ARRC – Acculturation, Romanisation, Roman Culture: Processes of Integration Across the Roman Empire

Edited by László Borhy, Kata Dévai, Linda Dobosi, and Csilla Sáró

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László Borhy – Kata Dévai – Linda Dobosi – Csilla Sáró

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Prestigious Roman homes built in Aeduan territory

The example of the peristyle houses at Bibracte (Mont-Beuvray, France)

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Abstract: The peristyle *domus* of Bibracte, built in the Aeduan capital at the beginning of the Augustan era, exemplify the process of Romanisation in the lifestyles and social customs of urban communities following the Gallic War. The Aeduan example is particularly noteworthy for its precocity, especially in the light of its geographical location north of the Alps, far from the Mediterranean sphere of influence. These *domus* are distinguished by their Roman-inspired plans, featuring a vast surface area exceeding 1,000 m^2 and organised around a central courtyard with peristyles. At Bibracte, such *domus* were built on the *oppidum* as early as 30 BC. Their introduction accompanied a veritable Romanisation of both public and private architecture within the town.

Keywords: Bibracte, Roman domestic architecture, *Domus*, Roman building techniques

Introduction

Located in Burgundy, in eastern France, the *oppidum* of Bibracte was the capital of the Aedui (Fig. 1; Fig. 2). Founded in 120 BC on the top of a hill (Mont-Beuvray), it was abandoned around the beginning of the Christian era in favour of Augustodunum, a town founded on the plain around 15 BC. Bibracte's town planning was characterised by an initial phase of timber-framed construction, which changed just after the Roman conquest of Gaul around 50 BC, with the construction of masonry buildings based on plans and techniques imported directly from Italy. This real architectural transition is particularly well illustrated in domestic architecture, with the construction of several vast *domus*, aristocratic urban houses that enabled the Aeduan elite to show off their new Roman lifestyle. This phenomenon is particularly remarkable for its precocity, as the construction of these Roman houses began as early as the Augustan period, especially considering that the region, unlike Gallia Narbonensis, was far from the main centres of Italian influence.

Plans

Having established the exceptional precocity of Roman-style domestic constructions in Bibracte, we now turn to the internal layouts of these houses to examine how Roman domestic designs were implemented locally. Thirteen *domus* plans are known at Bibracte, from excavations in the 19th

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century and from modern excavations since 1984. The documentation of these houses, therefore, varies considerably from one excavation to another. From the 13 *domus* built from the beginning of the Augustan era, eight were prestigious dwellings of over 900 m² and five smaller houses organised according to a modular plan. The floor plans of these houses can be divided into several categories.[2]

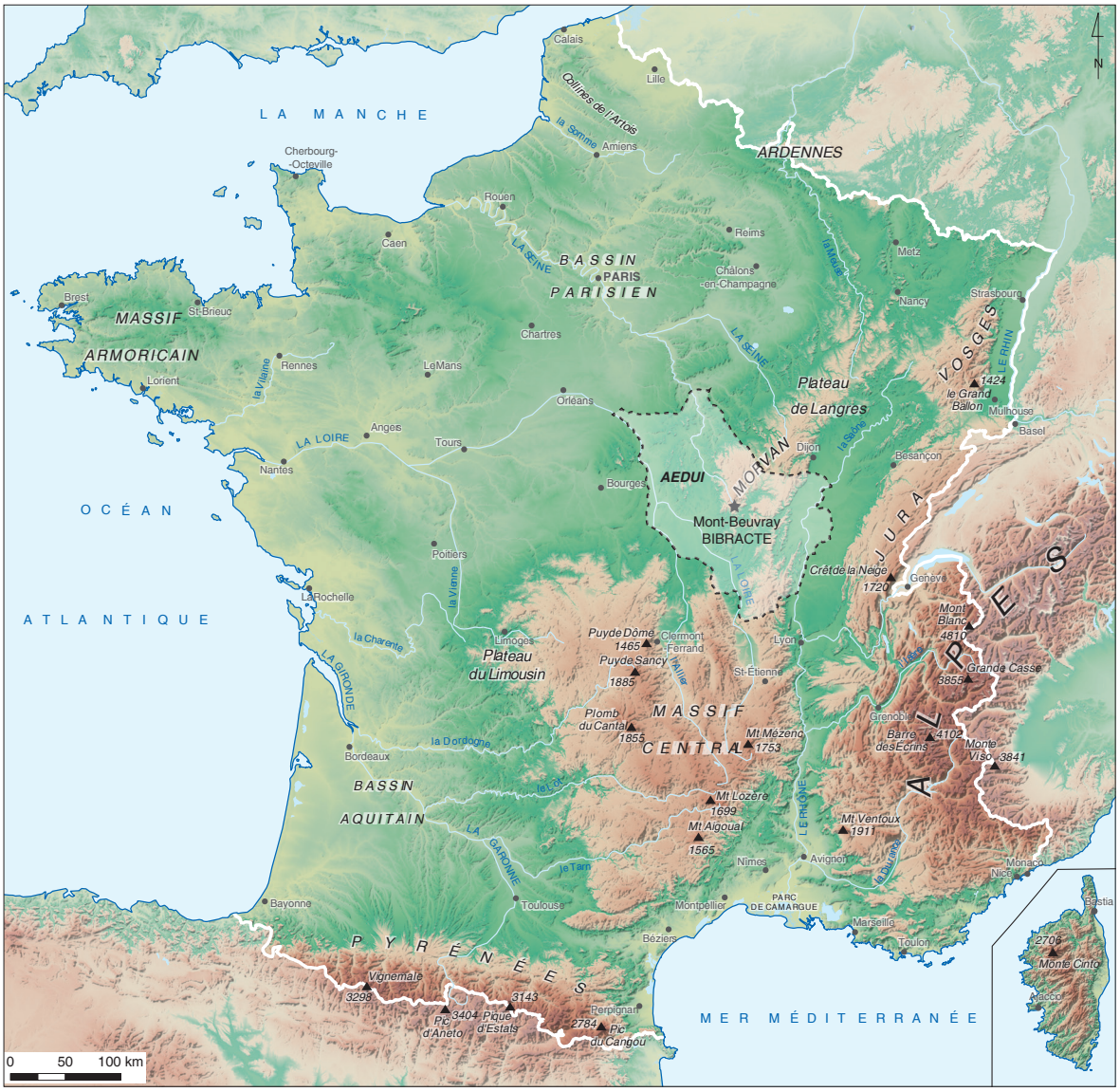


Fig. 1. Map of Aeduan territory in France (CAD A. Meunier, Bibracte).

The first category concerns houses with a developed plan: two buildings have a plan that is very similar to the Italic houses: Domus PC1 in phase 5[3] and Domus des Grandes Forges[4] (Fig. 3.a–b). There are several features in common with Vitruvius' recommendations and the Pompeian *domus*, especially in Domus PC1, with the development of the rooms around two successive courtyards, a cruciform atrium with *alae*, and an axiality from the entrance. In Domus PC1, the axiality of the plan is expressed through the alignment of the entrance, *atrium*, *tablinum*, perpendicular peristyle, and reception area. However, these two buildings still leave some questions unanswered: Domus PC1

2 These categories were initiated by Meylan 2005 and Luginbühl 2019.

3 Paunier – Luginbühl 2004.

4 Timár *et al.* 2006; Szabó *et al.* 2019.

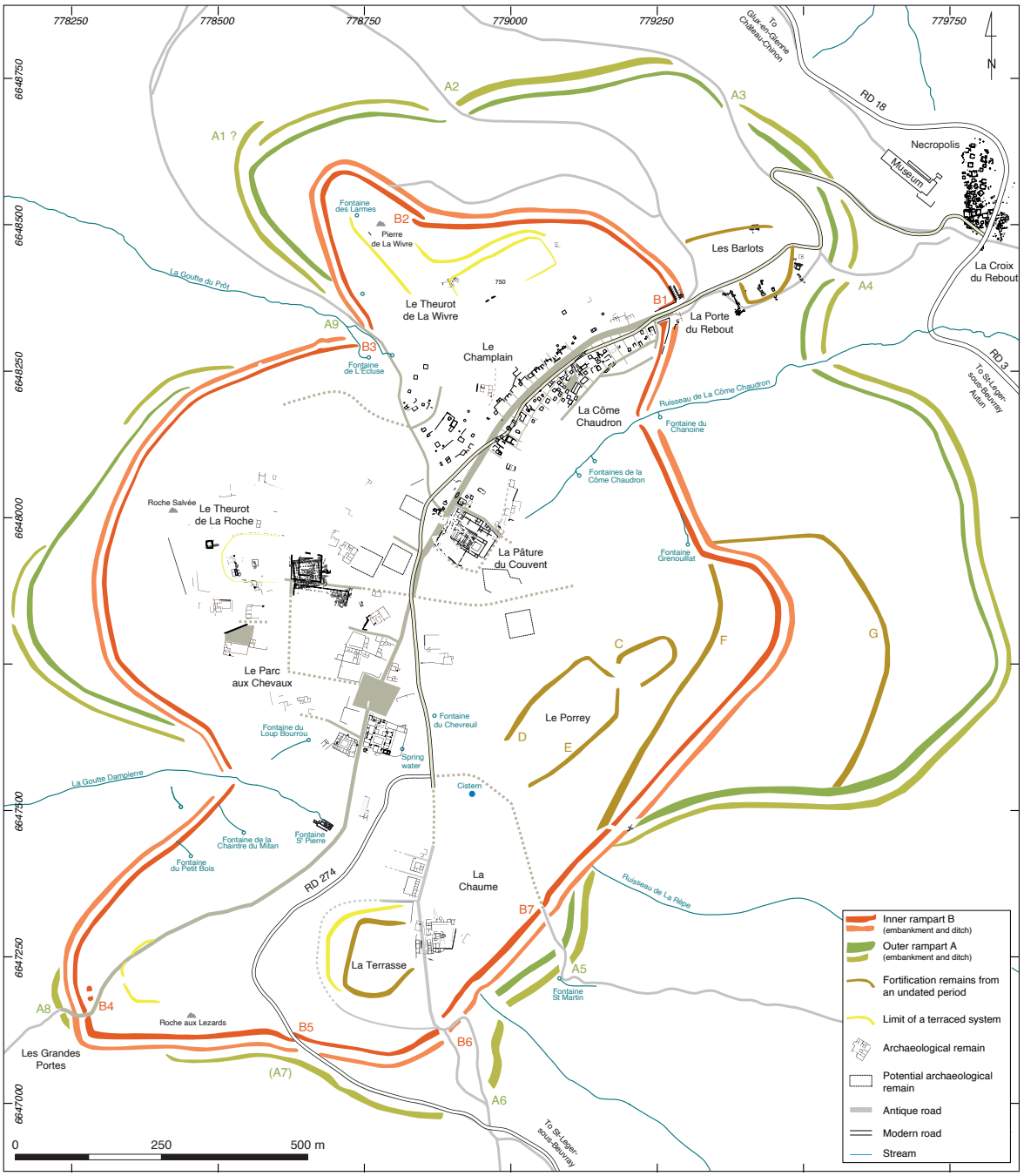


Fig. 2. Archaeological map of Bibracte (CAD A. Meunier, Bibracte).

is dated to the beginning of the Tiberian period, at a time when the *oppidum* already began to be abandoned. It therefore seems rather strange to build this kind of urban palace of over 3,000 m² in an almost empty town. As for the Domus des Grandes Forges, it was built on a former public building, which necessarily raises the question of its private status.

The second category is peristyle houses: the floor plan was organised around a single courtyard, which is a peristyle, and these houses had a vast surface area of 900 to 1,000 m² (Fig. 3.c–d). This peristyle floor plan can be found in southern Gaul from the middle of the 1st century,[5] so the construction of these peristyle houses at Bibracte, at the beginning of the Augustan era was very early

5 Gros 2017, 149.



Fig. 3. Plans of several *domus* at Bibracte (CAD C. Defer).

given its location north of the Alps. There are a few early examples in southern Gaul, for example the first phase of the Maison au Dauphin in Vaison,[6] and the Domus de la Sioutat in Roquelaure[7] dating from the Augustan era. The peristyle plan is quite rare in *domus* in Italy (with a few later examples in Ostia, such as the Domus Fulminata),[8] where the *domus* include an *atrium* and a peristyle, or just an *atrium* if there is a single courtyard.

6 Goudineau 1979.

7 Gardes *et al.* 2013.

8 Van der Meer – Stoger 2005.

The third category is houses with an *atrium*, and there is just one example at Bibracte: Domus PC33,[9] also dating from the Augustan period. It covers an area of 750 m² (Fig. 3.e).

The final category includes small modular houses with a front courtyard. These houses are built on a very uniform plot size of around 200 m², with a vast courtyard occupying two-thirds of the surface area (Fig. 3.f). The living area is at the back of the courtyard. This type of floor plan is comparable to Pompeian houses of type 4 as defined by Salvatore Nappo in 1997,[10] and can also be found in Gallia Narbonensis: houses from the Saint-Florent excavation in Orange[11] as well as in the context of Roman colonies. While it seems fairly obvious that the first three categories were inhabited by families belonging to the *oppidum*'s aristocracy, François Meylan proposed in his thesis that this last category of dwellings belonged to a wealthy bourgeoisie.[12]

There are several differences compared to the Italian model, indicating that these plans were adapted to some extent. In *domus* with a developed layout like Domus PC1 (Fig. 3.a), the *atrium* appears to have lost much of its original function. Rather than serving as a central core with many rooms opening onto it—as is typical in Italian houses—it primarily acts as a passageway to the peristyle, with few rooms connected directly to it. Additionally, the *atrium* opens onto several corridors, some leading to the rear of the two *alae*, a layout not found in Pompeian houses. In this context, the *atrium* seems to have taken a more symbolic role, serving as a marker of social status that the Aeduan elite sought to emulate: since the *atrium* was a significant space in Italian elite houses, the Aeduan elite reproduced it in their own homes. This means that *atria* may have been used in a slightly different way, as can be seen from the small number of *atrium* in the Bibracte *domus*: the peristyle was often preferred. Several reasons can be put forward to explain this change: it could be a question of the evolutionary perspective of the *domus* (we have already mentioned Ostia, which includes *domus* with peristyle from the 2nd century AD), since we have seen in domestic architecture in Italy an increase of the peristyle importance and the spaces associated with this type of courtyard since its introduction in the 2nd century BC.[13] There is also the question of climate: the *atrium* is well-suited to mild, Mediterranean climates, but this wide opening onto the interior of the house seems inadequate for colder climates. Finally, the social use of the *atrium* was probably less relevant in Aeduan society (even though clientelism was in use in their society according to Caesar).[14] The *atrium* did not have the same traditional symbolism among the Aedui as it did among the Romans, who had a particular attachment to this room due to its Etruscan ancestry,[15] unlike the peristyle which was of Greek origin. This preference for the peristyle over the *atrium* can be found at other Gallic sites besides Bibracte (Vienne and Narbonne for example).[16]

There were also a few differences in terms of access and internal circulation. Unlike the courtyards of Campanian houses, which are largely open to the street, this is not the case with Bibracte houses: there is a system of corridors and transitional spaces at Domus PC1 (Fig. 3.a), and several houses do not have direct access from the entrance to the courtyard: for example at Domus PC2 (Fig. 3.c), or at the Domus des Grandes Forges (Fig. 3.b): the peristyle with shops makes the transition from the street. This also shows that social uses have evolved to some extent. The use of numerous corridors at Domus PC1 perhaps implies an accentuated social divide within the domestic space: they enable

9 Déchelette 1904, 44–56; Meylan 2005, Vol. 3, 175–180.

10 Nappo 1997; Luginbühl 2019, 434.

11 Mignon 1996; Luginbühl 2019, 434.

12 Meylan 2005, Vol. 1, 74–91.

13 Gros 2017, 45.

14 Baray 2014.

15 Jolivet 2011, 181.

16 Gros 2017, 149.

people to go directly from one space to another without having to cross several rooms, so access to certain areas may have been very restricted. In the Roman *domus*, this notion of controlled access to different spaces was already present: for example, the position of the *tablinum* between the *atrium* and the peristyle allowed the *dominus* to watch over the access to the peristyle.[17] This consideration must have existed in Aeduan society, which could explain the rapid adoption of *domus* on Beuvray: the preoccupation with separating spaces and restricting access to certain areas is already present, and the layout of the *domus* was well suited to this.

Materials and building techniques

As with the plans, the construction methods employed in the *domus* at Bibracte were directly derived from Italic building traditions. These Roman-style houses were built using masonry construction techniques, with materials extracted locally:[18] the builders mainly used rhyolite, granite and microgranite from Mont Beuvray or the St Léger quarries located around ten kilometres from the site. Limestone was also used, mainly to make lime for mortars, but also occasionally as an architectural block. As the Mont Beuvray region is essentially granitic, this limestone comes from quarries located around fifty kilometres away, on the Châlon plateau.[19]

These materials were processed using Italic techniques. *Opus incertum* made with small blocks of rhyolite is the most common facing technique (Fig. 4.a). Some prestigious structures were built with *opus quadratum* made with granite blocks: the naviform basin in the town centre,[20] the outdoor basin in Domus PC1.[21] Mixed techniques were also used, combining *opus incertum* and *opus quadratum* for quoins, thresholds, door jambs, etc (Fig. 4.a–b). This mixed use is also found in Italy, including the Pompeian region. On Mont Beuvray, rhyolite is found in abundance, but it is very brittle and poorly workable. Builders therefore used granite to make dressed blocks.

Terracotta began to be used for roofing at Bibracte shortly after the Roman conquest. Based on the study of inclusions (granite sand), the tiles appear to have been produced on site, although the workshops have not been identified.[22] Tiles were also occa-



Fig. 4. Masonry made with *opus incertum* technique with small blocks of rhyolite in domus PC 2 (a) and *Opus quadratum* technique with granite blocks used for a quoin in domus PC2 (b) (photo by N. Scavone, University Bourgogne-Europe).

17 Jolivet 2011, 265.
18 Delencre – Garcia 2012.
19 Delencre – Garcia 2012, 368.
20 Almagro-Gorbea – Gran-Aymerich 1990; Borau 2020, 75–79.
21 Paunier – Luginbühl 2004, 117.
22 Delencre 2017, 121.



Fig. 5. Two uses of terracotta in the architecture at Bibracte. a – tile concrete in domus PC2, 2 – column brick from domus PC1 (photos by C. Defer and A. Maillier, Bibracte).

sionally used in the masonry to level the courses, as seen in Domus PC1 and PC2. Brick was also used on the site, especially for hypocausts and columns (Fig. 5.b). Most columns are made of rendered brick, but stone elements have been found as well in the first masonry building known at Bibracte, in the monumental centre. These consist of a limestone base and shafts made of stacked quarter-round and sixth-round blocks of granite and sandstone.[23]

The floor coverings in the *domus* of Bibracte also reflect Roman traditions: *opus spicatum*, various types of concrete floors, and mosaics are all present. It is important to note that the highly acidic sediments of Mt Beuvray have severely affected the preservation of these floors and mosaics. Most of the floors uncovered consist of concrete layers built upon a rubble stone foundation. These layers typically comprise lime mortar mixed with graded gravel or terracotta fragments (Fig. 5.a). Some tile concrete floors feature decorative inlays of shale and limestone *tesserae*.[24] This decorative technique is common in the Narbonensis region,[25] seen at sites such as Vieille-Toulouse, Serre-de-Brienne, and the Ermitage *oppidum*. Similar to the Gallia Narbonensis region, these types of floor coverings at Bibracte are not consistently associated with water features.

From a wooden town to a stone town?

The introduction of masonry techniques at Bibracte occurred without a real transitional phase concerning housing. These techniques were already mastered at the time of their introduction into the *oppidum*, and the nature of locally available materials influenced the choice of construction methods. This mastery suggests the involvement of Italian teams. Masonry construction may also have benefited from the expertise of Aeduan builders who had used dry stone before this period, in fortifications for example.

The introduction of masonry houses took place around the beginning of the Augustan period, implying a gap of about twenty years between the construction of the monumental town centre[26] and the introduction of masonry in residential contexts. Prior to this, houses were timber-framed with earthen floors, reflecting a local architectural tradition,[27] remains of which have been found beneath the masonry *domus*. Before the introduction of Roman masonry techniques at Bibracte, several

23 Delencre *et al.* 2013, 296–301.

24 Verriez – Martini 2017, 291.

25 Vassal 2006, 79; Olmer 2019; Darles *et al.* 2019.

26 Szabó *et al.* 2018, 20.

27 Fochesato 2020.

houses already show evidence of Mediterranean influence: they follow plans based on the Italic tradition and they were built using the Roman timber-framing technique known as *opus craticium*. We have two occurrences of such buildings, predating the *domus* (Fig. 3.d).[28] They remain poorly understood, and their limited number makes it difficult to identify a distinct initial phase of Italic timber-frame construction preceding the introduction of masonry houses.

The skills of Aeduan builders, already familiar with timber-framed construction, likely facilitated the adoption of the Roman *opus craticium*. Some buildings with Italic-style floor plans in the *oppidum* also combined masonry with timber framing—for example at PC14, where the annex of a masonry dwelling was built with a timber frame set on masonry foundation walls.[29] Timber-framed buildings did not disappear from the *oppidum* with the spread of masonry housing: the technique continued to be used not only for houses associated with lower social classes, but also for prestigious constructions, such as the large building at PC15.[30] This vast structure, built with monumental posts, was likely a public building.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the adoption of masonry housing at Bibracte began in the early Augustan period—that is, around 20 years after the construction of the monumental town centre, which marked the introduction of stone-built architecture at the *oppidum*. This transfer of architectural plans and techniques seems to have taken place considerably earlier than in most of Gaul north of the Alps, where signs of Romanisation in urban architecture only became evident in the early 1st century AD. This early development can be explained by the strong alliance forged between the Aedui and Rome well before the Roman conquest, as well as by the desire of the elites living in these prestigious residences to demonstrate that they were worthy of Rome's trust by adopting the lifestyle of the Roman aristocracy—a way of securing their status in a political landscape profoundly reshaped by the Gallic War.

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28 PC2 Phase 3: Defer 2021; PC1 Maison à l'opus spicatum: Paunier – Luginbühl 2004, 79–99.

29 Nouvel *et al.* 2024.

30 Guichard *et al.* 2018, 180–187.

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