

The Urbanization of Roman *Municipia*:  
Urban Development and Romanization in Umbrian Cities During the First Century BCE

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**Abstract**

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This thesis examines the urban development of the Roman *urbs* during the first century BCE. The cities of southern Umbria provide a case study of a wider phenomenon occurring throughout Italy following the municipalization of the peninsula after the Social War. Using archaeology and contemporary cultural analysis, I examine the development of their fora, theaters, and amphitheaters through the century. These public spaces and buildings demonstrate the concept of recirculation that occurs when architectural design ideas flow between Italian cities and Rome, informing one another until refined into a standard form. The canonical form of these Roman buildings, while set in Rome, are indebted to the contributions made in these cities. The development of the Roman *urbs* and these urban features into a standardized form demonstrate a confluence of culture, innovation, and mimicry under Roman power and are a visual demonstration of the unification of Italy under Rome.

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# Chapter One: Introduction

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Developed by Francis Haverfield in the early 1900s when studying Roman Britain, Romanization describes the means by which native social groups progressively became Roman.<sup>1</sup> It refers to the benevolent, civilizing aspects of Roman imperialism (which not coincidentally aligned with British imperialism).<sup>2</sup> Haverfield's framework — Romanization — became a way to describe the process of cultural interaction between the dominant Roman Empire and the conquered native cultures. It was used to explain how local culture, anywhere in the empire, became increasingly Roman. The transmission of Roman culture was viewed through the subjugation of foreign peoples, the enforcement of Roman values, and the eventual adoption of Roman culture by local peoples.

City building was an essential feature of Romanization, allowing for Roman expansion and control of a vast empire that extended across the Mediterranean and lasted for centuries. The city was at the heart of cultural interactions between Roman and non-Roman populations since it was within the city that political and administrative structures of law and governance were based. Detailed examination of *urbes* outside the city of Rome offers an opportunity to look at the cultural exchange between Roman and non-Roman societies. The Italian peninsula was culturally diverse before Roman conquest and its cities and peoples were a part of cultural

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<sup>1</sup> Hingley 1996, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Roman historiography reveals a deep connection between how scholars approach Roman history and archaeology and the contemporary models for viewing world-systems (Terrenato 2005, 62-5). Rome plays a passive role for the history we create for the empire. It is no coincidence that Haverfield's theory of Romanization aligned with British imperial motivations. However, this realization should serve as a warning and not a deterrent.

spheres that were distinct and separate from Rome. *Urbes* provide a medium in which to examine the interaction of cultures and the formation of Roman cultural identity. Common characteristics such as fortifications, streets, and certain buildings created identifiable boundaries, pathways, and points of interests. The forum, theater, and amphitheater were urban elements considered essential for a Roman city. These buildings were particular markers of Roman culture and civilization, and their construction reflects (among other things) the incorporation of a particular *urbs* into the Roman Empire through the acceptance of Roman values and culture.

This project focuses on the development of fora, theaters, and amphitheaters in the cities of Roman Umbria during the first century BCE.<sup>3</sup> This period sees rapid changes in Roman politics, society, and culture, as well as in Rome's administration of Italy. Following the Social War in 90, the cities of the Italian peninsula were granted status as Roman *municipia* and its men were enfranchised, incorporated as full citizens with voting rights into the Roman state. The next several decades saw the rise and fall of generals and political factions, resulting in a series of civil wars and unrest. A period of relative political peace followed the establishment of imperial rule under Augustus in 31.

While previous scholars have focused on Romanization in individual Umbrian cities, or have studied the administrative and legal side of Romanization that incorporates municipalization, this project explores how the forum, theater, and amphitheater were integrated into Umbrian *urbes* and how this reflects the incorporation of these *urbes* into the Roman Empire. This process is broadly analyzed using modern theories of Romanization that build on post-colonial theory and globalization studies in order to understand the exchange of ideas in

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<sup>3</sup> From this point forward, all dates are BCE unless otherwise stated.

regard to the *urbs* that occurred between the capital city of Rome and the Romanized cities of Italy.

Ultimately, this project argues that there was not a strict form of mimicry by the periphery cities, but instead there was an exchange between cities and cultures negotiating new ties. The fora, theaters, and amphitheaters built in the cities of Umbria were influenced by buildings of these types in Rome, and in turn were instrumental in establishing the standardized forms and precepts for these important structures by the end of the first century. Such uniform precepts were then followed throughout the empire for much of the remaining centuries of Roman power.

## **Introduction to Romanization and the *Urbs***

### **The *Municipium* and the *Urbs***

The end of the first decade of the first century marks an abrupt change to Rome's administration of Italy. At this time treaties and charters between Italian cities and Rome defined not only the city's status under Rome but the classification of its peoples, the level of their citizenship and rights, and the jurisdiction of local and Roman laws. The Social War, which broke out in 90, involved the uprising of Italic cities on the peninsula over civic and political rights and representation. The conflict resulted in the enfranchisement of Italic men and their classification as Roman citizens. Cities and colonies that were previously integrated into Roman administration through a system of alliances and treaties were granted municipal charters and became *municipia*. Prior to the Social Wars, the classification of a city as a *municipium*

designated the *urbs* as an independent member within the Roman state.<sup>4</sup> With the outbreak of the Social War, Rome granted municipal status to cities in northern Italy with the passage of the *Lex Julia* in an effort to stave off their union with the rebelling southern cities.<sup>5</sup> At the conclusion of the war all cities on the Italian peninsula were classified as *municipia* and their citizens were incorporated into the voting tribes of Rome.<sup>6</sup> The *municipium* became the binding agent in the unification of Italy.<sup>7</sup> A single Roman-Italian identity began to emerge from the political reorganization of Italian communities at the start of the first century, an identity which was strengthened under Augustus and the Principate.

The legal and administrative classification of *urbes* as they came under Roman control is only one way to examine Romanization. Other scholars have examined what urban characteristics (e.g., buildings, public spaces, and their design) constituted physical evidence of Romanization. These discussions often take the Roman colony of Cosa, founded in 273, as the model Roman city against which other cities are compared. Frank Brown's publications of his excavations at Cosa provided the seminal study of the planning and development of the Roman *urbs*. Brown promoted the Roman colony as a "premeditated design for what a functioning Roman environment ought to be" compared to "the unplanned, radial prototype" that was Rome.<sup>8</sup> The comparison between planned Roman cities and Rome itself emphasizes the dichotomy of Rome's organic development and growth over centuries to the formal spatial organization of Roman cities developed from the mid-fourth century onwards. Despite this

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<sup>4</sup> A city's status as a *municipium* was granted to conquered cities as part of their treaty with Rome, or to other cities upon request. The granting of municipal status in the form of a charter tied the *municipium* to Rome through a military service obligation known as a *munus* (Brunt 1971, 525; Sherwin-White 1973, 40; Bispham 2007, 15). This charter defined the city's relationship to Rome as an autonomous member incorporated within the Roman state that was at once both independent from and dependent on Rome (Sherwin-White 1973, 42).

<sup>5</sup> Harris 1971, 215; Lomas 1996a, 86; Mouritsen 1998, 154; Bradley 2000a, 218; Bispham 2007, 163.

<sup>6</sup> App. *B Civ.*, 1.49; Lomas 1996a, 102; Mouritsen 1998, 163; Bispham 2007, 169-71, 189-90, 197-99.

<sup>7</sup> Bispham 2007, 52.

<sup>8</sup> Brown 1980, 12.

initially promoting a strong desire in scholars and archaeologists to find miniature Romes within Roman colonies,<sup>9</sup> Brown's observations on colonial cities' mimic-adaptation of Rome defined key features for the environs of an early Roman *urbs*.

Brown's research and its reception set the agenda for scholarship on Roman urbanism over the course of the next half century. Following the publication of Cosa, other colonial cities were soon excavated that were similar in size, civil status, and habitation patterns.<sup>10</sup> As scholars tried to apply Brown's thesis about Roman urbanization to other cities, his theories were questioned and countered. It became clear that Roman *urbes* were not direct, or even perfected, copies of Rome since the archaeological evidence did not correlate to this thesis under scrutiny.<sup>11</sup>

While a literal mimicry of Rome in Roman cities should be disregarded, imitation can play a strong role in the development of the *urbs*. For example, Jamie Sewell's 2010 *The Formation of Roman Urbanism* studies the conception of the Roman *urbs* during the third century and the *ex novo* foundation of Rome's Latin colonies. Sewell analyzes the buildings and public spaces of cities with early foundation dates to determine if their urban elements reflect Roman or Greek influences.<sup>12</sup> He identifies Hellenistic influences on Roman town

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<sup>9</sup> Such research was supported by passage in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* that was written in the mid-second century CE. This passage describes Roman colonies as *effigies parvae simulacraque*, "miniatures, as it were, and in a way copies" (Gell. *NA*, 16.13.8-9; translation Rüpke 2007, 431). Literal interpretations of the passage led to viewing spaces in colonies as direct replicas of those found in Rome (Zanker 2000, 41; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 57-8). The apparent support from a primary source on the intentional and unequivocal mimicry of Rome was a misinterpretation of the passage, overlooking not only the contemporary cultural context in which it was written but also the fact that it refers not to the urban plan of colonies but to their civic constitution, administration, and Roman character (Coarelli and Monti 1998, 57; Bispham 2000, 157-8; Fentress 2000b, 13; Zanker 2000, 41; Sewell 2010, 72-3, 86).

<sup>10</sup> These include the hilltop cities of Alba Fucens (Martens 1969a, 1969b; Liberatore 2004) and Fregellae (Coarelli 1991b; Coarelli and Monti 1998), and the city of Paestum (Greco and Theodorescu 1980; 1983; 1987; 1999; Torelli 1999a; Greco *et al.* 2000), which was originally founded by the Greeks as Poseidonia.

<sup>11</sup> Fentress 2000b, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Sewell's case studies include the cities of Cosa, Alba Fucens, Fregellae, and Paestum and he uses the Greek cities of Metapontum, Poseidonia, Morgantina, Kassope, and Priene for comparisons.

planning that in turn became markers of Roman cities.<sup>13</sup> He is careful to note when certain Greek and Roman elements were rejected or incorporated into Latin colonies and which elements appear to be present in the city from the beginning. While these colonies should not be seen as replicas of Rome, one can easily identify how the incorporation of Roman institutions resulted in the construction of specific buildings, such as the *comitium-curia* complex, to promote civic Roman functions. In these cases, patterns of mimesis begin to appear. Overall Sewell's research demonstrates how models of Roman urban planning for the early Roman *urbes* are dependent on prior development of the city by Greeks, Italians, and Romans. Yet the concept of the Roman *urbs* remains strongly linked to the city of Rome.

### **Romanization and Contemporary Cultural Analysis**

The positive perspective towards colonization began to fracture with decolonization in the mid-twentieth century, resulting in post-colonial theories that critiqued colonialism, focusing on the malevolent repercussions of imperialism, expansion, and empire. Post-colonial critique illuminated how the cultural transmission between Romans and non-Romans as described by Romanization removed any agency from the local population. The local was seen as merely a lesser culture awaiting enlightenment. An early and seminal example of the new approach is Martin Millett's 1990 *The Romanization of Britain*, which refocused the discussion of Romanization on local agency. Millett states that the process of becoming Roman stemmed from local elite adaptation of Roman culture as a means of obtaining and maintaining power after Roman conquest.<sup>14</sup> As the local indigenous population on the periphery of the empire is the

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<sup>13</sup> Sewell identifies multiple Hellenistic influences throughout his study including fortifications, streets, *insulae*, the forum/ agora's incorporation into the urban grid, and domestic architecture.

<sup>14</sup> Millett 1990; see also Webster 2001, 213-4; Hingley 2007, 83-4; Revell 2009, 6-7.

subject of his study, Millett subverts analytic trends that center on the dominant force of imperial power. Instead, the local populace reclaims their agency in cultural change.

Recent approaches to Romanization have used post-colonial theories to revise understandings of empire beyond binary applications of simple dichotomies such as civilized and barbarian and local and global, which elevated civilized, global Rome over the barbaric locals. Post-colonial studies create a nuanced history of Roman expansion by paying distinct attention to the local, examining individual communities and cultures instead of a monolithic Roman society. Scholarly writing of the past three decades follows contemporary trends of complex, multi-faceted global analysis as scholars attempt to define, refine, and reinterpret cultural change encapsulated by the term Romanization — a word fraught with imperial overtones and born from British imperialism of the Victorian and Edwardian eras.<sup>15</sup>

With the renewed focus on Romanization, the word has become a terminological shorthand for “cultural analysis;” however, individual usages and interpretations of “Romanization” vary from scholar to scholar and the term’s meaning has become increasingly muddled. Romanization’s ability to accurately describe a particular form of culture transmission is now lost in the myriad of scholarly interpretations and an origin soiled by its relation to nineteenth century imperialism. Instead of completely disregarding or radically rethinking Romanization,<sup>16</sup> historians recycle and redefine the flawed historical model. Romanization has yet to be completely discarded from the academic vernacular. Today, scholars increasingly

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<sup>15</sup> Rome as a colonial empire became a comparative example for Britain’s own imperial expansion at the height of the British Empire. The goals, methods, and outcome of Britain’s empire were reflected and indeed sanctioned by their analysis of the Roman Empire. Rome often played such a role for dominant powers as a comparative model of their own colonial prowess. See Mattingly 1996b, 35; Hingley 2000; 2005, 33; Terrenato 2005, 64. See also Freeman 1996, 1997; Hingley 1996, 2005; Mattingly 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2011; Williams 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Hingley 1996, 41.

grope for new terminology and explore other academic fields for ways in which to theorize intercultural and transregional relations occurring during the Roman Empire.

For example, Richard Hingley in *Globalizing Roman Culture* redefines Romanization based on late-twentieth-century theories of globalization instead of nineteenth-century imperialism or post-colonial theory.<sup>17</sup> He expresses the importance of approaching Romanness through a broad context that accepts and embraces the variable ways to define cultural identity.<sup>18</sup> His globalized approach provides a contemporary update to Romanization that removes British Imperial Age overtones without losing the nuance of the clash of cultures that derives from imperial ventures. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in *Rome's Cultural Revolution* refutes the binary opposition between Roman and non-Roman created under Romanization, instead suggesting alternative theoretical approaches such as bilingualism, hybridization, creolization, and acculturation.<sup>19</sup> These theories provide new understandings regarding the complex transformation of society, culture, and identity under and due to interaction with the Roman Empire, especially as to the appropriation of cultural characteristics by both Roman and non-Roman parties. For example, theories of hybridization and creolization refer to the mixing of cultural traits. Hybridization focuses on the creation of a single culture based on multiple, distinct influences while creolization relies on the ability for an inhabitant to code-switch between different cultures, when necessary, in a method similar to linguistic bilingualism.<sup>20</sup> Overall, Wallace-Hadrill's study emphasizes Roman culture's interaction and co-mingling with

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<sup>17</sup> Although Hingley (2005, 13) criticizes Romanization as a byproduct of the colonial-imperialist age, he sees his alignment with theories of modern global interaction not as a hindrance or an "inappropriate parallel" but as consistent with an appropriate use of current information available.

<sup>18</sup> Hingley 2005, 118.

<sup>19</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 9-14.

<sup>20</sup> Webster 2001; Adams 2003; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 14.

other cultures in Italy.<sup>21</sup> His work provides a practicum for studying transcultural relations within the context of the Roman Empire.

As is demonstrated by both Hingley and Wallace-Hadrill, discussions of Roman hegemony and local interaction are possible within a framework that allows for diversity and complexity. Their approaches emphasize identifying and discussing local identity and reactions to Roman contact. The emphasis on cultural identity in the work of both scholars demonstrates their movement beyond the construct and meta-discourse of Romanization and into the issues that the term Romanization circles and incorporates.<sup>22</sup> Their approach is an example of how contemporary analysis of globalization has begun to seep into studies of Roman history and is affecting Romanization and the study of cultural interaction.

## Introduction to Umbrian Case Studies

The *urbs* is an ideal location to study interactions and transmissions between non-Roman peoples and Romans. Examining the development of the constituent components of the city lays the foundation for understanding how ideas regarding the Roman *urbs* circulated through cities on the Italian peninsula. The urban development of Umbrian cities during the first century and into the first century CE combines the issues of cultural plurality in Italy with the unification of the peninsula under the cultural umbrella of Rome.

In studying the development of the Roman *urbs*, I have chosen to focus on the cities of Umbria. Umbria is a region in central Italy located north of Rome. The area was slow to urbanize and was an important, fertile, agricultural region. Ancient Umbria was bordered by Etruria to the north and west and Sabinum in the south. The Umbrians are often overlooked in

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<sup>21</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 14.

<sup>22</sup> Williams 2001, 94.

histories, which Guy Bradley postulates is due to Rome's greater military and political engagement with the Etruscans and the Samnites.<sup>23</sup> For example, in William Harris's 1971 *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, which examines these regions in relation to Roman policy and conquest, Umbria receives a much shorter treatment than Etruria and Romanization receives much of Harris' focus rather than Umbrian regional identity and development. However, the lack of Umbrian archaeology at the time of Harris's research created a dependence on literary sources for his claims, which often derived solely from the ancient Roman perspective or focus on military conquest.<sup>24</sup>

The establishment of the region's archaeological superintendence in the 1960s greatly increased the excavation of the region and deepened our understanding of Umbrian history, culture, and interactions with the Romans. Paul Fontaine's 1990 *Cités et enceintes de l'Ombrie antique* demonstrates the benefits of archaeology in the region.<sup>25</sup> Following a brief discussion of the region as a whole, Fontaine devotes a chapter to the topography, history, and most importantly the archaeology (with particular attention paid to the city walls) of each city in the central Umbrian valley.<sup>26</sup>

As archaeological work continues in Umbria more information about these cities' Medieval, Roman, and Umbrian history comes to light. Books focused on specific cities, such as Liana Di Marco's 1975 *Spoletium, topografia e urbanistica*, are now produced by scholars and the region's archeological superintendence. The superintendence of the modern city of Terni (ancient Interamna Nahars) has published several books detailing their excavations as well as an extensive museum catalog for the city and collections of essays on Umbrian history and

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<sup>23</sup> Bradley 2000a, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Bradley 2000a, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Fontaine, 1990; Bradley 2000a, 14.

<sup>26</sup> These include Asisium, Narnia, Oriculum, Spoletium, Carsulae, Hispellum, Interamna Nahars, and Tuder.

archaeology.<sup>27</sup> Equally noteworthy are the numerous articles devoted to the archeological discoveries in Umbrian cities and their context in the broader Umbrian-Roman world. Filippo Coarelli's studies on Asisium in 1991, *Assisi Repubblica: Riflessioni su un caso di autoromanizzazione* and *Da Assisi a roma architettura pubblica e promozione sociale in una città dell'Umbria*, are compelling examples of investigating the Romanization of Umbria from the perspective of Asisium and the city's and its people's adoption of Roman culture. The archeology and research of the region continues today. At Terni, the area around the Roman forum is slowly being excavated<sup>28</sup> and in 2013 the British School at Rome published their findings from their fieldwork on Roman Oriculum conducted from 1997-2005.<sup>29</sup>

Bradley's 2000 *Ancient Umbria: state, culture, and identity in central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan era* is the most comprehensive regional study to date. Bradley places the Umbrians—the people, culture, and history—at the forefront of his study. While the Romans are an essential and large part of Umbrian history in Bradley's study, Umbrian history is viewed holistically over a millennium and the Romans become a part of the region's history and cultural development.<sup>30</sup> This produces a detailed study of the region that explores the complexity of its development from the Iron Age through its incorporation into the Roman state.

These studies demonstrate the value and relevance of archaeological research. Archaeology is the best source to study the cities of Umbria, due to little literary material concerning Umbria and Rome's comparative lack of interest. Following the historiography of recent research, this study continues to remedy past inattention to the region by examining the archaeology of Umbria's cities. The cities of Umbria provide a basis to study the development

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<sup>27</sup> Pirro 1997; Angelelli and Ponzi, 2006; Coarelli and Sisani 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Angelelli *et al.* 2006; Faustini 2006; Giorgi 2006.

<sup>29</sup> Hay *et al.* 2013.

<sup>30</sup> Bradley 2000a, 18.

of the Roman *urbs* during the first century as they are distinct, independent cities that purposely adopt and adapt Roman architectural buildings and motifs for their own needs. This study chooses to focus on the urban development of the southern Umbrian cities situated around the Umbrian Valley and its mountains: Oriculum, Interamna Nahars, Carsulae, Spoletium, and Asisium (now the modern cities of Otricoli, Terni, Spoleto, and Assisi; Carsulae was eventually abandoned; fig. 1.1).

A key feature in the region — and an important contributor to the Romanization of Umbria — is the Via Flaminia, a major road that led from Rome through Umbria to Fanum Fortunae (modern Fano) on the Adriatic coast, constructed by the censor Gaius Flaminius in 220. Consular roads such as the Via Flaminia were important routes through Roman Italy since they connected cities and settlements with the capital — Rome — and created a route for trade, cultural exchange, and military travel.<sup>31</sup> The construction of consular roads is noted for increased traffic, urban growth, and generally prosperity in the surrounding area. Carsulae may owe its foundation to the route of the Via Flaminia and the monumentalization of Oriculum was likely influenced by the confluence of the city's topography with the road.<sup>32</sup>

As the southernmost city of this study, Oriculum (fig. 1.2) is located about seventy kilometers north of Rome. Following Rome's conquest of Mevania in 308, Oriculum formed a *foedus aequum* alliance with Rome and became a *municipium* after the Social War.<sup>33</sup> Umbrian settlement of the area dates to the eighth century and includes both a walled hilltop community located under modern Otricoli as well as a settlement, where the Romans placed their city, that

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<sup>31</sup> Wiseman 1970, 138; Laurence 1999, 21-3; Bradley 2000a, 114, 193-4, 230.

<sup>32</sup> Morigi 1997, 74; Hay *et al.* 2013, 146. Consular roads were often the major route through cities, as is seen with the Via Latina and Alba Fucens, the Via Flaminia and Carsulae, and the Via Appia and Minturnae. See also Laurence 1999, 151-60.

<sup>33</sup> Livy 9.41.20; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 16; Fontaine 1990, 57; Hay *et al.* 2013, 5, 10.

stood on the western edge of a plateau that overlooked the Tiber River as it meandered through the valley.<sup>34</sup> The Via Flaminia reached the city center along a gentle slope up the plateau that took travelers past funerary monuments and a series of monumental structures built against the steep slope of the ridge.<sup>35</sup>

From Otricoli the Via Flaminia continued north until Narnia where it splits, and the eastern spur leads to Interamna Nahars (fig. 1.3) roughly thirty kilometers away on the southern edge of the Umbrian Valley. The city dates its foundation to the seventh century, was likely conquered at the end of the fourth century when Rome conquered Umbria, and was first referenced as a Roman colony in 209.<sup>36</sup> The city's administrative status prior to this 209 reference is unknown, as is its status before the Social War: Bispham asserts that Interamna became a *municipium* prior to the Social War while Bradley suggests that the city was a Latin colony, only becoming a *municipium* after the war.<sup>37</sup> Interamna Nahars was strategically placed on a small plateau between the Nera River and the Serra stream. The plateau is small; it rises just ten meters above a countryside known for its fertile agricultural land.<sup>38</sup> This combination of rivers and raised land created a natural defense that was further fortified by the addition of city walls erected in the first decades of the third century.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The area under modern Otricoli has yet to be excavated and without archeological excavation to uncover the ancient settlement of the hilltop, the occupation patterns of the two sites and the Umbrian settlement's relation to the Roman settlement remain unknown (Hay *et al.* 2013, 5). This Umbrian settlement was walled in the fifth century, while the Roman settlement was not (Fontaine 1990, 60-5).

<sup>35</sup> The Via Flaminia's path through Otricoli and its relation to the Roman plateau and Umbrian hilltop settlements is under debate, although as Hay *et al.* (2011, 136-41) points out, the various suggested tracts could each have been in use at different times.

<sup>36</sup> Livy 27.9.7-8; *CIL* XI 4170.

<sup>37</sup> Bradley 2000b, 5; Bispham 2007, 466 fn 24.

<sup>38</sup> Plin. *HN* 18.263; Sisani 2008b, 63.

<sup>39</sup> The construction of the wall appears to have been independent of any other building project in the city; it may have been built as a means to establish an urban center for the region's population (Andreani 1997, 139-41; Faustini 2006, 143-7; Sisani 2008a, 29, 38-9).

Another thirty kilometers north along the Via Flaminia was the city of Spoletium (fig. 1.4) founded by the Romans in 241. The colony created an urban center for the scattered population that had long existed in the area, some of whom had previously settled on the site of the city. The city stands on Sant' Elia hill, a steep hillside that required terracing on the southern and western slopes for habitation while a precipitous ravine borders the hill to north and east.<sup>40</sup> This natural form of protection did not stop the construction of a wall that was built in response to Roman conquest.<sup>41</sup>

Across the valley from Spoletium and about twelve kilometers north of Interamna Nahars along the western spur of the Via Flaminia was the city of Carsulae (fig. 1.5). The area is located on a fertile plain at the base of the Martani Mountains and is near the sanctuary atop Monte Torre Maggiore.<sup>42</sup> The focus of excavations on the Late Republican and early Augustan period (as opposed to investigating possible earlier time periods) diminishes the opportunities to study the city's urban development over the first century.<sup>43</sup> The Via Flaminia ran through the city, between the forum and the amphitheater and theater. The path of the Via Flaminia through western Umbria likely assisted in the foundation of the city and Carsulae may have developed as an intermediate respite along the route.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Bradley 2000a, 137; 2000b 12.

<sup>41</sup> The walls at Spoletium were constructed in two primary phases in short succession. The first walls were built by the local population with large polygonal limestone boulders either just prior to or just after Roman conquest of the region, suggesting an urgent need for walled protection. The second stage occurs with the foundation of the Roman colony and the formalization of the city, and is identified with *opus quadratum* blocks. Di Marco (1975, 28-9) discusses the difficulty of dating Spoleto's walls based on the limited archaeology at Spoleto and in comparison to nearby cities; see also Salvatore 2009, 10. For a complete description of the wall's construction phases see Di Marco (1975) and Fontaine (1990, 140-55).

<sup>42</sup> Bradley 2000a, 265. For more on the sanctuary at Monte Torre Maggiore see Ponzi 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Morigi (1997, 74) points out that the lack of information about earlier time periods is partially due to the specificity of previous excavations that did not extensively survey the urban area and the probable use of perishable materials in early building projects. It is likely that the foundation of the city coincided with the construction of the Via Flaminia, although earlier, less formalized settlement may have existed prior. The lack of city walls may also suggest a later foundation date when external threats to the cities in the region were at a minimum. See also Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 123; Fontaine 1990, 356; Bradley 2000a, 139 fn 121.

<sup>44</sup> Morigi 1997, 74.

Asisium (fig. 1.6) is located on Monte Subasio overlooking the broad fertile plain at the northern end of the Umbrian valley and was not directly on the route of the Via Flaminia. Instead it is about eighteen kilometers northwest of Forum Flaminii, where the two spurs of the road rejoin. Asisium is centrally located on the road connecting Hispellum, Forum Flaminii, and the Via Flaminia in Umbria with the major Etruscan city of Perugia (modern Perugia) to the northwest. The city flourished as a trading center between the Etruscans and Umbrians, and maintained strong ties to its local culture that was also influenced by Etruscan and Hellenistic trends.<sup>45</sup> The site has been occupied since at least the sixth century and Asisium was most likely a *foedus* prior to becoming a Roman *municipium* following the Social War.<sup>46</sup> At the end of the third century and the beginning of the second century Asisium was terraced and its walls constructed, creating formal structure and providing three level terraces for future building.<sup>47</sup>

For Roman urban foundations in Umbria, the first phase of major urban development occurred following their foundation and the establishment of Roman power in the region in the third and second centuries. During this period, the urban space and basic layout for the city was established. The major roads were laid out, fortification walls were erected, and the important public and religious areas such as the forum and an *arx* were delineated.<sup>48</sup> These projects seen in Umbria correspond to general early urban developments seen throughout Italy. For example, the foundation of Cosa began with inscribing the city's pomerium, the sacred boundary of the city's limits, that was then followed by the layout of streets, erection of walls, and establishment of the *arx* and forum.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Coarelli 1991a, 7; 1991b, 246-7; Bradley 2000a, 100, 167.

<sup>46</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 146.

<sup>47</sup> The upper terrace was developed as the city's *arx* (a citadel, where important temples were often built) and the middle terrace became the forum (infra 27-32). See also Strazzulla 1983, 154-60; Coarelli 1991a, 7-8; Coarelli 1996, 246-7, 256-7.

<sup>48</sup> Vitr. 1.4-7; Bradley 2000a, 193; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 71, 141-51.

<sup>49</sup> Brown 1980, 16-28.

This phase of urban development created administrative centers for an agricultural region, and city walls provided not only a physical boundary for each city but also a method of fortification and defense. At the time of the Roman conquest of Umbria the Italian peninsula was not a pacified or even a unified territory. Internal and external threats still existed and allied cities, colonies, and military outposts provided a buffer for Rome's expansion.<sup>50</sup>

With the unification and pacification of Italy that resulted from the Social War the need for urban defense in central Italy decreased. The inclusion of these cities into the Roman political sphere resulted in the adaption of Roman urban culture, initiating the second phase of urban development, which is the focus of this project. This second phase saw increased interest in constructing buildings that held a specific and important role in Roman culture. In each of the following chapters, one particular building type — forum, theater, and amphitheater, respectively — will be analyzed in the context of the urban development of Umbrian cities during the first century. These urban features are visual markers of social change and their development demonstrates a confluence of culture, innovation, and mimicry. Particular attention is paid to how these cities adopt and adapt these Roman building types, as well as how innovations made in these Umbrian examples come to influence the standardization of these forms so well known today.

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<sup>50</sup> Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.73; Broadhead 2007, 149; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 39-40.

# Chapter Two: The Forum

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Roman fora were located at the center of a Roman city in an open area surrounded by buildings that facilitated public and private business, bureaucracy, religious rites, and leisure. *Tabernae* provided offices and shops, porticos provided shelter and places to congregate, and basilicas provided a place for judiciary and tribunal meetings. A city's treasury and *carcer*, or jail, were located near the forum. Designated buildings for governmental meetings were given a prominent space around the forum: the *comitium*, a stepped, open-air assembly area, and the *curia*, the senate building. Temples, altars, and markets were also often located around, in, or next to the forum and the space was augmented with statues and honorific arches.<sup>51</sup> These various buildings facilitated the social, commercial, and civic operations of the city and the monuments served to enhance the city's beauty and grandeur along with the prestige of the elites who funded the construction.<sup>52</sup>

The importance of the forum in Roman culture can be discerned by its consistent presence in Roman cities. A forum is present in the earliest Roman colonies and its location in the city was established early when building *ex novo*.<sup>53</sup> The formal open space and buildings

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<sup>51</sup> Vitruvius 5.1.4, 5.2.1; Boëthius 1978, 145-9; Carter 1989, 32; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 170-5.

<sup>52</sup> Building types went in and out of fashion as their importance in Roman government and culture strengthened and diminished. For instance, the *comitium* is seen in cities which were founded or colonized by the Romans in the third and second centuries but are not included in cities whose fora were reconstructed or built in or after the first century. This displays both a cultural and political shift as the locale for governing shifted away from the *comitium* towards the *curia*, basilica, and other defined *templa*.

<sup>53</sup> The name "Forum" was even given to small rural congregation sites as well as to settlements that later grew into larger cities, such as Forum Flaminii in Umbria. Eeva Ruoff-Väänänen's 1978 study on Italian fora provides an examination of the creation and administration of fora in Roman territories; see also Laurence (1999, 22-38) for an account of fora as settlement types for local administration and law enforcement. Vitruvius 1.7.1; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 103; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 35, 61, 65-6.

associated with the forum were fundamental parts of Roman government and culture.<sup>54</sup> Roman civic, social, commercial, and religious activities were tied to the forum in one way or another so that the forum was not only the center of the Roman *urbs* but also a landmark identifying the presence of Roman culture and a representation of a city's Romanness.

The development of the forum (both in Rome itself and in its colonies) and the first-century monumentalization of this public space in the Umbrian towns of Asisium and Spolegium are examined in this chapter. Following the integration of Umbrian cities as Roman *municipia*, the fora of these towns were the first building projects undertaken. The renovation of the forum reflects the towns' new Roman political identity as enfranchised participants in Roman government, emphasizing a connection to Rome that extends beyond political and administrative designations.

## The Development of the Forum

The initial parameters for the location and shape of a forum were established by the fora built at Rome and in early Roman settlements and colonies. The forum was an open, delineated space that was generally placed in the center of the city, usually at the junction of the city's main roads. The convergence of the major roads on the forum emphasize its function as the central node of the city; daily life revolved around the activities occurring in and around this space and it needed to be accessible.<sup>55</sup> The forum was the traditional location of gladiatorial combat, the location for moneychangers, a place to view events, and the location of temples and basilicas;

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<sup>54</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 21; Owens 1989, 17; Curti *et al.* 1996, 186; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 189, 200.

<sup>55</sup> For coastal and riverside cities, the forum was often located near the port or the gate nearest the port, creating an easily accessible route for commerce and trade between the port and the urban center (Vitr. 1.7.1). In these cases, in which the forum was not at the central intersection, major roads still led to and bordered the forum (Sewell 2010, 25, 28).

overall an ideal place to conduct business, host tribunals and government meetings, and for the congregation of crowds.

Guidelines about the structure of a forum in the Roman city can be gleaned in the architect Vitruvius's *De Architectura*. Written at the beginning of the Augustan principate, the book articulates the principles of the profession and provides observations on past and contemporary architecture.<sup>56</sup> Vitruvius states that the forum should be sized to the city, so it looks neither too crowded nor too empty. He describes the forum as an oblong area with a width two-thirds of its length, prescribing a rectangular design over the forum's Greek counterpart, the square agora. A rectangular instead of square space naturally creates a defined axis that was often accentuated by a central road passing through the city. Vitruvius also provides instructions for the intercolumniation of the portico surrounding the forum.<sup>57</sup> The repetition of columns in porticos and colonnades creates a line of sight, further emphasizing the forum's axial nature. The columns clearly define the space of the forum, while also serving to aggrandize and monumentalize it. The axial features and monumentalization of the forum will be noted and examined in the development of the forum during the first century.

### **The Fora of Roman Colonies**

Examples of the central, open, and bounded rectangular form of the forum are easily identified in some of Rome's earliest colonies. As cities built *ex novo* they were planned from their foundation and were part of the early wave of colonization occurring in the late fourth and early third century.<sup>58</sup> Prime examples include Fregellae (founded in 328), Alba Fucens (303),

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<sup>56</sup> Vitr. 1.praef.3; Rowland and Howe 1999, 1, 3-7; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 144-9.

<sup>57</sup> Vitr. 5.1.2.

<sup>58</sup> Coarelli 1992; Sewell 2010, 10; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 37-8.

and Cosa (273).<sup>59</sup> Their fora feature the buildings commonly associated with a forum. More importantly they demonstrate how the axial features of the forum were present in early Roman architecture and urban planning. They also show an early trend towards monumentality and alignment, with emphasis on framing the space of the forum and its buildings.

The city plan of Fregellae centers on the north-south route of the Via Latina (fig. 2.1). The forum (A) functions as an open break in the road's path. The city's *comitium-curia* complex (B, C) is located on the forum's northeast corner and porticos line the forum's boundaries. The Via Latina passes directly through the center of the forum, emphasizing the road's role as the forum's central axis. The portico formalizes the space and creates a physical and visual boundary between the forum and the rest of the city. The *comitium-curia* complex is the only excavated civic structure around the forum. It stands next to a temple (D) and a possible *macellum* (market, N). It is not aligned to the central axis. Instead the complex is off-center to allow the Via Latina to pass to one side; the complex's entrance aligns to the forum's eastern edge. The complex was built in stages, with the *comitium* built first in the third century and the *curia* added in the second.<sup>60</sup> The rooms and portico surrounding it add to the monumental feel of the complex.

At Alba Fucens the roads from the gates (marked by arrows) converge on the forum (B), creating a linear boundary to the open field (fig. 2.2).<sup>61</sup> The *comitium* (A) is situated at the north end of the forum, slightly off center, and is mirrored on the opposite end by a portico and a basilica (C).<sup>62</sup> These two structures cap each end of the forum with important civic buildings

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<sup>59</sup> Rome established colonies prior to the start of a period of historical colonization that began in 338, although most of these were small fortifications or *coloniae maritimae*, such as Ostia (founded in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century). Additional cities incorporated during the historical period include: Narnia (299), Paestum (273), Firmum (264), Aesernia (263), and Spolegium (241).

<sup>60</sup> Sewell 2010, 41.

<sup>61</sup> Sewell 2005, 93-5.

<sup>62</sup> While not excavated, a *curia* is presumed to be attached to the *comitium* (Sewell 2010, 42).

that creates a defined, visual boundary. In addition, the basilica forms a divide between the civic space of the forum and a central public, and religious, space dominated by the Temple of Hercules (D) at the opposite end of the city block.<sup>63</sup>

At Cosa, a city long considered a fundamental example of a planned Roman city, the allotted space of the forum and its buildings deviates from the grid of the Cosa's streets (fig. 2.3). The forum at Cosa (fig. 2.4) is oddly nestled within a city block and elite housing (B). The *comitium-curia* complex (D) along with the basilica (C), a temple (E), and the *carcer* (F), are imposed within the space of a bordering *insula* and in the process cut off a street entirely. Unlike other examples, the forum does not appear to have an intentional space within the city.<sup>64</sup> In addition to the forum's unusual siting in the city, the *comitium-curia* complex is centered not at one end of the forum but along its length. This uncommon alignment creates two central axes in the forum: the first, a latitudinal axis between the *comitium-curia* complex and the southwest annex, a columned entryway into the forum (G); the second a longitudinal axis emphasized by the street leading into the forum. An arch (A) stands at this entrance, which provides a connection between the forum and major streets that connect to the city's north and northwest gates. These gates lead to the countryside and are on the opposite side of the city from its port. Interestingly, there was no direct access between the port and the forum.<sup>65</sup> In addition, a portico wraps around the around the forum. The portico monumentalizes and encloses the space. The portico still serves to create and define the space of the forum, even when it is closely surrounded by private housing. Despite its odd alignment within the city, the forum at Cosa adheres to its

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<sup>63</sup> A *macellum* and bath complex were built between the basilica and temple complex at later dates (Sewell 2010, 43).

<sup>64</sup> This unique aspect of Cosa's forum may possibly be due to the city being re-planned. Fentress (2000b, 17-8) suggests that this may have happened following a second deduction of settlers, in 197, and Sewell (2010, 25-33) hypothesizes that the original urban plan had a larger, street-lined forum. See also: Carter 1989, 40; Owens 1989, 33; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 44.

<sup>65</sup> See Sewell (2010, 25-8) for a discussion of the relationship between streets and a city's forum and port.

own symmetry and as a publicly accessible enclosed courtyard creates a sense of the monumental.

In these three examples, key architectural features — buildings, streets, and porticos — both delineate the forum and separate it from the *insulae* and the everyday bustle of the city.<sup>66</sup> These fora also display the axial alignment that is another standard feature of the forum. The *comitium-curia* complexes are placed in relation to the forum's axis, creating a central (or nearly so) point of interest in the city center.<sup>67</sup> Colonnades and a central building complex bring a burgeoning sense of monumental architecture that is only enhanced during the next several centuries.

## **The Fora of Rome in the First Century**

### ***The Forum Romanum***

The Forum Romanum, the civic and religious center of the city, was unplanned throughout much of the Republican era. Its development depended as much on the will of its patrons as on natural disasters (fire and flood) that required reconstruction and new configurations of the space. These incidents allowed for public buildings to take the place of private housing. Piece by piece the space was opened and defined, slowly systematizing the forum into an axial, defined, and monumental city center.

At the beginning of the Late Republic the boundaries of the Forum Romanum were defined by four basilicas, several temples, and the *comitium-curia* complex (fig. 2.5). It was a

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<sup>66</sup> Note that at Cosa the housing is actually integrated into the boundary of the forum. These *domus* are suspected to be elite housing, following a pattern seen in Rome (Sewell 2010, 139-40).

<sup>67</sup> The importance of these features and of the forum itself can be seen in the case of Paestum. Paestum was originally founded by the Greeks as Poseidonia and controlled by the Lucanians when Rome established it as a Latin colony in 273. Despite the presence of the Greek agora, a forum was established in the agora's southeast corner. The colonnaded forum at Paestum included a *comitium-curia* complex in the center of the north side in a scheme similar to that in Cosa (Broadhead 2007, 151; Sewell 2010, 42-4).

rough, oblong rectangle. The Basilicas Aemelia (19) and Sempronia (8) were large basilicas that stood on the forum's northern and southern boundaries and a row of *tabernae* stood in front of each basilica. The Basilicas Porcia (12) and Opimia (10) were much smaller and located on the western end of the forum. The Temple of Saturn (9) and the Temple of the Castores (6) stood on either side of the Basilica Sempronia on the forum's southern boundary. The *comitium-curia* complex, which included the Curia Ostilia (13), the *comitium* (14), and the *rostra* (15), a speakers' platform, closed off the northwest corner of the forum. The opposite narrower, eastern end of the forum was defined by the Temple of Vesta (4) and the Regia (2), an office for Rome's high priests.

While these buildings did not create a fully closed perimeter to the Forum Romanum they did define the open space by creating an edge for the forum that separated it from the narrow streets and blocks of housing that surrounded it. As the forum developed in the first century, these edges became more defined and unified through the buildings and architectural elements that replaced and added to those already present. The new construction emphasized the axial quality of the forum. Additionally, the use of marble and larger-scale buildings commenced a new standard for monumentality in Roman fora. These changes are noted in three key building projects during the first century under the patronage of the dictator or emperor in power.

The first of these changes occurred with reconstruction of the Tabularium after a fire in 83. An inscription credits the reconstruction to Quintus Lutatius Catulus, but it was done under the aegis of Sulla.<sup>68</sup> The Tabularium held the state archives and stood on the saddle of the Capitoline Hill overlooking the Forum Romanum. The towering features of the façade included a massive retaining wall and two levels of galleries, creating an immense, unified backdrop to

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<sup>68</sup> Boëthius 1978, 155-6; Coarelli 2007, 36.

the forum and its cluster of temples and basilicas. This style of architecture imbued a new sense of grandeur into the forum that drew on monumental Republican architecture popular through the middle second and first century as seen elsewhere in Italy, such as at Palestrina, Tivoli, and Terracina.<sup>69</sup>

The next set of changes occurred during the middle of the century under Julius Caesar. He intended to enlarge the forum's space, as it was no longer adequate for administering an ever-growing empire, by buying land for this purpose to the northwest.<sup>70</sup> Caesar also demolished and replaced the Basilica Sempronia and the *tabernae veteres* that stood in front of it with the much larger Basilica Julia.<sup>71</sup> When the Curia Hostilia burned down in 52, Caesar incorporated the land and construction of a new *curia* into his designs (fig. 2.6). The reconstruction divided the *comitium-curia* complex into three separate parts. The new *curia*, the Curia Julia, was completed in 44 and was built on a different axis in order to align it with the portico of the new Forum of Caesar, a process which shifted the location of the *curia* and opened the forum's northwest corner. The *rostrum* was completely removed from the *comitium* and rebuilt across the western end of the forum in front the Temple of Concord. The platform now faced the open space of the forum, so speakers could directly address the people of Rome and not just the convened assembly.<sup>72</sup> The *comitium*, having lost its function in Roman society by the first century, was not rebuilt.

The development of the Forum Romanum continued in the first century under Augustus. He added a second *rostrum* at the eastern end of the forum, creating a mirror to Caesar's. This

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<sup>69</sup> Boëthius 1978 156; Coarelli 2007, 39, 46, 57.

<sup>70</sup> Cic. *Att.* IV.16.9; App. *B. Civ.* 2.102; Aicher 2004, 190-4; Coarelli 2007, 46.

<sup>71</sup> Construction began in 54 and was completed by Augustus, whereupon it burned down immediately and was reconstructed following a fire in 9. The basilica kept its name, even though the new construction was subsequently dedicated to Gaius and Lucius, Augustus' adopted sons and heirs (Coarelli 2007, 46, 73).

<sup>72</sup> Boëthius 1978, 149.

rostrum stood in front of a newly erected temple, the Temple of Divus Julius. These two monuments defined the forum's eastern boundary. This boundary was further emphasized with the erection of the Augustus' Parthian and Actian arches on either side of the temple, which formed a monumental gateway that clearly denoted the threshold of the forum.

### ***The Imperial Fora***

Augustus also completed the first two Imperial Fora (fig. 2.7) — the forum planned and started by Caesar and his own — which expanded public civic, religious, and commercial space in the center of Rome. The Imperial Fora were built *ex novo* with conformity to a standard as a rectangular shape bounded by a portico and enhanced by a central temple at one end. These fora produced for the first time in Rome a visible, regular, nearly symmetrical, and axial monumental form that was developing concurrently in its colonies and cities.<sup>73</sup>

The Forum of Caesar is large rectangle with two porticos on either side. At its southern end, it connects to the Curia Julia, which forms a link between this forum and the Forum Romanum. At the other end stood the Temple of Venus Genetrix, from whom Caesar claimed to be a descendent. The Forum of Augustus was designed in a comparable manner: it was connected directly to the Forum of Caesar; porticos lined either side of the rectilinear space, although these had an additional flair of *exedrae*; and at one end stood a temple dedicated to Mars Ultor. The regular, rectangular, portico-lined spaces with a central temple emphasized the main axis of the fora and codified the monumentality expected of them. In addition, these features were built or revetted in marble, imported from throughout the empire, further enhancing the visual status and effect of the fora.

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<sup>73</sup> Carter 1989, 43.

In sum, the development of the Forum Romanum and Imperial Fora during the first century shows an alignment with the axial, enclosed plans seen in fora outside of Rome. These changes redefined the boundaries of the Forum Romanum as new basilicas and a *curia* were enlarged to accommodate the proliferating bureaucratic and commercial populus. This created a more open, linear, symmetrical, axial, and monumental space out of civic and religious structures fitted around the Forum Romanum. The increasing formality of the Forum Romanum is also due to its main patrons — Sulla, Caesar, and Augustus — during the first century and the amassing of political and financial power under a single vision and person. The planned Imperial fora exhibit these principles at their most standardized and encapsulate the ideal qualities of a Roman forum as axial and monumental.

## The Forum in Umbria

In Umbria, the change in a city's administrative status led to its first century urban development.<sup>74</sup> Following the municipalization of Italy after the Social War in 90 and their incorporation as *municipia*, Umbrian cities began a new series of public building projects. Across the region the first instances of renewed development focused on public spaces, and especially on the forum. The emphasis on the forum was perhaps influenced by the new political status of these cities as *municipia* and the forum's integral relationship with civic administration. The forum was a recognizable space inhabited by Roman government. These building projects were locally financed and provided the cities of Umbria with a cultural and political link to Rome fitting for an urban member of the Roman state.<sup>75</sup> As the first large-scale municipal

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<sup>74</sup> Bradley 2000a, 222.

<sup>75</sup> Bradley 2000a, 222.

building project during the first century, the forum initiated a pattern of mimesis that aligned Umbrian cities with their greater participation in Roman culture.

This chapter examines our best preserved Umbrian fora from the early first century, at Asisium and Spoletium,<sup>76</sup> showing how development focused on the creation of an enlarged, bounded space characterized by axuality, monumentality, and ornamentation, and occurred through the patronage of newly Romanized officials. While these fora demonstrate the development of the Roman forum, at the same time, these fora have examples of unique features and variations that point to local independence when adapting a Roman architectural model that had yet to reach its own canonical standard.

### **The Forum at Asisium**

The urban space at Asisium is distinguished by a series of large terraces along Monte Subasio and the central terrace is considered the site of the city's forum, which was redeveloped after the Social War.<sup>77</sup> The forum at Asisium consists of two levels (fig. 2.8). On the upper level stood a temple overlooking the lower level, which was paved and surrounded by a Doric-columned portico.<sup>78</sup> The earliest remaining features of the forum include the forum's paving and the northern retaining wall between the two levels. The temple followed in the middle of the

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<sup>76</sup> Excavations over the past several decades at Terni have increased our understanding of the forum at Interamna Nahars, but the archaeological record remains limited. Excavations around the forum's perimeter have uncovered a portion of a building with an apse, perhaps a basilica, and the foundations of a temple, speculated to be a Temple of Fortuna Melior, a popular local cult (Angelelli *et al.* 2006; Faustini 2006; Giorgi 2006).

Oriculum was first surveyed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Giuseppe Pannini and the forum was placed on the eastern end of the plateau (Millett 2013). The recent survey by the British School at Rome suggests that the site of the forum is likely located on the ridge above the theater and there is currently little additional information (Hay *et al.* 2013, 135).

The likely later foundation date for Carsulae excludes it as a developmental precursor of the formalized Roman forum. Its forum, however, should be noted for its axial and monumental qualities. These include several temples and other buildings surrounding the open space and the unique use of the Via Flaminia as the eastern boundary, which the forum is perpendicular to (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 123-4, 131-3; Morigi 1997, 80-5, 90).

<sup>77</sup> Strazzulla 1983, 153; Coarelli 1991a, 16; 1996, 252. Coarelli (1991, 7-8, 11) points out that archeological data has yet to confirm a precise period for the terracing of the hillside.

<sup>78</sup> Strazzulla 1983, 157.

century, and an altar during the Julio-Claudian period (fig. 2.9).<sup>79</sup> These features aligned to the forum's transverse axis and were joined by a *tetrastylum* in the second half of the first century CE.<sup>80</sup> Despite the unique local additions, the forum at Asisium assumes the form of a Roman public space and provides an example of forum development in the first century.

One of the earliest projects at the Asisium forum was its paving with limestone slabs following the Social War. Coarelli ascertains that the paving occurred between 90 and 50, prior to the construction of the other main features of the forum.<sup>81</sup> The paving of this central space marks a renewed interest in the public square that perhaps had not been seen since the area was terraced.<sup>82</sup> It is an early visual example of the town's municipalization. This project was commemorated by a bronze-letter inscription, poorly preserved, that records the names of the *quattuorviri* who oversaw the project.<sup>83</sup> The funding of public works was an important duty of a city's magistrates, and in this case, the titles of local magistrates attest to the new status of these cities as Roman *municipia*: the repaving of the forum was undertaken by *quattuorviri*, the Roman title given to city magistrates rather than *marones*, the Umbrian title.<sup>84</sup>

The northern retaining wall runs the length of the forum and has two stairwells that pierce the wall and divide it into three parts.<sup>85</sup> The stairs served as the entrance to the temple and in the

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<sup>79</sup> Coarelli 1991a, 16-9.

<sup>80</sup> The *tetrastylum* was a quadrangular statuary base for the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, and four freestanding columns dedicated by a freedman and freedwoman (*CIL* XI 5372; Coarelli 1996, 252). While it falls outside of our period of study, its construction demonstrates a continuing interest in the improvement and ornamentation of the forum space and its use for public munificence (Strazzulla 1983, 158; Coarelli 1996, 251-2).

<sup>81</sup> Coarelli 1991a, 17-9.

<sup>82</sup> An inscription (*CIL* XI 5390 = *ILLRP* 550 = *ILS* 5346) records that six of the city's *marones* assisted in the reconstruction of a portion of the terracing during the late second century (Coarelli 1991a, 11-13) or from 110 – 90 (Bradley 2000a, 295).

<sup>83</sup> The inscription reads:

C(aius) Caetronius C(ai) f(ilius) [...], C(aius) Attius C(ai) f(ilius) Ruf(io?) (quattuor)viri i(ure) d(icundo),  
T(itus) Olius C(ai) f(ilius) Gargenna, L(ucius) Vallius C(ai) f(ilius) B[...]

Strazzulla 1983, 157-8; Coarelli 1991a, 17-9.

<sup>84</sup> Inscriptions using the Umbrian title, *marones*, are found in Asisium prior to its municipalization (supra n. 82; Bradley 2000a, 180).

<sup>85</sup> Strazzulla 1983, 157-8; Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 880.

first century, ornaments and public postings decorated the retaining wall.<sup>86</sup> The ornamentation is denoted by numerous drilled holes of various sizes that appear to have been for clamps and brackets. Upon their study of the wall, Pierre Gros and Dinu Theodorescu postulate that the central section of wall (between the two stairwells) had two registers of bronze decoration: a row of bucrania above a row of acanthus scrollwork (fig. 2.10).<sup>87</sup> The décor was likely added between 40-20, as this style of ornamentation became increasingly popular.<sup>88</sup> The eastern section of the wall (to the right of the stairs) is perforated by 400 cavities. Gros and Theodorescu note that the cavities can be grouped to form square or rectangular outlines, and were likely for clamps that affixed metal *tabulae* to the wall (fig. 2.11).<sup>89</sup> The inscribed *tabulae*, or panels, some of which have been found, recorded official public notices and decrees, such as the names of *quattuorviri* and *quinqueviri*, the public works of these and other local magistrates, and commemorations of restorations and urban building projects.<sup>90</sup> The inscriptions and the spaces for judicial and administrative public notices created a wall devoted to the posterity of civic improvement.<sup>91</sup> It is a testament to magistrates' and the public's desire to record their duties and munificence in a central, public space. The terrace wall also served as unique liminal space between the forum floor and the temple. Its location and décor links the civic nature of the forum with the religious role of the temple.

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<sup>86</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1985; Coarelli 1991a, 7-8, 16, 19;

<sup>87</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 883-8; Coarelli 1991a, 19; 1996, 250.

<sup>88</sup> Acanthus decorative scrollwork stems from the Hellenistic tradition and is seen in the friezes of many monuments erected at this time, including the Temple of Divus Julius, dedicated in 29 and the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, dedicated in 2. The acanthus foliage on the Ara Pacis Augustae, dedicated in 9, may be considered when the motif became standard on temples, altars, and the bases of Imperial monuments (Sauron 1982; Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 886-9; see also Zanker 1990, 254-63.)

Bucrania have long been a common motif associated with death, sacrifice, and ritual. The motif is incorporated into the Augustan visual rhetoric when, like the acanthus décor, it is included on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Holliday 1990; Zanker 1990, 114-8; Lamp 2009; Rehak 2009, 102).

<sup>89</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 891-2.

<sup>90</sup> *CIL* XI, 802 and 5391; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 147; Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 891-3; Coarelli 1991a, 19-20.

<sup>91</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 895-6.

The temple, referred to today as the Temple of Minerva (though the original attribution is debated),<sup>92</sup> was the next addition to the forum (fig. 2.12). Coarelli dates it to between 40 and 20, due to the stylistic features of the temple and its capitals.<sup>93</sup> The temple has a shallow porch and its six Corinthian columns stand not on the porch, as is standard, but instead are nestled within the stairs.<sup>94</sup> This unusual arrangement is likely due to the compressed topography of the site, which allows the features of Late Republican temples—a tall podium accessed by a central staircase and colonnaded front porch—to still be present. Nevertheless, the temple creates a defined, distinguished, and discernibly Roman façade for the forum.

The altar that stood in the forum, in-line and centered with the temple on the upper terrace, is of interest to scholars as its exact purpose and appearance remain unknown.<sup>95</sup> One of structure's corners overlaps the forum's paving inscription, dating the altar to the mid-first century after the forum was repaved.<sup>96</sup> The altar consists of a rectangular stone base with a raised bench on three sides (fig. 2.13). There are fifteen cavities, in pairs, impressed on the surface of the bench that are likely bolt holes for lost feature.<sup>97</sup> While the structure is commonly referred to as an altar, it may not have been an altar. Originally it was believed to hold a statuary group. This idea has been dismissed and the main contention now is whether the structure had a religious function as an extension of the temple or a civic function as part of the forum. When considering the structure's function, scholars examine the cavities on the bench and their role as

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<sup>92</sup> Despite its modern name (due to a statue of Minerva found nearby) the dedication of the temple remains uncertain (Strazzulla 1983, 153). A statue of Hercules was also found nearby, although the temple's attribution to Hercules is also unlikely (Strazzulla 1983, 161).

<sup>93</sup> Coarelli 1991a, 20; see also Zanker 1990, 106.

<sup>94</sup> Today the bases of the columns stand at the modern street level.

<sup>95</sup> The altar and *tetrastylum* along with the floor of the forum and the terrace wall were buried by embankments built in the medieval period, and are preserved in situ (Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 879). White paint on the modern-day pavement delineates the location of these elements below.

<sup>96</sup> Strazzulla 1983, 157-8; Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 693.

<sup>97</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 696.

attachments for specific features — features that would suggest the structure’s religious or civic purpose.<sup>98</sup>

The strongest proponent of the structure’s religious function is Maria Jose Strazzulla, who suggests that the platform is indeed an altar.<sup>99</sup> While this idea is furthered by the structure’s alignment with the temple, Gros and Theodorescu point out that Strazzulla’s reconstruction would make the altar too low for use in sacrifice.<sup>100</sup> Gros and Theodorescu agree that the structure was religious in nature. However, they focus on the function of the structure’s cavities and suggest that they held a series of bronze *thymiateria*, or incense burners, that stood three or four feet tall (fig. 2.14).<sup>101</sup> In their reconstruction, leafy volutes act as decorative supporting anchors, which account for the transverse impressions leading from the circular cavities to the edge of the bench.

A civic purpose for the structure, which aligns it to the bureaucratic role of the forum, was first suggested by Ugo Tarchi.<sup>102</sup> He reconstructed the feature as a bench with a set of seven chairs for use as a tribunal court.<sup>103</sup> Gros and Theodorescu dislike Tarchi’s assessment because the cavities do not do not conform to the furniture of the period. Coarelli, however, supports Tarchi’s reconstruction.<sup>104</sup> In Coarelli’s assessment there are two sets of cavities, created at different times in order to attach two different sets of chairs to the bench (fig. 2.15).<sup>105</sup>

The forum at Asisium demonstrates several key features of Roman fora. The colonnade defines the paved, open space of the forum, separating it from the rest of the city and creating a

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<sup>98</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 696.

<sup>99</sup> Strazzulla 1983.

<sup>100</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 699-700.

<sup>101</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 701-6.

<sup>102</sup> Tarchi 1941, 39; Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 696-9.

<sup>103</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 696.

<sup>104</sup> Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 699.

<sup>105</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 162; Gros and Theodorescu 1987; Coarelli 1996, 250-1.

monumental perimeter. The elevated Late-Republican temple and its marble Corinthian columns are Roman features that further increases a sense of monumentality. The forum is axial and incorporates both religious and civic features. The forum at Asisium however is not strictly indebted to Roman standards that, by the end of the century, will be considered the ideal design for a forum. While the forum is axial, its primary features stand in alignment on the transverse axis. This shift is unusual but not unknown and is also seen at Cosa, where the space allotted to the forum is compressed not by topography but by the city plan. Asisium's topography plays a significant role in the forum's design, since it also is the reason for the unusual arrangement of the temple's stairs and columns and as well as for the existence of the retaining wall, a unique and multi-functional feature. The "altar" of unknown purpose is an additional feature of the forum, which was joined by a decorative feature, the *tetrastylum*, later in the first century CE. At Asisium, the essence of a Roman forum was incorporated within the site's restraining conditions, while, most importantly, exhibiting local innovations.

### **The Forum at Spolegium**

Spolegium's forum was located on an upper terrace of the St. Elijah hill below the city's acropolis. In the decades after the Social War many public building projects were undertaken in Spolegium, such as renovating damaged, aging walls and terraces.<sup>106</sup> The area of the forum saw new building throughout the century that expanded and aggrandized the public space. The development of the forum at Spolegium exhibits steady progress towards the construction of a forum aligning with Roman standards.

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<sup>106</sup> For instance, an inscription (*CIL* XI 4809) commemorates the reconstruction of a section of the wall following damage attributed to Sulla and, or possibly, an earthquake in 63 (Di Marco 1975, 29; Salvatore 2009, 10).

Two projects initiated early during the first century occurred on the northern and eastern perimeter of the forum. On the northern end, an enclosed portico was built, which provided shelter and expanded public space by terracing the hillside.<sup>107</sup> The portico was decorated with travertine pilasters topped by large capitals decorated with roses.<sup>108</sup> The columns and arches of the portico created a decorative screen for the forum's northern boundary. The eastern edge of the forum was terraced for the foundation of a large building. As a prominent feature of the forum, the building is speculated to have been the city's *capitolium* and it appears to have been lavishly decorated, indicated by a travertine column and Corinthian capital found nearby (fig. 2.16).<sup>109</sup> Its placement creates a bisecting transverse axis in relationship to the length of the forum. This decision may be due to the terracing of the city. Or perhaps it was a way to assert independence while still adopting Roman buildings and styles, as the same orientation and transverse central axis is also seen at Asisium and Cosa.

Epigraphic evidence from the middle of the century sheds light on the patrons of several construction projects in the forum. One inscription commemorates Sextus Volusius Melior, who held high positions in the city as a *quattuorvir quinquennalis*, augur, and patron, and who oversaw and funded the construction of the city's basilica in honor of his son's appointment as a *quattuorvir*.<sup>110</sup> The inscription confirms the presence of the Roman building in the city without

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<sup>107</sup> It also stood over a cistern, which were often built at or near the top of hill-cities and around the forum. Other examples of this can be seen in Umbria at Asisium, Todi, and Amelia (Di Marco 1975, 38-9).

<sup>108</sup> Di Marco 1975, 38; Salvatore 2009, 15-6.

<sup>109</sup> The Corinthian capital is dated to the turn of the century (Di Marco 1975, 59; Salvatore 2009, 9).

<sup>110</sup> *CIL* XI 4819:

Sex(tus) Volusius, Sex(tus) f(ilius), Hor(atia),  
 Melior, IIIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), augur, parton(us)  
 municipi, ob honorem IIIviratus  
 Sex(ti) Volusi Noniani, fili sui, basilicam  
 solo publico a fundament  
 pecunia sua fecit

Di Marco 1975, 48; Salvatore 2009, 8, 10.

knowing its definitive location.<sup>111</sup> It also offers details on the family's wealth as well as its political connection to Spoletium. The father could afford to finance the entire construction of the basilica and specifically tied his son, in the early stages of his political career, to the building project. Not only does it list municipal offices held, it states that the family was part the local tribe, the *Horatia*, and so were eligible to vote in Rome. Another inscription, recovered from the forum's paving, commemorates Lucius Milionius Filia, a *quattuorvir* of the city, who sponsored and oversaw the paving of the forum and the city's *decumanus maximus* in the decades prior to 50.<sup>112</sup> The repaving marks the last known major project conducted around the forum until the beginning of the next century. The two inscriptions demonstrate traditional patterns of Roman patronage. Local euergetism was expected to be conducted by magistrates and was a way to advance one's political career. Self-recognition in inscriptions cemented one's role, and their family's role, in the city's history, gaining local prestige.<sup>113</sup>

Further additions to the forum occurred in the early first century CE during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, when the city had been firmly a part of the Roman political sphere for a century. These constructions, while a bit later than our focus period, reveal an increasing indebtedness to trends at Rome.

In the first decade of the first century CE a temple with an unknown dedication was constructed on a raised podium and stood along the *cardo maximus* as it enters the forum from

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<sup>111</sup> It is presumed to be on or near the forum. Carlo Pietrangeli, who published a monograph on Spoletium in 1939, suggests that the basilica was a building located east and up-hill of the forum; however, Di Marco asserts that this first century CE building was likely a shrine (Di Marco 1975, 48).

<sup>112</sup> *ILLRP* 155:

L(ucius) Milionius L(uci) f(ilius) Filia IIIIvir i(ure) deic(undo) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) aream lapide [...]  
Bradley 2000a, 224; Salvatore 2009, 10.

<sup>113</sup> Lomas 2003; Horster 2015.

the south.<sup>114</sup> The temple faced north towards the forum and was richly constructed.<sup>115</sup> The porch's entablature and its four frontal columns were of marble in contrast to back half of the temple that was faced with limestone and painted stucco.<sup>116</sup> The decision to use marble on the front the temple, which faced the forum, adheres to contemporary trends in Rome and aggrandized the forum at Spoletium without bankrupting the city.<sup>117</sup> At this time marble had become a dominant, although expensive, building material. Previously, building projects were constructed in wood and embellished with paint. Now towns were not only wealthy enough but also inspired to add monumental structures to their city plan in a way previously unseen in the region.

The use of stone and marble facing is one of the most noteworthy features of construction as the first century progresses.<sup>118</sup> The ornamentation of the forum denotes its increasing importance as a central space for the city, as well as a certain amount of civic pride. The Corinthian capitol is an additional signifier of a new level of ornamentation in the forum. It is seen in both the temple at Asisium and the *capitolium* at Spoletium. The elaborate design added flourish, and in Rome, it was commonly used as a design element in buildings erected by the competing elite.<sup>119</sup> With the increasing use of the Corinthian capitol, lavish displays replaced the severe austerity that had characterized earlier structures. In Umbria, the Corinthian capitol was a direct demonstration of Romanization as fora were enhanced in similar patterns and with similar means as seen at Rome.

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<sup>114</sup> The temple now serves as the foundation for the church of S. Ansano; see Di Marco 1975, 49-51; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 109-11.

<sup>115</sup> Subsequent reuse reversed the orientation of the temple when it was converted into a church. A rounded apse was added to the back of the church, which was once the front of the Roman temple.

<sup>116</sup> Di Marco 1975, 50-1.

<sup>117</sup> Zanker 1990, 105.

<sup>118</sup> Ornamentation is also seen at Asisium with the use of stone and marble materials and the bronze decoration of the retaining wall.

<sup>119</sup> Zanker 1990, 106.

Although occurring in 23 CE, a final project of note in this period is the erection of an honorific arch next to this temple (fig. 2.17). The single arch stood over the *cardo maximus* as it entered the forum, providing a monumental entrance from the south. The arch was built with local limestone and simply decorated with Corinthian pilasters and a Doric frieze filled with bucrania in the metopes that mimic the ornamental décor found in many Augustan monuments.<sup>120</sup> The attic inscription identifies that the arch was constructed by the local senate to honor Tiberius's sons Drusus and Germanicus and in support of the Imperial family.<sup>121</sup> It is a visual link to the city's support of the Julio-Claudian dynasty that began with Caesar and continued through the Imperial period. It clearly exhibits the culmination of the city's Romanization through the adoption of Roman building customs and the continual, local support of Roman political families.<sup>122</sup>

The development of Spoletium's forum over the course of a century demonstrates how each addition conformed to the standards set in Rome. The first phase of construction opened and defined the space of the forum while also adding buildings essential to Roman government and religion, such as the basilica and *capitolium*, and a portico for added shelter and meeting space. This is similar to the first changes we see at the Forum Romanum at the beginning of the Late Republic. In the middle of the century the forum was repaved, also following trends in Rome. At the end of the century projects focused on new additions in the south of the forum. The addition of the temple and an honorific arch served to monumentalize the space and create a

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<sup>120</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 109; Zanker 1990, 112-8.

<sup>121</sup> *CIL* XI 4776-7; Di Marco 1975, 51; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 109. Di Marco (1975, 51, fn 119) points out that Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.83) records the erection of other arches in honor of Germanicus following his death in 23 CE.

<sup>122</sup> The senator Gaius Calvisius Sabinus is noted for being one of two senators defending Caesar during his assassination. He had a successful military career in Spain, was consul in 39, and collaborated with T. Statilius Taurus, who built the first permanent amphitheater in Rome. A local inscription from Spoletium (*ILS* 925 [Spoletium]) honors his *pietas* during Caesar's assassination (Syme 1939, 221, 292; 1986, 33; Salvatore 2008, 27; see also Zanker 2000).

grand entrance that continued to follow trends at Rome and assimilate the space into a Roman forum. While the new Imperial fora were constructed in Rome at the end of the first century, the Forum Romanum was not ignored and a new temple, the Temple of Divus Julius, as well as triumphal arches, were erected. The temple and arches further defined and monumentalized the Forum Romanum. The forum at Spoletium provides an example of the adaptation and adoption of the developing standards for Roman fora on a local scale.

The fora of Asisium and Spoletium are exemplars for the development of the forum outside of Rome. The emphasis placed on the forum in Umbrian *municipia* following the Social War ushers in the second phase of urban development in the region. While the first phase of development focused on establishing boundaries and regulating the city's public and private space following its foundation, the second phase links local growth with the towns' incorporation into the Roman political sphere as *municipia*. The forum was a particular focus for construction and underwent considerable transformation throughout the century. The forum standardized into a defined space, enhanced with ornaments, architecture, and the buildings central to Roman culture.

The development of these fora demonstrates how these cities negotiated their new role as autonomous-yet-dependent *municipia* of Rome. Cultural change is a slow process that allows for both adaptation and adoption of Roman building norms over the course of the first century. The forum as a bounded, axial, and monumental space is present in the earliest Roman fora and it continued to develop with each rendition constructed in Roman cities and each addition or change made in Rome.

The commonalities between these fora — the repaving of the forum floor, the formalizing of forum's boundaries, and the large-scale construction — confirms that there was a common idea to follow, despite the presence of significant variations. It seems that many of these ideas stemmed from Rome. When the forum at Rome was repaved, the forum floor was repaved in Roman cities. As Rome began to aggrandize the forum, the fora of these cities became more decorated and rich materials were adopted.

Fora were visual landmarks that encompassed a city's increasingly Roman character. The incremental development of the Roman fora in Umbrian cities in the first century reveals the deliberate process of adaptation and cultural mimesis as the Roman identities of the cities evolved.

# Chapter Three: The Theater

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The Roman theater hosted Greek and Roman dramas and comedies, music, and other types of performances for the general population.<sup>123</sup> Many of these productions were performed in conjunction with religious festivals and *ludi* (games).<sup>124</sup> Urban magistrates planned yearly shows, families sponsored theatrical productions during funerary celebrations, and generals returning home from victorious campaigns funded theatrical performances.<sup>125</sup> Since the Greeks introduced the theater to Italy, it is unsurprising that the earliest theaters in Italy were erected in the southern regions of the peninsula that the Greeks colonized.<sup>126</sup>

The theater (both the performance and the building) changed once it arrived in Italy. During the Middle Republic, Romans considered the theater immoral and the construction of a permanent theater was banned inside the city of Rome.<sup>127</sup> Despite the ban, members of the upper classes continued to sponsor theatrical performances and constructed increasingly opulent temporary theaters, often as a fulfillment of their political office.<sup>128</sup> These actions promoted elite

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<sup>123</sup> Beacham (1991, 2-26) provides a historical summary of the theater and performance in the Roman world along with chapters on comedy (1991, 27-55) and tragedy, mime, and pantomime (1991, 117-153). See also: Bieber 1961; Gruen 1992, 168; Phillips 2006a, 165; Savarese 2007, 9, 66-7.

<sup>124</sup> Hanson 1959, 9-18; Beacham 1991, 20-1; Gruen 1992, 185-8; Phillips 2006b, 165-6; Sear 2006, 23; Savarese 2007, 66.

<sup>125</sup> Vit. 3.3.1; Beacham 1991, 20, 22, 158, 166-7; Gruen 1992, 188-94, 209, 220-2; Phillips 2006a, 53-6; 2006b, 165-6; Sear 2006, 11-9; Savarese 2007, 66-7.

<sup>126</sup> Hanson 1959, 29; Boëthius 1978, 198; Beacham 1991, 56-7; Sear 2006, 48; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 231.

<sup>127</sup> Bieber 1961, 168; Boëthius 1978, 201-2; Sear 1990, 249; Beacham 1991, 63-6; Gruen 1992, 206-9; Sear 2006, 56, 58; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 161-9.

<sup>128</sup> Beacham 1991, 63-8; Sear 2006, 54-7. Ostentatious theatrical displays were exemplified by the theater constructed by M. Aemilius Scaurus in 58. The wooden theater seated 80,000 people and 360 columns and 3,000 bronze statues decorated a three-story *scaenae frons*. Another lavish theater was the revolving wooden theater erected by Scribonius Curio in 53. It could transform from two theaters into a single amphitheater. Pliny *HN* 36.117-20; Bieber 1961, 168-9; Boëthius 1978, 202-3; Beacham 1991, 67-8; Sear 2006, 55-6; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 164.

competition by generals and senators alike, and became a form of personal propaganda. Because of the theater's popularity and its competitive use by the upper class, it is likely that the ban was upheld for so long since it kept any one individual or family *gens* from gaining perpetual prestige.<sup>129</sup> By the Late Republic the theater was embedded in Rome culture and its immoral characterization was eroding.

As public opinion changed during the Republic, theatrical performances became an integral part of Roman culture and the theater building became a distinctly Roman structure. The following chapter examines the origins and development of the Roman theater in order to understand the building's ideological function as a representative of Roman culture and the role the theater played in the municipalization of Umbria in the first century.

## Origins and Architectural Development

Vitruvius's treatise provides the only ancient account of the architectural theory behind the design of Roman theaters. Vitruvius devotes six chapters to the theater in his book on public buildings and uses these chapters to differentiate the Roman theater from its Greek counterpart.<sup>130</sup> By examining the theater's architectural and physical aspects, Vitruvius acknowledges the Greek predecessor while allowing the Roman design to stand on its own and express a strictly Roman identity.<sup>131</sup> While Vitruvius elaborates on the architectural differences between the Greek and Roman theater, he does not account for why these differences occurred.

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<sup>129</sup> In 154 P. Scipio Nasica halted the construction of a stone theater on the slopes of the Palatine. The existence of a stone theater would permanently honor the funding consuls and render a temporary theater, built by Scipio Nasica to celebrate his own triumph, unnecessary (Phillips 2006a, 80-1). See also App. *B. Civ.* 1.28; Livy, *Epit.*, 48; Val. Max. 2.4.2; Hanson 1959, 24; Bieber 1961, 168; Beacham 1991, 65-6; Gruen 1992, 207; Phillips 2006a, 76-83; Sear 2006, 54; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 162.

<sup>130</sup> Vitr. 5.3-8.

<sup>131</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 153-60.

The architecture of various permanent and temporary theaters built in Italy and Magna Graecia contributed to the emergence of a canonical form for the Roman theater in the first century. As we will see, over the fourth through first centuries, Italic theaters changed from Greek-based designs (fig. 3.1) to a Roman form (fig. 3.2).<sup>132</sup> It is the deviations from the Greek standard that distinguish the following prototypes and provide the foundations for the Roman theater.

The fourth- and third-century monumental stone theaters of Sicily and Magna Graecia, built by Greek colonists, were the earliest prototypes for later Roman theaters.<sup>133</sup> While adhering in many ways to canonical Greek theater design, they also included variations that look ahead to Roman theaters. The *caveae*, or seating areas, of these theaters were not horseshoe-shaped as is usual for Greek theaters, but nearly semi-circular and only slightly exceeded 180 degrees.<sup>134</sup> This reduced the size the orchestra in the Greek theater, which allowed the *cavea* to connect with the stage to create a single, enclosed unit. The stages of these theaters were relatively similar to the theater stages built on the Greek mainland, which were simple, two-story structures fronted by a roofed colonnade.<sup>135</sup> These monumental stone theaters were also decorated with columns to create a simple *scaenae frons*, but unlike conventional Greek theaters, the *scaenae frontes* were raised, creating an orchestra similar in size and shape to the orchestras of later Roman theaters. While these changes were small, they created a new appearance for the theater that influenced the design of later Roman theaters.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Bieber 1961, 189; Boëthius 1978, 200; Beacham 1991, 56-62; Phillips 2006a, 2; Sear 2006, 1, 25, 50-2.

<sup>133</sup> Bieber 1961, 170; Beacham 1991, 56-8; Phillips 2006a, 18-24; Sear 2006, 48-9.

<sup>134</sup> Bieber 1961, 109, 127-8; Phillips 2006a, 2-3, 15-8; Sear 2006, 49.

<sup>135</sup> Bieber 1961, 110-6; Boëthius 1978, 200; Phillips 2006a, 2-4, 16; 2006b, 162.

<sup>136</sup> Phillips (2006a, 20, 26-7) notes that some of these features may be the products of renovation. At Pompeii, for instance, Sullan colonists renovated the second-century theater by altering the stage to create an integrated theater aligned to contemporary Roman theater design.

Likewise, second- and first-century stone theaters in Campania are comparable to the Greek standard but display architectural features well known in the later Roman canon and absent in the Greek.<sup>137</sup> The *caveae* of these theaters were the first to be supported by concrete substructures and a system of vaults.<sup>138</sup> The vaults and substructures were simple and often coupled with manmade earthen embankments. The support of the *cavea* in this manner was an intermediary development between the use of natural terrain by the Greeks and the completely hollow substructure developed by the Romans. The substructure of these theaters created vaulted passageways under the *cavea* known as *cryptae*, as well as rooms that were used for storage or filled to provide additional structural support. The *scaenae frontes* of these theaters increased in size and wealth of decoration by incorporating sculptures, fabric, and paintings.<sup>139</sup> The development of stone theaters in Campania freed the theater from the topographical restrictions of Greek theaters as the *cavea* no longer needed to be supported by a hillside.

The theater-temples of Latium, also dating to the second and first century, provide another source for the design of the Roman theater.<sup>140</sup> In these designs, the theater was placed on a hillside immediately below a temple, with the *cavea* functioning as monumental steps to reach the temple as well as seating for the theater.<sup>141</sup> The semi-circular *cavea* overlooked a small orchestra and a scenic view of the surrounding landscape. The associated temple was often surrounded by a portico and the grounds were well maintained and decorated with trees.<sup>142</sup> The theater-temple complexes of Latium created a more intimate and permanent connection between

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<sup>137</sup> Bieber (1962, 170-9) connects the theaters at Pompeii to the development of monumental stone theaters. See also Sear 1990, 249-50; Beacham 1991, 58-9; Phillips 2006a, 24-7; Sear 2006, 48.

<sup>138</sup> Phillips 2006a, 24-5; Sear 2006, 50-2; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 236-7.

<sup>139</sup> Small 1983, 58-62; Sear 1990, 250-8; 2006, 26-7, 33-6, 52-3.

<sup>140</sup> Hanson 1959; Phillips 2006a, 27-30; Sear 2006, 58; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 232-6, 243-5.

<sup>141</sup> Hanson 1959, 30-5, 37; Phillips 2006a, 28.

<sup>142</sup> Such designs can be seen at Gabii, Pietrabbondante, and Tivoli (Hanson 1959, 30-4; Phillips 2006a, 27-8; Sear 2006, 44-5, 58; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 233-6). The portico at Palestrina, which runs around the curve of the *cavea*, predates the portico crowning the Theater of Pompey (Hanson 1959, 34-5; Phillips 2006a, 28 fn. 36).

the theater and religious cults while also incorporating additional architectural features to create a monumental complex.

A final source for the architectural form of the Roman theater were temporary wooden theaters that were erected and dismantled as needed.<sup>143</sup> These theaters were constructed in Rome and other cities in Italy and Magna Graecia and were contemporaries of the second- and first-century stone theaters of Campania and the theater-temples of Latium.<sup>144</sup> At first, these theaters must have been simple constructions, as attested by contemporary paintings, but written accounts of their designs in the first century convey a sense of ingenuity as they became increasingly lavish and expensive.<sup>145</sup> The complexity and ostentatious designs of the temporary theaters provided a way for political members of the upper class to compete with each other for public support. Little is known regarding the *cavea* of these theaters. Their *scaenae frontes*, however, became an essential political tool for generals.<sup>146</sup> As sponsors of the temporary construction, generals used the columns and niches of the *scaenae frontes* to provide grand frames for the looted statuary and other fine goods brought to Rome from foreign campaigns.<sup>147</sup> Since theatrical productions often occurred after the triumphal procession, when spoils were paraded through Rome, the *scaenae frons* essentially became a longer, albeit still temporary and

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<sup>143</sup> Vitruvius 5.5.7; Beacham 1991, 7-9, 59; Phillips 2006a, 32-40; 2006b; Sear 2006, 54-7; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 160-9.

<sup>144</sup> For instance, the first wooden theaters at Rome were erected around the same time as the construction of the theater-temple complex in the Sanctuary of Juno at Gaii in the mid second century (Beacham 1991, 56-7; Phillips 2006a, 34-5).

<sup>145</sup> An Etruscan tomb at Corneto depicting spectators on wooden stands and painted vases from southern Italy provide insight to the construction of simple wooden stages. The lavish temporary wooden theaters of Rome are documented by Vitruvius (5.5.7), Livy (34.44.5), Cicero (*Har. Resp.* 24; *Off.* 2.57), Pliny (*HN* 19.23, 36.5-8, 102-3, 114, 117), and Valerius Maximus (2.4.6). See also Bieber 1961, 148 fig. 546, 167-8; Beacham 1991, 7-11, figs. 1-3; Phillips 2006a, 34-40, 46-50; Savarese 2007, 31-60

<sup>146</sup> Phillips 2006a, 53-69, 103-6; 2006b, 171-8.

<sup>147</sup> Plutarch (*Marc.* 21.1-5) discusses Roman approval and disapproval of ostentatious displays in Rome (Phillips 2006a, 62-9; 2006b, 172-4).

stationary, triumphal procession.<sup>148</sup> The temporary wooden theaters not only became a method of political competition among the elite, but also developed the *scaenae frons* of the theater into a decorative, architectural backdrop for the stage.

The architecture and decoration of the Roman theater derived from these prototypes. By the first century, the *caveae* of stone theaters in Italy were freestanding: raised on substructures and manmade embankments, they did not have to rely on natural terrain. The *scaenae frons* acquired ornate decorative elements. It did not remain a simple background for the stage but became a prominent component of the Roman theater. In addition, the theater was often attached to a temple, creating a monumental complex. These features were united with the construction of the Theater of Pompey, dedicated in 55. This theater was not only the first permanent theater built in Rome, but also represents the culmination of the Roman theater's architectural development and its canonization.

## The Theater as a Roman Building: The Theater of Pompey

The architecture of the Theater of Pompey became the canonical model for Roman theaters that was repeated in cities across Italy and the Roman Empire.<sup>149</sup> The Theater of Pompey's plan incorporates various features of Italic prototypes to create a unique and recognizable style (fig. 3.3). The theater's basic design includes a large, multistory, ornately decorated *scaenae frons*, a prominent feature of the elaborate designs of temporary wooden theaters of Rome. A portico crowned the top of the theater along with a temple to Venus Victrix.

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<sup>148</sup> Beacham 1991, 158. This particular use of the *scaenae frons* was initially met with resistance by the Roman senate, but this did not stop generals from returning to Rome and displaying the bounties of war (Phillips 2006a, 64-9).

<sup>149</sup> Phillips 2006a, 128.

These features, along with a *quadriporticus* behind the theater's stage, recall Italic theater-temples.<sup>150</sup> In addition, the theater was constructed with a free-standing *cavea*, a natural development stemming from the second- and first-century stone theaters of Campania. Unified in the Theater of Pompey, these features created a permanent, monumental complex under the patronage of one man.

For generals, the decorative displays on the *scaenae frontes* provided a reminder of their military deeds, advanced their political agenda, and connected their name to public munificence.<sup>151</sup> Thus, the *scaenae frons* of Pompey's theater became a permanent display for his military triumphs.<sup>152</sup> More so than any other previous building project, such as basilicas built by wealthy elite patrons, Pompey's theater complex aggrandized his own image, creating a lasting remembrance in Rome of his deeds and conquests. Indeed, Pompey's example became a prototype for imperial patronage, building programs, and the display of power. Pompey's overt personal connection to the theater complex was furthered by the dedication of the temple to Venus Victrix, his personal deity. The *cavea* of the theater also functioned as a grand staircase for the Temple of Venus Victrix, thus lessening the stigma and criticism around building the first permanent theater in Rome and explicit displays of political power under one person.<sup>153</sup>

The Theater of Pompey complex also included a *quadriporticus*, an interior courtyard created by the four-sided portico. It served to connect the theater to the center of Rome. While it did not directly link the theater to the Forum and Capitolium, it did offer an additional public

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<sup>150</sup> Hanson 1959, 43-4; Bieber 1961, 181; Boëthius 1978, 205-6; Beacham 1991, 160-1; Phillips 2006a, 86, 217-8; Sear 2006, 57, 60-1, 133-4.

<sup>151</sup> Supra 43.

<sup>152</sup> It is unlikely that the plan of the *scaenae frons* recorded by the *Forma Urbis Romae*, an ancient plan of Rome, depicts the original design of the stage, since the theater underwent restorations throughout the Julio-Claudian era and Severan periods (Bieber 1961, 181-2; Sear 2006, 17-8, 58-61, 96-7). It is probable the depicted plan of the theater corresponds to its Severan restoration in the early third century CE, which is the same period the *Forma Urbis Romae* was created. See also Small 1983, 63; Beacham 1991, 157-8; Phillips 2006a, 96-8, 106, 113-4.

<sup>153</sup> Hanson 1959, 44; Bieber 1961, 181; Beacham 1991, 161; Phillips 2006a, 98-100; Sear 2006, 58; 60; 133.

area for the growing city.<sup>154</sup> It was planted with decorative flora and had stalls for shops, niches for art, and a rectangular exedra that functioned as a curia for the senate.<sup>155</sup> These features expanded the function of the theater complex beyond religion and leisure to commerce and politics.

The theater was constructed with a free-standing, semi-circular *cavea*, a radical development and expansion from the prototypes. Instead of a simple, single barrel vaulted *crypta* found in second and first century theaters, the Theater of Pompey incorporated a series of radial vaults that created a network of passageways to support the *cavea* and provide internal access to the seating above.<sup>156</sup> The design of these passageways showcased the arch as an architectural element. These substructures also had a social function since the passageways provided a means of separating the audience by class, gender, and profession.<sup>157</sup> For example, passageways granting access to the front of the *cavea* were reserved for senators and the elite, since seating at the front of the *cavea* gave them an unobstructed view of the stage and, more importantly, by placing them in view of the audience reinforced Roman social hierarchy.<sup>158</sup>

The seating arrangement and interior passageways of the *cavea* and the decoration of the *scaenae frons* reveal how the theater's architectural development was contextually linked to the

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<sup>154</sup> Hanson 1959, 48.

<sup>155</sup> The curia is renowned as the location for Caesar's assassination in 44. See also Phillips 2006a, 95, 100-2, 109-12; Sear 2006, 61.

<sup>156</sup> Prior to this, exterior stairs were often used to access seating. Phillips 2006a, 93-4; Sear 2006, 133.

<sup>157</sup> Although writing of the amphitheater and the Colosseum, Bomgardner (2000, 9-17) provides a detailed description of how the architectural design operates on a social level. Segregated seating was first put into law in 194, when senators were granted access to seats at the front of the *caveae*. This privilege was guaranteed multiple times over the next two centuries by additional laws such as the *Lex Roscia theatralis* (63) and the *Lex Julia theatralis* (22). Livy 34-44, 54.3-8; Val. Max. 2.4.3; Bieber 1961, 186; Beacham 1991, 62; Gruen 1992, 202-5; Phillips 2006a, 70, 72; Sear 2006, 5, 11; Savarese 2007, 65.

<sup>158</sup> Phillips (2006a, 73-5, 220) notes that this arrangement was also used advantageously by military generals who sat in elevated positions, known as *tribunalia*, when watching commissioned performances (see also Sear 2006, 11). Julius Caesar, for instance, was given a golden throne in the theater (Dio Cass. 44.6.3; Beacham 1999, 82-3). These performances were often *fibulae praetextae* that retold the story of the generals' battles (Sear 2006, 6-7). The arrangement visually connected the elevated general or patron with the performance on the stage and the décor of the *scaenae frons*.

sociopolitical culture at Rome. The theater became a means by which social hierarchy was visible and enforced and through its building promoted competition among the elite and established public memory of a *gens*. The various architectural and structural features of the Roman theater were selected to emphasize Roman cultural values during the Middle and Late Republic, a time of Roman expansion and cultural definition.<sup>159</sup> As theaters outside of Rome and within the Roman territory were built, the presence of the theater proclaimed the city as socially and politically Roman.

As the first permanent theater in Rome, the design of the Theater of Pompey drew on styles and innovations developed primarily in the second and early first century throughout the Italian peninsula. Yet, the importance of the Theater of Pompey as the canon for the Roman theater is seen in its replication. By the end of the first century CE, at least sixty new Roman theaters were erected across the Empire. Nearly all of these were built in the style of Pompey's and many more older theaters were renovated to match.<sup>160</sup> The free standing theatrical structures developed and built in Italy and Rome following the construction of the Theater of Pompey were distinguished by their distinctive architectural style that can be recognized and labeled as Roman. As a group, these Late Republican and Early Imperial theaters lack the innovation and stylistic variation seen in the earlier theaters of Italy. Rather, the construction of theaters across Italy in a standardized style was another way, after the Roman forum, that Rome's new *municipia* conformed to the standards set in Rome and created cities that were Roman both by name and by sight.

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<sup>159</sup> Phillips 2006a, 51.

<sup>160</sup> Phillips' chapters on the Roman theater's dissemination outside of Italy and in the Greek east (2006a, 129- 217) confirm the role of the Theater of Pompey as the canonical Roman theater and demonstrate how the circulation of one particular building type, in this case the theater, was a key component in the spread of Roman culture and political control. For imperial theater-temples see Hanson 1959, 59-77; Bieber 1961, 190-220; Jouffroy 1986, 53-8, 96-101, 352; Beacham 1991, 163-6; Phillips 2006a, 86; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 236-52.

## The Theater in Umbria

The dissemination of the Roman theater in Umbria demonstrates the emergence of a standard style of theater building at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Imperial period, revealing crucial trends in the political and cultural unity of Italy. An examination of the theaters built in Umbrian *municipia* can further determine how the construction of a permanent theater expressed a city's connection to and support of Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate.

In Italy during the Late Republic only twenty-five theaters were built.<sup>161</sup> These theaters were concentrated in the southern regions of the peninsula in Latium and Campania and the regions directly north of Rome in Etruria and Umbria.<sup>162</sup> It was popular to construct theaters in the Augustan period, and the building of theaters continued to thrive well into the first century CE. In Umbria, the building of permanent theaters occurred in twelve out of twenty-nine cities.<sup>163</sup> Around southern Umbria, theaters are found in eight out of fourteen *municipia*.<sup>164</sup> Their presence reveals that municipal governments and citizens were willing to commit financial resources to construct a distinctly Roman building following the municipalization of these cities. The theaters, in turn, helped establish a visual Roman identity for the municipalities of Umbria.

Six of the eight theaters in southern Umbria are briefly surveyed in the following section.<sup>165</sup> Two of the six are in cities we have not encountered yet, Tuder (modern Todi) and Hispellum (Spello). Tuder was an Umbrian town located in southwest Umbria, on a hilltop

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<sup>161</sup> Jouffroy 1986, 53-8.

<sup>162</sup> Jouffroy 1986, 53-8.

<sup>163</sup> Jouffroy 1986, 354-7.

<sup>164</sup> Jouffroy 1986, 354-7; Bispham 2007, 462, 464-5.

<sup>165</sup> The theater at Mevania (modern Bevagna) will not be discussed, as the date of its construction is broadly dated to the first century CE (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 140; Sear 2006, 161). The Augustan theater at Asisium will also not be discussed due to the paucity of its remains, although its plan appears to have been comparable to the theaters at Tuder and Spolegium (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 164; Sear 2006, 159).

overlooking the Tiber River. Its foundation date is unknown, although the town existed by the fifth century. It was prosperous in the fourth and third centuries as an urban center located on the border of Etruria, and following the Social War the city became an *municipium*.<sup>166</sup> Not much is known about Hispellum prior to the first century; many tombs from a city necropolis are dated to the third and second centuries.<sup>167</sup> The city stands between Asisium and the Via Flaminia at the northern part of the Umbrian Valley. The city became a *municipium* following the Social War, as attested to by surviving magisterial inscriptions, and was later colonized by veterans under Caesar.<sup>168</sup>

The permanent theaters of southern Umbria were first built at the end of the Late Republic and the early Imperial period. The earliest were constructed at Tuder and Interamna Nahars and date to the Late Republic or early Augustan period. The theater at Oriculum dates to the Augustan period and the two at Spoletium and Hispellum date to the reign of Augustus or the Julio-Claudians. The theater at Carsulae, the latest theater examined in this study, dates to the Julio-Claudian period.

### **The Late Republican Theaters at Tuder and Interamna Nahars**

The first theaters built in southern Umbria are located in the cities of Interamna Nahars and Tuder. The theater at Tuder is dated to the end of the Late Republic and the theater at Interamna was likely constructed around the same time.<sup>169</sup> The archaeological record for these two theaters is extremely thin, but what is available confirms the adoption of a standard form of the Roman theater by cities outside of Rome.

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<sup>166</sup> Fontaine 1990, 189; Bispham 2007, 470 n. 129.

<sup>167</sup> Although some of the excavated tombs have been dated to seventh century (Fontaine 1990, 245).

<sup>168</sup> Fontaine 1990, 245; Bispham 2007, 286-7, 482 Q30-1, 493 Q66.

<sup>169</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 43-4, 76; Faustini 2006, 152; Sear 2006, 161, 164.

Only a few substructures remain of the theater at Tuder (fig. 3.4). The medieval houses built over it outline its general plan.<sup>170</sup> The theater was located on the eastern slope of the city, not far from the forum. The *cavea* was supported by the natural slope of the hill and with vaults: the central portion of the *cavea* rests on the hillside and radial vaults support either side of the *cavea* where the natural terrain cannot.<sup>171</sup> The remaining substructures of the theater confirm the use of radial vaults, barrel vaulted rooms, and passageways common in early models of vaulted *caveae*.<sup>172</sup> The combination of vaulted architecture and natural terrain for support exhibits a mixture of second- and first-century methods to support the theater's *cavea*. Based on the construction method the theater at Tuder is dated between 42 and 27.<sup>173</sup> The theater at Tuder was adapted to the local topography but was not restrained by it.

At Interamna Nahars, the theater's location is also identified by scattered remains and its plan is preserved in the shape of the city built over it (fig. 3.5, T).<sup>174</sup> The flat landscape of the modern city in the area of the theater limits, although does not entirely prohibit, the possibility that the *cavea* was supported by a manmade earthen embankment. This would suggest that the theater was vaulted, although without archaeological evidence the theater's structural support will remain in question. Of the few archaeological remains, present in the houses located over the theater, are small portions of an arch, a lesbian cyma, and *opus reticulatum* walls belonging to the first building phase and later repairs.<sup>175</sup> This construction technique dates the theater to the end of the Late Republic.

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<sup>170</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 76; Sear 2006, 163.

<sup>171</sup> Sear 2006, 163.

<sup>172</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 76; Sear 2006, 163.

<sup>173</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 76; Faustini 2006, 152; Sear 2006, 164.

<sup>174</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 43; Faustini 2006, 152; Sear 2006, 161.

<sup>175</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 43-4; Faustini 2006, 152-4; Sear 2006, 161.

The theater is also dated to the Late Republic by two dedicatory inscriptions from the same period. The inscriptions were placed together on the same marble slab, of which two large fragments now remain (fig. 3.6).<sup>176</sup> The upper inscription identifies a Roman curule aedile with senatorial rank, C. Dexius Maximus, who financed the construction of the *crypta* and portico of the city's theater. The *gens Dexius* was widespread in Southern Umbria. At Interamna, C. Dexius Maximus was awarded the theater construction by the local senate and he was also responsible for building the road that connected Interamna to Reate in the southeast.<sup>177</sup> The lower inscription records the *quattuorviri*, T. Albius Pansa and C. Albius Pansa, a father and son, who were responsible for the bronze decoration in the women's section on the completion of the theater.<sup>178</sup> Members of the *gens Albia* were active members in the local political scene at Interamna and held at least two other municipal magistracies.<sup>179</sup> These inscriptions demonstrate that the officials of the *municipium* were active in the development of the city's urban core, participating in the construction and decoration of theaters.<sup>180</sup> The inscriptions were an important method to connect both the single member and their *gens* to the theater and culture of their city in perpetuity, while also enhancing their prestige in a manner similar to Pompey.<sup>181</sup>

The *porticus* and *crypta* mentioned in the inscription may refer to either a colonnade at the top of the theater with a vaulted ambulatory below it, or to a *porticus post scaenam* and an

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<sup>176</sup> *CIL* XI 4206:

C. Dexius L. f. Max[umus aedilis] cur[ulis] porticum thea[t(ri)], / cryptam perf[icienda cu]ravit, qui in operibus / publiceis quae s[upra s(c)ripta] s[un]t ex] s[enatus] c[onsulato] inscriptio data est.

T. Albius C. f. IIIvir i[ure] d[icundo], [p]ont[ifex], C. Albius T. f. Pansa filius IIIvir [i[ure] d[icundo]] / opus theatri perfect[um] in muliebrib[us] aedificaver[unt].

Andreani 1997, 142, 156-7; Sisani 2008e, 112.

<sup>177</sup> *CIL* XI 4207; Andreani 1997, 142, 156-7; Sisani 2008e, 112.

<sup>178</sup> Sisani states (2008e, 112-3) that these men may have held other offices, which cannot be confirmed due to lacunae in the inscription. He discusses these possibilities by comparing this inscription to other inscriptions that refer to local magistrates at Interamna.

<sup>179</sup> *CIL* XI 4195-6; Andreani 1997, 142; Sisani 2008e, 113 n. 77; 2008f, 122 n. 92.

<sup>180</sup> Cooley 2012, 124.

<sup>181</sup> Phillips 2006a, 136.

accompanying *cryptoporticus*.<sup>182</sup> If the *porticus* refers to a colonnade on the top of the theater, the theater's design mimics the design of the Theater of Pompey, which had a colonnade along the top level of *cavea*. However, the zone in front of the theater does suggest that theater did indeed have a *porticus post scaenam*.<sup>183</sup> This additional piece of architecture would also align the theater's plan to the plan of the Theater of Pompey. In either case, the inclusion of the *porticus* shows that those involved in the theater's construction, such as C. Dexius Maximus, looked to Rome and, in particular, the Theater of Pompey, as a source for the design of a theater built in an average Roman town. It also demonstrates how additional architectural features, like a *porticus* and *crypta*, could be used to monumentalize a theater.

In sum, the theaters at Tuder and Interamna demonstrate the shift from Italic stone theaters to the free-standing standard set by the Theater of Pompey. The foundations of the theater at Tuder were based on a combination of vaulted substructures and the use of the natural terrain, showing a transitional phase in the development of the Roman theater in which radial vaults were used to enhance the supportive qualities of the natural terrain. The vaulted substructures are more similar to those found in the Theater of Pompey than to those found in Italic stone theaters. The archaeological evidence for the structural foundation of the theater at Interamna Nahars is unclear, but since the terrain prohibits the use of natural topography to support the theater's *cavea*, the theater was likely vaulted (at least partially, if not fully). Additional epigraphic evidence further suggests that the theater's design was influenced by the Theater of Pompey. During the Late Republic and the beginning of the Augustan period, the

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<sup>182</sup> The first possibility is suggested by Andreani (1997, 157) and Sear (2006, 2), the second by Sisani (2008e, 112 n. 77).

<sup>183</sup> Faustini 2006, 154

architecture and sociopolitical function of the first theaters built in Umbrian *municipia* begins to follow the standard Roman style of the theater.

### **The Augustan and Julio-Claudian Theaters in Southern Umbria**

In the early Imperial period, five theaters were constructed in southern Umbria. The four best preserved examples are from Spoletium, dated to or just prior to the Augustan period; Oriculum, dated to the Augustan period; and Carsulae and Hispellum, dated to the beginning to the first century CE. These theaters demonstrate a continual use of the standard style that was established in the half-century prior.

The theater at Spoletium was the earliest of the Imperial theaters built in southern Umbria. It was constructed on a terrace near the forum, perpendicular to the slope of the hill.<sup>184</sup> The architecture of this theater was consistent with the standard model found at the end of the first century (fig. 3.7-9). Radial walls supported the *cavea* and created a series of rooms beneath. The theater's east side was built against the walls of the city, an unusual feature.<sup>185</sup> A barrel vaulted *crypta* granted access to the *cavea* via nine interior stairwells.<sup>186</sup> The theater was built mainly in *opus quadratum*, although *opus reticulatum* is found in the walls of the *crypta*.<sup>187</sup> These building techniques — specifically, the radial vaults and interior stairs — are similar to those used in the Theater of Pompey and in other cities during the Late Republic, such as

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<sup>184</sup> The theater was built on the hill of the city and could have easily utilized the natural terrain. Instead, the theater was built perpendicular to the slope of the hill. The location of the theater allowed the city's walls to buttress the *cavea*, which perhaps indicates a structural need for more support or a lack of confidence in the theater's radial vaults. Spoletium was the first hill-city in southern Umbria to build a theater in this manner and perhaps discovered that this method was not truly compatible with the terrain; in fact, an earthquake caused the *cavea* of the theater to slip (Di Marco 1975, 54; Sear 2006, 163).

<sup>185</sup> While unusual, the use of the wall for buttressing is also seen at the amphitheater at Pompeii (Di Marco 1975, 53-4; Welch 1994, 79; 2007, 94; Sear 2006, 77, 162).

<sup>186</sup> Di Marco 1975, 53; Sear 2006, 162.

<sup>187</sup> Di Marco 1975, 54; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 112; Sear 2006, 162.

Iguvium in northern Umbria.<sup>188</sup> The similarities provide the theater with a construction date in the early Augustan period.

The theater's date is also suggested by sculptural decoration.<sup>189</sup> Three marble panels were recovered that possibly decorated the base of the stage and may depict scenes that relate to local sites around Spoletium and religious cults.<sup>190</sup> Based on their carving style, one of these panels dates to the Late Republic and the other two panels date to the early Augustan period.<sup>191</sup> The first panel depicts a young man reclining with a raised arm in a rocky setting. He may personify a spring, perhaps one of many, found in the hills around the city (fig. 3.10a). The second panel appears to include two figures that stand in front of a stone wall: a warrior, identified by a fragment of a sword; and a woman, identified by her stola (fig. 3.10b). The figures may be gods and the wall may represent the city's wall. The third panel depicts a figure seated on a throne on a ledge and a standing male figure, who wears a long gown and is perhaps Apollo presenting himself to Jupiter (fig. 3.10c).

In addition to the panels, excavations of the theater in the 1950s recovered two portrait busts dating to the first century.<sup>192</sup> The earlier of the busts is a portrait of a man, likely a local figure of importance to the *municipium* (fig. 3.11a).<sup>193</sup> The man depicted has a tight expression and shallow cheeks, with a broad forehead, deep-set eyes, a sharp nose, a large mouth, and thin lips. In style, the bust resembles other portraits dated to the mid-first century and the period of

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<sup>188</sup> The *cavea* of the theater at Iguvium (modern Gubbio) was also accessed by interior staircases and was supported by radial vaults (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 112; Sear 2006, 160-3).

<sup>189</sup> It should be noted that the decorative busts and panels described may have been added to theater at a later date.

<sup>190</sup> Salvatore 2008, 28-9.

<sup>191</sup> Salvatore 2008, 28-9.

<sup>192</sup> Sensi 1984, 11-2; Salvatore 2008, 26-7.

<sup>193</sup> Sensi (1984, 11-2, 45-6) suggests that it may be a portrait of the theater's patron, or C. Oppius, a senator from Spoletium who supported Julius Caesar, or C. Calvisius Sabinus, another figure active in Roman politics. Without further evidence, these can only be speculation.

Julius Caesar.<sup>194</sup> The second bust is a portrait of the Emperor Augustus (fig. 3.11b). The portrait depicts the young emperor with tousled locks, a high forehead, arched eyebrows, and a small mouth and chin. These details are associated with portraiture of Augustus following the Battle of Actium.<sup>195</sup> The base of the busts suggests that the heads were carved separately and inserted into bodies. Their original context is unknown, and these portraits could have been moved around the theater or even the city. Their provenance in the theater suggests they may at one time have been on display. A position on the *scaenae frons* would place these portraits in the direct view of the theater's audience in a manner similar to the decoration of the *scaenae frontes* by victorious generals in the Republic.<sup>196</sup> Such placement would serve as a reminder to the audience of the city's patronage by a member of the local elite as well as of the local connections with the Imperial family and politics in Rome.

At Oriculum, the architecture of the theater relies on the natural terrain of the city and was built against the slope of a plateau (fig. 3.12-4). The lower *cavea* was excavated from the tuff cliff, while the upper *cavea* was supported by radial vaults.<sup>197</sup> The division of support for the theater's *cavea* displays an adaptation to the terrain. This construction method is comparable to the theater at Tuder, where radial vaults that support the *cavea* augment natural terrain when the terrain was not immediately conducive. Along the top of the theater was a portico *ambulacrum*, that stood on top of a *crypta* behind the last row of seats. The design directly recalls the Theater of Pompey. Inside, between the lower *cavea* supported by terrain and the

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<sup>194</sup> Sensi 1984, 11-2; Salvatore 2008, 27.

<sup>195</sup> Sensi 1984, 12-4, 46; Salvatore 2008, 27.

<sup>196</sup> Supra 44-7. This could certainly be true for the Late Republican busts. Sensi (1984, 46), however, notes that the back of the bust of Augustus is extremely detailed. This suggests that the bust was meant to be viewed from all directions, and therefore not originally intended for the *scaenae frons*, where the back of the head would not be seen.

<sup>197</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 26; Sear 2006, 161-2; Hay *et al.* 2013, 55.

upper *cavea* supported by radial vaults, a barrel-vaulted *crypta* provided access around the theater and, with stairs, to the seats.<sup>198</sup>

Very little remains of the *scaenae frons*, although excavations suggest that it followed the standard model set by the Theater of Pompey.<sup>199</sup> The stage building seems to be associated with an additional set of walls and buildings that flank the structure. Two, mirrored retaining walls stand west and east of the *scaenae frons* and are clearly linked to the theater.<sup>200</sup> The *scaenae frons* was also aligned with a set of foundations to the east of the theater that stand just below the monumental terrace known as the “Grandi Sostruzioni.”<sup>201</sup> As the Via Flaminia approached the Oriculum plateau from the south, the road skirted this lower area of the city.<sup>202</sup> The theater and the “Grandi Sostruzioni” visually connect the valley and its buildings to the city center atop the plateau by creating a monumental façade for the city’s southern expanse.<sup>203</sup>

The theater at Oriculum is dated to the reign of Augustus or the early first century CE by *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum* facing on the vaults and piers, and epigraphic analysis of inscriptions.<sup>204</sup> These inscriptions identify the patron of the *scaenae* as the *quattuorvir* Passenius Ataedi, son of Lucius. One inscription describes the donation of games (*ludi*) in honor of the new *scaenae*.<sup>205</sup> The second inscription refers to the same patron and may refer to the dedication of the *scaenae*.<sup>206</sup> These inscriptions link the construction of the theater to an elite member of

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<sup>198</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 26; Sear 2006, 161-2; Hay *et al.* 2013, 55.

<sup>199</sup> Hay *et al.* 2013, 55, 58.

<sup>200</sup> Hay *et al.* 2013, 38, 49-51, 55.

<sup>201</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 24-5; Hay *et al.* 2013, 57.

<sup>202</sup> Hay *et al.* 2013, 58-63.

<sup>203</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 24-5; Hay *et al.* 2013, 51, 146.

<sup>204</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 26; Sear 2006, 162; Hay *et al.* 2013, 55, 58.

<sup>205</sup> *CIL* XI, 7806:

... ]O L F ataedio Q[V / ...]a re conlat ludis dedica[...]

<sup>206</sup> *CIL* XI, 7807/8:

Passeni vs L F ataedivs ci[...] Tert Desvo

local society who was active in the city's political life. It reveals that a high-ranking municipal official oversaw the construction of, at least, a portion of the theater and funded performances.

The theater at Carsulae is dated to the Julio-Claudian era. It was constructed with a combination of vaulted supports and fill. Radial arches supported the upper *cavea* and the substructures of the radial design created a set of barrel-vaulted rooms (fig. 3.15). These rooms had *opus reticulatum* walls and were accessed by an *ambulacrum*. Unlike the Theater of Pompey, the *ambulacrum* did not provide direct access to seating, which was instead accessed by a pair of stairs in the back. The outer façade of the *ambulacrum* was decorated with 22 rusticated piers in *opus quadratum*. The theater's lower *cavea* was supported by rooms filled with concrete.<sup>207</sup>

The theater of Carsulae also incorporates a *quadriporticus*, a prime component from the Theater of Pompey and theater-temple complexes, although no temple was directly associated with the theater. The portico was built around a depression in the earth and was soon replaced by the city's amphitheater (fig. 3.16).<sup>208</sup> The addition of the portico, however briefly it existed, monumentalized the theater, and connected the theater to the city's forum (specifically, to the basilica that stood just across the road from the forum and near the theater complex).<sup>209</sup>

The final theater examined is the theater-temple at Hispellum, located outside the city's walls. The theater was part of a multi-level terraced theater-temple complex that included two temples. The temples, while small, were the main features of the middle terrace and flanked and overlooked the theater that was centered on the lower terrace.<sup>210</sup> A mosaic records the names of

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<sup>207</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 134; Sear 2006, 159.

<sup>208</sup> *Infra* 75-6; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 133; Golvin 1988, 112, 411.

<sup>209</sup> A *quadriporticus* separating the theater from the *cardo maximus* is also seen at Interamna Nahars. Laurence (1999, 151-2) discusses a similar urban plan at Minturnae, where the theater was separated from the Via Appia by a portico that enclosed the city's Capitolium and a temple.

<sup>210</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 153; Sear 2006, 160.

the *duoviri* Marcus Granius and Sextus Lollius who commissioned a statue of Venus and other statues for the *scaenae frons*.<sup>211</sup> The *opus vittatum* brickwork on the retaining wall of a terrace suggests that the theater was constructed in the Augustan period.<sup>212</sup> Many of the theater's architectural elements have been quarried, built over, or removed from the site and there are very few archaeological remains.<sup>213</sup> Due to the lack of archaeological evidence, the theater's plan has not been reconstructed, making it difficult to assess the theater in relation to the development and dissemination of the Roman theater. However, the theater's elaborately decorated *scaenae frons* and association with a temple shows at least an ideological reference to the theater-temples of Italy and the Theater of Pompey.

Like the theaters built during the Late Republic, the theaters of southern Umbria built during the Augustan and Early Imperial period continues to adopt a standard Roman style. The theater at Spolegium most clearly adheres to the model provided by the Theater of Pompey. It was built with radial vaults supporting the *cavea* in its entirety, which also allowed for interior stairs. This theater was built as a free-standing structure, directly mimicking the Theater of Pompey, when it could have very easily used natural terrain for support. Likewise, the theater at Oriculum could have more directly used the hillside to support the *cavea*, but did not; natural terrain is only used to support the lower *cavea* while radial vaults support the upper *cavea*. This theater also has an upper *ambulacrum*, another standard feature of the Roman theater. The theater at Carsulae was built in a similar manner, with a supported lower *cavea* and vaulted upper *cavea*. The combination of a supported lower *cavea* and vaulted upper *cavea* in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian Umbrian theaters demonstrates the adoption of structural designs

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<sup>211</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 153; Sear 2006, 160.

<sup>212</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 153; Sear 2006, 160.

<sup>213</sup> The site is now home to the Villa Fidelia, first constructed in the early 1600s (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 153; Sear 2006, 160).

and architectural styles standardized in the prior decades with free-standing theaters supported either partially or fully by radial vaults.

The Late Republican and Early Imperial theaters of Umbrian *municipia* were built to a standardized plan that blended architectural features from Italic prototypes with the canonical model of the Roman theater. While the theaters did not strictly mimic the Theater of Pompey, their construction method and decoration establishes that they were aspiring to model key features standardized by the Theater of Pompey. For instance, the theater was built as a free-standing structure, although it often still relied on additional filled chambers to support portions of the *cavea*.<sup>214</sup> Other architectural features, such as a portico *ambulacrum*, interior stairs, and a *porticus post scaenam*, along with decoration, were other ways these theaters mimicked the Theater of Pompey. Of the six theaters examined, the theater at Hispellum is an outlier in this study. It is unknown how the structure was built, supported, and accessed. However, as a theater incorporated into a larger temple complex it demonstrates that the theater was not entirely removed from its earlier prototypes. It recalls the theater-temples of Latium, which influenced the design of the Theater of Pompey, and so can it can still be considered to continue the model of Roman theaters while also referencing the canonical standard.

Moving beyond their architectural features, the location of theaters in Umbrian *municipia* have further parallels to the Theater of Pompey. Nearly all of these theaters were located near or on the periphery of the city center, reflecting the Theater of Pompey's location just outside

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<sup>214</sup> Whether or not the divergence from the hollow, freestanding theaters of Rome seen in Umbria was a regional or an Italic trend requires a larger examination of the building patterns of theaters in Italy during this period.

Rome's *pomerium* in the Campus Martius, bordering the center of Rome and its fora.<sup>215</sup> Most importantly, though, the Umbrian theaters were built where they could make a strong visual impact to city residents and visitors passing through. This was done by building the theater along the consular road or *cardo maximus* through the city. These locations constituted bold statements regarding a city's prosperity and connections to Rome.<sup>216</sup>

The construction of Roman theaters in these Umbrian cities demonstrates the continuing adoption of Roman building norms. From the middle of the century onwards, Roman leisure buildings were constructed and their forms more strictly adhered to standards set by similar buildings in Rome. Local adaptations were based on practicality and topography. Across Umbria, theaters display a general homogeneity in their construction. Unlike the forum, which holds strongly onto local customs and which is indebted to Roman government, the adoption of the Roman theater into the Umbrian cityscape reveals the extended process of municipalization of that goes beyond Roman administration. At this time, Umbrian cities were more fully incorporating themselves into Roman culture.

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<sup>215</sup> Beacham 1991, 159; Phillips 2006a, 105.

<sup>216</sup> Hay *et al.* 2013, 49-50, 146.

# Chapter Four:

## The Amphitheater

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The Roman amphitheater was developed as a space to host *munera*, public games that consisted of man-to-man combat, animal hunts, and mock battles. The exact origin of these shows is unknown; however, it is known that the games derived from Etruscan or Oscan culture as an honorific funerary custom.<sup>217</sup> A focus on the Etruscan or Oscan origin of gladiatorial combat causes some scholars to consider *munera* as a foreign, Italic tradition, instead of native Roman one.<sup>218</sup> This conclusion overlooks the fact that the Romans conquered both the Etruscans and the Italic Oscans, absorbing not only their territory but also their culture relatively early in Roman history. Once incorporated into Roman culture the games detached from their funereal context, and in the Middle Republic gladiatorial spectacles were transformed into a politically charged form of entertainment.<sup>219</sup> The games became a way to court favor with the public. With their rise in popularity, cities incorporated *munera* into their charters, guaranteeing their inhabitants' access to games hosted by local politicians.<sup>220</sup> By the Late Republic the *munus*

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<sup>217</sup> Hopkins 1983, 3-4; Wiedemann 1992, 30-3; Futrell 1997, 11, 13-18; Potter 1999, 305-7; Bomgardner 2000, 32; Futrell 2006, 4-7; Welch 2007, 11-8.

<sup>218</sup> After summarizing the origin theories, Futrell (1997, 11-9) concludes that *munera* are a “non-Roman anomaly” and likely Etruscan in origin. Wiedemann (1992, 30-3, 41) dismisses the origins of *munera* as unimportant since they were adopted as Roman custom, but emphasizes their non-Roman origin as an important factor in the formation of Roman Italy. Bomgardner (2000, 32-4), and Welch (2007, 11-8) provide summaries of the hypotheses on the origins of gladiatorial combat.

<sup>219</sup> Hopkins 1983, 5, 14-20; Golvin 1988, 15-21; Wiedemann 1992, 2-11, 41-4; Futrell 1997, 10, 29-33, 44-6; Bomgardner 2000, 32-4; Futrell 2006, 11-4, 24-9; Flaig 2007, 83-4; Welch 2007, 18-22.

<sup>220</sup> The charter for the Caesarian colony of Urso in Spain, *CIL* II 5439.70-1 = *ILS* 6087, provided stipulations for the regular production of public shows by the *duumvir*. Additionally, inscriptions that recorded the production of *munera* served as documentation of fulfillment of a magistrate's official duties (Pobjoy 2000, 77-84; Cooley 2012, 39). See also Hopkins 1983, 12-4; Crawford 1996, 395, 423-4, 437; Welch 1994, 61-2; Bomgardner 2000, 56; Futrell 2006, 43; Welch 2006, 78; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 69, 72-75; Cooley 2012, 41.

became a symbol of Roman culture.<sup>221</sup> In this way, the Romans adopted the *munus* from one culture and transformed the games into a Roman custom. While doing so the Romans developed a building in which to host the *munus*. It was first called a *spectaculum* and later was given the name *amphitheatrum*.<sup>222</sup>

The amphitheater is the pinnacle building of Romanization in first century Italy. Its quick adoption is an exemplar of a unified Roman Italy. After the turmoil of the Late Republic, the amphitheater was rapidly incorporated into the milieu of the Roman *urbs* in the Augustan period. It became an essential marker of Roman culture, influence, and power. The amphitheater exemplifies ingenuity and the Roman characteristic of melding cultures and sources to create a new and definable architectural form. The following chapter delves into the origins and architectural development of the amphitheater and examines the building as a representative of Roman culture. It explores the role that amphitheaters played in the municipalization of Umbria in the first century as they incorporated into Roman cities.

## Origins and Architectural Development

The origins of the amphitheater are still debated, especially since the building was not essential for the production of a *munus*.<sup>223</sup> Prior to the construction of permanent amphitheaters these contests were traditionally held in the forum.<sup>224</sup> Vitruvius mentions this in his discussion

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<sup>221</sup> Golvin 1988, 411; Wiedemann 1992, 46; Welch 1994, 79-80; Futrell 1997, 4, 26; Potter 1999, 256; Bomgardner 2000, 42; Welch 2006, 162; Flaig 2007, 84-6;

<sup>222</sup> Welch 2007, 76, 107-8, 302 n.16.

<sup>223</sup> Jouffroy 1986; Golvin 1988; Welch 1994; Lomas 1998; Coleman 2000; Bomgardner 2000; Fear 2000; Holleran 2000; Lomas 2003; Welch 2006; Mann 2009; Laurence *et al.* 2011.

<sup>224</sup> The location of games in fora is discussed by Vitruvius (5.1.1-2) and Valerius Maximus (2.4.7). A funerary inscription (*CIL X 1074d = ILS 5053.4*) records the games hosted in the forum at Pompeii by Aulus Clodius Flaccus. See also Futrell 1997, 36-7; Rowland and Howe 1999, 292; Bomgardner 2000, 42; Cooley 2004, 48; Futrell 2006, 53-5; Welch 1994, 71; 2007, 31-2.

on the forum and refers to the designated space as a *spectaculum*.<sup>225</sup> However, the exclusion of the amphitheater from Vitruvius's *De Architectura* should not be overvalued. Vitruvius was writing in c. 20, by which date only a few permanent stone amphitheaters had been constructed in Italy and the first stone amphitheater at Rome had only recently been erected a few years prior. In contrast, the other building types discussed in *De Architectura* had been developed over several centuries. As a novel building type without a clear Greek counterpart (see, e.g., Vitruvius' interest in differentiating between Greek and Roman theaters) the omission by Vitruvius is not entirely surprising.<sup>226</sup>

Prior to the construction of a permanent building, *spectacula*, the wooden stands for seating, were erected in the forum and their temporary nature leaves little archeological record.<sup>227</sup> Like temporary wooden theaters, *specatacula* for the *munus* were constantly raised and dismantled allowing for the structural design of the building to develop during the Middle and Late Republic.<sup>228</sup> And, in a similar manner the wooden structures served as a prototype for the permanent design.

*Spectacula* were constructed throughout Italy, but those assembled in the Forum Romanum at Rome may have played an essential role, serving as the standard for early stone amphitheaters. The basis for the theory rests on the relationship between the forum as the original location of the *munus* and a comparison between the size of an amphitheater's arena to the size of the hypothetical *spectacula* of the Forum Romanum. At Pompeii, the size of the amphitheater's arena measures 67 x 35 meters and corresponds to an oval-shaped *spectaculum*

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<sup>225</sup> Vitr. 5.1.1-2; Rowland and Howe 1999, 64; Fear 2000, 83.

<sup>226</sup> Welch 2007, 127, 308 n. 61.

<sup>227</sup> Welch 1994, 69-78; Rowland and Howe 1999, 292; Bomgardner 2000, 59; Futrell 2006, 55-9; Welch 2007, 30-2, 43-58.

<sup>228</sup> Golvin 1988, 18-21; Welch 1994, 69-78; 2007, 43-57.

with the same size arena built within the confines of the Forum Romanum as it stood during the first quarter of the first century (fig. 4.1).<sup>229</sup> Indeed, many of the Late Republican stone amphitheaters have roughly the same dimensions, suggesting a single source.<sup>230</sup> Such correlation suggests that the permanent amphitheater at Pompeii, and those of the Late Republic, were significantly influenced by the *spectacula* of Rome. But just how influential the *spectacula* constructed in the Forum Romanum were on the amphitheaters in Campania is still uncertain. Yet, temporary *spectacula* both at Rome and elsewhere were essential, if ephemeral, prototypes of the amphitheater.

The shift to a permanent amphitheater made from natural terrain, stone, and concrete became popular in the first century.<sup>231</sup> The earliest stone amphitheaters were erected mostly in Campania, and not at Rome. The extant stone amphitheaters in Campania are noted for their particularly developed architecture and the refined finish of their design, suggesting the existence of a prototype.<sup>232</sup> This could be, as discussed, the *spectacula*, while some scholars suggest that the amphitheater originated from and relied on the development and design of the theater.<sup>233</sup> Indeed the two buildings are similar, with tiered seating for viewing a stage or arena. But their greatest similarities, as free-standing structures with radial vaults and interior passages and stairs, are present in the canonical models and later Imperial structures and not in the theaters and amphitheaters built in the first century. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Roman

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<sup>229</sup> A *spectaculum* of this size and shape in the Forum Romanum also allowed for additional viewing areas in the upper stories of the surrounding basilicas (Golvin 1988, 18-21; Welch 1994, 69-78; 2007, 43-57). The design remained suitable, although restricted by ten meters, when the Basilica Julia replaced the Sempronia in the middle of the century (Welch 1994, 72; 2007, 47-9). Welch (2007, 38-42) also suggests that the underground passages found in this section of the forum may have been associated with Rome's *spectacula*.

<sup>230</sup> The arenas of Late Republican amphitheaters appear to conform to a standard size, measuring roughly 70 x 35 meters. As we will see with the Umbrian amphitheaters, while the size of the arena remains consistent, the overall size, including the *cavea* for spectators, varies greatly (Golvin 1988, 283-9; Welch 2007, 100, 89-90, 193-263).

<sup>231</sup> Welch 2007, 189-90.

<sup>232</sup> Welch 1994, 69; 2006, 73.

<sup>233</sup> Boëthius 1978, 203-5; Welch 1994, 78.

theater was still evolving in the Late Republic. Considering the theater as the single prototype places the amphitheater as an addendum to the development of the theater.

Furthermore, there are significant differences between contemporary amphitheaters and theaters in the first century. The first permanent amphitheaters were simple constructions built with a combination of excavation and embankments in conjunction with the terrain, while the theaters of this period were becoming free-standing structures that actively explored vaults, removing them from topographic constraints. The extra buttressing and support of the amphitheater at Pompeii (discussed below) suggests a hesitancy to using radial vaults to support the *cavea* in the initial designs of permanent amphitheaters.<sup>234</sup> Additionally, interior access to the amphitheater's *cavea* was limited and without interior vaults access was still (mainly) by exterior staircases. The early stone amphitheaters of the Late Republic exhibit these traits as well.

### **Late Republican Amphitheaters: The Amphitheater at Pompeii**

In general, the amphitheaters of the Late Republic can be characterized as small, simple, functional structures without ornamentation or complex architecture.<sup>235</sup> It is unknown which city in Campania built the first permanent stone amphitheater since Republican-era amphitheaters are difficult to date.<sup>236</sup> This is due to their poor preservation and the use of organic construction

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<sup>234</sup> See Malacrino (2010, 120, 134-7) on the use of backfill for weight distribution and structural support and the use of the arch during the Republican period.

<sup>235</sup> Amphitheaters dated to the Late Republic include those in Campania (Pompeii, Capua, Cumae, Cales, Abella, Liternum Teanum, Puteoli, Telesia, Suessa Aurunca, Nola, Compsa, Abellinum, and possibly Aeclanum), Lucania (Paestum), Etruria (Sutrium and Ferentium), Spain (Carmo), Greece (Corinth), and Syria (Antioch).

<sup>236</sup> Jouffroy 1988, 58; Welch 2007, 82-3.

materials in addition to stone and concrete.<sup>237</sup> The Republican-era amphitheater at Capua, dating to the early first century, may have been one of the first permanent constructions.<sup>238</sup>

The amphitheater at Pompeii, which dates to c. 70,<sup>239</sup> is the only Republican era amphitheater that is securely dated, due to a surviving dedicatory inscription.<sup>240</sup> This, combined with its excellent state of preservation, makes Pompeii's amphitheater a key monument against which to compare and evaluate other amphitheaters of the Late Republic and Early Empire and, for us, to examine the development of the amphitheater in Umbria.

The amphitheater at Pompeii was constructed by excavating the arena and the lower and middle *cavea*. The excavated earth was piled into embankments to support the upper *cavea*. In addition, the amphitheater was built up against the southeast corner of the city walls. The placement was likely on purpose so that the walls could provide extra buttressing and support for the embankment and *cavea*. Four tunnels pierce the supporting embankment. Two of these tunnels lead into the arena and enter it along the major axis. The other two tunnels lead to two separated barrel-vaulted corridors that surround most of the arena and grant access to the lower

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<sup>237</sup> Recent geophysical survey at Forum Novum revealed archaeological evidence for wooden amphitheaters (Welch 2007, 69, 189-90; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 265;).

<sup>238</sup> Welch 2007, 198-202.

<sup>239</sup> The amphitheater was built within ten years of the settlement of Sulla's veterans at Pompeii in 80.

Amphitheaters were often built by colonists, veteran settlers, and Roman legionnaires seeking to recreate familiar cityscapes and customs. However, as Fear (2008, 85-7) and Laurence *et al.* (2011, 259-62, 281) point out, amphitheaters were not limited to cities with military or colonial connections, just as cities with these connections did not always build amphitheaters. The single unifying feature of Roman cities with amphitheaters is that they all undertook the expense of building them; see also Bomgardner 2000, 59-60; Welch 2007, 88-91.

An additional link between the amphitheater, *munus*, and military is provided by Valerius Maximus (2.3.2) who provides an account of Roman soldiers trained by *ludus* (gladiatorial) instructors. This may have contributed to conditioning soldiers to this particular form of entertainment (Golvin 1988, 154-6; Wiedemann 1992, 39-41; Welch 1994, 68-9; Futrell 1997, 150; Welch 2007, 79-82, 90-1).

On veterans claiming their new city, see Bieber 1961, 177-9; Bomgardner 2004, 42, 60; Welch 2007, 88-90.

On amphitheaters and Roman legionnaires, see *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 339, 343, 345, 442 as cited by Futrell 2006, 66-7; Golvin 1988, 154-6; Wiedemann 1992, 25-6; Futrell 1997, 53-76, 147-52.

<sup>240</sup> The amphitheater's dedicatory inscription (*CIL* X 852 = *ILS* 5672) records the names of the *quinquennial duumviri* who sponsored the building and refers to the building as a *spectacula* (Bieber 1961, 177-9; Welch 1994, 67; Bomgardner 2000, 40-1; Cooley 2004, 20-1, 44; Futrell 2006, 59-60; Cooley 2012, 41; Welch 2007, 74, 76-7, 820).

level *cavea* (fig. 4.2). The middle and upper *cavea* are accessed by six exterior staircases that lead onto the upper, open *ambulacrum*.<sup>241</sup> The staircases also provide additional buttressing and structural support.<sup>242</sup> On a decorative note, a blind arcade wraps around the exterior of the amphitheater, displaying some ornamentation and an early form of monumentalizing the building (fig. 4.3). The bricked pilasters, however, are thick and supportive, further emphasizing the need to buttress and maintain the structural integrity of the *cavea*.

When comparing the amphitheater at Pompeii to contemporary theaters, it is difficult to find architectural similarities that, at this time, would associate the designs of the amphitheater with the designs of the theater. However, in their mature architectural phases, the differences between the theater and amphitheater decline dramatically. The design of the amphitheater must have relied on the development of the theater and in particular the use of radial vaults to create a free-standing and hollow substructure and interior passages for moving and regulating crowds.

The amphitheater of T. Statilius Taurus, the first permanent amphitheater in Rome constructed in 29 as part of the Augustan urban building program, may have provided a link if it managed to survive to the present.<sup>243</sup> Unfortunately, it did not. Ancient sources and an etching of the ruins by Piranesi provide limited insight on the building (fig. 4.4).<sup>244</sup> Built on the field of the Campus Martius the amphitheater was likely free-standing. The etching suggests the

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<sup>241</sup> Welch (1994, 79; 2007, 94 fig. 50) points out that the exterior staircases of the amphitheater mimic the double staircases seen at Roman forts. Since the amphitheater at Pompeii was built following the deduction of veteran settlers, this provides another link between the amphitheater and the military.

<sup>242</sup> Golvin 1988, 34-5, 42-4; Welch 2007, 84, 189-93.

<sup>243</sup> Dio Cassius (51.23) records the building of the amphitheater by Statilius Taurus in Augustus' fourth consulship (Futrell 2006, 60-1). Welch (2007, 108-27) provides a discussion on the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus as Rome's first stone amphitheater and its role as a prototype for Imperial era amphitheaters.

<sup>244</sup> It is worth questioning the identification of the substructures etched by Piranesi as those of the amphitheater of T. Statilius Taurus. See Welch (2007, 118-25) for a discussion on the amphitheater's location and the correlation of ancient sources that plausibly identify the image.

structure was vaulted, yet without more evidence we cannot assess if the vaults were hollow or were, in whole or part, filled with concrete or earth. The etching does show that the exterior pilasters were decorated with engaged columns of the Italic Tuscan order. The exterior of this amphitheater seems to have been more decorated than at Pompeii, but perhaps not as ornamental as contemporary theaters. Yet, without more evidence we cannot assume the architectural design of this amphitheater. While it likely influenced design standards it was not a canonical model for the amphitheater. The amphitheaters of the Early Imperial period show too much variation, variation which disappears after the codification of the amphitheater with the construction of the Colosseum, under the Flavians in 80 CE.

The mature designs of the stone amphitheaters in the first century were predicated on the temporary wooden *spectacula* and the advancements of vaulted substructures in the development of the theater. The construction of stone amphitheaters outside of Rome, especially in Umbria, assisted in the development of the structure.

## **The Amphitheater in Umbria**

The construction of amphitheaters in Umbria demonstrates that during the Late Republic and Early Imperial period the structure of the permanent amphitheater developed into a standardized form. By examining the amphitheaters in Umbrian *municipia* we can further determine how the construction of a permanent amphitheater in a standard style served as an index to the increasing cultural and political unity of the Italian populace under Rome.

In the entire region of Umbria, twelve out of twenty-nine cities built amphitheaters. Within and around the Umbrian Valley, amphitheaters were built in eight out of fourteen cities,

all of which were designated as *municipia* after the Social War.<sup>245</sup> That more than half of the cities in southern Umbria constructed amphitheaters, even when they were in close proximity to each other, shows a commitment of resources and perhaps a cultural obligation.

Permanent stone amphitheaters were first constructed in Umbria during the Early Imperial period. In the Umbrian Valley, four amphitheaters were built during the reign of Augustus or in the early first century CE, two more amphitheaters date to the second century CE, while another two are undatable.<sup>246</sup> This chapter examines the four Umbrian Valley amphitheaters completed by the first half of the first century CE at Interamna Nahars, Asisium, Oriculum, and Carsulae.

### **The Augustan Amphitheaters at Interamna Nahars and Asisium**

The earliest permanent amphitheaters built in the Umbrian Valley were constructed at Interamna Nahars and Asisium during the Augustan period. Although the amphitheater at Interamna Nahars is traditionally dated to the reign of Tiberius in 32 CE, recent excavations suggest that the amphitheater was built under Augustus.<sup>247</sup> The amphitheater at Asisium is given an Augustan date as well.<sup>248</sup> The Augustan-era amphitheaters at Asisium and Interamna Nahars introduce new architectural features that became canonical in later Roman amphitheaters.

The amphitheater at Interamna Nahars was built just inside the city walls and was situated within the urban grid of the ancient city in the southwest quadrant of the town, only a

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<sup>245</sup> The only exception is Carsulae whose administrative status at this time is unknown (Bispham 2007, 462, 464-5).

<sup>246</sup> Gregori (1984, 961) provides a brief account of Umbrian amphitheaters and their dates. The amphitheaters dated to the second century CE are at Spolegium and Hispellum and the two undated amphitheaters are located in Tuder and Mevania (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 77, 116, 141, 153; Jouffroy 1986, 135, 354-7; Golvin 1988, 119, 252, 258).

<sup>247</sup> The date reported by Angelelli and Faustini (2006, 214) corresponds with the reassessment of *CIL* XI 4170 = *ILS* 157 by Gregori (1984; *infra* n. 265). On the Tiberian-era date see Gaggiotti *et al.* (1980, 43) and Golvin (1988, 217).

<sup>248</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 156.

few blocks away from the theater, a bath complex, and the Via Flaminia.<sup>249</sup> It was preserved by being incorporated into a church complex and has recently been excavated and renovated.<sup>250</sup>

The amphitheater demonstrates more complex architecture than its Republican predecessors in Campania. Instead of using an earthen embankment like at Pompeii, Interamna's amphitheater was supported by a series of barrel-vaulted corridors, which supported the *cavea* and provided access to the upper levels via interior stairwells (fig. 4.5).<sup>251</sup> Additional support for the *cavea* was provided by compartments, between the vaults, filled with earth. While access to seating was through the interior of the *cavea*, the arena at Interamna was still accessed from the exterior through tunnels situated on the major axis. In this way, Interamna owed part of its structural design to Republican amphitheaters in Campania and part of its design to new innovations. This amphitheater is one of the oldest amphitheaters built with a hollow substructure, along with those at Pula and Verona (indeed, it may have been the first).<sup>252</sup> The hollow substructure begins to see extensive use during the next decades. It becomes especially prominent during the Flavian age and is codified with the construction of the Colosseum.<sup>253</sup>

The architectural decoration of the amphitheater at Interamna also differed from its Campanian predecessors. The façade of the amphitheater at Interamna consists of alternating open and closed arched bays, decorated on either side with pilasters. The design serves as a fluid transition between the exterior and interior of the building (fig. 4.6). It creates a continuous

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<sup>249</sup> This area of the enclosed city was underdeveloped prior to the construction of the theater and amphitheater, which suggests that the city developed the region for entertainment and leisure (Sisani 2008b, 64). Additionally, the placement of the amphitheater nestled within a corner of the city walls is similar to the location of the amphitheater at Pompeii.

<sup>250</sup> On the archaeological remains of the amphitheater at Interamna, see Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 42; Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 205-9.

<sup>251</sup> Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 213.

<sup>252</sup> Golvin (1988, 217) states that Interamna is the first. For Golvin's discussion on the amphitheaters at Pula and Verona, see 1988, 167-71; see also Boëthius 1978, 144; MacDonald 1982, 5-9, 18; Golvin 1988, 415; Lancaster 2005, 5; Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 214; Welch 2007, 113, 127.

<sup>253</sup> Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 214; Welch 2007, 128-162.

screen of arches with bays to enter and exit the interior *ambulacrum* from which the audience could access the interior stairs to the *cavea*.

This combination of arched bays framed by engaged pilasters creates a fornix motif found on other early Imperial amphitheatres and also on contemporary theaters.<sup>254</sup> The motif is seen in Rome at the Theater of Marcellus (dedicated in 11) and its use at Interamna foretells the arrangement of engaged columns of different orders seen on the Colosseum and later Imperial amphitheatres (fig. 4.7).<sup>255</sup> In this way, the amphitheater at Interamna can be considered an architectural prototype. It stands midway between the amphitheatres with closed facades (as at Pompeii) and those with open facades (as at Rome).<sup>256</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that the innovations seen at Interamna were adopted, at least partially, elsewhere in Umbria.<sup>257</sup>

The amphitheater at Asisium was built just outside the city walls, below the city's upper terrace on the southeastern slope.<sup>258</sup> Some of its decoration and a few structural elements of the amphitheater exist today; enough survives incorporated into local housing to reconstruct its plan.<sup>259</sup> While brickwork was used in the building, the amphitheater was primarily constructed from travertine and limestone.<sup>260</sup> Of its decorative scheme, rusticated piers and arched bays with some ornamental fragments suggests that the façade was decorated with pillars and molding (fig. 4.8).<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Welch 2007, 102.

<sup>255</sup> The use of engaged columns as decorative elements for theatres has a long history, but is not found on amphitheatres until the Augustan period (Golvin 1988, 217; Bomgardner 2000, 6-9; Phillips 2006a, 17-8, 121-2; Sear 2006, 32; Welch 2007, 102-8, 135-41).

<sup>256</sup> Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 214-5.

<sup>257</sup> A larger study of early imperial amphitheatres in Italy would be useful in identifying both the importance of the amphitheater at Interamna as a prototype for the imperial design as well as classifying the details of the amphitheater's decorative and structural developments.

<sup>258</sup> In the modern city of Assisi this is just inside the Porta Perlici.

<sup>259</sup> On the archaeological remains of the amphitheater at Asisium, see Sciamanna 2008, 61-74.

<sup>260</sup> Both travertine and limestone were local, plentiful resources in Asisium and were often used instead of bricks (Sciamanna 2008, 68).

<sup>261</sup> Sciamanna 2008, 66-7, 167.

The structural integrity of the amphitheater at Asisium relies on a combination of natural terrain seen in Late Republican models and the hollow substructures that become the mark of Imperial construction. The north side of the amphitheater's upper *cavea* was supported by the slope of the hill it was built against, while the south side and lower *cavea* of the north side, which lacked the hill's slope, was supported by a series of vaulted substructures (fig. 4.9).<sup>262</sup> Excavated piers and arched bays identify the radial supports, which combined with fragments of staircases, suggest that access to the *cavea* was through the interior of the building.<sup>263</sup> This is similar to the structural design seen at Interamna, and the amphitheater was likely navigated in the same way. The amphitheater's construction reveals how it was adapted to local topography. The amphitheater used two different models for structural support: it is built mainly with a hollow substructure, but was supported by natural topography where it could.

The construction of the amphitheater is recorded by a set of inscriptions that may have been placed above the amphitheater's entrances.<sup>264</sup> These are the only surviving inscriptions that reference Umbrian amphitheatres in the early Imperial period.<sup>265</sup> Gian Luca Gregori's examination of *CIL* XI 5406 and 5432 identifies the two fragments as copies of the same text.<sup>266</sup> The dedication reports that the amphitheater, including its ornamentation, was constructed by

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<sup>262</sup> Golvin 1988, 252; Sciamanna 2008, 65-8.

<sup>263</sup> Sciamanna 2008, 66-7, 166.

<sup>264</sup> The original locations for the inscriptions suggested by Gregori (1984, 974) are comparable to the placement of the dedicatory inscriptions for the amphitheater at Pompeii (Cooley 2004, 20).

<sup>265</sup> Patronage by municipal elite is well documented at Interamna Nahars (Sisani 2008c, 105), but none of the surviving inscriptions offer information about the amphitheater. The inscription *CIL* XI 4170 = *ILS* 157 was once believed to be a dedication of the amphitheater at Interamna by its patron due to the inscription's physical proximity to the amphitheater in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, Gregori's (1984, 980-5) analysis of the inscription disassociates it from the amphitheater.

<sup>266</sup> *CIL* XI 5406:

Petro[...]/ in fid[...]/ Decian [...]/ amph [...]/ quod ex [...]/ perfic [...]

*CIL* XI 5432:

[...] s municipi(bus) / [...]ratr(is) nomin(e) / [...] eatri ornar[...]/ [...]

See Gregori 1984, 969-79 for suggested integrations.

Decianus and completed following his death by his sister Petronia.<sup>267</sup> Decianus's political connections to Asisium are not specified in the inscription, although it is likely that he was a member of the *gens Tettienus*, a prominent family in the city and region.<sup>268</sup> As with funding a theater, the funding of the amphitheater by (in this case) Decianus and its completion by his family would have been a means of promoting the family politically and enhancing the stature of the city. His involvement demonstrates the way that public patronage shifted from civic buildings to entertainment buildings in the early Imperial period.<sup>269</sup>

The amphitheaters at Asisium and Interamna Nahars are important testaments to the development of the amphitheater into a complex architectural structure and their construction in relation to the surrounding landscape. The amphitheater at Interamna introduces hollow substructures and the *forix* motif to the amphitheater's architecture. Decorative architecture and interior access paths is also seen at Asisium, where the hollow substructure is supplemented by natural terrain. These are examples of a new stage in amphitheater construction that, even with some similarities, is distinct from Late Republican examples.

### **The Julio-Claudian Amphitheaters at Ocriculum and Carsulae**

The amphitheaters built in the *municipia* of Ocriculum and Carsulae date to the Julio-Claudian era.<sup>270</sup> The structural designs of these two amphitheaters adapt to the local landscape and feature a combination of construction methods seen in Late Republican and early Imperial

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<sup>267</sup> Gregori 1984, 976.

<sup>268</sup> The *gens Tettienus* was a wealthy and politically active family in Asisium as is attested to by numerous epigraphic evidence bearing the name. Galeo Tettienus Pardalas and Tettiena Galene, freedmen of Galeo Tettienus Petronianus who was consul in 76 CE, were responsible for the dedication of the *tetrastylum* in Asisium's forum (*CIL* XI 5372; Sensi 1983, 171; Strazzulla 1983, 157-8; Gregori 1984, 972; Gros and Theodorescu 1985, 1987; Coarelli 1996, 252-8). See also Laurence *et al.* 2011, 306.

<sup>269</sup> Sensi 1983, 170; Jouffroy 1986, 96-108; Lomas 2003, 36.

<sup>270</sup> Hay *et al.* (2013, 34) suggest that the amphitheater at Ocriculum may in fact predate or be contemporary to the amphitheater at Interamna; see also Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 28-9; Golvin 1988, 166. The general date provided for the amphitheater at Carsulae is not currently disputed; see also Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 134; Golvin 1988, 112.

models. These amphitheatres display how the amphitheatres made functional use of the terrain supplemented with hollow substructures.

The amphitheater at Oriculum was constructed against a plateau on a ridge below the city.<sup>271</sup> Like the theater that was also built against this ridge, the amphitheater was in a prominent and visible position along the Via Flaminia. The architectural design of the amphitheater is clearly split in half (fig. #4.10-1). One half relies on natural terrain and was constructed in a manner similar to Late Republican amphitheatres, while the other half of the amphitheater's architecture clearly follows early Imperial models that incorporate a hollow substructure. The two different building techniques in each half of the *cavea* recalls the construction of the amphitheater at Asisium.

The amphitheater's western side, including the *cavea*, the arena, and the north and south passageways leading into the arena, was carved from the natural bedrock of the ridge. It is likely that access to the western *cavea* was granted through an interior gallery with staircases at each end of the amphitheater's major axis, as seen at nearby Sutrium, an amphitheater dating to the Late Republic in neighboring Etruria (fig. 4.12).<sup>272</sup> The eastern half of the amphitheater at Oriculum was constructed without the assistance of natural terrain and the freestanding *cavea* is supported by concrete vaults and piers faced in *opus reticulatum*.<sup>273</sup> This half of the *cavea* is accessed by interior stairs in a similar manner to the amphitheater at Interamna, which may have inspired the amphitheater's design.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Golvin 1988, 166; Hay *et al.* 2013, 5, 31-4, 146.

<sup>272</sup> The method of cutting the arena from bedrock at Oriculum also compares closely to the amphitheater at Sutrium (Golvin 1988, 40; Welch 2007, 246-9; Hay *et al.* 2013, 34).

<sup>273</sup> The blocks were also rusticated, as is seen at Asisium (Golvin 1988, 166; Hay *et al.* 2013, 32-4).

<sup>274</sup> Hay *et al.* (2013, 34) notes that this similarity may instead be due to later renovations.

At Carsulae the amphitheater was built as part of a monumental entertainment complex, adjoining the city's Augustan-era theater.<sup>275</sup> The two buildings are physically separated by the theater's *porticus post scaenam* and a retaining wall but also unified since the amphitheater was built inside the theater's *quadriporticus* (fig. 4.13).<sup>276</sup> The *quadriporticus* may have been used for gladiatorial combat prior to the amphitheater's construction.<sup>277</sup> This use of a theater's portico for gladiatorial purposes is seen also in Pompeii following the earthquake in 62 CE when the portico behind the large theater was used as a *ludus*, a training ground for gladiators.<sup>278</sup> The construction of an amphitheater in a pre-existing space used for *munera* suggests a desire for a permanent structure since a site for temporary constructions was already available.

The architectural design and structural support of the amphitheater at Carsulae not only relies on pre-existing structures but also the natural terrain. It was built in a natural depression, which created a foundation for the arena and the lowest level of the *cavea*. Additional support for the lower *cavea* is provided by simple earthen embankments and brick-faced compartments filled with earth, while freestanding masonry supported the upper *cavea* (fig. 4.14).<sup>279</sup> The construction technique used for the lower *cavea*, a depression in the ground surrounded by an earthen embankment, is comparable to the amphitheater at Pompeii, where the embankment supports the entire *cavea*. This raises the possibility that the *cavea* of the amphitheater at Carsulae could easily have been supported solely by a constructed earthen embankment. Instead, a portion of the *cavea* was supported by hollow substructures, a prime feature of early Imperial amphitheaters encountered likewise at Interamna, Asisium, and Ocrinum.

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<sup>275</sup> Supra 50-2; Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 134; Golvin 1988, 112, 410; Sear 2006, 160.

<sup>276</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 133; Golvin 1988, 112, 411.

<sup>277</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 133; Golvin 1988, 112, 411.

<sup>278</sup> Golvin 1998, 112 n. 199, 149, 411; Bomgardner 2000, 53-5; Cooley 2004, 44-5, 65-6, 196-8; Futrell 2006, 142-3.

<sup>279</sup> This method is also seen with the amphitheater at Paestum (Golvin 1988, 39, 112).

The amphitheaters at Otricoli and Carsulae are an intriguing blend of old models and developing styles that demonstrate the building type evolving towards its final, canonical form. Both rely on the natural terrain. The amphitheater at Carsulae draws on the Late Republican embankment-and-excavated-arena model found in Pompeii to support its lower *cavea*. At Otricoli, natural terrain augments structural support as is also seen in the Asisium Augustan model.<sup>280</sup> In both cases, the remaining sections of the *caveae* are supported by radial vaults and hollow substructures, the developing standard of Imperial amphitheaters.

The early Imperial amphitheaters constructed in Umbrian *municipia* during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian eras reveals both a reliance on Late Republican models and an architectural independence that developed innovative features. The amphitheater at Interamna Nahars is a very early example of an amphitheater built with radial vaults and a completely hollow substructure. While this construction method becomes the canonical standard after the Colosseum is erected, it is not yet the standard. Elsewhere in Umbria, the amphitheaters are built with mixed structural support that relied on combinations of natural terrain and concrete vaulting. The particular combination of structural support in each amphitheater varied according to local topography, providing evidence that architectural designs and trends were adopted and adapted by Umbrian cities in different ways prior to the canonization of the building type. These amphitheaters demonstrate careful experimentation between old and new construction methods that lead to the creation of a standardized model.

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<sup>280</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 28-9, 133-4; Golvin 1988, 112, 166; Hay *et al.* 2013, 31-4.

In addition, the decorative elements, seen especially at Interamna, constitute an important developmental phase between past Late Republican and future Imperial amphitheaters. The pilasters on the amphitheater at Interamna recall those seen at Pompeii and were similar to the engaged pilasters of the Tuscan order on the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus.<sup>281</sup> However, they flanked alternating open and closed bays, rather than a blind arcade as at Pompeii and an open arcade as seen with the Colosseum, forecasting the architectural decoration seen on later Imperial amphitheaters.<sup>282</sup>

In fact, the amphitheater's architectural development is likely the product of design recirculation, where design ideas flowed in conversation between Italian cities and Rome. The amphitheaters built outside of Rome during the early Imperial period solidified the building's design and decorative features. These features then informed and were incorporated into the canonical structure of the amphitheater.<sup>283</sup> Following the construction the Colosseum, the canonical form and epitome of the amphitheater, the standardized model was then disseminated throughout the Empire. The amphitheaters of the Umbrian *municipia* thus play an important role in the standardization of the amphitheater in Roman culture.

The size of the arena may also play an important role in standardizing the architecture of the amphitheater. The amphitheaters examined in this chapter have an average arena size of 59 x 36 meters (varying at most by 8 meters). There appears to be a standard size for the arena, where the *munera* took place, while the *cavea*, where the audience sat, ranges from large to small (table

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<sup>281</sup> Welch 2007, 120-6. As the first stone amphitheater in Rome, the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus is an important prototype of the canonical model. However, this amphitheater alone does not take into consideration the development of amphitheaters outside of Rome. The amphitheater of Statilius Taurus may have created a model incorporating substructures, concrete vaulting, and architectural decoration, but the numerous variances between the amphitheaters in Umbrian *municipia* exhibits that the amphitheater's design during the early Imperial period was not yet standardized

<sup>282</sup> Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 205.

<sup>283</sup> Bomgardner 2000, 7-17, 62; Welch 2007, 128-9, 134-5.

4.1). This variance may be accounted for by the size of the town and neighboring countryside, whose population (and therefore expected number of spectators) perhaps influenced the size of the *cavea*.<sup>284</sup> It also may have been a way to promote civic pride through inter-urban competition.

The amphitheaters at Interamna and Carsulae provide an illuminating comparison since these two cities, about twelve kilometers apart, are the closest pair of neighbors in this study.<sup>285</sup> *Munera* hosted in either city would likely attract an audience from the same surrounding countryside and perhaps even from the other city. The amphitheater at Interamna as a whole is larger than the amphitheater at Carsulae; however, Carsulae has the larger arena. Additionally, at Carsulae, the arena is twice as large with respect to the total area of the amphitheater (44%) as Interamna's arena (22%). While the amphitheater at Carsulae could not be expected to accommodate as large an audience as the one at Interamna, the larger arena with a more compact and intimate *cavea* may have been a way to promote its own *munera* and an intentional way to differentiate the new amphitheater at Carsulae from the older one at Interamna.<sup>286</sup>

The locations of the amphitheaters also speak to the amphitheater's importance and value to the community. Each amphitheater was built along a major route into the city, in a location where the monumental structure could be seen, which is very similar to the siting of the theater. The amphitheaters at Oriculum and Asisium were extra-urban constructions erected just outside of city gates and walls. These amphitheaters were used to form monumental entrances into the

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<sup>284</sup> Of the four amphitheaters studied, the largest is at Oriculum, followed by Interamna Nahars, Carsulae, and Asisium; only the exterior dimensions are known for the amphitheater at Asisium.

<sup>285</sup> Based on calculations provided by Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen (1989, 30), Interamna and Carsulae are about two and a half hours apart by foot or horse-drawn carriage. In comparison, Pompeii and Nuceria are about 13.5 km apart, so the distance was not insurmountable. It is known that citizens from one town visited the other for gladiatorial games since, in 59 CE, a riot occurred at the Pompeiian amphitheater between Pompeiian and Nucertian spectators (Tac. *Ann.* 14.17; see also Bomgardner 2000, 50-1; Cooley 2004, 60-2; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 122).

<sup>286</sup> Wiedemann 1992, 41; Lomas 1998, 75; 2003, 41; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 123, 266, 317-8.

cities that transitioned the traveler and viewer from their suburban to urban location.<sup>287</sup> Coupled with funerary monuments that lined the road, these amphitheaters made a bold visual statement to those entering the city.<sup>288</sup> At Carsulae and Interamna, the amphitheaters formed a monumental complex with other civic structures near the forum. These amphitheaters stood along the *cardo maximus* and were incorporated into the urban grid.

Regardless of whether the amphitheater was located outside or inside the urban core of a city, the amphitheaters demonstrate that these Umbrian cities were both large enough to sponsor regular *munera* and contained elite inhabitants wealthy enough to support them.<sup>289</sup> The adherence to an architectural form and the amphitheater's development into a standardized building and recognizable type provided a means to assert a common Roman cultural identity. By the end of the first century the amphitheater could be considered a quintessential Roman building. It served as an indicator of Roman culture. The incorporation of the amphitheater into the urban and social fabric of towns is apparent in the municipalities of the Umbrian valley. The repetition of amphitheaters along the Via Flaminia would not only established a unified visual from one town to the next but would also serve as demonstration of the municipalities' Roman identity.<sup>290</sup> These towns were quick to adopt the amphitheater, a new but essential component of the Roman *urbs*, into the community. It is the last of the building types examined in this project and serves as an index to the increasing cultural and political unity of the Italian populace under Rome.

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<sup>287</sup> Laurence 1999, 161.

<sup>288</sup> Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 164; Laurence 1999, 158-9; Sciamanna 2008, 65; Hay *et al.* 2013, 146.

<sup>289</sup> Laurence 1999, 158; Lomas 2003, 38-42.

<sup>290</sup> Laurence 1999, 160; Laurence *et al.* 2011, 138.

# Chapter Five: Conclusion

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The fora, theaters, and amphitheaters discussed reveal two contributions Umbrian cities made to the development of the Roman city: the creation of architectural styles that became standard in Roman *urbs* and the visual affirmation of municipalization. Local communities were on the forefront of urban design and influenced the style and form of the Roman city. The citizens of Umbria participated in the creation of Roman culture during the first century. The development of their cities and public spaces demonstrates the recirculation of ideas between Rome and the Roman cities of Italy. On the surface, this may seem as if the periphery is simply attempting to copy the urban look of Rome, but close examination, as seen with the forum, theater, and amphitheater, reveals a nuanced interplay. Recirculation of architectural designs is an essential component of the Roman *urbs*.

As these case studies demonstrate, the development of Roman architecture occurred concurrently at Rome and in Italic cities. Each iteration informed the next, creating, over the century, a standardized style and architectural model. Initial forms of recirculation are seen early in the first century with the development of the forum, where local adaptations are used in lieu of an ideal form that they help inform, and of the theater, in which the standard form is adapted to local constraints, blending Italic prototypes with a canonical Roman model. Recirculation is most apparent with the architectural development of the amphitheater, whose renditions in Umbria clearly informed the standardization of the amphitheater that culminates in the

Colosseum. The prevalence of recirculation gets stronger through the first century as the effects of municipalization are realized.

With the peninsula relatively protected from outside threats and its cities incorporated into Roman government, this second phase of urban development focused on the creation and embellishment of public spaces for government and leisure that required patrons, funding, and a desire to undertake large building projects. These structures fulfill specific local needs, while their development into standardized models reflects the urban populace's increasingly unified Roman identity and are a visual demonstration of the unification (via municipalization) of the peninsula under Rome.

The development of the forum, theater, and amphitheater examined in Umbria *urbes* is an example of a wider phenomenon occurring throughout Italy following municipalization. In these cases, we see the direct and intimate mingling of two cultures as the small, autonomous city adapts into a large and increasingly imperial Roman government and culture of which they are a part. In the beginning of the first century, newly enfranchised Roman cities still assert their local culture. Through the middle and into the end of the first century, instead of being consumed by a dominant culture of Rome, as is the common narrative, the local cultures of Italy collaborate as participants creating Roman culture. The prototypical, canonical forms of the forum, theater, and amphitheater are built and established in Rome (which are later copied by other cities), but those standards were dependent on the experimentation and building of local Italian cities like those in Umbria.

In our modern early twenty-first century world, globalization accentuates the vastness and interconnectedness of our world while also creating a movement that emphasizes the importance of the local and individuality. It is no surprise that Roman studies are incorporating

and applying globalization theory to the ancient world. Its components allow a framework for scholars to study the global order of the Roman world while also considering the contributions and culture of the societies that make up the empire. Future studies on the development of specific building types in Rome and abroad and of the development of the Roman city will continue to benefit from close examination that considers how cities across Italy and the empire participated together to create the Roman *urbs*.

# Table:

City	Era	Amphitheater			Arena			Percentage of Amphitheater that is	
		Major Axis (m)	Minor Axis (m)	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Major Axis (m)	Minor Axis (m)	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Arena (%)	Cavea (%)
Pompeii	Late-Republican	134.8	102.5	10851.8	66.0	34.5	1788.4	16	84
Asisium	Augustan	60.0	35.0	1649.3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Interamna Nahars	Augustan	96.5	73.0	5532.7	52.8	28.7	1189.5	22	78
Oriculum	Julio-Claudian	120.0	98.0	9236.3	64.0	42.0	2111.2	23	77
Carsulae	Julio-Claudian	86.5	62.0	4212.1	62.1	37.6	1833.9	44	56
Colosseum	Flavian	187.8	155.6	22950.7	79.4	47.2	2943.3	13	87

Table 4.1. Dimensions of Augustan and Julio-Claudian era amphitheaters in Umbria, along with Pompeii (Campania) and the Colosseum (Rome) for comparison. Including the overall (arena and *cavea*) size of the amphitheater and the dimensions of only the arena.

# Figures:

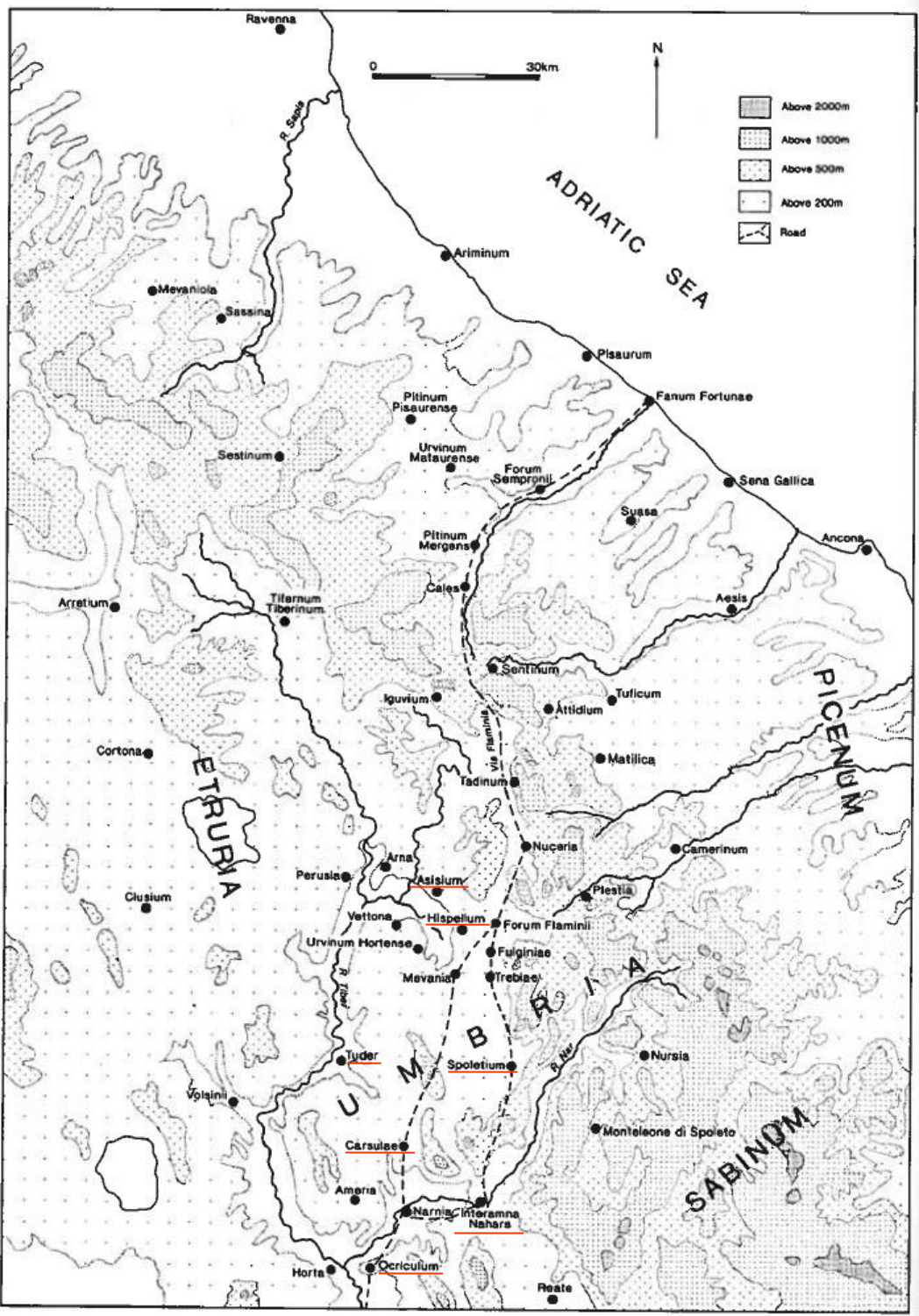


Fig. 1.1. Regional map of Umbria; case studies underlined (from Bradley 2000, 2, map 1).



Fig. 1.2. Plan of Oriculum (from De Rubertis 2011, 247 fig. 1).

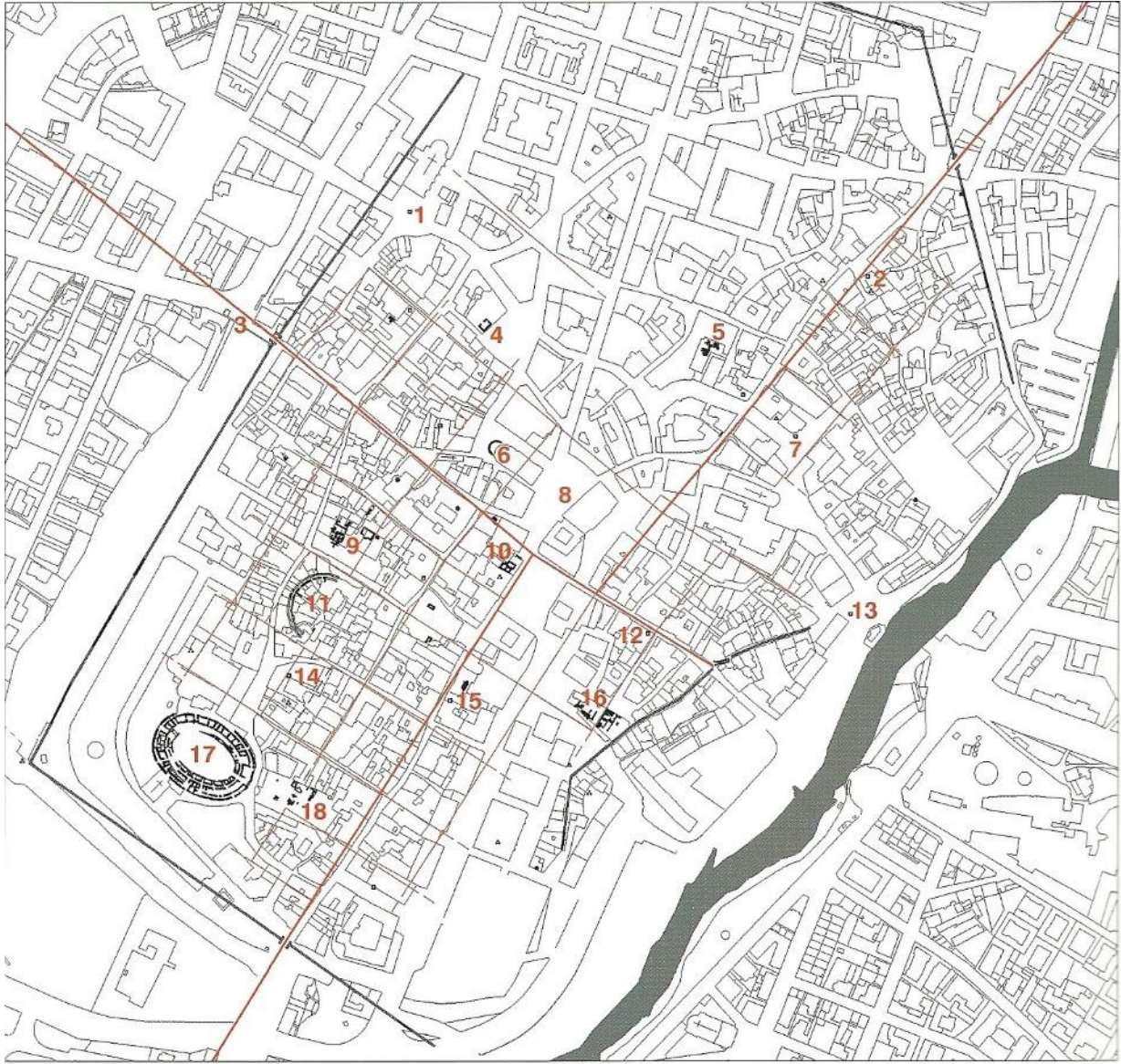


Fig. 1.3. Known archaeological sites of Interamna Nahars overlaid on plan of modern Terni (from Sisani 2008a, 40, fig 10).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Piazza San Francesco, <i>domus</i>              | 12. Via Garibaldi, <i>domus</i>           |
| 2. Chiesa di San Lorenzo, <i>domus</i>             | 13. Chiesa di San Nicandro, <i>domus</i>  |
| 3. Porta Sant' Angelo, Roman bridge                | 14. Palazzo Bianchini Riccardi, building  |
| 4. Via Parrabbi, bath                              | 15. Via Roma, <i>domus</i>                |
| 5. Palazzo Sanità, building complex                | 16. Chiesa di San Salvatore, <i>domus</i> |
| 6. Piazza San Giovanni Decollato, public structure | <b>17. Amphitheatre</b>                   |
| 7. Via della Biblioteca, <i>domus</i>              | 18. Area D'Annibale, building complex     |
| <b>8. Area of Forum</b>                            |   |
| 9. Palazzo Gazzoli, bath                           |   |
| 10. Chiesa di San Giovanni Evangelista, bath       |   |
| <b>11. Theatre</b>                                 |   |

Dark black lines indicate ancient walls.  
Red lines indicate ancient roads.



Fig. 1.4. Plan of Spolegium. Reconstruction of urban plan from Imperial era with known features of the ancient city overlaid on a modern plan of the historical center. The area of the forum (F) is shaded red and the theater (T) is shaded beige (from Salvatore 2009, 13).

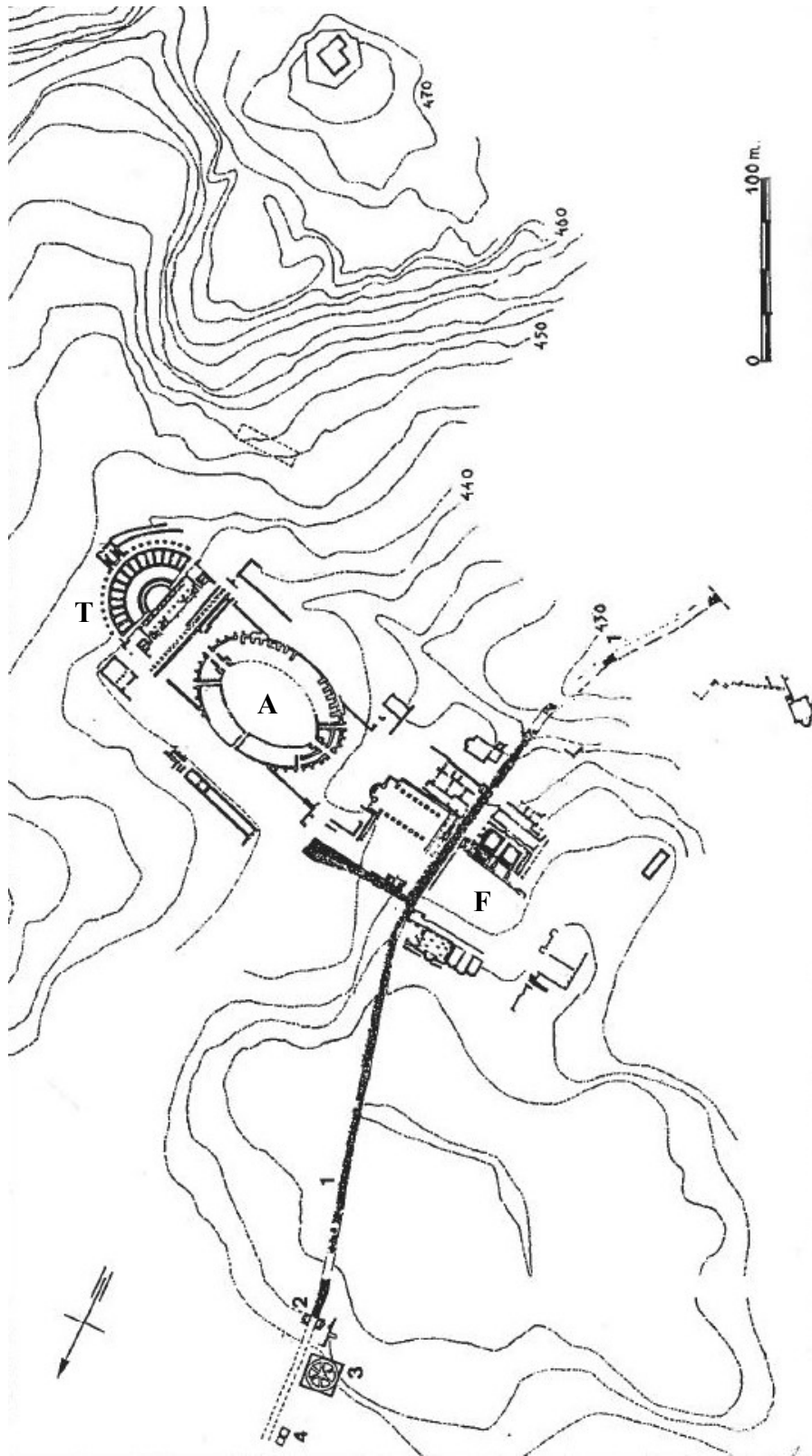


Fig. 1.5. Plan of Carsulae: area of the forum (F), theater (T), and amphitheater (A) (from Fontaine 1990, 354 fig. 98).



Fig. 1.6. Plan of Assisi: area of the forum (F) and amphitheater (A) (from De Rubertis 2011, 116 Fig. 1).



Fig. 2.1. Plan of Fregellae and the surrounding area (from Coarelli and Monti 1998, 122, Tav. II).

- |                             |                     |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Forum                    | F. Aqueduct         |
| B. <i>Comitium</i>          | G. Homes            |
| C. <i>Curia</i>             | I. Cistern          |
| D. Temple                   | L. Sanctuary        |
| E. Sanctuary of Aesculapius | N. <i>Macellum?</i> |

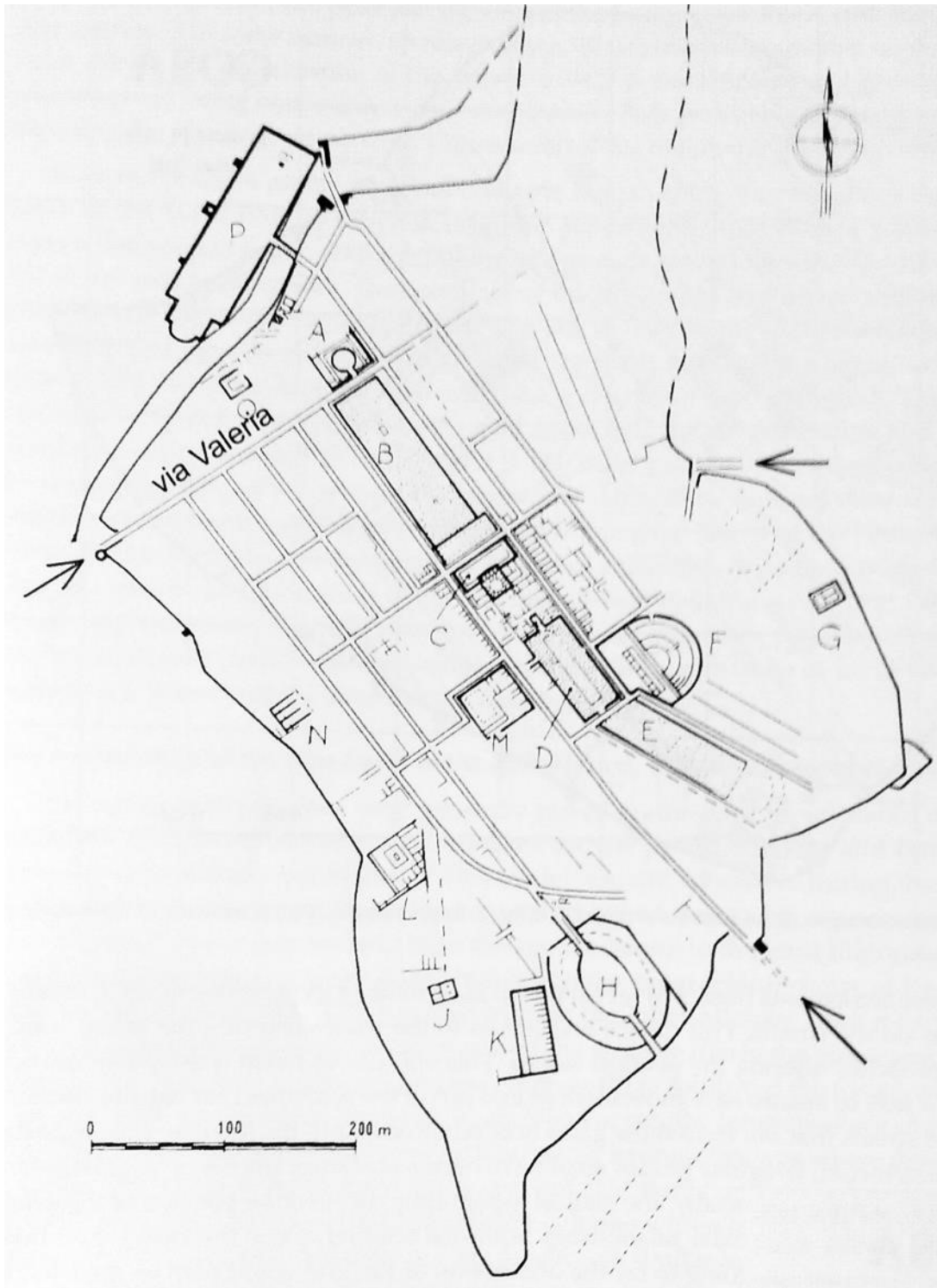


Fig. 2.2. Plan of Alba Fucens (from Sewell 2010, 23 Fig. 4).

- A. Comitium
- B. Forum
- C. Basilica

- D. Temple of Hercules
- Arrows denote the roads into town via gates.

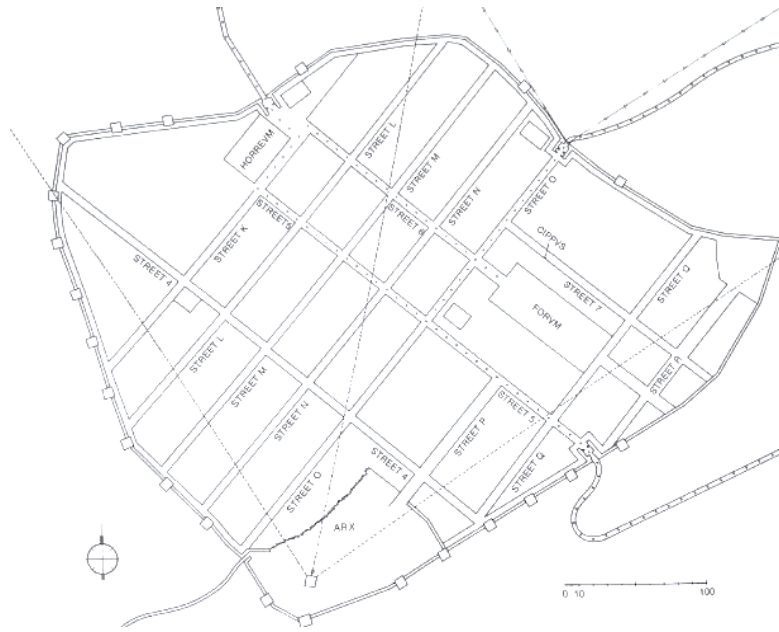


Fig. 2.3. Plan of Cosa (from Brown *et al.* 2003, 6, fig. 1).

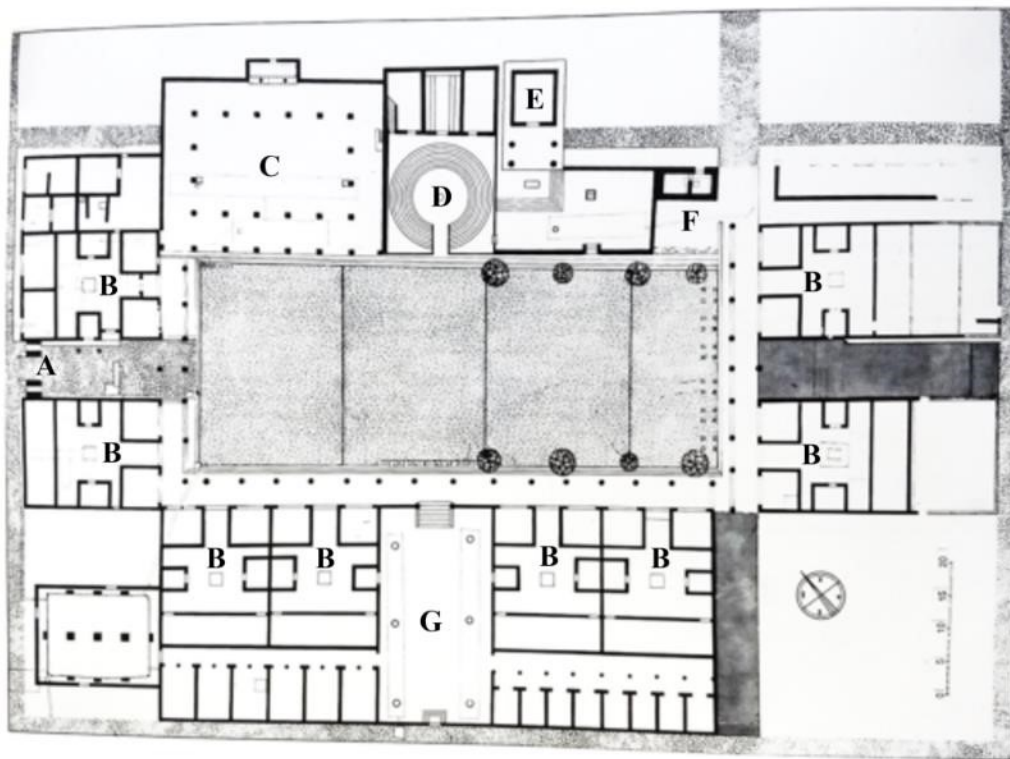


Fig. 2.4. Plan of the forum at Cosa, c. 140 (from Brown *et al.* 2003, 239, fig. 76).

- |                                  |                    |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| A. Arch                          | E. Temple          |
| B. Elite housing                 | F. <i>Carcer</i>   |
| C. Basilica                      | G. Southwest annex |
| D. <i>Comitium-curia</i> complex |                    |

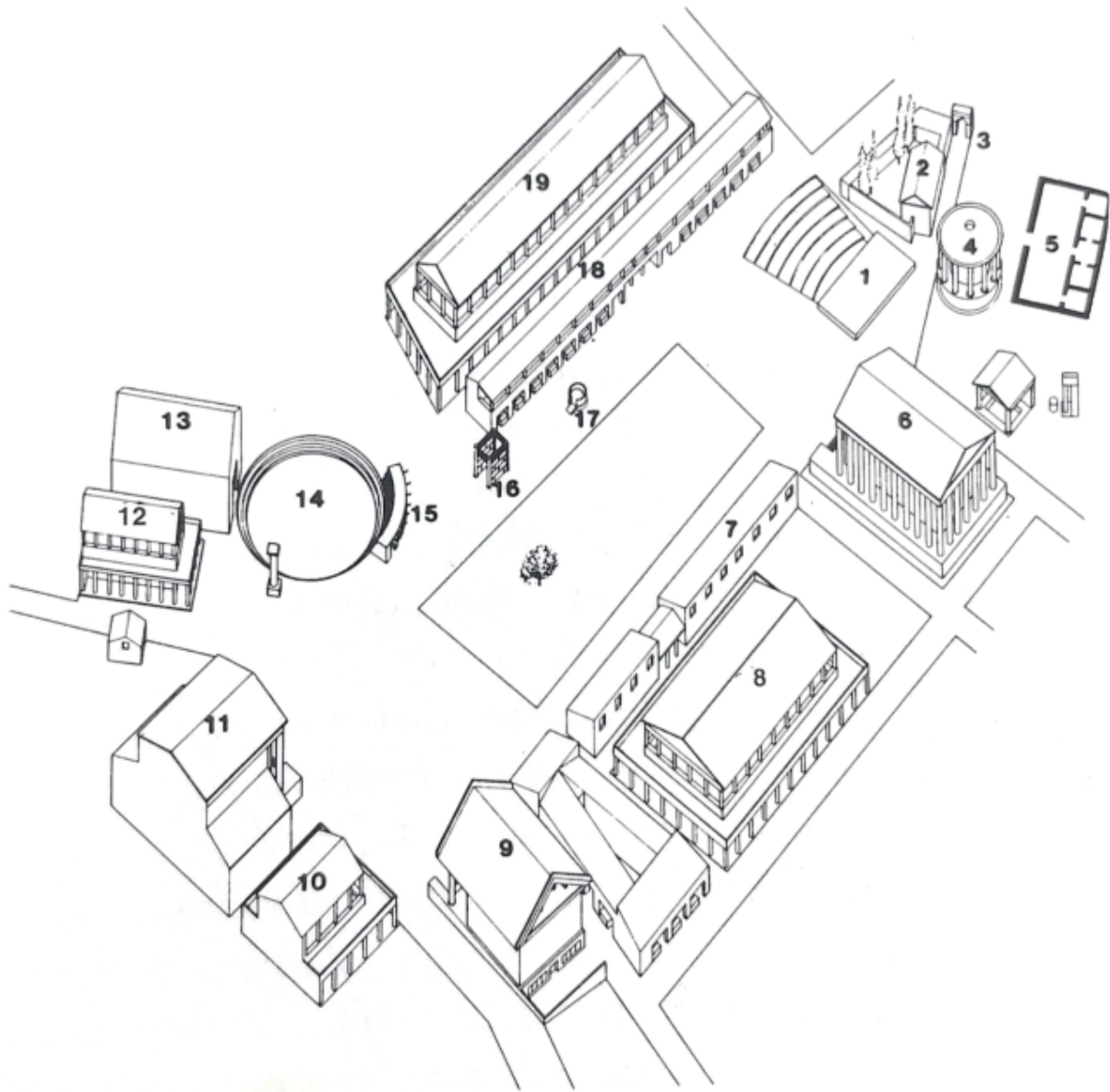


Fig. 2.5. Plan of Forum Romanum in the Late Republic (from Favro 1996, 17 fig. 13).

- |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Tribunal Aurelium       | 11. Temple of Concordia      |
| 2. Regia                   | 12. Basilica Porcia          |
| 3. Fornix Fabiorum         | 13. <i>Curia</i>             |
| 4. Temple of Vesta         | 14. <i>Comitium</i>          |
| 5. Atrium Vestae           | 15. Rostra                   |
| 6. Temple of the Castores  | 16. Shrine of Janus          |
| 7. <i>Tabernae Veteres</i> | 17. Shrine of Venus Cloacina |
| 8. Basilica Sempronia      | 18. <i>Tabernae Novae</i>    |
| 9. Temple of Saturn        | 19. Basilica Aemilia         |
| 10. Basilica Opimia        |                              |

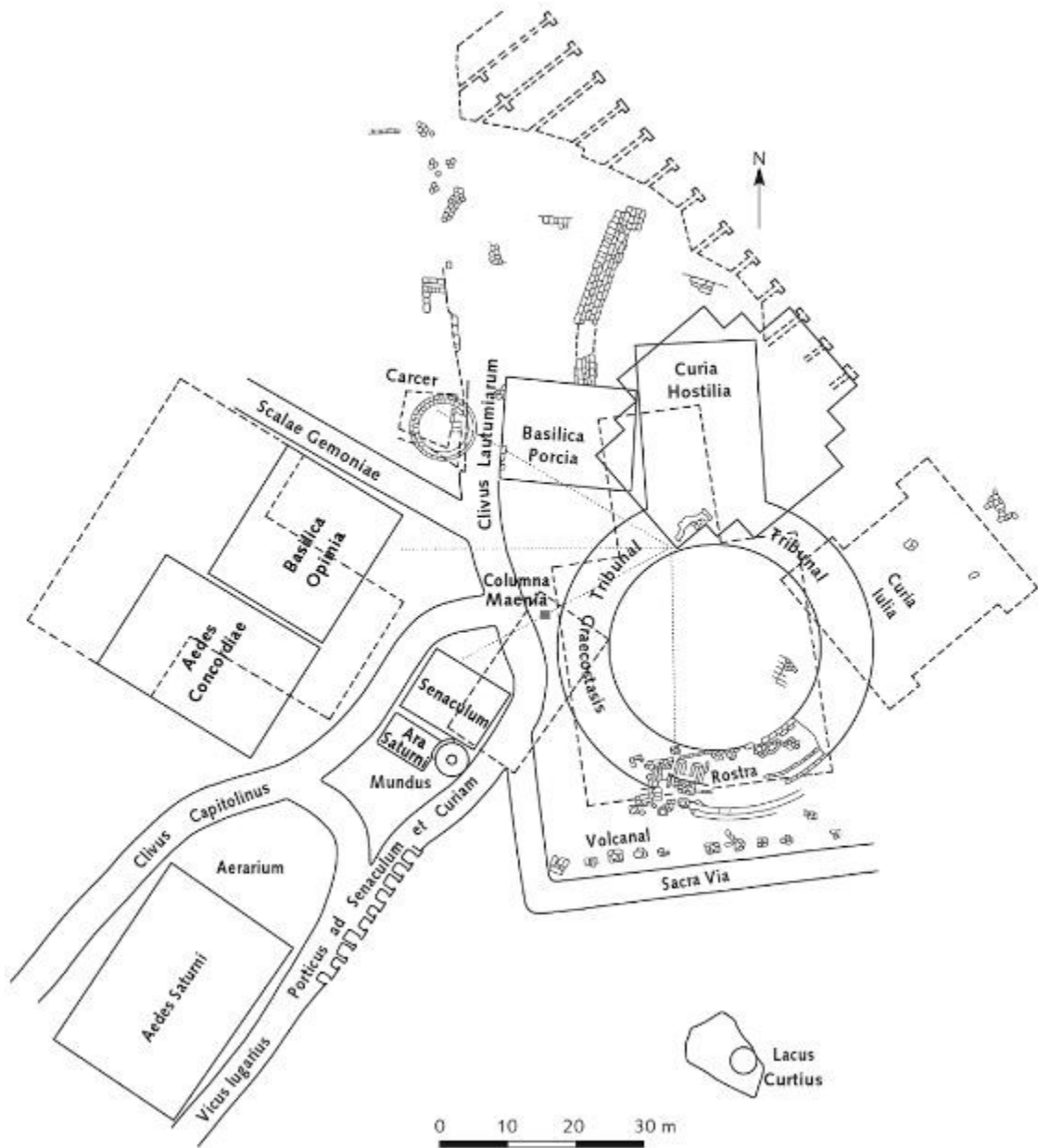


Fig. 2.6. Plan of the western end of the Forum Romanum in the Late Republic. Solid lines represent buildings of the Late Republic, while changes are represented by dashed lines (from Coarelli 1983, 139 fig. 39).

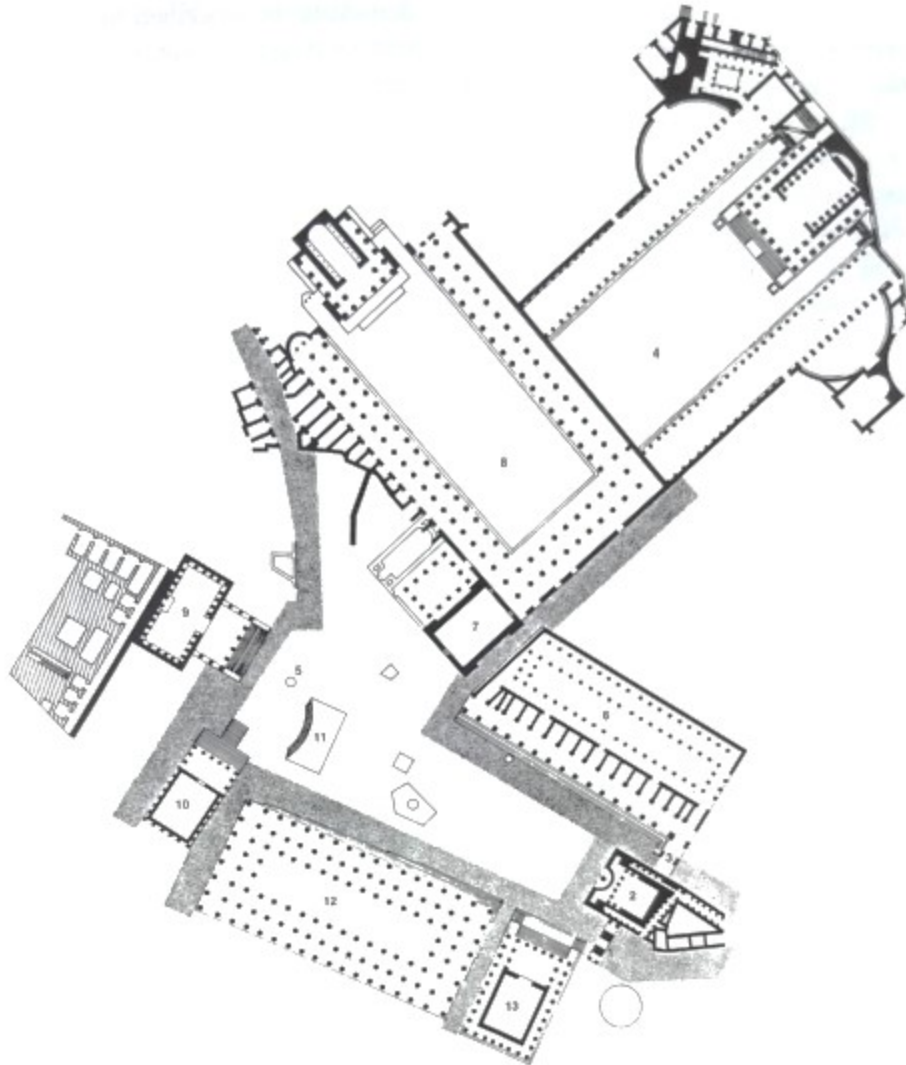


Fig. 2.7. Plan of the Forum Romanum, Forum of Caesar, and Forum of Augustus, c. 14 CE. (from Favro 1996, 197 fig. 84).

- |                                |                            |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Arch of Augustus            | 8. Forum of Caesar         |
| 2. Temple of Divus Julius      | 9. Temple of Concordia     |
| 3. Portico of Gaius and Lucius | 10. Temple of Saturn       |
| 4. Forum of Augustus           | 11. <i>Rostra</i>          |
| 5. Milliarium Aureum           | 12. Basilica Julia         |
| 6. Basilica Aemilia            | 13. Temple of the Castores |
| 7. Curia Julia                 |                            |

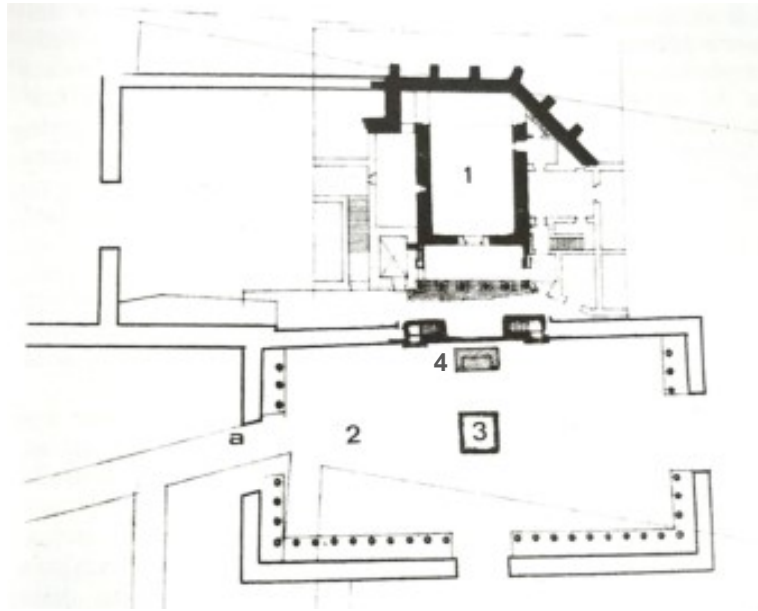


Fig. 2.8. Plan of the forum at Asisium: Temple of Minerva (1), forum (2), *tetrastylum* (3), altar (4) (from Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 159).

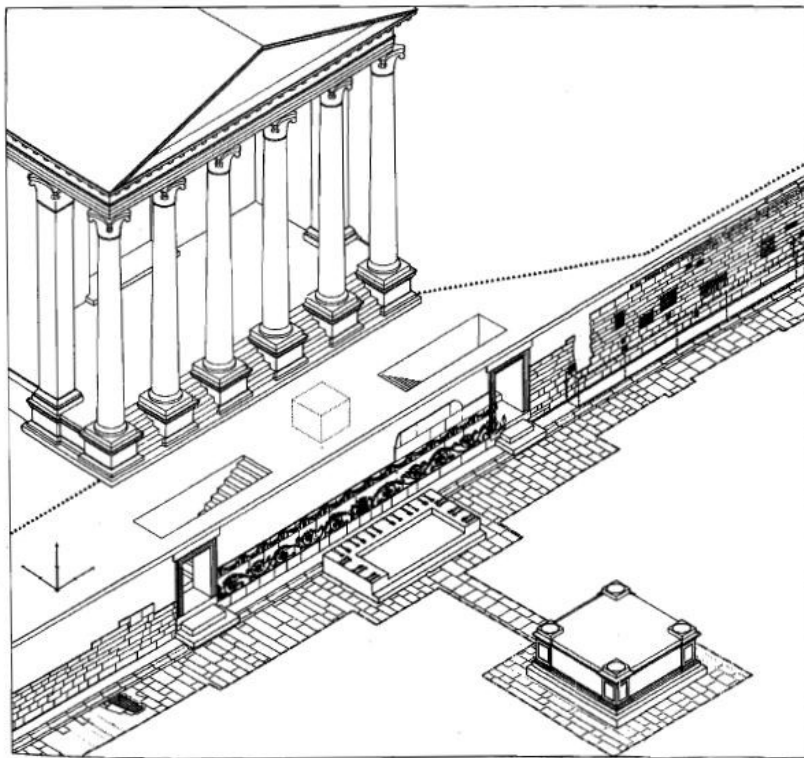


Fig. 2.9. Diagram of the temple, terrace wall, altar, and *tetrastylum* at the forum of Asisium (from Gros and Theodorescu 1985, fig. 2).

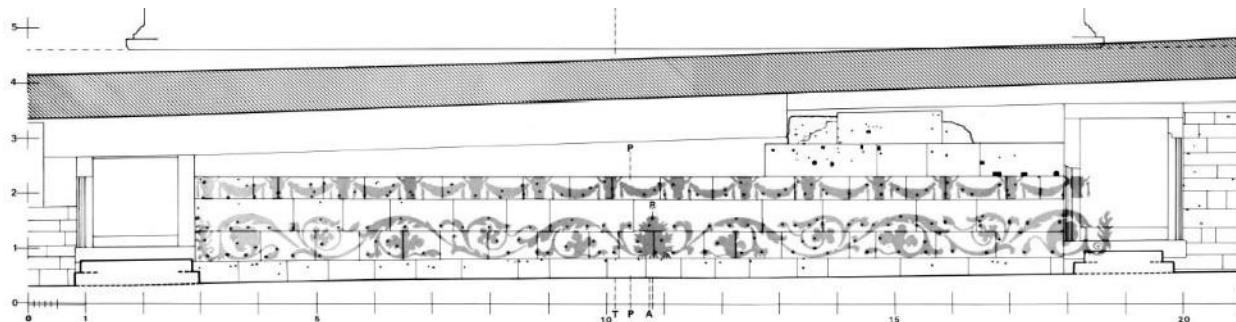


Fig. 2.10. Proposed bronze decoration (in grey) of the central area of the northern terrace wall at Asisium (from Gros and Theodorescu 1985, fig. 1).

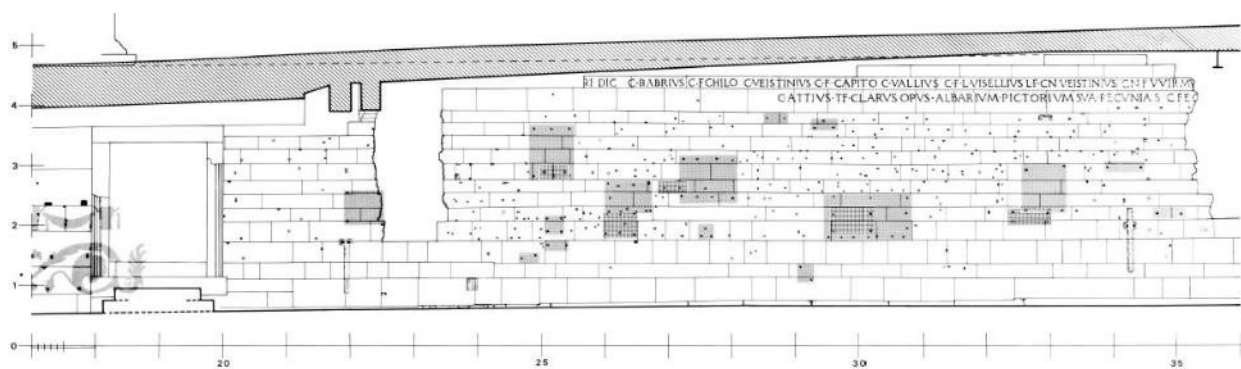


Fig. 2.11. Proposed *tabulae* grouping (in grey) aligned with the cavities on the eastern area of the northern terrace wall at Asisium (from Gros and Theodorescu 1985, fig. 2).



Fig. 2.12. "Temple of Minerva" at Assisi today (photo by author).

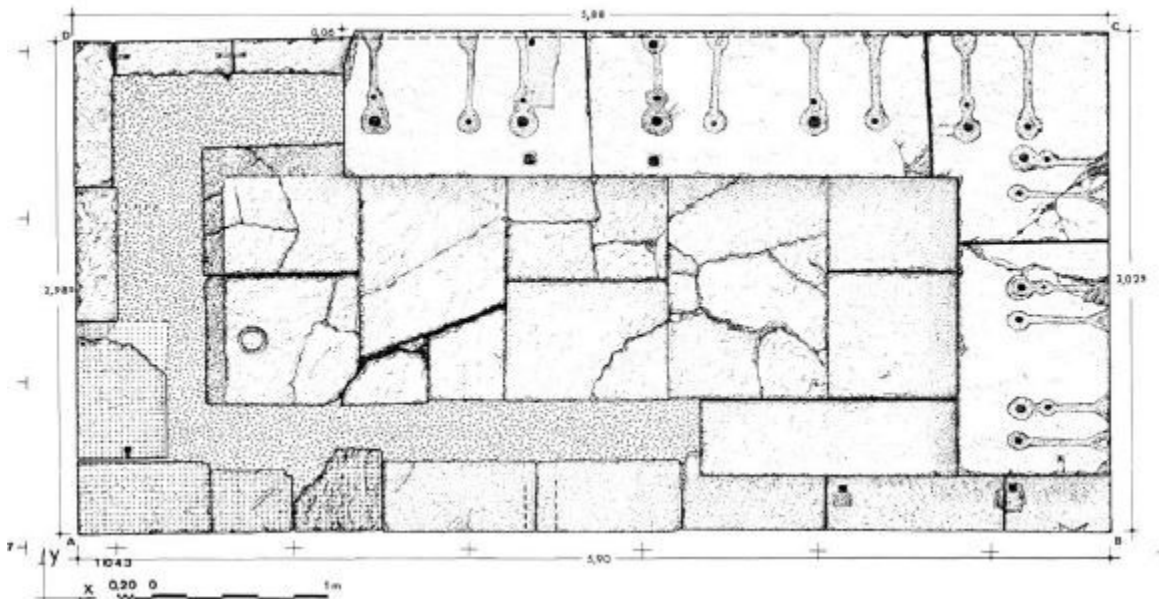


Fig. 2.13. Diagram of the altar at Assisium (from Gros and Theodorescu 1987, 694 fig. 1).

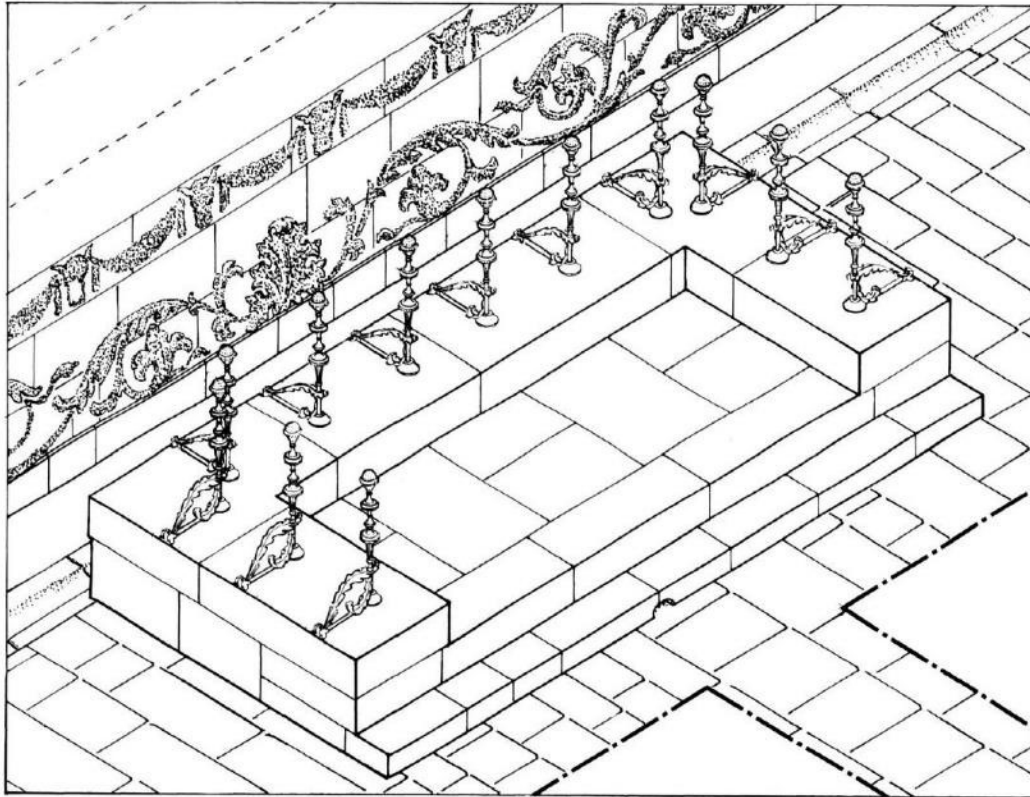


Fig. 2.14. Diagram of the altar as a base for bronze *thymiateria* (from Gos and Theodorescu 1987, 708 fig. 6).

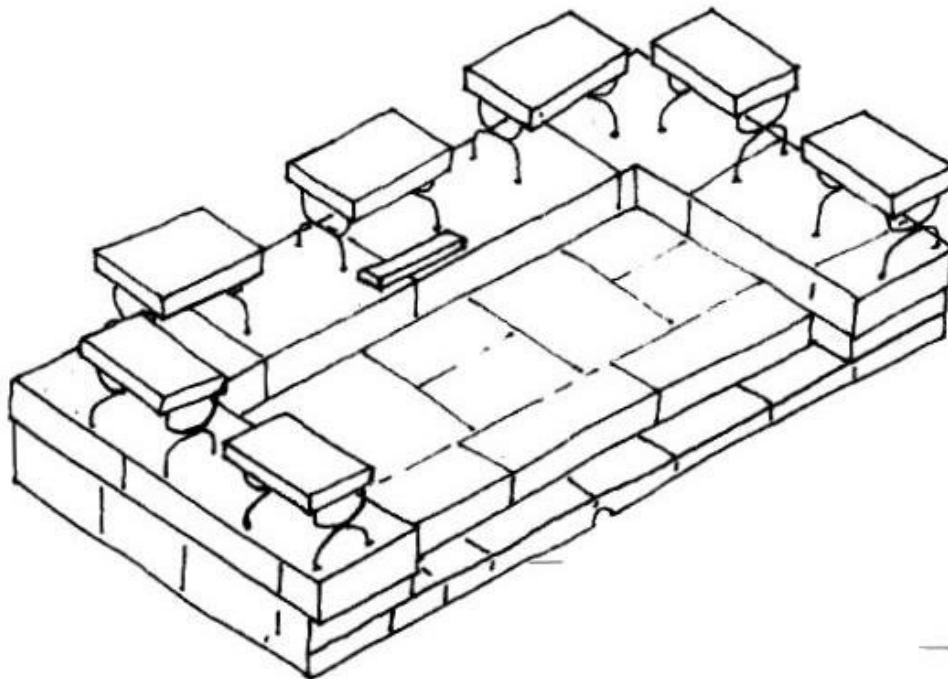


Fig. 2.15. Diagram of the altar as a base for tribunal chairs (from Coarelli 1991b, fig. 7).



Fig. 2.16. Capitol from *capitolium* at Spoletium (photo by author).



Fig. 2.17. Arch of Drusus and Germanicus at Spoletium (photo by author).

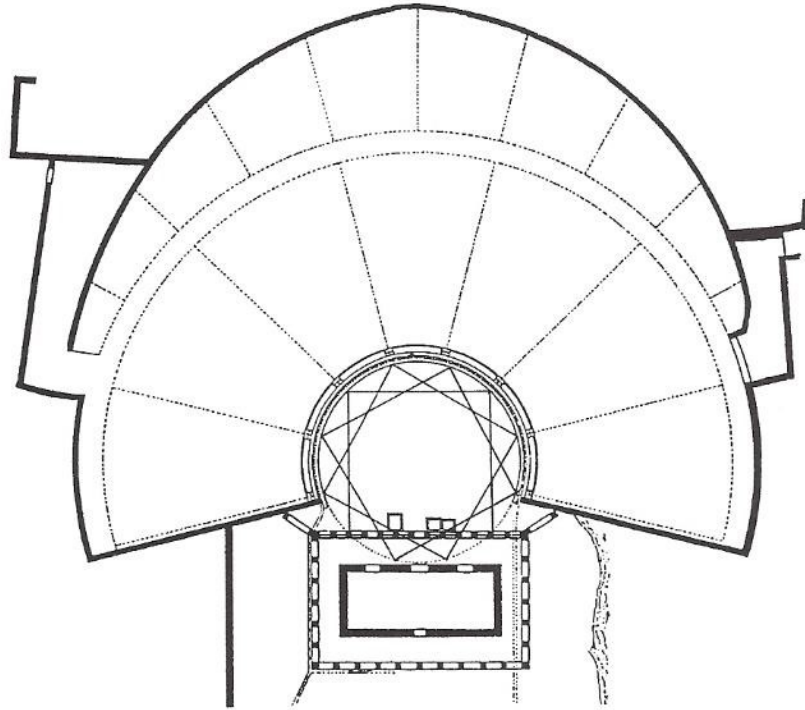


Fig. 3.1. Greek theater according to Vitruvius (from Sear 2006, fig 2).

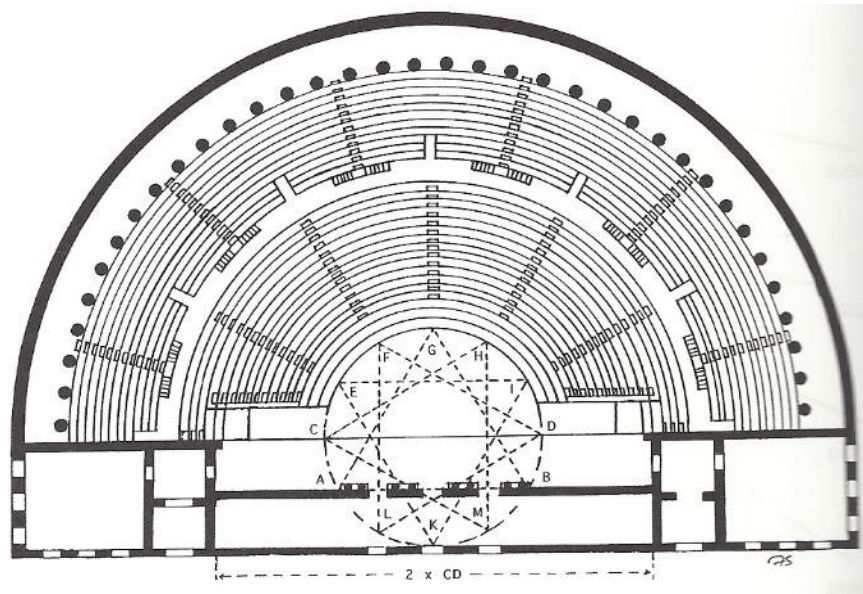


Fig. 3.2. Roman theater according to Vitruvius (from Sear 2006, fig 3).

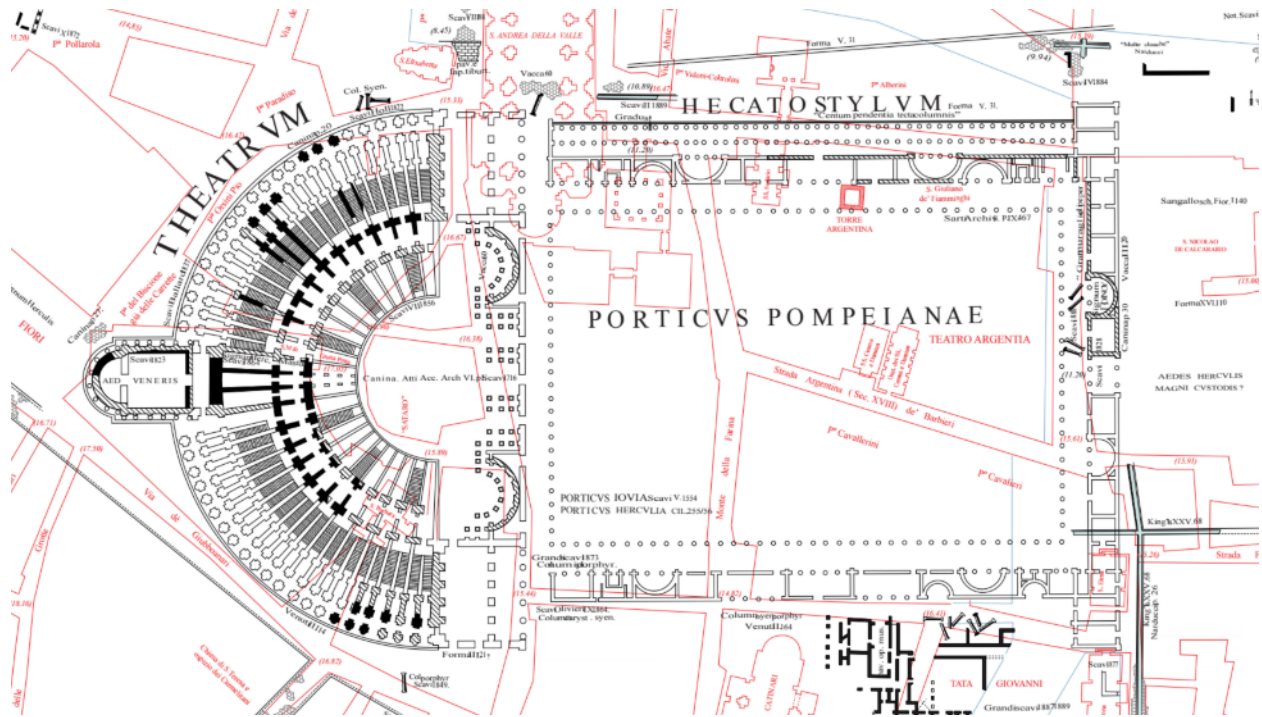


Fig. 3.3. Theater and *Quadriporticus* of Pompey (from Lanciani 1989).

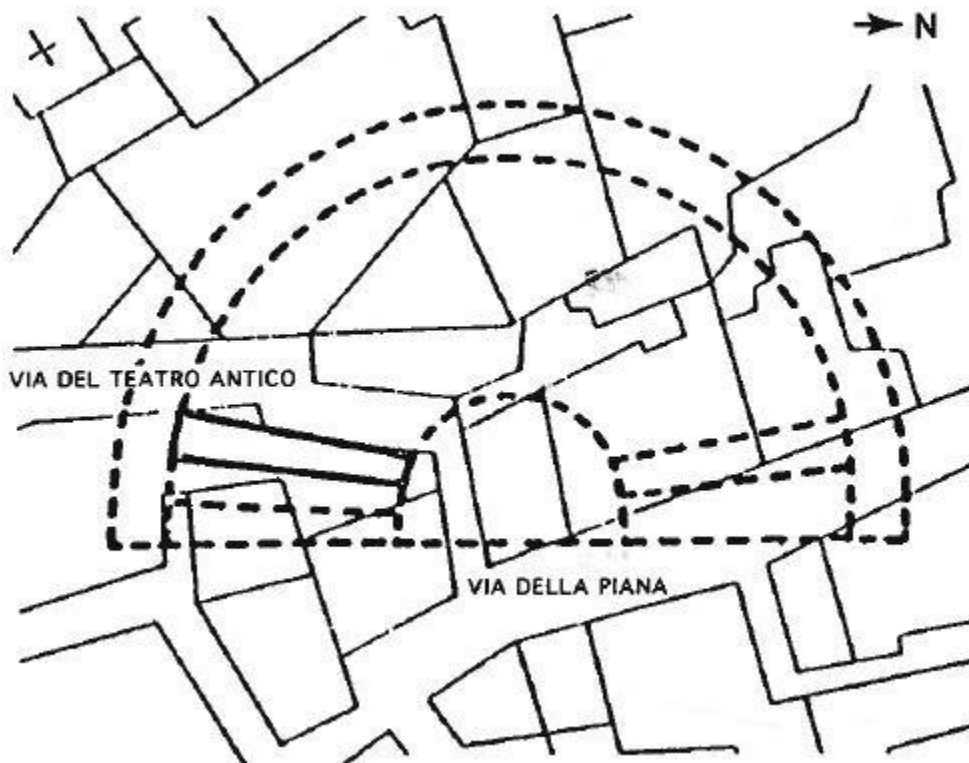


Fig. 3.4. Plan of the theater at Tuder (from Sear 2006, 163, plan 68).

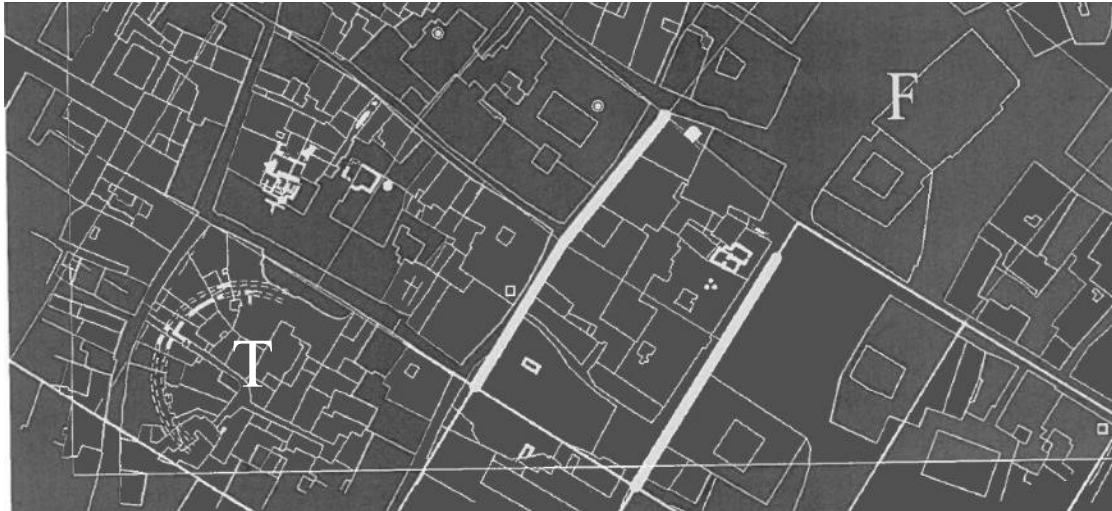


Fig. 3.5. Archaeological map of the theater at Interamna Nahars, overlaid on the modern city of Terni; theater (T) and forum (F) (from Faustini 154, fig. 11).



Fig. 3.6. Dedicatory inscription of C. Dexius Maximus, who financed the construction of the *crypta* and *porticus* of the theater at Interamna Nahars (from Coarelli and Sisani, 2008, 112).

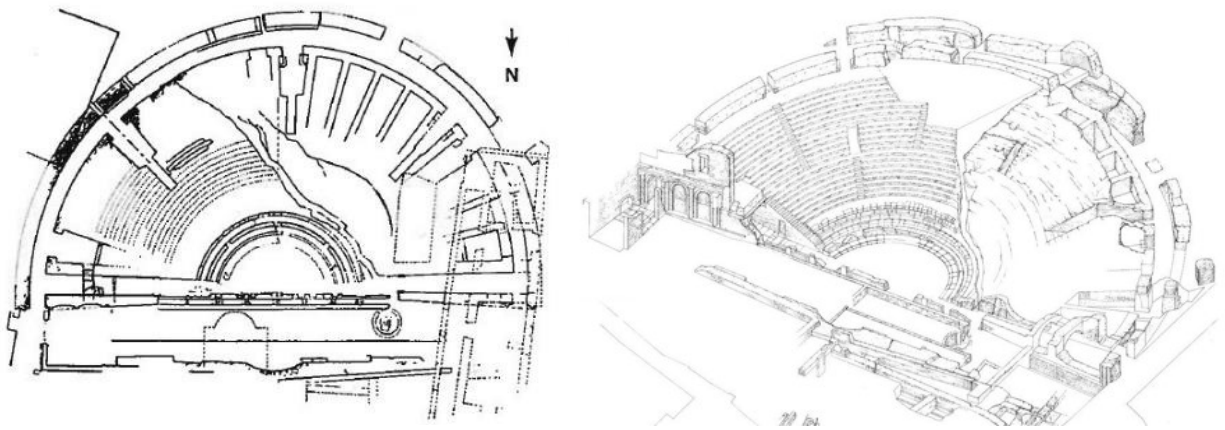
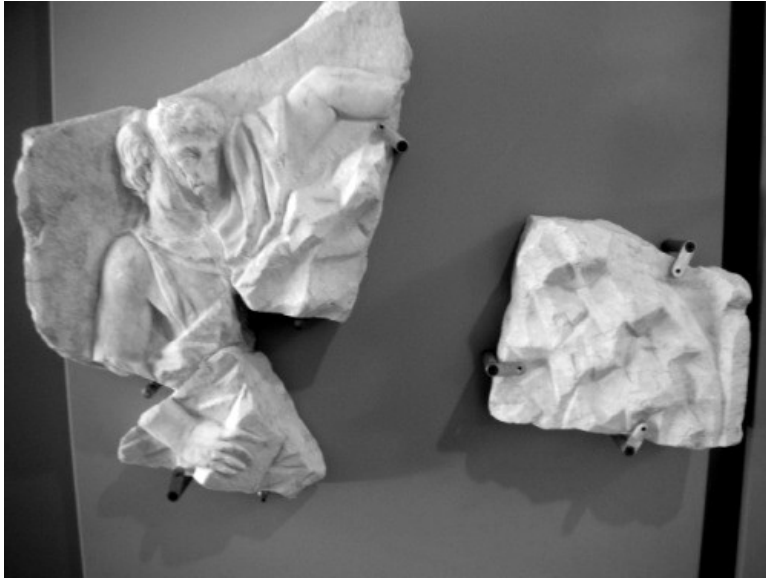


Fig. 3.7. Plan of the theater at Spolegium (from Sear 2006, 163, plan 67).

Fig. 3.8. Axonometric view of the theater at Spolegium (from Salvatore 2008, CD-ROM).



Fig. 3.9. Theater of Spolegium as it stands today (photo by author).



(a)

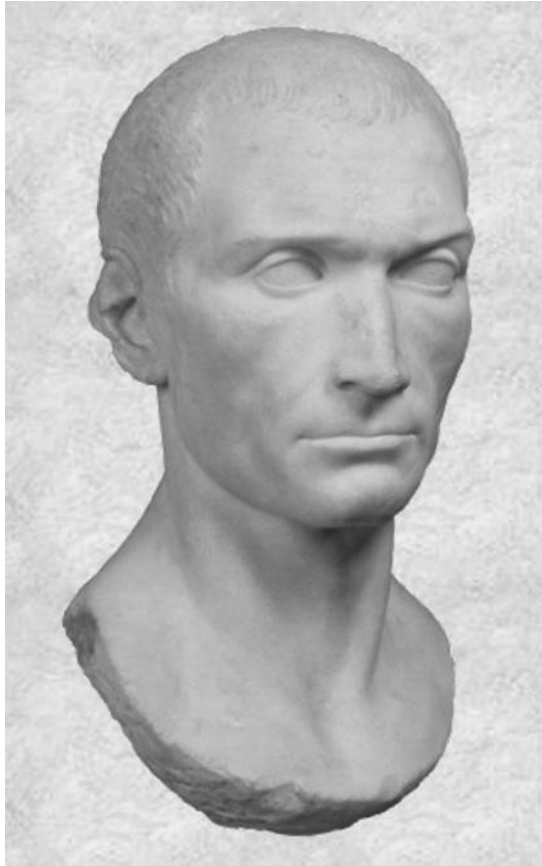


(b)

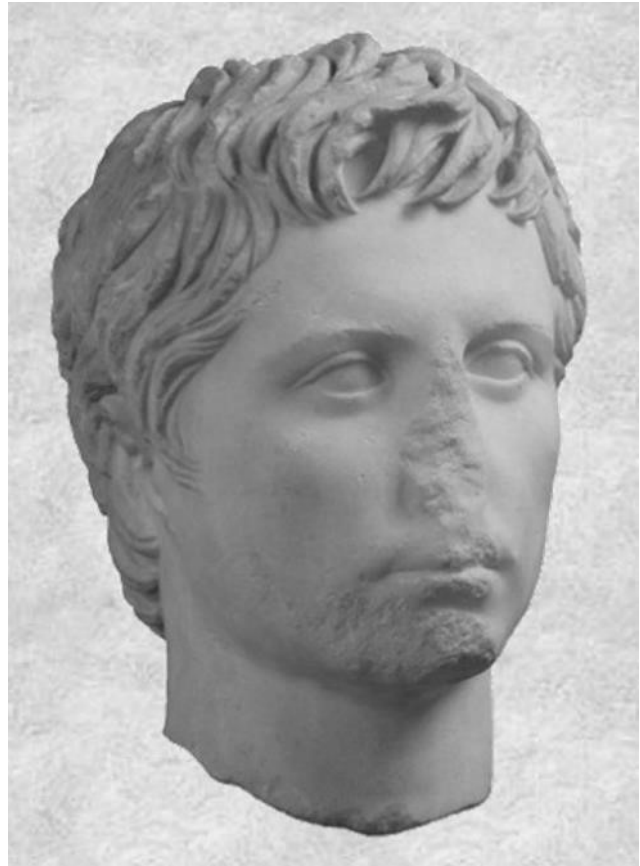


(c)

Fig. 3.10. Decorative panels from the theatre at Spolegium (photos by author).  
(a) Young man at mountain spring. First century BCE.  
(b) Warrior and female figure in front of a stone wall. First century BCE.  
(c) Seated figure with standing male figure. End of first century BCE to beginning of first century CE.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 3.11.

- (a) Portrait of a Local Man. Marble. Mid-first century CE. Teatro Romano. Spoleto, Italy (from Salvatore 2008, CD-ROM).
- (b) Portrait of the Emperor Augustus. Marble. Late first century BCE. Teatro Romano. Spoleto, Italy (from Salvatore 2008, CD-ROM).

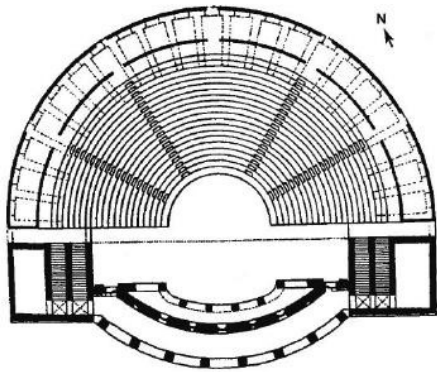


Fig. 3.12. Plan of the theater at Oriculum (from Sear 2006, 162, plan 65).

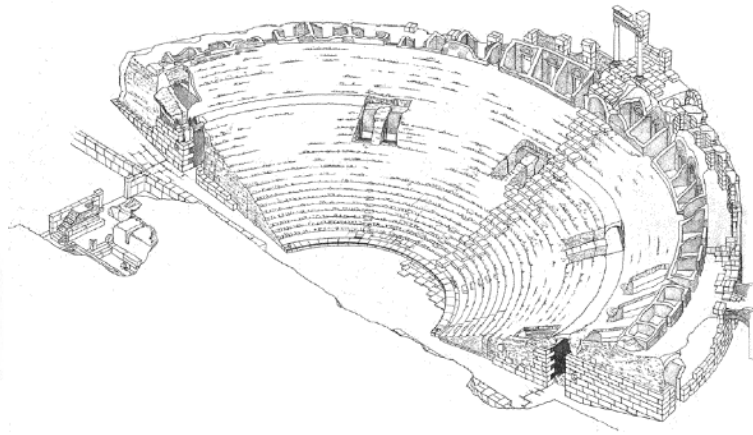


Fig. 3.13. Axonometric view of the theater at Oriculum (from De Rubertis 250, fig. 3).



Fig. 3.14. Theater at Oriculum as it stands today (from Hay *et al.* 2103, 55, fig. 3.25).

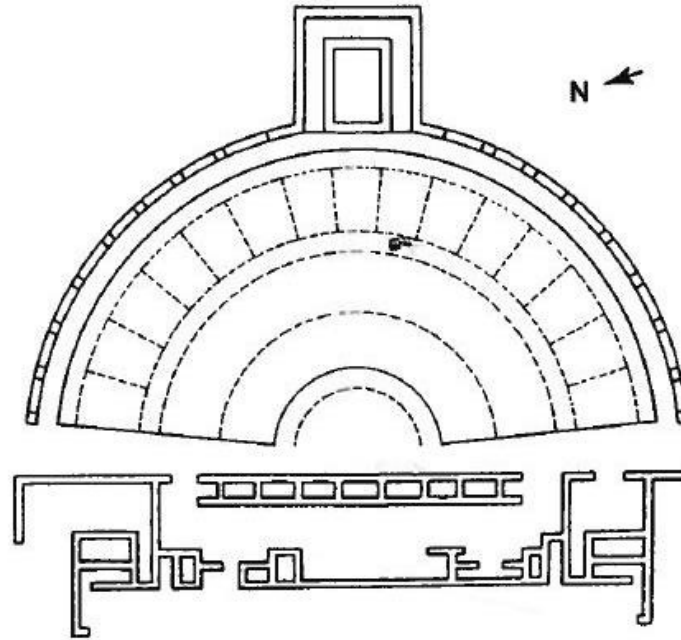


Fig. 3.15. Plan of the theater at Carsulae. The rectangular protrusion at the back of the *cavea* are stairs that lead from the *ambulacrum* to the seating of the *cavea* (from Sear 2006, 159, plan 62).



Fig. 3.16. Theater at Carsulae as it stands today. View of the lower *cavea*, orchestra, and *scaenae frons* of the theater of Carsulae. The foundations for the amphitheater are visible in the background (photo by author).

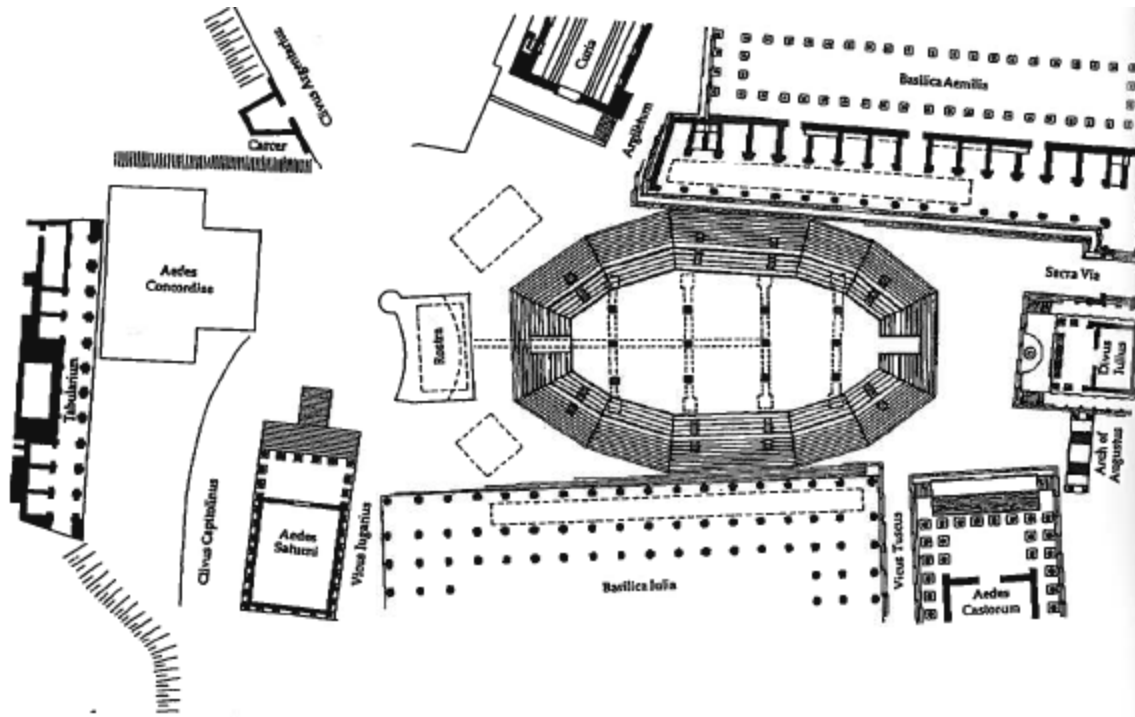


Fig. 4.1. Welch's suggested reconstructions of wooden seating in the Forum Romanum, mid-first century BCE (from Welch 2007, 56, fig. 27).

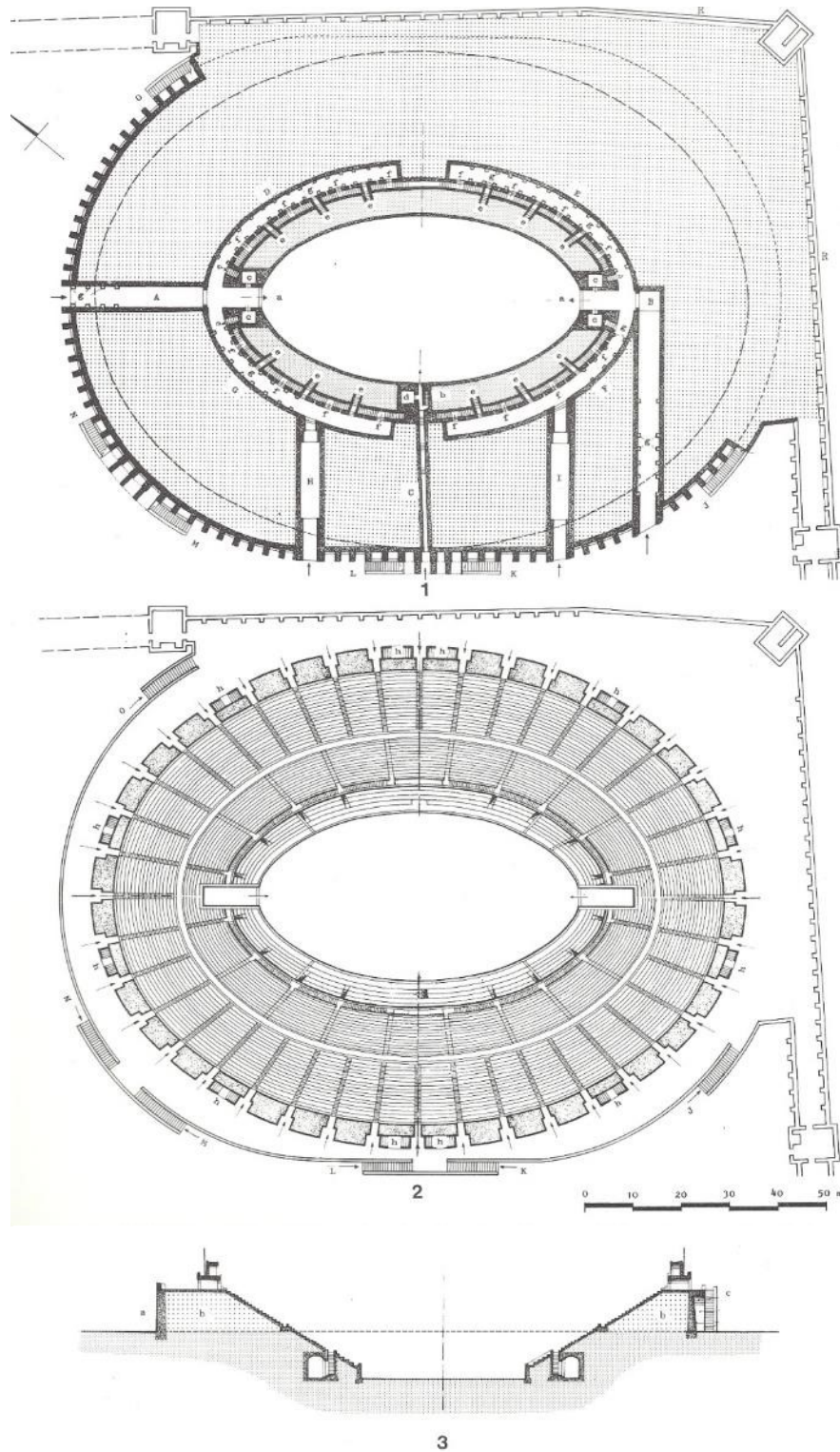


Fig. 4.2. Plan and section of the amphitheater at Pompeii. Note that the arena and lower *cavea* is accessed via barrel-vaulted corridors and the upper *cavea* is accessed by exterior staircases (from Golvin 1988, pl. XXIII, 1-2).

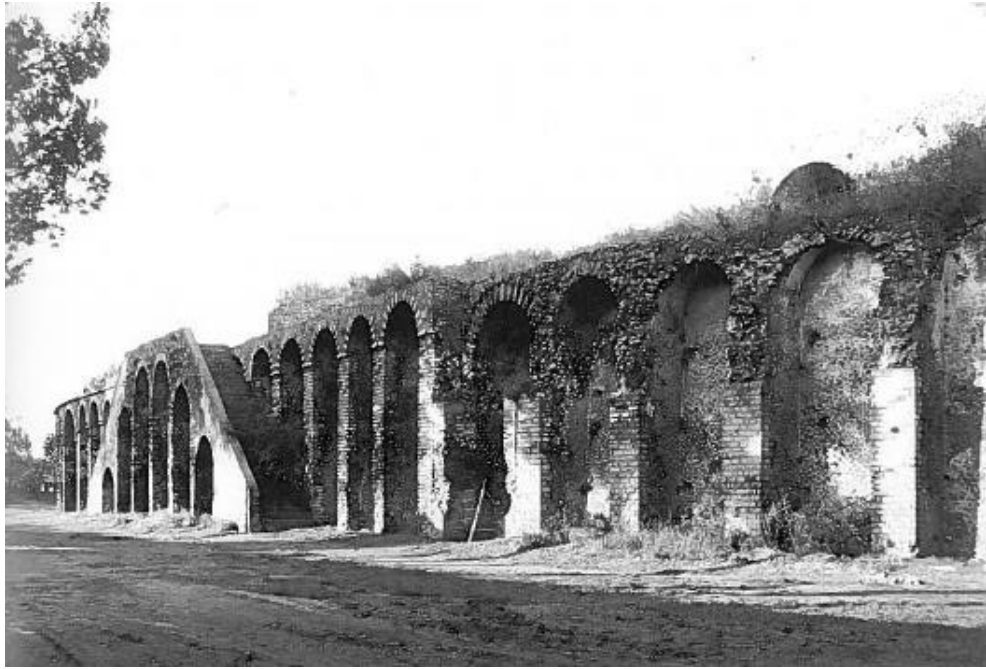


Fig. 4.3. The façade of the amphitheater at Pompeii (from Welch 2007, 93, fig. 49).



Fig. 4.4. Etching by Piranesi of the ruin of a cuneus at Monte de' Cenci, depicting the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus (Campus Martius, Roma 1767, pl. XXVIII as reproduced by Welch 2007, 118, fig. 68).

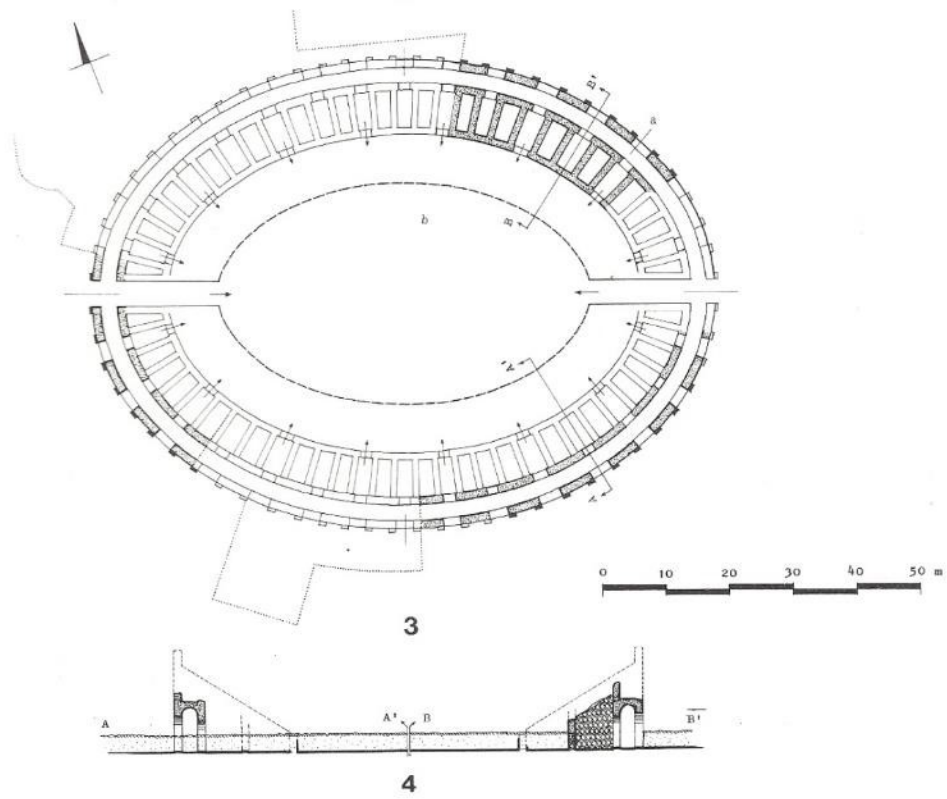
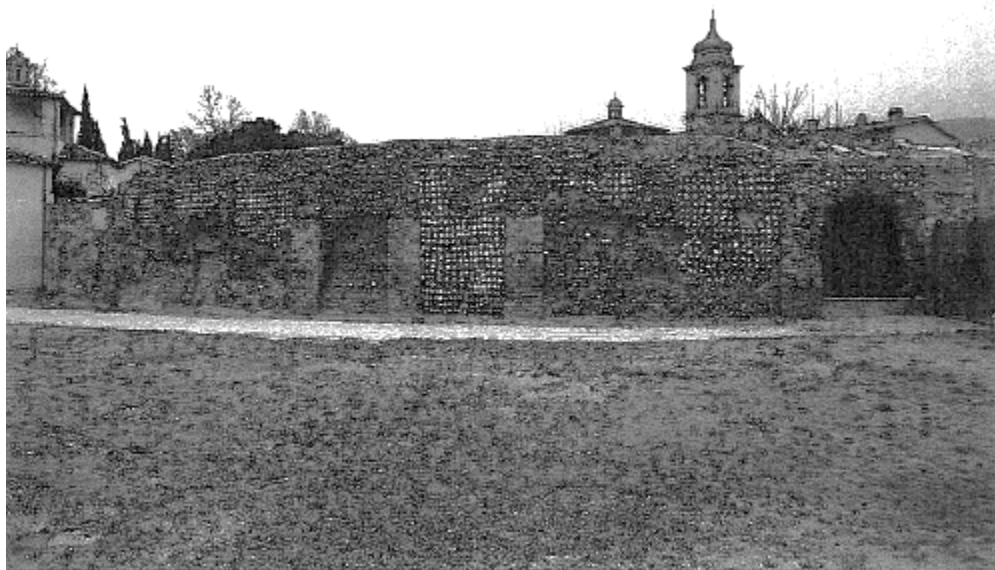


Fig. 4.5. Plan and section of the amphitheater at Interamna Nahars (from Golvin 1988, pl. XXVII, 3-4).



(a)



(b)

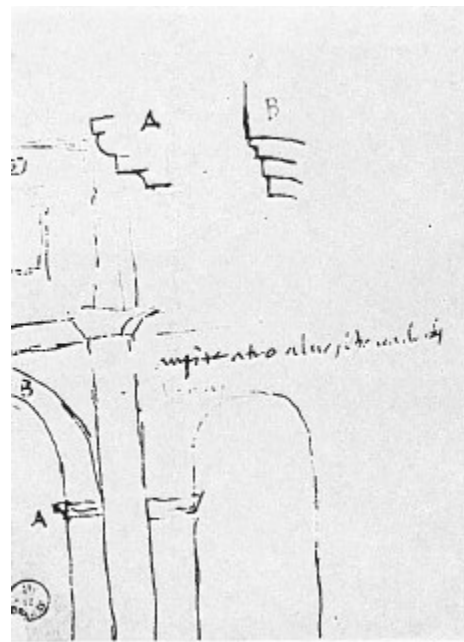
Fig. 4.6. The (a) northern façade from the Via del Vescovado and (b) eastern façade from the south-east of the amphitheater at Interamna Nahars (from Angelelli and Faustini 2006, 208, fig. 4; Faustini 1995, 109, fig. 104).



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig. 4.7. The fornix motif and engaged columns on the façades of (a) the Theater of Marcellus, (b) Colosseum, and (c) a sketch of the amphitheater at Interamna Nahars from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini (detail) (American Academy in Rome, Fototeca Unione 6270, 540 as reproduced in Welch 1997, 142-3, fig. 91-2; and from Faustini 1995, 105, fig. 97).



Fig. 4.8. Remains of the amphitheater at Asisium's piers and arches (from Sciamanna 2008, 66, 166).

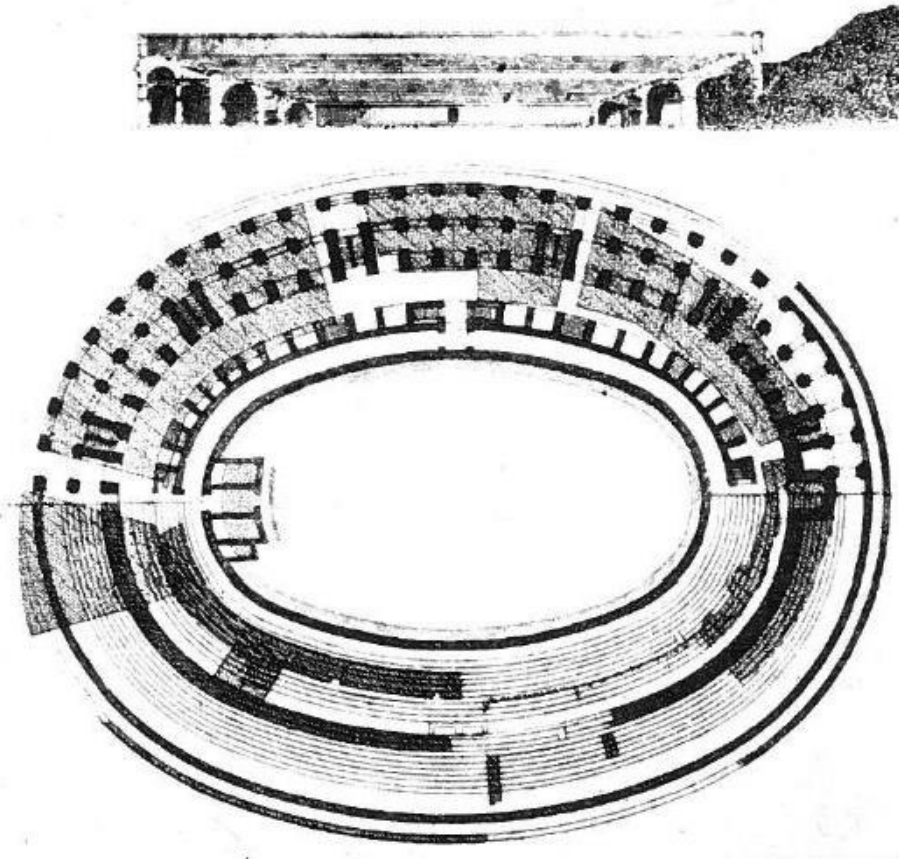


Fig. 4.9. Plan and section of the amphitheater at Asisium (from Sciamanna 2008, 164).

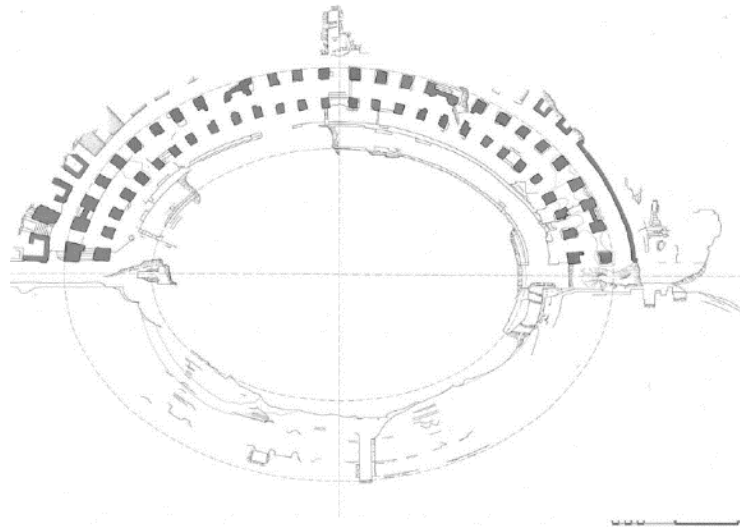


Fig. 4.10. Plan of the amphitheater at Oriculum (from De Rubertis 2011, 267, fig. 15).

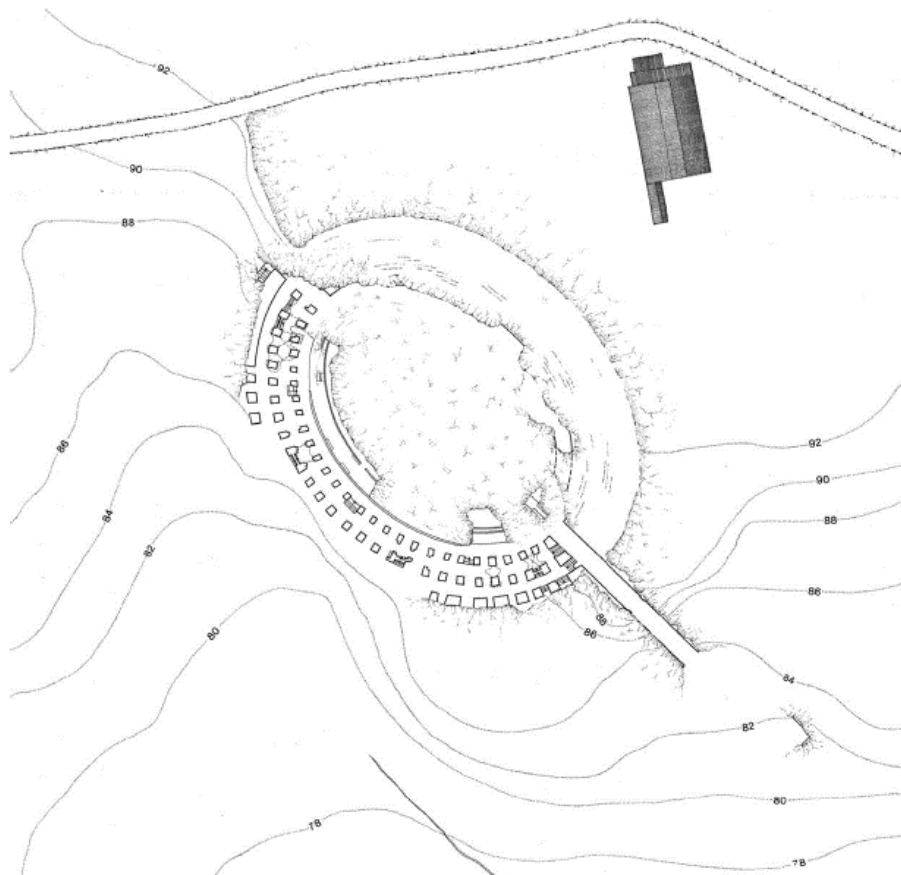


Fig. 4.11. Plan and surrounding topographic features of the amphitheater at Oriculum (from De Rubertis 2011, 266, fig. 14).

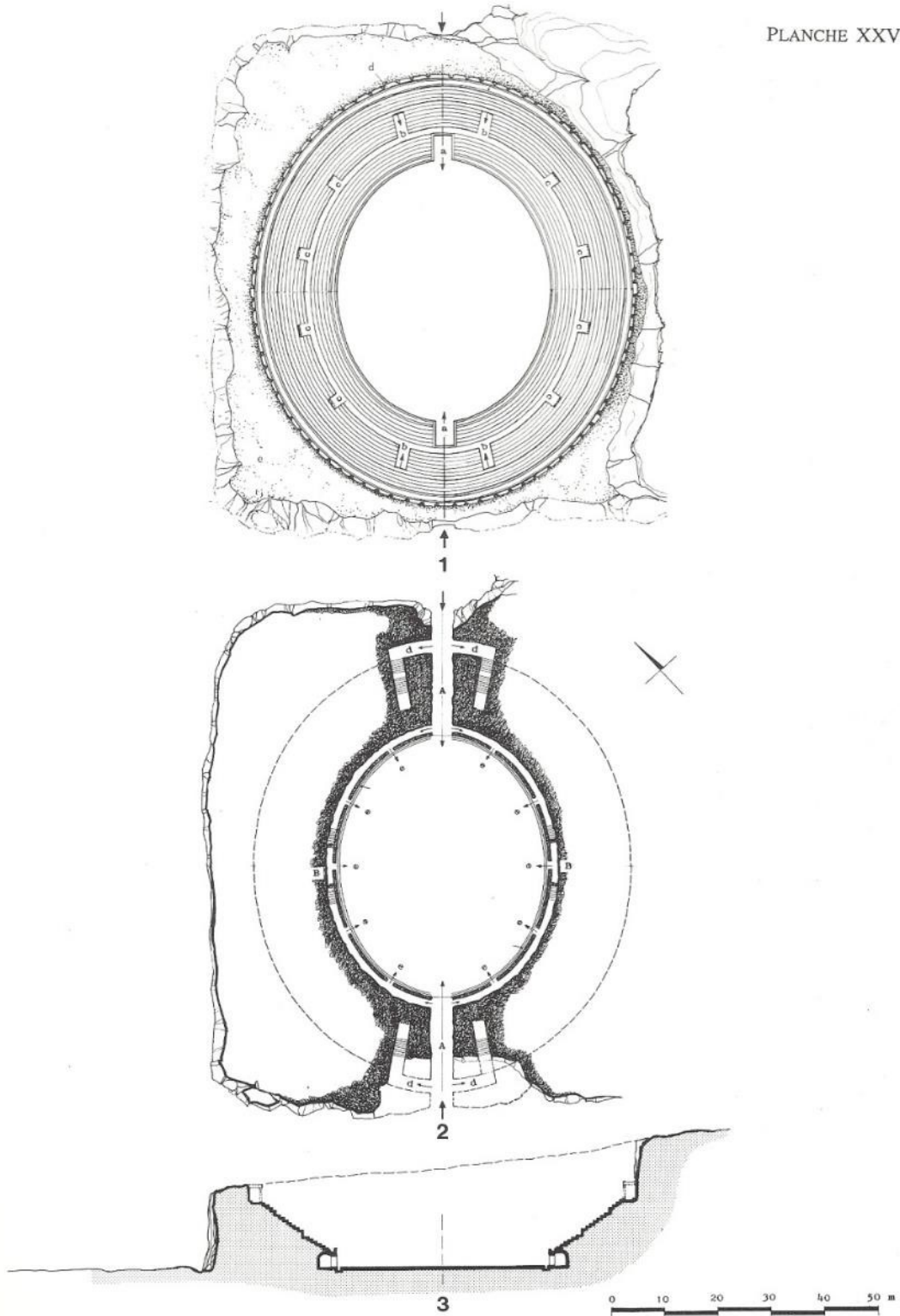


Fig. 4.12. Plan and section of the amphitheater at Sutrium (from Golvin 1988, pl. XXV).

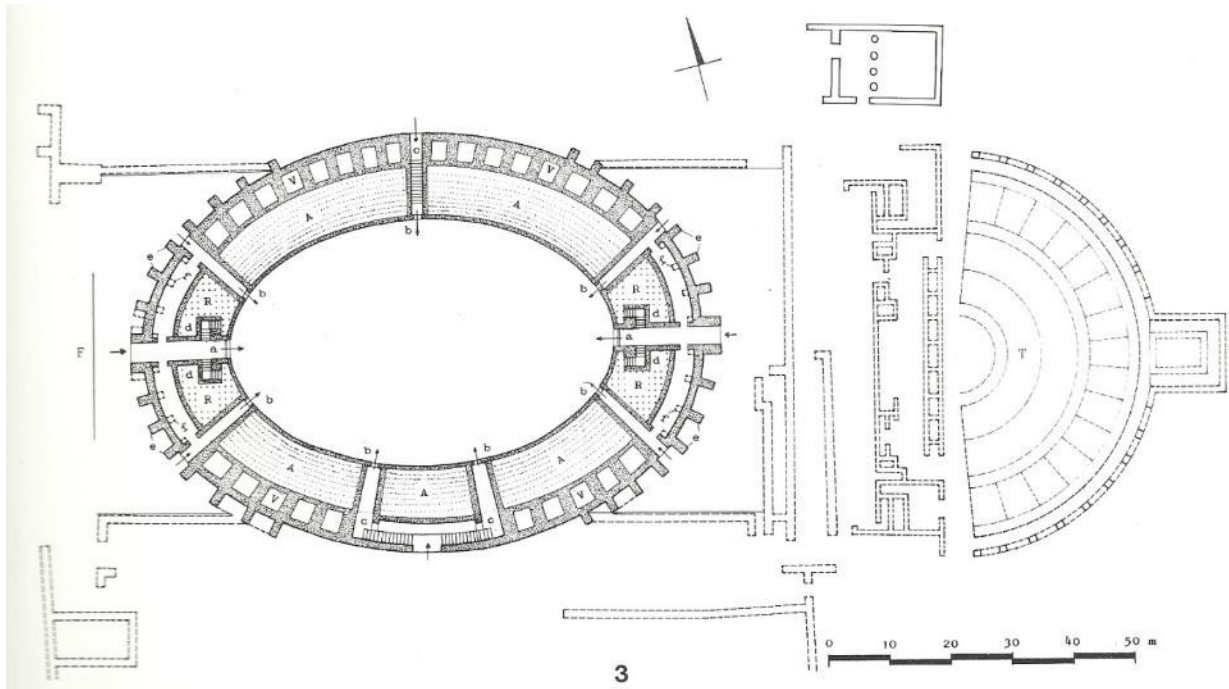


Fig. 4.13. Plan of the amphitheater and theater complex at Carsulae (from Golvin 1988, pl. XXVI, 3).



Fig. 4.14. View entering the amphitheater at Carsulae (photo by author).

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## Abbreviations

<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AnnPerugia</i>	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli studi di Perugia</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BMusImp</i>	<i>Bullettino del Museo dell'impero romano</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris)</i>
<i>DialArch</i>	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Latomus</i>	<i>Latomus: Revue d'études latines</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MERFA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
<i>Ostraka</i>	<i>Ostraka: Rivista di antichità</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>ProcBritAc</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>

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