

# INTRODUCTION

## THE QUESTION OF ROMANIZATION – TO BE OR NOT TO BE (ROMAN)?

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Few issues in current Roman scholarship proved more engaging and enduring (and occasionally controversial and disruptive) than the discourse on Romanization. The perception of being Roman, or not being Roman, in a world that was dominated or at least administered by the Roman state is a question of central importance to all aspects of Roman Studies in art, architecture, literature, and history. The concept not only opens the door for politically relevant discourse on the nature of cultural and national identities, it also defines the way that we look at art and architecture made by groups with different identities, Roman or other. It seems opportune to add our voice to the chorus here in a generalized and introductory way to offer an overview, although this subject will come up in the following chapters linked to specific historical or regional contexts where it will be discussed further (see the collection of essays in Mattingly 1997, esp. 7–24; also Barrett, 51–64).

A state that ruled from Syria to Scotland, that called the entire Mediterranean its own, and that organized and urbanized vast communities of peoples of different religions, languages, and backgrounds is bound to attract considerable criticism, both ancient and modern. This is particularly true in our own day when our more liberal sensibilities find world empires and colonial practices distasteful and disdainful, although judgment often is based, inappropriately, on nineteenth-century models from the great era of Western colonialism and imperialism. Of course the process of becoming Romanized, has positive as well as negative connotations. To take the straightforward dictionary meaning of the word, Romanization is about “making non-Romans Roman” or subjecting them to the influence of Roman culture and technology. The

process is faintly suspect and misleading; it fails to represent the other side in the process of acculturation. In a world in which we celebrate and cherish our *differences*, the goal of eroding the individual or tribal culture in order to consolidate unity appears anything from insensitive to oppressive. It becomes all the more so when the attempt of “making Roman” was imposed on a group, as it often was, as a result of military conquest. This was clearly the view expressed by Calgacus, the Briton chieftain, when he lashed out against the Roman armies conquering Britain:

Robbers of the world, now that their universal plunder exhausted the land, they rifle even the sea. If the enemy be rich, they are rapacious; if he be poor, they lust for his country. Neither the East nor the West has been able to satisfy their lust. Alone among mankind they covet with equal glut poverty and riches. To plunder, robbery, slaughter – they misname as empire; they make desolation and call it peace.

(excerpts from Tacitus, *Agricola* 30)

One can add many more unfortunate and tragic consequences of military conquest and occupation by the expanding empire – loss of life, property, liberty, identity, and the sad acceptance by the subjects of a sense of inferiority. Not just the Britons of Britain but also the Marcomanni of Germany, Gauls of France and Belgium, Berbers of Africa, Bedouins of Syria, and nomads of everywhere had their tale of woe to tell – those resonate in our childhood memories of delightful stories of Asterix the Gaul and his brave friends fighting and outsmarting Caesar’s cloddish legions.

There are, however, many stories also that represent Romans in a positive light. Roman conquest and

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presence often brought the advantages of peace and prosperity to Romans and locals alike. In terms of agriculture, there is hardly a land that did not enjoy substantial increases in productivity under Roman administration as a result of Roman technological know-how. In many cases, admittedly, this was in cooperation with local traditions. In an atmosphere of expanding economy, hard-work promoted social mobility. The rags-to-riches story of the Mactar Harvester, who started his life as a day-laborer and ended it as a member of his local Senate – and proudly inscribed his tale on stone – may be an exception, but it underscores what was possible (see later). In Tingad, where an entire seminomadic city of local tribes grew around the orderly veteran’s colony, the opportunities were shared by many, while allowing individual choices. In all of the provinces, intermarriage between Roman veterans and local aristocracy brought mutual benefits: the advantages of Roman citizenship to the natives, and the acceptance into local high society and wealth to the retired soldiers, who often came from unexceptional Italian backgrounds.

It is true that evidence for rapacious soldiers and tax collectors harassing villages is widespread. So is the evidence for the opposite: an unprivileged Jewish widow in Judea (c. 130 CE) could seek her rights and ask for justice in a complex legal case by presenting before the Roman judges a maze of documents going back in time half-a-century (the Babatha Archives, see later in this book). A local governor of Syria would send a letter to a village in the Hauran offering protection against any wrongdoing by marauding soldiers and officials, encouraging them to stand up for their rights, and would exhibit the decree in a public building for all to see. Imposing legal and administrative standards across the land, offering unrestricted access to and equal protection before law – privileges not many are lucky to enjoy in our own world, especially in the lands where Babatha and her friends lived – were also what Romanization was about.

Romanization followed a complex scenario involving the play of numerous indigenous and imported sources, a multidirectional *process* of integration, experimentation, and exclusion across a large landscape. Especially in the Hellenized provinces of Greece, Asia Minor, and the eastern Mediterranean, it was far from being a unilateral and deliberate imposition of the culture of the conqueror upon the conquered. Geography mattered. Regarding the city of Sagalassus and the larger Pisidia as a “case study,” M. Waelkens offers a closely observed narrative of how the Roman conquest of this remote region in southern Asia Minor resulted in a gradual but steady amalgamation of Greek and Roman traditions of administration, governance,

law, and civic structure into not perhaps a seamless whole but, instead, a reasonably harmonious integration and coexistence of the willing (“becoming Roman and staying Greek,” borrowing an insightful expression from G. Woolf, whose work generally illuminates some of the negative consequences of Roman conquests: Woolf 1994, 116–143; see also Waelkens 2002, 311–368; Yegül 2000, 133–153). Reorganization of land and agriculture; creation of a network of good roads, bridges, harbors, emporia; establishment of institutions of justice, order, and security (while keeping the hard military in the background); encouragement of social mixing of the local élite with imported Roman populations; foundation and development of cities and urban structures to a fault – and, most cogently, to make all this possible, creation of a socially porous society through the granting of Roman citizenship first to individuals, groups, and then to masses – were some of the key concerns of the multifarious agenda of what we call Romanization.

While reflecting on the peace and prosperity of the countryside (where well-to-do urbanites could take occasional refuge), Romans ultimately believed that civilization and civilized life were synonymous with cities. They conquered vast territories, and for the most part strove to build cities to carry their civilizing mission, as they understood it, even in the farthest corners of their empire. Law, order, and applied technology were among the fundamental aspects of Romanization, but so too were the temples and basilicas, markets and libraries, theaters and baths. “God made the country, human art built the town,” Varro wrote (*De re rustica*, 3.1), and that is the sense in which we best understand the essence of Romanization – as urbanization. And that is basically how Aelius Aristides, a Sophist from Smyrna in Asia Minor, must have seen it:

Neither does the sea nor the great expanse of land keep one from being a citizen regardless of whether it is Asia or Europe. All is open to all men. No one is a foreigner who deserves to hold office or to be trusted, but there has been established a common democracy of the world, under one man, the best ruler and leader, and all men assemble here as if they were at a common meeting place, each to obtain his due. What a city is to its boundaries and territories, so Rome is to the whole inhabited world, as if it had been designated its common town.

(Aelius Aristides, *Regarding Rome* 26.60–2)

These are powerful words. Aristides of Smyrna was as much a “foreigner” to Rome as Calgacus the Briton was, but his city and land were not under Roman attack. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the province

of Asia, especially its western coast, was a special case of Romanization in which the seller and the buyer were in agreement. As a primary exponent of the literary-rhetorical Sophist culture of Asia, Aristides enjoyed his privileges and used his pulpit to reiterate the loyalty of the provinces (or, at least of Asia) to the emperor. Deeply rooted in the Hellenized culture of the land, he and his friends could be and feel like Romans without any loss of their Greek identity and *paideia*: for them, Rome had created an urban culture in which it was difficult to feel like an outsider. Up to a point, this was true for Annobal Tapapius Rufus or Iddibal Kafada Aemilius of Africa, or Malé, son of Yarhai, of Palmyra, and, perhaps, for the children and grandchildren of Calgacus, who lived in Roman cities, intermarried with Roman citizens to achieve citizenship themselves, owned land in the country, prospered under Roman law, and became leaders of their provincial communities – and left a record of their achievement in proud, bilingual inscriptions, artwork, and architecture that was as much the product of their and institutions.

We do not wish to employ the modern word and concept of ‘Romanization’ to denote a beneficial view, as was common with early twentieth century scholarship, employing (or declaring) Rome’s “civilizing influence” upon its conquered territories and peoples. Nor is the opposite view, inspired by 1990s post-colonial discourse and plucked from modern contexts, equating Romanization with the brutal concepts of imperialism, exploitation and erasure of identities a viable alternative. To cast the Romans in the unmitigated role of benefactors or villains, is simple-minded and simply skates the issue (see Mattingly 2013 and its critical review by Brouwers 2017). Our view of Romanization is a two-way street, in which the conqueror and the conquered influenced each other in a broad fluid (and often unequal) process of acculturation; identities were formed and exchanged in different degrees, varying across land and time. To declare Romanization

invalid in order to substitute imperialism’s modern connotations is to replace one cliché with another. Romanization as a multivalent construction of mutual exchanges – and firmly rooted in the process of urbanization – is valid and serviceable.

Ours is not an encomium of Rome, or a denigration. As architects and architectural historians (writing a book on architecture and cities), we unabashedly admire the many benefits Roman cities and urban life offered to its denizens – the heated toilet seat, the standard of weights and measures in the market, the tribunal in the basilica, and the “speakers-podium” in the forum – were all real and symbolic parts of the city defining this civilization. Along with other scholars, we recognize the lasting and transformative value of granting Roman citizenship to native populations as a privilege of real and symbolic significance in smoothing the way to “becoming Roman,” a privilege to which Romans were often quite open, unlike the Greeks (Beard 2015, 66–69, 165–166). Yet, we are also aware that these benefits sometimes came at a price. They did not reach all; many people experienced poverty, inequality, and oppression. Clearly, there was a world less fortunate, less Romanized, less explored by scholars beyond the reach of the aqueducts. A tribal chieftain who rebels against the outrage of Roman occupation, an élite philosopher who extols the virtues of the life he has known under Roman rule – these represent extreme positions born of special conditions. For most people, from native Italians to foreign-born of all cultural and racial backgrounds on the borderlands, the satisfaction index must have been somewhere in between, changing over time, place, and family circumstance – and for the most part, the benefits and misfortunes of life under a great ecumenical umbrella, shared alike. Ultimately, even the fundamentally different perceptions of Romanization by Italo Calvino’s camel-driver and sailor must have merged in the everyday concerns of their everyday lives (Calvino 1974, 17–18).

## 1

# URBAN DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE IN ROME AND ITALY DURING THE REPUBLIC AND THE EARLY EMPIRE

Romulus showed great forethought . . . Even back then he must have divined that the city would one day furnish the seat and home of a mighty empire. In all probability, no other city located in any other part of Italy could have more easily secured such extensive power.

Cicero *De Rep* 2.5.10

In a passage from the sixth century CE, Procopius described the Romans as “the most city proud people known” (*Goth.* 8.22.7). While their myths, art, and literature reverberated with agrarian associations, from the earliest days the Romans stubbornly, unswervingly associated their achievements with an urban locus. The conquest of Italy and the “subsequent expansion of the empire relied on a system of urban centers for further conquest, defense and administration, and these also participated in the spread of Rome’s version of civilization” (Sewell 2010, 9). The Romans developed elaborate stories to justify the position of their namesake city, citing divine intervention as well as the strategic, economic, and transportation advantages of the site. An island (Insula Tiberina) in the Tiber River allowed traders to easily cross the watery barrier, while the hills to the east offered protection. At the bridgehead on the right bank, markets developed to conduct trade with the Etruscans and numerous tribal groups in central Italy. Yet the site was not perfect (Figure 1.1). The hills had sharp scarps and little water; the lowlands were marshy, unhealthy, and flood-prone. Raw materials were few. The unruly Tiber made navigation unpredictable. A heavily laden cart took more than a day to reach the seaside salt beds and port at the sea 25 kilometers away. Early occupants acknowledged that Rome’s placement did not provide the security and ease of access found at other early Italian cities such as

Vei and Cuma. And yet it was Rome that came to conquer the world. Why? Common sense dictates that the inland location provided adequate access to the sea by way of the river, while simultaneously offering some protection from potential coastal attacks. Some ancient authors inflated the amenities offered by the site, but Strabo, writing in the first century, presented a different view. He perceptively argued that, established as a matter of necessity rather than of choice, the challenging location molded Roman character by compelling the occupants to reshape the topography, seek accommodation with surrounding peoples, and organize large workforces to create a mighty walled city (*Geog.* 5.3.2, 7). The valor and toil of the Romans, their pragmatic and focused character seen in veristic Republican portraits, were irrevocably associated with the fixity of the specific urban site. Thus the place and the actions of its residents, rather than the form of the city, forged an inclusive collective identity, a potent strategy at a time when diverse peoples occupied the Italian peninsula. Wars, sacks, and negative comparison with better-situated and “planned” contemporary cities periodically sparked discussions about moving the center of Roman power, yet the locus of the early settlement on the shores of the Tiber, anchored by the practical advantages of the location and bolstered by the emotional attractions of its founding myths, could not be abandoned.

## AN OVERVIEW

If the authors had been writing this book forty years ago, they might have begun the story of architecture in Rome and Italy with the mythic account of the city’s



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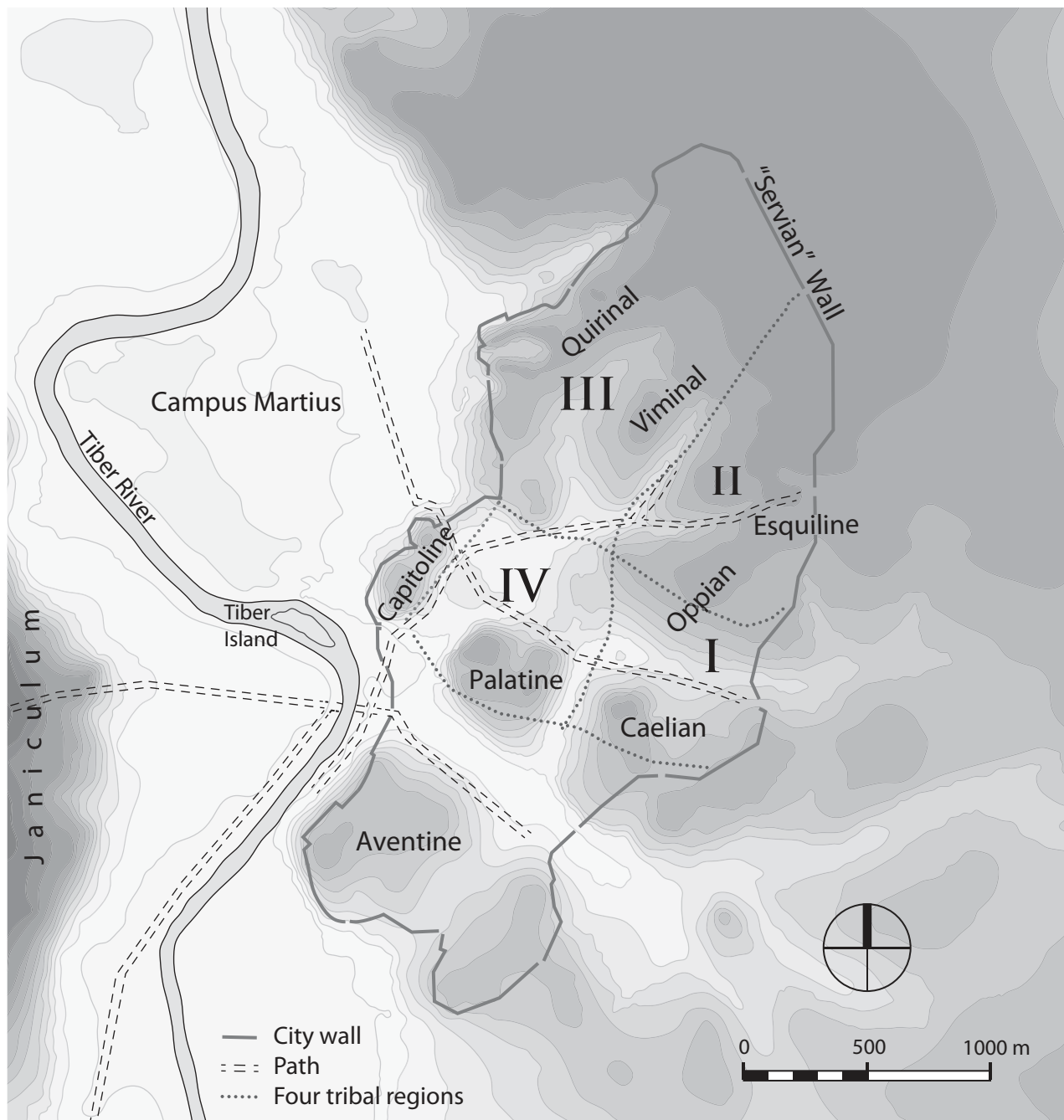


FIGURE 1.1 Map of early Rome showing major pathways, city fortifications and the four regions ascribed to Servius Tullius: I Suburana (Caelian, Oppian Valley), II Esquilina, III Collina (Viminal, Quirinal), IV Palatina; rendered by Marie Saldaña and Diane Favro.

formation by Romulus, whose legendary ancestors could be traced back to the Trojan hero Aeneas and the goddess Venus. Rome's historic tradition places this event sometime in mid-eighth century BCE (April 21, 753 BCE to be exact according to Varro). This legend, like all legends has its problems and variations, but clear archaeological evidence of Iron Age settlements on the Palatine Hill of Rome in the form of crude huts and walls datable to the ninth and eighth centuries BCE fleshes out the myth with scientific affirmation. Thirty, forty years ago, when we started teaching this subject, we would have attributed the spectacular transformation of this rude and rustic Iron

Age village on the hill, one among many competing tribes and settlements of central Italy and Etruria, to the warlike discipline of a grim, conquering city-state that established a Republic, and over time a mighty empire. Throughout all stages of Rome's development we would have recognized that a "superior" Etruscan culture to the north and even a more superior one of Greeks to the south (the area known as Magna Graecia) provided convenient cultural and geographical contexts (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). As the backdrop to the forces and factors that were instrumental to Rome's rise, we would have identified the trilogy of cultures that shared the peninsula with the Romans, namely,

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FIGURE 1.2 Topographic map of early Italy and Sicily; rendered by Diane Favro.

Rome's Etruscan neighbors at shouting distance across the Tiber immediately to the north; the Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily; and, of course, the plethora of Latin-speaking central Italian tribes and settlements. These last, like Rome, shared each other's land and customs, as well as languages. We would have enunciated with some relish, the culturally superior material culture of the Greeks backed by the thousands of fine artistic artifacts, sculpture, bronzes, architectural terracottas, and painted vases that proudly fill the museums of Italy. A few steps behind, we would have counted the Etruscans, as the middlemen in disseminating Greek culture through trade and commerce, but also as the creators of a distinct and sophisticated culture of their own in the heartland of the Italian peninsula highlighted by their vibrant paintings, expressive sculpture, expert metalwork, and distinctive military, funerary, and religious architecture (for a comprehensive anthology of the "Etruscan world of Rome" in a very broad context, see Turfa 2013).

This picture-perfect construct may in its main lines still be correct but grossly oversimplified. Particularly in religion, cult, linguistics, and architecture, Etruscan leadership can be substantiated (for example, the Latin nomenclature for almost all Roman religious rituals derives its origins from Etruscan language). In art,

from the Apollo of Veii to the Mars of Todi, witness the pages and pages of illustrations in any good art history textbook displaying impressive seventh- and sixth-century Etruscan products as the forerunners of Roman art at a time when there was nothing comparable in quality and quantity in the city on the Tiber. Therefore, in adapting new views, we should consider that the scholars who write revisionist histories which minimize or totally nullify the formative role of all outside influence upon Rome, themselves may be neither interested nor trained in the visual arts and its powerful language to build or reform civilizations. Yet the old narrative relating to the relationship among Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans definitely needs nuance in its telling, emphasis, and details. There has been an enormous amount of work in the last quarter of a century or so, and much of it archaeological, which has changed or refined this picture in large and small ways. As described succinctly by our colleagues Nancy and Andrew Ramage, "Etruscan and Roman art and architecture sprang from similar roots. Both were derived from an early Italic culture, and both were receptive to foreign influences and inspiration, whether from the Greek colonies, other parts of the Greek world, or from the Near East" (Ramage and Ramage 2005, 57) (Figure 1.4).



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FIGURE 1.3 Topographic map of central Italy; rendered by Diane Favro.

A new perspective in assessing the nature and legitimacy of Roman art and architecture is the view that art made in or used on the Italian peninsula (including the large category of objects created by Etruscan and Greek artists for Roman patrons) counts basically as Roman-Italian. In a different way of telling A. Kuttner writes: “The corpus of republican art motifs from myth and religion, even when shared with a wider (Greek) world, needs to be reviewed always in

local sociological contexts and in the light of the accumulated visual environment that conditioned patrons and viewers” (Kuttner 2004, 303; Welch 2010). In this new environment, even the well-established international vocabulary of classicism could be reviewed and recast in creatively hybrid forms to express new values and new identities. When confronted with the harder and practical realities of building, “designers (adapted and renewed) international canons for Doric,

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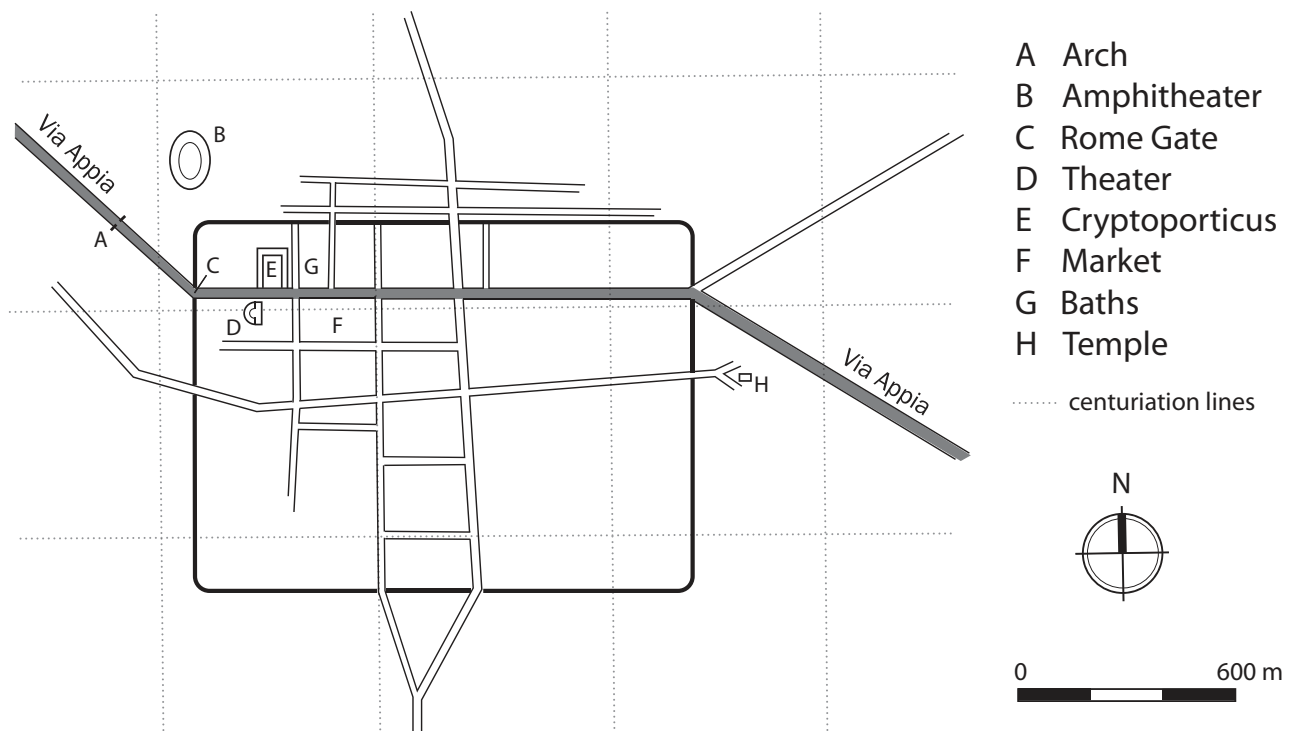


FIGURE 1.4 Plan of early Roman Capua with gridded centuriation (dotted lines) of the surrounding territory; rendered by Diane Favro.

Corinthian, or Ionic architecture for locally distinctive arcaded and arched forms” (Kuttner 2004, 298) – whose formative importance as new expressions in architecture will be expanded and emphasized later in these pages. Thus, the definition of Roman Republican art and architecture, as all art and architecture produced by and for the peoples of the Republic in or out of Italy, offers breadth and flexibility and resonates with the inclusive outlook in the arts and humanities of our times. To give it greater currency and relevance, it also parallels the modern view that all art produced by different ethnic and national groups on a land over time becomes the heritage of the peoples who ultimately live on that land, strive to uphold its traditions, and who assume the pride of its stewardship as well as the responsibility for its protection.

An important aspect of Roman-Etruscan interactions relates to the century before the formation of the Republic in 509 BCE when Rome was led by a series of kings or tyrants of Etruscan and local origin – a regal tradition that admits a century or more of monarchical rule, but not necessarily a fully established Etruscan hegemony. Starting from the sixth century BCE, Rome’s autocrats might have oppressed their subjects in the usual autocratic ways, but they also contributed toward the establishment of a public life, institutions, and architecture – in sum, the creation of a city. Tarquinius Superbus (meaning arrogant or lofty), the last king of Rome, in local myth and modern memory seems to be particularly mired in cruelty and violence. In a speech Patrick Henry gave

before the Virginia House in 1765, King George III of England was made an example of despotic oppression comparable to Tarquinius – and who, in some ways, followed the path of antiquity by being overthrown by the new American Republic. Nonetheless, the expelling of Tarquinius did not mean that Etruscan presence and influence in Rome came to an end. Rome by the sixth century had its own preferred “Latin culture and cosmopolitan population,” adopting only selected aspects of Etruscan culture. We should neither minimize the influence of this culture over Rome, nor define it in bland notions of superiority, but see the Romans and Etruscans as parallel and intertwined societies developing within the same cultural *koine* (Cornell 1995; Forsythe 1997).

Current scholarship also places special emphasis on the various and varied traditions of the Italian tribes as the incubators of the indigenous cultures that shaped and sustained Rome from its earliest days through its Empire (Figure 1.3). This approach, even when it supports the view that the urban architecture of Italy was profoundly changed through the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean during the third and second centuries BCE, and the “wholesale importation of material culture proved profound and sweeping,” contends that the direct and indirect influences of Hellenism “did not lead to a complete change of identity” (Becker 2014, 25). What identity is and how it is created are, of course, tricky questions that invariably lead to perceptions of self and the other, social inclusions and exceptions, and eventually, concepts of nationalism. It is



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perhaps best to see how these complex networks of outside influences represented refining rather than defining values in the formation of this identity. If the Italic roots of Roman civilization remained the bedrock on which other cultural motifs were truly internalized and embellished, it would be useful and cogent to seek and identify these overlapping cultural strands as represented in architecture and urbanism.

Republican Rome increasingly attracted people from all over the Mediterranean, which in turn ensured a vibrant diversity in most Italian settlements. Colonists transported ideas from Rome and other urban locations: people from Magna Graecia carried strong Hellenized traditions often straight from Greece; resettled veterans brought concepts from throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East. Cities digested indigenous and foreign architectural and urban influences, intermingling hybrid forms to create what Vitruvius famously defined as the “Italic custom” (*consuetudo Italico*), as distinguished from more insular Greek designs (*De Arch.* 5). Participating in this intermingling, Rome did not necessarily dictate developments but helped filter and strengthen evolving styles through its unifying, permanent presence. The city on the Tiber was a part, albeit an increasingly prominent one, of the larger ethnic and cultural caldron of peninsular Italy. Throughout the land, cities, colonies, and their civic architecture exhibited characteristics responding to common values and common needs, but they also displayed differences because of individual aspirations and inventions. Bolstering individuality, in most cases a single person, a community leader, not a committee oversaw projects. Cities in the Republican period affirmed a conceptual link with the Romans collectively. When Aulus Gellius, writing in the second century CE, called colonies “small copies and likenesses” of Rome, he was not referring to Rome’s physical environment but to the idea of Rome as a world city, and the greatness of the Roman people (*Gell. NA* 16.13).

Starting with the early Republic, the primary impetus for city planning, especially the famously popular grid plans, came directly from the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia (Metapontum, Megara Hyblaea) where they had been in use since the eighth century onward; or by way of Etruscan cities such as Marzabotto (Figure 1.5). These Roman grid plans built *ex novo* reflected the basic egalitarian nature of the Republic and its colonies, but the strict layouts and their message of equality were frequently frayed over time and use. Early cities were multinodal with “nucleated centers” for civic buildings situated around a flat, open space – the forum – often lined with elite housing, while religious structures dominated high locations, as in Cosa (see later). In their fora, citizens

came together organizing themselves in various social and political representative bodies, marking their space by using temporary posts and other demarcations. In the planning of the mid-Republican colonies, the influence of Greek (and, indirectly, also Etruscan and Punic) town planning cannot be denied, but the borrowing and diffusion was selective and intelligent.

As government at local and state levels became more formalized, the need for more permanent structures gave rise to types such as the Comitium, which was a curved or circular open-air space for citizens’ assemblies, and the boxy, rectangular, roofed curia for council meetings. Rome’s earliest Comitium was on the slopes below the Capitoline Hill, taking advantage of topography to rise above the gathering space below. Another prominent example of assembly architecture, the basilica, despite the Greek origins of its name (*basileus* = ruler), was by all accounts an integral part of Roman fora, traditionally associated with central Italian examples from the late Republic. Yet, its colonnaded, porticoed, semi-open form and public function is easily related to the Hellenistic stoa, as are the Roman peristyle enclosures (such as the four-sided porticus or a quadriporticus), a familiar building type of the Republic. The morphology of the forum itself and its alleged relation to the Hellenistic market place can be credibly argued, but not established as fact. Reflecting on the uncertainty of current scholarly thinking on these relationships, J. A. Becker comments that “At this stage it is clear that more inquiry into the earliest forms of civic buildings in Italy is required before we can simply declare that Roman civic forms are Greek derivatives” (Becker 2014, 18).

On the subject of defense architecture, the *agger* and *fosse* (bank and ditch) systems of early Rome documented on the Esquiline Hill are well known to any student of Roman topography. Such earthwork defenses were fairly common in early Italian cities such as Ardea and Satricum and could be alternatives (or forerunners) to the more expensive masonry walls. The sheer size and the complex planning of the stone fortifications protecting archaic cities of Etruria and Latium, such as Rusellae, Gabii, and Alatri (Figure 1.6), identify them as important community projects. Their massive construction, sometimes in refined polygonal masonry, underscores not only their functional efficacy as defenses but also a city’s pride and sense of identity. They were, and are, beautiful and impressive to look at. Long after these walls stopped protecting a city, they continued to serve in augmenting its prestige.

Domestic architecture in the first millennium BCE immortalized by Romulus’ legendary hut was firmly anchored in the real Iron Age settlements of central Italy. Circular or rectangular structures constructed in

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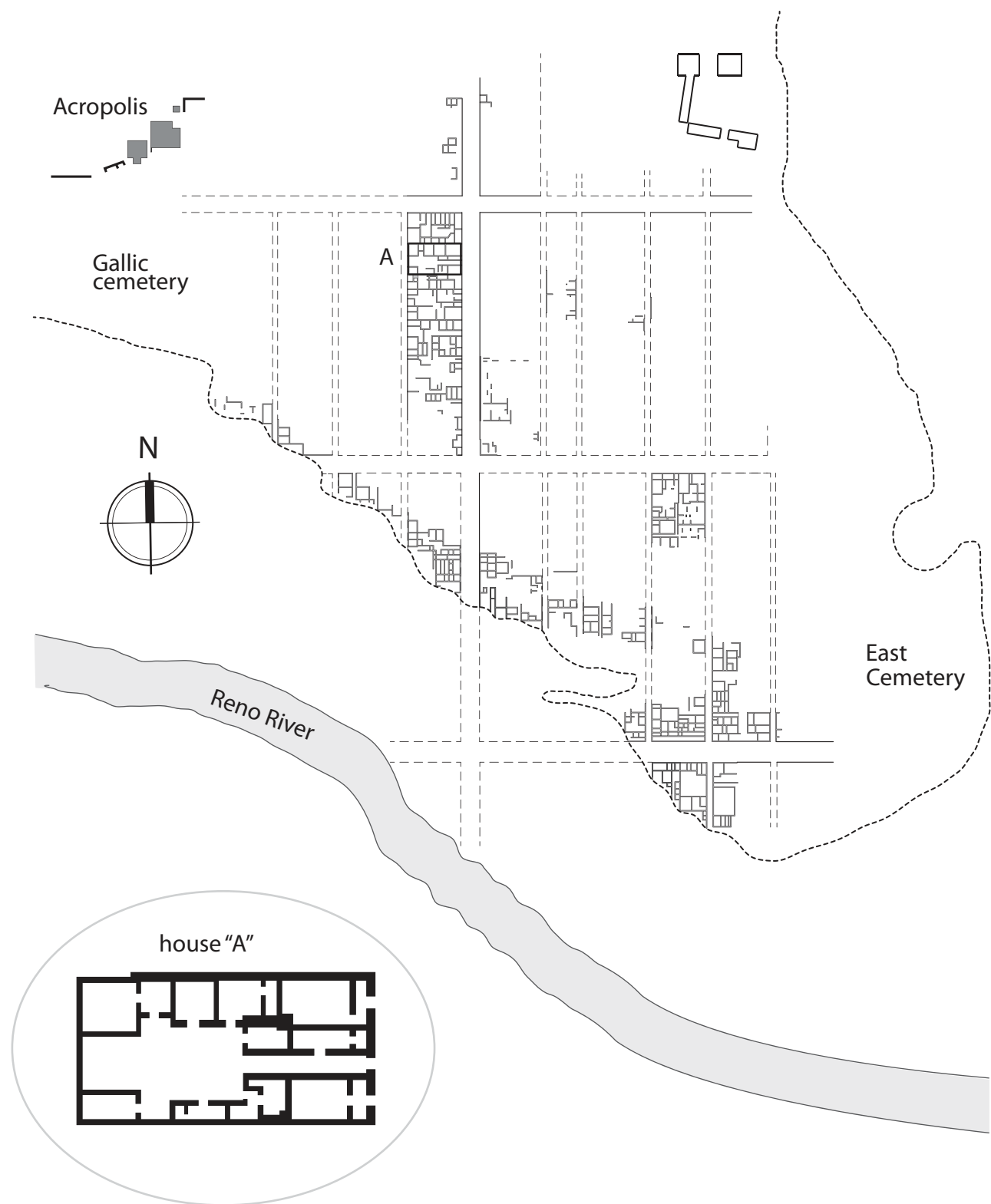


FIGURE 1.5 Plan of Marzabotto; rendered by Güzden Varinlioğlu.

wattle-and-daub, wooden posts supporting pitched roofs of thatch, are not only documented through archaeological finds, but also illustrated by painted clay, hut-shaped cinerary urns. As we see in Marzabotto, Aquarossa, and San Giovanale, by the sixth and fifth centuries BCE simpler plans were replaced by houses with complex internal spatial divisions signifying differentiation of function. The widespread

adoption of the city grid must have encouraged the development of rectilinear house plans (House A, Figure 1.5). The interest in order and axuality may indicate growing Hellenic influence: Greek-inspired cities filled with Greek-inspired houses. An important qualification here is that this adaptation or influence of one or another form of Greek domestic architecture (as it, too, varied considerably) as a defining element of