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0521789826 - Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## I On Romanization

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### I The civilizing process

At some point in the late 290s AD, an orator from the town of Autun in present day Burgundy made a speech before an imperial governor, perhaps the Prefect of the province of Lugdunensis I.<sup>1</sup> The orator, Eumenius, was a powerful and wealthy citizen of the community of the Aedui, whose capital Autun was, and had recently returned from serving as *Magister Memoriae* at the court of Constantius Chlorus, one of the two Caesars, or junior emperors, who assisted the Augusti, who at that time ruled the Roman empire. Constantius had set in hand the restoration of Autun, which had been sacked a generation before during a Roman civil war; the work had already begun, and Eumenius had been entrusted by the Caesar with the task of instructing the Aeduan youth of Autun in the liberal arts, which meant above all in oratory. Now, in his speech, he sought the Caesar's permission to dedicate his considerable salary to the physical restoration of the *Scholae Maenianae*, the celebrated schools of Autun. Recalling Constantius' past services to the city, and both the ancient and recent services of the Aedui to Rome, Eumenius sought permission to perform an act of *euergetism*, of civic munificence, that would at the same time express his loyalty to his imperial patron, his civic patriotism, his adherence to the highest cultural ideals of the empire and his pre-eminence among his own people.

For the historian of Rome, the incident recalls a hundred others throughout the empire, just as the ruined monuments that still distinguish Autun from the average Burgundian municipality evoke ruins from all over what was once the Roman world. The *Scholae Maenianae* are gone, but Autun still boasts a classical theatre, long stretches of her Roman city walls, including two gates, and the remains of a huge suburban temple. Likewise, the tombstones and statues, the glass and

<sup>1</sup> Eumenius' *Oratio pro instaurandis scholis*, numbered 9 (4) in Mynors' OCT edition of the *Panegyrici Latini*, 9 (5) in Galletier's Budé. For the uncertainties about the exact place, date and addressee of the speech, see Nixon and Rodgers (1994, 145–50).

Cambridge University Press

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Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 2 On Romanization

pottery vessels, and the personal ornaments and utensils displayed in the Musée Rolin resemble the Roman period collections of hundreds of local museums from Scotland to North Africa, Spain to Turkey. For us, the discovery of these familiar ruins and objects in a small French town is a reminder of a vanished age when the civilizations of this huge area came closer together than they have done ever since. But a second- or third-century visitor from another part of the empire would have gained the opposite impression, of a civilization grander and more extensive than had existed ever before. Eumenius' own grandfather had, as it happens, been born in Athens, and had lived in Rome before coming to Autun. On his arrival in Autun, he would have felt immediately at home, not just because the architecture and crockery were similar to that to which he was accustomed, but also because he would have found himself among people who shared his tastes and values, from a common diet to common ideas about the importance of education and of civic responsibility. Life in Autun was not always rosy, of course, although Eumenius' grandfather liked it well enough to settle there. The monuments and panegyrics which are our main source of knowledge about Roman Autun conceal, in part by design, the characteristic tensions of any early imperial city. The emperor had fixed Eumenius' huge salary but had commanded that it be paid by the Aedui, so that the orator's generosity consisted of redirecting public funds to his chosen project. The fact that he sought the support of the governor and of Constantius suggests that the scheme had its critics, whether jealous rivals or those who knew how easily grandiose building projects could involve communities in debt and heavy maintenance expenses.<sup>2</sup> Nor were emperors as constant in their patronage as the Aedui might have desired. The political prominence of the Aedui in the early first century AD and again under Constantius and his son Constantine was evident in Autun's two names, Augustodunum for the first emperor, and Flavia Aeduarum for Constantius' new dynasty, as well as in its monuments, but at other periods they commanded less influence and enjoyed less prosperity.<sup>3</sup> But the rise and fall of the fortunes of

2 On euergetism: Veyne (1976), reviewed by Garnsey in *JRS* 81 (1991) 164–8. For tensions between cities and their would-be benefactors: Pliny *Epistulae* 10.81–2; Dio Chrysostom *Orationes* 47, 48 on Prusa; Rogers (1991a) on Oenoanda; and Johnston (1985) on their expression in Roman law.

3 Political prominence in the first century derived from an early Aeduan alliance with Rome (Caesar *de Bello Gallico* passim). The first priest of Rome and Augustus at Lyon was an Aeduan (Livy *Epitomae* 139), as were the first senators from the Three Gauls (Tacitus *Annales* 11.25), and a school for the children of Gallic aristocrats existed at Autun under Tiberius (Tacitus *Annales* 3.43). On Autun's monuments: Bedon *et al.* (1988) vol. II, 70–3 with bibliography, and Rebourg (1991). Evidence for the later period of prominence is almost entirely confined to four of the speeches collected in

Cambridge University Press

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Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

individual cities too was a classical trope. The story of Autun, like its monuments or domestic bric-a-brac, might be paralleled in any province of the Roman empire.

How should we understand the growth of this common civilization throughout the area ruled by the Roman emperors? Aeduan commentators were aware that their culture had a history.<sup>4</sup> But their portrayal of their own past bears little resemblance to the iron age society, known as the late *La Tène*, that archaeologists have uncovered in excavating sites like the old Aeduan hillfort of Bibracte on Mont Beuvray, twenty kilometres from Autun on the edge of the remote Morvan.<sup>5</sup> Aeduan images of their past were thoroughly classical in character. ‘What people in all the world can claim to precede the Aedui in their love of the Roman name?’ asked one of Eumenius’ successors, speaking before the emperor Constantine, and went on to recall how the Aedui alone among the wild and barbaric peoples of Gaul had been addressed by the Roman senate as brothers of the Roman people. In contrast to other cities and peoples – Saguntum, Massilia, the Mamertines and even Ilium – whose alliances and claims to kinship were self-interested and imaginary, the Aedui alone had shown themselves worthy of a title which expressed the reciprocity of love and parity of honour which existed between them and the Roman people. When that honour aroused the jealousy of their neighbours, an Aeduan chief then visited Rome, and, leaning on his shield as he addressed the senate, invited Caesar into Gaul. By this action and by sharing in the burdens of the conquest of Gaul, the Aedui had brought all the land enclosed by the Rhine, the Pyrenees, the Atlantic and the Alps into the empire. ‘So, uniting all the peoples of the Celts and the Belgae together into one common peace, the Aedui had joined to the Romans those whom they had detached from the barbarians’.<sup>6</sup> The myth of the Aedui as Rome’s partners in freeing Gaul

the *Panegyrici Latini*, Mynors 5 (8), 6 (7), 8 (5), 9 (4), suggesting that the Aedui were able to capitalize on their unsuccessful support for Claudius II Gothicus against the Gallic emperors, and the desire of Constantius and his successors to establish a power-base in the West. Periods of decline are less well documented, but cf. Buckley (1981) on the late third century. By the mid-fourth century, the schools of Autun were eclipsed by those of Trier (Haarhoff 1920, 48), and at least two Aeduan towns, Auxerre and Chalon, were independent (Février *et al.* 1980, 114–15).

<sup>4</sup> For further discussion, see Woolf (1996b).

<sup>5</sup> Bertin and Guillaumet (1987) and Goudineau and Peyre (1993) provide brief general guides to the site and the history of research on it, principally the extensive excavations conducted by Bulliot and then Déchelette between 1867 and 1907, largely published in the *Mémoires de la Société Éduenne*. Interim reports on the current programme of research on the site are published in *RAE* 38 (1987) 285–300, 40 (1989) 205–28, 42 (1991) 271–98 and 44 (1993) 311–63.

<sup>6</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* Mynors 5 (VIII), 2–3. Braund (1980) suggests one possible explanation for the *fraternitas* of the Aedui.

Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 4 On Romanization

from barbarism, like the rhetorical medium in which it was expressed, reflects the extent to which third-century Gauls subscribed to the values of Roman civilization, but tells us little about how that civilization came into existence in Gaul. Civilized values seemed, to the Gallic orators, unproblematically superior to what had gone before, just as they were superior to the values of those other barbarians who remained outside the empire, and who had recently invaded Gaul, when the emperor's attention was distracted.

The founding fathers of the modern study of the Roman world held rather similar views about civilization and the barbarians. 'Our civilization' wrote Haverfield, 'seems firmly set in many lands; our task is rather to spread it further and develop its good qualities than to defend its life. If war destroys it in one continent, it has other homes. But the Roman Empire was the civilized world; the safety of Rome was the safety of all civilization. Outside roared the wild chaos of barbarism'.<sup>7</sup> Mommsen, too, had written of 'the Latin-Greek civilizing process in the form of perfecting the constitution of the urban community and the gradual bringing of the barbarian, or at any rate alien, elements into this circle', and compared the civilization and national prosperity of the Antonine age favourably with that of his own day.<sup>8</sup> Classical civilization played an even more important role in contemporary French histories of Roman Gaul. Fustel de Coulanges wrote that 'it was less Rome than civilization itself which won over the Gauls . . . Being Roman, for them, was not a matter of obeying a foreign master so much as of sharing in the most cultivated and noble manners, arts, studies, labours and pleasures known to humanity', and argued that Roman institutions enabled the Gauls, who were in any case of the same race as the Greeks and Romans, to develop a latent potential for civilization. The alternative to Roman rule was German rule, which would have condemned the Gauls and France to centuries more of barbarism.<sup>9</sup> Camille Jullian, whose influence over Gallo-Roman studies paralleled Haverfield's over Roman Britain, wrote that the Gauls were intelligent enough to recognize the charms of the South, and that they were members of European civilization, even if new arrivals.<sup>10</sup> Behind these late nineteenth- and early

7 Haverfield (1912, 10), although if Haverfield subscribed to a similar notion of civilization and barbarism, he was careful to distinguish British and Roman imperialism in other respects, for which see Freeman (1996). Hingley (1996) sets Haverfield's views in wider literary and historical contexts, but perhaps underplays the extent to which Haverfield differed from popular beliefs about the closeness of British and Roman imperialism.

8 Mommsen (1886, 4) 'die Durchführung der lateinisch-griechischen Civilisirung' in the (1885) German original. On his influence over Haverfield, see Freeman (1997).

9 De Coulanges (1891, 134–9). The nationalist agenda is evident.

10 Jullian (1908–26) vol. VI, 531–8.

Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

twentieth-century accounts can be detected two premises: first, a belief that not all races had an equal potential to participate in civilization; and second, a faith in the absolute validity of the values of European culture, seen as the heir to the civilization of the classical world. Both ideas were part of the legacy of European imperialism: neither are widely held today among cultural historians.<sup>11</sup>

Writing cultural history takes on a special character if the historian believes in the universal validity of one particular set of cultural values. It is perfectly possible to write cultural histories from that standpoint, but they tend to become either appraisals of alien cultures, or else genealogies of the historian's own civilization. The criticism applies equally to Eumenius of Autun and to Francis Haverfield. Cultural relativists, on the other hand, start from the premise that all cultural systems are equally valid. Roman civilization was no better, in other words, than the culture of late La Tène Gaul, but simply different, and we cannot explain cultural change in terms of intelligent savages recognizing the superiority of classical civilization.<sup>12</sup> Cultural relativism too is open to objections, and not just from the adherents of particular absolutist value systems,<sup>13</sup> but in the absence of a satisfactory definition of civilization, it seems to offer the best working hypothesis available. In this instance, it has the additional advantage that it promotes a critical stance to Roman claims to cultural superiority, and to European claims to be their heirs.<sup>14</sup> For better or worse, modern accounts of Roman culture have moved further and further away from the absolutist positions represented by de Coulanges and Haverfield, but the change has been a gradual one and the central concept deployed by Roman cultural historians today remains the term coined by that generation, Romanization.

Over the century since Mommsen, Jullian and Haverfield laid the foundations of the archaeology and history of the Roman West, Romanization has become a major preoccupation, perhaps *the* major preoccupation,

11 Blázquez (1989), citing earlier discussions of the relationship between Romanization and nineteenth-century imperialism; Millett (1990a, xv); Freeman (1993) and (1997) show how the agenda for research on this issue was set in this period. The studies cited also show the period of their composition in other ways, for example in the stress on institutions, and on the treatment of the Germans by the French writers.

12 But compare Knapp (1977, 144) on the Romanization of Spain: 'The more advanced towns saw the need to adjust to Roman ways in order to co-exist with the conquerors. The less developed peoples quite naturally took Roman forms as models when they sought to develop their communal life.'

13 For example, it is often objected that cultural relativism cannot in its nature claim to be a more valid philosophy than any other, and that it is as intimately related to conditions of political and cultural pluralism as more absolutist approaches are to imperial and totalitarian regimes.

14 Herrin (1987, 295–306) shows how Islam, Byzantium and Western Europe have equal, if contrasting, claims to be considered the heirs of Rome.

Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 6 On Romanization

of their successors. Thousands of studies have employed the concept of Romanization to organize accounts of the cultures of the western Roman provinces. Ancient historians have used literary and epigraphic evidence to chart the spread of Roman-style institutions, names, language and citizenship, while archaeologists have identified styles of architecture, metalwork and ceramic that distinguish Roman sites from those of the pre-Roman period, and Romanized from less Romanized provincials. On the basis of these studies, an approximate ranking in terms of Romanization is produced: the West is seen as more Romanized than the East; the Mediterranean world more Romanized than temperate Europe, southern Gaul more Romanized than northern Gaul, Italy more Romanized than the provinces, and cities more Romanized than the countryside.<sup>15</sup> That distribution may then be related to other variables – the political history of the region, the nature of pre-conquest societies, veteran colonization, the presence of the army, proximity to roads or river systems – to produce an explanation for the level of Romanization. The methodology has not altered much from that used by Mommsen.<sup>16</sup> The careful mapping of the phenomena collectively taken to provide indices of Romanization has been very valuable as a first stage in exploring Roman culture, especially when it has been put on a solid, quantitative basis, although it is noticeable that more attention has been directed towards distributions in space than in time, perhaps in part because of the difficulties in dating inscriptions and other artefacts.<sup>17</sup>

But if a careful mapping of Roman provincial culture is a useful, and perhaps even an essential preliminary to understanding it, the same cannot be said for expressing the results in terms of contours of Romanization. Even detached from the notion of a civilizing process, it is easy for the study of Romanization to become an appraisal of provincial cultures, measured against the standards of supposedly pure Roman culture. ‘Roman’ components of provincial culture are then privileged at the expense of indigenous ones, which are dismissed as residual.<sup>18</sup> Nor are the results of such an analysis worth having: ‘Let us not conclude by pronouncing a judgement that will in some way evaluate the Romanization of Vaison (very, quite, moderately or only a little Romanized) . . . Suppose we were to compile some artificial list

15 For more precise exercises in mapping the distribution of culture, see Price (1984, 78–100) on Asia Minor and Wallace-Hadrill (1990a) on Pompeii.

16 Mommsen (1886, 86, 102).

17 Ward-Perkins (1970) is an exception to the rule, pointing out how little impact Rome seems to have made on provincial cultures in the Republican period. See also Millett (1990b, 39–40), Woolf (1995).

18 Bénabou (1976a, 16–19) provides a very clear analysis of the problem, although his solution is open to criticism.

Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

of bogus “Roman traits” and imaginary “Celtic survivals”, and then tried to add up or balance out all the disparate data – there is no *atrium*, but there were *aediles*, there was no *duumvir*, but the toilets are similar to those at *Timgad* – we would end up playing a misleading intellectual game with no real meaning or interest.<sup>19</sup> Besides, there was no standard Roman civilization against which provincial cultures might be measured. The city of Rome was a cultural melting pot and Italy experienced similar changes to the provinces.<sup>20</sup> Nor did Romanization culminate in cultural uniformity throughout the empire. Eumenius’ grandfather would not have felt culturally disorientated in Autun, but he would have been perfectly aware of its differences from Athens or Rome, and regional variations are apparent to archaeologists in every sphere of material culture. Contrasts between capital and provinces, East and West, rich and poor, city and countryside are themselves a major feature of Roman imperial culture. Romanization may have been ‘the process by which the inhabitants come to be, and to think of themselves as, Romans’, but there was more than one kind of Roman, and studies of provincial culture need to account for the cultural diversity, as well as the unity, of the empire.<sup>21</sup>

Romanization has often been used as an umbrella term to conceal a multitude of separate processes. Some regard that as a major drawback of the concept, others see it as its most attractive feature.<sup>22</sup> Romanization has no explanatory potential, because it was not an active force, the course of which can be traced through a variety of indices, and the level of which can be measured. But used descriptively, Romanization is a convenient shorthand for the series of cultural changes that created an imperial civilization, within which both differences and similarities came to form a coherent pattern.

## II Cultural change

Becoming Roman was a slow process. An Aeduan who had fought alongside Caesar in his youth would have had to have lived to a ripe old

19 Goudineau (1979, 312–13).

20 On Romanization in Italy in general: Crawford (1981), Salmon (1982, 153–6), Wallace-Hadrill (1990a). On the constant renegotiation of what ‘Roman’ meant in cultural terms, cf. Barratt (1997), Woolf (1997).

21 The definition is from Harris (1971, 147). On diversity and unity, see Woolf (1992a), reviewing Blagg and Millett (1990).

22 Goudineau (1979, 312): ‘sous ce vocable de “romanisation” se dissimulaient foule de canevases trop commodes, de schémas trop simples, de concepts plus ou moins confus’; Mócsy (1970, 7): ‘da er [der Terminus] demnach auch sehr dehnbar ist, werden geschichtliche Prozesse, die doch verdienten, eingehender untersucht zu werden, einfach unter seinem Sammelbegriff zusammengefasst und daher verhüllt.’

Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 8 On Romanization

age to have seen the foundation of Augustodunum. His childhood would have been spent in an iron age farmstead, or perhaps in one of the defended hilltop sites that appeared in Gaul in the last decades before the conquest. Those sites, usually called *oppida* by archaeologists of the late La Tène, were the nearest thing that iron age Europe ever got to towns, and at a pinch Caesar could occasionally refer to them as *urbes* if he wanted to stress his achievements, but they were probably little more than clusters of houses and compounds gathered together behind huge earthworks.<sup>23</sup> Whether he lived on an isolated farm or in a hillfort, our Aeduan would have been brought up in a house built out of posts, wattle and daub, and the only goods of Roman manufacture he would have been likely to have seen would have been the pottery vessels called *amphorae* in which Mediterranean wine was imported. Caesar's description of Gallic society probably applied as closely to the Aedui as to any group.<sup>24</sup> Nobles and druids ruled over a commons, whose lot was hardly better than that of slaves. The power of the warrior nobles derived from their birth, their wealth, the number of clients they could protect and muster, and their reputation among their peers. The druids' influence derived from their possession of arcane knowledge, their monopoly of cult and their authority to settle disputes. But those disputes divided the society that Caesar described at every level, and the power of any noble family was anything but secure and entrenched. Archaeology adds to this picture an impression of the growing scale of that power over the last three centuries BC, expressed in steady agricultural expansion, in the construction of more and more massive timber and earth ramparts, and in the production of iron tools and weapons in unparalleled quantities.<sup>25</sup> It is difficult to detect archaeological traces of the elites described by Caesar, whether because their status was maintained in ways which left no trace, like the magnificent sacrifices and funerals, and distributions of food, wine and coins described by classical sources,<sup>26</sup> or because their power was expressed in communal projects, such as warfare or the construction of the huge, elaborate fortifications of the *oppida*. But the rich burials that are attested from some areas reinforce the

23 On late La Tène settlements, see chapter 4 below.

24 Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 6.11–19. On the need to distinguish his account carefully from those referring to the Gauls of earlier time (or of different areas), see Nash (1976a). On the problems of reconstructing late La Tène society from a combination of Caesarian ethnography and archaeological evidence, see Ralston (1988), Haselgrove (1988) and Woolf (1993d), dissenting from the views of Crumley (1974) and Nash (1976b), (1978a), (1978b), (1981). On the reliability of Caesar, cf. Stevens (1952), Rambaud (1966), Collins (1972) and especially Buchsenschutz and Ralston (1986).

25 Woolf (1993c).

26 E.g. Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 6.15–19, Strabo *Geographia* 4.2.3, Athenaeus *Deipnosophistai* 4.150–4. For discussion and interpretation of these customs, see Daubigny (1979).



Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

impression created by the literary evidence of the magnitude and precariousness of the power that might be amassed by able individuals.<sup>27</sup>

That way of life came to a sudden end with Caesar's conquest of Gaul. The sequence of events that followed was complex, and varied considerably from region to region, but among the Aedui, a new city began to be built within a few years of the conquest, on the site of the *oppidum* of Bibracte.<sup>28</sup> One of the chief objects of the current excavations on Mont Beuvray is to discover the precise relationship of this city to its late La Tène predecessor, which it replaced around the end of the last century BC as well as to the new town of Augustodunum some twenty kilometres away. Despite the enormous amount of archaeological research conducted both on Mont Beuvray and at Autun, severe problems of chronology make it difficult to trace this evolution in detail,<sup>29</sup> but some contrasts stand out. Both iron age Bibracte and Roman Autun were originally enclosed by very extensive defences, probably serving more symbolic than practical defensive functions in both cases. The late La Tène inner rampart of Bibracte was five kilometres long – a larger outer circuit has only just been discovered – enclosing some 135 hectares with a ditch and a wall made of earth heaped over a timber frame, held together with iron nails a foot long, and finished off with a stone facing and an elaborate gatehouse of the type known as a *Zangentor*. The defences as a whole closely resemble those found on fortified sites throughout late la Tène Europe.<sup>30</sup> Some parts of this were demolished and the ditch filled at some time after the conquest, but over most of its length the rampart survives today. The Augustan circuit wall of Augustodunum was six kilometres and enclosed about 200 hectares,

27 E.g. Metzler *et al.* (1991) especially 158–74. See also Ferdière and Villard (1993). Burials on this scale are not known from every region of Gaul, but it is not safe to assume that powerful individuals were only present in some areas. Much of the literary evidence for their activity concerns the Auvergne, where no rich graves of the second iron age have so far been found comparable to those of the north east or the Berry. Chances of recovery and the existence of a variety of alternative means of establishing status probably both played a part. For surveys of late La Tène burial practices, see Collis (1977) and more recently Cliquet *et al.* (1993).

28 Goudineau and Peyre (1993).

29 Duval *et al.* (1990) discuss the problems of the chronology of the late La Tène period in France. The situation is a little better for the succeeding period, known as Gallo-romaine précocé, as it is possible to date sites on the basis of the ceramics used in military camps known to have been occupied for short periods. But as Wightman (1977) and Goudineau (1989, 95–118) make clear, many problems remain. On the difficulties posed by coinage as a basis of chronology before the middle of the first century AD, see Nash (1978c). In addition, the earliest phases of many Gallo-Roman towns have been largely obliterated, either by the more substantial buildings constructed from the middle of the first century AD, or by later building (Février *et al.* 1980, 53–66).

30 Collis and Ralston (1976), Ralston (1981).

Cambridge University Press

0521789826 - Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul

Greg Woolf

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 10 On Romanization

but it was very different to the defences of Bibracte. Built of stone, it had more than fifty towers and was entered via monumental stone gates. We know next to nothing of the internal organization of Bibracte in the late La Tène period, but if it resembled other *oppida* of the same period, we might expect post-built structures in compounds and an absence of monumental architecture.<sup>31</sup> After the conquest, houses began to be constructed on Bibracte, that employed Roman materials like masonry and tile and resembled Mediterranean houses in their design, but whereas in Augustodunum the houses were arranged in blocks marked out by an orthogonal street plan, articulated in Italian fashion on two axial streets, the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, the houses on Roman Bibracte were more haphazardly arranged. Differences in relief provide part of the explanation: although the site of Autun is not level, Bibracte is on a mountain top. But topography cannot explain all the contrasts between the two cities. From the first Augustodunum had a forum, a theatre and an amphitheatre, and temples and a school, too, by the middle of the first century AD, whereas Bibracte had at most a temple complex with perhaps some sort of forum, although uncertainty surrounds the nature and chronology of the earliest structures on the site of the Gallo-Roman temple. Mont Beuvray has produced no public inscriptions, while Autun has produced over 150, admittedly over a much longer period of occupation. Connected to this is a difference in burial rite: at Autun, as at most Roman cities, the dead were buried in cemeteries outside the city's sacred limits, while at Bibracte there are burials within the inhabited area, often in the remains of imported wine *amphorae*.<sup>32</sup>

Iron age Bibracte became a Roman city and then was supplanted by the Augustan new town within a single lifetime (just), but the cultural changes involved were complex. Roman Bibracte epitomizes the problems facing attempts to understand these changes: we know enough to be sure that Romanization was more complex than simply the rejection of one cultural system in preference for another one, but the chronological problems posed by the archaeology make it very difficult to disentangle the changes in detail, and it is not immediately obvious why change proceeded in some areas rather than others. Why, for example, was domestic architecture transformed, but no town planning or public building undertaken? Why did the Aedui adopt the Roman taste for wine, but not Roman taboos about disposal of the dead? For enlightenment on these complexities, it is natural to turn to those anthropologists and archaeologists who have made special studies of cultural change.

31 Cf. Woolf (1993b), Collis (1984), Audouze and Buchsenschtz (1988).

32 Laubenheimer (1991, 23–5) provides a map, but cautions that many *amphorae* may be mis-classified as funerary deposits.