

Fora of Africa Proconsularis:

**A Study of their Development, Types and Architecture from the Conquest
to the End of the Antonine Age**

by

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in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts**

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ABSTRACT

In the last thirty years, there have been several important studies of public buildings, and particularly fora and their associated annexes, of Roman Britain and the Western Empire. Yet neither the older surveys and monographs nor the recent publications focus on the fora of *Africa Proconsularis*. The fora of this province have rarely been the subject of a regional survey. This thesis is a study of the origins, development, architecture, and types of Romano-African fora. Such a study is useful in providing an understanding of the architectural characteristics of Romano-African fora, the manner in which they differed from and resembled those in Europe (Italy, Gaul, Britain, and Spain) and of the types of activities for which they were used.

Chapter one provides a summary of the origin and development of Republican fora, with particular emphasis on examples from Italy. Many architectural ideas originated in Italy during the course of the Republican period that were later used with variations in the fora of the Roman provinces. This chapter begins with the earliest evidence from the *Forum Romanum* at Rome and it proceeds with a study of the fora of the colonies of Italy. It also provides an introduction to important architectural terms and concepts that are mentioned throughout the thesis. Information is obtained from references in the ancient literary tradition, general surveys published in the last thirty years, and topographical dictionaries.

Chapter two covers the first imperial period, from the conquest of Africa in 146 BC until the end of the Julio-Claudian period. Section A begins with a summary of the urban situation of pre-Roman towns, with emphasis on Punic Carthage, and proceeds with an analysis of the earliest evidence for the establishment of "Italian" architectural

ideas. Section B concentrates on evidence for the establishment of fora in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period. Information comes from accounts in the literary record, excavation reports, works on Roman Africa, and epigraphic evidence.

Chapter three focuses on developments of the Flavian period in *Africa Proconsularis*. Three complexes tentatively identified as fora are considered. Two are temple-dominated complexes that represent the religious type forum (Sbeitla and Haïdra) while the third is a basilica-forum complex that represents the judicial or civil type forum (Rougga). Excavation reports, site guides and general works on Roman Africa constitute the chief source of information.

Chapter four centres on developments in the fora of *Africa Proconsularis* from the end of the Flavian period to the early third century AD. There is more evidence for developments in the urban landscape in this period. The fora that were realized in the second century AD are analyzed according to type. The religious type fora are analyzed first (*Gigthis, Althiburos*) (A). An analysis of the civil or judicial type fora (Carthage) (B) and dual complexes (C), those that developed judicial or commercial aspects in addition to the religious (*Bulla Regia, Dougga, Thuburbo Maius*) follows. Chapter four ends with an examination of the fora of towns that originated as military colonies (Timgad, Djemila, Tébessa) (D).

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AE</u>	<u>l'Année épigraphique</u>
<u>Afrique Occ.</u>	<u>L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain (Ier siècle av. J.C.-IVe siècle ap. J.C.)</u>
<u>Af rom</u>	<u>L'Africa romana</u>
<u>ANRW</u>	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung.</u> Berlin: de Gruyter.
<u>Ant afr.</u>	<u>Antiquités africaines.</u> Paris, CNRS Ed.
<u>BCTH</u>	<u>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques.</u> Paris: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.
<u>CEA</u>	<u>Cahiers des études anciennes.</u> Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières.
<u>CIL</u>	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</u>
<u>CRAI</u>	<u>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</u> Paris: de Boccard.
<u>ILAf</u>	<u>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</u>
<u>ILT</u>	<u>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie</u>
<u>IRT</u>	<u>Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</u>
Jacques Gascou, <u>La politique municipale de l'empire romain...</u>	Jacques Gascou, <u>La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique Proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime Sévère.</u> École Française de Rome. Palais Farnèse: Rome, 1972
<u>JRA</u>	<u>Journal of Roman Archaeology</u>

JRS

The Journal of Roman Studies. Society for
the Promotion of Roman Studies: London.

MEFRA

Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de
l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité.
Paris, de Boccard.

REA

Revue des études anciennes. Talence.
Domaine Univ., sect. d'histoire.

INTRODUCTION

Fora are among the most common features of the towns and cities of the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis* (fig. 1), which consisted of modern Tunisia and some sites in eastern Algeria and western Libya. A forum usually occupied a significant space, either rectangular or square, at the heart or nucleus of a community, around which essential public buildings were placed. It served as a community's political, economic/commercial, and religious centre. For instance, at Timgad (ancient *Thamugadi*) and Djemila (ancient *Cuicul*), two Roman colonies in eastern Algeria, several buildings bordered the open space of their fora which accommodated politico-administrative functions and religious activities for their respective communities. The forum at Djemila also had provisions for commercial activities, as a market (*macellum*) was built in its vicinity.

Great architectural diversity exists among the known forum plans of Roman Africa and this is reflected in their varied sizes and forms, and in the organization of their surrounding monuments.¹ The following study seeks to analyze the stages of development of the forum in *Africa Proconsularis* and the reasons for such a diversity from the Roman conquest of Africa in 146 BC until the beginning of the Severan age

¹ Noël Duval, "L'urbanisme de Sufetula = Sbeitla en Tunisie", *ANRW Princ.* 10.2, p. 596-632; E. Lennox Manton, *Roman North Africa*, p. 113-114; Gilbert-Charles Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine*, pp. 169, 171.

(AD 193-AD 235). Two obvious and somewhat divergent trends in forum development emerge in the late first century BC and continue well into the Roman period in Africa. The first comprises fora that were not the result of unitary programmes, but rather a series of piecemeal additions over an extensive period of time. Such programmes are reflected in the fora of secondary towns of *Africa Pronconsularis*. The developments of the *Forum Vetus* (Old Forum) of *Lepcis Magna* from the Augustan (27 BC-AD 14) to the Flavian period (AD 69-AD 96), and the analogous evolutions of the fora at Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius* in north central Tunisia are examples of this trend. The basilica –forum complex on the Byrsa hill at Carthage and the temple-dominated complexes at Sbeitla (ancient *Sufetula*) and Haïdra (ancient *Ammaedara*), conversely, were the products of neatly structured plans², similar to the imperial forum complexes at Rome. Sites in the African interior that originated as veterans' colonies or military settlements, such as Timgad, also possess fora whose layouts reflect some precision and foresight in planning.

According to Gilbert-Charles Picard, there are two fundamental types of fora in Roman Africa: 1) the civil and 2) the religious. The civil forum can be characterized as a complex with few temples that consists essentially of a basilica for tribunals and/or a curia where the municipal senate (the *ordo*) and various other committees met.³ An example of the civil forum can be seen in the first century AD arrangement of the forum at Rougga (ancient *Bararus*) which was conceived as a basilica dominated complex. The archaeological evidence from the second century AD suggests that a substantial civil forum was a part of the monumental complex on the Byrsa hill at Carthage. With the

² Samia Ilhem Ammar, "Réflexions comparatives sur quelques programmes d'urbanisme en Tunisie antique: l'aménagement des fora (du Ier au IIIe siècle de notre ère)", *Af rom* X, pp. 451-58, 460.

³ Gilbert-Charles Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine*, p. 166.

second type of forum, emphasis is placed on the religious aspects of a complex, as the surrounding buildings largely comprise temples and shrines, though some commercial and governmental buildings are usually intertwined.⁴ The predominant element in such a composition is usually an Italic-style temple located on the primary axis of the composition. Examples of this sort are the fora at *Gigthis* and *Althiburos* and the temple-dominated complexes at Sbeitla and Haïdra that are tentatively identified as fora. In the above examples, emphasis remains on the podium temples in the course of the sites' development as there is no evidence for the construction of significant structures, such as basilicas, at the opposite end of the complexes.

Picard's typologies of the fora of Roman Africa, however, appear almost too rigid as some complexes developed significant structures during their evolution that accommodated functions other than the initial religious or judicial function. For example, the forum of *Bulla Regia*, although conceived as a temple dominated complex, eventually acquired a civil or judicial emphasis in addition to the religious aspect. This is reflected in the large basilica that was constructed opposite the podium temple in the second half of the second century AD. The *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna*, which originated as a sanctuary dominated quarter, also received a basilica, though it was built somewhat earlier than the forum of *Bulla Regia*. A similar type of development occurs at agricultural towns in the Medjerda (ancient *Bagradas*)⁵ river valley of Tunisia during the late second and early third century AD. At both Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*, significant quarters were added in the vicinity of their initial temple-dominated fora that

⁴ Ibid., p. 166.

⁵ The Medjerda valley was a very fertile region of the province of Africa renowned for its "polyculture" (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, pp. 458, 460; Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire*, p. 227).

could accommodate commercial functions. These commercial quarters comprised *macella*⁶ that were often placed near temples of Mercury. With the addition of market quarters, the urban centres of these towns combined religious, commercial, and political aspects into unified complexes, with particular emphasis on the commercial and the religious.

By the end of the Antonine period, therefore, a third type of fora can be distinguished in Africa in addition to the so-called civil and religious types. They differed from the typical civil and religious fora in that they acquired dual roles and, hence, can be characterized as dual complexes. The third type can also be subdivided into two further categories, based on the kinds of activities which were stressed in and around the complexes. The first comprises fora in which a judicial aspect gradually evolved as it was not part of the initial temple-dominated forum. As a result of this gradual evolution, stress was now placed on the religious and judicial roles of the complex. The third type also includes those fora that acquired vast commercial quarters in addition to their initial temple-dominated fora. This typology of the African fora, therefore, is based on the prevailing aspects within each complex.

Since there are deficiencies in the available resources⁷, the present study will concentrate on those sites that provide sufficient archaeological and epigraphic evidence for a study of the development of the fora of Roman Africa, their types and architecture. Also for this reason, the study will not only analyze Tunisian sites but will include some

⁶ *Macella* were introduced to Africa at a relatively early date and became a distinctive and consistent feature in "Romano-African" architecture. Among the earliest examples is the large Eastern Market built in 8 BC at the important harbour city of *Lepcis Magna* (J. B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 15; E. Lennox Manton, *Roman North Africa*, p. 66-67).

⁷ Problems associated with a study of Tunisian fora include the ruinous state of some forum sites and the lack of proper systematic excavations (Sadok Ben Baaziz, "Les forums romains en Tunisie. Essai de Bilan", in *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, p. 221-236).

sites in Algeria and Libya. The different sites to be discussed from each country include: 1) in Tunisia (figs. 1 and 2), *Althiburos*, Haïdra, *Bulla Regia*, Carthage, *Gigthis*, Mactar, Sbeitla, *Thuburbo Maius*, and Dougga; 2) in Algeria (fig. 1), Timgad and Djemila and the forum of Tébessa (ancient *Theveste*) which will be discussed only briefly as the state of the evidence prevents a thorough analysis; and 3) in Libya, *Lepcis Magna* (fig. 3) and its *Forum Vetus*.

The significant number of presumed and known forum sites in Tunisia suggests that a forum was an indispensable feature of the towns and cities of Roman North Africa. Many African fora maintained their positions as true monumental civic centres throughout the Roman period. Some African towns were furnished with fora during the course of their development and these fora continued to be embellished and renovated as late as the third century AD and onwards.⁸ Each forum, however, is distinct in terms of its rate of development, layout and position within a town. This diversity among the known forum plans seems to correspond with the mixed status and origins of the African towns. In the second and third centuries AD, Roman Africa comprised numerous *coloniae*, *municipia*, and towns of peregrine status (*civitates*), with their own *magistri* who provided administration. The nature of the sites and the differentiated histories of the towns contributed to a heterogeneous landscape of Roman Africa and produced a different aspect to each town.⁹

Some towns originated as Roman *coloniae*. These were established in Africa for

⁸ Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom I*, p. 67-68; *ibid.*, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar*, p. 137-38.

⁹ The Roman Empire has often been characterized as a mosaic of cities. The towns of the Maghreb were known for their diversity (Paul-Albert Février, "Le fait urbain dans le Maghreb du IIIe siècle. Les signes d'une crise?" *150 Jahr-Feier 1979*, pp. 55, 58, 59, 60; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 322).

several reasons, namely strategic, political, and social. Timgad, Tébessa and Djemila were founded as veterans' colonies in fertile regions of Africa during the second century AD.¹⁰ *Coloniae civicae*, colonies whose members were largely drawn from Rome's civilian population, were also founded in Africa, as shown in the refoundation of Carthage under Caesar and Augustus. The establishment of a typical Roman *colonia* usually involved the application of orthogonal or "chequerboard"¹¹ town planning which applied a grid system based on the crossing of two main streets, the *Cardo Maximus* (the north-south running street) and the *Decumanus Maximus* (the east-west running street). The crossing at right angles of a colony's *Cardines* and *Decumani* divided the site into regular-sized holdings or islands (*insulae*) that provided a basis for plots on which housing blocks or public buildings could be established. Such a system is thought to have developed in the colonies of Italy, including Ostia and Pompeii, during the Republican period, and then to have been applied in the major towns of the western provinces, including Africa, during the imperial period.¹² One can see such a system

¹⁰ Veterans' colonies not only ensured stability but also opened areas of Africa to cultivation by evolving into farming communities. The latter function would benefit the *annona* (food supply) to Rome, as Africa became Italy's major supplier of grain during the empire. Colonies for veteran legionaries and their families enjoyed full rights of Roman citizenship. The constitutions of *coloniae* and *municipia* were modelled on that of Rome. Both types of communities controlled a wide area. Administration was centred around four annually elected magistrates, two *duoviri* for jurisdiction and two *aediles* for building and finance, and a local senate (*ordo*) whose members (*decuriones* or *curiales*) numbered about one hundred (Paul MacKenrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 43; H.H. Scullard, *Roman Britain*, p. 89).

¹¹ Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire*, p. 148.

¹² The idea of using the grid as the basis of town planning is generally thought to have come to maturity in the Mediterranean during the fifth century BC. Hippodamus, a Greek architect and town-planner, has often been attributed with the introduction into Greece and Italy of orthogonal town planning. In the early colonies of Italy of the third and second centuries BC, the plans were closely linked to the Greek model, which was known for its simplicity. In the later colonies of Italy and the major towns of the western provinces the influence of military planning led to a more distinctive Roman style of town planning in which emphasis was placed on the intersection of the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus* (Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, "Introduction: the study of classical urban topography" in Grew and Hopley (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*, p. vii-x; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "From Republic to Empire" *JRS* LX 1970, p. 5).

being used with some variations at Carthage and Sbeitla in Tunisia, and at Timgad, Djemila and Tébessa in eastern Algeria.

The establishment of a *locus celeberrimus*, a meeting place for the citizens of a *colonia*, within a monumental frame at the heart of a site, would have also been one of the initial concerns of a colony's founders. In *Africa Proconsularis*, the fora of those sites that applied the "chequerboard" planning usually occupied the area of several *insulae* within the town's grid, and were located at an intersection of the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus*. At Carthage, for instance, the monumental complex on the Byrsa hill was located on the axis of the *Decumanus Maximus* from which it extended westwards.¹³ The forum of Tébessa and the earliest forum of Djemila were placed at the physical centres of their respective communities, at the juncture of the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus*. The forum at Timgad was also located at the geographical centre of the town to the immediate south of and on the axis of the main *Decumanus*, and interrupting the course of the main north-south running street. Like Timgad, Sbeitla, a military settlement of Flavian date in southern Tunisia, has a forum that interrupted the course of one of the main streets of the urban grid, this time the *Decumanus Maximus*.¹⁴

The plans of towns of lesser status, namely those that developed out of indigenous communities (*civitates*)¹⁵, and then evolved into *municipia*¹⁶ over time, can be contrasted

¹³ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 448; Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", in *Afrique Occ.*, p. 552-53.

¹⁴ Noël Duval, "L'urbanisme de Sufetula=Sbeitla en Tunisie" *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, pp. 598, 603.

¹⁵ The constitutions of *civitates* followed the pattern of those in *municipia*. *Civitates* comprised mainly noncitizens living under peregrine law and were administered by non Roman magistrates. They were also subject to the proconsul and often paid tribute (Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 43; H. H. Scullard, *Roman Britain*, p. 90).

¹⁶ The raising of a community to the status of a *municipium* entailed partial citizens' rights and the motives for raising the status of a community, either from *civitas* to *municipium* or from *municipium* to *colonia*, were multiple. These could include the economy and wealth of a community, strategic interest in the region and its degree of romanization, the protection of strong patrons, or even the favour of the emperor

with those of *coloniae* in that the rigid system of chequerboard planning was rarely applied.¹⁷ Rather, since the degree of Roman settlement was rather slight in these communities, many plans exhibit the result of unplanned "native growth"¹⁸, as at Dougga, *Thuburbo Maius*, *Althiburos*, and Mactar in Tunisia. Epigraphic evidence relating to the construction and dedication of monuments in and around some fora reflect a gradual development as "true" civic centres. The forum of Dougga, for example, underwent three periods of construction in a span of roughly two hundred years before achieving its final form under the Antonines. A similar trend occurs at *Thuburbo Maius*, where the monumental structure of its forum was realized in several phases between the end of the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 138- AD 161) and the beginning of the reign of Caracalla (AD 198-AD 217).¹⁹

A diachronic study of the architecture and function of the fora of the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis* is required because, unlike the fora of Republican and early imperial Italy, Roman Britain²⁰ and *Mauretania Tingitana*²¹, they have rarely been the subject of a regional survey. In recent years, specific regions of Tunisia have been subject to extensive archaeological survey covering numerous periods, site types and

(Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire...*, p. 12; H. H. Scullard, *Roman Britain*, p. 89).

¹⁷ An exception to this can be seen at *Lepcis Magna*, where, from the Augustan period onwards, successive expansions of the town applied the grid system. There were, however, slight differences in the orientation of the streets and the city blocks in each expansion, thus reflecting the piecemeal development of the town.

¹⁸ Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire*, p. 148.

¹⁹ Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 235; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, pp. 449, 453-54; Paul-Albert Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain. Pouvoirs, différences et conflits II*, p. 9-24; E. Lennox Manton, *Roman North Africa*, p. 114; Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, pp. 23, 32-33, 38.

²⁰ Important studies of fora of Republican and early imperial Italy and Europe are: James Russell, "The origin and development of Republican forums", *Phoenix* XXII 1968, p. 304-336 and Malcolm Todd, "Forum and Capitulum in the early empire" in Francis Grew and Brian Holey, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*, p. 56-65.

²¹ Maurice Euzennat and Gilbert Hallier ("Les forums de Tingitane" *Ant afr.* t. 22, 1986, p. 73-103) studied the fora of *Mauretania Tingitana* and especially the influence of military architecture on civil buildings.

monuments.²² The study of the cities of Roman Africa and their public spaces has been conducted for well over a century and has produced diverse and often dispersed literature, including archaeological and surveying reports, site guides, and detailed architectural studies of monuments.

This thesis will show how the ideas that were set forth in the earlier fora of Republican Italy found ready acceptance amongst the architects who were responsible for the urbanization of cities of Africa. At the same time, it will emphasize how some African architects successfully manipulated the “Italic” ideals of forum construction to create complexes that were clearly distinct from those in other parts of the empire. Pre-existing native elements as well as site topography contributed to the distinct nature of many fora of *Africa Proconsularis*. Such fora may be labeled “Romano-African”.

The study will also provide some understanding of the types of activities that took place in and around African fora. This kind of information is very important since the forum served multiple purposes in any Roman community.

North Africa is especially wealthy in epigraphic evidence. An important source for African inscriptions is the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), a collection of Latin inscriptions from the various provinces of the Roman Empire. Volume VIII, parts one through five, is dedicated to inscriptions from the African provinces (*Tripolitania*, *Byzacena*, *Proconsularis*, the two Mauretaniae, and *Numidia*), dating from the earliest to about the end of the sixth Christian century.²³ Herman Dessau’s *Inscriptiones Latinae*

²² This is true for the northeastern Tell and the *Segermes* valley of Tunisia (Søren Dietz, Laila Ladjimi Sebaï, Habib Ben Hassen, *Africa Proconsularis. Regional Studies in the Segermes Valley of Northern Tunisia*, 1995; R. Bruce Hitchner, “A tale of two African surveys”, *JRA* 10 1997, p. 567-571; Jean Peyras, *Le Tell nord-est tunisien dans l’antiquité*).

²³ For a review of the strengths and weaknesses of CIL, see Arthur E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, p. 8-9.

Selectae (ILS) is also an important source of Latin inscriptions from the Roman Empire.²⁴

Collections relating solely to the inscriptions of Roman Africa include Merlin's *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (ILT), Gsell's *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* and Reynolds' and Ward-Perkins' *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (IRT). Inscriptions, particularly those relating to the construction and dedication of monuments and features in and around African fora, provide a valuable source of evidence for the recreation of fora. They are most effective when they can be related to the standing monuments of a forum site, as in the dedicatory inscriptions of the Hadrianic arch at *Althiburos*, the Antonine arch at Sbeitla, and the Capitolia at Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*.

There are instances, however, where the monuments mentioned in inscriptions cannot be linked with a site's existing features. This is apparent with Dougga's first century AD inscriptions which mention some monuments that have not been uncovered in the archaeological record of the site.²⁵ The limitations of epigraphic evidence are further reflected at *Segermes*, a rural site in Tunisia located sixty-five kilometers southeast of Tunis. Here, the epigraphic evidence, combined with data recovered through survey, is "too circumscribed to serve as an adequate basis for reconstructing the history of the Segermes valley."²⁶ Despite these apparent limitations, the epigraphic evidence can provide at least partial reconstruction of fora for which the archaeological evidence is lacking.

Ancient authors, conversely, provide little useful data on the appearance of African fora and the kinds of activities that took place within them. References are

²⁴ According to Arthur E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, p. 9, the ILS is the "largest and best selection of Latin inscriptions" as it contains about 9,500 texts.

²⁵ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, p. 449; Jean Peyras, *Le Tell nord-est tunisien dans l'antiquité*, p. 201.

²⁶ R. Bruce Hitchner, "A tale of two African surveys", *JRA* 10 1997, p. 567-571.

limited to Carthage and its public spaces and these are often very brief and leave room for much conjecture. The accounts are usually from later writers, including St. Cyprian, who provide little concrete evidence for the earliest appearance of the public spaces at Carthage.²⁷ Furthermore, many of those features that are mentioned by the ancient authors have yet to be located in the archaeological record. Besides Africa, however, there are more explicit references to fora and their uses and principal compositions. Several authors describe the monuments in and around the *Forum Romanum* at Rome such as temples and basilicas, and the types of activities that occurred there. Vitruvius, a first century BC military engineer and architect, provides a detailed account of a forum and its temple and basilica.²⁸ These accounts, although not specifically relating to the fora of Africa, offer details that may be considered reflective of fora and their uses in general.

The available resources on the fora of Africa consist mostly of dispersed archaeological reports and guides, spanning the last one hundred and twenty-five years, which can appear incomplete or out-dated. The scarcity of the literature, therefore, may make a study of the African fora appear to be a daunting task. However, four studies undertaken in the last ten years actually facilitate this thesis and are worth mentioning here. The first (David J. Mattingly and R. Bruce Hitchner, "Roman Africa: An archaeological review", *JRS* LXXXV 1995, p. 165-213) is an important introduction to Roman North African studies in general. Mattingly and Hitchner review studies that were undertaken between 1970 and 1995 and mention those that were still in progress when the article was published, in the fields of history, demography, the military,

²⁷ Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago" in *Afrique Occ.*, p. 547-572.

²⁸ Vitruve, *De l'architecture* V.I.

government, etc. of Roman North Africa, and, in particular, *Africa Proconsularis* and *Numidia*. Their article not only indicates what advances have been made in the field of Roman North African studies but also what areas require attention.

The second publication (Sadok Ben Baaziz, “Les forums romains en Tunisie. Essai de Bilan” in Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales, p. 221-236) provides an inventory of Tunisia’s known and presumed forum sites. Although regional in scope and mostly descriptive in nature, it offers a reasonable introduction to the study of the fora of Africa and familiarizes the reader with the state of the evidence, Tunisia’s geography, and the types of sites found in Tunisia.

P. -A. Février (“Urbanisation et urbanisme de l’Afrique romaine” ANRW Princ. 10.2, 1982, p. 321-396) attempts to reach some conclusions regarding town planning in Roman Africa based on archaeological data. In his section on public buildings, Février stresses the deficiencies of the resources, particularly the rarity of monuments that have been the object of a complete publication and study, and how this affects the study of African fora. According to the author, the study of the forum, its forms, and the organization of the monuments that surround it is not advanced enough to define a possible chronological evolution.²⁹

In a more recent study, however, Samia Ilhem Ammar (“Réflexions comparatives sur quelques programmes d’urbanisme en Tunisie antique: l’aménagement des fora (du I^{er} au III^e siècle de notre ère)”, Af rom X 1994, p. 445-42) analyzes the stages that “punctuated” the formation, development, and evolution of the forum in ancient Tunisia from an urban, monumental, and functional point of view. Intending perhaps to respond

²⁹ P.-A. Février, ANRW Princ. 10.2, p. 361.

to Sadok Ben Baaziz' highly descriptive inventory of Tunisian fora and P.-A. Février's views of the state of forum research in Africa, she tries to evoke "...dans une perspective diachronique, certains caractères urbanistiques et typologiques de l'histoire du forum en *Africa* sur la base d'exemples suffisamment connus et susceptibles de fournir des jalons représentatifs."³⁰ She divides her study into three periods: (1) The establishment of fora in the first century of the empire; (2) programs elaborated between the end of the first century AD and the end of the second century AD; and (3) the projects of the Severan period.

There are, however, some problems associated with her approach to a diachronic study of Tunisian fora, since the state of the evidence in Tunisia alone is very lacking and can complicate such a regional study. For instance, concrete archaeological and epigraphic evidence of a "specifically Roman character"³¹ for the establishment of fora of the first imperial period in Tunisia alone is very scanty. Evidence for urban activities before the first century AD is limited to a select number of sites. Ammar's study, therefore, displays some limitations that may be related to the nature of the evidence and the strict focus of her study.

A better understanding of the history of the forum in *Africa Proconsularis* can be obtained by looking at examples from other regions of North Africa. These can often supplement that which is lacking in another region. At *Lepcis Magna* in *Tripolitania* (fig. 3), for instance, the *Forum Vetus* can provide further information on developments of the early imperial period. Apart from the epigraphic evidence at Dougga, there is very little evidence for urban development in the Julio-Claudian period in Tunisia. The present

³⁰ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, p. 446.

³¹ J. B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 1.

study, therefore, will attempt to complement and expand upon Samia Ilhem Ammar's analysis of Tunisian fora by widening the scope to include examples from other regions of North Africa that comprised *Proconsularis*. It will be divided into four chapters.

The first chapter will provide a summary of the development of the forum in Italy. Such a summary is necessary, since many of the architectural ideas of forum construction and development that were set forth in the Republican fora in Italy found ready acceptance in the public centres of the provinces of the Western Empire, including Africa. The second chapter will analyze the trends in forum development during the first imperial period in Africa, from the conquest in 146 BC until the Flavian period. It will be subdivided into two periods. The first will cover urbanization in the pre-Roman period and architectural developments in the first one hundred years after the Roman conquest of Africa, while the second will involve an examination of evidence from the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period. Chapter three will analyze the known Flavian projects in Africa while a study of the Antonine projects will be incorporated in the fourth and final chapter. Since many trends of the forum's development in Africa may be related, at least indirectly, to the municipal developments from the periods in question, the chapters dealing with the African fora will begin with a brief analysis of these municipal developments.

Since the evidence is comparatively scanty for the establishment of fora for the first imperial period, from the Roman conquest of Carthaginian territory in 146 BC until the Flavian period, emphasis will be placed on a limited number of sites. These will comprise the "old" forum at Utica, Mactar's *Platea Vetus*, the public spaces of Carthage

under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, and the forum of Dougga in Tunisia, and the *Forum Vetus of Lepcis Magna* in Libya.³²

One prevailing trend in forum development during the Flavian period (AD 69-AD 96) was the rigorous monumental organization of public places, which often involved enclosing the open spaces by means of perimeter walls and centring them around major public buildings. Hence, there is an increased awareness of an inside and an outside to the fora.³³ Also, two fundamental types of fora emerge at this time. They are the religious forum which was conceived as a temple-dominated complex and the civil forum where a basilica rather than a temple is the predominant feature of the complex. The temple-dominated complexes at Sbeitla and Haïdra are examples of the former while Rougga's first century AD forum is an example of the latter.

Unlike the period from the conquest of Africa in 146 BC until the end of the Julio-Claudian period, urban programmes of the Antonine period are well represented in the archaeological and epigraphic record. This has led some scholars to believe that there was a "boom" in urban construction and monumental programmes in cities in the African provinces during this period. It is possible, therefore, to recreate the development of fora more clearly during this period and to deduce certain trends in forum construction and planning. Two obvious and somewhat divergent trends are apparent by this period. They comprise complexes that were not the results of unitary programmes but rather a series of

³²With the exception of Carthage, these sites were not the object of "extensive" or "true" colonization, involving the foundation of citizen colonies or colonies for veterans upon their discharge. Conversely, they originated from "unofficial" colonization in which casual immigrants were established in *pagi*, the subdivisions of Roman territories, or *conventus civium Romanorum*. Both *pagi* and *conventus* were usually juxtaposed with native communities and the eventual coalescence of these two units would form the basis of later *municipia* (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 9, 17; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 446; Jean-Marie Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, p. 77-103).

³³ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 460.

renovations and additions over an extensive period of time and complexes that were results of neatly structured plans.³⁴ In addition to the religious and civil type fora, dual complexes that incorporated a judicial basilica or a vast commercial quarter with an initial temple-dominated enclosure emerge by the end of the second century AD, as shown at *Bulla Regia*, *Dougga* and *Thuburbo Maius*.

By the beginning of the Severan period, many African towns had already been provided with indispensable buildings in the course of the preceding century. For this reason, the fora in *Africa Proconsularis* were often simply the objects of extensions or additions during the Severan period. Similar to the previous period, there was a tendency to attribute new functions to the civic and religious centres of towns. This is evident at *Mactar* and *Thuburbo Maius* where commercial sectors were added with direct links to the public places, a feature that is also seen in the second century AD at *Dougga*. Also during the third century AD, other branches of official life began to develop outside the forum, as shown in monumental complexes integrating sanctuaries, porticoed plazas, places of leisure, etc.³⁵ The building programmes of the Severan period, unlike those of the Republican, Julio-Claudian, Flavian, and Antonine periods in Africa, are well known and have been the subject of many exhaustive studies. This is most apparent with the Severan building projects at *Lepcis Magna* and especially the basilica forum complex (fig. 4) that was initiated by the emperor Septimius Severus (AD 193-AD 211) for his native town and completed by Caracalla (AD 212-AD 217) following his father's death.³⁶

Expansion of the town to the southwest may have decentralized the *Forum Vetus*, thus

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 451-58, 460.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

³⁶ That the basilica-forum complex was the work of Septimius Severus and Caracalla is attested by the terms of the inscription that occupied the frieze of the lower order along both sides of the basilica's nave.

necessitating the creation of a second forum.³⁷ The Severan forum was linked to a newly furnished harbour to the northeast by means of a colonnaded street.³⁸ The present study will concentrate on the development of the fora of *Africa Proconsularis* in the pre-Severan period, since there have been comparatively few studies of architectural programmes from this period.

Smaller inscriptions on the outer faces of the two end walls reproduced the nave's inscription (G.D.B. Jones and R. Kronenburg, "The Severan Buildings at Lepcis Magna", Libyan Studies 19 1988, p. 43).

³⁷ Djemila, the site of a military veterans' colony in eastern Algeria, also received a new civic centre (the "Severan Plaza") during the Severan period and following the expansion of the town towards the south in the second century AD (Paul-Albert Février, ANRW Princ. 10.2, p. 343; *ibid.*, Approches du Maghreb romain, p. 10; Hélène Jouffroy, La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine, p. 218; William L. MacDonald, "Connection and passage in North African architecture" in Rome and the Provinces. Studies in the Transformation of Art and Architecture in the Mediterranean World, pp. 29, 31; Gilbert-Charles Picard, La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine, pp. 32-33, 34).

³⁸ Due to the wealth of material evidence and the large scale and degree of monumental achievement, the Severan forum has been the focus of many exhaustive studies (Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, The Buried City: Excavations at Leptis Magna; D.E.L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Tripolitania; G.D.B. Jones and R. Kronenburg, "The Severan Buildings at Lepcis Magna", Libyan Studies 19, 1988, p. 43-53; E. Lennox Manton, Roman North Africa, p. 62-74; David J. Mattingly, Tripolitania, p. 120-22; Aubrey Menen, Cities in the Sand; J.B. Ward-Perkins, The Severan Buildings at Lepcis Magna).

CHAPTER 1

A SUMMARY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF REPUBLICAN FORA IN ITALY

In order that the succeeding chapters may be more fully understood, it is necessary to provide basic information on the principal functions and compositions of a typical Roman forum. A brief overview of the origin and development of Republican fora in Italy is an ideal introduction to this study since the earliest examples of fora emerge in Rome and its Italian colonies in the course of the Republican period. Many ideas and concepts of town planning and forum construction were founded in Italy during this period which were later applied in a variety of ways by the architects who were responsible for the urbanization of the towns of the provinces, including *Africa Proconsularis*.

There are some general principles that are followed in the plans of many African fora, including the emphasis on a strong axial line, the use of a colonnaded enclosure, and the incorporation of a high podium temple as the dominant and unifying feature of a forum complex. These features may indeed reflect the Italian tradition as a basis for the

plans of African fora. In addition to the podium temple that dominates the primary axis of many forum complexes in the provinces, the basilica, the monumental arch, the rostra, and the curia may also be the products of the Italian architectural repertoire.¹ Such a summary will also provide a reasonable introduction to some of the architectural terms and concepts that will be referred to throughout this study.

The *Forum Romanum* at Rome provides a starting point for the study of the origin and development of Republican fora since it is one of the earliest known public spaces in Italy. Furthermore, the architectural developments and innovations that occurred in the *Forum Romanum* in the course of the Republican period provided models for the fora of the later Italian colonies, including Pompeii, a town in the Campanian region of Italy.²

In its initial phase, the site of the later Republican forum at Rome was a marshy area prone to flooding from the *Cloaca* stream. For this reason, the earliest market, where farmers and herdsmen could sell their goods, would have been of simple nature, located on higher ground, possibly along the shoulder of the *Clivus Capitolinus* (the Capitoline hill). Before 575 BC, use within the zone of the later *Forum Romanum* was limited to burials.³ According to Livy, under the Tarquins, Etruscan kings of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, the construction of a Great Sewer (*cloaca maxima*)⁴ tempered the flooding of the forum area and permitted some monumental organization to occur in the region of the forum. Archaeological evidence reveals that 575 BC marks the end of the

¹ James Russell *Phoenix* XXII 1968, pp. 323-26, 331-36; Malcolm Todd, "Forum and Capitolium in the Early Empire", p. 58, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 6-10; *ibid.*, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 372.

² Ray Laurence, *Roman Pompeii. Space and Society*, p. 20-23.

³ That the area of the *Forum Romanum* was used as a necropolis prior to the draining of the *Cloaca* is attested by the discovery of cremation graves on the edge of the forum (Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, p. 63).

⁴ *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita*, I.38.6; I.56.2.

necropolis and the creation of a civic centre.⁵ The moderation of the flooding, in turn, would exert an influence on the growth of the forum for succeeding generations.

In the early years of the Republic, monumental building in the forum zone began with the construction of *tabernae* (shops), stalls, and temples. By the end of the fourth century BC the forum had achieved a multi-purpose role as the commercial, ceremonial, and political centre of the Republican city (fig. 5). The political aspect of the forum at this time is reflected in the *Comitium*, an inaugurated temple reserved for public assemblies, elections, and legislation, and the *Curia* (the Senate House), both of which bordered the northeast side of the forum. The ceremonial side of the forum is emphasized both by the triumphal processions that proceeded along the *Via Sacra*, through the forum, and up to the *Clivus Capitolinus*, and by the funerals of prominent citizens that could be accommodated in the forum's open square.

From the third century BC until the Augustan age, gladiatorial games are mentioned by ancient authors to have been held in the *Forum Romanum* at Rome. Its large expanse may have accommodated a temporary wooden structure that could hold the spectators of these shows.⁶ Caesar was known to have covered the forum with awnings in order to protect the spectators from the elements during gladiatorial shows.⁷ Augustus gave numerous *venationes bestiarum* (beast-hunts) not only in temporary circuses and amphitheatres, but also in the forum.⁸ The temporary wooden oval structures which were erected in the *Forum Romanum* during the Republican period would later serve as

⁵ Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, p. 71-74.

⁶ On the custom of presenting gladiatorial performances in the forum, see Vitruve, *De l'architecture* V.I.1 and Suétone, *Vie de Tibère* VII.II. in *Vie des douze césars*. For further literary references, see Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 124-126.

⁷ *C. Pliny Secundi Naturalis Historiae* 19. 23.

⁸ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 22.

architectural models for the early oval amphitheatres in the towns of Italy, including Pompeii.⁹

By the end of the third century BC, the region of the *Forum Romanum* was designated as the “true” urban centre of the Republican city. This last point is emphasized by the various roads and streets that converged on it, leading traffic to and from the forum. There was little in the way of monumental planning, however, within this zone prior to the second century BC. At this time, the orientation of buildings in and around the forum varied considerably. The course of the *Cloaca* divided the forum and there was little connection between the two halves. The open space of the *Forum Romanum* was trapezoidal and the buildings fronting it conformed to its layout or to the available plots. Hence, there was little architectural unity for the *Forum Romanum* as a whole in the period before the second century BC. This irregular appearance of the *Forum Romanum* was maintained even during successive pavings of the square, as buildings were often simply raised or remodeled.¹⁰

The second century BC in Italy is characterized by a rapid increase in building activity that arose from the need for cities to rebuild in the years following the Second Punic War (218 BC-201 BC). Such activity was facilitated by the increased wealth that Rome acquired following the war with Hannibal and the Carthaginians and, particularly, from her growing military involvement in Greece and Asia Minor at this time. Following military campaigns against Illyria in the second half of the third century BC and against

⁹ Unfortunately, the ancient sources do not provide detailed accounts on how these structures were set up or on their shapes. For this reason, various interpretations and theories on the nature of these temporary structures have arisen over the years. For a recent interpretation, see Katherine Welch, “The Roman arena in late-Republican Italy: a new interpretation”, *JRA* 7 1994, p. 59-80. See also Michael Grant, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 15-16, 18, and L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, p. 172-73.

¹⁰ L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, pp. 170, 172-73.

Philip V in 201 BC, Rome became involved in the Greek East on a massive scale. These strong contacts allowed the transmission of cultural ideas to take place between the East and Italy and this, in turn, permitted many innovations to arise in the architecture of Italy during the course of the second century BC.¹¹ In the case of the Republican forum, there were several important architectural developments, including the use of colonnaded porticoes linking the facades of surrounding buildings to provide some coherence to the complexes. The latter feature is thought to have originated from the Greek architectural tradition and particularly the porticoed *temenoi* of Hellenistic temples and sanctuaries.¹² The colonnaded enclosure was incorporated in the fora at *Minturnae* and *Pompeii* during the second and first centuries BC.¹³

Two types of civic plans can be distinguished by the second century BC in Italy. The newly founded colonies of Italy applied the concepts of Roman town planning which was based on the grid plan and the crossing of two major streets, the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo*. The rectangular plan of these colonies contrasted sharply with the irregular, trapezoidal appearance of the earlier foundations of Rome and *Pompeii*. The sites chosen for colonies were rarely impeded by earlier buildings, religious conservatism, or the *mores maiorum*, traditional sacrosanctity.

At Rome, conversely, building and renovations in the *Forum Romanum* were impeded by the sacrosanctity of the site as late as the first century AD. This contributed

¹¹ Michael Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, p. 31-57; James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII, 1968, p. 317-320; Malcolm Todd, p. 58, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*.

¹² See figures 9 (Magnesia), 10 (Priene), and 11 (Megalopolis) in James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII, 1968, p. 313.

¹³ Jotham Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae. Volume I. Monuments of the Republican Forum*, p. 1-76; James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII, 1968, p. 317-320; Malcolm Todd, pp. 58, 60, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*.

to the irregular and trapezoidal appearance of the quarter (fig. 5) that was maintained with some alterations throughout antiquity.¹⁴ The fora of newly founded colonies, conversely, were rarely impeded by the sacredness of the sites. They were normally placed at the intersection of the two main streets of the grid plan at the heart or “nucleus” of a site, as at *Paestum* (fig. 6) and *Alba Fucens* (fig. 7), unless prevented by a site’s geography, as at *Cosa* (fig. 8).¹⁵ A forum’s position at the heart of a site varied from town to town. *Minturnae* (fig. 9), for example, possessed a forum with a distinct layout as it actually opened onto the *Decumanus Maximus*. The fora of newly founded colonies also differed from the earlier examples, such as Rome’s *Forum Romanum*, in that there was a more formal arrangement of the surrounding buildings. These often included a *comitium* or meeting place of a colony’s citizen body, offices, a *tabularium* (records’ office), a *curia*, magisterial apartments, and religious shrines.¹⁶

A new building type, the basilica, was introduced to the architecture of Italy during the second century BC. This, in turn, revolutionized the ways in which fora were organized in Italian cities in succeeding generations as it provided a means of formalizing and unifying their public spaces. Similar to the Greek stoa, this building served as shelter

¹⁴ When the emperor Vespasian (AD 69-AD 79) directed the restoration of the Capitol and the removal of its ruins, the gods were unwilling to have the old plan changed: *Curam restituendi Capitolii in Lucium Vestinum confert...nolle deos mutari veterem formam* (*Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Libri*, IV.53). See also James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII, 1968 p. 331.

¹⁵ Cosa was founded in 273 BC as a military colony on the coast of central Etruria. Those who were responsible for laying out the orthogonal plan of the colony were forced to adapt it to the irregular contours of the site’s hill. Although the engineers showed experience and skill by adapting a plan of this sort to the irregularities of the site, it is apparent that level terrain provided the ideal setting for such a plan (Francis Grew and Brian Hobley, “Introduction: the study of classical urban topography”, p. x, in Francis Grew and Brian Hobley (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*; D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, p. 191; James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII 1968, p. 304-317; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 5).

¹⁶ Michael Grant, *The Roman Forum*, p. 15-118; Francis Grew and Brian Hobley, “Introduction: the study of Classical urban topography”, p. x, in Francis Grew and Brian Hobley (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*; D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, p. 191; James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII 1968, p. 304-317; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 5.

or protection from the elements and as a place to transact business for the people who frequented the forum. It eventually acquired the characteristics of a law-court with a tribunal at one end of the structure. Unlike the Greek stoa, though, which opened onto the noise of the street through a portico of columns, the standard plan of a Roman basilica involved a covered hall consisting of a central space, or nave, that was surrounded by columns and aisles.¹⁷

The earliest known basilicas were built in the *Forum Romanum* (fig. 5) at Rome in the first half of the second century BC. These were likely added around the forum zone as attempts to formalize the otherwise irregular layout of the quarter. They included the Basilica Porcia (184 BC)¹⁸ at the northwestern corner of the site, the Basilica Aemilia (179 BC)¹⁹ and the Basilica Sempronia (170 BC).²⁰ The last two flanked the long sides of the square and almost completely enclosed it in conjunction with other buildings. The basilica would also play a major role in the plans of lesser Italian cities. Even before the

¹⁷ Both the name and the form of the basilica have been associated with the Greek stoa. It is possible that the word *basilica* once qualified a noun, borrowed from an architectural context, perhaps *στοά*. According to J.J. Coulton, “there is no *type* of building (from the Hellenistic period) which can be regarded as a forerunner of the basilica. From both the written and the archaeological evidence, therefore, it appears that the first Roman basilica was inspired by a single, and perhaps unique, building, which was called Stoa Basilike. Since the earliest basilicas at Rome were no different in function from most ordinary stoas, the special word *basilica* was presumably adopted because of a similarity not of function, but of form between this particular Greek building and the first Roman basilica” (J.J. Coulton, The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa, p. 181). The Hypostyle Hall at Delos (210 BC), with its many features which are common with the earliest known basilicas, is often characterized as the Greek parallel to the Roman basilica. However, some scholars, including Coulton, often turn towards the eastern Mediterranean for a Greek prototype of the Roman basilica, as “the mixed culture was a natural background to architectural experimentation.” Rome’s likely source for this building type, the Stoa Basilike, was probably South Italy and Sicily. Following the initial borrowing, the main development of the basilica was in Rome and the western Empire (ibid., p. 182).

¹⁸ Livy, 39.44.7; Plutarch, Cato the Younger, 5.1. See also Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, p. 174-79, L. Richardson, A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, p. 54-56, and Eva Marguerita Steinby, Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, Volume Primo, A-C, Edizione Quasar, 1993, p. 187.

¹⁹ Michael Grant, The Roman Forum, p. 136-144; Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, p. 174-79; E.M. Steinby, Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, p. 167-68

²⁰ Julius Caesar replaced the Basilica Sempronia with the Basilica Julia, whose construction began circa 54 BC. It was then dedicated unfinished eight years later (Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome,

settlement of a colony of Sullan veterans in the first quarter of the first century BC, a basilica was added in the vicinity of Pompeii's forum (fig. 10 a) alongside other buildings of the pre-colonial town.²¹

The general trend during the second century BC was the emergence of public buildings, namely temples and basilicas, as the dominant features of forum complexes. A temple with a high podium was often placed along the central axis of a complex, thus emphasizing its symmetry and the temple as the focus of the whole. In many cases, a Capitulum was chosen by the architects of towns to occupy such a position and became a familiar feature in the plans of cities in Italy, and later, North Africa.²² At Pompeii, for instance, a Capitulum replaced an earlier Temple of Jupiter as the predominant element of the forum. A Capitulum encompassed both religious and political aspects, as it associated Juno and Minerva with Jupiter, the supreme Roman god, and became the symbol of both Roman power and of a true Roman city.²³

The plan of a typical Capitulum was modeled on the Capitoline Temple at Rome, also called Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. According to Livy, this temple was founded on the Capitoline hill (*in Capitolio*) in Rome under Tarquin the Proud, the last Etruscan king of Rome, in the late sixth century.²⁴ The site of the original temple has

p. 174-79; L. Richardson, A New Topographic Dictionary of Ancient Rome, p. 54-56; E.M. Steinby, Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, p. 177-79 (Julia), 187-88 (Sempronia).

²¹ Ray Laurence, Roman Pompeii. Space and Society, p. 20-23; James Russell, Phoenix XXII 1968, p. 317-320.

²² According to Ian M. Barton, "Capitoline temples in Italy and the provinces (especially Africa)", ANRW II, Princ. 12.1, p. 259, the African provinces are considered a region of the Roman Empire "richest in evidence for the existence" of Capitolia.

²³ James Russell, Phoenix XXII 1968, p. 317-320; Malcolm Todd, p. 56-65, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire; Eva Marguerita Steinby, Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, p. 226-231.

²⁴ Livy, 2.8.6; 40.51.3. Livy also specifies the temple's location on the Capitoline as *in monte Tarpeio* (1.55.5). The Tarpeian rock has been identified as a cliff overhanging the *Forum Romanum* near the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Thus, Rome's Capitulum must have occupied a dominant position in the city, overlooking the forum.

been associated with a massive podium, built of blocks of *cappelaccio*, the oldest of Rome's building stones, that was uncovered on the Capitoline hill. Traces of the settings for the columns suggest that they supported wooden beams rather than architraves of stone. Fragments of terracotta revetments may also indicate that the temple was decorated in the style of a typical Etruscan temple.²⁵ The plan of a typical Capitolium consisted of three *cellae*, dedicated to the three deities of the Triad, which were approached by a deep and elaborate columnar porch or *pronaos*. There was also emphasis on frontality and such temples usually occupied a commanding position overlooking the open space of the forum, as at Pompeii.²⁶ Without sculptural or epigraphic evidence, however, the identification of a structure as a Capitolium is often conjectural and based simply on its location and peculiar features. According to Ian M. Barton, a monument must follow certain criteria to be identified as a true Capitolium. These include a dedication to the Capitoline Triad of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, and Minerva, the presence of cult statues of these three divinities, architectural features that can be related to the Roman "model" of the temple, such as a high podium approached by stairs and a *pronaos* with columns, a *cella* or *cellae* capable of holding three cult statues, and a dominant position on the site.²⁷ Since it is rare to find a monument fulfilling all conditions, such criteria appear too rigid to fulfill. The presence

²⁵ Paul MacKendrick, The Mute Stones Speak, p. 82-83.

²⁶ Malcolm Todd, p. 56-59, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire. Vitruvius (De l'architecture, I.7.1), a first century BC military engineer and architect, states that a Capitolium should occupy the most prominent site in a city, *in excelsissimo loco*, most likely in imitation of the Capitoline Temple in Rome. See also Philippe Fleury, "Introduction" p. ix-cxv in Vitruve. De l'architecture. Livre I.

²⁷ Ian M. Barton, ANRW II Princ. 12.1, p. 260-61. See also James Russell, Phoenix XXII 1968, pp. 320, 328; Malcolm Todd, p. 57-58, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire.

of a dedicatory inscription alone should provide adequate indication for a structure's identification.

By the late Republic, the trend in forum construction was to emphasize the monumental and cohesive unity of the various structures of public centres which, at this time, included temples, basilicas, curias and other political structures, and *tabernae*. As already mentioned, such a unity was most commonly achieved by introducing a strong central focus which, in turn, unified a complex around a central axis and emphasized its symmetry. In most cases, the unifying factor was an Italic temple with a high podium that was placed at a short end of the open space. Colonnades also contributed to the unity of the complex as they linked the facades of the surrounding buildings. This scheme was adopted at Pompeii when its forum (fig. 10 b) was remodeled following the foundation of the colony of Sullan veterans in the first quarter of the first century BC. The colonists made several additions to the pre-existing public space. These additions included a portico at the southern end behind which were three public buildings²⁸, a temple of Jupiter that was established as the dominant focus of the remodeled complex, and a *comitium* at the southeastern corner. According to its dedication, the temple of Jupiter at the north end of the forum was recognized as the Capitolium of the *colonia* of Pompeii in AD 37. It is generally agreed that the earlier temple of Jupiter was remodelled by the Sullan colonists to serve the cult of the Capitoline Triad.²⁹ By the end of the first century BC, the entire complex was unified by a single colonnade and comprised an array of public buildings, including a market, a Temple of the Lares and a Temple of the Genius

²⁸ The nature of these buildings has still not been determined. A recent theory identifies them as a treasury, a prison, and a curia (Ray Laurence, *Roman Pompeii*, p. 20-23).

²⁹ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 261.

of Augustus³⁰, a *eumachia*³¹, governmental offices, a basilica, a Temple of Apollo, and a Temple of Jupiter (fig. 10 b).

A basilica rather than a temple served as the dominant monument of the forum at *Alba Fucens* (fig. 7). The three entrances of its basilica were arranged symmetrically to face the forum and the temple at the opposite end of the open square. Another variation that attests to the flexibility of the Republican forum occurs at *Paestum* (fig. 6), where emphasis was placed on the short axis of the complex rather than the long axis.³²

Based on these examples, it is apparent that by the first century BC, there was a general trend in forum construction towards careful planning and balanced compositions.³³ Vitruvius stresses the balance and symmetry of a forum in his description of the basilica-forum complex at the Augustan colony of *Fanum* in northeast Italy. In his account, there is a sense of balance created between the façade of the temple and the central doorway of the basilica that he planned for the colony.³⁴

There was also by the first century BC an increased awareness of an interior and an exterior of the forum, as it became an enclosure, separated from the surrounding streets, with its own internal proportions and unity. The simplest method of expressing the distinct nature of a forum is through an arch, as shown at *Cosa* (fig. 8), where a

³⁰ The Temple of the Genius of Augustus, located to the north of the *eumachia*, was constructed by Mamia, a public priestess (CIL X. 814). It is contemporary to the *porticus* of *eumachia* and the Temple of the Lares and dates to the early imperial period. Although the surviving ruins date to the later building that was devoted to the Genius of Vespasian, it was originally dedicated to Augustus. The imperial cult was attended by special priests, the *Augustales*. A Vespasianic date was first given to the temple because of the discovery of a centrally-placed altar that was faced with reliefs, one of which depicted a sacrificial scene with the emperor Vespasian (R.C. Carrington, Pompeii, pp. 127, 160; Michael Grant, Cities of Vesuvius: Pompeii and Herculaneum, p. 96; Ray Laurence, Roman Pompeii, pp. 28, 29, 30).

³¹ The *eumachia* building was a *porticus* used for a number of utilitarian purposes (Ray Laurence, Roman Pompeii, pp. 28, 29, 30).

³² Ray Laurence, Roman Pompeii, pp. 20-25, 27; James Russell, Phoenix XXII 1968, p. 332-34;

³³ James Russell, Phoenix XXII 1968, p. 326-331; Malcolm Todd, p. 58-60, in Francis Grew and Brian Holey, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire.

³⁴ Vitruve, De l'architecture V.1. See also James Russell, Phoenix XXII 1968, p. 332-34.

monumental entrance was constructed at the northwest end of its forum.³⁵ The arch became an essential component in several fora of *Africa Proconsularis*, including the Trajanic forum at Mactar (the *Forum Novum*) and the three-temple complex at Sbeitla.

It is generally agreed that the architectural tradition of the Republic, particularly as it relates to the forum, had a significant role and influence in the architecture of the provinces.³⁶ Such a view applies to the known plans of fora in *Africa Proconsularis* to a certain extent, in that we see basic "Italic" architectural concepts, including the uses of enclosing and unifying porticoes of columns, dominant podium temples, and basilicas being employed in several African examples. The flexible nature of the Republican "model" of the forum is reflected in the cities of Roman North Africa, where one sees a wide range of interesting variations being applied in the design and scale of the known examples.

Simply attributing a Republican basis for forum plans in the provinces, however, does not recognize the contribution of elements lying outside the "Roman" or "Italic" model of the forum to the adjustment of fora in the provinces. In *Africa Proconsularis*, local indigenous elements, both Libyan and Punic, clearly played an important and frequently overlooked role in determining the layout of fora. Local and traditional religious practices and building techniques, for example, could determine the type and form of particular structures in and around a forum. This is apparent in the religious architecture of the first imperial period where one sees a "hybrid" of building techniques being employed in first century BC temples at *Lepcis Magna* and *Utica*. This type of

³⁵ James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII 1968, p. 326-28

³⁶ James Russell, in his study of the origin and development of Republican fora, suggests that the architectural tradition of the Republic played a key role "in the successful expression of Empire as it appears in provincial forums" (p. 336). J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 371,

architecture is often labeled "Romano-African". Even in the second century AD and the early third century AD, one sees the establishment of temples with distinct plans in the vicinity of several forum complexes in Africa. A temple of Mercury is found near the fora at Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius* respectively, the former dating to the emperor Commodus (AD 178-AD 193), the latter to the Severan period.³⁷ The peculiar plans of the temples, namely their isolation from surrounding elements, the lack of a podium and monumental staircase, and the incorporation of several *cellae* into a single structure, may be related to the Punic tradition of religious architecture. The forum of Gigthis also has several sanctuaries in its vicinity whose plans reflect diverse influences and may be associated with a local architectural tradition. The plans of temples of the indigenous tradition often comprised a porticoed and open-air court (*area*) at the back of which are usually arranged several *cellae* and niches for statues despite the fact that these temples were dedicated to one divinity.³⁸ These temples and their respective forum complexes will be discussed in more detail in the succeeding chapters.

expresses an even stronger view: "The architecture here (Roman Africa) remained to the end largely derivative."

³⁷ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, pp. 449, 453-54; Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 235; Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II, Princ. 12.1, p. 270-72; Paul-Albert Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, p. 9-24; E. Lennox Manton, *Roman North Africa*, p. 114; Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius*, p. 6-25; Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 25-26; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 373.

³⁸ L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 26, 58; Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 25-26.

CHAPTER 2
EVIDENCE OF CIVIC BUILDING PROJECTS IN THE TWO
CENTURIES AFTER THE CONQUEST

Introduction

Evidence for a “true” establishment of Roman monuments in Africa from the first imperial period (from the conquest of Carthage and its territories in 146 BC until the last quarter of the first century AD) is rather scanty. This may be due in part to the obliteration of the earliest identifiable remains by later building projects and embellishments or renovations in and around the civic centres of African towns. Many African fora witnessed such additions throughout antiquity which may have skewed the evidence for their earliest appearance. For this reason, there is some difficulty in establishing a typology of fora in the first imperial period, especially in the one hundred years following Carthage’s ultimate defeat at the end of the Third Punic War. By the Julio-Claudian period, conversely, the epigraphic and archaeological evidence relating to the fora of four sites in Africa (Carthage, Dougga, Mactar, and *Lepcis Magna*) is comparatively more adequate in that some trends in development can be established. In this chapter, trends in forum construction from the first imperial period will be discussed. This will be undertaken within a two-period chronological framework. The periods will be: a) from the conquest of Africa in 146 BC until the death of Caesar in 44 BC and b) the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period (27 BC-AD 68/9).

A. Public Building in the First one Hundred Years after the Conquest

Archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the monumental organization of public spaces in Africa from the Roman conquest in 146 BC until the period of Augustus is very slight. As was mentioned above, this may be due, in part, to the obliteration of identifiable remains from this period by later building projects. Therefore, the present study will rely on the evidence from a limited number of sites. What little evidence is available suggests that the extent of Italian influence on the architecture of the Republican province of Africa¹ was somewhat limited or conservative in the earliest Roman phase. This is reflected in the temple architecture from this period which represents a hybrid of building styles and methods from both the native and Italic traditions (Romano-African architecture). This trend seems to correspond to the nature of the earliest Roman settlements in Africa which were somewhat limited at least until the time of Caesar.

Before Caesar's victory over the Pompeians at the Battle of *Thapsus* and the subsequent creation of the province of *Africa Nova* in 46 BC, there was not a profound Roman colonization in Africa. Conversely, settlement in the provinces during the Republican period could be labeled as unofficial colonization. In the one hundred years after the annexation of Carthaginian territory in 146 BC, the first deduction of colonists in *Africa Vetus* was "dans le plus grand désordre."² This "disorder" is reflected in the failed foundation of the *Colonia Junonia Karthago* under C. Gracchus in 123 BC. Before the foundation of the *Colonia Julia Karthago*, which has been attributed to both Caesar and

¹ The Republican province of Africa (*Africa Vetus*) was established in old Carthaginian territory in north and central Tunisia to the northeast of the demarcation line, the *Fossa Regia*, that was set up by Scipio Africanus following the defeat of Hannibal in 202 BC.

² M. Claude Poinssot, "*Immunitas Perticae Carthaginiensium*" *CRAI* 1962, p. 66.

Octavian, the provinces were rarely the object of extensive or true colonization, involving the foundation of citizen colonies or colonies for veterans upon their discharge.³ The latter form of colonization was applied more extensively under Caesar and Augustus and during the first century AD and the early second century AD. During the Republican period, the incorporation of casual immigrants in *conventus civium Romanorum* was common in provinces where Roman citizenship was rare. *Conventus*, associations of Italian residents, existed in Africa, Gaul, and Sicily and consisted of non-enfranchised Italians as well as citizens proper.

Conventus, although often juxtaposed with native communities (*civitates*), were legally and administratively independent of the communities where they were formed. They were usually founded at important and strategic coastal sites, including Utica (fig. 1) in northeastern Tunisia, the capital of the Republican province of Africa and the seat of its governor before the annexation of *Africa Nova* and the rejuvenation of Carthage under Caesar and Augustus. Utica's important position as a provincial capital with a flourishing port would have attracted Italian *negotiatores* (businessmen), bankers, and administrative personnel at a relatively early date.⁴

Italian *negotiatores* and traders, however, were not confined only to the coastal sites of Africa. Archaeological and literary evidence indicates that a number of Italian businessmen had established residence and trading posts within Numidian territory to the west of the *Fossa Regia*⁵ during the course of the third, second and first centuries BC. This is particularly true for the region of *Vaga* (modern Béja) (fig. 1) and its neighbouring wheat producing villages. The agricultural wealth of *Belalis Maior* (modern Henchir el-

³ An exception to this may be seen with the granting of lands to the west of the *Fossa Regia* to the veterans of G. Marius after the war with Jugurtha (103 BC) (M. Claude Poinssot, *CRAI* 1962, p. 66-67). There is, however, very little archaeological evidence for the activities of the Marian veterans in Africa.

⁴ Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 20, 120-22; Hélène Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine*, p. 176; Jean-Marie Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, p. 77-103; Gilbert-Charles Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine*, p. 25-29.

⁵ The *Fossa Regia* extended from Thabraca on the north coast of Tunisia southeast to the Gulf of Gabes (*Tacape*). This limited the territory of Carthage. Beyond this line lay the Numidian kingdom, which included much of the region that later became known as *Tripolitania*. Before Julius Caesar's annexation of

Faouar) and the other small market centres in the vicinity of *Vaga* and the prospects of trade with the Numidian kingdom would have attracted Italian *negotiatores*.⁶ Sallust (*Bellum Iugurthicum*, XLVII, 10) depicts *Vaga* as a very prosperous market town (*oppidum...forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum*) of the Numidian kingdom where many Italians lived and worked. Exchanges in this region are attested by Numidian coinage from the second century BC and the first half of the first century BC. An Italian presence at *Vaga* and its surrounding “bourgs” (villages) is further emphasized by the large number of third to first century BC Italian and Sicilian ceramics that the region has yielded so far.⁷

Until the period of colonization under Caesar, which was marked by numerous colonies in Africa⁸, Roman settlement in Africa was not extensive and rather dispersed. The *conventus* and the trading posts of *negotiatores* were established in native communities both in coastal regions and at some sites in the African interior. Ancient literary evidence, diverse and vague though it may be, and archaeological studies suggest that the origins of most of the towns and cities of the Roman provinces of Africa, and especially those of *Proconsularis*, were the heritage of the pre-Roman period.⁹ This statement is especially true for several areas of the Carthaginian hinterland and the Numidian territories where one sees many communities, native by origin (*civitates*), being promoted to superior civic statuses, such as *municipia* and *coloniae*, in the Roman imperial period.

Numidia in 46 BC, it marked the boundary of the Republican province of *Africa* (Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, pp. 44, 50, 54).

⁶An Augustan stele to Saturn discovered in the region of Béja bears the name of its dedicant, C. Iulius Saturninus, whose cognomen can be related to the Sarno valley at the foot of Mt. Vesuvius in southern Campania. The names Sarnus, Sarnianus, and Sarniosus are also common in the villages of the Cirtan confederation (Ammar Mahjoubi, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar*, p. 91).

⁷Ginette Di Vita-Evrard, “La *Fossa Regia* et les diocèses d’Afrique proconsulaire”, *Af rom* III 1986, p. 40; Ammar Mahjoubi, “La cité des *Belalitani Maiores*. Exemples de permanence et de transformation de l’urbanisme antique”, *Af rom* I, p. 63-64; *ibid.*, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el Faouar*, pp. 73-74, 89-90.

⁸The Caesarian colonies provided possible alleviation to the serious population problems in Rome, which were largely caused by dispossessed Italian peasants (Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 54).

⁹M’hammed Fantar, “La cité punique en Afrique du Nord”, *Af rom* X 1992, p. 105; Ammar Mahjoubi, “L’urbanisme de l’Afrique antique à l’époque préromaine”, *Af rom* II, 1984, p. 202. Sadok Ben Baaziz

Both the literary and archaeological evidence also attests to a significant and long established urban tradition and substantial monumental activity in many towns that were subject to the Carthaginians prior to the creation of the Republican province of *Africa* in 146 BC.¹⁰ A mix of Punic, Numidian and Greek traditions¹¹ and influences contributed to a long established African urban culture and may even have played a more significant role than once thought in the "readjustments" or "cadastrations" of some towns by the Romans during the imperial period. Archaeological studies in the region between the zone of Carthage's Punic ports and the promontory of the Bordj Djedid, for example, have shown that the axes of construction from the Roman imperial period practically coincide with those of the underlying Punic buildings.¹²

Until recently, it was believed that concepts of orthogonal town planning were exploited in Africa only during the Roman imperial period.¹³ Archaeological

shares this view: "En effet, la plupart des villes étaient d'origine préromaine, comme le montre la toponymie en général et ce que confirment toutes les recherches récentes." (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 236)

¹⁰Polybius (*Polybii Historiae*, XIV, 9.1-8) and Livy (XXX, 9.2) refer to cities that were subject to the Carthaginians at the time of the war with Hannibal. Strabo (*Géographie*, 17) relates that at the beginning of the last Punic War, Carthage's dominion included three hundred cities in Libya and seven hundred thousand people in the city of Carthage alone. The accounts of the ancient authors, however, may have been influenced or distorted by the appearance of these cities in their own day. See also Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 236; M'hammed Fantar, "La cité punique en Afrique du Nord", *Af rom* X, 1992, p. 105-120; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, p. 449-450; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom* II 1984, p. 202; David J. Mattingly and R. Bruce Hitchner, *JRS* LXXXV, p. 184-85; Gilbert-Charles Picard, *La civilisation de l' Afrique romaine*, p. 172.

¹¹ At a relatively early date in pre-Roman North Africa, the Greek tradition became deeply rooted in the artistic and architectural repertoire of town and cities. Sites in Morocco and Algeria, for example, have yielded Greek ceramics dating from as early as the eighth century BC (Ammar Mahjoubi, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar*, p. 73-74). Many influences, including Ionic capitals, were implanted in Punic North Africa by means of Carthage's close contacts with the Greek colonies of Sicily and *Magna Graecia* in southern Italy during the period of the Republic and the Punic Wars (Jean Boube, "Documents d'architecture maurétanienne au Maroc", *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine* Tome VII 1967, pp. 264-65, 318-320; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 14-15). The second century BC monumental architecture of the Numidian kings provides further testimony to the implantation of Hellenistic ideas in North Africa. The Numidian kings tried to equate themselves with Hellenistic monarchs by building monumental tombs or mausolea in the Hellenistic baroque style. These were often placed in dominant positions of conquered territories, as at Chemtou in north central Tunisia and Dougga. Various Hellenistic architectural and artistic elements were adopted and juxtaposed with indigenous elements during the construction of such monuments, thus reflecting an amalgamation or fusion of two traditions, the Numidian and Hellenistic (P. -A. Février, *ANRW* II Princ. 10.2, p. 335; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom* II, p. 208-211; F. Rakob, "Architecture royale numide" in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romain*, p. 325-338).

¹²M'hammed Fantar, *Af rom* X, p. 105-120; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom* II 1984, p. 203-204; Gilbert-Charles Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine*, p. 159; Friedrich Rakob, "L'habitat ancien et le système urbanistique" in Abdelmajid Ennabli, *Pour sauver Carthage*, p. 31-36.

¹³ Orthogonal town planning was applied in the Augustan readjustments of the Byrsa hill at Carthage and in the various phases of expansion to the south and west of the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna*. The first and second century military settlements in Africa, such as Sbeitla in south-central Tunisia and Timgad in

investigations at Carthage, however, have provided insights into town planning during the Punic period in Tunisia. Studies in the coastal plain and the south slope of the Byrsa Hill at Carthage show that town planning involving a master plan and an orthogonal “cadastration” was applied since the fifth century BC. This date coincides roughly with the period of “maturity” for orthogonal town planning in the Mediterranean. Excavations in the coastal zone have also shed light on town planning in the last phase of prosperity at Carthage, from the third century BC until the conquest in 146 BC. They have partly confirmed the accounts of Appian and other ancient writers who described the wealth of the town in the fifty years or so between the Battle of *Zama* (202 BC) and the ultimate defeat of Carthage in 146 BC. The urban organization that was applied in Carthage’s coastal plain involved an orthogonal plan. This system would later play a decisive role in the adjustment of the capital of the Roman province of Africa under Augustus and his successors, as shown in the works in the region between the Byrsa and the coast. The orientations of buildings of the Punic period were actually reproduced and superimposed by the “new” urban scheme of the Augustan era.¹⁴ This is evident with the alignment of the *Cardo XVIII* in front of the sea that reproduced the trace of the maritime wall of the Punic city and the axis of the *Decumanus Maximus*, the principal road from the coast to the Byrsa hill, which reused the orientation of Punic constructions. Thus, it is likely that there was a pre-Roman precedent for town planning at native sites of Africa, such as Carthage. Further Punic contributions to the foundation of the new Roman town can be seen in the new buildings that reused ancient material, including Punic walls and cisterns.¹⁵ The Punic quarter on the south slope of the Byrsa consisted of several *insulae*

the high plains of Algeria, also applied rigid principles of Roman town planning (Noël Duval, “L’urbanisme de Sufetula=Sbeitla en Tunisie”, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 596-632; David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 118-122).

¹⁴ “La nouvelle fondation de la capitale de la province à l’époque d’Auguste avait été précédée d’excavations attentives et d’un examen des ruines existantes dont l’orientation punique dans la plaine côtière fut reprise sans modification par le plan romain qui, par ailleurs, superposa ce même schéma à l’organisation punique plus souple des flancs de collines” (Friedrich Rakob, *CEA XIX*, p. 9).

¹⁵ Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom II* 1984, p. 203-207; Friedrich Rakob in *Pour sauver Carthage*, p. 33-36.

separated by streets.¹⁶ Unfortunately, besides Carthage and Tunisia, our knowledge of town planning during the pre-Roman period is limited to a few rare surveys at various other sites in North Africa¹⁷, including *Lepcis Magna* (fig. 4).¹⁸

Literary references to Carthage suggest that the city was well furnished in the last Punic period, on the eve of its destruction at the hands of Scipio Aemilianus in 146 BC.¹⁹ In addition to two ports (οἱ λιμένες) (fig. 11)²⁰, the accounts of the ancient authors suggest that public spaces were amongst the urban amenities of Punic Carthage. Appian (*The Punic Wars*, 89) mentions a Punic *agora* located between the ports of Carthage and the Byrsa hill, the acropolis of the Punic city²¹, while M. Junianus Justinus refers to porticoes (*publicis porticibus*) under which banquets (*epulas*) were held.²² The emphasis placed on Carthage's harbour systems by the ancient authors may suggest that a public space would have been located near the ports to accommodate the commercial traffic from the harbour. The problem lies with being able to locate such public places in

¹⁶Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom II*, p. 206; Friedrich Rakob, "Les fouilles allemandes de Carthage: l'état des niveaux puniques", *CEA XIX* (p. 7-67). At Kerkouane in the Cap Bon region of Tunisia, there are the remains of a Punic town as it appeared at the time of its abandonment in the middle of the third century BC. Town planning was applied at Kerkouane, as shown in the division of the site into *insulae* and rectilinear streets oriented northeast and southwest and northwest and southeast (Ch. Courtois, *Karthago V* pp. 184, 193; M'hammed Fantar, *Kerkouane. Cité punique du Cap Bon*, pp. 7, 121; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom II*, p. 207).

¹⁷Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom II*, p. 207-208.

¹⁸The plan of *Lepcis Magna* in the Roman period appears not to be without a Punic antecedent, like Roman Carthage. This is based on air-photographic evidence from the area close to the mouth of the Wadi Lebda that reveals structures diverging only slightly from the orientation of the earliest gridded streets around the *Forum Vetus*. This evidence, however slight, may reveal that there was a long-established orientation at *Lepcis*, perhaps introduced by Punic architects during the Hellenistic period (Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom II*, p. 204; David Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 117-118). Like Carthage under Augustus and his successors, the pre-existing urban scheme of *Lepcis* may have assumed an important role in determining the orientation of buildings in succeeding expansions. Traces of the early Punic settlement, however, have been uncovered in very limited work beneath the *Forum Vetus* at the northeast end of the site.

¹⁹On the topography of the site of Carthage during the Punic Wars, see Appian, *The Punic Wars*, 88 and Polybius I. 73.

²⁰The two ports, a rectangular one for merchant vessels and a circular one that served as a naval harbour, had communication with each other and shared a common entrance from the sea (Appian, *The Punic Wars*, 96). Excavations in the harbour zone reveal that monumental installations of the military and merchant ports occurred at the beginning of the second century BC, the last phase of prosperity for the Punic metropolis (Friedrich Rakob, *CEA XIX*, p. 19).

²¹Strabon, *Géographie*, 17.3.14.

²²M. Junianus Justinus, although writing sometime later than Strabo and Appian, alludes to porticoes under which Hanno organized a feast for the citizens of Carthage in celebration of his daughter's marriage (*Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, XXI, 4,3). See also, M'hammed Fantar, *Af rom X*, p. 112.

the archaeological record as means of support for the claims of the ancient authors who, as was previously mentioned, are writing hundreds of years after the periods which they are covering. However, the limited nature of the archaeological work between the Punic ports and the slopes of the Byrsa hill ("la zone portuaire") does not permit a precise picture of the appearance and principal composition of Carthage's Punic *agora* and pre-Roman public spaces in general.²³ Similar difficulties can be seen with the pre-Roman phases of occupation at *Lepcis Magna* (fig. 4), where there has been a tendency for archaeologists to focus more strongly on the impressive remains from the Roman period. This, in turn, has led to some neglect of the site's earliest periods.²⁴

Although very little is known about the composition of pre-Roman public places in Africa, it has been surmised that the towns of pre-Roman origin had public places located near the gates of the towns, as in the eastern towns.²⁵ Such a view is based on literary references to Punic Carthage and limited archaeological findings from sites in Tunisia and Libya. The *Platea Vetus* at Mactar, for example, is theorized to have been a public space of the Numidian town. The irregular dimensions of the *Platea Vetus* and the lack of porticoes even in the Roman imperial period led to such a theory.²⁶ Likewise, the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna* (figs. 4 and 12) is believed to have originated as a public space or *agora* of the Punic town as it was located near the harbour of the city. The oblique or slanting arrangement of the northeast side of the *Forum Vetus* may also attest to a pre-existing Punic alignment of structures that determined or influenced the course of

²³It is theorized that a Punic *agora* was located at the edge of the later *Decumanus Maximus* and near the "lower forum" or *platea maritima* of the Roman city (fig. 11) (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, p. 446; Friedrich Rakob, in *Pour sauver Carthage*, p. 35).

²⁴Limited stratigraphic surveys in the region to the west of the mouth of the Wadi Lebda have shown that a Phoenician settlement or *emporium* was established some time in the seventh century BC (David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 117; Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 80; J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Town planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the Empire, with special reference to Lepcis and Sabratha: character and sources" *150 Jahr-Feier*, p. 29-30).

²⁵ Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 236.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 236; M. Gilbert Picard, "Les places publiques et le statut municipal de Mactar", *CRAI* 1953, p. 80. The *Platea Vetus* at Mactar is discussed in greater detail in the preceding section of this chapter.

development of subsequent buildings in this quarter of the town.²⁷ These pre-Roman public places are also believed both to have played the role of fora in the Roman towns since the beginning of the Roman period and to have adopted the architectural aspect of fora over time.²⁸ With the limited nature of the evidence, however, it is still difficult to determine whether the incorporation of pre-Roman public spaces into Roman town plans was site specific or a trend in the whole of *Africa Proconsularis*.

Despite these gaps in the archaeological and literary record, the evidence suggests that the earliest Italian settlers in Africa found some of the towns in a relatively advanced state of urbanization. There was also a rich architectural tradition in the towns of pre-Roman North Africa that represented a fusion of styles including Punic, Near Eastern and Greek. The incorporation of the last two elements is shown in the concepts of town planning that were applied in the coastal zone at Carthage and possibly *Leptis Magna*. The Greek influence in the Punic architectural tradition is further emphasized in the frequent use of Ionic capitals at Utica and *Leptis*, and in the late Punic housing on the south slopes of the Byrsa hill.²⁹ Since these columns are of a sort familiar in Hellenistic Sicily, it is suggested that they had been established in the Punic architectural tradition through close commercial and cultural contacts with Sicily.³⁰

²⁷ Unfortunately, the area of the *Forum Vetus* has also been subject to very limited stratigraphic surveys down to the levels of the earliest settlement of the seventh century BC. These surveys, however, do show that the Punic settlement did extend at least as far as the zone of the *Forum Vetus*. In the last quarter of the first century BC and in the first century AD, the quarter of the *Forum Vetus* was formalized in piecemeal fashion with a series of buildings and embellishments. These included a series of temples along the northwest side of the open space, a basilica in the second quarter of the first century AD, a pavement, a portico in AD 53-AD 54, a temple of Cybele in AD 71-AD 72, and a curia (Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 466; David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 117-18; Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 80; John B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 372-73; *ibid.*, "Town planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the Empire, with special reference to Leptis and Sabratha: character and sources" *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, p. 29-32).

²⁸ The idea that pre-Roman civic structures were adapted into the Roman plans of towns is further emphasized at Chemtou (ancient *Simitthus*) where the forum of the Roman town was built above a Numidian necropolis (Sadok Ben Baaziz, pp. 229, 236).

²⁹ The central courtyards (*porticus triples*) of the Punic houses on the slopes of the Byrsa incorporated columns with Ionic capitals (Alexandre Lézine, *Utique*, p. 43; Jean-Paul Thullier, "L'habitat punique tardif à Carthage" *REA* XIX, p. 99-120; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 14-15).

³⁰ Ionic capitals of the Greco-Punic tradition are also found in Punic Morocco, although in a very limited number of examples. According to Jean Boube, "Documents d'architecture maurétanienne au Maroc", *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine*, t. VII 1967, pp. 264-65, 318-320, there are only three examples of capitals representing the Greco-Punic tradition of the Ionic order in Morocco: one at *Lixus*, another at *Volubilis*, and the last at *Sala*.

This rich architectural and urban tradition of Punic Africa seems to have tempered the rate of the processes of Romanization of African architecture in the early imperial period. Rather than undergoing a true transformation, the architecture of Africa in the one hundred and fifty years after the Roman conquest reflected a hybrid of building styles and techniques from two distinct traditions: the local or native and the Italian. This trend seems to correspond to the nature of the earliest Italian settlements in Africa which, unlike the colonization wave under Caesar and Augustus, were dispersed and somewhat inexhaustive. As already discussed, Italian *negotiatores* established themselves not only in Roman *conventus* along the African coast, but also at sites in the interior for trading purposes at a relatively early date. There is little doubt that there were commercial as well as cultural exchanges between the *negotiatores* and the members of *conventus civium Romanorum* and the natives of the communities where they had been established.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence for the formalization of public spaces in these early settlements in the manner that is seen in the Republican fora of Italy. As already discussed, later developments in the urban landscapes may have obliterated this evidence. It is not until the second half of the first century BC that one sees an Italian influence on the architecture of Africa. Even by this time, this influence seems to have been somewhat limited and the architecture represented a mix of building styles and methods from both the native and Italian traditions.

The three temples along the north side of the *Forum Vetus* of *Lepcis Magna* (figs. 4 and 12) were built at a time when the town was still an independent *civitas* highly favoured by Rome.³¹ The architects who were responsible for their construction employed a combination of elements of a strongly Hellenized Punic heritage and Italic features. The former elements are reflected in the substructure of the earliest of the three buildings, the Temple of *Liber Pater*, which comprised a pre-Augustan building stone, a

³¹ The privileged position of *Lepcis Magna* is reflected in its promotions to *municipium* in AD 74-77 and to *colonia* in AD 109 (David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 116)

soft quaternary stone that was faced with stucco, and in the architectural details of the three buildings. The columns along the three sides of the later temples (the North Temple and the Temple of Rome and Augustus) employed Ionic capitals of a sort that is familiar in Hellenistic Sicily. Both the Ionic columns and the heart-shaped angle piers, which were incorporated in the superstructure of the temples, have been attributed to a late Punic source. The latter elements, seen in the plan of the North Temple, occupied the outer angle of the façade instead of columns.³²

In all three temples of the *Forum Vetus*, there is a combination of Italic and Greek features. The Italian is seen in their orientation, their high podia and the frontal stairs of approach, and the Greek in their colonnade which extends on three sides of the temples. With such a placement of columns, the temples would have *appeared* peripteral when viewed from the front. Precedents to such an arrangement may be found in some Republican and early imperial temples of Italy. Two late Republican temples in the *Forum Holitorium* in Rome have a combination of an Italic orientation and a Greek peristyle. These two temples are characterized as “Doric and Ionic hexastyle, peripteral buildings”.³³ Temple A on the *Largo Argentina* in Rome in its third period (c. 100 BC)³⁴ and the later Temple of *Mars Ultor* in the Forum of Augustus in Rome also have the *appearance* of peripteral temples, though their central stairs emphasize a frontal approach. The layout of the temples along the northwestern side of the *Forum Vetus* may have served as prototypes for later temples in Africa, including the Capitolium at Timgad whose construction began in AD 160. Like the North Temple, the Capitolium at Timgad had a hexastyle pronaos with columns returning down the sides as far as the back wall.³⁵

³² Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 466; John B. Ward-Perkins, “Town planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the Empire, with special reference to Lepcis and Sabratha: character and sources”, *150 Jahr Feier 1979*, p. 31-32; *ibid.* *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 372-73.

³³ Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 133 (fig. 73 (3)).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133, figs. 63, 74.

³⁵ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 309.

This hybrid of traditions that existed at *Lepcis* in the first century BC and the first century AD is further reflected in the local cults. The “syncretization” or “Africanization” of Roman deities involved the assimilation of an imported deity to a local one through the adoption of new functions according to African needs. This assimilation, in turn, would determine the popularity of a god among the natives and would lead to the survival of religious practices of pre-Roman North Africa. Such a process also suggests that Africa was a place of mixes, receptiveness, and “plasticity”, as one sees the intermingling of Punic, Libyan, Greek, and Latin or Roman components.³⁶ *Shadrapa*, a tutelary deity of Punic *Lepcis*, has been identified with the Roman *Liber Pater*. This identification is based on bilingual inscriptions in both Neo-Punic and Latin from *Lepcis Magna*.³⁷ The survival of Punic *Shadrapa*, through his assimilation with a Roman deity, and the persistence of local building methods, namely the use of stucco on brittle sandstone, in the composition of the sanctuary of *Liber Pater* in the *Forum Vetus* may suggest that this building replaced an earlier sanctuary to the Punic deity. It has also been put forth that there was a Punic predecessor to the Temple of Rome and Augustus which was built in the first quarter of the first century AD. The Punic deity may have been *Milk'ashtar*³⁸, the second tutelary deity of the town, though support for this theory is definitely more slight than it is for the Temple of *Liber Pater*. A basis for a dual sanctuary to the tutelary deities of Punic *Lepcis* as a predecessor to the *Forum Vetus* may be provided by the proximity of the two temples of *Liber Pater* and Rome and Augustus. Further support may come from the arches that link the podia of the two temples to form a single platform, a technique that is applied in later African sanctuaries, including the three temples at the back of the so-called forum of Sbeitla.³⁹ These arches not only

³⁶ Marcel Benabou, *Résistance africaine à la romanisation*, pp. 331-33, 377-380.

³⁷ Before his assimilation with Dionysus in the fourth century BC, *Shadrapa* was characterized as a god of healing and protecting. The assimilation of the two gods then allowed the cult of Dionysus to flourish and become successful in all classes of African society. The Roman cult of *Liber Pater* then inherited the rites and beliefs of the indigenous religion (ibid., p. 353-56).

³⁸ David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 118.

³⁹ J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 373.

emphasize the unity of the two buildings but they may also symbolize a long-established relationship between *Shadraba* and *Milk'ashtart* as the two tutelary deities of the Punic town. Prior to the "piecemeal" formalizations at the time of the early Empire, the *Forum Vetus* may have appeared as an open space with irregular dimensions, dominated by one or more sanctuaries.

Even at Utica (fig. 13), the site of the capital of the Republican province of Africa following the conquest of Carthage at the end of the Third Punic War⁴⁰, the architecture of the first century BC represented a hybrid of styles. According to the literary tradition, Utica is the oldest Phoenician settlement on the North African coast.⁴¹ Located to the northwest of Carthage, it became a flourishing port for the produce of the surrounding countryside, namely the Medjerda Valley⁴², a fertile region rich in wheat and fruit. In the years after the creation of the Roman province of Africa, a *conventus civium Romanorum* was established at Utica that attracted administrative personnel, Italian *negotiatores*, as well as Roman citizens and disenfranchised Italians.

Evidence for architectural developments at Utica is comparatively more scanty than it is at *Lepcis Magna* for the period in question. It is limited to two poorly preserved temples of Republican date. One of the temples (Temple A) is associated with Place N (figs. 13 and 14), a sector of the town that has been identified as one of Utica's two fora. The temple's composition, like those along the north side of the *Forum Vetus*, reflects a hybrid of building styles and techniques from the Punic and Italian traditions. In approximately 50 BC, it was reconstructed on earlier foundations. These were

⁴⁰ For its support for Rome against Carthage in the Third Punic War, Utica was granted status of *civitas libera* (free city) and became the capital of the new Roman province and the seat of the government (Alexandre Lézine, *Utique*, p. 28).

⁴¹ Pliny the Elder tells us that Utica was founded 1178 years (MCLXXVIII *annos*) before his day, making it three centuries older than the foundation of Carthage (*C. Pliny Secundi Naturalis Historiae*, XVI, 216). The earliest archaeological evidence, however, is only from the eighth century BC, a date that corresponds roughly with the earliest evidence from Carthage (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 120-122; Paul Mackendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 6; Jean-Marie Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, p. 77-103).

⁴² The Medjerda Valley, the ancient *Bagradas* river valley, was the most fertile land in the province of Africa. After the confiscations of the emperor Nero, the region became heavily populated with imperial estates (Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire*, p. 227).

characterized by the same type of stucco-faced building stone that one sees being used in the buildings of other towns of Punic origin in Africa, including the Temple of *Liber Pater* at *Lepcis Magna*. This reconstruction incorporated Italic temple features, including an elevated podium that was approached by frontal stairs with between seventeen to twenty-three steps, and a *pronaos* (porch) with a hexastyle, prostyle arrangement of columns (six columns along the façade). The structure was preceded by a vast esplanade.⁴³ Since the evidence is very slight for this structure⁴⁴, it is nearly impossible to recreate its decorative detail.

Similar trends in Republican architecture occur in other regions of the Roman Empire. In Sicily, Africa's provincial neighbour to the north, the traditions of its Greek past remained quite prevalent at the time of the late Republic. Like Africa, a true transformation of its architecture did not occur in its first three centuries as a Roman province. Conversely, the island's architecture represented a hybrid of Sicilian and Italian elements. Sicilian temple architecture of the second and first centuries AD employed a mix of Italic features, such as the high podium and frontal approach, and architectural details and construction techniques linked to local traditions and the Sicilian Hellenistic past. This is apparent in the Temple of Venus-Astarte on Mount Eryx, which was rebuilt in the manner of an "Italic" style temple with a lofty podium and a frontal emphasis, and the Oratory of Phalaris at Agrigento. Furthermore, concrete, which was already in use in Italy in the second century BC, came into full use on Sicily only by the beginning of the empire. The Italian settlements on Sicily of the third and second centuries BC resembled those that were established in Africa in the first one hundred years after the Roman conquest. Not only were *conventus* established in coastal areas, but Italian traders and businessmen also operated out of the "agro-towns", market centres

⁴³Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 233; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X* p. 447; Alexandre Lézine, *Carthage-Utique*, p. 87-106; *ibid.*, *Utique*, pp. 62, 63-64.

⁴⁴ The structures and furnishings surrounding Place N were quarried for their building stone as late as the turn of the century (Alexandre Lézine, *Carthage-Utique*, p. 87-106).

and grain collection points, on or near the main routes. In both provinces, the earliest Italian settlements were often juxtaposed with native communities and cultural exchanges would have most likely occurred between the settlers and the natives. This may explain the mixed nature of Republican architecture in both Sicily and Africa.⁴⁵

According to J.B. Ward-Perkins, there are “no means of telling what were the significant developments in local municipal building during the hundred years that followed the sack of Carthage in 146 BC.”⁴⁶ As the present study has shown, the evidence for building activity is limited to two sites: Utica and *Lepcis Magna*. At both towns, there are the remains of first century BC temples whose compositions represent a “hybrid” of architectural elements from the local architectural traditions and “Italic” architectural concepts. The lack of evidence for the existence of enclosing porticoes in the area of these temples suggests that the earliest public spaces during the Roman period were not formalized into a monumental unity using the concepts that were set forth in forum construction during the Republican period in Italy. It is not until the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods that these temples and the open spaces that extended before them were unified into single complexes, applying concepts and building types that are familiar in the towns and cities of Italy. For example, the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna* was formalized from the late first century BC onwards with a series of buildings and embellishments.⁴⁷ The area in front of Utica’s Temple A was also formalized from the first century AD onwards with a portico and some monuments (G and J) at its eastern end.⁴⁸

The above study has also shown that the earliest Roman settlers found the towns and cities of Africa already enjoying a substantial measure of Mediterranean urban

⁴⁵ R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire*, pp. 21-25, 30-32.

⁴⁶ J.B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 1.

⁴⁷ The first century buildings of the *Forum Vetus* will be discussed in section B of the present study.

⁴⁸ The state of the evidence, however, renders it difficult to recreate the nature and layout of Utica's Place N and its surrounding monuments. Therefore, the first century AD developments at Utica will not be discussed in this thesis (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 233; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, p. 447; Alexandre Lézine, *Carthage-Utique*, p. 101).

civilization and an advanced state of urbanization during the second and first centuries BC. This situation, as well as the nature of the earliest Roman settlements, may have contributed to the limited “Roman” influence in the architecture of Africa at this time. Rather than witnessing a true transformation, both the Italic and the native traditions underwent adaptations and adjustments, as shown in the composition of the first century temples along the northern side of the *Forum Vetus*. For this reason, the architecture of the first one hundred years following the conquest has often been termed “Romano-African”.⁴⁹

Following the ultimate defeat of the Pompeian forces at the Battle of *Thapsus* on the eastern coast of Tunisia in 46 BC, Rome, under the direction of Caesar, was now able to engage in a policy of major Roman settlement in Africa. The reasons for this shift in settlement patterns in Africa are multifold. Firstly, with the annexation of old Numidian territory to the west of the *Fossa Regia* into a new province (*Africa Nova*), Rome’s sphere of control in Africa increased substantially. The establishment of Roman communities in this larger frame⁵⁰, especially those for veterans, would have facilitated the administration and control of such a vast territory.⁵¹ Furthermore, Caesar had to settle his own veterans who fought in the civil wars against Pompey. Also, he could alleviate the serious population problems in Rome at this time by settling dispossessed Italian peasants in Roman colonies in Africa.⁵² Several colonies are thought to have been established in coastal regions by Caesar, especially on the Cap Bon peninsula of Tunisia. These may

⁴⁹ J.B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* LX 1970, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Roman territory in Africa at this time included the Republican province of *Africa Vetus* and the new province of *Africa Nova*. The latter province incorporated old Numidian territory, including *Tripolitania* (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 20).

⁵¹ Sittius, an ally of Caesar against Pompey in Africa, installed himself with his veterans on the western frontier of *Africa Nova*, in the region of *Cirta*. These settlements formed a buffer state between Roman territories in Africa and *Mauretania* (Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 54-55).

⁵² Duncan Fishwick, “On the origins of Africa Proconsularis, I...”, *Ant afr* t. 29, 1993, p. 53-62; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 20, 21-22; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 53-55.

have included *Curubis*, *Clupea*, Carthage, El Djem (ancient *Thysdrus*), and Bizerte (ancient *Hippo Diarrhytus*).⁵³

Unfortunately, archaeological evidence from the period of foundation for the above colonies and their monumental compositions leaves much to be desired. As in the phase from the Roman conquest of Africa until the Battle of *Thapsus* in 46 BC, much of this evidence may have been obliterated by later developments in the urban landscape. At *Curubis*, for example, among the few remnants from this period are sections of the fortification wall that was erected during the civil wars.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the exact location of the Caesarian colony of 44 BC at Carthage is still not known in the archaeological record. Most of the evidence for the Caesarian foundation comes from the ancient literary sources.⁵⁵

It is not until the period of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians where one sees more concrete proof attesting to the monumental organization of the fora of the towns and cities of Roman Africa.

B. Evidence of Fora of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods in Africa (c. 27 BC BC-AD 68)

There is comparatively more epigraphic evidence for monumental development in the towns and cities of *Africa Proconsularis* in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods than there is in the preceding period. The evidence for the organization of fora is sufficient to deduce two divergent types of development in Africa during the period in

⁵³ The years of conflict prior to the Caesarian victory at *Thapsus* brought to the fore the importance of the African grain supply to Rome and the necessity to control it, especially in periods of political and military instability. By establishing colonies on the coast of Africa, Caesar hoped to ensure easy and potential liaisons between the granary in *Africa Vetus* and Rome (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 21-22; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 53-55). A Caesarian date for a colony at *Curubis* may be provided by the inscription *col. Iul. Curubis* (ILS 6817).

⁵⁴ Ch. Courtois, "Ruines romaines du Cap Bon" *Karthago* V 1954, p. 186-193; H el ene Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* II, p. 176.

⁵⁵ Appian (*The Punic Wars*, 136; 2) reveals that the colony was not established on the site of the Punic city but as near as possible to avoid the senatorial curses of 146 BC. The precise location of the Caesarian

question. The first type, apparent in the monumental organization of Carthage's Byrsa hill in the last quarter of the first century BC and in the early years of the first century AD, resembled the imperial complexes at Rome in that it was the result of a concerted effort involving a master plan. The other type of forum can be found in the secondary cities of *Africa Proconsularis*. These essentially comprised *civitates* as well as *pagi*, districts of a Roman colony's *pertica* (assigned territory). Unlike the Byrsa complex at Carthage, which was most likely inserted into the urban grid of the city early on in the Augustan foundation, the fora of secondary cities did not follow a master plan. Conversely, a series of additions and embellishments were made to their urban centres over an extended period of time, in an attempt to formalize the public quarters of towns. For example, the forum of Dougga was initially established sometime in the first century, beginning with the construction of a temple and a paving in 36-37 AD but was not fully formalized with porticoes until the reign of Antoninus Pius in the middle of the second century AD. Likewise, the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna* underwent various additions from the middle of the first century BC that continued well into the first century AD. With the exception of *Lepcis Magna*, many of the first century AD developments which are recorded in inscriptions have left little or no traces in the archaeological record of sites.⁵⁶ The following study seeks to analyze these two types of forum development during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods by concentrating on those examples that provide substantial archaeological and epigraphic evidence. They will include Carthage, Dougga, and Mactar in Tunisia, and *Lepcis Magna* in Libya.

The period of the Second Triumvirate was characterized as troubled and complicated. This is reflected in the two Africas (*Nova* and *Vetus*) where one sees their control passing hands between Octavian and Antony and conflicts between governors.⁵⁷

colony, however, cannot be determined based solely on the literary references (Duncan Fishwick, *Antiquités africaines* t. 29 1993, p. 53-62).

⁵⁶ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X p. 448-49.

⁵⁷ The ancient sources are conflicting for the terms of the Triumviral agreement at *Philippi* in 42 BC. Dio (48, 1, 3; 22, 2) tells us that *Africa Nova* was in Octavian's hands, *Africa Vetus* in Antony's and that

The troubled years down to 40 BC prevented the formal combination of the two provinces until the administration of Lepidus as proconsul in the years 40 BC to 36 BC. Carthage was designated the capital of the unified Africas and it provided a more efficient administration. Similar to Africa under Caesar, archaeological evidence for the administrative activities of Lepidus is very slight, elusive and restricted to the accounts of the ancient literary sources.⁵⁸

With the administration of Lepidus and following the defeat of the forces of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BC, Octavian was able to engage in a policy of major Roman settlement in Africa for his veterans. In *Africa Proconsularis*, he focused colonization primarily in the northern part of the old province of *Africa Vetus* and the part of *Africa Nova* that was closest to the old province. The policy of Lepidus marked a continuation of Caesar's policy in Africa in that he reinforced the colony at Carthage by creating colonies in the rich, grain-producing lands of the Medjerda river valley. The branches (Oueds) of the Medjerda provided natural penetration routes and facilitated the installation of Roman colonists.⁵⁹

With the constitution of *Africa Nova* under Caesar in 46 BC and its fusion with *Africa Vetus* during the administration of Lepidus, Carthage, as the capital of the unified Africas, came under the control of a vast *pertica* that included the agricultural lands of the Medjerda river valley. *Pagi*, the subdivisions or districts of a Roman colony, were found in the *pertica* of Carthage.⁶⁰ The *pertica Carthaginensium* not only encompassed the

Lepidus was excluded in the agreement, while Appian (*The Civil Wars*, 5, 3, cf. 12) reveals that Octavian retained both Africas. In the same year of the agreement, conflict arose between T. Sextius, the former governor of *Africa Vetus*, and C. Fulficus Fango whom Octavian appointed to govern both Africas. The former was victorious and he held both Africas until Lepidus was given Africa as a special province in 40 BC. By autumn of 39 BC, Lepidus was in uncontested control of both Africas (Duncan Fishwick, *Ant af t.* 29 1993, p. 53-62)

⁵⁸An amalgamation of *Vetus* and *Nova* arose out of the need to control the grain supply to Rome, as well as military and economic pressures, such as Sextus Pompeius' raids and blockades in Italy and his control of the Straits of Messina (Duncan Fishwick, *Ant af t.* 29 1993, p. 53-62).

⁵⁹Octavian's creations in *Africa Proconsularis* may have included *Capis*, *Neapolis*, *Thabraca*, *Uthina*, *Thuburbo Minus*, *Simitthus* (Chemtou), *Sicca Veneria*, *Assuras*, and *Maxula*. He also initiated extensive Roman settlement in *Mauretania*, as one sees approximately fifteen colonies established on its coast (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 25-27).

⁶⁰ There were two types of *pagi* in Africa. The first involved groups of Roman citizens who settled in the vicinity of indigenous communities (*civitates*), as at Dougga (CIL VIII, 1478). The administration of this

territory of the city proper and those territories that were inhabited by Roman citizens in not too distant regions such as the Medjerda river valley, but it also comprised some beyond the *Fossa Regia* in old Numidian territory. As already mentioned, this region had been colonized and inhabited since the Republican period by Italian *negotiatores* and colonists. Carthage administered the districts in her *pertica* through a *praefectus iure dicundo* and the *pagi* were provided with a council of decurions and *magistri*.⁶¹

With the assassination of Caesar in 44 BC, the foundation of the Roman colony at Carthage was left in the hands of Octavian, the adopted son and heir of Julius Caesar. The "leading out" of the Caesarian colony occurred following his death in 44 BC but its foundation was not fully realized until 42 BC when it adopted the name *Colonia Julia Concordia Carthago*. In 29 BC, following the tribulations of the Triumviral period, the *Colonia Julia Carthago*, as the capital of the unified province of Africa, received a further deduction of colonists. Unlike the earlier foundation under Caesar and Octavian which avoided the cursed ground of the Punic city, it incorporated the Byrsa hill and its slopes. As in the case of earlier foundations in Africa, evidence for monumental activities in Carthage in the years immediately succeeding the deduction of 29 BC is somewhat slight.

There are, however, some means of obtaining at least a partial reconstruction of the types and extent of monumental activities that occurred at Carthage in the last quarter of the first century BC and in the early part of the first century AD. Archaeological evidence does attest to some urban activity during the Augustan period. Contemporary

type of *pagi* was often modeled on that of a *colonia* or *municipium*, with *magistri* and a council of decurions. The second type of *pagus* comprised peregrine towns that had been grouped in Punic Carthage's vast circumscription. These were survivals of the old Carthaginian administration. Their methods of administration, including the election of *sufetes* (Punic municipal officers, chief magistrates), were often maintained (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 9, 17; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 446; Jean-Marie Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, p. 77-103; Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, pp. 15, 23; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom I*, p. 63-65; Jean Peyras, *Le Tell nord-est tunisien dans l'antiquité*, p. 256).

⁶¹ In the region of *Vaga*, for example, the territory of the *pagus* of *Belalis Maior* was among several that depended on the colony at Carthage. This is based on the presence of Roman citizens at *Belalis Maior* who were inscribed in the *Arnensis* tribe, the tribe of Carthage. Five inscriptions attest to the membership of some inhabitants to Carthage's *Arnensis* tribe (Ammar Mahjoubi, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar*, pp. 90-91, 95-97). See also M. Claude Poinsot, *CRAI* 1962, p. 70.

literary references to Carthage, namely the accounts of Strabo and Virgil, may provide clues to the extent of such activities. By looking at other Roman foundations in the empire, including the earlier colonies of Italy and contemporary ones such as Corinth, one can also achieve a better understanding of the urban projects from the Augustan period at Carthage.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the application of the concepts of orthogonal town planning was among the initial concerns of the founders of the colonies of Republican Italy. Also, the establishment of a forum within a monumental frame of the urban network was also applied at an early date in a colony's foundation. Since Carthage was refounded as a colony of Roman citizens at a time when the above concepts were already at a highly developed stage, it is likely that they were applied soon after the deduction of 29 BC.

Strabo, who composed his *Geographia* under Augustus, describes Carthage as it appeared in the twenty years or so after the deduction of 29 BC. He conveys Carthage as one of the most prosperous cities in Libya.⁶² Further literary testimony to the wealth of Carthage under Augustus may come from Virgil's account of Aeneas at the site of Dido's Carthage. Virgil may have intended the prosperity and incessant building activity that Aeneas observed within the city's walls under Queen Dido to be an analogy of Carthage's rejuvenation under Augustus.⁶³

As the newly founded capital of the province of *Africa* and in order to administer the vast *pertica* that it had adopted, Carthage would have required a substantial public centre. There is, however, an apparent gap between the literary accounts and the archaeological findings at Carthage from the period in question. Evidence within the archaeological record for significant urban developments at Carthage is somewhat slight from the time of Augustus through to the period of the Antonines. This is particularly

⁶²καὶ νῦν εἴ τις ἄλλη καλῶς οἰκεῖται τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων (Strabon, *Géographie*, 17.3.15).

⁶³Virgil, *Aeneid*, I.585-732.

true for the Augustan organization of the Roman Byrsa Hill, the true monumental centre of the city by the beginning of the Empire, where erosion on the south slopes of the hill has obliterated a large part of the Augustan embankments and the buildings that they had supported. Later readjustments and monumental developments to this area of the city during the second half of the second century AD may have also contributed to the apparent modesty of infrastructures at Carthage until the Antonine period.⁶⁴ Furthermore, systematic investigations of the monumental centre of the Byrsa have been impeded by various obstacles, including the nineteenth century Basilica of Saint Louis and its associated seminaries and annexes and by numerous modern roads.⁶⁵ Thus, it is difficult to recreate the extent of the monumental organization of the Byrsa hill under Augustus relying only on the dispersed and often vague literary evidence and the scanty archaeological evidence for this project. A clearer picture can only be attained by looking at contemporary projects in other regions of the Empire, including Corinth, Carthage's sister colony in Greece.

Unlike Carthage, the Augustan period is well represented in the monumental record of the public centre of Corinth. According to Strabo (*Geographia*, 17.3.15), Corinth underwent a similar fate as Carthage when it was destroyed in 146 BC and subsequently revived under Caesar with its elevation to the rank of the capital of *Achaëa*. Under the patronage of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa⁶⁶, a lifelong friend and supporter of Augustus, the *agora* of Corinth (fig. 16) was the focus of many embellishments, including a basilica at its eastern end and a sanctuary, possibly a Capitulum, at its western end. The urban programme at Corinth unified, restructured and monumentalized the old city's *agora* into a basilica-temple complex with administrative offices and

⁶⁴ These additions included a row of apsed rooms ("absides de Beulé") on the same axis of the *Cardo Maximus* at the eastern sector of the Byrsa hill and a large judicial basilica at the eastern limit of the hill (Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, p. 301-306).

⁶⁵ Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, "Hypothèses sur le centre monumental de la Carthage romaine d'après les recherches récentes sur la colline de Byrsa" *CRAI* 1980, p. 299-301; Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X, p. 448.

⁶⁶ Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", p. 554-55.

buildings at its southern end. The monumental platform that is believed to have been established on the Byrsa hill at Carthage under Augustus, like the *agora* at Corinth, surely would have received important buildings from the beginning of the Empire. As the capital of the Roman province of Africa, Carthage would have required a substantial public centre that could accommodate several functions. On the one hand, archaeological and epigraphic evidence is inadequate to provide a complete picture of the complex in its earliest stages and the types of buildings that would have been located in its vicinity. On the other hand, there is evidence, however slight, attesting to some activity in this zone prior to the massive readjustments of the Antonine period. This evidence will be discussed hereafter.

Excavations on the Byrsa have determined that the organization of a vast monumental platform occurred soon after the Augustan foundation. This, in turn, may have been intended to accommodate a political, administrative and religious centre for the new Roman foundation in a dominant and centralized location at the summit of the hill. As already discussed, such a procedure was often applied in the Republican colonies of Italy where one sees a space for a forum being reserved in a key location or geographic centre early in a foundation. Fora were commonly placed near a main street or at the intersection of a colony's two main streets, the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus*. This is apparent at *Alba Fucens* (fig. 7) and *Paestum* (fig. 6).

The Augustan project at Carthage began with a large scale remodeling of the Byrsa's terrain and the leveling of its summit. In order to initiate this, the founders of the colony decided to annex the area of the citadel or acropolis of the Punic city, which had been the focus of senatorial curses following the defeat of Carthage in the Third Punic War.⁶⁷ To avoid occupying the cursed ground, they neutralized the *consecratio* of 146 BC by destroying the natural relief of the hill and by creating a space that no longer

⁶⁷ These curses had prevented settlement in this area at the time of the Caesarian colony (Appian, The Punic Wars, 135; 136).

corresponded to the Punic levels. This transformation of the hill's terrain is indicated by the backfill from the leveling that had buried the late Punic houses on the slopes of the Byrsa hill. The deposits left by the backfill have been dated stratigraphically to between 20 and 10 BC. The purpose of the leveling phase was to allow for the adjustment of a vast esplanade which could be integrated and oriented towards the primary axes of the new Roman town (fig. 15).⁶⁸

Terracing of the hill's slopes and the construction of architectural supports along the sides of the hill that could sustain an artificial platform and its associated buildings and monuments probably followed the leveling phase. The north-south extent of the platform is determined by the sustaining structures that are still visible at the northeastern and southwestern angles. These structures clearly served a functional purpose as they delimited the extent of the monumental zone on the Byrsa and were necessary for the creation of the platform. The supports at the southwestern angle of the platform's southernmost zone are characterized as a series of parallel, apsidal rooms that opened onto the *Decumanus Maximus*.⁶⁹ The backs of these rooms were set against the slope of the hill, thus providing terracing and support for the platform. Traces of apses done in *opus reticulatum* were uncovered in three of the six rooms. The side walls of the rooms, conversely, were built in *opus quadratum* using elements from earlier Punic buildings. The six halls opening onto the *Decumanus*, however, represent only a small part of the supports that extended over more than one hundred and sixty metres between the angle of the *Cardo Maximus* and that of the *Cardo IV* to the east. Rows of amphorae were placed in beds against the extrados of the eastern rooms for added support. The most recent "marque amphorique" of this deposit provides a *terminus post quem* of 15 BC.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 448; Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", in *Afrique Occ.*, p. 551; Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, "Hypothèses sur le centre monumental de la Carthage Romaine,..." *CRAI* 1980, p. 319.

⁶⁹ Several rooms at the southwestern angle were partially destroyed by French archaeologists of the nineteenth century in their search for Punic tombs (Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, p. 321).

⁷⁰ Mm. Pierre et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, p. 323.

Similar structures existed at the western side of the southern zone of the Byrsa hill. The remains of four apsidal halls ran parallel with the *Cardo Maximus*. These rooms are helpful in determining the first phase of the monumental zone's arrangement. Evidently, they were functional elements that were required for the establishment of the platform. At the same time, they were not associated with the monumental collection that they supported. For example, the rooms to the south that opened onto the *Decumanus Maximus* would not have been in plain view of the buildings in the southern zone. It is theorized that the halls along the western side would have been associated with a building or buildings on the other side of the *Cardo Maximus*. Very little, however, is known about the area to the west of the *Cardo*.⁷¹

The Augustan projects initiated a vast and ambitious monumental programme on the Byrsa hill that was integrated and oriented towards the primary axes of the town in a dominant position at the summit of the ancient hill (fig. 15). Since the first phase of construction, the Byrsa was divided into three distinct monumental zones: 1) The forum complex that was established on the axis of the *Decumanus Maximus* at the north end of the Byrsa platform; 2) A place beside the forum that was bordered by porticoes; and 3) a southern terrace that bordered the latter place and whose apsed rooms opened onto the *Decumanus* I. In the southern zone of the Byrsa platform, the only evidence for the first phase of urbanization in the Roman period comes from the remains of the oldest arrangements of the roads and the sustaining structures, as discussed above.⁷²

⁷¹The drain of the *Cardo Maximus* that borders the western side of the Byrsa platform is attributed to the first period (Duncan Fishwick, *Ant. af.* t. 29, 1993, p. 53-62; Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", in *Afrique Occ.*, p. 547-551; Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, "Hypothèses sur le centre monumental de la Carthage romaine..." *CRAI* 1980, p. 318-324).

⁷²The platform's east-west length corresponded to eight *insulae* and six *cardines*, while its north-south width to one and a half *insulae* plus the width of the *Decumanus Maximus* (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af. rom.* X, p. 448; Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, "Hypothèses sur le centre monumental de la Carthage romaine" *CRAI* 1980, p. 318-331). According to Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", p. 552-53, the whole of the Byrsa complex had an area of more than three hectares, exactly 30300 m². This is roughly three times the area of the combined fora of Augustus and Julius Caesar in Rome. Within a North African context, it occupied a surface that is ten to twelve times larger than the surface of the averages of the monumental centres of secondary towns.

The northernmost sector of the Byrsa platform, the forum complex, is of most interest and will be discussed hereafter. It appears as the most important of the three zones owing to its position at the geographical centre of the city and its size. The complex (fig. 15) was located on the axis of the *Decumanus Maximus* from which it extended westwards. Unfortunately, the monumental projects within this sector during the second half of the second century AD have erased a good deal of the evidence for the Augustan activities. Excavations in the space that extends westwards from the Antonine basilica, however, have revealed some architectural developments within the forum complex for the period in question. In the area to the immediate west of the basilica, for example, excavations have determined a Roman phase of occupation in the residual Punic layer. This most likely corresponds to the first period of the hill's occupation in the Augustan period. It consists of a pavement of limestone slabs that were placed symmetrically with the theoretical axis of the *Decumanus Maximus*. To the north, more limestone paving slabs were uncovered that rested directly on packed clay containing Punic ceramics. The above evidence, therefore, suggests that the open space that extended to the west of the Antonine basilica was paved during the Augustan period, most likely following the leveling and terracing phases on the Byrsa.⁷³

Further testimony to the activities of the Augustan period may come from the drain that runs parallel to the later Antonine basilica at the forum's east end. There are three phases to this drain. The first, dug directly into the residual Punic layer, fell out of use during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods while the second dates to the second half of the first century AD and continued to be used until the second half of the second century AD. The final phase seems to correspond with the Antonine basilica and marks the limit between the basilica and the place to the west.⁷⁴ The earliest phase of the drain suggests that the quarter was furnished with buildings at a relatively early date. The drain

⁷³ Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, pp. 313-315, 319.

⁷⁴ Mm. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, p. 311-313.

would have received water runoff from the roofs of the surrounding buildings. Since it runs parallel to the later Antonine basilica, it is possible that a building, perhaps an earlier judicial basilica, closed the eastern side. This theory, however, remains somewhat conjectural.

Further evidence for the Augustan activities on the Byrsa hill may come from a column piece that was found amongst the architectural fragments of the second century AD. Its style closely resembles the form of the Corinthian capitals in the northern *exedra* of the early first century Forum of Augustus in Rome. Since this type of fragment is rare outside of Carthage and Utica, it has led some scholars to suggest that a group of builders and sculptors of Italian or Roman origin was employed at Carthage during the Augustan adjustments of the urban space.⁷⁵

The above evidence allows for only a partial recreation of the forum complex on the Byrsa hill and its earliest appearance following the leveling and terracing phases of the Augustan period. The backfill covering the Punic houses on the Byrsa's slopes suggests that the Augustan project began with major alterations to the hill's topography. This involved leveling the hill's summit to make way for an extensive artificial platform. The leveling was followed by the erection of sustaining structures to support the platform, as shown in the apsidal rooms at the southwest angle. Before the open space was paved, it was provided with means of channeling water from the complex. The drain that runs parallel to the later basilica at the eastern end and that was dug into the residual Punic layer would have collected water runoff from the earliest buildings around the complex. The limestone slabs uncovered at the north end of the complex and to the west of the Antonine judicial basilica also suggest that the open space was paved in the Augustan period, as they are set directly on a level of beaten clay containing Punic pottery sherds.

⁷⁵ Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", p. 554-55.

The artificial esplanade on the Byrsa hill at Carthage, like the *agora* at Corinth, surely would have received important buildings from the beginning of the Empire. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence, however, is too inadequate to provide an accurate portrayal of the forum of Carthage and its buildings in the earliest phases. Since the earliest excavations in the late nineteenth century, various theories have arisen concerning the composition of the complex and the nature of the buildings that surrounded it in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods. It is assumed that a temple occupied the site of the nineteenth century AD basilica of Saint-Louis at the western end of the Byrsa complex and opposite the Antonine basilica (fig. 15). Such a belief is based on the composition of fora at other sites in the Roman Empire, including those in Gaul and Roman Britain, where one sees an Italic style temple and a basilica often being incorporated into a unified complex. The identity of this temple has been the object of debates and differing scholarly opinions.

Without concrete archaeological and epigraphic evidence, such theories are often based on obscure references in the literary record. The ancient writers mention the importance of particular gods at Carthage but rarely give precise information on the location of their altars and shrines in the urban landscape. Apuleius (*Flor.* IV, 19, 91), for instance, characterizes Aesculapius, a god of healing, as one who cares for the *arx* (the height) of Carthage with divine authority. This passage has been interpreted as testimony to the presence of a temple to that god in the zone of the Basilica of Saint Louis. In such a view, the *arx* mentioned by Apuleius is assumed to represent the Byrsa hill.

The Augustan poets, conversely, emphasize Caelestis as the tutelary deity of Carthage⁷⁶ and “héritière de la grande déesse punique.”⁷⁷ Based on these references, some scholars believe that Juno Caelestis was founded in the Capitoline Triad at Carthage

⁷⁶ Ovide, *Les Fastes* VI, 45-46; Virgil, *Aeneid* I, V, 446; IV, 96-97

⁷⁷ Pierre Gros, “Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago”, p.556. Juno Caelestis was the principal divinity of Roman Carthage and represented a continuation of Tanit, a fertility goddess of Phoenician origin and protectress of Punic Carthage (Marcel Benabou, *Résistance africaine à la romanisation*, p. 363-66).

and hence, that a Capitolium stood in the zone of the forum now occupied by the Basilica of Saint Louis. Much later sources, including the writings of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, suggest the existence of a Capitolium in Carthage in the middle of the third century AD. The 59th *epistula* and the treatise *De lapsis* of St. Cyprian reveal that those individuals standing accused of membership of the Christian church during the persecutions under Decius (AD 250/1) had to appear in the forum (*ad forum currere*)⁷⁸ to offer incense before the Capitolium (*ad Capitolium...ventum est*)⁷⁹. The use of the verb *ascendere* in *De lapsis*, 8 has been interpreted to mean that the forum and Capitolium were located at an elevated position in the city, perhaps on the Byrsa hill.⁸⁰ Two inscriptions may also attest to one or more Capitolia at Carthage. The first (CIL 12464), possibly an inventory list of temple treasures, refers perhaps to an “old” Capitolium (*Capitoli uet[eris(?)...p]*). It is believed that this fragment implies that a new Capitolium was built to replace an older one that served the original colony. The second inscription (AE 1957, 53) suggests the presence of the Capitoline cult.⁸¹ The above theories, however, have yet to be supported by concrete archaeological evidence. If there had been a Capitolium at Carthage, its location is yet to be found.

A marble fragment that was discovered near the zone where tradition has placed the colony’s “Capitol” may provide us with the only solid proof for a temple in or near the forum. Its inscription attests to the existence of an *aedes* (a temple or sanctuary) of Concordia, a goddess of harmony, peace and domestic concord.⁸² That an *aedes Concordiae* was found at the heart of the city should come as no surprise as it can be related to the nomenclature that was accorded the colony early in its foundation: *Colonia*

⁷⁸ Cyprian, *De lapsis*, 8

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 288-89.

⁸¹ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 288-89.

⁸² *CIL* VII 12569.

Concordia Iulia Karthago (CCIK).⁸³ Furthermore, other Augustan colonies, including *Minturnae* in Latium, possessed *aedes Concordiae*.

Until more exhaustive studies are undertaken within the area of the *nova basilica* (the Basilica of Saint Louis) at the western extremity of the Byrsa complex, the identification and layout of the supposed temple remain somewhat conjectural. The same can be said for the peripheral areas of the open space, including the zone of the Antonine basilica. Here, the pre-Antonine remains have been almost totally erased by the additions of the second half of the second century AD. The evidence from the Augustan period, however, does indicate that the summit of the Byrsa was the focus of major transformations that made way for a large monumental platform. In other provincial centres of the Empire such as Corinth, one sees public places being formalized with temples and basilicas that accommodated the religious, politico-administrative and judicial functions of their respective communities.

A passage from Tacitus' *Histories* dealing with the period of crisis following the death of Nero in AD 68 may attest to a second forum at Carthage in proximity of the city's harbour zone at least by the second half of the first century AD.⁸⁴ Saint Augustine (*de Civ. D.*, XVI, VIII), although writing later than Tacitus, refers to a *maritima platea Carthaginis* and its *musivo* (mosaic). Procopius (*Aed.*, VI.V, 10-11), a sixth century AD writer and author of a treatise on buildings, also mentions a maritime *agora* (της Μαρτιτιμου αγορας) that the emperor Justinian had furnished with stoas. This complex, however, has not been located in the archaeological record of the city's coastal zone with certainty and a date for its establishment cannot be determined.

It is suggested that the maritime *agora* was located on or near the site of the Punic *agora* that is referred to by the ancient sources. This pre-Roman public space is believed to have been situated between the Punic ports and the slopes of the Byrsa hill and inserted

⁸³ *CIL* VII 12568.

⁸⁴ *Vulgus credulum ruere in forum, praesentiam Pisonis exposcere...* (Tac. *Hist.* IV, 49, 5-6).

into the urban organization of the coastal plain during the late Punic period from the third century BC until 146 BC. This date would correspond to the establishment of the Punic harbours in the last phase of prosperity for the Punic city. The idea that the *platea maritima* of the Roman town superimposed a Punic installation finds support in the trends within the coastal zone at the time of the Augustan foundation of Carthage. Many pre-Roman orientations in this zone were reproduced and ancient materials, including Punic walls and cisterns, were incorporated into the new buildings of the Augustan foundation. Discoveries in the area of the harbours of Carthage strengthen the assumption of a forum integrated with the coastal installations. These include a double portico from the late second century AD that surrounded the circular area of the earlier Punic installations and seem to be associated with the commercial activity of the harbour zone.⁸⁵ Elsewhere in the Roman Empire and roughly contemporary with the Augustan foundation of Carthage, pre-Roman public spaces were formalized to become the public centres of Roman towns. At Corinth, for example, the site of the Roman town's public centre was superimposed on the *agora* of the Greek city and its layout had to be adjusted due to the configuration of the terrain.⁸⁶ Some civic agoras in Sicily that were laid out in the Hellenistic period still proved serviceable under the Empire.⁸⁷

Pierre Gros, in his study of the Caesarian-Augustan foundation of Carthage, states:

À vrai dire, il serait paradoxal que la Carthage de 29 av. J.-C., après les vicissitudes de la période triumvirale, n'ait pas bénéficié des derniers perfectionnements de l'urbanisme hellénistique appliqué à une colonie romaine, et qu'elle n'ait pas eu les moyens d'en commencer efficacement la transcription sur un terrain désormais libéré de tout interdit religieux.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ M. Pierre Gros, "Le Forum de la haute ville dans la Carthage romaine..." *CRAI* 1982, pp. 643, 644; Friedrich Rakob in *Pour sauver Carthage*, p. 33-36.

⁸⁶ The oblique arrangement of the bouleterion and the surrounding administrative offices was maintained in the reorganization of the Roman period and may reflect the layout of the earlier city's *agora* (Pierre Gros in *Afrique Occ.*, p. 558-59).

⁸⁷ On the one hand, the *agora*/forum at Halaesa underwent various alterations between AD 50 and AD 120 while on the other, there is no evidence for any modifications to the *agorae* at Soluntum and Monte Iato during the first or second century AD (R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire*, p. 46-49).

⁸⁸ Pierre Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la Colonia Julia Carthago", p. 548.

The citadel of Punic Carthage at the summit of the Byrsa hill was among the areas of the ancient city that were liberated from religious restrictions. The archaeological evidence, however slight, indicates that the summit was the object of a unitary program to create a vast artificial platform in the course of the twenty years following the foundation of the Augustan colony.

Following the death of Augustus in AD 14, there was a lull in municipal creations in *Africa Proconsularis*. Until the rise of the emperor Vespasian in AD 69, no creation of a *municipium* or a *colonia* is attested in *Africa Proconsularis*. The focus of the emperors had to be turned to other regions and other matters, especially military. Thus, in comparison to the municipal policies of Caesar and Augustus, the policy of the last four Julio-Claudian emperors appears more conservative in nature.

The emperor Tiberius (AD 14-AD 37), Augustus' successor, was engaged in a seven year conflict (AD 17-AD 24) with the *Musulamii*, a native tribe of Africa that occupied the region between *Theveste* (Tébessa) and *Sicca Veneria* (El Kef) (fig. 1). The *Musulamii* may have been provoked to revolt by the construction of a military road in the year of Augustus' death by the Third Augustan Legion.⁸⁹ The road⁹⁰ ran northwest some two hundred miles from the port of *Tacape* (Gabes) in southern Tunisia towards the legionary base at *Ammaedara* (Haïdra), possibly affecting the movements of the *Musulamii* along their traditional routes between their summer and winter grazing grounds. Their leader Tacfarinas had been trained in a Roman auxiliary and he organized the forces of the *Musulamii* into infantry and cavalry units and formations. The revolt

⁸⁹The Third Augustan Legion was formed by Augustus and was commanded by the proconsul of Africa, a representative of the Roman senate, who resided in the newly-founded *colonia* of Carthage. Its first identifiable base was at *Ammaedara* (Haïdra) in the steppe country to the southwest of Carthage. From this point, it could monitor the movements of native tribes between the southern steppes and the Tunisian plateau and incursions from the Aures mountains to the southwest (Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 56-57).

⁹⁰ The *Tacapae-Ammaedara* road was the first road to be recorded in inscriptions. Its construction marked the beginning of a network of roads in Africa, which facilitated movement and settlement in the late first century AD and during the second century AD. Few traces of this network, however, remain (*ibid.*, p. 66).

eventually drew in other tribes, including neighbouring Mauretians, disaffected or dispossessed peasants from *Africa Proconsularis*, and troops from the *Garamantes*. The war has been characterized as sporadic fighting that occurred between the years AD 17 and AD 24 and the most serious of northwest Africa's early wars.⁹¹

Under Caligula (AD 37-AD 41), there were important military and political changes in Roman Africa. In the first year of his reign, he took away the command of the Third Augustan Legion from the proconsul and entrusted it to a legate chosen by himself for his military capabilities. A couple of years later, Caligula had Ptolemy, the emperor's distant cousin through M. Antony and the son of King Juba and the rightful heir of the kingdom of *Mauretania*, assassinated and he had *Mauretania* annexed to the Roman Empire. This transition did not flow smoothly as one sees a rebellion being raised in Africa by Aedemon, a freedman loyal to Ptolemy.⁹²

This rebellion carried over into the reign of Claudius (AD 41-AD 54), who took four years to put it down.⁹³ The "municipalisation" of *Africa Proconsularis* was overshadowed by the emperor's need to organize the new province of *Mauretania*. In AD 42, he divided it into two provinces, *Tingitana* and *Caesariensis*. He also created numerous *coloniae* and *municipia* in the two Mauretaniae around this time.⁹⁴ Very little is known about the municipal policies of the emperor Nero (AD 54-AD 68) in Africa as

⁹¹ Dolabella, the Roman governor in Africa in the year AD 24, suppressed the revolt of the *Musulamii*. The Roman victory over Tacfarinas and the *Musulamii*, however, did not dissuade other uprisings from occurring. No more than a decade went by after AD 24 without skirmishes somewhere, although this time they were better contained by a more mobile Roman army (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 27; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 59-61). On Tacfarinas' revolt, see Tacitus, *The Annals* II, LII; III, XX.

⁹² Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 27; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 61-62.

⁹³ Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 61-62.

⁹⁴ The Claudian colonies of Mauretania included *Tingi*, *Lixus*, *Caesarea* and *Oppidum Novum*. *Volubilis*, *Rusuccuru* and *Tipasa* were among the Roman municipalities created at this time (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 27).

there is hardly any evidence attesting to the creation of a *municipium* or a *colonia*.⁹⁵

Apart from Carthage, the evidence for the formalization of public spaces in *Africa Proconsularis* during the Julio-Claudian period is restricted to three towns: Dougga, Mactar, and *Lepcis Magna* (figs. 1 and 3). These were long-established communities that had been the focus of Italian settlement at an early date, either as *pagi* or trading centres for Italian *negotiatores*. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence from these sites attests to piecemeal development within their public centres. Unlike the large scale project of Carthage's Byrsa complex which designated this sector of the city as the true public centre early in the Augustan foundation, their fora are characterized by a progressive or gradual development in the heart of the urban plan.

The first site, Dougga (figs. 1, 2, and 3), had a lengthy period of occupation. After years of being subject to the Carthaginians, it became during the second century BC one of the seats of the Numidian princes, who were allies of Rome against Carthage in the Second and Third Punic Wars.⁹⁶ The region of Dougga remained in the hands of the Numidian kings until the end of the civil wars when Caesar diminished severely their kingdom because of their support for his adversary Pompey. It was then incorporated into the new province of *Africa Nova* in 46 BC, which comprised the eastern part of *Numidia* as well as *Tripolitania*. Within twenty years, *Africa Nova* was united with the old Republican province of *Africa Vetus* to form the greater province of *Africa Proconsularis*.⁹⁷

With the transferral of Punic and Numidian properties into Roman control, Dougga became the administrative centre of a *regio*, a subdivision of the *colonia* at

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 27-28.

⁹⁶ The conquests of Carthaginian territory by King Masinissa (238 BC-148 BC) in the late third century BC and the first half of the second century BC brought several towns, including Dougga, into the Numidian sphere of control. The hills of Dougga provided an ideal stronghold for the Numidian kings as they were known to establish their seats in dominant and defensible areas. Remnants of the Numidian occupation of Dougga include a fortification wall and a Numidian mausoleum (Ammar Mahjoubi, *Af rom* II, p. 208-211; F. Rakob, "Architecture royale numide" in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine* 1983, p. 325-338).

⁹⁷ Duncan Fishwick, *Ant afr* t. 29, p. 53-62.

Carthage. Although it was not established as a Roman *colonia*, which would have involved the settlement of military veterans or Roman citizens, a *pagus* seems to have been established at Dougga, at least by the period of the Julio-Claudians.⁹⁸ As a district of the colony of Carthage, many Italians and citizens of the colony of Carthage settled in the region of Dougga and served as imperial officials or procurators, or as *negotiatores* or speculators. It also attracted citizens of Carthage, who would have spent only a part of the year at Dougga and the other as absentee landowners in Carthage.⁹⁹

Unlike the colonies of Italy in the third and second centuries AD and the colonies of Gaul and Britain in the first century AD, Dougga was not laid out according to the concepts of orthogonal town planning. As already mentioned, the town did not witness an extensive settlement of military veterans or Roman citizens, as seen in Roman *coloniae*. Furthermore, the topography of the site of Dougga may not have permitted the application of regular planning of the sort that is seen in Roman colonies. The urban centre (fig. 17), for example, had to adapt to the natural slope of the site, which overlooked a small valley. From here, the town expanded southwards on the slopes of the hill.¹⁰⁰

Unlike other sites in Roman Africa, the Julio-Claudian period is well represented

⁹⁸ This rough date is provided by first century AD inscriptions which mention the construction or dedication of a temple, an altar and statues, in honour of the emperors (CIL VIII 1478, 26517, 26518, 26519). These inscriptions also offer the earliest references to the *Pagus Thuggensis* which was an association of *cives romani*. It is, however, difficult to pinpoint the earliest possible foundation date for the *pagus*. Other first and second century AD inscriptions (CIL VIII 26466, 26467, 26468, 26470, 26471; ILS 9404) mention both a *pagus* and a *civitas* at Dougga (*pagus et civitas Thuggensis*) and give the impression of the coexistence of a Roman *pagus* and an indigenous *civitas* or a dual community. If there was a juxtaposition of a *pagus* and a *civitas*, it is likely that some members of the *civitas* eventually acceded to Roman citizenship through personal privilege. The eventual fusion of these two units may have formed the basis of the *municipium* to which it was promoted under the emperor Septimius Severus (R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities?", p. 29-30, in Francis Grew and Brian Holey (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 48-49, 172, 178-181; Jean Peyras, *Le Tell nord-est tunisien dans l'antiquité*, p. 256; M. Claude Poinssot, "Immunitas Perticae Carthaginiensium", CRAI 1962, pp. 64, 72).

⁹⁹ R. P. Duncan-Jones, p. 30, in Francis Grew and Brian Holey (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 48-49; Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 9-10.

¹⁰⁰ Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire*, p. 148, characterizes such urban plans as being reflective of "unplanned native growth." See also, Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 449, and Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 13.

in the epigraphic record at Dougga. Latin inscriptions attest to substantial building activity at Dougga in its forum quarter during the Julio-Claudian period which continued over a long period of time, spanning roughly three centuries. There are several first century AD inscriptions relating to embellishments and the construction and dedication of monuments in the vicinity of Dougga's public centre, most of which were financed by private benefactors.¹⁰¹ At a relatively early date, Dougga was able to attract individual wealthy benefactors who contributed to the monumentalization of the town. The proximity of Dougga to Carthage and its significant agricultural wealth would have attracted these individuals as well as citizens from the provincial capital. As was mentioned above, Dougga was also a part of the territory that was attributed to the colony at Carthage (*pertica Carthaginiensium*).¹⁰² “De liens étroits”¹⁰³ existed between the *pagani* and the colony of Carthage as shown in the intervention of magistrates from Carthage in the affairs of the *Pagus* and in the inscription of the *Thuggenses* in the *Arnensis* tribe, the tribe of Carthage. For these reasons, Dougga does not appear to have been as severely affected by the political and military situations of the period.

It is, however, hard to pinpoint the precise location of the earliest features of its forum, as the later formalizations of the space in the middle to late second century AD have erased their trace in the archaeological record. Despite this, some characteristics of first century AD developments can be surmised from the epigraphic evidence. The overall impression, similar to the plan of the town as a whole, is that of piecemeal growth in that the forum gradually arose in the heart of the community.

A wave of building activity, which is attested by epigraphic evidence, began under the Julio-Claudians with the construction of a *templum Caesaris* in the later years of the reign of Tiberius. At around the same time, in AD 36-AD 37, the esplanade of

¹⁰¹ According to M. Claude Poinssot, *CRAI* 1962, p. 72, it is nearly impossible to distinguish among the *pagani* those who were descendants of Italian colonists and those who descended from natives.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

beaten earth that extended before the temple was paved under the initiative of a patron (*patronus pagi*), Postumius Chius.¹⁰⁴ A temple to the Deified or Divine Augustus and the Emperor was also dedicated in the vicinity of the forum during the reign of the Julio-Claudians.¹⁰⁵ Also under the Julio-Claudians, a *patronus pagi* restored an altar (*aedem*) and statues of notables that had been damaged (*statuas corruptas*) and furnished the interior of a building.¹⁰⁶ Towards the end of Claudius' reign (*[Ti (berio) Claudio Caesari Aug (usto) Germa] nico*), M. Licinius Rufus, a *patronus pagi* of equestrian rank, provided a market for Dougga with his own money.¹⁰⁷ Therefore the evidence, however limited, suggests that the first organization of Dougga's public quarter involved the construction of public buildings and monuments that had been dedicated or made by local notables or *patroni pagi*. Yet there is no indication of a colonnade of columns or covered galleries enclosing Dougga's complex and isolating it from the surrounding streets and buildings in the first century AD. It seems to have maintained an open character until the reign of Antoninus Pius at which time porticoes were elevated.¹⁰⁸

The second site, Mactar, is located in the High Tell of the Tunisian interior, south of Béja (figs. 1, 2, and 3). The region of Mactar, like Dougga, fell into King Masinissa's hands during his conquests of old Carthaginian territory in the period between the Second and Third Punic Wars. By the time of the Roman conquest of Africa in 146 BC, it was already an important town under the Numidian kings, long influenced by both the

¹⁰⁴ Dedicators of the first century AD were often described as *patroni pagi* (CIL VIII 26517, 26518, 26519). In addition to the paving of the forum, Postumius Chius gave a small shrine of Saturn and an arch (R.P. Duncan Jones, p. 30, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley (eds.), Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire).

¹⁰⁵ This is based on the discovery of an inscription (CIL VIII 26517) near the later Capitolium (*prope Capitolium*) recording the dedication of a sanctuary (*sacrum*). It most likely dates to the reign of the emperor Claudius.

¹⁰⁶ According to AE 1969-70 651, these restorations may have been carried out on the *templum Caesaris* and its statues in AD 54 following a fire.

¹⁰⁷ A date of AD 54 is provided in the inscription from the *macellum*, found in the area of the Antonine *macellum*. It indicates that a fourteenth tribunician power was held in a fifth consulship. Apart from Claudius, only three other emperors in the course of the first two centuries AD held this (AE 1969-70 652; ILT 1499).

¹⁰⁸ CIL VIII 26524. See also Samia Ilhem Ammar, Af rom X, p. 448-449. The Antonine additions to the forum at Dougga will be discussed in chapter four. According to R. P. Duncan Jones, p. 30, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley (eds.), Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire, in the twenty

Carthaginians and the Numidians.¹⁰⁹ During the imperial period, it became the leading town of a *regio* that was subject to a *praefectus* (imperial overseer). It maintained its status as a peregrine *civitas* until it was raised to the standing of a *colonia* between the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-AD 180) and his successor Commodus (AD 178-AD 193).¹¹⁰

The urban layout of Mactar (fig. 18) is similar to that of Dougga in that the rigid principles of Roman town planning were not applied. Conversely, it reflects the piecemeal growth (or "unplanned native growth" according to Colin Wells) that occurs in many towns in Africa that were native by origin, like Dougga. The urban scheme at Mactar, however, differs in that there is evidence for two public centres. The earlier one, the *Platea Vetus* (figs. 18 and 19 a), is of most interest here as it underwent some developments during the Julio-Claudian period. It has been characterized as a large *platea* of irregular dimensions that remained a significant public centre of the town even after the construction of a new forum (*Forum Novum*) (fig. 19 b) to the northeast under the emperors Trajan and Hadrian.¹¹¹ Like the first century AD forum at Dougga, there is no evidence that the space was furnished with enclosing porticoes in the first century AD. It seems to have retained its open character by remaining in direct contact with the surrounding streets. Unlike the later Trajanic forum, it did not adopt the form of a

years between the thirties AD and the death of Claudius in AD 54, there is evidence of roughly twelve monuments being erected in the town of Dougga.

¹⁰⁹ Among the pre-Roman remains at Mactar were a Punic Tophet and parts of an old Numidian fortification wall. Many Punic institutions and cultural elements were maintained at Mactar well into the Roman period, thus emphasizing the long established pre-Roman institutions. This is reflected in the survival of *sufetes* in the municipal government and in the Romanized Punic names of the local elite (Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 75).

¹¹⁰ Mactar was located in the upper basin of the Oued-Siliana, a very fertile region of the Tunisian interior. (M. Le Commandant Toussaint, "Rapport archéologique sur la région de Maktar", *BCTH* 1899, p. 185; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 147-151; Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, pp. 25, 75; M. Gilbert Picard, *CRAI* 1953, p. 8). The epithet *col. Aelia Aurelia Aug. Mact.* (*ILS* 458, 6787) suggests an Antonine date for the promotion of Mactar to the rank of *colonia*.

¹¹¹ The *Platea Vetus* is not referred to as a forum because it does not have the characteristics of a typical forum. It is also referred to as a *platea* to differentiate it from the later Trajanic forum. Construction of the new forum (*Forum Novum*) began with the erection of an arch that marked the entrance into the quarter under the emperor Trajan. The arch's dedicatory inscription is to Trajan and can be dated to AD 116. Further additions, including a *macellum*, were made to the lower part of the forum under Hadrian. Although having rather small dimensions (1.500 m²), it had classical features and a regular plan comprising a rectangular open court with porticoes on three sides. The *Platea Vetus* is comparatively more vast

"classical" forum, which was defined by its complete isolation from the surrounding streets and buildings by a perimeter wall and enclosing porticoes. Even with the developments of the second century AD, there were not considerable alterations to the form of the *Platea Vetus*. Rather, it was linked to the forum of the town's new quarter to the east and integrated into the urban plan, thus emphasizing its continuing importance. The open character of the *Platea Vetus* is emphasized by the fact that it was bordered on its north and west sides by two streets onto which it seems to have directly opened. The street along the northern side separates the *Platea* from a temple that may have dominated the open space. The temple is dated to the reign of the emperor Tiberius, c. AD 34-AD 37, and is characterized by two leveled crypts under the *pronaos* (porch). It is tentatively identified as a Temple of *Liber Pater*. Other monuments may have been located around the *Platea Vetus* during the Julio-Claudian period, including a temple to Apollo.¹¹² There may have also been a temple of Rome and Augustus, a cult that is rare in Africa, in proximity of the *Platea Vetus*.¹¹³ Based on the irregularity of its layout, the *Platea Vetus* of Mactar is believed to pre-date the Trajanic forum to the northeast. It has also been suggested that it had served as the public quarter of the old Numidian town.¹¹⁴

Due to its strategic location and well-sheltered position on the coast of *Tripolitania*, *Lepcis Magna* provided an ideal site for the establishment of a Phoenician settlement. The good sea conditions also facilitated the creation of a harbour at *Lepcis*.

(roughly 2.400 m²), yet its features are more irregular (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 228; M. Gilbert Picard, *CRAI* 1953, p. 80-81).

¹¹²The superstructure of the sanctuary of *Liber Pater*, although dated by an inscription (*CIL* VIII 23399) to the second half of the second century AD, reuses the foundations (two-leveled crypts) of an older sanctuary (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X* p. 450). The identification of a temple of *Liber Pater* is based on sculptural elements which included a head of Dionysus and a statue of a satyr. Together with Ceres and Apollo, *Liber Pater* served as a protector of Mactar.

¹¹³ A Julio-Claudian date for the arrangement of a Temple of Rome and Augustus remains somewhat conjectural as this hypothesis is based largely on fragmentary evidence, including a later inscription (third century AD) whose context has not been determined. Furthermore, this highly mutilated inscription, although referring to a Temple of Rome and Augustus, does not help in locating the building (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X* p. 449-450). The only other instance of a temple of Rome and Augustus occurs in the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna* (M. Gilbert Picard, *CRAI* 1953, p. 80-81).

¹¹⁴ The irregular form of the *Platea Vetus* and the inexistence of porticoes have been interpreted as "preuve d'archaïsme." (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 228). See also Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 449-450 and M. Gilbert Picard, *CRAI* 1953, p. 80-81).

The traces of the first settlement of the seventh century BC, however, have been detected in very limited work beneath the *Forum Vetus*. Much of the evidence has been erased by subsequent building in this quarter of the town. The earliest settlement was probably located close to the mouth of the Wadi Lebda (fig. 4).¹¹⁵

Until its promotion to *municipium* under the emperor Vespasian (AD 69-AD 79) in AD 74-77, *Lepcis Magna* was an independent *civitas* that Rome favoured highly.¹¹⁶ Under the emperor Augustus, the town opened a quarry at Ras el-Hammam to the south of the town that provided a hard and fine-quality limestone. Similar to travertine in appearance, this stone remained the standard building material at *Lepcis* for over a century. The new quarry at Ras el-Hammam appears to have been opened in the closing years of the first century BC as the theatre, built in AD 1-2 by the wealthy magistrate (*sufete*) and citizen, Annobal Tapapius Rufus (*ornator patriae*), is the earliest known building to have used the stone architecturally.¹¹⁷ The earliest extant remains at *Lepcis* are of the Augustan Age at which time the town witnessed a major urban extension to the east and southeast of the *Forum Vetus* involving the application of the concepts of orthogonal planning, namely the division of the site into regular-sized holdings (fig. 4). The limit of the first Augustan extension was marked by a large public building, a *macellum*¹¹⁸ that was built in the years 9-8 BC, and by the early first century AD theatre. In AD 12, there was a new phase of orthogonal planning whose orientation diverged slightly from the earlier one. A chalcidicum (AD 11-AD 12) was placed just beyond the

¹¹⁵ Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 80.

¹¹⁶In the reign of Trajan, the town received a promotion to the rank of *colonia* (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II* Princ. 12.1, p. 291-92; David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 116).

¹¹⁷Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 77; John Ward-Perkins, "Tripolitania and the marble trade" *JRS* XLI 1951, p. 94-95.

¹¹⁸ An Augustan date for the building is provided by the monumental inscription on sandstone from the southwest precinct wall of the *macellum* (IRT 319 a). The generosity of the same Tapapius Rufus who built the later theatre was also responsible for the construction of the *macellum* (IRT 319 c). The two limestone *tholoi* within the *macellum* were donated by the aediles Tiberius Claudius Amicus, and M. Heliodorius Apollonides, as indicated by the inscriptions of the *tholoi*, probably in the first half of the first century AD (Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 71-73).

earlier gridded area, marking this latest phase in the town's development.¹¹⁹ By the end of the reign of Augustus, the southern limits of the town were represented by the intersection of the gridded area with the main coast road (the *Decumanus*).¹²⁰

Evidence suggests that the *Forum Vetus*¹²¹ (fig. 12) and its surrounding quarter, like the forum of Dougga, witnessed piecemeal development in the course of the first century AD beginning in the reign of Augustus. Unlike Dougga, however, monumental developments of the first century are well represented at *Leptis Magna* not only in the epigraphic record but also in the archaeological record of the *Forum Vetus*. Its position on the coast of *Tripolitania* as a major port city that was open to Mediterranean trade probably contributed to a favourable position in the eyes of Rome. Furthermore, it was located in a very fertile region of *Tripolitania*. In its original state, the *Forum Vetus* was likely dominated by twin temples, possibly to the tutelary deities of the town. These two temples, whose dedications are known, were rebuilt as temples of *Liber Pater* and Rome and Augustus in the Augustan era using the limestone from the quarry at Ras el-Hammam. The latter temple was dedicated between AD 14 and AD 19 and is the largest of the three temples in the collection. Its monumental staircase consisted of a twin flight of steps that resembled the disposition of the stairs in the Temple of *Venus Genetrix* in Rome. The discovery of two carved ship's prows (*rostra*) suggests that a platform for orators may have stood in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus between the two flights.¹²² A third temple (the North Temple), although smaller than the Temple of Rome and Augustus, likely served as the architectural model for its neighbour. Both temples

¹¹⁹ The limestone inscription from the architrave of the *porticus* of the Chalcidicum identifies the building (*calchidicum et porticus*) and furnishes an Augustan date for its construction (IRT 324 a). The head of a statue of Augustus as well as a statue of the sponsor of the Chalcidicum were found in the building (Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, pp. 69, 71).

¹²⁰ Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 467.

¹²¹ The name *Forum Vetus* is a modern term that derives from an inscription from the time of Constantine (IRT 467) which refers to the basilica along the southeastern side as *basilica vetus* (Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 80).

¹²² Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ. 12.1*, p. 291-92; Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 467; Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 82.

had a three-sided colonnade, like some of the Italian temples which are mentioned above.¹²³

Several other additions were made to the zone of the *Forum Vetus* during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period in an attempt to formalize the public quarter of the town. These were often donated by local magistrates (*sufetes*), as at Dougga, and their dedicatory inscriptions were recorded in both Neo-Punic and Latin. Between 5 BC and AD 2, the proconsul Gn. Calpurnius Piso had the area of the forum covered with grey limestone paving, as is stated by the bronze-lettered inscription inlaid in the floor.¹²⁴ During the reign of Claudius, the forum was given a new limestone pavement at the expense of a member of the local elite, Caius, son of Hanno. At the same time, the space was formalized with a colonnade of limestone porticoes along three of its four sides.¹²⁵ Slightly before the addition of the porticoes and pavement, a civil basilica (*the Basilica Vetus*) was built at the southeast end with one of its long sides facing the square to balance the bulk of the two main temples of *Liber Pater* and Rome and Augustus at the opposite end. The earliest design of the basilica¹²⁶, from the first century AD, is similar to the one at Pompeii. The original ground plan shows a four-sided court with columns surrounding a central nave. As in the basilica in the forum at Pompeii (figs. 10 a, b), the primary entrance into the building was through doorways in one its short sides (the northeast wall). Four rectangular *exedrae* were placed in the back corners of the basilica, opposite the main entrance, which could be reached by the side aisles of the basilica through two small vestibules.¹²⁷ A Curia, the meeting place of the municipal council, was placed just outside the forum at the southeast corner and opposite the entrance to the

¹²³ The North Temple was built in c. 5 BC-AD 2 (Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 466).

¹²⁴ IRT 520. Remains of the inscription are preserved at the north angle of the *Forum Vetus*, immediately in front of Temple N (Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 80-81).

¹²⁵ An inscription from a stele standing in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus reveals that the portico had been dedicated by M. Pompeius Silvanus (Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, p. 81).

¹²⁶ Later reconstructions and renovations of the basilica, especially the one from the period of Constantine, led to the survival of the structure (*ibid.*, p. 85).

¹²⁷ There were also side entrances in each of the long walls of the basilica (*ibid.*, p. 85).

basilica. It is characterized as a temple-like building that is set within a porticoed enclosure upon a raised platform. There was a seating arrangement for the municipal senate within its *cella*. More additions were made to the *Forum Vetus* under the Flavians and Antonines, including a temple to Magna Mater (Cybele) in AD 72 at the southwest corner and shrine in honour of Antoninus Pius.¹²⁸

By the middle of the first century BC, therefore, the form of the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis* reflected a monumental unity and a balanced composition as shown in the temples at the northwest end and the civil basilica at the southeast and in the enclosing colonnade along three sides. This unity and balance were achieved over an extended period of time with the addition of various buildings and embellishments in the forum quarter, beginning with the construction of twin temples. Many architectural elements that were applied in the fora of Republican Italy, including the basilica, the curia, and enclosing colonnades, were incorporated in the first century AD complex. The addition of a basilica before the middle of the first century AD not only altered the appearance of the forum quarter but also allocated new functions to it. The transversal arrangement of the basilica balanced the two temples at the opposite side and gave the forum the characteristics of a basilica-temple complex. A similar type of arrangement was applied at Corinth in the Augustan era as a basilica was placed transversally on one side of the forum opposite the Capitolium (fig. 16). Developments in the forum quarter at *Bulla Regia* in the second and third centuries AD also saw the construction of a large judicial basilica opposite an earlier podium temple.¹²⁹

In the first one hundred years after the Roman conquest of Africa, there is little evidence for the establishment of fora and the formalization of public spaces. At this time, the Italian influence is somewhat limited and native architectural traditions persist as shown in the "hybrid" temple architecture at *Utica* and *Lepcis Magna*. With the

¹²⁸ Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 467; David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 118-119; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 373.

¹²⁹ Developments in the civic centre of *Bulla Regia* are discussed in chapter four.

intensification of colonization in Africa under Caesar and Augustus, Roman concepts of town planning were applied in Africa. This is apparent in the Caesarian-Augustan foundation of Carthage and the deduction of colonists in 29 BC in which orthogonal planning was applied and a monumental public centre was established in a prominent position within the town's grid.

Under the Julio-Claudians, there seems to be a delay in municipal creations and there is little testimony to urban activity and monumental programmes in the towns and cities of *Africa Proconsularis*. With the exceptions of Dougga and the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna*, and to some extent the *Platea Vetus* at Mactar, little trace of the Julio-Claudian period is left in the archaeological and epigraphic records of sites and their fora. By AD 36, there seems to have been a civic centre at Dougga, though traces of it have disappeared under the developments of the second century AD that changed considerably the aspect of the town. Transformations of the urban landscape in the second century AD and in the Severan period may have erased traces of the Julio-Claudian period in the oldest towns of Africa.¹³⁰ The succeeding period, the Flavian, marks a change in municipal policy in *Africa Proconsularis* as one sees an intensification of municipal creations and promotions. The fora of the Flavian period will be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

¹³⁰ Paul-Albert Février, "Le fait urbain dans le Maghreb du III^e siècle. Les signes d'une crise?" *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, pp. 61, 73.

CHAPTER 3

FORA OF THE FLAVIAN PERIOD IN AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

The Flavian period in *Africa Proconsularis* was marked by a strengthened municipal policy in which numerous municipalities were created and several towns were elevated to a superior status. Two types of fora can be distinguished in this period. The first, the religious, is characterized as a temple dominated complex that is strictly delimited by a perimeter wall and whose open space is enclosed by a colonnade. This type of complex, apparent at Sbeitla (ancient *Sufetula*) and Haïdra (ancient *Ammaedara*), was initially conceived as a temple (s) dominated complex. Conversely, the second type, the civil or judicial, was conceived as a basilica-dominated complex, as shown in the Flavian phase of the forum at Rougga (ancient *Bararus*). Like the religious fora, it was strictly delimited by a perimeter wall and enclosing porticoes, though a basilica rather than a temple was the predominant element of the composition.

Following the death of the emperor Nero in AD 68 and the succeeding year of turmoil, the so-called Year of the Four Emperors, there was a return of political stability in the Roman Empire with the rise of Vespasian and the Flavian dynasty. This renewed stability allowed a return of a policy that stressed the creation of Roman towns in the provinces and the adoption of a policy that stressed westward and southward expansion in Africa. Such policies continued to be applied in Africa under the emperor Nerva and his successor Trajan. For this reason, the period between the rise of the Flavians in AD 69 and the time of Trajan (AD 98-AD 117) is characterized as one of great municipal

development in Africa. This is in stark contrast to the reign of the emperor Nero where there is very little evidence for the creation of *municipia* or *coloniae* in Roman Africa.

The Flavian emperors played a strong role in the strengthening of a municipal policy in Africa. During the last quarter of the first century AD, two colonies (*Ammaedara*, *Madauros*) were established in Africa, numerous *municipia* were founded (*Cillium*, *Sufetula*, *Bulla Regia*, *Lepcis Magna*), and some *municipia* were transformed or promoted to *coloniae* (e.g. *Hippo Regius*). Trajan also pursued a strong municipal policy in the first quarter of the second century AD. Military and economic reasons lay at the outset of the Flavian creations. A colony of veterans was established at *Ammaedara* at the time that the Third Augustan Legion had moved westwards to *Theveste* in AD 75.¹ The placement of a colony of veterans at *Ammaedara* would ensure a military presence and more control over the tribes of the *Musulamii* and would allow for the advancement of colonization towards the west. Furthermore, it would open the region to farming and cultivation, thus complementing the *annona*.

The creation of a network of roads favoured not only the municipal policy of the Flavians but also urban development. Surveyors and civil engineers of the Legion contributed to the formation of an efficient road network. A road system was required in Africa for communications, the collection of taxes and grain for the *annona*, and for the penetration of the military to the south and west of Africa. By the end of the first century AD, *Theveste*, the site of the Third Augustan Legion's camp, was at the centre of a spider's web of roads. These roads connected the garrison with Carthage and Capsa, *Hippo Regius* on the north coast and the string of *castella* (military posts) which were located further west on the mountainous frontier leading to *Mauretania*.²

¹ This is indicated by the name *col(onia) Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Aemerita Ammaedara* (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 28-34). In the seventies AD, the Legion moved to the west for strategic reasons, namely to contain and control the tribes of the *Musulamii* (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 28-34; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, pp. 65, 66, 68).

² Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 28-34; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, pp. 65, 66, 68.

The date of the foundation of Sbeitla (fig. 1) is still uncertain due to the nature of the site's epigraphy and literary references which, according to Noël Duval, are "étant muettes."³ It is believed, however, that the foundation was contemporary to that of Kasserine (ancient *Cillium*) and the veterans' colony at Haïdra (ancient *Ammaedara*) in the last quarter of the first century AD and after the definitive pacification of the region following the war with Tacfarinas and the confinement of the *Musulamii* to the west. Hence, Sbeitla may have been a Flavian municipality.⁴ A military origin for Sbeitla would correspond with the strategic importance of the site at a junction of roads that led to other important military sites in the frontier regions of Africa, including *Ammaedara*, *Theveste*, *Cillium*, and *Thelepte*. The regular, geometric plan of the town (fig. 20 a), which is similar to that of the later veterans' colony of Trajanic date at Timgad, may also indicate a military origin for the town. Prior to its transformation into a Roman town, Sbeitla may have been the site of a Roman *castellum* (fort).⁵ The precision and regularity of the plan of the original *castellum* would then have been applied in the later Roman town.

The town was established alongside a river (Oued Sbeitla) on a relatively flat plateau without any notable hills to prevent urban expansion on three sides. Unlike Dougga, the topography of Sbeitla provided ideal conditions for the application of Roman principles of town planning. The foot of the riverbed offered an abundant source of limestone and other building stone. By the time of its foundation as a *municipium*, it had

³ Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 598.

⁴ Sbeitla's oldest inscription seems to mention Vespasian (*CIL VIII 23216*), while the first precisely dated monument is the arch of Antoninus Pius (AD 139) which served as the forum's main entrance (Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 598-99). See also Colin Wells, "Town, country, and social mobility", p. 85, in *From Hannibal to Saint Augustine* and Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 8.

⁵ Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 30-31. It is, however, difficult to determine whether the establishment of regular town planning dates to the foundation of the *municipium* in the last quarter of the first century AD or if it is contemporary to Timgad, a military colony founded by Trajan in AD 100 (Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 598-99; Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 11).

evolved into a farming community in which irrigation had opened areas to the cultivation of grain and olives.⁶

Despite the non-existence of inscriptions identifying Sbeitla's forum and pinpointing its placement, it is generally agreed that it occupied the site of a colonnaded enclosure within the town's cadastrated nucleus. The dominant position of this enclosure within the urban grid and on the principal axis of the *Decumanus Maximus* 3 as well as its architectural features have led to such an identification (fig. 20 a).⁷ The plan of the so-called forum (fig. 20 b) is characterized as a rectangular enclosure (70 m x 67 m) that was completely delimited by a perimeter wall. Three sides of the open space were lined with porticoes behind which were covered halls. The fourth side of the open court (the western) was dominated by three temples whose bases are aligned and reunited by a series of arches. Passages running between the central temple and the lateral temples framed the central temple and provided access to the exterior of the enclosure.

The three-temple sanctuary at the back of the enclosure (fig. 20 c) is believed to be the Capitolium. Similar to the forum complex as a whole, however, there is no concrete evidence such as inscriptions or cult statues attesting to this identification.⁸ Regardless of the lack of written and sculptural testimony, the arrangement of the temples and their architectural features could have easily accommodated the Capitoline Triad. Firstly, the Italic features of the temples and their dominant positions within the town plan and the tripartite division of the back of the enclosure into three separate temples, each with its own *cella* and niche, corresponds with three of Barton's five criteria for a "true" Capitolium.⁹ The *cella* and niche of each temple may have been reserved for a

⁶ As a *municipium*, Sbeitla had a municipal council led by magistrates, duumvirs, aediles, and quaestors (Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 9). Evidence for the cultivation of olives is provided by numerous olive presses which the site has yielded (Noël Duval, *ANRW* II Princ. 10.2, pp. 602-603, 605-606).

⁷ Similar to the forum of Timgad, it was located at the heart of the urban grid and interrupted the course of a principal axis, the *Decumanus Maximus* (Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 19).

⁸ Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 23-25.

⁹ Ian M. Barton's criteria are discussed in chapter one of this study.

member of the Capitoline Triad, the central one for Jupiter and the two lateral temples for Juno and Minerva. Visual and architectural emphasis is clearly placed on the central temple. This emphasis is apparent in the placement of the temple on the primary axis of the enclosure and in its greater dimensions (figs. 20a, 20b and 20 c).¹⁰ Thus, it is possible that the central temple, with its distinct and predominant features, was reserved for a cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Although the temples were separated at their bases by passages leading to the exterior of the forum, there is some emphasis on unity. The central temple, for example, could not be accessed by its own monumental staircase but by the staircases of its neighbouring temples. Furthermore, a chain of arches, as mentioned above, linked the porches of the three temples to form a single platform¹¹ (fig. 20 c), thus emphasizing their unity. The podia of the earlier temples of *Liber Pater* and Rome and Augustus in the *Forum Vetus* of *Lepcis Magna* were linked in a similar fashion.

There are very few examples of temples in the Roman Empire which share a similar disposition as the temples at Sbeitla, where separate *cellae* are united by a platform and façade. In Transpadane Gaul, *Brixia* has a temple with three *cellae* at the back of its forum¹² though they share the same podium and are not separate temples like the sanctuary at Sbeitla. The dedication of the temple of *Brixia* is dated by an inscription to the fourth consulship of Vespasian (AD 73).¹³ In Africa, the closest parallels are found at Tuburnuc, a Roman settlement in northeastern Tunisia whose municipal status is unknown, at *Lepcis Magna*, and at *Cirta* in eastern Algeria.

¹⁰ The central temple is longer and taller than the lateral temples. It is possible to restore the arrangement of the roofs of the central temple (Temple B) and the temple to its immediate right (Temple A). The pediments at the front of the central temple and the back of Temple B have survived intact. Both temples had the classical pitched roof with a gabled end finishing in a pediment. Other than the two temples at Sbeitla, there is rarely enough evidence to restore the arrangement of roof timbers of temples in Africa (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 275).

¹¹ Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 23-27.

¹² The temple of *Brixia* was built on ground that rose above the forum piazza. A hexastyle *pronaos* fronted its three *cellae* (Malcolm Todd, "Forum and Capitolium in the early Empire", p. 61 fig. 46, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*).

The temple at the northwestern side of the forum at Tuburnuc, similar to the temple of *Brixia*¹⁴, had three *cellae* that were elevated on a podium above a rectangular esplanade.¹⁵ The *cellae* were fronted by a *pronaos* of nine Corinthian columns and were entered by three doors of the same width and height. Similar to the three temples at the back of Sbeitla's enclosure, the *cellae* of the temple at Tuburnuc had different dimensions. The central *cella*, like the central temple at Sbeitla, was the largest while the easternmost room was the smallest.¹⁶ Despite the lack of epigraphic and sculptural evidence, the temple at the back of the forum of Tuburnuc has often been identified as a Capitolium. Its arrangement, however, is more reminiscent of the African class of temples which are characterized by their triple *cellae* as in the Temple of Mercury at Dougga. Unlike the temples at Sbeitla, the *cellae* of the temple of Tuburnuc are not distributed in three separate temples.

The two temples of Rome and Augustus and *Liber Pater* in the *Forum Vetus* at Lepcis Magna (fig. 12), like the three temples at Sbeitla, are united through a common façade, as their porches are linked by means of a bridge. A complex comprising three temples, one larger one and two smaller ones, might have also stood at *Cirta*, though they were more widely separated than the three temples at Sbeitla.¹⁷ *Baelo in Baetica*, like Sbeitla, has three temples that stand side by side (about one metre apart) on a terrace

¹³ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 264; Malcolm Todd, "Forum and Capitolium in the early Empire", p. 61, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*.

¹⁴ The plan of the temple of *Brixia* may have influenced the plan of some African temples, including the possible Capitolium at Tuburnuc (ibid., p. 264).

¹⁵ Unfortunately, the forum at Tuburnuc has only been partially excavated. Both the temple and the forum have largely been destroyed by the construction of a Byzantine citadel at the end of the sixth century AD. The temple was incorporated into the fortress as a keep. The whole western side of the temple has been obliterated (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 231; Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 23-25; L. Poinssot et R. Lantier, "Fouilles à Tubernuc" *BCTH* 1926, pp. 218, 219-223).

¹⁶ Unlike the temples at Sbeitla, the three *cellae* of the so-called Capitolium at Tuburnuc could be reached by one monumental staircase that extended across the entire façade of the building (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 318-19; L. Poinssot et R. Lantier, "Fouilles à Tubernuc" *BCTH* 1926, pp. 218, 219-223).

¹⁷ There is, however, no evidence for a third temple at *Cirta*. The large temple may have held three *cellae*. For this reason, it is believed to have been the Capitolium of the town. The smaller temple was likely dedicated to the cult of some other divinity (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 285).

overlooking the level of the forum. They date to the middle of the second century AD. As at Sbeitla, each temple has its own podium, though there are no bridges linking the podia. Both the temples at Sbeitla and those at *Baelo* have not been positively identified as Capitolia.¹⁸

On the one hand, it is difficult to determine the origin of the three temples at the back of Sbeitla's complex and the date in which they were built without epigraphic evidence relating to their construction and dedication. On the other hand, there is sculptural evidence which might provide some clues as to their date. The only precisely dated monument is the arch that was dedicated to Antoninus Pius and his two adopted sons in AD 139. This arch served as a monumental entrance into the complex as it opened onto the *Decumanus Maximus* 3 from which it was reached by four steps.¹⁹ It is possible, however, that the temples are earlier than the Antonine arch. Such an assumption is based on the sculptural style of the column capitals of the temples which differed from that of the capitals of the monumental entrance. The sculptural style provides a rough date for the placement of these temples in the period between the late first century AD and the early second century AD. Hence, they are either Flavian or at latest Trajanic in date. The three temples at the back of Sbeitla's so-called forum possess some "classical" features of a Roman temple. They were built on elevated podia and those of the two framing temples were approached by stairs which were placed frontally. Each temple had a single *cella* that was preceded by a tetrastyle (four columns along the front) portico.²⁰

Although they are believed to be contemporary, there are some peculiar features and variations in the composition of Sbeitla's temples. The most obvious variation, as was discussed above, is the difference in height between the central temple and the two

¹⁸ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 268.

¹⁹ The presence of steps suggests that the complex was not accessible to wheeled traffic (Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 19). For the inscription on the arch, see Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 305.

²⁰ Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 23-27.

lateral temples, the former being larger and taller. Other differences can be seen in the external decorations of the three temples and particularly, the style of columns. All three temples were pseudo-peripteral in that the exterior walls of their backs and sides were framed by engaged columns or pilasters. The central temple employed engaged columns while the temples to its left and right were ornamented with engaged pilasters. The use of engaged columns or pilasters in the exterior walls is not common in the podium temples of Africa or in typical Roman temples in general. On the one hand, the use of engaged columns in the exterior arrangement of seemingly typical Roman temples would appear to indicate a local or African architectural preference.²¹ On the other hand, the Temple of Portunus in the *Forum Boarium* at Rome, built in the second half of the second century BC, has a row of Ionic half columns that are engaged into the outside walls of its cella. Such an arrangement of columns gives the temples at Sbeitla and the Temple of Portunus the *appearance* of fully peripteral Greek temples.²²

The columns of the façades of the lateral temples at Sbeitla were Corinthian while those of the central temple were Composite.²³ There are also some variations in the composition of the interiors of the three temples in that the *cella* of the central one is deeper and rectangular with a base at the back for a cult statue, while the lateral temples have circular niches in their back walls to hold statues.²⁴

The overall layout of the complex at Sbeitla has some anomalies that are worth mentioning here. Firstly, the axis of the principal temple does not coincide with the axis of the later Antonine arch, which is pushed to the north while the arch's central opening is not on the same axis as the *Decumanus Maximus*. A further irregularity is apparent in the

²¹ Fully peripteral temples are rare in Africa (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 275). The temples of *Liber Pater* and Rome and Augustus were pseudo-peripteral in that they had columns along three of four sides.

²² Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture*, p. 21-22.

²³ The capital of a Composite column is formed from the bottom of a Corinthian capital and the volutes of an Ionic column (Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 23-27).

²⁴ The arrangement of the central temple distinguishes it from the other two. Its predominant dimensions and position within the triple sanctuary further emphasize the idea that it was reserved for a cult statue of Jupiter, the supreme god of the Capitoline Triad, while the other two temples were dedicated to Juno and Minerva respectively (Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 23-27).

axis of the central temple, which does not correspond to that of the enclosure. This asymmetry of the forum may have resulted from an expansion of the enclosure along the southwestern side at a later date.²⁵

Unfortunately, the earliest state of the enclosure cannot be determined with certainty due to the fact that it was frequently repaired and renovated in antiquity. The dimensions of the actual open space that extends before the three temples and the enclosing porticoes are almost square (34.75 m x 37.20 m). The court was paved with limestone slabs under which lies a drain running along the complex's diagonal. As already mentioned, porticoes were elevated on three sides which supported a roof over the surrounding galleries. Thirteen Corinthian columns comprised the portico along the southeastern side, which were interrupted by the erection of the Antonine arch in AD 139, while there were fifteen along the sides of the enclosure. Statues were elevated in the intercolumnations by the inhabitants of Sbeitla and dedicated to emperors or local notables, as shown in the inscribed pedestals that the site has yielded.²⁶

The covered galleries of the porticoes ended at two niches to the sides of the lateral temples, which may have held statues. The galleries also opened onto a series of small rooms, four to five metres deep, whose exact functions are not known. Some interpretations of their uses include shops, municipal rooms, or small chapels or altars. Attempts to define the functions of these rooms, however, are complicated by the poor state of the remains, especially along the southwestern side. Very little is also known about the origin of the rooms at the northwestern angle of the complex which are pressed up against the northernmost temple and are entered by means of the *exedra* at the end of the covered gallery. There was probably a similar layout at the southwestern angle of the

²⁵ A later expansion along the southwestern side would also explain the discrepancy in the dimensions of the rooms along this side and those at the opposite end of the complex which border the porticoes. The former rooms are deeper than the latter (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 305; Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 20-21).

²⁶ Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 20-23.

complex before the later expansion along the southwestern side.²⁷ Side doors that are preserved in the perimeter wall along the northeastern side may have provided communication for the forum with other public buildings. These buildings have largely been obliterated by later Christian buildings, including a basilica.²⁸

Thus, the complex at Sbeitla was conceived as a temple dominated complex that was isolated from the surrounding streets by a perimeter wall. The similar dimensions and décor of the lateral temples as well as the symmetry of the complex prior to the later additions emphasize the idea that the complex and its temples were designed as an integrated structure. The three temples of *Baelo* were also likely designed as an integrated structure as they were of the same general size.²⁹ The establishment of the temple dominated complex may have occurred around the time that the town was elevated to the status of *municipium* under the Flavians. Emphasis was clearly placed on the forum's religious role, as shown in the predominant position of the temples within the colonnaded enclosure. Spaces for shrines or municipal functions may have also been reserved in the halls that opened off the porticoes. Provisions for commercial activities, conversely, do not seem to have been made as shown in the isolation of the forum from the surrounding streets.³⁰ The temples maintained their predominant positions during the course of the town's development as there is no evidence for the construction of a commercial or judicial quarter in or near the temple-dominated enclosure.

²⁷ With the extension of the complex to the southwest, a larger room was built at the southwest angle with a semicircular niche at the back possibly destined to hold statues. This room is theorized to be the curia, a meeting hall for the municipal council (Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 21-23).

²⁸ Only a paved floor and some walls have been uncovered under the Christian basilica, thus suggesting that it replaced an earlier structure, possibly a market or a civil basilica (Samia Ithem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 452; Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ. 10.2*, pp. 603-604, 606-607; Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula*, p. 21-23).

²⁹ Similarly, the three temples of *Teate Marrucinarum* in Italy were likely conceived as an integrated structure. Two small temples share a podium while the third is pressed up against their podium. The donors of the temples are mentioned in an inscription from a door lintel of the temples. The inscription is believed to date to the Flavian, roughly contemporary to the complex at Sbeitla (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ. 12.1*, pp. 265, 268).

³⁰ This isolation is further emphasized in the later monumental entrance, the Antonine arch, whose steps would have complicated the access of wheeled traffic into the enclosure. Sbeitla's commercial activities, however, may have been accommodated in buildings outside the forum, such as *macella*. These buildings are yet to be found in the archaeological record.

Haïdra's so-called forum has a similar plan to Sbeitla's in that a temple is the predominant element in the monumental scheme. It dominates an open space that is enclosed by porticoes and covered galleries which, in turn, are delimited by a perimeter wall.

The region of Haïdra (ancient *Ammaedara*) (figs 1,2, and 3) near the Algerian-Tunisian frontier was occupied by the Carthaginians and then the Numidians before the Roman conquest and subsequent colonization of the region in the first century AD. Towards the end of Augustus' reign and after the first revolt of the *Musulamii*, a permanent camp of the army was placed at Haïdra. From here, the Third Augustan Legion participated in the pacification of Tunisia's "centre-ouest" and most notably in the war with Tacfarinas.³¹ After the region was pacified, the legionary base was moved westwards to Tébessa (AD 75), then to *Lambaesis* at the end of the century. With the first transferal of the camp, Haïdra was transformed into a *colonia* that was populated by veterans of the Legion (*Colonia Flavia Augusta Aemerita Ammaedara*³²) at the same time that *Madauros*, also in the territory of the *Musulamii*, received a similar type of colony.³³

Two factors played a decisive role in placing a military colony at Haïdra. Firstly, the site is strategic in that it is located at the junction of important roads, including the one that joins *Sicca Veneria* with Kasserine and the one that joins Carthage with *Theveste*. The Carthage-*Theveste* road, one of the great roads of penetration into the interior, became the principal east-west axis (the *Decumanus Maximus*) of the town.³⁴

³¹ The region of Haïdra was traditional territory of the *Musulamii* (Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, pp. 635, 637-38). Similar to the later legionary camp at Tébessa, very little is known about the original camp at Haïdra and its placement. Later developments in the urban landscape probably obliterated its remains. Despite the nature of the remains and the lack of archaeological and epigraphic proof, Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 643-45, theorizes that the original legionary camp was placed where two principal roads crossed.

³² *ILS* 6786.

³³ François Baratte et Noël Duval, *Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara*, p. 7; Colin Wells, "Town, country, and social mobility", p. 85, in *From Hannibal to Saint Augustine*; Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 638-39.

³⁴ There is very little evidence of a "plan quadrillé ou au-moins régulier" (Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 646). Sections of it can sometimes be seen in aerial photographs (Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, pp. 639, 641-42). See fig. 1, p. 640 in Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 633-71 for the "schéma de la cadastration" that has been recreated from aerial photographs.

The proximity of a water source (oued Haïdra) also played an important role in the choice of the site.

Like Sbeitla, there is no inscriptional evidence attesting to a forum at Haïdra.³⁵ This deficiency in the resources, however, has not prevented archaeologists from theorizing that the forum of Haïdra occupied the site of an important monument in the central quarter of the town (fig. 21 a). Such a theory is based on the layout of this monument which is characterized by a large tetrastyle temple at the back of a colonnaded enclosure (fig. 21 b). On the one hand, there is an obvious lack of concrete evidence, including statues and inscriptions, which would confirm this identification of the temple-complex as a forum. The whole site of the temple and its enclosure is in a very ruinous state and the entrance side of the court has been largely destroyed by the construction of a modern road. On the other hand, some of the complex's features, such as its relation with other buildings, its elevated position in the town and its architectural elements, may support its identification as a complex integrating a forum and temple.³⁶

The tetrastyle temple at the north end of the complex dominates a vast paved courtyard that was surrounded by porticoes on its other three sides (fig. 21 b). The placement of the temple at the back of and on the long axis of a rectangular enclosure is similar to the form that was adopted in the early imperial period by the Temple of Jupiter (the Capitolium) and the corresponding forum at Pompeii. Entrance into the paved area of the complex at Haïdra was from the south. Despite the lack of epigraphic and sculptural evidence, the temple has been associated with a Capitolium because of its imposing façade and proportions and its dominant position which is much like the

³⁵ Very few of Haïdra's monuments, like those at Sbeitla, are dated precisely (François Baratte et Noël Duval, *Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara*, p. 8-9). The site has not been the object of extensive stratigraphic surveys. Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ. 10.2*, p. 634, summarizes the state of research and the evidence at Haïdra when he states: "Le site d'Ammaedara est encore plus incomplètement fouillé que celui de Sufetula." The written material on *Ammaedara* is also somewhat lacking due to its dispersed nature (François Baratte et Noël Duval, *Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara*, pp. 8-9, 15; Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ. 10.2*, pp. 635, 645).

³⁶ Due to the ruinous state of the town's central quarter, archaeologists are forced to refer to aerial photographs to reconstruct its plan (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ. 12.1*, p. 281; Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ. 10.2*, p. 646; François Baratte et Noël Duval, *Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara*, p. 46-47).

position of the temple in the forum of Pompeii. Its plan relates to that of a typical Roman temple in that it has a single *cella* mounted on an elevated podium. The podium³⁷ was approached by a frontal flight of stairs and the *cella* was fronted by a *pronaos* of six Corinthian columns placed in a tetrastyle formation (four across the façade and two prostyle).³⁸

Based on its layout, dimensions and placement at the heart of the town, Haïdra's temple-dominated complex is conjectured to be the forum of the town. Further support for its identification as a forum may come from the fact that several civic buildings were placed in its proximity during the course of the town's development (fig. 21 a). These included a structure to the east consisting of a roughly square hall around which were placed a portico and some rooms and the "Batiments à fenêtres" to the southeast which is theorized to be a civil basilica.³⁹ The orientation of the buildings in the central quarter of Haïdra diverges slightly and a "plan quadrillé ou au-moins régulier" does not exist. Conversely, it appears as if the buildings were placed on the side of a hill following a "plan en éventail" that adapted well to the configuration of the terrain.⁴⁰

The features of the complexes of Sbeitla and Haïdra suggest that they were initially conceived as temple dominated complexes. Podium temples were placed at the back of an enclosure that was isolated from the surrounding streets and buildings by a perimeter wall. The back walls of the temples were actually incorporated into the perimeter wall. Porticoes and covered galleries enclosed the open space that extended before the temples. Both complexes were also located in a key location of the town and

³⁷ The podium of the temple is massive and seems to have extended well beyond the superstructure of the temple (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 282).

³⁸ François Baratte et Noël Duval, *Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara*, p. 46-47; Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 646.

³⁹ The porticoed hall has been identified as a market, though there is no epigraphic evidence supporting this. The so-called market was separated from the temple-complex by means of a wall. Other buildings that were added at a later date include a basilica to the northwest and a bath complex that was built further north (François Baratte et Noël Duval, *Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara*, p. 49-56; Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 646).

⁴⁰ Noël Duval, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 646.

in the case of Haïdra's complex, essential public buildings were added around it during the course of the town's history.

As previously mentioned, problems arise in dating such complexes because of the paucity of the epigraphic evidence. In the case of Sbeitla, the initial phase of its complex has been dated roughly to the end of the first century AD based on the architectural décor of its three temples. It was probably established in the twenty-five years after its promotion to *municipium* under the Flavians. At Haïdra there is even less datable evidence for its complex. The layout of Haïdra's complex, however, does share some characteristics that are found in Sbeitla's. Its temple, like those at the back of Sbeitla's forum, is placed within the enclosure with its back being incorporated into the complex's perimeter wall. Both Haïdra's temple and Sbeitla's lateral temples are characterized as lofty podium temples with frontal emphasis and a high staircase of approach. The *pronaos* of Haïdra's temple shares the tetrastyle arrangement of Corinthian columns that is also found at Sbeitla. At both sites, the complexes are isolated from the surrounding urban features by a perimeter wall and the open space is enclosed by covered galleries which are fronted by porticoes. These similarities⁴¹, therefore, may indicate that the two complexes are roughly contemporary. Such a theory may find further support from the fact that both sites witnessed municipal promotions under the Flavians, Sbeitla perhaps to *municipium* and Haïdra to *colonia*. Yet without concrete archaeological evidence and until systematic excavations are carried out in the zone of the temple-dominated sanctuary at Haïdra, this theory remains highly conjectural.

The forum of *Hippo Regius*⁴² (modern Annaba), a major port city on the north coast of *Proconsularis* (northern Algeria), can be firmly dated to the Flavian era.

⁴¹ There are also some noteworthy differences between the two complexes. Sbeitla's complex is nearly square, while Haïdra's perimeter wall encloses a complex of rectangular dimensions. Also, the halls that open onto the southern, eastern, and northern galleries at Sbeitla are not found at Haïdra. Furthermore, there is no evidence for engaged columns or pilasters along the outer walls of the temple of Haïdra.

⁴² *Hippo Regius* was a *municipium* under Augustus and was promoted to colonial status under the Antonines. Due to its important position as a shipping point for grain to Rome, an imperial procurator was stationed there (Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 211).

According to an inscription that was cut into its pavement, the forum dates to AD 77/8. This date is further confirmed by a bust of the emperor Vespasian that was found in the forum.⁴³ Similar to the complexes of Sbeitla and Haïdra, a temple of Italic type was most likely centred on the axis of the area as attested by the substantial remains of a substructure of large cut stones and a monumental stairway at the southern end of the forum. The substructure of the building was divided into vaults to provide firm support for the *pronaos* and *cella* of the temple and its back wall coincided with the end wall of the forum enclosure, as at Sbeitla and Haïdra. Its plan and imposing situation in the forum of the town suggest a Capitolium though there is no firm evidence, particularly inscriptions and statues.⁴⁴

The appearance of the forum of Rougga (ancient *Bararus*) in its initial phase presents a forum type that can be contrasted with the complexes of Sbeitla and Haïdra and the forum of *Hippo Regius*. In the Flavian period, Rougga's forum was conceived as a civil type complex, with a basilica rather than a temple as the predominant element of the composition.

The region of the *municipium* of *Bararus* (fig. 3) near El Djem (ancient *Thysdrus*) in southeastern Tunisia was exploited for cultivation and the production of olive oil from the time of Julius Caesar. Although very little is known about the history of the site, judging from its geographical position it appears to have been an administrative centre for surrounding agricultural villages and farms. Aerial photographs of the site reveal a cadastration or “un réseau de pierriers orthogonaux”⁴⁵ which integrated the construction of a forum and a theatre.⁴⁶

⁴³ There are, however, earlier levels. Under the curia at the northwest corner of the forum, a large trophy had been erected to celebrate Caesar's victory (Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 211; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 101). Epigraphy from *Hippo Regius* is relatively poor as the site has not been the focus of extensive excavation (Stéphane Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, p. 1).

⁴⁴ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 287-88.

⁴⁵ Roger Guéry, "L'occupation de Rougga (*Bararus*) d'après la stratigraphie du forum", *BCTH* 17 B 1981, p. 91-92.

⁴⁶ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 451.

The forum of Rougga is the only known forum complex of Tunisia that can be attributed with relative certainty to the Flavian period. A combination of stratigraphic surveys and architectural studies has allowed a restoration of the complex as it appeared in its first state.⁴⁷ The earliest appearance of the forum at Rougga (fig. 22 a) presents the second type of forum that appears in Africa by the end of the first century AD: the civil or judicial. Unlike the so-called fora at Sbeitla and Haïdra⁴⁸ where one or more temples dominated the open space of their complexes, Rougga's public space originated as a civil or judicial type forum where a basilica served as the predominant feature. A portico enclosed the rectangular open space on three sides (the north, east, and south), while the fourth side (the western) was occupied by a basilica that opened onto the *area* of the forum by means of a series of doorways in one of its long sides. This scheme seems to have persisted at least until the second quarter of the second century AD when twin temples⁴⁹ were built at the western end which obliterated the basilica and replaced it as the predominant element of the complex (fig. 22 b).

The Julio-Claudian period has left little trace in the archaeological record of the forum zone while architectural developments of the Flavian period are better represented. It was probably around the latter period in the last quarter of the first century AD when the forum was established on an artificial terrace in the approximate centre of the town and delimited at the southwest angle by a peristyle. A second peristyle was added later at the northeast angle. In its initial state, prior to the alterations of the second century AD which involved the incorporation of twin temples along the western side, Rougga's forum presented itself as an oblong place.⁵⁰ It was bordered by porticoes on three sides and

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 451.

⁴⁸ The complexes at Sbeitla and Haïdra are referred to as “so-called fora” because there is no epigraphic evidence identifying them and their surrounding features, as discussed above.

⁴⁹ A stylistic study of the temples' decoration dates the temples to the second quarter of the second century AD. Fragments from the temples' cornice give a more precise date to between AD 125 and AD 140. Unfortunately, there is no significant evidence for the identification of the deities honoured in the twin temples (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X* p. 451).

⁵⁰ The dimensions of the forum (69.63 m x 40.44 m) present a virtual rectangle (Gilbert Hallier, *BCTH* 17 B 1981, p. 101).

closed at its western end by an elongated building (fig. 22 a). The composition was established at the same time as the peristyle that is contiguous to the southwest and as the portico bordering the northeast. A vestibule occupied the northeastern angle of the complex and opened onto stairs that descended into a sector occupied by two large public cisterns. The portico that enclosed the open space on three sides rested on a stylobate and the surrounding galleries as well as the forum proper were paved in a greenish stone. Fragments of column bases from the portico employ a bluish-grey marble that was exploited from the Flavian period onwards and used extensively in the towns of *Tripolitania* in the second century AD. Since the shafts of the columns were monolithic black and grey granite, it is possible that they were premade for transport in a *navis lapidaria* (a ship used in the transport of building stone) at their source. The forum complex was also well furnished with hydraulic works including gutters and reservoirs that received water runoff from the roofs of the porticoes and the building that closed the western end.⁵¹

The portico of the forum ends at the west on the building that represents the significant element of the programme. Hence, Rougga's forum presents a unitary combination of a *porticus triplex* and a transversal building that closes the rectangular space at the western end. The building communicates with the open space by means of openings in one of its long sides and is extended at each end by annexes that have been identified as *tribunalia*. As in the case of the fora at Sbeitla and Haïdra, it is difficult to identify such a building without epigraphic evidence that can be associated with it. Within a North African context, the tripartite division of the interior of Rougga's building seems to parallel the monuments that are common in the forum complexes in *Mauretania*. These buildings, often identified as temples, were characterized by several

⁵¹ Gilbert Hallier, *BCTH* 17 B 1981, pp. 103, 105-106, 109.

cellae juxtaposed behind a common *pronaos*.⁵² Rougga's building, however, does not have a *pronaos* or *cellae* at the back. Thus, its form does not correspond with that of the Mauretanian buildings. Rather, the layout of the forum at Rougga and the transversal building seems to correspond with the basilica-forum complexes of the provinces of the first century AD and particularly those in Britain and Gaul. In the Gallic and British examples, a basilica was often placed along a short side of a complex with one of its long sides facing the open space and opposite a temple. In such compositions, the basilica occupied the entire width of the forum.⁵³ The first century forum at Rougga, however, does not have a temple opposite its basilica. Nor is there evidence of *tabernae* lining the covered galleries.⁵⁴ Stratigraphic surveys have determined a Flavian date for the forum at Rougga and more precisely, between the end of the reign of Vespasian and the beginning of the reign of Domitian. A stylistic analysis of the capitals of the forum's portico indicates a date of AD 70. The type of marble that was employed in the composite columns of the portico was exploited in Italy and Africa from the Flavians onwards and came into widespread use in *Tripolitania* in the second century AD.⁵⁵

By the Flavian period, there are several trends in the known forum plans in *Africa Proconsularis*. These include the placement of a forum in a key location of a town, usually at its geographic centre, and the emphasis of the forum as a separate enclosure by isolating it from the surrounding streets and neighbouring buildings through a perimeter

⁵² The fora at *Sala*, *Banasa*, *Volubilis*, *Tipasa*, and *Tuburnuc* have buildings with multiple *cellae* (Maurice Euzennat et Gilbert Hallier, "Les forums de Tingitane" *Ant afr*, t. 22 1986, p. 73-101; Serge Lancel, *Tipasa de Maurétanie*, p. 26-31).

⁵³ Examples of complexes of Roman Europe in which basilicas figure as predominant elements include *Glanum*, *Julium Carnicum*, and *Augusta Bagiennorum* in Cisalpine and Transpadane Gaul, *Augusta Raurica* (*Germania*), *Lugdunum Convenarum* (*Aquitania*), and *Lutetia Parisiorum* in northern Gaul (See figs. 18 through 23 in James Russell, *Phoenix* XXII, p. 315-16). British sites include *Calleva Atrebatum*, *Corinium*, *Venta Silurum*, and *Londinium*. In Africa, *Thubursicu Numidarum* has a basilica-forum complex. A similar disposition of a basilica can be found in the later Forum of Trajan at Rome. For other examples of such complexes in the Roman Empire, see Gilbert Hallier, *BCTH* 17 B 1981, p. 111.

⁵⁴ Similar to the temple complexes at Sbeitle and Hafdra, the access of extensive commercial traffic into the forum quarter at Rougga was not facilitated. Commercial activities may have been accommodated in buildings outside the forum, including the peristyles which adjoined the enclosure. Thus, the forum of Rougga appears to have had "une vocation essentiellement...civique" (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X p. 452) in the Flavian period. The peristyle adjoining the enclosure may have accommodated several roles, much like the *eumachia* building in the forum at Pompeii.

⁵⁵ Gilbert Hallier, *BCTH* 17 B 1981, p. 112-113.

wall and corresponding porticoes. The evidence also suggests that there were at least two types of forum plans by the end of the Flavian period. The civic architects could unify a complex around either one or more temples or a basilica. In other words, the evidence suggests that there were two alternative forum plans available to the civic architects of *Africa Proconsularis* by the end of the first century AD. At *Hippo Regius*, Sbeitla and Haïdra, emphasis was placed on the religious aspect as Italic-style temples served as the predominant elements of their complexes, while at Rougga the civic role of the forum was stressed as a basilica was placed transversally on one of its short sides. Furthermore, the exclusion of *tabernae*⁵⁶ within Rougga's complex laid added emphasis on its civic role. The appearance of a basilica-forum complex in *Africa Proconsularis* by the end of the first century AD corresponds with the profusion of this type of complex in other provinces, namely the three Gauls and Britain. The basilica-forum complex began appearing in Gaul in the first century BC and became a common feature in many towns of Roman Britain and Gaul in the succeeding centuries.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

CHAPTER 4

FORA OF THE SECOND CENTURY AD IN AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

Urban programmes of the second century AD in *Africa Proconsularis* are better represented in the archaeological and epigraphic record than those of the preceding period. With the reign of Hadrian, a boost was given to civic building, and from Antoninus Pius to Caracalla, cities were embellished with buildings "à l'envi".¹ Consequently, a "boom" in urban construction and monumental programmes in the cities of *Africa Proconsularis* is believed to have occurred in this period. Several factors may have contributed to this increased building including economic prosperity that was felt especially in *Africa Proconsularis* and the establishment of a more efficient road network by this period. Roads were essential for economic development in the Roman Empire and were needed for urbanization and particularly the transportation of building materials. They were also used for the transportation of agricultural surplus in Africa.²

With the improved archaeological and epigraphic evidence of the second century AD, it is possible to recreate the development of fora more clearly in this period and to

¹ Paul-Albert Février, "Le fait urbain dans le Maghreb du IIIe siècles. Les signes d'une crise?" *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, p. 60.

² Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 41-44. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Flavians played an important role in the formation of this road system in *Africa Proconsularis*

establish certain trends in forum construction and planning. The two divergent trends in development that occur in the first imperial period continue in the second century AD. They include complexes that were not the result of unitary programmes and neatly structured plans, such as the fora at Dougga, *Thuburbo Maius*, and *Althiburos* and those that were, including the Antonine basilica-forum complex at Carthage and the forum at Timgad.

In addition to the civil and the religious variety of the forum, a third type can be found in *Africa Proconsularis* in the second century AD which is characterized as a dual complex. Some fora adopted dual roles through a gradual evolution as vast judicial or commercial quarters were added after the development of and in proximity of the initial forum quarters. A large judicial basilica was placed opposite the earlier podium temple in the forum of *Bulla Regia* while commercial quarters comprising markets and temples were closely linked to the initial temple-dominated fora of Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius* in the Medjerda valley of Tunisia. The addition of a basilica in the forum of *Bulla Regia* is similar to the developments of the Julio-Claudian period in the *Forum Vetus* of *Lepcis Magna*. Before proceeding with a discussion of the fora of the second century AD and their development and types, the municipal policies of the emperors in Africa as well as the municipal status of the towns to be examined will be summarized.

The period from the reign of the emperor Trajan to the ascension of Septimius Severus is known as a great period of municipal creations not only in *Africa Proconsularis*, but also in most provinces of the Roman Empire. The second century AD is marked by a greater granting of Roman citizenship and more rapid and brilliant

as succeeding emperors adopted their policy. The prosperity of the second century AD, however, began to fade by the middle of the century (Paul-Albert Février, *150 Jahr-Feier*, p. 60).

municipal development through the special *beneficium* of the emperors and by the creation of *municipia* and honorary colonies.³ Peace and security were also maintained in *Africa Proconsularis* in the course of the second century AD due to the presence of soldiers in the frontier regions to the south and west. Under the emperor Nerva (AD 96-AD 98)⁴ and Trajan (AD 98-AD 117), the Flavian policy of westwards and southwards expansion in Africa continued.

Trajan's reign marks a period of strengthened municipal development in *Africa Proconsularis*, as attested by the creation of numerous *municipia* and *coloniae*. There was a military significance for the Trajanic creations as many can be linked to his policy of territorial expansion towards the south and west of Africa. This is emphasized by the settlement of troops in camps or *castella* near the Aures Mountains, which were linked by roads.⁵ At the beginning of Trajan's reign, the Third Augustan Legion was transferred from *Theveste* to *Lambaesis*. Similar to Vespasian's treatment of Haïdra following the transfer of the Legion to *Theveste*, Trajan likely transformed *Theveste* into a colony of veterans which ensured a Roman presence in a strategically important place.⁶

³ The transformation of a *civitas* or *municipium* into an honorary *colonia* was a dignity often reserved for towns with illustrious pasts that were found in long-occupied territory. Such a promotion, therefore, is often purely honorary. For example, *Lepcis Magna*, a *municipium* since the time of Vespasian, attained the rank of *colonia (ius coloniae)* under Trajan. This promotion may be attributed to the wealth and economic importance of *Lepcis* as the first century AD was a period of great prosperity and activity, especially in the export of olive oil, for the town. Such towns were not necessarily the focus of a deduction of veterans or Roman citizens. The appellation *colonia* simply conferred Roman citizenship on all of the townspeople (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 41-44, 73, 79; David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, p. 116).

⁴ Due to Nerva's brief reign (only sixteen months), there is little testimony to his activities in Africa. *Sitifis* (Sétif), a colony of veterans founded in the eastern part of *Mauretania Caesariensis*, is attributed to him as well as *Cuicul* (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 28; *ibid.*, "La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord" *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 166-68).

⁵ *Ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, pp. 168, 178-79.

⁶ Important roads converged on *Theveste*. The legionary veterans, having been allotted lands in the region of *Theveste*, were able to develop its agricultural wealth, especially in olives (*ibid.*, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 93-96; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, pp. 168, 173-74, 178-79).

In AD 100, a second veterans' colony was created at Timgad (*Colonia Marciana Traiana*⁷) (fig. 1) on the north side of the Aures to the west of *Theveste*. The town was henceforth laid out according to a geometric plan, probably through the work of the *legio III Augusta*. The site had strategic value, as it was located on the southern frontier and on the edge of "barbarian" country. It was also located on a principal Roman road (*Theveste-Lambaesis*) and commanded the roads that penetrated the great valley of the Aures Mountains. Timgad, similar to Sbeitla, may have originated as a military post before the deduction of veterans, possibly as a provisional camp of the Third Augustan Legion between the time it left *Theveste* and was installed at *Lambaesis*. Since the colony was placed at the edge of "barbarian" country, Rome could easily recruit soldiers from Timgad's inhabitants, thus forming pockets of loyalty in otherwise hostile territory. Although the veterans became farmers and their role became somewhat inactive, their presence still contributed to the *pax Romana*. In addition to its strategic value, Timgad was founded for economic and politico-administrative motives. The region was rich in wheat and olives and had access to the timber of the Aures Mountains. The colony, with its central position in the fertile zone of the northern Aures, provided an administrative centre for the area, as well as a centre for tax collection.⁸

Djemila (ancient *Cuicul*) (fig. 1) is also identified as a Trajanic foundation. With the foundation of a *colonia* in the high plains to the east of the Cirtan Confederation and to the north of *Theveste*, Trajan intended to control the indigenous tribes.⁹ With a colony

⁷ ILS 6841, 6842, 6844.

⁸ Elizabeth W. B. Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army*, p. 128; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 97-100; *ibid.*, ANRW II, Princ. 10.2, p. 174; Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 73-75.

⁹ Jacques Gascou, ANRW II Princ. 10.2, p. 175.

at Djemila, links between sites in *Numidia* and *Mauretania Caesariensis* could be strengthened. Djemila, like Timgad, received a colony of veterans for strategic reasons as it was located in a mountainous region that was easy to defend.¹⁰

The emperor Hadrian (AD 117-AD 138) pursued Trajan's policy of penetrating the Aures Mountains with *castella* and farms. An extension of Roman occupation towards the south offered new lands to be cultivated and permitted urbanization.¹¹ The demand of the *annona* at Rome required such an extension of occupation in Africa as the region was an essential producer of wheat by the end of the first century AD. Under Hadrian, a large number of *municipia* and honorary colonies were created in Africa and these were located primarily in the northeast of *Africa Proconsularis*, either in *Africa Vetus* or in those regions of *Africa Nova* closest to the ancient province where Italian immigration extended back to the Republican period. These creations were concentrated in the region near the middle and lower Medjerda river valley and the region of the oued Miliane. Several cities that were known for past glories and extensive histories became honorary colonies in this period. These included *Bulla Regia*¹² and *Zama Regia*, two ancient residences of the Numidian kings.

Thuburbo Maius was a *civitas* until the time of Hadrian when it was elevated to *municipium* in c. AD 128. Before the end of the Second Punic War, it was within the

¹⁰ Paul-Albert Février, "Notes sur le développement urbain en Afrique du Nord", p. 4; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 108-110.

¹¹ Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 37-41.

¹² Until its elevation to the rank of *colonia* under Hadrian, *Bulla Regia* was a *municipium*, a title that it had received by AD 110-AD 112. The town was important due to its location on the ancient road from Carthage to *Hippo Regius* and its agricultural wealth. Until the years between the Second and Third Punic Wars when the region was taken over by Masinissa and the Numidians, *Bulla Regia* was part of Carthaginian territory. After the battle of *Zama* (202 BC), King Masinissa expanded Numidian territory by annexing the "Great Plains" in the region of *Bulla Regia* which were rich in wheat, and the trading posts of *Tripolitania* (Jehan Desanges, "The indigenous kingdoms and the Hellenization of North Africa", p. 69, in *From Hannibal to Saint Augustine*; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, pp. 65, 115-117; *ibid.*, ANRW II Princ. 10.2, pp. 182-83, 192).

sphere of the Carthaginians and the Punic tradition remained deeply rooted there well into the Roman period, as shown in the peculiar plans of some of its later sanctuaries.¹³ Even before the elevation to *municipium*, rich citizens of Carthage would have owned lands in the region and may have held residence in the *civitas*, as at Dougga in the first century AD. By the time of the promotion under Hadrian, the processes of Romanization may have been well advanced at *Thuburbo Maius* due to its proximity to Carthage. Numerous ancient roads either passed through or in proximity of *Thuburbo Maius*, including the roads to the coast and to Carthage, a route running west towards Dougga, and a southern road to Haïdra. The town had also acquired substantial wealth through the cultivation of grain and olives.¹⁴

Althiburos in the "Haut Tell"¹⁵ of Tunisia was also elevated to *municipium* under Hadrian.¹⁶ *Althiburos* was an indigenous *civitas* still administered by *sufetes* in the first century AD and the beginning of the second century AD. Development was encouraged by the agricultural wealth of the town and its surrounding region and its placement on the great road from Carthage to *Theveste* that Hadrian developed in AD 123.¹⁷

Under Antoninus Pius (AD 138-AD 161), there are not as many municipal creations attested in Africa as there are under his predecessors. In the two Mauretanas,

¹³ Alexandre Lézine, *Thuburbo Maius*, p. 4-5.

¹⁴ Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 127-29; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 185-86; Alexandre Lézine, *Thuburbo Maius*, p. 4-6.

¹⁵ The "Haut Tell" of Tunisia is an elevated region between the southern border of the plain of the middle *Bagradas* and the mountains of the Tunisian Dorsal renowned for its fertility and good water sources (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 131-34; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 189; Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 5).

¹⁶ A Hadrianic date for the promotion of *Althiburos* is indicated by an inscription on a triumphal arch that designates Hadrian as the *conditor municipii* (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 131-34; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 189; Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 5).

¹⁷ Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 131-34; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 189; Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 5.

there is no testimony to the foundation of Roman towns. *Gigthis* appears as the only municipal creation in *Africa Proconsularis* at this time. A similar trend occurs in other provinces during this period.

Inscriptional evidence designates Antoninus Pius as the *conditor municipii* of *Gigthis*.¹⁸ *Gigthis*¹⁹ was elevated to the rank of *municipium* with *Latium maius*²⁰ directly from that of *civitas*.²¹ During the Roman period, its port was opened for the export of wheat and olive oil to Ostia. *Gigthis* was located near important routes, including the one that linked Carthage with *Lepcis Magna*.²²

There is some difficulty distinguishing between the municipal creations of the last three Antonine emperors. Under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and Commodus, the "municipilisation" of *Africa Proconsularis* appears to regain strength. Marcus Aurelius' (AD 161-AD 180) creations are indicated by the epithet *Aurelium* or *Aurelia*.²³ At Mactar, for example, the epithet *Colonia Aelia Aurelia*²⁴ suggests that the town attained the status of honorary colony either between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus or in the four years when they were joint rulers (AD 176-AD 180).²⁵

¹⁸ See inscription in L.A. Constans, *Gigthis*, p. 15 or *ILS* 6779.

¹⁹ The coastal position of *Gigthis* attracted Phoenician traders at a relatively early date. From here, they carried on commercial relations with the Greeks and the Egyptians. *Gigthis* came under Numidian control after the Second Punic War and in 46 BC, it was incorporated into the Roman province of *Africa Nova* (L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 6, 12-13, 14; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 137-142; *ibid.*, *ANRW* II Princ. 10.2, p. 193-93).

²⁰ The rank of *municipium* with *Latium maius* conferred citizenship on magistrates and members of the municipal *ordo* (L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 6, 12-13, 14; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 137-142; *ibid.*, *ANRW* II Princ. 10.2, p. 192-93). References to *Latium maius* are rare. The only other ancient reference appears to be Gaius, *Inst.* I. 96.

²¹ The promotion to *municipium* was obtained by a magistrate of *Gigthis* who paid for two embassies to Rome to get it (*CIL* VIII, 22737).

²² L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 6, 12-13, 14; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 137-142; *ibid.*, *ANRW* II Princ. 10.2, p. 192-93.

²³ Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 142-44.

²⁴ *ILS* 458, 6787.

²⁵ At the time of the promotion, Mactar was a leading city in a *regio* consisting of sixty-four stipendiary cities. Since the time of Trajan, some members of the local aristocracy had received the right of Roman citizenship on an individual basis. The agricultural wealth of Mactar and the administrative importance of

Lambaesis and *Gemellae* (fig. 3) became *municipia* under Marcus Aurelius, some time after the Third Augustan Legion was installed in the area. Veterans received lands in the surrounding region, thus forming a mixed population of veterans, natives and businessmen at the frontiers of the empire.²⁶

Only three creations are attested in *Africa Proconsularis* in the reign of Commodus (AD 178-AD 193). These are located primarily in the valley of the Oued Miliane and on Tunisia's Cap Bon. *Thurburbo Maius*, after being elevated to *municipium* under Hadrian, became a colony under Commodus. Many of its monuments, including the Capitolium, are Antonine in date.²⁷

A. Religious Fora (Temple-Dominated Complexes) in *Africa Proconsularis*. Examples from *Gigthis* and *Althiburos*.

The forum of *Gigthis* (fig. 23) provides an example of a religious complex in which a temple is the primary element of the monumental scheme and the bulk of the surrounding monuments comprises shrines or temples to local cults. The complex, which was likely initiated in the reign of Hadrian, was not built "tout d'un coup".²⁸ Following the construction of the podium temple and enclosing porticoes, the complex witnessed further additions and embellishments throughout the Antonine period and well into the Severan.²⁹

the town as well as its extensive history of occupation would have warranted an elevation in municipal status (Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 147-151; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 197-98).

²⁶*Ibid.*, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 152-57; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 198.

²⁷*Ibid.*, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain...*, p. 162-63; *ibid.*, *ANRW II Princ.* 10.2, p. 203-204.

²⁸ L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, p. 58.

²⁹ The dedication of statues in the forum zone provides chronological evidence and suggests that the temple and portico were established under Hadrian (*ibid.*, pp. 26, 33, 58).

Even before the promotion of *Gigthis* to *municipium* under Antoninus Pius, attempts were made to formalize a public space at the centre of the town. The formalization of this space began in the first thirty years of the second century AD with the construction of an Italic style temple that dominated a rectangular esplanade (32 m x 23.50 m). Porticoes were probably also built at this time which enclosed the open space on three of its sides while a perimeter wall delimited the entire complex.³⁰ The temple occupied the western side of the complex and its back wall was incorporated into the perimeter wall, much like the earlier Temple of Jupiter at Pompeii (fig. 10 b) and the temple-dominated complexes at Sbeitla and Haïdra (figs. 20 b, 21 b). In addition to the forum, a new port and a bath complex were constructed during the Antonine period. These projects seem to correspond to the great prosperity that *Gigthis* witnessed in the second century AD as the town was enriched by Mediterranean commerce.³¹

The sanctuary at the western end and around which the forum was primarily centred (fig. 23) was not a temple of the imperial cult, nor has it been identified with certainty as a Capitolium. Despite its typical Roman architectural features, which included a large podium, a monumental staircase³², a dominant position within the enclosure, a single *cella* with a large statue base at the back, and a pronaos of Corinthian columns³³, the temple seems to have been dedicated to Isis and Serapis, two Egyptian

³⁰ At the foot of the temple were statues of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The statue of Hadrian is the first statue dedicated to a living emperor. For this reason, it is theorized that the temple and the porticoes were built under Hadrian (ibid., p. 33). The area of the forum, however, still requires further systematic study. In other parts of the town, for example, there is testimony to urban developments in the Julio-Claudian period (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X p. 453).

³¹ L.A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 5, 6, 16, 33.

³² The arrangement of the stairway of the podium temple at *Gigthis* is similar to that of the Capitolium at Pompeii. In both examples, the central part of the stairway is occupied by a platform. A similar type of formation is created at Sbeitla where the central temple does not have its own staircase (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, pp. 275, 286; L.A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 5, 6, 16, 33).

³³ Four columns of the *pronaos* were placed in prostyle formation and enclosed the front half of the *cella*. Such an arrangement of columns gave the temple the *effect* of a peripteral temple when viewed from the

divinities. On the one hand, such an identification cannot be supported in the epigraphic record of *Gigthis* while on the other hand, certain elements of the temple, including sculptural fragments from the frieze, may support it.³⁴ That the principal cult of *Gigthis* was that of Alexandrian deities should come as no surprise as the worship of the two deities was scattered along the North African coast. For instance, the worship of Serapis was popular at Sabratha, another coastal city with a flourishing port to the east of *Gigthis* in *Tripolitania* (fig. 3).³⁵ There is also no evidence for a triple division of the *cella*, which is a common arrangement among the known Capitolia of the Roman Empire, including the Capitolia at Pompeii and Dougga.

In the fifty years or so after the construction of the temple and the porticoes, the complex witnessed further additions. These comprised mainly altars, shrines, and possible municipal and cult buildings that opened onto the complex's northern gallery. The northeast angle of the complex was occupied by a temple (Temple B) whose layout can be contrasted with that of the Temple of Serapis at the western end. Rather than adopting Roman models of temple architecture, Temple B³⁶ has a peculiar plan that may be related to a local or African architectural tradition. Unlike the forum temple, it is not elevated on a podium. Rather, it is isolated from the forum and the surrounding streets by

front, a technique that is also applied in the temples along the northwestern side of the *Forum Vetus* at *Lepcis Magna* (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 287).

³⁴ The subject matter of the sculptural relief from the lower part of the platform has been linked to the cult of Isis and Serapis. Among the sculpted figures were a crocodile, the upper torso of a male, a head of a woman, the upper torso of a winged female, and a female figure with a hairstyle that is characteristic of Isis. In addition to this last figure, two other representations of Isis have been identified and probably other Egyptian deities as well. For a summary of the temple's sculptural relief, see p. 29-30 in L.A. Constans, *Gigthis*.

³⁵ At the northwest corner of the forum of Sabratha is a temple of Serapis. Similar to the forum temple at *Gigthis*, it stands on a high podium and is centred in a rectangular portico or *peribolos* (Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 166). See also L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 26-28, 29, 32.

³⁶ Temple B has been identified as a temple of *Liber Pater*. Epigraphic evidence dates it to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, roughly fifty years after Temple A (temple of Isis and Serapis) (L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 44, 46, 49, 51).

means of a *peribolos* wall that forms a separate sanctuary. The sanctuary opens onto the road of the forum through three entrances in its perimeter wall.³⁷

Abutting Temple B's perimeter wall and opening onto the northern gallery of the forum is a small sanctuary with a large statue base at the back. This has been identified as a sanctuary of Hercules, based on sculptural evidence. To the west of the sanctuary is a temple (Temple C) with a single *cella* that is fronted by a portico.³⁸ A third building to the immediate west of Temple C also has peculiar features. The inscription from the building's frieze³⁹ identifies it as a sanctuary of Concordia. A statue of the goddess may have stood in the semi-circular niche in the sanctuary's back wall. Since the plan of the temple resembles that of the Curia at Timgad and Concordia was often associated with curiae in the African provinces, this sanctuary may have served as the meeting place of the municipal senate.⁴⁰ Unlike the curiae at Timgad and *Lepcis Magna*, however, there is no concrete evidence, such as an inscription or remains of seating arrangements for the *curiales*, designating the sanctuary of Concordia as a true curia.

Other furnishings that were added in and around the forum of *Gigthis* include a sanctuary to the Genius of Augustus at the southwest angle, a paving of large yellow limestone blocks, and numerous statues of municipal magistrates and emperors which were elevated throughout the second and third centuries. These last furnishings were distributed either around the esplanade in front of the portico's columns or under the portico against the perimeter wall.⁴¹

³⁷ Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X p. 453; L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 26-28, 44, 46, 49, 51.

³⁸ Temple C is considered one of the oldest buildings in the forum and, like Temple A, was built under Hadrian (*ibid.*, p. 48).

³⁹ See inscription in L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, p. 49.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 46, 49, 51.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 25, 34-35.

Similar to the temple complexes at Sbeitla and Haïdra and the basilica-forum at Rougga, provisions for commercial activity do not seem to have been made in the forum of *Gigthis* as there is no evidence of *tabernae* behind the porticoes or a *macellum* in the vicinity of the forum. In fact, all commercial activity seems to have been excluded around the place.⁴² Rather the northern gallery was bordered by a series of buildings that were destined for religious and possibly administrative and municipal activities as well. The forum at *Gigthis*, therefore, seems to have been reserved for the religious and political activities of the town.

The composition of the forum also represents a hybrid of styles, as diverse influences are apparent in the layout of the surrounding features. On the one hand, an Eastern or Egyptian influence can be seen in the stress that was perhaps placed on the worship of Isis and Serapis in Temple A. As was already mentioned, the status of *Gigthis* as a major port city that was open to Mediterranean trade would have allowed the transmission and exchange of ideas, both cultural and religious. On the other hand, Roman models of temple architecture were applied in Temple A's arrangement.⁴³ A local or African architectural tradition may be represented in the plans of the sanctuaries along the northern gallery. These sanctuaries, unlike typical Roman temples, were not elevated on substantial podia and the Temple of *Liber Pater* was somewhat isolated from the forum and its components. The forum of *Gigthis* kept its character as a temple-dominated enclosure and its plan was not altered substantially from the time of Hadrian

⁴² Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X* p. 453.

⁴³ L.-A. Constans, *Gigthis*, pp. 26, 58.

and onwards. The evidence suggests that additions were made to the forum quarter from the reign of Hadrian through to the Severan period.⁴⁴

The forum of *Althiburos* (fig. 24) was realized in piecemeal fashion in the course of the second century AD. As at *Gigthis*, there is particular emphasis on the religious aspects of the forum of *Althiburos*. The earliest dated monument in the forum quarter is the triumphal arch that adjoins the perimeter wall of the forum at the southwest. Its dedicatory inscription⁴⁵ indicates that the citizens of *Althiburos* erected the arch in honour of Hadrian who granted the town the dignity of a *municipium*.⁴⁶ Other monuments in the vicinity of the forum, including the Capitolium to the south, were added after the Hadrianic arch.

The forum itself is rectangular (23.35 m x 30.80 m), paved, and oriented North-South on its diagonal. A portico of limestone Corinthian columns enclosed all four sides and was elevated on a step. The open space was isolated from the surrounding streets and buildings by means of a perimeter wall, while access into the forum quarter was provided by two sets of stairs to the southwest. Three small aedicules opened onto the northwestern gallery. In the vicinity of the peristyle court were two temples. A tetrastyle temple, elevated on three steps, stood at the northeast, while a Capitolium was built beyond the road that bordered the southwest side of the forum.⁴⁷

The principal element in the collection of buildings to the northeast of the forum is a temple located on the primary axis of the enclosure. A road separated the

⁴⁴ Statues to Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Caracalla were elevated under the porticoes and near the podium temple in the course of the development of the forum (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom X*, p. 453; L.A. Constans, *Gigthis*, p. 33).

⁴⁵ For the inscription on the triumphal arch, see Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ Sadok Ben Baaziz, pp. 221, 224; Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 6-9.

temple from the perimeter wall of the forum. The temple itself, however, is largely destroyed and the object of worship is not known. A perimeter wall closed the temple and isolated it from the neighbouring buildings. The temple's single *cella* was approached by a five-step staircase that led to a façade of Corinthian columns, arranged in a tetrastyle formation.⁴⁸

A similar arrangement existed along the opposite side of the forum enclosure (the southwest side). A road running parallel to the forum's perimeter wall separated the forum from a series of buildings.⁴⁹ According to the dedicatory inscription, the most prominent of these buildings was a Capitolium (*[Iov]I O[ptimo] M[aximo], Iunoni Regina[e], Minervae*). Oriented to the northeast, the temple is on a slightly different alignment than the forum itself. The inscription⁵⁰, uncovered near the portico of the temple, was most likely engraved on the monument's frieze. It indicates that the Capitolium dates from the reign of the emperor Commodus in the period between AD 185 and AD 191 and at a time when *Althiburos* was still a *municipium* (*[Pro sal]ute Imp[eratoris] [Caes(aris)] M(arci) Au[reli(i)] C[omm]od[i] Antonini, Pii, Felicis] Aug[usti]*). The people of *Althiburos* (*municipium Aelium [Hadria]num A[ug]ustum A]lthiburitanum*) built the Capitolium. Fragments of statues were also uncovered in the *cella* of the Capitolium among which was a head of a goddess, possibly Juno. This discovery suggests that statues of all three deities of the Capitoline Triad were placed in the main *cella*. Like its northern counterpart, the Capitolium was arranged within an

⁴⁸ Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 11.

⁴⁹ The road running between the Capitolium and the forum continued towards the southeast in the direction of a fountain and the town's theatre. In the stretch between the forum and the Capitolium, the road was framed by monumental gates with single openings, the northernmost one being dedicated to the emperor Hadrian (Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, pp. 28, 29-30).

⁵⁰ See the dedicatory inscription of the Capitolium in Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 27.

enclosure, thus isolating it from neighbouring buildings and streets. The southernmost staircase in the perimeter wall of the forum led from the forum to the Capitolium while the northernmost staircase led to a building beside the Capitolium that has still not been excavated. Yet another staircase provided access to the paved court that extended before the Capitolium.⁵¹ The temple itself had a single *cella* that was fronted by a *pronaos* of Corinthian columns in a prostyle, tetrastyle arrangement. The *pronaos*, in turn, was reached by a broad staircase that occupied the width of the temple's façade. The architrave and its soffits and fascias were richly decorated.⁵²

Several rooms opened onto the northwest gallery of the portico of the forum. This arrangement resembles that of the halls that were organized along the northern, eastern and southern galleries of the temple dominated complex at Sbeitla (fig. 20 b). Like Sbeitla's rooms, those at Althiburos have been largely demolished. What little evidence there is suggests that these rooms were reserved for shrines for various deities. The second room from the north angle, for instance, had a pedestal against its back wall that probably held one or more statues. A statue uncovered in the vicinity of the pedestal has been identified as a statue of Minerva, thus suggesting that the room was reserved for that goddess. Based on an inscription on a triangular statue base, another room may have been dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁵³

The overall layout of the forum quarter at *Althiburos* differed from that of the temple dominated complexes at Sbeitla, Haïdra and *Gigthis* in that the Capitolium and the

⁵¹ The paved court in front of the temple was surrounded by a peristyle (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 281).

⁵² Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 281; Sadok Ben Baaziz, pp. 221, 224; Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, pp. 6-9, 21-22, 26, 27.

⁵³ Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 221; Alfred Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 20-21.

temple to the northeast were not incorporated into the forum's enclosure to form a unified complex. Conversely, they were separate sanctuaries, isolated from surrounding elements by their precinct walls. Such a scheme may reflect the nature of urban development at *Althiburos*. Rather than applying the rigid principles of Roman town planning, urban development at *Althiburos* in the course of the second century AD reflects the “unplanned native growth” that one sees occurring in other towns of *Africa Proconsularis*, including Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*. Furthermore, the incorporation of the temples into a more coherent whole may have been prevented by topographical constraints, including the site’s earlier features. The street running along the southwestern side of the forum, for instance, is clearly earlier than the Capitolium, as shown in the triumphal arch of Hadrian through which it passes. On the one hand, instead of interrupting the course of this street, the architects who were responsible for the construction of the Capitolium chose to incorporate it within its own enclosure. On the other hand, they provided easy access between the forum and the Capitolium through a series of staircases. Similar to the forum at *Gigthis*, structures to house the commercial activity of the forum seem to have been excluded in the layout of the public quarter at *Althiburos*. Emphasis, however, appears to have been placed on the religious role of the forum and less so on the political and commercial. The two staircases along the southwestern side of the forum, similar to the raised monumental gate at Sbeitla, may have prevented the access of wheeled traffic into the forum quarter, at least from the southern road.

B. Civil or Judicial Fora (Basilica-Dominated Complexes) in *Africa Proconsularis*. An Example from Carthage.

The civil or judicial type forum, in which a basilica presents itself as the organizational element of a forum's architectural composition, can also be distinguished in *Africa Proconsularis* of the second century AD. This type of forum, however, is not nearly as common as those complexes in which temples are the predominant elements. In Roman Gaul and Britain, conversely, the basilica-forum type complex is well represented among the known fora. A typical plan of a civil or judicial forum in Roman Europe involved an association of a large judicial building and a podium temple, both of which would correspond to the two extremities of a porticoed space. The forum of *Bulla Regia* achieved this layout over an extensive period, as a large judicial basilica was constructed some time after the podium temple. The Antonine basilica-forum on the Byrsa hill, however, was the result of a neatly structured plan that was achieved in the course of the Antonine projects at Carthage in the period between AD 145 and AD 170. Under the Antonine emperors, Carthage was the focus of a vast programme of urbanization and monumentalization that included the construction of a large bath complex (the Antonine Baths) and a theatre and the reorganization of the artificial platform on the Byrsa (figs. 11 and 15).⁵⁴ This phase of the Byrsa hill will be discussed hereafter.

Of most interest is the northernmost zone of the Byrsa platform, the forum of imperial type (fig. 15) that is marked by the presence of a large transversal building that

⁵⁴ As discussed in chapter 2 of this study, most of the pre-Antonine remains on the Byrsa hill were obliterated by the adjustments in the years between AD 145 and AD 170, thus rendering it difficult to fully comprehend the buildings from the Augustan to the Antonine period (MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, "Hypothèses sur le centre monumental de la Carthage romaine" *CRAI* 1980, pp. 299, 300).

has been identified as a judicial basilica. The long axis of the forum and the short axis of the basilica are placed on the theoretical layout of the *Decumanus Maximus*. Large vaulted rooms (the "absides de Beulé") supported the basilica at the eastern extremity of the platform. Below these rooms were two parallel alignments of column bases that bordered the *Cardo Maximus*.⁵⁵

The central apse of the "absides de Beulé" lies on the axis of the *Decumanus Maximus*. Care was given to this room, as shown in the bench against its back wall and the large foundation in the centre of the room that was probably destined to hold a statue in an axial position. The central apse was clearly too deep and vast and carefully ornamented to be a simple *exedra* offering shelter from the elements to pedestrians along the *Cardo Maximus*. The fact that these rooms were somewhat isolated from the forum and its monuments also implies a different function. It has been suggested that they served as offices of *argentarii* (money-changers, bankers) or for the fabrication and commerce of luxury items, such as jewels (*margaritarii*), silverware, and gold (*aurifices*). Such a theory is based on the position of these rooms in proximity of a basilica.⁵⁶ At Rome, for instance, the shops along the *Via Sacra* that adjoined the Basilica Aemilia (fig. 5) were dedicated to *margaritarii*, *aurifices*, and *argentarii*. *Tabernae* along Rome's *Clivus Argentarius* and in proximity of the Basilica Porcia were also reserved for such commercial enterprises.

Based on the building material that was applied in the composition of the "absides de Beulé", these rooms appear to have been installed in the later arrangement of

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁵⁶ M. Pierre Gros, "Le forum de la haute ville dans la Carthage romaine d'après les textes et l'archéologie" *CRAI* 1982, p. 652.

the Byrsa platform in the second half of the second century AD. The use of a soft stone as a facing, or brick, was a building technique characteristic of Carthage of the third quarter of the second century AD. Not only was this technique used in the "absides" but also in the Antonine baths at Carthage which were built between AD 145 and AD 162.⁵⁷

The thick walls of the apsed halls appear to have been destined to support either the back wall of a covered portico or a covered building. Prior to the excavations of the eastern side of the Byrsa forum, the theory was that a covered portico opened to the west onto a central courtyard.⁵⁸ The evidence, conversely, points to a covered building and particularly a basilical scheme comprising a central nave that was delimited by two parallel alignments of columns and two side aisles (fig. 26). The west wall of the basilica served as a façade that opened onto the enclosure of the forum.⁵⁹ The drain running parallel to the building, some six metres from its foundations, suggests that the structure was roofed.⁶⁰

A basilica, therefore, dominated the eastern end of the Byrsa complex as it was placed crosswise, occupying the length of one of the northern sector's short sides. It closed the entire eastern side and dominated a space that was bordered by porticoes. The predominant position clearly designates the building as the organizational element of the northern sector of the Byrsa. Its construction was part of a vast programme of monumental activity at Carthage in the third quarter of the second century AD that also saw the building of the Antonine Baths. This date is confirmed by the stylistic

⁵⁷ MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, CRAI 1980, p. 301-307; Paul MacKendrick, The North African Stones Speak, p. 62.

⁵⁸ MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, CRAI 1980, p. 308.

⁵⁹ There is slight asymmetry between the two side aisles that was imposed either by the prescriptions of the terrain or by the remains of earlier buildings (MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, CRAI 1980, p. 309-314).

⁶⁰ As already discussed, the open space that extended before the basilica was paved with blocks of stone, beginning in the Augustan period (MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, CRAI 1980, p. 309-314).

characteristics of the basilica's cornice⁶¹ and the Corinthian capitals of its internal colonnade. Stratigraphic studies within the zone of the basilica further strengthen an Antonine date.

It is, however, difficult to interpret the internal arrangements of the basilica and to determine whether it had a two-leveled colonnade. The central nave of the Antonine basilica at Carthage (fig. 26), like the Basilica Ulpia (fig. 27) in the Forum of Trajan at Rome, comprised eighteen columns along its sides.⁶² Both basilicas were also placed transversally across a short side of their respective complexes, further emphasizing their significance in the compositions. Very little is known about the opposite end of the Byrsa platform and its peripheral monuments. There are several theories regarding the nature of a temple that is believed to have occupied the western end of the platform, in a position that corresponded with that of the basilica at the eastern end.⁶³ Exploration of the western end of the Byrsa platform, however, has been impeded by later buildings, including the nineteenth century cathedral.

By the last quarter of the second century AD, the northern sector of the Byrsa platform seems to have been reserved for a more "politico-administrative" or judicial role than an economic or religious function.⁶⁴ This is based on the fact that the space was cut off from wheeled traffic and on the presence of a large judicial basilica as the

⁶¹ The basilica's cornice is similar to the monumental cornice of the Antonine Baths (MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, CRAI 1980, p. 315-316; M. Pierre Gros, CRAI 1982, p. 645). See also Samia Ilhem Ammar, Af rom X p. 457.

⁶² MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, CRAI 1980, p. 316-17; M. Pierre Gros, CRAI 1982, pp. 636, 641.

⁶³ These theories are discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

⁶⁴ Economic and commercial activities may have been located in Carthage's second forum, the *platea maritima* or maritime *agora*, that is mentioned by the ancient authors. This forum is believed to have been located in the lower city, close to the harbour (fig. 11). Remains of *tabernae* and a basilica bordering the north side of the *Decumanus Maximus* in the "zone portuaire" may pinpoint its location (Samia Ilhem Ammar, Af rom X, p. 457-58; Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 224; M. Pierre Gros, CRAI 1982, pp. 641, 643).

predominant element at the eastern sector. The basilica would have served as the seat for tribunals and public declamations.⁶⁵

There is very little testimony to a religious function of the northern sector of the Byrsa platform. Religious functions, however, seem to have been focussed in the other monumental zones on the Byrsa (fig. 15). The southernmost zone, like the basilica complex at the platform's northern extremity, is supported at its southwest angle by a series of apsidal halls. Similar to the "absides de Beulé" at the platform's opposite angle, these halls were likely destined to support a building. Also linked to the developments in the urban landscape under the Antonines is a temple that is oriented towards the east and located at the southwest angle. It comprised a *cella* and a *pronaos*. The side walls of three apsed halls were destroyed in the construction of this temple.⁶⁶

The zone between the northern and southern sectors also had a vast sanctuary in its centre that was characterized as a peripteral temple of considerable dimensions. Similar to the temple at the platform's southwest angle, it was either restored or reconstructed under the Antonines. Porticoes bordered the long sides of the intermediate zone while a large building, perhaps a library, closed the western end.⁶⁷

The three monumental zones of the Byrsa platform, therefore, appear to have been reserved for particular functions. The northernmost zone, with its large judicial basilica closing its eastern end, its isolation from the surrounding streets, and the lack of evidence of any other peripheral buildings, seems to have been dedicated to a more "politico-

⁶⁵ MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, p. 318; M. Pierre Gros, *CRAI* 1982, p. 647.

⁶⁶ MM. Pierre Gros et Jean Deneauve, *CRAI* 1980, p. 318-325.

⁶⁷ Very little is known about the building that extends to the east of the *Cardo*. Its identification as a library derives from its vast dimensions and its position at the centre of the Byrsa. Such a position indicates that it was an important element of the monumental collection. The building's importance is further emphasized by the care that was given the interior, as shown in the vast pavement (*ibid.*, pp. 318-325, 326-27; M. Pierre Gros, *CRAI* 1982, p. 641).

administrative" function. Its layout, therefore, is similar to the basilica-forum complex at Rougga and other first century AD basilica-forum complexes from Gaul and Britain. The central zone, conversely, may have served both a religious and intellectual function for the community while a religious role seems to have been reserved in the southernmost zone.

The scheme that was applied on the Byrsa hill at Carthage is similar to that of the imperial Forum of Trajan at Rome (fig. 28).⁶⁸ This earlier complex may have influenced the monumental development of the Byrsa platform in the third quarter of the second century. In both compositions, a large basilica is the predominant element as it crosses a short side and occupies the full width of the forum. A further parallel can be seen in the arrangement of columns around the central naves of the Basilica Ulpia and the basilica at Carthage, which is discussed above. Furthermore, the whole monumental platform on the Byrsa hill, like the Trajanic complex at Rome, was divided into distinct zones, each with its own function. In addition to the colonnaded enclosure of the forum itself⁶⁹ and the Basilica Ulpia⁷⁰ at the north end, there were three other zones. The two rooms adjoining the northern wall of the Basilica Ulpia have been identified as libraries⁷¹, thus

⁶⁸ Completed in AD 113, the Forum of Trajan, like the Forum of Augustus to the south, was richly decorated with statues, the most famous of which were the statues of Dacian prisoners. An equestrian statue of the emperor is believed to have stood on a rectangular pedestal in the middle of the open space. A monumental triple arch served as the main entrance into the forum, opposite the Basilica Ulpia at the north end (Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, Roman Art, p. 153-56; Frank Sear, Roman Architecture, pp. 50 (fig. 23), 157-164).

⁶⁹ A two-levelled colonnade enclosed the open space of the Forum of Trajan on three sides (Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, Roman Art, p. 153-56; Frank Sear, Roman Architecture, p. 157-164).

⁷⁰ The Basilica Ulpia was accessible to the open space of the forum through a triple doorway. It had a richly decorated interior with apses at the ends of the short sides that echoed the two *exedrae* opening off the eastern and western galleries of the forum. Two rows of columns ran around the central nave. The Basilica Ulpia is considered the largest basilica built in Rome (Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, Roman Art, p. 153-56; Frank Sear, Roman Architecture, p. 157-164).

⁷¹ Recessed cupboards were built on two levels in the two rooms behind the basilica. It is believed that one room was a Greek library while the other was a Latin library (Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, Roman Art, p. 153-56; Frank Sear, Roman Architecture, p. 157-164).

accommodating an intellectual or cultural role for the complex. To the immediate north of the libraries and on the central axis of the complex, a temple to the Divine Trajan dominated a small, semi-circular enclosure.⁷² The third and final zone of Trajan's forum was a vast commercial quarter that comprised a market and the *Aula*, a large covered hall. This quarter was located beside the forum, to its east, and it rose up the slope of the Quirinal hill. The rooms were arranged at different levels and they were built around the hemicycle of the forum. Despite the proximity of this quarter to the forum, it formed a separate complex as only the upper levels of the market would have been seen from the level of the forum. A high wall at the back of the eastern *exedra* of the forum separated the forum and the market.⁷³

Similarly, the monumental platform on the Byrsa hill was divided into three distinct zones. It should come as no surprise that the ideas which were set forth in the earlier imperial fora at Rome were influential in the composition of later provincial forum complexes. The architects who were responsible for the Antonine renovations on the Byrsa hill probably intended to create a civic centre that was befitting a provincial capital. The likely source of inspiration and ideas were the imperial fora at Rome, the cultural and administrative centre of the Roman Empire. The imperial fora at Rome would also influence the composition of later fora, as shown in the early third century AD Severan basilica-forum at *Lepcis Magna* (fig. 4).

⁷² The Temple to the Divine Trajan was not part of the original plan of the forum. Hadrian likely dedicated the temple to Trajan after his death (Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art*, p. 153-56; Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture*, p. 157-164).

C. Dual Complexes.

1) Fora that emphasize religious and civil/judicial roles. An example from *Bulla Regia*.

At *Bulla Regia*, like at other towns of native origin in Africa including *Thuburbo Maius*, *Dougga*, *Gigthis*, and *Althiburos*, the “schéma très souple”⁷⁴ of the earlier period continued to be applied in the urban developments of the Roman period. It is not until the period of Hadrian, the *conditor municipii* of *Bulla Regia*, that attempts were made to regularize the town’s forum quarter (fig. 25).⁷⁵

The oldest building in the forum is the temple of Apollo at the northeast angle. Similar to the temple of *Liber Pater* at *Gigthis*, the plan of the temple of Apollo may reflect an African or local architectural tradition as it does not have a podium. Conversely, it consists of a porticoed courtyard at the back of which stand two *cellae*. Due to its peculiar plan, the temple of Apollo is considered among the examples of sanctuaries from the indigenous tradition in Africa. Prior to the adjustments of the forum under Hadrian, the façade of the temple extended further south.⁷⁶ In the years after AD 128, however, the façade was adjusted and pushed back in order to allow for the installation of the northern gallery of the forum and to align the temple with other buildings at the northeast angle.⁷⁷

⁷³ Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art*, p. 153-56; Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture*, p. 157-164.

⁷⁴ Azedine Beschouch, Roger Hanoune, Yvon Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, p. 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁶ The Temple of Apollo dates to the reign of the emperor Tiberius (AD 34-AD 35) (CIL 25516). The foundation of the temple’s façade was discovered under the northern gallery of the forum (Beschouch, Hanoune, Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, p. 83-86; M. Pierre Quoniam, “Fouilles récentes à Bulla Regia” *CRAI* I 1952, p. 467).

⁷⁷ Beschouch, Hanoune, Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, p. 83-86; M. Pierre Quoniam, *CRAI* I 1952, p. 467.

With the adjustments under the emperor Hadrian, the forum quarter was isolated from the surrounding streets and regularized with a colonnade on three sides (the north, south and east) (fig. 25). The colonnade, in turn, supported the roof of the surrounding galleries. The galleries were slightly raised above the level of the open space of the forum and their widths varied.⁷⁸

A temple⁷⁹ was added at the western end of the forum during the formalization of the public space in the second century AD.⁸⁰ Its façade occupied a large part of the western side of the forum. Unlike the temple of Apollo at the northeast angle of the quarter, the composition of this temple applied the Roman models of temple architecture, including the high podium and frontal emphasis. The podium, however, has an irregular feature as it is trapezoidal instead of rectangular. Such an unusual form of the podium may be attributed to the need to conform to pre-existing buildings. Since nothing survives of the superstructure, very little can be said about the arrangement of the *cella* (*e*).⁸¹

At the opposite end of the open space, a large hall that has been identified as a basilica was built and elaborated in several phases in the course of the second and third

⁷⁸ The width of the northern and southern galleries was 6.20 m while the width of the eastern gallery was slightly larger (7.70 m). The forum itself was a rectangular place (39 m x 26 m) (Beschaouch, Hanoune, Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, p. 88).

⁷⁹ The temple at the western end of the forum of *Bulla Regia* has often been identified as the town's Capitolium. There is, however, no epigraphic or sculptural evidence supporting this identification (M. Pierre Quoniam, *CRAI* I 1952, p. 464).

⁸⁰ Although based on slight archaeological, epigraphic and iconographic evidence, the initial arrangement of the space is believed to date to the reign of Hadrian (Samia Ilhem Ammar, *Af rom* X p. 456). This evidence includes a portrait of Hadrian in the southwest corner of the complex and a block of marble found in one of the small rooms to the west of the Temple of Apollo that was quarried at Chemtou in AD 134. As there is no text or dedication indicating the period in which the forum was arranged, some experts have tried to relate the construction of the forum to the time of Hadrian's voyage in Africa (AD 128) and the promotion of the town to the rank of colony (M. Pierre Quoniam *CRAI* I 1952, p. 464-67).

⁸¹ Unfortunately, the stairs, the portico and the *cella* of the temple are largely destroyed. Its substructure, however, has survived and was divided into several compartments to provide additional support for the

centuries AD. Private dwellings are believed to have occupied the site of the building prior to its construction. These were levelled to make way for the building. The large southern apse of the basilica was part of the first building while the northern apse and the rectangular room and the apse at the end of the eastern gallery were added in the third century AD.⁸² It consisted of three naves (25 m long and 6 m wide), the westernmost of which was incorporated into the eastern gallery of the portico bordering the area of the forum. The southern apse was raised, perhaps to serve as the basilica's tribunal.⁸³

The forum of *Bulla Regia* was also furnished with monumental gates during the course of its development that provided access to the major streets of the town. One gate linked the southern gallery of the forum to the road that led to the town's theatre. A second gate provided communication between the forum and the road that bordered the south side of the western temple⁸⁴ and led to a residential district to the northwest. Inscriptions uncovered in the vicinity of the forum of *Bulla Regia* attest to other monuments that no doubt belonged to the forum or its immediate area. They mention rostra, a temple of Diana and a *tabularium*. All of these features, however, have not been located in the archaeological record.⁸⁵

In its final form, the composition of the forum of *Bulla Regia* was balanced at both ends by an Italic style podium temple and a large judicial basilica whose long side was incorporated into the portico. Such a layout is similar to several fora in Europe and particularly examples in Roman Britain and Gaul. This plan, however, was not the

building's superstructure (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 284; M. Pierre Quoniam, *CRAI* I 1952, p. 464).

⁸² Money of the emperor Aemilianus that was found in mosaic underbedding dates the third century reconstruction of the basilica to AD 253 (*ibid.*, p. 464).

⁸³ Beschtaouch, Hanoune, Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, p. 88.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁸⁵ M. Pierre Quoniam, *CRAI* I 1952, p. 461.

result of a unitary program. As already mentioned, the forum quarter was conceived as a temple-dominated complex most likely in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. The judicial basilica was incorporated in the composition in the years after the construction of the podium temple and the enclosing porticoes. Embellishments to the forum quarter continued well into the third century AD as shown in the elaborations of the basilica. A local architectural tradition, reflected in the plan of the temple of Apollo at the northeast angle, is also juxtaposed in the composition alongside these Italic architectural ideas, much like the final form of the forum of *Gigthis*.

2) Fora that emphasize religious and commercial roles. Examples from the Medjerda River Valley (Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*).

In the examples of forum complexes in Africa that have been examined thus far, the commercial function of the forum is either excluded or overshadowed by its religious or judicial or administrative roles. This is evident in the exclusion of *tabernae* or commercial complexes such as *macella* in the vicinity of several fora. A type of forum, however, emerges in the last quarter of the second century AD in which the religious and commercial aspects of a civic centre are emphasized. In the case of the forum of Dougga, a commercial quarter comprising a *macellum* and a temple of Mercury is juxtaposed with a Capitolium and forum to produce a dual complex. *Thuburbo Maius* was also furnished with a vast market complex and a temple of Mercury in the vicinity of its forum, though somewhat later than Dougga, during the course of its development. With the addition of this quarter, the forum at *Thuburbo Maius* now encompassed commercial, religious, and political functions.

Several factors favoured the development of the town of Dougga (fig. 17). These included a defensible position on a plateau, an abundant water source, the proximity of quarries that provided a steady supply of building stone for the town, a healthy climate, and the fertility of the surrounding region.⁸⁶

The forum of Dougga is first mentioned in the Julio-Claudian period.⁸⁷ At this time, the forum was the focus of various additions and renovations, the majority of which cannot be located in the site's archaeological record. Under the Antonines in the second century AD, a new construction campaign was initiated at Dougga in which the aspect of its forum was altered substantially. As in the Julio-Claudian period at Dougga, the Antonine additions were piecemeal and they did not seem to follow a unitary plan. The first major addition, according to the testimony of the inscriptions, was a portico that surrounded the forum (*porticus fori...[co]lumnis et.....[l]acunaribus omniq[ue] cultu parietum*).⁸⁸ Although the forum (fig. 29) was paved in AD 36⁸⁹, it seems to have kept an open character until the reign of Antoninus Pius when the portico was added. The portico enclosed the open space of the forum on three sides and it comprised Corinthian columns. The rather small dimensions of the open area (24 m x 38.50 m) may explain the need to add an annex to the east that consisted of a temple of Mercury and a *macellum*. A number of statue bases were uncovered in and around the forum area bearing dedications to emperors including Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, local notables, and divinities.

⁸⁶ The wealth of inscriptions relating to the building, dedication and restoration of the monuments at Dougga attests to a bourgeois class whose wealth was largely land-based (Claude Poinssot, Les ruines de Dougga, p. 9-11).

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the Julio-Claudian forum at Dougga, see p. 65-67 of this thesis.

⁸⁸ The forum's portico was a gift of the Gabinii family (CIL, VIII, 26524). See also R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities", p. 30, in Francis Grew and Brian Hobbey, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire.

⁸⁹ ILAf 521.

These were likely placed in the intercolumnations of the portico, as at Sbeitla.⁹⁰ There were several entrances into the forum (fig. 29). Passages existed to the north and south while at the southwest angle of the portico, a monumental staircase led to the forum. A second staircase to the east led from the forum to the platform that extended in front of the Capitolium.

The temple (1 in fig. 29) that is elevated above the level of the forum to its immediate east marks the second period of construction within the forum quarter. The temple's dedicatory inscription identifies it as a Capitolium (*IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO IUNONI REGINAE MINERVAE...SACRUM*) and dates it to between AD 166, when Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus assumed the titles Medicus Parthicus Maximus, and the death of Lucius Verus in AD 169 (*PRO SALUTE IMP(ERATORIS) CAES(ARIS) M AURELI ANTONINI AUG ET L VERI AUG ARMENIACOR MED(ICORUM) PART(HICORUM) MAX(IMORUM)*).⁹¹ The construction of the Capitolium at Dougga may have been intended to mark the town's acquisition of the *ius capiendorum legatorum* (the right of receiving legacies) in AD 168 under Marcus Aurelius. This elevation may have been a step towards detaching the dependence of the citizens of Dougga on Carthage and preparing the way for the eventual fusion of the *civitas* and the *pagus* into a

⁹⁰ Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, pp. 13, 38-39.

⁹¹ See the dedicatory inscription of the Capitolium in *CIL* VIII, 1471 and Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 35. The inscription also reveals that the temple had been built at the expense (*SUA P F*) of two local notables, L. Marcius Simplex and L. Marcius Simplex Regillianus. Another brother gave Dougga its theatre. The names of the dedicators are repeated above the doorway leading into the *cella* (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 316; R. P. Duncan Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities", p. 30, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*).

municipium under Septimius Severus.⁹²

The layout and décor of the temple provide further support to its identification as a Capitolium. Its plan comprised a single *cella* that was preceded by a portico of Corinthian columns in tetrastyle formation. The side walls of the podium flanked the monumental staircase that led from the *area* to the *pronaos*. A single door provided access from the *pronaos* into the *cella*. The *cella* was characterized as a rectangular room at the back of which were three niches to hold the colossal statues of the Capitoline Triad. Partitions, either in the form of marble balustrades or wooden railings, may have divided the *cella* into three.⁹³ The central niche was semi-circular and larger (twice as deep) than the other two niches and likely held a colossal statue of Jupiter, fragments of which were uncovered near the temple.⁹⁴ The two rectangular niches that framed the central one were probably reserved for statues of Juno and Minerva.

⁹² By law, the right of receiving legacies was reserved only for independent communities (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 316; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'Empire romain...*, p. 159). *Municipium Septimium Aurelium liberum Thugga* (ILS 6796).

⁹³ A similar arrangement of the interior may have been applied in the Capitolium at *Thurburbo Maius* (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 276).

⁹⁴ From this fragment of the statue of Jupiter, it is theorized that the statue would have been about six metres high (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, pp. 277, 317). Other sculptural elements from Dougga's Capitolium included a fragment from the pediment's frieze representing a man mounted on an eagle with spread wings (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 317; Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, pp. 34-35, 38). Although very fragmentary, the pediment may have depicted the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius. If so, the scene may have been influenced by the frieze from the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius that depicted a scene of the apotheosis of the emperor and his wife Faustina. Commissioned by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus at Antoninus' death in AD 161, the column was erected in the Campus Martius at Rome near the *ustrinum* (tomb, mausoleum) of the deceased emperor (Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 285, 286 (fig. 253)).

A rectangular esplanade covering an area that is similar in plan and dimensions to the temple extended in front of the Capitolium.⁹⁵ At the back of the lavishly decorated esplanade⁹⁶ was an *exedra* that corresponded with the semi-circular niche in the back wall of the Capitolium's *cella*, thus creating a strong cross axis. The symmetry of this arrangement is further emphasized by the square statue bases or pedestals that were placed in front of the *exedra*. These pedestals corresponded with the rectangular niches in the back wall of the temple's *cella* and may have supported statues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus which were uncovered in the forum zone.

This arrangement of the Capitolium and its relation with the *area* of the forum is unprecedented not only in *Africa Proconsularis* but also in other provinces of the Roman Empire. Rather than dominating the open space of the forum and emphasizing the long axis of a unified complex, the Capitolium at Dougga is elevated above the area and its façade is shifted southwards. Access from the forum to the esplanade that extends in front of the Capitolium is provided by a series of seven steps. At the cities of *Virunum* in *Noricum* and *Nemausus* in *Gallia Narbonensis*⁹⁷ there is a marked difference in level between the area of their fora and their surrounding buildings and the religious area as the latter is constructed on a raised terrace.⁹⁸ At none of these sites, however, do the forum temples share a similar disposition to that of the Capitolium at Dougga.⁹⁹

The odd orientation of the Capitolium at Dougga may be explained, perhaps in part, by the topographical constraints of the site (fig. 17). The architects who were

⁹⁵ This esplanade is designated as the *area ante Capitolium* (Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, pp. 34-35, 38).

⁹⁶ The esplanade was paved with mosaic (*ibid.*, pp. 34-35, 38).

⁹⁷ See figs. 24 and 25 in James Russell, *Phoenix XXII* 1968, p. 316.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁹⁹ The forum at *Lugdunum Convenarum* (see fig. 22 in James Russell, *Phoenix XXII* 1968, p. 316) has a temple whose back wall faces the forum's area.

responsible for its construction probably intended to keep the forum quarter open to all areas of the town by orienting the temple north-south rather than east-west. In this way, the Capitolium could be viewed and approached from various points in the town, including the east and northeast, and the south and southwest. The back of the temple, for example, would not be facing those approaching the forum from the east and northeast. The builders may have also adopted such a disposition for the Capitolium in order to give it a commanding position over the cityscape and the surrounding countryside. Such a theory would correspond with the prescriptions of Vitruvius who stated that a Capitolium should occupy the most prominent place in a city (*in excelsissimo loco*) probably in imitation of the Capitoline Temple in Rome.¹⁰⁰ With the position that it has in the civic plan, the temple stands in a dominating position overlooking the houses and streets to the south.

The arrangement of the Capitolium and its esplanade introduces a strong cross axis that marks a link between the initial place to the west (the porticoed enclosure of the forum) and the commercial group (the *area macelli*) that was integrated into the composition under the emperor Commodus.¹⁰¹ The *area macelli*, also known as the "Rose des Vents"¹⁰², developed as an annex of the forum between AD 180 and AD 192.

¹⁰⁰ Vitruve, De l'architecture I.7.1. See also Philippe Fleury, "Introduction" p. ix-cxv in Vitruve. De l'architecture. Livre I.

¹⁰¹ ILAf 516.

¹⁰² The name "Rose des Vents" is derived from a third century AD engraving in the eastern pavement of the *area macelli* that depicts the twelve winds (Claude Poinsot, Les ruines de Dougga, p. 32-33). There are very few parallels to this type of engraving in the Roman Empire. Timgad (ancient *Thamugadi*) has a similar one in its forum quarter. An earlier and more extravagant variation may be seen in the *Horologium* of Andronikos (the Tower of the Winds) that was built to the east of the Roman Agora at Athens in the second half of the first century BC. The exterior frieze of the *Horologium* depicts the eight winds, which are personified by male figures with appropriate attributes. The eight sides of the tower are oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. An idea of wind direction was provided by a weathervane on the roof of the structure that pointed out the face of the tower corresponding to the prevailing wind (A. Cassimatis, "Weather forecasting", Athena 28 1988, pp. 228-29; Joseph V. Noble and Derek J. Price, "The water clock

Its two primary elements (fig. 29) included a temple of Mercury¹⁰³ to the north and a market complex to the south, both of which were elevated on three steps above a paved courtyard. This courtyard was accessed from the two buildings through a portico.¹⁰⁴ A close association of a temple of Mercury with a forum and a market in particular seems to correspond to the accounts of Vitruvius who suggests that a sanctuary to Mercury should be located in the forum or in the *emporium* of a town.¹⁰⁵ This association is also consistent with Mercury's role as a god who presides over commercial functions or enterprises.¹⁰⁶ In Roman Africa, Mercury also assumes a role as a god who protects vegetation.¹⁰⁷ This last point may further explain the presence of his sanctuaries in the Medjerda river valley of Tunisia, a region known for its fertility and agricultural wealth.

The plan of the temple of Mercury (fig. 29) is unique and it may reflect a local tradition of religious architecture, much like the sanctuaries in the vicinity of the fora at *Gigthis* and *Bulla Regia*. All three sites, as already discussed, originated as native *civitates* and had extensive histories of occupation. The plan of the temple of Mercury at Dougga comprised three *cellae*¹⁰⁸ that were preceded by the portico opening onto the paved courtyard of the "Rose des Vents". Each *cella* may have been dedicated to

in the Tower of the Winds" American Journal of Archaeology 72 1968, p. 345-355; Peter Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens, p. 281).

¹⁰³ CIL 26478; ILAf 517; ILT 1394.

¹⁰⁴ Claude Poinssot, Les ruines de Dougga, p. 32-33.

¹⁰⁵ Vitruve, De l'architecture I.VII.1.

¹⁰⁶ Marcel Benabou, Résistance africaine à la romanisation, p. 341-43.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 341-43.

¹⁰⁸ In addition to the Capitolium and the Temple of Mercury, the small temple of Tellus (AD 261) in the lower part of the town and the temple of Saturn have arrangements for multiple shrines. The cella of the temple of Tellus has three niches flanked by two smaller ones while the temple of Saturn has three chambers. The presence of several temples with multiple shrines may cause confusion for the identification of Capitolia. With the exception of the "unquestioned" Capitolium of Dougga, however, all these temples lack the distinctive features of a typical Roman temple and they tend to form a self-contained enclosure rather than being a part of a larger scheme, such as a forum (Ian M. Barton, ANRW II Princ. 12.1, p. 273).

different aspects of the divinity. Such a theory is based on a statue base dedicated to *Mercurus Silvius* that was discovered in the westernmost *cella*.

To the south of the temple, an earlier *macellum*¹⁰⁹ was transformed in the last years of the second century AD due to the generosity of the Pacuvii family.¹¹⁰ Like the temple of Mercury, the *macellum* was preceded to the north by the portico of the "Rose des Vents" and it faced the temple of Mercury. Several doors were arranged in the façade of the *macellum*, giving access to a rectangular court from the portico. This court was bordered on its long sides by a colonnaded gallery. The eastern gallery fronted ten *tabernae* that had the same dimensions. There was probably a similar arrangement of *tabernae* along the western gallery. A fountain occupied the middle of the courtyard. The courtyard ended at the south with an apse that may have held statues of Mercury, thus corresponding with the *cellae* of the temple at the north end of the "Rose des Vents". To the east, the portico of the "Rose des Vents" is not rectilinear but is in the form of a hemicycle to conceal the oblique arrangement of the façade of the temple of Fortune.¹¹¹

Thuburbo Maius (fig. 1), like Dougga, has an irregular civic plan that is especially evident in its central quarter (fig. 30 a). The alignment of the pre-existing native town, as in other towns of native origin, was maintained in later urban developments. The sloping terrain of the site may have also prevented rigid town planning. Unlike Dougga, however, the town was not in proximity of a quarry and consequently, it had to have its building stone transported from a distance.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ The earlier *macellum* was given by a private donor, M. Licinius Rufus, in AD 54 (AE 1969-70 652; CIL 26483, 26484; *ILT* 1396).

¹¹⁰ *ILAf* 559.

¹¹¹ The different alignment may be due to the fact that the temple of Fortune is older than the "Rose des Vents". An inscription, found to the northeast of the Capitolium, mentions a temple of Fortuna and Venus in the reign of Hadrian (AE 1969-70 650; Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 32-34).

¹¹² Alexandre Lézine, *Thuburbo Maius*, p. 7.

The forum at *Thurburbo Maius* (fig. 30 b) occupied a central position within the town as it was framed by principal roads. Initially conceived as a temple dominated sanctuary, the monumental structure of the forum was realized in several phases between the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius and the end of the reign of Caracalla, a period lasting roughly sixty years. Hence, it has an analogous evolution to the forum at Dougga. The first phase was marked by terracing of the forum zone to adjust the complex to the sloping nature of the site and the construction of the Capitolium that began under Antoninus Pius.

Between AD 161 and AD 192, porticoes were elevated on three sides under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The portico is dated by a series of monumental friezes that were recovered near the forum and were perhaps part of the entablature of the portico. The earliest one¹¹³ carries a dedication to Marcus Aurelius (*pro salute...m. aureli antonini aug. armeniaci medici...*) and mentions *COLUMNIS IN FORO*. Two other inscriptions bear the names of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.¹¹⁴ With this information from the inscriptions, one may wonder why it took so long to elevate the portico. As mentioned already, much of the building stone had to be transported to *Thurburbo Maius*. The columns of the portico itself may have originated as temporary wooden ones that were gradually replaced by limestone columns. This may explain the piecemeal development of the portico.

¹¹³ The dedication of the portico (CIL VIII, 843), however, is very fragmentary (*in duobus fragmentis*) and is therefore heavily reconstructed.

¹¹⁴ Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thurburbo Maius*, p. 24-27.

The Capitolium is the organizational element of the composition (fig. 30 b), despite the fact that most of it lies outside the perimeter wall.¹¹⁵ The temple is of the Italic or classical type as it was built on an elevated podium of yellow limestone and was accessed by a monumental staircase of twenty-one or twenty-three steps. The temple was placed in the middle of the forum's northwestern side and its façade formed the back of the enclosure. In this way, the Capitolium dominated the open space that extended in front of it. Its plan comprised a *pronaos* with a façade of six Corinthian columns that preceded a single *cella*.¹¹⁶ There was emphasis placed on symmetry and frontality as the Capitolium was located on the central axis of the composition.

The dedicatory inscription, engraved on fourteen plaques of white marble which were applied to the frieze and architrave of the facade, indicates that the temple is a Capitolium (*[I]o[ui] o[ptimo maxim]o, Iunoni Regina[e, M]i [ne]rvae A [ug. sac.]*).¹¹⁷ The inscription also provides a date to the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, c. AD 168/9, before the death of Lucius Verus. A second inscription, this time from a statue base to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, can be related to the Capitoline religion. It dates to the years between AD 172 and AD 175 when Marcus Aurelius adopted the title Germanicus.¹¹⁸ Although the superstructure of the *cella* is totally

¹¹⁵ The disposition of the temple can be contrasted with that of other temple dominated complexes in Africa, including Sbeitla, Haïdra, and *Gigthis*. At all three sites, the temples are incorporated within the enclosure. The temples bordering the forum at *Althiburos*, conversely, are somewhat isolated from its forum.

¹¹⁶ Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius*, p. 15-17.

¹¹⁷ For a reconstruction of the inscription, see Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius*, p. 11 and *I.L.T.* 699.

¹¹⁸ This inscription was discovered in the basement of the Capitolium. The basement was divided into several rooms that may have served as storage space. It was entered by three doors at the level of the street that bordered the back of the temple. The podia of most of the African Capitolia were divided internally into a number of vaulted chambers (*favissae*) which not only reduced the amount of masonry required in a solid base but also provided support to the superstructure. The temple in the forum of *Bulla Regia* also had a basement subdivided into several *favissae* (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p274; Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius*, pp. 14, 24-27).

lacking, the tripartite division of the temple's substructure suggests that the internal arrangement of the *cella* was also triple, hence providing a further indication that the temple was indeed a Capitolium. Adjoining the temple's podium on either side and on the same alignment were two rectangular rooms which were built later and whose functions are still uncertain.

As was previously mentioned, the portico of the forum was built in piecemeal fashion between the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the end of the reign of Commodus. This gradual development of the portico may have resulted in the discrepancies that are apparent in the dimensions of the surrounding galleries. Not only is the width of the portico inconsistent, but the southwestern gallery is longer than its northeastern counterpart. In order to alleviate this last discrepancy, at least partly, the portico's architects made the length of spaces between the columns along the southwestern side wider. By doing so, they were able to include a corresponding number of columns (thirteen) along the parallel sides.¹¹⁹ Both the southwestern and northeastern galleries ended at two apses that flanked the rectangular rooms on either side of the forum temple. The apses may have been furnished with statues.¹²⁰

At the northeast angle of the forum, a peculiar and richly decorated monument opens onto the portico. Its orientation differs from that of the forum complex itself and the features to the west, thus suggesting a different date for the building. Its plan is consistent with the Temple of Apollo at *Bulla Regia* that also borders the northeast angle of the town's forum. A rectangular court with a portico of Corinthian columns preceded

¹¹⁹ Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius*, p. 24-27

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 24-27.

the building's *cella*.¹²¹ The *cella* opened onto the court by means of three openings.¹²² This type of plan, with its strong oriental features and the absence of a podium, may reflect a local architectural tradition. A dedication to the *Pax Augustorum nostrorum* identifies the sanctuary as a temple of Peace or Concordia. Concordia has often been associated with the curiae of Roman Africa, as at *Gigthis*, Timgad and Djemila. For this reason, the building at the northeast angle of the forum at *Thuburbo Maius* is believed to have served as the town's curia.¹²³ Unlike the curia at Timgad and *Lepcia Magna*, however, there is no evidence for a seating arrangement in the so-called curia at *Thuburbo Maius* that would have accommodated the municipal magistrates.

Between the end of the second century AD and AD 211, the forum at *Thuburbo Maius* was furnished with an extensive commercial quarter along its southwest side. This quarter (fig. 30 b), similar to the commercial quarter at Dougga, comprised a vast market complex at the southwest angle of the forum and a temple of Mercury, the god of commerce, to the north. The market, added at the end of the second century AD, incorporated three courts, each with its own entrance from the surrounding streets. The northernmost court was square in form and was furnished with porticoes on four sides. A road leading to the western door of the forum separated this court from the temple of Mercury. From this road, the northernmost court could be entered by means of a door in the middle of its northwest side. The rectangular court to the south was also surrounded by porticoes. The street that led to the town's summer and winter baths framed the

¹²¹ The Temple of Apollo at *Bulla Regia* (fig. 25), conversely, had two *cellae*.

¹²² The primary *cella* of the Temple of Apollo at *Bulla Regia* also had three openings.

¹²³ Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 232-33; Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius*, p. 31-38.

western side of the rectangular court. Small shops bordered the third court, which was larger than the other two and was without porticoes.¹²⁴

The Temple of Mercury at *Thurburbo Maius* opened onto the southwestern gallery of the forum. A dedicatory inscription from the monument's frieze identifies it as an *aedes Mercuri* dating to AD 211¹²⁵ when the monument was built at the expense of the colony (*colonia Iulia Aurelia Commoda Thurburbo Maius*).¹²⁶ The plan of the temple of Mercury, similar to other African sanctuaries such as the temple of Mercury at Dougga and the sanctuary of *Liber Pater* at *Gigthis*, may reflect an indigenous tradition of religious architecture, with strong orientalizing features. Temples of indigenous tradition are characterized by a court (*area*) at the back of which are arranged one or more *cellae*. The *area* and *cellae* are also usually separated from the neighbouring streets and monuments by a wall. Despite having several *cellae* or a number of niches for statues, these sanctuaries were often dedicated to a single deity.¹²⁷ In the case of the temple of Mercury at *Thurburbo Maius*, its plan consisted of a single *cella*, preceded by a porticoed, open-air court. Thick walls enclosed the court which, on the one hand, were rectilinear on the outside and on the other hand, had a series of curved surfaces on the inside. These curved surfaces were in the form of four semi-circular niches that were placed on the diagonal of the temple's courtyard. The overall impression of the court is of a circle inscribed in a square.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Alexandre Lézine, *Thurburbo Maius*, p. 15-16.

¹²⁵ *CIL* VII, 12366.

¹²⁶ The town's epithet reveals that *Thurburbo Maius* had been elevated to the status of *colonia* under the emperor Commodus (Alexandre Lézine, *Thurburbo Maius*, p. 17; Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thurburbo Maius*, p. 45-47).

¹²⁷ Claude Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga*, p. 25-26.

¹²⁸ Alexandre Lézine, *Thurburbo Maius*, p. 17; Alfred Merlin, *Le forum de Thurburbo Maius*, p. 45-47.

At both Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*, therefore, provisions were made during the course of the gradual development of their fora for the arrangement of vast market complexes which could accommodate the commercial activities of their fora. In both cases, the market complex consisted of an extensive *macellum* in close relation to a temple of Mercury. The commercial quarter at Dougga was in direct and easy relation to the Capitolium and the colonnaded enclosure of the forum. Hence, a sort of dual complex emerges at Dougga at the end of the second century AD that incorporated commercial and religious functions. At *Thuburbo Maius*, all of the buildings associated with commercial activity were also placed in easy relation to its forum, although the relation was not as direct as at Dougga. In addition to the religious and commercial buildings, provisions may have also been made for the integration of administrative and municipal buildings in the forum at *Thuburbo Maius*.¹²⁹ At both sites, however, a judicial basilica is absent. By the time of the formalizations of their commercial quarters in the late second and early third century AD, both Dougga and Thuburbo Maius had been established as primary market centres for the produce of the Medjerda river valley of Tunisia, an important wheat producing region of the Roman Empire. Such a position perhaps necessitated the integration of vast commercial complexes within their civic centres.

¹²⁹ Several halls opening onto the southeast portico of the forum may have been reserved for religious or even administrative activities (fig. 30 b) (Alexandre Lézine, *Thuburbo Maius*, p. 16). Furthermore, the sanctuary of Concordia at the northeast corner may have served as the town's curia.

D. Fora of Second Century AD Colonies in Africa. Examples from Timgad, Djemila and Tébessa.

The present study will end with an analysis of the fora of Timgad and Djemila in eastern Algeria. Unlike some of the towns of native origin that have been examined, their earliest civic plans reflect the precision and foresight of the Roman principles of town planning, though with some variation. This may be attributed, in part, to the intense colonization that both sites witnessed in the early part of the second century AD. The earliest fora of Timgad and Djemila also differ from those of *civitates* in that there is more regularity in their composition. Timgad's forum especially does not reflect haphazard growth.

The foundation of a veterans' colony at the site of a recently abandoned fortress was a regular practice of the Third Augustan Legion in Africa, as shown in the colonial foundation at *Ammaedara* in the last quarter of the first century AD. Prior to the foundation of the colony¹³⁰, Timgad was likely the site of a fortress, as attested by its position at the head of a valley that was an important access route to the centre of the Aures Mountains and to the south. This would also explain the military precision of the town plan¹³¹ since the barrack blocks of the abandoned fortress were likely rebuilt as houses for the veterans and their families. The extreme regularity of the plan (fig. 31 a) suggests that an architect was hired to design a town plan for a specified number of

¹³⁰ A Trajanic date for the foundation of the colony is attested by its epithet, *Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi*. It was established c. AD 100 for veterans of the Third Augustan Legion and their families (E. Lennox Manton, *Roman North Africa*, p. 99).

¹³¹ Elizabeth W.B. Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army*, p. 126, describes the plan of Timgad as "castrum-like".

veterans and their families. Despite some minor anomalies¹³², there were observed regularities in the plans of the *insulae*. The layout of the streets also reflects rigorous regularity. The town was divided into a series of one hundred and twenty *insulae* with intersecting streets (*Cardines* and *Decumani*). The topography of the region of Timgad, characterized as flat country lying at the foot of the Aures Mountains¹³³, favoured the use of the rigid principles of Roman town planning.

In the approximate centre of the town, at a junction of the *Decumanus Maximus*, the *Cardo* comes to an end at the town's forum (fig. 31 b). A space was likely reserved for the forum in the southern half of the town grid soon after the foundation of the colony. The rectangular space of the forum was bordered on the north by the main *Decumanus Maximus* whose trajectory passed without interruption between the two entrances at the eastern and western ends of the town grid.¹³⁴ The entrance into the forum was directly opposite the central *Cardo*. Unlike the fora at Dougga, *Thuburbo Maius* and *Althiburos*, the forum at Timgad was the result of a unified plan, realized in the years immediately following the foundation of the colony. Its plan is defined as a large space¹³⁵ that was enclosed on its north, south, and east sides and part of its western side by a portico. Public buildings also surrounded the open space. These included shops, a public latrine at the northeast corner, a basilica on the eastern side, and a temple,

¹³² Since there were slight variations in the relation of the *insulae* to the perimeter wall, the construction of the town wall probably preceded the design of the *colonia* (Paul MacKendrick, The North African Stones Speak, p. 232; Susan Raven, Rome in Africa, p. 73-75).

¹³³ Timgad was located on a plateau between two oueds which limited its placement to the east and west (Susan Raven, Rome in Africa, p. 73-75). See also Paul MacKendrick, The North African Stones Speak, p. 232.

¹³⁴ Gilbert-Charles Picard, La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine, p. 168-69.

¹³⁵ The central space of the forum was paved with blue limestone. Its dimensions were 43 m x 50 m (Ian M. Barton, ANRW II Princ. 12.1, p. 308; Paul-Albert Février, Approches du Maghreb romain, pp. 10, 22; E. Lennox Manton, Roman North Africa, p. 100).

a speaker's rostrum and a curia at the western end opposite the basilica. One entered the forum from the main *Decumanus*.

The modest temple at the western end of the forum is the only temple within the original gridded area of the town. Inscriptions from the temple exalt *Fortuna*, the Roman goddess of fortune and prosperity, who permitted Trajan to defeat the Parthians in AD 116. The inhabitants of Timgad probably dedicated the temple to the emperor Trajan. Beneath the temple were vaulted rooms to house the town treasury. A speaker's rostrum projected from the temple's stairs of approach and overlooked the forum. At either end of the platform stood an altar dedicated to *Victoriae Parthicae*, also in honour of Trajan's victory over the Parthians. That a Capitolium was not included in the original plan is unusual for a city that was founded as a community of Roman citizens. One was built at a later date (c. AD 160) outside the original precincts of the town.¹³⁶

To the immediate south of the temple, a curia (*curia Marcia*) was approached from the forum by steps and a columnar screen. The building has been identified as the town's curia by a dais at the far end of the main room where magistrates would have sat. The numerous statues that adorned the building, many of which were depictions of the emperor Trajan, suggest that the building is Trajanic in date, constructed soon after Timgad's establishment as a colony. The row of shallow rooms across the forum's south side may have also housed municipal offices or magisterial apartments.¹³⁷

The basilica that occupied the southeast corner is dated by coinage to the reign of

¹³⁶Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 308; Paul-Albert Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, pp. 10, 22; R.P. Duncan-Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities", p. 31, in Francis Grew and Brian Holey, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*; Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, p. 232-33; E. Lennox Manton, *Roman North Africa*, p. 100.

¹³⁷ Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, pp. 232-33, 234.

the emperor Hadrian, Trajan's successor. One of the long sides of the basilica opened onto the eastern gallery of the forum by means of a series of openings in its western wall. The eastern side of the basilica, conversely, had a row of offices or shops of equal dimension that opened onto the central nave of the building. There was a raised tribunal at the south end of the basilica while the north end had three statue niches, the central one being apsidal.

Rather than incorporating a major building into the scheme along the southern side, a theatre was built into the hillside behind. The location of the theatre would have been ideal for a Capitolium, at the centre of the civic plan and on the axis of the *Cardo Maximus*. Due to the peculiar position of the theatre in relation to the forum, the forum appears somewhat asymmetrical.¹³⁸

By the reign of Hadrian, therefore, the forum at Timgad appeared as the true centre of civic life for the town. It incorporated judicial, religious, political, and administrative functions into a single complex that was unified by a common portico. Many of the architectural features that were included in the composition, such as the basilica, the curia, the podium temple, and the unifying colonnade, are seen in numerous fora from all over the Roman Empire. As discussed in the study of the forum's development in Italy during the Republic, an Italian origin is the likely source of many of these architectural features. That these ideas would have been applied on the frontiers of the Roman Empire at a site like Timgad clearly derives from the intense settlement that the region witnessed in c. AD 100 with the foundation of the Trajanic colony.

Although considered a contemporary foundation of Timgad and having received a

¹³⁸ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1 p. 308.

colony of veterans, the civic plan of Djemila (fig. 32) does not follow a strict geometric plan of the sort that is applied at Timgad and other Roman colonies. The topography of the site most certainly prevented the founders of the colony from reproducing the theoretical plan of a Roman colony, with its square enclosure divided by *Cardines* and *Decumani*. Since the site was located on a narrow plateau between two ravines, the system of roads had to adapt to the axis of the plateau and its abrupt slopes. Despite these constraints of the terrain, the builders tried to conserve some of the regularity and the organization of military colonies in the primitive nucleus of the site. This is most apparent in the eastern quarter, in the zone located to the southeast of the forum, where there is observed regularity of the *cardines* as they run parallel with the theoretical axis of the southern sector of the principal *Cardo*.¹³⁹

The plan of the earlier town involved the organization of a system of roads and buildings around one principal *Cardo* that extended the whole length of the settlement, from north to south. A fortification wall that was in the form of an irregular triangle enclosed the primitive settlement. The principal *Cardo* crossed the town from end to end and functioned as its primary axis. A gate (the arch of Caracalla) marked the limit between the old part of the town to the north and the Severan plaza. To the north, the

¹³⁹ The plan of the primitive settlement is more or less orthogonal. Most of its streets, however, are short, so there is no overall grid (William L. MacDonald, "Connection and passage in North African architecture", p. 29 in Charles B. McClendon (ed.), *Rome and the Provinces...*). See also Paul-Albert Février, *Notes sur le développement urbain...*, pp. 6, 8 and Yvonne Allais, "Le quartier occidental de Djemila (Cuicul)", *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, pp. 95, 98.

Cardo passed through a second gate that marked a change in the street's orientation.¹⁴⁰

The northern limit of the town was marked by yet another gate.¹⁴¹

The "old" forum" of Djemila¹⁴² (fig. 32), similar to the public centre of Timgad, was placed at the heart or nucleus of the original area of settlement of the second century AD in the northern part of the town. It was located on the same axis as a *Cardo* ("Rue du Vieux Forum" on the town plan) that runs north-south from the "old" forum to the Severan plaza. The principal *Cardo* bordered its western side while a *Decumanus Maximus* bordered part of its southern side. In order to give the forum vast dimensions, the engineer (s) who designed the plan of the town oriented the principal *Cardo* northwest-southeast instead of following the classical rule of a north-south orientation. By pushing the *Cardo* towards the western edge of the plateau the architects could accommodate the forum and the principal public buildings associated with it. This adjustment of the *Cardo* affected the development of other sectors of the town, as shown in the westernmost quarter which was compressed between the main road and the rampart and had to develop in a north-south direction.¹⁴³

The plan of the forum consisted of a nearly square open space with a pavement on which were erected statues dedicated to both emperors and divinities. Numerous public buildings were elevated around the "old" forum during the Antonine age, including a

¹⁴⁰ According to William L. MacDonald, "Connection and passage in North African architecture", p. 30, arches are used in African towns, like Djemila, to signal beginnings, ends and junctions. They are effectively located where changes in one's path occur and they mark where there is an axial shift, as in the *Cardo* at Djemila.

¹⁴¹ Yvonne Allais, *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, p. 95; Paul-Albert Février, *Notes sur le développement urbain...*, p. 6.

¹⁴² Djemila's forum is referred to as "old" because of the later Severan plaza that was built further south (Louis Leschi, *Djemila. Antique Cuicul*, pp. 6, 9, 12).

¹⁴³ Yvonne Allais, *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, p. 95; Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 286.

curia, a Capitolium, a temple to *Venus Genetrix*, a judicial basilica, and a *macellum*.¹⁴⁴

The prescriptions of the terrain forced the builders of the Capitolium to place the temple not on the primary axis of the forum but closer to the northeast angle.¹⁴⁵ The Capitolium of Djemila comprised a triple *cella* that was approached by a high staircase placed frontally. The situation and plan of the temple and the discovery of the torso of a statue of Jupiter strengthen the assumption that it was the Capitolium of the *colonia*.¹⁴⁶

At the northeast angle of the “old” forum and at the foot of the platform of the Capitolium was the curia. It is identified as such by the honorary inscriptions that framed its porch. A large portico of Corinthian columns, mounted on several stairs, dominated the forum from the southern side. Behind this portico at the southwest angle of the complex lies a temple whose fragmentary dedicatory inscription identifies it as a temple of *Venus Genetrix*. This small temple, like the Capitolium of Althiburos, lies at the back of an enclosure. The enclosure and the temple were accessed from the principal *Cardo* by means of an opening in the northwest angle of the perimeter wall. The temple was Italic in style as it was mounted on a podium of twelve steps that dominated the vast paved court. A portico, in turn, enclosed the court on three sides. Before the construction of the temple of *Venus Genetrix* in the second half of the second century AD, the southern sector of the *Cardo* was located further east and was linked to the *Decumanus* that bordered the southern side of the forum. Consequently, the *Cardo* took

¹⁴⁴ Most of the buildings and inscriptions associated with the forum date to the second century AD. The earliest statue dates to AD 157 (Paul-Albert Février, *Notes sur le développement urbain...*, p. 16).

¹⁴⁵ The disposition of the Capitolium at Djemila, therefore, can be contrasted with that of the Capitolium at *Thuburbo Maius*, or the temple-dominated complexes of Sbeitla and Haïdra (Paul-Albert Février, *Notes sur le développement urbain...*, p. 8; Louis Leschi, *Djemila*, pp. 6, 9, 12).

¹⁴⁶ Only a part of the stairs and some column bases and shafts remain of the Capitolium (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 286; Louis Leschi, *Djemila*, p. 14).

on the aspect of a broken line, as the southern half was oriented more clearly on a north-south axis than the northern sector.¹⁴⁷

A large judicial basilica bordered the whole western side of the forum. The interior of the basilica was furnished with statues of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, thus suggesting a date for the structure in the last quarter of the second century AD.¹⁴⁸ The western side of the basilica opened directly onto the porticoes lining the principal *Cardo*, while the eastern side opened onto the forum by means of four doors.¹⁴⁹ A market was also located in the vicinity of the forum, to the immediate west of the Capitolium and north of the judicial basilica. An inscription reveals that it had been built at the expense of a local notable, Lucius Cosinius Primus. Its plan comprised a rectangular courtyard that was paved and enclosed on four sides by a colonnade. Seventeen shops were placed under the porticoes on all sides of the central courtyard. A hexagonal pavilion was placed at the centre of the courtyard. Unlike the market complexes at Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*, a temple of Mercury has not been located near the market at Djemila. A dedication to the god, however, was found in the centre of the market, thus stressing the link between Mercury and the commercial activities of the town.¹⁵⁰

The “old” forum at Djemila was the true monumental centre of the town by the last quarter of the second century AD. Its importance is emphasized by the

¹⁴⁷ The *Decumanus*, whose course the *peribolos* of the temple of *Venus Genetrix* interrupted, was the main east-west running street of the primitive town (Yvonne Allais, *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, pp. 97, 100; Louis Leschi, *Djemila*, p. 16-18).

¹⁴⁸ More precisely, the basilica is believed to have been built in AD 169, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, by C. Julius Crescens (ILS 5533). See also Louis Leschi, *Djemila*, p. 16-20.

¹⁴⁹ The main *Cardo* had sidewalks that were bordered by colonnades. The colonnades were interrupted only in front of public buildings, including the basilica of the forum and the temple of *Venus Genetrix* (Yvonne Allais, *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, p. 97; Louis Leschi, *Djemila*, p. 16-20).

¹⁵⁰ Louis Leschi, *Djemila*, pp. 6, 9, 12, 30.

embellishments that the primary access route leading to the forum, the *Cardo*, witnessed in the course of the second century. The *Cardo* was ornamented with monumental gates and porticoes.¹⁵¹

At both Timgad and Djemila, the forum was sited at the heart of the primitive urban centre as the major streets of the town plan framed it. The engineer (s) responsible for the establishment of the civic plan of Djemila was forced to take into consideration the inherent difficulties of the site when designing a "quadrillage aussi régulier que possible".¹⁵² A similar arrangement seems to have been adopted at *Theveste*, the site of another Trajanic colony, as its forum (10 in fig. 33) is believed to have been located in the centre of the town, on the axis of a principal *Decumanus Maximus*.¹⁵³ The fora of Timgad and Djemila also incorporated many activities, including political, religious, and administrative and judicial, into the buildings that surrounded the central space. In the case of the forum at Djemila, even further provisions were made for the accommodation of commercial activities, as shown in the addition of a *macellum* at the northwest angle of the forum. Unlike those sites that originated as native towns, there seemed to be some degree of regularity in the organization of the fora and their associated buildings and annexes at both Timgad and Djemila. Furthermore, the rate at which buildings were elevated in their forum quarters was relatively constant as the majority of buildings were built in the Antonine phase. This is most apparent at Timgad where the two major buildings in its forum, the podium temple and the basilica, were constructed within a relatively short span, the former in the reign of Trajan, the latter under Hadrian. Also, at

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18-20.

¹⁵² Yvonne Allais, *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, p. 102.

¹⁵³ Unfortunately, nothing remains of the forum at Tébessa (ancient *Theveste*). A Capitolium may have stood in the forum as attested by an inscription mentioning statues of Minerva and perhaps Juno in the

sites such as Timgad, Djemila and Lambaesis which were originally settled by Roman soldiers, the Italian elements of architecture are more likely to have provided the precedent for the types of buildings in and around their civic centres.¹⁵⁴

The second century AD in *Africa Proconsularis*, therefore, was characterized by large scale transformations of the urban landscape in many towns. In AD 100, Timgad only occupied a rectangle (325 m by 355 m). Within a relatively short time span (roughly fifty years), however, its limits were expanded well beyond those of AD 100. Expansion of the town continued in the Severan period as its southern limits were brought four hundred metres further south with the construction of the sanctuary of *Aqua Septimiana Felix*. Djemila also grew beyond its initial limits in the course of the second century AD. Under Commodus, baths were built one hundred and sixty metres to the south of the wall.¹⁵⁵

forum (*in foro*) (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 311; Serée De Roch, *Tébessa. Antique Theveste*, p. 19).

¹⁵⁴ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 275.

¹⁵⁵ Paul-Albert Février, *150 Jahr-Feier*, p. 61.

CONCLUSIONS

By the end of the second century AD, several towns in *Africa Proconsularis* had been furnished with vast public spaces that can be identified as fora. These towns included those with an ancient past, such as *Lepcis Magna*, *Dougga* and *Bulla Regia*, and those which were “founded from nothing”¹, such as the colonies at *Timgad* and *Djemila*. Regardless of whether a regular layout was applied or not, an urbanism developed in the cities of *Africa Proconsularis* which sought to respond to the necessities of social life.

Despite the varied origins of the towns, there are some general characteristics shared by many of their fora. A forum usually occupied a rectangular or square space in a centralized position within the town. This quarter would have been framed by main streets from which it could be accessed. A portico of columns, at the back of which were covered galleries, enclosed the open space. Public buildings or annexes of the forum would then be placed in easy relation to the square with their facades incorporated into the back walls of the surrounding galleries. The present study, however, has shown that the fora of *Africa Proconsularis* differed according to their overall layout, their rate of development and the nature of their surrounding buildings. Regardless of these differences, the fora of *Africa Proconsularis* can be categorized into three types

¹ François Baratte, “Roman North Africa”, p. 82, in From Hannibal to Saint Augustine.

according to the classes of the annexes and buildings that were associated with them.

This typology is also based on the aspects or roles that were emphasized in each complex.

Topographical constraints could play an important role in determining the configuration of fora. This is most apparent at *Althiburos* and Dougga. At the first site, the civic architects had to adjust the scheme of the forum around pre-existing streets and monuments, such as the Hadrianic arch and the thoroughfare that it framed. This may explain the disjointed appearance of its forum and the lack of unity of the surrounding buildings and the colonnaded enclosure. A distinct arrangement was adopted in the forum at Dougga to take full advantage of topography, and especially the hilly terrain of the site. The peculiarity of the arrangement is apparent in the disposition of its Capitulum. In northwestern Europe, conversely, the relatively flat and low-lying terrain permitted towns to be laid out on level ground in the imperial period. There were little natural features to influence planning of a town and the siting of individual buildings. For this reason, the street grid was introduced almost immediately in Roman Britain.²

Sites where topography influenced the development of fora differ from those towns that originated either as military settlements (*castella*) or colonies, or as citizen colonies, such as Carthage, Timgad, Sbeitla, and Tébessa. At these sites, topographical constraints rarely influenced the placement of fora and their surrounding buildings at the geographical centres of the communities. Since the topography of Timgad, Sbeitla and Tébessa was relatively flat, the terrain was ideal for the application of Roman principles of town planning, in particular the grid system. It was also possible to reserve a location

² Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, "Introduction: the study of classical urban topography", p. xi-xii, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley (eds.), Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire.

for the forum early in a foundation and to apply a more regular arrangement of the space and its annexes.

From the first century BC until the end of the Antonine period, there are two divergent types of forum development. The first involves piecemeal development in that neither a master plan nor a unitary programme is applied. This type of development comprised a series of additions over an extensive period of time and occurred mainly in those towns that originated as native sites and in which the rigid principles of town planning were rarely applied. Also, Roman municipal institutions, including the system of *summa honoraria* that was well established in full Roman communities, gradually developed in the secondary towns of *Africa Proconsularis*, while pre-Roman municipal institutions often survived. At Dougga, for instance, development of the forum area began as early as the Julio-Claudian period with the construction of a *templum Caesaris* and the paving of the space that extended before it. Construction continued well into the second century AD at which time a colonnade was added around the open space in the reign of Antoninus Pius and a Capitolium and a commercial area (the "Rose des Vents" or *area macelli*) were constructed under the last two Antonine emperors. The civic centre of Dougga was largely completed after nearly two centuries of building.³ A similar development occurred at *Lepcis Magna* in the first century AD and at *Thuburbo Maius* in the course of the second century AD.

The rate at which public buildings were built was individual to each city.

Monumental development could depend on a town's ability to attract wealthy benefactors

³ R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities?", p. 30-31, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire.

or its degree of civic pride, both private and communal.⁴ Information on how buildings were paid for, either through town funds⁵ or private individuals, is often provided in building inscriptions. In *Africa Proconsularis*, towns varied greatly in their level of income and the speed with which they could carry out building programmes from their own funds. In the case of Dougga, the source of financing for many of its public buildings was the generosity of private benefactors.⁶ At Dougga, there was significant land-based wealth as the region of the Medjerda river valley was agriculturally rich. Also, the proximity of the town to Carthage attracted wealthy citizens who owned lands in the region. Building programmes of the late first century BC and the first century AD at *Lepcis Magna* were also often through the initiative of wealthy benefactors.

This type of development contrasts with the fora of Sbeitla, Timgad and Carthage, whose plans reflect more foresight in planning and more unity and regularity. All three sites, unlike Dougga, *Thuburbo Maius* and *Lepcis Magna*, were full Roman communities from the outset. For this reason, the majority of buildings could be paid for by the city from its own official sources of income and especially through the system of *summa honoraria*. For example, at Timgad, a Roman colony of veterans from the *legio III Augustana*, most of the buildings that were erected in the period up to the Severans were

⁴ Francis Grew and Brian Holey, in Grew and Holey, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire, p. xv.

⁵ There were two essential sources of town funds in the provinces of the Roman empire. The first involved taxes on trade and money-changing, local tolls, sales taxes, shop rents, and licenses to trade. The central government usually controlled the types of taxes that provincial cities introduced and the extent of spending projects. The second source of civic funds was the *summa honoraria*, payment for office by town magistrates and these funds were often invested in monumental building projects (R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities?", p. 28-29, in Francis Grew and Brian Holey, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire).

⁶ The frequency of private benefactions at Dougga may be attributed to the fact that Dougga lacked "proper" municipal institutions for most of the period of monumental activity. Unlike African cities with fully Roman institutions, payments by magistrates for office holding were not being made in as large a scale at Dougga. Dougga became a *municipium* only under Septimius Severus in AD 205 (R. P. Duncan

paid for by the city from its own funds. The temple of Fortuna at the western end of the forum of Timgad was dedicated by the inhabitants of the colony and was most likely realized through civic funds.⁷ In the years after civic promotions, towns could elevate public buildings through civic funds. This is apparent at *Althiburos* and *Thuburbo Maius* whose Capitolia were constructed by the *municipia* in the Antonine period.

By the end of the first century AD, there are also two divergent forum types in *Africa Proconsularis*. The complexes at Sbeitla and Haïdra, tentatively identified as fora, were conceived as temple-dominated sanctuaries. At both sites, one or more temples dominated the central axis of a colonnaded enclosure. This type of forum, which Gilbert-Charles Picard labels as the religious forum⁸, continues to appear in *Africa Proconsularis* in the Antonine period. The fora of *Gigthis* and *Thuburbo Maius*, for instance, were conceived as temple-dominated complexes. The forum of *Althiburos* also falls within this category as temples are the predominant elements in its composition. In all five complexes, temples figure as prominent decorative elements as they are mounted on elevated podia with deep porches. They are the focal points of their respective complexes as they occupy a commanding position, usually on the primary axis of the complexes.⁹ Similar schemes were applied in Republican and imperial fora of Italy. At Pompeii, a temple of Jupiter dominated the rectangular open space that extended before it as it was

Jones in Francis Grew and Brian Holey, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire, pp. 30, 31).

⁷ Ibid., p. 30, 31. See also Paul-Albert Février, Approches du Maghreb romain, pp. 10, 22; Paul MacKendrick, The North African Stones Speak, p. 232-33; E. Lennox Manton, Roman North Africa, p. 100.

⁸ Gilbert-Charles Picard, La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine, p. 166.

⁹ Malcolm Todd, "Forum and Capitolium in the early Empire", pp. 56, 62, in Francis Grew and Brian Holey, Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire.

mounted on a high podium with a deep and elaborate *pronaos*. The Hadrianic Capitulum of Ostia had an analogous disposition as it was placed on the central axis of the forum, thus emphasizing the symmetry of the whole.¹⁰

A Capitulum appears most frequently as the predominant or unifying feature in the religious forum. According to Ian M. Barton, the "region of the Empire which is richest in evidence for the existence of such temples (Capitoline Temples) is the African provinces (*Africa Proconsularis*, *Numidia* and the two Mauretaniae)"¹¹ as eighteen are directly attested by inscriptions.¹² The circumstances in which Capitulia were constructed in Africa varied. Of the twenty Capitulia in Africa that are recorded in inscriptions, the construction and dedication of at least twelve were undertaken by the communities, while another four or five were the result of the generosity of individuals. They occupied predominant positions within the towns, most often in close relation to their fora.¹³ The most abundant evidence for the building of Capitulia in *Africa Proconsularis* comes from the second and third centuries AD. In this period, changes in status of a number of communities, many of which were located in the original *peritica* of Carthage, were brought about in *Proconsularis*. On the one hand, the association of the construction of a Capitulum to the elevation in status of a community is still the object of

¹⁰ Similar to the Capitulum at Pompeii, the Hadrianic Capitulum at Ostia overlaps the site of the *cella* of the Republican Capitulum (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 263-64). See also p. 119, fig. 67 in Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture*.

¹¹ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 259. See also Malcolm Todd in Francis Grew and Brian Hobbey, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*, p. 65.

¹² Different circumstances of preservation of monuments in Africa may have led to a great number of buildings from the Roman cities in Africa to be preserved together with a wealth of epigraphic material. Furthermore, municipal life was dispersed among numerous small towns in Africa which acquired municipal institutions as time went on. This situation in Africa contrasts with municipal life in Gaul and Spain which tended to be focussed on the larger cities and their extended territories (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW* II Princ. 12.1, p. 260). See also Malcolm Todd in Francis Grew and Brian Hobbey, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*, p. 65.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

much debate. On the other hand, the view that the possession of a Capitoline Temple was the privilege only of a *colonia* or *municipium* has largely been rejected. In the course of the second century AD in Africa, it became increasingly common to grant the rank of *colonia honoraria* to a *municipium* or the rank of *municipium* to a *civitas*.¹⁴ At Dougga, a Capitulum was erected in the second half of the second century AD before the town was advanced to the status of *municipium*. The Capitulum of Dougga belonged jointly to the *pagus* and the *civitas*. Also, a Capitulum does not seem to have been included in the original urban plan in the *colonia* at Timgad, though one was built outside the original plan some sixty years after the foundation. Furthermore, a connection between the building of a Capitulum and the promotion of a town is not attested in any inscription. Thus, the former view remains largely hypothetical.¹⁵

Of the sixty African monuments that Barton categorized, seventeen were “Temples definitely or probably identified as Capitolia” eighteen were considered “Definite evidence for Capitolia without identifiable remains”, sixteen were “Temples lacking identification which may be Capitolia”, while another nine were “Possible evidence for the existence of Capitolia”.¹⁶ Of the fifteen sites that have been examined in the present study, three yielded monuments which epigraphic evidence identified as Capitolia (Dougga, *Thuburbo Maius*, *Althiburos*), one (Djemila) yielded a statue of Jupiter, while four (Haïdra, *Bulla Regia*, *Gigthis*, and Sbeitla) were possible Capitolia though they lacked inscriptions identifying them as such. All seven buildings are associated with forum complexes and date to the second century AD. The African

¹⁴ In the first century of the Empire, however, the term *colonia* still denoted a site that had received a settlement of Roman citizens (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 277-78)

¹⁵ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 278.

¹⁶ Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, p. 270-72.

Capitolia present a wide variety of sizes and designs.¹⁷ In Gaul and Spain, conversely, the evidence for Capitolia is slight.¹⁸

There are nine other temple-dominated complexes in ancient Tunisia that are either positively or tentatively identified as fora. Although the state of the evidence prevents a thorough analysis of their development, they may be mentioned briefly. The forum of Bisica had a Capitolium, a temple of Venus and a third temple that has not been identified.¹⁹ The forum of Chiniava was furnished with a colonnade and a temple that has been identified as a Capitolium. Muzuc had a forum and temple with three *cellae*, as did the forum at Zita.²⁰ *Segermes*, Thuburnica and Numluli may have also had Capitolia in the vicinity of their fora.²¹ Despite the lack of epigraphic evidence, the temples with three *cellae* at the back of the forum of Tuburnuc and at Zita have been identified as Capitolia.²² Two temples, one of which may have been a Capitolium, are placed along the western side of the forum of El Djem.²³

The forum at Rougga, conversely, originated as a basilica-dominated complex. Since a basilica occupied the whole width of a short side, it was the predominant element

¹⁷ The arrangement of columns along the façade and flanks varied though the commonest type seems to be the prostyle porch with columns returning at the corners. Corinthian capitals were usually applied though the details of design vary considerably. The internal arrangement of *cellae* also varied (ibid., pp. 275, 276).

¹⁸ Of the eight possibilities for Capitoline Temples in *Narbonensis*, only one (*Narbo Martius*) is positively identified. Apart from *Narbo*, there is literary evidence for Capitolia at *Augustodunum* and *Tolosa* while *Baelo*, *Carteia*, and *Italica* in *Baetica* have remains which might be those of Capitoline temples. Other possible sites of Capitolia include *Augusta Emerita* in *Lusitania*, *Barcino*, *Saguntum* and *Tarraco* in *Tarraconensis*, *Arausio*, *Baeterrae* and *Vienna* in *Narbonensis*, and *Lugdunum* in the rest of Gaul (Ian M. Barton, *ANRW II Princ.* 12.1, pp. 260,267-68; Malcolm Todd in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*, p. 65).

¹⁹ These observations of Bisica's forum were made in the late 1800s. Its remains have since been obliterated by the "bulldozer" to make way for modern development, thus preventing any further remarks (Sadok Ben Baaziz, "Les forums romains en Tunisie", p. 224, in *Los foros de las provincias occidentales*).

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 224, 228, 233 (fig. 9).

²¹ The forum at Numluli had still not been excavated ten years ago while the forum at *Segermes* is in a ruinous state (ibid., pp. 228, 229).

²² Ibid., p. 231 fig. 8.

²³ Ibid., p. 233.

of the composition. Such a scheme was applied in some Republican fora of Italy, as shown at *Alba Fucens* where a large basilica dominated the rectangular enclosure that extended in front of it. The basilica-forum type complex achieved notable popularity in Roman Britain and Gaul in the first century BC and the first century AD. Its appearance in *Africa Proconsularis* by the end of the first century AD seems to correspond with its widespread popularity in Britain and the provinces of the Western Empire at this time. The efficient road system that was achieved through the work of the Third Augustan Legion in *Africa Proconsularis* allowed not only the transport of building materials but also the spread of architectural ideas, such as the basilica-forum complex.

In the second century AD, the basilica-forum type complex continues to arise at sites in *Africa Proconsularis*, though it does not appear in as great a number of examples as the temple-dominated complex. The extensive readjustments of the Byrsa hill at Carthage during the Antonine period saw the creation of a large judicial basilica along the eastern side of the northern sector that dominated a colonnaded enclosure. The earlier imperial fora at Rome and especially the Forum of Trajan probably influenced the developments on the Byrsa platform during the second century AD as they would have provided a most suitable model for the civic centre of a provincial capital.

Bulla Regia also had a basilica that occupied an entire short side of its forum, though it was not part of the initial temple-dominated enclosure. Unlike the complex on the Byrsa hill, traces of a podium temple were found opposite the basilica. The forum of *Bulla Regia*, therefore, shares a similar layout as some Gallic fora in which a large judicial basilica occupied an entire short side of a forum and a temple was placed at the opposite side on the long axis of the complex. Such a scheme was applied at the sites of

*Julium Carnicum, Augusta Bagiennorum, Augusta Raurica, Lugdunum Convenarum, Lutetia Parisiorum, and Virunum.*²⁴ In Tunisia, there are only two other known monuments in which basilicas were significant features. At *Belalis Maior*, a basilica was placed on the western side of its forum in the fourth century AD.²⁵ A large basilica was also elevated to the southwest of the forum of Chemtou, though the results of the studies in this sector of the town are yet to be published.²⁶ The basilica-forum complex, however, is not as well represented in *Africa Proconsularis* in the first and second centuries AD as it is in Roman Britain and the Gallic provinces. Temple-dominated complexes, conversely, are better represented in the archaeological record of Tunisia. This may reflect a regional preference.

In the last quarter of the second century AD and in the early third century AD, vast commercial quarters were added in the vicinity of the fora at Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius*. The commercial aspect of their fora, therefore, gradually evolved as these quarters were not part of the initial complexes. At Dougga, a *macellum* and a temple of Mercury (the *area macelli*) were added in the vicinity of its Capitolium and forum in the reign of Commodus, the last Antonine emperor. The *area macelli* (the "Rose des Vents") formed an extension of the initial forum as both sectors were linked by means of the Capitolium and its esplanade. In the Severan period, monuments were built in the vicinity of the old fora that had a political or commercial character.²⁷ A vast market and temple quarter was also added in the vicinity of the initial temple-dominated forum of

²⁴ See figs. 19 through 24 in James Russell, "The origin and development of Republican forums" *Phoenix* XXII 1968, p. 315-16

²⁵ Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 223, fig. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Thuburbo Maius, similar to the additions to the forum at Dougga. Such an evolution in the civic centres of Dougga and *Thuburbo Maius* is understandable as both towns were important market centres for the produce of the Medjerda river valley by the end of the second century AD.

The earliest Roman period saw the persistence of native architectural elements, as shown in the hybrid architecture at *Lepcis Magna* and Utica in the first century BC and the first century AD. Even in the second century AD, local traditions of religious architecture seem to endure. Although there is little evidence for temple buildings in Phoenician or Carthaginian North Africa, there is a series of temples that form a distinct group from the typical Roman temples or Capitolia which are built from identical plans to those found in Italy. These temples, characterized as sanctuaries with three or more *cellae*, seem to be peculiar to North Africa, perhaps indicating a Punic origin or an architecture specific to Africa. They differ from the Capitolia in that they form a self-contained enclosure with *cellae* occupying the whole width of the structures. Such a disposition is applied in the temples of Mercury, Tellus and Saturn (Punic *Baal Hammon*) at Dougga. Other examples that may reflect the Punic tradition of religious architecture include the Temple of Apollo at *Bulla Regia*, the Temple of Saturn at Timgad and the Temple of Saturn at Haïdra. Despite the peculiarities in the plans of these temples, many derived their decorative elements from the Roman tradition as they are provided with Corinthian columns and pilasters, marble facing, mosaic floors, or statues of Graeco-Roman type.²⁸ In towns of native origin, buildings whose peculiar plans are believed to

²⁸François Baratte, "Roman North Africa", p. 82-83, in From Hannibal to Saint Augustine; Ian M. Barton, ANRW II 12.1, p. 273-74; Maurice Szynger, "The Punic religion", p. 31-32, in From Hannibal to Saint Augustine.

be reflective of local or native traditions are juxtaposed with their fora and their "Italian" components, including podium temples, basilicas and *macella*. This is evident at *Gigthis*, *Mactar*, *Dougga*, and *Thuburbo Maius*. Thus, their fora reflect a hybrid of traditions, from both the Italian tradition and the pre-Roman. The forum of *Gigthis* emphasizes this hybrid, as shown in the temple of Serapis (A) with its Italic features (e.g. high podium, frontal stairs of approach, the single *cella*, etc.) and the temple of *Liber Pater* at the opposite end of the complex. This last temple has features that are believed to derive from a local tradition. Native or local elements, however, are not as frequent in or near the fora of sites that originated as *coloniae* and that witnessed extensive settlement of Roman citizens.

The number of fora in *Africa Proconsularis* is one indication that they were popular amenities. According to Sadok Ben Baaziz, there are thirty-eight known or conjectured forum sites in Tunisia, a number that he believes to represent only 1/10 of the monuments that actually existed and that have still not been excavated.²⁹ These fora are scattered in Tunisia, which comprised a large part of *Proconsularis*. With the problematic nature of the evidence, however, the number of examples that provide sufficient evidence for a comprehensive study of Tunisian fora is reduced substantially. Five (*Aggar*, *Segermes*, *Ammaedara*, *Lepti Minus*, *Muzuc*) of these known or conjectured sites in Tunisia are either in a very ruined or bad state of preservation, and three (*Numluli*, *Mustis*, *Tuburnuc*) have either still not been excavated or are only partially excavated.³⁰ The total number of Tunisian fora, whether deflated or inflated, is

²⁹ Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 221-236.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 221-236. A mid fourth century AD inscription from *Mustis* (Henchir-Mest, Ain Guedine) mentions a *Forum Transsitorium* (ILT 1557).

comparable to or greater than the number of fora in other regions of the Empire. If one takes into consideration the number of presumed or known forum sites in the other regions of Roman North Africa, including Libya (*Tripolitania* and *Cyrenaica*), Algeria (*Africa Proconsularis*, *Numidia*, and *Mauretania Caesariensis*) and Morocco (*Mauretania Caesariensis* and *Mauretania Tingitana*³¹), this total appears even greater. In Roman Britain, there are six noteworthy fora. These include the temple-dominated complexes at St. Albans, dedicated in AD 79 by Agricola, and Colchester, and the basilica-forum complexes at London (second century AD), Silchester, Cirencester, and Wroxeter (*Cornoviorum*) (AD 131).³²

It is clear that there is much which is not yet known about the fora of *Africa Proconsularis*. Several advancements can be made in this field of study. Systematic excavations of many fora are required to establish their earliest phases of occupation and the dates of their construction. Pre-Roman urban structures or features are believed to have been adapted in many Roman plans, as shown in the studies of Carthage's coastal zone and in the forum at Chemtou.³³ Further systematic excavations at other forum sites would determine if this adaptation of earlier features in the Roman plan was either a trend in *Africa Proconsularis* or site specific. With the exception of *Lepcis Magna* and Dougga and to some extent Carthage, the Julio-Claudian period is also lacking in the archaeological and epigraphic record of many sites. The publication of the results from

³¹ The fora of *Tingitana* include *Banasa* and *Volubilis* and those of *Caesariensis* include *Sala* and *Tipasa* (Maurice Euzennat et Gilbert Hallier, *Antiquités africaines* t. 22, 1986, p. 73-193).

³² H. H. Scullard, *Roman Britain*, pp. 53-55, 90, 99-100.

³³ The Tunisian-German team at Chemtou has uncovered pre-Roman (Numidian) tombs beneath the Roman levels of the forum. This shows that the quarter was a necropolis before being adapted into a forum (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 229; Colin Wells, "Town, country, and social mobility", p. 86, in *From Hannibal to Saint Augustine*).

the studies conducted at Chemtou (ancient *Simitthus*) and El Djem (ancient *Thysdrus*)³⁴ and the republication of earlier reports³⁵ would also complement a study of Tunisian fora. Drawings and descriptions by early European travelers are the only sources of information on the state of many sites before the time they were resettled and the first archaeological digs. Only a portion of these highly informative documents, however, has been published.³⁶ Furthermore, some monuments have only been recently identified (Hr. el Hara) and have still not been the focus of systematic excavation (Numluli, Thuburnica), while the fora at Hr. Oudeka, Pupput, Thignica, and Zattara, although known through epigraphic testimony, have not been located in the archaeological record. Discoveries, therefore, are yet to be made. The fora of *Mustis* and Tuburnuc have only been partially excavated.³⁷

The protracted length of time over which fora were constructed in *Africa Proconsularis* also implies that they were popular amenities. Their construction extended from the first century BC, and through the first and second centuries AD and the first quarter of the third century AD. Although a large part of the known monuments date to the Antonine period, another group dates to the Severan, from the end of the second century AD to AD 235. The monuments that were built in the reigns of Septimius Severus and his successors were numerous and were the results of either "évergésies de

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 233.

³⁵ Information on the forum of *Lepti Minus* is limited to archaeological and epigraphic notes from the late 1800s and early 1900s. The remains of the forum of Bisica were obliterated by modern development and the only available resources are the initial excavation reports from the last quarter of the nineteenth century (*ibid.*, pp. 224, 228).

³⁶ Noël Duval, "The state of archaeological research in North Africa", p. 16, in *From Hannibal to Saint Augustine*.

³⁷ Sadok Ben Baaziz, pp. 228, 229, 231, 233.

particuliers"³⁸ or operations undertaken by the towns. In the latter period, towns were often embellished with a second forum, as at *Lepcis Magna*, Utica and Djemila, which adopted a political and commercial character as few temples were placed around their areas.³⁹ In the period of military anarchy from the end of the Severan dynasty to the rise of Diocletian and his colleagues (AD 284-AD 305)⁴⁰, the degree of building activity in African cities appears relatively poor when compared with the Antonine and Severan periods. The military difficulties that appeared in the 240s AD put the Empire in peril and affected the African provinces where there was a notable drop in the number of building sites between AD 240 and AD 250. The datable inscriptions from the years between AD 250 and AD 285 show a decline in the number of building sites and a "ralentissement de l'activité édilitaire"⁴¹ that seem to correspond to unfavourable circumstances, both local and global.⁴² Under the emperor Gallienus (AD 253-AD 268), however, there was a period of relative calm, as shown in the revival of political, cultural, and religious activities in the "central" empire, which comprised Italy, North Africa,

³⁸ Paul-Albert Février, "Le fait urbain dans le Maghreb du III^e siècle. Les signes d'une crise?", *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, p. 62.

³⁹ Under the Severans, the *pagi* and *civitates* located between the oued Siliana, the oued Tessa and the Medjerda evolved into *municipia* or *coloniae* (e.g. Dougga and *Thibursicu Bure*) (Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 236; Paul-Albert Février, *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, p. 55).

⁴⁰ In the provincial reforms of Diocletian, *Africa Proconsularis*, on the one hand, was extended to the west with a strip of territories which included *Theveste* (Tébessa) while on the other hand, it lost territory with the creation of a new province, *Byzacena*, in the southern half of the old province. *Numidia*, a Roman province created by Septimius Severus, was divided into *Numidia Cirtensis* and *Numidia Militiana* in the early fourth century AD (William Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, p. 326; Stephen Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, p. 223).

⁴¹ Xavier Dupuis, "Constructions publiques et vie municipale en Afrique de 244 à 276", *MEFRA* v. 104 1992, p. 236.

⁴² These unfavourable circumstances included the brevity of the reigns of the emperors, frequent usurpations, and a series of epidemics and bad harvests. After AD 253, a series of indigenous revolts exploded in Africa that affected *Mauretania* and *Numidia* especially. They were not contained before the 260s AD. The political troubles of the empire and the weight of war on the provinces had financial consequences on the towns and their elite (Xavier Dupuis, *MEFRA* v. 104 1992, p. 261-62; Paul-Albert Février, *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, pp. 63, 68, 75).

Egypt, the Danubian provinces, and Greece ("la renaissance gallienne").⁴³ In the reigns of Claudius II and Aurelian, conversely, there is no trace of constructions. From Diocletian onwards, Africa rediscovered its earlier dynamism ("la renaissance tétrarchique"⁴⁴) and important works were realized in the first years of the joint reigns of Diocletian and Maximian. Private generosity resumed and the civic centres of towns proceeded to be repaired and furnished with statues.⁴⁵ Therefore, several fora continued to be used long after their construction. The forum at *Belalis Maior*, for example, witnessed several restorations and renovations as late as the end of the fourth century AD. At the end of the fourth century and during the fifth century AD, the town underwent further transformations with the addition of Christian buildings at the northern limit of the site.⁴⁶ Dedications to divinities, emperors, governors, and local notables and statues of emperors continued to be elevated in the "old" forum at Djemila in the second, third and fourth centuries AD.⁴⁷

One may conclude that fora were a significant aspect of Romano-African society by the end of the Antonine age. They were greatly appreciated by the province's inhabitants as politico-administrative, religious, commercial and even cultural centres. This appreciation is attested by the numerous additions that were made to several fora in the course of the second century AD through both private and communal benefactions.

⁴³ Building activity at Dougga was somewhat active in the second half of the third century AD as shown in the Licinian Baths, built under Valerian and Gallienus between AD 253 and AD 260, and the temple of Tellus (AD 261) (Paul-Albert Février, *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, p. 63).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴⁵ In *Africa Proconsularis*, the "activité éditiltaire" under Gallienus was comparable to that of the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222-AD 235), the last of the Severan emperors (Xavier Dupuis, *MEFRA* v. 104 1992, p. 242; Paul-Albert Février, *150 Jahr-Feier* 1979, p. 64). See also Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, p. 25; R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities?", p. 31, in Francis Grew and Brian Hopley, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*.

⁴⁶ Ammar Mahjoubi, *L'Africa romana* I, p. 67-68; *ibid.*, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar*, p. 137-38.

⁴⁷ Yvonne Allais, "Le quartier occidental de Djemila (Cuicul)" *Ant afr.* t. 5 1971, p. 119.

These additions continued through the Severan age and onwards, though with some interruption.

In addition to developments in the forum quarters, many African cities, in the course of their history, were furnished with other major monuments which can be traced to a Roman origin. These often included baths, theatres and amphitheatres, and circuses.⁴⁸ *Thuburbo Maius*, for instance, received two bath complexes and an amphitheatre in the years after the forum quarter was monumentalized. By considering the development of major monuments, including fora, a gauge of romanization can be provided. Furthermore, the speed with which monuments of Roman origin developed may indicate the rate of romanization in the towns and cities of Roman Africa. For example, the urbanization of a rural site like *Belalis Maior*, when compared to that of a site which witnessed a major settlement (*i.e.* Timgad), appears somewhat prolonged. This is evident in the forum quarter at *Belalis Maior*, which was provided with porticoes in the years between AD 317-AD 323 and furnished with a basilica and a curia in the course of the fourth century AD.⁴⁹

The present study has also emphasized the persistence of local architectural traditions, as shown in the urban centres of towns of native origin. In the fora of these towns, Roman ideals, such as the Capitolium, the basilica, the *macellum* and the colonnaded enclosure, were often juxtaposed with native elements, and particularly sanctuaries. This thesis, therefore, also lends support to the view that North Africa under

⁴⁸ According to David J. Mattingly and R. Bruce Hitchner, (*JRS* LXXXV 1995, p. 184, notes 192-194), there is no shortage of research on these major monuments.

⁴⁹ Sadok Ben Baaziz, p. 223; Ammar Mahjoubi, Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir El Faouar.

the Roman Empire was a “vast theatre of cultural accommodation, innovation, growth, and change.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ David J. Mattingly and R. Bruce Hitchner, JRS LXXXV 1995, p. 213.

APPENDIX

SITE	STATUS	DATE OF BUILDINGS	LOCATION OF FORUM	DIMENSIONS AND ORIENTATION
Althiburos	civitas administered by aefetes in first century AD; municipium under Hadrian (AD 128)	triumphal arch of Hadrian; porticoes are Antonine; Capitolium under Commodus (AD 185-AD 191)	framed by main streets of the town, to the northwest of theatre	almost square dimensions (44.6 m x 37.15 m)
Bulla Regia	municipium in AD 110-AD 112; colonia under Hadrian in AD 128	Temple of Apollo (built AD 34-AD 35; renovated after AD 128); podium temple and porticoes are Hadrianic; basilica (second and third centuries AD)	between theatre and nymphaeum	rectangular (70 m x 45 m); E-W orientation
Carthage	colonia under Caesar and Augustus	levelling and terracing, provision of drain and paving in the Augustan period; "absides de Beula, basilica, library (?), and southern temple are Antonine	Byrsa hill; northern sector on axis of Decumanus Maximus	oriented E-W; area of whole Byrsa complex (30300 m ²)
Djesila	Trajanic colony	Curia, Capitolium, Temple of Venus Genetrix, basilica, and macellum are Antonine	"Old" Forum on axis of Cardo	nearly square; N-S orientation
Dougga	pagus et civitas Thuggensis in the first century AD	Templum Caesaris and paving of esplanade under Tiberius, renovated under Claudius; macellum (AD 54); Porticoes on three sides in the reign of Antoninus Pius; Capitolium (AD 166-AD 167); area macelli (AD 180-AD 192)		Capitolium oriented N-S, forum E-W; 24 m x 38.50 m
Ciqthis	civitas then municipium with Latium Maius under Antoninus Pius	Podium temple, porticoes and sanctuary of Concordia (Hadrianic), Temple of Liber Pater under Marcus Aurelius		rectangular (60.6 m x 38.5 m); W/SW-E/NE orientation
Haidra	colonia in last quarter of first century AD (AD 75)		central quarter of town with several buildings in its vicinity	rectangular on at least two sides (70 m x 45 m)
Lepcis Magna	civitas then municipium under Vespasian (AD 74-AD 77)	Temples of Liber Pater and Roma and Augustus under Augustus; paved and colonnade added in c. AD 50; Basilica Vetus and Curia under Julio-Claudians; Temple of Cybele (AD 72);	northeast end of site near the coast	oriented NW-SE
Hacter	civitas; elevated to colonia under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus	Platea Vetus; Temple of Liber Pater (c. AD 34-AD 37) Forum Novum: arch of Trajan (AD 116); porticoes (Trajanic or Hadrianic)	Platea Vetus: framed by principal streets to the north and west; linked to Forum Novum to the northeast by street	Platea Vetus: irregular dimensions (2400 m ²) Forum Novum: oriented N-S (1500 m ²)

Rougga	municipium	basilica and portico (Flavian); basilica replaced by twin temples in the second quarter of the second century AD		rectangular; E-W orientation; 69.63 m x 40.44 m
Sbeitla	municipium (Flavian?)	Three temples (late first century AD or early second century AD); porticoes (Trajanic or Hadrianic); arch (AD 139)	Forum on axis of Decumanus Maximus 3, at crossing of Decumanus and Cardo	nearly square (70 m x 67 m); oriented W/NW-E/SE
Tebessa	colonia under Trajan		centre of town, on the axis of the Decumanus	rectangular
Thuburbo Maius	civitas until elevated to municipium (c. AD 128); colonia under Commodus	porticoes (Marcus Aurelius and Commodus); Capitolium (AD 168); market (end of second century AD); aedes Mercuri (AD 211)	at approximate centre of site	almost square (49 m x 46 m); oriented NW-SE
Timgad	Trajanic colony (AD 100)	Temple of Fortuna and Curia (Trajanic); Basilica (Hadrianic)	at junction of Decumanus and Cardo	rectangular (43 m x 50 m)
Tuburnac	municipium in third century AD		north of water source	rectangular (30 m x 21 m); NW-SE

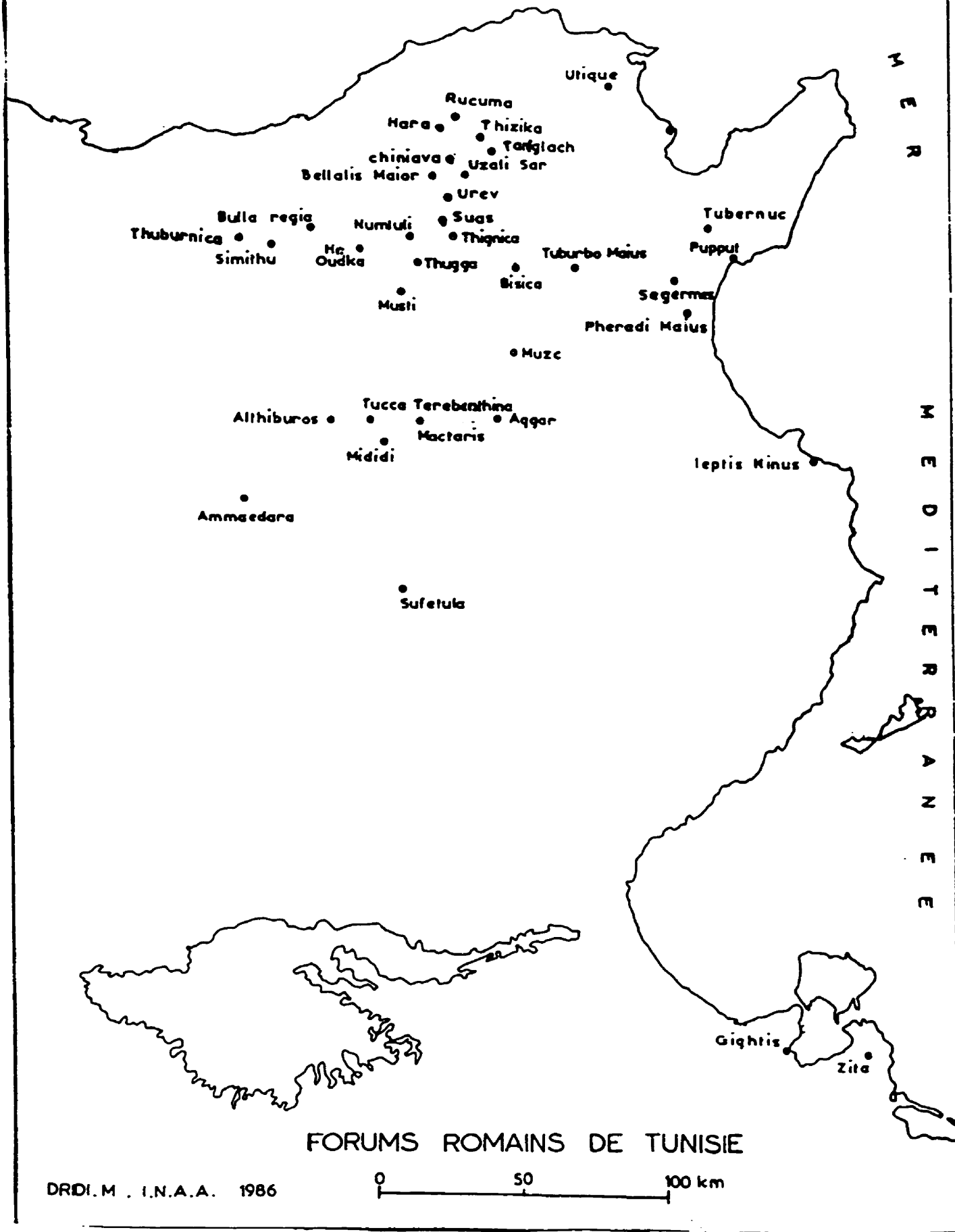


Fig. 2. Map of known forum sites in Tunisia.

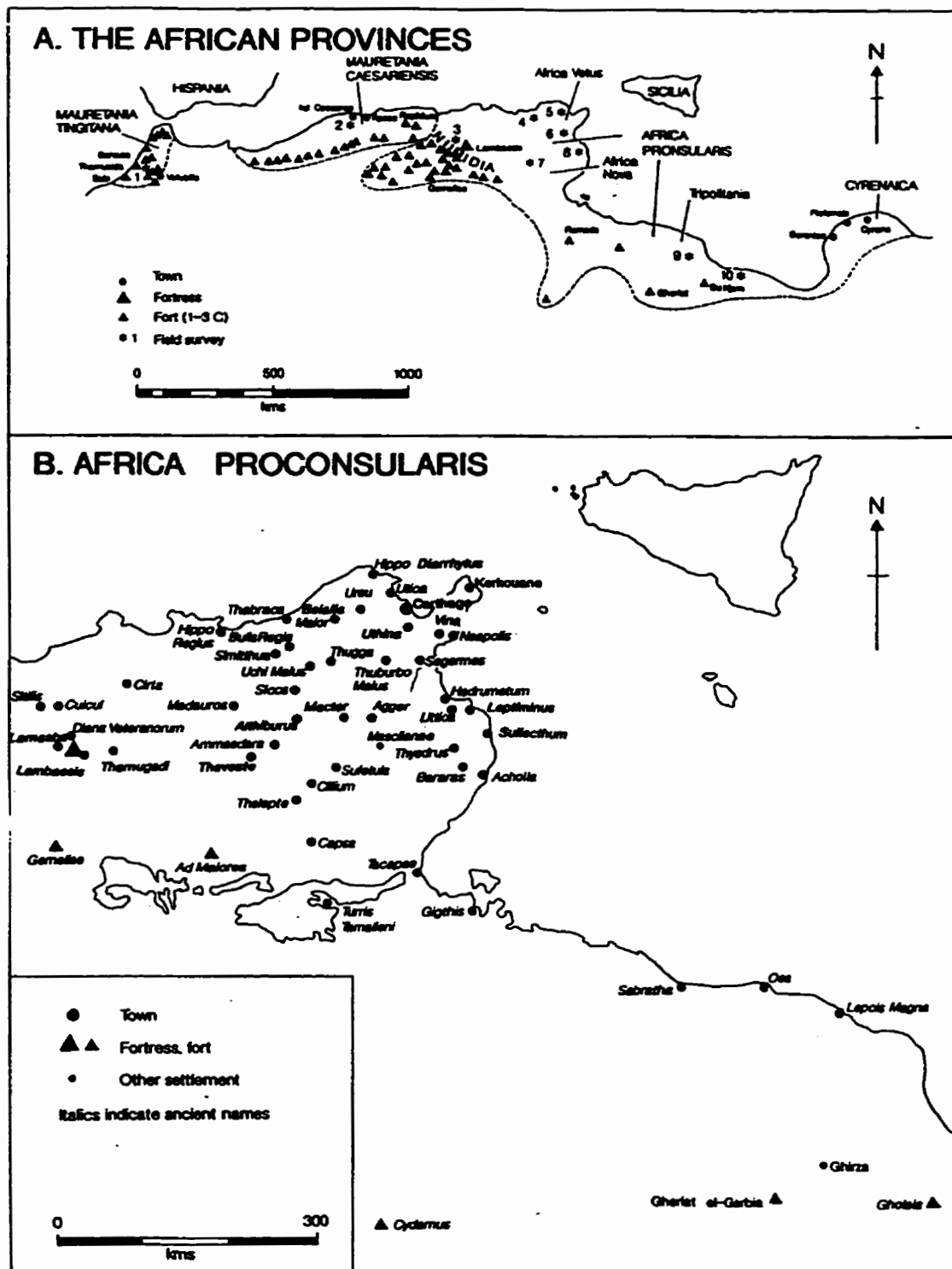


FIG. 1. A. MAP SHOWING THE AFRICAN PROVINCES, PRINCIPAL ROMAN FORTS, LOCATION OF SELECTED SITES IN MAURETANIA TINGITANA, MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS, AND CYRENAICA, AND MAIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (1 = SEBOU AREA, 2 = CAESAREA, 3 = DIANA VETERANORUM, 4 = WORK OF PEYRAS; 5 = WORK OF GREENE NEAR CARTHAGE, 6 = SEGERMES, 7 = KASSERINE, 8 = LEPTIMINUS, 9 = ULVS (ANGLO-LIBYAN), 10 = ULVS (FRANCO-LIBYAN)).
 B. PRINCIPAL SITES OF AFRICA PROCONSULARIS AND NUMIDIA REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.

Fig. 3. Map of Roman Africa, including Proconsularis, Tripolitania, Numidia and the Mauretaniae.

Fig. 5. Plan of the Republican forum at Rome (*Forum Romanum*).

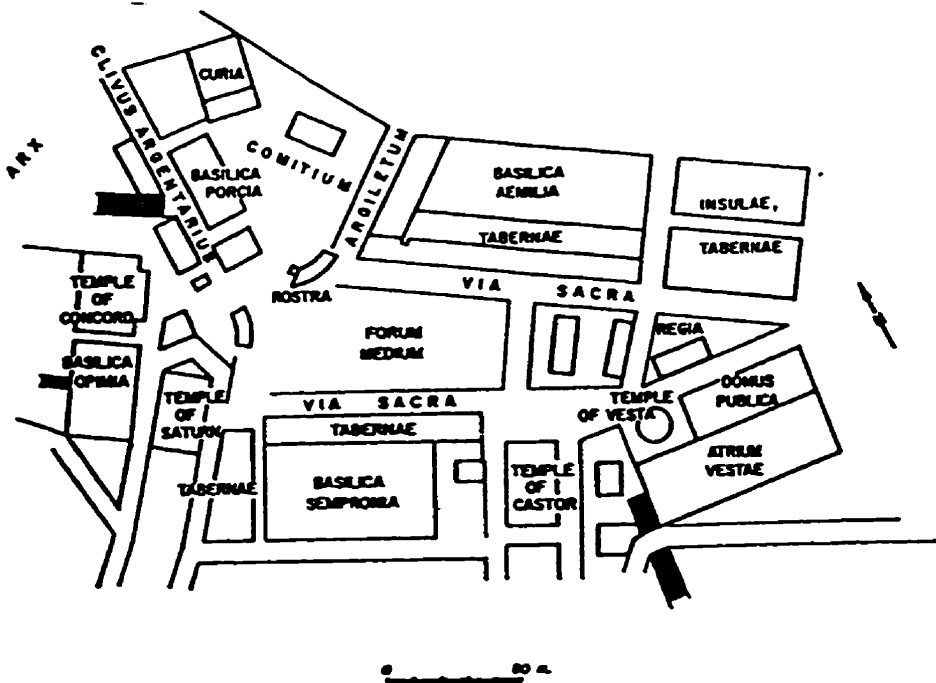


Fig. 6. Plan of the forum at Paestum.

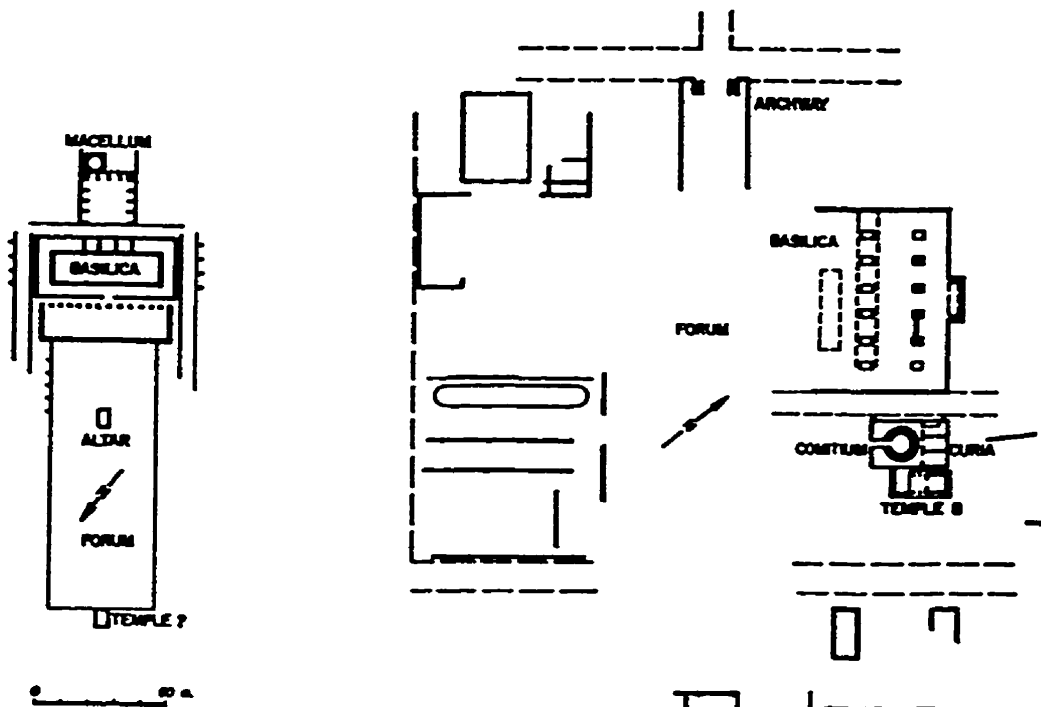
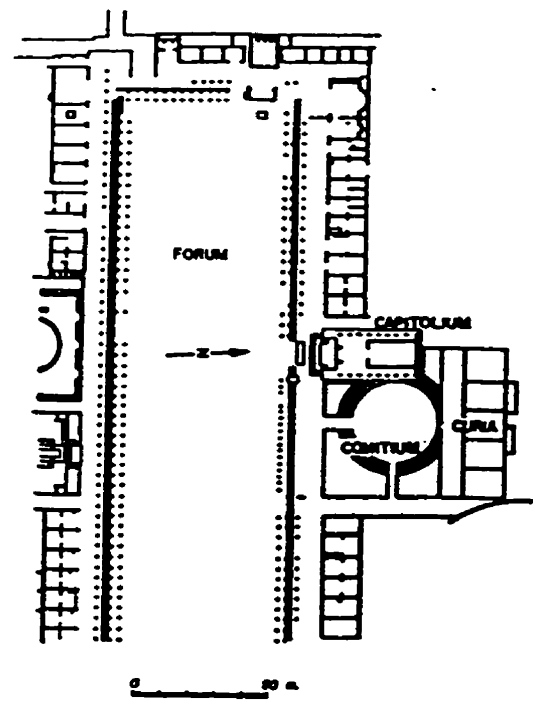


Fig. 7. Plan of the forum at Alba Fucens.

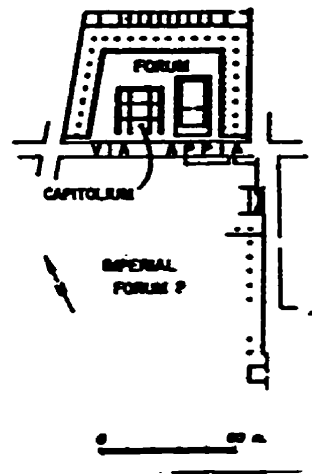


Fig. 9. Plan of Minturnae's forum.

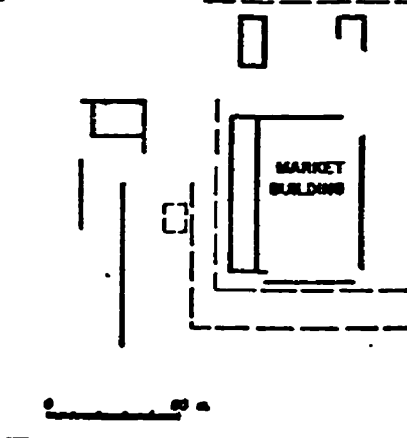


Fig. 8. Plan of Cosa's forum.

Fig. 10 a. Plan of Pompeii's forum, Republican period.

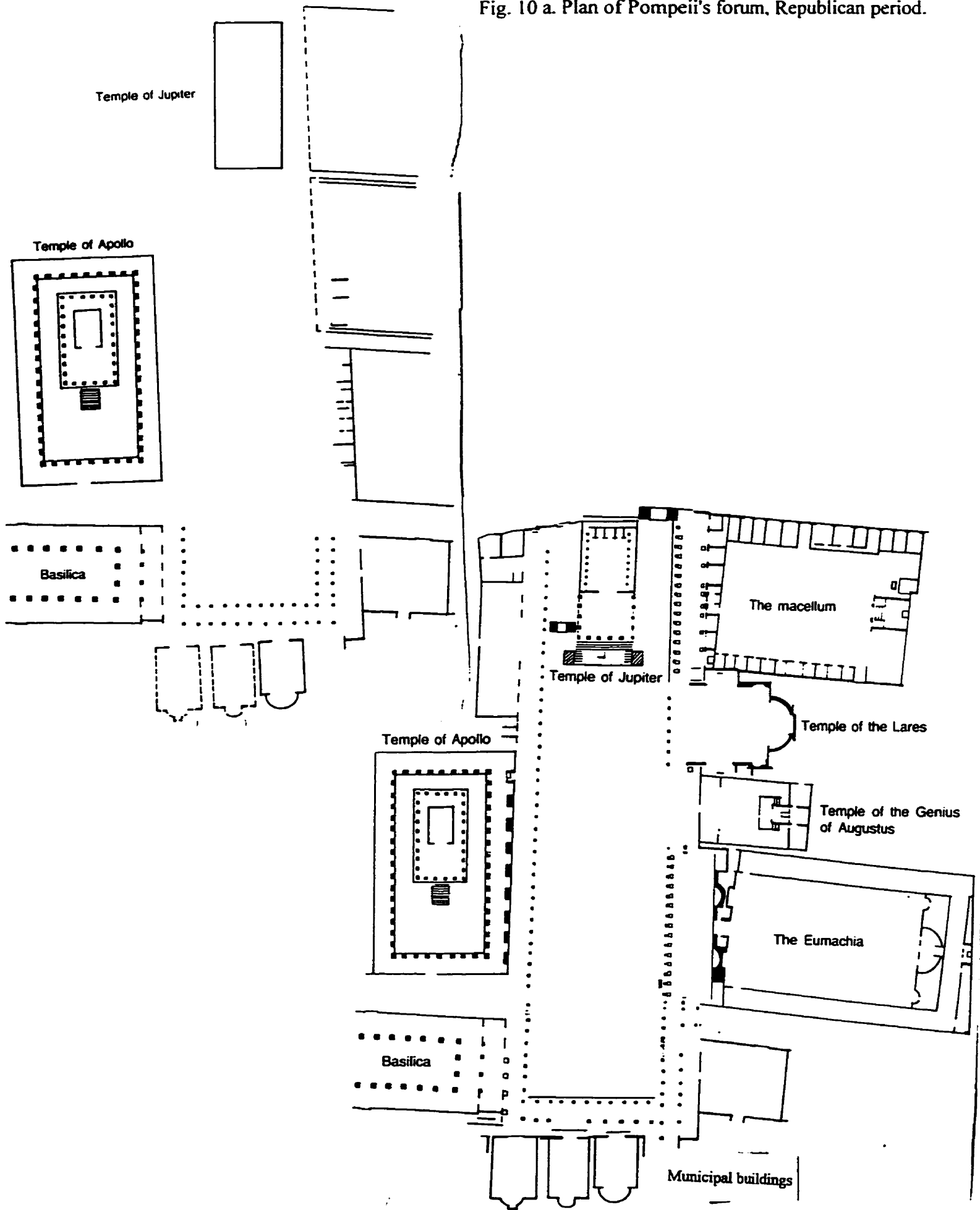


Fig. 10 b. Plan of Pompeii's forum, imperial period.

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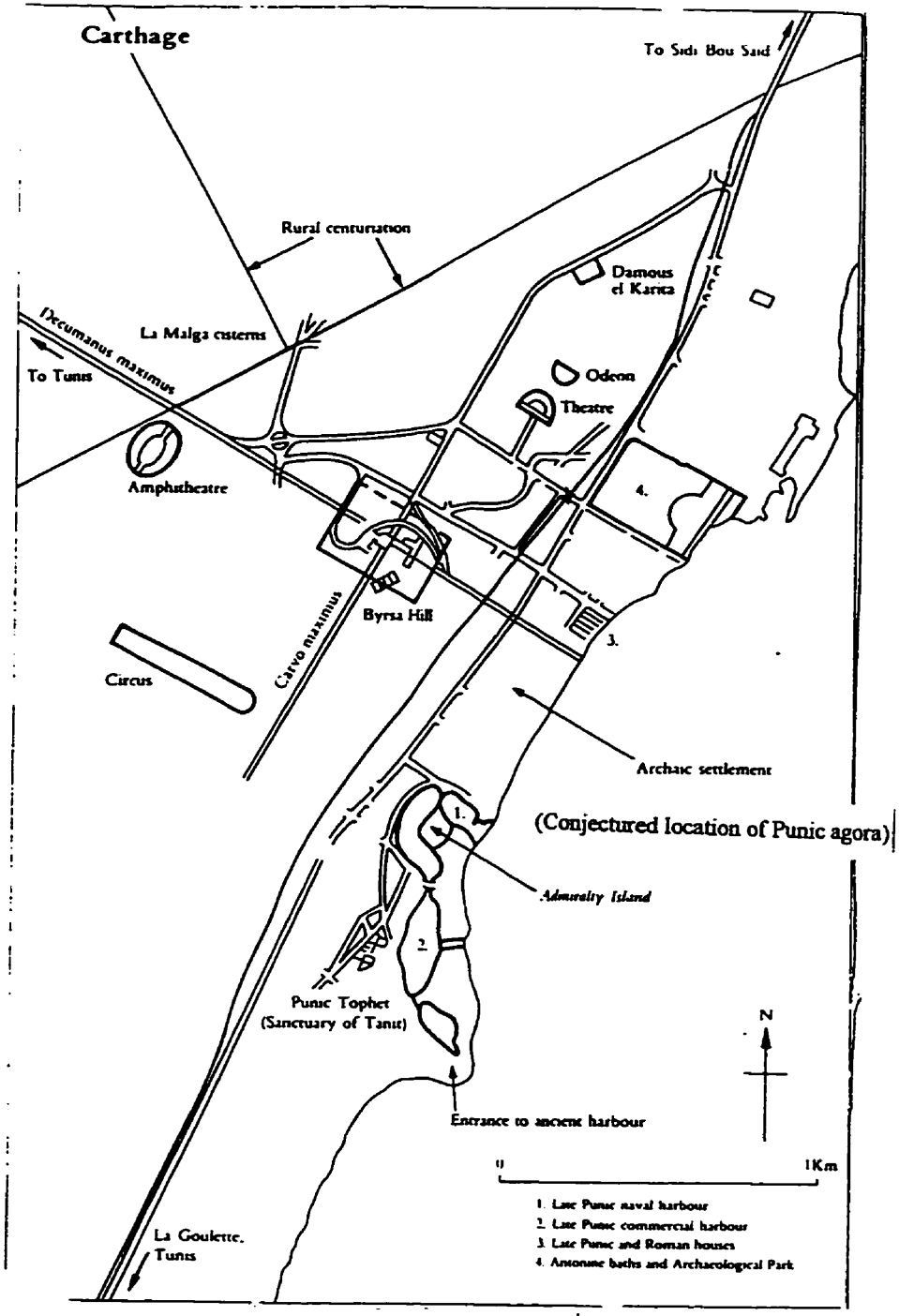


Fig. 11. Plan of Carthage.

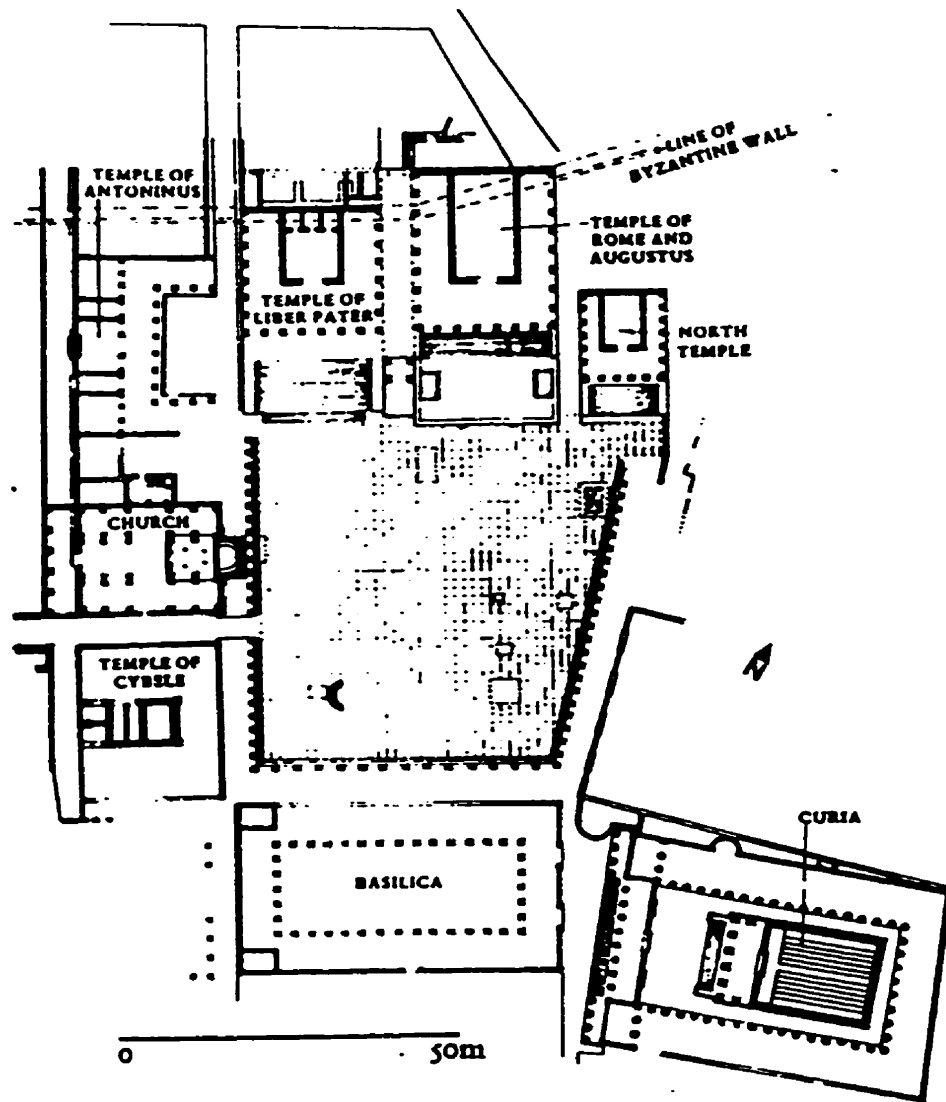


Fig. 12. Plan of Lepcis Magna's *Forum Vetus*.

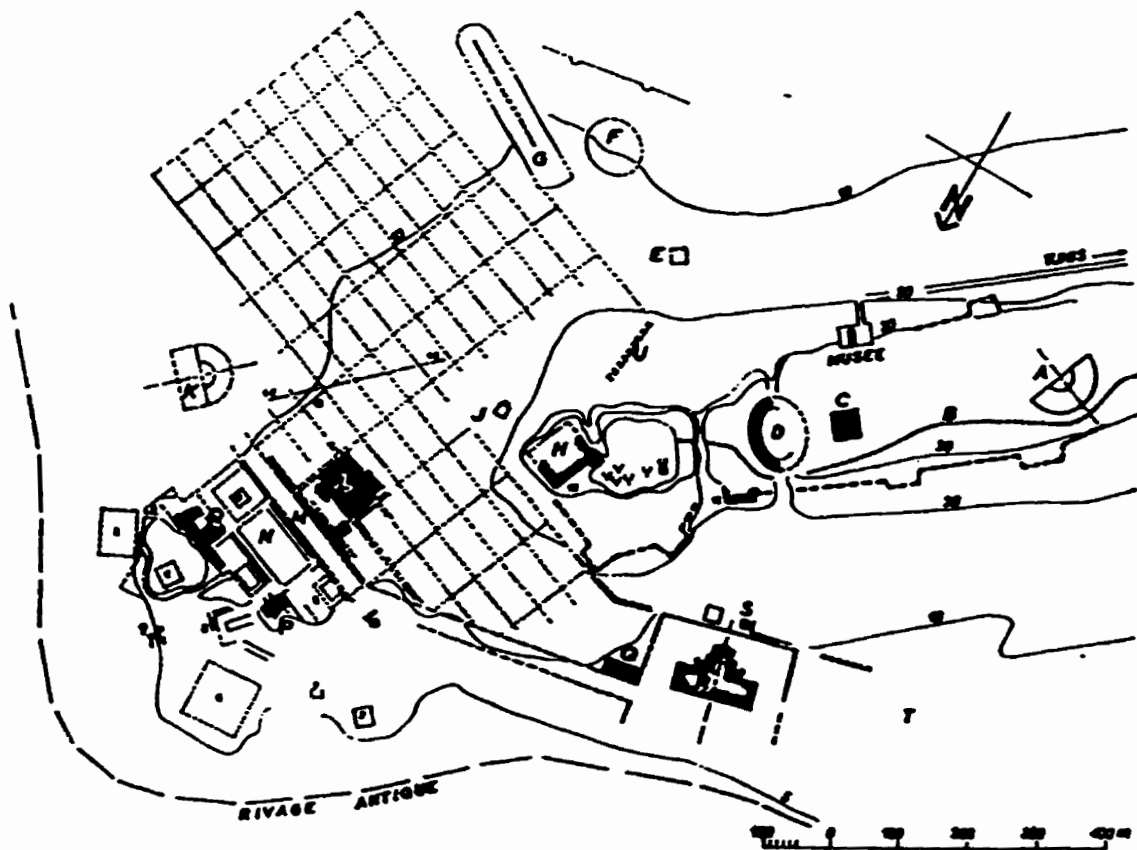


FIG. 1. — Plan d'ensemble d'Utique.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Théâtre d'époque républicaine | 1. Maison aux <i>insulae</i> |
| B. Aqueduc d'Hadrien | 2. Place |
| C. Grandes citernes | 3. Escalier ou rampe |
| D. Amphithéâtre | 4. Source sulfureuse à 33° |
| E. Nécropole romaine | 5. Temple ancien ? |
| F. Petit amphithéâtre ? | 6. Place ? ou bassin ? |
| G. Cirque d'époque républicaine | 7. Citerne |
| H « Citadelle » | 8. Temple ? |
| J. Petit temple | 9. Maison |
| K. Théâtre d'époque impériale | 10. Fondations en moellons |
| L. <i>Insula</i> 2 | 11. Bastion |
| M. Avenue à portiques | 12. Emplacement d'un monument |
| N. Grande place | 13. Thermes d'Hercule |
| O. Maison à <i>oecus</i> corinthien | 14. Limite de la ville au III ^e siècle avant J.C. |
| P. Temple désaffecté | |
| Q. Grand monument non identifié | |
| R. Grands thermes | |
| S. <i>Columbarium</i> | |
| T. Emplacement d'un grand cirque ? | |
| U. Rue montante | |

Fig. 13. Plan of Utica.

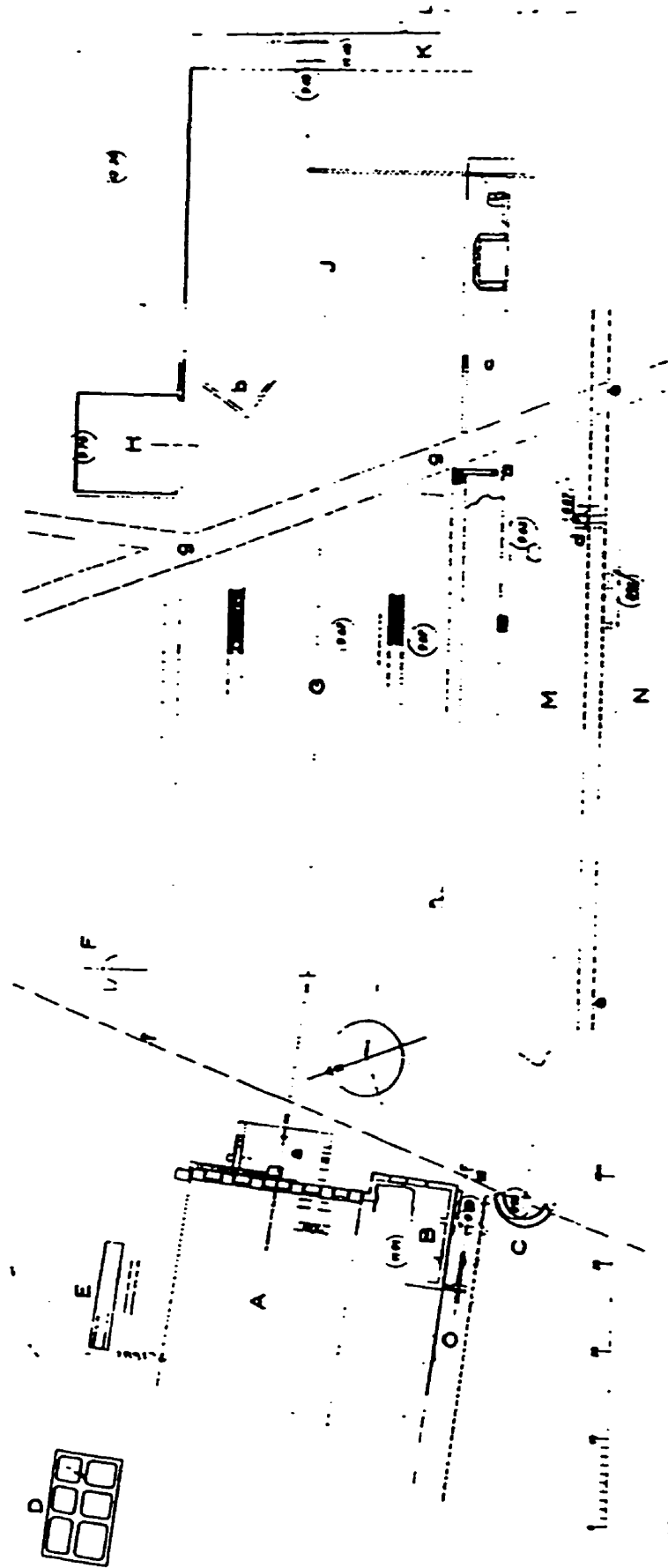


Fig. 14. Plan of Utica's Place N.

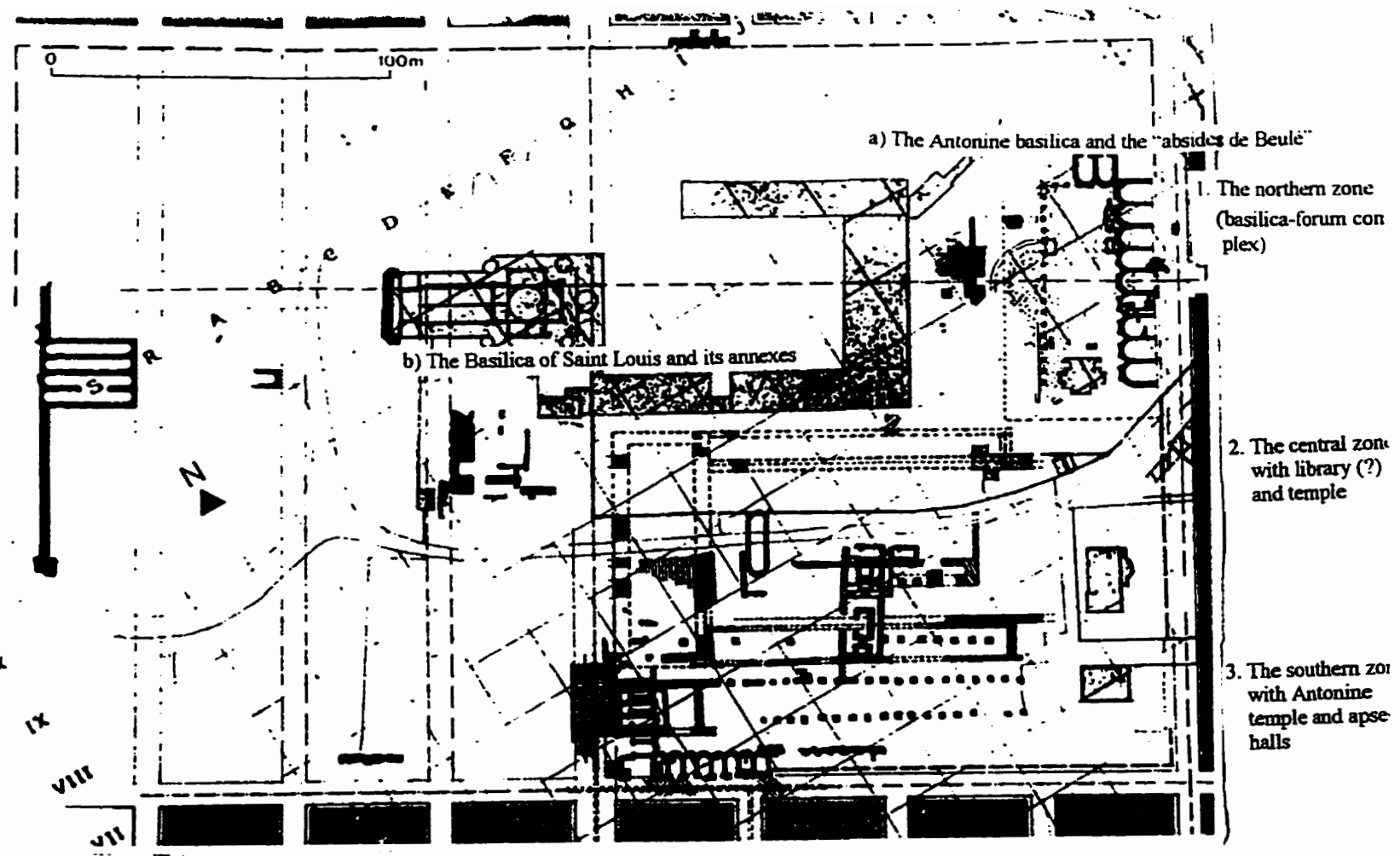


Fig. 15. Plan of the Byrsa complex at Carthage.

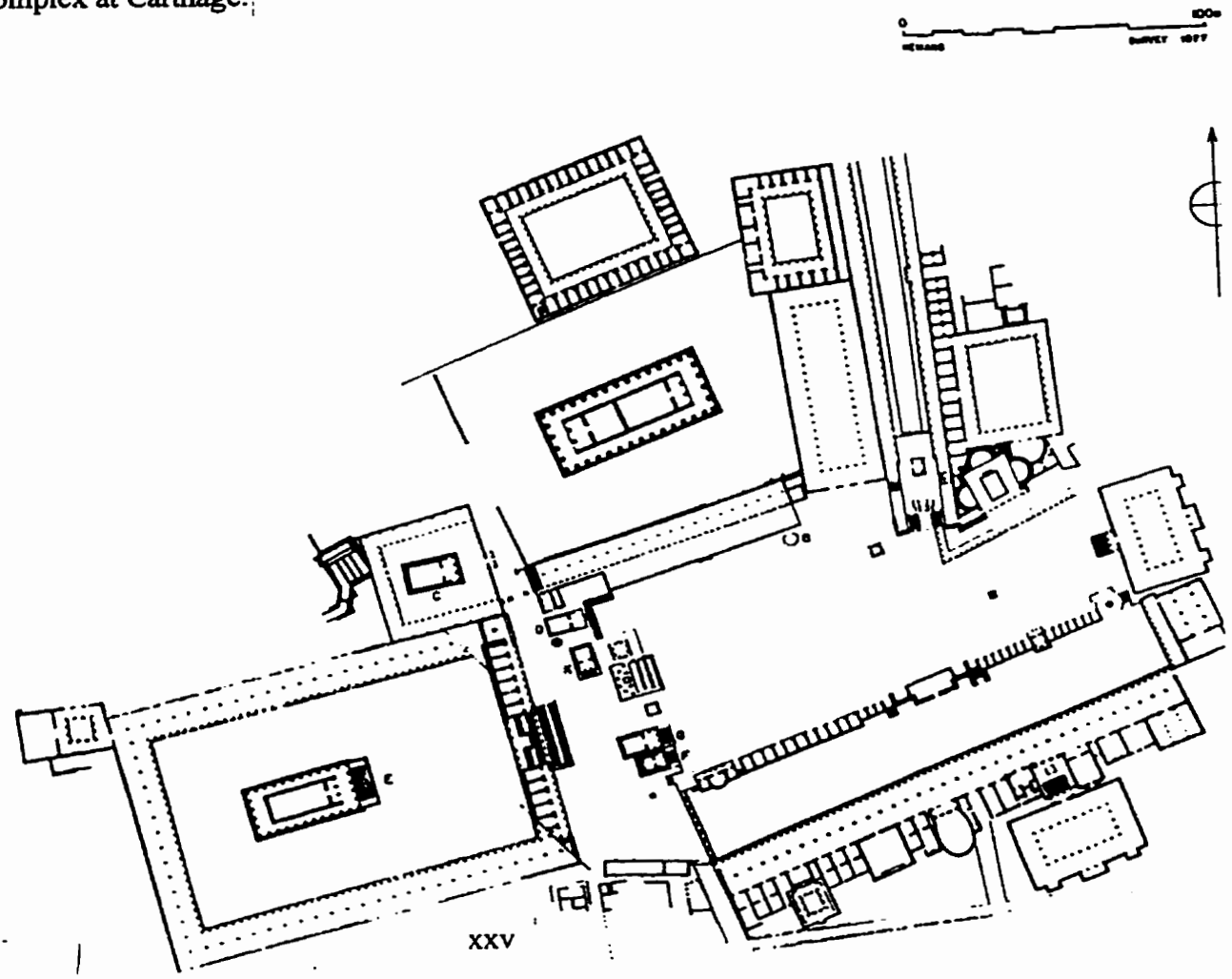
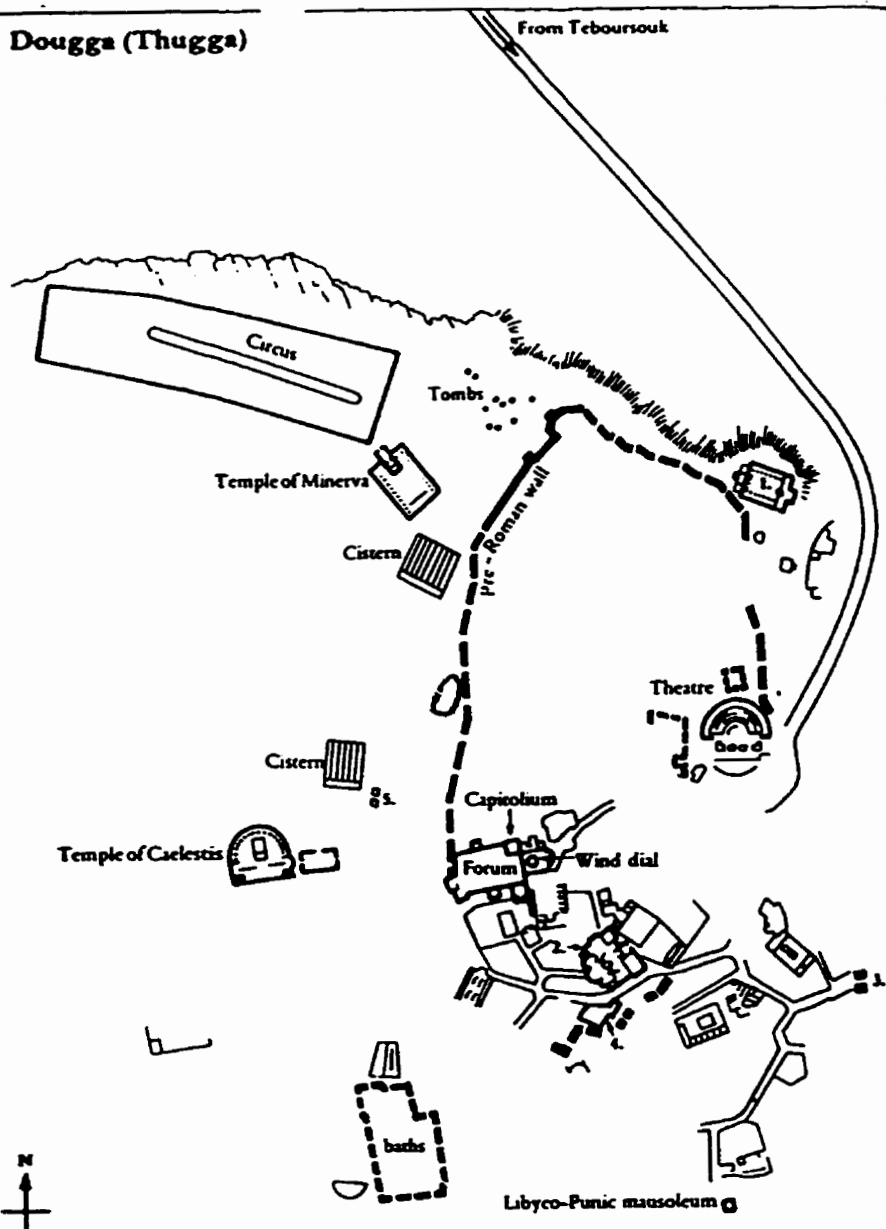


Fig. 16. Plan of Corinth's agora.

Dougga (Thugga)

Fig. 17. Plan of Dougga.



- 1. Temple of Saturn
- 2. Lucanum Baths
- 3. Arch of Septimius Severus
- 4. House of Dionysus
- 5. Arch of Severus Alexander

0 60 120 180 metres

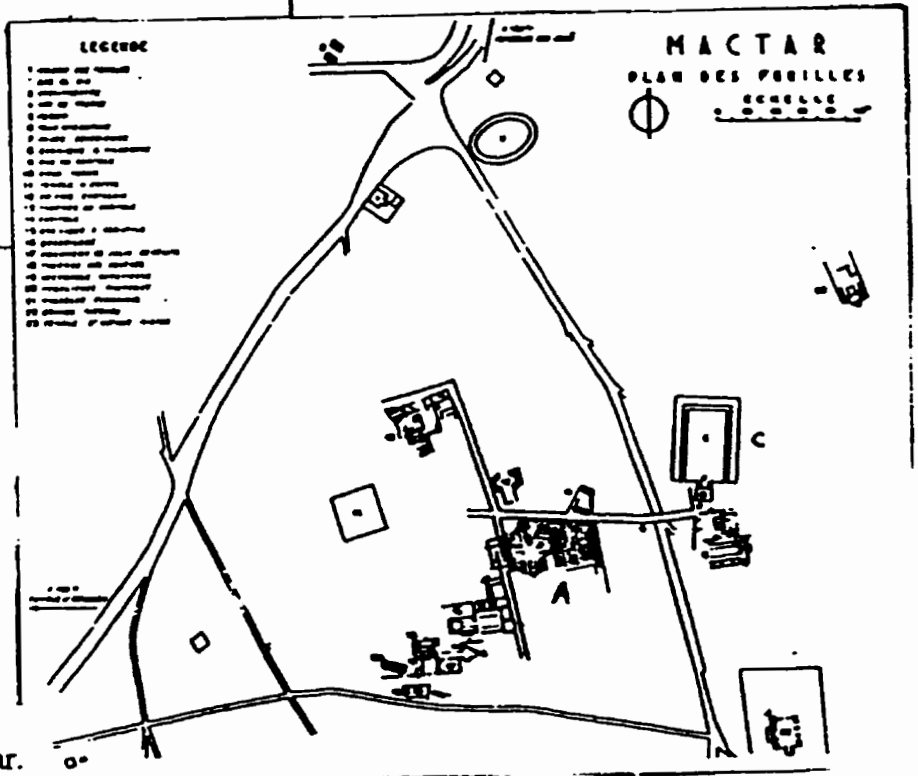


Fig. 18. Plan of Mactar.

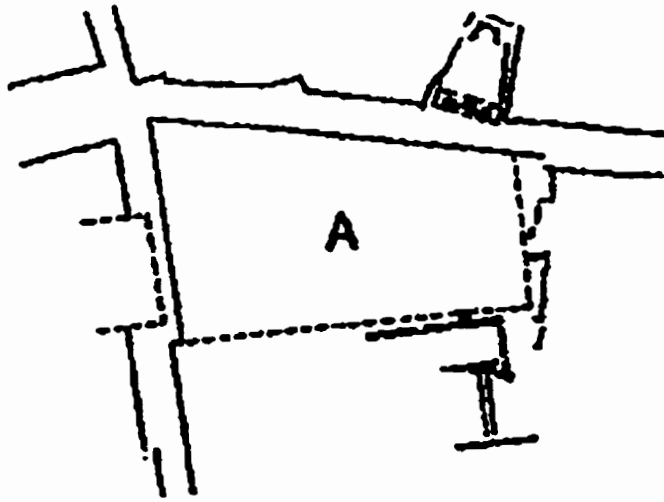


Fig. 19 a. Plan of the *Platea Vetus* at Mactar.

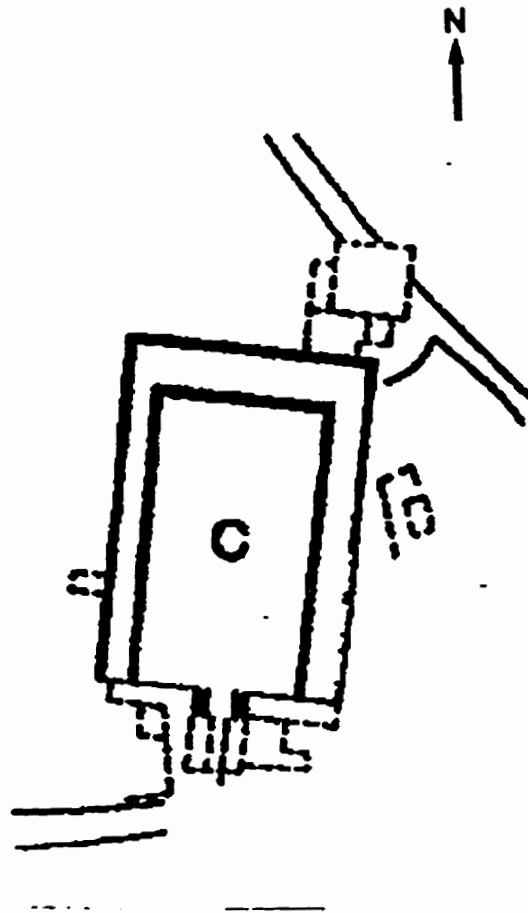


Fig. 19 b. Plan of the *Forum Novum* at Mactar.

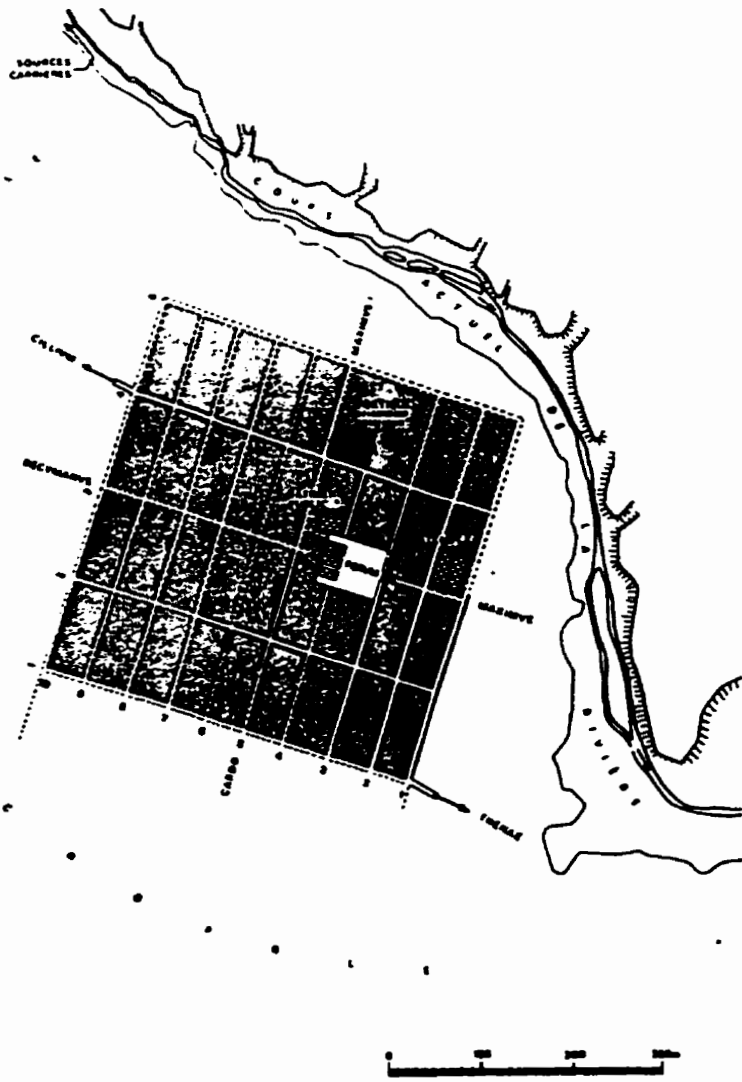


Fig. 20 a. Reconstruction of the urban plan at Sbeitla.

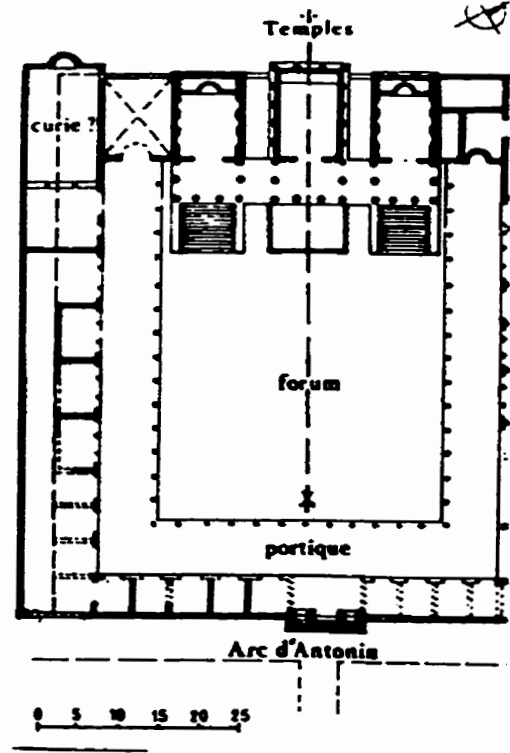


Fig. 20 b. Plan of Sbeitla's forum.

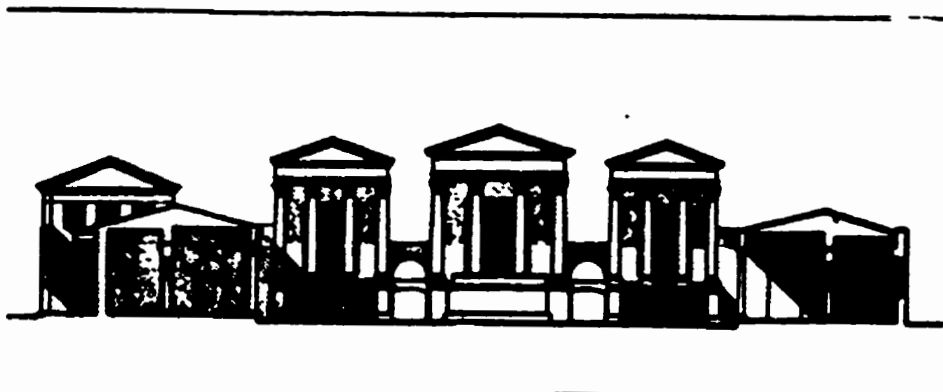
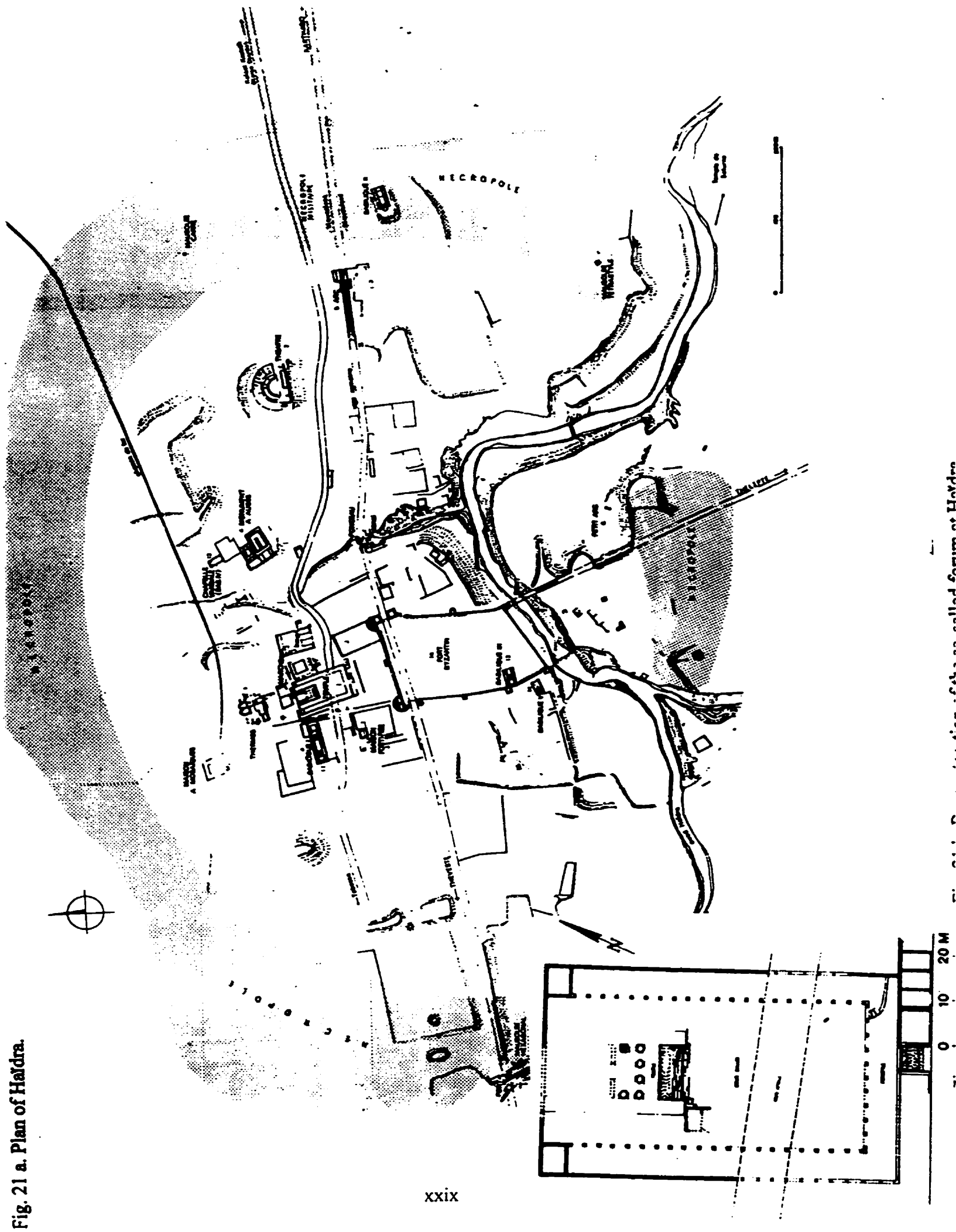


Fig. 20 c. Reconstruction of the façade of Sbeitla's three temples.

Fig. 21 a. Plan of Hatdra.



... .. called Sannu of Hatdra

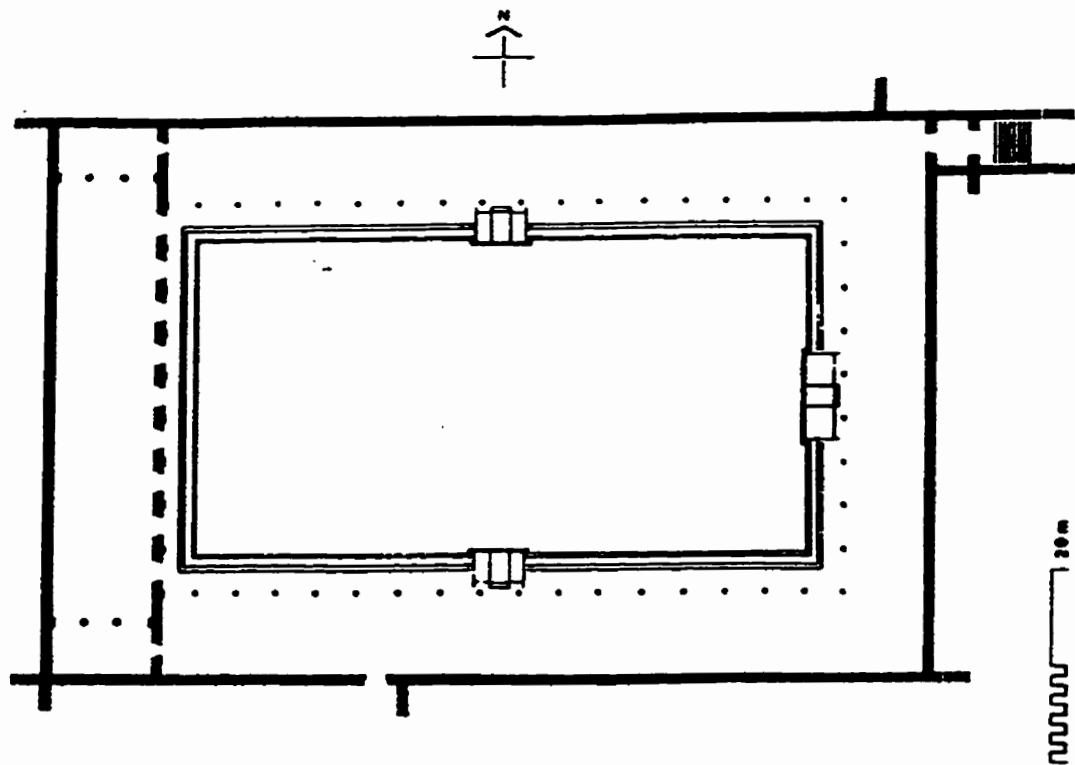


Fig. 22 a. Reconstruction of Rougga' forum, late first century AD.

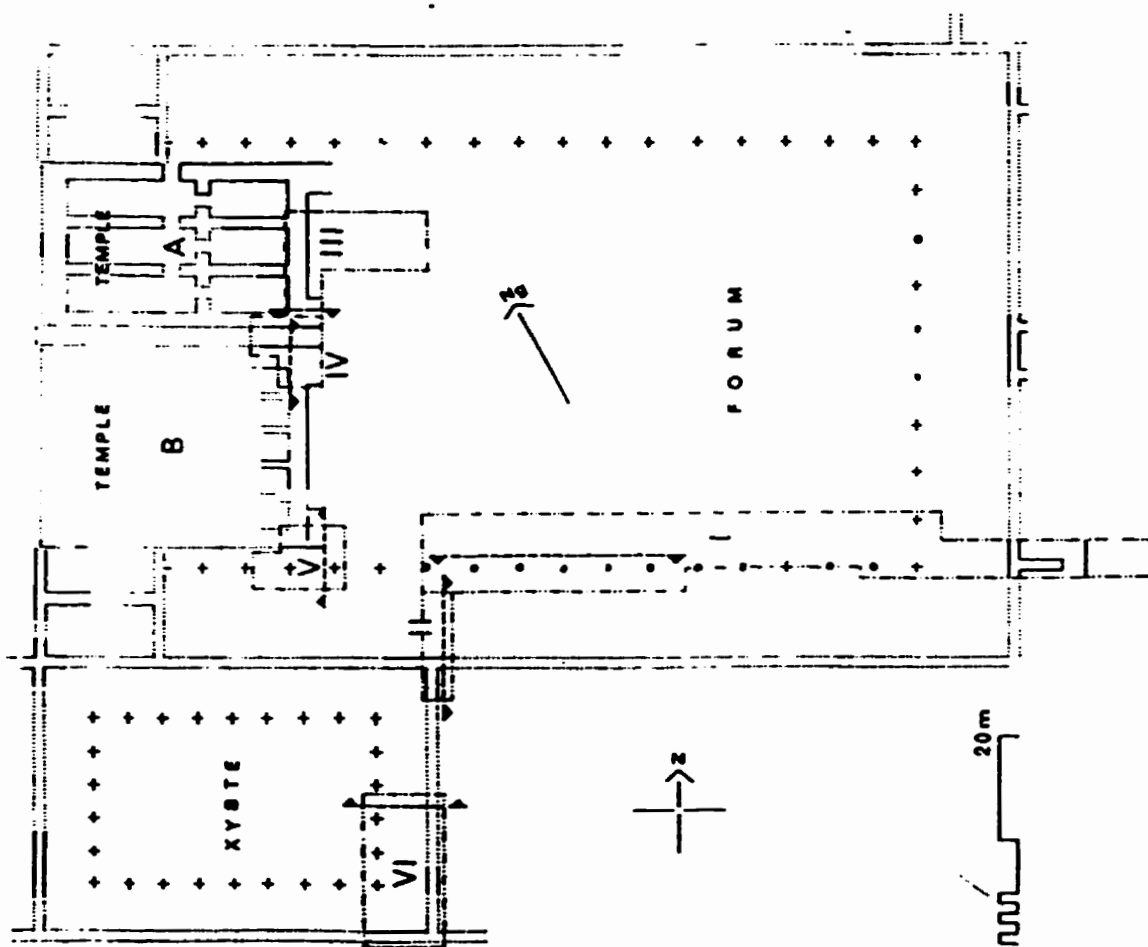


Fig. 22 b. Plan of Rougga's forum, second century AD.

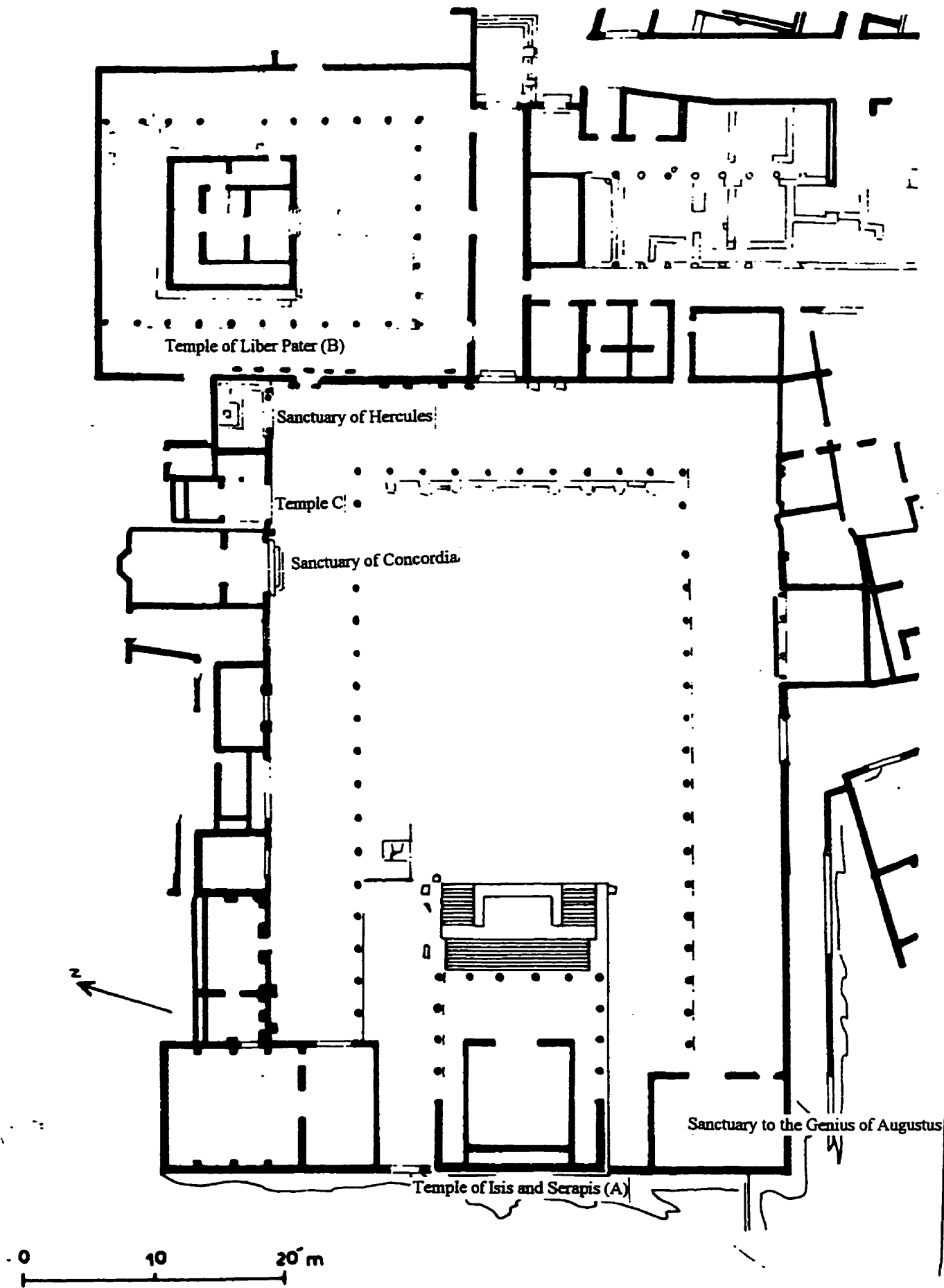


Fig. 23. Plan of the forum of Gighthis.

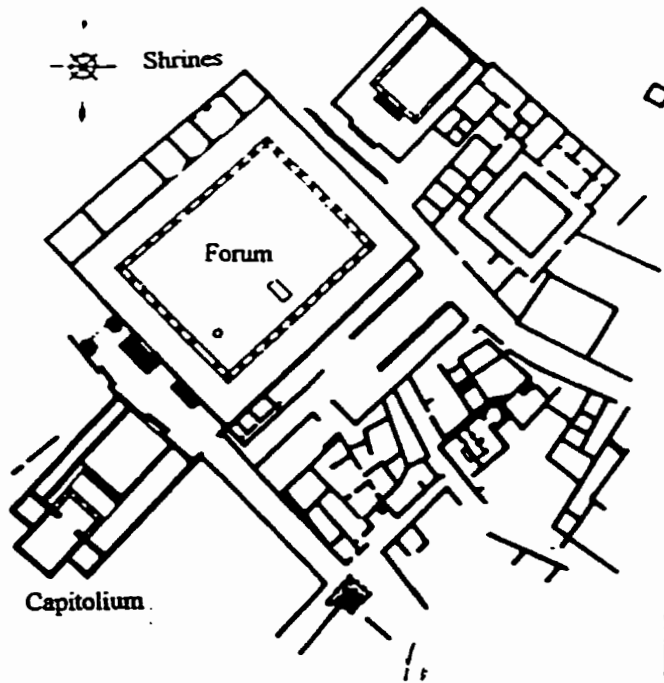


Fig. 24. Plan of the forum of Althiburos.

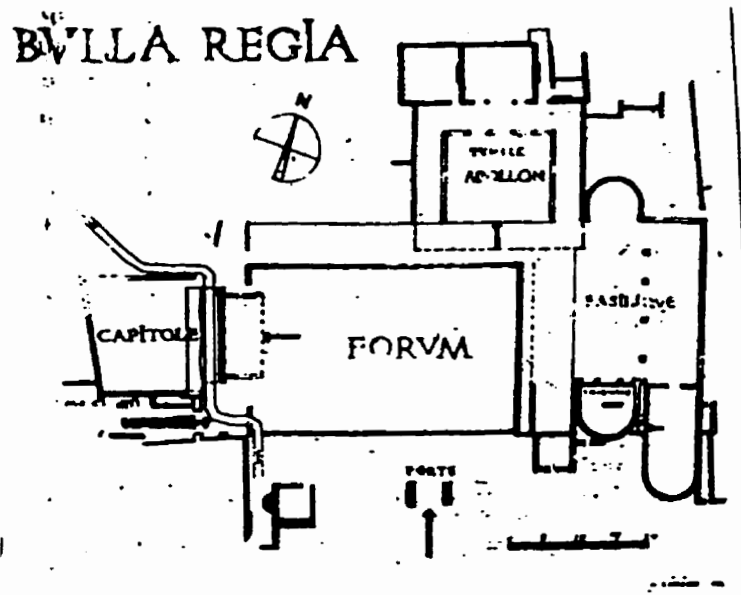


Fig. 25. Plan of the forum at Bulla Regia.

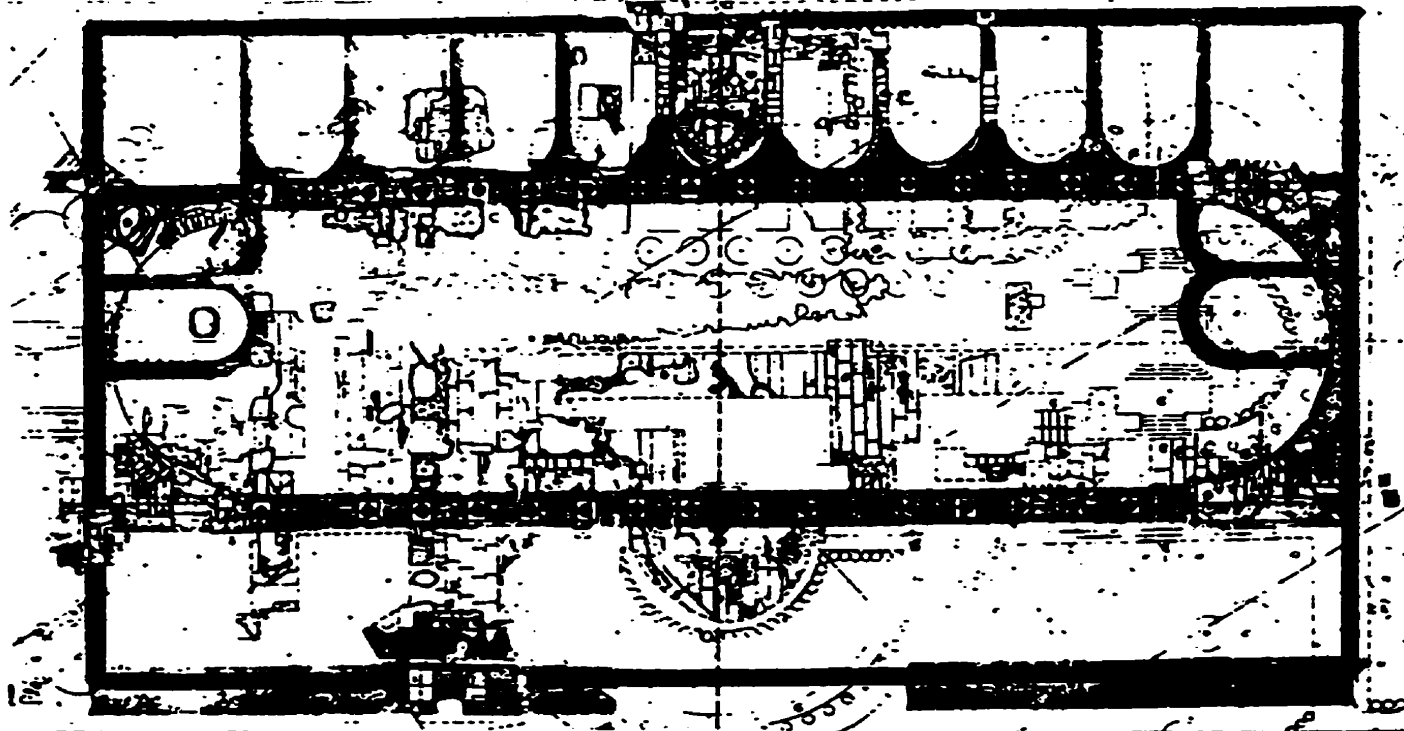


Fig. 26. Reconstruction of the basilica on the Byrsa hill at Carthage.

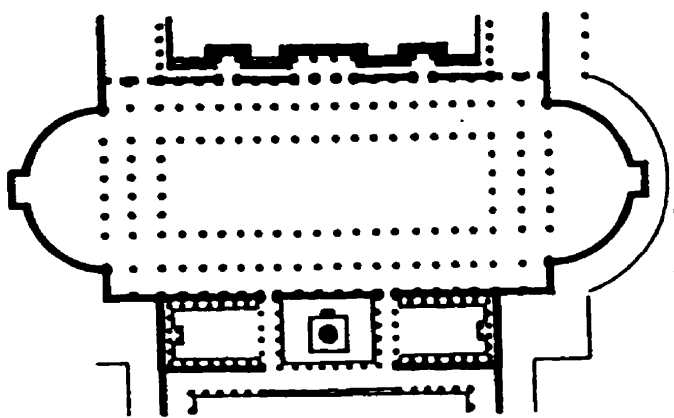


Fig. 27. Plan of the Basilica Ulpia at Rome.

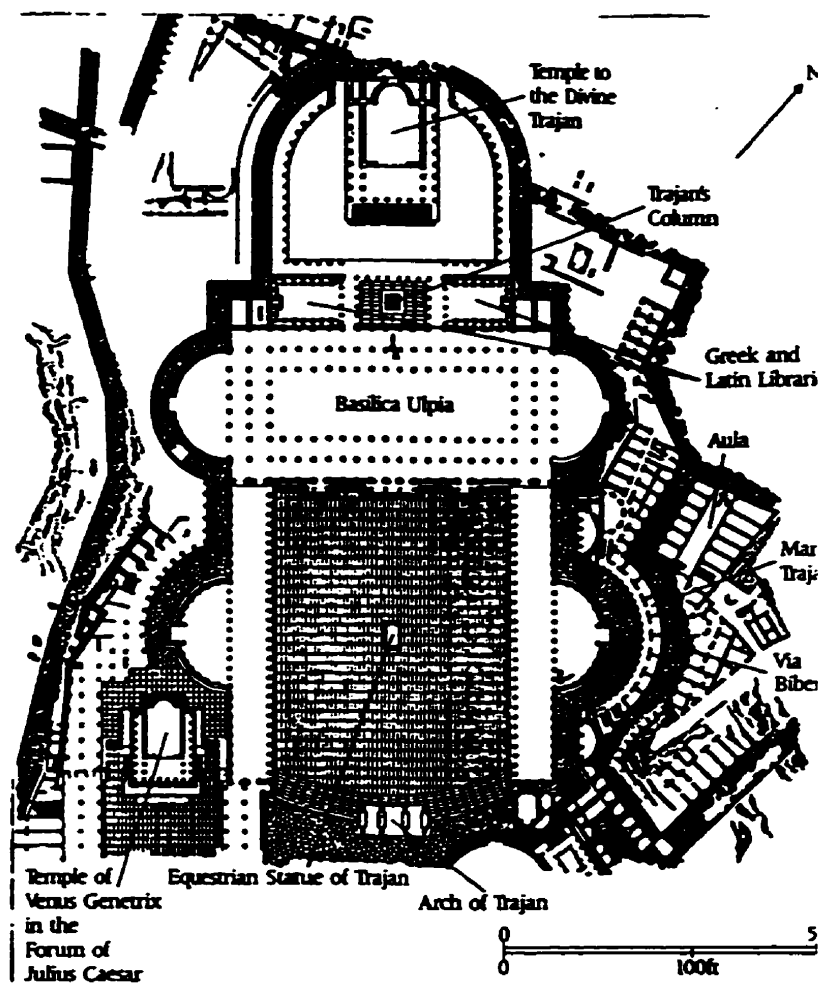
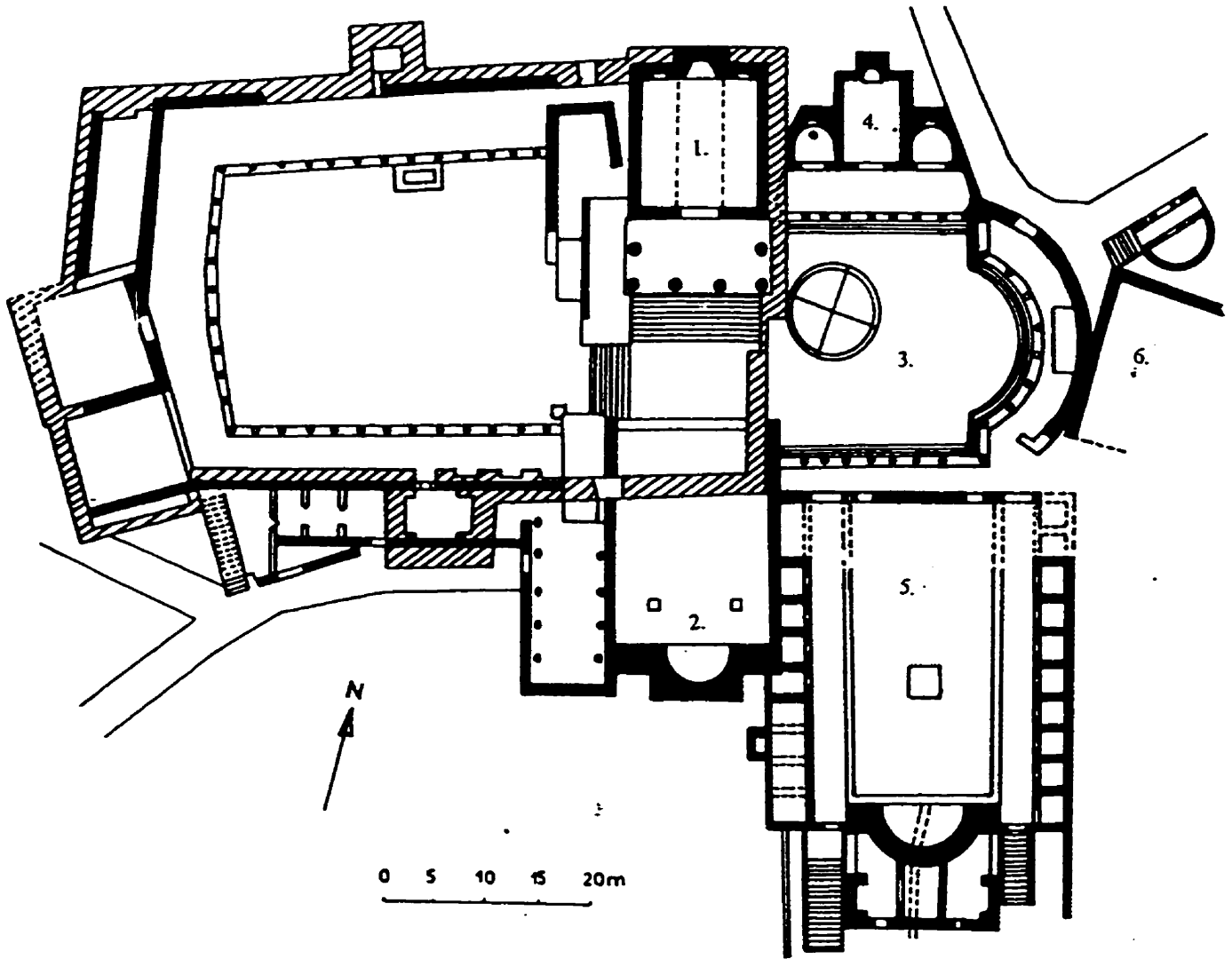


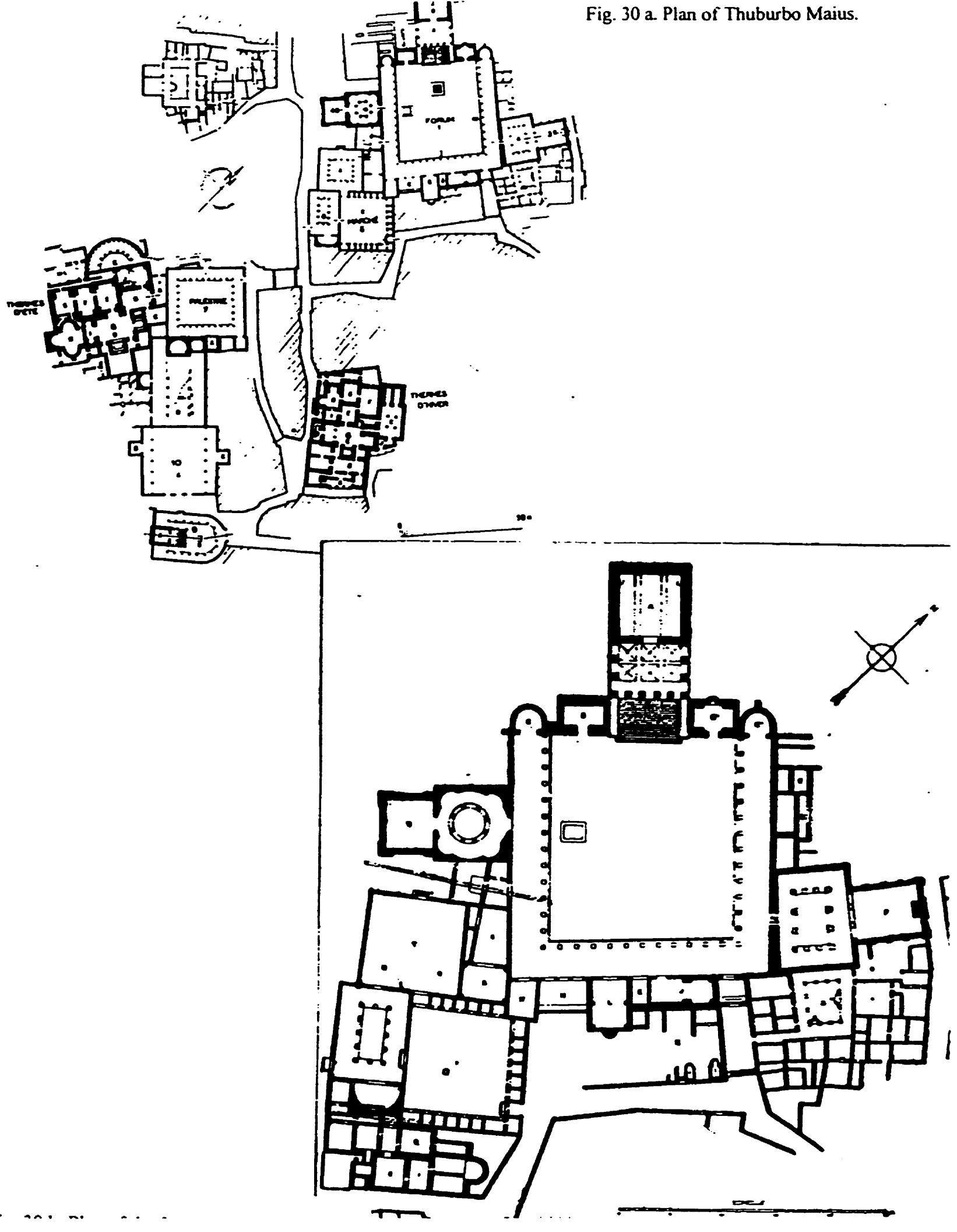
Fig. 28. Plan of the Forum of Trajan at Rome.



1. Capitolium
2. Statue bases
3. area macelli (Rose des Vents)
4. Temple of Mercury
5. Macellum
6. Temple of Fortune

Fig. 29. Plan of Dougga's forum.

Fig. 30 a. Plan of Thuburbo Maius.



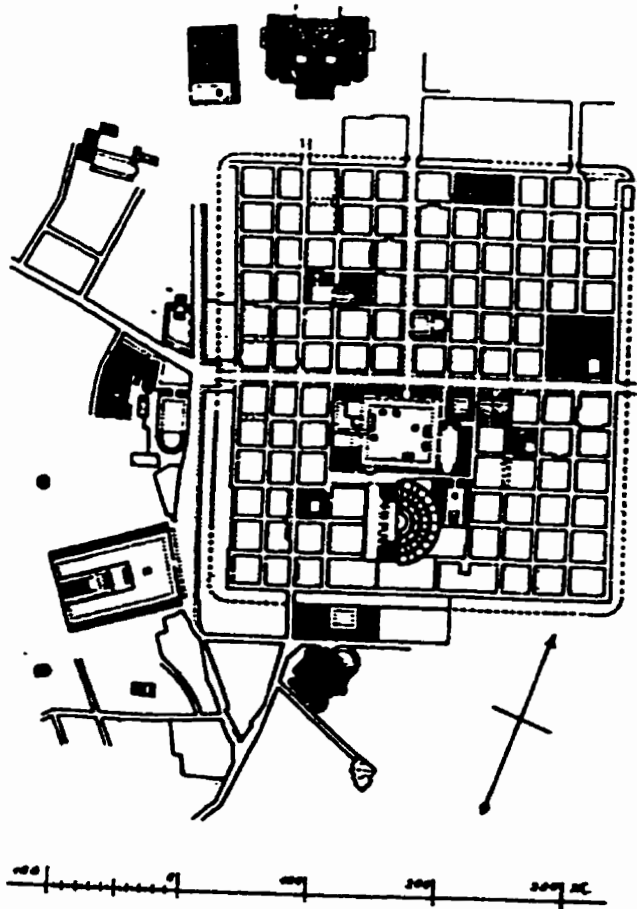


Fig. 31 a. Civic plan of Timgad.

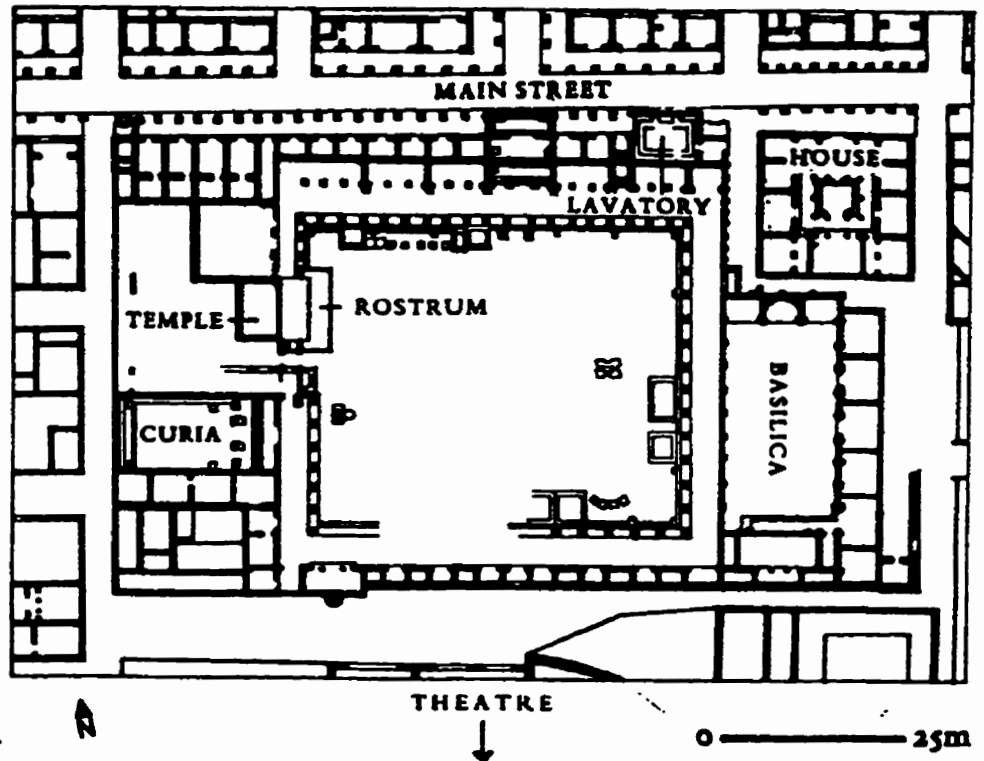


Fig. 31 b. Plan of the forum of Timgad.

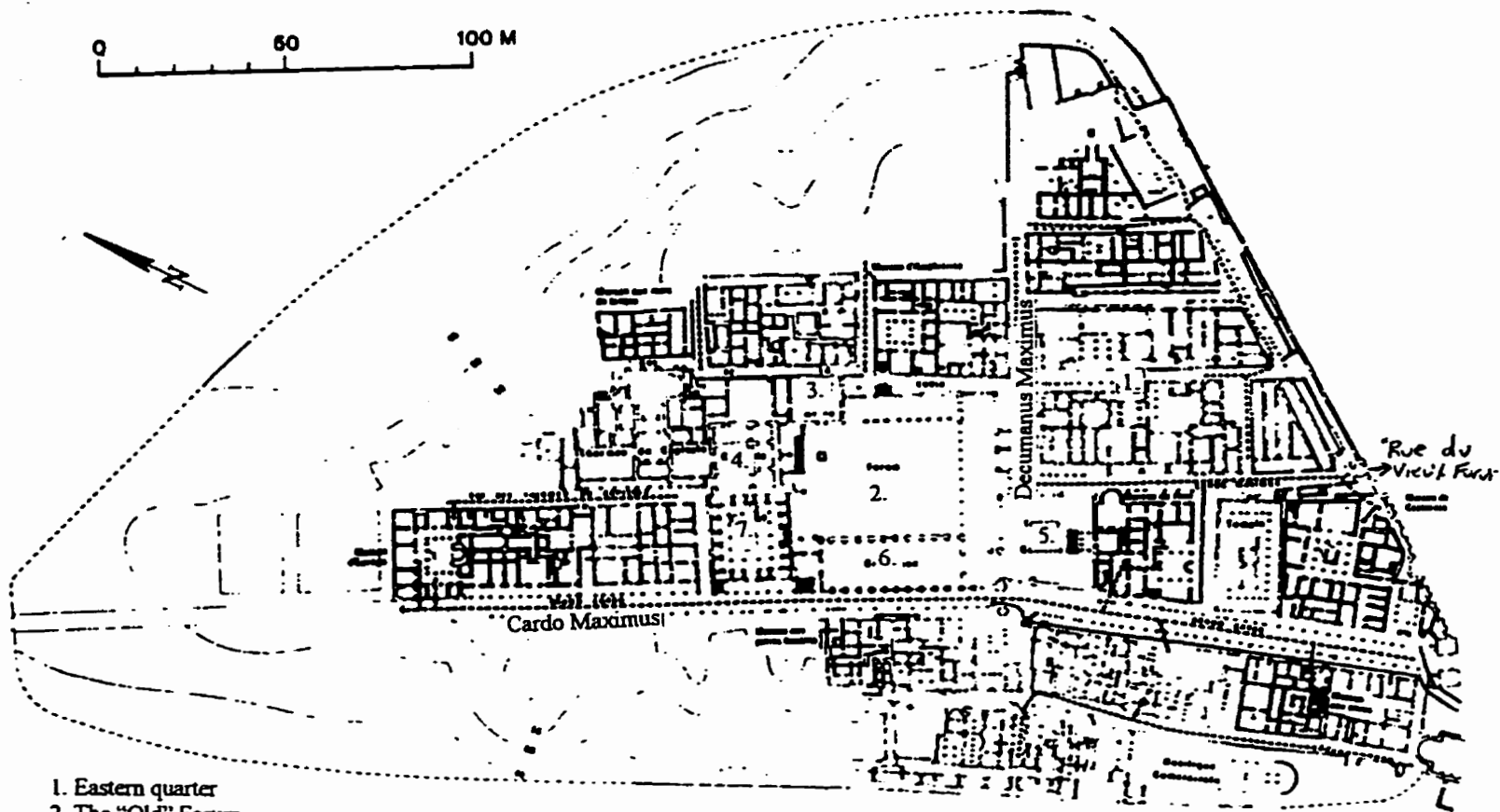
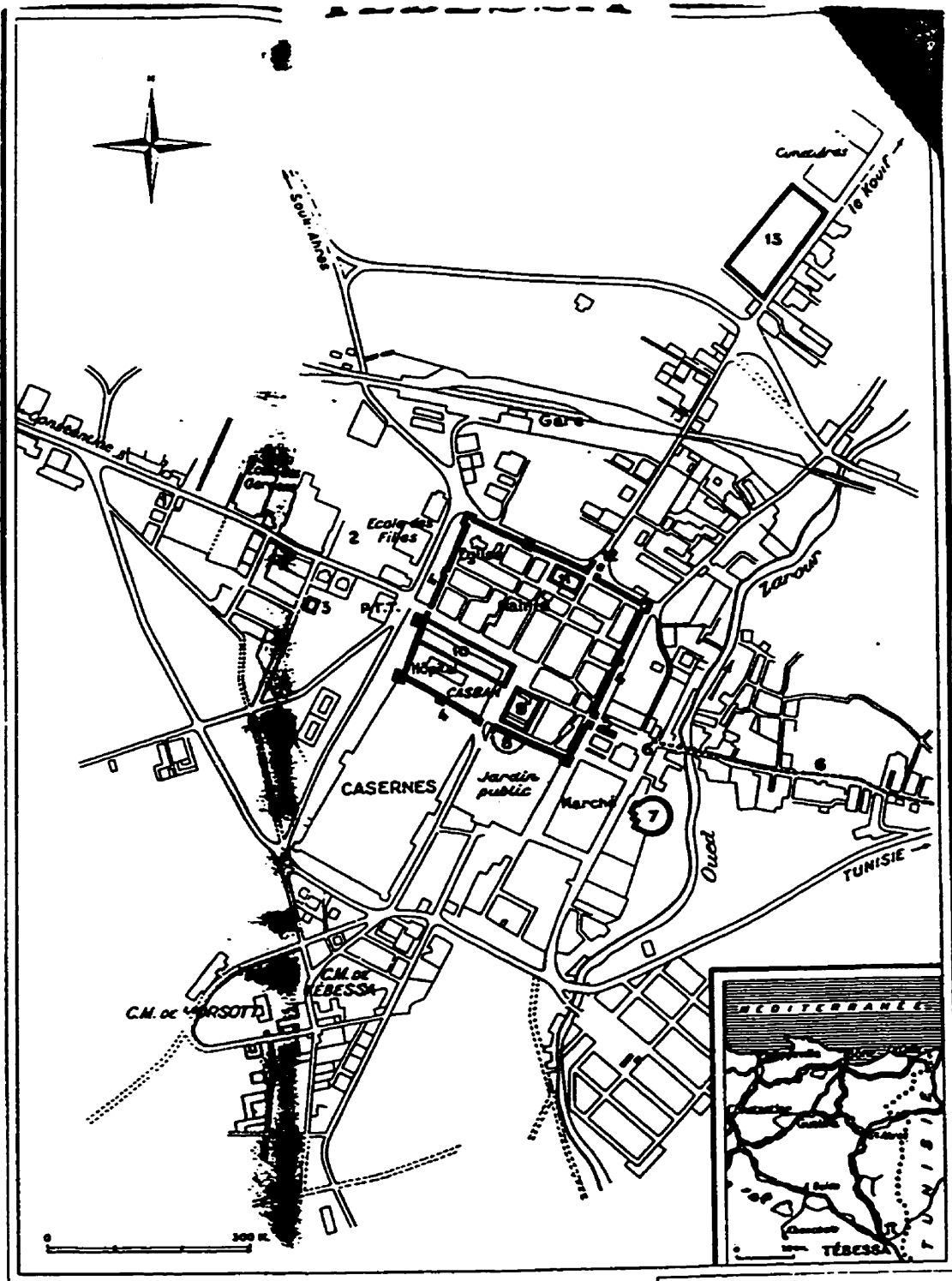


Fig. 32. Civic plan of Djemila.

1. Eastern quarter
2. The "Old" Forum
3. curia
4. Capitolium
5. Temple to Venus Genetrix
6. Basilica
7. Macellum



10. Forum'

Fig. 33. Civic plan of Tébessa.

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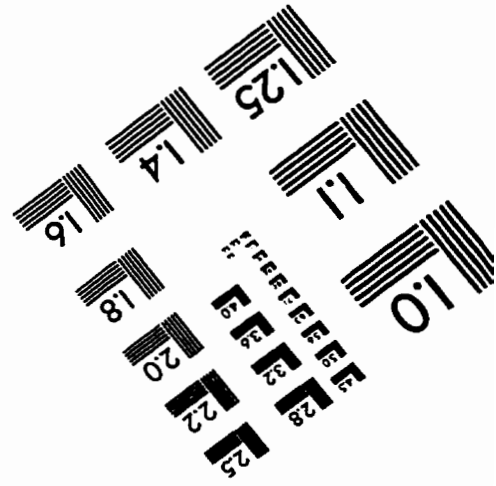
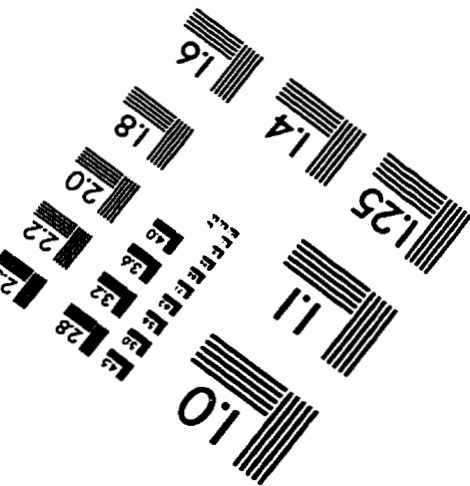
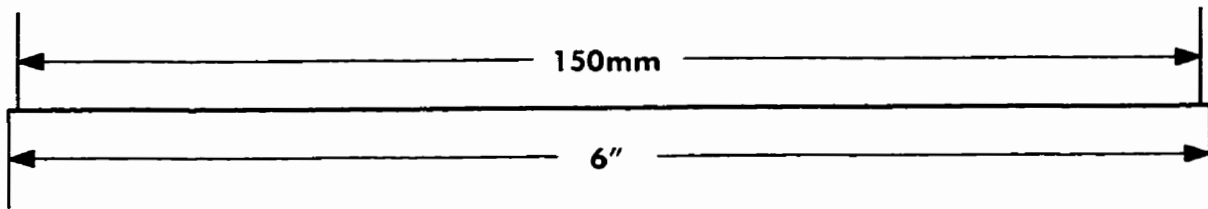
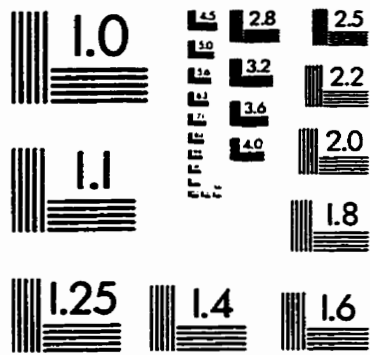
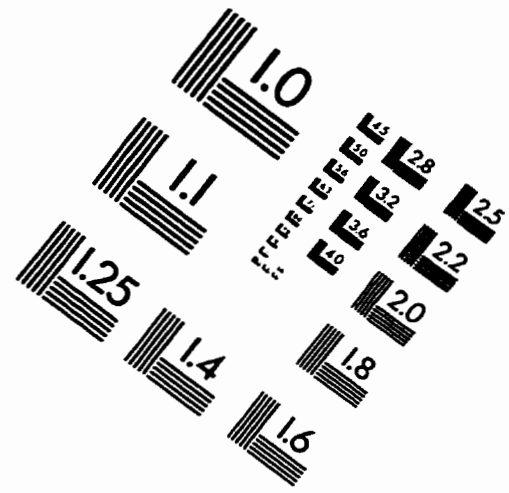
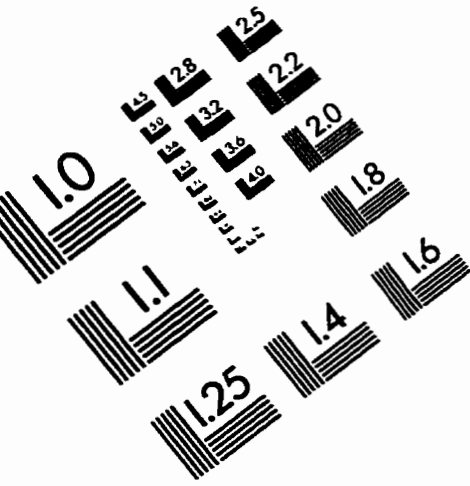
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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