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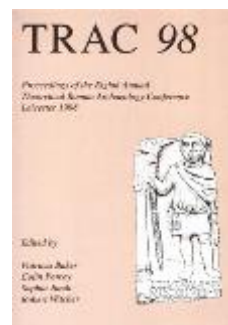
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Monumental Architecture & Becoming Roman in the First Centuries BC and AD

by Kenneth Aitchison

Introduction

Major social changes took place around the beginning of the first century BC in western and central Europe, and part of the way they were enacted was through large-scale alterations to the settlement pattern. New settlements were established, for the most part in previously unoccupied locations such as hilltops. It can be argued that '...in order to give material expression to the development of their way of life, the inhabitants of second century BC villages returned to the traditional model of the hillfort' (Audouze & Büchsenschütz 1992:235), but transformed it with the use of new techniques, – such as the general use of metal – and through reference to the urban models of the Mediterranean.

These new centres were the *oppida* – enclosed proto-urban sites, but which were not simply developed hill forts; the two systems were '...mutually exclusive phenomena, with no evidence of one developing into the other' (Collis 1984:69). The development of the *oppida* can be seen as a reference to the past, to what had become a mythical time when fortified occupation of high places was the way in which heroic ancestors lived.

One such site is on Mont Beuvray, in the Burgundian highlands of central France. Two massive ramparts encircle this site; the outer forms a perimeter of about 7km, enclosing a total area of 200ha. A number of buildings have been excavated, mostly in the last century, and particular 'quarters' of specialised activity have been identified (Goudineau & Peyre 1993:35). *Bibracte*, described as the chief town of the Aedui in Caesar's (*B.Gall.*) account of the Roman military adventure in Gaul in the 50s BC, has been confidently equated with the site.

Early work on Beuvray was historically driven, relating in particular to events described by Caesar such as the Pan-Gallic Council at *Bibracte*, when Vercingetorix took command of the Gallic armies in 52 BC (Caes. *B.Gall.* 7.63), and Caesar's subsequent overwintering at the site, 52–51 BC (Caes. *B.Gall.* 7.90). The other important historical event is the founding of *Augustodunum Aeduorum*, modern Autun, 22 km east of Beuvray, which has a traditional founding date of around 15 BC (Goudineau & Peyre 1993:195).

It has been considered that the founding of *Augustodunum* was the motive force that led to the abandonment of *Bibracte*. But the founding of *Augustodunum* should not be looked on simply as an externally imposed event; it should be seen as part of the ongoing historical process that had created *Bibracte*. Mid-first century society was in the process of becoming increasingly stratified; Roman intervention did not end this process, nor did it impose a new, foreign, militarily backed elite upon central France. New ideas were unquestionably introduced, but this was not novel; ideas had been taken from the Mediterranean urban centres for several generations by this time. The same people, from the same families, exercised authority and control in *Augustodunum* as they had in *Bibracte* and for a time the two towns co-existed as thriving centres.

This paper aims to present a comparison of the ways in which monumental architecture was used in these two towns, and how ideas that drew upon elements of each town were used in the development of the other. In particular, it aims to show the manner in which *Augustodunum* was not an artificial, new, town but that its structure was a reflection and re-construction of the urban form of *Bibracte*.

Chronology

Recent work on Mont Beuvray has divided the occupation of the site into six phases. The first of these phases is from the beginning of the third century to the mid-first century BC, and predates the urbanisation of the hilltop. The final recognised phase is from about AD 15 to 30, when the site was progressively abandoned (Flouest 1995:14).

The earliest excavated evidence from the ramparts suggests that they were initially constructed late in the second century or near the beginning of the first century BC (Aitchison *et al.* 1996:81). Important dates of the development of the *oppidum* in the context of this paper are the construction of a monumental basin between 40 and 30 BC, the infilling of that basin in the final decade BC, the remodelling of a major gate, the Porte du Rebout, around the middle of the first century and the digging of small ditches parallel to the rampart inturns at the same gate late in the first century (Aitchison *et al.* 1996:82).

Augustodunum was founded late in the first century BC. Goudineau and Peyre (1993:195) offer a date of around 15 BC, while MacKendrick (1971:118) suggests 12 or 7 BC; however, it is not disputed that the town was founded in the final two decades of the century.

Monumental architecture at Bibracte and Augustodunum

The theoretical argument behind this comparison is based on ideas relating to the way in which people understand the world they live in, how they express this understanding through ritualised behaviour and how such behaviour pervades the everyday experiences of people. Bourdieu (1977) uses the concept of *habitus* as a practice or way of doing things which follows social structures and which either alters or reinforces these structures, and I choose to use this approach to consider the experiences and understandings individuals had of monuments and landscape.

In addition to knowledge of how to deal with everyday situations, people develop belief systems to rationalise the complexities of the world as they experience it (Barrett 1991). The mechanism by which these systems are reproduced is ritual; the transformation of experience and behaviour into formal patterns of action, which is achieved through the use of fixed, habitual forms of conduct (Brown 1961:9). Ritual need not be the preserve of special occasions, – through repetitive experience and actions the activities of the everyday become ritualised and can preserve symbolic values. It is thus that ritual remains foremost in the minds of individuals, and the symbolic content of places and actions is maintained.

As ritual and repetitive action structure daily life, it is the routine encounters of the everyday that create these repetitive actions. Within any settlement, daily encounters with architecture structure activity in the most obvious and physical of ways. The repetitive process of encountering architecture leads to a formalised understanding of it – following Bourdieu (1977), the strategies that are adopted for these encounters influence individuals' overall objective comprehension; *habitus* is linking people with their immediate landscape – and as ritual refined a significant formal pattern from experience, it can equally be seen to refine a significant formal pattern from space, engendering architectural form.

There are two themes in the architecture of *Bibracte* and *Augustodunum* that are of particular interest. The first is in the way that solar observations have been used to orientate and structure the layout of the towns, and the second is the use of monumental ramparts and the gateways through these ramparts

Bibracte

Not all of the enclosed area of *Bibracte* was given over to the construction of buildings; there remained extensive open areas within the ramparts. There was, however, an urbanised core to the site, based on a semi-regularised pattern of streets, which became more regular over time. Unfortunately, many of the later buildings were built with cellars, so much of the information pertaining to the earlier phases of the settlement is lost.

Streets

The street layout was deliberately planned, allowing for regularly shaped and sized plots which have been recognised in the Parc aux Chevaux area of the site (Meylan 1997:30). The excavation of a monumental stone basin in the centre of the 'main street' at Pature du Couvent, at the intersection with the 'rue des caves' has cast some light on the rationales behind the street layout.

The basin is oval (10.48m by 3.65m), is surrounded by the paved surface of the road, was built from red granite blocks (Goudineau & Peyre 1993:43) and was waterproofed with clay (Almagro-Gorbea & Gran-Aymerich 1991:240). While a supplying conduit at the south end has not been identified, the basin's outlet is easily identifiable at the north end and its drain can be traced for 30m. This would appear to suggest that the basin was a pool of constantly flowing water, rather than a still reservoir.

The long axis of the basin is that of the main road that surrounds it, but this is secondary to the short axis that has been aligned on solar observations. This axis of the basin coincides with a line drawn between the point of sunrise on the winter solstice to the south-east and the point of the summer solstice sunset to the north-west (Almagro-Gorbea & Gran-Aymerich 1991:240).

The basin was also a central spot around which the town plan was ordered. The main street of *Bibracte*, aligned on the long axis of the basin, must have been orientated after this place had been identified as being of significance. The basin appears to have been installed at the same time as road was enlarged to a width of over 12m (Szabó 1997:34).

The basin fell into disuse and silted up in the final decade of the first century BC. The stratigraphic evidence for its construction date is unreliable, but the excavators suggest a date, based on the pottery recovered from the fill, of between 30 and 40 BC (Goudineau & Peyre 1993:44). The excavators consider that the infilling of the basin was wholly natural; there seems to be no evidence for deliberate or structured deposition within it.

As a place of running water, the basin echoed the spring sanctuaries identified by Brunaux (1988) as being of religious importance, and so could be considered to have had some ritual significance. Through the solar observations, it was located by reference to the sky, and by its very excavation into the soil, to the earth. 'Sacred sites are connected with natural elements – water, the earth, forest, the sky...' (Audouze & Büchsenstutz 1992:149) and the elements of earth, water and sky combined at this point to create a locale of great symbolic significance.

By its solstitial references, the basin marked the longest and shortest days of the annual cycle from which the seasons and years were counted. Thus it measured the calendar, the means to order annual life, and so occupied a central place in time, as it was also a central place in space, around which the layout of streets and buildings was organised. The basin played a significant part in the definition of the settlement's urban character – it '...forms the *omphalos*, the navel of *Bibracte*, the sacred point from which the town has been founded and organised' (Goudineau & Peyre 1993:44).

But this was not an excluded place, separated from daily life. It lay in the middle of the main street of the town; only a few metres away were houses and workshops (Goudineau & Peyre 1993:45). People would encounter and pass the basin in the course of their everyday activities, yet they would always be reminded by it of the cosmological plan by which their town and their lives were ordered.

Enclosure

The massive and extensive ramparts of *Bibracte* have been surveyed topographically; they still survive to a height of over 4m in places, and one area of the inner rampart has been excavated, at the Porte du Rebut. This rampart is a timber laced and stone-faced construction, with the presence of large iron spikes, typically 200–250mm in length, which characterise it as a *murus gallicus*. Metal detector surveys (Hesse & Aitchison 1992, Niaux 1995) have confirmed the presence of such iron spikes at other places on the ramparts, although they do not appear to be universally present.

Today, Beuvray is a heavily wooded hill. The study of plant macro-fossils and pollen cores suggest that in the first centuries BC and AD the landscape was still largely forested, with beeches and oaks dominating; areas of practically impenetrable forest still existed as recently as the late medieval period (Büchschütz & Richard 1997:143). However, the impression is given that the immediate surroundings of the *oppidum* were mainly open (Richard 1996). That Beuvray was cleared is in little doubt – the ramparts around the hill were built to be seen, and for them to be seen, the hill had to be clear.

The ramparts did not follow the contours of the hill, in common with other *oppida* (Dehn 1962) and so was not built for defensive purposes. They were being used to make a statement on the landscape, a statement about physical and symbolic control over land, and to clearly differentiate between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ (Audouze & Büchschütz 1992:235).

Gates

There are a number of gates of monumental stature in the ramparts of *Bibracte*. There has been some debate as to which were of primary importance, and which were secondary; recent opinions have tended to support the Porte d’Ecluse, the north west entrance, as being the most important gate on the north side of the *oppidum* (Schubert 1991). I would rather express the opinion that it was the Porte du Rebout, the north-eastern gate that was the most important.

Porte du Rebout is the only gate to have been excavated on Mont Beuvray; it is the widest on the site – indeed, in protohistoric Europe, only one of the unexcavated breaks in the rampart at the Titelberg is wider (Metzler 1995). To be built on such a grand scale certainly suggests importance; furthermore, I consider that the road that passed through the Porte du Rebout was a showcase, displaying the power and prestige of the occupants and controllers of *Bibracte*.

As discussed above, if the slopes of Mont Beuvray were cleared of tree cover the ramparts of *Bibracte* and the Porte du Rebout would be visible from afar. However, the monumentality of the gate would not be; this could only be experienced by directly encountering and passing through it.

I would argue that the road to Beuvray that approached the Porte du Rebout was constructed to follow a route that kept the gate hidden until the person approaching was practically there, so revealing the gate’s size and construction quite suddenly and spectacularly. The gate is not visible from the road that climbs the hill until it curves abruptly to the west less than 100m from the gate. Today the original contours of the hill have been altered by the presence of an excavation spoil heap, which enhances the element of concealment, but I would argue that the stage-management of the approach was nonetheless important in antiquity. This phenomenon may not be unique; a similar element of surprise could be argued for, in a slightly different context, at Maiden Castle, and in a different time, at Danebury.

This is in direct contrast to the approach to gate in the outer rampart that had to be passed through en route to the Porte du Rebout. The road leading to this gate climbs the hill on a steady gradient, almost on a straight line. The outer gate could be seen from a considerable distance as approached, and perhaps more significantly anyone approaching could also be seen from this gate. Although, this gate has not been excavated, it has been surveyed by metal detector; it is one of only three places on the outer rampart where *muris gallicus* nails have been discovered (Niaux 1995) and it may be that, as will be suggested for the Porte du Rebout, nails were being used here to impress.

It could be suggested that the outer gate and rampart were more important in terms of surveillance and control, as the choke point where access to the *oppidum* was granted or denied. Porte du Rebout was an inner gate, leading to the heart of the site, spectacularly opening onto the impressive buildings, industry and people at the centre of the capital of the Aeduan *civitas*.

In the first phase in which a gate can be definitely recognised, it was 21m wide; it was subsequently remodelled in the middle of the first century BC and reduced in width to 19m (Aitchison *et al.* 1996:77, 82). The new rampart facing used a greater proportion of red granite in the facing than in the earlier phases (Aitchison *et al.* 1996:77). This rarely occurring stone is more

striking in appearance than the grey stones that were previously ubiquitous but offers no structural advantages. It would appear that the remodelling of the rampart was done with visual image in mind. Visual display in rampart facings is not unique – upright stone flags were used at Trisov for effect, rather than for structural reasons (Brunaux 1998:6).

There were also iron spikes found at the rampart facing, where they could not perform a structural role (Ian Ralston, pers. comm.). These spikes may have been visible in the spaces between facing stones, where the transversal timbers terminated, and this phenomenon may also be an aspect of display; a demonstration of conspicuous consumption, showing that the builders of the Porte du Rebout could afford to use up more iron than was necessary. This should be considered along with the fact that there were relatively few nails found within the ramparts – not every timber intersection was nailed, and if the rampart timbers were notched to fit together, as suggested by studies of the traces of timber left on the rampart nails (Aitchison *et al.* 1996:78) then the nails were practically redundant anyway. It would seem that the use of iron nails had much more to do with display than with construction.

The height of the rampart as it originally stood cannot be ascertained from excavated evidence, but it would certainly have presented a wall face several metres high, which could then have been topped by a palisade. In front of the rampart were ditches, 6.50m wide and 4.50–5.00m deep (Aitchison *et al.* 1996, 65–7), so forming a combined barrier possibly up to 10m in height from ditch bottom to rampart summit.

The sheer scale of the gate, combined with the striking use of red stone, the visible display of iron in its construction and its sudden revelation to the person approaching as they turned the final corner on the road would present a spectacularly impressive monument, the biggest built structure that anyone living in the rural society of the first century BC would have encountered in their entire lives. This would be a remarkable image of power, wealth and control.

Inside the Porte du Rebout the road passes through an area of metalworking and enamelling workshops on the route to the centre of the town. As noted above, iron may have been used in the ramparts for display – but iron was not only being used at *Bibracte*, it was being produced there as well. And what better way to demonstrate direct control over metalworking production than to have it within the inner enclosure, on the main road to the centre of the town, where everyone had to encounter and contemplate these workshops? Similarly, enamelwork was very much a prestige product, to be displayed not only in its finished form but here in its production stages as well.

After the reduction in width of the gate which took place in the middle of the first century, two ditches, 4.00–4.80m wide, were dug parallel to the rampart inturns which form the sides of the gate. In the centre of the gateway, it is unfortunate that erosion means that we will never know the precise details of the Porte du Rebout's gate furniture, but it is not impossible that there was some kind of structure in the centre of the gate, dividing the main part of the gateway into two, as at the Manching Osttor (Collis 1984:109). If this is considered along with the ditches at the side of the entrance, then the gateway may have been (at least visually) divided into four, with two wide central elements (the gate itself) and two narrower flanking elements – the ditches.

Augustodunum

Augustodunum, in common with most planned Roman cities, is structured on two principal thoroughfares, the *decumanus*, which forms the east – west axis, and the *cardo maximus*, which runs north to south. At the ends of these two streets are the four gates of the town.

Gates & Ramparts

The four gates of *Augustodunum* are all located by rivers or streams, so that access to the town was first by bridge and then through the gates. Three of the gates are located by minor streams; only the Porte d'Arroux is located on the navigable River Arroux, just downstream from the confluence of the Arroux and the Tarnin. It can be argued that the town layout had to

be structured to provide for a gate here, below the confluence of the two rivers, so necessarily orientating the town on this point.

The gates of *Augustodunum* were all built to very similar plans; the best preserved is the Porte d'Arroux. It is based on two flanking towers, 18.68m apart, with four archways between, the central pair of archways being wider than the outer pair (Rebourg 1993:45–8). Gates such as these, '...with flanking semicircular or polygonal towers and a pilaster framed, arcaded gallery above the actual gateway...' (Ward-Perkins 1970:12) are well known from contemporary sites in north Italy. The four gates are incorporated into monumental stone ramparts that enclose an area of 200ha and are over 11m in height. There are 62 towers distributed evenly around the perimeter (Rebourg 1993).

Streets

The principal streets of *Augustodunum* are not aligned on the cardinal points of the compass; the *decumanus* runs north east to south west. While this can be interpreted as a pragmatic response to topographical considerations, by comparison of the town plan with Le Gall's illustration of the directions of sunset and sunrise (in Goudineau 1980:264), it becomes clear that the *decumanus* of *Augustodunum* is exactly orientated on a line drawn between the position of the rising sun at the summer solstice and the setting sun at the winter solstice.

Thus the east-west axis of *Augustodunum* was established from solstitial solar observations. The north-south axis was then established by laying out a line from the future site of the Porte d'Arroux, perpendicular to the east-west axis. These axes then became the *decumanus* and the *cardo maximus*.

Ritual and architecture

The ritualised component of architecture is well known in Roman contexts; '...the architecture of the Romans was, from first to last, an art of shaping space around ritual' (Brown 1961:9).

Classical writers give detailed descriptions of the founding ritual for Roman cities, which involved the ploughing of a furrow around the future city, with unconsecrated gaps being left for the gates. This ditch drew a line of magical protection; from the earth cut by the ploughshare rose chthonic divinities '...who took possession of the ditch and made it religiously uncrossable' (Grimal 1983:14). This ditch '...has less reality and virtue than the magic barrier that imagination drew about the village. The gaps in the mound, by which one passed from one world to another, were merely symbols of the architecture that the rituals of leaving, approaching, and entering erected as the goals of movement and sight for the inner eye' (Brown 1961:11). Thus the enclosure and, particularly the gates, which remained in the realm of the everyday, were of great significance.

As noted above, the streets were laid out on a strict geometric basis, determined from solar observations. The founding of a Roman city, thus, followed two linked sets of rules – geometric and ritual, and these rules shared a common principle – that the two axes of the city had to be aligned to follow the lines of force of the universe (Grimal 1983:15).

An inhabitant of a Roman town, any town, would always be able to orientate themselves within the city by reference to the two main streets. These streets were orientated on an assertively rigid, geometric pattern, one which very much showed humanity's control over its environment – the *cardo maximus*, aligned north to south, was the '...pivot on which the sky swung...' (Grimal 1983:10–1) and as the sun rose at one end of the *decumanus* and set at the other, so the street plan also related to the way in which humanity lived within an ordered natural world. Therefore the street pattern was also part of the way in which the natural world was interpreted as part of the holistic Roman representing the way in which the world was understood. The alignment of the streets in *Augustodunum* is based on the rising sun at the summer solstice or the setting sun at the winter solstice; in contrast, the orientation of the basin on the

main street at *Bibracte* was aligned on the rising sun at the winter solstice and the setting sun at the summer solstice.

While both towns are organised on solstitial sunrises and sunsets, this is in contrast with the Italian cities, where the streets are also orientated by reference to the sun, but to the sun at noon, due south. There was no reference to particular days in the alignment of 'traditional' Roman street plans.

Enclosure – Bibracte, Augustodunum and the Augustan norm

Another way in which *Augustodunum* is an unusual Augustan city is in its very enclosure. The enclosure of Augustan towns in Gaul was not the norm. Imperial policy and propaganda decreed that the Empire itself was the peace that made defences unnecessary and useless (Goudineau 1980:244). The new concept of an 'open town' had been introduced.

Before the Augustan period, there was only one walled town in Gaul dating from classical antiquity – *Massilia* (Marseilles). There are only six certain Augustan walled towns in Gaul, with another three sites where an enclosure is believed to exist but this has not been confirmed archaeologically. Of the walled towns, *Augustodunum* is the only example outside *Gallia Narbonensis*, the only town to be walled in 'conquered' Gaul. The closest walled Augustan town is Vienne (*Vienna*), 165km to the south. So clearly the decision to enclose *Augustodunum* was an unusual and significant one.

While the architectural style of the ramparts of *Augustodunum* was undoubtedly novel in first century BC central France, reflecting the style of ramparts in north Italy and *Gallia Narbonensis* – the concept, and the way in which the town would be experienced, certainly was not. *Augustodunum* was a relatively sparsely inhabited town at its founding, enclosed by massive walls that were built for political reasons and not defence, so very clear parallels with *Bibracte* can be drawn. Even the area enclosed by the ramparts of both, 200ha, is almost exactly the same. This is significant; typically, walled Augustan towns in Gaul enclosed a much smaller area – Fréjus and Arles both covered an area of about 40ha, which is also the typical size of contemporary towns in north Italy. There are two other Augustan towns in the south of France that compare with *Augustodunum*; Nîmes and Vienne (where the Roman walls may contain the site of an earlier *oppidum*, on the hill of St Blandine (Collis 1984:214)) – and only the walls of Rome enclosed a greater area, to surround a much greater population (Goudineau 1980:251–2).

If the *oppidum* was defined by its rampart, and a Roman town had no need for such an enclosure – the gates alone often symbolised a (non-existent) rampart (King 1990:76) – then *Augustodunum* can be seen as having been built as a Romanised *oppidum*.

Porte d'Arroux and Porte du Rebout

Merely by their impressiveness, parallels can be drawn between the gates of *Bibracte* and *Augustodunum*. However, there is a further suggestion that the Porte d'Arroux is a direct emulation of the Porte du Rebout. In *Augustodunum*, Porte d'Arroux is 18.68m wide. Porte du Rebout, after its rebuilding in the mid-first century BC, is 19m wide. This represents a difference of only 0.32m, or 1.7% – they are remarkably close in terms of scale.

The division of Porte du Rebout into four – when the small ditches were inserted into the gateway – can be compared directly with the Porte d'Arroux, which is also divided into four parts – there are two central arches, with two smaller arches to the sides.

However, the gates of *Augustodunum* follow a design already known from earlier contexts in north Italy, so they cannot be reflecting Porte du Rebout in this respect, but it might be that the ditches at Porte du Rebout were dug subsequent to the construction of the Porte d'Arroux. As noted above, the remodelling of the ramparts took place around the middle of the first century BC. Determining the date that ditches were cut is notoriously difficult; however, the fill of these ditches contains Augustan material (approximately 30 BC to AD 15, Aitchison *et al.* 1996:74–7, 82)) – potentially *after* the founding of *Augustodunum*.

If this is the case, then the architecture becomes part of a dialectic process – firstly, the scale of Porte du Rebout determined the width of Porte d'Arroux, and then the details of Porte d'Arroux influenced a secondary remodelling of the Porte du Rebout.

Augustodunum is east of and slightly north of *Bibracte*; the most logical gate to leave *Bibracte* by in order to travel to *Augustodunum*, was the Porte du Rebout. Travelling from *Bibracte* to *Augustodunum* necessitates crossing the Arroux River; the logical place to do this would be at the bridge or ford at Porte d'Arroux. So after crossing the river arrival at *Augustodunum* would be at this gate: the point on which the town layout of *Augustodunum* was organised and the most significant visual way in which *Bibracte* was recalled in the architecture of *Augustodunum*.

It was familiar and understood that to enter or leave *Bibracte*, passage had to be made through an impressively monumental gateway in a massive rampart. As this enclosure was the understood way in which towns were built, so it was repeated at *Augustodunum*. Similarly, the accepted way in which the town's streets were orientated was on observations of sunrise and sunset on the longest and shortest days of the year.

Conclusions

'The more hierarchical a society was, the more readily it could be absorbed into the Roman empire' (Collis 1994:36). Iron Age society in central France was indeed very hierarchical, and was very readily absorbed into Roman society – but the creation of 'Gallo-Roman' society was not a mere imposition of Roman culture and values on a passive and conquered populace, nor was it a thin veneer of new ideas.

Society at *Bibracte* was centralised, hierarchical and above all *ordered*. The town was planned and laid out with a road network, drainage systems and parcels of land; but this was not all – the way that people lived their lives, the way they moved through the town and the wider landscape was ordered too. This order was based on the movement of the sun across the heavens and on the natural world, in a land where hills, forests and springs all had their own significance beyond simple topographic location.

Repetitive action and experience formed the basis of the ways in which people understood the world (Bourdieu 1977). As this repetitive action was formalised into ritual, so ritual was used to formalise space through architecture in both *Bibracte* and *Augustodunum*. The town plan grid and the main streets were the way to locate one's self in the Roman urban world, and so structured a particular way to think about that world as it was being experienced, or *habitus*. Thus whilst Roman town plans were very much part of *romanitas*, of being Roman – the plan was a construct based on ritual definition of the routine experiences of everyday life.

The plan of *Augustodunum*, so very Roman in style, was orientated on the rising sun at the summer solstice, when other Roman towns were organised by the passage of the sun across the sky, rather than on solstitial observations. The street plan of *Bibracte*, as far as it was based on the basin, was orientated on the sun as it rose on the winter solstice.

The rampart built in a Roman style, but unique in northern Gaul at *Augustodunum*, reflected the monumental and symbolic enclosure of territory at *Bibracte*. The principal gate of *Augustodunum*, Porte d'Arroux, was a physical recreation, again in a Roman style, of Porte du Rebout, the principal gate of *Bibracte*. Possibly subsequent to the creation of Porte d'Arroux, Porte du Rebout was again remodelled (with the insertion of the smaller ditches), to make it resemble more closely the new gate of *Augustodunum*.

At *Augustodunum*, a town was built that was unquestionably Roman but that also included many concepts that represented ideas held by the society that had built and inhabited *Bibracte*. While this can be seen as an attempt by the agents of Roman authority to legitimise their presence and control, it may well have been because the very people who were building *Augustodunum* and living there were the same people that had lived in and built *Bibracte*. As the lives of these people '...made themselves, [they] also remade the institutional arrangements within which they were lived' (Barrett 1997:60). If '...to become Roman was to adopt a discipline of

life which confirmed with some overarching ideal and which was understood to do so by those who adopted it, as well as by others' (Barrett 1997:52) then the inhabitants of *Augustodunum* were becoming Roman, but very much on their own terms, with reference to the lives they had experienced and understood, with their traditions still in place. The development of *Augustodunum Aeduorum* reflected continuity in the lives of these people, not change.

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