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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of Archaeology

Augustan City Walls in Roman Italy: their character and meanings

by

Isobel Pinder

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

AUGUSTAN CITY WALLS IN ROMAN ITALY:

THEIR CHARACTER AND MEANINGS

Isobel Pinder

Roman city walls impress even today through their scale and magnificence, but they remain relatively underrepresented in studies of monuments within the urban environment. This thesis explores the contribution that city walls can make to our understanding of urbanism and society in Augustan Italy. It concludes that city walls can reveal important insights into how urban space, cultural identity, political relationships and social behaviour were negotiated and defined.

This research situates city walls within the context of monumental public architecture in Roman cities, providing an integrative analysis of city walls as part of the urban narrative. It argues that city walls and their gateways should be studied as a social and political statement in order to gain a proper understanding of their character and meanings. Built more for show than for protection, Augustan city walls were icons of visual dominance and cultural manipulation of the landscape. They manifested in physical form ideas of status, self-representation and civic pride. Much more than a functional defensive asset, city walls provided a symbolic and psychological frame to the urban area. City walls embodied community-specific decisions driven by practicality, ritual and ideology as part of an ordered and meaningful use of public space. They demonstrated how an urban community wished to be perceived, incorporating social and historical associations which reflected the needs, aspirations and memories of the community they enclosed.

The thesis also presents a new and comprehensive collection of inscriptions from Roman Italy relating to city walls, which are analysed to investigate the power of patronage, the discharge of civic obligations, opportunities for self-promotion and the combined use of text and imagery to maximise impact and display.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Isobel Pinder, declare that this thesis titled *Augustan City Walls in Roman Italy: their character and meanings* and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: .....

Date:.....

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Thank you to Charles, James and Lucy for many happy days spent exploring archaeological sites.

And to my fellow classicists in the *Societas Emeticorum*: "satis est satis", as the saying goes.

Abbreviations

AE	Année Epigraphique
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
EDC	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby
EDR	Epigraphic Database Roma
ha	hectares
HS	sesterces
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
km	kilometres
m	meters
mm	millimetres
pF	Roman feet
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage
RPC	Roman Provincial Coinage
Supp Ital	Supplementa Italica

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The significance of Roman city walls

The Augustan period in Roman Italy saw a significant building programme in urban centres. From Augustus himself (in the *Res Gestae*) to modern commentators such as Zanker (1988), these monumental structures have been interpreted as statements of power and prestige and have shaped our understanding of Roman urbanism and identity.[1] Less attention has, however, been paid to the place of city walls in this programme of renewal. Yet the construction of a city wall was one of the most resource-intensive investments an urban community could make. At a time when their functional role as a defensive asset was less important than ever before, the character and multiple meanings of city walls in the Augustan period become more subtle and more interesting. My research aims to explore the significance of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy and to show how a new interpretation can add to our understanding of urbanism and self-representation.

Roman city walls are a complex and insufficiently understood phenomenon. City walls were a defining feature of urban areas, reflecting how the urban community chose to represent and project its image. They embodied social and ideological associations which reveal the needs, aspirations and memories of the urban communities whose lives they framed. But they have been under-represented as a subject for study in their own right and undervalued for the wider contribution they can make to our understanding of how Roman cities were experienced and to our knowledge of social, political and cultural issues.

My research addresses this gap in our knowledge base by offering new ways of looking at city walls in Augustan Italy. In this thesis, I analyse city walls as important structures in their own right but, more importantly, I aim to show how a fresh interpretation of city walls can help us re-evaluate how we look at urban centres and their place in the landscape. I argue that city walls can reveal important insights into how urban space, political relationships, cultural identity and social behaviour were negotiated and defined.

Urban communities define their identities in both physical and ideological terms. The establishment of a physical identity for a community might entail the construction of architectural features which helped to identify a community and distinguish it from others. According to Thomas (2007:108), the outer boundary of a city more than any other form of public building represented and projected a city's identity and unity. A city wall encapsulates a community's political vision and need for self-definition from both a practical and an ideological point of view.

[1] See, for example, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 19-21.

An analysis of city walls should offer insights into how a city wished to be perceived externally. It should also reveal insights into an urban community's internal society and history.

City walls, then, were a major way in which an urban community chose to express itself and to project its image to other communities. The traditional focus on city walls as a stand-alone architectural feature suitable for material and historical analysis misses the nuanced interpretation of which they are capable. The walls which surrounded a city not only provided protection from threats but also a means of projecting political power – whether that of the emperor or the local elite – and a way of establishing a community's identity. They should be studied as a social and political statement, recognising that the context and culture within which a building or structure is designed, even something as superficially prosaic as a city wall, is fundamental to a proper understanding of its meaning.

I explore in this thesis different ways in which city walls can contribute to our perception of how walled cities were understood and experienced. Through an analysis of inscriptions relating to city walls, I offer insights into the changing role of political patronage and benefactions and the impact of city walls and their gateways on those who passed by or through them. By focusing on a small number of case studies, I explore what city walls can tell us about status and self-representation.

A Roman city wall was a highly visible, enduring marker of a city's boundary. Possession of city walls was a powerful statement of urban status, civic pride and importance. Not all cities – not even all great cities[2] – had city walls; the lack of city walls is as significant in some instances as their presence. Although a city wall had the greatest physical impact on both the urban centre which it enclosed and the surrounding landscape, it was not the only urban boundary, nor did urban boundaries have to find material expression (Gros, 1987:163, Goodman, 2007:1-78). A city wall was, however, the only boundary form which was the result of a specific and conscious decision to define the border of a city in a permanent, continuous and visible way. The construction of city walls, especially at a time when the need for fortifications was not pressing or in a form where their defensive value was low, signalled the politics of power and control. This was enhanced by deliberate efforts to maximise the impact of city walls in their surrounding environment. As Goodman noted (2007:11), the decision to build city walls demonstrated not only a command of material and physical resources but also a commitment to the ideological concept of the urban space which the walls defined as a separate and privileged area.

While the symbolic importance of city walls has increasingly been recognised and discussed, particularly by Gros (see, for example, 1996, 1992, 1987), there has been insufficient attempt to provide an integrative analysis of city walls as part of the urban narrative. The Roman political

[2] Neither Carthage nor Corinth had city walls following their incorporation into the Roman empire, for example.

process was defined, at least in part, by its monumental architecture. Monumental structures could be used as embedded ideological statements to define what was meant by urbanism and urban living (Revell, 2009:44-49). But the opportunity to explore these ideas through the medium of city walls has not been fully exploited, although the role of other civic buildings such as *fora* and temples has been extensively and fruitfully studied. I put forward a new approach to the study of Roman city walls by exploring the dynamics between the physical, cultural and social aspects of city walls in Augustan Italy, as a way of gaining a better understanding into their nature and significance. By examining the material presence of city walls and their ideological and symbolic meaning, I aim to offer a new interpretation of their role and importance.

1.2 Research focus and scope of work

1.2.1 Key research questions

The social and cultural significance of urban buildings is widely recognised and has been thoroughly explored (see, for example, Thomas, 2007, Revell, 2009). But city walls are not always included within the scope of these studies, as I discuss in detail in my review of current literature in Chapter 2 below. This gap matters, for two reasons: first, it means that the contribution which city walls can make to our analysis of a wide range of issues has not been fully realised; and secondly, it has constrained our interpretation of the walls themselves. It is therefore important that city walls are contextualised within the integrated urban fabric of a city, thus enabling a more sophisticated reading of their character and meanings and offering a fresh perspective on architecture and urbanism.

I have chosen to focus on the following key issues because I believe that they will allow me to make a contribution to our understanding of how urbanism was articulated and experienced in the Augustan period through the medium of city walls. My research questions include the following:

- What can a study of city walls add to current debate about urban form and development? I examine the wider context and meanings of city walls in the Augustan period, and consider how an integrative analysis of city walls and their symbolic value can broaden our understanding of the behaviours and beliefs of the people who built and used them.
- Is there an ideology of walls in contemporary thinking, and does it matter? I consider how city walls were represented in visual and literary forms and analyse what this can tell us about their significance to contemporary society. I also align the moral and ideological values expressed by Augustus through public buildings with the imperial family's patronage of a number of new city walls in Roman Italy.
- What was the relationship between Augustan city walls in Roman Italy and a city's political and administrative status? I discuss how a study of city walls can add to current thinking on issues including the legal position over the construction of city walls, the association between

city walls and colonies, and the circumstances of *municipia* who chose to mark their urban boundaries at this time.

- Did city walls play a significant role in the wider landscape? I examine the relationship between city walls and the landscape and consider the extent to which city walls were designed and built so as to enhance their visual impact and role in the landscape.
- What was the role of city walls in shaping and defining urban space? By situating city walls within their urban context, I consider the relationship between city walls and urban space. How did city walls influence and shape access and movement in the city? Did city walls have a role in accommodating or appropriating collective memory and earlier cultural traditions?
- To what extent were city walls used as an instrument of patronage and prestige? Inscriptions are an important source of information on investment in public buildings but their value to a study of city walls has not hitherto been fully exploited. I have put together a comprehensive collection of inscriptions relating to city walls. Through its analysis, I will consider what epigraphic evidence tells us about the pattern of patronage and benefaction in relation to city walls. Does this change over time? What is the impact of inscriptions and associated iconography (if any) on how city walls and their gateways were experienced and understood?

1.2.2 Scope of work

I have chosen to focus my work on city walls in Roman Italy of Augustan date, which I define broadly as the period 40BC to AD20, as is explained in Chapter 3.1.1. It is very difficult to assign precise dates to the construction of city walls (see Chapter 4.1). Compilers of catalogues of data on public construction in Roman Italy tend to offer broad categories such as "republican" and "Julio-Claudian and Flavian" (Jouffroy, 1986) although Conventi (2004) tried, with limited success, to interpose an "Augustan" category between "first century BC" and "first century AD". In putting together a list of cities with walls of Augustan date, I have included only those cities where I assess on the basis of the evidence available that there is reasonable confidence that the walls belong to the Augustan period.

I assess there to be 19 city walls in Roman Italy of Augustan date.[3] These are the walls of Alba Pompeia, Augusta Praetoria, Augusta Taurinorum, Brixia, Concordia Iulia, Emona, Fanum Fortunae, Florentia, Hispellum, Laus Pompeia, Mediolanum, Peltuinum, Pola, Saepinum, Tergeste, Ticinum, Tridentum, Urbs Salvia and Venafrum. The location of these cities is shown in the map at Figure 1 in Chapter 3.1.1. More detailed information about each of the 19 sites is presented in Appendix A.

[3] I judge there to be a further four urban centres which constructed monumental gateways in the Augustan period to mark the urban boundary, but which did not have a continuous walled circuit in this period (Augusta Bagiennorum, Carsulae, Libarna and Pollentia). These are also included in Appendix A.

My reasons for focusing my work on Augustan city walls in Roman Italy are based on the following:

- Although archaeological investigation of city walls is patchy, there is sufficient archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Augustan city walls to inform my analysis.
- It is widely accepted that city walls built in Roman Italy at this time had little to do with defence and much more to do with status and symbolism (see Chapter 4 below), giving greater potential to explore the political and cultural implications of wall construction, including the association with Augustus' own ideologically driven programme of urban renewal.
- The 19 city walls which I judge to be Augustan in date form a diverse but manageable group, from which a small number can be selected as detailed case studies.
- A detailed study of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy has not previously been undertaken, as I make clear through my literature review in Chapter 2.
- I considered, but rejected, the alternatives of focusing my work on a comparison of city walls either in a specific geographic but cross-temporal window or in a narrow timeframe but across different provinces. However, it is my aim to demonstrate the value and viability of my approach by reference to Augustan city walls in Roman Italy, so that it would be possible subsequently to adapt a similar analysis to different time periods and different geographic contexts, for example to compare city walls in Italy and southern Gaul or southern Spain, or to concentrate on the Augustan city walls of a different geographic location such as Gaul.

I have, where necessary and appropriate, made reference to city walls whose construction and location do not fall within the parameters of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy, if a different perspective is required. But I have excluded the walls of Rome from the scope of my work. This is not only because the Servian walls predate my chosen timeframe, having substantially fallen into dilapidation by the Augustan period, but also because their scale and complexity raise different issues. I have also excluded free-standing arches of the Augustan period from my thesis, limiting my scope to city walls and their contiguous gateways.

1.2.3 Presentation of the thesis

After this introductory chapter, my thesis is structured as follows:

- Chapter 2 presents an overview of key literature relevant to Roman city walls. Given the vast range of the literature, only a selection of key texts are reviewed, but I refer widely to other works, especially those relating to my case studies, throughout the thesis and associated appendices.
- Chapter 3 introduces the group of 19 Augustan city walls, focusing on the case studies, which will inform and illustrate the arguments in the rest of the thesis. A summary of the city walls of each of the case studies, with a brief discussion of key issues, is provided for each case study

in turn. Shorter synopses of the two non-walled towns which complement the case studies are also provided. Detailed information on each of the case studies, including full referencing, is in the appropriate appendix. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the distinctive features and common strands of the city walls of my case studies.

- Chapter 4 explores in greater detail some of the key issues raised in the preceding chapter on case studies. I consider first the ways in which city walls can be dated and the level of confidence we can have in the chronologies of city walls. I next look at some key attributes of city walls and their implications for an interpretation of city walls as symbols of self-representation and prestige. I then relate the political and propagandist importance of city walls in the Augustan period to the ideology of walls as revealed in the contemporary thought-world and visual representations. The chapter concludes by considering what city walls can add to our understanding of the relationship between political and administrative status and city walls.
- Chapter 5 considers how city walls and their gates were experienced by those who lived in, visited or travelled through walled cities. It looks at the visual impact of city walls in the landscape, how city walls were experienced in the context of collective memory and the importance of city walls in shaping and directing movement through cities.
- Chapter 6 presents and analyses my collection of inscriptions relating to city walls in Roman Italy.
- Chapter 7 sums up the conclusions of my research.

The main thesis is complemented by the following appendices:

- Appendix A presents brief information on the 19 city walls (and the four urban centres with monumental gateways but no continuous walled circuit) which I judge to date from the Augustan period.
- Appendix B summarises the key facts and figures for the city walls of my case studies.
- Appendices C-I contain the full write-up of my case studies (Augusta Praetoria, Fanum Fortunae, Hispellum, Saepinum, Urbs Salvia) and the two non-walled towns which complement them (Augusta Bagiennorum and Carsulae).
- Appendix J comprises my catalogue of inscriptions relating to city walls.
- Appendix K contains an ancillary list of inscriptions relevant to city walls, where I assess the evidence not to be sufficiently strong for inclusion in my main list ("possibles" as opposed to "probables").
- Appendix L provides a concordance between my primary and ancillary lists and the main secondary sources for inscriptions relating to city walls.

Chapter 2: City walls in the context of current scholarship

2.1 The treatment of city walls in recent literature

Research on city walls has traditionally concentrated primarily on material remains and literary evidence, offering an archaeological and historical interpretation based on excavation or archival work. Much of the existing literature is narrow in scope and focuses either on individual cities or on city walls as a separate class of monument, often published as conference proceedings or a collection of papers by different authors with concomitant unevenness in treatment, style or quality. While more emphasis is now being given to an interpretative and diachronic study of city walls, the potential to undertake an integrated analysis of city walls as part of the urban narrative remains underexploited. There has instead been more of a focus on functional and architectural descriptions or on the physical archaeology of a specific site or group of sites. Conversely, as I discuss below, some of the literature on urban form and development more widely pays inadequate attention to city walls as an important element in the context of public monuments.

The range of literature relevant to city walls is vast; I consider only a small selection in this review. I have chosen to focus my discussion on current and more recent research as this has a more direct bearing on the integrative nature of my work. I have also chosen to present my overview of relevant literature on a thematic basis as this reveals more clearly the shortcomings in existing coverage of the subject and allows a more systematic treatment of what might otherwise become an amorphous and disjointed discussion. I review the literature relevant to my study of inscriptions separately in Chapter 6.1 below. The specialist literature on each of my case study sites is covered in the relevant appendices.

Much of the earlier work on city walls and their gateways viewed them in terms of their aesthetic and architectural qualities, offering detailed descriptions of the techniques and styles employed and seeking to fit these within specific architectural canons. Lugli (1957), for example, was concerned with the classification and comparison of buildings, including walls, according to the materials and methods used in their construction, offering a descriptive rather than interpretative account. Richmond's articles *Commemorative arches and city gates in the Augustan age* (1933) and *Augustan gates at Torino and Spello* (1932) provided a detailed account of the structure and style of the gateways, with drawings, plans and photographs and cross-references to other relevant sites, but did not draw wider meaning from them. Similarly, a descriptive and aesthetic approach was taken by Ward-Perkins in his history of Roman imperial architecture (first published 1970), concentrating on form and function rather than on interpretation and contextualisation, while his

later work on city planning (1974) followed a dirigiste line as regards urban grid plans and city walls which has long been overtaken.

2.2 City walls as defensive structures

Roman urban defences in the west, a collection of papers published following a conference held in 1980 (Maloney and Hobley, 1983), was representative of a view commonly held at the time that city walls were about defence and that they should be seen as a functional asset for fortification of the urban area. A more nuanced interpretation of the role and meaning of Roman city walls has prevailed more recently, under which the symbolic and ideological value of city walls has been increasingly recognised.[4] Two of the most influential proponents of this view have been Gros and Zanker. Summing up the debate at a conference in 1985 to discuss city walls, Gros noted that scholars had tended to concentrate on analysing city walls as fortifications – as indeed had been the case for a number of papers given at the conference – while paying insufficient attention to the social and cultural meaning of walls; he pointed out that there need not be a conflict between a defensive and a symbolic reading of city walls (Gros, 1987: 159-164).

Gros has expanded his views in other publications. Choosing a thematic structure to his 1996 work on Roman architecture, he offered an interpretative as well as a descriptive analysis of Roman buildings. In the first section of the book (1996:1-51), Gros assembled evidence for the development of city walls, drawing on key examples from across the Roman world, although most of the examples discussed are located in Italy and Gaul. Treating walls as more than a functional defensive asset, Gros considered the ideology of walls and gates and the literary sources for them as well as analysing the architectural and archaeological evidence. While not dismissing the defensive functions of city walls, Gros was much more interested in exploring the symbolic and ritual meanings of city walls and their decisive role in the organisation and demarcation of space within and outside the urban area (this was also treated in detail by Rykwert, 1988). Gros argued that the peak period of wall building in the first century BC, usually ascribed to the need for fortification in an unsettled period, also had religious, juridical and social overtones but he noted that it is during the Augustan period that the significance of city walls shifts, with greater weight laid on the political and self-aggrandising role of city walls and less on their defensive function.

In his classic handbook on Roman urbanism *Storia dell'Urbanistica: il mondo Romano* (Gros and Torelli, 2007), Gros commented that from the time of Augustus the walls of cities in the western provinces were built for reasons of prestige as well as defence (2007: 288). Two complementary factors may be at work here: the moral and ideological values invested by Augustus in the

[4] This re-evaluation of city walls and defence extends beyond the Roman field. See, for example, Creighton and Higham (2005) and Johnson (2002) on the relationship between walls and towns and walls and castles in the medieval period and, for the late antique period, Sami and Speed (2010).

meaning of city walls, emphasised by the imperial family's patronage of a number of new city walls; and the practical point that the heartland of the empire in Italy and southern Gaul was relatively peaceful, so that defence no longer needed to be the primary consideration (Gros, 1992:211-225). In short, Gros saw an ambiguity and dual purpose in the architecture and construction of city walls (1996:45).

Zanker argued that city walls in the Augustan period should be seen as a symbol of defence, as part of a programme of the militarisation of visual imagery (1988: 328): they represented the idea, but no longer the execution, of defence. He also recognised that city walls played an important role in defining a city's form and image. In his paper *The City as Symbol* (2000), for example, he discussed how city walls and gateways were used to define urban space and stressed the importance of city walls and their gateways both in framing the visual approach to cities and in shaping urban development.

On the other hand, the view that city walls of the Augustan period should be interpreted as defensive structures has remained surprisingly persistent in the specialist and site-specific literature. This is the position argued, for example, by Taus (2012, in respect of Fanum Fortunae), Ferrarato (1982, in respect of Saepinum) and Perna (2006, in respect of Urbs Salvia). One driver for this stance seems to be a misplaced endeavour to try to fit the attributes of individual city walls to the defensive features described and catalogued by Vitruvius (see, for example, Battistelli, 1986 for Fanum Fortunae, Ferrarato, 1982 for Saepinum, Perna, 2007 for Urbs Salvia). A close look at the archaeological evidence, however, as is set out in this thesis,[5] shows that it is impossible to force city walls into a rigid Augustan typology or to submit them to Vitruvian norms – even the Augustan walls of Fanum Fortunae, the city whose basilica is the only building we know to have been worked on by Vitruvius. As Wilson-Jones pointed out (2003:33-46), we should bear in mind the context within which Vitruvius worked. He was not writing a construction manual as much as a work which advocated the practice of architecture as art-based science to be commended to patrons and other non-experts, in particular to Augustus, to whom *De Architectura* was dedicated. The detailed analysis of the city walls, towers and gateways of my case studies in the appendices refutes the arguments in the specialist literature on the defensive nature of city walls and aims to demonstrate clearly that these Augustan city walls were about much more than defence.

2.3 City walls in the study of urbanism

The potential to use evidence from city walls to shed light on wider research issues in the study of urbanism was flagged some time ago. In 1985, for example, Hurst questioned why defences "are not studied more like, say, temples or fora, and look at them as a reflection of a community's

[5] See the appendices for a detailed argument in respect of each of my case study sites.

resources and contact with the rest of the world" (1985:351). Response to this challenge has been mixed, however, as recent examples of work on urbanism may illustrate. Revell (2009) considered what it meant to be Roman and in particular how the use of public space affected the construction of identities. She explored this by means of eight case studies and through specific building types. Of the eight urban centres selected as case studies, all but one (Clunia) had city walls. But the role of city walls in the public, political and religious architecture of an urban community was not discussed. Revell identified urbanism, the authority of the emperor and religious practice as fundamental structures in a shared idea of being Roman (2009:5). These themes, together with some of the key issues analysed by Revell – the use of public space to reinforce hierarchy and status, the experience of public buildings to shape identity – are all, in my view, very relevant to the relationship between an urban community and its city walls and warrant greater attention. Revell discussed the importance of the urban fabric of a city in defining elite status and negotiating social identity, drawing in particular on the examples of the basilica, curia, tribunal, baths and entertainment venues, but not city walls or gates. Moving on from more traditional architectural and historical interpretations of public buildings, Revell's book offered an informed and important approach to the articulation of social identities and power through urban public space. But the opportunity to bring evidence from city walls to bear on her argument and thus to reinforce and further develop her fresh outlook on urbanism was missed.

Thomas's weighty book *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: architecture in the Antonine Age* (2007) considered what the idea of "monumentality" meant to people in the Roman era (in fact covering a much wider timeframe than the Antonine period) and how urban communities expressed their aspirations and identities through monumental public buildings. Thomas discussed the symbolic significance of architecture and how the relationship between cities and benefactors, and cities and emperor, was played out through the medium of public buildings. Like Revell and others (for example, Laurence, 2007), Thomas was interested in how contemporaries viewed and experienced architectural forms. He discussed monuments and memory (2007:165-204) and argued that a building may explicitly invoke and commemorate the past while continuing to hold meaning for the future. He also considered how contemporary viewers might have responded to monumental buildings and how buildings may have been used to elicit a particular response. Although Thomas noted that monumental building may encompass structures which had a practical utility (2007:239), he gave very little attention to the place of city walls in monumental building and only a little more to city gates.

Laurence et al. (2011) offered an overview of the development of the city in the western empire, focusing on the changing nature of urbanism through public buildings and the articulation of urban space. With a wide scope in both geographic and temporal terms, consideration of some issues was necessarily brief. But the importance of city walls in the foundation and definition of a city was recognised and discussed. This is perhaps not surprising given that one of the co-authors has a

specific interest in the archaeology and history of the urban periphery and boundary (see, for example, Esmonde Cleary, 2003, 2007). The authors analysed the importance of colonisation in the expansion of the Roman sphere of influence and the associated development of a common complement of public buildings (including city walls). A key theme of the book was individual variation in the adoption and nature of a pattern of urban development both between and within regions and provinces. In an earlier volume of papers considering the nexus between city and countryside, Perring discussed the relationship between the spatial organisation of a city and its social organisation, using evidence mainly from Roman Britain and Gaul. He recognised the importance of city walls in defining the urban boundary, and argued that defensive considerations were less important in the walls of some second and third century Romano-British cities than the control and exploitation of traffic at entrance points through the walls (Perring, 1991:288-289).

The relevance of city walls to the study of urbanism had been recognised some time previously by Gabba. In an article analysing the development of urbanism (1972), he stressed the relationship between urbanisation and its wider social context. He linked monumentalisation of urban centres in the first century BC to the process of municipalisation following the Social War and changes in socio-political structures at local level, which accompanied a major shift in the idea of what a city was and how it should operate. He also identified a geographic divergence in the spread of urbanisation, seeing it as a process directed by Rome in northern Italy but as more organic in central southern Italy (1972:110). Gabba chose to use city walls as his exemplar of urban development, because, in his view, city walls represented an indispensable and typical feature of a city. Gabba argued that the construction of city walls and urban renewal were closely linked although he also acknowledged the defensive importance of city walls in this period (1972:108).

Sommella's *Italia Antica: l'urbanistica romana* (1988) offered an overview of Roman urbanism, incorporating archaeological and historical evidence but its broad sweep meant that discussion of individual sites and building types was inevitably limited. Sommella followed a chronological structure, providing brief descriptions of selected cities within each historical period which are now somewhat out of date (for example, our understanding of Urbs Salvia and Fanum Fortunae has increased significantly since the descriptions and plans published in Sommella's book). His analysis focused on the functional role of city walls within a planning framework (1988:227-250) but paid little attention to the social and cultural implications. Also not entirely satisfactory, in my view, is the approach taken by a more recent handbook, *Storia dell'architecttura italiana* (Von Hesberg and Zanker, 2012), which rather than offering an integrative overview consisted of a collection of papers by different authors on the development and history of Roman cities in Italy, some focusing on individual cities (such as Mollo Mezzena on Augusta Praetoria), some treating a specific theme (such as Heinzelmann on ports) and others taking a broader scope (such as Ward-Perkins on cities in late antiquity).

A different approach was taken by Goodman (2007). Her focus was on the areas which surround urban centres and on urban boundaries of all types, city walls being only one. Goodman explored the concept of the urban periphery and its place in the urban-rural dichotomy, with a particular focus on material from Gaul. Having argued that the definition of urban space through a clear demarcation of the urban boundary helped to create a specific urban culture, Goodman demonstrated how a close examination of the urban periphery could enhance our understanding of wider research issues, for example the nature of the Roman city, the ambiguous and continuing negotiation between city and countryside, and the political relationship of local elites with Rome. Goodman's theme, however, was on the relationship between town and country and how that found expression in the periurban area, not specifically on city walls. Given that most urban areas in Gaul were without walls until the late empire, it is not surprising that an examination of city walls as one manifestation of an urban boundary and a detailed analysis of the implications did not form a central part of Goodman's work.

2.4 City walls in the western empire

More commonly, city walls have been studied as isolated phenomena, either on an individual basis or as a separate categorisation within the study of an urban centre, concentrating mainly on the physical appearance of the walls. Where the walls of a single city are the subject of a standalone study, such as Trevisanato's work on the walls and gates of Concordia Iulia (1999), they tend to be examined as if in a vacuum with detailed local investigation but little in the way of contextualisation or broader conclusions. Roman city walls have been the focus of occasional conferences but the published papers from them have generally been rather limited in scope, presenting a disparate collection of papers often reporting recent archaeological excavations from specific sites rather than attempting an interpretative analysis of city walls. Where individual sites are concerned, earlier archaeological work is considered, reports on current research and work in progress are made, the most recent findings interpreted and often the presumed course of the city walls reconstructed. This makes such collections useful mines of information but they do not fill the gap of exploring the nature and meaning of walls more widely. For example, a regional survey of city walls in Lombardia was published as the result of a conference (AAVV, 1993). While providing information on individual city walls in this region (and also on the city walls of Augusta Taurinorum and Verona), cross-cutting issues were not covered at all.

A wide geographic scope was attempted by Rodriguez Colmenero and Roda (2007). Of the 35 papers presented in *Murallas de ciudades romanas en el occidente del imperio*, 24 covered the city walls of specific sites in Roman Spain. Individual papers on city walls in Rome, Pannonia, Britain, Croatia (two papers) and France (three papers) were also included, as were papers on Constantinople and Syria (beyond the stated geographic range). The first paper in the published volume, by Adam, offered an interpretation of city walls which ranged widely in both geography

and chronology. In this paper (2007:21-46), he charted a gradual shift in the purpose of city walls from a functional protection for people and their basic infrastructure (such as water supply) to an ideological statement of power and prestige, concluding with the suggestion that city walls in modern times have, with a warped sense of purpose, become nothing more than a symbol of pleasure and nostalgia.

It is notable that comparative syntheses of city walls have tended to concentrate on a geographic rather than temporal coverage, thereby losing one important dimension for analysis. *Les enceintes Augustéennes dans l'occident romain* (Colin, 1987), one of the few works which aimed to focus on city walls within the context of a specific time period, set out to summarise the current state of research on city walls in the western empire but in fact comprised 10 papers on city walls in France, not all of them Augustan, or even Roman, out of a total of 15. The wider context was considered in summaries of research on city walls in Spain, Italy and North Africa. A synthetic overview to the volume was provided by Gros, whose approach is perhaps best summed up in his contention that city walls embodied the ambiguities and contradictions of the Roman empire as well as its grandeur and power, being "à la fois lien et séparation, instrument et symbole, marque de grandeur et symptôme de crainte, signe d'autonomie et stigmate de servitude" (1987:164).

2.5 A regional focus for the study of city walls

Within Roman Italy, a number of authors have chosen a regional focus for the study of city walls. Bonetto (1998) undertook a study of city walls in Transpadana. Viewing walls primarily as defensive architecture, he analysed the typology and construction techniques of different elements which comprise a defensive circuit – the walls themselves, towers, gateways, postern gates and earth ramparts or ditches – and then compared them across the cities of Transpadana. Bonetto also discussed the archaeological evidence for the walls of these urban centres and considered the relationship between, on the one hand, a city's walls and the wider geomorphological setting and, on the other hand, a city's walls and its internal urban layout. Bonetto situated his work in the context of wider research on the process of urbanisation (1998:21) but while he touched on cross-cutting issues and on the place of city walls in the historical framework of the region, for example on the issue of city walls and administrative status (1998:171-173) or on the symbolic meaning of walls (1998:176-178), this was not the focus of his research.

The city walls of Umbria were investigated by Fontaine (1990). He marshalled the archaeological evidence for the city walls of ten urban centres in Umbria, providing for each city detailed information on the topography and context of the site, previous research on the city walls, an in-depth catalogue of extant remains and material evidence, and a guided perambulation round the urban perimeter. Fontaine had particular difficulty with issues of chronology, as in many urban centres in Umbria only traces of the city walls survive and are very problematic to date securely

with no associated epigraphic or literary evidence and a limited publication record from excavations. Fontaine invoked information from construction techniques, topographical situation and historical context to help assign dates, arguing in a number of instances that the sophistication of construction should mean a later, post-Roman conquest date, and in particular that the city walls of major centres should be associated with Roman colonisation. Fontaine also considered the position of urban centres in Umbria which did not have walls, or, as Fontaine was careful to acknowledge, where walls have not yet been identified or whose urban boundaries might have been marked in a different, not archaeologically traceable, way (1990:351).

A collection of papers on Roman cities in northern Italy (AAVV, 1990) included some discussion of broader themes as well as presentation of recent archaeological research on individual sites. Among the papers was one focusing on the walls, gateways and arches of Regio X (Venetia et Histria). In it, Rosada commented on the religious significance of city walls. He suggested that ritual ceremonies linked with defining the urban boundary were as important as defensive needs, especially for new settlements and colonies. Surveying city walls in the region across a longer timeframe, Rosada noted that there was a move away from defence to monumentalisation and showed how care was taken to optimise the placement of city walls and their gateways within the urban frame of the city (AAVV, 1990:365-409).

Chrzanovski (2006) investigated the urbanism of Roman cities in Regio XI. Relying to a considerable extent on secondary literature and offering limited analysis of individual sites, Chrzanovski's work took the form of a gazeteer. Under each entry, he provided a reasonably consistent treatment of the history and material evidence for urban structures, including where applicable city walls. But the scope of his work meant that individual sites received only a short summary and the limited extent of overall evaluation was hampered by a strong penchant for the term "Romanisation". A similar exercise was undertaken by Panero for Piemonte (2000). In my view, this is a more successful work. Panero chose to concentrate on fewer sites and was thus able to give them more considered treatment and analysis. A regional focus in the north of Italy was also taken in volumes edited by Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini (1998) and Brecciaroli Taborelli (2007), the former concentrating on the Via Postumia and the latter on Cisalpina. Both consisted of collections of papers from many different contributors, often presenting the results of recent archaeological work, and therefore have some issues in terms of overall coherence and consistency. In view of the poor publication record of some individual sites, however, edited volumes like these give wider circulation to important research, including for example on the city walls of Augusta Taurinorum and Tridentum.

Roman Aemilia was the subject of a collection of papers edited by Marini Calvani (2000). Disappointingly, however, in a book over 600 pages long, only 10 pages were given to specific consideration of city walls (a short article by Guarnieri). City walls in the neighbouring region of what is now the Marche were the focus of overview articles written by Paci and Perna (2001) and

Perna (2012a). There is some overlap between the two, both providing a synthesised account of the latest research on city walls in this part of Italy. A more detailed treatment of city walls in Picenum, especially the walls of Urbs Salvia, in the context of colonisation and urban development was provided by Delplace (1993), although some of her observations have been overtaken by recent archaeological work.

2.6 City walls in the context of space and movement

Space is currently a "fashionable term in scholarship" (Jenkyns, 2013:vii), along with the architecture of movement. Where city walls exist, they are in my view fundamental to an analysis of space and movement with the urban area. Laurence et al. recognised this, arguing that the street grid and definition of the urban perimeter were essential elements in the organisation and articulation of public space (2011). They built on MacDonald's theory of armatures (1986) to propose a thesis of the "aesthetics of Roman urbanism" or of connective space (2011:116) which highlighted the importance of spatial sequencing and views to maximise the visual and experiential impact of the city. MacDonald's 1986 work has been very influential on subsequent work on space and movement. He identified an organisational logic which shaped patterns of movement and experience through the city, defining as armatures the way in which through routes, open spaces and public buildings were connected in a directional system "from gate to gate" (1986:5). He saw mutual interaction and dependency between the individual elements of armatures, with architectures of passage such as arches and entranceways prominently and carefully positioned.

MacDonald considered the main street running from the entrance into the city to the forum at its centre to be the most important armature. This is intuitively sensible but has been borne out in recent statistical analyses of urban space, principally using the tool of space syntax. For example, building on the work of Grahame at Pompeii (2000) and Kaiser at Emporiae (2000), Stöger employed a statistically based spatial approach to analysing the urbanism of Ostia (2011). She investigated the way in which space and movement acted as connectors in Ostia and how different areas are interconnected by vision or access. Using axial analysis, which looks at the likely routes people may have used to move through city on the assumption (*inter alia*) that they would have followed a straight course where possible, Stöger noted that the most integrated and accessible streets in Ostia were the eastern and western *decumani* (which linked the Porta Romana and the Porta Marina) and the Via della Foce, which led from the forum to the mouth of the Tiber. She identified features such as arches and fountains on the route of these streets as key means of ordering space along visual principles, although she paid little attention to the city gates at their start and end points and the gates are not highlighted as important visual markers.

MacDonald's theory of armatures is quite an abstract way of thinking about space. By adding people to the equation, we bring to life our exploration of urban space. The concept of movement

as an important way of enhancing our understanding of how Roman cities were experienced had earlier been explored through narrative, for example by Purcell (1987b) who described the changing view of a traveller leaving the Roman Forum and heading out of Rome, and in rather more flowery language by Favro (1996), who gave two experiential accounts of people moving through the Roman cityscape at specific points in time. A more structured approach is appropriate and this was provided in two recent contrasting but complementary works. Jenkyns' *God, Space, & City* (2013) was firmly grounded in a detailed analysis and exploration of primary sources, especially Augustan ones. Through them he considered contemporary perceptions of and attitudes to the city of Rome. His chapter on movement looked at the different connotations of moving around the city at varying paces, at the activity of urban routes and at the significance of descending to and entering (through the gates) into the city. He concluded that "movement in the city is especially prominent in the Romans' conceiving of their social, moral, political and religious identity" (2013:143). Although some of the contributors to *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: movement and space* (2011) examined literary sources, the main focus of Laurence and Newsome's book was archaeological evidence. Going beyond an analysis of space, the authors argued that movement should be a key principle by which we analyse the use of space within and around cities. Of particular relevance to my work is the paper by Malmbug and Bjur on the impact of movement in the context of city gates. They showed how movement shaped everyday experience at the liminal points of a walled city and demonstrated the close connection between movement though a place and urban development. This offers a fresh perspective on city gates, which from the time of Richmond (1933) have tended to be analysed in terms of their architectural value rather than their integrative place in the urban context (see, for example, De Maria, 1988).[6]

The role of city gates was considered by Van Tilburg in his overview of *Traffic and congestion in the Roman Empire* (2007). The use of the word congestion, with its perjorative overtones, may be somewhat unfortunate, as Van Tilburg presented no convincing evidence that there was congestion in Roman times or, if there was, that the Romans cared enough to do anything about it (he did conclude that city gates were a particular problem). Although the book incorporated interesting facts and figures, the narrative is somewhat disjointed with considerable repetition. Moreover, Van Tilburg did not sufficiently explore some of his insights – for example, he noted the difference in widths in the entranceways of city gates, but did not unpick the implications for movement and traffic in the city over time. His eclectic use of sources also gives some cause for concern about reliability: for Augusta Praetoria, for example, there is a mass of recent, relevant literature (see Appendix C) which makes his citations of Schultze's *Die römischen Stadttore* (1910) and Brands' *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien* (1988) rather dubious.

[6] The scope of my thesis covers city walls and their continguous gates. Free-standing arches are excluded.

2.7 A quantitative approach to city walls

Other commentators have concentrated on providing catalogues of data. An important collection of data on city walls and other public structures in Roman Italy and North Africa was prepared by Jouffroy (1986), using archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources.[7] She listed and compared her material by chronology, geographic location, building type and source of finance. Jouffroy's work is an invaluable starting point but is far from comprehensive. Jouffroy herself acknowledged this, commenting (1986:368) that she had listed evidence for city walls on about 120 urban sites in Roman Italy but that doubtless there were more.[8] As well as overlooking information about some sites, for example the walls of Saturnia which were already published at the time of her research, subsequent discoveries have rendered Jouffroy's work out of date (though not obsolete). For example, Jouffroy listed some 59 inscriptions relating to city walls in Italy in the republican, Augustan, Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. My research, which covers the republican and imperial periods to AD100, brings together 80 inscriptions relating to city walls (see Appendix J).

It was not Jouffroy's primary purpose to synthesise and interpret the evidence she presented nor to consider public buildings as a social and cultural phenomenon, but her work has been built on by a number of scholars. For example, Lomas summarised evidence on public building in Italy using Jouffroy's data (Lomas and Cornell, 2003) and applied it to argue that civic construction programmes in Italy owed less to the broad political and economic situation or to explicit power relations and ideology but more to "competition for local and regional status, both between cities and individuals" (2003:41). Jouffroy's main aim was to present rather than to draw conclusions from the data and for this her work remains a useful source of quantitative material.

Conventi (2004) provided a catalogue of data on 40 urban centres in Roman Italy. Her purpose was to use the data to undertake a quantitative analysis of the sites, and thus cities with a known perimeter – normally city walls – were privileged along with cities where the urban centre is well understood and adequately published. She presented a tabular record in which each city was catalogued by urban footprint, street grid, *insulae* and forum while specific urban structures including the city walls, theatre and baths were classified chronologically. While useful for comparative purposes, the format necessarily means that data are simplified and uncertainties left unexplained. For example, it is not meaningful to present data on private housing on a similarly quantitative basis to, say, a basilica, as there is insufficient evidence from any of the sites listed by Conventi to know what proportion of the urban area was used for private housing.

[7] I consider Jouffroy's work in greater detail in my review of the literature on inscriptions relating to city walls, in Chapter 6.1.
[8] Indeed there were. Sewell calculated that 451 of "higher order settlements" south of the River Po had fortifications, although his reported level of confidence in their existence varied (2015).

Like Jouffroy, and for similar reasons, Conventi made little attempt to synthesise the evidence. But her quantitative analysis of the data, provided graphically as well as textually, is interesting and unusual. For example, she presented data on the ratio of the area of the urban centre to the area of the forum, ordered in three different ways (by chronological date, size of urban footprint and size of forum) (2004:159-164). Other analyses covered the intramural or extramural location of the amphitheatre and the positioning of the basilica relative to the forum. Other scholars have used similar quantitative data – for Roman Britain, for example, Brigham (1992:81-95) analysed the ratio between an urban centre's forum-basilica complex and the area enclosed by the city walls, highlighting its consistency across the province – but few have concentrated on the presentation of quantitative data to the relegation of qualitative discussion. A very real drawback of Conventi's approach is that it depends hugely on the availability and reliability of the evidence and this is, to say the least, variable. Conventi provided a table rating the state of knowledge of individual structures for each city (2004:242). For city walls, only 24 of the 40 sites have good information and for many of them dating is particularly problematic. But this flakiness of evidence is not properly acknowledged in the catalogue of individual cities.

Sewell has recently made available online a database of nearly 600 urban centres (or, in his term, "higher-order settlements") in Italy south of the River Po, with an accompanying paper on methodology (Sewell, 2015, Sewell and Witcher, 2015). Using published archaeological evidence, primary texts and spatial data, Sewell assembled, sifted and collated a huge quantity of data to provide a very useful mine of summary information, including whether or not an urban centre was surrounded by walls and their approximate date. This is a brave venture, because inevitably the inclusion of so much data from individual sites will lead to questioning of specific entries. For example, Sewell assigned to the town walls of Sentinum a firm Augustan date (27BC-AD14) but a wider trawl through the specialist literature makes clear that the walls cannot be dated with confidence – except that the town certainly had walls before the Augustan period (see Chapter 4.1.6 below). Similarly, Sewell gave an Augustan date to the city walls of Cupra Maritima, based on Fortini's 1981 publication. More recent research, however, summarised by Perna (2012a), preferred a mid first century BC date. Sewell did acknowledge the issue of the uneven quality of his source material, and he went one better than Jouffroy and (to a lesser extent) Conventi in providing explicit levels of confidence in some of the data, including on the date ranges for city walls. Of the 583 sites in the database, Sewell assessed that 451 had or are suspected to have had fortifications. He classified only eight city walls as falling specifically within the Augustan period (with varying degrees of confidence). Of those eight, I concur with his classification of only six (Alba Pompeia, Augusta Bagiennorum, Fanum Fortunae, Hispellum, Peltuinum and Saepinum). His decision to include only sites south of the River Po, while doubtless pragmatic, does have some odd consequences, for example the inclusion of Augusta Taurinorum but the exclusion of Augusta Praetoria. Sewell's database is more useful, in my view, for the range of information he provided about each site than for unimpeachable statistics on city walls.

2.8 Conclusion

This survey of key literature relating to city walls cannot be comprehensive: the body of material is vast and growing. But my review supports my contention that, however extensive the current literature, there remain gaps in the treatment and understanding of city walls. In brief, this is either because scholars have used the medium of public architecture and the urban setting to consider important issues of urbanism, imperialism, culture and identity but have not fully exploited the potential of evidence from city walls in their analysis; or because academics have concentrated on the physical and historical attributes of a particular city wall or group of walls without properly focusing on their wider context and meaning. City walls are only one component of an urban centre's complement of public structures: by analysing the urban context as a whole, the end result can be greater than the sum of the individual parts.

I aim to address the gaps I have identified in academic research by exploring the character and meanings of city walls within the urban narrative and by examining what they can add to our understanding of urbanism. In contrast to much of the existing literature, I take as my starting point a relatively wide geographic area (Roman Italy) and a relatively narrow chronological window (the Augustan period).

Chapter 3: Exploring city walls: case studies

3.1 Introduction

As is discussed in the literature review in the preceding chapter, my research focus recognises a dual gap in current scholarship: existing studies of urbanism do not sufficiently exploit city walls as a tool for analysis; and existing studies of city walls tend to be narrowly focused and based on a geographic, rather than a time-bound, scope. My work addresses this by investigating the character and meanings of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy, thus enabling me to explore the political and cultural implications of city walls and to investigate the potential of city walls to add to our understanding of urbanism and identity during the Augustan period.

This chapter introduces the group of city walls in Roman Italy which, in my judgement, date from the Augustan period. This group of city walls forms the basis for my research. Within the group, I have selected five city walls to analyse in greater detail. These case studies are summarised in this chapter, followed by a discussion which highlights their common threads and distinctive characteristics. Material from my case studies provides key evidence for the analysis throughout my thesis, supported by material from the wider group of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy.

3.1.1 Augustan city walls

I assess that 19 cities in Roman Italy constructed city walls during the Augustan period. These cities are Alba Pompeia, Augusta Praetoria, Augusta Taurinorum, Brixia, Concordia Iulia, Emona, Fanum Fortunae, Florentia, Hispellum, Laus Pompeia, Mediolanum, Peltuinum, Pola, Saepinum, Tergeste, Ticinum, Tridentum, Urbs Salvia and Venafrum. Their location is shown on the map at Figure 1. Key information about the circuit walls of these cities is at Figure 2 below and a more detailed discussion is at Appendix A, with an acknowledgement that there are a number of difficult unresolved issues, particularly over chronology. I judge that a further four towns (Augusta Bagiennorum, Carsulae, Libarna and Pollentia) did not build a complete circuit of walls around their urban area during the Augustan period but constructed monumental gateways or entrances into their town as a way of delineating their boundary. The location of these towns is also shown on the map at Figure 1 and information about them included in Appendix A. The map shows that, while city walls were built across northern and central Italy in the Augustan period, none is known to have been constructed in Italy south of Saepinum (in Samnium). This is perhaps not surprising, given the later spread of Roman influence and growth of urbanisation in the north of Italy, and the founding in northern or central Italy of triumviral or Augustan colonies at locations which were either greenfield sites or unwalled settlements. To the south, most cities were by the Augustan period already furnished with walls, as is clear from Sewell's database.

Figure 1: map showing location of Augustan city walls
Case studies are labelled in blue. Cities without complete circuits of walls are labelled in italics.

I have based my identification of Augustan city walls on a combination of available archaeological, material and epigraphic evidence, literary sources and historical context. The issues involved in assessing the chronology of city walls are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.1 below. Because of the difficulties involved in assigning precise chronologies, I have defined "Augustan" city walls loosely as covering the approximate period 40BC to AD20. But I have also kept an open mind, acknowledging that new evidence may cause the chronology of city walls to be re-evaluated; there will always have to be flexibility at the margins. Ultimately, it is a matter of judgement rather than an exact science. A comparison with the Augustan or early imperial walls identified by Jouffroy (1986) and Lomas (2000), however, suggests that my group of 19 Augustan city walls is not out of step, although not necessarily identical. Jouffroy listed 20 walls as belonging to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods[9] while Lomas counted 21 walls built between 30BC to AD100, all of which date to the earlier part of this period (she did not identify the individual cities). It is not possible to make an easy comparison with Sewell's database (2015), partly because his geographic coverage is different and partly because his methodology led him to record a wide chronological range for the construction of walls at each site, from the earliest possible date to the latest possible date.

[9] Jouffroy gave two inconsistent totals for walls in the Augustan period and first century AD, listing 20 walls at pages 65-6 in her catalogue but summarising the total as 19 walls at page 320. Augusta Bagiennorum and Carsulae, which did not have continuous walled circuits (see Appendices H and I), were included in her total.

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, there was no such thing as a "typical" or representative Augustan walled circuit. The table at Figure 2 below provides key information for each of the 19 cities with Augustan walls and highlights their diversity in size and form.

City	**Status**	**Area**	**Perimeter**	**Plan**	**Technique (outer face)**	**Height/width**	**Inscription**
Alba Pompeia	M	33ha	2.1km	octagonal	opus vittatum	8-9m/1.5m	no
Augusta Praetoria	C	42ha	2.5km	rectangular	opus quadratum	6.5m/1.5-1.9m	no
Augusta Taurinorum	C	48ha	3km	rectangular (champfered)	opus vittatum	nk/1.8m	yes
Brixia	CC	50ha	3km	irregular	opus vittatum	nk/1.7m	yes
Concordia Iulia	C	40ha	2.1km	rectangular (champfered)	opus testaceum	8m/2-2.6m	no
Emona	C	22ha	1.9km	rectangular	opus quadratum?	6-8m/2.5m	yes
Fanum Fortunae	C	21ha	1.8km (incl seafront)	irregular	opus vittatum	12m/1.8m	yes
Florentia	C	20ha	1.8km	3 regular, 1 irregular side	opus testaceum	nk/2m	no
Hispellum	C	15ha	1.8km	irregular	opus vittatum	13m/2.4m	possibly
Laus Pompeia	M	36ha?	nk	nk	opus testaceum	nk	yes
Mediolanum	M	72ha	3.5km	irregular	opus testaceum/ opus quadratum	7-9m/1.6m	no
Peltuinum	P	22ha	nk	irregular	opus quadratum (gates)	nk	no
Pola	C	20ha	1.6km	irregular	opus incertum?	nk	yes (archway)
Saepinum	M	12ha	1.3km	irregular	opus quasi-reticulatum	4.8m/1.75-1.9m	yes
Tergeste	C	nk	3km	irregular	opus quadratum	5.5m/2-3m	yes
Ticinum	M	38ha	2.8km	regular?	nk	nk	yes
Tridentum	M	13ha	1.2km	rectangular	opus mixtum	4-5m/1.2-1.3m	yes
Urbs Salvia	C	45ha	2.7km	irregular	opus testaceum	nk/1.5-1.6m	no
Venafrum	C	27ha	2.1km	rectangular	nk	nk/1.3m	no

Figure 2: key information on Augustan city walls
C=colony; CC=*colonia civica*; M=*municipium*; P=*praefectura*; nk=not known

3.1.2 Case study sites

I have selected five cities in Roman Italy with walls which can reasonably securely be dated to the Augustan period to use as case studies, so as to present comparable information from a manageable and coherent group of sites. These are the cities of Augusta Praetoria, Fanum Fortunae, Hispellum, Saepinum and Urbs Salvia. I have also looked in detail at two further sites which underwent significant development in the Augustan period but which are generally held not to have been enclosed by a walled circuit (Augusta Bagiennorum and Carsulae).[10] These sites act as something of a control, enabling me to compare and contrast cities with and without city walls. The locations of my case study sites are shown in blue on the map at Figure 1.

I use my case studies throughout to provide informed commentary on the issues under discussion and to illustrate my analysis. The purpose of the case studies is to provide some rigour in considering issues and suggesting conclusions in relation to city walls, and to enable me to analyse a small number of city walls in depth. In addition, I have drawn on information from the wider group of Augustan city walls, and where necessary and relevant, from walled circuits of a small number of other cities. A full analysis, with comprehensive referencing, of each of the case studies is presented at Appendices C to I; this chapter provides an overview of each site. A summary of the key facts and figures about each of the case studies is presented in Appendix B.

The criteria on which my selection of case studies is based include:

- geography. My case studies are located throughout Italy, from Saepinum towards the south to Augusta Praetoria in the north. They cover four different regions, Saepinum in Regio IV (Samnium), Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum in Regio VI (Umbria et Ager Gallicus), Urbs Salvia in Regio V (Picenum) and Augusta Praetoria in Regio XI (Transpadana). Of the two centres in Regio VI, one – Fanum Fortunae – is on the coast while Hispellum is 100km (kilometres) inland;
- confidence in chronology. The walls of all five cities can be dated with reasonable confidence to the Augustan era. A full discussion of dating issues for each city is provided in the individual case study appendices;
- availability of data. The walls of the five case studies have been subject to archaeological investigation, although the extent and quality of the evidence varies as does the recent publication record. A thorough review and critique of the available literature and other evidence is provided in the appendices. I have made field visits to all the sites;
- extent of knowledge. I have chosen to focus on urban centres which are not necessarily well known, especially in the English-speaking world. I decided not to consider the walls of cities

[10] The evidence for this is argued in Appendix H (Augusta Bagiennorum) and Appendix I (Carsulae).

such as Ostia, Cosa, Rome and Pompeii, which would in any case be ruled out on chronological grounds, because they have already been subject to detailed analysis;

- preservation. The walls of all five cities are preserved to a greater or lesser extent. This does not detract from the importance of good quality excavation, fieldwork and survey and their publication but removes some of the basic uncertainties which are present at many other sites;
- epigraphic evidence. Two of the case studies have inscriptions relating to the city wall (Fanum Fortunae and Saepinum) which are vital in assessing the date of the walls and interpreting their significance. The relevance of an inscription above one of Hispellum's city gates is doubtful and of the fragment at Urbs Salvia highly speculative. All the relevant inscriptions are discussed in detail both in Chapter 6 on inscriptions and in the appendices;
- administrative status. The case studies have been selected in order to provide diversity in political and administrative status and urban types. One (Saepinum) was a *municipium*. One (Augusta Praetoria) was a veteran colony founded on a greenfield site. One (Urbs Salvia) was probably a second century colonial foundation, refounded or reorganised as an Augustan colony. Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum were triumviral or Augustan colonies but each had a different pre-colonial status – Hispellum was a *municipium* while Fanum Fortunae was probably originally a *conciliabulum*;
- varied size and form. Although the city walls of the case studies were contemporary, the urban centres which they enclosed differ in terms of size and form. Saepinum, the smallest, covered an area of 12ha (hectares) (and there is no indication that the intramural area was fully built up) while the walls of Urbs Salvia enclosed 45ha. The perfectly rectangular perimeter wall of Augusta Praetoria surrounded a precise cadastral street grid exactly matched to the towers and gateways of the city wall. In contrast, the irregular walls of Hispellum surrounded a long and narrow urban strip adapted to the terrain of the site.

3.1.3 The use of non-walled urban centres as "controls"

In addition to the five walled cities used as case studies, I discuss two urban centres which underwent significant development in the Augustan period but which are not known to have been walled. The first is Carsulae, a *municipium* in Regio VI, which was strategically situated along the Via Flaminia as were Hispellum and Fanum Fortunae. The second is Augusta Bagiennorum, an urban centre in Regio IX (Liguria), which – despite its name – was not a colony. I have made field visits to both sites. To complement my analysis of the importance of city walls in the Augustan period, I consider why some towns such as Carsulae and Augusta Bagiennorum chose to mark their urban boundaries in a different way.

3.2 Augusta Praetoria

Augusta Praetoria – context

Augusta Praetoria (modern Aosta) was located some 600m (metres) above sea level in a steep and narrow Alpine valley, at the most northwesterly part of Roman Italy. Roman control over the valley, and thus over access to key Alpine passes, was secured following the defeat of the Salassi tribe in 25BC. The colony was founded soon after on what was effectively a greenfield site, although there is scattered evidence for occupation of the area since Neolithic times (Rossignani et al., 2009:288). The territory of Augusta Praetoria extended a long way, from the Alpine passes to the narrowing of the valley near modern Pont St Martin some 50km further down the valley (Chrzanovski, 2006:19) (Figure 3).

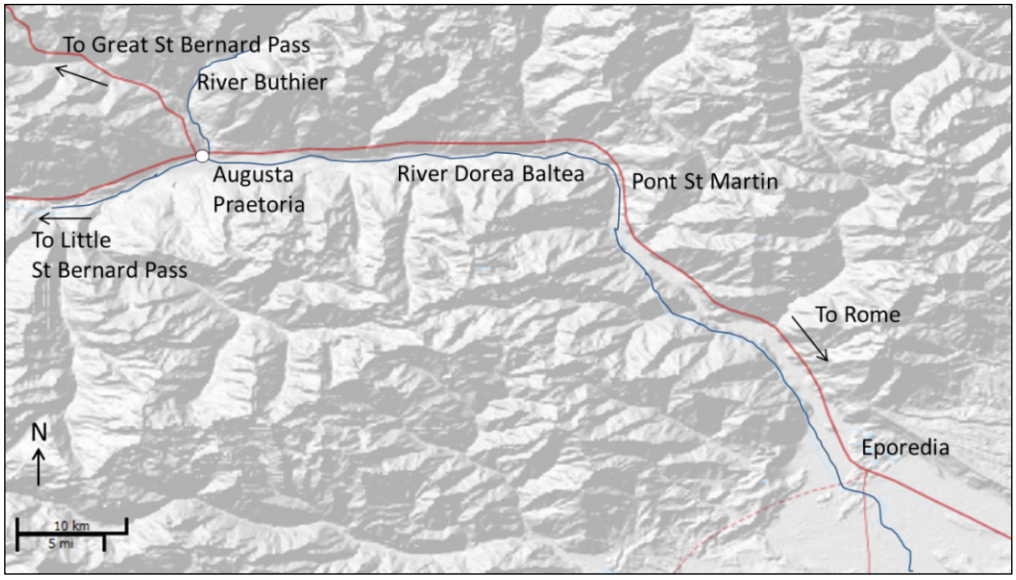

Figure 3: local context of Augusta Praetoria

The constraints of the terrain imposed limitations on the way in which Augusta Praetoria's territory could be allocated to and used by the colonial settlers. Hyginus Gromaticus commented on the difficulties of centuriation in mountainous areas and an illustration of a Colonia Augusta in the *Corpus Agrimensorum* (Figure 4) should probably be identified with Augusta Praetoria (Dilke, 1988:92-93).

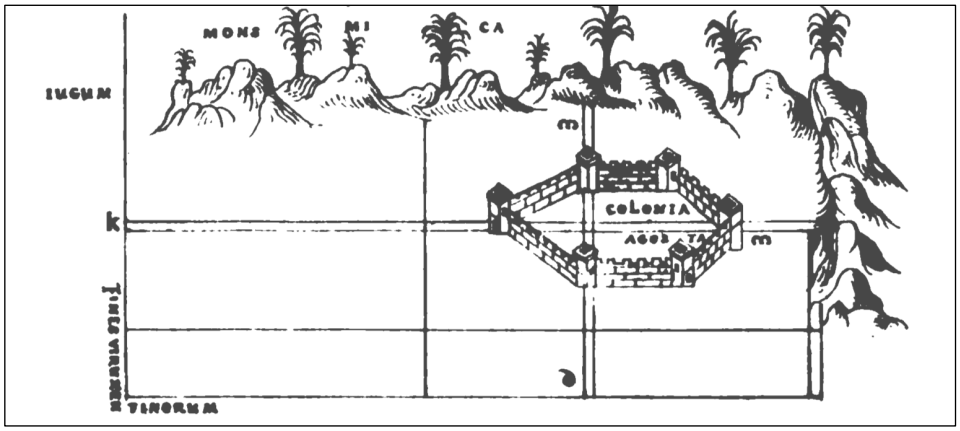

Figure 4: illustration from Hyginus Gromaticus

Strabo writes that the city was built on the site of a military camp.[11] This has led a number of commentators to argue that the urban planning of Augusta Praetoria was based on (or conducted by) the military (see, for example, Finocchi, 1963, Carducci, 1958:41-43). Recent consensus prefers to see more practical reasons of topography determining the layout of the city (see, for example, Mollo Mezzena, 2012:396). The layout of the city roughly followed the topography of the valley although the terrain on which it was built was not level, sloping by some 17m from the northeast corner to the southwest of the city. The site itself was bounded by rivers to the east and south and by steep terrain to the north.

Augusta Praetoria is often referenced as a model of urban planning (see, for example, Bertarione and Magli, 2015, Corni, 2004, Sommella, 1988:171-172) but it is in fact quite unusual in its symmetry, displaying a strikingly precise orthogonal layout within a perfectly rectangular walled circuit (Figure 5). Two gates are placed exactly halfway along the shorter sides. Two further gates are positioned three-quarters of the way along the longer sides. The *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* do not therefore intersect in the centre of the city. At the junction of these roads, which at 9.5m wide are the widest in the city, are situated the forum and the sacred area of the city, at the northern and higher part of the colony. Towers are placed at regular intervals along the circuit wall, each lining up with a major street some 8m wide. The minor streets, between 4m and 5m wide, divide up the city into 64 identical *insulae* (Mollo Mezzena, 1988). The spatial logic of the city internally is therefore inextricably tied to the spatial logic of the city walls and for this reason there can be no doubt that the city walls, gateways and towers were part of the original foundation of the colony and were conceived as a single project (Fazari, 2005:8).

[11] Strabo *Geographica* iv.6.7

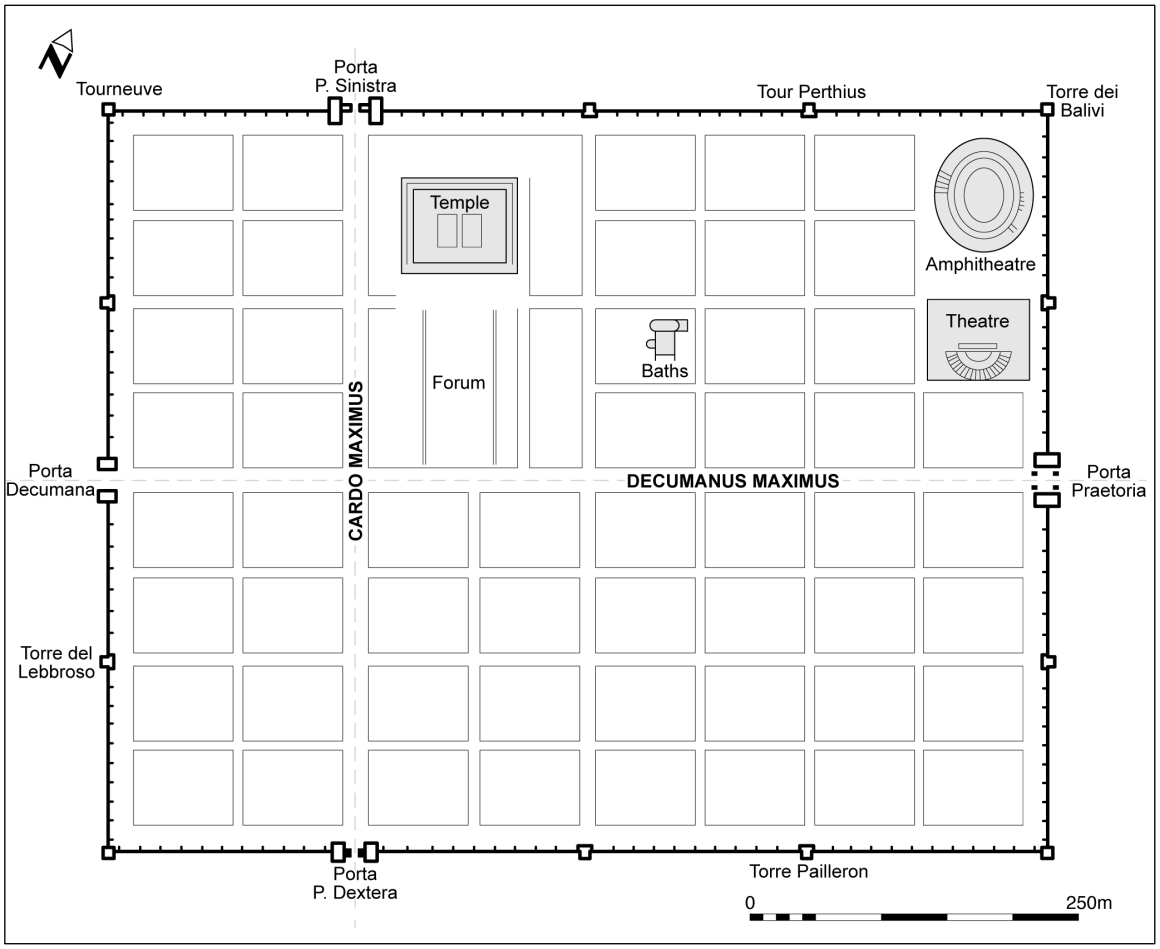

Figure 5: site plan of Augusta Praetoria

The city provides one of the best examples of axial planning in Roman Italy, extending beyond the walled circuit (Figure 6). The first significant structure which travellers from Rome encountered was the bridge over the River Buthier whence they could see, directly aligned with the road, the free-standing Arch of Augustus some 100m further on. The Arch of Augustus was built shortly after 25BC in honour of Augustus to commemorate the Roman victory over the Salassi[12] and is an early example of a monument type which Augustus deliberately used to further his ideological principles and to publicise his successes (AAVV, 2013:10). Through the Arch of Augustus and still in direct alignment was framed the Porta Praetoria, the main gateway in the walled circuit, some 400m away. Once inside the city, travellers were channelled along the wide *decumanus maximus* towards the forum, and beyond the crossroads of the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus* towards the Porta Decumana, whence travellers exited the city en route to the Little St Bernard Pass across the Alps.

[12] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 53,26,5

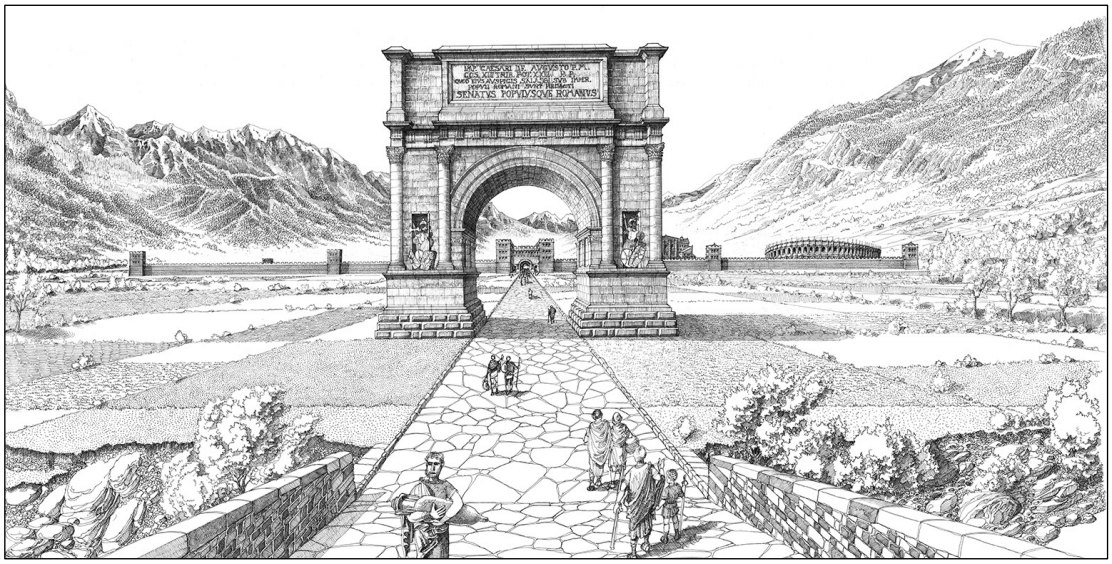

Figure 6: axial approach into the city, from bridge over the River Buthier looking northwest

Augusta Praetoria – city walls, towers and gateways

Surprisingly little detailed material has been published on the walls of Augusta Praetoria, given their importance and good state of preservation. Mollo Mezzena, who was the Soprintendente of the region and conducted many excavations in the city, published numerous papers over several decades, many of which touched on but none of which focused specifically on the walls. A photogrammetry and photographic survey of the city walls has been undertaken and published (Appolonia et al., 2007) but it did not offer any analysis or interpretation. The only publication of which I am aware which concentrates solely on the city walls is disappointingly generalist and insubstantial (Fazari, 2005). There is no known inscription relating to the city walls, towers or gateways.

The city walls enclose 42ha in a circuit of 2.5km. Each side of the rectangular circuit (727m x 574m) is punctuated by four towers and one gate, all regularly spaced and exactly matched to the street grid within. An earth rampart was built up against at least some parts of the wall on the inner side; evidence of the rampart has been found between the theatre and the wall (Bonetto, 1998:114) and to the east of the Porta Principalis Sinistra (Framarin et al., 2012). Framarin et al. also noted that an *intervallum* or open space some 18m wide existed from the time of the colony's foundation between the wall and the built-up area of the city. This may be an early pomerial or intramural road. Excavations in the vicinity of the Porta Principalis Sinistra revealed, however, that this open space had been built over by the middle of the first century AD.

The external façade of the city walls was built of squared masonry (*opus quadratum*) in travertine blocks set in regular courses, with a core of mortared cobbles and rubble (Figure 7). The internal façade of the wall was notably less impressive to look at, being faced in *opus incertum* using stones from the rivers nearby. The walls were 1.9m wide at their base, tapering by means of three offsets on both sides to about 1.5m wide at the top. They stood some 6.5m high (Fazari, 2005:10-11). A

cornice in travertine ran the length of the wall near its highest point. Unusually, buttresses some 1.65m wide and 3m deep were built at about 15m intervals against the inside of the wall on the northern, eastern and southern sides.

Figure 7: external façade of city walls of Augusta Praetoria, southern perimeter

There were two towers flanking each of the four city gates, four square corner towers and a further eight rectangular towers at regular intervals along the wall (20 in total). The rectangular towers were some 8-9m wide and sat astride the wall, slightly offset so as to project rather more towards the outside of the city. The tower wall which projected to the outside of the walled circuit was notably thicker than the part which faced the city (1.7m as opposed to 0.8m) (Bonetto, 1998:63). Rossignani et al. (2009:294) calculated that the towers would have stood about 4m higher than the city walls. The high number of windows in each tower and their large size stand in contrast to the solidity of the external walls and suggest that presenting an imposing and monumental appearance was of more importance that securing a defensible perimeter. Moreover, the towers were spaced much further apart than was appropriate for defence – some 120-140m apart along the two shorter sides of the circuit and 170-180m apart along the two longer sides.

An important discovery was recently made on the outside of Torre dei Balivi, the tower which stood at the northeast corner of the colony at the highest point of the city (Bertarione and Joris, 2012). In the course of a rescue excavation, a corner block was uncovered, still in its original position, which was sculpted on both sides. On one of the sides was carved an erect phallus and above it (probably) a spade or perhaps a *groma*. On the other side was portrayed another erect phallus and above it a carving which may be a plough and a further, badly eroded, figure which may be a bull or a Capricorn. The phalluses are unmistakeable but identification of the other

carvings requires some imagination. The sculpted block would originally have been in full view. I discuss its importance further at Chapter 3.9 below.

There were four gateways into the city. The gates were of two designs: those on the longer north and south sides of the walled circuit had single arches while those on the shorter east and west sides were triple arched. Of the gateways, Porta Praetoria, through which the road from Rome entered the city, was the most important and most elaborate (Figure 8). It took the form of a double gateway with an inner courtyard (*cavaedium*) and is the largest known Augustan gateway: the central archway measured some 9m high x 7m wide between two smaller archways measuring 6m high x 2.6m wide, while the overall complex (including the flanking towers) covered more than 900 square metres. Porta Praetoria was constructed from large irregular blocks of local pudding stone with an inner nucleus of pebbles mixed with mortar (Celestini and Molina, undated). It originally had a galleried arcade of which very little now remains but is assumed to have contained windows separated by engaged semicolumns, in the manner of other contemporary gateways (Rossignani et al., 2009:292). The grooves in each of the three arches into which *cataractae* were fitted can still be clearly seen. On either side of the central archway were niches for statues. In his study of Porta Praetoria (2005), Perinetti was able to confirm earlier suspicions that the now-visible strikingly two-toned coloured façade of the outer gateway did not date from the Augustan period but is somewhat later. The other three gateways into the city are much less well preserved, although their design and dimensions are known from excavation and survey.

Figure 8: Porta Praetoria, view of outer gateway from outside the city

The location of Augusta Praetoria at the approach to key passes through the Alps, surrounded by steep mountains and in only recently pacified territory, together with the robustness and solidity of

the city walls suggests that security was important to the colonial founders. Indeed, Owens described the colony as "overtly military" (1991:114). But Fazari cautioned that it would be a mistake to consider the walls as a purely functional defensive asset (2005:8). In my view a more sophisticated interpretation is appropriate and the city walls should be read as a statement of symbolic power as much as physical power. As Goodman put it (2007:60), "the perfectly rectangular circuit, with towers at regular intervals and a squared travertine facing, would have been no more effective against a besieging army than an irregular circuit of uncut stone. But it *would* have looked more impressive and imposing within the landscape." I concur with her conclusion that while the walls of Augusta Praetoria "probably did have a defensive function", the monumental character of the four gates and the imposing design and execution of the walled circuit suggest that form as well as function, meaning as well as purpose, were important.

3.3 Fanum Fortunae

Fanum Fortunae: context

Fanum Fortunae (modern Fano) was situated on Italy's Adriatic coast in Regio VI, its location predicated on land and sea communications. By land, the Via Flaminia reached the coast at Fanum Fortunae after crossing the central Apennines before turning north to Ariminum. By sea, Fanum Fortunae provided a link between the Via Flaminia and the eastern empire via the Adriatic (Musti, 2002), although the coastline is quite exposed here and the port was never an important one.

The early history and development of Fanum Fortunae are not well known, in part due to continuous occupation of the site. While there is plenty of evidence of scattered settlement near Fanum Fortunae in prehistoric times and during the pre-Roman period (Capriotti, 2009:237-238), there is surprisingly little evidence for pre-Roman or Roman nucleated settlement on the actual site of the future city until the Augustan period. It may originally have been a *conciliabulum* (Magnini, 2008:70). Keppie suggested that the town may have developed as a *statio* on the Via Flaminia (1983:184). More recently, however, it has been argued that the original route of the Via Flaminia bypassed the site of Fanum Fortunae altogether, turning north some 2km from the coast, until the Augustan monumentalisation of the city at which time the imperial highway was deliberately diverted to run through the city centre (see, for example, Luni et al., 2000:25, 31-33, 43-44).

A fragmentary inscription suggests that the town had the status of a *municipium* by the middle of the first century BC.[13] It became a colony under Augustus when it received a settlement of veterans, probably after the battle of Actium, taking the name Colonia Iulia Fanestris.[14] The walls,

[13] AE 1983, 00379
[14] CIL 11, 06232

street grid, aqueduct, drains and sewers and forum area are all considered to belong to the period immediately following the foundation of the colony (De Sanctis, 2012b:15-16).

The name Fanum Fortunae suggests that a cult or sanctuary to Fortuna was located in the area but its exact location has proved remarkably elusive. A number of alternatives are discussed in Appendix D. In my view, the most promising pre-Roman candidate is at Roncosambaccio, about 5km northwest of Fanum Fortunae, in view of its location, ease of access and association with Fortuna (see map of local context of Fanum Fortunae at Figure 9). Architectural fragments including doric capitols and columns have been discovered here and may belong to a sanctuary dating back to the mid second century BC (De Sanctis, 1992). Giovannini (2010) linked the site with the discovery a few kilometres away of a stone with a dedicatory inscription to Fortuna.[15] Within Fanum Fortunae itself, the most likely candidate for the location of the sanctuary in the Roman period is the San Agostino site, which has recently been subject to a thorough if geographically restricted re-examination (Volpe, 2011). De Sanctis argued that this may be the site of a temple and possibly the sanctuary of Fortuna (2011, 2012a), especially given its position both in relation to the theatre and on terracing which would have made it visible within the city and out to sea. As is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.2.1 below, I consider that the position of one of Fanum Fortunae's gateways through the city walls provides important clues which may help identify Roncosambaccio as the site of the pre-Roman sanctuary and signpost its subsequent relocation within the Roman colony.

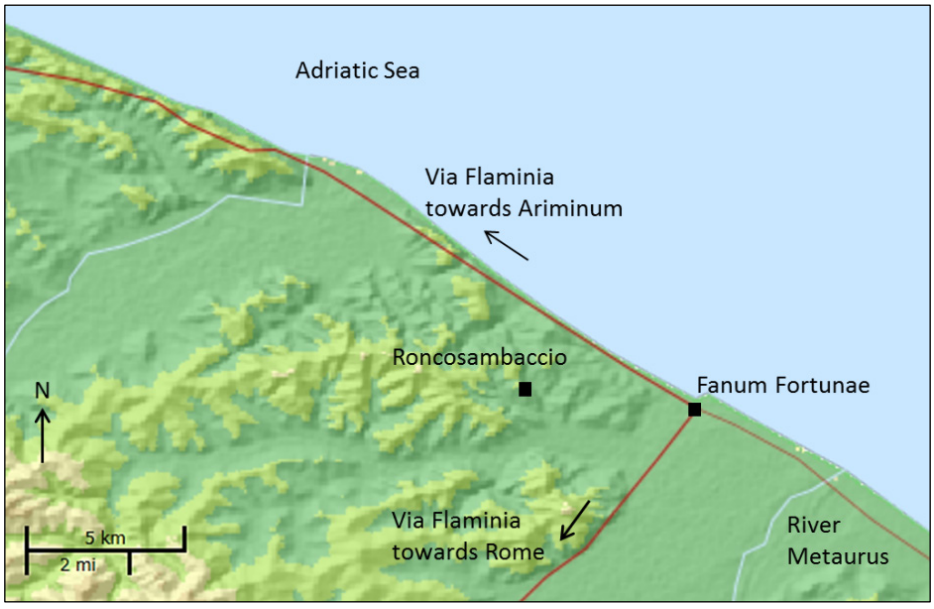

Figure 9: local context of Fanum Fortunae

[15] CIL 11, 06307 *Fortunae Respicienti sacrum*

Fanum Fortunae: city walls, towers and gateways

Until recently, the main synthesised source for the archaeological evidence of the city walls and gates of Fanum Fortunae was Luni (2000, 1992). That changed with a conference held in 2009 to celebrate the bimillennium of the dedication of the walls. The publication from that conference (Mignani and Pozzi, 2012) offered some fresh ideas on the city walls and gates, particularly through the extended analysis of De Sanctis.

The city walls are dated by reference to an imperial dedication of AD9-10 on the Porta di Augusto, Fanum Fortunae's monumental gateway (inscription 25 in my main catalogue of inscriptions at Appendix J).[16] The walled circuit, which enclosed 21ha, was some 1.8km long (about 1.2km excluding the seaward section). Currently about one-third of the circuit is extant and in places still stands to 9m high. The rest of the Roman wall was pulled down when the circuit was enlarged in the medieval period but its footprint on the landward side is not in serious question. The irregular shape of the circuit is probably mainly due to the topography of the site and the need to skirt the course of the River Arzilla (Figure 10).

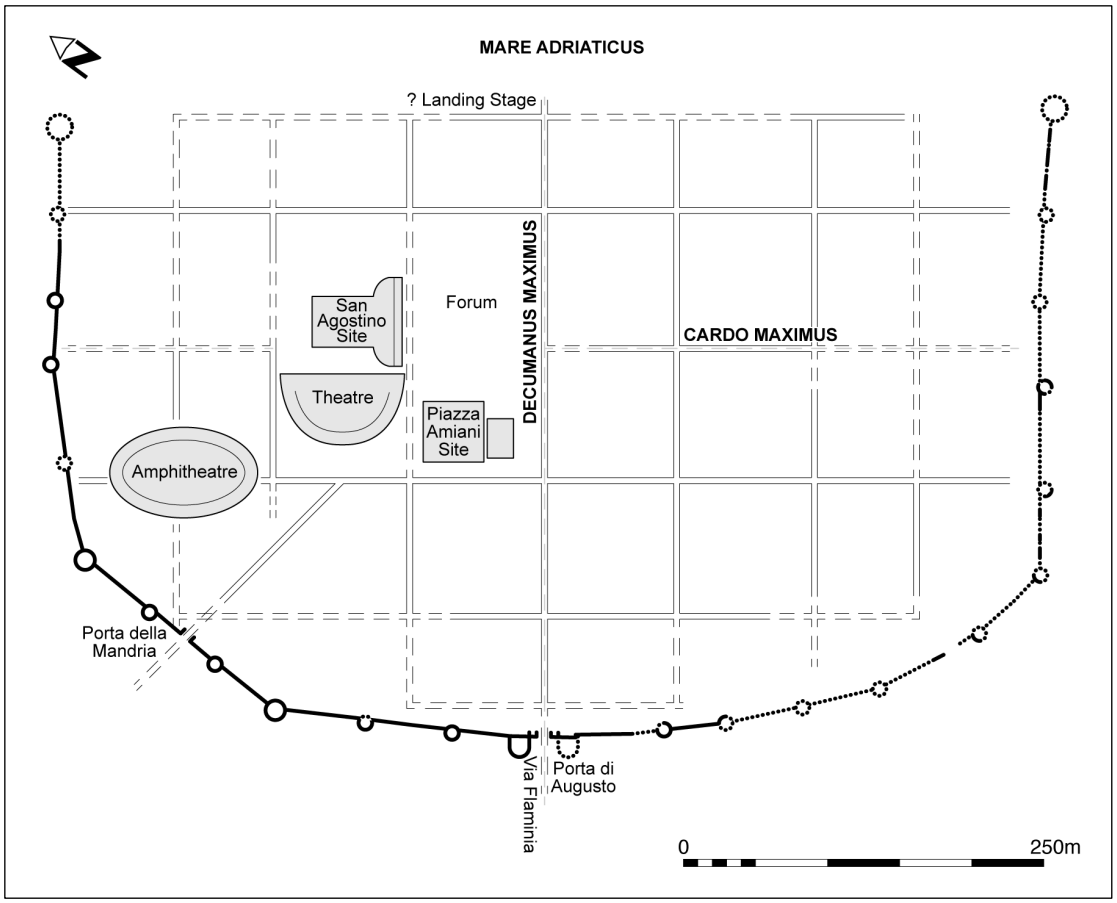

Figure 10: site plan of Fanum Fortunae

[16] CIL 11, 06218 *Imp(erator) Caesar(is) divi f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maximus co(n)s(ul) XIII tribunicia potest(ate) XXXII / imp(erator) XXVI pater patriae murum dedit.* The count of "imperator" is erroneously recorded as 26 rather than 16.

The walls were built in *opus vittatum* style from brick-like slabs of sandstone arranged horizontally with a cement core (Luni et al., 2000:107) (Figure 11). Their homogenous construction, and the way in which the towers and gateways are tied into the wall, suggest that the ensemble was designed and built as a single project. The width of the walls, at the top and at the base, was 1.8m with little variation, with foundations extending for about a meter on either side. Sisani calculated that the original height of the walls may have reached 14m (Sisani, 2006:260, see also Taus, 2012:118). This seems excessive, however, given that the height of the towers is calculated to be 12m (Luni et al., 2000:87) and it is extremely unlikely that the walled circuit was higher than the towers. I consider that a height of around 12m for the walls is more plausible, particularly as this would allow the top of the walls to align with the galleried arcade of Porta di Augusto.

Figure 11: external façade of city walls of Fanum Fortunae (section of "Mura della Mandria")

The assumption that the walled circuit extended along the seafront has recently been convincingly challenged by De Sanctis (2012b:47-67). A number of commentators have argued that there may have been an earlier, republican, wall, mainly on the basis of a small stretch of walling in *opus quasi-reticulatum* which came to light in 1944 along the sea front (see, for example, Taus, 2003, Luni, 1992:127-133). Like the interpretation of many other structures in Fanum Fortunae, the debate is inconclusive but it is now generally agreed that the walling did not form part of pre-Augustan city defences (see, for example, Taus, 2012:108) and therefore that it is highly unlikely that Fanum Fortunae was surrounded by a walled circuit before the Augustan period.

Based on drawings and descriptions from the medieval period, it used to be thought that there were 28 towers placed at reasonably regular intervals along the wall, including four along the seafront

(Luni et al., 2000:83). But there is no archaeological evidence for towers along the seafront and, like the seaward wall, they should be discarded. It is likely, then, that there were 24 towers in Fanum Fortunae's walled circuit although not all have been positively recognised in the archaeological record. The towers are reasonably regularly spaced – the distance between them varies from 44m to 61m, with the average around 53-54m. The construction technique for the towers is the same as for the walled circuit, except that Luni et al. (2000:84) noted that the interior of the towers appeared to be constructed with less care and accuracy with roughly cut stones and untidy rows. The width of the tower walls is 1.5m, rather narrower than the width of the walled circuit itself.

Other than the towers flanking Porta di Augusto, all the towers for which there is good archaeological evidence were round and all but two were 9m in diameter. The two exceptions were slightly larger, 10m in diameter, and were placed at pivotal points in the walled circuit (De Sanctis, 2012b:24). This stretch of wall, the so-called "Mura della Mandria", was executed particularly carefully: it is the only completely straight section of wall; a secondary gateway, Porta della Mandria, is situated exactly in the middle; and the towers are equidistant (see plan at Figure 10 above). With the slightly larger towers framing the ends of this part of the wall, it appears that a deliberate effort was made to create an imposing frontage.

Porta di Augusto, also known as the Arco di Augusto, was the principal gateway into Fanum Fortunae (Figure 12). It marks the entrance into the city of the Via Flaminia which then forms the *decumanus maximus* in the city. Architecturally, its lines are of "sober elegance" (Taus, 2003:13) and an excellent example of the political use of architecture to make a clear statement of power and status. The external façade of the gateway was constructed from fine quality white limestone which has the appearance of marble, giving a clear contrast with the yellow sandstone of the walls themselves. The internal façade of the gateway was built of sandstone, like the walls, but from large blocks which are the same size as and perfectly aligned with the limestone blocks on the outer façade. The central archway, 8m high and 5.9m wide, sits between two smaller archways, 4.3m high and 1.8m wide. The gateway was flanked by two large projecting U-shaped towers. The only known ornamentation on the gateway is the keystone of the central archway which is now indecipherable but was originally probably the head of a bull or an elephant.

Figure 12: Porta di Augusto, external façade, view from outside the city

Porta di Augusto exhibits exceptional proportionality in its design (Purcaro, 2012). The entire structure was perfectly square (60 Roman feet (pF) wide, 60pF high) and the centre point of the square formed the keystone of the main archway. The width is exactly divided into three parts, as is the height with the upper storey forming precisely one-third (20pF) of the height.

Porta della Mandria was the secondary gateway in the city walls, rediscovered in 1925 and subsequently reconstructed. The gateway was built in *opus quadratum* from large blocks of local yellow sandstone, the same material as that used to build the walls themselves, and was not flanked by towers (Figure 13).

Figure 13: external view of Porta della Mandria

The nature and purpose of Porta della Mandria have been much debated. It is often assumed that the Via Flaminia exited the city here and headed towards Pisaurum (see, for example, Luni et al., 2000, De Sanctis, 2012b:42). There is no obvious connection, however, in the street layout between an entrance to the city through Porta di Augusto and an exit at Porta della Mandria. In my view, this gateway is better understood in relation to the city's theatre, amphitheatre and probable temple/sanctuary complex, and the "diagonal" road, clearly distinguishable in the street plan (see Figure 10 above) and narrower than other roads in the urban grid. The unexpected orientation of this road suggests that it may well be a road which pre-dated the Augustan development of the city (Luni et al., 2000:47, 93) but which was important enough not only to be preserved within the street grid but also to merit its own gateway. It may have been a sacred way which maintained the memory of an earlier route to a sanctuary outside the city, perhaps the original sanctuary of Fortuna itself. The possibilities are explored in detail in Chapter 5.2.1.

3.4 Hispellum

Hispellum: context

Hispellum (modern Spello) is situated on the spur of a hillside overlooking the Valle Umbra in central Italy. The city was about 5km north of the Via Flaminia and roads also led directly to Mevania and Asisium. It was close to an important pre-Roman sanctuary site, now known as Villa Fidelia, which lay on the plain below Hispellum on a long-established transhumance route. Hispellum occupies a narrow and elongated position which slopes upwards from the south towards the highest point at the north of the settlement, some 321m above sea level.

There are traces of settlement on the site of Hispellum dating back to the fifth and fourth centuries BC, when activity at the sanctuary site at Villa Fidelia nearby is also evidenced (Baiolini, 2002:92, 118). More substantial remains, including terracing in the centre of the urban settlement and nascent monumentalisation of the sanctuary, date from the third and second centuries BC (Fontaine, 1990:245). Significant urbanisation of the site appears to date from the grant of municipal status in 90BC (Sisani, 2006:105). Owing to continued occupation of the town, systematic archaeological excavation has been limited and even chance finds surprisingly few.

Keppie confidently dated the foundation of Hispellum as a veteran colony to 41BC following the victory at Philippi (1983:179); its foundation should probably be associated with the Perusine War in 41-40BC. The colony may have received further veterans following the battle of Actium (Sisani, 2012:436). Considerable activity and monumental building followed the establishment of Hispellum as a colony. Some of the lands allocated to colonial settlers were on the plain below the city but because of the steep and irregular nature of the urban area itself there was no direct relationship between centuriation of Hispellum's territory and the layout of the city. This is referred to in the *Corpus Agrimensorum*, where an illustration commonly associated with Hispellum (Figure 14) was used to explain how topographical considerations could make laying out a grid difficult (Campbell, 2000:388-389). Although Hispellum's walled circuit was very different from that depicted in the *Corpus Agrimensorum*, investigations on the ground have suggested that the orientation and placement of the centuriation lines in Hispellum's territory bear some similarities to those in the illustration (Manconi et al., 1996:397-402).

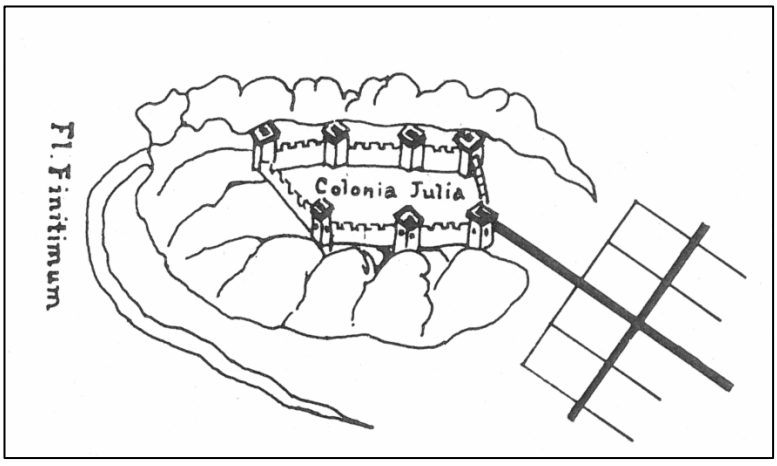

Figure 14: illustration from Corpus Agrimensorum

Hispellum: city walls, towers and gateways

The main detailed source for the archaeological evidence of the city walls and gates of Hispellum is Fontaine (1990:263-301). Another account was published by Baiolini (2002) but she added very little to Fontaine's work. There is a separate publication on Porta Venere (Marroni, 2005). Long stretches of Hispellum's city walls on the southern and western side are well preserved, standing in some places to 6.5m. The footprint of the walled circuit, which has a perimeter of 1.8km and

encloses 15ha, follows the long and narrow hillside on which the city is situated (Figure 15). There is no convincing evidence – archaeological, literary or historical – to indicate that the pre-colonial settlement at Hispellum was surrounded by city walls.

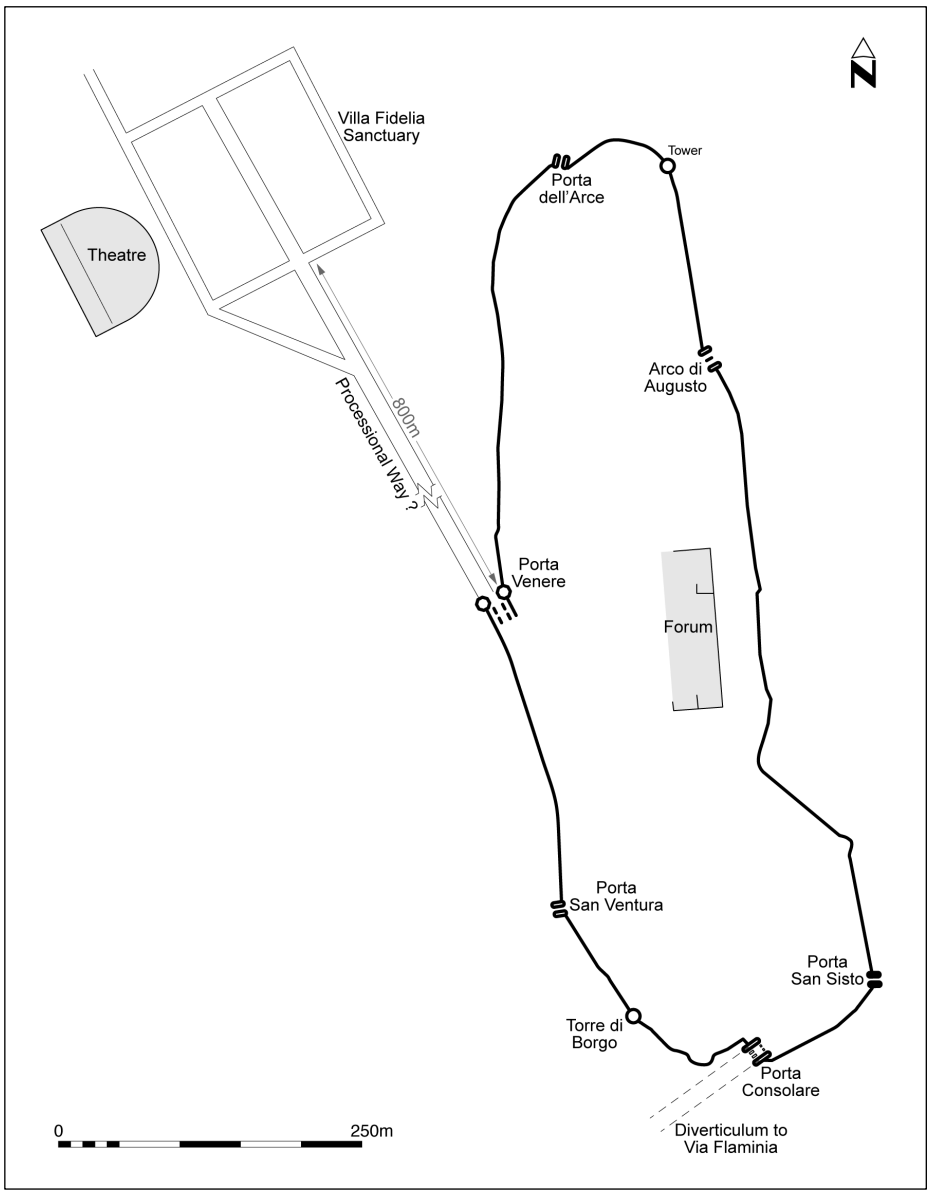

Figure 15: site plan of Hispellum

The city walls are carefully built in *opus vittatum* from small blocks of local limestone with its distinctive pinkish tinge (Figure 16). The walls are homogenous in construction, suggesting that they were built at the same time, and at 2.4m are quite wide. Fontaine estimated that originally the walls may have stood 13m high (1990:253). The foundations are particularly solid, laid where possible onto rock and in some places more than 3m deep. The facings of the wall itself are constructed of very regularly sized small rectangular blocks, laid with a fine layer of mortar. Some sections of the external façade of the wall on the east are less carefully built than the sections facing the valley.

Figure 16: external façade of city walls, western section

There are no regularly spaced towers in the walled circuit. Other than the towers flanking Porta Venere, only two towers have been recognised: one, Torre di Borgo, was located halfway between Porta Consolare and Porta San Ventura. Rectangular in design and projecting forward from the wall, it was heavily rebuilt in the medieval period but is considered to be contemporary with the Roman city walls by reason of its materials and type of construction (Fontaine, 1990:251, 302). Baiolini reported a second tower, between Arco di Augusto and Porta dell'Arce at the northeastern point of the site (2002:87). Both towers had postern gates giving access to outside the city.

There were six gateways in the walled circuit which vary considerably in scale, design and ornamentation; Fontaine recognised only five gates (1990:253) but a sixth was identified recently within the medieval walls (Baiolini, 2002:66). The two major gateways, Porta Consolare and Porta Venere, face the valley. Porta Consolare was located at the southernmost end of Hispellum where the hillside slopes down to the plain. It formed the main entrance into the city from the *diverticulum* which led from the Via Flaminia. Recent excavations demonstrated that the gate was placed to accommodate an existing, pre-Roman road (Fontaine, 1990:254) and the city walls in turn made a zig-zag to accommodate the gate.

Porta Consolare was a triple-arched gateway with a galleried arcade above and *cavaedium* (Figure 17). The larger, central archway was 4.4m wide and 6.8m high while the two smaller archways were 1.7m wide and 3.4m high (Fontaine, 1990:254). The gateway was constructed of large white differently sized limestone blocks interspersed with some pink stone; Manconi et al. (1996:379)

argued that this was because the gateway reused stones from an existing building but in my view there appears to be a deliberate attempt to provide a contrasting decorative scheme.

Figure 17: Porta Consolare, view from outside the city

In contrast to the austere grandeur of Porta Consolare, Porta Venere was architecturally ambitious and built to impress. The façade of the gateway was constructed in *opus quadratum* from white travertine. It was flanked by twelve-sided towers, the Torri di Properzio, built from pinkish limestone bricks in *opus vittatum* like the city walls and carefully bonded into the wall circuit. A triple-arched gateway with inner courtyard, the main archway was 3.8m wide and 6.6m high while the smaller archways on either side were 2.15m wide and 3.5m high. It is estimated that the towers originally stood 18m high, considerably higher than the city walls (Sisani, 2006:109). Porta Venere was heavily rebuilt in the late 1930s/early 1940s. There are no published excavation records to indicate the extent of the work undertaken at that time, but paintings of the gateway from the early nineteenth century and investigations and drawings of the site by Richmond (1932), Frigerio (1935) and Kähler (1942) which were undertaken before the reconstruction provide some evidence for the original form of the gateway.

Porta Venere was built on a steep slope, carefully positioned at an angle to the line of the walled circuit so as to line up with the Villa Fidelia sanctury complex, some 800m outside the city: it is likely that the road which linked them formed a sacred way for processions from the city to the sanctuary (it was not a major route for through traffic). Although the defensive capabilities of Porta Venere are not negligible, it seems clear that it was designed foremost for prestige and show (Figure 18). The gateway was clearly visible to travellers approaching along the Valle Umbra,

although they entered the city through Porta Consolare. The gateway and walls together dominated the view over a number of other cities, including Mevania, Vettona, Asisium and Perusia.

Figure 18: Porta Venere, view from outside the city looking south

Although there is nothing in the primary sources, and no material evidence from archaeological work, to provide a precise date for the construction of the walls, the overwhelming consensus is that they were built as a single project in the period 30-20BC, shortly after the foundation of the colony (see, for example, Fontaine, 1990:259, Baiolini, 2002:90, Sisani, 2006:106). The exception to this is Porta Consolare, which appears to predate the walls. Fontaine noted that – unlike the other gates – Porta Consolare is not bonded into the city walls but simply abuts them. It is less ornate and less uniform in its construction type and its foundations are considerably (1.6m) lower than those of the adjacent wall circuit. Following Blake (1947:113, 201) and using architectural parallels and building techniques, Fontaine therefore dated this gate to 40-35BC (1990:254-257). Further, he argued that an earlier date for Porta Consolare helps to explain its somewhat awkward placement within the walls, noting also archaeological evidence that the gate was placed to accommodate an existing, pre-Roman road. Camerieri and Manconi (2010:30) speculated that the purpose of Porta Consolare and its large inner courtyard was to levy taxes on pastoralists using traditional transhumant routes. An alternative, although not necessarily mutually exclusive, suggestion was put forward by Sisani (2006:431), who argued that the colony's *decumanus maximus* anchored on Porta Consolare deliberately appropriated the route which had been the last section of an earlier sacred way from Mevania. It is likely, then, that the city walls and gateways

were planned and built as a coherent project, except for Porta Consolare, which appears to predate the city walls by a short margin.

A fragmentary inscription in the wall above one of Hispellum's secondary gates, the Arco di Augusto, refers to Augustus and may relate to an act of imperial benefaction.[17] Fontaine rejected the idea that the inscription related to the city walls and gates, pointing out that in the eighteenth century the inscription is known to have been located elsewhere at the church of Santa Barbara (1990:277). On the other hand, he specifically raised the possibility that the city walls and gates might be the work of imperial patronage, particularly in view of the parallels with the contemporary city walls of Fanum Fortunae and Nemausus which are known to have been an imperial gift and their similarly careful, elegant and expensive construction (1990:261). The church of Santa Barbara is unlikely to have been the original location for the inscription, as it lies well outside the Roman walls. Other commentators, including Patterson (2003:90), Keppie (1983:115, 117) and Bradley (2000:237), were confident that the inscription can be related to the city walls. In view of the uncertainties, I have not included the inscription in my main catalogue but it can be found at inscription xxiii in my ancillary list at Appendix K and is also discussed in Chapter 6. As a work of prestige and symbolism, Hispellum's city walls certainly fit with the expectations of imperial patronage.

3.5 Saepinum

Saepinum: context

Saepinum, the modern hamlet of Altilia, is situated 554m above sea level in a mountainous and remote area of central southern Italy. The town was strategically located on an important *tratturo* (drove road) which was used for the seasonal migration of shepherds and livestock. The immediate context of Saepinum should be understood in relation to the nearby Samnite hillfort of Terravecchia in the Matese mountains and the Italic sanctuary of San Pietro di Cantoni (Figure 19). Terravecchia provided strategic defence for the transhumance route and the settlement on the plain below (Rainini, 2000). Roughly equidistant between Saepinum and Terravecchia, the sanctuary dominates the wide valley of the Tammaro. It is currently being excavated by a team from the University of Perugia, who believed that it held a unifying role between Terravecchia and Saepinum (Matteini Chiari, 2013).

[17] CIL 11, 05266 *[Imp(erator) Caes]ar divi [f(ilius) Augustus*

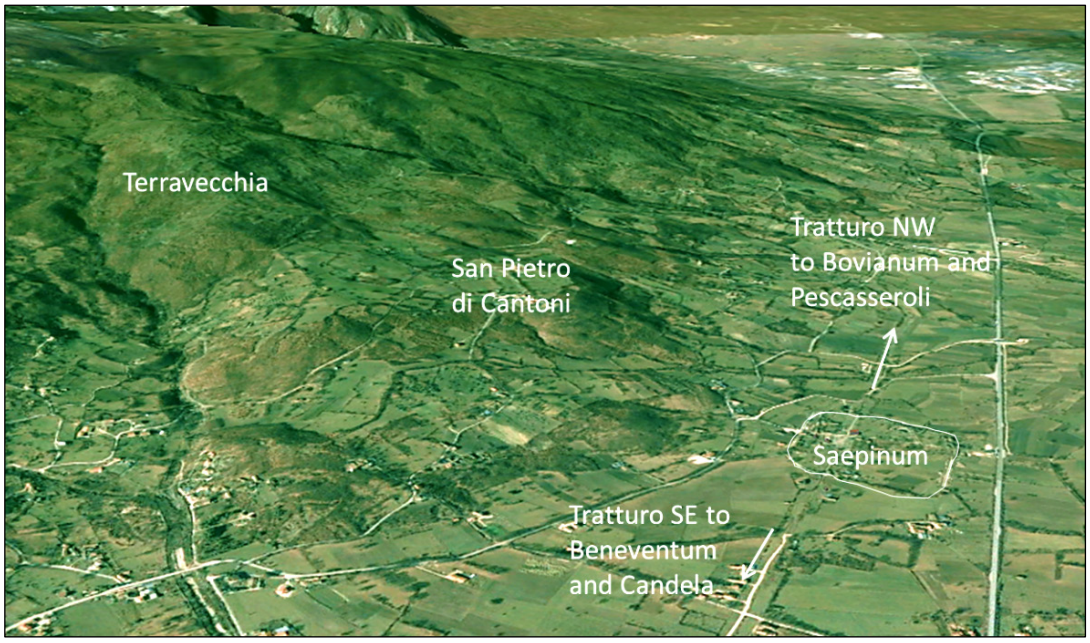

Figure 19: local context of Saepinum

The site was occupied from at least the fourth century BC, when it appears that Samnite Saepinum was a centre of trade and markets, controlled by Terravecchia (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014). Archaeological evidence shows that by the second and first centuries BC the settlement appeared to be a thriving if small centre of trade and manufacture (Lloyd, 1991:184). The first urban public buildings seem to have been built at this time (Rainini, 2000). A comprehensive break with the past came with the redevelopment of the town in the Augustan period. All traces of earlier buildings were obliterated and the town was transformed through a programme of monumental public building (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:209-226). No formal or orthogonal street grid was introduced, however, and the *tratturo* remained the main street through Saepinum. As a result, the junction of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* is well off centre, as is shown in the plan at Figure 20.

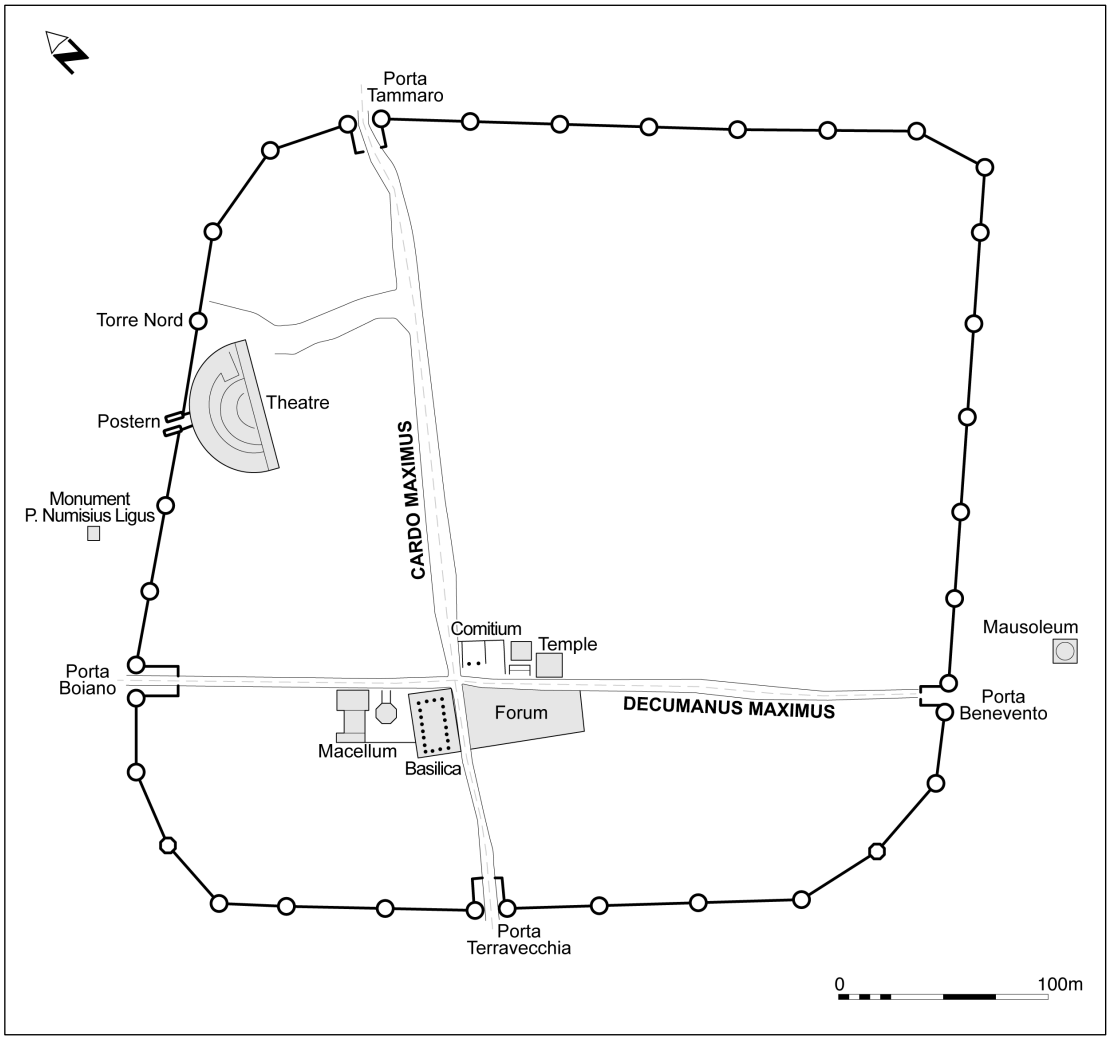

Figure 20: site plan of Saepinum

The known evidence points to the town having municipal status from 89BC into the Augustan period, with a *patronus municipii* attested epigraphically[18] and the townspeople described as *municipes*.[19] The *Liber Coloniarum,* however, lists Saepinum as an *oppidum* which was granted colonial status by the emperor Nero Claudius (*sic*), although the reliability of the *Liber Coloniarum* is questionable, particularly on issues of legal status (Keppie, 1983:8-12, Campbell, 2000:xl-xliv). Gaggiotti (1991c:244) was confident that Saepinum did not have the formal status of a colony (although he commented that its attributes made it a colony in all but name), suggesting that the Augustan period may have seen the arrival of individual settlers and a viritane distribution of land.

Despite having "virtually the full suite of institutional buildings and amenities appropriate to a fully fledged Roman town" by the end of the Augustan age or a little later (Barker, 1995:218-219), Saepinum remained a small and relatively plain town. Most buildings were constructed from local limestone with very sparing use of brick or marble. The rebuilding programme in the Augustan

[18] See, for example, AE 1959, 00284; AE 1927, 00119.
[19] See, for example, CIL 09, 02458; CIL 09, 02475.

period seems incompatible with the importance of this sleepy rural town, where the intramural area was never fully built up (De Benedittis et al., 1993:12).

Saepinum: city walls, towers and gateways

Saepinum remains surprisingly little known and unexplored. Only 10% of the town has been excavated (Barker, 1995:218). There is no specialist publication about Saepinum's town walls and remarkably little written about the town as a whole. A flurry of publications around the early 1980s concentrated on description rather than analysis and is very similar in content (see, for example, Braconi, 1979, Coarelli and La Regina, 1984, Matteini Chiari, 1982, De Benedittis et al., 1993, a reprint of the 1984 edition). The line of the town wall, although not in doubt, is currently only partially visible on the ground. Some sections, in particular the northwest sector between Porta Boiano and Torre Nord, were heavily consolidated and restored in the 1950s in a programme undertaken with sometimes questionable accuracy and care.

The extant walls, gates and towers are generally, although not universally, accepted to date from the Augustan period.[20] It was not common in the Augustan period for *municipia* to construct walls around their town, there being a much closer association between colonies and city walls, as I discuss in Chapter 4.4. The grandeur and monumentality of the walls (Figure 21) are wholly out of proportion to any threats which the population might face and to the town's military importance. They are best understood in relation to the wholesale redevelopment of the town in the Augustan period which accompanied the arrival of new settlers.

Figure 21: external façade of town walls of Saepinum, southwest section

[20] See the detailed discussion in Appendix F.4.1.

A dedicatory inscription, dated to 2BC-AD4, reveals that the walls, gates and towers were the result of an imperial benefaction.[21] This inscription, which is inscription 56 in my main catalogue of inscriptions, was placed above the arch of all four gates and was complemented by carefully composed sculptural imagery of a barbarian prisoner on either side (Figure 22). The sculptures on the gateways strongly suggest that the works were funded by the spoils of war against the Dalmatians and Germans which concluded in 11BC (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:215). The reference in the inscription to Drusus, who died in 9BC, provides a window for the start of the work between 11BC and 9BC, with completion some 10-15 years later. In this small and remote town very far from the empire's frontiers, the imagery must have seemed alien and formidable to local people, reinforcing the message of imperial power and control.

Figure 22: Porta Boiano, view from outside the town

[21] CIL 09, 02443 *Ti(berius) Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Nero pont(ifex) co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator) II trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI / Nero Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Drusus Germanicus augur co(n)s(ul) imp(erator) II / murum portas turris s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendas) c(uraverunt)*

The walls, which are 1.27km in length and enclose 12ha, were constructed with a core of *opus caementicium* and an internal and external facing of *opus quasi-reticulatum/opus reticulatum*.[22] The material used is local limestone, carefully worked into small but unevenly sized pyramid-shaped blocks. The entire circuit is constructed with considerable uniformity. The width of the walls varies between 1.75m and 1.9m except for a short section close to the theatre which is only 1.5m wide (Ferrarato, 1982:53). At the top of the wall was a cornice of parallel stone blocks. Ferrarato reported traces of holes two-thirds of the way up the wall, regularly placed at 1.4m apart, which he interpreted as holes for scaffolding for a cantilevered parapet walk. Partly on this basis, De Benedittis (1993:26) calculated that the original height of the wall would have been not less than 4.8m (but not much higher if the hypothesis about a rampart walk is correct). This is lower than the height of the Augustan walls of colonies (see Chapter 4.4.5 and Appendix A): for example, the walls of Fanum Fortunae were probably 12m high and those of Hispellum 13m high.

Recent archaeological work on the southwest sector of the circuit uncovered a pottery vessel containing eight small unguent jars which had been carefully buried in alignment with the foundation of the wall. The excavators considered that this deposit may have been in connection with a foundation or construction ritual associated with the city walls (Ceglia and Curci, 2013).

There has been some uncertainty about the number of towers in the circuit. From their recent investigations, Ceglia and Curci (2013) identified 35 towers but excluded from their count the tower which was dismantled to make way for the postern gate into the theatre (Braconi, 1979:47). In my view, therefore, Valente is correct in identifying that there were originally 36 towers (2008). Each of the gateways is flanked by two towers and the remaining towers are spaced 24-36m apart. All the towers are circular except two, which are known to be octagonal in design and are strategically located at the south and west of the circuit. The towers sit astride the circuit and their walls are wider on the external-facing side (1.7m-1.8m) than on the side facing into the town (0.9m) (De Benedittis et al., 1993:27).[23] The interior of the towers appears more hastily constructed with roughly cut stones laid horizontally.[24] The towers are carefully tied into the walled circuit, indicating that the walls and towers are contemporaneous and part of the same project.

One of the towers, the so-called Torre Nord, was heavily but carelessly restored in the 1950s and currently stands a little under 11m high. A protruding cornice of rectangular blocks runs round the face of the tower at a height of 4.8m. According to De Benedittis et al. (1993:36), this marked the first floor of the tower and is also called into play to calculate the original height of the walled circuit.

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[22] The use of *opus quasi-reticulatum* technique is unusual as late as the Augustan period, and has caused some to question an Augustan date for the construction of the walls. See Appendix F.4.1.
[23] This was also the case at Augusta Praetoria, as noted in Chapter 3.2.
[24] This was also the case at Fanum Fortunae, as noted in Chapter 3.3.

The four gateways were placed at the ends of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*. They are monumental in appearance and similar in design and size. As well as the imperial inscription and accompanying sculptures, the head of a deity is carved into the keystone of each arch. All the gateways were built from local limestone in *opus quadratum* and have a single archway about 4.7m high and 4.5m wide with flanking circular towers and a *cavaedium*, closed on the inner side by double doors. Drawing a comparison with Glanum, Gros (1995:327) noted that the gateways of Saepinum had means of closure that differed from most *cavaedium*-type enclosures, their hinged doors on the inner side being better suited to systems of admission and control related to transhumance, such as counting sheep and exacting taxes. There is evidence for drinking troughs in the courtyard at Porta Boiano and Porta Benevento.

Porta Boiano, in the northwest sector of the walled circuit, is the best preserved of the gateways and was restored in the 1950s. On the southern side of this archway is posted an imperial rescript of Marcus Aurelius relating to transhumance.[25] At the base of the west pier of Porta Tammaro is a stone block on which an erect phallus was carved (De Benedittis et al., 1993:35). Braconi noted that the unrestored underside of the vault revealed a thin layer of limestone which both he and De Benedittis considered was originally covered in whitewashed plaster (Braconi, 1979:56, De Benedittis et al., 1993:35).

A postern gate was inserted into the town wall to facilitate the entrance and exit of spectators to the theatre. It appears to have been cut into the walled circuit at the same time that the theatre was built, shortly after the original construction of the wall, thereby breaking the wall's integrity and continuity, and probably replaced a tower (Braconi, 1979:47). Its construction technique, using large blocks of stone, was very different from that of the wall. How the postern gate and the walled circuit were knit together is not obviously apparent (De Benedittis et al., 1993:38).

3.6 Urbs Salvia

Urbs Salvia: context

Urbs Salvia, modern Urbisaglia, was situated in what is now the province of Macerata, some 35km inland from the Adriatic coast, and was built on a sloping site at an important junction of the Via Salaria Gallica. It is perhaps the joker in my pack of case studies: although archaeological surveys and interventions have taken place on the site for decades and there are extensive publications available, notably Perna's *Urbs Salvia Forma e Urbanistica* (2006), there is no certainty on when the colony was founded nor that the walls unequivocally belong to the Augustan period.

[25] CIL 09, 02348

The question of the colony's foundation date has caused considerable debate.[26] A *terminus ante quem* of AD23 is provided by an inscription referring to Fufius Geminus as *patronus coloniae*.[27] The latest thinking (see, for example, Paci, 2014, Fabrini, 2014a) is that the colony was founded in the last third of the second century BC but that a refoundation took place under Augustus. This view is based partly on archaeological evidence from recent and ongoing work, which demonstrated that substantial settlement on the site existed by at least the late second century BC (Fabrini, 2007b), including significant public buildings such as a forum, portico and possibly a capitolium. Epigraphic evidence from the city's *fasti triumphales* and *fasti consulares* is critical; Paci concluded that the fragments so far recovered suggest a window of between 158BC and 104BC for the colony's foundation. Our primary sources tell us that there was a settlement called "Pollentia" in a location which matches that of Urbs Salvia.[28] Fabrini argued that this was the original name of the colony which subsequently changed its name to Urbs Salvia, perhaps in association with a refoundation or reorganisation of the colony in the Augustan period (2004).

There are, however, a number of unresolved issues. A significant problem, to my mind, is the lack of a republican-era walled circuit. It would be extremely unusual for a colony of the third or second century BC not to build city walls. Sena Gallica, Firmum, Potentia, Pisaurum and Auximum, neighbouring colonies of this period, all had city walls in *opus quadratum* which Perna linked to their foundation (2012a). Accepting that an *argumentum ex silentio* is not a convincing one, it underlines the need for focused archaeological effort, as Esmonde Cleary urged in the case of "missing" walls in colonies of the northwest provinces (2003). Further, the probable link between the new name of the colony and the cult of Salus Augusta makes an Augustan date for the change unlikely. There is some evidence that there was a cult of the widely worshipped Salus and an association with healing waters close to the site of the colony from the earliest times (Gasperini, 1998). But the cult of Salus Augusta is relatively rare in Italy (Delplace, 1995:31) and developed in response to the recovery of Livia, Tiberius' mother, from a serious illness in AD22. Moreover, although substantial infrastructure work such as the aqueduct, cistern, water supply, drainage and roads appears to date from the Augustan period (Fabrini, 2014a:69-71), significant monumentalisation of the urban centre including the theatre and temple-sanctuary complex was carried out under Tiberius (Montali, 2014, Fabrini and Perna, 2010).

Urbs Salvia: city walls, towers and gateways

The city walls enclose an area of about 45ha, roughly square in outline (Figure 23). Considerable stretches of the wall survive on the north side. It is less well preserved on the east and south sides and there are no traces of a wall on the west side (Perna, 2006:18). As the western perimeter of the

[26] The issues are discussed in full in Appendix G.
[27] CIL 09, 05815, with new fragments, published by Gasperini (1982).
[28] Strabo *Geographica* v,4,2

city followed the ridge of a hill, it is possible that a wall was never built on this side. The perimeter of the wall, including the putative western section, is about 2.7km.

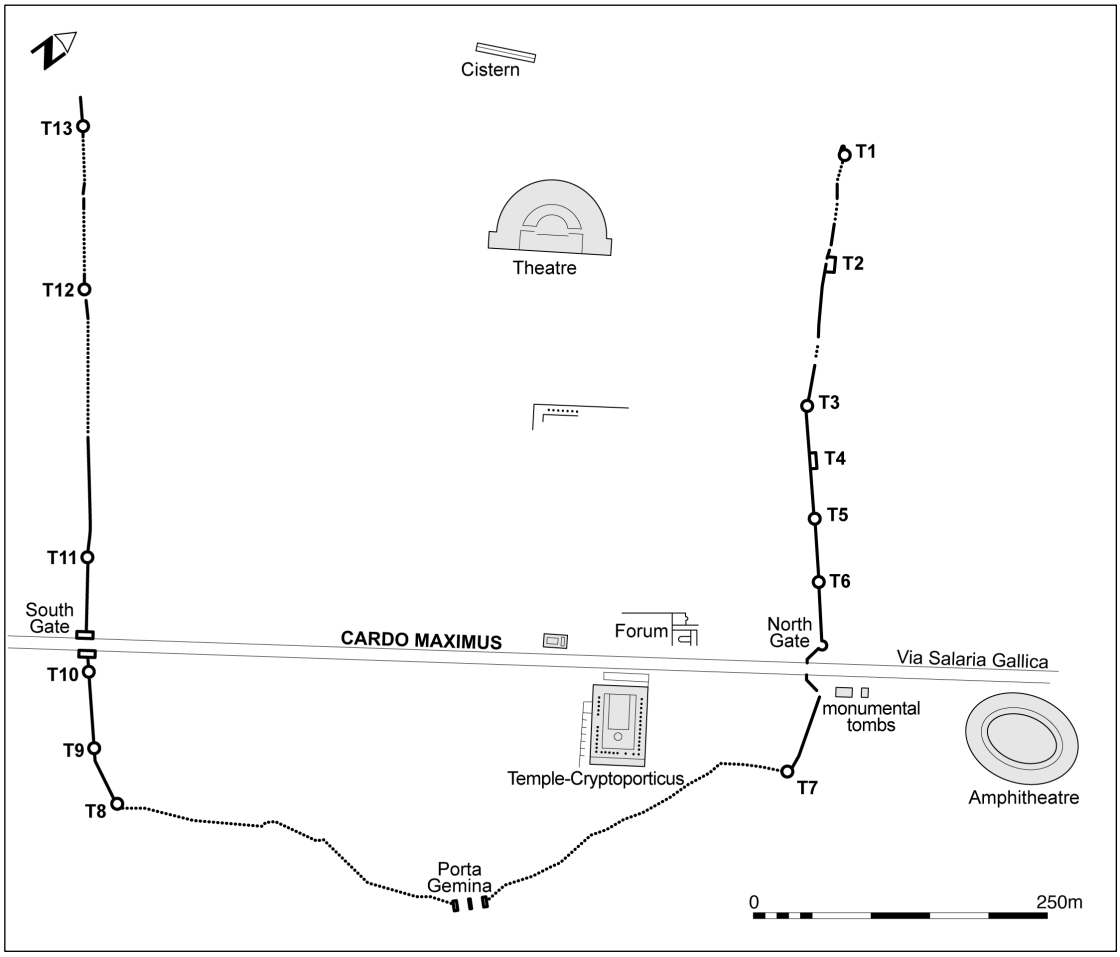

Figure 23: site plan of Urbs Salvia

A description and analysis of the city walls was provided by Perna (2006:14-45, 2007:14-33). The walls are homogenous in construction, being built of *opus testaceum* (cement core with brick facing), and are similar on the inner and outer facings (Figure 24). The uniformity of the walled circuit suggests that it was built synchronously. The circuit is not straight but is adapted to the contours of the sloping site. The walls are about 1.5-1.6m wide but not enough remains to be able to estimate their original height. At the northeast corner of the city, there is a significant difference in ground level of some 10m between the exterior and interior of the wall. Fabrini thought that terracing, or perhaps the accumulation of soil over time, might be the explanation (2014b), but the ground drops away from the outside of the wall rather than being built up from the inside and in my view suggests an attempt to enhance the visual impact of the city walls from outside the colony.

Figure 24: internal façade of city walls of Urbs Salvia, northern perimeter

Fourteen towers can still be recognised, seven on the north side of the wall, six on the south side and one flanking the north gate (it is assumed that there was a matching tower on the other side of the north gate). They are situated at irregular intervals along the wall and, unlike the wall itself, are not uniform in size or design; they are unlikely all to be contemporary, as structural analysis shows that at least two of the towers must have been constructed later. In contrast to a number of Augustan cities such as Tridentum and Augusta Praetoria, the irregular spacing of towers suggests that there was no correlation with the internal street grid. All but two of the towers sit astride the wall. Four towers appear to be quadrilateral; six, probably seven, were octagonal, one was hexagonal and one was pentagonal. Almost all the towers were irregular in shape, with sides of differing length: the sides of one of the octagonal towers varied in length between 1.3m and 2.9m. Perna (2006:29) suggested that the original height of the towers could have been in excess of 14m.

Three gates have been identified in the city walls, although very little of them is extant. The north gate, at one end of the *cardo maximus*, was of a distinctive and unusual concave design, sometimes known as "Fréjus-type" gates (Johnson, 1983:15). As the name suggests, they are more commonly found in southern Gaul, although two gates of this design are known in the first century BC walls of Septempeda, only 25km from Urbs Salvia. The entrance was set back from the line of the wall and the gate itself was flanked by angled walls leading to two towers. Unlike the gates of southern Gaul, the flanking walls of Urbs Salvia's north gate were straight rather than curved. A number of imposing funerary monuments, including square towers still more than 6m high, were located outside the north gate.

Insufficient traces remain of the south gate to be able to work out its design with confidence. The east gate, Porta Gemina, provided access to the River Fiastra and the road to Firmum. It is currently enveloped in farm buildings although archaeological work is expected to start here shortly. Drawings from the nineteenth century confirm that Porta Gemina was a double-arched gateway, as its name suggests (Figure 25). They also indicate that it may have displayed a

monumental inscription; the evidence is very tenuous although I have included it as inscription xli in my ancillary list of inscriptions at Appendix K. The date of Porta Gemina is disputed: Perna saw a similarity with fortified cities and military camps of the second and third centuries AD (2012a:89-90) but the double-arched gateway is commonly found in the Augustan period and I prefer Delplace's view that Porta Gemina is contemporary with the city walls (1993:265).

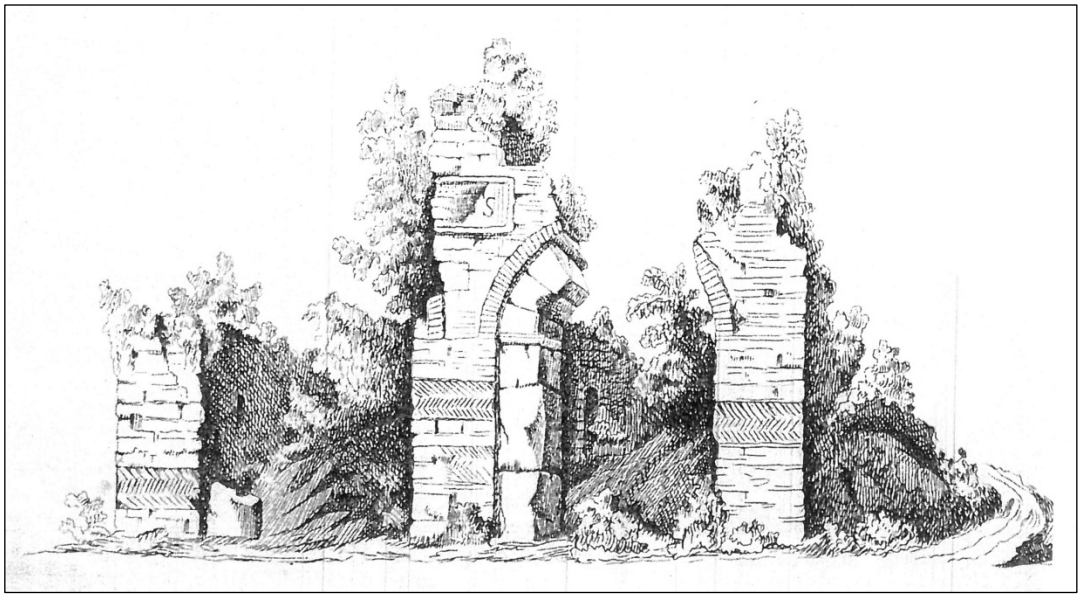

Figure 25: nineteenth century drawing of Porta Gemina

There is no clear-cut evidence available for the date of the city walls, however. Their construction technique suggests that they were built in the Augustan period and this fits well with work to the infrastructure of the city, which is known to date from this period. No other city walls in *opus testaceum* have been found in Picenum but a number of other cities have walls of this style dating to the late republican and Augustan period. Likewise, the relatively narrow width of the walls is common to walls of Augustan date (Bonetto, 1998). I share the conclusion of the key commentators on Urbs Salvia that its walls should be dated to the Augustan period (Perna, 1987:203, Delplace, 1993:266, Fabrini, 2014b). The construction of an impressive city wall around the colony in the Augustan period supports the argument that this was an important moment in the city's history. Although the construction of city walls gives weight to the view that the colony was refounded or reorganised under Augustus, since it was almost axiomatic that colonies of this period built impressive walls round their urban centres (see Chapter 4.4), it still leaves open the difficult issue of when the city adopted the name of Urbs Salvia and why there were no walls around the original republican colony. Like other walls of the Augustan period, the city walls of Urbs Salvia can be seen as part of a programme of display and aggrandisement in the early imperial period, important for their symbolic and status value.

3.7 Augusta Bagiennorum

Augusta Bagiennorum was located on a fertile plain, near the modern town of Benevagienna in Piemonte. The Roman town was strategically situated in the territory of the Liguri Bagienni between the Po valley, the Ligurian coast and Alpine passes and was well integrated into the road network, with links to the Via Fulvia and neighbouring towns of Pollentia and Alba Pompeia. It is likely that the town was established both to exploit the rich agricultural land in which it was situated and to spread and consolidate Roman influence in the area (Panero, 2000:64).

Despite its name, which suggests that the town benefited from imperial favour, it is probable that Augusta Bagiennorum had the status of a *municipium* rather than a colony (Keppie, 1983:15). The issue is unresolved, however, with Rossignani (2009:103) among those assuming, without further argument, that the town was a colony while Panero (2000:62) followed Mansuelli (1982:151) in concluding that it was not. There is, however, little evidence to support the argument that Augusta Bagiennorum was a colonial foundation other than its name.

There is less dispute over the urban development of the town, which is widely accepted to have taken place in the final quarter of the first century BC (see, for example, Rossignani et al., 2009:102, Preacco, 2007:267). Once abandoned, the site was not subsequently built over but intense cultivation of the farmland which now overlies the site means that very little survives of the town. Excavations which have taken place intermittently since the late nineteenth century have provided a reasonably clear understanding of the town's layout (Figure 26): it was trapezoidal in shape, with an urban perimeter of some 1.9km covering about 21ha, and had an orthogonal grid, much of which has been deduced from the network of drains which ran beneath the streets (Panero, 2000:68). The forum complex, situated in the centre of the town, followed a tripartite model which is also found at contemporary centres in the north of Italy such as Augusta Praetoria and Brixia, with clearly delineated spaces for religious, commercial and administrative functions.

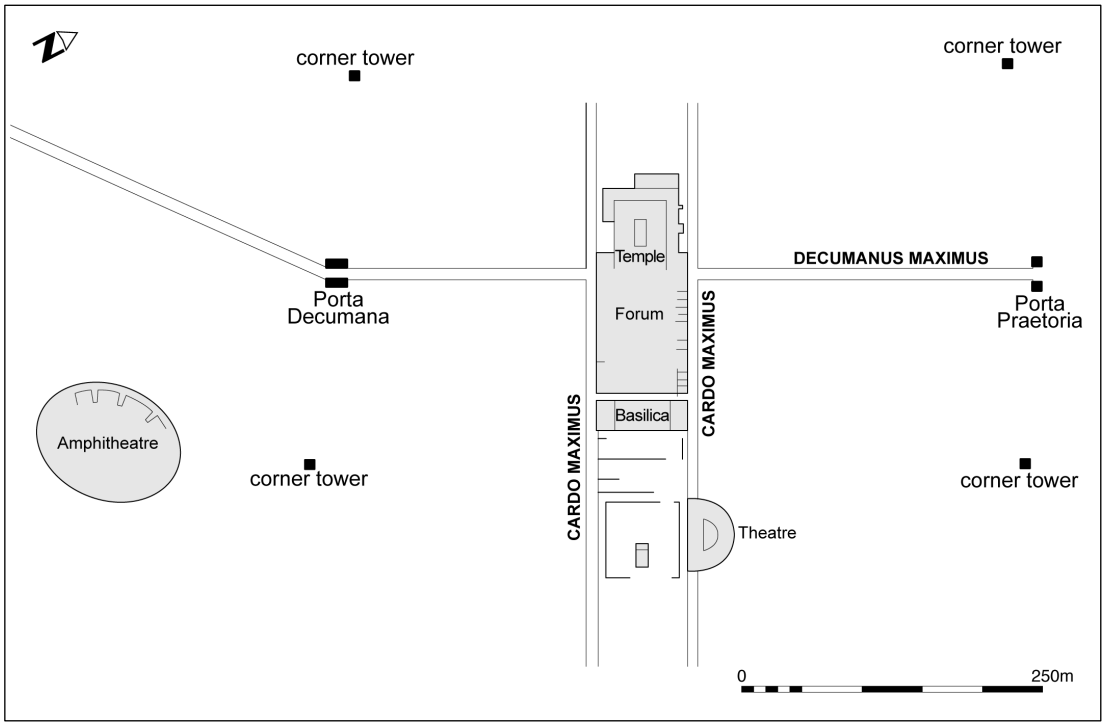

Figure 26: site plan of Augusta Bagiennorum

Augusta Bagiennorum was not enclosed by a circuit of walls. Instead, the town's urban footprint was marked by square towers measuring about 8m by 8m located on the four corners of the town perimeter to give sides of unequal length (586m, 385m, 535m and 368m) (Rossignani et al., 2009:103). There were free-standing gateways at each end of the *decumanus maximus*, halfway between the corner towers. Assandria and Vaccetta, the original excavators of the town, identified that the gateways were similar in design, consisting of double archways flanked by towers which were square on the outside and semicircular inside (1925:185) (Figure 27). Like the corner towers, they were constructed in *opus testaceum* with a rubble core (Zanforlini, 2008:83). The width of each of the archways was about 3.5m. The base of a large funerary monument has been identified near the Porta Decumana. There is no known inscription relating to the town gateways.

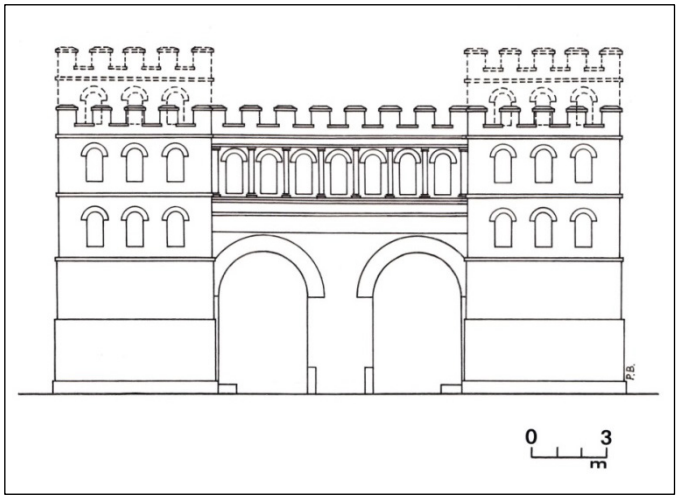

Figure 27: proposed reconstruction of external façade of Porta Decumana

Assandria and Vacchetta noted that they had dug trenches to try to locate a city wall between the corner towers and gateways but had not found one (1925:185). Subsequent excavations and aerial surveys have also found no trace of a wall or continuous ditch around the site (Bendea et al., 2007, Chiabrando et al., 2011). Preacco (2006:11) speculated that the urban plot was demarcated by a ditch or wooden palisade. This is possible, but to my mind the suggestion that Augusta Bagiennorum was protected by a ditch and palisade, still less a city wall, does not make sense when the layout of the town is examined closely. The square corner towers are positioned in direct relation to each other, as if marking out a quadrilateral plan (see Figure 26 above). If a ditch (or wall) linked them along this line, it would cut across not only archaeologically attested houses and shops but also the forum and theatre which project beyond the footprint mapped by the corner towers. The suggestion from Sartori (1965:116) that a ditch (or wall) deviated from this line to accommodate these structures is not convincing – even to Sartori himself, who went on to comment that a full circuit of walls might not have been needed as the region became more firmly under Rome's influence.

Rather, the square corner towers and standalone gateways of Augusta Bagiennorum should be interpreted on their own account as a deliberate means of demarcating the town and providing an impressive entrance to the urban space. In my view, it may be significant that Augusta Bagiennorum was a *municipium* rather than a colony, as its status may not have afforded it either the financial means or possibly the legal powers to build city walls, as I discuss in Chapter 4.4.

3.8 Carsulae

The Roman town of Carsulae lies about 440m above sea level on a gently rolling upland plain in Umbria, near the modern town of San Gemini. The town was abandoned in late antiquity and not subsequently built over; as a result, the urban layout of the centre, which extended over about 15ha, is reasonably well understood.

The date at which Carsulae became a *municipium* is not definitely known but may be associated with Augustus' restoration of the Via Flaminia (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria, 2013). Excavations at the site have uncovered a large number of monuments, buildings and inscriptions, forming a picture of a wealthy and politically active *municipium* which flourished for several centuries. Little is known about the pre-Augustan town, but the very recent discovery of republican material in the northwest of the site is particularly interesting, as it suggests that the town covered an extensive area at that date (Bruschetti et al., 2013).

The town appears to have been comprehensively redeveloped in the Augustan period, perhaps in association with Augustus' restoration of the Via Flaminia which formed the *cardo maximus* as it passed through the town. No attempt was made to alter the course of the Via Flaminia to fit with the layout of the town: it retained a meandering and undulating course while the town adapted

around it (Figure 28). The forum was on the west side of the *cardo maximus* at the centre of the town, raised up by means of levelled terracing. The basilica was on the opposite side of the *cardo maximus* from the forum and also dates to the Augustan period.

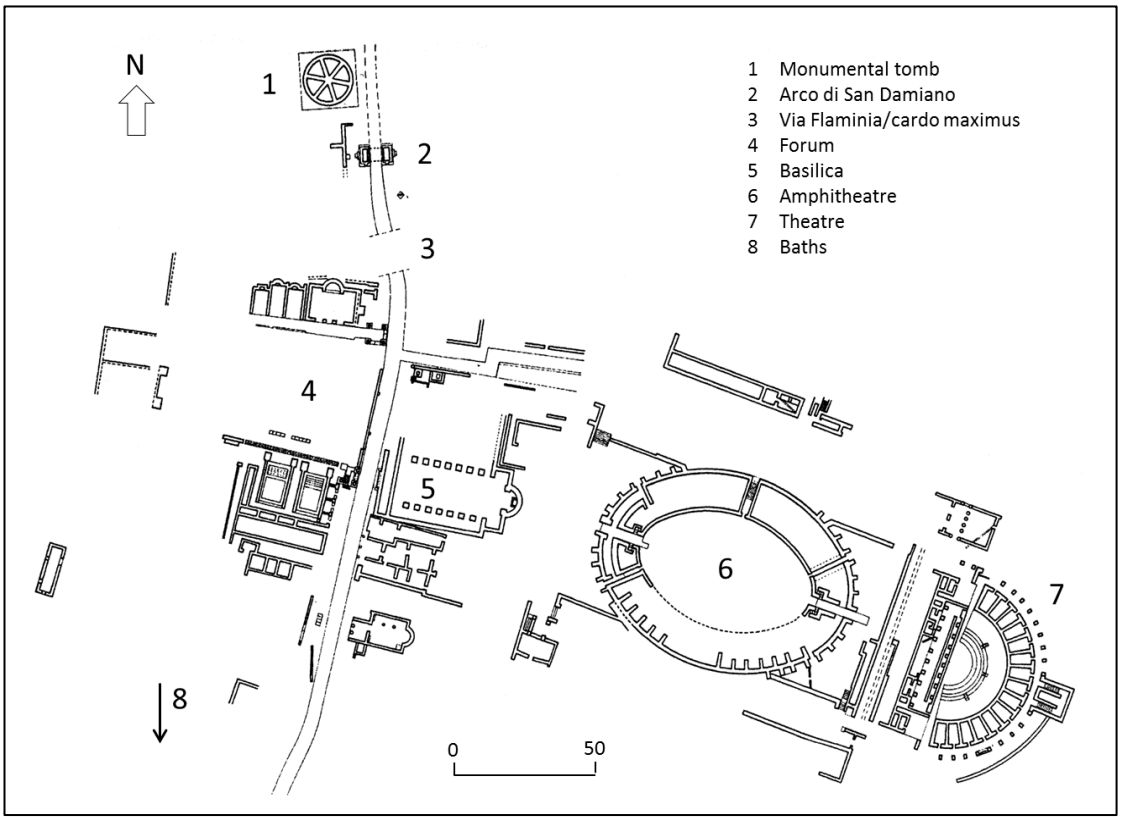

Figure 28: site plan of Carsulae

It is generally thought that, like Augusta Bagiennorum, Roman Carsulae never had or even intended to complete a walled circuit (see, for example, Ciotti, 1976). The northern perimeter of the town, some 200m beyond the urban centre, was marked by a monumental archway, the Arco di San Damiano, carefully sited for maximum visual effect at a point where the Via Flaminia exits the town and descends steeply (Figure 29).[29] It was originally triple-arched although only the larger central arch has survived, measuring some 9.2m high, 5m wide and 4.5m deep (De Maria, 1988:237-8). The archway was carefully constructed from large blocks of travertine in *opus quadratum*. The fittings onto which a marble decorative cladding and perhaps bronzework may have been fixed are still visible (Sisani, 2006:184). Its purpose appears to be symbolic and impressive rather than functional: there is no evidence that the archway could be closed, nor that it had an associated inner courtyard (*cavaedium*) or flanking walls. Its architectural style, construction technique and association with the Via Flaminia make an Augustan date widely accepted (see, for example, Ciotti, 1976:31, De Maria, 1988:238). There is no known inscription

[29] The Arco di San Damiano may match a now lost gate at the southern entrance to the city (Becatti, 1938), although extensive excavations on site undertaken by Ciotti did not find any evidence for it (1976:31).

relating to the archway. Arco di San Damiano is closely associated with a number of monumental tombs which cluster round the Via Flaminia as it enters the town. At least two of these tombs were very substantial and would have significantly impacted on the line of sight of travellers approaching the town.

Figure 29: Arco di San Damiano, view from inside the town looking north
Two monumental tombs, one drum-shaped, one cylindrical with conical dome, are visible beyond the arch.

Two separate investigations in recent years in different parts of the site have uncovered traces of what may be early walling at Carsulae. The Valdosta University excavations of the baths to the south of the town exposed an impressive section of a previously unknown polygonal wall (Hallinan, 2009). Working mainly from aerial photographs, Ciuchini explored the remnants of a possible wall along the western perimeter, although without undertaking a formal excavation (2004). Insofar as dense vegetation in the area permitted, he found big heaps of unworked stone which he interpreted as a defensive *agger*, some 2m high. Given the nature of the evidence, Ciuchini saw parallels with the walls of Umbrian hilltop settlements nearby, which are generally considered to be Iron Age or early republican in date. If correct, this walling would predate the opening of the Via Flaminia and provide evidence of pre-Roman occupation at Carsulae.

Although the evidence that there was an Umbrian or early republican settlement at Carsulae defended at least in part by an *agger* and polygonal walling has yet to be shown to be conclusive, the separate lines of enquiry both on the ground and from aerial photography have raised important questions. Less convincing, to my mind, is the argument that the Roman settlement of Carsulae was enclosed by a walled circuit. Ciotti, who excavated the site between 1951 and 1972, was

confident that Carsulae had no walls (1976:14) and this view has generally been shared by other commentators. The existence of a Roman defensive wall could only be proven by excavation. The Soprintendenza is indeed currently excavating close to the Arco di San Damiano: at the start of the first season in 2012, the project directors made specific reference to the lack of knowledge about a walled circuit and two of the trenches were planned at points where they might be expected to intercept a walled circuit, if it existed (Gasperini and Donnini, 2012). This excavation, which is ongoing, has already yielded some interesting results (Bruschetti et al., 2013, Mancosu, 2014), but no traces of a defensive wall.

The case for a walled circuit enclosing the Augustan town has yet, then, to be made, although it is possible that Carsulae's perimeter was marked by a boundary ditch which has left no trace in the archaeological record. For the Augustan period at least, when the redevelopment of Carsulae took place, the lack of walls may also have something to do with the town's status as a *municipium,* as I argue was also the case for Augusta Bagiennorum (see Chapter 4.4 below). Fontaine noted that all the towns in Umbria (including Carsulae) which did not have a walled circuit had the status of *municipium* (1990:351). We do not know if the Arco di San Damiano, which shares many of the attributes of an honorary arch, had an honorific purpose or an imperial connection, but in our current state of knowledge it is best interpreted as a free-standing liminal structure providing a monumental and symbolic passage into the town, without an associated defensive wall.

3.9 Case studies - discussion

The city walls of my case studies were all constructed within a few decades of each other (30-20BC for Hispellum, shortly after 25BC for Augusta Praetoria, by 2BC-4AD for Saepinum, by AD9-10 for Fanum Fortunae, in the Augustan period for Urbs Salvia). All except one (Saepinum) were built either for new colonial foundations or (probably) for the refoundation of the colony of Urbs Salvia. They have many similarities, but their differences make clear that there was no strict blueprint for an Augustan walled city. In the discussion which follows, I use my case studies along with some comparative information from the wider group of 19 cities with Augustan walls (see Figure 2 above) to highlight some of the distinctive features but also pick up some of the common threads of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy. A number of aspects raised here are explored in greater detail, with full referencing, in other chapters.

The walled circuit

The footprint of the walled circuit of each of my case study cities varied considerably, from the precisely rectangular form of Augusta Praetoria to the imperfect rhombus of Saepinum and the very elongated form of Hispellum (Figure 30). This variety in form was mirrored in the wider group of Augustan city walls, with Emona and Venafrum also following a rectangular plan while Peltuinum, Mediolanum and Tergeste had an irregular footprint. A closer look at the data reveals that most,

but not all, of Augustan city walls built round colonial foundations newly settled on greenfield sites had a regular footprint enclosing a regular street grid (Tergeste and Pola were exceptions). Most, but not all, of the city walls built in the Augustan period around pre-existing urban settlements followed an irregular pattern (Venafrum, Alba Pompeia and Tridentum were exceptions). Two case study cities (Fanum Fortunae and Urbs Salvia) may not have had a complete circuit of walls, being open (probably) on the sea front and (possibly) along the crest of the hill respectively. This was also the case at Tridentum, where the town was surrounded by walls on the east, west and south sides of the town's perimeter while the River Adige formed the boundary of the urban area to the north.

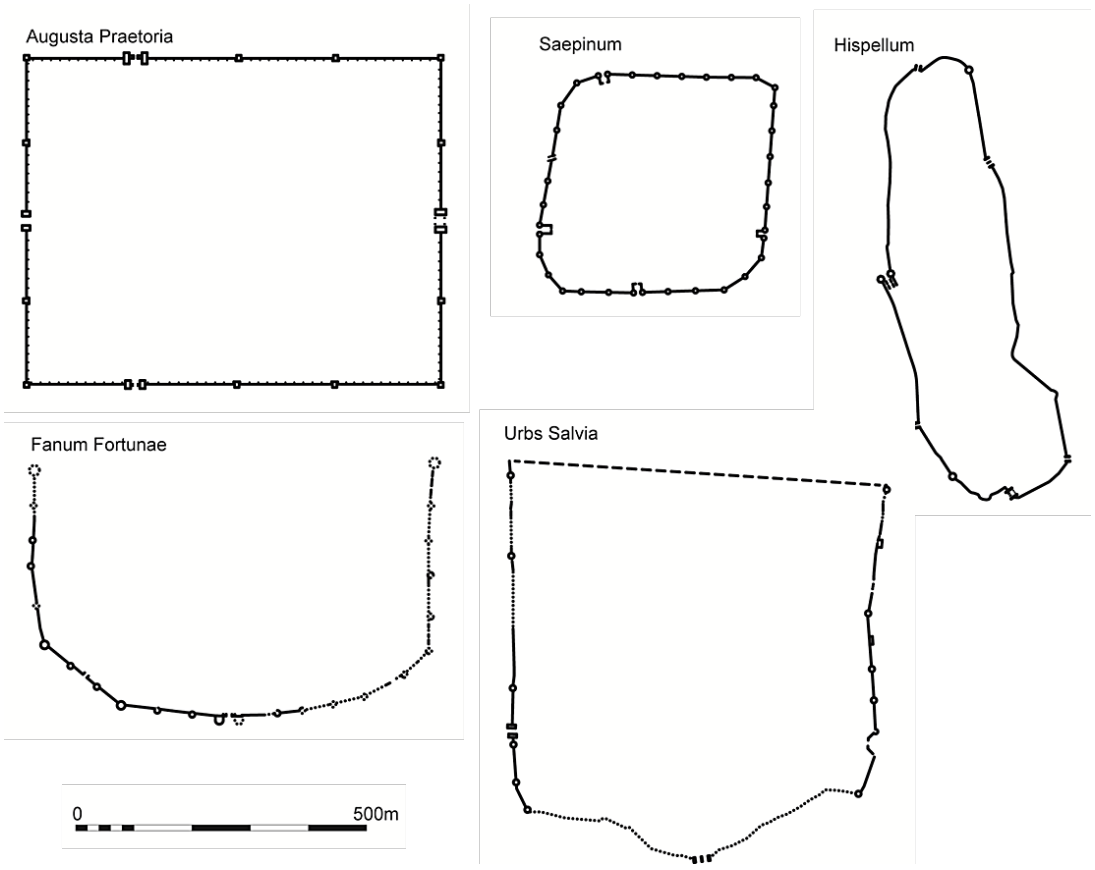

Figure 30: comparison of footprint of case study sites (to scale)

The walled circuit of Augusta Praetoria was perfectly aligned with the orthogonal street grid, as were those of Concordia Iulia and Emona. Saepinum and Hispellum, however, are not known to have had a planned grid in the urban centre, in Saepinum's case because the layout of the urban area was predicated on the irregular course of the pre-Roman roads which formed the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* through the town, and in Hispellum's case because the steepness of the site is likely to have made a regular pattern of *insulae* impossible. The size as well as the footprint of the enclosed area of my case study sites varied significantly, from 45ha at Urbs Salvia to 12ha at Saepinum; the difference in size was even more marked for the group as a whole, ranging from 72ha at Mediolanum to Saepinum's 12ha and Tridentum's 13ha.

The construction technique employed in each walled circuit was probably influenced by the availability of materials locally, but it is noticeable that four different techniques are evidenced at my case study sites (*opus quadratum* at Augusta Praetoria, *opus vittatum* at Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum, *opus testaceum* at Urbs Salvia and the problematic *opus quasi-reticulatum* at Saepinum). Within the wider group of Augustan city walls, there was an equal distribution of construction techniques between *opus quadratum*, *opus vittatum* and *opus testaceum*. The internal and external facings of all but one of the walls of my case study sites were constructed with the same technique and with similar care. According to Bonetto (1998:58) this is quite unusual, it being more common for the external façade of a city wall to be constructed with greater care than the internal face (as was the case, for example, at Augusta Taurinorum and Mediolanum). Of my case studies, however, this is only true of Augusta Praetoria where the inner facing is constructed in *opus incertum* with local stones from the river, as opposed to the careful *opus quadratum* in good quality limestone of the outer facing. Some sections of the external facing of the walls of Hispellum were constructed with noticeably less care and precision, where they were less visible to passers-by. Only the walls of Augusta Praetoria had buttresses against the inner face and there is convincing evidence for an earth rampart again only at Augusta Praetoria.

Four of the five case study walls conform to the norm that Augustan walls were typically narrower than republican walls, a phenomenon charted by, among others, Conventi (2004) and (for the walls of northern Italy) Bonetto (1998).[30] The walls of Urbs Salvia were only 1.5-1.6m wide and those of Fanum Fortunae and Saepinum around 1.8m wide. A comparison of sections through the walls reveals their very different proportions, however (Figure 31). Given their relatively narrow width, the walls of Fanum Fortunae seem unfeasibly high (12m, possibly 14m)[31] to the point of instability. Of my case studies, Augusta Praetoria is the colony which might be expected to be in greatest need of walls for defence, being placed in recently pacified Alpine territory in the very northwest of Roman Italy. Yet the city walls of Augusta Praetoria were one of the least robust, being only 1.9m wide at the base, tapering to 1.5m wide at the top, and only 6.5m high – half the height of the walls of Hispellum. Meanwhile, the walls of Saepinum, notably a *municipium* not a colony, appear like toy walls in comparison at 4.8m high. The walls of Tridentum, also a *municipium*, are on an even smaller scale, being only 4-5m high and 1.2-1.3m wide.

[30] Augustan city walls were also typically narrower than late Roman walls, when defensive functionality became more important. Latimer noted that the late antique walls of northern Italy averaged 3m-4m in width, compared to the 1m-2m of their Augustan predecessors (2010:35-36).
[31] I judge that the walls of Fanum Fortunae were 12m high, somewhat lower than the 14m estimated by a number of commentators. See the detailed discussion in Appendix D.

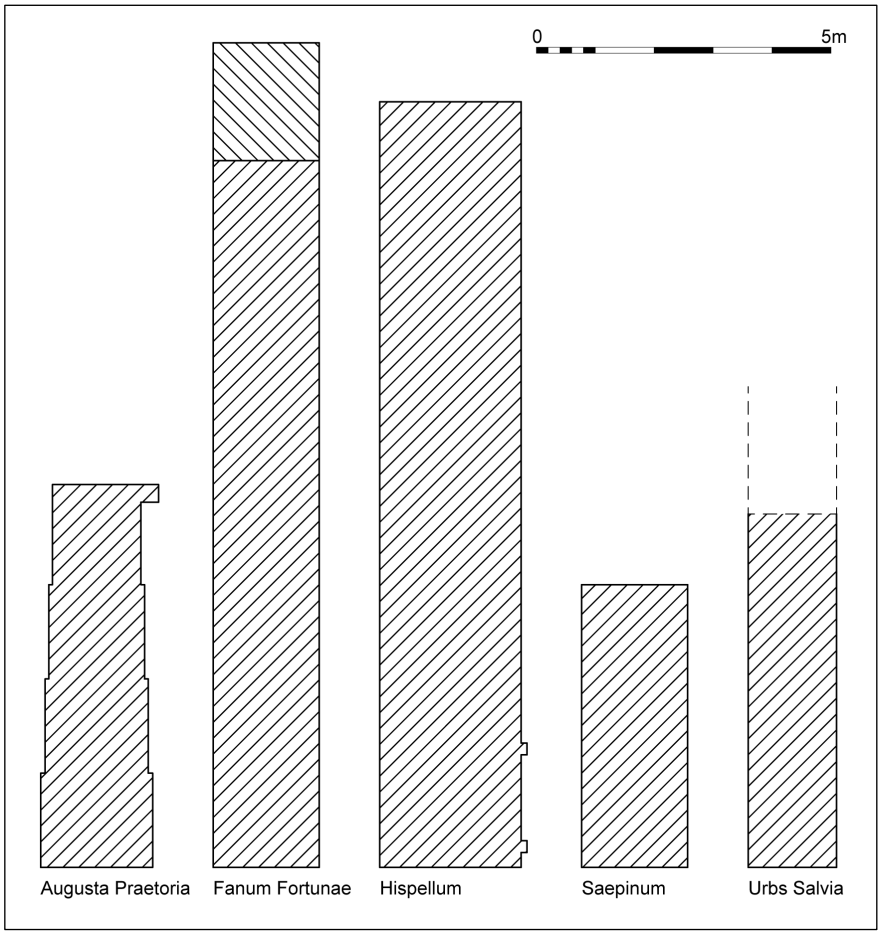

Figure 31: comparison of wall sections of case study sites (to scale)

This gives an interesting insight into the purpose of Augustan city walls. The walls of Augusta Praetoria are not obviously constructed with defence in mind. The walls of Hispellum, which – at 2.4m wide and (probably) 13m high – are much more solidly built than those of Augusta Praetoria, surrounded a colony which did not need protection from external threat but which did want to assert its dominance over rival cities and colonies in the Valle Umbra. Its massive walls towered over the plain below, making a real visual impact from many kilometres away (see Chapter 5.1.1 below).

The gateways

A similar exercise can be done for the main gateways of my five case study cities. Superficially, the gateways in four of the five cities appear to follow the same pattern. A number of scholars, including Richmond (1932), Fontaine (1990) and Delplace (1993), have drawn very specific comparisons between these and other Augustan gateways, even suggesting that a single architect or school of architects or military engineers were involved. Porta Venere and Porta Consolare at Hispellum, Porta Praetoria and Porta Decumana at Augusta Praetoria and Porta di Augusto at Fanum Fortunae were all courtyard gates and had outer and inner archways, with a central arch flanked by two smaller arches. The four gates at Saepinum were single-arched, but like the others they had a *cavaedium* (inner courtyard) between the outer and inner archways. All these gateways

(except Porta Consolare) were flanked by towers. All the gates were built in *opus quadratum*, contrasting with the construction technique used for the walled circuit itself.[32] We know that Porta Venere, Porta Consolare, Porta Praetoria and Porta di Augusto all had a galleried arcade above the outer archway.

But it would be a mistake to view these gateways as coming from the same template (Figure 32). The size of the gateways varies greatly, from the vast 21m span of Augusta Praetoria's Porta Praetoria to the diminutive 4.5m width of Porta Boiano at Saepinum. The flanking towers are round at Saepinum, 12-sided on plinths – one of which was a massive 10m high – at Hispellum, rectangular at Augusta Praetoria and U-shaped at Fanum Fortunae. Most of the gateways were closed with *cataractae* but the inner gates at Saepinum were closed by double doors and there is no evidence for means of closing Porta Consolare at all. This variation is size is also apparent in the wider group of 19 Augustan city walls. The four-arched Porta Palatina, the north gate into Augusta Taurinorum, had an inner courtyard some 11m x 12m and was flanked by 16-sided towers which reached 30m high (Rossignani et al., 2009:153). The overall complex measured 36m x 22m, not far off the dimensions of Augusta Praetoria's Porta Praetoria (41m x 21m). At the other extreme, the *cavaedium* of Tridentum's double-arched gateway measured some 8m x 4m, not dissimilar to the size of the inner courtyards of Saepinum's Porta Tammaro, Porta Benevento and Porta Terravecchia (7-7.5m x 4.5-5m).

[32] The walled circuit at Augusta Praetoria was built in *opus quadratum* like Porta Praetoria, but because the blocks used in the gateway are much larger there is a clear contrast between the gate and the walls.

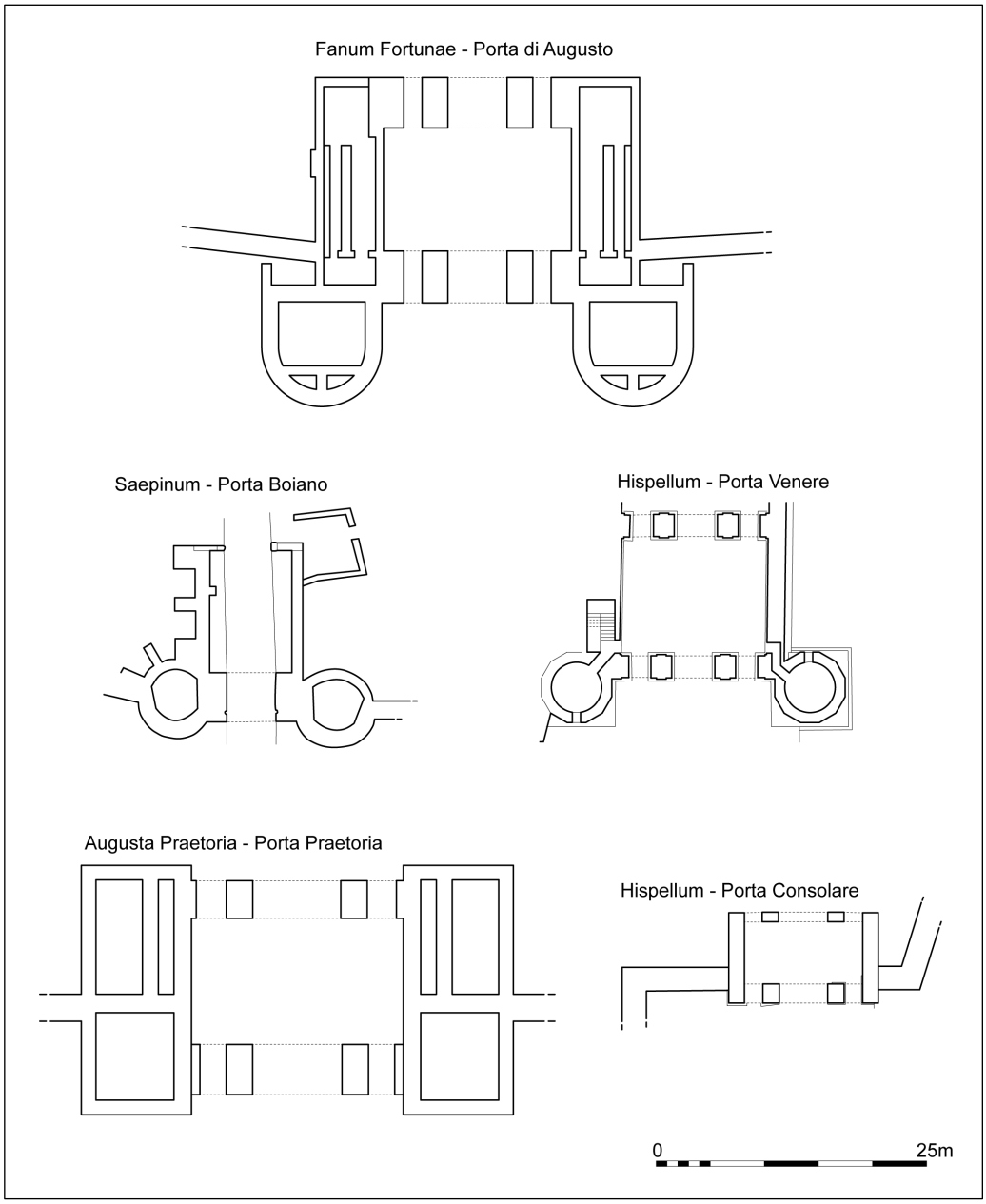

Figure 32: comparison of gateways of case study sites (to scale)

The visual impact of the case study gateways differs but each is the product of careful design. The intense white travertine of Porta Venere gleams brightly in contrast with the pinkish tinge of the bricks from which the city walls were built. A similar contrast is achieved at Fanum Fortunae, where the bright white stone of Porta di Augusto's outer façade stands in deliberate contrast to, but perfect alignment with, the yellow sandstone of the inner gateway and the walls. The striking two-tone coloured effect at Porta Praetoria's outer façade was not implemented until a few decades after its construction but an early precursor to the deliberate use of contrasting colours to provide interest and embellishment is apparent at Porta Consolare. There are hints at Saepinum, and possibly also at Porta Praetoria, that the gateways, or parts of them, were coated in whitewashed plaster (or painted), which would transform our understanding of how they were meant to be perceived.

Oddly, perhaps, in view of its almost miniature status when compared with the walled circuit and gateways of, say, Augusta Praetoria, the embellishment and sculptural detail on the four gateways of Saepinum are more significant than those of my other case studies. The archways of Fanum Fortunae, Augusta Praetoria and Hispellum are architecturally magnificent and visually impressive, but they are not ornate. Saepinum, on the other hand, not only has its dedicatory inscription prominently displayed above each archway[33] but it also has an identical ideologically driven sculptural composition carefully framing each archway. The busy town gateways are being used to make a very clear statement of propaganda and imperial power. This elaborate ornamentation is all the more striking because of the relative paucity of marble and decorative effects elsewhere in the town, which was much less showy in its use of fine materials than, say, Urbs Salvia or Carsulae.

In this discussion of gateways, those of Urbs Salvia are the outliers. One of the two gates at Urbs Salvia is very different from those of my other case studies, indeed different from other Augustan gateways in Roman Italy. As its typology suggests, the "Fréjus-type" north gate has almost no equivalents in Roman Italy, this type of gate being more widely found in southern Gaul. Porta Gemina, which in my view was probably an Augustan gate, is a double-arched gateway. These are known quite widely in late republican and Augustan Italy, including at Hispellum (Arco di Augusto) and Augusta Bagiennorum, and in the Augustan city walls of Alba Pompeia, Libarna, Peltuinum and Tridentum. Until further work is carried out on Porta Gemina, however, it is not clear how its depth (significant at 11m) should be interpreted. The deep double archways at Augusta Bagiennorum and Porta Montanara at Ariminum (AAVV, 2006), for example, probably had outer and inner archways separated by a *cavaedium*, which does not appear to be the case at Urbs Salvia.

The towers

There is considerable variation among my case studies in the use of towers. As well as indicating that there was no blueprint for an Augustan design, this diversity undermines the case of those who argue that Augustan city walls followed Vitruvian norms for maximum defensive capability (see, for example, Taus, 2012, Perna, 2006, Ferrarato, 1982). The towers of Augusta Praetoria, for example, are regularly spaced but the distances between them are quite considerable (170m-180m on the long sides of the circuit). The towers themselves had large arched windows on all four sides, designed more for visual impact than security. Conversely, only two towers have been identified in Hispellum's walled circuit. Both these towers had postern gates on the outer wall to provide easy access to outside the city. Saepinum had the most elaborate system of towers – 36 in a circuit only 1.27km long – but the defensive integrity of the circuit was broken when one of the

[33] The dedicatory inscription above Fanum Fortunae's Porta di Augusto also survives. No inscription associated with the city walls of Augusta Praetoria is known. Inscriptions from Hispellum and Urbs Salvia which are doubtful but might be relevant are included in my ancillary list (Appendix K).

towers was dismantled shortly after construction and the wall breached to provide direct access through the walls to the theatre. Within the group of Augustan city walls more widely, the walled circuit of Tridentum was only marginally shorter than that of Saepinum (1.2km) but only 11 towers have been identified along it, all rectangular. The walled circuit of Augusta Taurinorum incorporated 36 polygonal towers regularly spaced at 70m intervals while Florentia had circular towers every 50m along the wall. As at Saepinum, the walls of Florentia were compromised almost immediately after their construction, when the theatre was built up against the elevation of the wall (Scampoli, 2010:26-29).

Once again, Urbs Salvia is the outlier. The towers of Augusta Praetoria, Fanum Fortunae and Saepinum are all different from each other but internally consistent: excluding the towers flanking the gateways, the towers of Augusta Praetoria are all rectangular and the same size, the towers of Fanum Fortunae are all circular and all the same size (except for two rather larger towers at mirrored points of the circuit framing Porta della Mandria), and the towers of Saepinum are all circular and the same size (except for two octagonal towers, again at mirrored points of the circuit). At all my case studies except Urbs Salvia, the towers clearly form part of the original concept for the walled circuit, being carefully tied in even to the extent of aligning the brickwork. Urbs Salvia is different. Here, the archaeological evidence demonstrates that at least two of the towers postdate the walled circuit. The towers are different shapes and sizes (irregularly rectangular, pentagonal, hexagonal, octagonal) and some sit astride the wall while others abut it.

Foundation rites, ritual deposits and symbols

An important element of the process for founding a new colony was the foundation ritual, part of the religious practice which accompanied new settlements (Rykwert, 1988:44-71, and discussed further at Chapter 4.4.2 below). These rites normally included the *sulcus primigenius* (ploughing the boundary of the new colony) and burying the "first fruits" in a ceremonial pit, the *mundus*. Their ephemeral nature makes tracing such rites difficult in the archaeological record, although there is plenty of literary and numismatic evidence. It is therefore significant that at two of my case studies there is evidence for foundation rites and ritual deposits. The most important of these is at Augusta Praetoria, where a sculpted block was uncovered on the external face of one of the corner towers in the walled circuit. The carvings on the corner block are thought to represent erect phalluses, a spade, a plough and a badly eroded figure which may be a bull or a Capricorn (Figure 33). If the identification of a plough is correct, it should probably be associated with the colony's foundation and the rite of the *sulcus primigenius*. The bull or Capricorn is likely to be a reference to Augustus (Bertarione and Magli, 2015). Phallus symbols are more commonly found, and probably had a more general apotropaic function: there is a phallus carved on Porta Tammaro at Saepinum (Figure 34) and possibly another near Hispellum's Porta San Ventura. Further evidence for ritual deposits comes from Saepinum, where excavators found a pottery vessel containing eight small unguent jars carefully buried in alignment with the foundation of the wall (Ceglia and Curci,

2013). As Saepinum was not a colony, this is likely to be ritual deposit in connection with the construction of the walls rather than linked to a foundation rite.

Figure 33: carved reliefs on Torre dei Balivi
They are located at the northeast corner of Augusta Praetoria's walled circuit, on the external face.

Figure 34: carved relief on west pier of Porta Tammaro, Saepinum

Sanctuaries and processions

Four of my five case studies have a connection with a pre-existing sanctuary or cult. The exception, Augusta Praetoria, was the only colony to be founded on a greenfield site. For the others, there is evidence that the new colony appropriated or absorbed a pre-Roman sanctuary site or cult. At Hispellum, it appears that the walled circuit and in particular Porta Venere were deliberately positioned to dominate an important Umbrian cult centre and a processional way was routed between the two, possibly eclipsing earlier sacred ways. At Fanum Fortunae the evidence is less clear cut, but my interpretation of the diagonal road which cuts across the Roman street grid and exits the city through the carefully positioned Porta della Mandria is that it incorporates the memory of an earlier sacred way to the pre-Roman sanctuary site, which was later appropriated by the Roman colony and relocated within the city. At Saepinum, the relationship between the Roman *municipium* and the pre-Roman sanctuary site appears more even-handed. The existing sanctuary site remained in use during the Roman period and the two were connected by a track which formed the *cardo maximus* as it passed through the town. These issues are discussed in detail, with full referencing, in Chapter 5.2.1 and the relevant case study appendices.

Prominence in the landscape

The visual impact of city walls and the way in which it was purposefully enhanced is fully explored in Chapter 5.1, again with appropriate referencing. Several of my case studies demonstrate a deliberate desire to be noticed, including through the use of position, materials and colour. Hispellum is the best example of this. Perched on the hillside, its massive walls and magnificent gateways dominate not only the Italic sanctuary on the plain immediately below but also the view from many kilometres away. It holds in its line of sight several important Roman cities, including Perusia and Asisium. At Urbs Salvia, there is a hint that the city walls were landscaped on the

eastern side where the ground slopes down towards the river, where there is a difference in height of at least 10m between the ground level inside and outside the walls. In addition, it is clear that the Arco di San Damiano at Carsulae was carefully located to create maximum impact for travellers arriving on the Via Flaminia. The archway is placed at the northernmost point of the urban area just before the Via Flaminia drops steeply. Travellers arriving from the north would look up to see the archway dominating the horizon.

But city walls and gateways did not have a monopoly in dominating the landscape. At many cities, there was significant peri-urban development (Goodman, 2007), including at Augusta Praetoria; and the main roads leading to cities were lined with tombs. In particular, the presence at many cities of large monumental tombs close to city gateways would have competed for the attention of travellers and passers-by (and seriously compromised any attempts to defend the walled circuit). At Carsulae, there were several monumental tombs close to the Arco di San Damiano, one of which may have been 11-13m high. One of the monumental tombs close to Urbs Salvia's north gate still stands 6m high. Although its original height is unknown, a substantial monumental tomb was sited just outside the Porta Decumana of Augusta Bagiennorum. Large monumental tombs are also known close to the walled circuits of Saepinum, Peltuinum and Pola.

Imperial involvement and patronage relating to the city walls

Augustus' support for the colonies he founded is demonstrated not just through his own claims as set out in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*[34] but through epigraphic and archaeological evidence of specific benefactions, among them gifts of city walls, towers and gateways (Keppie, 1983:112-118). At least two, probably more, of my case studies benefited from specific imperial patronage of city walls. One of these is Saepinum, which was not a colony. No convincing explanation for the imperial benefaction to the town of its walls, towers and gates has yet been given. It is best seen in the context of viritane settlement in the vicinity of the town, but this took place in many areas without commensurate signs of imperial favour. Fanum Fortunae is more easily understood. This was an Augustan colony, located at an important point of the Via Flaminia which Augustus had recently restored. Augustus' patronage of the city walls[35] came following the foundation of the colony when significant development and monumentalisation of the urban area was also under way. We also know that Augustus took a particular interest in Hispellum. Although the epigraphic evidence for his possible patronage of the city walls is disputed,[36] Pliny the Younger records that Augustus gave to Hispellum the sacred site of the Springs of Clitumnus[37] and Hispellum's territories may have been enlarged at the expense of a number of its neighbours. Within the wider

[34] *Res Gestae Divi Augustae* 28
[35] CIL 11, 06218 recording Augustus' benefaction referred only to the city walls, but its placement on the main gateway suggests that the entire ensemble of walls, towers and gateways was covered, particularly as the archaeological evidence makes clear that they were all constructed as part of a single project.
[36] CIL 11, 05266. See the discussion at Appendix E.4.4.
[37] Pliny *Epistulae* 8.8.6

group of 19 Augustan city walls, there is epigraphic evidence for imperial benefactions of city walls, towers and/or gateways at six sites (seven including Hispellum). Three of these six sites, Saepinum among them, were *municipia* rather than colonies; although the numbers are small, this is interesting given Keppie's observation that the surviving epigraphic evidence for Augustan benefactions favours colonies (Keppie, 1983:117). The implications of this are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.4.3 below. The relevant inscriptions are included in my analysis of inscriptions relating to city walls and their gates and towers in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

The city walls, towers and gateways of my case studies show a surprising degree of difference in terms of their dimensions, design, form and construction technique, especially given the relatively narrow chronological window in which they were built and the relatively close geographic proximity of at least some of the cities. But some significant common themes emerge in how Augustan walled circuits engage with their physical and political environment. The importance of imperial involvement and patronage, an association with pre-Roman sanctuary sites and the indicative presence of processional routes, and the commanding presence of walled circuits in the landscape privileging visual dominance and showy display over defensive capabilities: these and other issues exemplified by my case studies are themes which I pick up in the remainder of my thesis.

Chapter 4: Evaluating city walls

It is apparent from the discussion of the case studies in the preceding chapter that a key issue relating to a study of city walls concerns the accuracy and reliability with which they can be dated. I turn now to consider this issue in detail, outlining the different techniques which can be brought to bear in assessing the date of a city wall, and acknowledging that in many instances only an approximate date range can be achieved and that the available data can lead to contradictory conclusions. Next, I discuss some key attributes of Augustan city walls which reveal their symbolic value and role as highly visible means of promoting the privileged status and prestige of the city they surrounded, within the wider political network centred on the Roman state and the *princeps* himself. I then relate the political and propagandist importance of city walls in the Augustan period to the ideology of city walls as revealed through a small number of specific examples in contemporary art and literature. Finally, I discuss what Augustan city walls can add to our understanding of the relationship between administrative status and city walls. Was there an expectation, a right or even an obligation for cities with colonial status to build city walls? What was the position of *municipia* which wished to define their boundary with a walled circuit or monumental gateway?

4.1 Dating city walls

In this section, I consider the question of the accuracy and reliability of dating city walls. The main methods by which dates can be assigned and their drawbacks are discussed below. The availability and quality of data on city walls are variable: information on individual sites is dependent on the current state of archaeological research and consequent publications. This can be patchy. In many cases, the outcome can only be imprecise, offering a chronological range within which a city wall was constructed. The position is further complicated by the fact that in some instances the elapsed time taken to complete a walled circuit could be considerable. In the end, it is a question of judgement as to whether a city wall is held to be "Augustan" (which, in view of the approximations involved, I define loosely as covering the period 40BC to AD20), late republican or early imperial.

4.1.1 Dating city walls by construction techniques

Like other public buildings, the city walls of many urban settlements in Italy have been dated on the basis of architectural style and technique but the classification systems used to do so are susceptible to challenge. Blake (1947, 1959) and Lugli (1957) proposed a linear progression in the use of materials and construction methods in order to "establish a canon for the various periods by which to test the accepted chronology of monuments already known and to ascribe at least tentative dates to those newly found or as yet unpublished" (Blake, 1947:1). Blake argued that technical

developments – for example the use of mortar and baked tiles in preference to rubble and sun-dried bricks – drove the style and scale of architectural building. Although Blake was confident that "trends are plain enough to allow an approximate chronology" (1947:1), this system runs the risk of oversimplification. While classifying walls into typological groups may offer a convenient method for organising a large body of material into neat categories, such an approach makes the – not necessarily well-founded – assumption that building techniques are evolutionary in nature. Blake herself noted (1959:9) that even within a relatively small area of Italy, availability of materials conditioned building methods with the result that it was unwise to rely on consistent and synchronous progression between different regions. The adoption of new construction styles would be affected by the degree of receptiveness locally to new ideas, the extent to which the originator of the structure wished to project a progressive or conservative image, the availability of appropriate materials, the technical capability of architects or labourers to employ new techniques, and resources available to finance the structure.

Sear (1982) and Anderson (1997) also based their analysis of Roman building techniques on a linear progression in the development of construction styles and the evolution of different types of facing, but one drawback of this approach is that the chronological classifications thus derived rely on a small number of type sites, in particular Pompeii, Ostia and Rome. Sear himself noted that the periods to which Roman construction techniques are assigned have been radically reassessed over time (1982:74). For example, Coarelli presented a study on the use of *opus reticulatum* and the growth in public buildings at Rome in the republican period (1977) but subsequent work has led to the revision of some of the dates he attributes to particular buildings. More recently, Mogetta argued that the technique of building with concrete was introduced to Rome later than previously thought (2015). And information from Rome is not necessarily transferable elsewhere. Construction types which are well attested and reasonably securely dated at Rome may also be fairly widespread in Latium and Campania but are found less frequently elsewhere in Italy, where continuing traditions of local styles of construction and the reuse of earlier building material make it difficult to date public buildings with confidence.

The urban centre of Saepinum provides a good case study of the issues and difficulties involved. It is generally accepted that Saepinum was the beneficiary of a monumental building programme in the early principate (see Appendix F). The walls and gates are dated by reference to an inscription[38] which records that they were a gift to the town from Tiberius and Drusus between 2BC and AD4. But the construction techniques used in building the walls do not sit well with a mid-Augustan date. This led Anderson (1983:3), supported by Keppie (1983:9), to assert that "there can be little question that the walls are about 50 to 60 years earlier than the inscription", because the walls are faced in the earlier technique of *opus quasi-reticulatum*. He pointed out that

[38] CIL 09, 02443

there is no evidence elsewhere in Italy of buildings constructed in *opus quasi-reticulatum* style as late as AD4.[39] The case of Saepinum thus highlights the difficulties posed when conclusions from one set of data (the dating of walled circuits using a theoretical framework based on construction techniques) are inconsistent with another (dating by way of epigraphy). The use of construction techniques for dating purposes enables only approximate chronologies to be assigned to city walls, as to other structures. To improve reliability, such dating techniques should be supported by dates obtained by other means.

4.1.2 The use of inscriptions to date city walls

Inscriptions provide probably the most reliable evidence for dating. But only a few city walls have relevant inscriptions. We can be reasonably sure that the city walls of Fanum Fortunae, Saepinum (*pace* Anderson, see above) and Tergeste and the gateway of Laus Pompeia date from the Augustan period, because there are inscriptions which can be confidently dated to the Augustan period and can also be clearly linked to the city's walls, towers and/or gateways. Even in such cases, acceptance of an Augustan date is not universal, as the challenge to the conventional date for the walls of Saepinum shows. Inscriptions where the link to city walls and/or to an Augustan date is more tenuous, and thus cannot be relied on, are known from Brixia, Emona, Hispellum, Ticinum, Tridentum and Venafrum. All these inscriptions are included in my main and ancillary lists of inscriptions at Appendices J and K and are discussed further in Chapter 6.

So the use of inscriptions to date city walls is not necessarily straightforward. Issues include:

- whether an inscription includes a statement which allows precise dating, for example by reference to a current emperor or to the magistrates for the year. Without this, inscriptions can often be dated only on very general grounds such as the style of lettering, nomenclature or abbreviations and thus assigned only to broad timespans (see Chapter 6.2.3);
- whether an inscription marks the beginning or the end of construction. There could be a considerable gap between the two: recent evidence at Augusta Taurinorum, for example, suggests that the city walls may have taken up to a century to complete from the date of the colony's foundation in 27BC (Brecciaroli Taborelli, 2007:243-251). I nevertheless judge the city walls of Augusta Taurinorum to be "Augustan" in intent and in substance, even if their completion was delayed;
- whether an inscription referring to a gateway can properly be used to infer dates for construction of the associated wall. Gateways were not always contemporaneous with and were sometimes earlier than the wall. This was the case, as we have seen, at Hispellum, where

[39] In a later publication, Anderson reiterated his view that the town walls of Saepinum date to 60-50BC but suggested that Porta Boiano was added later, to accommodate the date of the inscription (1997:200). This position is not tenable, because archaeological evidence shows that the walls, towers and gates of Saepinum are all carefully tied together and executed as a single project. See Appendix F.

Porta Consolare was built before the Augustan walls. Similar considerations may apply to towers associated with city walls. There is evidence from the Augustan period that towers could precede the walls, for example, at Augusta Taurinorum (where the walls abut the towers rather than being integrated into them - Richmond, 1932) and Tridentum (Bassi, 2007:58), or postdate the walls, for example, at Urbs Salvia;

- it is not necessarily safe to assume that inscriptions which are erected on city gates also provide evidence for the date of construction of the perimeter wall and towers, unless the inscription expressly states so. Archaeological evidence can help here. The dedicatory inscription placed on Porta di Augusto at Fanum Fortunae, for example, refers only to the city walls, not to the towers or the gate itself. It is clear from the material evidence, however, that the walls, gates and towers formed a coherent and contemporaneous project;
- whether it is appropriate to apply dating evidence obtained from an inscription at one walled circuit or gateway to a walled circuit or gateway of analogous construction or design at another location. The precise date of the walls, gates and towers of Fanum Fortunae, derived from epigraphic evidence, and taken in association with the technique used in the construction of the walls (*opus vittatum*), has been used to date the walls of Mevania, Hispellum and Sentinum (Luni, 1992:125). This is an imprecise and risky practice, however. For example, the similarities between the city gates of Augusta Taurinorum, Augusta Praetoria, Verona and Hispellum have been noted by many commentators (including Delplace, 1993:265, Ward-Perkins, 1970). An inscription on Porta Leoni in Verona[40] is dated to the late republic, probably to 59-42BC (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini, 1998:455-458). But the city gates of Augusta Praetoria and Augusta Taurinorum cannot be earlier than the Augustan period, because the cities are Augustan foundations.

Although the use of epigraphy for dating purposes has generally been considered a reasonably secure way of dating public monuments, it should not be used uncritically. Thomas and Witschel (1992) argued that it was problematic to take at face value the claims made on Roman building inscriptions because of the apparent divergence in a number of cases between epigraphic statement and architectural reality. In their view, the epigraphic record was "highly charged", being more concerned with self-promotion or even deliberate deception than accuracy. In particular, they argued that inscriptions which claim to record the building of a monument may in fact refer only to repairs of greater or lesser importance. Such economies with the truth may extend to city walls. Thomas and Witschel referred to the example of Spoletium, where an inscription suggests that the city walls were newly built in the middle of the first century BC, although archaeological evidence shows that only the upper part of the city walls were rebuilt at that time while the original third century BC walls remained intact at lower levels. In short, Thomas and Witschel argued that the

[40] CIL 05, 03434

language of building inscriptions was figurative rather than factual and should not be relied on to establish or corroborate chronologies for the history of building.

Thomas and Witschel rightly urged caution in the use of epigraphy to date structures but the value of evidence provided by building inscriptions should not be discounted altogether (Fagan, 1996, a direct riposte to Thomas and Witschel's article). While recognising that inscriptions may contain an element of exaggeration for reasons of self-promotion and may deliberately incorporate a fluidity of meaning into their wording, Fagan argued that it is unlikely that the claims recorded in a building inscription would be invented completely. Nevertheless, Fagan acknowledged in a subsequent article (1999b) that "even apparently straightforward terms in inscriptions can emerge, under close scrutiny, as markedly less direct than they may initially appear".

4.1.3 Dating city walls by material evidence

Along with inscriptions, dateable material finds from controlled archaeological work on city walls may provide reliable evidence for the chronology of city walls. But as with inscriptions, even when such evidence is available – and it is rare – it is not without problems. There are a number of issues which mean that caution should be exercised.

It may not be appropriate to use a dateable find from a specific point and specific context of a city wall to extrapolate a chronology for the city wall as a whole, given that a walled circuit may have taken a considerable time to complete (as noted above for Augusta Taurinorum). This may be less of a problem when a walled circuit appears homogenous in nature and therefore a good case can be made for the synchronous construction of the city walls, as at Augusta Praetoria or Fanum Fortunae. But at Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten), in the province of Germania Inferior, dendrochronology has provided a precise date for the felling of trees from which the oak piles were constructed, beneath the foundations of the city walls (Precht, 1983). Yet it seems clear from excavations at different sections of the wall that it was not built all at the same time and therefore the dating evidence cannot be used for the entire wall.

The use of datable artefacts found in the course of archaeological work on city walls can help but provides only a *terminus post quem*, and it is not easy to judge how close this date is to the actual date of construction. There remains a possibility that further work will advance the date. Furthermore, the evidence can be relied on only if the artefact has been securely sealed in or below the foundation of the wall and if a stratigraphically sensitive excavation has taken place. At Ariminum, for example, excavations of the original city walls uncovered what seems to be a votive deposit, including three coins, associated with the construction of the walls. This may be a foundation deposit as one of the coins can be dated to the time of the colony's foundation (Ortalli, 2000) and it enables the city walls to be dated with unusual precision. At Saepinum, on the other hand, a pottery vessel containing eight small unguent jars had been carefully buried in alignment

with the foundation of the walls, but the artefacts could not be dated with sufficient precision to advance the discussion about when the town walls were constructed (see Chapter 3.5 above).

Material finds from recent excavations at Tridentum have enhanced our understanding of the chronology of the city walls, towers and gates, although they provide a surprisingly complicated – perhaps over-complicated – picture (Bassi, 2007). The Roman town, a *municipium*,[41] had a rectangular walled circuit on three sides enclosing an orthogonal street grid (the fourth side bordered the River Adige). In a deposit stratigraphically immediately above the foundations of the city walls were found pottery of undefinable date and a hinged brooch which the excavators assigned to the mid-Augustan period, and close to one of the towers a coin of Gnaius Piso, datable to around 15BC. Bassi used this evidence to propose a mid-Augustan date for the city walls. Excavations from the tower in Piazza Bellesini, on the other hand, found coin evidence from the late republic or "proto-Augustan" period, along with earlier coins and black-glaze ware. This suggested to Bassi that construction of the towers took place by around 30BC and preceded that of the city walls. Moreover, she noted that the walls and towers are not seamlessly tied together, which would corroborate a hypothesis that the two were not contemporary in date.

In practice, dateable artefacts have transpired to be less useful for the chronology of city walls than might be expected. Such evidence is almost always used in conjunction with evidence from other sources.

4.1.4 City walls and historical context

Scholars have long yielded to the temptation to associate the construction of city walls with known historical events. Lugli (1957) explicitly linked his categorisation of construction methods and identification of periods in which building was particularly extensive with historically documented times of prosperity or crisis. In 2007, Chiaramonte commented in the context of Pompeii's city walls, "although it may not be legitimate to apply mechanically the dates of the great events of history to restorations and rebuildings of the fortifications, it is inevitable to connect interventions representing an enormous commitment for the community to political emergencies requiring improvement or adaptation of the defences to new techniques of warfare." In his research on the cities of Umbria, Fontaine (1990) found little secure evidence on which to base the date of city walls. He therefore argued that the city walls of important urban centres in Umbria should be associated with colonial foundations. Bradley disagreed (2000:14, 128-138), maintaining that there is no strong association between defences and urbanisation and that fortifications should not be used to trace social and political developments.

[41] ILS 206

Attempts to associate historical events documented in contemporary sources with precise dates for the construction of city walls and to corroborate one with the other are problematic. Literary sources may reveal that a city had walls but seldom discuss their construction in a verifiable historical and chronological context. Occasionally, the only evidence available for the existence of city walls is from historical sources. For the colony of Fregenae in Etruria, for example, we know from Livy that city walls existed[42] but very little remains of the physical site (Salmon, 1969:79).

Where historical evidence is relied upon to construct a chronology for city walls, a plausible challenge to that linkage can have wide repercussions. It had long been assumed, for example, that the city walls of Falerii Novi were contemporary with the foundation of the settlement in 241BC (as attested in literary sources)[43] and this association had been relied upon as establishing a fixed point for dating other city walls of a similar style. But a comprehensive survey of the site carried out by Keay et al. (2000) provided evidence which suggested that the city walls may have been constructed somewhat later than the foundation of the city, thereby casting doubt not only on the date of Falerii Novi's city walls but on the date of other city walls whose chronology had been derived by analogy with Falerii Novi.

A particular issue arises over the presumed association between the material evidence of city walls and the historical context of colonies. It is argued, for example by Février (1969), that if an urban centre has city walls, then it may well have been a colony, and if it is known to be a colony, then it may be expected to have walls. This view is discussed by Esmonde Cleary (2003) and is covered in greater detail in Chapter 4.4 below. By way of example, the case of Saepinum may help to illustrate the difficulties of relying on a link between historical context and material evidence. The known evidence points to the settlement having municipal status from 89BC into the Augustan period. But the imperial donation of walls to the town in 2BC-AD4 has led some to claim that Saepinum must have received colonial status at or around the time the city walls were built, in accordance with the idea that wall construction and colonial status are inextricably linked. There is a risk here that the available evidence is being forced to fit a pre-conceived notion of the urban structures which a centre with colonial status "ought" to have.

4.1.5 Augustan city walls – a moving target?

The degree of confidence in assigning an Augustan date to city walls varies considerably, as the summary information on each city which I judge to have Augustan walls in Appendix A makes clear. There are some which are relatively uncontroversial. But there are others where the chronology of the city walls has been, or is likely to be, re-evaluated. This is comparable to the current trend of reassessing the foundation dates of colonial settlements. In the Istrian peninsula,

[42] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 32.29,1-2
[43] Polybius *The Histories* 1.65; Livy *Epitomes* 20.

for example, the colonies of Tergeste and Pola are now held to be Caesarian foundations rather than triumviral or Augustan (Bernardini et al., 2015, Zecchini, 2014). In consequence, the construction of the city walls of Pola which was until quite recently held to be Augustan (Keppie, 1983:204, Rosada, 1990:383) may have to be moved back and is now thought at least to have started in the Caesarian period, possibly being completed in the Augustan period (Jouffroy, 1986:65). The city walls of Tergeste are more securely dated to 33BC by virtue of an inscription.[44] On the other hand, some Caesarian colonies are now thought to be Augustan foundations, especially in Gaul, as is argued in a number of papers in Demougin and Scheid (2012). So it is important to keep an open mind and to evaluate new evidence as it emerges on its merits.

The case of Altinum, a *municipium* in Regio X, shows how new evidence can lead to radical reassessments of the chronology and development of urban structures. The town was located just behind the Venetian lagoon with a network of waterways and canals and embankments to protect it from flooding. Until 2009, a monumental gateway in brick at the north of the town and short stretches of flanking wall were the only known features which defined the town's boundary (Tirelli, 2004). The gateway, which was double-arched and had flanking towers, was originally dated to the Augustan period but detailed archaeological work suggested that it was probably built in the middle of the first century BC (Tirelli, 2011:105). Although it had the appearance of a gateway it may in fact have functioned as a landing-stage for those arriving by water. Our understanding of the urban plan of Altinum then changed dramatically in 2009 with the publication of aerial survey work carried out in severe drought conditions, which showed *inter alia* that the town walls were more extensive than had previously been recognised (Ninfo et al., 2009), although according to the Soprintendenza they were "probably not continuous" (2015). So at Altinum, both the chronology and the extent of the gateway and its associated walls have changed. In the light of the latest information, I have excluded it from my group of Augustan city walls and their gateways.

4.1.6 Conclusion: the example of Sentinum

In short, the dating of city walls is difficult. Dating by any one means is unlikely to be conclusive. A broad span of time within which a city wall was constructed may, in many cases, be the best that can be achieved. In some instances, it is possible to corroborate or calibrate a date achieved by one method by means of another. But this too can bring its own problems. The quantitative data assembled by Jouffroy (1986) and Conventi (2004) assume that dates determined by different methods have equal validity when their degree of reliability and precision may in fact vary considerably. Moreover, different methods may contradict each other.

The town walls of Sentinum are a case in point. Jouffroy (1986), following Fabbrini (1961), assigned the walls to the Augustan period. Their construction technique, of limestone in *opus*

[44] CIL 05, 00525.

vittatum, is similar to that of the city walls of neighbouring Fanum Fortunae and Urbs Salvia, both of which can be assigned to the Augustan period, but their width – in some places up to 3m and typically 2-2.25m (Medri, 2008:27, 78) – is significantly wider than that of most Augustan walls.[45] Historical sources give a *terminus ante quem* for Sentinum's town walls (or one phase of the town's walls), noting that the town was captured and its walls destroyed in 41BC during the civil wars.[46] On the basis of stratigraphical excavation, Medri (2006) suggested a republican date for the walls with rebuilding work also taking place at some point in the republican period, followed by abandonment of at least some sections of the walls in the late Augustan period. There are several fragmentary inscriptions associated with the town walls[47] which on palaeographic and linguistic grounds have been dated to the period 90-40BC and perhaps, on the basis of the lack of wear to the inscriptions, may have been displayed only between the mid first century BC and the sacking of the town in 41BC (Paci, 2008).

Four different ways of dating Sentinum's town walls – construction technique, historical context, stratigraphic excavation, epigraphy – thus give four different and sometimes contradictory interpretations and chronologies. Medri perhaps summed it up best by acknowledging simply that Sentinum's walls have not been dated (Medri, 2006:10). With this in mind, it is important to recognise that the dating of city walls can often only be approximate and that the strength of evidence on which to base chronologies can vary greatly. The walls of each city have to be considered on an individual basis.

4.2 City walls as symbols of status and self-representation

In this section, I look briefly at specific attributes of Augustan city walls which reveal their propensity for showy monumentality over functionality as a means of promoting their status and prestige. It would be perverse to deny that city walls had defensive utility. But the importance of the defensive properties of city walls varied significantly over time. The Augustan period in Roman Italy, while perhaps not as peaceful as Augustus liked to suggest, was more settled than previous decades. There was no need for cities to invest heavily in city walls for reasons of self-protection. Goodman's conclusion that "the cities of the Augustan world did not need walls" (2007:86) is too sweeping a statement, but the defensive value of city walls in this period was much less significant than their symbolic value and representational image. I highlight below two attributes of city walls which indicate the importance of walled circuits in showcasing the privileged status and self-regard of the cities they surrounded.

[45] The average width of the Augustan walls of *municipia* listed in Appendix A is 1.5m.
[46] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 48.13,2,5; Appian *Bellum Civile* 5.30
[47] CIL 11, 05764, discussed in Bertinelli Angeli and Donati (2006:303-312)

4.2.1 City walls and gateways as a vehicle for ornamental monumentality

First, a significant characteristic of Augustan city walls and gates is their monumental grandeur. Trigger defined "monumental architecture" as encompassing buildings in complex societies "whose scale and elaboration exceed the requirements of any practical functions that a building is intended to perform" (1990:119, cited in Thomas, 2007:5). This observation is borne out for many city walls and particularly for city gates of the Augustan period, which saw considerable emphasis placed on their architectural and decorative features. As Gros noted, it becomes quite difficult to distinguish between city gateways and honorary arches (1996:27). The monumental façades of the main gateways at Augusta Praetoria and Fanum Fortunae, as at a number of other Augustan walled cities, create an imposing entrance to the city for approaching travellers but their decorative qualities and architectural detail suggest that defence was not a motivating factor for their construction. People were being encouraged to pass through and notice the gates, not being repelled by them. The combined effect of monumentality, ornamentation and text, where present, is considered in detail in Chapter 6.4 below.

Provision of monumental gateways marking the entrance to a city appears to have been a greater priority in some instances than their immediate integration into a walled circuit.[48] We have already seen that Porta Consolare, the main entrance into Hispellum, was constructed a decade or so before the city walls. Pagni argued that the gateways of Florentia were built several decades before the Augustan walls (2010:125-8): the gateways may have been built immediately following the colony's foundation, probably by Caesar, but the city saw no pressing need to complete the walls at that time. There is also evidence for towers predating the walls to which they related, at Tridentum, where Bassi assessed that the towers were built about a decade before the walled circuit (2007:58), and at Augusta Taurinorum (Rosada, 1992:132), whose towers Zanker considered to be built "solely for effect" (2000:32).

4.2.2 The length of walled circuits

Another way in which city walls embodied and projected a city's status and perception of self was in the construction of very long walled circuits which enclosed an area much more extensive than was required for practical purposes. For example, the Augustan boundary walls of Nemausus and Vienna, in southern Gaul, each enclosed over 200ha including unoccupied land (for Nemausus, Varène and Bigot, 1992, for Vienna, Le Bot-Helly, 1987). Noting that such long boundaries would have proved extremely difficult to defend, Rebuffat (1986:351) argued that prestige and conspicuous display were key factors in the decision to build these and other disproportionately long circuits in Gaul.

[48] This is a well-known phenomenon encountered in a number of places and at different times, including Roman Britain.

Gaul was not the only province to exhibit exceptionally long walled circuits. The city walls of Aventicum, situated in the province of Germania Superior the other side of the Great St Bernard Pass from my case study of Augusta Praetoria, were built rather later around AD70 (Dewarrat, 1985) and were 5.5km long. The street grid covered only 20% of the 231ha enclosed by the city walls (Figure 36); it appears there was never an intention that the entire area would be built up (Aventicum, undated, with plan, Bedon et al., 1988:75-77). The city walls of Aventicum are also noteworthy in that the 73 semi-circular towers built at regular intervals along the perimeter and bonded into the walls do not project out to face a potential enemy but are directed inwards, as if their meaning is aimed more at the urban community than an approaching adversary (Figure 35). It seems likely that these and other unusually long and expugnable circuits, built in the Augustan or early imperial period, were intended as a reflection of the cities' sense of their own importance rather than built in the expectation of future growth and the need to protect a large population. Furthermore, it underlines the risks of using the size of the intramural area as a proxy to estimate population size, although Bowman and Wilson (2011:170) considered that it was the "least bad" methodology available.

Figure 35: Tour Tornallaz, Aventicum, view from outside the city

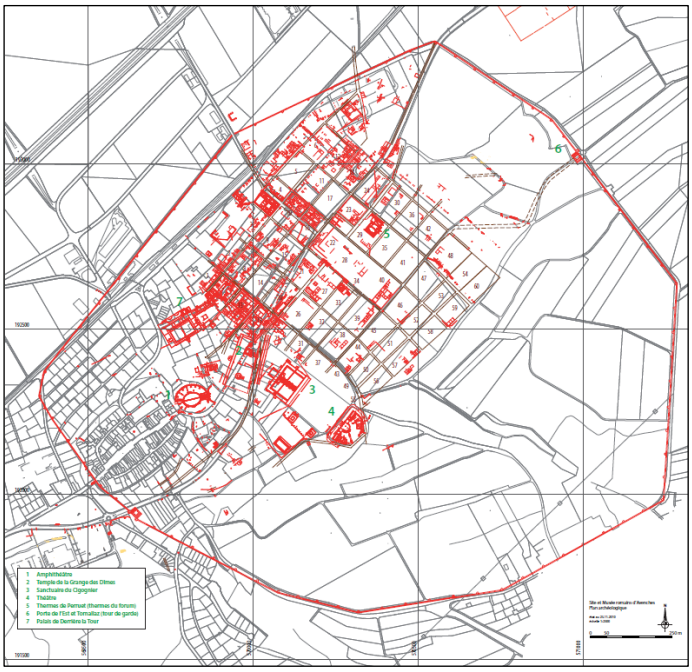

Figure 36: site plan, Aventicum. Built-up area in red

There are no known city walls in Roman Italy of the first century BC or the first century AD which are quite so disproportionately long in relation to the size of the community they enclosed. Nevertheless, it seems that some cities in Augustan Italy chose to build walled circuits which enclosed an area larger than they needed at the time of construction or than they could realistically expect to fill at a later date (Laurence et al., 2011:116). For example, only about half the 50ha enclosed by the Augustan walls of Brixia were built up (Breda, 1993) and the area enclosed by the

boundary walls of Mediolanum – 72ha – was much greater than was functionally necessary for its existing population.

4.2.3 Discussion: the examples of Allifae, Saepinum and Augusta Praetoria

The greater emphasis placed on the symbolic and ideological role of city walls in the Augustan period can be charted by reference to two urban centres only 50km apart in distance and about 50 years apart in date. The city of Allifae was situated on the Via Latina between the colonies of Venafrum and Beneventum and is generally thought to be a Sullan colonial foundation with a later triumviral deduction (Mancini, 2005:9-11). The city walls were probably built during the middle of the first century BC or a little earlier (Quilici Gigli, 2015). The city adopted a regular castral design and the defensive fortifications, just under 2km long, were fully integrated into the street grid (Figure 37). The walls were compact and solid, in *opus incertum* and approximately 7m high and 2.5m thick, with towers at regular intervals 40m apart and four unadorned gateways (Merolla, 1964, De Caro and Greco, 1981:243). Even though the city is on the plain, the walls and gates appear forbidding, functional and imposed on the landscape (Figure 38).

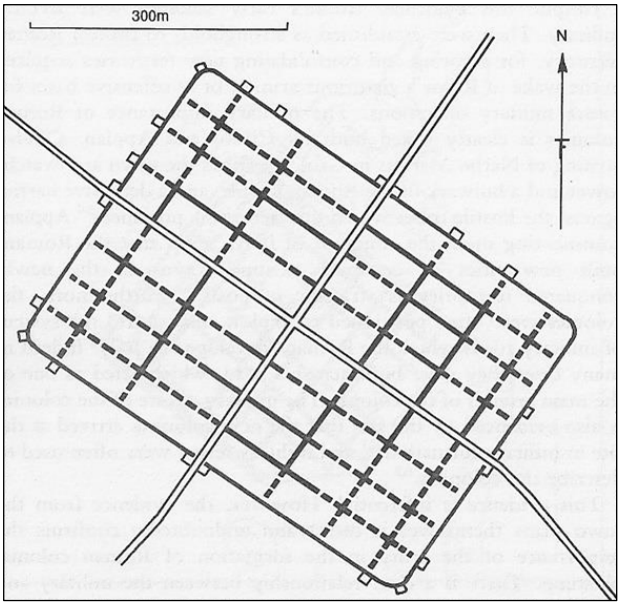

Figure 37: plan of Allifae

Figure 38: gate at northeast entrance to Allifae, external view

In contrast, the walls of nearby Saepinum are more irregular in outline and work with the landscape rather than against it (Figure 39). Its walls were 1.3km long, rhomboid in outline, and are dated to 2BC-AD4.[49] The walls are both less high (about 4.8m) and less wide (1.75-1.9m) than those of Allifae. There were four impressive gates flanked by circular towers and embellished with carvings and dedicatory inscriptions which enhanced the monumentality of the entranceways and served as sculptural vehicles for conveying key imperial messages (Figure 40). The impression

[49] CIL 09, 02443

given by the walls and associated towers and gateways is much more one of prestige and status than defence, and this is corroborated by the circumstances of their construction, both in terms of chronology (during the *pax Augusta*) and patronage (a gift of the imperial family).

Figure 39: aerial view of Saepinum

Figure 40: Porta Boiano, view from outside the town

It would be simplistic and falsely dichotomous, however, to claim that republican city walls were always defensive and Augustan walls were only about symbolism and status. The city walls of Augusta Praetoria illustrate how both characteristics could co-exist and thus offer scope for more sophisticated interpretation. The colony of Augusta Praetoria was founded in 25BC, in the most northwesterly part of Roman Italy in territory recently conquered from the Salassi tribe. It is likely therefore that the walls did have some defensive, or at least deterrent, function, but the monumental character of the four gates and the imposing design and execution of the walled circuit suggest that form as well as function, meaning as well as purpose, were important. Like Allifae, the city walls of Augusta Praetoria followed a rectangular castral design with towers at regular intervals, projecting an image of order and control within the landscape. The walled circuit was 2.5km long with 20 square towers spaced at regular intervals and four gateways which were provided with means of closure. But the walls were neither particularly high (6.5m) nor particularly wide (1.9m at the base, tapering to 1.5m at the top). The towers were widely spaced (170-180m on the longer sides of the circuit, compared to 40m at Allifae) and incorporated large windows. And the principal gateway, Porta Praetoria, was notably grand with intricate stonework. It formed a monumental approach to the city in line with the Arch of Augustus, situated some 400m outside the walls on the route from Ivrea and ultimately from Rome. The location of Augusta Praetoria at the approach to key passes through the Alps and the design of the circuit suggest that security was important but the architectural quality of the walls and gateways indicate that issues of power and status were also significant.

4.2.4 Conclusion

A city's decision to invest time and money in building city walls was a significant one. Much more than the manifestation of an urban community's requirement for defence, a walled circuit represented an important statement of the city's perception of its status within the wider political network. That image could be enhanced by specific features of a walled circuit, such as monumental ornamentation and visual grandeur or disproportionate length in relation to the size of its population or built-up area. Such characteristics are not exclusive to the Augustan period, of course, but they do assume considerable importance at the same time as the defensive functionality of walls appeared less significant. Augustan city walls were charged with symbolic meaning as part of the ideology and technology of power projected by Augustus through urban building programmes. They were highly visible statements of the political strength, status and power of cities and through them of the Roman state. In an environment where public building was used to express social relations and cultural identity, the symbolism of protection projected by Augustan city walls was more important than the reality.

4.3 The ideology of city walls in Roman thought

In the previous section of this chapter, I highlighted attributes of Augustan city walls which emphasised their status and prestige. They shared these characteristics with other monumental public buildings, which symbolised not only a city's individual identity but also represented the authority of Rome and the emperor. Urban communities wanted to be seen to subscribe to Augustus' programme of renewal, and one way of doing this was through public architecture, including city walls, which could be deliberately used to display power relations and to promote imperial ideology. In Mierse's view, Augustus used building programmes as the basis for cultural unification (1990a). The urban plan resulting from Augustan organisation or redevelopment of urban centres and the monumental buildings which embellished them were visible statements of a new order. In this, he went further than Zanker (1988:297-341), who saw the spread of imperial ideology as more organic in nature, rather than stemming from an explicit central directive. Under this interpretation, the city wall may have been less a reflection of the identity of all, or indeed any, section of the urban community it enclosed but instead may have projected the image of Rome, being an ideologically driven response to the expectations of the imperial power.

A brief exploration of the thought-world or ideology of city walls in literary and visual representation will corroborate this by offering an insight into the importance of city walls in contemporary attitudes. There was a close ideological association between city walls and the city itself, and the image and vocabulary of walls were often used to represent the city. The depiction or description of city walls, more than any other image, served to encapsulate and emblematise an urban community's civic identity. Representations of city walls are common, and vary widely in

terms of medium, context, purpose and intended audience; only a few key examples are considered here.

4.3.1 Pictorial, sculptural and numismatic representations of city walls

Walls were the encompassing frame that provided a physical definition to the city. The ancient Egyptian hieroglyph for a city was two lines intersecting at right angles contained within a circle. This condensed into one simplified figure the key constituents of a city – the two main streets set out in ordered form and the encompassing city wall – while conveying messages of cohesion, definition and organisation within the urban space. A similar aerial perspective to provide a simplified and clear representation of a city was used in Roman times in the *Corpus Agrimensorum* (Figure 41, see Bluhme et al., 1848-1852) although as Campbell pointed out (2000:xxiii-xxvi) it is impossible to judge if any of the illustrations date back to the original compilation of texts. Some of the cities are labelled but none is closely based on the actual layout of the city thus delineated. It is noteworthy that all except one of the illustrations of cities in the *Corpus* depict an urban area surrounded by a city wall; in eight illustrations, one or two buildings are shown inside the city wall but in the majority of cases (18), the city itself is represented by a walled circuit with no attempt to show buildings inside the enclosure of the walls. It was enough, it seems, for the city wall itself to signify the city.

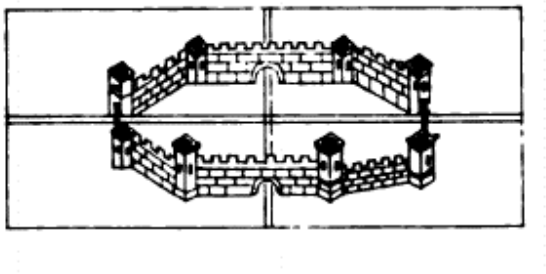

Figure 41: illustration from Corpus Agrimensorum

Figure 42: walled city in Peutinger Table

The Peutinger Table, a medieval copy of a map originating in the fourth century AD, used the symbol of a walled circuit as shorthand to classify and emphasise a city's importance (Figure 42 above, see Weber, 1976). Only six cities are depicted with walled circuits, and only two of these (Ravenna and Aquileia) are in the western empire, presumably recognising the importance of the eastern empire at the time of the map's original compilation. Most cities, despite the fact that they did actually have city walls, are shown in the Table simply by a labelled annotation along the linear network with significant locations being marked by little icons or vignettes.

Other contemporary pictorial representations of the classical city use the city wall and its gates as an iconic symbol for the city as a whole. A fresco dating from the mid first century AD discovered

at the Colle Oppio in Rome depicts the key components of a city, including the temple, forum and theatre, all set within the prominent frame of a wall, stressing the importance of walls in contemporary perception and portrayal of cities (La Rocca, 2000). It is noticeable that the city wall and its gates and circular towers stand out from the internal buildings and are drawn at a larger scale (Figure 43 below). A fortified harbour is depicted as part of the scene with a river which flows into the city centre through an arched entranceway flanked by towers. Some of the buildings bear some resemblance to known public monuments in Rome. But we know that at the date of painting, Rome was not surrounded by turreted city walls like those illustrated: at this date, the Servian walls of Rome had fallen into ruins and are not in any event thought to have had turrets. Either the city illustrated is an imaginary city or a different city altogether, or the artist has chosen to add city walls to his idealised depiction of Rome, because contemporary opinion held that important cities were surrounded by walls.

Conversely, the representation of the city walls in the fresco of the *Riot in the Amphitheatre* from Pompeii bears more than a passing resemblance to the actual walls of Pompeii. The fresco is large, some 1.7m by 1.9m (Figure 44). Discussion has focused principally on the amphitheatre itself and on the animated people taking part in or watching the riot and the historical context[50] (see, for example, Clarke, 2003:152-158) but it is also important for what it can tell us about the city walls. This is not a stock scene: the artist has taken the trouble to locate the action accurately within the urban space. Although the perspective is distorted, the architectural details of the amphitheatre are carefully drawn, and many of the features have been archaeologically confirmed. The amphitheatre is shown nestling against the walls, as was in fact the case, and the walls are drawn in *opus quadratum*, as indeed was the construction technique used at Pompeii. We also know that there were two square towers and a corner tower in the eastern corner of the walled circuit, as is sketched in the fresco (Richardson, 1988:44-50).

[50] The fresco recalls a riot which took place in AD59 between Pompeians and people from Nuceria and is recounted by Tacitus in the *Annales* 14.17.

Figure 43: fresco of cityscape from Colle Oppio

Figure 44: fresco: Riot in the Amphitheatre

A fragmentary relief from Avezzano, appraised by Gros in his second volume on Roman architecture (2001:21), shows a city which is organised with a regular street grid and surrounded by ashlar masonry walls and a gate (Figure 45). It is set in the country, with a villa on the hillside outside the city and fields, trees and tombs. Like the Colle Oppio fresco, the city wall is shown at a larger scale than the rest. A road links the city walls and its gate with the surrounding countryside, emphasising the connectivity between the two and making it clear that the city's territory was considered an integral part of the wider community.

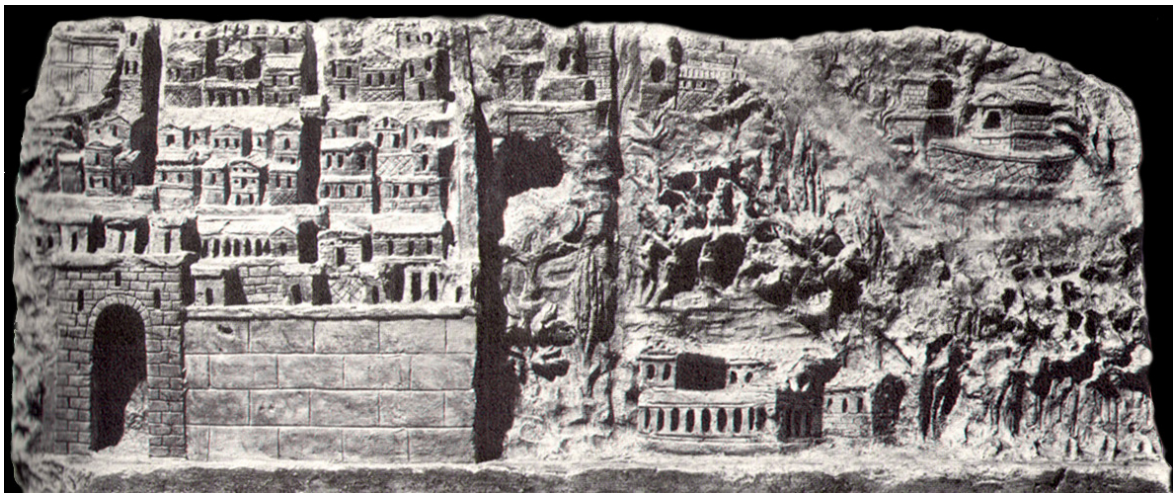

Figure 45: relief from Avezzano

Walls were a common theme on mosaics. There are a number of examples from Ostia[51] and also from Pompeii.[52] The use of the wall motif in mosaics ranges from simple stylised representations

[51] For example, the Palazzo Imperiale, Terme del Nuotatore and Terme dei Cisiarii (Ostia Antica, undated).

to elaborate wall circuits with towers and gates, as in the very similar examples from Pompeii and Pola at Figures 46 and 47 below. A mosaic from the Terme dei Cisiarii at Ostia displays a wall within a wall: the pavement is bordered by a line of city walls, while in the centre is a second city wall with four gates in the centre of each side. The representational form of city walls lends itself to this art medium but there may be a more symbolic message to be read, where the mosaic pattern of walls at the edge of or entrance to a room signifies protection for its occupants. Iorio (2008) interpreted such mosaics as apotropaic metaphors of protection and safety, translating the protective and boundary-defining role of city walls into a domestic context, while for Lavagne (1988) they were explicit emblems of "Romanitas", indicating the importance of city walls in spreading the ideological message of the Roman empire.

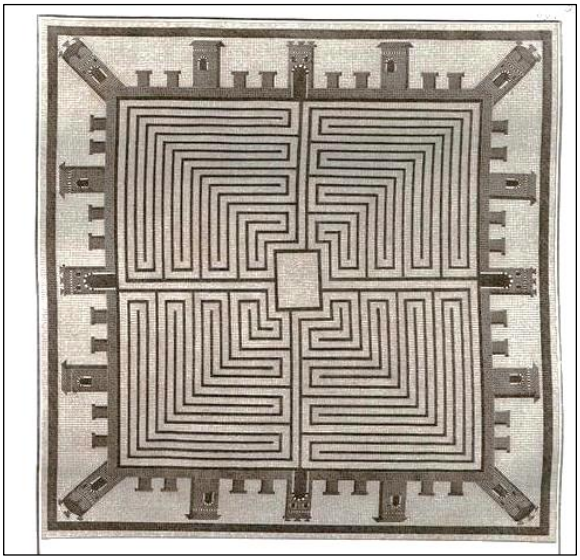

Figure 46: mosaic from Pompeii

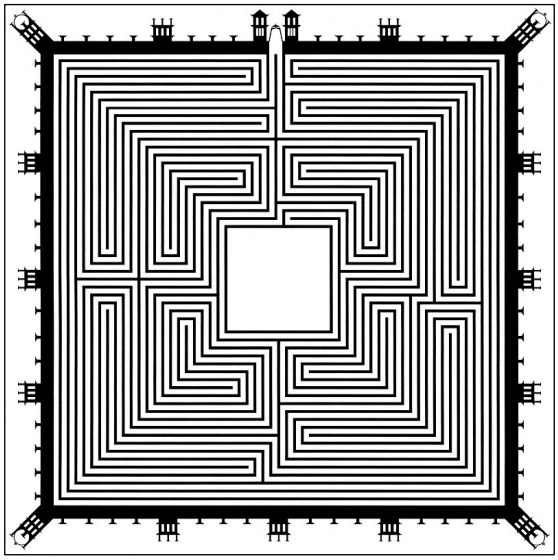

Figure 47: mosaic from Pola

Where artistic space was more constrained, the wall and particularly the city gate stood as shorthand for the emblematic idea of a city, especially on coins. Bronze and silver coins of early imperial date from Emerita in Hispania Lusitania show a city gate with two archways, flanked by tall towers (Burnett et al., 1992, catalogue numbers 10, 12, and Figure 48 below). Burnett commented on the practice of depicting local building structures, including city gates, on locally issued coins which was particularly apparent from the time of Augustus. He drew attention to the subtle interplay between the adoption of the imperial portrait on one side of the coin and the continued dominance of local themes on the reverse design, "encapsulating the new order of the Augustan world" (2011:30).

[52] For example, the Houses of Caesius Blandus, Menander, Centenary and Boar and the villas of Diomedes and Fannius Synistor (Van der Graaff, 2014). All the known mosaics with representations of city walls at Pompeii are from the interiors of private houses.

Figure 48: coin from Emerita showing double-arched gateway

4.3.2 The mural crown

The city wall as a symbol within a symbol may be seen in the artistic tradition of the *corona muralis* or mural crown. The mural crown uses city walls as a metonym for the city and combines it with a representation of the symbolic protection offered to a city by the gods. The tradition can be traced back to the Hellenistic sculptor Eutychides in the third century BC. Mural crowns are commonly found in cities across the Roman empire, especially in the east; one has recently been discovered in the temple-cryptoporticus area at my case study of Urbs Salvia (Fabrini and Perna, 2011) and another is known from Fanum Fortunae (Sensi, 2002) (Figures 49 and 50).

Figure 49: statue with mural crown from Fanum Fortunae

Figure 50: mural crown from Urbs Salvia

As well as a civic convention, mural crowns were also awarded in the military sphere to the first soldier to climb the wall of an enemy town.[53] The military mural crown was a prestigious honour

[53] Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* VI,16

which Augustus awarded sparingly[54] and relates nicely to the Augustan association of walls with the concept of virtue in literature (discussed below). Augustus' recognition of the symbolic value of walls is indicated in a coin issue which depicts Augustus' close associate Agrippa wearing a mural crown (Figure 51). The mural crown was thus a potent symbol of protection and dominance, much as the physical walls of a city provided security and power to its inhabitants. Symbol and reality could even come together, as is shown at the gateway to the city of Lambaesis in Numidia, which has an ornamental keystone in the form of head with a mural crown (Thomas, 2007:114).

Figure 51: coin of Agrippa wearing mural crown (RIC 1 414)

4.3.3 The ideology of city walls in literature

In literature as well as in representational and figurative art, city walls were used as synecdochism for the city. This was not unique to the Roman period; in Classical Chinese, for example, the same character was used for city as for wall. But the extent to which language relating to walls was value-laden is significant in assessing the importance of city walls in Roman thought. In Cicero's speech *In Catilinam*, for example, the word *moenia* is used not just as a straightforward metonym for the city, but as a rhetorical device with moral overtones, contrasting the wickedness and depravity of Catilina with the safety and security of the walls. The same passage invites a comparison between the metaphorical images conjured by a city's public walls (*moenia*) and private domestic walls (*parietes*).[55]

The ideologically driven nature of language relating to city walls is particularly apparent in literature of the Augustan period, at the same time as physical city walls assume a more symbolic rather than defensive role. Augustus encouraged a model of city life and urban values, regarding cities as an effective means of spreading Roman cultural constructs and a highly visible manifestation of his new ideology. City walls were important to Augustus' vision for civilised life and urban values (see, for example, Zanker, 1988, 2000) and it is at this point that we start to see the word "*moenia*", which previously generally held its literal meaning of "defensive walls", being

[54] Suetonius *Augustus* 25,3
[55] Cicero *In Catilinam* 2,1

used in contemporary literature to mean "a city enclosed by walls". For example, in a literary trope contrasting city and countryside, frequently found in classical texts, Martial juxtaposes the rural (*rustica*) offerings of the countryside with the beauties (*pulcherrima moenia*) of Rome.[56]

The founding legend of Rome, and the use of walls as a recurring motif in the epic *Aeneid* written by Virgil under Augustus' patronage, bears testimony to the importance of walls in moulding the history and identity of a city. Virgil used the Latin word *moenia* as a synonym not just for the city but also for the urban moral values which a city represented. He made an explicit link in the ideology of a city between the Augustan vision of a new moral order of society and the security of the empire as symbolised by walls.[57] Furthermore, Virgil uses the word *moenia* in relation to the city of Carthage,[58] even though the literati at Rome would have been well aware that the contemporary city of Carthage did not have walls.[59]

The *Res Gestae* of Augustus shows the importance which Augustus placed on construction and maintenance programmes in cities, both as a means of fulfilling his religious obligations and of aggrandising his position.[60] Zanker (1988) explored the Augustan programme of urban and cultural renewal, arguing that the two were developed in parallel. He saw a shift in the way that Augustan society was encouraged to read the physical monuments of a city, both existing and newly constructed. Zanker suggested that the construction of new city walls was interpreted as a symbol of the defence of *virtus* in an era of peace, where Augustan ideology found physical expression in public building (1988:328-329). The association of city walls with imperial values continued: Tacitus[61] recounted how an envoy from one of the German tribes offered an alliance to the people of Cologne provided that they killed all the Romans and pulled down the walls of the colony. The inference is that by physically destroying the city walls, the metaphorical power of Rome will also be obliterated.

In summary, then, it is noticeable that the word most commonly used for city walls in contemporary literature is *moenia*, especially when the ideological connotations of city walls are juxtaposed with their physical attributes. Less common in literature was the substitution of the word *murus* to represent the city.[62] Yet in my catalogue of inscriptions from Roman Italy relating to city walls (see Chapter 6 and Appendix J), the word *moenia* is never used,[63] *murus* being always

[56] Martial *Epigrammata* 10,103
[57] Virgil *Aeneid* I 263-4. Other examples may be found at *Aeneid* I 3-7; VII 157-9, VIII 714-6.
[58] Virgil *Aeneid* I 437
[59] Ovid also uses the word *moenia* to depict the city of Dido's Carthage. See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.75.
[60] See, for example, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 19, 20, 21 and App 2 and 3.
[61] Tacitus *Historiae* 4,64
[62] Virgil *Aeneid* VII 409
[63] CIL 10, 04876 from Venafrum commemorates a *duovir urbis moeniundae* but the inscription refers to the role rather than the structure.

preferred. Virgil himself introduces a deliberate play on these words, juxtaposing the two to provide a subtle shift in meaning.[64]

The city wall, then, was ideologically important to the way in which the thought-world of the Roman city was perceived, described and debated, especially in the Augustan period. This reflected the significance of the city wall in translating attitudes to urbanism into physical structures: a city's physical appearance was fundamental to its urban identity. Pausanias, writing in the second century AD about the Greek city of Panopeus, indicated that possession of an appropriate suite of public buildings was almost as important in establishing a settlement's credentials as a city as its political status.[65] From a much later (sixth century) context, Goodman quoted Cassiodorus on the perceived link between urban status and city walls.[66] Also at the end of the sixth century, Gregory of Tours expressed surprise that Divio (Dijon) was not considered a city, given its strong and high walls, gateways and numerous towers (among other attributes).[67] Equally, as Strabo indicates,[68] a settlement with walls was not necessarily a city. Every city had a boundary, but that boundary did not need to find material expression.

A physical circuit of walls was therefore not necessary to the articulation of urban space: many cities in Gaul remained without walls until the late empire. Goodman (2007:65) noted six different ways of demarcating urban boundaries of which a city wall was only one (the others, in her view, comprised pomerial *cippi*, changes in the orientation of major roads, natural topographical features, the edges of an orthogonal grid and monumental arches; Goodman excluded cemeteries on the basis that they were a symptom rather than a cause of an urban boundary).

Nevertheless, Vitruvius, writing in the late first century BC, made clear that walls were considered an integral part of urban development and that possession of walls was an important feature of a great city.[69] Like Virgil, Vitruvius worked under the patronage of Augustus. Vitruvius' writings on architecture were coloured by the Augustan view of cities as a vehicle for the dissemination of civilised urban values and a new moral order of society. He drew a parallel between Augustus' rebuilding of empire and the rebuilding of cities, with public buildings serving a wider purpose in the restoration of order and splendour (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008:147). In *De Architectura*, Vitruvius described the architectural and construction techniques of specific building types within the context of the ideal Augustan city and its structure, thus indicating the close connection between urban form and cultural and political identity in Augustan times. On the other hand, as is discussed in Appendices D and G in relation to Fanum Fortunae and Urbs Salvia, it is impossible to relate

[64] Virgil *Aeneid* II 234: *dividimus muros, et moenia pandimus urbis.*
[65] Pausanias *Description of Greece* x,4,1
[66] Cassiodorus *Variae Epistolae* 12.15: *hoc quia modo non habet muros, civitatem credis ruralem*. Quoted in Goodman (2007:242).
[67] Gregorii Turonensis *Historia Francorum* 3.19.
[68] Strabo *Geographica* iii,4,13
[69] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,1-8

Vitruvius' prescription for the design of a defensive wall to the design of city walls actually built in the Augustan period, which privileged visual impact and display over defensive functionality.

4.3.4 Conclusion

Representations of city walls in art, sculpture and coinage are widespread, and the use of city walls as *pars pro toto* for the city itself is common. The Augustan period, however, saw a further layer of meaning invested in the ideology of city walls. Images of city walls were used to promote specific values and messages, stressing the importance of power, security and order within the moral framework in which Augustus positioned himself. The depictions of city walls on locally issued coins such as those of Emerita in Spain, for example (see Figure 48 above), associated civic pride in the city's walled circuit with acknowledgement of the colony's place within the empire-wide political network, as indicated through Augustus' (posthumous) portrait on the other side of the coin. The vocabulary of city walls was appropriated for use not just as a synonym for the city as a whole but also for the urban moral values which underpinned a shared new culture.

The symbolic importance of city walls is emphasised by the value-laden ideological associations with which they were invested in contemporary thinking, as represented in the visual arts and literature. City walls were given considerable prominence, either in terms of scale so that they stood out from other building structures, or even through their imagined depiction where none existed in reality. City walls could be seen as a physical manifestation of imperial values, designed to impress and intimidate and to give visual reinforcement to the Augustan order. The importance of city walls in the Augustan period is entirely in keeping with Augustus' strategy to project a vision of peace rather than war but to underpin this message with an emphasis on power and authority.

4.4 *Muro ducta colonia*: the relationship between walled cities and colonial status

In this section, I consider the relationship between city walls and the political and administrative status of the urban centre they enclosed. The association of city walls with political and administrative status and with imperial ideology and favour appears to be strong. In particular, drawing on the evidence provided by the cities of Augustan date on which my research focuses, I assess whether there are themes emerging which can add to current debate on issues including: the question of the authority held by cities which wished to build city walls in the early imperial period; the association between city walls and colonies; and the relationship between urban morphology and administrative status, focusing not only on colonies but also on city walls and *municipia* in Roman Italy during the Augustan period. I consider whether there was an expectation or even an obligation that colonists would build walls around their urban centres. Conversely, I

analyse a number of cases where urban settlements of a different administrative status built perimeter walls or city gateways in the period of the early empire to see how evidence from these cities complements that from colonies.

4.4.1 What was the legal position?

There is little clear-cut evidence about the legal position over the construction of city walls for the Augustan and early imperial period (no city walls are known to have been built in Roman Italy post-Augustus in the first century AD, although a number of provincial cities built city walls at this time). Our information is better for the later empire, but (as discussed below) scholars disagree on the extent to which the position in the later empire can be retrojected to the early imperial period. There are no legal sources which reveal explicitly whether urban centres of whatever administrative status at this period were expected or even required to build a wall around their perimeter or whether referral to Rome was necessary or advisable: the issues were discussed by Frere (1984). Noting that governments throughout history have been concerned to exercise control over the construction of fortifications, Frere drew a distinction between Rome's policy over the erection of city walls in newly conquered territories such as Gaul (excluding Narbonensis) and Germania and her attitude towards city walls in the core of the empire. He suggested that Rome would not have permitted communities in recently conquered territories to build walls around their urban centres except in rare and specific circumstances, noting that Augustodunum – a *civitas foederata* – was the only non-colonial settlement in Gaul to do so at this time. Laurence et al. also contended that the cities of Gaul remained without walls because permission to build walls was not forthcoming (2011:297). Horster (2001)considered that a *ius muniendi* was in force in the first century AD, using a passage of Tacitus[70] which relates how the people of Jerusalem had bought permission to fortify their city. As Behrwald pointed out, however, at this time Jerusalem was not part of the Roman empire but a client kingdom, to which different considerations would probably have applied (2002).

Gros argued that an edict issued by Marcus Aurelius and quoted by Modestinus,[71] requiring referral of repair or construction work on walls to the emperor, must have been in force from the beginning of the principate (1987:162). Gros's point was not that provincial urban centres in the early empire could build city walls only with the emperor's permission because of their strategic importance, as Frere had proposed, but that only colonies had the right to build walls and, further, that this right was not automatic. Gros has reiterated his view in subsequent publications: imperial permission to build walls was required, and their construction was a privilege more readily granted to colonies

[70] Tacitus *Historiae* 5,12
[71] Digest of Justinian 50.10.6 *De operibus, quae in muris vel portis vel rebus publicis fiunt, aut si muri exstruantur, divus Marcus rescripsit praesidem aditum consulere principem debere;* Gaius *Digest* 1.8.9.4 *muros autem municipales nec reficere licet sine principis vel praesidis auctoritate.*

but was not an obligation (Gros, 1992:220, Gros and Torelli, 2007:288-290). Although his arguments are not conclusive, particularly for the early empire, it does appear that central control over the construction and repair of city walls was increasingly codified.[72] By the second half of the second century AD, as noted above, it is apparent that walls could be constructed only with the permission of the emperor or the provincial governor, acting in the emperor's name. In the early imperial period, however, it is noticeable that there is no evidence for an official or centralised role in relation to the construction or maintenance of city walls similar to the office of *curator aquarum* or *curator viarum*, which may suggest that city walls in this period did not attract wider strategic importance or public benefit.[73]

Information from surviving municipal charters does not provide much insight in relation to city walls. In fact, existing fragments from municipal charters do not make specific reference to city walls. The town charters from Urso and Irni – the *lex Coloniae Genetivae* and the *lex Irnitana* – provide information on the civic duties and responsibilities of a colony and a *municipium* respectively, both in Spain, the former dating originally from the late first century BC and the latter from the Flavian period (see Crawford, 1996, González and Crawford, 1986). City walls are not expressly mentioned in either charter. For example, the word *fines* is used in the *lex Irnitana* to define the territory of the *municipium* (83, 84) while the town itself and its environs are described either as *municipium et mille passus* (91) or *oppidum et continentia aedificia* (62). The *lex Coloniae Genetivae* uses a number of different terms to describe the colony's boundary and urban area including clear references to the *pomerium – intra fines oppidi coloniaeve qua aratrum circumductum erit* (73) and *intra qua aratro circumductum est* (new fragment 14 - see Caballos Rufino and Rodríguez, 2006) – but not a specific term for physical walls.

The charters refer to the responsibilities of inhabitants to defend the city and provide corvée labour. Goffaux argued that the scope of *munitio* prescribed in the *lex Coloniae Genetivae*[74] extended only to specific works relating to the construction of city walls and, by extension, to road-building, rather than to public construction in general as the phrase had originally been translated[75] (2001:261). Goffaux's argument presupposed the existence of a wall. If his interpretation is correct, there is an assumption in these civic charters that the towns were permitted to build and/or repair walls by virtue of their charter and that no further or specific permission was required. This is possible, but does not fit well with the concept of growing central control over the construction of city walls nor, in practical terms, with the limitation that a few days of corvée labour per person

[72] The implication of the correspondence between Pliny the Younger and the Emperor Trajan, in the context of a proposal to rebuild the baths at Prusa, is that reference to the emperor was at least desirable if not required (*Epistulae* 10, 23-4).
[73] A *praepositus muris* is known from the late third century - CIL 11, 06309.
[74] *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* 98
[75] Crawford translated *munitio* as "building" and as "construction work" in the *lex Irnitana* and *lex Coloniae Genetivae* respectively. The *lex Irnitana* heads the equivalent chapter *de munitione*.

would be insufficient for as massive a project as the construction of city walls. Moreover, although Crawford and González and Crawford argued that similar statutes applied to all *coloniae* and *municipia,* it may not be correct to extrapolate wider meaning from individual city charters and the position in the provinces may have differed from that in Italy (Bispham, 2007:205-246). There is also no certainty that the laws, regulations and customs were respected in practice; in fact, we know as far as repairs to buildings were concerned that they were not. It is therefore unwise to rely on the municipal charters in support of an argument which assumes standing authority for the construction of city walls or which assumes an automatic link between the founding of a colony and the construction of city walls.

Inscriptions relating to city walls may offer another perspective on the issue. I discuss in detail in Chapter 6 how inscriptions can further our understanding of city walls. In this context, I note that there are no inscriptions from the republican period in Roman Italy which record central authorisation for building works in relation to city walls, gates and towers. All recorded authorisations are at local level. There are two inscriptions, both from Ferentinum, which refer to authorisation from the censors, but the censors in question are local ones (Becker, 2007:43).[76] There are also two inscriptions which refer to work being carried out on behalf of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (SPQR). One relates to the dedication of the new city gate at Ariminum by the SPQR to Augustus in 27BC.[77] The other relates to the new city walls of Ostia and is dated to 63-58BC.[78] In view of Ostia's close association with the city of Rome, reference to the SPQR is understandable. It is striking, however, that none of the imperial-period inscriptions in my catalogue contains a reference to municipal authorisation for new-build city walls: the five imperial-period inscriptions which refer to municipal authorisation all concern repair work. The numbers are small, but it may be a factor to bring into the equation when discussing the growing control of the imperial centre over permission to build city walls.

4.4.2 City walls and colonial status

There is a close association between colonial status and the provision of city walls around a colony. The phrase used in the *Liber Coloniarum* in connection with the foundation of a colony, *muro ducta colonia*, suggests that the founding of a colony and building of a wall went together. This is reinforced in the *Liber Coloniarum* by the depiction of colonies surrounded by a wall. Février (1969) argued that when a town was elevated to colonial status, it received walls. He suggested that the building of a wall was the physical expression of the legal status of a colony, commenting "qui dit fondation coloniale, dit mur d'enceinte". His view has more recently been reiterated by Esmonde Cleary, who found the link between colonies and city walls "indisputable" (2003:78).

[76] CIL 01, 01525; CIL 01, 01524
[77] CIL 11, 00365
[78] CIL 14, 04707

Analysing the walled circuits of the northwestern provinces (the Gauls, the Germanies and Raetia), he suggested that "at *coloniae* where there is as yet no proven wall-circuit of high-imperial date they may well have existed and they should be sought". But Février's and Esmonde Cleary's view is not universally shared. Horster argued against a systematic policy of fortifying every colony at the time of foundation (2001:121-125) and Keppie warned that "construction work cannot be equated with colonisation" (1983:118). The position is likely to have changed over time. The frequency with which colonies in republican Italy in particular constructed city walls is likely to be related to the specific foundation arrangements and rituals which the settlement of a colony entailed as well as to the unsettled or hostile environment in which they were located, rather than to a legal requirement or expectation. Colonies in this period of expansion and war needed fortifications for their own protection, although as Rebecchi noted (1987) the juridical and religious impetus to mark the urban boundary was at least as important.

In the republican period, a *deductor* or *tresviri coloniae deducenda* were normally appointed by the Senate to oversee the founding of a new colony. Their responsibilities included the initial planning of the urban centre, the definition of the boundary of the colony's territory, distribution of land, and undertaking the rituals that marked the colony's creation (Laffi, 2007:18-19). These ceremonies, described in detail by Rykwert (1988:41-71), bound the colony closely to Rome, invoking the traditional legend of Romulus and Remus and instilling a "metaphysical identity" as well as a physical reality (Revell, 2009:48).

Figure 52: coin showing sulcus primigenius rite (RPC 1 381)

Once the site for the colony had been chosen, it was ritually purified and consecrated. A key ritual fixed the boundaries of the colony (Figure 52 above). The founder of the colony covered his head and ploughed a sacred furrow, the *sulcus primigenius*, around the perimeter of the future urban centre using a bronze plough harnessed to a white ox and cow, thus forming the *pomerium.*[79] The furrow was held to determine the future line of the city walls. The boundary formed by the furrow

[79] Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.143

was considered to be sacrosanct and inviolable[80] and it was deemed an act of sacrilege to cross or violate the boundary (as Remus found out to his cost). The plough was lifted at access points into the city which did not form part of the sacred boundary,[81] by the founder lifting the plough and carrying it (*portare*) across the points where the gates (*portae*) were to be sited. Since a city's boundary was often (though not always) demarcated by a wall,[82] the symbolic significance of the foundation was invested in the walls' physical manifestation. Just as the founding of a colony was marked by the ritual ploughing of the boundary, so the "unfounding" of a city could be achieved by reploughing the site and removing the city wall, as in the case of Carthage (Purcell, 1995). Although one cannot deduce from the ceremony of the *sulcus primigenius* that a physical wall must follow, the recent discovery of a carved relief of a plough on one of the corner towers in Augusta Praetoria's walled circuit is an important indication that foundation rites took place and that – in this instance at least – they involved the physical construction of a wall (see Appendix C.4.3). We also have the evidence of a gold aureus struck around 13BC which depicts the *sulcus primigenius* rite in the foreground and a city wall with turrets and gateway in the background, a further intimation of the close connection between ritual symbolism and physical materiality (RIC 1 (second edition) Augustus 402).

Is there anything that an analysis of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy can add to our understanding of the relationship between colonial status and the provision of city walls? The clear association between the two does seem to suggest that by this date colonial status of itself may have brought with it certain expectations, rights or even obligations over the construction of city walls. Of the 19 city walls and gates in Roman Italy which I assess were built in the Augustan period (see Appendix A), 12 were built by colonies. The evidence for the date of the colony's foundation is sometimes insecure or disputed but most of the 12 are considered to be triumviral or Augustan veteran colonies.[83] The exceptions include Pola, Tergeste and Florentia, which may have been Caesarian foundations, and Urbs Salvia, which was probably an earlier colony refounded in the Augustan period.

Four of the colonies, at Brixia, Fanum Fortunae, Hispellum and Venafrum, were founded on the sites of existing settlements: *municipia* (Brixia, Hispellum), a *praefectura* (in Venafrum's case), and (probably) a *conciliabulum,* later a *municipium* (Fanum Fortunae). None of these urban centres is known to have had city walls before becoming a colony and all built city walls around the urban centre at or shortly after their foundation as a colony. It is generally agreed that the walls of Brixia were built in the Augustan period around the time when Brixia became a *colonia civica* (see, for example, Rossi, 2003). Very little remains of the walls of Venafrum but they are assessed to date

[80] Gaius *Digest* I.8,1; Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5,143
[81] Cicero *De Divinatione* 1.17,33; Plutarch *Romulus* 11.3
[82] The relationship between the pomerium and physical walls is complex. The two were not the same, either in concept or in reality. The issue is considered by, among others, Rykwert (1988) and Stevens (2010).
[83] Brixia was a *colonia civica.*

from shortly after the foundation of the Augustan colony (Zambardi, 2007, Capini, 1991). There is epigraphic evidence at my case studies of Fanum Fortunae[84] and possibly Hispellum[85] for the imperial family's involvement in the provision of the city walls, and in Fanum Fortunae's case this provides a reasonably secure date for the construction of the walls, towers and gates (AD9-10).[86]

Seven of the 19 Augustan city walls were built by veteran colonies which were founded on greenfield sites, in other words where there is little or no evidence of an earlier nucleated settlement or existing urban infrastructure. These were the colonies of Augusta Praetoria, Augusta Taurinorum, Concordia Iulia, Emona, Florentia, Tergeste and Pola; three of these were probably Caesarian rather than triumviral/Augustan foundations (see Chapter 4.1.5 above for Tergeste and Pola). At all these colonies established on greenfield sites, there is a close association between the foundation of the veteran colony and the construction of city walls, although in a number of cases work to build the walls did not start immediately and in at least one case (Augusta Taurinorum) the walls were not completed for some time. It appears, for example, that there was a gap between the foundation of Tergeste, if its status as a Caesarian colony in the period 58-50BC is correct (Bernardini et al., 2015), and Octavian's gift to the colony of walls and towers in 33BC.[87] At Emona, an inscription probably refers to an imperial donation to the colony of city walls and gates in AD14-15.[88] This suggests that the construction, or at any rate the completion, of the colony's walls took place some time after the foundation of the colony, which is generally held to be around 31BC-27BC (Šašel Kos, 2012, Gaspari, 2010). Although Keppie listed Pola as an Augustan greenfield site (1983:118), it is likely that both the colonial foundation and the original wall construction were Caesarian, in line with Caesar's policy of consolidating Roman authority over the Istrian peninsula (Zecchini, 2014). Jouffroy (1986:23) dated the city walls of Pola to the beginning of the second half of the first century BC but considered that they were only completed in the Augustan period (1986:65). The lack of urgency to complete the walls, even in places as distant as Emona and Augusta Taurinorum and possibly Pola, indicates that defence was not a prime consideration in building city walls.

My case study of Urbs Salvia is an exception to the link between colonial status and city walls. Although there is little dispute that the city walls date to the Augustan period, it is now thought that the colonial foundation of the city should be dated to the last third of the second century BC (Paci, 2014, Fabrini, 2014a). Unusually, however, there is no indication that this republican foundation was accompanied by the construction of walls. It may be that the colony was refounded by Augustus, and this could be called into play to account for the Augustan date of the city walls, but

[84] CIL 11, 06128
[85] CIL 11, 05266. The inscription is currently above the Arco di Augusto but this is probably not its original provenance.
[86] See the detailed discussion of the city walls of Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum at Appendices D and E.
[87] CIL 05, 00525 = ILS 77
[88] CIL 03, 10768

there is no firm evidence of a refoundation and a number of issues with the suggestion, which are discussed in detail in Appendix G.

4.4.3 Augustan city walls and municipal status

A different angle on the issue of the relationship between colonies and city walls may be obtained by scrutinising those urban centres in Roman Italy which were not colonies but which nevertheless built walls, or marked the perimeter of their city in some way during the Augustan period.

Of the 19 cities where there is reasonably convincing evidence to show that their walls were built at this time, six – Alba Pompeia, Laus Pompeia, Mediolanum, Saepinum, Ticinum and Tridentum – had the administrative status of *municipia*. What was the impetus behind the decision of these towns to build walls in the early imperial period? A key factor seems to be the involvement of the imperial family. In four of the six towns, there is epigraphic evidence to link construction with imperial favour or interest. The circumstances and issues surrounding the walls of my case study of Saepinum, the gift of Tiberius and Drusus in 2BC-AD4, were discussed in Chapter 3.5 and are not repeated here.

We know from an inscription that Drusus donated a gateway to Laus Pompeia AD14-23.[89] Little is known archaeologically about the walls of the town. Their probable position has been plotted from aerial photographs and small-scale excavations (Jorio, 1993, Chrzanovski, 2006:164), although the two methods resulted in conflicting conclusions in a number of places. In view of the inscription relating to the gateway (Figure 53), Lomas made the assumption that the city walls were also a gift of the imperial family (Lomas and Cornell, 2003:32). This may be so; my analysis in Chapter 6.3.4 below of the different combinations of work recorded on inscriptions shows that we need not take entirely at face value the epigraphic statement of the nature of work undertaken. But it would be reassuring to have better archaeological evidence for the walls' existence.

[89] CIL 05, 06358

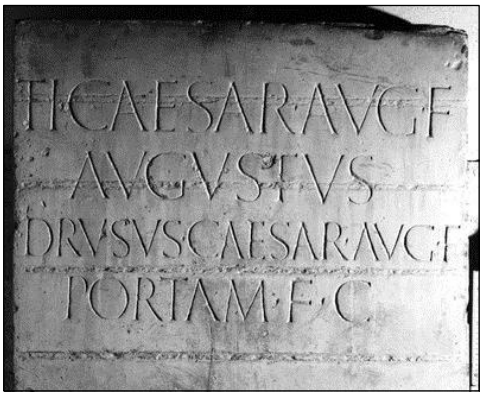

Figure 53: inscription from Laus Pompeia

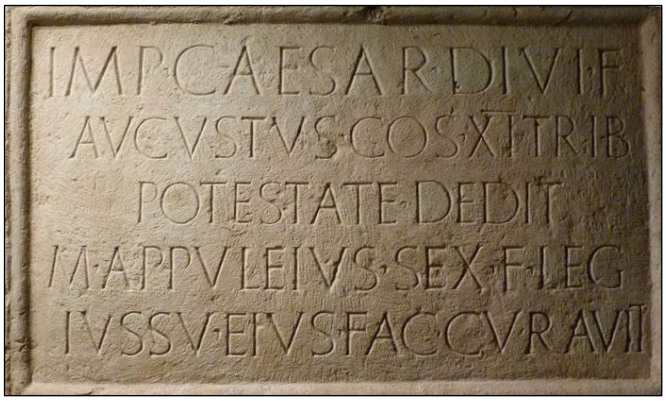

Figure 54: inscription from Tridentum

An inscription which references the imperial family, said to be from Ticinum's eastern gate, dates to AD7-8.[90] The inscription is known only from a ninth century manuscript and both the identity of the dedicands and information about its purpose are missing. Rose even argued that the gateway to which the inscription relates was the product of mistaken identity in the ninth century, although this has been robustly refuted (Rose, 1990, Gabba, 1990). Gabba (1984:229) interpreted the inscription as recording the gratitude of the local community to the emperor for building the city walls, although Zaccaria (1990:135) noted that it is not possible to judge whether or not the initiative and financing should be attributed to the emperor or local community. Because of the number of honorands on the inscription, De Maria suggested (1988:249) that the gateway may have been triple-arched (there would not have been room otherwise for all the statues with which he assumed it would have been associated).[91] But there is no archaeological evidence for the gateway. Likewise, little is known about Ticinum's urban development and perimeter circuit (Hudson, 1993). Nothing remains of the pre-medieval walls, although Hudson proposed a possible line for them based on aerial photographs, modern street plans, Roman drainage networks and medieval references. It is even possible that a complete walled circuit never existed. As I have demonstrated for Carsulae and Augusta Bagiennorum (Chapters 3.7 and 3.8) and as will be discussed further below, it was not automatic in the Augustan period that the construction of a gateway should be part of a continuous perimeter circuit.

Tridentum, a city settled probably in the middle of the first century BC (Ciurletti, 2000:290-291), had municipal status in Augustan times (a "*spendidum municipium*" in an edict of Claudius),[92] not becoming an honorary colony until much later (Migliario, 2008). Recent archaeological evidence reported by Bassi (2007) suggests that the walls of Tridentum should be dated to the Augustan period while numismatic evidence from one of the towers indicates that their construction predated the wall, in the late republican or early Augustan period (Bassi, 2007:57-58). Bassi did not see this

[90] CIL 05, 06416
[91] De Maria noted that a fragment of a female statue in the Museo Civico may have belonged to this group.
[92] ILS 206

as incompatible with an inscription of 23BC[93] which records a member of the imperial family's involvement in public building at Tridentum, possibly of the city walls or towers (see Figure 54 above). The walls ran along the south, east and west of the urban centre while to the north the city was bordered by the River Adige, enclosing an area of around 13ha. In comparison with most other walls of the period, and certainly with walls of the earlier republican period, Tridentum's walls seem insubstantial to the point of being Lilliput-esque. The width of the walls, at 1.2-1.3m, was too narrow to have functioned effectively as a defence, while the height is assumed to have been about 4-5m. Its principal gateway, Porta Veronensis, was monumental in style if still on the small side compared to other contemporary gateways (see Appendix A).

There are two towns with municipal status which built walls in the Augustan period where there is nothing explicitly linking their construction to imperial favour: Mediolanum and Alba Pompeia. The walled circuit of Mediolanum stands out for its length, which at 3.5km, enclosing 72ha, is the longest known walled circuit of Augustan date in Roman Italy. Sacchi argued that the same school of engineers may have been responsible for the walls of Mediolanum and Alba Pompeia, given the similarities between them (Sacchi, 2012:57-62). Alba Pompeia was a *municipium* whose walls in *opus caementicium*, with a facing of *opus vittatum*, are generally held to be Augustan in date (Filippi, 1997:56-57). This was also a substantial walled circuit, enclosing 33ha in a perimeter of 2.1km. Five sides of the octagonal footprint are known archaeologically and some stretches are still extant (Figure 55). Four gates have been identified, including a double-arched gateway to the west, and a number of square towers which aligned with the street grid. The site of Alba Pompeia was bordered on two sides by the River Tanaro and one of its tributaries, the River Churasca, so there was no defensive imperative to build a complete circuit around the town.[94] Filippi assessed that Alba Pompeia's walls, with their distinctive outline, were important for their symbolic and prestigious nature as much as their defensive characteristics and it is hard not to see something special in such a self-consciously careful design.

[93] CIL 05, 05027
[94] Similarly at Verona, the late republican walls were built on only two sides of the city, with the River Adige forming a boundary to the northeast and northwest.

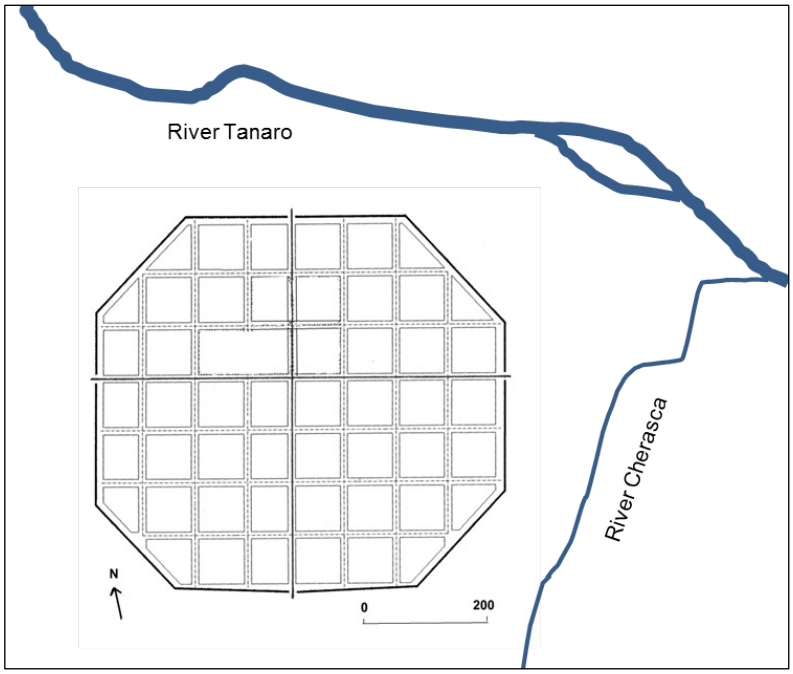

Figure 55: plan and local context of Alba Pompeia

4.4.4 Augustan towns – other ways of marking the boundary

Just as interesting as the relationship between *municipia* with town walls and imperial involvement in their provision is the phenomenon of towns which marked their urban boundaries in the Augustan period with the symbolic gesture of monumental free-standing gates at major entrances to the town but which were not enclosed by a continuous wall.[95] The issues relating to the gates and urban boundaries of Augusta Bagiennorum and Carsulae are covered in detail in Chapters 3.7 and 3.8 and Appendices H and I and are not repeated here. But Augusta Bagiennorum and Carsulae were not the only *municipia* in Roman Italy which marked their boundaries in this way during the Augustan period. There is evidence from Libarna and Pollentia, and perhaps Ocriculum, also *municipia*, of a similar phenomenon.

Pollentia was a *municipium* in Liguria, near Augusta Bagiennorum. Preacco (2007:267) reported that recent excavations at Pollentia failed to find evidence of a traditional wall (see also Rossignani et al., 2009:94). She suggested that the boundary of Pollentia may have been marked by stone towers and gateways, as at Augusta Bagiennorum, perhaps connected by a wooden palisade. Work is continuing on the site. Also in Liguria, Libarna probably owed its growth to the opening of the Via Postumia in 148BC. The Via Postumia formed the *cardo maximus* as it passed through the town, which is known from epigraphic evidence to have had municipal status.[96] Significant

[95] This can be seen in other periods also. Creighton and Higham (2005:26) pointed out that in medieval times, city gates without walls were used as deliberate means of marking the jurisdictional and physical boundary to an urban area.
[96] CIL 05, 07428

development can be dated to the early imperial period and Libarna was well-provided with the usual public buildings and amenities including a forum, amphitheatre, baths and theatre (Panero, 2000:115-121). Monumental gateways, which have been excavated but are now reburied, were placed at the northern and southern ends of the *cardo maximus* to define the urban space (Gambari, 2014:26-27). The Soprintendenza is confident that the gateways were free-standing and that there was no continuous walled circuit around the town (Soprintendenza Archeologia del Piemonte, 2015). Very similar in design and function to those of Augusta Bagiennorum, the gateways were double-arched with a *cavaedium* and flanking towers, and are dated to the Augustan period.

There may be other examples. Ocriculum was a *municipium* which was not enclosed by walls in the Roman period (Hay et al., 2013). A monumental gate probably marked the entrance to the town and may be Augustan in date although the published evidence is not conclusive (Cenciaioli, 2000:25-27, Fontaine, 1990:353), and for this reason I have not included Ocriculum in my list of Augustan city walls. A large circular drum tomb, 6m high and some 16m in diameter on a base approximately 19m square, was placed close to the putative gateway and is dated to the Augustan or early imperial period. The excavators of the site drew a specific parallel with the free-standing archway and monumental tombs at Carsulae, some 30km distant.

At these towns, then, a deliberate effort was made to mark the urban perimeter and in particular to provide a monumental and symbolic entrance into the urban area. At Libarna, it appears that the two monumental gateways stood in isolation, while at Augusta Bagiennorum the urban perimeter was marked by towers at the four corners of the site as well as by matching monumental gateways. Three of these towns, Augusta Bagiennorum, Libarna and Pollentia, were within about 100km of each other in the north of Italy (Carsulae was further south, in Umbria). Not enough is known about a monumental gateway at Pollentia, but the gateways at Augusta Bagiennorum and Libarna were very similar in design – double-arched, with a *cavaedium* and flanking towers and probably an upper gallery. The Arco di San Damiano at Carsulae was rather different: it was triple-arched and there is no evidence that it could be closed nor that it had a *cavaedium*. It may be better interpreted as an honorary arch rather than a monumental gateway.

4.4.5 Conclusion

The discussion in this section has aimed to show that an analysis of city walls built in Roman Italy during the Augustan period may offer a fresh perspective on the issues of city walls and administrative status and of the legal position for the construction of city walls in the early empire. Although there is no unambiguous evidence for whether imperial permission was required to build city walls in the early empire, it appears that central control was increasingly tightened. This is corroborated by the evidence I have assembled from inscriptions on city walls (discussed further in Chapter 6). There are no known inscriptions of the imperial period which refer to municipal authorisation for the construction (as opposed to repair) of city walls. Conversely, the majority of

inscriptions relating to new-build city walls in the imperial period reference the emperor or the imperial family (most of the remainder record the financing of city gates by private benefactors).

City walls can help us to refine the relationship between juridical status and urban morphology. 12 of the cities in Roman Italy which built walls in the Augustan period were colonies. All, except Urbs Salvia, were settled on greenfield sites or on unwalled urban centres which had not previously been settled as colonies. This adds weight to Esmonde Cleary's and other scholars' observation of the close relationship between colonies and city walls: it was expected, if not required, that colonies would have a walled circuit. But the relationship did not have to be immediate. If the current trend of moving back the date of colonial foundations is well-founded, for example from Augustan to triumviral to Caesarian (noted by Zecchini, 2014 in relation to colonies in the Istrian peninsula), this means that there was sometimes a gap of decades rather than years between the foundation of a colony and its city walls. As there was little or no need for city walls at this time for the functional purpose of defence, the lack of urgency to complete construction is understandable and emphasises the symbolic meaning of city walls. For Urbs Salvia, the construction of city walls in the Augustan period lends support to the argument that the republican colony was refounded at this time, on the basis that there was a close link between city walls and colonial settlement.

The relationship between *municipia* and the construction of walled circuits in the Augutan period appears to be rather different. Of the six *municipia* whose town walls can be dated with reasonable confidence to the Augustan period, four are known through epigraphic evidence to have had a link with the imperial family. Unlike the position during the republic, no inscription of imperial date relating to the construction (as opposed to repair) of a *municipium's* town walls refers to the local authority. Whereas inscriptions recording imperial benefactions of city walls to *municipia* use the formula *faciundum curavit/curaverunt,* inscriptions recording imperial benefactions to colonies use the verb *dare*. I acknowledge, however, that the numbers involved are very small (see Chapter 6.3 for a full analysis and discussion of the inscriptions).

Moreover, the character of the town walls of *municipia* is distinct from that of colonial walls. Based on the available evidence, it is noticeable that the town walls of *municipia* are slighter in terms of both width and height: the average width of the Augustan walls of *municipia* was 1.5m and that of colonies 2m; the average height of the Augustan walls of *municipia* was 6.5m compared to 8.7m for colonies.[97]

Other *municipia* which monumentalised their urban boundary during the Augustan period seem to have done so not by means of a continuous walled circuit but through the construction of

[97] It should be noted that the data on which these figures are based are limited. The information from which the figures are derived is provided in Appendix A.

monumental gateways to provide a symbolic statement at the entrance to the town and to define the urban area, with or without non-continuous stretches of walls. The reason for the lack of continuous walls may be as mundane as insufficient resources to undertake the work, which would be very costly and time-consuming especially if external support was not forthcoming (and given that complete fortification was not necessary at a time of relative peace). Alternatively, it may be that *municipia* were not permitted to build a walled circuit and had to seek imperial permission to do so. This would be supported by the preponderance of inscriptions referencing the imperial family on the new-build walls of *municipia*.

Whether for a colony or a *municipium*, the impulse to define the urban boundary in some way seems to be important during the Augustan period. This is more readily explained in terms of relevance to the political agenda of the period and the association of city walls with the community's physical enactment of notions of urbanism and identity than in relation to defensive requirements. City walls and their gateways were part of an ideologically driven narrative of urbanism and a clear sign of status and prestige.

Chapter 5: Experiencing walls: the impact of city walls

This chapter explores how city walls were experienced by those who lived in, visited or travelled past walled cities. Walls affected the way in which the landscape outside and the urban area inside was lived and negotiated: visually dominant, they influenced the degree of connectivity within the urban area and between the urban core, its periphery and the surrounding landscape. In this chapter, I discuss the impact of city walls from three angles. First, I analyse how the design of city walls was exploited to maximise impact so as to showcase the power and prestige of the community they enclosed. Secondly, I consider what role city walls and their gateways might have played in the collective memory of the community, accommodating or abrogating tradition and cultural identity – and how they in turn could be used to accommodate new power structures through the appropriation of existing city gates by new monumental arches. Finally, I explore the impact of city walls on movement within a city and between the city and its surrounding lands.

I focus here on the visual impact of city walls, how walls were experienced in the context of memory, and the impact of city walls on movement. But the experience of walls would have been multi-sensory. The importance of multi-sensory experience was explored by Betts, specifically in relation to Rome although her ideas are transferable to other urban areas (Betts, 2011). She proposed a framework for "multi-sensory mapping" of Rome which combined experiential and empirical data, taking as a case study an analysis of movement through the Forum Romanum. Betts described her work as an introduction to new approaches, and certainly a focus on the multi-sensory analysis of city walls and gateways would be rewarding. For the impact of city walls would surely have been profound not just in terms of sight – the city walls of my case studies at Hispellum and Fanum Fortunae are estimated to have reached 13m and 12m high respectively – but also in terms of smell and noise. The ditches by city walls were used as dumps for putrid rubbish and excrement, funerary monuments nearby were frequented by beggars and thieves (Purcell, 1987a:41), and sound would have echoed off the walls and around the vaulted gateways.[98] The air near the city walls would be thick with smoke from funeral pyres and the furnaces of baths. Patterson suggested that foul-smelling activities such as those carried out by tanners in Rome were located on the margins of the city (2000a:93), although he also noted that noxious fulleries were distributed across the city and it was certainly the case at Saepinum that tanning and other industrial or artisanal activity took place near the town centre, next to the *decumanus maximus* (De Caro, 1991). Inscriptions, including graffiti from Pompeii, reveal that city walls were a venue for

[98] See, for example, ILS 8207b (Verona): s*tercus intra* / *cippos qui fecerit* / *aut violarit*, *nei* / *luminibus fruatur*; CIL 04, 06641 on a shrine near the Porta Vesuvio in Pompeii: *cacator sic valeas / ut tu hoc locum tra(n)sea(s).*

activities such as prostitution.[99] Such clues are supported by archaeological evidence, for example from Augusta Taurinorum where household waste, food and animal bones were found in pits outside the city walls (Stevens, 2010:50). To what extent such smells and activities were repugnant to contemporary senses is unclear, but a number of references in literary sources suggest that they did not go unnoticed (Bradley, 2015), although Jenkyns noted that our sources have "surprisingly little" to say about the smell of Rome itself (2013:39). And this is not a part of the city which was shunned (Goodman, 2007). Luxury villas and shops were located just outside the city walls of Pompeii near the Herculean Gate, close to tombs (Zanker, 2000), while at Ostia large monumental tombs sat alongside shops, houses, fountains and baths outside the Porta Marina (Tuinman, 2014:69-73).

5.1 Visual impact: an issue of status and display

In this section I focus on different ways in which urban communities used their city walls and gateways to enhance their visibility and increase their impact in the landscape. This was a phenomenon apparent to contemporary sources, as is indicated for example in Aristides' comment that "the circuit of the walls and the height and beauty of the interspersed towers … were like beacons".[100] At the same time, as much as city walls were constructed to stand out in the landscape, they served to constrict the horizon of those living within the walls: at street level nearby, the only opportunity to look beyond the city would have been through one of the gateways.

I look first at ways in which the physical landscape was remodelled to allow the walled circuit to stand out. I then consider how different materials and finishes were employed on the walls themselves and their associated gateways to make them more conspicuous. I temper my comments by noting that the areas close to city walls, and especially the environs of main roads around entrances into cities, were crowded and busy. City walls were an active and imposing feature in the landscape, but they did not have a monopoly on it.

5.1.1 Manipulation of the landscape

It appears that some city walls were deliberately engineered in order to maximise their visual impact, beyond what was required for physical protection. One way in which this could be done was by manipulation of the landscape. There is a hint that landscaping was used to enhance the visual impact and dominance of city walls at Urbs Salvia. At the northeast corner of Urbs Salvia, where the city wall turns to run parallel to the course of the River Fiastra in the valley bottom, there is a significant difference of some 10m in ground level between the exterior and interior of the

[99] See, for example, CIL 04, 02400: *satur noli cunnum lingere / extra porta sed intra porta / rogat te Arpogra ut sibi lingas mentulam / at fellator quid.*
[100] Aelius Aristides *Orationes* 25,7

wall. This is at the lowest point of the city, which is built on a sloping site. The height differential was first noted by Goldoni in 1936[101] and confirmed by Delplace (1993:259) and Perna (2006:27). It remains very evident today. Perna suggested that this change in height might be to enhance the defensive features of the city wall. In my view, however, it is very difficult to interpret the walls of Urbs Salvia as a predominantly defensive asset.[102] Fabrini thought that terracing, or perhaps the accumulation of soil over time, might be the explanation (2014b), but the ground drops away from the outside of the wall, rather than being built up from the inside. Possibly, the change in level may have been deliberately engineered to enhance the visual impression of the city walls.

The evidence is clearer at Falerii Novi in central Italy. Here, it seems that the landscape around the city was remodelled to enhance the appearance of the city walls and provide an impressive introduction to the city (Keay et al., 2000). The city is surrounded by massive walls built in *opus quadratum*, which are still preserved in many places to their original height and dominate the urban horizon. Keay et al. reported that in a number of places the natural rock external to the line of the walls had been cut back so as to be flush with the city walls and thus to make the walls stand out. It appeared to the research team that the cliff face had been quarried as much to give an imposing façade to the city as for the functional purpose of providing building material. This is particularly noticeable along the south side of the city overlooking the Purgatorio river valley at the point where the city first became visible to travellers approaching along the Via Amerina, the main route from Rome. To the north of the city, the ground level outside the walls had been artificially lowered to exaggerate the difference in height between the exterior and interior of the city (Hay et al., 2010:6). McCall noted that around the southeast corner the external terrain had been cut away so that the corner itself rose up "like a huge tower", creating a large and impressive bastion (2007:101). Millett used the example of Falerii Novi, and also nearby Ocriculum, to argue that the visual impact of the approach to a city was very important, revealing in Falerii Novi's case a deliberate effort to emphasise the magnificence and dominance of the city walls (Millett, 2013:40-41).

Gros raised the issue of whether there is a relationship between visibility and connectivity, taking as an example the placement of walled cities on the road network (Gros, 1987:161). The issue has been pursued in detail by others (including, for example, Laurence, 1999, Hingley, 1997), although without a primary focus on the specific role of city walls. In my opinion, visibility was important and city walls were designed to stand out, framing the view for travellers approaching on the road system. This was the case at Hispellum, where it appears that the colony's walls and gateways were deliberately sited so as to maximise the city's impact on the landscape and to dominate the network of roads and towns along the Valle Umbra, even though there is no evidence that the

[101] The architect G Goldoni carried out a survey and description of the site of Urbs Salvia in 1936 and prepared a number of drawings. His work was not published but is preserved in manuscript in the archives of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche.
[102] See the discussion in Appendix G.

landscape was remodelled to achieve this effect (Figure 56). The position and appearance of Porta Venere is particularly interesting. Topographically, it is located in a very steep and difficult place where construction required considerable engineering effort (the plinth on which one of the flanking towers rests is 10m deep). It is set at an angle to the line of the city walls and to the contours of the hill. So its situation must be the result of a very deliberate decision. Furthermore, its ornate structure and architectural embellishment throughout, from 12-sided towers to travertine decoration, demonstrates a desire to be noticed. Yet it was not the main entrance to the city for passing traffic. It may be that Porta Venere and the city walls associated with it were deliberately placed to dominate the valley below and especially to dominate the rival city of Asisium which is clearly visible some 10km away, thus asserting Hispellum's status over its neighbour. This was a keen rivalry, which extended to the urban development of the two cities, as noted by Baiolini (2002:97-98), and to the probable expropriation of land which belonged to Asisium to extend the new colony's territory (Sisani, 2012:433). Porta Venere also dominated the view from a *diverticulum* of the Via Flaminia as it passed Hispellum en route to Perusia, even though access to Hispellum from the Via Flaminia was through Porta Consolare.

Figure 56: Hispellum looks out over the Valle Umbra. View to the city from the west.

The Valle Umbra had a dense network of Roman cities. Prominent above the plain on a low spur, Hispellum looked out over a number of urban centres including Mevania (about 10km away), Urvinum Hortenses (15km) and Vettona (under 20km) on the other side of the valley (Figure 57). Asisium (10km away) and Perusia (30km), which are both also located well above the plain, were in full sight.[103] The positioning and bright materials of Porta Venere and of Hispellum's city walls helped the city to assert a visual and physical dominance over the surrounding landscape. Even today, they are conspicuous from many kilometres away as one approaches from the north and west. The distinctive outline of the walled circuit would have given visual clues to help travellers

[103] Asisium, Perusia, Mevania, Urvinum Hortenses and Vettona were walled cities. Fulginiae and Trebiae, both *municipia*, were not. The evidence for Arna is inconclusive. See Fontaine (1990) and Sisani (2006).

as they navigated their way along the valley. They were meant to be understood in a way which emphasised the meaning of the Valle Umbra's intervisible landscape, with Hispellum at its core. Although not within the scope of my research, this area of the Valle Umbra has considerable potential for the application of a formal intervisibility and viewshed study to complement information from archaeological, historical, epigraphic and literary sources. This would help our understanding of the interactions and interconnectivity between urban settlements in this area.

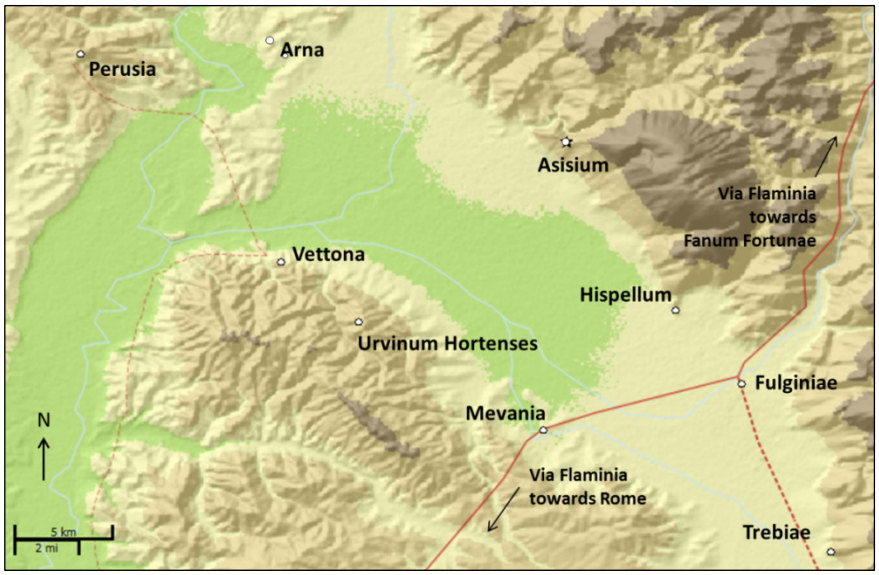

Figure 57: local context of Hispellum

5.1.2 Enhancing visibility and display through materials and colours

Visual dominance could be achieved by other means. Gateways in the city walls were the obvious vehicle for elaboration and monumentality, but the walls themselves could also be constructed and embellished so as to enhance their visual impact. There is considerable evidence of the careful choice of materials to achieve this, especially on the outer face of the walls.[104] Surviving evidence for the use of paint is rarer than for the use of marble or coloured stone to achieve decorative effect but may well have been widespread, providing an "inexpensive but extremely flamboyant embellishment" (Bidwell, 1996:19). Bidwell commented that a wall painted white will seem far larger and more intimidating than one with a surface of weathered stone (1996:28). This effect seems to be alluded to by Aristides in his description of Roman legionaries as a metonym for physical walls guarding the frontiers of the empire.[105] The possibility that some city walls were rendered with mortar and limewashed, perhaps with lines painted to mimic ashlar masonry, was noted by Westman (2012:40).

[104] It should be acknowledged that rendering and whitewashing had the practical purpose of protecting masonry from the elements, as well as more aesthetic or decorative meaning – see Bidwell (1996:19).
[105] Aelius Aristides *Orationes* 26,83*: these walls have not been built of bitumen or baked brick, nor do they stand gleaming with stucco.*

Several of my case studies provide evidence of the use of materials to enhance visual impact, whether on the city walls or their gateways. The outer facing of the city walls of Augusta Praetoria was constructed from high quality, neatly cut travertine blocks, which, as Goodman commented, would not have improved the defensive efficacy of the walls but would have increased their conspicuousness in the landscape (2007:60). By contrast, the inner facing of the wall was notably less impressive, being clad in *opus incertum* using stones from the rivers nearby. A similar emphasis on the outer facing at the expense of the inner facing is apparent at Tridentum and Augusta Taurinorum, whose city walls also date to the Augustan period. The inner face of Tridentum's wall was built of stone and pebbles while the outer face was more carefully constructed with small slabs of horizontally placed stone (Ciurletti, 2003:37).

As Mierse noted, contemporary builders would normally have turned to locally available materials which could be easily worked, especially for a project on such a huge scale as a city wall (1990b). A decision to use more unusual materials or materials sourced from a distance must therefore have been deliberate and for a specific reason. A limited amount of material in the outer facing of the Augustan walls of Mediolanum was sourced from some distance away (70km); Sacchi argued that this was incorporated into the walls for decorative purposes (2012:57-62). At Hispellum, those sections of the city walls which faced west over the valley and were within the line of sight of travellers and visitors were more carefully built than sections of the city wall on the east. On the east, the courses of stone are not precisely horizontal and the mortar joints are thicker (Fontaine, 1990:273), while the prominent section of the wall running between Porta Venere and Porta Consolare to the west is built very precisely from very regularly sized small rectangular blocks and incorporates a projecting course of stone to form a decorative layer in the wall facing.

It seems clear that Hispellum's principal gateway, Porta Venere, was designed to impress and to embellish its setting, which, as we have already seen, was very carefully chosen. The bright white of Porta Venere's travertine *opus quadratum* blocks makes a real impact on the landscape and contrasts notably with the pinkish tinge of the small blocks of local limestone used in *opus vittatum* technique for the city walls. Frothingham remarked, "I have not seen in Italy any ancient city walls that came so near to giving the impression of a work of art" (1910:193). Hispellum's other main gateway, Porta Consolare, also shows signs of the careful juxtaposition of contrasting colours to produce a decorative effect (Figure 58). The gateway was constructed of large white differently sized limestone blocks interspersed with some pinkish coloured limestone blocks. Manconi et al. (1996:379) argued that this was because the gateway reused stones from an existing building but in my view there appears to be a deliberate attempt to provide a contrasting decorative scheme.

In a similar vein, the monumental gateway of Fanum Fortunae was carefully tied into the city walls but was constructed from different materials and colours: the city walls are built of yellowish local sandstone but the imposing triple-arched gateway is faced with large high quality blocks of white travertine giving it the shining appearance of marble (Figure 59). The same contrast between the

use of yellow sandstone and gleaming travertine is employed at Ariminum, some 50km further up the Via Flaminia from Fanum Fortunae (Fontemaggi and Piolanti, 1998). Here, the Arch of Augustus, built to celebrate the completion of Augustus' restoration of the Via Flaminia in 27BC, was fully integrated into the existing city walls but had a very different visual impact. A play on colour was also achieved at Tridentum, where the white limestone of the Porta Veronensis contrasted with the red stone cladding used in the flanking towers (Bonetto, 1998:90).

Figure 58: colour banding on the central archway of Porta Consolare, Hispellum

Figure 59: colour contrast on the central archway of Porta di Augusto, Fanum Fortunae

The main gateway of Augusta Praetoria was undoubtedly designed to impress, providing a truly monumental entrance into the city (see Figure 8 in Chapter 3.2). Richmond and Salway considered that "no more remarkable example of the courtyard gate exists in the Roman Empire than this" (1969:253). Porta Praetoria's outer gateway, which faced east out of the city towards the Arch of Augustus and the road which led ultimately to Rome, was constructed from large irregular blocks of pudding stone. A detailed study of the gateway undertaken by Perinetti (2005) confirmed earlier suspicions that the now-visible two-tone coloured marble cladding on the outer gateway probably dates not from the gateway's construction in the Augustan period but from a few decades later. Noting that the pudding stone construction would have resulted in an aesthetically displeasing appearance, Perinetti proposed that in its first, original, phase, the surface of the gateway was covered either by whitewash or plaster for reasons of protection or decoration (or both). He noted that on the south side of the central archway there were traces of whitewash while elsewhere he found evidence of plaster. While he conceded that the latter was probably medieval in date, his suggestions are given some credence by the contemporary parallel with the Porta Palatina in Augusta Taurinorum, which may have been plastered white and painted to resemble squared stone masonry (Thomas, 2007:110). At Saepinum, Braconi observed that the unrestored underside of the vault of Porta Tammaro revealed a thin layer of limestone which both he and De Benedittis

considered was originally covered in whitewashed plaster (Braconi, 1979:56, De Benedittis et al., 1993:35) while Ferrarato noted that the vault of Porta Terravecchia was also probably coated in stucco or whitewashed plaster (Ferrarato, 1982:65).

In a paper on city walls and polychrome masonry (2015), Van der Graff noted that the three main construction periods of Pompeii's walled circuit were each defined by the use of differently coloured local materials – yellow limestone, brown tufa and concrete. He argued that these were deliberately juxtaposed to reflect a civic image that was mirrored in public monuments and private buildings. Nor is this the only example from Pompeii's walled circuit of the use of materials to make a visual impact. Adam pointed out that the *opus incertum* masonry of the Herculaneum Gate was rendered with whitewashed stucco and decorated to look like marble revetment (2007:109) while the towers inserted into the walled circuit early in the first century BC were plastered over and decorated with incised lines to mimic ashlar masonry (Chiaramonte, 2007:143).

One of the most striking surviving examples of the use of polychrome patterned masonry is at Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, whose city walls were built around the middle of the first century AD (Figure 60). There was no functional advantage in this choice of materials, so the use of colours appears to be designed for effect and show and to be as elaborate and visually striking as possible (Bidwell, 1996:24). One of the watch towers employs different coloured bricks and natural stones, including limestone, sandstone, greywacke and trachyte not just from the local area but from further afield. The stones were carefully laid in mosaic patterning to form roundels, lunettes and triangles and even a motif of columns supporting a pediment.

Figure 60: Römerturm, Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium

5.1.3 City walls in a cluttered landscape

At the same time, it should be recognised that there was no intrinsic expectation that city walls would dominate the landscape or the urban approaches unchallenged. Many cities had significant extramural and suburban development including at my case study site of Augusta Praetoria (see generally Goodman, 2007, for Augusta Praetoria, Framarin and Joris, 2011). Grand villas were located just outside the walls of Ostia and Pompeii. In particular, the main roads leading up to city gates were busy and their margins the location for clusters of tombs and monuments, with which passing strangers were meant to engage (Zanker, 2000:31). Purcell interpreted the tomb-lined roads outside a city as "an extension of the display architecture of the town" (1987a:40). Just as the elite played out competition through the medium of monumental building within the city, so the outskirts of the city saw an extravagant proliferation of temples and tombs (Patterson, 2000b:45). Some of these tombs were large and prominent and would have distracted the traveller's eye from the vista of the city walls. At all three case study sites discussed below where funerary monuments are juxtaposed with gateways, it appears that the monuments and the nearby gateways are closely aligned in date. The cluttering of the landscape where city walls were concerned did not evolve over time in these cases: there was clear intent to stake a place in the landscape close to the important visual focus of a main gateway from soon after its construction.

Saepinum lay astride an important *tratturo*, which entered the town through Porta Boiano to the north and exited through Porta Benevento to the south. Approaching from the north, the traveller encountered the funerary monument of Publius Numisius Ligus which was clearly visible from the *tratturo*, the gateway and the postern gate into the theatre. From the south, the approach to Porta Benevento was marked by the mausoleum of Caius Ennius Marsus (Figure 61). This cylindrical monument on a square plinth is Augustan in date (like the gateways) and bears obvious references to Augustus' own mausoleum in Rome (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014). The overall height of the monuments – over 6m in the case of Ligus and over 5m for Marsus – compares to a probable height for the city walls of about 4.8m. These are the funerary monuments which have survived; we know that there were extensive necropoleis which extended along the *tratturo* outside Saepinum as well (De Benedittis et al., 1993:58, 124).

Figure 61: tomb outside Porta Benevento, Saepinum

Figure 62: tomb outside Carsulae, Arco di San Damiano beyond

At Carsulae and Urbs Salvia, the main approaches to the city walls are also known to have been punctuated with significant funerary monuments. The Arco di San Damiano stood at the northern entrance to the town of Carsulae, at a point where the Via Flaminia exits the town and descends steeply, dropping some 30m over a distance of little more than 100m. It is probable that Roman Carsulae never had a complete circuit of walls.[106] Nevertheless, the archway was clearly intended to mark the urban boundary and to provide an impressive entrance into the town for travellers approaching from the north, for whom the archway – viewed from below – would have appeared all the more visually dominant of the horizon. But travellers did not have an unimpeded view of the arch. It is closely associated with a number of monumental tombs which cluster near the Via Flaminia as it enters the town through the archway. At least two of these tombs were very substantial and would have significantly impacted the line of sight of travellers approaching the town. Morigi estimated that one of these tombs, shaped like a drum but on a rectangular base with sides some 7.7m in length, may have been 11-13m high (1997:70) (Figure 62 above). A second tomb in the form of a cylindrical tower was just under 11m high (Bruschetti, 1995:62). The base of a further monumental tomb nearby has very recently been identified (Bruschetti et al., 2013); given the size of the base (8m by 12m) and the solidity of the foundations, the excavators deduced that a large *opus quadratum* structure originally stood on top. The original height of the overall structure of the Arco di San Damiano is not known, but the surviving archway stands at 9.2m (De Maria, 1988:237-238). At least two of these large funerary monuments are dated to the Augustan period, and therefore contemporary with the construction of the archway.

Similarly at Urbs Salvia, travellers approaching the north gate along the Via Salaria Gallica would have had their view of the city walls and gate interrupted by a number of imposing funerary monuments, including square towers still more than 6m high (Sisani, 2006:354). The first of these

[106] The case for and against the existence of walls at Roman Carsulae is argued in full in Appendix I.

was placed only 17m from the north gate and was virtually in line with the walled circuit (bearing in mind that the north gate was set back in concave fashion). Perna estimated that the larger of the monuments would have stood nearly 11m high and while not susceptible to precise dating is likely to be contemporary with the city walls or soon after (2006:52-53). There are further funerary monuments, less well-known archaeologically, on the road which led from Urbs Salvia to Firmum some 200m from Porta Gemina and there are necropoleis bordering all the main roads leading to the city (Perna, 2006:109-112 and Tavola V).

The presence of tombs and funerary monuments close to major routes and city gates might distract attention from the city walls but at the same time serves to emphasise the role of city walls in segregating the urban community from those outside in a symbolic as well as a physical sense. Pressed up against the city gates, monumental tombs seem to want to be associated with the special liminal and protective status of gateways. The significance of an urban boundary, especially where given physical expression through city walls, was mediated by cultural norms. City walls thus embodied social and legal expectations about conforming to ritual and moral imperatives, in particular the prohibition on burial of the dead within an urban boundary, creating a "complex and ambiguous landscape" on the margins of a city (Patterson, 2000a:86). More symbolically, walls acted as a *cordon sanitaire* around a city. Gros saw city walls as protecting a city's inhabitants and its urban deities from the sometimes malevolent spirits of nature (1992:214). At a metaphorical level, walls protected the morally pure of the city, whose vision was in accord with accepted urban values, from the unpure of the countryside. This dichotomy was more apparent than real, of course. Although moral values were attached by contemporary society to the rhetorical device of a division between city and countryside (Cornell and Lomas, 1995:5), urban areas were in practice closely tied to their surrounding countryside.

5.1.4 Conclusion

City walls were a visually dominant point of reference linking the countryside and communications network with the main routes which ran through urban centres. My research on my case study sites has demonstrated that cities could go to considerable trouble to ensure that their city walls stood out, both in the wider landscape and in their immediate surroundings. This could be achieved through engineering works to manipulate the landscape, as may have been the case at Urbs Salvia, or through the use of differently-coloured stones in the outer facing of the city walls, as at Mediolanum. On a more detailed level, I have observed the precise use of juxtaposed colours to achieve a striking tonal balance, for example on Porta Consolare at Hispellum and Porta di Augsto at Fanum Fortunae; at Hispellum, the use of stone in contrasting colours on the gateways was complemented by the use of decorative banding on the fabric of the wall itself. These finishes had no functional rationale: their purpose was purely aesthetic. There is some evidence that the gateways at Augusta Praetoria and Saepinum were plastered and whitewashed, which would make

them highly visible within their environment. At the same time, however, I have noted the contemporary practice of placing large funerary monuments very close to gateways in the walled circuits. The relationship between these structures adds to the symbolic and religious connotations of city walls, adding a complex layer of meaning to the impact of city walls in the landscape.

In a period where power and status were important elements of a city's identity, the deliberate enhancement of the walled circuit helped a city to stand out among its neighbours. Among my case studies, this was particularly apparent at Hispellum, where the deliberate positioning of the walled circuit in relation to the landscape enhanced its visibility and thereby its status within the network of roads and towns locally. Here and elsewhere, the combination of road construction, colonial foundations and centuriation as connectors in the landscape and as physical and symbolic links to Rome was significant.[107] I consider that city walls and their gateways were designed to be a symbol of power and aspiration, demonstrating a deliberate dominance and manipulation of the landscape. They advertised to anyone approaching, friend or foe, the identity and power of the city and its standing in peer polity relations. The impact of city walls on the landscape was carefully calculated, and inescapable. Walls were a deliberately visual way of announcing to visitors and inhabitants the city's perceived status and civic pride.

5.2 Collective memory experienced through city walls

In this section I explore how city walls were experienced in the context of collective memory, focusing in particular on the relationship between city walls, their gateways and religious movement and processions. I consider the role of city walls and their gateways in remembering, accommodating or abrogating tradition and social memory, particularly as indicated through sacred ways and processional routes which may have provided a link to the community's past. I also discuss how city walls and their gateways were, in turn, used in the early imperial period to accommodate new power structures and political imperatives. The link between Augustus, city walls of the Augustan period and processional routes between Augustan cities and pre-Roman extramural sanctuaries is important as one way of illustrating how Augustus sought to, or wanted to be seen to, restore the republican past by resurrecting traditional republican ceremonies and rites.

The way in which public buildings were used as a means of reproducing and influencing collective memories has been widely recognised (see, for example, Alcock, 2002, Revell, 2009). Perkins and Nevett, in a discussion on urbanism (2000:213-244), explored how the different backgrounds, traditions, beliefs and cultures of communities throughout the empire affected how they experienced Rome and influenced their image of what a city and the imperial pattern of urban life should be and how that image should be realised. They saw a range of outcomes, suggesting that

[107] Talbert did however cast doubt on the extent to which the Romans would have recognised the concept of a single connected network of roads (2012:235-254).

the preservation of pre-Roman buildings may indicate a desire to perpetuate pre-Roman cultural identity. It could be a politically driven process. The exercise of patronage by the elite might signify a physical demonstration of conformance to the imperial power, while the emperor might use patronage as a means of displaying Roman power, especially where the appropriation or obliteration of pre-Roman buildings was involved. Laurence too claimed that "every Roman city has at least one monument that was the site at which identity, memory and history were conceptualised" (2012:80).

In my view, however, insufficient attention has been paid to the contribution made by city walls in the context of social memory. In this section, I use the relationship between processional routes and city walls as a way of exploring how city walls were experienced in this regard. I look at how city walls may have been used to express and influence collective memory and to accommodate, even appropriate, pre-Roman religious practice. City walls, like other monuments, might evoke, or provoke, a multiplicity or conflict of memories (Van Dyke and Alcock, 2008:2), with inclusion or exclusion from processions which incorporated routes around or through city walls having very different meanings for different sections of society.

5.2.1 Processional and sacred routes remembered and accommodated

City walls were inextricably linked to religious meaning in the Roman world. They were deemed sacred space and thus had an important role in religious and ceremonial life. Gateways, under civil jurisdiction, had a special liminal status. Indeed, Rykwert drew attention to the similarities between a Roman walled circuit and a temple: both had ritual entrances and consecrated enclosed space, for example (1988:46). Religious processions crossed the city boundary as manifested in a walled circuit to mark the transition between urban and rural space and to define, link and integrate specific parts of the urban topography which had particular meaning for their inhabitants. Processional routes connected through movement the sacred spaces of temples and city walls, perhaps along a pomerial or intramural way. The integration of buildings and structured patterns into the movement of individuals through space helped to create a shared memory and sense of belonging. In particular, purposeful movement formalised as ritual procession contributed to communicating and sustaining shared knowledge and experience and influenced how a city's spatial structure was understood and remembered.

Esmonde Cleary described the ways in which processions can be used to articulate urban space, involving ordered and purposive movement from one place to another, performed as part of an iterative ritual cycle and often incorporating sacred space (2005). The act of processing writes geography into the memory of participants and encourages its transmission across time. Esmonde Cleary noted how processional routes often move between city and countryside, symbolising their unity – or perhaps the dependency of one on the other. My interest lies particularly in the point where a processional route has to cross the city boundary as manifested in a walled circuit in order

to make the transition between urban and rural space. This might be necessary, for example, in order to incorporate the amphitheatre, theatre and/or local sanctuary within the ambit of the procession: at Hispellum, all three were located outside the city walls.

Many Roman cities, especially new foundations or colonies in Italy, adopted to a greater or lesser extent a grid plan with the main streets intersecting at right angles within the frame of the walled circuit, a model championed by, among others, Ward-Perkins (1974) and Owens (1991). Although less emphasis is rightly now placed on this schema as a rigidly applied model for urban planning – as Laurence et al. pointed out (2011:138) "most cities in the Roman world did not conform to this ideal" – there is enough regularity within many cities for exceptions to the expected layout to be noticeable. Deviation from this expected layout, especially where the otherwise predictable trajectory of the walled circuit appears to be changed or interrupted to accommodate the unexpected or anomalous course of one or more of the city's internal roads, may be worth exploring further. This is particularly relevant given the sacred status of the city boundary and thus its likely importance in the ritual life of a city. I consider below the relationship between city walls, gateways, unusual street patterns or a significant change in street alignment, and processional or sacred ways.

Cancik noted that the sacred landscape of Rome was the setting for rituals which crossed or connected different points of the city by means of processions which might include walking along the boundaries or between temples (1985:255-256). The importance of city boundaries (especially the *pomerium*) and city walls in the tradition of marking out sacred topography through processions is evident in the festival of the Amburbium at Rome, a procession to purify the city which probably took as its route a "circumambulation" of the city boundary (Scullard, 1981:26, 82-83).[108] A similar procession and ceremony took place at Iguvium, according to the Iguvine Tables (tablets I and VI), where the Italic rites of the priesthood of the Fratres Atiedii took the form of a journey around the city. The procession stopped at the three city gates to conduct sacrifices both inside and outside the gates, a suggestion perhaps that the *pomerium* was being marked (Sisani, 2001:99-138).

There is evidence from my case study sites which may indicate the use of processions and sacred ways and which provides an interesting commentary on the relationship between city walls and their gateways and processional routes. One such instance is at Fanum Fortunae. The urban layout of the Augustan city followed an orthogonal grid plan except for one street, which cut diagonally across it and was narrower than other streets in the city (Figure 63). This street exited the urban centre through a secondary gateway in the city walls, the Porta della Mandria. Porta della Mandria was a simple, if elegant, gateway, very different from the monumental structure of Fanum Fortunae's principal gateway. Unlike the principal gateway, which was built from high quality white limestone and was visually dominant in the walled circuit, Porta della Mandria was

[108] The ceremony is described by Lucan in *Pharsalia* 1.592-595.

constructed from yellow sandstone like the city walls. Wear in one of the pillars suggests that the gateway was heavily used (Polidori, 2012b).

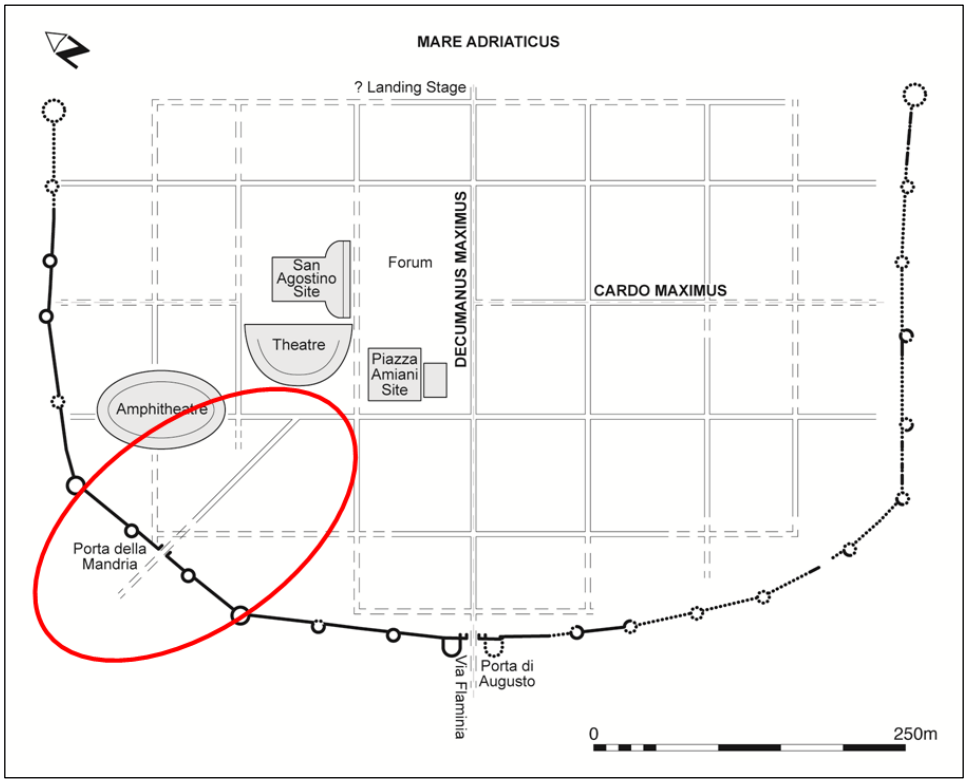

Figure 63: diagonal road at Fanum Fortunae

Because of the unorthodox placement of Porta della Mandria in the walled circuit and the anomalous line of the road that exits through it, cutting across the street grid, their nature and purpose have been much debated. It is often assumed that this gateway was where the Via Flaminia exited the city and headed towards Pisaurum (see, for example, Luni et al., 2000, De Sanctis, 2012b:42). There is no obvious connection, however, in the street layout between the entrance to the city of the Via Flaminia through the principal gateway, Porta di Augusto, and an exit at Porta della Mandria.

In my view, this gateway and the "anomalous" road are better understood in relation to the theatre, amphitheatre and temple complex. This is consistent with the view of Magnini (2008), who argued that the main purpose of the gateway and road was for spectators travelling to and from the theatre and amphitheatre. The unexpected orientation and narrower width of the "anomalous" road suggests that it may well be a road which pre-dated the Augustan development of the city (Luni et al., 2000:47, 93) but which was important enough not only to be preserved within the street grid but also to merit its own gateway into the colony. We can go further than this. There is archaeological evidence for what may be a pre-Roman sanctuary some 5km away from the Roman city at Roncosambaccio, where architectural fragments including doric capitols and columns were discovered. Roncosambaccio is, in my view, the most promising of the external sites for the location of the elusive pre-Roman sanctuary of Fortuna in view of its position, ease of access and

association with Fortuna.[109] It may be significant that the "anomalous" street heads off in the direction of the pre-Roman sanctuary and that Porta della Mandria is oriented in alignment with the road to Roncosambaccio (Taus, 2003:23); basalt paving stones similar to those at Fanum Fortunae have been discovered near Roncosambaccio (De Sanctis, 1992). Within the city, the "anomalous" road leads directly to the theatre, amphitheatre and temple complex which may have housed the eponymous sanctuary of Fortuna from imperial times (De Sanctis, 2011, De Sanctis, 2012a). One possibility is that this road was a sacred way which maintained the memory of an earlier route to a pre-Roman sanctuary outside the city, even after the sanctuary had been appropriated or eclipsed by the Roman colony and moved to within the city, an idea which was alluded to by Stek (2010:32) but not pursued. The "anomalous" road and Porta della Mandria which would have connected the two sacred places may thus have played an important part in the social memory of the urban community.

My case study of Hispellum offers two candidates for processional routes which involve gateways through the city walls. The first is relatively uncontentious. The triple-arched Porta Venere was architecturally the most ambitious gate in the walls of Hispellum. Its position and appearance are particularly interesting in the context of the social memory of the city. As has already been noted, the gateway was built on a steep slope, so significant terracing and massive foundation piles were necessary, and at an angle to the contours of the hill and the line of the walled circuit, which had to make a zig-zag to accommodate it. Its practical uses were limited, as it was not on a through route – the roads to neighbouring towns left from different gateways in the walled circuit. It dominated the wider landscape (see Chapter 5.1.1) and the pre-Roman sanctuary on the plain just below.

It seems very probable that Porta Venere was constructed as part of an integrated scheme with the Augustan appropriation and monumentalisation of the pre-Roman sanctuary at Villa Fidelia, situated on the plain below the city some 800m to the northwest. The continuing regional importance of the sanctuary site over several centuries is made clear in an inscription of AD333-337, the "Rescript of Constantine".[110] This contains the Emperor's reply to a request from the Umbrians for permission to continue to celebrate an ancient pre-Roman religious festival at the sanctuary. Archaeological evidence shows that the sanctuary had been in use at least since the fifth century BC (Bradley, 2000:244), while material remains (architectural and votive) indicating initial monumentalisation of the site date to the second or first centuries BC (Sisani, 2006:112-113). The *sacellum* of Venus at the sanctuary was renovated in the Augustan period (Collins-Elliott, 2014) and at the same time a theatre was built close to and in strict alignment with the sanctuary complex. Baiolini noted that decorative scheme of the theatre matches the semicolumns in *opus vittatum* on the attic of Porta Venere, which was also Augustan in date (2002:119).

[109] The evidence for this is discussed in detail in Appendix D.
[110] CIL 11, 05265

The relationship between Porta Venere and the pre-Roman sanctuary site is unmistakeable (Figure 64). The road which leads through Porta Venere from the centre of the colony is precisely aligned with the sanctuary and probably formed a sacred way for processions from the centre of the city. Marroni noted that the existence of a processional way may be supported by excavation notes from 1915, which recorded a street paved in "magnificent slabs" of white limestone on the slope which led up to Porta Venere (2005:42). Donnola, a local writer in the seventeenth century, recorded how religious processions still continued from the centre of Hispellum through Porta Venere to the church of San Fedele which stood on the former sanctuary site (Sensi and Sensi, 1984:47).

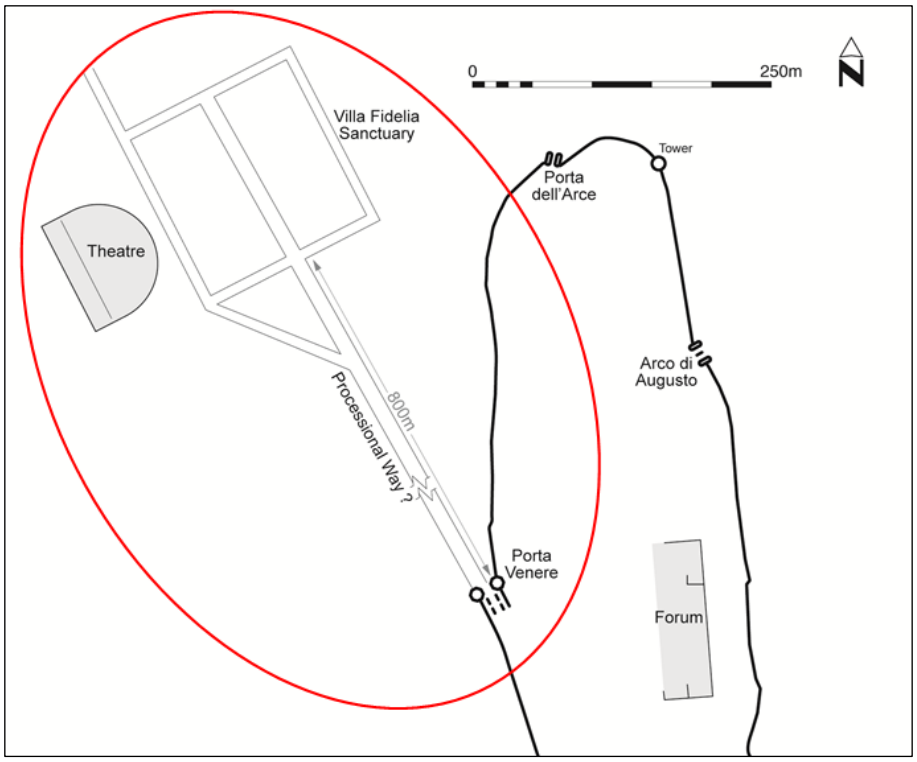

Figure 64: relationship between Porta Venere and sanctuary, Hispellum

By linking the Roman colony to the existing pre-Roman sanctuary site with a new processional route, an unambiguous statement was being made about the role of the sanctuary, bringing it clearly within the orbit of the Roman colony. It seems likely that the construction of Porta Venere and the contemporary monumentalisation of the sanctuary site was a deliberate attempt to appropriate pre-Roman cultic traditions and absorb them within the development of the colony. It should also be seen in the light of Octavian's exertion of control over the surrounding area, directed through his colony of veterans at Hispellum. The impact of veteran settlement could be severe for the local population (Keppie, 1983:101), many of whom were dispossessed of their land holdings in order to provide land for the new settlers. The new colony at Hispellum seems to have been a particularly egregious example of this practice. It appears that the territory of Hispellum was tripled in size following its establishment as a colony, at the expense of its neighbours Asisium, Mevania, Spoletium, Vettona, Arna, Perusia and Tifernum Tiberinum, possibly as retribution for

their failure to back Octavian. It is noticeable that these were the cities which the city walls and gateways of Hispellum overlooked and dominated (see Chapter 5.1.1 above).

There is also a possibility that a processional route or sacred way was associated with another of Hispellum's gateways, Porta Consolare. Porta Consolare formed the main entrance into the city from the *diverticulum* which led from the Via Flaminia. It was a visually impressive if austere triple-arched gateway, not as architecturally ornate as Porta Venere. It is likely that Porta Consolare was built around 40-35BC, a little earlier than the Augustan city walls.[111] Archaeological interventions have demonstrated that the gate was placed to accommodate an existing, pre-Roman road (Fontaine, 1990:254). Sisani argued that the main Roman road to Hispellum which entered the colony through Porta Consolare and became the *decumanus maximus* may have appropriated an earlier sacred way which led from a sanctuary at Mevania some 10km away to Hispellum[112] and which linked the two sanctuaries with the sacred springs at Clitumnus (2012:429-431). In this way the new colony imposed its identity on the landscape and arrogated memory of pre-Roman traditions.

My case studies of Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum, then, both offer examples by which an Augustan colony may have appropriated pre-Roman processional routes or sacred ways and incorporated their memory into the living architecture of the colonial city. Another of my case studies, Augusta Praetoria, is thought to have been built on a greenfield site (Mollo Mezzena, 2012) and therefore the scope for memorialisation is less. Here, however, there is a hint that a pomerial way may have been incorporated into the city plan, thus allowing for processions in a circumambulation of the colony's boundaries (Patrich, 2011:45). There is a clearly defined space some 18m wide between the edges of the *insulae* and the walled circuit which may have been used as a pomerial route. This suggestion does not sit well, however, with Mollo Mezzena's identification of the Arch of Augustus (some 400m outside the city walls) as marking the limit of the *pomerium*, although the proximity of burials to the Arch of Augustus makes her suggestion not wholly convincing (Mollo Mezzena, 1987:24). If there was an intramural pomerial route at Augusta Praetoria, its importance to the collective memory of the colonists did not last long. The excavations undertaken by Framarin et al. in 2010 in the vicinity of the Porta Principalis Sinistra revealed that this open space had been built over by the middle of the first century AD to the extent that it would have lost its function as a road and with it the possibility of circumambulating the walls (Framarin et al., 2012).

On the inside of the Augustan town walls of Tridentum, a gap some 3.2m wide was left clear. Bassi interpreted this as a means of allowing quick access to different points in the wall (2007:53)

[111] See Chapter 3.4 and Appendix E.5.1.
[112] A processional way is known through epigraphic evidence (CIL 11, 05041): …*viam triumphalem / straverunt lapide / Hispellate*

but it is also possible that it acted as an intramural pomerial route. It ceased to be open space within a generation. Esmonde Cleary suggested that walled circuits may have needed "ritual reinforcing", in view of their religious as well as defensive functions (2005:10), and this could have been achieved by routing processions along pomerial roads. More prosaically, Van Tilburg saw pomerial routes as a "missed chance" to tackle traffic problems in Roman cities (2007:160-161), noting that although it was "holy ground" there was no apparent prohibition against its use for traffic. His premise seems misplaced, however; his most convincing case for congestion in Roman cities related to city gates, which would not have been alleviated by an intramural pomerial route, while he conceded that cities did not want travellers to bypass their cities on the outside – generally, long distance roads were deliberately routed through the centre of urban areas. At Fanum Fortunae, De Sanctis thought that he could discern a pomerial way (2012b:45). The modern street plan of the city does show a road which follows the line of the Roman city wall (Via Garibaldi, running southwest to northeast). No evidence of Roman paving or drainage has thus far been discovered under this street, however, unlike many other streets in the city, so it is hard to corroborate De Sanctis' position.

Like Fanum Fortunae, Falerii Novi also has a road which is out of alignment with the orthogonal street grid. It runs from the southeast corner of the city around the eastern and northern perimeter of the walled circuit. Keay et al. noted that this road linked up a sequence of six south-facing peripheral temples or sanctuaries which followed the line of an intramural or pomerial route at the north of the site and suggested that it may represent a sacred or processional route (2000:91). It exited the city through a secondary gateway into a valley which leads to Falerii Veteres, the Faliscans' earlier hilltop settlement a few kilometres away. It is known from an inscription[113] and from contemporary sources[114] that there was a *via sacra* at Falerii and that processions took place between Falerii Novi and Falerii Veteres. It may be that this road had a special significance for the local community and was preserved as an assertion of Faliscan identity within the regular urban layout. This sacred way may not have been the only example of the incorporation of pre-existing roads into Falerii Novi. McCall argued that four of the minor gates at Falerii Novi were located to provide access into the city for pre-existing tracks (2007:94).

I noted in the introduction to this chapter that the experience of city walls would have been multi-sensory. That would have been particularly true in relation to how city walls were experienced in the context of religious movement and processions (Fishwick, 1991, Jenkyns, 2013). We know more generally that the senses were engaged in processions[115] and it is very likely that movement

[113] CIL 11, 03126
[114] Ovid *Amores* 13.5-6
[115] See, for example (in a different context) Xenophon of Ephesus' description of the torches and incense used in processions (Reardon, 2008:129), Fishwick's discussion of the primary evidence for the use of lights, incense and music in processions (1991:553, 566), and images of musicians and torch-bearers on contemporary reliefs.

and dance along a processional route which bordered the city walls would have been accompanied by music, singing and/or chanting (Fless and Moede, 2007), which would echo off and be amplified by the high city walls. For processions outside daylight hours, the flickering light of torches would produce shadows against the bulk of the walls – and perhaps have magnified the appearance of the walls and gateways, given the use of materials and fabrics such as whitewash or gleaming limestone to maximise visual impact (as discussed above). The smell of incense used in processions would be concentrated by the city walls which formed a sheltered space. City walls and their gateways contributed to a holistic experience in the context of moving through urban space, especially in a religious context.

It is possible that places and people previously important to the definition of urban space through processions were intentionally altered or excluded in a deliberate act of forgetting. Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace such developments from archaeological evidence alone. In Samnium, the great Samnite sanctuary at Pietrabbondante was abandoned, its religious and political significance fading away after the Social War. In contrast, the Italic sanctuary of San Pietro di Cantoni, which lies roughly equidistant between Saepinum and its predecessor Samnite settlement at the hillfort of Terravecchia, continued in use into the early and mid empire, although some signs of decline are apparent (Matteini Chiari, 2013). Recently, the team excavating the site has explored the complex layout of the sanctuary area noting double processional routes and multiple entrances along the curtain wall (Matteini Chiari, 2013): further work will reveal what, if any, relationship these routes had with nearby Saepinum. The continued use of the sanctuary at San Pietro di Cantoni and its ties with Roman Saepinum mirror the association between pre-Roman sanctuaries and Roman (especially Augustan) urban foundations elsewhere in Italy such as at Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum and stand in contrast to the abandonment of Pietrabbondante.[116]

On the other hand, Collins-Elliott (2014) argued that the imposed construction of the Augustan city walls at Saepinum was an example of a deliberate effort to obliterate Samnite identity. As well as the obvious, externally driven, sanctions of memory such as the mutilation of sculpture or the erasure of inscriptions, he identified different ways of forgetting, such as the imposition of one monumental landscape over another, as seen at Saepinum. The ability to control what is forgotten (or remembered) is an instrument of power. At Saepinum, a comprehensive break with the past was brought about by the redevelopment of the town in the Augustan period. The reorganisation was described as "highly traumatic" by Gaggiotti (1990:258). All traces of earlier buildings were obliterated and built over and the town was transformed through a comprehensive programme of monumental public building, including city walls. Even here, however, the influence of pre-Roman occupation survived, as is discussed in Chapter 5.3.2 below.

[116] See Stek (2010).

5.2.2 Appropriation of urban space: the role of city gates

The Augustan period saw a proliferation of monumental city gates whose decorative qualities overrode their defensive characteristics: the principal gates at Fanum Fortunae, Augusta Praetoria and Hispellum are particularly good examples of the genre. It also saw the flourishing of the free-standing monumental arch as an architectural form, for example at Segusium and Augusta Praetoria (AAVV, 2013).[117] In the context of social and cultural memory, the appropriation of city gates by monumental arches is a particularly interesting phenomenon. This is where city gates were subsumed, and their practical functions eroded, by the deliberate juxtaposition of monumental arches. In its simplest form, an existing gateway could be replaced by a monumental arch, as was the case in the early Augustan period at Ariminum. Gros considered this the best example of the fusion of city gate with honorary arch (1996:41). Here, the existing main gate into the city was enlarged and monumentalised in 27BC. The arch was fully integrated into the city walls but no longer functioned as a gate: its size (the opening was 9m wide and over 10m high) and lack of means of closure positioned it as marking a triumphal end to the Via Flaminia without pretension to defensive functionality (Rebecchi, 1987:130). The arch was surmounted by a larger than lifesize imperial statue while the ornamentation of the arch which accompanied the dedicatory inscription to Augustus is rich in symbolism and ideology (Foschi and Pasini, 1998) (see Chapter 6.4.6).

A more sophisticated interpretation is called for where the original gateway was not replaced, as at Ariminum, but supplanted. Woodhull noted that the choice of site for a monumental structure was always deliberate: a building's patron would have considered carefully how a structure would be viewed and how to site it so as to maximise the opportunities for display. She suggested that a patron could acquire by association the intrinsic qualities of an existing structure by siting a new building in close proximity (Woodhull, 2004:86). At Pola and Verona, monumental arches are deliberately juxtaposed with the city gate. The city gate lives on, but its meaning has been appropriated for a different purpose. At Pola, Salvia Postuma of the Sergii family constructed around 20-10BC a monumental arch immediately inside a prominent and busy gateway into the city (Woodhull, 2004).[118] The Arch of the Sergii survives today, but the Porta Aurea to which it was attached was demolished in the nineteenth century. Figure 65 reproduces a painting of the juxtaposed city gate and archway before demolition, showing how the two structures co-existed but each was independently visible. The new archway framed the gate as visitors left the city. It was elaborately ornamented with sculptural imagery full of symbolism and meaning (Džin, 2013, Kleiner, 2010). Those messages were only visible to people already inside the city, as the front of the arch faced west towards the centre of the city. The reverse of the arch was joined to the

[117] Free-standing arches are not within the scope of my work.
[118] De Maria preferred a slightly later date, towards the end of the Augustan period (De Maria, 1988:251-252). This arch is particularly interesting and relevant to my research in view of its benefactress and inscription. I analyse it in more detail in Chapter 6.4.

existing city gate by two short spur walls but the two structures were so closely connected that the reverse of the arch was left undecorated.

Figure 65: Pola - Arch of the Sergii (front) and Porta Aurea (behind).

Figure 66: the two façades of Porta Leoni, Verona. View from inside the city.

The monumental arch was built to commemorate Salvia Postuma and her close family who were important locally. The grandeur of the structure, which would have been topped by large statues of family members (now lost), conveyed a strong message of power and prestige. Its position, supplanting and dominating the city gate, reinforced the claim of the Sergii to arrogate power to the family while the use of imagery which at this time was becoming associated with the imperial family (such as weapons, acanthus motifs and vine friezes) could even be seen as challenging the authority of the emperor. In my view, however, the significance of the arch goes beyond the imagery. The very act of placement in a highly visible and frequented point in the city, the deliberate effacement of the existing city gate with its connotations of a protective threshold, may suggest a desire on the part of the Sergii family to assume the role of guardian of the city.

Similarly at Verona, the Porta Leoni, a double-arched brick gateway in the late republican city walls, was masked by a decorative limestone arch which was placed in front of the original gateway in the Claudian period (Cavalieri Manasse, 1998, Bianco, 1998). The new arch was slim and placed so close to the original gate (0.6m-0.9m) as to require no decoration on the interior, as was also the case at Pola (Figure 66 above). It faced inwards towards the city (as at Pola) while the decorative front of Verona's other main gate, Porta Borsari, faced outward.[119] An inscription on the original Porta Leoni which marked the construction of the late republican city walls and

[119] According to Bonetto (2009:56-59), the façade of Porta Borsari, also Claudian in date, may originally have been placed in front of an earlier gateway, as at Porta Leoni.

double-arched gateway was superseded by a more monumental inscription erected in the Claudian period on the new arch.

There may be a further example of this phenomenon at Minturnae, although the archaeological evidence is too sketchy to have confidence in the circumstances. Richmond reported that one of Minturnae's gateways had been "masked by a decorative arch", which formed a new façade in front of the gate (1933:153). Fragments of decorative coffering and of two inscriptions, probably dedicatory in nature but undecipherable when discovered, suggest that the structure was monumental and perhaps honorary in nature. The converse may be observed at Segusium, where the original free-standing archway of the Augustan period was subsumed within the city walls built in the third century AD (De Maria, 1988:329).

De Maria noted the practice of transforming city gates into monumental arches through replacement or adaptation, citing the examples of Ariminum, Parma and Ticinum, although he did not analyse it in great detail (1988:78). In my view, however, there is insufficient evidence from Parma and Ticinum to be confident that we are dealing with the same phenomenon as at Ariminum, Pola and Verona. In Parma's case, the evidence relies solely on an inscription which records that Munatius Aspyrtus, a priest of the imperial cult, paved a street from the forum to the city gate and adorned the city gate with marble, statues and fountains.[120] Part of a *clipeus* which is thought to have come from this ensemble is preserved in the local museum (Arrigoni Bertini, 2004:17-18). But no trace of the structure remains. Similarly at Ticinum, there is no archaeological evidence for a monumental arch in association with the city gate and the only source for its existence comes from an inscription recorded in a ninth century manuscript.[121] The inscription of itself gives no proof of the type of structure to which it was attached.

The deliberate replacement or appropriation of civic gates by individually sponsored arches, such as the Arch of the Sergii in Pola, underlines the importance and significance of city walls and their gates in the life and meaning of a city. The role of city gates and the way in which they were supplanted in the use of urban space is an issue whose meaning has hitherto been insufficiently explored. Many decades ago, Richmond posed the question why arches are placed at town gates (1933:172). His "obvious" answer was that the arch provided a finer façade for the gate than it already possessed, but he rightly noted that this begs the question why the ornamentation was not applied directly to the gate itself (or why the gate was not replaced altogether, as at Ariminum). Richmond's alternative explanation was that the function of an arch placed at a city gate "must be connected … with the immediate purpose of the arch itself, which is … to be the carrying of statues", because a city gate is a particularly good vantage point for a statue. He argued that because city gates are not intended in design or load-bearing capacity to carry large and heavy

[120] CIL 11, 01062
[121] CIL 05, 06416

statues, a new base had to be constructed. This is possible, but rather reductive and in my view could only be part of the story. If it was simply an issue of display, the easy answer would be to build a free-standing monument, as was done with the Arch of Augustus at Augusta Praetoria or the Arch of the Gavii at Verona. But city gateways were highly visible and charged with meaning. They embodied the notion of religious liminality over a protected threshold. The appropriation of a gateway by placing a monumental arch immediately in front of it asserted by implication the appropriation of the role of guardian and protector of a city. The collective memories and significance of an existing gateway could influence and enhance the new juxtaposed structure's meaning for the viewing public and by association confer status and importance to its benefactor.

5.2.3 Conclusion

The positioning of city walls and their gateways was carefully determined and could reshape or reassert the past in the light of contemporary requirements of self-definition. City walls could be used as a subtle way to reinforce messages about membership within the empire or to retain links with a pre-Roman tradition, allowing social memory and identity to be preserved and adapted. My research at my case study sites shows how the course of the walled circuit and the positioning of gateways were carefully thought through to accommodate (in Fanum Fortunae's case) or appropriate (in Hispellum's case) existing sacred ways or processional routes which may have held significant meaning for the local community. It situates the relationship between Augustan city walls, processional routes and extramural pre-Roman sanctuaries within the framework of Augustus' desire to be seen to restore traditional republican customs while promoting new ideological values. My research at Fanum Fortunae associates anomalies in the street grid, orientation of the secondary gateway, and archaeological evidence both inside and outside the colony to suggest a plausible site for the pre-Roman sanctuary of Fortuna and its relocation within the Augustan city, linked by a processional route which cuts through the walled circuit.

The presence of a city wall provided a continuing reminder of the city's relationship with Roman power. But it was susceptible to political pressure, as seen for example through the appropriation of city gateways by monumental arches pressing the cause of the imperial family, as at Ariminum, or particular members of the local elite, as I have argued was the case at Pola. The trend in the Augustan period for private individuals to replace or refurbish gateways within civic walled circuits is significant in terms of symbolism and patronage. In short, city walls and their gateways have much to add to our understanding of the way in which communities created a shared and evolving understanding of urban space.

5.3 The impact of walls on movement and the use of space

In this section, I consider the role of city walls in shaping and defining urban space and explore the importance of contextualising city walls within the overall structure of the cityscape. I argue that the contribution of city walls and their gateways to the control of movement, social interaction and organisation of the urban streetscape is significant. An iterative process is discernible: just as a community's culture and behaviour shaped the appearance and character of a city's fabric and infrastructure, so the architecture of the city itself shaped the daily lives of its inhabitants (Grahame, 2000:1-5). The physical layout of an urban centre and in particular the framing of that layout by city walls and their gates not only determined the appearance of inhabited space but also governed the way in which that space was experienced. This impact on movement and the use of space was, in my view, one of the key practical factors which differentiated cities with physically material boundaries such as a walled circuit or a river from those with permeable boundary markers such as *cippi* or a free-standing gateway.

5.3.1 City walls and gateways as an instrument of control

Movement of people, whether inhabitants of the city, visitors to it or travellers passing through, was channelled, controlled and directed by the city walls, enabling the walls to be employed – consciously or sub-consciously – as an effective means of social control and the exercise of power. Control of space was further influenced by the restricted number of entrance and exit points provided through the walls. City gates were a key constrictor of movement into a city – "infamous bottlenecks" as Van Tilburg put it (2007:90). For example, Augusta Praetoria occupied an area of nearly 42ha with a walled perimeter some 2.5km long, but only four gateways; there were only three main gateways in the walls of Urbs Salvia, a city of roughly similar size.

But city gates were not just about controlling or impeding access. They had a wider, more symbolic role. Archaeological evidence suggests that some gates, such as Porta Consolare at Hispellum and Porta della Mandria at Fanum Fortunae, had no means of formal closure, while the double gateways at Augusta Bagiennorum and Libarna were not integrated into a walled circuit but were free-standing. In the absence of defensive imperatives, what was the point of the gateways and how were they negotiated in daily life?

The use of gateways to regulate and control movement

From a practical point of view, the gateways of a walled city allowed the civic authorities to regulate the flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic into a city. Given the typically limited number of gates in a walled circuit and the relatively narrow width of many gateways, this would permit the

screening of people as they passed to and fro.[122] For example, the widest access point into Hispellum was through Porta Consolare, the main entrance into the colony, whose central archway was 4.4m wide and the side archways only 1.7m wide. The central archway of Hispellum's showcase Porta Venere was even narrower, at 3.8m wide. The gateways at Fanum Fortunae were rather more generous, with the central archway of Porta di Augusto some 5.9m wide and its side arches 1.8 wide, while the single-arched Porta della Mandria was 3.6m wide. Given that the busy Via Flaminia passed through Fanum Fortunae, however, these gateways would still have been pinch-points in the flow of traffic. Assuming a width overall for a wagon of about 1.8m (Van Tilburg, 2007:137), it would be possible for two-way wheeled traffic to move through the main gateways of all my case study sites but only one at a time at all the secondary or minor gateways.[123]

Van Tilburg argued that the width of gateways increased in the late republican/early imperial period, in step with the growing importance of economic considerations and the lessening of defensive concerns (2007:106). This can certainly be seen at Ariminum, where the original city gateway was replaced in 27BC with the honorary Arch of Augustus: it was 9m wide and had no means of closure, even though it was built into the otherwise intact city walls. In the Augustan refurbishment of the Porta Esquilina in Rome, access into the city was widened to encompass three passageways including a central arch more than 7m wide. Malmberg and Bjur compared this to the republican Porta Viminalis which consisted of only one passageway 3m wide (2011:372). Conversely, however, the Arco di Riccardo, which was inserted into the early Augustan walls of Tergeste probably in the mid first century AD or Flavian period, had a single-arched opening only 3m wide, even though it was on an important through route and at one of the main gateways into the city (Bonetto, 1998:95-96). By the late antique period, gateways through the city walls were typically narrower than their Augustan counterparts, usually providing for single carriageway access only (Latimer, 2010:36).

Restricted access through gateways would also facilitate crowd control on busy occasions such as market days, festivals or events at the theatre and amphitheatre. It is likely that this was the purpose of the postern gate at Saepinum. Shortly after the completion of the walled circuit, the wall was breached close to the theatre in order to provide access from outside the city directly into the theatre through a postern gate. If that was its purpose, and it is difficult to see what else it was for, then it was more to limit and regulate than to improve access. The postern gate was only 2.1m wide, although Ceglia (1994) estimated that the theatre could hold 3,000 spectators (Figure 67). Since this was considerably higher than the population of the town itself (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:226), it seems clear that the postern gate was intended to allow visiting spectators to enter the

[122] The dimensions of the gates of my case study sites, where known, are given in Appendix B.
[123] Estimates vary for the presumed axle width of wheeled vehicles and the width would have varied with the type of vehicle. The distance between wheel ruts in Pompeii ranged from 1.35m to 1.6m (Kaiser, 2011:183) but the overall width of the vehicle would have been greater.

theatre more directly, but not necessarily more quickly, than through the main gateway some 100m further along the walled circuit. A similar phenomenon may be observed at Tridentum, where two of the towers placed at intervals along the Augustan wall appear to have been converted at a later date into postern gates. One was probably provided to improve access to and from the amphitheatre but – in a reversal of the situation at Saepinum – principally for people from inside the city, since the amphitheatre was located outside the city wall to the east. The postern gate thus allowed city spectators to avoid a long detour through the main city gate to the south of the city (Bassi, 2007:53-55).

Figure 67: aerial view of postern gate (circled) and access to theatre, Saepinum

Gateways as customs points

The use of gateways as pinch-points may have been deliberate not just to regulate the flow of traffic but to facilitate administration and taxation. We are not well informed about the existence of custom points in Roman Italy outside Rome (see, for example, Goodman, 2007:60, De Laet, 1949, for Rome, Palmer, 1980), but a number of commentators have argued that one of the purposes of *cavaedium*-type gateways was to levy taxes or customs dues on travellers, or perhaps to facilitate tax collection in association with local markets (De Ligt, 1993). There were *cavaedium* gateways at all my case study sites except Urbs Salvia, where we have very limited knowledge about the design of the gateways. At Augusta Praetoria, for example, Richmond and Salway (1969:253) and Corni (2004:44) argued that the large courtyard of Porta Praetoria was used to administer and levy customs dues. Taus considered that the courtyard of Fanum Fortunae's Porta di Augusto served a similar function (2003:14). Gros drew a parallel between Saepinum and Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis in relation to transhumance and the collection of taxes (1995). The

archaeological evidence from Saepinum's Porta Boiano emphasises the importance of transhumance to the town's economy more generally and to the design of the gateway in particular: a drinking trough was positioned inside the courtyard of Porta Boiano (and in at least one, probably all, of the other gateways); the inner gateway was closed off by means of double doors on hinges which would make controlling and administering access for people and flocks easier; and an inscription from the late Antonine period is posted on the southern wall of the gateway which refers to the alleged mistreatment of transhumant shepherds by the town's local magistrates and *stationarii* which had brought about a loss to the imperial fiscus.[124] According to Corbier (1983), this inscription supports the case that all practitioners of transhumance, at least at the time of the decree and probably earlier in the empire, paid fees to the state for pasture dues (in her view, transit on the *tratturo* was free). At Hispellum, Camerieri and Manconi (2010:30) argued that the purpose of Porta Consolare and its large inner courtyard was to levy taxes on pastoralists using traditional transhumant routes. In their view, these pastoralists were following an ancient *callis* or drove road which later became the *decumanus maximus* of the Roman city.

City walls, gateways and "hierarchies of space"

Access into a walled city, then, was funnelled through the city gates. There is little evidence, however, that access through city walls and their gates was privileged to reflect or define power relationships within the city, beyond the separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic at multiple-arched gateways. More specifically, it does not appear that gateways were used to parallel a hierarchical control of space evident in many other public buildings. One way in which public architecture was commonly used as a means of asserting control was through the appropriation of public space to privilege the identities of the elite, by means of what might be described as hierarchies of space (Revell, 2009:150-154). Rules relating to the use of public space reflected the hierarchical nature of the Roman social order. Different levels of access to public space were used to confer social power, allowing architecture to control and limit movement through space. This segmentation of society was common. For example, seating arrangements in theatres were carefully defined from republican times, with Augustus introducing much more detailed hierarchies, distinguishing between citizen and foreigner, free and slave, soldier and civilian, married and unmarried, and men and women (Rawson, 1987).

However, regulations covering access through the gates appear to be more concerned with practicalities rather than social hierarchies. For example, a law promulgated by Caesar in Rome (the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*) and probably mirrored in other cities banned certain types of heavy goods traffic within the city until the tenth hour in order to facilitate the movement of pedestrians and vehicle traffic (Kaiser, 2011:174-175). Suetonius comments that travellers could only pass

[124] CIL 09, 02348

through Italian cities on foot, in a portable chair or in a litter.[125] Gateways in walls certainly channelled movement into and out of the city and no doubt caused delays. Plutarch tells us that it took Cicero almost a day to enter Rome, such were the crowds which came to meet and greet him at the gateway, which may tell us as much about access as about numbers.[126]

City walls and gateways as mediator between city and country

City walls and their gateways were liminal points in the transition between the trope of ordered urban space and rural chaos beyond. As the interface between two worlds, they constituted simultaneously an important figurative link in the connectivity between town and country and a physical obstruction between them. Walls acted as a legal and material separator between city and countryside even though the two environments were mutually dependent, complementary elements of a shared experience. A walled circuit was therefore something of an oxymoron. It stood as a solid barrier, blocking the line of sight between urban and rural space, with only limited entry and exit points. But it also had to be permeable: the city and its territory were inter-reliant. There was a constant flow of people and goods between city and countryside, but their freedom of movement was impeded by walls and regulated by gates.

This duality of purpose is exemplified by Augusta Praetoria. The location of Augusta Praetoria in only recently pacified territory, together with the strength and solidity of the city walls, suggests that security was important to the colonial founders. Indeed, Laurence et al. (2011:50) saw the city as an important way of "creating a Roman landscape and a sense of security in the former territory of a hostile people": the design of the city and its walls could be interpreted as keeping the Roman colonists in and the local tribes out. But this is too simplistic. Fazari argued that the monumentality of the city walls was designed to inspire awe and admiration in those who experienced them while at the same time not overwhelming or repelling the recently conquered Salassi people (2005:8). Moreover, we know that there was a degree of integration between colonists and Salassi from the very start. *Incolae* from the Salassi are recorded on an inscription dating to the earliest years of the colony (23BC)[127] as settling in the city. The inscription had been placed on a monument or statue to Augustus who was named as their patron (Cavallaro et al., 1988). It shows that, far from being marginalised and excluded, some members of the tribe had received Roman citizenship straight away, adopting Augustus' family name of Iulia.

The gateways of Augusta Praetoria should be viewed not so much as barriers but as connectors between the city, the urban periphery and the surrounding landscape. They channelled movement to the heart of the city, where the junction of the main Alpine through routes stood before the forum and the sacred area of the city. As well as connecting the city to the long distance routes, the

[125] Suetonius *Claudius* 25
[126] Plutarch *Cicero* 43,5
[127] Inscr Ital 11, 01, 0006 *Salassi incol(ae) / qui initio se / in colon(iam) con[t(ulerunt)] / patron(o)*

gateways also served the more mundane function of linking the urban area to its local territory. The Porta Principalis Dextera, for example, at the southern end of the *cardo maximus*, provided access to the countryside and a bridge over the River Dora Baltea. Archaeological investigation suggests that this bridge was contemporary with the public monuments in Augusta Praetoria and probably connected the colony with agricultural land to the south (Mollo Mezzena, 1982:226).

5.3.2 The relationship between city walls and the use of urban space

The urban landscape was not simply a series of individual structures and monuments but an integrated cityscape whose topography helped organise space and movement. As Bettencourt put it, cities – whether modern or ancient – should be regarded not as a collection of people and buildings but as a "web of social interactions embedded in space" (2013). Within the cityscape, city walls and their gates played a pivotal role.[128] They were a key means of bringing together and unifying the internal architecture of a city and acted as important visual markers. They formed a fundamental part of the connective architecture of urban space. The design and position of the city walls were carefully thought through as part of the ordered and meaningful use of public space. For a walled city, a city's street grid and the placement of major public buildings were largely governed by, and should be understood in relationship to, its city walls. The relationship between urbanism and society cannot be fully understood without assessing the impact of city walls on the organisation of space.

The way in which a community determined the spatial organisation of an urban centre within the defining frame of its walls offers insights into the functioning of that society, while the wall itself is a powerful statement of a community's identity. Revell (2009:19) stressed the importance of analysing buildings in terms of a "lived experience", recognising that architecture is not neutral but the product of an ongoing relationship between buildings, people and activities. The theory of a reflexive and dynamic relationship between urban space and society as outlined by Lefebvre (1974) is exemplified very well by city walls. Walls framed and defined the arrangement of space within a Roman city. The precise location of the wall, its layout and design, its relationship with other public buildings and the materials with which it was built reflected specific decisions and choices. Once built, the wall itself influenced and constrained future actions and mindsets.

The importance of city gates in determining movement in a city was highlighted by Malmberg and Bjur (2011). Focusing on two of Rome's city gates, they argued that the position of gates was a key influence in the growth of the street network and the spatial development of the city, playing a vital role in the way people moved around the city. Building on this, Newsome identified city

[128] The positioning of the walls and gates also, of course, influenced the extramural vicinity. Of particular interest would be an analysis of the relationship between walls, gates and amphitheatres (whether intramural or extramural), in terms both of use of space, access and positioning and of the liminal and ambiguous status which they shared.

gates as an area full of movement and interaction, not just a point which people passed through in order to get from one place to another but one which constituted a destination in its own right (2011:28-29). I discuss in detail the importance of gateways as a destination for disseminating and assimilating messages through inscriptions and associated imagery in Chapter 6.4 below.

The walled circuit was of major importance in determining the layout of a city, because the flow of movement within a city was to a great extent controlled by the positioning of the walls and particularly the gates. As such, city walls created a "distortion" in the city grid by emphasising some routes above others (Laurence et al., 2011:135, 149). For example, Laurence showed that the streets within Pompeii which led to gates in the walls were more intensively used, whereas areas of the city which were difficult to access because of the walls were more isolated (2007:102-116), while Wallace-Hadrill noted that shops in Pompeii clustered on the main routes (1994:77). Also at Pompeii, Zanker noted that the grandest houses lay along the most important commercial thoroughfares (1998:41). A similar phenomenon was explored in detail by Tuinman (2014), who analysed the urban landscape of the areas around Ostia's city gates. He concluded that in comparison to the urban composition of the rest of Ostia, the area around the city gates revealed a wide diversity of building-types including all the buildings that were needed for everyday life. Also at Ostia, Stöger used axial analysis to investigate how different areas of the city were interconnected by vision or access (2011). She noted that among the most integrated and accessible streets in Ostia were the eastern and western *decumani* which ran between the Porta Romana and the Porta Marina. The principle architectural or visual markers such as arches and fountains which Stöger identified through statistical calculations are, in effect, the same key features which MacDonald intuited as armatures (1986): they served as key means of ordering space along visual principles, leading from the city gates to the heart of the city.

There is not enough data at my case study sites for a formal space syntax analysis or similar in relation to the city walls and gateways to be feasible. Of my case studies, the one for which we have the most detailed data is Augusta Praetoria. Here, for example, we know that the grandest houses lie just to the south of the *decumanus maximus* (Mollo Mezzena, 2012:405-408) while the houses of less wealthy people were, according to Rossignani et al., located more towards the periphery of the city (2009:305). This may be consistent with evidence on housing from Empuries, where Kaiser noted that the non-elite lived in areas which were relatively difficult to access from the city gates (2000:63). We also know that at Saepinum the main road through the town was lined with shops and small-scale industries such as fullonicas and olive presses and that public areas such as the forum (which lay at the junction of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*) were separated from private housing (Gaggiotti, 1990:259), but because so little of the internal area of Saepinum has been thoroughly excavated or surveyed we are not well informed about the overall picture.

The city walls and their gates could also determine the design and status of streets within a city. Once inside the gates, traffic did not disperse but was concentrated on the main streets towards key areas of the city such as the forum and temples. That this was deliberate is indicated by the fact that the main streets leading from the city gates were generally wider and paved in different materials while other streets, which were not thoroughfares, were smaller and secondary.[129] At Augusta Praetoria, for example, the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* are 9.5m wide and other major roads which led directly to a tower in the walled circuit are 8m wide, while the minor streets are between 4m and 5m wide. At Emona, the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* are estimated to have been even wider, at 14.5m (50pR), and the minor streets some 12m wide (40pR) – wider than any other known urban streets in Roman Transpadana (Gaspari, 2010:128-130). Gaspari suggested that this may have been due to the smaller population and less densely occupied nature of Emona, but in my view the relative prominence given to the main streets is more likely to reflect their status and importance within the urban grid.

An exploration of the relationship between city walls and the urban layout, then, can elucidate the way in which a city wanted to be experienced. Augusta Praetoria, as far as we know a city built *ex novo* on a greenfield site, was undoubtedly carefully planned. The placement of its monumental buildings and the axiality of the street grid, all carefully framed within the walled circuit, demonstrate a keen sense of spatial logic and the importance of directing movement into and through the city (Figure 68). Travellers arriving on the road from Rome first crossed the bridge over the River Buthier whence they could see, precisely aligned with their route, the Arch of Augustus some 100m away. The Porta Praetoria was framed through the Arch of Augustus, again directly in line. The traveller is funnelled towards the centre of the city: the road outside the walls which ran between the Arch of Augustus and Porta Praetoria was cobbled and, at 21m, very wide (Framarin and Joris, 2011). The overall width of Porta Praetoria was also 21m, but the central archway through which travellers passed was only 7m wide. Once past this pinch-point, the main road broadened out again to lead travellers on to the forum, at the symbolic if not the physical centre of the city.

[129] Augustus had stipulated that the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus* should be 20 feet wide and the secondary routes 12 or 8 feet wide. See Hyginus Gromaticus *Constitutio Limitum* 169,11-16.

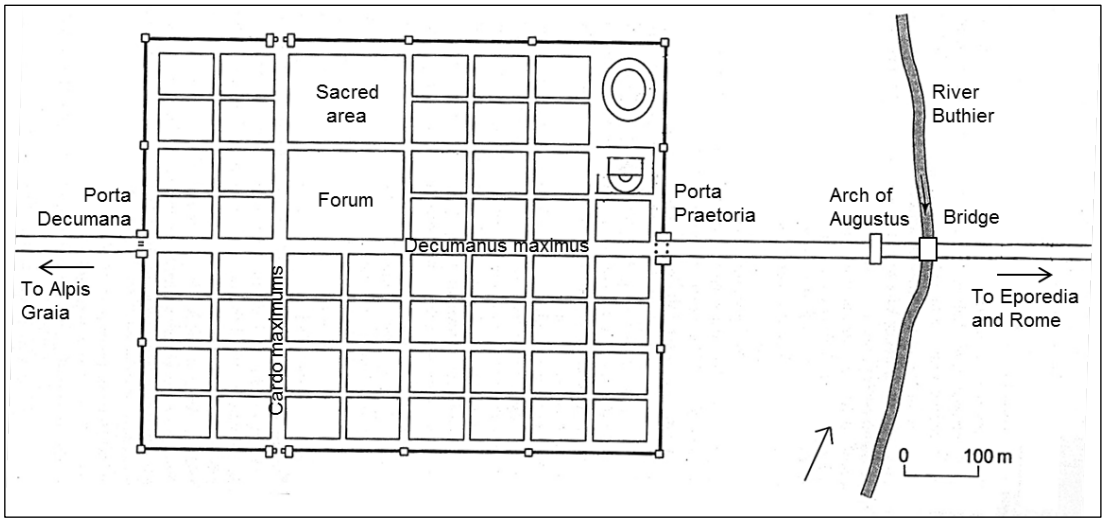

Figure 68: axial planning at Augusta Praetoria

There was an analogous arrangement at Verona, where the Arch of the Gavii, a free-standing arch located some 450m outside the city walls on the Via Postumia, framed the approach to the city. It was directly aligned with the Porta Borsari, the main gateway in the southwest side of the city, through which the *decumanus maximus* led across the centre of the city, past the forum, and out to the Pons Postumius over the River Adige (Rosada, 1990:383-393). Even at Augusta Bagiennorum, which was not enclosed by a circuit of city walls, the isolated corner towers were carefully placed, with the free-standing gateways at the northern and southern ends of the *decumanus maximus* positioned halfway between them so as to frame and mark the urban footprint.

The relationship between city walls and the urban layout may reveal a more complex situation, however, suggesting that deviations from the expected pattern repay careful investigation. The significance of the "anomalous" road at Fanum Fortunae, which not only deviated from the orthogonal grid but was also narrower than other streets in the city, has already been discussed at Chapter 5.2.1 above. Saepinum is an example of an urban space set within a walled framework where tension between redevelopment and an existing settlement remained unresolved. It lay on a well-established *tratturo* and was, as we have seen, the beneficiary of a monumental building programme in the early principate. Even before the town is reached, there is conflict between the meandering route of the *tratturo* and the straight lines of centuriation, of which there are traces in the vicinity of Saepinum (Gros, 1995:317). Although centuriation could be imposed on the landscape as a way of asserting domination over it, as Chouquer et al. (1989) and others have noted, in this case – unusually – the act of centuriation did not obliterate or enforce a change of direction in the pre-existing track. Then there is a tension inherent in the incorporation of a traditional transhumance route, which tended to avoid urbanised centres and places of governmental control (Laurence, 1999:145-146), into the main streets of a Roman town. There is also unresolved tension at Saepinum between the imposition of a new urban layout and the existing settlement. It would have been possible to redesign Saepinum's town plan as a regular grid within

the walls, as was done in other cities which were monumentalised at around the same time. But rather than the walls dictating the spatial logic of the town, the urban layout was shaped by the course of the principal pre-Roman routes through the town, which had been in use for centuries. As a result, and diverging from the pattern found in many Roman towns of this period, the main streets in Saepinum are not straight neither do they meet at right-angles at the centre of the city (the junction of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* is well off-centre). Nevertheless, movement through the town was still channelled through the four main gateways along the principal streets which led to the urban centre. Thus the walls of Saepinum and the urban layout which they framed both dictated and were dictated by the urban community and its social and cultural imperatives.

5.3.3 How did the experience of space differ in unwalled cities?

In the preceding section, I argued that in walled cities the existence of encircling walls and the placement of the gates fundamentally influenced the articulation of space and flow of movement within the intramural area. Laurence et al. maintained that cities with walls displayed a different way of using urban space than unwalled cities (2011:149). By limiting the horizons of people within a city, the walled circuit also affected how they experienced their environment. In this section, I consider briefly how the impact of unwalled cities might vary from that of walled cities.

Boundaries of some sort defined the limits of Roman cities with any pretension to status. As Goodman demonstrated, however, an urban boundary could take a number of forms of which a continuous physical wall was only one (2007:65). Other boundary types, such as *cippi* or the edges of a street grid, provided a less abrupt transition. But the proliferation of cemeteries, tombs and necropoleis clustered just outside the urban boundary, whether that boundary was specifically delineated or not, would have left no room for doubt that the transition had been made.

At least three towns in Roman Italy (Carsulae, Augusta Bagiennorum and Libarna) constructed monumental gateways in the Augustan period to delineate their urban boundary without building a connecting walled circuit, and there may have been more (including Pollentia and Ocriculum). Issues of social control and the exercise of power, which may have been associated with the deployment of walls and gates in walled cities (see Chapter 5.3.1 above) were not similarly relevant to unwalled towns: people could simply sidestep the free-standing gateways. The meaning of free-standing gateways seems to be directed more towards visitors and travellers, signalling the transition from one environment to another.

It is noticeable that free-standing gateways of the Augustan period were generally placed on major through routes at their entry and exit points into a town – Libarna on the Via Postumia, for example, and Carsulae and possibly Ocriculum on the Via Flaminia. Their function appears to be to announce the town's presence and to advertise to the traveller the town's civic pride and sense of

importance, in much the same way as I argued in Chapter 5.1.1 above that Hispellum's walls were used to dominate its surroundings and its neighbours. The gateways guided the traveller towards the town centre, providing visual clues to focus movement on the main street. In a walled circuit, gateways, typically few in number, were a key determinant both of the status of streets within a city and of free movement around it and into it. Unwalled towns did not have similar restrictions on the freedom of movement, but free-standing gateways still provided a means of channelling and defining movement.

The presence of a physical wall could express issues of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, giving a message about membership both of the individual within the community and the community within the empire. The symbolism of membership and the politics of emulation may perhaps be seen in the architecture of free-standing gateways. Although the archaeological evidence is limited, it is thought that the appearance of the free-standing double-arched gateways of Augusta Bagiennorum, Altinum and Libarna, for example, were similar not only to each other but also to double-arched gateways within the walled circuits of Ariminum, Asculum and Tridentum among others.[130]

5.3.4 Conclusion

The importance of city walls in furthering our understanding of how Roman cities were experienced has, in my view, been undervalued. For those cities which were walled, the walled circuit was an integral part of the cityscape, framing and shaping the urban layout. As one of the monumental structures which formed that cityscape, the meaning of a city wall went beyond its form and size, prominence and permanence: its meaning was formed by the relationship between the monumentality of the city walls and the people who experienced it as part of everyday life, a relationship which was constantly being renegotiated and reinterpreted. City walls and gates set the scene and manipulated the stage on which people's lives were played out.

Augustan city gateways privileged form over function: they were designed to impress rather than to deter. This, together with the incidence in the Augustan period of free-standing gateways not connected to a continuous walled circuit, suggests that their character and meaning were rather different. My research at my case study sites suggests that one purpose of these city gateways was to draw attention to the status and prestige of the urban area whose existence they signalled, advertising the city's presence as part of a connected network of urban centres. Another may have been to control and regulate the flow of traffic, perhaps for purposes of administration and taxation or crowd control.

[130] For Augusta Bagiennorum, see Appendix H; for Altinum, see Tirelli (2011); for Libarna, see Gambari (2014).

A city wall forms a key part of an analysis of broader issues of urbanism and the development of a city over time. On a pragmatic level, the existence of a city wall was relevant to the way many people went about their everyday lives; at a deeper level, it influenced the way a community functioned and developed. Evidence from Augustan walled cities highlights the importance of the main streets leading from the city gates, whether in terms of their wider dimensions, such as at Emona, or through the clustering along these thoroughfares of grand housing (at Augusta Praetoria) or significant commercial activity (at Saepinum). In short, city walls demonstrate clearly the architecture of power and status. City walls were the product of a complex urban society: they were shaped by the community which built them but also influenced the lives of the people over whom they towered.

Chapter 6: Writing city walls: walls as an instrument of patronage and prestige

In this chapter I use epigraphic evidence to present a new perspective on city walls. I have put together a comprehensive collection of inscriptions relating to city walls and their gates and towers, which brings together for the first time the relevant inscriptions from Roman Italy dating from the republican and early imperial period (to AD100). Unlike many catalogues of public building inscriptions, my focus is on what the inscriptions can add to our understanding of city walls – a means to an end – rather than as an end in themselves for the study of prosopography or language. First, I assess the key secondary literature on inscriptions relating to city walls and indicate what I see as the deficiencies in the current sources. Next, I set out the principles on which I have put together my list of inscriptions relating to city walls and their contiguous gateways. I then use my dataset to explore who was responsible for the construction or repair of walls and what their motives may have been. I analyse what the inscriptions can tell us about the financing of city walls and in particular the use of walls as an instrument of patronage. Finally, I discuss how inscriptions and associated iconography may have been used as a deliberate means of influencing the way in which city walls were experienced.

I am mindful that only a fraction of inscriptions survive and that, as many commentators have pointed out, survival rates are not random (see, for example, Woolf, 1996:36, Corbier, 2006:54-56). This is therefore not a statistical analysis, because the data are not sufficiently robust, and the partial nature of survival would make it impossible to present statistically representative results. I am confident, however, that it is possible to interpret the dataset to illustrate a discussion of how these inscriptions can enhance our understanding of city walls.

In this chapter, I refer to the inscriptions in my dataset by their number in my collection. The full dataset, which is available as Appendix J, provides details of the CIL (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*) references.

6.1 Review of secondary sources for inscriptions on city walls

Jouffroy's *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique Romaine* (1986) remains the most comprehensive catalogue of public construction in Italy and Africa: according to Lomas (2000:25), it is "the definitive collection of data on public building" . Jouffroy combined epigraphic evidence with literary and archaeological sources, using a systematic and thorough approach. She presented the material organised by date, type and area and compared and contrasted the two regions. For Italy, Jouffroy divided her evidence into five chronological periods, the first spanning the whole of the republican period and the second covering the Julio-Claudian and Flavian period (the two

periods with which my research on inscriptions is concerned). She assigned public buildings to five categories, one of which was "enceintes" (which also included gates and towers; commemorative arches were listed separately).

There are problems with some of Jouffroy's material, however. Jouffroy overlooked epigraphic evidence relating to a number of city walls and their gates whose existence was known at the time of her work (for example, the inscriptions on the gates of Perusia – 46, 46a) and since her work a number of new inscriptions have been published (for example, inscriptions from Cannae, Croto and Vibinum – 19, 23, 78). Chronological difficulties were compounded because Jouffroy included evidence from literary and epigraphic sources which record the existence of city walls in passing but which have no bearing on the date of their construction or repair. For example, an inscription from Castrimoenium[131] makes an incidental reference to the city's gates and was included in Jouffroy's list of Julio-Claudian and Flavian city walls because the inscription itself is dated to AD31, although it is more likely that the walls were constructed in the republican period (Botteri, 1992:48). There is also some inconsistency in the selection of inscriptions: there are five comparable but not identical inscriptions recording the construction of towers at Telesia (64, 65, 66, 67, 68) but Jouffroy cited only four;[132] similarly, Jouffroy listed three of the inscriptions relating to the city walls of Fundi (32, 33, 34) but omitted one (35) and did not mention two duplicate inscriptions (32a, 32b)[133] although she recorded duplicate inscriptions for other cities.[134]

A major catalogue of building inscriptions in Roman Italy was assembled by Panciera (first published in 1997, reprinted 2006); Pobjoy described it as "an extremely important assemblage of data on euergetism and related activities" (2000:78). Focusing only on the republican period, Panciera put together a collection of inscriptions relating to civic euergetism, which comprised 469 inscriptions from Italy and a further 62 from outside Italy. Panciera took a broad definition of euergetism and included all inscriptions relating to public buildings and all honorific inscriptions relating to public benefactions. Presenting his results in tabular form, Panciera analysed the inscriptions by region, chronology, type of work (including euergetistic consumption as well as construction), benefactor, beneficiary, source of finance and authority for the work undertaken. He covered inscriptions relating to walls, gates and towers as a sub-category of infrastructure works.

Panciera's collection is comprehensive and well-indexed, although it comprises inscriptions of republican date only. Within his sub-category of walls, gates and towers, one inscription is included in error.[135] I am aware of only one inscription relating to city walls which was overlooked by Panciera even though it was published previously (Copia, published in Guzzo, 1972) (21). A

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[131] CIL 14, 02466
[132] CIL 01, 01747, 03200, 03200a, 03200b, 03200c. CIL 01, 03200b is not in Jouffroy's catalogue.
[133] CIL 01, 01577a, 01558, 01559, 01560. CIL 01, 01560 is not listed in Jouffroy's catalogue and there is no reference to duplicate inscriptions CIL 01, 01557b and 01577c.
[134] For example, the duplicate inscriptions at Asisium: 11 and 11a.
[135] CIL 01, 03356b.

few inscriptions have been published subsequently or further work has demonstrated their relevance to city walls.[136] There are a small number of inscriptions in my dataset which Panciera allotted to other categories; these are noted in the concordance which cross-references the secondary sources with my dataset (Appendix L). I have taken into account the views of others in assessing that they should probably be listed as inscriptions relating to city walls. For example, Panciera allocated an inscription from Ariminum (7) to the sub-category of "civic buildings – other" but Jouffroy (1986:22) and Ward-Perkins (1984:10) were both confident that the inscription relates to Ariminum's city gates, while it was also referenced by Buonocore (2004:311).

Horster (2001) presented a detailed catalogue and discussion of imperial building inscriptions in the western provinces. One of her chapters concentrated on city walls and gates (2001:121-167). While Horster's volume focused on inscriptions of imperial date, she also discussed many republican inscriptions relating to city walls and gates by way of setting the context for the imperial period, although these inscriptions are not presented as a comprehensive listing. Her formal catalogue covering imperial building inscriptions on city walls and gates (Table VI, pages 141-145) contained 14 inscriptions for the period 33BC to AD100, six of which come from Roman Italy, and nine inscriptions for the second century AD, none of which was from Roman Italy. Horster included in her table only those inscriptions which refer unambiguously to the emperor or the imperial family as benefactors. So, for example, an inscription from Ticinum (72) which takes the form of a dedication to members of the imperial family was not included; there is some doubt as to whether the initiative and financing of the city walls should be attributed to imperial patronage or not – and even whether the inscription existed at all (see, for example, Gabba, 1984:229, Zaccaria, 1990:135, Rose, 1990). Horster also discounted an inscription from Tridentum (73), noting that its relevance to the city walls is likely but not certain (2001:145).

Jouffroy, Panciera and Horster, in my view, offered the most comprehensive collections of building inscriptions from Roman Italy.[137] Other collections have had a narrower focus, either in geographic, typological or chronological terms. Zaccaria (1990) compiled a collection of public building inscriptions of the imperial period in Regiones X and XI. His aim was to examine the relationship between inscriptions and regulations, to consider what inscriptions could reveal about the prevailing economic situation, and to assess whether there was a correlation between the status of an individual and the grandeur of the building to which he put his name.

Zaccaria categorised his total of 181 inscriptions into civic infrastructure, civic administrative buildings, sacred buildings and places for enjoyment. "Walls, towers, arches and gates" formed a sub-category within civic infrastructure and included only nine inscriptions. Of those, I have

[136] For example, inscriptions from Grumentum (38) and Sentinum (60).
[137] The material assembled by Duncan-Jones (1982) focused specifically on costs and quantification. Its relevance is considered below.

excluded two from my dataset, one because it is late imperial in date and the second because it relates to the free-standing Arch of the Gavii in Verona. Like Horster, Zaccaria excluded from his catalogue an inscription from Tridentum (73) which records imperial involvement in the construction of a public building (probably the city walls), although unlike Horster he included other inscriptions which are not clear-cut (for example, the inscription from Ticinum – 72). Zaccaria also omitted the imperial inscription from Emona, although admittedly at the time of his work Emona's place in Regio X was disputed.[138]

A survey of euergetism and public construction in Regiones X and XI by Frézouls was published in the same volume as Zaccaria's contribution, somewhat oddly in view of the overlap between the two. Although Frézouls' collection was comprehensive (134 inscriptions for Regio X and 37 for Regio XI) it was not tabulated and is therefore harder to follow. Frézouls analysed the inscriptions by city, beneficiary and benefactor, dividing the last category into three (private euergetism, imperial initiative and local council). Very few of his inscriptions are relevant to city walls: he recorded an inscription at Bergomum (14) which probably refers to the city gates, and an inscription from Pola where it is doubtful if the *portae* in question refer to city gates.[139] The most serious flaw in Frézouls' analysis, however, is an absence of chronology, a problem which he acknowledged only at the end of his paper (1990:206).

Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1990, 1991) did not provide a list of inscriptions but analysed the euergetism of magistrates in Latium and Campania, using epigraphic evidence to understand the financing, supervisory and decision-making mechanisms by which cities in this region were transformed by public building during the last century of the republic. Cébeillac-Gervasoni examined secular and religious buildings separately, and within secular buildings provided a sub-category of defensive works (in which, unlike most other commentators, she included arsenals).

In a more comprehensive form, Cébeillac-Gervasoni subsequently presented information about the public activities, economic resources and social status of magistrates from Latium and Campania using epigraphic and also literary and archaeological evidence (1998). She provided tables recording the relevant inscriptions but her emphasis throughout was on the prosopography of the inscriptions rather than what the inscriptions reveal about the structures to which they relate. For example, the table on euergetistic activity (1998:118-125) listed inscriptions by the name of the benefactor, so that an inscription with four benefactors would appear four times. Although the geographic coverage of Cébeillac-Gervasoni's work was limited, the preponderance of inscriptions from this part of Roman Italy meant that she had ample material to work with (information relating to 440 magistrates).

[138] See now Šašel Kos (2003, 2012).
[139] Inscr Ital X 1, 0101. I am not sufficiently convinced to include this inscription in my primary dataset.

Much narrower in scope was Grelle and Mazzei's survey of walled cities in Daunia in the republican period (1992). Grelle and Mazzei used archaeological and literary as well as epigraphic sources to provide information on walled cities, categorised by chronology and then by city. This article complemented the parallel publication of a new inscription relating to the city walls of Vibinum (Grelle, 1992).[140] Only eight inscriptions were recorded. Similarly narrow in scope was Chelotti's survey of public building in Apulia between the Social War and the mid first century AD (1996). Out of the 24 inscriptions referenced, Chelotti put five into the category of defensive works. A 2004 paper by Buonocore focused on six new inscriptions from Abruzzo. Only one of these was directly relevant to city walls (41) but in a wide-ranging discussion Buonocore adduced evidence from a number of other inscriptions also relating to city walls.

Appendix L lists the main secondary sources of inscriptions (that is, excluding epigraphic corpora and journals), all of which I have assessed and discussed in this brief review of the literature (or, in the case of the more general works of Gabba (1972) and Bonetto (1998), in my main review of literature at Chapter 2).[141] It provides a concordance between each of the main secondary sources and the inscriptions in my main catalogue (Appendix J) and in my ancillary list of "possibles" (Appendix K). These secondary sources are important and valuable, but having reviewed them carefully, I find that none offers a comprehensive overview of inscriptions relating to city walls in Roman Italy (Jouffroy's catalogue comes closest). I have therefore aimed to put together a full catalogue, which I see as a means to an end: the list is important, but its value comes from what it can add to our understanding of the nature and meaning of city walls in Roman Italy.

6.2 Methodology for the dataset

6.2.1 Sources for inscriptions

In order to put together my dataset, I have consulted epigraphic corpora and journals (for example *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, *Supplementa Italica*, *Année Epigraphique*) and online sources as well as the secondary sources. Of the online sources, Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (EDC) is much the most comprehensive but by far the least informative. Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg and Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR) contain only a selection of inscriptions, but offer more by way of bibliography, *apparatus criticus* and discussion. Of course, a search of any database will only bring up inscriptions which include the relevant search term; in my dataset, for example, the words "murus", "turris" or "porta" do not appear (in any of their forms) in 19 of the 80 inscriptions. As Frézouls pointed out (1990:185), inscriptions often did not specifically refer to the structure to which they related, as this would have been obvious from the inscription's

[140] 78. See AE 1992, 0308 (3).
[141] I have not covered in detail here Poccetti's *Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell'epigrafia italica* (1988) because it does not focus on Latin inscriptions.

placement on the structure in question. Online searchable databases are useful, therefore, for checking inscriptions but they are no substitute for knowledge of the sites themselves and their literature.

Of the inscriptions in my dataset, there are only a few where the full text of the inscription is extant and where the inscription is still in its original location. There are many more where there is scope for debate about the original wording or original provenance (or, often, both) and therefore scope for debate about the applicability of the inscription to city walls. In putting together my dataset, I have brought to bear all sources of information in forming a judgement as to whether to include a particular inscription or not. Where, in my view, the evidence is not sufficiently strong, I have recorded the inscription in an ancillary list consisting of "possibles" as opposed to "probables" and this is presented as Appendix K.

6.2.2 Principles for data collection

In putting together my dataset of inscriptions, I have used the following principles:

- I have included in my main dataset only those inscriptions which I judge with reasonable confidence to be relevant to city walls (and their gates and towers) and to fall within my chronological parameters (republican and imperial to AD100). This forms the primary list of inscriptions ("probables") at Appendix J;
- I have included in my main list inscriptions associated with monumental arches which acted as, or were contiguous to, the gates in city walls;
- those inscriptions about which, on the information available to me, I assess there is insufficient confidence I have included in an ancillary list ("possibles"). This is at Appendix K;
- for completeness, I have also included in the ancillary list inscriptions relating to free-standing arches and to arsenals, both of which are relevant to my work but which do not fall within the definition of city walls and their contiguous gates;
- inscriptions which relate to the walls of sanctuaries, even where these sanctuaries may be fulfilling quasi-urban functions, are not included in the main list;
- I have excluded from my main list those inscriptions where reference to a city wall, gate or tower is purely incidental. These inscriptions were included in Jouffroy's catalogue under *enceintes*, but tell us nothing about the wall, gate or tower except for its existence;[142]
- only inscriptions in Latin are included;
- I have not included inscriptions from Rome, in line with my decision to exclude the walls of Rome from the scope of my thesis generally;

[142] See, for example, CIL 05, 02856 which refers to *locum columnariorum extra portam Romanam.*

- I have included in my dataset duplicate inscriptions, that is, inscriptions with identical wording, because the fact that an individual or entity chose to have multiple copies of an inscription is of itself interesting. Duplicate inscriptions are included only where there is evidence of a copy. I have however identified these with a separate suffix in my dataset and I have not double-counted them in my analysis. Thus the four identical inscriptions above the four gateways of Saepinum are listed as 56, 56a, 56b, 56c;
- inscriptions which are similar but not identical are counted separately. Thus two inscriptions from Ferentinum, both recording the work of Marcus Lollius and Aulus Hirtius but one adding a reference to *fornices*, are listed separately as 27 and 28;
- I have taken into account the relevant literature in deciding whether or not to include an inscription but ultimately it is a question of judgement, based on the available information. A cross-reference between my primary and ancillary lists and the key literature is given in Appendix L.

In total, there are 80 inscriptions in my primary dataset ("probables"), 95 with the inclusion of duplicate inscriptions, and 43 in my ancillary dataset ("possibles"). Unless otherwise stated, only inscriptions from my primary list are considered in the analysis and discussion in this chapter.

6.2.3 Dating inscriptions

I discussed in Chapter 4.1.2 the use of inscriptions to date city walls and the pitfalls in so doing. One reason why inscriptions are often an unsatisfactory means of dating city walls is the imprecision in attributing a date, or even a narrow date range, to the inscription itself. The key issues, discussed for example in Bodel (2001:49-52), are as follows:

- very few inscriptions in my dataset provide a formula which allows precise dating. In the absence of such information, inscriptions can be assigned only to a chronological range;
- Cooley argued that the date of the structure or context with which the inscription was archaeologically associated can be brought to bear in dating an inscription (2012:399). In the case of city walls, however, this tends to lead to a circular argument, as the existence of an inscription is often relied on as a key means of dating the city walls;
- other relevant information for estimating the date of an inscription includes palaeographic, linguistic and onomastic considerations, which changed over time (Cooley, 2012:398). For example, Cooley noted that the use of the "tria nomina" formula for names was typical only of the first and second centuries AD (2012:409), and that the substitution of *ei* for *i*, *ai* for *ae, o* for *u*, *q* for *c* etc. is typical of early inscriptions (2012:430). But these differences can vary from region to region, and allow only very broad dating bands.

I have included all republican inscriptions relating to city walls and their gates and towers from Roman Italy in my dataset and all imperial inscriptions to 100AD. I have not gone beyond 100AD

because no new city walls are known to have been constructed in Roman Italy in the second century AD and rather different issues relate to the late-Empire city walls. It also too distant in chronology from the focus of my research, which is Augustan city walls (although I have included all known republican inscriptions, only two are unequivocally placed in the second century BC or earlier – 10, 43). The dataset is not large or robust enough to be able to assign inscriptions to narrowly defined chronological windows, for example to the Augustan period. I have, however, been able to assign all but two of the inscriptions in my dataset to either a republican or an imperial date. Within "imperial" I include inscriptions dating from the principate of Augustus.[143]

6.2.4 Texts and restorations

The majority of inscriptions in my dataset are fragmentary and rely on restorations for their reading. It is therefore necessary to exercise caution in assessing how reliable the restoration is and whether or not the restored inscription is relevant to city walls. Badian's warnings about constructing "history from square brackets" (1989) are important. To take one example of a reconstruction which falls somewhere along Cooley's spectrum of "virtually guaranteed to imaginative speculation" (2012:352), Buonocore (2004) restored an inscription from Interamna Praetuttiorum (41). All that survives of the inscription, as recorded by CIL, is shown at Figure 69:

….S P F DV

….VM P CO…..

…….LOCAV

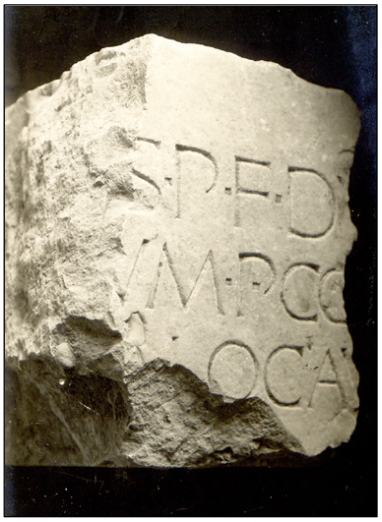

Figure 69: inscription from Interamna Praetuttiorum

An earlier, tentative restoration had suggested that the inscription referred to a *chalcidicum*. With a careful analysis of the circumstances in which the inscription had been found, similarities with other inscriptions and the surviving stone itself, Buonocore proposed two alternative readings:

[143] With the exception of an inscription dated to 33BC from Tergeste (69), which refers to Augustus as *Imperator Caesar*. This inscription is included in Horster's catalogue of imperial building inscriptions (2001:141) and does not appear in Panciera's catalogue of republican building inscriptions (2006). I have treated it as an imperial inscription.

S P F DVOVIR
MVRVM LONGVM P CC ALTVM P
FACIVNDVM LOCAVIT

or

S P F DVOVIR
PORTAS TVRRES MVRVM P CC
EX SEN COS FACIVNDVM LOCAVERE

which EDC records as:

> [3 u]s P(ubli) f(ilius) D[3] / [3 mur]um p(edes) CC[3] / [3 faciundu]m locav[erunt]

while EDR offers three possible readings:

> [---u]ṣ P(ubli) f(ilius) dụ[ovir?] / [mur]um p(edes) CC̣[---] / [faciundu]ṃ ḷocav[it?] *or*
>
> [---u]ṣ P(ubli) f(ilius) dụ[ovir?] / [murum long]um p(edes) CC̣[altum p(edes) ---] / [faciundu]ṃ ḷocav[it?] *or*
>
> [---u]ṣ P(ubli) f(ilius) dụ[oviri] / [portas, turres, mur]um p(edes) CC̣[---] / [ex sen(atus) co(n)s(ulto) faciundu]ṃ ḷocav[ere?]

While it is now generally accepted that a reference to walls is a plausible reconstruction of the original text (see, for example, Guidobaldi, 1996:225, Cancrini et al., 2001:62-63), it is still only probable, not certain, that the reference is to the city walls rather than to the walls of a different civic structure, because the inscription was not found in situ. Nevertheless, in the light of all the available information, I judge that the inscription falls sufficiently within the ambit of "probable" to be included within my main dataset.

Cooley cautioned that "no reconstruction can ever be considered certain" (2012:434). It is on the whole, however, possible to make an educated guess where incomplete inscriptions are concerned given the formulaic nature of epigraphic language, the available space within which an inscription had to fit and the context or provenance of an inscription.

6.2.5 Language

In terms of content, the language used in inscriptions relating to city walls is highly formulaic, as is the case with other building inscriptions. It can, however, be revealing. I noted in Chapter 4.3.3 that the word most commonly used for city walls in contemporary literature is *moenia*. In inscriptions, by contrast, the word *moenia* is never used to describe the physical structure of a city wall, *murus* always being preferred. The only inscription in my dataset (74) which contains a word related to *moenia* does so in the context of a role rather than an object (*duovir urbis moeniundae*). It is rare for inscriptions to refer to city walls as a way of identifying or classifying people. Only four inscriptions are known which categorise people as *intramurani* or *extramurani*, all from

Veii.[144] The description *intra muros* is hardly more common.[145] Poccetti pointed out that inscriptions used the word *murus* to refer to city walls while the internal and external structural walls of buildings were referred to as *parietes* (1988:323). Similarly, inscriptions of the first century BC used the word *porta* to refer to city gates while the doors of buildings were referred to as *fores, ianua* or *ostium*.

The nuance of the language used can also be important. Panciera (2006:65) noted a distinction between inscriptions which used the formula *fecit/refecit* (or equivalent) – "he built it" – as opposed to the gerundive structure *faciendum curavit* (or equivalent) – "he saw to it being built". He questioned whether the former construction should be interpreted as a private benefaction rather than the discharge of civic responsibilities or through *summae honoriae*. In my view, however, the evidence is not sufficiently convincing and I have therefore included as private benefactions only those inscriptions which use the formula *de sua pecunia* or *dedit* (or their equivalents). Moreover, there are a number of inscriptions in my dataset where the construction *faciendum curavit* (or equivalent) is used in conjunction with *de sua pecunia* (36, 37, 38, 52, 56, 63), indicating that it would be unsafe to rely on a distinction between the active and gerundive forms to draw conclusions about the source of financing.

6.2.6 The importance of location

A key factor in assessing the relevance of an inscription, and the reliability of any restoration, is its location and/or provenance, for example where there is confidence that the inscription is in its original location and that location is on a city wall or its gates. Provenance is all the more important when, as is the case in a significant number of inscriptions in my dataset, the inscription does not specifically refer to walls (whether through lacunae or not).

Thus an inscription from Herdoniae reads simply "N(umerius) Statius" (40). Because the inscription was found located above the northeast gate in the city walls, it has been assumed that it refers to the person responsible for seeing to the construction of the city walls (see, for example, Silvestrini, 1994, Mazzei and Grelle, 1992:41), although the non-monumental nature of the inscription makes it, to my mind, not wholly convincing (Figure 70). On the other hand, an inscription from Hispellum[146] which is certainly monumental in character and which is currently positioned at the site of one of the city gates is known to have been located elsewhere in the eighteenth century (Figure 71).[147] Opinion is divided on whether or not the inscription can confidently be related to Hispellum's city walls. On balance, I have excluded it from my list of "probables".

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[144] CIL 11, 03797; CIL 11, 03799; CIL 11, 03808; CIL 11, 03798.
[145] See, for example, CIL 02, 10282c.
[146] CIL 11, 05266
[147] See Appendix E.4.4.

Figure 70: inscription from Herdoniae

Figure 71: inscription from Hispellum

6.3 Analysis of dataset

In this section I present my analysis of inscriptions relating to city walls. As I stressed in the introduction to this chapter, this is not put forward as a statistically valid analysis, as the data are too incomplete and insufficiently robust. However, I am confident that the patterns emerging from my analysis can be used to illustrate some important and fresh insights into our understanding of city walls. As appropriate, I have kept my analysis at a high level rather than attempted to introduce too fine-grained a level of detail, where I am not comfortable that the data can support my analysis.

6.3.1 Regional and chronological differences

Figure 72 shows the distribution of inscriptions relating to city walls by region and also by date (republican or imperial). A high percentage of surviving inscriptions relating to city walls comes from Regio I (Latium and Campania). This is in line with the geographic distribution of inscriptions generally (in Panciera's catalogue of republican inscriptions, 177 out of 469 inscriptions are from Regio I. His next highest regional total is Samnium with 58 inscriptions). No inscriptions have survived from Regio IX (Liguria) and only one from each of Regiones VII (Etruria)[148] and V (Picenum).

[148] In a survey of inscriptions of the imperial period relating to public works and private benefactions in southern Etruria, Papi (2000) identified no inscriptions relevant to city walls, gates and towers.

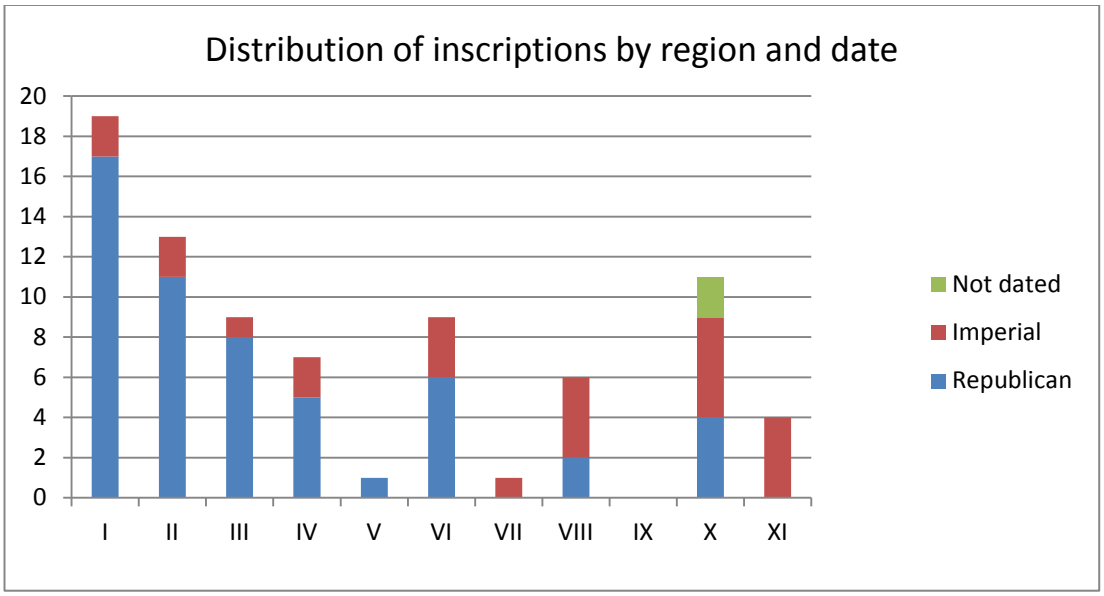

Figure 72: distribution of inscriptions by region and date

There is a clear chronological variation in the distribution of inscriptions. The majority of surviving inscriptions in Regio VIII (Aemilia) and Regio X (Venetia and Histria) and all surviving inscriptions from Regio XI (Transpadana) date from the imperial period. Again, this is as would be expected with the later spread of Roman domination and growth of urbanisation in the north of Italy. Fewer city walls were built in Latium and Campania in the imperial period no doubt partly for the simple reason that most cities by this time already had walls and so there are correspondingly fewer inscriptions relating to city walls of a later date. There may be less determinist factors at play, however. Lomas (2000:37) noted that the context of elite culture and its regional variations as well as elite and municipal wealth were important in influencing patterns of public building. Bispham suggested that the regional disparity of building inscriptions generally might be influenced by the presence of particular *coloniae* or *municipia* which had produced higher concentrations of inscriptions (2010).

A sense check with data on the construction of city walls provided by Jouffroy (1986) and Lomas (2000) suggests that, despite the incomplete nature of evidence from inscriptions, the chronological and regional divide between inscriptions relating to city walls in my dataset is not substantially different from that of data on city walls generally, itself of course also incomplete but not necessarily for the same reasons. Figure 73 shows the percentage distribution between the republican and imperial periods for each of the three sources (my inscriptions, Jouffroy and Lomas).

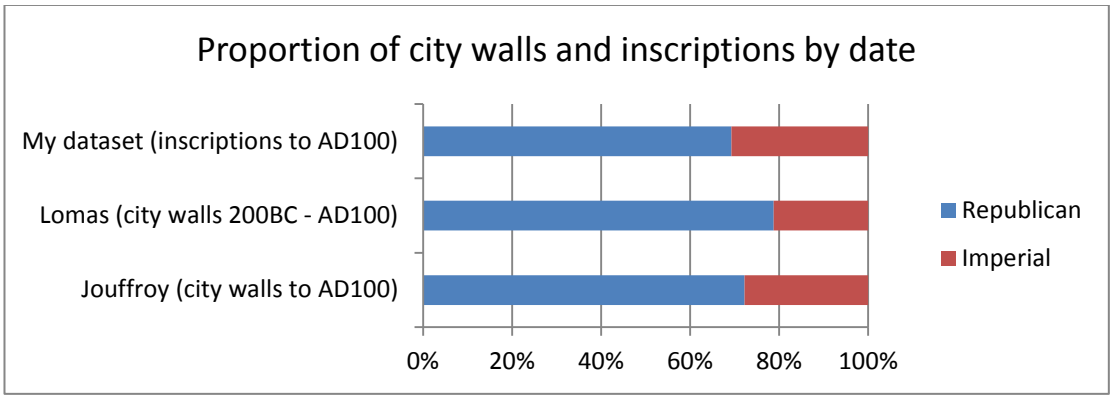

Figure 73: proportion of city walls and inscriptions by date

Figure 74 below shows the percentage distribution between Regio I and the other regions for the same three sources (my inscriptions, Jouffroy and Lomas) and also for Panciera's catalogue of republican inscriptions of all building types. It indicates that the skew towards Regio 1 (Latium and Campania) is in fact less pronounced in the survival of inscriptions relating to city walls than in evidence for city walls overall: 24% of inscriptions in my dataset are from Regio I, whereas 35% of city walls in Jouffroy's catalogue (adjusted to exclude city walls of the third and fourth centuries AD) are found in Regio I. It is also less pronounced than the bias towards inscriptions from Latium and Campania in Panciera's catalogue, which account for 38% of all inscriptions.

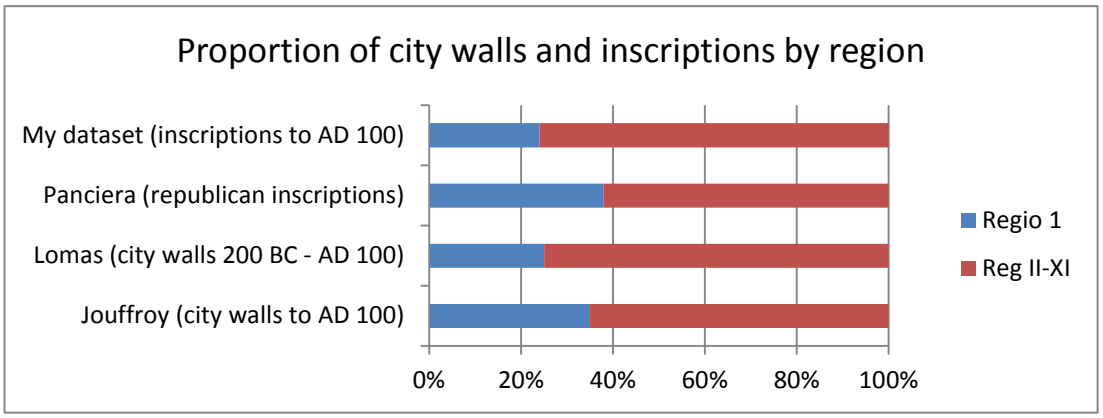

Figure 74: proportion of city walls and inscriptions by region

6.3.2 New build or repair?

Figure 75 shows the split between new build and repair work in my dataset. In order to identify whether or not an inscription refers to the construction of a new city wall or the repair of an existing one, I have examined the language used. In 55 of the 80 inscriptions, the wording implies that the wall is newly built[149] while in 11 cases the language indicates that repairs are being carried

[149] *Muros locavere/probavere, murum faciendum, hoc opus faciundum curaverunt, murum dedit/dederunt, muros ab solo coeravere*

out.[150] 14 inscriptions either do not state whether new build or repair work is being undertaken, or are too incomplete to judge. A much higher proportion of inscriptions of imperial date relate to repair work (38% of the inscriptions for which there is sufficient evidence as opposed to 10% of republican inscriptions), perhaps not surprisingly since the major period of wall-building was over (Figure 76). It is not necessarily prudent to take these statements at face value, however, as Thomas and Witschel (1992) pointed out (see Chapter 4.1.2 above).

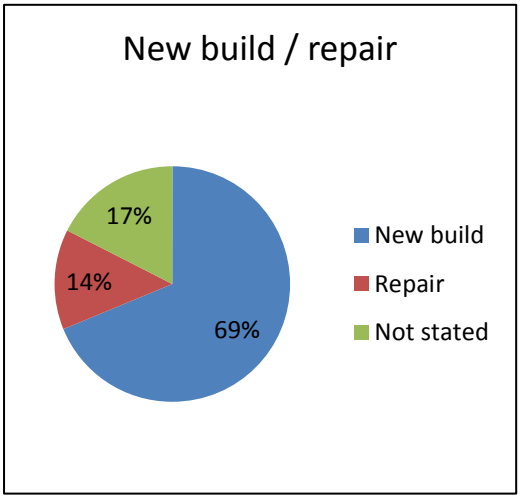

Figure 75: split between new build and repair

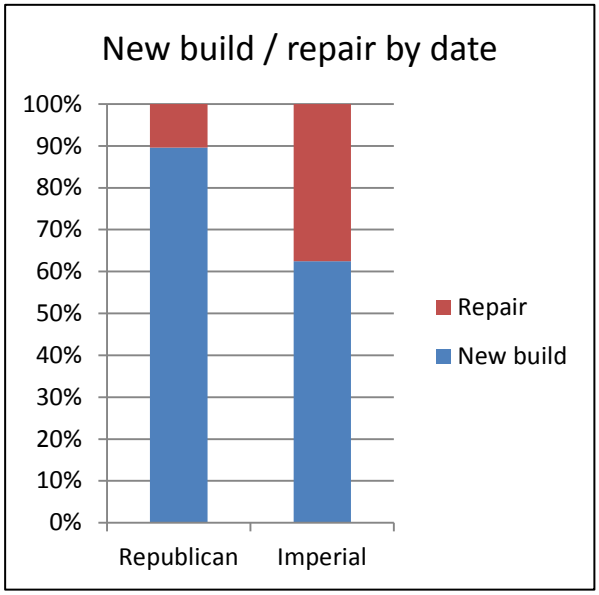

Figure 76: new build and repair work by date

More interestingly, perhaps, all but two of new-build city walls in the imperial period are imperial benefactions or dedications (and the reading of one of the exceptions (17) is disputed). There are other new-build inscriptions of the imperial period, but almost all of them relate to the construction of city gates (see Chapter 6.3.7). Conversely, none of the imperial-period inscriptions relating to repair work references the emperor or imperial family.[151] This suggests that the emperor took a close interest in the construction of city walls and may lend weight to an argument that imperial permission was needed before new city walls could be built (as discussed in Chapter 4.4 above).

Lomas argued that repairs to city walls were carried out by city magistrates rather than private benefactors (2003:32). This is borne out by an analysis of my dataset, which shows that none of the 11 inscriptions of any date in which repair work is specifically mentioned was carried out by a private benefactor, and reinforces an association between the prestige of new construction and the desire for self-promotion.

[150] *Muros reficiendos, muros refecit, portas labefactas bello*
[151] One inscription is very fragmentary (61) and does not name the benefactor.

6.3.3 Construction costs

Information on the costs of constructing city walls is very scarce. This is disappointing, given the amount of evidence available for other types of civic structures (see Duncan-Jones, 1982, for lists of costs in Italy and Africa). It has encouraged the use of proxy measures to try to quantify the resources used in building city walls,[152] which must have been one of the most significant investments an urban community made (and may have been beyond the means of many communities, regardless of whether or not they were permitted to build walls). Costs certainly appear to have been an issue, as an inscription commending the construction of the city walls of Sala in North Africa *maximo murorum opera minimo sumptu* indicates.[153]

Two inscriptions in my dataset provide information about costs, both relating to towers. One is from Pinna Vestina (47), which Dupraz dated to the first or second century AD (2010:175) (Figure 77). It records that the cost of repairing a tower amounted to 4,936HS (sesterces). The second is a late republican inscription from Teanum Apulum (63) and records that an aedile paid for building a tower with his own money at a cost of 15,000HS (Russi, 1976:50). Another inscription (78), from Vibinum and also late republican in date, makes reference to sesterces but the sum involved is missing (Grelle, 1992). This also relates to a tower, and possibly the walls as well. Duncan-Jones (1982) listed an inscription which records a construction contract for building a wall at Puteoli dating to 104BC,[154] but the wall (*parietes*) is not a city wall (it surrounded the sanctuary of Serapis). Unfortunately there are no known inscriptions which give information on the cost of building a city wall. The figure of 15,000HS for one tower at Teanum Apulum would constitute a fraction of the overall cost. The walled circuit of Teanum Apulum is not well understood, but by way of comparison, Saepinum and Telesia (also in central southern Italy) had 36 and 35 towers respectively, which would imply a cost for the towers alone of over half a million sesterces. Construction costs for buildings in Italy listed by Duncan-Jones range from 2,000,000HS for baths promised to Ostia by Hadrian in AD139[155] to 4,000HS for a portico in Abellinum[156] (Duncan-Jones' work predated publication of the inscription from Teanum Apulum).

[152] For example, Luni calculated that 3.5 million carefully shaped bricks were needed to build the walls of Fanum Fortunae (2000:123-124) and Gaspari estimated that a minimum of 28,000 cubic metres of stone were quarried to build the city walls and insulae of Emona (2010:134).
[153] IAM-02-01, 00307
[154] CIL 10, 01781
[155] CIL 14, 00098
[156] CIL 10, 01136

Figure 77: inscription from Pinna Vestina

There are a small number of inscriptions which do not fall within the parameters of my research (they are later in date and do not come from Roman Italy) that record the involvement of the army in building the city walls of civilian centres (MacMullen, 1959), including the city walls of Bostra in Arabia,[157] Salona in Dalmatia[158] and Romula in Dacia.[159] Given that these cities are in frontier zones, the involvement of the army is likely to be more strategic than philanthropic. Compared to the relative frequency with which military officials are recorded as supervising the construction of aqueducts, the involvement of the army in defensive structures is low (Horster, 2001:168-187). Duncan-Jones made the point that forced labour or slave labour may have been used in public construction (Duncan-Jones, 2002:174-175) and this would have reduced costs. I am not convinced, however, by the argument that municipal charters relate the practice of *munitio* to city walls (see Chapter 4.4.1); in any event the relatively low number of days' labour due under the system of *munitio* would in practice make the organisation of a massive project like the construction of city walls very difficult.

There is both explicit and circumstantial evidence for the costs of construction being met from the spoils of war. One of the inscriptions from my ancillary list refers to a wall being built *de manubiis* (v).[160] At Saepinum, imperial patronage of the city walls is recorded on an inscription on the city gates (56) and is associated with sculptures of barbarians in chains, a strong indication that booty from the recent Germanic wars was used to finance construction (Matteini Chiari, 1982:58). The inscription on the free-standing arch at Pisa (xxxiii) specifically refers to the arch's decoration with the spoils of conquered peoples (Kleiner, 1985) and its construction may well have been financed from booty as well.

[157] CIL 03, 00100
[158] CIL 03, 01979, 01980
[159] CIL 03, 08031
[160] CIL 01, 00635

6.3.4 Different combinations of work

The resource-intensive nature of building city walls may be reflected in the surprisingly high number of different combinations of types of work observed in my dataset (Figure 78). My analysis covers only those inscriptions where the type of work is specified (63 out of 80 inscriptions). Only four inscriptions record the construction of the full suite of city walls, gates and towers together, and of these, two refer to the same place (Fundi – 33, 34) and another records the imperial donation of walls, gates and towers to Saepinum (56). Except for Saepinum, all other imperial benefactions or dedications either do not state the object of the inscription or refer to only part of the full suite (one to walls only, one to gates only, one to walls and gates, one to walls and towers). On the other hand, it is probably unwise to take these statements entirely at face value. The imperial inscription from Fanum Fortunae (25), for example, refers only to Augustus' donation to the colony of the city walls, but the inscription itself is placed above the archway of the principal gateway into the city and we know from archaeological evidence that the construction of the walls, towers and gateways was undertaken as a single synchronous project (see Appendix D).

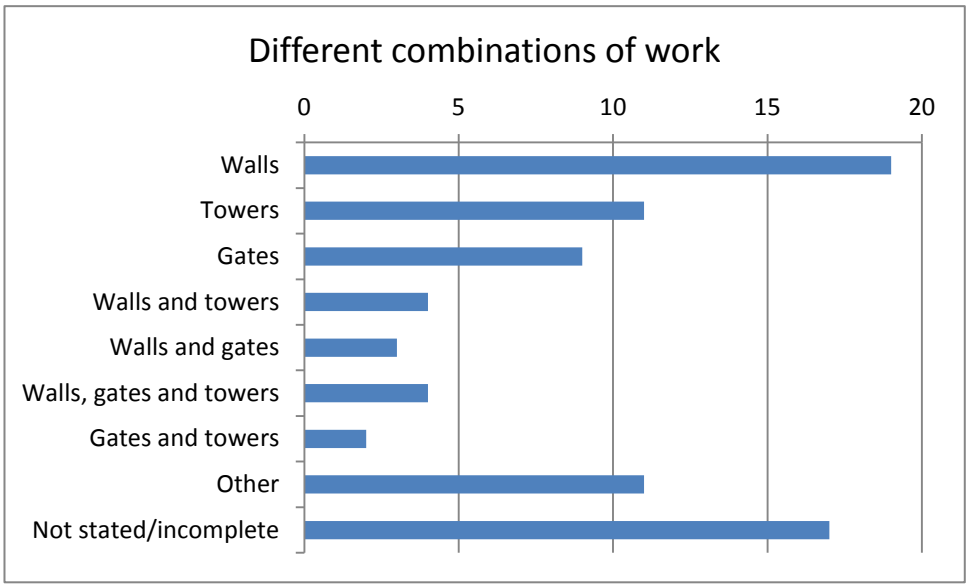

Figure 78: different combinations of work

An indication that cost may be an issue is hinted at in a number of inscriptions which record magistrates taking responsibility for constructing a specified length of the city walls. This is apparent at Grumentum where aediles constructed a length of 200pR in 57BC (36) and a different set of aediles constructed a length of 1,200pR in 51BC (37), both at their own expense, and at Interamna Praetuttiorum where there is reference to a length of 200pR (41).

On the other hand, there are also a number of inscriptions which record individuals involved in the construction of city walls together with other civic structures. These include a *duumvir* of the early imperial period who saw to the building of the forum at Buxentum as well as (probably, the reading is disputed) the city walls (17); the *quattuorviri* at Verona who oversaw the construction of the

city's drainage system as well as the walls, gates and towers (77); and Quinctius Valgus who not only oversaw (as *quinquennalis*) the construction of the city walls, gates, forum, portico, curia and cistern at Frigento (31) and (as patron of the city) the walls, gates and towers of Aeclanum (2) but also provided an odeon and amphitheatre in Pompeii (Cébeillac-Gervasoni, 1990, 1991).

19 inscriptions record the construction of city walls alone. The next most common type of building work referenced in my dataset is that of towers (11 inscriptions). The absolute number is somewhat misleading, however, in that four of these inscriptions come from Telesia (64, 65, 66, 68) where the city walls with their distinctive set of 35 towers were built in the early first century BC (Quilici, 1966). Each of the inscriptions from Telesia records the responsibility of magistrates for the towers: two (64, 65) record magistrates building two towers instead of providing for games (*pro ludeis*); two inscriptions (66, 68) record different pairs of *duoviri* building five towers per pair (Figure 79); and another inscription (67) records the name of the magistrate although what he built is not specified (a plausible guess would be that this too related to towers).

Figure 79: inscription from Telesia

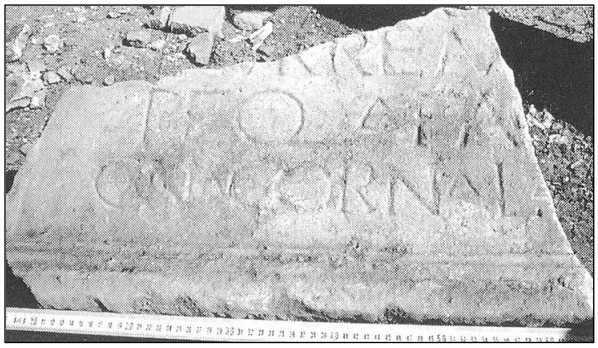

Figure 80: inscription from Grumentum

Ramanius (2012) argued that the inscriptions from Telesia and Grumentum showed that completion of the urban defences took some time: at Grumentum, sections of the wall were funded by different magistrates over a period of years (Figure 80) while at Telesia the towers were probably added to the wall progressively although the work must have been planned as a whole. Using the example of Grumentum, where the inscriptions specifically record that the construction was privately financed (*de sua pecunia*), Ramanius suggested that the towers of Telesia were privately financed components of a publicly funded city wall, pointing out that although two of the inscriptions explicitly record that the magistrates built the towers instead of providing games (*pro ludeis*), the cost of the towers would have far exceeded the amount payable for games under *summae honoriae*. A series of inscriptions from Fundi may also be relevant in this context (32, 33, 34, 35) where different sets of magistrates are recorded as being responsible for the city walls, gates and towers. Although not detailed in the inscriptions, which are broadly similar in date, it is likely that they refer to responsibility over a number of years for different aspects of construction.

6.3.5 Status of named individuals

Figure 81 below provides a breakdown of the status of and/or public office held by individuals named in the inscriptions (where known). The majority of individuals are recorded as public magistrates, with *quattuorviri* and *duoviri* accounting for over half of the magistracies (29 out of 54). An analysis of republican building inscriptions undertaken by Bispham showed that the number of works undertaken by *quattuorviri* greatly exceeded those undertaken by *duoviri* (2010); this is not mirrored in my analysis of inscriptions relating to city walls, where a roughly similar number of inscriptions record *duoviri* as *quattuorviri*. The emperor or members of the imperial family are recorded in nine inscriptions, seven of which relate to imperial benefactions or dedications. Two further inscriptions record that the impetus for the work came from Rome. *Senatus Populusque Romanus* are recorded as providing the Arch of Augustus at Ariminum (8) and also the city walls and gates at Ostia in the mid first century BC (44).

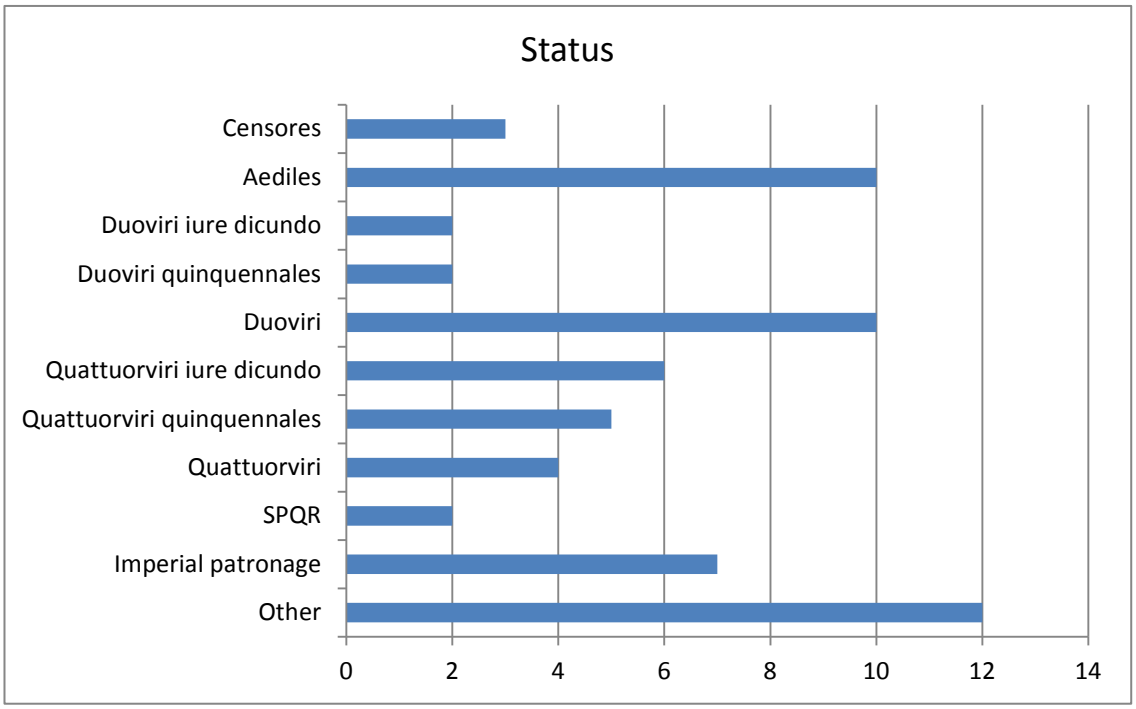

Figure 81: status and/or public office of named individual

There is no known instance of a founder of a colony recorded as responsible for the colony's city walls. This is interesting, given the close connection between the establishment of colonies and the construction of city walls (discussed in Chapter 4.4) and given the traditional role of the founders in the ceremonial marking of a colony's boundaries. The closest we come is probably an inscription from Venafrum (74) which records a *duovir urbis moeniundae*, someone who according to Capini played an important role in the colony's early years (1999:67-68).

There is evidence for the patron of the city (*patronus municipii*) overseeing the construction of Aeclanum's walls, gates and towers (2) and for the patrons of Caudium overseeing the construction of the city's towers (20), although the epigraphic formulae used in these inscriptions indicate that

these were not private benefactions: inscription (2) incorporates the formulae *de senatus sententia* and *faciundum coiraverunt* while inscription (20) has the phrase *ex decreto decurionum faciendas curaverunt*, suggesting that the named individuals undertook a task delegated to them by the civic authorities rather than on their own account. Marcus Nonius Balbus, however, is recorded as paying with his own money for the gates and walls of Herculaneum as well as for a basilica (39). The inscription refers to him as proconsul, but he is known to have been the patron of the city (Cooley, 2012:42-43).

6.3.6 Public finance/private benefactions

There has been considerable debate about the nature and meaning of euergetism as it relates to public building. Euergetism is a term which has been used somewhat indiscriminately. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, for example, did not draw a clear distinction between euergetism and work which fulfilled a civic obligation (1998:99-105) while Panciera, who titled his 1997 paper *L'evergetismo civico*, included all public building inscriptions regardless of the source of funding. Pobjoy, on the other hand, concluded that the definition of what constituted a civic obligation was important because magistrates could otherwise have chosen to spend their money in a different way (2000). Jouffroy, in a 1977 paper predating her important 1986 catalogue, distinguished three types of financing for public construction: public financing, imperial financing, and private euergetism. In the category of private euergetism, she included both *summae honoriae* and personal (voluntary) gifts (1977:329-337). Cooley, on the other hand, considered that there was an important difference between magistrates who were required to spend their own money on public building projects (*summae honoriae*) as part of their civic duties and private individuals who voluntarily funded a building as an act of private generosity (2012:39). But it is not always easy to discern where *summae honoriae* are involved, unless the formulae *ob honorem* or *ex pecunia honoraria* are used (Zaccaria, 1990:134). This is occasionally the case, but such formulae are not found in my dataset.

Pobjoy defined euergetism as involving "a benefaction which is made to the community … without there being any formal legal requirement on the donors to spend their money in this way" (2000:78). This is a definition with which Lomas would concur, arguing that euergetism constituted "private munificence for public benefit" (1996:219). Pobjoy went on to discuss the relevance of formulae recording authorisation by city magistrates in considering whether or not an inscription should properly be treated as euergetistic behaviour by private individuals. This is unlikely to be a factor where city walls are concerned. Although our understanding of the authorisation process for constructing city walls is hazy until the second century AD (see Chapter 4.4.1), it is inconceivable that a private individual could embark on building city walls without some sort of approval from the authorities, whether recorded on an inscription or not. The contribution which analysis of my dataset can make to the issue of permissions and authority for work relating to city walls is considered further at Chapter 6.3.8 below.

Many building inscriptions record that local magistrates completed a task delegated to them by the town council (they organised construction, let the contract and oversaw its completion, using phrases such as *faciundum curaverunt eidemque probaverunt*). This was often done at public expense but the distinction between public and private financing is not clear cut especially if, as Pobjoy argued, magistrates spent more of their own money on a public building than they were obliged to do under the *summae honoriae* system (2000:83). There are no known examples of the public financing of city walls being explicitly referenced as is sometimes the case with other public construction. There are two inscriptions in my ancillary list, one of which probably refers to the restoration of a wall around a sanctuary rather than a city wall and includes the formula *ex pecunia publica* and the second of which refers to the construction of arches *de pequnia publica* (xvii and xxvii).[161] But as Duncan-Jones pointed out in the context of Africa, the "distinction between public and private financing can be pressed too far", given that a large proportion of the costs of public buildings probably came from the elite through *summae honoriae* even when construction was paid for from public funds (2002:184).

In order to highlight the role of private benefactions in the construction of city walls, I have chosen to adopt a fairly strict definition, because my interest lies in why an individual might have chosen – or been allowed – to finance privately a structure of such public utility and massive scale as a city wall or its associated structures (towers, gates). Those inscriptions which include the formula *de sua pecunia* (or equivalent) are the least controversial. This is the case in ten of my inscriptions (there is also an imperial benefaction (56) which uses the formula *de sua pecunia*). Further, I have accepted Cébeillac-Gervasoni's argument that use of the verb *dare* (as opposed to *facere*) also indicates a private benefaction (1991:200), a convention also used by Frézouls (1990) and by Horster (2001) in relation to imperial benefactions, although Panciera included such inscriptions under the heading of "source not indicated" (2006:70). Of the six inscriptions in my dataset which use the verb *dare*, four relate to imperial benefactions (24, 25, 54, 73) and one to a benefaction from Rome (SPQR – 44); only one inscription referencing civic officials uses *dare* (29).

On the other hand, I have not accepted Cébeillac-Gervasoni's speculative suggestion that inscriptions which record work undertaken by only one magistrate probably indicate that it was a private benefaction (1990:700). Similarly, although Panciera questioned whether inscriptions which used the active form of the verb *facere* (*fecit, refecit*) as opposed to the gerundive (*faciundum, reficiundum*) should be categorised as privately funded (2006:65), I have not counted these as private benefactions (see Chapter 6.2.5 above). Conversely, it is too simplistic to assume that the gerundive construction must mean public financing: five of the inscriptions in my dataset

[161] CIL 09, 03885, Lucus Angitia (Grossi, 1981) and CIL 01, 01564, Formiae (Ward-Perkins, 1984:10). There are only 12 known instances of this formula being used according to Panciera (2006:70).

(22, 36, 52, 56, 63) combine the phrase *de sua pecunia* with the formula *faciundum coeravit/curaverunt*.

In total, therefore, I have categorised 19 of the inscriptions in my dataset as private benefactions (including imperial benefactions). Figure 82 shows the proportion of private and imperial benefactions within the total of inscriptions in my dataset.[162] Excluding the imperial benefactions, there were five inscriptions relating to privately financed work in the imperial period out of a total of 24 (21%) and six out of a total of 52 (12%) in the republican period. This is interesting because it suggests that at a time when the imperial family played a major role in financing substantial public buildings, the proportion of works relating to city walls, towers and gateways financed by private individuals actually increased. It is also noteworthy that almost all of this private finance was directed towards gateways (four out of five known instances).

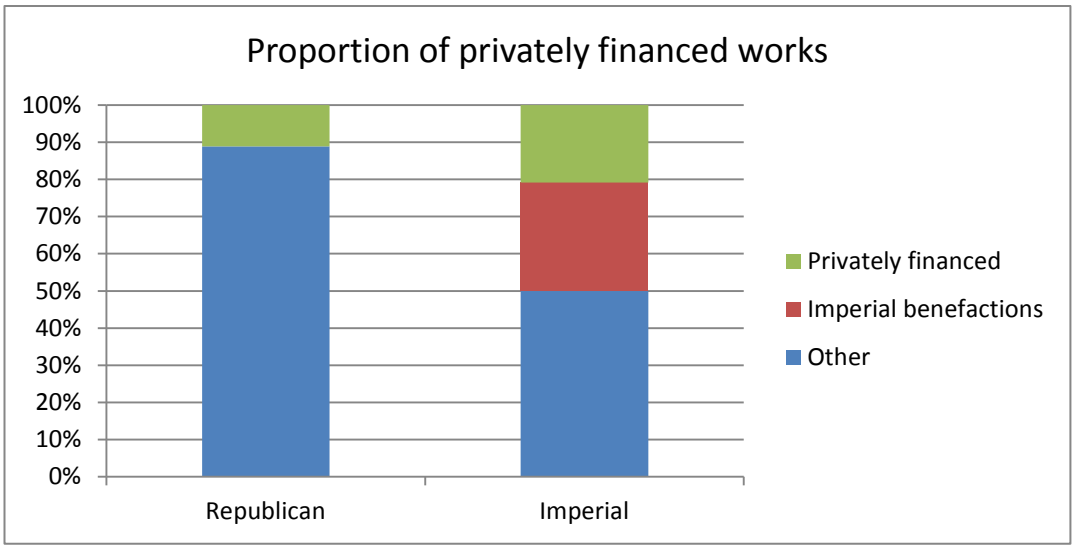

Figure 82: proportion of privately financed works by date

6.3.7 Imperial benefactions and dedications

Nine inscriptions in my dataset refer to the emperor or the imperial family. Seven of these concern the gift of city walls, gates and/or towers by the emperor or members of his family to an urban centre (see Figures 83 and 84) while a further two record that the construction work was dedicated to the emperor but without directly stating who was responsible for its financing. This bears out Cooley's comment that in the imperial period the emperor's name may appear for purely honorific reasons (Cooley, 2012:45, 155). Thomas (2007:37) cautioned that even where the emperor's name appears in the nominative case on an inscription, he may not be the direct patron of the structure being commemorated but may have simply authorised or helped to finance it (perhaps by providing

[162] I made clear in the introduction to this chapter that my analysis of the dataset is not intended to be statistically valid, because of weaknesses in the data. I should caveat this particular figure by acknowledging that a chi-squared test shows it not to be statistically robust.

materials in kind): it was politically astute for cities to claim imperial involvement or to exaggerate the intervention. Patronage worked both ways, as it cemented the emperor's position while binding the elite into political support and personal loyalty.

Figure 83: inscription from Tergeste

Figure 84: inscription from Emona

Horster analysed the use of language in imperial building inscriptions generally (2001:49-56). She argued that the verb was carefully chosen so as to stress the particular imperial *virtus* to which the emperor wished to draw attention. For example, imperial *cura* and maintenance of tradition might be emphasised by employing the gerundive construction typically used by republican magistrates in recording their work (*faciundum curavit* etc). The emperor's financial generosity might be stressed by use of the verb *dare*, which Horster interpreted as a firm sign of imperial funding. Of the seven imperial benefactions in my dataset, three use the formula *faciundum curavit/curaverunt* (42, 56, 73) while three use the verb *dare* (24, 25, 54). There is nothing in the circumstances of the benefactions to suggest a deliberate nuancing of language, but it may be significant that all three of the former beneficiaries were *municipia* while all three of the latter were *coloniae*.

Figure 85 provides an analysis of inscriptions of the imperial period (the sample size is small). It shows that nine inscriptions, or 60% of new build inscriptions, specifically referred to imperial involvement (benefactions or dedications). There is no imperial involvement in repair work known from these inscriptions. All repair work for which we have information was undertaken by the municipal authority; by contrast, there are no known inscriptions of imperial date which record municipal authorisation of new build walls, gates or towers. Of the privately financed works of imperial date, four out of five related to city gates (14, 39, 45, 50) (and the fifth does not state the object of the work undertaken - 13). None of these four inscriptions records municipal authorisation for the work.

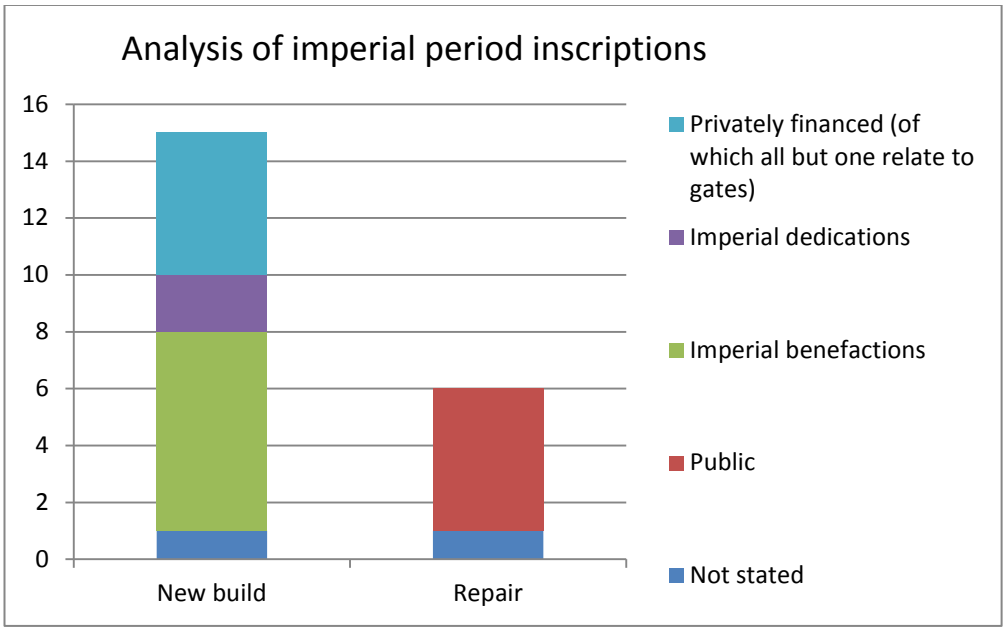

Figure 85: analysis of imperial period inscriptions

6.3.8 Permissions and authority for work

It is common for inscriptions of republican date to record municipal authority for public building, using the formula *de senatus sententia, ex senatus consulto* or similar (Figure 86). A record of municipal authorisation is explicit in the case of 36 inscriptions in my dataset. As noted above, there are no known instances which record municipal authority for new-build work in the imperial period (the inscriptions from the imperial period in Figure 86 which record municipal authorisation are for repair work).

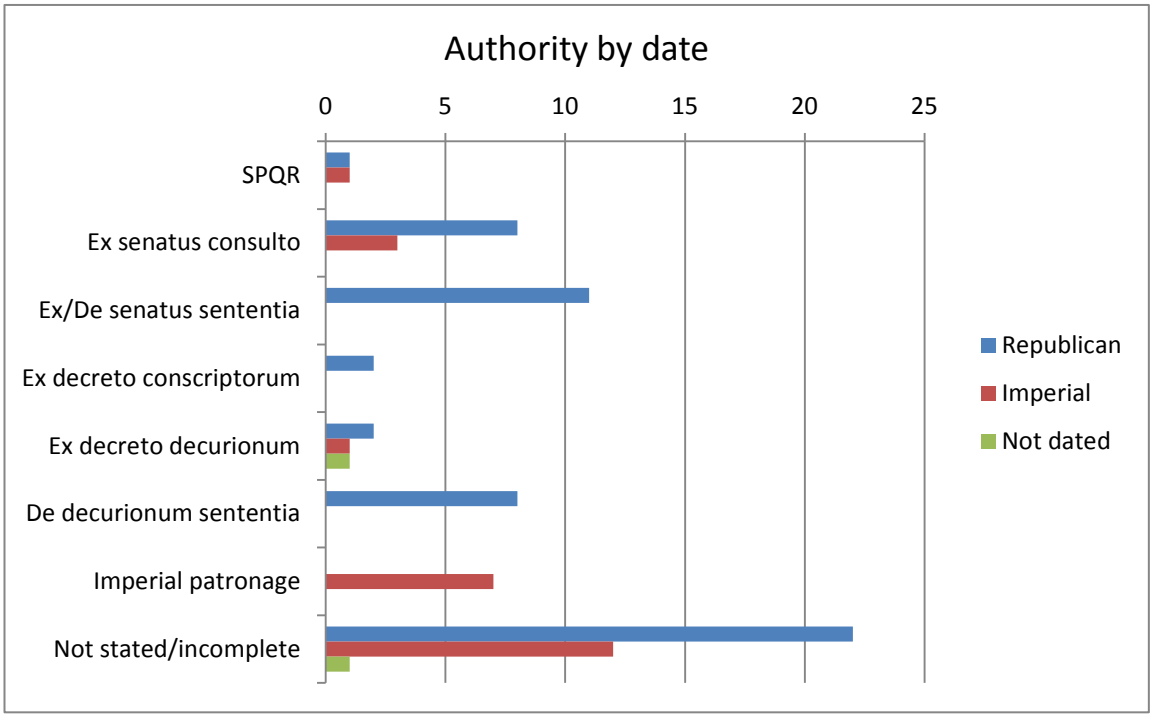

Figure 86: authority for works by date

Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1991:204-206) argued that all public construction work required municipal authority, regardless of the source of finance, contrasting municipal control at local level with the lack of overall control from Rome at least until the time of Augustus. Her stance was supported by Lomas, who argued that any privately funded large-scale construction in a public area of a city would have required permission from the local council (2003:38). On the other hand, Zaccaria (1990) suggested that, except at Rome, individuals were free to construct buildings with their own money and did not need imperial permission to do so except for circuses, theatres or amphitheatres, while permission was required for buildings constructed at the expense of the local community.

In my view, it is quite implausible that some form of authority or permission would not have been required for the construction of city walls, an issue which I cover in Chapter 4.4 above. Although the numbers are very small, information from my dataset may help. Four of the 36 inscriptions recording municipal authority are imperial in date. All four relate to repair work, two recording municipal authorisation for the repair of towers (3, 47) and two for the repair of the city wall (11, 48). There are no inscriptions of imperial date which specifically record municipal authority for new build work. This may be relevant in considering whether or not imperial authority was required for the construction of city walls in the first century AD. It may also suggest a shifting relationship between individual benefactors, civic authorities and imperial power.

6.4 Discussion of dataset: the technology of power

In this section I discuss what my dataset can reveal about the use of inscriptions as a "technology of power" (Revell, 2009:179). As Cooley pointed out, inscriptions were not intended to be objective texts: they were subjective, selective and involved conscious self-representation in order to present a particular image or message (2012:222). As a result, the location, presentation and physical substance of an inscription were at least as important as the content, given that inscriptions "always, to some extent" conveyed an extra-textual meaning (Bodel, 2001:19). Public buildings and their inscriptions can help reveal what it was to be Roman and how, at local level, an understanding of Roman power and culture was processed and reproduced. Inscriptions played a key role in the ideology of a city and an interrogation of the epigraphy of city walls and their associated structures and iconography will, in my view, enhance our understanding of the character and meanings of city walls and their place in the urban context.

The concept of "written space" as a means of bringing together inscriptions and their archaeological context was explored in a volume of papers edited by Sears, Keagan and Laurence (2013). Two of the papers focused on a discussion of the use of inscriptions in specific location types (the *platea* and the baths). The use of inscriptions in fora has also been thoroughly explored, including in the same volume by Revell for three cities in Roman Spain, as have inscriptions in baths in a wider context (Fagan, 1999a). But the use of inscriptions on city walls as "written

space" has not been adequately considered. This section therefore sets out to analyse the contextual use of inscriptions in relation to city walls and to draw out some of the extra-textual messages which they sought to convey.

6.4.1 Self image and self-representation

It is generally accepted that benefactors used their wealth to secure public prestige and recognition through the provision of public goods such as buildings or distributions and that they used inscriptions to advertise their generosity (see, for example, Veyne, 1976, Lomas, 2003). The practice of beneficence was one manifestation of competition for power and status among the urban elite or, as Woolf put it, "the desire to fix an individual's place within history, society and the cosmos" (1996:29). Using inscriptions to commemorate their benefactions legitimised and publicised elite authority and position, although as Hemelrijk pointed out we should not exclude the possibility that altruism may have played a part (2006). Thomas also warned against too simplistic an interpretation, suggesting that to read dedicatory inscriptions in terms of power and self-publicisation is to be "overly reductive of their complexity of meaning" (2014:60). Nevertheless, donating a public building was a means of displaying one's social status and promoting one's family.

At the same time, it is important to recognise that public beneficence was not a wholly voluntary activity, as the practice of *summae honoriae* shows. Pobjoy therefore argued that many building inscriptions in Roman Italy were generated in part because of local statutes, so that magistrates could record the proper discharge of their obligations (2000:89). An evolution over time is likely. During the republic, building inscriptions were generally erected by magistrates as a consequence of construction work carried out and specifically authorised by civic authorities while the phenomenon of non-magistrates financing public building work became increasingly common in the imperial period (Lomas, 2000:29). This is borne out by my dataset (Figure 87). 31 of the 54 republican inscriptions in my dataset (57%) explicitly refer to municipal authorisation but only four of the 24 imperial inscriptions (17%) do so (and all of those relate to repair work). There are no inscriptions in my dataset which include both a reference to municipal authorisation and the formula indicating a private benefaction (*de sua pecunia).*

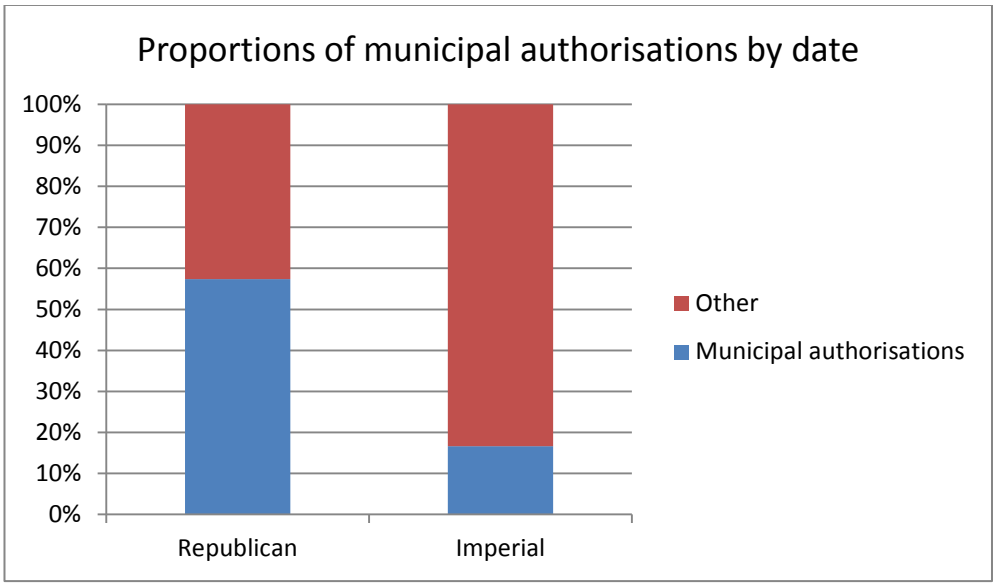

Figure 87: municipal authorisations by date

Although it is difficult to use inscriptions to attribute motivation, what individuals chose – or were allowed – to build enables us to make a connection between competition for status and particular architectural forms (Thomas, 2007:71). Concentrating on inscriptions from Latium and Campania, Cébeillac-Gervasoni claimed that magistrates rarely paid personally for defensive works (1990:714) and then only in the earlier period. Notwithstanding the high numbers of extant inscriptions from this region, she found only two inscriptions where private funds were used for works relating to defensive works. Both were relatively early (late second century BC/early first century BC) and both were from Formiae, one relating to city gates (29) and the other to an arsenal (xviii). My analysis supports this in part, showing that only six inscriptions of the republican period (11% of the total) recorded a personal benefaction of city walls, gates or towers (22, 29, 36, 37, 38, 63), although it does not corroborate her chronological claim since three of the six inscriptions can be securely dated to the mid first century BC (36, 37, 38) and a fourth is late republican (63).

Both Anderson (1997) and Lomas (2003:40) suggested that the elite were less likely to pay for infrastructure works because they were less prestigious and that the construction of utilitarian structures such as city walls was more likely to be overseen by magistrates and paid for from public funds. In terms of self-representation, then, their view was that city walls may not have projected the image with which the elite wished to be associated. But the converse could also be true. It may be that personal benefactors were not encouraged to sponsor the construction of city walls precisely because of the messages of power and strength which city walls and their gates and towers convey and the image of control and permanence which they project. With this in mind, I turn next to consider the role of the imperial family as patrons of city walls.

6.4.2 The power of the emperor

As noted above, a number of scholars have commented that it was increasingly common for public buildings in Italy outside Rome to be paid for by private benefactors in the first century AD. This trend is given some support by my evidence for city walls. Five inscriptions in my dataset relate to personal benefactions in the imperial period and this is a higher proportion of the total (21%) than personal benefactions in the republican period (11%) – see Figure 82 above. It should be noted that several of the imperial-period inscriptions are early[163] or problematic.[164] Four of the five relate to the donation of city gates.

Much more striking is the involvement of the imperial family. Seven inscriptions in my dataset specifically record imperial patronage of city walls, gates or towers (24, 25, 42, 54, 56, 69, 73) while a further two record imperial dedications (8, 72)[165] and a concise duplicate inscription from Perusia references Augustus (46). These inscriptions account for nearly two-thirds of inscriptions of the imperial period in my dataset (excluding repair work). Four of the imperial inscriptions specifically refer to city walls. Two refer to gates and a further two were placed on gates although the object of the work is either not stated or not extant. Conversely, four of the five privately financed works recorded through inscriptions in the imperial period relate to gates, not city walls, and the object of the fifth is unknown. It may be that city walls were considered a particularly sensitive area and the elite could not pay for building works on this scale without appearing to challenge the agenda and authority of the emperor. It may also be the case that imperial permission was now required to undertake such works (see discussion above). It is also noticeable that while new city walls appear to be the preserve of the imperial family, the repair of city walls seems to have been undertaken and paid for by civic magistrates.

On the other hand, Lomas's claim (2003:32) that triumphal (honorary) arches and monumental gateways, often associated with road programmes or commemoration of military events, became entirely an imperial prerogative is inaccurate. She referenced the arches of Brundisium, Ariminum, Ticinum, Spoletium, Bergamum, Ravenna and Pisa, which were donated by or dedicated to the imperial family, but overlooked the arches of Verona and Pola, which were constructed by and commemorated elite families, the refashioned gateway at Parma and the arched gateway at Minturnae.[166]

The monumental archway added to the main gate of Pola by the Sergii family in the Augustan period is particularly interesting in the light of Lomas' views on a presumed imperial prerogative

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[163] For example, Cooley assigned a date in the 20s BC to CIL 10, 04125 (39) (2012:42).
[164] For example, the relevance of CIL 05, 08893 (14) to city gates is not beyond dispute. See *Supplementa Italica* 1998: 340-341.
[165] There may be a third (45) if the reading of *numini* is preferred to *flamini.*
[166] The remains of the monumental inscriptions associated with this arch were too fragmentary to allow attribution. See Richmond (1933:154-156).

over gateways. I comment on it further in my discussion of the use of text and imagery at Chapter 6.4.6 below. Here, I note a bold use of imagery normally linked to imperial ideology in the arch's decorative scheme, including messages of apotheosis and military supremacy (Woodhull, 2004). Opinion is divided whether the benefactress of the archway, Salvia Postuma, was deliberately claiming for her family an almost "regal status" and thus challenging the authority of the emperor, associating herself with women of the imperial family and thereby with their ideological project, or taking advantage of Pola's distance from the centre of the empire to construct a commemorative monument which would not have been allowed in Rome (see, for example, Hemelrijk, 2013b, Woodhull, 2004, Gros, 1996). The inscription on the arch makes no reference to emperor or city, providing short details of the military and civic offices of Salvia's male relatives and stating unequivocally *Salvia Postuma Sergi de sua pecunia* across the top (Figure 88).

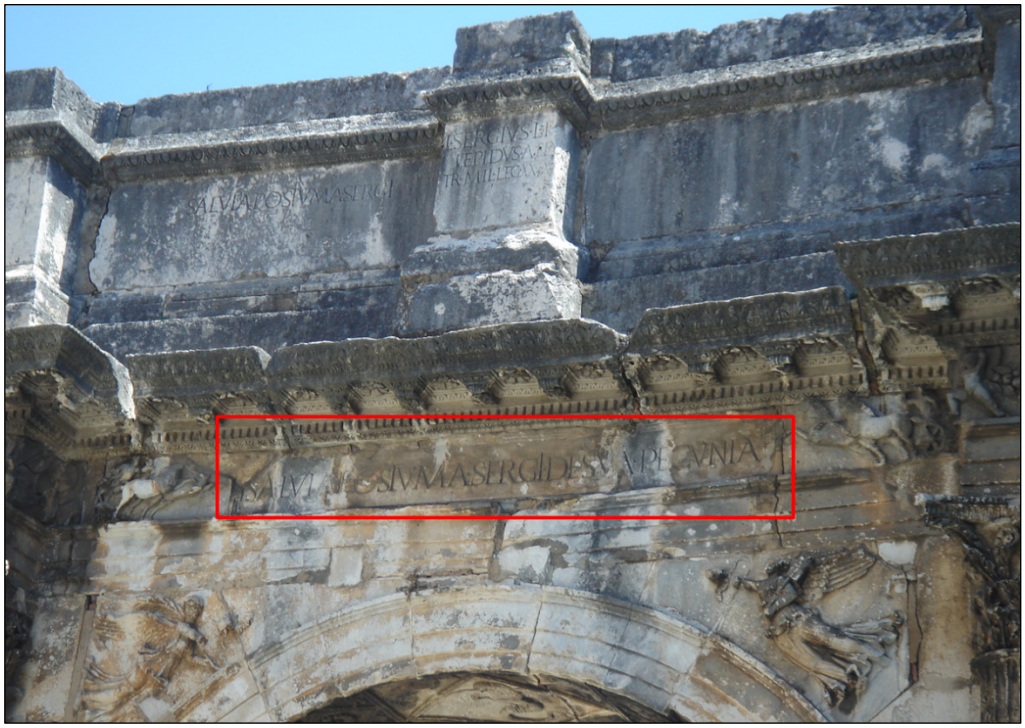

Figure 88: Arch of the Sergii. Inscription *Salvia Postuma Sergi de sua pecunia* outlined in red

Another inscription in my dataset, also Augustan in date, refers to the embellishment of the city gate of Parma (45). Gros interpreted this as the refashioning of the city gate into a monumental archway using sculptural imagery which reflected imperial ideology (1996:61). The inscription records that the work was privately financed by a priest of the imperial cult.

Jouffroy (1977) argued that early emperors were chiefly interested in construction works such as roads and ports whose benefits went wider than a single city, mirroring a similarly centralised role undertaken by the censors in republican times (Lomas, 2000:27). Patterson (2003) suggested that Augustus used the provision of public buildings to establish his influence over urban communities outside Rome and to bind their loyalty to him, thus meeting their practical needs and making clear his pre-eminence. This fits well with my evidence on city walls, where the construction of city

walls in the imperial period was predominantly carried out by the emperor. This may reflect the importance of walls in Augustan ideology and a fusion of symbolic and practical meaning, as was discussed in Chapter 4.3.

6.4.3 Exceptions to the model of the male elite

Despite the prominence in the epigraphic record of the elite male magistrate in the republican period and the imperial family in the first century AD, my dataset does contain a number of exceptions to the norm. Although rare, these inscriptions do provide a different perspective on the nature and meaning of city walls.

Women

Hemelrijk has published a number of studies of the place of women in public building, pointing out that while men dominate urban written space, especially in the monumental centre of cities, women are not wholly excluded (see, for example, Hemelrijk, 2006, 2013b, 2013a). Noting a connection with the spread of urbanisation and the introduction of Roman civil law which allowed women to own property in their own right (2013b:140), Hemelrijk commented that women started to enter this male space from the imperial period and may have considered it particularly important to record their generosity by means of an inscription because this was one of the few ways in which they could secure public recognition.

In her 2013b paper, Hemelrijk recorded 110 inscriptions from Roman Italy which commemorate public buildings financed by non-imperial women as the sole donor or in co-operation with a single co-donor (joint donations account for 30% of Hemelrijk's total). She used her data to challenge the notion that inscriptions are typically associated with (male only) magistrates and suggested a focus instead on a male and female elite concerned with religion and ritual through which benefactions were made for public buildings and the celebration of games, arguing that this would better recognise women's role in altering the landscape of the Roman city.

Hemelrijk's findings are not inconsistent with my dataset of inscriptions from city walls. She noted that the range of women's benefactions is rather more limited than that of male benefactions, commenting that the majority of benefactions were related to temples. Women "paid for aqueducts, roads and arches but only rarely for city walls or fortifications" (Hemelrijk, 2013a:73). Nevertheless, challenging the stereotype of city walls as a masculine structure, there are two inscriptions in my dataset which record female benefactors. The first references Sedata (14), a woman who in association with her husband Crispus made a specific donation towards the cost of gates in Bergomum, probably in the first century AD; she may have completed the work following

her husband's death (Figure 89).[167] The second records the benefaction of Salvia Postuma in Pola, the Arch of the Sergii (50), already noted above. In addition, an inscription in my ancillary list of "possibles" records a woman making a private benefaction of a wall around a sacred grove.[168] This inscription is republican in date, and therefore earlier than the shift observed by Hemelrijk and Cooley (2013) towards female benefactions in the imperial period. There is no specific mention in the inscription that the donor was making this private benefaction in her role as a priestess.

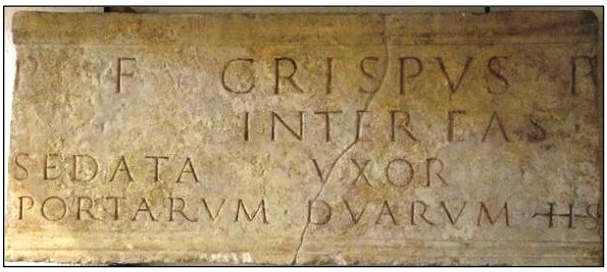

Figure 89: inscription from Bergomum

Figure 90: inscription from Caiatia

Families

Although Salvia Postuma was the sole donor of the Arch of the Sergii in Pola, the monument was designed to commemorate her close family who were powerful locally, as its inscriptions make clear (50). The Arch of the Gavii at Verona is another early imperial honorific arch which commemorates a family, showcasing their statues (the inscription is included in my ancillary list – xlii). Like the Arch of Augustus at Augusta Praetoria, the Arch of the Gavii was a free-standing arch and was located outside the city walls on the Via Postumia, framing the approach to the city. It was built over a crossroads and spanned four ways; Gros speculated that its specific position might have been chosen for its proximity to the Gavii family's funerary zone (Gros, 1996:63). The arch was destroyed in the nineteenth century and has been reconstructed.

Architects

The inscription associated with the Arch of the Gavii recorded the name of the monument's architect, a freedman called Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo who may have been a freedman of the more famous Vitruvius or his family (Schofield and Tavernor, 2009:xvi) (Figures 91 and 92).[169] This is unusual; Anderson noted that architects held a "socially ambiguous" position and are rarely mentioned in inscriptions (1997:37). There are, however, two references to architects in my primary dataset. An unnamed architect is referenced in an inscription of the mid first century BC from Sarsina (57). In an inscription from Caiatia (18), Hospes, a slave of one Appia, was named as

[167] See *Supplementa Italica* 1998: 340-341.
[168] CIL 01, 01688.
[169] CIL 05, 03464

architect of a structure (identified by Cébeillac-Gervasoni as the city gate) which was built by the *duoviri* of Caiatia in the late republic (see Figure 90 above).

Figure 91: Arch of the Gavii, Verona

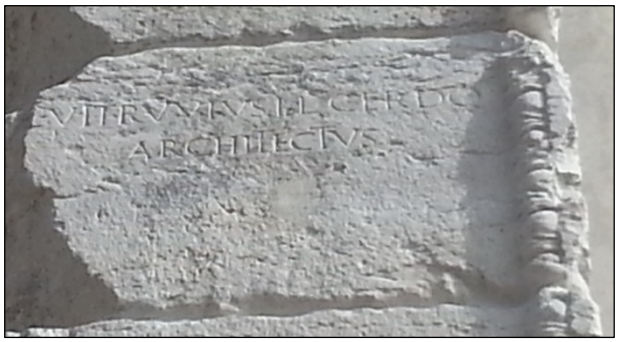

Figure 92: architect's inscription.

The inscription is tucked away, high up on one of the inside walls.

Freedmen and slaves

Freedmen and slaves are very rarely acknowledged in my primary dataset. There is one explicit mention of a slave, who is credited as the architect of the city gates of Caiatia (18) (see above). Also interesting is an inscription from Parma (45), which records Quintus Munatius Apsyrtus as the private benefactor in the Augustan period of a street running from the forum to one of the city gates, which he had embellished with marble, statues and fountains. Probably a freedman, he was a *sexvir et Augustalis* and sufficiently wealthy to pay for lavish public works which would have brought him public recognition (Bertini, 2008:129, 1986).

"Inspector of works"

There is no known inscription from the republican or early to mid imperial period which records the existence of a role dedicated to an official looking after city walls, unlike the roles of *curator viarum* or *curator rei publicae* which are well attested (see, for example, Camodeca, 1979, Duthoy, 1979), although a *praepositus muris* is known from the late third century AD.[170] This may suggest that the maintenance of city walls was not considered of strategic importance or as a public good with more than local significance, particularly in the early imperial period. It is also consistent with my finding that repairs to city walls were undertaken by the local municipal authority rather than through imperial patronage or private finance (see Chapter 6.3.7 and Figure 85 above). There

[170] CIL 11, 06308, 06309

is one extant inscription which records a role in relation to city walls, that of a *duovir urbis moeniundae* from Venafrum (74) (Demougin, 1991).

6.4.4 Appropriation of written space

The use of inscriptions in highly public places like city gates became the subject of contested space. By the imperial period, the legal position was that an inscription recording the original construction of a monument had to be retained if the building was subsequently repaired or rebuilt,[171] although it was permissible for a benefactor who had paid for a building to be refurbished or embellished to have his name commemorated in an inscription alongside the original benefactor.[172]

There are a number of examples where these inscriptions were overwritten or overtaken by subsequent commemorative notices, to the point where it is difficult to assess the authenticity of the claims being made. The most famous example is that of the Pantheon in Rome, which incorporates two inscriptions: one claiming that Agrippa had constructed the building in 27BC and the second maintaining that Septimius Severus and Caracalla had restored it in AD202. In fact, the monument was largely built in the Trajanic-Hadrianic period, indicating that neither of the main inscriptions on the building accurately reflects the building's construction history (Bodel, 2001:46, Wilson Jones, 2009:82-84).

A similar impetus to appropriate space and thereby to usurp recognition can be seen through several of the inscriptions in my dataset. At Fanum Fortunae, the imperial inscription recording Augustus' donation of the city walls (25) was overshadowed by an inscription of the fourth century AD[173] which recorded Constantine's work on the city gates. Although the Augustan inscription remained *in situ* above the main archway, the Constantine dedication was placed higher up and therefore more prominently, above the loggia (Purcaro, 2012) while the executor of the fourth century work was recorded under the original inscription. Similarly at Verona, an inscription on Porta Leoni which marked the construction of the late republican city walls and double-arched gateway (77) was superseded by a more monumental inscription erected in the Claudian period (76) on the architrave of a decorative limestone façade which was placed in front of the original brick gateway, as part of a major programme of monumentalisation of public space during this period (Cavalieri Manasse, 1998, Bianco, 1998).

Inscriptions, then, could be used to influence or even deliberately alter a narrative of the past. The inscriptions on the gates of Perusia provide an interesting case where epigraphy was used not just to appropriate historical space but also to transfer and advertise new political loyalties – twice

[171] Digest of Justinian 50.10,2,2
[172] Digest of Justinian 50,10,7,1
[173] CIL 11, 06218-9

(Sisani, 2006:9-25, Direzione Generale per le Antichità, 2013). The city walls are Etruscan in origin and date from the third or second century BC. Etruscan writing, interpreted as the marks of the builders, is recorded on the walls themselves. While these are probably better interpreted as graffiti rather than formal inscriptions, they nevertheless publicise Etruscan ownership of the space. The main city gates of Perusia, the Arco di Augusto and Porta Marzia, are located at either end of the Via Amerina as it passes through the city. These gates are also third century in date although the upper part of the Arco di Augusto was probably rebuilt towards the end of the first century BC. Above the archway of both gates is the inscription *Augusta Perusia* (46) (Figures 93 and 94). The impetus for these inscriptions seems to have come from the city itself, as there is no suggestion of an imperial intervention or benefaction. It appears to be a deliberate attempt by the city to publicly advertise its loyalty to Augustus, a tactful gesture given the city's hostility to Octavian in the Perusine Wars of 41-40BC. These inscriptions were themselves overtaken in the middle of the third century AD when *Colonia Vibia* was added, commemorating the grant of colonial status to the city by the emperor Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus whose family came from Perusia.

Figure 93: inscriptions on outer façade of Arco di Augusto, Perusia

Figure 94: Arco di Augusto, Perusia. The inscription is just above the large archway.

6.4.5 Experiencing city walls through inscriptions

Inscriptions are unique in that they provide a bridge between the written message, the structure on which the inscription is positioned and the experience of passers-by. This involvement of the viewer was instrumental in influencing how a monument was experienced and in creating a sense of "Roman" space – an ideology of what it meant to be part of the Roman social and political network. Despite warning that "not all monuments included writing, and not all writing was monumental", Woolf nevertheless argued that monumentality and writing should be considered together for a proper understanding of epigraphy as a cultural phenomenon (1996:24). Equally, the

role of monumental structures in urban life is elucidated by their related inscriptions. In a paper exploring how the inclusion of inscriptions on a monument might enhance or otherwise impact its monumentality, Thomas argued that text acted as an intermediary between the monument and the viewer, helping the viewer to decode the structure (2014). Horster warned against overestimating the function and purpose of building inscriptions (2010), pointing out that passers-by were primarily users and observers of public buildings rather than readers. Rather than downgrade the importance of inscriptions, however, Horster's comments serve to reinforce the importance of considering building inscriptions in their proper context and as part of an ensemble which together conveyed social and cultural meaning.

The association between inscriptions and city walls and especially city gates is important and informative. Revell (2009:180) noted that inscriptions are usually found in public and highly visible locations: there are few more public, more visible and more frequented places than city gateways, which in Newsome's analysis constituted a destination in their own right, not simply a point of transition (2011:28-29). Although it is impossible to prove De Sanctis' claim (2012b) that all city gates would have had a commemorative inscription, where city walls or their gates did display an inscription, this had a real impact on the way in which public space was experienced. The graphic design of an inscription could greatly enhance its impact. The carefully sized lettering of the inscriptions at Arminum (8) or Aeclanum (2), for example, where the upper lines of the inscription are larger than the lower lines so as to make them easier to read (Figure 95), or the bronze lettering fixed onto the gateway at Fanum Fortunae (25), which would reflect the sunlight dazzlingly against the white marble-like limestone, influence how viewers experience the message. There is a big difference between the highly regular, large-scale and carefully incised lettering of the inscription at Ostia (44) compared to the informal approach of others, such as a contemporary inscription from Pola (51) (Figures 96 and 97). At Spoletium (62), a different effect was created by, unusually, incising the inscription on a single line which extended for 11m, thus requiring the viewer to deliberately follow the flow of the text. The lettering was 26 centimetres high, clearly visible even though the inscription was placed several metres above ground, and was carved onto finished ashlar blocks which helped it to stand out from the rougher fabric of the rest of the wall.

Figure 95: inscription on the outer facade of the Arch of Augustus, Ariminum. The inscription is placed prominently above the archway.

Figure 96: carefully incised inscription from Ostia

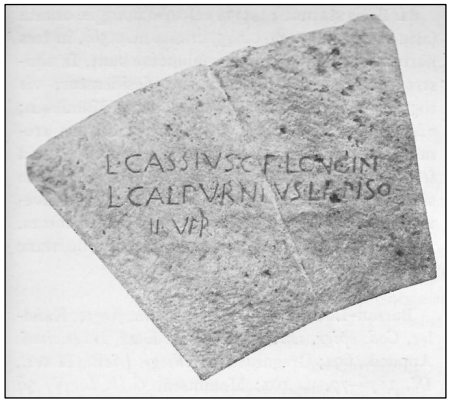

Figure 97: inscription from Pola

Laurence et al. (2011) and others have commented on the hierarchical and socially differentiated use of public space in Roman cities. Unlike most other public space, however, city walls and their gates were not (as far as we know) subject to such restrictions (see Chapter 5.3.1 above). All passers-by, regardless of class, gender or occupation, would have experienced both structure and inscription – although not, of course, in necessarily the same way. Because of the formulaic and repetitive style of building inscriptions and their frequent association with imagery, it was not necessary to be fully literate to understand them or to appreciate the political power and status which they projected (Cooley, 2012:285). The material, location and display of a monumental inscription were as important as its literal meaning and legibility, creating an ensemble which Bodel defined as "symbolic epigraphy", the extra-textual signification with which, in his view, inscriptions were always invested (2001:19).

6.4.6 Combining text and imagery for maximum impact

City gates were highly visible and frequented structures. They also had religious connotations (Rykwert, 1988:135-139). So they were an important location for conveying ideological, political or practical messages for the viewing public. Large monumental lettering combined with carefully chosen imagery positioned in prominent areas like city gates reinforced messages of power and propaganda on a daily basis. Whether or not the passer-by could read the text in a literal sense, the use of imagery on city gates in conjunction with text was carefully calculated to impact on the experience of those who passed through them, in terms that "even an unlettered viewer could hardly fail to grasp" (Zanker, 1988:312).

The discussion in this section focuses on the combination of text and imagery on city gates. I consider first my case study site of Saepinum and then look at a small number of other Augustan city gates where a combination of dedicatory inscription and sculptural decoration was clearly designed to influence the experience of passers-by.

There were four single-arched gateways in Saepinum's walled circuit. An identical inscription recording the imperial benefaction of the walls, gates and towers in 2BC-AD4 (56) was positioned above each of the archways, and each archway was framed by the same sculptural ensemble (Figures 98 and 99). The sculpted images were of half-naked barbarian prisoners with their hands tied behind them, and a shield placed on the ground. Although the depiction of barbarian captives is a relatively common theme in Roman art (Ferris, 2000), it is generally accepted that the statues relate to the military campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus in Germany and their victory of 11BC (see, for example, Matteini Chiari, 1982:58) and suggest that booty from that war financed the imperial benefaction. The portrayal of barbarians may have been a stock image, but the context at Saepinum is very unusual: most Augustan monumental architecture depicting captive barbarians is found at Rome, or in a cluster of monumental archways in Gaul (Ferris, 2000).

The combination of text and imagery on Saepinum's gateways conveyed key imperial messages at major vantage points of the town. Dench (2005:200) saw in this a conceptualisation of urban ideals emphasised by the representation of captured barbarians who were excluded from civilisation while Zanker interpreted the message not just as victory over barbarians but as marking the "self-appointed mandate of the Romans as world rulers" (1988:328). Valente saw in the imagery a parallel reference to the final subjugation of Samnite territory to Roman power and the appropriation and control of land through centuriation (2008). Facing out to the country, away from the town, the sculptures underline the divide between tamed and wild, Roman and other. The imagery is strongly propagandist and must have seemed alien and awe-inspiring in a small, remote town far from the centre of power. Whether or not the inhabitants of the town could read the inscription or understand the allusion of the sculpture, they would be in no doubt that imperial power and control were being emphasised. Further, Saepinum's gateways combine ideological

with practical messaging. On the southern side of Porta Boiano is an imperial rescript of Marcus Aurelius, posted about four metres above ground level – possibly deliberately rather too high for ease of reading – dealing with issues relating to the practice of transhumance, for the information of travellers using the drove road which passed through the town (Coarelli, 2000:143, Corbier, 1983).[174] The experience of passing through the gates of Saepinum was not a neutral one.

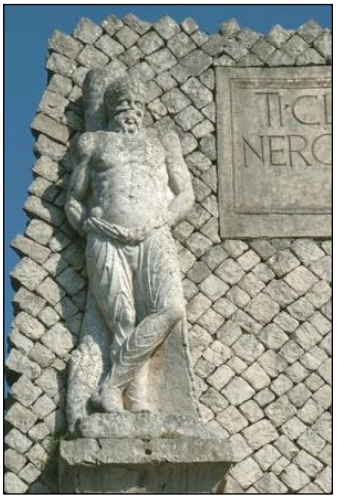

Figure 98: detail of barbarian prisoner, Porta Boiano

Figure 99: text and imagery on outer façade of Porta Boiano

I commented on the Arch of the Sergii at Pola in the discussion of inscriptions as a "technology of power" above. Here, I consider how the combination of text and imagery on the archway reinforces the power of the message. The Arch of the Sergii is a monumental archway which was constructed immediately in front of the main gate of Pola. The original gateway remained in place, but was effectively supplanted by the new arch. The arch was over ten metres high and was sufficiently incorporated into the existing gateway that its contiguous side was left undecorated. The inscriptions (50) state boldly that the benefactress of the monumental archway was Salvia Postuma and honour her husband and family as well as recording her gift. The archway was originally surmounted by statues of the Sergii family.

The sculptural imagery on the archway is particularly striking (Woodhull, 2004) (Figures 100 and 101). The spandrels are filled with winged victories – the symbol of triumph – holding laurel wreaths. Garlands supported by erotes and bucrania are carved above the columns. The interiors of the piers are embellished with reliefs of grape and acanthus tendrils. A relief depicts an eagle with snake, a classic image of apotheosis, on the underside of the arch, visible as one passed through (Kleiner, 2010). In recognition of the proud military background of the Sergii family – Salvia Postuma's son, Lucius Sergius Lepidus, who is commemorated in the centre of the arch, was an aedile and military tribune and fought at the battle of Actium – the entablature and attic were decorated with military imagery (there are 119 examples of weapons depicted on four friezes - see

[174] CIL 09, 02438

Džin, 2013). The whole ensemble projects an image of power and prestige, reserved for the Sergii family: there is no suggestion that the arch included even a token dedication to the emperor, despite the fact that the imagery on the arch is closely linked to "the new pictorial vocabulary" arising in Rome (Zanker, 1988:311). This is particularly interesting if Woodhull is right in dating the archway to 20-10BC (2004), because every known honorary arch erected in Rome in the first two decades of Augustus' principate was dedicated to the emperor himself (Kleiner, 1989), suggesting a degree of control which was not reflected in Pola. The text supported but did not add to the imagery; there was no need literally to read the inscriptions, because the statues on top of the archway made it clear who the arch honoured. The viewer would be left in no doubt as to the power and importance of the Sergii family, and possibly their claim to appropriate for themselves attributes of power and protection that one might otherwise associate with the imperial family (see Chapter 6.4.2 above).

Figure 100: eagle and snake on underside of Arch of the Sergii, Pola

Figure 101: winged victory with laurel wreath on spandrel of arch, view from inside the city

Zanker pointed out that the repertoire of imagery was remarkably standardised and limited in the early imperial period, with vine friezes, sacred motifs, oak and laurel wreaths and weapons and armour predominating (1988:311). We find these on the Arch of the Sergii and also on the Arch of Augustus at Ariminum. An inscription (8) commemorated the construction of the arch in 27BC by order of the Senate to honour Augustus and mark the completion of work to restore the Via Flaminia. The ornamentation of the arch which accompanied the inscription is full of symbolism and ideology (Foschi and Pasini, 1998). Engaged half columns and a pediment frame the single passageway, drawing the eye upwards. The arch probably originally had an attic storey which supported a statue of the emperor on horseback or on a quadriga chariot, higher than the city walls and thus dominating the skyline (Fontemaggi and Piolanti, 1998:58). There is a rich variety of decorations revealing significant political messages (Figures 102 and 103). Portraits of gods are carved in roundels with Jupiter and Apollo on the external side and Neptune and Rome on the inner side celebrating the grandeur of Rome. Images of weaponry and maritime imagery recall Augustus' victory at the battle of Actium. The generous proportions of the gateway (10m high by

9m wide) and its lack of means of closure symbolised peace and security. Visually, the white limestone blocks of the archway stood out against the sandstone of the city walls.

Figure 102: imagery on outer façade of Arch of Augustus, Ariminum

Figure 103: personification of Rome on outer façade of Arch of Augustus

The commemorative inscription is integral to experiencing the monument as a whole. The larger-than-lifesize imperial statue which topped the monument and, beneath it, the large lettering of the inscription, scaled so that the characters decreased in size from the top to the bottom line, were juxtaposed to offer a striking visual message – the princeps and the people of Rome together. The lettering itself was metal and thus would have stood out with the reflection of sunlight: restoration work revealed traces of gold leaf which originally coated the bronze lettering (Fontemaggi and Piolanti, 1998:57-58). The visual impact was enhanced because the road from outside the city rose up to the archway and from that point fell away towards the forum at the city's centre.

Contrary to Fagan's view (1999b:270) that honorific and commemorative inscriptions were "intensely localised" documents, erected to record the actions of local benefactors for the benefit of local populations, I consider that the impact and message of inscriptions on city walls and city gates were meant to have a wider audience, including travellers on the long-distance roads which cut through major cities as well as inhabitants of the city and the surrounding area. In many cases, they acted as a reminder of the relationship between the city and the centre – Rome or the emperor – as is clearly demonstrated in the assemblage of inscription, structure and ornamentation at Ariminum. With their combination of functionality and aesthetics and the association of monumental but prosaic inscriptions with ornate and value-laden decoration, city gates portrayed a powerful message of ideology and status to those who experienced them.

6.4.7 Conclusion

I have put together a comprehensive collection of inscriptions relating to city walls and their contiguous gateways in order to illustrate different aspects of the meaning of city walls. Inscriptions (and their associated imagery, where present) had an important impact on those who

experienced them. Despite their often terse and formulaic texts, inscriptions enhanced the monumentality of city walls. We can unpick what lay behind the inscription to reveal insights into the power of patronage and the discharge of civic obligation. Because my dataset covers both republican and imperial inscriptions to AD100, my analysis can shed light on the changing ways in which city walls and their gateways supported the practice of patronage and influenced monumental building. Beyond the obvious introduction of imperial benefactions, for example, we see in the early imperial period a higher proportion of privately financed gateways and the relegation of municipal involvement to repair work. Conversely, there is no inscription which records municipal authorisation for new-build city walls in the early imperial period, suggesting that construction of city walls may have come under central control rather earlier than other inconclusive sources imply. We also see the phenomenon of text combined with imagery to reinforce political messaging in the imperial period, evidenced not just in the Augustan period but also under Claudius at the Porta Aurea in Ravenna (54). Complementing the inscription, Porta Aurea was embellished with decorative aediculae and richly carved medallions.

Inscriptions are not objective evidence but a subjective means of conveying particular images or messages. They influenced the way in which monumental structures were experienced and viewed. Inscriptions were intended to be read as part of an overall assemblage together with the structure to which they related and were complemented by associated material and ornamentation, thus providing a holistic experience to the viewer. Inscriptions on city walls and gates conveyed much more than their often compressed literal meaning. They have to be considered in context in order to reveal their wider meaning: the neat but informal architect's autograph tucked away high up on an inside column of the Arch of the Gavii, for example, told a very different story to the triumphal acclamation of the imperial inscription broadcast above the Arch of Augustus at Ariminum.

In my analysis of inscriptions relating to city walls and gates, I have aimed to show that these monumental structures were the subject of varied and revealing inscriptions, thus underlining their place as an integral part of the urban texture and epigraphic culture. Contrary to Jouffroy's claim (1977:329) that defensive structures tended not to have commemorative inscriptions because they were not deemed to be sufficiently prestigious, my analysis has demonstrated that building inscriptions relating to city walls and gates, like other building inscriptions, were an important element of civic magistrates', the urban elite's and the imperial family's desire for public recognition and legitimacy of their status through the fulfilment of obligations or personal generosity.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: urbs ipsa moenia sunt

The Augustan period saw the last significant cluster of new city walls constructed in Roman Italy until the third century AD. I assess that 19 cities built walled circuits around their urban centres at this time; a further four constructed free-standing gateways at the principal entrances to the urban area. Building city walls was one of the most expensive and time-consuming public projects a city could undertake. Their construction involved huge physical effort and massive commitment of money and material: it was not a venture lightly undertaken. In this thesis, I have analysed the historical and archaeological evidence from these 19 cities, with a particular focus on five case study sites, to see what new light they can shed on our understanding of Roman cities and our knowledge of social, cultural and political issues in the urban context.

City walls symbolised the idea of the city. Built to impress, Augustan city walls embodied notions of self-representation and civic pride. They stood as an emblem of political status and privileged position, a highly visible means of promoting an individual city's power and prestige and a conspicuous manifestation of the city's connection to the urban network of the Roman state. At the start of this thesis and through my review of current literature in Chapter 2, I identified two areas where a fresh study of Augustan city walls offered the potential to increase our existing knowledge: to use city walls more fully as a tool for analysis of urbanism, imperialism, culture and identity in the Augustan period; and to place the physical and historical attributes of individual Augustan city walls within their wider context and meaning. I articulated these issues in a series of research questions for investigation in my work. This chapter summarises the findings and conclusions of my research and relates them back to my research questions.

What can a study of city walls add to current debate about urban form and development?

My detailed analysis of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy has shown that significant common themes emerge in how Augustan walled circuits engage with their physical and political environment. In terms of typology, however, there is no strict blueprint for an Augustan city wall: Augustan city walls share many features in common, but they are also quite diverse. I noted a considerable range in area enclosed by Augustan walled circuits (from 12ha to 72ha). Even after my reassessment of the height of the walls of Fanum Fortunae, which I calculate to have been 12m (not 14m) high, the highest walls are over three times the height of the lowest walls. Most, but not all, of the Augustan walled circuits of cities built *ex novo* are rectangular in plan; most, but not all, of walled circuits constructed in the Augustan period around existing settlements are - perhaps not surprisingly - irregular in plan. Four different construction techniques are evidenced among the group of 19 walls, suggesting that attempts to date city walls solely on the basis of construction technique are problematic.

Superficially, there are many similarities in the design of Augustan city gateways but my research has challenged the view that they come from the same template. I have drawn attention, for example, to their very different scale and ornamentation, and to their different roles (noting that there is no evidence that some of the gateways could be closed). I have reassessed the date of Porta Gemina at Urbs Salvia, concluding that it was probably constructed in the Augustan period at the same time as the city walls. The deliberate replacement or appropriation of existing gateways by new structures with the aim of conveying specific political messages was a feature of the Augustan period, whether done for imperial benefit (as at Ariminum) or individual publicity (as at Pola).

Our knowledge of the rules and permissions governing the construction of city walls is limited for the Augustan period, but my research sheds some new light on this issue. My analysis of inscriptions relating to city walls and their gateways shows a clear shift in responsibility at the start of the principate. More than half of all inscriptions of the republican period explicitly record municipal authorisation for new-build work. No inscription of the imperial period records municipal authorisation for new-build work: all municipal authorisations after the start of the principate relate to repair work. Although there are a small number of imperial-period inscriptions which record the financing of new-build work by private individuals, all but one relate to city gates (not walls). Construction of city walls appears to become the prerogative of the imperial family very quickly, suggesting that central control over new city walls may have been strengthened earlier than has hitherto been identified. On the other hand, my list of inscriptions shows no evidence in the early imperial period for a central office for city walls along the lines of the *curator viarum*, which may indicate that city walls were important for individual prestige rather than collective strategy.

Is there an ideology of walls in contemporary thinking, and does it matter?

City walls were important and relevant to contemporary life. This is evident not just through a study of the walls themselves, but through my brief analysis of the significance of city walls and gateways in the contemporary mindset, art and literature. City walls more than any other building type were used as shorthand for the city itself – *urbs ipsa moenia sunt*[175] – and conveyed notions of protection and security as well as grandeur and scale. City walls were closely associated with a city's identity and self-representation. Nowhere is this clearer than in Rome's thoroughness in destroying the city walls of Carthage and Corinth, as if by removing all physical traces of the city wall and (at Carthage) by re-ploughing the site as if in reversal of the Roman foundation ritual, their history and identity would also be effaced.

Augustan city walls were an integral part of the contemporary drive towards a shared understanding of the nature of urbanism and the image of the city. The ideology of city walls was

[175] Isidore of Seville *Etymologiae*, xv,ii,1.

important in contemporary thought: representations of city walls rich in meaning and symbolism are widely found in visual and literary sources and are particularly significant during the Augustan period. They acted as a visual shorthand for the city, both in physical terms (as a *pars pro toto*) and in conceptual terms. In short, city walls were used to signify the essence and identity of a city both in the ideology of Roman thought and in the rich symbolism of architecture in Augustan cities.

What was the relationship between city walls and a city's political and administrative status?

City walls were not the only way of demarcating an urban boundary, and many Roman towns were not enclosed by a walled circuit. It is, however, very unusual for colonies not to have city walls. It is clear that there was a special association between city walls and the status of colonies, the model *par excellence* of a city. As a result of my research, we can be rather more nuanced in our understanding of the relationship between colonies and city walls.

It was almost unheard of for republican colonies not to have city walls; this is perhaps not surprising given that they were often founded in hostile or recently conquered territory. But the link remains strong for colonies of the late republic and early principate. Seven of the cities which built walls in the Augustan period were colonies recently founded on sites with no pre-existing urban settlement. They all commenced construction of walls after the colony was founded. Similarly, in four cases, city walls were built in the Augustan period around newly-founded colonies which were settled on existing unwalled urban areas. However, my research shows that there was no requirement or expectation to build the city walls straight away: I noted, for example, that there appears to be a gap of up to several decades between colonial foundation and walled circuit at Fanum Fortunae, Tergeste, Florentia and Emona. My research also shows that, once started, there was no requirement or expectation to complete the walled circuit promptly. I noted that the city walls of Augusta Taurinorum may not have been completed for up to a century after the colony was founded and Pola's walled circuit may not have been finished for several decades after the colony's foundation. As a result, we have a more subtle picture of the purpose and meaning of the city walls of colonies: it was expected that colonies would build a walled circuit around their urban centre - eventually. For the perplexing case of Urbs Salvia, I have brought to bear the Augustan date of the city walls in support of the argument that the republican colony was refounded at this time (although the lack of walls around the original colony is still surprising). My research strengthens the case for a close link between city walls and colonial settlement.

The relationship between *municipia* and city walls in the Augustan period appears to be rather different. There is a high level of imperial intervention. Four of the six known examples of Augustan town walls around *municipia* have epigraphic evidence connecting their construction to imperial patronage or interest, and the walls of the other two (Mediolanum and Alba Pompeia) are unusual in terms of their extreme length or exceptional design. My research has also highlighted the fact that the character of the town walls of *municipia* is distinct from that of colonial walls: the

walls of *municipia* are noticeably slighter in terms of both height and width (where known). On current evidence, it is only at *municipia* where we find the phenomenon of free-standing monumental gateways built in the Augustan period to frame the entrance to the urban area, without a connecting walled circuit. It may be that *municipia* could not afford the huge investment which a continuous walled circuit required. Alternatively, *municipia* which did not benefit from imperial interest may have found it harder to secure permission to build city walls and chose instead the symbolic value of free-standing gateways.

Did city walls play a significant role in the wider landscape?

The visual impact of city walls, so apparent in frescoes or the vivid descriptions of Virgil, was a deliberate way of showcasing a city's power and prestige. The architects of city walls, whether in the Augustan period or at other times, deployed very careful choices of colour, texture and even patterning to make their wall stand out. We see this, for example, in the juxtaposition of yellow sandstone bricks and gleaming travertine slabs at Fanum Fortunae and in the (rather later) polychrome patterned masonry at Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium. I have identified a deliberate use of contrasting colours in the stonework of Porta Consolare at Hispellum. The architecture of city walls, and especially gateways, was carefully considered for maximum effect.

City walls were designed to dominate their wider surroundings. I have argued that engineering works were undertaken at Urbs Salvia to enhance the impact of the city walls in the landscape and there is clear-cut evidence that this was the case at Falerii Novi. The siting of the colony walls of Hispellum, on the spur of a hillside dominating not only the pre-Roman sanctuary close by but neighbouring cities for miles around, would lend itself to a formal intervisibility study, outside the scope of this research, to further our understanding of the importance of seeing and being seen in the context of city walls. The position of Porta Venere at Hispellum, chosen with great precision and at considerable cost, the massive scale of the colony's city walls, and the conspicuous and contrasting materials with which gateway and walls were built enabled the city to make a striking visual and physical statement in the landscape that persists even today.

The architects of city walls went to considerable efforts to enhance their visual impact but this appears to be aimed not at deterring or repelling people but rather at drawing them in. Long-distance roads were deliberately routed to traverse city centres (in the case of Fanum Fortunae, this involved a 2km detour of the Via Flaminia) and travellers entered the city through monumental gateways which were designed to inspire awe more than fear. At Augusta Praetoria and Ariminum, for example, travellers on the Alpine roads and the Via Flaminia respectively were drawn into the cities through carefully designed axial approaches. At Augusta Praetoria, the long-distance traveller was enticed into the city centre by the alignment of the river crossing, the free-standing Arch of Augustus and the wide entranceways of the Porta Praetoria. At Ariminum, travellers reached the city by crossing the bridge over the River Aprusa and passing under the monumental

Arch of Augustus (which formed the main gateway into the city, always open). They followed the *decumanus maximus* with the forum at its centre and exited the city, still on the same axial line, via the Ponte di Tiberio over the River Ariminus.

What was the role of city walls in shaping and defining urban space?

Movement of people, whether inhabitants of the city, visitors or travellers passing through, was channelled and directed by the city walls. This allowed the walls and their gateways to be used – whether deliberately or not – as a way of influencing behaviour and exercising power. Gateways had an important role in controlling and regulating the flow of traffic. This might be for reasons of tax or customs collection, as may be the case at Peltuinum and Saepinum (both of which were located on important *tratturi*). It could be to monitor or manage crowds visiting the city on market days or for shows which took place inside the walls (two of my case study sites had amphitheatres located inside the city walls). At Saepinum, the defensive integrity of the town walls was broken shortly after their construction by the insertion of a postern gate close to the theatre. I have argued that its narrow width suggests that its purpose was as much to regulate as to ease the flow of spectators. I found no evidence, however, that access through city gateways was managed to reflect the hierarchical nature of Roman society (although regulations concerned with practicalities did exist). In this, city gateways differed from many other public buildings such as theatres and this may have had an impact on the everyday experience of the different sectors of society who used gateways.

Indeed, every inhabitant of a walled city, regardless of class, gender, age or occupation, would have experienced the city wall and its associated gateways. Freedom of movement between city and countryside was impeded by the presence of a city wall and restricted by the limited number of gates in a walled circuit, while movement within a walled city was to a large extent governed by the placement of gateways. Their role in channelling movement towards the urban centre could be reinforced, as at Augusta Praetoria, by the fact that the main streets connecting the gates were wider than other streets in the city. The design of the urban centre was shaped by the design of the walled circuit. At Augusta Praetoria, the forum complex at the heart of the colony was not at its geographic centre but on elevated ground at the point where the main roads leading from the gateways crossed. There is potential to apply more widely techniques of spatial analysis, such as those used recently by Stöger and Tuinman at Ostia, to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between city walls, gateways and other monumental buildings and to investigate how city walls and gateways shaped the use of space (although the data available at my case study sites are limited).

The role of city gateways in connecting city and countryside merits greater exploration. For example, I have drawn attention to the relationship between Augustan city gateways and contemporary monumental tomb structures which pressed up close to the gateways and were in

some cases as high and bulky as the entrances themselves (as was the case at Carsulae), noting that it affects how we understand and interpret their meaning. I have analysed in detail the historical and archaeological evidence from two of my case study sites, Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum, to show how gateways were carefully positioned in relation to existing processional routes to reinforce or abrogate sacred traditions and collective memory. I have used the evidence from Fanum Fortunae to propose likely sites for the pre-Roman sanctuary of Fortuna outside the city and its relocation within the Augustan colony, linked by a sacred way which diverges from the street grid and cuts through the walled circuit at an unusual angle.

The role of free-standing gateways provides an interesting perspective on the character and meanings of Augustan gateways. Their purpose cannot have been to restrict or regulate access into the urban centre - they could simply be bypassed. My analysis of the free-standing gateways of the Augustan period highlights their symbolic value as a means of defining and advertising the entrance to the urban area and as a way of staking the town's claim to be part of the wider political network of cities within Roman Italy.

To what extent were city walls used as an instrument of patronage and prestige?

As part of my research, I have compiled a comprehensive list of inscriptions relating to city walls, using epigraphic sources and secondary literature as well as digitised databases (only three-quarters of the inscriptions in my collection are readily identifiable online). Insofar as the robustness of the data permits, I have undertaken an objective and quantitative analysis of the dataset as well as an interpretative and qualitative study of the texts. I have used these inscriptions to illustrate how the incidence of wall construction and the nature of city walls vary over time and place and to offer insights into the changing role of political patronage and benefactions.

Like other building inscriptions, inscriptions relating to city walls were an important element in securing public recognition and legitimacy in return for the discharge of civic obligations or personal generosity. My research has drawn attention to the role of private individuals in financing city walls (in the republican period) and their gateways (in the imperial period). As already noted earlier in this concluding chapter, my analysis of inscriptions charts a clear transition in responsibilities for new-build city walls from local authorities to the imperial family around the Augustan period. It also shows that in the period to AD100, there is no evidence for imperial intervention in the repair (as opposed to construction) of city walls: this remained a municipal concern. Moreover, no inscription (of any date) in my collection links repair work with a private benefactor, emphasising the association between the prestige of new-build work and an individual's desire for self-promotion. I have found only a few instances where an inscription records the role of someone other than an elite male magistrate or member of the imperial family, but those inscriptions referencing women, slaves, freedmen and architects offer a different perspective on the use of inscriptions to publicise power and status.

The choice of language used in inscriptions relating to city walls was usually formulaic, as with other monumental building inscriptions. I have however noted a nuancing in the wording used to record imperial benefactions of city walls and/or gateways: in my dataset, imperial benefactions to *municipia* use the formula *faciundum curavit/curaverunt* while imperial benefactions to colonies use the verb *dare*, perhaps signalling a distinction between stressing the maintenance of tradition (for the former) and imperial generosity (for the latter).

The visual appearance of an inscription and its setting in the urban context were key to how it was experienced. The combination of text and ornamentation, in particular on city gateways, made a powerful impact on passers-by, even the illiterate. It could be used to reinforce political messaging, for example at Saepinum where the sculptures of barbarian prisoners were a stark reminder of Rome's military power even under the *pax Augusta* and in a place distant from the empire's frontiers. The design of an inscription and its placement were at least as important as its literal meaning. We see this at Ariminum, where the large bronze lettering high above the archway commemorating Augustus' restoration of the Via Flaminia was prominent in the sight of the approaching traveller.

Summary and future work

At a time of relative peace in Roman Italy, the symbolic and representational value of Augustan city walls was paramount. I have aimed to demonstrate in this thesis that the study of Roman city walls can make a significant contribution to our understanding of wider issues of urbanism and society. Using the detailed evidence from my case study sites, I have explored the potential of city walls to reveal important insights into the history and archaeology of Augustan Italy through a number of different lenses. City walls were an icon of status and civic pride, symbolising the city's place within the political framework. But a detailed analysis of city walls reveals a more complex picture. City walls were an integral part of the urban fabric and played a fundamental role in the way in which people experienced and moved around their city. They embodied how a city's inhabitants perceived themselves: how they wished to project their image to the outside world, and perhaps even how they wished to internalise their own history and collective memory. My study of inscriptions relating to city walls has shown that the construction of city walls was not simply a question of practical convenience but an opportunity for carefully-staged patronage, self-promotion and display.

I chose to focus my research on an analysis of Augustan city walls in Roman Italy. But there is scope to explore how the existence, nature and meanings of city walls vary beyond Roman Italy and in other time periods, using a similar analytical framework to that adopted in this thesis. For example, it would in my view be rewarding to compare similarities and differences in the character and significance of Augustan city walls in southern Gaul, or between southern Gaul, southern Spain and northern Italy. Equally, it would be possible to compare and contrast the character and

meanings of Roman city walls between different time periods. One advantage of this approach would be the opportunity to chart how the symbolic and representational value of city walls varied across time and place, recognising Cassiodorus' elegant description of the dual nature of city walls *et ornatus pacis ... et bellorum necessitas*.[176] There is also the potential to drill down to a more detailed level, for example to undertake a visibility analysis of walled cities in Umbria (see Chapter 5.1.1) or outside Italy, perhaps in Baetica.

In summary, then, city walls were much more than a prosaic functional structure. Through a detailed examination of their character and meanings, I have aimed to show that they were a projection of the wealth and power of those who lived inside them and helped instil a sense of pride and collective identity. Where present, they were a way of marking the physical and psychological boundaries of the urban social community and held deep symbolic meaning for their inhabitants. Rather than being studied as an isolated asset, I have pointed to the importance of contextualising city walls and their gateways within the urban fabric and a unified cityscape. Only then can we fully appreciate the contribution they can make to our understanding of the history and archaeology of Augustan Italy.

[176] Cassiodorus *Variae Epistolae* 1.28

Appendices

Appendix A Augustan city walls in Roman Italy

Appendix A: Summary information on Augustan city walls in Roman Italy 40BC to AD20

The table below presents in summary form a list of cities with city walls which can be dated with reasonable confidence to the Augustan period, which in view of the difficulties of assigning a precise chronology to city walls is defined loosely as covering the period 40BC to AD20. There are considerable uncertainties inherent in compiling a table of this nature, including over the chronology, footprint and structure of walls. It is particularly difficult to assess whether city walls are "late republican" in date (approximately 50-30BC) or "early Augustan" (roughly 40-20BC). As a result, I have excluded the walls of some cities whose chronology is in doubt even though some scholars believe that they may be Augustan. These include the city walls of Sentinum and Verona where the balance of opinion dates them to the third quarter of the first century BC or the late republican period rather than to the Augustan period.[177] I have also excluded those towns such as Opitergium and Novaria where the available published evidence on the walls is currently too imprecise to allow reasonable confidence in their dating.

[177] For Verona, see Cavalieri Manasse (1993), Bonetto (1998); for Sentinum, see Medri (2008). Jouffroy (1986) included the walls of Verona and Sentinum in the Augustan period.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Alba Pompeia *Regio IX*	*Municipium* (CIL 05, 07153)	2.1km perimeter 33ha area	The main source for the town walls is Filippi (1997), who assessed that they are Augustan in date. The monumentalisation of the urban centre is dated on the basis of finds from recent excavations to the last two decades of the first century BC (Preacco, 2007:273). The town flourished in part thanks to its strategic location on the road and river networks. It was close to the navigable River Tanaro to the north and to a tributary, the River Cherasca, to the east. The walls were built in *opus vittatum,* with a cement core, and were 1.5m wide (Conventi, 2004). Filippi estimated that they may have stood 8m-9m high. Five sides of the unusual octagonal footprint are known archaeologically and some stretches are still extant. Four gates built from local stone have been identified, including a double-arched gateway to the west which had a *cavaedium* and was 8.4m wide. Square towers, some 7m across, straddled the town walls and aligned with the street grid (Panero, 2000:30).
Augusta Bagiennorum *Regio IX*	*Municipium* Probably not a colony (despite its title) - see CIL 05, 07153	1.9km perimeter 21ha area	The trapezoidal plot of the town was marked by square towers measuring some 8m x 8m on the four corners of the urban area. No continuous walled circuit has been identified. Free-standing monumental double-arched gateways, flanked by square towers, stood at each end of the *decumanus maximus*. The width of each archway was about 3.5m. The gateways and corner towers were constructed in *opus testaceum.* See detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix H.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Augusta Praetoria *Regio XI*	Augustan veteran colony founded in 25BC, on a greenfield site.	2.5km perimeter 42ha area	The Augustan city walls, built in *opus quadratum*, form a precise rectangle measuring 727m x 574m. There were 20 towers in total and four monumental gateways. See summary information at Appendix B and detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix C.
Augusta Taurinorum *Regio XI*	Augustan veteran colony founded in 28-27BC (there may have been an earlier Caesarian/triumviral foundation - see Panero, 2000:170-172).	3km perimeter 48ha area	The walled circuit was rectangular, some 770m x 710m (except in one corner). Construction of the city walls started after the colony's foundation but may have taken up to a century to complete: the walls on the east side of the circuit were still under construction in AD60-70 and the walls on the north side were not completed until the mid first century AD (Brecciaroli Taborelli, 2007:243-251). The outer facing was carefully built in brick *opus vittatum* while the inner facing was in *opus incertum*. The walls were about 1.8m wide. There were 36 polygonal towers, spaced some 70m apart. It appears that at least some of the towers and gates may predate the walls (Rosada, 1992:132). Of the four main gateways, Porta Palatina (the north gate) remains impressive. Built of brick, it had four archways, two central arches large enough for wheeled vehicles and smaller arches on either side for pedestrians. It had an inner courtyard some 11m x 12m and was flanked by 16-sided towers which reached 30m high (Rossignani et al., 2009:153). Two galleried arcades sat above the archways. The overall complex measured 36m x 22m, not far off the dimensions of Augusta Praetoria's Porta Praetoria (41m x 21m). Porta Palatina is dated to the Augustan period (Richmond, 1932). It may have been plastered white and painted to resemble squared stone masonry (Thomas, 2007:110). It is likely that Porta Decumana (the east gate) was similar (Chrzanovski, 2006:57). CIL 05, 07002 may relate to the city walls (Roda, 1997:207, Scuderi, 2008).

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Brixia *Regio X*	Augustan colony - Colonia Augusta Brixia (*colonia civica* – CIL 05, 04212), status granted at some point between 27BC and 8BC. Previously a *municipium*.	3km perimeter 50ha area	The early Augustan city walls enclosed the slopes and the summit of the hill on which the city was located (Grassi and Frontini, 2009). Only 250m of the circuit survives and only part of the footprint of the walls has been identified archaeologically. The outer facing was in *opus vittatum* with a less carefully finished inner facing. The width of the wall was 1.7m. The walls are dated to the Augustan period by reason of historical context (grant of colonial status) and construction technique but this has not been confirmed archaeologically. CIL 05, 04131 is also relevant (see Gregori, 2008 and Appendix J). Von Hesberg and Zanker (2012:419) dated the walls to 89BC but this is clearly incorrect, and is contradicted elsewhere in the same volume (2012:362) where the walls are attributed to the Augustan period. Only one of the original gates has been positively identified, the Porticula San Eusebi, which was single-arched (3.3m wide). Monumentalisation of the urban area started in the republican period (for example, the sanctuary area) and continued in the early imperial period. There was further development under the Flavians, particularly of the forum, basilica and temple buildings (Von Hesberg and Zanker, 2012). About half of the enclosed area was occupied (Breda, 1993). An aqueduct was a gift of Augustus to the city and was completed by Tiberius (CIL 05, 04037).

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Carsulae *Regio VI*	*Municipium*	15ha area	No continuous walled circuit has been identified around the urban area of the Roman town. A monumental free-standing archway with three arches marked the northern entrance to the town of the Via Flaminia. The Arco di San Damiano was built in *opus quadratum* and only the larger central arch has survived, measuring some 9.2m high, 5m wide and 4.5m deep (De Maria, 1988:237-238). There may have been a matching archway at the southern entrance. See detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix I.
Concordia Iulia *Regio X*	Triumviral (or earlier) colony, probably 42-40BC.	2.1km perimeter 40ha area	The city walls were constructed in the Augustan period following the foundation of the colony (Croce da Villa, 1998:479). They were built in *opus testaceum*; their width was 2-2.6m and estimated height 8m (Bonetto et al., 2009:234-238). The circuit followed a rectangular line, with one corner chamfered, and the street grid and city walls were aligned. The colony was founded at the junction of the Via Annia and Via Postumia. This formed the *decumanus maximus* as it passed through the colony and was marked by four-arched gates at each end (Croce da Villa, 1998:480). Ten gates have been identified or hypothesised in the circuit in total (Trevisanato, 1999:125-131), although not all are supported by archaeological evidence. At one end of the *cardo maximus* was a two-arched gate and at the other a three-arched gate. The minor gateways were narrow and single-arched. There were square towers at regular intervals along the circuit, with round towers at the southeast, southwest and northwest corners.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Emona *Regio X*	Augustan veteran colony (probably 31BC or 29BC, possibly later), founded on a greenfield site.	1.9km perimeter 22ha area	Emona was situated at a strategically important point on the communications route between the north Adriatic and the Danube basin. A boundary stone which is likely to date from the Augustan period, or possibly early Tiberian, confirmed that the city belonged administratively to Roman Italy, not Pannonia (Šašel Kos, 2003). CIL 03, 10768 records the donation of a monumental structure to the colony by Augustus and Tiberius and is dated to AD14-15. It is generally held that the inscription relates to the construction of the city walls (see, for example, Šašel Kos, 2012) and may have been positioned on one of the city gates. It is possible that another fragmentary inscription may also refer to the city walls, perhaps originally placed above another of the city gates, but this is highly speculative (Mráv, 2001). Šašel Kos argued that the early colony may have been located close by, but not on, the site of the orthogonally planned city which recent archaeological evidence suggests may not have been developed until the end of Augustus' principate or early in Tiberius' reign (Šašel Kos, 2012, Gaspari, 2010:141), the date to which CIL 03, 10768 is attributed. The walled circuit formed a precise rectangle, 524m x 436m, "one of the most perfected approximations of the ideal Roman rectangular town (*urbs quadrata*)" according to Gaspari (2010:126). The walls were 6m-8m high and 2.5m wide. There were 29 towers built every 60m along the circuit and four main gates. The north and south gateways were 3.5m wide.

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Fanum Fortunae *Regio VI*	Augustan veteran colony. Previously a *municipium*, and before that perhaps a *conciliabulum*	1.2km perimeter (excluding seafront), 1.8km (including seafront). 21ha area	The city walls and monumental gateway are dated by an inscription recording that they were a gift of Augustus in AD9-10 (CIL 11, 06218). The walls were built in *opus vittatum* and the walls, towers and gateways are carefully tied together. Porta di Augusto is a monumental triple-arched gateway at the point where the Via Flaminia entered the city. It was constructed in *opus quadratum* from bright limestone, contrasting with the yellow sandstone of the walls and of the secondary gateway, Porta della Mandria. There were 24 round towers at reasonably regular intervals along the walled circuit. See summary information at Appendix B and detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix D.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Florentia *Regio VII*	Caesarian or triumviral colony, probably on a greenfield site (Scampoli, 2010:9-10).	1.8km perimeter 20ha area	It appears that the city walls of Florentia were not built for some time after the colony's foundation, particularly if the current view that it is a Caesarian foundation is correct. The walls are confidently dated to the early Augustan period by Cianferoni (2015:55) and Scampoli (2010:9-14) following recent excavations which found ceramics of this date in association with the city walls. The footprint of the walls is reasonably well understood: the walled circuit enclosed the colony on three sides with the fourth facing onto the River Arno. It was built in *opus testaceum*, with circular towers at regular intervals some 50m apart, and was 2m wide. Almost straight away, the theatre was constructed up against the elevation of the wall, to benefit from its height (Scampoli, 2010:26-29). Gateways with flanking towers were positioned in the centre of each side of the circuit (the one in the southern side leading to a bridge over the river). According to Scampoli, the gate structures were 10m wide overall with a *cavaedium* some 12-15m deep; Pagni noted that the actual opening of the north gate was single-arched and 3.6m wide (2010:125-128). Following earlier research (for example, Lopes Pegna, 1962), Pagni argued that the gateways preceded the construction of the walls by several decades. Traces of a monumental archway were discovered in the 1920s in the southeast section of the walled circuit.

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Hispellum *Regio VI*	Triumviral colony, probably to be associated with settlement following Perusine War 41-40BC. The colony may have received further veterans after 31BC.	1.8km perimeter 15ha area	The main source for the city walls is Fontaine (1990). The walls are dated to around 30-20BC and were carefully built in *opus vittatum* from small blocks of local pinkish limestone. There were six gates, including the two major triple-arched gateways of Porta Consolare, built around 40-35BC, and Porta Venere, constructed from bright limestone. See summary information at Appendix B and detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix E.
Laus Pompeia *Regio XI*	*Municipium*	?36ha area - this 1950s estimate is very doubtful, since the footprint of the urban area is still unknown.	An inscription records that Drusus donated gates to the town in AD14-23 (CIL 05, 06358). There is little archaeological evidence for the town walls, which Lomas and others argued should be associated with the imperial gift (Lomas and Cornell, 2003:32). Their probable position has been plotted from aerial photographs and small-scale excavations (Jorio, 1993). These excavations have revealed two square towers, one 7.8m x 8.2m but with no trace of a connecting wall, and the second tower 3.5m x 3.5m. The construction technique was *opus testaceum* (Bonetto, 1998:26).

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Libarna *Regio IX*	*Municipium* (CIL 05, 07428)	23ha area	Monumental gateways were placed at either end of the *cardo maximus* where the Via Postumia crossed the town, and served to define the urban area (Gambari, 2014:26-27, Panero, 2000:115-131). The gateways do not appear to be joined to town walls and the Soprintendenza is confident that there was no continuous walled circuit around the town (2015). The gateways were double-arched with a *cavaedium* and flanking circular towers and are dated to the Augustan period, at the same time as the development of the urban centre (Conventi, 2004). The town was based on an inner grid of square insulae; the built-up area covered some 23ha (Rossignani et al., 2009:44).
Mediolanum *Regio XI*	*Municipium* ("*firmissimum municipium"* - Tacitus *Historiae* I,10)	3.5km perimeter 72ha area	Latest opinion holds that the walls are Augustan (Sacchi, 2012:57-62), although until recently they were thought to be Caesarian (Ceresa Mori, 2000:88, Tocchetti Pollini, 1983). Conventi dated them to 40-35BC (2004:108). An Augustan date is predicated chiefly on the construction technique and the narrow (1.6m) width. Sacchi argued that the same school of engineers may have been responsible for the walls of Mediolanum and Alba Pompeia, given the similarities between them. It is the longest walled circuit of Augustan date known in Roman Italy. The outer facing of the wall is in *opus testaceum* with interspersed layers in *opus quadratum* (Bonetto, 1998:26), while the inner facing is less carefully finished in *opus incertum*. A limited amount of material in the outer facing is from some distance away (70km); Sacchi argued that this was incorporated into the walls for decorative purposes. Sacchi deduced the height of the walls at 7m-9m on the basis of comparisons with other contemporary walls. The location of only one gate (Porta Ticinensis) is known for certain. It was (probably) double-arched, with each passageway some 3m wide (Chrzanovski, 2006:186). It had flanking towers, only one of which has survived, which were built on a square base with 18-sided walls and whose dimensions are very similar to the towers flanking Porta Venere at Hispellum.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Peltuinum *Regio IV*	*Praefectura*	22ha area	The city occupied a strategic location on the route of an important *tratturo* and later the Via Claudia Nova, high up in the mountains (850m above sea level). The monumentalisation of the urban area, including the forum and temple complex, the theatre and the amphitheatre, dates from the Augustan period, to which the city walls should probably also be dated (Sewell, 2015, Sommella, 1988:178, although Jouffroy, 1986:21, assigned them to the mid first century BC). The walls, significant remnants of which are extant on the northwest perimeter, were built from blocks of limestone and had a cement core. Several towers are still visible. The double-arched gateway at the western end of the city, through which the Via Claudia Nova passed as it traversed the town, is still partially preserved (Migliorati, 2011). It was built in *opus quadratum* and had flanking circular towers. The base of a large funerary monument is preserved just outside the western gateway.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Pola *Regio X*	Now considered to be a Caesarian colony, previously thought to be triumviral.	1.6km perimeter (approx.) 20ha area (approx.)	Pola was an important harbour and trading point at the furthest fringe of Roman Italy. Unusually, owing to the topography of the site and the coastline, the colony was roughly circular in area, with streets fanning out radially. Although Keppie (1983:204) dated the walls and gates of Pola to the Augustan period and Rosada confidently placed them in the decade 40-30BC (1990:383), it is likely that both the colonial foundation and the initial wall construction were Caesarian, in line with Caesar's policy of consolidating Roman authority over the Istrian peninsula (Zecchini, 2014). Jouffroy (1986:23) dated the city walls of Pola to the beginning of the second half of the first century BC, but considered that they were only completed in the Augustan period (1986:65). Two round towers and four square towers survive in the southern section of the wall. A monumental octagonal mausoleum from the early Julio-Claudian period is positioned immediately outside the Porta Gemina. A Caesarian date for at least the start of construction of the walled circuit is consistent with an inscription on the Hercules Gate (CIL 05, 00054), which is dated to 48-46BC. This gateway measured 4m high x 3.6m wide. The Porta Gemina as it now survives is probably from the second century AD (Kołodziejczyk, 2014). The Arch of the Sergii, which was built up against an existing city gate, is confidently dated to the Augustan period (Woodhull, 2004), probably around 20-10BC. The arch survives today, but the Porta Aurea to which it was attached was demolished in the nineteenth century (Rosada, 1990:394). The single opening in the Arch of the Sergii was 4.2m wide and 7.3m high (De Maria, 1988:251).

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Pollentia *Regio IX*	*Municipium*	34ha area	Pollentia was strategically sited on the road network in Liguria. Preacco (2007:267) reported that recent excavations at Pollentia failed to find evidence for a traditional wall (despite looking for it). She suggested that the boundary of Pollentia may have been marked by stone towers and gateways, as at Augusta Bagiennorum only 20km away, perhaps connected by a wooden palisade (see also Rossignani et al., 2009:94). Work is continuing on the site.
Saepinum *Regio IV*	*Municipium*	1.3km perimeter 12ha area	The walls, gates and towers of Saepinum are dated by reference to CIL 09, 02443, which records that they were a gift from the imperial family in 2BC-AD4. The same inscription was placed above each of the four single-arched gateways into the town, complemented by sculptural imagery rich in symbolism. The walls were built in *opus quasi-reticulatum* from local limestone. There were originally 36 towers (34 round, 2 octagonal), one of which was demolished soon after construction to make room for a secondary access directly into the theatre area. See summary information at Appendix B and detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix F.

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Tergeste *Regio X*	Probably a Caesarian colony (Bernardini et al., 2015). Previously considered by Keppie to be a triumviral colony (post 41BC - 1983:63) on a greenfield site.	3km perimeter	Our understanding of the development of Roman Tergeste has changed significantly with the very recent publication of results from airborne remote sensing and geophysical surveys (Bernardini et al., 2015). Bernardini et al. reported the discovery of an early Roman military fortification, which may relate to the Roman conquest of the Istrian peninsula in 178-177BC, recorded by Livy. The site was in use, perhaps not continuously, at least until the mid first century BC and, according to Bernardini et al., may constitute the first settlement at Roman Tergeste before the foundation of the colony on a site close by. The colony of Tergeste became an important port. Rosada confidently dated the city walls to the decade 40-30BC (1990:383) and their construction is associated with an inscription, CIL 05, 00525, which records the donation of walls and towers to the city by Octavian in 33BC. The city walls, which were built in an irregular *opus quadratum,* were between 2m and 3m wide (one of the widest of the walls built in this period - see Bonetto, 1998:26, 50). Their height is estimated at 5.5m (Bonetto, 1998:50), which, if correct, would have given them a somewhat squat appearance. There were square towers. If Bernardini et al. were right to place the foundation of the colony in the period 58-50BC, there was a gap of some 20 years before the construction of the city walls. The Arco di Riccardo, still visible, was placed at the end of the *decumanus maximus*. It had only a single archway 3m wide, even though it was on a principal route into the colony. In its surviving form, it is held to date from the mid first century AD or Flavian period and to have replaced an earlier gateway in the Augustan walls (Mangani et al., 1981:272-273). It was embellished with architectural decoration and motifs.

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Ticinum *Regio XI*	*Municipium*	2.8km perimeter 38ha area	The only evidence for the Augustan walls is from CIL 05, 06416, dated to AD7-8, which records a dedication to the imperial family. The object of the dedication is not stated in the text, which Gabba (1984:229) interpreted as recording the gratitude of the local community to the emperor for building the town walls, although Zaccaria (1990:135) noted that it is not possible to tell from the inscription whether or not the initiative and financing should be attributed to the emperor or local community. The inscription is known only from a ninth century manuscript, which referred to its placement on a monumental gateway: although Gabba and others were confident that the identification with Ticinum is correct (see, for example, Gabba, 1990), their view is not universally shared (Rose, 1990). No archaeological trace of the Augustan walls or archway has yet been identified. The probable line of the town walls has been reconstructed from aerial photographs, the modern street plan, the Roman drainage network, and medieval references (Hudson, 1993).

Name	**Status**	**Size**	**Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways**
Tridentum *Regio X*	*Municipium* (*splendidum municipium* in an edict of Claudius dated to AD46 - CIL 05, 05050)	1.2km perimeter 13ha area	Bassi dated the town walls to the Augustan period (2007). The walls have been identified on the east, west and south sides of the town (the River Adige was to the north). The circuit was rectangular with sides between 335m and 400m long. Recent excavations have revealed a complex picture: for example, it appears that the towers were built in around 30BC while the walls followed a decade or so later (Bassi, 2007:58). Bassi did not see this as incompatible with CIL 05, 05027, dated to 23BC, which she associated with the construction of the walls. The inscription records that an imperial official supervised a building project, possibly of the town walls or towers, in Augustus' name (Cooley, 2012:155). The walls, which were 1.2-1.3m wide and estimated at 4-5m high, were constructed in *opus mixtum*, with horizontal rows of brick inserted at regular intervals into the stone structure. The inner façade was built in stone and pebbles, while the outer façade was more carefully constructed with small slabs of horizontally placed stone (Ciurletti, 2003:37). 11 rectangular towers straddled the walls and aligned with the main streets, although there appears not to have been a tower at the southwest or southeast corners of the town. The dimensions of the walls are the smallest of the known Augustan city walls. Porta Veronensis, in the southern side of the circuit, was a monumental double-arched gateway with a *cavaedium* measuring some 8m x 4m, significantly smaller than that of Augusta Praetoria or Augusta Taurinorum. It was constructed from white limestone and was flanked by polygonal 16-sided brick towers on a large base in contrasting red Trento stone (Bonetto, 1998). The width of each archway was 2.8m. In this form, the gateway is held to be Claudian in date and thus not contemporary with the town walls (Baggio Bernardoni, 2000:356).

Name	Status	Size	Summary and brief discussion of walls/towers/gateways
Urbs Salvia *Regio VI*	Colony likely to have been founded in last third of second century BC, probably refounded by Augustus.	2.7km perimeter (no trace of wall on west side). 45ha area	The main source for the city walls is Perna (2006, 2007). The walls are dated to the Augustan period and were built of *opus testaceum* with similar inner and outer facings. Fourteen towers, including those flanking the north gate, have been identified at irregular intervals along the circuit. They vary in size, shape and date (a number of towers appear to postdate the construction of the walled circuit). There is archaeological evidence for three gateways. See summary information at Appendix B and detailed discussion, with full referencing, at Appendix G.
Venafrum *Regio I*	There may have been a Caesarian or triumviral colony (Colonia Iulia Venefrana - CIL 10 04875a) followed by the known Augustan settlement (Colonia Iulia Augusta - CIL 10, 04894).	2.1km perimeter 27ha area	The city walls are generally held to be Augustan in date (see, for example, Conventi, 2004) and may have been dismantled as early as the first century AD. Only short stretches of the walls have been identified. They were 1.3m wide (Zambardi, 2007) and there were at least three gates, in the west, east and north sides of the circuit. As well as enclosing the urban centre, the Augustan walls may have extended to the slopes of Monte San Croce, where earlier polygonal walling and terracing defined a sacred area (Capini, 1991:31). The colony was connected to the Via Latina via a *diverticulum*. CIL 10, 04876 records C Aclutius Gallus as *duovir urbis moeniundae*: it is the only extant inscription earlier than the third century AD which describes an official role in relation to city walls (Demougin, 1991). The wording of the inscription implies that Aclutius' military career took place before 30BC (that is, before Augustus' reorganisation of the army), which could support the argument for a triumviral colony and early Augustan walls (Capini, 1991, 1999). It is known that Augustus donated an aqueduct to the colony in 18-11BC (CIL 10, 04842).

Appendix B Summary information on case studies

Appendix B: Summary information on case studies

	Augusta Praetoria	**Fanum Fortunae**	**Hispellum**	**Saepinum**	**Urbs Salvia**
Status	Augustan colony (greenfield site)	Augustan colony (previously *municipium*, possibly earlier a *conciliabulum* or *statio* on the Via Flaminia)	Triumviral colony founded around 41BC, previously *municipium*. More veterans may have been settled there after the Battle of Actium.	*Municipium* (from 89BC, evidence of earlier settlement on site)	Second century BC colony, refounded by Augustus?
Date of walls	Shortly after foundation of colony in 25BC	AD9-10	30-20BC	2BC-AD4	Augustan
Circuit length	2.5km	1.2km (excl seafront)	1.8km	1.27km	2.7km (incl west side)
Area enclosed	42ha	21ha	15ha	12ha	45ha
Construction technique	opus quadratum	opus vittatum	opus vittatum	opus quasi-reticulatum	opus testaceum
Height	6.5m	12m	13m	4.8m	not known

	Augusta Praetoria	**Fanum Fortunae**	**Hispellum**	**Saepinum**	**Urbs Salvia**
Width	1.9m (at base, tapering to 1.5m at top)	1.8m	2.4m	1.75-1.9m	1.5-1.6m
Internal/external facing	dissimilar (internal façade in opus incertum)	similar	similar	similar	similar
Buttress	yes	no	no	no	no
Rampart/vallum	rampart	no	no	no	no
Towers	20 (4 square corner towers, 8 rectangular towers flanking gates, 8 further rectangular towers)	24 (22 circular, 2 U-shaped towers flanking Porta di Augusto)	2 (both with doors providing access to outside the city)	36 (34 circular, 2 octagonal)	13 identified (7 octagonal, 4 quadrilateral, 1 hexagonal, 1 pentagonal) plus 2 towers flanking north gate (1 identified, 1 presumed)
Distance between towers	120-140m (short sides) 170-180m (long sides)	44-61m	n/a	24-36m	irregular

	Augusta Praetoria	**Fanum Fortunae**	**Hispellum**	**Saepinum**	**Urbs Salvia**
Gates[178]	4: - 2 x 3A with cavaedium - 2 x 1A	2 extant: - 1 x 3A with cavaedium - 1 x 1A 1 further gateway likely in SE section of wall, to provide access to road to Sena Gallica. Exact location not known.	6: - 2 x 3A with cavaedium - 1 x 2A - 3 x 1A	4 identical x 1A with cavaedium 1 or 2 minor gates	3 confirmed: - 1 x "Fréjus" type (concave, set back from wall) - 1 x 2A - 1 plan not known
Dimensions of gates[179]	Porta Praetoria (3A): 21m wide overall, central arch 7mW x 9mH, side arches 2.6mW x 6mH. 41m total width including flanking towers. Porta Principalis Sinistra: 21mW overall, archway 7mH.	Porta di Augusto (3A): central arch 5.9mW x 8mH, side arches 1.8mW x 4.3mH. Porta della Mandria: 3.6mW x 3.6mH x 2.7mD.	Porta Venere (3A): central arch 3.8mW x 6.6mH, side arches 2.15mW x 3.5mH. Porta Consolare (3A): central arch 4.4mW x 6.8mH, side arches 1.7mW x 3.4mH. Arco di Augusto (2A): one arch 4.5mH x 3mW	Porta Boiano, Porta Benevento, Porta Tammaro, Porta Terravecchia (1A): 4.3-4.5mW x 4.4-4.7mH. Inner courtyards 11.5m x 7.5m (Porta Boiano), 7-7.5m x 4.5-5m (other gates). Minor gate by theatre:	N gate (estimate): opening 10mW; distance between flanking towers 30m, gate set back c15m from line of wall. E gate: 28mW x?H x 11mD S gate: dimensions not known.

[178] 1A = single-arched; 2A = double-arched; 3A = triple-arched
[179] W = width; H = height; D = depth; N = north; E = east; S = south

	Augusta Praetoria	**Fanum Fortunae**	**Hispellum**	**Saepinum**	**Urbs Salvia**
	Dimensions of other gates not confirmed.		x 2mD, dimensions of other arch not known (but assumed to be similar). Porta San Ventura (1A): 2.95mW x 4.9mH x 2.2mD. Porta dell'Arce (1A): 3mW x 4.2mH x 2mD. Porta San Sisto (1A): 3mW x 4.5mH. Dimensions of gate within Torre di Borgo not known. Gate within second tower - 1mW x 2.3mH.	2.1mW x 2.2-3.8mD, height not known. Minor gate likely in S section of wall: dimensions not known.	
Inscriptions	no	yes CIL 11, 06218: *Imp(erator) Caesar(is) divi f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maximus co(n)s(ul) XIII tribunicia*	possibly CIL 11, 05266: *[Imp(erator) Caes]ar divi [f(ilius) Augustus*	yes CIL 09, 02443: *Ti(berius) Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Nero pont(ifex) co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator) II*	no

	Augusta Praetoria	**Fanum Fortunae**	**Hispellum**	**Saepinum**	**Urbs Salvia**
		potest(ate) XXXII / imp(erator) XXVI pater patriae murum dedit		*trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI / Nero Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Drusus Germanicus augur co(n)s(ul) imp(erator) II / murum portas turris s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendas) c(uraverunt)*	
Foundation ritual	yes	no	no	yes	no
Regular grid	yes	yes	not known	no	yes (on part of site)
Related sanctuary	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Processional route	no	probably	yes	possibly	no
Intramural route	yes	possibly	no	no	no
Connectivity	Alpine passes	Via Flaminia	Via Flaminia	Tratturo	Via Salaria Gallica

Appendix C Augusta Praetoria

C.1 The geographic context of Augusta Praetoria

Figure 104: location of Augusta Praetoria

Augusta Praetoria (modern Aosta) lies some 600m above sea level in a steep and narrow Alpine valley (Figure 104), near the confluence of the River Buthier with the River Dora Baltea. It is situated in the most fertile part of the valley in a strategically important site dominated by high mountains, including Monte Emilius to the east which rises above 3,500m. The climate is characteristic of a mountain area, with cold winters, dry summers and high daily temperature variations. As Chevallier pointed out (1988:142-144), the difficulties of sustaining a community here in the Roman period should not be underestimated, given for example the effects of snow, wind and fog on communications, the lack of feed for livestock in winter and the unreliable growing season in summer.

The Aosta valley was recognised as a strategic routeway across the Alps long before it came under Roman control. It commanded the way to the Great St Bernard pass which gave access through the Alpis Poenina to the Gauls, Germany and the Rhine, and to the Little St Bernard pass through the Alpis Graia leading to Haut-Savoie and on to the Rhone corridor (a map of the local context is in Chapter 3.2, Figure 3). The valley and its Alpine passes were controlled by the Salassi tribe who based their economy on levying tolls on travellers and on the exploitation of mineral resources (including gold mines) (Rossignani et al., 2009:266-268).

Roman interest in the area was inevitable as Rome's influence spread north. Dilke assessed that Roman intervention and planning in the valley can be attributed to a combination of military, political and economic factors (1988:90). A key event was the defeat inflicted on the Salassi by Appius Claudius in 143BC following which the Romans gained access to the gold mines (Cavallaro, 1988:61). In 100BC a Roman colony was founded at Eporedia at the mouth of the Aosta valley, thus excluding the Salassi from the Po valley. Thereafter, there is evidence from the archaeological record of greater contact and commercial exchange between the Romans and the Salassi, leading to what Chrzanovski called the "progressive Romanisation" of the tribe, including the use of Campanian ceramics (2006:19). But sporadic hostility between the two continued, interspersed with periods of peace, collaboration and integration. Roman control of the valley itself

was achieved only after Terentius Varro Murena's victory over the Salassi in 25BC. This campaign was recorded by Strabo,[180] who, as Gabba noted (1988:57-58), saw the conquest of the Alps and their penetration by the Roman road network as a civilising mission, not only to provide secure passage through the mountains but also to symbolise Roman conquest of nature.

C.2 Colonial settlement and urban development of Augusta Praetoria

The colony of Augusta Praetoria was founded by Augustus in 25BC following Terentius Varro Murena's victory. Archaeological evidence shows that the area in which the city was built had been occupied since Neolithic times, although only scattered settlements have been found and the main centre of the Salassi has not been identified to date (Rossignani et al., 2009:288, Mollo Mezzena, 2012). Strabo tells us that following their defeat the whole of the Salassi tribe – 36,000 individuals and 8,000 men of fighting age – was sold as booty,[181] while Dio records that all the men of military age were sold into slavery.[182] The plausibility of these numbers, given the likely population which an Alpine valley could sustain, was discussed by Tibiletti (1982:89-91). In any event, the tribe was not eliminated. *Incolae* from the Salassi are known from an inscription dating to the earliest years of the colony (23BC)[183] to have settled in the city, suggesting a surprising degree of integration so soon after a supposedly calamitous defeat. The inscription, which was found near the Porta Principalis Dextera of the colony, had been placed on a monument or statue to Augustus who was recorded as their patron (Cavallaro et al., 1988).[184] It shows that, far from being marginalised and dispossessed, some members of the tribe had received Roman citizenship straight away, adopting Augustus' family name of Iulia.

According to Strabo,[185] three thousand colonists were sent to found the new city (although Keppie, 1983:206, noted that this may be a stock figure) and the most fertile land was assigned to veterans of the Praetorian Guard.[186] The territory of Augusta Praetoria extended a long way, from the Alpine passes to the narrowing of the valley near modern Pont St Martin some 50km further down the valley (Chrzanovski, 2006:19). Evidence of centuriation has proved elusive but Dilke commented (1988:92-93) that it would have had to take the form of a long narrow strip, citing Hyginus Gromaticus on the difficulties of centuriation in mountainous areas and the depiction in the *Corpus Agrimensorum* of a Colonia Augusta (illustrated in Chapter 3.2, Figure 4). Dilke's identification of this Colonia Augusta with Augusta Praetoria was supported somewhat half-

[180] Strabo *Geographica* iv,6,6
[181] Strabo *Geographica* iv,6,7
[182] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 53,25,5
[183] Inscr Ital 11, 01, 0006 *Salassi incol(ae) / qui initio se / in colon(iam) con[t(ulerunt)] / patron(o)*
[184] It is one of only three early imperial inscriptions known from Augusta Praetoria and presented in Cavallaro's collection.
[185] Strabo *Geographica* iv,6,7
[186] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 53,25,5

heartedly by Campbell, 2000:391, who commented that the illustration might be of Augusta Bagiennorum instead.

The new city lay on what, in the absence of evidence of earlier habitation to date, is assumed to be a greenfield site on the north bank of the River Dora Baltea. The layout of the Roman city roughly followed the topography of the site although the terrain was not level, sloping by some 17m from the northeast corner to the southwest of the city. The site itself was constrained by the course of the River Buthier to the east, the River Dora Baltea to the south and to the north by steep terrain.

Strabo tells us that the city was built on the site of Varro's military camp[187] and this has led a number of commentators to argue that the urban planning of Augusta Praetoria was based on (or conducted by) the military (see, for example, Finocchi, 1963, Carducci, 1958:41-43, Gates, 2003:323). But no archaeological trace of Varro's camp has been found and recent consensus prefers to see more practical reasons of topography determining the layout of the city (see, for example, Mollo Mezzena, 2012:396, Chrzanovski, 2006:22). In more general terms, Fentress argued that an association or dependency between urban and military planning were less important than the fact that both are products of the same mindset which articulated concepts of social or military hierarchies through building programmes (2000:18). This is certainly true of Augusta Praetoria where the imposition of a planned city on the Alpine landscape was a clear statement of power and control.

Augusta Praetoria is often referenced as a model of urban planning (see, for example, Bertarione and Magli, 2015, Corni, 2004, Sommella, 1988:171-172), but it is in fact quite unusual in its symmetry, displaying a strikingly precise orthogonal layout within a perfectly rectangular walled circuit (Figure 105). There are parallels, however, both with colonies of the republic such as Luna (177BC) and Allifae (mid first century BC) and the contemporary colonies of Augusta Taurinorum and Concordia Iulia. Unlike early citizen colonies such as Ostia, Terracina and Minturnae and the contemporary colony of Emona, at Augusta Praetoria (and Augusta Taurinorum) the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* do not bisect the grid plan in the middle, because the *cardo maximus* is displaced along the line of the walls (see plan below). As a result, the location of the forum at Augusta Praetoria is not in the geometric centre of the city but where movement through the city is directed. The *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus,* which at 9.5m are the widest in the city, led from the four main gateways. The forum and the sacred area of the city were located at the junction of these Alpine roads.

[187] Strabo *Geographica* iv,6,7

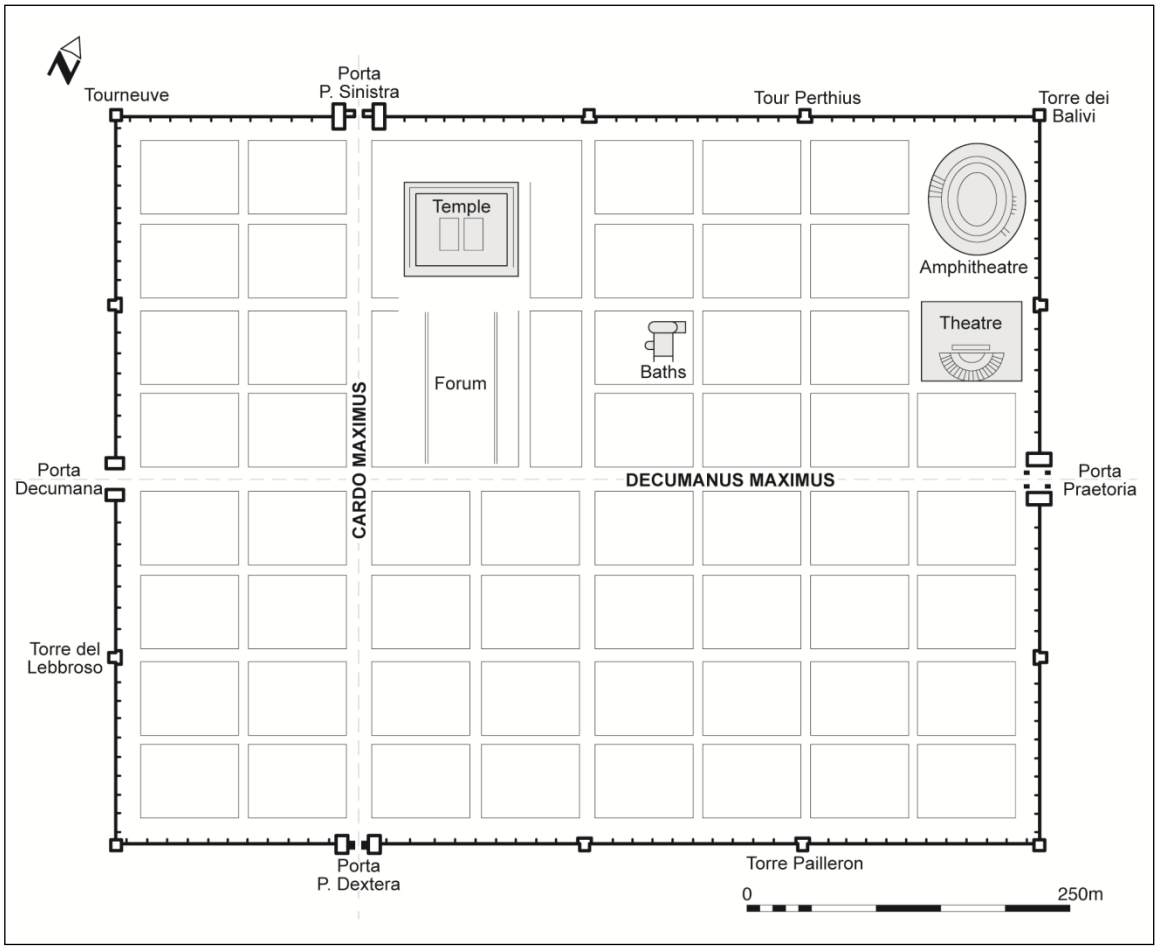

Figure 105: site plan of Augusta Praetoria

Towers are placed at regular intervals along the circuit wall. Each tower lined up with a major street. These major streets were some 8m wide, built over the drainage network and defining a group of four *insulae*. The minor streets, between 4m and 5m wide, divided up the city into 64 identical *insulae*, each measuring 75m x 57m (Mollo Mezzena, 1988). The spatial logic of the city internally is therefore inextricably tied to the spatial logic of the city walls and for this reason there can be no doubt that the city walls were part of the original foundation of the colony and were conceived as a single project (Fazari, 2005:8).

By restricting and controlling access to the city, the gateways have the effect of channelling movement through the city to the forum which is at the northern and higher part of the city, while private housing appears to be concentrated in the lower, southern sector (Mollo Mezzena, 2012:403). Laurence et al. (2011:50) calculated that Augusta Praetoria's public buildings took up about 17% of the urban space. This is an underestimate in my view: the forum and sacred area, theatre, amphitheatre and baths alone occupied over 20% of the intramural area. This was a somewhat higher proportion than at the roughly contemporary Augusta Taurinorum, where public buildings occupied about 15% of the urban space.

Chrzanovski warned (2006:33) that not all the city's street plan has been independently verified by archaeology and that some building dates rest on shaky evidence with their subsequent phases not well understood. It is becoming increasingly clear that a number of key public buildings date not to the time of the city's foundation but to a few decades later, as is discussed in the following sections. It is thus open for debate the extent to which the careful placement of the city's public buildings had been planned from the first or whether it evolved over time. In Mollo Mezzena's view, however, the meticulous layout of the city and its monumental buildings at the time of its foundation articulated a "significant relationship" between architecture and imperial ideology (Mollo Mezzena, 2012:403).

C.2.1 Bridge across the River Buthier

The first significant structure which the traveller from Rome encountered was the bridge over the River Buthier, not far from the confluence of the rivers Dora Baltea and Buthier (Figure 106). The bridge was about 6m wide with a single span arch of 17.6m. It was perfectly aligned with the Arch of Augustus and beyond that to Porta Praetoria (Figure 107). The course of the river changed in medieval times and the river no longer flows under the bridge. There was a second bridge across the Buthier which probably predated the foundation of the colony and provided a link between the road from Eporedia to the Great St Bernard pass (Mollo Mezzena, 1982:219).

Figure 106: bridge over River Buthier

Figure 107: view from the crest of the bridge looking west towards Arch of Augustus

C.2.2 Arch of Augustus

The free-standing Arch of Augustus was built shortly after 25BC in honour of Augustus to commemorate the Roman victory over the Salassi[188] and stands about 400m from Porta Praetoria, the main gateway in the city walls (Figures 108 and 109). It is an early example of a monument type which Augustus deliberately used to further his ideological principles and to publicise his

[188] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 53,26,5

successes (AAVV, 2013:10). According to Mollo Mezzena, who noted the discovery of tombs nearby, the arch may have marked the limit of the *pomerium* of the city (1987:24).

Figure 108: western façade of Arch of Augustus

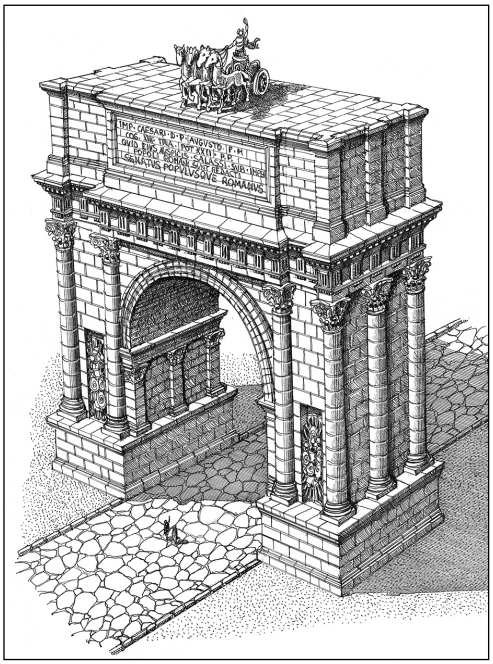

Figure 109: proposed reconstruction of archway

Built from local pudding stone,[189] the monument has a single archway some 11.5m high from ground level to keystone and 8.9m across within overall dimensions of 19.5m in width and (currently) 14m height (AAVV, 2013:17). It is an austere monument combining Corinthian and Doric styles, already somewhat old-fashioned even at the time of its construction. The ten half columns around the sides of the monument have Corinthian capitals but support a Doric entablature with a restrained triglyph and metope decoration (Figure 111). The upper storey, which presumably once displayed a monumental inscription, was replaced in the early eighteenth century by a sloping roof and in its absence it is hard to judge what the original height of the monument would have been. Three letters (28cm high) from a monumental inscription, in bronze, were found near the arch around 1900 and should probably be associated with it (Nicolotti and Poggianti, 2014b) (Figure 110). The niches between the pairs of columns on either side of the front of the arch and the inset panels under the archway probably once held statues and painted or sculpted scenes but these have long gone (Rossignani et al., 2009:296).

[189] "Pudding stone" is a conglomerate of pebbles, different in size and lithological characteristics, embedded in a matrix of sand and silt and bound together by fine sand and silica cement (Ponziani et al., 2012).

Figure 110: letters from monumental inscription

Figure 111: detail of decoration on entablature of arch

The archway framed a formal and axial approach to the city on the road from Rome, displaying a unitary architectural composition with the main city gateway and long distance road similar to that found in other cities of north Italy such as Verona. Although its architectural decoration is minimal compared to contemporary archways such as those of Ariminum or Segusium, it nevertheless served an honorary and propagandistic purpose, symbolising the free passage now open to the Romans through the Alps. Von Hesberg and Zanker (2012:419) dated the archway confidently to 15-10BC, but the unadorned, even slightly ponderous, nature of the monument makes Rossignani's assessment of it as a prototype for the many Augustan and later imperial archways more convincing (2009:296) and thus a date closer to the colony's foundation more plausible.

The road to the city which ran between the Arch of Augustus and the city's main gateway, Porta Praetoria, has recently been the subject of archaeological intervention (Framarin and Joris, 2011). This confirmed that the road was cobbled and very wide (21m, the same width as Porta Praetoria, although some of this would have been pavement). A wall fronting the road was dated to the earliest phase of the city which suggests that there was extramural development, assumed to be residential, from the time of its foundation.

C.2.3 Forum, cryptoporticus and sacred area

The location of the forum is notably off-centre but is at the crossroads of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*. Together with the adjacent sacred area, it occupies eight *insulae*. Laurence et al. (2011:178) noted that the forum at Augusta Praetoria follows a tripartite model combining religious, business and commercial functions also to be found at the contemporary Augusta Bagiennorum and Brixia. The forum was planned with careful symmetry and manifest monumentality, with attention paid to issues of visibility so that the sacred area, which was some 2.7m higher than the secular area, dominated the cityscape.

The secular part of the forum measured 90m x 130m and was paved in square slabs of local stone (bardiglio). The southern end of the forum is not well understood but it is thought that the basilica

may have been located here, either dating from the city's foundation (Chrzanovski, 2006:23) or from the first century AD (Mollo Mezzena, 2012:413). The forum was surrounded by rows of shops and an imposing double portico some 17m wide on at least two sides (Chrzanovski, 2006:23). Additional public buildings, also thought by Chrzanovski to date from the foundation of the colony, have been located on either side of the forum, including, to the west along the *decumanus maximus*, a building on a high podium with cryptoporticus below which may be a curia (Mollo Mezzena, 1999:111).

Beneath the upper end of the forum was a massive and impressive cryptoporticus whose floor was nearly three metres below the Roman ground level and which extended on three sides of a quadrilateral (92m x 86m). The cryptoporticus consisted of two parallel barrel-vaulted passages separated by a low arcade and lit by windows which lie almost at ground level outside the building (Figure 112). The purpose of the cryptoporticus has long been disputed, with interpretations ranging from a pleasant shaded place to stroll during the summer heat or to shelter from the winter cold; a grain store; a place of procession in connection with the temples above; a military function (Nicolotti and Poggianti, 2014a). Nicolotti and Poggianti even reported a suggestion that the cryptoporticus predated the colony, being built around 35BC as a store for weapons or food for Terentius Varro Murena's military campaigns, although there is no evidence to support this view. Chrzanovski, on the other hand, was confident that the purpose of the cryptoporticus was simply to elevate by some three metres the sacred part of the forum from the lower secular part (2006:23) and this is supported by Mollo Mezzena, who noted that the sacred area of the forum was terraced in order to artificially elevate it above the secular area (2012:404).

Figure 112: cryptoporticus

Figure 113: base for temple

It is likely that a sequence of stairs joined the upper (sacred) forum space to the lower (Mollo Mezzena, 2012:404). The sacred area was occupied by two big platforms (Figure 113), of which originally only the monumental footing faced in travertine had been identified but which are now known to have contained two matching temples (Framarin and Cortelazzo, 2005). It is assumed that one of the temples was dedicated to Augustus and the other either to the deified Rome (thus

Bertarione and Magli, 2015) or to the Capitoline triad (Nicolotti and Poggianti, 2014a). An inscription referencing the Capitoline triad was found nearby.[190]

To the north of the sacred area, close to Porta Principalis Sinistra, archaeological intervention has located a building which according to Mollo Mezzena may be an Augusteum, although a *schola* or a grainstore are also plausible interpretations (Mollo Mezzena, 1987:28-31). Recent work on the site reported by Framarin et al. noted simply that this was a "single architectural project of public interest" without committing to an identification (Framarin et al., 2012).

C.2.4 Theatre and amphitheatre

The theatre was located near Porta Praetoria and occupied an entire *insula*. It consisted of a ground floor of arcaded bays separated by buttresses, each arcade being surmounted by three small square-headed windows, three round-headed windows and a single very large round-headed window. The monumental stone façade still stands to 22m. The *cavea* of the theatre was contained within a rectangular structure which has similarities to an odeon. Although Gros was sceptical (1996:286-287), Mollo Mezzena remained convinced that the theatre was roofed (see, for example, Mollo Mezzena, 2012:411). It is now recognised that the theatre cannot date to the time of the colony's foundation because earlier habitation, aligned to the street grid and therefore itself unlikely to predate the colony, has been found underneath the theatre (Nicolotti and Poggianti, 2014a). A Julio-Claudian date is plausible (Chrzanovski, 2006:24). It is estimated that the theatre could have housed 4,000 spectators (AAVV, 2013:68).

The amphitheatre was also located inside the city walls and occupied the two northeast corner *insulae* north of the theatre, to which it was linked by a *porticus post scaenam* (Chrzanovski, 2006:24). The building measures 86m x 74m and is perfectly aligned with the street grid and the walls but little is known of its internal layout: only the external façade of masonry and the vaulted underpinning of the seating remains. It is estimated that the amphitheatre could hold up to 20,000 spectators, considerably more than the presumed number of the city's inhabitants (AAVV, 2013:69).[191]

Recent work has revealed that, as with the theatre, the amphitheatre overlay earlier structures (Bertarione and Calcagno, 2009). This, together with the amphitheatre's similarities with the theatre in architectural style and building material, makes a Julio-Claudian date plausible. Bertarione and Calcagno speculated that the amphitheatre may originally have been planned to be built elsewhere, outside the city, but was moved inside the walls because extramural sites were too boggy or were needed for agriculture. On the other hand, like the theatre, the careful positioning of

[190] CIL 05, 06829
[191] De Ligt and Northwood estimated that the population of the city itself was between 5,000 and 6,300 (2008:157).

the amphitheatre within the urban layout implies that the land may have been earmarked for this purpose from the foundation of the colony but temporarily used for other structures, an explanation favoured by Mollo Mezzena (2012:409).

C.3 The city walls and gates of Augusta Praetoria – evidence

Surprisingly little detailed material has been published on the walls of Augusta Praetoria, given their importance and good state of preservation (Figure 114). Mollo Mezzena, who was the Soprintendente of the region and conducted many excavations in the city, published numerous papers over several decades (1971 to 2012) many of which touched on but none of which focused specifically on the walls. A photogrammetry and photographic survey of the city walls has been undertaken and published (Appolonia et al., 2007) but it did not offer any analysis or interpretation. The only publication of which I am aware which concentrates solely on the city walls is disappointingly generalist and insubstantial (Fazari, 2005).

Figure 114: detail of outer face of wall, southern perimeter

The city walls form a precise rectangle, 727m x 574m, enclosing 42ha in a circuit 2.5km long. Each side of the rectangle is punctuated by four towers and one gate, all regularly spaced and exactly matched to the street grid within. An earth rampart was built up against at least some parts of the wall on the inner side; evidence of the rampart has been found between the theatre and the wall (Bonetto, 1998:114) and to the east of Porta Principalis Sinistra (Framarin et al., 2012). The presence of a rampart in the theatre area was deduced from the discovery at the end of the nineteenth century of a retaining wall at the edge of the theatre *insula*, strictly parallel to the northern face of the west wall and exactly aligned with the internal façade of Porta Praetoria. Chrzanovski suggested that the creation of a rampart here may have had as much to do with the need to deal with soil moved in the process of constructing the theatre and amphitheatre as to stabilise or reinforce the wall itself (2006:22). Similarly, Framarin et al. did not exclude the

possibility that the rampart near the Porta Principalis Sinistra was linked to earthworks involved in the construction of the nearby cryptoporticus.

Framarin et al. also noted that an *intervallum* or open space some 18m wide existed from the time of the colony's foundation between the wall and the built-up area of the city. This may be a pomerial or intramural road. The excavations conducted by Framarin et al. in 2010 in the vicinity of the Porta Principalis Sinistra revealed that this open space had been built over by the middle of the first century AD to the extent that it would have lost its function as a road and with it the possibility of circumambulating the wall.

C.3.1 The walls

The city walls were 1.9m wide at the base, tapering by means of three offsets on both sides to about 1.5m wide at the top (Figure 115). They stood some 6.5m high (Fazari, 2005:10-11). A cornice in travertine ran the length of the wall near its highest point. The external façade of the wall was built of squared masonry (*opus quadratum*) in travertine blocks set in regular courses, with a core of mortared cobbles and rubble (*opus caementicium*). The internal façade of the wall was notably less impressive to look at, being faced in *opus incertum* using stones from the rivers nearby. Unusually, buttresses some 1.65m wide and 3m deep were built at about 15m intervals against the wall on the northern, eastern and southern sides (Fazari, 2005:11) (Figure 116).

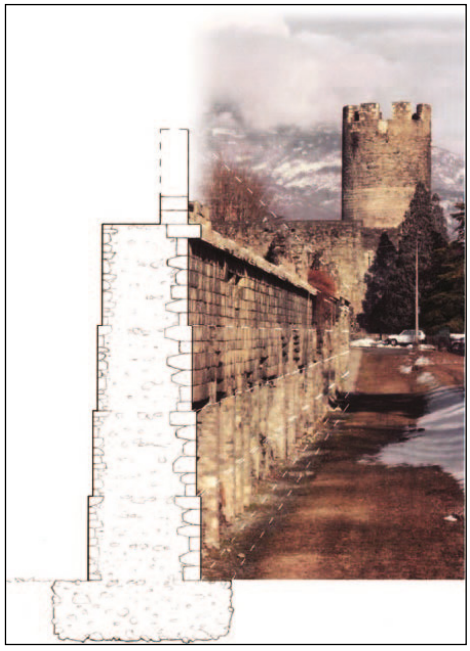

Figure 115: the wall tapers to the top. View towards Torre di Bramafan, southern perimeter

Figure 116: buttress on inside of wall, southern perimeter

Although much of the circuit is extant, the walls were at considerable risk in the later part of the nineteenth century. Barbanera (2012:170-171) noted the tussles between the authorities and inhabitants as the city expanded and local people sought to build over parts of the walls, describing how a local official required a householder who had incorporated a section of the Roman walls into

his property to install windows so that the walls could still be seen but was thwarted because the householder kept the windows permanently shuttered. Other sections of the wall were appropriated for use as privies, balconies or basements.

Notwithstanding these vicissitudes, the wall is still well preserved between Porta Praetoria, the Torre dei Balivi in the northeast corner of the circuit and the Tour Perthius, traces of which can still be seen built into a later building. Much of the wall along the northern perimeter is no longer visible but it reappears towards the northwest, where the Tourneuve stands in the northwest corner of the circuit. A well-preserved section of the wall (Figure 117) stops short of the site of the Porta Decumana and starts again at the Torre del Lebbroso, which still retains much of its Roman form. The wall is extant from here to the corner tower at the southwest of the circuit, of which little remains (Figure 118). The best-preserved sections of the wall run along the southern perimeter, in particular from the southwest corner to the Torre di Bramafam at the Porta Principalis Dextra, parallel to the modern Via Amilcare Cretier, and from the Torre Pailleron, which, although heavily restored, retains its Roman form almost unchanged, to the southeast corner of the circuit. The wall is again well preserved from the southeast corner to Porta Praetoria, with a good cross-section of the wall inadvertently on display where it is cut by a busy road.

Figure 117: external façade of western perimeter of wall, south of Tourneuve

Figure 118: tower in southwest corner of circuit, Torre di Bramafan in distance

C.3.2 Towers

There were two towers on each side of the four city gates, four square corner towers and a further eight rectangular towers at regular intervals along the wall (20 in total). The rectangular towers were some 8-9m wide and sat astride the wall, slightly offset so as to project rather more towards the outside of the city. That part of each tower which faced outwards was constructed with a notably thicker wall than the part which faced the city (1.7m as opposed to 0.8m) (Bonetto, 1998:63). Rossignani et al. (2009:294) calculated that the towers would have stood about 4m higher than the wall.

All the towers were of a similar design (Bonetto, 1998:63-65) (Figures 119 and 120). They had two storeys with a wooden floor supported by beams dividing the storeys (the recesses for which are still visible in the walls). There were three windows 1m across and 2m high on each face on the second floor and two windows and a doorway on the first floor. Although Fazari argued that the purpose of the towers was to house "machines of war" (Fazari, 2005:12), the high number of windows and their size stand in contrast to the solidity of the external walls and suggest that presenting an imposing and monumental appearance was of more importance that securing a defensible perimeter. Moreover, the towers were spaced much further apart than was appropriate for defence – some 120-140m apart along the two shorter sides of the circuit and 170-180m apart along the two longer sides. Many of the towers were adapted or rebuilt in the medieval period as strongholds or residences. Some, for example the Tourneuve and the Torre di Bramafan, were rebuilt as circular towers but still retain their square Roman base and foundations.

Figure 119: Torre del Lebbroso on western perimeter of wall, view from inside the city

Figure 120: Torre Pailleron on southern perimeter of wall, view from outside the city

Torre dei Balivi

The Torre dei Balivi was built in the medieval period on the structure of an existing Roman tower which stood at the northeast corner of the colony at the highest point of the city. A recent rescue excavation was carried out here which entailed digging down to the Roman foundations and in the course of which a remarkable and unexpected discovery was made (Bertarione and Joris, 2012).

The excavation revealed that the Roman tower had rested on a circular platform with a foundation 50cm thick, all of a date contemporary with the city wall. Above this foundation, five courses of the original Roman wall were uncovered, in travertine blockwork bound with white mortar. Near the top, a corner block was exposed, still in its original position on the southeast corner of the tower. This block was bigger than the neighbouring stonework, being not quite two rows high. It

was sculpted on both sides (Figure 121). On one of the sides was carved an erect phallus and above it (probably) a spade or perhaps a *groma*. On the other side was portrayed another erect phallus and above it a carving which may be a plough and a further, badly eroded, figure, possibly a bull or a Capricorn (Figure 122). The phalluses are unmistakeable but identification of the other carvings requires some imagination. The sculpted block would originally have been in full view but had been buried deep in mud since the Roman period which (according to Bertarione) probably saved it in medieval times from being erased as an obscene pagan symbol. Research on the block is continuing and I offer some further analysis and discussion at Appendix C.4.3 below.

Figure 121: context of sculpted block at northeast corner of walled circuit

Figure 122: detail of sculpted block on external façade of Torre dei Balivi

Torre del Lebbroso

The Torre del Lebbroso (Figure 119 above) lies to the south of Porta Decumana. It clearly retains its origins as one of the towers in the Roman wall circuit with the Roman window embrasures still well defined. The tower was converted into a feudal residence in the medieval period by the Friour nobility and a supplementary tower was added in the fifteenth century.

Torre Pailleron

The Torre Pailleron (Figure 120 above) is the only tower to have retained its original form almost unchanged despite significant restoration work in the nineteenth century. It had been used as a hay store and narrowly avoided demolition along with a significant stretch of well-preserved wall to make way for expansion of the city's transport facilities. It was repaired following serious damage from a fire at the end of the nineteenth century. Pittarello and Palmas Devoti (1982:460-462) noted that its restorer, Alfredo d'Andrade, combined a passion to bring alive historic buildings with an unusually scrupulous attention to detail and care for authenticity. For example, d'Andrade used brick to distinguish his renovation work, carried out between 1883 and 1891, from the original.

C.3.3 City gates

There were four gateways into the city, of which Porta Praetoria at the eastern entrance was the most important and most elaborate. The city gates were of two designs. Those on the north and south sides of the walled circuit had single arches while those on the east and west were triple arched. The gates were flanked by large and deep towers which projected out from the city walls. Outside the walls, lining the roads leading out of the city's gates, were tombs and large necropolis sites (Mollo Mezzena, 1982:263), in particular on the road leaving Porta Praetoria for Eporedia and the road heading out of Porta Decumana towards the Little St Bernard pass. The Porta Praetoria is well preserved but very little remains of the other three gateways.

Porta Praetoria

The eastern gateway, through which the road from Eporedia and ultimately from Rome entered the city, provided an impressively monumental entrance to the city. Richmond and Salway (1969:253) considered that "no more remarkable example of the courtyard gate exists in the Roman Empire than this". It makes a clearly ideological and symbolic statement of intent, framing and directing movement into the city. Porta Praetoria is often described as the largest and best preserved of the Augustan gateways (see, for example, Chrzanovski, 2006:21), although in my view the contemporary gateways of Hispellum and Fanum Fortunae also vie for that distinction in terms of magnificence and visual power.

Until 2013, the lower half of Porta Praetoria was buried underground, the modern ground level being some 2m higher than the Roman level. The gateway has recently been fully explored and exposed to view and these investigations, together with a detailed survey of the gateway published by Perinetti in 2005, has enabled a more thorough understanding of the monument and in particular of its phases of development.

Porta Praetoria took the form of a double gateway with a large courtyard (*cavaedium*) measuring 19m x 12m; both the inner and the outer gateways are well preserved. They were both triple arched, with a larger central archway measuring some 9m high x 7m wide between two smaller archways measuring 6m high x 2.6m wide. Overall, the width of the gateway was 21m, similar to the width of the road leading to it from the Arch of Augustus, and 41m in total including the flanking towers (Figure 123). Richmond and Salway (1969:253) and Corni (2004:44) were of the view that the courtyard was used to levy customs although Goodman was sceptical (2007:60).

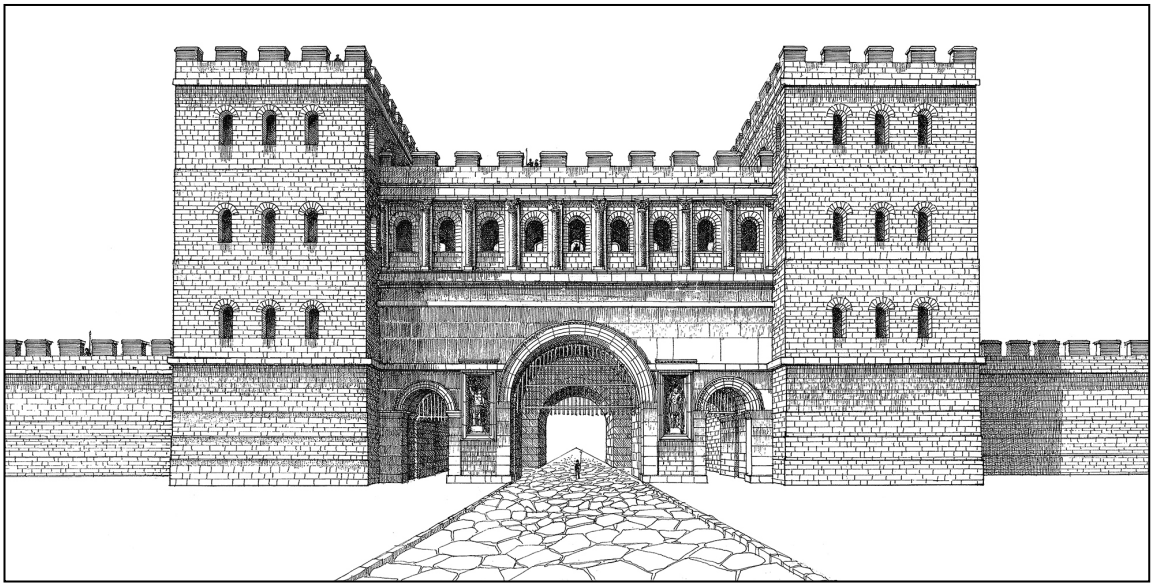

Figure 123: proposed reconstruction of Porta Praetoria, view from outside the city

A plan of Porta Praetoria is at Figure 124. The outer gateway, which faced east out of the city towards the Arch of Augustus, was constructed from large irregular blocks of local pudding stone with an inner nucleus of pebbles mixed with mortar (Celestini and Molina, undated). It originally had a galleried arcade of which very little now remains but is assumed to have contained windows separated by engaged semicolumns, in the manner of other contemporary gateways (Rossignani et al., 2009:292). The grooves in each of the three arches into which *cataractae* were fitted can still be clearly seen. On either side of the central archway were niches in which statues would have been placed. The inner archway was also built from pudding stone and may originally have been clad in travertine. There is no evidence that the inner gateway could be closed off by means of *cataractae* or doors.

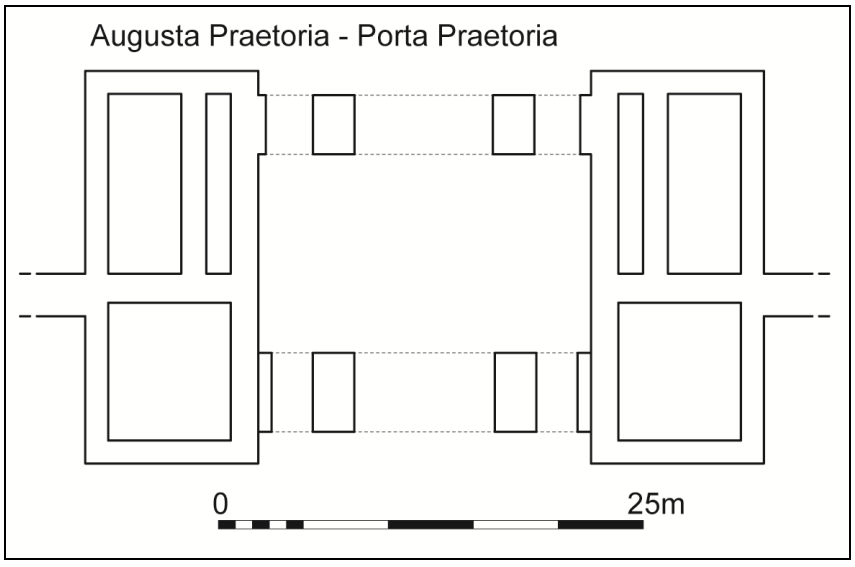

Figure 124: plan of Porta Praetoria

In his study of Porta Praetoria (2005), Perinetti was able to confirm earlier suspicions that the now-visible architectural decoration on the outer gateway did not date from the Augustan period. He distinguished two phases. Noting that the pudding stone construction would have resulted in an aesthetically displeasing appearance, Perinetti suggested that in its first, original, phase, the surface of the gateway might have been covered either by whitewash or plaster for reasons of protection or decoration (or both). He noted that on the south side of the central archway there were traces of whitewash while elsewhere he found traces of plaster. While he conceded that the latter were probably medieval in date, his suggestions are given some credence by the parallel with Porta Palatina at Augusta Taurinorum, which may have been plastered white and painted to resemble squared stone masonry (Thomas, 2007:110), and also with evidence from two of the gateways at Saepinum (see Appendix F).[192] During work to clean the gateway, a fragment of a frieze of metopes and triglyphs in local travertine was uncovered, dating to the first phase of the monument. This was observable in the narrow space between the original face of the gateway and the later (second phase) cladding and bears clear similarities in both material and style with the metopes and triglyphs decorative scheme on the Arch of Augustus.

The outer gateway was further embellished in the Julio-Claudian period. In this phase, the exterior of the gateway was clad in white marble from Luna which alternated with blue-grey stone of local bardiglio (Borghi et al., 2006), presenting a striking and contrasting decorative scheme which can still be seen today (see Figure 8 in Chapter 3.2). This cladding was fixed onto the existing wall of pudding stone. Above the trabeation, which contains detailed decorative work, Perinetti observed seven brackets with holes still in situ, onto which statues may have been fixed. A similarly ornate decorative scheme was not implemented on the inner archway, facing into the city (Figure 125).

Figure 125: inner gateway of Porta Praetoria, looking through to outer gateway

[192] The possibility that some city walls were rendered with mortar and limewashed, perhaps with lines painted to mimic ashlar masonry, is noted by Westman (2012:40).

Porta Praetoria was flanked by rectangular towers, 11m x 8m in plan and 22.5m high, which were constructed in *opus caementicius* and clad on the outside with local travertine. The towers had three windows on each of their three storeys; on the northern side of the inner gateway still stands a square Romanesque tower, once lived in by the Signori di Quart who converted it into living accommodation in the medieval period.

Porta Principalis Sinistra

The scarce remains of Porta Principalis Sinistra can be seen in basement of the Regional Archaeological Museum. This gate was at the northern end of the *cardo maximus* and from it led the road to the Great St Bernard pass.

Recent archaeological intervention has revealed that in its first, Augustan, phase, Porta Principalis Sinistra was similar in design to Porta Praetoria with an outer and inner archway enclosing a *cavaedium* of about 270 m^2, except that it was single arched rather than triple arched (Framarin et al., 2009). In the mid first century AD the gateway was reduced in size, the rear archway demolished and its courtyard lost, probably as a result of modifications to the city's water supply and the building of an aqueduct in the vicinity of the gateway. At the time of its construction in the Augustan period, Framarin et al. noted that the gateway was built in *opus caementicium* with an external cladding in *opus quadratum* in local travertine. The height of Porta Principalis Sinistra's single archway is estimated to be at least 7m. The distance between the two flanking towers of the gateway was some 21m and the depth of the gateway in its first phase about 13m, similar dimensions to Porta Praetoria.

Porta Decumana

The little that remains of Porta Decumana can be seen in the basement of the regional library. This gateway was at the western end of the *decumanus maximus* and from here led the road to the Alpis Graia and the Little St Bernard pass.

Porta Decumana was similar in design to Porta Praetoria, with an outer and inner triple archway flanked by towers, but smaller. Archaeological investigations were carried out here when the regional library was built (Cavallaro, 2005). Remains of the travertine-clad tower flanking the gateway to the north still survive embedded in a modern building (Mollo Mezzena, 1982:222-224) but the tower to the south has been demolished down to its foundations.

Porta Principalis Dextera

Porta Principalis Dextera was sited at the southern end of the *cardo maximus*, providing access to the countryside and a bridge over the River Dora Baltea (located near the modern hamlet of Clerod in Gressan). Archaeological investigation suggests that this bridge was contemporary with the

public monuments in Augusta Praetoria and probably connected the colony with agricultural land to the south (Mollo Mezzena, 1982:226).

The remains of Porta Principalis Dextera can be seen close to Torre di Bramafam, which was incorporated into a fortified chateau built on this site by the Challant nobility in medieval times (Figure 126). It had a single archway flanked by two towers; there was no inner archway or courtyard (Rossignani et al., 2009:294). Among the robbed material used to block up this entrance in the medieval period was the sandstone base of a statue which contained the inscription recording a dedication from the Salassi to Augustus, rediscovered in 1894.[193]

Figure 126: footings of tower flanking Porta Principalis Dextera

C.3.4 Epigraphic evidence relating to city walls

There is no known inscription relating to the city walls, gates and towers of Augusta Praetoria.

C.4 City walls and gates of Augusta Praetoria – analysis and discussion

C.4.1 City plan as armature

Augusta Praetoria cannot be seen as other than a meticulously planned city. The placement of its monumental buildings and the axiality of the street grid, all carefully framed within the rectangular walled circuit, demonstrate a keen sense of spatial logic and the importance of directing movement into and through the city. It is an excellent example of the principle of "urban armatures" emphasising how space was experienced through the connection of through routes, open spaces and public buildings (as described by MacDonald, 1986) or, as more recently defined by Laurence et al. (2011:115-118) as embodying the "aesthetics of urban space".

[193] Inscr Ital 11, 01, 0006, discussed above.

The urban armature of Augusta Praetoria was directed in the first instance at the traveller arriving on the road from Rome, having traversed difficult and wild Alpine territory. Indeed, Laurence et al. (2011:50) saw the city as an important way of "creating a Roman landscape and a sense of security in the former territory of a hostile people". Travellers crossed the bridge over the River Buthier whence they could see, precisely aligned with their route, the Arch of Augustus some 100m away. Porta Praetoria was framed through the Arch of Augustus, again directly in line. (It should be remembered, however, that the road would have been lined with tombs and buildings and that the view into Augusta Praetoria would not have been as uncluttered as reconstructions suggest.) Once inside the city, the main road led travellers past the theatre and directly through the city until they reached the intersection of the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus*, looking up to the city's forum and sacred area on the higher ground above them.

Rosada pointed to an analogous arrangement at Verona, where the Arch of the Gavii, a free-standing arch located some 450m outside the city walls on the Via Postumia, framed the approach to the city. It was directly aligned with Porta Borsari, the main gateway in the southwest side of the city, through which the *decumanus maximus* led across the centre of the city, past the forum, and out to the Pons Postumius over the River Adige (Rosada, 1990:383-393). Similarly at Ariminum, an armature framed the approach to the city at the end of the Via Flaminia: the bridge over the River Aprusa, the Arch of Augustus (which formed the main gateway into the city), the *decumanus maximus* with the forum at its centre and on the other side of the city the Ponte di Tiberio over the River Ariminus at the start of the Via Aemilia and the Via Popilius.

C.4.2 Defence or beauty?

The location of Augusta Praetoria at the approach to key passes through the Alps, surrounded by steep mountains and in only recently pacified territory, together with the robustness and solidity of the city walls suggests that security was important to the colonial founders. Indeed, Owens (1991:114) described the colony as "overtly military" and Latimer considered that the city walls performed a clear defensive role (2010:33). But Fazari cautioned that it would be a mistake to consider the walls as a purely functional defensive asset (2005:8). In my view a more sophisticated interpretation is appropriate and the city walls should be read as a statement of symbolic power as much as physical power. As Goodman put it (2007:60), "the perfectly rectangular circuit, with towers at regular intervals and a squared travertine facing, would have been no more effective against a besieging army than an irregular circuit of uncut stone. But it *would* have looked more impressive and imposing within the landscape." She concluded that while the walls of Augusta Praetoria "probably did have a defensive function", the monumental character of the four gates and the imposing design and execution of the walled circuit suggest that form as well as function, meaning as well as purpose, were important. Fazari argued that the monumentality of the city walls was designed to inspire awe and admiration in those who experienced them while at the same time not overwhelming or repelling the recently conquered Salassi people (2005:8).

Issues of power and status and their predominance over defence may be seen in a number of features in the walls of Augusta Praetoria. For example, the number, prominence and attention to detail of the double row of arched windows positioned on all four sides of the towers along the walls were more decorative than defensive and would have presented a weak link in the defensive system. Further, the external facing of the walled circuit in carefully cut travertine blocks offered a grand and striking view to those outside in contrast to the rough *opus incertum* work in local stone on the inner face, although both facings would have functioned effectively. A rectangular shaped circuit like that of Augusta Praetoria was considered by Vitruvius to be the least effective for defence[194] and the spacing between the towers was much further apart than military conventions recommended. Finally, the monumental entranceways, Porta Praetoria in particular, would have been difficult to defend but their size and quality would have emphasised the significance and sophistication of the urban centre. As noted by Tracy (2000:11), double gateways such as those of Augusta Praetoria were less effective defensively but more imposing visually than angled gateways.

The impressive quality and beauty of the walls was noted in the sixteenth century by the Venetian ambassador, who marvelled that "la città d'Augusta… è circondata dalla più bella antichità di muraglie che habbia veduto in nessun luogo". As well as a symbol of status and power, the city walls were also important as marking the sacred and juridical limitation of the city space (Mollo Mezzena, 2012:398). The recent discovery of a carved block on the northeast corner of the city walls adds considerable weight to this point.

C.4.3 The significance of the carved block on the Torre dei Balivi

As discussed above, an exciting discovery was recently made on the external face of the Torre dei Balivi, the corner tower at the highest (northeastern) point in the walled circuit (Bertarione and Joris, 2012). A sculpted corner block was uncovered, carved on both faces. On one side was a relief of an erect phallus and above it (probably) a spade. On the other, another erect phallus was carved and above it a relief which may be a plough and a further, badly eroded, figure which may be a bull or a Capricorn.

Bertarione and Joris were in no doubt about the symbolic importance of their discovery, stressing that it highlighted the sacred value attached to city walls and their role mediating between the human and the divine. Representations of phalluses are not uncommon on Roman walls and probably had a symbolic apotropaic function to defend the inhabitants against evil forces. Other known examples of phalluses on city walls in Italy include a cluster in Latium (there are examples in Aletrium, Ferentinum and Anagni) carved on pre-Roman polygonal walling. There is also a

[194] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,2

phallus carved on Porta Tammaro at Saepinum, probably roughly contemporary with the Augusta Praetoria carving, and possibly one near Porta San Ventura in Hispellum.

It is very rare, however, to find other reliefs alongside the phalluses. Bertarione and Joris saw in the plough a clear reference to the colony's foundation and the rite of the *sulcus primigenius*, describing the block as marking the "act of birth" of the city. Although references in the primary sources to foundation rites are common (see, for example, the discussion in Rykwert, 1988), archaeological evidence is very scarce. Again, Saepinum provides another example, where excavators found a pottery vessel containing eight small unguent jars which had been carefully buried in alignment with the foundation of the wall.

Bertarione and Joris also contended in their 2012 paper that one of the indistinct reliefs may be a bull and argued that the representation of a bull signified a link to Augustus, noting for example that images of bulls appear on Augustan coinage. In this context, it is worth pointing out that a bull's head may be on the keystone of Porta di Augusto in Fanum Fortunae (it is badly eroded) and is clearly distinguishable on the keystone of the Arch of Augustus in Ariminum.

An alternative interpretation of this relief, as a Capricorn rather than a bull, was put forward by Bertarione and Magli in 2015. In their view, the Capricorn was a "fundamental icon of Augustus' power". Zanker (1988) pointed out the symbolism of Augustus' architectural projects and their association with the new era of the *pax augusta* and the cult of Augustus' personality as guardian of the "cosmic order", citing the examples and interrelationships of Augustus' mausoleum, sundial and the Ara Pacis. The possibility that there may be a deliberate connection between Augustus and "cosmically significant" indicators in Augustan cities in Italy is currently the subject of research under the umbrella of archaeoastronomy, with some papers more credible than others (see, for example, Magli, 2008, Barale et al., 2001). In the light of the carved reliefs at Augusta Praetoria, Bertarione and Magli carried out an archaeoastronomical analysis of the city (Bertarione and Magli, 2015). Taking into account the complexities of the landscape and the high surrounding mountains which significantly affect when the sunrise is observed, Bertarione and Magli concluded that the colony was quite possibly orientated in such a way as to highlight Augustus' associations with the 'cosmic' signs of renewal: the winter solstice and the sign of Capricorn. They argued that the orientation of Augusta Praetoria was deliberately fixed in relation to the *cardo maximus*, which at the winter solstice is aligned with the sunrise as it appears from behind the high mountain ridge to the southeast of the city. The winter solstice was in the sign of Capricorn which, according to Barton (1995), was an emblem chosen by Augustus to legitimise and symbolise his new order, signifying the new golden era of peace and prosperity.

Further work is continuing on deciphering and interpreting the carved reliefs. While viewing with some scepticism the more speculative theories, the carved block is undoubtedly significant and unusual and has an important place in our understanding of this Augustan colony.

Appendix D Fanum Fortunae

D.1 The geographic context of Fanum Fortunae

Fanum Fortunae is situated on Italy's Adriatic coast in what is now the Marche region (Figure 127), some 4km north of the mouth of the River Metaurus and just south of the smaller River Arzilla. A rectangular plateau about 10-12m above sea level is formed by these rivers to the north and south and by the sea and mountains to the east and west respectively, thus determining not just the urban centre of Fanum Fortunae but also the centuriation of Fanum Fortunae's territory by reference to these physical features rather than to compass orientation (Fiocco, 2012).

Figure 127: location of Fanum Fortunae

Fanum Fortunae is a good example of a city whose environment was shaped by the two imperatives of water and road communications. A port was located here but the coastline is quite exposed and the port never became one of the major ports on the Adriatic coast, being overshadowed by its busier neighbouring ports of Ancona and Ariminum while Ravenna was only a little further to the north (Heinzelmann, 2012:72). It did, however, provide a link between the Via Flaminia and the eastern empire via the Adriatic (Musti, 2002) and was part of a network facilitating the transport of goods up and down the Adriatic by sea.

Much more important to Fanum Fortunae was the role of the Via Flaminia. Fanum Fortunae is situated at the foot of the best passage through the central Appenines from the Tiber Valley to the Adriatic coast, via the Scheggia pass and down the valley of the River Metaurus. The Via Flaminia took this route, probably following a prehistoric track, and it became the most important route used by the Romans to reach northern Italy and the northern provinces of the empire (Renzulli et al., 1999). At Fanum Fortunae, the Via Flaminia reached the sea and turned northwards to its end point at Ariminum, although as De Sanctis pointed out (2012b:24), unlike almost all the other settlements along the Via Flaminia, Fanum Fortunae did not have to be traversed – travellers could skirt the city.

D.2 Colonial settlement and urban development of Fanum Fortunae

The early history and development of the town is not well known, in part due to the continuous occupation of the site and the challenges of conducting meaningful archaeological investigations there. While there is plenty of evidence of scattered settlement near Fanum Fortunae in prehistoric

times and during the pre-Roman period (Capriotti, 2009:237-238), there is notably little evidence for pre-Roman settlement on the actual site of the future city.

The key question, posed by Gnoli (2012:74), is whether the Augustan intervention was fundamental to the urban foundation or simply a modification of an existing urban centre. The evidence is very weak. Strabo implies that the city did not exist before Augustus.[195] He mentions inhabited centres such as Sarsina, Ariminum and Sena Gallica but for Fanum Fortunae refers only to the River Metaurus and the sanctuary of Fortuna, not to an urban centre, placing it in relation to its physical geography rather than its human habitation. This does not mean that the area was uninhabited, as it clearly was occupied in pre-Roman times, rather that there was no developed urban centre. This is the view of Scheid (2006), who argued that Augustus founded a colony at Fanum Fortunae in keeping with his policy of appropriating symbolic cult sites.[196] He contended that the settlement is an example of a sanctuary transformed into a city, pointing out that it is very unusual for a *municipium* or a colony to bear the name of a cult or goddess (Urbs Salvia is another example). Even evidence for late republican occupation of the site is very scarce. Luni, for example, discussed possible republican-era settlement on the site (2000:58-73) but was forced to conclude that there is very little evidence to go on. It appears therefore that while the site was inhabited there was little by way of planned development or monumentalisation until the colonisation of the Augustan period.

D.2.1 The administrative status of the town

The relationship between the site and the Via Flaminia is key to understanding the development of the town. But, as Musti noted (2002), it is not known whether an existing settlement influenced the route of the Via Flaminia or if the opening of the Via Flaminia in 220 BC caused a settlement to grow up. Keppie suggested that the town may have emerged as a *statio* on the road (1983:184). More recently, however, it has been strongly argued that the original route of the Via Flaminia bypassed the site of Fanum Fortunae altogether, turning north some 2km from the coast, until the Augustan monumentalisation of the city at which time the imperial highway was deliberately diverted to run through the city centre (see, for example, Luni et al., 2000:25, 31-33, 43-44). Sisani (2006:257) and Magnini (2008:70) both argued that Fanum Fortunae was originally a *conciliabulum* or spontaneous settlement organised around a sanctuary to Fortuna but neither was able satisfactorily to account for the lack of evidence for the sanctuary itself. A fragmentary inscription suggests that the town had the status of a *municipium* by the middle of the first century BC (Luni et al., 2000:69).[197]

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[195] Strabo *Geographica* v,2,10
[196] There are parallels with Hispellum, another of my case study sites, where the colony was founded close to the site of an important pre-Roman sanctuary.
[197] AE 1983, 00379

There is no evidence, either documentary or archaeological, to suggest that there was a colonial settlement at Fanum Fortunae before the Augustan period, although republican colonies are known at Pisaurum (184BC) and Sena Gallica (284BC), some 15km and 22km distant respectively. There may however have been some form of settlement in the republican period near the later colony, perhaps on a viritane basis (Luni et al., 2000:64-67). The key evidence for this is the so-called Cippo Graccano,[198] found to the southwest of Fanum Fortunae, which indicates organised agricultural exploitation of the land, although Gnoli (2012:75) pointed out that this could be due to the Via Flaminia rather than to an urban centre at Fanum Fortunae. The first mention of Fanum Fortunae in primary sources is from Caesar,[199] who occupied it in 49BC after crossing the Rubicon. As Scheid noted, however, it is not clear from Caesar's account whether he occupied Fanum the city or *fanum* the sanctuary (2006:83).

The town became a colony under Augustus when it received a settlement of veterans, probably after the battle of Actium, taking the name Colonia Iulia Fanestris.[200] It may have been one of the 28 colonies created in 27BC and recorded in the Res Gestae (thus Gnoli, 2012, quoting Gabba) and is listed as a coastal colony by Pliny.[201] On the basis of identifiable centuriation which seems to have covered the flat land north of the River Metaurus, Keppie calculated that no more than 200 veterans could have been accommodated at Fanum Fortunae (Keppie, 1983:99-100). This number seems much too low, however, when considered against the numbers estimated to have been settled at contemporary colonies (2,400 at Parma, for example, or 3,000 at Augusta Praetoria) and the significant urban development which followed the establishment of the colony at Fanum Fortunae. Work continues on identifying centuriation in the vicinity (Fiocco, 2012).

D.2.2 Where was the *fanum* of Fanum Fortunae?

The colony of Fanum Fortunae derived its name from a cult or sanctuary to Fortuna. But the sanctuary itself has proved remarkably elusive. The use of the word *fanum* may indicate that this is an early sanctuary (Capriotti, 2009:397). Glinister (1997) pointed out that early sanctuaries are difficult to identify in the archaeological record, noting that there were many more small-scale local sanctuaries than monumentalised ones in early Italy and these were generally characterised by low-grade votive deposits with no evidence that might provide information on the type of cult and the deity worshipped. On the other hand, Scheid (2006) pointed out that unless "Fortuna" is a latinised version of a local name, the sanctuary must relate to a Latin or Roman deity. If the latter, then in his view the foundation of the sanctuary should be linked to the construction of the Via Flaminia or to colonisation.

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[198] CIL 11, 06331. This inscription records the intervention of M Varro Lucullus between 82 and 74BC to recover public land which had been illegally appropriated by private individuals.
[199] Caesar *Bellum Civile* 1.11
[200] CIL 11, 06232
[201] Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 3,113

Appendix D

The site of Fanum Fortunae's eponymous sanctuary is keenly debated. There have been (often contradictory) clues but no firm evidence. Among the more plausible candidates outside the urban centre of Fanum Fortunae are the following:

- Sensi (1984-85) drew attention to Etrusco-Italic bronzes and coins from the mints of Venosa and Ariminium found at Isola di Fano (about 25km from Fanum Fortunae), suggesting a centre of regional importance. To my mind this is the least convincing of the possible sanctuary sites, as it is too far from Fanum Fortunae and there is no known link with the cult of Fortuna.
- Sensi also noted that local lamps dated from the end of the second century BC to the early first century BC had stamped on their base a representation of a shrine or temple (Figure 128) but it is not known to whom the shrine was dedicated or even the precise provenance of the finds.
- Luni gave some credence to earlier contentions that a settlement on Monte Giove, 5km to the southwest of Fanum Fortunae and occupied from the fifth century BC, should be identified as the late-iron age predecessor to Fanum Fortunae and that the community moved from the hill slopes to the coastal plain in the early imperial period (2000:10-12).
- Luni also noted the find of a stone near the mouth of the river Arzilla which records an inscription of the third century BC relating to the "sors" of Fortuna (2000:14) (Figure 129).
- At Roncosambaccio, about 5km northwest of Fanum Fortunae, architectural fragments including doric capitols and columns were discovered and may belong to a sanctuary dating back to the mid second century BC (De Sanctis, 1992, Sisani, 2006:266). The site is on a hill with nearby springs; it looks out over the sea and the valley of the Metaurus towards Fanum Fortunae. Giovannini (2010) linked the site with the discovery a few kilometres away of a stone with a dedicatory inscription to Fortuna.[202] In my view, this is the most interesting of the possible sanctuary sites in view of its location, ease of access and association with Fortuna. Its location is shown on the map at Figure 146 below.

Within Fanum Fortunae itself, the most likely candidate for the location of the sanctuary in the Roman period is the San Agostino site (see below).

[202] CIL 11, 06307 *Fortunae Respicienti sacrum*

Figure 128: lamp with shrine or temple on reverse

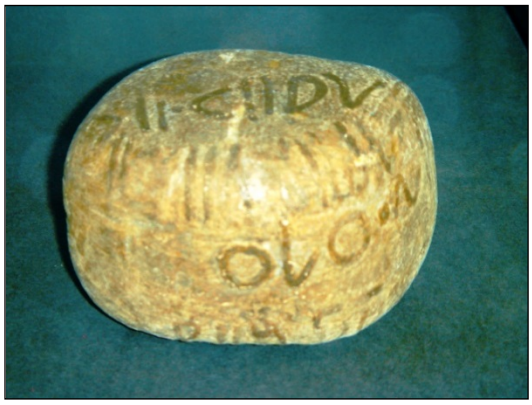

Figure 129: ciottolo referring to "sors" of Fortuna, found near Fanum Fortunae

D.2.3 The street grid and urban layout

A plan of Fanum Fortunae is below (Figure 130) but it should be noted that there is considerable uncertainty about the urban layout of the colony within the known footprint of the walls, in part because of continuous occupation of the area. The walls, street grid, aqueduct, drains and sewers and forum area of Fanum Fortunae are all considered to belong to the period immediately following the foundation of the colony (De Sanctis, 2012b:15-16). The *decumanus maximus* of the city was an extension of the Via Flaminia which entered the city through the Porta di Augusto while the street grid is in alignment with centuriation identified in the Metaurus valley. The street plan has been recognised using the orientation of streets in the modern town and also traces of basalt paving and remnants of Roman drainage under the streets, which were about 3.5m wide (Sisani, 2006:259). Analysis has shown that the basalt was not local and had been chosen for its hardwearing quality (Renzulli et al., 1999). The basalt came from the trachyte quarries of the Euganean hills in the Veneto region and was probably transported by sea, given the proximity of the quarries to the coast. These quarries also supplied paving stones for the northernmost stretch of the Via Flaminia.

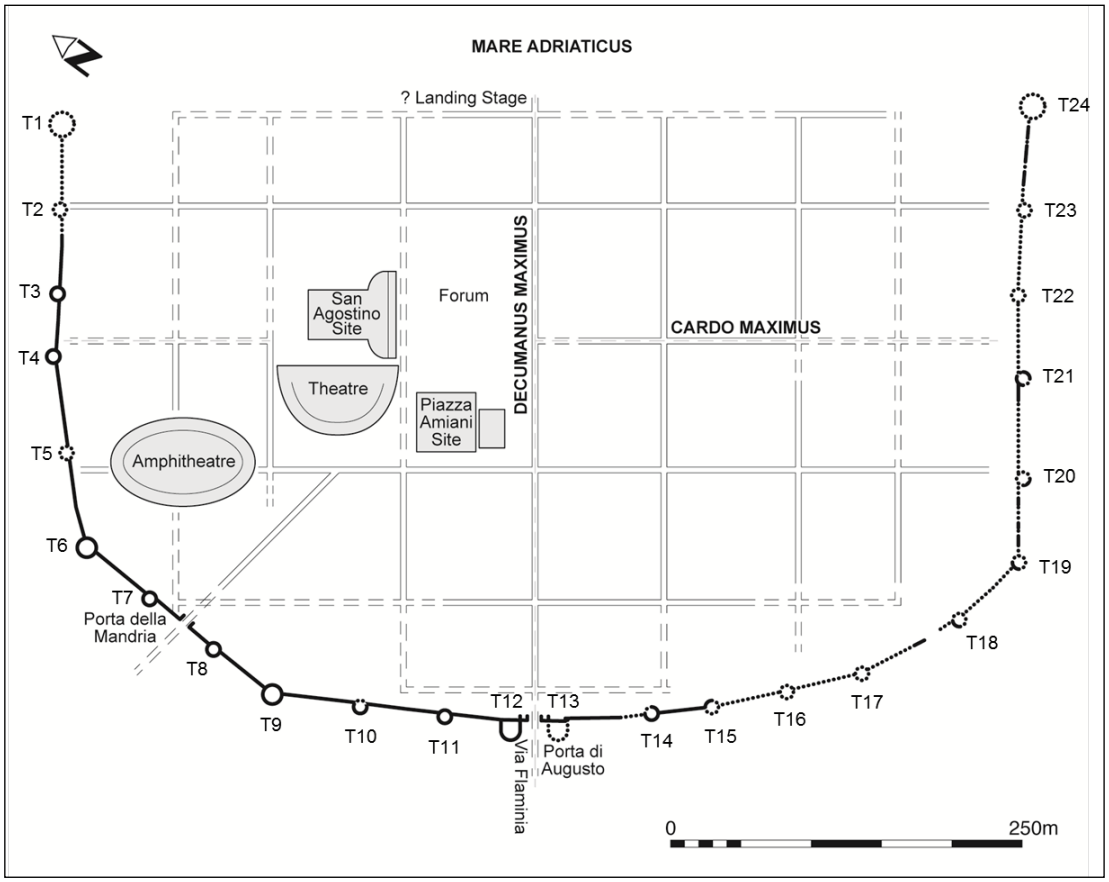

Figure 130: site plan of Fanum Fortunae

Within the urban centre, Taus drew attention to an inner grid formed of 12 square *insulae* (300 x 300 Roman feet – pR) in a perfectly rectangular shape measuring 1200pR by 900pR (9ha). He argued that this comprised the extent of a late republican settlement on the site, which was enlarged in the early Augustan period to cover the area enclosed by the Augustan city walls. There is certainly a contrast between the regular inner *insulae* and the more irregular outlying *insulae*, some of which are 300 x 200pR but others of which are adapted to suit the irregular course of the walled circuit. But Dolci (1992) pointed out that the drainage system, which ran underneath the main streets and some of which is still in use today, was planned as an integral whole: the main drain, for example, runs the length of the *decumanus maximus* from Porta di Augusto to the coast. This makes it difficult to maintain that the street grid was not planned as a whole.

D.2.4 Vitruvius and Fanum Fortunae

In the opening section of Book V of *De Architectura*, Vitruvius describes a basilica at Fanum Fortunae designed by him and built under his supervision,[203] the only building for which he made this claim. The section also provides details of the interrelationship between a number of public buildings in the centre of Fanum Fortunae, including an Aedes Augustae. Locating Vitruvius' basilica and the other buildings he mentions in Fanum Fortunae has proved extremely difficult and

[203] Vitruvius *De Architectura* V,6-10

hitherto inconclusive. Sensi (1984-85) acknowledged that none of the structures so far excavated in the city centre has features which can confidently be related to Vitruvius' descriptions. Following earlier commentators such as Pellati (1947-48), Deli (2004-6:55-56) even questioned whether Vitruvius did in fact design the basilica in Fanum Fortunae, speculating that the reference may be a later interpolation into the manuscript. Rowland and Howe (2001) noted that the section on Vitruvius' own design at Fanum Fortunae follows quite abruptly on from his general prescriptions for basilicas and contrasts with them markedly in certain respects, but concluded that Vitruvius did this to illustrate how the basic design can be "improved" in practice.

D.2.5 The archaeological area under the Convent of San Agostino

The place most frequently cited as the possible location of Vitruvius' basilica lies under the Convent of San Agostino (see, for example, Centro Studi Vitruviani). This area, which is in an *insula* adjacent to the Roman theatre, has recently been subject to an exhaustive if geographically restricted re-examination (Volpe, 2011). There is some minor congruence: for example, a very large column (1.5m in diameter) was identified which echoes the five-foot column described by Vitruvius. As well as the column, excavated remains include a perimeter wall some 40m long and 5m high punctuated by pilasters and windows, and a complex radial structure linked by arches and a large exedra. In outline, the structure appears to be a large rectangular building with a cryptoporticus, not obviously identifiable with a basilica. It was constructed in *opus vittatum* from local yellow sandstone, like the city walls.

Opinion remains divided as to the identification and purpose of the structure. An alternative interpretation is that the building might be a temple and perhaps the sanctuary of Fortuna (De Sanctis, 2011, De Sanctis, 2012a), especially given its position both in relation to the theatre and on terracing which would have made it visible in the city and out to sea. It is possible, moreover, that the sanctuary was moved here from outside the city when Fanum Fortunae became a colony (Capriotti, 2009:397). Sensi (1984-85) argued that the building had similarities with the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and interpreted the San Agostino structure as an Augustan redevelopment of an area which was already dedicated to Fortuna and hence the eponymous sanctuary of the town.

There is no associated evidence to provide clarification. An inscription found on site references *quattuorviri;*[204] although Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg confidently gives its location as the Basilica of Vitruvius the inscription almost certainly predates any basilica. A poorly preserved bust of the mid imperial period, surmounted with a mural crown which is often associated with the goddess Fortuna, was found in the nineteenth century but its provenance from this site is uncertain (Sensi, 2002). It is probably best to conclude with Polidori (2012a) and Sisani (2006:263) that the

[204] AE 1983, 00379

San Agostino structure cannot yet be securely identified, but that given its size and prestigious nature it was clearly a monumental public building and may have the best claim of urban sites so far discovered to being the long-sought sanctuary rather than the equally sought-after basilica of Vitruvius.

D.2.6 Theatre, amphitheatre and forum

Excavations in 2001 confirmed the site of a theatre within the walls (Baldelli, 2002). Although the traces are scanty, amounting to two small sections of the *cavea*, they were enough to confirm its presence and orientation. The theatre is in a key location in the city, on what appears to be a double *insula* adjacent to the monumental building on the San Agostino site and opposite the probable site of the forum. Excavations in 1996-1998, also reported by Baldelli (2002), confirmed the site of the amphitheatre. This was located inside the walls, which given the relatively small size of the intramural centre (21ha), is quite surprising. Again, only tiny vestiges were identified but from these it was calculated that the amphitheatre measured 110m x 85m. The elliptical outer façade of the amphitheatre was constructed in *opus vittatum*, which, according to De Sanctis (2012b:40), may suggest an Augustan date.

The forum has not been securely identified but is thought to lie near the church of San Domenico (Taus, 2000, De Sanctis, 2007:13-15), in a double *insula* opposite the theatre at the crossroads of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* and adjacent to the monumental structure located on the Piazza Amiani/"ex-L Rossi school" site (see below).

D.2.7 The Piazza Amiani or "ex-L Rossi school" site

Excavations one hundred years ago near the Piazza Amiani, in the centre of the city and adjacent to the presumed location of the forum, uncovered part of a rectangular peristyle about 25m x 22m surrounded by a deep portico some 8m wide (De Sanctis, 1998). A series of square structures which had walls covered in thin slabs of marble opened onto the portico. To the southeast of the building was a structure 18m x 12m, also covered in thin slabs of marble. Sensi (1992) and Sisani (2006:264) interpreted these buildings as a *palaestra* with adjoining bathing area and dated them to the Augustan period in view of their construction in *opus vittatum* using local yellow sandstone like the city walls. Fragments of sculpture (including busts of the imperial family) and of inscriptions and pieces of architectural material were found here.

Recently, De Sanctis argued that the buildings should be identified as a *macellum,* and suggested that the adjacent rectangular structure should be interpreted not as a *natatio* but as the podium for a temple which would look out onto the *cardo maximus* (De Sanctis, 2007). The current evidence is inconclusive, however, and the fact that interpretations can differ so widely emphasises the need for caution in drawing up a plan of the urban centre.

D.3 The city walls and gates of Fanum Fortunae – evidence

The Roman city walls of Fanum Fortunae were a gift to the colony from Augustus[205] and were dedicated in AD9-10. The walled circuit, which enclosed 21ha, was some 1.8km long (about 1.2km excluding the seaward section). Currently about one-third of the circuit is extant and in places still stands to an impressive 9m high. The rest of the Roman wall was pulled down when the circuit was enlarged in the medieval period but its footprint on the landward side is not in serious question.

The walls were subject to significant restoration and repair in the early 2000s. This included consolidating the outer facing and inner conglomerate where there were major cavities; injecting lime mortar into the cavities so as to increase the wall's strength; inserting carbon fibre ties into towers and Porta della Mandria to prevent the foundations sinking; capping the wall to divert rainwater and thereby stop water penetrating the wall and causing damage to the internal structure; repointing the wall; and making improvements to its stability (Cuppini and Sparaventi, 2004).

Until recently, the main synthesised source for the archaeological evidence of the city walls and gates of Fanum Fortunae was Luni (2000), drawing (sometimes verbatim) on his earlier (1992) account. He acknowledged, however, that much of the work on the walls had been uncritical and derivative, based principally on the sometimes questionable work of Bartolucci in 1936 (2000:49-51, 77). That changed with a conference held in 2009 to celebrate the bimillennium of the dedication of the walls. The publication which came out of that conference (Mignani and Pozzi, 2012) offered some fresh ideas on the city walls and gates, particularly through the extended analysis of De Sanctis. The discussion which follows draws mainly on Luni and De Sanctis, as well as on my own observations.

D.3.1 The walls

The walls were built in *opus vittatum* style in brick-like slabs of sandstone arranged horizontally with a cement core (Figures 131 and 132). Their homogenous construction suggests that the circuit was designed and built as a single project. The width of the walls, at the top and at the base, was 1.8m with little variation, with the foundations extending for a meter or so on either side (Luni, 1992:107). Sisani calculated that the original height of the walls may have reached 14m (2006:260, see also Taus, 2012:118, Cardinali, 2005). This seems excessive, however, given that the height of the towers is calculated to be 12m (Luni et al., 2000:87) and it is extremely unlikely that the walled circuit was higher than the towers. A height of just under 12m (40pR) for the walls is more plausible, particularly as this would allow the top of the walls to align with the galleried

[205] CIL 11, 06218 *Imp(erator) Caesar(is) divi f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maximus co(n)s(ul) XIII tribunicia potest(ate) XXXII / imp(erator) XXVI pater patriae murum dedit.* The count of "imperator" is erroneously recorded as 26 rather than 16.

arcade of Porta di Augusto (there is evidence that the walls and the main gateway were carefully tied in and aligned in other respects). The irregular shape of the circuit is probably mainly due to the topography of the site and the need to skirt the course of the River Arzilla.

Figure 131: detail of outer face of walled circuit

Figure 132: detail of outer face of wall near tower 23

D.3.2 The towers

Based on drawings and descriptions from the medieval period, it has long been assumed that there were 28 cylindrical towers placed at reasonably regular intervals along the wall, including four along the seafront (Luni et al., 2000:83). The reference to 28 towers can be traced back to Antonio Costanzi in 1498 although this is odd because at that point the Roman walls had in large part been destroyed (De Sanctis, 2012:66). Not all the towers have been positively recognised in the archaeological record. In particular, the four towers along the seafront have always been presumed rather than proven. Having demonstrated with reasonable confidence that there was no walled circuit along the seafront (see below), De Sanctis also convincingly challenged the notion that there were towers along the seafront. The landward towers are reasonably regularly spaced: the distance between them varies from 44m to 61m, with the average around 53-54m. It is probable that the towers were not located at precisely regular intervals to take account of the topography of the site.

Other than the towers flanking Porta di Augusto, all the towers for which there is good archaeological evidence were round and all but two were 9m in diameter (Luni et al., 2000:83). These two, to the west of the circuit and marked as T6 and T9 on the plan at Figure 130 above, were at key points and were 10m wide. All the towers were built astride the wall with two-thirds of the tower projecting outwards and are estimated to have been 12m high (Luni et al., 2000:87). The width of the tower walls is 1.5m, rather narrower than the width of the walled circuit itself. The construction technique for the towers is the same as for the walled circuit, except that the interior of the towers appeared to be constructed with less care and accuracy with roughly cut stones and

untidy rows.[206] Luni also pointed out that the towers and walled circuit are perfectly tied in, even to the extent that the rows are aligned, indicating that they were part of a single plan executed at the same time.

D.3.3 The circuit

My discussion of the circuit starts at the northernmost part, where the city walls reach the coastline, and works anticlockwise round. The location of the towers is shown on the plan at Figure 130 above. It used to be held that there were two much larger towers in the wall, one at this most northerly point and the other at the corresponding end of the wall (towers 1 and 24 – T1 and T24), although this was out of keeping with everything that is known about other parts of the wall (Luni et al., 2000:101-103). The evidence for the large scale of the towers rests solely on extrapolation from the discovery of a small stretch of the foundation of T24 in 1929 (there is no archaeological evidence for T1).

Luni and De Sanctis have both re-examined this evidence and found it wanting. Luni did not dismiss the idea that there were towers here, but considered that they would have the same dimensions as the other towers in the circuit. In my view it is entirely plausible that a tower would mark the point where the wall met the coast, although De Sanctis was more sceptical (2012:25-29), pointing out that recent excavation work in the vicinity of the putative T1 did not reveal any Roman remains and noting the difficulties that would be caused by the change in levels as the wall dropped down to the shoreline.

Having disputed the existence of T1 at the coast, De Sanctis also questioned whether the next tower, T2, existed. He drew attention to an early plan of Fano dating to the 1500s which contains neither tower, and noted that there is no archaeological, documentary or cartographic evidence for T2. On the other hand, without T2 the gap between towers would be significantly longer than in any other section of the walled circuit and T2 mirrors T3 on the other side of the circuit, for which there is (limited) archaeological evidence.

The foundations of T5 (near the amphitheatre), although destroyed in the 1800s, have recently been excavated (De Sanctis, 2012:34). Its position and existence are not in question. This stretch of the walled circuit between the coast and T6 does not follow a predictable course. De Sanctis argued that the wall deviated in order to accommodate a public building, specifically the amphitheatre. This seems unlikely, given that the amphitheatre postdates the wall (it may not even be Augustan).[207] It is more probable that the line of the wall followed the topography of the site.

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[206] This is also the case at Saepinum.

[207] In a separate publication (AAVV, 2013:129), De Sanctis argued that the Via Flaminia could not exit the city along one of the *cardines* because the road was blocked by the amphitheatre, leading to the use instead of the pre-existing road which cuts across the street grid at a diagonal (see Appendix D.4.2). Again, this is not tenable, in my view: it is extremely unlikely that the amphitheatre predates the street grid and walled circuit.

Appendix D

The stretch of wall which runs between T6 and T9, comprising the so-called "Mura della Mandria", is well preserved (Figures 133 to 138). It is the section of the wall which was executed most accurately: unlike any other sections of the wall, it is straight; Porta della Mandria is situated exactly in the middle; and the towers are equidistant. With the slightly larger towers framing the ends of this part of the wall, it appears that a deliberate effort was made to create an imposing façade. While secondary to Porta di Augusto, it is clear that Porta della Mandria served an important purpose. According to De Sanctis (2012:39), the line of the wall was planned to accommodate key routes into and out of the city: the Via Flaminia at its entrance through Porta di Augusto and a pre-existing road which cut across the new street grid at a diagonal, whose trajectory determined the positioning of Porta della Mandria. I discuss below how to interpret Porta della Mandria and the diagonal road.

Figure 133: tower 6 at north end of "Mura della Mandria", view from outside the city

Figure 134: tower 9 at south end of "Mura della Mandria", view from outside the city

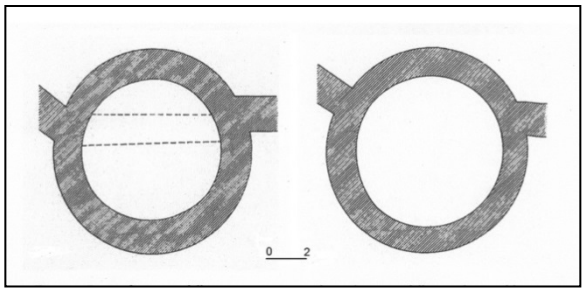

Figure 135: plans of towers 6 and 9

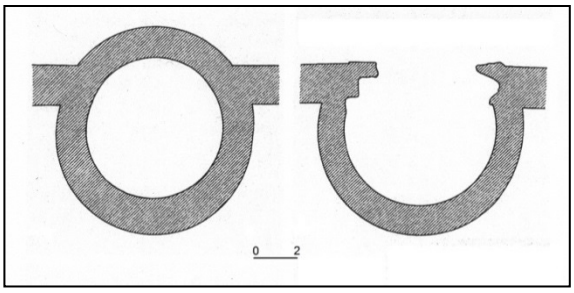

Figure 136: plans of towers 7 and 10

Figure 137: tower 7, view from outside the city

Figure 138: tower 10, view from outside the city

The course of the walls either side of Porta di Augusto is reasonably symmetrical, although there is no repeat of the straight line in which Porta della Mandria sits. The section of the wall between T9 and Porta di Augusto shows evidence of repair in the late antique period using reused stone. From Porta di Augusto to the south and east, the walls and towers are much less well preserved and our understanding of the wall's course relies to a significant extent on drawings made in the 1920s, verified where possible by small-scale excavations. Although De Sanctis (2012:45) claimed to see a pomerial route running alongside the inner line of the wall (the modern Via Garibaldi), there is no clear evidence that this was a Roman road (unlike many others in Fanum Fortunae's street grid, which are discernible through finds of basalt paving and/or Roman drains). Equally, there is nothing to support Luni's suggestion (2000:97) that there may have been another pair of slightly larger towers to match the towers which frame Porta della Mandria.

D.3.4 Porta di Augusto

Porta di Augusto, also known as the Arco di Augusto, was the principal gateway into Fanum Fortunae and was placed in the centre of the western side of the walled circuit (an external view of the gateway is illustrated at Figure 12 in Chapter 3.3). It marks the entrance into the city of the Via Flaminia which then forms the *decumanus maximus* in the city. According to Laurence et al. (2011:148), the gateway is one of the earliest three-arched gateways which can be dated to the Augustan period; it almost certainly, however, postdates the triple-arched Porta Praetoria at Augusta Praetoria and Porta Consolare at Hispellum and probably also Hispellum's Porta Venere. Architecturally, its lines are of "sober elegance" (Taus, 2002-3:13) and an excellent example of the political use of architecture to make a clear statement of power and status. Rebecchi (1987) considered the gateway to be a work of prestige to celebrate the monumentalisation and restructuring of the city under Augustus (Figure 139).

Figure 139: Porta di Augusto, view from inside the city
Note traces of galleried arcade above archway.

The external façade of the gateway was constructed from fine quality white limestone quarried from Monte Nerone which has the appearance of marble, giving a clear contrast with the yellow sandstone of the walls themselves (a similar effect was achieved at the Arch of Augustus at nearby Ariminum). The internal façade of the gateway was built of sandstone, like the walls, but from large blocks which are the same size as and perfectly aligned with the limestone blocks on the outer façade (see Figure 59 in Chapter 5.1.2). The walls and flanking towers are constructed from small sandstone blocks. The central archway, 5.9m wide and 8m high, is flanked by two smaller archways, 1.8m wide and 4.3m high. The gateway is tied into the wall and wall and gateway are therefore assumed to be contemporary (Purcaro, 2012: 82).

The outer façade of the lower part of the gateway is in a good state of preservation although the internal part was completely removed in the seventeenth century. The upper sections of the gateway were destroyed in the fifteenth century (Frenquellucci, 2008:14) but a bas-relief dating from the early sixteenth century is preserved on the façade of Chiesa di San Michele and is assumed to show the gateway as originally designed (Purcaro, 2012). As depicted on the bas-relief (Figure 140), the upper storey of the gateway was an elegant gallery with seven windows, framed

within an engaged Corinthian order. It had been thought that the gateway was altered in the fourth century, as indicated by an inscription dedicated to the Emperor Constantine,[208] but it is now considered that only the inscription was added (Purcaro, 2012:86).

Figure 140: bas-relief of Porta di Augusto

The only known ornamentation on the gateway is the keystone of the central archway which is now indecipherable but was probably the head of a bull or an elephant. Other than the keystone, the inscriptions provide the only embellishment of the structure. The Augustan dedicatory inscription on the frieze above the archway was of fine inlaid bronze letters.

Porta di Augusto exhibits exceptional proportionality in its design (Purcaro, 2012). The entire structure was perfectly square (60pF wide, 60pF high) and the centre point of the square formed the keystone of the main archway (Figure 141). The width is exactly divided into three parts, as is the height with the upper storey forming precisely one third (20pF) of the height. Proportionality was also important in the nearby and roughly contemporary Arch of Augustus at Ariminum, where an equilateral triangle dictates the proportions between the width and the height of the structure (Mansuelli, 1960) and also in the Arch of the Sergii at Pola, where again an equilateral triangle governs the relationship between width and height (Degrassi, 1971:41-43).

[208] CIL 11, 06219

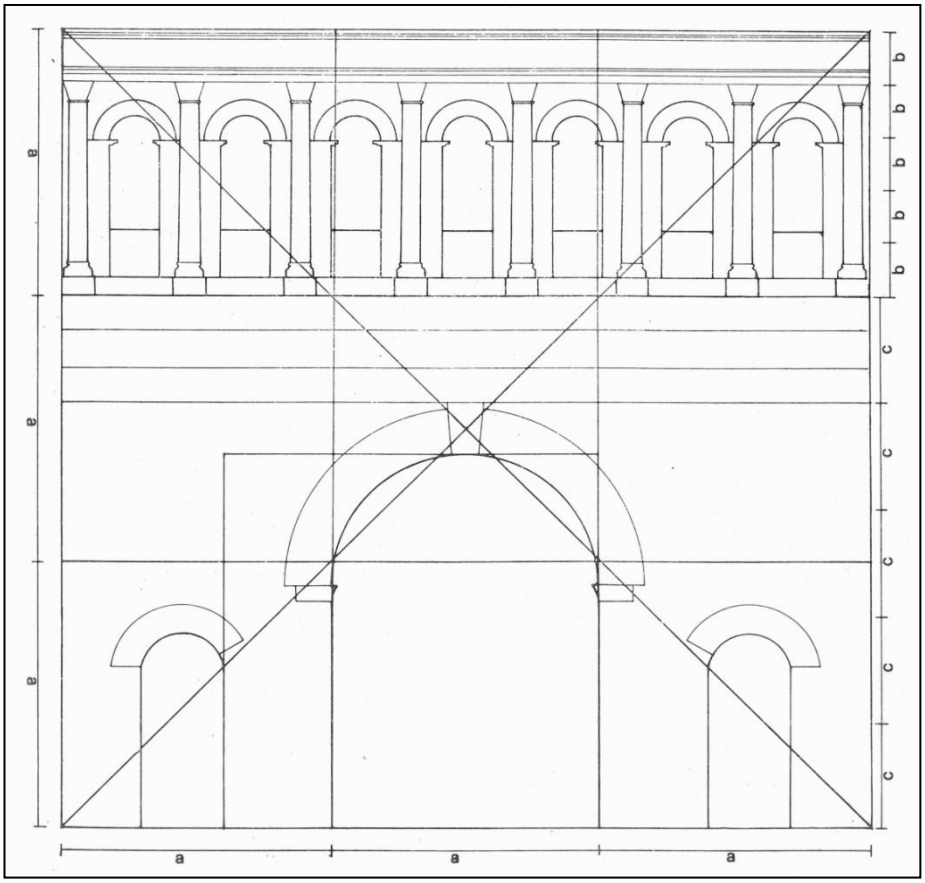

Figure 141: proportionality of Porta di Augusto

The careful proportionality of the structure has led some to believe that Vitruvius had a hand in its design (see, for example, Taus, 2003). Schofield noted that when describing the design of his basilica at Fanum Fortunae, Vitruvius uses combinations of the perfect numbers 6 and 10 (2009:xxi). The perfect numbers 6 and 10 are also at the core of the design for Porta di Augusto. A link between Vitruvius and Porta di Augusto was dismissed by Purcaro (2007:9-13), however, who pointed out that proportionality is a property of Roman building design both before and after Vitruvius. She noted that Vitruvius is not known to have dealt with city gates or honorific arches and that the chronology is difficult to reconcile as Vitruvius was already an "old man" when he dedicated his treatise to Augustus around 27BC while the gateway was not dedicated until AD9-10.

There were two large projecting U-shaped towers on either side of Porta di Augusto, which were probably just over 14m high (Luni et al., 2000:117). The one to the south was demolished in 1493 to make way for the Chiesa di San Michele and its foundations were discovered in 1937 when the façade of the church was moved to open up the archway (Volpe, 2011). These flanking towers were 11.8m in diameter (40pF – again in careful proportion with the gateway), wider than other towers on the wall, and their walls were 1.8m wide, wider than the walls of other towers in the circuit and the same width as the walled circuit itself (a section through the wall is shown at Figure 142). The towers are perfectly tied into the gateway and thus, according to Luni, must be contemporary and part of the overall design.

Like the Augustan gateways at Hispellum, Augusta Praetoria and Saepinum, Porta di Augusto is a courtyard design (Figure 143). The foundations of the *cavedium* have recently been identified (Taus, 2008). Taus saw a dual role for the *cavedium*: symbolically, to provide a vestibule as one passed from country to city; and functionally, to provide a trap for besiegers who succeeded in getting through the outer gate. Taus also considered that the courtyard could have been used by merchants as a place for payment of taxes (2003:14).

Figure 142: section through wall near tower 5

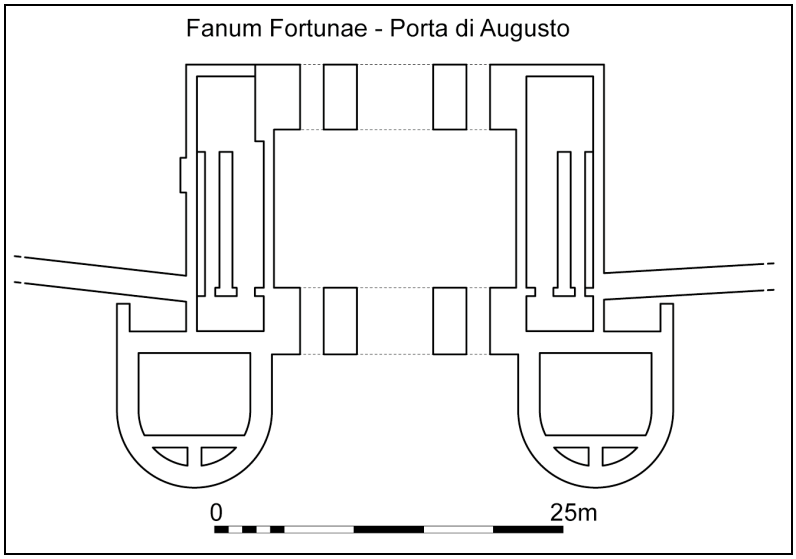

Figure 143: plan of Porta di Augusto

Porta di Augusto is similar with a number of other gateways of roughly contemporary date. As well as the strict adherence to proportionality already noted, the neighbouring Arch of Augustus in Ariminum is also constructed from fine quality limestone while the contiguous walled circuit is of yellow sandstone. Some of the closest similarities are found in the city walls and gateways of Gaul, such as Arelate, Augustodunum, Nemausus and Forum Iulii (Luni et al. 2000:109).

D.3.5 Porta della Mandria

Porta della Mandria, also known as Porta Romana, was the secondary gateway in the city walls, rediscovered in 1925 and subsequently reconstructed (Figures 144 and 145). The gateway was built in *opus quadratum* from large blocks of local yellow sandstone, the same material as that used to build the walls themselves. Its name ("of the herd") is thought to derive from the practice in medieval times of driving herds through the gateway to pasture, rather than from any ancient connection with transhumance (Polidori, 2012b). The single archway was 3.6m wide at the outside and 4.1m wide on the inside, with a depth of 2.67m and a height of 3.6m. There is no evidence for De Sanctis' claim (2012:41) that the arch would have been been surmounted with an inscription.

Figure 144: view of Porta della Mandria from inside the city, looking south

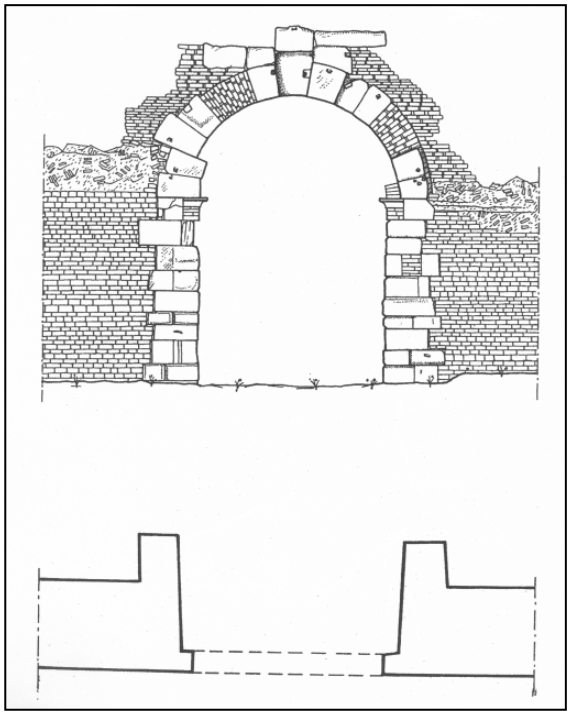

Figure 145: plan of Porta della Mandria

The gateway is not flanked by towers. De Sanctis argued that this was because the architects did not want to break up the view of this stretch of wall (2012:41-2). Such an involved explanation is not necessary, however. Porta della Mandria is a simple, if elegant, gateway, and like many other secondary gateways would not have merited adjoining towers (see, for example, the roughly contemporary and roughly similar Porta San Ventura and Porta dell'Arce at Hispellum). There is no evidence to show that the gateway was capable of being closed off and indeed Taus and Baldelli argued that it was not capable of being defended (2008).

D.3.6 Other gateways

Taus and Baldelli (2008) suggested that there were two other gateways in the walls, one leading to the port and another in the southeastern section of the wall providing access to the road to Sena Gallica, although the exact point at which the latter was located in the wall is not known. If it is accepted that there was no city wall along the seafront (see below), the need for a gateway to the port falls.

D.3.7 Epigraphic evidence relating to city walls

Two inscriptions are recorded on the Porta di Augusto. The first records that the city walls were a gift to the colony from Augustus in AD9-10 (the count of "imperator" is erroneously recorded as

26 rather than 16).[209] It is noteworthy that the inscription refers only to the city walls, even though it was placed on the principal gateway, and despite the fact that archaeological evidence shows that the city walls, towers and gateways were carefully tied together and executed as a single project (see above). This inscription, which was executed in fine inlaid bronze letters, is listed as inscription 25 in my catalogue of inscriptions at Appendix J. An inscription from the fourth century which records a dedication to the Emperor Constantine was placed higher up the gateway.[210]

D.4 City walls and gates of Fanum Fortunae – analysis and discussion

D.4.1 The chronology and purpose of the walls and gateways

It is generally accepted that the construction of the city walls and gateways of Fanum Fortunae took place at some point between the foundation of the colony (around 27BC) and their dedication recorded epigraphically in AD9-10. Within this window, a number of commentators have made surprisingly heavy weather of the available evidence on the chronology of the walls and gates.

Taus, for example, compared Porta di Augusto with other gateways which have flanking towers such as Porta Venere at Hispellum, Porta Palatina at Augusta Taurinorum and Porta Praetoria at Augusta Praetoria (2012). Noting that these all fall in the early years of Augustus' principate, and that other, slightly later, gateways with flanking towers such as Porte d'Auguste in Nemausus and Porte Saint-André in Augustodunum were outside Italy and therefore unlikely to serve as models for Fanum Fortunae, Taus argued that typologically Porta di Augusto belongs to the period between 27-25BC and 16-12BC. He therefore concluded that Porta di Augusto must predate not only the internal development of the city but also the completion of the walled circuit. The archaeological evidence, however, as we have seen, shows clearly that the gateway, walls and towers were built at the same time and as part of the same design. It is not credible to suggest that Porta di Augusto predates the city walls. This is different from the situation at Hispellum, where Porta Venere is clearly part of the overall design and execution of the walled circuit but where there is plausible archaeological evidence that Porta Consolare predated the walled circuit (see Appendix E.5.1).

Taus also supported the idea that Vitruvius may have had an involvement in the design of the walls and gateways and it therefore suited him to argue for an early construction date at a time when Vitruvius is thought to have had an involvement in Fanum Fortunae (Clini and Taus, 2004). Listing the ways in which the walls of Fanum Fortunae conform to Vitruvian "norms" has become something of a fashion (see, for example, Purcaro, 1982, Battistelli, 1986, Rosada, 2012).

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[209] CIL 11, 06218 *Imp(erator) Caesar(is) divi f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maximus co(n)s(ul) XIII tribunicia potest(ate) XXXII / imp(erator) XXVI pater patriae murum dedit.*
[210] CIL 11, 06219

Examples of conformity include the round towers and their outward projection and the curved (not rectilinear) circuit.[211] But there are discrepancies too, for example Vitruvius' prescription that the approach to gateways should not be head on[212] and that towers should be no more than a bow-shot apart.[213] Luni sounded a note of caution (2000:100), pointing out that Fanum Fortunae has much in common with (as well as differences from) the city walls of other contemporary cities. It is inconceivable that Vitruvius had a hand in all these projects.

More credible is the argument that the construction of the walls and gates of Fanum Fortunae should be linked to the reconstruction of the Via Flaminia and its re-opening in 27BC, which was roughly contemporaneous with the foundation of the colony. Routing the Via Flaminia through the centre of Fanum Fortunae probably required a 2km diversion from the existing route of the consular road (see Appendix D.2.1) and therefore must have been a deliberate decision. The difficulties over the chronological gap between the re-opening of the Via Flaminia in 27BC and the dedication of Fanum Fortunae's wall in AD9-10 fall away if one recognises that the walls and gateways were not built as a functional defence but as a statement of power and prestige. There was no pressing need to complete the walls quickly, because there was no hostile intent against which to protect the city. Indeed, as Luni pointed out (2000:123-4), a project which required the use of around 3.5 million carefully shaped bricks was bound to take some time.

This is a position supported by Gnoli (2012:79), who noted that the chronological gap between creation of the colony and dedication of the walls is more easily explained if the walls are understood in a symbolic and prestigious role rather than a defensive one. The presumed defensive character of the city walls is as strongly supported as (and often correlated with) the alleged involvement of Vitruvius in their design, however. For Taus, Porta di Augusto is clearly military, designed and built for reasons of defence (2008, 2012). He described what he saw as the "indisputably innovative technological and functional character of the gate", including the U-shaped flanking towers which provided a better defence against demolition by battering rams[214] and structures which he interpreted as a flanking defence in the form of fixed positions for *scorpiones*. In his view, defence was necessary in order to protect the Via Flaminia as it turned north. He failed to explain, however, why it was appropriate for the Via Flaminia to enter the city through a heavily fortified Porta di Augusto but to leave it through Porta della Mandria which was not only unprotected but appears not to have had any means of closure.

A design detail which has caused significant trouble to commentators wishing to attach defensive importance to Fanum Fortunae's walls is their width, which at 1.8m is too narrow to withstand a

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[211] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,2
[212] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,2
[213] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,4. The maximum prescribed distance between towers advised by Philo of Byzantium, on whose work Vitruvius draws, was 46m (Rowland and Howe, 2001:156). The average distance between Fanum Fortunae's towers is 53-54m with a maximum of 61m.
[214] As prescribed by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* I,5,5

battering ram or to permit a sentry walk as mandated by Vitruvius.[215] Taus suggested two possible ways to get round this inconvenience: first, that there was an earth rampart banked up against the internal face of the walled circuit; and secondly, that there was some form of wooden walkway cantilevered out from the top of the wall. Luni also noted these possibilities but dismissed them both (2000:79-81). He pointed out that while the internal face of the walled circuit is less weathered than the external face, it is constructed with as much care as the external face which would be unusual if it was to be hidden by an earth bank (there is evidence for an earth bank but only from the fifteenth century). He also pointed out that there are no holes in the wall into which a wooden walkway structure might have slotted.

Rather than trying to force the evidence to fit a pre-determined mould, it is better to conclude with Gnoli that the defensive characteristics of the Augustan walls were of much less importance than their symbolic role (2012:77). Gnoli saw their function as delineating space between the inhabited centre and the world outside, thus giving dignity and status to the city. The city walls and gateways of Fanum Fortunae were a deliberate statement of power and prestige, as the role of Augustus as their benefactor suggests.

D.4.2 The meaning of Porta della Mandria

Because of its unorthodox placement in the walled circuit and in relation to the urban layout, the nature and purpose of Porta della Mandria have been much debated. It is often assumed that this gateway was where the Via Flaminia exited the city and headed towards Pisaurum (see, for example, Luni et al., 2000, De Sanctis, 2012b:42). There is no obvious connection, however, in the street layout between the entrance to the city of the Via Flaminia through Porta di Augusto and an exit at the Porta della Mandria: De Sanctis had to construct a less than convincing case (AAVV, 2013:129) to argue for the Via Flaminia following the *decumanus maximus* of the city for a short stretch but then turning onto one of the lesser *cardo* streets before turning again onto the road which led to Porta della Mandria.

In my view, this gateway is better understood in relation to the theatre, amphitheatre and probable temple complex and the diagonal road, narrower than other roads in the urban grid, which leads from the theatre and exits through Porta della Mandria (see plan above). This is consistent with the view of Magnini (2008), who argued that the main purpose of the gateway and road was for spectators travelling to and from the theatre and amphitheatre, pointing out that Porta della Mandria should not be considered a secondary access, given the importance of the urban sector which it served. This view is supported by archaeological evidence of wear in one of the pillars of the gateway (Polidori, 2012b). The unexpected orientation and narrow width of the diagonal road which runs through the gateway suggest that it may well be a road which pre-dated the Augustan

[215] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,3.

development of the city (Luni et al., 2000:47, 93) but which was important enough not only to be preserved within the street grid but also to merit its own gateway into the city, which while not on the scale of the Porta di Augusto is nevertheless carefully designed and with some element of monumentality.

One possibility is that this road was a sacred way which maintained the memory of an earlier route to a sanctuary outside the city, perhaps the pre-Roman sanctuary of Fortuna itself. It is significant in my view that the road leads directly to the theatre and monumental complex which may have housed the sanctuary from imperial times. Outside the city, the road heads off in the direction of Roncosambaccio and Porta della Mandria is oriented in alignment with the road to Roncosambaccio (Taus, 2003:23) (Figure 146). Roncosambaccio, as we have already seen, is the most promising of the external sites for the location of the pre-Roman sanctuary of Fortuna. Moreover, De Sanctis (1998:82-87) identified basalt paving stones leading from Porta della Mandria and again near Roncosambaccio and Trebbiantico to the northwest of Fanum Fortunae (in his view, this represented a spur road of the Via Flaminia as it exited Fanum Fortunae and joined up with the main consular road on its way to Ariminum). It may be that this earlier sanctuary outside Fanum Fortunae was incorporated into or eclipsed by a sanctuary complex which was developed in the urban centre in imperial times, a possibility which was alluded to by Stek (2010:32) but not pursued. The diagonal road and Porta della Mandria which would have connected the two may thus have played an important part in the social memory of the urban community, as discussed in Chapter 5.2.1.

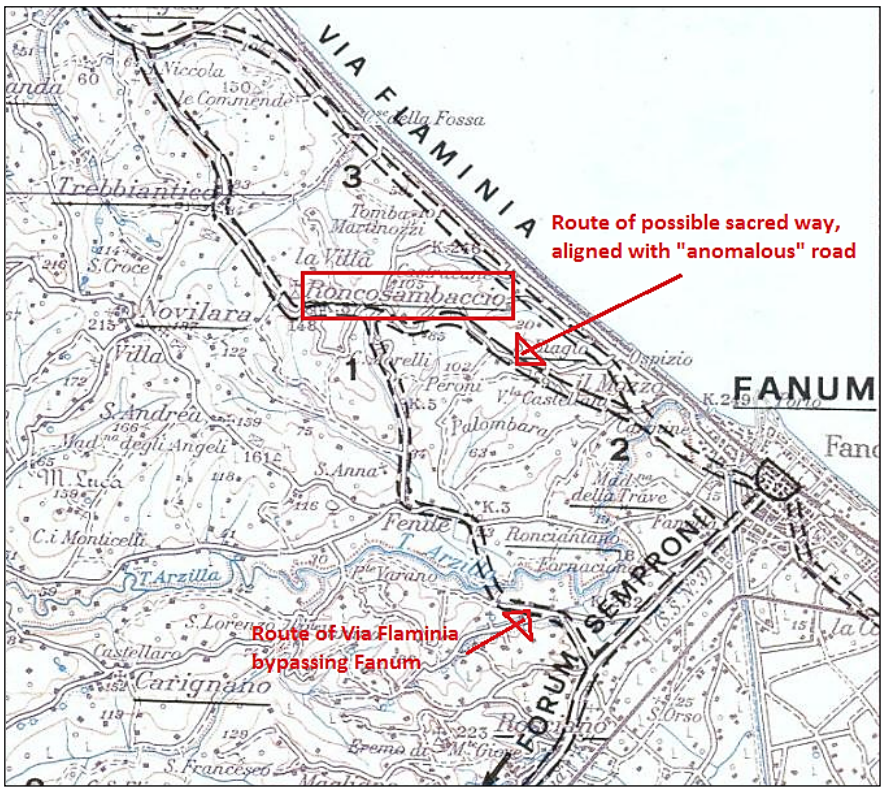

Figure 146: relationship between Fanum Fortunae and Roncosambaccio

D.4.3 Did the Augustan wall extend along the seafront?

The assumption that the walled circuit extended along the seafront stemmed from Bartolucci's 1936 plan, whose reliability is questionable. Luni noted that there is in fact no extant archaeological evidence either for towers along the seafront or for a Roman wall (2000:104). An open shoreline would be consistent with other cities: nearby Ariminum did not have walls along the coast until the time of Aurelian, and the same was true of a number of other cities protected by the sea or by a river such as Verona.

De Sanctis subjected the presumed seafront wall to careful scrutiny (2012:47-67), concluding that there is no good evidence that a Roman wall existed (although a wall did completely surround the city in the medieval period). The only archaeological evidence for an Augustan wall along the seafront came from excavations in 1926 which demolished a stretch of the medieval wall and uncovered two drains and immediately above them a short and low wall in brick and reused stone. Re-examining the photographs from 1926, De Sanctis concluded that only one of the drains is Roman and that the construction technique of the wall is unlikely to be Roman. He argued that the wall is better interpreted as belonging to the medieval Porta San Giorgio which is known to have provided access to the shoreline at about this point.

D.4.4 Was there a republican city wall?

A number of commentators have argued that Fanum Fortunae may have had an earlier, republican, walled circuit. In support of their point of view they offer two arguments, one historical, one archaeological. For the former, Luni pointed to the occupation of Fanum Fortunae by Caesar at the beginning of the civil war, arguing that Caesar would not have occupied an undefended city (2000:58-73, see also Taus, 2012). He had to admit, however, that there is absolutely no trace of a republican-era wall around what he suggested might be the pre-Augustan core of the city (the grid formed of 12 square insulae, see Appendix D.2.3 above). Indeed, there is very little evidence for republican-era occupation of the city at all. Likewise, Paci and Perna (2001:11) linked the possibility of a pre-Augustan wall to the granting of municipal status to the urban centre in the first century BC.

The archaeological evidence for a possible pre-Augustan city wall relates to a small stretch of walling in *opus quasi-reticulatum* which came to light in 1944 along the sea front (Figures 147 and 148). Mainly on the basis of the construction technique, a number of commentators have assumed that this must relate to a republican-period city wall (see, for example, Taus, 2003, Luni, 1992:127-133, Luni et al., 2000:52-58). There are square blocks at one end of the section which Luni noted are commonly used to form the corner of a wall, although in this instance he considered that the blocks may relate to a tower or simply be to reinforce the wall. This stretch of walling does not fit with the hypothesis of a walled nucleus around an inner rectangular grid of Caesarian date, because

it is located away from the grid and closer to the coastline. Moreover, no other stretches of walling in *opus quasi-reticulatum* have been found in Fanum Fortunae either along the coast or along a putative inland periphery. It is unlikely that the square blocks relate to a corner of the wall, because this stretch of walling is located halfway along the known extent of the urban area.

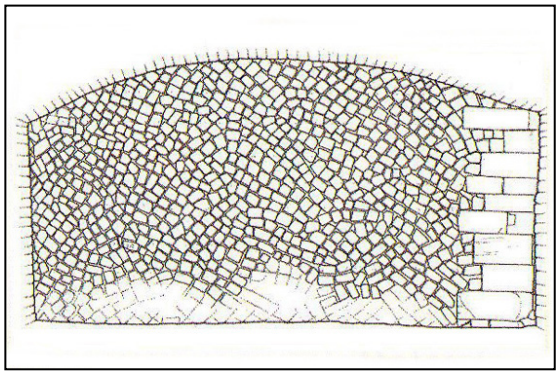

Figure 147: plan of opus quasi-reticulatum wall on the seaward side of the city

Figure 148: visible section of opus quasi-reticulatum wall, viewed from the northeast

Rather, De Sanctis (2012b) held that the walling was part of a retaining wall related to a landing place on the shore, not to a defensive structure, and may have been connected to the city by a road leading to the theatre, amphitheatre and other important public buildings (near to the stretch of walling were found basalt paving stones with a Roman drain underneath). Taus concluded that the wall may have been a buttress (2012:108). Pointing out that it is the earliest known structure in the city, Sisani suggested that the walling might be associated with the elusive sanctuary (2006:257) but its position in relation to the urban centre makes this unlikely. Like the interpretation of many other structures in Fanum Fortunae, the debate is inconclusive but it is now generally agreed that the walling did not form part of pre-Augustan city defences (see, for example, Taus, 2012:108) and therefore that it is highly unlikely that Fanum Fortunae was surrounded by a walled circuit at all before the Augustan period.

Appendix E Hispellum

E.1 The geographic context of Hispellum

Hispellum is located on the spur of a hillside which sits below Monte Subasio overlooking the Valle Umbra in central Italy (Figure 149). Colonial settlement at Hispellum provided a stimulus to transform the swamps of the plain into rich agricultural lands through improvement and infrastructure works (Camerieri and Manconi, 2010:29). The city was 5km north of the Via Flaminia and roads also led directly to Mevania and to Asisium. Geologically, the subsoil in the local area is limestone with a distinctive pinkish tinge, commonly used as a building material in Hispellum. The city was situated close to the pre-Roman sanctuary site of Villa Fidelia which lay on an important transhumance route. Among the primary sources for the site, Pliny records Hispellum in the towns of Regio VI[216] while Ptolemy lists Hispellum among the towns of the Umbri.[217]

Figure 149: location of Hispellum

Hispellum occupies a narrow and elongated position which slopes upwards from the south towards the highest point at the north of the settlement, some 321m above sea level. There is a difference in height of 100m between the main entrance to the city from the plain through Porta Consolare and the city gate at the most northerly point of the walled circuit; this was a steep and difficult site on which to develop a colony and it is perhaps not surprising that no trace of a regular street grid has been identified. An illustration commonly associated with Hispellum in the *Corpus Agrimensorum* served to exemplify the difficulties of laying out a grid where topographical considerations meant that the city itself could not act as the node of the grid (see Figure 14 in Chapter 3.4). Thus the centuriation of the colony's territory does not have a direct relationship with the presumed line of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* within the urban centre itself.[218] While the depiction of Hispellum in the *Corpus Agrimensorum* is purely diagrammatic and the towers bear no likeness to the actual walled circuit, it is striking that the orientation and placement of the centuriation lines have a passable resemblance to those identified on the ground (Manconi et al., 1996:397-402).

[216] Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 3,14,113
[217] Ptolemy *Geography* 3.1
[218] Hyginus Gromaticus 178.19-179.10

E.2 The administrative status of Hispellum

Originally a small settlement attached to the important Umbrian sanctuary nearby, urbanisation of the site appears to date from the grant of municipal status around 90BC. At this point, as with most *municipia*, the town was governed by *quattuorviri*.[219] Based on epigraphic evidence, Sisani (2002, 2012) argued that an early holder of this office, Lucius Falius Tinia, also held the office of praetor on a regional rather than municipal basis, which would have neatly tied together the new municipal institutions with existing federal traditions connected to the sanctuary and the *lega etnica umbra*.

Keppie confidently dated the foundation of Hispellum as a veteran colony to 41BC (1983:179); its foundation may be associated with the Perusine War in 41-40BC as part of the settlement programme following the short-lived peace between Octavian and Antony. The city took the title Colonia Iulia Hispellum (and is attested thus in a number of inscriptions)[220] and following its establishment as a colony, *duoviri* are recorded as its magistrates.[221] Sisani argued that the colony received further veterans following the battle of Actium (2012:436).

Hispellum remained loyal to Octavian and this may be reflected in marks of imperial favour towards the colony. Pliny the Younger records that Augustus gave to Hispellum the sacred site of the Springs of Clitumnus, located some 15km to the south of Hispellum, which had previously belonged to the territory of Mevania.[222] Keppie argued that Hispellum's territory was also extended at the expense of Asisium, based on the expropriation of land lamented by Propertius[223] (1983:178). Hyginus Gromaticus used Hispellum as an example of a colony whose territories were not contiguous[224] and this is borne out not only by Pliny's reference to the Springs of Clitumnus but also by the discovery of a *cippus* marking the colony's territory some 20km north of Hispellum.[225] Sisani (2012:433) suggested that the lands of Hispellum were tripled in size following its settlement as a colony, at the expense not only of Asisium and Mevania but also Spoletium, Vettona, Arna, Perusia, and Tifernum Tiberinum, possibly as retribution for their failure to back Octavian. The scattered nature of Hispellum's territories is also indicated by dispersed findings of inscriptions which record people who belonged to the Lemonia tribe, into which citizens of Hispellum were enrolled (Zuddas and Spadoni, 2010).

[219] See, for example, CIL 11, 05281, 05282, 05288
[220] See, for example, CIL 11, 05278, 05269a, AE 1988, 00517
[221] See, for example, CIL 11, 05264, 05269a, 05276.
[222] Pliny *Epistulae* 8.8.6
[223] Propertius *Elegiae* iv.1.127-130
[224] Hyginus Gromaticus 179
[225] CIL 11, 05291: *fin(es) col(oniae) / Hispell(atium)*. See Manconi et al. (1996:393).

E.3 The urban development of Hispellum

There are traces of settlement on the site of Hispellum dating back to the fifth and fourth centuries BC, when activity at the sanctuary site nearby is also evidenced (Baiolini, 2002:92, 118). At least two necropoleis in the vicinity are known from this period. More substantial remains, including terracing in the centre of the urban settlement and nascent monumentalisation of the sanctuary, followed in the third and second centuries BC (Fontaine, 1990:245). Although the presence of the sanctuary is likely to have been the main stimulus for settlement on the site, its development may also be linked with the opening of the Via Flaminia in 220BC. There is, however, very little material evidence from this early period.

Considerable activity and monumental building followed the establishment of Hispellum as a colony. Apart from the city walls and gates, which are analysed in detail below, public buildings for which there is adequate archaeological evidence include a forum, curia and temple in the city centre and a *sacellum*, theatre and amphitheatre in the sanctuary complex outside the walls. Owing to continued occupation of the town, systematic archaeological excavation has been limited and even chance finds surprisingly few. It is difficult to trace the ancient street pattern although it is assumed that one of the main streets ran from Porta Consolare at the south to the forum and on to one of the northern gates, probably the Arco di Augusto (Brozzi reported that drainage works under the modern Via Cavour on this line revealed a Roman street – 1972:23), while the other main axis led from Porta Venere to the forum.

E.3.1 The urban centre

A plan of the urban centre and its relationship to the sanctuary complex is at Figure 150. Hispellum's forum was identified following (unpublished) excavations in 1991. It was located in the centre of the city, now the Piazza della Repubblica, where the slope is not too pronounced. It formed a rectangle measuring 53m x 132m and was supported by terracing in the form of big blocks of *opus quadratum*, probably republican in date but restored and provided with drainage in the early Augustan period (Baiolini, 2002:94-95). Limited investigations took place to the east of the piazza, locating a rectangular building some 9m x 13m, which faced onto the forum and may have been the curia (Sisani, 2006:110). A structure in *opus vittatum* on the southern side of the forum may be a temple to Apollo whose existence is attested epigraphically.[226] There is also epigraphic evidence, but no archaeological evidence, for a porticus.[227] These buildings, along with another tentatively identified as a basilica, are thought to be Augustan in date, although firm evidence is lacking (Manconi et al., 1996:379). Baiolini was confident that the aqueduct which brought water into the city from Fontecanale to the north and associated infrastructure and drainage

[226] CIL 11, 05261, 05342
[227] CIL 11, 08011

works should also be dated to the Augustan period (2002:119). Between the forum and the Porta dell'Arce to the north of the city, near Palazzo Venanzi, there are traces of a structure with a plinth in *opus quadratrum* which may have been another temple (Sisani, 2006:111). There are oblique references in the literature to a *via tecta*, an intramural road which connected Porta Venere and Porta San Ventura (see, for example, Sisani, 2006:109 and Manconi et al., 1996:380) but no archaeological evidence is put forward to support this.

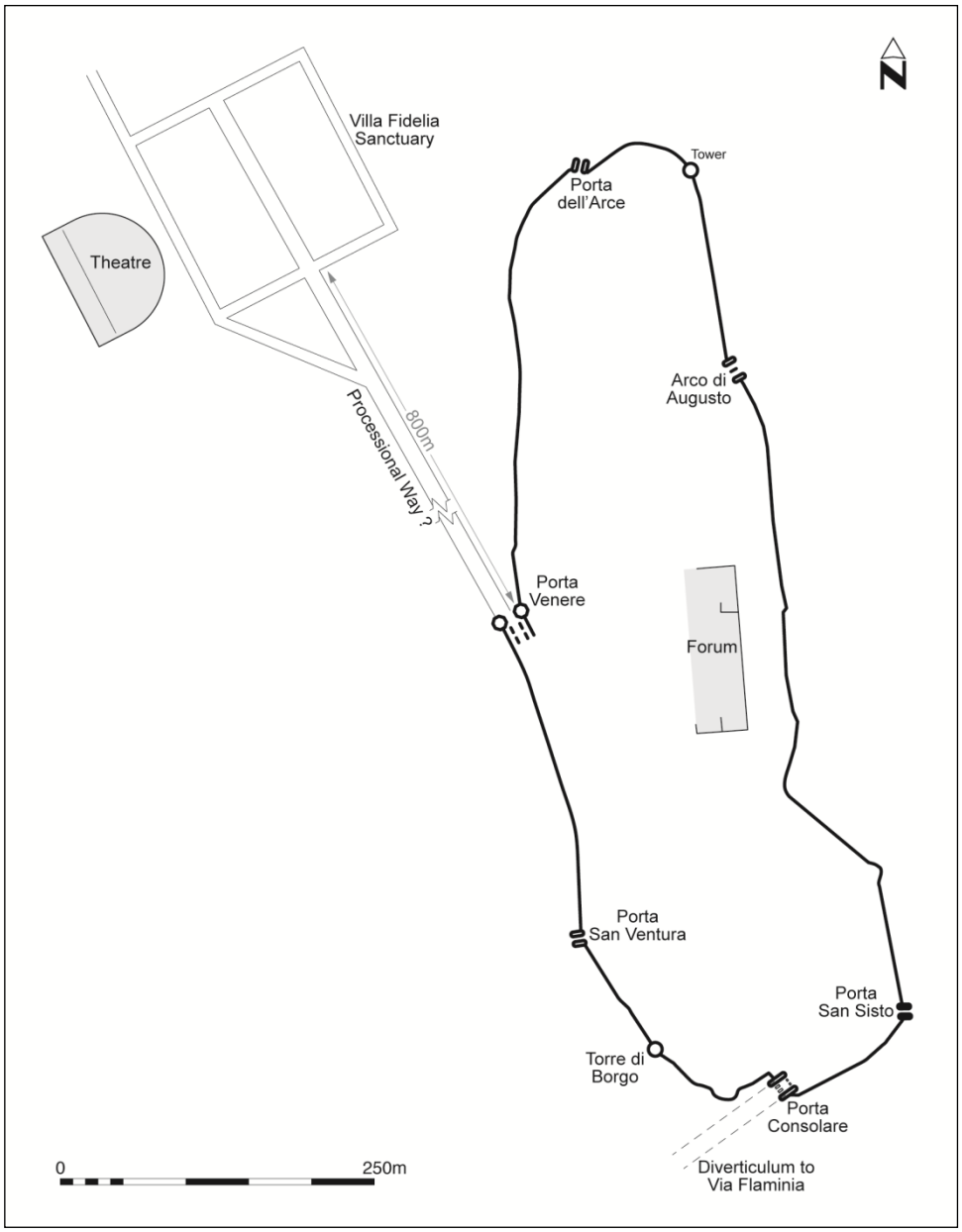

Figure 150: site plan of Hispellum

E.3.2 The sanctuary site

The sanctuary site at Villa Fidelia is located about 800m to the northwest of Hispellum, occupying a large terraced site in the manner of Hellenistic sanctuaries. The primary source for the sanctuary

comes from the "Rescript of Constantine"[228] dated to AD333-337. This contains the Emperor's reply to a request from the Umbrians (not the citizens of Hispellum) for permission to continue to celebrate an ancient pre-Roman religious festival at the sanctuary and makes clear the regional importance of the site. Archaeological evidence, including a votive bronze in the form of a hand, shows that the site had been in use at least as far back as the fifth century BC (Bradley, 2000:244), while material remains (architectural and votive) indicating initial monumentalisation of the site date to the second or first centuries BC (Sisani, 2006:112-113).

Further monumentalisation and terracing of the Villa Fidelia sanctuary was undertaken at about the time of the colony's foundation. Manconi et al. (1996:381-392) noted the similarity in construction technique between the city walls and the terracing of the sanctuary, both being built in *opus vittatum* of local stone. At 165m x 155m the sanctuary site is one of the largest known, confirming its importance as a meeting point for Umbrian communities in a religious context. Recent excavations at the sanctuary site have identified twin temples linked by three long terraces with fountains and a staircase between the terraces. The site of the main temple is yet to be found but there is evidence for the cults of Minerva and Jupiter. The excavators identified the southern temple as a *sacellum* dedicated to Venus (Camerieri and Manconi, 2010:31-33), associated with a mosaic floor first discovered in 1600 and an inscribed slab (now lost) set into the mosaic floor which recorded a dedication to Venus.[229] The *sacellum* consisted of at least three phases, including a small pre-Roman building which was enlarged in the Augustan period and rebuilt under Constantine, suggesting that Constantine's favourable response to Hispellum in the Rescript led to renewed building activity at the sanctuary and emphasising continuity at the site.

The theatre, Augustan in date (Sisani, 2006:114) and at 106m in diameter itself the largest in Umbria, was built in careful symmetry with the existing sanctuary, thus indicating an association between the continuing pre-Roman traditions of the sanctuary and Roman dramatic and gladiatorial shows in the theatre and amphitheatre (which are mentioned in the Rescript). The nearby amphitheatre, which was 114m x 87m and may have held as many as 15,000 spectators (Brozzi, 1972:32), is not in alignment with the sanctuary and theatre and is probably later in date, possibly Julio-Claudian or Flavian (Manconi et al., 1996:390). Little remains of the amphitheatre and theatre, as they were robbed for use as building material in the nineteenth century, but a sixteenth century fresco in the Palazzo Comunale Vecchio in Spello depicts what stood of the theatre at that time. The amphitheatre suffered from a poorly conducted (and unpublished) excavation in the 1950s, which caused the collapse of part of the surviving superstructure (Baiolini, 2002:66). A large baths complex has also been discovered in the vicinity, in relationship with the sanctuary.

[228] CIL 11, 05265
[229] CIL 11, 05264

Sisani noted the site's importance as a regional centre from the earliest times (2002, 2012). He argued that the sanctuary at Hispellum played a key role in the pre-Roman period together with the sanctuary at Mevania, some 10km away, suggesting that a sacred way linked the two sanctuaries and the sacred springs at Clitumnus (2012:429). Mevania was also an important pre-Roman centre for the Umbrians, as is indicated in a passage of Livy.[230] A monumental complex, probably cultic in nature, has been identified just outside the city of Mevania to the north, on the road which at that time linked Mevania to Perusia and Hispellum. Sisani was confident that this was a *via triumphalis* between Mevania and Hispellum whose existence is known epigraphically (2002:495-496).[231]

The juxtaposition of the colony and the sanctuary provide an interesting commentary on the survival of an Umbrian identity in the late republic and early empire on the one hand, and on the other hand Augustus' policy of exploiting and appropriating major Italic cult sites (Scheid, 2006). While the Villa Fidelia site represented continuity at a time of change, the transfer of ownership of the sacred site at Clitumnus represented a deliberate break with tradition and a realignment of Umbrian identity, asserting Hispellum's dominance over other urban centres in the area. Sisani (2012:436) argued that the sanctuary's role as a regional centre in the Augustan period signified Hispellum's importance as a means of promulgating Augustan ideology through political and cultural unity at a regional level. This seems unlikely in the short term at least, however, bearing in mind the acts of confiscation and retribution which had given Hispellum its pre-eminence. But Hispellum's dominant status and colonial power is not in question.

E.4 The city walls and gates of Hispellum – evidence

Long stretches of Hispellum's city walls on the southern and western side are well preserved, standing in places to around 6.5m, and the complete footprint of the walled circuit, which had a perimeter of 1.8km and enclosed 15ha, is not in dispute. At the north, the circuit was considerably enlarged in the medieval period. Rebuilding and restoration work has taken place over the centuries and later structures have been built against or into almost all of the inner face of the original Roman wall.

The main detailed source for the archaeological evidence of the city walls and gates of Hispellum is Fontaine (1990:263-301). Although Baiolini's account of Hispellum's walls and gates, undertaken as part of a series on *Città Romane,* is more recent (2002), she adds almost nothing to Fontaine's work (although her study was broader in scope, covering the whole of the urban centre). A monograph on Porta Venere was published in 2005. This is particularly interesting for the assemblage of early drawings and photographs and for the collection of notes relating to the otherwise unpublished excavations of the early twentieth century (Marroni, 2005). The description

[230] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 9.41,8
[231] CIL 11, 05041 …*viam triumphalem / straverunt lapide / Hispellate*

which follows draws mainly on Fontaine but also on Baiolini and Marroni as well as on the earlier research of Richmond (1932) and the later work of Camerieri and Manconi (Camerieri and Manconi, 2010, Manconi et al., 1996), and my own observations.

E.4.1 The circuit

The walled circuit followed the long narrow spur on which the colony was situated. The circuit took the shape of a very irregular and elongated rectangle, some 750m long from north to south and about 200m across at its widest. The walls, which had a concrete core, were carefully built in *opus vittatum* on both the external and internal faces from small blocks of local limestone with its distinctive pinkish tinge (Figure 151). In contrast, the principle gateways were built from larger blocks of brighter, whiter stone. The walls were homogenous in construction, suggesting that they were built at the same time, and at 2.2m-2.4m were quite wide.[232] Fontaine estimated that originally the walls may have stood 13m high (1990:253), which seems on the high side but not incompatible with the contemporary walls of Fanum Fortunae (around 12m high – see Appendix D).

Figure 151: detail of external façade of wall on western perimeter, showing foundations

The foundations of the walled circuit were particularly solid, laid where possible onto rock and in some places more than 3m deep. At ground level the foundation formed a small plinth some 4-10cm wider than the wall which rested on it. The facings of the wall itself were constructed of very regularly sized small rectangular blocks, laid with a fine (4-7mm) layer of mortar. The stone blocks were carefully cut on the external facing and shaped on the internal face so as to ensure a

[232] In contrast, the walls of Urbs Salvia and Fanum Fortunae were 1.5-1.6m and 1.8m wide respectively.

secure fixing into the core. The stone blocks varied in size between 30-50cm wide and 15-30cm high. Some sections of the wall on the east were less carefully built than the sections facing the valley, with thicker mortar joints and courses of stones that were not precisely horizontal.

My discussion of the archaeological evidence for the Roman walls starts at Porta Consolare at the southernmost part of the city and works clockwise round the walled circuit (see plan above). The first stretch of walls from Porta Consolare is one of the more problematic sections. Unlike the rest of the Roman wall, it is not uniform in nature and contains other material such as larger stone blocks. It therefore presents "some uncertainties" in its dating (Manconi et al., 1996:378-379). It may be that the later medieval wall has been thoroughly integrated into the original Roman wall at this point. For around 100m between Torre di Borgo and Porta San Ventura, however, the wall is exceptionally well preserved to a height of 6m. It is particularly well built over this stretch and a projecting course of stone provides a decorative banding (Figures 152 and 153). Shortly before Porta San Ventura, there is a small rectangular opening, 0.35m wide and 0.4m high, now blocked, which was designed to let water escape. From Porta San Ventura, the wall climbs gradually over a 300m stretch to Porta Venere. This section of wall is also very carefully built and still stands to around 6m high. The foundations are clearly visible, in some places to a depth of 3m. About halfway along this section, the foundation of the wall is cut by a sewer, 1.2m high and 0.6m wide.

Figure 152: decorative banding on external façade of wall near Porta San Ventura

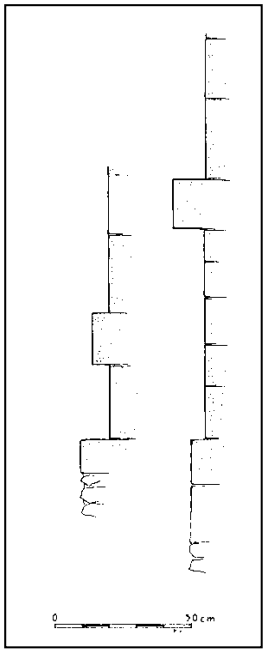

Figure 153: profile of banding

After Porta Venere, going round the north of the city, the original Roman wall is no longer visible on the ground. The Roman wall between Porta dell'Arce and the Arco di Augusto was obliterated by the fourteenth century fortifications of La Rocca, although Baiolini noted a 30m stretch of Roman wall within the medieval defences, in which she identified a postern gate (2002:87). Turning south from the Arco di Augusto, the Roman wall no longer exists and the medieval city

wall (which enclosed a much larger area to the north of the city) follows a different course. The line of the Roman wall is, however, easily traceable in property boundaries and roads (Via Fonte del Masto and Via Liberazione).

The wall becomes clearly visible again some 80m before the medieval Porta Chiusa. The external facing of this section of the wall is notably less carefully executed than the section facing the Valle Umbra. For 100m between Porta Chiusa and Porta San Sisto, the Roman wall is preserved to a height of about 4m. The final stretch of the wall, which runs for another 100m between Porta San Sisto at the most southwesterly point of the circuit and Porta Consolare, is well preserved, except for a breach to accommodate a new access into the town centre.

E.4.2 Towers and posterns

Two towers have been recognised in the city walls. One, the Torre di Borgo, was located halfway between Porta Consolare and Porta San Ventura (Figure 154 below). Rectangular in design and projecting some 2.1m forward from the wall, it was heavily rebuilt in the medieval period but is considered to be contemporary with the Roman city walls by reason of its materials and type of construction (Fontaine, 1990:251, 302). The external frontage of the tower was 5.7m across and the interior of the tower measured 3.3m x 3.4m square. There was a barrel-vaulted postern gate in the ground floor of the tower giving access to outside the city. A further, higher door provided access from the city to the tower and a double flight of stairs joined the different levels.

Baiolini reported a second tower, between Arco di Augusto and Porta dell'Arce at the most northerly point of the site, incorporated within the medieval defences (2002:87). This structure consisted of a rectangular tower about 7m wide which projected some 4m in front of the city walls and in which on the southern side was a postern gate about 2.3m high and 1m wide.

Brozzi (1972:16) argued that there was a further postern gate, on the eastern side of the wall, and his view was supported by Baiolini, in view of its similar dimensions to the two other posterns in the circuit. The construction technique of the feature is similar to that of the wall, and is likely to be contemporary; Fontaine concluded that it was probably a drainage outlet.

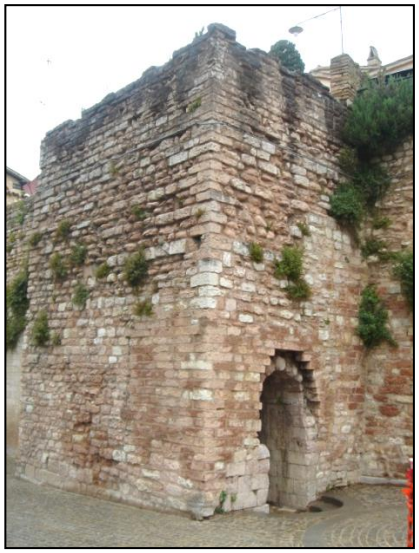

Figure 154: Torre di Borgo in southwest section of walled circuit

Figure 155: Porta Consolare, external view

E.4.3 City gates

There were six gateways in the walled circuit which vary considerably in scale, design and ornamentation: Fontaine recognised only five gates (1990:253) but a sixth was subsequently identified within the medieval walls following restoration work (Baiolini, 2002:66). Three of the gateways, including the two major gateways of Porta Consolare and Porta Venere, face the valley and the main through routes. My discussion of the archaeological evidence for the gates again starts at Porta Consolare and works clockwise round the walled circuit.

Porta Consolare

Porta Consolare was located at the southernmost end of Hispellum where the hillside slopes down to the plain (Figure 155 above). It formed the main entrance into the city from the *diverticulum* which led from the Via Flaminia and remained until recently the main entrance into Spello. Unpublished excavations in the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated that the gate was placed to accommodate an existing, pre-Roman road (Fontaine, 1990:254) and the city walls in turn made a zig-zag to accommodate the gate. The frontage of the gateway was placed some 1.2m proud of the line of the walls and is markedly off-centre in the short section of wall to which it relates.

Porta Consolare was a triple-arched gateway with a galleried arcade above and an inner courtyard (*cavaedium*) (Figure 156). The larger, central archway was 4.4m wide and 6.8m high while the two smaller archways were 1.7m wide and 3.4m high (Fontaine, 1990:254). The inner courtyard measured 11m wide by 5.8m deep and the overall size of the structure was 14m wide by 8.6m deep. The side walls of the *cavaedium* constitute, at each end, the outer support for the side arches. The outer archway is quite well preserved; of the inner archway, only the footings of one of the central supports survives. The depth of the outer archway, at 1.8m, was twice that of the inner

archway at 0.9m. To the south, a stone staircase provided access between the gateway and the city wall. The galleried arcade was replaced in the medieval period with blockwork. The three statues now placed above the gateway are not original to the gate but were found in the vicinity of the amphitheatre just outside the city. The tower to the right of the three arches is medieval although it is built on top of Roman walls; the 1980s excavations revealed no sign that the original gate was flanked by towers.

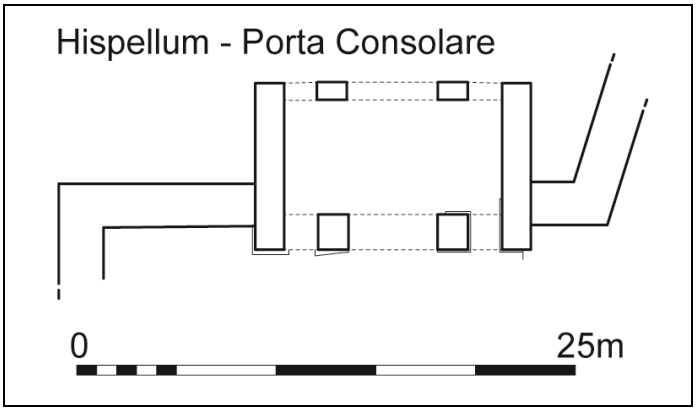

Figure 156: plan of Porta Consolare

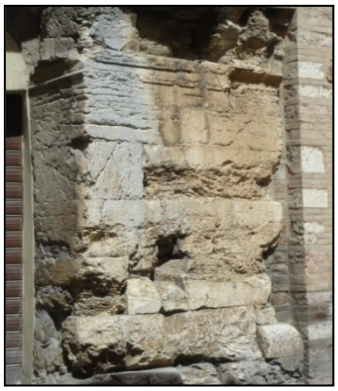

Figure 157: scant remains of Arco di Augusto

The gateway was constructed of large white differently sized limestone blocks interspersed with some pinkish coloured limestone blocks (illustrated at Figure 58 in Chapter 5.1.2). It seems clear to me from my observations on site that in places this was done to create a deliberate contrast and to provide a pleasing coloured effect. Frothingham (1910:190) suggested that the limestone blocks would have been covered by marble slabs, in view of the holes visible in the limestone, but this was dismissed by Fontaine (1990:266). There is no sign that the gateway could be closed with *cataractae* (Baiolini, 2002:81). From an architectural point of view, Fontaine noted a close parallel with Porta Praetoria at Augusta Praetoria, although Porta Praetoria is twice as big. The overall effect is one of austere grandeur: Porta Consolare lacks the architectural ornamentation of pilasters, cornices and other architectural details of Porta Venere and other contemporary gateways elsewhere.

Porta San Ventura

Porta San Ventura (also known as Porta Urbica) is located in the west side of the city walls near the foot of the hill and provided access into the city from the road leading to Mevania. It is often erroneously quoted as a "monumental" gateway along with Porta Consolare and Porta Venere (see, for example, Marroni, 2005:11). It is in fact a relatively simple, single-arched gateway set flush into the city walls with minimal decorative mouldings and bore a close resemblance to two other gateways in Hispellum's circuit, Porta dell'Arce and Porta San Sisto.

Porta San Ventura was carefully built in *opus quadratum* from blocks of local white limestone (Figure 158). Fontaine noted that the bonding between the blocks of the archway and the cement

core of the walls indicates that they are contemporary in date (1990:300). It had one rounded archway which was 2.95m wide, 2.2m deep and 4.9m high, flanked on the outside by two pillars supporting a cornice with a triangular pediment (see plan at Figure 164 below). An inscription of renaissance date has been inserted in the centre of the architrave. It appears that there was no means of closing the gate as there are no traces of the grooves in which *cataractae* would sit and no holes for hinges (Baiolini, 2002:76). Architecturally, Fontaine noted a similarity to the Porta Tiburtina at Rome (where the relief is more accentuated), which is dated by an inscription to 5BC.[233] One source (Evans, 2012) states that a phallic symbol is carved in relief on the walls near Porta San Ventura, but this is not mentioned by Fontaine or Baiolini and I was unable to verify it on the ground.

Figure 158: Porta San Ventura in western perimeter of wall, view from outside the city

Figure 159: Porta San Sisto in southeast section of wall, view from outside the city

Porta Venere

Porta Venere was architecturally the most ambitious gate in Hispellum's walled circuit (Figure 160). It looked out to the northwest towards Perusia and Asisium and was clearly visible to approaching travellers along the Valle Umbra. Porta Venere linked the centre of the walled city with the extramural public buildings, including the sanctuary complex, theatre and amphitheatre, in the plain below. It was set at an angle in the wall, which made a zig-zag at this point. The slope of the hillside made for considerable technical difficulties in constructing a gateway here. Although the defensive capabilities of Porta Venere are not negligible, it seems clear that it was designed to

[233] CIL 06, 01244

impress and built to embellish its setting. The entire structure displays a degree of symmetry which is remarkable given the difficulties of the terrain and the different ground levels.

Figure 160: Porta Venere. View from inside the city looking down towards Villa Fidelia

Porta Venere has undergone a number of reconstructions over the centuries, particularly in the late 1930s and early 1940s when the modern buildings which obscured the site were demolished and the gateway rebuilt. In the absence of published excavation records, scholars have to rely on earlier studies and drawings of the gateway, among them Richmond (1932), Frigerio (1935) and Kähler (1942), all of whom examined the gateway before the late 1930s/early 1940s work, to disentangle the original form of the structure. Marroni unearthed from the archives of the Soprintendenza an interesting collection of notes and drawings from 1915-1917 which, inter alia, shed some light on the otherwise unpublished excavations of that time. These excavations had uncovered the Roman street levels, the footings of the inner gateway and the external staircase on the eastern side of the courtyard. There is almost no archival evidence to explain how and why the very significant work of the late 1930s/early 1940s was carried out: even the date of the work is unclear. Very little now remains of the original gateway but a drawing of the early nineteenth century indicates the authenticity of some parts of the reconstruction.

Porta Venere was a triple-arched gateway with an inner courtyard (*cavaedium*) (Figure 161). The main archway was 3.8m wide and 6.6m high while the smaller archways on either side were 2.15m wide and 3.5m high. The lower part of the façade was constructed in *opus quadratum* from travertine, unlike Hispellum's other gates which were built of locally sourced white limestone. The

upper part was built in small pinkish stones in contrast to the travertine of the lower level. There were four pilasters delineating the archway: Richmond recorded (1932:59) that the northernmost pilaster was surmounted by a frieze, and above that there was a storey in small blockwork decorated with attached columns. He noted that this form of embellishment is also found at the contemporary colony of Augusta Praetoria. Only a small part of the galleried arcade above the current façade is original. The general consensus is that there were five windows along the arcade, with plainer (Frigerio, 1935) or more ornate (Kähler, 1942) embellishment. The total height of the external façade was about 11.5m. Overall, the embellishment of Porta Venere is restrained.

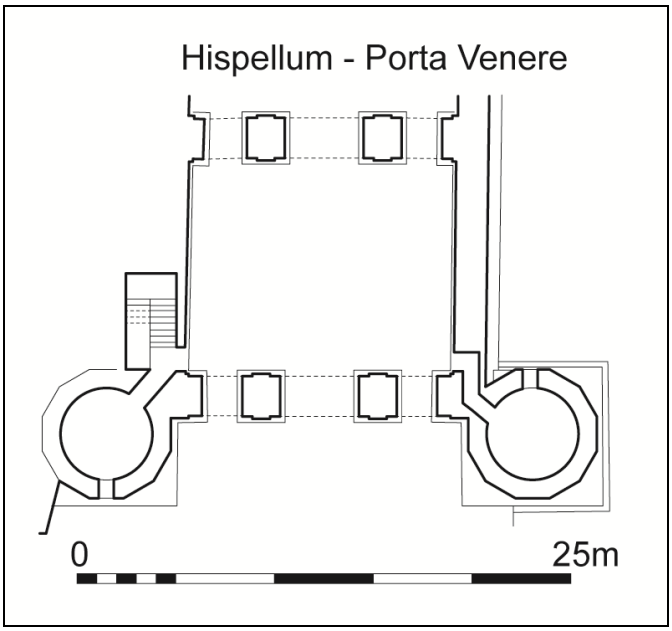

Figure 161: plan of Porta Venere

Figure 162: western tower with plinth, viewed from outside the city looking south

The inner courtyard measured 13.4m x 10.7m, its eastern wall acting as a terracing wall. The central archway, but not the side archways, could be closed by means of *cataractae* (Marroni, 2005:15). The original road running through the courtyard was paved with rectangular travertine blocks. Traces of the inner archway are visible but it has not been restored. Fontaine firmly rejected the "fanciful" plan of Tarchi (1942), who introduced a third archway for which there is no evidence or precedent (possibly having been confused by a medieval structure nearby).

Porta Venere was flanked by twin towers, the Torri di Properzio, which projected forward some 4.5m from the face of the gateway. The towers were built in pink-coloured *opus vittatum* like the galleried arcade of the gate itself and the city walls, and were carefully bonded into the gate and walled circuit. The east tower was partially restored and the west tower almost completely rebuilt as part of the late 1930s/early 1940s programme; the towers were again subject to a restoration programme ending in 2014. The twelve-sided towers, which were 6.7m in diameter and had circular interiors, currently stand four storeys high. Each of the 12 sides was 1.8m long. Because Porta Venere was built on a steep hillside, significant terracing and engineering work was required. The eastern tower was constructed on solid rock while the western tower stood on a stepped square

base built some 10m high to level up the towers (Figure 162 above), giving a vivid indication of the difficulties of construction on such a steep site. Both towers had doorways leading into the inner courtyard and connecting doors leading onto the rampart of the walls. The west tower was accessed by a staircase inside the wall and the eastern tower had an external stone staircase. The upper storeys of the towers probably had wooden floors resting on holes in the structure which were visible to Frigerio in 1935. There were long narrow windows in each alternate side (six per tower). Sisani (2006:109) estimated the original height of the towers at 18m although Marroni cautioned that this cannot be securely determined.

Richmond noted the similarities between Porta Venere and the contemporary Porta Palatina at Augusta Taurinorum (1932:61-62). Although Porta Palatina had two main archways rather than one, it also used stepped plinths to support the towers and the narrow windows are of the same unusual design with similar dimensions. The size of the courtyard of the Porta Palatina was also quite similar, at 12.2m wide and 11.2m deep. Fontaine added other comparisons (1990:294), all in north Italy and all dating to the end of the republic or early Augustan period, including the gateways of Porta Praetoria at Comum and the 16-sided towers on square plinth bases at Hasta. We can also draw comparisons with Porta Praetoria at Augusta Praetoria and Porta di Augusto at Fanum Fortunae. These gateways all exhibit a move away from defensive and military characteristics towards a more symbolic and architecturally ornate form. For both Richmond and Fontaine, the similarities pointed to a school of architects at work in central and northern Italy during this period.

Porta dell'Arce

Porta dell'Arce, also known as Porta dei Cappuccini, was located at the highest point of the circuit, in the north of the city. Fontaine suggested that the *arx* of the city might have been located nearby, given the name and the proximity of the summit (1990:278), although no archaeological trace of an *arx* has been found. Only the archway itself, in drystone construction of white limestone blocks, survives although Baiolini (2002:88) noted traces of repair and/or restoration work in travertine. There are signs of a decorative cornice on the external archway.

Like Porta San Ventura, Porta dell'Arce was a single arched gateway about 3m wide and 2m deep and was probably about 4.2m high originally (Figure 163). Unlike Porta San Ventura, there were slots cut into the arch which presupposes that there was a means of closing off the gateway (Fontaine 1990:274) (see plan at Figure 164 below). There is no reason to follow Bonasegale Pittei (1978), whose account of the walls is in a number of respects unreliable,[234] to think that this was a gateway in an earlier republican-era wall.

[234] For example, Bonasegale Pittei thought that the towers flanking Porta Venere dated to the twelfth century AD.

Appendix E

Arco di Augusto

The Arco di Augusto gave access to the plain to the east of Hispellum and also to the north of the colony. The north pier and the first voussoirs of the Arco di Augusto are still visible, embedded in the façade of a house (Figure 157 above). The archway was constructed from big blocks of whiteish limestone and there are traces of a cornice cut into the voussoirs. Baiolini estimated that the height of the archway was 4.5m, the depth 2m and the width 3m (2002:86) (Figure 164). Nearby is a block which may be the remains of another pier. The distance between the footings suggests that this was originally a double archway (Sisani, 2006:110); Fontaine noted a similarity to the Porta Gemina at Asculum (1990:276-277) and there may also be a resemblance to the double gateway at Urbs Salvia, which may be contemporary in date (see Appendix G).

Above the surviving voussoirs is a fragment of an inscription referencing Augustus.[235] Opinion is divided on whether the inscription relates to the city walls and gates. It is known that the inscription was located elsewhere in the eighteenth century but its original provenance is unclear. The relevance of the inscription is discussed further below.

Figure 163: Porta dell'Arce at the northern end of the walled circuit
View from inside the city looking north.

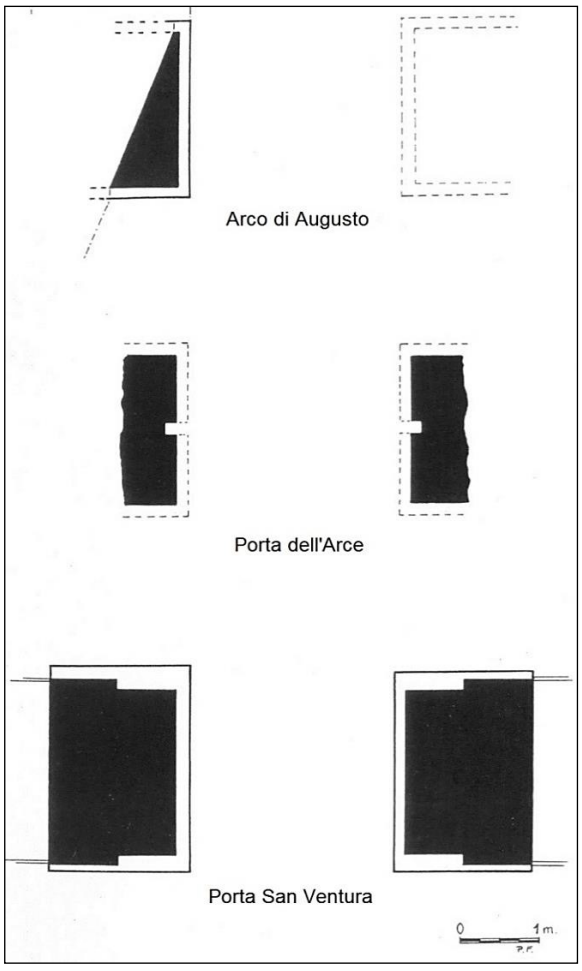

Figure 164: plans of minor gates

[235] CIL 11, 05266: *[Imp(erator) Caes]ar divi [f(ilius) Augustus]*

Porta San Sisto

Porta San Sisto, at the southwest point of the circuit, is immediately adjacent to a medieval tower and is currently blocked up (see Figure 159 above). It was identified following (unpublished) excavations in the late 1980s. It is the only substantial change in our understanding of the city walls since Fontaine's investigations (Baiolini, 2002:72, 83-84). Baiolini commented that the gateway appeared to be a simple opening flush with the line of the city walls and had a single archway with a height of 4.5m and a width of 3m. The piers of the archway were built of big blocks of limestone with minimal mortar and there are signs of a simple moulding. There is a marked similarity between Porta San Sisto and Porta San Ventura. This gateway is shown in a painting of 1610 by Grecchi, now in the Palazzo Comunale Vecchio, which depicts the city of Spello being offered to the Madonna.

E.4.4 Epigraphic evidence relating to city walls

There are two known inscriptions from Hispellum which may have some relevance to the city walls and their gateways. However, the evidence to link either of them to the city walls and their gateways is weak. A fragmentary inscription referencing Augustus is currently located above Arco di Augusto, as already noted. It is known, however, that in the eighteenth century the inscription was located at the church of Santa Barbara. This, in turn, may not be the original provenance of the inscription as the church lies well to the north outside the urban area of the Roman colony.[236] Opinion is divided as to whether the inscription should be associated with imperial patronage of the city walls: Bradley (2000:245), Patterson (2003:90) and Keppie (1983:115, 117), for example, were confident that the inscription was relevant to the city walls but both Fontaine and Baiolini rejected the link. I am not sufficiently convinced to include the inscription in my main catalogue of inscriptions; it is recorded as inscription xxiii in my ancillary list at Appendix K.

A second fragmentary inscription was found in the urban centre which commemorates imperial patronage of a monumental public building.[237] Baiolini argued that this may relate to a triumphal arch marking the entrance to the forum (2002:100), perhaps the "gate" which was noted by Donnola, an antiquarian writer of the early seventeenth century, between Porta Consolare and the Piazza della Repubblica. Baiolini argued for an Augustan/Tiberian date for the inscription, but an alternative and more widely held restoration, first proposed by Alföldy in 1999, associates the inscription with Pliny the Younger and therefore presupposes a later date. Eck accepted the later date and argued that the inscription related to the benefaction of a temple (2009). There is at present no corroborating archaeological evidence and it is therefore not possible to say if an arch

[236] Sisani suggested an association with work to bring water to the city, as this was near the point where the aqueduct reached Hispellum (2006:111).
[237] CIL 11, 05272

(or temple) existed, and if did exist, to indicate its date. I have included the inscription in my ancillary list as inscription xxiv in view of its possible relevance to a free-standing archway.

E.5 The city walls and gates of Hispellum – analysis

E.5.1 The chronology of the walls and gates

There is no evidence – archaeological, epigraphic, literary or historical – to indicate that the pre-colonial settlement at Hispellum was surrounded by city walls.[238] Although there is nothing in the primary sources, and no material evidence from archaeological work, to provide a precise date for the construction of the colonial walls, the overwhelming consensus is that they were built as a single project in the period 30-20BC, shortly after the foundation of the colony in about 40BC (see, for example, Fontaine 1990:259, Baiolini 2002:90, Sisani 2006:106). The building materials and construction techniques of the walls are consistent throughout and the use of *opus vittatum* is widespread in the triumviral period and especially in monumental building of the early Augustan period (Fontaine 1990:259). There are close parallels with the city walls and gates of Augusta Praetoria, Fanum Fortunae and Augusta Taurinorum, all of which can confidently be placed in the Augustan period. There may be a link with the restoration of the Via Flaminia in 27BC.

Opinion is, however, divided on whether all the gates are contemporary with the wall, especially given the difference in style between them. In particular, Fontaine noted that – unlike the other gates – Porta Consolare is not bonded into the city walls but simply abuts them. It is less ornate and less uniform in its construction type and its foundations are considerably (1.6m) lower than those of the adjacent wall circuit. Following Blake (1947:113, 201) and using architectural parallels and building techniques, Fontaine therefore dated this gate to c40-35 BC (1990:255). Further, he argued that an earlier date for Porta Consolare helps to explain its somewhat awkward placement within the walls (1990:257).

It appears, then, that Porta Consolare is another example of a phenomenon discussed in Chapter 4.2.1 whereby gateways were erected before the city walls to which they later related, in many cases probably to mark the entrance into the city of a main route. For Hispellum, Camerieri and Manconi (2010:30) speculated that the purpose of Porta Consolare and its large inner courtyard was to levy taxes on pastoralists using traditional transhumant routes.[239] These pastoralists would have followed an ancient *callis* which later became the *decumanus maximus* of the Roman city, thus magnifying the importance of the colony as an administrative and economic centre. Camerieri and Manconi pointed out that there are traces of centuriation in the plain below Hispellum (visible on

[238] Sisani (2012:431) speculated that the *arx* at the very top of the hill may have been surrounded by a pre-colonial wall, but this did not enclose the inhabited area of the settlement.
[239] A similar purpose was likely for Porta Boiano at Saepinum, with which Camerieri and Manconi drew a specific parallel (see Appendix F).

the ground and through photogrammetry) which are aligned with Porta Consolare and which in their view reveal the course of the *decumanus maximus*. This would fit with the construction of Porta Consolare in the earliest days of the colony when the land was being surveyed and may also explain its orientation. An alternative, although not necessarily mutually exclusive, suggestion was put forward by Sisani (2012:431), who argued that the colony's *decumanus maximus* anchored on Porta Consolare deliberately appropriated the route which had been the last section of the pre-Roman sacred way or *via triumphalis* from Mevania. In this way the new colony imposed its identity on the landscape and arrogated memory of pre-Roman traditions.

E.5.2 A "work of art" rather than a functional defence

Tarchi had been a keen exponent of the defensive nature of Porta Venere (1942), but I share the views of Fontaine, who noted that the city walls of Hispellum did not conform to defensive norms (1990:254), and Marroni, who was confident that the walls and gates were not designed for defence (2005:43). For example, instead of following the topographically most defensive line the walls descended in height almost to the level of the valley floor. Unlike walls built for defence, there are no regularly spaced towers. The gateways are not designed with defence in mind, either being flush with the wall (Porta San Ventura, Porta San Sisto, probably Arco di Augusto) or placed in an unorthodox zig-zag in the wall (Port Venere, Porta Consolare) which, contrary to the doctrine of the time, would not have facilitated an attack on an approaching enemy's exposed (right) flank.[240] Moreover, a careful examination of the gates reveals that there appeared to be no way of closing Porta San Ventura and there is no trace of *cataractae* at Porta Consolare. There is archaeological evidence for *cataractae* in the central archway of Porta Venere's outer archway, but the stairs which led directly from the inner courtyard to the first floor of the towers and the walls would have been a vulnerability.

Rather, the city walls and gates of Hispellum should be interpreted for their symbolic and presentational value as a mark of the city's new colonial status. The juxtaposition and contrast of the size and colours of the building materials are striking and effective, especially the coloured tones of the materials, from the pinkish limestone bricks to the bright white of Porta Venere's travertine, which make a real impact in the landscape. Frothingham remarked, "I have not seen in Italy any ancient city walls that came so near to giving the impression of a work of art" (1910:193).

We can go further than this. In my view, the role of visibility in enhancing urban status and influencing competition between cities has in this context been underestimated. The walls and gates of Hispellum were a work of art which was meant to be seen and to impress. They were very carefully built for maximum prominence and effect, particularly on the western aspect which was most visible to passing traffic, and even today are conspicuous from many kilometres away as one

[240] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,2

approaches from the north and west (Figure 165). They help the city to assert a visual and physical dominance over the Valle Umbra and neighbouring cities (see the map at Figure 57 in Chapter 5.1.1). The Valle Umbra had a dense network of Roman cities; situated somewhat above the plain on a low spur, Hispellum looked out over Mevania (some 10km away), Urvinum Hortenses (15km) and Vettona (under 20km) on the other side of the valley. Asisium (10km away) and Perusia (30km), which are both also located well above the plain, were in full sight. Intervisibility was important and Hispellum's walls and gates enhanced its visibility and thus its status.

Figure 165: Hispellum dominates the Valle Umbra. View from the southwest

E.5.3 The meaning of Porta Venere

The position and appearance of Porta Venere are particularly interesting. Topographically, it is located in a very steep and difficult place which required considerable engineering effort, including the construction of an awkwardly placed and massive plinth some 10m high underneath the eastern tower. In addition, it is placed at a very precise angle to the walled circuit which entailed a significant zig-zag diversion in the line of the wall. So its situation must be the result of a very deliberate decision. Furthermore, its relatively ornate structure and architectural embellishment throughout, from 12-sided towers to travertine decoration, demonstrates a desire to be noticed. Yet it was not the main entrance to the city for passing traffic.

One possibility is that Porta Venere was situated to dominate the valley below and especially to dominate the rival city of Asisium, which is clearly visible. This rivalry, which Baiolini noted in terms of urban development in Roman times (2002:97-98), continues even today in that (for example) both towns lay claim to being the birthplace of Propertius. Porta Venere also dominates

the view from a *diverticulum* of the Via Flaminia as it passes Hispellum en route to Perusia, even though access to Hispellum from the Via Flaminia itself was through Porta Consolare.

Another, and in my view more likely, possibility, not necessarily incompatible with the previous suggestion, is that Porta Venere was built as part of an integrated scheme with the Augustan monumentalisation of the pre-Roman sanctuary at Villa Fidelia. The aspect of Porta Venere and the sanctuary are exactly aligned, as is clear from the site plan at Figure 150 above, and the road which linked them almost certainly formed a sacred way for processions from the city to the sanctuary (it was not a major route for through traffic).[241] Donnola recorded in the *Istoria della Terra di Spello* written around 1620 that religious processions still continued from the centre of Spello through Porta Venere to the church of San Fedele at the former sanctuary site in the sixteenth century (Sensi and Sensi, 1984:47). As already noted, epigraphic evidence supports the existence of a sacred way or *via triumphalis* between Mevania and Hispellum.[242] Marroni noted that the existence of a processional way may be supported by excavation notes from 1915, which recorded a street paved in "magnificent slabs" of white limestone on the slope which led up to Porta Venere (2005:42). Moreover, the towers and upper façade of Porta Venere, like the walled circuit itself, were built in the same *opus vittatum* technique as the sanctuary. Baiolini noted that the semicolumns on the attic of Porta Venere are mirrored in the decorative scheme of the Augustan theatre next to the sanctuary (2002:119).

By linking the sanctuary site with the new colony, a clear statement was being made about the nature and meaning of the sanctuary, which now came clearly within the orbit of the Roman colony. The wide political and military significance of the Italic sanctuary sites was reduced to a religious role. The new processional route between the city and the sanctuary complemented, and perhaps eclipsed, the existing sacred way between the two Umbrian cultic centres at Mevania and Villa Fidelia. It seems probable that the construction of Porta Venere and the contemporary monumentalisation of the sanctuary site was a deliberate attempt to appropriate pre-Roman cultic traditions and incorporate them into the living architecture of the colonial city.

E.5.4 Imperial patronage of the walls?

The scale and grandeur of the city walls of Hispellum might lead one to suspect imperial involvement in their construction. There is, however, no unambiguous evidence that this was the case. We know that Augustus was favourably inclined to Hispellum: for example, Pliny the Younger records that Augustus gave to Hispellum the sacred site of the Springs of Clitumnus; and the name of the colony and its loyalties in the earliest days suggest that it was an Octavian, rather

[241] According to Manconi et al., the road which led from Porta Venere was the route to Perusia (in their view, the route to Asisium left Hispellum from the Porta dell'Arce) although they also noted that the road may have been used as a processional way to the amphitheatre, baths and sanctuary complex (1996:390).
[242] CIL 11, 05041 *…viam triumphalem / straverunt lapide / Hispellate*

than Antonine, foundation. Bradley, among others such as Colivicchi and Zaccagnino (2008:207), attributed patronage of the city walls and gates to Augustus along with a suggestion that Augustus was also responsible for monumentalisation of the sanctuary (2000:245). However, the key archaeological evidence on which this rests is the fragmentary and disputed inscription currently located in the wall above Arco di Augusto, discussed above.[243] There is a further inscription, also discussed above, which suggests imperial interest in the colony through patronage of a monumental public building. This is not thought to be connected with the city walls and gates, however; Baiolini's view that it related to Augustan/Tiberian patronage of an honorary arch marking the entrance to the forum has been superseded by Eck's argument that the inscription is later in date and probably refers to a temple.[244]

Although Fontaine was not convinced by the epigraphic evidence, he specifically raised the possibility that the city walls and gates might be the work of imperial patronage, particularly in view of the parallels with the contemporary city walls of Fanum Fortunae and Nemausus which are known to have been an imperial gift and their similarly careful, elegant and expensive construction (1990:261). The prestigious nature and considerable scope of the monumental building programme at Hispellum immediately following its foundation led Manconi et al. (1996:378) to claim that this was very probably carried out by a workforce from Rome, perhaps under Octavian's purview. Likewise, both Richmond and Fontaine noted the similarities between Hispellum and contemporary gateways in the north of Italy such as Augusta Taurinorum and Augusta Praetoria and their shared move away from defensive and military characteristics towards a more symbolic and architecturally ornate form. For both Richmond and Fontaine, this pointed to a school of architects at work in central and northern Italy during this period. While there are undoubtedly similarities in the gateways of a number of contemporary cities, my research on city walls of the Augustan period shows that there were also significant differences in the walled circuits themselves.[245] In short, although the evidence is inconclusive, as a work of prestige and symbolism Hispellum's city walls certainly fit with the expectations of imperial patronage.

[243] CIL 11, 05266 *[Imp(erator) Caes]ar divi [f(ilius) Augustus]*
[244] CIL 11, 05272. See Baiolini (2002:100) and Eck (2009).
[245] For a summary, see Appendix B, and the discussion in Chapter 3.9.

Appendix F Saepinum

F.1 The geographic and historical context of Saepinum

Saepinum, the modern hamlet of Altilia, is situated 554m above sea level in a mountainous and remote area of central southern Italy (Figure 166). The town was strategically located on an important *tratturo* (drove road) which linked Pescasseroli in Abruzzo-Molise to Candela in Puglia and was used for the seasonal migration of shepherds and livestock. Saepinum lay at the crossroads of the *tratturo* and a smaller route leading from the River Tammaro to the Matese massif in a typically Samnite landscape of major and minor hillforts, rural sanctuaries and *vici* (Barker, 1995:188). The Roman name Saepinum (Saipinum in Oscan) probably derives from *saepio* (fence), referring to an enclosure used as a sheep pen or place of exchange for merchandise and animals (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014). The town's existence and fortunes were inextricably linked with the practice of transhumance for centuries.

Figure 166: location of Saepinum

Prior to Roman control, Saepinum was one of the leading centres of the Pentri, a Samnite tribe. The immediate context of Saepinum should be understood in relation to other local sites, the most important of which are the Samnite hillfort of Terravecchia and the sanctuary of San Pietro di Cantoni (see Figure 19 in Chapter 3.5).

F.1.1 Terravecchia

The hillfort at Terravecchia, 953m above sea level, dominates the eastern end of the Tammaro valley. Situated on a slope between the Matese mountains and the plain below, it controlled the only access to the upper pastures of the Matese and was also within easy reach of the valley: Oakley (1995:69) noted that it was about an hour's walk between Terravecchia and the settlement at Saepinum.

Terravecchia was destroyed by a consular army under Papirius Cursor in 293BC.[246] It had previously been assumed that this must have led to the abandonment of the hillfort and relocation of local people to a settlement at Saepinum on the plain below (Anderson, 1983), but it is now

[246] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.45

thought that Terravecchia continued in use during the Hannibalic wars and perhaps even during the Social War at the beginning of the first century BC (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:214).

The relationship between the hillfort at Terravecchia and the settlement at Saepinum was important, indicating how hillforts were located to provide strategic defence for transhumance routes and communities settled on the plains below (Rainini, 2000). Terravecchia was defended by massive polygonal walls which were accurately and carefully constructed (Matteini Chiari and Scocca, 2013). There is little material available to provide evidence of chronology, although black-glaze ware found in a sealed layer suggests a *terminus ante quem* of the middle republic for the construction of the walls (Oakley, 1995:69). Three gates have been identified (Colonna, 1962:83), one a postern gate leading to the mountains, another leading towards Bovianum and the third and most important, the Porta del Tratturo, giving access to a track leading to the valley and to Samnite Saepinum. This track was later incorporated into the *cardo maximus* of the Roman town. Small-scale archaeological interventions are currently taking place on the site of Terravecchia (Matteini Chiari and Scocca, 2013).

F.1.2 San Pietro di Cantoni

Roughly equidistant between Saepinum and Terravecchia, the Italic sanctuary of San Pietro di Cantoni stands at 665m above sea level on a site dominating the wide valley of the Tammaro. It is currently being excavated by a team from the University of Perugia, who believed that it held a unifying role between Terravecchia and Saepinum (Matteini Chiari, 2013). The sanctuary site developed over a large artificial rock-cut terrace situated along the steep slope which descends sharply from Terravecchia to Saepinum and the River Tammaro and the sacred area is enclosed by polygonal walls. The excavators reported evidence of use from the beginning of the third century BC. The cult is identified as that of the female divinity Mefite who watched over maternity, the family, procreation and work-related activities such as the fertility of fields, pastures and herds. Fragmentary statuettes of Hercules have also been recovered.

In contrast with the increasing prosperity of the pre-Roman settlement at Saepinum, the second century BC saw the sanctuary's progressive decline, although excavators still recovered substantial finds from this period and a second temple was constructed between the late second and early first century BC (Monaco, 2014). However, recent investigations have begun to produce material dating to the early and mid empire in quantities suggesting that the area was still occupied when Roman Saepinum was flourishing. Although many of the finds from this period are functional artefacts, others suggest some continuing form of cult life on the site. Most recently, the team has explored the complex layout of the sanctuary area noting double processional routes and multiple entrances along the curtain wall (Matteini Chiari, 2013). Further work will reveal what, if any, relationship these routes had with the nearby town of Roman Saepinum.

The continued use of the sanctuary at San Pietro di Cantoni and its ties with Roman Saepinum mirror the association between pre-Roman sanctuaries and Roman (especially Augustan) urban foundations elsewhere in Italy such as at Fanum Fortunae and Hispellum and stand in contrast to the abandonment of the major sanctuary of Samnite Pietrabbondante some 50km away from Saepinum. Collins-Elliott saw in the Roman appropriation of Saepinum and the abandonment of Pietrabbondante the effective end of Samnite identity within Samnium (2014:197).

F.2 Urban development and administrative status

F.2.1 The evolution of the urban layout

La Regina argued that Samnium had a relatively low level of urbanisation prior to the Roman conquest, with dispersed settlements along *pagus-vicus* lines common (1980:37). In general terms, and certainly in comparison to neighbouring Campania, few have seriously disputed this, Patterson for example holding that urbanisation proper in Samnium did not become established until after the Social War (Patterson, 1991:177-179). Yet Samnite Saepinum has revealed a more sophisticated urban evolution than the "preurbanisation" identified by De Benedittis et al. (1993:11).

The site was occupied from at least the fourth century BC, when it appears that Samnite Saepinum was already a centre of trade and markets, controlled by Terravecchia (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014). By the second and first centuries BC, the settlement was neither impoverished nor uncultured. There was some degree of sophistication and prosperity and it appeared to be a thriving if small centre of trade and manufacture from the second century BC (Lloyd, 1991:184). Evidence has been found from this period of an industrial building interpreted as a fullonica and facilities for tile and pottery production. The first urban public buildings also seem to have been built at this time (Rainini, 2000). Gaggiotti (1991b:40) commented that there may have been a *forum pecuarium* in Samnite Saepinum and this may have influenced the site of the Roman forum.

Excavations have uncovered a domestic dwelling, the House of the Impluvium, which contained an impluvium of earthenware from the end of the second century BC, made with tiles and moulded cornices and incorporating an inscription in Oscan lettering (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise, 2011). In one of the houses, excavators found *cocciopesto* flooring decorated with mosaics, including a multi-coloured representation of a hunting scene, also dated to the end of the second century BC (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:214).

F.2.2 The imposition of the Augustan town

A comprehensive break with the past was brought about by the redevelopment of the town in the Augustan period. This reorganisation was described as "highly traumatic" by Gaggiotti (1990:258), who saw in it the artificial imposition of an urban system from outside. All traces of

earlier buildings were obliterated and built over and the town was transformed through a comprehensive programme of monumental public building (Collins-Elliott, 2014:197).

Not everything was destroyed, however. It would have been possible to redesign Saepinum's town plan as a regular grid within the walls, as was done in other cities which were monumentalised at around the same time. But the spatial logic of Augustan Saepinum was fundamentally driven by the course of the principal *tratturo* running through the centre of the town which had been in existence for centuries and also by the secondary track which led to the Samnite hillfort of Terravecchia, both of which were retained. As a result, the main streets in Roman Saepinum are not straight neither do they meet at right-angles at the centre of the town: the junction of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* is well off-centre (Figure 167). It may be that this was a deliberate means of holding onto some continuity at a time when other parts of the town underwent a clear break with the past (Gaggiotti, 1990:260).

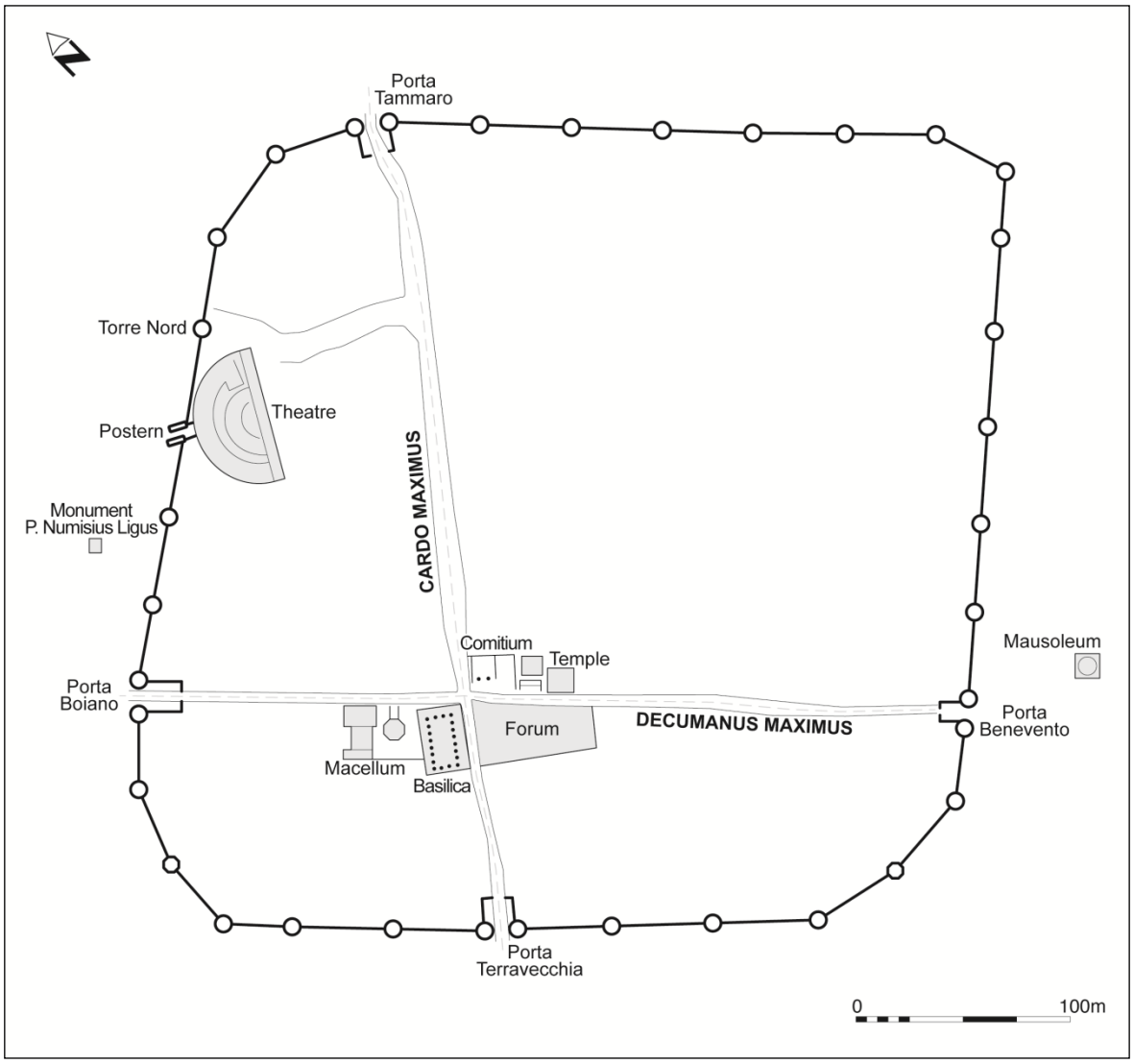

Figure 167: site plan of Saepinum

Saepinum underwent a monumental building programme in the early principate, with the construction of town walls, four monumental gates, a macellum, forum, basilica, baths and other public buildings (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:221-222). Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the walls, gates and towers were the result of an imperial benefaction.[247] Gaggiotti (1991c:244) argued that other elements of the town's infrastructure such as the drainage system and aqueduct and water supply were also due to imperial patronage, accompanied by a "feverish activity" of privately sponsored building, although there is no convincing evidence of further imperial benefactions. Movement through the town continued to be channelled along the main streets which were lined with houses, shops and workshops. Gaggiotti (1990:259) noted a clear distinction between areas of public and private space in the Augustan town, with, for example, the careful separation of the forum area from private housing.

F.2.3 The forum

The focal point of the Augustan town was the forum (Figure 168), which is unusually trapezoidal in shape because of the irregular intersection of the main streets. It forms an irregular quadrilateral measuring 54m and 53m along the longer sides and 29.5m and 23m along the shorter sides (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:221). It is also noticeably off-centre, again because the layout of the town is dictated by the pre-Roman through routes. The forum was paved in stone and had channels around its perimeter to collect rain water. At its centre, inscribed in bronze letters fixed to the pavement and positioned so as to be read from the *cardo maximus*, is an inscription naming C Papius as a magistrate who paid for the paving.[248] In view of its positioning across the centre of the forum, it may have been used to mark off different areas (Laurence, 2012:36).

On the southwest side of the forum stood an honorary arch which recorded the benefaction of Lucius Neratius Priscus during the Trajanic period.[249] To the southeast is located the Fontana del Grifo. It was built at the same time as the forum to serve animals and was embellished with geometric designs and a bas-relief with a griffin carved in profile, framed and surmounted by an inscription recording the benefaction of C Ennius Marsus and L Ennius Gallus (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014).[250]

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[247] CIL 09, 02443 *Ti(berius) Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Nero pont(ifex) co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator) II trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI / Nero Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Drusus Germanicus augur co(n)s(ul) imp(erator) II / murum portas turris s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendas) c(uraverunt)*
[248] CIL 09, 02546
[249] AE 1978, 00287
[250] AE 1959, 00282

Figure 168: forum with colonnades of the basilica in the background
Looking west towards Porta Boiano.

F.2.4 Buildings to the northeast of the forum and *decumanus maximus*

Opposite the forum, on the northeast side of the *decumanus maximus* (Figure 169), stood the comitium, a building with a trapezoidal plan fronted by a pillared pronaeum. Next to the comitium, excavators identified a temple with a podium, dated to the beginning of the first century AD and possibly dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. A building to house the imperial cult and the Temple of the Emperor Constantine (identified by *cippi* recording dedications to Constantine and his mother Elena) were later additions to the townscape. Located further along the *decumanus maximus* were the forum baths (Thermae Silvani).

Still located along the main street but further from the main crossroads were a series of industrial or artisanal buildings, including a water wheel and a building with five terracotta *dolii* linked by narrow channels whose purpose is disputed: according to Coarelli and La Regina (1984:223) it may be an olive press while De Caro (1991) preferred to interpret it as a tannery. In any event, it is noticeable that in both Samnite and Roman Saepinum there is a significant amount of artisanal and non-domestic buildings lined along the *decumanus maximus*, in particular for activities which were connected with the wool trade (Gaggiotti, 1990:257).

Figure 169: view from *decumanus maximus* looking west towards Porta Boiano

F.2.5 Buildings to the northwest of the forum and *cardo maximus*

A small three-aisled basilica was built adjacent to the forum but separated from it by the *cardo maximus*. The basilica was rectangular in plan measuring some 32m by 20m with an internal peristyle of 20 columns (Gaggiotti, 1991a:247). Internally, the basilica had an apsidal hall and a tribunal for local magistrates. It dates from the Augustan period and epigraphic evidence suggests that it was probably the gift of L Naevius Pansa no later than AD6.[251] Tiles stamped from his workshop ("bolli Pansae") have also been found in the area of the basilica (Gaggiotti, 1994). Near the basilica, positioned along the *cardo maximus*, is a large drinking trough for animals.

To the northwest of the basilica was located the macellum (Figure 170). It was set back from the *decumanus maximus* but was accessed from the main street by a narrow corridor inserted between two shops (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:220). The macellum was small, some 11m across;[252] it was built in a hexagonal plan and occupied an irregular trapezoidal space owing to the non-orthogonal alignment of the main streets and neighbouring basilica. De Ruyt assessed that the excavated macellum dated from the second century AD but there was a preceding structure which may be Augustan in date (1983:184-188). It was paved with irregular slabs of limestone and in the middle was a basin for a fountain made out of an olive press.

[251] CIL 09, 06308
[252] The macella at Aeclanum, Alba Fucens and Corfinium, all of which were also in Samnium, were all at least twice as big as the macellum at Saepinum (De Ruyt, 1983).

Figure 170: macellum and stepped entrance from street

Figure 171: aerial view of theatre. Torre Nord at top

F.2.6 The theatre and campus-piscina-porticus complex

The theatre dates not from the Augustan reconstruction of the town but from the Julio-Claudian period (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:225). It is the best preserved part of Roman Saepinum, thanks in part to the eighteenth century rural buildings built on top of the *summa cavea* (Figure 171). It was constructed from local limestone with supporting walls built in *opus vittatum* and solid stone cut into large blocks (Ceglia, 1994). The cavea had a diameter of 61.5m and the orchestra, which still has its original floor with well-preserved rectangular slabs, a diameter of 13m. Two tetrapyles provided access in four directions – two to outside the theatre, one to the orchestra and one to the rear ambulacrum. Coarelli and La Regina noted that the capacity of the theatre, estimated by Ceglia at 3,000 spectators (1994), was much greater than would be expected from what is known of the rest of the urban centre (1984:226). The entrance and exit of spectators was facilitated by a postern gate which opened in the town walls, allowing visitors to enter directly into the theatre from outside the town. It is discussed in greater detail below.

Close to the theatre was the "campus-piscina-porticus" complex. This comprised a central space for exercise with a bathing pool, a U-shaped portico that provided shelter for the theatre audience during the intervals or in the event of bad weather, and a garden. According to the Soprintendenza, the complex was planned at the same time as the theatre (2011).

F.2.7 *Municipium* or colony?

The known evidence points to the town having municipal status from 89BC into the Augustan period (see, for example, Campbell, 2000:424, De Benedittis et al., 1993:14), with a *patronus municipii* attested epigraphically and the townspeople described as *municipes*.[253] It had an administrative system led by *quattuorviri*, as is borne out by a number of inscriptions;[254] this is

[253] See, for example, AE 1959, 00284; AE 1927, 00119; CIL 09, 02458; CIL 09, 02475.
[254] See, for example, AE 2009, 00277; CIL 09, 02467.

characteristic of *municipia* (Salmon, 1969:155, Laffi, 2007:54, although there were exceptions). Pliny does not list Saepinum as a colony.[255]

The issue of Saepinum's administrative status is clouded somewhat by an entry in the *Liber Coloniarum*, which lists Saepinum as an *oppidum* which was granted colonial status by the emperor Nero Claudius (*sic*).[256] The reliability of the *Liber Coloniarum* is questionable, particularly on issues of legal status (Keppie, 1983:8-12). Chouquer (1987:147-149) argued that "Nero Claudius" in fact refers to the future emperor Tiberius and pointed to traces of centuriation observable near Saepinum which are of a size typical of Augustan centuriation (15 *actus* by 15). Gaggiotti (1991c:244) was confident that Saepinum did not have the formal status of a colony (although he commented that its attributes made it a colony in all but name), suggesting that changes in land distribution may be explained by the arrival at the town of individual settlers and a viritane distribution of land.

Viritane settlement in the vicinity of Saepinum rather than an award of colonial status may therefore have been a trigger for the wholesale redevelopment of the town in the Augustan period and in particular for the imperial favour manifested through the donation of walls, gates and towers. It was not common in the Augustan period for *municipia* to construct walls around their town, there being a much closer association between colonies and city walls (as I discuss in detail in Chapter 4.4). But of the six *municipia* in Italy which are known to have built walls in this period, four did so with imperial patronage or favour.[257] Like the Augustan walled circuits of the other *municipia*, Saepinum's walls are relatively small-scale compared to the walls of colonies such as Hispellum (see Chapter 3.9). I therefore concur with the view that Saepinum remained a *municipium*, probably with viritane settlers, but draw attention to the insufficiently recognised importance of imperial involvement in the decision to construct walls where *municipia* were concerned.

F.2.8 Scale and status

Despite having "virtually the full suite of institutional buildings and amenities appropriate to a fully fledged Roman town" by the end of the Augustan age or a little later (Barker, 1995:218-219), Saepinum remained a small and relatively plain town by comparison with most urban centres outside the mountains. Most buildings were constructed from local limestone with very sparing use of brick or marble. The rebuilding programme in the Augustan period seems incompatible with the importance of this sleepy rural town, where the intramural area was never fully built up (De

[255] Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 3,107.
[256] *Liber Coloniarum* 237,14-16: *Saepinum, oppidum muro ductum: colonia ab imp. Nerone Claudio est deducta…ager eius in centuriis augusteis est adsignatus*.
[257] In addition to Saepinum, there is evidence to link the construction of walls and gateways in the Augustan period around the *municipia* of Laus Pompeia, Ticinum and Tridentum with imperial patronage or favour.

Benedittis et al., 1993:12). There was a disproportionate number of public buildings in the town compared to private dwellings (Gros, 1995:323).

Gaggiotti (1990:258) argued that Saepinum is a clear example of the artificial imposition by Rome of urbanisation. If so, it is also an example of an urban space set within a walled framework where tensions between the new layout and the pre-Roman settlement, recalled only through its main streets, remained unresolved. The discontinuity between Samnite and Roman Saepinum was marked not only by changes in the fabric of the town but also in the identity of its elite, with the arrival of families from outside and a redistribution of wealth (Gaggiotti, 1991c:244). The monumental building programme in Saepinum may have been stimulated by imperial patronage but it was not an imperial prerogative. Epigraphic evidence shows the importance of powerful families of both local and especially non-local backgrounds. Judging by their benefactions known through inscriptions, two key figures were L Naevius Pansa and C Ennius Marsus from the areas of Fucino and Marsica respectively, who played an important role in the Augustan reconstruction of the town and contemporary political life (Collins-Elliott, 2014). The Neratii family who were the leading family in Saepinum for several centuries first appear epigraphically in the late republic near Aesernia. In the Augustan period, Caius Neratus, a former solider, donated an altar to Victoria at Saepinum;[258] Iannantuono argued that he may have been the beneficiary of viritane land distribution around Saepinum (2010:12). The family reached senatorial rank in the Flavian period and were patrons of the town. Barker noted that the villa of the Neratii near Saepinum is the grandest of all the known upper-valley sites of its type and may have developed from a Samnite nucleus in polygonal masonry (1995:224).

F.3 The town walls and gates of Saepinum - evidence

Despite the fact that the Roman town was abandoned in the ninth century and not subsequently built over, Saepinum remains surprisingly little known and unexplored. Only 10% of the town has been excavated (Barker, 1995:218). Although a feasibility study has been undertaken to "enhance" the site by developing the infrastructure through provision of a centre for archaeological and environmental research and increasing its appeal to tourists (Fanelli, 2010), much of the attraction of the site is its rural isolation and romantic dilapidation.[259] There is no specialist publication about Saepinum's town walls and remarkably little written about the town as a whole. A flurry of publications around the early 1980s concentrated on description rather than analysis and is very similar in content (see, for example, Braconi, 1979, Coarelli and La Regina, 1984, Matteini Chiari, 1982, De Benedittis et al., 1993, a reprint of the 1984 edition). I have drawn on these publications in the discussion which follows.

[258] AE 1927, 00117
[259] The Italian writer Guido Piovene described Saepinum as "tra le città dissepolte, è questa in Italia la più romantica".

Figure 172: unrestored section of walled circuit

Figure 173: restored northwest section of walled circuit, view from outside the town

Some sections of the town walls, in particular the northwest sector between Porta Boiano and Torre Nord, are visible but were heavily consolidated and restored in the 1950s in a programme undertaken with sometimes questionable accuracy and care (Figures 172 and 173 above and 174 and 175 below). It is difficult to judge what interventions were carried out at that time because of a lack of documentation, whether published or not (Matteini Chiari and Scocca, 2014). In the first decade of this century, the Soprintendenza undertook a series of exploratory investigations on the town walls, both for research purposes and to protect the walls from the depredations of animals and agriculture, and exposed almost all sections of the wall except for a short stretch in the southeast (Ceglia and Curci, 2013). The University of Perugia commenced a new programme of excavations at Saepinum in 2014 but is concentrating particularly on the burial areas outside Porta Boiano and Porta Benevento and on medieval aspects, following a survey of the territory of Saepinum carried out between 2009 and 2013 (Matteini Chiari and Scocca, 2014).

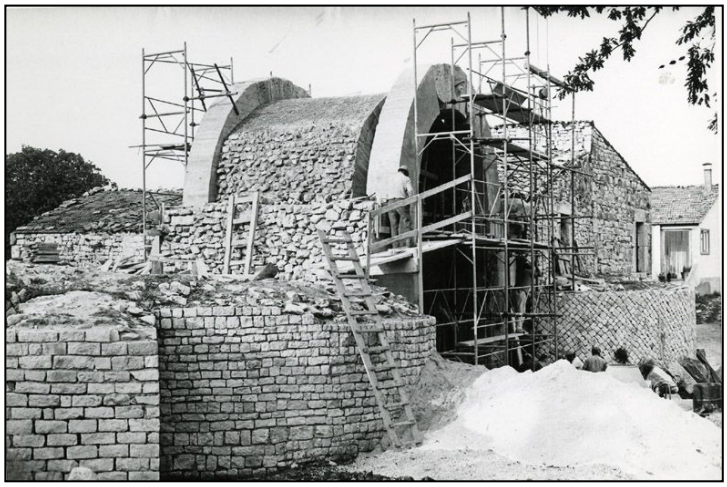

Figure 174: restoration work in the mid twentieth century

Figure 175: detail of town walls, northwest section

F.3.1 The circuit

The extant walls, gates and towers are generally, although not universally, accepted to date from the Augustan period (see below). There is no evidence of a walled circuit around the town before

the Augustan walls, although Coarelli and La Regina argued that the earlier settlement must have been surrounded by a wooden palisade to facilitate rest and protection for the transhumant flocks (Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:212).

The walls are 1.27km in length and enclose 12ha. They were constructed with a core of *opus caementicium* and an internal and external facing of *opus quasi-reticulatum/opus reticulatum*. The construction technique of *opus quasi-reticulatum/opus reticulatum* is found very rarely elsewhere at Saepinum. The material used is local limestone, carefully worked into small but unevenly sized pyramid-shaped blocks ranging from 5-20cm in width. The entire circuit is constructed with such uniformity that it is not possible to distinguish between different work gangs or phases of construction (De Benedittis et al., 1993:26).

The line of the wall, although not in doubt, is currently only partially visible on the ground. The shape of the circuit is an imperfect rhombus: some, but not all, sections of the circuit are straight and the corners are rounded off. The southwest and northeast sectors run parallel to, although not equidistant from, the *decumanus maximus* but the northeast sector is not parallel to the *cardo maximus*, with the result that Porta Tammaro is significantly displaced along the line of the wall, as is clear from the site plan at Figure 167 above. There is no trace of a ditch or vallum (Ferrarato, 1982:51).

The width of the walls varies between 1.75m and 1.9m except for a short section close to the theatre which is only 1.5m wide (Ferrarato, 1982:53). Ferrarato's not wholly convincing explanation for this difference was that it was anticipated at the time of building the town walls that the theatre would at some later date be built close by, and that there was thus no need for full-width walls at this point. Ferrarato reported traces of holes two-thirds of the way up the wall, regularly placed at 1.4m apart, which he interpreted as holes for scaffolding for a cantilevered parapet walk, given that the wall itself was too narrow for a parapet walk (he noted a similar arrangement at Telesia). Partly on this basis, and also on the best-preserved section of the wall, De Benedittis (1993:26) calculated that the original height of the wall would have been not less than 4.8m (but not much higher if the hypothesis about a rampart walk is correct). At the top of the wall was a cornice of parallel stone blocks. De Benedittis et al. drew attention to a crenellation preserved in the Museo dell'Altilia as evidence that the wall was surmounted by a crenallated battlement.

The Soprintendenza's 2010/11 campaign uncovered a short stretch of wall on the southwest sector of the circuit. The construction technique used to build the wall here was found to vary for a length of two metres, where the lowest section of the external wall comprised limestone blocks laid horizontally rather than the *opus quasi-reticulatum* work seen elsewhere (Ceglia and Curci, 2013). Close by, excavators found a pottery vessel containing eight small unguent jars which had been carefully buried in alignment with the foundation of the wall. The excavators considered that this

deposit may have been in connection with a foundation or construction ritual associated with the town walls.

F.3.2 The towers

There has been some uncertainty about the number of towers in the circuit. Cianfarani identified 27 towers in 1958 of which 19 were still visible in 1993 (De Benedittis et al., 1993:27). A more complete analysis of the line of the circuit is now available. Reporting on their recent investigations, Ceglia and Curci (2013) identified that there were seven towers along each of the shorter sections between Porta Benevento and Porta Terravecchia, Porta Terravecchia and Porta Boiano, and Porta Boiano and Porta Tammaro. 14 towers were placed along the longer section of wall between Porta Tammaro and Porta Benevento. However, Ceglia and Curci excluded from their count the tower which was dismantled to make way for the postern gate into the theatre (Braconi, 1979:47). In my view, therefore, Valente is correct in identifying that there were originally 36 towers along the length of the wall (2008). Each of the gateways is flanked by two towers and the remaining towers are spaced between 80pR and 120pR apart (approximately 24m-35m) (Ceglia and Curci, 2013).

Most of the towers were circular with an external diameter of 7m-7.4m (Ferrarato, 1982:55). The towers sit astride the wall, projecting some 2.5m-3m from the face of the wall. The width of the tower walls is wider on the externally facing side (1.7m-1.8m) than on the side facing into the town (0.9m) (De Benedittis et al., 1993:27).[260] The towers are carefully tied into the walled circuit, indicating that the walls and towers are contemporaneous and part of the same project. Two towers are known to be octagonal in design, strategically located at corresponding points to the south and west of the circuit. The octagonal towers had a maximum diameter of 7.6m and the width of their walls was 0.85m. Five sides of these towers faced towards the outside and the corners were formed from square stone blocks, neatly integrated into the *opus quasi-reticulatum* work.

One of the towers, the so-called Torre Nord, was heavily restored in the 1950s (see Figure 176 below). Caution should be exercised in using evidence from this tower, however, because of the unreliability of the restoration work and the lack of documentation as to what work was undertaken. Torre Nord currently stands a little under 11m high. A protruding cornice of rectangular blocks runs round the face of the tower at a height of 4.8m. According to De Benedittis et al. (1993:36), this marked the first floor of the tower (and is also called into play to calculate the original height of the walled circuit). A small arrow slit window is built 1.5m above this; in Ferrarato's view (1982:56) there would originally have been three externally facing windows in each tower with further windows looking over the town. There is an opening from the tower onto the wall at the height of the cornice which is assumed to have provided access to the parapet walk.

[260] This is also the case at Augusta Praetoria.

The presence at a height of 7.2m from current ground level of two small corbels protruding from the wall suggests that there was originally some form of terraced roof, probably accessed by a ladder. In Braconi's view (1979:47), the towers would have housed a ballista, although Ferrarato pointed out (1982:56) that the arrow-slit windows were too small for a ballista to fire from.

As with other towers, the internal stonework of Torre Nord is less carefully executed with roughly cut blocks laid horizontally (Figure 177). De Benedittis et al. (1993:36) conjectured that the ground floor of the tower was filled from the time of construction with rubble and spoil, so as to give the structure adequate solidity and to form a floor for the upper level of the tower. I have noted a similar contrast in construction quality in the towers at Fanum Fortunae, where there is no suggestion that the interior of the towers was filled. Ferrarato assumed that the walls of the towers would have been plastered (1982:56) and there is some evidence that the gateways were plastered and whitewashed (see below).

Figure 176: Torre Nord in northwestern section of walled circuit, with cornice detail

Figure 177: octagonal tower (note different stonework in interior)

F.3.3 The gates

There are four gateways in the walled circuit, at the ends of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*. Because of the irregular street layout, the gateways are displaced along the circuit; Porta Boiano and Porta Benevento lie opposite each other in the circuit but off-centre, while Porta Tammaro is significantly offset to the north (see plan at Figure 167 above).

The gateways are monumental in appearance and similar in design, with slight modifications to allow for differences in topography. According to Coarelli and La Regina (1984:216-217), they

follow the model of honorary arches with their carefully chosen imagery and epigraphy. Their common features include:

- a single archway with similar dimensions (4.4m-4.7m high, 4.3m-4.4m wide);
- *opus quadratum* construction;
- flanking circular towers;
- a *cavaedium* (inner courtyard), closed on the inner side by double doors, rather than by an inner archway as at Augusta Praetoria's Porta Praetoria and at Hispellum. The *cavaedium* of Porta Boiano, at 11.5m x 7.5m, was larger than those of the other gateways (7-7.5m x 4.5-5m);
- *cataractae* operated from a chamber above the archway;
- drinking troughs positioned in the courtyard (evidenced in Porta Boiano and Porta Benevento but probably common to all);
- an identical inscription carved above the archway, recording that the gates, towers and walls were a gift to the town from the imperial family;
- identical imagery of barbarian prisoners flanking the archway;
- the head of a deity on the keystone of the arch.

Figure 178: Porta Boiano from above

Porta Boiano

Porta Boiano, in the northwest sector of the walled circuit, is the best preserved of the gateways and was restored in the 1950s (Figure 178). It was built from accurately laid large blocks of local

limestone in *opus quadratum* and was carefully tied into the walls of the circuit. The inner courtyard measures 11.5 x 7.5m (rather larger than the courtyards of the other gateways) and was closed off to the town by double doors on hinges which were positioned not at the furthest end of the courtyard but at a point 7.4m from the archway. Inside the courtyard against the north wall was a drinking trough for the use of transhumant flocks. A stairway was built against the external wall of the northern side of the courtyard and gave access both to the chamber above the gateway and to the parapet walk. A plan of the gateway is at Figure 179.

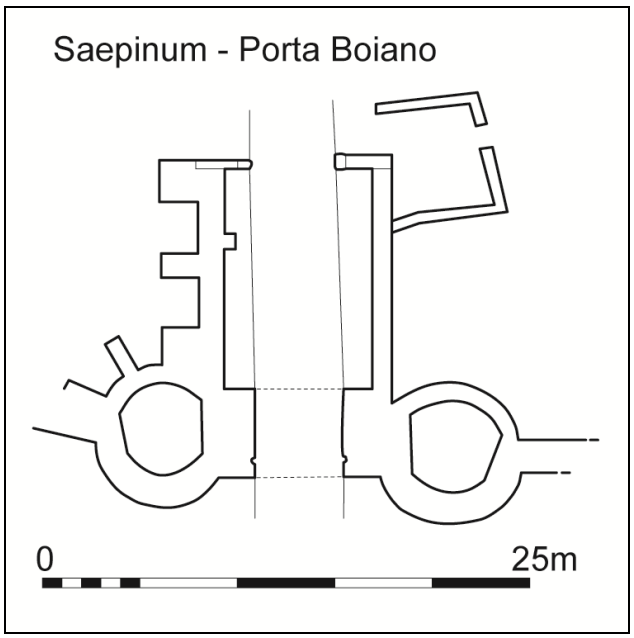

Figure 179: plan of Porta Boiano

Figure 180: head of Hercules on keystone of outer façade of Porta Boiano

The gateway is flanked by two circular towers whose plan differs from that of the other towers because they have a concentric internal wall, although this is widely accepted to be as a result of careless restoration work in the 1950s (see, for example, Braconi, 1979:49). Holes in the piers of the archway to facilitate the lifting of material by *ferrei forfices* are still visible, as is the levelling mark used to ensure that the piers of both sides were constructed identically. The imposts on which the voussoirs sit form a moulded cornice, some 10cm proud of the piers of the arch. A head of Hercules is carved into the keystone of the voussoir (Figure 180 above). Gros saw a parallel role for Hercules in this context, both as guarantor of Roman victory and as the protector of flocks (Gros, 1995:322-323).

Above the archway is the dedicatory inscription,[261] restored from 12 original fragments, which records the imperial benefaction of the walls, gates and towers, and on the southern side is posted the imperial rescript of Marcus Aurelius.[262] Flanking the archway are statues of barbarian prisoners which, although much restored, are considered to be a true representation of the original (De Benedittis et al., 1993:62). Although the depiction of barbarian captives is a relatively common

[261] CIL 09, 02443, quoted above.
[262] CIL 09, 02318, see below.

theme in Roman art (Ferris, 2000), the context at Saepinum is very unusual: most Augustan monumental architecture depicting captive barbarians is found at Rome, or in a cluster of monumental archways in Gaul. The imagery is strongly propagandist and suggests that the walls, gates and towers were financed by the imperial family from the spoils of war following Rome's victory over the Germanic tribes in 11BC, while Valente saw in the imagery a parallel reference to the final subjugation of Samnite territory to Roman power and the appropriation and control of land through centuriation (Valente, 2008). The bearded prisoners are half-naked, with their hands tied behind them and a cloth tied round their groin. A shield rests upright on the ground beside them.

To the north of Porta Boiano is a thermal complex dating to the second century AD (Figure 181). As there was another bathing complex near the forum (the Thermae Silvani), Coarelli and La Regina suggested that these baths may be aimed at travellers, owing to their proximity to the gateway (1984:219). Outside the gateway and a short way further north, clearly visible from the *tratturo*, the gateway and the postern gate into the theatre, was placed the funerary monument of Publius Numisius Ligus (Figure 182). The inscription makes clear that he was an important member of the political elite in the first half of the first century AD.[263]

Figure 181: view from Porta Boiano looking north along the town walls to the baths

Figure 182: tomb of Publius Numisius Ligus outside gateway

Porta Benevento

This gateway is in the southeast sector of the walled circuit, at the other end of the *decumanus maximus* from the Porta Boiano. Like the other gateways, it was carefully built of *opus quadratum* with a single archway flanked by two round towers, an inner courtyard and inner double doors. Unlike Porta Boiano, when Porta Benevento was restored in 1972 the restoration work was left clearly distinguishable from the original. The archway is 4.7m high, 4.5m deep and 4.3m across

[263] AE 1959, 00284

(Ferrarato, 1982:61). The inner courtyard measures 5m x 7.5m, rather smaller than the courtyard of Porta Boiano, with double doors again part of the way down the courtyard.

In the course of the restoration work, two fragments of the dedicatory inscription which would originally have been placed above the archway were relocated in the south pier. The base for the sculpted image of a barbarian prisoner remains on the north side of the archway, above which is a small fragment of the sculpture itself, the tied feet of the prisoner (Figure 184). The keystone of the arch portrays the helmeted head of Mars (Figure 185).

The southern tower of Porta Benevento is unique among the towers at Saepinum in that it is constructed not of *opus quasi-reticulatum* but of small limestone blocks laid horizontally (Figure 183). De Benedittis et al. (1993:120) and others have argued that this is because the tower was used as a *castellum aquarum* and thus needed greater strength in construction.

Figure 183: external view of Porta Benevento (castellum aquarum to the left)

Figure 184: fragment of prisoner's foot

Figure 185: head of Mars on keystone

Near Porta Benevento, on the *tratturo* just outside the town, is the mausoleum of Caius Marsus Ennius (illustrated at Figure 61 in Chapter 5.1.3). This cylindrical monument on a square plinth is Augustan in date and bears obvious references to Augustus' own mausoleum in Rome (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014). The funerary inscription, with its associated carvings of the *sella curulis* and two bunches of fasces reminding passers-by of the status of the deceased, is clearly visible from the road. Collins-Elliott (2014) noted that the choice of mausoleum situated Ennius in the wider Roman landscape, given that these types of tombs are found in Rome and Campania but not elsewhere in Samnium.[264]

[264] There is a similar tomb at Carsulae.

Porta Tammaro

Porta Tammaro is positioned in the northeast sector of the walled circuit, significantly displaced to the north to accommodate the existing line of the track which led from the river to the hillfort of Terravecchia and was adopted as the *cardo maximus* of the Roman town. This gate, which like the other gates was constructed from large blocks of local limestone in *opus quadratum*, was substantially modified and restored at the end of the 1960s (Figures 186 and 187). The archway was 4.4m high (possibly a little higher in its original form, allowing for the rise in modern ground level), 4.5m wide and 4.5m deep and the inner courtyard measured 7m x 4.5m.

Figure 186: Porta Tammaro from inside the town

Figure 187: Porta Tammaro, exterior

Nothing remains of the sculpted imagery flanking the arch and there are only a few fragments of the dedicatory inscription. At the base of the west pier in the gateway is a stone block on which an erect phallus was carved, probably an apotropaic symbol to defend the town's inhabitants against evil forces. Nothing remains of the outer voussoirs of the archway but Braconi noted that the unrestored underside of the vault revealed a thin layer of limestone which both he and De Benedittis considered was originally covered in whitewashed plaster (Braconi, 1979:56, De Benedittis et al., 1993:35). A small portion of the flanking tower to the west survives.

Porta Terravecchia

This gateway is placed almost in the middle of the southwest sector of the circuit and provides access to the track which leads to the hillfort of Terravecchia. Little remains of the gateway (Figure 188) but enough to show that it was similar to the other gateways with a single archway some 4.5m deep and 5m wide and a *cavaedium* measuring 7m by 5m. The surviving piers are of local limestone in *opus quadratum,* constructed without the use of mortar or ties. The gateway was originally flanked by two circular towers, although nothing remains of the tower on the east side.

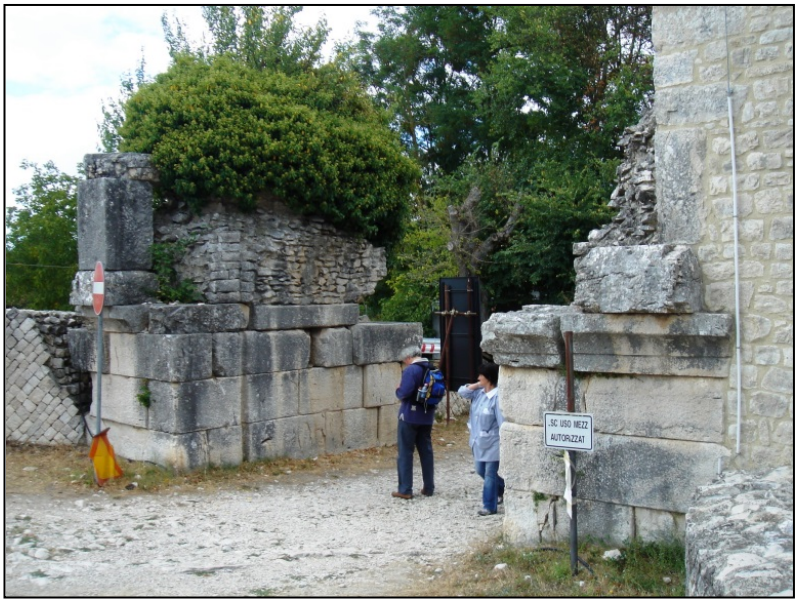

Figure 188: Porta Terravecchia from outside the town

The cornices at the top of the piers remain; above the cornice on the pier to the west are three shaped blocks which provided the base for the statue of the barbarian prisoner, now lost (De Benedittis et al., 1993:32). The keystone of the archway had been reused in a neighbouring building and is now in the on-site museum. On it was carved the head of a female divinity, perhaps Minerva or Venus. Numerous fragments of the dedicatory inscription were recovered in the vicinity of the gateway and have been relocated to the museum. From the traces which remain, Ferrarato considered that the vault of the archway was probably coated in stucco or whitewashed plaster, similar to the vault of Porta Tammaro.

Postern gates

There were two minor entrances in the walled circuit, one connected to the theatre and (probably) a second in the southern sector of the wall between Porta Terravecchia and Porta Benevento (Monaco and De Vincenzi, 2014). The postern gate to the theatre appears to have been cut into the walled circuit shortly after the original construction of the wall at the same time that the theatre was built, thereby breaking the original integrity and continuity of the circuit. It probably replaced a tower: from the regular spacing of the other towers in the circuit, a tower would be expected at this point, and Braconi noted traces of an earlier structure in the north wall of the postern gate (1979:47). The passageway was only 2.1m wide, in a structure which protruded obliquely 3.8m and 2m respectively from the line of the wall (Figure 189). Its construction technique, using large blocks of stone, was very different from that of the wall. How the postern gate and the walled circuit were knit together is not obviously apparent. The gate was carefully positioned in relation to the middle of the theatre's *cavea*. Its purpose seems clear enough, to facilitate the entrance and exit of spectators from outside the town by allowing them to enter directly into the theatre, but its narrow width suggests that the aim was to regulate rather than improve the flow of the crowd.

Figure 189: postern gate to theatre, view from outside the town looking towards theatre

F.3.4 Epigraphic evidence relating to town walls

An inscription which records that the walls, gateways and towers of Saepinum were a gift to the town from the imperial family between 2BC and AD4 was originally placed above the archway of each of the four gates.[265] It is listed as inscription 56 and 56a-c in my catalogue of inscriptions at Appendix J. Only the inscription on Porta Boiano is extant and has been restored. The restored frame measures 4m by 0.8m with the carefully incised lettering measuring 15cm to 18cm. Archaeological evidence, discussed above, supports the declaration in the inscription that the walls, gates and towers formed a coherent and contemporaneous project.

F.4 The town walls and gates of Saepinum - analysis and discussion

F.4.1 What was the date of the walls?

The walls, gates and towers of Saepinum are conventionally dated to 2BC-AD4 by reference to the imperial inscription noted above. This has not been universally accepted, however, principally because the construction technique of *opus quasi-reticulatum* used in building the walls does not sit well with a mid-Augustan date. This led Anderson (1983:3) to assert, for example, that "there can be little question that the walls are about 50 to 60 years earlier than the inscription", pointing out that there is no evidence elsewhere in Italy of buildings constructed in *opus quasi-reticulatum* style as late as AD4 (according to Sear (1982:74), *opus quasi-reticulatum* dates from the late second century BC). Keppie (1983:9) also argued that construction of the wall must have taken place "much earlier" than the dedication date.

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[265] CIL 09, 02443 *Ti(berius) Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Nero pont(ifex) co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator) II trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI / Nero Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Drusus Germanicus augur co(n)s(ul) imp(erator) II / murum portas turris s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendas) c(uraverunt)*

In support of an earlier, mid-first century BC date for the construction of the walls are issues of security. For example, Patterson pointed to high levels of rural violence in the first half of the first century BC, with landless ex-soldiers and a "dislocation of moral society" adding to the problem (Patterson and Pengue, 1988:137). There would be reason to fortify a town during the period of the Social and civil wars, while by AD4 the *pax Augusta* had greatly reduced the need for civil defences, although brigandage continued to be a threat to everyday life (Grunewald, 2004:18).

Taking his argument further, Anderson went on to contend that there were two separate benefactions to Saepinum, one of the walls in 60-50BC, perhaps in gratitude for siding with Rome during the Social War, and the second of the gateways which relate to the dedicatory inscription (Anderson, 1997:200). This seems highly unlikely. The suite of walls, gates and towers are clearly conceived as a single project, executed with care and accuracy and the different elements neatly tied in (De Benedittis et al., 1993:26). Rather, the impetus for the construction of the walls is more plausibly linked with the decision to make viritane grants of land to former soldiers around the last decade of the first century BC, thus, as noted above, turning the town into a colony in all but name. The dedicatory inscription can be precisely dated to 2BC-AD4 and it is likely that this refers to the completion of the works. As well as the sculptural allusion to the war against the Dalmatians and Germans which concluded in 11BC, the association of Drusus, who died in 9BC, with Tiberius in the inscription provides a likely window for the start of the work between 11BC and 9BC, with its completion some 10-15 years later.

F.4.2 What was the point of the walls?

There is no good reason to reject an Augustan date for the construction of the walls. This does, however, call into question their purpose. Although a few commentators have sought to align specific features of the walls with defensive norms advocated by Vitruvius, citing for example the regularly and closely spaced towers with their arrow-slit windows, the *cataractae* in the gateways and the rampart walk (Ferrarato, 1982:57, Coarelli and La Regina, 1984:216), the grandeur and monumentality of the walls are wholly out of proportion to any threats which the population might face and to the town's military importance.[266] By the time of their construction, the principate of Augustus was well established and the core of the empire at peace. There is widespread acknowledgement that the walls cannot have been needed primarily for defence (see, for example, Gros, 1996:39, Goodman, 2007:60) and a more metaphorical explanation should be sought. As Goodman commented (2005), "the location of the town and date of the gift [of the walls] mean that the idea of an attack was virtually unthinkable, so these walls would be a good example of a circuit which was very obviously built with display foremost in mind".

[266] The defensive integrity of the walls was in any case compromised within a few decades of their construction by the demolition of a short stretch of wall to provide the postern gate to the theatre.

The meaning and purpose of the walls are best understood in relation to the wholesale redevelopment of the town in the Augustan period which accompanied an influx of settlers. Barker considered the walls to be "a potent advertisement of Rome's strength and authority" (1995:220), promoting an imperial ideology which was quickly adopted by a new political elite, evidenced through the frenzied building activity which they sponsored. The symbolism of the walls may even be reflected in the choice of construction technique: Thomas (2007:161) considered that *opus reticulatum* was used "not in provincial building generally but in projects…associated with the very nerve-centre of Roman power", although the caveat should be made that his comment was in relation to Augustan building in the provinces, not in Italy.

The imagery and epigraphy on the gateways reinforce the propagandistic nature of the walls. The gates were used as a sculptural vehicle for conveying key imperial messages at a major vantage point of the town. Dench (2005:200) saw a symbolic importance of the walls in the conceptualisation of urban ideals emphasised by the representation of captured barbarians who were excluded from civilisation. In this small, remote town thousands of miles from the empire's frontiers, the imagery must have seemed alien and awe-inspiring, reinforcing the control and power of the emperor.

Coarelli (2000:143) described the grandeur of the imperial benefaction of Saepinum as exceptional and almost without parallel of its kind in Italy. In Coarelli's view, Saepinum's importance as a centre on the transhumance route was a key factor in this extraordinary act of patronage. It should also be understood as a showcase for imperial authority at a time when the surrounding land was being distributed to veterans through viritane grants. It conferred on the *municipium* of Saepinum a monumentality which, although on a much smaller scale, was not out of keeping with the nearby colonies of Venafrum and Aesernia.

F.4.3 The association between the gates and transhumance

As we have seen, Saepinum lay on an important transhumance route. In the Roman period, this route linked the Roman centres of Aufidena, Aesernia, Bovianum, Saepinum, Beneventum and Venusia and in the case of Saepinum was appropriated to form the *decumanus maximus* as it crossed the town. According to Laurence, this was unusual: he noted that transhumance routes did not normally use roads but *calles publicae* which tended to avoid urbanised centres and places of government control, arguing that "shepherds and their flocks ... were the cultural antithesis of the cities of Italy connected by road" (Laurence, 1999:146). The centuriation which is traceable in the land around Saepinum cuts across, but does not obliterate or enforce a change of direction in, the meandering course of the *tratturo* (Gros, 1995:317).

The demand for wool was high in Roman times and pastoralism, which used the practice of transhumance to vary grazing locations according to the seasons and to bring products to market, was important to the Roman economy (Barker et al., 1991). Transhumance was undoubtedly

central to the existence and prosperity of Saepinum, as is evidenced from the Samnite period by the fullonica situated on the main road and later by artisanal and non-domestic buildings lined along the *decumanus maximus* for activities which were connected with the wool trade (Gaggiotti, 1990:257). The practice of transhumance also had a significant impact on the way in which the walls and gates of Saepinum were designed and experienced. Drinking troughs were positioned in the inner courtyards of Porta Boiano and Porta Benevento for watering passing flocks. Drawing parallels between Glanum and Saepinum, Gros (1995:327) noted that the gateways of these towns had means of closure that differed from most *cavaedium* type enclosures, their hinged double doors on the inner side being better suited to systems of admission and control related to transhumance, such as counting sheep and exacting taxes. There is epigraphic evidence that Saepinum was the location for a regular market (*nundinae*), probably also related to transhumance.[267] If Laurence is correct in extrapolating from a passage in Strabo[268] an association between transhumant shepherds and organised brigandage, the walls may also have provided protection for the inhabitants from the people to whom they owed their prosperity (Laurence, 1999:185).

The importance of transhumance continued for centuries. An inscription of late Antonine date is posted about 4m above ground level on the outer wall of Porta Boiano, possibly deliberately rather too high for ease of reading (Corbier, 1983).[269] It refers to the alleged mistreatment of transhumant shepherds by the town's local magistrates and *stationarii* which had brought about a loss to the imperial fiscus. The inscription consists of three documents: a report from an imperial freedman to his superior on the mistreatment alleged by the shepherds; a request to the Praetorian prefects; and a warning letter from the prefects to the town magistrates. It indicates a close and enduring link between the town, transhumance and imperial interests and suggests that Porta Boiano acted as a customs or tax point for the collection of taxes. According to Corbier (1983), it is likely that all practitioners of transhumance at least at this time, and probably earlier in the empire, paid fees to the state for pasture dues (in her view, transit on the *tratturo* was free).

Evidence of customs points in Italy other than in Rome is not common. It is known that there was a customs boundary at Rome, certainly dating from AD74 and possibly going back to the time of Augustus (Palmer, 1980). Gros argued that Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis had many features and functions in common with Saepinum in relation to transhumance and the collection of taxes (1995). At Hispellum, Camerieri and Manconi (2010:30) suggested that the purpose of Porta Consolare and its large inner courtyard was to levy taxes on pastoralists using traditional transhumant routes, drawing a specific parallel with the gates of Saepinum. The relevance of transhumance to the nature and purpose of Saepinum's walls and gates should not therefore be underestimated.

[267] CIL 09, 02318
[268] Strabo *Geographica* vi,2,6, a passage discussing brigandage in Sicily by herdsmen.
[269] CIL 09, 02348

Appendix G Urbs Salvia

G.1 The geographic context of Urbs Salvia

Figure 190: location of Urbs Salvia

Located towards the east of central Italy in what is now the Marche (Figure 190), the city of Urbs Salvia was a colony in Picenum (Regio V). It lay on the western side of the Colle di San Biagio between its crest (still dominated by the medieval town of Urbisaglia) and the River Fiastra, on a sloping site which drops by some 80m from the top of the Roman city to its eastern boundary. Urbs Salvia was located at an important junction of roads, the Via Salaria Gallica which led from Ausculum through Urbs Salvia to Auximum to join the Via Flaminia, and the road between Firmum and Septempeda. The city was sacked by Alaric and the Visigoths in AD408-410. Most of the Roman city was never built over, remaining agricultural land to the present day.

G.2 The administrative status of Urbs Salvia

There is no evidence to date that the site of Urbs Salvia was settled prior to Roman occupation (Fabrini, 2014a:59) but there is considerable debate about when that occupation took the form of colonial settlement. A *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of the colony is provided by an inscription recording Fufius Geminus as *patronus coloniae* in AD23.[270] The strongly held opinion of academics at the University of Macerata, who have been excavating on the site of Urbs Salvia for several decades, is that the colonial foundation should be dated to the last third of the second century BC, although they acknowledge that this view has yet to gain traction more widely. They further hold that the city was refounded or reorganised as an Augustan colony, with additional viritane settlement (see, for example, Fabrini, 2014a, Fabrini, 2014b, Paci, 2014, Perna, 2012a). A republican date for the foundation of the colony was first proposed by Paci in 1990 and has been reiterated and refined over a number of subsequent publications, most recently in 2014. This overturned a long-held view, propounded chiefly by Delplace, that the city was first founded as a colony under Augustus, having first been a prefecture and then a *municipium* after the Social War, or during the triumvirate (Delplace, 1983, 1993). An even later, Flavian, date for the foundation of the colony was put forward as recently as 1995 by Eck and supported by Campbell (2000:411).

[270] CIL 09, 05815, with new fragments, published by Gasperini (1982).

Appendix G

There are three key pieces of evidence which support the idea of a second century BC foundation: the epigraphic evidence of the *fasti triumphales* and *fasti consulares* from the city; the literary evidence of Strabo and Pliny; and archaeological evidence from the site itself. The *fasti triumphales urbisalvienses* is the only known triumphal list from outside Rome. It appears to be a copy of the text displayed at Rome, as there are the same textual errors (Fabrini, 2004). Six fragments of the *fasti* have now been found at Urbs Salvia. The earlier fragments, which provide lists of magistrates up to 158BC, do not include the names of local magistrates. The later fragments, from 104BC, list two local magistrates, which Paci argued refer to the high-ranking office of praetor. In one case, the local magistrates are listed immediately after the names of the consuls and before the censors, perhaps indicating their importance. Praetors are known as magistrates in Urbs Salvia from other (later) inscriptions.[271] Paci and his colleagues are convinced that this demonstrates "once and for all" that Urbs Salvia was founded as a colony in the second century BC: they comment that only colonies founded in the second century BC or earlier were governed by praetors and it is known that praetors administered the nearby colonies of Castrum Novum, Potentia and Auximum.

Secondly, from our primary sources we are told by Strabo[272] that there was a settlement called "Pollentia", whose location between Septempeda and Potentia matches the geographical location of Urbs Salvia. At this point of the text, Strabo's source is held to be Artemidorus, whose information related to the last quarter of the second century BC (Bertrand, 2013). It should be noted that the reading of Pollentia depends on accepting a correction to a possibly corrupt text.[273] Pliny, however, refers to a city called "Urbe Salvia Pollentini". Fabrini, with others, argued that this indicates that at some point the colony, which was originally called Pollentia, changed its name to Urbs Salvia. She linked the change in name to a refoundation or reorganisation of the colony in the Augustan period (Fabrini, 2014a).

Thirdly, ongoing excavations on site have revealed archaeological evidence for significant settlement at Urbs Salvia dating back to the end of the second century BC (Fabrini, 2014a:16, 56). These are substantial structures including a forum, portico and possibly a capitolium which would not be incompatible with a colonial city.

These three different sources of evidence are supported by more circumstantial material relating to colonisation of the region more generally. Successive waves of colonisation from the republican period are known in this part of Roman Italy: the first following the battle of Sentinum and the establishment of the Ager Picenus in the first half of the third century BC; and further colonisation in the second century BC including the founding of Pisaurum and Potentia in 184BC. Having

[271] See, for example, the inscription in which Flavius Silvius Nonius Bassus records his dedication of the amphitheatre in AD81 - AE 1961, 0140, AE 1969/70, 0183a, AE 1995, 0434.
[272] Strabo *Geographica* v,4,2
[273] The manuscript reads Πνευεντια, which the editors correct to ΠΟΛΕΝΤΙΑ.

argued his case on the basis of the *fasti* that the window for the foundation of Urbs Salvia is between 158BC and 104BC, Paci noted that – other than the problematic case of Auximum – no colonies are known to have been founded in Italy between 177BC and 131BC.[274] Paci therefore associated the foundation of Urbs Salvia with the period of Gracchan colonisation between 133BC and 119BC, pointing out that the Gracchans are known to have been active in the area.[275] He speculated that Pollentia might be a "paired" colony with Auximum, if a later date for Auximum's foundation is accepted. On the other hand, Delplace placed Auximum in a group of coastal colonial settlements with its closer neighbour Potentia, noting her view that the interior of Picenum was not settled until the second triumvirate (1995:25).

A number of difficulties remain with the premise of a second century date for the colonial foundation which, in my view, have yet to be satisfactorily resolved. Of particular relevance to my research is the apparent lack of a republican-era walled circuit. I consider this to be highly significant. I discuss the implications in my analysis of the city's walls towards the end of this appendix.

A further issue relates to the existence of *quattuorviri*, who are attested epigraphically at Urbs Salvia.[276] Q*uattuorviri* are typically found at cities with the status of *municipia* in the first century BC, although Paci (1995:95) noted that magistrates of *municipia* in areas organised as prefectures, such as many parts of Picenum, seem to have been *duoviri* and there were many exceptions to the norm (Laffi, 2007:49-81). Paci's position found some support from Bispham, who commented that only one inscription from Urbs Salvia, a private dedication, can confidently be dated to the republican period (the inscriptions referring to *quattuorviri* are probably imperial).[277] Bispham also referred to a suggestion from Marengo that the *quattuorviri* attested at Urbs Salvia in fact belonged to a college of magistrates with cultic (rather than administrative) functions, perhaps analogous to the Augustales (2007:471).

Evidence from centuriation of Urbs Salvia's territory is inconclusive. Vettorazzi undertook an initial survey of the territory, which was reported in 1990. She identified two phases of centuriation, based on the different sizes of cadastration, associating one with the triumviral period and the other with the Augustan period. These conclusions were disputed by Perna and Capponi (2012) who argued that the earlier phase of centuriation fits better with a colonial foundation of the

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[274] Velleius Paterculus in the *History of Rome* (1.15,3) assigned the foundation of Auximum to 157BC. Laffi argued for an earlier date (2007:24, 41) which would be compatible with a passage of Livy which mentions the city and construction of its walls in the context of 174-172BC. Salmon preferred a later date of 128BC (1969:112-114). Patterson commented that some caution was appropriate in accepting too readily a hiatus in the sequence of colonial foundations, which may be related to a gap in our sources (2006:202), although an interruption is widely recognised (see, for example, Salmon, 1969:112, Laffi, 2007:28).
[275] The *Cippo Graccano* (CIL 11, 06331), found near Fanum Fortunae, relates to reorganisation of the *ager publicus* while the *Fontes Gromatici* refer to Gracchan activity near Auximum.
[276] See, for example, CIL 09, 05538, 05540.
[277] CIL 09, 05557

late second century BC. Campbell was also unconvinced: despite the notice in the *Liber Coloniarum*,[278] his commentary noted no evidence of settlement by the triumvirs at Urbs Salvia, although it was possible that viritane grants of land took place (2000:411).

A key question remains: if the colony was founded in the second century BC, under the name of Pollentia, when and why did it change its name to Urbs Salvia? The change in name is likely to mark a significant point in the city's governance and development. Fabrini and her colleagues are confident that this should be associated with the refoundation or reorganisation of the city as an Augustan colony. But the evidence is not clear-cut. There are a number of uncertainties: for example, issues relating to the likely relationship between refoundation and monumentalisation of the site and to the probable link between the new name of the colony and the cult of Salus Augusta. These issues are discussed below; unfortunately, there are no easy answers.

Fabrini's view (2014a, 2014b) that the colony was refounded or reorganised by Augustus is supported by archaeological evidence, which shows that substantial infrastructure work including the aqueduct, cistern, baths, streets, paving and drainage was carried out in the Augustan period (Fabrini, 2014a:69-71). On the other hand, significant monumentalisation of the urban centre such as development of the temple-sanctuary site appears to have taken place under Tiberius, not Augustus. Moreover, Bertrand argued that Urbs Salvia could not be an Augustan refoundation, because praetors continued as city magistrates into imperial times and an Augustan refoundation would have led to administrative reorganisation and thus to the appointment of *duoviri* (Bertrand, 2013). This was the case, for example, at neighbouring Pisaurum, originally founded as a colony in 184BC but refounded by Octavian, while republican colonies in Picenum which did not receive new settlers retained the office of praetor. It was also usual practice for a colony of this period to associate its name with that of its founder. Pisaurum changed its name to Colonia Iulia Felix Pisaurum on its refoundation by Octavian.

Further difficulties arise if an Augustan refoundation or reorganisation of the colony is tied to a change in name to Urbs Salvia (as is argued, for example, in Fabrini, 2004). It is generally held that the name Salvia in this context should be associated with the cult of Salus and specifically with the cult of Salus Augusta (Figure 191), although this was recently disputed by Mayer (2012). There is growing consensus that there was a cult of the widely worshipped Salus and an association with healing waters close to the site of the colony from the earliest times (see, for example, Gasperini, 1998, Fabrini, 2014a:76). But references to the cult of Salus Augusta anywhere in Italy are relatively rare (Delplace, 1995:31) and it is known only from Tiberian times. The cult developed in response to the recovery of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, from a serious illness in AD22. At Urbs Salvia, it is attested at the sanctuary complex through tile fragments which are

[278] Liber Coloniarum 226,6-7: *Ager Urbis Salviensis limitibus maritimis et montanis lege triumvirale.*

stamped "Salus Aug(usta) Salvienis(is)"[279] (Figure 192) and through an inscription referring to a *flamini(ca) Salutis Aug(ustae)*.[280] Bertrand associated the introduction of the cult at Urbs Salvia with the agency of Fufius Geminus, consul in AD29, who owed his advancement to Livia (2013).[281] With its introduction, Fufius Geminus would have clearly demonstrated his loyalty and adherence to imperial values – particularly if he brought about a change in the city's name at the same time to underline the point.

Figure 191: coin of Salus Augusta (RIC 1 47)

Figure 192: Salus Augusta brick stamp

This suggests, then, that the change in name from Pollentia to Urbs Salvia cannot convincingly be linked to a refoundation or reorganisation of the colony. It is unlikely that the refoundation of the colony took place under Tiberius, because colonising activity in Italy reduced dramatically after Augustus (although such settlement which did take place tended to be reinforcments of existing colonies – Keppie, 1984:78, 106). More generally, the evidence to support the idea of a refoundation of the colony is thin. A reference in the *Liber Coloniarum* may be significant: it notes triumviral reorganisation of the "*Ager Urbis Salviensis"* and thus provides a potentially important association between activity related to colonial settlement towards the end of the first century BC and the colony's new name. However, the reliability of the Liber Coloniarum generally is questionable (Campbell, 2000:xl-xliv) and Campbell specifically downplayed this notice, as we have seen. The reference may be a retrojection of the later name. To my mind, an important argument relates to the construction of the city walls in the Augustan period, as I discuss towards the end of this appendix, and this is not an argument which has been previously adduced. In short, on current evidence, considerable uncertainties remain about the date of the original foundation of the colony, about its name and possible change of name, and about a possible refoundation of the colony.

[279] CIL 09, 05530
[280] CIL 09, 05534
[281] His close connections with the imperial family are referred to in Tacitus *Annales* V.2, VI.10; Suetonius *Tiberius* 51.

G.3 The urban development of Urbs Salvia

It is known that substantial settlement on the site existed by at least the late second century BC (Fabrini, 2007b) but currently only about 2ha of the 45ha site has been explored archaeologically. Most of the remains above ground had been pillaged and robbed for building materials (some can be found in the nearby Abbey of Chiaravalle di Fiastra and in churches in Urbisaglia). The prosperity of the Roman city has been underlined by a recent analysis of the coloured stones and white marbles from Urbs Salvia, which demonstrated that the city was embellished with the most important decorative and rare stones originating across the Mediterranean provinces, from Egypt and North Africa to Asia Minor and Iberia (Antonelli and Lazzarini, 2013). Over 30,000 fragments of white and coloured marble have been found at surface level over the last 15 years. Antonelli and Lazzarini further noted that the variety and quality of marbles imported into Urbs Salvia surpassed that found in any other Roman city in the Marche region. They connect this with the patronage of elite families in the city, including those of senatorial rank such as Fufius Geminus (consul in AD29) and Salvius Liberalis and Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (consuls under the Flavian emperors).

The layout of the city is predicated to a great extent on practical considerations of the topography of the site. Extensive use of terracing, sometimes supported by significant retaining walls, was required particularly to the west of the site where the slope is more pronounced. Perna's view was that the original, second century BC, colony occupied only the flatter, eastern part of the urban area with the Via Salaria Gallica running through its centre (Perna, 2012b:378). The early imperial period saw significant development and construction at the city (Fabrini, 2007a). Fabrini noted that major infrastructure works can be dated to the Augustan period while the development of a coherent complex of monumental structures is rather later, in the Tiberian/Claudian period. A plan of the site is at Figure 193.

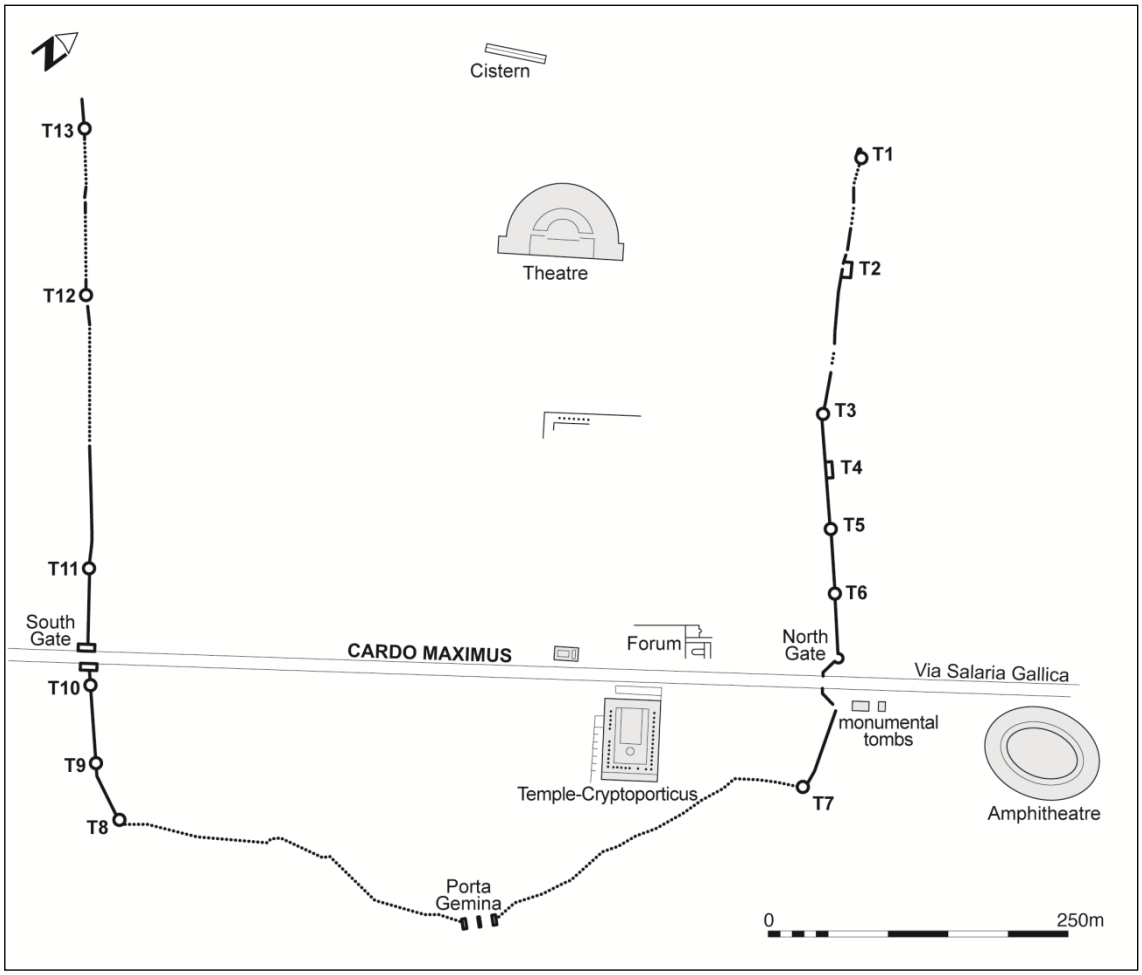

Figure 193: site plan of Urbs Salvia

G.3.1 West of the *cardo maximus*

The earliest phases of settlement and monumental development on the site are of the republican period (Fabrini and Perna, 2010). Fabrini (2014c:11) noted that excavations since 1995 in the area of the forum revealed traces of occupation perhaps relating to a second century BC vicus which was demolished to make way for a forum dating to the later republican period. Also in this area, artefacts were discovered recently in two pits which Perna associated with a foundation rite (2014:243), including ironwork, three miniature knives, the blade of a scythe, coins and pottery. He thought that this may relate to a cult building which was demolished when the forum was redeveloped in the early imperial period. The forum area, which was paved in high quality grey limestone (Montali, 2008), was further developed in the Augustan period with a double portico to the north. It was relatively modest in size, some 80m x 40m, and was bordered by public buildings (Fabrini and Perna, 2010). To the south of the forum was a temple on a podium.

Above the forum, the city was developed on a series of imposing terraces, sometimes supported by significant substructures. One of these is a structure which has become known as the "edificio a nicchioni". For some time it was thought that the niches were for a monumental nymphaeum but it is now understood that they had a more practical purpose in creating a retaining wall for the

terracing on which the theatre was built, particularly important because the ground was prone to slippage (Fabrini, 2004). Above the "edificio a nicchioni", in a dominant position overlooking the colony, was the theatre (Figure 194), which makes full use the natural slope of the hillside. It measured just over 100m and had an external facing in *opus testaceum*. The theatre had three tiers of seats with entrances on each level and a sacellum at the top, possibly dedicated to Apollo (a statue bust of whom was found in the vicinity). Epigraphic evidence[282] records the involvement of Fufius Geminus in its construction in approximately AD23. The theatre was richly decorated with marble statues, reliefs and ornamentation including wall frescoes.

The cistern was located at the top of the slope, some 300m above sea level (Figure 195). It had two parallel and interconnected chambers, each 50m long, 4m wide and 4m high and capable of holding 1,000 cubic metres of water, with a vaulted roof and waterproofed sides, whence the water supply was distributed to the city below (Paci, 1995:89). The cistern was fed by an aqueduct from springs a few kilometres away. An inscription relating to the supply of water references Fufius Geminus, almost certainly the same benefactor who was involved in the construction of the theatre.[283]

Figure 194: theatre, high on the western slope of the city

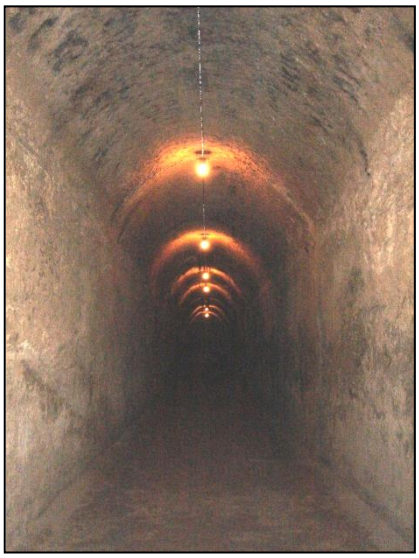

Figure 195: cistern

G.3.2 East of the *cardo maximus*

On the east side of the forum, and on the other side of the *cardo maximus*, lies the monumental complex dedicated to Salus Augusta, with a cryptoporticus, temple and sanctuary (Fabrini, 2014c). This was not however the first development in this part of the city. Recent excavations have revealed evidence for structures of the republican period, perhaps residential in nature, which were demolished to make way for the temple and sanctuary complex (Fabrini, 2014a:78, 86). Montali

[282] CIL 09, 05815
[283] CIL 09, 05744 *Nymphis Geminis / sacrum / C(aius) Fufius Gemini l(ibertus) / Politicus / idem aquam perduxit*

(2008) noted that there were two buildings associated with water which date to the Augustan period. In his view, these buildings may be linked to an ancient water cult perhaps to be identified with Salus before the development of the cult of Salus Augusta in Tiberian times. In addition, infrastructure work in this part of the city, including drainage and pipework which ran under the basalt paved road near the cryptoporticus, date from the Augustan period (the road itself is Tiberian) (Fabrini, 2009).

The temple and sanctuary complex rests on a massive artificial terrace and is surrounded by a monumental portico on two floors. The structure extended for 80m x 45m. It would have dominated the forum, which it overlooked from the other side of the *cardo maximus*. The main temple, which was paved in white limestone slabs, measured 30m x 16m and had a façade with six columns and podium, accessed by two symmetrical sets of stairs. It was surrounded by a cryptoporticus consisting of four underground galleries decorated with frescoes in the third Pompeiian style (Figure 197). The frescoes represent hunting animals, military trophies, wildlife, masks and images connected with imperial political propaganda (Figure 196). The discovery of numerous tiles stamped Salus Augusta Salviensum supports the identification of the complex as dedicated to the cult of Salus Augusta. During recent excavations in the temple/cryptoporticus area, two fragments of a marble mural crown were discovered, which the excavators assumed once formed part of a statue of Fortuna (Fabrini and Perna, 2011) (illustrated at Figure 50 in Chapter 4.3.2). The construction technique of the complex and the painting style of the frescoes, together with artefacts found in the course of investigation, suggests that the first phase of development dates from the Tiberian period (Fabrini and Perna, 2010, confirming the original excavations and chronology undertaken and published by Delplace, 1983). Nearby was a smaller temple, rather confusingly called the "tempietto del foro" (it is on the other side of the *cardo maximus* from the forum). This small temple measured 15m x 9.5m on a high podium and, unusually, was surrounded by a frescoed ambulacrum (Fabrini, 2004).

Figure 196: fresco from cryptoporticus

Figure 197: southern section of cryptoporticus

G.3.3 Outside the walled area

Monumentalisation of the city continued in the Flavian period, with the construction of an amphitheatre outside the city walls around AD81 (Figure 198). It is dated by reference to an inscription referring to Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, a member of an important local family and consul in AD81 (Paci, 1995:86). Originally it probably had three tiers of seats, of which only one is extant, and had a capacity of about 5,000 spectators. Overall, the amphitheatre measured 93m x 73m. Channels for supply and drainage of water are still visible, suggesting that the amphitheatre may have hosted water battles.

A number of imposing funerary monuments, including square towers still more than 6m high, were located immediately outside the north gate along the Via Salaria Gallica. Perna estimated that the larger of these monuments would have stood nearly 11m high and while not susceptible to precise dating is likely to be contemporary with the city walls or soon after (2006:52-53). These monumental tombs would have dominated the visual approach to the gateway and the city.

Figure 198: amphitheatre, outside the north gate of the city

G.4 The city walls of Urbs Salvia - evidence

The city walls enclose an area of about 45ha, roughly square in outline and adapted to the contours and terrain of the site (see plan at Figure 193 above). Considerable stretches of the wall survive on the north side. It is less well preserved on the east and south sides and there are no traces of a wall on the west side. As the western boundary of the city followed the ridge of a hill, it may be that a wall was never built on this side (although Perna considered this unlikely – 2006:18). No evidence of a perimeter wall has been identified here, although this is the area of the city that has subsequently been built over. The absence of a wall along the crest of a hill forming one side of a circuit would not be unprecedented; Perna noted that this was the case at Aveia and Bovianum (2006:42).

The most detailed investigation of the walled circuit of Urbs Salvia to date was published by Perna (2006:14-45, 2007:14-33; the texts are substantially the same), building on earlier work by the University of Macerata (see, for example, Perna, 1987; Paci and Perna, 2001). I draw on this work as well as that of Delplace (1983, 1993) and on my own observations in the discussion that follows.

G.4.1 The walled circuit

My discussion of the archaeological evidence for the walled circuit and towers starts at the northwest corner of the circuit, at the highest point of the site, and works clockwise around the circuit. Of my case study sites, the walls of Urbs Salvia are the least well preserved and the information presented here necessarily less detailed.

The perimeter of the wall, including the putative western section, is about 2.7km, roughly similar in size to the walls of Augusta Taurinorum and Augusta Praetoria. The wall is homogenous in construction, being built entirely of *opus testaceum* (cement core with brick facing), and is similar on the outside and inside faces (Figure 199). Its uniformity suggests that it was built synchronously (although there are a few stretches which show signs of later repair). The size of the bricks used is about 30cm x 45cm x 5.5-6cm. The walls are consistently about 1.5-1.6m wide, the same at ground level as higher up; Paci and Perna (2001:15) noted that the width does not change whether the wall is on the slopes of the hill (north and south sides) or along the valley bottom (east side). This was not wide enough to permit a sentry walk along the walls. Perna argued (as did Ferrarato for Saepinum) that a cantilevered wooden walkway would have existed (2006:27) but the walls are not sufficiently well preserved to provide any traces of support holes. The foundations of the walls are visible in many places where the wall itself survives (Figure 200). They project some 20cm out from the face of the wall and are constructed in steps to deal with the slope.

Figure 199: internal facing of wall, north section

Figure 200: external wall section showing foundation plinth, northeast corner of circuit

The highest extant section of wall is some 6m. Not enough of the walls survive to be able to make a sensible estimate of their original height (see Perna, 2006:26). Perna did suggest, based on a ratio between base and height first proposed by Trevisanato (1999:65), that the towers may have reached 14m high. This would not be out of keeping with the estimated height of towers at Fanum Fortunae (12m) or the walls of Hispellum (13m).

The northern side of the circuit contains a number of stretches of extant wall and seven identifiable towers, which are not regularly spaced (there are two further towers, only one of which is archaeologically attested – the other is presumed to have existed – flanking the north gate). The wall is not straight but rather follows a more sinuous path in keeping with the terrain. In a few places the facing of the wall is still visible. Near the bottom of the slope, in the northeast corner, the wall is cut by a drainage channel some 0.5m wide x 0.5m high. At this corner, there is a significant difference in ground level of at least 10m between the exterior and interior of the wall. The ground level inside and outside the walls is roughly the same for the stretches of the wall on the northern side of the circuit, but to its east (towards the river) it is noticeably lower on the outside. Perna suggested that it might be to enhance the defensive features of the wall, although as I argue below it is difficult to see the wall as a predominantly defensive asset (2006:27). Fabrini thought that terracing, or perhaps the accumulation of soil over time, might be the explanation (2014b), but the ground drops away from the outside of the wall, rather than being built up from the inside. Possibly, the change in level may be to enhance the visually imposing character of the wall from outside.

The eastern side of the circuit followed the valley floor. Much less survives of this part of the wall. There are isolated odd fragments towards the northeast which may or may not have been part of the walled circuit, whose line is assumed to have followed the contours of the valley floor. Short stretches of the wall are extant near the southeast corner of the circuit. Only one tower is identifiable, in the southeastern corner.

The southern side of the circuit is also poorly preserved. The line of the wall is however fairly clear, and like the northern part of the circuit followed a slightly undulating course as it climbed the slope. In a few places, the facing of the wall is visible both to the interior of the city and on the external side of the wall. Five towers have been identified in this section of the wall.

G.4.2 The towers

Fourteen towers can still be recognised, seven on the north side of the wall, one on the east side, five on the south side and one flanking the north gate. They are situated at irregular intervals along the wall and, unlike the wall itself, are not uniform in size or design; again, unlike the wall, it appears that they are not all contemporary. A number of the towers seem to be situated where the wall changes direction. All but two of the towers sit astride the wall. Excluding the towers flanking the north gate, four towers appear to be quadrilateral; six, probably seven, were octagonal, one was hexagonal and one was pentagonal. Fabrini (2004) noted that the octagonal towers faced each other on opposite sides of the wall. She considered that they were a "rare example" of this type of tower, although I note that there were two octagonal towers facing each other at the roughly contemporary walls of Saepinum. Three of the four rectangular towers are positioned at corners of the circuit.

Unlike the towers of my other case studies, almost all the towers were irregular in shape: whereas the sides of the octagonal towers of Saepinum were of equal length, at Urbs Salvia they varied quite markedly (for example, the sides of Tower 5 vary in length between 1.3m and 2.9m). The towers of Urbs Salvia also differ in their overall dimensions, their internal diameter ranging from 4.3m to 6.4m and the width of their external-facing walls varying from 1m to 1.6m (where verifiable). As was also the case at Augusta Praetoria and Saepinum, the width of the walls facing into the city (only verifiable in two towers at Urbs Salvia) was significantly less – 0.6m-0.7m – than that of the external-facing walls. There may have been more towers than the 14 now identifiable. For example, Perna noted that Pallotta's plan of 1881 included a rectangular tower towards the southeast whose existence cannot now be verified (2006:17).

My discussion of the archaeological evidence for the towers again starts at the highest, northeast corner of the circuit and works clockwise round the circuit (see site plan at Figure 193). Tower 1 (T1), at the northeast corner, is in such a poor state of preservation that it is difficult to establish its original form or size, although Perna assessed it to be rectangular (2006:19). He speculated that it might have been associated with a gate, although there is no archaeological evidence to support

this. T2, some 100m down the slope from T1, is also poorly preserved. Also rectangular in form, it is not structurally tied to the wall but simply rests against it. Perna (2006:20) commented that it therefore must postdate the construction of the wall, but it is not possible to tell whether the tower replaced an earlier structure. Much more survives of T3, a further 110m down the slope (Figures 201-203). It is octagonal in design and sits astride the wall on a square foundation measuring 5.1m x 6.9m. It still stands sufficiently high to show traces of the window slits and the slots into which the upper flooring was fitted. T3 appears to postdate the wall itself (it has brick facing on the exterior but is built in *opus mixtum* on the interior) and Perna considered that it may have superseded an earlier structure.

Figure 201: tower 3, view from inside the city

Figure 202: tower 3 from outside the city

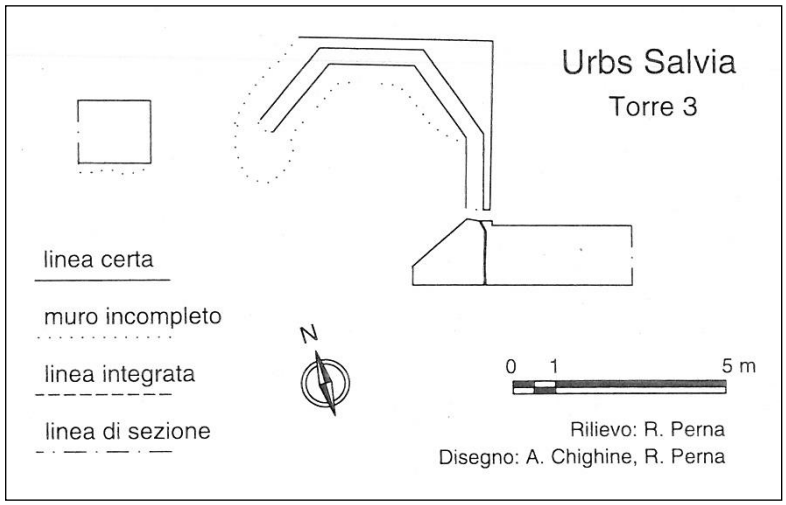

Figure 203: plan of tower 3

T4, only 42m distant from T3, is also built in *opus mixtum* (Figure 204). Internally, it is pentagonal in form, resting on a square base 5m x 6.9m (Figure 205). It abuts the wall externally, and so, like T2, is not structurally part of the wall, and is likely to be a later addition. At a later date, water tanks with lead piping were placed next to the tower, one of which was located on the external face of the wall. Little remains of T5, 43m down the slope from T4, although it is held to be octagonal

in form (Perna, 2006:22). T6 is 44m from T5. It is also octagonal in form (although the sides are not of equal length) and projects some 3m from the line of the wall. T6 was a little under 50m from the western flanking tower of the north gate and a similar distance separated the presumed eastern flanking tower of the gate from T7, which was situated in the northeastern corner of the circuit. Defined by Perna as a bastion rather than a tower, T7 was irregularly rectangular in form although its precise plan is not established.

Figure 204: tower 4, looking north

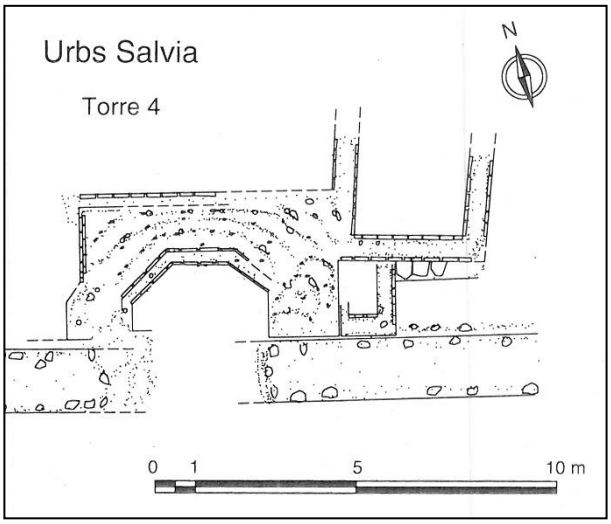

Figure 205: plan of tower 4

Only one tower, T8, survives on the eastern side of the walled circuit, at the southeastern corner. It was a hexagonal tower which projected some 2.5m from the line of the wall.

Five towers survive on the south side of the walled circuit. T9 is about 50m to the west of T8 and is located shortly after, but not at, a point where the wall changes direction. It is octagonal in form. There is some 54m between T9 and T10. T10 is rectangular and abuts the external face of the walled circuit. It is about 2m wide and just under 6m long. On the western side of the south gate are the poorly preserved remnants of T11. It is not now possible to discern its form or size, but observations by Goldoni in the 1930s indicate that it was a regular octagon with a diameter of 4.5m. Over 200m separates T11 from T12, which was also octagonal but irregular in form. A further 125m up the slope is T13, another octagonal, regularly shaped tower some 4m in diameter. Unlike T1 on the other side of the walled circuit, T13 is not in the southwest corner of the circuit, whose line continues a little further to the west before disappearing.

G.4.3 The gates

Three gates have been identified in the city walls, although very little of them remains visible. The north gate, at the northern end of the *cardo maximus*, was of a distinctive and unusual concave design (Figure 206). The entrance was set back from the line of the wall and the gate itself was flanked by angled walls leading to two pentagonal towers, one on each side, placed on the line of the main walled circuit. Sometimes called “Fréjus-type” gates (Johnson, 1983:15 – see Figure

208), they are known in southern Gaul from Forum Iulii, Arelate and Aquae Sextiae in the Augustan period (Rebecchi, 1987:134). Unlike the gates in southern Gaul, however, the flanking walls at Urbs Salvia were straight rather than curved. More significantly, perhaps, two gates of this design have been identified at the *municipium* of Septempeda (Figure 207), only 25km from Urbs Salvia, and are thought to date there from the first century BC (Perna, 2012a:80). Perna noted that the walls and towers relating to the north gate at Urbs Salvia were homogenous in construction, suggesting that they were built at the same time (2006:31). Recent excavations just inside the north gate identified a short stretch of wall which, according to Perna, might possibly be related to an inner courtyard for the gate (2006:32). Pending further investigation, however, this remains unverifiable.

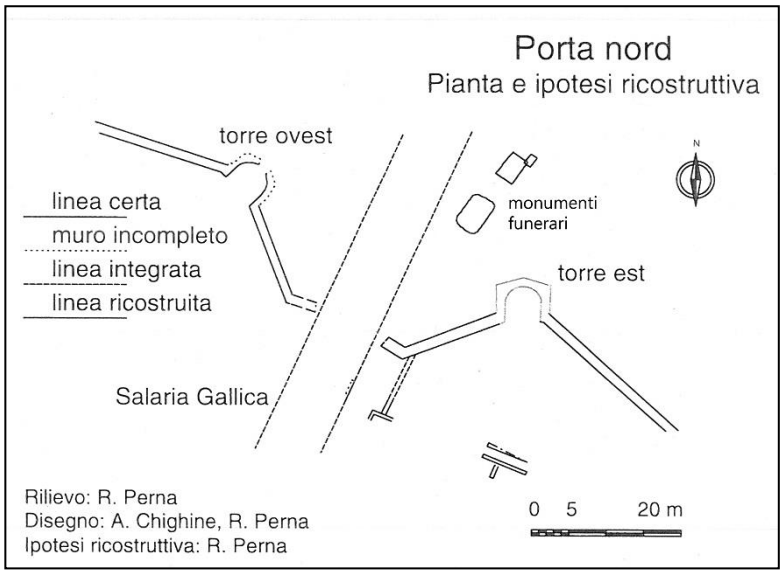

Figure 206: plan of north gate

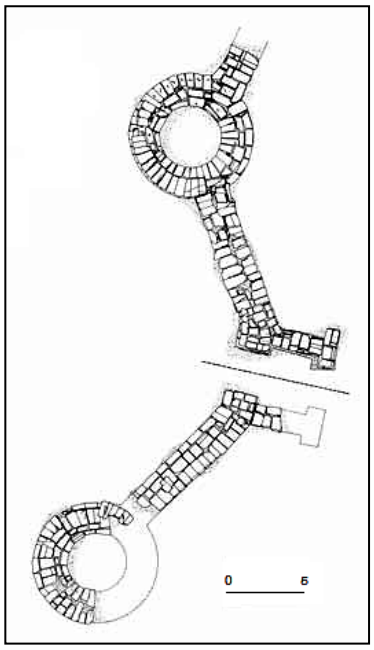

Figure 207: "Fréjus-type" gate at Septempeda

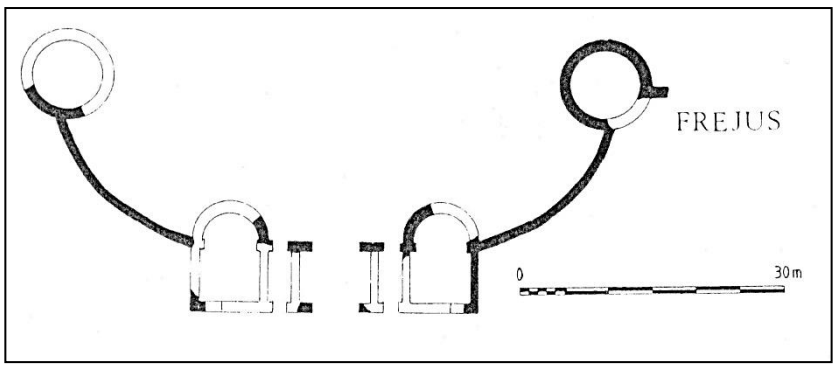

Figure 208: plan of gate at Fréjus

Only minimal traces remain of what is thought to be identifiable as the south gate at the other end of the *cardo maximus*, where the Via Salaria Gallica entered the city from the south. Currently incorporated within the fabric of Chiesa del Santissimo Crocifisso, the structure was interpreted by Perna as part of the vault of an archway (2006:38). There is insufficient material evidence to be

confident of the identification and far too little to be able to draw any more detailed conclusions; Perna conjectured that the archway may have had a width of some 3m but this cannot be substantiated. He further speculated that in view of this width which would be narrow for a main entrance to the city, the archway was a minor one in a multiple-arched entrance. Again, it is impossible to be sure of this on the evidence available.

The east gate, Porta Gemina, was located about halfway along the eastern side of the walled circuit and provided access to the River Fiastra and the road to Firmum. The gateway is now subsumed into farm buildings and is in poor condition (Figure 209). But partly thanks to the work of Pallotta in the nineteenth century, its plan is reasonably well understood (Pallotta's drawing of Porta Gemina is at Figure 25 in Chapter 3.6). Porta Gemina had two archways and, according to Delplace, was built in *opus testaceum* (1993:260). Perna assessed the construction technique as *opus vittatum* but both Perna and Delplace agreed that in one or two places work in *opus spicatum* is also identifiable, as shown in Pallotta's drawings (which is surprising, given that *opus spicatum* is usually associated with flooring. I was unable to verify this on site). The gateway was characterised by an unusually long spine (11.5m deep) and had no flanking towers. Also unusually, the double arches were not quite parallel, with a slight splay at the side of the gateway facing into the city so that the overall width of the gateway was 20m on the exterior side and 23m on the interior side (Perna, 2006:33). Perna estimated on this basis that the width of the archways was approximately 6m on the exterior and 7.2m-7.7m on the interior (Figure 210).

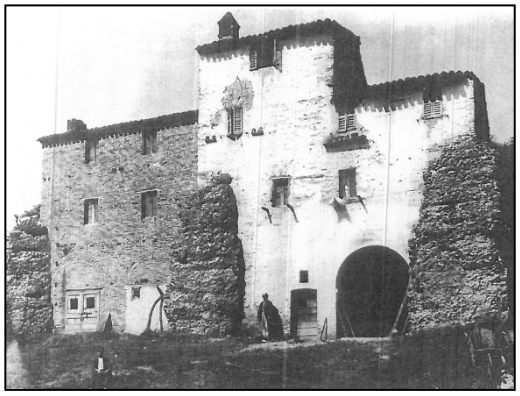

Figure 209: Porta Gemina, mid 20th century

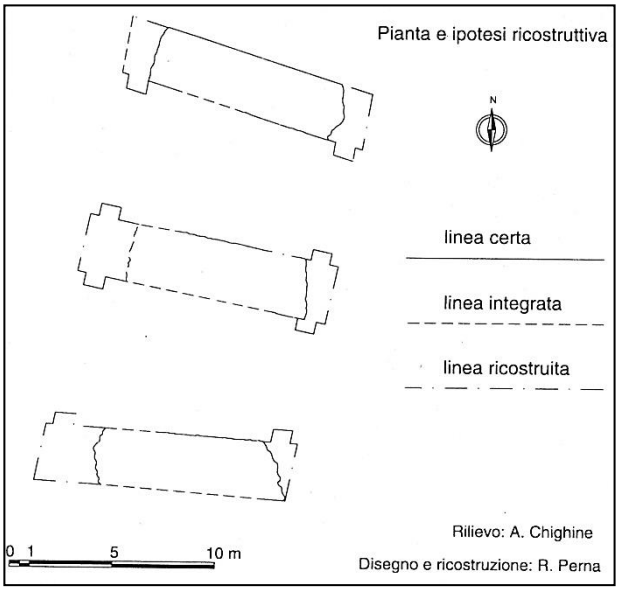

Figure 210: plan of Porta Gemina

Because nothing remains of the circuit wall in this part of the city, it is not possible to say how the gateway was tied to the wall itself. No trace of decoration survives on the gate but Pallotta's drawings showed that there was an inscription which would have been placed on the centre between the arches, of which only the final "S" was then extant and is now lost.

The date of the gateway is disputed. Perna saw a similarity between Porta Gemina and fortified cities and military camps of the second and third centuries AD on the northern frontiers of the empire (2006:34-37, 2012a:89-90). He himself, however, subscribed to the near-universal view that the walled circuit dates from the Augustan period and there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that Porta Gemina replaced an earlier structure. A more convincing interpretation was offered by Delplace (1993:265), who noted that Porta Gemina is stylistically similar to the double gateways of Verona, Comum, Asculum, Hispellum, Augusta Praetoria and Augusta Taurinorum, all of which are dated to the late republican or early imperial periods, and therefore placed Porta Gemina as contemporary with the city walls. Further evidence of the ubiquity of double gateways during the Augustan period in Roman Italy is given by examples from Augusta Bagiennorum and Tridentum (see Appendix A).

Perna's interpretation of the functionality of the gateway is also unconventional (2012a:89-90). Using a recent geological survey, he suggested that there may have been a difference in ground level of about 4.5m between the front and rear of the gateway. This would imply an incline of nearly 40%, much too steep for a functioning road. Caveating his views with the need for further analysis and investigation, Perna argued that the River Fiastra may in the Roman period have come up to the base of the gateway which would then have served not as a through route but as a landing point or wharf. In my view, Perna's interpretation is highly unlikely. Porta Gemina was at the eastern end of the *decumanus maximus* through Urbs Salvia and served an important route which connected Septempeda to Firmum, passing through the city. The gateway itself was monumental in character as suited a major entrance to the colony. It is likely that the University of Macerata will undertake archaeological investigations at the site of Porta Gemina in the near future, when the purpose, chronology and form of Porta Gemina should become clearer.

There are no minor gates identifiable from the existing archaeological evidence. There may have been a postern gate in the northern section of the wall near Tower 3 (Paci and Perna, 2001:16) and it is assumed that there was a corresponding postern gate in the southern stretch near Tower 12 (Perna, 2006:39). Posterns are likely to have been needed as additional entrance and exit points for the city given that the north and south gateways are located significantly off-centre towards the bottom of the hillslope.

G.4.4 Epigraphic evidence relating to city walls

On current knowledge, there is only very slight evidence of an inscription relating to the city walls, towers and gateways of Urbs Salvia. This is the hint in a nineteenth century drawing by Pallotta of Porta Gemina, noted above, which suggests that there may have been an inscription placed between the double archways. Only the letter "S" is shown on the illustration, and as we have no corroborating evidence it is not possible to say whether the inclusion of an inscription was artistic licence or not. The inscription is noted as inscription xli in my ancillary list at Appendix K.

G.5 The city walls of Urbs Salvia - analysis

G.5.1 When were the city walls built?

There is no precise evidence available for the date of the city walls, almost no relevant material evidence having come to light from recent archaeological investigations of the walls and virtually no reference to the city walls being made in contemporary literary or epigraphic sources (Perna, 2006:120). Excavations of the interior of Tower 6 produced material dating from the first century BC to the fifth century AD (Perna, 2006:45) but this is more useful for indicating continuing use of the structure rather than pinpointing its erection.

The construction technique of the walls suggests that they were built in the Augustan period and this fits well with the work to the infrastructure of the city which is known to date from this period. No other city walls in Picenum (Regio V) are known in *opus testaceum* although walls of a similar construction are found at Ariminum, Aquileia, Concordia, Alba Pompeia, Augusta Taurinorum and Verona; these are all dated to the second half of the first century BC and Augustan periods (Delplace, 1993:261). Likewise, the relatively narrow width of the wall (1.5-1.6m) is common to walls of Augustan date. For example, the walls of Tridentum at 1.2m wide (Ciurletti, 2000:299), Alba Pompeia at 1.5m wide (Filippi, 1997), Saepinum (1.75m-1.9m) and nearby Fanum Fortunae (1.8m wide) are comparable while Perna noted that walls of republican date were generally significantly wider at around 2.5m (citing Guarnieri, 2000:116). Furthermore, towers that sit astride the wall, as do many at Urbs Salvia, are a feature of walls of the late republic and early empire and are found at Brixia, Augusta Praetoria, Saepinum, Comum and Fanum Fortunae. A good case can therefore be made for the city walls of Urbs Salvia to date from the early Augustan period, at the same time as this phase of its monumental development. This is the conclusion reached by most commentators, including Perna, who argued that the walls were built at the turn of the millennium (1987:203), and Delplace, who in the absence of precise evidence dated the walls to between 40/30BC and 20/10BC (1993:266).

G.5.2 Urbs Salvia's city walls and the debate on colonial status

The general consensus that the walls of Urbs Salvia should be dated to the Augustan period does however cause problems for the idea that the city was originally founded as a colony in the second century BC – problems which in my view have received insufficient attention. It is almost unprecedented for colonies of the third and second centuries BC not to be surrounded by city walls either at or shortly after their foundation (see Chapter 4.4). Colonies of this period wanted walls as a means of marking their status. They needed walls as a way of defending themselves in unsettled times. For example, Sena Gallica, Ancona, Firmum, Potentia, Pisaurum and Auximium, all colonies in Picenum of the third and second century BC, were surrounded by contemporary walls in *opus quadratum* (Perna, 2012a, Luni, 2003:208-230). But there is no trace of a pre-Augustan

city wall at Urbs Salvia, either on the same line as the Augustan walled circuit or surrounding a smaller, early colony on the flatter part of the site. Of course, an *argumentum ex silentio* does not make the case, but it does, as Esmonde Cleary urged in the case of "missing" walls at colonies in the northwest provinces (2003), underline the need for focused archaeological or survey investigation.

The construction of an impressive city wall around the city in the Augustan period lends support to the argument that this was an important moment in the city's history. Even this is problematic, though, as I discuss above. Fabrini's view (2014a, 2014b) that the colony was refounded or reorganised by Augustus is supported by archaeological evidence, of which in my view the most significant is the construction of the city walls. Again, it was almost unheard of for colonies of this period not to build impressive walls around their city. The triumviral or Augustan colonies of my other case studies of Hispellum, Augusta Praetoria and Fanum Fortunae, for example, marked their new status with the construction of magnificent city walls. Although the construction of city walls gives weight to the view that the colony was refounded or reorganised under Augustus, it still leaves open the vexed issue of when and why the city adopted the name of Urbs Salvia.

G.5.3 How much of a defensive function did the walls serve?

In my view, the city walls of Urbs Salvia should be interpreted for their symbolic and status value rather than as a functional asset. They indicate the city's assertion of its position, possibly in parallel with a refoundation or strengthening of its colonial status, and reveal the importance of self-representation. Perna, however, argued strongly that the city walls were conceived of, and acted as, a principally defensive asset (see, for example, Perna, 2006:14-45, 2007). Since he has researched the city walls more intensively than others (a detailed treatment of the city walls was also provided by Delplace, 1993:258-266), his view must be considered carefully. I believe it to be overstated, however.

In summary, Perna's position is that a number of features of the city walls and towers conform to the principles for defences which were outlined by Vitruvius. For example, he argued that the towers display military and defensive characteristics, contending that the walls of the towers on the flatter ground towards the eastern end of the site were thicker because they were more exposed to attack.[284] He also argued that the irregular intervals between the towers should be explained by differing topographical features and thus differing tactical imperatives, noting that a number of the towers are placed where the wall changes direction and therefore at potentially exposed points. He commented that the towers on the flatter, and more vulnerable, part of the site were between 40m and 54m apart and therefore fell within the range advised by Vitruvius.[285] He drew attention to the

[284] The wall itself is, however, of a consistent, and consistently narrow, width.
[285] Vitruvius *De Architectura,* I,5,4

unusual "Fréjus-type" north gate. Taking all these things together, Perna argued that Urbs Salvia's city walls were designed by a military architect of local origin who worked on a number of city walls locally (including Septempeda)[286] and did so in order to provide the communities with a solid defence (Perna, 2012b:386).

But several factors militate against the walls of Urbs Salvia being primarily defensive in purpose. It is possible that the wall was never a complete circuit (there is no trace of walling on the western side of the city). The western perimeter of the city followed the crest of the hill and without protection would have left the city vulnerable to a threat from the other side of the hill. Further, the width of the wall at around 1.5m-1.6m is too narrow to have functioned effectively as a defensive asset. Vitruvius mandated that the width of a defensive wall should be wide enough for two armed men to pass each other with ease.[287] Goodman suggested that the purpose of walls less than 2.5m in width was as likely to be ornamental as military (2007:86). It is notable that the average width of city walls in Roman Italy as set out in comparative catalogues such as those compiled by Conventi (2004) and Bonetto (1998) declines steadily from the mid-republican into the Augustan periods, in line with the perceived threat and a lower need for defensive protection. Next, the towers are not uniform in design, shape or date and do not appear to be built as part of a coherent plan. They are not placed at regular intervals round the circuit. This contrasts with the towers of earlier and more obviously defensively oriented city walls, such as those of Allifae (see Chapter 4.2.3) which are all rectangular and project outwards. Finally, while there might have been reason for the second century BC colony to surround itself with defensive walls in line with the perceived threats and defensive requirements of the time, this was no longer necessary in the Augustan period when serious unrest was far away. Urbs Salvia's city walls are much better seen as part of a programme of monumentalisation and aggrandisement of the city in the early imperial period.

[286] This idea sits uneasily with Perna's assessment elsewhere that the walls and gates of Septempeda, which are not reliably dated, belong to the earlier part of the first century BC. See Perna (2012a:80-84).
[287] Vitruvius *De Architectura* I,5,3

Appendix H Augusta Bagiennorum

H.1 The geographic context of Augusta Bagiennorum

Augusta Bagiennorum was situated on a fertile plain near what is now Benevagienna in Piemonte (Figure 211). It was strategically located on a greenfield site in the territory of the Liguri Bagenni between the Po valley, the Ligurian coast and Alpine passes and was well integrated into the road network, with links to the Via Fulvia and neighbouring towns of Pollentia and Alba Pompeia.

Figure 211: location of Augusta Bagiennorum

Roads also connected Augusta Bagiennorum with the Alpine pass of La Maddalena to the west and the Ligurian coast near Albinaguam to the south. The town itself, which came under Regio IX (Liguria), was bordered to the southeast by a steep ravine leading down to a tributary of the River Tanaro, the Mondalavia, and by hills to the northwest. The River Tanaro, which was navigable in Roman times, and the River Stura di Demonte are nearby. It is likely that the town was established both to exploit the rich agricultural land in which it was situated and to spread and consolidate Roman influence in the area (Panero, 2000:64).

H.2 The administrative status of Augusta Bagiennorum

Despite its name, which suggests that the town benefited from imperial favour, it is probable that Augusta Bagiennorum had the status of a *municipium* rather than a colony (Keppie, 1983:15). The original excavators of the town in the late nineteenth century, Assandria and Vacchetta, commented in 1897 that there was controversy over the status of the Roman town, noting that "the last word had not been spoken" on the subject (1897:29). That remains true today, with Preacco (2014a) and Rossignani (2009:103) among those assuming, without further argument, that the town was a colony while Panero (2000:62) followed Mansuelli (1982:151) in concluding that it was not.

There is little evidence to support the argument that Augusta Bagiennorum was a colonial foundation other than its name, which Sartori (1965:101-110) suggested should be seen as an honorary title. Rossignani et al. (2009:102) argued that the name "Augusta" referred to Augustus' political programme of reorganising the interior of Piemonte, together with the foundation of Augusta Praetoria and Augusta Taurinorum, but the name of itself does not prove that the town was a colony. There are no traces of centuriation in the vicinity of the town, and the town's territory is not extensive, especially when compared to the territories of neighbouring Alba Pompeia and Pollentia, neither of which had colonial status (Preacco, 2006:10). An inscription which Bersani

noted in connection with the possibility of viritane settlement in the area is dated to between AD71 and AD150 and therefore of limited relevance (2014:22).[288] A further inscription which might help is ambiguous, and also much later in date.[289] Pliny records that Augusta Bagiennorum was one of the "nobilissima oppida" of Transpadana.[290]

In my view, the relationship between city walls and administrative status is a factor which should be brought into play in considering the question of status. I argue in Chapter 4.4 that the association between city walls and veteran colonies of the Augustan period was very close. Augusta Bagiennorum did not have city walls, as is discussed in detail below. This link was obliquely referred to by Fontaine in his work on the cities and walls of ancient Umbria: he noted (1990:351) that all the towns of Umbria which did not have walls (of which Carsulae, the other of my comparator case studies, is one) had municipal (rather than colonial) status.

H.3 The urban development of Augusta Bagiennorum

There is less dispute over the urban development of the town, which is widely accepted to have taken place in the final quarter of the first century BC (see, for example, Preacco, 2007:267, Bersani, 2014:17) on a previously unoccupied site (Comba, 2001:7). There is evidence that parts of the site continued in use into the fifth century AD (Preacco, 2006:10) but once abandoned it was not subsequently built over. Robbing for building material and intense cultivation of the farmland which now overlies the site means that very little survives of the town.

Augusta Bagiennorum was excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Assandria and Vacchetta with further excavations taking place in the 1950s and again in recent years. The relative paucity of material finds from these archaeological interventions is surprising. Earlier excavations were backfilled but aerial photography has contributed to our current understanding of the site (Comba, 2001:7). The town's layout is reasonably clear: it was trapezoidal in shape, with an urban perimeter of some 1.9km covering about 21ha, and had an orthogonal grid, much of which has been deduced from the network of drains which ran beneath the streets (Panero, 2000:68). Preacco, who directed the recent excavations at the site, considered it to be an archetypal Augustan town with the expected suite of buildings and amenities such as forum, theatre, baths and amphitheatre (2014b:99). Barale et al. (2001) argued that the town was laid out with the aim of orienting it towards the sunrise at the winter solstice and emphasised the religious and ritual significance of its urban design, possibly reflecting the religious and political reforms of Augustus.

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[288] AE 1996, 0679
[289] CIL 05, 07153 *…in muni]cipio suo Alba Pompeia patrono coloniarum / [3 ite]m municipior(um) Albae Pompeiae Aug(ustae) Bagiennorum …*
[290] Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 3,49

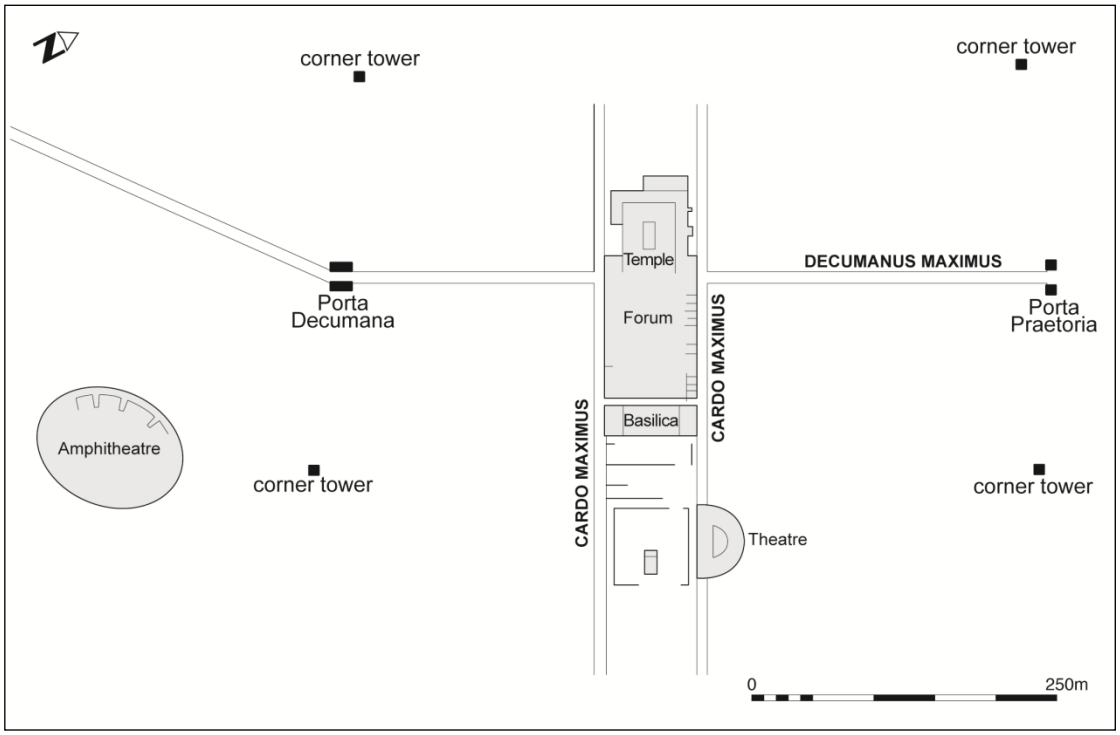

Figure 212: site plan of Augusta Bagiennorum

A plan of the urban centre is at Figure 212. The *decumanus maximus* runs roughly northeast to southwest, passing through the forum which it divides into two unequal parts. According to Mansuelli (1971:80-82), the two main streets running parallel to each other on either side of the forum and at right angles to the *decumanus maximus* were both *cardines maximi*, an arrangement which he noted was also to be found at Brixia.[291] Two different sizes of *insula* are found in the town, measuring either 70m x 70m or 80m x 100m (Zanforlini, 2008:76).

The forum complex, situated in the centre of the town, followed a tripartite model which is also found at other neighbouring and contemporary urban centres such as Augusta Praetoria and Brixia (Figure 213). This model, which is discussed by, among others, Ward-Perkins (1970), Gros (1990), and Laurence et al. (2011), provides clearly delineated spaces for religious, commercial and administrative functions, with the civic space being divided from the sacred by the through route of the *decumanus maximus*. At Augusta Bagiennorum, the religious space occupied the northwestern sector of the forum complex in the form of a temple built on a podium and surrounded on three sides by a portico, the fourth being open to the *decumanus maximus*. This temple has traditionally been identified as a capitolium (Sartori, 1965:115) although Preacco (2006:13) did not exclude a dedication to the imperial cult; there is no convincing evidence to support either identification.

[291] Panero (2000:68) argued that the *decumanus* and *cardo* should be switched, but the nomenclature is now firmly established.

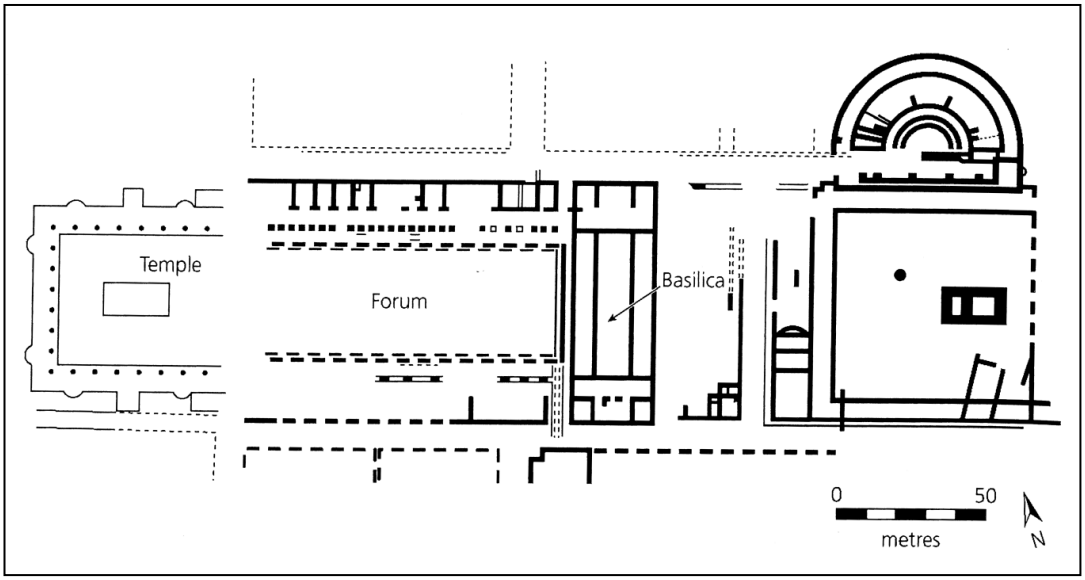

Figure 213: plan of forum and associated public buildings

In the centre of the forum complex was the forum itself, a space measuring about 36m by 115m bordered on both long axes by arcaded porticos and shops. On the other side of the forum was a three-aisled basilica measuring some 75m x 26m, which Panero (2000:69) pointed out is one of the rare examples of a basilica in the towns of northern Italy. The complex was in use from the end of the first century BC to the fourth century AD, as pottery finds testify (Preacco, 2006:29).

The theatre was carefully positioned in relation to the forum complex, facing the temple and religious space (Figure 214). Multiple building phases of the theatre have been identified dating to the first and second centuries AD (Preacco, 2006:17). Noting that the maximum diameter of the theatre was 57m, Sartori calculated that it had a maximum capacity of 3,000 spectators (1965:115), considerably lower than the theatre of neighbouring Pollentia which could hold 6,000-7,000 people. Baths were situated on the other side of the forum complex.

Figure 214: aerial view of theatre, looking east

The amphitheatre was located outside the urban centre to the south and was not oriented in relation to the street grid. It was elliptical in shape, measuring some 118m x 92m. Preacco (2007:273) argued that the amphitheatre's building technique in *opus incertum mixtum* dates it to the early years of the town's development, contemporary with other monumental structures, although the only dateable finds from the amphitheatre's excavation are coins of the second century AD.

H.4 How did Augusta Bagiennorum mark its boundaries?

Augusta Bagiennorum was not enclosed by a circuit of walls. Instead, the trapezoidal plot of the town's urban footprint was marked by square towers measuring about 8m x 8m located on the four corners of the town perimeter to give sides of unequal length (586m, 385m, 535m and 368m) (Rossignani et al., 2009:103). At the two ends of the *decumanus maximus*, halfway between the corner towers, there were gateways: Assandria and Vaccetta (1925:185) identified that these gateways were similar in design, consisting of double archways flanked by towers, which were square on the outside and circular inside (Figures 215 and 216 below). Like the corner towers, they were constructed in *opus testaceum* with a rubble core (Zanforlini, 2008:83). The flanking towers measured 6.6m x 6.6m on the outside, with a diameter of 4.9m for the circular interior. The towers were just under 10m apart and the width of each of the double gateways was approximately 3.5m (their height is not known), giving an overall width for the façade of the gateway of about 23m. No epigraphic evidence has been recovered which might relate to the town gateways. Not far outside the Porta Decumana, excavators found the base of a large (4.5m x 5.5m) funerary monument.

Despite claims in the official literature, there were no visible remains on the ground of the towers or gateways in 2014. Bricks stamped by the workshop of Lucius Cocceius were found near one of the gateways and elsewhere on the site (Assandria and Vacchetta, 1897:36); bricks from the same workshop were found at Alba Pompeia nearby. Double-arched gateways are a common design in the late republican and early Augustan period and can be found, for example, in Porta Praetoria at Comum, Arco di Augusto at Hispellum, Porta Aurea at Ravenna, Porta Montanara at Ariminum, Porta Gemina at Asculum Picenum, and (probably) Porta Gemina at Urbs Salvia.

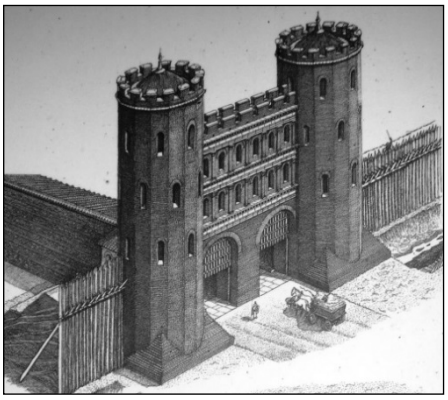

Figure 215: possible reconstruction of Porta Decumana

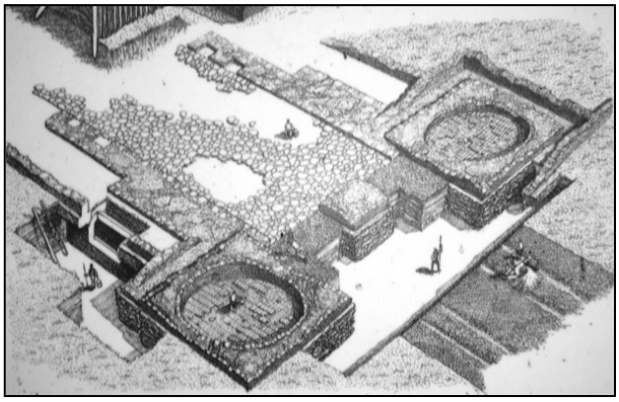

Figure 216: illustration of flanking towers, Porta Decumana

Reporting on their excavations in the early 1900s, Assandria and Vacchetta noted that they had dug trenches to try to locate a town wall between the corner towers and gateways but had not found one (1925:185). Subsequent excavations have also found no trace of a wall. Photogrammatic aerial surveys of the site have been undertaken recently but have not reported signs of a continuous ditch or wall (Bendea et al., 2007, Chiabrando et al., 2011), although these exercises focused on the theatre and amphitheatre rather than the urban area as a whole.

Preacco (2006:11) speculated that there may have been a wooden palisade and/or ditch around the town. Even if there were a ditch which connected the towers on one or more sides of the urban plot, it seems unlikely that this was continuous or long-lasting or served any functional purpose. To my mind, the suggestion that the town was protected by a ditch and palisade in place of a wall does not make sense when the layout of the town is examined closely. The square corner towers are positioned in direct relation to each other, as if marking out a quadrilateral plan (see Figure 212 above). If a ditch or wall connected the southeastern and northeastern corner towers along this line, for example, it would cut across not only archaeologically attested houses and shops but also the forum and theatre which project beyond the footprint mapped by the corner towers. The suggestion from Sartori (1965:116) that a ditch (or wall) deviated from this line to accommodate these structures is not convincing – even to Sartori himself, who went on to comment that a full circuit might not have been needed as the region became more firmly under Rome's influence.

Rather, the square corner towers and standalone gateways of Augusta Bagiennorum should be interpreted on their own account as a deliberate means of delineating the town and providing an impressive entrance to the urban space. Rebecchi, for example, saw Augusta Bagiennorum as a good example of the lesser importance of walls in Augustan times, with the corner towers and gates on their own being sufficient to mark the town out (1987:133). A complete circuit of walls was not necessary for defensive reasons, but as this did not stop other contemporary and neighbouring cities building city walls (for example, Augusta Praetoria, Augusta Taurinorum) other explanations should be sought. As argued in detail in Chapter 4.4, it may be significant that Augusta Bagiennorum was not a colony; its municipal status may not have afforded either the financial means or possibly the legal powers to build a walled circuit. It was not common in the Augustan period for *municipia* to construct walls around their town, there being a much closer association between colonies and city walls. Of the six *municipia* in Italy which are known to have built walls in this period, four did so with imperial patronage or favour (one of these was Saepinum, see Appendix F). The way in which the town plot at Augusta Bagiennorum was demarcated, while uncommon, is not unprecedented in the Augustan period, as I demonstrate in Chapter 4.4. The monumental paired gateways at the entrance to the town should be interpreted as a symbolic statement of civic pride and conscious self-representation, a deliberate means of announcing the town's presence to visitors, travellers and residents.

Appendix I Carsulae

I.1 The context of Carsulae

The Roman town of Carsulae lies at about 440m above sea level on a gently rolling upland plain in Umbria (Figure 217). It is situated at the foot of the Martani mountains, not far from the modern towns of Terni and San Gemini. The fertility and prosperity of the surrounding countryside was commented on by contemporary authors, including Pliny the Elder (in the context of viticulture), Pliny the Younger and Tacitus.[292] The site lies on a tectonic fault line which makes the area prone to earthquakes. The geology of the area also makes it rich in resources, both in terms of travertine deposits, which were extensively quarried for building materials, and of important mineral springs. The Via Flaminia, one of the most important long-distance Roman roads which connected Rome to the Adriatic coast and the north of Italy, crossed the town from north to south.

Figure 217: location of Carsulae

The town was abandoned in late antiquity and not subsequently built over; as a result, the urban layout of the centre, which extended over about 15ha, is reasonably well understood. The decline of the town has often been linked with the rerouting of the Via Flaminia away from Carsulae to an eastern branch which led instead through Interamna and Spoletium (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria, 2013). Sisani (2006:182) argued that the town became uninhabitable around the middle of the sixth century following a severe earthquake and associated landslides. Bonini et al. (2003) attributed the degradation of infrastructure on the site such as the collapse of a stretch of the *decumanus maximus* to seismic faulting while Aringoli et al. (2009) noted evidence of large landslides. The geological characteristics of the site made the ground unstable, with a number of dolines (sinkholes) which caused subsidence. However, a recent study by Bottari and Sepe (2013), using archaeoseismological and geoarchaeological evidence, argued that the town underwent a slow process of abandonment from the beginning of the fourth century AD, because of a lowering of the groundwater table and the resulting decrease in water supplies. It is noticeable that the Roman town was provided with a number of large cisterns, while an aqueduct is attested epigraphically[293] although not archaeologically (Bruschetti, 1995:53-54).

[292] Pliny *Epistulae* I, 4; Tacitus *Historiae* 3, 60
[293] CIL 11, 04582

I.2 The urban development of Carsulae

I.2.1 Carsulae's administrative status

It is possible that Carsulae was a *civitas sine suffragio* or *praefectura* in the late republic (Bradley, 2000:139, although he was not convinced). The date at which Carsulae became a *municipium* is not known. Bruschetti (1995:19) set out two possibilities, following the Social War of the first century BC or in the Augustan period. The latter option is now generally preferred (see, for example, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria, 2013), associating the grant of municipal status with Augustus' restoration of the Via Flaminia. Although there is reference epigraphically to *duoviri* at Carsulae, *quattuorviri* are more commonly attested as would be usual for a *municipium*.[294] Excavations at the site, carried out unsystematically from the sixteenth century and culminating in a series of intensive campaigns between 1951 and 1972 (Ciotti, 1976), have uncovered a large number of monuments, buildings and inscriptions, forming a picture of a wealthy and politically active *municipium* which flourished for several centuries.

I.2.2 The pre-Augustan town

The area around Carsulae had been occupied since the Middle Bronze Age, with settlements on the surrounding hilltops which dominated the plain and controlled the communications routes (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria, 2013). The catalyst for the development of the site at Carsulae itself seems to have been the construction of the Via Flaminia towards the end of the third century BC, although recent discoveries of early polygonal walling may cause that view to be reassessed (Hallinan, 2009, Ciuchini, 2004).[295] Sisani (2006:183) argued that the town did not start to grow before the second century BC when it became a centre for army veterans who were the beneficiaries of viritane land distribution nearby. Against this view, however, is the lack of evidence of centuriation in the surrounding area (Bruschetti, 1995:65) and a town which seemed to prosper as a result of traffic on the Via Flaminia rather than from incoming settlers, as is attested epigraphically.

Little is known about the pre-Augustan town. Structures dating back to the republican period were found beneath the twin temples in the forum and to the south of the basilica. The very recent discovery of material which the excavators considered to be republican in the northwest of the site is particularly interesting, as it suggests that the town covered an extensive area at that date (Bruschetti et al., 2013, Mancosu, 2014).

[294] *Duoviri* are recorded in CIL 11, 04575 which also refers to Carsulae as a *municipium*.
[295] The evidence for and implications of the polygonal walling is discussed below.

I.2.3 The Augustan redevelopment of Carsulae

The town appears to have been comprehensively redeveloped in the Augustan period, perhaps in association with Augustus' restoration of the Via Flaminia, which bisected the town from north to south (Figure 218). Forming the *cardo maximus* as it passed through the town, the Via Flaminia was about 4m-4.4m wide, with pavements and drainage channels running along some sections, and still retains its original paving stones (Bruschetti, 1995:29). No attempt was made to alter the course of the Via Flaminia to fit with the layout of the town: it retained a meandering and undulating course while the town adapted around it. The *decumanus maximus*, which led to the theatre and amphitheatre, crossed the *cardo maximus* near the forum and has the same characteristics in terms of structure although the absence of wheel ruts suggests that it was less heavily used (Bruschetti, 1995:44).

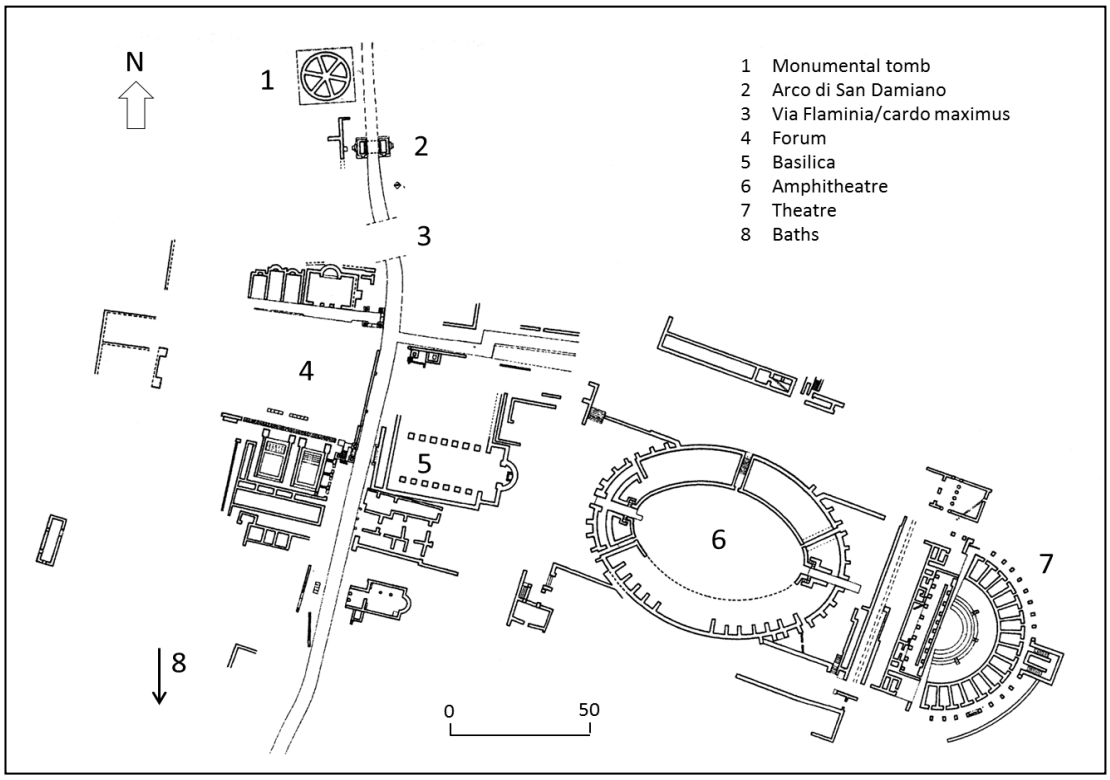

Figure 218: site plan of Carsulae

The forum was on the west side of the *cardo maximus* at the centre of the town, raised up from the road by means of terracing (Figure 219). It was roughly rectangular in shape, about 60m x 40m, and originally paved with pinkish travertine slabs (Sisani, 2006:184). Access to the forum from the *cardo maximus* was through two tetrapylons, one at each end of the forum's frontage onto the street. Owing to the difference in ground level, the southern tetrapylon, now reconstructed, was elevated some 2.5m above the *cardo maximus* and was accessed by a series of 13 steps (Figure 220), while the northern tetrapylon was at street level. The forum is dated to the Augustan period while Sisani (2006:184) considered that the tetrapylons may be slightly later in date, perhaps being built in the Tiberian period as honorary arches to commemorate Germanicus and Drusus.

Figure 219: forum at Carsulae, looking east

Figure 220: access from Via Flaminia

The basilica is on the opposite side of the *cardo maximus* from the forum and also dates to the Augustan period. The main building, some 30m x 25m, was constructed in *opus vittatum* and divided into three aisles with pillars and a smaller apsidal room at the eastern end (Bruschetti, 1995:35). Its walls were probably decorated in marble and the floors paved with hexagonal marble pieces. It was accessed directly from the *cardo maximus* via steps to account for the difference in ground level. Like Saepinum, whose urban development is contemporary to that of Carsulae, the basilica does not form part of the forum complex but is separated from it by a main street. This is different from the tripartite forum-basilica-temple arrangement known at Augusta Praetoria and Augusta Bagiennorum, which also date from around the same time.

Twin temples stood on the southern side of the forum elevated some 3m from ground level and accessed by a flight of stairs. Only the podiums lined with pink stone slabs remain (Bruschetti, 1995:38). It is not known to whom the temples were dedicated although given their identical nature Bruschetti conjectured that it was probably a divine pairing such as Rome and Augustus or the Dioscuri while Whitehead preferred the pairing of Castor and Pollux (2010).[296] On the northern side of the forum, opposite the twin temples, were the curia (15m x 11m) and other administrative buildings, built in *opus vittatum* and richly decorated with marble inside (Sisani, 2006:185).

The theatre and amphitheatre, on the east of the town, were carefully positioned in relation to each other and to the *cardo maximus,* although they were not aligned with the basilica which stood between them and the *cardo maximus*. Unusually, the amphitheatre was closer to the centre of the town than the theatre; this may be because the amphitheatre made use of an existing doline so as to minimise the extent of soil removal required (Bonini et al., 2003:700). Bruschetti (1995:45) assessed that they both dated to the first half of the first century AD, while Sisani considered that the amphitheatre was somewhat later. The capacity of both theatre and amphitheatre was greater than would be required for the population of the town itself.

[296] A similar pair of temples is known at Augusta Praetoria, see Appendix C.

The baths are situated near the southern entrance to the town. They were first excavated in the 1950s and are currently being re-examined by a team from Valdosta University. The excavation aims to determine the history and development of the baths from their earliest phase, which, if contemporary with the founding of the town around 220BC, may be among the oldest known Roman baths (Whitehead, 2014). The team are also investigating the possibility that the baths were a place of healing: the position of the baths near the edge of the town may indicate that this may have been some sort of "quarantine" area, intended to serve travellers in search of a cure or soldiers resting from campaigns (Whitehead, 2009). The healing property of the spring waters is also connected to pre-Roman sanctuaries at Monte Torre Maggiore and Sant'Erasmo in the hills above Carsulae (Whitehead, 2010). Aringoli et al. (2009:10) concurred that the springs may have brought people to the area for treatments since the waters have long been known for their chemical and therapeutic qualities. The location of the ancient spring has not been found, however, and no contemporary source mentions the waters or Carsulae as a place of cure.

I.3 How did Carsulae mark its boundaries?

The Arco di San Damiano, discussed below, was a monumental gateway which marked the urban perimeter of the town at its northern edge. There may have been a matching gateway at the southern entrance. It is generally thought that, as at Augusta Bagiennorum, Roman Carsulae never had or intended to complete a walled circuit (see, for example, Ciotti, 1976). I consider below whether there is plausible evidence for some form of boundary marker, perhaps a ditch or *agger*, and possibly a wall along at least part of the perimeter during some period of the town's existence.

I.3.1 Arco di San Damiano

The Arco di San Damiano stood at the northern entrance to the town some 200m beyond the urban centre, where the Via Flaminia exits the town and descends steeply (Figures 221 and 222). It was originally a triple-arched gateway[297] although only the larger central arch has survived, some 9.2m high, 5m wide and 4.5m deep (De Maria, 1988:237-238). Some of the foundations for one of the side arches are extant and other elements such as voussoirs and cornices were found nearby. The arch was carefully constructed from large blocks of travertine in *opus quadratum*. The fittings onto which a marble decorative cladding and perhaps bronzework may have been fixed are still visible. Morigi (1997:67-70) noted that there may have been semicolumns on the arch and there are decorative lesenes which provided interest and detail. It is not known what the attic consisted of and no inscription has survived (although Morigi thought it very likely that there was one).

[297] Lugli (1957:350) incorrectly described the Arco di San Damiano as a single-arched gateway.

Figure 221: arch from inside the town

Figure 222: uphill approach to arch from outside the town Monumental tombs to the right.

The Arco di San Damiano has been described as a "triumphal" arch (AAVV, 2013:126). Its purpose appears to be symbolic rather than functional: there is no evidence that the archway could be closed, and no evidence that it had an associated courtyard. Its architectural style, construction technique and association with the Via Flaminia make an Augustan date widely accepted (see, for example, Ciotti, 1976:31, De Maria, 1988:238). Bruschetti challenged the idea that the archway was an honorary one dedicated to Augustus not least because it has no sculptural decoration (1995:50), although the arch's current state of preservation makes this difficult to assess. It is probably best understood as a monumental structure linked with Augustus' reconstruction of the Via Flaminia and the redevelopment of Carsulae's urban centre (Sisani, 2006:184).

The arch is closely associated with a number of monumental tombs which cluster round the Via Flaminia as it enters the town through the gateway (Figures 223 and 224). At least two of these tombs were very substantial and would have significantly impacted on the line of sight of travellers approaching the town. Morigi estimated that one of these tombs, shaped like a drum but on a rectangular base with sides some 7.7m in length, may have been 11-13m high (1997:70). It had an elaborate corniced top and may have been dedicated to the gens Furia, one of the most important families in Carsulae.[298] A second tomb, a cylindrical tower some 10m high on a rectangular base, had unusual skylights and a Doric frieze. Its metope and triglyph decoration led Bruschetti to date it to the Augustan period (1995:62) while Sisani attributed the other monumental tomb also to the Augustan period (2006:183). The base of a further monumental tomb nearby has recently been identified (Bruschetti et al., 2013); given the size of the base (8m x 12m) and the solidity of the foundations, the excavators deduced that a large *opus quadratum* structure originally stood on top.

[298] CIL 11, 04572

Figure 223: monumental tomb outside arch

Figure 224: circular drum tomb outside arch on Via Flaminia

The Arco di San Damiano may match a now lost gate at the southern entrance to the town (Becatti, 1938). Sisani (2006:184) reported comments that at the beginning of the 1900s there were traces of a southern gateway still visible about 150m south of the church of San Damiano, but extensive excavations on site undertaken by Ciotti did not find any evidence for it (1976:31).

I.3.2 Evidence for polygonal walling

Two separate investigations in recent years in different parts of the site have uncovered traces of what may be early polygonal walling at Carsulae. The Valdosta University excavations of the baths to the south of the town exposed an impressive section of a previously unknown polygonal wall, which was explored in greater detail in 2008 (Hallinan, 2009). It was built from large semi-polygonal limestone boulders in uneven courses and was found in association with massive stones and a stairway of five marble steps which may lead up to the Via Flaminia. Whitehead noted that the polygonal wall is exactly aligned with the walls of the baths 50m to the west, which may indicate that the two structures had some connection even though the baths are later in date (Whitehead, 2009). The wall also led directly to the cistern which served the baths in the imperial period. The material finds suggested to the excavators that there may have been a pre-Roman presence here. Hallinan reported that similarly constructed walls are common in the vicinity of Carsulae, for example at Spoletium and Amelia. They cannot be dated precisely but are usually considered to be pre-Roman or Umbrian, dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC.

Along the western perimeter of the urban footprint, Ciuchini explored the remnants of a possible wall, although without undertaking a formal excavation. Insofar as the dense vegetation in the area permitted, he found big heaps of unworked stone among which were some semi-worked travertine blocks and others of considerable size, and above and around them fragments of tiles, dolia and amphora. Ciuchini interpreted this as a defensive *agger*, some 2m high (2004). Given the nature of the evidence, Ciuchini saw parallels with the walls around Umbrian hilltop settlements such as that on Monte Martani nearby, which are generally considered to be Iron Age or early republican in

date. If correct, this walling would predate the opening of the Via Flaminia and provide evidence of pre-Roman occupation at Carsulae.

Ciuchini also observed an anomaly to the south of the site on an aerial photograph taken between 1944 and 1951, which he thought might be a continuation of the *agger*. Thick undergrowth meant that he was unable to verify his interpretation on the ground. It may be significant, however, that the line of this feature is not far from the line of the polygonal walling near the baths excavated by the team from Valdosta University, although in her preliminary report on that excavation Hallinan did not make the connection (2008).

To the northwest of the site, Fontaine (1990:356) had noted stretches of drystone walling made from large stones. This was explored in greater detail by Ciuchini following an examination of aerial photographs (2004). He noted that it extended for about 200m and was visible on the ground at some points, consisting of a mound of earth and unworked stones to a height of about 1.5m. The material is well within the urban footprint of Carsulae, however, as has been confirmed by recent discoveries of republican and imperial structures beyond it (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria, 2014). Early polygonal defensive walling which later became redundant is one possible explanation, but Ciuchini also noted that terracing work (given the steepness of the site at this point) or ground clearance in the post-antique period are alternative possibilities.

Figure 225: recent aerial view of Carsulae

I.3.3 Was there a complete circuit of walls in the Roman period?

Although the evidence that there was an Umbrian or early republican settlement at Carsulae defended at least in part by an *agger* and polygonal walling has yet to be shown to be conclusive, the separate lines of enquiry both on the ground and from aerial photography have raised important questions. Less convincing, to my mind, is the argument that the Roman settlement of Carsulae was enclosed by a walled circuit. Ciotti, who excavated the site between 1951 and 1972, was confident that Carsulae had no walls (1976:14) and this view has generally been shared by other commentators (see, for example, Bruschetti, 1995:29, Morigi, 1997:97). The various features are shown on the aerial image at Figure 225 above.

Fontaine (1990:356), however, noted that it might be premature to conclude that there were no walls, given that the cadastral map of 1948 and aerial photographs from around that time showed a clear demarcation of the site (still visible from the air today, as shown above). Ciuchini looked in greater detail at the evidence from aerial photographs but his conclusions on the possibility of a Roman wall are less convincing than his discussions of a putative Umbrian *agger* or early polygonal walling (2004). For example, Ciuchini observed a crop mark in a field to the east of the urban area, but acknowledged that this is as likely to relate to a road or building as to part of a Roman walled circuit. He also noted a curvilinear feature to the south and east of the site, but accepted that this may be a natural feature marking the edge of the dolium on which the amphitheatre was built or the scarp of the plateau.

More interesting, in my view, was Ciuchini's consideration of a line visible in relief from aerial photographs as an anomaly on both sides of the Arco di San Damiano at the north of the site. Ciuchini argued that this represented a continuation in the form of a walled circuit of the early *agger* which he identified on the western perimeter, although again his investigations on the ground were hampered by dense vegetation. He believed that the possible walling may have been in use in the Roman period because of its relationship to the archway. I am not convinced that this is a Roman wall, however. First, the two stretches of possible walling on either side of the Arco di San Damiano would seem to imply a northern boundary which included the Augustan funerary monuments by the archway within the intramural area, and this would be impossible. Secondly, the plateau falls steeply away at this point and the features visible from the air may simply mark the edge of the scarp. Finally, the existence of a Roman defensive wall here could only be conclusively proven by excavation. The Soprintendenza is indeed currently excavating in this area: at the start of the first season in 2012, the project directors made specific reference to the lack of knowledge about a walled circuit and two of the trenches were planned at points where they might be expected to intercept a walled circuit, if it existed (Gasperini and Donnini, 2012).

This excavation, which is ongoing with the participation of Macquarie University, has already yielded some surprising results (Bruschetti et al., 2013, Mancosu, 2014), but no traces of a

defensive wall. A walled structure turned out on investigation to be an underground cistern. The team also uncovered a hitherto unknown stretch of paved road, which may date back to the second or first century BC (a republican coin was found among the paving stones). It ran along the northern scarp of the site from the Via Flaminia and, I conjecture, might possibly have functioned as a boundary road. Adjacent to the road were structures which probably dated to the imperial period after the road had gone out of use. The excavators are currently exploring a series of walled structures near the Via Flaminia which had painted walls and floors in *opus spicatum*; owing to their orientation in relation to the Via Flaminia they may be shops and businesses dating from the Augustan period (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria, 2014). Although it is too early to draw conclusions from this work, it is important not least because it shows that the town spread across the urban area, with commercial and other activity well beyond the monumental centre taking place in the pre-Augustan period and continuing, with significant redevelopment, into the Augustan period and beyond.

The case for a walled circuit enclosing the Augustan town has yet, then, to be made. An alternative explanation for the anomalies visible from the air, discussed by, among others by Fontaine (1990:353-356) and Bonetto (1998:117), is that Carsulae's perimeter was marked by a boundary ditch which has left no trace in the archaeological record but might account for anomalies visible from the air. This would symbolise a ritual more than a literal demarcator of urban space. The reason for the absence of continuous walls may be as mundane as insufficient resources to undertake the work. For the Augustan period at least, when the redevelopment of the Carsulae took place, the lack of walls may also have something to do with the town's status as a *municipium* (see Chapter 4.4). We do not know if the Arco di San Damiano, which shares many of the attributes of an honorary arch, had an honorific purpose, but in our current state of knowledge it is best interpreted as a free-standing liminal structure providing a monumental and symbolic passage into the town, without an associated defensive wall.

Appendix J Catalogue of inscriptions

Appendix J: Catalogue of inscriptions

This appendix lists inscriptions relating to city walls and their contiguous gateways dating from the republican and early imperial periods (to AD100). Because of the fragmentary survival of many inscriptions, the decision of whether or not to include an inscription in this main dataset is ultimately a question of judgement. This list includes only those inscriptions where I have reasonable confidence that they are relevant to city walls (and their gates and towers); I have noted in the "comments" column particularly contentious issues. The key secondary sources referred to are listed at the end of Appendix L (concordance).

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Ad Tricesimum X	CIL 01, 02648 ILLRP 00539	1	end C2BC-mid C1BC	Bonetto and Villa (2003) argue that the inscription relates to the city walls of Forum Iulii, not to Ad Tricesimum (where it was found).	Ti(berius) Carminius Ti(beri) f(ilius) / P(ublius) Annius M(ani) f(ilius) pr(aefecti) / P(ublius) Annius Q(uinti) f(ilius) q(uaestores) / Sex(tus) Terentius C(ai) f(ilius) / portas muros / ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) locavere / eidemq(ue) probave(re)
Aeclanum II	CIL 01, 01722 = CIL 09, 01140 ILLRP 00523	2	c85BC (Jouffroy) 1st half C1BC (Panciera)		C(aius) Quinctius C(ai) f(ilius) Valg(us) patron(us) munic(ipii) / M(arcus) Magi(us) Min(ati) f(ilius) Surus A(ulus) Patlacius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / IIIIvir(i) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) portas turreis moiros / turreisque aequas qum moiro / faciundum coiraverunt

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Aeclanum II	CIL 01, 01723 = CIL 09, 01141	2a	c85BC	Identical to CIL 01, 01722.	[C(aius) Quinctius C(ai) f(ilius)] Valg(us) [patron(us) munic(ipii)] / [A(ulus) Patlaciu]s [Q(uinti) f(ilius) M(arcus) Magi(us) Min(ati) f(ilius) Surus] / [IIIIvir(i) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) portas turreis moiros] / [turreisque aequa]s q[um moiro] / [fa]ciun[dum] coirav[erunt]
Aeclanum II	AE 1997, 0039; AE 2001, +0859	3	C1AD (AE 1997)	First use of word *hemiturris* according to AE.	[3 Mi]ndius(?) M(arci) f(ilius) / [3] Gal(eria) Marcell(us) / [3]M turrim hemitur(rim) / s(enatus) c(onsulto) r(eficiendum?) c(uravit)
Aletrium I	CIL 01, 01530 = CIL 10, 05806	4	89-80BC		P(ublius) Betilienus M(arci) f(ilius) Hap(alus) / IIIIvir d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) murum / f(aciendum) c(uravit)
Aquileia X	CIL 01, 02198 = CIL 05, 08288 ILLRP 00538	5	mid C1BC		M(arcus) Annaus / Q(uinti) f(ilius) IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) / quinq(uennalis) portam / refic(iundam) locavit / ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) eidemq(ue) / probavit

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Ariminum VIII	CIL 01, 02129a = CIL 11, 00400 ILLRP 00545	6	C1BC		C(aius) Obulcius C(ai) f(ilius) / M(arcus) Octavius M(arci) [f(ilius)] duovir(i) / hoc opus fac(iundum) / quraverunt
Ariminum VIII	CIL 01, 02129b = CIL 11, 00401	6a	C1BC	Same as CIL 01, 02129a.	M(arcus) Octavi(us) M(arci) f(ilius) / C(aius) Obulcius C(ai) f(ilius) / duovir(i) / hoc opus faciund<um=O> / curarunt
Ariminum VIII	CIL 01, 03393 = CIL 11, 00402	7	C1BC early C1BC (Buonocore)	Ward-Perkins (1984:10) relates to city walls.	M(arcus) Liburnius L(uci) f(ilius) [3] / M(arcus) Vettius T(iti) f(ilius) [3] / ex d(ecurionum) c(onsensu) murum pub[licum] / fac(iendum) cur(averunt)
Ariminum VIII	CIL 11, 00365 ILS 84	8	27BC	Arch of Augustus, incorporated into city walls but honorific, also served as city gate and end point of Via Flaminia.	Senatus Populusq[ue Romanus] / [Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Augusto imp(eratori) sept(imo) 3] / co(n)s(uli) sept(imo) designat(o) octavo[m] v[ia Flamin]ia [et reliquei]s / celeberrimeis Italiae vieis consilio [et sumptib]us [eius mu]niteis

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Arpinum I	CIL 01, 01539 = CIL 10, 05682	9	End C4-early C3BC? C2-C1 BC (Panciera)	Panciera and Cébeillac-Gervasoni date to C2/C1BC.	Q(uintus) Gavius C(ai) [f(ilius) 3] / Cn(aeus) Longid[ius 3] / Cn(aeus) Tillius [3] / a<e=I>d(iles) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) in[3] / turrim mu[rum et pilas] / fulonicae [superioris(?)] / et inferior[is
Arpinum I	CIL 01, 01538 = CIL 10, 05680, 05683	10	End C4-early C3BC (C2BC – Panciera)		] M(arci) f(ilius) MANCIPN / F CNCHAERIIT / VS C(ai) f(ilius) SVCID / [m]urum / ped(es) CCCXXC / COE
Asisium VI	CIL 11, 05391	11	30-1BC (EDR)	Referenced by Jouffroy but Fontaine (1990:391) has doubts about relevance to city wall, particularly in view of non-monumental character of inscription. Inscription relates to rebuilding work and is now located in Bettona. Bispham (2007:493-494) confuses this inscription with CIL 11, 08021 (see ancillary list no ii).	T(itus) Allius C(ai) f(ilius) Cn(aeus) Fuficius / Cn(aei) f(ilius) Laevinus IIIIvir(i) i(ure) d(icundo) / [C(aius)] Allius C(ai) f(ilius) C(aius) Scaefius L(uci) f(ilius) / Umbo C(aius) Volcasius C(ai) f(ilius) Perti[ca] / Q(uintus) Attius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Capito L(ucius) Volcasiu[s] / C(ai) f(ilius) Scaeva Vvir(i) s(entatus) c(onsulto) [m]urum reficiundum / curarunt probaruntqu[e]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Asisium VI	CIL 11, 05392	11a	30-1BC (EDR)	Identical to CIL 11, 05391 except names are reversed. Found in central square of Asisium.	Cn(aeus) Fuficius Cn(aei) f(ilius) / Laevinus T(itus) Allius / C(ai) f(ilius) IIIIvir(i) i(ure) d(icundo) / C(aius) Allius C(ai) f(ilius) C(aius) Scaefius L(uci) f(ilius) / Umbo C(aius) Volcasius C(ai) f(ilius) Pertica / Q(uintus) Attius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Capito L(ucius) Volcasius / C(ai) f(ilius) Scaeva Vvir(i) s(enatus) c(onsulto) / murum reficiundum / curarunt probaruntque
Asisium VI	CIL 01, 02112 = CIL 11, 05390 ILLRP 50	12	Late republic (Fontaine, 1990:330 dates to c80BC)	Sciamanna (2008:31) argues that reference may be to a wall inside the city but Gabba thinks it relates to city walls.	Post(umus) Mimesius C(ai) f(ilius) T(itus) Mimesius Sert(oris) f(ilius) Ner(onianus) Capidas C(ai) f(ilius) Ruf(us) / Ner(onianus) Babrius T(iti) f(ilius) C(aius) Capidas T(iti) f(ilius) C(ai) n(epos) V(ibius) Voisienus T(iti) f(ilius) marones / murum ab fornice ad circum et fornicem cisternamq(ue) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) faciundum coiravere
Augusta Taurinorum XI	CIL 05, 07002	13	C1AD	Scuderi (2008) notes that inscription may relate to city wall or to adjacent building. Roda (1997:207) argues that it probably refers to city walls.	P(ublius) Fadienu[s 3] / quaesto[r 3] / [fla]men d[ivi // trib(unus) m]il(itum) [3] / prae[f(ectus) equi]tum al[ae 3] / in praesidium [c]oloniae [3] / solo pri[vat]o pecu[nia

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Bergomum XI	CIL 05, 08893 Suppl It 16, 1998	14	AD51-200 C1AD (Zaccaria, Jouffroy) Suppl It – 2nd half C1AD-C2AD	Private benefactor. Supp It (1998:340-1) argues that inscription may relate to east gate of city walls. Crispus' wife Sedata may have completed the work.	] P(ubli) f(ilius) Crispus p[ortas duas] / [3] inter eas [3] / [3] Sedata uxor [3] / [3] portarum duarum HS [(EDC) *Suppl Ital reading:] P(ubli) f(ilius) Crispus p[raef(ectus) ?-] [] inter eas [] Sedata uxor [] portarum duarum ((sestertii)) (EDR) P[raef(ectus) --- portas duas --] 2 INTER EAS [murum]*
Brixia X	CIL 05, 04131	15	Before 8BC (while still a municipium, see Bandelli, 1990:266)	The inscription was found reused in a building some 30km from Brixia. It is not included in Panciera's catalogue of republican inscriptions. Gregori (2008) thinks it could be late republic or early Augustan. He discusses implications for date of city walls and suggests that use of "ad augendas" indicates an addition to or reinforcement of existing defences.	C(aius) Mutius Sex(ti) f(ilius) / P(ublius) Popillius M(arci) f(ilius) / Q(uintus) Mucius P(ubli) f(ilius) / M(arcus) Cornelius P(ubli) f(ilius) / IIIIvir(i) turrem ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / ad augendas locaver(e) / idemque probavere
Brundisium II	CIL 09, 00052	16	Republican		[3] murum [3] / [a]edifica[vit? 3] / [3]ne perfe

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Buxentum III	AE 1981, 0268 (2)	17	20BC-AD20 (EDR)	AE - reading of "murum" and reference to city wall not certain – could be porticum or templum instead of murum.	[3 A]rrius C(ai) f(ilius) Se[r(gia) 3] / [II]vir iterum tri[b(unus) mil(itum)] / [mur]um(?) et forum [
Caiatia I	CIL 01, 01576 = CIL 10, 04587 ILLRP 559	18	Late rep (Cébeillac-Gervasoni) 80-60BC (EDR)	Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1991:191) relates to construction of city gate and notes that there were two copies of the same inscription. Bispham (2010) comments that inscription is no longer in situ so it is difficult to be sure of the nature of work undertaken.	M(arcus) Herennius M(arci) f(ilius) Gallus / Q(uintus) Veserius Q(uinti) f(ilius) duovir(i) / quinq(uennales) / d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) f(aciundum) c(uraverunt) eidemq(ue) prob(averunt) / arc(h)itectus Hospes Appiai ser(vus)
Caiatia I	CIL 01, 01576	18a	Late rep (Cébeillac-Gervasoni) 80-60BC (EDR)	Duplicate copy of inscription, now lost.	M(arcus) Herennius M(arci) f(ilius) Gallus / Q(uintus) Veserius Q(uinti) f(ilius) duovir(i) / quinq(uennales) / d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) f(aciundum) c(uraverunt) eidemq(ue) prob(averunt) / arc(h)itectus Hospes Appiai ser(vus)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Cannae (or Canusium) II	CIL 01, 03184a AE 1999, 0505	19	80-40BC 1st half C1BC (Panciera) Late republic (Buonocore, AE)		]ius L(uci) f(ilius) IIII/[vir qu]inq(uennalis) murum / [3] ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coer(avit)
Caudium II	CIL 01, 01744a = CIL 09, 02171 ILLRP 567a	20	2nd half C1BC		L(ucius) Scribonius L(uci) f(ilius) Lib(o) pater / L(ucius) Scribonius L(uci) f(ilius) Libo f(ilius) / patronei turreis ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / f(aciendas) c(uraverunt)
Caudium II	CIL 01, 01744b = CIL 09, 02172 ILLRP 567b	20a	2nd half C1BC	Same as CIL 01, 01744a.	[L(ucius) S]cribonius L(uci) f(ilius) Libo pater / [L(ucius) S]cribonius L(uci) f(ilius) Libo fil(ius) / [p]atronei turreis ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / f(aciendas) c(uraverunt)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Caudium II	CIL 01, 01744 = CIL 09, 02173 ILLRP 567	20b	2nd half C1BC	Gabba notes that there are three copies of the same inscription (CIL 09, 02171-3).	] / S[3] / L(ucius) Scrib[onius(?) 3] / patro[no(?)
Copia III	Published in Guzzo (1972:213)	21	Mid C1BC		[muro]s portas refecit [...]vit texitque
Cosilinum (or Tegianum?) III	CIL 01, 01686 = CIL 10, 00291 ILLRP 395	22	Mid C1BC		M(arcus) Minatius M(arci) filius Pom(ptina) / Sabinus turrem de / sua pequnia murum / de pequnia conlata / faciund(um) coeravit / idemque probavit
Croto (or Acerentia?) III	AE 1986, 0212	23	C1BC (Panciera) Late rep (Gasperini)	Gasperini (1986:162-165) argues that inscription relates to defensive wall (or part).	L(ucius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) L(ucius) Lurius L(uci) f(ilius) d(uum)vir(i) / murum fornicem area(m) / fecerunt

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Emona X	CIL 03, 10768	24	AD14-15	The inscription probably relates to the construction of the city walls (Šašel Kos, 2012) and may have been positioned on one of the city gates. It is possible that another fragmentary inscription (see ancillary list no xv) also refers to the city walls, perhaps originally placed above another of the city gates, but this is highly speculative (Mráv, 2001).	[Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius)] Augustu[s p(ontifex) m(aximus)]/[co(n)s(ul) XIII imp(erator) XXI trib(unicia) potest(ate)] XXXVII pate[r patriae]/[Ti(berius) Caesar divi Au]gusti f(ilius) Aug[ustus]/[p(ontifex) m(aximus) co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator)] VI trib(unicia) potest(ate)XV[I]/5 [murum turresq(ue)? d]ederunt
Fanum Fortunae VI	CIL 11, 06218 ILS 104	25	AD9-10		Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maximus co(n)s(ul) XIII tribunicia potest(ate) XXXII imp(erator) XXVI pater patriae murum dedit
Ferentinum I	CIL 01, 01522 = CIL 10, 05837 ILLRP 584	26	Early C1BC 2nd half C2BC (Panciera)	Ward-Perkins (1984:10): CIL 10, 05837-40 all relate to city walls. Panciera classifies as "civic buildings other".	A(ulus) Hirtius A(uli) f(ilius) M(arcus) Lollius C(ai) f(ilius) ce(n)sores fundamenta murosque af solo faciunda coerave(re) eidemque probavere in terram fundamentum est pedes altum XXXIII in terram ad / idem exemplum quod supra terram silici

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Ferentinum I	CIL 01, 01523 = CIL 10, 05838	26a	Early C1BC 2nd half C2BC (Panciera)	Same as CIL 10, 05837.	A(ulus) Hirtius A(uli) f(ilius) M(arcus) Lollius C(ai) f(ilius) ce(n)s(ores) fundamenta murosque af solo faciunda coeravere eidemque probavere / in terram fundamentum est pedes altum XXXIII in terram ad idem exemplum quod supra terra[m silici]
Ferentinum I	CIL 01, 01525 = CIL 10, 05839 ILLRP 586	27	Early C1BC 2nd half C2BC (Panciera)		M(arcus) Lollius C(ai) f(ilius) A(ulus) Hirtius A(uli) f(ilius) ce(n)s(ores) funda(menta) / faciunda coeraverunt eidemque probavere
Ferentinum I	CIL 01, 01524 = CIL 10, 05840 ILLRP 585	28	Early C1BC 2nd half C2BC (Panciera)	Similar to CIL 10, 05839 but not identical. Note *fornices.*	A(ulus) Hirtius A(uli) f(ilius) M(arcus) Lollius C(ai) f(ilius) ce(n)s(ores) fundamenta / fornices faciunda coeravere eidemque / probavere

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Formiae I	CIL 01, 01563 = CIL 10, 06105 ILLRP 595	29	C1BC late C2BC to early C1BC (Cébeillac-Gervasoni)	Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1990:714-716): a private benefaction (use of *dare*); "aediles" here are equivalent to *duoviri* in colonies, ie, not a junior magistracy.	L(ucius) Cemoleius L(uci) f(ilius) L(ucius) Statius L(uci) f(ilius) / Q(uintus) Paccius M(arci) f(ilius) aed(iles) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) / portas faciundas dederunt / eisdemque probaverunt
Formiae I	CIL 01, 01565 = CIL 10, 06108 ILLRP 596	30	C1BC late C2BC to early C1BC (Cébeillac-Gervasoni)		[T]i(berius) Messius Q(uinti) f(ilius) C(aius) Acilius M(arci) f(ilius) / [C]n(aeus) Mevius Cn(aei) f(ilius) a<e=I>d(iles) murum / et aream claudendam ex / sen(atus) sen(tentia) faciundum curavere / eisdemque probavere
Frigento II	CIL 01, 03191	31	1st half C1BC (Panciera)		C(aius) Quinctius C(ai) f(ilius) Valgus / L(ucius) Sepunius L(uci) f(ilius) quinq(ue)n(nales) / murum portas forum / porticus curia(m) cisterna(m) / d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) facie(nda) curar(unt) eid(emque) prob(arunt)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Fundi I	CIL 01, 01557a = CIL 10, 06233 ILLRP 601	32	C1BC late C2BC to early C1BC (Cébeillac-Gervasoni)	According to CIL, found on the outside of the city walls.	Q(uintus) Gavius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Nauta / M(arcus) Caius C(ai) f(ilius) / G(aius!) Braccius C(ai) f(ilius) / aed(iles) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) fac(iendum) coer(arunt) / eidemq(ue) probar(unt)
Fundi I	CIL 01, 01557b = CIL 10, 06234	32a	C1BC	According to CIL, found in same place as CIL 01, 01557a but cut on different stone and on the inside of city walls.	Q(uintus)] Gavius Q(uinti) [f(ilius)] / [M(arcus)] Caius C(ai) f(ilius) / C(aius) Braccius C(ai) f(ilius) / aed(iles) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) f[ac(iendum)] co[er(averunt)] / eidemq(ue) proba[v(erunt)]
Fundi I	CIL 01, 01557c = CIL 10, 06235	32b	C1BC	According to CIL, found in the same place as CIL 01, 01557a and b and on outside of city walls.	Q(uintus) Gavius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Naut(a) / M(arcus) Caius C(ai) f(ilius) / C(aius) Braccius C(ai) f(ilius) / [a]ed(iles) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)
Fundi I	CIL 01, 01558 = CIL 10, 06238 ILLRP 602	33	C1BC late C2BC to early C1BC (Cébeillac-Gervasoni)		M(arcus) Nellius M(arci) f(ilius) / A(ulus) Octavius C(ai) f(ilius) / L(ucius) Ursius A(uli) f(ilius) / a<e=I>d(iles) / murum portam turris / faciunda ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coe[r(averunt)] / eid(em)que probav(erunt)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Fundi I	CIL 01, 01559 = CIL 10, 06239 ILLRP 603	34	C1BC late C2BC to early C1BC (Cébeillac-Gervasoni)		L(ucius) Numistronius L(uci) f(ilius) Decian(us) / C(aius) Lucius M(arci) f(ilius) M(arcus) Runtius L(uci) f(ilius) Mess(ianus) / aed(iles) portas turreis murum / ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) faciund(a) coerarunt / eisdemq(ue) probarunt
Fundi I	CIL 01, 01560 = CIL 10, 06242 ILLRP 604	35	C1BC late C2BC to early C1BC (Cébeillac-Gervasoni)	Refers to city walls according to Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1991:191) and Panciera.	C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Triarius / M(arcus) Runtius L(uci) f(ilius) Messia(nus) iter(um) / C(aius) Afiedius C(ai) f(ilius) Sexsti(anus) aed(iles) / ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) f(aciendum) locaverunt / M(arcus) Runtius L(uci) f(ilius) Messianus / C(aius) Afiedius C(ai) f(ilius) Sexstianus / probaverunt
Grumentum III	CIL 01, 00758 = CIL 10, 00219 ILLRP 608	36	57BC	Soriano and Camerlengo (undated): construction of about 60m of wall.	C(aius) Bruttius C(ai) f(ilius) / Ser(gia) aed(ilis) pro q(uaestore) / mur(um) p(edes) CC de sua / pe<c=Q>(unia) faciundum / coer(avit) P(ublio) Cornel(io) / Q(uinto) Caecil(io) co(n)s(ulibus)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Grumentum III	CIL 01, 00770 = CIL 10, 00220 ILLRP 607	37	51BC	Soriano and Camerlengo (undated): construction of another stretch of about 360m.	[Se]x(tus) Q(uintus) Poppaedi[e]i Sex(ti) f(ilii) / [S]er(gia) C(aius) Aebutius C(ai) f(ilius) / [G]al(eria?) aediles moerum / [p]edes |(mille)CC de sua / [p]e<c=Q>unia faciundu[m] / [c]oeraver(unt) Ser(vio) Sulpici[o] / M(arco) Marcello co(n)s(ulibus)
Grumentum III	AE 2002, 0377; AE 2006, +0356	38	56BC (AE)		] / [t]urrem [de sua] / pe<c=Q>(unia) fac[iendam coer(avit)] / Cn(aeo) Corn(elio) L(ucio) [Mar(cio) co(n)s(ulibus)]
Herculaneum I	CIL 10, 01425 ILS 5527	39	Augustan (20sBC – Cooley)	Private benefactor (not acting in his capacity as local magistrate, although he was patron of the city). See Cooley (2012:42).	M(arcus) Nonius M(arci) f(ilius) Balbus proco(n)s(ul) / basilicam portas murum pecunia sua
Herdoniae II	CIL 01, 03187	40	End C2 to early C1BC	Silvestrini (1994:68-69) notes that inscription is located above NE gate in city wall. Assumes that reference is to person responsible for seeing to construction of city wall.	N(umerius) Statius

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Interamnia Praetuttiorum V	CIL 01, 03296	41	70-31BC	Reference to city wall not certain. Buonocore (2004): may relate to perimeter wall of forum with restoration of "altum p" after CC. But see his alternative restoration suggesting relevance to city walls.	--u]s P(ubli) f(ilius) du[ovir?] [mur]um p(edes) CC[--] [faciundu]m locav[it?] *Buonocuore (2004) proposes: [---]s P(ubli) f(ilius) du[oviris / [portas turres mur]um p(edes) CC / [ex sen(atus) co(n)s(ulto) faciundu]m locav[ere]*
Laus Pompeia XI	CIL 05, 06358	42	AD14-23		Ti(berius) Caesar Aug(usti) f(ilius) / Augustus / Drusus Caesar Aug(usti) f(ilius) / portam f(aciendum) c(uravit)
Lucera II	CIL 01, 01710 = CIL 09, 00800 ILLRP 623	43	C3-C2 BC?		[[3]us N(umeri) f(ilius) / [3]vius L(uci) f(ilius) / [3]us C(ai) f(ilius) / [prai]fectei / [turreis] portas / [moiro]sque / [fecerun]t af [solo eisdemque probarunt]
Ostia I	CIL 14, 04707	44	63-58BC	At the Porta Romana. AE (2008:278) points out that there are two identical inscriptions.	Se[nat]us po[pu]lusq[ue R]o[manus] / c[olonia]e [O]sti[ensi]u[m mu]ro[s et port]as dedi[t] / M(arcus) [Tulliu]s C[icer]o c[o(n)s(ul) fecit loca]vitqu[e] / P(ublius) Cl[o]d[ius] Pul[cher tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) co]nsumm[avit pro]ba[vit] //

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Ostia I	CIL 14, 04707	44a	63-58BC	At the Porta Romana. AE (2008:278) points out that there are two identical inscriptions.	[Se]n[at]u[s p]opulu[sque R]o[manus] / co[lon]ia[e O[stie]nsium m[u]ro[s et portas dedit] / M(arcus) [Tull]iu[s] Ci[ce]ro c[o(n)s(ul)] fec[it locavit]q[ue] / [P(ublius) Clo]dius P[u]lcher tr(ibunus) p[l(ebis) consu]mmav[it et prob]av[it] / [portam vetus]tate [c]orrupta[m Ostienses omni deco]re a [solo fece]r[unt]
Parma VIII	CIL 11, 01062 Suppl Ital 11 (1993: 129) Suppl Ital 22 (2004: 256)	45	27BC-AD14 Suppl Ital – C1AD	Bertini (2008, 1986) is confident that the inscription relates to the city gate. Suppl It associates with city gate, dedicated to Augustus while still alive or to a Julio-Claudian emperor. Gros (1996:61) interprets as the refashioning of city gate into an honorary arch, financed by a priest of the imperial cult. EDC reconstruction reduces relevance to city walls.	EDR: [Nu]mini August[i] / [Q(uintus)?] Munatius Apsyrtu[s] / [VI]vir et Augustali[s] / [via]m lapide turbinat[o] / [e f]oro ad portam / [st]ravit crepidine / castella posuit port[am] / [m]armoribus statu[eis] / [fist]uleis et salientibus / ornavit d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) *EDC: fla]/mini August[i 3] / [Q(uintus?)] Munatius Apsyrttu[s] / [VI]vir et Augustali[s] / [via]m lapide turbinat[o] / [a f]oro ad portam / [m]armoribus statu[eis(!)] / [fist]uleis(!) et salientibus / ornavit d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua)*

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Perusia VII	CIL 11, 01930	46	Augustan. See Direzione Generale per le Antichità (2013)	On main gate in city walls (Arco di Augusto). "Augusta Perusia" is late C1BC inscription and commemorates city's reconciliation with Octavian. "Colonia Vibia" is C3AD addition and commemorates award of honorary colonial status.	Colonia Vibia / Augusta Perusia
Perusia VII	CIL 11, 01929	46a	Augustan	On Porta Marzia. Has identical inscriptions to Arco di Augusto. See Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria (2006).	Colonia Vibia / Augusta Perusia
Pinna Vestina IV	CIL 09, 03354	47	C1 or C2AD (Dupraz, 2010:175)	Cost 4,936HS. Referenced in Duncan-Jones (1982).	Q(uintus) Pulfennius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Mevi[3] / C(aius) Curius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Brocch[us] / IIIIvir(i) /turrim ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) refici[end(am)] curarunt probaru[nt] / constat populo [iis]/(mille)|(mille)|(mille)|(mille)DCCCCXXXVI[
Pisaurum VI	AE 1982, 0263 (2)	48	29BC-AD30 End republic (AE)	Reading of "murum" and reference to city wall not certain.	[---] L(uci) f(ilius) Curv[us q(uaestor) murum] / [ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) reficiend(um)] locavi[t idemq(ue) probavit]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Placentia VIII	CIL 11, 01226	49	60sAD	Guarnieri (2000:118) dates to campaigns of Otto and Vitellius. See Tacitus *Annales* XV, 47.	L(ucius) Iulius [Pro]culus / [II]vir i(ure) d(icundo) / vallum [et] turrim / facie[nda p]ortam / [r]efic[i]e[ndam curavit] (May read Poculus rather than Proculus)
Pola X	CIL 05, 00050 Inscr Ital X 1, 72	50	Augustan (Woodhull, 2004) or early Tiberian (Letzner, 2005:25-32)	"Arch of the Sergii". Hemelrijk (2013c:148): honorary arch incorporated into southeast gate in city walls.	L(ucius) Sergius C(ai) f(ilius) / aed(ilis) IIvir // Salvia Postuma Sergi // L(ucius) Sergius L(uci) f(ilius) / Lepidus aed(ilis) / tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXIX // Cn(aeus) Sergius C(ai) f(ilius) / aed(ilis) IIvir quinq(uennalis) // Salvia Postuma Sergi de sua pecunia
Pola X	CIL 05, 00054 Insc Ital X 1, 81	51	2nd half C1BC	On the Hercules Gate.	L(ucius) Cassius C(ai) f(ilius) Longin(us) / L(ucius) Calpurnius L(uci) f(ilius) Piso / IIvir(i) quinq(uennales)
Pola X	Inscr Ital X 1, 138	52	C1BC-C1AD	Very lacunaic. May not refer to gate. Referenced in Zaccaria (1990:140).	[portam? —]anam [---/---su] a pecu[nia — / —] /f(aciendam) c(uravit)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Pompeii I	CIL 01, 01629 = CIL 10, 00937	53	Buonocore (2004:309) dates to Sullan colony	ILS – not found in situ but in private house.	Cuspius T(iti) f(ilius) M(arcus) Loreiu[s] M(arci) f(ilius) / duovir(i) [d(e)] d(ecurionum) s(ententia) murum [e]t / plumam fac(iundum) coer(averunt) eidemq(ue) pro(baverunt)
Ravenna VIII	CIL 11, 00005	54	AD43	On the Porta Aurea.	Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Cae/sar Aug(ustus) Germanicus / pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) II / co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) III imp(erator) III p(ater) p(atriae) / dedit
Rubi II	CIL 01, 03176 AE 1973, 0220	55	70-30BC	Buonocore (2004) dates to immediately after Social War.	[A(ulus) Alsin]aeus C(ai) f(ilius) Cla(udia) pater / [3]atius M(arci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Rufu(s) / [IIIIvir(i) q]uinq(uennales) muru(m) et turri(s) / [ex] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) f(aciunda) l(ocarunt) / [3] f(ilius) A(ulus) Alsinaeus A(uli) f(ilius) / [IIIIvir(i) q(uin)q(uennales?) ex] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) proba(runt)
Saepinum IV	CIL 09, 02443 ILS 147	56	2BC-AD4	On all four gates (copy on Porta Boiano is only one extant and has been restored).	Ti(berius) Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Nero pont(ifex) cos(ul) [II imp(erator) I]I trib(unicia) po(testate) V Nero Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Drusus Germ(anicus) augur c[os(ul)] imp(erator) [II] murum portas turris [d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)] f(aciundum) c[(uraverunt

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Saepinum IV		56a-c	2BC-AD4	Originally on Porta Terravecchia, Porta Tammaro, Porta Benevento. Only fragments remain, not in situ.	Identical to CIL 09, 02443.
Sarsina VI	CIL 01, 02124 = CIL 11, 06509 ILLRP 660	57	65-45BC		] M(arcus) Caesellius / [3 f(ilius) IIIIvir(i) quinq(uennales) de] s(enatus) s(ententia) faciund(um) coir(averunt) / [murum] longum p(edes) |(mille) / [3]eri f(ilius) architectus
Sarsina VI	CIL 11, 06510	58	Triumviral? (Bispham, 2007:502)		[3] C(ai) f(ilius) Labeo / [3] C(ai) f(ilius) Libo / [IIIIvir(i) qui]nq(uennales) murum / [3 val]vas(?) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia)
Sarsina VI	ILLRP 661	59	65-45BC		]la IIIIvir(i) i(ure) [d(icundo)] / [p]orta[m] et turr[es] / [3 ad por]tam p(edes) DCCXXXX[3] / [3 e]x d(ecreto) c(onscriptorum) f(aciendum) coir(averunt)
Sentinum VI	CIL 11, 05764 AE 2006, 0427	60	90-40BC (AE 80-50BC)	AE – may have been placed above gates.	[Posi]denius P[---]ens qu[---]/[---]eintis loco [o]pservan[dus]/[--- m]urum faciun[d]um co[iraverunt ---]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Sipontum II	AE 1974, 0285 Suppl Ital 24, 2009: 34-5	61	40-20BC Early Augustan (Mazzei and Grelle, 1992)	Refers to restoration work. Not in Panciera. Mazzei and Grelle (1992:34) confidently date to the early Augustan period in association with new build in city centre.	[... turres portas ? labef]actas bello [... *EDR reading: [- - - portas vel turres labe]factas bello* *EDC reading: portas(?) labe]factas bello*
Spoletium VI	CIL 11, 04809	62	80-60BC EDR – 63-1BC	Thomas and Witschel (1992:163) note that only upper part of walls restored now, lower parts date to C3BC. Found on city wall.	P(ublius) Marcius P(ubli) f(ilius) Hister C(aius) Maenius C(ai) f(ilius) Rufus IIIIvir(i) i(ure) d(icundo) s(enatus) c(onsulto) fac(iendum) cur(averunt) probaveruntq(ue)
Teanum Apulum II	CIL 01, 03188a AE 1976, 0146	63	Mid C1BC/late rep	Grelle (1992:171) considers that this is contemporary with inscription from Vibinum.	P(ublius) Tarsaeus P(ubli) f(ilius) aed(ilis) turrim de sua peq(unia) f(aciendum) c(uravit) eid(emque) pro(bavit) const(at) HS (quindecim milibus)
Telesia IV	CIL 01, 01747 = CIL 09, 02235 ILLRP 675	64	early C1BC		L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) f(ilius) C(aius) Manlius C(ai) f(ilius) / pr(aetores) duovir(i) pro ludeis turris duas / d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciundas coerarunt

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Telesia IV	CIL 01, 03200 = CIL 09, 02230	65	early C1BC		M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) f(ilius) Qua[3] / turreis duas pro I[
Telesia IV	CIL 01, 03200a AE 1975, 0198	66	early C1BC	See Cavuoto (1975:217-223).	L(ucius) Minucius T(iti) f(ilius) Cato L(ucius) Statorius L(uci) f(ilius) / Balbus pr(aetores) duovir(i) turres quinq(ue) / d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciundas coeraverunt
Telesia IV	CIL 01, 03200b = CIL 09, 02233	67	early C1BC		Minuci[3] / Balbus [pr(aetor)] d[uovir 3] / d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) fa[ci]u[ndum coeraver(unt)] / eidemque [probaverunt
Telesia IV	CIL 01, 03200c AE 1975, 0199	68	early C1BC	See Cavuoto (1975:217-223).	[3] C(ai) f(ilius) L(ucius) Orfius [3] / [pr(aetores) duoviri q]uinque turres / [d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciundas coer]arunt idemq(ue) pr[obarunt]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Tergeste X	CIL 05, 00525 ILS 77 Inscr It X 4, 20	69	33BC	Two identical but separate inscriptions.	[Imp(erator) Caesar] co(n)s(ul) design(atus) tert(ium) / [IIIvir r(ei) p(ublicae)] c(onstituendae) iter(um) / murum turresque fecit
Tergeste X	Inscr It X 4, 21	69a	33BC	Two identical but separate inscriptions.	Imp(erator) Caesar co(n)s(ul) designatus / tert(ium) IIIvir r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae) iterum / murum turresque fecit
Terracina I	CIL 01, 01554 = CIL 10, 06327	70	C1BC	According to Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1991:191), inscription relates to city gates.	Q(uintus) Aufidius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Q(uintus) Magulnius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) faciun(dum) coer(averunt)
Tibur I	CIL 01, 01491 = CIL 14, 03655	71	Pre-Social War (Buonocore)	Referenced in Buonocore (2004) but relevance to city walls not certain.	C(aius) Caesilius C(ai) f(ilius) / C(aius) Heiulius T(iti) f(ilius) q(uaestores) / moir(os) coi(raverunt) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Ticinum XI	CIL 05, 06416	72	AD8	Gabba (1984:229) interprets inscription as recording the gratitude of local community to the emperor for building the city walls, although Zaccaria (1990:135) notes that it is not possible to tell from inscription whether or not the initiative and financing should be attributed to the emperor or local community. The only source for the inscription is a ninth century manuscript (Rose 1990).	Neroni Iulio / Germanici [f(ilio)] / Aug(usti) pronepot(i) / Caesari // [Druso Iulio Ti(beri) f(ilio)] / Augusti nepoti / divi pronepoti Caesari / pontifici // Germanico / Iulio [Ti(beri)] f(ilio) / Augusti nepoti / divi pronepoti Caesari // Ti(berio) Caesari / Augusti f(ilio) / divi nepot(i) pont(ifici) / augurique / co(n)s(uli) [i]ter(um) imp(eratori) ter(tium) tribuniciae pot(estatis) VIII[I] // Imp(eratori) Caesari / divi f(ilio) Augusto pontific(i) maximo / patri patriae aug(uri) XVvir(o) s(acris) f(aciundis) VIIvir(o) epu(lonum) / co(n)s(uli) XIII imp(eratori) XVII tribunic(ia) potest(ate) // Liviae / Drusi f(iliae) / [ux]ori Caesaris Aug(usti) // [C(aio)] Caesari / Augusti f(ilio) / divi nepot(i) / pontific(i) co(n)s(uli) / imperatori // [L(ucio)] Caesari / Augusti f(ilio) / divi nepot(i) / auguri co(n)s(uli) design(ato) / principi iuventutis // Druso Iulio / Germanici f(ilio) / Aug(usti) pronepot(i) / Germanico // Ti(berio) Claudio / Drusi Germanici f(ilio) / Neroni Germanico
Tridentum X	CIL 05, 05027	73	23BC	According to Bassi (2007:58), may relate to construction of walls.	Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) / Augustus co(n)s(ul) XI trib(unicia) / potestate dedit / M(arcus) Appuleius Sex(ti) f(ilius) leg(atus) / iussu eius fac(iendum) curavit
Venafrum I	CIL 10, 04876 ILS 2227	74	Augustan (EDR 30-20BC)	See Capini (1999:66-67)	C(aius) Aclutius L(uci) f(ilius) Ter(etina) Gallus / duovir urbis moeniundae bis / praefectus iure deicundo bis / duovir iure deicundo tr(ibunus) mil(itum) / legionis [pr]imae tr(ibunus) militum / legionis secundae Sabinae

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Venusia II	CIL 09, 00446	75	3rd quarter C1BC (Panciera)		[3 No]nius P(ubli) f(ilius) L(ucius) Glitiu[s] / [IIvi]r(i) d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) murum / r(eficiendum) c(uraverunt)
Verona X	CIL 05, 03400	76	Claudian	Above Porta Leoni. Relates to new façade for city gate.	Ti(berius) Flavius P(ubli) f(ilius) Noricus IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)
Verona X	CIL 01, 03404 = CIL 05, 03434 AE 1987, 0450	77	Late republic (EDR 59-49BC)	On Porta Leoni. Supplanted by inscription of Claudian date on new façade.	P(ublius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) [3] / Q(uintus) Caecilius Q(uinti) [f(ilius) 3] / Q(uintus) Servilius Q(uinti) [f(ilius) 3] / P(ublius) Cornelius P(ubli) f(ilius) [3] / IIIIvir(i) murum porta[m turreis] / cloacas d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciu[ndum coer(averunt)] / P(ublius) Valerius C(ai) [f(ilius) 3] / Q(uintus) Caecilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) [3 probav(erunt)]
Vibinum II	AE 1992 0308 (3)	78	C1BC	Original provenance not known.	[] Gal(eria) IIvir [] ((sestertis)) [] [tur]rim f(aciundam) coe[ravit] *AE 1992 possible restoration "murum et turrim"*
Vibo Valentia III	CIL 01, 03166 = CIL 10, 00044	79	c48BC (2nd half C1BC – Panciera)		Classicus IIIIv[ir(i) iur(e) dic(undo)] / [L(ucio) L]icinio L(uci) f(ilio) Crasso P(ublio) Al[3] / [P]ollione Q(uinto) Q(uinto) Anicio L(uci) f(ilio) [3] / [3] Decidio C(ai) f(ilio) Rufo C(aio) M[3] / [3] C(aio) Egnatio C(ai) f(ilio) Rufo C(aio) M[3] / [3] murum reficiundum e[

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment	Text
Vibo Valentia III	CIL 01, 03166a AE 1973, 0225	80	c48BC (2nd half C1BC – Panceira)		L(ucio) Numisio C(ai) f(ilio) Lu[---] / C(aio) Musano C(ai) f(ilio) Cla[ssico] / IIIIvir(is) iur(e) dic(undo) / L(ucio) Licinio L(uci) f(ilio) Crasso P(ublio) All[---] / Pollione Q(uinto) Anicio L(uci) f(ilio) [---] / ostia in portas faciend[a] muros reficiend(os) locaru(nt)

Appendix K Ancillary list of inscriptions

Appendix K: Ancillary list of inscriptions

This ancillary list of inscriptions contains those inscriptions relating to city walls, towers and gateways where I am not sufficiently satisfied as to their relevance to include them in my main catalogue ("possibles" as opposed to "probables"). As with the main list, it is in the end a question of judgement, based on the available information. For completeness, I have also included in this ancillary list inscriptions relating to free-standing arches and to arsenals, both of which are relevant to my work but which do not fall within the definition of city walls and their contiguous gates. The key secondary sources referred to are listed at the end of Appendix L (concordance).

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Aletrium I	CIL 01, 01529	i	2nd half C2BC (Panciera)	References *arcem* and *fornices.*	L(ucius) Betilienus L(uci) f(ilius) Vaarus / haec quae infera scripta / sont de senatu sententia / facienda coi/ravit semitas / in oppido omnis porticum qua / in arcem eitur campum ubei / ludunt horolo/gium macel(l)um / basilicam calecandam seedes / lacum balinearium lacum ad / portam aquam in op(p)idum ad(d)ou(c(entem) / arduom pedes CCCXL fornicesq(ue) / fecit fistulas soledas fecit / ob hasce res censorem fecere bis / senatus filio stipendia mereta / es(s)e ious(s)it populusque / statuam donavit Censorino

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Asisium VI	CIL 11, 08021	ii	89-40BC	Inscription probably does not refer to city wall as found in situ in forum – likely to be perimeter wall of forum. Note that inscription refers to whitening/painting the wall. Bispham (2007:493-494) incorrectly cites as CIL 11, 05391.	IIIIvi]r(i) i(ure) dic(undo) C(aius) Babrius C(ai) f(ilius) Chilo C(aius) Veistinius C(ai) f(ilius) Capito C(aius) Vallius C(ai) f(ilius) L(ucius) Visellius L(uci) f(ilius) Cn(aeus) Veistinius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Vvir(i) mu[rum 3] / C(aius) Attius T(iti) f(ilius) Clarus opus albarium pictorium sua pecunia s(enatus) c(onsulto) fec(it)
Bergomum XI	CIL 05, 05121	iii	AD21-23	See Vavassori (1993:150) and Suppl It, 16 (1998:314). Not known whence inscription comes or to what it relates although Frézouls (1990) thinks it is relevant to city walls/gates.	Drus[o Caesari Ti(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilio)] / divi [Aug(usti) n(epoti) divi Iuli pron(epoti)] / co(n)s(uli) [pontifici
Brundisium II	CIL 01, 03173	iv	Mid C1BC	Lengthy honorary inscription to a *quattuorvir* whose benefactions included an arsenal. See Bodelot (2007:225-226).	… quom iei de sua pecunia forum sternant canalesq[ue 3] / [3]o lapide faciendas polliciti sint idemque macellum [3] / [3]e et [3 et ar]mamentari[um 3] / [3] apstenent[iam? 3] / [3 q]uot a[3] / [3]arias sua [3] / [3]ostre[3] / [3]M NN[3] / [3] ponendam [3] / [3] cen[s(uerunt)]
Capua I	CIL 01, 00635	v	135BC	Pobjoy (1997:59-60) notes this refers to the terrace wall around the sanctuary of Diana Tifatina approx. 4km from Capua.	Ser(vius) Folvius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Flaccus co(n)s(ul) muru(m) locavit / de manubies

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Capua I	CIL 01, 00674	vi	110BC	Religious context (wall relates to Spes, Fides and Fortuna).	…[he]isc(e) mag(istris) Spei Fidei Fortunae mur[um] / faciundu(m) coiravere M(arco) Minu[cio] / S(purio) Postumio co(n)s(ulibus)
Capua I	CIL 01, 00675	vii	108BC	Religious context and thus unlikely to refer to city walls (although Panciera classes as civil buildings, other). See Pobjoy (2000:86).	…heisce magistreis Venerus Ioviae murum / aedificandum coiraverunt ped(es) CCLXX et / loidos fecerunt Ser(vio) Sulpicio M(arco) Aurelio co(n)[s(ulibus)]
Capua I	CIL 01, 00677	viii	106BC	Religious context (wall relates to Ceres).	…heisce magistreis Cererus murum / et pluteum long(um) p(edes) LXXX alt(um) p(edes) XXI / faciundum coiravere eidemq(ue) loid(os) fec(ere) / C(aio) Atilio Q(uinto) Servilio co(n)s(ulibus)
Capua I	CIL 01, 00678	ix	106BC	Religious context (wall relates to Castor and Pollux).	…heisce magistrei Castori et / Polluci murum et pluteum faciundu(m) / coeravere eidemque loedos / fecere Q(uinto) Servilio C(aio) Atilio co(n)s(ulibus)
Capua I	CIL 01, 00680	x	99BC	Religious context.	M(arco) Antonio / A(ulo) Postumio co(n)s(ulibus) / heisce mag(istreis) murum ab grad/u ad calcidic(um) et calcidicum / et portic(um) ante culin(am) long(am) p(edes) [3] / et signa marm(orea) Cast(oris) et Pol(lucis) / et coc(um) privat(um) de stipe Dian(ae) / emendum [et f]aciendum / coeraver[e]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Capua I	CIL 01, 02947	xi	105BC	References *fornix*.	...Mag(istri) Castori et Polluci et Mercu[rio] Felici fornicem et / gradus supra fornicem omnis et [cluac]as(?) sequndum / fornicem faciend(um) coer(averunt) eidemque lud[os fecer(unt)] P(ublio) Rutil(io) Cn(aeo) Mal(lio) co(n)s(ulibus)
Castrimoenium I	CIL 14, 02466	xii	AD31	Incidental – simply refers to wall's existence. Referenced by Jouffroy.	...locum qui est extra portam Medianum
Concordia X	CIL 05, 01883	xiii	C1AD	See Luciani and Pistellato (2010). References *armamentaria.*	C(aius) Aquillius / C(ai) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Mela / ex decuria / [a]rmamentaria / [qu]inquevir bis / fieri iussit
Cosilinum (or Tegianum?) III	CIL 01, 01688 = CIL 10, 00292	xiv	Republican	Note female donor. But reference is to wall round sacred grove, not city wall. See Cooley (2013:25).	Ansia Tarvi f(ilia) / Rufa ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) circ(a) / lucum macer(iam) / et murum et ianu(am) / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)
Emona X	AE 2001, 1012 = AIJ 00170b	xv	AD14-15	Mráv argued that this very fragmentary inscription was a duplicate of CIL 03, 10768 (main list no 24) and may have been placed above one of the city gateways (2001). Šašel Kos (2012) was not convinced however and the association of this fragment with the city walls remains highly speculative.	[Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius)] Augustu[s p(ontifex) m(aximus)]/[co(n)s(ul) XIII imp(erator) XXI trib(unicia) potest(ate)] XXXVII pate[r patriae]/[Ti(berius) Caesar divi Au]gusti f(ilius) Aug[ustus]/[p(ontifex) m(aximus) co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator)] VI trib(unicia) potest(ate)XV[I]/5 [murum turresq(ue)? d]ederunt

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Ferentis VII	CIL 01, 03356b	xvi	C2-C1BC	Catalogued by Panciera in "mura, porte e torri", citing Gasperini (1989:133-136).	Virum bon/um qui ha/nc via(m) con/siliavit
Formiae I	CIL 01, 01564	xvii	C2-C1BC (Panciera)	References *fornix*.	a]ed(ilis) iter(um) solus augur / [for]nices de pequn(ia) public(a) / [fa]c(iendos) coer(avit) idemq(ue) prob(avit)
Formiae I	CIL 01, 03113 AE 1966, 0067	xviii	late C2BC to early C1BC	Referenced by Gabba and Cébeillac-Gervasoni. Excluded from my main list because it refers to arsenal not wall. Nb a private benefaction (Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1990:714).	L(ucius) Paccius C(ai) f(ilius) aed[ilis] / cu[u]riam tabul[ar(ium)] / armamentar[ium] / portic(um) um[i]n(i)cip(ibus) d[edit]
Forum Sempronii VI	CIL 11, 06136	xix	C1-C2AD (Bianchi, 2011)	Referenced by Jouffroy but incidental (refers simply to wall's existence) and therefore excluded. Undated in Jouffroy.	Loc(um) sep(ulturae) don(avit) / C(aius) Valgius Fuscus con/legio iumentarior(um) / portae Gallicae / posterisque eor(um) omnium / et uxoribus concubinisq(ue
Forum Sempronii VI	CIL 11, 06132	xx		References *armamentarium.*	armam]entarium C(aius) Marius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Pol(lia) IIvir q[uinq(uennalis) 3] / [3 a]rbitratu [f(ecit)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Frigento II	CIL 01, 03192	xxi		References *fornix*.	M(arcus) Palius M(arci) f(ilius) IIIIvir / i(ure) d(icundo) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) porticum / quom Maenianei[s] / in foro et fornic[em] / qua in foro eitu[r] / f(aciendum) c(uravit) i(dem)q(ue) p(robavit)
Hadria (or Interamna Praetuttiorum) V	CIL 09, 05047	xxii	150-50BC	Reference to city wall uncertain.	M(arcus) Avidius P(ubli) f(ilius) / C(aius) Flavonius C(ai) f(ilius) / mag(istri) murum / gradus / crepidinem / faciendam / curavere
Hispellum VI	CIL 11, 05266	xxiii	27BC-AD14	Currently located at Arco di Augusto. But according to Fontaine (1990:277) and Baiolini (2002:86) inscription is not in original position and should not be associated with gateway, although opinion is divided.	[Imp(erator) Caesa]r Divi f(ilius) [Augustus ---]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Hispellum VI	CIL 11, 05272	xxiv	Augustan/ Tiberian or Trajanic	Baiolini (2002:100) offers an alternative reading: *imperatoris*] TIB PLEBIS PR/*cur aluci*] TIBERIS EX S C PRO/ *in prov ponto*] ET BITHYNIA ET LEGATUS/ *testame*]NTO *fieri* IUSSIT. Dated on this reading by Baiolini to Augustan/Tiberian period, possible association with triumphal arch. Eck (2009:88) is confident the inscription refers to Pliny the Younger and to benefaction of a temple.	(EDC reading) [C(aius) Plinius L(uci) f(ilius) Ouf(entina) Caecilius Secundus co(n)s(ul) augur] / [Xvir stlit(ibus) iudicand(is) trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Galli]ca[e] / [sevir eq(uitum) R(omanorum) quaestor Imperatori]s trib(unus) plebis pr(aetor) / [praef(ectus) aer(arii) milit(aris) praef(ectus) aer(arii) Saturni cur(ator) alvei] Tiberis ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) pro/[consulari potestate legatus pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Ponti] et Bithyniae et legatus / [in eam ab Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Nerva Traiano Aug(usto) missus testame]nto [[[fieri]]] iussit
Iguvium VI	CIL 11, 05828	xxv		Relates to theatre (references *fornix*).	]s fo[rnices // t]heat[rum //] re p(ublica) [//]de s[//]av[//]la[//]ocv[
Lavernae IV	CIL 01, 01793 = CIL 09, 03138	xxvi	Mid C1AD	See Buonocore (2002:38). Refers to wall of sanctuary.	L(ucius) Statius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Chilo / L(ucius) Pettius C(ai) f(ilius) Pansa / C(aius) Pettius V(ibi) f(ilius) Gemellus / L(ucius) Tattius T(iti) f(ilius) Coxsa / magistri Laverneis / murum caementicium / portam porticum / templum Bonae deae / pagi decreto faciendu[m] / curarunt probaruntq[ue]

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Lucus Angitiae IV	CIL 09, 03885	xxvii	Mid C1BC or early imperial (Grossi, 1981)	Referenced by Jouffroy and according to Ward-Perkins (1984) relates to city walls. But Grossi (1981) argues that inscription relates to restoration of sanctuary wall round sacred grove.	Sex(tus) [P]accius M(arci) [f(ilius)] / et Sex(tus) Paccius Ka[es(onis) f(ilius)] / quinq(uennales) murum vet[ust(ate)] / co(n)sum(p)tum a solo resti[t(uerunt)] / ex p(ecunia) p(ublica) Angitiae
Lucus Feroniae VII	CIL 01, 03338b	xxviii	Mid C1BC (Panciera)		C(aius) Didius T(iti) f(ilius) M(arcus) Vettius M(arci) f(ilius) duomviri / quinq(uennales) statuas fornicesque d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) / faciundum coer(averunt) idemque probaverun[t]
Luna VII	CIL 11, 01357a	xxix	Republican	Reference to city walls uncertain.	L(ucius) Autronius [- - -]/IIvir(i) quinq(uennales) pro[tectum aedis - - - colonorum Lunensium in vico - - - ?]/ coṇs(istentium) in [si]ngulos ṃ[uros - - - et - - - ?]/[d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) curaverunt idemq(ue) probaverunt) ?]
Minturnae I		xxx	Augustan or earlier (arch adapted to carry late Augustan aqueduct - Richmond)	Referenced by Richmond (1933) and Laurence et al. (2011:147): gateway into the city was given a monumental façade in the form of an arch with a monumental inscription, illegible on discovery.	

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Patavium X	CIL 05, 02856	xxxi	C1AD (Ellero, 2010)	Referenced by Jouffroy (undated) but incidental (refers simply to wall's existence) and therefore excluded.	… quod praefect(us) v(erba) f(ecit) L(ucium) Perpe/nam Amiantum lo/cum columnarioru[m] / extra portam Ro/manam rogari / CLX per IIIv[3] / sine iniuria [3]/[3]M D[
Pescosansonesco IV	CIL 01, 01801	xxxii	C2-C1BC	See Stek (2010:125) – relates to sanctuary. (Other inscriptions referring to *parietes* also excluded – cf CIL 09, 02197 from Telesia in context of wall above arch.)	[3] Sentius C(ai) f(ilius) P(ublius) Vett/ius T(iti) f(ilius) L(ucius) Avidius L(uci) f(ilius)/ C(aius) Arrius L(uci) f(ilius) / T(itus) Vinuci/us Tit(i) f(ilius) L(ucius) Ateius V(ibi) f(ilius) / mag(istri) Mart(is) fornice(m) / et caementicios / ex pagi decr(eto) faciundum / coer(arunt) probaruntq(ue)
Pisa VII	CIL 11, 01421	xxxiii	AD4	Arch erected in honour of Gaius Caesar. Free-standing, not incorporated into city wall, therefore excluded. It was probably built at the entrance to the forum - see Kleiner (1985).	(Part of the decree) … utique [ian]us celeberrimo coloniae nostrae loco constituatur orna/tu[s sp]oleis devictarum aut in fidem receptarum ab eo gentium super / eu[m st]atua pedestris ipsius triumphali ornatu circaque eam duae / eq[uest]res inauratae Gai et Luci Caesarum statuae ponantur…
Pola X	Inscr Ital X 1, 101	xxxiv	C1BC-C1AD	Referenced by Frézouls under "portae" but unlikely to be city gates.	curat]or thea[tri 3] / [3 cur]ator th[eatri porticum] / [extruen]dam p[ortas exornandas

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Praeneste I	CIL 01, 01466 = CIL 14, 02990	xxxv	130-90BC	Cébeillac-Gervasoni relates to city defences.	[C(aius) Magulnius] C(ai) f(ilius) Scato q(uaestor) / [cancell]os(?) vig(i)lias / [3 rest]ituenda s(enatus) c(onsulto) c(uravit)
Rufrae I	CIL 10, 04832	xxxvi			M(arcus) Ennius M(ani) f(ilius) / Men(enia) Vicetinus / scr(iba) aed(ilium) curulium / armamentarius decuriaq(ue) / decurio Vicetiae / dec(urio) colonia Saturnia / aedilis colonia Iulia / Felici classica Suessa / C(aius) Satilius C(ai) l(ibertus) Pileros / apparitor tr(ibuni) pl(ebis) / Satilia uxor
Sinuessa (Forum Popilii?) I	AE 1984, 0187	xxxvii	50-1BC	AE – may be in relation to Via Appia. See Vallat (1980).	] / duovir(i) / [p]ortas IIII lap[ide] / sternendas e[x] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) idemqu[e] / probaverunt *AE alternative reading "duovir vias ad portas"*
Spoletium VI	CIL 11, 04829	xxxviii		References *fornix*.	mace]riam fornices / [3]nius C / [
Spoletium VI	CIL 11, 04776-04777	xxxix	AD23	Arch of Drusus and Germanicus (free-standing, at southern entrance to forum).	[Germ]anico Caesari Ti(beri) August[i f(ilio)] / [divi] Augusti n(epoti) divi Iuli pron(epoti) / [co(n)s(uli) II] imp(eratori) II aug(uri) flamini Aug(usti) // [Drus]o Ca[esari Ti(beri) Augusti f(ilio)] / divi August[i n(epoti) divi Iuli pron(epoti)] / co(n)s(uli) II trib(unicia) pot(estate) II po[nt(ifici) 3] // ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)

Place/Regio	Ref	My no	Date	Comment/reason for rejection	Text
Tibur I	CIL 01, 01498	xl	C2-C1BC (Panciera)		[M(arcus) Tu]rpilius L(uci) f(ilius) M(anius) Popillius M(ani) f(ilius) q(uaestores) / [f]ornices de s(enatus) s(ententia) f(aciendos) c(uraverunt)
Urbs Salvia V		xli	Augustan ?	Perna (2006:33) – fragment of inscription above Porta Gemina, now lost.	-S
Verona X	CIL 05, 03464	xlii	mid C1AD	Arch of Gavii (free-standing). Records name of architect (Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo).	C(aio) Gavio C(ai) f(ilio) / Straboni // M(arco) Gavio C(ai) f(ilio) / Macro // Gaviae M(arci) f(iliae) // L(ucius) Vitruvius L(uci) l(ibertus) Cerdo / architectus // L(ucius) Vitruvius L(uci) l(ibertus) Cerdo / architectus
Zagarolo I	AE 1999, 0418	xliii	C2AD – Trajan or Hadrian	Funerary altar of man belonging to collegium of naval architects and arsenals – see Tumolesi (1993).	[D(is) M(anibus)] / [3]si M(arci) [f(ilii)] / Bassi / decurialis / armamentari(i) et / architecti et / plebei adiutori[s] / procurationis / alabarchiae Pelusi

Appendix L Concordance of inscriptions

Appendix L: Concordance of inscriptions

This concordance provides cross-references between my main and ancillary lists of inscriptions and the key secondary sources for inscriptions, reviewed in Chapter 6.

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Ad Tricesimum CIL 01, 02648 = ILLRP 539	1	✓	463	✓	✓					
Aeclanum CIL 01, 01722 = CIL 09, 01140 = ILLRP 523	2	✓	309	✓	✓			✓		
Aeclanum CIL 01, 01723 = CIL 09, 01141	2a									
Aeclanum AE 1997, 0039; AE 2001, +0859	3									
Aletrium CIL 01, 01529	i									
Aletrium CIL 01, 01530 = CIL 10, 05806	4	✓	62	✓[#]	✓			✓	✓	
Aquileia CIL 01, 02198 = CIL 05, 08288 = ILLRP 538	5	✓	453	✓						

[#] This inscription is incorrectly referenced by Horster as CIL 10, 05809.

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Ariminum CIL 01, 02129a = CIL 09, 00400 = ILLRP 545	6	✓	*							✓
Ariminum CIL 01, 02129b = CIL 11, 00401	6a	✓	*							
Ariminum CIL 01 03393 = CIL 09, 00402	7	✓	**	✓	✓					
Ariminum CIL 11, 00365 = ILS 84	8									
Arpinum CIL 01, 01539 = CIL 10, 05682	9	✓	72						✓	
Arpinum CIL 01, 01538 = CIL 10, 05680, 05683	10	✓	71							
Asisium CIL 11, 05391	11	✓		✓	✓					
Asisium CIL 11, 05392	11a	✓			✓					
Asisium CIL 01, 02112 = CIL 11, 05390 = ILLRP 50	12		**	✓	✓			✓		
Asisium CIL 11, 08021	ii		**		✓					
Augusta Taurinorum CIL 05, 07002	13					✓				
Bergomum CIL 05, 08893	14	✓				✓		✓		✓

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Bergomum CIL 05, 05121	iii									
Brixia CIL 05, 04131	15	✓		✓						
Brundisium CIL 09, 00052	16	✓								
Brundisium CIL 01, 03171	iv									
Buxentum AE 1981, 0268 (2)	17			✓						
Caiatia CIL 01, 01576 = CIL 10, 04587 = ILLRP 559	18		*						✓	
Caiatia CIL 01, 01576 (duplicate)	18a								✓	
Cannae/Canusium CIL 01, 03184a = AE 1999, 0505	19		243	✓	✓		✓			
Capua CIL 01, 00635	v		***							
Capua CIL 01, 00674	vi									
Capua CIL 01, 00675	vii		**							
Capua CIL 01, 00677	viii									
Capua CIL 01, 00678	ix									

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Capua CIL 01, 00680	x									
Capua CIL 01, 02947	xi									
Castrimoenium CIL 14, 02466	xii	✓								
Caudium CIL 01, 01744a = CIL 09, 02171 = ILLRP 567a	20	✓	329	✓				✓		
Caudium CIL 01, 01744b = CIL 09, 02172 = ILLRP 567b	20a	✓	329	✓				✓		
Caudium CIL 01, 01744 = CIL 09, 02173	20b	✓		✓				✓		
Concordia Iulia CIL 05, 01883	xiii									
Copia/Sibari Guzzo, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita*, 1972, suppl, p213	21	✓								
Cosilinum/Tegianum CIL 01, 01686 = CIL 10, 00291 = ILLRP 395	22	✓	268	✓				✓		
Cosilinum/Tegianum CIL 01, 01688 = CIL 10, 00292	xiv		***		✓					
Croto/Acerentia AE 1986, 0212	23		260							

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Emona CIL 03, 10768	24			✓						
Emona AE 2001, 1012 = AIJ 00170b	xv									
Fanum Fortunae CIL 11, 06218 = ILS 104	25	✓		✓						✓
Ferentinum CIL 01, 01522 = CIL 10, 05837 = ILLRP 584	26	✓	**							
Ferentinum CIL 01, 01523 = CIL 10, 05838	26a		**							
Ferentinum CIL 01, 01525 = CIL 10, 05839 = ILLRP 586	27	✓	**							
Ferentinum CIL 01, 01524 = CIL 10, 05840 = ILLRP 585	28	✓	**							
Ferentis CIL 01, 03356b	xvi		425							
Formiae CIL 01, 01563 = CIL 10, 06105 = ILLRP 595	29	✓	91	✓				✓	✓	
Formiae CIL 01, 01565 = CIL 10, 06108 = ILLRP 596	30	✓	92		✓			✓		
Formiae CIL 01, 01564	xvii									

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Formiae CIL 01, 03113 = AE 1966, 0067	xviii		****					✓	✓	
Forum Sempronii CIL 11, 06136 = ILS 7294	xix	✓								
Forum Sempronii CIL 11, 06132	xx									
Frigento CIL 01, 03191	31		337	✓	✓			✓		
Frigento CIL 01, 03192	xxi									
Fundi CIL 01, 01557a = CIL 10, 06233 = ILLRP 601	32	✓	98					✓	✓	
Fundi CIL 01, 01557b = CIL 10, 06234	32a									
Fundi CIL 01, 01557c = CIL 10, 06235	32b									
Fundi CIL 01, 01558 = CIL 10, 06238 = ILLRP 602	33	✓	99	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Fundi CIL 01, 01559 = CIL 10, 06239 = ILLRP 603	34	✓	101	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Fundi CIL 01, 01560 = CIL 10, 06242 = ILLRP 604	35		100					✓	✓	

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Grumentum CIL 01, 00758 = CIL 10, 00219 = ILLRP 608	36	✓	272	✓	✓			✓		
Grumentum CIL 01, 00770 = CIL 10, 00220 = ILLRP 607	37	✓	274	✓	✓			✓		
Grumentum AE 2002, 0377; AE 2006, +0356	38									
Hadria/Interamna Praetuttiorum CIL 09, 05047	xxii									
Herculaneum CIL 10, 01425 = ILS 5527	39									✓
Herdoniae CIL 01, 03187	40		245				✓			
Hispellum CIL 11, 05266	xxiii									
Hispellum CIL 11, 05272	xxiv									
Iguvium CIL 11, 05828	xxv									
Interamna Praetuttiorum CIL 01, 03296	41		**		✓					
Laus Pompeia CIL 05, 06358	42	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Lavernae CIL 01, 01793 = CIL 09, 03138	xxvi		***		✓					

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Lucera CIL 01, 01710 = CIL 09, 00800 = ILLRP 623	43	✓	249	✓	✓		✓			
Lucus Angitiae CIL 09, 03885 = ILS 4024	xxvii	✓								
Lucus Feroniae CIL 01, 03338b	xxviii									
Luna CIL 11, 01357a	xxix									
Minturnae Richmond (1933)	xxx									
Ostia CIL 14, 04707	44									
Ostia CIL 14, 04707 (duplicate)	44a									
Parma CIL 11, 01062	45									✓
Patavium CIL 05, 02856	xxxi	✓								
Perusia CIL 11, 01930	46									
Perusia CIL 11, 01929	46a									
Pescosansoneso CIL 01, 01801	xxxii		*****							
Pinna Vestina CIL 09, 03354	47	✓		✓						

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Pisaurum AE 1982, 0263 (2)	48									
Pisa CIL 11, 01421	xxxiii									
Placentia CIL 11, 01226	49									
Pola CIL 05, 00050 = Inscr Ital X 1, 72	50									
Pola CIL 05, 00054 = Inscr Ital X 1, 81	51	✓								
Pola Inscr Ital X 1, 101	xxxiv			✓						
Pola Inscr Ital X, 1, 138	52					✓				
Pompeii CIL 01, 01629 = CIL 10, 00937	53		**	✓	✓			✓		
Praeneste CIL 01, 01466 (2) = CIL 14, 02990	xxxv		**						✓	
Ravenna CIL 11, 00005	54	✓		✓						✓
Rubi CIL 01, 03176 = AE 1973, 0220	55	✓	250	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Rufrae CIL 10, 04832	xxxvi									
Saepinum CIL 09, 02443 = ILS 147	56	✓		✓				✓		✓

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Saepinum CIL 09, 02443 (duplicates)	56a-c									
Sarsina CIL 01, 02124 = CIL 11, 06509 = ILLRP 660	57	✓	410	✓	✓			✓		
Sarsina CIL 11, 06510	58			✓						
Sarsina ILLRP 661	59	✓						✓		
Sentinum CIL 11, 05764 = AE 2006, 0427	60									
Sinuessa AE 1984, 0187	xxxvii									
Sipontum AE 1974, 0285	61	✓					✓			
Spoletium CIL 11, 04809	62	✓								
Spoletium CIL 11, 04829	xxxviii									
Spoletium CIL 11, 04776-7	xxxix									
Teanum Apulum CIL 01, 03188a = AE 1976, 0146	63	✓	253	✓			✓			
Telesia CIL 01, 01747 = CIL 09, 02235 = ILLRP 675	64	✓	358	✓				✓		

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Telesia CIL 01, 03200 = CIL 09, 02230	65	✓	361	✓				✓		
Telesia CIL 01, 03200a = AE 1975, 0198	66	✓	360							
Telesia CIL 01, 03200b = CIL 09, 02233	67		362							
Telesia CIL 01, 03200c = AE 1975, 0199	68	✓	359							
Tergeste CIL 05, 00525 = ILS 77 = Inscr Ital X 04, 20	69	✓		✓	✓					✓
Tergeste Inscr Ital X 04, 21	69a									
Terracina CIL 01, 01554 = CIL 10, 06327	70	✓	*	✓					✓	
Tibur CIL 01, 01491 = CIL 14, 03655	71		**	✓	✓					
Tibur CIL 01, 01498	xl									
Ticinum CIL 05, 06146	72	✓				✓		✓		✓
Tridentum CIL 05, 05027	73									
Urbs Salvia Perna (2006:33)	xli									
Venafrum CIL 10, 04876 = ILS 2227	74	✓						✓		

Inscription	My no	Jouffroy	Panciera	Horster	Buonocore	Zaccaria	G-M	Gabba	C-G	Bonetto
Venusia CIL 09, 00446	75	✓	256	✓			✓			
Verona CIL 05, 03400	76	✓				✓				
Verona CIL 01, 03404 = CIL 05, 03434 = AE 1987, 0450	77	✓	468	✓	✓			✓		✓
Verona CIL 05, 03464	xlii									
Vibinum AE 1992, 0308 (3)	78		258	✓			✓			
Vibo Valentia CIL 01, 03166 = CIL 10, 00044	79	✓	265		✓			✓		
Vibo Valentia CIL 01, 03166a = AE 1973, 0225	80	✓	264		✓					
Zagarolo AE 1999, 0418	xliii									

Panciera's classification

* Classified as "civic buildings not specified"
** Classified as "civic buildings other"
*** Classified as "sacred buildings"
**** Classified as "public works other"
***** Classified as "civil buildings, arches and statues"

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