

FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE: REFLECTIONS ON THE EARLY PROVINCIAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE ROMAN WEST

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(Plates I-III)

Nobody who has worked in the field of late Republican and early Imperial Rome can fail to be aware how remarkably little archaeological evidence we have of any specifically Roman presence in the provinces of which Rome was in political and military control during the last century of the Republic. In the east, where she was faced with a civilization older and richer than her own, this is intelligible enough. But for the student of the spread of Roman institutions and ideas in the west the gap is embarrassing. In Roman Britain we have no difficulty whatever in identifying the Gallic precedents for the settlement that followed the Roman conquest. But what lay behind the Caesarian and Augustan settlement in Gaul itself? In terms of the recent history of the area it would be reasonable to expect that in the south, at any rate, it should have been rooted in local Republican Roman practice; and yet there is remarkably little evidence of any such roots in the surviving remains. Much the same is true of Spain and Africa. Why is this? Is it that the impact of the early Imperial settlement was so strong that it swept away all trace of what had gone before? Or is it simply that the Republican Roman presence in these territories was not of a character to leave any substantial mark on the archaeological record?

That is one of the questions which I want to discuss. The other is more generally to ask what, in terms of the archaeological remains, were the effective sources of the Augustan settlement when it did come. To keep the enquiry within manageable limits I shall be talking only of architecture and town-planning. There are, of course, other fields in which the archaeological record is both rich and potentially articulate—fine metalwork, for example, or the pottery table-wares which were its everyday substitute. But few of these possible alternatives are likely to be so revealing of official policies as the new cities that sprang up in the wake of Roman rule, their lay-outs and the types of building that were used in them.

To the first of these questions, whether the apparent gap in the archaeological record gives a true picture of the state of affairs in antiquity, one can answer with some confidence that there really was remarkably little building of a specifically Roman character in these territories before the Empire. The absence of surviving Republican Roman remains is in such striking contrast both to what followed and to the palpable evidence of native continuity over the same period that it is hard to believe that it can be accounted for merely by the accidents of survival.

Gallia Narbonensis, for example, is a region in which the vigour and originality of the early Imperial provincial architecture might well be thought to argue a background of local Republican practice; and yet there is hardly a monument of consequence that can be ascribed with any confidence to this earlier period. Even the Tourmagne above Nîmes, long thought to be a signal tower guarding the Via Domitia, has now been shown to be an integral part of the defensive circuit of the Augustan city.¹ There must, of course, have been Roman garrisons along the road, and at other strategic points within the occupied coastal territory. We hear specifically of those at Aquae Sextiae, the modern Aix-en-Provence, and at Tolosa (Toulouse), and there were probably others.² There was also the colony of Narbo Martius, established in 118 B.C. on the site of the modern Narbonne. With the presumable exception of the latter, however, there is no evidence from any of

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¹ *Gallia* XII (1954), 534, citing J. Formigé, *Bull. Soc. Antiq. Fr.* n.s. III (1950), 67-74. See previously I. A. Richmond in *Antiquity* v (1931), 347.

² Aquae Sextiae: Livy, *per.* 61 (but it was not a *colonia*). Tolosa: Dio XXVII, fr. 90. See also E. Badian, *Mélanges A. Piganiol* (1966) II, 903-4.

these sites of anything more than the installations needed for the housing and protection of the garrisons and for the maintenance of the roads. As for the Roman merchants, they were already active spreading the more portable externals of Roman culture both within and beyond the frontiers, but they can never have been a major factor in determining the architectural picture.

It is a very great pity that we know virtually nothing about the Republican city of Narbo Martius. Here at least one would have expected to find something of the amenities of contemporary Italian life. Another important source of Italian influence must have been the military roads and the *castella* of the garrisons, which did undoubtedly play an important part in the eventual Romanization of the provinces in which they were installed. But there is nothing whatever to suggest that they were established with this in mind, or indeed that there was at this time anything that one could describe as a deliberate policy of cultural Romanization. If anything, the account of the senatorial reaction to the foundation of Narbo³ suggests that there was considerable reluctance to envisage such a policy. Republican Spain was in essence a territory to be exploited and denied to others, and Narbonensis, as Professor Badian has recently reminded us,⁴ was at this stage little more than a road to Spain, administered virtually as an extension of northern Italy. The externals of life must have remained very much what they had been before the arrival of Rome. One must remember too that the earliest expansion of Rome was almost entirely into regions where life on the Mediterranean model was already firmly established. The pattern was familiar and Rome could take it over very much as it stood. It was not really until the conquest of the Three Gauls that she was faced with the problem of imposing this pattern upon a whole vast territory to which it was new and alien.

So far the evidence cited is negative. In Spain, which at this early date was the western province that really mattered, we are unfortunately still very ill-served, archaeologically speaking. But in Narbonensis, the excavations at Glanum, near Saint-Rémy-de-Provence,⁵ do provide a very vivid and instructive glimpse of the externals of daily life during the period in question. Glanum was a small market town and trading station on the fringes of the territory of Massilia, a short distance off the line of the Via Domitia. It first took shape as a substantial inhabited centre just about at the time of the Roman occupation of the territory, perhaps indeed as a direct result of it, and it is all the more significant therefore that the architecture of this first phase is not Roman at all, but provincial Hellenistic, no doubt reflecting that of Massilia itself. Its most distinctive and characteristic remains are those of the houses, which are neither the atrium houses of Latium nor the mixed atrium-peristyle houses of Campania but a version, and a surprisingly sophisticated version at that, of the colonnaded courtyard houses of the Hellenistic world, best known to us from the houses of Delos. The sanctuaries of Glanum were, as one might have expected, at first of native Celtic-Ligurian type, still barely feeling their way towards expression in classical architectural terms.⁶ The only substantial public building from this early phase is a small rectangular *bouleuterion* of the same Hellenistic Greek type as was adopted by the Romans themselves for the Curia in the Forum Romanum.

Romanization, when it came to Glanum, followed a broadly predictable course, the building materials and techniques and the forms of everyday domestic architecture retaining much of their local character side by side with substantial innovations in the public sphere. There are the remains of several early Imperial pedimental temples, prostyle or *in antis*, of which one was certainly Augustan, dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar. There are the substructures of a basilica with an adjoining rectangular forum, and a large, well-equipped public bath-building. Another public monument is the well-known arch, and beside it, falling into no clearly-defined category, stands the Monument of the Julii.

All of these are early Imperial buildings, none probably later than the middle of the first century A.D., and with all of them we are on broadly familiar ground. The frontally disposed pedimental temple on a podium, the basilica, the monumental arch, the bath-

³ Traditionally 118 B.C., but probably a few years later; H. B. Mattingly (*Hommages à Albert Grenier* III, 1159-71) suggests 110. For senatorial opposition, Cic., *pro Cluent.* 31, 140; *Brut.* 43, 160.

⁴ *op. cit.* 901-18.

⁵ H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum* (I^{re} Suppl. à *Gallia*, 1946).

⁶ H. Rolland, 'Le Sanctuaire des Glaniques', *Hommages à Albert Grenier* III, 1339-46.

building, all of these are typical of contemporary Italy. Even the mausoleum is of a type which, though less obviously localized, was widely represented in Italy also, at Sarsina, at Aquileia, at Nettuno and at Terni.⁷ The only building that calls for a brief further word of comment is the bath-complex.⁸ This was built after (but the excavators think not very long after) 42 B.C., and it follows the well-known pattern in which the actual baths are disposed along one side of a porticoed palaestra. It is the earliest known example in Gaul of what was for several centuries to be one of the standard types of the bath-building throughout the Gallic provinces: at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, for example, in the North Baths (Fig. 1, *b*), or in the second of the two bath-buildings at Drevant (Cher), the ancient Derventum.⁹ In Italy it is conveniently referred to as the 'Pompeian' type, after such well-known buildings as the Stabian Baths and the Forum Baths (Fig. 1, *a*), and it certainly originated in Campania, whence it subsequently spread throughout the peninsula. The *Thermae* of Agrippa in Rome were essentially of this type writ large, and it remained characteristic of the lesser *balnea* of the capital (Plate I) long after the introduction of more elaborate, symmetrical schemes later in the first century A.D.¹⁰

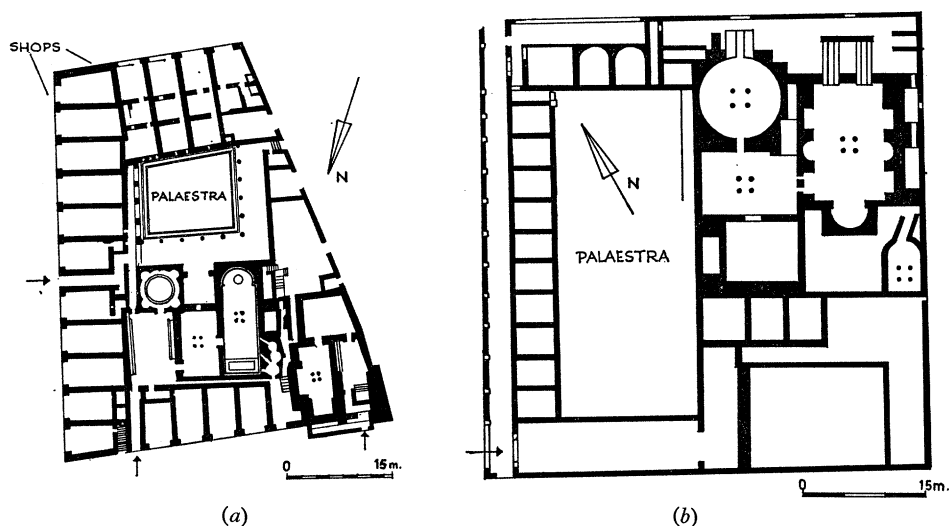


FIG. 1. (a) POMPEII: THE CENTRAL BATHS
(b) LUGDUNUM CONVENARUM (SAINT-BERTRAND-DE-COMMINGES): THE NORTH BATHS
After A. Maiuri, 'Pompeii' (1938), fig. 4 and Grenier, 'Manuel' IV, 1, fig. 89

The picture conveyed by Glanum is clear and consistent. It is that of a locally inspired Hellenistic architecture which contrived to retain its identity with very little substantial change under the rule of Republican Rome, but which thereafter underwent a rapid transformation through the introduction of new types of building based on Italian models. Glanum is only a single site, and one would welcome the confirmation of other sites with a similarly continuous history across the period in question. But, such as it is, the evidence of Glanum is quite explicit in indicating that the direct architectural impact of Republican Rome upon the western provinces was slight.

All this was changed under the terms of the Augustan settlement. There has in the past been much discussion as to whether it was Augustus himself or Caesar who was the primary architect of the settlement, with correspondingly divergent estimates of which, if any, of the monuments of Narbonensis may be ascribed to Caesar and to the period immediately following his death, and which to Augustus and his successors. To cite a single notorious example, the Arch at Orange has at one time or other been dated all the way from

⁷ G. Brusin and V. de Grassi, *Il Mausoleo di Aquileia* (Padua, 1956). Sarsina: S. Aurigemma, *Palladio* I (1937), 41-52. Nettuno: G. Giovannoni, *Roma* XXI (1943), 378-9. Terni: *Not. d. Scavi* 1907, 646-7.

⁸ Rolland, *Fouilles* (op. cit.), 49-76. A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéol. gallo-romaine* IV (1960), 245-50.

⁹ Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Grenier, op. cit. 284-8, fig. 89. Drevant: *ibid.* 296-7, fig. 94.

¹⁰ e.g. the *Balnea Surae* on the Aventine: G. Carettoni et al., *La Pianta Marmorea di Roma Antica* (Rome, 1960), 79, fr. 21, pl. xxiii. The Neptune Baths at Ostia are in the same tradition.

Caesar to Antoninus Pius. Today, thanks to a systematic (and long overdue) study undertaken since the war,¹¹ we can see that it is in fact almost certainly of Tiberian date, erected probably between A.D. 21 and 27. The Arch at Orange is one only of a number of key monuments of which the chronology is at last being put on a firm basis by detailed observation and study, and we can now begin to see the whole problem in far better perspective than was possible even a few years ago.

Even in the two posthumous Caesarian *coloniae* established in 43 B.C. by L. Munatius Plancus, Augusta Raurica (Augst) and Lugdunum (Lyon), there is not much that can be securely vouched for as pre-Augustan. At Augst we have the neat rectangular grid of streets.¹² At Lyon, where the recent researches of M. Audin have done so much to add to our knowledge of the early city, the Roman town-plan was an adaptation of that of an already existing Gaulish city; but there are the remains of at least one monumental building of Roman type, a porticoed enclosure that was partly demolished to make way for the Augustan theatre.¹³ These are important exceptions, and they suggest that, had Caesar lived, many of the terms of the Augustan settlement might well have been anticipated by a quarter of a century. But although the ideas may in many cases go back to Caesar, the actual settlement emerges every day more clearly as the work of Agrippa, after 19 B.C. At Nîmes, for example, the main street-grid, the forum and its principal temple (the Maison Carrée), the city-walls and gates, the aqueduct and the first formal systematization of the sacred spring, all of these can now be shown either to be his work or else to follow directly upon it. The decade between 20 and 10 B.C. was one of intense urban activity, and it saw the establishment of the framework within which the cities of Narbonensis were to develop for the next hundred years and more.

(In parenthesis it should be added that the very vigour of the Augustan settlement has led to much misunderstanding in the other sense. Not by any means all of the 'Augustan' monuments of Narbonensis are in fact of Augustan date. To quote a single example, the amphitheatre at Nîmes is now generally recognized as a Flavian monument.¹⁴ It is easy to see how such mistakes could arise. The original lay-out of a town such as Augst was designed for precisely the sort of development that did in fact take place. At the same time the conservatism of local building techniques favoured the copying of the Augustan models; there was nothing comparable in Gaul to the revolution in architectural ideas and building practices that was taking place in Rome itself and in Central Italy. In Provence, as in many other provinces, the architecture of the first century A.D. was devoted very largely to the working-out of the ideas established locally under Augustus.)

Architecturally speaking it seems, then, that the settlement in Gaul was very largely an Augustan creation. What were the sources on which Augustus's planners and architects were drawing?

Some undoubtedly were local. Building materials, for example, and building techniques remained substantially as they had been before, except for the opening of new quarries and for the gradual introduction of the faced rubblework which was the local version of Roman concrete. Religious architecture was another conservative field, domestic architecture yet another. The houses of Vaison-la-romaine and of Aix-en-Provence stem more or less directly from the sort of peristyle house which we have already observed at Glanum, with remarkably little trace of direct influence of the Italian type current in Latium and Campania.¹⁵ On the other hand, as again we have already remarked at Glanum, there were no local precedents for the basilicas and fora, for the bath-buildings, amphitheatres, theatres and aqueducts, or for the classical-type state temples, all of which were part of the stock-in-trade of Gallo-Roman architecture. These were established Italian building types and must have been imported ready-made from Italy.

¹¹ R. Amy *et al.*, *L'Arc d'Orange* (XVe Suppl. à *Gallia*, 1962). But see P. Mingazzini, *Röm. Mitt.* LXXV (1968), 163-7.

¹² R. Laur-Belart, *Führer durch Augusta Raurica*² (Basle, 1948).

¹³ A. Audin, *La Topographie de Lugdunum* (Lyon, 1958), *passim*; id., 'Fouilles en avant du théâtre de Lyon', *Gallia* xxv (1967), 11-48.

¹⁴ G. Lugli, *Riv. Ist. Naz. Arch. e Storia dell'Arte* XIII-XIV (1964-65), 145-99. R. Etienne, *Mélanges A. Piganiol* II, 985-1010.

¹⁵ e.g. Vaison, House of the Silver Bust: J. Sautel, *Vaison dans l'antiquité* I (Avignon, 1941), 91-101; Grenier, *op. cit.* III, 2, fig. 53. Aix-en-Provence, house with a Rhodian peristyle: F. Benoit, *Gallia* v (1947), 98-122.

We can, however, I think be more precise than that. I would like to suggest that in the form in which they reached Gaul these were the building types current in provincial Italy, and specifically in that part of provincial Italy which had been until very recently Cisalpine Gaul. It is a great mistake to regard the archaeology and architecture of Republican Italy as if it were a mere reflection and extension of that of Rome itself. In many respects of course it was. For example, of the building types just referred to, the basilica and the arcaded aqueduct were undoubtedly first developed in the capital. But this is only part of the story. The Roman theatre, for example, the amphitheatre and the bath-building were developed first in Campania, which as late as the first century A.D. was still an important creative centre in its own right. Magna Graecia is another area where the excavation of sites such as Agrigento, Morgantina and Velia is revealing a distinctive architectural personality, related to but rather more conservatively Hellenistic than that of contemporary Campania. By comparison, Cisalpine Gaul must have been far more directly dependent on Rome. Here, during the last two centuries of the Republic, Rome was up against the very problem which later she had to face beyond the Alps, namely the creation of an urban civilization of Mediterranean type amongst a people who had had only a very rudimentary experience of city life. On the other hand, neither the social nor the political background were those of central Italy, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the architecture of the new cities came to acquire a character of its own. Cisalpine Gaul, if anywhere, was the school in which the architects of the early Imperial European provinces learned their craft.

So far, so good. Unfortunately there is not, so far as I know, a single Roman building in North Italy that is certainly pre-Augustan and still substantially unstanding. Most of the colonies and other cities founded during this period have been continuously occupied ever since. Apart from Aquileia, the earliest levels of which have been barely scratched, there is no obvious North Italian equivalent to Ostia or Pompeii; and the techniques of meticulous excavation and record within a living city, which in our own austerer climes have yielded so much of the ancient history of Chester and Lincoln, of London, Winchester and Canterbury, have still to be applied in Italy.

We know sadly little in detail about the Republican cities of the north, but we do know one important fact. We know that all, or almost all, of them were orthogonal in plan, laid out in a series of uniform, usually square, blocks of houses about a grid of streets intersecting at right angles to each other. The idea of such orthogonal planning had already a long history behind it, though not so long as used to be believed when it was thought to be part of the prehistoric heritage of the Italic peoples of central and northern Italy. It was in fact introduced by the Greek colonists of the south in the seventh or early sixth centuries B.C., and from them it passed as early as the late sixth century to the Etruscans and a century or so later to the Romans. The Romans applied and adapted it with characteristic thoroughness, combining it wherever appropriate with the centuriation of the surrounding countryside.

Cosa, founded in 273 B.C. as a military colony on the coast of central Etruria, is a very good instance of the two aspects of Roman orthogonal planning that are of particular relevance in the present context. One is that, although by this date Roman architects and planners had the experience and skill to adapt very successfully a plan of this sort to the irregular contours of a rugged hill-top site, the architectural possibilities inherent in such planning were far more easily to be developed in open, level terrain. In central Italy, military necessity and geographical circumstance usually dictated the choice of a naturally defensible hill-top site. The original settlement at Ostia, sited four-square on flat, open ground at the mouth of the Tiber, shows what the architects of the end of the fourth century were capable of when given an opportunity; but it was an exception. The almost exactly contemporary colony of Alba Fucens¹⁶ is in every way more typical of its place and age. The other aspect of this orthogonal planning which Cosa illustrates is that not only did it first develop in, but it also continued to be most naturally and fruitfully applied to, *new* sites, whether these were Greek colonies, the new cities of the Hellenistic East, Etruscan Marzabotto, or Roman Ostia. Existing cities could be tidied up and embellished in accordance with contemporary ideas of planning. But it was in the new foundations of each successive age that the ideas as such were worked out.

¹⁶ Most recently, J. Mertens (ed.), *Alba Fucens I* (Brussels, 1969).

Both of these factors were operative in the Po valley, where a great many of the late Republican cities *were* new foundations, and a great many were also founded on flat, almost featureless sites. In terms of planning, this was inevitably the great area of later Republican experiment, and it is here that we find not only many of the finest and most extensive examples of centuriation, but also a large number of towns of which the present-day plans still echo the regular lay-outs of the original Roman foundations. Cities such as Placentia (Piacenza, founded in 218 B.C. ; Plate II, 1), Comum (refounded with Latin rights in 89 B.C. ;

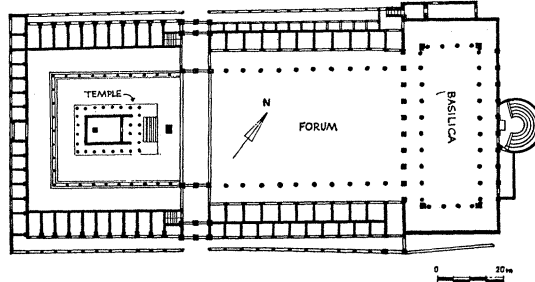


FIG. 2. AUGUSTA RAURICA (AUGST): FORUM, BASILICA AND TEMPLE
After R. Laur-Belart, 'Führer durch Augusta Raurica' 1948, plan 1

Plate II, 2) and Ticinum (Pavia, created a municipium in 49 B.C.) will serve as examples of what was a very common phenomenon. From North Italy, these ideas travelled naturally and easily to the adjoining provinces. Augusta Praetoria (Aosta, founded in 25 B.C.) is geographically as well as chronologically significant in this respect. Although it is usually cited as the last military colony to be founded on what is today Italian soil, the territory which it controlled was in fact at the time newly conquered, and the purpose of the *colonia*

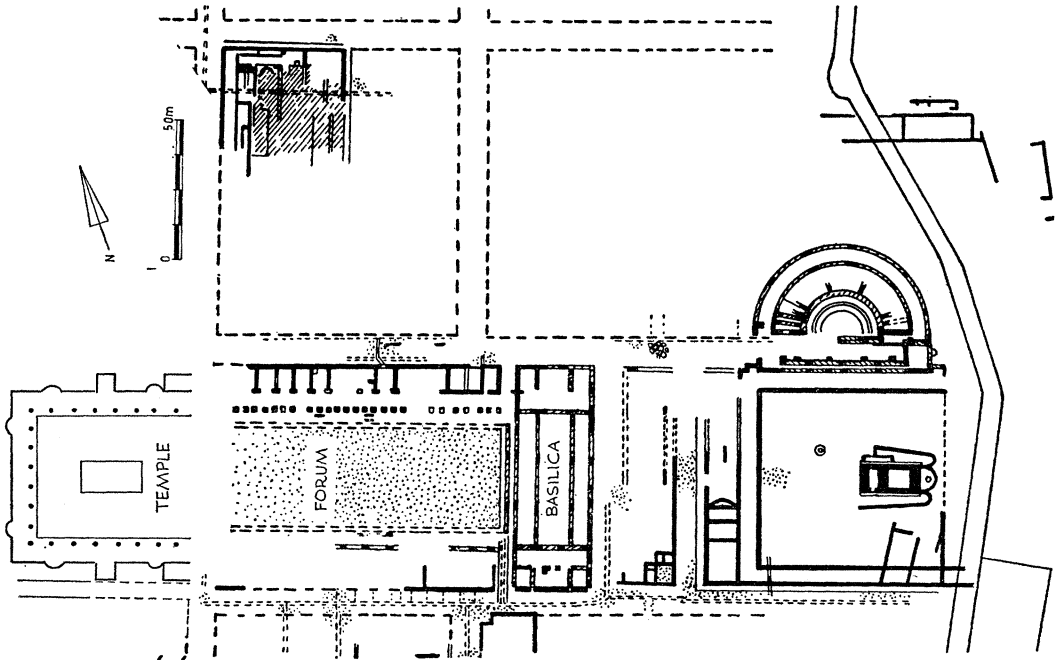


FIG. 3. AUGUSTA BAGIENNORUM (BENEVAGIENNA): FORUM, BASILICA AND TEMPLE
After *Inscr. Italiae IX, 1, pl. II, with modifications based on Not. d. Scavi, 1951, 203-11*

was to assure communications with Gaul. Such planning was to become standard practice in the Gallic foundations of Augustus. Exactly what this meant one can see very clearly at Arausio (Orange), where not only are there clear traces on the ground both of the Roman street-plan within the town and of the centuriation of the surrounding countryside, but also large fragments of the official marble map upon which property-holdings were recorded.¹⁷

¹⁷ A. Piganiol, *Les Documents cadastraux de la colonie d'Orange* (XVIe Suppl. à *Gallia*, 1962).

In sites such as this the Augustan surveyors of the new Gallic cities were unquestionably following the practice and experience of the previous two centuries in Cisalpine Gaul.

The same conclusion follows from the study of some of the individual types of building which regularly accompany this gridded planning both in Gaul and in North Italy. Even if we do not have actual surviving buildings of Republican date in Cisalpine Gaul, the broad uniformity of the early Imperial pattern affords a strong presumption of its derivation from local Republican models. Let us look briefly at a few of these recurrent building types.

One of the most distinctive and frequently discussed of these is the forum-basilica complex. This might or might not have a temple in some symmetrical relationship to it, usually but by no means invariably facing the basilica from the opposite end of an elongated rectangular forum enclosure. In its fully developed form this is what we see at Augst (Fig. 2). There the complex, as it now stands, cannot be earlier than the second century A.D., the

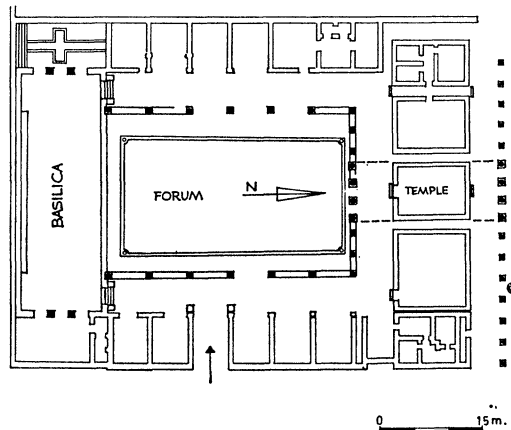


FIG. 4. VELLEIA, NEAR MODENA: FORUM AND BASILICA. THE GABLED BUILDING INCORPORATED INTO THE NORTH PORTICO, FACING THE BASILICA, IS PRESUMABLY A TEMPLE. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE FOR THE NATURE OF THE NORTH FAÇADE OF THE BASILICA; THE WELL-KNOWN SERIES OF JULIO-CLAUDIAN STATUES, NOW AT PARMA, STOOD ALONG THE BENCH AGAINST THE OPPOSITE, SOUTH WALL

Redrawn and slightly simplified from S. Aurigemma, 'Velleia' (1940)

two apses of the basilica no doubt imitating those of the Basilica Ulpia in Rome, a type of building which was itself a newcomer to Rome and which evidently in its turn enjoyed enormous prestige throughout the western provinces. This might at first glance seem to give comfort to those who hold that Trajan's Forum was a translation into civil terms of a planning formula evolved in the military camps of the Rhineland. The truth would seem, however, to be that the element which it had in common with the military architecture of the northern frontiers was one, not of direct derivation, one from the other, but rather of a shared derivation from a common source, namely the urban architecture of provincial Italy. The formula is one which we find already in 5/4 B.C. at Augusta Bagiennorum, in Piemonte (Fig. 3) and under Augustus or Tiberius at Velleia, near Modena (Fig. 4),¹⁸ and in a whole series of early forum-basilica complexes in Central Italy: at Alba Fucens in the Abruzzi, at Saepinum between Benevento and Campobasso, at Lucus Feroniae a short distance north of Rome, and now, very recently, at Herdonia (Ortona) in northern Apulia, south-east of Foggia (Fig. 5).¹⁹ All of these are of Augustan or Julio-Claudian date, and the basilicas themselves are of a type that is closely derived from the second century B.C. basilicas of the Forum Romanum, with an internal ambulatory and one long side opening on to the forum. A basilica of this type had been added in the second century B.C. to the already-existing forum at Cosa, and the basilica at Ardea is perhaps not much later. From such beginnings it was only a short, though in terms of planning a decisive, step to the

¹⁸ Augusta Bagiennorum: *Inscr. Ital.* IX, I (1948), Tab. II (after *Atti Soc. Piemontese di Archeologia* X, 1925); although neither the excavation nor the publication are wholly satisfactory, the main lines of the city-centre may reasonably be attributed to the initial lay-out. For additional information about the

temple precinct, see *Not. d. Scavi* 1951, 203-11. Velleia: S. Aurigemma, *Velleia (Itinerari, no. 73. Roma, 1940)*.

¹⁹ J. Mertens, *Ortona II* (Brussels, 1967), plans I and II.

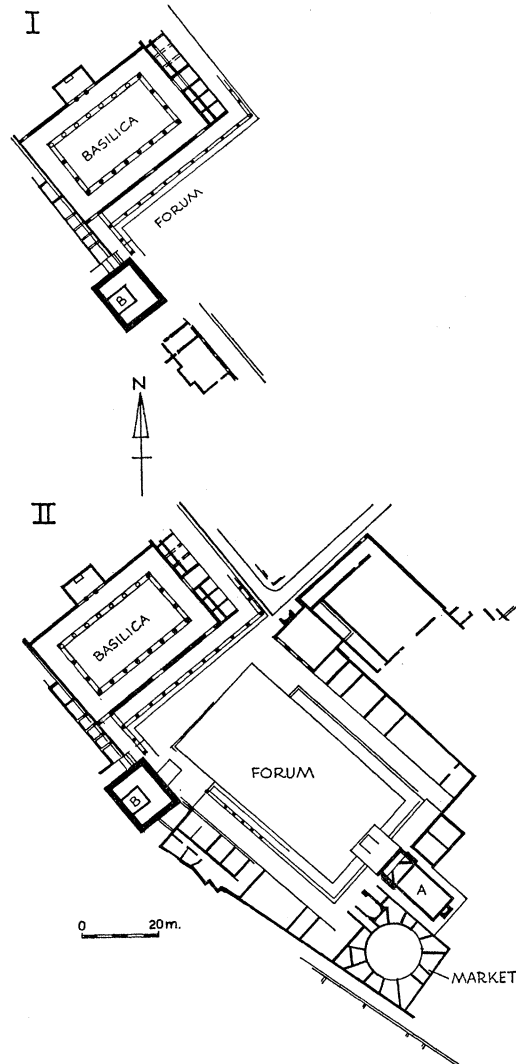


FIG. 5. HERDONIA (ORDONA)

- I. THE AUGUSTAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL FORUM, INCORPORATING A TEMPLE (B) OF EARLIER DATE. THE FORUM WAS NEVER COMPLETED AS PLANNED
- II. THE FORUM, AS REDESIGNED AND BUILT *c.* A.D. 100, ON A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT AXIS BASED ON TEMPLE A. THE FORUM PORTICOES REST UPON CRYPTOPORTICOES

After J. Mertens, 'Ortona' II (1967), plan I

laying-out of new cities in which, as at Velleia, the forum and basilica are two parts of a single, integrated, architectural scheme.²⁰

From North Italy the basilica-forum type passed to Gaul, as we see it at Glanum already in the first century B.C. (Fig. 6).²¹ Another example the broad outline of which, despite the inadequacies of its excavation, may probably be accepted as early (Fig. 7) is

²⁰ At Velleia, as at Alba Fucens and Ortona, the forum is superimposed upon an earlier, less regular scheme. What appear to be the remains of an actual Republican example of the type underlie the later Capitolium and forum at Brescia (Brixia).

²¹ More fully discussed by Ch. Balty in *Latomus* XXI (1962), 279-319. The surviving remains of the basilica are those of the massive substructures needed to bring the floor-level within the basilica up to, or slightly above, that of the forum.

that of Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, on the upper Garonne).²²

The latter illustrates the fully-developed type with a temple at the opposite end of the forum to the basilica. Some of the known instances of this type are certainly later : Augst,

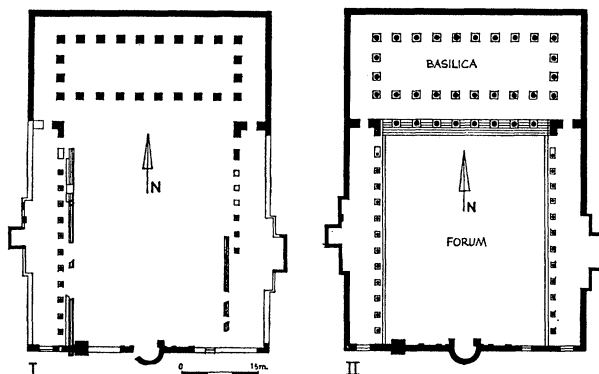


FIG. 6. GLANUM (SAINT-RÉMY-DE-PROVENCE): FORUM AND BASILICA

I. THE SURVIVING REMAINS

After H. Rolland, 'Fouilles de Glanum, 1947-56' (1958), plan II

II. HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION. THE FOOTINGS OF THE BASILICA FAÇADE HAVE BEEN ROBBED, BUT ITS RESTORATION AS A COLONNADE, RESTING ON DISCONTINUOUS FOOTINGS, IS RENDERED PROBABLE BY THE OTHERWISE VERY CURIOUS FAILURE OF THE BUILDERS TO COMPLETE THE OUTER FOUNDATIONS OF THE BASILICA AS A CONTINUOUS RECTANGLE

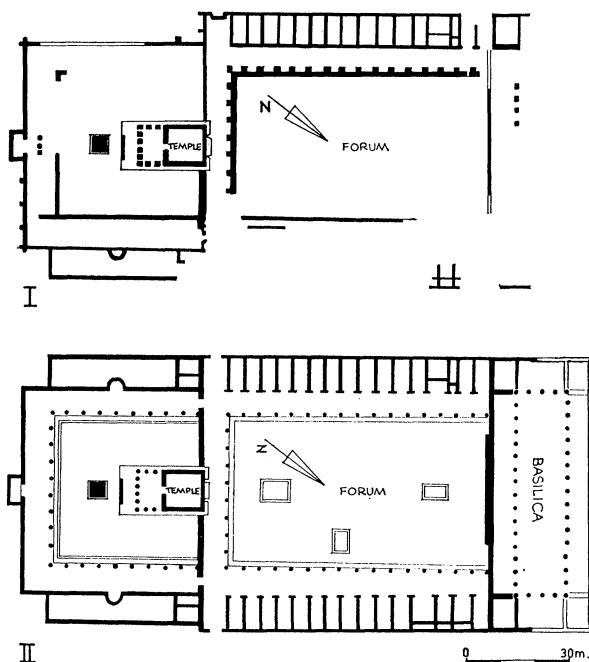


FIG. 7. LUGDUNUM CONVENARUM (SAINT-BERTRAND-DE-COMMINGES): FORUM, BASILICA AND TEMPLE

I. THE SURVIVING REMAINS

After A. Grenier, 'Manuel' III, 2, 327-41

II. HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION. THE DETAIL OF THE BASILICA HAS BEEN RESTORED SYMMETRICALLY, BUT IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT THE SURVIVING ANGLE 'CHAPEL' IS CONTEMPORARY. THE REVERSED ORIENTATION OF THE TEMPLE PRESUMABLY DERIVES FROM SOME ACCIDENT OF THE CITY'S TOPOGRAPHY THAT IS NOT DOCUMENTED BY THE EXCAVATION

for example, which dates from the second century A.D. But the type as such may well be early. It should be remarked that here, as in most of the Gaulish examples, the temple is free-standing within the forum enclosure—unlike, for example, the temples of Imperial

²² The evidence, such as it is, is well summarized by Grenier (op. cit. III, 327-41). His fig. 97 appears to indicate three successive building phases of the

forum, with pavements at progressively higher levels but maintaining the same general plan.

fora in Rome, which follow the normal Central Italian practice of placing the temple up against the rear wall of the enclosure. Until we have more evidence it would be rash to claim this as a distinctive feature of North Italian planning, but it is certainly the pattern followed regularly in Gaul, including such official Augustan foundations as the Capitolium at Narbonne, the temple at Vienne and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.

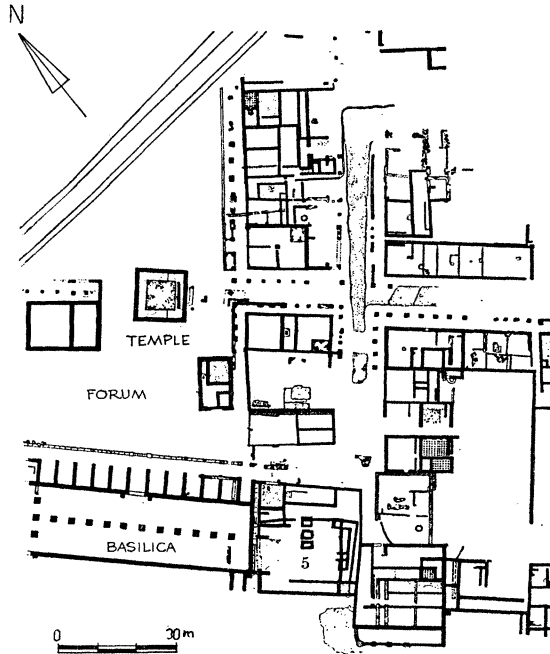


FIG. 8. LOUSONNA (VIDY, NEAR LAUSANNE): FORUM, BASILICA AND SQUARE CELTIC TEMPLE
After Staehelin, 'Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit' (1948)

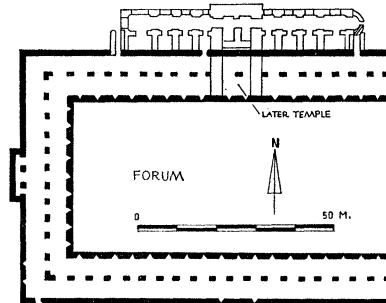


FIG. 9. ARELATE (ARLES): SUBSTRUCTURES OF PART OF THE FORUM. IN SOLID COLOUR, THE ORIGINAL LAYOUT; IN OUTLINE, LATER ADDITIONS, WITH A TEMPLE INSERTED ON THE CROSS-AXIS

The forum and basilica type, it is interesting to observe, had humbler applications. Figure 8 illustrates the excavated part of the centre of the small lakeside town of Lousonna, opposite Geneva, with part of the forum flanked by a basilica of simple, two-aisled form and, opposite it, a Celtic temple. The fact that the type could be so convincingly echoed in a modest *vicus* of this sort shows how deeply rooted this basilica-forum plan became in Gallo-Roman architectural thinking.²³

It certainly looks as if the basilica-forum complex reached Gaul from northern Italy, where it had first become a part of the standard architectural repertory. It does not, of course, follow that all the imported building types of Early Gaul came from the same source. Throughout Italy the reign of Augustus was a period of very rapid change, artistic and

²³ F. Staehelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*³ (Basle, 1948), 617-18, Abb. 197. Grenier, *op. cit.*

architectural as well as political, and it would be surprising if there were not also elements derived directly from Rome itself, or even from the South. But there certainly are several other early Romano-Gallic building types which do seem to derive from the same North Italian milieu.

One of these is the group of cryptoporticus buildings of which that which enclosed part of the forum at Arles is a familiar example (Fig. 9). The purpose of these largely subterranean buildings is disputed.²⁴ Although many of them were undoubtedly used as warehouses, as Vitruvius prescribes,²⁵ I myself believe that their primary purpose was constructional. This must often have been the simplest and most economical way of levelling-up a large rectangular open space while at the same time providing a footing for the double porticoes with which such open spaces were commonly enclosed. In the recently-discovered example at Iader (Zadar) in Dalmatia, for example, there is a cryptoporticus of this sort along the north-east of the enclosure round the Capitolium, where the ground fell sharply away, but not on the opposite side, where the portico rests almost directly on the rock (Fig. 10). North Italy is represented by the example at Aosta. At least three more are

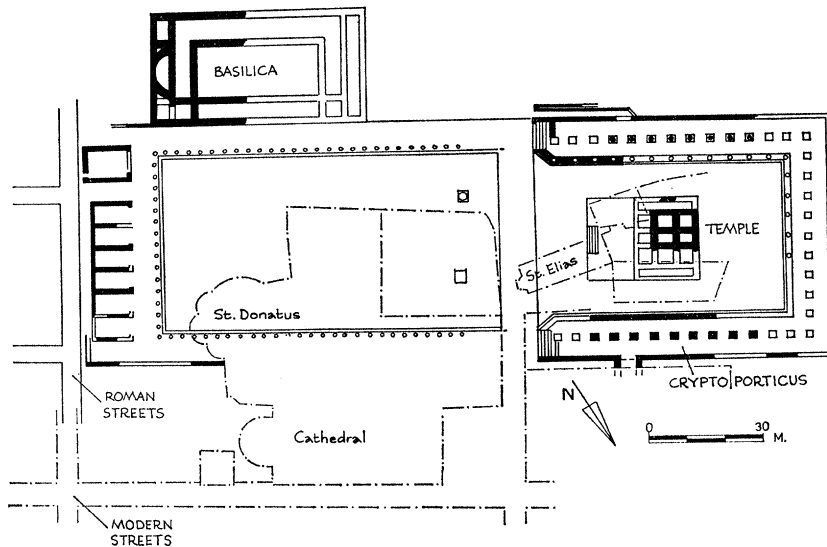


FIG. 10. IADER (ZADAR): PARTLY RESTORED PLAN OF THE FORUM, BASILICA AND CAPITOLIUM. ON THE SOUTH-WEST SIDE OF THE CAPITOLIUM THE ENCLOSED PORTICO RESTS DIRECTLY ON BEDROCK, WHEREAS ON THE NORTH-EAST SIDE IT IS TERRACED UP ON SUBSTRUCTURES. A HUGE VENETIAN CISTERN HAS DESTROYED MOST OF THE BASILICA

After I. Petricoli, 'Zadar, Guida Turistica' (Zadar, 1966)

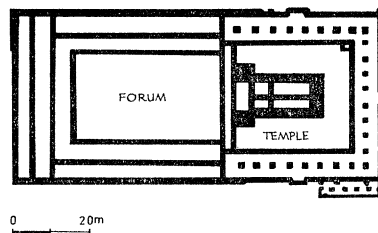


FIG. 11. CONIMBRIGA, PORTUGAL: FORUM AND TEMPLE

After 'Archaeology' XXIII (1970), 47

recorded from Gaul, at Narbo, at Durocortorum (Reims), and at Bagacum (Bavai); and recently a fine example, probably of Flavian date and enclosing a temple at one end of the forum, has been excavated at Conimbriga in Portugal (Fig. 11).²⁶

Yet another group of early Gaulish buildings with clear North Italian affiliations is

²⁴ R. A. Staccioli, *Atti Accad. Lincei (Scienze Morali)* IX (1954), 645-57. Grenier, op. cit. III, 1, 291-304 (Arles) and 305-22 (other examples of the type).

²⁵ *De arch.* v, 9, 5-9.

²⁶ I owe this reference to M. Robert Etienne.

that of which the Porte Saint-André at Augustodunum (Autun) (Fig. 12) affords a fine example, with flanking semicircular or polygonal towers and a pilaster-framed, arcaded gallery above the actual gateway. City gates of this same distinctive form are widely represented in northern Italy, at Turin, for example, at Aosta, at Verona and, in Umbria, at Spello (Hispellum); and traces of one of Republican date have been recorded at Como.²⁷ Augustodunum was a foundation of middle or late Augustan date, replacing the old native hill-top site of Bibracte, and this gate, with its deliberately impressive proportions and detail, was presumably one of the first buildings to be completed. Another Augustan example, of the same type but now shorn of its superstructure, is the Porte d'Auguste at Nemausus (Nîmes).²⁸

The case for the monumental arches of southern Gaul (of which the earliest, at Glanum, is probably an Augustan monument) is less clear-cut. The earliest such arch in North Italy,

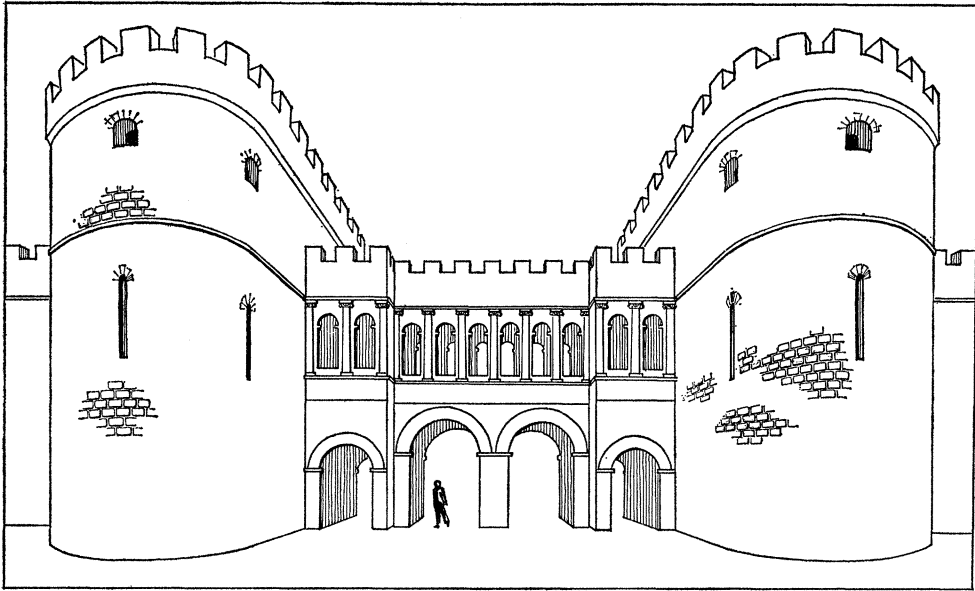


FIG. 12. AUGUSTODUNUM (AUTUN): CITY GATE, THE PORTE SAINTE-ANDRÉ
Based on photographs and on the elevations in F. Frigerio, 'Antiche Porte' etc. (1935)

that at Rimini (27 B.C.), was essentially a metropolitan monument *in partibus*, commemorating the completion of the Augustan restoration of the Via Flaminia. On the other hand, with the example of the second-century B.C. arch in the forum at Cosa before one, one hesitates to exclude the possibility of comparable pre-Augustan arches in the cities of North Italy. It is noteworthy that on two of the earliest surviving North Italian arches, at Aosta (after 25 B.C.) and at Susa (Segusio 9/8 B.C.), the capitals (Plate III, 1) are of a distinctive late Republican type that was no longer current in the contemporary architecture of the capital. It is tempting to believe that here too the Augustan architects of Gaul were following North Italian models.

With the theatres of southern Gaul the perspectives change again. It is not at all improbable that a building such as the theatre at Fréjus, with a timber superstructure on stone footings, reflects contemporary practice in North Italy, where we have both literary and archaeological evidence of early amphitheatres so constructed.²⁹ But the stone theatres of Arles and Lyon are a different matter. Not only are they among the earliest permanent theatres of Roman type known in the provinces,³⁰ but they derive, directly or indirectly,

²⁷ F. Frigerio, *Antiche Porte di Città Italiane e Romane* (Como, 1935), 30-45.

²⁸ We know that at Nîmes the walls and gates were among the first monuments to be completed, in 16/15 B.C. (*CIL* XII, 3151).

²⁹ The superstructure of the amphitheatre at Placentia must have been of wood, since it was burnt in 69 (*Tac., Hist.* II, 21). The remains of that at

Forum Clodii (Imola) indicate a timber building on masonry footings, like that of Nero's amphitheatre in the Campus Martius (*Tac., Ann.* XIII, 31: 'fundamentis et trabibus'; cf. *ibid.* IV, 62). See S. Aurigemma, *Historia* VI (1932), 558-87.

³⁰ That at Mérida (Emerita) was completed in 16 B.C. (*CIL* II, 474 = *ILS* 130).

from a type which had been developed in Campania and which had only very recently, since Pompey's Theatre, become acclimatized in Rome itself. Another clear instance of derivation from late Republican Campania is that of the bath-buildings of the characteristically Gallo-Roman type already observed at Glanum and at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges.

The same patterns emerge when one turns to the European provinces that adjoin Italy to the north-east and east. Here too there are vast gaps in our knowledge, and there is also much current work still to be digested. But even the most summary acquaintance with the monuments of Istria and of Dalmatia is enough to convince one that, once again, it is provincial Italy which was the prime source of early Imperial architectural inspiration. The forum-basilica complex at Doclea is probably of second-century date and, to judge from the temple types that accompany it, it may well be of Adriatic Italian rather than of North Italian derivation.³¹ That of Virunum, on the other hand, in Noricum near the modern Klagenfurt (Fig. 13), offers a very close analogy to the type already familiar from Gaul, with

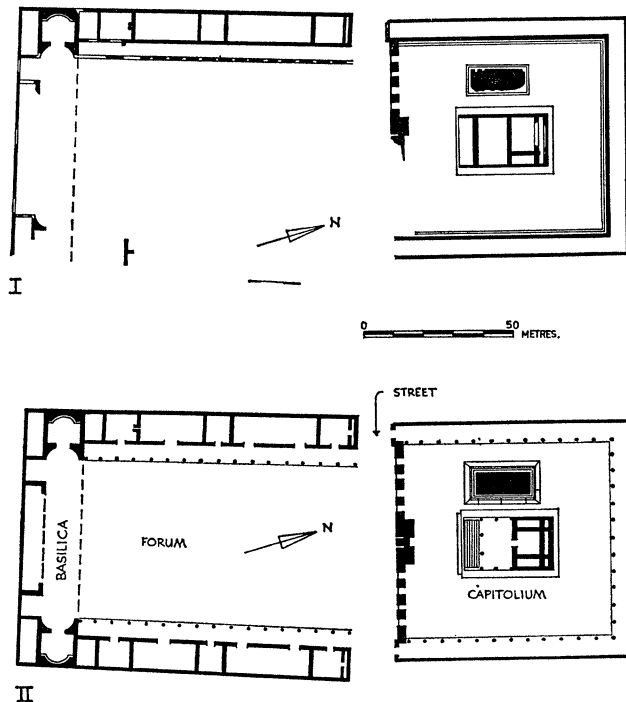


FIG. 13. VIRUNUM, AUSTRIA: FORUM, BASILICA AND CAPITOLIUM
I. AS EXCAVATED

After *JÖAI* xv (1912), Bb. 24-36

II. HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SAME

a temple opposite the rather fragmentary, but still plainly recognizable, basilica.³² Like Augustodunum, Virunum was a new foundation, replacing the old hill-top capital of Noricum on the Magdalensberg, which was abandoned in A.D. 45 in favour of a more convenient site on the plain below. The fact that the same models were available to the architect of Virunum as to his contemporaries in Gaul is strong corroborative evidence for the view that both were derived from the geographically common ground of North Italy. A similar picture is emerging at Iader (Zadar) (Fig. 10). Here, the Capitulum, a building of which the fragmentary surviving decoration is closely analogous to that of Augustan Pola, stood in the centre of an open rectangular space, enclosed (as at Narbonne) on three sides by a double portico and on the fourth side facing across a transverse street down the length of the forum. In this case the basilica was a later addition and had to be relegated to the only space available, flanking one of the long sides.³³

³¹ P. Sticotti, *Die römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro* (*Schrift. Balkankommission, Antiq. Abt.* vi, 1913).

³² R. Egger, *J.Ö.A.I.* xv (1912), Bb. 24-36.

³³ Clearance and excavation, under Professor M. Suić, is still in progress.

When we turn to North Africa the perspectives change once more. The problems are many, and to do justice to them is manifestly impossible within the compass of a single lecture. Of the excavated sites, the one that retains the most extensive traces of its Augustan physiognomy is Lepcis Magna, and here, just as in southern Gaul, the architectural repertory that confronts one is overwhelmingly classical in character. The question to which one would like to be able to give an answer is how much of this classical tradition is derived directly from contemporary Augustan Italy and how much is a legacy from the late Republican province of Africa, or even from the strongly classicizing architecture of late Punic Carthage.

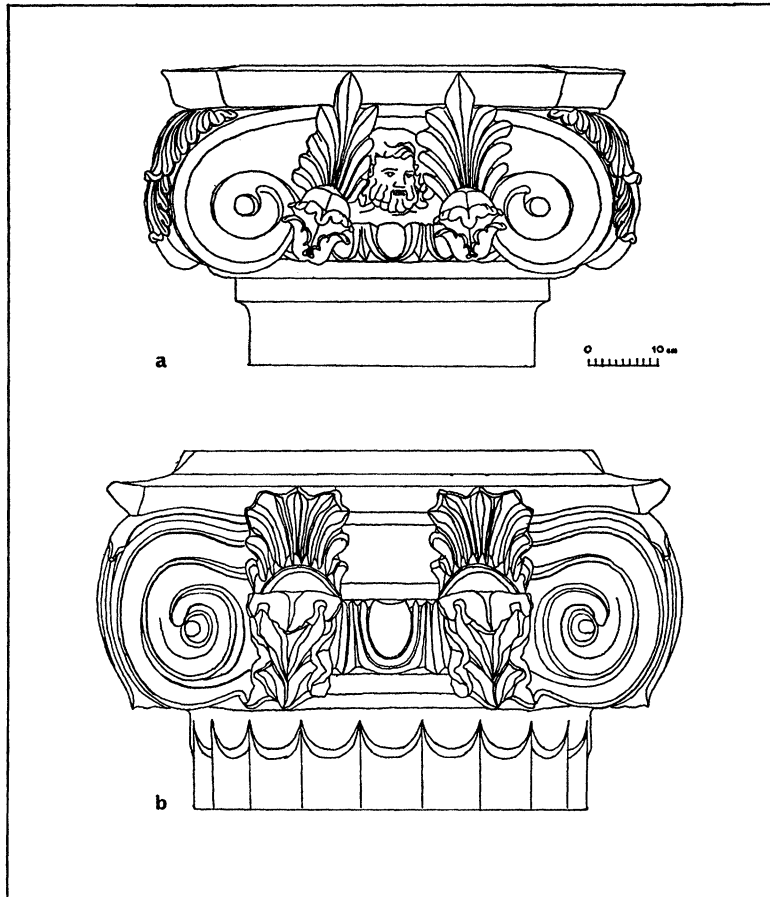


FIG. 14. IONIC PALMETTE CAPITALS: (a) UTICA, (b) SOLUNTO

After A. Lézine, 'Karthago' VII (1956), 41, fig. 2, and B. Pace, 'Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica' II (1938), fig. 203 respectively

It is a great pity that the sites about whose early Imperial buildings we know most should lie in Tripolitania, which was part of the Numidian kingdom, and not in the Republican province of Africa. Recent work has begun to throw useful light on the domestic architecture of the province during the first century B.C. and on the sources of that architecture;³⁴ but in default of a Tunisian Glanum we really have at present no means of telling what were the significant developments in local municipal building during the hundred years that followed the sack of Carthage in 146 B.C. My own guess—and it can be little more—is that the story will one day be revealed as one largely of the development of the legacy of Carthage itself, a legacy which contained elements of the older Punic tradition, but which by the middle of the second century B.C. had, through its intimate contacts with

³⁴ e.g. at Utica: A. Lézine 'La Maison des Chapiteaux à Utique', *Karthago* VII (1956), 1-38.

Sicily and South Italy, already taken on a great many of the externals of a provincial Hellenistic architecture. When we find capitals of a characteristically Hellenistic Sicilian type in use in first-century B.C. Utica or in Augustan Lepcis (Figs. 14, 15, Plate III, 2, 3) there is at least as much likelihood of their having entered the African repertory through Punic Carthage as through subsequent, Republican-period contacts with Sicily.³⁵ On the other hand one must remember that the province of Africa, unlike Narbonensis, did receive a considerable body of pre-Imperial settlement; and although it is open to question whether this in itself involved the importation of many fresh ideas in the field of public architecture before the time of Caesar, the ground would at least have been prepared for the time when it once again became a question of founding, or refounding, new cities on African soil.



FIG. 15. DISTRIBUTION OF IONIC PALMETTE CAPITALS

The problem is worth stating in these general terms, even if it is only to leave a large question-mark dangling. What, however, will be more profitable in the present context is to descend to the particular and to glance briefly at one or two of the actual building types which are most characteristic of early Imperial North Africa. What do they tell us about the immediate sources of the Italian elements represented therein?

One of the most distinctive and consistent of these Romano-African building types is that of the *macella*, the market-buildings of which Figure 16 illustrates three characteristic examples, at Hippo Regius on the north coast and one each at Timgad (Thamugadi) and Djemila (Cuicul) in the uplands of central Algeria.³⁶ The type, with a pavilion or *tholos* (usually circular) in the centre of a courtyard ringed round with shops or market stalls, is unmistakable, and it was certainly introduced to Africa at quite an early date. We find it at Lepcis already in 8 B.C.³⁷ There had been a market with a *tholos* in late Republican

³⁵ Ibid. figs. 2, 17 and pl. III. On the other hand he considers the Tuscan order in Tunisia to be an importation of the Republican period (*Karthago* VI (1955), 13-29).

³⁶ Hippo: J. Lassus, *Libyca* VII (1959), 311-16 (I am indebted to M. P. A. Février for further

information about this as yet not closely-dated example). Timgad, Market of Sertius: C. Courtois, *Timgad* (Algiers, 1951), 78-81. Djemila, Market of Cosinius: L. Leschi, *Djemila* (Algiers, 1953), 38-9.

³⁷ N. Degrassi, *Quad. Arch. Libia* II (1951), 27-70.

Rome,³⁸ and the two-storeyed *Macellum Magnum* of Nero was a more developed version of the same form. But despite these examples in the capital, the type as such almost certainly originated in the South, in Campania or Magna Graecia. In Latium the traditional market-building seems to have consisted of a courtyard or covered hall flanked by one or two rows of *tabernae*, as at Ferentinum³⁹ and in the late Republican market-building at Ostia,⁴⁰ and ultimately, in developed form, in the central hall of Trajan's Market. Another

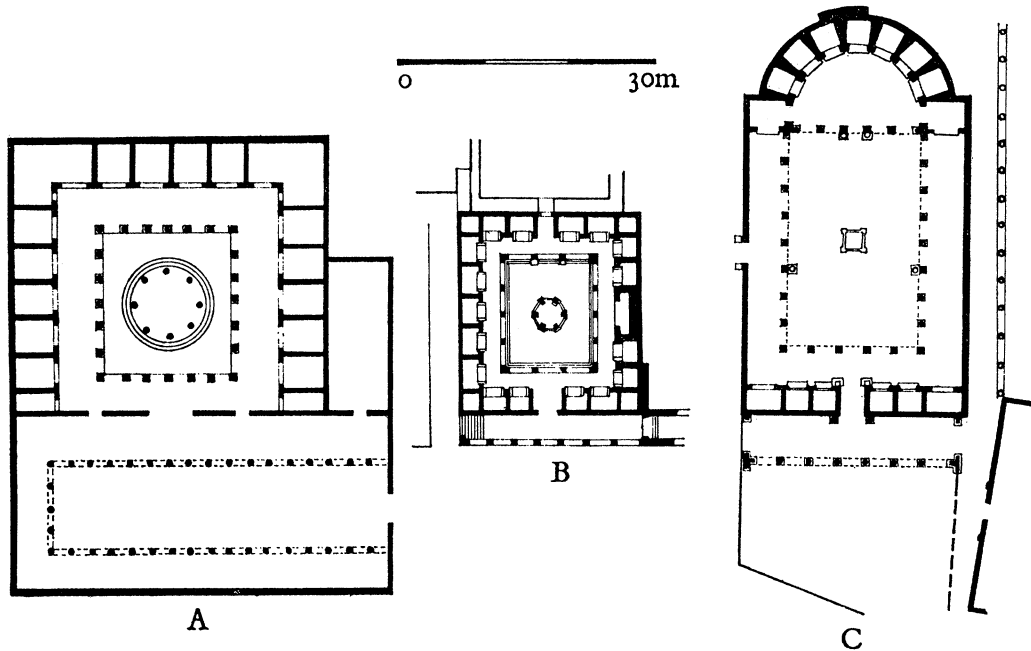


FIG. 16. MARKET BUILDINGS IN NORTH AFRICA

- A. HIPPO REGIUS
 B. TIMGAD, MARKET OF SERTIUS
 C. DJEMILA, MARKET OF CUSINIUS

After A. Boethius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Etruscan and Roman Architecture' (1970), fig. 181

type which was current in central Italy during the early Empire, and which may have had local Republican precedents, is the curious and distinctive form with stalls opening off a central circular court, as at Saepinum, at Herdonia (Fig. 5) and in the second phase of the market at Alba Fucens (Fig. 17). The *tholos* type, on the other hand, is represented in Campania by the two well-known *macella* at Pompeii and at Puteoli; and Morgantina, in central Sicily, has yielded what is by far the earliest known example, dating from the mid-second century B.C. The distribution of the several types (Figs. 18, 19) points in the same direction. With two exceptions (at Aquincum and the earliest (Sullan) market at Alba Fucens) the Pompeian type seems to have spread only southwards and eastwards, to North Africa, Cyrene, Greece, Asia Minor and, in a later, military context, to Syria.⁴¹ This is not the only instance where the precedents for the Roman architecture of the Greek east seem to lie in Campania rather than in metropolitan Rome: the Odeion of Agrippa, for example, in the Agora at Athens, or the many links between Roman Corinth and South Italy. The pattern begins to look significant.

The type of Temple most characteristic of North Africa throughout the Roman period is, on the other hand, one that was developed specifically in Rome and Central Italy,

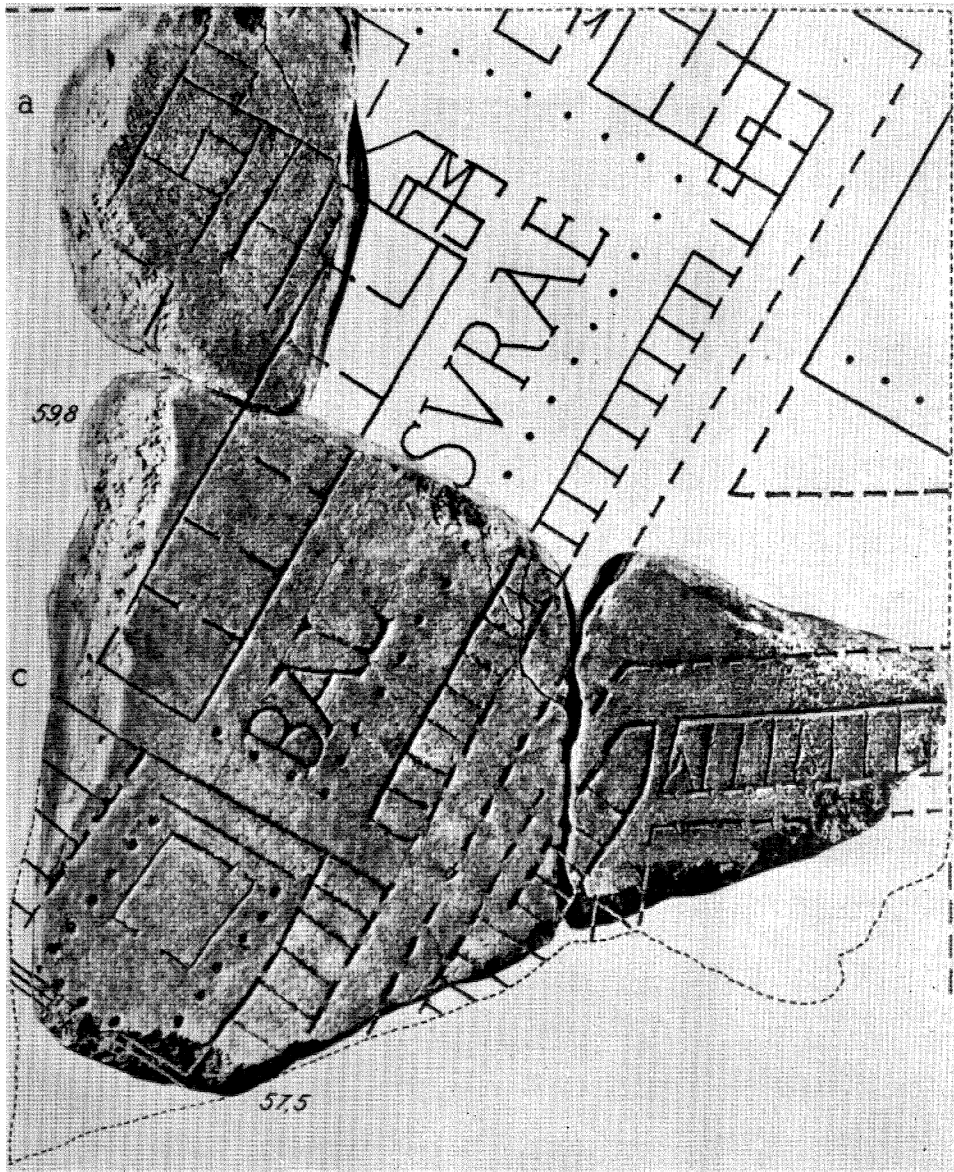
³⁸ Varro ap. Nonius (ed. Müller) 448; cf. *Ling. Lat.* v, 147.

³⁹ A. Boethius and N. Carlgren, *Acta Archaeologica* III (1932), 181-208; G. Gullini, *Arch. Class.* vi (1954), 202-9.

⁴⁰ Reg. III, 1, 7: *Scavi di Ostia* I (1953), 110.

⁴¹ Cyrene: rectangular market building near the middle of the Roman town, later partly dismantled to

create a theatre (unpublished). Greece: the North Market at Corinth and the Roman Agora, beside the Tower of the Winds, at Athens. Asia Minor: at Perge (K. Lanckoronsky, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (Wien, 1890-2), I, 44-5 and *AA* XLII (1958), 98) and at Sagalassos (*ibid.* II, 135 and 159-60). Syria: the third-century market at Dura (*Excavations, Ninth Season*, I (1944) 62-4, fig. 78).



ROME: THE BALNEA SURAE, AS SHOWN ON THE SEVERAN MARBLE PLAN

After Carettoni et al., 'La Pianta Marmorea di Roma Antica'. Copyright reserved



(1) PIACENZA: THE VIA AEMILIA RUNS OBLIQUELY DOWN FROM NEAR THE TOP LEFT CORNER; BASED ON IT, IN THE CENTRE OF THE TOWN, CAN BE SEEN THE STREET PLAN OF ROMAN PLACENTIA. THE DEFENCES ARE OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(2) THE CENTRE OF COMO, INCORPORATING THE STREET PLAN OF ROMAN COMUM

Photographs by courtesy of British School at Rome. Copyright reserved



- (1) SUSA, ARCH OF AUGUSTA : PILASTER CAPITAL
(2) LEPCIS, TEMPLE OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS : CAPITAL
(3) LEPCIS, NORTH FORUM TEMPLE : CAPITAL

Photographs (1) after E. Ferrero, 'L'Arc d'Auguste à Suse', (2) (3) by J. B. Ward-Perkins. Copyright reserved

although it did of course travel southwards on occasion, as one sees it, for example, in the forum at Pompeii. Its characteristic features are its upstanding podium, approached by a frontal flight of steps, and the way it is regularly placed up against the rear wall of the open space within which it stands. This is frequently an independent porticoed enclosure, as one sees it, for example, in half-a-dozen temples in Tripolitania.⁴² The predominance of this type is all the more striking in that religious architecture is a field in which, as in Gaul, there were strong native survivals, lasting at least into the first century A.D. In this instance

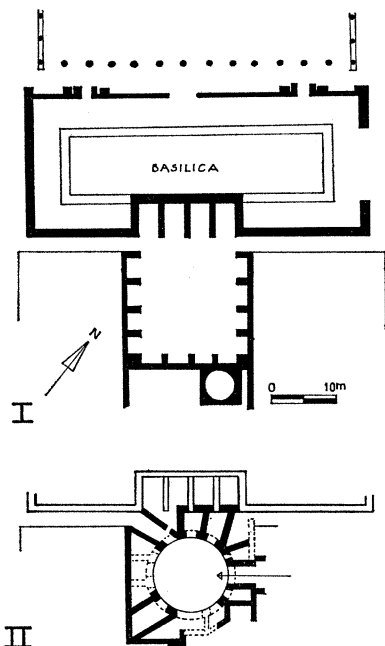


FIG. 17. MARKET BUILDING AT ALBA FUCENS
Based on J. Mertens, 'Alba Fucens' I (1969),
figs. 12, 13

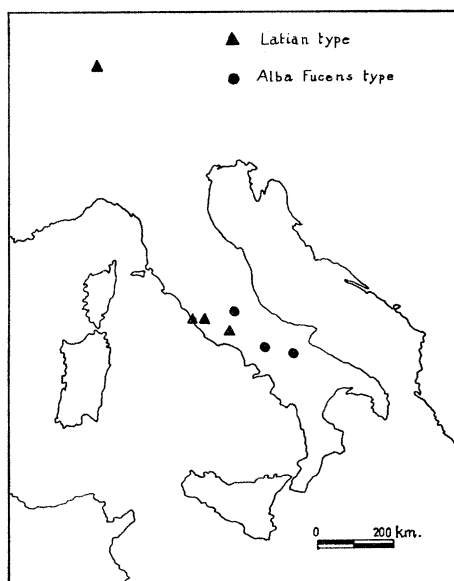


FIG. 18. DISTRIBUTION OF CENTRAL MARKET TYPES

the native tradition, in which the 'Holy of Holies' regularly opened off the rear wall of the sanctuary enclosure, may have had some influence on the acceptance of a classical type with which it had at any rate this feature in common.⁴³

Let us glance briefly at just one more recurrent building-type, the forum-basilica complex. We have already seen that this was probably characteristic of North Italy and as a formal building type may even have been first developed there; but that it was certainly also widely represented elsewhere in 'provincial' Italy, reaching at least as far south as Saepinum and Herdonia. In Africa the classic instance of a forum-basilica complex is Timgad, founded in A.D. 97, but the model was certainly available at a considerably earlier date. At Leptis, for example, the Basilica Vetus (Fig. 20), though not part of the original Augustan lay-out, was added very soon afterwards.⁴⁴ In this case the plan is an interesting compromise. The basilicas of Rome itself and their central and northern Italian derivatives were laid out, like this one, with one long side facing the forum; but they were also regularly symmetrical about this frontage, very often with an exedra or some similar feature in the middle of the opposite long side, facing the entrance. This was

⁴² e.g. at Sabratha, the Capitolium, the Antonine Temple, the South Forum Temple, the Temple of Hercules; and at Leptis Magna, the Temple of Serapis, the anonymous temple midway between the Porta Oea and the Arch of Severus, and the Temple in the Severan Forum.

⁴³ For the native tradition, see the discussion of the Temple of the Ceres at Thuburbo Maius in A. Lézine, *Architecture romaine d'Afrique* (Paris, 1961), 91-118. The not-uncommon African form in

which the temple stands on a tall podium with frontal steps but with the cella projecting well beyond the rear wall of the precinct (e.g. the Capitolium at Thuburbo Maius; the Temple of Minerva at Thugga; the Temple of Venus Genetrix at Cuicul; the temple at Theveste) may well represent a convergence of the two traditions.

⁴⁴ Not later than the paving of the adjacent forum area in 53.

the scheme of Vitruvius's own basilica at Fanum, and this is what we find (either at one end or along one side of the forum) at Cosa, at Alba Fucens and at Herdonia, and in Tripolitania itself at Sabratha. At Lepcis, there was an entrance opening axially off the forum; but the interior of the building was laid out symmetrically about the long axis, with a tribunal at one end and entrances from a small secondary piazza at the other. In other words, the Basilica Vetus was sited like one of the central and North Italian 'broad' basilicas; but the building itself was of the 'long' type, characteristic of Pompeii and

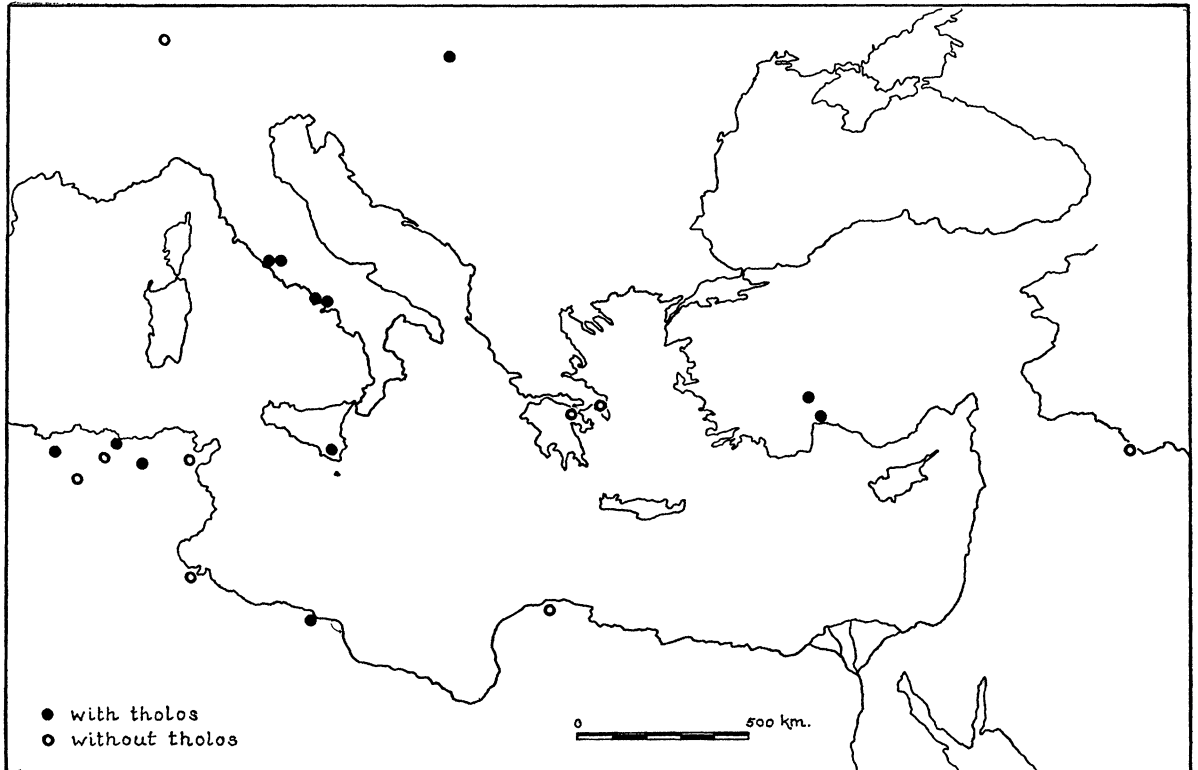


FIG. 19. DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTH ITALIAN MARKET TYPES

Herculaneum—and, be it noted, of the earliest of the three basilicas at Corinth. In Julio-Claudian Tripolitania the distinctions between Latium and Campania were already becoming blurred; but the Campanian (or South Italian) element was still a significant factor in the equation.

I am very conscious that in this lecture I have tried to cover a very wide field and that, in so doing, I have asked quite as many questions as I have answered. For this I make no apology: questions (if they are the right ones) are always useful. Nevertheless I feel that I should in conclusion try to sketch one or two of the answers which do seem to be emerging from the evidence already available.

In the first place, it really does look as if there was very little that was Roman, in the narrower, Italian sense of the word, in the municipal architecture of the western provinces before Augustus. Dealing as they were with areas that already enjoyed a substantial measure of Mediterranean urban civilization, the Romans seem at first to have been content to use or to adapt the traditions which they found already established in each new province. To what extent this represents a deliberate policy, and to what extent it just happened, I must leave to others better qualified than myself to decide. I will only suggest that one of the decisive factors may well have been the almost total lack of new urban foundations in the provinces during the period in question.

When Romanization did come, most of the architectural types upon which it was based were Italian, but they varied considerably according to those parts of Italy with which each several province was in most immediate contact. One may conveniently distinguish a number of such areas: Rome and Latium, Campania, Sicily and Magna Graecia, and those areas of Apennine and Transapennine Italy which were the latest to be developed and which were in consequence among the most up-to-date centres of municipal architectural experiment, including the Po valley and the rest of what, for lack of a better term, I have called 'provincial' Italy. These regions were certainly not mutually exclusive. But I do

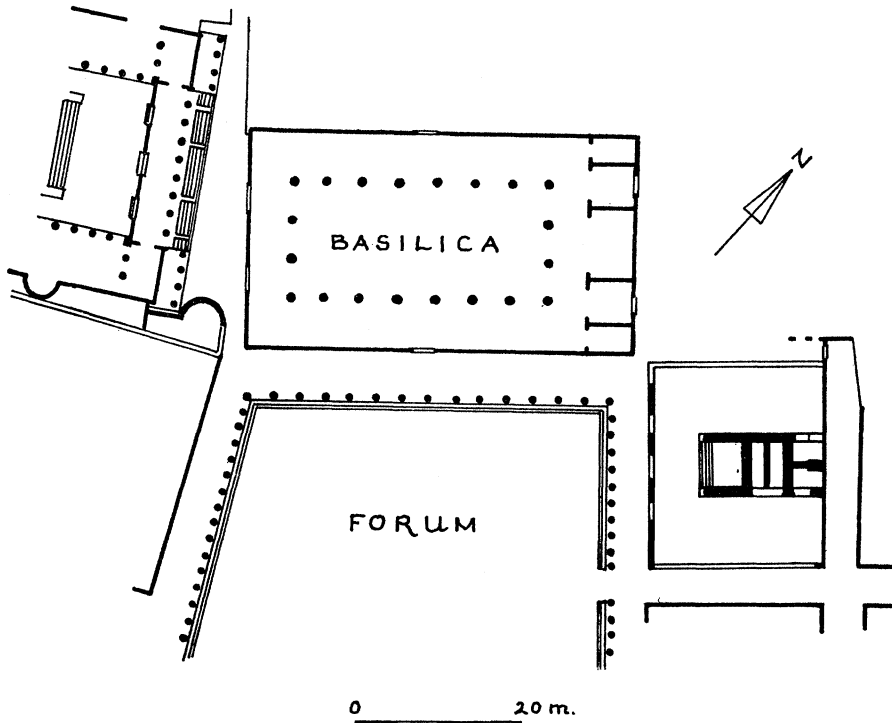


FIG. 20. LEPCIS: THE BASILICA VETUS AS ORIGINALLY CONSTRUCTED IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

think that any useful discussion of Italian Republican architecture has to start from the recognition that there *were* certain regional distinctions of this sort.

How exactly, by what processes and in what combinations, these patterns of late Republican Italian architectural development came to be superimposed upon the broader canvas of the western Mediterranean provinces when the Augustan Peace made Italy the obvious source of inspiration for an energetic and far-reaching programme of urban Romanization, these are matters that still have to be studied in detail. I have suggested that Gaul and the provinces of south-central Europe may have drawn heavily upon the recent planning-experience and building types of their North Italian neighbours, whereas North Africa seems to have looked rather to Campania, Sicily and Magna Graecia. If these suggestions are not in themselves very startling, it must be emphasized once again that they still await detailed demonstration. But at least they have the merit of offering a framework of enquiry within which to advance from the rather tired generalizations that so often lie behind the identification of the 'Roman' or 'Italian' elements in the early Imperial architecture of the western provinces. It is in this spirit of hopeful enquiry that I venture to put them forward.

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