti*, place of expression of the imperial power. But not all the cases of *Aedes Augusti* have a part dedicated to the courthouse as for examples at Clunia.

This kind of building is present for sure at Clunia;¹⁰⁴⁸ at *Asturica Augusta* in the *forum* an *aedes* is present but still the new investigations do not confirm its integration in the *basilica*.

With the first researches at *Aeminium* (Coimbra) the *forum* seemed to correspond to the architectonical scheme where the religious functions are represented by a small

¹⁰⁴⁵MAR, RUIZ de ARBULO 1988.

¹⁰⁴⁶BALTY 1991, 256-356.

¹⁰⁴⁷DAVID 1983.

¹⁰⁴⁸MAR, RUIZ de ARBULO, 1988, 284. See the contrary opinion of Balty, cf. BALTY 1991, 337-339.

sanctuary for the imperial cult in the shape of an *aedes* in the *basilica* (comproved by the discovery of heads of the imperial family). This scheme in 1998 was compared to Roth Congès' reconstruction of the *forum* at *Conimbriga*: on the North side, where Alarçao and Étienne collocated a temple in Corinthian order preceded by a porch, she imagined instead a *basilica* with two naves and an *aedes Augusti*.¹⁰⁴⁹ This kind of reconstruction is comparable with no other examples with two naved *basilica* in small city (Figure 84).

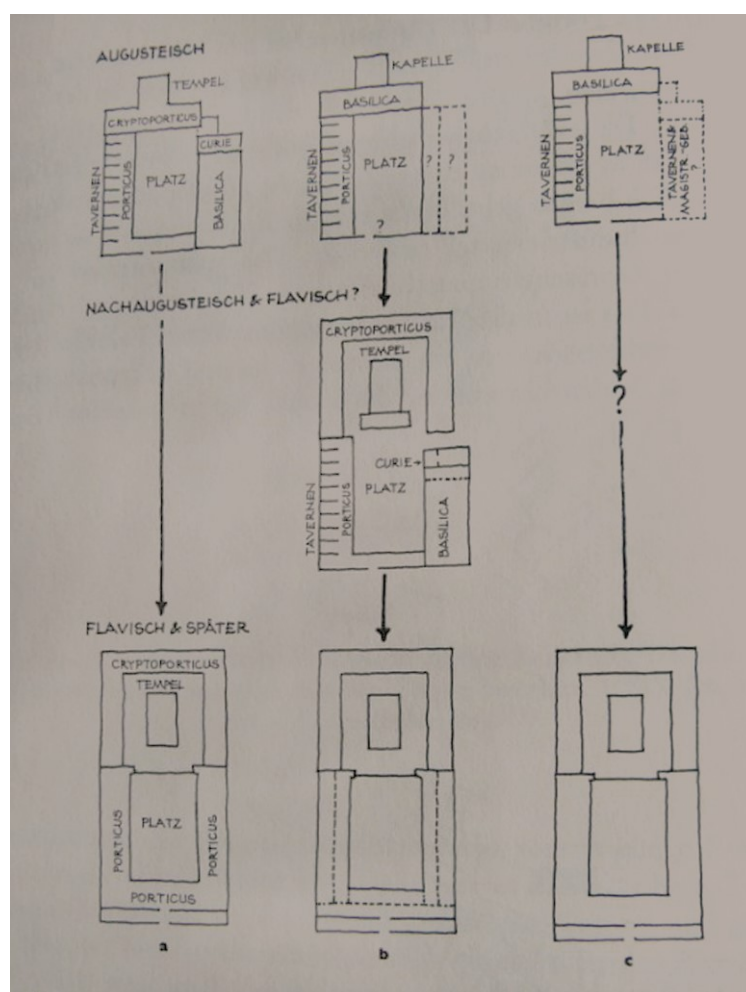


Figure 84: Different evolutions of *forum*'s plan at *Conimbriga* a): according to Alarçao and Étienne, b): according to Roth Congès; c): according to Pfanner (after Pfanner 1989, Abb. 10).

¹⁰⁴⁹ ROTH CONGÈS 1987.

New excavations have discarded this hypothesis and now it is thought that the compartment directly in front of the entrance of the *basilica* could have been an aula i.e. a space where the statues of the imperial family were kept.

If we kept the reconstruction of Alarçao and Étienne in the beginning the *basilica* is set on the eastern side of the square and on its northern short side a *curia* is placed: the two monuments belong to the same plan. With the successive modifications *basilica* and *curia* disappeared.¹⁰⁵⁰

Forum adiectum (Augusteum?), Jupiter Ammon and Medusa's clipei

The *forum adiectum* at Mérida displays a repertoire of old and new history of Rome and of *Augusta Emerita*. The *clipei* recall the triumphs and the new provinces, Aeneas and *Romulus* mark the starting point of the *gens Iulia* and they were assimilated as origin of Augustus and his family. The history came together in the altar where Agrippina's sacrifice represents the act of foundation of the city. This *Augusteum*, as recently called, is very close to the *Forum Augustum* but with a new code of interpretation due to the locals.

The *clipei* from the *forum adiectum* of *Augusta Emerita* are the first transposition of the iconographical program of the Augustean *forum*.¹⁰⁵¹ Thus the precise identification of the *clipei* of this *forum* is still matter of discussion. Various scholars approach the subject coming to different solutions. One kind of *clipeus* represents Jupiter Ammon with a thick hair and ram-horns while the other small pieces represent a divinity with *torques* and, most likely, goat horns as suggested by holes in the hair. The *torques* is an attribute to the celtic populations: it is not possible that it represents Jupiter because this modification could have come in the beginning of the type's diffusion. According to Ensoli, thanks to the iconography, they recalled the image of a horned divinity, connected to the Gallic populations and assimilated to Jupiter, being an adequate pendant of Ammon regarding the iconographical, religious and political point of

¹⁰⁵⁰ ÉTIENNE 2006, 453; Balty thinks that the reconstruction proposed by Roth Congès is right (Congès' hypothesis of the second Flavian *forum*) and he classifies it as *forum* with *basilica* and *curia* on the eastern side, cf. BALTY 1991, 368-369.

¹⁰⁵¹As La rocca states 'sotto il profilo simbolico esso svolgeva un rapporto speciale nei rapporti tra Roma e le sue province, sottolineato figurativamente dalla presenza dei titoli di queste ultime e dalle sontuose dediche all'imperatore. Dall'altro il programma costruiva con impagabile coerenza il nuovo mito di Roma collegato con le fortune del suo princeps. Era un mito a carattere ecumenico, nel quale trovano posto, per irrilevanza, tutte le province legate a Roma ed Augusto da uno stretto patto di alleanza, simile a quello che legava i clientes al loro pater familias. La sua emulazione nelle province occidentali dell'Impero sembrava una formula di accesso ad un mondo aulico, carico di dignitas, inesistente nelle storie locali.; ma nel mondo occidentale la storia del passato era tutta da costruire, e non poteva essere se non quella romana', cf. LA ROCCA 2011, 1004.

view.¹⁰⁵² She accepts, as well with Sauron, the presence of *clipei* with Medusa even if they are not archeologically attested: the *clipei* with Jupiter recall Egypt but they allude in general to the oriental word, while the others to the western one.¹⁰⁵³

For Casari instead the divinity with *torques* is *Cernunnos*¹⁰⁵⁴ and to demonstrate this he takes the examples of the *fora* coming from the Augustean *forum*. The new interpretation sees Jupiter and Medusa as the symbolical depiction of the borders of the *Imperium* conceived as oecumenical: Jupiter Ammon for the *pars orientalis* and Medusa for the *pars occidentalis*. Medusa could be seen as the same as the divinity with the *torques* in the *forum* of Augustus.

The presence of such a divinity in centres with a celtic origin would have been offensive towards these populations but the divinity was still adored and its use in an ideological domain would be sacrilegious. The presence of *Cernunnos* in the Augustean *forum* as symbolical depiction of the *pars occidentalis* is due to the fact that it plays, since long time, an important role in the Gallic *pantheon*.¹⁰⁵⁵

On the contrary Sauron is not sure of this idea because it is not possible to link Jupiter Ammon with the Orient, although this interpretation has become a *Leitmotiv*. We know that it is associated to the constellation of Béliér which is the place for the planet Mars. The reason of its presence in the *forum* of Augustus is linked to rivalry towards the Parthes.¹⁰⁵⁶

Fora

Besides the *forum* at Mérida we have certain evidences of another *forum* built in this period.

The biaxial concept of the *forum* at *Aeminium* is unique, its East-West axis following the natural slope and an axis perpendicular to it structuring the internal composition. But more it is accomplished with a complexity of architecture.

The western façade with its gallery for the people to circulate at a lower level than the eastern portico implies that it opens through an architectural sequence of bays. This façade had a pendant on the eastern side: while one would have opened the horizon the other could have had a decoration similar to the façades of Brescia or Nyon's basilicas. But it is wrong to think of the two façades as similar. On the West side for

¹⁰⁵² ENSOLI 1997, 162.

¹⁰⁵³ ESOLI 1997, 163; SAURON 2007, 119.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Cernunnos* is known by Gallo-Roman depictions: he is bearded, has deer-horns and has a *torques*.

¹⁰⁵⁵ CASARI 1998, 398-404; CASARI 2004, 21-28.

¹⁰⁵⁶ SAURON 2006; SAURON 2007, 116-118.

example there would be a series of arcades above vaulted foundations corresponding to the seven vaulted cells which stood above two floors that were ventilated and lit by narrow openings. In other words, the *forum* would have been a monumental Corinthian *atrium* but not as an application of the Corinthian tetrastyle *atrium* model. Accepting this idea, we have to think the roofs complemented with terraces that would have covered the lateral wings. But in this way, imaging the roofs on the North and on the South (*basilica* and stairs), we would be contradicting the model. The reconstruction allows us to see that the roof had a convergence inwards and the lateral aisles created a “silence” having roofs with converging one-way slopes. From the outside the *forum* would have looked like a parallelepiped with its roofs behind the walls as in an *atrium* house.

The architectural discourse is based on two antagonistic syntaxes: one is related to the Hellenistic tradition (Corinthian or Ionic) and the other one to the Tuscan one. As told, the architecture is an expression of the Corinthian *atrium* which comes from the synthesis of the peristyle model from the Hellenism while the *atrium* effect is due to the roof of Tuscan tradition. But the situation is more complex than this: the hellenizing sequence of East and West façades constitutes parataxis i.e. elements in juxtaposition not in tune with previous design but they can coexist in harmony. Extending the entablatures of the longer sides to the whole building would imply hypotaxis meaning that all the elements are coordinated under one idea. In *Aeminium* we have a collage of parataxis: the hellenistic model dominates the view towards the square while the lateral façades had no message to convey and were plain.¹⁰⁵⁷

Plastic art

The relationship between the centres of *Lusitania* and the models of Rome comes through *Augusta Emerita*, city that became a lighthouse and guide for the local workshops because of its position and its privileges: the technical and stylistic parallelism is a prove that in this province the same models in a materials’ repertory were quite homogeneous.¹⁰⁵⁸ In many centres the presence of workshops from Mérida is undeniable but the people from the capital taught also the provincials.¹⁰⁵⁹

A significant case is the evident coincidence of programme and features-work in the workshops of *Augusta Emerita* and *Conimbriga* as the heads of Agrippina Minor from

¹⁰⁵⁷ ALARCÃO 2009, 97-100.

¹⁰⁵⁸ ÁLVAREZ, MARTINEZ; NOGALES BASARRATE 2004, 296; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 292; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2008.

¹⁰⁵⁹ NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 306.

the theatre of Mérida and the *forum* of *Conimbriga* and the two emperors in Hüftmantel type.¹⁰⁶⁰ All the statues are achieved according to the same scheme but from different hands with a superior level in the statues of Mérida.

Another study case is the relationship with *Myrtitillis*: the city gained a lot because of the geographical position on one branch of the Guadiana and in this way, it was connected in an interregional ground.¹⁰⁶¹

For its geographical position on a river side at *Salacia* for example the models of imitation are not coming from the province Lusitania but from the *Baetica*.¹⁰⁶² The statues with *bullae aureae* from Ammaia are the only representations of this kind in Lusitania but it is comparable with the examples at *Tarraco* and *Segobriga*.

Already in Mérida we see stylistic comparisons between statues from different complexes. The seated statues of an emperor from the temple of Diana and the Hüftmantel type from the theatre have the same elaboration.¹⁰⁶³ It is possible to take again into account the hypothesis of Squarciapino regarding a possible connection between the workshops of *Augusta Emerita* and those of *Aphrodisias*.¹⁰⁶⁴

The style of the *officina* of *C. Aulus* was copied in other statues which were of inferior level. Another example is the presence of a copy of Agrippa statue.¹⁰⁶⁵ This aspect needs to be considered in a positive manner because the copies are the starting point for a new style that is going to develop in the city's workshops: the big sculptural and architectonical projects, begun with the Italian or Roman workshops, are completed by the local ones.¹⁰⁶⁶

The group of Aeneas, *Romulus* and the *ara* are the product of one single *officina* that was of urban formation.¹⁰⁶⁷ (Figure 85)

¹⁰⁶⁰ NOGALES BASARRATE 2007b, 114; NOGALES BASARRATE 2009, 476; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 304. See Lámina 1 in NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2008.

¹⁰⁶¹ NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 324.

¹⁰⁶² NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2008, 674.

¹⁰⁶³ ÁLVAREZ, MARTINEZ, NOGALES BASARRATE 2004, 315; NOGALES BASARRATE 2009, 471; NOGALES BASARRATE, GONÇALVES 2004, 295-296; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2006a, 150-151; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2006b, 429.

¹⁰⁶⁴ FLORIANI SQUARCIAPINO 1982, 45-47.

¹⁰⁶⁵ NOGALES BASARRATE 2009, 472.

¹⁰⁶⁶ TRILLMICH 2006, 237.

¹⁰⁶⁷ NOGALES BASARRATE 2009, 474-475; NOGALES BASARRATE 2011, 663; NOGALES BASARRATE, ÁLVAREZ MARTÍNEZ 2006b, 435.



Figure 85: Comparison between the *dorsuale* of a bull from the altar and the finishing of the shield of Aeneas in Mérida (after Nogales Basarrate, Álvarez Martínez 2006b, fig. 8).

Romulus is a kind of pendant of the statue of Aeneas. An important hint is the movement of the Aeneas group: the rhythm is made by Aeneas walking towards left creating a pyramidal composition while the supposed *Romulus* goes towards right. In this way both groups try to converge from their niches to the central space of the porch.¹⁰⁶⁸ Aeneas and *Romulus* symbolize the *pietas* and the *virtus*: these two symbols remain in the imperial iconography and after Augustus the ancestors are associated to the imperial apotheosis and divination.

Urban layout and private spaces

The only city where we can perceive Claudius's activities in an urban degree is *Conimbriga*. The researches carried on suggest that Claudius reorganized quite a lot in order to put order in the previous chaotic situation. Unluckily we are not able to know how internally the private houses were organized but it seems clear that the residents occupied the house according to the richness' level and costumes.

4.2.4 Guidelines

Commemorative and honorary monuments *strictu sensu* are not attested for this period. What is instead widespread is the presence of cycles of statues commemorating the imperial family and peculiar groups or personalities. For most of the case the statues are placed in the *fora* both in the porches and in temples. In some cases, the statues are set also in the *scaenae frons* of the theatre. Not for all the acéphalous statues it is possible to identify the personality; some of them instead, as for example the *toracati*, because of some peculiarities, are easily recognizable.

¹⁰⁶⁸ NOGALES BASARRATE 2007, 494.

But from the stylistic point of view it is very clear that they were produced locally by local sculptors except for some pieces from Mérida which were made by artists coming from Italy: these statues are showing, of course, a better quality. The Italian artists from Mérida in some case seem to have travelled in Lusitania and taught at the local workshops: in fact, we can see a lot of similarities among the different statues in the province.

The portraits of Claudius, thus, are not many and some of them are rielaborated over portraits of Caius as at Bilbilis or Salacia and we do not have a complete statue of the emperor. Some pieces, as these one at Alcácer do Sal¹⁰⁶⁹ and at Tarragona are of a superb quality. Basically, all Claudius' portraits except for this one at *Tarraco* present the emperor as adult with the face being characterised by wrinkles. All the heads of Claudius are simply versions of the principal type with the outlines of the fringes.¹⁰⁷⁰

As we will see for the other provinces Claudius paid always attention to the theatres and amphitheatres as centres to gather the citizens. In some case this care is testified with the conclusion of the work begun by the previous emperors as at *Segobriga* or *Conimbriga* but sometimes also with the placement of statues (as at *Augusta Emerita*) in the *scaenae frons*. Also, the temples themselves alone seem not be in great consideration but they are considered and set up in connection with *fora* or some specific complexes. The only supposed case regarding the construction of a temple happened, presumably, at *Baelo Claudia*.

In the Spanish provinces elsewhere than the other provinces, areas of complexes are quite common. These areas encompass different buildings. At Cordoba we have a temple with *temenos*, a square and a *circus*; at Mérida the *forum adiectum* with temple, porches and *ara* is connected to the colonial *forum*; at *Segobriga* the exedra is attached to the northern porch of the *forum* and the complex theatre-gymnasium and thermal baths are defined while at Bilbilis the area *forum*-theatre is completed. It seems that Claudius liked to use these complexes to create wonderful visual effects on the grid plan of the cities and exploited them as convergence centres for the gathering of the people and for the traffic.

With Claudius the big projects about *fora* are not taking in consideration mostly because already with Augustus is attested the beginning of the construction of these civic and

¹⁰⁶⁹ DE SOUZA 1990, n°1 55. The head belongs to the principal type but in the version with no piliers on the forehead (FITTSCHEN 1977, n° 15).

¹⁰⁷⁰ FITTSCHEN 1977, n° 17.

religious centres. For sure only the *forum* at *Aeminium* was set up after a previous Augustean project during Claudius' time. This *forum* is quite unique in its genre with its organization over a *cryoporticus* dominated the city. Also at Astorga the *forum* presents quite unique plan with the supposed temple exactly in the middle of the porches.

Another possible Claudian *forum* is the one of Ammaia but, in this case, the dating relies only upon the presence of a *togatus*. Also, the organization of the *forum* at Baelo can be attributed to Claudius' work but the archaeological evidences and conclusions incline to a Claudian-Neronian work.

Still mater of debate is the identification of a room along the long side or short side of the *basilica* with an *Aedes Augusti* that could be interpreted eventually as *curia*.¹⁰⁷¹ At Coimbra and Tarraco, in Claudius time, a *basilica* was added and rebuilt while the *forum* at Zaragoza undertook some improvements.

Only the works in the *fora* show how Claudius was deeply involved in the utilitarian aspects of his activities suggesting that he took care of one of the more important aspect of the citylife, while, as apposed to the Gallic provinces,¹⁰⁷² thermal baths or buildings connected to the water are not so diffused: as a matter of fact, we have also evidence of *thermae* at Asturica Astorga and Tiermes.

But we do not have other evidences for examples, of buildings with commercial functions or for water supplies.

Road facilities in the cities are not a big issue for Claudius and he rather improved the connections among the cities. Also, activities correlated to private quarters are not taken too much in consideration by Claudius or, at least, we do no have evidences of it. The only city where we see an improvement in this sense is at Coimbra, where the old centre was dismantled and new houses and streets were set up.

4.2.5 Roadsystem

For the three provinces (Figure 86) I will take in account only the routes in which there is concrete evidence for the involvement of the emperor thanks to the discoveries of milestones or other supports.

¹⁰⁷¹ See *Supra*.

¹⁰⁷² See *Infra*.

4.2.5.1 *Baetica*

| | Route | Discovery | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|--------------|------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 ¹⁰⁷³ | Unknown | unknow | Pontifex Max Cons III P P Trib Potest VI | 25 january 46- 31 December AD 46 | |

For Baetica, Sillieres mentioned only this milestone, although a lot of routes cross the province. Corzo Sanchez and Toscano mention it as discovered at Cordoba and report the attribution to Via Augusta.¹⁰⁷⁴ A milestone not mentioned in Sillieres' work is ascribed to Claudius and dated to AD 48¹⁰⁷⁵ while in IRC I,¹⁰⁷⁶ because of a different reading of the inscription,¹⁰⁷⁷ to Caracalla.

4.2.5.2 *Tarraconensis*

| | Route | Discovery | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 ¹⁰⁷⁸ | Complutum- Saltigi- Segobriga- Carthago Nova | Villas Vejas, Huete | Pontifex Maximus trib potest III cos III imp V P P | 25 january 43- 24 january AD 44 | |
| 2 ¹⁰⁷⁹ | Augusta litorale | San Cugat del Vallés | Pontifex Maximus Tribunic Potest IIII Cos III Imp VIII Pater Patriae | 25 january 43- 24 january AD 44 | [--- |
| 3 ¹⁰⁸⁰ | Augusta litorale | Cambrils | Pontifex Max Tribunicia Potestate IIII Cos | 25 janury 44- 31 december AD 44 | CXI [--- |

¹⁰⁷³ CIL II 4718, ILER 2014; SILLIERES 1990, n° 89.

¹⁰⁷⁴ CORZO SANCHEZ, TOSCANO SAN GIL 1992, n° 29.

¹⁰⁷⁵ IRB 271.

¹⁰⁷⁶ IRC I 185.

¹⁰⁷⁷ CIL II 6242=6232 a.

¹⁰⁷⁸ ABASCAL, LORRIO 1999, 563; LOSTAL 1992, n°50.

¹⁰⁷⁹ IRC I, 213-214 n° 180; LOSTAL 1992, n° 45; PALLÍ AGUILERA 1985, 94-95, n° 4.7.

¹⁰⁸⁰ CIL II 4954, RIT 925; LOSTAL 1992, n° 46; PALLÍ AGUILERA 1985, 113-114, n° 4.21.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | | III Imp VIII Pater Patriae | | |
| 4 ¹⁰⁸¹ | Barcino- Iler (?) | Guimera | Pontifex Max Tribunicia Potestate III Imp VII Cos III P P | 25 january 44- 24 january AD 45 | CCXVIII |
| 5 ¹⁰⁸² | Barcino- Caesaraugusta (?) | Tamarite de Litera | Pontifex Max Tribunicia Potestate III Imp VII Cos III P P | 25 january 44- 24 january AD 45 | CC[---] |
| 6 ¹⁰⁸³ | Asturica Augusta- Caesaruagusta (n°XXVII) | Garray | Pont Max Trib Pot III Imp VII Cos XIII P P | 25 january 44- 24 january AD 45 | Augustobri gam M P XXVI |
| 7 ¹⁰⁸⁴ | Castulo- Saetabis ? | Magdalen a de Castro, Linares | Pontifex Max Trib Potes III Cos III Imp V P P | 25 january 43- 24 january AD 44 | a Castulone M P I |
| 8 ¹⁰⁸⁵ | Castulo- Cordoba (?) | Mengibar | Pontifex Max Trib Potes III Cos III Imp V P P | 25 january 43- 24 january AD 44 | a Castulone M P VIII |
| 9 ¹⁰⁸⁶ | Bracara- Acquae Flaviae- Asturica (n° XVII) | Between Botica and Campos | Pont Max Imp Cos III Trib Pot III | AD 43/4 | Brac Aug XX |
| 10 | Bracara - | Sagunhêd | Pont Max Imp V | AD 43/44 | Brac Aug |

¹⁰⁸¹ CIL II, 4929; ERL 261-262; n° 112, IRC I 133-134, n° 94; LOSTAL 1992, n° 47.

¹⁰⁸² CIL II sup 6324; AE 1923, 13; ILER n° 1974; ERL 86-87, n° 3; ARTURO 1985, 115-116; LOSTAL 1992, n° 48.

¹⁰⁸³ CIL II 4901; LOSTAL 1992, n° 49.

¹⁰⁸⁴ CIL II 4932; LOSTAL 1992, n° 51; SILLIÈRES 1977, 44; SILLIÈRES 1990, 119, n° 62: in this recent publication the scholar does not mention this route.

¹⁰⁸⁵ AE 1965, 98, HAE 17-20, n° 2314; ILER n° 2013; LOSTAL 1992, n° 52; SILLIÈRES 1990, 119-120, n° 63.

¹⁰⁸⁶ CIL II 4770; TRANOY 1981, 208, n° 18.

| | | | | | |
|------------|--|----------------------------|---|----------|---------------------|
| 1087 | Acquae Flaviae- Asturica | o, Codeçoso | Cos III Trib Pot III P P | | XXXV |
| 11 1088 | Bracara- Acquae Flaviae- Asturica | Sagunhêd o, Codeçoso | Pont Max imp V Cos III Trib Pot III P P | AD 43/44 | Brac Aug XXXVIII |
| 12 1089 | Bracara/ Acquae Flaviae- Asturica | Zebra (Montaleg re) | Imp V Pot III | | |
| 13 1090 | Bracara- Acquae Flaviae- Asturica | Arcos | Pont Max Imp V Cos III Trib Pot III P P | AD 43/44 | |
| 14 1091 | Bracara- Asturica via Lugo (n° XX) | Valença de Minho | Pontefix Max Imp V Cos III Trib Pot III P P | AD 44/45 | Bracara XLIII |
| 15 1092 | Bracara- Asturica via Lugo (n° XX) | Mos | | | |
| 16 1093 | Unknown | Bracara Augusta | Pont Max Imp V Cos III Tribunicia Potestate III P P | AD 43/44 | Braca IV |

The via *Complutum- Carthago Nova*¹⁰⁹⁴ runs through Saltigi and *Segobriga*¹⁰⁹⁵ and it is one of the rare route build on agger.¹⁰⁹⁶ Even if with a length of 180km it is possible to

¹⁰⁸⁷ CIL II 4771; EE VIII 221; TRANOY 1981, 208, n° 20.

¹⁰⁸⁸ EE VIII 222; TRANOY 1981, 208, n° 25.

¹⁰⁸⁹ CIL II 4775; TRANOY 1981, 208, n° 32.

¹⁰⁹⁰ EE VIII 218; TRANOY 1981, 208, n° 41.

¹⁰⁹¹ CIL II 4875; TRANOY 1981, 210, n° 120.

¹⁰⁹² ESTEFANIA ÁLVAREZ 1960, n° 180; TRANOY 1981, 210, n° 122.

¹⁰⁹³ CIL II 4750; TRANOY 1981, 207, n° 14.

¹⁰⁹⁴ PALOMERO 1987, 113-133.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Here another route thorough Ercaviva lead to Segontia.

track down only Hellin and Cieza as *mansiones* or *mutationes*. The first milestone comes from the track Saltigi-Complutum. Though it existed in the pre-Roman time it was with Augustus and above all with Tiberius that became an important way to connect the centre of the peninsula with the harbours in the South-East.

It is worth to notice that in *Antonine Itinerary* there is no mention of that route and in *Anonimo di Ravenna* it is described only the section Saltigi-Complutum: it means that, when the itineraries were written, the route had lost its importance.

According to Lostal the second milestone belongs to Via Augusta Litorale and in particular to the section Arrago-Ad Fines¹⁰⁹⁷ because of the *ordinatio*'s similarity with the third milestone. For the third milestone the transcript of the miles is problematic: for Hübner¹⁰⁹⁸ they are CXIX or CXIIX miles, Miller thinks that they are CXI o CXIX¹⁰⁹⁹ and according to Alföldy¹¹⁰⁰ CXI or CXIIX while Lostal mentions CXI miles. These different numbers have no meaning because we do not know from where we need to count 111 or 119 miles. It makes more sense if we count 190 miles, that is CX[C]: this is the distance from the Pyrennes and Cambrils, the place where the milestone was discovered.

According to other scholars¹¹⁰¹ another Claudian milestone belongs to Via Augusta Litoranea while Lostal places it in the Tiberian time¹¹⁰² and yet it is very surprising to find different transcript in the bibliography. Following Pallí the miles here mentioned are 219: from Tarragona to Aldea there are 51 miles and if we sum them to the 168 miles from Pyrennes to Tarraco according to *Antonine Itinerary* the result is in fact 219 miles, a distance confirmed also by the 190 miles in the milestone in Cambrils.¹¹⁰³

The fourth milestone belongs to an unknown route in the classical itineraries; it is possible to think of a direct way, coming from Narbonensis, passed through *Barcino* and, without reaching Tarraco, directed to Iler:¹¹⁰⁴ More important is the chronology of the route: it could have been made by Augustus but the track *Barcino-Octavianum-Iler* could be a work of Claudius.

¹⁰⁹⁶ SILLIÈRES 1990, 384-390.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *It. Ant.* 398, .1-398; Vaso di Vicarello: CIL XI, 3281-3284; *An. Rav.* 3, 341, 14-342, 4.

¹⁰⁹⁸ CIL II 4954.

¹⁰⁹⁹ MILLER 1916, 182.

¹¹⁰⁰ RIT 935.

¹¹⁰¹ MAYER; RODA 1985, 707, n° 30; PALLÍ AGUILERA 1985, 115-117, n° 4.22.

¹¹⁰² LOSTAL 1992, n° 30.

¹¹⁰³ It is worthing to notice that all three Claudian milestones quoted by Pallí present the number of the miles, PALLÍ AGUILERA 1985, 117.

¹¹⁰⁴ IRC II, 133.

According to Lostal for the fifth milestone we have no problem of interpretation because it fits in the shortcut of the street connecting *Barcino* with Iler, Osca ¹¹⁰⁵ and Caesaraugusta. According to Arturo ¹¹⁰⁶ the number of the miles, reported in CIL as CCXXXVI, represents the distance between the find spot and Puebla hill where it is localized the *mansio Mendiculeia* considered at the miles CCXXXIX.

The sixth milestone is on the route *Asturica Augusta-Caesaraugusta*: the route connected the two cities not directly but from Asturica ran South and at Oceli Duri it unified with the route coming from *Augusta Emerita* and from here went to *Caesaraugusta*.

The seventh milestone belongs to the route *Castulo-Saetabis*, a republican way called also Camino de Anibal, a name with a popular origin: it is testified in the four *Vasi di Vicarello* which provide the sure indications of the distances. The vases enumerate 13 stations and they could be *mansiones* because of the long distance between them. They are so identified *Saetabis* (Jativa), *Ad Statuas* (not in Vicarello), *Ad Turres Saetabitanus*, *Ad Aras*, *Ad Palem*, *Saltigis*, *Parientinus*, *Libisoa* (Lezuza), *Mentesa*, *Mariana*, *Ad duo Solaria*, *Ad Morum*, *Ad Aras* and *Castulo* (Cazlona).

To the route *Castulo-Cordoba* through *Iliturgis* it is possible to assign the eighth milestone even if Sillieres, on the contrary of Lostal, does not quote it in that way. This route is present only in the *Antonine Itinerary* ¹¹⁰⁷ that mentions three stations between Castulo and Cordoba: *Iliturgis* (close de Mengíbar) and *Vircaone* (Municipium Albense Urgaonense) are well attested while Calpurniana is still unknown. It is important to note also that an inscription not quoted by Sillieres it is reported instead by other scholars ¹¹⁰⁸ as belonging, probably, to this route while, according to Stilow, ¹¹⁰⁹ the inscription corresponds to the construction of a bridge.

The ninth, tenth and eleventh milestones belong to the route *Bracara Augusta-Aquae Flaviae-Asturica Astorga* in the South way: after the zone of confluence between Cávado and Rabagão the route passed through Campos, Venda Nova, the region of Codeçoso and Boticas to arrive to *Aquae Flaviae* across Serra de Pastoria.

The next two milestones, instead, followed the North way through Leiranque (Viade de Baixo), Travaso (Châ), Antigo de Arcos and Arcos. In any case this route is one of the

¹¹⁰⁵ For the stretch Iler-Osca see ARTURO 1985.

¹¹⁰⁶ ARTURO 1985, 115.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Ant. It.* 402-6-403-3.

¹¹⁰⁸ CORZO SÁNCHEZ, TOSCANO SAN GIL 1992, n° 28; NEILA RODRIGUEZ 1983, 153-162.

¹¹⁰⁹ STILOW 1986; 274, note 91.

old one in the North-East of Iberia: the milestone attested its use between 1st and 3rd centuries AD and the stretch in Portugal is the more known and studied.

The fourteenth and fifteenth milestones must be ascribed to the *via Bracara Augusta-Asturica Augusta* through *Lucus* but specifically to the section between *Bracara* and *Lucus* representing the so-called *Via per loca marittima* (Via XX) as mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary*.¹¹¹⁰

For the sixteenth milestone Tranoy cited Estefania¹¹¹¹ as reference even if the scholar does not report the text of the inscription and she does not mention any emperor. Estefania puts the milestone in the *via secundaria Tude-Pria* attributing to Via XX with more westwards direction but this hypothesis is not corroborated by milestones or archaeological evidences.¹¹¹²

It is worth to note that the routes in the North-West of Tarraconensis during the Julio-Claudian time answer yet to military purposes because of the recent annexation of the territories.

4.2.5.3 Lusitania

| | Route | Discovery | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|--|--------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 1 ¹¹¹³ | Augusta Emerita- Asturica Augusta | Augusta Emerita | Pontifex Max Trib Pot X Cons III Imp XXI iter reparavit | AD 50 | |
| 2 ¹¹¹⁴ | Augusta Emerita- Asturica Augusta | Augusta Emerita | Pont Max trib P V Imp VI P P Cos Des III | AD 46 | |

The “Via de la Plata”,¹¹¹⁵ (Silver way) was used as an access road, allowing the Romans to conquer tribes such as the *Calliaci*, the *Astures*, and the *Vacceos*. Many sources,

¹¹¹⁰ *Ant. It.* 423, 6.

¹¹¹¹ TRANOY 1981, 210, n° 122.

¹¹¹² ESTEFANIA ÁLVAREZ 1960, 61-63.

¹¹¹³ CIL II 4644; PUERTA TORRES 1995, 286, n°3; ROLDÁN HÉRVAS 1975, iter n° 3.

¹¹¹⁴ CIL II 4645; PUERTA TORRES 1995, 288-289, n°5; ROLDÁN HÉRVAS 1975, iter n° 5.

¹¹¹⁵ Although the term *Vía de la Plata* seems to come from the modern Spanish word for silver, “*plata*”, it actually comes from the Arabic word *balata*, which means “paved”, for the road was, like many other

among them the *Antonine Itinerary*, describes the route as leaving from *Augusta* (Mérida), capital of Lusitania, towards *Asturica Augusta* (Astorga) through *Tarraconensis*.

The road contains compelling physical evidence that shows a Roman constructed road (called also *via Lata*, meaning “broad road”) that has been virtually unchanged at various sections. It was conceived and built as a trade route for the exploitation of gold, as mentioned by Pliny the Elder who held high office as *Procurator* in *Hispania Tarraconensis* in AD 73.

The road's first official name was *Via Delapidata* (meaning “Paved Stone Way”), stretched around 900 km (560 miles) and had a branch that joined with the *Via Augusta* (or *Via Heraclea*). After its establishment, the *Via Delapidata* crossed *Hispania* from Cádiz, through the Pyrenees, towards *Gallia Narbonensis* (southern France) and Rome in the Italian Peninsula. Currently, the road passes through *Salmantica* (Salamanca), *Metelinum* (Medellín), and *Castra Caecilia* (Cáceres). The *Via Delapidata* also served as an access road from *Hispania Baetica*.

The “Silver Way” was, technically, never a belt road for silver commerce. The name was transmogrified from *Via Delapidata* to *Vía de la Plata* as a result of phonetic confusion. During the Reconquista, the *Via Delapidata* was pronounced by the Christians of the era as the *Vía de la Plata*, which reflected their social orientation towards the accumulation or appreciation of gold.

However, during the Roman Empire it is known that it was used to connect two main areas of the higher importance at both ends of this West road of the Peninsula, the Gold mines of Las Medulas and the ore and copper mines of Rio Tinto, to the maritime closest harbors to the Mediterranean in order to assure the transport to the metropolis of these rich supplies. It is one of the best Roman route still preserved in the Spanish provinces as Roldán Hervás has estimated.¹¹¹⁶

Roman roads, paved. In fact, the root of the modern Spanish word “plata” is the Vulgar Latin word “plattus”, meaning broad, flat or spread out.

¹¹¹⁶ ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1971, 1975, 82.

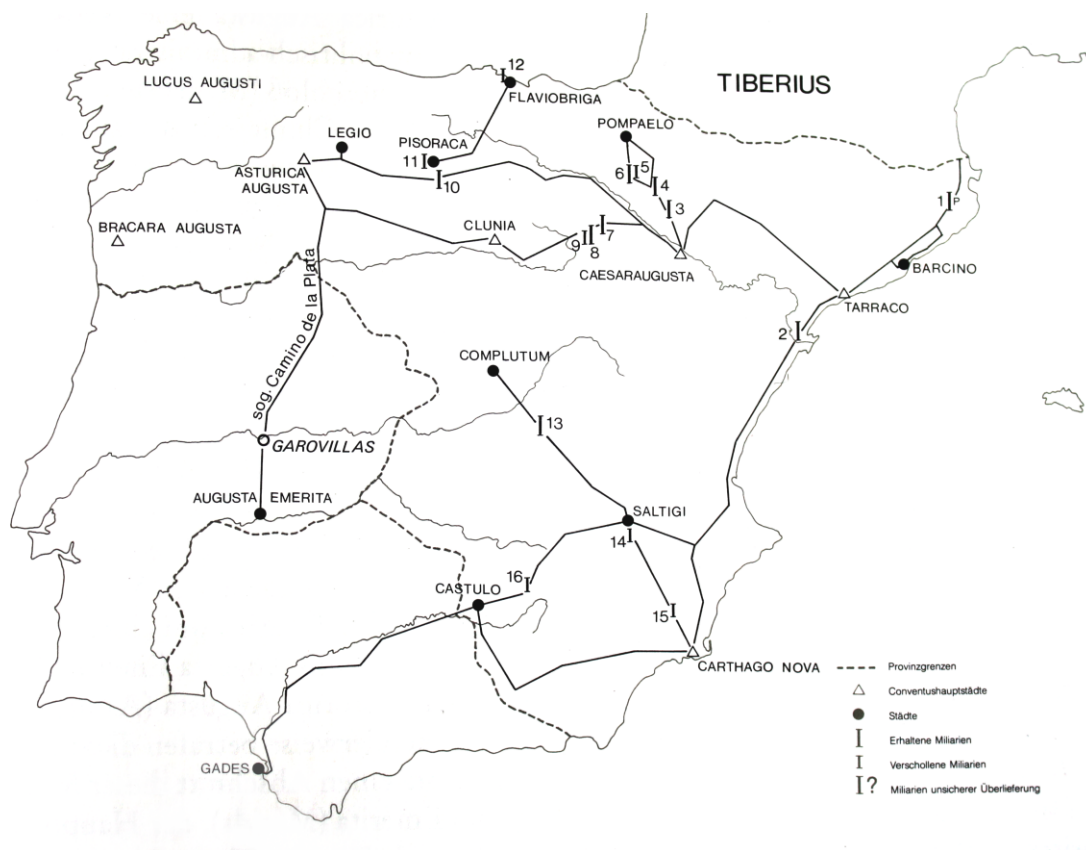


Figure 86: Streets in the Claudian time (after Nünnerich-Asmus 1993 Abb. 73).

4.3 Africa Proconsularis¹¹¹⁷

The grain was the good most often exported to Rome but the 20 million annual *modii* were not comparable with the provisions sent by Egypt: nevertheless, in the second half of the 1st century AD the situation changed because Claudius organized the *negotiatores* in specific *collegia* in order to give more continuity to the transport towards Rome.¹¹¹⁸

Giving that data, it seems that Claudius, at least directly, was not so much involved in Africa: nevertheless, this does not mean that he did not care but, most likely, he rather chose suitable proconsuls letting them have full power and interfering at a minimum level.

Anyway, mostly thanks to the epigraphical evidences, we are able to have a glimpse of 'his' urban activities. To have a better overlook, the cities, where the evidences were found, have been divided accordingly to the region they belong to.

¹¹¹⁷ For previous overview see CAPPELLETTO 2013. More MATTINGLY, HITCHNER 1996, 204-205.

¹¹¹⁸ CRAGGO RUGGINI 1985, 227, 231-232.

Carthago region:

At *Carthago* (Carthage) an inscription found close to the Porto Circolare attested the presence of a commercial *forum* which, most likely, layed down the Punic *forum* (CIL VII 12556); nearby another building, with a quadrangular plan, had commercial functions because of the presence of series of *tabernae* and some fragments of floor.¹¹¹⁹ At *Utica* (Henchir bou Chateur), close to the *forum*, it is possible to place a monument erected for Claudius: what remains is part of architrave, dated to the Nero with Schrenkymation and very peculiar astragal.¹¹²⁰

The *insula 2* saw a second building's phase with an enlargement of the surface almost on the entire length of their perimeter thanks to the construction of façade walls; in the same time the *decumani* and *cardines* were gravelled and draining loglines were built.¹¹²¹ If for the plot 6 these added spaces were occupied, at the beginning, by a porch, for the other cases we have no idea about their role. Lézine proposed to see them as *courettes d'eclairage* i.e. small courtyard with high walls and without roof used to separate the houses from the traffic and to give light to the rooms.¹¹²²

Sahel region:

At *Thysdrus* (EL Kem) recently has been found a small and rudimental theatre near to the big one of the 3th century AD.¹¹²³

The region of Oued Khalled and Gebel Gorra:

In *Thougga* (Dougga) the majority of the testimonies are inscriptions and present the most conspicuous ensemble for all Africa.

A lintel with inscription (Figure 87) shows the reconstruction in AD 54 of the *templum Caesaris*, built under Tiberius, by Tyrannus, *libertus* of M. Licinius Rufus and *patronus* of the *pagus*.¹¹²⁴

¹¹¹⁹ RAKOB 1995, Abb. 2 and Abb. 11.

¹¹²⁰ CHELBI 1996, 48:----]divo Claudio[---.; FERCHIOU 1989, 272, n° XII. II.B.1;

¹¹²¹ LÉZINE 1968, 82, fig. 1, 107, 109, 11, 120.

¹¹²² LÉZINE 1968, 107-108, 123-124.

¹¹²³ MAGGI 1998, 283; SLIM 1986, 463, fig. 9.

¹¹²⁴ CIL VIII 26518; ILTun 1402; ILAfr 519; KHANOUSSI, MAURIN 2000, n° 25; POISSONT 1969, 220-222.



Figure 87: Inscription referring to *Templum Caesaris* (after Khanoussi, Maurin 2000, fig. 39).

While his wife and *flaminica*, Licinia Prisca,¹¹²⁵ built the temple (Figure 88) to *Venus* and *Concordia*.¹¹²⁶



Figure 88: Inscription referring to the temple of *Concordia* and *Venus* (after Khanoussi, Maurin 2000, fig. 40).

Together they erected a temple of *Ceres*¹¹²⁷ (Figure 89).



Figure 89: Inscription referring to the Temple of *Ceres* (after Saint-Amans 2004, fig. 8-9).

¹¹²⁵ Prisca have a special position because ‘les flaminiques sont surtout recrutées parmi le membres le plus en vue de la bourgeoisie municipale’ (SEBAÏ 1990, 667) and she, because free, could not possess, cf. BRIAND-PONSART 2003; 244-245.

¹¹²⁶ AE 1969-79 650; KHANOUSSI, MAURIN 2000, n° 26; POISSONT 1969, 218-219; SAINT-AMANS 2004, n° 47.

¹¹²⁷ CIL VIII 26603; 26464; AE 1969-70 648, 649; POISSONT 1969, 215-218; SAINT-AMANS 2004, nn° 12-13. According to Bullo the inscription CIL VIII 26464 attests, instead, a *cella cum porticus* dedicated to Ceres and Augusta, cf. BULLO 2002, 126-127.

Due to the initiative of Rufus, *patronus* of *pagus* and *civitas*, *praefectus alae* and *flamen Augusti*, was built a *macellum* (Figure 90) between 25th January and 13th October AD 54.¹¹²⁸ The rests of this building were discovered in the eastern side of the *forum*.



Figure 90: Inscription referring to the *Macellum* (after Khanoussi, Maurin 2000, fig. 126).

C. Artorius Bassus, *aedilis* and *patronus* of the *pagus*; dedicated an altar to Augustus and Claudius in AD 49 (Figure 91) while Iulius Venustus, *flamen* of the *civitas*, was the benefactor.¹¹²⁹

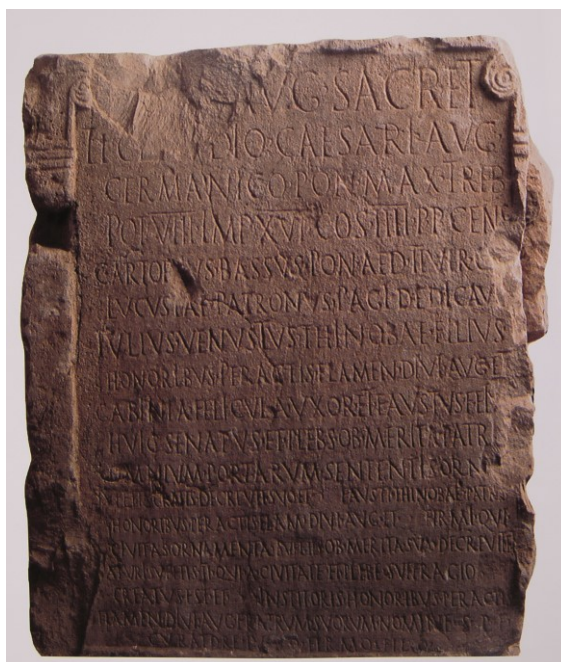


Figure 91: Altar to Augustus and Claudius (after Khanoussi, Maurin 2000, fig. 95).

¹¹²⁸ ILAfr 559; ILTun 1499; AE 1922 109; CHRISTOL 1991, 623-624; KHANOUSSI, MAURIN 2000, n° 69; POISSONT 1969, 222-223.

¹¹²⁹ CIL VIII 26517; ILS 6797; AE 1952; 106; CHRISTOL 1991, 624-627; SAINT-AMANS 2004, n° 25.

An arch, originally for Gaius, was reconverted for Claudius in AD 43 (Figure 92) thanks to the generosity of C. Caesetius Perpetus, *iure dicundo*, *aedilis* at Carthage, *sacerdos Cererum* and *patronus* of the *pagus* while Licius Crassus, military tribune in the Twenty-First Legion Rapax, *duovir*, *duovir quinquennalis* and *patronus pagi* dedicated it.¹¹³⁰



Figure 92: Inscription referring to the arch riconverted for Claudius (after Khanoussi, Maurin 2000, fig. 36-37).

Again Crassus dedicated a temple maybe to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* (Figure 93) as Caius Pomponius, a normal citizen, bore the expense.¹¹³¹



Figure 93: Inscription referring to the temple maybe for *Iupiter Maximus* (after Khanoussi, Maurin 2000, fig. 125).

¹¹³⁰ CIL VIII 1478, 15503; 26519; ILTun 1496; ILAfr 520; CHRISTOL 1991, 618-621; HØJTE 2005, 306, n° 75; KHANOUSSI, MAURIN 2000, n° 24.

¹¹³¹ CIL VIII 26475; IITun 1393; CHRISTOL 1991, 621-623; KHANOUSSI, MAURIN 2000, n° 68.

At *Thibaris* (Thibar) a piece of lintel with an inscription testifies the presence of an arch dedicated to Claudius¹¹³² while at *Mustis* (Henchir el Mest) the area at North of the main street was leveled creating a rectangular paved surface¹¹³³ and one arch in the northern-eastern angle was built with the use of a strange paradigm:¹¹³⁴ the arch of Aval was decorated with semi-columns and pilasters, the principal façade, at South, was decorated with semi-columns and pilasters and the crowing of the flat arch had a dentil cornice and below the inscription with, possibly, the name *Caelestis*; at the top of the central arcade there was a doric frieze whose *metopae* were decorated with *prua rostrata*; the corinthian-style capitals had, in the centre, a big flower of a female bust on top of two *cornucopiae*.

Region of Cirta:

At *Cirta* (Costantina) a lintel indicates the construction of a monument to Diva Augusta dedicated by Barea and Coelia Potita, *flaminica*, built it;¹¹³⁵ furthermore, there are evidences of a rich house, the so-called palace of Sittius,¹¹³⁶ with *thermae* and a mosaic in black and white that represents a big disque with curvilinear triangles and flanked by two panels with, respectively, fours ships and two swimmers (Figure 94). According to Picard¹¹³⁷, the mosaic is the consequence of Cirta's conquest by the Sitti family and the mosaic built by a workshop from Campania. The theme of the mosaic is very closed to other mosaic in Pompei¹¹³⁸.



Figure 94: Mosaic with swimmers and eagle in *Cirta* (after Berthier 1982, fig. 2).

¹¹³² CIL VIII 26177 a; HØJTE 2005, 305-306, n° 74.

¹¹³³ FERCHIOU 1992-1993, 291-292.

¹¹³⁴ FERCHIOU 1992-1993, 279-310.

¹¹³⁵ CIL VIII 6987, 19492; ILaG II 550.

¹¹³⁶ THÉBERT 2003, 96.

¹¹³⁷ PICARD 1980; PICARD 1982.

¹¹³⁸ The pure religious exegesis delivered by Berthier (BERTHIER 1982) is not followed by Thébert in the new account of the thermal baths in North Africa, cf. THÉBERT 2003, 96.

An inscription in a base founded in the supposed *forum* attests, at Hippo Regius (Annaba), a statue of Claudius dedicated by Barea and Quintus Maximus, both *patroni* of the city, but it was paid by the city.¹¹³⁹

South Tell:

At *Mactaris* (Maktar) probably a *platea vetus*, a sort of *forum*, was built.¹¹⁴⁰

Gefara coast:

Leptis Magna (Lebda) knew continuities of constructions from the Augustean period onwards. In the *Forum Vetus* we have evidences of two cycles of statues. The first one, dated AD 45/46, is testified by bases' inscriptions:¹¹⁴¹ the statues belong to a big annex like a *porticus* and this is proved by the fact that the backsides are not finished.¹¹⁴² The second cycle is constituted of, at least, three seated statues: Augustus as *divus* (with a radiant crown), Claudius as emperor and Livia (Figure 95), where the below fragment can be pertinent to a fourth seated statue, maybe Tiberius. Augustus and Claudius have Hüftmantel and *corona civica*, maybe Claudius had in his right hand a *globus*, symbol of global dominance but they are portrayed in the Jupiter- Kostüm II;¹¹⁴³ Livia was represented as goodness with a tiara and the *vitta* shows her priesthood as *sacerdos divi Augusti*.

The collected evidences suggest a location inside the *cella* of the temple lean against a wall and not on the *tribuna* in correspondence to the four bilingual steles.¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹³⁹ AE 1935, 32; AE 1962, 121; HØJTE 2005, 305, n° 69.

¹¹⁴⁰ DERUDAS 1990, 218, fig. 2.

¹¹⁴¹ IRT 326, 327, 333, 337, 340.

¹¹⁴² LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2005; 243-244. According to Bullo these statues were set up inside the basilica, cf. BULLO 2002, 184.

¹¹⁴³ BALTY 2007, 56-67.

¹¹⁴⁴ BOSCHUNG 2002, nr 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 18-20; LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2005, 244; MUSSO 2008, 179-180; ROSE 1997, cat. 126-127 (Rose claims that the statue of Livia belongs to the first cycle).



Figure 95: Statues of Augustus, Claudius and Livia (after Rose 1997, plate 235, 236, 231).

Between January AD 53 and January AD 54 the *forum* was paved in big blocks and three porches at eastern, western and southern sides were erected as we see from four bilingual steles posed on the feet of the *tribuna* of Augustus's and Rome's temple (Figure 96): the work was dedicated by the proconsul Silvanus and the *legatus* Cassius Gratus while Gaius paid the job.¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹⁴⁵ ITR 338.



Figure 96: Dedication of the *forum*' work (IRT 338).

Barea, in AD 42/43, dedicated, in the *porticus post scaenam*, a small temple to *Diis Augustis* (Figure 97) and Iddibal bore the cost.¹¹⁴⁶



Figure 97: Dedication of *Diis Augustis*' temple (IRT 273).

The *porticus post scaenam* takes the place of a small and trapezoidal square and it becomes a real *quadriporticus*. The temple was prostyle and tetrastyle, on top of a short platform whose staircase was interrupted by the plinths of the façade columns. The *cella* opened to two columns *in antis* and some other columns created, on the bottom,

¹¹⁴⁶ IRT 273; AE 1951 85; BROUQUIER REDDE 1992, 111-116.

three exedras. The *dis Augusti* could be most likely, Iulius, Augustus and Livia;¹¹⁴⁷ but also Augustus, Livia and Claudius:¹¹⁴⁸ the divination of Livia corresponds to the year of the temple and this cult was promoted in all Africa as we can perceive from the dedication to *diva Livia* at Cirta.

On the opposite side of the three temples was erected a *basilica*:¹¹⁴⁹ it was a rectangular room with the entrances on the short side in front of the sea. The presence of a row of columns in the centre created an *ambulacrum*, on the short South-West side were set the exedras while the entrance along the long South-eastern side was functional for a street leading to the harbor.

In the ending year of Claudius' principate a docking port was arranged and created, in the final stretch of the wadi Lebda, a real port-channel which consisted of the same course it was and channeled between docks arcades supported by cast-in conglomerate. This work allowed to earn also all the surface up to the *Forum Vetus* through a *platea* in concrete. An arch in limestone was built in the back of the dock in order to monumentalise the acces to one of the *decumani* leading to the *forum* while the *basilica* became a centre of attraction.¹¹⁵⁰

Three blocks of limestone are iscribed on one face: two belong to the same inscription while the third, because the letters are smaller, may be a lower course of the same monument: probably it was resued in the 4th century AD in the wall but we have no idea what kind of monument coul habe been and where it was set up.¹¹⁵¹

The *forum*'s ground was leveling at *Gigthis* (Henchir Sidi Salem bou Grara) and three porches on the sides were created; at the western side was erected the temple B, maybe dedicated to *Liber Pater* thanks to an inscription which remembers the expense of the *flamen* Marcus Iulius Mandus for the paving of the porch and the construction of the arch.¹¹⁵² The temple was open to the South and it was constituted by a small yard on three side (porched) and in the centre was a small quadrangular chapel withouth *podium* revealing, maybe, a Punic origin.

¹¹⁴⁷ FISCHWICK 1990, 88-89.

¹¹⁴⁸ BOSCHUNG 2002, 23.

¹¹⁴⁹ BULLO 2002, 184; MUSSO 2008, 173.

¹¹⁵⁰ DI VITA 1982, 84-93.

¹¹⁵¹ AE 1987, 989; IRT 482; HØJTE 2005, 205, n° 72; SILVESTRINI 1984-1985, 279-287.

¹¹⁵² CIL VIII 22694; ILTun 20.

400 m from the *forum* Servilius Maurinus and Valeria Paulina for their *flaminatus perpetuus* dedicated the complex of Augustus Mercury.¹¹⁵³ The building was constituted by a rectangular graveled courtyard with porches on the three sides whose capitals were decorated with the *nodus Herculeus*. In the centre there was a small *cella* with two columns in front of it. On the side a series of small rooms without porches were located while, at the eastern ends of the lateral porches, were two chapels, one for Minerva¹¹⁵⁴ and one for Fortuna.¹¹⁵⁵

At *Zita* (Henchir Zian) a lintel refers to Barea who dedicated a porch or a statue in the *forum*.¹¹⁵⁶

4.3.1 Benefactor and dedicator

As Christol affirms¹¹⁵⁷ in the epigraphies there is a distinction between the benefactor, mentioned first and the dedicator, mentioned in the second place. In the case of Gigthis, Servilius and Paulina were benefactor and dedicator at the same time; at *Zita* we have no mentions of benefactor while at Hippo Barea and Quintus were the dedicator.

Both benefactor and dedicator can be *patronus* (as for example Perpetuus as benefactor and Crassus as dedicator). Most of time the person designated as *patronus* held also other offices: political and military ones both in a provincial level as for example Rufus and in a local context as Artorius Bassus or religious ones as Perpetuus. In a few cases the benefactor was not a *patronus* but a *flamen* or *flaminica* (Potita for instance).

For almost all the inscriptions we know the evergete who paid the buildings or the complex except at Hippo where the statue was paid with public money while at *Zita* there are no indications and at Gigthis it seems very likely that Servilius and his wife paid the temple even if it was built in a public place.

4.3.2 Patronage

Patronage is usually divided into four categories: there is the relationship between the patron and his *libertus*, between the patron and a free-born individual of lower social class, that one acquired by the advocate (*patronus causas*) and the patronage of communities which is evident in our inscriptions. Anyway, we have to remember that there was another group of benefactors who, though they did not formally have the

¹¹⁵³ The name of the father of the donator Marcus Servilius Plautus was a Roman citizen with the same name as the Claudian *proconsul* Marcus Serviulus Nonianus, CIL VIII 22695; CONSTANS 1916, 104-110.

¹¹⁵⁴ CIL VIII 22697.

¹¹⁵⁵ CIL VIII 22697a.

¹¹⁵⁶ CIL VIII 11002; HØJTE 2005, 306, n° 76.

¹¹⁵⁷ CHRISTOL 1991, 613.

honor or status of *patronus*, conferred *beneficia* on various communities and acted like *patronus*.

The real profit for the patron of a community was the enhancement of his prestige and reputation but if, on the one hand, it was a honor it required also, on the other hand, sacrifices. First the patronal relationship consisted of a variety of formal and informal ties which had to be exercised continuously, secondly the formalization of the relationship depended upon a numbers of factors (the *beneficia* had to be appropriate to the title, the status of benefactor and his previous connection to the community determined the degree), thirdly Roman tradition and imperial ideology assigned the patronage of communities to the duties of the good citizen toward his state and society. The title was connected to the ideas of benefaction, gratitude and obligation: the community could use the honor to encourage or reward benefactors just as the benefactor could expect his prestige and *dignitas* to be enhanced by the community.¹¹⁵⁸

The choice of a patron rested with the local councils as we learn from the *Lex Coloniae Gentiva Iuliae XCVII* and *CXXX* and the *lex Malacitana LXI*. The work of Warmington¹¹⁵⁹ highlights that, in the African case, the chosen person as *patronus* fell, with few exceptions, into four main categories: proconsul and their *legati*, men of African origin who reached high rank, *curatores rei publicae*, members of the municipal aristocracy (particularly of Carthage). One of the duties expected of those who were patrons of their native towns was the construction or repairs of public buildings as for example Tyrannus who rebuild in AD 54 the *Caesareum* in Thougga (CIL 26519, ILTun 519).

The *pagus* of Thougga, from where come a lot of references, with its local *patroni* was a quite different case. In the 1st century BC the town was a native community with a constitution of Punic type. The Romans granted Dougga the status of an indigenous city (*civitas peregrina*) following their conquest of the region. The creation of the colony of Carthage during the reign of Augustus complicated Dougga's institutional status. The city was included in the territory (*pertica*) of the Roman colony, but around this time, a *pagus* of Roman colonists also arose alongside the existing settlement. For two centuries, the site was thus governed by two civic and institutional bodies, the city with its *peregrini* in the *tribus Quirina* and the *pagus* with its Roman citizens (*coloni*

¹¹⁵⁸ NICOLS 1980.

¹¹⁵⁹ WARMINGTON 1954.

Carthaginienses) inscribed in the *tribus Arnensis*, both of which had Roman civic institutions, magistrates and a council (*ordo*) of decurions for the *civitas*, a local council from the end of the 1st century AD and local administrators for the *pagus*, who were legally subordinated to the distant colony of Carthage. Some of these citizens, maybe those who spent more time in the district than in Carthage, were chosen as *patroni* by the *pagus*.

Analyzing deeply the last four inscriptions (Figures 91-94) we note that the dedicators (Rufus, Artorius and Crassus), besides being *patroni*, were great figures in Carthage (*pontifex*, *aedilis* and *duumvir*) but they held also military offices in the empire while the benefactors (Iulius Venustus Thinoba, Perpetuus and Pomponius) were active only on a local level. Crassus, Artorius and Rufus represent the authority of Carthage over the *pagus* and they cannot be considered as local magistrate even if they could have some interest in the city.¹¹⁶⁰

The benefactors Perpetuus and Pomponius are Roman citizens and they want to mark the attachment and affiliation to the city showing their generosity: the mentioning of Perpetuus' children is a way to testify their desire to have a local legitimation. All their monuments belong to a programme aiming to materialize the will of the Roman citizens to take possession of the public spaces.

Iulius Venustus Thinoba, instead, belongs to the indigenous and famous family of Faustus Thinoba and he is the only one to become Roman citizen of his family. The inscription is very important because it constitutes the principal source of informations for the institutions in the *civitas*. Iulius Venustus is married to Gabina Felicula, associated in the dedication which represents the first mention of this *gens*: the couple has two sons, one of them, Iulius Firmus, is the curator of the monument.¹¹⁶¹

These documents present the benefactors' efforts to integrate into the life of the Roman *pagus* and so to mix with the Roman citizens coming from Carthage. The manifestations of evergetism do not reveal simply a relationship between benefactors and citizens because the presence of the *civitas* and the envy of its notables makes the situation more complex, indeed the juridical and administrative links that subordinate the *pagus* to the administrative center of Carthage create relations which could be simple but unluckily they are not evident in the epigraphical evidences. Though it is possible to perceive how

¹¹⁶⁰ BRIAND-PONSART 2003, 243-244; CHRISTOL 1991.

¹¹⁶¹ BRIAND-PONSART 2003; 244-245.

powerful was Carthage and how many local initiatives must have been approved in the city.¹¹⁶²

But we have also references of patronage also on a high level: Barea was *patronus* of Hippo with his *legatus* Allius Maximus, and he was as well *patronus* of Leptis: the *amicitia* with the emperor explains why he took advantage of his presence in the cities to increase number of images of imperial power;¹¹⁶³ Pompeius Silvanus was *patronus* of Leptis while the *legatus* Cassius is only mentioned.

What strikes here, beside the case “Thougga”, is the great number of inscriptions of patronage coming from Africa: it seems very unluckily that it is only a matter of preservation in comparison with the other provinces. Indeed, it represents an important institution in the province in a period of strong urbanization and acculturation into the Roman world. It seems likely that the patronage was used by the Romans to incentivize that process. In the case the *patronus* was the proconsul, he moved the Romanized families to cooperate in the construction while letting them pay the buildings; in the case of local patronage, as at Thougga, it had two facets because it made the *patronus* known and respectable in front of the community but the central power appreciated the work, because showing the *pagus* as a model of Romanity stimulated the *civitas* in this direction as well.

4.3.3 Building types and their function

We have scant attestations of buildings and complexes' remains and it is not possible to make, somehow, comparisons with the prototypes in Italy but anyway we are able to make some general considerations regarding the typology of the building type and the complexes in comparison with the function in the cities.

Forum: only at Leptis the *forum* possessed a plan coming from the Roman tradition with the presence of a *basilica* while in the other *fora capitolia*, *basilicae* and *curiae*, which characterized the italic-Roman *fora*, were not present.¹¹⁶⁴ However, it is very easy to recognize them also without these annexes because they have the original meaning of

¹¹⁶² CHRISTOL 1991, 628.

¹¹⁶³ Even if he is not qualified as *amicus principis* in the list of Crook it is clear that he was very close to the imperial family. Appointed some months after Gaius's assassination, he began immediately to encourage the diffusion of imperial family during his tours or through his *legati* expressing in this way his loyalty to the imperial power.

¹¹⁶⁴ According to Di Vita the romanisation was only a façade's operation and the Punic culture and tradition remained intact. Savino claims that this conservatism was part of imperialist Roman system's DNA 'che difficilmente poteva innescare, in contesti culturalmente complessi e stratificati profondi processi di acculturazione', cf. SAVINO 1999, 150-151.

public places for aggregation and favored place for social expression leading to conclude that the major square in the pre-roman phase became the *forum* afterwards.

Thought, the lack of a precise model of comparison does not prevent us from tracing some common characteristics: the columns were an important addition but not always porches were planned as at Mustis and Mactaris but on the contrary in the small *fora* at Zian and Gigthis. At Gigthis the *forum* had seen as a closed space: to arrive one needs to go up from the harbor; also at Thougga the *forum* was hardly accessible from all the sides because of the height differences; otherwise at Mustis the *forum* was an expansion of the route Carthago-Sicca Veneris and at Mactaris the *platea vetus* was opened to the western side.

All these features make the *forum* a place structurally delimited for representative functions of the community; but where the data enables us to make some hypothesis, it seems that the first push, which contributed to these transformations, came from the temple in the square: this is clear for example at Leptis and at Thougga. Besides the temple represents an element of continuity with the past leading the cultural preexistences to play an important role.

The *forum* was of course the favored place to homage the imperial family through a monument or statuary cycles as at Leptis, Zita and Hippo.

Basilica at Leptis: it is the first edifice with a civic character and with public administrative purpose but it is also true that this choice, in a *civitas libera*, fits perfectly well into the cultural situation as we can perceive from the urban activities before Claudius. The *ambulacrum* approaches this *basilica* to the *forum* of the Roman cities. Its construction related to the reconstruction of the pavement and the porches in the *forum* could be connected to the Roman-italic tendency to realize *triplex fora* where the *basilica* sets against the temples.¹¹⁶⁵

Arch: For the studied period we have three arches whose inscription attested a private evergetism in the patronage, namely in Thougga, at Thibaris and Gightis but we have also other “anonymous” arches as in Mustis: the arches, because of their positions in the city, draw attention to themselves but particularly to the donators.

The construction of the arches at Mustis and Gigthis is linked, somehow, to a cult: at Mustis to the *Dea Caelestis* and at Gightis for *Liber Pater*.

¹¹⁶⁵ For the argument *triplex fora* see section 4.4.3.3.2.

The arch at Mustis with three vaults is a rarity not only in Africa but also if compared with the Italian and other provinces' examples¹¹⁶⁶.

Building with commercial use: in this category fits very well the *macellum*. The origins of this architectural form, traditionally connected to the hellenistic agora,¹¹⁶⁷ could reside in a Punic tradition according to a new line of research that is supported by the semitic origin of the latin word and the similarities between some element of the building and some Punic houses described in literature but not archaeologically testified.¹¹⁶⁸ But it could also have been the result of the modifications in permanent form of some provisional buildings erected for commercial events.¹¹⁶⁹ However, it is more plausible that the architectural definition must be traced back to the Roman tradition even if in Africa the number of *macella* surpassed that one of the other provinces.

The only attested building with commercial functions dating to this period is the *macellum* in Thougga. It lies close to the *forum* and the South-East of the *Capitolium*. It had a rectangular plan of 35.5 x 28 m, oriented on a North-South axis on a rocky crest. Overlooking the southern area of the town, it consists of a central elongated courtyard, surrounded by porticoes, behind which ten small shops are installed along the eastern and western side. At the center of the courtyard, a square area, probably a fountain was decorated with a white mosaic. The rich and powerful notable *eques* M. Licinius Rufus, the sole *patronus* of the *pagus* and the *civitas* known for the 1st century AD, *flamen perpetuus* at Carthage, makes an act of donation toward the *pagus*. It seems possible, though, that with this action, promoted within the Roman community, which needed urban structures for carrying out commercial activities, also benefited the members of *civitas peregrina* with which they shared the public area of the forum. Thougga, therefore, represents an example of progressive integration into the Roman Empire of a *civitas peregrina* constructed by a well pre- Roman political community. If the *pagus*, on the one hand, stopped the evolution of the *civitas*, on the other hand it stimulated the *civitas* since it showed itself as a model. In the *macellum* of Thougga we must recognize the application of an architectural model defined by the Roman interpretation.

¹¹⁶⁶ The only case in Italy is the arch at Parma which was an entrance arch, DE MARIA 1988, 248-249.

¹¹⁶⁷ DE RUYT 1983, 275-280.

¹¹⁶⁸ GAGGIOTTI 1990a.

¹¹⁶⁹ GAGGIOTTI 1990b.

The analysis of the *macella* in Thougga and in Leptis, whose construction took place between 9 and 8 BC, by Annibal Tapapis Rufus, member of a local Romanized family, allows us to understand the forms through which the process of Romanization was carried out: if at Leptis the meeting, between the complicated social structure of the rich elites and the Romans, leads to the creation of the perfect syncretism, at Thougga in the functional definition of the urban space, the Roman interpretation prevails and the *modus vivendi* of the *pagus* is the model to which the *civitas* makes a constant reference.¹¹⁷⁰

Another building with supposed commercial use, even if we do not know for which specific purpose, stands at Carthage between *Cardo XII* and *XII est*.

Theatre: the only attestation of theatre for this period is that one at Thysdrus while the big theatre of the third century at El Jem is very famous and obscure the first theatre located very much closed. The seniority can be linked to the presence, already before Cesar, of an important community of Italian farmers and traders from Campania or Etruria where the plays were very widespread and it seems most likely that these people tried to build a first amphitheater even if rather rudimental. Unfortunately, because fits embryonal features, it is not possible to put this theatre in one precise category.

Temples: of all the archaeological evidences it is possible to perceive two kinds of them: one is the temple with a yard surrounded by porches with Punic traditions¹¹⁷¹ and the other is the temple on high *podium* with architectural influences coming from Italy. The urban temple of Liber Pater at Gigthis, the suburban of Mercury again at Gigthis can be enumerated in the first type. The same features resemble to this series the porched square, the *porticus post scaenam*: at Leptis with the temple at *Dis Augusti*; even if with doubts, can be compare to the tetrastyle cella with a moulded low base of *Liber Pater* at Gigthis.

4.3.4 Guidelines

Claudius' pragmatism and his attention to a good function of the state's apparatus led to a preference for works with utilitarian character: the public works answered to economic problems thanks to the functions of the works and to the use of workforce. In this tendency we can cite, the *macellum* at Thougga, the completion of the *forum* at Zita, at Mustis and Mactaris and the *basilica* at Leptis.

¹¹⁷⁰ PALMIERI 2010.

¹¹⁷¹ BULLO 2002, 241.

These considerations, in Italy, contribute to agree to the indifference regarding sacred and amusement's buildings but the temple of *Dis Augusti* in Leptis, the temples at Thougga, the temple of Mercury at Gigthis show, instead, in Africa, an interest in this kind of buildings. In this time, we have only one attestation of building for amusement (the first theatre at Thysdrus); maybe this fact suggests that, in this period, some need demanded to be answered. The statuary cycles at Leptis, the building to Livia, the altar at Thougga and the statue or porch at Hippo can be categorized as attention to commemorative and honorary monuments usually intended as part of an already monumental complex. This aspect is justified by the importance, under Claudius, given to the diffusion of the images of the emperor and his family.¹¹⁷²

In a new feature, not attested in Italy, the care of road facilities and private buildings, is possible to count the evidence at Utica with an enlargement of three *insulae*, the palace of Settius at Cirta and the arches at Mustis, Thougga and Thibaris.

4.3.5 Roadsystem

| | Route | Discovery | Titulature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1 ¹¹⁷³ | Cirta-Risticade | El Arrouch | - | - | XXIX |

Still in the republican phase the Romans could use the ways already present but with Augustus began a period when these ways were converted into *romanae viae*.¹¹⁷⁴

After this period of activity only one route from Cirta to Rusticade is attested in the time between Claudius and Nero: it is documented thanks to a milestone which remembers the 29th miles and the work of Legio III Augusta.¹¹⁷⁵ Most likely this way belonged to a broader project, in the middle of the 1st century AD, regarding the area of Cirta.

¹¹⁷² This reality matches with a general revaluation of Claudius' principate that underlines also the multiplication of the imperial statuary groups in the 40s and the accentuation of the dynastic character of the imperial power. HURLET 2000, 305.

¹¹⁷³ ABASCAL, LORRIO 1999, 563; LOSTAL 1992, n°50.

¹¹⁷⁴ BULLO 2002, 47-56; CHEVALLIER 1997, 71, and 251-260.

¹¹⁷⁵ CIL III 10311. From the name of the *legatus* Velleus Paternulus, who was *consul suffectus* in AD 61 (THOMASSON 1996, 133), it is possible to obtain a Claudian-Neronian date of the route.

4.4 Gallia¹¹⁷⁶

The cities in Gallia were not just a set of buildings or agglomerations with some administrative roles. They were, instead, used by the local elites to make public some signs towards the population, the neighbouring *civitates* and the provincial and imperial authority. The ideals and the dream of the elites rest upon the individual and family power while loyalty towards Rome and the power (magistracy and belonging to the *civitas*).

The family power is testified by expenditures for the *domus* and by acts of evergetism. The loyalty (*fides obsequiumque*) is the essential condition for possess and practice the power on a local stage. It is needed not only a silent adhesion but an open manifestation in words and acts aiming for an emperor or a representative of the imperial power who could appreciate the capacity of assimilation into the Roman style-life by the local elites and their rapidity to adopt architectural trends launched at Rome.¹¹⁷⁷

Claudius, in all the Gallic provinces, acted especially on the urban side improving the street network, developing the grid plan of the cities and the building techniques. Indeed, he took the Gallia Comata to a really Roman and urbanized identity.

4.4.1 Secondary agglomerations¹¹⁷⁸

Besides the *civitas* capitals the so called “agglomérations secondaires” are worth to be mentioned as well: this expression was first used by Mangin who thought that the addition of “secondaire” classifies the agglomeration as dependant from the capitals even if they had a municipal organization. Mangin, in this way meant ‘tous les sites archéologiquement attestés, qui se situent entre la ferme ou la villa isolée et la capitale de cité, du village de paysans et de la station routière modeste à l’agglomération dont le paysage est très proche de celui de la ville chef lieu de cité’.¹¹⁷⁹

Most of the time scholars, based on the assumption that a city had the political power,¹¹⁸⁰ argue that an *agglomération secondaire* had no political power; but this statement is not corroborated by ancient sources. For that, according to Tassaux, it is

¹¹⁷⁶ Previous overview in CAPPELLETTO 2014b.

¹¹⁷⁷ BEDON 2001.

¹¹⁷⁸ See for a summary TARPIN 2006.

¹¹⁷⁹ MANGIN, JACQUET 1986, 18.

¹¹⁸⁰ FÉVRIER ET AL. 1980, 67: ‘La ville est la siège de l’autorité par rapport à un territoire étendu pouvant comprendre d’autres agglomérations’; MARTIN 1974, 30-31.

better to use the definition of geographers to whom the city is, first, a landscape and then a place where certain functions (and also the political one) are concentrated.¹¹⁸¹

According to Mangin the best term that can express this kind of agglomerations could be *vicus*,¹¹⁸² however the term has numerous meaning¹¹⁸³ and then again Mangin and Tassaux stress the fact that the term already in the 2nd century AD did not have a precise meaning anymore.¹¹⁸⁴

Historians and archaeologists agree in considering *vicus*, for the juridical level, as a subordinated agglomeration of administrative centers following the interpretation of ancient jurists.¹¹⁸⁵ Mangin and Tassaux, most likely, insisted too much on the administrative function of some of *agglomérations secondaires*¹¹⁸⁶ even if there are also *vici* which were *chef lieu*.¹¹⁸⁷ The problem here is to consider the utility to qualify *vicus* as an agglomeration that is identified archaeologically, but the epigraphy does not give evidences: the result is that a *vicus chef lieu* is not an *agglomération secondaire* while a banal *vicus* is one.

More recently Le Roux advanced the hypothesis that a *vicus* did not have an institutional value but to certain *agglomérations secondaires* had given an official gratitude: in that way they are assimilated to quarters of a city¹¹⁸⁸ and this dignity has been conferred because they have achieved an urban form with public roads and monuments.¹¹⁸⁹ Paunier says that the word *vicus, stricu sensu*, must be reserved only to secondary agglomerations designated in this way by the epigraphic sources: it is about a status, a promotion conferred by the *ordo* of *civitas* because of some unknown reasons.¹¹⁹⁰ Indeed, Tarpin, after some analysis, concludes to the fact that the origin of *vicus* is not a rural ancient agglomeration but, instead, we need to search for the origin in the urban quartier.¹¹⁹¹

People always thought that a *vicus* was an urbanized point with authority in the middle of the rural space, the *pagus*: the idea comes from the believe that the *pagus* reproduces

¹¹⁸¹ TASSAUX 1994, 201.

¹¹⁸² As for example what expressed Leveau, cf. LEVEAU 1994, 182.

¹¹⁸³ MANGIN, JACQUET 1986, 17.

¹¹⁸⁴ MANGIN, TASSAUX 1992, 462.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ulp. *Dig.* 50, 1, 30: *Qui ex vico ortus est eam patriam intellegitur cui rei publicae vcus ille respondet.*

¹¹⁸⁶ MANGIN, TASSAUX 1992, 477.

¹¹⁸⁷ TARPIN 2002, 261-263.

¹¹⁸⁸ As a matter of fact, the term *vicus* can also represent a quartier of the agglomeration.

¹¹⁸⁹ LE ROUX 1992-1993, 156.

¹¹⁹⁰ PAUNIER 1994, 284.

¹¹⁹¹ TARPIN 2002, 87-92.

the structure of the *colonia*.¹¹⁹² But the position of some of them, far away from the capital, designates them as temporary seats of the *duumvir* creating the prerequisite to become economical centres or, in some cases, also religious ones in the *pagus*: the *vicus* was, in some way, a capital's intermediary in the territory; the word itself has no celtic origin and magistrates and infrastructures are of Italian origin.

Already Tarpin¹¹⁹³ has stressed the point, though, that *vici* and *pagi* belonged to the administration of the empire and it is arbitrary to want to establish a link between them: in fact, according to Dondin-Payre, *vici e pagi* coexisted and they were independent in an administrative relation that may be represented in this way (Figure 98).

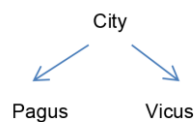


Figure 98: Administration's relationships in the three Gauls (after Dondin-Payre 1999, 203).

On the contrary we are not so much informed about the *pagi*: a *pagus* is a territory with precise boundaries¹¹⁹⁴ to which the population is linked and it was utilized for census purposes being the *fundi* inscribed in the *pagi*.¹¹⁹⁵ With this organization it is given a certain importance to that *pagus* where the *fundi* are localised: the *magistri pagi*, even if emancipated, are linked to powerful families and they represent the interests of their *patroni*.¹¹⁹⁶ It is epigraphically attested that the *civitas*, through the *decuriones*, authorised the erection of divinities's statues and their location and the *pagi* were subordinated to the *civitas*.

¹¹⁹² In this thesis stands alone again Leveau who affirms that the predominance of *vicus* over the *pagus* is the expression of the opposition between Rome and the native populations. Literally speaking, Rome wanted always to impose a regional division and an organization of the rural space where a centre could control an area, cf. LEVEAU 1994, 182.

¹¹⁹³TARPIN 1993, 222.

¹¹⁹⁴ Grom., p. 146 and 164.165 L.: *sed et pagi significanter finiuntur*.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ulp. Dig. 50, 15, 4: *forma censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referantur, nomen fundi cuiusque et in qua civitate et in quo pago sit et quos duos vicinos proximos habeat*. The census permits not only the right ripartition of local elites but also the knowledge of the way the State demandes to them, cf. TARPIN 2009, 133.

¹¹⁹⁶ CHRISTOL 2003; TARPIN 2002, 226-229; TARPIN 2003.

The *pagus* could not be understood as a type of village or small agglomerations as again recently Keay did.¹¹⁹⁷ The ancient sources lead the historian of late antiquity to see the *pagus* in connection with the community functions but this use indicated that the *pagus* was a pre-Roman and tribal community. It is more probable to place the *pagi* into the local history (both in terms of territory and in anthropological issues) but it is not clear if the Roman word permits its continuity. Some examples lead Tarpin to think that they could possibly represent a fossilization of the territory at the moment of the conquest.¹¹⁹⁸

But the more important difference between *pagus* and *vicus* regards their institutions: the *pagus* can make official decisions; the so-called *decreta pagi*, which are mentioned in the exact way of the *civitas* ones. The *decreta pagi* emanated representants of the civic body which can be compared to city's *decuriones*, but it is not possible to say if the *ordo* of the *pagus* is composed of *decuriones*.

Mangin and Tassaux divided the “agglomérations secondaires” in five types¹¹⁹⁹ which were created following six parameters (extension of archeological evidence, urban organization, presence of public edifices or housing places, evidences of productive activities, geographical situation, existence of literary or epigraphical evidences): “les villes, les bourgs et bourgades, les agglomérations aux fonctions religieuses prédominantes, les stations routières, l’agglomérations rurale ou villages”.¹²⁰⁰ The cities (villes) can be either *vrais villes* where the distribution of public and private buildings is very much defined or *agglomérations semi-urbaines* where the monumental parure has not an urban development. The small cities are characterised by the lack of monuments which are, usually, connected to some dominant activities. The third type includes religious complexes which are, apparently, without settlement and thermal stations. The road stations in theory do not have activities or housing; they can be pure road stations but also potential small cities with not enough archaeological evidences. Finally, the rural villages are groups of farmers who exploited a defined territory.¹²⁰¹

¹¹⁹⁷ KEAY 2003, 188.

¹¹⁹⁸ TARPIN 2009, 135.

¹¹⁹⁹ Previously Mangin and Jacquet have already divided them in two types: *village* where the majority of the populations live of agricultural works and agglomerations whose functions are more different, cf. MANGIN, JACQUET 1986, 18.

¹²⁰⁰ Garmy claims that such a division, even if it could be useful to classify sporadic archaeological data, does not assure that it recovers an ancient tipology and borders of an eterogenous reality, cf. PAUNIER 1994, 287.

¹²⁰¹ MANGIN, TASSAUX 1992, 463-465.

Recently Goodman argued that the criteria used by Mangin and Tassaux and also by Burnham and Wachter for the “small towns in Britain” are in some way mixed because they gather together the settlements by a mixture of their physical appearance (size, monumentality etc.) and their apparent socio-economic function leading to the usefulness of the typologies: this creates the premises for a settlement to belong equally to two different categories. She proposes instead two broad categories on the basis of one single principle: those which show evidence for aspirations towards *urbanitas*¹²⁰² and all other settlements.¹²⁰³ She notices, as well, that the line between the two categories is very hard to define but she points out that this kind of division is worth to be made for two reasons: examining the *more urbanised* secondary agglomerations as a separate group will consent to make comparisons between them and the *civitas* capitals and an examination of *less urbanised* agglomerations will lead to the supposition that ‘a periurban occupation requires a distinctly urban centre against which to be defined to be put to the test’.¹²⁰⁴

If scholars are sure that the *civitas* capitals were built following an orthogonal plan, that issue is still matter of debate for *vici*. Bénard and Goguey, who examined those of Côte d’Or, deny this possibility and they divide them in two categories: the small ones had an irregular street system while the bigger ones present more regularities as for example Alesia.¹²⁰⁵ In *vici* the orthogonal plan is very rare and the exceptions can be explained precisely. They develop themselves in Roman fashion with public buildings (places of resort, administration, entertainment etc.): one could think that the rigid street planning was not a fundamental requisite for urban life. But, on the contrary, this axiality is slavishly followed in the rural sanctuaries with massive monumentality and the desire to establish a striking prospect; ambitions realised most of all in the *conciliabula*, big complexes where the aristocrats may bring the benefits of town life in this remote regions. In any case the emphasis was laid on the public buildings and places with the intent to create a careful juxtaposition of the structures and not inside in a prearranged system of roads.

Also in the political level the elites found a good ground because acting as benefactors of the local centres they gained the opportunity to get more appreciative crowds.

¹²⁰² GOODMAN 2007, 175-191.

¹²⁰³ GOODMAN 2007, 191-199.

¹²⁰⁴ GOODMAN 2007, 173-174.

¹²⁰⁵ BÉNARD, GOGUEY 1994, 215-218.

4.4.2 *Gallia Narbonnensis*

This province, with Baetica, is the only western province where the urban phenomenon may be followed from the beginning of the Roman period. The cities did not merely reproduce the schema from Italy but they anticipated and created new monumental and functional solutions. Indeed, if they flourished in the Augustean period later, under Claudius, they do not show a lot of improvements.

At Vaison la Romain (*Vasio Vocontiorum*) the theatre was achieved before the end of his principate (Figure 99).

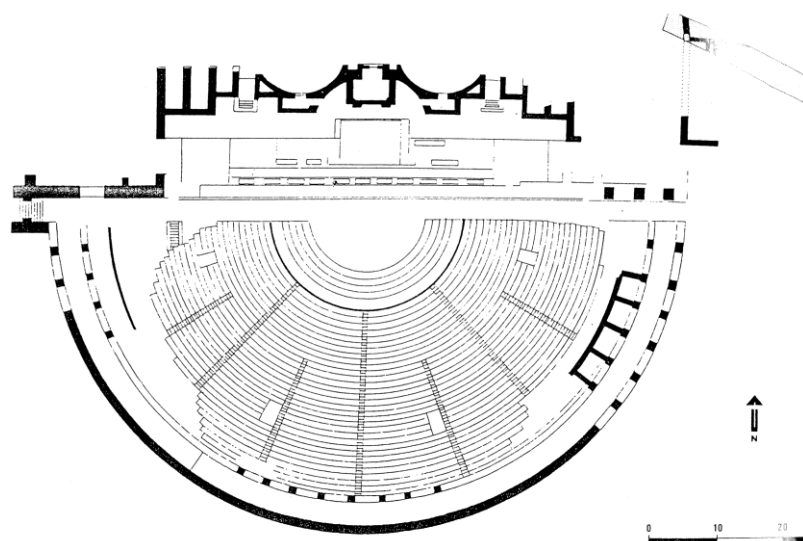


Figure 99: Plan of the theatre at Vaison (after Gros 1996, fig. 20).

A statue as orator is preserved¹²⁰⁶ in the Cassel type: the work of Von Kaenel¹²⁰⁷ on the coins has revealed that this type stopped to be reproduced after some months of Claudius' advent and was substituted with a more realistic portrait. Von Kaenel sees in this type a copy of Tiberius when he became *emperor* but, through this reference, it is possible to forget Gaius and legitimize Claudius belonging to the Julio-Claudian family. Anyway, it is true that we do not know the reasons of abandoning this type. Correlated is a piece of inscription, found in six pieces on *hyposcaenia*, with a dedication of Claudius.¹²⁰⁸ (Figure 100).

¹²⁰⁶ BOSCHUNG 2002, n° 78.21; GOUDINEAU, KISCH, 1999, 84; PROVOST, MEFFRE 2003, 231; ROSSO 2006, 413-416 n° 187.

¹²⁰⁷ VON KAENEL 1986.

¹²⁰⁸ ILGN 205a, GOUDINEAU, KISCH 1999, 7; ROSSO 2006, 416 n° 18, PROVOST, MEFFRE 2003, 237.



Figure 100: Statue and inscription from the theatre (rielaboration after author's picture and Provost, Meffre 2003, fig. 348).

In the end of the *proscenium* was found a plate in white marble with an inscription, dating between AD 50 and AD 120,¹²⁰⁹ testifying the marble coating of the *proscenium* thanks to Rufus, son of Titus.¹²¹⁰ (Figure 101)



Figure 101: Inscription of Rufus (after Provost, Meffre 2003, fig. 350).

¹²⁰⁹ CIL XII 1375, ILGN 208.

¹²¹⁰ PROVOST, MEFFRE 2003, 110, 238.

It was built against a hill, 5 m wide road-cut into the rock around it give the access to the *crypta* roofed with stone slabs. Opening off the *crypta* three rock-cut rooms and two *vomitoria* emerge at the *praescinto* while other two emerges towards the side of the caves at the tenth row of the seats, reached by staircases.¹²¹¹

A plate in limestone attests a dedication of Caius Sappius Flavius, who was also prefect of the bank of the river Euphrates, and donated some moneys to ornate the *portici* in front of the *thermae*.¹²¹² (Figure 102)

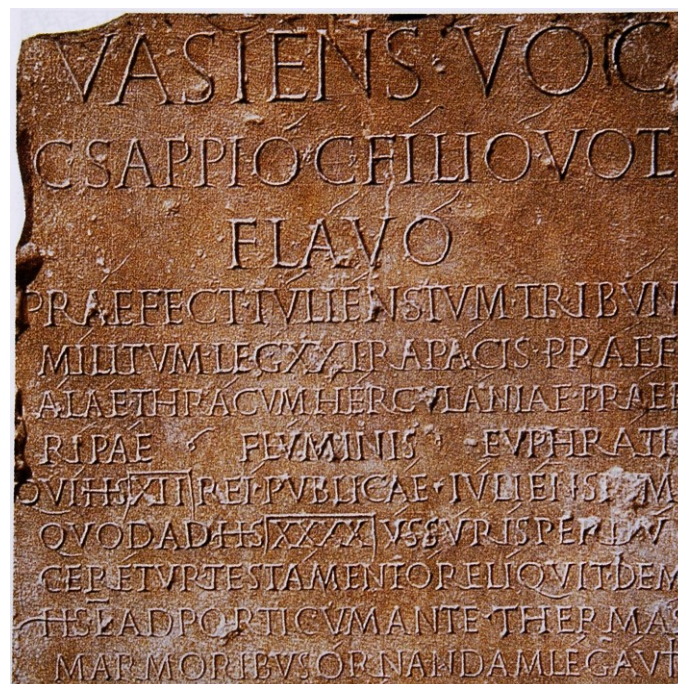


Figure 102: Caius Sappius Flavius' inscription (after Provost, Meffre 2003, fig. 67).

Again from Vaison comes another inscription attesting a dedication of the people of the Vasio to Sextus Afranius Burrus. He was *procurator* of Livia, Tiberius, Gaius (not named because of the *damnatio memoriae*) and then *procurator praetori* between AD 51 to AD 62. The inscription, made after the dead of Claudius, is dated between AD 54 and AD 62.¹²¹³ (Figure 103)

¹²¹¹ SEAR 2006, 251-252.

¹²¹² CIL XII 1357; PROVOST, MEFFRE 2003, 110.

¹²¹³ GASCOU, TERRER 1996, 51, n°3.

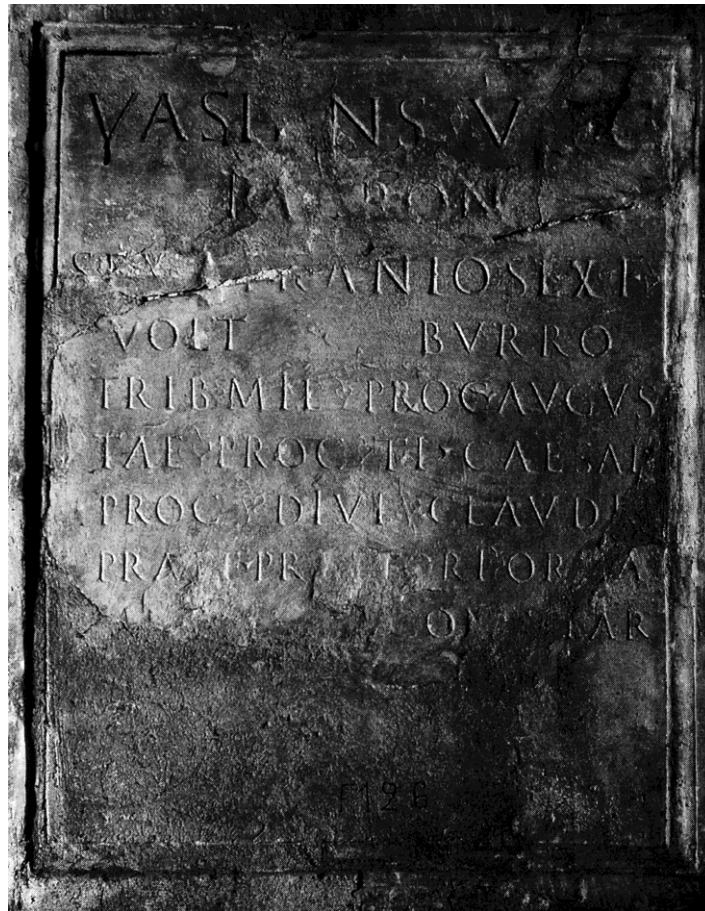


Figure 103: Inscription of Afranius (after Gasco, Terrer 1996, fig. 2).

Towards the end of the 1st century AD is built a simple thermal building with orientation North-South.¹²¹⁴ The entrance under the *porticus* leads to a big room (4) with a porch supported by 12 columns and a basin that presents traces of a fountain: it could be a *frigidarium* or a vestibule. The room 1 could be a *frigidarium* while the room 2 is a *laconicum* and not a *caldarium* which is heated up by the *praefurnium* D. The *cella soliaris* 3, at the moment of the discovery, presents decorations which are now lost: in the eastern and western walls are alternating rectangular niches and half-circular ones while the northern wall is occupied by a *solium* where the room 5 is the *praefurnium*.¹²¹⁵ (Figure 104)

¹²¹⁴ BOUET 2003a, 325.

¹²¹⁵ PROVOST, MEFFRE 2002, 212-213.

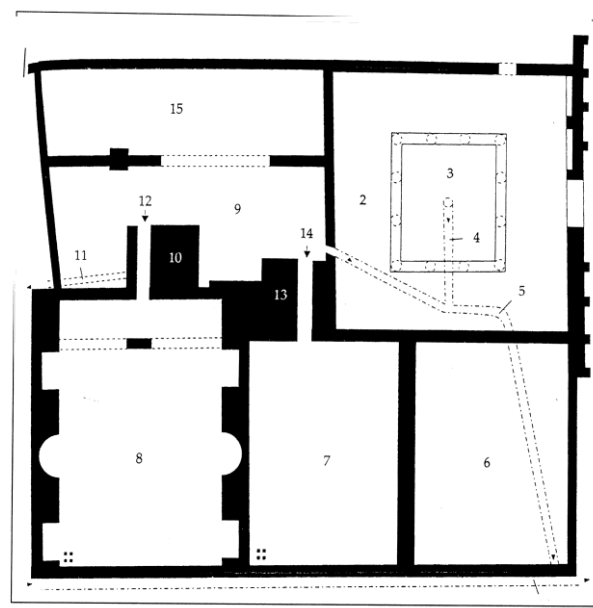


Figure 104: North thermal bath (after Provost, Meffre 2003, fig. 298).

The status of Vienne is still matter of discussion and it is worth to analyse the different evidences. In the famous speech of AD 48 regarding the admision into the Senate of the Gallic people the city Vienne is denominated *solidum civitatis romanae beneficium* but we have to inted the right of a Roman city or an Italian right?. The coins confirm its antiquity because those issued in the second half of the 1st century AD present the abbreviation *CIV C(olonia) I(ulia) V(ienna or Viennensium)*, a title from at least, 27 BC. But the most important evidences are two inscriptions found at Arbin and at *Augusta Emerita*¹²¹⁶ which honour a certain Pompeius from Vienne who held a municipal function. The new detail is the title of Vienne: *Colonia Iulia Augusta Florentia*. The first anomaly, that Pompeius belongs to the *tribus* Tromentina and not to Voltinia, can be explained with the fact that his family is from Italy and, also after the new location, he maintained the original *tribus*. The second one, concerning the presence in the inscription of Mérida of a *duumvir* instead of a *quattuovir* as attested in other inscription, is due to an error of the lapicide while previously Pfaum has restored it as *[(duum)vir] i(iure) d(icundo)*.¹²¹⁷

According to Pelletier, it is possible that before 27 BC Vienne received the Latin right, under Augustus it became a Roman colonia with the name *Col(onia) Iu(lia) Aug(usta)*

¹²¹⁶ CIL XII 2327, AE 1935, 5.

¹²¹⁷ ANDRÉ ET AL. 1991, 65.

*Flor(entia) Vien(nna or nensium)*¹²¹⁸ while for other scholars during the reign of Gaius or Claudius.¹²¹⁹

The inscription of Pompeius is too much vague to give us a date but another inscription could compensate the gap mentioning Augustus' donation of doors and surrounding wall: thanks to the analogy with another inscription from Nîmes it may be dated to 16/15 BC. It is clear, for Pelletier, that when Vienne got the Roman right it got also the doors and the walls.¹²²⁰

In such a perspective the *solidum beneficium*, cited by Claudius in his speech, can be only the *ius italicum* which was achieved under Tiberius or Gaius.

Under Claudius, because of the presence of a statue of Antonia Minor in the *scaena frons*, a theatre on the slope of mountain Pipet is built: visible nowadays are the steps leant against the western flank of the hill Pipet (*cavea*), the-circular area (the *orchestra*) and a reconstruction of the wall (*proscenium*) that limited the *pulpitum* (Figure 105).



Figure 105: Remains of the theatre at Vienne (after <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/fr/arcnat/vienne/fr/index.html>).

The wall (*scaenae frons*) up to 32 m high, which was closed completely on the side of the city, is gone. The general organization of the monument is fairly well known, despite the very significant reconstructions that were carried out since the release of the building in 1922. These reconstructions were intended to preserve the building and to facilitate the understanding; they also allowed reusing the building as a place for antique show. The diameter of the building places it as the second largest theatre of Gaul after the one of Autun (148 m of diameter). It measures (including the higher portal) 129.8 m

¹²¹⁸ PELLETTIER 1982, 73-80.

¹²¹⁹ ANDRÉ ET AL. 1991,67.

¹²²⁰ PELLETTIER 1982, 78.

in diameter (439 Roman feet). The height of the façade is estimated at a little more than 32 m from the side of the North entrance. Approximately 13,000 people could take place in the building. The theatre itself has a particular meaning with the presence of the statues in the *scaenae frons* which are very similar to the caryatides of the Erechtheion and to those one of the *Augustum forum* at Rome.¹²²¹ (Figure 106)



Figure 106: Caryatides from the theatre (after <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/fr/arcnat/vienne/fr/index.html>).

It belongs to a ludic-cultural complex in correlation with the platform of Pipet (9800 m²), composed of a large rectangle at the West and in a semicircle at the East all porched (Figure 107).



Figure 107: Complex at Pipet (after <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/fr/arcnat/vienne/fr/index.html>).

¹²²¹ GROS 2008a, 70-71.

The width of the rectangle, returned by symmetry, (the South facade has collapsed) measured 87.5 m. Its length can be estimated at least 90 m. The walls that limited the West above the theatre disappeared. The platform with its semicircle was at least 124 m in length. These *porticus tripleces* surrounded a big temple: so far the deity is not known.

However, the way from building to another one is still difficult. It was assumed that there were small lateral passages through which, from the *cavea* of the theatre, it was possible to achieve the platform. Two staircases were supposed to be on the West and South. But the dating of one is not guaranteed and the other is not sufficiently attested by archaeological observations. However, the existence of an archway (3.20 m wide by 4.50 m high) in the center of the eastern semicircle of the platform seems safer and we see today the main entrance of the sanctuary.¹²²² (Figure 108)

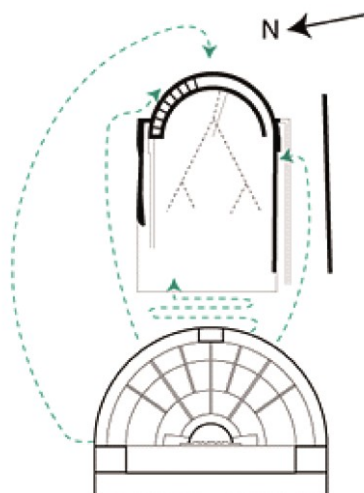


Figure 108: Different hypotheses to enter the theatre (after <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/fr/arcnat/vienne/fr/index.html>).

At the South side of the “Arcades du forum” still remains the North wall of a building which is interpreted as a theatre linked to the cult of Cybele. Between two parallel walls are placed steps leant against the first abutment of Pipet. On the West side faced a platform. In the dimensions it is very similar to the *bouleuterion* which was used also as *odeion*. Because of its closeness to the *forum* it could also be used for assembly, but it

¹²²² <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/fr/arcnat/vienne/fr/index.html>.

might have been the first *odeion* before the construction of a big one on the slope nord of hill Sain Just.¹²²³

After a short time, in the South quartier, were built *horrea* which are the biggest, so far, in the entire western provinces:¹²²⁴ the reason of this construction can be explained only in the perspective of a commercial vitality.

One frieze belonging to an arch (petite arcade) of the *basilica*¹²²⁵ has a block with a depiction of Acheloos.¹²²⁶ It is important here to stress the comparisons with the block depicting Jupiter Amon again from the *basilica*.¹²²⁷ The fact that the block from Nyon occupies the same position of this from Vienne reinforce the lien between Jupiter Amon and Acheloos and might suggest that the two gods belong to iconographical repertoire of the imperial power.¹²²⁸

The site of Saint Romain en Gal, on the right side of the river and in front of Vienne, has a residential, handmade and commercial vocation. In the beginning of the 1st century AD the streets and the blocks were set up¹²²⁹ but towards AD 50/70 the quartier changed completely. The streets were reorganized with the setting up of the drain's network and the network for the water supply: two canalizations, one in wood and the other one in lead, are installed in the porches of the Maison aux Pierres Dorées while another one in lead is to be found in the porch of the Bâtiment Commercial. The first peristyle houses appeared as well. The variety of the used materials as the discrepancy of the works with the creation of a terrace suggests not a unique initiative but an organized operation of different owners. The filling leans against a monumental porch whose walls constitute the foundation of the terrace¹²³⁰. The porch, perpendicular to the Rhône, is long 90 m and it is the trait-union between the river and the Palais de Miroir. In the western end three concentric walls form a semicircular construction (Figure 109, no. 2) which is today pretty much planed down but still we can imagine, both a double gallery with columns continuing the porch and a semicircular room in the way of the nymph in Villa Adriana. At the very eastern end another semicircular construction is added flanked by two wings (Figure 109, no. 3) and three stairs linked with the superior

¹²²³ LE BOT-HELLY 2002, 108-109.

¹²²⁴ GROS 2008a, 1.

¹²²⁵ Casari instead says that the block is part of the theatre's decoration cf. CASARI 2004, 34.

¹²²⁶ Pelletier cites two heads of Jupiter Amon while Casari interpreted the relief as a head of Medusa, cf. FELLAGUE, ROBERT 2011, 208.

¹²²⁷ CAPPELLETTO 2017.

¹²²⁸ FELLAGUE, ROBERT 2011, 210.

¹²²⁹ BRISSAUD, PRISSET 1996, 235-238.

¹²³⁰ SAVAY-GUERRAZ, PRISSET, DELAVAL 1998, 394-396.

terrace (Figure 109, no. 5, 6, 7). It is also with the construction of this semicircle that the Thermes des Lutteurs were erected while it is not possible to establish if the Palais du Miroir¹²³¹ is a later building or not.¹²³²



Figure 109: The plan of the quartier of Saint Romain en Gal (after Savay-Guerraz, Prisset, Delaval 1998, fig. 2).

To the North of this *porticus* the Maison aux Pierres Dorées is destroyed and the place is annexed to the Maison au Grand Péristyle forming an original L-shape with a dissymmetrical porch and becoming the Maison au Vestibule à Colonnes (Figure 110). The house is built on two levels communicating through a staircase: the South part, the prior Maison aux Pierres Dorées, places itself in a higher position in relation to the big peristyle, which is now much better oriented, and to the western wings (the previous Maison au Grand Péristyle).

¹²³¹ PELLETIER 1982, 159-164.

¹²³² SAVAY-GUERRAZ, PRISSET 1992.

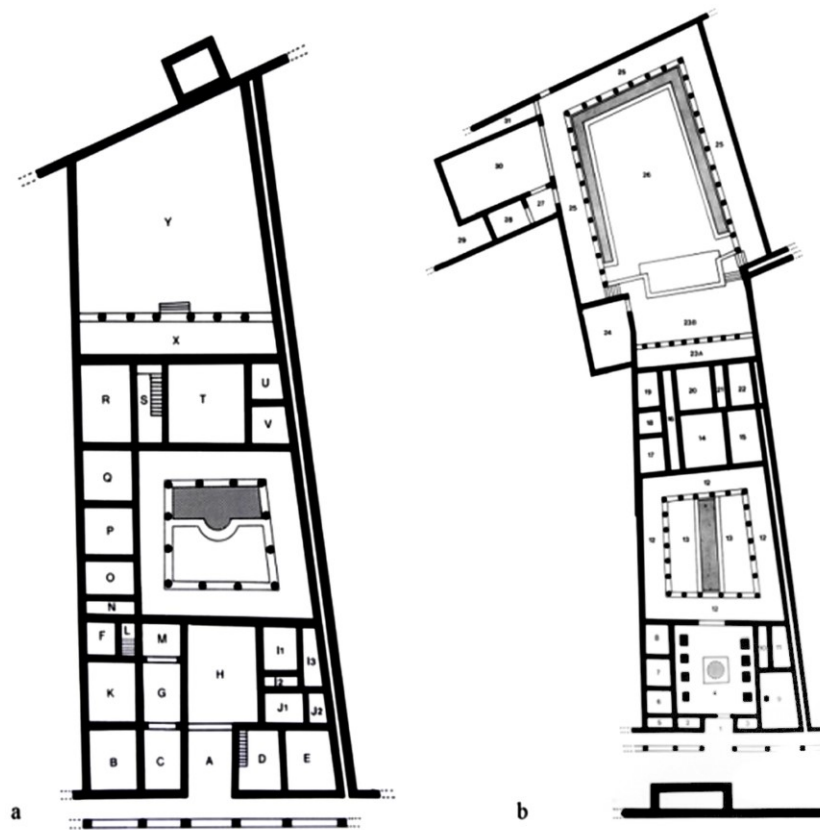


Figure 110: a): Maison aux pierres dorées, b): Maison aux vestibules à colonnes (rielaboration after Desbat et Al. 1994, fig. 80 and 118).

To the East the Maison au Vivier shows only one big garden reachable through staircases; also here there is a difference of level which is more emphasized than in the previous house allowing the construction of a vaulted cellar under the steps.

The two houses are characterized by a linear plan with the alternation of open and covered spaces; they are also houses *à terrasse* where the spatial organization of the Maison aux vestibule à colonne reproduces a schema already present while the building of the Maison au Vivier was built in once time.

Considering the quartier all together we see how the private constructions had a particular meaning in the urbanization. Indeed, another four houses are built in this period (Maison aux Collimes, Maison aux Poissons, Maison au Portique Peint and the Maison au Lion): they hold a surface superior to 1000 m² till 3000 m² and their conception is totally Italian with the vestibule and the peristyle, in most of the case the houses are flanked by commercial buildings.¹²³³

¹²³³ SAVAY-GUERREAZ, PRISSET, DELAVAL 1998, 394-400.

The quartier is equipped also with warehouses: to the North the big ones are the replicas of the *horrea* found in Vienne: the distance to the river and in the middle of the quartier make possible thinking to a public warehouse to the local needs. The real small warehouses are only two buildings while the rest are commercial ones.¹²³⁴

At Arles (*Julia Arelate Sextanorum*) still matter of debating of the chronology are the remains,¹²³⁵ around the *forum* at North and West.

For a long time, people considered them as *basilica*,¹²³⁶ instead since 1987 they are interpreted, in correlation also with the *exedra* at the South, now preserved in elevation in the Museon Arlaten (Figure 111), according to Gros and followed by other scholars, as a second *forum* or *forum adiectus*.¹²³⁷



Figure 111: Remains of the *exedra* at Arles (after Droste 2003, fig. 47).

If we imagine another *exedra* at the North, it seems to be inspired by the example of the Augustean *forum* at Rome (the *Mars Ultor Temple* in particular).¹²³⁸ (Figure 112)

¹²³⁴ SAVAY-GUERRAZ, PRISSET, DELAVAL 1998, 400-401.

¹²³⁵ DROSTE 2003, 36-37; GROS 2008a, 48-50; GROS 2008b, 120-122; ROTHÉ, HEIJMANS 2008, 366-372.

¹²³⁶ Also recently ÉTIENNE 1985-1987, 46.

¹²³⁷ GROS 1987a, 357, 361; GROS 1990, 57; HEJMAS, SINTÈS 1994, 147-148. The term for Klinwächter is not correct because it is not a *terminus technicus*, cf. KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, 165-167.

¹²³⁸ AMY 1973, 485. A personal relation between Rome and Arles has been seen by Gros in the person of L. Cassius Longinus who in 33 BC married Drusilla, the daughter of Germanicus, and became *patronus* of the city; cf. GROS 1987a, 359-360.



Figure 112: Reconstruction of the *forum*'s complex (after Droste 2003, fig. 44).

The *exedra* had niches for statues inserted between granite-columns. The preserved decorations consist in frieze fragments with a horizontal running spiral tendrils and medallion-panels which frame, between two vertical bands with a *candelabrum* of tendrils, a *clipeus* with bearded head with pointed ears (Figure 113): Verzàr-Bas has studied these kind of pieces and she states that they belong to the series of “masques d’Ammon” of the porches of Augustus’ *forum* at Rome and they were part of a sanctuary for the imperial cult, Kleinwächter and other scholars see, instead, an *Oceanus*-mask¹²³⁹ because of the presence of a sea monster close to his right ear¹²⁴⁰. So far these *clipei* were dated for the style to the Flavian period¹²⁴¹ but Gros, in contradiction with Verzàr-Bas, in 1987 postulated instead a Tiberian date in correlation also with the portrait of Tiberius.¹²⁴² The discussion is still open.¹²⁴³



Figure 113: Panel with Jupiter Ammon from the so-called *forum adiecum* (after Gros 2008a, fig. 34-35).

¹²³⁹ TRILLMICH 1994, 77.

¹²⁴⁰ KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, 157.

¹²⁴¹ Thanks to the parallels in the temple of Grange des Dîmes in Aventicum, cf. KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, 158 note 59.

¹²⁴² GROS 1987b, 359 note 72.

¹²⁴³ KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, 158-159. Again recently Gros claims that the datation of Kleinwächter is not pertinent, cf. GROS 2006, 117.

The study of the drains suggests that the square's construction is contemporary to the building of the *forum*¹²⁴⁴ while the two exedrae could be dated to a Julio-Claudian period;¹²⁴⁵ Kleinwächter asserts instead a Flavian date for the entire complex.¹²⁴⁶

The discovery, to the West of the *cryoporticus* of the *forum*, of five inscriptions of *Geni Coloniae*¹²⁴⁷ led Formigé to postulate the presence of a temple in connection with the monument à abise and dominating the longitudinal axe.¹²⁴⁸ Recently Gros cites, instead, the presence of a *podium* that could adduce a temple which occupies an axial position: the temple may be dedicated to the Genius, instead Gros suggests, because of the presence of the imperial busts, an imperial cult.¹²⁴⁹

The aquaeduct of Fréjus, in *opus caementicum*, whose spring is in the massif of Mons, was erected under Claudius and the army may have helped in the construction, as we can perceive by a bust in a bas-relief in the arches Bouteillère.¹²⁵⁰ In the Julio-Claudian period was also built the amphitheatre defined by Golvin of *structure creuse*¹²⁵¹ and it is the only one, in the province, with a peripheral gallery.¹²⁵²

At Nîmes remains a dedication found in a base from a Roman citizen to Claudius¹²⁵³ (Figure 114) as at presumably *Ruscino* (Château-Roussillon);¹²⁵⁴ at Lançon a base, today lost, present one of the rare dedication in Gallia from a citizen who must do that *ex testamento*.¹²⁵⁵

¹²⁴⁴ HEIJMAS 1991, 187. If this is right also the exedrae are dated to the same period, cf. KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, 165.

¹²⁴⁵ GROS 2008a, 50; GROS 2008b, 121.

¹²⁴⁶ KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, 165.

¹²⁴⁷ KLEINWÄCHTER 2001, note 42.

¹²⁴⁸ FORMIGÉ 1912.

¹²⁴⁹ GROS 1987b, 361.

¹²⁵⁰ GÉBARA, MICHEL 2002; GROS 2008a, 79; RIVET ET AL. 2000, 379-380.

¹²⁵¹ GOLVIN 1988, 162-164.

¹²⁵² RIVET ET AL. 2000, 399.

¹²⁵³ IAN n°92, CIL XII 3160, HØJTE 2005, n° 55; ROSSO 2006, 432-433, n° 200.

¹²⁵⁴ ROSSO 2006, 406, n° 117.

¹²⁵⁵ CIL XII 641; ROSSO 2006, 317, n°107.



Figure 114: Dedication to Claudius at Nîmes (after Rosso 2006, fig.152).

4.4.2.1 *Agglomérations secondaires*

Glanum (Saint Remy de Provence) developed very much in the late 2nd century BC showing that the elites were reacting and interacting with the Romans. This interaction is not immediately obvious because the style of the architecture is described as Hellenistic rather than Roman.¹ Still the city continued to expand and in the 1st century BC it gained also the status of *oppidum latinum*. The simple *forum* of the third decade of the 1st century BC is replaced, even if not completely, between Tiberius and Claudius, according to Roth Congès,¹²⁵⁶ by some new realisations.¹²⁵⁷ The small *basilica* is destroyed and the foundations of the walls are used for the façade of the new one with central nave, the external sides of the porches are conserved and the colonnade are in Corinthian order while the doric and tuscan one seems to be deleted; eight columns standing on top of a staircase make possible the connection between *basilica* and square.¹²⁵⁸ (Figure 115)

¹²⁵⁶ ROTH CONGÈS 1992.

¹²⁵⁷ Gros and Varène state, instead, an Augustean datation, cf. GROS, VARÉNE 1984, 33-37.

¹²⁵⁸ GATEAU, GAZENBEEK 1999, 333-335; ROTH CONGÈS 1992, 52-54.

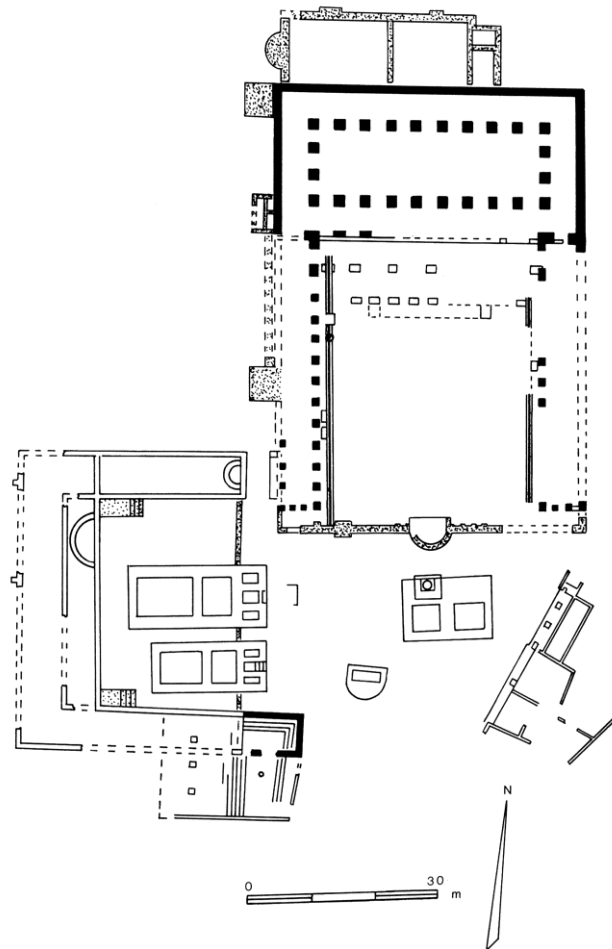


Figure 115: Plan of the *forum* of *Glanum* (after Roth-Congès 1992, fig. 14).

Among the big amounts of house that one of Attys and Cybele presents modifications in the middle of the 1st century AD: the space M with a beautiful mosaic floor could be a *lararium* while the room H is an exedra with mosaic.¹²⁵⁹

In other small settlements are visible for these period only thermal buildings. At Lunel Viel the *thermes de l'est* are built between AD 50/60 and already in AD 80 abandoned (Figure 116).

¹²⁵⁹ GATEAU, GAZENBEEK 1999, 350-351; ROTH CONGÈS 2011, 32-33.

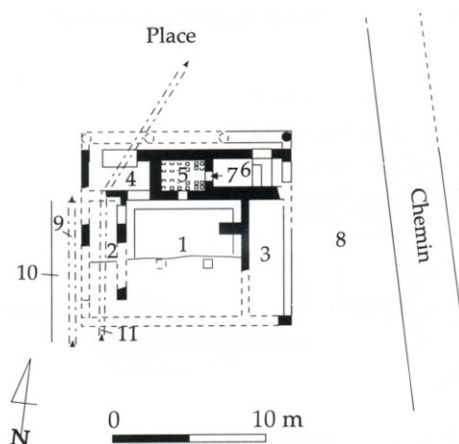


Figure 116: Plan of the thermal bath at Lunel Viel (after Bouet 2003c, 594, fig. 52).

The North side, bordering the square, was decorated with a colonnade with four supports, added during the construction, which gave a monumental aspect. Room 4 could be a boutique and it communicates with the central space 1, a *frigidarium* or *apodyterium*; room 2 was maybe an *apodyterium*, room 3 a stockage room for fuel, the *caldarium* 5 was heated by the *prae-furnium* 7.¹²⁶⁰

At Magalas in the public thermal bath the modifications of the *prae-furnium* 13 date to the Claudian principate.¹²⁶¹ (Figure 117)

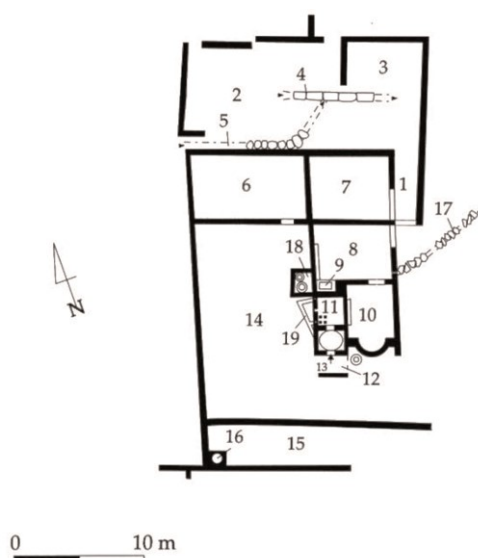


Figure 117: Plan of the thermal bath at Magalas (after Bouet 2003c, 597, fig.54).

¹²⁶⁰ BOUET 2003a, 147-148; BOUET 2003c, 595.

¹²⁶¹ BOUET 2003a, 152; BOUET 2003c, 596-597.

At Toulouse the first step of the *thermes du sud* is during Claudius' time (Figure 118): the gym 1-6 is composed of an open air-place (1) while zone 6 comprehends a *natatio*. The room 10 is the *frigidarium* with bathtubs now lost, room 11 the *laconicum*, had a half circular niche maybe for a *labrum*. The *caldarium* 12 is heated by three *praeefurnia* (14, 17, 18) while 15 and 16 are service rooms.¹²⁶²

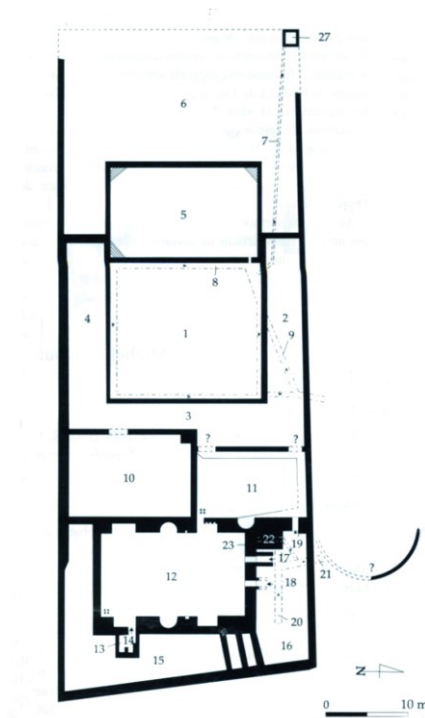


Figure 118: Thermal bath at Toulouse (Bouet 2003c, 603, fig. 63).

4.4.2.2 Evaluations

Theatre¹²⁶³

In two cities there are evidences of theatres. At Vaison Claudius' statue and the dedication *post mortem* testify an important step in the construction of the building. The *cavea*, facing North, is divided by a *praescinto* and on the top, there was a *porticus*. The *scaenae frons* has the *regia* in shallow curved niches and the *hospitalia* in rectangular ones. It is not possible though, to confirm, with security, the achievement under Claudius and the inauguration some time after.

The upper terraces of the theatre in Vienne were overlooked by two superimposed vaulted galleries which partially supported a large, peripheral *porticus*. In the centre of

¹²⁶² BOUET 2003a, 308-310; BOUET 2003c, 603-604.

¹²⁶³ See LANDES 1989.

this portico, on the medial axis of the theatre, stood a temple which dominated the entire *cavea* with an altar approached each side by three steps. The temple has four columns *in antis*, volutes of capitals formed of serpent's bodies and, in the middle of one pilaster, can be seen a tripod (symbol of Apollus). The presence of this temple is very similar to that one in Leptis Magna and it is the only identifiable transposition of the scheme of Pompeius's theatre at Rome.¹²⁶⁴ It is part of a series of classic theatres inspired by those built in Rome from the second half of the 1st century BC.

Ludical-religious complex

At Vienne the theatre is part of a complex in the hill of Pipet. This complex, in a higher position as the city itself, dominates the landscape and it is evident to the travellers from the Rhône.

Amphitheatre

The only building belonging to this category is at Fréjus. Following the catalogue of Golvin,¹²⁶⁵ it belongs to the amphitheatres with empty structure where the *cavea* is not leant against the slope of a hill but is sustained by vault. But in this case the half of the North-East side is leant against the slope. The structure of the *cavea* is very similar to that of Saintes.

Forum

The works in the *forum* of Glanum with the development of the *basilica*, the extension of the eastern and western walls and possibly the erection in the South side, testify a wish to close the previous open area. In this way the square has a system of axial type: whatever role had the small *sacellum* to the South side it constituted the oriental focus. Indeed, it is not possible to describe it as *forum parfaitement caractérisé* as Balty did¹²⁶⁶ at least for the lack of an initial project as we can perceive by the construction of the *sacellum*. Here it is possible to recognise the experimental character of one of the first approaches of the Roman city planning in regions far away from Italy.

In the *forum adiectum* of Arles the masks with *Oceanus* were surely paired with some with Jupiter Ammon but Medusa seems not to be present: the presence of Jupiter is important because we can associate the programme of the Augustean *forum*.¹²⁶⁷ Here

¹²⁶⁴ GROS 2008a, 70; SEAR 2006, 252.

¹²⁶⁵ GOLVIN 1988.

¹²⁶⁶ BALTY 1991, 326.

¹²⁶⁷ VERZÁR-BAS 2011, 568-569.

we can also see that the *clypeus* is not longer used and instead it is flattened and transformed in a medallion inserted in a rich flora frame.¹²⁶⁸

Thermae

In Gallia Narbonensis we have numerous examples of *thermae* during Claudius's principate.

At Vaison la Romain the *thermae* present a *caldarium* with quadrangular *solium* and lateral walls decorated with rectangular and half-circular niches (type 8 of Bouet):¹²⁶⁹ this kind of *caldarium* is well widespread in Turkey, in Italy and also in Gaul. They have a retrograde itinerary à *laconicum intermédiaire*¹²⁷⁰ with a semi-symmetrical plan.¹²⁷¹

The thermes at Magalas present a Pompeian *caldarium* (type 1)¹²⁷² where one of the extremities ends with an apse, the *schola labri*, for the *labrum* while on the other end a *solium* is placed. This room is one of the most widespread in all the Empire where the first examples come from the thermal baths at Vulci and Civitavecchia. In our case it belongs to the type 1b where the *solium* is perpendicular to the *schola labra*.

The thermes at Toulouse, having a gym with *natatio* and an alimentation with current water, belong to type 2 of gym according to Bouet:¹²⁷³ thus the *natatio* is not a constant in the *thermae*. The *caldarium* instead, as for the *thermae* in Vaison, belongs to type 9.¹²⁷⁴ They are thermal baths with retrograde itinerary; the only intermediary room is the *laconicum* which is inserted between cold area and *caldarium*;¹²⁷⁵ they have also a semi-symmetrical plan.¹²⁷⁶

The thermes at Lunels have a symmetrical plan meaning that they are organized in the same way on the both sides of the axe with a retrograde itinerary.¹²⁷⁷ Even if this kind of plan appeared at Rome with a symmetrical itinerary during Nero, Nielsen¹²⁷⁸ thinks that the plan is earlier; but doubts remain.¹²⁷⁹ Nielsen argues that this plan was originated in

¹²⁶⁸ CAPPELLETTO 2017, VERZÁR-BAS 2008, 22; VERZÁR-BAS 2011, 567.

¹²⁶⁹ BOUET 2003a, 67-72.

¹²⁷⁰ BOUET 2003a, 167-168.

¹²⁷¹ BOUET 2003a, 181-812.

¹²⁷² BOUET 2003a, 40-50.

¹²⁷³ BOUET 2003a, 141-144.

¹²⁷⁴ BOUET 2003a, 67-72.

¹²⁷⁵ BOUET 2003a, 167-168.

¹²⁷⁶ BOUET 2003a, 181-812.

¹²⁷⁷ In *Narbonensis* there are no evidence with symmetrical itinerary, cf. BOUET 2003a, 182.

¹²⁷⁸ NIELSEN 1990, 84.

¹²⁷⁹ BOUET 2003a, 182-183.

the northern provinces thanks to the help of the *legiones* and then it came to Rome,¹²⁸⁰ but, as said, this kind of thermes in Rome had a symmetrical plan and a symmetrical itinerary: to Bouet seems more logical that the type was first adopted in Rome and then “exported” to the provinces creating particular solutions.¹²⁸¹

It is interesting to note that in the small agglomeration the *thermae* represent the only lasting building which was adapted to the need of the community affirming, in this way, its birth.

Aqueduct

Only at Fréjus we have remains of an aqueduct built in Claudius’ period.

Private houses

The domestic architecture may be perceived from the site of Saint Romain en Gal. The Maison au vestibule à colonnes (Figure 111) is the development and unification of two previous houses (Maison aux pierres dorées and Maison au grand péristyle). The first one presents elevation both in masonry and in raw earth and woods. On the front four boutiques (B, C, D, E) are placed on the right and on the left of the *atrium* A as a typical system of the Roman house.

The *atrium* A is well integrated with the boutiques but it connects the street with the house through the *vestibulus* H, the rooms on the western side F, M, K, G could serve for domestic purpose while L connects upstairs and with the room N; the rooms on the eastern side (I and J) are the less known. On the western side of the *perystilus* are present some rooms: Q belongs to private spaces while P could be an *exedra* or a library. At the North the space R could be a sleeping room while T, even if the mosaic floor is totally vanished, is the *triclinium*.¹²⁸² Also another garden is present (Y) connected through the *porticus* X with remains of several pieces of paintings.¹²⁸³ The second house is not a modification of the previous one but just a development of the northern plot with the *perystilius* (1) and garden (2) and a space (3) at North-West.¹²⁸⁴

A new reorganization took place in the middle of the 1st century AD creating the Maison au vestibule à colonnes. The house acquires a strange form with a series of covered and open spaces. It can be divided in three zones spaced out with gardens:

¹²⁸⁰ NIELSEN 1990, 84.

¹²⁸¹ BOUET 2003a, 185.

¹²⁸² DESBAT ET. AL. 1994, 103-135.

¹²⁸³ DESBAT ET. AL. 1994, 119-135.

¹²⁸⁴ DESBAT ET AL. 1994, 135-140.

bâtiment sud with the *porticus* A, the *vestibulus* 4,¹²⁸⁵ a boutique and other rooms with insecure functions; the first *peristilius* 12 and 13; the bâtiment central with a *triclinium* 20, *cubicula* 17, 18, 19 and other rooms, the esplanade 23B and *porticus* 23A link these two bâtiments with the second gardens (25 and 26) and the bâtiment at North-West not totally excavated.¹²⁸⁶

With the Maison aux pierres dorées we can see a research for axiality with the succession of a porch, a room identified as *vestibulus*, a *perstilius* and a *triclinium* which could constitute the prototypes of the house vestibule-peristyle and *triclinium*. The problem here is how to call the room H: according to Rebuffat the absence of *impluvium/compluvium* does not justify calling it *atrium*. Still it is worth to remember the correlation with the spaces called *vestibules*. The confrontation with some houses from Ruscino leads us to think possible to call the room H an *atrium* and not a vestibule but, anyway, there are some important differences as for example the extent of the space and the presence of rooms on the site of space H. In the Maison au vestibule à colonnes, instead, the vestibule has a basin with an alimentation of water facing an *atrium* with a very unusual schema. Though, the presence of the mosaic suggests an open vestibule as for example in Ostia or Africa.

Another important factor for the axiality is the *triclinium* (room T in Maison aux pierres dorées and room 14 in Maison au vestibule à colonnes) in spite of the absence of a floor and the T schema of *triclinia*. There are though other spaces which can be considered as rooms for reception as room P or room R, with mosaic; in the Maison aux pierres dorées some rooms are still matter of debate concerning the function while in the Maison au vestibule à colonnes the room 24 could be interpreted as a summer *triclinium*.

To point out is the basin in the second peristyle in the Maison au vestibule à colonnes: its U shape (in contrast with the rectangular shape of the first garden) represents the first example of a type which will expand in the region becoming a characteristic of the local domestic architecture. This kind of basin is attested with 12 examples only at Saint Romain en Gal but also at Lyon and Vienne; indeed it seems to be totally unknown in the rest of the Gallia and in the rest of the other provinces except for Mérida.¹²⁸⁷

Dedications and inscriptions

¹²⁸⁵ The absence of the *tablinum* associated this house to these in North Africa rather to the Italian models.

¹²⁸⁶ DESBAT ET AL. 1994, 140-154.

¹²⁸⁷ DESBAT ET AL. 1994, 195-199.

From Vaison come some inscriptions relating to the some evergetes: Quintus, *praefectus fabrum*, ornated the *proscænium* in marble and Sappius the porch in front of the thermal baths. We have, as well, a dedication from the community to Afranius Brutus.

At Nîmes, Lançon and Chateau were found dedications to Claudius but unluckily, it is not possible to associate a building (or a complex or a statue).

4.4.3 *Gallia Comata*

The three Gauls experienced a combination of continuity and sharp change. Even if in the pre-Roman period there were signs of “embryonic” urbanization in form of permanent centres with religious, administrative and industrial functions being the foci of their regions these indigenous movements, with the integration into the Roman empire, accelerated resulting in discontinuity. On the one hand the military strategy reseted the road system disrupting the local *oppida*- based hierarchies while, on the other hand, only limited number of places were chosen to become *civitas* capitals in which was centralized the administration of each Gallic nation. Their growth owed more to political and administrative factors than economic ones. For aristocrats the *civitas* became the stage to vaunt, confirm and increase their local status: their display behaviour, the controlled rivalry (*aemulatio*) between individual and individual, family and family, tribes and tribes was made in public munificence where large amounts of private resources were expended on adorning the *civitas* capitals. On the contrary of Goudineau who thinks that they were artificial,¹²⁸⁸ Drinkwater argues that their shape and adornment was real and part of their functions where the new style of buildings shows how the nobilites tried to accommodate their lifestyle to the New Order.¹²⁸⁹

It is difficult to understand for sure how early a familiarity with the Roman concepts of civilization became widespread but there is reason to think that this aristocracy, in the very beginning, was not ignorant of them or unaware of how they could cope with the urbanization. Tacitus describes the children of Gallic aristocrats being educated in AD 20s but we do not have to exaggerate the role of education because the Gauls made aware to the importance of Roman urbanism in numerous ways i.e. visual representations on coins, arches, wall painting. More important the *coloniae* of Narbonensis, already monumentalised in the late Augustean period, will have impressed

¹²⁸⁸ FÈVRIER ET AL. 1980, 307, 386.

¹²⁸⁹ DRINKWATER 1985, 51.

many of the nobles from Comata. What the education offered was a way of understanding the urbanization they were witnessing: ‘by offering them a convenient and compelling narrative of the civilizing process in history, it helped them to recognise, like Aeneas, the cultural import of the city building they encountered on their real and metaphorical explorations of the Roman empire’.¹²⁹⁰ But accepting this explanation involves also much more as Zanker already points out.¹²⁹¹ The understanding of the urbanization in these provinces as the dissemination of new values and ideology offers an explanation for the relative uniformity of early Roman urban design; thus this uniformity is only relative because it could be the risk that the similarities between cities may be overstressed: the regional styles emerged from different selections and from the development of regional variants.

Despite the common forces which drew the cities, individual ones arose with great local variations as for example the dimension of the *insulae*. Only the street grid gave the city the shape and held together the buildings which lacked an overall architectural inspiration, symmetry and perspective as they were slotted into the grid system as money became available for their erection. It seems likely that the embryonic capitals copied the layout not from the Roman military installations, which would not have involved the layout of a full grid but the the inspiration came from Italy or better Cisalpine Gaul.

The grid plan, as recently re-interpreted, distinguishes *civitas capitals* and *coloniae* from the other urban settlements. It is true, anyway, that the *vici* and rural sanctuaries were social, economic, religious and administrative centers; some of them more active than many *civitas* capitals. Recently Hingley argues that the grid plan is not a system of organized space but a means of controlling movement and free association and of asserting the control of imperialism and local elites over the populations.¹²⁹²

Comparing this situation with that one available in Britain it is not possible to set a chronological framework for the development of the cities: it is more an irregular process depending on local wealth and influence.

The creation of the cities from the network of the “Gallic states” is not very well known: what it is sure is that the action taken by Augustus coming to Lyon between 16 and 13

¹²⁹⁰ WOOLF 2000, 121.

¹²⁹¹ ZANKER 1988, 332: ‘The impact of the new imagery in the West thus presupposed the acceptance of a complete ideological package. Temples, theatres, water systems, and city gates, all of specifically Roman type, gave each city in the West a uniform look, one which essentially unchanged’.

¹²⁹² HINGLEY 1997.

BC after the foundation of the altar in 12 BC speeded up the process. These processes are difficult to understand because the rhythm of urbanization of the capitals depends on the importance of the local wealth and the local elites' attitude to answer more or less rapidly to the imperial stimulus. Anyway thanks to religious documents it is clear that the creation of a city was followed by the installation of a cult which creates power relations amongst the city, the elites and the imperial power. It is worth asking if these ritual systems were not an efficient way to integrate the local populations into the administrative system.

The self-government, defined by the relation with the Roman power, involves that the city is joining into the imperial system and this adhesion displays in the participation of the annual ceremonies in front of the Altar of Rome and August at Lyon. In the local level this integration notes a dialogue in the distance embodied by the altar which symbolically connects the cities and the imperial power.

In this way all La Tène cosmologies and Druids were first sidelined and then suppressed in the early imperial period while new priests of a more conventional Roman type appeared, drawn from the political elite. Indeed, the establishment of a colony or *municipium* required the civic authorities to establish the priesthoods and cults but the monopoly of religious authority may have gone towards the power of the new elites emerging in this period. As the re-ordering of Gallic religion and the abolition of ritual tradition the creation of new priesthoods and new cult entailed the creation of new kinds of knowledge.¹²⁹³

According to some scholars, the indigenous elements are more remarkable in the manifestation with less political characters and not belonging to the elites and in the private sphere. The administrative edifices and the houses of the elites present a more "roman" aspect because they follow the characteristics of the central power.¹²⁹⁴

4.4.3.1 Aquitania

The real reasons for the establishment of certain capitals, during Augustus' principate, need to be searched in material considerations as for example the presence of a passage or river. What really important, is not to figure out if the *civitas* capitals were built over an old settlement or if they were new ones, but the fact that the naissance of the cities *à la romaine* created a break with the past because of the inadequacy in the administrative

¹²⁹³ WOOLF 2001.

¹²⁹⁴ CARBONNIÈRES 2005, 67, SANTOS 2010.

and ideological's point of view. It is clear that this step was not a quick one but it took some time, at least two or three generations, and among the local populations the local elites were rapidly won by the Roman political and cultural ideology.

The construction sites and the first monumental development, strongly wanted by the elites, seem to have been helped, however, by external contributions as technicians from the most Romanized provinces.

It is still a matter of debate which city was the capital of the province. According to the common theory, Saintes (*Mediolanum Santorum*) was the capital in the beginning before being replaced by Poitiers in the 2nd century AD and after that, in the 3rd century AD, by Bordeaux. Haensch thinks that it was very unlikely a change of capitals and he admits only Bordeaux as possible capital.¹²⁹⁵

But this hypothesis seems to be in contrast with some ideas. The place of Saintes in the augustean political disposition is considered as one for a capital.¹²⁹⁶ The reorganization of the street-network gives the city the role of bridgehead on the route that connects Lyon to this province. The monumentalisation begins with Augustus but continues also in the successive years. Here there were discovered also coins from the mint of Lyon whose presence Bost attributes 'à son rôle de capital d'Aquitaine et aux liens qui l'unissent avec la capitale des Gaules'.¹²⁹⁷ And in the end the mise en scène of the power, as very well discusses by Rosso, is worth noting.¹²⁹⁸ Navarro Caballero, instead, restudying the statues and inscriptions from Bordeaux in the light of a big monumentalisation, thinks that this aspect needs not to be longer considered as a primary point in the search for city as capital.¹²⁹⁹

At Saintes it was found in 1887 a base, composed of two pieces, with a dedication to Claudius.¹³⁰⁰ The inscription, thus, poses some problems of dating because the *salutatio* and *censura* seem to impose a time span between AD 47 and AD 48 but Claudius held the *tribunicia potestas* for the ninth time between 25th january AD 49 and 24th january AD 50: it seems that the lapicide made an error as, stated by Maurin, the omission of a vertical slash after the digit XV.¹³⁰¹ Most likely the dedicator of the statue is Caius

¹²⁹⁵ HAENSCH 1997, 135-138.

¹²⁹⁶ BEDON 1999, 90-91; BOST, MARTIN BUENO, RODDAZ 2005.

¹²⁹⁷ BOST 2003, 445.

¹²⁹⁸ ROSSO 2000.

¹²⁹⁹ NAVARRO CABALLERO 2008, 226.

¹³⁰⁰ CIL XIII 1037, ILA n° 9; HØJTE 2005, 302, n° 52; ROSSO 2000, 139-149; ROSSO 2006, 233, n° 32.

¹³⁰¹ ILA, n° 9, 100.

Iulius Victor who dedicated the arch and the statue to Drusus III. According to Maurin it is possible to associate this base to the headless statue of a Julio-Claudian prince;¹³⁰² Rosso argues, instead, that the statue represents Drusus III, son of Germanicus because of its format, the juvenile appearance but mostly for the fact that this statuary type is reserved for postumous effigies; yet from Claudius' time the Hüftmantel representation begins to be used also for living emperors.¹³⁰³ (Figure 119)



Figure 119: Base of a statue and probable statue of Claudius from Saintes (rielaboration after Rosso 2006, fig. 26 and 25).

In the feuile H is placed also the amphitheatre: it belongs, according to Golvin,¹³⁰⁴ to the type with full structure; the architects used the favourable natural conditions of the city where the rocky slopes are cut to base the long sides of the arena while at the West an artificial bank closes the valley where the *cavea* lean on. The four inferior steps,

¹³⁰² ILA n° 9, 100; MAURIN 2007, 275-276.

¹³⁰³ ROSSO 2000, 146.

¹³⁰⁴ GOLVIN 1988, 124-126.

those of the *podium* and the first of *ima cavea*, are interrupted on both sides of the openings in order to have a space placed in front of them.

The dating of the building is not only confirmed by the structure itself but also by the discovery of an inscription where it is possible to read *Ti(berio) Claud[io...][...] o [...]* *[v]er[g]obr[etus]*.¹³⁰⁵ In 1995 in one of the North *vomitoria* some sherds of the 1st century AD were found on the construction niveau: the beginning could fall under under Tiberius and then it was completed with Claudius (Figure 120).

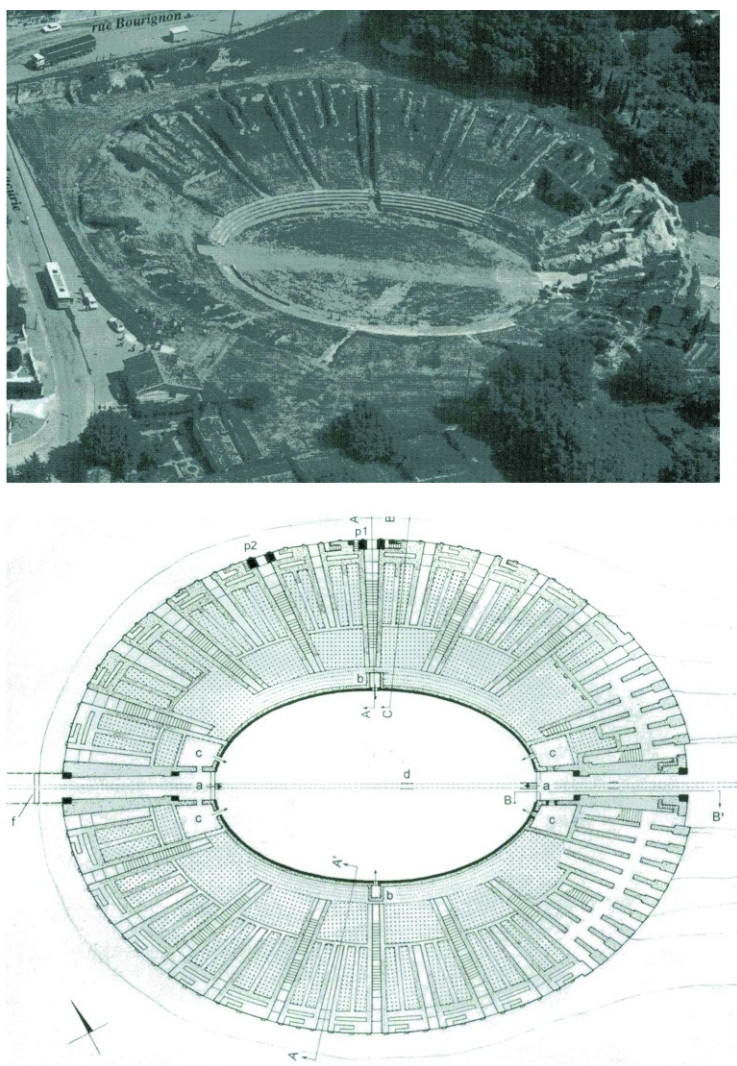


Figure 120: Amphitheatre of Saintes (rielaboration after Maurin 2007, fig. 304 and fig. 303, 1).

In the feuille F, in correlation with the expansion of the graveyard of Saint-Vivien, a *cardo*, that runs along the thermal baths of Saint-Saloine, is set up in this period while

¹³⁰⁵ ILA n° 10, CIL XIII 1038, HØJTE 2005, 302, n° 51; MAURIN 2007, 257; MAURIN, THAURE 1994, 51; MAURIN ET AL. 1982, 12-13.

in South half of carré A a house is installed testifying the change of the construction techniques.¹³⁰⁶

At F29 in Rue du Général Sarrail the place is used from the late Bronze Age. In the augustean time the habitat saw a big development: for the first time, appeared separation walls in cob in a perennial way.¹³⁰⁷ Beginning with Claudius' time the first built walls emerged and the the floors in *opus signinum* are decorated with small crosses in black and white.¹³⁰⁸

In the site of Ma Maison in the Claudian time one *decumanus* was set up fitting perfectly in the plan of Tiberius. Moreover, the zone 10 is occupied by two buildings which are poorly investigated.¹³⁰⁹

On the top of Saint-Saloine, inside a church, between 1881 and 1906, the remains of thermal baths in its three phases were found. The second phase, even if not so sure, may be dated to the period of Claudius. Very few elements are known: a wall (1) long 33.5 m ending in the South with a piedroit while another one, in the North, could indicate an entrance and beyond the wall is reinforced by two buttresses. The *thermae*'s wall in the West as those of the boutiques in the East leans against this wall testifying its anteriority.

Its thickness, the stone setting of the piedroit and the small layout of the facing envisage a public building of some kind. This operation is connected as well with the setting up of the North-South road. It is difficult to perceive what kind of building this could be but some fields were delimited by such a wall.

In the South side it is visible an apse (2) with 4.60 m diameter, framed by the walls. Correlating to the the road, it may be that the apse functions as a sanctuary; the hypothesis is confirmed, maybe, by the discovery of three inscriptions mentioning a *duumvir* or *quattuovir*, a *decurio* and an emperor and a piece of a foot belonging to an emperor.¹³¹⁰

At Bordeaux (*Burdigalia*) at the side of the priory of Saint Martin were discovered remains of statues representing imperial portraits and *togati* with dedication to different

¹³⁰⁶ MAURIN 2007, 167-168.

¹³⁰⁷ MAURIN 2007, 211.

¹³⁰⁸ MAURIN 2007, 213-214.

¹³⁰⁹ LAURANCEAU, MARTIN 1988, 25-27, 42.

¹³¹⁰ BOUET 2006, 89-93.

members of the imperial family and also to Claudius. The inscription,¹³¹¹ today disappeared, is dated between 1st January and 28th februar AD 42 in the second consulat of Claudius.

In the îlot Bonnac on the Mont Judaïque was found a *fanum suburbanum*. It is a small rectangular building (5.70 x 5.5 m) with a floor in *opus spicatum* and surrounded by an enclosure. In the interior was found the inferior part of a pedestal, the door of the cella opens to the East directly towards the pedestal and the statue belonging to it, perhaps a *simulacrum*. The ceramics and the coins suggest¹³¹² a datation between AD 41 and AD 60 (Figure 121).

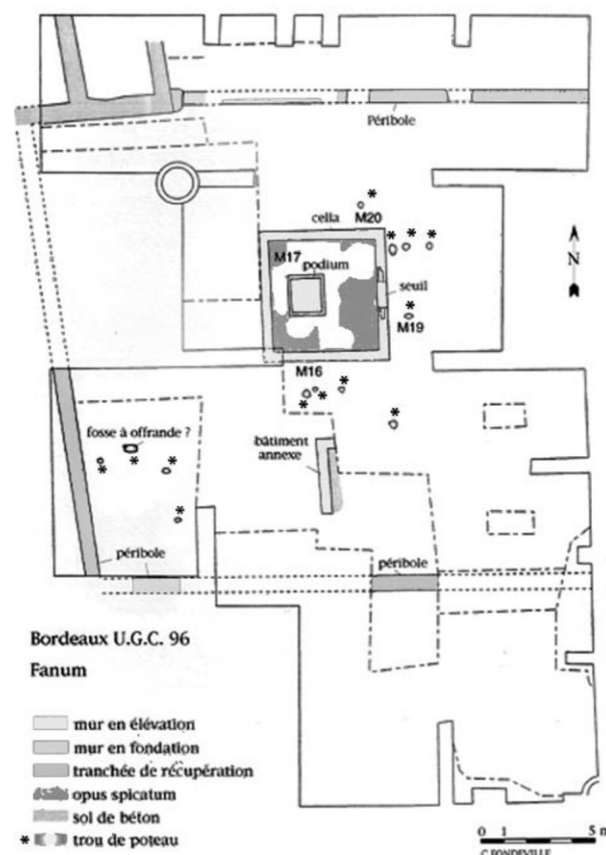


Figure 121: *Fanum* (after Barraud, Caillabet-Duloum 2004, fig. 14).

At Rue des Frères Bonie between 1984 and 1985 a thermal bath was discovered. In the first stage the plan is not so much clear. Room 1 has a trapezoid form and an opening in

¹³¹¹ CIL XIII 590; HØJTE 2005, 302, n° 50; NAVARRO CABALLERO 2008, 215-216; ROSSO 2006, 194-195, n° 3.

¹³¹² BARRAUD, CAILLABET-DULOUM, 2004, 253-254; NAVARRO CABALLERO 2008, 222.

its walls matches the *praefurnium* 4. At North-East there are another headed up room (7) and an abside (5) with unknown functions.¹³¹³ (Figure 122).

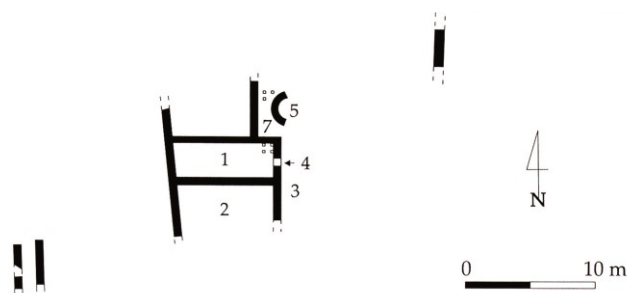


Figure 122: Plan of the thermal bath (after Bouet 2003c, 553, fig. 4).

Four inscriptions¹³¹⁴ testify the presence of a *praetor*¹³¹⁵ Gaius Iulius Secundus who donates money for the constructin of an aqueduct (Figure 123).



Figure 123: One of the inscription of Secundus (CIL XIII 596, ILA Burdigalia n° 38).

The pieces whith the inscriptions are very similar and they could be part of the same fountain or they were put in four different ones. Indeed; the places of their discovering, with an alignment North-South, suggest the run of the aqueduct. The investment of Secundus is the more conspicuous of the all Galliae and it is a way for the local communities (and above all notable) to adhere and integrate into the Roman civilization. At Saint Bertrand de Comminges (*Lugdunum*) we see some activities in this period (Figure 124).

¹³¹³ BOUET 2003c, 553-554.

¹³¹⁴ ILA burdigalia 38, 39, 40, 41 a and b; CIL XIII 596, 597, 598, 599, 600.

¹³¹⁵ For the discussion about the meaning of this magistracy see ILA Burdigalia.

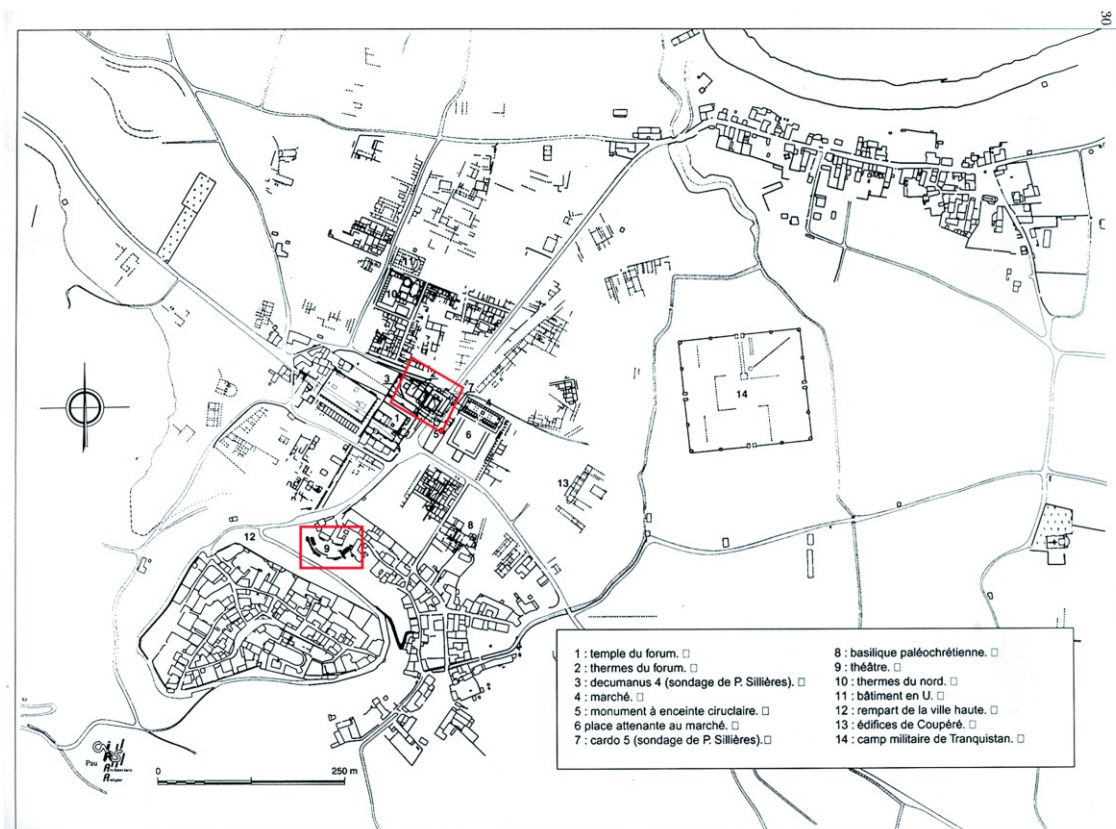


Figure 124: Plan of Saint Bertrand de Comminges (rielaboration after Aupert 2001-2002, fig. 1).

The thermal bath at the *forum* is very complex and it has different stages of construction (Figure 125).

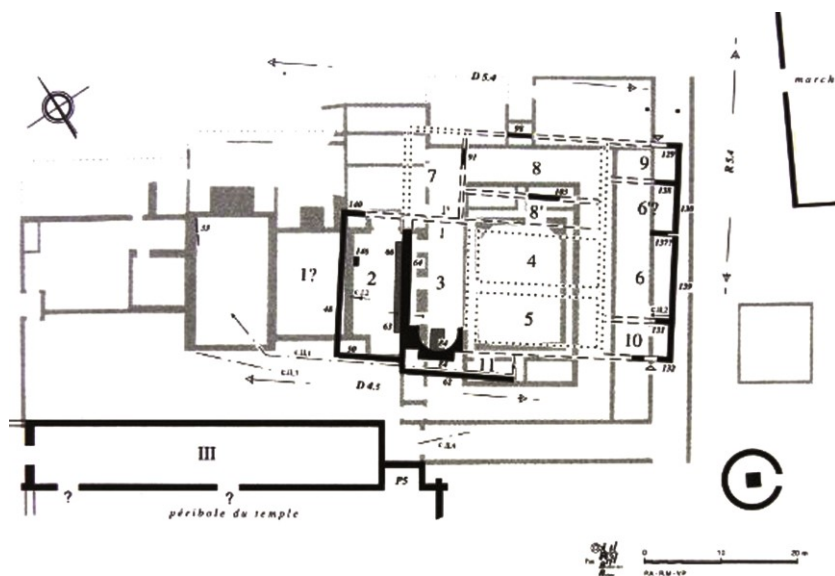


Figure 125: Stage II of the thermal bath (after Aupert et Al. 2001-2002, fig. 4).

For us is important the stage II where the room 7 disappears and the all building expands towards North at the expense of the *decumanus* 5 while the *decumanus* 4 receives a better track. The vestibule is doubled in the North and in the South and it could serve as *apodyterium* (12 and 13 with each a door and a new mosaic). The room 2 is the gym enlarged with maybe a porch (6) at North. The distribution of the other rooms, as for example rooms 3 and 4, does not change.

Room 15 could be a service room with a lean-to Room 14: the reason for its presence is explained by a *praefurnium* that heated up the room 3, now a *laconicum*.

In the *calidarium* 5 the floor is built up and the *schola labra* is placed on the South side; the space 17 permits to enter the court (6) and the *frigidarium* (6).¹³¹⁶

The North Baths were excavated from 1933 by Sapene who proposed a palestra bordered by shops at the West and a bathing establishment at the East. But the building was not constructed on a virgin soil. On the South two domestic structures of mudbrick on pebble were revealed and the courtyard which surrounds it: the apsidal rooms in the North and the shops on the West comprise the first period, not later than the reign of Claudius and therefore distinct from the bathing establishment.¹³¹⁷

Excavations at the theatre confirm the two stages of the construction where the steps of the first phase are not compatible with the halls of inferior circulation and the high zone of the *cavea* belongs to the second period. According to Gúyon, the second phase is well dated to the Claudian period¹³¹⁸ while other scholars state that it is not possible to date it because of the lack of archaeological evidences¹³¹⁹. Most likely this presumed Claudian date is to be linked with the construction of a *porticus post scaenam*: it belongs to a second building period, during Claudius' time, when a quartier with boutiques was destroyed.¹³²⁰

There is also preserved a dedication of the emperor¹³²¹ which belongs to a base of a statue that could be erected for the *decennalia*.

At Poitiers (*Lemonum*) in 1892 some elements of a monumental door were discovered. Thus till 1980 they were never studied and we need to thank Picard for the analysis. The blocks make possible to rebuilt a bay large only 2.10 m where the high part is an arch

¹³¹⁶ AUPERT ET AL. 2001-2002, 34; BOUET 2003c, 569.

¹³¹⁷ GUYON ET AL., 1991, 113.

¹³¹⁸ GUYON 2003, 133.

¹³¹⁹ AUPERT ET AL., 2001-2002, 51.

¹³²⁰ AUPERT EL AL., 2001-2002, 50-51.

¹³²¹ CIL XIII 254; ROSSO 2006, 196, n° 5.

with a molding and the spandrel are occupied by two Victories which are asymmetrical, seated with the back leant against the archivolt, but the head and bust frontal. This kind of Victory's representation is very unusual considering that in Roman art exists a standard model from Augustus till Constantin (they are flying, en profile, with a crown, a trophy or a palm leaf). Thus their nudity of the chest, the seated position and the frontality permit to compare them to fluvial divinities.

The fact that the bay is so small suggests that it is a lateral bay for a triplex arch where representations of fluvial divinities are present. The meaning of these Victories is of a triumphal character. Because of the austerity of the representation it is possible to date this arch to the Claudian time.¹³²²

At *Augustoritum* (Limoges) even if the principal public buildings do not match the Claudian datation the streets were ameliorated with the creation of gutters and the construction of porches.¹³²³

But the city is important for the private architecture. The *Maison des Nones de Mars* represents a very good example of private architecture in this province. The house, situated closed to the *forum*, opens directly to the *cardo maximus* and occupies half of an *insula* I- e. *insula* VI-6 (Figure 126).

¹³²² PICARD 1980-1981, 192-196.

¹³²³ LOUSTAUD 2000, 85-91.

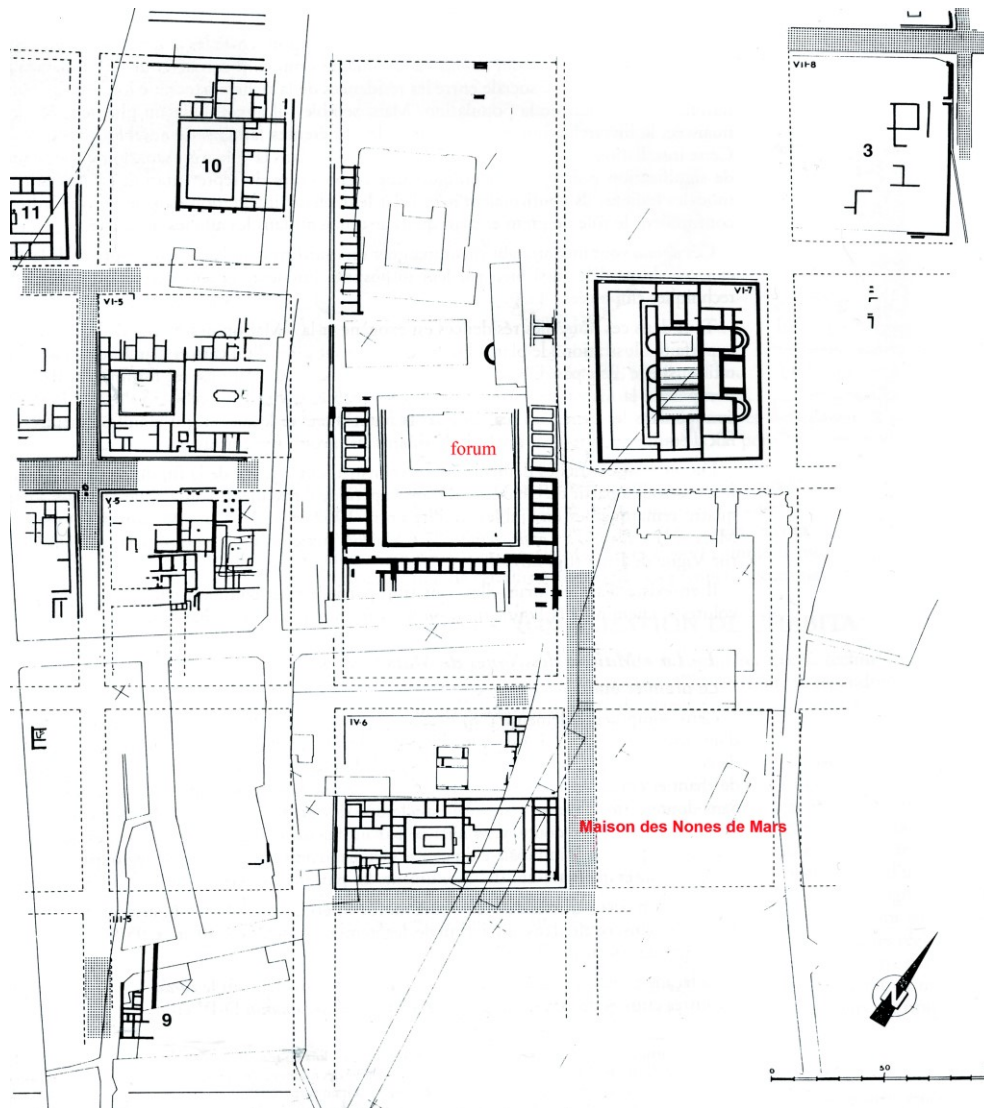


Figure 126: Plan of Limoges (after Loustaud 2000, fig. 26).

The house is remarkable for its axial and symmetrical plan where after an entrance in form of a porch with four columns *in antis* (37) follows a T-room for the clients (30), a *tablinium* (25), a peristyle with columns in tuscanic order (5-17) and another T-room for the reception (7) inserted in a *viridarium* (1-3). In its initial stage it counts at least 28 rooms, eight corridors whose two with steps, one or two service-courts, a central peristyle with basin and porch including a *viridarium*.

Instead of an *atrium* there is a room for reception (30) while the two exedres recall the *alae* of the *atrium*, at the end the *tablinium* (25) constitutes the limit of the so called public space of the house.

The central peristyle (9) with a surface of 52 m² is one of the biggest known and it constitutes a typical Roman model. It has 24 columns: four in corinthian style in front of

the principal façade and eight in tuscanic order along the lateral galleries. On the same axe another room is set: it is the other *tablinium* (7) which recalls the “cyzicene” room of Vitruvius.¹³²⁴ The *viridarium* (1-3) is surrounded by a porch on the sides with 33 columns in tuscanic order.¹³²⁵ (Figure 127)

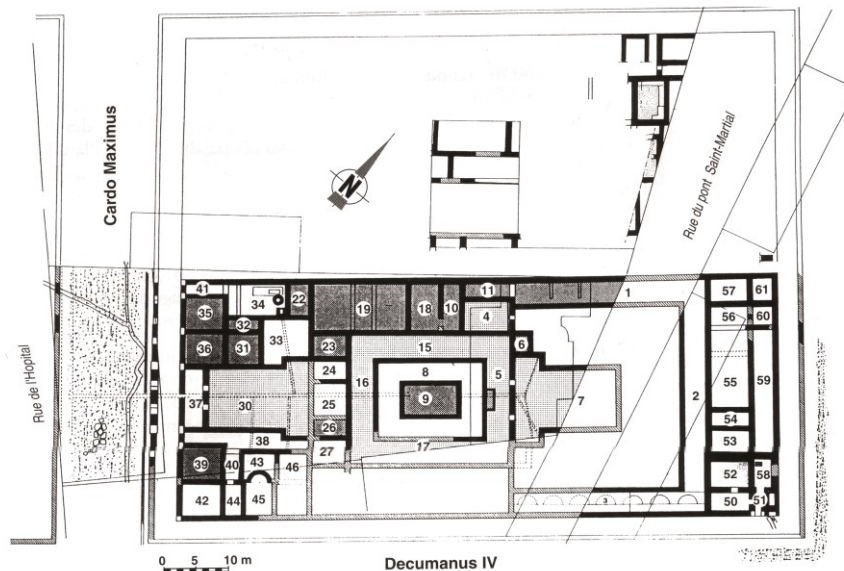


Figure 127: Plan of the Maison des Nones de Mars (after Loustaud 2000, fig. 27).

The decorations are very similar to those in the italic peninsula. Two rooms and a corridor present still *in situ* paintings: they are room 19, the basement of room 4 and the corridor 41. The room 19 is set on the western angle of the peristyle and it may be interpreted as *oecus* or another *triclinium*. Here the scheme consists of fields with poles in the form of *thyrsi* and motifs such as a round shield and a knotted ribbon. The decoration was completed by brick columns associated with plaster painted black with spiraling vine-tendrils and capitals and cornices in stucco.¹³²⁶

Room 4 is set along the gallery 15 in the northern angle of the peristyle: the access of the basement is made through wooden stairs whose position is suggested by different evidences. The motive of wading-birds and foliage surmounted by birds in socle are common but the duck in *predella* is more unusual,¹³²⁷ above come black and red fields

¹³²⁴ *De Arch.*, VI, 5.

¹³²⁵ BALMELLE 1996, 118; LOUSTAUD 2000, 179-180; LOUSTAUD 1992; LOUSTAUD, BARBET, MONIER 1993, 65-68.

¹³²⁶ LOUSTAUD 2000, 186-187; LOUSTAUD, BARBET, MONIER 1993, 96-98.

¹³²⁷ LOUSTAUD 2000, 187-188; LOUSTAUD, BARBET, MONIER 1993, 92.

separated by filiate branches and a very slender *candelabra* with vegetal feet and volute support.¹³²⁸

The mosaics, mostly in *opus tessellatum* in black and white, have decorations which are characteristic of the Italian production in the beginning of the Empire.¹³²⁹

The *insula* VI-5 is occupied by two houses: the Maison aux cinq mosaïques and the Domus à l'opus sectile. In reality the first one is the development of two superimposed houses (the Maison à l'emblema du lion and the Maison à l'opus quadratum). The Maison à l'emblema du lion presents in the *triclinium* (1) a mosaic floor with geometrical black and white decor and an *emblema* featuring a lion. The house dates to the middle of the 1st century AD even if the polichromy of the *emblema* points to the opposite,¹³³⁰ still it is possible that the owner of the house had the financial possibility to pay the luxury.¹³³¹

The Maison à l'opus sectile¹³³² knows two phases of which one is dated to the middle of the 1st century AD. It occupies the other half of the *insula* VI-5, in the corner of the *cardo maximus* and the 6th *decumanus* in front of the *forum*. The plan is very similar to the precedent house with two corps of rooms at South and North divided by a garden. Only the North side is known by a corridor (2), two luxurious rooms (1 and 6) of which the first one presents painted decorations in the third style¹³³³ and part of the porch (8).¹³³⁴

At Périgueux (*Vesunna*) the first stage of the *forum*¹³³⁵ was set up in this moment: the square is paved and in direct relation is posed a building with a nave surrounded by a gallery. For the plan and the size this building could be considered as a *basilica* (Figure 128, no. 2). The northern room may have been used as tribunal or be the seat for the court (Figure 128, no. 3), instead the room at South it may be a part of the building but it may also be a *Curia* (Figure 128, no. 4). In front the square is paved and on the northern and southern side there are *tabernae*.¹³³⁶

¹³²⁸ LOUSTAUD 1992, 45-48; LOUSTAUD, BARBET, MONIER, 1993, 77-94.

¹³²⁹ BALMELLE 1996, 118-119; LOUSTAUD 1992, 48-49.

¹³³⁰ BALMELLE, BARBET GUIRAL PELEGRIN 2005, 259.

¹³³¹ LOUSTAUD 2000, 191-193.

¹³³² LOUSTAUD 1988.

¹³³³ BALMELLE, BARBET, GUIRAL PELEGRIN 2005, 258.

¹³³⁴ LOUSTAUD 2000, 196-198.

¹³³⁵ It is possible to consider it in the Augustean time as not a really *forum*.

¹³³⁶ BOUET 2012b, 106; DOREAU, GIRARDY, PICHONNEAU 1985, 98-100.

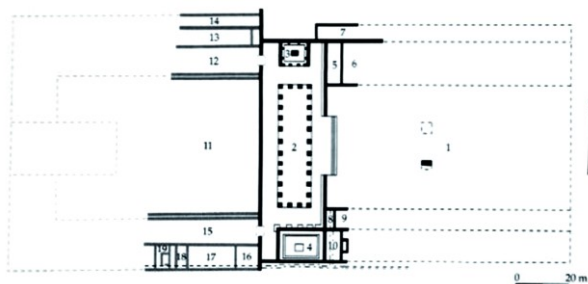


Figure 128: Plan of the *forum* of *Vesunna* (after Bouet 2012b, fig. 3).

The *domus* des Bouquets, at North of the *forum*, has different phases: the first one, at about the middle of the 1st century AD, develops according to the classical plan around a U-shaped peristyle and some of the rooms, mostly at West, conserve still paintings (Figure 129).

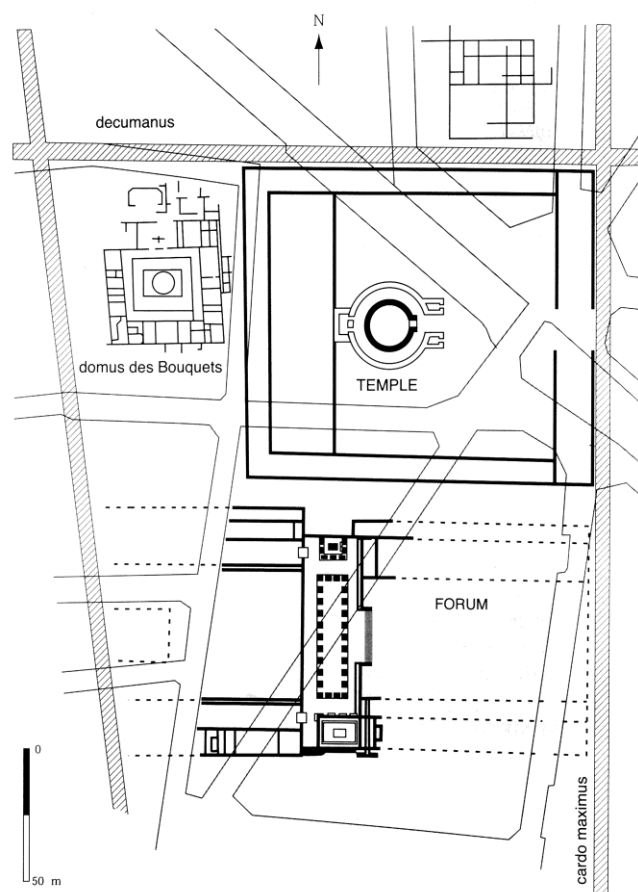


Figure 129: Location of the *domus* des Bouquets (after Barbet 2003, fig. 1).

According to Barriere the house belongs to the *gens Pompeia* because of the inscription of Aulus Pompeius Antiquus who donated the ground next to it for a temple but most likely it is the actual tower. Bouet thinks, instead, that it is a *schola subaediana* because of a communication with the temple, the existence of a kitchen and the monumental entrance.¹³³⁷

The house is very famous for the numerous paintings from all the phases. In the first one only the peristyle 6 preserves almost the majority of them¹³³⁸ with a system formed by black panels separated by bands with *candelabra* on red background while the bottom part includes a baseboard in light yellow and long compartments in black cut off by small ones in red and in the middle a four-petal flower and rose ones in form of medallion.¹³³⁹ Here there are also graffiti consisting of scratch, letters and drawing as for example the gladiators.¹³⁴⁰

At Rodez (*Segodunum*), in the middle of the 1st century AD, the Augustean buildings are demolished in order to construct the *forum*. The conserved part of it is represented by the eastern side composed of a double porch with *tabernae*: among them two exedras are set up. Along the porch, at East, runs a street which is paved with blocks in sandstone. The *area publica* is formed with slabs in red sandstone; there are found also foundations of a building which can be envisaged as a temple.¹³⁴¹

At Polignac was discovered a block with a dedication to Claudius.¹³⁴² According to Eck because of the presence of the titulature in nominative and the absence of a dedicator it can not be considered as base for a statue, indeed the text is very similar to another one in a milestone:¹³⁴³ it could be a *Bauninschrift* for imperial activities in the streets or for a special monument.¹³⁴⁴

4.4.3.1.1 Agglomérations secondaires

At Sanxay two buildings are set up. The one in the East is represented by the first three phases before the erection of a thermal bath. In the first phase a wall with three niches was erected: the three niches could be part of a monumental fountain; because of the

¹³³⁷ BARBET 2003, 86.

¹³³⁸ For the other rooms see BARBET 2003, 95-108.

¹³³⁹ BARBET 2003, 87.

¹³⁴⁰ BARBET 2003, 89-95.

¹³⁴¹ CATALO ET AL., 1994, 17-28.

¹³⁴² CIL XIII 1610; ILA Vellaves n°37; HØJTE 2005, n° 49; ROSSO 2006, 243-244, n° 38.

¹³⁴³ CIL XIII 1615, ILA Vellaves n° 54.

¹³⁴⁴ ECK 1999c, 203-204 n° 6.

three niches the sanctuary is dedicated to the *geni* of the *pagus* or, since the proximity with the river, to the *Matres*.¹³⁴⁵

In the West the Claudian construction follows a previous sanctuary: porches at the four sides¹³⁴⁶ surround an octagonal *cella* in *opus vittatum* at the centre of a terrace: the *cella* thus, is at the centre of a cross-shaped porch. The octagonal plan is peculiar of the Gallic provinces and it derives from wooden constructions. The plan is similar to that one at Chassenon but the arms of the cross are the staircase of the stylobate. The presence of canalisations at North and the spring in the *cella* suggests that we have again a water sanctuary. The discoveries of a statue of Mercury and an inscription suggesting a *sacrum* of Apollo recall these two divinities which are both water gods. The opening out at East and West speaks in favour of an association of gods.

If the eastern sanctuary was specializing in bathing therapy, in the western one a medicine based on meditation and psychological action was exercised.¹³⁴⁷ (Figure 130)

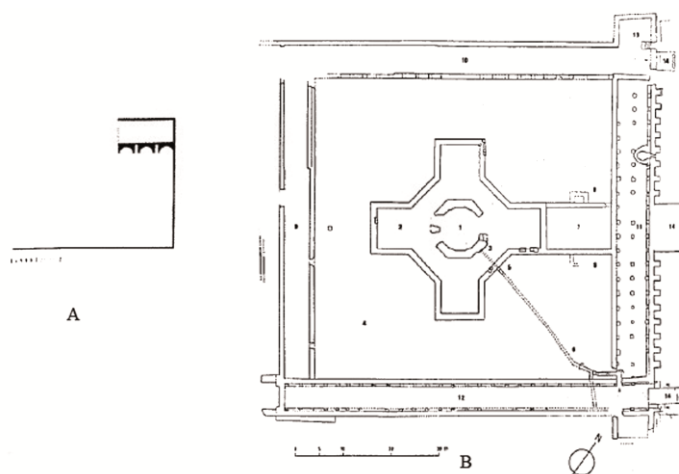


Figure 130: a) Sanxay: oriental sanctuary (after Aupert 1988, 68); b) western sanctuary (after Aupert 1992, 74).

At *Cassiomagus* (Chassenon) it was thought that the first development of thermal baths of Longeas could date to this period thanks to the presence of pottery in the courtyard nr. 2 in connection with a structure interpreted as pit for drain. Still this pit has no other known relations with other structures but the continuity of the organization of the space and the East-West orientation of the pit suggest the existence of a previous stage: in that

¹³⁴⁵ AUPERT 1988, 67-70; AUPERT 2008, 70-71.

¹³⁴⁶ The eastern porch links the parvis to the court through a staircase while the two lateral staircases take to the southern and northern porches.

¹³⁴⁷ AUPERT 1992, 73-82; AUPERT 2005, 298-299, AUPERT 2008, 70-85.

case it may have a very simple plan.¹³⁴⁸ The recent excavation between 2003 and 2010 suggest, on the contrary, that the evidences previously collected do not belong to any building.¹³⁴⁹

At *Argentomagus* (Saint Marcel, Indre) the état 1a of the theatre (Figure 131), thanks to the pottery, is dated to 50s of the 1st century AD.¹³⁵⁰ From this period remains only the perimetral wall: still the excavations show that it was installed on the top of a hill and that it was also built as a support because the filling is set in the *cavea*. It is still possible to perceive that this theatre was small with 56 m of diameter and it had an *orchestra*, totally destroyed by the second phase.¹³⁵¹



Figure 131: État 1 of the theatre of Argentomagus (after Dumasy 2002, 122).

At Saint Germanin d'Esteuil of this period is a modest house with a peculiar space organization (rectangular plan and façade galleries) that recalls the arrangement of some *villae* and the presence of a courtyard confirms these approximations with the rural architecture.¹³⁵²

4.4.3.1.2 Evaluations

Amphitheatre

The amphitheatre of Saintes with its full structure and no cellar make it belong to the amphitheatres of the early imperial time. The step posed on the ground instead of the

¹³⁴⁸ BOUET 2003c, 613; HOURCADE 1999, 169-170.

¹³⁴⁹ DOULAN ET AL. 2012, 142.

¹³⁵⁰ DUMASY 2000, 79-81.

¹³⁵¹ DUMASY 2000, 123-128.

¹³⁵² BALMELLE 1992, 340-341.

use of arches is another characteristic of the construction built in republican and in Julio-Claudian time. The opus *quadratum* is no longer used after this period.¹³⁵³

There are archaeological evidences of amphitheatres also at Rodez,¹³⁵⁴ Périgueux¹³⁵⁵ and Poitiers¹³⁵⁶ and all of them are dated to the Julio-Claudian period, thus according to Golvin they are all very similar all together.

Dedications

The statue of Claudius is dedicated by *C. Iulius Victor fils* known at Saintes also because he made a *mausoleum* for the father Caius whose genealogy enables us to rebuild the *stemma* of the family. Previous statues and the arch of “Germanicus” were dedicated by members of the same family.

There is a clear remarkable continuity in the tribute paid to the members of the imperial family from only one family of the city: they are very much close to the “imperial idea” most likely derived from the granting of Roman citizen by Augustus to the grandfather of Rufus as indicated by the *gentilitium* Iulius.

All these effigies coexist in the same period because of the short time when they are dedicated and it is possible to talk about an iconographical programme.

The *Iulii* belong to a municipal élite that pays tribute to the imperial idea and sees the order imposed by Rome as legitimize. If it is true that these acts of evergetisme may have been seen as obligations, it is also true that the dedications make appear their names in a privileged position becoming the mean for their promotion.

Also at Bordeaux the statues and the inscriptions belong to a big iconographic programme that must be exposed in a public space in the city. We are dealing with tributes to the imperial family whose portraits (in *toga* for the men and as *matronae* for the women) go along with dedications that present the identity, his/her dynastic position and the donator. In particular, the dedication to Claudius with the denomination *C. Iulius* was made by a local notable.

The second phase is dated to the period of Claudius with his dedication and the statue of *togatus* no. 2. According to Rosso the missing statue of Claude was dedicated by a private citizen to celebrate the advent of the new emperor.¹³⁵⁷

¹³⁵³ MAURIN 2007, 249-257.

¹³⁵⁴ GOLVIN 1988, n° 22.

¹³⁵⁵ GOLVIN 1988, n° 136.

¹³⁵⁶ GOLVIN 1988, n°137, GOLVIN; HIERNARD 1986.

¹³⁵⁷ ROSSO 2006, 195.

Navarro Caballero, reading with accuracy the old accounts and analyzing the evidences of the new archaeological excavations, comes to the conclusion that the statues could be leant against the walls of porches in rue Geroges-Bonnac and rue du Château d'eau on Mont Judaïque where he poses the *forum*, yet it seems possible that the dedications could set in a building at West of the *forum*, maybe a *basilica*.¹³⁵⁸

At *Lugdunum* a dedication of the emperor¹³⁵⁹ which belongs to a base of a statue could be erected for the *decennalia* while the dedications at Polignac is still matter of discussion.

Thermal bath

Contrary to the situation in Narbonnensis only at *Lugdunum* there are consistent remains of thermal baths. The *thermae* of the *forum*, in the stage 1 and 2, have a retrograde itinerary with a *frigidarium* close by.

At Saintes the archaeological evidences are really scanty to be sure of a Claudian datation while at *Burdigalia* it is not possible to place them in the tipology of Bouet.

Aqueduct

Again Claudius provided a city, Bordeaux, with an aqueduct.

Private houses

At Limoges the house of the Nones of March has a plan which is a remarkable example of the transcription into the Lemovican territory of a form of Mediterranean architecture inspired directly from the large patrician residences of Campania. The quality and the refinement of its painted decoration, the choice of very expensive pigments and their use to cover large surfaces, the elaborate compositions, are consonant with the richness of the house and its owner and betray the hand of a transalpine artist.

With a surface of 3734 m² it is bigger not only than the biggest house at Pompeii, the Casa del Fauno (only 2970 m²), but also than other examples in Aquitania and in the other Gallic provinces: the maison des Dieux Océans at Saint Romain en Gal reaches only half of the size.

The house develops through a perspective more than 70 m long where line up on the major axe the most important pieces of the house i.e. the porch-vestibule, the two big rooms, the peristyle and the garden. At the same time, it is clear a disposition centered on the peristyle, surrounded by, at least, a dozen rooms.

¹³⁵⁸ NAVARRO CABALLERO 2008, 218-225.

¹³⁵⁹ CIL XIII 254; ROSSO 2006, 196, n° 5.

The social rang of the owner is already visible from the porch in front of the house with 12 columns and an entrance with four columns in corinthiam style, disposed *in antis*. The access is possible through a porch-vestibule, higher than the sidewalk with three steps.

It is worth to note that all the houses with a sure plan have some charateristics in common: the axiality throught the entrance and the big rooms with a tendency to a lateral symmetry, the long perspective that links vestibule, *tablinium*, small *perstilius*, *triclinium* and big peristyle and the constant presence of a garden surrounded by porches.¹³⁶⁰

If the Maison des Nones de Mars represents a luxurious example of a house for notables, it is not the only evidence, for this period, in Aquitania. Again at Limoges but also at Périgueux appear houses with painted decoration of a certain quality in the third Pompeian style and sometime with mosaics. In the other big cities as Saintes or Saint Bertand de Comminges the creation of such houses began only in the second half of the 1st century AD.

4.4.3.2 *Lugdunensis*

Lugdunum (Lyon), the capital of the province during Claudius' principate, as it was his birth place, saw a great period of urbanization and development (Figure 132).

¹³⁶⁰ LOUSTAUD 2000, 223-226.

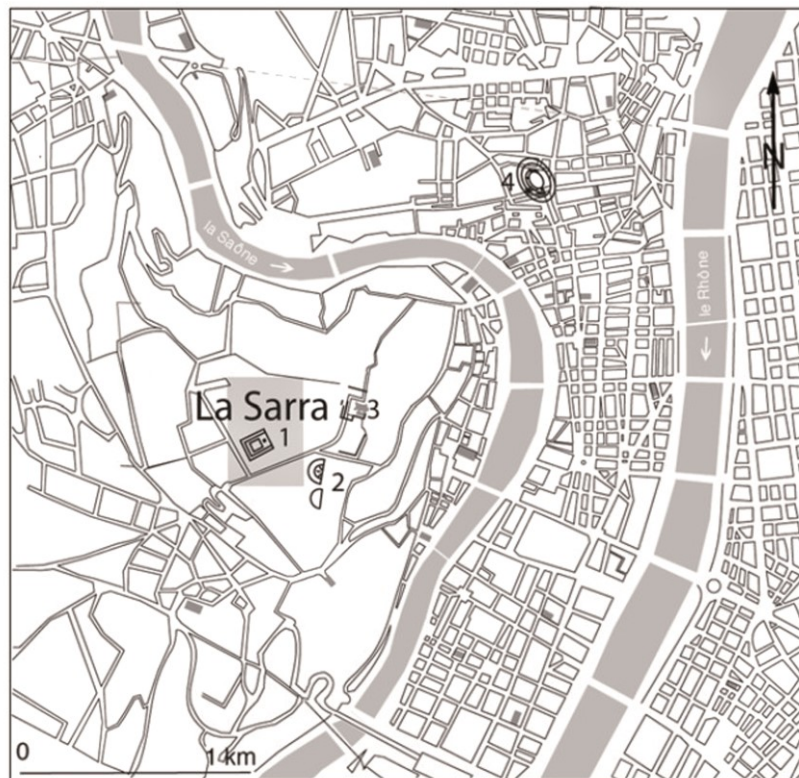


Figure 132: Plan of Lyon: 1) Sanctuary of La Sarra, 2) Theatre and *odeion*, 3) Monumental site of Fourvière, 4. Amphitheatre (rielaboration after Darblade- Audoin, Thirion 2009, fig. 1).

A municipal sanctuary for the imperial cult was built in the quartier of Clos du Verbe Incarné in the Plateau of La Sarra¹³⁶¹ (Figure 133). Even if the discoveries of some pieces of sculpture through the time, it is still a matter of debate if it was a *capitolium* or sanctuary for the imperial cult.¹³⁶²

¹³⁶¹ For the interpretation as *forum novum* see MANDY 1987.

¹³⁶² DARBLADE-AUDOIN, THIRION 2009.

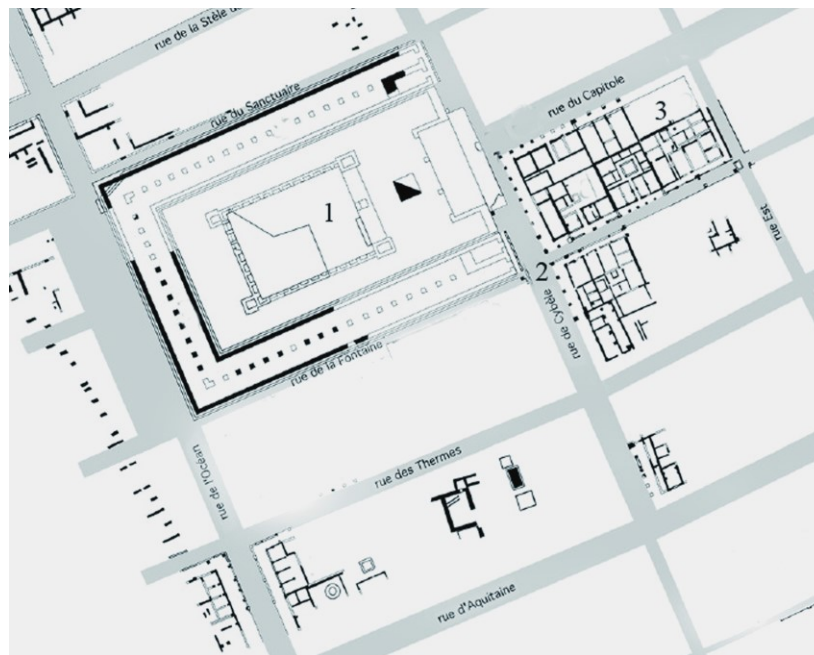


Figure 133: Clos du Verbe Incarné: 1) Sanctuary, 2) Fountain, 3) Îlot VII (rielaboration after Darblade-Audoine, Thirion, 2009, fig. 2).

The temple, whose *podium*-foundation of 41 x 32 m is still visible, was surrounded on the three sides by a porch (120 x 9 m) above a *cryptoporticus* which was one of the biggest in Gaul and built after the unification of four blocks.¹³⁶³ The rue du Capitole which links the *forum*, most likely at Fourvière, to the imperial sanctuary at Sarra is enlarged (at least for 300 m of its length) and doted of porches. At the same time the perpendicular street, rue de Cybèle, annexed a portion of ground measuring 6 m and with the enlargement of the streets a sewer system of adduction and evacuation was installed.¹³⁶⁴

Differents buildings connected to the water were also erected.

At Choulans were found in 1967 numerous blocks but one is very peculiar because is a mask based upon a fountain's basin. It presents a base (1 x 0.4 x 0.26 m) with a Cyclops' head, on top of which an epigraphical field bears a dedication to Jupiter and Claudius. Most likely it was built either in AD 41 or in AD 43.¹³⁶⁵ (Figure 134) The mask has a unique eye on the front and the water comes through the mouth.

¹³⁶³ DESBAT, DELAVAL 1998, 410; LASFARGUES, LE GLAY 1980; THIRION 2005, 70.

¹³⁶⁴ DESBAT, DELAVAL 1998; 410, 313-415.

¹³⁶⁵ AE 1976, 424; DESBAT, DELAVAL 1998, 418-419; FERDIÈRE 2011, 47; LE GLAY, AUDIN 1976, 6-20.



Figure 134: Fountain of Cyclope (after Desbat, Delaval 1998, fig. 12).

At Clos du Verbe Incarné in 1985 was discovered a fountain¹³⁶⁶ in a wonderful state of preservation. The basin is located in the intersection of two streets and flanked by four *insulae*. The disappearance of the contemporary street permitted to discover the first bottom of the basin constituted by two slabs framing a third one of small dimensions which goes beyond to one end in order to receive the pile for the alimentation. The basin is the support for four vertical supports of 1.05 m high. The block for the alimentation and its “capital” forms a borne-fountain. From the second sistemation¹³⁶⁷ the capital was engraved with the inscription CLAUD AUG (Figure 135). Because of his altitude, 283 m, the fountain could only contact the water coming from the aqueduct of Gier (even if there is still the possibilty of alimentation from the aqueduct of La Brévene).



Figure 135: Capital of the fountain with in negative the letters that forms the inscription (after Desbat 2001, fig. 2).

¹³⁶⁶ DELAVAL 1989.

¹³⁶⁷ DELAVAL 1989, 238.

The discovery of leadpipes marked with the name of Claudius made believe that the aqueduct was a work of this emperor, but in 1887 the reproduction of a Hadrian's edict regarding the protection of the water changed this idea.¹³⁶⁸

The discovery of the fountain at Verbe Incarné in 1985 brought up again the Claudian date,¹³⁶⁹ in 1996 another inscription at Saint Joseph, 6km from the itinerary of the aqueduct, suggested again a datation in Hadrian's period.¹³⁷⁰

Between 1991 and 2003 excavations at the site of the supposed Cybele's sanctuaries (Plateau de Fourvière)¹³⁷¹ discovered a buildings-development in two phases before the construction of this conjectured sanctuary. The second one, around 20/15 BC, is characterised in îlot I by a big house, a presumed *praetorium*,¹³⁷² and in îlot II by some houses à *atrium*,¹³⁷³ The *praetorium* had a thermal zone and an *atrium* without *impluvium*,¹³⁷⁴ Some negatives of pipes are also found in this context¹³⁷⁵. In the Houses of *opus spicatum* and in the house au bassin de calcaire the basin does not supply a cistern as in a normal *atrium* but the pluvial waters were evacuated towards the drain of the street. All these elements presume that the aqueduct was already in function during Augustus's time also because of the altitude.¹³⁷⁶

As pointed out by Desbat in 2011,¹³⁷⁷ Pelletier in 2007,¹³⁷⁸ in his critique of the new hypothesis, confused the *atrium* of the *praetorium* without basin and the *atrii* of the other houses. All these discordant theories pushed Desbat to put together the informations so far available for the datation of the aqueduct¹³⁷⁹. Regarding the materials, the techniques of construction they are not incompatible with a Augustean datation and, in the same time, they are not sufficient to date it to Claudius or Hadrian's time: ever admitting, as does once again Pelletier,¹³⁸⁰ the late datation of the *opus mixtum* is not a decisive factor. The archaeometrical datation of samples of the bricks

¹³⁶⁸ BURDY 2000; DESBAT 2004, 212-213; DESBAT, DELAVAL 1998, 419-420, 423, FERDIÈRE 2011, 53.

¹³⁶⁹; DELAVAL 1989; MANDY 1986.

¹³⁷⁰ BURDY 1996.

¹³⁷¹ It is composed of a rectangular terrace (80 x 53 m). The identification as Cybele sanctuary and its datation to AD 160 is not more sustained: it may be a *schola* for an important *collegium*, an *augustales* or a barrack for *vigiles*, FERDIÈRE 2011, 52.

¹³⁷² DESBAT 2005b, 111-118.

¹³⁷³ DESBAT 2005b, 118-121.

¹³⁷⁴ DESBAT 1998.

¹³⁷⁵ CHOMER 2005; DESBAT 2005a; DESBAT 2005b, 111-121.

¹³⁷⁶ DESBAT 1998; DESBAT 2004, 213; DESBAT 2005b.

¹³⁷⁷ DESBAT 2011, 182.

¹³⁷⁸ PELLETTIER 2007.

¹³⁷⁹ In general see LAVRUT 1986.

¹³⁸⁰ PELLETTIER 2007, 388.

suggests a Claudian date but it is in contradiction with the stamped brick CLARIANUS of the end of 1st century AD,¹³⁸¹ or which it is only possible to assume a restoration. For Desbat the winning point for a Augustean datation are the archaeological evidences in Fourvière.¹³⁸² He thinks that Agrippa, *curator* of Aqua Virgo and Aqua Iulia at Rome, undertook the work; the arguments previously attributed to Claudius (i.e builder of Aqua Claudia and Aqua Novus) can be easily applied to Agrippa as well. Still the presence of pipes with Claudius' name testifies that he built an aqueduct but he could, as well, have restored Agrippa's aqueduct testified, maybe, by the fountain of Verbe Incarné. The restoration or a new construction may be linked to the thermes at Rue de Farges.¹³⁸³ (Figure 136)



Figure 136: Gier's aqueduct (after Ferdière 2011, fig. 33).

The thermes at Rue de Farges¹³⁸⁴ were built in this period and it is possible that they were an urban building as the *suspensura*-bricks with the print C. C. C. A. L (*Colonia Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum*) show.¹³⁸⁵ Only the South part has been explored while the North one was destroyed with the construction of the chapel des Minimes: it is possible, thus, to reconstruct a building of 75 x55 m with a surface of 3500 m². The South section, with the *tepidarium* und *caldarium* and maybe a *laconicum*, presents a façade with two wings ending with two apses.

¹³⁸¹ BORLENGHI 2003.

¹³⁸² DESBAT 2011, 185.

¹³⁸³ DESBAT 2011, 186.

¹³⁸⁴ They destroyed previous boutiques built in adobe; DESBAT 1985, 75.

¹³⁸⁵ DESBAT, DELAVAL 1998, 421-423; FERDIÈRE 2011, 53.

In this period also the domestic zones at Clos de Verbe Incarné are renovated (Figure 137)

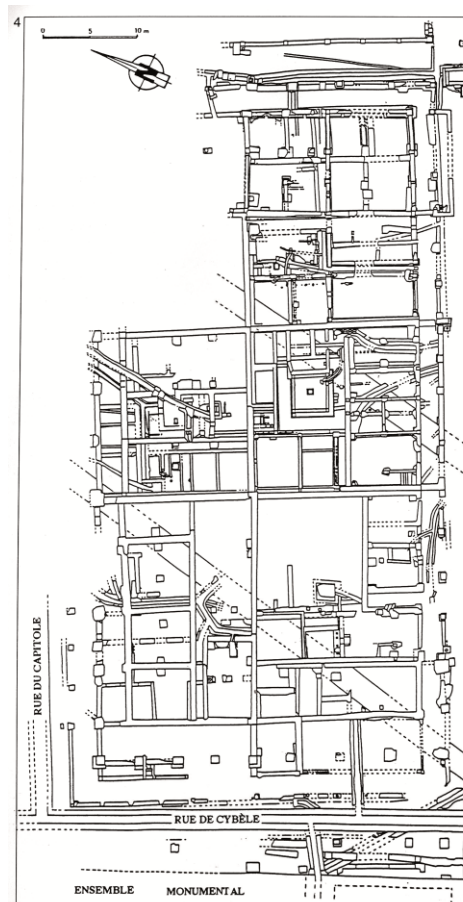


Figure 137: Plan and hypothesis of reconstruction of the îlot VII (after Delaval 1996, fig. 5).

The *insula* VII saw some developments in relation also with the enlargement of Rue de Cybèle and rue du Capitole. Two houses of italic type, the Maison aux pilastres and the Maison à l’emblema mosaïque, are on the North side along the rue du Capitole: they are constituted by up to eight rooms organized around an *atrium* while the Maison aux Pilastres had also a *hortus* in the very end. Originally in adobe, they are then rebuilt in timber frame. Some boutiques are placed side by side at the West of Maison aux Pilastres. In the South half of the *insula* the architecture is somehow different because of the economic importance. The two angle-buildings have perpendicular series of boutiques and two units of habitation in the back. In the middle of the *insula*, the Maison du Laraire develops similarly to the Maison à l’emblema mosaïque: four boutiques open to the Rue de la Fontain and the habitation rooms in the back are distributed around a basis. As for the two previous edifices, it is possible to see two

buildings here i.e. a structure with boutiques and a habitation and not a *domus*.¹³⁸⁶
(Figure 138)

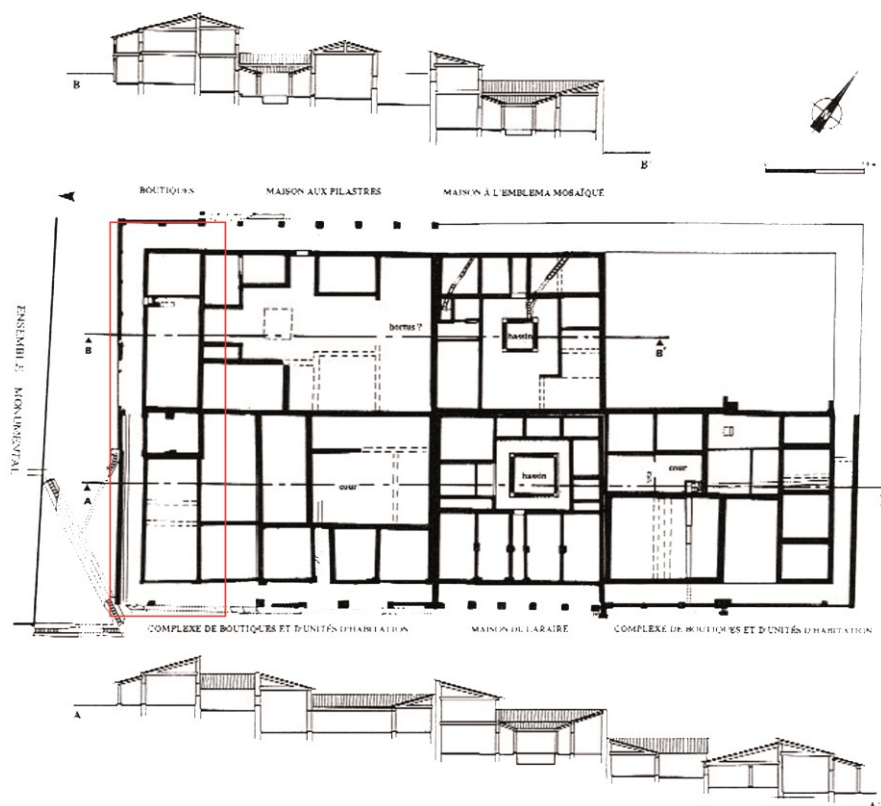


Figure 138: Plan of the houses (after Delaval 1996, fig. 6).

Fanum Martis, nowadays Corseul, was found as a result of a political will in relation with its position in a strategic place for communication. After a slow start with Augustus, it is with Tiberius and then Claudius that the site assumed a proper urban connotation. With Tiberius the city got a street layout which does not follow the orientation of the streets going out the city and it outlines rectangular moduls whose measurement unit may be the *pes drusianus* (Figure 139).

¹³⁸⁶ DELAVAL 1996, 132.

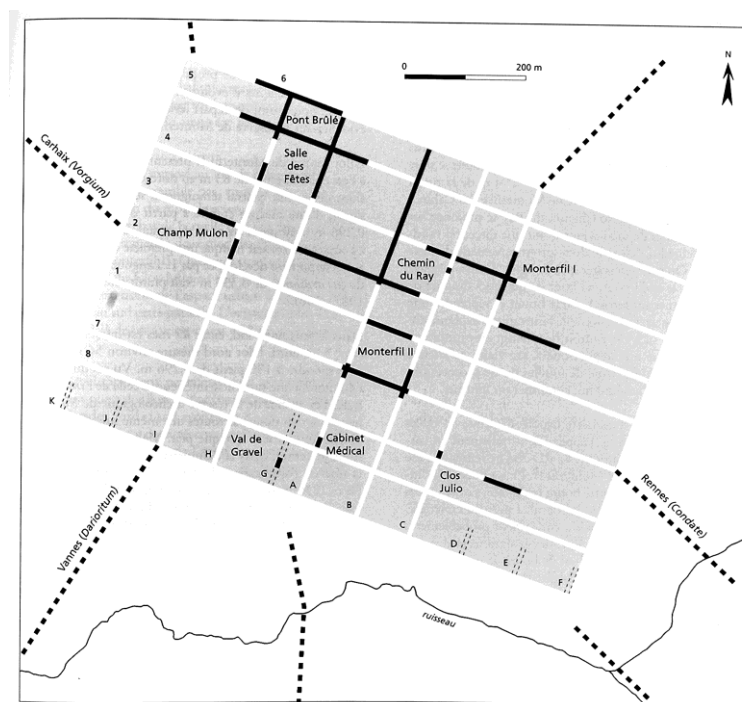


Figure 139: Plan of Corseul with the location of the cited sites (after Kerebel 2001, fig. 158).

It is with Claudius that the masonry was introduced in the building's construction. At Salle de Fêtes a small edifice, the bâtiment I, (6.50 x 4 m) was built: the walls were in cob-wattle; in the North two small hearths are discovered. They could be used in open air or inside a building of which nothing remained.¹³⁸⁷ In the end of Claudius' principate a North-South street was installed while the bâtiment II and III are probably built afterwards.¹³⁸⁸ (Figure 140)

¹³⁸⁷ FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE, LE POTIER 1987, 91-92.

¹³⁸⁸ KÉRÉBEL, FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE 1998, 451.

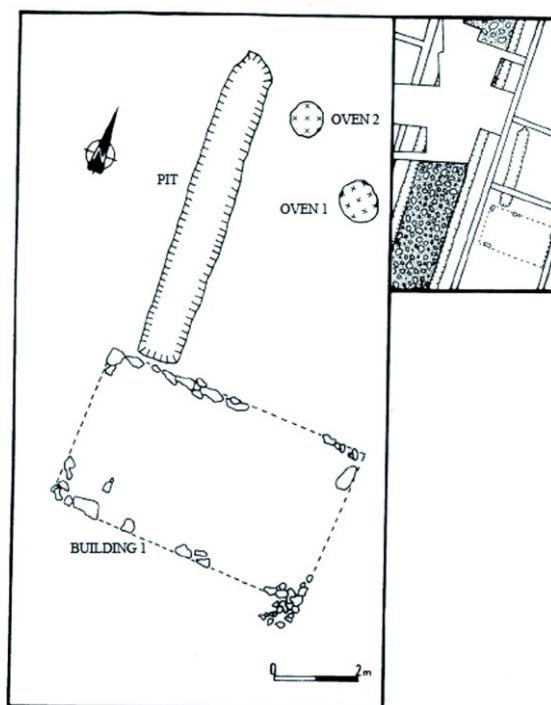


Figure 140: Building of the first period at Salles de Fêtes (after Fichet de Clairfontaine, Le Potier 1987, 92).

At Chemin du Ray an east-West street was revealed whose crossroads, on the site of Morterfil I, is associated to some buildings with an agricultural vocation: at the North were set up some boutiques or an atelier with porches while at the South a big edifice with blocks in schist.¹³⁸⁹

At the Cabinet Médical, even if it is clear that already with Tiberius the site was occupied, it is with Claudius that a North-South street was built as well the edifice with courtyard.¹³⁹⁰

On the site of Courtil Saint-Antoine the rescue-excavations made possible to study a small atelier for bronze: it was associated to four lime-kilns. Enclosed by a fence, it was centered by a small building of 13 m², which was destroyed under Claudius' principate. It seems that after the destruction no more important works were undertaken.¹³⁹¹ (Figure 141)

¹³⁸⁹ KÉRÉBEL, FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE 1998, 450-451.

¹³⁹⁰ KÉRÉBEL, FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE 1998, 451.

¹³⁹¹ KÉRÉBEL, FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE 1998, 451-452; FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE, KÉRÉBEL 1989, 142.

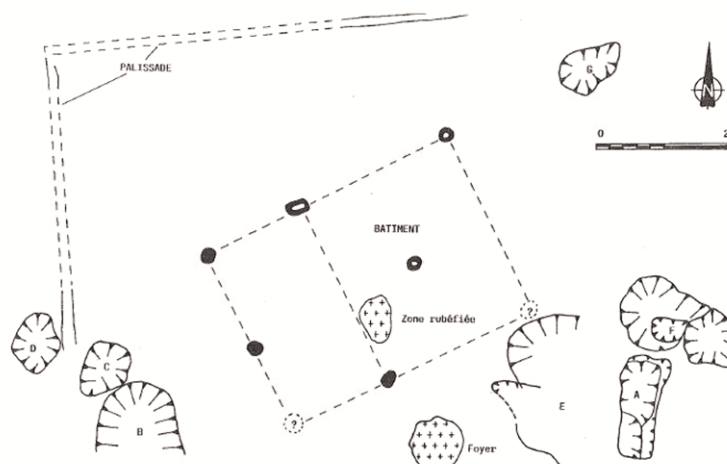


Figure 141: General plan of the workshop (after Fichet de Clairfontaine, Kérébel 1989, fig. 3).

At Clos Moulon a *domus* was built on this period: it was composed of two wings around a courtyard with porches.¹³⁹²

Thus the most important works undertaken are situated in Morterfil II.¹³⁹³ (Figure 142)

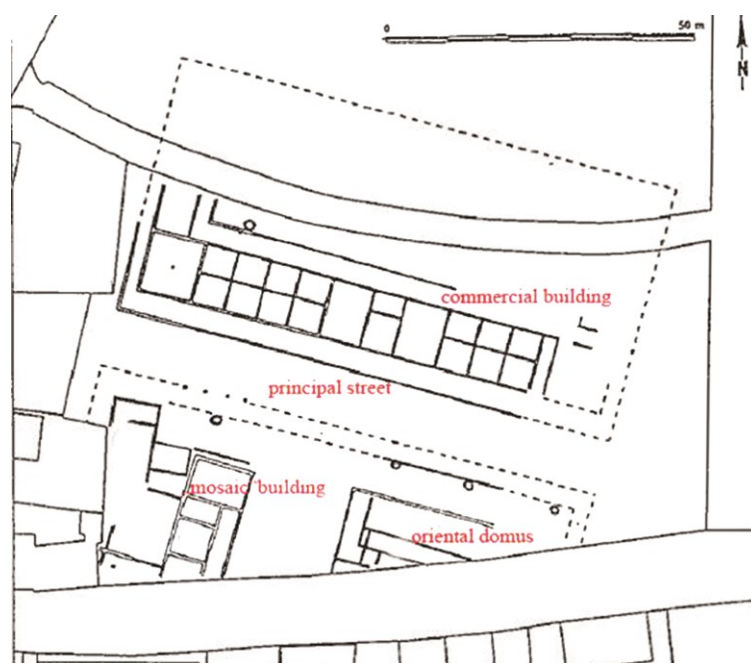


Figure 142: Plan of the evidences in Monterfil II (rielaboration after Kérébel 2001, fig. 125).

¹³⁹² KÉRÉBEL, FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE 1998, 450; FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE, KÉRÉBEL K1989, 147.

¹³⁹³ KÉRÉBEL 1996, 69-70; KÉRÉBEL, FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE 1998, 452-453; FICHET de CLAIRFONTAINE, KÉRÉBEL 1989, 147.

The rue 1 in the direction est-West was built and it divided two quartiers. At the North a building with commercial purpose (edifice 16) was erected: a *porticus* (portique A) is set on the South side, but it runs also on the East and West sides (portique C and D) along the small street rue A and B. On the back side another *porticus* (portique B) with a second floor opens which on the West side forks off in order to align to the wing of the building (portique E) and towards est is prolonged to portique D which opens to rue B.

It is organized into three levels: the West one including a room of 72 m² (pièce a), beyond it is occupied by four rooms (pièces b1, b2, b3 and b4) doubled by another four rooms (pièces b5, b6, b7 and b8) which are open to the portique B. The middle level consists of two rooms (pièces c and d) divided by other two ones (pièces e and f). On the est level pièces b9, b10 and b11 are open to portique A while b12, b13 and b14 to portique B. The building prolongs towards the est thanks to a room (pièce h) after a rectangular space (pièce g).¹³⁹⁴ The two ends are higher than the central one and the overall balance is assured by only one roof and the homogeneity of the *porticus* A. But the most important factor is the presence, in the middle, of the room e that constitutes the key point of the system assuring also the access, through a stairs, to pièce f (Figure 143).

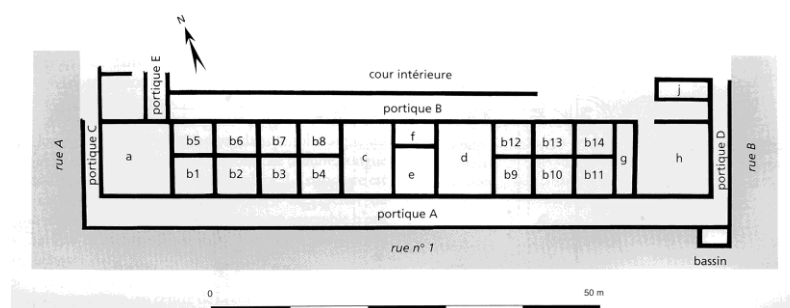


Figure 143: Plan of the bâtiment 16 (after Kérébel 2001, fig. 27).

On the South of rue 1 in the est plot, in its first step, the bâtiment 13 presents, both a North wing orientated East-West with several blocks of granite and five rooms and a West wing with only one room; in the second phase the bâtiment 13 evolves into a more

¹³⁹⁴ KÉRÉBEL 2001, 32-35.

complex *domus*, the bâtiment 6, with two wings, at North and at West, that are flanked by a porch open to a garden.¹³⁹⁵ (Figure 144)

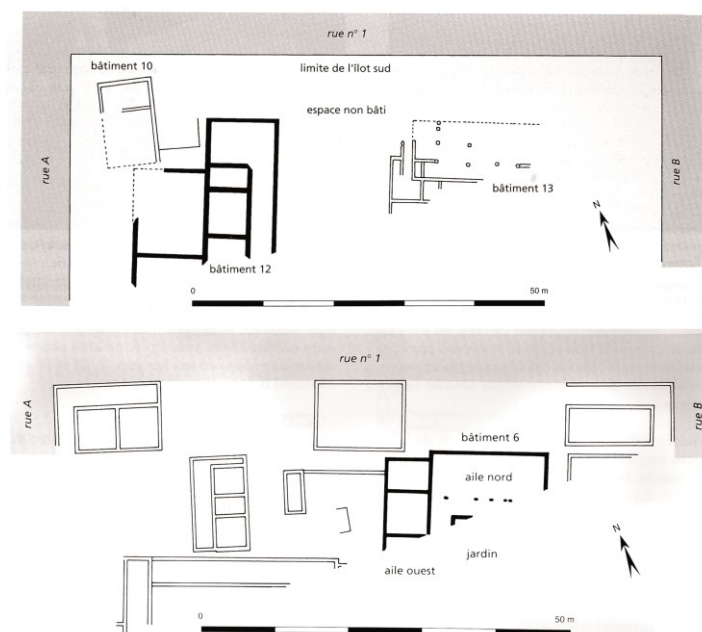


Figure 144: Bâtiment 13 (a) and 6 (b) (rielaboration after Kérébel 2001, fig. 62 and 66).

In the West plot, after the *ambitus* B, the bâtiment 12 or bâtiment à mosaïque had not destroyed another building (bâtiment 10) but it is set respecting, at North, the *ambitus* East-West: the oriental wing has four room (pièces d, e, f, ad h) and a long corridor (g) which opens to a place not yet developed with fragments of painted coatings;¹³⁹⁶ from the South wing only the pièce a remains.¹³⁹⁷(Figure 145)

¹³⁹⁵ KÉRÉBEL 2001, 48-51.

¹³⁹⁶ Of the lower part we do not know anything; the middle part is constituted of red panels and black small panels, anyhow the originality lays on the presence of compartments with a bottom in blue which presents a candlestick while the upper part is all black. A comparison is to find in Campania and precisely in the House of Bronze at Pompeii. The decoration belongs to the third style and the motive of candlestick is very widespread in the middle of 1st century AD, cf. KÉRÉBEL 2001, 57-61.

¹³⁹⁷ KÉRÉBEL 2001, 55-57.

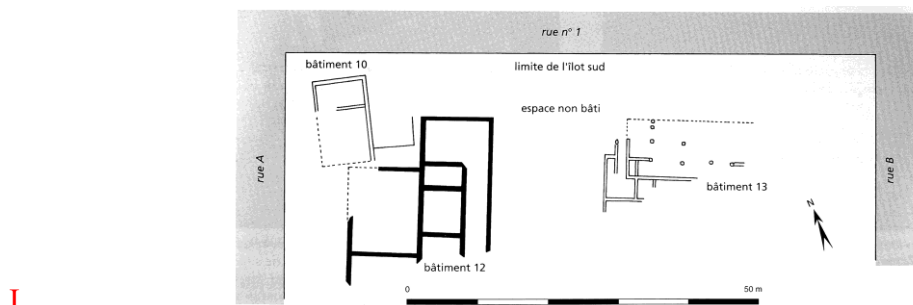


Figure 145: Bâtiment 12 (after Kérébel 2001, fig. 77).

The phase II, during Claudius's and Nero's principate, characterizes the true urban development of the *Fanum Martis*. The phase IIa sees the set up of the first orthonormal street system even if what remains of them for this period is very scanty while the phase IIb is that one of the consolidation with big works. The nature and the functions of the edifices indicate also a deep transformation in the organization of the city itself implicating a movements of the population and in particular the craftsmen where the centre was organized with shops while the North with residential quarters.

At Autun¹³⁹⁸ (*Augustodunum*) during the excavations of the winter 1985 in Boulevard Frédéric-Latauche in the *insula* XII 8 was discovered a porch 25 m long in *opus caementicium*, which is dated, thanks to a new survey in 2003, to the 2nd century AD. This porch is large 4 m and is bordered to the West by another wall in *opus caementicium*: it seems that it constitutes the eastern side of a series of *tabernae*. Because of the lack of excavations towards West, it is not possible to figure out if the porch bordered only the *cardo* or was part of a *basilica*.¹³⁹⁹ In 1986 another excavation, 40 m to North of the previous one, in *insula* XI 8 under the pavillon Saint Louis, was carried out and it discovered a second porch with shops on the western border of the *cardo maximus* and the shops were clearer off. It was postulated a first stage of the beginning of the 1st century AD with the construction of the shops aligned alongside the axis of the *cardo* while in the middle of the 1st century the rooms are completely rebuilt with the unmetalled floor and instead of the *cardo* it was set a paved area, between it

¹³⁹⁸ The heritage of Bibracte, Gallic city of Eduens, and the politics of the local elites, close to the Roman power, explains the notoriety of these people. The city is a new foundation which changes the old ways of communication. Now at least 14 streets arrived and passed by Autun, two of which are very important: the one from Lyon to Boulogne and the traverse that connects East to West, see REBOURG 1998, 146-156, recently LABAUNE, KASPRZYK 2015, 195-200.

¹³⁹⁹ KASPRZYK 2012, 260; REBOURG 1998, 182.

and the boutiques a porch was erected, on the southern border, a hard surface with steps.¹⁴⁰⁰ (Figure 146)

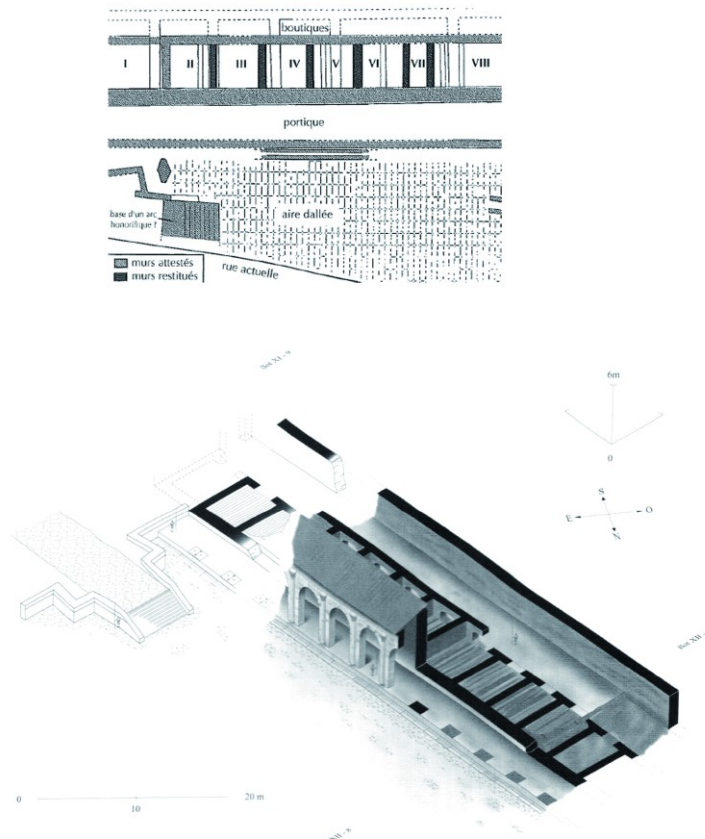


Figure 146: Plan and 3D model of the remains at Pavillon Saint-Louis in the middle of the 1st century AD at Autun (rielaboration after Rebourg 1998, fig. 31 and Kasprzyk 2012, fig. 3).

According to Rebourg, the monumentality of these remains suggests the presence of the *forum*: the *cardo maximus* is flanked by a porch with boutiques which, because of the different level of the ground, could be set in two floors while the other side had porches, as well, corresponding, for the South *decumanus*, to Rue L'Arquebuse. The columns in proconnesos, the fragments of architrave and the capitals¹⁴⁰¹ may be part of a temple of Augustus' time and in the axis of the amphitheatre; in this axis is situated also the paved area.¹⁴⁰² (Figure 147)

¹⁴⁰⁰ KASPRZYK 2012, 260; REBOURG 1998, 182-183.

¹⁴⁰¹ According to Olivier these capitals are very similar to those ones of the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome or to those ones at Maison Carrée, REBOURG 1998, 185 note 109.

¹⁴⁰² REBOURG 1998, 183-185.

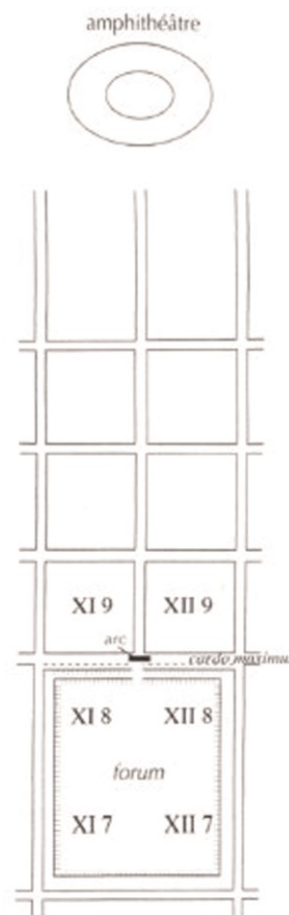


Figure 147: Hypothesis of the location of the *forum* according to Rebourg (after Kasprzyk 2012, fig. 4).

Thus this hypothesis is very fragile because the new analysis of the architectonic fragments suggests a date that can go back only till Tiberius.¹⁴⁰³ According to Labaune and Meylan, instead, it is possible to take into account the first hypothesis of the localization of the *forum* in the quartier of Marciaux.¹⁴⁰⁴

More recently Kasprzyk again rejects Rebourg's hypothesis despite the presence of the porches along the *insulae* XI and XII 8. The absence of a *decumanus* between the *insula* XI 8 and XII 8 is a *a silento* argument but there are no proofs that a *decumanus* actually runs here. The monumentality of the *decumanus* that separates the *cardo maximus* to the amphitheatre is no more valid and it seems that it was big as the other streets. But the most important factor to exclude the presence of a *forum* is a building called "capitole" in the North-East angle of the supposed *forum* in the *insulae* XI 8. Thanks to the old

¹⁴⁰³ LABAUNE, MEYLAN 2011, 121 with added bibliography.

¹⁴⁰⁴ LABAUNE, MEYLAN 2011, 121.

reports and manuscripts, this “capitole” is in reality a Gallo-Roman temple and it is situated precisely where Rebourg placed the *forum*.¹⁴⁰⁵ (Figure 148)

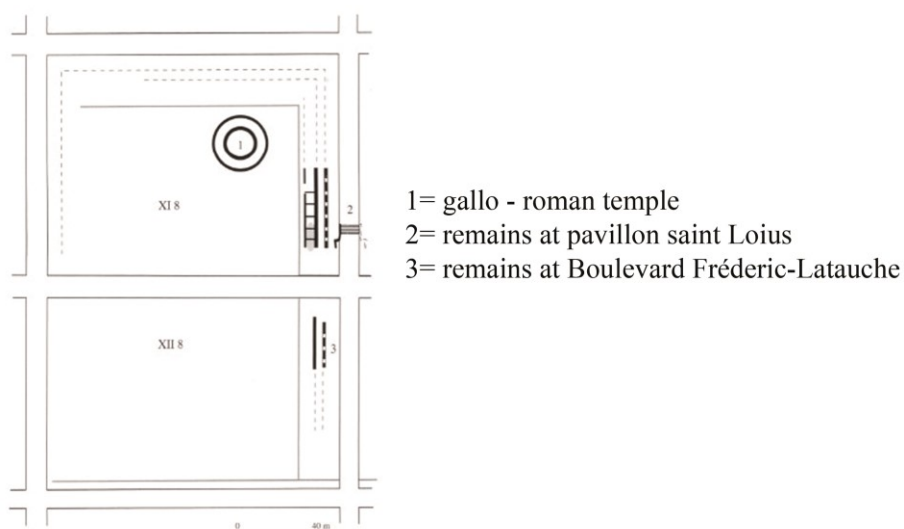


Figure 148: Kasprzyk’s hypothesis in the *insulae* XII 8 and XI 8 (rielaboration after Kasprzyk 2012, fig. 5).

Some old and new discoveries in the *insulae* IX-X 8, VII-IX8 and VII-IX 9 suggest the presence of, at least, three monumental *insulae*. In the insula IX-X8 there are evidences *a priori* of a thermal complex because of two basins (Figure 149, no. 1 and 3), plumpings and in general the monumentality of the remains. It makes sense to look for the *forum* in a northern quartier. Hypothetically it is possible to recognise in the *caementicum*’s evidence in the insula VIII-IX 8 (Figure 149, no. 2) a *podium* of a temple bordered at North by a wall 37 m long with considerable fragments of inscriptions which could be possibly a *cryptoporticus*. In the insula VII-IX 9 debris of marble and a wall were discovered (Figure 149, no. 1). With this hypothesis the *forum* lies from East to West in the *insulae* VII-IX 8 and 9 and separated by the *cardo maximus*.

¹⁴⁰⁵ KASPRZYK 2012, 261-263.

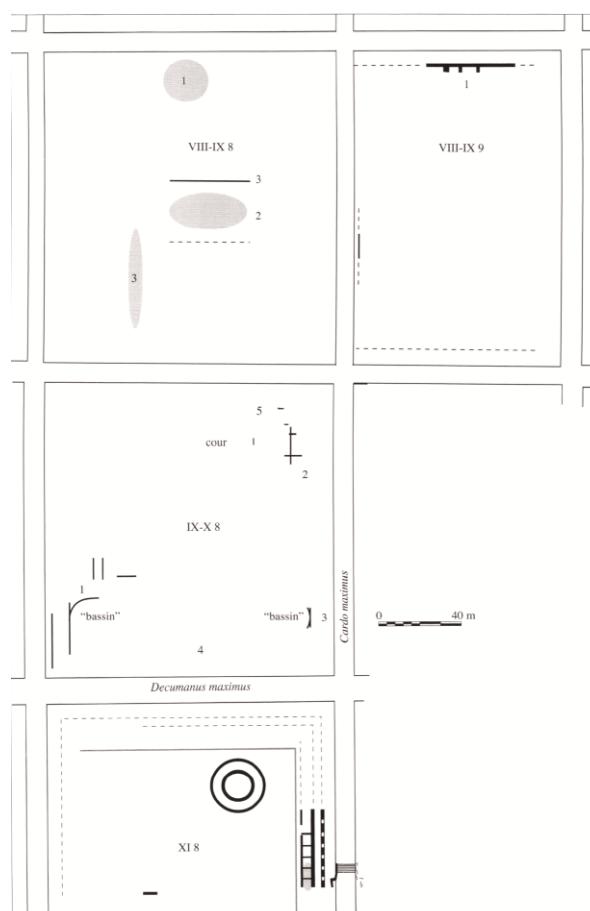


Figure 149: Simplified plan of the centre of the city (after Kasprzyk 2012, fig. 11).

But the thermal baths in the *insula* IX-X 8 are not sure and the *forum* might expand in the *insulae* VII-IX 8 and IX-X 8 with a temple on the North side and a *basilica* on the South side: The two bassins could be two absides of a *basilica*.¹⁴⁰⁶

At Feurs (*Forum Segusiauorum*) an inscription testifies the reconstruction by an official officer of the theatre in stone.¹⁴⁰⁷ Not so much more is preserved for this period: the *decumansus* I,¹⁴⁰⁸ the maison de la Commune and the quartier sud.¹⁴⁰⁹

At Èvreux (*Mediolanum*) a dedication to Claudius, whose inscription was found in the theatre (Figure 150), was made by a *flamen* of the imperial cult¹⁴¹⁰ and attests probably

¹⁴⁰⁶ KASPRZYK 2012, 264-269.

¹⁴⁰⁷ CIL XII 1642, ILS 5639: *Divo Augusto sacrum pro salute Ti Claudi Caesaris August(i) Germ(anici) Ti Claudius Arucae fil(ius) Capito sacerdos Aug(usti) theatrum quod Lupus Anthi f(ilius) ligneum posuerat d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) lapiduem restituit*. SEAR 2006, 230.

¹⁴⁰⁸ VALETTE 1996, 99.

¹⁴⁰⁹ VALETTE 1996, 103-104.

¹⁴¹⁰ CIL XIII 3200; HØJTE 2005, n° 48; ROSSO 2006, 269, n° 6.

the date of the construction of the theatre. It was excavated in 1843 but then the remains were destroyed by the owner of the property.¹⁴¹¹

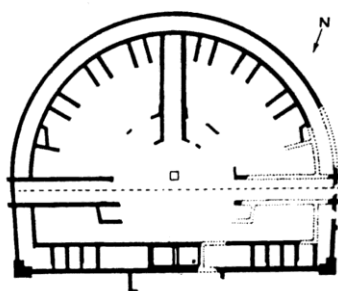


Figure 150: Theatre of Èvreux (after Sear 2006, plan 196).

At Tours (*Caesarodunum*), *civitas libera* as we perceive from two inscriptions,¹⁴¹² in the site 14, in the corner between place François Sicard and rue Jules Moineaux, a *domus* (structure 16), destroying the previous edifice (structure 19), is erected with two wings and a garden. Slowly all block is developed, in the South border appears a street, in the centre a strip of ground seems not to be built and presents only in the front some installation in perishable materials showing, likely, a modeste domestic occupation or a alimentary business, in the South-West the structure 18 is not so well known while the bâtiment 17 has two building phases.¹⁴¹³ (Figure 151)

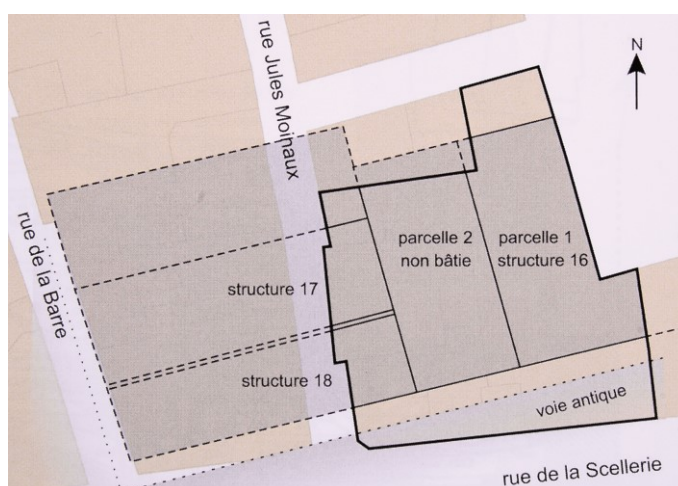


Figure 151: Plan of the site at Tours (after Galinié 2007, fig. 5).

¹⁴¹¹ SEAR 2006, 239.

¹⁴¹² CIL XII 3076, 3077.

¹⁴¹³ JOUQUAND 2007a, 145-147; JOUQUAND 2007b, 334.

In the Mérimée square a bridge, an aqueduct and development of banks are undertaken. The bridge could be identified by a crate of masonry which forms the South bridge abutment: this interpretation is confirmed by the discoveries in the Loire of stakes in oak tree which match the vestiges of a bridge coming out the excavations in the site. Some metres West to the remains there is a North-South wall belong to an aqueduct whose continuation could be seen in the bed of the river till the junction with another wall East-West: this wall may be interpreted as one of the supports of the *noria* for the water.¹⁴¹⁴ In the northern part of the Hôtel de Police in the middle of 1st century AD were set up two edifices according to a orthonormal plan. The first one is built with perishable materials while bâtiment 2 is in lime and stones.¹⁴¹⁵

At Paris (*Lutetia*) because of an increase of the population, the private areas grow.¹⁴¹⁶ The orientation of the houses and the borders are already established by the end of Augustus' principate. In rue Pierre et Marie Curie, after the construction of the first houses of small dimension with one or two rooms following the orthonormal system, were erected bigger ones under Claudius in wood and cob. It is possible to see three buildings (A, B, C, D). Generally the houses are isolated by spaces for circulation as for example the bâtiments A and B that are separated by a slab passage, possibly a court. They developed on both axes: North-South (C) and East-West (A). Every house, organized around one or two important rooms, possess an oven; the armature consists of wood and the empty spaces are filled with cob, the floor is in compacted yellow clay while the roof are in wood and straw.¹⁴¹⁷

The pacification of the Val de Loire after the conquest of Caesar could have lead Augustus to found *Iuliomagus* (Angers) in a site where a settlement was able to control the basin of the Maine. It is with Claudius that we see a development of the city. The roofs are built in *tegulae* and *imbrices*. At West of the Saint Martin Church the ground with slate slabs could belong to the first phase of a street dating to the middle of the 1st century AD.¹⁴¹⁸ In Rue Delaânge 14 some garbage dumps are in correlation with some houses.¹⁴¹⁹

¹⁴¹⁴ GALINIÉ ET AL. 2007, 171-172.

¹⁴¹⁵ CHAMPAGNE 2007, 182.

¹⁴¹⁶ ROBIN 1996a, 252.

¹⁴¹⁷ ROBIN 1996b, 42-46.

¹⁴¹⁸ PROVOST 1978, 59; PROVOST 1988, 104.

¹⁴¹⁹ PROVOST 1978, 62; PROVOST 1988, 104-106.

In Rue Kellermann 12 it is possible to perceive the growth of the city: after an Augustan pit filled during Tiberius' principate, the first building appears in relation with a basin in the schist inside a rose concrete.¹⁴²⁰

Vannes (*Dariortum*), capital of *civitas* of Venets, was installed in the slope of Boimoreau at North of the harbour. The *forum*, according to Triste, was first built between 30 BC and AD 30; the second phase, till AD 45/50, envisages a partition in two portions. one rectangular surrounded by a walls and the other with, so far, unknown, utilition. In both partition we see small ditches in parallel zones which can lead to assume, eventually, the presence of a *fanum*. The third phase, in the Claudian time, is the period of big work with the destruction of the *fanum* and the construction of the *forum* (176 x 96.50 m) where in the axis northwest-southeast is placed a sacral space defined by a *porticus triplex*, a *basilica* and an open space, accessible through a staircase and a double monumental door.¹⁴²¹

The *basilica* was in the middle of this space: it measured 56 x 26.60 m with a *mediana testudo* of 10.30 m. The tamboours in tuff suggest also the presence of a columnated fence that divide the naves.¹⁴²²

The *porticus forensis* has a common II shape: here is very well visible the spatial and monumental diversification; if the *porticus* encloses a temple we can perceive more the monumental emphasis as where it passes in the *area forensis*.

4.4.3.2.1 Agglomérations secondaires

Not only the *civitas* capitals gained the attention of Claudius but also the "small cities".¹⁴²³

The most important one is Alesia. Before the coming of the Romans Alesia was the *oppidum* of the Mandubiens: the place had been chosen not only for military purpose but also for economic reasons. Now the military aspect loses importance and the Romans prefer to increase the cultivations. Thanks to archeological discoveries we know that it became the county capital of a *pagus* relating to Langres.¹⁴²⁴

¹⁴²⁰ PROVOST 1988, 106.

¹⁴²¹ André sees a closed relation with the *basilica* at Nyon, cf. ANDRÉ, TRISTE 1993, 92-96.

¹⁴²² PAPE 1995, 74.

¹⁴²³ For an overview See 4.4.1.

¹⁴²⁴ BÉNARD, MANGIN 1994, 33.

An inscription of Martial¹⁴²⁵ mentions the name of the village: according to Lejeune,¹⁴²⁶ it cites an act of evergetism relating to the monument of Ucuētis that flanks at the North side of the the *forum*; yet no archaeological evidences confirms that.¹⁴²⁷

With Claudius the private quartier went through some transformations in relation with the regularisation of the street system: the orthogonal streets created blocks which are pretty much rectangular. The traces of the previous axes are not deleted but enlarged, the principal ones run West-East and they are doubled with porches which answered to commercial and service functions while the smaller axes, North-South, were used only as local service roads.¹⁴²⁸ In this way the old indigenous blocks were much more chaotic than the new ones which appear to have a strict cutting.

In the quartier South-West of the *forum* the *insula* F, bordered by rue 1 and rue 2, shows a lot of development (Figure 152).



Figure 152: Alesia: plan of the *insula* F with the the evidence of the cited buildings (after Petit, Magin 2002, fig. 1).

¹⁴²⁵ CIL XIII 2880, RIG II L-13.

¹⁴²⁶ RIG L II L-13; LEJEUNE 1979.

¹⁴²⁷ CREUZENET ET AL. 1994.

¹⁴²⁸ BÉNARD, MANGIN 1994, 36; GRAPIN 2011, 190-191.

Till the time of Tiberius, the blocks were narrow and the craftsmen worked in the workshops located behind. With Claudius these blocks were reorganized: a new street, parallel to rue 1, 35 m North (rue 2), cut the block creating two new areas; in the area at South seven edifices were built and they were open, through porches, to the rue 2, on the contrary at North were erected six buildings for living that opened, as well, with porches, to rue 2.¹⁴²⁹

In this southern area, at South of rue 2, in the phase IIIa the *ensembles occidentales* XXIVa presents at North a habitat with court (Figure 154, 307) for workshop (XXIV a), also XXIVb presents the same structure but a porch opens on rue 1.¹⁴³⁰ (Figure 153)

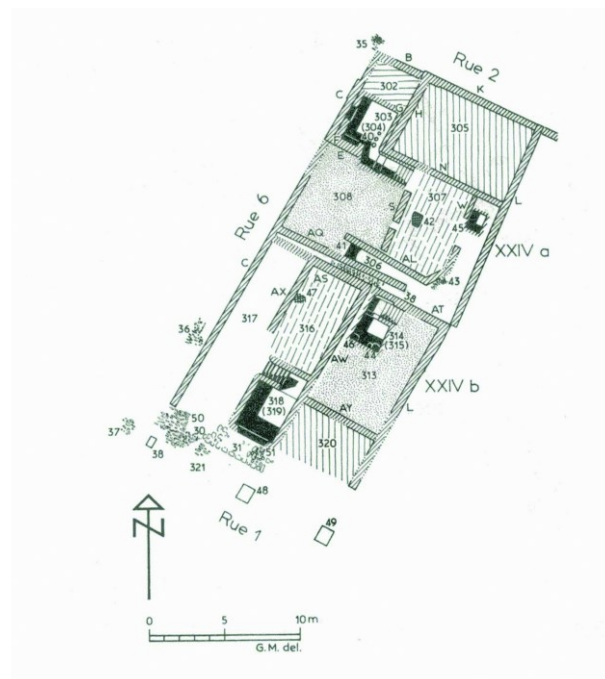


Figure 153: Building XXIV (after Mangin 1981, plate 6b).

In this area the *ensemble* XXXa has a group of rooms towards North and a court towards East; the maison d' horizon II is demolished forming four independent parts.¹⁴³¹ L'habitat XXIX is entirely used for metallurgic works where the court 389 replaces the domestic court of the maison XXXB and iron is worked while the court 380/381 are

¹⁴²⁹ BÉNARD, MANGIN 1994, 36; PETIT, MANGIN 2002, 84.

¹⁴³⁰ MANGIN 1981, 59-68.

¹⁴³¹ MANGIN 1981, 97-103.

used for bronze.¹⁴³² The *ensembles* XXVIIIa has rooms for workshops and also for domestic purposes while XXVIIIb has two new small houses.¹⁴³³ (Figure 154)

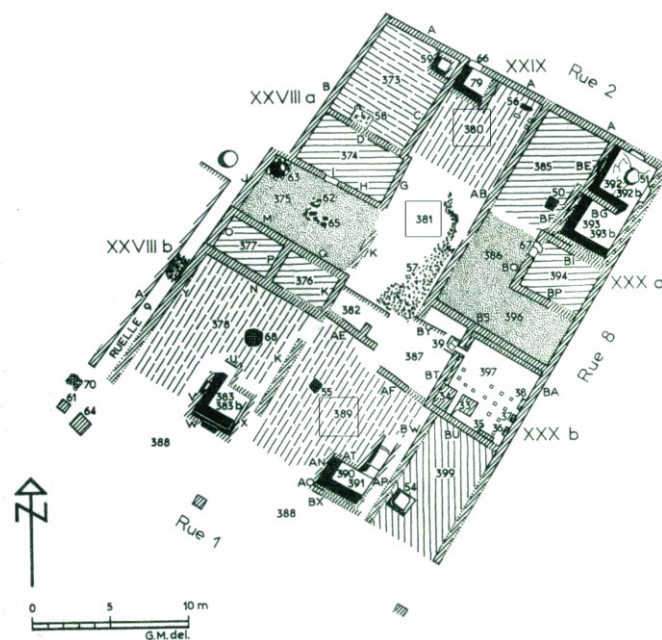


Figure 154: Buildings XXVII, XXIX and XXX (after Magin 1981, plate 39, b).

In the phase IIIb the habitat XXVIIIa develops with a court linked to rue 2 while the habitat XXVIIIb is more comfortable where the house at North presents a *hypocaustus* in the room 476¹⁴³⁴. (Figure 155)

¹⁴³² MANGIN 1981, 101-103.

¹⁴³³ MANGIN 1981, 103-106.

¹⁴³⁴ MANGIN 1981, 108-113.

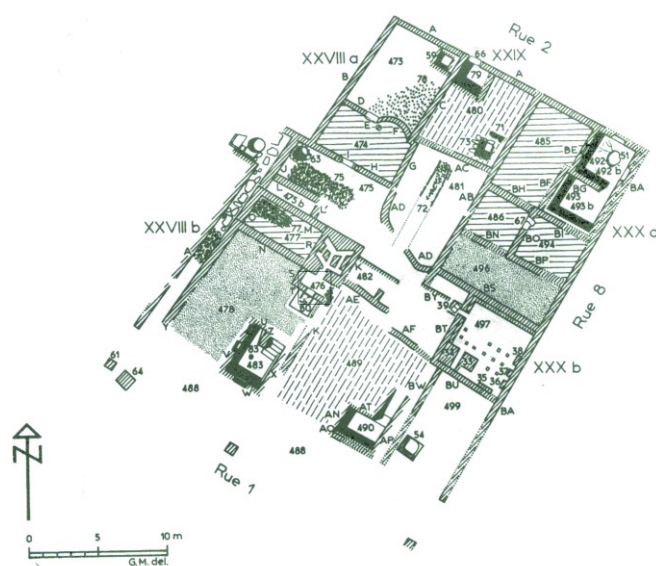


Figure 155: Buildings XXVII, XXX and XXX in the period IIIb (after Magin 1981, plate 40, a).

In the public space the building, that encloses the principal sanctuary in form of a porch with an impressive decoration consisting also in head of negroid type, disappears under Claudius.¹⁴³⁵ In the West side the zone shows an acceleration of the urban dynamics with a precise division between a private northern area and a southern public one. In the West and South-West five rooms in perishable materials are built as well as pits with North-South orientation: these remains might be interpreted as the first step of the theatre.¹⁴³⁶ To the East and South-East a paved square is set up in a triangular shape: the square is delimited at North-West and at East with a border, maybe with a more complex planning.¹⁴³⁷

Soon after then the public space is organized as *forum* to the detriment of the metallurgic workshops at the South and the porch-building.¹⁴³⁸ The project of the first theatre was soon given up as we can see by the cutting of a curvilinear trench of the filling with domestic and craftmade objects.¹⁴³⁹

The first sign of imperial cult is the head of a Julio-Claudian princess: according to Querel we must reject the hypothesis of Agrippina Maior, instead it is possible to recognise either Antonia Minor, wife of Drusus the Elder, statue consecrated in the end

¹⁴³⁵ GRAPIN 2011, 191.

¹⁴³⁶ GRAPIN 2011, 189.

¹⁴³⁷ GRAPIN 2011, 189-190.

¹⁴³⁸ One of the flowered capitals of the columns is used as mark for the niveau precedent the theatre.

¹⁴³⁹ GRAPIN 2011, 191.

of Augustus' principate or during Tiberius' or Livilla, statue consecrated during Claudius' reign.¹⁴⁴⁰

At Les Bolards in the municipality of Nuts Saint Georges, which is located in a crossroads of secondary street, the zone of the sanctuaries is situated to the West of the *forum*. The big temple surrounded by a *peribolos* that delimited a *temenos* in form of a semicylce, replaced two *fauna* of celtic tradition.¹⁴⁴¹ (Figure 156)

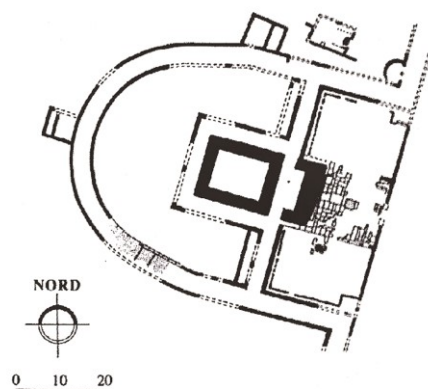


Figure 156: Plan of the big temple at Les Bolards (after Pommeret, Muzin 1986, fig. 25).

It is possible to see six different orientation axes which match the urban development's phase. In the second phase, when the temple is erected, the quartier I, the monumental centre bordered by rue 1 at South, rue 2 at West, rue 4 at North and rue 5 at East, and quartier II with at least five edifices are adjusted to this urban system.¹⁴⁴²

At Dampierre-Fontenelle the relation between the settlement and the road Pontailier-Langres is very stringent because of the alignment of the building along the road. The life of the agglomeration is that of the road dated to the 1st century AD thanks to a milestone found at Sacquenay.¹⁴⁴³ The organization of the edifices with façade-rooms and rears are typical of the middle of the 1st century AD, anyway their simplicity could be a proof of the brevity of the agglomeration. More the organisation of the spaces, in comparison with the unorganized system of other road *vici*, may be seen as an indication that it was a station of the *cursus publicus* (Figure 157).

¹⁴⁴⁰ QUEREL 1993.

¹⁴⁴¹ POMMERET, MUZIN 1986, 83-84.

¹⁴⁴² POMMERET, MUZIN 1986, 6-87.

¹⁴⁴³ CIL XIII 9044.

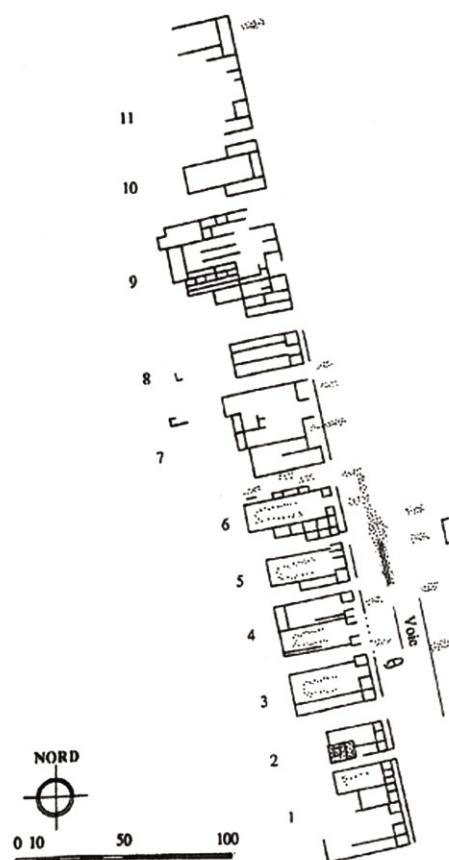


Figure 157: Plan of Dampierre-Fontenelle (after Bénard 1994, fig. 49).

4.4.3.2.2 Evaluations

Temples

At Lyon it is still matter of debate which remains might belong to a *capitolium* or sanctuary for the imperial cult while at Alesia the bust of Antonia Minor or Claudia Livilla Iulia suggests, for sure, a building for the imperial cult.

At Les borlards a temple is erected following the celtic tradition and Douarnenez the temple is a new set up.

Theatre

The only two theatres are attested in Feurs and Èvreux. At Feurs remains only the inscriptions testifying the rebuilding in stone.

Even if the theatre at *Mediolanum* was destroyed after the excavation it is possible to identify the type i.e. Gallo-Roman where between the façade wall and that one parallel

at South there are a series of irregular gaps separated by cross-ways walls postulating the presence of a scenic complex.¹⁴⁴⁴

This kind of theatre is typical only of Comata and it is the combination of theatre and amphitheatre. How to define theatres of this type is itself a problem because they come in all shape and forms. Mostly they are built against a slope or raised on an *aggestus*. Several were of wood or had wooden seats. Some are irregular in shape, some have an arena rather than an *orchestra* and some have a stage as well as an arena. The classifications, attempted by some scholars,¹⁴⁴⁵ are not very helpful to understand their function: Grenier called them “theatre-amphitheatre” devising two kinds: one comes from the amphitheatre (an amphitheatre with scene building and a smaller *cavea*) and one from the theatre (theatre with an arena surrounding by a *podium*).¹⁴⁴⁶ Dumasy has pointed out the difficulties of this classification and he proposed the single category “theatres of Gallo-Roman type” implying that the presence or the absence of the *podium* around the orchestra or arena is only a variant. More important is, as a matter of fact, the lack of *parodoi* and the *proscenium* with *frons pulpiti* and *scaenae frons* which characterize these constructions *non-classique*.¹⁴⁴⁷ Because there were usually no *paradoi*, the entrance was either from the back or sides or by doorways each side of the reduced stage.

Recently Frézouls, for an exhibition in Lattes about the theatres in the Gauls, returned to this topic.¹⁴⁴⁸ He suggested again that the stage lost its importance because the *orchestra* was used for amphitheatre’s performances. The originality lies not in the double finality (for theatre and amphitheatre) but on the morphological multiplicity. In the first case the possibility to use the *orchestra* as *comistra* is acquired by the hypertrophy of the *orchestra* that came circular (or almost) and with the *podium* between the *cavea* and the smaller stage is the perfect space for the gladiators. A second case is defined by the presence of elements of an amphitheatre (elliptical arena and *carceres*) in a general theatrical edifice.

The stage, sometimes, projected in the *orchestra* and occupied a large portion of it. Even a building with arena rather than orchestra seems to have a stage which is either on

¹⁴⁴⁴ MATTER 1992, 31.

¹⁴⁴⁵ NIFFELER 1988.

¹⁴⁴⁶ GRENIER 1958, 880-885. According to Matter this expression express only one aspect i.e. where a *cavea* is associated to an arena, cf. MATTER 1992, 30.

¹⁴⁴⁷ DUMASY 1975.

¹⁴⁴⁸ FRÉZOULS 1989.

the outer rim of the arena or on the far side of wall. Some scholars think that these were not stages at all but *tribunalia* and they were in fact *sacella* for the imperial cult. But if the stage was a *sacellum* where the performance took place in the case the *orchestra* was fully occupied by seating? It seems logical, so, to think that the stage was somehow connected to the performances even if of unclear nature.¹⁴⁴⁹ Even if the imperial cult was honoured, the games or spectacles were likely to have been of Gallo-Roman nature. This kind of buildings is difficult to order sliding into a new form with the development of the *cavea* and the *orchestra* at the expense of the stage. It seems to come back to the Greek conception of the theatre where the *skéné* is a secondary element: still this influence is not connected to a Greek influence rather to a galian evolution towards simplification.

Private houses and commercial building

At Lyon the Maison à l'emblema and the Maison du laraire have a plan centred on a *tetrastylum atrium*. This plan is common also from the Augustean time in other parts of Lyon, namely at Fourvière with the Houses of *opus spicatum* and the House au basin de calcaire. The basin forming the *impluvium*, as for the Augustean houses, does not supply a cistern. The dimensions of the houses are modest around 300 and 500 m² with, likely, a second floor. The spatial difference between a North side with houses and the South side with one or small unites of habitation and boutiques is the result of the attraction of rue du Capitole.

The enlargement of the streets reduces the depth of the plots and increases the development of the construction of boutiques with a second floor, needed also because of the high walls of the porches. The stagnation of houses and the development of small rears, in this period, is a tendency in contrast, for example, with the fusion at Saint-Romain en Gal of two houses and it seems to be something new in the Gaul. The reason for this strange development can be found in two phenomenons: the maintenance of the sociological composition of the block i.e. the artisans and the lack of space for private houses maybe in relation with the sanctuary that covers four blocks.¹⁴⁵⁰

At Tours from the middle of the 1st century AD the construction's techniques developed and the use of built foundation from 0.8 to 1 m became popular. The elevations remain in timber-framed, the roofs are in *tegulae* and *imbrex* and the soils in

¹⁴⁴⁹ MATTER 1992, 29.

¹⁴⁵⁰ DELAVAL 1996.

concrete. It is from this period that the built house has a *perystilium* where the porches' roof is supported by wooden poles. One example is the *domus* 16 in the site 14 where the soils are in terrazzo (Figure 158).

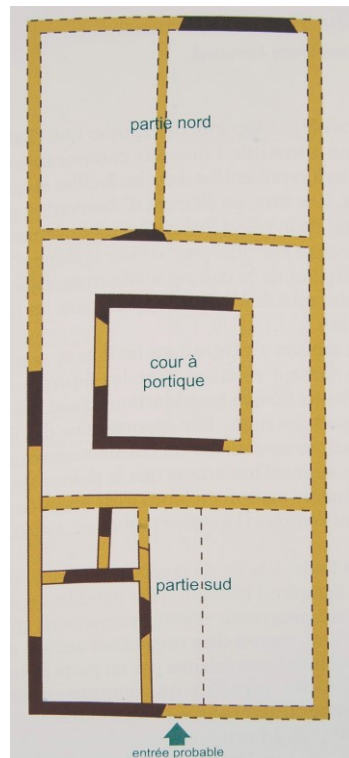


Figure 158: Plan of the house in 16 (after Galinié 2007, 334, fig. 19).

In Corseul the buildings's walls are in *opus craticium*, the roofs in *tegulae* and *imbrices*. The bâtiment 16 is the result of only an architectural programm where every end is occupied by a rectangular room (pièce a and h), in the centre the zone is divided in three parts (two big rectangular rooms c and d separated by two rooms e and f) and to both sides the central accommodation is set with aligment of rooms (b1 to b14). It is vey clear that is is build according to proportional rapports.¹⁴⁵¹

The physiognomy of the building is very particular and for that it is difficult to find some architectural paralles. Thus at Verulanium the edifices, whose first stage is date between AD 49 and AD 61, in the *insula* XIV, have some traits in commom: still the organization at Corseul seems to be more regular and it uses the *pes monetalis* instead of the *pes drusianus*. Another parallel may be found at Valkenbourg on the Rhein *limes* where some edifices are characterised by numerous rectangular rooms on two lines;

¹⁴⁵¹ KÉRÉBEL 2001, 125-126.

moreover at Xanten the corner of the *insula* 38 is occupied by a construction with two wings. Because of its oddity it is also not clear the functions of the building: was it a place to produce, sell or stock?¹⁴⁵² The commercial quartier is the result of a big project of urbanisation in the very beginning of the history of the city and taking care of the rue East-West no.1.

If, at Alesia, the houses are built in bricks, it is in the internal distribution that they remained still indigenous. They are small and built over a basement (with a domestic cult) with one or two rooms connoting them as nocturnal refuge. But they are built in a big courtyard where the majority of the domestic and handmade activities are carried on. If this is true for the craftsmen's quartier, in the commercial area the house itself occupied a big part in the property.

Fountains and aqueduct

The presence and the use of water seem to play a important role in Lyon as we can perceive by the presence of fountains, aqueducts and *thermae*.

The thermal baths at Rue de Farges could be connected to the aqueduct of Gier.¹⁴⁵³ The aqueduct ¹⁴⁵⁴ belongs to the 10th biggest one in Roman time with a path of 86km and 50 bridges. The structure of the canals is classic with a built base, two piedroit and a semicircular vault in *opus reticulatum*, which is very uncommon outside Italy.¹⁴⁵⁵

The fountain at Clos du Verbe Incarné is, following Glaser's subdivision,¹⁴⁵⁶ a roofless one consisting of a water basin and a waterspout.

The fountain at Choulans is very peculiar because it is the first time that the representation of Cyclops is depicted on a borne fountain and it is also unusual to find a dedication to Jupiter on such a monument. Different hypotheses concern the theme of Cyclops: Dupont sees an ironique allusion to indulgency of hog Claudius' reputation¹⁴⁵⁷ while Le Glay and Audin see under Cyclops the figure of the giant Balor, again with one eye and patron of the city.¹⁴⁵⁸ It seems more plausible to recall the theme of his inebriation already present in other nymphs as at Sperlonga, in the *Domus Aurea* and in the villa at Baiae built by Claudius in AD 46. It seems logical to think that the magistrates in Lyon wanted to remember in such elegant way the emperor who had a

¹⁴⁵² KÉRÉBEL 2001, 137-138.

¹⁴⁵³ See below.

¹⁴⁵⁴ BURDY 2002; DESBAT 2011, 175-178.

¹⁴⁵⁵ DESBAT 2011, 176.

¹⁴⁵⁶ GLASER 2000, 432-434.

¹⁴⁵⁷ DUPONT 1998.

¹⁴⁵⁸ LE GLAY, AUDIN 1976.

predilection to Ulysses representing ironically Cyclops in a fountain.¹⁴⁵⁹ it is a sort of “imperial citation” but indirect *si parva licet componere magnis*.¹⁴⁶⁰

4.4.3.3 *Belgica*

In this account also the cities that were in the two German discripts are considered. The districts, indeed, are linked to the Belgica only for military purpose and became provinces with Domitian. There are not so much urban and architectonic evidences: the cities, in this period, do not yet have a real development which begins, instead, with the Flavians.

The city of *Divodurum* (Metz) is situated on the confluence of Moselle and Sielle and the crossroads of the streets Lyon-Treves and Reims with valley of the Rhine. In the quartier of the Arsenal (Figure 159) the street-grid, with at least five roads, is already in use from the first half of the 1st century AD but the first housing, in îlot b, is to date to the Claudian period (état 1b). Housing units are developed perpendicular to the rue 1 and they are bordered by a gallery 3.50 m large. The best-preserved house (no. 2) is divided into four pieces: the three to the South have a floor in clay while the last one has a floor of concrete and pebbles. Collapsed on the floor of the porch in front of the same house is a partition in timber frame. Also, wall paintings with rendering in red, green and yellow and geometric motifs are preserved.¹⁴⁶¹

¹⁴⁵⁹ LAVAGNE 2012, 134-138.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Virg. *Georg.* IV, 176.

¹⁴⁶¹ HECKENBENNER ET AL. 1992, 19-20; HECKENBENNER, THION 1998, 500.

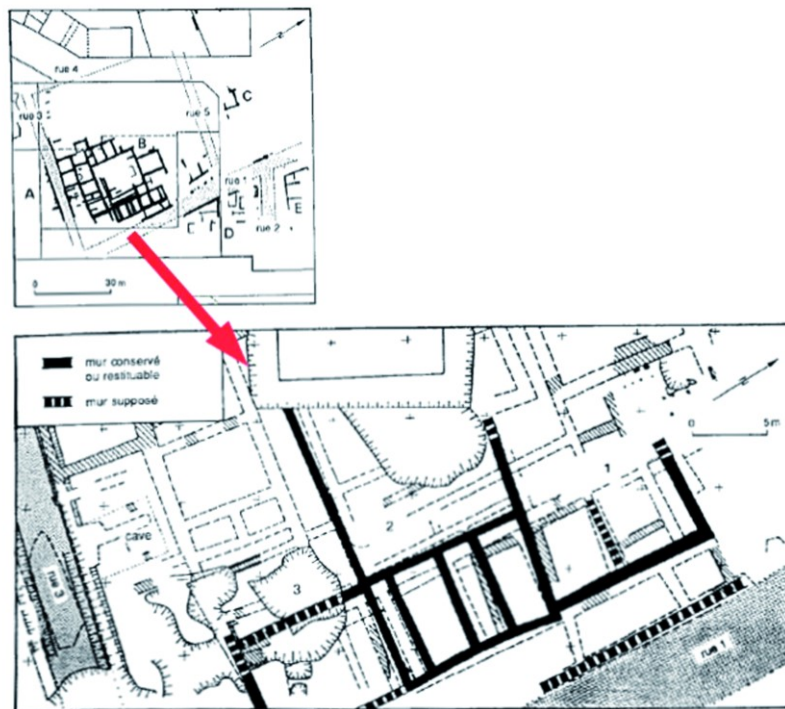


Figure 159: Arsenal quartier of Metz (rielaboration after Heckenbenner et Al. 1992, fig. 5 and 10).

At rue Marchant a *domus* built between Tiberius and Claudius was found. The floor can be in clay (pièce 2) or in terrazzo (pièce 1). The house conserves, as well, wall paintings which are the earliest in Lorraine. In pièce 1 the painting is 2,8 m long and 1 m high and it is executed on sand mortar and lime. Above a pink plinth there is a molding band in white, yellow, red and black. After two big black panel frames a red panel bordered by stripes with a V motif; in the centre, between two white stripes, a *candelabrum* is depicted.¹⁴⁶²

In the pièce 2 (or corridor) we see an alternation of red and black panels. The red ones are framed, on top, by white cornices, inside there are some floating objects like *pedum*, *clipeus* etc. The black panels have, in the centre, *candelabra*.¹⁴⁶³

The strong development of the city in the 1st century AD is achieved with an extension of the boundaries, still the houses are half timbered and in cob showing that the romanisation is not totally attained; on the contrary the internal decoration of the houses and the general organization of the space reveal this attitude. Still matter of discussion is when this growth happened, if in the Claudian time or some decades later.¹⁴⁶⁴

¹⁴⁶² HECKENBENNER, PERICHON 1986, 181; HECKENBENNER, THION 1998, 501.

¹⁴⁶³ HECKENBENNER, PERICHON 1986, 182; HECKENBENNER, THION 1998, 501.

¹⁴⁶⁴ LEFEBVRE 1998.

In some cities, Reims (*Durocortum*), Arras (*Nemetacum*) and Tongres (*Atuatuca Tungrorum*) for this period are only attested improvements of the status of the streets.¹⁴⁶⁵

At Tongres, after the presence of a military camp in the Augustean period, a new orthogonal plan is set and the street network is gravelled;¹⁴⁶⁶ in the Kielenstraat site the native Wohnstallhäuser were replaced by a large wooden house of different type. They have, for sure, a U-shaped plan with rooms arranged around an open court facing the street: a house of this type is inspired by the Roman courtyard house.¹⁴⁶⁷ In the site of Sacramentstraat, in the extreme North-East corner of the street grid, row of central roof-supporting posts, part of a farmhouse was discovered.¹⁴⁶⁸

At Senlis (*Augustomagus*) in the courtyard of the royal castle was found in 1956 a base for a statue (Figure 160) with a dedication from the city to Claudius, dated to AD 48/49.¹⁴⁶⁹ Piganiol suggests the hypothesis that the occasion of the erection of the statue may have been the assignation to the Silvanectes of an independent administrative district,¹⁴⁷⁰ thus nothing in the inscriptions implies such an assumption; in any case it is the first epigraphical evidence of this people. There were found also pieces belonging to a statue in *toga*, most likely it was set on top of the base; some clues point out also that the statue was integrated in an *aedicule* for the imperial cult.

¹⁴⁶⁵ For Reims see CHASSENOT ET AL. 2010, 70; for Arras cf. JACQUES, KELSKI 1984, 119.

¹⁴⁶⁶ MERTENS 1984, 44-45.

¹⁴⁶⁷ VANDERHOEVEN 1996, 200.

¹⁴⁶⁸ VANDERHOEVEN 1996, 218.

¹⁴⁶⁹ AE 1960, 149; ILTG 357; BEDON 1999, 341; HØJTE 2005, 301, n° 47; PIGANIOL 1973, 61-69; ROSSO 2006, 258-260, n° 53; WOIMANT 1995, 441.

¹⁴⁷⁰ PIGANIOL 1959.



Figure 160: Dedication to Claudius at Senlis (after Woimant 1995 fig. 336).

Also at Marsal (*Morosallum*), close to Langres, a base with pedestal is engraved with a dedication to Claudius¹⁴⁷¹ dated to AD 43/44. The homage comes from the residents of *Morosallum*: the use of *vicani* reflects the territorial structure while the *magistri* are, most likely, a sort of *decuriones*.

Another inscription was found at Mainz (*Mogontiacum*): it dates to AD 43 and the dedicators are traders of bags or purses.¹⁴⁷²

Bavay (*Bacagum*) places itself in the crossroads of seven routes the most important of which is Boulogne-Cologne. The previous schema for the development of the city where the grid plan A is considered older than plan B is now not more accepted. Thollard,¹⁴⁷³ indeed, collected all the evidences from the excavation and analysed it critically. From the archaeological evidences it seems that the *cardo* sud (C3) is an integral part of the initial grid system (i.e. grid plan A) because of its orthogonality with the *decumanus* D1 thus admitting that the sector of the *forum* is the eldest part of it. Thollard, instead, suggests that the *cardo* C3 is not part of the grid system A because there are no traces at South of the *forum* but, on the contrary, to grid system B inverting the first conclusion and alluding that it is older than grid plan A. This hypothesis may be proved by the organization of the block South of the *forum*: in the beginning there were private habitats and ateliers oriented to the *cardo* C3 but when the *decumanus* D1 was

¹⁴⁷¹ CIL XIII 4565, ILS 7061; HØJTE 2005, 301, n° 46, ROSSO 2006, 256, n° 49.

¹⁴⁷² CIL XIII 6797, HØJTE 2005, 301, n° 44; ROSSO 2006, 266, n° 59.

¹⁴⁷³ THOLLARD 1994 with previous bibliography.

built the façades were aligned to this new orientation and some houses were built with the same new alignment (Figure 161). The network B is the grid that corresponds to the first urban project and we find it to the South but also to the East: what we do not know is, unluckily, its extension.

The construction of the *forum* begins in the middle of the 1st century AD in a place, maybe, already reserved from the beginning.

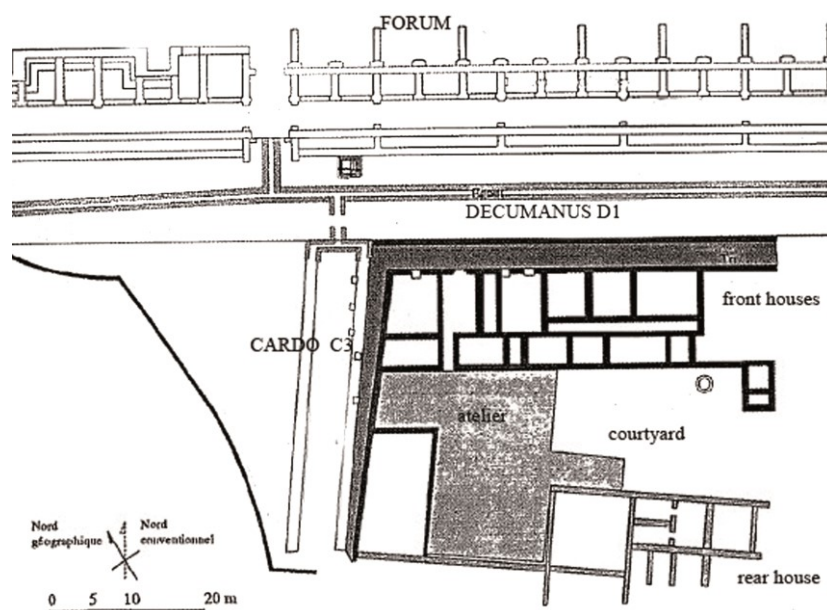


Figure 161: Block at the southern side of the *forum* at Bavay (after Thollard 1994, fig. 10).

Amiens (*Samarobriva*) possesses a *forum* that occupies two *insulae* and it is not exactly on the geometrical centre of the city but a little bit drifted towards North. Thanks to excavations on the eastern sector it is possible to perceive that the *forum*, as we know, was set upon a first series of buildings of the middle of the 1st century AD: they are orthogonal amongst them and disposed along the *cardo* V and the *decumanus* 4; even if they are independent they form a unit plan; the best-preserved building borders the *decumanus* 4 for a length of 35.8 m and is composed by four rooms.¹⁴⁷⁴ (Figure 162).

¹⁴⁷⁴ BAYARD, MASSY 1982, 15; BAYARD, MASSY 1983, 74-77; BAYARD, MASSY 1984, 97; BEDON 1999, 291-292; PICHON 2009, 116.

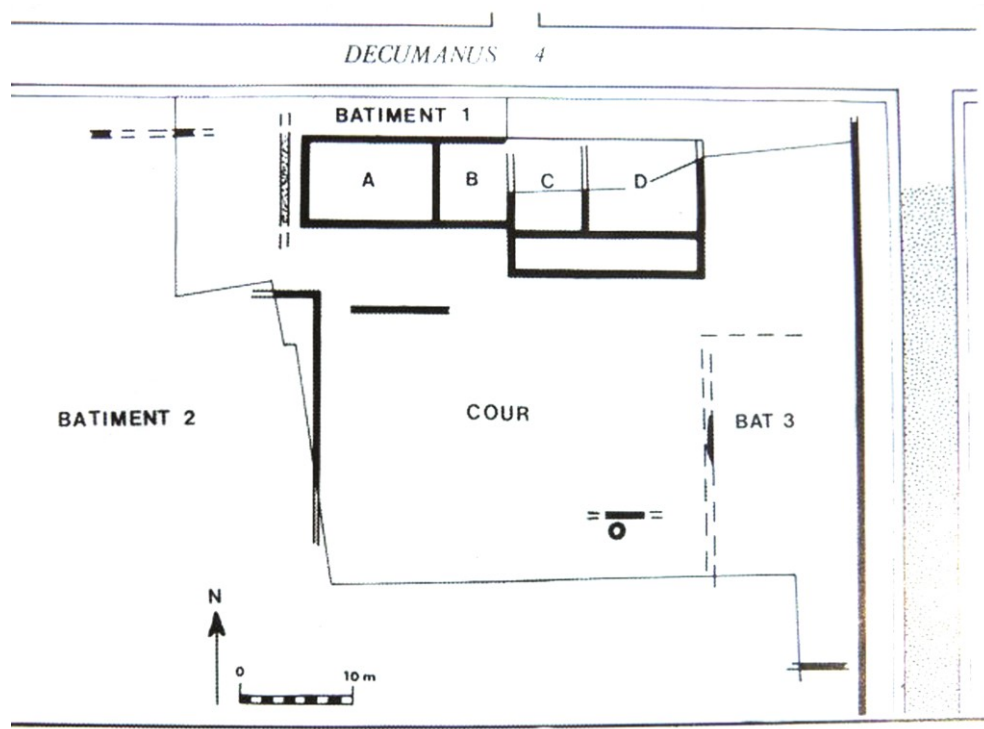


Figure 162: First phase of the *forum* of Amiens (after Pichon 2009, fig. 129A).

Important is also the fact that Claudius introduced another grid plan moved towards East: more this system follows, as well, the street system of all the regions.¹⁴⁷⁵

In *insula* 15 of the site of Palais des Sports a zone with rich houses was excavated. These evidences have destroyed the first phases of the occupation. There were seven regular plots,¹⁴⁷⁶ in an area of 7000 m² and in North-South-East-West grid, which are occupied by cob-constructions, granaries and silos. The numerous postholes contribute to give a dynamique image of the area. The presence of animal skeletons makes possible to affirm that the area had, among others, also a pastoral activity and a connected handicraft. Still it is not possible to attribute to the majority of the buildings a precise function. In the middle of the 1st century AD roads and gutter were set; furthermore, a layer of silt was elevated in one action, most likely from the public authority, in order to built new edifices. It is interesting here to see a will to control the urbanization in a quartier situated not in core of the city.¹⁴⁷⁷

¹⁴⁷⁵ BAYARD, MASSY 1984, 102-103.

¹⁴⁷⁶ BINET 2010a, 23-26.

¹⁴⁷⁷ BINET 2010a, 26-27.

Maison 1 is on the South-West corner of the *insula*, on the site of parcelle 1 and it is the smallest houses of the area. The pottery collected dates the building to the half of the 1st century AD.¹⁴⁷⁸

In the 50s at Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*)¹⁴⁷⁹ was realized a grid plan articulated on two major perpendicular axes creating *insulae* with a homogenous plan: square close to the *forum* and rectangular in the peripheral areas.¹⁴⁸⁰ We do not know the layout of the *basilica* but, according to Gros, this urban arrangement dates to the period of the acquisition of the rank of *caput civitatis* and, without deduction, of the title *Augusta Treverorum*.¹⁴⁸¹

At Viehmark, closed to the *forum*, buildings in stone replaced those in timber with half-timbered walls for the partitions; in the same time was set up a street in limestone; there are also rests of wall paintings.¹⁴⁸²

In the place of the later Kaiserthermen in Claudian time a Wohnhaus with internal courtyard was erected. Of four wings three are still visible: on the West and on the South they have a *porticus* open to the courtyards while the North one gives access to the court without *porticus*. Some rooms are equipped with *hypocaustus*-heating. There are rests of mosaics and wall paintings. The house possessed at North and at South a *porticus* in correlation with two streets.¹⁴⁸³

In the theatre's sanctuary of Lenus Mars was found a base of a statue.¹⁴⁸⁴ It is very difficult to understand the meaning of the abbreviation *Mag. Q. C. T.*: it could be *mag(istro) q(uinquennali) c(ollegi) t(.*). The cohorts and the flamine of Lenus suggest someone local. But Liertz, because of the present at Avenches of some inscriptions with the abbreviations *sac. Aug. mag.* that refer to a military career or a local one, argues that the inscription may refer to an imperial cult where the administration entity is not completely developed. But the place of an imperial priesthood between the flamine of Mars Lenus and the offices within the *civitas* leads to the conclusion that the *sacerdotium* is municipal.¹⁴⁸⁵ The significance of this latter office has been variously

¹⁴⁷⁸ BINET 2004, 128; PICHON 2009, 56-61.

¹⁴⁷⁹ For the colony's statute which occupied all the territory or part of it, see TERNES 1975; WOLFF 1977.

¹⁴⁸⁰ GROS; TORELLI 2007, 348.

¹⁴⁸¹ BEDON 1999, 90; GROS, TORELLI 2007, 348.

¹⁴⁸² HOFFMANN 1998, 55; UNRUH 2001, 225.

¹⁴⁸³ REUCH 1975, 464.

¹⁴⁸⁴ AE 1929, 173.

¹⁴⁸⁵ SCHEID 1991, 48.

interpreted but, following Liertz,¹⁴⁸⁶ Priscus will have been *mag(ister) q(uaestor) c(ivitatis) T(reverorum)*. The *magister* would denote a leading figure among the Treviri. The mention of Rome suggests the completion *sacerdot]i* rather than *flamini]i Romae [et Augusti]* given the fact that the *sacerdotium* of Roma and Augustus is already attested in the city.¹⁴⁸⁷

Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA),¹⁴⁸⁸ the modern Köln, has in the name the mention of Agrippina who was the first and remained the only Roman woman whose name is linked to a Roman colony.¹⁴⁸⁹ The elevation to the rank of *colonia* may be correlated with Trier's promotion, if applicable to this period.

The orthogonal street grid comes from the time of the elevation of colony in the 50s.¹⁴⁹⁰ Some private houses are still visible and show the development in this field. From the house at Gertrudenstraße 14-16/Wolfsstraße 11-15 (*insula* A/3) from the Bauphase Ib come fragments of a decoration representing an Eros.¹⁴⁹¹

Closed to the North gate were discovered five Streifenhäuser whose narrow sides are aligned to the *Cardo Maximus* and the long sides are parallel to the wall.¹⁴⁹² Even if this kind of typology, because of the scarcity of light, was replaced with the taberna type, the *casa a graticcio*, in the last type, is very similar (Figure 163).

¹⁴⁸⁶ LIERTZ 1988, 85.

¹⁴⁸⁷ FISCHWICK 2002, 28-31.

¹⁴⁸⁸ For the history of the region and the city see SAVINO 1999, 153-159.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, was born in the *oppidum Ubiorum* and she decided to found a colony for the veterans in her natal city.

¹⁴⁹⁰ TRUNK 1991, 201.

¹⁴⁹¹ THOMAS 1993, 39, 346-347.

¹⁴⁹² PRECHT 2002, 181-193.

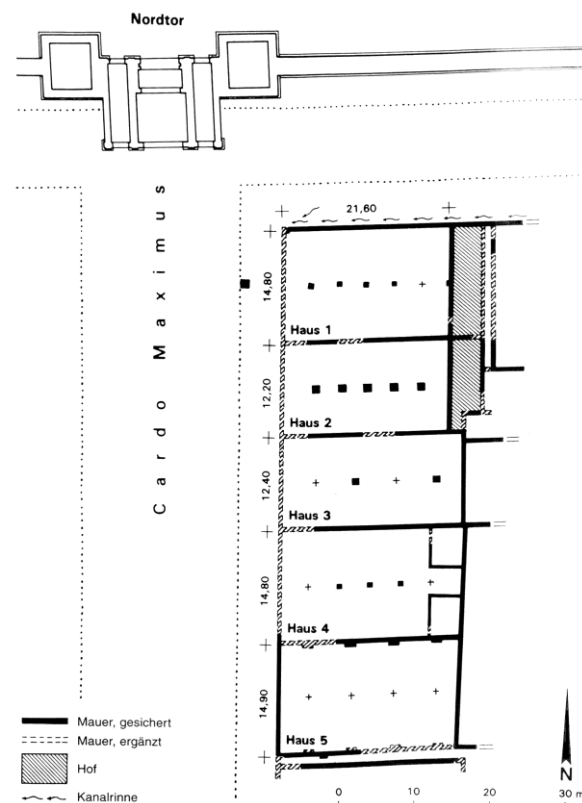


Figure 163: Plan closed to the North gate in Köln (after Precht 2002, abb. 1).

In the southern *suburbium* of the city, various excavations highlight conspicuous activities. The street to Bonn was graveled, *communis opinio*, during Claudius' time. Also gravelling of the *ambitus* North of the house I beneath St. Georg was set up in this time and it links with the construction of the houses at the East side of the highway. The gravels of the West-East street can be dated to this period as well. On the western side of the highway to Bonn was discovered a West-East street as extension of the street in Georgplatz 10-12 with an earlier fastening of logs.

The bordered side of houses was built in stone as in St. Georg or in Georgstraße 7. The basis of this parceling creates properties with a width between 10 m and 13 m and an alignment of the small side to the street creating *Streifehäuser*. In Georgstraße 7 the production of glass continues.¹⁴⁹³

Before the construction of the *Praetorium* some other buildings were set up. For the first mortar wall was dug a step in a terrace-form and the removed earth was distributed on the bottom of it. The perpendicular rear terrace wall was supported by a row of wooden pillars before to secure with the wall 148. At c. 4.20 m East of this wall was set up the

¹⁴⁹³ DODT 2005, 722-725.

wall 173. Surely the base-field of the *porticus* was already built with barrel vaults. To the South of the modern arcade of the city hall was discovered in 1956 an apsis (455) whose correlation, at the time, with the two walls is not clear. New excavations show other constructions leading to the conclusion that the the apsis was part of a big complex (Figure 164).¹⁴⁹⁴

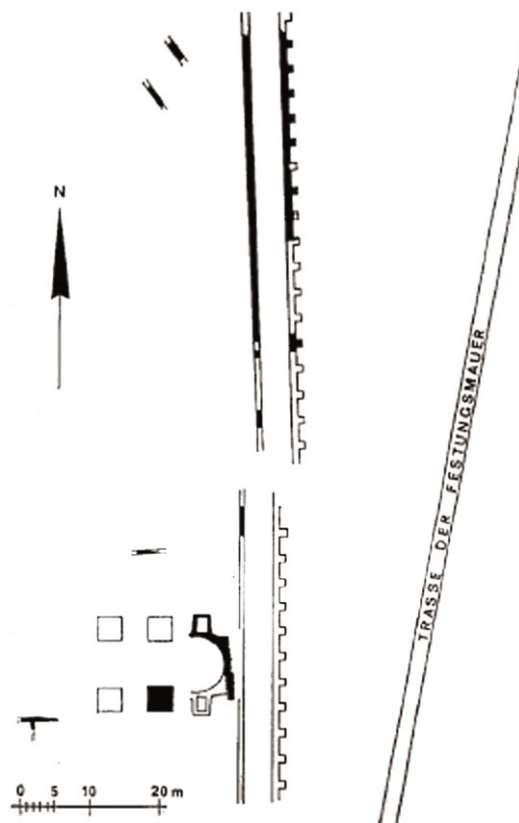


Figure 164: Praetorium (after Precht 1973, bild 5).

With these evidences we can suppose that the annex embraced one or more courts. The room with the apsis stresses the placement of the complex inside one lager suggesting that the headquarter was located in the same location as the following building i. e. the *Praetorium*. A parallel could be found in the *tribuna* of the Claudian *principia* of Vindonissa.¹⁴⁹⁵

In the filling of the apsis was found a small piece of wall painting showing in a black background marbled dots in red, yellow and white. On the side remains an arch while at

¹⁴⁹⁴ PRECHT 1973, 16-18.

¹⁴⁹⁵ PRECHT 1973, 19-20.

20 cm there is a red-brown stem: a precise comparison can be found in the maison Pinel from Périgueux. The stem is part of a *candelabrum* dating the piece to the Claudian period.¹⁴⁹⁶

The lager of the Roman fleet was also rebuilt with graveled streets. The buildings were in clay and set as team-accomodation: for eight men the flat shared was constituted of a pre-room (*arma*) for the army and the equipment and a living room (*papilio*).¹⁴⁹⁷

At *Augusta Raurica* (Augst) under the temple at Schönbühl in the middle of the 1st century AD and precisely on the North side of the construction under the successive *podium* there was a temple: the suggestion that the temple was dedicated to a celtic divinity comes from the fact that the building is a Gallo-Roman temple,¹⁴⁹⁸ there are remains also of other small temples (Figure 165).¹⁴⁹⁹



Figure 165: Remains of two temples (after Pfäffli 2010, 39).

The centre of the city undertakes a program of reconstruction in stone beginning with Claudius (Figure 166).

¹⁴⁹⁶ THOMAS 1993, 248-250.

¹⁴⁹⁷ CARROL, FISCHER 1999, 528.

¹⁴⁹⁸ HUFSCHMID 2008, 140.

¹⁴⁹⁹ HUFSCHMID 2008, 140.

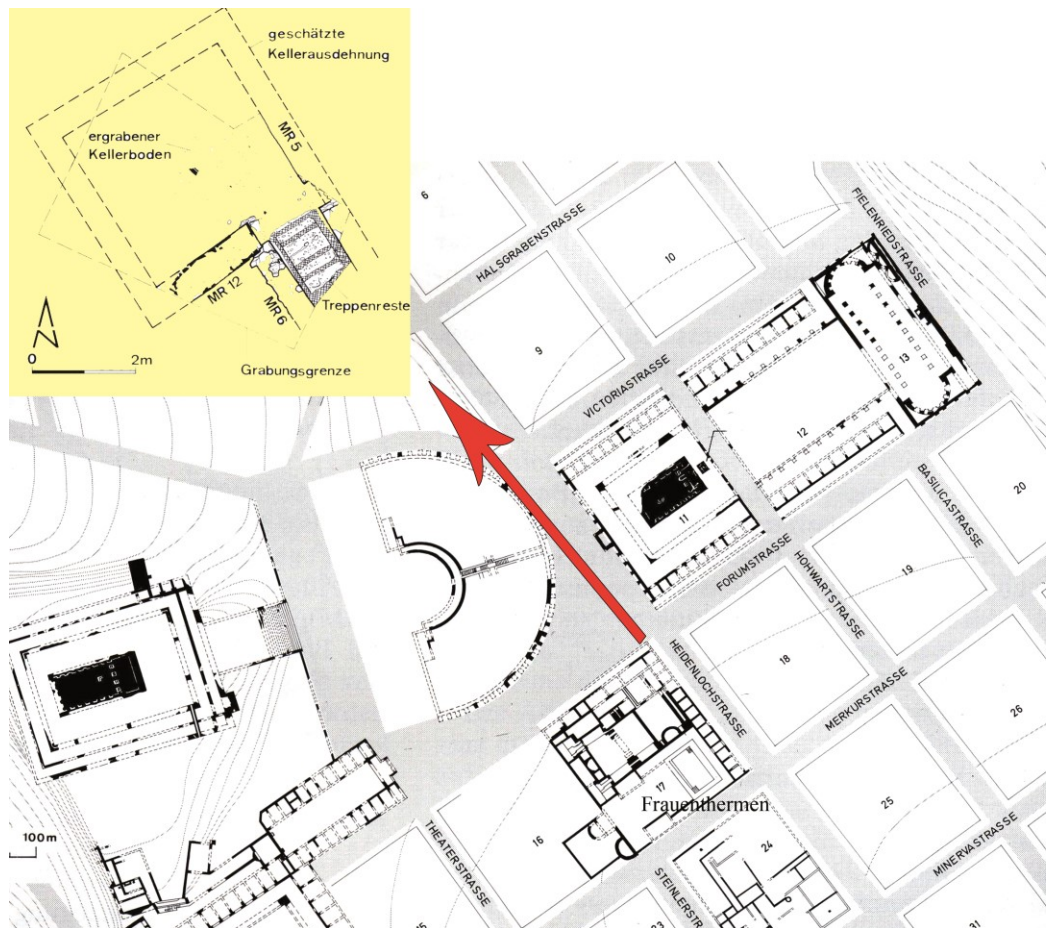


Figure 166: Evidences of the centre of August in the Claudian period with the detail of the basement under the theatre (rielaboration after Schwarz 1991a, abb. 13 and abb.40).

Around AD 50 the *forum* was renewed after a first period when the complex was in wood.¹⁵⁰⁰ The temple, as we know, comes from an older temple whose remains were detected under the new evidences as for example Mauer 10 and 11.¹⁵⁰¹ The new temple¹⁵⁰² is a *peripteros* with 6x8 columns and it is oriented North-East. In front of the temple stand an altar with a relief representing an oak wreath and an eagle with a bunch of lighting in the claw (a symbol of Jupiter, Figure 167) and another relief with laurel-wreath and a sacrificial implements (a cup with *omphalos* and a jug, they are the most often used utensils for the sacrifice).¹⁵⁰³ The temple was enclosed by a Π shaped *porticus* while on its sides “Zungenmauern” were set up in order to create *tabernae* with a square ground plane but in the South-West side, under the temple, there were no

¹⁵⁰⁰ HÄNGGI 1989, 17, 26; TRUNK 1991, 49.

¹⁵⁰¹ SCHARZ 1991c, 167-171.

¹⁵⁰² The construction of the new temple and of the altar is correlated to the 1. Steinbauperiode of the *forum* as detected in the western *Tabernae*-side and at the West side.

¹⁵⁰³ BOSSERT-RADTKE 1990; BOSSERT-RADTKE 1991; PFÄLLI 2010, 45-47.

tabernae. The *decumanus maximus* divided the temple from the *area publica*, the square was plastered, and on the long side (Nord-West and South-East) a *porticus* with *tabernae* on the rear was set; also here the “Zungenmauern” were present on the outside. The end of the square was formed by the *basilica* with ten columns creating three naves, in the short side were set two apsisdes.¹⁵⁰⁴



Figure 167: The relief with the laurel-wreath at the moment of the discovery and the rebuild altar showing the relief with the eagle (rielaboration after Pfälli 2010, 47 and author’s picture).

The quartier Kurzenbettli (region 5 B), to the South of the *insula* 48 (Figure 168), was chosen as place for a pottery workshop.

¹⁵⁰⁴ SCHWARZ 1991b, 157; SCHWARZ 1991c, 171-173; TRUNK 1991, 46-66.



Figure 168: Location and plan of the quartier Kurzenbettli (after Fünfschilling 2006, abb. 4).

As Bender points out the site was perfect for this purpose: it was close to the water and the ground was ideal for taking the clay. There is evidences of height ovens, houses and place for work as for the taking of the clay. The majority of the evidences are set in a raised ground while the zone for the decay of the clay, wet and marshy, was set after the arm of the Rauschenbächleins. The water line from Ergolz began after the displace of the pottery workshop.¹⁵⁰⁵(Figure 169)

¹⁵⁰⁵ FÜNFSCHILLING 2006, 240-242.

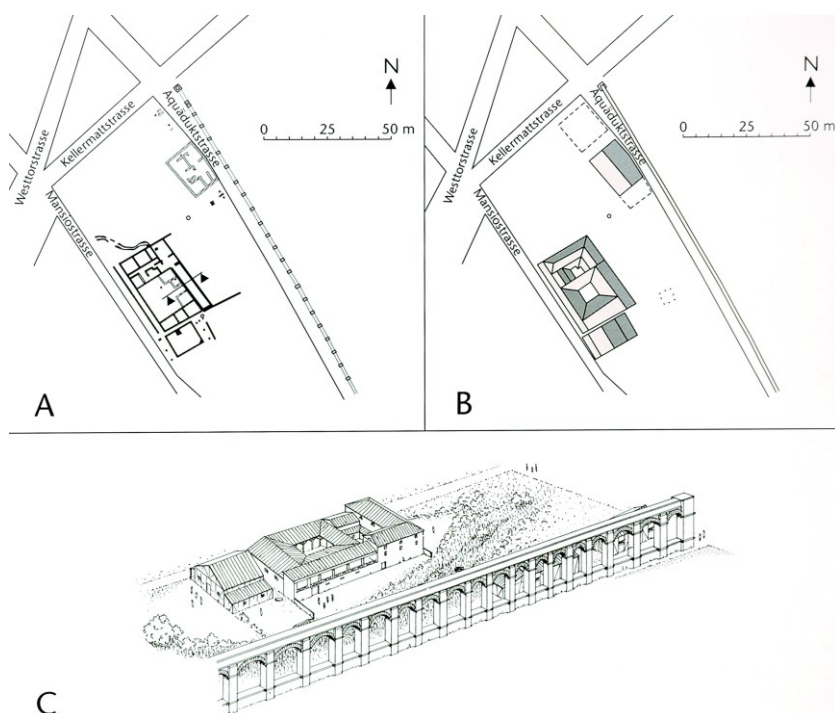


Figure 169: Plan and 3d reconstruction of the evidences for the second period (after Fünfschilling 2006, abb. 95).

The South quartier (i.e. the *Regiones* 4 D, 4 G, 5 H and 5 B) lies outside the grid plan of the city (Figure 170-171).

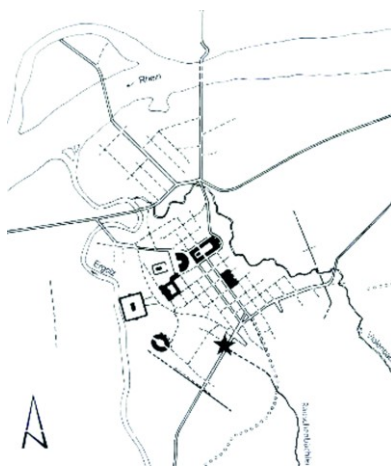


Figure 170: Location of the South quartiers (after Schatzmann 2003, abb. 1).

In the region 4 D between AD 10 and AD 50, in the Areal ARE4D01.a was installed a pottery workshop whose explored part is only the oval oven. The repertoire of this workshop is very similar to that of the workshop in Kurzenbettli.¹⁵⁰⁶

¹⁵⁰⁶ SCHATZMANN 2003, 27-36.

In region 4G , in the areal ARE4G01.a, different structures are allocated: ovens for pottery, fire places, pits and postholes.¹⁵⁰⁷ The sidewalks POR4G01. B/C were graveled, their extention defines also the width of the *porticus* POR4G01.D. This works indicates also that the street WES04.b was rebuilt and enlarged.¹⁵⁰⁸ The Vorplätze (forecourts) were coated with a fixed surface.¹⁵⁰⁹

In the region 5 B in the areal ARE5B01.A various evidences as beams and pottery suggest the presence of pottery workshop.¹⁵¹⁰



Figure 171: Situation in Claudius' time in the southern quarters (after Schatzmann 2003, abb. 135a).

In the *insula* 36 (Figure 172) the Claudian period is attested by the so called Bauzustand B where the buildings are in wood and clay (half timbered walls). We have traces of two buildings: building 3601.B and building 3602.B. The northern boundaries of building 3601.B were restored implying an enlargement of the Windentalstraße: the fact that this happened in the same period also in *insula* 30 alludes to a big working plan involving the city. The Wildentalstraße was three times, in this period, renovated.¹⁵¹¹

¹⁵⁰⁷ SCHATZMANN 2003, 87-92.

¹⁵⁰⁸ SCHATZMANN 2003, 119.

¹⁵⁰⁹ SCHATZMANN 2003, 131-134.

¹⁵¹⁰ SCHATZMANN 2003, 173-176.

¹⁵¹¹ ASAL 2007, 40-49.



Figure 172: Location and evidences of the first period of *insula* 36 (rielaboration after Asal 2007, abb. 1 and abb. 18).

In *insula* 31 in the Werkhof in the Bauperiode Ia in the beginning there was only one room, then divided into two (rooms VII and XII) as we can perceive from the fire place in the separation wall; in room VIII was installed a fire place.¹⁵¹² In the northern corner, to the North of Minerva street, already in Claudian time a big room of wood, divided through a pilaster in two zones, was erected. The presence of a fire place hints of a use as habitation.¹⁵¹³

The *insula* 50 displays in the Bauzustand b (2. Holzbauperiode) some activities in Claudius' period. A half-timbered building (GEB502. B) was erected following the raster of the *insulae*. For its kind of configuration, it seems to be very close to the

¹⁵¹² STEIGER ET AL., 1977, 10.

¹⁵¹³ STEIGER ET AL., 1977, 39.

Streifenhäuser where the small side is oriented to Basilicastraße. At the beginning there are no clear evidences of internal division walls but the findings suggest such a partition. The presence of three fireplaces denotes it as place for works. After a short time, a coating for the floor was placed displaying a second phase (5002.Bb). The building was now divided in three rooms, at East there are traces of a fireplace. Because the front site oriented to the Basilicastraße, we can talk about a workshop with the eastern part used for this scope. Important is the presence of metal objects and mill for cereals.¹⁵¹⁴

In the place of the first theatre was found a basement in stone with steps in wood whose width can not be reconstructed even with the presence of three walls. Its orientation indicates that it belongs to a functional closed building whose alignment follows the *insula*-system of the Oberstadt.

Remarkable is the fact that the basement represents the first and older stone buildings with *opus vittatum mixtum* (Figure 166): this kind of construction was used to leave the walls dry from the wet. Some years after, in the middle of the 1st century AD or at the very earliest in AD 41, the basement was filled up. Because of the presence of the first theatre's enclosing wall no. 3 in the filling, we may suggest an earlier erection in these years. This hypothesis can be verified with the activities on the North-West side of the theatre.

The areal of the successive theatre was, at the beginning, part of an unknown *insula*. This thesis admits that this *insula*, the Frauenthermen, the temple at Schönbühl, the wooden period of the *forum* and, maybe, a non- archeologically attested wooden *scaena* under the first theatre¹⁵¹⁵ form an architectural unity. The majority of the wooden building in the centre of the city was, from Claudius onwards, rebuilt in stone¹⁵¹⁶ as we can perceive from different evidences (for example the expropriation of private ground for the construction of the theatre).¹⁵¹⁷

In the Frauenthermen in *insula* 17 were found remains of an older thermal bath in the courtyard 83 dating to the Claudian time.¹⁵¹⁸

¹⁵¹⁴ STRAUMANN 2011, 32-46, 138-140.

¹⁵¹⁵ It seems very credible that before the erection of the first theatre in stone there was a previous one in wood.

¹⁵¹⁶ The *theatrum ligneum* at Feuers was rebuilt in stone in the Claudian time (CIL XIII 1642).

¹⁵¹⁷ SCHWARZ 1991a.

¹⁵¹⁸ LAUR-BELART 1988, 9.

Also Avenches (*Aventicum*) shows a lot of urban development in Claudius' time (Figure 173).

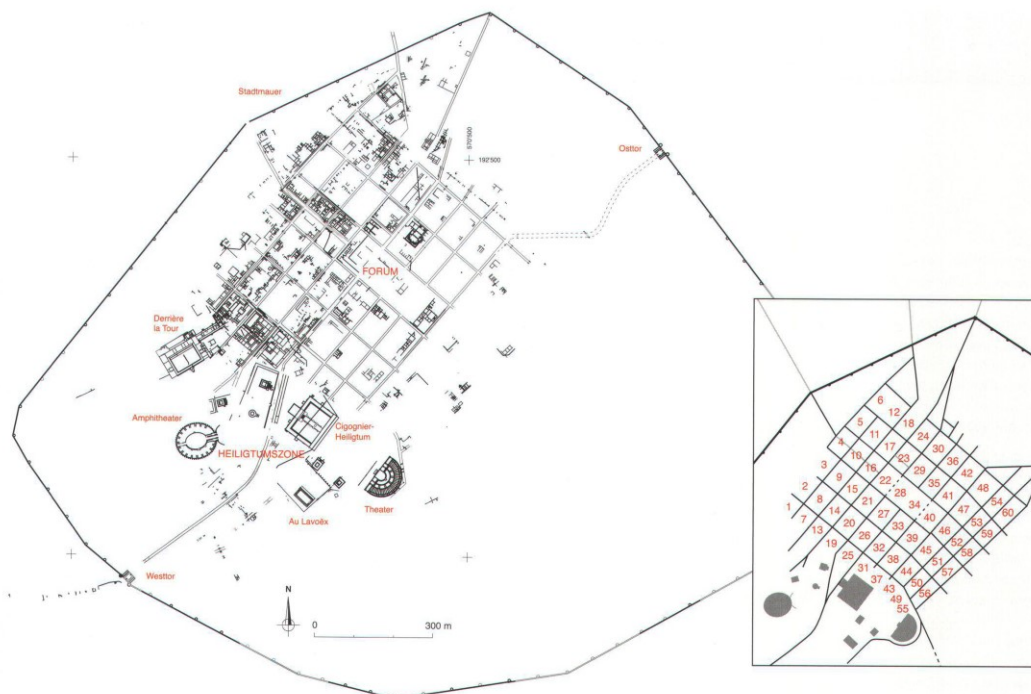


Figure 173: Plan of Avenches with the location of the discoveries (rielaboration after https://www.aventicum.org/images/public/site/documents/plan_1_2500.pdf).

In the *insula* 26 it was found a socle, belonging to a monument, with a dedication to Britannicus.¹⁵¹⁹ Because of the presence of the title Britannicus, the inscription dates after AD 43. The presence of a statue to Britannicus may infer, as well, a Claudian date for the statuary group from the *forum*,¹⁵²⁰ as a matter of fact it is difficult to imagine homage only for Britannicus: probably the effigy was part of dynastic cycle with, at least, the image of Claudius. (Figure 174).

Figure 174: dedication to Britannicus (author' s picture)

¹⁵¹⁹AE 1946, 237; BOSCHUNG 2002, 66 note 423; BOSSERT 1983, 63; FREI STOLBA, BIELMAN 1996; n° 6; ROSSO 2006, 250, n° 45.

¹⁵²⁰ROSSO 2006, 247-249, n° 42-44.

The mention of *Helveti publice* suggests an influence of a powerful family namely this one of C. Iulius Camillus. We have two inscriptions of C. Iulius Camillus:¹⁵²¹ one is referring to his daughter Iulia Festilla who was the first priest of the imperial cult¹⁵²² while the second one,¹⁵²³ on a statue-base, refers to his *cursus honorum* and attesting the erection of a statue *ex decreto decurionum* (Figure 175).

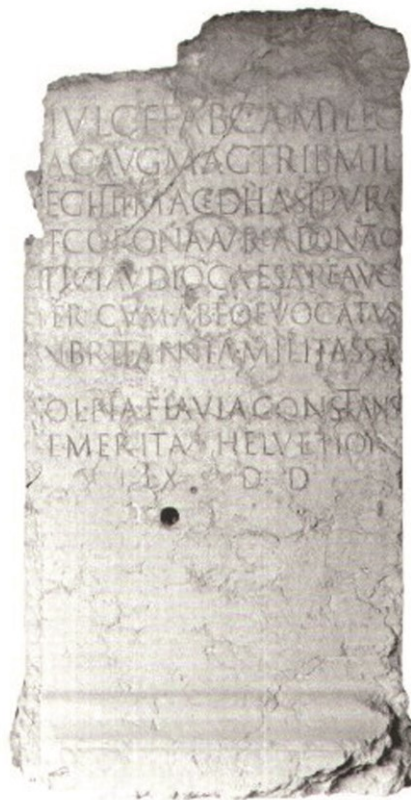


Figure 175: Statue's base erected by the citizens of *Aventicum* for C. Iulius C. f. Camillus (after Blanc 2001, fig. 36).

Various scholars, recently, proposed to read [*G*]er(*manico*) instead of [*i*]ter(*um*) in the line 6 attesting that Camillus was honoured after Britannia's conquest and before the triumph in AD 44. He was priest of the imperial cult,¹⁵²⁴ *magister* and *tribunus* of the *III legio Macedonica*. He was in the *ordo equestris* and, so far, he is the only Swiss man with such an office. According to Frei-Stolba he was called to participate in the Britannia's expedition because he knows personally Galba (as already pointed out by

¹⁵²¹ DEMOUGIN 1992, n° 692.

¹⁵²² CIL XII 5094.

¹⁵²³ CIL XII 5093.

¹⁵²⁴ For the title [*s*]ac(*rorum*) Aug(*ustalium*) Mag(*istro*) see FREI-STOLBA 1996, 63-64.

Van Berchem)¹⁵²⁵ who was commandant of the *exercitus Germaniae Superior*. Van Berchem¹⁵²⁶ highlights as well the role of Vespasianus who was *legatus* of the *II Legio Augusta* at Strasburg, under the order of Galba. According to Svetonius, Claudius waits before leaving, at *Gesoriacum*, for Galba's army:¹⁵²⁷ Camillus was designated because of Galba's instigation and he enters in Claudius' entourage.

In the *insula* 12 a street R2a borders the plot at East. In correlation two houses were set up. The *domus* in the eastern part is the best conserved and it offers a good example of first private houses of this period in half-timbered. With Italian inspiration, its plan centres on a *peristylum*.

The *domus* is bordered on the East by the *cardo* R 2a and on the west by a small street I 21 (Figure 176).

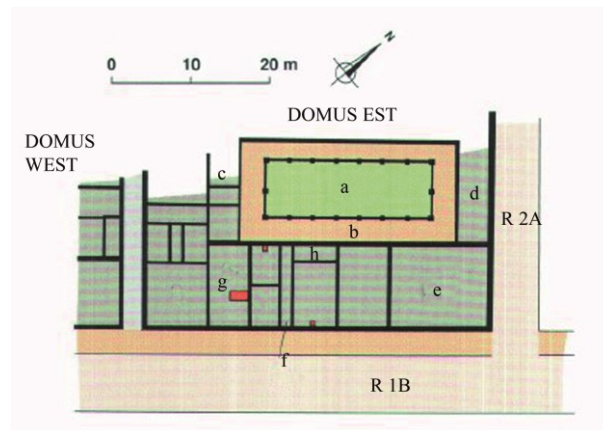


Figure 176: Schematic display of the spatial organization of the *domus* (after Morel 2001b, fig. 57).

As already points out, the centre is the courtyard-garden (a), around revolves the building at South (e) and two wings (c-d). The peristyle is directly accessible from the *decumanus* R 1B thanks to a long corridor (f) that, because of the absence of an *atrium*, can be used for this aim. The *porticus* (b), around the peristyle, has columns in molasses in provincial tuscan order with balustrade as in the Casa del Centenario at Pompeji. In the southern building (e), except for a kitchen (g), the functions of the other rooms are unknown. The narrowness of the room h suggests a stair for a second floor.¹⁵²⁸

¹⁵²⁵ VAN BERCHEM 1982, 116.

¹⁵²⁶ FREI-STOLBA 1996, 65.

¹⁵²⁷ Svet. *Div. Claud.* 7,1.

¹⁵²⁸ MOREL 2001a, 25-34; MOREL 2001b, 43.

In *insula* 6 (Figure 177) in Claudius' time different housing units are testified by courts linked at North with traces of walls while at South there is evidence of a garden.¹⁵²⁹ In the *insula* 6a (the so-called quartier des Tuilliers) workshops for pottery and tiles are installed: we have traces of three ovens and two pits, thus there are no evidences of houses but only some pits aligned to the grid plan. Beside the route du port was discovered a path going towards the ovens suggesting the presence of different orientations.¹⁵³⁰



Figure 177: *Insulae* 6 and 6b (after Morel 2001a, fig. 45).

The habitat (pres d'Agn) in the western side, as for the previous quartier, is characterized by the establishment of workshops represented by some titles while the presence of housing is perceived by light constructions.¹⁵³¹ An area for workshops was also the habitat North-East (Aux Prés Laits-pointe de la Maladaire).¹⁵³²

¹⁵²⁹ MOREL 2001a, 54-55.

¹⁵³⁰ BLANC ET AL. 1995, 14-16, 35.

¹⁵³¹ BLANC ET AL. 1995, 20-21.

¹⁵³² BLANC ET AL. 1995, 25.

The Claudian period in *insula* 20 is detected by horizon 3 (Figure 178). Two houses developed from one part and the other of a wall (M): the eastern house does not change while the western house undergoes some modifications with a new courtyard (j).¹⁵³³

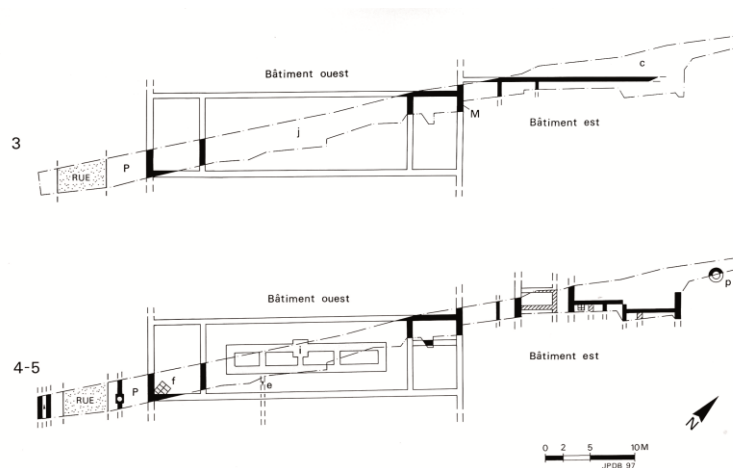


Figure 178: *Insula* 20 (after Blanc, Meylan Krause 1997, fig. 4b).

In one part of the *insula* 23 at East of the *forum*, was built another thermal bath separated from the rest of the quartier with a secondary street (Figure 179).

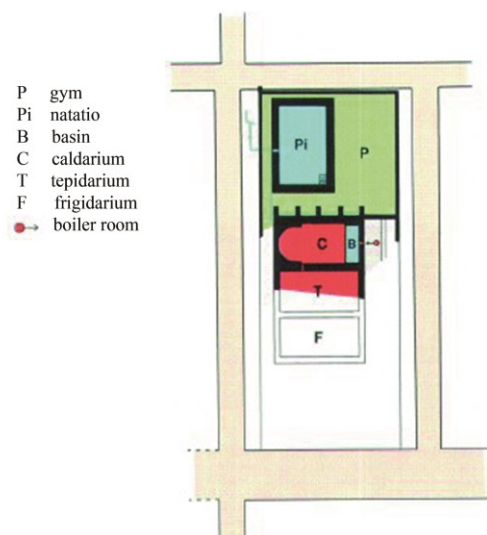


Figure 179: Thermal bath in *Insula* 23 (rielaboration after Pruvot 2001, fig. 45b).

¹⁵³³ BLANC, MEYLAN KRAUSE 1997, 62.

A swimming pool and a gym occupy the North side; the *caldarium* with an apse is provided with a hot basin and a mosaic, with a seehorse belonging to a sea cortege decorates the seats; it is the oldest example of figured mosaic (Figure 180).



Figure 180: Mosaic decoration of the basin's seat in the *caldarium* (after Pruvot 2001, fig. 48).

After that comes a *tepidarium* detected by the presence of two pipes for the hot air. The cold part may be on the South side which is not explored. There are also corridors to acces directly to the *natatio* and gym.¹⁵³⁴

The *forum*, built under Tiberius, undertakes some renovations in Claudius' time. The public space and the porches in *insula* 28 are fixed up. The ground is the same of that one present in the *macellum* at Nyon and the porches have a organization similar to these at Virunum and Martigny.¹⁵³⁵(Figure 181)

¹⁵³⁴ BLANC 2001, 25; PRUVOT 2001, 35-36.

¹⁵³⁵ BOSSERT, FUCHS 1989, 39.

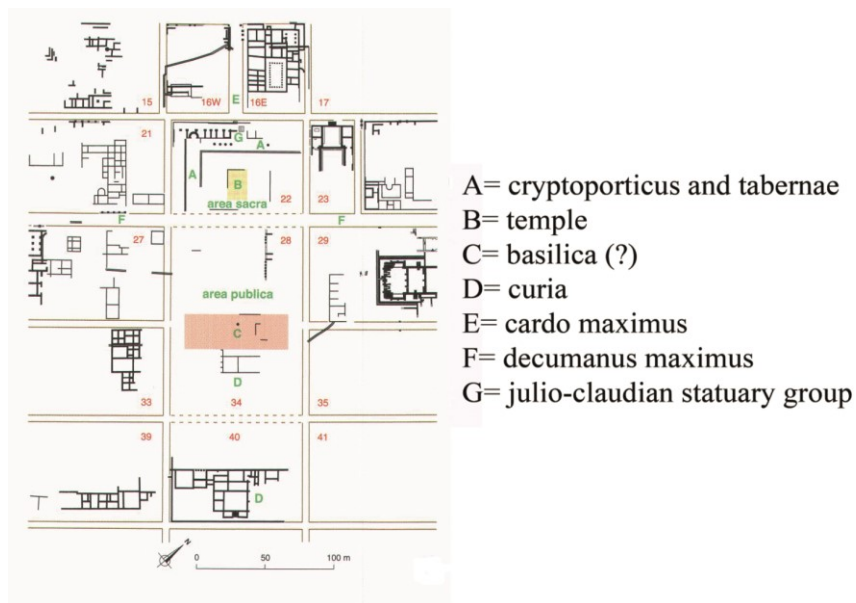


Figure 181: Organization of the *forum* (rielaboration after Blanc, Frei-Stolba 2001, fig. 30).

In the western religious quartier, we see some traces of Claudius' activities in some sanctuaries (Figure 182).

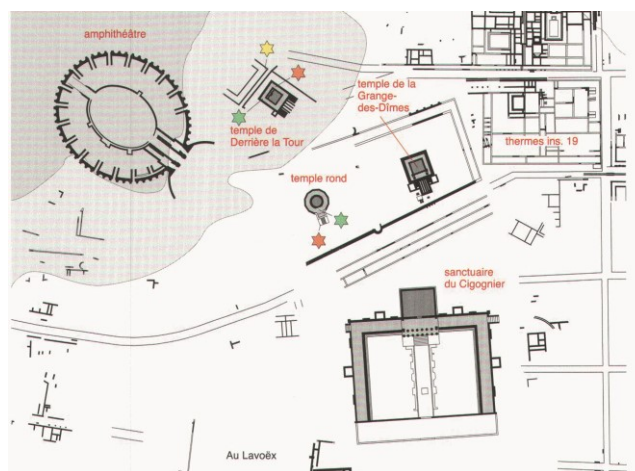


Figure 182: North side of the religious quartier (after Morel 2001c, fig. 84).

In the sanctuary of Grange des Dîmes a ditch (7) filling, amongst other finds, with capitals, may testified an enlargement of the La Tène palisade. It is built also a circulation place made of small pebbles which is in relation with a wall (7) aligned with the first palisade: it may be part of new building in stone after the destruction of the first one.

Some foundations (8) indicate the presence of another building whose function is obscure.

Under the western gallery of the temple were found pits which can be considered as belonging to the same building.¹⁵³⁶(Figure 183)

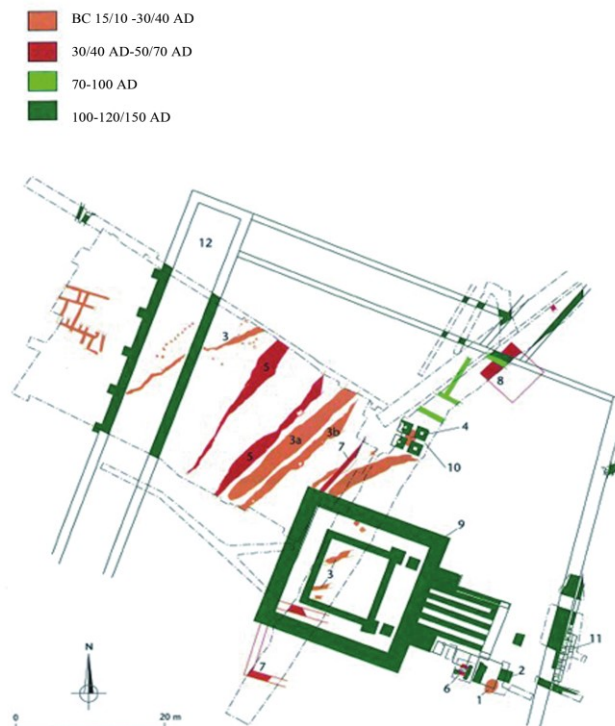


Figure 183: Schematic plan of the sanctuary of Grange des Dîmes with the chronological evidences (rielaboration after Morel, Blanc 2008, fig. 8).

In the area on the hill was established the temple “Derrière la Tour”: the square *cella* has a wall in the rear side which configurates as a peculiar *apparatus* maybe for liturgical purpose, the rectangular solid on the wall can be a base for a statue. Also, a round temple (Figure 184), charaterised by a circular *cella* bordered by an octagonal peristyle, was built in this period and it is, so far, the only example in Swiss but it is very similar to circular buildings in the Galliae.¹⁵³⁷

¹⁵³⁶ BOSSERT ET AL., 2007, 167-173; MOREL, BLANC 2008, 42.

¹⁵³⁷ MOREL 2001c, 65-66; MOREL, BLANC 2008, 41.

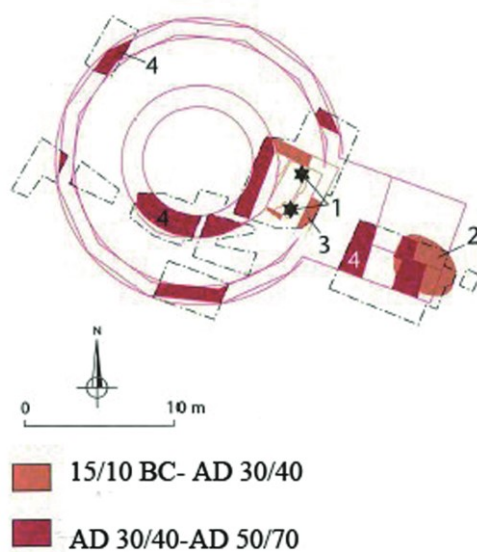


Figure 184: Schematic plan of the round temple (rielaboration after Morel, Blanc 2008, fig. 4).

At Nyon (*Colonia Iulia equestris*) the *forum* (Figure 185), arranged in the time of Tiberius, is equipped with a II shaped porch on a half buried *cryptoporticus* in the centre of which, most likely, was standing the temple.

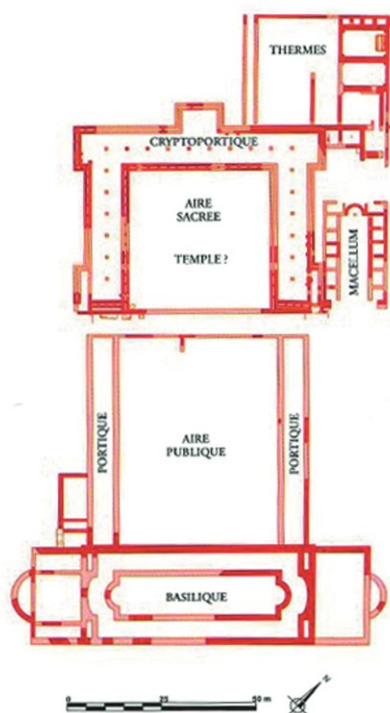


Figure 185: Remains and reproduced plan of the *forum* of Nyon (Nyon 2003, 36).

The complex has two levels: the inferior one is linked with the North-South street through a staircase at both ends of the North and the South wings¹⁵³⁸ forming a big covered zone with two naves while the superior one, dominating the square, with *ex-voto*, is the place for corporations' meetings and processions.¹⁵³⁹ Different elements of the porch have been identified as the columns and their entablature that were put back up on the Esplanade des Marronniers in 1958 when Nyon was celebrating its two thousand years of history. Originally, they belonged to the partially raised porticoes of the area sacra of the *forum*. The style is characterised by clear lines and decorations with borders underlined by hollows and gorges; it dates back to the middle of the 1st century AD, revealing artistic influences from Southern Gaul (Figure 186).



Figure 186: Entablature's decor from the columns at Marronniers (after Nyon 2003, 39).

The *basilica* closes off the public part of the *forum* on the side facing the lake. It was built between AD 50 and AD 80, replacing an older building. The *basilica* has one nave with two annexes at South and North. The northern annex is a rectangular room (13 x 22.50 m) and an apsis while the southern space is divided in three parts (a central squared zone flanked by two rectangular rooms) and in the end, there is an apsis suggesting the presence of a *curia* with *aerarium* and *tabularium*.¹⁵⁴⁰

From the *forum* but found in the wall of Geneva comes also a piece of architrave with the depiction of Jupiter Amon (Figure 187).¹⁵⁴¹ Still matter of debate is the real location:

¹⁵³⁸ The two staircases do not lead directly to the gallery but to corridors at the end of which the visitor must turn in order to end to the *cryptoportucus*, cf. ROSSI 1995, 17.

¹⁵³⁹ BONARD YERSIN 1988, 11-12; ROSSI 1995, 15-25.

¹⁵⁴⁰ NYON 2003, 37, 40-42.

¹⁵⁴¹ The model of Rome remained nearly the same at Mérida but already at Tarraco underwent a modification. The change affected also Arles, Avenches, Nyon and Vienne where another new representation, this of *Acheloos*, is found: *Acheloos* is depicted in a *clipeus* but also in an architrave. The

some scholars say that it comes from the *basilica* while other from the *peribolos* of the temple.¹⁵⁴² According to Bossert¹⁵⁴³ the architrave is part of a Flavian modification of the *basilica*,¹⁵⁴⁴ still it is important to stress that the representation of Jupiter, Acheloos and Medusa, which are present also at Vienne, were depicted both in *clipei* and in architrave demonstrating that they were contemporary or with some few years of difference.¹⁵⁴⁵ The representation in the architrave is also present, as we will see, in *Noricum*.



Figure 187: Jupiter Ammon (after Nyon 2003, 41).

The square between it and the *area sacra* is enlarged and a *macellum* was set up. The building contained several shops placed on either side of a paved central courtyard opened only inside, towards also a small semi-circular recess probably embellished with a statue. It is one of the rare instances of a Roman-built *macellum* North of the Alps. This building supplied meat, poultry and fish; indeed, beef ribs and shoulder bones, found piled in a heap in a corner of one of the shops testify the activities of the Roman butcher and the eating habits of the inhabitants of the Roman town.¹⁵⁴⁶ (Figure 188)

Jupiter Ammon from Nyon confirms that not only *Acheloos* was depicted in architrave. cf. VERZÁR-BAS 2011, 570.

¹⁵⁴² See BRIDEL 1989, 64; CASARI 2004, 34-35, VERZÁR-BAS 2008, 25; VERZÁR-BAS 2011, 569-570.

¹⁵⁴³ BOSSERT 2002, n° 16.

¹⁵⁴⁴ BOSSERT 2002, 33-34.

¹⁵⁴⁵ VERZÁR-BAS 2008, 26.

¹⁵⁴⁶ NYON 2003, 43-44; ROSSI 1995, 52-60.

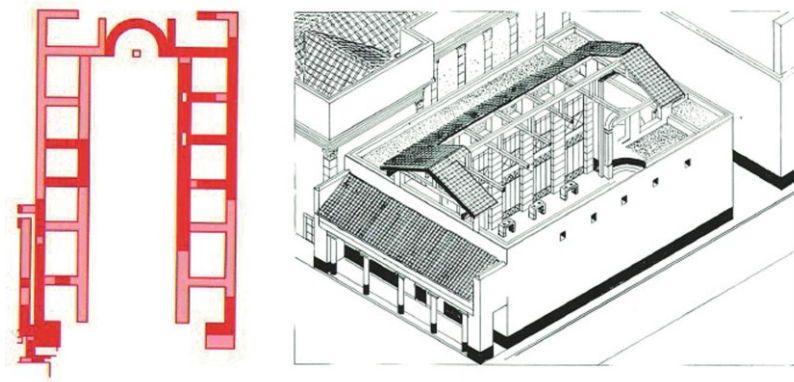


Figure 188: Plan and 3d reconstitution of the *macellum* (rielaboration after Nyon 2003, 44).

4.4.3.3.1 Agglomérations secondaires

Only three *vici* present, in this period, some development.

Bliesbruck was part of the city of *Mediomatrici* and it was linked by some streets, still the ancient name is not known. The spatial organization is arranged around a principal route orientated North-South. At both side there were quartiers with commercial functions and workshops (Figure 189).



Figure 189: Western quartier of Bliesbruck in the middle of the 1st century AD (after Petit 2005a, 90).

On the western side at the North we see, at least, six half-timbered constructions (bât. 2-6) and at South, for sure only three (bât 8-10):¹⁵⁴⁷ they are, surely, set up according to a plan.

The buildings 2-6 are rectangular, covered with tiles and stretched out. It is difficult to perceive the internal organization but, still, it is possible to confirm the presence of hand-made activities towards the front of the street divided by a sidewalk with an

¹⁵⁴⁷ PETIT 1993, 131; PETIT 1994, 22; PETIT, SCHAUB 1998, 511-512.

embankment of stones, gravel and sand.¹⁵⁴⁸ To the South building 9 has a big room covering the majority of the surface while the North-East corner has four ovens: this building is used for metalworking industry of iron¹⁵⁴⁹ while the building 10 is a workshop for bronze.¹⁵⁵⁰

At Lousonna the site of Chavannes 11, in the Claudian period, undertakes a complete reorganization. We have four plots; in front of the building B there are traces of a porch. Only plot B is completely rebuilt and the South façade is shifted 2 m towards North in order to create a space for the porch. For the plot C we see an advancement of the wall along the street.¹⁵⁵¹

It is possible that the *basilica*, on the longitudinal border of the *forum*, built in the 50s, has two naves with 11 columns while at West three transversal pillars which border a room of 13.5 x 17 m.¹⁵⁵²

At Herleen (*Castellum*) the thermal baths are set up in this period. The rooms follow a symmetrical plan: room 6 is an *apodyterium* with *opus spicatum* that opens to a *frigidarium* (7) with two small swimming pools (8 and 9), at the South a *tepidarium* (10) is heated by the *caldarium* (12) characterised by two apses. The problem here regards the hypothetical presence of communication between *tepidarium* and *laconicum* (11) and between *frigidarium* and *laconicum*.

The space around the rooms is still matter of debate. Room 15 has a porch (17-18) and in the middle, there is a *natatio*, to the West another room (19) has a porch (20-21) with an entrance (23). Room 22 is considered as latrines but there is no suitable planning.¹⁵⁵³(Figure 190)

¹⁵⁴⁸ ALBERTI 2008, 109.

¹⁵⁴⁹ PETIT 2005b, 112-113.

¹⁵⁵⁰ PETIT 2005b, 126.

¹⁵⁵¹ BERTI ROSSI, CASTELLA 2005, 72-90.

¹⁵⁵² BALTY 1991, 389-390.

¹⁵⁵³ BOUET 2003c, 679-681.

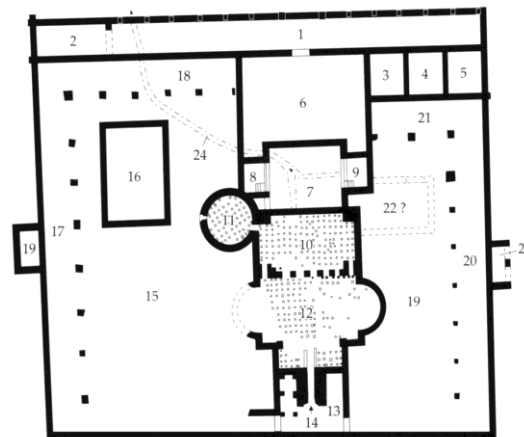


Figure 190: Plan of the thermal bath at *Castellum* (after Bouet 2003, 680, fig. 134).

4.4.3.3.2 Evaluations

Dedications to Claudius and his family

In three cities were found dedications to the emperor. At Senlis it is associated, perhaps, with the assignment to the *Silvanectes* of an independent administrative district where previously they belong to the *civitas* of Suessione. The dedication at Marsal comes from the residents: the use of the term *vicani* reflects the territorial structure while the *magistri* are, most likely, a sort of *decuriones*; at Mainz the dedicators are bags and purses' traders.

At Avenches a dedication to Britannicus dated, because of the presence of the Britannicus, after the conquest of Britannia, and it may be correlated to a statuary group represented, in part, by some statues founded in the *forum* (the only one of them surely identifiable is that one of Agrippina the older).¹⁵⁵⁴

Street grid and public complex

Because of the lacking of urban development in Belgica still at the time of Claudius, after some decades of colonization, the emperor thought that it was time to improve it with the creation of the grid plan: we have examples at Reims, Arras and Tongres.

At Bavay and Amiens, instead, the grid plan was reorganized and the first stage of the *forum* was set up while at Nyon a porch and a *basilica* were newly built with influences from Gallia Narbonnensis.

According to De Ruyt's typology the *macellum* at Nyon, one of the rare examples at North of the Alps, belongs to type 2¹⁵⁵⁵ where the plan is oriented towards a dominant

¹⁵⁵⁴ ROSSO 2006, 247-249, n° 42-44.

¹⁵⁵⁵ DE RUYT 1983, 284-289.

structure which is, in this case, the apsis set up on the opposite side of the entrance. It relates to models in Italy as Paestum or Pozzuoli but also to African models as Bulla Regia or Dougga and, in lesser measure, to Belo.

At Augst the *forum* was rebuilt in stone: a *peripteros* temple with an altar in front of it and a *Π-porticus* around them were set up. The *decumanus maximus* divided the complex between the *area publica* and *area sacra*: the position of the *basilica* on the opposite side of the temple makes it belonging to the scheme of triplex *fora*. Still it seems that the wooden *forum*, the temple at Schönbühl, the place of the latter Frauenthermen and a supposed wooden *scaena* of a theatre were part of the same unit. All these buildings were, from Claudius' onwards, renewed in stone.

Also at *Aventicum* the *forum* undertakes some renovations after the big period of Tiberius. Already in this first period the plan belongs to the triplex schema with an *area publica* surrounded by a porch and on the South side by a *basilica* and an *area sacra* occupied in the centre by a temple dedicated to the Julio-Claudian family.¹⁵⁵⁶

The triplex *forum* is a kind of closed *forum* with the temple (a *Capitolium* or dedecated to the imperial cult) on one the short side surrounded by porches and the *basilica* on the opposite side:¹⁵⁵⁷ according to Zanker the schema has latin origin being born in the italian colonies and then reproduced by Caesar and Augustus;¹⁵⁵⁸ instead Balty and Gros affirm that the origin derives not from Rome but from the Hellenistic cities and, then goes to the provincial cities.¹⁵⁵⁹

The position of the *basilica* on the short side, making it an integral part of the porches, appears first in the colonies and in the provinces before coming to Rome with the impressive example of the Trajan *forum*.

As already pointed out by David the *basilica*, from Augustus onward, played an important role with the addition of an *aedes augusti*, it was 'an espace supplémentaire introduisant la presence d'un autre pouvoir politique qui s'ajoutait à celui du magistrat, et souvent el dominait'.¹⁵⁶⁰

Gros and Torelli refuse Wills' idea of the birth of the schema from a combination with oriental models because this kind of *forum* is more present in Belgica than in

¹⁵⁵⁶ It may be that the statue of Britannicus belongs to this group.

¹⁵⁵⁷ The *basilica* can also set up in the long sides as at Bilbilis, *Conimbriga* and Ruscino but it seems that the first model is the most common in the western provinces, cf. GROS, TORELLI 2007, 381.

¹⁵⁵⁸ ZANKER 2000, 33-35.

¹⁵⁵⁹ BALTY 1991, 286-356; GROS 1996, 214-215, 220-223.

¹⁵⁶⁰ DAVID 1983, 228.

Narbonensis. It is true that this “model” needed to integrate the administrative organs and the religious buildings in a very short time in a territory where the municipal autonomy was inconceivable outside the subordination to the central power.¹⁵⁶¹

Thermal baths

At Avenches the *thermae* in the *insula* 23, with a simple North-South axis, have the first figured mosaic of the region.

Private house

The type of building discovered at Metz in the Arsenal has parallels also in other sites of *Galliae* as Alesia¹⁵⁶² or Evreux.¹⁵⁶³

For the rue Marchant the painting in the first room belongs to the third Pompeian style. The *candelabrum*, instead, is rare in Italy but already present at Vienne, Saint Romain en Gal and Lyon where it is considered as an element of the regional Augustean repertoire while the example at Metz is slightly different, perhaps because it is older. The *candelabrum* in room 2 differs from the examples à thyrses because of the irregularity and the rupture of the rhythm of the thyrses.

Both decorations are important for the development of the wall paintings of third style in northern Gaul. These decorations, normally, are presented always in white wall but here they are on red and black ones: it may be considered as a beginning of the decorative system of the end of the 1st century AD.

The paintings from the house in *Insula* A/3 in Köln belong to the second group of decoration i.e. the turning point between third style and fourth style with a very precise execution.

At Aventicum we have evidences of interesting activities concerning private houses and workshops. The houses are rebuilt in mixed architecture where the armature in timber rests upon stoned foundations after the first period in timber as for example in *Insula* 1.¹⁵⁶⁴ or in *Insula* 15¹⁵⁶⁵ or built *ex novo*. This evolution favours the coming up of new forms of habitat i.e. the *domus* that is the way for the owner to show his attachment to the new cultural values.

Also at Augst, in different *insulae*, grew up workshops for pottery as in in the quartier Kurzenbetti, region 4 and region 5b, but also private houses which are now attesting in

¹⁵⁶¹ GROS, TORELLI 2007, 383-384.

¹⁵⁶² MANGIN 1981, 97-113.

¹⁵⁶³ CARRÉ, GERBER 1990, 95-97.

¹⁵⁶⁴ BÖGLI 1970-71, 20.

¹⁵⁶⁵ TUOR 1981, 46-52.

wood and clay. On the contrary under the theatre the basement represents the first example in *opus vittatum mixtum*.

Territory of Helvetii

For long time the situation of this zone is dominated by military worries as the war against the *Raeti* in 16/15 BC, the submission of the tribes of the northern Alps and Augustus' plan to conquer Germany till the Elbe that makes the territory one of central interest for the Roman administration. Even if with initially different juridical status, Avenches and Augst have a spatial organization and a kind of development very similar. In both cities the first houses were half timbered and in torchis but during Claudius' principate they were rebuilt in stone. This evolution may be correlated to an economical factor: if Van Berchem's suggestion of the inauguration of the Great St. Bernard Pass in AD 47 is right we may link this development to commercial and cultural liberation and a gradual enrichment.¹⁵⁶⁶

Even if the buildings, at the beginning, are in wood and earth the occupation of the ground was already organized despite the lack of a monumental programme: the public buildings were erected only some decades after the foundation. The grid plan was respected also when the building techniques changed: we can perceive as the principal worry for Rome, in regions without proper traditions, the rigorous spaces' distribution.

4.4.4 Guidelines

The analysis of all the Gallic provinces show an interesting pattern which can be linked to their historical development.

In Belgica we see, during Claudius' principate, various interventions connecting to the general development of the province: the road network was enhanced in order to increase the communications throughout the province; the cities, still in an embryonic state, received a stable grid plan or had it ameliorated; with the grid plan it is possible to decide in advance the places for the public buildings. These aspects, on the contrary, are not present in the other provinces.

What strikes in these provinces is the presence of a tendency for public works as aqueducts, fountains (Lyon), thermal baths, *fora* (in the first phase with some scanty evidences or with the addition of a *basilica* or the gravelling of the square) and one example of a *macellum* (at Nyon with close similarities with this one at Dougga).

¹⁵⁶⁶ VAN BERCHEM 1982, 17-18.

Another important achievement regards the private quarters and the improvement of the houses: if in Narbonensis, Aquitania and Lugdunensis the houses begin to acquire a typical mediterranean style (the so-called peristyle house) with, in some case, exceptional examples of painting decoration belonging to the third Pompeian style; in Belgica this achievement is far to be attained and we have the first instances of houses partly in stone without, thus, a real planned internal organization.

Great interest is, also, shown to edifices for amusement as theatres and amphitheatre while the cultural and sacred ones are not so much popular or at least we do not have evidence for them.

Along with dedications associated to a building, supposed or taken for granted, as at Saintes or Avenches, were also collected single dedications which can not be related to a certain building.

4.4.5 Roadsystem

4.4.5.1 *Gallia Narbonensis*

| | Route | Discovery | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|--|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 ¹⁵⁶⁷ | Narbonne-Agde | Sauvian | Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus pontefix maximus tribunicia potestate VII imperator XIII p p co(n)s(ul) IIII censor | Half AD 47 | III miles from Béziers |
| 2 ¹⁵⁶⁸ | Via Domitia, strecht Arles-Nîmes | Arles-Trinquetai lle | Ti. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |

¹⁵⁶⁷ CIL XII 5666; CIL XVII 288; CLAVEL 1970, 451, II; KÖNIG 1970, n° 250.

¹⁵⁶⁸ CIL XII 5493; CIL XVII 203=239 (?); KÖNIG 1970, n° 167.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| 3 ¹⁵⁶⁹ | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Beaucaire | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | Probably 14 or 15 miles from Nîmes |
| 4 ¹⁵⁷⁰ | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Beaucaire | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | Probably 14 or 15 miles form Nîmes |
| 5 ¹⁵⁷¹ | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Jonquières – st. Laurent | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |
| 6 ¹⁵⁷² | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Jonquières - St. Laurent | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |

¹⁵⁶⁹ CIL XII 5586; CIL XVII 207; KÖNIG 1970, n° 169.

¹⁵⁷⁰ CIL XII 5587; CIL XVII 208; KÖNIG 1970, n° 170.

¹⁵⁷¹ CIL XII 5589; CIL XVII 214; KÖNIG 1970, n° 176. It is not sure if this milestone belongs to Via Domitia because of the strange linesbreak.

¹⁵⁷² CIL XII 5590; CIL XVII 215; KÖNIG 1970, n° 177. It is not sure if this milestone belongs to Via Domitia because of the strange linesbreak.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 7 ¹⁵⁷³ | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Redessan | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | 7 or 8 miles from Nîmes |
| 8 ¹⁵⁷⁴ | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Redessan | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | 7 or 8 miles from Nîmes |
| 9 ¹⁵⁷⁵ | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Manduel | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | 6 miles from Nîmes |
| 10 1576 | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | St.Thomas de- Couloures (Marguerit tes) | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | maybe 5 miles from Nîmes |
| 11 1577 | Via Domitia, | Rodilhan | TI. Claudius Drusi | March to 31 | |

¹⁵⁷³ CIL XVII 220; KÖNIG 1970, n° 182.

¹⁵⁷⁴ CIL XII 5595; CIL XVII 221; KÖNIG 1970, n° 183.

¹⁵⁷⁵ CIL XII 5602; CIL XVII 225; KÖNIG 1970, n° 187.

¹⁵⁷⁶ CIL XII 5608; CIL XVII 230; KÖNIG 1970, n° 192.

| | | | | | |
|------------|--|------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| | strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | | F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | December AD 41 | |
| 12 1578 | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Bouillarde s | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | Probably 3 or 4 miles from Béziers |
| 13 1579 | Via Domitia, strecht Beaucaire- Nîmes | Bouillergu es | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | Probably 2 or 4 miles from Nîmes |
| 14 1580 | Via Domitia | Nîmes | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | Probably 1 mile from Nîmes |
| 15 1581 | Via Domitia, strecht | Nîmes | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar | March to 31 December AD | |

¹⁵⁷⁷ CIL XII 5610; CIL XVII 232; KÖNIG 1970, n° 194.

¹⁵⁷⁸ CIL XII 5611; CIL XVII 233; KÖNIG 1970, n° 195.

¹⁵⁷⁹ CIL XII 5612; CIL XVII 234; KÖNIG 1970, n° 196.

¹⁵⁸⁰ CIL XII 5620; CIL XVII 239=205 (?); KÖNIG 1970, n° 201. It is not sure if this milestone belongs to the strecht Nîmes-Beaucaire or Nîmes-Ugernum.

¹⁵⁸¹ CIL XII 5621; CIL XVII 240; KÖNIG 1970, n° 202.

| | | | | | |
|------------|--|-------------|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| | Beucaire- Nîmes | | Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | 41 | |
| 16 1582 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | St. Césaire | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March. To 31 December AD 41 | Probably 2 or 3 miles from Nîmes |
| 17 1583 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Milhaud | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | 5 miles from Nîmes or 86 miles from Narbonne |
| 18 1584 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Bernis | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | LXXV miles from Nîmes ¹⁵⁸⁵ |
| 19 1586 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Bernis | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus | March to 31 December AD 41 | 7 or 8 miles from Nîmes (84 |

¹⁵⁸² CIL XII 5627; CIL XVII 246; KÖNIG 1970, n° 208.

¹⁵⁸³ CIL XII 5631; CIL XVII 250; KÖNIG 1970, n° 212.

¹⁵⁸⁴ CIL XII 5634; CIL XVII 253; KÖNIG 1970, n° 215.

¹⁵⁸⁵ The distance corresponds to the distance of Tiberian milestones from Narbonne.

¹⁵⁸⁶ CIL XII 5635; CIL XVII 254; KÖNIG 1970, n° 216.

| | | | | | |
|------------|--|---------|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | | Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | | or 85 miles from Nîmes) |
| 20 1587 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Unknown | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | 7 or 8 miles from Nîmes |
| 21 1588 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Unknown | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |
| 22 1589 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Unknown | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |
| 23 1590 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Unknown | TI. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia | March to 31 December AD 41 | |

¹⁵⁸⁷ CIL XII 5636; CIL XVII 255; KÖNIG 1970, n° 217.

¹⁵⁸⁸ CIL XII 5645; CIL XVII 264; KÖNIG 1970, n° 226.

¹⁵⁸⁹ CIL XII 5646; CIL XVII 265; KÖNIG 1970, n° 227.

¹⁵⁹⁰ CIL XII 5647; CIL XVII 266; KÖNIG 1970, n° 228.

| | | | | | |
|------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| | | | potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | | |
| 24 1591 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Lansargue s | Ti. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |
| 25 1592 | Via Domitia, strecht Nîmes- Narbonne | Montpellie r | Ti. Claudius Drusi F(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) II imp II | March to 31 December AD 41 | |
| 26 1593 | Via Agrippa | Solaise | Ti. Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus pontefix maximus tribunica potestate III imp II Co(n)s(ul) III p p | 25 january to summer 43 AD | VII miles from Vienne to Lyon |
| 27 1594 | Via Agrippa | Saint Vallaire | Ti. Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus pontefix maximus tribunica potestate III imp II Co(n)s(ul) III p p | 25 january to summer 43 AD | XXV miles from Vienne |

¹⁵⁹¹ CIL XII 5655; CIL XVII 273; KÖNIG 1970, n° 235.

¹⁵⁹² CIL XII 5661; CIL XVII 281; KÖNIG 1970, n° 243.

¹⁵⁹³ CIL XII 5542; CIL XVII 148; KÖNIG 1970, n° 110.

¹⁵⁹⁴ CIL XII 5546; CIL XVII 156; KÖNIG 1970, n° 118.

| | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------|---|-----------------|--|
| 28 1595 | Via Aurelia | Porcieux | Ti. Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus pontefix maximus tribunica potestate III Co(n)s(ul) III imp V p p | Autunm 43 AD | 22 miles from Aix en Provence |
|------------|-------------|----------|---|-----------------|--|

The first milestone belongs to the Route Narbonne- Agde as Clavel claims¹⁵⁹⁶ even if König,¹⁵⁹⁷ Noguier¹⁵⁹⁸ and, more recently, Walser¹⁵⁹⁹ thinks being part of the Via Domitia.

The milestones from the second to the 25st belong to Via Domitia whose name derived from the erector Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and connected Italy with Gaule. The old *itineraria* made the via beginning in Arles. Because the stretch Arles-St Gabriel-Tarason is one part of via Lyon-Arles and the count of the miles of Via Julia Augusta starts from Tabasco; it is obvious, for the Narbonensis, to begin the description from Beaucaire (*Ugernum*). It leads to Curesoussol and Rodilhan and ends at Nîmes at Port d'Auguste. From Nîmes the street turned to Milhau and Uchaud (*Ad octavium miliarum*) and in not precise trace it directed North to Codagnan and Grand-Gallargues and it crossed over Vidourle. From here the *statio Ambrussum* (Pont Ambroix) controlled the way over Saxtantio-Castelnau (*Substation*), Montbazin (*Forum Domitii*) to St. Thibéry (*Cessero*) after crossing the river Hérault. In St. Thybèry it met the street that from Rodez through Millau and Lodève went to Aquitania. The street then continued to Béziers (*Baeterrae*) where he traversed the Olb by Pont Vieux und after 16 miles it reached Narbonne (*Narbo Martius*) through Colombiers and L'étang de Capestang. From Narbonne it ran through Salces (*Salsulae*) to Castel Roussillon (*Ruscino*) and to Elen (*Illiberis*) and it reached Col de Perthus (*Summun Pyrenaeum*). From the counting of the miles we are sure that Arles, Nîmes, Béziers and Narbonne are the *capita viae*.

¹⁵⁹⁵ CIL XII 5476, CIL XVII 51; KÖNIG 1970, n° 51.

¹⁵⁹⁶ CLAVEL 1970, 451.

¹⁵⁹⁷ KÖNIG 1970, 271.

¹⁵⁹⁸ NOGUIER 1883, 218-219.

¹⁵⁹⁹ WALSER 1980, 456.

The 26th and 28th milestones are part of the Via Agrippa that in the occasion of Claudius' journey to Britannia was repaired. Via Agrippa followed the left riverside of Rhône and connected Lyon to Arles.¹⁶⁰⁰ From Lyon the way went to Vienne and through St. Rambert (*Figlinae*), St. Vallier (*Ursolae*) and Tain-l'Hermitage (*Tegna*) it reached Valence (*Valentia*). From Valence it went to Bances (*Batiana*), Montélimar (*Acunum*), Logis de Berre (*Novemcraris*) and further along Bois de la Montagne to Orange (*Aurausio*). Then it led to Avignon (*Avenio*), Tarascon (*Traiectum Rhodani*), St. Gabriel (*Ernagina*) and Arles (*Arelate*). From the counting of the miles we are sure that Vienne, Valence and Avignon were the *capita viae*.

The last milestone belongs to the Via Aurelia¹⁶⁰¹ that, for the Gallia's part, runs from Var, in the boundary to Gallia Cisalpina, to Arles. From Var it turned to Antibes (*Antipolis*) thanks to a driveway, from here went to La Napule (*Horrea*), and Fréjus (*Forum Iulii*).¹⁶⁰² From Fréjus it headed to Forum Voconi and Cabasse (*Matavonium*): from here the way went further to Tourves (*ad Turrem*) and Aix en Provence (*Acquae Sextiae*) where between St. Maximin-La-Ste-Baume and Pourcieux it is possible to see traces of the street. From Aix it turned to Marseille (*Massalia*), Fos-sur-Mer (*Fossae Mariannae*) and Arles with these distances: XVIII m.p. from Aix to Marseille, XIII m.p. to Calcaria (=?), XXXVIII m.p. to Fos and XXXIII m.p. to Arles. In Arles it met the Via Agrippa and Via Domitia.

¹⁶⁰⁰ CHEVALLIER 1997, 211-212.

¹⁶⁰¹ It is also known as Via Iulia Augusta because of two milestones found West of Fréjus and dated to 13/12 BC, CIL XII 5454, 5455, CHEVALLIER 1997, 207-208; KÖNIG 1970, nn° 35-36.

¹⁶⁰² From these two points there was already an augustean street.

4.4.5.2 *Gallia Aquitania*

| | Route | Discover | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|--|------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 ¹⁶⁰³ | Lyon-Toulouse (strecht Feurs-Cahors) | Beanlieu | Ti. Claudius Drusi f(iulius) Caesar Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) pont(efix) max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) V imp(erator) XI p p co(n)s(ul) III censor III | AD 45 | |
| 2 ¹⁶⁰⁴ | Lyon-Limoges | Aigueperse | [T]i(berius) Claudius [D]rus(i) f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) German[ic(us)] p]ontif(ex) Max(imus) tr[ib]un(icia) potesta[t(e)] imp(erator) XI p(aeter(p(atriae) [c]o(n)s(ul) III design(autus) [I]III | AD 45 | X[X] from Clermen ont |
| 3 ¹⁶⁰⁵ | Lyon-Limoges | Vallore Ville | [Ti (berius) Cl]aud[ius Drus]si f(ilius) C[aes(ar)] | AD 46 | XXXI from Clermen |

¹⁶⁰³ CIL XIII 8877; CIL XVII 328; ALBENQUE 1948, 136; ILTG n° 462; DE RICCI 1925, 26, n° 12; WALSER 1980, 450.

¹⁶⁰⁴ CIL XIII 8908; CIL XVII 344.

¹⁶⁰⁵ CIL XIII 8919; CIL XVII 348.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------|---|-------|-------------------------------|
| | | | Aug(ustus) [Ger(manicus) pon]t(efix) max[(imus tri]b(unicia) pote[st(ate) V I]mp(erator) XI p(pater P(atirae) [c(n)sul III] | | ont |
| 4 ¹⁶⁰⁶ | Lyon- Lymoges | Billom | Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) Ger(amicus) pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pote[st(ate) V imp(erator) XI p(ater) p(atirae) co(n)sul III design(atus) III | AD 45 | XXI from Clermen ont |
| 5 ¹⁶⁰⁷ | Lyon- Lymoges | Enval | Ti(berius) Claud[ius Dru]si f(ilius) Caes(ar) [Aug(ustus) German]i[c]u[s] pont(ifex) m[axi(imus) tr]ibun[ic(ia)] pote[st(ate) V i]mp (erator) XI p(ater) p(atirae) co(n)[s(sul) | | V from Clermeo nt |

¹⁶⁰⁶ CIL XIII 8909; CIL XVII 349.

¹⁶⁰⁷ CILL XIII 8920; CIL XVII 352; ILTG n° 470.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------|--|-------|-------------------------|
| | | | III de]sig(natus) [IIII] | | |
| 6 ¹⁶⁰⁸ | Lyon- Clermont Ferrand | | [Cos III] des IIII tr. p. [V] imp(erator) XI | AD 45 | XXXI |
| 7 ¹⁶⁰⁹ | Clermont Ferrand-Brest (<i>Gesocribate</i>) | St. Pierre les Eglises | [Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) Germanincus pont(ifex) ma]x(imus) tribunic[(ia) pot(estate) V i]mp(erator) XI p(ater) p(atriae) co(n)[sul III] des(ignatus) III | AD 45 | |
| 8 ¹⁶¹⁰ | Summo Pyrenaeo- Chersbourg (<i>Coriallum</i>) | Chadenac | [Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) Germaninc(us) pont(ifex) max(imus)] tribun[ic(ia) pot(estate) V] imperator XI p(ater) p(atriae) co(n)(s)ul III des(ignatus) [IIII] Cos III des [IIII tr. P. V] imp. XI | AD 45 | XXIV from Saintes |

¹⁶⁰⁸ CIL XIII 9019.

¹⁶⁰⁹ CIL XIII 8934; CIL XVII 381; ILTG n° 472; DE RICCI 1925, 26, n° 13.

¹⁶¹⁰ CIL XIII 8900; CIL XVII 428.

For the first milestone different references were found: they record it as belonging respectively to the street Rodez-Javols-Paulin-Feurs, known also as “Chemin de la Bollène”¹⁶¹¹ and to the way Lyon-Bordeaux in the stretch Feurs-Cahors.¹⁶¹² Most likely it belongs to the way Lyon-Toulouse through Feurs, St. Paulien (*Reussio*), Javols (*Anderitum*) and Cahors.¹⁶¹³ According to Albenque the street was build in the middle of 1st century AD as the works at Puench-Crémat and the milestone attested.

The milestones from the second to the fifth belong to a via that runs from Lyon and through Clermont Ferrand (*Augustonemetum*) to Limoges (*Augustoritum*) and further from that point to different cities towards North as Borges (through Argenton and Aulnay) or toward South like Bordeaux and S. Bertrand (*Lugdunum*) passing by Périgueux (*Vesunna*). The milestones no. 3-5 record the stretch Lyon- Clermont Ferrand-Néris: in particular no. 3 and 4 between Feurs and Clermont and no. 5 between Clermont and Néris. The second milestone belongs, instead, to the street that reached Néris through Roanne and Vichy.

The sixth is here presented because Walser presented it as milestone of Claudius¹⁶¹⁴ but in the more recent edition of CIL regarding the milestone of Galliae it is not recorded as belonging to the emperor.

The 7th belongs to the street that, from Clermont Ferrand through Argenton, Poitiers, Nantes and Vannes, leads to Brest and especially in the route Argenton to Poitiers while the last one fits into the street Chersbourg-Roncisvalles (*Summo Pyrenaeo*) and in particular in the stretch Saintes-Bordeaux.

4.4.5.3 Gallia Lugdunensis

| | Route | Discovery | Fomula | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|---|-----------|--|------------|-------------|
| 1 ¹⁶¹⁵ | Lyon- Geneve by Seyssel (<i>Condate</i>) | Valbonne | Ti(berius) Claudio Drusi f(ilio) Caes(ari) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pont(ifex) max(imo) | AD 43 | CXIX |

¹⁶¹¹ ALBENQUE 1948, 131-137.

¹⁶¹² ÉTIENNE 1962, 131-132; WALSER 1980, 450 and Anhang.

¹⁶¹³ CHEVALLIER 1997, 215.

¹⁶¹⁴ WALSER 1980, 450 and Anhang.

¹⁶¹⁵ AE 1995, 1093; CIL XIII 9055; CIL XVII 144; WALSER 1980, 447.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------|--|-------|-------------------------------|
| | | | tri(bunicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(uli) III imp(eratori) o(atri) p(atriae) | | |
| 2 ¹⁶¹⁶ | Lyon- Mainz or Lyon- Boulogne (strecht Lyon- Langres) | Anse | [Ti(berius) C]laudius Drusi [f(ilius) Carsat Au]gustus Ge[rm(anicus) pontefix m]aximus [tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) III imp(erator) III co(n)s(ul) III] desig(natus) | AD 43 | |
| 3 ¹⁶¹⁷ | Summo Pyrenaeo- Chersbourg | La Manoir | [Ti(berius) Cl]au[ius] Drusi f(ilius) [Caesar Aug]ustus]Germani]cus pontifex [maximus] tribunicia [pot]estate] [imperator XI] p(ater) p(atriae) co(n)s[s(ul) III des]ignat[us IIII] | AD 45 | V from Bayeux |
| 4 ¹⁶¹⁸ | Via Osismiorum | Kerscou | Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi filius Caesar Augus(tus) Germanicus ponntifex maximus tribuncia pot(esate) V imp(erator) XI | AD 46 | V[-c.2-] from Vorganium |

¹⁶¹⁶ ILTG n° 480; AE 1940, 156; CIL XIII 942, CIL XVII 525; THEVENOT 1969, 91.

¹⁶¹⁷ CIL XIII 8976; CIL XVII 449.

¹⁶¹⁸ AE 1957, 211; CIL XIII 9016; CIL XVII 411; ILTG n° 478.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---|-------|--|
| | | | co(n)s(ul) III designatus III] Cos III des III tr. P. V imp. XI | | |
| 5 ¹⁶¹⁹ | Via Osismiorum | Mespaul | [Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Augustus Ge]rmanicus pon[ntifex m]axumus tri[bunci]ae potest[atis V imp(erator) XI p(ater) p(atriae) co(n)s(ul) III designatus III] | AD 45 | |

The first milestone is the only one in the all Galliae where the the name of Claudius is not in nomitave but perhaps in the third case: that means that the milestone was dedicated to the emperor. As Besnier¹⁶²⁰ reported, the C in the end of the inscription represents one of the names of Lyon *C(oloniam)* or *C(laudiam)* or *C(opiam m.p.)*. It seems that the citizens had posed the milestone to commemorate Claudius.

The second milestone can belong to the route running from Lyon to Mainz (*Mogontiacum*)¹⁶²¹ or more likely to the third via of Agrippa which, according to Strabon, ist that of the ocean: it followed the right side of Saône by Anse (*Asa Paulini*), Chalon sur Saône (*Cabillodunum*), Autun (*Augustodunum*), Sens (*Augostomagus*), Beauvais (*Caesaromagus*), Amiens (*Samarobriva*) to Boulogne-sur-Mer (*Gesoriacum*). It was doubled with another eastern way, more ancient, that it had a part in common with the route to Mainz to Langres.

The third milestone fit in the street Chersbourg- Roncisvalles (*Summo Pyrenaeo*).

The 4th and 5th milestone belong to the Via Osismiorum which indicates the route in Bretagne from Rennes (*Condate*) to Brest or passing throught Carhaix (*Vorgium*).¹⁶²²

¹⁶¹⁹ CIL XVII 41; ILTG n° 479.

¹⁶²⁰ BESNIER 1923, 82.

¹⁶²¹ This hypothesis is sure for some scholars; cf. KASPRZYK, NOUVEL 2011, 26-27.

¹⁶²² CHEVALLIER 1997, 218-219.

4.4.5.4 Gallia Belgica

| | Route | Discovery | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|--|-----------|---|------------|-------------------------|
| 1 ¹⁶²³ | Lyon-Mainz (strecht Langres- Mirebaue- Pointailler-Dole) | Sacquay | Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) germanic(us) pont(ifex) Max(imus) trib(unicia) poest(ate) III imp(erator) III p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III designat(us) IIII | AD 43 | XXII from Langres |
| 2 ¹⁶²⁴ | Lyon- Mainz (strecht Langres- Chalon) | Choilley | [T]i(berius) Claud(ius) D[rusi f(ilius)] Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) Germ[a]nic(us) pontif(ex) max(imus) [t]rib(unicia) potes[t(ate) III] im[p(erator) I]II p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul)I[II d]esig(natus) IIII | AD 43 | XII from Langres |
| 3 ¹⁶²⁵ | Mainz- Leiden | Kapellen | Ti(berius) C[l]au[dius] Drusi f(ilius)] Caesar [A][g(ustus)] Ger[m(anicus)] p[ont(ifex)] | AD 44 | LVI from Mainz |

¹⁶²³ CIL XIII 9044; CIL XVII 530; THEVENOT 1969, 264.

¹⁶²⁴ CIL XIII 9046; CIL XVII 532; THEVENOT 1969, 264.

¹⁶²⁵ CIL XIII 9143; CIL XVII 567.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------|--|----------|-------------------------|
| | | | max(imus) [tri]b(unicia) p[ot(estate) I]III imp(erator) [VIII] co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) [III] p(ater) p(atriae) | | |
| 4 ¹⁶²⁶ | Mainz- Leiden | Koblenz | [Ti(berius) Cl]a[u](dus) [Drusi f(ilius) C]aesar [Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) p]ont(ifex) max(imus) [t]rib(unicia) pot(estate) III imp(erator) VIII co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) III p(ater) p(atriae) | AD 44/45 | LIX from Mainz |
| 5 ¹⁶²⁷ | Via Trevirenses incertae | Buzenol | [Ti(berius) Claudius Dr]usi [f(ilius)] Caes[ar] Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) pont(ifex) m[a]x(imus) trib(unicia) p[ot(estate) II]II imp(erator) VIII c[o(n)s(ul) III] desig(natus) III p(ater) p(atriae) | AD 44 | [II]II from Trier |

¹⁶²⁶ CIL XIII 9145, CIL XVII 573; ILS 5830.

¹⁶²⁷ CIL XVII 549.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------|--|-------|---------------------|
| 6 ¹⁶²⁸ | St. Berhard-Vienne (stretch St. Berhard-Vidy) | St. Saphorin | Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) ponti(fex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII imp(erator) XII p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III | 47 AD | XXVII from Martigny |
| 7 ¹⁶²⁹ | St. Berhard-Vienne | Versvey | Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar [Aug(ustus)] Germ(anicus) ponti(fex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII imp(erator) XII p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III | AD 47 | XXI from Martigny |

The first¹⁶³⁰ and second milestones are part of the via that runs from Lyon to Mainz (*Mogontiacum*).¹⁶³¹ It passes at Anse (*Asa Paulini*), Mâcon (*Matisco*), Tournus (*Tinurtium*), Chalon sur Saône (*Cabillodunum*), a sector in common with the street leading to Boulogne- Langres (*Andenantunum*), Meuvy (*Mosa*), Soluose (*Solimariaca*), Toul (*Tullum*), Metz (*Divodurum*), Dalheim (*Ricciacum*), Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*), Neumagen (*Noviomagus*), Am Stumpfen Turm (*Belginum*), Bingen (*Bingium*) ending at Mainz. The hypothesis of this route is based on the text of Strabo, even if he does not tell us where it ends. Recent working on the archaeological evidences could suggest that this route is another way to reach the river Rhein, besides this one coming from Italy and reaching Langres through Besançon.¹⁶³²

¹⁶²⁸ CIL XIII 5528, CIL XVII 124, WALSER 1967, n° 15.

¹⁶²⁹ CIL XVII 120a; AE 1982, 673.

¹⁶³⁰ It is also proposed that the milestone belongs to a route coming from Besançon directed to Langres and then to Mainz, cf. KASPRZYK, NOUVEL 2011, 24-25.

¹⁶³¹ CHEVALLIER 1997, 210.

¹⁶³² KASPRZYK, NOUVEL 2011, 26-28.

The third and fourth milestones were part of the street that lead from Mainz to Leiden (*Lugdunum Batavourum*) through Bingen (*Bingium*), Oberwesel (*Vosoluia*), Boppard (*Bondobriga*), Koblenz (*Confluentes*), Andernach (*Autunnacum*), Bonn (*Bonna*), Köln (*Colonia CAA*), Neuss, Asberg (*Asciburgium*), Xanten in two variants: Vechten (*Fletio*)-Alphen (*Albaniana*) or Nijmegen (*Noviomagus*)-*Praetorium Agrippinae*.¹⁶³³

For the fifth milestone, according to CIL XVII, is not possible to know the street whose belongs to while Chevallier mentions it as belonging to the via Tongres-Treves.¹⁶³⁴

The 6th and 7th milestones belong to the street from *Summo Poenino* (St. Bernhard) to Vienne and in particular to the stretch *Summo Poenino-Lousanna* (modern quartier of Vidy in Lausanne).¹⁶³⁵ The pass is the young one from all the Roman ones and it took more and more importance over Mt. Genève (*Alpes Cottiae*) and Small St. Bernhard (*Alpes Graie*). From Martigny it run along the left side of the river Rhône to Massongex and then to Aigle, Roche and Vevey.

4.5 **Britannia**

The situation in Britannia is different from Noricum and the two Mauretaniae where some stable contacts and trades with the Romans were already established leading to a way of life similar to the Roman one. Also in the island it is possible to see that the Romans and the Roman style were present but the influences were not strong enough to create the premises for a slow change in the lifestyle.

Because in Britain there were fewer pre-existing native *oppida* which could be developed into new Roman towns the development of cities began considerably later than that of cities in Gaul: the new towns had to be created as a deliberate act of policy.

In AD 49 date the foundation of three urban centers in the eastern territory: *Camulodunum*, the *municipium* of *Verulamium* and the settlement of *Londinium*. The evidence of ground's planning since the first phase of development shows how the achievement was part of an urban policy's project.

Regarding *Colonia Claudia Victricensis*¹⁶³⁶ the data, obtained from the sources, relevant to the period in question, mainly relates to the absence of protection: the information is provided in a passage of Tacitus in *Annales* that narrates the events of AD 61.¹⁶³⁷ The

¹⁶³³ CHEVALLIER 1997, 233.

¹⁶³⁴ CHEVALLIER 1997, 230.

¹⁶³⁵ It is important to keep in mind that till Domitian this region was part of the Belgica.

¹⁶³⁶ For the locatoion's choice and the planning of the fortress see CRUMMY 1988, 27-41.

¹⁶³⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 14.31.

historian also reports the legal status and the purpose of the foundation: it was a colony where there were placed veterans from the *Legio XX Valeria* to defend the territory from the attempts of rebellion and to spread, through the example of Roman citizens, the Roman way of living.¹⁶³⁸

The archaeological data confirm that in AD 49 the defense wall was demolished and the trench filled. The destruction of the defensive system allowed, among other things, to extend the urban grid also to the East of the former camp where the annex was located.¹⁶³⁹ In this way, the road network to the West of the *via principalis* was retained, but the grid was rearranged at the East enlarging to the annex: anyway the streets here drawn, had a slight change of direction from those of the West.¹⁶⁴⁰ The military buildings were partly reused and partly destroyed: the *praetorium* and *Principia* were demolished to allow the connection of the *via praetoria* creating the *decumanus maximus*.

Only some of the barracks of the soldiers were reused for civilian purposes. Among these, the houses of the centurions that stood at the head of *contubernia* blocks, became new homes, as they faced the main streets and they had open spaces suitable for domestic activities.

At Culver Street three barracks for the First Cohort to the West of the old *via principiis* and parts of two houses, possibly tribunes' quarters, to the East in the *insulae* 26, 27, 34 and 35, by far the most comfortable, were completely converted into houses. All external walls were of daub blocks on timber groundplates resting on low plinths of mortar, pebbles and septaria.¹⁶⁴¹

At Lion Walk the northern areas of the *insulae* were converted into buildings which were timber-framed. We can infer the technique from the alterations to Buildings VI: the method of framing between the posts was probably the same as that used in some medieval building where the horizontal members were slightly longer than the gaps allotted to them and were dropped into places by means of two vertical grooves cut into the adjacent posts; the daub surfaces were keyed with bands of lizanges separated by horizontal string marks above a dado of upright panels of lizenges.¹⁶⁴² (Figure 191)

¹⁶³⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 13.2; Tac. *Agr.* 14.

¹⁶³⁹ CRUMMY 1988, 42.

¹⁶⁴⁰ CRUMMY 2001, 56.

¹⁶⁴¹ CRUMMY 1985b, 78; CRUMMY 1988, 42; RANKOV ET. AL 1982, 371.

¹⁶⁴² CRUMY 1977, 76-81; CRUMMY 1980, 76; CRUMMY 1985a, 37-48.



Figure 191: Keyed daub at *Colonia Claudia Victricensis* (after Crummy 1977, fig. 10).

At Balkerne Lane¹⁶⁴³ the structures were of lower quality than those at Lion Walk. To the South of the main street Plots A, B, C; D, E and F were set out and buildings (39 to 42) of better quality were erected; at least one of the military buildings on the East side of the *via sagularis* was retained for use for the colony.

Buildings 39/42 had floors and wall of daub, little is known about the plan but they were strip houses built along a common frontage, walls in stoud and wattle type. It is not clear how far back from the frontage they extended.¹⁶⁴⁴

Buildings 44 to 46 were also found stretching over 40 m westwards from the former *intervallum* road and they seem to have extended rapidly at their rear with the addition of new rooms.¹⁶⁴⁵ Building 45 consisted of two ranges of rooms side by side: 6 or 7 rooms were identified; room 6 was different from the other because on three sides its walls were built in a typically military manner while the wall on the East side did not have such a construction.¹⁶⁴⁶

¹⁶⁴³ CRUMMY 1980, 76; CRUMMY 1988, 42.

¹⁶⁴⁴ CRUMMY 1985a, 102-105.

¹⁶⁴⁵ CRUMMY 1977, 81.

¹⁶⁴⁶ CRUMMY 1985a, 105-110.

Also at North Hill was found a building with a similarity to those at Lion Walk suggesting a reuse of the military structure in the new town.¹⁶⁴⁷ At Gibert school ground uncovered parts of two stone-and-mortar plinths; part of a building, destroyed by the fire in AD 60/61 was discovered.¹⁶⁴⁸

The city became the most important center of the territories already conquered; in this sense, the destruction of the defensive walls was necessary if *Camulodunum* needed to be a model city for the entire province. Evidence for a role of primary importances may be seen in a dedication of a temple to Claudius; after AD 54 the construction of such a building would feature *Camulodunum* therefore as the center of the imperial cult in Britain. Furthermore, the definition of “place of tyranny” in Tacitus,¹⁶⁴⁹ in the narration of the events of the revolt of Boudica, can be taken as a further evidence of the importance of the city. As the first urban creation in Britain the colony was destined to become the political, urban and architectural example throughout the province:¹⁶⁵⁰ a model which, by reusing most of the previous structures, reflected the regular system and the organization and rational conception of space (Figure 192).

¹⁶⁴⁷ CRUMMY 1977, 81; CRUMMY 1980, 76.

¹⁶⁴⁸ CRUMMY 1977, 82.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Tac. *Agr.* 16.

¹⁶⁵⁰ OTTAWAY 1996, 49.

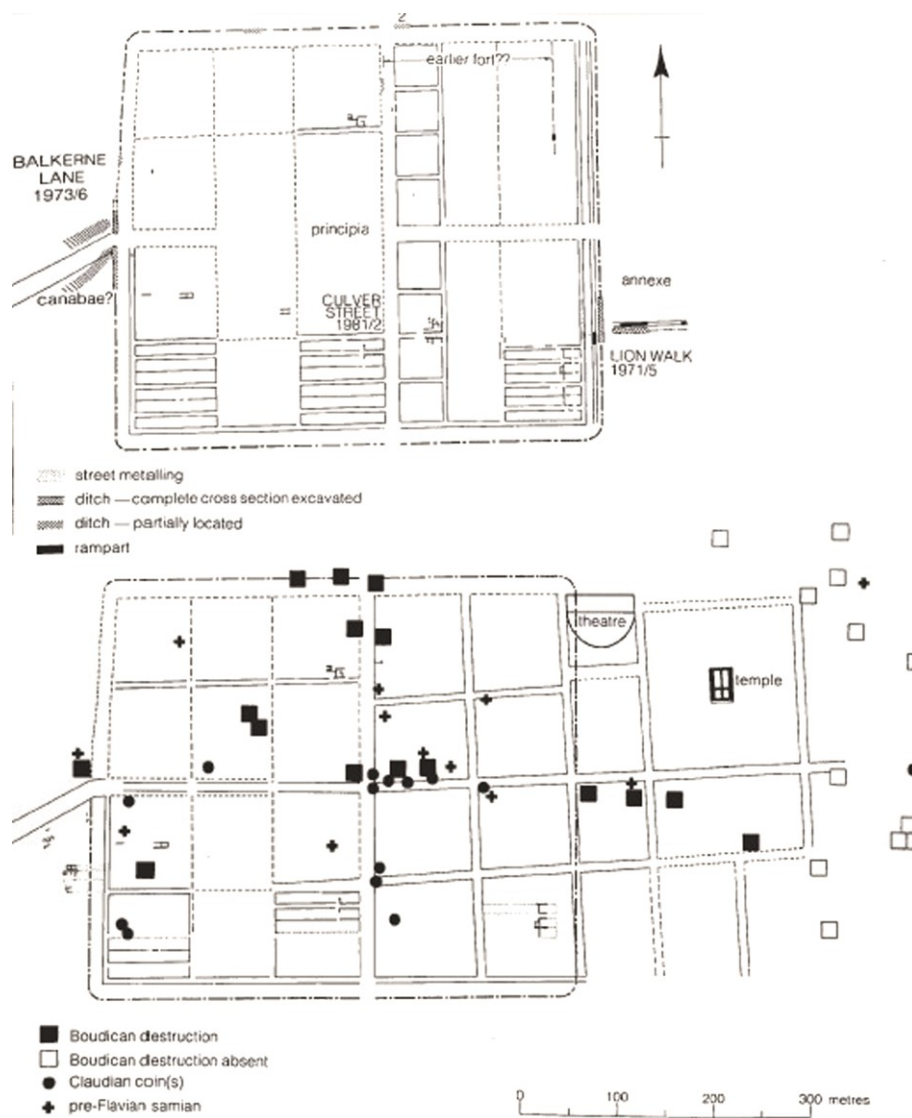


Figure 192: The fortress and the pre-Boudican colony (after Crummy 1985b, fig. 53).

What strikes at *Verulamium* (St. Albans) is the presence of a burial, the Folly Lane Burial, of remarkable wealth which lays on the hill North of the river Ver, oppsie the Roman *Verulamium* but within the area of the late Iron Age *oppidum*.¹⁶⁵¹ The wealth, the size of the enclosure and the complexity of the rites justify its description as royal grave and its position, overlooking the future Roman town, it seems designed to confirm that the buried person continued to dominate the local community in death. The samian and Gallo-belgic ware date to *c.* AD 50 while some of the pyre of goods suggests that it was the grave of someone who had served in the cavalry officer in an auxiliary unit. The

¹⁶⁵¹ For a detailed description see NIBBLET 1992a; NIBBLET 1992b; NIBBLET 1993a; NIBBLET 1993b.

burial offers a good demonstration of the Roman policy that used the native elites as agent for the spreading of Roman lifestyle and uses.

As member of this elite it is possible to presume that he was, in the beginning, a hostage and then he went on to serve as an auxiliary officer: in this way he was able to travel, he was familiar with battle, he participated in religious rites and ceremonies. Still it is not possible to say if he was a client king or a *princeps civium* but he was a man with sufficient pro-Roman sympathies at the time of the conquest allowing him to keep his wealth and position for at least ten years after the conquest.¹⁶⁵²

Opposite the Folly Lane ditch, at about the time of the conquest, a river crossing was established close to the area that became the Roman town. The river crossing lies on the entrance through the Claudian turf and timber band the Timber Tower. Its construction was contemporary with an expansion of the Central Enclosure founded beneath the Verulamium Museum.

In *insula* XIV, along the North-East side there are the only buildings for which reasonably complete plans are available. In the first period (AD 43/60) they are constituted by rows of colonnaded timber-framed shops fronting Watling Street. Beyond the porch a double range of rooms, whose back rooms were occasionally subdivided, may be taken for a series of shops and workshops and all these shops were under a single roof. Since there are no gaps for Drainage, the roof must have been parallel with the street. In room 27 were found crucibles in association with a small oven.¹⁶⁵³ The plan of the *insula*, with collumade and multiple rooms under a single roof is totally new (Figure 193).

¹⁶⁵² NIBLETT 2001, 59-60.

¹⁶⁵³ FRERE 1972, 14-23; NIBLETT 2001, 62-64.

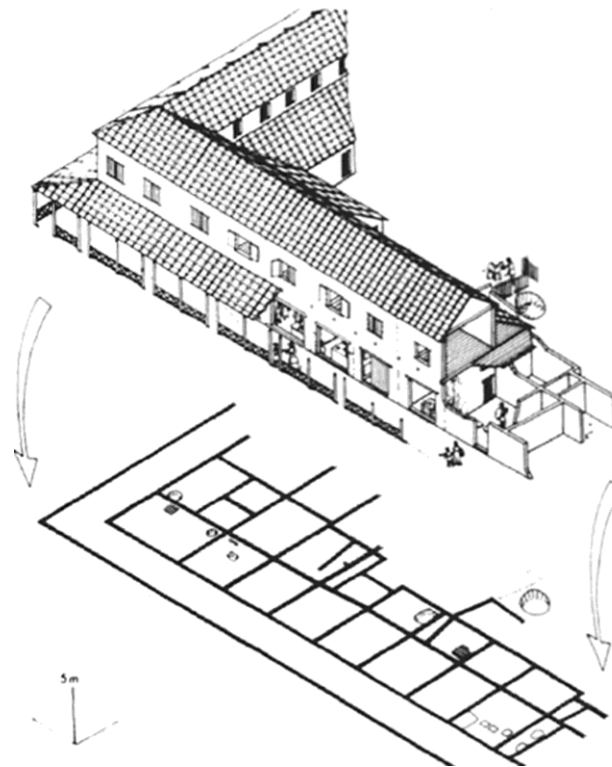


Figure 193: The workshops at *Verulamium* (after Niblett 2001, fig. 30).

Insula XIX lies within the line of the Claudian bank found in 1956 beneath the town wall on the East side of *insula* XVII. Six Bells site, near the South-East corner, is the earliest Roman occupation so far recorded. Part of two buildings were excavated and both of them dating to the middle of 1st century AD. One of them contained a sunken area which had been lined with mortar and surrounded by colonnade of oolitic limestone columns: the columns and the rest of a painted wall plaster¹⁶⁵⁴ indicate certain sophistication and the sunken area is interpreted as a bath. This is the only masonry building of this date so far known at *Verulamium* and indeed it is one of the very few mid 1st century AD masonry buildings in all of Britain.

Site A is the only area where the early Roman levels were reached, the subsoil was cut by three slots and two small pits and no floors could be associated which means that none of these structures could be stratigraphically related to one another. To the South-East, over a firm gravel surface, a metal-working workshop had taken place with evidence of a bowl furnace and, on its South-West side, a stokehole with no slag was found. Set into the gravel surface was the lower third of a Dressel 20 amphoras used for store urine. South of the furnace was another patch of heavy burning (probably the edge

¹⁶⁵⁴NIBLETT 2001, plate 8.

of a second furnace). The North of the site was divided from the metalworking area by a gully that followed the same alignment as the Roman street: when the gully had become silted up the metalworking area was sealed by wall plaster, broken roofing tiles and clay. The small amount of datable pottery suggests a date of pre-Flavian or early Flavian. It seems that the wallplaster and burnt daub were brought to the site from a building destroyed during the Boudicca revolt.¹⁶⁵⁵ Also in *Insula XVII* there is evidence of timber building dating to the Claudian period.¹⁶⁵⁶

The occupation sites within *Verulanium*¹⁶⁵⁷ indicate that it was a small settlement (10.12 ha) and clustered along the South-West/North-East through roads on the North side of the central enclosure: this smaller settlement was once thought to be existed and may have been contained within the boundaries of the central enclosure and its annexes to the North. Nevertheless, it appears to have been a place of wealth where Roman innovations were quickly adopted. It is suggested the the central enclosure was a special area, whether as a high-status occupation site or an industrial centre or religious focus. In the rifilling of the central enclosure ditch was found samian pottery and imported fine wares where, in one of the *insula XIV* workshops were found a collection of South-gaulish samian: the local elite patronised the metalworks and monopolised the supply of imported tableware.

Also at London we can perceive some evidences of the first urbanisation (Figure 194).

¹⁶⁵⁵ NIBLETT 2008, 30, 33-34.

¹⁶⁵⁶ ANTHONY 1970.

¹⁶⁵⁷ See fig. 29 in NIBLETT 2001.

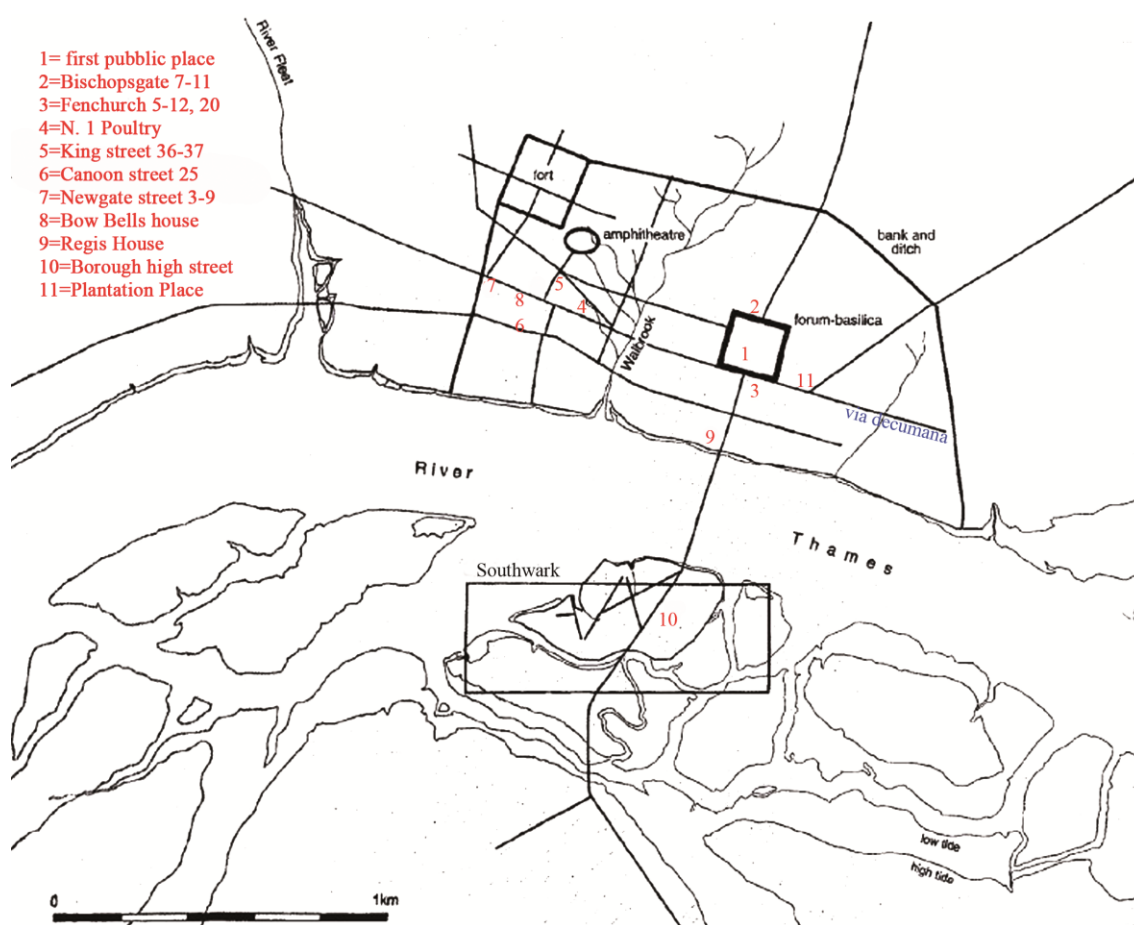


Figure 194: Locations of the cited sites in London (rielaboration after Drummond-Murray at el. 2002, fig. 7).

Only at London it is known the place and the form of the *forum* (Figure 194,1). It seems that the site was located at the North end of the initial settlement area of *Londinium* and the earliest occupation comprises a major East-West street, probably beneath Fenchurch Street and the East end of Lombard Street, the so called *via decumana*¹⁶⁵⁸ and North-South axis, the Cornhill road 3, with a zone of occupation along its North side which included a gravelled area. Before the revolt of Boudica in AD 60 the area undertook a replanning and it seems to have included three large parallel buildings.¹⁶⁵⁹ The southern building laid beside the main East-West street under Fenchurch street and was 56.6 m long and 14 m wide. A range of rooms extended alongside a verandah or portico that makes it similar to the building at *Verulamium*.¹⁶⁶⁰ The walls were timber-framed with

¹⁶⁵⁸ Cornhill road 1 in WALLACE 2014, 42.

¹⁶⁵⁹ See also PHILP 1977, 9-16.

¹⁶⁶⁰ FRERE 1972, 13-23.

a filling of wattle and daub. In the eastern room was found a stock of grain probably imported from the Mediterranean or the near East: the proximity of the shops to the gravelled area was no coincidence.¹⁶⁶¹ The interpretation of the grain is difficult because on the one hand it is unlikely that it had imported simply to make bread but on the other it was not superior in quality to the British grain to justify the expense of shipping from the eastern Mediterranean: it seems that it was a special import for some specific purpose.

The central building may have been 13.4 m wide and fronted a gravelled street to the North. Philp reconstructed the plan of the building including two rooms but it is more likely that there was a corridor. The plaster suggests that the building was more domestic in character and it contains the living quarters of the shopkeepers. Even less is known about the northern buildings.¹⁶⁶² The extent of the gravelled area interpreted as market place is no known for certain. This interpretation is favoured by the continued use for the area also after the Boudican revolt. It is interesting to note that because the area lay at the northern edge of the embryonic city of the *c.* AD 50 it was intended already as part of the city (Figure 195).

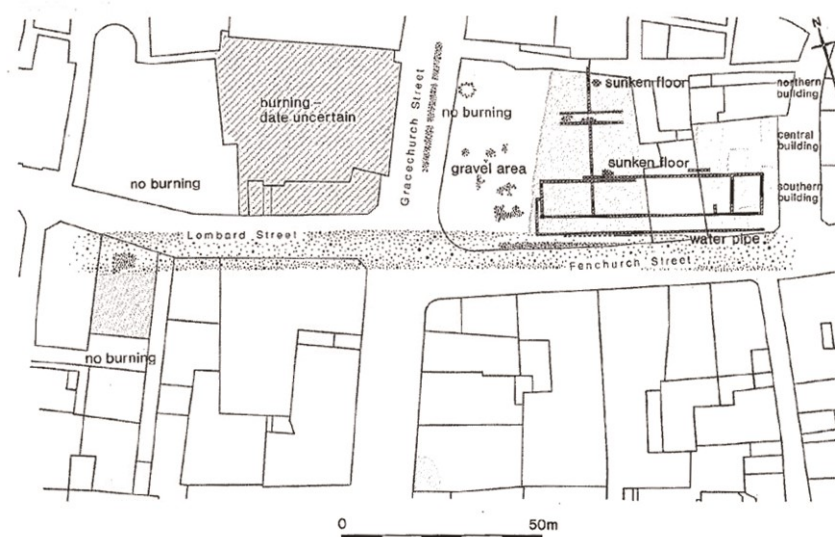


Figure 195: Features in the *forum* before the Boudican revolt in AD 60 (after Marsden 1987, fig. 13).

¹⁶⁶¹ MARSDEN 1987, 22.

¹⁶⁶² MARSDEN 1987, 22-23.

At Bischofsgate 7-11 were found the remains of two East-West parallel V-shaped ditches. North of the ditches, an East-West road was observed and on its side, ran a timber box drain, while along its northern side a drain, with timber flooring, constructed of two tile walls, laid on Kentish ransstone foundations. This road is parallel to the *via decumana*. A most impressive discovery is, thus, a cellar with a flight of stairs providing access. The eastern half was floored with *opus signinum* and was separated from the western half by a centrally placed beam slot. At the East side of the site a clay timber building dated to AD 50/100 was aligned to the road system, to the South was a concrete floored building with wattle and daub walls.¹⁶⁶³

At Canoon street 25 the first activity after the conquest and contemporary with the first three buildings, are attested in period 2 and are testified by quarrying of natural brickhearth and gravel forming Open Area 2. The quarry pits were filled with dirty brickhearth, few fragments of ox, sheep and pig bones where the roofing tile and brick represent destruction debris of the building in the area: the pits on the eastern side produced fragments of glass vessels and fine tableware. In Open Area 3 the pits were sealed by redeposited brickhearth as in Open area 4. This make up was laid down for the building 1 represented by a beam slots, for building 2 by the remains of truncated sections of beam slots and for building 3 by a single beam slot aligned East-West.¹⁶⁶⁴

At Fenchurch street 5-12, immediately to the South-East of the *forum*, were found at least 25 buildings divided into ten periods. In period I Building I was aligned North and consisted of one or two rooms, more like a shed than a house, Building II contained a floor surface and a verandah to the West and further South lays Building III. In Period II the site of Building II and III were levelled and a path led to Building IV. Building V replaced Building II and in the area of Building I stood Building VI. To the East laid Building VII, a shelter, with a heart and pot sherds. Building IV was destroyed by fire, Buildings. V, VI, VII may have collapsed or dismantled. In period III Building VIII covered part of Building III, over the former Buildings VI and VII laid Building IX, while the pit of Building VII was still in use. A new path ran along the northern side of Building IX. Building VII had a long lifetime with many internal changes and meanwhile Building X was set up to the South: it may have contained a hearth. The pottery included quantities of a type of early Roman coarse ware which was

¹⁶⁶³ SANKEY, MCKENZIE 1997, 171-174.

¹⁶⁶⁴ ELDSSEN 2002, 8-12.

manufactured within a related short distance. Claudian coins copies indicate an activity in the period AD 50/65.¹⁶⁶⁵

Between 2005 and 2011 excavations were carried out at Fenchurt Street 20. The periods 2 and 3 represent the years prior to the Boudican revolt with the initial development of the site. The earliest Roman features were discovered in Open Area II with two postholes, stakeholes as well pits and a ditch, running East-West, that probably represents an early water management. Beside OA2 site deposits of reworked brickearth were present in Open Area 3; the pottery here collected ranges widely. In OA (Open Area) IV five quarry pits were unearthed. These activities stand for the preparation of the area for occupation while the scarcity of finds suggest the lack of occupation in the first years of Roman presence.¹⁶⁶⁶ The earliest building lies in the South of the site (Building 1) and consists of slots with postholes and stakeholes forming a main East-West wall with a North-South partition, even if the pottery is scarce the filling of a posthole indicates a 1st century building. Of this period is also Building 2, formed of a series of beamslots and posts. Possibly it was part of the same building complex but it differed in the method of construction. Structure 1 was a beamslot fragment forming a corner and potentially part of building to the North-West of Buildings 1 and 2, two pits are correlated to the structure, one of which contains part of a ribbed bowl that is the most common glass vessel of the 1st century AD. Structure 2, with small stakeholes and an external occupation deposit pre-dated Building 4 and may have been associated to it. Building 4, with a series of beamslots and posts, laid in the eastern part of the site, anyhow it was difficult to establish the construction technique. Also Building 5 a was very much fragmentary but it seems that it was aligned to a North-South axis. Associated to the building but not necessarily from the building was a roofing tile, brick, an *opus spicatum* paving brick and a half-box flue tile. The latter, installed in a bath complex, was also found in the pre-Boudican destruction layers at Plantation Place.¹⁶⁶⁷ Occupation debris included an assemblage of 100 pottery sherds, whose majority belongs to the Verulamium region white ware flagon.¹⁶⁶⁸ The next stage of occupation was represented by Open Area V with scatter of features, some of which structural as well as cesspits, refuse pits and drainage features. OA5 produced almost a

¹⁶⁶⁵ HAMMER 1985.

¹⁶⁶⁶ WROE-BROWN 2014, fig. 7, 8-9.

¹⁶⁶⁷ PRINGLE 2007, 207, fig. 3.

¹⁶⁶⁸ WROE-BROWN 2014, fig. 9, 10-11.

third of the pottery from Period 2; specifically, the fill from a reuse pit in Area A1 bears 250 sherds dating to *c.* AD 50/60.¹⁶⁶⁹ In other features of OA5 several individual vessels suggest, as well, a pre-Boudican activity as the small assemblage of early fines wares. From pits contemporary to this period come a small assemblage of glass and also one coin, a Claudian copy. Other pits produced part of a turquoise bead and part of 1st century AD ceramic picture lamp with a myrth design as well as a type Ixb factory lamp. On the East side of the site preparatory deposits suggest a North-South road (R1). Building 7 was constructed over Building 6 while B8 to the North of B7, formed by an East-West alignment of regular rectangular double postholes: the pottery recovered is dated between *c.* AD 50/60. After this period, a phase of redevelopment occurred across the site. OA5 and the buildings were covered by levelling and make-ups dumps (OA6) whose pottery is directly comparable to the assemblages from OA5. R1 was partially covered by OA6 deposits but R2 was installed. At the North of the site Building 9 was erected with internal floors and burnt occupation deposits. Closed by, Structure 7 was installed with no real connection to B9 and it was, then replaced by S6.¹⁶⁷⁰ The final stage before the Boudican revolt is represented by Open Area VII with different deposits across the site.

Between 1997 and 2003 a huge excavation project was carried out at Plantation Place. The earliest feature is the main road, East- West aligned (R1). The road is part of the main East-West route through the city, it was laid out on the stripped surface and consisted of a thin layer of gravel compacted into a metalled surface. A section of the same road was found also to the west of N. 1 Poultry with a dendrochronological dating of AD 47/48.¹⁶⁷¹

In the first phase to the north and south of this road the occupation seems to be of a low level with no formal pattern.

To the south there was an open area (OA2, OA5) with pre-building activity and some back yard/garden activity; the pit 3237 with a backfill formed by clay/silt deposit and charcoal suggests, maybe, an industrial process and it is dated to *c.* AD 50/70 thanks to the pottery assemblage;¹⁶⁷² also mostly of the the glass specimens belong to this period. Thus the most important artefact is a piece of *lorica segmentaria*, found in a

¹⁶⁶⁹ WROE-BROWN 2014, 11, fig. 13.

¹⁶⁷⁰ WROE-BROWN 2014, 16-17, fig. 15.

¹⁶⁷¹ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 15.

¹⁶⁷² DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 16.

levelling dump, and belonging to the upper left-hand of a Corbridge-type curias.¹⁶⁷³ Building B44, fronted on the road, most likely represents an internal partition of a bigger structure and it is dated to *c.* AD 50/70. Perpendicular to Road 1 a series of areas of compacted gravel indicate a road or alley aliigned North-South (R2) and the presence of buildings (S19, B1-B3) to the west support the idea. What remains of Structure 18 is only the rear of the building with a hearth: the pottery, dated to *c.* AD 50/250, can be assumed belonging to the 1st century AD as the building belongs to the earlier phase as before being replaced by B14 and supported by a Claudian coin.¹⁶⁷⁴ B1 consists of robbed beam slots that, probably, supported clay and timber walls. Of B2 remain two beam slots while B3 saw different structural phases.¹⁶⁷⁵

To the north were found the remains of three buildings (B29, B26 and B24). The second phase saw a widening of the R1 and a new drain was constructed (S13) dated to *c.* AD 50/100. To the south a pavement (AO19) was laid out and a fence line could be the post-or stakeholes supporting a raised boardwalk structure. B44 was cleared out in order to make space for a North-South road (R6). To the South of R1 and East of R6 a structure (B18) whose evidence consists of robbed beam slots, stake and postholes, it is not possible to discern the internal layout but hearths in the North-East corner could indicate food preparation. The presence of Baetican early Dressel 20 amphora and Camulodunum amphora implies that the building has also a shop. West of B18 was another large structure (B12) consisted of robbed beam slots and postholes

And pottery dated to *c.* AD 50/70.¹⁶⁷⁶ After OA7 other buildings were found (B16, B17 and B14).¹⁶⁷⁷ To the rear of B17 and B14 there was an external yard (OA8) where trampled dumps were cut by large pits maybe to quarry brickhearth and gravel; among the findings were found a waller plaster with thick *intonaco* but no signs of any mortar backing and a Claudian coin. To the East of B14 other two small structures were discovered B16 and B17: the latter could be possibly related to some sort of industrial activity. At the far South of R1 another two buildings were located (B4 and B5) and they were, most likely, contemporary and they could have been divided into three or four rooms.¹⁶⁷⁸

¹⁶⁷³ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 17. Maybe it is associated with the post-Boudican clearance operation (Chapter 4.2) because of the inscurity of the ascription.

¹⁶⁷⁴ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 18.

¹⁶⁷⁵ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 18-20.

¹⁶⁷⁶ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 21-22.

¹⁶⁷⁷ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 24-27.

¹⁶⁷⁸ DUNWOODLE ET AL. 2015, 28-29.

At Kings street 36-3 were established two metalled streets aligned North-West/South-East and North-East/South-West respectively to form a T-junction or crossroads, they dated from the Neronian or early Flavian period *c.* AD 55/70. A number of timber and brickheart buildings were laid out alongside the new street: building XI sat upon a platform of dumping. The early buildings were destroyed by a fire of Boudican or early Flavian date *c.* AD 61/70.

The discovery of a Roman street was surprising especially as the site was thought to lie near the centre of a possible *insula* formed by recorded streets in the area. More intriguing was the alignment of the streets: although part of the new early planning of the area, the streets contradicts any notion of an early grid development composed of East-West orientated blocks. They also indicate an early development in the area of a more complex nature.¹⁶⁷⁹ (Figure 196)

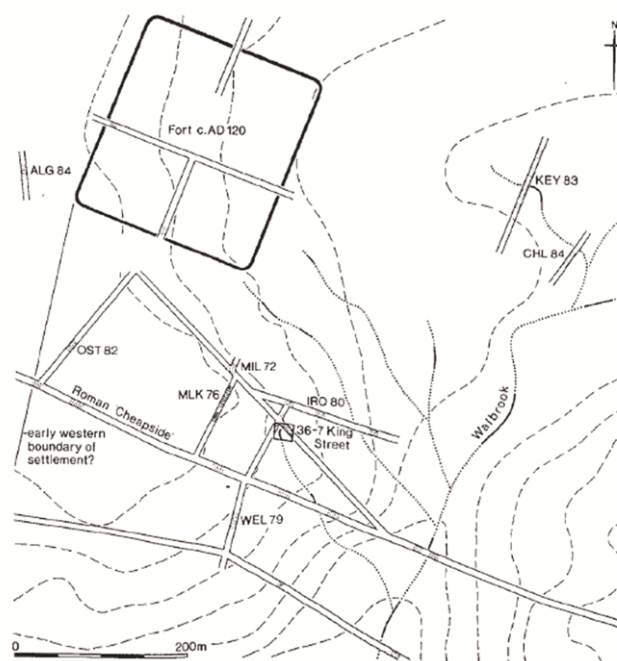


Figure 196: The junction at King Street 36-37 in relation with the other roads (after Rowsome 1997, fig. 5).

The Newgate Street 3-9 site lies at one of the highest points of the two low hills (Ludhill and Cornhill) where Roman and Medieval London developed. Period II (AD 50/120) includes the first and datable occupation of the area. Part of the gravel surface,

¹⁶⁷⁹ ROWSOME 1987.

overlying the natural brickheart, may be interpreted as road (R1). Building I was built over a gravel ditch and open pits in Open area IV (OA4), it fronted on road I; it appears to be square and it was a clay and timber construction with brickheart floors (the majority of 76 sherds of pottery are dated to second half of century AD). To the West of Building I was another clay and timber building (Building II). An external area laid South and East of BI and South of BII and it was enclosed by the stream channel to the South and to the East (Open Area V). The activities consisted of general dumping, small domestic rubbish pits and wells. The majority of assemblage is made of fabric that dates to the end of 1st century AD. Building III was erected upon BI with walls of robbed beam slots and brickhearth floors, a gravel yard laid over the cleared remains of BII to the West of BIII.¹⁶⁸⁰

Bow Bells house, South of Cheapside, fronted the major East-West Roman road across the city¹⁶⁸¹ and was situated on the slope, leading down from Ludgate Hill. A ditch S1 on the basis of the alignment with a laying out ditch at Cheapside 72-75¹⁶⁸², a ditch at Paternoster Square¹⁶⁸³ and at Newgate¹⁶⁸⁴ could belong to the same feature. In the area to the North of S1 the natural brickhead had been partly cut away as preliminary levelling for the road and then sealed by brickhearth make-ups and gravel spreads. In Open Area II circa 35 pits, many of them subrectangular and *c.* 1 m deep, were discovered and, probably, used for the disposal of waste with a filling of pottery (imported amphorae, samian wares and stamped mortaria) and building materials such as roofing tiles, bricks and daub. S2 and S3, in the centre of the area, have to be considered as quarry pits (gravels) and partially backfilled after use; in particular S2 was filled with 1018 sherds and a claudian coin with Minerva. On the other side S4 was a square heart while S5 was a mould pit.¹⁶⁸⁵ S7 and S8 were presumably for firing or heating and they were adjacent, S8 was filled with ash and broken tiles and is dated *c.* AD 50/70 by a stamp La Graufesenque samian cup of potter Modestus. Structure 6 was a well in the centre of the site filled with early Roman forms as Roman micaceous sandy ware and Verulanium region white ware; also, a rare brick of bessalis type was discovered, after firing it was

¹⁶⁸⁰ PITT 2006, 5-12.

¹⁶⁸¹ See Number 1 Poultry.

¹⁶⁸² HILL, WOODGER 1999, 6-7.

¹⁶⁸³ WATSON 2006, 20.

¹⁶⁸⁴ PITTS 2006, 5-6.

¹⁶⁸⁵ HOWELL 2013, 7-10, fig. 7.

broken along the score line. S9, again a well, was cut through the roadside gravel.¹⁶⁸⁶ After this period over part of OA2 and the frontage of Road 1 were installed simple clay-and-timber-buildings. Building 1/2 included different sequences of construction over S1 whose earliest phases are dated to *c.* AD 70/100. Building 3, to the North-East of Building 1/2, was also built over the gravel area: the remains consisted of made ground for a brickheart and are dated to *c.* AD 60/100 by sherds of Higgare Wood Ware B, it was also found a fragment of quern which could possibly have been part of Building 1/2 or Building 5/7. The remains of Building 4 consisted of a North-East to South-West wall or sill with a spike, supporting a jamb. Building 5/7 was formed of a brickearth floor and dated to *c.* AD 50/100 by different sherds. Further South Building 6/9 comprised parts of brickearth floors and the group of finds is pertinent to a domestic occupation in the late 1st century AD¹⁶⁸⁷. Open Area III lay North of the Roman road supposed to be align along Watling Street. The area includes 12 pits, some yards and different buildings and structures. In particular the lower fill of Structure 12, a well, is a good example of domestic assemblage of early period, dated AD 60/80 and contains different range of fabric and forms.¹⁶⁸⁸

The Number 1 Poultry¹⁶⁸⁹ (Figure 197) is located to the West side of the Middle Walbrook valley with the Walbrook stream just to the East of the site apex. The earliest archaeologically attested human activity is represented by a clearance of trees and bushes, landscaping and the construction of a major East-West road which is part of the main East-West *Via decumana* within the town and continued westwards to join the road system leading to *Calleva* to the West and *Verulamium* to the North-East dated to AD 47 by a timber drain.¹⁶⁹⁰ Because of the danger of its slipping down the slope, a series of low timber revetments was built in AD 53. Its construction divided the site into two main parts to its North and South. In the North of the area was subdivided into a series of terraces: it is possible to identify five terraces before the Boudica's revolt.

In the terrace I in the Open Area II the alignment of two ditches suggest that they were the lay out ditches of an early version of Road II intended to be built in the same time as Road I but it was delayed. In Open Areas III and IV lays out Building I defined by three postholes all packed with clay, quernstone fragments and small quantity of ceramic

¹⁶⁸⁶ HOWELL 2013, 10-11, fig. 7.

¹⁶⁸⁷ HOWELL 2013, 12-13, fig. 12.

¹⁶⁸⁸ HOWELL 2013, 15-17, fig. 15.

¹⁶⁸⁹ BURCH ET AL. 1997, 127-130; ROWSOME 1998b, 50-56.

¹⁶⁹⁰ HILL, ROWSOME 2011, 22-30; TYERS 2008, 73.

building materials. It was erected between the initial and provisional layout of Road II and its eventual construction, its alignment and the alignments of the refuse and quarry pits in Open areas III and IV suggest that a pathway ran to its South, probably along the side of the later road II. Still it is difficult to see the sense of this building so far away from the main street: more the building marks the importance of the crossing between Road 1 and II; as a focal point it seems logical that before the definitive construction of Road II some sort of trackway leading towards North-West was already in use and that the delay was long enough for the set up of buildings.¹⁶⁹¹

In the terrace II Open Area IX is characterized by dump, brickherat and quarry pitting filled with silts, sand and Baetican early Dressel 20.¹⁶⁹²

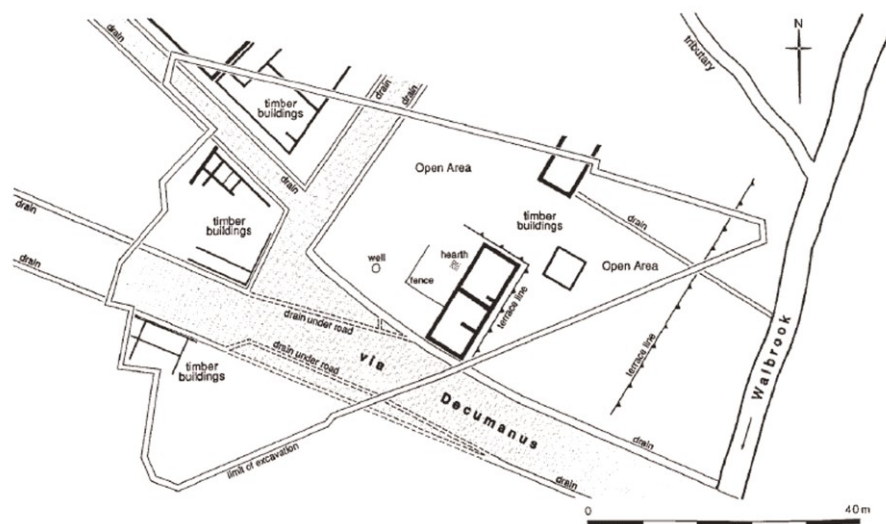


Figure 197: Poultry in the AD 50s (after Burch at Al. 1997, fig. 13).

Regis House is an important site between the pre- and post 1831 London bridges. Along the East site run Fish street Hill, the road that crossed the river from Roman times till the construction of Rennie's London bridge. Up Corhul the road intersected the street leading towards Silcester and *Verulamium*.

In 1929/31 Dunning described a Roman quay of massive squared baulks, extending East-West across the whole southern part of the site while to the West were isolate timbers behind the quay which was filled with grey mud and dumps of oyster shells and pottery dated to AD 80. Along Fish street was located a rangstone and chalk wall while

¹⁶⁹¹ HILL, ROWSOME 2011, 272-273.

¹⁶⁹² HILL, ROWSOME 2011; 31-34.

along King William street in the North-West were two ragstones and brick walls with a Tuscan column base and a pit containing 1st and 2nd century AD pottery: these have now been interpreted as internal wall within a masonry building whose West wall was found in 1995. The archaeological works in 1995/96 brought new light on the site. The precise date of the establishment of a permanent river crossing is not known, thus the natural promontory under Fish Street Hill was the perfect location for it.

On the foreshore a pile and plank revetment was built up although there are traces of earlier activities as the cutting of two quarry pits infilled. Several timbers date, by dendochronological analysis, to AD 52: the purpose of the revetment was to flatten the natural riverbank and also secure the new terrace, possibly in association with the new bridge to the East. At South a low post and wattle revetment was established on the open foreshore filled with Claudian coins and brooches. It functioned to secure the foreshore perhaps as a stage in the construction of the much larger quay.

At 18-20 Fish street was found a large East-West ditch filled with gravel and some late Bronze age/Iron age pottery; a North-South ditch of early Roman date cut the fill, after small trees or bushes were displaced and the topsoil removed to make way for a series of buildings which were shortlife, and the site was then sealed with deposits, pits containing metalworking residues and furnace lining. New timber framed and earthfast buildings were laid out extending southward to the terrace overlooking the foreshore. In the North of 18-20 Fish street two North-South slots represented the division of a range of rooms. At the western side of the site remained several phases of the South wall of a timber framed building on the edge of the highest terrace (one phase fire AD 60), after there was gravel dumping on the terrace below and a revetted drain or aqueduct was cut through the early building: it ran South-West towards a long a wall masonry. These walls were the East side of a structure and, although there is little evidence of the internal division, we can assume that the building had a timber floor.¹⁶⁹³

At Southwark (Figure 198), South of the Thames, the precise date of the construction for the road that connected Stane street and Watling street to the river crossing is not certain (the southwark road I): anyway all the evidences suggest that it would have been one of the first Roman projects and may have been the work of the army.

The earliest evidence of Roman occupation on the Borough High street site consists of a series of a large quarry pits close to the main road and further to East of two ditches.

¹⁶⁹³ BRIGHAM ET AL. 1996; BRIGHAM 1998.

The quarry pits were for extraction for the gravel needed for the construction of the road and immediately after they were filled with sand. Pottery comes from three pits and the assemblage can be dated to AD 50/55.

The ditches were located further to the East of the road and were, probably, at the beginning, dug for drainage during the construction of the road but they might have been also boundary markers to demarcate the road corridor.

The ditches and the quarry pits were open for a short time since this early activity was sealed by extensive dumping. The dumped desopits produced a large assemblage of pottery with a wider range of fabrics with a pre- Flavian date.¹⁶⁹⁴

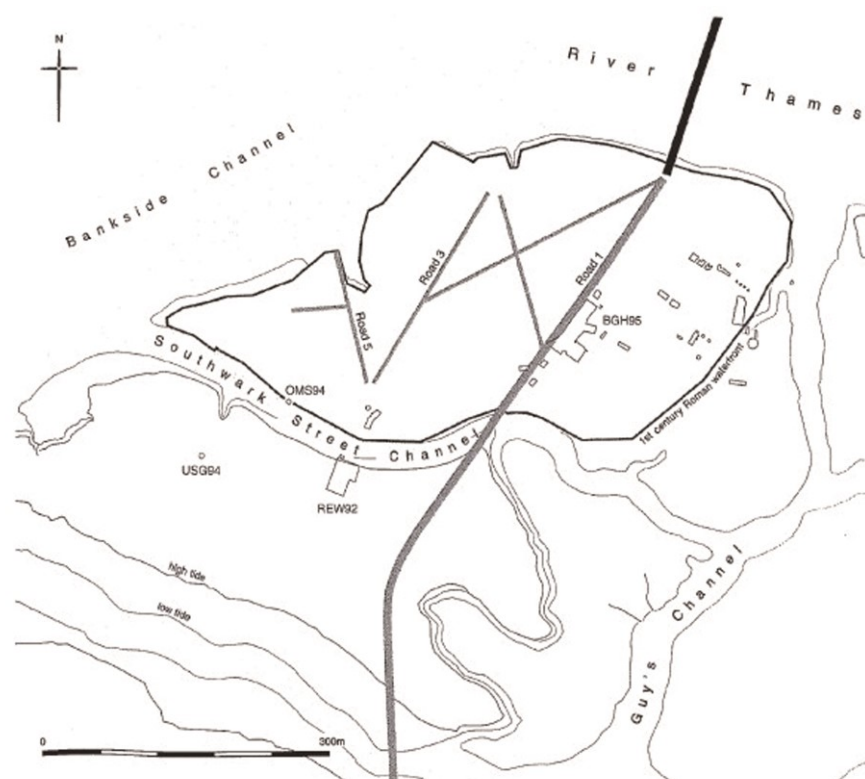


Figure 198: Plan of Roman roads at Southwark (after Drummond-Murray et al. 2002, fig. 12).

Recently Wallace has tried to present a detailed archaeological account of the first decade of London and she has proposed the different hypothesis correlated to the reasons of foundation. An interesting suggestion is the civilian trading-port model implying that *Londinium* was organised and settled by foreign merchants, trades and other civilians.¹⁶⁹⁵ Perring, 20 years ago, explained that it was not possible to verify whether the army had to

¹⁶⁹⁴ DRUMMOND-MURRAY ET AL. 2002, 16-22.

¹⁶⁹⁵ WALLACE 2014, 18-20.

fit an already settled London into the road system or the city was planned as part of the system¹⁶⁹⁶. Wallace, thus, has proposed that London was founded because of the existence of the system road. With the collected accounts, she has come to the idea that the 'roads were constructed before the settlement was planned, with no necessary intention on the part of the road-building authority to plan a town'¹⁶⁹⁷. Interesting is also the problem of who financed and organized the road system as well the labourers involved. Possibilities could be local tribal authorities, the state through the *curatores viarum* or the military, even if the assumption of the link between road construction and its advance has no sustaining evidence.

At Bath (*Aquae Sulis*) an interesting piece of work is a temple which, most likely, was dedicated to Minerva Sulis even if almost nothing remains of it: the only iconographic element connected to Minerva is an owl on the right side of the *clipeus*.¹⁶⁹⁸ Anyway the iconography is very closely related to the Augustean one. The tritons, that are playing a conch shell horns, recall the battle of Actium and symbolize the dominance of Claudius on the *Oceanus*; the victories over the *sphaera* must remember the victory of Augustus. The heraldic and symmetrical composition consists of elements of the first Augustean representation of the victory: one scene is the hastening Victory with fluttering chiton and wreath over the *globus* and the other one is the floating Victory with the *clipeus Virtutis*. Both are supporting a big *clipeus* that, with the presence of a bearded mask, resembles to the shield in the *Forum* of Augustus. The *clipeus* is surrounded by an oak garland which recalls the *corona civica*.¹⁶⁹⁹

The mask meets the description of the *male Gorgo*¹⁷⁰⁰ but it is possible to see in the mask also the representation of *Oceanus* as furious North Sea. If we accept this hypothesis, the connection of such a representation with the Augustean victory and sovereignty's symbols may have been read with "delivery politics" of Claudius regarding the legacy since Caesar and Augustus.

According to Blagg (agreed by Cunliffe)¹⁷⁰¹ thanks to comparison with other provincial examples, the temple is to date to the end of 1st century AD;¹⁷⁰² Trillmich, instead, sees

¹⁶⁹⁶ PERRING 1991, 5.

¹⁶⁹⁷ WALLACE 2014, 45. For a summary of the early stage of the roads see WALLACE 2014, 42-43.

¹⁶⁹⁸ For the recentest contributions see CUNLIFFE, DAVENPORT 1985.

¹⁶⁹⁹ The repertoire is almost identical with that one in the Sardonyx-cameo in Wien.

¹⁷⁰⁰ BLAGG 1990.

¹⁷⁰¹ CUNLIFFE, DAVENPORT 1985, 65.

¹⁷⁰² BLAGG 1979, 101-107.

no obstacle to date the complex, in accordance with the the iconographic program, to the Claudian period.¹⁷⁰³

At Silchester (*Calleva*), on the site of the *basilica*, we have evidence of a building in timber, perhaps representing two wings of courtyard plan: building I is aligned East-West and building II North-South.¹⁷⁰⁴ The occupation from beneath the two buildings gives us a Tiberian-Claudian *terminus post quem*. Although a date before AD 43 cannot be ruled out, the idea is that the building was built in the late 40s and in the era of the client king¹⁷⁰⁵ but earlier than AD 60 when there is evidence of its rebuilding. The purpose of the building remains unclear, though the very Roman character suggests an official function, in the beginning maybe as *fabrica* and then as a *forum* anticipating the function of the successor buildings. The association with a military purpose remains weak; nevertheless, its central position and the nature of the following building argue for an important function.

The orientation North-South/East-West, that is not central to the layout of the *insula* of “the new town plan”, offers a *terminus post quem* for the development of the street grid.¹⁷⁰⁶

4.5.1 Conclusions

A comparison may be made between Colchester and Köln that achieved the colonial status under Claudius. Like Colchester it was made an important Romanised cult centre but there are, as well, differences. Köln seems to have been established as an urban centre for the native community of the *Ubii* while the colonial site at Colchester consists of just the former legionary fortress with the pre-colonial native settlement of the Trinovantes left to continue outside the *colonia* walls. The logic in that is very simple: Köln, a half-century Romanised urban centre in an area which had seen a Roman presence for a century, had a community ready for the promotion while at Colchester, only six years after the invasion, the native community was still unreliable or even enemy so the *colonia* was made out of the former fortress with veterans.

London, as Colchester, was a planned foundation of c. AD 50.¹⁷⁰⁷ The reason for the choice of the site lies in the favourable geographical position¹⁷⁰⁸ between sea and

¹⁷⁰³ TRILLMICH 1994, 79.

¹⁷⁰⁴ FULFOLD ET AL. 2000, 37-44.

¹⁷⁰⁵ FULFOLD ET AL. 2000, 565-569.

¹⁷⁰⁶ FULFORD 2003, 99.

inland: its creation involved the reorganization of the road system and the two principal roads meet each other in T-junction and creating the first grid system with the street East-West the *via Decumana* and the street South to Richbough. At the junction, on the highest point a gravelled area, later the *forum*, marks the location of market. Thanks to the debris from the Boudica faire, we know that the main arterial roads were built up within the area of the original settlement and outside suburbs, made up of shops, workshops and circular and rectangular houses, had developed along their line.

It is clear that a number of settlers from the continent arrived in the city in the first years after the conquest attracting from economic opportunities and social factors but it is still true that, although the evidence of a native British component is difficult to perceive, tangible archaeological evidences exist for the British heritage. The pre-Bouduca London was a mixture of natives and immigrants: the Gallic and Italian influences were the driving force but, in the areas outside the planned core, the natives played an important role.¹⁷⁰⁹

With *Verulamium* all three places were planned settlement forming a part of coordinated polity of urbanization directed by Ostorius Scapula.

In this period, it is not possible to talk about a real romanized urban development of Britania. The time between the conquest and the first non-military settlements is not enough for the local to get accustomed to the living style of the Romans. All the activities undertaken are coming not from the locals and elites but from the central power; it is the only way to secure the territories and prevent further rebellions.

4.5.2 Roadsystem

For the Claudian period, that was almost a military phase; no milestones of the emperor attesting the road network are recorded. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct the road system thanks to the investigation of the fort and the vexillation fortresses (Figure 199).

This work, for obvious reasons, began already with Plautius. Beginning in East Anglia from *Camulodunum* (Colchester) he marked out five principal streets in order to connect the capital with the northern, central and southern regions. The first one connected

¹⁷⁰⁷ The hypothesis of the presence of a previous fort is to be rejected, thus it is possible that some kind of fort have been established in the London area but not beneath the city in the settlement of Cornhill as supposed, cf. PERRING 1991, 16-17; WILLIAMS 1990, 600.

¹⁷⁰⁸ It can be considered as a riverine settlement because the river and the landscape were the major factors in the evolving plan.

¹⁷⁰⁹ WILLIAMS 1990.

Colchester to London, the second more towards North and Ixworth then swinging to the West towards the Wash and known as Peddars Way and, the third to North-East passing Baylahm house, Scole and Caistor St. Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*), the fourth to Leicester passing through Cambridge (*Duroliponte*) and Godmanchester (*Durovigutum*)¹⁷¹⁰ and the last one linked *Camulodunum* to *Verulamium*. There were also some interconnecting routes within the main system as for example two routes from London to Great Dunmow and route VIK up the Lea valley to Braughing and Great Chesterford, in East Anglia route VI, parallel to route II, stemming from Chelmsford, run towards North-North-East crossing the Stour at Lonf Melford connecting to Route II at Ixwoth and continues towards the Brampton area, in the Fens the route IX run almost East-West across Norfolk though Brampton to the coast.

sof the Thames route VIK, known as Stane street, continued from London to Chichester crossing the road XII while on the coast the route X linked the naval and supply bases of Fishbourne, Bittern on the Solent, Hanworthy in Poole Bay and Topsham. Several roads departed from Silchester (*Calleva*): route XIII to London (and then route I to Colchester), route XIV towards South-East to Chichester; route XV to Winchester, route XVI towards South-West to Old Sarum and Shapwick where it joined the costal route X; route XVII to Cirester and route XVIII North to the Thames.¹⁷¹¹ Also in this area some cross routes are attested: route XII was a great eastway trackway across the Chalk from Exeter to the coast; route XIX departing from Winchester went to the frontier through Old Sarum. To these one must add some lin routes: route XX from Winchester run to Wansborough passing through *Lecumagus*, route XXI from Shapwick reached Hod Hill up the Stour Valley, route XXII connected Mildenhall to Bath and beyond to the mouth of the Avon; route XXIII, intersecting the area of North of Wiltshire, linked Old Sarum to Sandy Lane.¹⁷¹² In the region North of the Thames and the South Midlands *Verulamium* (St-Albans) appears to have been a nodal point because from this pont 6 routes departed. Route XXIV joined the route XIII London-Silchester; route XXV went South-West to Silchester; route XXVI to Alcester and Cirencester; route XXVII North-West towards Mancetter; route XXVIII North-West to Baldock and then Lincoln and route XIX to Braughing.¹⁷¹³

¹⁷¹⁰ This main supply road was later superseded when London became the chief road centre.

¹⁷¹¹ WEBSTER 1980, 139-148.

¹⁷¹² WEBSTER 1980, 148-152.

¹⁷¹³ WEBSTER 1980, 152-157.

Maybe the most important road in the Platian schemes was the Fosse way¹⁷¹⁴ that run from Exter (*Isca*) to Lincoln (*Lindum Colonia*) though Ilchester (*Lindinae*), Bath (*Aquae Sulis*), Cirencester (*Corinium Dubunorum*), Leicester (*Ratae Coritanorum*), *Ad Pontem* on the river Trent to Brough (*Crococalana*). For the first few decades after the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43, the Fosse Way marked the western frontier of Roman rule in Iron Age Britain constituted by the river Humber, Trent, Severn and Exe: this arrangements was already determined by the landscape. The attribution to Plautius is clear from a passage of Tacitus reporting of Ostorius Scapula who, soon after his arrival *disarmed all those suspected on the Roman side of Trisantonam (Trent) and Sabrina (Severn)*.¹⁷¹⁵

¹⁷¹⁴ WEBSTER 1980, 159-164.

¹⁷¹⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 13.31, 2: *detrahere arma suspectis cunctaque castris Trisantonam [inter] et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.*

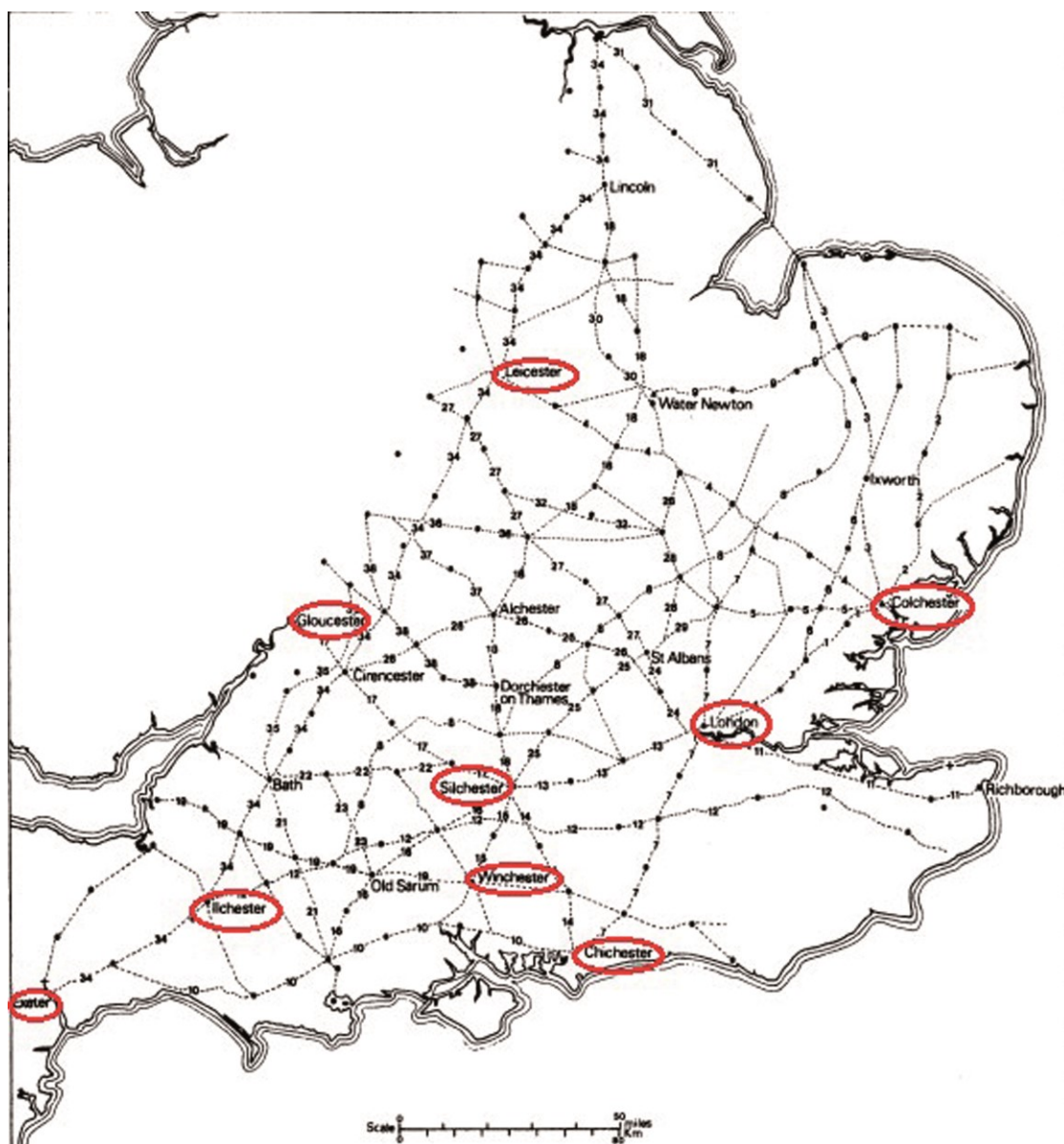


Figure 199: Suggested military and civic routes (after Webster 1980, map III).

4.6 Noricum

The Magdalensberg settlement was abandoned and the largest part of the population moved to the newly founded Norican capital, *Virunum* in the Zollfeld. The reason for such a measure was that the Magdalensberg had proved to be impracticable as political and economic centre owing to its poor communications. At the governor's residence, a presidal procurator and the administrative authorities were installed. Now began an urbanising process, which went ahead in leaps and bounds: Claudius founded five *municipia* in Noricum at one stroke. The Pliny the Elder enumerates these new towns and also mentions Solva which was founded later: *oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia,*

*Teurnia, Aguntum. Iuvavum omnia Claudia Flavium Solvense*¹⁷¹⁶. The first five on this list have the name *Claudium* on inscriptions or are actually called *municipium Claudium*¹⁷¹⁷ and they have been enrolled in the tribe *Claudia*¹⁷¹⁸. The exact date when these Claudian towns were founded is not recorded: there is no direct evidence for AD 45 as has been assumed¹⁷¹⁹. One might think of year AD 48 when Claudius was holding office as censor and was granting privileges to the Gallic aristocracy. However, if this is the case, the towns were certainly already founded before the last years of his reign: a citizen of the *municipium Celeia* was recruited in the *Ala Noricorum* at latest in AD 51¹⁷²⁰.

Claudius' town foundations involved a major change in citizenship policy for Noricum: hitherto citizenship had only been granted to individuals, now whole communities received it and in the same time the process of making individual grants by no means dried up, while they certainly dealt with enclosed groups of people¹⁷²¹.

The founding of these *municipia* had important consequences in the administration. It is not quite clear in what way the earlier *civitas*-organisation was affected. Some *civitates* were perhaps soon absorbed into the *territoria* of the new towns; other *civitates*, however, may have continued to have some kind of existence even after the founding of chartered towns in their territories. But one may postulate that some *civitates* continued in existence after the foundation of the chartered towns and that they were placed under the administration of the *municipia* by attribution. Probably one or more *civitates* were administered from a single town, with the result that the distinction "town-territory" and "civitas-territory" gradually faded away and it was not only the word *municipium* that was applied to the *civitas* but *vice versa*.

The town-foundation had important consequences for the delimitation of *territoria*: each new town was given a *territorium* for the administration of which its officials were responsible. Thus, when sooner or later the *civitates*-areas were also absorbed into these town-*territoria*, the major part of the province was divided up among the towns. It

¹⁷¹⁶ Pl. *Nat. Hist.* 3. 146.

¹⁷¹⁷ Thus probably CIL 5462: *M(municipium) C(laudium) T(eurnia)*. Otherwise the imperial title takes the same ending as the geographical name of the town. For example CIL 5116; 5143, 5183, 5194, V 708.

¹⁷¹⁸ *Virunum*: CIL III 4484, III 8124, CIL VI 2914, CIL XIII 6864, AE 1931, 121; *Celeia*: CIL III 2745, CIL III 4055, CIL VI 2619; CIL XIII 7029; AE 1924, 107; *Teunia*: CIL VI 32638a; CIL XIII 11849; *Aguntum*: CIL VI 32624b; CIL VI 37184c; CIL XVI 98; *Iuvanum*: CIL III 4461; CIL III 14994, CIL VI 3588; CIL VI 32526a; CIL VI 32638a; CIL VI 32681; AE 1928, 157; AE 1956, 248.

¹⁷¹⁹ EGGER 1951.

¹⁷²⁰ CIL XIII 7029: *C. Romanus eq. alae Norico. Claud. Capito Celeia*.

¹⁷²¹ ALFÖLDY 1974, 82-84.

seems probable that the *territoria* of the towns surrounded an extensive tract of land in central Noricum which was not administered by the urban authorities: here there were the largest iron-mines which were *patrimonium* of the emperor and it is difficult to accept that they were situated in the *territoria* of the towns as is generally believed. They were leased out to rich private individuals, who had to run themselves, or were directly administered by imperial officials¹⁷²².

Celeia (Celje) was the centre for the financial and tax police (*beneficarii procuratoris*).

Till some years ago, only a slab with Medusa¹⁷²³ (Figure 202) and two with Acheloos¹⁷²⁴ (Figure 201) were known. A possible link, because of the form and dimensions, was proposed by Verzár-Bas in 1995¹⁷²⁵ asking herself if they belonged to a same architectural program of a *forum* similar to that of other Adriatic centres with Achellos instead of Jupiter Amon. Mussini points out the relationship between Achellos and Medusa both of them being water divinities. Often in form of masks they have an apotropaic but also infernal and satanic value: this affinity is confirmed by the fact that they change some attributes as snakes and horns. The representation of Acheloos may be seen in relation to the river Savinja, whose floods were feared. Peculiar is also the fact that the gods's head is framed in a slab, bigger than the representation itself.¹⁷²⁶

Recently, though, a plate depicting Jupiter Amon (Figure 200)¹⁷²⁷ makes it possible to suggest a figurative program as that of the cities of the Adriatic. Because of the presence of cavities on the sides of the slab of Jupiter, it is thought of a slot system for these plates as for example for Pola or Aquileia, yet it is not possible to say if the decoration was above a colonnade or formed a balustrade.

The slab of Jupiter Amon comes from the late wall in the court of Knežji not far away from Prešernova ulica. The surface is ground but a bearded face with a ram horn can be still identified.

¹⁷²² ALFÖLDY 1970, 163; ALFÖLDY 1974, 100; ALFÖLDY 1988, 40, 50-54.

¹⁷²³ CASARI 2004, 132, c1.

¹⁷²⁴ CASARI 2004, 133, c4-c5.

¹⁷²⁵ VERZÁR-BAS 1995, 144, note 95.

¹⁷²⁶ MUSSINI 1998, 267-268.

¹⁷²⁷ CASARI 2004, 132, c3; LAZAR 2003, 469 fig. 8; VERZÁR-BAS 2001, 440.



Figure 200: Marble block with Jupiter Ammon from *Celeia* (Lazar 2008, fig. 4).

The reliefs of Acheloos, having provincial elements can be considered as a local product. In the first of these slabs,¹⁷²⁸ found as Jupiter in the wall, Acheloos, even if the face surface is cut away, is represented with beard, curved horns and bull-necked ears but the particulars are not so much well- finished. Also the second slab¹⁷²⁹ presents the same features but lacks of proportions.¹⁷³⁰



Figure 201: Marble blocks with relief representing Acheloos (after Lazar 2008, fig. 4).

Medusa¹⁷³¹ has two small wings at the sommet of the head and behind the hair appear two snakes that are united by a knot ending under the chin.¹⁷³²

¹⁷²⁸ CASARI 2004, 133, c6; LAZAR 2003, 469, fig. 9; LAZAR 2008 fig. 4.

¹⁷²⁹ CASARI 2004, 133, c5; LAZAR 2003, 470-471 fig 10; LAZAR 2008, fig. 4; VERZÁR-BAS 2001, 440, tav. 69,2.

¹⁷³⁰ MUSSINI 1998, 266. She dates them to the Trajan period.

¹⁷³¹ CASARI 2004, 133, c1; LAZAR 2002, fig. 23.

¹⁷³² MUSSINI 1998, 267.



Figure 202: Marble block depicting Medusa (after Lazar 2008, fig. 4).

Representations of Jupiter and Medusa are known also from *fora* decorations in Zadar, in Aquileia and Oderzo while decorations with Acheloos are coming from Pola.

There are also remains of marble slabs, forming marble flooring, and monumental architecture forming the temple found in the modern Trg Celjskin knezov in the square and the larger-than life statue of Apollo in the immediate vicinity.

More remains of numerous inscriptions, reliefs and parts of statues, including two in armour, were built into the late Roman defensive walls in the courtyard of the Knežjo dvor, not far from the Trg Celjskih knezov.

The above-mentioned finds help us to locate the position of the Roman *forum* which has not yet been excavated. The discovery of over 40 votive *beneficari* altars on Stenetova ulica made scholars suggest a location in this part of the city; though only the presence of these altars cannot be a certain prove for a *forum*. But the find spots mentioned earlier encircle the location of the *forum* in the southern-western part of the city in the area of modern Prešernova ulica. If the *forum* was located in this position, then it was bounded on the South by the *decumanus* and on the West by the *cardo* embellished by porticos.¹⁷³³

The similarity of forms and dimensions and the discovery in some specific places in the city make it possible to believe that they belong to a decoration for the *forum* and were created all in the same time.

What is still problematic is the combination of Jupiter Amon and Medusa with Acheloos. As Verzár-Bas points out, the use of Acheloos's protome is attested also in

¹⁷³³ LAZAR 2003.

other cities as Emona or Pola¹⁷³⁴ but the use in the majority of the cases can be related to doors or arches.¹⁷³⁵ Mussolini, who studied only the reliefs of Emona and Celeia, admits that these raffigurations are in correlation with danger rivers and marshy waters while Verzár-Bas proposes, instead, a symbol of territorial-ethnic affinity.¹⁷³⁶ A possible explanation may be the dionysiac character in the decorative equipment of the North Adriatic *fora*.

The so-called Atrium House of *Aguntum* represents one of the most important residential complexes from the northern provinces in general. It lies directly to the West of the city wall, to the South of the *decumanus maximus*. The *atrium*, according to Alzinger who excavated it from 1956 to 1990, follows directly the Vitruvian example but changes during the years with the implementation of a “klimazone” near the *atrium*, i.e. a permanent heating system, in order to adjust to the cold conditions of the region.

According to Alzinger during building phase I (mid-to second-half of the 1st century AD) under the actual *vestibulum* (44) there was an old one with *fauces*, then came the *atrium* with the *tablinum*, right and link were *cubicula*. To the North there were also *tabernae* aligned to the *decumanus*¹⁷³⁷ (Figure 203).

¹⁷³⁴ VERZÁR-BAS 2001, 440.

¹⁷³⁵ VERZÁR-BAS 2001, 552.

¹⁷³⁶ VERZÁR-BAS 2001, 453-455.

¹⁷³⁷ ALZINGER 1992, 168; TSCHURTSCHENTHALER 2002, 1077-1078.

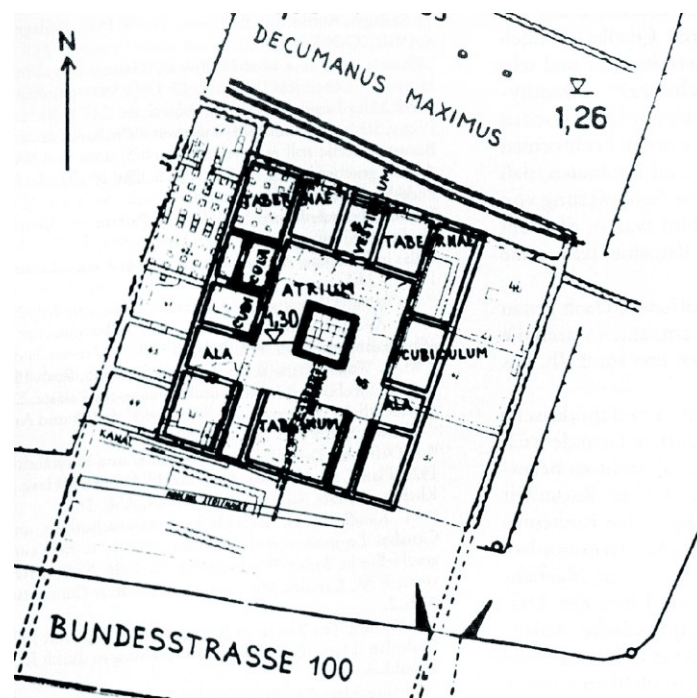


Figure 203: First building's phase of the *atrium* house at *Aguntum* (after Alzinger 1992, abb.8).

In 2001 and 2002 excavations by the University of Innsbruck tried to define the original form of the *atrium*. The wall p, found also by Alzinger, belong to the first phase: he postulates, thus, that the *atrium* ends in the western wall of the corridor R50 but the discovery of a new wall pp in room R 42a, exactly in the same line of wall p, changes Alzinger's hypothesis.

The investigation of the western corridor wall's junction with the previous wall p and pp shows that the western corridor wall was built in a successive time proving that Alzinger's

reconstruction is not valid and a narrow Vitruvian *atrium* was never built (Figure 204).¹⁷³⁸

¹⁷³⁸ TSCHURTSCHENTHALER 2005, 94-96; TSCHURTSCHENTHALER 2006,183.

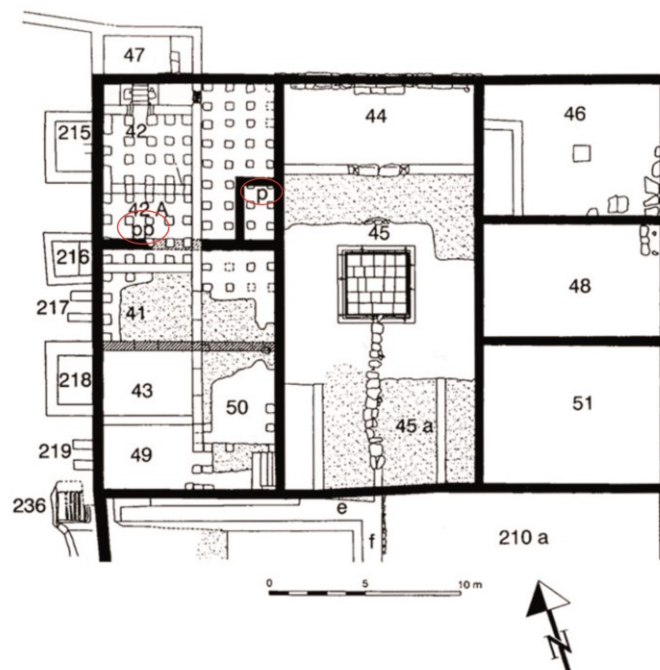


Figure 204: Detail of the atrium section after the reconstruction in 2001 and 2002's excavations (after Tschurtschaler 2006, abb. 4).

In the 70s scholar thought that, because *Iuvanum* (modern Salzburg) was the field of the campaign in the Alps only in Drusus and Tiberius' time, it possessed no development in the beginning of the first century AD. But the excavations since the 80s change this view and show that already in the middle Augustean period the city had some buildings. The excavation in the Kleinen Festspielhaus is the proof of a Claudian city with log houses: a part of a pottery workshop, two wooden buildings and a work place with an oven were discovered as well, supposing a width system¹⁷³⁹. No more of this kind of buildings were found: in Haus Waaplatz 3 was found only cement flooring while in the Hof der Alten Universität the wooden houses were not excavated and remains of bronze workshops were found.¹⁷⁴⁰ These two excavations are the proof that the Claudian city expanded between Salzach and Möuschberg.

At Furtwänglerpark was then found another kind of building technique: the wall of clay is supported by hazelnutrods and then covered with mortar plaster. Two rooms were

¹⁷³⁹ HEGER 1974, 38; KOVACSOVICS 2001, 233-234; KOVACSOVICS 2002, 179; KOVACSOVICS 2003a, 729

¹⁷⁴⁰ EGER 1974, 38, 42-43; HEGER, MOOSLEITNER 1970, 292, HEGER, MOOSLEITNER 1971, 92, HEGER, MOOSLEITNER 1972, 114; KOVACSOVICS 2001, 234, KOVACSOVICS 2002, 178-179.

excavated and in one also different sherds were found.¹⁷⁴¹ Also in Court of the house at Mozartplatz 4 was found a house with rodswalls. There were found Italian sigillata and 20 amphoras among whom a complete Dressel 6 A with the stamp THB and the rest of *altec*: the analysis of the fish species attests that the sauce came from Istria admitting, so, a trade in that direction.¹⁷⁴²

In the inner courtyard of the Neue Residenz were found two houses with rodswalls and foundation beams that admit the same orientation (NW/SO) and remains of an oven; at the North is visible an embankment for the future street.¹⁷⁴³

In the Toskanatrakt der Residenz there were not found clay or rods houses but pits, different ovens with scoria and stone floor attesting the presence of a workshop for objects in bronze (especially *fibulae*.)¹⁷⁴⁴

As we can see for the evidences, in the Claudian time, the development concentrates on the western part of the future city and only on workshops and house. This attests political and commercial reasons for the foundation and the further progress of *Iuvanum*.

4.6.1 Evaluations

Jupiter, Medusa and Achelios:

The presence of Jupiter Amon and Medusa is an influence of the Augustus' *forum*. The earlier hypothesis of this program's diffusion towards Hispania and then back to Gallia and Germania is no more valid. We have two parallel itineraries; one from West to East and the other one in the opposite direction¹⁷⁴⁵. The diffusion's datation for the North-Adriatic cities is the Claudian-Neronian period but some clues permit to narrow it to the late Claudian time.¹⁷⁴⁶

Claudius did a lot for public works with utilitarian purpose¹⁷⁴⁷ but, as Torelli pointed out, other efforts went into *imitatio Augusti*, almost *ossessivamente*.¹⁷⁴⁸ This *imitatio* is perceived in the imitation of the Augustean *forum* in the decorative equipments of the new Claudian *fora* (as for example at Mérida).

¹⁷⁴¹ KOVACSOVICS 2001, 239; KOVACSOVICS 2002, 179; MOOSELEITNER 1973-1974, 129.

¹⁷⁴² HEGER 1986; KOVACSOVICS 2002, 179; MOOSELEITNER 1986; RUPRECHTSBERGER 1990, 378.

¹⁷⁴³ KOVACSOVICS 2003b, 115-116; MARX, LAUB 2003.

¹⁷⁴⁴ KOVACSOVICS 2001, 242-243, KOVACSOVICS 2002, 180.

¹⁷⁴⁵ CASARI 2004, 29-36, 141; ENSOLI 1997, 165-166.

¹⁷⁴⁶ CASARI 2004, 141, CASARI 2011, 97.

¹⁷⁴⁷ VENTURI 1985.

¹⁷⁴⁸ TORELLI 1994, 178-181.

As indicated by Casari, the diffusion of this kind of decoration, linked to the reinforcement for the imperial cult, emerges also from other clues from the North-Adriatic cities.¹⁷⁴⁹

Also at *Asseria*, that received the title of *municipium* under Claudius,¹⁷⁵⁰ among the materials of the *forum* was found a slab (now lost) with a Medusa: even if we do not have any pictures we can assume that it was part of a decoration similar to this one of the other North-Adriatic cities.¹⁷⁵¹

The representations of Acheloos at Celje are very similar to those ones at Vienne and Avenches, but it is difficult to think about a relationship between the cities. The decoration is typical for the cities in the North-eastern Adriatic sea, and Celje is the only city in *Noricum* with such a decoration and the only one with the addition of Achellos to the classical couple, most likely because of the popularity of the god. A lot of representations are found in cities of the *Noricum* but dated later and most of them are on the doors.¹⁷⁵²

Mussini suggested that the presence of this god is to be linked to the hydrogeological situation of the zones¹⁷⁵³ but the presence of its representation also in other kinds of places moved some years ago Verzár-Bas to think about it as a *Stammensymbol*.¹⁷⁵⁴ Thus the relationship with complexes for the imperial cult might have been seen as a figure symbolizing the imperial power;¹⁷⁵⁵ Casari sees instead a possible association with Dionysus.¹⁷⁵⁶

This kind of representation not inserted in a *clypeus* is to be connected to the same kind of depiction in architrave at Vienne or Nyon:¹⁷⁵⁷ it is still not clear which workshop first created the type.¹⁷⁵⁸

Private houses

We have evidences at *Aguntum* and *Iuvanum*. While at *Aguntum* the house shows a first step into the adaptation of the mediterranean style, at *Iuvanum* the remains suggest an improving of the buildings' techniques from wood to stone.

¹⁷⁴⁹ CASARI 2004, 143.

¹⁷⁵⁰ WINKLER 1969, 214.

¹⁷⁵¹ CASARI 2004, 129-130.

¹⁷⁵² VERZÁR-BAS 2008; VERZÁR-BAS 2011.

¹⁷⁵³ MUSSINI 1998.

¹⁷⁵⁴ VERZÁR-BAS 2001.

¹⁷⁵⁵ VERZÁR-BAS 2011, 572.

¹⁷⁵⁶ CASARI 2004, 138-139.

¹⁷⁵⁷ See *supra*.

¹⁷⁵⁸ VERZÁR-BAS 2008, 26-27.

4.6.2 *Conclusions*

The attestations for *Noricum* in the urban field are very scanty and the identification of the guidelines results difficult. Even if it is true that the *hospitium publicum* changed, in some way, the political and cultural situation of *Noricum* with the introduction of some signs of *romanitas* the province was still far from a state to be considered “romanized”, meaning the presence of stable Roman architectural and ornamental trends or the architectural, figurative and epigraphic transcript of the imperial ideology.

Nevertheless it is possible to see the first stage of this process and, in particular, the peculiar presence of the Medusa, Juppiter and Acheloos’s slabs at Celja testifying an already contacts with North Italy.

4.6.3 *Roadsystem*

| | Route | Discovery | Titolature | Chronology | N° of miles |
|-------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1 ¹⁷⁵⁹ | Aquilieia- Ovilabis | Virunum | | AD 46/47 | |

The Norican highway was constructed under Claudius and linked Aquilieia to *Virunum* and further to *Olivabis* and it was one of the most important routes in *Noricum*.¹⁷⁶⁰ According to Winkler, this way passed throught *Santiacum* (Villach).¹⁷⁶¹ Weber,¹⁷⁶² following Winkler, mentions two different directions one through *Santicum* to *Virunum* and to North, while the other one to *Teurnia* after two passes (Laßnitzhöhe and Radstädter Tauern) and then to *Iuvavun* and *Olivabis*; on the contrary Šašel Kos and Schwanzar mention the route throught Celeia and then to *Virunum* and *Ovilavis*.¹⁷⁶³ Thanks to this route a strong connection between *Noricum* and Venetia was created through which merchants moved with their products and models.

The earliest known milestone in *Noricum* dates to the reign of Claudius; it is the only one, so far, belonging to this emperor. Even if the inscription is fragmentary the titolature is intact and the milestone can be dated precisely in the years AD 46/47;

¹⁷⁵⁹ CIL III 5709, WINKLER 1985, n° 1.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Harls defines wrongly this route as Via Claudia Augusta, cf. HARLS 1989, 531; PICCOTTINI 2002, 107.

¹⁷⁶¹ WINKLER 1985, 64.

¹⁷⁶² WEBER 1990, 301.

¹⁷⁶³ ŠAŠEL KOS 2001, 194; SCHWANZAR 2000.

however, as is evident from the list published by Walser, no other precisely milestones of Claudius have been preserved to date from Noricum.¹⁷⁶⁴

The road-network, already developed during the period of the Noricum's *hospitium*, increased when *Noricum*, under Claudius, became a province. Even if only one milestone for this period is recorded attesting only one way, the archaeological evidences in the cities' *territoria* i.e. *mansiones*, *stationes* and *vici* suggest, indeed, a more uniform system of streets throughout the province indicating that Claudius was very much concerned about the communications.

Another important route, that connected Noricum with Raetia, departed from *Iuvavum* and through *Bedaium* and *Pons Aeni* arrived to *Augusta Vindelicum*. In the Norican stretch we find various *vici* and *mansiones*: the most important and more investigated is that one of *Bedaium* (Seebruck).¹⁷⁶⁵

Iuvavum was connect to *Virunum* and *Teurnia*: 14 miles South we find *Cuculae* (Kuchl), the first *mansio*, 17 miles more *Vocario* and 17 miles South *Anisus*, in the Pass Radstläder Tauern was located *In Alpe* already in the territory of *Teurnia*. From *In Alpe* it was possible to reach *Virunum*, but also *Teurnia* passingby *Immurium*.¹⁷⁶⁶

From *Iuvavum* a road run towards *Ovilavis* passing by three important *mansiones*: *Tarnatone* (closed to Pfongau), *Laciacis* (Frackenmarkt) and *Tergolape* (near to Vöcklabruck) (Figure 205).

¹⁷⁶⁴ WALSER 1980, and especially 460-461.

¹⁷⁶⁵ BURMEISTER 1998; FISCHER 2002c, 100-102.

¹⁷⁶⁶ FISCHER 2002c, 104; FLEISCHER, MOUCKLA-WEIZEL 1998.

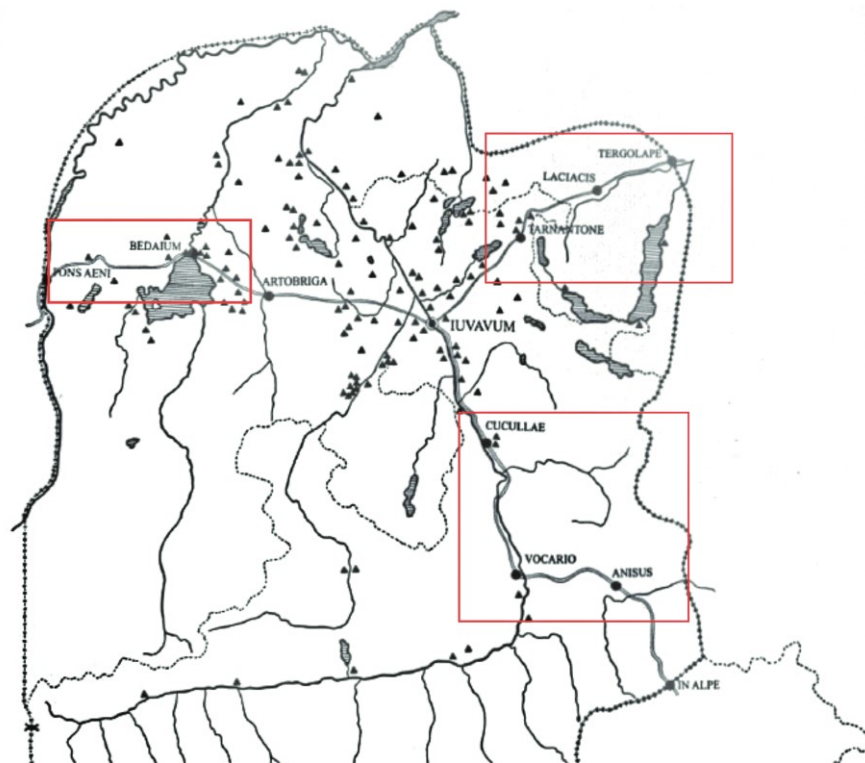


Figure 205: The territory of *Iuvavum* with the routes and *mansiones* (after Kovacovic 2002, Abb. 3).

Several important settlements developed along the route *Celeia-Virunum* (Figure 206), some of which became road stations: these were *Uppelis* (Stara vas near Velenje), *Colatio* (Stari trg near Slovenj Gradec) and *Iuenna* (Globasnitz/Globasnica). The region between *Colatio* and *Iuenna* is largely unexplored archaeologically; however sporadic inscriptions and other casual finds enable us to trace at least some outlines of its settlements in the Roman period. *Colatio* was a Hallstatt settlement but there seems to have been a gap in settlement until the beginning of 1st century BC when probably indigenous, but celticized people, came to settle in that area and *Colatio* must soon have developed into a small market place and local trading centre. A coin, minted in 101 BC in Rome and found at Poljana near Prevalje, could be an indication of early contacts of this area with Roman merchants.

The Roman road *Celeia-Upellis-Colatio-Iuenna-Virunum* (Figure 206), following a prehistoric cart-track, was most probably constructed under Claudius and it was part of the Norican highway. *Colatio* began to flourish at the latest in that period, i.e. some time around the middle of the 1st century AD. In the surrounding areas some inscriptions

were found and above all tombstones.¹⁷⁶⁷ Several uninscribed monuments, mainly reliefs und architectural blocks and fragments,¹⁷⁶⁸ were discovered at a hamlet between Dobja vas and Prevalje: these blocks, too many to postulate merely one funerary monument, must have originally all come from a Roman cemetery at Zagrad near Prevalje but the settlement to which they belonged has not been discovered. This must have been an important road station along the *Celeia-Virunum* road, probably near the border between the administrative regions of *Celeia* and *Virunum* and may best be defined as *mutatio* since the distance between *Colatio* and *Iuenna* is 22 Roman miles (c. 32 km) while Zagrad near Prevalje is situated in the centre between these two road stations (the ideal distance between *mutationes* was around 8 Roman miles, c. 12 km); the anonymous settlement may have been the last one to belong to the *Celeia ager* while *Iuenna* would have been the first to belong to the administrative territory of *Virunum*.¹⁷⁶⁹



Figure 206: *Noricum* between *Celeia* and *Virunum* (after Šašel Kos 2001, fig. 1).

¹⁷⁶⁷ An interesting tombstone was discovered at Zgornje Dovže (CIL 5105=ILLPRON 1775) and should most likely be dated to the 1st century AD probably to the first half as is indicated by the formula *v.f.* and *annorum* in genitive. The father had peregrine status while his wife had already Latin citizenship, her *gentilitium* having been created from a Celtic name current in her *familia*, their two male children bore her *gentilitium*: Seconius Vibius who served in the praetorian guard into which many Noricans were recruited (ŠAŠEL 1972b) and Seconius sector. Their daughter was named after the father, Vibena: Vibenus was a typically norican name. The name Vetullus/Vetulla has only been attested once in northern Italy and twice in *Noricum*, suggesting a local provenance. It seems to have been additionally inscribed at a later date; probably by male members of the same family, who may have been active in the army.

¹⁷⁶⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 2001, 202-204.

¹⁷⁶⁹ GLASER 1982, 12.

In the stretch from *Virunum* to *Lariacum* are attested different road stations: *Noreia*,¹⁷⁷⁰ *Ad Pontem*, (Scheifling/Lind ?); *Monate* (Montana, bei St. George ob Judenburg); *Viscellis* (Mörderburg); *Sabatinica* (St. Johann am Tauern), *Tatarsanis* (Hohentauern).¹⁷⁷¹

Also in the territory of *Flavia Solva mansiones* of this period are attested as for example Gleisdorf that was connected to the big route *Celeia-Flavia Solva* towards North with the vicus of Kalsdorf.¹⁷⁷²

4.7 Mauretania Tingitana und Caesariensis

With the constitution of the two provinces all the Augustean colonies, which were created during the kingdom of Juba and associated to Baetica or other provinces, come back to be part of the regions and Claudius gave the title of *colonia* or *municipium* to some cities or created new ones. Thank to Plinius¹⁷⁷³ and the archaeological evidences we know that in Mauretania Tingitana Claudius did a new deduction in *Tingi*,¹⁷⁷⁴ *Volubilis* became a latin *municipium* between 25th January AD 44 and 25th January AD 45¹⁷⁷⁵ because of the city helped the Romans in the war against Aedemon: after the embassy the city received the Roman citizenship, the *conubium* with the peregrine women,¹⁷⁷⁶ immunity for ten years, *incolae* and the attribution of inheritance of Roman citizens died during the war, the so called *bona vacantia*.¹⁷⁷⁷ *Lixus* became colony and about *Sala* we have no certain proof. In Mauretania Caesariensis *Caesarea* became honorary colony, ¹⁷⁷⁸ *Oppidum Novum* turned into colony while Tipasa latin *municipium* and *Rusucuru* Roman *municipium*.

The *municipium* of Volubilis is enrolled in the tribe *Claudia* but the citizens, who are enrolled in the tribes *Quirina* or *Galeria*, must belong to local families who possess already the Roman citizenship before the transformation of Volubilis into *municipium*

¹⁷⁷⁰ Since years scholars are trying to locate this city that is thought to be the capital of the *regnum Noricum*. The hypotheses suggest different locations but none of them are proved archeologically: Schmidt in 1929 in the excavation at St. Margarethen am Silberberg (in the Steiermark) announced that he discovered *Noreia* but today it is certain that St. Margarethen has nothing to do with *Noreia*. It is definitely sure that there was not just one place called *Noreia* because the same word means just “city of *Noricum*”.

¹⁷⁷¹ MODRIJAN, WEBER 1979/1981, 11.

¹⁷⁷² MAIER 1995, 23.

¹⁷⁷³ Plinius. *Nat Hist.* 5, 2.

¹⁷⁷⁴ For the situation before Claudius' granting see GASCOU 1974b.

¹⁷⁷⁵ IAM lat 389=ILM 56; IAM lat 448; HØJTE 2005, 304, n° 67.

¹⁷⁷⁶ GASCOU 1971, 137.

¹⁷⁷⁷ PUJOL 2006-2007 summarizes the different hypothesis and options of the juridical situation of the city before the war.

¹⁷⁷⁸ For the problems connected see GASCOU 1981, 231-233.

because their names have an Lybian-Punic origin. Rome grants, before the creation of the *municipium*, the *civitas* to a lot of citizen in the peregrine Volubilis.

In these political actions we notice that, from one point, Claudius wanted to continue the work of Augustus with a special regard to the cost cities but, from another point of view, he made an innovation because he was not satisfied only with colonies of veterans. He understood that the Romanisation was already spread in Mauretania and allowed latin citizenship to the native communities where the Romanisation was more showed. It seems that the emperor acted with judgement granting the citizenship because he had considered the previous evolution of the communities that received that favour.¹⁷⁷⁹

This municipal politicly that combines innovation with prudence is far away to justify the Seneca's sarcasm¹⁷⁸⁰ or Dio's criticism for his casualness to dispense the Roman citizenship.¹⁷⁸¹

Surprisingly to these municipal activities, thus, it is not corraleted an intese urban activity and the evidences are really sporadic and only in Tingitana. The activities started again in the end of 1st century AD.

At *Volubilis* in the North-East quartier the first phase of the aqueduct and the houses on the South bank of *decumanus maximus* dates after AD 44.¹⁷⁸² At Tingi on the North-East of the Petit Socco square was found a piece of inscription with *Germanicus* inscribed dated to AD 51.¹⁷⁸³

4.7.1 Roadsystem

Unfortunately for the period in consideration no milestones or other archaeological evidences were found so it is not possible to say if Claudius made some improvements on the route system.

¹⁷⁷⁹ GASCOU 1981, 236.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Sen. *Apoc.* 3.3.

¹⁷⁸¹ Dio *Hist.* 60. 17, 5.

¹⁷⁸² MAKDOUN 1994, 1999; ICHKHAKH 2006, 2213

¹⁷⁸³ PONSICH 1970. 245 THOUVENOT 1946-49, 44.

5 Conclusions

The activities in the western provinces of the Empire in the time of Claudius seem to explode after the quiet period of Tiberius and Caius. It is true that the development assumes different facets and aspects in every province because of the heterogeneous political, cultural, historical and economic situations. Thus it was still possible to see that the urban works, undertaken under Claudius in the provinces that have been part of the empire for some times already, followed common patterns, such as those ones pointed out by Venturi (the interest-and not lack-for sanctuaries and buildings for amusement, attention to commemorative and honorary buildings, a preference for works with utilitarian character), while for the “new” provinces it is not possible to apply the same model. The differences in the two categories of provinces show clearly how Claudius’ policy changed because of the different needs and situations in the provinces. The discrepancies show also, as well, how important the study of the urban activities is in order to better perceive the reasons of the emperor’s actions, as Venturi already had highlighted for Claudius.

In the Spanish provinces, in Africa Proconsularis and in the Galliae we do not see a lack of interest in sacred and buildings for amusement as is attested, instead, in Italy. Thus, this inclination assumes different aspects: in the Spanish province and in the Galliae the theatres and amphitheatres are very widespread as opposed to the temples while in Africa the situation is exactly the opposite¹⁷⁸⁴. In some case in the Iberian Peninsula this attention is testified with the conclusion of the work begun by the previous emperors as at *Segobriga*, *Conimbriga* or the beautiful example at *Bilbilis* but sometimes also with the placement of statues (as at *Tarraco* and at *Augusta Emerita*) in the *scaenae frons*. In the Galliae and in particular in Aquitania and Lugdunensis as at Saintes, Saint Bertrand de Comminges and Feurs theatres and amphitheatres were completed rather than adorned with statues.

In the Spanish provinces the only attestations¹⁷⁸⁵ of temples are at Corduba and Mérida and they are in relation with ludic-religious complexes¹⁷⁸⁶: at Corduba this complex is situated *extra moenia* and encompasses a plaza, with temple, a second square and a circus while at Mérida it is represented by the association of two *fora*. Also at *Segobriga*

¹⁷⁸⁴ The only example of theatre comes from Thysdrus.

¹⁷⁸⁵ The temples at Baelo are dated to the Claudian-Neronian period.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Intended as a peculiar grouping of buildings and not the “normal” assemblage in the *forum*.

and *Bilbilis* we have evidence of complexes: in the first city we see an association between theatre and *thermae-gymnasium* while in *Bilbilis*, similar to the situation at Corduba, a theatre is associated to the *forum*. As a matter of fact, the presence of complexes seems to have played a big role in the Spanish provinces: most likely in the societies of the three provinces, where the urbanization had reached a certain degree comparable to that in Italy, the use of such complexes answers peculiar needs of the cities. Roman towns in the Iberian Peninsula are perceived as being different from the broad range of pre-Roman centralized settlements in Iberia and are generally accepted as the most characteristic symbol of the Roman period in all the western provinces. They are also understood as playing an important causal role in the promotion of cultural change in all the Roman Empire¹⁷⁸⁷. In Gallia we find a similar situation only in Narbonensis, which is the oldest conquered province where at Vienne a ludic- religious complex at Pipet was erected and at Arles with, dubiously, the adding of the *forum adiectum* to the *forum* in Claudian time while some single temples are found in Gallia Belgica and in particular at *Augusta Raurica* and Avenches with the only circular temple in all Swiss. In Africa the presence of temples as at *Thougga* and *Gightis*, even if testified mainly by inscriptions, surpasses the account in the other provinces.

All the evidence coming from *Thougga* suggests that these temples were built and dedicated by some personalities of the *civitas* and *pagus* of Dougga. This unexpected amount of evidences of patronage¹⁷⁸⁸ (both as benefactor and dedicator) expresses the strong desire, on the one hand, of the local personalities, some of them holding offices sometimes also in a provincial context, to be considered by the emperor and, on the other hand, of the proconsuls who tried to follow Claudius' policy.

This presence of patronage in Africa, is also correlated to the attention to commemorative and honorary buildings as for examples at *Utica*, again at *Thougga* (the altar) *Cirta* (a monument to Diva Augusta) and *Zita*. At Leptis instead the two cycles of statues in the *forum* are not associated to no one. Usually, even if not archaeologically attested but only through inscriptions, most likely due to the big urban activities under the Severan dynasty, they are part of bigger structures.

In the Galliae and almost only in Aquitania and Belgica this kind of buildings is attested by the means of statues or inscriptions as well. We can find testimonies in Aquitania at

¹⁷⁸⁷ KEAY 1997, 193-194.

¹⁷⁸⁸ For a better account see paragraph 4.3.2.

Saintes with inscription and part of a statue, at *Burdigalia* with statues and inscriptions to different members of the imperial family and at Polignac while in Belgica at Senlis with a base for a statue and a dedication, at *Morosallum* where the use of the term *vicani* suggests the territorial structure, at Mainz and a statue of Britannicus and the dedication of Iulius Camillus in Avenches. Also for these two provinces the inscriptions indicate the presence of patronage and when only it is linked to private persons they are not *patroni* on the contrary of Africa. Still matter of debate is the presence or not of a sanctuary for the imperial cult in the quartier of Clos du Verbe Incarné in the Plateau of La Sarra at Lyon that represents the only attestation for Lugdunensis.

In the Spanish provinces mostly statues and some rare inscriptions¹⁷⁸⁹ attest honorary and commemorative monuments: the presence of these statues in the *fora* as at Corduba or Mérida and in their annexes as the *basilica* of *Segobriga* or the *Chalcedicum* at *Tarraco* and in the theatres (for examples at *Tarraco* or Mérida) suggests, thus, that they were not buildings themselves but integrated to other structures. To this evidence is to link the supposed presence of an *aedes Augusti*, attested only in these provinces: Balby interpreted all the structures at *Clunia*, *Asturica*, *Aeminium* and *Conimbriga* as *curiae* and not as *aedi* but the debate is far away to be concluded.

From the stylistic point of view, it is very clear that the statues were produced locally by local sculptors except for some pieces from Mérida which were made by artists coming from Italy: these statues are showing, of course, a better quality. The Italian artists from Mérida in some case seem to have travelled in Lusitania and taught at the local workshops: in fact we can see a lot of similarities among the different statues in the province.

The portraits of Claudius, thus, are not many and some of them are rielaborated over portraits of Caius as at *Bilbilis* or *Salacia* and we do not have a complete statue of the emperor. Some pieces, as these one at Alcácer do Sal¹⁷⁹⁰ and at Tarragona are of a superb quality. Basically all Claudius' portraits except for this one at *Tarraco* present the emperor as adult, the face being characterised by wrinkles. All the heads of Claudius are simply versions of the principal type with the outlines of the fringes¹⁷⁹¹. The great

¹⁷⁸⁹ Mostly from Baetica: Cartama, a base (CIL II 1953); Epora (CIL II, 2158), Castro del Rio, statue (CIL II 1569); Ilturigi, *statua equestris* (CIL II.2, 7, 30); from Tarraconensis: Castulo (CIL II 3269).

¹⁷⁹⁰ DE SOUZA 1990, n° 155. The head belongs to the principal type but in the version with no piliers on the forehead (FITTSCHEN 1977, n° 15).

¹⁷⁹¹ FITTSCHEN 1977, n° 17.

amount of statues testifies how active were the workshops in these regions and how much they adopt the style coming from Rome and how much they changed it.

The presence of these statues, which are the predominant features for the Claudian time for the Spanish provinces, is correlated to the fact that, in these provinces, a preference for works with utilitarian character emerges sporadically. Few activities in the *fora* were undertaken as for example at Zaragoza, *Aeminium* and Ammaia. These projects are all connected to urgent and structural needs of the communities but mostly the *fora* were already installed and developed and there was no need for such a structure. This position fits in perfectly with the situation in the peninsula where the acculturation had already reached a certain degree and other symbols of *romanitas* were needed.

In Africa this inclination can be seen in the modifications in the *fora* as for examples at *Leptis*, *Mustis* or *Mactaris*, the first *basilica* in *Leptis* and the *macellum* at *Thougga* as well again symbol of an act of evergetism. It seems that after the big impulse given by Augustus the works in the time of Claudius answered to new arising problems regarding administrative and commercial functions.

This kind of problems seems to have affected also the Gallic provinces but in particular Gallia Comata that became part of the empire only from Augustus onwards. It is clear that the situation in these regions was different from this one in Africa because here the acculturation was in its first stage and the presence of this type of monuments helped very well to accelerate this process. The *forum* represents the public space par excellence. It is the place where all the symbols of the municipal dignity are grouped, where administrative and religious buildings defined the urban landscape: also in the small settlements the concentration of *monumenta*, statues or inscriptions shows that the *forum* must safeguard the signs of the local *res publica*, of its autonomy and relationships with the central power.

Not only *fora* were implemented and ameliorated as for examples at the first stage at *Vesunna* and Rodez in Aquitania or Autun and, with reserve, at Vannes in Lugdunensis or with the setting up of the first known *macellum* North of the Alps at Nyon but also aqueducts¹⁷⁹² and fountains¹⁷⁹³ were installed. A big role in these provinces and surprisingly in the secondary agglomerations and, strangely basically only here¹⁷⁹⁴, was

¹⁷⁹² At *Burdigalia*, *Secundus* gave money for the construction of an aqueduct, the other evidence, with reserve, is at Lyon.

¹⁷⁹³ The only attestation of fountains is at Lyon where Claudius was born.

¹⁷⁹⁴ The only Spanish example comes from *Labitolosa* and nothing from Africa.

played by the thermal baths as for examples at Saintes, Lyon, Saint Bertrand de Comminges, Nyon and Avenches¹⁷⁹⁵: it seems as these monuments, beside *fora*, were considered by Claudius important places for aggregation for people becoming, in this way, centres to spread the Roman culture into the local civilization; because of their great numbers it seems, as well, that they were seriously taken into consideration just like the *fora*.

A particular position held Gallia Belgica because still in the time of Claudius it was not yet as civilized in a Roman way as the other Gallic provinces. In the northern cities (Metz, Reims, Arras, Bavay and Tongres) away from the centres of *romanitas*, we can see a development of the grid plan with the insertion of the first stage of utilitarian edifices or complexes as the *forum*: these cities began gradually only with Claudius to become real “Roman” cities, i.e. cities with typical connotations of the Roman lifestyle. The southern cities as Augst, Avenches and Nyon¹⁷⁹⁶ seem to have already reached a good level of urbanization most likely due to their vicinity to Gallia Narbonensis and northern Italy as we can see by the presence of Jupiter Ammon at Nyon or the circular temple at *Aventicum*.

In these cities as for the others in the Galliae is evident a will to bring Roman lifestyle not only into the public sphere but also into the private one: we have, as different from the Iberian Peninsula¹⁷⁹⁷, evidence of private houses where the elites try to emulate the houses of Roman type adopting, when necessary, some modifications. It is clear that the adaptation of Roman style in the houses represents a field where Claudius was not involved through his actions but still I find fascinating how this process took place so quickly thanks to the elites that, somehow, were influenced by the public activities and the political messages involved. But it is true that the influences came also through Italian immigrants who settled in these regions and brought their desire to live in a “roman way”.

At Lyon the Maison à l’emblema and the Maison du laraire have a plan centred on a *tetrastylum atrium*. The dimensions of the houses are modest around 300 and 500 m² with, likely, a second floor. The spatial difference between a North side with houses and the South side with one or small units of habitation and boutiques is the result of the

¹⁷⁹⁵ We have also an inscription from Vaison attesting the dedication of an adornment of the *portici* in front of the thermal bath.

¹⁷⁹⁶ They will be from Domitian onwards part of the two *Germaniae*.

¹⁷⁹⁷ The only example is at *Augusta Asturica*.

attraction of rue du Capitole. The enlargement of the streets reduces the depth of the plots and increases the development of the construction of boutiques with a second floor, needed also because of the high walls of the porches. The stagnation of houses and the development of small rears, in this period, is a tendency in contrast, for example, with the fusion at Saint-Romain en Gal of two houses and it seems to be something new in the Gaul. At Tours from the middle of the 1st century AD the construction's techniques developed and the use of built foundation from 0.8 to 1 m became popular. It is from this period that the built house has a *perystilium* where the porches' roof is supported by wooden poles. One example is the *domus* 16 in the site 14 where the soils are in terrazzo.

At Limoges the house of the Nones of March has a plan which is a remarkable example of the transcription into the Lemovican territory of a form of Mediterranean architecture inspired directly from the large patrician residences of Campania. The quality and the refinement of its painted decoration, the choice of very expensive pigments and their use to cover large surfaces, the elaborate compositions, are consonant with the richness of the house and its owner and betray the hand of a transalpine artist.

In different cities of the Galliae and also in Africa, but again not in the Iberian Peninsula, the private quarters seem to have been touched by some modifications and improvements regarding also the workshops: the best examples come from Corseul in Lugdunensis and from Gallia Belgica (e.g. Augst, Avenches) and Utica in Africa. These renovations touched the roads, as well, which were enlarged and modified. Only in Africa the care for the road facilities is expressed also by the erection of some arches.

But before being categorized in the mentioned drifts all the monuments have peculiar characteristics that encompass different aspects deriving from heterogeneous factors regarding, above all, the locals and how they integrated into the Roman lifestyle and adopted these customs. In this way we can talk about a provincial or regional variation of a type of building. It was attempted, as a matter of fact, for every province¹⁷⁹⁸, to have a look on all these peculiarities, to seek the reasons and the correlations with the prototypes in Italy.

As already told something very peculiar in the Gallie is the presence of *thermae*: they were analyzed according to the classification of Bout in order to see the most peculiar characteristics for the Cladian time. Attention was also given to the private houses and

¹⁷⁹⁸ These accounts are reported in the section called "evaluations".

their relationships with the Mediterranean examples. A study of the amphitheatres was conducted not only for the Galliae but also for the Iberian Peninsula where an analysis of the different kind of *fora* was accomplished in correlation with the different position of the *basilica* and the supposed presence of *aedes Augusti*. For the case of the *Forum Adiectum* at Mérida a peculiar evaluation was developed and in particular about the meaning of the *clipei* with Medusa and Jupiter Ammon whose representations are also attested in Nyon and in Noricum (whith the representation also of Acheloos). Again for the Iberian Peninsula a special attention was reserved to the plastic works in order to see which kind of influences they took and which styles they followed. For Africa, instead, the theme about the patronage was unfolded in all the possible aspects.

Was also important in these provinces the study carried out regarding the street-network. In Africa Proconsularis the streets of the republican time, which formed a good system of transportation in the territory, were updated already under Augustus and only one street is attested for Claudius' period. In the Gallic provinces and in the Iberian Peninsula we have, on the contrary, a lot of archaeological evidence attesting a big activity in this field. The archaeological evidence does not indicate the construction of new *viae* but only their refurbishment. These activities prove that the provinces were served by an excellent street network and the streets needed only the normal maintenance. This constant care demonstrates, at the same time, how much Claudius had in consideration the road facilities in a wide range intended as important means for the trades of goods but also of ideas and thoughts. In particular, the road-network situation in Belgica is a typical case because in preparation of the annexation of Britannia Claudius undertook a phase of modernization of the streets.

The situation for three new provinces (Britannia, Noricum and the two Mauretaniae) is totally different and it is not possible to observe the same tendencies tracked down for the previous provinces. If for Britannia this implication was expected for its historical situation, it was thought possible that in Noricum and Mauritaniae, because of established relationships with Rome, one might find some common drifts.

In the Mauretaniae the political engagement of Claudius in granting the title of *colonia* or *municipium* is not followed by a fervent urban activity as one might have expected. Also in Noricum, *hospitium publicum* since the age of Augustus, Claudius's political granting to the cities was not stressed by a considerable urban works. Still from the few attestations we can see how Noricum had already acquired some Roman patterns as for example the local adaptation of the *atrium* house at *Aguntum*. The presence of the slabs

with Jupiter Ammon, Medusa and Acheloo show a predominant relation with Cisalpina due, mostly, to the commercial trade between them.

In Britannia it must be expected, shortly after the conquest of the province, to find only sporadic evidences. In this first period we see the first transformations from the buildings of the military fortresses to edifices with civic functions. Some transformations happened in Colchester but mostly in *Londinium* that became afterwards the capital of the province. The development of the province was in its first stage and, because of the differences between the cultures; it needed some time and for this reason the street network was enormously increased.

Interesting is the fact that we can perceive tradition and innovation in the field of city planning and construction. This may be explained with an inversion of taste's tendency compared to the classicism of the first period: for example, Claudius' architecture is innovative in the use of research on the surfaces and in chiaroscuro effects. But at the same time these achievements are characterized by engineering procedures: it seems that Claudius, whose model was Augustus, at least in Italy undertook Caesar's projects. To mention is indeed Momigliano's affirmation *Claudio é riformatore perché tradizionalista*¹⁷⁹⁹: there is an interest and respect for the past but it is not merely conservation of habits: Claudius had no fear of the political and technological innovations.

¹⁷⁹⁹ MOMIGLIANO 1932a, 40.

Army appendix

The armies of northwest Africa¹⁸⁰⁰Africa proconsularis

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| <p>Legio II Augusta¹⁸⁰¹</p> | <p>Fortress: Haïdra (Ammaedara)¹⁸⁰²</p> |
| <p>Auxilia ¹⁸⁰³ <i>Alae</i> Ala Siliana ¹⁸⁰⁴ Ala pannoniourum I¹⁸⁰⁵ <i>Cohortes</i> VII Lusitanorum (equitata)¹⁸⁰⁶ II Gemella Thracum¹⁸⁰⁷</p> | <p>Evidence of presence of fort or any building activity: Presence in Magrheb (ILS 9139; AE 1972, 696); veterans (IL Alg. II, 6179) Based (part or all) in Haïdra¹⁸⁰⁸: Decurion Liccaio (AE 1930, 133); <i>Signifer</i> Iora (AE 1930, 132) and Talanus; simple cavaliers: Boitius¹⁸⁰⁹ (CIL VIII 6308) Dasius¹⁸¹⁰; Quintus ad Spinus (AE 1930, 133); Cilius Lusitanus (CIL VIII 6309)¹⁸¹¹. Fort: closed to Mila (?) AE 1929, 169; stay at fortress of Legio III (?) CIL VIII 2887; possible works at Mascula (Kenchela) CIL VIII 10733; dedications at Vazaioi (Zoiui) CIL VIII, 10721; <i>praefectus</i> Capulnius (CIL V 5267); Garrison at Sila (IL Alg. II, 6877; 6875). Different inscriptions attest <i>equites</i> and <i>decuriones</i>¹⁸¹².</p> |

¹⁸⁰⁰ For a fully description of the armies in Africa, even though, dated, see the work of Cagnat, cf. CAGNAT 1912.

¹⁸⁰¹ For an exhaustive account of this *legio* see LE BOHEC 1989a.

¹⁸⁰² The localization has been recently questioned: in this camp only one part of the *legio* was stationed, cf. MACKENSEN 1997.

¹⁸⁰³ Most probably *alea* and *cohortes* were *quinquenarii*.

¹⁸⁰⁴ *Ala* to orders of proconsuls stationed in Africa till AD 65/66.

¹⁸⁰⁵ *Ala* to orders of *legatus* of III Augusta (CIL IX 536:*praef. alae I Pannonior in Africa*), cf. LE BOHEC 1989b, 33-45.

¹⁸⁰⁶ The presence of this *cohortis* is mentioned in one inscription (CIL V 5267).

¹⁸⁰⁷ It's a *cohortis equitata* (CIL VIII 2251) and the name Gemella come from the fusion of two *cohortes*.

¹⁸⁰⁸ As attested the inscription of Nero's time regarding a *duplicatrius* Licinius from Lyon (CIL VIII 23258, AE 1969-70, 661), cf. BESCHAOUCH 1969, 260-268.

¹⁸⁰⁹ The name is typical of Spain.

Mauretania¹⁸¹³

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| <u>Auxilia</u> <i>Alae</i> II Augusta Thracum ¹⁸¹⁴ | Evidence of presence of fort or any building activity: Fort: Caesarea (AE 1973, 654). |
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¹⁸¹⁰ Unpublished inscription stored in the Museum of Costantine, cf. LE BOHEC 1989b, 44, fig.4.

¹⁸¹¹ LE BOHEC 1989a, 45-46, fig. 5-8.

¹⁸¹² CIL VIII 9045, 9203, 9358, 9370, 9380, 9390, 9615, 10949, 21024, 21026, 21030, 21035, 21059.

¹⁸¹³ The evidence for *auxilia* in Mauretania Tingitana are dated from the Flavian period onwards, cf. ROXAN 1973.

¹⁸¹⁴ BENSEDDIK 1982, 43-47.

The armies in the Spanish provinces¹⁸¹⁵

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| <p>Legio ¹⁸¹⁶</p> <p>VI Vincitrix¹⁸¹⁷</p> <p>X Gemina¹⁸¹⁸</p> | <p>Fortress: Leon¹⁸¹⁹</p> <p>Fortress: Rosinos de Vidriales (Zamora)¹⁸²⁰.</p> |
| <p>Auxilia</p> <p><i>Alae</i></p> <p><i>Cohortes</i></p> <p>IV Gallorum ¹⁸²¹</p> <p>Thracum¹⁸²²</p> <p>I Tauri-Tauriana¹⁸²³-</p> | <p>Evidence of presence of fort or any building activity:</p> <p>No <i>alae</i> attested for this period.</p> <p>Series of boundaries stones: one from Castrocalbon¹⁸²⁵ South-West of La Bañeza marked the boundary between the cohort's territory and that of the <i>civitas</i> of Bedunia. The other eight stones come from Soto de la Vega¹⁸²⁶: fourth of them give the boundary with Beduina, another two with the Luggones and the remaining two are only fragments.</p> <p>Camp: their early fort perhaps is on the Rio Orbigo at La Bañeza or at Soto del al Vega¹⁸²⁷.</p> <p>Camp: not known¹⁸²⁸. It is known only by an inscription found at Astorga AE 1928, 165=ILER 6417 (<i>miles Fuscus</i>). HAE 1869, 1035-1042</p> <p>Camps: perhaps close to Calahorra.</p> |

¹⁸¹⁵ LE ROUX 1982.

¹⁸¹⁶ After the *Bellum Cantabricum* and the reorganization of the territories in the North most of the *legiones* departed and remained only IIII Macedonica, X Gemina and VI Vincitrix which garrisoned in the North-West. In AD 39 IIII Macedonica was envoyed to *Mogontiacum* by Gaius in preparation of the expedition in Britain, cf. LE ROUX 1982, 84-86, MORILLO CERDÁN 2007b, 89-91.

¹⁸¹⁷ This legion and X Gemina are, both being disposed against the Astures and Callici, under a single *legatus*, perhaps suggesting a joint base. This idea may be reinforced by the carrier of the centurion Sabidius who had served simultaneously in VI Victrix and X Gemina: *ita ut in leg. X primum pilum duceret eodem que tempore princeps esset leg. VI* (CIL IX 4122=ILS 2644) but this idea was suggested some years ago and now the common view proposed two different camps.

¹⁸¹⁸ This *legio* left Spain in AD 63 for *Carnuntum* in (Pannonia) although it was to return to Spain soon during the civil wars (Tac. *Ann.* 15.25, 5). Cf. LE ROUX 1982, 103-105.

¹⁸¹⁹ LE ROUX 1982, 105-106. Inscriptons of soldiers: CIL II 2465 add. 706, 2374=5551, 2983.

¹⁸²⁰ Inscriptons of soldiers: CIL II 2545, 2630, 2629, 2631, AE 1904, 160; AE 1908, 112; AE 1928, 163, 179, 180, 189; AE 1953, 168; AE 1969/70, 274=ILS 9239; IGR III 38

¹⁸²¹ JONES 1976, 54; LE ROUX 1982, 89.

¹⁸²² LE ROUX 1982, 89-90.

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| Gallorum ¹⁸²⁴ | ILER 6412: that inscription is not the evidence of the permanence of the <i>cohors</i> in Hispania but the promotion of the citizen Fronto could be possible only if he remained for a certain time in the peninsula. Anyway, it is not possible to assert its presence before AD 69. |
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¹⁸²³ The name derives from the commander Taurus but not knowing the man, it is impossible to date when the *cohors* began to be called also with this name.

¹⁸²⁵ GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1961, 147; LOEWISOHN 1965, 34.

¹⁸²⁶ HAE 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042 (= AE 1961, 345).

¹⁸²⁷ GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1961, 158.

¹⁸²⁸ Jones invites to define the camps found three km away from Castrocalbon as *practice camps* (JONES 1976, 59) but, most likely, we can talk about *camps de manoeuvre or d'entraînement* as Le Roux argues, cf. LE ROUX 1982, 107-108.

¹⁸²⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 1.59, 4. The title *Gallorum* suggests that the recruitment happened in Gallia in the time of Tiberius. The other titles as Flavia were added since the Flavian period, cf. CHRISTOL, LE ROUX 1985, 19.

The armies in the Galliae

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| <p>Legio</p> <p>Detachment of XIV Gemina¹⁸²⁹</p> <p>XIV Gemina Detachment of II Augusta¹⁸³⁰</p> <p>Detachment of IV, XXI¹⁸³¹, XIV¹⁸³²</p> <p>Quartier of XXI, IV</p> <p>Classis Britannica</p> | <p>Camp: Aulnay de Saintonge (<i>Aunedonnacum</i>)¹⁸³³.</p> <p>Mainz¹⁸³⁴</p> <p>Stasbourg¹⁸³⁵.</p> <p>Biesheim-Kunheim: a detachment (legion or equitate auxiliary) for patrol of the road into the interior of Gaul¹⁸³⁶.</p> <p>Boulogne: detachment attested by numerous bricks and inscriptions 8CIL XIII 3542)¹⁸³⁷.</p> |
| <p>Auxilia</p> <p><i>Alae</i></p> <p>Vocontiorum</p> <p><i>Cohortes</i></p> <p>XIII (?)¹⁸³⁸</p> <p>XVII Lugdunensis ad</p> | <p>Evidence of presence of fort or any building activity:</p> <p>Arlaines¹⁸³⁹ : CIL XII 3463</p> <p>Lyon¹⁸⁴⁰: text found at Choulans¹⁸⁴¹</p> <p>Lyon: CIL XIII 1499¹⁸⁴², 11177=ILS 2150. In the second</p> |

¹⁸²⁹ It stationed here till AD 43 when it was recruited for the expedition to Britannia.

¹⁸³⁰ CIL XIII 5975-5978, 11628-11629. 12317.

¹⁸³¹ Wiegels is not sure about its residence, see WIEGELS 1983.

¹⁸³² These *legiones* left epigraphical evidences of their passage but the presence is not archaeologically testified.

¹⁸³³ FERDIÈRE 2005, 164; TRONCHE 1996, 177-187.

¹⁸³⁴ BAATZ 1962; FRANKE 2000.

¹⁸³⁵ REDDÉ 1996b, 203-207.

¹⁸³⁶ REDDÉ 1996c, 207-209.

¹⁸³⁷ SEILIER; GOSSELIN 1969, CIL XIII 3542.

¹⁸³⁸ See also the inscription at Musei Capitolini of Rome but it is not possible to say if this inscription is older than that one found at Choulans, cf. PANCIERA 1987, n° 17.

¹⁸³⁹ REDDÉ 1985.

¹⁸⁴⁰ It is most likely Claudius who installed at Lyon a different kind of military body. The *cohortes* are not yet really *urbanæ* but with a statute similar to the Italian *cohortes* at Ostia and Pozzuoli.

¹⁸⁴¹ BÉRARD 1993a; BÉRARD 1993b, 15-15.

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| monetam | inscription the designation of the cohors as <i>Lugduniensis ad monetam</i> means that it was charged to protect the money nearby the monetary workshop. |
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¹⁸⁴² It is a bronze plaque most likely belonging to a plaque of identification for a piece of military equipment.

The armies in Britannia

Even doubly from archaeological and epigraphic evidences we know that four legions were the invasion force for Britain in AD 43 but unluckily, we do not possess literary or epigraphic evidences to attest precisely the size of the army.

From Tacitus' *Histories*¹⁸⁴³ and from Svetonius biography of Vespasian¹⁸⁴⁴ we are aware that the II Augusta was present in the expedition and that is confirmed also by epigraphic evidences¹⁸⁴⁵. Most likely also the VIII took part of the expedition¹⁸⁴⁶ and now we are able to add also the XX Legio thanks to an inscription attesting the career of Ti. Claudius Balbillus: the sequence of the postholding is not entirely clear but for sure he held a tribunate in the XX Legio, a post as *praefectus fabrum* under Claudius and he was granted with the military decorations for the British triumph in AD 44¹⁸⁴⁷. Anyway still there is no definite proof of the participation of the IX Gemina¹⁸⁴⁸. What helps us to allow retrospectively the indication of the *legiones'* forts is the survival of tombstones to the early years of the campaign¹⁸⁴⁹ together with the literary references to their contribution in the following decades¹⁸⁵⁰. Epigraphic records outside Britain record soldiers and officers who must have served there in the early years of occupation¹⁸⁵¹.

The changes in so a short period of time of different places is determined from the fact that, in this first period of conquest, the camps were essential to establish the power in the country. The displacements show that the *legiones* move in a predetermined way because of the strategies of the governors and the contingent situations.

Here we do not want to trace again the time of the first expansion in Britannia, already matter of debate and study, but only to have an easy schema of the military situation in this moment.

¹⁸⁴³ Tac. *Hist.* 3.4.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Svet. *Div. Vesp.* 4.

¹⁸⁴⁵ ILS 2696.

¹⁸⁴⁶ CIL V 7165, BIRLEY 1981, 364.

¹⁸⁴⁷ AE 1924, 78; DEVIJVER 1976, n° 124; PFLAUM 1960, n° 15.

¹⁸⁴⁸ FRANKE 2000.

¹⁸⁴⁹ *Legio* II: no epigraphic evidence. *Legio* VIII: RIB 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260. *Legio* XIV: RIB 292-294. *Legio* XX: RIB 156, 158, 160, 200, 293; AE 1986, 464.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Tac. *Agr.* 7.26; *Hist.* I, 60; II, 44, *Ann.* XIV, 32, 34, 37, 38.

¹⁸⁵¹ AE 1981, 828; BIRLEY 1981, n° 8; DOBSON 1978, n° 67.

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| Legio ¹⁸⁵² | |
| XX Valeria | Fortress: Colchester (<i>Camulodunum</i>) from AD 43/47 ¹⁸⁵³ , Kingsholm ¹⁸⁵⁴ from AD 47/57. |
| VIII Hispania | Vexillation fortresses ¹⁸⁵⁵ : Longthorp ¹⁸⁵⁶ , Newton on Tren ¹⁸⁵⁷ , Lincoln ¹⁸⁵⁸ from AD 43/52. Fortress: Lincoln ¹⁸⁵⁹ from AD 52. |
| II Augusta | Vexillation fortresses: Lake Farm, Dorchester ¹⁸⁶⁰ and maybe Chichester ¹⁸⁶¹ from AD 43/52 ¹⁸⁶² . Fortress: Exeter ¹⁸⁶³ from AD 52. |
| XIV Gemina | Fortress: Leicester ¹⁸⁶⁴ from AD 43/47, vexillation fortresses: Mancette ¹⁸⁶⁵ , Kinvaston, Wall and probably Metchley ¹⁸⁶⁶ from AD 47/57 ¹⁸⁶⁷ . |

¹⁸⁵² For a short history of the *legiones* before the comig in Britain see KEPPIE 2000, 25-26, 30.

¹⁸⁵³ CRUMMY 1988.

¹⁸⁵⁴ HURST 1988.

¹⁸⁵⁵ They were camps smaller as legionary fortress adopted for vexillation, cf. FRERE 1974, 6.

¹⁸⁵⁶ FRERE 1974, 1-129. According to Webster the *legio* was stationed from AD 45 to AD 66 only at Longthorpe, cf. WEBSTER 1988b; 1993.

¹⁸⁵⁷ FRERE 1967, 1978, 1987.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Only two bases were not enough for all *Legio*: even if the military evidences are not attested before AD 55, thanks to an epigraphical document (RIB 255) that attests the presence of *legio* VIII after AD 55, it is possible to presume that also before the place was occupied by the same *legio*. Hassall suggests a presence of the *legio* both at Lincoln and Leicester, cf. HASALL 2000a, 443; HASALL 2000b, 61.

¹⁸⁵⁹ It is only possible to infer the time when the base was built namely between AD 50 and 60. According to Jones, the absence of *cognomina* of the soldiers in the gravestones does not prove that the construction happened during Claudius' time. Cf. JONES 2003, 112.

¹⁸⁶⁰ FRERE 1974, 89-90, FRERE; ST. JOSEPH 1983, 37-39.

¹⁸⁶¹ CUNLIFFE 1978, 179-180; DOWN 1978, 41-43.

¹⁸⁶² According to Hassall, following Webster, this *legio* has a permanent camp at Silchester but this hypothesis is not confirmed by the Fulkford's excavations between 1970 and 1980 which discovered a timber building underneath the *forum* complex. Hassall claims that this building, dated by the archeologist between AD 55 and AD 65, was the timber *principia*. He says, as well, that Dorchester and Lake Farm were occupied only between AD 49/55 cf. HASSALL 2000a, 443; HASSAL 2000b, 61-63.

¹⁸⁶³ HENDERSON 1988, 92-107.

¹⁸⁶⁴ WEBSTER 1980, 125; according to Goodburn the timber structures are dated to a Flavian period, cf. GOODBURN 1978, 435.

¹⁸⁶⁵ WEBSTER 2003, 47-49.

¹⁸⁶⁶ WEBSTER 2003, 65-71.

¹⁸⁶⁷ They are not mentioned by Hassall, cf. HASSALL 2000a; HASSAL 2000b.

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| <p><i>Auxilia</i></p> <p><i>Alae</i></p> <p><i>Cohortes</i></p> <p>I Ala Thracum</p> | <p>Evidence of fort or any building activity:</p> <p>No <i>alae</i> attested for that period.</p> <p>The fort at Goabecks¹⁸⁶⁸ is too small to accommodate also a cavalry so it is possible that the <i>cohors</i> was at Colchester with Legio XX Valeria.</p> |
|--|---|

¹⁸⁶⁸ WILSON 1977.

The armies in Noricum

Claudius did not continue his predecessor's military policy when the army had been stationed in the interior; now parts of them at least were moved up to the Danube frontier. It is not known whether units remained in the interior as before, but the strong point on the Magdalensberg at any rate, where legionary and auxiliary detachments had previously been stationed, was now given up at the same time as the settlements was abandoned while forts were built on the Danube: *Lentia* (Linz), *Augustiana* (Traismauer) and Zwentendorf. For *Lauriacum* (Enns-Lorch) the situation is more complicated because till the 60's it was thought that already Claudius had established a fort for *auxilia* but recent discoveries have proved that the fort were constructed in the end of 1st century AD ¹⁸⁶⁹

Whether the number of Claudian forts on the Danube was still larger remains for the time uncertain, since several forts have not yet been adequately excavated.

| | |
|---|--|
| Legio Not attested | |
| Auxilia <i>Alae</i> Auriana ¹⁸⁷⁰ <i>Cohortes</i> I Montanorum ¹⁸⁷¹ | Evidence of presence of fort or any building activity: Camp: according to Polaschek ¹⁸⁷² at <i>Augustiana</i> (Traismauer) Camp: <i>Virunum</i> (till the first half of the 1st century AD) Known inscriptions ¹⁸⁷³ : Marius Ruticini f. ¹⁸⁷⁴ (CIL III 4849) ¹⁸⁷⁵ , Ti. Iulius Adgelei f. (CIL III 4844=11509) ¹⁸⁷⁶ , Ti. Iulius Giamilli f. Sexius (CIL III 11554) ¹⁸⁷⁷ ; Ti. Iulius |

¹⁸⁶⁹ For a summary of the recent discoveries with bibliography see GENSER 1986, UBL 2002.

¹⁸⁷⁰ According to Wagner and Pavan, this *ala* is attested only in Aquincum before AD 69 when it was recruited for the civil war against Vitellius. PAVAN 1955, 384; WAGNER 1938, 15.

¹⁸⁷¹ PAVAN 1956, 61; WAGNER 1938, 168-169. OTTO 1995, 112. Ritterling thinks that the *Montani* were originated from *Ligures* in *Alpes Maritimae* but the *cognomen* indicates a celtic origin, cf. RITTERLIG 1927, 86-89. While Jantsch considers this *cohors* as local, cf. JANTSCH 1933, 8. For the existence of two or more units of the same *cohortes* see ŠAŠEL 1986, 782-786.

¹⁸⁷² POLASCHEK, LADENBAUER-OREL 1948.

¹⁸⁷³ See also online the database www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Only *Marius Ruticini f.* had 25 years of service and he was *peregrinus* while for the others it seems that they had the citizenship from Tiberus after a minimum of 30 years of military service, cf. RITTERLIG 1927, 86-89, WINKLER 1969, 24-25; WINKLER 1976, 105.

¹⁸⁷⁵ BETZ 1935, n° 434; KRAFT 1951, n° 1665.

¹⁸⁷⁶ BETZ 1935, n° 430; KRAFT 1951, n° 1661.

¹⁸⁷⁷ BETZ 1935, n° 432; KRAFT 1951, n° 1662.

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|--|---|
| | Adsemi f. Taulus (CIL III 4847) ¹⁸⁷⁸ , Ti: Iulius Condolli f. Capatius and Ti. Iulius Crigalo (CIL III 4846) ¹⁸⁷⁹ ; Ti. Iulius Venimari f. Fronto (AE 1954, 100). |
|--|---|

¹⁸⁷⁸ BETZ 1935, n° 433; KRAFT 1951, n° 1663.

¹⁸⁷⁹ BEZT 1935, n° 431; KRAFT 1951, n° 1664 a/b.

Civitates appendix

Here are listed the *civitates* at the time of Claudius after the work of Bedon¹⁸⁸⁰ who has used ancient sources, epigraphical and archaeological evidences. Remarkable is the fact that the amount of the *civitates* is exactly the same as cited by Tacitus.

Aquitania

Cities and civitates of primitive Aquitania

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| AQUAE TARBELLICAE (Dax) | Tarbelli |
| ATURA (Aire-sut. L'Adour) | Tarausates |
| BIGORRA (?) (St- Lézer) | Bigerri |
| BOII o BOIAS (Lamothe) | Boiates |
| BURDIGALIA (Bordeaux) | Biturges Viuisi |
| ELIUMBERRUM (Auch) | Auscii |
| ELUSA o TASTA (Eauze) | Elusates |
| LACTORA (Lectorure) | Lactorates |

Civitates added

| | |
|---|----------------|
| LUGDUNUM CONVENARUM (St-Bertrand-de C.) | Connenae |
| AGINNUN (Agen) | Nitiobroges |
| ANDERITUM (Javols) | Gabales |
| AVARICUM (Bourges) | Bituriges Cubi |
| AUGUSTONEMETUM (Clemont-F.) | Aruerni |
| AUGUSTORITUM (Limoges) | Lemouices |
| DIVONA (Cahors) | Cadurci |
| LEMONUM (Poitiers) | Pictones |
| MEDIOLANUM (Saintes) | Santones |
| RUESSIO (Saint-Paulien) | Vellaii |
| SEGODUNUM (Rodez) | Ruteni |
| VESUNNA (Périgueux) | Petrocorii |

¹⁸⁸⁰ BEDON 1999, 86-106.

Lugdunensis

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| AGEDINCUM (Sens) | Senones |
| ARAEGENUAE (Vieux) | Viducasses |
| AUGUSTOBONA (Troyes) | Tricasses |
| AUGUSTODUNUM (Autun) | Aedui |
| AUGUSTODURUM (Bayeux) | Baiocasses |
| ATRICUM (Chartres) | Carnutes |
| CAESARODUNUM (Tours) | Turones |
| CONDATE RIEDONUM (Rennes) | Riedones |
| CONDEVICNUN (Nantes) | Nammetes |
| CROCIATONUM (Carentan) | Unelli |
| DARIORITUM (Vannes) | Veneti |
| FANUM MARTIS (Corseul) | Coriosolites |
| FORUM SEGUSIAVORUM (Feurs) | Segusiaui |
| IATINUM (Meaux) | Meldii |
| IULIOBONA (Lillebonne) | Caleti |
| IULIOMAGUS (Angers) | Andecauï |
| IGENIA/LEGEDIA (Avranches) | Abricantes |
| LUGDUNUM (Lyon) | <Segusiaui> |
| LUTETIA (Paris) | Parisii |
| MEDIOLANUM (Évreux) | Aulerci eburovices |
| NOVIODUNUM (Jublians) | Aulerci diablintes |
| NOVIOMAGUS (Lisieux) | Lexouii |
| ROTOMAGUS (Rouen) | Veliocasses |
| VINDUNIUM (Le Mans) | Aulerci Cenomani |
| VORGIUM (Carhaix) | Osismi |

Belgica

| | |
|------------------------|----------|
| ANDEMANTUNUM (Langres) | lingones |
| ATUATUCA (Tongres) | Tungri |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| AVENTICUM (Avenches) | Helvuetii |
| AUGUSTA SESSIONUM (Soissons) | Suessiones |
| AUGUSTA TREVERORUM (Trèves) | Treveri |
| AUGUSTA VIROMANDORUM (Saint-Querin) | Viromandui |
| AUGUSTOMAGUS (Senlis) | Siluanectes |
| BAGACUM (Bavay) | Neruii |
| BROCOMAGUS (Brumath) | Triboci |
| CAESAROMAGUS (Beauvais) | Bellouaci |
| CASTELLUM MENAPIORUM (Cassel) | Menapii |
| DIVODURUM (Metz) | Mediomatrici |
| DUROCORTORUM (Reims) | Remi |
| EQUESTRIS <NOVIODONUM> (Nyon) | <Helveetii> |
| NEMETACUM (Arras) | Atrebates |
| OPPICA UBIORORUM und COLONIA AGRIPPENENSIS (Cologne) | Ubi |
| RAURICA (Augst) | Rauraci |
| SAMAROBIVA (Amiens) | Ambiani |
| TRVANNA (Thérouanne) | Morini |
| TULLUM (Toul) | Leuci |
| VESONTIO (Besançon) | Sequani |

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Frequently cited works:

AIJ= Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien

BMC= Coins of the roman empire in the british museum, London.

EE= Ephemeris epigraphica

ERL= Epigrafia romana de Lérida.

I.A.M.lat. = Inscriptions latines du Maroc. Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc.

IAN =Inscriptiones antiquae de Nimes.

IGR= Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.

ILA= Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine

ILGN= Inscriptions latines des Gaule Narbonnaise.

ILM= Inscriptions latines du Maroc.

IL Afr = Inscriptiones latines d'Afrique.

IL Alg= Inscriptions latines d'Algerie.

ILTG =Inscriptiones latines de trois Gaules.

ILTun= Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie.

ILA Vallaves =Inscriptiones latine d'Aquitaine. Vallaves.

ILER= Inscriptiones latinas de la España romana.

ILS= Inscriptiones latinae selectae 1892-1915.

IRB= Inscriptiones romanas de Barcelona.

IRC I, II= Inscriptions romanes de Catalogne.

IRPacensis= Inscriptiões romanas do Conventus Pacensis.

IRPC= Inscriptiones romana de la provincia de Cadiz.

IRT= Iscriptions of roman Tripolitania.

HAE=Hispania antica epigrafica.

RIB=Roman inscriptions of Britain.aeminiu

RIC I= Roman imperial coinage.

RIC I²= The roman imperial coinage (2nd edition).

RIG: Recrueil des inscriptions gauloises. I, Textes gallo-grecs, II, 1, Texts gallo- latins sur pierre.

RIT= Römische Inschriften von Tarraco.

Journals:

AAC= Anales de arqueologia cordobesa

AEspA= Archivo Español de Arqueologia

AJPh= America journal of philology

Annales (ESC)= Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)

AntAfr= Antiquités Africaines

ArchCl= Archeologia Classica

AS= Archäologie der Schweiz; Archéologie suisse; Archeologia Svizzera

AttiMemSocIstr= Atti e memoria della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria

AV= Arhološki Vestnik

BAH= Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hippone

BAM= Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine

BCTH=Bulletin archaéologique de Comité de travaux historiques et scientifiques, Paris

BSocNatAntF= Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France

BJ= Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseum in Bonn und des Rheinische Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege

BolMusArqNac= Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional

BSNAF= Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, Paris.

BVBL= Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter

BZG= Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde

CCG=Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz

CQ=Classical Quarterly

FÖ= Fundbereich aus Österreich

GMDS= Glasnik Muzejsko Društava za Slovenjo

G&R= Greece and Rome.

Herts. Arch= Hertfordshire archaeology and history

IVRA= Rivista internazionale di diritto romano ed antico

Les Dossiers du Ce. R.A.A.= Les dossiers du centre régional archéologique d'Alet

JbAK= Jahresberichte aus Augts und Kaiseraugst

JbSGUF= Jahrbuch des Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur-(und Früh) Geschichte

JBZMusMainz= Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz

JDI= Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts

JSAH= Journal of the Society of architectural historians

MCV= Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez

MDAI (M)=Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Madrid
MDAI (R)=Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
MenSocAMidi= Mémoires de la société archéologique du midi de la France
OJA= Oxford journal of archaeology
ÖJh (B) = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes (Beiblatt)
ÖJh= Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
PAR= Pro Austria Romana
ProcBritAc= Proceedings of the British Academy
PSBR= Papers of the British School at Rome
QuadStLun= Quaderni del Centro di Studi Lunensi
RA= Revue archéologique
RAE= Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est
RAf= Revue Africaine
RAL= Rendiconti. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche
RBPhl= Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RE= Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
REA= Revue des études anciennes
REL= Revue des études latines
RevArchOuest= Revue archéologique de l'ouest
RH= Revue historique
Rh. Mus.= Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RIL= Rendiconti. Istituto lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Scienze morali e storiche
RÖ= Römisches Österreich
RPhil= Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
RSA= Rivista storica dell'antichità
RSN= revue suisse de numismatique
SBAW= Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist.-Klasse
StudClas= Studii clasice
TAPA= Transactions and Proceedings of the American philological association
ŽA= Živa Antika

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