Tota Liguria?

Mechanisms of 'Romanization' in

Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca and Luna

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09-07-2014
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Figure 1.[1]

[1] Talbert (1985, 108). With adaptations from L. Snijders.

1. Mechanisms of Romanization

"It is only through studying the provinces, and the diverse peoples and cultures they embraced, that we can understand the workings of the Roman empire." [2]

1.1 The idea of Romanization

Many scholars have tried to define 'Romanization'. After the term was first introduced by Mommsen and a number of French scholars in the 1870's, and after it became a well-known concept through the work of Francis Haverfield[3], it has endured a lot of critique in the last few decades.[4] For example; some scholars viewed 'Romanization' as '*Mécanismes de l'unification et de l'intégration*'[5], while others argue that it is a question of self-and group identity, which is an important, but ambiguous concept.[6] It can refer to a sameness among a group of people, or something individual that distinguishes one from the group. In the first sense, it is often described as 'national' or 'cultural' identity; in the second, as 'personal' identity.[7] Every person possesses an identity with both individual and group dimensions, "*a set of ideas about who they are and with whom they belong.*"[8] In a cultural contact situation, identity may be 'past-orientated', defined by loyalty to one's ethnic, linguistic and religious heritage, or 'present-orientated', based on expedient allegiance to the state and aspiration to its citizenship, depending on one's priorities.[9] But while these principles of identity may seem straightforward, their application is problematic. Individuals do not necessarily agree on what constitutes their national or cultural identity,[10] and that identity is also liable to change over time. What comprises '*Romanitas*' ('Romanness') in the time of the Empire is not the same as under the Republic, when the Empire had become much more diversified and cosmopolitan, assimilating various cultures and their identities. Furthermore, a person's identity is often difficult to reconstruct two millennia later.[11]

Change in thinking, and the construction of new identities, was a gradual process, and not necessarily a thorough one. A provincial might see no contradiction in using Roman artefacts while bearing an indigenous name, or in speaking Latin but not wearing a Roman dress. Politically, of course, the provincials lived within the boundaries of the Roman world, but culturally they remained somewhat outside.[12] It took time for them to adopt a broader world-view, to think of themselves as 'Romans' and of the Roman empire as 'their' empire.[13]

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[2] Curchin (2004, 2).
[3] Cf. Haverfield (1905).
[4] Naerebout (2006, 18).
More on the critique and difficulties concerning this term 'Romanization', will be explained in the next few pages. For post-colonial critique, see Hingley (1996, 35-48), and Mattingly (2002, 536-40), which is a review on Keay, Terrenato (2001).
[5] David (1994, 9).
[6] Häussler (2007, 66).
[7] Friedman (1994, 29-30); cf. Hjerm (1998, 335-47).
[8] Grahame (1998, 156).
[9] De Vos (1995, 26-7).
[10] Hjerm (1998, 339).
[11] Curchin (2004, 120-1).
[12] Wells (1999, 94).
[13] Cf. Ando (2000, 331).

The term 'Romanization' comprises a description, rather than a definition or explanation. It is a name for a paradigm, used by modern scholars to describe the process of cultural transformation by which indigenous peoples were integrated into the Roman empire. In recent years, however, both the word and concept of Romanization have been much debated, because of its associations with a colonial and Romanocentric view of cultural change. Yet "*old concepts can be redefined to serve radically different agendas: stripped of their "baggage", they can take on a new lease on life… and still prove very useful to our debate*".[14] It is therefore preferable, according to Curchin, to deconstruct and revitalize it as a useful description of (one of) the most important cultural process in the Roman world, rather than abandoning the term 'Romanization' at forehand. Curchin focuses on the construct of 'Romanization' and the problems it inherits, as well as on its inaccurate connotations.[15] Since they are also fully suitable here, we will take a closer look at his examination and his conclusions on the validity of several models that have been proposed.

The first problem is the definition of 'Roman'. It has mistakenly been understood as 'the culture of Rome', since it carries two misunderstandings. The culture which we call 'Roman' was in no way homogeneous, and it also cannot be seen as an isolated culture, because of its close connections and borrowings from Greek and other cultures.[16] Some scholars even argue that there existed no real cultural Roman identity until the 'cultural revolution', which was formed by Augustan ideology.[17] Moreover, excavated materials have often been referred to as 'Roman', even though these objects were not made in Rome or even in Italy, but in the provinces.[18] This posts a relevant question for local research studies; in what sense can we consider artefacts as 'Roman' if they were made by, for example, the indigenous elite? Also, the spread of 'Romanization' by the soldiers, merchants and administrators can be misleading, when in many cases these people had a non-Roman origin.[19] According to Curchin, we might say that Rome had no enduring or local culture, and that it consisted of a series of continuously evolving traits that are found, with local variations throughout the whole Mediterranean.[20]

Compared to the term 'Roman', the word 'native' is probably even more difficult to define. We simply cannot define what constitutes 'native' during the period of Romanization, because the 'native' culture had already been influenced by the culture of the conqueror since their first contacts. It is therefore both unrealistic and meaningless to portray them as opposite to one another. It is preferable to speak of *"a complex series of cultural relationships in which the distinction between Roman and native became blurred"*.[21] However, this problem is easier to state than to overcome. Since the autochthonous inhabitants had already partly become Romanized soon after the initial contact, nothing thereafter can be called completely 'native' (or 'indigenous'). On the other hand, in discussing Romanization it is frequently helpful to have a term that can distinguish un-Romanized persons, materials or customs from 'Roman' or Romanized ones. In particular, the word '*indigenous*' can be used to refer to traditions that date back to the pre-Roman period (such as the 'indigenous

[14] Keay, Terrenato (2001, IX).
[15] Curchin (2004, 8).
[16] Barrett (1997, 51); Schortman and Urban (1998, 109).
[17] Keay (1995, 323); Grahame (1998, 175); Woolf (2001).
[18] Freeman (1993).
[19] Wells (1999, 127).
[20] Curchin (2004, 9).
[21] Keay (2001, 131).

elite'). However, like 'Roman', the term 'indigenous' should be used with the same understanding that the wealth of cultural diversity in Liguria can be seen as hybrid and complex.[22]

A second misconception is the 'Romanocentric' outlook that comes along with 'Romanization'. "*By naming only one party in the process, the word 'Romanization' implies a unilateral downloading of a pre-packaged culture rather than a process of mutual adaptation in a wide variety of manners*".[23] Another connotation hereby is the presupposed imposition of a superior Roman culture upon an inferior native one, and therefore we must be aware of its sometimes pro-Roman, colonialist descriptions, like 'progress' or 'development'.[24] As can be argued, Romanization has not always been implemented forcefully[25]; it could also be a conscious choice of individuals to borrow and adapt Roman characteristics for personal reasons, like some sort of social advantage.[26] We can therefore reconsider the indigenes to be "*not as objects or recipients of Romanization, but as human actors in particular social situations*".[27] Another solution worth mentioning is using the term 'Romanization' as a geographical description, i.e. 'on Roman conquered ground'.

A third misconception is inherited in the word 'culture', since Romanization has often been seen as 'cultural' change. It is not clear if we mean 'arts', or 'material culture'. According to Curchin, we should see culture in the anthropological sense of "*a set of traits characterizing a particular people"*.[28] It is therefore advisable not to ignore the political aspect, since identity (group-or personal-) exists of politics and culture, and therefore the political structure is an important part of the cultural change, inherited in 'Romanization'.[29]

The fourth and final problem that arises with the word 'Romanization', is its connotation with a sudden, thorough and absolute process of assimilation. Curchin denounces the definition as proposed by Keay, who states that *"[Romanization is] a label to describe the intensity and speed with which Roman cultural symbols were adopted by the indigenous peoples"*.[30] He says that it is instead better to speak of the transition from indigene to provincial as a lengthy process of '*identity transformation'*. However, on this point I don't fully agree with Curchin. On the one hand, he mentions that Romanization was a "*gradual and selective process*".[31] But, on the other hand, as he mentioned earlier; "*[cultures were] constantly changing and becoming assimilated to that of the conqueror"*.[32] He seems to agree that cultures are hybrid and dynamic, and since contacts existed between Rome and Liguria, Liguria would have been influenced by their contacts. Partly he could be right, because it could have been a gradual, rather than a rapid change. However, since speed is a relative term, and as I have stated above, contacts between the two were already visible before the

[22] Curchin (2004, 9-10).
[23] Webster (1996, 11).
[24] Keay (2001, 120).
[25] Salmon (1982, 118).
The story of the forced migration of more than 40,000 Ligurian Apuani in 180 BC. from the region north of Pisa to the district east of Beneventum, can be considered a counterargument to the suggestion of viewing Romanization as '*a harmonious blending of Roman and indigenous features'* (Curchin 2004, 11-2). Nonetheless, the story of the Apuani was relatively unique, and therefore not representative for the bulk of the Ligurian tribes.
[26] Grahame (1998, 176).
[27] Curchin (2004, 10-1).
[28] Curchin (2004, 11).
[29] Ibidem; David (1994, 12).
[30] Keay (1996, 147).
[31] Curchin (2004, 11).
[32] Curchin (2004, 9-10).

actual conquest and Romanization, Romanization could be seen as a rapid phenomenon, since it intensified existing contacts between the two, and therefore their supposed effects (on each other).

1.2 Models on mechanisms of Romanization

Even though we just saw the shortcomings of the whole idea of Romanization, Curchin proposed some models, which reflect Romanization mechanisms as well as their merits and shortcomings. These models will be helpful to act as a guide on understanding the mechanisms of Romanization which have been proposed so far. The models as proposed by Curchin are represented in Figure 2.

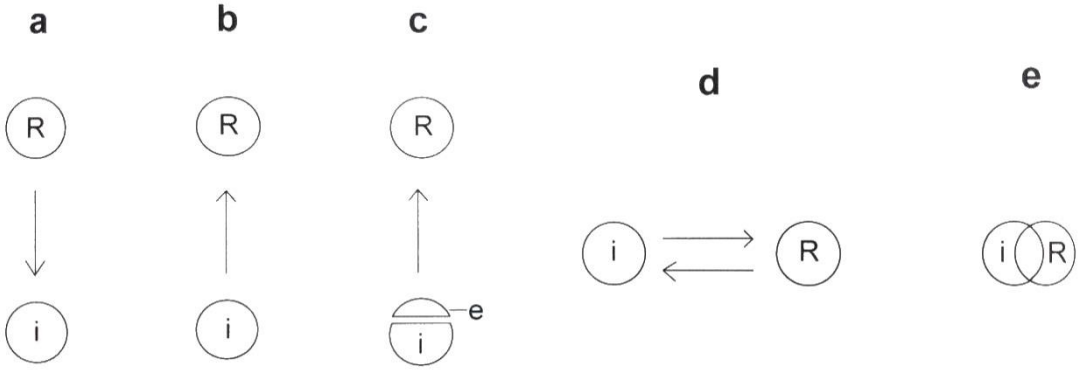

Figure 2.[33]

A. Dominance model

In this model, Rome imposes its culture on conquered peoples, and can therefore be viewed as a 'top-down' process, initiated by Rome. This model can be viewed as a 'forced conversion' of all aspects of the indigenous culture. This model reflects some Romans' view of their mission, i.e. "*to add civilization to peace*".[34] Furthermore, it determines the inferiority of the indigenes.[35] The main critique on this approach is that it denies any involvement or initiative on the part of the indigenes.[36]

B. Self-Romanization model

In this model, first proposed by Sherwin White, the indigenes Romanize themselves.[37] Another naming has been given by Wightman; '*adoption by imitation*'.[38] Its uniqueness lies in the fact that the initiative for Romanization is "*internally driven rather than externally imposed*".[39] This model can therefore be seen as 'bottom-up'. The misunderstanding or critical point for this model, is that it

[33] Curchin (2004, 12).
Models of Romanization. They show the roles of Roman (R) and Indigenous (I) actors. The arrows are indicators on the direction of initiative. Note a mistake in the subscript of Curchins figure 1.4 (not mentioned here); 'E' needs to be 'integration model', not 'interaction model'.
[34] Vergil (*Aeneid*, 851-2).
[35] Tacitus (*Agricola*, 11).
[36] Curchin (2004, 12-3).
[37] Sherwin White (1973, 222).
[38] Wightman (1983, 239).
[39] Millett (1990, 38).

makes the indigenes appear to acknowledge that their own culture is inferior to that of Rome and that it leaves no room for alternative responses by the indigenes. For as provincial cultures "*are not always the result of subject peoples imitating their new masters"*.[40]

C. Elite model or '*thin veneer*' concept[41]

In this model, it is the indigenous elite who willingly assimilates themselves to Roman culture for their own advantage. Hereby they will set an example for their subordinates to emulate. A variant of the model, known as the '*thin veneer*' concept,[42] holds that only the elite were Romanized, while "*non-elites tended instead to reinforce their identities as members of traditional local groups*".[43] The merit of this model is that it recognizes the importance of the interaction of the elite with Rome. Nonetheless, this model still sees Romanization as a 'bottom-up' process, and denies the majority of the populace any initiative in Romanization.[44] In my view the 'elite model' or 'thin veneer' concept can be regarded as a subcategory of self-Romanization, with the only difference that the focus lies on the elite, instead of the community as a whole.

The Interaction model (D) and the Integration model or 'transcultural' model (E) are two rather distinct models, since they comprise mutual acculturation and permeation from both Rome and the indigenous people. However, when we speak of the supposed effect of the indigenous on Rome, these models are impracticable when we examine this on a smaller, regional –or even 'local' – scale, as will be examined here. Therefore these two last models will be left out of consideration here.

As can be seen, the variety of understandings and the aim of capturing the phenomenon of Romanization, as well as the imposition of one of the models of Romanization on an indigenous people, can provide difficulties. This debate has, so far, not been resolved, however the article by Terrenato has provided new insights. He draws comparisons on the mechanisms of Romanization in northern Etruria for three cities (Volaterrae, Luna and Pisa), within a rather compact geographical context.[45] The purpose of this article was '*to exemplify the variability that can be encountered, even within just a small fraction of the rich cultural mosaic that Roman Italy represents*'.[46] The author wished to explore the nature of the variability that Romanization can inherit in terms of processes involved, Roman strategies hereby used and native responses. Terrenato mentioned that it is this diversity that can be defined in different manners; it can be defined as ranging along at least two dimensions. The first one is the dimension of working across geographical space, since even neighbouring ethnic communities can follow widely divergent trajectories. The second dimension we encounter, is that it can also work across societies, since different social groups can respond in widely different ways, even within the same community.[47] Terrenato therefore puts forward the idea of Romanization as a complex and multi-dimensional process. However, he still wants to make some sort overall comparison or verification of his own findings to the conventional idea of Romanization. He stresses that '*variability does not seem to be infinite and boundless; indeed recurrences, trends*

[40] Woolf (1998, 15-7); Curchin (2004, 13).
[41] E=elite in figure 1.
[42] Woolf (1998, 247).
[43] Wells (1999, 194).
[44] Curchin (2004, 13).
[45] Terrenato (2001, 55).
[46] Terrenato (2001, 64).
[47] Ibidem.

and ranges can be identified in attempting to define Romanization.'[48] The local reconstructions he makes, '*exhibit marked differences between themselves'*, but also, '*they don't seem to fit into the more conventional picture of the structural and long-term outcome of Romanization*.'[49] It is because of this, he mentions, that each city or etnic group can be reconsidered in a whole new manner. Aspects we may find cannot simply be seen as '*fragments of histoire evénementielle, but may instead contain important clues as to the character of each community. They also provide an instructive cross-section, cutting across the whole range of variability of responses to Romanization.*'[50]

This work investigates the mechanisms of Romanization on the basis of drawing similar comparisons, similar to Terrenato's, focusing on four cities in Liguria for which no such comparison exists: Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca, and Luna. Among others, the power relations between Rome and these four cities in the respective centuries (circa 3th century BC. - 1st century AD.) will be discussed, as well as the extent of integration of the peoples of Luca, Luna, Albintimilium and Albingaunum into the Roman empire, and therefore in which ways the inhabitants adapted or adopted Roman structures and lifestyles.

The choice for specifically these four cities was not random. The first condition was the availability of sources on these cities. Due to the differing nature of the archaeological record and to the circumstances of its recovery, it is not surprisingly that our knowledge on these four cities is uneven. A second condition has been made on the basis of the same aim as Terrenato had for Etruria, i.e. that the four cities lie within the same area, known as Liguria, or as the Romans called it '*Regio IX*'. However, as Blagg and Millett have pointed out, "*a Roman province may be too large as a suitable area for analysis*"[51], it was therefore chosen to confine this study to a few cities. The distinction made between chapters three and four was on purpose, since the aim is to try to find a difference between the mechanisms of Romanization in indigenous cities (Albingaunum and Albintimilium) and the colonial cities (Luca and Luna). On the basis of the type of city, it can be expected to find different models of Romanization, which will be completed circa in the end of the 1st century AD.; In the case of the two indigenous cities, the outcome of Romanization can expected to be relatively slow, since the inhabitants of those cities would probably wished to maintain their 'indigenous' culture for as long as possible, before they needed to adapt because of external forces from the side of Rome (according to model A. Dominance model), or of internal forces lead by the elite (according to model C. Elite model). The hypotheses for the colonies would be that they would become 'Romanized' relatively fast, since colonies were placed by Rome in conquered territories (according to model A. Dominance model). The difference between the types of colonies[52] may have had consequences for the models of Romanization they encountered, for it can be assumed that the number of colonists and their origin would have played a major role in the determination of the subsequent applicable models.[53]

However, before we look at the mechanisms of Romanization in the four cities, it is necessary to draw an image of pre-Roman Liguria (chapter 2.1), as well as to examine the Roman conquest and

[48] Ibidem.
[49] Terrenato (2001, 65).
[50] Ibidem.
[51] Blagg and Millett (1990, 43); Curchin (2004, 2).
[52] Luca was a Latin colony, and Luna a Roman colony.
[53] Many colonists would probably refer to model A. Dominance model, while few colonists would give way to model B. Self-Romanization model. Subsequently, colonists from Ligurian origin would probably slow down the process of Romanization, because of their wish to maintain their 'indigenous culture', in contrast to settlers of non-Ligurian origin. For more information on colonisation, see 2.2 Roman conquest and changes.

the consecutive changes in general terms for Liguria[54] (chapter 2.2), and finally how Liguria looked like after the Roman conquest, as Liguria Romana (chapter 2.3). As already mentioned, in the chapters three and four there will be made a distinction between the 'indigenous' cities (Albingaunum and Albintimilium) and the colonial cities (Luca and Luna). The available data of these cities will be re-examined in those chapters, without drawing any premature conclusions already, nor imposing any of the mechanisms of Romanization on these cities. This will explicitly be done in chapter five, where the different models of Romanization mechanisms will be applied on the basis of the information gathered in the previous chapters on the four cities, in order to better understand the mechanisms of Romanization in Liguria, or more specifically; in Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca and Luna.

[54] This will be confined to the aspects which are the most important and/or which needs a more elaborate explanation as background information for the chapters 3. Romanization of indigenous cities and 4. Colonisation of cities.

2. Rome and Liguria

2.1 Pre-Roman Liguria

"As for the Alps… many tribes (éthnê) occupy these mountains, all Celtic (Keltikà) except the Ligurians; but while these Ligurians belong to a different people (hetero-ethneis), still they are similar to the Celts in their modes of life (bíois)."[55]

It is difficult to reconstitute identity in Liguria in the pre-Roman period, since the indigenes left no indication of how they thought of themselves. Ancient Greek and Latin authors, like Cato, Strabo, Polybius, Livy and Pliny are one of the few kinds of sources on the Ligurian ethnicity.[56] Strabo, for instance, seems to state that the Ligurians are a different ethnos, but that they have the same lifestyle as the Celts; therefore he uses the term '*Celto-Ligurian*'.[57] The distinction made between Ligurians and Celtic-Gaulish does not seem to mirror any pre-Roman ethnicities; but external creations by Greeks and Romans who noticed that the term 'Ligurian' was already in use prior to the Celtic invasion, thus assuming that the so-called Ligurians were the indigenous people and the Celts the 'newcomers'.

Both archaeologically and linguistically, the distinction between Celts and Ligurians does not seem to be significant. Onomastic and toponomastic evidence from Liguria is Celtic, and the 'Ligurian culture' is largely limited to pottery fragments and conical buttons. Moreover, the term Ligurian, first employed by Hecateus (c. 500 BC) for Massalia's indigenous neighbours[58], cannot reflect people's self-identity since *ligures* is a Greek derogatory term equivalent to '*barbarian*', as Arnaud has shown.[59] It is therefore no surprise that many Greek accounts are mythical and ethnographic.[60] From the available evidence, the existence of a typical Ligurian ethnos or culture is therefore extremely doubtful.

There exists not much evidence on the Ligurian language, since there is a gap in the evidence of the Ligurian language. However, it is possible from an epigraphic text in Latin from 117 a.C., found in the valley of Polcevera, - and therefore called *'Tavola Polcevera'*[61] – to derive how the toponomastic (the naming of both places, mountains, rivers, etc.) was done by the Ligurians. The toponomastic is adapted to the Latin morphology, since the places were written down in Latin, even though the names themselves are not Latin. On the basis of this piece of evidence, we can say that there are common characteristics which are shared with other Indo-European languages, and the Ligurian

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[55] Strabo (2, 5, 28).

[56] cf. Williams (2001, 19-35).
Though stressing their virtues and great physical force, many of the Roman accounts are negative and focus on the shiftiness and deceitfulness of the Ligurians– *'like a true Ligurian, born to cheat'* (Vergil (*Aeneid*, 11, 690)) – especially those written during the 2nd century conquest period (e.g. Cato (*Origines*, 31)).

[57] Strabo (4, 6, 3).

[58] Hecateus (56).

[59] Arnaud (2001, 327-46).

[60] Häussler (2013, 87).

[61] *CIL* (V, 7749).
Another well-known name is '*Sententia Minuciorum'*, named after the Roman brothers who were asked to act as arbiters in the conflict mentioned in this notice between private lands between the Langensi Viturii and the public lands of Genua. Sicardi (2007, 191).

language is particularly similar to the language of some of the Celts. However, another view states that the Ligurian language is a '*lingua anaria*' (non-Aryan) language, with partly Indo-European influences. The tavola contains items/names which have the same basis (*montem Tuledonem/ flovium Tulelasca; flovio Lemuri/ montem Lemurinum*), however, with different suffix (-askō-, -īno-). The suffix -askō-, which doesn't correspond to other pre-Roman languages, stays in use up to the Medieval period, together with forms of Roman ethnic adjectives, related to centres (*brigasco, pignasco, sanremasco, monegasco)*.[62]

Some of the 'Ligurian' names, like those which are mentioned only once or twice, may only have existed for a short time: this may reflect short-lived identities that were constantly reinvented; but some names may also reflect that they were developed in Roman times and/or they reflect Roman confusion about peoples' self-definition.[63] Greco-Roman writers generally found it difficult to make clear ethnic identifications. The Taurini, for instance, have been equally defined as Ligurians[64], Celts[65] and *Semigalli*[66].

All in all, it appears that Northwest Italy consisted of a 'complex ethnic patchwork', and that it is therefore impossible to speak of a common Ligurian identity; people were part of smaller units, such as Apuani or Ingauni.[67] It seems that many of the pre-Roman ethnoi or polities cannot be described as 'states' in a sociological or anthropological sense, especially in the Ligurian Apennines, where terms like 'tribe' or 'chiefdom' society seem more appropriate, although it may be without a clear territorial definition.[68] On the basis of Greek and Roman sources, there were some '*magnas urbes*'[69] in Liguria, with a certain form of an autonomous, political 'government'. However, the sources and myths are rather quiet on the most important cities (Genua, Vada Sabatia and Albingaunum), as well as on the number of *oppida* which enforced the coastline and actively participating in commerce at sea.[70]

While the people in the coastal areas were relatively wealthy (because of trade by sea, and perhaps even the involvement in piracy), and developed state-like structures, this was not the case in the Ligurian hinterland and especially not in the Apennines. In the Ligurian hinterland and Apennines we find many small-scale societies, and we find an 'impoverishment' of sites in the plains in the beginning of the 4th century BC. Many people moved to small, sometimes fortified, hilltop sites. Many of these emerged around 400 BC, not to defend against Celtic invaders (there is no evidence for 'Celtic' immigrants in the region), but probably as a result of the changing socioeconomic conditions that might have created unstable times.[71]

It is because our archaeological evidence of Liguria is mainly dealing with settlements, that our view is distorted.[72] However, what archaeology provides consists of two characteristics; first, Liguria was

[62] Sicardi (2007, 191-2).
[63] Häussler (2013, 88).
[64] Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 3, 128); Strabo (4, 6, 6); Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 5, 34, 8).
[65] Polybius (2, 15, 8; 28, 4; 30, 6).
[66] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 21, 38).
[67] Curchin (2004, 121).
[68] Cf. Häussler (2013, 42).
[69] Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 2, 370).
On cities: Polybius (33, 10, 12); Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 32, 29, 7-8; 39, 32, 4); on castles and local fortifications: Cicero (*Brutus*, 73, 255-6); Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 35, 3, 6; 35, 21, 10; 35, 40, 4; 39, 1, 6; 39, 32, 2). Cf. Martino (2007, 181).
[70] Martino (2007, 177).
[71] Häussler (2013, 82).
[72] Häussler (2013, 89).

not at all being isolated before the Roman conquest. Even though exchange was generally disrupted in the early 4th century BC, it was already picked up in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, leading to the use of coinage and Lepontic epigraphy as well as to some sites acquiring proto-urban characteristics. The so-called Padane drachma circulated in Northwest Italy and the entire Transpadana from the 3rd to the early 1st centuries BC.[73]

Visible to us is the import of Campanian '*vernice nera'* (black-glaze ware) – an item which was not a novelty in the Roman period. Second, La Tène objects and rituals remained surprisingly marginal in shaping people's behaviour in Liguria. Some of these cultural choices would persist down to the 1st century BC, like the '*cassetta litica'* cremations and the '*vaso a trottola'*.[74]

We do not know a lot about the indigenous Ligurian religion. Epigraphy has shown some cults, and very often they are connected with nature. Examples are the cult of *Matronae*, derived from a Celtic cult, which is mainly attested in woodland. This cult of Matronae have been found in Albingaunum, Augusta Bagiennorum, and Libarna. However, because it was easier to use a short version as teonym, it has often been referred to only with the letter 'M', for example in Alba Pompeia, Carreum Potentia, Industria, Libarna and Pollentia. The presence of the same cult in a distinctly wide area of centra indicates (and proves) a broad diffusion and interaction (especially for the Libarnense and Ingauni).[75]

2.2 Roman conquest and changes

Häussler mentions that *"If it had not been for our literary sources, the Roman conquest would have been hardly visible in the archaeological record, as it did not result in any immediate and significant sociocultural change."*[76] According to him, there wouldn't have been much sociocultural change right after the Roman conquest, or at least this can't be derived from the available archaeological data. Nonetheless, it is said that in the aftermath of the Roman conquest in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, Cisalpine Gaul[77] had undergone an enormous transformation in the 1st century BC., and therefore it may be wise to look at the indirect results of the conquest. Once hosting the fiercest enemies of the Roman state, Liguria had already become the *flos italiae* (flower of Italy) in Cicero's time. Liguria therefore become an integral part of Augustus' '*tota Italia'* and it was under Augustus (Principate 27 BC. – 14 AD.) that this region between the Mediterranean coast and the Po Valley became known as *region IX Liguria*.[78] But how did this transformation happen?

In the conquest of Northwest Italy, which was completed around 155 BC., the Roman consuls used distinctly different approaches.[79] Since the Punic Wars, Rome had a strong interest in Liguria in controlling the flow of people and goods to its new Spanish dominions – both along the Ligurian coast and inland across the Alps. Another motivation to invade Liguria could have been a form of

[73] Häussler (2013, 98).
[74] I.e. A kind of wine-vessel.
[75] Mennella (2007, 195-196).
[76] Häussler (2013, 71).
[77] Term applied to the 'Gauls' living "on this side" (*cis*-), i.e. the Roman side, of the Alps (sometimes the Ligurians are also mentioned as (part of) the Cisalpini, or cf. Cispadana, "on this side (*cis*-) of the Po (*padana*)". Cf. Transpadana, "on the other side (*trans*-) of the Po".
[78] Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 3, 46-138). However, this term was also employed for *ethnoi* north of the Po, like the Taurini and the Lepontii.
[79] Häussler (2013, 93); Balzaretti (2013, 14).

response to calls from the emerging economic centres along the coast and along the *viae publicae* to defend their economic interests in the hinterland.[80] Although Rome already had a close relationship with Genoa[81], it encountered difficulties in the establishing of control, especially beyond the coast, which resulted in numerous campaigns during the 2nd century BC. It were Fulvius Flaccus' campaigns in Liguria which made the Roman conquest in Liguria a success. Romans celebrated triumphs over relatively small bands of Ligurian people, as they were the forces of small-scaled societies. The conquest must have been most destructive in the Apennine mountains due to the extent of enslavement and deportation that written sources record. Many of the coastal towns do not reflect much change after the conquest, while many inland sites were abandoned as a result of the conquest.[82]

When we make an arbitrary subdivisions between the numerous Roman tools to subject the Ligurian peoples, we encounter that there were many, which all seem to be interrelated. For example, a first tool is political control in the different societies. This could be achieved by imposing Roman politics, administration and bureaucracy on their conquered territories. The political dominance of the Roman state was expressed in various ways, and was deliberately meant to accelerate the integration of provincials into Roman society[83]: one of the ways was the subdivision of Italian people into three groups. The first was the *civitas sine suffragio*. Communities with the *civitas sine suffragio* were administered by *praefecti* (whose exact responsibilities are not well known) who were sent out from Rome, while for day-to-day business they also had their own magistrates. The ('independent') allies (*socii*), which included the majority of the Italians.[84] Allied communities also experienced administrative integration through the influence of the Roman *dilectus* and census procedures; there was, furthermore, occasional direct intervention by the Roman state.[85] Finally, the granting of the Latin rights (*ius Latii*) and Roman citizenship to individuals or entire communities formed a 'partnership of citizenship' (*societas civitatis*), which linked them to Rome.[86] The Latin citizens had a limited set of rights, while Roman citizens had full rights.

The most important Latin rights were: the *conubium*, which permitted them to make a lawful marriage with a resident of any other Latin city; *commercium,* which allowed Latins to own land in any of the Latin cities and to make legally enforceable contracts with their citizens; and the *ius migrationis,* which gave people with Latin status the capacity to acquire citizenship of another Latin state simply by taking up permanent residence there. The grant of the *ius Latii* in 89 BC. by the *lex Pompeia* for all societies which helped Rome in the Social War, had an important catalysing function for sociocultural change, notably through the active reorganisation of indigenous communities as Latin colonies.[87]

Full Roman citizenship meant that the people were subject to Roman law and that their inhabitants were allowed to vote in Rome, while they were given their own magistrates to carry out local administration. The Romans regarded the extension of citizenship as "*a means of expanding the*

[80] The case example is the Sententia Minuciorum during which Roman magistrates helped Genoa in the legal consolidation of their hinterland. For more on the Sententia Minuciorum, see footnote 61.
[81] Rome had liberated Genoa from Carthaginian control in 203 BC.
[82] Häussler (2013, 97); Gambaro (2007, 171).
[83] Jacques and Scheid (1990, 288-9).
[84] Roselaar (2012, 3).
[85] Roselaar (2012, 6-7).
[86] Augustine (*De civitate dei*, 5, 17).
[87] Häussler (2013, 117).

Roman name by giving others a share of its privileges".[88] What Velleius leaves unsaid in this quote is that citizenship grants also inspired loyalty to the regime. It is because of the fact that citizens shared common benefits (including the rights from the *ius latii*), which provided an enticing incentive for peregrine people (i.e. non-citizens) to assimilate. Being able to declare, "*civis Romanus sum"* ("I am a Roman citizen") can therefore also be regarded as a mark of prestige and respectability to which many provincials aspired.[89] It was in 49 BC. under Caesar when all societies in Cisalpina gained the Roman citizenship.

Next to political changes, the Romans brought bureaucratic and organisational transformations to each province. In every Roman capital, the general regulations established the presence of a city council with a variable number of components (*l'ordo decurionum*), flanked by a board composed of four judges, formed out of two '*sottocollegi*', the *quattuorviri iure dicundo*. Subordinate to them were the *quattuorviri aediles*[90], who were in office for one year and were eligible on the basis of census requirements.[91]

Once every five years, and under the direction of the censors, who held office for 18 months in each five-year period, all male citizens who were *sui iuris* were obliged on oath to declare themselves (including age, full name, tribe, and filiation), their family (probably including ages), and their possessions before the *iuratores* of the censors.[92] That only citizens who were *sui iuris* made declarations before the censor has a certain logic: those *in patria potestas* could not own property and therefore had nothing to declare.[93] The citizen's liability to contribute *tributum* (taxes) was calculated based on his census declaration. There is some disagreement over the date of the introduction of tributum.[94] Furthermore, it is questionable if everybody had to pay tributum.[95] Another aspect of census returns are, that in crises all citizens, regardless of wealth, owed military service, and it seems unlikely that the state would have been comfortable not knowing the size of its pool of emergency manpower (Even though some people, like the *proletarii*, may have been excluded from paying tributum).[96]

Another tool which accelerated the integration to the Roman Empire was the construction of roads to improve the infrastructure, and therefore the trade and communication. The most important roads constructed were the Via Postumia in 148 BC, and the Via Fulvia in 125 BC. (see Figure 3) the latter one being constructed by Fulvius Flaccus on his return from Southern Gaul (and named after him) to connect Italy and Gaul across the Alps. At the time when much of eastern Liguria

[88] Velleius Paterculus (1, 14, 1).

[89] The question remains whether status is 'ascribed' or 'achieved': in the case of Roman or Latin citizenship, it was either ascribed at birth, or achieved during one's lifetime. Roman citizenship could be acquired by holding a magistracy in a *municipium*, by completing twenty-five years' military service as an auxiliary, or (in the case of slaves) by being emancipated by a Roman citizen. It was thus not a privilege restricted to the elite, but neither was it easy to achieve. Only a limited number of important towns were granted the status of *municipium*, with the accompanying 'right of Latium' (*ius Latii*) which gave Roman citizenship to the annual magistrates and their families, and Latin citizenship to the other free inhabitants. Rome could make such a grant as a reward for past co-operation with Rome, and with the aim to secure the city's future loyalty as well. Cf. Curchin (2004, 123-4).

[90] *Duoviri iure dicundo* and *duoviri aediles* (two from both, instead of four) are attested in the colonies and for certain special cases, well documented within Liguria.

[91] Mennella (2004, 458-9).

[92] Northwood (2008, 258).

[93] Northwood (2008, 259).

[94] The traditional view is in 406 BC., another view is that it had been installed earlier in the 5th century BC. The regular monetary payment may have existed from c. 280 BC forwards. Cf. Northwood (2008, 265-9).

[95] Northwood (2008, 265-6).

[96] Northwood (2008, 269).

between Piacenza and the coast was under Roman control, it is surprising to find that the Via Postumia from Genoa via the Apennines to Piacenza was only constructed in 148 BC.[97]

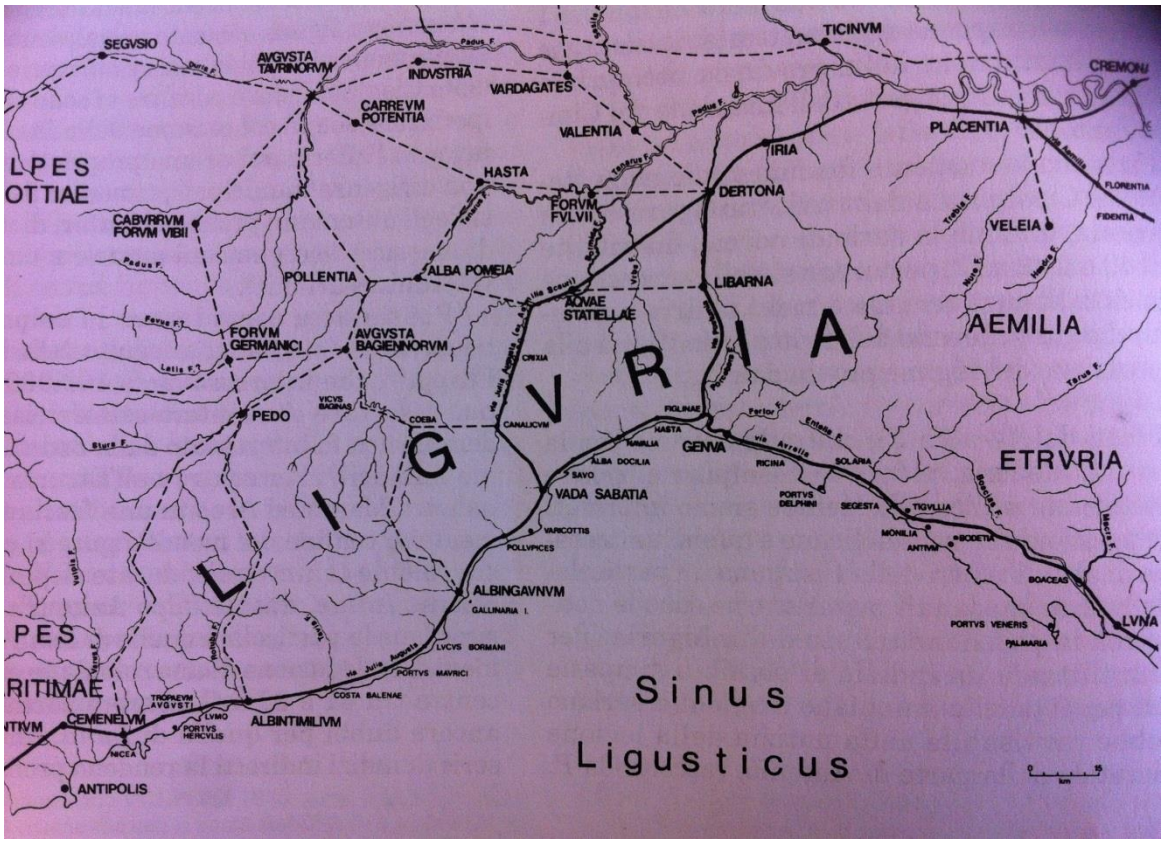

Figure 3.[98]

A third tool was the army. During the Roman conquest, it was common that cities and people fell completely under Rome's rule (*potestas*), be it by conquest and occupation or by *deditio*. The Latin term *deditio* describes the process whereby a sovereign state – faced with imminent defeat- surrendered voluntarily (*sua voluntate*) (Polybios 20.9.10-12: *deditio in potestatem* or *deditio in fidem*), implying an appeal to Rome's benevolence in the hope of avoiding the consequences of military occupation. *Deditio* resulted in the legal destruction of the surrendered people who relinquished their territory, their deities and their personal right to Rome's discretion. Both conquest and *deditio* gave Rome the right to enslave, slaughter and dispossess whole populations. There are instances in Roman history of exemplary punishment after a *deditio*. Livy's account on the Apuani (territory around Ameglia and Luna), for instance, is detailed due to their prolonged military resistance – resulting in the transfer of 47,000 people from the upper Macra near Pisa to Samnium c. 180-179 BC where two settlements perpetuate the memory of these Ligurians: *Ligures Baebiani*, situated 15 miles north of Beneventum[99] and the still unlocated *Ligures Corneliani.*[100] Hence, exceptional cases exist when warfare itself needs to be considered as an important component for sociocultural change by causing considerable disruption to existing societal patterns.[101] There are

[97] Häussler (2013, 95).
[98] Gambaro (1999, 76).
[99] *CIL* (IX, 1466; 1485).
[100] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 40, 38; 40,41); Pliny (*Naturalis Historia,* 3, 105); Cf. Häussler (2013, 94); Torelli (2004).
[101] Häussler (2013, 92).

some long-lasting aspects which in fact would have greatly enforced Romanization in Liguria. One is that Liguria was a major recruitment area for the Roman army, as well as the place were whole armies were stationed, with the possibility of a soldier stationed more than 20 years in the same area, while being able to speak (on a basic level) Latin, and being aware of the Roman lifestyle and thoughts, while living and communicating with 'indigenous' people. However, some counterarguments can be given to the importance of the army in a province like Liguria. One is that stationing an army in a region does not necessarily stimulate the subsequent integration of the surviving population.[102] Another argument is that the integrative mechanisms of the army were probably limited due to the fact that the Italians each served in their own units under their own commanders and therefore the amount of interaction may have been limited.

A fourth tool is urbanisation. Although urbanisation is not *per se* a consequence of Romanization (since urbanisation could already be in progress before the actual Roman conquest, as we see happening in Liguria), it is a process which was enforced by Romanization in the 3rd to 1st centuries BC. However, when do we exactly speak of urbanisation? If there were architectural building constructions, like sacred grounds, public grounds, city walls, city gates, and structures of service facilities (bath houses, etc.), a settlement is urbanised. However, since the archaeological and epigraphic data of non-colonised coastal cities in Liguria are still rather small, it is difficult to construct a chronology. This little evidence, however, suggests that in the middle of the 1st century AD. there was a shift, both in the sector of the private, as well as the public buildings, which show many instances of renovations and reconstructions.[103] After 125 BC, Rome had created a geographical division (which often contradict the existing perceptions of space nowadays) by creating a dense network of *fora, conciliabula, civitates*[104]*, coloniae, municipia*, and even *provinciae*, which provided (together with the newly build roads) important venues for cross-cultural situations. These subdivisions can be considered to be of profound meaning, since they changed the geographical space dramatically.[105]

A fifth tool is centuriation (the equal allotment of plots of land). Livy's image that the land of the Ligurians and Gauls was 'vacant'[106], could have been the view of many Romans for the legitimation of large-scale colonisation and land distribution with most of the plains being centuriated. Big plots of land had to be made available for the new colonists and centuriation was therefore a solution, which would eventually portray visible changes in the landscape.[107] Furthermore, one might imagine that the countryside would provide the most likely setting for 'native persistence' to Romanization. Did rural dwellers live in conditions virtually unchanged since pre-Roman times, while only the elite adopted a Roman lifestyle? Even in Liguria we witness systematic land redistribution by centuriation and an increasing concentration of properties in the hands of a few powerful landowners. This suggests, according to Häussler, that the rural population

[102] Häussler (2013, 93).
[103] Gambaro (2007, 173-4).
[104] Civitates is used as a generic term for any form of 'municipality' whatever its status. Roman-style *civitates* were institutionalised through administration and a social, economic political and religious central place (*oppidum*, *urbs*, *caput civitates*). Cf. Häussler (2013, 152).
[105] Häussler (2013, 153). This also explains why urbanism always plays such a central role in many 'Romanization' studies.
[106] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 42, 4, 3-4).
[107] Häussler (2013, 159).

was more or less forced to integrate into the strongly hierarchized society of the early Principate, probably even more so than the non-peregrini.[108]

Another tool for Romanization is 'colonisation'. It is clear that colonial institutions and language stimulated the process of Romanization to some degree.[109] It is even possible to view colonisation as a way of forced assimilation. To found a colony was to establish a self-governing civic community with its own laws, magistrates and administration. The necessary land was acquired by conquest and expropriation of the former inhabitants. An urban centre was built to a more or less standard pattern, sometimes constructed as a miniature of Rome with the same lay-out.[110] In addition to residential areas this included temples, market, assembly area and public buildings, like senate house, court, treasury. While some inhabitants lived within the walls, others settled in the territory beyond. All were allotted plots of land, as well as sharing rights over common land. In the Republic, colonies were considered military strongholds and they had often multiple major tasks, like controlling coasts, riverways, roads and mountain passes as a military-strategic position[111] and/or as a means for controlling communication. Furthermore, the founding of a colony fulfilled the wish to protect Rome's economic interest. Colonies also satisfied Rome's increasing need for land, resolving Rome's overpopulation. A final reason for colonisation could be the awareness of the potentially hostile environment which the colonists were entering, their fields only recently conquered and surrounded by non-Roman people with possibly hostile intentions. It therefore made sense to live in larger and better defensible settlements and work the surrounding fields from there, rather than to live in isolated farmsteads spread out over the territory, or to leave the whole rural area unprotected by opting for residence in a single urban centre.[112]

In the Republic there were two types of colonies. A Latin colony (*colonia Latina*) had between 2,500 and 6,000 colonists, plus the settlers' families and households. They were autonomous and their settlers acquired the citizenship of the newly founded colony. They incorporated the political, religious and architectural features that were typically Roman, like the *forum*, *capitolium*, podium temple and the Roman-style elections in *tribus* and *comitia*. A Latin colony's economic success relied largely on additional immigration from across Italy and the local hinterland.[113]

A Roman colony (*colonia civium Romanorum*), on the other hand, was rarely more than a garrison of some three to five hundred Roman citizens. It had the primarily military task of surveillance and was therefore strategically situated.[114] As outposts of Roman citizens, who retained their citizenship with all its privileges and duties, these colonies were initially administered by Rome, but they acquired a certain autonomy with the increasing distance from Rome. The impact of such colonies on indigenous societies may have been rather limited and hardly visible in the archaeological record.

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[108] Häussler (2013, 39).
[109] Talbert (1985, 95).
[110] Not only is the understanding of colonial *oppida* as little versions of Rome questionable, but the whole idea that there was a blueprint of what colonial towns ought to look like, and that this was implemented under the guidance of a state commissioner and completed soon after the arrival of the colonists, is now being questioned; for more information on this, see Pelgrom (2008, 335).
[111] For example by dominating a hostile area by splitting up the indigenous people.
[112] Pelgrom (2008, 368).
[113] Häussler (2013, 154).
[114] Häussler (2013, 153-4).

After 89 BC., colonies could be created without distributing the land to new settlers. By the early 2nd century BC a well-defined ritual of foundation came into use, a systematised method of laying out colonial settlements, and an especially well-thought-through purpose for each type of foundation (Latin or Roman colony, *fora*, *conciliabulum*, *praefectura*) suitable for each specific situation.

Colonies provided a mixture of interaction between colonists and natives, so that the sociocultural appearance of a colony could have a very diverse make-up. Furthermore, through colonisation, every community was already loosely assigned to individual Roman *nobiles* who acted as *patroni*.[115] We can be sure that colonisation changed the existing societies in multiple ways, for example in an economic, religious, political, and cultural way. Since the economy and the existence of markets (urbanisation) provided huge opportunities for cultural interaction and integration, and colonies often had large markets, colonies could have had (besides controlling the conquered territory) a significant impact on existing societies.[116] However, not every colony had the same effect on existing societies, so it is preferable to look at each colony separately, as we will do in chapter four for two colonies.

2.3 Liguria romana

Without any doubt the society of Liguria was affected by Rome. Liguria romana under Augustus had a distinctively different make-up than pre-Roman Liguria. As we have already seen, Liguria became more connected to the outside world (and therefore more aware and involved in '*Romanitas*') by the construction of roads which made travelling and exchange easier, as well as the developing urbanisation with political and economic centres. Also, because of the recruiting and the stationing of Roman armies in Liguria, the 'indigenous' people came into closer contact with Rome. The citizenship and the grant of Latin rights provided both opportunities and restrictions to the Ligurians, since they made them (more) equal to other Roman provinces. They could gain economic and politic gains, even though they would lose an integral part of their autonomy. Centuriation as a way of controlling the physical landscape and the rural population made way for colonisation which provided Rome with strategic points of control, while at the same time affecting the existing socio-cultural relations (to what extent, will be discussed in chapter four) and the geographical space. All this was under supervision of Rome by a well-thought administration, which includes census lists and the related tax demands, which bonded former autonomous societies closer to Rome.

According to Häussler, it seems that the break-up of local hierarchies was imminent in the 2nd half of the 1st century BC and this may correlate with the rupture in the archaeological record.[117] This view is discrepant with the view of Gambaro, who states that on the basis of critical re-examination of the archaeological evidence, the indigenous cities had very complex structures, with remarkable differences in one region. However, the latter scholar mentions that there exists a conservative situation in the indigenous settlements between the 2nd and the 1st centuries BC. in the Ligurian coastal area. He mentioned that this area was not very suited for a direct occupation, and therefore

[115] Häussler (2013, 44).
[116] Roselaar (2012, 7); Pelgrom (2008, 334).
[117] Häussler (2013, 195).

these cities have for a long time formally been called 'independent', although they were connected to Rome by networks of pacts and treaties.[118]

The variety in the pre-Roman societal state formations had, of course, implications for the Roman period: people would experience the Roman conquest very differently due to these enormous regional variations.[119] We can see a clear distinction in the way the indigenous people reacted to Rome, as well as Rome's responses and measures. This could vary from the deportation of rebellious peoples, like the Apuani[120], to the granting of Roman civil rights to many cooperating communities. In chapters three and four, the aim is therefore to look at distinctions, as well as regularities, between the four different cities.

Next to the general strategies on Romanization, Liguria Romana shows changes specific to the region. Next to social and political changes which occurred in Liguria Romana by the hands of the Romans, general cultural and economic changes can be seen to have taken place at the time of Liguria romana, such as changes in language, onomastics, religion, coinage. The adoption of Latin and the conventions of Latin epigraphy seems to have taken place gradually. People first seem to have adopted individual Latin names into their indigenous onomastic systems, followed by the use of Italo-Roman magistrates' titles, the direction of writing (e.g. from left to right instead from right to left), Latin letters and alphabets, as well as Latin abbreviations. After having received the Roman citizenship in 49 BC, we see a change in the use of language in the epigraphic record; people more often showed their status as a Roman citizen by adopting a Roman-style *tria nomina* with *praenomen*, *gentilicium*[121], (*patronimico*) and *cognomen*. This may have been pragmatic; for example as a public display in official documents, like censuses.[122] While the first Latin graffiti of Liguria belong to the 1st century BC, Latin was really only used on stone inscriptions from the Augustan period onwards.[123]

We can be brief about changes in the Ligurian religion and cults. First of all, this is because we don't have a lot of archaeological, nor literary evidence about the former pre-Roman religion of Liguria. Secondly, religion was one of the few things Rome didn't impose on conquered societies.[124] However, what does seem to change in religion after the Roman conquest, is the form and iconography of the altars, which shows us ritual forms (libations, sacrifices and altars), which are clearly in the Roman style. The names of the divinities show us part of the Romanization processes, although indigenous cults were still worshipped (even though in an adapted form, partly adapted/assimilated to the Roman form) even to the Severian period. This phenomenon can be seen rather as a way of integration and adaptation/assimilation of a tradition, instead of a resistance (to the Roman religion).[125]

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[118] Gambaro (2007, 171).

[119] Häussler (2013, 91).

[120] Even though this is a very well-known example, we need to keep in mind that this is one of the few examples of mass deportation by the Romans in Liguria. However, this could also mean that there was not much opposition to the Romans, even though this would be contradicting the Roman (!) sources.

[121] This was a new aspect in onomastics to indigenous people, although it was easily constructed by turning their indigenous Ligurian 'family name' into *gentilicia*. Cf. Häussler (2013, 124, 196).

[122] Häussler (2013, 195-6).

[123] Häussler (2013, 125).

[124] Perhaps because the Romans would expect a lot of resistance by doing so, or because they knew that religion is easily receptive to assimilation. Another option is that religion simply might have been not one of Rome's most important concerns.

[125] Arnaud (2007, 201).

Coinage shows the increasing involvement of the Ligurians in the Roman army as auxiliary units, paid soldiers and mercenaries. Rather than imposing the denarius, Rome produced a coinage specifically destined for Cisalpine Gaul from circa 100 BC., the quinarius, which adopted the name and iconography of the earlier victoriatus (usually Jupiter/Victory with Gallic trophy[126]). The quinarius was valued at half a denarius and it was deliberately debased (Crawford 1985, 181-3). As early as 117 BC, Rome imposed on local inhabitants in the Apennines the obligation to pay rent to Genua in victoriati (the value of the victoriatus seems to equal the Padane drachma, whose weight in the course of the 1st century BC had fallen under the quinarius), imposing its perception of a monetised economy.[127] Padane drachmas continued to circulate in small numbers down to the early 1st century AD (for example at Ornavasso and Como).[128] Crawford suggests that the Romans started minting the *quinarius*, as a substitute for the Padane drachma from the north, to pay mercenaries and soldiers during exceptional periods of war.[129] The citizenship grant to Rome's allies in 90 BC further augmented the number of legionaries.[130] The move from drachma to victoriatus and denarius might also imply a trend towards an at-least-party monetisation of local economies, further stimulated by the accelerating urbanisation in the 1st century BC.[131]

Also, from the 1st century onwards, Liguria saw a development in several economic aspects, like the accumulation of surplus (as taxes levied for Rome), and the importance of wealth display. Monetisation, in its turn, could have also created different social ambitions and social opportunities as a means for upward social mobility since status increasingly depended on wealth now could be acquired outside traditional social structures, for example by a class of traders and craftsmen visible during the Principate.[132] This is an important development, because it allows the consideration of a new model next to the ones described in chapter 1.2.

This new model (see Figure 4) will be named 'the new-elite model'[133], and is based on the Elite model or 'thin veneer' model. Expanding Curchin's range of models it will be described as model F.

[126] Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 33, 46);
[127] Häussler (2013, 104).
[128] Häussler (2013, 105).
[129] Crawford (1985, 182-3).
[130] Häussler (2013, 105).
[131] Häussler (2013, 106).
[132] Häussler (2013, 107).
[133] This new-elite model is deliberately not named model 'D', to avoid confusion with the existing models D and E, as proposed by Curchin (2004).

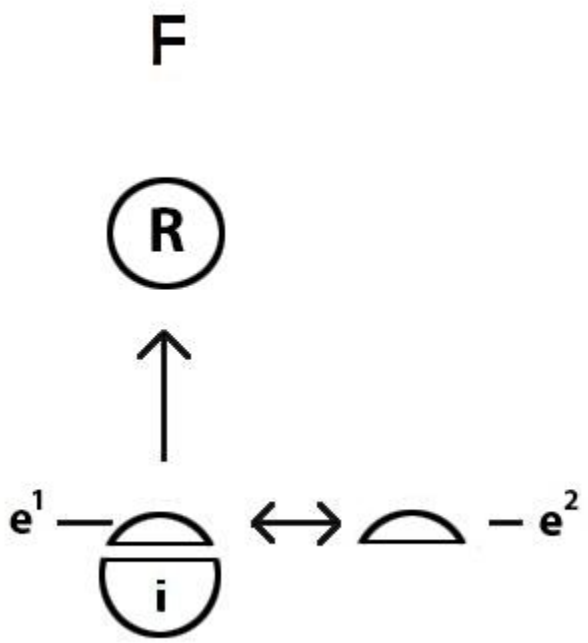

Figure 4.[134]

This new model describes a new elite, which came up due to the changes in local socio-economic and political structures, which provided opportunities for this class to emerge. These opportunities were provided by Rome, and it can be assumed that the new elite were therefore orientated and more receptive to influences from Rome. As a result, it is possible that the 'old' indigenous elite in return holds on to the indigenous traditions, lifestyle and artefacts. In the next chapters the changes during the Romanization are described for the four cities, leading to a consideration of which of the described models, including the new model F, fits this process best.

[134] New-elite model. E^1 refers to the 'old' indigenous elite, while e^2 refers to the new elite.

3. Romanization of indigenous cities

3.1 Albingaunum

Pre-Roman settlements were often re-founded on the same or an adjacent site during the 1st century BC. In some cases, like in the case of Albingaunum, the Celtic/Ligurian toponym indicates a pre-Roman origin.[135] However, the exact localisation of the *oppidum* of Albium Ingaunum, which Plutarch described as a walled city, has not (yet) been found.[136] In the territory surrounding the modern city of Albenga, the archaeological evidence (with certainty related to the period immediately preceding the Roman conquest) have so far only shed light on the easternmost spur of the mountainhills, overlooking Albenga, and it is therefore suggested that the *oppidum* might have been erected here.[137] The findings are limited to a few fragments of ceramic from the 4th-3rd century BC., found at the bottom of the archaeological stratigraphy, and the findings escaped the levelling which in the imperial period was necessary for the construction of the amphitheatre, of which the remains still exist.[138]

The paucity in the archaeological evidence recovered and the limited space offered by the hills of the mountain, which also proves suitable for a fortified settlement, are simply not sufficient to demonstrate where the *oppidum* was located exactly. It is possible that the antique Albium Ingaunum was instead found in the plain area, further near the coast. Perhaps it was located in the same area later occupied by the Roman town, as here tombs belonging to a protohistoric necropolis of the Ligurian Ingauni have recently came to light. In total, five cremation tombs have been excavated, dating from the early Iron Age. The typology and materials found gave impetus to a research programme which will hopefully contribute to the archaeological panorama of western Liguria before the Romanization, since this is so far very incomplete. The discovery of this necropolis is of exceptional interest. The necropolis, to which belonged the tombs, finally came into light, and is, together with the ones of Chiavari, in the Ligurian Levant, one of the two unique necropoleis of the early Iron Age, known up to now in Liguria and constitutes the oldest archaeological testimony so far found in the plain of Albenga. Its location in the plain, close to the centre of Albenga, in correspondence with the city founded by the Romans, also makes it plausible that the necropolis may belong to the still unkown *oppidum*, mentioned in historical sources as the main settlement of the Ingauni during the Romano-Liguri wars.

The tombs came to light during the archaeological excavations preliminary to the construction of the right embankment of the river Centa. The zone is placed at circa 200 meters to the south-west of the historical centre of Albenga, immediately downstream of the viaduct of the Aurelia. The small size of the site surveyed so far (16 x 9 meters) does not yet allow to clarify the extent and chronology of burials, which seem to have been dug in a dried-up swamp formed on the bank of the river Centa, circa 5,5 meters under the present day surface. In the course of the centuries the shifting of the Centa has resulted in surface erosion of the necropolis, damaging the graves, followed by a stage in which they were covered by the thick alluvial deposits which are still visible. It

[135] As toponym, Alb- is particularly common for Liguria (e.g. Albintimilium, Albingaunum, Alba Pompeia). Cf. Häussler (2013, 198).
[136] Plutarch (*Aemilius Paulus*, 6, 1).
[137] Gambaro (1999, 54).
[138] Massabò (2004, 461-2).

is due to the presence of sporadic fragments of roman ceramics in these deposits, which indicate that the burials of the necropolis already occurred during late antiquity.

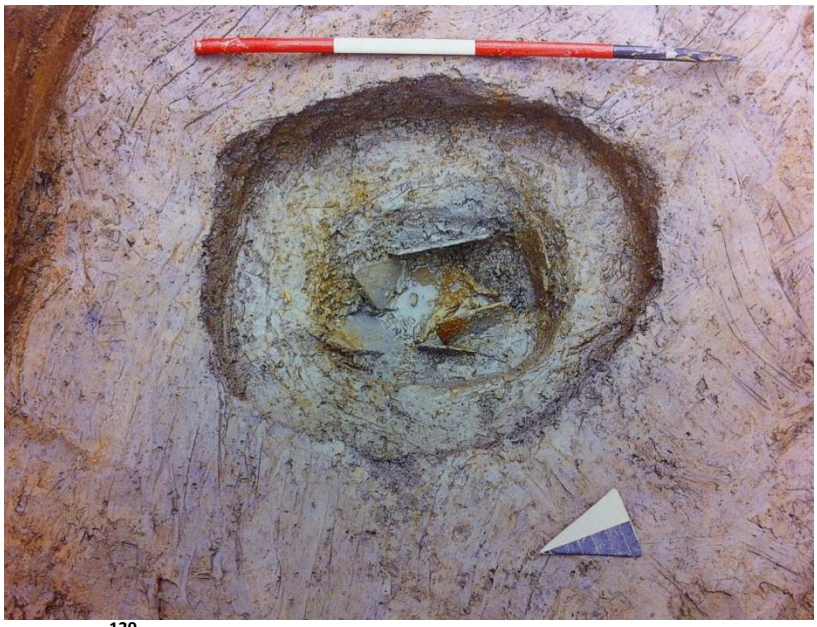

Figure 5.[139]

Figure 6.[140]

Three of the excavated tombs (tombs 2-4, see Figure 5Figure 6) which were formed by a hole, covered by a rock, in which the ashes of the deceased were collected, apparently belong to male subjects by the presence of weapons (iron spearheads, knives of bronze and iron, see Figure 7). On the bottom of the pit some plates covered a '*cassetta litica*' (see Figure 6), in which the artefacts

[139] In the centre of tomb 4, a *cassetta* form can be found, constructed with plates from rocks. Massabò (2004, 217).

[140] In tomb 1, there can be seen *cassetta litica* and terracotta urns. On the right side of the tomb, a big rock can be seen, which probably functioned as a marker to locate the tomb. Massabò (2004, 217).

were collected. In one case (tomb 2), the cassetta litica also contained an urn of terracotta, in which was placed a crescent-shaped razor (see Figure 8).

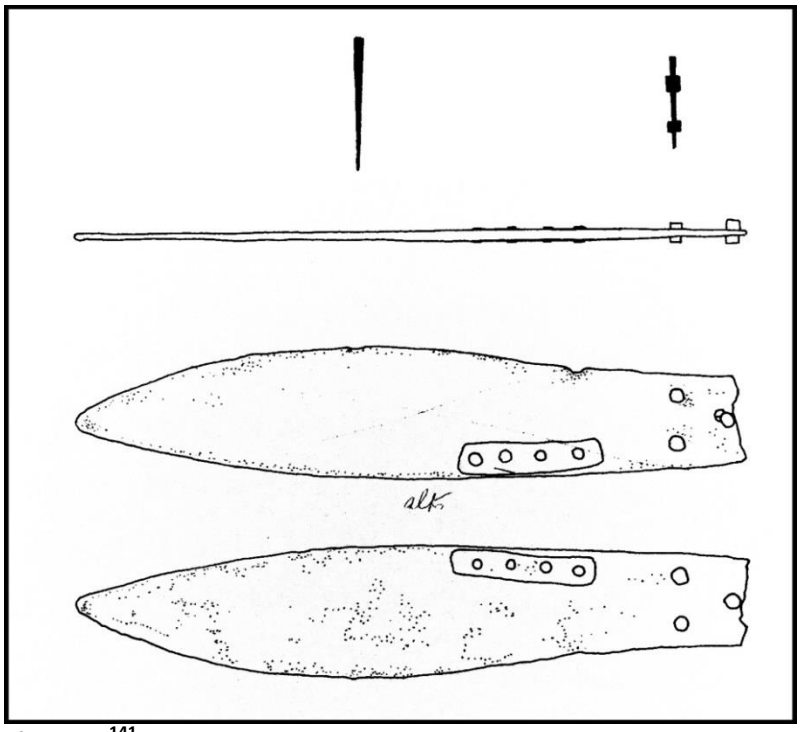

Figure 7.[141]

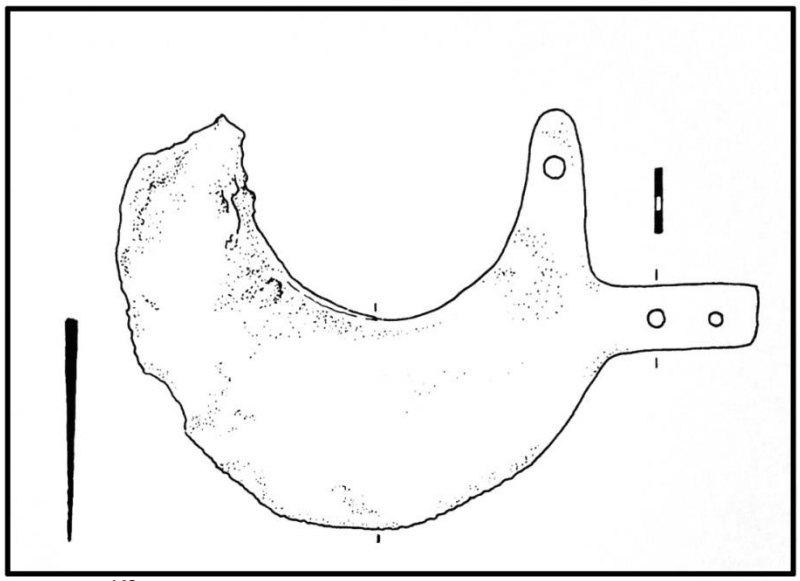

Figure 8.[142]

Tomb 1 was also of the type of a *cassetta litica*, with funerary urns of terracotta, though the sex of the individual buried here is so far undetermined. The last tomb investigated (tomb 5), formed by a simple earth grave closed by plates, contained a terracotta urn placed on a plate of stone. One

[141] Bronze knife from Albenga, found in tomb 3. Massabò (2004, 216).
[142] Crescent-shaped razor of bronze from Albenga, found in tomb 2. Massabò (2004, 216).

brooch placed in a pit next to the urn indicates that this was the tomb of a woman. Big rocks found in the soil, probably functioned as grave markers or headstones.

With regard to the provisional nature of the data collected, due to the narrowness of the investigated area so far, with respect to the actual extent of the necropolis and the incompleteness of data on the tomb (the urns have not yet been fully investigated), some items of particular interest, like the crescent-shaped razor and the bronze knife, the spearheads, a knife and a *fibula* in an arch-shape, suggests that the tombs can be dated back to the 7th century BC.[143], and it gives us a rich insight in the Ligurian material culture of that time. It is a pity, however, that there has not been found any graves dating from after the Roman conquest in Albingaunum, and therefore a clear transition from 'indigenous' to 'Roman' culture in Albingaunum cannot be given on the basis of funerary evidence.

As mentioned before, as well as the location of Albingaunum, the founding date of the Roman city is unknown. The archaeological data seem to indicate that Albenga, named after the Latin name of Albingaunum, was built at the end of the 2nd century BC. [144] The oldest archaeological layers excavated so far in the central monumental area of Albenga, where the Roman city was located, date back to this period. However, here are a slightly more recent Roman-style city walls, built with cement, which can be dated back to 80-70 BC.[145], which constitutes the only evidence so far known of the republican city.[146] However, a hypothesis, mentioned by Lamboglia in 1941, concerns the construction of military garrison in an early stage after the Roman victory over the Ingauni in 181 BC. by L. Emilio Paolo, in the vicinity of the old Ligurian *oppidum*, which later on would have been developed into Albingaunum.[147] For the moment, there is no trace of this hypothetic garrison, which might have been located in an area not yet explored in the old centre. Furthermore, when looking at Figure 9 and Figure 10, this hypothesis would almost certainly have not been the case, since the street plan of Albingaunum does not look orthogonal (and therefore typical Roman) at all. This means that Albingaunum had probably been transformed into a Roman city while showing signs of an indigenous continuity.

At the basis of the economic prosperity of Albingaunum was certainly the exploitation of agricultural resources of the surrounding plain, the most extensive of coastal Liguria. This has also been proven by the recent excavation of a *villa* in Lusignano, in the immediate hinterland of Albenga, and of a series of finds/findings scattered throughout the territory, in which the diffusion of toponyms of Roman lands constitutes the indication of an intense activity there. The economic well-being of the city was also depending on its favourable geographical position nearby the sea. The city was favourable to trade, especially after the opening, in 13 BC., of the *via Iulia Augusta* (see Figure 3), that connected the port of Albenga with the road network of Italy and Gaul.[148]

The archaeological evidence suggests that this Roman city, after the Social War, followed by the *Lex Pompeia de Gallia citeriore* of 89 B.C., obtained the *ius Latii* and likely in the period of Caesar the Roman citizenship and with it the municipal statute that incorporated the full title of the constitutional order of the Roman state.[149] With the creation of the *municipium*, the inhabitants of

[143] Massabò (2004, 216-7).
[144] Gambaro (2005, 173-4).
[145] Cf. Häussler (2007, 63).
[146] Lamboglia (1971, 60); Gambaro (1999, 87-88); Massabò (2004, 30 sgg., 461-2).
[147] Hypothesis mentioned in Lamboglia (1941, 189-92), as well as in Costa Restagno (1985, 13) and Pallares (1992, 176-7, 179).
[148] Massabò (2004, 461-2).
[149] Gambaro (1999, 73-75); Massabò (2004, 461-2).

Albingaunum were ascribed in the tribe *Publilia*, one of the 35 tribes in which all Roman citizens were ascribed. The first epigraphic evidence referring to its municipal status dates back to the 1st century AD. There is an honorary dedication known to the local *civus optimus*. The inscription, written in Latin, goes as follows;

P(ublio) Muc(io) P(ubli) fil(io) / Pub(lilia) Vero / equiti Romano / equo publico / patrono municipii / trib(uno) leg(ionis) III Gallic(ae) / censitori / provinc(iae) Thraciae / civi optimo / semper pro municip(um) / incolumitat(e) sollicit(o) / plebs urbana.[150]

About the administration of the municipality; the city was, like other *municipia*, controlled by a collegium of four magistrates chaired by two *quattorviri* with juridical power (*quatturviri iure dicundo*), assisted by two *aediles* (*quattuorviri aediles*), with the function of police, the provisioning and the management of public works. Other figures with civil functions are also attested, like the *praefectus*, appointed to replace *I quattuorviri iure dicundo* in case of their absence, and the *quaestor*, responsible of the civic treasury. There are even two inscriptions known, which cite a city council (*ordo decurionum*), which was entered by the members of the local 'bourgeoisie', among whom were also elected the magistrates of the *civitas*. Other epigraphy of the imperial period document the existence of *flamines* and of the *flaminicae*, priests and priestesses, linked to the cult of the deified emperors, and of the priestly college of the *augustales*, generally freedmen responsible for the organization of the cult in honour of the deceased emperors and honouring the living one.[151]

[150] *CIL* (V, 7784). Supp.It. 4.A., 8; cf. Häussler (2013, 288).
[151] Massabò (2004, 461-2).

Figure 9.[152]

As can be seen in Figure 9 in the street plan of Albingaunum, the main streets are orthogonal (although not specifically as straight as an arrow), while the smaller streets and buildings are not rectangular at all. The 'messy' lay-out confirms that it formerly had been an indigenous city (or rather a non-Roman city), whose main roads were constructed after the roman conquest. In the surrounding area (see fig. 9), more rectangular buildings can be seen, which confirms the city's expansion by the Romans.

[152] Gambaro (1999, 87). Inscriptions of the numeration with (solely) the most important numbers:

1. Big building with ambulatory and central court.
2. Wall structure of uncertain interpretation.
3. Funerary enclosure of hegagonal shape.

4-6. Funerary enclosure and remains of probable other enclosures.

7. Remains of pylons of acquaducts.

8, 10. Wall structure not identified.

9. Presumed '*termen*'.

11, 13. Parts of the late Republican wall.

12. Remains of a *domus* of the 1st century AD.

14. Remains of a *domus* of the Augustan period and decorations of the 4th century AD.

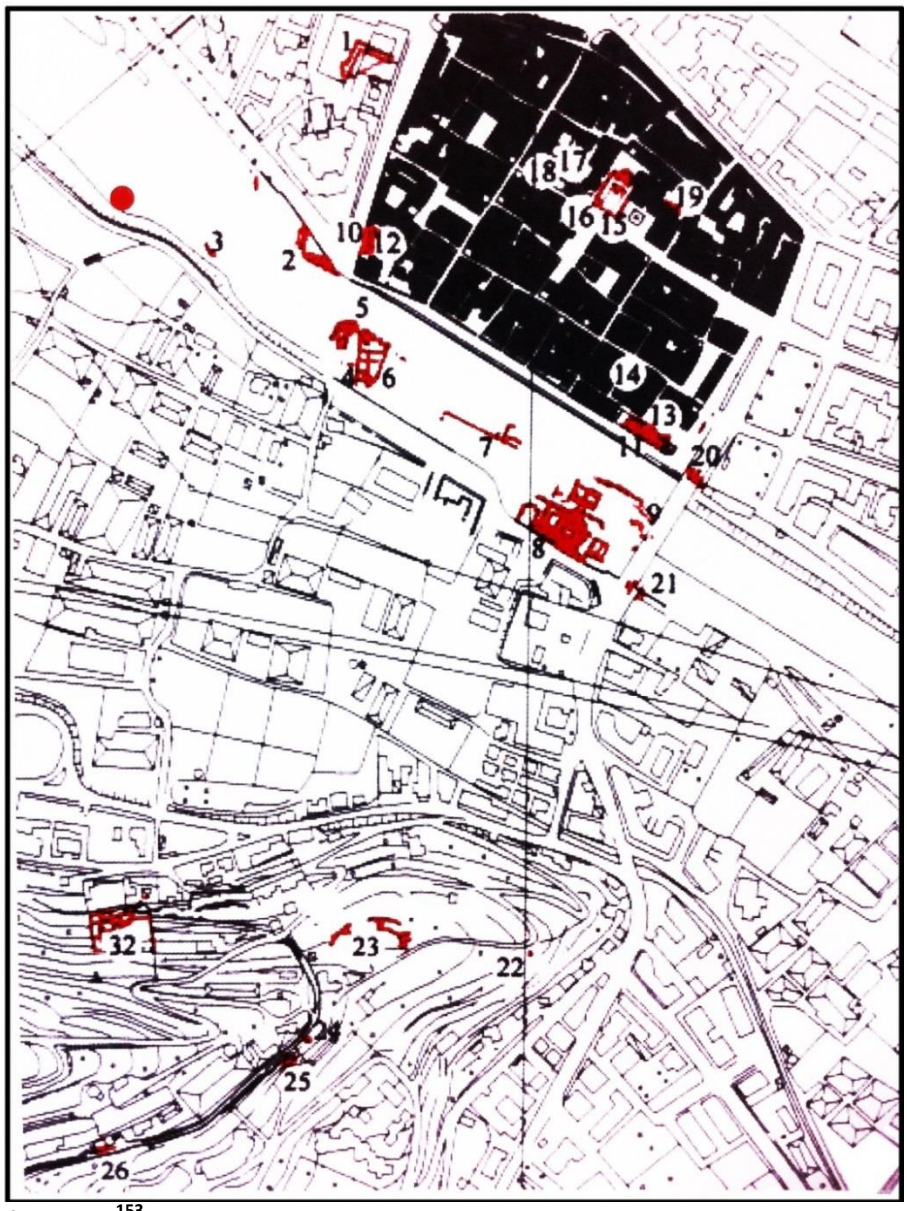

Figure 10.[153]

[153] Massabò (2004, 462). Inscriptions of numerations with (solely) the most important numbers:

2. Wall structure of uncertain interpretation.
3, 4, 5, 25, 26. Funerary enclosures.
6, 22. Remains of pylons of aquaducts.
7, 9. Wall structures not identified.
8. Presumed *termen*.
10, 11. Parts of the Late Republican wall.
12. Remains of a *domus* of the 1st century AD.
13. Remains of a *domus* of the Augustan period and decorations of the 4th century AD.
23. Amphitheatre.

Remaining numbers concern predominantly medieval building structures:

14. Church of San Carlo.
15. Cathedral and baptistery.
16. Palazzo Comunale.
17. Episcopal Palazzo.
18. Excavation further unknown.
19. Santa Maria church.

Figure 10 reflects the old city centre of the indigenous people, as is visible in the black part. Furthermore, the red dot on the west side of the city, represents the pre-Roman necropolis (as previously described in this subchapter). Because necropoleis were never build inside the city, this also suggests that the city had not expanded any further than the black area in the pre-Roman era. The actual size of the town enclosed no more than 7 ha.[154] When the Romans expanded the city (as can be seen in Figure 10), they constructed Roman-style *domus*, as well as an amphitheatre geographically placed rather far away from the 'city centre'. As the city had a long history of continuous population, an amphitheatre was build outside of the old centre, which was slowly engulfed by the growing city. It is mentioned by Massabò that the amphitheatre was constructed in the imperial period, although he does not mention a specific year.[155] More to the south of the amphitheatre (numbers 24-26), funerary remains have been found. These were Roman, placed as expected outside their now expanded city.

We don't have much information about the port of Albenga, since it is at the moment impossible to understand archaeologically, due to the large amount of sediment deposit by the river Centa in the last 2,000 years. However, ceramic finds at Gallinaria have demonstrated its continued use as a safe harbour until at least the 5th century AD.[156] As regards the city itself, the Roman monumental public buildings were plundered for stone and some of them even demolished, and finally the streets stopped being maintained and new buildings of wood were built on top of Roman stone structures.[157]

3.2 Albintimilium

The Roman conquest was possibly very destructive for the town of Albintimilium (modern day Ventimiglia), since the indigenous people who inhabited this area abandoned this site due to the conquest.[158] A Roman-style town in this abandoned hilltop area was constructed around 80-70 BC., which showed significant urban characteristics.[159] An overall chronology on the basis of building structures would be very uncertain[160], so an easy subdivision and subsequently chronology of this city isn't feasible.

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[154] De Ligt (2008, 298-9).

[155] It can be assumed that the amphitheatre had been built in the late 1st century AD. Cf. Massabò (2004, 461).

[156] Balzaretti (2013, 47).

[157] Balzaretti (2013, 49); cf. Conventi (2004, 98); Lamboglia and Pallarés (1985); Lamboglia (1933, 53); Wickham (2005, 674).

[158] Häussler (2013, 97); Gambaro (2007, 171).

[159] Häussler (2007, 63); Gambaro (1999, 125).

[160] Nonetheless, Lamboglia's excavations in 1951-52 distinguished six main strata and their subdivisions, based on the layers of sediments;
(perhaps even a Strata VII and VIII [pre-Roman])
Stratum VI b – 180-100 BC.
Stratum VI a – 100-20 BC.
Stratum V – 10 BC.-AD. 20.
Stratum IV – AD. 15-90.
Stratum III – AD. 90-250.
Stratum II – AD. 250-400.
Stratum I – After AD. 400.
Cf. Lamboglia (1951, 67-9).

Albintimilium inherits an important strategic position in relation to the existence of its neighbours and the surrounding rivers (Roia to the west and Nervia to the east), which connects the Ligurian coast with the hinterland of cispadana and transalpine, and the presence of a series of hills makes the site easily defensible and the proximity to the coast provides many (mercantile) possibilities, as can be confirmed by a number of archaeological findings from the Copper and Bronze ages, which focuses in particular on the slopes of the hill on the side of Collasgarba, from where the mouth of the river Nervia could be easily controlled.[161]

The indigenous village can be considered to have been the capital of the Ligurian Intemelii, whose territory extended from the pass of La Turbie (to the west), to the hills of Tenda (to the north) up to at least the current stream of the Armea (to the east) in between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC; from the top and from the terraces of Collasgarba we find the mouth of the river Nervia that was located on the slopes towards the narrow alluvial plain, which coincides with what would become the most northern area of the future Roman city of Albintimilium on the eastern outskirts of the present day Ventimiglia. The evidence for this is the discovery of both imported pottery (*amphorae massaliote*, black painted pottery '*vernice nera'*) and traces of bases of circular huts or hypothetical remains of monumental burial holes.[162]

A little further downstream from the pre-Roman core, probably since the beginning of the 2nd century BC. between the base of the hill of Sgarbia and the sea, there has been found a Roman settlement (see Figure 11) in a flat area near the mouth of the river Nervia. Some scholars address the regular street plan to permanent military camps (*castra stativa*) which can be dated to the end of 180 BC.[163], with the presence of a series of rectangular 'platforms', which served as the base for drainage and huts and wooden structures, interspersed with '*ciottolati stradali'* (cobbled roads) which intersected on right angles, and it can be dated to the end of 180 BC.[164] It is also possible that it represents solely a development of a Romanized centre with an indigenous ethnic products of *mercatores* or Roman and Italian colonists with commercial purposes without excluding the possibility of a military structure.[165]

Between the second half of the 2nd and the 1st centuries BC., in accordance with the more general monumental developments of the urban-type of the main Ligurian settlements of the coast, the first brick buildings were constructed, which are modelled to the precise antique structures. Between 80 and 60 BC. the city was endowed with defensive walls, fitted with a series of towers and gates, of which it is now possible to reconstruct at least a part. On the south side a gate was located, the 'Porta Marina' (now not visible anymore). In the interior of the tower of this gate, materials of great interest were discovered, like ceramics of Campania (or ceramic imitations of Campania), as well as imported Tyrrhenian ware.[166] The *cardo maximus* of the city is assumed to end in the Porta Marina. On the western side, partly destroyed to construct the theatre and in part excavated in the southern side of the Aurelia, we find the gate of Provenza (or *Porta Praetoria*), flanked by two towers, through

[161] http://www.archeoge.liguria.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/141/area-archeologica-di-albintimilium-e-antiquarium. Page viewed on 18/06/'14. Page created on 27/01/'11, with a final modification on 30/01/ '14. Written by L. Gambaro of 'Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria'.
[162] Ibidem.
[163] Lamboglia (1956, 106).
[164] Gambaro (1999, 82-3).
[165] http://www.archeoge.liguria.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/141/area-archeologica-di-albintimilium-e-antiquarium. Page viewed on 18/06/'14. Page created on 27/01/'11, with a final modification on 30/01/ '14. Written by L. Gambaro of 'Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria'.
[166] Cf. Lamboglia (1956, 119-20); Gambaro (1999, 84).

which ran the other main urban road, the *decumano massimo*[167]. Finally, the development of the northern side is much more unclear and is still being excavated, although we may assume that the wall ran along the old river Nervia from north to east. The regular pattern (with a modular ratio of 1: 2,6) of rectangular blocks, separated by a system of roads that intersect at right angles, might be a late-Republican structure. [168]

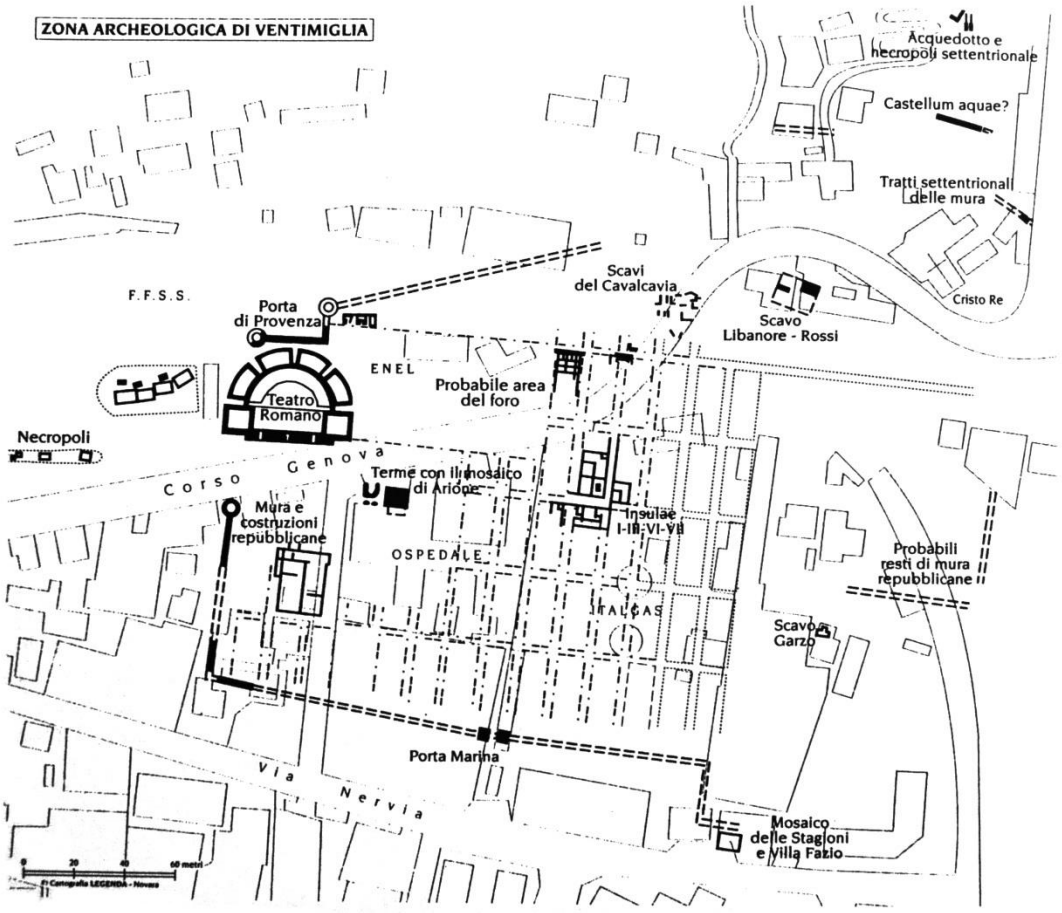

Figure 11.[169]

With the granting of, first, the Ius Latii, and subsequently the Roman citizenship, and the enrolment of its citizens in the *tribus Falerna*, and with the consolidation of a road, by means of the Via Julia Augusta in 13 BC. in the Augustan period, the Romanization of the centre and its surroundings has been given shape. The city underwent important urban transformations in particular in the 1st century AD., due to the interventions from emperor Vespasian (Flavian period) until the 2nd century AD (in the Antonine and Severan period) with the construction of a series of monuments, which are still partly preserved and were investigated by a number of excavations since

[167] The major road that divides the east-west direction into two symmetrical parts.
[168] http://www.archeoge.liguria.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/141/area-archeologica-di-albintimilium-e-antiquarium. Page viewed on 18/06/'14. Page created on 27/01/'11, with a final modification on 30/01/ '14. Written by L. Gambaro of 'Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria'; Gambaro (1999, 84-5).
[169] Gambaro (1999, 82).

the seventies of the previous century, such as the theatre, public baths and a series of urban *domus*.[170]

The city of Albintimilium has a strong maritime tradition, as can be proven by the wide variety of goods and products from all over the Mediterranean, this can be seen in the urban area, as well as in the necropolis, which is located along the access road to the city. Representable of this are products of personal hygiene (like ointment), and female ornaments (among which rings and brooches). A significant choice concerns the tableware (cups) which are products of central Italy and of southern Gaul, which are often found in tombs which can be dated back to the 1st century AD. Also attested are bowls, funerary urns and terracotta.[171]

Necropoleis are found west of the ancient city, where a rare lead sarcophagus was found, as well as amphorae, and some examples of sculpture and funerary inscriptions.[172] An example of this kind of funerary inscriptions, dating from the first half of the 1st century AD, shows that the adoption of the new societal organizational forms (as seen in 2.2 Roman conquest and changes) from the Romans in some cases might have been slow. There are even instances known when the magistracies were performed by other men of a lower class, because of, as Mennella says, the "*imperfetto livello di romanizzazione*".[173] As an example of this, we have a funerary dedication of Albintimilium, found in Saorge, which can be seen in Figure 12.

[170] http://www.archeoge.liguria.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/141/area-archeologica-di-albintimilium-e-antiquarium. Page viewed on 18/06/'14. Page created on 27/01/'11, with a final modification on 30/01/ '14. Written by L. Gambaro of 'Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria'.
[171] Ibidem.
[172] Ibidem.
[173] Mennella (2004, 458-9).

Figure 12.[174]

The content is the following:

"Ma(nio) Atilio L(uci) f(ilio) Fal(erna tribu) Alpino, aed(ili),
v(ivae) Atiliae Ma(ni) f(iliae) Veamonae,
L(ucio) Atilio Ma(ni) f(ilio) Cupito,
C(aio) Atilio Ma(ni) f(ilio) Alpino,
Ma(nio) Atilio Ma(ni) f(ilio) Prisco,
Atiliae Ma(ni) f(iliae) Posillae,
Atiliae Ma(ni) f(iliae) Secundae,
Liciniae C(ai) f(iliae) Cupitae nep(oti).
T(estamento) f(ieri) i(usserunt). [175]

The inscription concerns a family of a landowner in the southern belt of the Alps close to the sea during the first half of the 1st century AD. Interestingly, the individual onomastics show that many of the names are (still) Celtic, however written in the Latin script. Roman citizenship, with the inscription to the tribe *Falerna* is declared only to the head of the family, *Marco Atilio Alpino*, which

[174] Mennella (2004, 458).
[175] *CIL* (V, 7813); cf. Suppl.Ital. 10 (1992, 107).

is the only one of the group that holds the Roman office of one the two *aedilis*, prior to the supreme civic magistracy.[176]

The city of Albintimilium continued to be inhabited until the Middle Ages (VIII-IX century), although it probably already in the Byzantine period lost its importance due to the construction of other fortified settlements. Due to the gradual abandonment and the extensive dune wind, the city was lost and faded from memory, until excavations by Lamboglia, starting from 1939 shed light on Albintimilium again.[177]

[176] Mennella (2004, 459).

[177] http://www.archeoge.liguria.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/141/area-archeologica-di-albintimilium-e-antiquarium. Page viewed on 18/06/'14. Page created on 27/01/'11, with a final modification on 30/01/ '14. Written by L. Gambaro of 'Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria'.

4. Colonisation of cities

4.1 Luca

It is now generally accepted that Luca (modern day Lucca) was made a Latin colony (*colonia Latina*) in 180 BC., which was a period of crisis, preceded by a military campaign in 180 BC. [178] As a result of the Social War and the Lex Pompeia of 89 BC., it became a *municipium* with full Roman civil rights.[179] However, there has been much debated over the founding date as well as the type of colony to which Luca belonged. There are two antique authors who wrote on Luca; Velleius and Livy. Velleius merely states that four years after the colonization of Aquileia colonists were sent to Luca, i.e. in 177 BC.[180] Livy, on the contrary, says that in 180 BC. the Pisani promised land where a Latin colony might be settled, and were thanked by the senate. Triumviri were then elected to deal with the matter.[181] Since Luca belonged to Pisa (*ager Pisanus*) in the 3rd century BC., and Pisa was an ally of Rome, the city of Pisa offered Luca to Rome in order to found a new colony, in return for help against the invasions of Ligurian tribes.[182] Military reasons for Rome to found a colony at Luca can undoubtedly be found too: a colony there would dominate the valley of the river Serchio, prevent attacks by that route, and protect the hinterland of Pisa.[183]

The people who were allowed to reside in the colony of Luca, were not only owners of Roman rights, but also allies (*socii*)[184]; Pisani and Ligurians who, in times of conflict (even with a *deditio*) [185], had chosen the side of Rome. Another group of inhabitants were veterans of the legions VII and XXVI.[186]

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[178] Salmon (1982, 94); Gambaro (1999, 71).

[179] Cicero (*Ad Familiares*, 13, 13); Salmon (1933, 31); Cf. Haverfield, (1913).

[180] Velleius (1, 15, 2).

[181] "*Pisanis agrum pollicentibus quo latina colonia deduceretur gratiae ab senatu actae. Creati triumviri ad eam rem Q. Fabius Buteo, M. et P. Popilii Laenates*." Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 40, 43, 1); Salmon (1933, 30).
Furthermore, not only does no other ancient author mention the colony at Luca, but also no other ancient author even mentions the existence of Luca as early as 177 BC. Cf. Salmon (1933, 32).

[182] Dyson (1985, 107); Gambaro (1999, 71).

[183] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 7).
However, there may be doubt whether there was at the time of the founding any strategically need for it.
One consideration suggests that Luca did not get a Latin colony, because the Romans were reluctant to send out colonies of this type at this time. It is true that Aquileia got a Latin colony in 181 BC., but the Romans considered the possibility of a citizen colony even there (according to Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 39, 55, 4)), and probably decided for the Latin type because Aquileia was so far outside the bounds of Roman Italy. Luca, on the other hand, was no more distant than Parma and Mutina which had obtained citizen colonies in 183 BC. Cf. Salmon (1933, 32- 33).

[184] This is because the Romans were prepared to accept an inferior status in exchange of the allocations of land to the colonists.

[185] In the Roman empire, the *dediticii* were one of the three classes of libertine. The *dediticii* existed as a class of persons who were neither slaves, nor Roman citizens (*cives*), nor Latini (that is, those holding Latin rights, at least up to the time of Ulpian). The civil status of *dediticii* was analogous to the condition of a conquered people who did not individually lose their freedom, but as a community lost all political existence as the result of a *deditio*, an unconditional surrender. (Cf. Baldus (2004, 122)). A person who became a subject of the Empire through a *deditio* was excluded from the universal citizenship extended to all freeborn inhabitants of the empire under the Constitutio Antoniniana (Cf. Hekster (2008, 47)).

[186] Cf. Haverfield (1913).

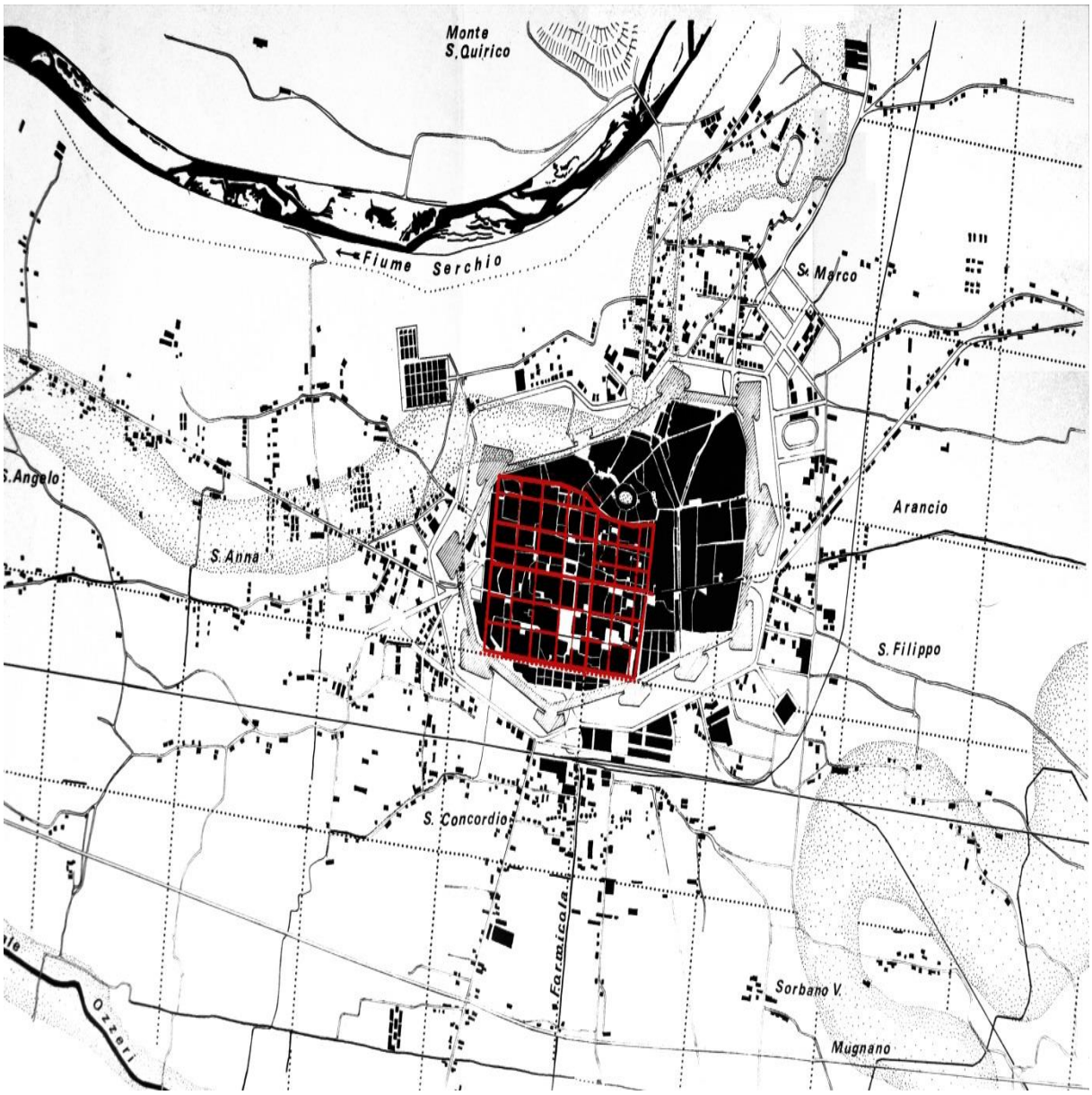

Figure 13.[187]

Luca is located at the west of the plain of the river Serchio in the direction of Firenze-Pisa, little to the east of a small road to Filettole. Here the complex of the Monte Pisano with the highest top of the Monte Serra almost touches the southern foothills of the Apuani Alps, that descends into the riverbed of the Serchio, a river which probably occasionally threatened to flood Luca. Behind the small road of Filettole the low and homogenous plain of Luca widens. It was consequently a difficult area to drain, since it retained features of the original marshland.[188] Luca owned vast land in the territories of Veleia, Placentia, Parma and even in the mountains, bequeathed by a certain Gaius Attius Nepos.[189] The territory around Luca had been made directly available for the colonists by a great program of centuriation, which included the drainage of the total surrounding area. The

[187] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 113).
[188] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 17).
[189] Häussler (2013, 157); *CIL* (XI, 1147); cf. Crawford (1985, 339-40).

countryside of Luca shows perfectly coordinated centuriation patterns (see Figure 13). A decisive element for dating of the land division may be formed by the chronological clarification of the oldest archaeological evidence documented in the city centre: the city walls. Other traces of centuriation have been made visible by aerial photography. Three plots of land have been investigated in this manner, and they have shown that individual plots seem to be a little on the small side in Luca, namely 'only' circa 35 meters (= 1 actus), which is close to 6,5 iugera.[190] Such a rate would not be fair compared to other Latin colonies, found in around the same period (like Aquileia where the rate was 50 iugera).[191]

The monumental testimonies from Luca itself during the Roman phase are very scarce, because of the intense and continuous inhabitation and building activities of the city long after the conquest, which have caused that the antique structures to become almost completely erased.[192] The streets of Luca preserved a rectangular chessboard pattern, without showing clearly its full extent.[193] This caused Luca to be called "*a purely Roman urban type colony"* by Castagnoli.[194] However, for the northern gate, as well as the main axis from north to south, there is some uncertainty on their respective locations. This explains why in different maps, the *cardine massimo* from north to south lies more to the east or to the west, as can be seen when comparing Figure 14 and Figure 15.[195]

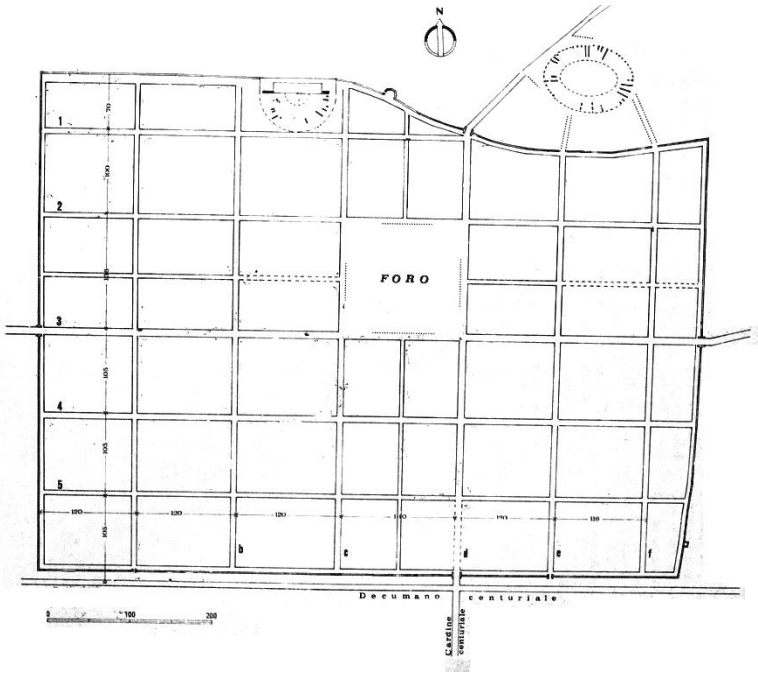

Figure 14.[196]

[190] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 8-9).
[191] Ibidem.
[192] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 47).
[193] Häussler (2013, 157); *CIL* (XI, 1147); cf. Crawford (1985, 339-40).
[194] *"Le osservazioni del Castagnoli valgono soprattutto per inserire Lucca nel'ambito di una tipologia urbanistica squisitamente romana"*, Castaglioni (1957, 91 ssg.); cf. Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 85-6).
[195] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 21).
[196] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 105).

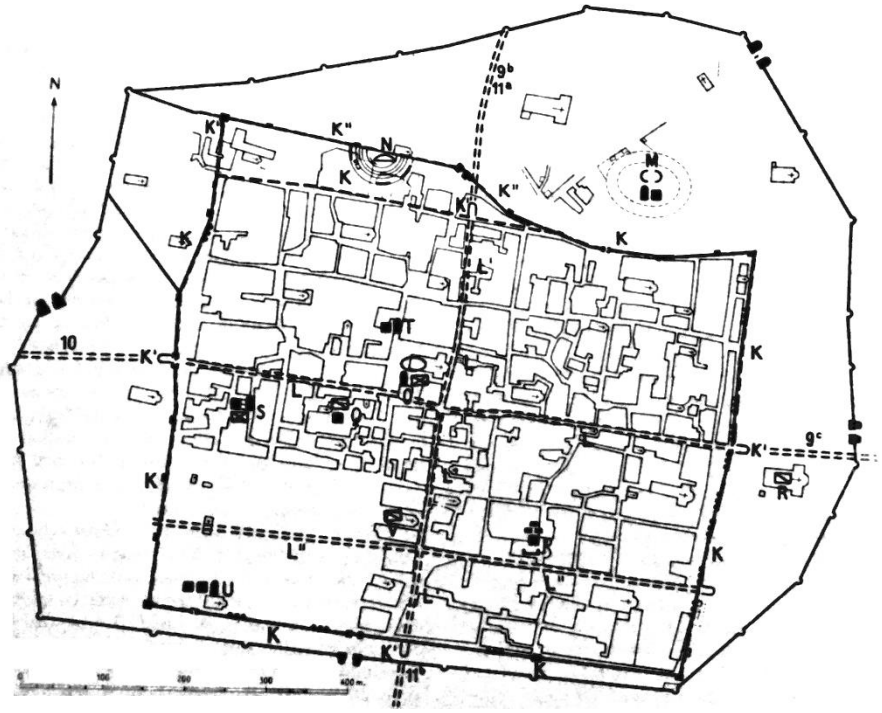

Figure 15.[197]

As can be viewed in Figure 13, a small stream of the river Serchio ran from the north to the east of the city. This branch, although it does not exist anymore, was probably partly regularized, and had both drainage and defensive functions. This stream made that the city walls of Luca were not built in a regular square form, but that was slightly dented in the northeast. Although Luca was founded in a clutter of branches of the river the *Auser*, it held a central position in the plain, and its location was very suitable to block direct attacks out of the mountains. Nonetheless, due to potential threat, some towers seems to have been necessary, which on the eastern and southern gate had been excavated in the years 2002 and 2003.[198]

The settlement of Luca consists of a rectangular area about 700 yds. from east to west and 360 yds. from north to south, divided into fifteen relatively square '*insulae*' arranged in three rows. Each insula is about 3 acres, with the middle row being larger than the rest (150 x 150 yds.). Whether there were other insulae besides the fifteen is doubtful. On the east there were certainly none: the two narrow parallel streets at the east end of the area are obviously due to a growth of houses along the line of the original east wall. The other limits are more obscure.

It is probable that the north and west walls stood a little outside of the current Via Galli Tassi (once S. Pellegrino) and the Via S. Giorgio, but there may well have been a row of insulae, now obliterated, south of the Via del Battistero. There are just one or two interior buildings known. The current Via S. Croce which runs along the south side of this row was perhaps the *decumanus maximus*, which ran from the east side to the west side of the city. The southern side of the city walls leans on a *decumano* and ends where nowadays the Corso Garibaldi lies. It is very likely that the limits of the southern Roman wall was affected by a small river which was formed by the gentle

[197] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 22). The outer city walls and the houses are constructions from the Medieval period.
[198] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 17-8).

slopes of the urban terrain.[199] The Forum appears to have stood where is now the Piazza S. Michele in Foro. Close to the Forum was a temple, and in the north-eastern quarter, at the current Piazza del Carmine, stood probably the theatre. Near the theatre, but outside the walls, was the amphitheatre, its outlines are still visible in the current Piazza del Mercato (see Figure 16).[200]

Figure 16.[201]

Like the theatre and the Forum, there is little known about the amphitheatre. However, what can logically be recognized on the basis of Figure 13, is that the latter must have been constructed after the branch of the river Serchio shifted or dried up. According to Sommella and Giuliani, the amphitheatre must therefore have been constructed circa three centuries after the founding of the colony.[202]

On the houses in Luca, there is even less information known by the lack of archaeological material. What is clear, is that Luca encountered a fast transition from temporal (improvised) constructions of wood for the settlements to the typical Italian *domus* structure, which can be seen some years later. The structure of the buildings marks the application of patterns, which are common in central south Italy from the 3rd to 2nd century BC. from Lucania (Tolve) to Sannio (Cercemaggiore), but also in Etruria (Villa Sambuco). Furthermore, it can be attributed to the arrival of the colonist of Italian origins, who's traces are visible in the onomastics of the imperial period. As is already mentioned earlier, there were also Ligurians present as settlers in the colony. This has

[199] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 16).
[200] Cf. Haverfield (1913).
[201] As can be seen, the amphitheatre has been transformed into residential buildings. Piazza del Mercato is 110 x 80 yds. in greatest dimensions. Figure found on http://www.winkworth-international.com, viewed on 24/06/'14.
[202] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 61).

been suggested by the archaeological evidence from (mainly) the mountain area, which runs from the middle of the valley of Serchio to the valley of Lima, to Valdinievole, and finally to the neighbouring territory of Pistoia; excavations in necropoleis in the area from the 2nd century BC. have shown typical Ligurian grave goods and clothing shown, like antique 'biconian' urns, used by the Apuani, as well as ceramics. The necropoleis testify that clothing of women until the mid-2nd century BC. has remained mainly the same, since it shows hardly any significant change in types of buckles, belts, and brooches from the traditional clothing one century earlier.[203] However, this does not need to be much of a surprise, since many sociocultural changes (like change in dress) probably occurred in or after the 1st century BC.

From the floodplains of the two branches of the river Serchio, some instances of rare ceramic mixtures (in Via dell'Arancio) and of *vernice nera* (in Via dell'Arnacio, and in Via S. Paolino), the latter dating back to the chronological limit of the colonial structure of the city, have been found. From the little archaeological evidence we may conclude that in the plain of Luca there were multiple dispersed aggregates. Such an assumption would certainly seem more consistent with the systems of the pre-Roman populations living in the Apennines and Cisalpina, rather than with organized aggregates of the urban type which we have to assume for Etruscan centres known to us. This is in accordance with Sommella and Giuliani, who argue that Luca has always 'gravitated' towards the cultural environment of the north, instead of towards the south (Etruria). This, in turn, may also be indicated by the meeting held in Luca in 56 BC., where Ceasar, Pompeus and Crassus discussed matters concerning Cisalpina.[204]

4.2 Luna

"Consider Luni, Urbisaglia, think
How they have passed away, consider how
Chiusi and Senigallia follow them,

You will not think it strange or wonderful
To hear how families come to an end,
Since even cities have their term of life."[205]

Luna (modern day Luni) was a new type of colony, a citizen, or Roman colony (*colonia civium Romanorum*).[206] The colony was founded by Marcus Emilius Lepidus, Publius Elius Tubero(ne) and Gneus Sicinius, in the spring of the year 177 BC.[207], and received 2,000 settlers.[208] During this year

[203] Sommella and Giuliani (1974, 7).
[204] Ibidem.
[205] Dante (*Paradiso*, 16, 73-8). Translation from Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 247).
[206] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 40, 2, 13). Because of this, its citizens obtained full civil rights and could enjoy their own political and religious organisations. Cf. Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 247).
[207] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 41, 13); Durante (2004, 455-6). The first traces of Romans in the area can be dated back to 225 BC. Cf. Gambaro (1999, 102).
[208] The amount of colonists can be ascribed to the amount of adult males, while the total amount of colonists would have been between 8,000 and 9,000. Cf. Lavizzari Pedrazzini (1987, 257, note 12); Gambaro (1999, 71). Nonetheless, the number of citizens was much larger than was usual in ancient maritime colonies. In Luna there were, besides *coloni*, also attestations of *incolae*, which implies that there existed two communities within the same colony. Cf. Häussler (2013, 156, 182); *CIL* (V, 1341, 1346f). However, as the antique sources

the war between the Romans and the Ligurians was still in progress and the Senate had to face the difficult problem of the distribution of farmland to Roman citizens (war veterans).[209] There were significant parcels of centuriated lands assigned to all the individual families.[210] Each of the two-thousand Roman citizens participating in the allotment received fifty-one and a half *jugera* of farmland, i.e. about 13 ha, for a total extension of 250 km^2. As a comparison, the settlement itself covered a surface of about 39 ha.[211] The *Triumviri*, P. Elius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and C. Sicinius were in charge of land assignment which could be carried out only after the deportation of the Apuani into Samnium.

Looking at the relation between the urban street grid and the centuration pattern, it might be indicated that an area was centuriated prior to the city's foundation or, perhaps more likely, that an existing settlement was reorganised. In the case of Luna, the orientation of the city is 20 NE-SE, and the orientation of the territory is also 20 NE-SW.[212] It is therefore plausible that a substantial part of the area of study was already centuriated before the colonisation, traces of which have somehow disappeared by now.[213] Traces have been found of two different periods of colonisation. The first centurial division is made up of rectangular grids coinciding with the road network, whereas the second shows wider square grids.[214] Situated on the eastern coast of the large opening of the *Portus Lunae* in the mouth of the river Magra and near the earlier Iron Age cemetery of Ameglia,[215] the colony was built on low-lying flat ground, close to the ancient coastline of the Tyrrhenian Sea and overshadowed by hills where the imperial marble quarries of Carrara were located. We view Luna as being part of Liguria, although it became part of the Augustan *region VII Etruria*, since it lies close to the boarder of pre-Roman Etruria. Furthermore, as Livius mentions: "*De Ligure captus is ager erat, Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat"* [*"This field was captured (by the Romans) from the Ligurians, having previously belonged to the Etruscans before them (the Ligurians)"*].[216] The only document giving any indication of the borders of the territory assigned to the colony at the moment of the allotment, is a passage by Livius concerning a dispute about a plot of land which took place in 168 BC. against the citizens of Pisa.[217] By interpreting the name as *Lunenses* (inhabitants of Luna) rather than *Lucenses* (inhabitants of Luca), it results that the colony's territory bordered the Pisa territory near the village of Pietrasanta to the south-east, whereas the northwest border coincided with the course of the river Magra. In the Augustan period, the river was the border between Etruria, to which the ancient Luna belonged, and Liguria, even if some farmland plots may have been located beyond the border.[218]

Luna is strategically bounded to the Latin colony of Luca and functioned as a logistic and strategic basis in the form of a *praesidia*, for military campaigns (mainly against the Apennin tribes), as well as a natural harbour from which to control the route to Marsiglia and the Iberian peninsula.[219] Besides

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mention the *coloni* and the *incolae,* there is silence among the possibility of indigenous peoples as settlers in Luna, an idea which therefore may be rejected. Cf. Gambaro (1999, 123).

[209] Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 247).

[210] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 41, 16, 5); Gambaro (1999, 71).

[211] Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 247).

[212] Häussler (2013, 160).

[213] Or otherwise would be difficult to identify in a hilly countryside. Cf. Häussler (2013, 161).

[214] Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 248).

[215] Talbert (1985, 89).

[216] Livy (*Ab Urbe condita*, 41, 13); Translation from Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 247); Häussler (2013, 19).

[217] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 45, 13, 10-1).

[218] Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 248).

[219] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 41, 13, 4); Gambaro (2007, 172).

the access to a natural harbour, founding a Roman colony here prevented the Ligurians from interrupting the coastal communications between Pisae, Genua and Massilia. It also controlled the crossing of the river Macra, and helped Parma to dominate the Cisa pass over the Apennines. It was admirably situated to prevent Ligurian entry into the Serchio valley that lies between the Apuan Alps and the Apennines.[220] Due to the role of this colony as a buffer zone, it is not surprising to find that the colonial elite was mostly of external origin and that the colony, as well as its inhabitants, bore little relationship to the pre-Roman situation.[221]

Recent archaeological excavations have shown that in the pre-Roman situation a phase of indigenous settlement can be found on the location of the later colony of Luna, which can be characterized by its temporary structure. Traces of huts, tents, horses and a wooden palisade have been found, which can be dated to the end of the 3rd, and beginning of the 2nd century BC., just before the foundation of the colony. [222]

The importance of the urban settlement was due, at least at the beginning, to the extremely good location of the harbour. The *Portus Lunae*, as already briefly mentioned, was a natural harbour,[223] and was probably Etruscan, until the Romans took control over it in 236 BC., during the military campaigns of Lentulo.[224] Later on, the exploitation of local marble which was called '*Lunense*' made the harbour trade flourish and the colony probably expanded noticeably around 39 BC.[225] This kind of marble, which had been used locally since the 2nd century BC, started to be widely utilised at the time of Julius Caesar and was intensely exploited during the reign of Augustus. In that period most of the public buildings in Rome and practically everywhere in Italy were built using marble form Luna. It is because of Luna's marble trade, that the first three centuries of the Roman Empire can be said to have been particularly prosperous for Luna, which reached its apex during the age of the Antonines. For that period, archaeological remains have shown that a new surge in public building started with important works such as the reconstruction of the 'Great Temple', the restoration of the 'House of the Mosaics' and the reconstruction of the amphitheatre, still recognisable today, whose capacity was calculated at about 7000 places. The amphitheatre, dating to the 2nd century AD., was built according to the second type of centurial division which is therefore considered the most recent.[226]

Excavations in Luna have brought to light a theatre, an amphitheatre, the Capitolium and probably another temple, as well as some *domus* from the elite class. Most of these can be easily paralleled with standard types of Roman architecture (even if the public building on the south side of the Forum square still awaits a convincing interpretation and reconstruction).[227] Luna's public archaeology can be seen as a miniature Rome, which was planted in a previously non-urbanized area.

[220] Salmon (1933, 33-4).
[221] Terrenato (2001, 61).
[222] Gambaro (2007, 172-3).
[223] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 40, 43, 1); Frova (1973).
[224] Gambaro (1999, 102).
[225] Pegna (1964).
[226] Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 248).
[227] Rossignani (1985: 12-6).

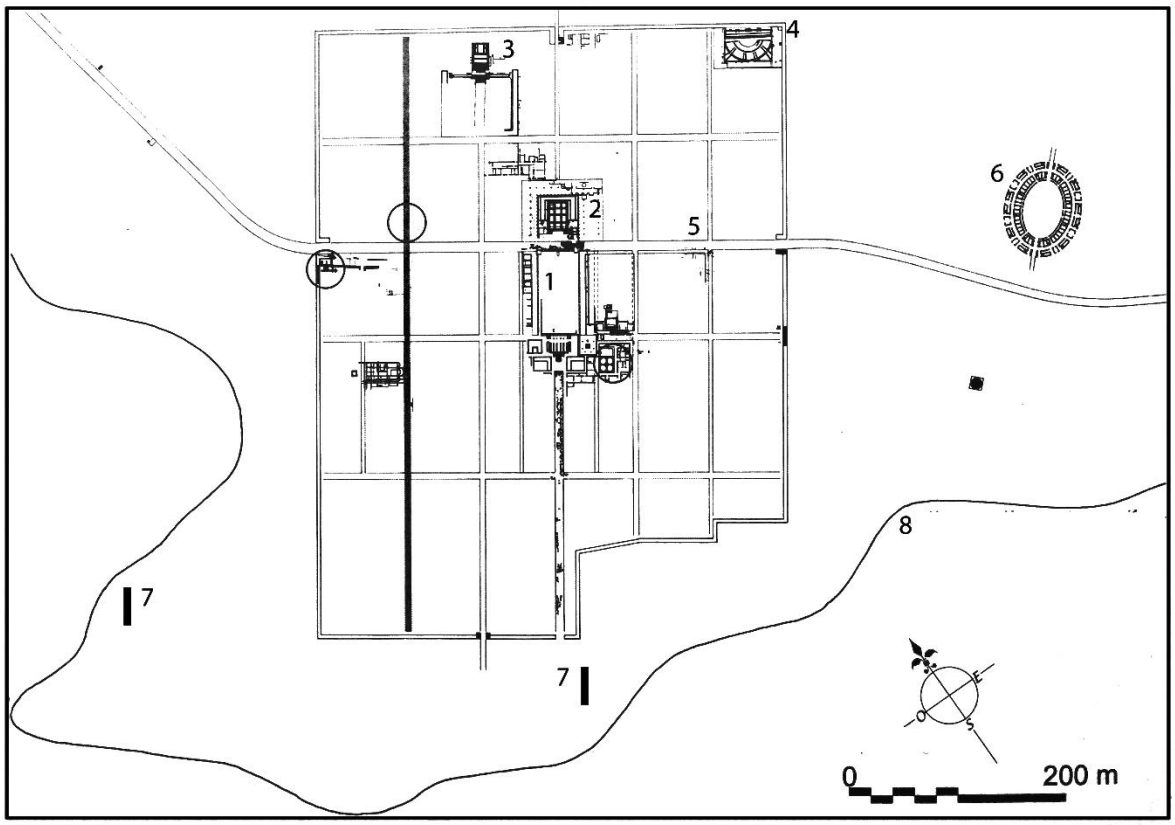

Figure 17.[228]

The town plan, as seen in Figure 17, is demarcated by its wall in a rectangle, within which can be found a regular grid of streets. In the overall pattern, just like in the case of Luca, it can be seen that Luna does not have a neat rectangular form. This is because on the south side, the city was formed after the ancient coastline and wharfs (see Figure 17). In the northwest sector of the urban settlement, some surveys had brought into light the '*cardine minore*' and the '*decumano massimo*', which are the two main streets, as well as the western gate (see Figure 18).[229]

[228] Gervasini, Durante, Gambaro, and Landi (2007, 164); Talbert (1985, 89). With adaptations by L. Snijders.
Legenda:
1. Forum
2. Capitolium
3. Temple
4. Theatre
5. Via Aurelia
6. Amphitheatre
7. Wharfs
8. Ancient coast line

[229] Gervasini, Durante, Gambaro, and Landi (2007, 165).

Figure 18.[230]

The identified public buildings include a forum –centrally placed, as was customary- the Capitolium, and a covered theatre. Richly decorated private houses have also been excavated. Outside the town was an amphitheatre, while on the south near the coast there are traces of wharfs. These port facilities were of particular importance for the export of marble, cheese and other goods, as well as for the import of items such as oil and wine from Spain, north Africa and elsewhere. Although the forum was out of use by c. 400 AD., the long-distance trading contacts remained active for much longer.[231]

Interestingly, there is an account of a person, M. Emilio Scauro, which seems to be the benefactor of Luna, by organizing (and paying for) the reconstruction and (partly) construction of some *domus* in the central part of the city in the 1st century BC. This form of euergetism can be related to the birth of a local prosperous class, which is said by Gambaro to be connected to the industrial exploitation of the marble quarries, after the legislative reforms of 90-89 BC.[232]

What makes the extent of Romanization difficult to decide, is that in the Luna area typical indigenous Ligurian art is virtually non-existent. Theatre and basilica of Luna are practically indistinguishable in their style.[233] However, different structures and deposits in the layers of the soil of Luna, as well as different monuments, may provide some answers. Archaeological excavations have identified different levels of construction, related to two construction techniques (see Figure 19): US 452 containing shards and scraps of limestone blocks and US 440 with fragments of bricks in mortar.

[230] Western gate of Luna, Sector *W, A3*- survey *A4*: the eastern city-walls. Gervasini, Durante, Gambaro, and Landi (2007, 165).
[231] Talbert (1985, 89).
[232] Gambaro (2007, 173).
[233] Terrenato (2001, 58); Rossignani (1985, 60, 72, 113).

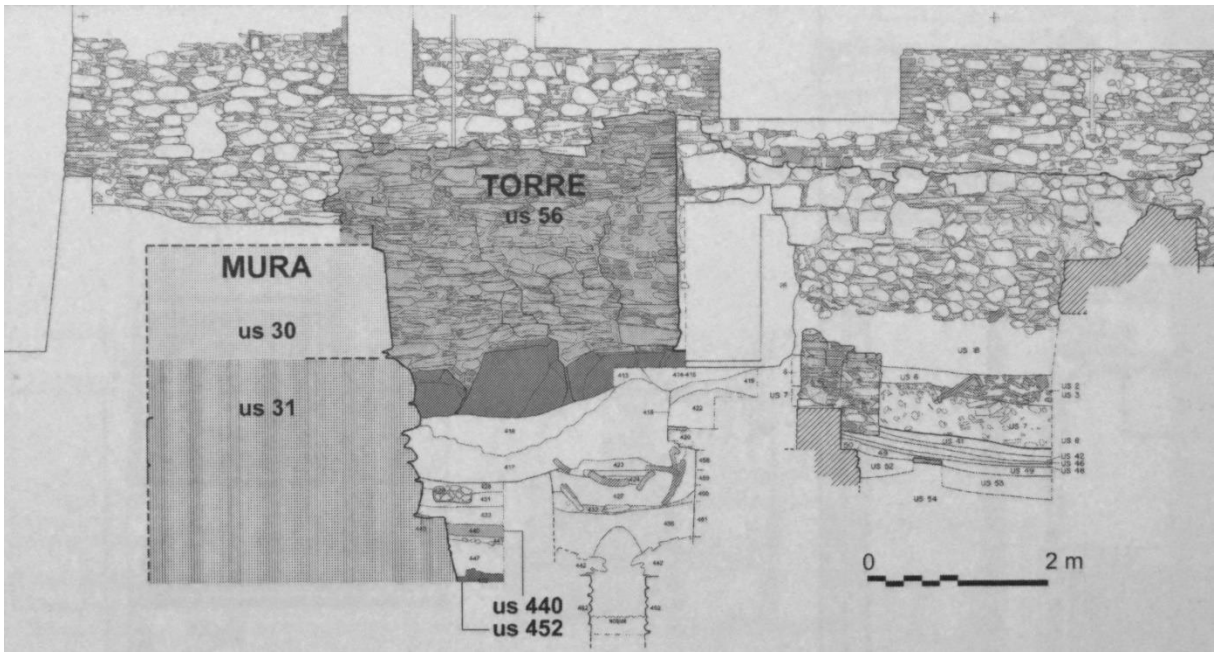

Figure 19.[234]

The layers above the floor of the construction site US 452, contained three artefacts: a rim of the cup in *vernice nera*; a bottom of a cup with *vernice rossa* of which the production is uncertain; and a rim of a late Greek-Italian amphora, made in the first half of the 2nd century BC. Between level US 440 and US 433, we find northern Campania and north Etruscan artefacts, as well as *vernice nera*. Other imports consist of Iberian products (for example grey ceramic from the Catalan coast). A high percentage of local coarse pottery (ceramic *grezza da fuoco*) from the traditional Ligurian type, as well as some wine amphorae from the Tyrrhenian area were also encountered. The data therefore confirms the construction of the defence wall at the time of the founding of the colony and the restructuring at the end of the 2nd century BC., while other pottery found in the levels of the foundation can be dated back to the end of the Julio-Claudio/Nero period, which is also characterized by several building renovations.[235] In the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st centuries BC, these building renovations took place on a large scale in the urban centre, which comprise public, as well as residential buildings. However, a precise chronology cannot be given.

The capitolium and the 'great temple' were both constructed soon after the foundation of Luna.[236] The capitolium was further monumentalised during the Augustan period and was further surrounded by a *porticoe* in the reconstructions of the 1st century AD.[237] A reconstruction has been made of the great temple (see Figure 20).

[234] Western gate of Luna. Sector W, *A3*- survey *A4*: section *E-W*. Gervasini, Durante, Gambaro, and Landi (2007, 165).
[235] Gervasini, Durante, Gambaro, and Landi (2007, 163, 165).
[236] There were three *cellae* for Rome's Capitoline triad.
[237] Häussler (2013, 253).

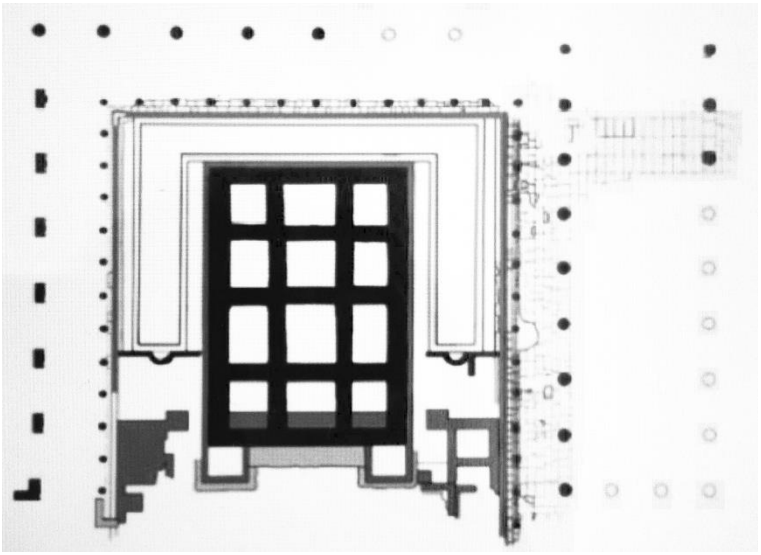

Figure 20.[238]

Even if we have temples, we are generally badly informed about the deities who were worshipped there.[239] There are just a few indications which show the presence of worshipping the divinity/cult of Luna in the great temple construction, built in the years immediately after the founding of the colony of the same name, close to the northern city-walls. The great temple had been restructured in the advance of the imperial period. A figure of Diana/Luna[240] was found that adorned the large plaque which decorated the clay coating columns of the temple in the first phase. Two long torches found in gilded bronze in the temple – a deposition likely to be seen contextually with the clay coatings, made during a renovation of the building of the cult- have attributes which must be recognised as Diana's/Luna's. Another dedication to the same deity was written on marble which supported a votive object (maybe a column), ordered by L. Titinio Petriniano, who was part of the ruling class of Luna in the 3rd century B.C.

The indication of the existence of a female cult in Liguria is furthermore suggested by the attitude of M. Emilio Lepido, one of the consuls in 187 B.C., who, during the military operations against the Ligurian Apuani and Friniati, dedicated a temple to Diana/Luna. Afterwards, but before the final battle, he dedicated another temple to Juno/Lucina in 179 BC.[241] Some scholars have seen this as a manifestation of the Greek culture – like the Greeks had invoked the help of Artemide in the course of the Persian Wars, he invoked Diana during the bloody battles against the Ligurians -, others interpret the dedication to Diana as the evocation of a cult ingrained in the territory which was the scene of the most violent clashes. The two positions might still complement each other: the recognition of a strong local cult might have determined his dedication to these divinities of the Greco-Roman pantheon whose characters lent themselves to assimilation: Artemide/Diana and

[238] Häussler (2013, 253).
[239] Häussler (2013, 278).
[240] In the Roman pantheon the cult of Luna is known for her agrarian character of the archaic religion and is prior to the identification with Diana. The goddess is worshipped also in the Etruscan area, like is attested in a bronze group from the end of the 4th century BC., depicting the goddess driving her chariot, found close to Chianciano Terme, in the territory of Chiusi, in a sanctuary dedicated to Tivs/Luna, built near a spring of healing waters and frequently visited from the Archaic period onwards.
[241] Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 39, 2, 8-11; 40, 52, 1).

Juno/Lucina. The name of the colony of 177 B.C., which was imposed by the commission of the *triumvirale* (among which Lepido), would relate to the same deity. This shows that the original characteristics of this deity were clearly respected by the Romans.

Up to the 3rd century AD., Luna remained at the peak of its splendour, but between the 3rd and the 4th century AD. Luna entered a period of decline: the civil institutions, together with political and financial activity, began to be marked by decadence in accordance with the general trend common to the rest of the Roman Empire. According to Dolci, most of Luna's marble quarries which had been exploited in Roman times were completely abandoned by the 5th century AD.[242]

This period coincided with the troubles following the fall of the empire and the greater importance assumed by trade with the Middle East. Also Greek and Turkish marbles (from the island of Marmara) arrived in Ravenna and other ports of the Adriatic Sea and gradually substituted the Italian ones. Geochemical, isotopic and trace-element analyses, carried out on marbles from archaeological remains, showed that in this period marbles pillaged from previous monuments or imported from Greece and Turkey were utilised.[243]

At the beginning of the 5th century AD., Luna was in poor condition but the white-walled city could still be admired.[244] Finally, as elsewhere, the Roman monumental public buildings were plundered for stone and even demolished, the streets stopped being maintained and new buildings of wood were built on top of Roman stone structures.[245] Luna 'ended' in the 7th century AD., because of multiple factors: the Lombard conquest; the changing climatic conditions; the abandonment of agriculture; the silting-up of the port; and changes in economic and socio-political conditions could all have played a part.[246] The site was completely abandoned by the 13th century AD., clearing the way for intensive archaeological excavations.[247]

[242] Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 248).

[243] The only known example of late use of marble from Luna in northern Italy is the sarcophagus of Stilicon (380-390 AD.), which is located in the basilica of St. Ambrose in Milan. Cf. Bandini (1993); Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 248).

[244] As shown by the poet and magistrate Rutilius Namatianus in a short poem (*De reditu suo*) written during a sea journey towards Gallia in the year 416 AD.; cf. Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 248).

[245] Wickham (2005, 674).

[246] Pegna (1964); Mancini (1950); Fazzini and Maffei (2000, 249); Balzaretti (2013, 49).

[247] Cf. Balzaretti (2013, 48); Talbert (1985, 89).

5. Mechanisms of Romanization in Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca and Luna

Before the mechanisms of Romanization will be discussed for subsequently Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca and Luna, it is noteworthy to mention some of the obstacles or limits that can be found when drawing an analysis from information of the four cities from the previous chapters. First, when returning to Figure 2 on the types of Romanization models, we should keep in mind that these models are merely tools to describe the possibility in variety of Romanization. However, because of the local scope of this work, already two important models (model D: Interaction model and model E: Integration model) will be neglected in this conclusion. As already mentioned in 1.2 Models on mechanisms of Romanization, these two models could have been very interesting because of their interrelation, but these models are not feasible to investigate for the four 'modest' settlements in Liguria. What rests are merely the arrows which points in one direction, i.e. the exogenous or endogenous factors. A second merit by implanting these models on the four cities, is that a difference between model B. Self-Romanization model and model C. Elite-model would be difficult to note, since most long-lasting monumental structures and epigraphy would have been commissioned by a relatively wealthy elite, instead of by the whole community.

Another relevant (although it might be impossible to investigate) question is whether indigenous people saw themselves as Romans after the 'Romanization' and if they understood the original meaning of objects, rituals, dress and customs they adopted. They might even have been unaware of any conflict in their changing identity.[248] The use of Italo-Roman artefacts alone does therefore not automatically indicate social integration or a conscious expression of 'Romanitas'. This study is not sufficient in itself to make a statement about how the inhabitants of the four settlements in Liguria viewed themselves; as being Roman and/or Ligurian. This stands in close relationship to the question of cultural resistance by Ligurians. Cultural retardation might be considered to be a statement of resistance. However, in the Roman period, the evidence for cultural resistance is ambiguous as it consists of instances of persistence and cultural hybridisation in local cultures. However, as Häussler mentions, *"should we not expect to find persistence?"*.[249] This persistence need not mean any more than the continued validity and reinforcement of pre-existing social patterns and cultural models and their manifestation in material culture, implying a continued assertion of existing cultural norms that guided people's behaviour. Certainly it does not imply deliberate acts of refusal to accept Roman cultural values and artefacts. Under the Republic, indigenous material cultures could be expected to continue, to adapt and to evolve, while generations of indigenous social actors were negotiating with imperial structures, and a certain persistence (not resistance) is expected. From this perspective, it is the presence of cultural traits of Italo-Roman origin that would need an explanation.[250]

Furthermore, there seems to be a division in the Romanized geographical area. Many parts of inland Liguria indeed never appear to have been thoroughly Romanized, as Roman settlement was largely focused on the coast.[251] Since Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca and Luna are all settlements

[248] Curchin (2004, 122).
[249] Häussler (2013, 22, 24).
[250] Ibidem. Rome, in this respect, also has not one culture – there was no 'coherent' culture, neither Roman nor indigenous.
[251] With the exception of a few valleys, notably the Polcevera/Scrivia valley, north of Genoa. Cf. Häussler (2007, 62-4); Balzaretti (2013, 14-5).

in/close to the coast, they might have been Romanized 'up to the same extent'. The profitable location of all four cities, and therefore their ability to engage in overseas trade, has been the most important factor for acquiring their relative wealth, compared to the hinterland of Liguria. The four cities discussed here are therefore not representative for the whole of Liguria.

As for the previous remark of 'up to the same extent', it is uncertain what exactly can be seen as the final outcome of Romanization. Some scholars view the grant of Roman citizenship to the northern people in 90 BC. as the marked conclusion of the 'Romanisation', however, this event merely marked the beginning of a new and more intense phase of sociocultural developments as it catalysed people's social integrations, which in turn had an impact on the individuals' self-understanding and his/her public display of identity.[252] Augustus' 'cultural revolution' as a major motor of cultural change can also be largely excluded, since most transformations had already occurred prior to Augustus's autocracy.[253] It is therefore close to impossible to decisively give a thorough definition, besides the term 'Romanization' itself (as discussed in 1.1 The idea of Romanization), also of the 'final outcome of Romanization'. Furthermore, there is a difficulty in making statements about the speed in which different cultural aspects were Romanized. For example, if we take into account archaising trends in the funerary record, then it is logical to expect that the evidence lag behind societal developments by many years, perhaps even by a generation.[254] As a consequence, even though archaeological findings provide us with some scraps of information, we need to be aware of its underlying meaning and function in antiquity.

The latter is also the case for the differences in speed in changing sociocultural, economic, and political identities. A clear example is the distinction in speed between artefacts and functions based on gender. It is very plausible that women's roles and group identities were less subject to changing sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions and women were not faced with the same pressure to adapt their social functions as men. A clear example of this is the integration into the Roman army, hierarchy and economy in the 1st century BC. These matters seems largely to have been a man's affair. Men therefore probably had fewer cultural choices when adapting to new power and status symbols than women.[255] The same can be said for the variety of social groups; probably not all people were 'romanized' up to the same extent or in the same speed. This could depend on their social, economic, and politic role in society. A last much underestimated difference that might be seen, is the difference in speed between public and private spheres. Private spheres can be expected to have become 'Romanized' at a slower pace than public spheres. Therefore evidence of 'Romanized' objects or rituals found in the public sphere does not necessarily have to prove that a person, a family or a society as a community was intrinsically 'Romanized', and *vice versa*.

Almost conform the hypothesis[256] posed in 1.2 Models on mechanisms of Romanization, the settlement of Albingaunum can best be reconstructed via three of the models discussed in chapter 1.2: model A. Dominance model; model B. Self-Romanization model; and model C. Elite model or 'thin veneer' model. Model A, for example, can be applied when we find a diffusion of Latin toponyms of Roman lands throughout the territory of Albingaunum. This shows that they were very much active here, probably because of its convenient geography, which contributes to its economic

[252] Häussler (2013, 22).
[253] Häussler (2013, 309).
[254] Häussler (2013, 308).
[255] Häussler (2013, 133-4).
[256] This hypothesis contains that Albingaunum would have been Romanized at a relatively slow pace, and in accordance with model A. Dominance model, or model C. Elite model.

importance. This can be confirmed by the relatively long term of alliance with Rome, before having been granting the municipal status. It was only under Caesar when its inhabitants received the Roman citizenship and the city its municipal status, which indicate that Rome had for a long time no need to change their relationship which consisted of, after the Roman conquest of course, an alliance. Rome exploited and benefited from Albingaunum, and inserted its inhabitants in an imperial discourse, imposing fiscal, economic and political structures to which people had to adapt. By accepting 'conquered' Albingaunum into Rome's 'friendship' and making them allies, Rome offered incentives for collaboration and participation that would facilitate integration.[257] This integration was further stimulated by the imposition of a Roman-style administration in Albingaunum. On the other hand, models B and C could be in progress simultaneously, since Albingaunum appears to show signs of indigenous continuity, which means that there were internal factors or motivations in progress with the aim of becoming 'Romanized' (suggesting model B). Furthermore, a dedication found in Albingaunum to the local *civus optimus* shows that there probably existed some community (*koinè*) feelings, and that in the public sphere Latin was probably common in the 1st century AD., instead of the indigenous 'Ligurian' language. However, this does not have to mean that all people spoke Latin, since not everyone was literate, except for the elite (therefore suggesting model C). Another confirmation of model C is the allowance of members of the local 'bourgeoisie' in the city council (*ordo decurionum*), among whom were elected the magistrates. This implies that the elite could gain (or rather 'maintain'?) social superiority, although by the means of Rome. Before the Roman invasion their social prestige was visible in symbols and tools and weapons (as found in the indigenous pre-Roman necropoleis). These were no longer used, but public offices probably became more prestigious as the urbanisation continued.

It was expected in 1.2 Models on mechanisms of Romanization that Albintimilium would have become Romanized in the same way as Albingaunum.[258] However, the only comparison that can be made between those settlements is that Albintimilium, like Albingaunum, also shows signs of a mixture of models. The models applicable to Albintimilium are however slightly different; model A, Dominance model; model B, Self-Romanization model; and model F, New-elite model. Since the Roman conquest was so destructive on this settlement, the indigenous people who formerly lived here, abandoned the area. What is very characteristic of Albintimilium (and in accordance with the hypothesis) is that the process of Romanization of this city seems to have taken place in a relatively slow pace. It was not until 80 BC. that a Roman-style town with urban characteristics is to be found. This may be attested to the function of settlements as permanent military camps (*castra stativa*) in the end of 180 BC., which is a distinct possibility, as the city had been abandoned by its indigenous inhabitants. Albintimilium received the Ius Latii after the Lex Pompeia in 89 BC., and subsequently the Roman citizenship and an important road was constructed in 13 BC. (in the Augustan period), which all attest to model A. It was not before the 1st and the 2nd centuries AD. when the city finally underwent significant urban transformations, including monumental structures. In the tombs from this period, many products from central Italy and southern Gaul can be found, which confirms their active trade. The funerary inscription[259], found in Albintimilium, is very interesting as it dates to the actual period of transformation. Because the inscription is from the first half of the 1st century AD., it can be expected to be written in Latin, as it is. However, onomastics show that many of these names are (still) Celtic (Celtic names written in Latin), which suggests a double identity/transformation of

[257] Häussler (2013, 39).
[258] See footnote 256.
[259] *CIL* (V, 7813).

identity at that time. The family is said to hold the Roman citizenship, and the head of the family holds one of the two Roman *aedilis* functions. This is important, as it suggests that indigenous people were allowed to hold these functions (at least in Albintimilium), and there are even instances known when magistracies were performed by men of a lower class. Clear explanations of this are not given anywhere, however the possibility exists that this occurred because of a shortage of elite people to be able to fulfill these functions. If this would be the case, a non-elite societal group could gain a high-status in Albintimilium, which in turn would become the new elite (model F). Another possibility however is that the elite was not interested in fulfilling these tasks, which makes that these functions were not as highly valued or advantageous as we might think they were, in which case we arrive at model B.

Luca, the first of the analysed colonies, is much in agreement with the hypothesis in 1.2 Models on mechanisms of Romanization.[260] Luca colony shows predominantly signs of model A, the Dominance model, which may however be the result of a shortage of (archaeological) evidence. As a Latin colony, founded in 180 BC., it received the status of municipium in 89 BC., and full Roman civil rights. Inhabitants of the colony were not only owners of Roman citizenship, but also Pisani and Ligurians, as well as veterans. Onomastics show traces of Italian origins. As for Ligurians, some archaeological evidence was recovered in necropoleis from the 2nd century BC. which confirm their presence. Due to centuriation, these people received relatively small plots of land. Partly in contrast to the hypothesis, the possibility of settlers of Ligurian origin in Luca would have expected to slow down the process[261], which it did not. The Romanization of Luca is difficult to reconstruct, because there is not much archaeological evidence left from monumental buildings during the Roman period. This is because of the intense and continuous inhabitation and building activities in this area long after the conquest. It can only be said that Luca had a rectangular chessboard pattern, and that the amphitheatre must have been built three centuries after the founding of the city. What we can conclude on the basis of research on the houses, is that Luca encountered a fast transition (conform the hypothesis) from temporal constructions of wood to the typical Italian *domus* structure. A part of the building construction has close connections to the ones in central and south Italy from the 3rd to the 2nd centuries BC., although other factors, like the division into multiple dispersed aggregates, seem to suggest that Luca was, on the contrary, much more 'gravitated' towards the cultural environment of the north. Altogether, it seems contradictory that Luca seems to have been 'Romanized' rather quickly by external forces (i.e. model A), while consisting of different groups of people from various backgrounds. Nonetheless, the actual speed of Romanization itself can hardly be measured in the case of internal and personal responses. The only evidence of the latter can be found in necropoleis, were traces of indigenous women's dress (which would supposedly have been transformed later than men's) have been found. This provides evidence for an unchanged 'dress code' up to the mid-2nd century BC., which is relatively early and therefore difficult to view as extraordinary. However, considering the relative fast Romanization of Luca itself, it means that in the

[260] This hypotheses for the colonies would be that they would become 'Romanized' relatively fast, since colonies were placed by Rome in conquered territories (according to model A. Dominance model). The difference between the types of colonies may have had consequences for the models of Romanization they encountered, for it can be assumed that the number of colonists and their origin would have played a major role in the determination of the subsequent applicable models (i.e. many colonists would probably refer to model A. Dominance model, while few colonists would give way to model B. Self-Romanization model. Furthermore, colonists from Ligurian origin would probably slow down the process of Romanization, because of their wish to maintain their 'indigenous culture', in contrast to settlers of non-Ligurian origin).

[261] See previous footnote.

private sphere, or at least within the female private sphere, indigenous characteristics could persist, which still supports model A.

Conform to the hypothesis as proposed in 1.2 Models on mechanisms of Romanization[262], the new type of citizen/Roman colony of Luna (founded in 177 BC.) became 'Romanized' relatively fast, although it shows characteristics of not only model A. Dominance model, but also of model F. New-elite model. The fast pace in which Luna become Romanized is probably due to its small number of settlers (2,000 *coloni* and *incolae*), which consisted of war veterans and their families, while receiving significant parcels of centuriated lands. Another reason for its relatively fast 'Romanization' processes can be traced back to the nature of the colonists; because Rome had much interest in the city's strategic, military, and economic advantages, Rome made Luna a *praesidia* (model A), and due to Luna's function as a buffer zone, it is not surprising to find that the colonial elite was mostly of external origin and the colony, as well as its inhabitants, bore little relationship to the pre-Roman situation. Because of the distant relationship the settlers of Luna had with pre-Roman Liguria, its fast Romanization processes would not have come as a great surprise. It would be expected that it would therefore be difficult to find many 'typical' Ligurian characteristics in this site. This is however not the case, since traces of indigenous settlement from the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd centuries BC., prior to the foundation of the colony, have been found.[263] Due to the exploitation of local marble from the marble quarries of Carrara and the trade of this product, the city gained much wealth, and as a result could afford to restore and reconstruct much of the monumental buildings in the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st centuries BC. A theatre, an amphitheatre, the Capitolium, and the Great Temple, all show signs of a standard type of Roman architecture. Another consequence of the exploitation of the local marble, is that there are signs of an emergence of a new elite group in the 1st century BC., who participated in euergetism. This meant that they were the ones who paid for a lot of the monumental (private, as well as public) (re)constructions. This instance may have been in line with the birth of a local prosperous class, connected to the industrial exploitation of the marble quarries. As already explained in 2.3 Liguria romana, they were given possibilities to rise due to the new circumstances created by the legislative reforms of 90-89 BC. as imposed by Rome.[264] It is very likely that the elite acquired status because of the simultaneous increasing importance of wealth display in the 1st century BC. meaning that their status was no longer dependent of their line of succession, but could achieve the elite-status by their newly acquired wealth (from the marble quarries). As these possibilities were introduced by Rome, the new elite would probably be more in favour of Rome than the old elite.[265] This event provides a good illustration of model F, where the new elite is the motor behind the Romanization processes. However, what makes the extent of Romanization difficult to decide for Luna, is that in this area typical indigenous Ligurian art is virtually non-existent (probably due to the origin of its inhabitants). One of the few things there can be said on the continuation of indigenous characteristics, is the fact that the cult of Luna persisted, although

[262] See footnote 260.

[263] Even though Luna was abandoned in the 13th century AD., which, in turn, made many intensive excavations possible.

[264] Part of the 'old elite' could also become the 'new elite', however, because of the legislative reforms after 89 BC., this status was now open to other strata of society.

[265] The 'old elite' might have become even more 'indigenous', as a reaction to the new elite, which became the '*nobilitas filoromana*'.

it became slowly assimilated to the Roman cult of Diana. However, this cannot be taken as a sign of resistance, since Rome was not accustomed to impose their religion on conquered peoples.[266]

As a conclusion, we have seen that the Roman conquest of Liguria in itself did not necessarily bring much change, but that change did come about some centuries later, mostly in the 1st century BC. The most important trigger, as described in 2.2 Roman conquest and changes, was probably the grant of Roman citizenship and the legislative reforms in 90-98 BC. (and in a wider sense the participation in Italy-wide society, economy, politics and warfare), which provided new opportunities to all strata of society in Liguria. These new opportunities in its turn undermined existing hierarchies and ideologies.[267] Furthermore, these opportunities created by Rome did not automatically mean that all strata of Ligurian society wanted to become a 'Roman', nor that they in fact became 'Roman'. Many subconscious developments were probably solely focused on the improvement of one's own position, rather than on Rome itself.[268] To find a pattern in the types of the four settlements is rather difficult; in all four cities, there were multiple interrelated factors in progress, external as well as internal, and every society had its own identity, its own complex societal and multi-dimensional structure, and its own relationship with Rome. Even if we assume that all four cities in Liguria would have been equally and fully 'Romanized' in the 1st century AD., they have become 'Romanized' by different mechanisms, models and speed. Therefore, as I hope to have shown, the models themselves are quite insufficient in their ability to explain or even describe the diversities of mechanisms of Romanization on a local scale in Albingaunum, Albintimilium, Luca and Luna. Only a wider research of local settlements in Liguria can determine if there exist a pattern between the types of settlements and their associated Romanization mechanisms in this region.

[266] Probably due to a variety of reasons; from the fear of resistance this might cause, to the lack of importance (for the Romans were aware that local indigenous cults would in time assimilate to Rome's).
[267] Häussler (2013, 140-1).
[268] Häussler (2013, 221-2).

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