Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

Civitates Hispaniae : urbanisation on the Iberian peninsula during the High Empire

Houten, P.H.A.

Citation
Houten, P. H. A. (2018, December 19). *Civitates Hispaniae : urbanisation on the Iberian peninsula during the High Empire*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68032

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68032

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

Leiden University Repository

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/68032 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Houten, P.H.A.
Title: Civitates Hispaniae : urbanisation on the Iberian peninsula during the High Empire
Issue Date: 2018-12-19

CIVITATES HISPANIAE

Urbanisation on the Iberian Peninsula during the High Empire

P.H.A. Houten

Cover image: Lex Coloniae Genitivae Iuliae - Museo Arqueológico Nacional
(Picture by autor)

Printed by Ridderprint BV, the Netherlands.

© P.H.A. Houten 2018
All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form by any means, without the prior permission of the author

CIVITATES HISPANIAE

Urbanisation on the Iberian Peninsula during the High Empire

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 19 december 2018
klokke 16.15 uur
door
Pieter Hubert Antoine Houten
geboren te Gronsveld
in 1984.

Promotores

Prof. dr. L. de Ligt
Prof. dr. J.L. Bintliff

Promotiecommissie

Prof. dr. S. Panzram – Universität Hamburg
Prof. dr. O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez – Universidad de Sevilla
Prof. dr. J. Zangenberg – Universiteit Leiden

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The dissertation before you would never have been possible without the kind help of many friends, colleagues and institutions. While it is impossible to mention all that have aided me with comments on my dissertation, or have given support over the past years, I must at least acknowledge those who have supported this research greatly.

The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Madrid offered me the opportunity to use the library and stay at their guesthouse several times during the research period. Special thanks to Thomas Schattner for the ideas and comments on the research in progress. Janine Lehman I would like to thank for the hospitality in Wolfsburg and for lengthy discussions on various topics.

The researchgroup TOLETUM has been a source of inspiration. Obviously, I thank all attendees for their presence and very helpful comments on my presentations and their patience when listening to my attempt to speak Castilian. I want to thank Jan Schneider for his companionship and the great conversations we had on our beloved topics.

In addition to these institutes I am indebted to all colleagues and friends who were so kind as to support my research in a multitude of ways:

Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón, Martín Almagro-Gorbea, Jetse Bakker, Josephine van den Bent, Cesar Carreras Monfort, Carolina Cortés Barcena, Jorge Elices Ocón, Thierry Erkens, Jesús García Sanchez, Jasmin Hettinger, Victorino Mayoral, Diana Morales Manzanares, Mounir Lahcen, Lauro Olmo Enciso, Pasi Örnberg, Stefan Penders, Margit Pothoven, Mounir Racdu, Jan Zacharias van Rookhuijzen, Saskia Stevens, Markus Trunk, Ricardo Villasueca, Martje de Vries, Roy van Wijk, the EAV-team and the StuCo's of the Institute for History.

The typography and lay-out of the book have been greatly improved by Martin Baasten. I am grateful for his insights into this art that was unknown to me.

I am heavily indebted to my colleagues for all discussions we had on urbanism in the Roman Empire: Damjan Donev, Peter de Graaf, Matthew Hobson, Paul Kloeg, Bart Noordervliet, Karolien Pazmany, Frida Pellegrino and Rinse Willet. Special thanks are owed to Bart and Paul for their help with the GIS analysis; without their help many of the more complicated maps could not have been made. Outside the project but inside the inner circle of my office is Shanshan Wen, the best companion one can ask in an office, always cheerful and open to discuss any aspect of urbanism, although she likes Roman banqueting more.

Above all I want to thank Sabine Panzram for reading and commenting on the work in earlier stages. Sabine's reassurance after reading the first version that all the work had been done and that only some writing up was much needed at that moment.

The research leading to the results presented in this monograph was carried out within the framework of the ERC Advanced Project "An Empire of 2,000 Cities", which received generous funding under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP 7/2007=2013, ERC Grant Agreement no. 324148). Without the guidance and comments of my supervisors Luuk de Ligt and John Bintliff my research could not have been completed. All mistakes in this book are mine.

Lastly I want to thank my family and close friends for all their support and for taking my stressed and often absent mind as a small inconvenience. Obviously, most thanks go to my fiancée Simone Cremers for her support and patience. As she likes to say I become an 'ouwe dibbes' when in stress and tend to focus only on my research. Only Simone could bring the world back to mind.

Leveke, merci dats te mich altiéd höbs gesjteund; zoonder dich wäor 't noets neet gelök.

INDEX

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT v

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES xi

ABBREVIATIONS xv

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I

THE ANCIENT CITY ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

1.1 Introduction 5
1.2 Self-governing communities 9
1.3 Settlements with urban functions 11
1.4 Demographic Definition 15
1.5 Defining the city 18

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS OF URBANISATION ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

2.1 Introduction 21
2.2 Geography of Hispania 22
2.3 Urban Development in Pre-Roman Hispania 26
2.3.1 Mediterranean façade 32
2.3.2 Southern Atlantic façade 36
2.3.3 Iberian Levant 39
2.3.4 Meseta Central 46
2.3.5 North-Western Atlantic Façade 51
2.4 Roman Conquest and Early Roman Urbanism 56
2.4.1 Pre-Caesarean colonisation 57
2.4.2 Caesarean and Augustan municipalisation 66
2.4.3 Imperial colonisation and municipalisation 70

CHAPTER III

SELF-GOVERNING *CIVITATES* IN THE HIGH EMPIRE

3.1 Introduction 75
3.2 Literary sources 76
3.2.1 Plinius' *Historia Naturalis* 76
3.2.2 Ptolemaeus' *Geographica* 81
3.2.3 Itineraries 85
3.3 Epigraphy 86
3.3.1 Tribus 87
3.3.2 Termini 87
3.3.3 Numismatics 89
3.4 Civitates Hispaniae 90
3.4.1 Provincia Hispania Baetica 90
3.4.2 Provincia Hispania Citerior 96
3.4.3 Provincia Hispania Lusitania 104
3.5 Dispersed civitas 109
3.5.1 Aquae 111
3.5.2 Fora 115
3.5.3 Other dispersed civitates 119
3.6 Garrison Settlements 123
3.7 Universa Hispania 127

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY AGGLOMERATIONS AND URBAN FUNCTIONS

4.1 Introduction 135
4.2 Secondary Agglomerations 136
4.3 Subordinate settlements in ancient sources 143
4.3.1 Central places of civitates contributae 143
4.3.2 Vici 146
4.3.3 Castella 148
4.4 Functions of secondary agglomerations 150
4.3.1 Port settlements and harbours 150
4.3.2 Mining settlements 158
4.3.3 Spas and bath complexes 163
4.3.4 Mansiones and mutationes 167

4.5 Network analysis of the settlement system of the Hispaniae 171
4.5.1 Networks based on the itineraries 172
4.5.2 Networks of self-governing communities 174

CHAPTER V

MONUMENTS FOR URBAN LIFESTYLE

5.1 Introduction 183
5.2 Monumental cities 186
5.2.1 Amphitheatres 189
5.2.2 Circuses 193
5.2.3 Theatres 196
5.2.4 Fora 199
5.2.5 Thermae and Balnea 202
5.3 Privileged communities and monumentality 204
5.4 Connectivity 208

CHAPTER VI

QUANTIFYING THE URBAN NETWORK

6.1 Introduction 213
6.2 City sizes 214
6.3 Rank-size analysis 216
6.3.1 Earlier RSA for the Iberian Peninsula 217
6.3.2 RSA Iberian Peninsula 220
6.3.3 RSA Lusitania 223
6.3.4 RSA Baetica 224
6.3.5 RSA Hispania Citerior 227
6.4 Geographical distribution of large and small cities 231
6.4.1 Site distribution and size 243
6.4.2 Territory of *Corduba* 246
6.4.3 Territory of *Tarraco* 248
6.4.4 Territory of *Augusta Emerita* 250
6.5 Geographical overview and the problem of missing sites 254
6.5. 1 Precipitation 254
6.5..2 Altitude 256
6.5. 3 Terrain Ruggedness Index 257
6.5. 4 Cultivable land 259

6.5. 5 The problem of missing sites 260

CONCLUSIONS 265

APPENDICES 271
Appendix I Self-governing cities alphabetically 271
Appendix II Self-governing cities sorted by ID 359
Appendix III Self-governing communities with evidence table 367
Appendix IV Monumental buildings 388
Appendix V Social Network Analysis parameters 405

BIBLIOGRAPHY 417

SAMENVATTING 469

CURRICULUM VITAE 475

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

I.1	*Definitions used in UN-Demographic Yearbook*	*6*
II.1	*Geographical regions*	*24*
II.2	*Major geographical features on the Iberian Peninsula*	*25*
II.3	*Diachronic development of the city*	*27*
II.4	*Models of settlement pattern changes*	*31*
II.5	*Possible trade routes between the silver mines and Doña Blanca*	*32*
II.6	*Coinage in the Mediterranean façade*	*35*
II.7	*Coinage in the Southern Atlantic coast*	*39*
II.8	*Settlement pattern at Sant Jaume*	*41*
II.9	*Coinage in the Iberian Levant and Ebro valley*	*44*
II.10	*Diagram showing the evolution of settlement patterns of different regions in the Central Meseta during the First Millenium BCE*	*47*
II.11	*Citânia de Briteiros*	*53*
II.12	*Chao Samartín*	*54*
II.13	*Different phases of Roman Conquest*	*57*
II.14	*Republican provinciae, coloniae and foundations*	*65*
II.15	*Evidence for Flavian municipia*	*73*
III.1	*Communities referred to by Pliny*	*80*
III.2	*Ptolemean and Plinian settlements in Baetica*	*82*
III.3	*Map of Iberian Peninsula according to the Ptolemean coordinate system*	*84*
III.4	*Termini on the Iberian Peninsula*	*88*
III.5	*Civitas Limicorum with the two possible centres and the statio Geminas*	*117*
III.6	*Civitas Gigurrorum with the two possible centres, the statio Gemisarum and castros*	*119*
III.7	*The settlements of Segontia Lanca in the three periods*	*121*
III.8	*The legionary fortress of Legio VII*	*124*
III.9	*The use of populi, civitates and oppida as mentioned by Pliny*	*130*

III.10	*The privileges as mentioned by Pliny*	*131*
III.11	*Heatmap based on the density of self-governing centres*	*132*
III.12	*All located self-governing centres*	*133*
IV.1	*Ports and harbours after Graauw (2016)*	*153*
IV.2	*The port system of Balsa with the secondary agglomeration of Baesuris*	*154*
IV.3	*Portus Ilicitanus and the commercial connections in the centuries I-IV*	*157*
IV.4	*Mining areas and mining centres*	*160*
IV.5	*The mining area close to Baesucci with the agglomerated production sites at El Centenillo*	*162*
IV.6	*Zaldua (Iturissa) magnetic survey results and interpretation*	*169*
IV.7	*All functions of possible secondary agglomerations found in various databases*	*170*
IV.8	*Heat map by De Soto and Carreras Monfort*	*174*
IV.9	*Weighted degree centrality*	*176*
IV.10	*Betweenness Centrality*	*177*
IV.11	*Closeness centrality*	*178*
IV.12	*Status of self-governing communities compared with centralities (per quartile)*	*180*
V.1	*Amphitheatre size compared to city size*	*190*
V.2	*Cavea size compared to city size*	*191*
V.3	*Amphitheatres on the Iberian Peninsula*	*192*
V.4	*Circus size compared to city size*	*194*
V.5	*Circuses on the Iberian Peninsula*	*195*
V.6	*Cavea size compared to city size*	*197*
V.7	*Theatres on the Iberian Peninsula*	*198*
V.8	*Plaza size compared to city size*	*200*
V.9	*Plaza size compared to city size without conventus capitals*	*201*
V.10	*Privileges and monuments*	*205*
V.11	*Certain, probable and doubted buildings*	*206*
V.12	*Dual Circle lay-out Monumentality of places against Centralities*	*209*
V.13	*Bar chart monumentality of places against centralities per quartile*	*210*
VI.1	*Examples of the different shapes for RSA graphs*	*217*

VI.2	*RSA by Marzano*	*218*
VI.3	*RSA graphs for the self-governing cities*	*220*
VI.4	*RSA of settlements > 10 ha*	*221*
VI.5	*Box and whisker plot of size distribution per status and capital function of cities*	*222*
VI.6	*RSA for Lusitania*	*223*
VI.7	*RSA Baetica*	*224*
VI.8	*Settlements along the Guadalquivir and Genil*	*226*
VI.9	*RSA Citerior*	*227*
VI.10	*The urban system at the modern-day Catalan coast*	*228*
VI.11	*The urban system of the conventus Bracarum and Lucensis*	*230*
VI.12	*CPT based on the administrative and traffic principle*	*232*
VI.13	*Bar-chart of size categories*	*233*
VI.14	*Geographical distribution of all estimated sizes*	*234*
VI.15	*Distribution of places with a size of 80 ha or higher*	*236*
VI.16	*Distribution of places with a size 40 hectares or higher*	*238*
VI.17	*Distribution of places 20 hectares or larger*	*241*
VI.18	*Distribution of self-governing places with a size*	*242*
VI.19	*Nearest neighbour vs size*	*243*
VI.20	*Median, average, largest and smallest per tier for Nearest Neighbour*	*244*
VI.21	*All located self-govering communities with allocated territories*	*245*
VI.22	*Walking distance from Corduba*	*247*
VI.23	*Walking distance from Tarraco*	*249*
VI.24	*The territorium Emeritense and walking distance*	*251*
VI 25	*All located self-govering communities with a 3-hour walking buffer*	*253*
VI.26	*Precipitation map based on the average annual rainfall 1960-1990 with the 400 ml isohyet*	*254*
VI.27	*Point sample precipitation per self-governing community*	*255*
VI.28	*Altitude map with polygons indicating areas above 1200 m*	*256*
VI.29	*Point sample altitude per self-governing community*	*257*
VI.30	*Terrain Ruggednes Index map*	*258*
VI 31	*Buffer sample mean TRI per self-governing community*	*258*
VI.32	*Crop yield based on the long-term average (1961-1990) in kg dry weight (DW) per hectare*	*259*

VI.33 Point sample of yield per self-governing community 260
VI.34 Overview of geographical and climatological environments 263

Tables

II.1 Settlement pattern in the Valencian lands 43
III.1 Number of communities and the privileges 78
III.2 Tribus attested in Hispania 87
III.3 Cities with coinage and their privilege according to ancient sources and epigraphy 89
IV.1 Anglo-Saxon debate on criteria 137
IV.2 Burnham's three categories with criteria 138
IV.3 Based on Mangin & Tassaux (1992) and Burnham (1993 & 1995) 140
IV.4 Categorisation as given by Pérez Losada 141
IV.5 Categorisation of secondary agglomerations 142
IV.6 Definitions of ports in ancient sources 151
IV.7 Status Itineraries in % 173
IV.8 Top 10 places with highest degree 179
VI.1 Intercity distance largest cities 237
VI.2 Estimated population for Corduba 248
VI. 3 Estimated carrying capacity for the arable land within a three-hour walking distance from Tarraco 248
VI.4 Estimated population for Tarraco based on centuriated land 250
VI.5 Estimated carrying capacity for the arable land within a three-hour walking distance from Augusta Emerita 252
VI.6 Estimated population for Augusta Emerita 252

ABBREVIATIONS

Ant. *Itin.*	*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti.*
App. *Iber.*	Appian, *Wars in Spain.*
Aristides *Or. Rom.*	Aelius Aristides, *Roman Orations.*
Aug. *RG*	Augustus, *Res Gestae.*
Caes. *Bell. Alex.*	Caesar, *Alexandrian War.*
Caes. *Bell. Civ.*	Caesar, *Civil War.*
Caes. *Bell. Hisp.*	Caesar, *Spanish War.*
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio, *Roman History.*
Cic. *Fam.*	Cicero, *Letters to his Friends.*
Cic. *Phil.*	Cicero *Philippics.*
Cic. *Pro Balb.*	Cicero, *For Cornelius Balbus.*
Dio Chrys.	Dio Chrysostom, *Orations.*
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica.*
Festus	Festus, *De Verborum Significatu.*
Flor. *Epit.*	Florus, *Epitome rerum Romanorum.*
Gellius *NA*	Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*
Hyd. *Chron.*	Hydiatus, *Chronicle.*
Itin. Astorga	*Barro de Astorga.*
Liv. *AUC*	Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita.*
Liv. *Per.*	Livy, *Periochae.*
M. Aur. *Med.*	Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations.*
Marcian. *Peripl.*	Marcianus Heracleensis, *Periplus.*
Mela	Mela, *De situ orbis libri III.*
Oros.	Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII.*
Philostr. *VA*	Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii.*
Plin. *NH*	Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia.*
Plut. *Sertorius.*	Plutarchus, *Sertorius.*
Polyb.	Polybius, *Histories.*
Ptol.	Ptolemy, *Geographica.*
Ravenn.	*Ravenna Cosmography.*
Serv. *A.*	Servius Honoratus, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil.*
Str.	Strabo, *Geographica*
St. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnika.*
St. Isod. *Etym.*	Isidore of Sevilla, *Etymologiae.*
Suet. *Aug.*	Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum, Augustus*

Ulp. *Dig.*	Ulpian, *Digest*.
Vicar.	*Vicarello Goblets.*
Vitr. *De Arch.*	Vitruvius, *De Architectura*.

Lex Ursonensis	Among others: CIL II 5439, CIL II^2 5,1022 and AE 1998, 742
Lex Flavia Salpensa	Among others: CIL II 1963, ILS 6088 and AE 2001, 1205.
Lex Flavia Malacitana	Among others: CIL II 1964, ILS 6089 and Hep 11, 2001, 328ff.
Lex Flavia Irnitana	Among others: AE 1984, 454, AE 2006, 64 and Hep 15, 2006, 330.

AE	*L'Année Épigraphique.*
AespA	*Archivo Español de Arqueología.*
AFFE I	A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *Aquae Flaviae I. Fontes Epigráficas*, Chaves, 1987.
AFFE II	A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *Aquae Flaviae. II. Fontes Epigráficas*, Chaves, 1997.
AWMC	*Ancient World Mapping Centre*, http://awmc.unc.edu.
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports.*
CIDER	P. Piernavieja, *Corpus de inscripciones deportivas de la España romana*, Madrid, 1977.
CIL II	E. Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*, Berlin, 1869; *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Latinarum Supplementum*, Berlin, 1892.
CIL II2/14	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, editio altera, pars XIV, fasciculus I. Pars meridionalis conventus Tarraconensis*, G. Alföldy – M. Clauss – M. Mayer, eds., Berlín – Nueva York, 1995.
CIL II2/5	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, editio altera, pars V. Conventus Astigitanus*, A.U. Stylow – R. Atencia Páez – J. González Fernández – C. González Román – M. Pastor Muñoz – P. Rodríguez Oliva, eds., Berlín – Nueva York, 1998.
CIL II2/7	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, editio altera, pars VII. Conventus Cordubensis*, A.U. Stylow, ed., Berlín – New York, 1995.
CILA	*Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía.*
CILCaceres	J. Esteban Ortega, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Cáceres.*
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
CuPAUAM	*Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.* Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Madrid).
CUR90	Curchin (1990) *The local magistrates of Roman Spain*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Année.*
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
DARE	*Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire*, http://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/
DARMC	*Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations*, https://darmc.harvard.edu
Diz. Epigr.	De Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, Madrid 1953
DS	*Le Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines de Daremberg et Saglio*
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica*
EJER	A. d'Ors, Epigrafía jurídica de la España romana, Madrid, 1953.
ERAsturias	F. Diego Santos, *Epigrafía romana de Asturias*, Oviedo, 1959.
ERAE	L. García Iglesias, *Epigrafía Romana de Augusta Emerita*, Madrid 1973
ERBC	A.Mª. Canto, *Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia Céltica* (Col. de Estudios nº 54), Madrid, 1997.
ERItalica	A.Mª. Canto, *La epigrafía romana de Itálica* (tesis doctoral 188/85. Edición facsímil, U.C.M.), Madrid, 1985.
ERPLe	M. A. Rabanal Alonso – S. Mª García Martínez, Epigrafía romana de la provincia de León: revisión y actualización, León, 2001.
ERPSo	A. Jimeno, Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Soria, Soria, 1980.
ERTeruel	M. Navarro Caballero, *La epigrafía romana de Teruel* (Petrae Hispaniarum 1), Teruel, 1994.
FE	*Ficheiro Epigráfico.* Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
HAE	*Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica.*
Hep	*Hispania Epigraphica*, http://www.eda-bea.es/.
IAM	Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida.
IFC	Institución Fernando el Cátolico.
ILER	J. Vives, Inscripciones latinas de la España romana, Barcelona, 1971-1972.
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*
ILPGr	M. Pastor Muñoz & Á. Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada,* Granada, 1987.
IPPAR	Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico.
IRAL	R. Lázaro Pérez, *Inscripciones romanas de Almería*, Almería, 1980.
IRPCadiz	J. González, Inscripciones Romanas de la Provincia de Cádiz, Cádiz 1982.
IRC I	G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne I, Barcelona (sauf Barcino). Paris, 1984.
IRC II	G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. II, Leride*, París, 1985.
IRC III	G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. III, Gérone*, París, 1991.

IRC IV	G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. IV, Barcino*, París, 1997.
IRC V	G. Fabre, M. Mayer & I. Rodà, Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. V, Suppléments aux volumes I-IV et instrumentum inscriptum, París, 2002.
IRCP	J. D'Encarnacão, Inscrições Romanas do Conventus Pacensis, Coimbra 1984.
IRG I	F. Bouza Brey – A. D'Ors, Inscripciones romanas de Galicia I. Santiago de Compostela, Santiago, 1949.
IRG I Sup	A. del Castillo – A. D'Ors, Inscripciones romanas de Galicia. Suplemento al fascículo I: provincia de La Coruña. Santiago de Compostela, 1960. (CEG 14, 1959, 145-164).
IRG II	F. Vázquez Saco – M. Vázquez Seijas, *Inscripciones romanas de Galicia II, Provincia de Lugo*, Santiago, 1954.
IRG III	J. Filgueira Valverde – A. D'Ors, *Inscripciones romanas de Galicia III, Museo de Pontevedra*, Santiago, 1955.
IRG IV	J. Lorenzo Fernández – A. d'Ors – F. Bouza Brey, *Inscripciones romanas de Galicia IV Provincia de Orense*, Santiago, 1968.
IRPA	M.A. Rabanal & J.M. Abascal, «Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Alicante», *Lucentum* 4, 1985, 191-244.
IRPCadiz	J. González, *Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Cádiz*, Cádiz, 1982.
IRPLe	F. Diego Santos, *Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de León*, León, 1986.
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology.*
MLH	*Monumenta Linguarum Hispaniarum.*
MNAR	Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.
RAH	La Real Academia de la Historia.
RAP	J.M. Garcia, *Religiões antigas de Portugal. Aditamentos e observações as «Religiões da Lusitânia» de J. Leite de Vasconcelos. Fontes epigráficas*, Lisboa, 1991.
RE	Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
RIT	G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlín, 1975.
TIR J-29	*Tabula Imperii Romani: Lisboa, Emerita, Scallabis.*
TIR J-30	*Tabula Imperii Romani: Valencia, Corduba, Hispalis.*
TIR K/J-31	*Tabula Imperii Romani: Pyrénées Orientales, Baléares, Tarraco.*
TIR K-29	*Tabula Imperii Romani: Porto, Conimbriga, Bracaraugusta.*
TIR K-30	*Tabula Imperii Romani: Madrid, Caesaraugusta, Clunia.*
VM	A. Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda Hispánica,* Madrid.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

INTRODUCTION

Remains of the Roman cities of the Iberian Peninsula draw the attention of the general public. And why wouldn't they? The beautiful mosaics of *Italica* are more than worth a small detour from Seville. A stroll through the streets of the impressive site of *Baelo Claudia* (Bolonia) on the Atlantic coast gives the impression you are walking with the Romans, and the aqueduct of *Segovia* is an impressive testimony of Roman architecture and construction. These well investigated sites tend to draw the attention not only of tourists but also that of investigators. As a result we know a lot about the icons of Roman urbanism.

Unfortunately, a study of all cities of the Iberian Peninsula in the High Empire of the Roman period is considered practically impossible by many scholars. Indeed it would be a Herculean task if we were to set out to study all cities in a similar way to those individually and comprehensively studied examples known by all. This is partly due to the number of sites; Pliny stated that there were 399 *oppida* in 513 *civitates* and Ptolemy lists 428 *poleis*. In addition, Roman urbanism is seldom investigated for the Iberian Peninsula as a whole. There are several reasons for this sparse integration of the three provinces of the peninsula.

First, we encounter the different political regions on the peninsula. Obviously, the national governments of Spain and Portugal tend to finance research within their own boundaries. This has led to a strange division of the peninsula in Roman Portugal and Roman Spain.[1] Roman Portugal comprises parts of the territories of the Roman provinces of *Hispania Citerior* and *Lusitania*, creating a unit that did not exist before 1249. To complicate matters further, the autonomous regions and provinces in Spain and Portugal only finance research within their own boundaries. This has led, for instance, to a lively debate on the Roman settlement pattern of Roman Catalonia and Roman Andalusia, the latter region often being referred to as the Roman province *Baetica* as the boundaries are almost the same.

As a result of these political divisions, we find only a few investigations into the peninsula as a whole. These supraregional and peninsular investigations have to combine the regional publications. At first sight this is not a problematic approach. However, these political divisions often go hand in hand with linguistic divisions. Research on the Iberian Peninsula can be published in Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan, Galician and Euskara, although the latter language is not often used within academia.

[1] For instance, the work by Alarcão (1988) *Roman Portugal*. Interestingly, Roman Spain is often used in the Anglophone debate and refers to the whole peninsula, ignoring the fact that this is a modern construct referring to a political unit which has nothing to do with Roman times.

This PhD dissertation sets out to study the self-governing communities and central places of the Iberian Peninsula during the High Empire. Due to the scale of the research area, the study does not permit a complete treatment of the discussions on the individual level of cities. Hence, those with a deep knowledge of specific cities might find the course taken too simple or rash, ignoring the finer points of discussion. For a complete discussion of the ancient sources, such as Pliny and Ptolemy, one has to turn to the research done by those with a sole focus on these sources, such as Galsterer, García Alonso and Urueña, whereas the evidence for the Flavian promotions is treated completely and thoroughly by Andreu.[2] The macroscale research that will be attempted in this monograph delineates the urban landscape of the Iberian Peninsula as it appeared in the period of the High Empire. The research also aims at understanding the impact of the pre-Roman urban landscape on Roman urbanisation. In addition, the relationship between the status of the cities and their development, in terms of their monumentality and size, will be explored. Furthermore, the urban network will be looked at from a Network Analysis perspective, in an attempt to understand which cities had control over the network.

One of the main challenges is the definition of what can be considered urban. The chapter on *The Ancient City on the Iberian Peninsula* will introduce the historical debate of the urban settlements on the Iberian Peninsula. First, the juridical definition will be taken into account. This is the most common approach for the study of the urban settlements of the Hispaniae, as many privileged communities are to be expected since Vespasian gave *ius Latii* to *universa Hispania*.[3] The problems of the evidence used for this juridical definition (ancient sources, epigraphy, and numismatics) will be discussed.[4] Thereafter, we turn to the cities defined as such by their socio-economic function. These places are to be considered urban based on their function as a central place. Within this category various types of central places can be distinguished, such as ports and mining cities, or the local market places. In addition, the presence of sanctuaries and mansiones will be looked at to determine whether these made a settlement into a focal point for the community.[5] Lastly, we will turn to the

[2] For ancient sources: Galsterer (1971) *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel*; García Alonso (2003) *La Península Ibérica en la Geografía de Claudio Ptolomeo*; Urueña Alonso (2010) *La descripción geográfica de Hispania en la Naturalis Historia de Plinio*. on the Flavian promotions: Andreu Pintado (2004c) *Edictum, municipium y lex: Hispania en época flavia (69-96 d.C.)*.

[3] Plin. *NH* III 30.

[4] Galsterer (1971); Le Roux (1990) 'Les villes de statut municipal en Lusitanie Romaine.' In: Gorges (ed.), *Les villes de Lusitanie Romaine: Hiérarchies et territoires*, 35-49; Le Roux (2014c) 'La ville romaine en Hispania.' In: Le Roux (ed.), *Espangnes romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces*, 173-88; Alarcão (1998) 'As cidades capitais do norte de Portugal na época romana.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 429-37; Andreu Pintado (2004c).

[5] Petit and Mangin (eds.) (1994) *Les agglomérations secondaires: La Gaule Belgique, les Germanies et l'Occident romain: actes du colloque Bliesbruck-Reinheim/Bitche (Moselle) 21, 22, 23 et 24 octobre 1992*; Leveau (1993) 'Agglomérations secondaires et territoires en Gaule Narbonnaise.' *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaisse* Vol. 26, 227-99; Rust (2006) *Architecture, Economics, and Identity in Romano-British 'Small Towns'*; Alarcão (1996) 'Aglomerados urbanos secundários romanos de Entre-Douro e Minho.' In: Reboreda

criterion of settlement size, a definition used frequently based on the idea that cities in general are large.

One of the major questions regards the distribution of the urban settlements. Part of the solution to this question is located in the pre-Roman urban network. The chapter on *The origins of urbanisation on the Iberian Peninsula* will take a step back into the prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula before the start of the Roman conquest in 218 BCE. This chapter will introduce the geography of the region and its impact on the early settlement patterns. Thereafter, the different settlement types within the urban landscape of the third century BCE will be examined. The pre-Roman settlement types will be looked at according to their geographical locations: the coastal zones, where we find the continuation of the early Phoenician and Greek colonies; the River basins of the Guadalquivir and Ebro, which acted as corridors connecting the inner Meseta plain with the coastal region; lastly, the proto-urbanisation of the *oppida* of the Meseta Central and the *castros* of the north-west will be taken into account.[6] As a next step, the early patterns of Roman urbanism will be considered. This period of two hundred years will be divided into three broad periods of colonisation and municipalisation: pre-Caesarean; Caesarean-Augustan and Imperial colonisation and municipalisation.

The third chapter will deal with the evidence on urbanism in the High Empire. In this chapter my focus will be on the self-governing communities of the Iberian Peninsula. After compiling the list of self-governing communities, we turn to the settlements that could have functioned as central places and as such could be considered 'town-like'. These settlements are often considered 'small towns' or secondary agglomerations. Since the debate on secondary agglomerations in Portuguese and Spanish research is practically non-existent the debates from France and Britain will be used to get a hold on this settlement type. In the case of the Iberian Peninsula, the

Morillo and López Barja de Quiroga (eds.) *A cidade e o mundo: Romanización e cambio social,* Xinzo de Limia: Excmo. Concello de Xinzo de Limia, 169-80; Pérez Losada (2002) *Entre a cidade e a aldea: estudio arqueohistórico dos "aglomerados secundarios" romanos en Galicia*; Oller Guzmán (2011) 'La ciudad sin ciudad: la ciuitas sine urbe como elemento de control territorial.' *Estrat Critic* Vol. 5, N° 1, 190-203; Mangin and Tassaux (1992) 'Les agglomérations secondaires de l'Aquitaine romaine.' *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de la Gaule: histoire et archéologie: 2e Colloque Aquitania,* Bordeaux Fédération Aquitania, 461-96.

[6] Mira (2011) 'Landscape dynamics, political processes, and social strategies in the Eastern Iberian Iron Age.' In: Moore and Armada (eds.), *Altantic Europe in the First Millennium BC*, 153-70; (1995) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD*. London, 1994; Álvarez Sanchís (2000) 'The Iron Age in Western Spain (800 BC-AD 50): an overview.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 19, N° 1, 65-89; Guitart i Duran (2010) 'The origin of the earliest Roman cities in Catalonia: An examination from the perspective of archaeology.' *Catalan Historical Review* Vol. 3, 9-30. Ruiz (1988) 'Ciudad y territorio en el poblamiento ibérico del Alto Guadalquivir.' In: Archivos (ed.) *Los Asentamientos Ibéricos ante la Romanización,* Casa de Velazquez; (1994); Burillo Mozota (2001) 'Etnias y poblamiento en el área Ibérica del Valle medio del Ebro: Sedetanos y Edetanos.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, 187-200; Almagro-Gorbea (1995) 'From Hill Forts to *Oppida* in 'Celtic Iberia'.' In: Cunliffe and Keay (eds.), *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia*, 175-207.

category of secondary agglomerations comprises a wide variety of settlements, such as civitates *contributae*, port settlements, mining settlements and the spas. The *mansiones* and *mutationes* mentioned in the itineraries will also be considered. In order to understand the relations of all these settlement types, a network analysis will be made. In the chapter on *Monuments for Urban Lifestyle* the relationship between monumentality, juridical status and size and monumentality will be analysed.

The final chapter, *Quantifying the Urban Network,* will focus on settlement size. One of the techniques that will be used is Rank-Size Analysis.[7] We will analyse the three provinces, *Baetica*, *Lusitania* and *Citerior*, separately in order to obtain a better understanding of region-specific settlement size distributions. In this final chapter we will turn to the geographical distribution of the sizes of settlements. This geographical distribution will grant us insight into the factors behind the development of the different size tiers. Moreover, we will be able to observe areas with low or even no urbanism. These areas will be further analysed by regarding geographical and climatological conditions, precipitation, altitude, terrain ruggedness and cultivable land, unfavourable to urbanism. Based on this analysis we can locate the lacunas in our own settlement system and point out the areas that need future research to establish the nature of the settlement system in these regions.

[7] Zipf (1949) *Human behavior and the principle of least effort: an introduction to human ecology*; Krugman (1996) 'Confronting the Mystery of Urban Hierarchy.' *Journal of Japanese and International Economies* Vol. 10, 399-418; Marzano (2011) 'Rank-Size Analysis and the Roman Cities of the Iberian Peninsula and Britain.' In: Bowman and Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization and Population*, 196-228.

CHAPTER 1

THE ANCIENT CITY ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

1.1 Introduction

The task of defining what constitutes a city is by no means easy. A fragment from Strabo's *Geographica* shows that even as early as the Roman conquest defining what could be considered a city on the Iberian Peninsula was already rather problematic:

> Those who assert that Iberia contained more than a thousand cities, seem to me to have been carried away in a similar manner [as Gracchus stating he conquered cities instead of towers], and to have denominated as cities what were merely large villages; since, from its very nature, this country is incapable of maintaining so many cities, on account of its sterility, wildness, and its out-of-the-way position. Nor, with the exception of those who dwell along the shores of the Mediterranean, is any such statement confirmed by the mode of life or actions of the inhabitants. The inhabitants of the villages, who constitute the majority of the Iberians, are quite uncivilized. Even the cities cannot very easily refine the manners [of their inhabitants], as the neighbouring woods are full of robbers, waiting only an opportunity to inflict injury on the citizens.[1]
>
> Strabo III 4.13

Even today, there is no general agreement on how to define a city, the major difficulty being the multitude of possible definitions. If we refer to the latest *UN Demographic Yearbook*, we find a range of different definitions for 'urban' as used by modern nations:

> The definition of urban/rural areas is based on both qualitative and quantitative criteria that may include any combination of the following: size of population, population density, distance between built-up areas, predominant type of eco-

[1] ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φάσκοντες πλείους ἢ χιλίας τὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων ὑπάρξαι πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρεσθαί μοι δοκοῦσι, τὰς μεγάλας κώμας πόλεις ὀνομάζοντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις πόλεων ἐπιδεκτικὴ πολλῶν ἐστι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν καὶ τὸ ἀνήμερον, οὔθ' οἱ βίοι καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν (ἔξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς) ὑπαγορεύουσι τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· ἄγριοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κώμας οἰκοῦντες· τοιοῦτοι δ' οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἡμεροῦσιν οὐδ' αὔταιρᾳδίως, ὅταν πλεονάζῃ τὸ τὰς ὕλας ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίον οἰκοῦν. (Loeb translation)

> nomic activity, conformity to legal or administrative status and urban characteristics such as specific services and facilities. Although statistics classified by urban/rural areas are widely available, no international standard definition appears to be possible at this time since the meaning differs from one country or area to another. The urban/rural classification of population used here is reported according to the national definition.[2]

Obviously, this approach to defining a city has its own problems. Looking, for example, at the two modern countries covered by this monograph gives us a good indication of the difficulty. Portugal considers a settlement to be urban if it exceeds the threshold of 2,000 inhabitants, whereas in Spain, where the lower threshold for urban is 10,000 inhabitants and for rural is below 2,000 inhabitants, these settlements are considered intermediate between rural and urban. Despite the fact that no universal agreement can be found on the parameters for the definition of a city, there are a number of key aspects that most scholars agree upon as contributing factors in determining what makes a city.

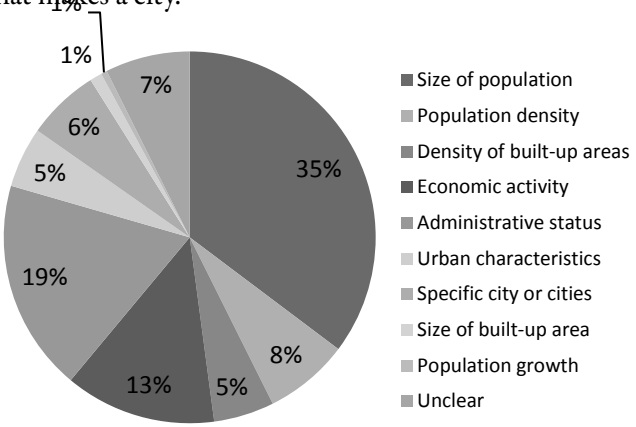


Fig. I.1 Definitions used in UN-Demographic Yearbook

First, as can be seen clearly in the pie chart showing the percentages of *definientia*[3] applied, there seems at least to be some agreement on the idea that the city is a highly and densely populated settlement (fig. I.1).[4] Even though these are easily measurable parameters for modern settlements, there is nonetheless no agreement on the number of inhabitants and/or the density needed to be considered a city. Regarding the

[2] UNSD (ed.) (2013) *United Nations Demographic Yearbook 2012*: 99ff.
[3] A *definiens* is an element that defines the *definiendum*. E.g. in the *UN Demographic Yearbook* size is an often used *definiens* for the *definiendum* city.
[4] Wirth (1964) *On cities and social life: selected papers*; Cuco i Giner (2008) *Antropología Urbana*; Mersch (1997) 'Urbanization of the Attic Countryside from the late 8th century to the 6th century BC.' In: Andersen, Horsnaes and Houby-Nielsen (eds.), *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th Centuries BC*, 45-62.

complete list of definitions in the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, we find that these parameters are the major problem; the minimum population size varies from 200 to 50,000.[5] Similar regional variations in city size may be expected in antiquity as well.

Defining the Roman city based on size is a rather difficult procedure. A Roman definition of what was considered a city based on size probably never existed. Hence, we cannot simply state what size is the minimum for a settlement to qualify as urban. Moreover, it is no easy matter to obtain the population numbers for antiquity: a city needs to be examined extensively by research, survey or excavation to determine its full extent and density. If these parameters are known, the number of inhabitants has to be calculated using a formula based on the number of buildings, the hectares covered and possibly other parameters also. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that density varies over the whole Roman Empire and within different types of cities, which gives rise to an extensive debate on the correct way to calculate the number of inhabitants for different regions and cities.[6]

A further relevant aspect of the city is its role as a centre of power, be it administrative, economic or religious.[7] This aspect can also be found in the *UN Demographic Yearbook* definitions: 19% of the definitions are based on the administrative status of a town, and 13% are based on the economic function of a place. Interestingly, we do not find any references to religion or religious buildings in the *UN Demographic Yearbook* as a prerequisite to consider a place urban.[8] Fustel de Coulanges and Weber have already pointed out the importance of a city as a centre for a larger area; this is also the key topic of the Central Place Theory put forward by Christaller and Lösch.[9] The main idea is based on the city functioning as a focal point for a larger region, providing economic, political and religious services. This idea is also found in the work of Pérez Losada; he underlines the importance of the Roman city as a political power base by referring to statement by García y Bellido:

[5] Iceland considers a settlement with 200 inhabitants urban, whereas for Japan urban is defined by 50,000 inhabitants of which 60% are engaged in the non-agricultural sector.

[6] See for the debate: Ligt (2012) *Peasants, Citizens and Soldiers. Studies in the Demographic History of Roman Italy 225 BC-AD 100*; Ligt and Northwood (eds.) (2008) *People, Land, and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC–AD 14*; Carreras Monfort (2014) 'Nuevas tendencias y datos sobre la demografía romana en la Península Ibérica.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. LXXX, 53-82; Carreras Monfort (1996) 'Una nueva perspectiva para el estudio demográfico de la Hispania Romana.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 62, 95-122.

[7] Cuco i Giner (2008); Weber (1922) *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik III Wirtshaft und Gesellschaft*; Bendala Galán (1994b) 'La Ciudad en la Hispania Romana.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 115-23; Fustel de Coulanges (1864) *La Cité Antique*: 166.

[8] Only in the definition of the Philippines, where at least three public buildings are needed, is "church" listed among the public buildings that could define a settlement as urban.

[9] Christaller (1933) *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesotzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen*; Lösch (1938) 'The nature of economic regions.' *The Southern Economic Eournal* Vol. 5, N° 1, 71-8.

> La ciudad es hoy, como aglomeración humana, muchísimo más que antes; pero políticamente (nótese que la voz proviene de πόλις = ciudad estado) muchísimo menos.[10]

Moreover, Pérez Losada argues that a city's political power is linked to its economic power. He points out that commercially active centres without political power cannot be considered cities.[11]

As has become clear, it is impossible to capture the definition of a city, be it modern or ancient, in a single definition. In general, Kolb has proposed that we should define an ancient urban settlement in the ancient world on the basis of six elements:

1. Topographische und administrative Geschlossenheit der Siedlung;
2. Bevölkerungszahl von mehreren tausend Einwohnern (Orte um 1000 Einwohner werden als Grenzfälle betrachtet) als Voraussetzung für;
3. Ausgeprägte Arbeitsteilung und soziale Differenzierung;
4. Mannigfaltigkeit der Bausubstanz;
5. Urbaner Lebensstil;
6. Funktion der Siedlung als Zentralort für ein Umland.[12]

Kolb states that due to loss of data over time it is no longer possible to find evidence of all six elements for the ancient cities. The scholar concerned must define for himself or herself which elements have to be present in order to define a settlement as a city.

Three of Kolb's six elements have been described previously. The juridical element is found in points 1 and 6, with size being given as the second item, and lastly we find a settlement's function as a central place spread over points 3 to 5. Simplifying the six points into a threefold approach, we will look at the settlements from three different perspectives in order to define them: whether they are self-governing communities, their function as central place and their size.

[10] García y Bellido (2009 [1966]) *Urbanística de las grandes ciudades del mundo antiguo*: 84. Translation: The city today is much more of a human agglomeration than previously, however its status as a political unit (note that the word stems from πόλις = city-state) a lot less (own translation).
[11] Pérez Losada (2002): 24.
[12] Kolb (1984) *Die Stadt im Altertum*: 15.
1. Topographical and administrative unity of the settlement;
2. Population of several thousand inhabitants (places around 1000 inhabitants are regarded as borderline cases) as a prerequisite for;
3. Distinctive division of labour and social differentiation;
4. Variety of buildings;
5. Urban lifestyle;
6. Function of the settlement as a central location for a surrounding area (own translation).

1.2 Self-governing communities

The first approach used to define the cities of the Iberian Peninsula is based on the self-governing nature of the communities within the Roman Empire, namely the *civitas,* which is a town and territorial unit, presented by Pérez Losada in the simple formula *civitas* = *urbs* + *territorium*.[13] This relationship between *urbs* and *territorium* is a rather complex construct. Fustel de Coulanges has stated that it has two components:

> Cité et ville n'étaient pas des mots synonymes chez les anciens. La cité était l'association religieuse et politique des familles et des tribus; la ville était le lieu de réun-ion, le domicile de cette association.[14]

Due to this difference between the *ville* as a physical settlement and the *cite* as the political and religious association where families assemble, I will generally refer to self-governing communities rather than to self-governing cities.

Following the example of the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, where every nation's definition is accepted, we should accept the self-governing communities as the Romans defined them. As noted by Strabo, not all settlements referred to as πόλεις in the ancient sources meet the criteria. We first need to be certain that a settlement was regarded as a self-governing community. It is therefore better to start with those communities that were accepted as self-governing by the Roman state. This approach is used in many publications that focus on Roman urbanism.[15] One of the first attempts

[13] Pérez Losada (2002): 25; see also Edmondson (2006) 'Cities and Urban Life in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, 30 BCE-250 CE.' In: Potter (ed.), *Companion to the Roman Empire*, 250-80: 254.

[14] Bendala Galán (1994b); Fustel de Coulanges (1864): 166: City and town were not synonymous words for the ancients. The city was the religious and political association of the family and tribe; the town was the meeting place, the home of this association (own translation).

[15] McElderry (1918) 'Vespasian's reconstruction of Spain.' *Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 8, 53-102; Vittinghoff (1952) *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*; García y Bellido (1959) 'Las Colonias romanas de Hispania.' *Anuario de historia del derecho español* Vol. 29, 447-512; Galsterer (1971); Mackie (1983) *Local administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14-212*; Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989) *La ciudad hispano-romana: Privilegio y Poder*; Ortiz de Urbina (1992) *Municipalizacion Real, Municipalizacion Virtual. Funcionamiento Interno de Comunidades sin Documentacion del Estatuto Municipal en Hispania, Africa y Gallia*; Bendala Galán (ed.) (1993) *La ciudad Hispanorromana*; Dupré i Raventós (1994) 'La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica ; [coordinació científica, Xavier Dupré i Raventós] = La ciudad en el mundo romano : actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica; [coordinación científica, Xavier Dupré i Raventós].' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*; Canto (1996) '*Oppida Stipendiaria*: Los Municipios Flavios en la descripción de *Hispania* de Plinio.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 23, 212-43; González Fernández (ed.) (1999) *Ciudades privilegiadas en el occidente romano: Actas del Congreso Internacional "Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano"*; Castillo *et al.* (2001) *De Augusto a Trajano: un siglo en la historia de Hispania*; Goffaux (2003) 'Promotions Juridiques et Monumentalisation des Cités Hispano-Romaines.' *Saldvie* Vol. 3, 143-61; Andreu Pintado (2004c); Sáez Fernández (2008) 'Colonias romanas y municipalización flavia: ¿conflicto de intereses?' In: Mangas Manjarrés and Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, 155-76; Espinosa Espinosa (2015) 'Consideraciones sobre el papel de los "oppida veteris Latii" como focos de ignición

to collect all the data for the Iberian Peninsula, and now a reference work for Republican and Augustan privileged communities, is Hartmut Galsterer's *Untersuchungen zum Römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel.* Galsterer argues that some privileged communities were already existing cities recognized as administrative centres of territories, while others were *oppida* or tribal societies that fulfilled the position of a central place as Rome demanded.[16] Galsterer bases his analysis on ancient literature, epigraphy and numismatics, mentioning the privilege granted directly or with indirect evidence, such as the presence of *duumviri*.[17] Interestingly, Galsterer leaves the Flavian period out of the analysis, although it is in this period that the greatest change to the status of peregrine communities took place.

With the discovery of the *Lex Irnitana* in 1981, the debate on the Flavian promotions on the Iberian Peninsula received a new impetus.[18] In the decades since then, Morales Rodríguez, Andreu Pintado and other scholars have greatly expanded the knowledge of the Flavian *municipia.* Their publications yield very useful overviews of the evidence available for asserting the Flavian promotion of communities.[19] The criteria used to define a place as a possible *municipium* have been extended within these two works to the presence of the *tribus Quirina*, the presence of *flaminici* (*sacerdotes*) and the mention of a specific place in Pliny and Ptolemy. There is also a debate on the grant of *ius Latii* and the scope of this grant, which itself is extensive enough for another dissertation.[20]

de la romanización cultural y política de las comunidades hispanas en época republicana.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 23, 225-52. For a complete overview of all work on the subject up to 1995 see Abascal Palazón (1995) 'Veinticinco años de estudios sobre la ciudad hispano-romana.' *Tempus* Vol. 10, 19-84. In addition to these works referring to the peninsula as a whole there is a multitude of studies on specific regions and cities concerning their status.

[16] Galsterer (1971): 1.

[17] *Ibid.* 4.

[18] Muñiz Coello (1985) 'La Política Municipal de los Flavios en Hispania. El Municipium Irnitanum.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 3, 151-76; González and Crawford (1986) 'The Lex Irnitana: A New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law.' *The Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 76, 147-243; González (1989a) 'Las leyes municipales flavias.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 133-52; Mangas Manjarrés (1989) 'La municipalización flavia de Hispania.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 153-67; Nolla (1993) 'Les ciutats romanes del nord-est de Catalunya: els municipis flavis.' *Homenatge a Miquel Tarradell*, 659-65; Canto (1996); González (1999) 'Nuevos fragmentos de la Lex Flavia Municipalis pertenecientes a la Lex Villonensis y a otros municipios de nombre desconocido.' In: González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, 239-45; Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989); Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990) *Stadtbild un Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit (Kolloquium in Madrid vom 19. bis 23. Oktober 1987)*; Bravo Castañeda (2007) *Hispania: La epopeya de los romanos en la Península*; Roldán Hervás (ed.) (1989b) *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania.*

[19] Morales Rodríguez (2000) *Los Municipios Flavios de la Bética*; Andreu Pintado (2004c).

[20] See chapter III.

In order to find further self-governing communities, we can look at indirect evidence such as *termini* and milestones.[21] In addition, we can turn to numismatic evidence.[22] Lastly, we have to turn to archaeology to define whether the settlements found are to be considered urban based on their function or size. If places are considered only on the basis of epigraphic or numismatic evidence or a reference to their self-governing nature in classical sources, we will certainly omit urban settlements for which this specific evidence is missing. Collecting only the status and name of an urban settlement will not lead to an adequate understanding of the urban system. Collecting evidence relating to other aspects of these settlements will permit the comparison of different settlements and allow for the inclusion of settlements with urban features for which there is a lack of evidence of their self-governing nature. For these *definientia,* we have to turn to archaeology.

1.3 Settlements with urban functions

The relationship between the function of a city and its privileged status is strongly intertwined in the debate on Roman cities, as can be observed in the work by Galsterer *Wie funktioniert eine römische Stadt?*[23] The subtitle, *Die Infrastruktur römischer Municipien und Kolonien nach den Stadtgesetzen* immediately reveals that this publication still focuses on cities with these specific privileges rather than the city in general. Clearly, when looking at the Roman city only from the status perspective, we neglect the multiple functions of these places, beyond the administrative and political aspects, and lose sight of the differences between urban settlements and their functions. Regarding early forms of urbanism, several definitions have been proposed for recognising urban settlements from the functional and archaeological perspective. A large range of key features of settlements and/or societies have been pointed out as criteria for defining places or communities as urban, including identity, ideology and central place theory.[24]

[21] Cortés Bárcena (2013) *Epigrafía en los confines de las ciudades romanas: los termini publici en Hispania, Mauretania y Numidia*; Lostal Pros (1992) *Los miliarios de la Provincia Tarraconense: (Conventos Tarraconense, Cesaraugustano, Cluniense y Cartaginense)*; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014) *Itinera Hispana: Estudio de las vías romanas en Hispania a partir del Itinerario de Antonino, el Anónimo de Ravena y los Vasos de Vicarello*.

[22] Hollander (2007) *Money in the Late Roman Republic*: 111.

[23] Galsterer (1998) 'Wie funktioniert eine römische Stadt? Die Infrastructur römischer Municipien und Kolonien nach den Stadtgesetzen.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 19-33.

[24] Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014) 'The Emergence of Urbanism in Early Iron Age Central Iberia.' In: Fernández-Götz, Wendling and Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, 204-13: 209; Childe (1950) 'The Urban Revolution.' *The Town Planning Review* Vol. 21, N° 1, 3-17: 10ff..Childes ten traits of a city:

1) Size should be larger and more densely populated than previous settlements;
6) Administration of surplus;
7) Invention of writing or scripts;

The last of these in particular, the central location for a surrounding area, is clearly linked with the territory of the self-governing urban centres. As Weber pointed out long ago, cities were not only political centres, they also served as market places for their surrounding areas.[25] With these functions, archaeological elements enter our inquiry. *Fora*, or more basic market places, and temples could have functioned as economic or religious foci of regions, and as such might have led to the development of a settlement with a central place function or even further into an urban centre. *Fora* and temples are taken to be among the most important elements of the city according to Laurence, Sears and Esmonde Cleary.[26] More generally, these authors identify a variety of buildings as well as the 'urban lifestyle' as elements that define the city in the West.[27] Taking a closer look at this work, we can understand the advantages and disadvantages of this functional approach.

They 'assemble the city' starting with the monumental centre of the 'Roman' city, the *forum*.[28] This is followed by the baths, theatres and sacred spaces, finishing with the amphitheatre. Interestingly, the circus seems to play a less prominent role in the book as it is not mentioned in the chapter titles. This focus on function derived from monumentality is very interesting; it has also been proposed by other scholars, such as Alföldy, who stated that the architectural development of a Roman city would include a forum, basilica, curia, theatre, amphitheatre, circus, etc.[29]

The idea of a list of buildings or monuments as indications of the urban nature of a settlement can already be found in antiquity. The most famous example is Pausanias' reference to Panopeus:

> *Panopeus*, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins,

2) Social differentiation of urban population;
3) Surplus was taxed;
4) Monumental building;
5) Non-agricultural producers supported by taxed surplus;
8) Artistic expression;
9) Importation of raw materials, paid for by taxed surplus;
10) State organization based on residence rather than kinship.

[25] Weber (1922): 514.

[26] Laurence *et al.* (2011) *The City in the Roman West*: 75 & 135.

[27] Kolb (1984): 15; Fear (1996) *Rome and Baetica: urbanization in Southern Spain c. 50 BC- 150 AD*: 15; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 203; Arribas Domínguez (1999) 'Los balnea privados en el ámbito rural lusitano.' In: Gorges and Rodríguez Martín (eds.), *Économie et territoire en Lusitanie romaine*, 427-51: 427; Edmondson (2006): 250.

[28] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 170. The book titles indicate that the idea is to recreate the city by assembling it from the monumental buildings: Assembling the city 1: forum and basilica; Assembling the city 2: baths and urban life; Assembling the city 3: theatres and sacred space; Assembling the city 4: amphitheatres.

[29] Alföldy (1987) *Römischen Städtewesen auf der neukastilischen Hochebene: Ein Testfall für die Romanisierung*: 120.

right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours, and even send delegates to the Phocian assembly.[30]

In addition, we find that Vitruvius' idea of the Augustan city and many other ancient sources mention different buildings as being part of civilised living, from which we can define a list of buildings, or even a foundation kit[31], that might be expected in a Roman city, containing: *forum*, *capitolium*, *basilica*, theatre, baths and a *macellum*.[32]

The approach of identifying urban settlements by their monumentality has obvious advantages: the actual archaeological record can be used in tandem with the epigraphic evidence. Due to their monumental character, these buildings have drawn the focus of archaeological research for decades, if not centuries, and as a result they are often well investigated. Nonetheless, this approach creates new challenges.

First, we encounter the problem of still missing data; since many Roman cities are buried beneath modern successors, archaeological data is often missing or incomplete, while other cities have not been excavated or have not even been found yet.[33] Thus, defining the city solely by its located public buildings would mean that many cities would be neglected, simply because we have no data for their monumentality.

Secondly, the focus on monumentality raises the question of which buildings were 'public'. Those buildings with a clear public character, such as the spectacle buildings, are found on the Iberian Peninsula only within the urban context. However, thermal complexes and temples might be public or private, and these are also found in non-urban contexts.[34]

In order to overcome this problem we must look beyond the presence or absence of these types of buildings and try to identify the function of such buildings within a wider region. In other words, we have to ascertain whether certain monumental buildings provided services for the *civitas*. Another limitation of an approach focussing on monumentality is the possibility of there being central places with urban functions, economic or religious, but without obvious monumental buildings. In order to overcome a focus on monumentality alone we have to go one step further and take the functions of a settlement into account.

[30] Paus. 10.4.1.

[31] Salmon (1969) *Roman Colonization under the Republic*: 27.

[32] Tert. *Apol.* 42.2; Tac. *Agricola* 21; Digest, 50. I. 27. I (Ulpian); 50. I. 35 (Modestinus); Lomas (1997) 'The idea of a city: élite ideology and the evolution of urban form in Italy, 200 BC–AD 100.' In: Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City*, 21-40: 23; Fear (1996): 7; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 30.

[33] The modern cities: *Lucus Augusti* (modern Lugo); *Tarraco* (Tarragona); *Caesaraugusta* (Zaragoza); *Corduba* (Córdoba); *Gades* (Cádiz) are the famous ones amongst many less known. Unexcavated or incompletely excavated cities are quite common: *Urso* an unexcavated or badly reported city and *Clunia* a partially excavated city are the rather important ones.

[34] García Entero 'Öffentliche Thermen un private Bäder in Hispanien.' In: Teichner (ed.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Provinzialrömischen Archäologie in Hispanien*, 63-9: 67; Mangas Manjarrés and Novillo López (eds.) *Santuarios suburbanos y del territorio de las ciudades romanas*.

Within the category of less monumental settlements performing urban functions we encounter some self-governing cities, but the majority of these settlements fall within what are often called the 'small towns' or secondary agglomerations.[35] Secondary agglomerations may be defined as those settlements that have taken up central place functions in regions with low urbanization. Unfortunately the subject has rarely been studied in the case of the Iberian Peninsula[36], and when it is studied it is often related to the idea of the status of a settlement as *vicus* or *pagus*.[37] In order to gain an understanding of the role these secondary agglomerations can play as central places we have to turn to the Anglophone and French debates on this subject.[38]

Furthermore, to understand the central place functions of the secondary agglomerations we can turn to the work by Clark on the so-called 'small towns' in the period between 400 and 2000.[39] The settlements investigated by Clark are characterised by five key features: an unusual concentration of population, a specialist economic function, a complex social structure, a sophisticated political order, and a distinctive influence beyond their immediate boundaries.[40] These characteristics recall those already mentioned among the definitions by Childe and Kolb.

The specialist economic function is also found as part of the definition in the debate on secondary agglomerations. Here we find functions such as: specialised crafts, road stations, thermal complexes or spas, religious centres and garrison settlements.[41]

A further aspect closely connected with urban lifestyle and status is social differentiation. The presence of an élite group governing a settlement is the third aspect of an ancient city proposed by Kolb and is also found in Clark's key features. An important indicator here is *euergetism*, private expenditure on public buildings as a way of demonstrating economic wealth and increasing the legitimacy of oligarchic rule. This can be a good indicator of the economic position and wealth of a settlement,

[35] See infra Chapter IV Secondary Agglomerations for a complete treatment of the literature.

[36] Alarcão (1996); Pérez Losada (2002); Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán (2003) 'Ciudades y aglomeraciones secundarias en el norte y noroeste de Hispania en época julio-claudia.' In: AAVV (ed.) *Colloquio Aquitania,* supp. 13 Federación Aquitania, 157-67; Morillo Cerdan *et al.* (2014) 'Aglomeraciones secundarias de carácter militar en Hispania.' *Anejos a CuPAUAM* Vol. 1, 117-31.

[37] Curchin (1985) 'Vici and Pagi in Roman Spain.' *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* Vol. 87, N° 3-4, 327-43; Le Roux (1992-1993) 'Vicus et Castellum en Lusitanie sous l'empire.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 10-11, 151-60; Moreno Martín (1997) 'Ocupación territorial hispano-romana. Los Vici: poblaciones rurales.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 10, 295-306; Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014) 'Las formas de ocupación rural en Hispania. Entre la terminología y la praxis arqueológica.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 40, 111-36.

[38] For an overview of these debates, see Rust (2006). and Baret (2013) 'Les agglomérations antiques du Massif Central.' In: Trément (ed.), *Les Arvernes et leurs voisins du Massif Central à l'époque romaine. Une archéologie du développement des territoires*, 31-70.

[39] Clark and Slack (1976) English Towns in Transition 1500-1700; Clark (ed.) (1995) Small towns in Early Modern Europe; Clark (2009) European Cities and Towns 400-2000.

[40] Clark and Slack (1976): 5; Clark (ed.) (1995): 11.

[41] Mangin and Tassaux (1992); Burnham (1993) 'The "Small Towns" of Roman Britain - The Last Fifty Years.' In: Greep (ed.), *Roman Towns: The Wheeler Inheritance: A Review of 50 Years' Research*, 99-110.

although the funds for monumentalisation do not necessarily originate from the city's own economy.[42]

1.4 Demographic Definition

Kolb had already given a definition based on the demographic size of a settlement, which he linked with the division of labour and social differentiation. Since it has been argued that size is important in the case of cities and it is the most frequently used discriminant in the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, we have to investigate large settlements in order to determine whether or not these qualify as cities. In the case of the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, we have already seen that 41% of the definitions are based at least partially on total population or population density. In antiquity, population size was taken as an important characteristic of the city; Aristotle, for example, stated that in order to be considered a city, a settlement needed to have a population size that would allow for specialisation.[43] This observation connects the size of a settlement to its function within a settlement system. Only those places that have increased their population beyond a certain number of inhabitants have the labour force to allow for specialisation of the population, and as such the ability to provide services beyond the agricultural.[44] Despite its apparent importance for the development and definition of a city, this is the most difficult definition. As early as 1938, Wirth stated that defining a city by its size is arbitrary and that classifying a settlement as a city on the basis of population should therefore be a last resort.[45]

Interestingly, scholars have not used size as such to define the city on the Iberian Peninsula. Nonetheless, some works in the historiography of urban centres on the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity have focused on demography or more precisely on the size of settlements.[46] Opting to look at the physical size in hectares rather than the actual demography is a result of the difficulties of calculating the actual numbers of

[42] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 46.
[43] Aristotle *Pol*. VII 1325b ff.
[44] Bintliff (2000) 'Settlement and Territory: a socio-ecological approach to the evolution of settlement systems.' In: Bailey, Charles and Winder (eds.), *Human Ecodynamics*, 21-30: 27; Bintliff (2010) 'Classical Greek Urbanism: a social Darwinian view.' In: Rosen and Sluiter (eds.), *Valuing Others in Classical Antiquity*, 15-41: 31.
[45] Wirth (1938) 'Urbanism as a Way of Life.' *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 44, N° 1, 1-24: 5.
[46] Taracena (2007 [1949]) 'Las Fortificaciones y la población de la España Romana.' In: Abascal Palazón, Noguera Celdrán and Navarro Suárez (eds.), *IV Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español: Edición Facsimilar*, 421-42; Almagro-Gorbea (1987) 'El área superficial de las poblaciones ibéricas.' In: AAVV (ed.) *Los asentamientos Ibericos ante la Romanización,* Casa de Velazquez; Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995) 'El área superficial de los oppida en la Hispania céltica.' *Complutum* Vol. 4 Extra, 209-34; Carreras Monfort (1996); Keay (1998b) 'The Development of Towns in Early Roman Baetica.' In: Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, 55-86; Keay and Earl (2011) 'Towns and Territories in Roman Baetica.' In: Bowman and Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*, 276-316; Marzano (2011); Carreras Monfort (2014).

inhabitants.[47] This absence of interest in size as a *definiens* in antiquity, in contrast to modern definitions, may be the result of the problems in determining the data. There are two aspects to this problem. First and foremost, and this ties in with the point made by Wirth, the attribute 'large' should be seen within its context: cities that are regarded as the largest in Hispania are regarded as only mediocre in size in Asia Minor and the Near East. Therefore, the definition of the cut-off point, or the minimum size for a settlement to be considered a city, can only be determined after a sufficient number of settlements have been collected and they have been classified as cities on the basis of other characteristics. Even then, one has to take into account that some obviously urban communities will be smaller. Similarly, Almagro-Gorbea has problems defining the cut-off point for the definition of *oppida*: he argues that an *oppidum* is in general a large settlement, although some are smaller than 10 hectares.[48]

In order to define the city based on size, one has to determine the smallest settlements that can be considered with certainty as cities. However, at the lower end it is unclear where the line should be drawn. As has already been stated, this is by any means an arbitrary decision. For example, if we take 10 hectares as a cut-off point, perhaps corresponding to a population of between 1,370 and 2,500 people,[49] we would certainly exclude some clearly urban sites. This is based on the fact that among the juridical and monumentalised cities we find places smaller than this possible cut-off point.[50]

In addition, it is often unclear how large a city is.[51] First, the archaeology to determine the exact size of a settlement is often lacking. Obviously, on greenfield sites and cities with standing Roman walls the size of the walled area of a city can be determined with a high degree of certainty. However, beyond this, one needs to differentiate between the walled area and the built-up area. Unfortunately, there is no clear relationship between built-up area and walled area. A city can have a larger built-up area if it has developed beyond the walled area, or it may be the case that only the acropolis has been walled. Cities with a larger walled area can also found. This can be the result of a regional custom of enclosing larger areas or complete hilltops within

[47] Carreras Monfort (1996): 102. These numbers appear to me as too high as these have been based on large cities such as Ostia, Alexandria and Pompeii. Keay and Earl (2011): 304. Cf. Hassan (1981) *Demographic Archaeology*; Bintliff and Sbonias (eds.) (1999) *Reconstructing Past Population Trends in Mediterranean Europe*; Marzano (2011): 204.

[48] Almagro-Gorbea (1994) 'El Urbanismo en la Hispania <<Céltica>>: Castros y Oppida.' *Complutum* Vol. 4 Extra, 13-76: 26. See de Ligt for some of the problems in defining the size of a city in Ligt (2016) 'Urban Systems and the Political and Economic Structures of Early-Imperial Italy.' *Rivista di storia economica* Vol. XXXII, N° 1, 17-76.

[49] Marzano (2011): 206; Keay and Earl (2011): 304; Carreras Monfort (2014): 56.

[50] E.g.: *Contributa Iulia* with its 7 hectares and amphitheatre; *Munigua* 4,5 hectares, with the monumental *forum* temple complex and baths.

[51] Almagro-Gorbea (1987): 28.

walls. Moreover, planned growth of a place can lead to a larger walled area. In settlements with large walled areas the buildings might have been built in a more dispersed rather than nucleated manner, giving the appearance of a large built-up area.

As a result, size is a difficult measure to use – and is consequently seldom used – to define a city. Nonetheless it is a valuable attribute to investigate the city and the hierarchy of cities. Different scholars have relied on size to obtain an idea of settlement hierarchy for the Iberian Peninsula as a whole or its sub-regions.[52] The first work using settlement size as an attribute to define a settlement hierarchy on the Iberian Peninsula was carried out by Almagro-Gorbea in 1987 for the 'Iberian' sphere, the area along the Mediterranean coast.[53] In a later publication co-written with Dávila, a similar settlement hierarchy was created for the 'Celtic' sphere of the Iberian Peninsula, the inland region.[54] The authors used the collection of the 98 sizes of the 'Celtic' *oppida* between 110 and 5 hectares for a comparative analysis of the size distribution based on a rank-size analysis using a logarithmic scale.[55] Both articles compare the sizes of settlements in sub-regions to gain a better understanding of urbanisation within these regions and how these differ on the Iberian Peninsula. One of the main conclusions of both articles is that the urban centres closer to the Mediterranean are relatively larger.[56]

Keay wrote two articles, the first in 1998 and the second in 2011, on the size distribution of towns in *Baetica*.[57] In his earlier article Keay mentions 38 sizes for cities in the province, although this is obviously just a small selection of the cities in this densely urbanised region. These sizes are then used for a simple rank-size analysis, without the logarithmic scale. Keay argues that the sizes of settlements cannot be explained simply by the position of a city in the Imperial system, assuming that *coloniae*, *municipia*, provincial capitals and *conventus* capitals were larger as they were privileged settlements.[58] He observes that some places are larger as they were of importance in the pre-Roman period and continued to be important subsequently. The 2011 article is confined to a much smaller scale, looking only at the *conventus Astigitanus*, and analyses the sizes of 15 *civitas* 'capitals'. However, these sizes are used to calculate the population rather than to reconstruct a hierarchy based on the size of the settlement. Nonetheless, a short explanation is given for the size hierarchy, which, surprisingly, is partially explained by the colonial status of the largest settlements,

[52] Carreras Monfort (1996); Marzano (2011); Carreras Monfort (2014); Keay (1998b); Keay and Earl (2011); Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[53] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[54] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[55] *Ibid.* 224.
[56] Almagro-Gorbea (1987): 31; Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995): 225ff.
[57] Keay (1998b); Keay and Earl (2011).
[58] Keay (1998b): 61.

contradicting his earlier thesis.[59] However, Keay bases the hierarchy on several parameters, of which size makes up only a small part.

In articles in 1996 and 2014 Carreras used the sizes of respectively 107 and 241 Roman settlements to calculate the total population of and density concentrations on the Iberian Peninsula in the Roman period.[60] He bases his range of sizes mostly on the works by Almagro-Gorbea and Keay. In both articles Carreras points out the difficulties in collecting settlement sizes as well as the problematic nature of size as a parameter to investigate the nature of urbanism. Aware of the challenges, he arrives at an estimation of 4,298,062 inhabitants for the whole peninsula, of which 27.11% would have been urban.[61]

Even though size is the most frequently used *definiens* for urban centres, with regard to the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, it is a very difficult proxy for the Iberian Peninsula in Antiquity. First, the self-governing cities on the Iberian Peninsula are rather small. Even the largest settlements, *Tarraco*, *Corduba*, *Augusta Emerita* and *Gades*, are dwarfed when compared with the settlements of other provinces. Trying to determine a cut-off point for the smallest size of an urban settlement would embroil us in a discussion for which there is no definitive answer. If we consider 5 hectares as a possible cut-off point, we would still exclude some central places of self-governing communities. However, a lower cut-off point would certainly include a multitude of non-urban centres. Secondly, the sizes collected in secondary literature are of very different quality and periods. As we can observe in Carreras 1996 and 2014, in order to collect a large set of sizes he had to use a broad-ranging period from the Republic to the start of Late Antiquity. It therefore seems preferable to avoid using size as the defining criterion to categorise a settlement as a possible urban centre, but rather to consider size as an attribute of the urban settlement to differentiate and create an urban hierarchy.

1.5 Defining the city

Pausanias was clearly of the opinion that *Panopeus* can barely be regarded a city as it lacked a gymnasium, theatre, market place and even a fountain. Nonetheless, it is still considered a *polis,* or self-governing community, as it did despatch embassies. From a juridical point of view, *Panopeus* was a city since it had at one time received permission to send embassies, but it did not look like a city in terms of monumentality. We also find large settlements that, as far as can be determined, were never promoted. We cannot but accept these as possible urban centres or at least central places within the urban network.

[59] Keay and Earl (2011): 305.
[60] Carreras Monfort (1996); Carreras Monfort (2014).
[61] Carreras Monfort (2014): 70.

Ancient sources and epigraphy will be used to establish the self-governing nature of communities. In addition to the known juridical status of a settlement, there is other evidence that can indicate the self-governing nature of a community, namely magistrates, voting tribes, *termini augustales* and the right to mint coins on behalf of the emperors. Most self-governing communities are mentioned by Pliny by name and are included among the *coloniae* or among the independent *oppida* or *populi*. In addition, the epigraphic record has been searched for inscriptions that can serve as clues pointing to self-governing status. The magistracies that qualify a settlement as self-governing are: *aedilis*; *duumvir (duovir)*; *praefectus caesaris*; *praefectus iure dicundo*; *quaestor*; *quattuorvir*; *quinquennalis* and *omnibus honoribus functus*. These magistracies are related directly to the Roman civic organization.[62] Communities are also considered self-governing if *termini augustales* or municipal coins mentioning the name of the city or community are found. This is because the erection of *termini augustales*[63] and the minting of municipal coins[64] were only allowed under the auspices of the emperor.

The nature of the settlements also has to be defined. As discussed, urban centres performed certain functions. We will look primarily at the monumental centres as these might have functioned as central places for a region. We will also consider the functions of settlements; based on central place theory, we can establish that some non-self-governing settlements performed 'urban' functions where the network and density of urban centres remained underdeveloped.[65] This is one of the most difficult processes of the analysis. The functions in question are those often related to the secondary agglomerations: port, garrison, mining, the spas and thermal complexes and, lastly, the *mutationes* and *mansiones*. Unfortunately, the scope of this research does not allow for a complete inventory to be made of all these possible urban centres. Therefore, some case studies will be taken into account to understand the position these secondary agglomerations have adopted within the urban network of the Iberian Peninsula in the High Empire.

[62] Curchin (1990) *The local magistrates of Roman Spain*; Melchor Gil (2011) 'Sobre los Magistrados de las Comunidades Hispanas no Privilegiadas (s. III A.C. - s. I D.C.).' *Epigrafia e Antichità* Vol. 29, 151-71: 151ff; Curchin (2015) *A Supplement to the Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*: 5-14.

[63] Gómez-Pantoja (2011) 'Un nuevo terminus augustalis de la Lusitania.' In: Sartori and Valvo (eds.), *Identità e autonomie nel mondo romano occidentale*, 291-318: 296; Le Roux (2014a) 'Cités et territoires en Hispanie: l'épigraphie des limites.' In: Le Roux (ed.), *Espagne romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* 131-44: 133; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 266.

[64] Burnett *et al.* (1992b) *Roman Provincial Coinage: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)* 2.

[65] Bekker-Nielsen (1989) *The Geography of Power: Studies in the Urbanization of Roman North-West Europe*: 47.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS OF URBANISATION ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

2.1 Introduction

As Appian explains in his account of the Iberian Wars, the Romans did not encounter an empty landscape that they could organise according to a pre-defined plan. Instead, they found a complex geographical continent with a variety of settlement patterns. Appian even starts with a brief attempt to write a history of the different peoples, but quickly decides that this is for antiquarians:

> The size of Iberia (now called Hispania by some) is almost incredible for a single country. Its breadth is reckoned at ten thousand stades, and its length is equal to its breadth. Many nations of various names inhabit it, and many navigable rivers flow through it.
>
> [2] What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, [...]. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that way. I think also that from an early time the Phœnicians frequented Spain for purposes of trade, and occupied certain places there. In like manner the Greeks visited Tartessus and its king Arganthonius, and some of them settled in Spain; for the kingdom of Arganthonius was in Spain. It is my opinion that Tartessus was then the city on the seashore which is now called Carpessus. I think also that the Phoenicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits. The religious rites performed there are still of Phoenician type, and the god is considered by the worshippers the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules. But I will leave these matters to the antiquaries.[1]
>
> Appian *Iber*. I 1-2

[1] μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἱσπανίας νῦν ὑπό τινων ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι.
(2) οἵ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται καὶ οἳ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, [...], πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοί μοι δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρύη. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαί τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας Ἕλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδέ τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἴβηρσιν ἦν, καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσὸς ὀνομάζεται. τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοίνικές μοι δοκοῦσιν ἱδρύσασθαι· καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι φοινικικῶς, ὅ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσιν μεθείσθω·
(Loeb translation)

In order to understand the development of the Roman urban network on the Iberian Peninsula we should take into account the geographical background and the pre-Roman situation with which the Romans had to deal. We, therefore, have to consider two defining forces. Primarily the geographical substructure, since this is the most powerful force in the creation of the urban landscape. The position of a city in an accessible location or close to natural resources often defines its success.[2] Secondly, the historical template has to be taken into account, by which we mean the existing urban centres on which the Roman urban system is superimposed. Without understanding the pre-Roman and Republican urban system, we cannot grasp the full complexity of the urban landscape in the High Empire.[3]

The starting point of this chapter will be a rough sketch of the geographical background of the Iberian Peninsula. Subsequently, different regions, geographically defined, will be looked at in greater detail to try to understand urbanisation from the sixth century BCE to the third century BCE, describing the urban layout encountered by the Romans from their landing at *Emporion* in 218 BCE. Thereafter the period of the Roman conquest, from 218 to 19 BCE, and its effects on urban centres will be examined. Lastly, the historical developments during the High Empire that had a direct influence on the urban landscape will be treated.

2.2 Geography of Hispania

The geographical delimitation of the research field is easily recognised, with the Pyrenees (*Pyrenaei montes*) in the north as the clear physical border of the Iberian Peninsula. The only additions to the mainland are the Balearic and Pityusic Islands, which belong to the province of *Hispania Citerior* as Pliny clearly states.[4]

Though the research field is clearly defined, it is far from homogenous. The geography of the Iberian Peninsula is determined and divided by the mountain ranges and the rivers flowing from them. The peninsula has seven major river basins divided by different mountain ranges.[5] To the south of the Pyrenean mountain range, we find the Ebro basin. Its major river, the Ebro (*Hiberus*), arises in the Cordillera Cantábrica and connects a large section of the north to the Mediterranean. To the south we find the Iberic System and the next basin: the Júcar, with its main river flowing to the east. Similarly flowing to the east we find another lesser river, the Segura, originating from the Baetic System. These mountain systems also feed one of the most important rivers

[2] Krugman (1995) *Development, Geography, and Economic Theory*: 33.
[3] Curchin (2004) *The Romanization of Central Spain*; Bendala Galán (1987) 'El plan urbanístico de Augusto en Hispania: precedentes y pautas macroterritoriales.' In: Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) *Stadtbild und Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit,* München: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 25-42: 25.
[4] "accedunt insulae quarum mentione seposita ..." Plin. *NH* III 18.
[5] Information obtained from "Sistema Integrado de Informatión del Agua" and Mason (1941) *Spain & Portugal: The Peninsula*: 6.

and the first flowing into the Atlantic Ocean: the Guadalquivir (*Baetis*). To the north the Sierra Morena forms the border between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana (*Anas*), which has its source in this Sierra. As the Guadiana is a river with various cascades and waterfalls, it is not very useful as a navigable river from the Atlantic coast. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning, as its upper course is generally navigable. To the north we find the Montes de Toledo that separate the Guadiana basin from that of the longest river on the Iberian Peninsula: the Tajo (*Tagus*). This river originates from the previously mentioned Iberic System less than 150 kilometres from the Mediterranean Sea and flows over 1,000 kilometres to the Atlantic Ocean, crossing the Southern Submeseta. The Central System divides the basins of the Tajo and the Duero (*Durius*). The latter also feeds from the Iberic System; in addition, its tributaries feed from the mountain ranges surrounding the Northern Submeseta: the Central System, Iberic System and Cantabrian Mountains.

The differentiated and rugged terrain of the Iberian Peninsula has some rather sharp divisions, as a quick glance at a map will show. We can distinguish five different regions: the north-western region, the Iberian Levant, the southern Mediterranean and Atlantic coast, the Central Meseta and the southern Atlantic façade.[6] This geographical layout of the peninsula will be used to differentiate the areas under study to understand the development of urbanism (see fig. II.1).

The geography of the peninsula has a clear influence on its orientation: "It turns its back on the Mediterranean and faces the Atlantic".[7] Indeed, when looking at the geography it is obvious that the majority of the rivers flow towards the Atlantic, even those that are closer to the Mediterranean, as has already been mentioned for the case of the Tajo. Cunliffe points out that the mountain ranges created a barrier. This barrier not only influenced the microclimates but also had a major impact on cultural contacts.[8] Indeed, it is evident from the map with the pre-Roman coinage (see fig. II.6, 7 & 10) that the Mediterranean influence was limited to regions in indirect or direct contact with the Mediterranean. However, the mountain ranges were not insurmountable. In the First Iron Age, various ceramics of Mediterranean origin were found in the settlements of Talavera la Vieja and el Royo (Puente del Arzobispo), clearly indicating that there were direct or more likely indirect trade contacts with the Phoenicians.[9]

[6] Mason (1941): 6.
[7] Cunliffe and Keay (eds.) (1995) *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia*: 9.
[8] *Ibid*.
[9] Álvarez Sanchís (1999) *Los Vettones*: 91.

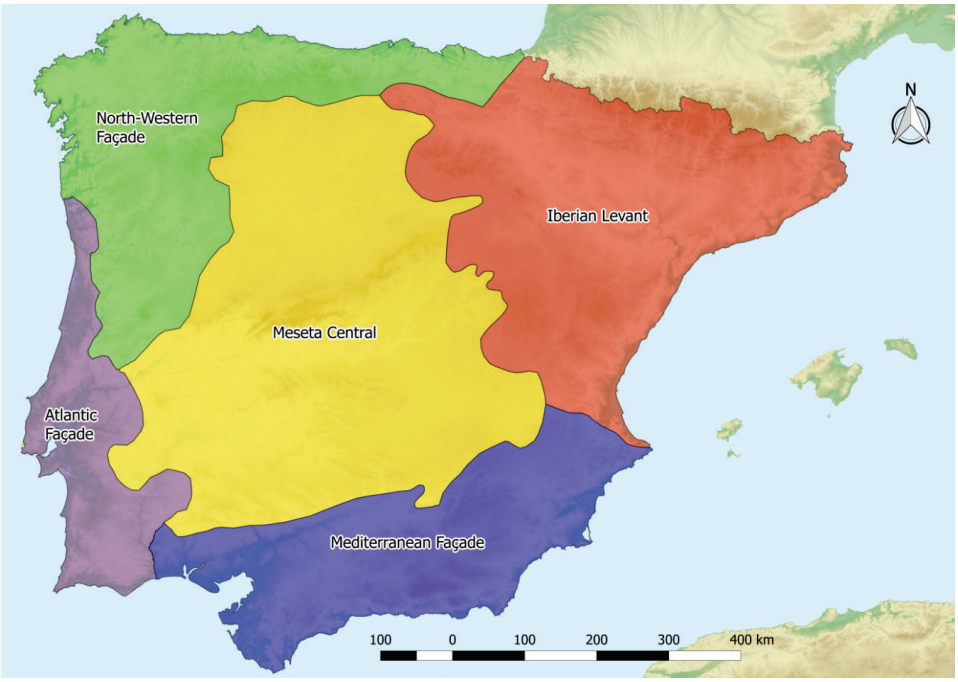


Fig. II.1 Geographical regions

Interestingly, we find that the geography of the Iberian Peninsula resulted in a broad cultural differentiation. From a historical geographical point of view, the Iberian Peninsula has been considered a micro-European continent.[10] The prehistoric European continent as a whole is a mixture of different cultural and political areas.[11] Regarding the Iberian Peninsula, if one applies a degree of imagination, a division similar to that of the European continent can be observed: the eastern part of the peninsula is the homeland of the non-Indo-European Iberians. Moreover, along this Mediterranean coast and to the south we find some of the colonies established from the Greek and Phoenician city-states. Along the Atlantic coast in the north-west, we find a collection of tribes that have often been considered 'Celtic' that are part of the Atlantic trade routes. Admittedly, there is no real scientific significance in this comparison between Europe and the Iberian Peninsula. However, it does show the complexity of the Iberian Peninsula as a very diverse geographical and cultural region.[12]

[10] Díaz-Andreu and Keay (eds.) (1997) *The archaeology of Iberia: the dynamics of change*: 1; Dietler (2009) 'Colonial Encounters in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean: An Exploratory Framework.' In: Dietler and López-Ruiz (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia*, 3-48: 5.
[11] Díaz-Andreu and Keay (eds.) (1997): 1; Cunliffe (2001) *The Oxford Illustrated History of Prehistoric Europe* 336ff.
[12] Díaz-Andreu and Keay (eds.) (1997): 1; Cunliffe (2001): 336ff; Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011) *Hispania Arqueológica: Panorama de la Cultura Material de las Provincias Hispanorromanas*: 21; Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014): 209.

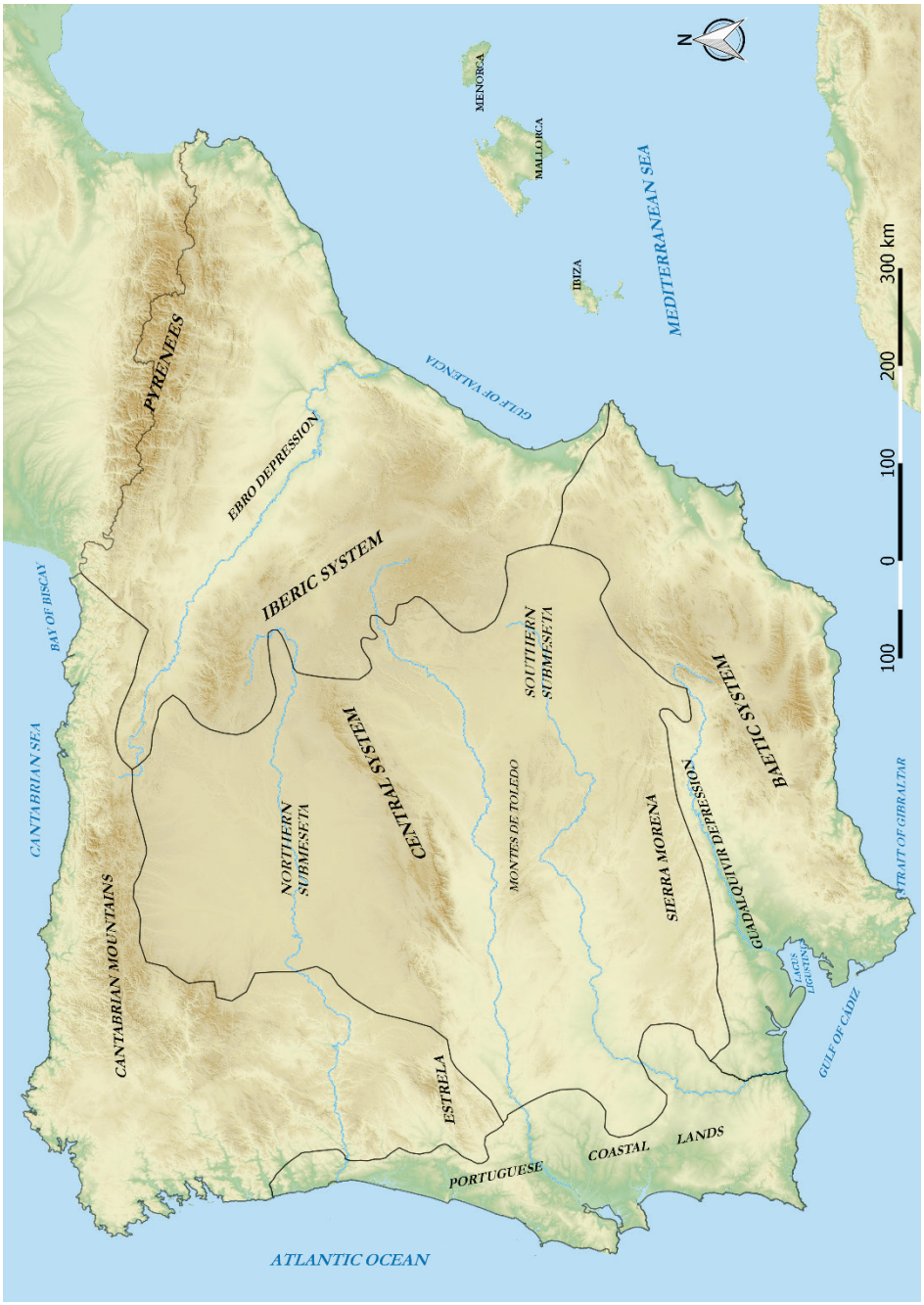


Fig. II.2 Major geographical features on the Iberian Peninsula

The importance of geography is stressed by the different forms of urbanisation found on the Iberian Peninsula. Among these regions of supposed urban development we find areas such as the north-western region[13], the Mediterranean coast[14], the southern Mediterranean and Atlantic coast often described as the Tartessian region[15], the Central Meseta[16] and the Southern Atlantic façade[17]. This geographical layout of the peninsula will be used to differentiate the areas under study to understand the urbanism encountered by the Romans in the third and second centuries BCE.

2.3 Urban Development in Pre-Roman Hispania

Comprehending Roman urban development on the Iberian Peninsula calls for an understanding not only of Roman and immediately pre-Roman history, but also of earlier forms of urbanisation. Since a full study of the development of urbanisation would be a complete research topic in itself, only a rough outline of the development of urbanism up to the Second Iron Age will be the focus of this chapter. The aim is to understand the different forms of urbanism on the Iberian Peninsula encountered by the Romans in order to understand the relation between these pre-Roman forms of urbanism and the differences within the Roman urban network.

[13] Hipólito Correia (2001) 'O povoamento do Noroeste no I.º millenio a.C.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, 213-26; Lemos *et al.* (2011) 'Landscape in the Late Iron Age of Northwest Portugal.' In: Moore and Armada (eds.), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millenium BC: Crossing the Divide*, 187-204; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007) 'A Evoluçâo do Sistema Defensivo Castrejo no Noroeste Peninsular.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Moret (eds.), *Paisajes Fortificados de la Edad del Hierro*, 99-111; González García (2007) *Los pueblos de la Galicia céltica*; González García *et al.* (2011) 'Iron Age Societies against the State: An Account of the Emergence of the Iron Age in North-western Iberia.' In: Moore and Armada (eds.), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millenium BC: Crossing the Divide*, 285-301.

[14] Sanmartí and Belarte (2001) 'Urbanización y desarrollo de estructuras estatales en la Costa de Cataluña (siglos VII-III a.C.).' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, 161-74; Sanmartí (2015) 'Long-Term Social Change in Iron Age Northern Iberia (ca. 700–200 BC).' In: Knapp and Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, 454-70.

[15] Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez (2015) 'Mobility, Interaction and Power in the Iron Age Western Mediterranean.' In: Knapp and Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, 299-316.

[16] Blasco Bosqued (2001) 'El poblamiento en las cuencas de los ríos Duero y Tajo durante la Edad del Hierro.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, 201-12; Almagro-Gorbea (1995); Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014); Ruiz Zapatero and Álvarez-Sanchís (1995) 'Las Cogotas: *Oppida* and the Roots of Urbanism in the Spanish Meseta.' In: Cunliffe and Keay (eds.), *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia*, 209-36.

[17] Fabião (2001) 'O povamento do sudoeste peninsular na segunda metade do I milénio a. C: Continuidades e rupturas.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Iberos*, 227-46; Hipólito Correia (1995) 'The Iron Age in South and Central Portugal and the emergence of Urban Centres.' In: Cunliffe and Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia*, 237-62.

Since it is hard to find the types of evidence we can use for the Roman period, namely status, monumentality and epigraphy, we have to rely on the more general and less obvious parameters of urbanism as given by Kolb and Childe.[18] Among these parameters, concentration of power must be regarded as the strongest evidence of urbanism or proto-urbanism. For example, evidence of mints in certain places or in particular communities can be seen as an indication of the concentration of power within a region. To define settlements as urban, scholars emphasise the administrative, economic, cultural and religious aspects of the urban centres. Moreover, the urban centre is the focal point of technological developments and the motor behind such advances.

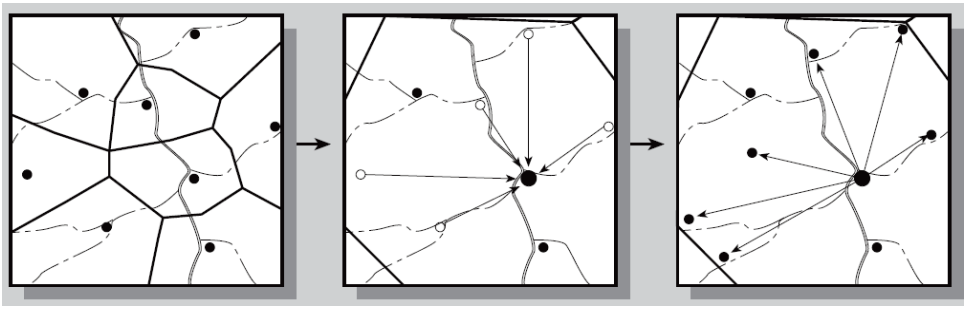


Fig. II.3: Diachronic development of the city (Burillo 2008, fig. 65, p. 261)

Concentration of power led to a shift to a more hierarchical settlement type based on an urban or proto-urban centre, where the larger and more complex settlements controlled smaller settlements and appropriated their territory (see fig. II.3).[19] These new centres also extended their defence structures, constructing multiple rings of walls and new forms of defence such as the *chevaux de frise*.[20] Moreover, they concentrated a part of the population of the territory within the city, which resulted in the abandonment of nearby settlements. Besides the concentration of the population,

[18] Kolb (1984): 15; Childe (1950): 10ff; Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014): 209. See also chapter I.
[19] Bendala Galán (2001) 'Procesos de poblamiento, urbanización y evolución social en Iberia: una introducción.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, 19-28: 20; Sanmartí (2015): 460; Rodríguez Díaz (2015) 'Landscapes and Seascapes of Southwest Iberia in the First Millennium BC.' In: Knapp and Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, 488-505: 499; Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez (2015): 311.
[20] García García (2011) 'La ocupación del valle del Duero en la Prehistoria Reciente: los recintos de fosos.' In: Mayoral Herrera and Celestino Pérez (eds.), *Tecnologías de información geográfica y análisis arqueológico del territorio*, 161-6: 162; García García (2016) 'Interpreting social change from above: causewayed enclosures of Northern Spanish Plateau.' *AARGnews* Vol. 52, 14-23: 21; Parcero Oubiña and Cobas Fernández (2004) 'Iron Age Archaeology of the Northwest Iberian Peninsula.' *e-Keltoi* Vol. 6, 1-72: 7; Berrocal-Rangel and Moret (2007) 'Las Fortificaciones Protohistóricas de la Hispania Céltica. Cuestiones a debate.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Moret (eds.), *Paisajes Fortificados de la Edad del Hierro*, 15-33: 21. These *chevaux de frise* are stones set upright to stop direct charges at the ramparts, see Berrocal-Rangel (2007).

other urban functions, such as administration, economy and religion, were consolidated in the new, emerging centres.[21] In general, the development of social stratification on the Peninsula is discernible in the period from the sixth century onwards. Due to the abandonment of settlements and the expansion of existing fortifications, this period is referred to as the Iberian period or the Iberian Crisis.[22] It is at the start of this period that we can recognise urbanism or proto-urbanism in various regions of the Iberian Peninsula. Though large differences – chronological or morphological – can be observed on a local level, the areas that had direct contact with Mediterranean traders tended to develop a settlement hierarchy earlier than the north-western *Castro Culture*.[23]

Urbanisation may have been related to the demand for metals from the Mediterranean basin, leading to the construction of ports and colonies along the Iberian coast in contact with the Mediterranean.[24] The demand from Phoenician and Greek traders[25] for raw metals and contacts with the inland mines led to a centralisation of communities and the emergence of dominant centres controlling particular areas of interest.[26] The impact of the Mediterranean traders has traditionally been overestimated, so much so that contact with these traders was considered the principal driving force behind the development of urbanism on the Iberian Peninsula.[27] Junyent

[21] Cruz (2015) 'O surgimento do espaço urbano no Noroeste da Ibéria. Uma reflexão sobre os oppida pré-romanos.' In: Martínez-Peñín and Cavero-Domínguez (eds.) *I Jornadas Internacionales sobre la Evolución de los espacios urbanos y sus territorios en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica,* León: Universidad de León - Universidade do Minho: 408.

[22] Sanmartí (2015): 457; Burillo Mozota (2011) 'Oppida y "ciudades estado" celtibéricos.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, N° 2, 277-95: 283; Burillo Mozota *et al.* (2008) 'The Uncorrupting Mountain. Historical Dynamics in the Iberian Mountain Range from 5.500 BC to 1.800 AD.' In: Gandini, Favory and Nuninger (eds.) *Colloque ArchaeDyn: 7 millennia of territorial dynamics*, 155-66: 160; Cunliffe and Keay (eds.) (1995): 19.

[23] *Castro* (pl: *castros*) is used to refer to the smaller walled settlements in Iberia, not to be confused with the Latin *castrum* (pl: *castra*), a Roman fortified encampment. I choose to use the Spanish word *castro* instead of the English hill fort, because the hill forts of the British Isles are different from the *castros* on the Iberian Peninsula.

[24] The Gulf of Cádiz is considered as connected with the Mediterranean.

[25] Although the terms Phoenician and Greek are used in a more general way, these groups were not homogenous and unified. As Dietler has put it, "*Phoenician* is an artificial category that should not be taken to indicate a coherent, uniform, or stable culture or identity – or even a precise place or origin. It is a vague, pragmatic collective term that indexes a complex set of identities and cultural practices that evolved constantly throughout a long, interlinked process of colonial expansion in different parts of the Mediterranean." Dietler (2009): 6. In this chapter an even more generalising term will be used: Eastern Mediterranean traders. With this term the Greek and Phoenician traders are taken as one group, obviously without the implication that they belong to one identity or homogenous group.

[26] Ruiz Zapatero *et al.* (2012b) 'Die Ausbreitung der Eisenmetallurgie auf der Iberischen Halbinsel.' *Technologieentwicklung und –transfer in der Hallstatt- und Latènezeit*, 149-65; Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001) 'Organización del territorio y poblamiento en el país Valenciano entre los siglos VII al II a.C.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, 175-86.

[27] Sanmartí (2009) 'Colonial Relations and Social Change in Iberia (Seventh to Third Centuries BC).' In: Dietler and López-Ruiz (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia*, 49-88: 52. See for example Cunliffe and Keay (eds.) (1995).

argued that the simplistic equation: *local substratum + colonial impact = Iberian culture* is far from being a reflection of the reality.[28] Local developments and forms of proto-urbanism have to be taken into account. However, as Sanmartí has pointed out, there is a reality in the change observed in traditional research and we have to recognise that the contact with the Mediterranean traders had a considerable impact on local cultures.[29]

Bonet has created two models of response to the contact with the Phoenician and Greek colonies for the Valencian regions (see fig. II.4). Although aimed at explaining changes for a specific region, they were derived from the more general models created by Wells in his 1980 book.[30] The models show two different basic settlement types and how these types developed following contact with Mediterranean traders or colonies.

On the one hand, Bonet starts out with the dispersed settlement pattern (see fig. II.4.1). In this model, we find an arrangement of widely dispersed settlements with large distances between them. The process starts with the already mentioned demand for local products or raw materials from the newly developed colony or the need for anchorage at the coast, as a result of which a trade route develops. Settlements at advantageous locations along this route start to take control of the route and of local resources, and evolve to become central places.[31] The new 'central place' grows in power and enlarges its territory to control or create smaller settlements off the main route and near to resources. This development not only occurs in settlements that are in direct contact with the colony or anchorage; along the route, the more inland settlements take control of their own routes or resources and trade these further along the route. The central places could be located far from one another, but they would have been connected with one another so that they could control the routes or resources within their reach.

The second model by Bonet starts from a more evenly developed Bronze Age settlement pattern in which the area is almost fully occupied (see fig. II.4.2). A settlement with direct contact with the Eastern Mediterranean traders becomes a redistribution centre for luxury goods from the Mediterranean and exercises control over the importation of these commodities. Goods from the Mediterranean, being luxury items, become a scarce but desirable product in the inland regions. In the redistribution centre they are traded for the raw metal ores or local products needed by the Eastern Mediterranean traders. Whilst in the model only one settlement has contact with the traders, in reality it is more likely that multiple coastal settlements competed

[28] Sanmartí (2009): 52.
[29] Bintliff (2016) 'Early States in the Mediterranean Ion Age (Ca 1000-400 BC).' In: Attema, Seubers and Willemsen (eds.), *Early States, Territories and Settlements in Protohistoric Central Italy*, 1-8: 3.
[30] Wells (1980) *Culture contact and culture change: early Iron Age central Europe and the Mediterranean world*; Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001): 183.
[31] See also: Hipólito Correia (2001); Lemos *et al.* (2011); Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007); González García (2007); González García *et al.* (2011).

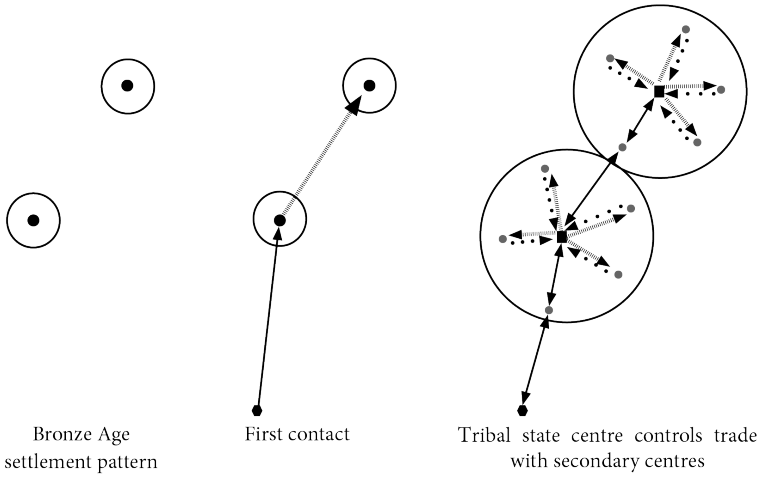
for their own direct trade relation with the Eastern Mediterranean traders in an effort to establish themselves as redistribution centres. Obviously, these models are not a reflection of reality but they do give us insights into how urbanism developed in the different regions. These models also help us understand the rise of 'city' or tribal states in the regions located along the Mediterranean coast.

Although the term 'city-state' is generally related to the Graeco-Roman sphere, its origins are most probably Phoenician, and similar political constellations seem to have arisen in other regions in the Mediterranean as well.[32] Collis characterises the city-state as a community named after its city or vice versa. In addition, it uses a symbol, such as coinage, to express its identity. Its territory, according to Collis, is often rather limited and can only be expanded by incorporating other settlements as secondary centres or by colonisation. For the Iberian Peninsula, Collis gives the eastern region as the location for the city-state organisation.[33] The city-state corresponds to the outcome of Bonet's second model, where we find Bronze Age settlements controlling a rather small territory that has been consolidated following contact with Mediterranean traders.

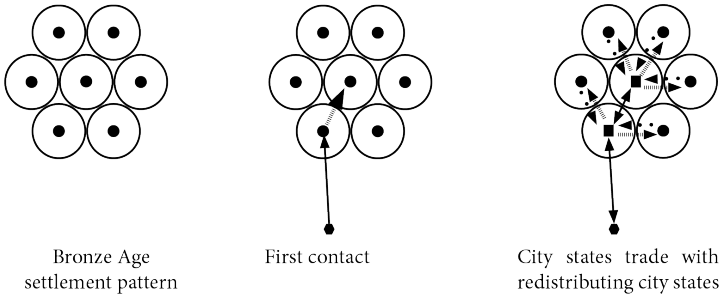
Collis contrasts the city-state with what he calls the tribal state, the major difference between these two types of states being the size of the territories. Moreover, tribal states are not based on stable urban centres, but rather on the continuity of a people with a common name. Centres do occur at times and urbanisation develops rather late, in the 6th or 5th century BCE.[34] In contrast to the coinage of the city-state, we do not find a symbol or name of the city on the coins, but rather the face and the name of a leader.[35] Whereas city-states can be found in areas in close contact with the Eastern Mediterranean traders, tribal states are often located further inland. The development of the tribal state as described by Collis matches the development of the dispersed settlement as described by Bonet.

With these two types of 'state organisation' and patterns of development in mind, we can start to differentiate the origin and type of urbanisation in the various geographical regions.

[32] Collis (2014) 'Urbanisation in Temperate Europe in the Iron Age: Mediterranean Influence or Indigenous?' In: Fernández-Götz, Wendling and Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, 15-22: 15; Collis (2012) 'Centralisation et urbanisation dans l'Europe tempérée à l'âge du Fer.' In: Sievers and Schönfelder (eds.), *Die Frage der Protourbanisation in der Eisenzeit / La question de la proto-urbanization à l'âge du Fer*, 1-15: 5.
[33] Collis (2014): 15.
[34] Collis (2014): 16.
[35] Collis (2012): 5.



1. Model of development of 'tribal state' system after contact with Mediterranean traders.



2. Model of development of 'city state' system after contact with Mediterranean traders.

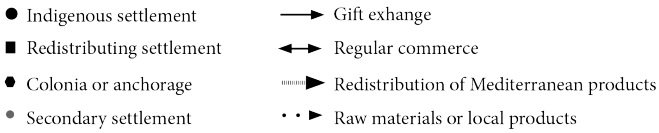


Fig. II.4 Models of settlement pattern changes (slightly modified after Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001), 175-86. fig. 3 p. 183)

2.3.1 Mediterranean façade

The first geographical region to be treated is the contact zone with the Mediterranean basin, the coastal region. This region stretches from the north at the Cabo de la Nao to the estuary of the Guadiana on the Atlantic coast. A part of the southern Atlantic coast from the Strait of Gibraltar has been included in this region as it is geographically and historically connected with the Southern Mediterranean façade. The Guadalquivir valley must be considered part of the façade, since it was in close contact with the Mediterranean. Hence, the Sierra Morena and the Baetic System extending to the Mediterranean coast at Cabo de la Nao delimit the region to the north.

The Mediterranean façade, including the southern Atlantic coast as part of this contact zone, is the most important region in terms of the urbanisation of the Iberian Peninsula. This area and its settlements are attributed to the Tartessian culture. Most probably the Tartessian settlements had already developed into a proto-urban settlement system well before the arrival of the Phoenician traders.[36] The estuary regions of the Guadalquivir, Tinto and Odiel in particular were the centre for this proto-urban development, with settlements such as Tavira, Castro Marím, Niebla, Aznalcóllar and the major centre at the estuary of the Odiel and Tinto: Huelva, which was probably already called *Onuba*.[37]

According to Strabo, the Phoenicians from *Tyrus* tried at least three times to establish a colony at the Gulf of Cádiz.[38] The finally successful foundation of *Gadir* (Cádiz) around the eighth century BCE was the start of the period of intensive contact between the Iberian Peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean.[39] Most proba-

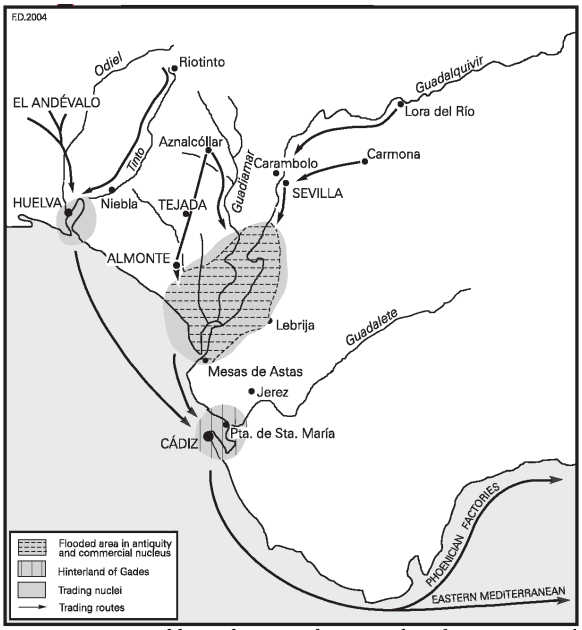


Fig. II.5: Possible trade routes between the silver mines and Doña Blanca. See Domínguez (2006), 429-505. fig. 11 p. 451.

[36] Bendala Galán (2001): 21.

[37] Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (1998) 'El Bronce Final prefenicio en Huelva según el registro arqueológico del Cabezo de San Pedro.' *Complutum* Vol. 19, Nº 1, 121-38: 136; Rodríguez Díaz (2015): 490.

[38] Str. III 5.5; Vell. Pat. *Hist. Rom.* I 2,3.

[39] Str. III 5.5; Rodríguez Díaz (2015): 489; Torres Ortiz (1998) 'La cronología absoluta europea y el inicio de la colonización fenicia en occidente: implicaciones cronológicas en Chipre y el próximo oriente.' *Complutum* Vol. 9, 49-60: 52; Aubet (2001) *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade*: 218.

bly, the contact with Phoenician traders and their colonies accelerated the urbanisation process in this region, as is also suggested by Bonet's model. The metal trade with the Phoenician merchants in their colonies led to the need to control the mines in the Rio Tinto area. It was the settlement at Huelva which took control of the mines through command over the settlements at Niebla and Cerro Salomón, creating a more hierarchical urban network with trade flowing into the new centre.[40]

The Phoenician colony of *Gadir* also extended its control over the region and founded the settlement at Doña Blanca to shift its domination from the island at the estuary of the Guadalete towards the mainland. Most probably, Doña Blanca was the centre for trade with the Tartessian traders before the ores were shipped to *Gadir* and further to *Tyrus*.[41] After the foundation of this famous colony, others followed along the coasts of Spain and Portugal, such as Abul, Santa Olaia, Morro de Mezquitilla, Toscanos, Cerro del Villar, and Almuñécar.[42] Over time, the Phoenicians created, or at least heavily influenced, other settlements such as *Spal* (*Hispalis,* Sevilla) and *Carmo* (Carmona) which became new trading places, consolidating the connections with the Guadalquivir valley.[43] In addition to the creation of a network of ports and trade centres, the Phoenician traders also introduced new techniques in metallurgy, agriculture, architecture and pottery.[44]

The fall of *Tyrus* to the Assyrians led to the demise of Phoenician[45] influence and started a period of social instability.[46] In this period, known as the Sixth-Century Crisis, a decrease in rich burials, settlements and crafts is observed in the archaeological record.[47] Though the transition from Phoenician to Punic is very unclear, it is evident that the former focus on trade with *Tyrus* shifted during this period of crisis to *Carthago*.[48] Under the Carthaginians, a new wave of colonisation seems to have taken place on the Mediterranean coast towards the end of the 5th century BCE, with

[40] Rodríguez Díaz (2015): 490.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Dietler: 7.
[43] Belén Deamos 'Phoenicians in Tartessos.' In: López-Ruiz and Dietler (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*, 193-228: 201.
[44] Escacena Carrasco and Belén (1998) 'Pre-Roman Turdetania.' In: Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, 23-37: 24; Ruiz Zapatero *et al.* (2012a) 'Die Ausbreitung der Eisenmetallurgie auf der Iberischen Halbinsel.' In: Kern, Koch, Balzer, Fries-Knoblach, Kowarik, Later, Ramsl, Trebsche and Wiethold (eds.), *Technologieentwicklung und –transfer in der Hallstatt- und Latènezeit*, 149-66: 150.
[45] The use of Phoenician and Punic is seen as a differentiation of periods. Both groups are taken to be Semitic-speaking traders or colonists from the East. For a longer treatise on the subject, see Crawley Quinn and Vella (eds.) (2014) *The Punic Mediterranean: Identities and identification from Phoenician settlement to Roman rule*.
[46] Str. III 2.13; Bendala Galán (1994a) 'El influjo cartaginés en el interior de Andalucía.' In: AAVV (ed.), *VIII Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica: Cartago, Gadir, Ebusus y la Influencia Púnica en los territorios Hispanos*, 59-74: 60.
[47] Rodríguez Díaz (2015): 499.
[48] *Ibid*. 500.

the foundation of settlements such as *Akra Leuke*[49], *Carteia*[50] and *Qart-Hadâst*[51], the most important being the establishment of *Qart-Hadâst* in 229/228 BCE.[52] Due to *Qart-Hadâst*'s strategic position on a small peninsula (40 ha.) that protected the entrance to a calm bay, the settlement became the site of the Barcid economic and military capital.[53] The new foundations and the focus on controlling the inland regions bear witness to the ambition to gain a stronger hold on the area.[54] One of the reasons for taking greater control on the ground might have been the shift from trading in metals to processing and trading secondary products, such as fish sauce and other fish-based products.[55]

In terms of numismatics, the influence of the Semitic-speaking peoples is clearly visible (fig. II.6).[56] The map shows no chronological depth, but shows all coinages from the start of minting up to the use of Latin. This choice has been made because overall the non-Latin coinages in this region are more difficult to date and have only an *ante quem* date based on the date of hoards containing datable coins amongst which they have been found.[57] In addition, not all coinages are displayed on the map, as some are still unlocated. For the Mediterranean façade, we find three forms of non-Latin script used in the pre-Roman and Republican period: Phoenician or Punic, Libyphoenician[58] and Southern Iberian.

The earliest mints in this region are the Phoenician mints of *Gadir* and *Ebusus*, which can be dated before 214 BCE, although Villaronga argues that the mints probably predate the Barcid conquest in 237.[59] The Phoenician coinage is located in the coastal belt, with in this case some outliers in the higher Guadalquivir. The script used on these coins has been divided into two chronological groups, the Punic and Neopunic script; the divide between these two groups is thought to coincide with the fall of *Carthago* in 146 BCE.[60]

[49] Bendala Galán (1987): 26.
[50] *Ibid*. 27.
[51] Diod. Sic. 25.12; Bendala Galán (1987): 26; Ramallo Asensio (2006) 'Carthago Nova: *urbs opulentissima omnium in Hispania*.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 91-104: 91; Noguera Celdrán (2012) 'Carthago Nova: vrbs privilegiada del mediterráneo occidental.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 121-90: 124.
[52] Noguera Celdrán (2012): 124.
[53] Diod. Sic. 25.12; Bendala Galán (1987): 26; Ramallo Asensio (2006): 91; Noguera Celdrán (2012): 124.
[54] Bendala Galán (1987): 26.
[55] Rodríguez Díaz (2015): 500.
[56] Villaronga (2004) *Numismàtica Antiga de la Península Ibèrica*.
[57] *Ibid*. 87.
[58] A Libyphoenician presence on the Iberian Peninsula is mentioned by several ancient sources, cf. Ferrer Albelda 'Nam sunt feroces hoc Libyphoenices loco: ¿libiofenicios en Iberia?' *SPAL* Vol. 9, 421-33.
[59] Villaronga: 106; Ripollès Alegre and Abascal Palazón (eds.) *Monedas Hispanicas*: 55.
[60] Villaronga (2004): 74.

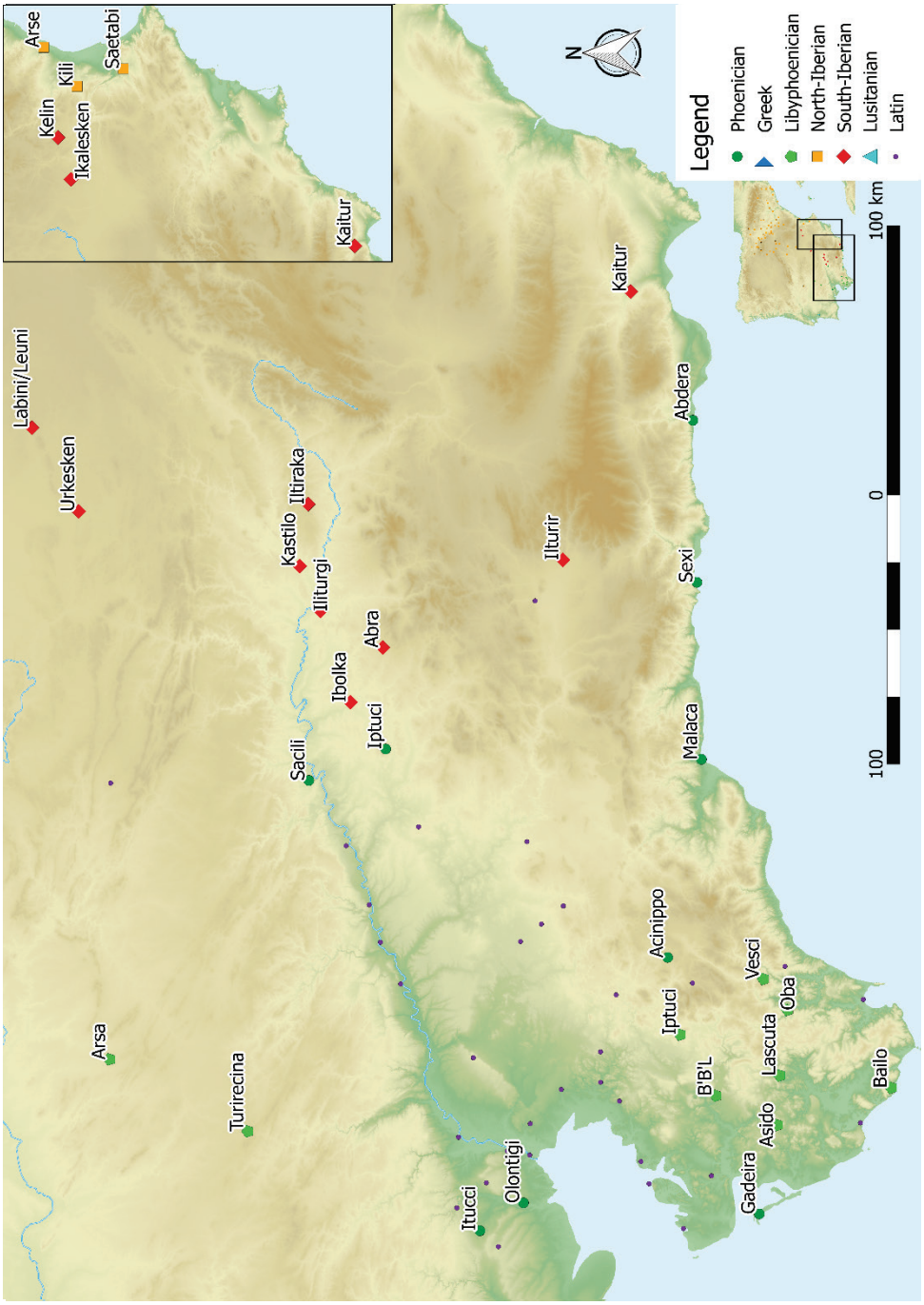


Fig. II.6: Coinage in the Mediterranean façade

The start of the Libyphoenician mints has been dated to around this period.[61] For the numismatist, the use of 'Libiofenicio' for coins with a different Semitic script from Phoenician or Punic has become standard, although the relation with the actual Libyphoenicians has been debated.[62] Nonetheless, to avoid further confusion, the term Libyphoenician will be used for this coinage. The coins in Libyphoenician mints follow the Roman system.[63] The spread of the Libyphoenician coinage into the interior district shows that an élite, linguistically related to the southern area, had moved into this area. One could imagine the spread of Carthaginian élites moving into the conglomerations of the Sierra Morena mining area to control the mines. The last group of mints is found to the east, in the Southern Iberian region. Actually, this script have only been attested in nine places.[64] Jiménez recognises two groups based on geographical dispersion: the inland group and that close to *Gadir*. Interestingly, the inland group containing *Arsa* and *Turirecina* also differs in the metrology as these the northern Iberian script (see inset fig. II.6).[65] These coins, although the southern Iberian script is used for the legend, can be related via iconography to the Phoenician coins.[66]

Despite the interesting differences in coinage and the languages used in legends, the focus in this research is on the fact that places or communities minted coins. Minting coins is part of the identity of an organised community based on a centralised power system.[67] The settlements minting coins should therefore be seen as centralised settlements within a hierarchical settlement system.

2.3.2 Southern Atlantic façade

Directly in contact with the Mediterranean façade we find the southern Atlantic façade. This is the whole façade from the estuary of the Guadiana to the Mondego River and the Sierra de Estrella. This geographical region is known as the Portuguese Coastal Land.[68] It is one of the least rugged terrains of the Iberian Peninsula, where

[61] Jiménez (2014) 'Punic after Punic times? The case of the so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins of southern Iberia.' In: Crawley Quinn and Vella (eds.), *The Punic Mediterranean: identities and Identification from phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*, 219-42: 219; Villaronga: 75 & 138; Vives y Escudero *La Moneda Hispánica: Fenicias, Libi-fenicias, Turdetanas, Latino-béticas*: 41.
[62] Ferrer Albelda: 421-33; Villaronga: 75.
[63] Jiménez (2014): 226.
[64] Jiménez (2014): 225. These are: *Arsa* (near Azuaga); *Asido* (Medina Sidonia); *B'B'L* (Hasta Regia); *Bailo* (Bolonia); *Iptuci* (Prado del Rey); *Lascuta* (Mesa de Ortega); *Oba* (Jimena de la Frontera); *Turirecina* (Reina) and *Vesci* (Gaucín?). See also Villaronga (2004); Vives y Escudero (1924a).
[65] The maps concerning numismatic evidence are based on the coins as found in Villaronga (2004). The maps show no chronological depth; all coinages from the start of minting up to the use of Latin are displayed on one map.
[66] Mora Serrano and Cruz Andreotti (2012) 'Ethnic, cultural and civic identities in Ancient Coinage of the Southern Iberian Peninsula (3rd C. BC - 1st C. AD).' In: López Sánchez (ed.), *The City and the Coin in the Ancient and Early Medieval Worlds* 1-15: 8.
[67] *Ibid*. 6.
[68] Mason: 6.

the incline from the coast to the mountain ranges is less pronounced. The geography is strongly influenced by the estuaries and basins of the Tago, Duero and Guadiana.

Historically, the southern Atlantic coastal area and the banks of the Guadiana (*Anas*) are in close contact with the Mediterranean via the Strait. Hence, the Phoenician traders were in contact with the region as early as the 8th century BCE, first via small port cities on the coast and slightly further up the river mouths such as Cerro da Rocha Branca (Faro), Abul (Setúbal) and S. Olaia (Coimbra).[69] These initial coastal contacts slowly spread to the hinterland following the course of the rivers; the relationship between the Atlantic and the rivers has already been treated above (fig. II.2). The settlements along the coast and at river mouths were already present in earlier periods, but prospered by being within reach of the trade through the Strait of Gibraltar.[70] Though the area was in contact with the Phoenician traders from very early on, it does not appear strongly urbanised. Along the coast and bordering various river estuaries, sites have been found with evidence of Phoenician contact in their material culture: Conimbriga, Santarem, Alcacer do Sal, Lisbon, Castro Marim and Tavira.[71]

The question arises of how we should interpret this less urbanised region in the context of Bonet's urbanisation models. First, the number of Phoenician *ex-nihilo* settlements in this region is very limited. Most probably the only Phoenician colonies were Santa Olaia and Setúbal, although the remaining settlements were in contact with the Phoenician traders. Secondly, Arruda argues that the Phoenician contact did not follow the coast in a linear pattern. She points out that the first contact with Santarém dates to the eighth century, almost the same time as the foundation of several settlements along the Mediterranean coast, such as *Malaka* and Toscanos.[72] Similarly, the more northern *Conimbriga* was in contact with the Phoenicians in this period.[73] The Phoenician traders therefore appear to have been on a mission to contact certain regions, rather than following the coastline and settling where they could. The fact that there were fewer Phoenician colonies that were clearly aimed at trading with certain settlements at the estuaries might have led to a more localised effect of urbanism than that at the Mediterranean façade where Phoenician colonisation also proceeded inland along the Guadalquivir valley.

The Phoenicians were most probably interested in the mineral wealth of the western Iberian Peninsula. The inland sites obtained control over the inland trade routes from the seaports, and benefitted as intermediaries controlling trade. The high con-

[69] Hipólito Correia (1995): 239; Dietler (2009): 7.
[70] Hipólito Correia (1995): 241.
[71] Arruda (2009) 'Phoenician Colonization on the Atlantic Coast of the Iberian Peninsula.' In: López-Ruiz and Dietler (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*, 113-30: 115.
[72] Arruda (2009): 118.
[73] *Ibid*. 120.

centrations of Phoenician and Greek pottery in the inland agglomerated 'urban' settlements, in contrast to the absence of this pottery in rural settlements, seems to indicate that these commodities were traded or exchanged as valuable items in the form of gifts. The hierarchy of the settlement system was most probably that of an early tribal state, where one centre controlled the territory and the trade within it: La Alcazaba de Badajoz, Medellín, Alange, Cogodullo and Magacela are such inland central places.[74] This is supported by the presence of prestige goods, such as jewellery and other metalwork, in élite burial places.[75] However, one of the major questions on this subject concerns the Phoenician settlers in this region: there is little evidence to indicate whether the Phoenician and later Punic traders settled in the inland areas, as they clearly did in the coastal areas.[76]

Overall, the Atlantic façade seems less 'urbanised'. The few town-like settlements in the area have clear contacts with the Phoenician traders, although this might have been indirectly through *Tartessos.* Examples include *Ossonoba*, Almaraz, *Abul*, Santarem, Alcácer do Sal, *Conimbriga* and *Olisipo*. The fact that most of these sites continued into Roman times shows that these positions were very advantageous. Interestingly, some of the trading posts at the coast went into decline and became secondary to the other agglomerated settlements, as was for example the case for Sines, the port of *Mirobriga Celtici,* and Castro Marim (*Baesuris*), which became part of the territory of *Balsa*.[77]

Numismatics supports the idea of the less urbanised aspect of this region as there is only one city minting coins in a pre-Roman script, that of Alcácer do Sal (fig. II.7).[78] The iconography of the coins links this minting authority with that of *Gadir* and the southern region in general, but its legend uses a local Lusitanian script, known from epigraphic sources, which seems to be related to South Iberian.[79] The exact reading of the legend has been debated. It is thought to read **Beuipo*.[80] The iconographic similarity with the mints of *Gadir* provides grounds to date the coinage around the end of the second century BCE.[81]

[74] Celestino Pérez (2013) '¿Fenicios en el interior?' In: Arruda (ed.), *Fenícios e Púnicos, por terra e mar - Actas do VI Congresso Internacional de estudos Fenícios e Púnicos*, 463-70: 464.
[75] Rodríguez Díaz (2015): 496.
[76] Celestino Pérez (2013): 463.
[77] Fraga da Silva (2009) *Marim Romano: Recontituição topográfica e funcional do sítio arqueológico da Quinta de Marim (Olhão, Faro) e elementos da sua história territorial*: 30; Barata (1998) *Miróbriga: Urbanismo e Arquitectura* 44.
[78] Villaronga (2004): 75.
[79] Mora Serrano (2011) 'Apuntes sobre la iconografía de las monedas de *BEUIPO-(Salacia) (Alcácer do Sal, Setúbal).' In: Cardoso and Almagro-Gorbea (eds.), *Lucius Cornelius Bocchus. Escritor lusitano da Idade de Prata da Literatura Latina*, 73-102: 87.
[80] Villaronga (2004): 75.
[81] Mora Serrano: 81.

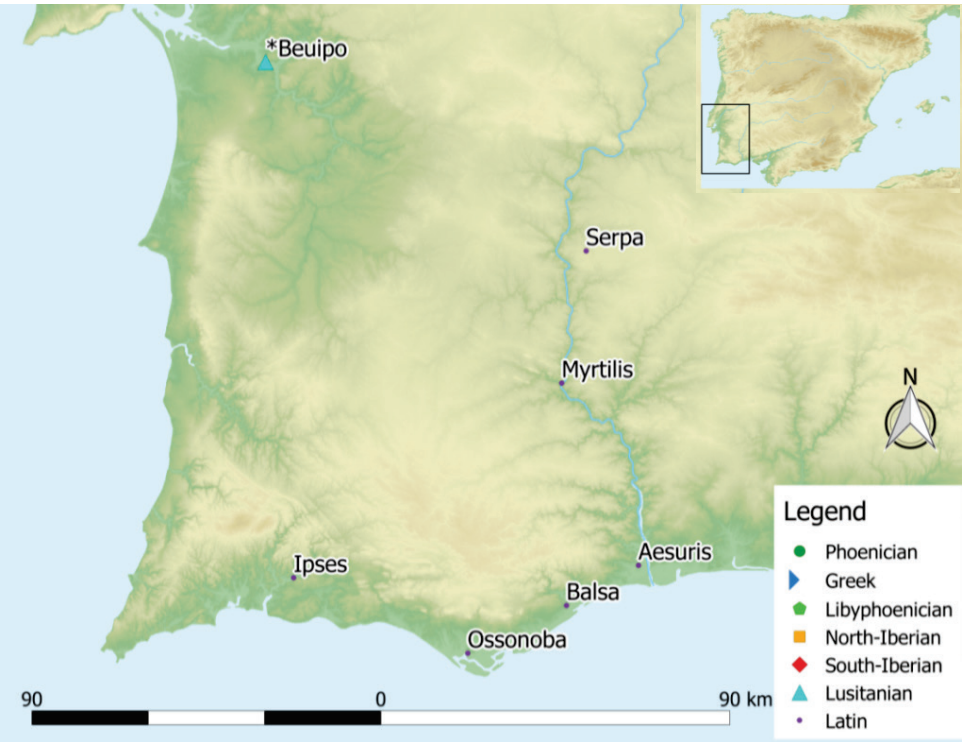


Fig. II.7 Coinage in the Southern Atlantic coast

Slightly later than the Lusitanian coins, in the first century BCE, new settlements start minting coins with a Latin legend. Taking these into account, we find several more central places: *Balsa*, *(B)Aesuris*, *Dipo*, *Ipses*, *Myrtilis*, *Ossonoba* and *Serpa*. Of these central places only a few continue into the Imperial period, while *(B)Aesuris*, *Dipo* and *Serpa* seem to become secondary places. Overall, we can state that in the pre-Roman period this area was not very urbanised. Only under Roman rule do we see the appearance of major central places. This is confirmed by the immediate adaptation to the use of Latin on coinage, in contrast to other regions with coinage.

2.3.3 Iberian Levant

Clearly, the southern coastal region with its Phoenician settlements is not exemplary for the whole Mediterranean coastal area. To the north we find the Iberian Levantine region, which is delimited to the south-west by the Iberic system, ending at the Cabo de la Nao, and to the north by the Pyrenees. This region was not colonised by the

Phoenicians, but was part of the Greek territory, having a number of colonies established by the Massiliotes (e.g. Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον[82], Ῥόδη[83] and Ἐμπόριον[84]). The best-known 'colony' was the Greek Ἐμπόριον or later *Emporiae*. The first Greek settlement (3.75 ha) of Ἐμπόριον was founded on a promontory overlooking a small bay, in around 580 BCE and is known as *Palaiapolis*.[85] This rather small *emporion* – its name identifies it as a trading place – must have been established to ensure access or more likely in order to strengthen the region's position within the already existing local trade.[86] A new settlement on the mainland, called *Neapolis* by its first excavator, dates from around the middle of the sixth century BCE and has a walled centre of approximately 3 ha.[87] It has been argued that this second foundation was a result of population growth, possibly because of immigration from other Phocaean settlements.[88] *Palaiapolis* continued as a trading place close to *Neapolis* up to the third century BCE, the latter in connection with the *Indiketes*, and the former in contact with Phoenician trading posts to the south.[89]

The trade relation between *Emporion* and the Indiketes was a very close one. To judge from Livy's statement that '*iam tunc Emporiae duo oppida erant muro divisa*', the *Neapolis* developed into a Greek-Indiketan dipolis.[90] Archaeology has proven the presence of an indigenous settlement extending along the *Neapolis*, possibly indicating the reality of the dipolis.[91] Besides the contact via the dipolis, another settlement that appears to be important for the territory of the *Indiketes* has been established, known as Puig de Sant Andreu or Ullastret.

Ullastret, located 14 kilometres from *Emporiae,* is taken to be the 'capital' of the *Indiketes*. The site is most likely composed of two different settlements only 400 metres apart: the site at el Puig de Sant Andreu, covering about 5.2 hectares, and the l'Illa

[82] Str. III 4.6. Although the actual location of *Hemerskopion* has not been attested, it is considered to be present-day Denía, see for further reference: Domínguez (2006) 'Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula.' In: Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, 429-505: 447.
[83] Str. III 4.8.
[84] Str. III 4.8.
[85] Hauschild (1994) 'Murallas de Hispania en el contexto de las Fortificaciones del área occidental del imperio Romano. .' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 223-32: 27; Aquilué Abadias *et al.* (2006) 'Greek Emporion and its relationship to Roman Republican Empúries.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 18-31: 21; Morel (2006) 'Phocaean Colonisation.' In: Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, 359-428: 367.
[86] Malkin (2011) *A small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*: 154; Domínguez (2006): 442; Morel (2006): 367.
[87] Liv. *AUC* XXXIV, 9.4; Str. III 22; Plin. *NH* III 22; Hauschild (1994): 27; Puig i Cadagalch (1909) 'Les excavacions d'Empúries.' *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* Vol. Anuari MCMXIII, 150-94.
[88] Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez (2015): 309.
[89] Aquilué Abadias *et al.* (2006): 23; Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez (2015): 309.
[90] Liv. *AUC* XXXIV 9: Even at that time *Emporiae* consisted of two towns separated by a wall. (translation by Perseus)
[91] Domínguez (2006): 445; Morel (2006): 400.

d'en Reixac with 4.5 hectares.[92] These sites saw their first period of growth from the start of the Iron Age (625-550 BCE), when Greek, Phoenician and Etruscan ceramics reached the settlements.[93] A clear relationship can be found with the newly created Greek *emporion*. The trade contacts of this specific region led to the foundation of the *emporion*, thus strengthening the trade contacts with the Mediterranean.

The rise of Ullastret falls within the general pattern of the Iberian Levant, where the accumulation and concentration of wealth started from the seventh century BCE onwards.[94] Similarly, we find to the south the Sant Jaume complex, which shows a similar development.[95] Although, this settlement complex only lasted for a short period, it has been the subject of extensive study, which has given us a better understanding of the development of proto-urban structures.

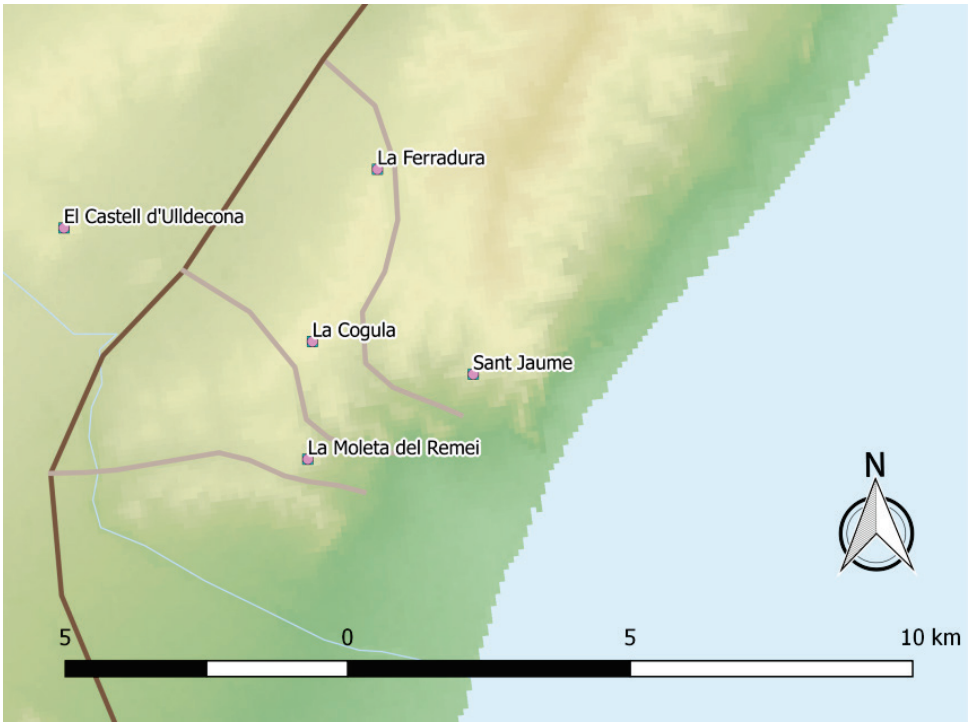


Fig. II.8 settlement pattern at Sant Jaume (after Sanmartí 2015)

[92] Almagro-Gorbea (1987); Frigola Torrent (ed.) (2015) *Intervencions arqueològiques al conjunt ibèric d'Ullastret (Baix Empordà) durant el bienni 2012-2013* Besalú, 2015: 115.
[93] Tréziny (ed.) (2010) *Le site ibérique d'Ullastret (Baix Empordà, Catalogne) et son rapport avec le monde colonial méditerranéen*. Aix-en-Provence, 2010: 91.
[94] Sanmartí (2015): 457.
[95] San Martí (20015): 461; Garcia i Rubert *et al.* (2011) 'Genesis and Development of the First Complex Societies in the Northeastern Iberian Peninsula During the First Iron Age (7th-6th Centuries BC). The Sant Jaume Complex (Alcanar, Catalonia).' In: Militello and Öniz (eds.) *15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology,* 1 Oxford: Archaeopress, 445-52: 445.

The site of Sant Jaume is one that needs to be understood in the context of its relation to the other five settlements in the Sénia valley: Sant Jaume (495 m²), La Moleta de Remei (4,000 m²), La Ferradura (400 m²), La Cogula (300 m²) and El Castell d'Ulldecona (fig. II.8). Obviously, these small settlements cannot be considered urban settlements, although a clear centralisation of power and control of trade can be observed.

When looking at the separate sites in this valley we find Moleta as the largest with its 4,000 m², dwarfing Sant Jaume with its 500 m².[96] However, the latter is often seen as a fortified élite house controlling the territory, settlements and trade within its vicinities due to its visual control of the valley and its central position within the settlement pattern.[97] Garcia i Rubert argues that the position of the sites is a clear sign that they worked in tandem.[98] La Ferradura is located on a promontory overlooking two major routes. First, it overlooks the regional route through the depression of Ulldecona, which passes along El Castell d'Ulldecona, connecting to the Ebro in the north. At the same time, it is at the point where the local route connects the coast with this major route. Similarly, La Moleta and La Cogula overlook another route connecting the coast to the regional route.

The site of Sant Jaume is the focal point of power in this settlement system. It shows the privileged position of the élite, who lived in a separate settlement, and it controlled the area to the coast and consequently the trading activities. The element of control is based on the settlement's architectural richness and the power displayed by its fortifications, similar to those of the largest settlement La Moleta. The importance of Sant Jaume as the major location for trade is supported by the discovery of multiple Phoenician ceramics related to storage and transport.[99] Clearly, the development of this 'central place' is closely linked to control over the imports from the Mediterranean.[100]

In the period of Ullastret and Sant Jaume, the Iberian Levant was dotted with similar small political units. Following the Iberian Crisis of the sixth century, these smaller settlement structures went into decline and were replaced with larger tribal centres. One of these new centres is *Arse/Saguntum*.[101] The settlement arose in the 5th century BCE.[102] As an important central place, it started minting its own coins in the 4th century BCE.[103] The basis for its central position and early mint should be sought

[96] Garcia i Rubert (2011) 'Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de los patrones de asentamiento en el nordeste de la Península Ibérica durante la Primera Edad del Hierro. El caso del complejo Sant Jaume.' *Trabajos de Prehistoria* Vol. 68, Nº 2, 331-52: 343.
[97] Garcia i Rubert (2011): 343.
[98] *Ibid.* 334.
[99] *Ibid.* 336.
[100] Morel (2006): 401; Garcia i Rubert *et al.* (2011): 447.
[101] Ptol. II 6, 63.
[102] Aranegui Gascó (2006) 'From Arse to Saguntum.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 63-74: 63.
[103] Villaronga: 95.

in its role as an important marketplace. Located along the *Via Heraklea* and the Palància River, it functioned as a port, connecting with the inland region along this route.[104] There is strong archaeological evidence connecting the port of *Saguntum* with the Western Mediterranean; in addition, merchandise from the Atlantic region has been found, indicating the long-distance connections enjoyed by this port. Obviously, this well-connected port drew the attention of the Carthaginians and the Romans.

Type	Arse		Edeta		Kelin	
	#	size	#	size	#	size
1 Primary centre	1	~8-10 ha	1	10 ha	1	10 ha
2 Medium sized	1	5 ha	8	2-0.5 ha	20	3 – 0.08 ha
	3	1-0.5 ha				
3 Fortified settlement	17	< 0.25 ha	15	0.25-0.1 ha		
4 Small stronghold	12	< 0.25 ha	15	0.25-0.05 ha		
5 Rural settlement	9	< 0.25 ha				

Table II.1 Settlement pattern in the Valencian lands (after Bonet 2001 p. 180 ff.)

Looking at the few well-documented sites for the Iberian Levantine coast we can observe the development of central places controlling what might be considered early city-states. Along the whole Iberian Levantine coast a kind of hierarchical organisation of the settlement pattern based on size can be observed.[105] Looking at the settlement pattern of the Iberian Levant, Bonet *et al.* were able to divide the settlement hierarchy into five tiers: (1) the primary centre about 10 hectares in size; (2) medium-sized *oppida*; (3) fortified agricultural settlements; (4) small strongholds and (5) small rural settlements.

Bonet uses three case studies to illustrate the settlement structure of the Iberian Levantine coast: *Arse*, *Edeta* and *Kelin*. These three are the obvious primary central places controlling the territory. In all three cases the settlement is about ten hectares. The maximum size of the primary fortified central places is similar throughout the Iberian Levant.[106] Interestingly, this is rather small size in comparison with the larger *oppida* of the Central Meseta and the city-states at the Mediterranean façade.

The second tier of the settlement system comprised the medium-sized *oppida*. The sizes of the settlements and the number of settlements in this tier are different for the three case studies. Whereas *Edeta* seems to follow a rather standard urban hierarchy with a multitude of medium-sized *oppida* (occupying between 5,000 m² and 2 ha),

[104] Aranegui Gascó (2006): 64.
[105] Sanmartí (2015): 464; Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001): 180.
[106] Plana Mallart and Martín (2012) 'El paisatge periurbà de l'oppidum d'Ullastret: una nova imatge de la morfologia i del funcionament d'una ciutat Ibèrica.' In: Belarte and Plana Mallart (eds.), *El paisatge periurbà a la Mediterrània occidental durant la protohistòria i l'antiguitat*, 123-48: 123.

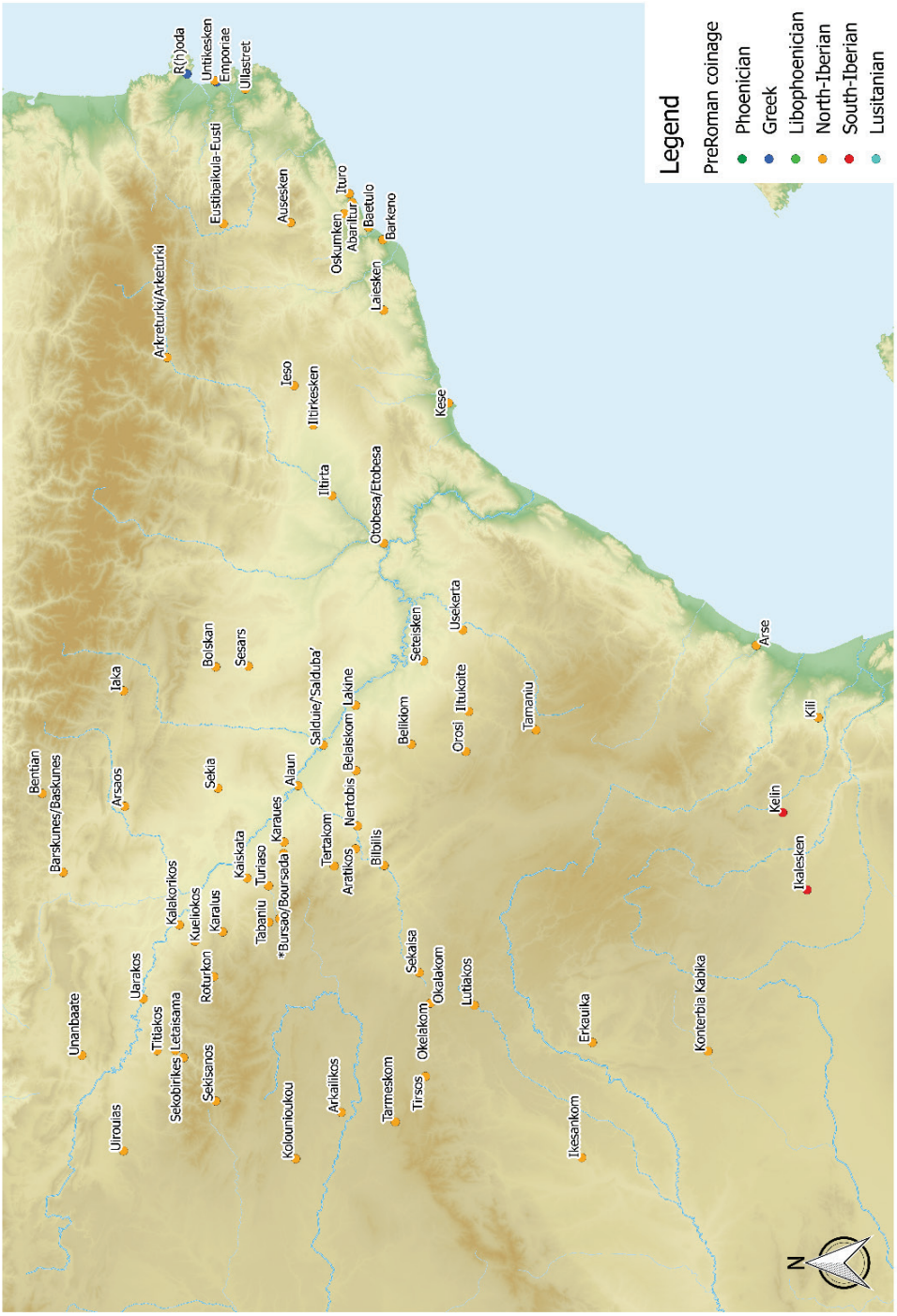


Fig. II.9 Coinage in the Iberian Levant and Ebro valley

less numerous than the lower tiers, we see a concentration of all settlements in this second tier for *Kelin* (here ranging between 800 m² and 3 ha).[107] Interestingly, we find only one medium-sized *oppidum* in the area of *Arse*; moreover, with its 5 ha it is rather large for a medium-sized *oppidum.*[108] The third tier is that of agglomerated agricultural sites and the fourth that of small fortified sites. For *Edeta* and *Arse* we find all these categories, albeit in different sizes, whereas *Kelin* is clearly a different settlement pattern based mostly on 'urban' sites, lacking the agricultural agglomerations and fortlets.[109] The main differences between *Edeta* and *Arse* can be seen in the middle two categories. Whereas *Edeta* almost follows the 'standard' central place pattern, with the lower tiers containing more settlements than the higher ones, we find that the lowest category is underrepresented. A possible explanation for this could be the absence of evidence for these smaller settlements due to their small size.[110] The two major centres within the territory of *Arse* (*Arse* and El Rabosero) are rather large, especially El Rabosero (5 ha), compared with the medium-sized oppida of *Edeta* (up to 2 ha) and *Kelin* (up to 3 ha).

The inland regions of the Iberian Levant follow similar patterns to the coastal area. For instance, we can observe the habit of minting coins following the Ebro valley inland (fig. II.9). The development into *oppida* follows the same pattern as proposed by Bonet for the dispersed settlement system. Curchin points out that there must have been an urban hierarchy, with large settlements controlling smaller settlements in their territory.[111] Almagro and Dávila have shown this hierarchy by applying rank size analysis.[112]

In addition, we find evidence of territories in the sources on the Celtiberian Wars. First, in the case of *Complega,* there is the reference to the land of *Complega* being divided among the survivors after the Roman siege.[113] Another passage from Livy mentions not only the existence of territories but also the existence of secondary agglomerations. The reference deals with the destruction of the land and *castella* by T. Sempronius Gracchus on his way from *Munda* towards *Certima*.[114] A site of particular interest in this region is *Segeda* (fig. II.9: Sekaisa). This Celtiberian city played a major part in the history of the Iberian Peninsula. The reconstruction of its circuit

[107] Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001): 181.
[108] *Ibid*. 180.
[109] As Burillo Mozota points out that the trade in this region is mainly based on grain and metals, one could imagine the lack of agricultural agglomerations is a result of its focus on metal. Burillo Mozota *et al.* (2008): 159.
[110] Ligt (2012) 248.
[111] Curchin (2004): 75.
[112] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995): 224ff.
[113] Appian, Iber. 43.
[114] Liv. *AUC* XL 47: "Mundam urbem primum vi cepit, nocte ex improvise adgressus. acceptis deinde obsidibus praesidioque imposito castella oppugnare, deinde agros urere, done ad praevalidam aliam urbem — Certimam appellant Celtiberi — pervenit." This is not the *Munda* destroyed after the Civil war, as this is located in the later province of *Baetica*.

walls was the *casus belli* for the Second Celtiberian war.[115] Burillo argues that *Segeda* not only controlled its own territory but that of some neighbouring cities as well.[116]

In addition to relying on the size of settlements as a way to recognise an urban hierarchy, we can turn to numismatics. With numismatics we can observe territorial organisation and city- or tribal-state development in this region without investigating the actual central settlement. The earliest mints on the Iberian Peninsula are found in the Iberian Levant, namely those of *Rhode* and *Emporion*, which started minting coins as early as the fifth century BCE.[117] Moreover, the Iberian Levant is the region with most numismatic evidence for central places with non-Latin legends. However, we need to bear in mind that these mints might not belong to one central place, but could have been minted by a tribe. Moreover, as pointed out by Collis, this tribe might not have had a clear urban centre. Nonetheless, the coinage shows at least the centralised territorial organisation of the area. In addition, we can observe a concentration along the course of the Ebro. The clear relation of the script, North Iberian, shows the connection between the coast and inland region through the Ebro.

2.3.4 Meseta Central

Wedged between the coastal areas is the larger central plateau, also known as the Meseta Central. To the north this area is closed off by the Cantabrian Mountains, to the east we find the Iberic System and to the south the Sierra Morena. The area to the west is less easily defined as the Table Mountains of the Meseta slope down to the Portuguese coastal lands of the Atlantic façade. The western delimitation of the Central Meseta is located at the point where the Portuguese lowlands start.[118] In this area we find multiple influences on the development of urbanism, resulting in what Ruiz Zapatero has called 'an urban kaleidoscope' (fig. II.10).[119] Though the region is diverse and we can find different types of urbanism, an attempt will be made to sketch a broad picture of urban development. In order to get a better grip on this vast area, it will be divided into two parts, the northern and southern Submeseta. These two parts are geographical realities, being divided by the Central System and Montes de Toledo.

[115] App. *Iber* 44; Diod. Sic. 31.39.
[116] Burillo Mozota (2008) *Los Celtíberos. Etnias y estados* 197. This is based on numismatic evidence. The coins with the legend *nertobis* (MLH A.50) and *bilbiliz* (MLH A.73) are only found in bronze, in contrast to *Sekaisa* also minting in silver. In addition, some of the *bilbiliz* coins bear the Iberic letter /s/ on the reverse, possibly indicating the relation to the nearby *Segeda*.
[117] Villaronga: 93.
[118] Mason: 36. The lowlands are defined as regions with an altitude below 200 metres.
[119] Ruiz Zapatero (2011) 'El caleidoscopio urbano en el mundo "celtíco" de la Meseta.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, N° 2, 297-309: 297.

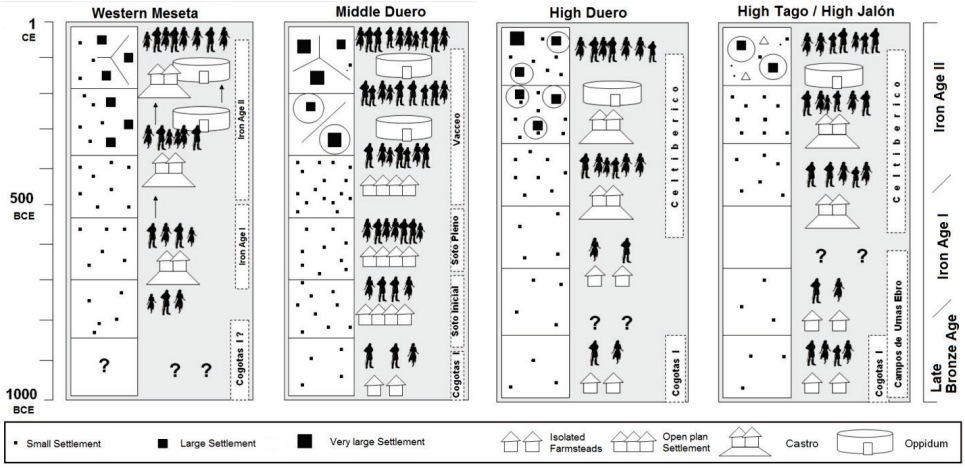


Fig. II.ba *Diagram showing the evolution of settlement patterns of different regions in the Central Meseta during the First Millenium BCE (based on Ruiz Zapatero (2011), 297-309 fig. 3. Own translation from Castilian)*

In general for both subregions the earliest permanent settlements date to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. At this point in time, a dispersed settlement pattern with little to no hierarchy can be observed for the regions.[120] The settlement types found throughout the region are very diverse, ranging from the dispersed settlement[121] to the *castro* type[122], with the open nucleated settlement[123] in between these two extremes. In general, the nucleated settlements are rather small, mostly between 1 and 5 hectares, although the extremes vary between 0.2 up to 10 hectares.[124]

A denser and more hierarchical settlement pattern evolved in the Early Iron Age, although the exact process behind this development is still unclear.[125] An improvement in agricultural tools may have influenced demographic growth; Álvarez and Ruiz point out that the region of the Meseta Central is at least fertile enough to sustain the increase in the number of inhabitants in the Iron Age.[126] As is to be expected, the rise of a more centralised and hierarchical settlement system has been related to the demand for metals in the coastal areas.[127] With the routes through the Ebro valley to the east and the routes from the Cantabrian Mountains to the west enclosing the Central Meseta, it is deemed logical that the central Meseta became part of these trade routes. The development of dominant settlements would then have followed the same general pattern as those in the other geographical regions.

[120] Almagro-Gorbea (1995): 179; Ruiz Zapatero (2011): 299; Álvarez Sanchís (2011) 'Ciudades vettonas.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, N° 2, 147-83: 148.
[121] Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014): 204.
[122] Almagro-Gorbea (1995): 179; Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 148.
[123] Sacristán de Lama (2011) 'El urbanismo vacceo.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, N° 2, 185-222: 209.
[124] Almagro-Gorbea (1995): 176; Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014): 205; Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 148; Berrocal-Rangel (1994) 'Castros de la Baeturia Céltica.' *Complutum* Vol. 4 Extra, 189-242: 230.
[125] Almagro-Gorbea (1995): 177; Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014): 204.
[126] Álvarez Sanchís and Ruiz Zapatero (2014): 204.
[127] *Ibid*. 209.

Despite our lack of knowledge of the exact process, the rise of central places within the settlement pattern is observed for the whole of the Central Meseta. This centralisation and the rise of the '*oppida*' coincide with the early Roman conquest from the late third century BCE. It is easy to link these two events, however a more detailed study shows that some *oppida* predated the Roman conquest. In order to better understand the development found on the Central Meseta, a close examination will be made of two different areas.

Northern Submeseta

Within this sub-region, we again find a kaleidoscope of different urban developments in three different regions: Higher Duero and Tagus, northern Central Duero and the southern central Duero. The Spanish literature often refers to these regions by the names of the tribes located there: the Celtiberian area, the Vaccaeian area and the Vettonian area. We will see that these various areas have slightly different forms of urbanism and development of urban settlement.

In the Northern Sub-Meseta, the development of *oppida* has been dated as early as the fourth century BCE. One example is the *oppidum* of Mesa de Miranda, which has been dated with a very high degree of certainty.[128] The *oppidum* is formed by three walled areas (a total of 30 ha.), of which the last was built on top of a cemetery dated to the late fourth to early third century BCE.[129] Clearly, the *oppidum* already existed well before the Roman conquest. More of these *oppida*, although less easily dated, have been found within the region, for example Las Cogotas (15 ha.), Sanchorreja (27.5 ha.) and more importantly Ulaca (70 ha.).[130]

The *oppidum* of Ulaca, measuring over 70 hectares, seems to be the most important settlement for the western part of the northern submeseta, also called the region of the *Vettones*. The status of Ulaca as the main settlement in this region seems to be endorsed by its extremely large size in comparison to the other settlements.[131] In addition to the size of Ulaca, the presence of a large monumental altar and a juxtaposed 'sauna', not found in other settlements in this region, seem to further support the religious centrality of this settlement for the larger region.[132]

[128] González-Tablas Sastre (2009) 'Las murallas de Las Cogotas y La Mesa de Miranda: Apuntes a la arquitectura defensiva de los Vettones.' *Zephyrus* Vol. 64, 63-79: 76.
[129] Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 152. González-Tablas Sastre (2009): 71.
[130] González-Tablas Sastre (2008) 'Los castros del occidente salmantino: Edad del Hierro y romanización.' *Zephyrus* Vol. 62, 139-49: 140.
[131] It has to be pointed out that the *oppidum* of La Ulaña is also found within this area, measuring a massive 285 hectares. However, the size of this *oppidum* is the size of the hilltop and was far from inhabited as a whole. Cisneros *et al.* (2005) 'Peña Amaya y Peña Ulaña: toponimia y arqueología prerromanas.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 5, 565-84: 579; Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 154.
[132] Almagro-Gorbea and Álvarez Sanchís (1993) 'La 'Sauna' de Ulaca: Saunas y baños iniciáticos en el mundo Céltico.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 1, 178-232: 178; Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 153.

The western-most part of the Meseta Central, a high plain cut through by rivers and streams, is exceptionally useful for the transhumance of large groups of livestock, the main economic factor for the tribes on the Meseta Central.[133] The *verracos*, large statues of solid granite representing cattle and boars, indicate the relevance of cattle for the Vettonian tribes.[134] According to Sanchez Moreno, their locations could have even been associated with transhumance routes, although he states that this hypothesis is very problematic because the *verracos* could have been moved in later periods.[135] Another interpretation, which could tie in with that just mentioned, is that the *verracos* indicate good grazing lands owned by the community or élite of the *oppida*.[136]

Settlements in this region are often located far apart, with inter-site distances varying from 12 to 39 kilometres.[137] This dispersion of settlements in combination with the importance of livestock, as can be seen from the monumental *verracos*, indicates that the *oppida* had large territories.[138] Another indicator of transhumance in this area is found in the custom of hospitality, expressed and materialised in small bronze amulets: *Tesserae hospitales.* The *tesserae* were pacts between communities, possibly in order to allow for trespassing with livestock without being attacked or raided.[139] This interpretation is based on the numerous animal-shaped *tesserae*.[140] Moreover, the distance and direction covered by the friendship relations expressed in the *tesserae* are similar to the medieval drover roads.[141]

Southern Submeseta

Separated from the north by the Central System and the Montes de Toledo we find a second large meseta plain known as the Southern Submeseta. The area is dissected by several different rivers, including the Tago and Guadiana, both flowing into the Atlantic, and the Júcar flowing towards the Mediterranean. This area is traditionally considered to have been divided among various tribes, including the *Carpetani*. Interestingly, the region is not very well studied; the first colloquium focusing solely on

[133] Sánchez Moreno (2001) 'Cross-cultural links in Ancient Iberia: Socio-economic anatomy of hospitality.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 20, Nº 4, 391-414: 400; Almagro-Gorbea (1995): 180.
[134] Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 163; Sánchez Moreno (2001): 400. Up to 400 verracos have been treated I n the catalogue by Álvarez Sanchís (1999).
[135] Sánchez Moreno (2001): 400. Although it must be noted that they are often two metres long and can weigh up to eight tons, Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 162.
[136] Ruiz Zapatero and Álvarez-Sanchís (1995): 128.
[137] Sacristán de Lama (2011): 187.
[138] A similar pattern can be observed in on the Anatolian Meseta: Willet (Forthcoming) 'Regional perspectives on urbanism and settlement patterns in Roman Asia Minor.' *Regional urban systems in the Roman Empire*.
[139] Salinas de Frías (1997) 'En Torno a Viajas Cuestiones: Guerra, Trashumancia y Hospitalidad en la Hispania Prerromana.' In: Villar and Beltrán Lloris (eds.), *Pueblos, lenguas y escrituras en la Hispania prerromana: actos de VII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas*, 281-93. 285; Ruiz Gálvez Priego (2001) 'La economía Celtibérica.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Celtas y Vettones*, 209. 215.
[140] Lorrio Alvarado (1997) *Los Celtíberos*: 359, fig. 137.
[141] Sánchez Moreno (2001): 392.

the region and the C*arpetani* was organised in 2014.[142] Nonetheless, the publications on the different settlements allow for a general picture of the settlement system in the region.

As part of the Central Meseta, the region was not in direct contact with the Mediterranean traders. Nonetheless, some profound changes in the material culture of the region have been attested, such as the introduction of wheel-turned pottery, as well as ferrous metallurgy. These changes have been attributed to Mediterranean influences in the Second Iron Age (5th century - 218 BCE). The presence of some Attic blackware indicates that the settlements were in contact with the coastal regions and via them with the Mediterranean traders.[143] Moreover, we can observe that the number of settlements and their sizes grew in the early second Iron Age.[144] The settlements are often found in higher and easily defensible areas, controlling valleys and fertile areas. This can be seen as a result of the control of routes and trade, as described previously. However, another explanation given in the literature refers to Punic expansion and the associated Roman response.[145]

At the dawn of the Roman conquest of this region, several urban centres can be recognised in the ancient literature: *Toletum*[146], *Aebura*[147], *Alces*[148] and a *Contrebia*, most probably *Contrebia Carbica*.[149] In addition, *Complutum* may be identified as a city based on its larger size, although it is not mentioned in ancient sources relating to the pre-Roman period.[150] Interestingly, most cities continue into the Roman period, certainly *Toletum* and *Alces*, although the latter is only known as a *mansio* along the via XXIX. *Aebura* has been linked with *Libora,* as indicated in the *Ravenna Cosmography* and by Ptolemy. Again it continued as a *mansio* rather than as a city.[151] *Contrebia Carbica* was abandoned, at the latest during the Sertorian Wars. Unfortunately, little is known about this city.[152] In addition to the urban centres attested in the ancient sources, we can add two more that are attested archaeologically: El cerro

[142] Baquedano (ed.) (2014) *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*. For an overview of historiography before the colloquium, see: Torres Rodríguez (2014) 'La investigación protohistórica en la Carpetania.' In: Baquedano (ed.), *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*, 15-38: 18ff.
[143] Hurtado Aguña (2000) 'Castros carpetanos de época prerromana.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 26, 85-93: 85.
[144] Contreras Martínez *et al.* (2014) 'Oppidum, urbanismo y organización de los espacios de hábitat en El Llano de la Horca (Santorcaz, Madrid).' In: Baquedano (ed.), *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*, 111-24: 116.
[145] Hurtado Aguña (2000): 86.
[146] Liv. *AUC* XXXV 6.8 & XXXV22.7-8.
[147] Liv. *AUC* XL 30.3.
[148] Liv. *AUC* XL 48.1 & 40.49.2.
[149] Liv. *AUC* XL 33.1; Salinas de Frías (2007) 'Los carpetanos: siglos III a. C. al I a. C.' In: Carrasco Serrano (ed.), *Los pueblos prerromanos en Castilla-La Mancha*, 37-66: 44.
[150] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila: 212.
[151] Ravenn. 312.11; Ptol. II 6, 56.
[152] For the limited information on this city, see: Gozalbes Cravioto (2000) *Caput celtiberiae: la tierra de Cuenca en las fuentes clásicas*: 148ff.

del Gollino and Cerrón de Illescas.[153] El cerro del Gollino is considered a proto-urban settlement due to its 15 hectare walled size. With the much smaller Cerrón de Illescas (1.5 hectares), what draws the attention is the building interpreted as a sanctuary. This would position Cerrón de Illescas in the settlement system as a religious centre. El cerro del Gollino and Cerrón de Illescas were both abandoned in the republican period.

Despite the limited number of settlements known in this area, a settlement hierarchy can be assumed. Two centres - *Toletum* and *Contrebia Carbica* - are of significant size, measuring respectively 40 and 45 hectares.[154] In addition to their size, we can add for *Contrebia Carbica* the evidence of coinage as a probable indication of its importance as a primary centre.[155] Possible second-order settlements, based on their smaller sizes, include *Complutum* (32 ha), *Consabura* (30), and Dehesa de Oliva (26.5).[156] Cerro de Gollino (15 ha) and Santorcaz (14 ha) may have been third-order settlements. In the lowest order, we find the smallest settlements: Muela de Taracena (5 ha); Yeles (3-4 ha); Castejón, Armuña de Tajuña (3.5 ha); Zaorejas (1-3 ha) and Cerrón de Illescas (1.5 ha).[157] In addition to size, we can rely on function to differentiate between the second- and lower-order settlements. In the case of Dehesa de Oliva, the settlement has been taken to be active not only as a rural settlement, but also as a mining centre.[158]

2.3.5 North-Western Atlantic Façade

The last area under scrutiny is the north-western Peninsula. It is defined by mountain ranges, in particular the Cantabrian Mountains and the Mountains of Leon. To the south it is defined by the Mondego River. The north-western area is known for its *Castro Culture.*[159] While the term implies a homogeneous culture based on the *castro* type of settlement, a complex and diverse archaeological reality is observed.[160] Spatially the term includes the whole north-western Iberian Peninsula, incorporating

[153] Salinas de Frías (2007): 45.
[154] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995): 212.
[155] MLH A.75.
[156] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995): 212. For *Complutum* the given size in Almagro is based on the size of the hilltop, although this is 68 hectares, the built-up area seems to be only 32 hectares. See also: Azcárraga Cámara and Ruiz-Taboada (2012-2013) 'Los Orígenes de Complutum: el descubrimiento de la planta de la ciudad romana de San Juan del Viso (Villalbilla, Madrid).' *Anales de arueología cordobesa* Vol. 23-24, 95-116: 100.
[157] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995): 212; Salinas de Frías (2007): 45; Hurtado (2000): 87ff.
[158] Hurtado Aguña (2000): 87.
[159] The terminology for this settlement type is rather confusing due to the modern languages spoken in the area of study. The Castro Culture used here refers to the Portuguese *Cultura Castreja*, the Castillian *Cultura Castreño*, the Galician *Cultura Castrexa* and the Asturian *Cultura Castriega.* The settlements are often named *castro*, although *citânia* and *cividade* also appear.
[160] Lemos *et al.* (2011): 189; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007): 99.

very different geographical regions. Temporally the term is used for a period covering a millennium, from the origin in the Bronze Age to the Late Roman abandonment.[161]

One of the major problems of this settlement type is the hierarchy between the *castros*. Cruz recognises a hierarchy and states that this is the defining characteristic for these settlements to be considered urban.[162] In contrast, other scholars state that the *castros* were heterarchical.[163] However, the solution might be found in the development of this settlement type, because of the Roman conquest the tribal organisation changed and some *castros* became the central place of the tribe or later *civitas*.[164]

Nonetheless, a general typology of this settlement type has been made. Most of the *castros* of this region feature circular buildings housing families and massive defensive walls located on easily defendable locations with control over their immediate surroundings and territory.[165] The spatial distribution of most *castros* follows the pattern of a 5 to 10 kilometre distance between two *castros*, often within sight of each other.[166] The development of the settlements has been divided into three phases.[167] The first phase roughly aligns with the change from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron age.

Almagro-Gorbea points out that some of these early *castros* developed over time into larger *oppida.* The main difference between the *castros* and *oppida* is the more complex structure of the settlement, reflecting the complexity of society.[168] This complexity of the larger *castros*, sometimes called *oppida*, is seen in the rise of differentiated buildings such as the so-called 'Council House' and bathhouses in *Citânia de Briteiros.*[169] Another development is the more structured organisation of the interior layout of the *castro*: the more organic organisation of earlier phases has been replaced by a layout organised in different districts.[170] These larger *castros* are distributed roughly within a day's walk of one another.[171]

Looking closely at different *castros,* we can understand the differences and similarities of this settlement type. In order to create a representative picture, two different regions will be looked at. The *castro* of *Citânia de Briteiros* in the modern-day

[161] Hipólito Correia (2001): 214.
[162] Cruz (2015): 408.
[163] Pereira Menaut (1982) 'Los castella y las comunidades de Gallaecia.' *Zephyrus* Vol. XXXIV-XXXV, 249-67: 255; Sastre Prats (2008) 'Community, Identity, and Conflict: Iron Age Warfare in the Iberian Northwest.' *Current Anthropology* Vol. 49, Nº 6, 1021-51: 1022.
[164] See further in the section on the North-western Atlantic Façade.
[165] Lemos *et al.* (2011): 189; Almagro-Gorbea (1994): 15; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007): 99.
[166] Almagro-Gorbea (1994): 16.
[167] Coelho Ferreira da Silva (1995b) 'Portuguese Castros: The Evolution of the Habitat and the Proto-Urbanization Process.' In: Cunliffe and Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: from the copper age to the second century AD*, 263-89: 266; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007): 100ff; Hipólito Correia (1995): 237.
[168] Almagro-Gorbea (1994): 15; Lemos *et al.* (2011): 192.
[169] Alarcão (1988): 144; Lemos *et al.* (2011): 193; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007): 110.
[170] Alarcão (1988): 1/243; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (2007): 107.
[171] Coelho Ferreira da Silva (1995b): 275.

intermunicipal region of Ave in Portugal is seen as an example of the north-western Portuguese *castros*.[172] The *castro* Chao Samartín in the modern-day autonomous community of Asturias in Spain will also be examined. These *castros* have been chosen for their state of investigation and for their distance from one another.

Citânia de Briteiros is one of the largest *castros* of the *Castro Culture*, measuring up to 20 ha, of which an area of 7 ha, containing over one hundred family compounds, has been excavated.[173] The *castro* has three different ramparts, the largest encircling the maximum extent of the *castro*, 20.5 hectares. The construction of the ramparts is dated to the second century BCE. The *castro* was certainly inhabited well into the first century CE.[174] To gain an understanding of the urban nature of this *castro*, we can turn to the internal layout. First, a division into different districts can be observed: Obviously, the multiple rings of ramparts lead to a division into three different parts. In addition to this division, two principal roads intersect the smallest circular defence, leading to a division into four districts.[175] A diversification of building types can also be observed. A number of public buildings can be observed in addition to the circular domestic buildings. There are, for instance, the so-called urban sanctuaries: the archaeological remains of larger enclosed areas on the acropolis including such relics as statues, or ceramics related to banqueting and epigraphy led to the interpretation of these enclosures as sanctuaries (fig. II.11, the grey area on the acropolis).[176] Furthermore, in *Briteiros* we find two public baths, of the sauna type that was mentioned by Strabo as typical for the Lusitanians living along the Duero.[177] Such baths

Fig. II.11 Citânia de Briteiros (Cruz, 2015: fig. 7 p. 425.)

[172] Alarcão (1988): 1/243.
[173] Almagro-Gorbea (1994): 65; Lemos *et al.* (2011): 194.
[174] Alarcão (1988): 1/243; Coelho Ferreira da Silva (1995a) 'A evolução do hábitat castrejo e o proceso de proto-urbanização no noroeste de Portugal durante o I milénio a.C.' *Revista da Facultade de Letras. Historia* Vol. 12, 505-46: 517.
[175] Alarcão (1988): 1/243; Almagro-Gorbea (1994): 65. The acropolis is an oval shaped *castro* of approximately 150m by 250m (3.75 ha), and is seen as the oldest occupation zone.
[176] Cruz (2015): 410. The possible urban sanctuary of *Citânia de Briteiros* itself has been destroyed by the construction of a chapel on top of it.
[177] Str. III 3.6.

have been found in many *castros* along the north bank of the Duero.[178] In addition, there is a larger house, measuring up to 11 m in diameter with benches along the walls. This building has been identified as a probable meeting place for local leaders or even a council.[179] As for the development of a territory, we indeed observe an incorporation of the territory of two other *castros*. In the direct vicinity of *Citânia de Briteiros* we find two other *castros*: Castro de Santa Iria and Castro de Sabroso. These *castros* are located along the Ave River within three kilometres from *Citânia de Briteiros.* A GIS analysis of the visual control of these three settlements shows that *Citânia de Briteiros* is clearly the dominant settlement.[180] This leads to the theory that the two other *castros* were integrated into the territory of *Citânia de Briteiros.* In the Roman period, the *castros* of Sabroso and Santa Iria were abandoned in favour of *Citânia de Briteiros.*[181]

In a completely different region, in the Asturian Mountains, we find the *castro* of Chao Samartín. This *castro* is taken to be an exemplar for understanding this type of settlement in the Asturian part of the Iberian Peninsula.[182] The first permanent inhabitation of the *castro* of Chao Samartín has been dated to the Bronze Age around the late ninth or early eighth century BCE.[183] This area of inhabitation is also referred to as the acropolis of Chao Samartín (fig. II.12: the dotted line indicates the early settlement). The remains of a rectangular house have been found on the acropolis. The

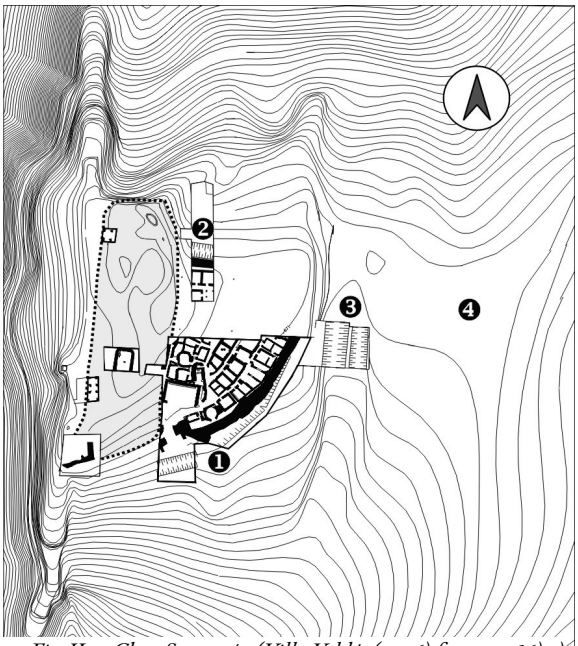


Fig. II.12 Chao Samartín (Villa Valdés (2006) fig. 3, p. 586) 1) the southern area; 2) the northern area with domus; 3) the double fossae; 4) location of the modern settlement.

[178] Coelho Ferreira da Silva (1995b): 283.
[179] *Ibid.* ; Cruz (2015): 411.
[180] Fonte *et al.* (2011) 'Citânia de Briteiros e médio vale do Ave (NW de Portugal): SIG e análise arqueológica do território.' In: Mayoral Herrera and Celestino Pérez (eds.), *Tecnologías de Información Geográfica y Análisis Arqueológico del Territorio. Actas del V Simposio Internacional de Arqueología de Mérida*, 359-66: 362.
[181] *Ibid.*
[182] Villa Valdés (2007b) 'Mil años de poblados fortificados en Asturias (siglos IX a.C.-II d.C.).' In: Fernández-Tresguerres (ed.), *Astures y romanos: nuevas perspectivas*, 27-60: 28.
[183] González Ruibal (2006) *Galaicos: Poder y comunidad en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica (1200 a.C. - 50 d.C.)*: 87; Villa Valdés (2007b): 28.

finds in this building consisted of ceramics and metal objects unrelated to the domestic sphere.[184] Given these non-domestic finds, the function of the building is thought to be ceremonial.

The settlement was enlarged and fortified in the Iron Age.[185] There are some interesting buildings to be found within the newly added area. To the south a large enclosure, building or square, was found (see fig. II.12 within the area number 1). This enclosure is significantly larger than other buildings within the settlement, leading to the interpretation of a public area.[186] Juxtaposed to the enclosure is the sauna of the settlement.[187] Interestingly these two structures are located at the main entrance of the settlement. The *castro* of Choa Samartín must be regarded as an important settlement in the region as it has a rather large public area, combining a sauna with what could be a house or square for assembly.

In 2002, excavations in the northern area of the *castro* revealed a house in the style of a Roman *domus*.[188] The *domus* was of the classical form, with the *impluvium* in the peristyle *atrium*. Moreover, the walls of the *domus* were stuccoed and painted. These murals allow for the dating of the house in the Claudian period.[189] In a second phase of construction, some rooms of the eastern part of the *domus* were converted to a bathhouse consisting of three rooms.[190] This construction of a classical *domus* in a *castro* seems to indicate the continuity of this settlement as the seat of the élite.[191] The *castro* has been linked to the Roman place *Ocela* found in Ptolemy.[192]

[184] Villa Valdés (2009) '¿De aldea fortificada a Caput Civitatis? Tradición y ruptura en una Comunidad Castreña del siglo I D.C.: El Poblado de Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime, Asturias).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 35, 7-26: 8.
[185] Villa Valdés (2007a) 'El Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime, Asturias) y el paisaje fortificado en la Asturias protohistórica.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Moret (eds.), *Paisajes Fortificados de la Edad del Hierro*, 191-212: 202; Villa Valdés (2009): 9.
[186] Villa Valdés (2009): 10.
[187] Villa Valdés (2000) 'Saunas castreñas en Asturias.' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 97-114: 110.
[188] Montes *et al.* (2013) 'Avance sobre la excavación de una *domus* altoimperial en el castro de Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime).' *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en Asturias 2007-2012*, 225-38: 225.
[189] Montes Lopéz and Villa Valdés (2015) 'Una *domus* altoimperial en el castro de Chao Samartín (Asturias): Quién, comó y porqué.' *Férvedes* Vol. 8, 277-84: 282.
[190] *Ibid*. 278.
[191] *Ibid*. 283.
[192] Ptol. II 6, 22; Villa Valdés (2013) *Los castros del valle del Navia: Tesoro arqueológico en el occidente de Asturias*: 13.

2.4 Roman Conquest and Early Roman Urbanism

My account of the Roman conquest will focus only on the conquest of urban settlements and the changes to the settlement pattern.[193] Put simply, the conquest started at the Iberian Levant and immediately focused on the Mediterranean façade. This was followed by a slower process of conquest into the Meseta Central and the Southern Atlantic façade. Augustus conquered the north-western Atlantic façade in the early years of the Empire.

The first dealings Rome had with the Iberian Peninsula can be found in Polybius' account of the run-up to the Second Punic War.[194] The alleged violation of the so-called Ebro treaty drew the Romans into a war against the Carthaginians on the Iberian Peninsula.[195] The exact nature of this treaty and the debate on this subject are irrelevant for this study. I will therefore turn immediately to the Roman conquest and the effect on the urban settlement pattern.[196]

The map (fig. II.13) shows the various phases of conquest as they have been defined by Knapp and used since then, with some variations.[197] However, as Edmondson points out correctly, we should not see this military advance of the Roman army as a clearly delimited and advancing territory. The conquest was one of successes and failures within and outside the *provincia*. Whereas some peoples might have signed treaties before they were conquered, others might have revolted after the 'frontier' had passed them. The construction of the walls of *Segeda* is a good example: Over 25 years after the treaty with Gracchus, the *Segedenses* decided to ignore it and started reconstructing their walls; as a result the Roman military actions had to retreat.[198]

[193] For more detailed research treating the actual conquest, one can turn to several ancient sources such as Appian's *Iberike*, Livy's book 34 and secondary literature such as: Richardson (1986) *Hispaniae, Spain and the development of Roman imperialism, 218-82 BC*; Fear (1996); Francisco Martín (1996) *Conquista y Romanización de Lusitania*; Andreu Pintado *et al.* (eds.) (2009) *Hispaniæ: Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*; Blázques Martínez (1963) 'El impacto de la conquista de Hispania en Roma (154-83 a.C.).' *Klio* Vol. 41, 168-86; Blázques Martínez (1962) 'El impacto de la conquista de Hispania en Roma (218-154 a.C.).' *Estudios Clásicos* Vol. 7, 1-29.

[194] Pol. III 24.4. See for more information on the treaty: Sancho Royo (1976) 'En torno al tratado del Ebro y Asdrubal.' *Habis* Vol. 7, 75-110: 75-110; Richardson (1986): 20ff; Tsirkin (1991) 'El tratado de Asdrubal con Roma.' *POLIS. Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antigüedad Clásica* Vol. 3, 147-52: 147-52; Martínez López (2013) 'El tratado de Asdrúbal: firma, vigencia, muerte, torcimiento y meramorfosis.' *Arse: Boletín anual del Centro Arqueológico Saguntino* Vol. 47, 43-102: 43-102.

[195] Liv. *AUC* XXI 17.8; Polyb. III 27, 9.

[196] For more detailed studies and descriptions of the conquest see: Blázques Martínez (1962); Blázques Martínez (1963); Knapp (1977) *Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206-100 B.C*; Richardson (1986); Cadiou (2008) *Hibera in terra miles: les armées romaines et la conquête de l'Hispanie sous la république (218-45 av. J.-C.)*.

[197] Knapp (1977); Cadiou (2008); Wittke *et al.* (2012) *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt: Sonderausgabe*.

[198] Edmondson (2014) 'Hispania capta: Reflexiones sobre el proceso e impacto de la conquista romana en la Península Ibérica.' In: Bravo Castañeda and González Salinero (eds.), *Conquistadores y conquistados: Relaciones de dominio en el mundo romano*, 19-44: 22.

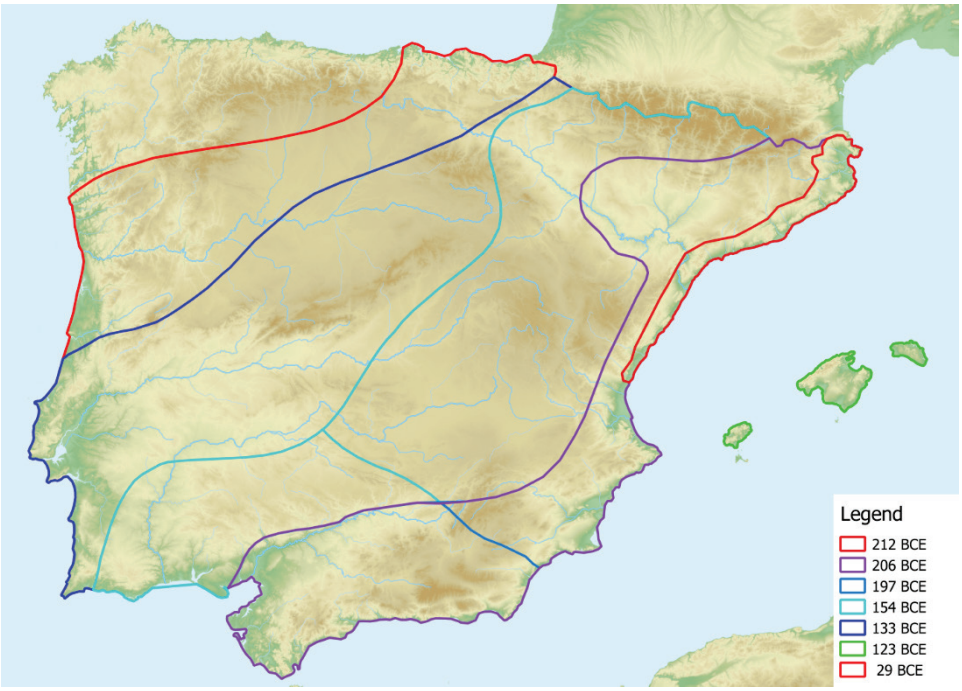


Fig. II.13 Different phases of Roman Conquest (Map based on: Wittke et al. (2012).)

2.4.1 Pre-Caesarean colonisation

The first period in the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula started with the landing on the Peninsula in 218 BCE and ended with the fall of *Numantia* in 133 BCE. During this period, several different wars were fought against indigenous tribes and, it goes without saying, against the Punic forces as part of the Second Punic War. Interestingly, we can observe that the regions conquered in the first period roughly conform to the geographical regions of the Iberian Levant and the Mediterranean façade.

With regard to this early period of conquest, *Arse/Saguntum* should be regarded as the most important settlement. The initial Roman campaigns focused on ending Punic control of *Saguntum*. In order to do so, Rome turned to its allies on the Iberian Peninsula, such as the Greek city of *Emporion*. This became the landing place and first stronghold of the Romans.[199] Rodà de Llanzo recognises the late third century BCE fortifications at *Emporion* as archaeological evidence for this historical event.[200]

[199] Polyb. II 13, 3; Liv. *AUC* XXI 60 1-2. With the foundation of a Roman army camp, which is located at the same site as the later Roman city. Guitart i Duran (1994) 'Un Programa de fundacions urbanes a la Hispania Citerior del principi del segle I A.C.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 205-13: 205.

[200] Rodà i Llanza (2009b) 'Hispania en las provincias occidentales del Imperio durante la República y el Alto Imperio: una perspectiva arqueológica.' In: Andreu Pintado, Cabrero Piquero and Rodà de Llanza (eds.), *Hispaniae. Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*, 193-222: 194.

From *Emporion* to the south along the Catalan coast the Romans had to deal with an extended supply chain, the distance between *Emporion* and *Saguntum* being over 450 kilometres. The first Roman semi-permanent settlement on the Iberian Peninsula, halfway between *Emporion* and *Saguntum*, is the *castra hiberna* close to *Kese*, the *oppidum* of the *Cessetani,* which would later become the city of *Tarraco*.[201] Between 215 and 212 BCE these two bases were reinforced in order to provide for strongholds along the coast to capture and hold *Saguntum.* In addition, archaeological evidence shows temporary camps that were created in the region between *Emporiae* and *Saguntum* at the end of the third century BCE.[202] We can observe that the first period of conquest was clearly delimited by the geography of the Catalan mountains and thus restricted to the Catalan coastal lands.

After the capture of *Saguntum,* the new objective became to end Barcid control of the Iberian Peninsula.[203] The Roman armies were defeated in 211 BCE, but between 211 and 206, the area under Roman control expanded from *Saguntum* towards the Guadalquivir valley. The conquest of 'the Barcid capital' *Qart-Hadâst*, the later Roman *colonia* of *Carthago Nova*, in 209 led to the collapse of Carthaginian power on the Iberian Peninsula.[204] Due to the fall of *Qart-Hadâst,* the hostile, pro-Punic tribes in the north decided to switch sides, granting the Romans control over the lower Ebro. The Romans were then able to focus their military attention on the conquest of the Guadalquivir valley and the Punic settlements along the southern Mediterranean coast.

The rapid conquest of the area of the southern bank of the Guadalquivir to the coast has been attributed to the socio-political organisation of the Barcid Empire, which was based on an urban network in the Guadalquivir valley.[205] The existence of this urban network meant that the Romans did not have to create a new urban system but merely had to conquer and incorporate the existing cities. Examples of this incorporation are the *foederati,* such as *Gades* that signed a *foedus* with Rome, probably in 206. This treaty was renewed in 78 BCE.[206] In Pliny, we find two other examples of *foederati* from this region: *Ucia* and *Ripa*.[207] The early foundation of *Italica*, supposedly in 206 BCE and attributed to Scipio, near the Atlantic coast is an indication of the rapid advances made by the Roman armies after 212, in contrast to the campaigns in the first six years.[208]

[201] Liv. *AUC* XXII 22; Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 53; Rodà i Llanza (2009b): 194.
[202] Rodà i Llanza (2009b): 194.
[203] Richardson (1986): 41.
[204] Polyb. X 6, 20; Livy 27.75-6; Richardson points out that Livy's account has the year wrong, dating the conquest of Carthago Nova to 210 BCE see: 45.
[205] Bendala Galán (1987): 29; Rodà i Llanza (2009b): 196.
[206] Liv. *AUC* XXVIII 23; 32.2.3; Cic. *Balb*. 34; Galsterer (1971): 17.
[207] Plin. *NH* III 10.
[208] App. *Iber.* 38.

The decade after the massive extension of the Roman territory on the Iberian Peninsula was used to organise the newly obtained *provincia*.[209] The formation of the *provinciae* in the early days of the conquest is difficult to understand.[210] With the arrival of Roman legions on the Iberian Peninsula under the command of a general there must have been a *provincia Hispania*, but when and how it developed is unclear. Richardson opts for the possibility of the earliest division of Hispania into two Hispaniae in 212 BCE, based on Livy's use of the plural regarding the allocation of the *imperium* of the Hispaniae to the two Scipios.[211] The earliest certain date of the formation of the *provincia* was in 197 BCE.[212]

The difficult process of conquering the interior started with the formation of two provinces and the appointment of proconsuls. The *Fasti Triumphales* show the many triumphs and ovations gained in the new *provinciae* between 197 and 133 BCE.[213] For example, in 178-7 the proconsul of *Citerior,* Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, celebrated a triumph over the *Celtiberi*. Battles fought against the indigenous tribes and treaties were signed.[214] A famous example is the treaty Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus signed with the Celtiberian tribes to prevent further fortification of the cities.[215] For later periods, actual agreements, often-called *hospitium* agreements, between the proconsuls or emperor and tribes or cities have been found on bronze tablets.[216] These communities incorporated by conquest or treaties were then integrated into the Roman administration as communities with specific rights and duties.[217] The remnants of this system can be observed in Pliny's lists of cities, where we find several *oppida* that are *foederata*, *libera* or just *stipendiaria*. While the first two categories of cities had treaties, the third category comprised all tax-paying communities.

Another approach was to found new cities, most likely to provide for the military campaigns and ensure peace in the region.[218] Again we can turn to Gracchus who

[209] Richardson (1986): 75.
[210] Richardson (2015) 'Roman Law in the Provinces.' In: Johnston (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law*, 45-85: 46.
[211] Liv. *AUC* XXV 3.6; Richardson (1986): 41.
[212] Reynolds (2010) *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean AD 100-700: Ceramics and Trade*: 10; Richardson (1986); Rodà i Llanza (2009b): 196.
[213] Pina Polo (2006) 'El imperialismo romano en la primera mitad del siglo II a.C.' In: Burillo Mozota (ed.), *Segeda y su contexto histórico: Entre Catón y Nobilior (195 al 153 a.C.)*, 27-33: 27. See the *Fasti Triumphales* for the individual triumphs.
[214] Roldán Hervás (1989a) 'Colonización y municipalización durante la Républica.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 11-32: 21.
[215] App. *Iber*. 44; Burillo Mozota (2006) 'Segeda and Rome: the development of a Celtiberian city-state.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 159-71: 161.
[216] E.g: CIL II2/5, 732 (38 CE *Aratispi*); CILA II, 1053 (*Munigua*); HAE 1965; AE 1961, 96 (28 CE with different tribes in the North west).
[217] Santos Yanguas (1998) 'Comunidades indigenas y centros urbanos en Hispania en el proceso de conquista y organización de los territorios conquistados.' In: Hernández Guerra and Sagredo San Eustaquio (eds.), *El proceso de municipalización en la Hispania Romana*, 11-38: 11.
[218] Edmondson (2006): 254.

founded a city named after him: *Gracchuris*.[219] Another foundation, most probably also by Gracchus, is that of *Iliturgi* in *Ulterior*, as this city erected an inscription in commemoration of Gracchus as the *deductor* of their *populus*.[220] The foundation of *Gracchuris* was part of a tradition of Hellenistic generals founding cities bearing their own name. In the Republican period we can observe several other cases of places on the Iberian Peninsula named after Roman generals or *praetores*: *Metellinum*, *Lepida*, *Pompelo, Brutobriga* and a multitude of places named after Caesar.[221] Although generals or *praetores* of the provinces founded these places, the citizens still had peregrine status.[222]

It is clear that the organisation of the *provinciae* in the earlier period was based on self-governing communities. In Livy's history, we find two cases raised in Rome by people from the Hispanian provinces in 171 BCE. A group of several communities from both the Hispaniae sent embassies to Rome to complain about extortion. The other case brought forward in that year was that of *Carteia,* which, in 171 BCE, became the first colony with Latin status, although its status is much debated.[223] Livy tells us that the city was founded for the 4,000 sons born of unlawful marriages between soldiers and women from Hispania.[224] The Latin status of the colony has been taken as the solution to a citizenship problem. As these 4,000 young men were the issue of unlawful marriages between Roman citizens (the veterans) and peregrine women from the Hispaniae, the status of the sons was also peregrine. The solution would therefore have been a Latin *colonia*.[225] Interestingly, the inhabitants of the older Punic *Carteia* were not considered *incolae* but were incorporated in the redistribution of the land when it was centuriated.[226]

Another possible *colonia* of the Republican period is *Corduba*. The foundation of *Corduba* by M. Claudius Marcellus is dated to either his proconsular legate in 151/152 BCE, or to his praetorship of 169 BCE. According to Strabo, *Corduba* was the first Roman *colonia* sent to these regions.[227] This is a rather difficult passage as *Carteia* had

[219] Liv. *Per* 41; Rodà i Llanza (2009b): 196; see also: Galve *et al.* (2005) 'Las ciudades romanas del valle medio del Ebro en época julio-claudia.' In: Goffaux (ed.), *L' Aquitaine et l'Hispanie septentrionale à l'époque julioclaudienne. Organisation et exploitation des espaces provinciaux (Saintes, 2003) IVe Colloque Aquitania*, 169-214.
[220] HEp 16, 2006, 448.
[221] App. *Iber.* 38; Roldán Hervás (1989a): 21; Amela Valverde (2000) 'Las ciudades fundadas por Pompeyo Magno en Occidente: Pompaelo, Lugdunum Convenarum y Gerunda.' *POLIS. Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antigüedad Clásica* Vol. 12, 7-41: 8 see footnote 2.
[222] Galsterer (1971): 13.
[223] Liv. *AUC* XLIII 3; See further: Chouquer (2014) *Carteia, colonie d'affranchis (Espagne - 171 av. J.-C.)*; Bandelli (2002) 'La colonizzazione romana della peninsola Iberica da Scipione Africano a Bruto Callaico.' *Hispania terris omnibus felicior: Premesse ed esiti di un processo di integrazione,* Pisa: Edizioni ETS - Fondazione Niccolò Canussio, 105-42: 110.
[224] Liv. *AUC* XLIII 3, 1-4
[225] Galsterer (1971): 8.
[226] Liv. *AUC* XLIII 3
[227] Str. III 2.1.

already been founded as a Latin *colonia* in 171 BCE. *Corduba* cannot have been a *colonia civium Romanorum*.[228] It has been argued that Strabo was referring to the settlement of Roman citizens (*conventus civium Romanorum*) rather than to a proper *colonia*.[229] However, it is more logical that Strabo was referring to *Corduba* as being the first *colonia* in the region of Turdetanians.[230] If we take the *colonia* of *Corduba* as simply a settlement of Roman citizens in a possible Latin *colonia*, the appearance of the *conventus civium Romanorum* can be explained as the congregation of Roman citizens within the Latin *colonia*.[231] So far, archaeology seems to support the foundation of the new *colonia* of *Corduba*, close to the older Turdetanian settlement of Colina de los Quemados. The indigenous settlement seems to have been abandoned gradually between the second and the first century BCE, whereas the earliest finds on the site of Roman *Corduba* date to the second quarter of the second century BCE.[232]

Another Roman general who was important for the early development of the Roman urban network is D. Iunius Brutus Callaecus. A possible but problematic foundation by D. Iunius Brutus Callaecus, based on the name of the city, is that of *Brutobriga*. The existence of the settlement is based on numismatics and the single mention by Stephanus of Byzantium.[233] Due to the few sources mentioning this possible city, its location is still unknown. Certainly, Callaecus fortified the old city of *Olisipo* to serve as his *praesidium* during his campaign to conquer *Callaecia* in 138 BCE.[234] Moreover, in the same year he founded *Valentia* as a veteran colony, on the Mediterranean coast.[235] Taradell established the period of foundation mentioned by Livy as correct based on ceramic ware, and later excavations have confirmed his findings.[236] The republican levels yielded a ritual site, identified as a sanctuary to water gods, and baths and a *horreum* have also been located.[237]

The second phase in the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula started with the fall of *Numantia* and ended with the Civil War. In this period, the tribes in the north-western Atlantic façade had not yet been conquered. More importantly, the Iberian Peninsula became the scene of different local and, more importantly, civil

[228] Salmon (1969): 119.
[229] Jiménez and Carrillo (2011) 'Corduba/Colonia Patricia: the colony that was founded twice.' In: Sweetman (ed.), *Roman Colonies in their First Century of their Foundation*, 55-74: 56.
[230] García Fernández (2014) 'Estrabón (III, 2, 1) y la fundación de Córdoba. Una nueva propuesta de interpretación.' In: Chiaba (ed.), *Hoc qvoqve laboris praemivm. Scritti in onore di Gino Bandelli*, 173-88: 174.
[231] Caes. *B.Alex*. 57.5; Galsterer (1971): 10; Jiménez and Carrillo (2011): 56.
[232] Jiménez and Carrillo (2011): 58.
[233] St. Byz. p. 189; VM: 118.1; Marín Díaz (1988) *Emigración, colonización y municipalización en la Hispania Republicana*: 134.
[234] Str. III 3.1; Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 200.
[235] Liv. *Per* 55.
[236] Aranegui Gascó (2011) 'The most important Roman cities in Valencian Land untill the 3rd century.' *Catalan Historical Review* Vol. 4, 9-26: 13; Ribera i Lacomba (2006) 'The Roman foundation of Valencia and the town in the 2nd-1st c. B.C.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 75-89: 77.
[237] Ribera i Lacomba (2006): 77.

wars fought within the Roman Republic.[238] These had an important impact on the urban landscape of the Iberian Peninsula and on the later Caesarean and Augustan municipalisation of the urban centres.

The promotion and creation of settlements was continued as part of a programme to control the newly conquered areas. The promotion of *Palma* and *Pollentia* in 123 BCE belonged to this category of strategic promotions. Strabo gives us an account of the promotion of these places by the settling of 3,000 Roman colonists from Spain by Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus.[239] The reason for this settlement of colonists in the Balearic Islands should be related to the campaign of Caecilius Metellus Balearicus against the pirates in this region.[240] Moreover, a tighter grip on these islands also meant total control over the Balearic Sea and the Iberian Levantine coast. The cities of *Palma* and *Pollentia* as well as *Ebusus* are well connected to large stretches of the coastline where the cities of *Emporiae*, *Tarraco*, *Valentia* and *Carthago Nova* were situated. The establishment of *coloniae* on the Balearic Islands and along the Catalan coast created the possibility to control this coastal area.

Another possible Roman foundation in this period is *Ilerda*. Galsterer points out three soldiers from *Ilerda* who are mentioned by *tria nomina* in the 89 BCE decree by Cn. Pompeius Strabo. He deems it very unlikely that the three soldiers mentioned were all granted Roman citizenship *virtutis causa*, and goes on to argue for a promotion of *Ilerda*. Based on the combination of indigenous aspects in the *tria nomina*, he argues for a Latin right in *Ilerda* prior to 89 BCE.[241] Barrandon argues that *Ilerda* was an early Roman stronghold on the frontier, basing her argument on the early coinage of *Ilerda* (*iltiŕta*) and the fact that Pliny mentions this as the capital of a *regio*.[242] Certainly, *Ilerda* was a *municipium civium Romanorum* under Augustus.[243] In view of similar promotions from a republican *colonia Latina* to an early imperial *municipium civium Romanorum*, as in the case of *Pollentia* and *Palma*, one might indeed regard *Ilerda* as a possible early *colonia Latina*.

An important period for the further development of the Roman urban network was the period of the Sertorian War (80-72 BCE). The precise politics and bellic activities of this period are not relevant to this thesis.[244] Nonetheless, we see the Roman generals intervening in the urban system in order to control their respective territories.

[238] Pina Polo (2009) 'Hispania y su conquista en los avatares de la República Tardía.' In: Andreu Pintado, Cabrero Piquero and Rodà de Llanza (eds.), *Hispaniae. Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*, 223-36: 224.
[239] Str. III 5.1; Marín Díaz (1988): 140.
[240] Marín Díaz (1988): 140.
[241] Galsterer (1971): 11.
[242] Barrandon (2011) *De la pacification à l'intégration des Hispaniques (133-27 a.C.)*: 62.
[243] Plin. *NH* III 24.
[244] Plut. *Sertorius*; Spann (1987) 'Quintus Sertorius and the legacy of Sulla.'; Schulten (2013 [1926]) *Sertorio*; Matyszak (2013) *Sertorius and the struggle for Spain*. See also Barrandon (2011): 213-9.

First, Sertorius used *Osca* as the seat of his government, although this city is not seen as a proper foundation nor had colonists settled there.[245] Sertorius' choice to position his capital at *Osca* might have been inspired by its strong position on a hilltop between his two bastions of *Calagurris* and *Ilerda*.[246] Moreover, Spann adds, *Osca* controls several silver mines in its territory.[247] The Roman city known as *Osca* is the older Ilergetan city of *Bolskan*[248], and dates back to the 4th or 3rd century. *Osca* must be regarded as a self-governing community from as early as the second century BCE, as it minted coins with the Iberian legend *Bolskan*.[249] Other places mentioned as supporting the case of Sertorius are *Belgida*, *Pallantia*, *Segobriga*, *Bilbilis*, *Clunia*, *Uxama* (*Argaela*), *Ilerda*, *Tarraco* and *Termes*.[250]

Pompey decided to create a new settlement, following his own habit of founding cities in the east, close to the base of Sertorius at the location of an indigenous settlement used as his winter camp in 75/74 BCE: *Pompelo*.[251] The actual status of this foundation has been debated. Pliny mentions the city as an *oppidum stipendiarium*[252], but several scholars argue that it must have had a different status. The foundation of the city is seen as a triumphal act, like the foundation of *Pompeiopolis* after the defeat of Mithridates IV. Since *Pompelo* did not entail a true *ex novo* foundation, occupational levels have been attested dating back to the Bronze Age, it has been argued that we are dealing with a juridical promotion.[253] Pliny's account of the stipendiary *oppidum* would then have been a result of a change in status after the Civil War by Caesar because of its allegiance to Pompey.[254]

Interestingly, Pompey decided to destroy the *colonia* of *Valentia* in 75 BCE.[255] The motive for this complete destruction is unclear, but could be related to the presence of Sertorian armies in the city. Its destruction has been backed by archaeological evi-

[245] Manchón Zorilla (2014) 'Pietas erga patriam: la propaganda política de Quinto Sertorio y su trascendencia en las fuentes literarias clásicas.' *Bolskan* Vol. 25, 153-72: 161ff.
[246] *Ibid*. 166; Spann (1987): 195 n. 39; Juste Arruga (2000) 'Bolskan-Osca, ciudad iberorromana.' *Empúries* Vol. 52, 87-106: 92.
[247] Liv. *AUC* 34, 10 & 46; Spann (1987): 195 n. 39.
[248] Villaronga (2004): 111; Juste Arruga (2000).
[249] Villaronga (2004): 192; Juste Arruga (2000): 91.
[250] Barrandon (2011): 214.
[251] Canal Junco (1994) *Sexto Pompeyo en Hispania*: 183; Amela Valverde (2000): 9.
[252] Plin. *NH* III 24.
[253] Amela Valverde (2000): 17; Mezquíriz Irujo (2004) 'Algunas aportaciones al urbanismo de "Pompaelo".' *Trabajos de arqueología Navarra* Vol. 17, 173-8: 174.
[254] Amela Valverde (2000): 19.
[255] Bellvís Giner (2006) 'Saetabis *versus* Edeta, Saguntum, Valentia y Carthago: interacción y dinamismo en el Levante Hispánico.' *ROMULA* Vol. 5, 7-26: 15; Jiménez Salvador (2004) 'Les ciutats romanes de Castelló i València (ss. II aC-II dC).' In: Orfila Pons and Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, 67-94.

dence. A destruction layer has been found which could be dated to the period 80-70 BCE based on the pottery excavated.[256]

The Sertorian War led to the foundation of Roman settlements, not only to the north-east but also in the south. On the banks of the Guadiana, we find the Roman *colonia* of *Metellinum*.[257] The foundation of *Metellinum* has many similarities to that of *Pompelo*. First, *Metellinum* is not an actual *ex novo* foundation. The site had been occupied since the eighth century BCE and has been identified with *Conisturgis*.[258] The indigenous site most probably served as a *praesidium* or at least as a *castellum* for the troops of Q. Caecilius Metellus in 79 BCE.[259] In this year Metellus was sent to prevent incursions of Sertorian and Lusitanian troops into the province of *Ulterior.*[260] Like *Pompelo,* the city is named after its founder. Similar to all pre-Caesarean foundations, its status before the municipalisation under Caesar and Augustus is unknown and debates on the question continue.[261] Nonetheless, many accept its colonial status at the time of Caesar.[262]

[256] Ribera i Lacomba and Jiménez Salvador (2012) 'Valentia, ciudad romana: su evidencia arqueologica.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 77-120: 90; Haba Quirós (1998) *Medellín Romano: La Colonia Medellinensis y su Territorio*: 406.
[257] Although promoted later under Caesar. See: García y Bellido (1958) 'Las colonias romanas de Lusitania.' *Arqueología e Historia* Vol. 8, 13-23: 14; Haba Quirós (1998): 408.
[258] Salas Martín (2001) 'Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de la Colonia Metellinensis.' *Norba* Vol. 15, 101-16: 107; Almagro-Gorbea (2008) 'Medellín-Conisturgis: reinterpretación geográfica del Suroeste de Iberia.' *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* Vol. 126, 84-155: 92.
[259] Salas Martín (2001): 108. Most probably we can add the foundations of the *castra Caecilia* and *vicus Caecilia* to the foundations by Metellus in this period.
[260] *Ibid*.
[261] García y Bellido (1958): 14; Haba Quirós (1998): 408.
[262] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 205; Bravo Castañeda (2007): 161; Salmon (1969): 164; Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 62; Haba Quirós (1998): 408.

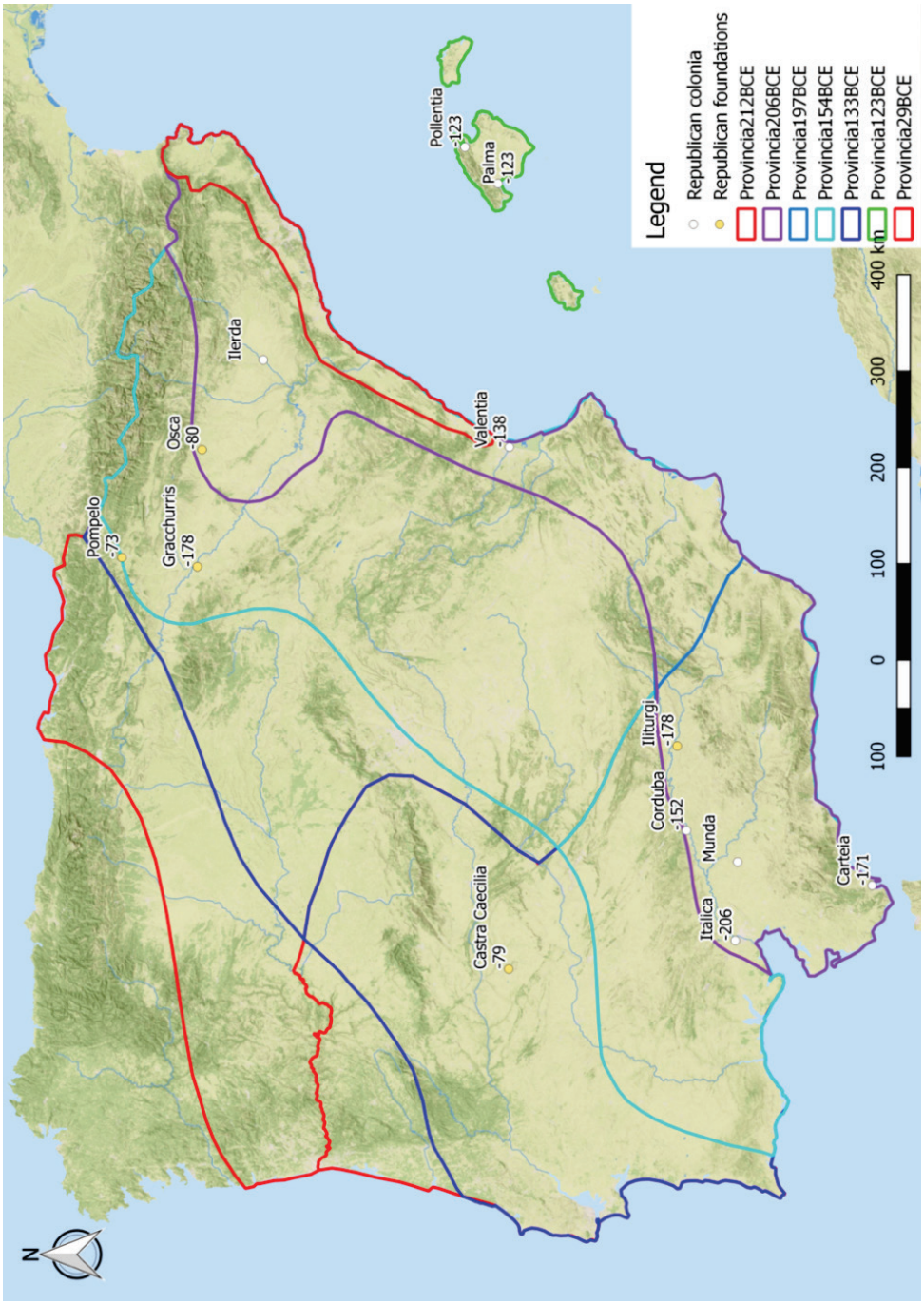


Fig. II.14 Republican provinciae, coloniae and foundations

The fact that the period of 218-72 BCE is one of many and long wars probably led to an almost continuous influx of Roman and Italian soldiers and created many veterans, who could be used to colonise the newly conquered lands and may have inhabited the newly created cities.[263] However, we should not compare these early cities and colonies with the later settlements founded during the Caesarean-Augustan colonisation and municipalisation. The establishment of provincial colonies was most probably a haphazard process in this early period. Nonetheless, the effect of Roman veterans settling or being settled had an effect on the development of these cities. Le Roux's list of the settlements which started in Republican times as Roman military camps shows the importance of the military for the urbanisation of the Iberian Peninsula: *Emporiae*, *Tarraco, Munda, Cauca, Tucci, Obulcula, Osca, Metellinum* and *Pompelo*.[264] For the early imperial period we can add a multitude of settlements, especially in the north-west: *Asturica Augusta, Augustobriga*, *Aquae Querquernae*, *Bracara Augusta*, *Flaviobriga*, *Iuliobriga*, *Lucus Augusti*, *Octaviolca*, *Petavonium*, *Pisoraca* and *Segisamo.*

2.4.2 Caesarean and Augustan municipalisation

It was at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire that the most significant changes to the urban network were made.[265] In this period the Civil War ended with the battle of *Munda,* and the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was completed under Augustus. These events may seem of little importance for the organisation of an urban settlement pattern, but they resulted in large numbers of veterans who had to be settled. Caesar did not wish to expropriate lands on the Italian Peninsula and decided to settle his veterans on the *ager publicus* of the new provinces.[266] Consequently, the municipalisation under Caesar must have been carried out within a very short period of time, between his victory in 45 BCE and his death in 44 BCE.[267] The somewhat unstructured sequence of the chapters of the *Lex Ursonensis* and the

[263] Roldán Hervás (1989a): 26; Santos Yanguas (1998): 15.

[264] Le Roux (1998) 'Armées et promotion urbaine en Hispanie sous L'Empire.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* I Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 193-208: 195-6.

[265] Sayas Abengochea (1989) 'Colonización y municipalización bajo César y Augusto: Bética y Lusitania.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 33-70; Solana Sáinz (1989) 'Colonización y municipalización bajo César y Augusto: Hispania Citerioris.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 71-106; Keay (2001) 'Towns and cultural change in Iberia between Caesar and the Flavians.' In: Hernández Guerra, Sagredo San Eustaquio and Solana Sáinz (eds.), *"La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años": actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua*, 103-18; Ramallo Asensio (2003) 'Las ciudades de *Hispania* en época republicana: una aproximación a su proceso de "monumentalización"' In: Abad Casal (ed.), *De Iberia in Hispaniam: la adaptación de las sociedades ibéricas a los modelos romanos*, 101-50; Purcell (2010) 'Urbanism.' In: Barchiesi and Scheidel (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, 579-92: 586; d'Encarnação (2014) 'Augusto e a Lusitânia ocidental: uma nótula.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 32, 197-208.

[266] Sayas Abengochea (1989): 38; Santos Yanguas (1998): 18. Brunt argues that, although Cicero accuses Caesar of expropriation on the Italic peninsula, there is no evidence for expropriation by Caesar. See Brunt (1971) *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.- A.D. 14*: 324.

[267] Barrandon (2011): 225.

reference to the *Lex Antonia* has been interpreted as a result of the sudden death of Caesar, which prompted the hasty finishing of the *lex*.[268] An important difference between the early Republican and Caesar-Augustan foundations is the difference in approach. While the Republican *coloniae* and foundations were created to control certain areas, Caesar promoted settlements at more economically relevant places.[269] Moreover, there was a steep rise in the number of *coloniae* in the Caesarean-Augustan period. From the first *colonia* in 206 to the arrival of Caesar in 60 BCE, we find that only eight *coloniae* were founded and an additional four cities without colonial status; in the period of Caesar and Augustus, which is half as long, 22 *coloniae* were founded.[270]

Another difference from the *coloniae* of the Republic is the juridical status given to the new settlement. For the Iberian Peninsula it seems that the *coloniae* before the first century BCE are all settlements with Latin rights. The colonies with Roman citizenship appear after this.[271] Looking at the different foundations in this period, we find *Corduba* and *Valentia*, which certainly had Latin rights.[272] For *Palma* and *Pollentia,* the evidence is based on Strabo mentioning that Metellus Balearicus sent 3,000 colonists (ἔποικοι) and Mela referring to them as *coloniae*.[273] It seems that only under Caesar do we find *coloniae* inhabited by Roman citizens, whereas several old Latin *coloniae* became *municipia civium Romanorum,* either under Caesar or under Augustus.[274]

A major point of discussion is the extent of *ius Latii* by the time of Caesar and the question of whether the grant of *ius Latii* was continued under Augustus.[275] There is

[268] Gómez-Iglesias Casal (1997) 'Lex Ursonensis cap. 109: La tutela en la lex Usronensis y la ley municipal.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 15, 247-66: 248; d'Ors (1997) 'Observaciones formales sobre la composición de la ley Ursonense.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 15, 63-93: 87.
[269] Mackie (1983): 5.
[270] The foundations and promotions by Caesar and Augustus will be treated as one as it is very hard to differentiate between these: Solana Sáinz (1989): 74; Galsterer (1971); Abascal Palazón (1989) *La circulación monetaria del portus ilicitanus*: 66.
[271] Santos Yanguas (1998): 16.
[272] Beltrán Lloris (2011) 'Les colonies latines d'Hispanie (IIe siècle av. E.): émigration italique et intégration politique.' In: Barrandon and Kirbihler (eds.), *Les gouverneurs et les provinciaux sous la République romaine*, 131-44: 138; Brunt (1971): 216; Galsterer (1971): 10-2.
[273] Str. III 5,1; Mela II 124.
[274] E.g. *Italica*, *Palma*, *Pollentia* and possibly *Carteia*. Galsterer (1971): 10.
[275] *Ibid.* ; Humberts (1976) 'Libertas id est civitas: autour d'un conflit négatif de citoyennetés au IIe s. avant J.-C.' *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité* Vol. 88, N° 1, 221-42; Knapp (1977); Marín Díaz (1988); Canto (1991) 'Colonia Patricia Corduba: nuevas hipótesis sobre su fundación y nombre.' *Latomus* Vol. 50, 846-57; Galsterer (1995) 'La trasformazione delle antiche colonie latine e il nuovo ius Latii.' In: Calbi and Susini (eds.), *Pro Populo Arimenese*, 79-94; Canto (1999) 'La Vetus Urbs de Itálica, quince años después. La planta hipodámica de D. Demetrio de los Ríos, con otras novedades.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 25, N° 2, 145-91; Marín Díaz (2002) 'Observaciones sobre las colonias latinas en la Hispania meridional.' In: González Román and Padilla Arroba (eds.), *Estudios sobre las ciudades de la Bética* 277-87; Alföldy (2002) 'In omnes provincias exemplum: Hispanien und das Imperium Romanum.' In: Urso (ed.) *Hispania terris omnibus felicior. Premesse ed esiti di un processo di integracione - Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 27-29 settembre 2001,* Pisa: Fondazione Niccolò Canussio, 183-99; Pena (2004) 'La tribu Velina en Mallorca y los nombres de

no doubt that there were Latin communities on the Iberian Peninsula before the Flavian period. Moreover, we can be sure that they continued as such, given Pliny's mention of the *oppida iuris Latii antiquii.*[276] An extensive discussion has arisen on the status of these communities. Some argue that these communities are given Latin rights without being promoted to *colonia* or *municipium,* but others opt for the possibility of *municipia iuris Latii antiquii,* based on the fact that Pliny includes known *municipia* among the *oppida.*[277] A third possibility put forward is that these communities could have been earlier Latin *coloniae.*[278] Although this is an interesting discussion, to gain an understanding of the urban system it is irrelevant whether the cities were considered *oppida*, *municipia* or *coloniae* with Latin rights. For our purposes, all that matters is that they were self-governing communities.

As a result of the Civil War, Caesar started to grant colonial or municipal status to various cities or communities, a practice continued by Augustus. This Caesarean and Augustan reorganisation is one of the most defining moments for the urban structure of Hispania in the High Empire. The reorganisation did not entail a complete restructuring of the older system but rather a policy of privileging certain communities above others. As we will see, cities playing an important part in the period of conquest and securing the position of the Roman legions were given a privileged status during this municipalisation. Dating and differentiating between the Caesarean and Augustan promotions is often very complicated and open for debate. A general list of promotions for this period will therefore be provided. Among the Caesarean and Augustan *coloniae* we find many that were actual deductions from the veterans, by Caesar those of the Civil War and from the Cantabrian Wars under Augustus.

The deduction of *coloni* in existing cities under Caesar has been interpreted as a means of pacifying the cities that supported the case of Pompey.[279] Indeed, we see that *Corduba*, *Hispalis* and *Urso* had all supported Pompey during the Civil War.[280] Based on Gellius' account, the status of a *colonia* is often seen as a privilege, although it should be borne in mind that this account was written 150 years after the Caesarean promotions. The promotion to a *colonia* under Caesar and Augustus meant less freedom in the administration, and in the case of a veteran *colonia* the acceptance of a

Palma y Pollentia.' *Faventia* Vol. 26, Nº 2, 69-90; Caballos Rufino (2010a) 'Colonizzazione cesariana, legislazione municipale e integrazione provinciale: la Provincia Hispania Ulterior.' In: Urso (ed.), *Cesare: precursore o visionario?*, 63-84; Beltrán Lloris (2011); García Fernández (2014); Espinosa Espinosa (2014) *Plinio y los "oppida de antiguo Lacio": El proceso de difusión del Latium en Hispania Citerior*; Espinosa Espinosa (2015).

[276] Plin. *NH* III 7; III 18; III 77 and IV 117.

[277] Le Roux (2014e): 455ff; (1990) *Considérations sur les municipes latins du premier siècle apr. J.-C.* 1987: 355. *Contra:* Sayas Abengochea (1989): 41; Canto (1996); Espinosa Espinosa (2015).

[278] Espinosa Espinosa (2014); Espinosa Espinosa (2015).

[279] Cass. Dio XLIII 39; Brunt (1971): 250; Galsterer-Kröll (1975) 'Zu den spanischen Städtelisten des Plinius.' *AEspA* Vol. 48, 120-8: 125; Canto (1997) 'Algo más sobre Marcelo, Corduba y las Colonias Romanas del año 45 a.C.' *Gerión* Vol. 15, 253-81: 276; Mattingly (2007) *An imperial possession: Britain in the Roman Empire 54 BC-AD 409*: 260.

[280] *Corduba*: *Bel. Hisp.*4 & 6; *Hispalis*: *Bel. Hisp.* 35; *Urso*: *Bel. Hisp.* 28.

new élite, the *coloni*. In this light, Hadrian's surprise that *Italica* and *Utica* requested the status of a *colonia* is understandable, as is the 'promotion' of cities that supported Pompey against Caesar.[281]

The status of *municipium civium Romanorum* was granted to places with a strong relation to Rome. Various cities that had supported Caesar's cause, *Gades, Osca, Ulia Fidentia* and *Italica,* were given the status of *municipium*.[282] Similarly, we find the only *municipium c.R.* of *Lusitania*: *Olisipo.* This is an interesting case, as there is no direct reason for Caesar nor Augustus to promote this place to a *municipium c. Romanorum*. It is likely that there was a *conventus* of Roman citizens in *Olisipo*. This *conventus* could have been the result of the fortification and contingent of soldiers left by D. Iunius Brutus Callaecus to secure his supply port in 138 BCE. The presence of a *conventus* might have been the reason for the promotion. Equally we might understand the promotion of settlements that had grown up on the sites of republican *castra*. The presence of veterans and their descendants, with Roman citizenship, might explain the promotion of these settlements.

In addition, the promotion of military settlements facilitated the administration of the region. In the rather sparsely urbanised and recently conquered north-western region, in particular, we find a high concentration of settlements with a military origin or relation. In Augustan times *Asturica Augusta*, *Bracara Augusta* and *Lucus Augusti* were founded as centres for the north-western region. In some cases, the former military settlement was abandoned by the Roman army and left for the local people. The *Castra Caecilia* mentioned in Pliny as a *civitas contributa* depending on *Norba Caesarina* is one of these army camps that were later used as settlements.[283] Similarly, we find *Petavonium*, the former camp of the *Legio IIII Macedonica* and the city of *Legio*, modern-day León, which was the camp of *Legio VI Victrix* and later of *Legio VII Gemina*.

Augustus' focus on the urban and provincial structure of the Hispaniae seems to indicate the relevance of the Iberian Peninsula for him.[284] During the Cantabrian Wars (29-19 BCE) he again had the opportunity to show himself as a general fighting the tribes of northern Hispania. The relevance of these wars for Augustus is emphasised by the fact that he mentions them in his *Res Gestae*.[285] After the Cantabrian Wars, Augustus was still interested in the region, and he visited Hispania between 16

[281] Gellius *NA*, 16.13.4-5

[282] Liv. *Per*. 110; Dio 41, 24, 1; Caes. *Bel. Alex*. 61-63; *B.C.* I 60.1; Galsterer (1971): 17.; Juste Arruga (2000): 94; Brunt (1971): 602; Rodríguez Neila (1980) *El municipio romano de Gades*.

[283] Sayas Abengochea (1985) 'El caso de Norba Caesarina y sus contributa castra Servilia y Castra Caecilia.' *Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez* Vol. 21, 61-75: 64.

[284] Cass. Dio L 6. 3-4; Aug. *RG* 25.2.; Ramage (1998) 'Augustus' Propaganda in Spain.' *Klio* Vol. 80, N° 2, 434-90: 434.

[285] Ramage (1998): 436; Aug. *RG* 13, 26.2, 29.1; cf. Cass. Dio 53.26.5. Oros. 6.21.11. n. ad 29.1.

and 13 BCE.[286] During this time, Dio Cassius records, he founded several cities; unfortunately, there is no indication of the names of these newly founded cities, but they must have included *Asturica Augusta*, *Bracara Augusta* and *Lucus Augusti*.[287] In addition, other cities such as *Iuliobriga* were established.[288] The Augustan promotions and grants of a privileged status were often also related to the military campaigns. One example is the community of the *Paemeiobrigensis,* who were rewarded with *inmunitas* for the support they gave to the conquest of the region.[289]

2.4.3 Imperial colonisation and municipalisation

After the Caesar-Augustan promotions, the Julio-Claudian emperors continued to promote communities. Tiberius, in particular, decided to promote several communities to the status of *municipia* as can be observed on the legends of the coins of these cities.[290] The later Julio-Claudians added only a few *municipia*, of which several cannot be dated precisely. Overall, we can conclude that the impact on urbanisation in this period was limited. In the year of the Four Emperors, it seems that Galba promoted *Clunia* to a *colonia.* Though the evidence for its colonial status is rather late, an inscription to Hadrian and the reference in Ptolemy, the possible promotion under Galba can be derived from its epithet *Sulpicia*.[291]

The most important event in the imperial period was the grant of *ius Latii* by Vespasian.[292] After the wars of 68-9 CE, Vespasian needed to get a grip on the Empire

[286] Cass. Dio LIV 22.5, 25.2, 5-8; cf. Liv. *Per*. 135; Suet. *Aug*. 20, 21.1, 81.1.
[287] Cass. Dio. LIV 23,7.
[288] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 63; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 105; Ramage (1998): 435.
[289] HEp 7, 1997, 378 = HEp 8, 1998, 325 = HEp 11, 2001, 286 = AE 1999, 915 = AE 2000, 760 = AE 2001, +01214.
Imp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / VIII[I] et proco(n)s(ule) dicit / castellanos Paemeiobrigenses ex / gente Susarrorum desciscentibus / ceteris permansisse in officio cog/novi ex omnibus legatis meis qui / Transdurianae provinciae prae/fuerunt itaque eos universos im/munitate perpetua dono quosq(ue) agros et quibus finibus possede/runt Lucio Sestio Quirinale leg(ato) / meo eam provinciam optinente[m] / eos agros sine controversia possi/dere iubeo / castellanis Paemeiobrigensibus ex / gente **Susarrorum** quibus ante ea(m) / immunitatem omnium rerum dede/ram eorum loco restituo castellanos / Aiiobrigiaecinos ex gente Gigurro/rum volente **ipsa civitate** eosque / castellanos Aiiobrigiaecinos om/ni munere fungi iubeo cum / Susarris / actum Narbone Martio / XVI et XV K(alendas) Martias / M(arco) Druso Li/bone Lucio Calpurnio Pisone co(n)s(ulibus).
See further: Hernando Sobrino (2002) 'Nota sobre nota. El bronce de El Bierzo y la Tabula de El Caurel.' *Gerión* Vol. 20, N° 2, 577-84; Rodríguez Morales (2001) 'Paemeiobrigenses y ailobrigiaecinos en el bronce de Bembibre.' In: Grau Lobo and Hoyas Díez (eds.), *El bronce de Bembibre: un edicto del emperador Augusto del año 15 a.C.*, 111-22; Mangas Manjarrés *El Bronce de Bembibre (HEp 7, 378)* ; Luján (2011) 'Briga and castellum in North-Western Hispania.' In: Luján and García Alonso (eds.), *A Greek man in the Iberian street*, 225-42; Brañas Abad (2004) 'A sociedade Castrexa a través da Epigrafía.' *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* Vol. LI, N° 117, 115-205.
[290] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 68; Santos Yanguas (1989) 'Colonización y municipalización de Hispania desde Tiberio a los flavios.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 107-32: 119.
[291] Galsterer (1971): 35; Palol (1991) 'Clunia Sulpicia, Ciudad Romana.' In: Palol (ed.), *Clunia o: Studia Varia Cluniensa*: 31. The Hadrianic inscription: CIL II 2780. The reference in Ptolemy: II 6, 56: Κλουνία κολωνία.
[292] A small selection: McElderry (1918); Braunert (1966) 'ius latii in den Stadtrechten von Salpense und Malaca.' *Niederösterreich* Vol. 5, 68-83; Montenegro (1975) 'Problemas y nuevas perspectivas en el estudio de

and in the case of Hispania this must have seemed practically urgent as its troops had supported Galba and later Otho. As McElderry has put it, Vespasian decided to reconstruct Spain.[293] In Pliny we find the short and very problematic phrase: *Universae Hispaniae Vespasianus imperator Augustus iactatum procellis rei publicae Latium tribuit.*[294] This phrase has been read, interpreted and corrected many times.[295] The prevailing view is that it means: "Vespasian gave the right of the Latins to Hispania in its entirety shaken by the civil war".[296]

The exact procedure of this grant is unclear. It has been debated whether the grant was given to all three provinces.[297] Fragments of the *Lex Flavia municipalis* mentioning the name of the Latin *municipium* are only found in Baetican *municipia*. The only fragment of a *Lex Flavia municipalis* found outside *Baetica* does not bear the name of the community that was promoted.[298] However, when looking at the epigraphic material beyond these *leges*, we observe that the references to Flavian *municipia* can be found in all three provinces (fig. II.15). In theory, these communities could have been privileged separately as Galsterer argues. However, the fact that communities in various parts of the peninsula that were promoted under the Flavians belonged to the *tribus Quirina* suggests that we are dealing with a single process.[299]

We find one extraordinary promotion in this period. Whilst the grant of *ius Latii* gave all communities at least the possibility of becoming a *municipium Latinum*, Vespasian still saw the need to promote the *portus (S)Amani* (Castro Urdiales) to a *colonia* named *Flaviobriga*.[300] Solana Sáinz agrees with Le Roux, who argues that this

la Hispania de Vespasiano.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. 5, 7-88; Muñiz Coello (1985); González and Crawford (1986); d'Ors and d'Ors (1988) *Lex Irnitana: (texto bilinguë)*; González (1989a); Mangas Manjarrés (1989); García Fernández (1991) 'El ius latii y los municipia Latina.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 9, 29-42; Canto (1996); Reboreda Morillo and López Barja de Quiroga (eds.) (1996) *A cidade e o mundo: Romanización e cambio social*; González (1999); Morales Rodríguez (2000); Ortiz de Urbina (2001) 'Aspectos constitutionales del Municipium. A propósito de la Lex Malacitana.' *Mainake* Vol. XXIII, 137-54; Andreu Pintado (2004c); Andreu Pintado (2004b) 'Apuntes sobre la Quirina tribus y la municipalización flavia de Hispania.' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 7, Nº 1, 343-64; Bravo Bosch (2009) 'Latium maius versus latium minus en la Hispania Flavia.' *Anuario da Facultade de Dereito da Universidade da Coruña* Vol. 13, 39-56; Mangas Manjarrés and Ángel Novillo (eds.) (2008) *El territorio de las Ciudades Romanas*; Le Roux (1990).

[293] McElderry (1918): 79.

[294] Plin. *NH* III 30.

[295] McElderry (1918): 62. Mangas Manjarrés (1989): 155.

[296] Richardson (1996) *The Romans in Spain*: 190.

[297] Galsterer (1971): 50. Contra d'Ors whom argues that the provinces were granted the *ius Latii* rather than the different municipalities, as there is little evidence for magistrates and *decreto decurionum* in the northwest, although many references to *Flavium* in the names can be found Mangas Manjarrés (1989): 159.

[298] For a treaty of the different *leges,* see: Andreu Pintado (2004c); Morales Rodríguez (2000); Hernández Guerra (2008) 'Algunas consideraciones sobre municipios flavios en la Meseta septentrional ' *Gerión* Vol. 26, Nº 1, 407-38. The fragment from Duratón (HEp 6, 1996, 855).

[299] McElderry (1918): 68; Mangas Manjarrés (1989): 157; González (1989b) 'Urso: ¿Tribu Sergia o Galeria?' In: González (ed.), *Estudios sobre Urso Colonia Iulia Genetiva*, 133-55: 137; Curchin (2015): 20; Andreu Pintado (2004b); Andreu Pintado (2004c).

[300] Plin. *NH* IV 110-111: "Amanum portus ubi nunc Flaviobrica colonia".

might be a result of the disintegration of the *Legio IIII* in Claudian times and with it the loss of an administrative centre.[301] The number of milestones show that the port was already in close contact with the legionary camp.[302]

After the Flavian period there is no strong evidence for changes in the status of communities. Inscriptions mentioning the status of a community are often taken to be later epigraphic evidence for the Flavian promotion. The only exceptions are *Italica* and *Utica,* two *municipia c. R,* which requested Hadrian to promote them to *coloniae*.[303]

[301] Solana Sáinz (1998) 'Organización y administración del territorio de los cántabros en el Alto Imperio.' In: Hernández Guerra and Sagredo San Eustaquio (eds.), *El proceso de municipalización en la Hispania Romana*, 57-80: 75; Le Roux (1982) *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d' Auguste à l'invasion de 409*: 142.
[302] Pérez González *et al.* (1992) *Papeles Herrerenses I*: 77.
[303] Gellius *NA*, 16.13.4-5

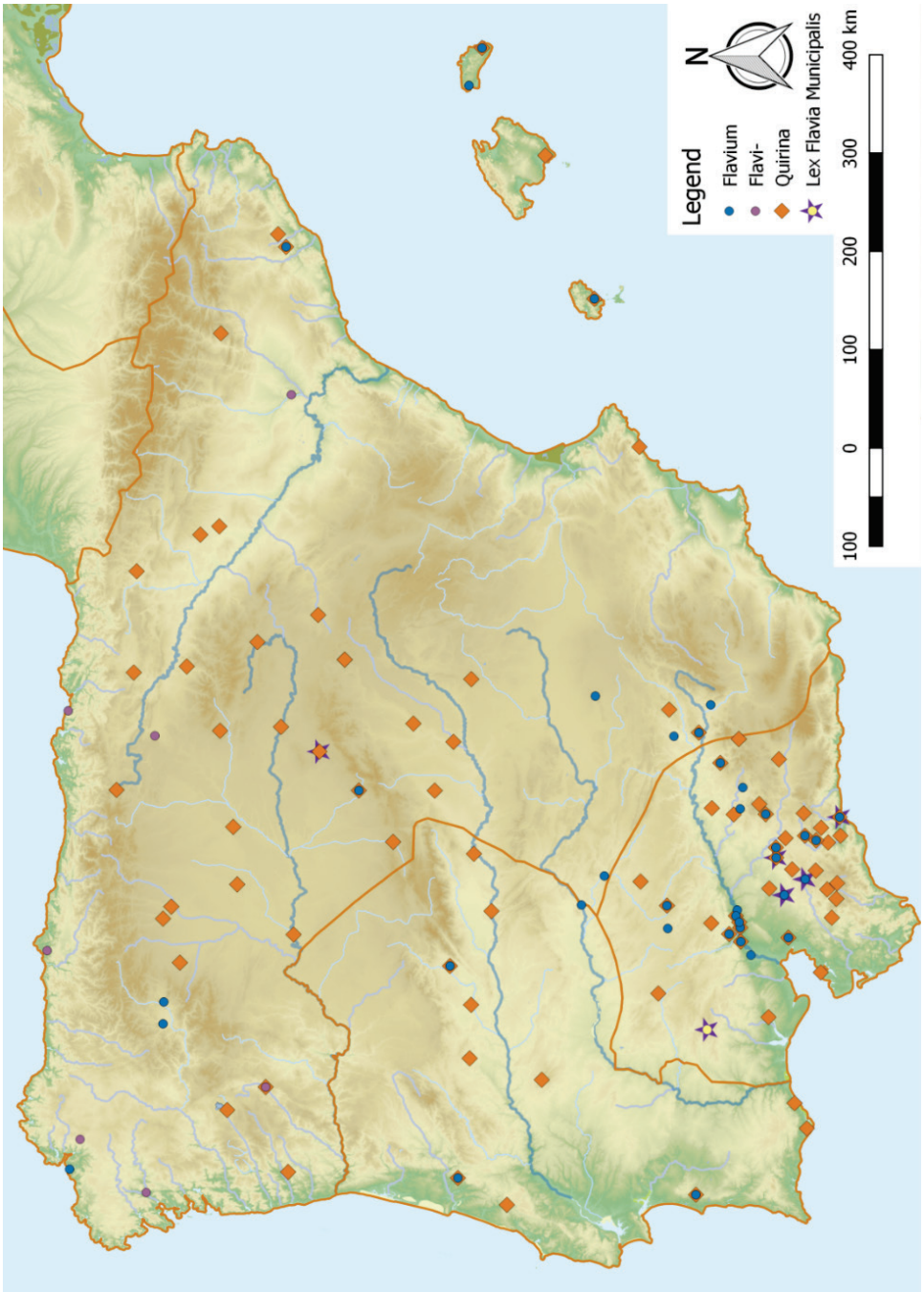


Fig. II.15 Evidence for Flavian municipia. The epigraphically attested municipia Flavia are indicated in blue. Cities with a reference to the Flavians in their name are shown in purple. The laws are indicated with stars

CHAPTER III

SELF-GOVERNING *CIVITATES* IN THE HIGH EMPIRE

After these thou shalt be told, beloved Hispalis, name Iberian,
by whom glides a river like the sea, to whom all Spain subjects her magistrates.
Not Cordova, not Tarragona with its strong citadel contends with you,
nor wealthy Braga, lying proudly in her bay beside the sea.

Ausonius *Ordo urbium nobilium*, 11-14[1]

3.1 Introduction

After a long period of conquest and unrest, Augustus redrew the provincial borders of Hispania.[2] Between 27 and 16 BCE he decided to divide *Hispania Ulterior* into two provinces: *Baetica* and *Lusitania*. Another division made in the early Empire is that into juridical districts, the *conventus*. The exact date of the introduction of the *conventus* is unclear, but it is accepted that it took place in the period between Augustus and Vespasian.[3] The organization of the Hispanian provinces and the *conventus* depended on the formation of an administrative structure based on cities.[4]

As has already been explained, the pre-Roman landscape was not completely urbanised. In order to create a denser network of administrative centres, new cities were founded in three waves of concessions. First came the republican *coloniae Latinae*, such as Carteia (171 BCE). In the second period, that of Caesar and the Julio-Claudians, we find *coloniae civium Romanorum* such as Emerita Augusta (16 BCE) and many *municipia*.[5] The final concession was the juridical upgrading of all the communities of the *provinciae Hispaniae* under Vespasian by the granting of *ius Latii* (after 74 CE).

[1] "Cara mihi post has memorabere, nomen Hiberum,
Hispalis, aequoreus quam praeterlabitur amnis, submittit cui tota suos
Hispania fasces.Corduba non, non arce potens tibi Tarraco
certatquaeque sinu pelagi iactat se Bracara dives." (Loeb translation)

[2] Francisco Martín (1996): 92; Fabião (2014) 'La creación de la provincia romana de Lusitania.' In: Álvarez Martínez and Barrero Martín (eds.), *Augusto y Emerita*, 25-39: 27.

[3] Ozcáriz Gil (2008) *Los Conventus de la Hispania Citerior*: 41ss.

[4] Fabião (2014): 27.

[5] There is an extensive discussion on the starting date for the creation of *municipia latina*: Galsterer (1971); Humberts (1976); Knapp (1977); Marín Díaz (1988); Canto (1991); Galsterer (1995); Canto (1999); Marín Díaz (2002); Alföldy (2002); Pena (2004); Caballos Rufino (2010a); Beltrán Lloris (2011); García Fernández (2014); Espinosa Espinosa (2014); Espinosa Espinosa (2015).

The following sections will look at the definition of the official cities for the three provinces in line with the methods explained in chapter one. The chapter will treat the three provinces separately by method and will distinguish between various types of sources.

3.2 Literary sources

3.2.1 Plinius' *Historia Naturalis*

The geographical survey by Pliny begins by naming all the places along the coast based on an existing periplus.[6] The nature of these settlements is very unclear. Although Pliny calls several of them *oppida,* we cannot be certain that these were self-governing places or even urban agglomerations. Subsequently, Pliny mentions the different *civitates* by province and names several *oppida* with privileged statuses. These lists have been used by many scholars to provide evidence for the different privileges enjoyed by the communities, even though Pliny is often not very explicit.[7] The *Naturalis Historia* is dated after 77 CE, based on the reference to the sixth consulship of Titus in the dedication of the book. The treatment of the Iberian Peninsula is rather extensive: from book III 6-30, 76-79 and IV 110-121. Of these 274 paragraphs on geography, 39 paragraphs (over 14%) are devoted to a rather detailed description of the settlement pattern of the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, we find many references to *Citerior* throughout the whole corpus. This slight focus on Hispania, especially *Citerior* – where the detail is even greater – can be explained by the fact that Pliny held the position of *procurator* in *Citerior* possibly from 72 to 74.[8]

For every province, the *conventus* are mentioned with the total number of communities and their statuses. First, he gives the numbers of *coloniae*, *oppida civium Romanorum*, *oppida* with old Latin rights, *civitates liberae*, *civitates foederatae* and *civitates stipendiaria.* However, he does not give the complete lists of these privileged communities. In addition, the exact nature of some of these statuses is unclear. For *Baetica* and *Lusitania,* he refers to *municipium civium Romanorum*, but in *Citerior* we only find *oppida civium Romanorum*. Similarly, he confuses the reader by mentioning the total number of *oppida* (175) for *Baetica*, in contrast with the use of *populi* (45) for *Lusitania* and, even more confusing, the total of *civitates* (293) for *Citerior* with a separate number of *oppida* (179). The use of these different designations has been discussed extensively.[9] Although it would be comforting to find a structure in

[6] Jones (1971) *The cities of the Eastern Roman provinces*: 503.
[7] Alföldy (1987): 93; Canto (1996); García Fernández (2000) 'Plinio y los oppida stipendiaria. A propósito de un artículo de Alicia M.ª Canto.' *Gerión* Vol. 18, 571-91.
[8] Syme (1969) 'Pliny the Procurator.' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 73, 201-36: 215 & 25.
[9] For a more detailed bibliography on the subject see: Canto (1996): 219; Beltrán Lloris (1999) '*Municipium C. R., << oppidum C.R. >> y << oppidum latinum>>* en la *NH* de Plinio: una revisión del problema desde la perspectiva Hispana.' In: González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, 247-67: 247.

the use of the words and to derive a hierarchy from this, the use of the different terms seems to be a literary variation.

Baetica is the least confusing as *colonia*, *municipium* and *oppidum* are used consistently throughout the chapter, although we must point out that Pliny counts the *coloniae* and *municipia* as *oppida* when calculating the total number of *oppida* for the province. The total number given for *Lusitania* refers to *populi*, which comprise the *coloniae*, the sole *municipium* and the *oppida veteris Latii*.[10] *Citerior* has the most confusing reference:

> accedunt insulae, quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXIX, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV.[11]

This passage can be read in two ways. According to the reading by Joachim Marquardt, we find 293 contributed *civitates*.[12] These were contributed to 179 *oppida* that were self-governing. Contrary to this reading, Detlefsen proposed taking the *oppida* as part of the 293 *civitates*.[13] In this reading, the total number of contributed *civitates* is unknown. The difference between the 179 *oppida* and the total of 293 *civitates* relates to 114 places that are a *civitas* but without an *oppidum*. Detlefsen calls these *ländliche Gemeinden*. These will be treated more extensively later.[14]

The interpretation by Detlefsen is in line with the remainder of Pliny's chapter on *Hispania Citerior*. In book III, Pliny specifies the number of *populi* for each *conventus*, which amount to 293 *populi* in total.[15] That these *populi* should not be seen as mere tribal organisations can be observed in several cases, such as the case of the 55 *populi* of the *conventus Caesaraugustanus*, where we find the *populus civium Romanorum Bilbilitanos*, obviously one of the earlier mentioned *oppida civium Romanorum*.[16] In these cases, we can deduce indirectly that Pliny sometimes used the terms *populus*, *civitas* and *oppidum* to refer to the same community. In the case of *Iuliobriga,* we find

[10] Plin. *NH* IV 117.
[11] Plin. *NH* III 18: "To these are to be added the islands, which will be described on another occasion. The province has 293 civitates besides those dependent on others; 179 towns, of these, twelve are colonies, thirteen, towns with the rights of Roman citizens, eighteen with the old Latin rights, one confederate, and 135 tributary."
[12] Marquardt (1851) *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*: 83.
[13] Detlefsen (1873) 'Die geographie der tarraconensischen provinz bei Plinius (NH. III, 18-30, 76-79; IV, 110-112).' *Philologus* Vol. XXXII, 600-68.
[14] *Ibid*. 604. See section 3.5 Dispersed *civitas*.
[15] Tarraconensis 42, Caesaraugustanus 55, Carthaginiensis 65, Cluniensis 69, Asturum 22, Lucensis 16, Bracarum 24: 293 *populi*, *civitates* and *oppida*.
[16] Plin. *NH* III 24.

directly that Pliny varies between *Cantabris haut procul oppido Iuliobrica*[17], *Cantabricis VII populis Iuliobriga*[18] and *civitatium novem Cantabrorum* [...] *portus Victoriae Iuliobricensium*.[19] In addition, *Bracara Augusta* is mentioned as a *civitas* and as an *oppidum*.[20] In the case of the *municipium civium Romanorum Olisipo,*[21] Pliny specifically states that it is the only one in *Lusitania*, but he referred to this previously as *oppidum*.[22] These examples show that Pliny's use of the terms *populus*, *civitas, oppidum*, *municipium* and *colonia* does not always correspond to differences in juridical status.[23]

	Baetica	Citerior	Lusitania	Total
Colonia	9	12	5	26
Municipium	10	13	1	24
Latinum	27	18	3	48
Liberum	6			6
Foederatum	3	1		4
Stipendiarium	120	135	36	291
'Civitas'		114		114
Total	175	293	45	513

Table III.1 Number of communities and the privileges

On the grounds that Pliny states *Citerior* had 293 *civitates*, *Baetica* 175 *oppida* and *Lusitania* 45 *populi*, and all these communities were self-governing, we find that the three Hispaniae had 513 self-governing communities in the middle of the first century CE. The previous view held that there were 399 cities in Hispania.[24] This number is found when counting the *oppida* of *Citerior* and *Baetica* and accepting the *populi* of *Lusitania* as *oppida*, the 144 *civitates* without an *oppidum* in *Citerior* are then omitted. However, we must accept that we find not only urban centres in the Plinian lists. Following the reading by Detlefsen for the province of *Citerior*, we have to allow self-governing communities without an urban centre included by Pliny in the total of *civitates*.[25]

[17] Plin. *NH* III 21.
[18] Plin. *NH* III 27.
[19] Plin. *NH* IV 111, he mentions the northern coast line and as such the portus of *Iuliobriga*.
[20] Plin. *NH* III 28: "civitates [...] ipsos Bracaros; Plin. *NH* IV 112: Bracarum oppidum Augusta."
[21] Plin. *NH* IV 117: "municipium civium Romanorum Olisippo Felicitas Iula cognominatum."
[22] Plin. *NH* IV 113: "Olisipponense ab oppido."
[23] Jones (1971): 505.
[24] Mangas Manjarrés (1996) *Aldea y ciudad en la antigüedad hispana*: 51; Carreras Monfort (1996); Marzano (2011); Le Roux (2014c): 179. Whereas McElderry has counted up to 522, most probably by adding the nine Balearic locations, as they are mentioned elsewhere by Pliny. See: McElderry (1918): 77.
[25] On the problem of the dispersed *civitas,* see section 3.5. Also: Houten (2017) 'El papel de las aglomeraciones secundarias en las civitates dispersas.' In: Panzram (ed.), *Oppidum – civitas – urbs. Städteforschung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel zwischen Rom und al-Andalus*, 569-95.

Besides the difficulty of the terminology, we find that Pliny is not as complete as he might at first sight seem. He only mentions about 50% of the communities by name. In addition, he does not specify the juridical status of all the communities he mentions. As we can see for *Iuliobriga*, although this is mentioned three times, he never mentions its juridical status. Similarly, he mentions that *Baetica* has ten *municipia civium Romanorum*, but he only mentions two of them by name in relation to their status as *municipium*. Pliny seems to choose not to mention particular communities so as not to bore or bother the reader with unimportant or difficult names. In his own words: "The jurisdiction of Lucus contains 15 peoples, unimportant and bearing outlandish names, excepting the *Celtici* and *Lemavi*."[26]

In addition to these problems, we have to bear in mind that Pliny has recorded the communities at a specific moment in time. There could well be more self-governing communities, since promotions were not unusual. For example, an inscription has been found in the *oppidum* of *Aritium Vetus* expressing its gratitude to Emperor Caligula.[27] Alarcão argues that this inscription should be seen as the result of a promotion of the *oppidum* to a *civitas* capital or even *municipium* by Caligula.[28] Since Pliny's list is based on Augustan sources, the absence of *Aritium* in the list of *oppida stipendiaria* is not surprising.

Despite these problems, Pliny is a good starting point for this research. The communities mentioned by him as having a juridical status are accepted at least as self-governing communities. Those mentioned that do not have a juridical status will be regarded as possible self-governing communities and will have to be investigated further. Mapping the located communities mentioned by Pliny and the status Pliny ascribes them, we observe two regions with a rather high density of privileged communities. On the one hand, we find many places within *Baetica* that are only referred to as *oppidum*. The self-governing nature of these communities needs to be established via other sources. This might be the result of the different accounts Pliny gives for this region. First, he mentions the province when describing the peninsula as a whole, and already mentions some *oppida*. Later on, he mentions the different *conventus* of *Baetica*, this time with the privileges of the *oppida*. Lastly, *Baetica* is referred to again to delimit *Lusitania*.

On the other hand, we find a rather large part of *Citerior* where the juridical statuses are not mentioned. For the three eastern *conventus* Pliny is quite clear: all the communities mentioned are referred to with their privileges. However, his description of the *conventus Cluniensis* is very confusing and privileges are not mentioned at all. For the north-western part, he even fails to mention all the places, although he

[26] Plin. *NH* III 28: "Lucensis conventus populorum est xv, praeter Celticos et Lemavos ignobilium ac barbarae appellationis."
[27] CIL II 172.
[28] Alarcão (2004) 'Notas de arqueologia, epigrafia e toponímia - II.' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 7, Nº 2, 193-216.

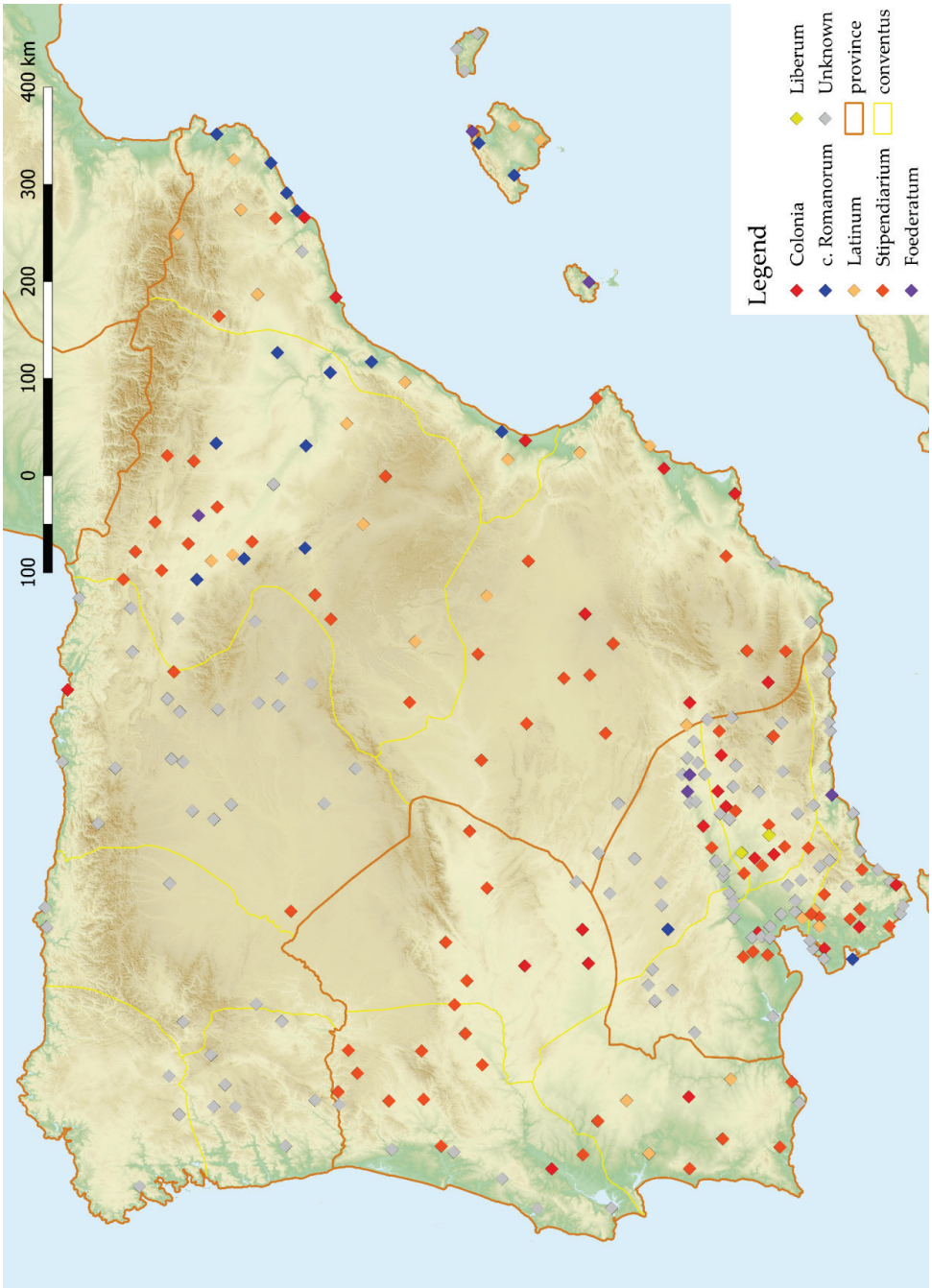


Fig. III.1 Communities referred to by Pliny

does indicate the total number of free people for the three north-western *conventus*.[29] Interestingly, the two regions, with and without a mention of their privileges, are roughly divided by the line of conquest at 133 BCE.

3.2.2 Ptolemaeus' *Geographica*

Our second ancient source for ancient cities is Ptolemy's *Geographica,* written in the second century CE.[30] In book II, Ptolemy gives the *poleis* of the provinces *Baetica*[31], *Lusitania*[32] and *Tarraconensis*[33], as he calls *Citerior*. In total, he mentions 432 *poleis* of which four are referred to as λιμήν.[34] Unfortunately, Ptolemy rarely mentions the juridical status of a place: as a general rule, all places are referred to as *polis*. In only two cases is the status as *colonia* mentioned[35], in addition he mentions two cities as *metropolis*.[36] The absence of the juridical statuses in Ptolemy makes it difficult to understand what he meant by *polis*.[37]

Another problem is the corruption of the names. The translation of the Latin names to Greek has led to slight shifts in the formulation of the names.[38] On the one hand we find small adjustments, such as Ὄνοβα Αστουαρία for *Onoba Aestuaria*.[39] Another example is Οὐιρούεσκα that must be identical with *Virovesca* mentioned by Pliny.[40] We find some errors that could be a result of the translation from Latin to Greek or errors of the transcription in the manuscripts.[41] Within this category we have to place Μενλαρία or Μενραλία for *Mellaria*.[42] Many Ptolemean *poleis* cannot be linked with certainty to known places.

When looking closely at the differences per province, some interesting contrasts can be observed. Where Pliny states *Baetica* had 175 *oppida*, Ptolemy only refers to 88 *poleis*, suggesting that Ptolemy was very incomplete. Only 64 of these 88 Ptolemean *poleis* can be linked to one of the 128 Plinian *oppida* mentioned by name. When mapping the places located in order to observe possible relations between the Plinian and

[29] Plin *NH* III 28: "*Asturum* has 240,000 free inhabitants belonging to 22 *populi*; *Lucensis* 166,000 belonging to 15 *populi* and *Bracarum* has 24 *civitates* with 285,000 free people."
[30] A good edition of Ptolemy's *Geographica* is very hard to find. The only edition in English is the Ptolemaeus (1932) *Geographia*. This edition is a combination of the Greek and Latin manuscripts. For more information, see: Stevenson (1935) '[review] A. Diller, Geography of Claudius Ptolemy.' *Isis* Vol. 22, N° 2, 533-9. I have used the edition in Greek by Nobbe from 1843 and turned for analysis of the different entries to the book by García Alonso (2003).
[31] Ptol. II 4.
[32] Ptol. II 5.
[33] Ptol. II 6.
[34] Ptol. II 4-6: Baetica 90, Lusitania 55, Tarraconensis or Citerior 282.
[35] *Colonia*: Ptol. II 5.7 *Scallabis*; II 6.56 *Clunia*.
[36] *Metropolis*: Ptol. II 4.11 *Corduba*; II 4.14 *Hispalis*.
[37] For a more extensive discussion, see Jones (1937) *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*: 497ss.
[38] García Alonso (2003): 18; Jones (1937): 497.
[39] Ptol. II 4, 5; Plin. *NH* III 7.
[40] Ptol. II 6, 52; Plin. *NH* III 27.
[41] García Alonso (2003): 18.
[42] See Ptol. II 4, 6; Ptol II 6, 61. Compare to Plin. *NH* III 7.

Ptolemean accounts, no clear relation is found (see fig. III.2).[43] Ptolemy did not omit a *conventus* or region. The difference between the number of places mentioned between Pliny and Ptolemy remains a mystery. Of the Ptolemean places not mentioned by Pliny, nine are also found in other sources such as the itineraries, Strabo, Mela and inscriptions. The remaining 15 places are hapaxes. Many of these are coastal '*oppida*' that must have appeared in the periplus used by Pliny as his source for the coast.[44]

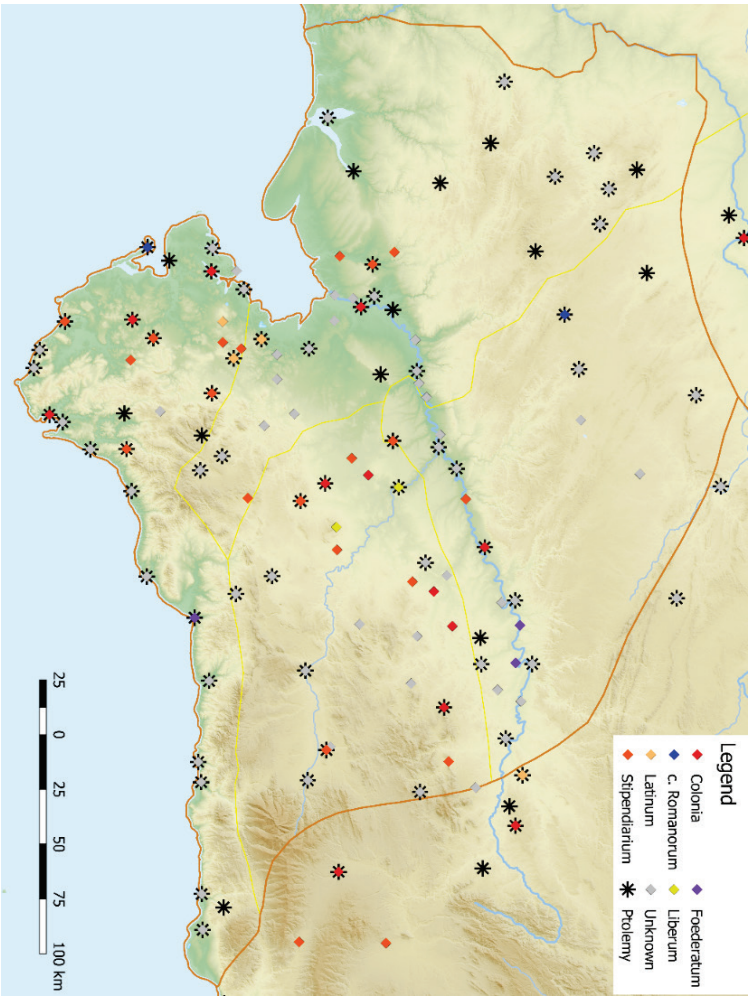


Fig. III.2: Ptolemean and Plinian settlements in Baetica

[43] Tovar and Blázques Martínez (1975) *Historia de la Hispania Romana: La Península Ibérica desde 218 a. C. hasta el siglo V.* A major drawback of the Ptolemean source is the so promising coordinate system that would allow for the location of many settlements and tribes. However, this coordinate system has many errors and leads to a rather oddly shaped Iberian Peninsula, which is impossible to orthorectify. Nonetheless, Tovar has made a recreation of the map of Ptolemy, using Ptolemy's coordinate system, with all places as they are located according to the coordinates following Ptolemy (See fig. III.3).

[44] Jones (1971): 503.

For *Lusitania,* Pliny mentions 45 *populi,* while Ptolemy lists 57 *poleis*.[45] Twenty-six Ptolemean *poleis* can be linked to one of the 37 Plinian *populi* mentioned by name, although in some cases the Ptolemean names are quite corrupted and the link is not certain. The existence of 14 additional *poleis* is supported by other sources, although many are only attested in the itineraries. The remaining 17 appear only in Ptolemy.

In the case of *Citerior*, or *Tarraconensis* as Ptolemy calls it, the differences between the numbers are relatively minor. Whereas we find according to Pliny 293 *civitates*, Ptolemy lists 282 *poleis*. However, a detailed comparison reveals some further discrepancies. Several of the Plinian names of *populi* or *civitates* occur as ethnonyms in Ptolemy with one or more places named with them. The ethnonym often refers to a *civitas,* as is the case for the *Luggoni*.[46] Passages in which Ptolemy refers to an ethnonym with *polis* are often interpreted as referring to a *civitas* and its '*civitas* capital'.[47] However, in two cases we find two *poleis* linked to one ethnonym.[48] For example, *Iria Flavia* and *Lucus Augusta* belong to the *Copori*.[49] As one of the *conventus* capitals, *Lucus Augusta* is accepted as a city. *Iria Flavia* is only mentioned by the itineraries and might be a subordinated settlement, for instance the capital of a contributed *civitas*.[50]

The fact that several of the Ptolemean *poleis* are hapaxes or only found in the itineraries and the fact that some *civitates* have multiple entries, indicates that not all communities can be taken as self-governing places. Another indicator of subordinate places being mentioned by Ptolemy is the inclusion of Ἰλλικιτανὸς λιμὴν, the port of the *colonia Ilici*.[51]

Nonetheless, it has been argued that the difference in places between Ptolemy and Pliny is the number of Flavian *municipia*.[52] According to Abascal and Espinosa, there are at least 111 Flavian *municipia* found in Ptolemy, but this number could potentially be several hundreds.[53] When comparing Ptolemy to Pliny, we discover that 234 places are not mentioned in Pliny; obviously many of these could fall within the places not mentioned by name in Pliny. Indeed, we find nine *poleis* in the list by Ptolemy with *Flavi-* or *Flavium* in the name. Of these, only *Flaviobriga* is also mentioned by Pliny as a recently promoted *colonia*.[54] The absence of places with *Flavium* in the name clearly indicates that Pliny has not included the Flavian promotions in his work. In

[45] This excludes Οὐελλαδίς as this might be a 'fantasma' based on the fact it only appears in secondary manuscripts, see García Alonso (2003): 108.
[46] See: IRPLe 310; IRPLe 311.
[47] In this case *Paelontium* would have been the capital of the *Luggoni*, although there is no other evidence supporting the existence of *Paelontium.* The *civitas* itself is attested several times and thus accepted as *civitas Luggoni*.
[48] Ptol. II 6, 23 for the Καπορῶν and Ptol. II 6, 27 for the Σεουρρῶν.
[49] Ptol. II 6, 23 Καπορῶν, see also Plin. *NH* IV 111 *Copori*.
[50] Ravenn. 321.7; It. Ant. 430.4.
[51] Ptol. II 6, 14, se also Plin. *NH* III 19; Mela III 6.
[52] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 73; McElderry (1918): 77.
[53] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 74.
[54] Plin. *NH* IV 110; Ptol. II 6, 7.

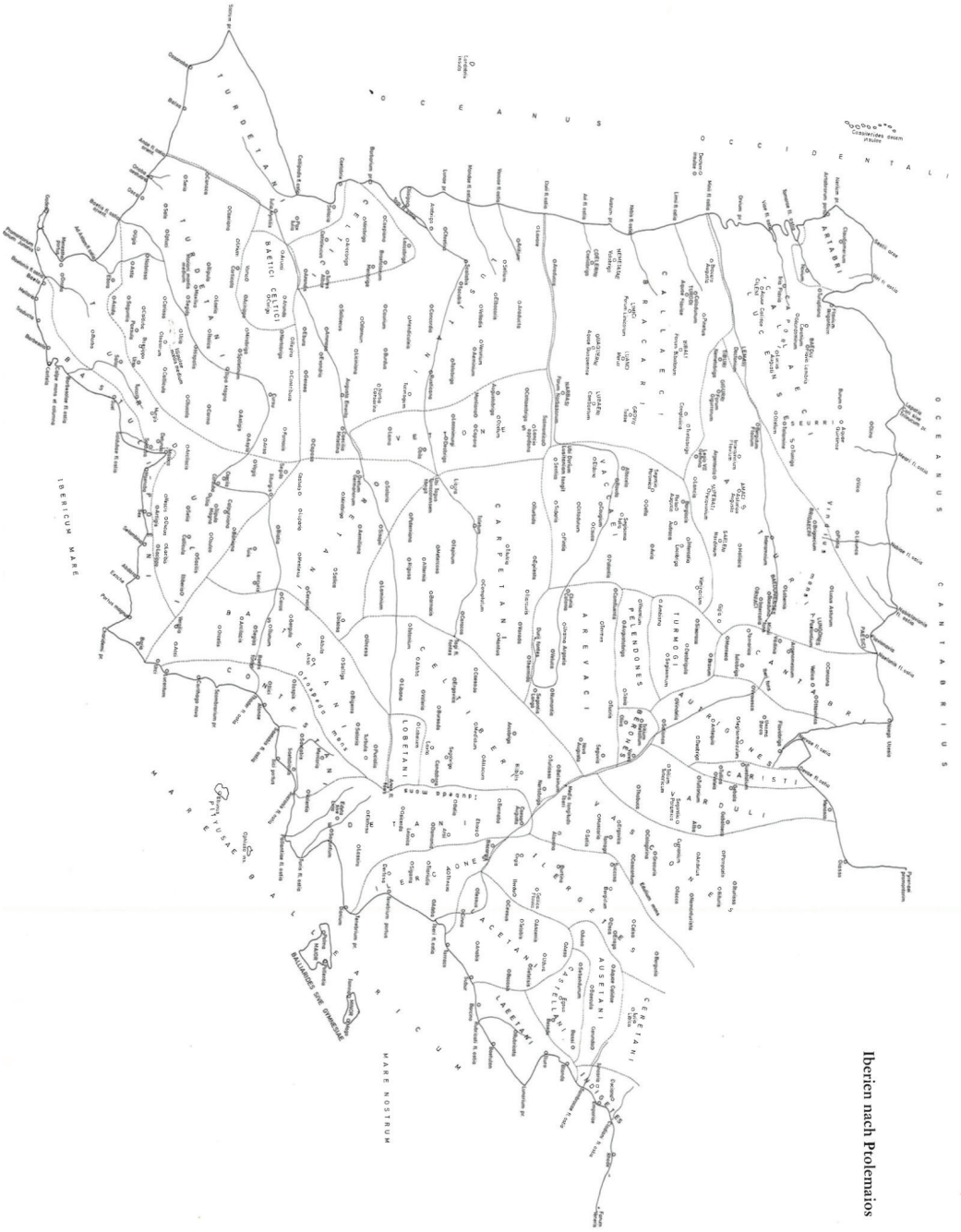


Fig. III.3: Map of Iberian Peninsula according to the Ptolemean coordinate system (Tovar (1976), 208.)

this light, the reading by Abascal and Espinosa could be plausible. However, not all settlements mentioned in Ptolemy were self-governing places since he clearly included some that can be considered subordinate to others. Nonetheless, the approach by Andreu Pintado, who regards all places mentioned by both Pliny and Ptolemy as probable self-governing communities needing further research is very useful.[55]

3.2.3 Itineraries

A third type of source that can be used to trace self-governing cities on the Iberian Peninsula are the Itineraries.[56] Whilst most of the places in these itineraries are secondary places, some of them are also mentioned in Pliny and/or Ptolemy and may have been self-governing. Out of the 234 Ptolemean *poleis* not found in Pliny, 98 are mentioned by the itineraries. The hapaxes in the itineraries will not be taken into account for further analysis as they are most likely *mansiones* and *mutationes* without any urban characteristics.

For our purposes, the most important itinerary is the Antonine Itinerary, which is most probably a collection of several *tabellaria* found all over the empire and created in different periods. Hence the Antonine Itinerary is a multi-layered document combining different periods and regions.[57] It is generally impossible to differentiate between the different time layers of the itinerary, only a *terminus post quem* can be given. Based on the names present in the document, *Diocletianopolis*, *Maximianopolis* and *Constantinopolis,* the Antonine Itinerary must have been compiled somewhere in the fourth century CE.[58] This work has been copied several times, yielding the distances given to be very problematic; most distances vary over the different manuscripts.[59]

In addition to the Antonine Itinerary we find the Ravenna Cosmography. This is an even later compilation of older sources, among them the Antonine Itinerary, composed in the seventh century.[60] The Ravenna gives some routes not found in the Antonine Itinerary or variations on already known routes and places.

An alternative route from *Rome* to *Gades*, partially deviating from the *Via Herculea* or *Augusta*, is recorded in the Vicarello Goblets.[61] However, their date is hotly disputed. The edited volume by Adams and Laurence gives two possible dates: Augustan and second century CE, but other specialists have suggested dates ranging

[55] Andreu Pintado (2004c): 2 & 127.
[56] For the itineraries the editions by Roldán Hervas in 1975 and 2014 will be used: Roldán Hervás (1975) *Itineraria Hispania: fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las Vías Romanas en la Península Ibérica*; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014).
[57] Salway (2001) 'Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*.' In: Adams and Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, 22-66: 58.
[58] Roldán Hervás (1975): 20.
[59] *Ibid*. 30.
[60] *Ibid*. 111.
[61] CIL XI 3281–3284 Schmidt (2011) '*A Gadibus Romam* myth and reality of an ancient route.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* Vol. 54, N° 2, 71-86.

from the Augustan period to the middle of the fourth century.[62] Despite this discussion, the goblets are an important source as they give us an additional route from *Gades* to *Tarraco*, not mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary or the Ravenna Cosmography.

3.3 Epigraphy

The information provided by Pliny, Ptolemy and the itineraries is supplemented by epigraphy.[63] The urban landscape and epigraphic landscape are strongly intertwined.[64] Epigraphic clues pointing to self-governing status include the terms *colonia*, *coloni*, *municipium, municipes*, *civitas*, *cives* and *res publica*.[65] This rather straightforward approach is particularly useful to find the *municipia* promoted by the Flavian emperors, as many communities included their new status in dedications.

Another important clue is the evidence of magistrates. Within the urban landscape, several locations were the focus of an epigraphic habit, such as the *forum*, where local magistrates had to interact with the already rich epigraphic landscape erected by predecessors.[66] Similarly, we find inscriptions alluding to magistrates dedicating games. Based on the magistrates collected by Curchin in *The local magistrates of Roman Spain* and the later supplement, we can draw up a list of several self-governing cities.[67] The magistracies taken into account to define a settlement as self-governing are: *aedilis*; *duumvir*; *praefectus Caesaris*; *praefectus iure dicundo*; *quaestor*; *quattuorvir*; *quinquennalis.* In addition, we have to include the reference to *omnibus honoribus functus*.[68]

[62] Brodersen (2001) 'The presentation of geographical knowledge for travel and transport in the Roman world: *itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta*.' In: Adams and Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, 7-21: 14; Salway (2001): 55. Cf. Schmidt (2011): 82.

[63] On the Iberian Peninsula this is a vast source, which is still being disclosed and commented upon by the open source journal Hispania Epigraphica and the CIL II^{2} volumes. In addition to these sources, several online epigraphic databases have been used. Hispania Epigraphica: www.eda-bea.es; Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss – Shlaby: http://www.manfredclauss.de/; Epigraphic database Heidelberg: http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/.

[64] Ruiz Gutiérrez (2013) 'El paisaje epigráfico de la ciudad romana: concepto y perspectivas de estudio.' In: Iglesias Gil and Ruiz Gutiérrez (eds.), *Paisajes epigráficos del Occidente romano: monumentos, contextos, topografías*, 13-27: 20.

[65] Alföldy (1987): 27ss; Dardaine (1993) 'Une image des cités de Bétique aux IIe et IIIe siècles après J.-C.: l'emploi du terme respublica dans les inscriptions de la province.' In: Arce and Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania*, 47-58: 55.

[66] Ruiz Gutiérrez (2013): 22; Abascal Palazón (2009) 'Programas epigráficos en los foros Romanos de Hispania.' In: Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, 89-104: 96; Keppie (1991) *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*: 54.

[67] See in the appendices the list of cities as found in Curchin's work: (1990); (2015).

[68] Curchin (1990); Keppie (1991): 52; Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 111; Mackie (1983): 64.

3.3.1 Tribus

References to membership of one of the 35 Roman *tribus* may also point to their self-governing status. The inscription to a *tribus* is certainly an indicator for Roman citizenship.[69] With regard to communities, the *tribus* is seen as an indicator for the presence of a status, be it *colonia* or *municipium*.[70] Obviously, finding an inscription with a *tribus* is not indicative for a whole community; it could well be an *incola* with Roman citizenship. Nonetheless, several inscriptions from one place with the same *tribus* are an indication that this place may have had its inhabitants inscribed in this *tribus*.

Tribus	Associated Emperor
Sergia	Caesar
Galeria	Augustus, Tiberius or Claudius
Anienses	Augustus
Papiria	Augustus
Pupinia	Augustus
Quirina	Flavian

Table III.2 Tribus attested in Hispania

In addition, a specific *tribus* may indicate the period in which the community was promoted.[71] In some rare cases, we see people in the same town enlisted in two tribes, for example the combination of *Sergia* and *Galeria* in *Corduba*, *Hispalis*, *Scallabis* and *Carthago Nova*. In this case, as Gonzáles argues quite convincingly, we could have a double enfranchisement, one under Caesar and a second under Augustus.[72] The *tribus Quirina* is specifically interesting as it is connected to the Flavian emperors.[73] Since the *tribus* is not only connected to the status of the citizens of a community, but also to the time of enfranchisement, it is a very useful tool to find possible *municipia Latinum* promoted after the grant of *ius Latii* by Vespasian or his sons.

3.3.2 Termini

Yet another way of tracing self-governing communities is to look at *termini* or *termini augustales*, demarcating the boundary.[74] *Termini* usually bear the name of the emperor, thus facilitating the dating process. One problem we might have to take into

[69] Andreu Pintado (2004b): 343; McElderry (1918): 68.
[70] Andreu Pintado (2004c); Andreu Pintado (2004b); Le Roux (2014d): 102; Galsterer-Kröll (1972) 'Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum.' *Epigraphische Studien* Vol. 9, 44-145; Curchin (2015): 20.
[71] Curchin (2015): 20.
[72] González (1989b): 137; Curchin (2015): 20.
[73] McElderry (1918): 68; Mangas Manjarrés (1989): 157; González (1989b): 137; Curchin (2015): 20. For a more extensive study of the role of the *tribus Quirina* in relation to Flavian *municipia*, see: Andreu Pintado (2004b); Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[74] Gómez-Pantoja (2011): 296; Le Roux (2014a): 133; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 216.

account is the possibility that contributed *civitates* might have had their own territories. Though the situation is unclear, there is no evidence to suggest that the territories of *civitates contributae* were demarcated by *termini augustales*.

In total, 51 *termini* have been found within the provinces of the Hispaniae. Slightly above half are between *prata* and *civitates*; the remainder indicate the border between two *civitates*, *municipia* or *coloniae*.[75] For the *prata* of the *Cohors IIII,* ten *termini* have been found, of which five refer to *Baedunia*. In addition, the boundary between the *prata legionis* of the *IIII Macedonica* and *Iuliobriga* has 18 inscriptions.

When looking at the distribution of the *termini* over the provinces, we notice that the majority – a total of 33 *termini* – are found in *Hispania Citerior*, in. Interestingly we find only four inscriptions in *Baetica*. Cortés Barcena ascribes the surprisingly low number of *termini* in the region to the early conquest, which meant that boundaries were established at an early date. This would have diminished the need for *termini*.[76] Indeed, when looking at the map of the dispersion of the *termini* we can observe a concentration in the region that has been conquered in later periods.

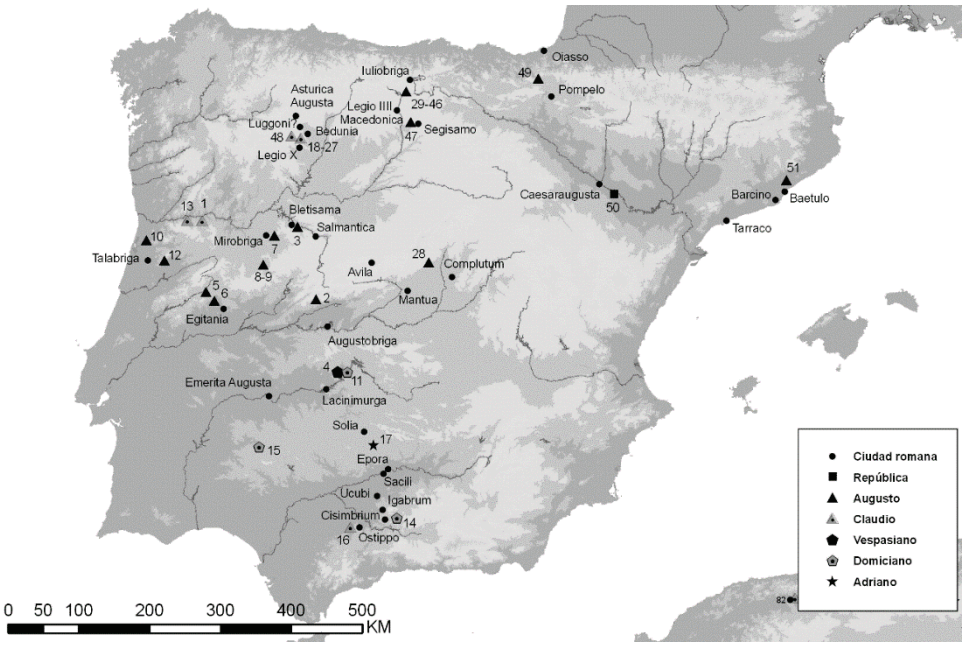


Fig. III.4 Termini on the Iberian Peninsula (Cortes (2013) Map. 1 p. 217, courtesy of the author).

[75] Cortés Bárcena (2013): 215.
[76] *Ibid.*

3.3.3 Numismatics

Since subordinate communities rarely struck coins, numismatic evidence can also be used to trace self-governing communities. For our purposes, only those coins minted under and after Augustus can be used as evidence. Clearly, coins bore his head as a 'powerful instrument of propaganda'.[77] Imperial coins were being spread all over the empire, showing the power of the emperor into the most distant corners. At the same time, the local mints created a relation between the minting city and Augustus, as both are often presented on the coins. The imperial permission to mint coins was only granted to *municipia* and *coloniae*.[78] Based on numismatics, we can identify 35 minting cities. For most of these it is only a confirmation of their known status.[79] Interestingly, most of these cities obtained privileged status at an early date.

Name	Privilege	Name	Privilege
Clunia	C	Turiaso	MCR
Carthago Nova	C	Ebusus	OF
Tarraco	C	Castulo	OLat
Hispalis	C	Ebora	OLat
Emerita Augusta	C	Ercavica	OLat
Corduba	C	Myrtilis	OLat
Pax Iulia	C	Cascantum	OLat
Acci	C	Osicerda	OLat
Gades	C/McR?	Segobriga	OS
Ilici	CInm	Laelia	OS
Caesaraugusta	CInm	Italica	
Celsa	MCR	Carteia	
Saguntum	MCR	Emporiae	
Dertosa	MCR	Osset	
Ilerda	MCR	Segovia Carpetania	
Bilbilis	MCR	Iulia Traducta	
Calagurris Iulia	MCR	Abdera	
Osca	MCR	Serippo	

Table III.3 Cities with coinage and their privilege according to ancient sources and epigraphy

[77] Ramage (1998): 437 referring to Grant (1946) 292.
[78] Burnett *et al.* (1992b): 2.
[79] Well attested places: *Acci*; *Caesaraugusta*; Celsa; *Corduba*; *Pax Iulia* and *Saguntum*.

It is not surprising that 26 of the 36 places with coinage appear in Pliny as privileged communities. A similar finding can be expected for the remaining ten cities. In the case of *Osset*, *Italica* and *Carteia,* we have direct evidence for their municipal status.[80] For *Emporiae* and *Segobriga* the numismatic evidence proves their self-governing nature and, moreover, adds to the credibility that these were privileged places, possibly promoted to *municipium*, under Augustus.[81] More importantly, this inquiry proves that the settlements of *Abdera*, *Serippo* and *Iulia Traducta* mentioned in Pliny and Ptolemy without reference to a juridical status were indeed self-governing cities.

3.4 Civitates Hispaniae

The self-governing communities of the different provinces will be surveyed in the following sections, and some difficult cases will be brought forward. In order to illustrate the process and differences per province, several small case studies will highlight the challenges posed by the evidence for the self-governing nature of a community. Appendix III gives a complete list of the epigraphic evidence for the different cities.

3.4.1 Provincia Hispania Baetica

> Baetica a flumine eam mediam secante cognominata cunctas provinciarum divite cultu et quodam fertili ac peculiari nitore praecedit. iuridici conventus ei IV, Gaditanus Cordubensis Astigitanus Hispalensis. Oppida omnia numero CLXXV, in iis coloniae IX, municipia c. R. X, Latio antiquitus donata XXVII, libertate VI, foedere III, stipendiaria CXX.[82]

In line with Pliny, we start with *Baetica*; here we should find up to 175 possible self-governing places. Appendix III indicates the places and their status as mentioned by Pliny. In the case of *Baetica,* we immediately encounter a problem: there should be nine *coloniae*, however the list by Pliny mentions ten in total. If we look at the *coloniae* mentioned, we see that *Corduba* is the first of these.[83] Secondly, *Hispalis* is mentioned as a *colonia*.[84] Subsequently, the two colonies of *Hasta Regia* and *Asido Caesarina* are mentioned.[85] These are followed in the next passage by *Astigi* and the *coloniae* within

[80] See Appendix III.
[81] Abascal Palazón *et al.* (2006) 'Segobriga: *Caput Celtiberiae* and Latin municipium.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 184-96; Almagro-Gorbea (1957) *Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciónes*.
[82] Plin. *NH* III 7: "Baetica, named after the river Baetis which divides it in two, stands first among the whole of the provinces in the richness of its cultivation and in a peculiar kind of fertility and the brilliance of its vegetation. It comprises four jurisdictions, those of Cadiz, Cordova, Ecija and Seville. Its towns number in all 175, of which 9 are colonies, 10 municipalities of Roman citizens, 27 towns granted early Latin rights, 6 free towns, 3 bound by treaty to Rome and 120 paying tribute."
[83] Plin. *NH* III 10: "[...] Corduba colonia Patricia cognomine."
[84] Plin. *NH* III 11: "[...] et a laeva Hispal colonia cognomine Romulensis."
[85] Plin. *NH* III 11: "[...] coloniae Hasta quae Regia dicitur et in mediterraneo Asido quae Caesarina."

its *conventus*: *Tucci*; *Iptuci*; *Ucubi*; *Urso* and *Munda*.[86] It is in this passage that we find the tenth *colonia*, *Munda*, which should not be classified as a colonia. Pliny already states that *Munda* has been abandoned – *inter quae fuit Munda*[87] – which therefore means that *Munda* cannot be regarded as one of the 175 cities of *Baetica* referred to by Pliny. Two further *colonia* can be added to the list compiled by Pliny: *Italica* and possibly *Onuba Aestuaria.*

The appearance of *Italica* as a *colonia* in epigraphy is easily explained. According to Appian, Scipio founded the settlement in 206 BCE to keep the peace and tend his wounded and sick; the settlement was called *Italica* after the Italic origin of his troops.[88] This settlement was not seen as an official *colonia*: Strabo is quite clear in referring to *Corduba* as the first *colonia* in the Turdetanian region.[89] The first evidence of a status for *Italica* is that of *municipium*, most probably *civium Romanorum*.[90] The exact date of the promotion of *Italica* to a *municipium civium Romanorum* is unclear, but was certainly part of the Caesarean-Augustan promotions.[91] It was not until the reign of Hadrian that the citizens of *Italica* requested colonial rights.[92]

Another possible *colonia* is *Onuba Aestuaria.* This place is not mentioned as a *colonia* by Pliny, but its epigraphy seems to support its colonial status.[93] This interpretation is, however, rejected by a number of scholars.[94] For example, Fear reads *Colonobensis* as one word and connects it to the place *Colobana* mentioned in Pliny.[95] Despite the multitude of interpretations, some scholars seem to agree on its colonial

[86] Plin. *NH* III 12: "[...] Astigitanam coloniam adluit cognomine Augustam Firmam [...]. huius conventus sunt reliquae coloniae inmunes Tucci quae cognominatur Augusta Gemella, Iptuci quae Virtus Iulia, Ucubi quae Claritas Iulia, Urso quae Genitiva Urbanorum; inter quae fuit Munda cum Pompeio filio rapta."

[87] We have to keep this in mind as this city seems to appear often in modern-day lists of Roman cities and is thus mentioned among the 175 cities of *Baetica*.
Carreras Monfort (1996); Carreras Monfort (2014); Stylow (1998) *Corpus Instriptionum Latinorum II2: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*; Keay (1998b).
In addition, the location of the city is also uncertain, although multiple sources give sizes. Carreras (2014) gives Montillo, however, since the size given is the same as in Keay, and Keay based his location of *Munda* on Stylow (1997) the place of 43 ha should be at Cerro de Las Camorras (Keay/Stylow) rather than Montillo.

[88] App. *Iber*. 38.

[89] Str. III 2.1.

[90] VM 126 & 127:7; CILA II, 382.

[91] Brunt argues contra Vittinghof that the promotion of *Italica* was a Caesarian promotion Brunt (1971): 602. He further alludes to the possibility that the reference in Caes. *B.Alex* 52,4 ([...] minicipem suum, adiuvant: erant enim omnes Italicenses) might be referring to a municipal status as early as 48 BCE. See also: Vittinghoff (1952): 72; Richardson (1996): 222; Le Roux (ed.) (2014f) *Espagne romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* 627; Curchin (1990): 14.
There is also a possibility that the text of the *B.Alex.* has been written after the promotion of *Italica* and as such the people form *Italica* have been referred to as *municipes*.

[92] Gellius *NA* XVI 13,4.

[93] Pecio Planier 4: IMP(eratoris) ANTONI(ni) / PRIMULI (et) SILONIS / CCXCVII / PRO(curator) COL(oniae) ONO/BENSIS

[94] Campos Carrasco *et al.* (2010) 'Acerca de la condición jurídica de Onoba Aestuaria.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 41, Nº 1, 97-117: 103.

[95] Fear (1996): 121.

status, based not only on this inscription, but also on its history as a major port for the region and as an important fishing and mining centre in Roman times.[96]

The city of *Asido* is an interesting case; according to Pliny this is a *colonia*, but this status is missing in the epigraphic evidence, which supports the status of *municipium*. Pliny is quite clear on the colonial status: "[...] *coloniae Hasta quae Regia dicitur et in mediterraneo Asido quae Caesarina*."[97] We can accept *Asido* as a *colonia*, although there are some problems with this classification.[98] An article by Padilla on the status of *Asido* addresses the three arguments by Hübner against colonial status: the original reading in Pliny might have been *colonia* instead of *coloniae*; there is another *colonia Caesarina* that could easily have been mixed up; and lastly, the epigraphic evidence clearly shows that *Asido* was a *municipium*.[99] By any view, *Asido* was certainly self-governing, even in pre-Roman times, as its coinage with Punic legend shows.[100] As noted above, there is indeed epigraphic evidence for its municipal status found in CIL II 1315: municipes · Caesarini.[101] In addition, the identification of *Asido* with the *Caesarini* in this inscription is certain based on an inscription of Augustan date, which refers to the Caesarini Asidonens(es).[102] Hence we must accept that *Asido* was initially a *municipium* possibly promoted to this status between the Civil War and the Augustan period, possibly by Caesar or Octavianus based on the cognomen *Caesarina*.[103] *Asido* may well have been granted colonial status between the Augustan period and Pliny's publication. Possible epigraphic evidence for its colonial status can be found in CIL II 5407, which contains the abbreviation DD/CCAA. This has been transliterated as C(olonia) C(aesarina) A(ugusta) A(sido), although the reading could have been completely different and it is the only attestation of this CCAA in *Asido*.[104] Nonetheless, the colonial status of *Asido* seems widely accepted.[105] Lagóstena argues for a promotion under Augustus with a deduction of veterans from the Cantabrian Wars.[106]

[96] Campos Carrasco (2012) 'Arqueología urbana en Huelva: La ciudad romana (Onoba Aestuaria).' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 527-59 ; Campos Carrasco *et al.* (2010).
[97] Plin. *NH* III 11.
[98] Lagóstena Barrios (2011) 'Asido Caesarina: La Antigüedad Romana de Medina Sidonia.' In: Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas (ed.), *Historia de Medina Sidonia desde los orígenes a la época Medieval*, 115-91: 161.
[99] Hübner (1869) *Inscriptiones Hispaniae latinae/cconsilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae*: 176; Padilla Monge (1985) 'Asido Caesarina: consideraciones acerca de su "status".' *Habis* Vol. 16, 307-27: 317.
[100] Villaronga (2004): 159 & 325; Padilla Monge (1985): 307.
[101] Padilla Monge dates this inscription to Augustus or earlier as it refers to *Asido* as a *municipium*. Padilla Monge (1985): 312.
[102] CILA 1220; Lagóstena Barrios (2011): 162.
[103] *Ibid.* Although we must take the argument by Galsterer-Kröll showing the problems of deducting and dating a municipal status based on cognomina into account: Galsterer-Kröll (1972): 57ff.
[104] Padilla Monge (1985): 307.
[105] Salmon (1969): 164; Thouvenot (1940) *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique*: 190; Bravo Castañeda (2007): 161.
[106] Lagóstena Barrios (2011): 162.

The other category of interest is that of the *municipia civium Romanorum*. In contrast to the list of *coloniae,* Pliny mentions only *Regina* as one of the ten *municipia civium Romanorum*. In another passage he refers to *Gades* as an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.[107] Should this be taken to mean that *Gades* was a *municipium civium Romanorum*? That *Gades* in Julio-Claudian times was a *municipium* is certain, due to an inscription erected by the *duumvir* M. Antonius Syriacus mentioning not only his status as *duumvir* but also *mun(icipii) Aug(usti) Gad(itani)*.[108] In addition, there is the numismatic evidence with the municipal status as the legend of its coins, not only proving that *Gades* was a *municipium*, but also supporting the claim that Pliny uses *oppidum civium Romanorum* as a way to refer to the *municipium civium Romanorum.*[109]

A logical addition to the *municipia civium Romanorum* is *Italica*. As has already been noted, this city had municipal status at the time Pliny wrote the *Naturalis Historia*.[110] Attempts to identify the remaining seven *municipia* remain inconclusive.[111] We have to keep in mind that the *municipia* mentioned in Pliny are the pre-Flavian *municipia civium Romanorum*.

As the aim of this chapter is to locate self-governing communities, rather than to differentiate between the *municipia civium Romanorum* and *Latinum*, we will continue without defining the difference between the *municipia*. The epigraphic evidence for the status of *municipium* ranges from the fragments of *Lex Flavia Municipalis* to the appearance of the term *M*(*unicipium*) on an inscription. We can add *Irni*[112], *Malaca*[113], *Salpensa*[114], *Ostippo*[115] and *Villona*[116] as *Municipia Flavia* based on fragments of the *Lex Municipalis Flavia* mentioning the name of the city. In addition to these undisputed *Municipia Flavia,* we can add 16 more for *Baetica* based on inscriptions mentioning the name in combination with *Municipium Flavium*, albeit sometimes in abbreviation M.F.[117] Interestingly, we see that Pliny mentions 13 of the *municipia*. Three of these are referred to as having an alternative status: *Ostippo* as one

[107] Plin. *NH* IV 119.
[108] CIL II 1313 (p XLII, 845) = IRPCadiz 2.
[109] VM: 78.1-8.
[110] Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 52,4; VM 126 & 127:7.
[111] Brunt has tried find the *municipia* based on their names and *tribus*: Brunt (1971): 584.
[112] González and Crawford (1986).
[113] CIL II 64.
[114] CIL II 1963.
[115] CIL II2/5, 959.
[116] CILA II, 1206.
[117] Places found are: *Municipium Flavium V(...)*: CIL II2/7, 887; CIL II2/7, 888; CIL II2/7, 890; *Aurgi*: CIL II2/5, 49; CIL II2/5, 29; CIL II2/5, 32; *Mellaria Cordubensis*: CIL II2/7, 801; *Ilipa Magna*: CIL II 1192; *Cisimbrium*: CIL II2/5, 302; *Oningi*: CIL II2/5, 930; *Iponoba*: CIL II2/5, 366; *Oducia*: CIL II2/5, 1330; *Naeva*: CILA II, 271; *Canana*: CIL II 1074; *Axati*: CIL II 1055; *Nescania*: CIL II2/5, 841; *Arva*: CIL II 1064 (p 837); *Singilia Barba*: CIL II 5788: *Sosontigi*: CIL II2/5, 232: *Munigua*: CILA II, 1055.

of the *libera*, *Oningi* as an *oppidum stipendiarium* and *Malaca* as an *oppidum foederatum*.[118] If we expand our inquiries to include all inscriptions that use the term *municipium* for a specific community, we can add 70 *municipia*, of which 44 were already mentioned by Pliny.

Without explicit epigraphic evidence it is often difficult to place *municipia* on a map. A good example is the case of the *municipium* located at Castro del Río. This has been identified by Hispania Epigraphica as *Soricaria*. The location of *Soricaria* is known roughly from a battle site in the *Bellum Hispaniense*.[119] However, there is no epigraphic evidence to support this identification. In TIR J-30 Horquera is put forward as another possibility, along with Castro del Río. The origin of the link between Horquera and *Soricaria* relies on a phonetic resemblance based on the medieval name: Horquera - Xorquera - *Soricaria*.[120] This phonetic linking of settlement names is quite common but also rather problematic.

Another problematic case is that of Arcos de la Frontera, which has been linked with *Caelia* by the Hispania Epigraphica database. However, according to Pleiades, *Caelia* is the same place as *Laelia*, which is identified as Albaida del Aljarafe. Hispania Epigraphica, regards *Laelia* as a separate place from *Caelia*, and links it with Sanlúcar la Mayor. As long as there is no evidence, direct or indirect, to link two places with certainty, the modern name will be used.

The final *municipium* without a definite link with an ancient name is Cumbres Mayores. The secondary literature seems to agree on the impossibility of linking this place with an ancient name.[121]

Besides those communities that appear as *municipia* or *coloniae,* we can add communities based on inscriptions mentioning them as a *civitas* or *res publica*, both indicating the self-governing nature of a community. In *Baetica* we find three communities mentioned as *civitas*, of which only *Aratispi* is a new place.[122] Twenty-five places in *Baetica* are referred to as *res publica*, fifteen of these communities were *coloniae* (3); *municipia* (11) or *civitas* (1). Moreover, Pliny already mentioned 19 of the *res publicae*.

An interesting case of a *res publica* is that of *Curiga*. In Pliny we find: *Contributa Iulia Ugultuniae (cum qua et Curiga nunc est)*.[123] *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia* is an attested *municipium*[124], to which the settlement of *Curiga* is contributed. CIL II 1041

[118] For *Ostippo* and *Oningi*: Plin. *NH* III 12 and *Malaca*: Plin. *NH* III 8.
[119] Caes. *Bell. Hisp*. 24 and 27.
[120] Álvarez Martínez *et al.* (2001) *TIR J-30: Valencia, Corduba, Hispalis*: 306.
[121] TIR J-29; Pleiades and Hispania epigraphica do not give an ancient name for this place. The municipal status of the archaeological site is certain: ERBC 55 = HEp 3, 1993, 210 = AE 1991, 998 = HEp 7, 1997, 347 L(ucius) · Rutilius T(iti?) · f(ilius) · D[- - - et] / M(arcus) · Valerius · T(iti) [f(ilius) - - -] / aed(iles) · M(unicipii) Fl(avi) [- - -]
[122] *Aratispi*: CIL II2/5, 732. The other two *civitates* are *Cartima* and *Arruci*, both also attested as *municipia*.
[123] Plin. *NH* III 14,
[124] Based on CIL II 1025: M(unicipio) · C(ontributensi) · I(uliensi), in combination with the magistrate mentioned in the sepulchral inscription CIL II 1029: Q(uintus) · Manlius · Avitus / Gal(eria) · Contributensis / II·vir · bis.

found in a church near *Contributa Iulia* mentions 'Iul[iensis?] mutatione oppidi'. This has been taken as evidence for the contribution and replacement of the community of *Curiga* to *Contributa Iulia*.[125] However, CIL II 1040, dated with certainty to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, refers to a *decretum decurionum* of the *res publica Curigensium*, indicating its self-governing nature.[126] In addition, Ptolemy mentions a place by the name Κούρσου, which has been identified as *Curiga*, separately from *Contributa*.[127] A safe interpretation would be that *Curiga* had been contributed to *Ugultunia* before 27 BCE; hence, the name of *Ugultunia* had changed to *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia*.[128] *Curiga* had been promoted somewhere between the time of Pliny and the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It has been proposed that this had already happened at the time of the Flavian grant of *ius Latii*, as the *tribus Quirina* has been attested in *Curiga*.[129] Despite the complex nature of the evidence, *Curiga* is accepted as a self-governing community for this research.

So far, we have encountered a multitude of places based on references to their self-governing nature as *colonia*, *municipium*, *civitas* or *res publica*. In order to be as complete as possible, places with indirect evidence have to be included. Several places that appear as *oppida* in Pliny warrant being considered as self-governing, because they had magistrates.[130] Based solely on magistrates, we can add three new *municipia* to our list.[131]

As has already been stated, the appearance of *tribus* is a rather difficult way to prove the self-governing nature of a place. In some cases, however, the *tribus* can be used to determine the period in which a particular community was promoted. In the case of the *oppidum ignotum* located near Teba, several funerary inscriptions demonstrate that the community was inscribed in the *tribus Galeria*.[132] Similarly, we can add Alameda, which might be the ancient city *Urgapa*, based on the *tribus Quirina* and thus as such as a Flavian *municipium*.[133]

The final clue that will be examined is the *termini*. Interestingly, *Baetica*, although in general rich in epigraphy, only has four *termini,* one of which belongs to the *praefectura* of *Augusta Emerita*.[134] Two of the Baetican *termini* are clearly the result of a border conflict that had to be resolved and was then formalised with the placement of the *terminus*. In the case of the *terminus augustalis* of *Cisimbrium,* the governor of

[125] CIL II 1041: ------ / Iul[ienses]? / mutatione /3oppidi · muni/cipes · et · inco/lae · pagi ·Tran[s]/iugani · et · pagi / Suburbani · For discussion cf. Hep 7, 1997, 138.
[126] CIL II 1040: [...] · ex decr/eto · decurion/um · res · p(ublica) Curi/gensium · [...]
[127] Ptol. II 4 13.
[128] Andreu Pintado (2004c): 185.
[129] CIL II 1042; ERBC 143. Cf. Hep 7, 1997, 138 and Andreu Pintado (2004b): 348.
[130] *Segida*; *Onuba Aestuaria*; *Lucurgentum*; *Celti*; *Segida Augutina*; *Ossigi*; *Ipagrum*.
[131] *Batora* (CIL II2/5, 60); *Sabetanum* (CIL II2/5, 521); *Ituci* (CIL II 1258).
[132] CIL II2/5, 857, p. 239: CIL II2/5, 854: CIL II2/5, 856: CIL II2/5, 858: CIL II2/5, 859.
[133] CIL II2/5, 913: CIL II2/5, 914: CIL II2/5, 915.
[134] HEp 2, 1990, 43 = HEp 5, 1995, 115.

the province intervened in 84 CE to solve a border conflict between the new *municipium Flavium Cisimbrium* and possibly *Ipolcobulcula*.[135] Similarly, we find the *terminus,* more precisely a *trifinium,* between *Epora*[136], *Sacili* and *Solia*.[137] In this specific case the idea of a conflict is supported by the reference to the *iudex* in the inscription. A conflict may have arisen between *Solia* and the older *municipia Epora* and *Sacili* after the promotion of *Solia* following the granting of *ius Latii*.[138]

Based on the combined literary and epigraphic evidence, 164 self-governing communities can be identified in *Baetica*. In terms of communities of which their self-governing nature is certain, we have a list of 93 communities based on epigraphy. Pliny ascribed a status to 22 places although no direct evidence supporting Pliny's claim was found in the epigraphy. We may add nine probable self-governing cities to this list as the epigraphic record points to civic organisation. Forty places appear in multiple literary sources, including any combination of Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela or Strabo, but with no clear reference to their self-governing nature. These places will be regarded as possible self-governing cities.

3.4.2 Provincia Hispania Citerior

> Nunc universa provincia divitur in conventus septem, Carthaginiensem Tarraconensem Caesaraugustanum Cluniensem Asturum Lucensem Bracarum. Accedunt insulae quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet oppida CLXXVIIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV.[139]

The second province treated by Pliny is *Hispania Citerior*, which he credits with 179 *oppida*. He specifies the juridical status of these *oppida*: 12 *coloniae*, 13 *municipia c.R.*, 18 have the old Latin rights, one is a *foederatum* and 135 are *stipendiaria*. In addition, we find 114 *civitates* without an *oppidum*. As in the case of *Baetica,* Pliny does not indicate the juridical status and/or the names of all *oppida*. Nonetheless, the juridical status of 81 *oppida* can be determined. The 10 Augustan *coloniae* are rather clear from the text; in addition, *Flaviobriga* is mentioned as a new Flavian *colonia*. Only *Clunia* has to be added: Brunt argues that is paleographically easy to insert *colonia* in the text concerning *Clunia*.[140] Regarding the *municipia,* we can identify ten with certainty,

[135] CIL II2/5, 302; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 75.
[136] *Epora* is one of the *Foederata* mentioned by Plinius *NH* III 10.
[137] CIL II 2349.
[138] Cortés Bárcena (2013): 84.
[139] Plin. *NH* III 18: "Today the whole province is divided into seven jurisdictions, namely those of Cartagena, Tarragon, Saragossa, Clunia, Astorga, Lugo, Braga. To these are to be added the islands, which will be described on another occasion, the province has 293 civitates besides those dependent on others; 179 towns, of these, twelve are colonies, thirteen, towns with the rights of Roman citizens, eighteen with the old Latin rights, one confederate, and 135 tributary."
[140] Brunt (1971): 584.

although, as Brunt argues, we can add *Emporiae* and *Blandae*.[141] We also have to add "*Celsa ex colonia*" to the *oppida c. Romanorum*, and thus to the *municipia c. Romanorum*.[142] Of the eighteen *oppida* with Latin rights, sixteen are mentioned.[143] The one *oppidum foederatum* is *Tarraga*.[144]

In addition, there are the separately mentioned Balearic Islands. On the island of Majorca we find *Palma* and *Pollentia* as *oppida C.R.* and *Tuci* and *Guium* as *oppida* with old Latin rights.[145] In addition, Pliny mentions the *foederatum Bocchorum*, although it was already abandoned: [...] *et foederatum Bocchorum fuit*.[146] For Menorca, Pliny mentions *Iamo*, *Sanisera* and *Mago* as *civitates* without a particular status.[147] The island of *Ebusus* has only one *civitas* with the same name, and this was a *civitas foederata*.[148]

As we have seen, the total number of *poleis* referred to by Ptolemy is very close to the number given by Pliny: 282. In some cases, we can link two entries based on the similarity of the names. One example of this is the case of the *Cerretani qui Iuliani cognominantur* in Pliny.[149] This *populus* is clearly identical with the Κερροιτανοί tribe as mentioned in Ptolemy, as their polis ᾽Ιουλία Λίβυκα is given. Hence we can relate *Iulia Libica* to the *oppida* with the Old Latin rights. Unfortunately, only 193 places can be placed on a map. The remaining 70 places are hapaxes and cannot be located. Ptolemy mentions *Clunia* as a *colonia*, which is also supported by epigraphy.[150]

We can identify many more self-governing communities with the help of epigraphic evidence. In the case of *municipia* we have already found all the *municipia c.R.* Nonetheless, many *municipia* can be found that were promoted during the Flavian grant of *ius Latii*. We can add a further ten places, based on inscriptions referring to *municipia Flavia*.[151] One interesting inscription is the sepulchral inscription for G. Sempronius Celer. In this inscription, the *ordo* of *Municipium Flavium Baesucci* grants all honours for the funeral of a citizen who was also honoured by the Flavian *municipia* of *Laminium*, *Tugia* and *Vivatia*.[152]

[141] *Saguntum*, *Baetulo*, *Iluro*, *Dertosa*, *Biscargis*, *Bilbilis*, *Calagurris Iulia*, *Ilerda*, *Osca* and *Turiaso*, cf. *Ibid.* 603.
[142] Plin. *NH* III 24.
[143] Plin. *NH* III 20: *Lucentum*; III 23: *Auso*, *Baecula*, *Edeta*, *Gerunda*, *Iesso*, *Iulia Libica* and *Tiar Iulia* and; III 24: *Cascantum*, *Ercavica*, *Gracchuris*, *Leonica* and *Osicerda*; III 25: *Castulo*, *Saetabis* and *Valeria*.
[144] Plin. *NH* III 24.
[145] Plin. *NH* III 77.
[146] Plin. *NH* III 77.
[147] Plin. *NH* III 77.
[148] Plin. *NH* III 76.
[149] Plin. *NH* III 23.
[150] Ptol. II 6, 55; CIL II 2780.
[151] *Baesucci*: CIL II 3251; *Ebusus*: CIL II 3663; *Egara*: CIL II 4494; *Iamo*: CIL II 4538; *Laminium*: CIL II 3251-3252; *Mago*: CIL II 3709; *Mirobriga Regina*: CIL II 2365-2366; *Segovia Carpetania*: CIL II p. 926; *Tugia*: CIL II 3251; *Vivatia*: CIL II 3251.
[152] CIL II 3251; Morales Rodríguez (1998) 'Espacios funerarios: necrópolis urbanas y rurales en los municipios flavios de la provincia de Jaén.' *Florentia Iliberritana* Vol. 9, 237-62: 244.

In addition to inscriptions referring to Flavian *municipia*, a number of interesting inscriptions referring to *civitates* can be found in *Citerior*. In modern-day Chaves we find the Padrão dos Povos, an inscription dating from 79 CE mentioning ten *civitates* that aided the *Legio VII* with the construction of the bridge[153]:

> Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Ve[sp(asiano) Aug(usto) pont(ifici)] / max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [X imp(eratori) XX p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) IX] / Imp(eratori) Vesp(asiano) Caes(ari) Au[g(usti) f(ilio) pont(ifici) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / VIII imp(eratori) XIIII co(n)[s(uli) VII?] / [[[Imp(eratori)? Domitiano? Caes(ari)? Aug(usti)? f(ilio)? ---]]] / [[[------]]] / G(aio) Calpetano Ra[ntio Quirinali] / Val(erio) Festo leg(ato) A[ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] / D(ecimo) Cornelio Ma[eciano leg(ato) Aug(usti)] / L(ucio) Arruntio Max[imo proc(uratori) Aug(usti)] / leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) [fel(icis)] / civitates [X] / Aquiflavien[ses Aobrigenses] / Bibali Coel[erni Equaesi] / Interamic[i Limici Aebisoci?]/ Quarque[r]ni Ta[magani]

The original inscription is damaged, but its text has been preserved in a later copy, which was engraved in the bridge. Some of these *civitates* are known from ancient sources: *Aquae Flaviae*[154], *Bibali*[155], *Coelerni*[156], *Equasi*[157], *Limici*[158], *Aqua Querquernae* [159], and the *Aobrigenses*[160].

The *Tamagani* form a new *civitas* that, according to Pérez Losada, is located at the modern day city of Verín.[161] The existence of the *Tamagani* is supported by several inscriptions.[162] Moreover, their name has continued in the name of the river, the Tamega.[163]

The *civitas* of the *Interamici* is possibly located at the Castro da Cibdá de Arméa.[164] The self-governing nature of this community is also supported by an inscription mentioning the *Res P(ublica) Int(eramicorum)*.[165] Moreover, the inscription mentioning the *Interamici* yields the name of a subordinate *castellum*: *castellum Louciocelo*.

[153] CIL II 2477; CIL II 5616. Le Roux (1990): 42.
[154] Ptol. II 6, 40.
[155] Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 42.
[156] Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 41.
[157] Plin. *NH* III 28.
[158] Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 43.
[159] Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 46.
[160] Plin. *NH* IV 112: *Abobrica;* CIL II 4247 (p 973) = RIT 307: *Avobriga*
[161] Pérez Losada (2002): 237.
[162] CIL II 5786; IRG IV 66; IRG IV 76.
[163] Pérez Losada (2002): 237.
[164] Martins da Fonte (2006) 'O "Padrão dos Povos" de Aquae Flaviae.' *Al-Madan adenda electronica* Vol. 14, VI.1-VI.7: VI-6.
[165] HEp 3, 1993, 277 = AE 1973, 317 = AE 1974, 394 = AE 1989, 435 = AFFE I nº 592: Q(uinto) Licinio Veget[o] / res p(ublica) Int(eramicorum) / super alia con/plura merita / pares cum fisco / rationes infati/gabili cura et / industria eius / consecuta.

The last *civitas* of the Padrão dos Povos is that of the *Aebisoci*. The name of this *civitas* has been emended to *Naebisoci* in some editions, in order to create an alphabetical order in the names.[166] However, because a variant of *Aebisoci* is attested in IRG IV 47: *Aeboso(ca)*, this correction must be wrong.[167]

Several other inscriptions mention individual *civitates*. The *hospitium* agreements are an interesting group. For the province *Citerior* we have found several of these agreements mentioning different *civitates*: those of the *Lougei*, *Luggones*[168], *Maggaviense*s and *Susarri*.

To the north-west, in the region of the *Astures,* we find two *civitates* with similar names: *civitas Lougeiorum* and *civitas Luggones*. It is tempting to conflate these two communities, but we have to keep in mind that Lug- and variants such as Luc- are common in Celtic.[169] In addition, the inscriptions referring to the *civitates* originate from different regions. The location of *civitas Luggonum* is quite certain since it has been attested in two boundary stones marking the *terminus pratorum cohortis* of the *Cohors III Gallica*.[170] This cohort was located at the *castrum* at Castrocalbón just over 15 kilometres from the places where the boundary stones were found.

The status of *civitas* for the *Lougeiorum* is attested in the *Tabula Lougeiorum.*[171] The location of *Lougeiorum* is based on the location of the subordinate *castellum*[172] *Toletum* is referred to in the *Tabula de El Caurel,* another *hospitium* agreement.[173]

[166] Martins da Fonte (2006): VI-1.
[167] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991) *TIR K-29: Porto, Conimbriga, Bracaraugusta*: 20.
[168] Also written as *Luggoni*, see Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993) *TIR K-30: Madrid, Caesaraugustus, Clunia*: 143.
[169] Olivares Pedreño (2010/2) 'Los ástures del conventus Lucensis y el culto al dios Lug en el noroeste de Hispania.' *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* Vol. 36, Nº 2, 117-36: 120.
[170] IRPLe 310 = AE 1961, 345: Ex auct/oritate / Ti(beri) Claud/i Caesaris / Aug(usti) / Ger/man(i)/ci Imp(eratoris) te/rminus / prator/um c(o)ho(rtis) / IIII Ga/llo(rum) / int(e)r c(o)ho(rtem) / IIII Gallo(rum) et inter / **civitate(m) / Luggo/num**; and IRPLe 311 = AE 1961, 345: Ex auc[toritate] / Ti(beri) Claudi Caesa[ri]/s Aug(usti) Germani/ci Imp(eratoris) terminus / pratorum coh(ortis) / [II]II Gal(lorum) inter coh(ortem) / [III]I Gal(lorum) et **civitate/m Luggonum**.
[171] HEp 1, 1989, 458; HEp 3, 1993, 247; HEp 7, 1997, 402; HEp 4, 1994, 505; AE 1984, 553; AE 1987, 561; AE 1989, 431; AE 1997, 862; Zeidler, K. "Celto-Roman Contact Names in Galicia", en D. Kremer (ed.) Onomástica Galega con especial consideración da situación prerromana (Actas do primeiro Coloquio de Trier, 19 e 20 de maio de 2006), Verba 58, Santiago de Compostela, 2007, 41-56; Rodríguez Colmenero, A. 1997. "La Nueva Tabula Hospitalitatis de La Civitas Lougeiorum. Problemática Y Contexto Histórico." ZPE 117: 213–26.
C(aio) Caesare Aug(usto) f(ilio) L(ucio) Aemilio Paullo co(n)s(ulibus) / ex gente Asturum conventus Arae / August(a)e / **civitas Lougeiorum** hospitium fecit cum / C(aio) Asinio Gallo libereis postereisque eius / eumque liberos posterosque eius sibi libe/reis postereisque suis patronum cooptarunt / isque eos in fidem clientelamque suam suo/rumque recepit / egerunt legati / Silvanus Clouti / Nobbius Andami.
[172] The position of *castella* within the urban network is discussed in the next chapter on subordinate centres.
[173] Not to be confused with the city of Toletum (Toledo).
AE 1965; AE 1961, 96; AE 1973, 289: Appio Iunio Silano P. Silio Nerva cos Tillegus. Ambati. f. Susarrus). Aiobaiciaego.hospitium fecit. cum **Lougeis Castellanis Toletensibus**.sibi uxori.libe ris posterisque.suis.eum que uxorem liberosque. eius in fidem. clientelamque.sua m. suorumque. in perpetuo. Cas tellanei. Toletenses. receperunt egit. Tillegus. Ambati ipse mag. Latino. Ari. et. Aio Temari; Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.

Although the authenticity of this inscription has been debated, the consensus is that it is genuine. The existence of the *civitas Lougeiorum* can therefore be accepted.[174]

Another *hospitium* agreement is the zoomorphic *tessera* found at Herrera de Pisuerga mentioning the *Civitas Maggaviensium*.[175] The *civitas* centre is probably located at Monte Cildá at Olleros de Pisuerga, 18 kilometres from the find spot.[176] Lastly, we find the renewal of a *hospitium* agreement between *Cauca* and *Amallobriga* attested by consular dating to 134 CE.[177] *Cauca* is a place already mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy.[178] However, *Amallobriga* is so far unknown. The fact that it signed a *hospitium* agreement with the *municipium Cauca* indicates that *Amallobriga* must have been a *civitas*.[179]

The final piece of epigraphic evidence leading to the entry of a new *civitas* is the *Bronce de El Bierzo*[180], which gives us the *civitas* of the *Susarri*. The *civitas* centre is located according to Olivares Pedreño near Bembibre.[181] Contra TIR K-29 locating it in the El Caurel Mountains, Pedreño argues that the hospitality agreement must

[173] HEp 7, 1997, 402; Canto (1990) 'La tabula Lougeiorum: un documento a debate.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 17, 267-75; Rodríguez Colmenero (1997) 'La nueva Tabula Hospitalitatis de la Civitas Lougeiorum. Problematica y contexto historico.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 117, 213-26; Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.
[174] HEp 7, 1997, 402; Canto (1990); Rodríguez Colmenero (1997); Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.
[175] HAE 2452; AE 1967, 239; HEp 12, 2002, 363; AE 2002, 785.
Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(to) Appuleio co(n)s(ulibus) / k(alendis) Augustis / Caraegius et Abuanus et Caelio mag(istratus) et / senatus Maggavienses Amparamum / Nemaiecanum Cusaburensim / civitate honoraria donatus (?) libertos / posterosque ita vota omnia ei fecerunt / finibus Maggav(i)ensium que / civi<i>s Maggaviensiu(m) // Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(to) Appuleio / co(n)s(ulibus) Amparamus Nemaioq[um?] / [Cu]saburensis hospitium fecit cum / civitate Maggav(i)ensium sibi liberis liber/[t]isque posterisque suis (vacat) eumque liberos / libertos posterosq(ue) eius omnis Maggav(i)e(n)/ses in hospitium fidem clientelamque suam / suorumque receper(un)t eademq(ue) condicione / esset qua civi(s). Per mag(istratus) Caelione(m) / et Caraegium et Aburnum / actum.
[176] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993): 97.
[177] HEp 1, 1989, 645 = HEp 3, 1993, 412 = HEp 4, 1994, 944 = HEp 5, 1995, 866 = HEp 6, 1996, 987 = AE 1985, 581 = AE 1987, 614 = AE 1988, 764 = AE 1991, 1047 = AE 1992, 1032 = AE 1993, 1037 = AE 1994, 1005 L(ucio) Iulio Urso Serviano III Publio / Vivio(!) Varo co(n)s(ulibus) V Nonas Octobres / Granius Silo et Aemilius Sapienus et / Iulius Proculus tesseram hospita/lem pro meritis Elaesi Ottae Aii / filii nomine cognationis Magi/lancum Amallobrigenses Cab/rumuria et Paligo renovarunt / cum senatu populoque Caucen/sium in perpetuum sibi liberis / posterisque omnibus eorum / per legatos / M(arcum) Valerium Lentulum IIvirum / et Lucium Sempronium Quadratum.
[178] Plin. *NH* III 26; Ptol. II 6, 49.
[179] HEp 4, 1994, 944 and HEp 6, 1996, 987.
[180] HEp 7, 1997, 378 = HEp 8, 1998, 325 = HEp 11, 2001, 286 = AE 1999, 915 = AE 2000, 760 = AE 2001, +01214. Imp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / VIII[I] et proco(n)s(ule) dicit / castellanos Paemeiobrigenses ex / gente Susarrorum desciscentibus / ceteris permansisse in officio cog/novi ex omnibus legatis meis qui / Transdurianae provinciae prae/fuerunt itaque eos universos im/munitate perpetua dono quosq(ue) agros et quibus finibus possede/runt Lucio Sestio Quirinale leg(ato) / meo eam provinciam optinente[m] / eos agros sine controversia possi/dere iubeo / castellanis Paemeiobrigensibus ex / gente **Susarrorum** quibus ante ea(m) / immunitatem omnium rerum dede/ram eorum loco restituo castellanos / Aiiobrigiaecinos ex gente Gigurro/rum volente **ipsa civitate** eosque / castellanos Aiiobrigiaecinos om/ni munere fungi iubeo cum / Susarris / actum Narbone Martio / XVI et XV K(alendas) Martias / M(arco) Druso Li/bone Lucio Calpurnio Pisone co(n)s(ulibus).
[181] Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.

be at the location of one of the agreeing parties. Since the other *castella* are located in the El Caurel mountains, the *Susarri* must be located at the location where the edict was found: Bembibre.[182]

The inscriptions mentioning *res publica* prove the self-governing nature of five places mentioned by Ptolemy and add six new self-governing communities.[183] One of these is *Flaviaugusta*, a place only known because of an honorific inscription for one of its magistrates who became a provincial *flamen* in *Tarraco*. The location of *Flaviaugusta* is considered unknown, although Cerro del Milagro has been proposed based on the family names found in inscriptions there, which are similar to the name of the *flamen*.[184]

A similar case is that of *Grallia*. This community was certainly self-governing and must have been located in the *conventus Caesaraugustanus*.[185] The evidence consists of an inscription erected in honour of a citizen of *Grallia* who had held all the magistracies (*omnibus honoribus functus)*. We can be certain that *Grallia* held the *ius Latii*, as this particular citizen was a member of the *tribus Quirina*. After having served as a magistrate in the rather insignificant settlement of *Grallia*, the honorand went to *Caesaraugustanus* to be elected into the *ordo*. Ultimately, he became a provincial *flamen a*t *Tarraco*, where the inscription was erected.

Based on epigraphic references to *tribus,* we can affirm several of the *poleis* mentioned in Ptolemy as self-governing. One such reference is an inscription found in modern-day Zamora, commonly related to *Ocelum Duri*.[186] The name *Ocelum* appears in Pliny and twice in Ptolemy. Unfortunately, these sources do not specify the location further than the *provincia Lusitania* and the area of the *Vettones* respectively.[187] The Ravenna, Antonine and Astorga itineraries mention *Ocelum Duri*, placing it along the route between *Brigaecum* and *Salmantica*, to the north of the *Durius* and supposedly in *Citerior*.[188] Andreu Pintado assumes there was only one place called *Ocelum* and identifies this with Zamora.[189] So far, most atlases show two dif-

[182] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991): 99.
[183] *Begastri*: CIL II 5948; *Edeba*: HEp 14, 2005, 363; *Flaviaugusta*: CIL II 4196; *Segontia*: CIL II 4195; *Tagili*: IRAL 48; *Tutugi*: ILPGr 25-27.
[184] Martino García (2004) *Las Ciudades Romana de la Meseta Norte de la Península Ibérica: identificación, estatuo jurídico y oligarquías (ss. I-III d.C.)*: 272. Cf. Abásolo Álvarez and Albertos (1976) 'Acerca de unas inscripciones de Poza de la Sal.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 42, 393-407: 393ff.
[185] CIL II 4244: M(arco) Sempr(onio) M(arci) filio / Quir(ina) Capitoni / Gralliensi adlecto / in ordine Caesaraug(ustano) / omnib(us) honorib(us) / in utraq(ue) r(e) p(ublica) s(ua) f(uncto) / flam(ini) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris) / p(rovincia) H(ispania) c(iterior).
[186] CIL II 2628; Andreu Pintado (2004c): 165. Cf. Pleiades-id 236577; DARE-id 18364; Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993): 163; McElderry (1918): 76.
[187] Plin. *NH* IV 118; Ptol. II 5, 7.
[188] Ant. It. 434.6; 439.10; Ravenn. 319.4; Itin. Astorga 3.5.
[189] Andreu Pintado (2004c): 168.

ferent places: *Ocelum* is often located in Ferro (Covilhã) in the *conventus Emeritenses*[190], whereas *Ocelum Duri* is placed at Zamora, roughly 200 kilometres from the other *Ocelum*.[191] Alarcão argues that there must have been two different places called *Ocelum*: he states that there was an *oppidum*, *vicus* or *castellum* called *Ocelum* at Ferro, which has nothing to do with the *Ocelum* located at Zamora.[192] We accept *Ocelum Duri* as a self-governing community based on the reference to the *tribus Quirina* contained in the inscription from Zamora. The other *Ocelum* at Ferro is considered subordinate as there is no evidence for it being a self-governing settlement. A third *Ocelum* is located by Ptolemy among the *Callaeci Lucenses*, and is so far unlocated.[193]

The inscriptions found at the Hermitage Socorro de Monte Cillas and Coscojuela de Fontova in El Grado (Huesca) contain two references to the *tribus Galeria* in combination with the *origo Boletanus*.[194] On this basis it has been accepted that *Boletum* was granted the status of *municipium* in the Julio-Claudian period. The location of the settlement is another problem. It is frequently located at Monte Cildá (Barbastro) where the inscriptions have been found.[195] However, nearby Boltaña has also been put forward based on the resemblance between the names and on the idea that people who lived in their place of birth are unlikely to have specified their *origo*.[196] In Barbastro, another place could have been located based on the similarity of the names: *Barbotum*. This place is very problematic. Its identification as a Roman *civitas* depends heavily on medieval sources.[197]

Inscriptions referring to magistracies suggest the possible existence of two further self-governing communities. An inscription found in Rubielos de Mora, now lost, mentions C. Marius Gal. F. C. who had been *aedilis*, *flamen* and *duumvir*.[198] The inscription was found in the Convento de las Religiosas Agustinas near Rubielos de Mora[199], although its original location is unknown. Arasa locates *Otobesa* at the site

[190] Located at Ferro: Pleiades-id 236576; DARE-id 33673. Another unlocated *Ocelum* appears in Pleiades-id 240970.
[191] Pleiades-id 236577; DARE-id 18364.
[192] RAP 11 = HEp 10, 2000, 720; Alarcão (1988): 138, note 29.
[193] Ptol. II 6, 22. García Alonso (2003): 200.
[194] CIL II 5843: L(ucio) · Val(erio) · L(uci) · f(ilio) · Gal(eria tribu) / Materno / Bolet(ano) · h(eres, -eredes) ex t(estamento)
CIL II 5846: L(ucio) Val(erio) Gal(eria) / Materno / Boletano / M(arcus) Cor(nelius) Pompe/ianus amico opti/[m]o ob merita / - - - - - -.
[195] Pleiades-id 246253; DARE 18372.
[196] Tovar (1989) *Die Völker und Die Städte des Antiken Hispanien, Bd. III Tarraconensis*: C-446; Pina Polo and Alfayé Villa (2002) 'Propuesta de ubicación de los Volcianos en el área preperinaica.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 2, 201-11: 207.
[197] Navarro *et al.* (2000) 'Barb(otum?): una ciudad romana en el somontano pirenaico.' *Saldvie* Vol. I, 247-72.
[198] CIL II 3174 = ERTeruel 24.
[199] Juste Arruga (1990) *El poblamiento de la Edad del Bronce y primera Edad del Hierro en Mora de Rubielos (Teruel)*.

of Rubielos de Mora.[200] In addition, we find an inscription in Archena mentioning a *duumvir* who had reconstructed an aqueduct in accordance with a *decretum decurionum*.[201] It is unclear whether the *duumvir* and *ordo* belong to Archena or to a nearby self-governing city.[202] The inscription has been dated to the early first century CE.[203] The aqueduct mentioned in the inscription certainly belonged to the thermal baths and related bathhouse found in Archena. Based on this evidence, we treat Archena at least as an important secondary settlement with urban aspects.

There are 33 *termini* from *Hispania Citerior*. Of these, a staggering 29 belong to the *prata* of *Legio X Gemina* (1), *Legio IIII Macedonica* (18) and *cohors IIII Gallorum* (10). These *termini pratorum* give us no new places as they marked the boundaries between *Legio X Gemina* and *Baedunia*, *Legio IIII Macedonica* and *Iuliobriga*, *Legio IIII* and *Segisamo*, *cohors IIII Gallorum* and *Baedunia,* and the *cohors* and the *Luggones*.[204]

In addition to the *termini pratorum,* we find a number of *termini augustales*. Some of these boundary stones refer to self-governing communities known from other sources, such as that between *Arabriga* and the *Coilarni*.[205] Two *termini* only read *ter(minus) aug(ustalis)*, but based on their location Cortés argues they would have been part of the boundary between *Mantua* and *Complutum*, and between *Oiasso* and *Pompelo*.[206] *Pompelo* and *Complutum* appear as self-governing communities in other sources. In the case of *Oiasso*, however, *terminus augustalis* suggests that it was a self-governing community rather than a secondary port settlement. Similarly, *Mantua*, where we also find a reference to the *tribus Quirina,* might well have been a self-governing community, although we cannot be certain.

In total, 213 self-governing communities are attested for *Citerior*. The self-governing nature of 100 communities is proved by inscriptions. Pliny mentions an extra 41 privileged places whose self-governing nature is not confirmed by epigraphy. A further 36 probable self-governing cities may be added to this list as the epigraphic record regarding these cities points to civic organisation. Lastly, we add 36 places whose self-governing nature remains doubtful. These 36 places appear in multiple ancient sources without any clear reference to their self-governing nature.

[200] Arasa i Gil (1987) *Lesera: la Moleta dels Frares, el Forcall: estudi sobre la romanització a la comarca dels Ports*: 215.
[201] CIL II 3541 (p 955); ILER 2043: C(aius) Cornelius Capito L(ucius) Heius Labeo / IIvir(i) aquas ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) reficiendas / curarunt i(dem)q(ue) p(robarunt).
[202] One of the many possible locations for *Ilorci-Eliocroca* is Lorquí, only 6 kilometres from Archena. If not *Ilorci* than the *duumvir* must be sought a lot further away in *Begastri, Ilunum, Ilici* or even *Carthago Nova*.
[203] González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007) 'Dos nuevas estelas funerarias con mención de origo procedentes del balneario de Archena (Murcia).' *Faventia* Vol. 29, N° 2, 21-36: 23.
[204] Cortés Bárcena (2013): numbers 29-48.
[205] HEp 1, 1989, 694.
[206] *Mantua-Complutum*: Cortés Bárcena (2013): no. 28.
Oiasso-Pompaelo: Cortés Bárcena (2013): no. 49.

3.4.3 Provincia Hispania Lusitania

> Universa provincia dividitur in conventus tres, Emeritensem, Pacensem, Scallabitanum, tota populorum XLV, in quibus Coloniae sunt quinque, municipium civium Romanorum, Lati antiqui III, stipendiaria XXXVI.[207]

In the case of *Lusitania*, Pliny is rather exhaustive. In his survey he identifies all five *coloniae* (*Augusta Emerita, Metellinum, Pax Iulia, Norba Caesarina* and *Scallabis*), the three *populi Latii antiqui* (*Ebora, Myrtilis* and *Salacia*) and the *municipium civium Romanorum* (*Olisipo*).[208] Only nineteen of the 36 *civitates stipendiariae* appear in his list of Lusitanian *populi*, but elsewhere Pliny describes the *populi* to be found in *Lusitania* from the *Durius*: *Turduli Veteres*, *Paesuri*, *Talabrica*, *Aeminium*, *Coniumbrica* (sic), *Collippo* and *Eburobrittium*.[209] In total we have the names of 35 *populi* of *Lusitania*.

Ptolemy mentions 58 *poleis* for *Lusitania*. This can be interpreted in two ways: according to Abascal and Espinosa, between the work of Pliny and Ptolemy the number of privileged places might have risen from 45 to 58, an increase of 13 places.[210] However, since only 26 places appear in b in Pliny's and Ptolemy's accounts there are actually 31 new places in Ptolemy.[211] As has already been stated, Ptolemy most likely included secondary agglomerations. One example might be Καιτόβρις (*Caetobriga*), which is taken to be part of the territory of *Salacia*.[212] Another part of the solution is that some of the new places mentioned by Ptolemy may have been the central places of *populi* mentioned by Pliny. As an example, there is the case of *Verurium* (Οὐερούριον or Οὐερούιον) mentioned by Ptolemy, which according to Alarcão belongs to the Plinian *Tapori*.[213]

Another possible example is *Langobriga* that may have been the central place of the Plinian *Turduli Veteres*. The existence of the *Turduli Veteres* is proven by *hospitium* agreements found in Pedroso.[214] According to Alarcão and the Barrington Atlas, the

[207] Plin. *NH* IV 117: "The whole province is divided into three associations, centred at Merida, Beja and Santarem. It consists of 45 peoples in all, among whom there are five colonies, one municipality of Roman citizens, three with the old Latin rights and 36 that pay tribute."
[208] Plin. *NH* IV 117-118.
[209] Plin. *NH* IV 118: *Augustobricensis, Aeminiensis, Aranditani, Axabricensis, Balsenses, Caesarobricenses, Caperenses, Cauriensis, Colarni, Cibilitani, Concordienses, Elbocori, Interamnienses, Lancienses, Mirobricenses Celtici, Meidubricenses Plumbari, Ocelenses, Turduli Bardili* and *Tapori*. Cf. Plin. *NH*. IV 113.
[210] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 73.
[211] McElderry (1918): 77.
[212] Soares and Tavares da Silva (2012) 'Caetobriga: uma cidade fabril na foz do Sado.' *Portugal Romano* Vol. 1, N° 2, 56-73: 57.
[213] Alarcão (2001) 'Novas perspectivas sobre os Lusitanos (e outros mundos).' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 4, N° 2, 293-349: 299. See Ptol. II 5.7 and Plin. *NH* IV 118.
[214] AE 1983, 476: Q(uinto) Caecilio Metello A(ulo) Licinio co(n)s(ulibus) / D(ecimus) Iulius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Cilo hospitium fecit / sibi liberis posterisque suis cum Nigro / et Rufo et Prisco Turdulis Veteribus / liberis posterisque eorum (7 CE)

city of *Langobriga* is located in the area of the *Turduli Veteres*.[215] However, the distance between the location where the *hospitium* agreements (Pedroso, Vila Nova de Gaia) were found and *castro* near Fiães, identified as *Langobriga,* is nine kilometres.[216]

Obviously, we cannot calculate the number of self-governing communities in *Lusitania* by combining Pliny and Ptolemy. The nature of the *poleis* in Ptolemy is very uncertain and probably not all are urban. We therefore turn to epigraphic evidence to clarify the situation in *Lusitania*.

The most important inscription for *municipia* in *Lusitania* is the Alcántara bridge inscription (CIL II 760)[217]:

> Municipia / provinciae / Lusitaniae stipe / conlata quae opus / pontis perfecerunt / Igaeditani / Lancienses Oppidani / Talori / Interannienses / Colarni / Lancienses / Transcudani / Aravi / Meidubrigenses / Arabrigenses / Banienses / Paesures

The inscription dates to 105 CE, well after the granting of *ius Latii* by Vespasian. The inscription mentions all Lusitanian *municipia* that paid for the construction of the bridge crossing the Tagus at modern-day Alcántara. Among these *municipia* we can clearly recognise some *populi* mentioned by Pliny, such as the *Lancienses*, *Interannienses*, *Colarni* and *Meidubrigenses*.[218]

Le Roux points out that in this region the link between tribal ethnonyms and the status of *municipium* or *civitas* is not particularly surprising. As noted above, the Padrão dos Povos from *Citerior* also has a number of ethnic groups involved in constructing a bridge.[219] Le Roux sees two possible explanations for the use of the term *municipia* in connection with ethnonyms: first, the accepted reading of the lost Alcántara inscription may be wrong. The original reading may have been *civitates*, which is known from the Padrão dos Povos.[220] The second hypothesis focuses on the

AE 1983, 477: Q(uinto) · Sulpicio · Camerino · C(aio) · Poppaeo / Sabino · co(n)s(ulibus) / D(ecimus) · Iulius · M(arci) · f(ilius) · Gal(eria) · Cilo · hospitium · fecit / cum · Lugario · Septanii · f(ilio) · ex Turduleis /Veteribus · eumque · et · leiberos · posteros/que · eius · in fidem · clientelamque / suam · recepit · leiberorum · posterorum/que · suorum · egit / Lugarius · Sept·anii (9 CE)

[215] Alarcão (1988): 24; Talbert (2000) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* 24 C4. The existence of *Langobriga* is attested in the Antonine Itinerary 421.7.

[216] Alarcão (1988): 3/29; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014): 80.

[217] The inscription has been considered a falsification since the 15th century by Galsterer Galsterer (1971): 72. However, this has been successfully refuted by García Iglesias García Iglesias (1976) 'Autenticidad de la inscripción de municipios que sufragaron el puente de Alcántara.' *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* Vol. 32, Nº 1, 8; García Iglesias (1979) 'Sobre los municipios Flavios de Lusitania.' *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* Vol. 118, 81-6.

[218] Plin. *NH* IV 118. In the case of the *Arabrigenses* and *Talori,* the text in Pliny may have been corrupted and these may be related respectively to the *Axabricenses* and the *Tapori*.

[219] Le Roux (1990): 42. CIL II 2477; CIL II 5616.

[220] CIL II 2477; CIL II 5616: Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Ve[sp(asiano) Aug(usto) pont(ifici)] / max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [X imp(eratori) XX p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) IX] / Imp(eratori) Vesp(asiano) Caes(ari) Au[g(usti) f(ilio) pont(ifici) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / VIII imp(eratori) XIIII co(n)[s(uli) VII?]

fact that the inscription refers to *municipia* that were involved in the construction. He argues that these people obtained the status of *municipium* as a result of their '*industria*'.[221] However, as has already been stated, the bridge was constructed in 105 CE, three decades after the granting of *ius Latii*. In my view, some of the communities listed in the Alcántara inscription may have belonged to the category of dispersed *civitates*, self-governing communities without an urban centre.[222] This reading is compatible with Le Roux's suggestion that some of these *populi* were *municipia*; *municipium* was therefore chosen as a generic term.[223]

The number of people enlisted in the *tribus Quirina* for the *Colarni* and the *Igaeditani* indicates an early date for their promotion.[224] In the case of the *Igaeditani*, a dedication to the *genius municipii* from Idanha-a-Velha dated to the second half of the first century points in the same direction.[225] The *civitas Igaeditanorum* was founded by Norbanus Flaccus in the 30s of the first century BCE.[226] This early foundation by a Roman general, combined with the fact that the temple close to the bridge was erected by a native from *Igaeditana,* may indicate that it was this settlement that took the initiative.[227]

Based on inscriptions, we can add seven other Lusitanian *municipia*: *Ammaia*, *Capera*, *Caesarobriga*, *Conimbriga*, *Mirobriga Celtici, Sellium* and *Urunia*.[228] Of these, *Capera*, *Conimbriga* and *Mirobriga Celtici* were Flavian *municipia* as can be read in their inscriptions. Moreover, the Ptolemean hapax *Ammaia* has now been confirmed as a self-governing community, indicating that not all places that appear only in Ptolemy were subordinate settlements.

A sepulchral inscription referring to the *civitas Mirietanorum* has been found in an excavation in 2011.[229] The text refers to a *flaminica perpetua*.[230] In addition, the

/ [[[Imp(eratori)? Domitiano? Caes(ari)? Aug(usti)? f(ilio)? ---]]] / [[[------]]] / G(aio) Calpetano Ra[ntio Quirinali] / Val(erio) Festo leg(ato) A[ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] / D(ecimo) Cornelio Ma[eciano leg(ato) Aug(usti)] / L(ucio) Arruntio Max[imo proc(uratori) Aug(usti)] / leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) [fel(icis)] / civitates [X] / Aquiflavien[ses Aobrigenses] / Bibali Coel[erni Equaesi] / Interamic[i Limici Aebisoci?]/ Quarque[r]ni Ta[magani].

[221] Le Roux (1990): 43.

[222] See next section on dispersed *civitates* and Houten (2017).

[223] Le Roux (1990).

[224] Ramos Ferreira (2004) *Epigrafia funerária romana da Beira Interior: inovação ou continuidade?* 43; Andreu Pintado (2004b): 349; Le Roux (1990): 361.

[225] CIL II 401 = ILER 572; Ramos Ferreira (2004): 46 footnote 15.

[226] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 205.

[227] CIL II 7561.

[228] *Ammaia*: CIL II 158; *Capera*: AE 1986, 307; *Caesarobriga*: CIL II 895; *Conimbriga*: RAP 211; *Mirobriga Celtici*: CIL II 25; *Sellium*: RAP 256 and *Urunia*: CIL II 863.

[229] IRCP 229t.

[230] Information on this *civitas* is rather difficult to obtain; the best sources are the entry at *Portugalromano.com* from 2011 in the excavations and the entry at the *Portal do Arqueólogo*.

Portugalromano.com http://www.portugalromano.com/site/escavacoes-arqueologicas-em-sao-romao-alvito/ (accessed: 22 september 2015)

Portal do Arqueólogo

civitas Cobelcorum can be added, based on the altar dedicated to I.O.M found at what seems to be a *forum* at Almofala.[231] Epigraphic evidence for *res publica* has not led to any additions, although for *Ossonoba* and *Balsa* their self-governing nature now has been confirmed.

Numismatics confirm the self-governing nature of some places, but does not help us to identify new towns. Interestingly, we find the *permissu Caesaris Augusti* as a legend on the coins of *Ebora*.[232] Besides *Ebora*, coinage is also attested for *Salacia*.[233] The two other cities minting coins are the *coloniae Pax Iulia* and *Augusta Emerita*.[234]

Lusitania has only 21 settlements where magistrates are recorded. Some Plinian *populi* are confirmed as self-governing communities. One of these is *Eburobrittium*[235], where a sepulchral inscription was erected for a *duumvir*. In addition, we find evidence for some of the Ptolemean *poleis*. Examples include *Aritium*, which had a *duumvir,* and *Salmantica,* which had an *ordo*.[236]

Of the 13 *termini augustales* that have been found in *Lusitania,* eight mention places or communities.[237] This confirms the Ptolemean *poleis* of *Abila* and *Salmantica* as self-governing communities, as are *Colarni*, *Lancienses Oppidani*, *Arabriga* and *Igaeditania*. Moreover, these *termini* allow us to add *Bletisama*, *Mirobriga Vettones* and *Poliba* to our list of self-governing communities.[238]

http://arqueologia.patrimoniocultural.pt/?sid=sitios.resultados&subsid=2182170&vt=2965464 (accessed: 22 september 2015).

[231] Frade, H. "Ara a Júpiter Da Civitas Cobelcorum." Ficheiro Epigráfico 58 (1998): 266 = HEp 8, 1998, 601 = AE 1998, 700: Iovi Optumo / Maxumo / civitas / Cobelcorum.

[232] Ebora started minting coins in 12 BCE see Marques de Faria (1995) 'Moedas da época romana cunhadas em território actualmente Português.' *Anejos de AEspA* Vol. XIV, 143-53: 148.

[233] *Ibid*. 146; Burnett *et al.* (1992a).

[234] Burnett *et al.* (1992b).

[235] AE 1936, 106: [D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / [- - -]olio / [- - -] Maximino / [II]vir(o) Eboro/[brit]t(iensium) ann(orum) LII.

[236] *Aritium*: HEp 4, 1994, 1080: aedilis IIvir flamen prov(inciae) Lusitaniae; *Salmantica*: HEp 11, 2001, 395: Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aur(elio) Anto/nino Aug(usto) / f(ilio) L(uci) Sep(timii) Seve/ri ordo / salmanticen(sium).

[237] See the Appendix I for the epigraphic sources.

[238] CIL II 5033; CIL II 857-858; CIL II 859.

Polibedenses is generally considered to be the ethnonym for a place called *Poliba*. Moreover, Hernández Guerra states that the lost part of the inscription may have continued to mention Salmantica as well, making this a *trifinium*.

Cortés Bárcena (2013): 54; Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001) 'Nueva propuesta de distribución territorial en la provincia de Salamanca.' In: Hernández Guerra, Sagredo San Eustaquio and Solana Sáinz (eds.), *I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua "La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años"*, 255-61: 256; Hernández Guerra (2007) *El tejido urbano de época romana en la Meseta septentrional*: 185.

The *Val* and *Valut* found in two inscriptions seem to be related to at least two places, *Mirobriga* and *Bletisama* and possibly to *Salmantica* further complicate the situation. There are multiple interpretations of this addition to the names of *Bletisama* and *Mirobriga*. Since it appears as *Mirobriga Valut*, *Bletisama Val* and possibly *Salmantica Val*, it seems logical to follow the idea of a pre-Roman community that had lost its territory to these Roman *civitates*, see Cortés Bárcena (2013): 59.

Unfortunately, none of the *termini* were found *in situ*, complicating the identification of the exact location of the territories and the central places of the communities that are mentioned.[239] One of the problematic places is Ciudad Rodrigo, usually considered to be the location for *Mirobriga Vettonum*. However, apart from the two inscriptions found here, the archaeology of this place is rather limited.[240] Hernandez proposes that Yecla de Yeltes is *Mirobriga* and that *Poliba* is located further to the south, at Castro de Lerilla, a *castro* that was inhabited continuously from the Bronze Age to the Visigothic period.[241]

Bletisama/Ledesma is the location of the Tabula de hospidalidad de El Picón, a *hospitium* agreement mentioning the senate and people of *Bletisama*.[242] This confirms that *Bletisama* was a self-governing place. Based on the consular dating of the inscription, the *terminus ante quem* of the self-governing status of *Bletisama* can be dated to 27 CE.[243]

Another *terminus* marks the boundary between *Ucubi* and the cities of *Lacinimurga* and *Augusta Emerita. Ucubi* was located in the *conventus Astigitanus* and the two other cities in the *conventus Emeritensis.* These *conventus* do not share border[244], which is taken as evidence for a *praefectura,* an enclave of the territorium of one *civitas* within the territory of another.[245] In the case of *Ucubi* there are two possible interpretations. The most common of these is the idea that for the *deductio* of the *colonia Ucubi,* land had to be distributed among the *coloni.* As there was not enough land in the vicinity, this may have prompted the creation of a *praefectura*.[246] Another possibility is that *Ucubi* was compensated in another *conventus* for expropriation of land to settle colonists, as is also known for *Capua.* Cassius Dio states that *Capua* was compensated for the expropriation of land to settle colonists with the *Aqua Iulia* aqueduct and with a *praefectura* near *Knossos* on the island of Crete.[247] However, other

[239] Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001): 256; Cortés Bárcena (2013): no. 7-9.
[240] Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001): 257.
[241] *Ibid*. 259.
[242] HEp-18, 00479; AE 2009, 00607:
[M(arco) Licinio Cr]asso Fr[ugi et] / [L(ucio) Calpurnio Pisone co(n)s(ulibus)] / [// hospitium 3 reno]/vavit cum s[enatu popul]/oq(ue) Bletisam[ensi 3 eum]/que senatus [populusque] / Bletisamen[sis liber]/os posterosq(u)e ei[us 3 in 3 am]/icitiamque su[am receperunt] / ita ut civem [3] / in perpetu[o 3] / egit ipse A[3] / TONE[.
[243] Sastre Prats *et al.* (2009) 'Nuevo pacto de hospitalidad procedente de Pino del Oro (Zamora).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 168, 287-92; López Barja de Quiroga (2010) '¿Quién hace qué con quién? La reconstrucción del texto.' In: Sastre Prats and Beltrán Ortega (eds.), *El Bronce de "El Picón" (Pino del Oro). Procesos de cambio en el occidente de Hispania.*, 61-5.
[244] CIL II² 7,870 & CIL II² 7,871.
[245] Cortés Bárcena (2013): 47.
[246] *Ibid.* Cf: Sáez Fernández (1993) 'Nuevas perspectivas en relación a la ordenación territorial del sur de la Lusitania española.' In: Gorges and Salinas de Frías (eds.), *Mesa Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana* 99-108: 107; Rodríguez Neila (1994) 'Organización territorial romana y administración municipal en la Bética.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Historia Antigua : actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Córdoba, 1991*, 201-48: 231.
[247] Cass. Dio. XLIX 14.5, see also: Vell. Patr. II 81.2.

reasons for the prefecture have also been proposed, ranging from land used for transhumance to mining or defensive purposes.[248] The dating of the two *termini*, both in Flavian times, seems to indicate that these boundaries were established or re-established with the granting of *ius Latii*.

Lusitania has evidence for 53 self-governing communities, with the self-governing status of 44 of these communities being proved by epigraphy. Pliny lists eight further self-governing communities. To this list we can add four probable places whose epigraphic record provides evidence of civic organisation. Finally, there are five places whose self-governing status remains doubtful. They are mentioned by the ancient sources without any clear reference to their self-governing nature.

3.5 Dispersed *civitas*

A problem touched upon and so far avoided is that of self-governing communities that did not have an urban centre. As has already been explained, Pliny's summary for *Citerior* provides evidence for *civitates* without an *oppidum*. These 114 *civitates* are referred to as *ländliche Gemeinden* by Detlefsen and as rural *civitates* by McElderry.[249] According to Detlefsen, all the *civitates* or *populi* in the first four *conventus* (*Tarraconensis*, *Caesaraugustanus*, *Carthaginiensis* and *Cluniensis*) are recognisable as cities.[250] In the other conventus he detects at least twenty-four *ländliche Gemeinden*: *Gigurri*, *Paesici*, *Zoelae* in the *conventus Asturum*; the *Celtici Neri*, *Celtici Supertamarci*, *Celtici Praestamarci*, *Lemavi*, *Cibarci*, *Egivarri Namarini*, *Iadovi*, *Arroni*, *Arrotrebae*, *Copori* and *Cileni* in the *conventus Lucensis*; and the *Biballi*, *Coilerni*, *Callaeci*, *Equaesi*, *Limici*, *Quaequerni*, *Helleni*, *Grovi*, *Leuni* and *Seurbi* in the *conventus Bracarum*. According to Detlefsen, these communities must have been *ländliche Gemeinden* because they appear as *populi* or *civitates* without reference to *oppida*.

To add to his interpretation of the *ländliche Gemeinden,* Detlefsen turns to Ptolemy. Here he points to *populi* and the relevant settlement:

Τουροδῶν	Ὕδατα Φλαουία	Γρουίων	Τοῦδαι
Κοιλερινῶν	Κοιλιόβριγα	Λουαγκῶν	Μερούα
Νεμετατῶν	Οὐολόβριγα	Κουακερνῶν	Ὕδατα Κουακερνῶν
Βιβαλῶν	Φόρος Βιβαλῶν	Λουβαινῶν	Κάμβαιτον
Λιμικῶν	Φόρος Λιμικῶν	Ναρβασῶν	Φόρος Ναρβασῶν

Among the ethnic names, which appear in the genitive, we can immediately recognise some of the communities just referred to: *Coilerni, Bibali, Limici, Grovi* and the *Quaequerni*. The names in the nominative we recognise as place names, such as

[248] Cortés Bárcena (2013): 47.
[249] Detlefsen (1873): 604; McElderry (1918): 73.
[250] Detlefsen (1873): 607. McElderry locates all 144 *civitates* in "the four '*conventus*' of the north-west, which contained 131 communities in all" (1918): 73.

Koliobriga. However, we also see names that seem to indicate a different kind of settlement, namely those starting with Ὕδατα or Φόρος, clearly corresponding to the Latin designations *Aquae* and *Forum*. Detlefsen proposes that these places were most probably not recognised as *oppida* by Pliny, but must be seen as places where people gathered, such as natural springs (*Heilquellen*) or market places.[251] Detlefsen also states that the *castellum Tyde* in Pliny, mentioned after the *Grovii*, is Τοῦδαι the settlement of the Γρούιοι. Pliny's use of the term *castellum* implies that this was not a normal *oppidum*. The Padrão dos Povos found in Chaves seems to support Detlefsen.[252] Among the ten *civitates* mentioned, we find several of Pliny's *populi* whose *aquae* or *fora* are mentioned in Ptolemy.

The concept of the *ländliche Gemeinden* contradicts the standard idea of the *civitas* as an *urbs* with its territory.[253] The problem of the '*civitas* without a central town' has been addressed by Oller Guzmán in his work on the *civitas sine urbe*.[254] However, since the Latin expression used by Oller Guzmán is not found in the ancient sources. I will use the term 'dispersed *civitas*' to refer to *civitates* without a central town.

Oller Guzmán provides four criteria by which a 'dispersed *civitas*' may be recognised:

1. a *civitas* situated in a geographical setting impeding the operation of the *urbs* + *territorium* model (e.g. too mountainous terrain);

2. a *civitas* controlled by a small settlement rather than a full-fledged city; these are often mining cities, such as Oller's case study on Caldes de Montbui;

3. a settlement in which public buildings are present but a proper residential area is lacking; an example of this is the *municipium Munigua*, interestingly again a mining city;

4. a concentration of honorific inscriptions mentioning magistrates without evidence of an urban settlement. The presence of multiple inscriptions mentioning magistrates indicates there is a Roman-based administrative organisation but no urban settlement.[255]

An obvious problem with these is that the absence of a central town might be an illusion created by a lack of proper archaeological research. Therefore, only the well-researched *civitates* can be included in these categories.

[251] Detlefsen (1873): 608.
[252] CIL II 2477: [...] **civitates** [X] / Aquiflavien[ses Aobrigenses] / Bibali Coel[erni Equaesi] / Interamic[i Limici Aebisoci?]/ Quarque[r]ni Ta[magani].
[253] *Contra*: Galsterer (1971): 1.
[254] Oller Guzmán (2014) 'La civitas sine urbe y su función de vertebración en el territorio provincial Hispano: los casos de Egara y Caldes de Montbui.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 1, Nº 45, 89-110; Oller Guzmán (2011).
[255] Oller Guzmán (2014): 92-3.

The question arises of why this special category of *civitates* ever came into existence. In his work, Oller Guzmán points out that the *civitates* were a way of controlling the newly conquered areas, based on the principle of *urbs* and *territorium*. Hence, controlling the city also meant control over the territory. While this worked very well in most areas, it failed, for instance, in mountainous areas where the settlements and their territories are significantly rarer and smaller. In order to control these un-urbanised territories, a small settlement was made the focal point of the *civitas*.[256] The argument is based on the fact that some of these centres of dispersed *municipia* have a large monumental public area but very few residential buildings.[257] The idea is that the actual inhabitants of the *municipium* were the people living in the rural territory controlled by the 'centre', the latter only being the focal point for political and religious purposes.

3.5.1 Aquae

Aquae were spas or *Heilquellen*.[258] Their natural mineral-medicinal waters led to a religious connotation and made them a focal point for people in their vicinity.[259] Several inscriptions found at spas demonstrate that such places might draw visitors from far away. Moreover, inscriptions also show spas were locations for *euergetism,* showing the public nature of these places.[260] As Detlefsen and González Soutelo state, such places could become the central places of *civitates*.[261]

All known *aquae* of the Iberian Peninsula are located in the province of *Citerior*: *Aquae Bilbilitanorum* (unlocated), *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy), *Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae* (Caldas de Malavella), *Aquae Celenae* (Caldas de Reis), *Aquae Flaviae* (Chaves), *Aquae Originae* (unlocated), *Aquae Quaequernae* (Baños de

[256] *Ibid*. 91. This custom is attested for *Asia Minor* in the Ottoman period, see Faroqhi (1990) 'Towns, Agriculture and the State in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Anatolia.' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. XXXIII, 125-56: 141.

[257] E.g: *Munigua* (4 ha): Schattner *et al.* (2008) 'Avances sobre el territorio de Munigua.' In: Mangas Manjarrés and Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, 129-54; Schattner *et al.* (2012) 'Munigua, ciudad y territorio.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincia de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, 207-34; San Martín Montilla and Schattner (2006) *Munígua: la colina sagrada*.
Labitolosa (max 12 ha): Oller Guzmán (2014); Galve *et al.* (2005).

[258] Detlefsen (1873): 608.

[259] Andreu Pintado (2012b) 'Vbi aqvae ibi salvs: Verbindung zwischen Gesundheit und Religion in den Thermen des Römischen Hispanien.' In: Kreiner and Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, 71-8: 71; González Soutelo (2012) 'Thermal Spas in the Roman Age: An approximation to the architectonic configuration of baths with mineral-medicinal water in Hispania.' In: Kreiner and Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, 79-86: 80.

[260] Andreu Pintado (2012b): 75; Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012) 'Roman baths in South-East Hispania: historical. architectonical, religious and social aspects.' In: Kreiner and Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, 253-8: 256; González Soutelo (2012): 256.

[261] Detlefsen (1873): 608; González Soutelo (2012): 79.

Bande).[262] In order to understand the role of these *Aquae* as central places within a *civitas,* we will consider two cases: *Aquae Calidae* (Caldes de Montbuy) and *Aquae Celenae* (Caldas de Reis).

Aquae Calidae

The settlement of *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy) was located in the same region as *Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae* (Caldas de Malavella) at 60 kilometres distance. The latter spa was a self-governing town that became a *municipium* in the Flavian period.[263] Only the former *Aquae Calidae* will be the focus of this case study.

In the case of *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy) the actual *thermae* have been located. The importance of these *thermae* for people outside the *civitas* is shown by the inscriptions erected by people from *Tarraco*, *Barcino* and *Iluro*.[264] All these cities had their own *thermae*, hence there must have been another reason to visit the *thermae* of Caldas de Montbuy. Most probably *Aquae Calidae* was a place where people came to improve their health, as is supported by inscriptions to different deities related to health, such as Apollo.[265]

In addition to the *thermae*, we find some evidence that suggests that this place was the centre of the *civitas*. First, there is an inscription referring to the presence of a *res publica*.[266] Secondly, there is a very damaged but readable inscription referring to the *cursus* of L. Caecilius Serenus, who was *aedilis* and *duumvir*.[267] Since this inscription does not mention the *origo* of the magistrate as different from that of *Aquae Calidae,* he probably originated from this community.

Based on the assumption that *Aquae Calidae* was a Flavian *municipium,* Mayer has tried to find an explanation for the fact that Serenus belonged to the *tribus Galeria,* which is not found in other Flavian *municipia.* Although this is based on secondary sources, he presents three possible scenarios: first, the magistrate did not originate from *Aquae Calidae* but he did represent the magistracies in *Aquae Calidae*. Secondly, his family obtained personal citizenship prior to the *municipium.* Lastly, *Aquae Calidae* was promoted prior to the Flavian grant.[268] However, since there is no evidence for a Flavian promotion of *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy), the prob-

[262] In modern sources, the dative plural case is often used as this is how the places are found in the itineraries. However, I choose to use the plural nominative, as this is the most logical name for these places.
[263] IRC III 8; IRC III 9: *L. Aemilius Quir(ina tribu) Pr(obus) Aquicald(ensis).* See also: Andreu Pintado (2004b): 347; Mayer i Olivé (2010) 'El Problema de la Aquae Calidae del norte del Conventus Tarraconensis.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 10, 303-17: 307.
[264] Oller Guzmán (2014): 102. *Tarraco*: CIL II 4488.
[265] Mayer i Olivé (2010): 304.
[266] CIL II 4491: P(ublius) Licinius Phi/letus et Lici/nia Crassi lib(erta) / Peregrina Isidi / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) loc(o) ac(cepto) / p(ublice?) a re pub(lica).
Although we must keep in mind that the *res publica* could have belonged to *Ilerda*, which is at 18 kilometres the nearest known self-governing town.
[267] AE 1984, 611.
[268] Mayer i Olivé (2010): 307.

lem Mayer tried to solve may not exist. I agree with Mayer that a pre-Flavian promotion is possible based on the *tribus Galeria*. Nonetheless, the epigraphic evidence makes clear that this site was an important place with at least a territory controlled by the *res publica* and probably magistrates based on the statue base for Serenus.

In any event, the archaeological record near the *thermae* does not indicate the existence of a large monumentalised urban centre.[269] The pre-Roman *oppidum* at Turó de la Torre Roja was abandoned and the territory was occupied by rural settlements and *villae*. *Aquae Calidae* can therefore be described as a dispersed *civitas* where the people lived mostly in the rural hinterland and gathered at a religious centre.

Aquae Celenae

In the western part of *Hispania Citerior,* we find *Aquae Celenae* (Caldas de Reis). The *populus* is mentioned by Pliny as the *Celeni* and in Ptolemy we find the *Cilinorum: Aquae Calidae*.[270] In other sources the central place of the *Celeni* appears as *Aquae Celenae*.[271] The appearance of two names for the same settlement finds a parallel in the case of Caldas de Malavella, which appears as *Aquae Calidae* but also as *Aquae Voconiae*. Alternatively, they could well be two completely different places, as proposed in the TIR K-29 and by Pérez Losada.[272] To avoid confusion, I will use the designation *Aquae Celenae*, rather than the frequently found *Aquae Calidae*.[273]

To judge from the itineraries, *Aquae Celenae* must have been located at Caldas de Reis.[274] The relevance of the *civitas* for late Antiquity is clear, as it is mentioned in several sources as a *municipium* with an episcopal seat.[275] Pérez Losada has collected the data available in archaeological reports. His interpretation gives us a small linear settlement occupying at most 8 hectares, but more probably 4.5 hectares with minimal 'urban' characteristics.[276] The settlement must have had some ceramic production as a kiln has been found.[277] The most important feature is its thermal complex that gave the settlement its name. Similar to the case of *Aquae Calidae,* we find altars dedicated to a deity related to water, in the case of *Aquae Celenae* to *Edovius*.[278] Three

[269] Oller Guzmán (2014): 104.
[270] Plin. *NH* IV 111; Ptol. II 6, 24.
[271] Ant.It. 423.8; 430.3; Ravenn. 308.2; 321.8 : *Aquis Celenis*.
[272] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991); Pérez Losada (2002): 142.
[273] Hispania Citerior; Mauretania; Aquitania; Sicilia; Asia Minor; Dacia.
[274] Pérez Losada (2002): 141; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014): 107; Balil Illana *et al.* (1991): 22; González Soutelo (2005) 'Aproximación al estudio de las aguas minerodecinales en la Antigüedad. El caso concreto de Caldas de Reis (Pontevedra).' *Gallaecia* Vol. 24, 99-125: 101.
[275] Pérez Losada (2002): 141.
[276] *Ibid*. 150.
[277] González Soutelo (2005): 107.
[278] López Barja de Quiroga and Rúa Carril (2011) 'Vicarius en un nuevo altar a Edouius de Caldas de Reis (Pontevedra).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 177, 298-302: 301.
ZPE 177: Edouio / Epagathu(s) / Deuteri · A- / prilis · Caes(aris) / dis(pensatoris)· ser(ui)· uic(arius) / uo(tum) s(oluit) l(ibens) a(nimo)

rural settlements and three small *castros* have been located within a two-kilometre radius of *Aquae Celenae*.[279] The vicinity of these rural settlements and *castros* shows the dispersed settlement pattern within the *civitas* of the *Celeni*.

Aquae Querquernae

The settlement of *Aquae Querquernae* (Baños de Bande) appears in Pliny, in Ptolemy and in the itineraries as a *civitas*.[280] Moreover, it features on the Padrão dos Povos.[281] *Aquae Querquernae* consisted of an auxiliary camp, which was located near a hot spring. The encampment probably belonged to the *cohors III* of the *Legio VII Gemina*. The auxiliary camp is located on the so-called *Via Nova* from *Bracara Augusta* to *Asturica Augusta*.[282] The camp follows the standard regular lay-out and clearly was created *ex novo*. Several buildings have been excavated or identified.[283] Measuring 2.31 hectares, the camp is rather large for an auxiliary camp for a cohort.[284]

Following the standard pattern, the military camp has a civilian settlement in its direct vicinity. In the case of *Aquae Querquernae,* multiple settlements have been found, one of which was a *vicus* (Baños) measuring 4.4 hectares.[285] This was the site of the *mansio* that is mentioned in the Ravenna and Antonine Itinerary and the location of the thermal springs and thermal-complex.[286] Interestingly, the camp seems to have been located within the territory of the *populus* or *civitas* of the *Querquernae*.[287]

CIL II 2543: Edovio / Adalus Clo/utai v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

[279] Pérez Losada (2002): 151 fig. 43.

[280] Plin. *NH* III 28: *Querquerni*; Ptol. II 6, 46: Ὕδατα Κουακερνῶν; Itin. Ant. 428.2: *Aquis Querquennis*; Ravenn. 320.3: *Aquis Cercenis*.

[281] CIL II 2477.

[282] Vega Aveleira *et al.* (2009) 'Los principia del campamento romano de Aquae Querquennae (Portoquintela, Baños de Bande, prov. de Ourense. España).' In: Morillo Cerdán, Hanel and Martín (eds.), *LIMES XX Roman Frontier Studies. (Anejos de Gladius, 13)*, 465-80: 465.

[283] Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998) 'El Complejo arqueológico romano de "Aquis Querquernnis" Porto Quintela (Ourense).' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* II Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 891-910: 898; Rodríguez Colmenero (2002) 'El campamento auxiliar de Aquis Querquennis (Naños de Bande, Ourense).' In: Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, 227-4: 228; Vega Aveleira *et al.* (2009): 466.
Ferrer Sierra (2015) 'Actuacións arqueolóxicas en Aquis Querquennis: 2010-2014.' *Larouco* Vol. 6, 149-54: 123. the standard defensive structures as well as: *horrea*; *valetudinarium*, several *contubernia* and the *principia*.

[284] Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 898; Vega Aveleira *et al.* (2009): 466; Hanel (2005) 'Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence.' In: Erdkamp (ed.), *A companion to the Roman army* 375-416: 407.

[285] Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 905; Rodríguez Colmenero (1991) '<<Aquis Querquennis>>: quince anos a carón.' *Larouco* Vol. 1, 123-30: 127.

[286] Ant.It. 428.2; Ravenn. 320.3; Palao Vicente (2009) 'Los asentamientos civiles en los campamentes hispanos durante el alto imperio.' In: Morillo Cerdán, Hanel and Martín (eds.), *LIMES XX Congreso International de estudios sobre la frontera romana*, 525-40: 529.

[287] Plin. *NH* III 28; Rodríguez Colmenero (2002): 228.

Four kilometres to the north was the settlement of Castro de Rubiás.[288] Honorific inscriptions have been found in this *castro*, indicating its importance.[289] Colmenero argues that this *castro* was the so-called '*civitas* capital', rather than a military settlement of *Aquae Querquernae*. Since the military camp, with the *mansio*, was located along the main route, Ptolemy and the itineraries referred to *Aquae Querquernae* as the 'polis' of the *Querquernae* without mentioning the *castro*.[290] It is clear that the military settlement, due to the position along the road with a *mansio* and thermal springs, had taken the role of a central place within this *civitas*, although the administrative 'capital' kept its position for the local élite as is shown by the epigraphy.

3.5.2 Fora

The other group of settlements Detlefsen identified as possible centres of the *ländliche Gemeinden* is that of the *fora*.[291] In general, there seems to be a consensus on the origin of the *fora* as an administrative solution for rural areas without urban centres. Such *fora* were open, rural settlements with at least a market place.[292] The *fora* are located in the western provinces, mostly in areas that were conquered during the Republic, such as Italy, the Gaul, *Sardinia* and the Hispaniae.[293] While many of them originated from simple market places or local fairs with a regional function, under Roman control they were promoted to be administrative centres. In some cases they developed into full-fledged cities, and some of them even became *coloniae*.[294] An example of a promotion to *colonia* seems to be *Libisosa*. The full name of this city has been interpreted as bearing the evidence of its humble origin: *Colonia Libisosa Forum Augusta*.[295] The history of *Forum Iulium Iliturgi* may have been similar.[296] However, it seems that the *fora* in the north-western region of Hispania did not develop into recognisably urban places.

[288] Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 905.
[289] AFFE² no 591 & 608.
[290] Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 908. Cf. chapter III the section on the dispersed *civitates*, also Houten (2017).
[291] In this case we refer to the concept of the *forum,* a market place or a place to gather, rather than the architectural *forum*. See also: Balil (1987) 'Forum y fora en el noroeste peninsular.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 143-6: 143; Pérez Losada (2002): 35.
[292] Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 121; Pérez Losada (2002): 36; Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2004) 'Aproximación al conjunto arqueológio y monumental de Libisosa (Cerro del Castillo, Lezuza, Albacete).' In: Caballero Klink and Ruiz Rodríguez (eds.), *Investigaciones arqueológicas en Castilla-La Mancha, 1996-2002*, 181-91: 181; Poveda Navarro (2002) 'Fora Hispana: la evidencia de Libisosa Forum Augustum (Lezuza, Albacete).' *Conimbriga* Vol. XLI, 5-38: 12; Crespo Cabillo (2009) 'Los "fora" de la época imperial: los ejemplos alpinos y sardos.' *VELEIA* Vol. 26, 287-95: 289.
[293] Balil (1987): 144; Pérez Losada (2002): 35.
[294] Balil (1987): 144; Gros and Torelli (1994) *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il mondo romano*: 224; Ligt (1993) *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire*: 117.
[295] Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2004): 181; Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2003) 'Libisosa. La transformación de un *oppidum* en colonia romana.' *Alebus* Vol. 13, 221-52: 225.
[296] Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 121.

The *fora* found in Hispania, in addition to *Libisosa* and *Iliturgi*, are *Forum Bibalorum*[297] (unlocated), *Forum Gallorum*[298] (unlocated), *Forum Gigurrorum*[299] (A Proba), *Forum Iriensum*[300] (Padrón), *Forum Limicorum*[301] (Xinzo de Limia) and *Forum Narbasorum*[302] (unlocated). The *populi* of *Forum Bibalorum* and *Forum Limicorum* are mentioned on the Padrão dos Povos and thus are certainly to be seen as *civitates*.[303] Two of these *fora* will be examined in closer detail in order to achieve a better understanding of this type of settlement.

Forum Limicorum

Among the *populi* mentioned for the *conventus Bracarum* in Pliny we encounter the *Limici*, corresponding to Ptolemy's Λιμικῶν with their central settlement Φόρος Λιμικῶν.[304] The case for the *Limici* as a *civitas* is quite strong. In CIL II 2517, [*c*]*ivitas Limicorum* can be read clearly.[305] Pérez Losada states that *Forum Limicorum* was either located at Xinzo de Limia or at Nocela da Pena.

He proposes that Xinzo de Limia is a known Roman settlement, already attested as such in the 18th and 19th century.[306] Whilst archaeological remains dating to the first century CE have been found and some archaeological research has been done, the lay-out of the settlement continues to be unknown. Pérez Losada argues this was a roadside settlement, of approximately 5 hectares, located along a route from *Aquae Flaviae* to *Auriensis*, located at a crossing with a secondary road parallel to route XVIII of the Antonine Itinerary, as can be derived from milestones found in the region.[307] This roadside settlement could well be the market place for the *civitas Limicorum*, as

[297] Ptol. II 6, 42; CIL II 2477=5616.
[298] Ant.It. 452.7.
[299] Ptol. II 6, 37; Ant. It. 438,7; Ravenn. 320,8; HEp 7, 1997, 378.
[300] CIL II 2540=5626; CIL II 5629.
[301] CIL II 2477=5616; CIL II 2516; CIL II 2517.
[302] Ptol. II 6, 49.
[303] CIL II 2477=5616.
[304] Plin *NH* III 28.
[305] CIL II 2517.
[306] Pérez Losada (2002): 215.
[307] *Ibid*. 219.

it was located at a road axis connecting it to *Bracara Augusta*, *Aquae Flaviae*, *Auriensis* and many other cities in the region.

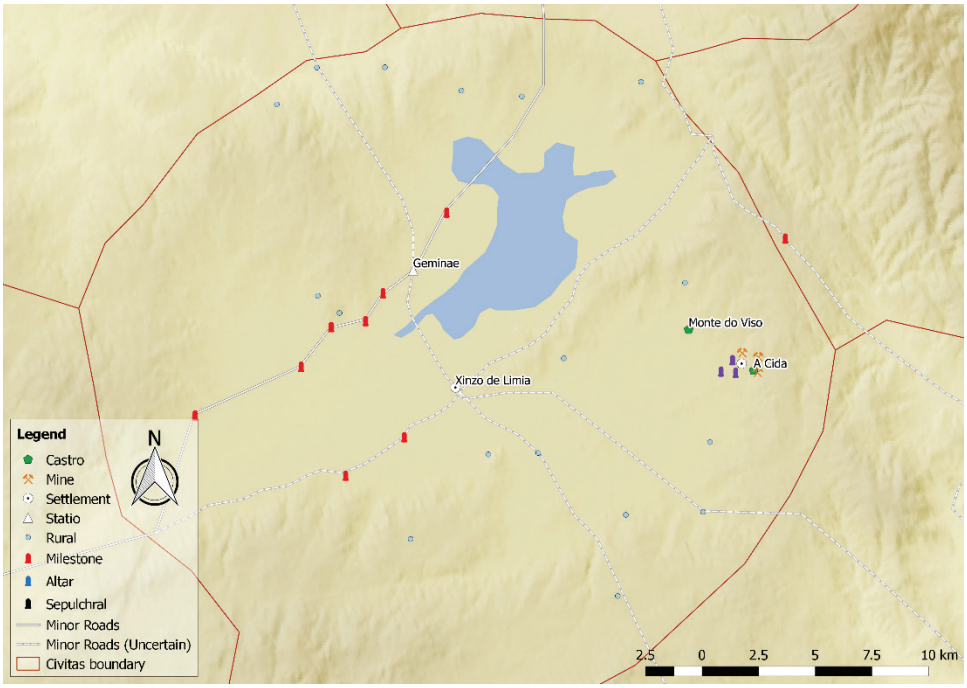


Fig.III.5: Civitas Limicorum with the two possible centres and the statio Geminas (Itin. Ant 428.3)

In the *civitas Limicorum,* we also find the *castro* 'A Cida' close to Nocelo da Pena. This is another known Roman settlement where two honorific inscriptions were found.[308] The inscriptions honouring Hadrian[309] and Antoninus Pius[310] both contain the term *civitas*, but only CIL II 2517 preserves the name of the *civitas Limicorum.* In addition, three altars have been found in the direct vicinity of the site.[311] Some archaeological remains have been found, but so far none that clarifies the nature of the settlement. Interestingly, evidence of tin-mining activity in Roman times has been found in four nearby mines, as well as some washing basins.[312] Moreover, an inscription referring to an *Ulpius procurator libertus Augusti* has been found. According to García Valdeiras, this must be a *procurator metallorum*.[313] García links the inscription to Ulpius Eutyches, a known *procurator metallorum* for tin mines in the region, although he also notes that the first line, reading Ulpius, is rather difficult to read.

[308] *Ibid*. 221.
[309] CIL II 2516.
[310] CIL II 2517.
[311] Pérez Losada (2002): 222; CIL II 5622; IRG IV 68 ; IRGV 1.
[312] Pérez Losada (2002): 222.
[313] García Valdeiras (2001) 'O Forum Limicorum.' *Minius* Vol. IX, 39-50: 44.

It would be logical to regard the settlement at the road junction, Xinzo de Limia, as the *forum* of the *civitas*, but the honorific inscriptions come from another settlement, A Cida, clearly related to the mining activity in the area. We may well be dealing with a *civitas* with two central places: A Cida for the administration of the mining activities and possibly also the administration of the *civitas*, and Xinzo de Limia as the market centre giving the name *Forum Limicorum* (fig. III.5).

Forum Gigurrorum

Another *forum* is that of the *Gigurri,* mentioned in Pliny as one of the twenty-two *populi* of the *conventus Asturum*.[314] In Ptolemy, the central place of this *populus* appears as Φόρος Γιγουρρῶν.[315] We also find *Forum Gigurrorum* in the Antonine Itinerary and the Ravenna Cosmography.[316] The exact location is discussed as no clear, full-fledged city has been found. Pérez Losada argues quite convincingly for A Proba as the 'capital' of the *civitas*.[317] However, other settlements put forward as possible 'capitals' include A Cigarrosa (A Rúa) and As Medorras (Petín).[318] At these two sites, large amounts of *terra sigillata*, mosaics, a bath complex and marble pieces belonging to columns have been found.[319] In addition, at A Cigarrosa a funerary inscription has been found mentioning a Roman veteran originating from *Calubriga,* one of the settlements of the *Gigurri*.[320] It seems clear that the sites were at least *villae*, or roadside settlements.

At A Proba, Pérez Losada's candidate for the f*orum* of the *Gigurri*, we find a larger settlement (7.5 hectares) along road XVIII of the Antonine Itinerary. Ceramics show that the site was active from the Claudian-Neronian period into the fourth, or even the fifth century, reaching its peak in the Flavian-Trajanic period.[321] The settlement had a *cloaca* system, a 9-metre-wide road and some perpendicular roads.[322] The settlement certainly had no walls and had an open lay-out. Based on this evidence, Pérez Losada argues that A Proba must have been the '*civitas* capital'.

Besides these sites, there were many *castros* and rural sites in the territory of the *Gigurri* (fig. III.6). Some of these *castros* are also attested in epigraphy. In addition to the already mentioned inscription referring to *Calubriga*, the *Edicto de Bierzo* mentions the *castellum Aiiobriga.* This *castellum* had belonged to the *Gigurri* but was given by Augustus to the *Susarri* as a punishment for the role the *Gigurri* had played

[314] Plin *NH* III 28.
[315] Ptol. II 6, 37.
[316] Ant. It 428,7 *Foro* due to its position between *Nemetobriga* and *Bergidum* the *Foro* must be the same as in Ravenn. 320, 8: *Foro Gigurnion*, the name is somewhat corrupted but still clearly related to the *Gigurri*.
[317] Pérez Losada (2002): 214.
[318] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991): 57.
[319] Acuña Castroviejo and Alles León (2001-2002) 'Nuevas aportaciones a los mosaicos romanos de Galicia.' *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología* Vol. 17-18, 365-74: 368; Pérez Losada (2002): 206.
[320] CIL II 2610, *Calubriga* is also found in Ep 1, 1989, 667
[321] Pérez Losada (2002): 203.
[322] Pérez Losada (2002): 202.

in the Cantabrian Wars. So far no inscriptions have been found in the supposed capital.

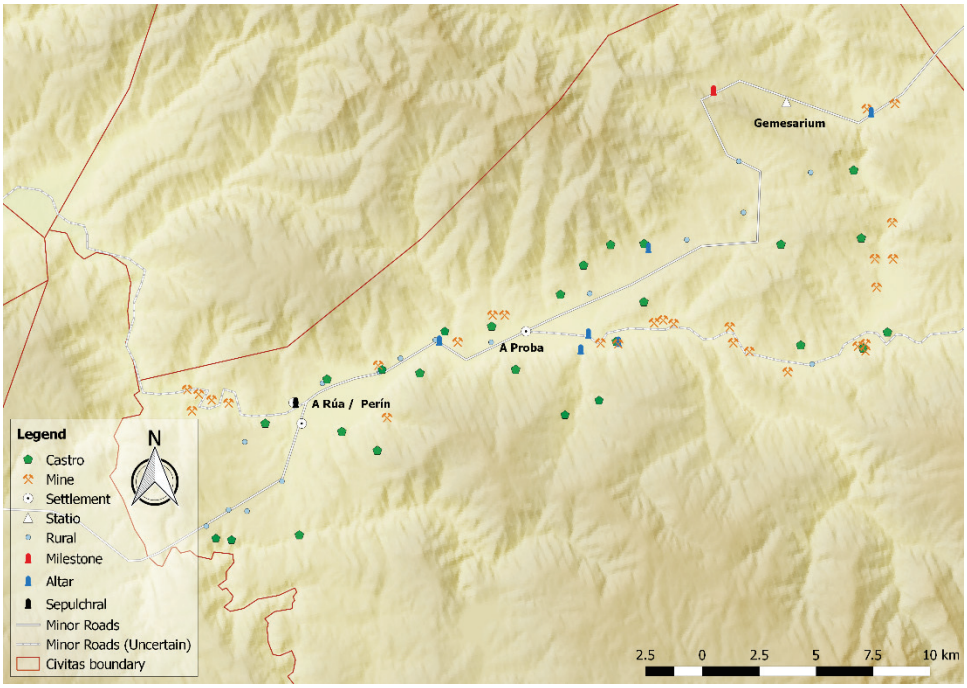


Fig. III.6 Civitas Gigurrorum with the two possible centres, the statio Gemisarum (Itin. Ant 429.1) and castros

These clues suggest that the *civitas* of the *Gigurri* was a dispersed *civitas*. Whilst A Proba is a very likely candidate for the *civitas* capital, the multitude of settlements and the dispersed epigraphic record point to a dispersed settlement pattern.

3.5.3 Other dispersed *civitates*

As pointed out by Oller Guzmán, dispersed *civitates* can only be identified if we have a clear picture of the archaeology. In this chapter we cannot investigate all the settlements to this degree. My discussion will therefore focus on a handful of cases that have been put forward as possible examples of dispersed *civitates*.

Egara

One of the cases discussed by Oller Guzmán is *Egara* (max 6 ha). Some residential buildings have been found at this site but monumentality is missing.[323] Nevertheless,

[323] Own measurement base don the hill top on which *Egara* is located.

inscriptions referring to the status of *Egara* and to a *duumvir* indicate an administrative focus.[324] Here, an old Iberian *oppidum* developed into a Flavian *municipium*.[325]

The question remains of why this small settlement became a *municipium*. Oller Guzmán points out that these 'dispersed *civitates*' are often situated between larger cities. In the case of *Egara* we find the *colonia Barcino* at only 20 kilometres to the south-east and the *municipium civium Romanorum Iluro* at a similar distance to the north-east.[326] Oller Guzmán argues that the *municipium* of *Egara* may have been created to establish control over the inland area. In line with the explanation given by Guitart i Duran for the small size of the *colonia* of *Barcino*, Guitart i Duran argues that the *colonia* was created to guarantee control over the road between *Emporiae* and *Tarraco*, the crossing of the Llobregat and the lands between the two aforementioned cities.[327]

Segontia Lanca

Another case where archaeology seems to indicate the existence of a *civitas* without a clear *urbs* is that of *Segontia Lanca*. Martínez Caballero argues that *Segontia Lanca* belonged to the type of the multipolar *civitas*, where we find more than one central place.[328] The concept of a multipolar or polyfocal community has also been applied to Late Iron Age Britain and Gaul.[329] Three different systems have been being recognised. First, large multipolar settlement systems where we find a conglomeration of settlements occupying an area of up to 25 km^2.[330] Another idea is that of Nomadic urbanism. In this case the 'urban' centres only last for one or two generations, often as a result of political instability, leading to multiple urban centres in one territory.[331] Finally, Moore has drawn attention to the possibility that multiple centres may have operated in tandem to control the territory, in contrast to the old idea of a territory being controlled by only one *oppidum*.[332]

In the case of *Segontia Lanca*, Martínez Caballero has identified at least three centres within the *civitas* in the Imperial period: Castro Valdanzo, La Fernosa and

[324] CIL II 4494; CIL II 4495.
[325] CIL II 4494 mentions *municipium Flavium Egara*. Oller Guzmán (2009) 'El municipi Romà d'Ègara: antecedents, constitució i evolució.' *TERME* Vol. 24, 189-208: 202; Oller Guzmán (2012) *El territori i poblament del Vallès en época antiga*: 501.
[326] Oller Guzmán (2014): 97.
[327] Guitart i Duran (2010): 26.
[328] Martínez Caballero (2010) 'Segontia Lanca (Hispania Citerior): Propuesta para la identificación de la ciudad Celtíbera y Romana.' *VELEIA* Vol. 27, 141-72: 141.
[329] Haselgrove (2000) 'The character of oppida in Iron Age Britain.' In: Guichard, Sievers and Urban (eds.), *Les processus d'urbanisation à l'âge du fer: actes du colloque Glux-en-Glenne, 8–11 juin 1998*, 103-10: 105; Poux (2014) 'Enlarging Oppida: Multipolar Town Patterns in Late Iron Age Gaul.' In: Fernández-Götz, Wendling and Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, 156-66: 163ss; Moore (2012) 'Beyond the Oppida: Polyfocal Complexes and Late Iron Age Societies in Southern Britain.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 31, N° 4, 391-417: 392ss.
[330] Poux (2014): 163.
[331] *Ibid*. 160.
[332] Moore (2012): 392.

Cabecera del Vivero.[333] Two different centres appear to have existed in the pre-Roman and Republican periods. The existence of three different urban systems in a period of 200 years points to Nomadic urbanism. In addition, we can state that in the Imperial period the settlement pattern became polyfocal, when three different centres can be recognised within the *civitas*.

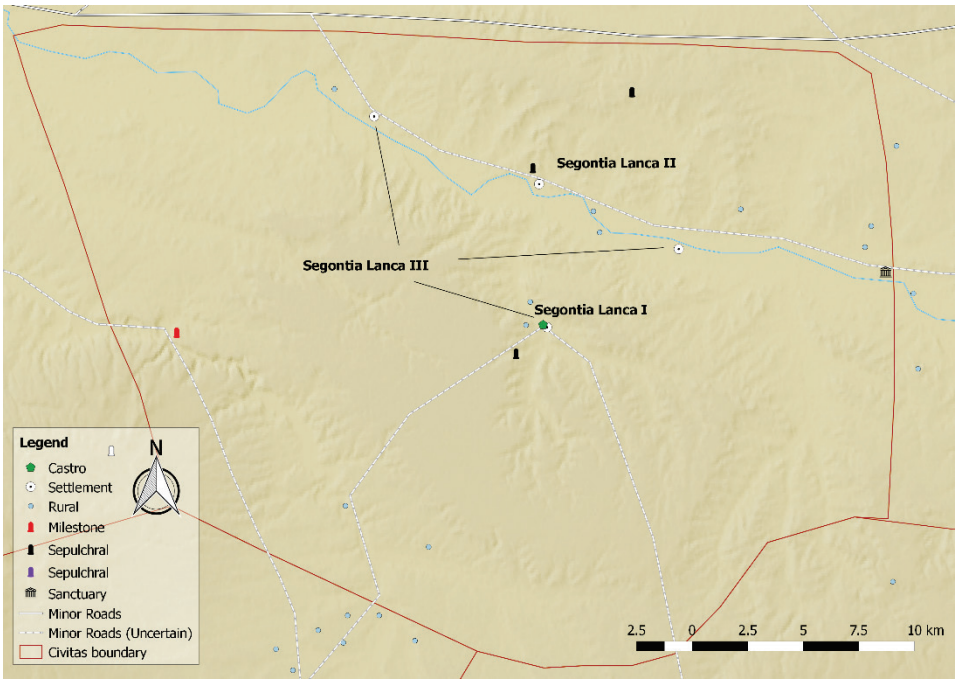


Fig. III.7 The settlements of Segontia Lanca in the three periods treated by Martínez Caballero (2010).

After the fall of *Numantia*, the old centre of the *Segontia Lanca* was moved from the hilltop settlement of Castro Valdanzo to the settlement along the Duero Las Quintanas-La Cuesta del Moro (*Segontia Lanca* II) sometime between 124 and 98 BCE.[334] This settlement became the new centre, as can also be observed in the size of the settlement, which was about 60 hectares.[335] The site of *Segontia Lanca II* minted coinage with the legend ś.e.ko.ti.a.ka.s l.a.ka.s (sekotiaz lakaz), showing the high level of organisation and centralisation of the centre in the second century BCE.[336]

[333] Martínez Caballero (2010): 159.
[334] *Ibid.* 146ff; Tabernero Galán *et al.* (2005) 'Segontia Lanka.' In: Galán and De la Torre Echávarri (eds.), *Celtíberos: tras la estela de Numancia*, 179-204: 202.
[335] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993): 208.
[336] MLH A.77.

However, *Segontia Lanca* was abandoned in the Augustan-Tiberian period. It is unclear whether this happened gradually or abruptly, but the absence of *terra sigillata* shows that the settlement did not continue into the Imperial period.[337]

It is in this period at the beginning of the first century CE that three sites in the vicinity of *Segontia Lanca* II developed into larger settlements. First, a resurgence of activity at Castro Valdanzo has been observed, although it is likely that the 21-hectare walled area of the *castro* was not completely occupied. The settlement at La Fernosa grew to about 16.5 hectares and Cabecera del Vivero 19.2 hectares.[338] The sizes of these settlements amount to 56.7 hectares, although it must be stated that the actual area used for occupation must have been smaller. Nonetheless, the expansion of these three settlements combined with the abandonment of Las Quintanas-La Cuesta del Moro, points to a dispersion of the people from the old centre (about 60 hectares) to three smaller settlements (together about 55 ha). Martinez Caballero sees this dispersion as a way of obtaining greater control over the territorium of the *civitas*.[339] The positioning of the three settlements supports this thesis. Two settlements are positioned along the Duero, whilst the third is located to the south along a tributary of this river.

Martinez Caballero's interpretation of this pattern points towards a dispersed *civitas.* He states that there must have been one place for the administration of the *civitas.* From an administrative point of view, the two other settlements would have been subordinated to this place, but demographically and archaeologically no 'urbs' can be recognised. So far, no *forum*, *basilica*, *curia* or even temple has been located in any of the settlements. Pérez Losada refers to these *civitates* with multiple centres as *civitates* with 'dualidade (capital oficiosa/oficial)'.[340] Another example given by Pérez Losada is that of the *civitas* of the *Tiburi*. The *Tiburi* are mentioned by Ptolemy with their capital *Nemetobriga*: Τειβούρων Νεμετόβριγα.[341] However, a concentration of honorific inscriptions for various emperors proposes the site at O Burgo, identified with the *Praesidio* along Route XVIII, as one of the most important places.[342]

As has already been stated, the so-called centres of the dispersed *civitates* cannot be seen as full-fledged cities. Functionally they are similar to the secondary agglomerations, which are found in the territories of 'real' cities. However, unlike such secondary agglomerations, minor settlements of the dispersed *civitates* did not belong to a hierarchy dominated by a full-fledged city.[343]

[337] Tabernero Galán *et al.* (2005): 202.
[338] Martínez Caballero (2010): 160.
[339] *Ibid.*
[340] Pérez Losada (2002): 320.
[341] Ptol. II 6, 37.
[342] Orejas *et al.* (2012) 'Organización y regulación de la actividad minera hispana altoimperial.' In: Zarzalejos Prieto, Hevia Gómez and Mansilla Plaza (eds.), *Paisajes mineros antiguos en la Península Ibérica = Ancient Mining Landscapes in the Iberian Peninsula*, 31-46: 40; Pérez Losada (2002): 320.
[343] Pérez Losada (2002): 338.

3.6 Garrison Settlements

The importance of garrison settlements when considering the development of the urban network has already been touched upon. However, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, knowledge of the military settlements is rather limited.[344] The presence of the military on the Iberian Peninsula before and during the time of Augustus is self-evident. In the early empire, a military presence was still required in the newly conquered north-western area, not only to secure these regions but also as the structure for a sparsely urbanised region with many mineral riches.[345] As was noted in the chapter on urban development, many camps or settlements with a military presence developed in later periods into important centres and cities , due to the administrative role of the military predecessor.

Since these garrison settlements controlled territories, they can be seen as substitutes for self-governing communities. In Hispania the *prata legionis* of the *Legio IIII Macedonica* are referred to in the inscriptions erected at the border with the city of *Iuliobriga* and *Segisamo*.[346] Even *alae* and *cohortes* had their own territories, as is shown in the inscriptions referring to the boundary between the *cohors IIII Gallorum* and the *civitates Luggonum* and *Beduniensis*.[347] But since both the military camps of such smaller units and the civilian settlement, which grew up in the vicinity, were much smaller than in the case of legionary camps, they will be dealt with in the chapter on secondary agglomerations.

Alongside the military camps, we also see the development of civilian settlements (military *vicus* or *canabae*).[348] In this chapter the term 'garrison settlement' will be

[344] Pérez González (1998) 'Pisoraca (Herrera de Pisuerga): Urbanismo militar y civil de época romana.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 535-58: 548.
The knowledge on military encampments on the Iberian Peninsula is at the moment greatly improved by the Romanarmy.eu project (http://romanarmy.eu/). Unfortunatly, the results of this project could not be included in this monograph.

[345] Illarregui Gómez (2002) 'Acerca de los campamentos altoimperiales de Herrera de Pisuerga y su entorno.' In: Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, 155-65: 156. Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012) 'Military Vici in Roman Spain.' *Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, 519-30: 519.

[346] Cortés Bárcena (2013): 103-30.

[347] *Ibid*. 85-100.

[348] A whole discussion has arisen on the use of the word *vicus* in this context, see: Salway (1980) 'The Vici: urbanisation in the North.' In: Branigan (ed.), *Rome and the Brigantes: the impact of Rome on northern England*, 8-17: 9; Sommer (1984) *The military vici in Roman Britain: aspects of their origins, their location and layout, administration, function and end* 3; Poulter (1989) 'Gli insediamenti presso i campi militari: <<canabae>> e <<vici>>.' In: Wacher (ed.), *Il mondo di Roma imperial. Vita urbana e rurale*, 69-106: 69; Campbell (1994) *The Roman Army (31 BC - AD 337)*: 141ss; Vega Aveleira (1998) 'Las aglomeraciones civiles (vici y kanabae) de los campamentos romanos: Aspectos urbanísticos.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* II Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1265-89: 1266ss; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 519.
The generally accepted definition seems to be that *canabae* is used in the case of a small civilian settlement close to the legionary forts and *vicus* is used for the settlement close to the auxiliary forts. Just to add to the confusion, the settlement located further away but related to the military settlement is called a *vicus* in both cases.

used to refer to military camps and their civilian settlements. The civilian settlement was composed of the camp followers (*lixae*), the family of the legionaries[349], veterans, traders, artisans, prostitutes and other providers of services.[350]

Legio VI Victrix / VII Gemina

The legionary camp at León was established in the Augustan period by the *Legio VI Victrix* and in the Flavian period replaced by the *Legio VII Gemina*. The legionary camp has been well described and studied.[351] The first phase is known as Leon I, which is the Augustan military camp.[352] Already in the reign of Tiberius the camp was transformed into the León II camp, which lasted until the *Legio VI Victrix* had to leave in 68, when the camp was abandoned for a short period.[353] The arrival of *Legio VII Gemina* in 74 marks the beginning of León III. This phase lasted until the 4th century.[354]

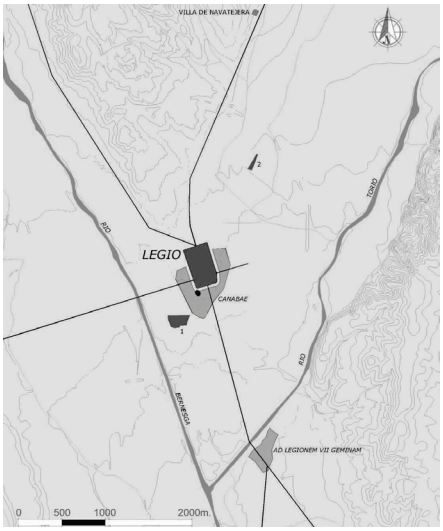


Fig. III.8 The legionary fortress of Legio VII (dark), the civilian settlements (light) with amphitheatre (black) and necropolis (1 &2).

The legionary camp had several civilian settlements. The *canabae* is found located in the immediate vicinity of the legionary camp. Unfortunately, the exact nature of the *canabae* is difficult to establish as it is located underneath the modern city of León.[355] The *canabae* is thought to have extended from the *porta principalis sinistra* (eastern gate), where a small bath complex

[349] Although not being allowed to have a family during service this was customary.
[350] Vega Aveleira (1998): 1270; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 519; Campbell (1994): 141; Hanel (2005): 410.
[351] Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán (2003): 164; Morillo Cerdán (2003) 'Los campamentos romanos de Astorga y León.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 16, 83-110; Urueña Alonso (2008) 'Comunidades dobles en la Hispania Romana.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. XXXII, 107-30: 126; Palao Vicente (2009); Bejega García *et al.* (2012) 'Análisis Arqueomalacológico de la cannaba de Ad Legionem VII Geminam (Puente Castro, León): Primeros resultados.' In: Honrado Castro, Brezmes Escribano, Tejeiro Pizarro and O. (eds.) *Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el valle del Duero: Del Neolítico a la Antigüedad Tardía. Actas de las segundas jornadas de jóvenes investigadores del valle del Duero.,* Glyphos; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 523ss; Morillo Cerdán (2015) 'León, campamento romano.' In: Grau Lobo (ed.), *ArqueoLeón II: Historia de León a través de la Arqueología (noviembre 2013 / marzo 2014)*, 91-112.
[352] Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2006) 'Legio (León) introducción histórica y arqueológica.' *Gladius Anejos* Vol. 9, 225-303: 231.
[353] Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009) 'The Roman camps at León (Spain): state of the research and new approaches.' *Gladius Anejos* Vol. 13, 389-405: 393.
[354] Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2006): 235; Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009): 397.
[355] Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2006): 240; Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009): 396.

has been found, to the south-west where a military amphitheatre has been located.[356] A public square has been found underneath the Plaza Mayor, most probably belonging to the *canabae*.[357]

Further to the south, 2.5 kilometres from the legionary camp, the military *vicus Ad Legionem VII Geminam* was located on route I of the Antonine Itinerary.[358] The military *vicus* occupied a strategic point where the road from *Tarraco* to *Asturica* crossed the Torío River and where viae I and XXXII of the Antonine Itinerary meet. The partial excavation of the settlement has revealed different types of buildings lining the main road. However, the organisation of the settlement was organic rather than planned.[359]

Pisoraca - Legio IIII Macedonica

An interesting case is the development of the self-governing settlement *Pisoraca* on the site of the legionary camp of *Legio IIII Macedonica*, which was created *ex novo* in 20 BCE at Herrera de Pisuerga.[360] The military origin of the settlement is demonstrated by the number of artefacts relating to the military.[361] Originally, we find the *Legio IIII Macedonica* in this camp, but later on the *ala Parthorum* and *cohors I Gallica* also made use of the fort.[362]

The relationship between *Pisoraca* and the military camp is certain as *Pisoraca* is mentioned in the milestones leading to Herrera de Pisuerga, all erected either under Tiberius or Nero.[363] Interestingly, the early imperial milestones refer to *Pisoraca* whilst the *termini* mention the *prata* of *Legio IIII*.[364] Evidence for the continuation of the settlement after the departure of the army is found in the later sources.[365] Most probably, the inhabitants of the *canabae*, which had developed in the vicinity and may have been called *Pisoraca*, moved into the location of the former camp. They thus used the walls and structures already available. However, civilian constructions dating to the second century have been found at the site of the camp.[366]

Based on the dispersion of finds, the legionary fortress is estimated to have been 550m by 420m (23.1 ha). When the legion left in 39 CE, the size of the camp was reduced to 6 hectares, as the *auxilia* stationed at the camp used a smaller area. Most probably, the civilian settlement, or *canabae*, related to the fortress, was located on

[356] Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009): 397.
[357] Morillo Cerdán (2015): 103.
[358] Ant. It. 395.4.
[359] Morillo Cerdán (2015): 106.
[360] Pérez González *et al.* (1999) *Papeles Herrerenses II*: 28; Pérez González (1998): 546; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 107; Illarregui Gómez (2002): 158.
[361] Pérez González *et al.* (1992): 38; Pérez González *et al.* (1999): 13.
[362] Cortés Bárcena (2013): no.29-46; Pérez González (1998): 550; Illarregui Gómez (2002): 162.
[363] Tiberian milestones: Lostal Pros (1992) Nº. 39, 40. Neronian milestones: Lostal Pros (1992) Nº. 54, 55.
[364] Cortés Bárcena (2013): no.29-46.
[365] Ptol. Geog. II 6.51: Σισάρακα; Ravenn. 318.13: Pistoraca; cf. Pérez González (1998): 537.
[366] Pérez González (1998) 539ss. Such as the houses dated 117 *post quem* based on a coin of Traianus.

the right bank of the Burejo, to the south of the fort.[367] Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about it because the earliest fort and contemporary *canabae* were constructed in wood.[368] The archaeological remains can be divided into three construction phases. The first settlement is known mainly from a dumping site belonging to the Tiberian age. In the second phase, which started in the mid-first century, sandstone was used. The third phase is represented by constructions of the third and fourth century.[369] Interestingly, the settlement continued even after the change of the military unit. Most probably it continued as a self-governing community as is indicated by its appearance on several milestones.[370]

The impact of the military camp on the settlement pattern in the region can be deduced from several indications. The erection of *termini pratorum* along the borders with *Iuliobriga* and *Segisamo* indicates that the division of land was of importance to the legionaries. Moreover, the vast distance between the location of the fort and the *termini*, about 40 kilometres for those marking the border with *Iuliobriga,* shows the vast extent of the territory administered by the legions. Admittedly, there is no evidence that this was a continuous territory; we could be dealing with a discontinuous territory with enclaves.[371] Nonetheless, the legions must have owned land as far as the boundaries with *Iuliobriga* and *Segisamo*. In addition, we find the connection between *Pisoraca* and *Portus Amanum* at Castro Uridiales as the former settlement is mentioned on the milestones found at the latter site.[372] These milestones indicate that a road ran from the port to the military camp. Even the promotion of *Portus Amanum* to the *colonia* of *Flaviobriga* is seen as a result of the relationship between the port and the military presence.[373]

It is obvious that the legionary forts had a profound impact on the urban structure, the camps of *Legio IIII Macedonica* (*Pisoraca*), *Legio X Gemina* (*Petavonium*) and in later times the *Legio VII Gemina* have all changed into important civil settlements with a central position within the urban network. The auxiliary camps may have a similar role to play. In an effort to understand the auxiliary camps, *Aquae Querquernae* located at Baños de Bande will be taken as a case study in the next chapter.

[367] Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 521.
[368] Palao Vicente (2009): 529.
[369] Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 521.
[370] CIL II 4883; 4884; 4888.
[371] Cortés Bárcena (2013): no.29-46.
[372] CIL II 4883; 4884; 4888.
[373] Solana Sáinz (1998): 75; Le Roux (1998): 203.

3.7 Universa Hispania

As has already been explained, Pliny uses the term *oppida* in his survey of *Baetica*, but *populi* in his discussions of *Citerior* and *Lusitania* (see fig. III.9). This difference between these provinces may have to do with the presence of dispersed *civitates* in the provinces of *Citerior* and *Lusitania*.[374]

Another way of analysing Pliny's list is to look at the geographical distribution of communities with a privileged status (*coloniae*, *oppida civium Romanorum,* and *oppida iuris Latini,* see fig. III.10).[375] A look at figure III.10 shows that the Central System mountain range functions as a delimitation. This is the area conquered before 133 BCE. Apparently, the communities with important roles in the earlier phases of conquest received privileged statuses in later periods. A good example is provided by *Olisipo*. This city was reinforced by D. Iunius Brutus Callaecus in 138 BCE who left some of his troops behind to prevent the city from falling into the hands of the Lusitanians. The presence of the descendants of the Roman veterans may have been the reason for its later promotion to a *municipium c.R*. A similar situation can be recognised in *Emporiae*, which was the first community to support the Roman conquest by permitting the armies of the Scipio brothers to land in 218 BCE. In this context it is worth drawing attention to the Ascoli bronze (CIL I 709), which grants Roman citizenship to the *turma Salluitana* after the battle of *Asculum*.[376] The Plinian reference to the *colonia Caesaraugusta* by its old name *oppidum Salduba* may possibly be interpreted as reflecting on the *turma Salluitana*.

If we count all certain, probable and possible self-governing communities, we arrive at a total of 430 communities. In comparison with the total of 513 mentioned by Pliny, this is just over 83%. As figure III.11 (*infra*) shows, *Baetica* has the highest number of self-governing communities. Of the 175 Baetican *oppida* listed by Pliny, 163 can be identified. In *Baetica* there was no need to establish new urban centres, but we do

[374] See supra on dispersed *civitas* and Houten (2017); Houten (Forthcoming) 'The dispersed civitas in Lusitania.' In: Stek (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Portugal in its Western Mediterranean context*.

[375] When comparing the two maps, we can clearly observe that some communities that were referred to as *populi* are also mentioned with their privilege, when looking at those with the *civium Romanorum* we find: *Dertosa*, *Ilerda*, *Biscargis*, *Osca*, *Bilbilis*, *Turiaso* and *Calagurris Iulia*. In two cases of these *populi* we find epigraphic evidence for a *res publica*. More importantly, *Bilbilis* is referred to as a *municipium* in an inscription. Interestingly all except *Biscargis*, had permission to mint their own coins, indicating that these were not merely communities with a *conventus* of Roman citizens but *civitates* recognised by the emperor. On the *conventus* of Roman citizens see Ozcáriz Gil (2008): 18; Dopico Caínzos (1986) 'Los conventus iuridici: origen y naturaleza histórica ' *Gerión* Vol. 4, 265-83: 270.
Dertosa: Plin. *NH* III 23; Also *res publica*: CIL II² 14.786; numismatic evidence: Burnett *et al.* (1992b): 101. *Ilerda*: Plin. *NH* III 24; Also *res publica*: IRC II 1; numismatic evidence: *ibid.* 109. *Biscargis*: Plin. *NH* III 23. *Osca*: Plin. *NH* III 24; numismatic evidence: VM 136-137. *Bilbilis*: Plin. *NH* III 24; also *municipium* HEp. 7, 2007 1093; numismatic evidence: VM 139. *Turiaso*: Plin. *NH* III 24; numismatic evidence: VM 156-157. *Calagurris Iulia*: Plin. *NH* III 24; numismatic evidence: VM 157-159.

[376] Haynes (2013) *Blood of the provinces: the Roman auxilia and the making of provincial society from Augustus to the Severans*.

observe a concentration of communities with privileged juridical statuses mainly reflecting Caesar's policies.

Lusitania, whilst being the second largest province, has the lowest density of self-governing communities. Nonetheless, the number of self-governing communities, turned out to be higher than mentioned in Pliny. Whereas Pliny stated that there were 45 *populi* in *Lusitania,* we have identified 52 self-governing communities. The distribution of the self-governing communities in *Lusitania* is quite regular; there are no clear clusters, except for the area of the lower Duero at the border with *Citerior*. This regularity indicates that this settlement system is a result of a planned Roman urbanisation of the region. In the previously unurbanised parts of *Lusitania*, places were promoted or established to create the network needed for administrative control, such as *Pax Iulia*, *Scallabis* and *Augusta Emerita*. In addition, we find that the wars of conquest of this region and the later Sertorian War had a major impact on the urban system: the two *coloniae Metellinum* and *Norba Caesarina* are a direct result of the Roman military presence. As has already been stated, we may add *Olisipo* to this list, as well as the Augustan veteran settlement of *Augusta Emerita*.

When looking at the heat map of self-governing communities, we observe that *Citerior* has a slightly higher concentration of self-governing communities than *Lusitania* (fig. III.11, *infra*). The low density in *Citerior* is partially due to a lower number of identified self-governing communities. Of the total of 293 *civitates* mentioned by Pliny for *Citerior,* only some 213 have been found. Within *Citerior*, some areas with higher concentrations have been located. Interestingly, these concentrations follow the Ebro and the main roads towards the north-west; this northern east-west road was used by the military during the Cantabrian Wars as well as by the later mining operations in the region.

Due to its massive size, this province is geographically diverse. The eastern coastal areas and Ebro valley are relatively fertile areas and have access to the minerals of the Pyrenees and the Central System. Here we find early urbanism along the coast and 'tribal states' in the Ebro valley. These urban places and tribal states continue as *civitates*. In the inland regions, some of the central places, such as *Complutum*, *Toletum* and *Lancia* also continued. In the north-west, the Romans encountered tribes not focused on one central place but organised in heterarchical *castros.*[377] It is clear that Augustus saw the need to construct urban centres to function as *conventus* capitals. However, within these *conventus* territories the standard *civitas* centred on an urban central place is lacking. Instead, we find a completely different form of self-governing community, that of the dispersed *civitas*.

Baetica was among the most densely urbanised provinces of the Roman Empire. This was the result of several factors: *Baetica* comprises the rich and fertile lands of the Guadalquivir basin and the mineral riches of the Sierra Nevada and Morena.

[377] Pereira Menaut (1982): 255.

Moreover, the region was well connected to the Mediterranean. In addition, the region supported larger populations, resulting in its dense urban pattern. There was no need to establish new urban centres in *Baetica*, but we do observe a concentration of communities with privileged juridical statuses mainly reflecting Caesar's policies.

All in all, the central places of the self-governing communities of the Iberian Peninsula display much variation. They range from the provincial capitals controlling their massive centuriated territories to the town-like centres of the dispersed *civitates* working in tandem. The development of the Roman settlement system should be placed within the history of the Roman conquest. In those areas that were conquered in an earlier period, such as Catalonia, we find *ex novo* Roman foundations aimed at creating an urban system. In contrast to this, the Guadalquivir valley was already substantially urbanised and its system continued as such. It must, however, be emphasised that some 'urban' centres are incredibly small, such as *Munigua* which had a built-up area of 3 hectares. It seems that the idea of urbanism as a prerequisite for Roman control lost its importance at the end of the period of conquest. Although Augustus created three large centres as *conventus* capitals in the north-western region, the remainder of the region seems to have been controlled by the dispersed *civitates.* This was largely a continuation of the older tribal structures where multiple *castros* controlled the territory of tribes.

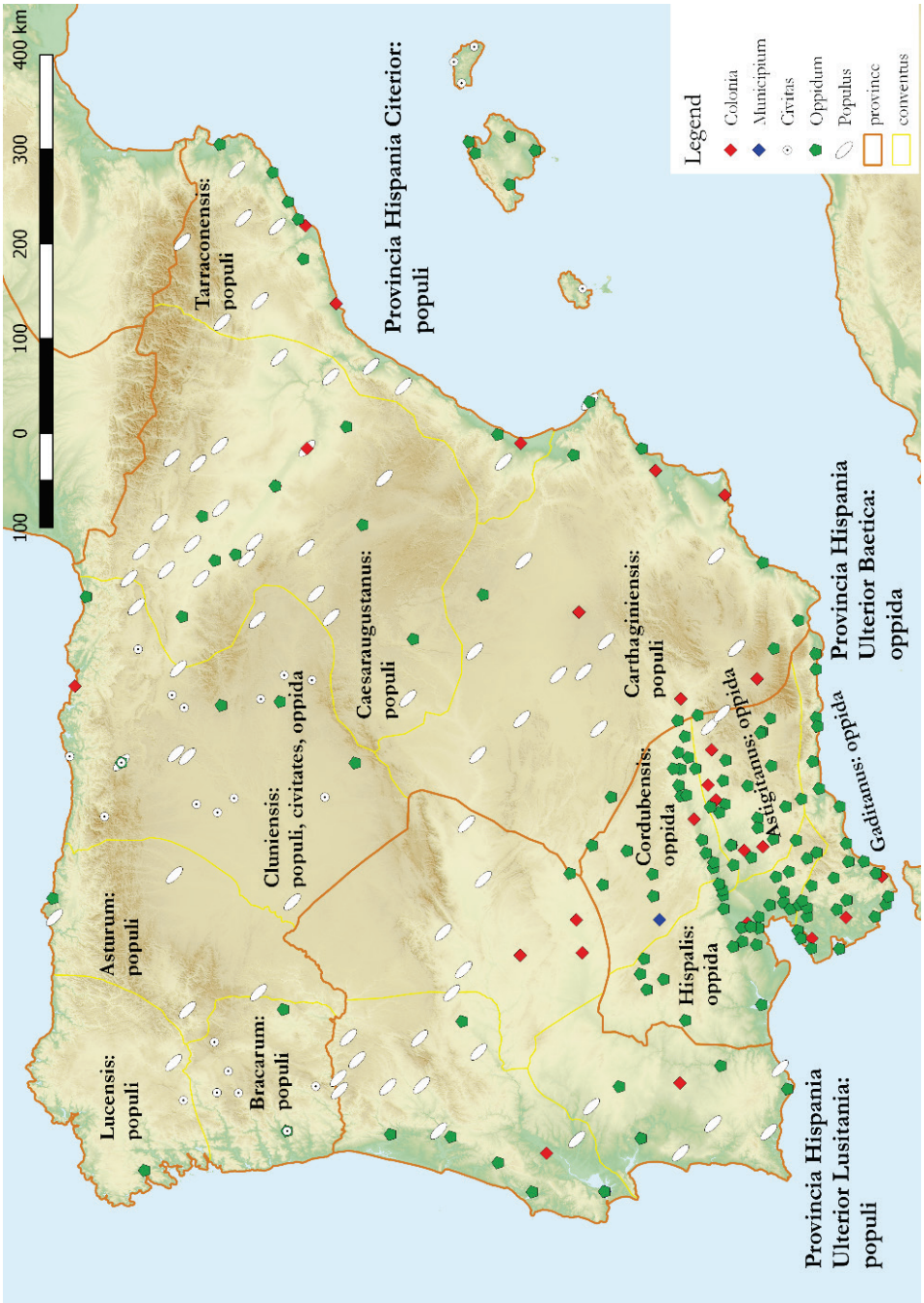


Fig. III.9 The use of populi, civitates and oppida as mentioned by Pliny

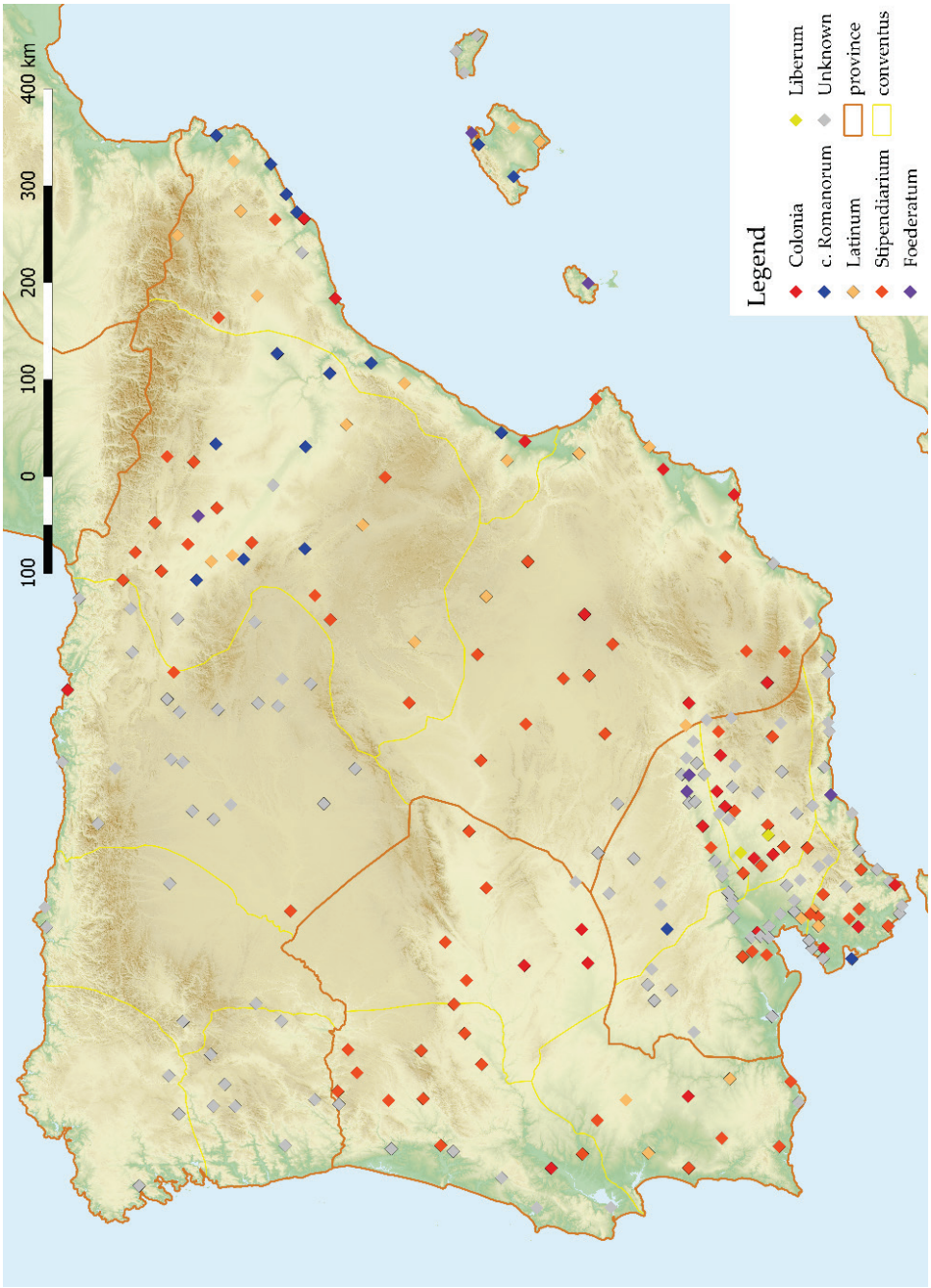


Fig. III.10: The privileges as mentioned by Pliny

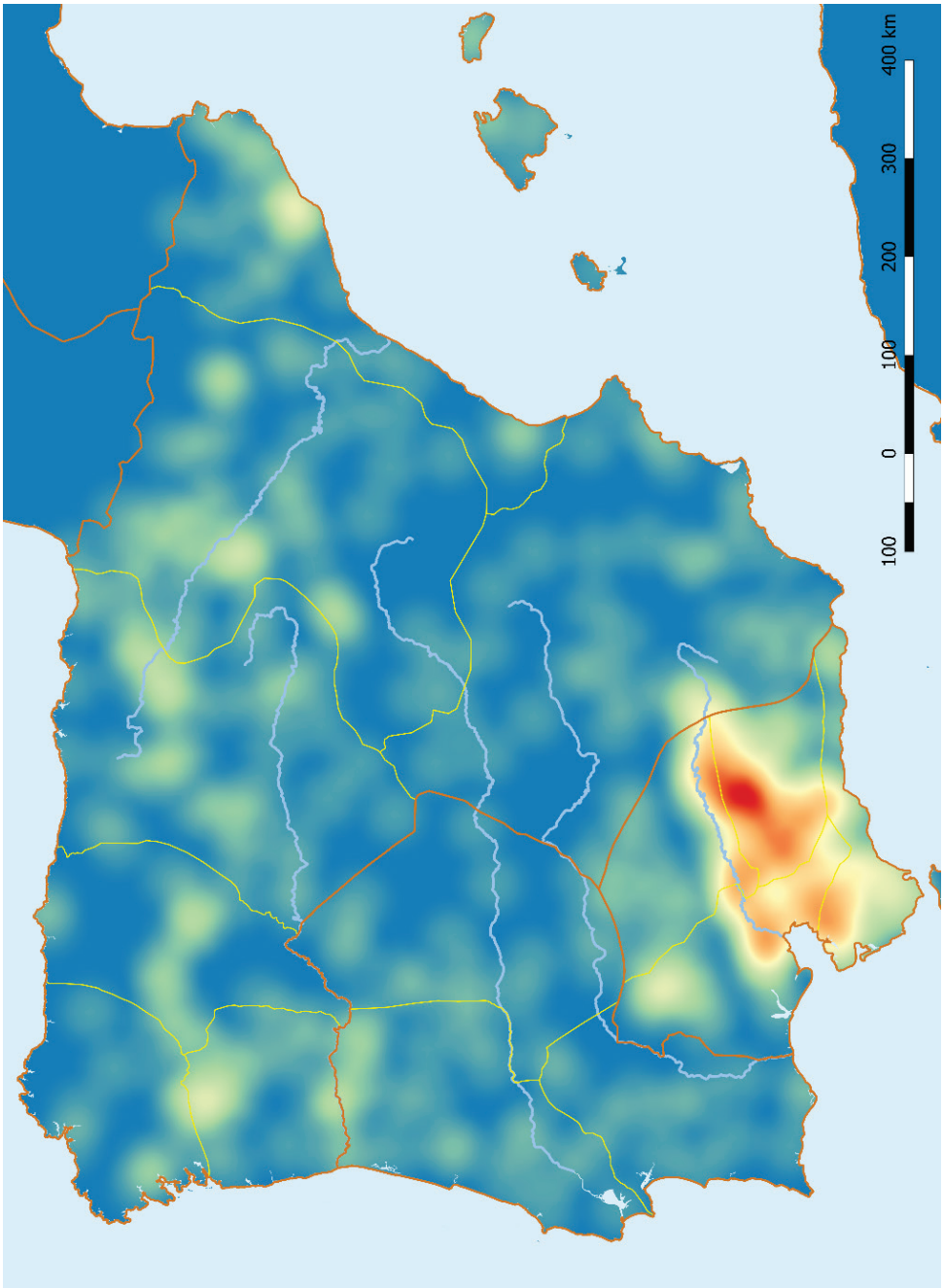


Fig. III.11 Heatmap based on the density of self-governing centres

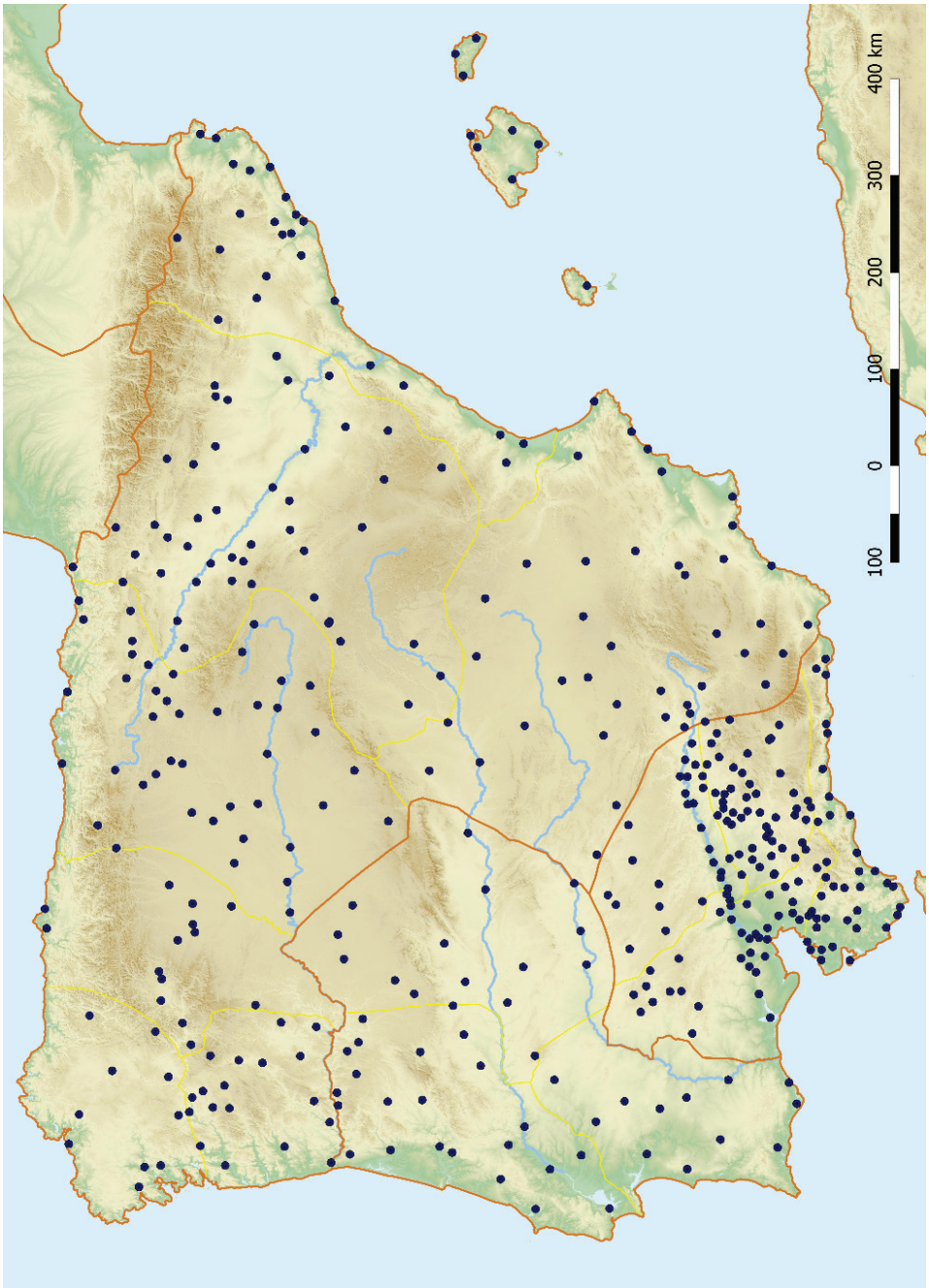


Fig. III.12: All located self-governing centres

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY AGGLOMERATIONS AND URBAN FUNCTIONS

> To these are to be added the islands, which will be described on another occasion, the province has 293 civitates besides those dependent on others; 179 towns, of these, twelve are colonies, thirteen, towns with the rights of Roman citizens, eighteen with the old Latin rights, one confederate, and 135 tributary.[1]
>
> Plin. *NH* III 18

4.1 Introduction

In his account of the province *Citerior,* Pliny refers to *civitates* that depend on other communities. While Pliny alludes to the administrative subordination of settlements, the principal aim of this chapter is to study the secondary settlements of the Iberian Peninsula from a functional point of view. As we will see in the second part of this chapter, some secondary settlements were port settlements, while others were mining districts, spas and bath complexes and finally *mansiones* and *mutationes*. The secondary settlement pattern will be treated within this chapter, starting with the forms as described in the ancient sources: the *contributae* and, extending into the other secondary agglomerations as given by Isidorus of Seville as attributed settlements, the *castella*, *vici* and even *pagi*.[2]

Needless to say, no attempt will be made to collect all these settlements. Due to the sheer number of possible secondary agglomerations, this would be a Herculean task. Moreover, the archaeological evidence for these settlements is often very limited. A few case studies will therefore be presented to shed some light on the nature of these settlements.

[1] Own reading largely based on Loeb translation, amended for the section on the contributed *civitates* to follow the reading by Detlefsen (1873) 106.
nunc universa provincia dividitur in conventus VII, Carthaginiensem, Tarraconensem, Caesaraugustanum, Cluniensem, Asturum, Lucensem, Bracarum. accedunt insulae, quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXVIIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV. (Loeb translation).
[2] Isidore Etym. XV 2.11-12

4.2 Secondary Agglomerations

Oller Guzmán has equated the centres of the dispersed *civitas* with the concept of the 'small town' in the Anglo-Saxon debate.[3] However, this concept can also be applied to secondary agglomerations, which were situated in the territory of other *civitates*.

Despite Pliny's reference to the *civitates contributae,* the secondary agglomerations of the Iberian Peninsula have received little attention. There have been some publications concerning local phenomena, but so far no comprehensive study of secondary agglomerations on the Iberian Peninsula has been carried out. A good starting point for an examination of this topic is the French or Anglo-Saxon debate on secondary agglomerations.

First, the problems of terminology have to be addressed, as there is no agreement on how to refer to 'town-like' places that were not official cities. A multitude of terms have been used to refer to such settlements: *Strassensiedlungen*[4] by Oelmann, *small towns*[5] was introduced by Todd, *agglomérations secondaires*[6] as used in the French debate and finally *aglomerados secundarios* and *aglomeraciones secundarios* in the publications dealing with the Iberian Peninsula.[7] In an attempt to unify the different debates, several scholars have proposed using Latin terminology: Oelmann stated that the term *vicus* fits the settlements he treats in his work, whereas Mangin and Tassaux point out that the Latin terminology used is problematic, because the term *vicus* appears as an official term in inscriptions.[8] As a solution, they propose following Picard and using the term *conciliabulum*, which refers to a place for meetings or a fairground in republican times. However, since this fell into disuse in the imperial period, its use for the imperial period is a modern construct.[9]

The Anglophone terminology has its own problems. The use of 'small towns' implies that we know what a town was. As a proper definition of town in the Roman period is very problematic, the definition of 'small town' varies per scholar.[10] The term secondary agglomeration is more useful because it accurately describes an agglomeration that was secondary to the *civitas* 'capital'. In addition, the use of the term

[3] Oller Guzmán (2014): 90 footnote 1.
[4] Oelmann (1922) 'Gallo-römische Strassensiedelungen und Kleinhausbauten.' *Bonner Jahrbücher* Vol. 128, 77-97.
[5] Todd (1970) 'The Small Towns of Roman Britain.' *Britannia* Vol. 1, 114-30.
[6] Maurin (ed.) (1992) *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de La Gaule 2e colloque Aquitania*. Bordeaux, 1990.
[7] Alarcão (1996); Pérez Losada (2002); Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán (2003).
[8] Mangin and Tassaux (1992): 462. Cf. Tarpin (2002) *Vici et pagi dans l'occident romain*.
The problem of the terminology is pointed out quite often: Todd (1970): 115; "The first problem to be encountered is one of terminology, for the minor settlements are by no means a homogenous group." He brings up the problem of the term 'small towns'.
[9] Mangin and Tassaux (1992): 462.
[10] Rust (2006): 12.

secondary agglomerations can link the various debates on the problem of the lower order settlements. Hence I will avoid the term 'small towns', and refer to the settlements in this chapter as secondary agglomerations.

Having addressed this terminological digression, the main problem still has to be tackled; the issue of defining the secondary agglomeration. In spite of the interest in secondary agglomerations since the 1970s in Britain and the 1990s in France, no consensus has been reached on a definition. In order to avoid repeating a historiography already given in other scholarly works, I have summarised the most relevant definitions for the Anglo-Saxon debate in table IV.1.[11]

Todd (1970), 114-30.	Burnham and Wacher (1990)	Millett (1991)	Hanley (2000)
I. Civic planning II. Public Buildings III. Public Amenities IV. Urban Characteristics V. Government VI. Corporate Life	I. Internal street network II. Central core or focus III. Diversity of building types IV. Urban core or strong point defence V. Level of specialisation VI. Importance of officially inspired functions	I. Concentration of settlement II. Probable nodes for marketing or production III. Lack clear evidence of town planning IV. Some major public buildings possible V. Absence of structures indicative of communal display VI. Strip buildings VII. Economic centres	I. Specialised industrial activity II. Suggested administrative significance III. Position on important roadway IV. Market or fair function V. Extensive settlement size VI. Internal organisation VII. Organic growth pattern VIII. Essentially rural character

Table IV.1 Anglo-Saxon debate on criteria

As the table shows, after almost 50 years of debate and research no consensus has been reached. In 2006, Rust pointed out that out of 127 sites considered by one or more scholars as a secondary agglomeration, only approximately 14 per cent are considered as such by all scholars.[12] Even though the Anglo-Saxon debate has focused its attention on the criteria that a settlement has to meet in order to qualify as a secondary agglomeration, the criteria differ widely between publications and scholars:

[11] For an overview of the Anglo-Saxon historiography see *ibid.* For an overview of the French historiography see Baret (2013).
[12] Rust (2006): 12.

whereas Todd, Burnham and Hanley see internal organisation as a defining feature of 'small towns', Millett argues that only 'real cities' displayed signs of town planning and that 'small towns' lacked this feature. In an attempt to bring some order to the debate, Burnham has proposed a threefold categorisation.[13]

The categorisation by Burnham into three distinct orders is useful, because it recognises the existence of secondary agglomerations that approach the idea of a full-fledged city. Several aspects show a high degree of organisation: an internal street network, an urban core defence and large organised cemeteries. In addition, we see a specialisation of functions: distinctive zones, range of building types, range of workshop and craft industry. From a purely functional point of view, these agglomerations could be considered urban. The middle order seems to be less diverse and implies a more specialised settlement. Burnham's third type must be considered rural.

Upper Order	Middle Order	Lower Order

• Internal Street network
• Urban Core defence
• Distinctive zones
• Range of building types
• Range of workshop and craft industry
• Large organised cemeteries
	• Specialised functions such as:
	  ○ Spas/religious centres
	  ○ Specialist extractive/manufacturing
	  ○ Roadside settlements with imposed military/official functions
	• Strong point defences
	• Large scale industrial activities
	• Often with street networks
	• Increased agricultural emphasis
	• Absence of zonation
		• Absence of defences
		• Absence of specialised function
		• Buildings lack sophistication
		• Ribbon development only
		• Focus on agriculture with only limited non-agricultural elements

Table IV.2 Burnham's three categories with criteria

In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon debate, the French debate has found some agreement based on the categorisation by Mangin and Tassaux.[14] The categorisation divides the settlements in five different categories based on socio-economic functions. Because of its importance for the French debate, I will give my own translation of the five categories and a short explanation as it is given by Mangin and Tassaux.

[13] Burnham (1993); Burnham (1995) 'Small Towns: The British perspective.' In: Brown (ed.), *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, 7-18.

[14] Mangin and Tassaux (1992). See : Baret (2013); Trément (2010) "Romanisation' et dynamiques territoriales en Gaule centrale. Le cas de la cité des Arvernes (IIe s. Av. J.-C.-IIe Ap. J.-C.).' In: Corsi and Vermeulen (eds.), *Changing Landscapes: The impact of Roman towns in the Western Mediterranean*, 85-104; Raynaud (2002) 'Les agglomérations gallo-romaines en Languedoc-Roussillon de la conquête romaine au Moyen Âge.' In: Fiches (ed.), *Les agglomérations gallo-romaines en Languedoc-Roussillon*, 39-54; Massy (1997) *Les agglomérations secondaires de la Loraine romaine*; Bénard *et al.* (1994) *Les agglomérations antiques de Côte d'Or*; Leveau (1993); Petit and Mangin (eds.) (1994).

I Les villes

The first category entails settlements with secondary and tertiary economic activities. Moreover, they have a considerable size and monumentality, containing public buildings.

- Les vraies villes, moyennes ou petites

This subcategory contains the settlements with special functions such as regional centres to control the territory, as the nearby capital is located at a large distance, and settlements with ports. These settlements have a well-defined public area with public buildings and monuments.

- Les agglomérations semi-urbaines

In this subcategory, Mangin and Tassaux group the settlements with the secondary or tertiary activities but with a less dense occupation but some monumentality.

II Les bourgs et bourgades

This category is different from the former as they have no monumental buildings, but they still have the secondary and tertiary activities. This can be very specialised to one mode of production, such as mining, or diversified where the settlement combines primary activities with others.[15]

III Les agglomérations aux fonctions religieuses prédominantes

- Les agglomérations-sanctuaires

These are sanctuaries with attested residential areas.

- Complexes religieux apparemment sans habitat

Solely the religious building with possibly some other public buildings but no residential area.

- Les stations thermales

  Thermal sources with a complex to facilitate people, but no residential area.

IV Les stations routières

These are sites whose function is linked to the road, and apparently does not have productive activities or extended habitats. They may be pure road stations, limited to a relay station and a few houses, and even spas, but also potential villages, where archaeology has remained silent so far.

V L'agglomération rurale ou village

This category includes the rural villages with a local function within a territory.

Looking closely at the categorisation applied by Mangin and Tassaux we immediately see the focus on the socio-economic aspect of the city in order to organise the settlement. The three economic sectors play an important role in their definition:

[15] In Leveau (1993) the mining towns are added as type VI.

"sites aux fonctions éventuellement primaires (villages des paysans) mais surtout secondaires et tertiaires: fonctions diverses, politiques subordonnées, religieuses etcetera."[16] In addition to the economic profiles of settlements, some non-economic aspects are also considered, for instance in the classification of settlements with a religious function in the third category. Alongside those settlements that have the appearance of proper cities, those having public buildings or very specialised production are included.

The categorisation by Mangin and Tassaux and the one by Burnham can be seen as complementing each other. While Mangin and Tassaux pay little attention to various archaeological features, such as walls, cemeteries and street grids, Burnham could have given a less abstract categorisation than upper, middle and lower. In table IV.3 both categorisations are combined. In this table Burnham's three categorisations correspond to the tripartite distinction between city, secondary agglomerations and rural.

Town-like settlements	Specialised settlements	Agricultural settlements
I. Les villes ○ les vraies villes, moyennes ou petites ○ les agglomérations semi-urbaines	II. Les bourgs et bourgades III. Les agglomérations aux fonctions religieuses prédominantes ○ les agglomérations-sanctuaires ○ complexes religieux apparemment sans habitat ○ les stations thermales IV. Les stations routières	V. L'agglomération rurale ou village
• Internal Street network • Urban Core defence • Distinctive zones • Range of building types • Range of workshop and craft industry • Large organised cemeteries	• Specialised functions such as: ○ Spas/religious centres ○ Specialist extractive/ manufacturing ○ Roadside settlements with imposed military/official functions • Strong point defences • Large scale industrial activities • Often with street networks • Increased agricultural emphasis • Absence of zonation	• Absence of defences • Absence of specialised function • Buildings lack sophistication • Ribbon development only • Focus on agriculture with only limited non-agriculture elements

Table IV.3 Based on Mangin & Tassaux (1992) and Burnham (1993 & 1995)

[16] Mangin and Tassaux (1992): 461.

The modest Iberian debate on secondary agglomerations leans strongly towards the French. Only a few works have been written on the subject of secondary agglomerations[17], the most extensive of these being the book by Pérez Losada focusing on the north-west of the peninsula. He gives a description of the broad characteristics he found after researching the secondary agglomerations.[18] His first category comprises the self-governing cities that were very small. This classification arises from the confusing terminology of 'small town', which Pérez also includes in his work. Whilst the dispersed *civitas* has no *urbs* as a clear *civitas* capital, they tend to have smaller town-like settlements. Both Oller and Pérez include these in their categories of secondary agglomerations/'small towns'. For the purposes of this study, however, such settlements will be regarded as 'primary'.

I	II	III
• 20-25 ha. • Internal organisation • Clear roadsystem • Different building types, certainly public and private • Various artisanal production • Administrative role • De iure or de facto centre of a *civitas*.	• 10-20 ha. • Irregular roadsystem • Along major road • Multifunctional buildings, striphouses • Public buildings possible, mostly religious or *thermae* • Specialised functions such as mining • Never administrative centre	• Smaller than 10 ha. • Roadside ribbon development • Limited public buildings, small religious, possibly small bathhouse • Only domestic production • Small economic centre • Mostly agricultural • roadstations

Table IV.4 Categorisation as given by Pérez Losada (2002), 58.

Pérez's first category comprises rather large settlements for the Iberian Peninsula, and all of the settlements he discussed under this heading are self-governing cities. The aspects, besides size, are useful to differentiate between the different forms of secondary agglomerations. Some of the settlements belonging to Pérez's second group have a range of different buildings. We observe that similar to the Anglo-Saxon and French debate the last category is completely rural and can be left out of this study.

Pérez notes that settlements located at crossroads often develop in a more nucleated way, with the road junction as their focus. Those situated along rivers or at the crossing of a road and a river have two foci, one on each side of the river. Lastly, he points out that ribbon development is observed solely for secondary agglomerations

[17] Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán (2003); Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014); Alarcão (1996); Pérez Losada (2002); Oller Guzmán (2011); Oller Guzmán (2014). The works by Oller Guzmán on *civitates sine urbe* should be taken in as works on secondary agglomerations as Oller links it to the debate of 'small towns'. It is interesting to look at the possible similarities between the central places recognised in the dispersed *civitates* and the secondary agglomerations.

[18] Pérez Losada (2002): 40.

that developed at road stations not located at crossings. He considers these as the lowest category.

A general overview of rural occupation by Fernández Ochoa, Salido Dominguez and Zarzalejos Prieto is a useful start to understand the different types of settlements referred to in the ancient sources.[19] The most relevant settlements in this publication are the *vici* and *castella*. These are regarded as secondary administrative centres.[20]

Redrawing the table, we obtain a new combined categorisation of secondary agglomerations.

Town-like settlements	Specialised settlements	Agricultural settlements
• Internal Street network • Urban Core defence • Distinctive zones • Range of building types; private and public • Range of workshop and craft industry • Large organised cemeteries • Various types of epigraphy • Elite housing • Forms of monumentality • *Contributae*, *vici* and *castella*	• Specialised functions such as: ○ Spas/religious centres ○ Specialist extractive/manufacturing ○ Roadside settlements with imposed military/official functions ○ Ports ○ Large road stations • Strong point defences • Industrial activities • Often with street networks • Increased agricultural emphasis • Absence of zonation • No administrative function	• Absence of defences • Absence of specialised function • Buildings lack sophistication • Public buildings only of the religious type or small bathhouses • Ribbon development only • Focus on agriculture with only limited non-agriculture elements • Small road stations

Table IV.5 Categorisation of secondary agglomerations

The town-like category comprises those secondary agglomerations that function as central places beside the *civitates*. These are recognisable as diversified and organised settlements. They yield an epigraphic record including different types of epigraphy.[21] Within this category we expect to find the central places of the *civitates contributae*. Some of the *vici* and *castella* may also have fallen within this category.

The specialised settlements are secondary agglomerations that arose due to their specific function, such as the *aquae*, mining centres, ports settlements and roadside settlements. The epigraphic record will be limited, mostly related to the function of the settlement. For example, we would expect religious epigraphy in the *aquae* due

[19] Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 119.
[20] *Ibid.* 112.
[21] Alarcão (1996): 170.

to their relation to healing cults. The specialised function allowed these settlements to become central places of regional importance.

The rural settlements are conglomerations where we do not expect to find differentiation, apart from some very small-scale production of, for instance, pottery. These settlements are not taken into consideration in this study.

4.3 Subordinate settlements in ancient sources

In the ancient sources we find several settlement types that are to be considered secondary to the so-called *civitas* 'capital'. Although these are secondary, there is evidence that these settlement types had their own territory within the territory of the *civitas*, and in some cases we even find magistrates. First, I will treat the contributed *civitates*, thereafter the *vici* and lastly the *castella*. The *pagi* will be disregarded as there is too little evidence within the provinces of the Hispaniae to treat these separately.

4.3.1 Central places of *civitates contributae*[22]

In Pliny's account we find the contributed *civitas*, a subordinate community depending on another *civitas*.[23] The phenomenon of *contributio* has been seen as an equivalent of the Greek συνοικισμός.[24] Laffi argues that the *civitates contributae* were formerly autonomous communities, which have been combined into one juridical and administrative unit for the Roman state.[25]

The people in the contributed communities had a special status within the *civitas,* as can be read in the *Lex Ursonensis*, where the *contributi* are mentioned separately from the *coloni* and *incolae*.[26] Sáez argues that the status of the *civitas contributa* must

[22] In this case, only the *civitates contributae* are treated. The discussion on whether *adtributio* and *contributio* are the same is irrelevant for this specific case as we only treat those mentioned as *contributio*. For a detailed discussion on the difference, see Laffi (1966) *Adtributio e Contributio: Problemi del sistema politico-administrativo dello stato romano*. His general conclusion is that the *adtributii* are the settlements within the subdivision of the territory of a *civitas,* the *pagi* and *vici* et cetera. Therefore they have their own territory within the *civitas* territory, see: Laffi (1966) 87ff.

[23] Plin. NH III 18: "civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXVIIII"; III 14 "Contibuta Iulia Ugultuniae (cum qua et Curiga nunc est)"; IV 117 "Norbensis Caesarina cognomine (contributa sunt in eam Castra Servilia, Castra Caecilia)".

[24] Bendala Galán (1987): 31; Rodríguez Neila (1977) 'Notas sobre la "contributio" en la administración municipal de la Bética Romana.' *Archivo Hispalense* Vol. LX, N° 185, 55-61: 55; Laffi (1966): 159; Mommsen (1887) *Römische Staatsrecht*: 765; Bendala Galán (1987): 33ff.

[25] Laffi (1966): 159. See also Abad Casal and Bendala Galán 'Urbanismo y Ciudad: de las formaciones ibéricas a la consolidación del modelo romano.' In: Abad Casal, Hernández Pérez and Ramos Fernández (eds.), *XXIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (Elche, 1995)*, 11-20: 17ff.

[26] Lex Ursonensis Ch 103: "Quicumque in colonia Genetiva IIvir praefectusve iure dicundo praerit, eum colonos incolasque contributos quocumque tempore coloniae finium defendendorum causa armatos educere decuriones censuerint, quot maior pars qui tum aderunt decreverint, id ei sine fraude sua facere liceto." Whoever as Ilvir or prefect shall be in charge of jurisdiction in the colonia Genetiva, he, whenever the decurions shall have decided that he is to lead out the colonists and *incolae*, and *contributi*, under arms for the purpose of defending the territories of the colony, insofar as the majority of those who shall then be

have been inferior to that of the place it was contributed to.[27] This is based on Mommsen's thesis that some of the Latin communities created by the grant of *ius Latii* may have been *civitates contributae.*[28] Sáez argues that a *civitas contributa* would benefit from the Latin grant only if it had a lower status than the administrative centre on which it depended. As an example he gives possible *civitates contributae* to the *colonia immunis Astigi*: only if the 'citizens' of the contributed community did not share the Roman citizenship and *immunitas* of *Astigi*, would the granting of *ius Latii* be beneficial.[29]

Only about five *civitates contributae* are known: *Icosium* was contributed to *Ilici*[30]; *Contributa Ipsca* must have been or had a *civitas contributa*[31]; Caesar mentions a *Calagurris* contributed to *Osca*[32]; in Pliny we find *Norba Caesarina* and the contributed *castra Servilia/castra Caecilia*[33]; and finally *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia* to which *Curiga* belonged[34]. Unfortunately, none of these *civitates contributae* is known to have minted coins in the Republican period, proving their previous autonomous nature.[35]

Pliny refers to the *Icositani* as a community depending on *Ilici*.[36] *Icosium,* as the settlement of the *Icositani* must have been called, could well be an unlocated settlement on the Iberian Peninsula as it is referred to as an *origo* in epigraphy.[37] However, it is more likely that the contributed settlement was the Mauretanian *Icosium.* In this

present shall have decreed (it), it is to be lawful for him to do that without personal liability. (Translation: Crawford (ed.) (1996) *Roman Statutes: Volume I*: 428. Cf. 45.).

[27] Mommsen (1887): 767; Rodríguez Neila (1977): 55.

[28] Mommsen (1887): 767; Sáez Fernández (2008): 161; Rodríguez Neila (1977): 55.

[29] Sáez Fernández (2008): 165. His example is fictitious; there is no proof that the neighbouring communities to *Astigi* were contributed to *Astigi*. This idea of *civitates contributae* in the *pertica* of *Astigi* and other *coloniae* is based on the presumption that the *coloniae* were created to control the region.

[30] Plin. *NH* III 19; Laffi (1966): 119.

[31] CIL II2/5, 387; CIL II2/5, 389; Laffi (1966): 127.

[32] Caes. *Bell. Civ*. I 60.1: "Interim Oscenses et Calagurritani, qui erant cum Oscensibus contributi"; Laffi (1966): 117.

[33] Plin. *NH* IV 117; Laffi (1966): 133.

[34] Plin. *NH* III 24; Laffi (1966): 122.

[35] Only *Calagurris Iulia* is known for its own "Iberian coins"; however, it is doubted and I deem it unlikely that this *Calagurris* was the contributed one.

[36] Plin. NH III 19: "Contibuta Iulia Ugultuniae (cum qua et Curiga nunc est)".

[37] Díaz Ariño (2008) *Epigrafía Latina Republicana de Hispania (ELRH)*: 88.
HEp 9, 1999, 27 = AE 1999, 960 = AE 2001, +01251; HEp 14, 2005, 1
Sicci iug(era) CXXX et traiect(a) / ex l(imite) V |(cardine) III iug(era) VI s(emissem) et ex / l(imite) IIII |(cardine) III iug(era) VI s(emissem) h(ominibus) X / super est iug(era) XL in sin(gulos) iug(era) XIII / C(aius) Annius C(ai) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Seneca **Icos(i)** / C(aius) Aufustius C(ai) f(ilius) Gal(eria) **Icosi** / C(aius) Tettius C(ai) f(ilius) Sca(ptia) Praeneste / M(arcus) Marius M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Vibone / L(ucius) Aemilius L(uci) f(ilius) Hor(atia) Ulia / P(ublius) Horatius P(ubli) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Malaca / C(aius) Marius C(ai) f(ilius) Vet(uria) Corduba / L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius) Fal(lerna) / Aurelia Cariss(a) / L(ucius) Fabius L(uci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) / **Icosi** / Q(uintus) Fufius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Mae(cia) / Baliaricus.

case, it would, like *Zilil,* be a North African veteran colony that was part of the province of *Baetica*.[38] These settlements on the African coast were contributed to self-governing communities on the Iberian Peninsula prior to the creation of the province of *Mauretania Caesariensis*, so they would belong to a Roman province. Laffi proposes that *Icosium* was located farther to the east than *Zilil* and that this explains why it was contributed to *Ilici*, which was located in the south-eastern part of *Citerior.* With the creation of the province, *Mauretania Caesarina Icosium* was promoted and became a self-governing city.[39]

Another example of a *civitas contributa* being promoted is that of *Curiga.* Pliny is quite clear that *Curiga* was part of *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia*.[40] *Curiga* has been located in Monasterio, an identification that is based on an inscription also showing it was promoted to a *res publica* in 196 CE.[41] Another inscription found in Monasterio refers to the 'mutation' of this *oppidum*; this probably alludes to the subordination to *Contributa Iulia*.[42] In addition, it shows two *pagi* that were clearly a part of the same *civitas*. The *civitas* of *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia* can therefore be reconstructed as comprising the *oppidum* of *Ugultunia* as the 'capital' with the contributed subordinate *oppidum* of *Curiga*, and at least two subordinate *pagi*: the *pagus Tran[s]iuganus* and the *pagus Suburbanus*.

A very different case is that of the contributed *castra: Norbensis Caesarina cognimine (contributa sunt in eam Castra Servilia, Castra Caecilia).*[43] It is clear that older Roman encampments have been added to *Norba Caesarina*, a Roman *colonia*. Unfortunately, the location of *castra Servilia* is not certain[44]; nonetheless, its situation will be similar to that of *castra Caecilia*. These *castra* were founded during the wars of the second and first century BCE: *Castra Servilia* was erected by *Q. Servilius Caepio* during the Lusitanian Wars (141-138 BCE) in 141 BCE.[45] The second, *Castra Caecilia*, was founded later by *Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius* as part of fortifications for the Sertorian War (83-78 BCE).[46] With the foundation of *Norba Caesarina* as a veteran *colonia*, most probably under Caesar or Augustus[47], the two *castra* were contributed to the

[38] Plin. *NH* V 2.
[39] Plin. *NH* 20; CIL VIII 20853; Laffi (1966): 121.
[40] Plin. *NH* III 14; HEp 7, 1997, 138.
[41] CIL II 1040 : ex decr/eto · decurion/um · **res · p(ublica) Curi/gensium** · d(onum) · d(at) · p(ublice) / [- - -] ex · arg(enti) · p(ondo) · c(entum).
[42] CIL II 1041 : - - - - - - / Iul[ienses] / mutatione / oppidi · muni/cipes · et · inco/lae pagi · Tran[s]/iugani · et · pagi / Suburbani · ; Hep 1997 vol. 7 (2004) 138.
[43] Plin. *NH* IV 117.
[44] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 204 Casar de Cáceres.
[45] Plin. NH. IV 117; Álvarez Rojas (1999) *Tres estudios de historia de Cáceres: la colonia Norba y los campamentos de Servilio y Metelo; la calzada romana del puente de Alcántara; el término municipal de Cáceres en el siglo XIII*; Alarcão *et al.* (1995) *TIR J-29: Lisboa, Emerita, Sacallabis*: 58; Sayas Abengochea (1985): 62.
[46] Alarcão *et al.* (1995): 58; Fabião (2001): 239.
[47] Sayas Abengochea (1985): 66; Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 61; Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 205.

juridically superior *colonia civium Romanorum.* Under normal circumstances, military settlements were self-governing and did not belong to a civil community.[48] The solution must be found in the military abandonment of the two *castra* by the military units that had been stationed there and the reoccupation of the site by civilians, possibly including veterans.

The cases of *Contributa Ipscense* and the reference to contributed people in the *Lex Ursonensis* are difficult as the evidence for these is very limited. The case of *Osca-Calagurris* is similar. There is no certainty to which *Calagurris* Caesar refers. We will therefore abstain from treating this case. Nonetheless, it is clear that *Calagurris Iulia* was a self-governing city under Augustus[49] and that *Calagurris Fibularia* acquired the same status before the time of Vespasian[50].

Ptolemy also seems to allude to *civitates contributae*. Where Ptolemy links multiple *poleis* to one ethnonym, there is a possibility that one of these was contributed to the 'capital' of the tribe. For example, the *Copori* are listed with two settlements: *Lucus Augusti* and *Iria Flavia*. Clearly, *Lucus Augusti* is the major urban settlement in the territory of the *Copori*. *Iria Flavia* may therefore have been the central place of a contributed *civitas,* with the possibility that *Iria Flavia* was promoted to a Latin *municipium* by the Flavian grant.[51]

Another possible example of a contributed *civitas* in Ptolemy could be that of the *Seurri* with the two settlements of Ταλαμίνη and Ὕδατα Κουίντινα (*Aquae Quintinae*).[52] However, in this case both settlements are obscure. Ταλαμίνη has been linked to *Timalinum* of the Antonine Itinerary.[53] *Aquae Quintinae* does not appear in any other source.[54] It is impossible to provide any further analysis of the relationship between these two settlements within the tribal organisation of the *Seurri*.

The *civitates contributae* must be regarded as subordinate communities. Some of them, however, are known to have developed into self-governing communities, as is the case for *Curiga*, *Calagurris* and the *colonia Icosium*.

4.3.2 Vici

The word *vicus* has been proposed as a general term for secondary agglomerations, but as has already been stated, this is very problematic. The term is also used to refer to civilian settlements related to a military camp.[55] In antiquity, Festus and Isidore give three different definitions of the word *vicus*: the rural *vicus*, the urban *vicus* and

[48] Laffi (1966): 134.
[49] VM 56:57 and 157:8.
[50] Laffi (1966): 118.
[51] Andreu Pintado (2004c): 143.
[52] Ptol. II 6.27; Plin. IV 112.
[53] García Alonso (2003): 208.
[54] *Ibid.* 210.
[55] The military *vicus* is treated below in the section on garrison settlements.

an urban building.[56] Isidore adds that the rural *vicus* is similar to the *pagi* and *castella* but they are not regarded as highly as a *civitas*. Varro gives a very simple interpretation of the meaning of *vicus*: it is a division within the city.[57] At first sight, the rural *vicus* and the city district might be very different cases, but in both cases we are dealing with divisions of the *civitas*.

The use of the term *vicus* in modern literature is also confusing. On the one hand, there are the purists who only use the term *vicus* if there is explicit epigraphic evidence.[58] On the other, *vicus* is used by many scholars as a modern term for any rural agglomeration dependent on a city.[59] This section will only treat the *vici* recorded in epigraphy.

The idea of the *vicus* as an agglomeration secondary to the *urbs* of a *civitas* is widely accepted.[60] The economic basis of the *vicus* is primarily agricultural, although such settlements may perform some secondary or tertiary functions.[61] Within the territory belonging to the *urbs*, the *vicus* was a lesser administrative centre, as reflected in the *magistratus vici* such *aediles*, *quaestores*, *curatores*, *actores* and *decemlecti*.[62] The semi-autonomous nature of this settlement type makes it highly relevant for the understanding of the settlement system.

On the Iberian Peninsula, Curchin and Tarpin have identified 19 certain and 11 possible *vici* in Hispania.[63] The questionable *vici* are those for which the epigraphic evidence is problematic. As has already been said, *vici* can be rural or urban districts. Rural *vici* are the most common type in the Roman Hispaniae. Within the dataset, only a few *vici* have been recognised as urban districts.[64] The exact locations of most rural *vici* are unknown as the epigraphic evidence for them consists of references to the places of origin (*origo*) of various individuals. As a general rule, people would only refer to their *origo* when outside their own settlement. Consequently, the role of these *vici* as secondary agglomerations in the settlement system cannot be studied further.

[56] Festus, 502 and 508 L; Isidore *Etym*. XV 2.11-12.
[57] Varro 145.
[58] Curchin (1985); Tarpin (2002).
[59] Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 120. See also: Alarcão (1988): 45; Vega Aveleira (1998); Macias (2008) 'Vici y articulación del territorium: Segobriga, Ercavica y Valeria.' In: Mangas Manjarrés and Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, 617-32: 617.
[60] Curchin (1985); Moreno Martín (1997): 296; Tarpin (2002); Pérez Losada (2002): 26; Alarcão (1996): 169; Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 112.
[61] Moreno Martín (1997): 301.
[62] Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 120.
[63] Tarpin (2002); Curchin (1985).
[64] AE 1981, 495a: *Vicus Hispanus* (Cordoba); AE 1981, 495b: *Vicus Forensis* (Cordoba); CIL II 2248a *Vicus Capitis Canteri* (Cordoba).

4.3.3 Castella

Another type of secondary settlement is the *castellum,* which can be defined as a settlement (clustered or dispersed) located at a high vantage point with a natural defence augmented by fortifications.[65] The *castellum* appears both in ancient literature and in the epigraphic record. The old idea that the term *castellum* matches the archaeological reality of the *castro* has been disproved by Orejas and Ruíz Árbol.[66] The *castellum* is clearly a Roman concept.[67]

Unambiguous examples of the word *castellum* are found the *Edicto del Bierzo* and in the *Tabula del Caurel.*[68] In addition to these clear references there are the inscriptions with the abbreviation Ↄ, all these inscriptions are found in the north-western region of the Iberian Peninsula.[69] In older publications this has been interpreted as *gentilitate*, *curia* and *centuria*.[70] After a systematic analysis in 1975 by Albertos, it was demonstrated that the Ↄ should be read as *castellum*.[71] Unfortunately, it took some time for this theory to be accepted widely.[72]

The *Bronce del Bierzo* is dated to 14 and 15 February 15 BCE.[73] In this inscription we read that Augustus gave the *castellum* of *Paemeiobriga* the privilege of *immunitas perpetua,* whereas the *castellum Aiiobrigiaecum* had to take the place of the *castellum*

[65] Mommsen states the *castellum* is a walled settlement, smaller than an *urbs* and without a status, therefore a secondary agglomeration, (1887): 766; Le Roux (ed.) (2014f): 175 & 342.
It must be noted that the use of the word *castellum* changed in Late Antiquity: Arce (2006) 'Villae en el paisaje rural de Hispania romana.' In: Chavarría and Brogiolo (eds.), *Villas tardoantiguas en el mediterráneo occidental*, 9-16: 10.
[66] Orejas and Ruiz del Árbol (2010) 'Los *castella* y la articulación del poblamiento rural de las "civitates" del Noroeste peninsular.' In: Fornis, Gállego and López Barja de Quiroga (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social*, 1091-128: 1113.
[67] Alarcão (1996): 169. Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 112; Pérez Losada (2002): 58.
[68] Edicto del Bierzo: HEp 7, 1997, 378 = HEp 8, 1998, 325 = HEp 11, 2001, 286 = AE 1999, 915.
Tabula del Caurel: HAE 1965; AE 1961, 96; AE 1973, 289; HEp 8, 1998, 334.
[69] Santos (2009): 172.
[70] Curchin (1985): 335; Le Roux and Tranoy (1983b) 'Ↄ le mot et la chose: contribution au debat historiographique.' *AEspA* Vol. 56, 109-21; Alarcão (1988).
[71] Albertos (1975) 'Organizaciones suprafamiliares en la Hispania Antigua.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 40-41, 5-66.
[72] Santos (2009) 'De nuevo sobre los CASTELLA: naturaleza, territorio e integración en la CIUITAS.' *Onomástica galega II. Onimia e onomástica prerromana e a situación lingüística do noroeste peninsular*, 196-83; Luján (2011): 226.
[73] HEp 11, 2001, 286.
The inscription is also known as "El bronce de Bembibre" or "tessera de Pameiobriga".
Imp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / VIII{I} et proco(n)s(ule) dicit / castellanos Paemeiobrigenses ex / gente Susarrorum desciscentibus / ceteris permansisse in officio cog/novi ex omnibus legatis meis qui / Transdurianae provinciae prae/fuerunt itaque eos universos im/munitate perpetua dono quosq(ue) agros et quibus finibus possede/runt Lucio Sestio Quirinale leg(ato) / meo eam provinciam optinente{m} / eos agros sine controversia possi/dere iubeo / castellanis **Paemeiobrigensibus** ex / gente Susarrorum quibus ante ea(m) / immunitatem omnium rerum dede/ram eorum loco restituo castellanos / **Aiiobrigiaecinos** ex gente Gigurro/rum volente ipsa civitate eosque / castellanos **Aiiobrigiaecinos** om/ni munere fungi iubeo cum / Susarris / actum Narbone Martio / XVI et XV K(alendas) Martias / M(arco) Druso Li/bone Lucio Calpurnio Pisone co(n)s(ulibus).

Paemeiobriga within the *civitas* of the *Susarri*. Both of these *castella* were clearly subordinate places.

The *Aiiobrigiaeci* seem to reappear in the *Tabula del Caurel*, a *hospitium* agreement between the *Castellum Toletenses*[74] of the *Lougei* and the *Castellum Aiobaigiaecum* of the *Susarri* dated to 26 CE.[75] The relationship between the *Aiiobrigiaeci* and the *Aiobaigiaeci* is partly based on the similarity between the names. In addition, the *Bronce del Bierzo* indicates that the *Aiiobrigiaeci* are to be attributed to *the Susarri*.[76] We indeed observe this situation in the *hospitium* agreement. The *Lougei* to which the *castellum Toletenses* belongs also appear in another bronze inscription, the *Tabula Lougeiorum*, a *hospitium* agreement that mentions the *civitas Lougeiorum*.[77] It is most likely that the *gentes* and tribes to which the *castella* were attributed were self-governing *civitates*.

In total, 34 *castella* are known for the Iberian Peninsula and for 17 the *populus* they belong to is also known, mostly thanks to funerary inscriptions referring to *castella* as places of origin.[78] One illustration is the inscription of Fusca that mentions the *Castellum Blaniobrensis* belonging to the *Celtici Supertamarci*.[79] Obviously, only a small proportion of the *castella* that once existed has left traces in the epigraphy or literary sources. González García calculates that there might have been in total 89 *castella*.[80] Their role as secondary settlements is undisputed, but the 'urban' nature of some of these remains.

The best example of an 'urban' *castellum* is that of the *Grovii*: *Castellum Tyde*.[81] This *castellum* must have been the central place of the tribe, as is shown by the reference in Ptolemy where the Γρούιοι are mentioned as the people centred on Τοῦδαι.[82] Based on archaeological evidence, Pérez Losada posits a 28-hectare settlement composed of three *castros* and the settlement in the valley between them.[83] The archaeology has yielded an altar and a few column shafts, indicating a monumental structure, possibly a temple or even a *forum*-complex.[84] This *castellum* clearly developed into

[74] The *castellum Toletum* is another settlement than the *Toletum* nowadays well-known as Toledo.
[75] HAE 1965; AE 1961, 96; AE 1973, 289; HEp 8, 1998, 334; IRPLu 55; AE 2000, 748.
[76] Alföldy (2000) 'Das neue Edikt des Augustus aus El Bierzo in Hispanien.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 133, 177-205: ln. 20ff.
[77] HEp 1, 1989, 458; HEp 3, 1993, 247; HEp 7, 1997, 402; HEp 4, 1994, 505; AE 1984, 553; AE 1987, 561; AE 1989, 431; AE 1997, 862.
[78] González García (2007): 371.
[79] CIL II 2902 = CIL II 5667 Fusca Co/edi f(ilia) Celti/ca Superta(marica) / |(C invertida) (castello) Blaniobr/ensi Seco/ilia Coedi f(ilia) / soror sua / posuit.
[80] González García (2007): 371. This is number is based on the percentage of *populi* known by name; there are 14 known *populi* whereas Pliny refers to a total of 39 *populi*. This leads to a 36% 'survival' rate. Supposing the *castella* have a similar survival rate we can calculate from the 34 known *castella* (accepting them as 36%), there must have been 89 *castella* in total.
[81] Plin. *NH* IV 112.
[82] Ptol. II 6, 44.
[83] Pérez Losada (2002): 69.
[84] Pérez Losada (2002): 82.

the *urbs* of the *Grovii*. Whilst this is a very specific case, it shows that some *castella* functioned as 'town-like' settlements.

4.4 Functions of secondary agglomerations

So far we have been looking at the juridical and administrative statutes of secondary settlements. However, if we want to achieve a better understanding of the economic, social and religious functions of secondary settlements on the Iberian Peninsula, we must turn to archaeology. Obviously, I do not argue that settlements with one or more of these functions should automatically be considered urban. Nonetheless, settlements with these functions could have played a central role in the settlement system.

4.3.1 Port settlements and harbours

The idea of a central place applies clearly to ports and harbours. Such maritime hubs connect the landlocked places across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic with each other. Due to the location of the Hispanian provinces at the fringes of the Empire, the ports were located at the route for the connection between the Atlantic and the centre, as is confirmed by sources as Pliny and Aelius Aristides.[85]

Several small ports are mentioned in the ancient sources. Mela mentions: *Portus Veneris* (Port Vendres)[86], *Portus Hannibalis* (Portimão)[87], *Portus Ebora* (in the region of the *Tamarici*).[88] In addition to these ports, Mela refers to settlements along the coast, indiscriminately combining self-governing communities, such as *Barcino* and *Ilici*, and subordinate port settlements.[89] Pliny mentions: *Portus (S)Amanum – Flaviobriga* (Castro Uridiales)[90]; *Portus Blendium* (Suances)[91]; *Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium* (Santander)[92]; *Portus Vereasuaca* (San Vincente de la Barquera)[93] and *Illicitanus sinus* (Santa Pola)[94]. In Ptolemy we find Ἰλλικιτανὸς λιμήν (Santa Pola)[95];

[85] Plin. *NH* II 167; Aristides *Or. Rom*. XXXVI, 91.
[86] Mela II 84. This port is on the border between Gallia and Hispania, it might be the same port as *Portus Pyrenaei* (Str. IV 1) as Pliny mentions the *Pyrenaea Venus* (Plin. *NH* III 22) cf. Schulten (1952) *Estrabón Geografía de Iberia*: 303.
[87] Mela III 7.
[88] Mela III 11.
[89] *Ilici* is one of the inland cities mentioned by Mela (II 93), however we can observe from Pliny (NH III 19) that this city had a port.
[90] Plin. *NH* IV 111; Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993): 116.
[91] Plin. *NH* IV 111; *ibid*. 183.
[92] Plin. *NH* IV 111; *ibid*. 183.
[93] Plin. *NH* IV 111; *ibid*. 182.
[94] Plin. *NH* III 19; Álvarez Martínez *et al.* (2001): 200.
[95] Ptol. II 6, 14; García Alonso (2003): 168.

Μενεσθέως Λιμὴν (Puerto de Santa María)[96]; Πόρτος Μάγνος (unlocated, Almería?)[97]; 'Αρτάβρων λιμὴν (El Ferrol?)[98]; Πόρτα Αὐγούστα (Portillo?) and Τενέβριος λιμὴν (unlocated, Denia?)[99]. Strabo gives us: Μενεσθέως Λιμὴν (Puerto de Santa Maria).[100] Finally, the Itineraries mention: *Portus Albus* (in the region of Algeciras)[101] and *Portus Gaditanus* (Puerto Real)[102].

Source	Vitr. *De Arch.* V, XII	Ulp. *Dig.* L 16, 59	Serv. *A.* II 23	St. Isid. *Etym.* XIV 8
Place	• a natural harbour with favourable condition • if it is not a good place, it can be improved with dikes and docks	• enclosed space, although not completely enclosed • portus		• a place sheltered from winds
Activity		• place for import and export of goods		• unloading goods
Time			• *portus*: place to stay in winter • *statio*: place where ships can stay for a short while	• installations to keep the ships during winter

Table IV.6 Definitions of ports in ancient sources (after Solana Sáinz, 1998: 68)

Solana Sáinz has given a good overview of the definition of *portus* found in four ancient sources dealing with the west (see table IV.6). Here we find two different forms of ports: *portus* and *statio*. A *portus* is a place where ships can anchor or dock to load and unload that has wharfs and/or warehouses; a *statio* is a place with an administrative function where ships are moored and goods are exchanged.[103] In general,

[96] Ptol. II 4, 5; García Alonso (2003): 35.
[97] Ptol. II 4, 7; *ibid.* 43.
[98] Ptol. II 6, 2; *ibid.* 142.
[99] Ptol. II 6, 16; *ibid.* 172.
[100] Str. III 1,9.
[101] Ant.It. 407.1; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014): 4.
[102] Ant.It. 409.3.
[103] Sarabia Rogina (2005) 'Algunos aspectos de la formación del paisaje marítimo de Cantabria: de la Antigüedad a la afirmación de las villas costeras medievales.' In: Solórzano Telechea and González Morales

we can state that a port is a place sheltered from winds where ships may dock for transfer of goods as well as stay during the winter when sailing conditions are unfavourable.

The focus of this section will obviously be on the cities having a harbour or port rather than on the archaeology of the harbours themselves. As Blackman points out, it is generally difficult to create a clear picture of the specifics of the harbours as in many cases only some foundations have been found.[104] It can therefore be very difficult to establish the presence of a port. For the purposes of my inquiries I have used the database of de Graauw, which is part of the DARMC geographical series. These data have been supplemented using regionally focused publications on ports on the Iberian Peninsula.[105] De Graauw's very inclusive database poses some problems if we do not filter the results. First, his decision to include possible harbours based on natural harbours has led to the inclusion of a multitude of inlets and bays without any clear relation to the Roman settlement system. Such 'ports' are not displayed on fig. IV.1. Secondly, De Graauw's database includes all sea-related archaeological remains, including every jetty and dock. These will be shown as smaller dots, in order not to fill the whole coast with references to ports.

Obviously, not all harbours and ports were linked to a city. As Blackman points out, "The refuge harbours and some of the sanctuary harbours provide one main exception to the general rule that ancient harbours were closely linked to city sites."[106] Moreover, some *villae* also had harbours or ports. Even though ports of *villae* are highly relevant for cities and the operations of the rural economy, such harbour installations cannot realistically be described as secondary settlements. Those ports that belonged to 'town-like' agglomerations will be taken into account.

(eds.), *II Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria: actas del II encuentro celebrado en Santander los días 25 a 29 de noviembre del año 2002* 163-90: 171.

L 16, 59: *"Portus" appellatus est conclusus locus, quo importantur merces et inde exportantur: eaque nihilo minus statio est conclusa atque munita. Inde "angiportum" dictum est.*

[104] Blackman (1982a) 'Ancient harbours in the Mediterranean. Part 1.' *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* Vol. 11, N° 2, 79-104: 80.

[105] Graauw (2016) *Ancient Ports and Harbours, The Catalogue*. In addition the ports mentioned in specific sources have been used: Mantas (1990) 'Cidades Marítimas da Lusiânia.' In: Gorges (ed.), *Les Villes de Lusitanie Romaine. Hiérarchies et territoires*, 149-205; Pinheiro Blot (2003) *Os portos na origem dos centros urbanos*; Mantas (2010) 'Atlântico e Mediterrâneo nos portos romanos do Sado.' *Revista Portuguesa de História* Vol. XLI, 195-221; Mantas (2004) 'Vias e Portos na Lusitânia Romana.' In: Gorges, Cerrillo and Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones*, 427-54; Morillo Cerdán *et al.* (2016) 'Hispania and the Atlantic route in Roman times: new approaches to ports and trade.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 35, N° 3, 267-84.

[106] Blackman (1982b) 'Ancient harbours in the Mediterranean. Part 2.' *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* Vol. 11, N° 3, 185-211: 188.

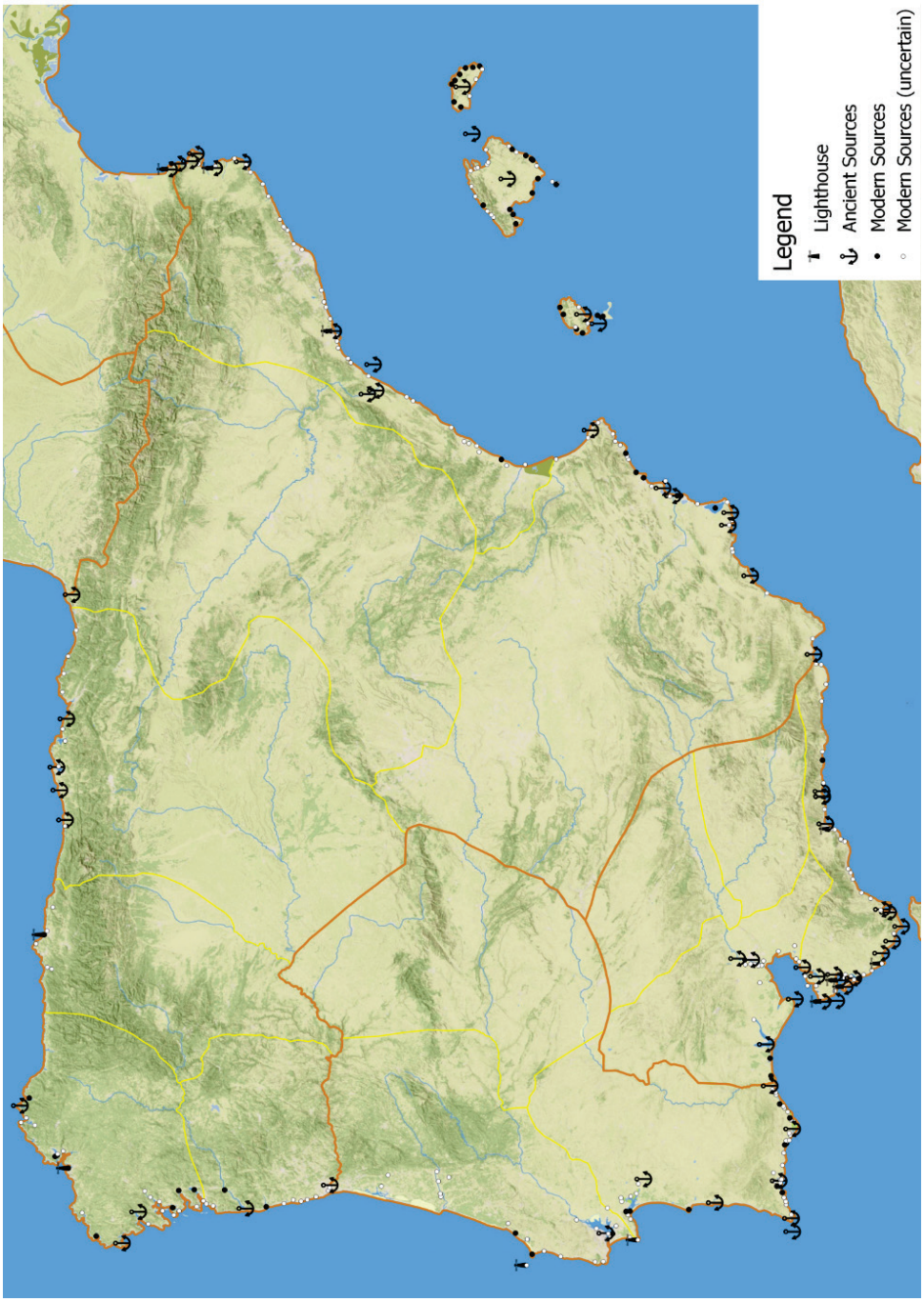


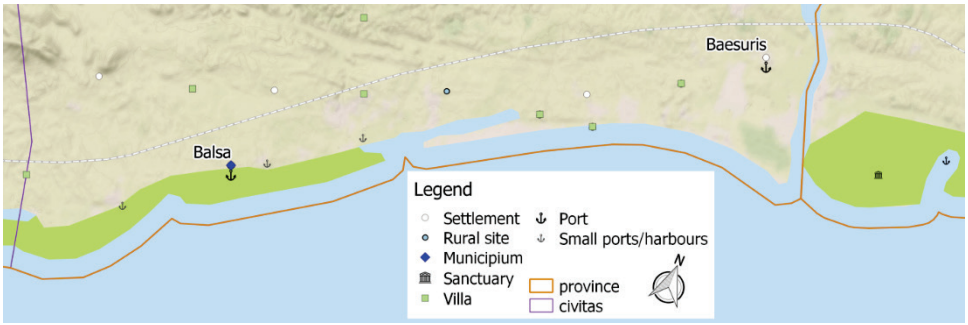
Fig. IV.1: Ports and harbours after de Graauw (2016)

That a port settlement might become an important self-governing city is shown by the promotion of the *Portus Amanum*. This port belonged to the *Samani,* which had their tribal centre at the Peña de Sámano.[107] Under Vespasian the port was promoted to the only Flavian *colonia* on the Iberian Peninsula and renamed *Flaviobriga*.[108] Clearly, the port city was favoured above the central place of the *civitas Samani*, most probably because it functioned as the main port for the *Legio IIII Macedonica*.[109] Many other port settlements are known mainly through archaeology.

Bearing in mind the limitations of this research, two cases studies will be used to obtain a better understanding of ports that have become relevant secondary or maybe even primary centres: *Portus Ilicitanus* and the ports in the territory of *Balsa*.

Balsa

In the case of *Balsa,* we at least find two ports working together: *Balsa* itself and the secondary settlement of *Baesuris*.[110] *Baesuris* was located near the mouth of the Guadiana, which connected *Myrtilis* and *Pax Iulia* to the sea. This waterway must have been used intensively to transport material from the mines of S. Domingos.[111] In the Republican period *Baesuris* minted its own coins with the legend BAE or BAESURIS, some of which refer to magistrates.[112] This indicates that the settlement was originally a self-governing settlement. It must have been contributed to *Balsa* in the Imperial period as there is no evidence for it continuing as a self-governing settlement. The archaeological evidence shows that in the Imperial period the site declined to an agglomeration with three nuclei: a *villa* with a temple; a salt production installation;



[107] Solana Sáinz (1998): 68.
[108] Plin. *NH* IV 110.
[109] Solana Sáinz (1998): 69.
[110] Obviously there may have been smaller ports or docks at villa sites along the coast. As has already been stated, these have not been taken into account.
Interestingly, the ORBIS database includes the port of *Aesuris*, and, strangely enough, the port of *Balsa* is omitted. Scheidel and Meeks (2012) *ORBIS: The Stanford geospatial network model of the Roman world.*
[111] Mantas (1990): 159.
[112] Vives y Escudero (1924a): 80. The reading according Hübner should be M·ANnius ANThius ET CON-Lega. Villaronga (2004): 232. reads MAN ANET / CON. Nonetheless, the coin shows that the emission was supervised or paid for by magistrates, supporting the status of Baesuris as a possible self-governing settlement before the imperial period. Cf. CUR90 317 & CUR90 318.

and a public port (with a necropolis and a bath complex). All in all, this conglomeration is no bigger than 14 hectares, with an occupied area of only 6.43 hectares.[113] The question arises of how this settlement, located at such an important location, became a secondary settlement. In order to answer this question we must turn to the neighbouring city of *Balsa*.

The evidence for the special position of *Balsa* in the late republic may be found on its coinage. Whilst cities in its vicinity have dolphins or a tuna on the reverse, the coins of *Balsa* show the prow of a warship.[114] This seems to support the idea that *Balsa* was an important harbour for Pompey's war against the pirates.[115] On this basis we might accept *Balsa* as an important port for naval operations.

Fraga da Silva recognises a period of growth from 35/40 CE to 70 CE that may have resulted in a doubling of the urban built up area.[116] In the neighbouring port city of *Ossonoba* a similar growth is found, and Bernardes argues that this expansion is related to the conquest and consolidation of Britannia during the first century CE. In this period, both these port cities played an important role as Atlantic harbours, where ships had to pass in order to go north.[117] This could be an explanation for the choice of *Balsa* as the '*civitas* capital'.[118]

Portus Ilicitanus

The port settlement of *Portus Ilicitanus* (Santa Pola) worked in tandem with the *colonia inmunis Ilici,* which was located in the interior. The relation between these two settlements predates the Roman period. As early as the fifth century BCE a fortified settlement was located at the littoral of the *sinus Ilicitanus*.[119] The port settlement at Santa Pola appeared in a period of enhanced trade with the Phoenicians, the port being located on the coastal route to *Ebusus* and the Balearic Islands.[120] In this period, the Iberian settlement of *Ilici*, possibly to be identified with *Helike*[121], must have been of great importance as can be observed from the impressive Iberian art found here,

[113] Fraga da Silva (2009): 8.
[114] Fraga da Silva (2007) *Balsa, cidade Perdida*: 52.
[115] *Ibid*. 23; Fraga da Silva (2010) 'Da classificação de materiais arqueológicos à conjuntura Socioeconómica do passado romano.' *Xelb* Vol. 10, 191-214.
[116] Fraga da Silva (2010): 62.
[117] Bernardes (2012) 'A cidade de Ossónoba e o seu Território.' *Anaís do Municipio de Faro* Vol. XXXVII, 11-26: 13.
[118] Plin. NH IV 116.
[119] Molina Vidal (2005) 'La cetaria de Picola y la evolución del Portus Ilicitanus (Santa Pola, Alicante).' In: Molina Vidal and Sánchez Fernández (eds.), *III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Históricos: El Mediterráneo: la cultura del mar y la sal*, 95-112: 97; Márquez Villora (1999) *El Comercio Romano en el Portus Ilicitanus: El abastecimiento exterior de productos alimentarios (siglos I a. C. - V d. C.)*: 197.
[120] Molina Vidal (2005): 97; Molina Vidal (2004) 'Comercio y relaciones portuarias en el territorio de Ilici.' In: Abad Casal and Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, 189-96: 190.
[121] Abad Casal (1984) *Los orígenes de la ciudad de Alicante*: 183.

including the Dama de Elche. The connection between *Ilici* and the Mediterranean is evident from the artwork.[122]

The area of Santa Pola seems to have been abandoned, or at least activity there seems to have shrunk, in the fourth century BCE, only to be reoccupied in the Roman period.[123] The natural harbour and the Vinalopó river created a favourable location for a port settlement. Molina suggests that the advantages prompted the Romans to reuse this place to construct a port settlement for the new *colonia* of *Ilici*.[124]

The famous *Bronce de Alcudia* gives 43 BCE as the foundation date.[125] This early date of foundation is supported by coins from the city dating to the second triumvirate.[126] However, an inscription referring to the *patronus* T. Statilius Taurus points to a foundation date of around 27 BCE.[127] The possibility of a double *deductio* would explain this inscription. It is possible that *Ilici* was founded during the second triumvirate and that veterans from the Cantabrian Wars were sent to *Ilici* in 27 BCE.[128] It is generally accepted that *Ilici* was a self-governing community at least from 43 BCE. Unfortunately, the archaeological record of both *Ilici* as *Portus Ilicitanus* is rather limited due to modern occupation of the region.[129] Still, the connection between the two settlements can be asserted. The new *colonia* needed a connection to the Mediterranean, and the port settlement only 12 kilometres from the *colonia* is the most logical site.[130] Archaeologically the reoccupation of the site at Santa Pola can be linked with the foundation of the *colonia*.[131] Finally, there are indications in the epigraphic record that these two settlements were connected.[132] That *Ilici* was an important Roman *colonia* is certain. We find the evidence in its coins, in its special status as a *colonia immunis*, in the large centuriated territory and in the monumentalisation of the city.[133]

[122] Ramos Fernández and Ramos Molina (2004) 'La escultura ibérica de La Alcudia.' In: Abad Casal and Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, 133-44: 133.
[123] Molina Vidal (2005): 100.
[124] *Ibid*. 97 & 100; Fumanal and Ferrer (2007) 'El yacimiento arqueológico de La Picola (litoral de Santa Pola, España): estudio geomorfológico y sedimentológico.' *Cuaternario y Geomorfología* Vol. 12, Nº 1-2, 77-93: 91.
[125] Chao *et al.* (1999) 'Un nuevo bronce hallado en la Alcudia.' In: González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, 417-24: 423.
[126] Llorens Forcada (1994) *La ciudad romana de Carthago Nova: las emisiones romanas*: 170.
[127] CIL II 3556 : T(itio) Statilio / Tauro imp(eratori) / III co(n)s(uli) II / patrono Syme (1989) *The Augustan aristocracy* 211; Molina Vidal (2005): 100.
[128] Márquez Villora (1999): 188.
[129] *Ibid*. 350; Tendero Porros (2004) 'Urbanismo.' In: Abad Casal and Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, 125-32: 125.
[130] Fumanal and Ferrer (2007): 91; Márquez Villora (1999): 189; Grau Mira and Moratalla Jávega (2004) 'El paisaje antiguo.' In: Abad Casal and Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, 111-8: 118.
[131] Molina Vidal (2005): 100; Márquez Villora (1999): 187.
[132] Abascal Palazón (1989): 14.
[133] With the legend C(olonia) I(ulia) I(ilici) A(ugusta); Plin. *NH* III 19; At least 11340 hectares Chao *et al.* (1999): 423; Márquez Villora (1999): 189.

An interesting feature of the settlement of *Portus Ilicitanus* is that it outgrew the city on which it depended. Carreras gives us 24 hectares as the size of *Portus Ilicitanus* (Santa Pola)[134] whereas *Ilici* (Elche) only measured 9.8 hectares.[135] Admittedly, the port and the warehouses of the port settlement took up quite some space. Nonetheless, we can be certain that the settlement of Santa Pola was much larger than the area used by the port. Clearly, the port settlement became a centre for economic and demographic growth.

Situated near the boundary between *Citerior* and *Baetica*, *Portus Ilicitanus* was a good stopping point for ships travelling from Spain to the Balearic Islands or North Africa (fig. IV.3).[136] Molina points to the predominance of non-locally produced Hispanic amphorae, which accounts for about 94% of the amphora studied in *Portus Ilicitanus* and in the city itself.[137] During the High Empire, the imports from *Baetica* and the Atlantic coast make up 50-70 % of the total of imports in the record of *Portus Ilicitanus*.[138] The large number of these products shows that the port of *Ilici* was a

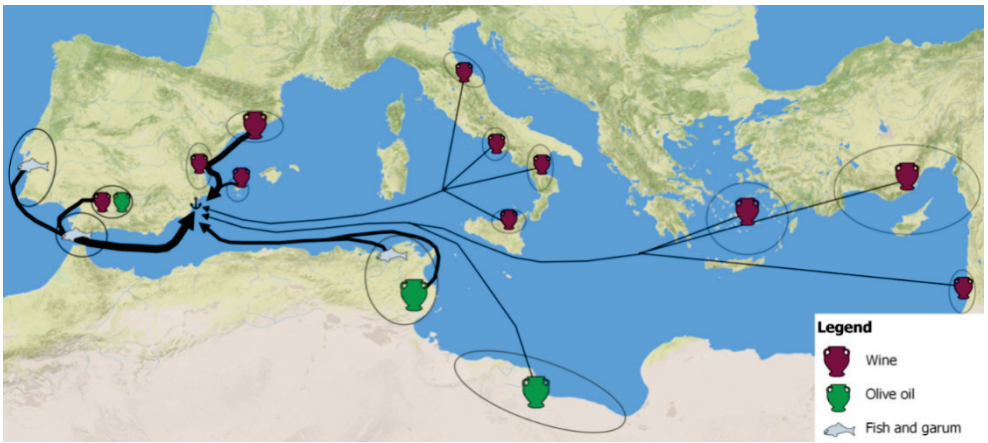


Fig. IV.3 Portus Ilicitanus and the commercial connections in the centuries I-IV (after Márquez Villora (1999), 531.

[134] Carreras Monfort (2014): 76. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the source for this size. We have to assume that this is at least within the range of the actual size and thus the settlement would have outgrown the city of *Ilici*.
[135] *Ibid*. 74.
[136] Márquez Villora (1999): 301.
Origin of products: **Lusitania and Baetica:** Guadalquivir valley (olive oil and wine); Southern Atlantic coast of Lusitania (fish and garum); Coast of Baetica and Strait of Gibraltar (fish and garum, wine?)
Citerior: Valentian gulf (wine), Tarraco region (wine); Ebusus (wine)
North Africa: Carthaginian area (wine, fish and garum); Tripolitana (olive oil)
Italian Peninsula: Campania, Latium; Adriatic coast; Calabria, Sicilia.
Eastern Mediterranean: Syria (wine); Asia Minor, Cyprus (wine, olive oil?); Palestina (wine); Aegean Islands, Asia Minor coastal area (wine, ointments?, resin?).
[137] Molina Vidal (2004): 193.
[138] *Ibid*. 194; Márquez Villora (1999): 206.

transhipment port for produce leaving the Iberian Peninsula.[139] In the first and second century, imports from outside the Iberian Peninsula mainly came from the Italic Peninsula.[140] Products from North Africa started to arrive in the first century and took over the position of Hispanic produce in the late third century, reaching 44.64% of the containers.[141] Products from Eastern Mediterranean do not seem to have arrived before the late third century; most probably these products were carried by ships sailing via Sicilia, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands.[142]

In the second half of the fourth century, *Portus Ilicitanus* also became a production settlement for garum and salted products.[143] The port settlement declined in the late fifth or early sixth century.[144] During this period, *Ilici* continued to develop and in the seventh century even became an episcopal seat.[145]

4.3.2 Mining settlements

Many of the mining districts and mining settlements of the Iberian Peninsula show evidence of a military presence. The role of army units in mining regions is often seen as one of surveillance, administration and control over the mining operations.[146] The importance of mining for the Iberian Peninsula can be observed in figure IV.4.[147] Various self-governing cities, such as *Carthago Nova*, *Segobriga* and *Munigua*, cannot be understood without examining their role as administrative centres for mining operations. Moreover, to understand the urbanism of the whole north-western region, we must consider the role of these regions as one of the main gold-mining areas for the Roman Empire.

Orejas *et al.* in their work on the organisation and regulation of mines recognise two different ways of organising the mining operations.[148] Some mines were *metalla publica*, mining districts under direct rule of the *procuratores metallorum*. All gold mines belonged to this category.[149] The mining districts of the *metalla publica* were not *civitates* but separate territories. In the case of *Lusitania,* the most important example of this form of territorial organisation is *Vispasca*. Unfortunately, this site has

[139] Márquez Villora (1999): 215; Molina Vidal (2004): 195.
[140] Márquez Villora (1999): 191.
[141] *Ibid*. 261.
[142] *Ibid*. 289.
[143] Molina Vidal (2005): 101.
[144] Molina Vidal (2004): 195; Molina Vidal (2005): 110.
[145] Gutiérrez Lloret (2004) 'Ilici en la antigüedad tardia.' In: Abad Casal and Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, 95-110: 100.
[146] García-Bellido (2002) 'Labores mineras militares en Hispania. Explotación y control.' In: Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, 19-46: 19.
[147] Orejas *et al.* (2012): 32 fig. 1. Cf. Plin. *NH* III 30 : *Metallis plumbi ferri aeris argenti auri tota ferme Hispania scatet, citerior et specularis lapidis, Baetica et minio.*
[148] *Ibid*. 34.
[149] *Ibid*. 35.

been continuously used as a mine, and as a result the Roman remains have been disturbed. The main evidence comes from the fragments of the *Lex Metalli Vipascensis*, which were found in 1876.[150]

In his book *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235*, Hirt argues convincingly that the district of the *metallum Vipascense* comprised three different territorial entities.[151] First, the *metallum* or the district to which the *lex* applies. In the *Lex Metalli Vipascensis* the '*territoria metallorum'* or the '*fines metallorum'* are described as territories confined by boundaries.

The fact the *metallum* has its own territories puts question marks on the territorial organisation as proposed by Alarcão.[152] The latter's reconstruction focuses on the territories of self-governing *civitates* and does not take the *metallum Vipascense* into account. Hirt points out that the titles of the *procurator* and *restitutor* are accompanied by the plural *metalla*. This indicates that they were not only responsible for the *metallum Vipascense*, but for other mining districts as well.[153] Within the inscription of *LMV*, we find a reference to the *vicus metalli Vipascensis.*[154] Within this *vicus* we find different services that point to a certain level of specialisation: baths, school and a barber, and probably a public square where the *lex* was posted.[155]

Another – less well-known - *metallum* is that of *Metallum Alboc*(...) which appears in CIL II 2598. We know the name of an Augustan Procurator for this mining region: Ulpius Eutyches. Unfortunately, the location of the inscription can no longer be determined; we only know it was located in *Callaecia*. This inscription has been linked with the Plinian reference to the *Metallum Albucrarense*.[156]

Among the state-owned *metalla* there were small-scale mining activities organised locally and taxed by the *fiscus*.[157] Such mines might be operated by *societates*,

[150] Cauuet (2004) 'Apport de l'archéologie minière à l'étude de la mise en concessions des mines romaines aux IIe et IIIe siècles. L'exemple de Vipasca (Aljustrel, Portugal) et d'Alburnus Maior (Rosia Montana, Roumaine).' In: Gorges, Cerrillo and Nogales Basarrate (eds.) *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones,* Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 33-60: 38.; Alarcão (1988): 46.
LMV: CIL II 5181 = IRCP 142 = ILS 6891 = AE 2001, +01128.
LMD : AE 1906, 151 = AE 1907, 90 = AE 1907, 139 = AE 1907, 140 = AE 1907, 180 = AE 1907, 228 = AE 1907, 248 = AE 1909, 33 = AE 1909, 68 = AE 1912, 132 = AE 1912, 288 = AE 1952, 81 = AE 1979, 337 = HEp 11, 2001, 649 = HEp 11, 2001, 650 = EJER 6 = IRCP 143.
[151] Hirt (2010) *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235*: 49.
[152] Alarcão (1990) 'Identificação das Cidades da Lusitânia Portuguesa e dos seus Territórios.' *Les Villes de Lusitanie Romaine: hierarchies et territories. Table ronde internationale du CNRS,* Éditions du Centre Nacional de la Recherche Scientifique, 21-34: 31 Fig. 1.
[153] Hirt (2010): 49.
[154] *Ibid*. 49.
[155] CIL II 5181 refers to *balnea*. Cauuet (2004) 38 argues that there must have been a *forum* for the *lex* to be displayed.
[156] CIL II 2598: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Anderon(i) / sac(rum) / M(arcus) Ulpius / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Eutyches proc(urator) / metall(orum) Alboc(olensium); Plin. *NH* XXXIV 80. Cf: Le Roux (2014b): 49; Orejas *et al.* (2012): 36.
[157] Orejas *et al.* (2012): 33.

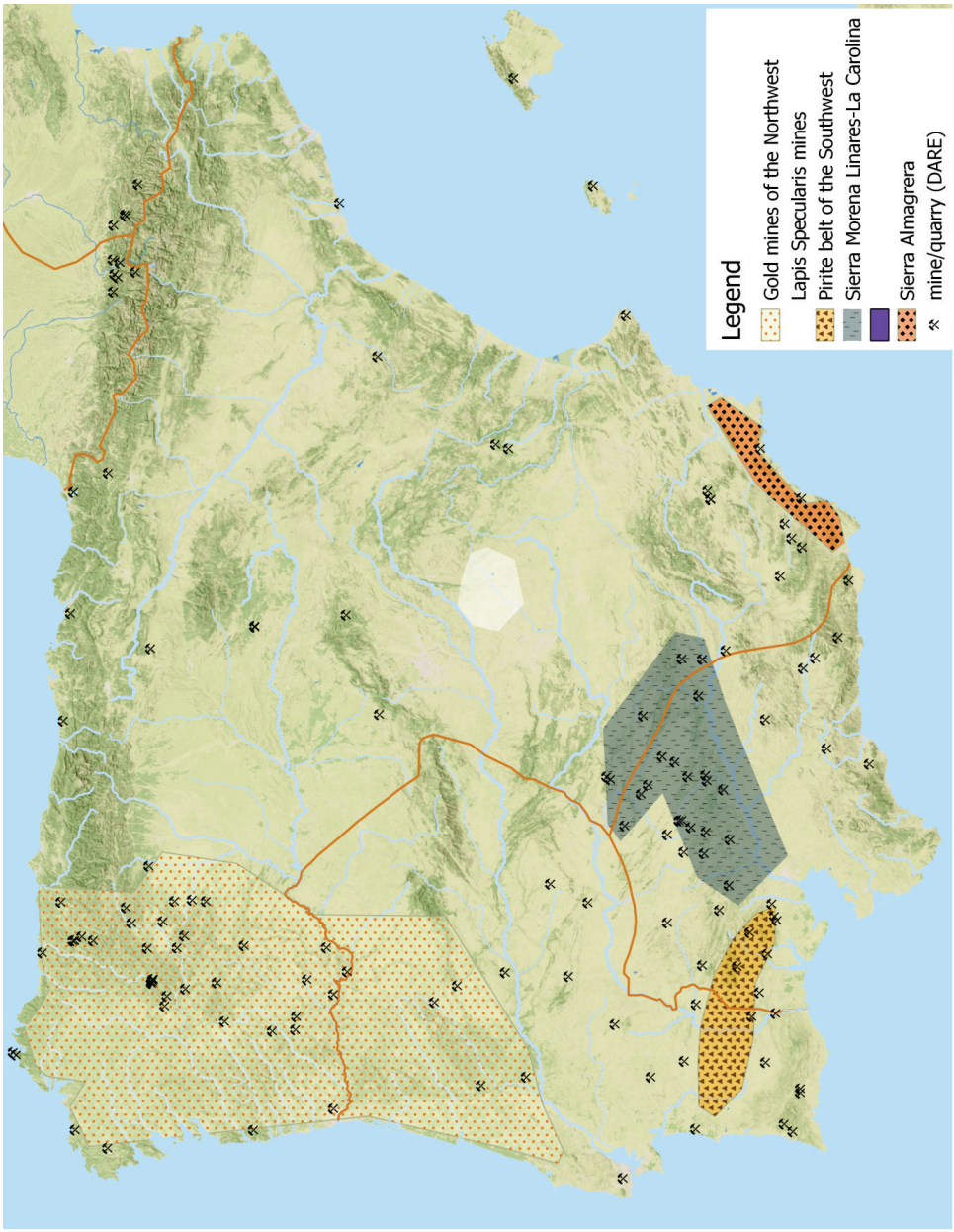


Fig. IV.4: Mining areas as given by Orejas et al. (2012), 32 fig. 1. complemented with mining centres given by DARE.

privati or *civitates*.[158] A *societas* in a *civitas* is that of *Sisapo*.[159] Similarly, stamps on lead ingots refer to a *societas argentifodinarum* in the *civitas Ilurco*.[160]

The presence of large gold-mining operations in the north-western provinces must have had a huge impact on the settlement system. Spanish researchers argue for an early organisation of this region into *civitates*, as can be observed from the Edict del Bierzo, which refers to the *civitates Susarri* and *Gigurri* and their subordinate *castella*.[161] In addition, we find evidence of settlements near mines functioning as important secondary centres within a *civitas*. Examples include *Forum Limici*, where the honorary inscriptions for emperors are found at the settlement of A Cida next to the mining area (cf. above). Another example is that of *Aquae Querquernae*, a garrison settlement with a Roman auxiliary encampment.[162] In this case, the nearby old *castro* of Rubiás remained an important settlement, as can be observed from an inscription dedicated to Trajan.[163] In general, we can observe that in the mining districts secondary agglomerations close to the mines played an important role in the settlement system.

The *societas*, an operation directed from Rome, seems to have played a more important role in mining operations in the south of the peninsula, as can be observed particularly in the case of *Castulo*.[164] The contrast between the use of a *societas* in *Castulo* and the creation of *civitates* in the mining districts in the north-west can be explained by looking at the origin of the mining operations. *Castulo* was already incorporated into the Roman sphere during the Roman Republic. In this period, mining operations were organised through *societates*. The *societas* of *Castulo* is referred to on coins, objects and seals with the legend *S(ocietas) C(astulonensis)* that were found near the mines.[165]

The existence of the southern mines helps to explain the vast 'urban' void to the north of *Castulo* and *Baesucci*. The first cities to the north are *Oretum* and *Sisapo*, which were located 80 and 103 kilometres respectively from *Castulo*. Given the vastness of the area, we expect to find a secondary agglomeration in the mining districts. What we observe is that the El Centenillo mines have a high concentration of processing sites and two agglomerated settlements, one of which is located close to the fork in the road leading to *Oretum* and *Sisapo* (fig. IV.5).[166] The El Centenillo mines

[158] Orejas *et al.* (2012) 33-4.
[159] Cic. *Phil.* 2.20.49.
[160] Díaz Ariño and Antolinos Marín (2013) 'Los *argentarii* y las *societates* mineras de la zona de *Carthago Nova*.' In: López Vilar (ed.) *1er Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia i Món Antic,* Tarragona: Fundación Privada Mútua Catalana, 115-20: 119.
[161] Orejas *et al.* (2012): 39.
[162] See above.
[163] Orejas *et al.* (2012): 40. HEp 2, 517
[164] Arboledas Martínez (2008) 'Aspectos sociales y fiscales en las minas romanas del Alto Guadalquivir.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 29, Nº 2, 71-99: 78.
[165] Domergue (1990) *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine*: 262; Arboledas Martínez (2008): 79.
[166] Bekker-Nielsen (1989): 66.

are located 35 kilometres from *Castulo*. This concentration of processing sites and specialised settlements, in combination with the absence of rural sites in the direct vicinity, confirms the existence of secondary central places in lightly urbanised areas.

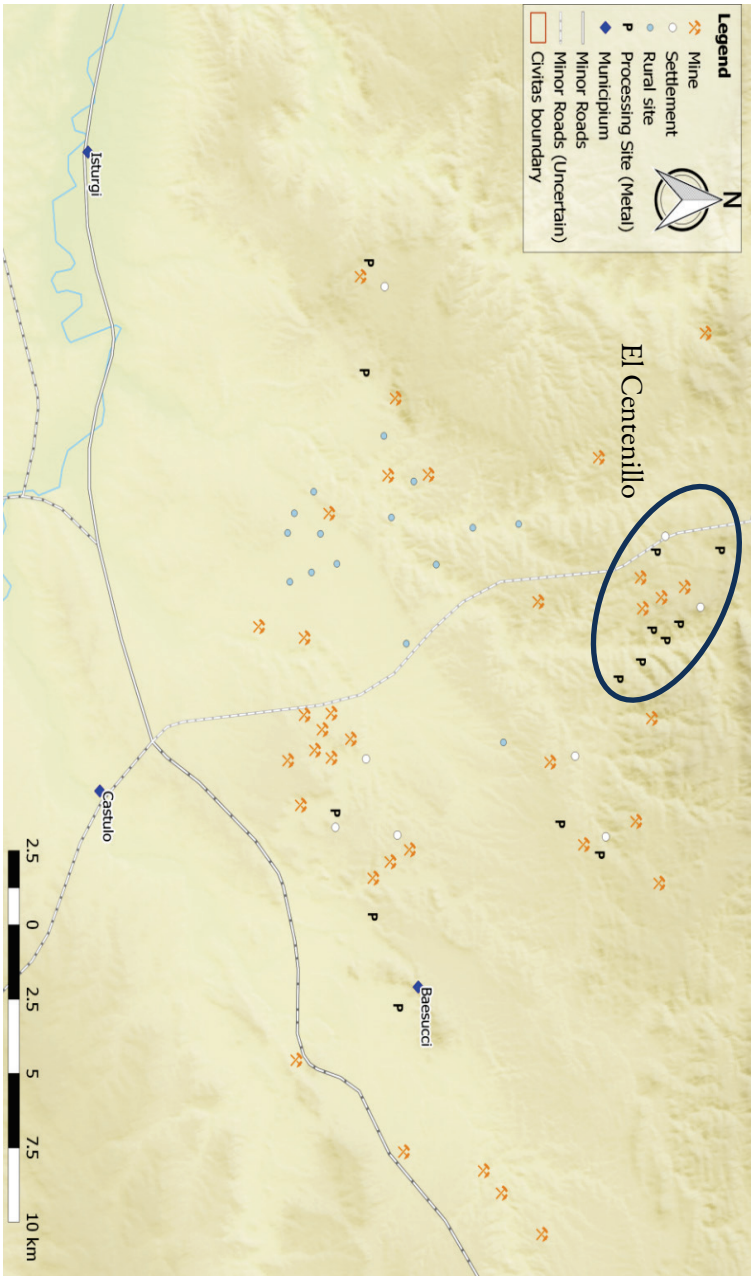


Fig. IV.5: The mining area close to Baesucci with the agglomerated production sites at

4.3.3 Spas and bath complexes

Several *Aquae* have already been mentioned in the chapter on the self-governing communities. Instances include *Aquae Flaviae* as an important *municipium* in the Galician regio, *Aquae Querquernae* as a military settlement, and *Aquae Calidae* (Egara) as a central place of a dispersed *civitas*. In addition to these *Aquae,* several other places have been identified as certain or possible Roman spas.[167] As the hot water springs were taken to be sacred, religious dedications can be found relating to these springs.[168] At least the agglomerations that developed near these natural thermal springs may have functioned as secondary central places.

Morphologically, the complexes built over the thermal springs are rather similar. In all of them a central room with a *piscina* fed by the thermal spring is the focal point of the building.[169] While many existing publications consider such morphological features or the medical properties of the water, none of the meta-studies looks into the role of the spas in the settlement pattern.[170]

Hot water springs and spas only appear in certain geological areas. Three regions with marked concentrations can be identified: Galicia, Catalonia and Murcia.[171]

Baños de Fortuna (Murcia)

The complex of Fortuna is composed of two different structures at different sites. One of them is Baños de Fortuna, which is located at the site of the thermal springs. The site has been occupied from prehistoric times[172], and it is highly likely that the thermal springs already had a religious context before the Roman occupation. In the Imperial period, a sanctuary was constructed at the site.[173] The first Roman structure

[167] González Soutelo recognises as certain: Alange, Archena, Carballo, Cueva Negra, Fitero, Fortuna, Ourense, S. Pedro do Sûl and Lugo, see: González Soutelo (2012): 79.
Pérex and Miró add a multitude of places to this list, with certainty the places: Alange, Alhama de Murcia, Archena, Baños de Montemayor, Caldas de Malavella, Caldas de Montbui, Caldas de Taipas, Carballo, Fitero, Fortuna, Lugo, S. Pedro do Sul, Burgas de Orense and Chaves, see Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011) 'VBI AQUAE IBI SALVS. Atlas de aguas minerolas aguas en la Hispania antigua.' In: Costa Solé, Palahí Grimal and Vivó i Codina (eds.), *Aquae Sacrae. Agua y sacralidad en la Antiguedad*, 59-67: 62.
See Moltó for a list of 52 archaeological identified thermal springs, Moltó (1992) 'Tipos de aguas mineromedicinales en yacimientos arqueológicos de la península Ibérica.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol., 221-8.
[168] Andreu Pintado (2012b): 71; González Soutelo (2012): 79; Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011): 60; Costa Solé (2011) 'Els espais de culte a les aigües al Territorium de Gerunda.' In: Costa Solé, Palahí Grimal and Vivó i Codina (eds.), *Aquae Sacrae. Agua y sacralidad en la Antiguedad*, 29-58: 29; López Muñoz (2015) 'Revalorización del patrimonio termal en la Región de Murcia. El Balneario de Archena: historia y arquitectura.' *IMAFRONTE* Vol. 24, 9-42: 14.
[169] González Soutelo (2012): 84; Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011): 61.
[170] Moltó (1992); González Soutelo (2012); González Soutelo (2013) '¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de balnearios romanos? La arquitectura romana en los edificios de baños con aguas mineromedicinales en Hispania.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 39, 123-50; Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011).
[171] Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012): 253; González Blanco (1992) 'El balneario de Fortuna y la Cueva Negra (Fortuna, Murcia).' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol., 421-54: 421.
[172] González Blanco (1992): 428.
[173] *Ibid.* 430; Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012): 253.

was a *nymphaeum*, already constructed in the late Republican period.[174] In the Julio-Claudian period, the thermal springs were transformed into a monumental complex, carved partly into the natural bedrock; at least 100 m3 had to be extracted to create the complex.[175] The part carved in the bedrock is still preserved and on one side has a tripartite headboard, consisting of an apsis flanked by two square *aediculae*. The centre of the building held a *piscina,* as is common in the Roman spas of the Iberian Peninsula.[176] In addition to the building covering the spring, a group of buildings have been found that have been interpreted as a hostelry.[177]

Only two kilometres from the thermal springs we find the religious site of Cueva Negra (Black Cave).[178] The black walls of this cave seem to have been painted in the Roman period. In addition, we find *tituli picti* in red paint dedicated to different deities and verses from the *Aeneid*.[179] Several of the tituli reveal the connection between the cave sanctuary and the nearby thermal springs.[180] One of these tituli mentions *Annius Crescens,* who was *sacerdos Asculepi Ebusitani,* thereby highlighting the regional importance of the complex.[181]

This sanctuary is located in a rather low urbanised region, the distance to *Ilici* being 38 kilometres and that to Carthago *Nova* being 69 km as the crow flies. If we follow the roads, these distances measure 51 km and 78 km respectively. The sanctuary is even located 20 kilometres from the major roads between *Carthago Nova* and *Complutum* and a similar distance from the *Via Augusta*.[182] Nonetheless, Matilla argues that the presence of *tituli picti* with verses from the *Aeneid,* and the size of the *piscina* indicate that the bath complex was more than a rural site. The presence of a priest of Aesculapius of *Ebusus* connects the sanctuary to *Carthago Nova*, whereas the numismatic evidence suggest close connections with *Ilici*.[183] It is clear that this spa must be considered a secondary agglomeration with functions covering a large region.

[174] Álvarez Martínez, Nogales Basarrate and Rodà de Llanza (eds.) (2014) *El balneario suburbano romano de Fortuna: impacto, tipificación y problemas*. Mérida, 2013: 883.
[175] Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012): 254; Álvarez Martínez, Nogales Basarrate and Rodà de Llanza (eds.) (2013): 884.
[176] González Soutelo (2012): 84.
[177] Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2002) 'El santuario romano de las aguas de Fortuna (el balneario de Carthago Nova).' *Mastia* Vol., 179-90: 180.
[178] González Blanco (1992): 450; Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012): 255.
[179] González Blanco (1987) *La cueva Negra de Fortuna (Murcia) y sus tituli picti. ¿Un santuario de época romana*; Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2002); Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012): 255.
[180] González Blanco (1992): 450; Álvarez Martínez, Nogales Basarrate and Rodà de Llanza (eds.) (2013): 883.
[181] Álvarez Martínez, Nogales Basarrate and Rodà de Llanza (eds.) (2013): 883. HEp 2, 1990, 489 = AE 1987, 655f = AE 1992, 107.
Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2003) 'El balneario romano de Fortuna estado de la cuestión y perspectivas de futuro.' In: González Blanco and Matilla Séiquer (eds.), *La cultura latina en la Cueva Negra: En agradecimiento y homenaje a los Profs. A. Stylow, M. Mayer e I. Velázquez*, 79-182: 169.
[182] Álvarez Martínez, Nogales Basarrate and Rodà de Llanza (eds.) (2013): 885.
[183] Matilla argues that the Asculapius of *Ebusus* may find his origin in Eshmun, a Punic god and as such relates the sanctuary to *Carthago Nova*. Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2003): 169.

Archena (Murcia)

The second spa that will be examined is Archena, located just 17 kilometres from Baños de Fortuna. This site was located along the route from *Segobriga* to *Carthago Nova*, in fertile lands, and, obviously at the site of a natural spring. Three different sources for three different kinds of water can be found at Archena: a thermal spring with sulphurous water, the river Segura, and a spring of drinkable water.[184] Unsurprisingly this location has been inhabited from prehistoric times until the present day.[185] Because this site is still a spa, its archaeology is limited. Nonetheless, some excavations have been carried out. These confirmed the Roman date of the bathhouse.[186] Among the archaeological remains, a *mansio* or hostelry dating to the first century CE has been located.[187] The building has a patio of 169 m2 and a service area that can be entered from the patio. The interior of the building has multiple rooms, which are painted with vegetal and figural patterns. A necropolis has been identified close the *mansio*, which has yielded some interesting funerary inscriptions. Alarcão argues that the presence of multiple inscriptions of various types (funerary, honorific and other) in one site might be an indication of a secondary agglomeration.[188]

The inscriptions from Archena illuminate the role of this spa for a larger region.[189] One of these inscriptions relates to the construction of the *thermae*.[190] Another refers to a *duumvir* who reconstructed the complex after its destruction in the first half of the first century CE.[191] As noted above, it is unclear whether this *duumvir* belonged to Archena itself or came from a nearby *civitas* 'capital'. There are no known self-governing cities in the direct vicinity.[192] Mantilla and Adrados have carried out a detailed analysis of this inscription.[193] As they point out, a *municipium* decided to reconstruct the *aqua* using public money.[194] The decision to use public money to reconstruct a

[184] Matilla Séiquer and Adrados Bustos (2008) 'Obras hidráulicas antiguas en Murcia, tipos y reiteraciones: la huella de Carthago Nova en el balneario de Archena.' *Revista Murciana de Antropología* Vol. 15, 53-77: 54.
[185] González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007): 22; López Muñoz (2015): 14; Matilla Séiquer and Adrados Bustos (2008): 55.
[186] Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012): 255.
[187] González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007): 26.
[188] Alarcão (1996): 170.
[189] López Muñoz (2015): 14; González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007): 22.
[190] CIL II 3542: L(ucius) Turcilius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Rufus / [The]rmas [f]ec(it). Unfortunately lost.
[191] CIL II 3541 (p 955); ILER 2043: C(aius) Cornelius Capito L(ucius) Heius Labeo / IIvir(i) aquas ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) reficiendas / curarunt i(dem)q(ue) p(robarunt).
Mantilla and Adrados argue that although *aquas* traditionally refers to an aqueduct, it could well have referred to the bath complex or the settlement itself if it was known as a *Aquae* (2008): 60. Archaeology proves the destruction of the building in the first century CE, see: Mantilla and Adrados. 59; González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007): 23.
[192] *Ilorca* has been located at Lorquí, only 6 kilometres away, however the location at Lorca and thus connection to *Eliocroca* seems more logical as it is near the spring of the Guadalquivir as Pliny indicates for *Ilorca*. Other places in the vicinity are *Begastri* (41 km), *Ilorca-Eliocroca* (61 km), *Carthago* Nova (65 km), *Ilici* (55 km) and *Ilunum* (47 km).
[193] Matilla Séiquer and Adrados Bustos (2008): 59-60.
[194] *Ibid*. 60.

building that had been erected by a private person indicates the importance of the bath complex. Mantilla and Abrados also observe that the *nomen* of the *duumvir*, *L. Heius Labeo,* is well known from the region of *Olisipo* (Lisbon). They suggest that the *duumvir* may have originated from this region, and that Archena was somehow connected to *Olisipo*.

Two other sepulchral inscriptions connect the site to other parts of the Peninsula. An inscription from the early first century CE mentions an individual with the *origo Consaburensis*.[195] *Consabura* is a city located a lengthy 250 kilometres from Archena. Another funerary inscription with an *origo* is dated to the late first century CE and refers to *Valentia* a city located 170 kilometres from Archena. González and Matilla point out that the cognomen on this inscription, *Daphnus*, is of eastern origin and is often found in port settlements.[196]

The archaeology of Archena does not support the idea of a classical urban centre. It may be that the settlement belonged to a dispersed *civitas.* The region does not have many urban centres, but Archena was related to a community with the status of *municipium*. The fact a necropolis is located in the direct vicinity indicates there was habitation and the funerary inscriptions position the site within the wider settlement network. Since Archena is located on the road from *Carthago Nova* to *Complutum,* it may also have functioned as a *mansio*.

Aquae Querquernae (Galicia)

The military settlement of *Aquae Querquernae* has already been mentioned in my discussion of the dispersed *civitates* as it had at least a military camp and a *castro* that seem to have functioned in tandem as central places.[197] In addition to these two settlements, several other settlements were located in this *civitas*.

In the direct vicinity, to the south-east of the camp, we find a military *vicus* (A Cidade) which only measured half a hectare. A second *vicus* (Baños), measuring 4.4 hectares, must have been an important secondary agglomeration, as it is the settlement where the *mansio* is located.[198] Moreover, it was the location of the thermal springs and had a thermal complex, from which *Aquae Querquernae* took its name.[199] Unfortunately, it is now partially submerged because of the construction of a hydroelectric dam. In addition to these *vici*, we find another settlement, Buraca da Moura, a gold mining settlement, which was clearly related to the fort located to the north.[200]

[195] González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007): 30.
[196] *Ibid*. 36.
[197] Plin. *NH* III 28; Rodríguez Colmenero (2002): 228.
[198] Itin. Ant. 428.2; Ravenn. 320.3; Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 905; Rodríguez Colmenero (1991): 127.
[199] Palao Vicente (2009): 529.
[200] *Ibid*. 528; Soares Fortes (2008) *A xestión da auga na paisaxe romana do occidente peninsular*: Anexo III p. 47.

4.3.4 Mansiones and mutationes

Mansiones and *mutationes* were stopping places along the roads. A *mansio* is a place where one could stay the night. The central building generally took the form of a quadrangular patio with several rooms opening onto it. In many cases, we also find a thermal complex.[201] *Mansiones* were situated on average 20 kilometres or one day's travel apart.[202] Due to their focal position along the roads and their distribution over the landscape, it is not hard to imagine that they often developed into central points for the surrounding area, providing not only the opportunity for travellers to rest but also trading opportunities for the local population.[203] Some of the *mansiones* and *mutationes* may therefore have developed into 'town-like' settlements, with urban features such as a bath-complex, permanent or temporary market place and administrative functions similar to those of the *vici*. This explains why they appear in most works dealing with the secondary agglomerations of the Roman Empire.[204]

The *mansiones* of the Iberian Peninsula can be traced through the Antonine Itinerary, the Ravenna Cosmography and the Vicarello goblets. These sources cover the most important routes on the peninsula, but they do not provide us with a chronological perspective as they are either difficult to date, as in the case of the Vicarello goblets[205], or contain information relating to multiple periods.[206] Despite these problems, the itineraries provide a good overview of the routes and the *mansiones*.

It appears from the itineraries that the *mansiones* were to be found in various types of settlements, ranging from provincial capitals to *vici*. We find them in all kinds of secondary agglomerations, such as ports[207], *fora*[208], *aquae*[209] and *vici*[210]. Unfortunately, many of these places remain unlocated and therefore cannot be included in

[201] Caballero Casado (2016) 'Roman Roads: the Backbone of the Empire.' In: Cámara Muñoz and Revuelta Pol (eds.), *Roman Engineering*, 69-86: 82; Salway (2001): 34.
[202] Roldán Hervás (2013) 'Augusto y la administración provincial.' In: Blázques Martínez and Ozcáriz Gil (eds.), *La Administración de las Provincias en el Imperio Romano*, 49-74: 66; Bintliff (2002) 'Going to Market in Antiquity.' *Zu Wasser und zu Land* Vol. 7, 209-50: 2016.
[203] Roldán Hervás (2013): 67; Salway (2001): 34.
[204] Oelmann (1922); Mangin *et al.* (1986) *Les agglomérations secondaires en Franche-Comté romaine*; Hingley (1989) *Rural settlement in Roman Britain*; Mangin and Tassaux (1992); Burnham (1993); Bénard *et al.* (1994); Burnham (1995); Hanley (2000) *Villages in Roman Britain*; Kolb (2001) 'Transport and communication in the Roman state: the *cursus publicus*.' In: Adams and Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, 95-105: 97; Salway (2001): 34.
[205] Schmidt (2011): 82.
[206] Salway (2001): 58; Roldán Hervás (1975): 111.
[207] Ant.It. 407.1: *Porto Albo*; 409.3: *Portu Gaditano*; Ravenn. 304.7: *Portum Sucrone*; Ravenn. 306.4 *Portum* (Gaditanum); Vicar: *Ad Portum*.
[208] Ant.It. 428.7 *Foro* (*Gigurro*) 452.7: *Foro Gallorum*; 452.10: *Foro Ligneo*; Ravenn. 309.6: *Foro Gallorum*; 320.8: *Foro Gigurnion*.
[209] Ant.It. 416.5 *Aquabona*; 422.6 *Ad Aquas*; 428.1 *Aquis Originis*; 428.2 *Aquis Querquennis*; 430.3 *Aquis Celenis*; 423.8 *Aquis Celenis*; 437.2 *Aquae Bilbitanorum*; Rav. 303.5 *Aquis Voconis*; 320.2 *Aquis Ocerensis*; 320.3 *Aquis Cercenis*; 321.8 *Aquis Celenis*; 341.14 *Aquis Bocconis*; Vicarello cups: *Aquis Voconis*.
[210] Ant.It. 424.1 *Vico Spacorum*; 439.9 *Vico Aquario*; 445.6 *Vico Cuminario*; Rav. 319.3 *Vico Aquarum*.

this research. One well-studied example has already been mentioned in my discussion of the garrison settlements and *aquae*: *Aquae Querquernae*.[211]

Ildum

One *mansio* that may have developed into an important secondary settlement with central place functions is *Ildum.* This *mansio* is located along the *Via Augusta* between *Dertosa* and *Saguntum,* the distance between the *mansio* and either of these cities being approximately 70 kilometres. On this 140-kilometre stretch, we find three *mansiones*: obviously, *Ildum*, along with *Intibilis* between *Dertosa* and *Ildum*, and *Sebelaci* between *Ildum* and *Saguntum*. Of these three *mansiones,* only *Ildum* has been investigated. The settlement has yielded evidence for a *stabulum* and a *hospitium*, proving it to be a *mansio*. In addition, a *horreum* was found, showing its importance for the collection of the *annona*.[212] Due to this function as a place for storing goods and its location between two major cities, Arasa argues that it must have at least functioned as the location for the weekly markets (*nundinae*).[213]

Iturissa

Another *mansio* of interest is *Iturissa*, which was situated in about 30 kilometres from *Pompelo* along the route connecting *Asturica Augusta* with *Burdigala*.[214] The name of the settlement is mentioned not only in the itineraries, but also in Ptolemy, indicating that we may be dealing with a settlement of some importance.[215] The settlement was partially surveyed and excavated in the late twentieth century.[216]

In recent years, various areas have been surveyed using a magnetometer. [217] In the Zaldua area a densely inhabited area of at least 4.5 hectares been found along a road. This settlement might have continued to the east.[218] The street pattern of the settlement cannot be considered orthogonal (fig. IV.6: nº 3), but it is more or less perpendicular to the main road, as is common in roadside settlements.[219] Garcia-Garcia *et al.* point out that the buildings do not cling closely to the main road. He argues that the houses were not built directly bordering the street, but had porticoes. Porticoed

[211] See chapter III section on the dispersed *civitas.*
[212] Arasa i Gil (2013) 'L'Hostalot (Vilanova d'Alcolea, el Baix Maestrat). Excavacions a la *mansio Ildum* de la via Augusta. El complex arquitectònic de l'*horreum*.' *Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de Castelló* Vol. 31, 163-202; Arasa i Gil (2008) 'La Mansio Ildum de la vía Augusta (Vilanova d'Alcolez, Castellón).' *El Nuevo Miliario* Vol. 5, 6-10: 7.
[213] Arasa i Gil (2013): 197.
[214] Ant. It 455.6; Ravenn. 311.14.
[215] Ptol. II 6.66.
[216] Peréx Agorreta and Unzu Urmeneta (1990) 'Emplazamiento de Iturissa, mansio en la vía de Astorga a Burdeos.' *La red viaria en la Hispania romana*, 373-84.
[217] Garcia-Garcia *et al.* (2016) 'Magnetometer survey at the newly discovered Roman city of Auritz/Burguete (Navarre). Results and preliminary archaeological interpretation.' *Archaeological Prospection* Vol. 23, 243-56: 245.
[218] *Ibid*. 246.
[219] *Ibid*. 247; Burnham and Wacher (1990) *The 'small towns' of Roman Britain*: 26; Bénard *et al.* (1994): 46.

streets are common for terraced houses in roadside settlements.[220] The settlement has at least one area (fig. IV.6: nº 5) that can be interpreted as industrial. To the south-east, we find a zone with limited magnetic activity that is delimited by linear structures (fig. IV.6: nº 14) and to the east there is a rather large building complex.[221] This area has been interpreted as a possible public area.

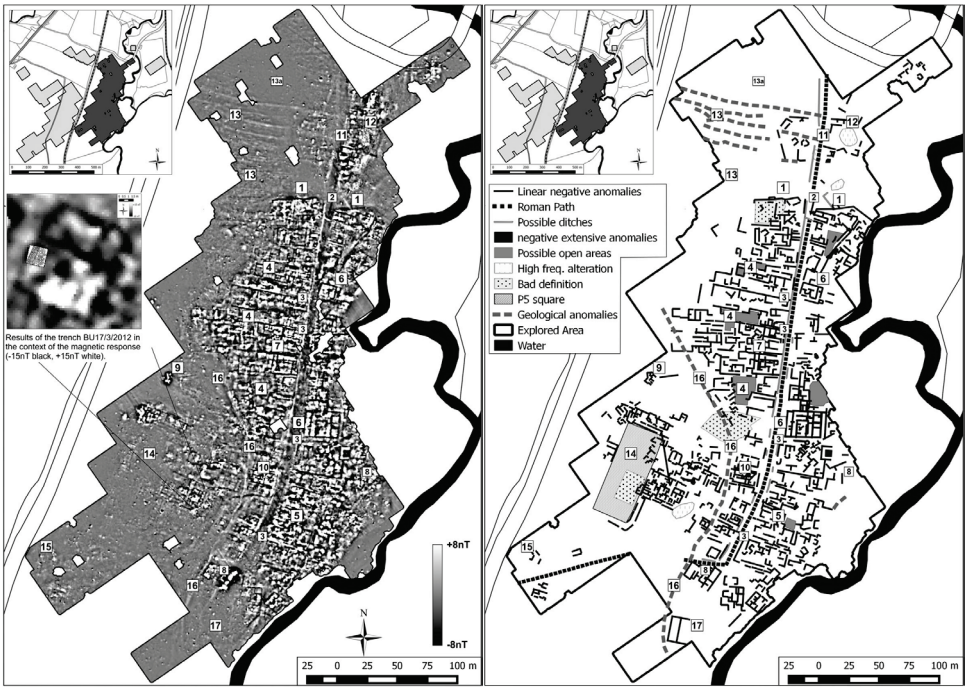


Fig. IV.6: Zaldua (Iturissa) magnetic survey results (left) and interpretation (right) Garcia-Garcia et al. Fig. 4 p. 249

[220] Garcia-Garcia *et al.* (2016): 247; Pérez Losada (2002): 49.
[221] Garcia-Garcia *et al.* (2016): 250.

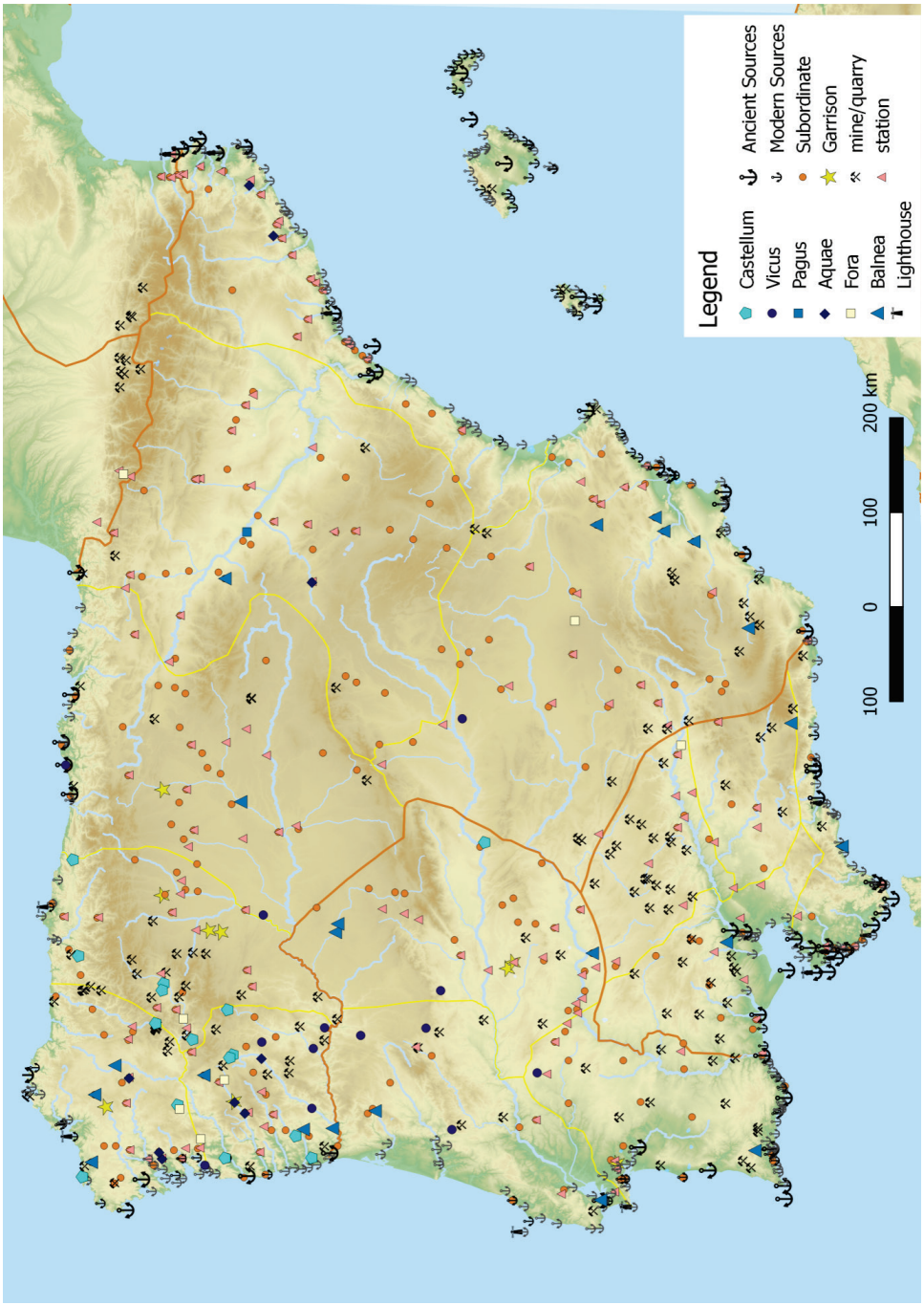


Fig. IV.7 All functions of possible secondary agglomerations found in various databases. The map is only to give an idea of the multitude of sites that need further research. The majority have yet to be located and are only roughly located on this map.

4.5 Network analysis of the settlement system of the Hispaniae

According to Braudel, the Mediterranean unity arises from 'the sum of its routes'.[222] He stresses the importance of the city for this Mediterranean network. For the Roman period, Morley argues that levels of interaction between different settlements were sufficiently high to justify the term 'urban network'.[223] Instead of exploring these economic interactions, this section will use network analysis to highlight the importance of certain settlements that had no monumental archaeology or juridical status. I will start by analysing the information provided by the Antonine Itinerary, the Ravenna Cosmography and the Vicarello Goblets. As a second step, a network of self-governing communities will be created based on the assumption that all places would be connected to their direct neighbours.

Networks can be analysed further for different properties, such as Weighted Degree (WD), Closeness Centrality (CC), Betweenness Centrality (BC) and Eigenvector Centrality (EC).[224] The Weighted Degree is the number of connections (edges) leading to or out of a settlement (node), weighted by the value allotted to each edge. For the purposes of my inquiries a connection based on a secondary road will be assigned a weight of 1 point; a major road a weight of 2; an upriver connection a weight of 1; a downriver connection a weight of 3 and a coastal connection a weight of 4.[225] Once the network has been created, the analysis can be started.

The Closeness Centrality represents the mean length of all shortest routes from a node to all other nodes, in other words the accessibility of all other nodes in the network.[226] When normalised, the score for this property is between 0 (inaccessible) and 1 (directly connected to all nodes).

The score for Betweenness Centrality is based on the number of shortest paths that run through the node divided by all the shortest paths in the network. In other words, it gives the probability that a particular node is part of the shortest route. The higher the BC, the greater the importance of the node in the network in avoiding fragmentation.[227]

* Unfortunately this study was done before the project Mercator-e (http://fabricadesites.fcsh.unl.pt/mercator-e/home-2/) was announced.

[222] Braudel (1995) *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*: 276.

[223] Morley (1997) 'Cities in context: urban systems in Roman Italy.' In: Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: beyond the consumer city*, 41-56: 45.

[224] Gephi is a free open source programme available at http://www.gephi.org.

[225] My approach is a variant of that used by De Soto and Carreras Monfort (2009) 'La Movilidad en época Romana en Hispania: Aplicaciones de análisis de redes (SIG) para el estudio diacrónico de las infraestructuras de transporte.' *Habis* Vol. 40, 303-24: 310.

[226] Isaksen (2007) 'Network Analysis of Transport Vectors in Roman Baetica.' In: Clark and Hagemeister (eds.) *CAA: Digital discovery: exploring new frontiers in human heritage,* Budapest: Archaeolingua, 75-87: 78.

[227] *Ibid.*

Finally, we will look at the Eigenvector Centrality (EC), this is a measure of the influence of a node within the network. In other words, it values the degree and the importance of the connections. A node with a high EC is not necessarily highly linked, but it links to well-connected nodes. Losing these nodes could lead to fragmentation of the network.

One major aspect of using network analysis is the fact it is a topological rather than a topographical approach. What is relevant is the position of the places relative to each other, rather than in the geographical plane. This has one great advantage: places do not have to be located precisely but only in respect to their neighbours. In the case of the itineraries this is a great advantage, since many of the places that appear in them have not been located precisely.[228] A considerable disadvantage of this approach is the loss of distance in the network. For example, the route from *Caesaraugusta* to *Osca* is one step in route I of the Antonine Itinerary, whereas the same route consists of three steps in route XXII.[229] The places mentioned along this section of route 32 have not been located. In a network analysis, the most advantageous route was route I, but in a geographical analysis the difference would depend on the position of the road while the number of stopping places would not be of importance.

4.5.1 Networks based on the itineraries

In an article that appeared in 2006, Graham analyses the whole Roman Empire as one network based on the Antonine Itineraries. His analysis is aimed at understanding the structure of the network rather than the specific nodes.[230] Another investigation focusing on nodes was conducted by Isakson, who used the Vicarello Goblets, the Antonine Itinerary and the Ravenna Cosmography to understand the network of Roman Baetica as well as the role played by particular nodes in this network.[231]

For the purposes of my own analysis I have used the works by Roldán Hervás on the Roman itineraries to chart the road network. In total we find 396 nodes connected via 499 edges. Only 145 of these nodes correspond to self-governing communities as defined in chapter 3.

The easiest and first step is to calculate the (unweighted) degree of a node, in other words, the number of roads leading into the settlement. In contrast to the Weighted Degree, for the (unweighted) degree we consider repetitively mentioned connections only once. The city with the highest degree is *Caesaraugusta* with 13 edges connecting

[228] The major problems here are the copying errors, which make the distances unreliable. Here and there one can find in the edition the variations of distances. One of the frequently made mistakes is the wrong order of the Roman numerals, with such variations as fourteen XIV and sixteen XVI being made relatively often. Interestingly, mistakes such as fourteen (Quattuordecim, XIV) and forty (Quadraginta XL) are also rather common. See Roldán Hervan (1975) for the variations on distances.

[229] Route 1: Itin. Ant. 391.5- 392.1 *Osca –Caesaraugusta.*
Route 32 (in reverse order): Itin. Ant. 451.2 – 451.5 *Caesaraugusta – Gallicum – Bortinae – Osca.*

[230] Graham (2006) 'Networks, Agent-Based Models and the Antonine Itineraries: Implications for Roman Archaeology.' *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* Vol. 19, N° 1, 45-64.

[231] Isaksen (2007).

to it, followed by *Augusta Emerita* (8) and *Corduba* (7). The latter two cities are the provincial capitals of *Baetica* and *Lusitania*. The absence of the capital *Tarraco* may seem surprising, but can easily be explained: since the itineraries are all based on the road network, the degree does not take into account maritime connections. The prominent position of *Caesaraugusta*, as the place with the highest degree, must be related to the focus of the Antonine Itinerary on the north-western part of the peninsula. Moving to the next highest scores, we find eight places with a degree of 6. Here we find *Tarraco,* the provincial capital of *Citerior,* and *Hispalis*, the large port at the mouth of the Guadalquivir in the *Lacus Ligustinus*. The other places with a score of six are, *Bracara Augusta*, *Asturica Augusta*, *Brigaecium*, *Aquae Celenae*, *Segisamo* and *Virovesca*. These cities are all located along the northern east-west axis, indicating the focus of the itineraries, especially the Antonine Itinerary, on this region.

The prominence of *Caesaraugusta* becomes even more pronounced when considering the Weighted Degree (WD). This is based on the number of times a route mentions the place, and it should be borne in mind that the itineraries are repetitive and tend to mention variations of routes. *Caesaraugusta* functions as *caput viae* in eight routes and ten other routes pass it.[232] Among these ten routes we find routes 25, 26 and 29, which are partially duplicates of route 24. Since all these routes are taken into account for the Weighted Degree, we end up with a Weighted Degree of 18. Other places with a high Weighted Degree are either *caput viae*, *Augusta Emerita*, *Hispalis*, *Corduba*, or are located along route 24/25 of the Antonine Itinerary, which overlaps with routes 26 and 29.[233]

Status	All 396	First 100	First 11
Colonia	6.06%	17	5
Municipium	24.74%	44	4
Other	69.20%	39	1

Table IV.7 Status Itineraries in %

As noted above, the itineraries focus on the north-western region, which was less urbanised. Hence, the network is composed mostly of secondary agglomerations, such as *mutationes* and *mansiones*, without other urban functions. Still, in most of the higher order nodes are self-governing communities. No secondary agglomerations are found among the seventeen nodes with the highest degrees.

4.5.2 Networks of self-governing communities

[232] As *caput viae* in: Itin. Ant. XXIV to XXIX, XXI and XXXIII.

[233] Itin. Ant. XXIV, XXV, and as simple repetition "...*mansionibus supra scriptis*..." in Itin. Ant. XXVI and XXIX.

The places: *Caesaraugusta* (18), *Emerita Augusta* (16), *Hispalis* (11), *Complutum* (11), *Corduba* (10), *Tarraco* (10), *Bilbilis* (10), *Arcobriga* (10), *Asturica Augusta* (10), *Segontia* (10), *Titulcia* (10), *Caesada* (10), *Nertobriga* (10).

Since the itineraries focused mostly on secondary agglomerations, we cannot use them to analyse the role of the self-governing communities. Another approach therefore has to be applied to overcome this problem. An article by De Soto & Carreras Monfort proves a very useful starting point for a network analysis of Roman Hispania.[234] Their approach entails granting cities a weight based on the following score: 1 point for a secondary road, 2 points for major road, 3 for a river connection and 4 for a connection over sea. The resulting weights can be visualised in a heat map (fig. IV.8).[235]

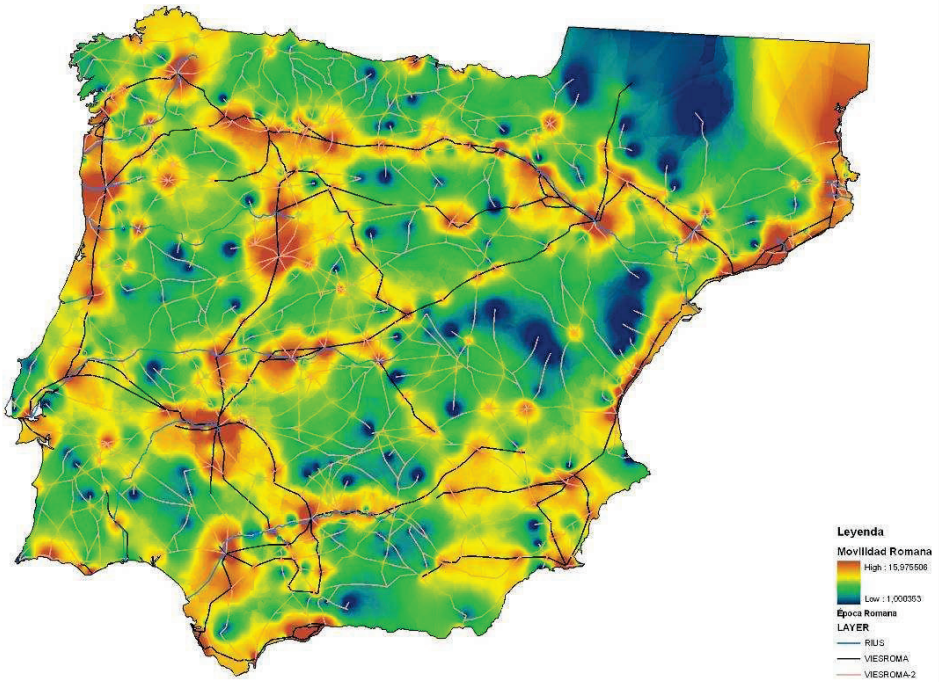


Fig. IV.8: Heat map by De Soto and Carreras Monfort (2009), 310 fig. 3.

For the purposes of my own analysis I created a new network based on the road network found in various publications and used this network to analyse the connectedness of the self-governing communities.[236] The network contains 407 nodes[237] comprising all located self-governing communities, and 750 edges between the nodes.

[234] De Soto and Carreras Monfort (2009).
[235] *Ibid*. 310.
[236] Talbert (2000); Alarcão *et al.* (1995); Álvarez Martínez *et al.* (2001); Balil Illana *et al.* (1991); Cepas Palanca *et al.* (1997) *TIR K/J-31: Pyrénées Orientales, Baléares, Tarraco*; Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993).
[237] Out of 430 self-governing communities, 23 could not be located at all and some have been located approximately using secondary sources. As has already been stated, the social network analysis is topological not topographical, so the exact location is not releveant, only the position in relation to other places.

In calculating weights for each of the edges, we have to distinguish among the different types of transportation. Carrera and De Soto give the average speeds of five modes of transport: 4.26 km/h maritime; 2.51 km/h fluvial (downriver); 0.62 km/h fluvial (upriver); 6.5 km/h land (foot/mule); 1.6 km/h land (cart).[238] If we were to weight the links according to this principle, we would implicitly assume that transport by land (foot/mule) is the best method of transport. In reality, the modes of transport not only differ in speed but also in the amount of goods that are conveyed. Therefore, Carreras and De Soto not only included the carrying capacity of various transport modes, but also the cost per hour based on the edict of Diocletian.[239] If all these factors are taken into account, we end up with the following scores for the cost of transport: 1 maritime; 3.4 fluvial (downriver); 6.8 fluvial (upriver); 43.4 land (foot/mule); 50.72 land (cart).

The advantages of travelling by sea are confirmed by literary evidence. In the ancient sources we find the estimates of the time needed to get from Rome to *Baetica*. Pliny states that a journey from *Ostia* to *Gades* would take seven days.[240] In contrast to this, Caesar needed at least 27 days to travel from Rome to *Obulco*, near *Corduba*.[241] According the ORBIS geospatial network, the journey from *Ostia* to *Gades* would have taken 15 days[242], while that from *Rome* to *Corduba* would take 20 days. The longer duration of the latter journey reflects the slowness of the overland route between *Gades* and *Corduba*.

In weighing the edges, De Soto & Carreras assign 1 point for a secondary road, 2 for a major road, 3 for a river connection and 4 for a coastal location. I have adapted their riverine score by distinguishing between transportation upriver (weight 1) and downriver (weight 3). In the approach taken by De Soto and Carreras, each edge counts, hence a settlement along the Guadalquivir has at least a weight of 5 (2 for the major road and 3 for the river). In reality, one cannot take the road and the river, and most people would have taken the fastest route. Therefore, it seems better to consider only the edge with the highest weight instead of the sum. This approach gives a slightly different picture from the heat map in De Soto and Carreras. This new network has been used for network analysis.

[238] Carreras Monfort and De Soto (2010) *Historia de la movilidad en la Península Ibérica: redes de transporte en SIG*: 83ss.
[239] *Ibid*. 90.
[240] Plin. *NH* XIX 4.
[241] Str. III 4.9; App. *Civ*. II 103.
[242] ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (http://orbis.stanford.edu/). For this analysis fastest route in summer is chosen.

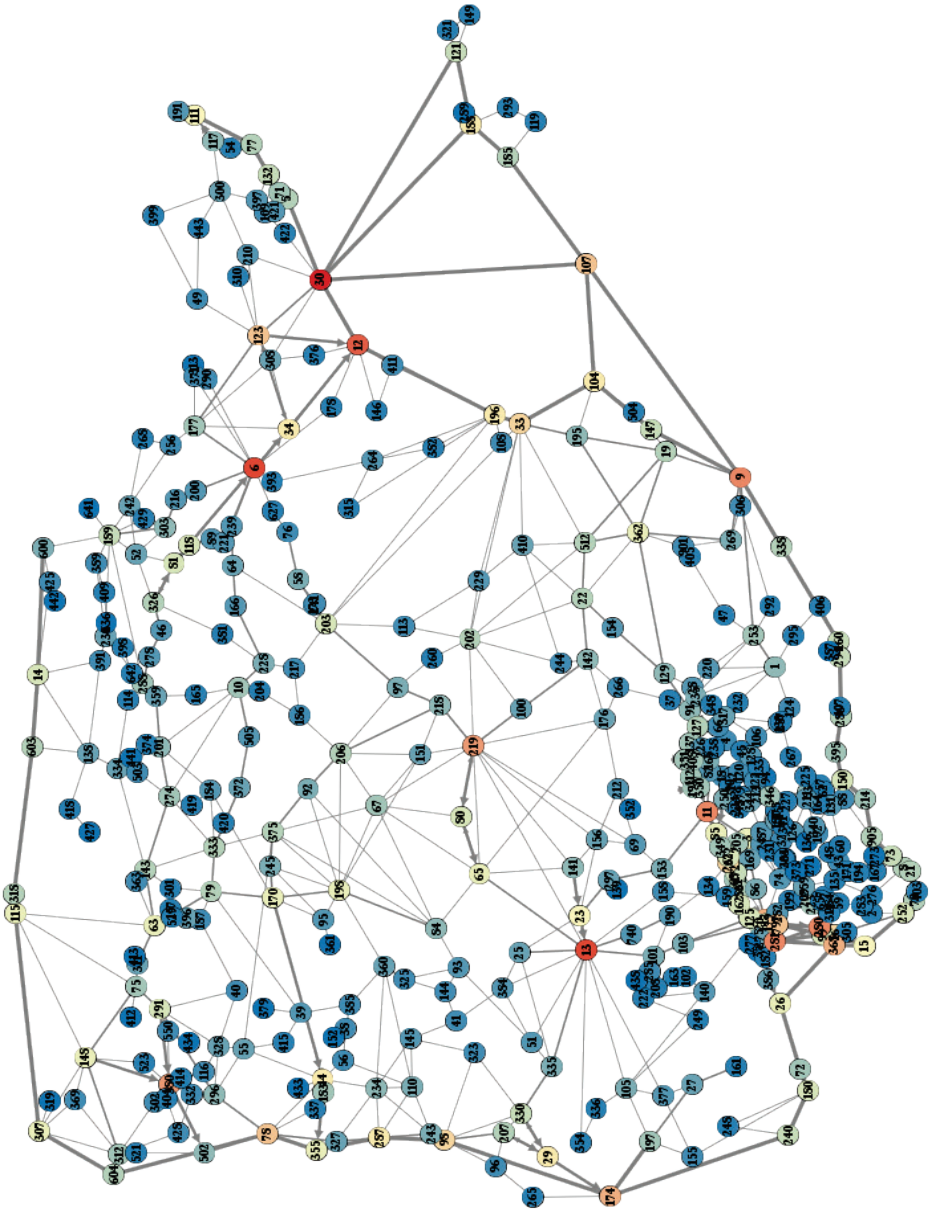


Fig. IV.9: Weighted degree centrality (numbers refer to ID numbers found in the appendices)

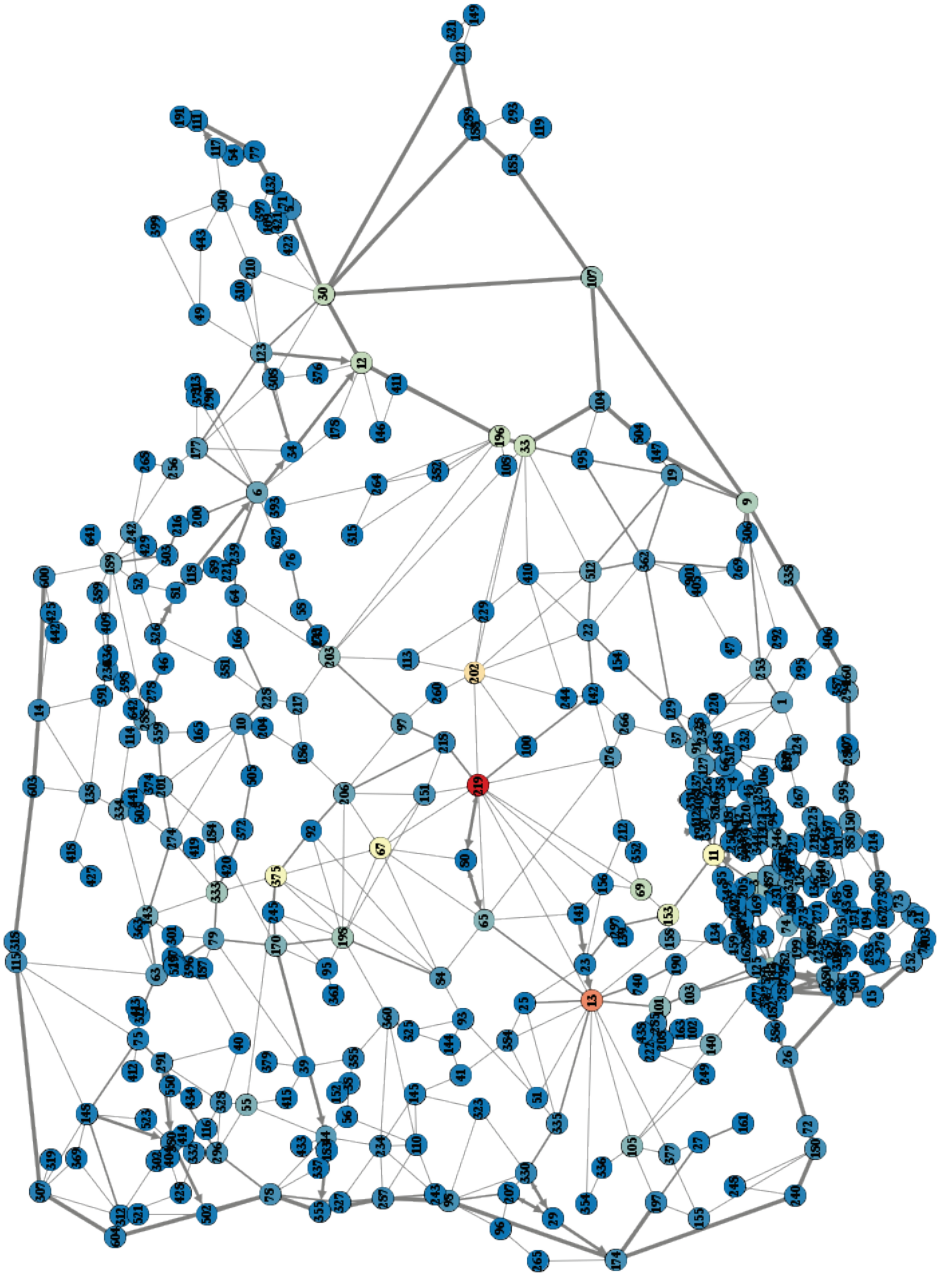


Fig. IV.10: Betweenness Centrality

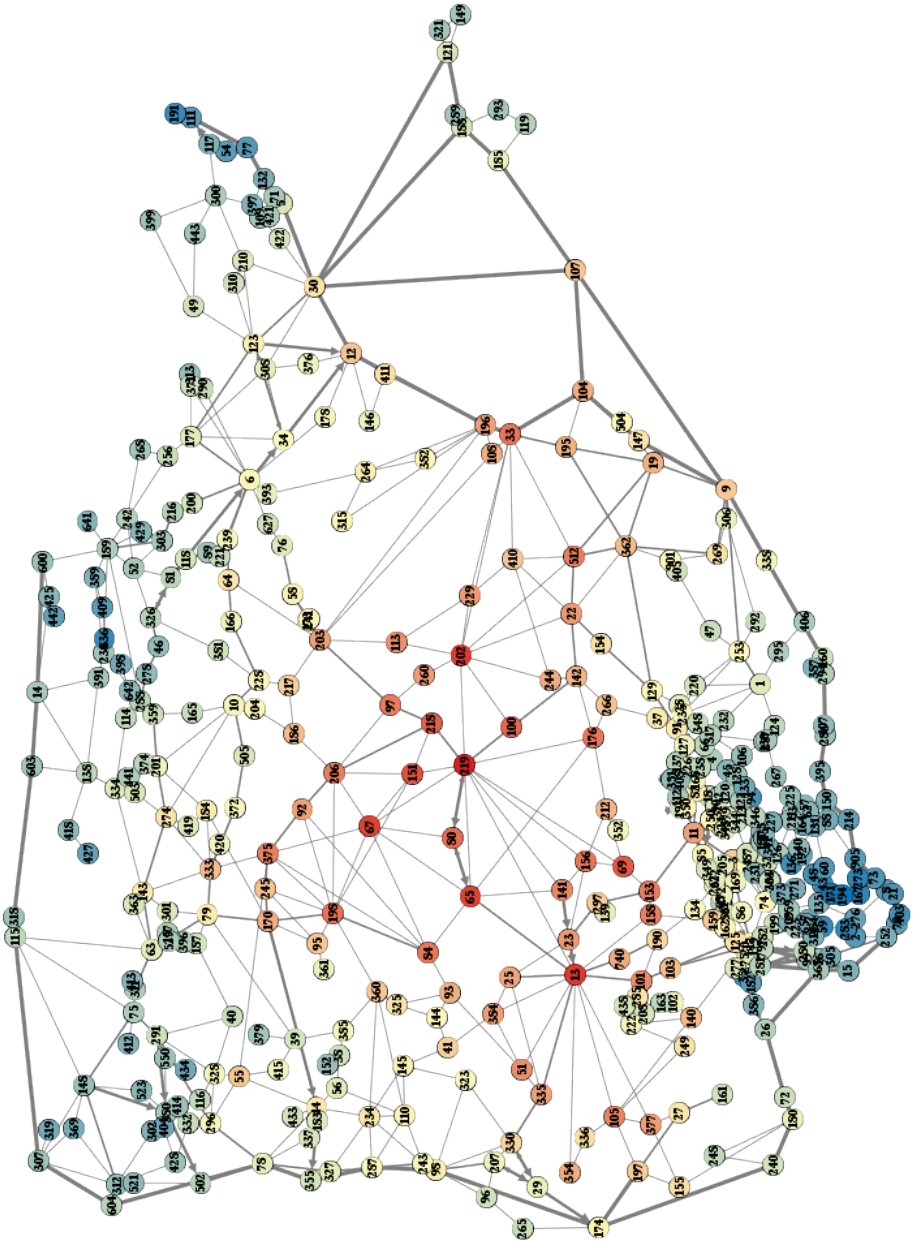


Fig. IV.11: Closeness centrality

As in my analysis of the itineraries, for each self-governing city I have calculated the degrees and centralities. Among the 10 places with the highest Weighted Degree, *Augusta Emerita* and *Tarraco* occupy the first and second positions. *Tarraco* has its location on the coast, leading to a multitude of edges with a weight of 4. *Augusta Emerita*, was located along various major routes, among which the Via de Plata, which connected the mines of the north-west to the port of *Hispalis*. It is more surprising to find *Caesaraugusta*, an inland centre, occupying the third position and coming before the maritime city of *Carthago Nova*, and also before important inland settlements, such as *Corduba*. Its high rank is the result of its position along the Ebro and the multitude of roads running from *Tarraco*, via *Caesaraugusta*, to the inland regions. The relatively high rank of *Toletum* is the result of its location at the centre of the Iberian Peninsula and its connections via the Tagus. Another surprise is the rather small settlement of *Caetobriga*, which owes its high position to its maritime and fluvial connections.

id	Name	WD	Normalised WD
13	Emerita Augusta	26	1
30	Tarraco	25	0.961538
6	Caesaraugusta	23	0.884615
11	Corduba	20	0.769231
174	Olisipo	20	0.769231
9	Carthago Nova	19	0.730769
219	Toletum	19	0.730769
12	Dertosa	19	0.730769
17	Hispalis	17	0.653846
367	Caetobriga	17	0.653846

Table IV.8: Top 10 places with highest degree

The other centralities calculated for the network are Closeness Centrality, Betweenness Centrality and Eigenvector Centrality. These measures can be used to explore the connections between various forms of centrality and specific juridical statuses For the purpose of this analysis I have distinguished among four juridical statuses: *colonia*, *municipium c.R.*, *municipium* and 'other' statuses. The 'other' statuses include Old Latin rights, *oppidum stipendiarium*, *oppidum foederatum*, places considered self-governing based on indirect evidence and garrison settlements.

The next parameter is Betweenness Centrality, for which the values range from 0 (no shortest paths going through a node) to 0.33 (33% chance a short route passes this node). The BC is the likelihood that a given settlement would be passed when travelling from a node towards another, for example, 33% of all shortest routes on the Iberian Peninsula run past *Toletum*.

The values for Closeness Centrality have also been calculated for each juridical category. Since the values for CC represent the number of nodes that have to be passed to reach other nodes, nodes located at the centre of the map would score rather highly, since they are located in the centre. This follows from the fact that due to their central position fewer nodes have to be passed to reach other nodes. The normalised values range between 0.0776 and 0.1934. Lastly, the Eigenvector Centrality is calculated, where we find *Toletum* with 1 and *Vergi* as with the lowest value, namely 0.0017. The EC gives the importance of a node to avoid fragmentation. In this network this centrality has only little influence as there are no clear clusters that depend on a few nodes.

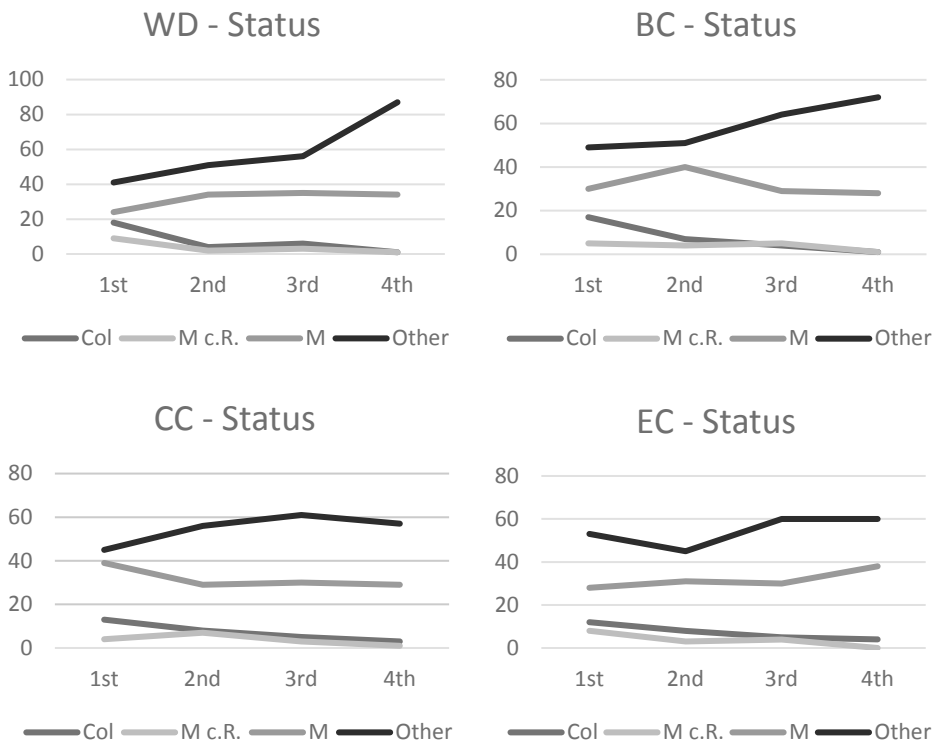


Fig. IV.12 Status of self-governing communities compared with centralities (per quartile)

The quartiles have been calculated for each of the different centralities, resulting in four groups from the highest (1st) to the lowest (4th). The number of cities is given along the x-axis. The results are shown in figure IV.12.

The relationship between status and position in the network is not very strong, but the *coloniae* seem to be mostly located in the higher categories. In graphs for WD and the BC *coloniae* are not found in the lowest range, indicating that they have more

edges with other self-governing cities and they are positioned mostly along the shortest routes, placing them on key points in the network. Similarly, we find the *municipia c.R.* in key positions. Unlike the *coloniae,* they are more evenly spread across the higher BC categories, but they are found mostly in the highest CC and EC, indicating they are well-connected (CC) and that their connections matter for the network (EC). On this basis it may be concluded that the *coloniae* and *municipia c.R.* of the Iberian Peninsula tended to be situated at important nodes in the network.

CHAPTER V

MONUMENTS FOR URBAN LIFESTYLE

5.1 Introduction

Monuments have been one of the main focal points within urban studies for a very long time. Many studies focus on the architecture, studying styles and forms[1], while other publications deal with the technical aspects of the construction of impressive monuments. Yet another category of studies centres on monuments as part of an 'urban lifestyle'.[2]

> When, however, I found that your attention, not exclusively devoted to state affairs, was bestowed on the state of the public buildings, so that the republic was not more indebted to you for its extended empire, in the addition of so many provinces, than for your numerous public buildings by which its grandeur is amply manifested, I considered it right that no time should be lost in laying these precepts before you.[3]
>
> Vitr. *De Arch*. I Praef. 2

There is a supposed relation between status and monumentality. However, Goffaux has argued convincingly that after the Augustan period there is no direct relation between these variables.[4] At first, recently promoted communities may have

[1] Sear (2006) *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*; Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*; Thomas (2007) *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: architecture in the Antonine Age*; Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990).

[2] Kolb (1984): 15; Fear (1996): 15; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 203; Arribas Domínguez (1999): 427; Edmondson (2006): 250. Andreu Pintado (2004a) 'Algunas consideraciones sobre las ciudades romanas del territorio vascón y su proceso de monumentalización.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 17-18, 251-99; Curchin (2012) 'The Urban Experience in Castilla-La Mancha in the Roman Period.' In: Carrasco Serrano (ed.), *La ciudad romana en Castilla-La Mancha*, 15-28; Pfanner (1990) 'Modelle römischer Stadtentwicklung am Beispiel Hispaniens un der westlichen Provinzen.' In: Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) *Stadtbild un Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit,* München: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 59-116; Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990). For a historiography of the study of monumentalisation outside the Iberian Peninsula, see: Thomas (2007): 2ff.

[3] Translation from LacusCurtius.
Cum vero adtenderem te non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum, quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem, ideo quod primum parenti tuo de eo fueram notus et eius virtutis studiosus.

[4] Goffaux (2003): 144.

tended to build monuments. However, in the Augustan period non-privileged communities also began to construct monuments. In the Flavian period, no second wave of monumentalisation is observed in response to the grant of *ius Latii*.

The rationale behind this supposed link is that privileged cities are assumed to have had an élite that was well connected to the centre of power. The new élite would be 'highly imitative' in their acts of euergetism and would start creating the civic monuments found in other cities.[5] Zanker goes as far as stating that there is a difference between the monumentalisation of Caesarean promotions and those of the Augustan age and later, recognisable by the uniformity of the architecture.[6] He states that the monuments created in the Caesarean period were those of an élite representing their diversity through the monuments, whereas the Augustan monuments were a response to the new state.

Another theory is that there was a relationship between monumentalisation and the degree of exposure to 'Roman' culture. This exposure led to a situation where monuments were erected without being directly related to the specific status of a community.[7] In particular the theatre and, possibly later, the amphitheatre seem to have been related to the idea of 'urban lifestyle'.[8] The development of monumental structures may reflect the wish to construct an urban identity, possibly to incite the promotion of the community or as a response to its promotion.

Finally, we find the idea that monumentalisation is linked to geographical location or connectivity.[9] The rationale behind this theory is the idea that neighbouring or closely connected cities start to compete, as happened later in the case of *campanilismo* in northern Italy.[10] Within a peaceful region, neighbouring communities will refrain from violence but will still compete. A solution for these communities is competition in religious symbols and rituals.[11] Similar to the case study provided by Tak, we find a pacified region with possible older rivalries. In this environment, communities and especially the élites may have continued their competition using euergetism and monumentalisation, as Syme has argued for *Tarraco* and *Barcino*.[12] An example of civic pride in Hispania is found in Martialis where he boasts about his

[5] Purcell (2010): 588.
[6] Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990): 18.
[7] Aktüre (2007) 'Geographic Distribution and Architectural Characteristics of the Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain: A Structuralist Interpretation.' In: Croxford, Ray, Roth and White (eds.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference,* Oxford: Oxbow Books, 17-33; Sear (2006): 117; (1984) *Villes et fonctions urbaines dans le Nord-Ouest hispanique sous domination romaine*. Porto, 1983a: 195.
[8] Woolf (1998) *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*: 122; Woolf (2000) 'Urbanization and its discontents in early Roman Gaul.' In: Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City*, 115-32: 120.
[9] Aktüre (2007): 19.
[10] Zanker (2000) 'The city as symbol: Rome and the creation of an urban image.' In: Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City*: 39; Tak (1990) 'Longing for an Identity: intervillage relations in an Italian mountain area.' *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 63, N° 2, 90-100: 90.
[11] Tak (1990): 95.
[12] Syme (1981) 'Rival cities, notably Tarraco and Barcino.' *Ktema* Vol. 6, 270-85; Zanker (2000): 39.

hometown of *Bilbilis*.[13] It is likely that élite euergetism was fuelled by local pride and by the wish to outdo the élites of neighbouring towns.[14]

Combining these theories, various scholars have proposed that a combination of multiple factors may have played a role at the same time.[15] In these works, it is stated that the complex process of monumentalisation cannot be explained as reflecting the operation of one particular factor, such as a juridical promotion, but must be seen within the context of the entire process of cultural changes.

One very important part of monumentalisation is funding. As Andreau stated, "Sans ressources, pas de monumentalisation".[16] Three types of funding for monumental structures have been recognised: the city, the emperor and benefactors.[17] For the self-governing communities, Andreau argues that there were several ways to obtain the financial needs for construction.[18] Some of these are rather straightforward and apply to all self-governing communities, such as income from taxes, fines and honorary sums imposed on the élites for the magistracies. However, some are related to the natural riches of the territory and logically vary a lot, such as income from mines, port taxes and land owned by the community; here we have to think about the places with tax exemption.[19] Besides the construction paid for by the city, there were also the benefactions. Whether these were imperial or local, they were voluntary donations to construct part or the whole of the relevant monument. Unfortunately, the evidence is too often lacking to investigate the frequency of the different forms of funding proposed by Andreau. Nonetheless, keeping these forms in mind we may be able to understand the development of monumentalisation in different cities.

[13] Mart. XII 1.49; XII 4.55.

[14] A similar situation is found in my hometown Gronsveld where once in four years during *Groete Broonk* a religious procession is a accompanied by a civilian militia. This custom is found within most towns in the region, however, in my hometown people are willing to pay thousands of euros to become an officer as this will be a source of pride for them and they know the money will benefit the militia.

[15] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 67; Keay (1996) 'Ideology and the location of Roman towns in Baetica.' *The Classical Bulletin* Vol. 72, 51-7: 55.

[16] Andreau (2016) 'Monumentalisation, finances publiques et vie économique.' In: Bouet (ed.), *Monumental! La monumentalisation des villes de l' Aquitaine et de l'Hispanie septentrionale durant le Haut-Empire - Actes du colloque de Villeneuve-sur-Lot (10-12 septembre 2015)*, 43-53: 52.

[17] Sear (2006): 11; Andreau (2016): 44.

[18] The categories: "les revenus de immeubles, des terres de culture et de pâture appartenant à la cité; les revenus du reste de son patrimoine (carrières, blancs de terre glaise, mines, etc.); le produit de diverses taxes prélèves par elle (et par exemple les taxes d'octroi, les taxes portuaires, les droits sur les foires et marchés, etc.); le produit des amendes; et le montat de "sommes honoraires", imposées aux notables accédant aux magistratures ou autres charges municipales." Andreau (2016): 44.

[19] Saquete Chamizo (2000) 'Privilegio y sociedad en *Augusta Emerita:* la cuestión del *Ius Italicum* y la *Immunitas*.' In: Gorges and Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *IV Mesa Redonda Internacional: Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana*, 379-89: 380.

5.2 Monumental cities

This chapter will first establish which monuments can be found in the different cities and to which period they can be dated. Despite the fact that the largest part of the archaeological record still has to be disclosed, as many cities have either not been excavated at all or only partially excavated, we can start analysing the data for their first results.[20]

First, we have to establish which monuments are considered to be part of the 'urban' monuments. The scholarly consensus on urban monuments include defensive walls, aqueducts, *thermae*, theatre, amphitheatre, circus, the *forum* and the buildings related to it.[21] However, these monuments are also found in non-urban settlements. Defensive walls are quite common for non-urban settlements, especially in the northwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula where the *Castreño* culture is found.[22] Similarly, aqueducts and baths can be found in non-urban contexts.[23] In several provinces of the Roman Empire spectacle buildings are also found in non-urban contexts.[24] This raises the question of how these monuments relate to the urban nature of a settlement. Would one of these monuments suffice? Or do we need more, and, if so, how many? This study will exclude defensive walls and aqueducts as these are too common to provide a better understanding of urbanism.

Thermae will be included, although these create a number of problems when they are used to define the difference between urban and non-urban. One of the major problems is that they are not necessarily public; they can quite easily be private, belonging to a *domus*.[25] Clearly, these private baths should not be taken into account as part of the monumentality of a city. In addition, so far no detailed study of all the

[20] New monuments or indications that there might be monuments are found every year. As recently as in 2017 two possible amphitheatres were found in the region of *Baetica*: Zarzalejos Prieto *et al.* (2017) 'La Beturia Túrdula de la provincia de Ciudad Real. El Ager sisaponensis y los paisajes mineros del Norte de Sierra Morena. Prospecciones geofísicas en la microrregión de Almadén y aplicaciones no destructivas para la identificación de la trama urbana de Sisapo (La Bienvenida. Ciudad Real).' *Paisajes urbanos y rurales de la antigua Beturia Túrdula (Badajoz-Ciudad Real-Córdoba), Estrategias de investigación y revalorización,* Madrid: (Unpublished paper); Monterroso-Checa *et al.* (2017) 'La Beturia Túrdula del norte de Córdoba. Arqueología aérea a través de métodos de teledetección remota desde UAV, Aeronave y Satélite para delimitar Mellaria y configurar el Ager Mellariensis (Fuente Obejuna-Alto Guadiato-Córdoba).' *Paisajes urbanos y rurales de la antigua Beturia Túrdula (Badajoz-Ciudad Real-Córdoba), Estrategias de investigación y revalorización,* Madrid: (Unpublished paper).

[21] Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010) 'Ciudad y suburbia en Corduba: una visión diacrónica (siglos II a.C. – VII d.C.).' In: Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función*, 455-522: 486; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 137.

[22] Padin Nogueira (1998) 'Urbanismo e sociedade na cultura castrexa.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 715-34.

[23] Noguera Celdrán (ed.) (1995) *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania*. Jumilla, 1993.

[24] Bouley (1983) 'Les théâtres cultuels de Belgique et des Germanies.' *Latomus* Vol. 42, 546-71; Sear (2006).

[25] García Entero (2005) *Los balnea domésticos - ámbito rural y urbano- en la Hispania romana*.

thermae has been made. Those that are available are often rather outdated. Luckily, the thermal complexes are under investigation in the doctoral thesis by Pavía Page.[26]

The *fora* pose another problem. Based on the idea that each city must have had a *forum*[27], several *fora*, located at the supposed crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*, have been assumed to exist rather than identified, leading to a complicated dataset.[28] Moreover, there is no complete collection of these building types. Romero Novella is currently researching the *fora* of *Hispania Citerior* within his doctoral thesis.[29]

As a result of the limited research on these building types, the absence of these buildings in the archaeological record most probably only indicates a research bias, a view which is supported by the fact that in the well-investigated cities both buildings have always been found. We must therefore refrain from drawing conclusions based on the absence of these buildings.

Interestingly, in the Hispaniae all but one of the spectacle buildings are found in an urban context.[30] For this reason it makes sense to focus mainly on theatre, amphitheatre and circus, as these are buildings that set cities apart from rural agglomerations. Moreover, spectacle buildings were prime targets for acts of euergetism relating them to the élite or even the imperial family.[31] Even if built (partially) by public money, they still provided the possibility to redecorate or give *ludi* or *munera* as acts of euergetism.

In many cases, we can be certain about the existence of a spectacle building, but in other cases it is only probable or doubtful. Spectacle buildings attested in archaeology are obviously certain. The task of collecting the different buildings is facilitated by several compendia.[32] In addition to the archaeologically attested buildings, we can

[26] Pavía Page (2016) 'Termas públicas del conventus Carthaginiensis. Primera aproximación a su catalogación y estudio.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 24, 81-101; Noguera Celdrán, J.M., García-Entero, V., and Pavía Page, M. (eds.) (2018) *Congreso internacional termas públicas de Hispania preactas*. Murcia, UNED.

[27] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 170.

[28] The only case in which a large area has been excavated and still no *forum* has been found is *Numantia*, although, it could be located in the area that up to date has not been excavated or researched with a geophysical survey.

[29] Romero Novella (2014a) 'Los foros hispanorromanas del *Conventus Caesaraugustanus*.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 22, 149-217; Romero Novella (2014b) 'Novedades en los fora del conventus Caesaraugustanus.' *Bolskan* Vol. 25, 195-219.

[30] Although one could argue that the amphitheatre belonging to the legionary camp Legio VII, is also "urban" as these garrison settlements fulfil urban functions.

[31] Arce (2015) 'La inscripción de Orcistus y las preocupaciones del emperador.' In: Brassous and Quevedo (eds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise*, 311-23: 273; Mingoia (2004) 'Evergetismo relativo agli edifici da spettacolo romani. Una rassegna di testi epigrafici della Baetica.' *ROMULA* Vol. 3, 219-38: 220; Rodríguez Neila and Melchor Gil (2003) 'Magistrados municipales y munificencia cívica en las provincias de Bética y Lusitania.' In: Armani, Stylow and Hurlet-Matineau (eds.), *Epigrafía y sociedad en Hispania durante el Alto Imperio : estructuras y relaciones sociales*, 209-39: 216.

[32] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003) 'Los espectáculos del anfiteatro en Hispania.' *IBERIA* Vol. 6, 57-70; Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.) (2001) *El circo en Hispania Romana*; Sear (2006).

turn to epigraphy and literary sources for evidence. Here, we enter into the area of deciding whether a building definitely existed, such as the case of *Gades* where the amphitheatre has not yet been found. However, the combination of the depiction of an elliptical building with a *cavea* by Wyngaerde, possible elliptical foundations found at the Puerta de Muro[33] referred to as Huerta del Hoyo, a passage from Cicero and an epitaph for a gladiator strongly suggest that there may well have been an amphitheatre in the *forum* rather than games being staged there.[34] Hence the amphitheatre of *Gades* is considered certain. Similarly, we find certain buildings, although not attested archaeologically, in epigraphy. An example is the circus at Zafra, possibly belonging to *Contributa Iulia*, which is mentioned in CIL II 984.[35]

The group of 'probable' spectacle buildings is based on epigraphic evidence for *ludi* or *munera* without a mention of the actual building. Whilst these games could have been held in a proper spectacle building, we cannot exclude the possibility that they were held in a temporary building[36] or in another venue, like the *forum* or theatre[37] or even outside the urban context.[38] In addition, the probable spectacle buildings found by non-invasive techniques, but not attested with certainty, such as the recently discovered amphitheatre of *Mellaria* are added to this category.[39]

The questionable spectacle buildings are those whose existence has been proposed in the scholarly literature without the backing of direct archaeological, epigraphic or other ancient sources. For example, in the case of *Asturica Augusta,* González Fernández states that a theatre is to be expected in the city.[40] In *Italica,* the discovery of a mosaic with the depiction of a circus has fuelled speculation that such a building existed in the city.[41] A similar discussion is based on the depiction of gladiatorial fights on fine ware found in *Calagurris Iulia.*[42] An interesting case is that of *Balsa* where Fraga da Silva uses several techniques, including topological survey, to find a theatre, an amphitheatre and two circuses. The existence of the second circus and the amphitheatre seems very unlikely.[43] The questionable category has been collected to

[33] This gate is also referred to as Puerta de Tierra.
[34] IRPCadiz 398; Cic. Ad. Fam. 10.32.2-3; Wyngaerde, 1567; Fear (1996): 199; Ramírez Delgado (1982) *Los Primitivos Núcleos de Asentanmiento en la Ciudad de Cádiz*: 113; Suarez de Salazar (1610 [1985]) *Grandezas y antigüedades de la isla y ciudad de Cádiz, Facsímil de la edición de Cádiz de 1610*: 128.
[35] CIL II 984: L(ucius) · Valerius · Amandus · / et · L(ucius) · Valerius · Lucumo / podium · in · circo · p(edum) · dec(em) / ob · honorem IIIIII·vir(atus) · / ex · decreto · decurionum · / d(e) · s(uis) · p(ecuniis) · f(aciendum) · c(uraverunt) ·. The inscription is found in Zafra, near *Contributa Iulia*.
[36] Plut. Vit. C. Gracchi 12.
[37] Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 31.121.
[38] Humphrey (1986) *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*: 1; Fear (1996): 7.
[39] Monterroso-Checa *et al.* (2017).
[40] González Fernández (2012) 'Origen militar y desarrollo urbano de Asturica Augusta.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 257-94.
[41] Humphrey (1986): 233.
[42] González Blanco (1998) 'El anfiteatro de Calahorra.' *Kalakorikos* Vol. 3, 193-6.
[43] Fraga da Silva (2007).

point out possible additions if more evidence is found. However, the settlements in this category will not be part of the analysis.

5.2.1 Amphitheatres[44]

The amphitheatre is the most characteristic Roman spectacle building, due to its development on the Italic peninsula and its diffusion after the conquest of the western part of the Empire.[45] Nonetheless, this building developed later than the *munera*, or games, as these were held at first in open spaces and in the *forum*.[46] Welch has related the development of this structure to Roman veteran *coloniae* in the Republican period.[47]

Most of the evidence for certain amphitheatres on the Iberian Peninsula is found in two publications dealing with all types of spectacle buildings and amphitheatres respectively.[48] In addition, epigraphy makes it possible to add a particular amphitheatre in *Castulo* as mentioned by epigraphy (CILA III 84). Moreover, two amphitheatres can be added based on references to *loca spectaculorum,* on the assumption that this phrase refers to an actual amphitheatre.[49] This leads to the inclusion of the amphitheatre in *Siarum* (CILA II 946) and that in *Aurgi* (CIL II² 5.31).[50]

Based on epigraphic evidence only mentioning games without reference to the actual building, we can add three probable amphitheatres: *Aquae Flaviae,* where an inscription refers to the *gladiatorum munus* (CIL II 2473); *Ceret* where a *IIIIvir* provided twenty pairs of gladiators (CIL II 1305); and *Urso*, which is added based on references to *munera* (*Lex Urs.* Ch. 71). Whilst these attestations of *munera* are solid, it should be remembered that games could be held in the *forum*, as stated in the *Lex Ursonensis*, or in a circus or a temporary wooden construction.[51]

The existence of an amphitheatre has been proposed or suggested for some cities without any archaeological or epigraphic evidence. These amphitheatres are considered doubtful. For example, in the case of *Calagurris Iulia,* the existence of the amphitheatre is based on 19th-century references and on images of gladiatorial fights on

[44] See Table 4.
[45] Ramallo Asensio (2002) 'La arquitectura del espectáculo en Hispania: teatros, anfiteatros y circos.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana*, 92-118: 108; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 259.
[46] Vitr. *De Arch*. V 1.1.
[47] Welch (2007) *The Roman amphitheatre: from its origins to the Colosseum.*
[48] Ramallo Asensio (2002); Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003).
[49] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003): 59.
[50] According to Ceballos Hornero & Ceballos Hornero, the one in *Aurgi* is located in Los Villares (Jaén), however, the inscription reads: *L(ucius) Manilius Gallus et L(ucius) Man[i]lius Alexander Aurg(itani) ob hono/rem VI(vi)r(atus) secundum petitionem m(unicipii) optimi patroni loca spectacul(orum) / numero CC singuli ex duplici pecunia / decreto optimi ordinis municipib(us) m(unicipii)* ***Aurgita/ni*** *dederunt donaverunt.* According to Sear (2006: 101) the inscription refers to a theatre.
[51] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003): 60; Humphrey (1986): 1.

fine ware[52]; the building has not been located.[53] In the case of *Hispalis,* the sole reference to an amphitheatre is an allusion to the martyrdom of Justa and Rufina in the late third or early fourth century.[54] Thouvenot mentions the amphitheatres of *Acinippo* and *Ucubi*[55], though in both cases the evidence is rather slim. The amphitheatre of *Acinippo* shown in the picture seems to belong to the theatre.[56] The existence of an amphitheatre in *Ucubi* has not been proven by archaeology.[57] In addition, we find two doubt amphitheatres with a size indication: *Barcino* and *Olisipo*. In these cases, the topography of the modern city has been used, based on the argument that the foundations of ancient buildings have been fossilised within the city plan. In the case of *Barcino,* the curvature of the *Calle Cardenal Casañas* and on the opposite side the curvature of the *Calle Cecs de la Boqueria* have been used to identify a possible amphitheatre.[58] Similarly, an argument has been made for a possible amphitheatre for *Olisipo*, located at the curvature of the *Rua de São Miguel*.[59] A third case based on topography is the amphitheatre of *Balsa*, where the evidence is based on deviations in the natural terrain. However, the book on *Balsa* by Fraga da Silva does not explain on what basis the amphitheatre is located, making it a very doubtful case.[60] Notwithstanding, the existence of amphitheatres in these cities is not completely ruled out.

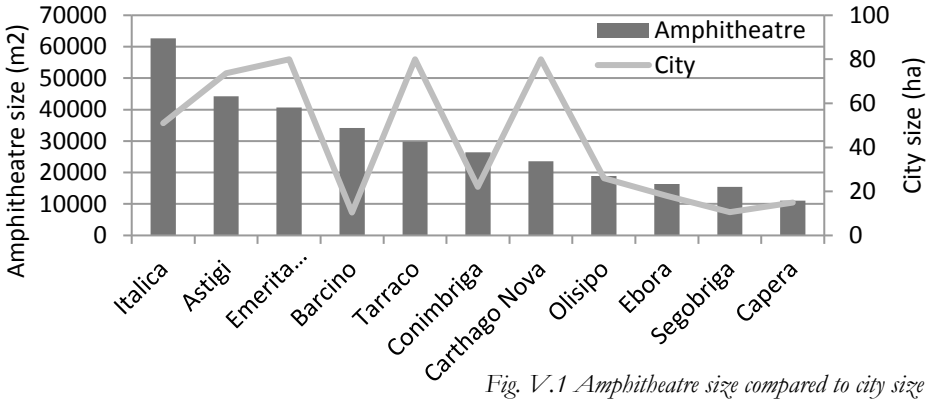


Fig. V.1 Amphitheatre size compared to city size

In the scholarly literature, monumental buildings are often related to the size of cities and their hinterland, based on the presumption that the whole, or at least the

[52] González Blanco (1998).
[53] Andrés Hurtado (2002) 'Municipium Calagurris Iulia Nassica.' *Kalakorikos* Vol. 7, 51-78: 71.
[54] Beltrán Fortes *et al.* (2005) 'Acerca del urbanismo de Hispalis. Estado de la cuestión y perspectivas.' *Mainake* Vol. 27, 61-88: 77.
[55] Thouvenot (1940): 458.
[56] Thouvenot (1940): 458.
[57] Roldán Gómez (1992) 'El acueducto romano de Ucubi (Espejo, Córdoba).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 19, 245-64: 252.
[58] Conde Moragues (2013) 'Hipótesis sobre la posible identificación del anfiteatro de Barcino.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 2, N° 44, 47-68.
[59] Vasco de Melo Martins (2014) 'O Anfiteatro Romano de Lisboa. Hipótese de localização através de uma leitura Tipo-Morfológica do Tecido Urbano.' *Revista rossio. estudos de Lisboa* Vol. 4, 162-73.
[60] Fraga da Silva (2007).

free, population should be able to attend the spectacles organised.[61] When relating the amphitheatre size to the city size, we do not find any correlation between these two parameters (fig. V.1).

The arena size has an influence on the actual size of the *cavea* of the amphitheatre. The larger amphitheatres may have had a larger arena and as such provided less space for spectators. By subtracting the known arena sizes from the total amphitheatre size, we can reorganise the bar chart to roughly display the amphitheatres based on the *cavea* size. This reorganisation has almost no influence on the distribution of the graph (fig. V.2).

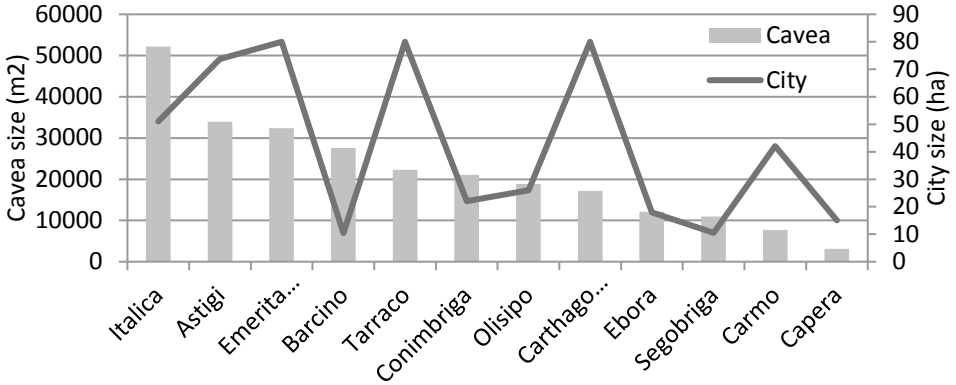


Fig. V.2 Cavea size compared to city size

The size of the amphitheatre of *Italica* is striking. This is the largest amphitheatre in the Roman west, excluding the Italic Peninsula.[62] The reason for this massive amphitheatre should not be sought in the size of the city or its importance for the region, but in one of its natives: Hadrian. *Italica* was the birthplace of Trajan and Hadrian and due to the Imperial connection it developed in the early second century into a centre to display the power of the Emperor in *Baetica*.[63] The amphitheatre was part of the renovation and monumentalisation of the old city in the early second century and the creation of a new district, now known as the *urbs nova*, also including a new thermal complex and the temple called the *Traianeum*.[64]

Looking at the other amphitheatres with a known size, we can observe that the largest are those of *coloniae*. The only exception is *Carthago Nova*. The amphitheatre of this city is slightly smaller than that of *Conimbriga,* the first city that is not a *colonia*. The reason for the slightly smaller amphitheatre of *Carthago Nova* may be found in the limited space on the peninsula on which *Carthago Nova* is located.

[61] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 266.
[62] *Ibid*. 271.
[63] *Ibid*. 58. This is based on Gellius' idea of "*effigies parvae simulacraque (Romae)*": Gell. *NA* XVI 13.9.
[64] Beltrán Fortes *et al.* (2011) 'La explotación y el empleo de Marmora en la Baetica. Un proyecto de investigación de base arqueométrica.' *Itálica. Revista de Arqueología de Andalucía* Vol. 1, 51-75: 57; Caballos Rufino (2010b) *Itálica-Santiponce: municipium y Colonia Aelia Augusta Italicensium*.

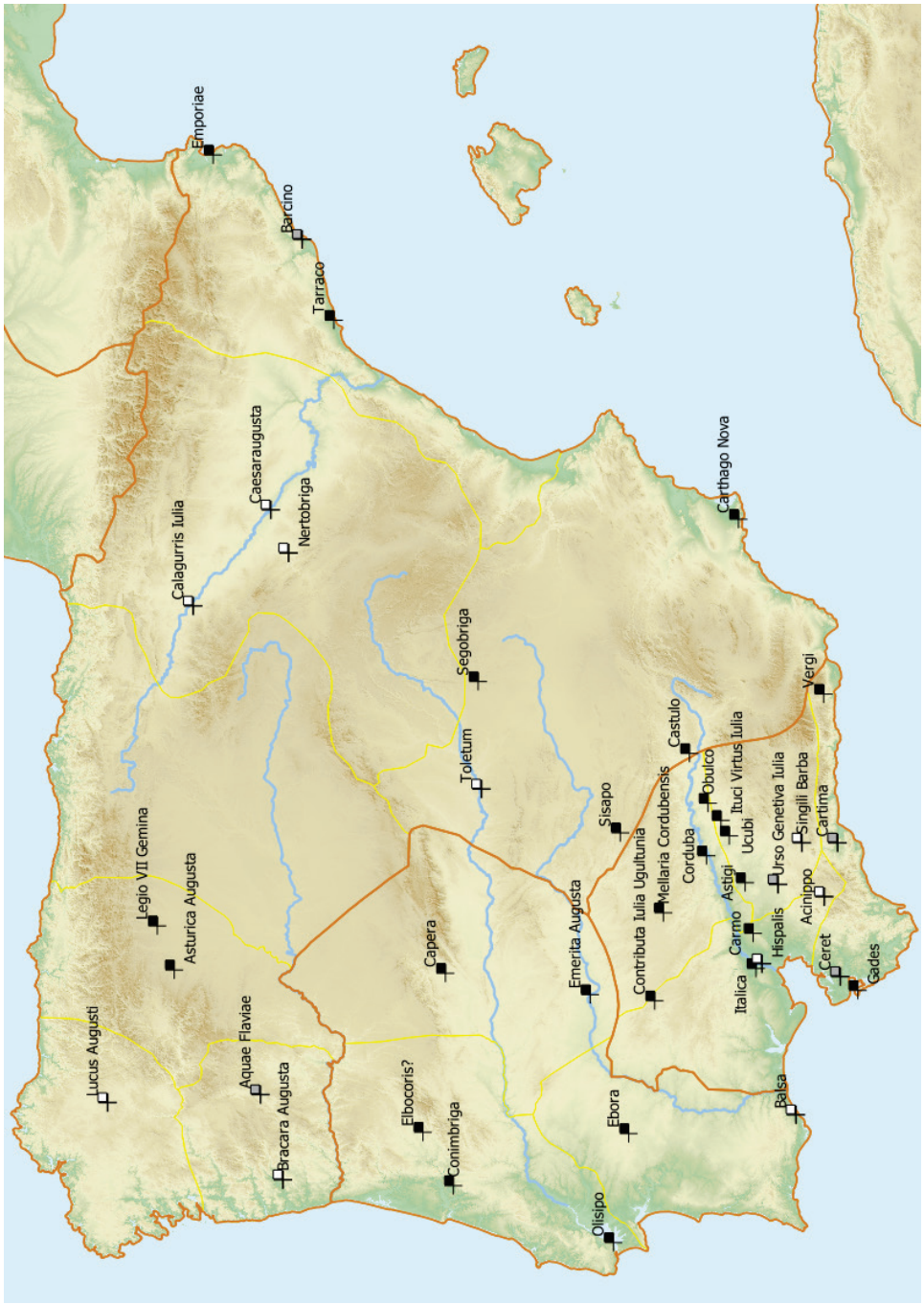


Fig. V.3 Amphitheatres on the Iberian Peninsula. Black = certain, grey = probable and doubted = white

5.2.2 Circuses[65]

Ludi circenses were the oldest and most popular games in the city of Rome.[66] Nonetheless, the circus was often the last spectacle building to be erected.[67] In only two cities of the Iberian Peninsula - *Mirobriga Celticorum* and *Valentia* - do we find the circus as the sole spectacle building. Especially in the case of *Valentia* one might expect to find other spectacle buildings, since the modern city still covers large parts of the archaeological record. Compared to the rest of the Empire, the circuses in Hispania are relatively early and less rare.[68]

Humphrey points out that the circus would most probably be an imperial benefaction.[69] However, in Hispania we find evidence for parts of the podium being erected using particular donations in Zafra (located in *Baetica*) and *Balsa*.[70] Mingoia suggests that some benefactors might have spent money on the spina; located in the centre of the circus, it would be ideal for benefactions.[71] Without a doubt, the *ludi circenses* were part of the benefactions of the local élite, as is proven in a multitude of inscriptions commemorating these events.

An examination of the epigraphic evidence led to the inclusion of fifteen possible circuses. The number of inscriptions commemorating the *ludi circenses* supports the idea that these were rather popular shows.[72] Again, we have to keep in mind that circus games could well have been held on a field with temporary constructions.[73]

The existence of two unexcavated circuses is proven by epigraphy. A building inscription found in Zafra, near *Contributa Iulia* and possibly related to this city, commemorates the gift of the podium of the local circus in CIL II 984. Similarly, we find the case of *Balsa*, where two inscriptions also mention the dedication of 100 pedes of the podium in CIL II 5165-5166. In addition to this evidence, Fraga da Silva proposes a possible location for a second circus in *Balsa*.[74] His book is mainly descriptive and leaves out the actual arguments to identify this second circus. The epigraphic evidence proves the existence of one circus. For this reason, only one circus has been accepted for *Balsa*.

An interesting case of a city with a probable circus is *Castulo*. The epigraphic evidence for *ludi circenses* is abundant in this city.[75] Recent research using LiDAR has

[65] See Table 5. Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.) (2001); Ramallo Asensio (2002); Humphrey (1986).
[66] Bell (2013) 'Roman Chariot Racing: Charioteers, Factions , Spectators.' In: Christesen and Kyle (eds.), *Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 492-502: 493.
[67] Ramallo Asensio (2002): 113.
[68] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 296.
[69] Humphrey (1986): 333.
[70] CIL II 984 (inscription found in Zafra); CIL II 5165 and CIL II 5166 (inscription found in Luz de Tavira - *Balsa*).
[71] Mingoia (2004): 222.
[72] Humphrey (1986): 382.
[73] *Ibid.* 3; Mingoia (2004): 227.
[74] Fraga da Silva (2007): 102.
[75] CIL II 3270; CIL II 3265; CILA III, 101.

indicated that a structure resembling a circus was located near the city of *Castulo*.[76] It is very likely that in the near future the existence of a circus in *Castulo* will be proven. In the other cases of a probable circus, we find only references to the *ludi circenses*. As has already been stated, this is not evidence of a circus, although a circus may have been present.

Only fifteen circuses have been found and the sizes of only seven could be determined (fig. V.4). Major conclusions cannot therefore be drawn. However, we can observe one medium-sized city with a larger circus and one large city with a relatively small one. *Toletum*, estimated at 40 hectares, has the second largest circus. This circus is found outside the city and as such was not limited in its size by the city itself. However, we also find smaller circuses outside the walled area, such as that of *Mirobriga Celticorum*. Sánchez Palencia and Sáinz Pascual argue that the circus of *Toletum* may have been inspired by the construction of the circus of *Augusta Emerita*.[77] Since *Emerita* has the largest circus found on the peninsula, this could explain the rather large circus of *Toletum*.

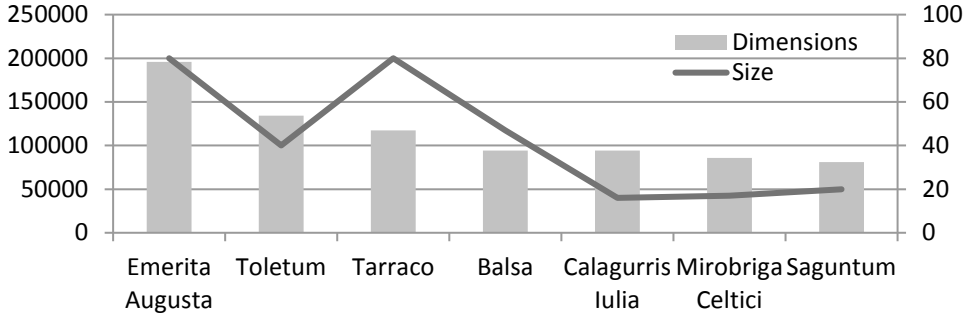


Fig. V.4 Circus size compared to city size

Conversely, *Tarraco*, one of the largest cities, has a relatively small circus compared to the size of the city. The size of the circus is even more surprising in view of the fact that it was part of the major renovations of the provincial *forum* in the Flavian period, which covers a total of 11 hectares. It could be exactly this relationship between the *forum* and the *circus* that has limited the size, as it had to fit between the *pomerium* and the new *forum*.[78] Dupré postulates that the location of the circus may have been chosen so that the complex would resemble the complex of the Circus Maximus, the portico of the Danaids and the temple of Apollo.[79]

[76] http://arqueologiaenred.paleorama.es/2017/04/castulo-tambien-tenia-circo-lo-muestra.html?m=1 (30-05-2018). Pers. Comm. Monterosso at the conference Urban Boom in the DAI Madrid: The LiDAR most probably shows field boundaries.

[77] Sánchez-Palencia and Sáinz Pascual (2001) 'El circo de *Toletum*.' In: Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.), *El circo en Hispania Romana*, 97-115: 110.

[78] Mar *et al.* (2015) *TARRACO. Arquitectura y urbanismo de una capital provincial romana: la ciudad imperial*: 210.

[79] Dupré i Raventós (1997) 'El Foro en las Provincias Hispanicas.' In: Arce, Ensoli and La Rocca (eds.), *Hispania Romana: desde tierra de conquista a provincia del imperio*, 156-60: 159.

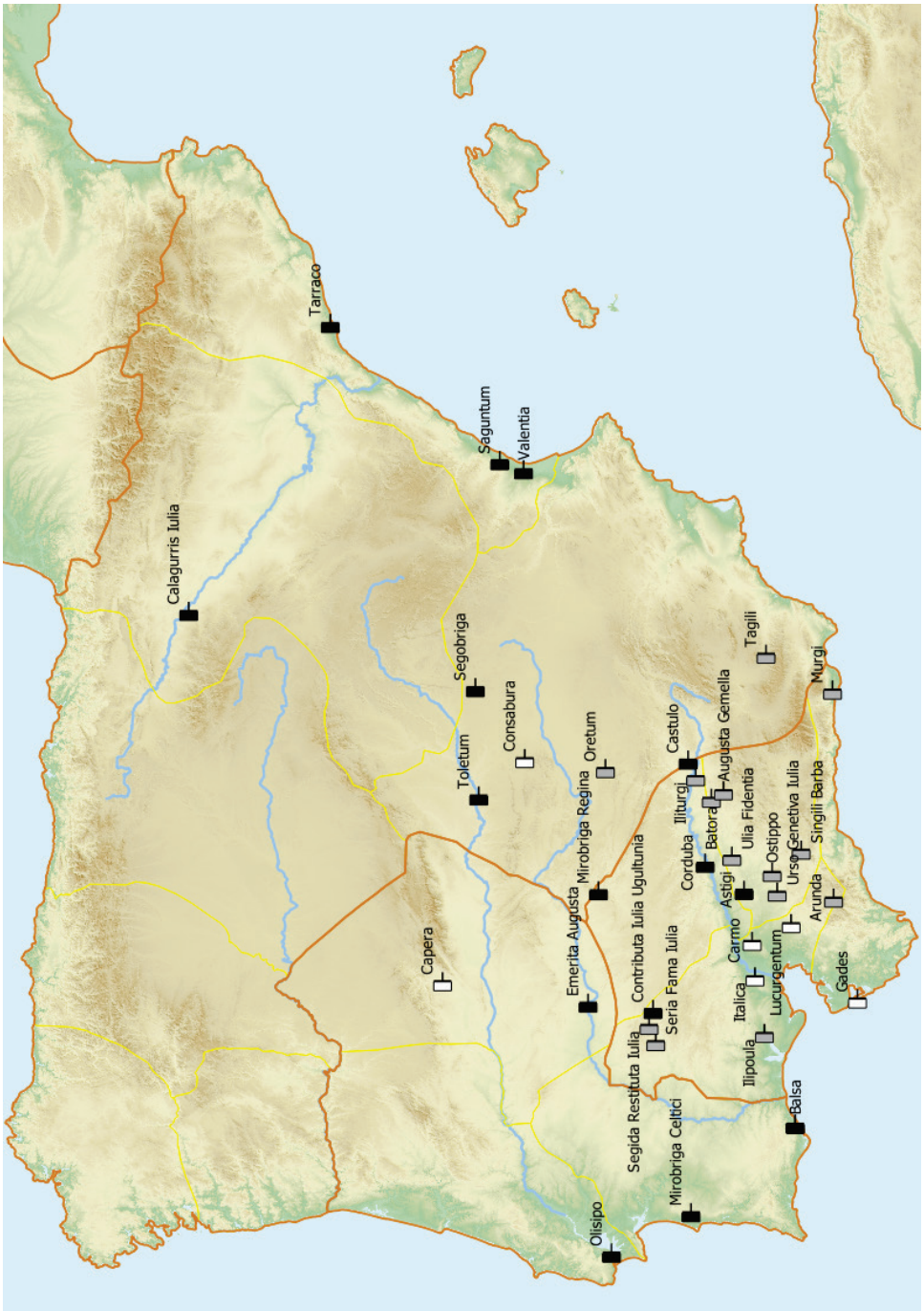


Fig. V.5 Circuses on the Iberian Peninsula. Black = certain, grey = probable and white = doubted.

5.2.3 Theatres[80]

A theatre is a multipurpose building.[81] The events of the ides of March in 44 BCE show that a theatre could also be used as a place to convene for political meetings.[82] Due to its multifunctional nature, it was one of the buildings most frequently funded by benefactors.[83] In addition, the theatre provided a multitude of options for benefactors. They could donate parts of such buildings, contribute to restorations, pay for statues and organise the *ludi*.[84] The *frons scaenae*, in particular, as the centre of the theatre was an important focus for euergetism.[85]

Though the theatre is one of the oldest monumental buildings, it was not as prevalent in Hispania as in the other provinces.[86] In addition, the theatres in Hispania are all found in an urban context. The rural temple complexes with theatres as found in other provinces do not occur in Hispania.[87] Moreover, theatres are less frequently found in the Hispaniae; nonetheless, most of the theatres in Hispania were constructed in the Caesarean or Augustan period.[88] There are 31 certain theatres in Hispania; 13 probable candidates can be added based on epigraphic evidence and 14 doubted theatres are based on circumstantial evidence (Appendix IV.3).

Existing publications list ten cities where *ludi scaenici* were organised. A probable theatre at *Oducia* can be added to that list, based on a very fragmented inscription that reads '*scaenic*' (CIL II^2 5.1330).

In addition, Fraga da Silva has identified the site of a probable theatre in *Balsa*. Again, the argument is based on topography, which seems to indicate a possible theatre.[89] In the case of *Segisamo,* the evidence put forward by Abásolo appears more solid and the existence of a theatre in this city may be regarded as probable.[90] The theatre of *Hispalis* is considered certain by Sear. However, this theatre is only known

[80] See Table 6. The evidence for Roman theatres has been collected in several compendia: Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos (1993) 'Teatro y desarollo monumental urbano en Hispania.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2, 225-38; Sear (2006); Ramallo Asensio (2002); Noguera Giménez *et al.* (2011-2012) 'Teatros romanos de Hispania: introducción a su estado de conservación y criterios de restauración.' *Archè* Vol. 6-7, 383-90; Aktüre (2007).
The theatre of *Bracara Augusta* was discovered and excavated in 1999 and has escaped the attention of the above mentioned scholars. See: Martins *et al.* (2013) 'A construção do teatro romano de *Bracara Augusta*.' In: Sousa Melo and Carmo Ribeiro (eds.), *História da Construção – Arquiteturas e Técnicas Construtivas*, 41-74; Martins *et al.* (2014) 'The Roman Theatre of Bracara Augusta.' *XVIII CIAC: Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico,* Mérida, 861-4.
[81] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 231.
[82] Plut. *Caesar* 66; Suet. Divus Julius 80.
[83] Sear (2006): 13.
[84] *Ibid.* 23.
[85] Mingoia (2004): 222.
[86] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 231.
[87] Woolf (1998): 122.
[88] Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos (1993): 231; Ramallo Asensio (2002): 93.
[89] Fraga da Silva (2007).
[90] Abásolo Álvarez (1998) 'La ciudad de Segisamo.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* I Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 585-98: 596.

via Philostratus who refers to *ludi scaenici*.[91] It has therefore been assigned to the probable category. I do not doubt that *Hispalis* had a theatre, but if we apply our methodology consistently we cannot go beyond the conclusion that the existence of the theatre is probable.

A fragmentary inscription from *Urgavo* contains the sequence *ludis*. Since the theatre is the most common building, these *ludi* were most probably *ludi scaenici*. The theatre of *Astigi* keeps returning as a doubted theatre. Thouvenot mentioned this possible theatre with some doubt. Sear mentions that the possible theatre has been attested to be an amphitheatre.[92] Carrasco and Jiménez have formed a new thesis for its possible location.[93] Up to the present day, no theatre has been found in *Astigi*. Nonetheless, the literature continues to refer to a theatre as a city of this size and importance is expected to have a theatre.

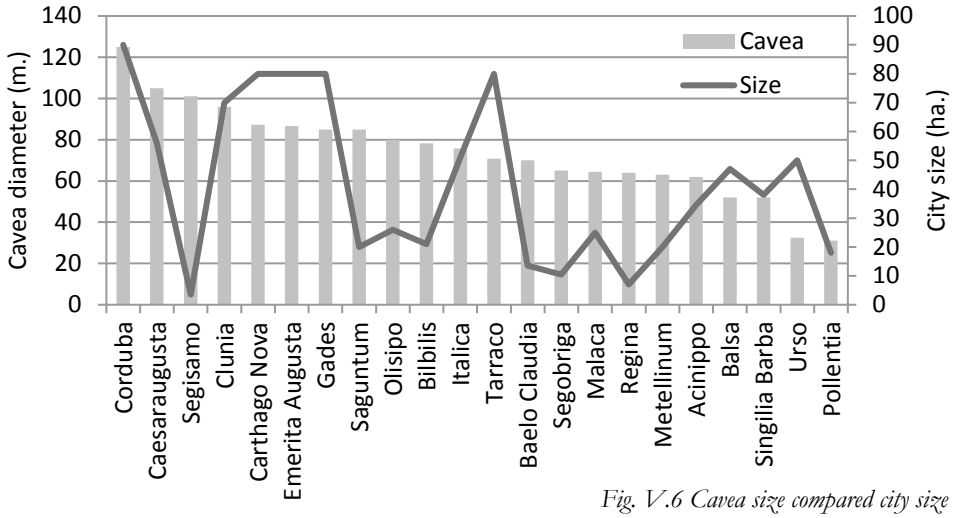


Fig. V.6 Cavea size compared city size

When considering theatres and their relationship to the size of a city, we can conclude that there is no relationship at all (fig. V.6). The most striking case is that of is *Segisamo*, a city of only 3.5 hectares, which has a theatre with a *cavea* diameter of a massive 101 metres.[94] Since the theatre has not been excavated and the measurement of this *cavea* diameter has been made on the surface, it is quite likely to have been smaller. If there was a theatre and if it was as large as proposed, the explanation may

[91] Phil. *Vit. Apol.* 5.9.
[92] Thouvenot (1940): 426; Sear (2006): 101.
[93] Carrasco Gómez and Jiménez Hernández (2008) 'Acerca de los edificios de espectáculos en Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi (Écija, Sevilla).' *ROMULA* Vol. 7, 7-52: 8.
[94] Abásolo Álvarez (1975) 'Notas sobre el campamento romano de Sasamón (Burgos).' *PYRENAE* Vol. 11, 127-32 & I-IV: 135; Olmo Martín (2006) 'Arqueología Aérea de las Ciudades Romanas en la Meseta Norte.' *III Congreso de las Obras Públicas Romanas: Nuevos Elementos de Ingeniería Romana*, 313-40: 335; Abásolo Álvarez (1998): 596.

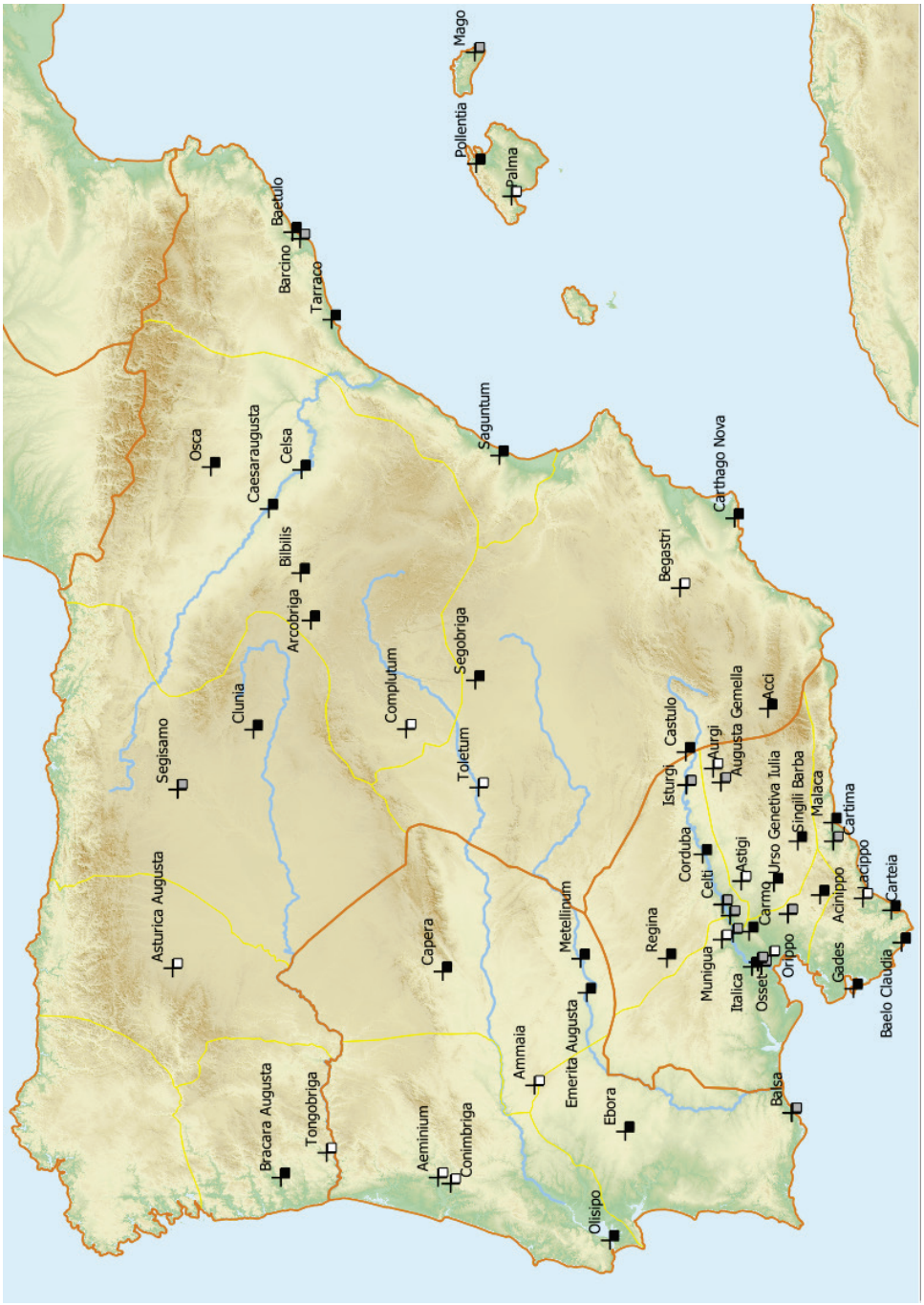


Fig. V.7 Theatres on the Iberian Peninsula. Black = certain, grey = probable and white = doubted.

be found in the origin of the settlement as a military encampment.[95] Another possibility is that *Segisamo* was much larger than is generally thought. The estimated size of 3.5 hectares is based on a suggestion put forward by Abásolo in 1975. García Sánchez points out that the old city may have been larger than the modern city of Sasamón, as a few *insulae* can be observed continuing into the fields adjacent to the city.[96]

5.2.4 Fora[97]

There are few general studies on the *fora* of the Iberian Peninsula; most studies concentrate on one particular *forum*. Even those works that aim to present an overview of the *fora* of the Iberian Peninsula present mostly case studies.[98] There are, however, some exceptions, such as the work by Romero Novella.[99] Given the present state of research, the list created for the purposes of my inquiries is far from complete.

The *forum* is strongly related to the urban nature of the settlement and often broadcast the relationship between a particular city and the city of Rome, frequently through the Imperial cult.[100] The *forum* is usually located in the centre of the city where the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus* cross, although this rule is not set in stone, as we can see at the *forum* of *Gerunda*, which was located at the northern gate. The *forum* functioned as the religious and administrative focal point. It usually had a central podium temple and was flanked by public and commercial buildings such as the *tabernae*.[101] We have to bear in mind that these spaces could have been used in multiple ways. The *basilica* was not only a place for trade in winter times as Vitruvius

[95] Flor. *Epit.* II 33.48; Oros. *Hist*. VI 21.3; Abásolo Álvarez (1975)., although this identification with a Roman military camp is not completely certain see: García Sanchéz (2016) 'Aerial survey of the Ager Segisamonensis: a Roman landscape revisited (Sasamón, Spain).' *AARGnews* Vol. 52, 34-42: 37.
[96] García Sanchéz (2016): 35.
[97] See Appendix III.
[98] Cortés (ed.) (1987) *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*; Noguera Celdrán (ed.) (2009) *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*; Nogales Basarrate (2007) 'Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Cuidad y Foro en Lusitania romana".' In: Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Cuidad y Foro en Lusitania romana*.
[99] Jiménez Salvador (1987b) 'Los modelos constructivos en la arquitectura Forense de la Península Ibérica.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 173-7; Jiménez Salvador (2009) 'Los foros en las provincias de Hispania: estado de la cuestión.' In: Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, 37-64; Rodà i Llanza (2009a) 'Espacios de representación en los foros de Hispania.' In: Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, 65-84; Abascal Palazón (2009); Romero Novella (2014a); Romero Novella (2016) 'Los criptopórticos en los foros Hispanorromanos: ¿una architectura necesaria?' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 24, 193-214.
[100] Jiménez Salvador (1987a) *Arquitectura forense en la Hispania romana: bases para su estudio*: 173; Zanker (2000): 36; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 175.
[101] Vitr. *De Arch.* V 1.4; V 2.1; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 170; Jiménez Salvador (1987b): 175-6; Dupré i Raventós (1997): 156.

states[102], but was also a place where the Imperial cult could be found.[103] At *Clunia* the *tabernae* were converted into small temples.[104]

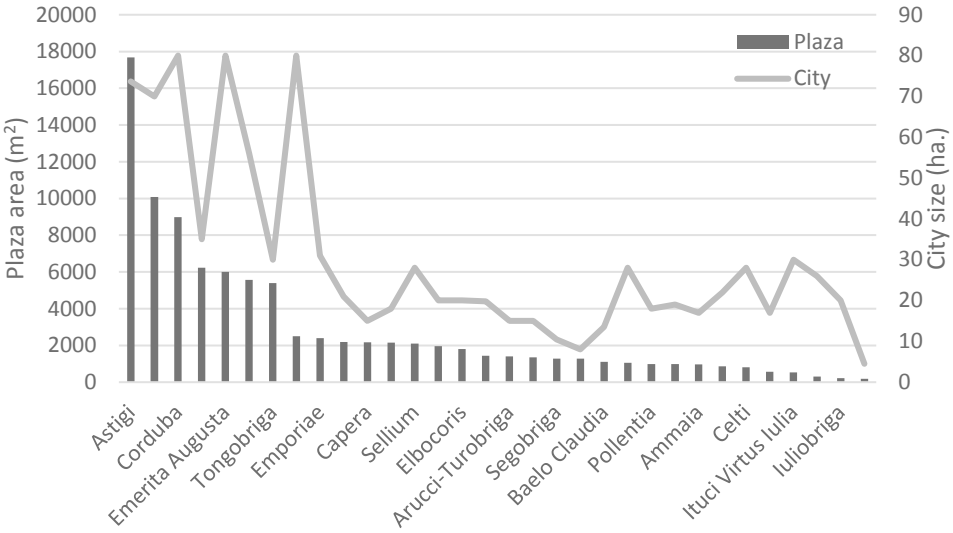


Fig. V.8: Plaza size compared to city size

It has been suggested that the size of the *fora* is related to the population. Laurence *et al.* argue that this was to avoid having the plaza too crowded or too empty when games were held there.[105] We know the size of 30 cities and the size of the *forum*, which then can be plotted in a combi-plot (fig. V.8).

Interestingly, we immediately see that the larger plazas tend to belong to the larger cities. The largest plaza belongs, maybe surprisingly, to *Astigi*, whereas the plazas of the largest cities, *Augusta Emerita*, *Corduba* and *Tarraco,* are surprisingly small. This is due to the fact that these have two different *fora* (in graph V.8 only the so-called colonial *fora* have been included).[106] The existence of a clear division between 'colonial' and 'provincial' *fora* has been disputed; nonetheless, multiple representation areas are found in all three provincial capitals.[107] The fact that the provincial capitals do indeed have smaller *fora* than expected based on size seems to indicate that there

[102] Vitr. *De Arch.* V 1.4.
[103] Zanker (2000): 36.
[104] Palol (1987) 'El Foro Romano de Clunia.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 153-63: 154.
[105] Vitr. *De Arch.* V 1.1.
[106] The dataset would simply become confusing as we only have both sizes for *Corduba*. For *Tarraco* only the size of its massive provincial *forum* is known: the plaza is over 4.5 hectares. In the case of *Emerita Augusta,* the size is that of the colonial *forum* with the *forum adiectum*, the size of the provincial *forum* is unknown.
[107] Trillmich (1993) "Foro provincial' und 'foro municipal' in den Hauptstädten der drei Hispanischen Provinzen: eine Fiktion.' In: Arce and Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania (s. II-III d.C.)*, 115-25.
In these so-called 'provincial *fora*' the epigraphy relating to the *flamines* and the different *concilium provinciae Hispaniae* are found.

was an overlap in function between the different representation areas, as stated by Trillmich.[108]

Among the cities with larger plazas we observe two relatively small cities. The first of these is *Lucus Augusti*, a city of 35 hectares.[109] The second city, with a rather large plaza, in relation to size is that of *Caesaraugusta*.[110] These two relatively small cities were *conventus* capitals. Indeed we find that all cities with large *fora* are *conventus* capitals. As has already been noted by Romero Novella, there is a clear relationship between the juridical function of these cities and the size of the *forum*.[111]

The strangest case is that of *Tongobriga*. The *forum* of this city has a plaza of 90 by 60, giving a massive 5400 m².[112] *Tongobriga* is estimated to have been 30 hectares and possibly had a theatre, based on the topography of the city. The city is located in an area with a low level of urbanism where we find the dispersed *civitas*. As an *ex novo* foundation of considerable size in a lowly urbanised region, *Tongobriga* might have

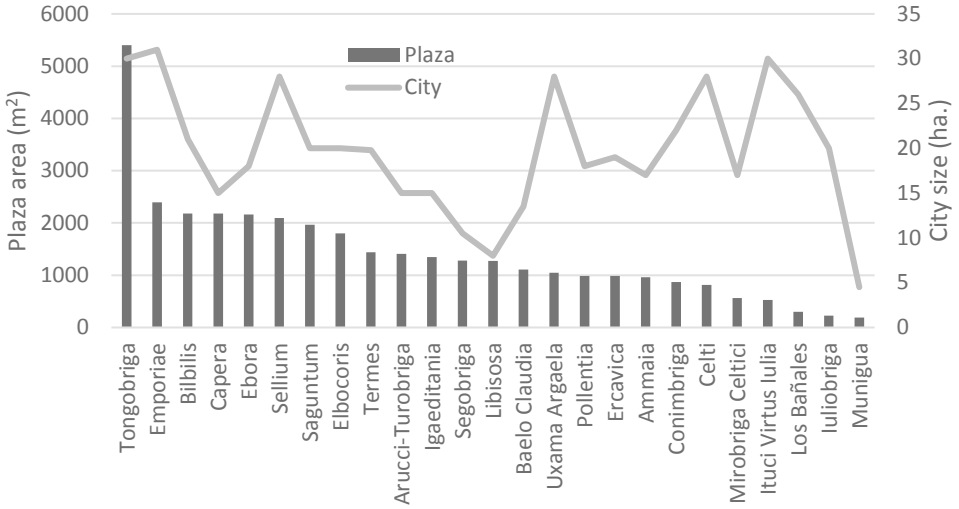


Fig. V.9 Plaza size compared to city size without conventus capitals

[108] *Ibid*. 124.

[109] González Fernández and Cearreño Gascón (1998) 'La capital del extremo noroeste hispánico: Lucus Augusti y su tejido urbano a la luz de las últimas intervenciones arqueológicas.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* II Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1171-208: 1178; Pérez Losada (2002): 85; Carreras Monfort (1996): 107; Carreras Monfort (2014): 75; Le Roux (2014c): 182; Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012) 'La trama urbanística de Lucus Augusti: Génesis y evolución.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 295-318: 300.

[110] Romero Novella (2014a): 169; Escudero Escudero and Galve Izquierdo (2013) *Las Cloacas de Caesaraugusta y Elementos de Urbanismo y Topografía de la Ciudad Antigua*: 311.

[111] Romero Novella (2014a): 168.

[112] Tavares Dias (1999) 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular: o caso de Tongobriga.' In: Tavares Dias and Araújo (eds.), *Actas da mesa edonda: Emergência e desenvolvimento das cidades romanas no norte da Península Ibérica*, 77-108: 87; Le Roux (2014c): 173.

been planned as a centre for a larger region than its own *civitas* territory.[113] This also raises the question of whether some of the dispersed *civitates* of this region might have been contributed to *Tongobriga* prior to their possible promotion under the Flavian grant. The fact that the *forum* and *thermae* were constructed in the Flavian period contradicts this idea.[114]

A graph excluding the *conventus* capitals exhibits a completely different pattern (see fig. V.9). Suddenly the relation between city size and plaza size is lost, whilst the absurdly large *forum* of *Tongobriga* is emphasised by this graph. It might indeed indicate that *Tongobriga* had a function beyond that of its own *civitas*.

Clearly, the *forum* and its size are related to the function of the *forum* as a juridical and administrative centre. We must also take into account that because the *conventus* capitals had this additional function, increased economic activity is expected in these centres, as is also mentioned by Dio Chrysostom.[115] There was no relationship between the *forum* and elevation to municipal status. In the cases of *Conimbriga* and *Iuliobriga,* the promotion under Flavian times is certain, but these cities already had *fora* in Augustan times, which were replanned in Flavian times.[116]

5.2.5 Thermae and Balnea[117]

Strabo states that the people living in the Duero valley in pre-Roman times were in the habit of taking baths in saunas.[118] In addition, these pre-Roman saunas have been attested in several settlements, indeed mostly around the Duero valley.[119] Nonetheless, in the Roman world *thermae* and *balnea* were seen as one of the major elements for the 'urban lifestyle'.[120] However, they pose a significant problem as they also occur in non-urban settlements such as secondary agglomerations and *villae*.[121] In addition,

[113] Tavares Dias (2015) 'Tongobriga. Civitas "Transduriana" na Tarraconense.' In: López Vilar (ed.) *2on Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia i Món Antic: August i les províncies occidentals 2000 aniversari de la mort d' August,* 2 Tarragona: Fundació Privada mútua Catalana, 67-74: 68; Tavares Dias (1998) 'Tongobriga.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 751-77: 763.
[114] Tavares Dias (1998): 767.
[115] Dio *Or*. 35.15.
[116] RAP 211 = AE 1969/70, 247; Alarcão (1988): 3/172; Mierse (1999) Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia; the social and architectural dynamics of snctuary designs fom the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.: 95; Romero Novella (2014a): 169.
[117] See Appendix III.
[118] Str. III 3.6: ἐνίους δὲ τῶν προσοικούντων τῷ Δουρίῳ ποταμῷ λακωνικῶς διάγειν φασίν, ἀλειπτηρίοις χρωμένους δὶς καὶ πυρίαις ἐκ λίθων διαπύρων, ψυχρολουτροῦντας καὶ μονοτροφοῦντας καθαρίως καὶ λιτῶς.
Now some of the peoples that dwell next to the Durius River live, it is said, after the manner of the Laconians using anointing-rooms twice a day and taking baths in vapours that rise from heated stones, bathing in cold water, and eating only one meal a day; and that in a cleanly and simple way. (Loeb-translation)
[119] Almagro-Gorbea and Álvarez Sanchís (1993); Villa Valdés (2000): 97.
[120] Fear (1996): 15; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 205; Arribas Domínguez (1999): 427. ILS 5720: lavat(ur) mo/re urbico, et omnis / humanitas praesta / tur; ILS 5721: more urbico lavat(ur) / [et] omnia commoda praestantur.
[121] Arribas Domínguez (1999): 428; Hanel (2000) 'Militärische thermen in Niedergermanien - Eine bestandsaufname.' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 23-34: 23ss; Andreu Pintado (2000)

when found in the urban sphere it is often difficult to assert whether thermal complexes were public or private.

For the *thermae* and *balnea* we can turn to the collections for the Iberian Peninsula that were started by Moltó in 1992. As has already been stated, these collections focus on the morphology of the bath complexes. In addition, the works by Fernández Ochoa *et al.* and Pavía Page, in combination with the publications on individual cities give an idea of the geographical distribution of this building type.[122] None of them looks into the role of the spas in the settlement pattern.[123] We have to keep in mind that public *thermae* are found in most, if not all, cities. Therefore, the absence of *thermae* is almost certainly a result of research bias. Similar to *fora,* the presence of *thermae* cannot be used to evaluate the monumentality of the settlement. It only reflects the current status of research.

An interesting thermal complex is that of Cabrera del Mar, in part because of its relatively early date but also because it seems not to be directly related to a Roman city. The *thermae* are of interest as they measure about 450 m² (excluding as possible *palaestra*).[124] This size is comparable to that of the smaller urban *thermae*, and thus could be seen as an indicator for the town-like nature of the settlement.[125] The settlement to which they belong measures only 7,000 m² and was a centre for pottery production; in addition, evidence of metallurgy has been found.[126] The settlement dates to the republican period and is located close to the *oppidum* of Burriac and the later city of *Iluro* (Mataró). The settlement may have been the predecessor of *Iluro* as it was abandoned at the latest in the second half of the first century BCE, at the time when *Iluro* was founded *ex novo*.[127]

'Evergetismo edicilio sobre termas en Hispania.' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 289-94: 83ss.

[122] Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2004) 'Proyecto Termas Romanas en Hispania. Balance de una década de investigación (1993-2003).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 30, 167-85; Pavía Page (2016).

[123] Moltó (1992); González Soutelo (2012); González Soutelo (2013); Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011); Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2004); Pavía Page (2016); Noguera Celdrán *et al.* (eds.) (2018) *Congreso internacional termas públicas de Hispania pre-actas*.

[124] Martín (2000) 'Las termas republicanas de Cabrere del Mar (Maresme, Barcelona).' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 157-62: 157.

[125] The smaller *thermae* all measure about 400-500 m².

[126] Martín (2000): 157.

[127] *Ibid*. 161; Cerdà *et al.* (1994) 'Iluro oppidum civium romanorum. Estado de la cuestión.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 97-9: 97.

5.3 Privileged communities and monumentality

As has already been stated, the idea that monumental public buildings were typical of self-governing cities is quite old. Pausanias already uses the presence of an 'urban kit' to identify a proper city.[128] A telling example is the *Orkistos* inscription, in which the community refers to its urban planning as an argument for promotion.[129] Similarly, the *Lex Flavia municipalis* clearly states that *ludi* have to be organised, a requirement that must have prompted the construction of spectacle buildings.[130] On this basis, the promotion of a community has often been dated to the moment when monuments with a known construction date were erected, or the known date of the promotion has been used to date the monumentalisation of a city.[131]

Unfortunately, these data have become completely entangled, making it very difficult to establish whether a relation exists between promotion and monumentalisation, and, if so, what this relationship is. What is apparent is that there is no direct relation at all; as an example, in the clear Flavian *municipium* of *Malaca*[132] we find an Augustan theatre.[133] Moreover, an Augustan *forum*-complex is found in the Flavian *municipium* of *Conimbriga*.[134] Interestingly, the *forum* was enlarged and reoriented after the promotion in the Flavian period, indicating that such an event might have led to a new monumentalisation.[135]

Another question is whether there is a relation between the bestowal of privileged juridical status and the presence of spectacle buildings (fig. V.10). In the case of the *coloniae,* the percentage with spectacle buildings is higher. Evidence shows that 46% of all certain spectacle buildings have been found in the 30 cities belonging to this category. In ten *coloniae,* no evidence for spectacle buildings has been found so far, but this could well be due to the fact that some of these *coloniae* have continued to

[128] Paus. 10.4.1.
[129] Kolb (1993) 'Bemerkungen zur urbanen Ausstattung von Städten im Westen und im Osten des Römischen Reiches anhand von Tacitus, Agricola 21 un der Konstantinischen Inschrift von Orkistos.' *Klio* Vol. 75, 321-41; Arce (2015): 312.
[130] *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* Ch. LXX; *Lex Irnitana* Ch. 77; Ceballos Hornero (2007) 'Geografía y cronología de los ludi en la Hispania romana.' *Caesaraugusta* Vol. 78, 437-54.
[131] Goffaux (2003): 145; Curchin (2012): 20. E.g: The construction of the theatre of *Segobriga* was finished under the Flavians; the start of the construction under Augustus is based on the promotion, see: Almagro-Gorbea and Abascal Palazón (1999) *Segobriga y su conjunto arqueológico*; Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010) 'El paisaje suburbano de Segobriga.' In: Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función*, 289-308. Conversely, the promotion to *colonia* in *Libisosa* has been dated to the beginning of the first century based on the dated monumentalisation in this period, see Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2003).
[132] CIL II 1964.
[133] Rodríguez Oliva (1994) 'Transformaciones urbanas en las ciudades de la Baetica durante el alto imperio.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 347-56: 351; Ramallo Asensio (2003): 141.
[134] RAP 211.
[135] Alarcão (1988): 3/172; Mierse (1999): 95; Romero Novella (2014a): 169.

be occupied until the present day, making it difficult to access the archaeological record. *Pax Iulia* provides a good illustration of this problem.

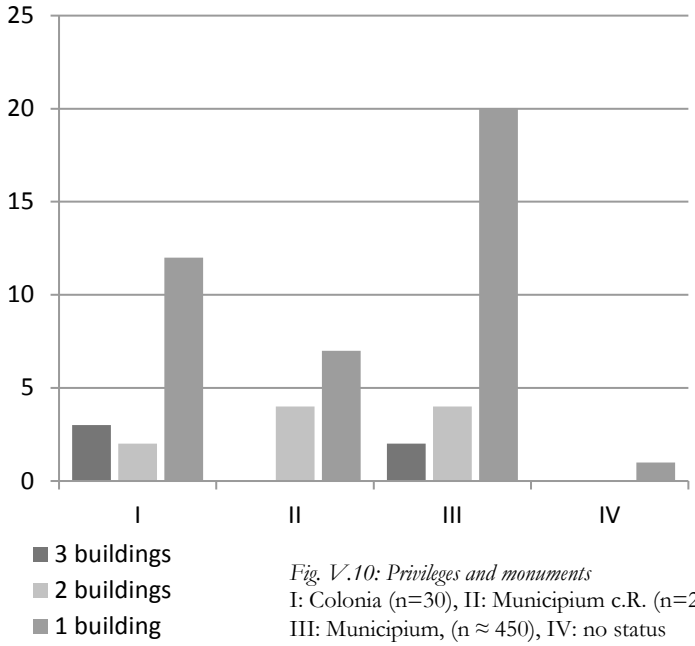


Fig. V.10: Privileges and monuments
I: Colonia (n=30), II: Municipium c.R. (n=24)
III: Municipium, (n ≈ 450), IV: no status

In three *coloniae,* the existence of all three types of spectacle buildings is certain. Interestingly, these are the three provincial capitals: *Augusta Emerita*, *Tarraco* and *Corduba*. Two *coloniae*, *Italica* and *Carthago Nova*, have an amphitheatre and a theatre, whilst the other *coloniae* have one building attested for certain. *Carthago Nova* not only had colonial status, but was also a *conventus* capital. Regarding other *conventus* capitals – *Hispalis*, *Astigi*, *Corduba*, *Gades*, *Caesaraugusta*, *Clunia*, *Bracara Augusta* and the provincial capitals – we can observe they had at least one spectacle building. For the remaining four *conventus* capitals - *Lucus Augusti*, *Asturica Augusta, Pax Iulia and Scallabis* (the latter two also being *coloniae*) - the existence of spectacle buildings has been posted, based on this status as an administrative and juridical centre, but to date these have not been found.[136]

For the 24 *municipia c.R.,* we find that eleven produced archaeological evidence for one or more spectacle buildings, making this almost half of the *municipia c.R.* Again we should keep in mind that several of the sites are still occupied. In four cases there are certainly two spectacle buildings: *Carmo*, *Olisipo*, *Saguntum* and *Gades*.

A very clear difference is seen with respect to the other *municipia*. Assuming that all the *oppida Latini iuris*, *libera* and *stipendiaria* became *municipia i.L.* after the grant by Vespasian, over 450 *municipia i.L.* are to be expected based on the total of

[136] Nogales Basarrate (2008) 'Circos romanos de Hispania: Novedades y perspectivas arqueológicas.' In: Nelis-Clément and Roddaz (eds.), *Le cirque romain et son image*, 161-202: 196.

self-governing places given by Pliny.[137] Only 20 of these *municipia* have certain spectacle buildings, and only six cities had two or more spectacle buildings. We find among the *municipia* one case where all three buildings have been attested: *Segobriga*. In addition, we have to consider *Castulo,* which certainly had an amphitheatre and a theatre, and there is a considerable amount of evidence for the existence of a circus. Similarly, we find three cities with two spectacle buildings: *Contributa Iulia, Ebora* and *Capera*. The vast majority yielded no evidence of spectacle buildings.

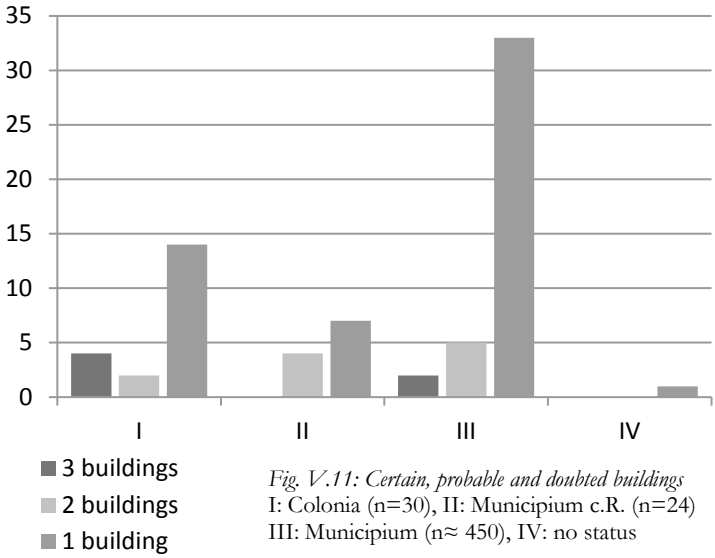


Fig. V.11: Certain, probable and doubted buildings
I: Colonia (n=30), II: Municipium c.R. (n=24)
III: Municipium (n≈ 450), IV: no status

Outside the Iberian Peninsula, spectacle buildings, especially theatres, have been identified near sanctuaries and in non-urban places.[138] On the Iberian Peninsula, only one place that was not a self-governing city is known to have possessed a spectacle building: the legionary camp of *Legio VII Gemina*, which had an amphitheatre. However, legionary camps tended to give high priority to the construction of amphitheatres.[139]

When the uncertain spectacle buildings are taken into account, the relationship between a higher status and multiple spectacle buildings becomes stronger (fig. V.8). Of the *coloniae,* one-third would have multiple spectacle buildings. In the case of the *municipia c.R.,* the number of places with multiple spectacle buildings rises to 17%. However, in only eight cases of the *municipia i.L.* did the inclusion of probable and doubted buildings lead to multiple spectacle buildings. The vast majority of the *municipia i.L.* with spectacle buildings still have only one such building.

[137] As Pliny gives us the total number of 513 of *civitates* on the Iberian Peninsula and we assume that all became Latin *municipia* after the grant of *ius Latii*. Following Canto (1996); Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989) we then have to subtract the number of *coloniae* (30) and *municipia c. R* (24) to arrive at a number of 468 possible Latin *municipia*.
[138] Bouley (1983); Sear (2006): 44.
[139] Welch (2007): 119; Sear (2006): 43.

Based on the foregoing discussions, we can state that in the case of the Hispaniae the relationship between privileged status and the occurrence of spectacle buildings is strong. The presence of at least one spectacle building in *colonia* and *municipia c.R.* is very likely. Spectacle buildings are not found outside the self-governing cities, except near a single legionary encampment. Based on this isolated example, we could expect evidence of a permanent or temporary amphitheatre in *Pisoraca*, where *Legio IIII Macedonica* was stationed.[140] In those *coloniae* and *municipia c.R.* which have not produced evidence for the presence of multiple buildings, these might be expected based on the high number of possible and doubted buildings.

The probability of multiple spectacle buildings in the *municipia i.L.* is much lower. Those few cases where two or even three spectacle buildings are found are of great interest. Why do we find three buildings in *Segobriga*? Similarly, *Contributa Iulia*, *Ebora* and *Capera* with two certain spectacle buildings each need explanation. Taking an optimistic approach, we might add *Castulo*, and perhaps also *Capera* and *Toletum*, all of which may have had three spectacle buildings. Using the same approach, *Aurgi*, *Acinippo* and *Bracara Augusta* may be credited with two spectacle buildings each. In order to understand the factors that led to their extraordinary monumentality we have to consider other factors than juridical status.[141]

The strong connection between privileged status and monumentality raises the question of whether the point in time of the construction of monuments and of the promotion of cities are related. In the case of theatres, which were the first to be constructed[142], we find monumentalisation prior to the promotion for three clear cases. *Malaca*'s promotion can be dated with certainty to the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* based on the partial preservation of its municipal law.[143] Its theatre has been dated to the Caesarean/Augustan period and thus clearly predates the promotion under the Flavians.[144] Similarly, we find *Singili Barba* as an obvious Flavian *municipium*.[145] Its theatre has been dated to the Augustan period, unfortunately on the basis of unclear criteria.[146] The city of *Acinippo* was also promoted after the Flavian grant.[147] Its theatre is dated to the Augustan period or even earlier, although Sear states that it cannot

[140] Ceballos Hornero (2007): 443.
[141] Laurence *et al.* (2011): 122.
[142] Brassous (2015) 'Les édifices de spectacles d'Hispanie entre les IIe et IVe siègles.' In: Brassous and Quevedo (eds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise*, 273-88: 276.
[143] CIL II 1964.
[144] Corrales Aguilar (2003) 'Datos para la reconstrucción histórica de la Málaga romana: una aproximación a su urbanismo.' *Mainake* Vol. XXV, 377-92: 384.
[145] CIL II^{2} 5.788: [...] m(unicipies?) m(unicipii) flavii lib(eri) sing(iliensi); CIL II^{2} 5.789: [...]IIvir(o) m(unicipum) m(unicipii) [...] in municipio / habitantem [...].
[146] Jiménez Salvador (1993) 'Teatro y desarrollo monumental urbano en Hispania.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2, 225-38: 233; Ramallo Asensio (2002): 117; Aktüre (2007): 27.
[147] The evidence for the promotion of *Acinippo* in Flavian times is less strong; it is based on the magistracies (CIL II 1347 & 1348) and the *tribus Quirina* (CIL II 1348), see Andreu Pintado (2004c): 162; MacMullen (2000) *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*: 60.

be pre-Augustan.[148]

Similarly, we find that the *forum* of *Conimbriga* predates the promotion of the city in Flavian times.[149] This is one of the standard examples to show that cities were monumentalised well before their promotion.[150] Interestingly, its *forum* was reconstructed and further monumentalised in Flavian times.[151] According to Mierse, this reconstruction was carried out to create a new *forum* suitable for the new *municipium*.[152]

5.4 Connectivity

Our earlier analysis of connectivity allows us to explore the relation between connectivity and monumentalisation.[153] As has already been stated, we find two provincial capitals, boasting three spectacle buildings, as the cities with the highest Weighted Degree. When looking at the network graphs diagram (see fig. V.12, which shows a dual circle layout clockwise with the highest degree in the outer circle), we observe that the cities with spectacle buildings tend to be located in the higher parts of the different centralities. Especially for the Weighted Degree and the Betweenness centrality, we see that the cities with spectacle buildings are concentrated in the higher centralities.

The bar charts showing the different centralities show that the cities with multiple buildings tend to be found in the first quartile (fig. V.13).[154] The very small purple bar representing cities with three monuments immediately draws the attention. They are only found in the highest range, except for the EC. Moreover, those with two monuments (green bars) are also located mostly within the higher ranges.

[148] del Amo (1982) 'El teatro de Acinipo.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Actas del Simposio 'El teatro en la Hispania Romana'*, 215-52: 227ff; Jiménez Salvador (1993): 233; Ramallo Asensio (2002): 117; Sear (2006): 28 & 260.
[149] RAP 211 = AE 1969/70, 247: Fl(aviae) · Conimbrica[e] / et · Larib(us) eiu[s / - - -]us Faustu/[s - - -].
[150] Richardson (1995) 'Neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum: Reflections on Iberian urbanism.' In: Cunliffe and Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia*, 339-54: 348; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 55; Diarte Blasco (2012) *La configuración urbana de la Hispania tardoantigua*: 125.
[151] Diarte Blasco (2012): 126; Mierse (1999): 85.
[152] Mierse (1999): 213.
[153] See chapter IV.5. The centralities: Weighted Degree (WD), the number of connections a city has, weighted by the type of connection (primary or secondary roads, maritime or fluvial); Closeness Centrality (CC) represents the accessibility to all other nodes in the network; Betweenness Centrality (BC) gives the probability a node is part of the shortest route; Eigenvector Centrality (EC) values the degree and the importance of the connections.
[154] To keep the bar charts, especially the bars with monuments, readable the bars representing the settlements without monuments have been cut, the value is given in the bar.

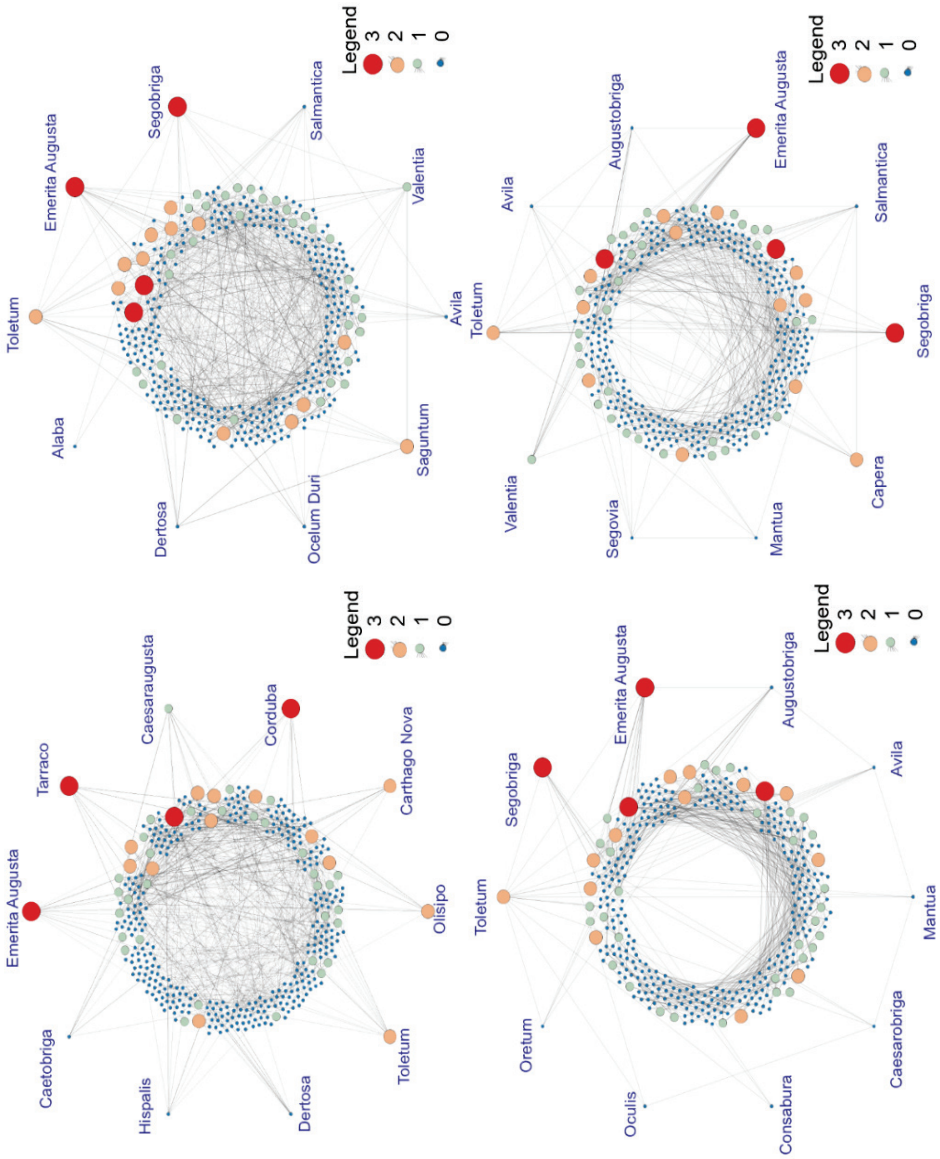


Fig. V.12: Dual Circle lay-out Monumentality of places against Centralities

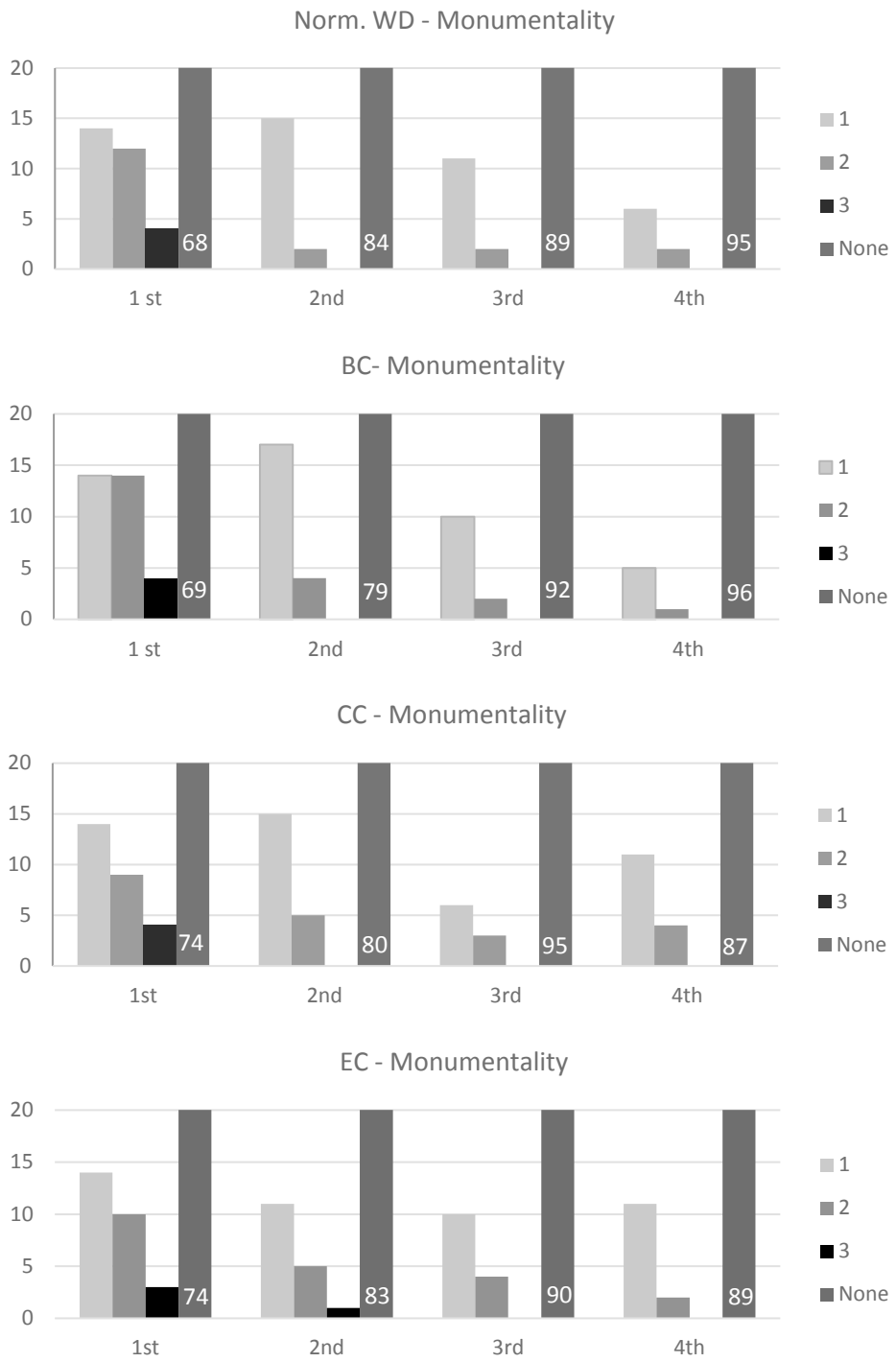


Fig. V.13 Bar chart monumentality of places against centralities per quartile

The only settlement with a lower EC and all three spectacle buildings is *Corduba*. Its low EC is due to the fact that it is located in the Guadalquivir Valley. This region is not very well connected to the rest of the Peninsula because of its location between the Sierra Morena and the Baetican System (Sierra Nevada). Most nodes along the Guadalquivir are only connected to the other settlements along this route, and obviously with a downriver preference. However, *Corduba* is one of the major nodes in the valley, with connections leading outside the valley. These connections place it within the higher WD, BC and CC.

A high degree of connectivity would make it easier to transport materials to a city, as in the case of *Segobriga.* From this city, *lapis specularis* was conveyed to nearby ports such as *Carthago Nova*.[155] The routes that were used for this purpose made it easy to import luxury goods, such as Carrara marble.[156] In addition, there is evidence for members of the imperial élite overseeing the mining operations.[157] These also connected the city to the élite of the empire. Returning to the ideas put forward by Andreau, *Segobriga* had extra income due to its mining resources, which could be used for the monumentalisation of the city. A similar explanation holds for *Castulo*. As a mining city it would have had similar relations with the imperial élite, and access to funding. However, it was less well connected than *Segobriga*.

Good connections may also have led to more interaction with neighbours. As Zanker has put it, "cities measured themselves against one another".[158] As an example, after passing the magnificent *Augusta Emerita,* the next city would look like a small, backward place, unless the smaller place decided to create its own monumental centre. This intercity competition could explain the monumentality of *Contributa Iulia*, which is on the route between *Augusta Emerita* and *Hispalis*. Similarly, the high monumentality of *Carmo* may reflect its position on the road between the *conventus* capitals and *coloniae Hispalis* and *Astigi*. In addition, we can explain the presence of an amphitheatre and a theatre in the *municipia i.L.* of *Ebora* and *Capera: Ebora* was an old *oppidum Latinum* that controlled the road network between *Olisipo*, the Atlantic coasts and *Augusta Emerita* and *Capera* is located in the *Meseta Central* occupying a central position within the network. It was situated on the *Via Plata,* a major route between *Hispalis* and the mines in the north, passing *Augusta Emerita*. Lastly, the idea of competition with nearby cities along the road would explain the monumentality of *Bilbilis*. When travelling from the south to *Caesaraugusta*, one would see *Bilbilis'* magnificent forum complex and theatre positioned on top of the hill alongside the road.[159]

[155] A transparent selenite found in the vicinity of *Segobriga* and used for windows in the Roman Empire. Pliny refers to the *lapis specularis* production of *Segobriga* (NH XXXVI 160).
[156] Gutiérrez Garcia-Moreno and Rodà de Llanza (2012) 'El mármol de Luni-Carrara en la fachada mediterránea de Hispania.' In: Keay (ed.), *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*, 293-312: 301.
[157] Abascal Palazón and Alföldy (1998) 'Zeus Theos Megistos en *Segobriga*.' *AEspA* Vol. 71, 157-68: 157.
[158] Zanker (2000): 39; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 122.
[159] Pfanner (1990): 74; Espinosa Espinosa (2015): 228.

CHAPTER VI

QUANTIFYING THE URBAN NETWORK

> For nothing is so conducive to greatness of mind as the ability to examine systematically and honestly everything that meets us in life, and to regard these things always in such a way as to form a conception of the kind of Universe they belong to, and of the use which the thing in question subserves in it; what value it has for the whole Universe and what for man, citizen as he is of the highest state, of which all other states are but as households.[1]
>
> M. Aur. *Med*, III.11

6.1 Introduction

As we have seen in the first chapter, the size of a settlement is perceived today as an important proxy for defining a city; 35% of modern-day definitions are based on, or include, demographic size. In contrast to the modern-day definition, this study has not considered size as a defining feature for urbanism on the Iberian Peninsula in Roman times. Nonetheless, size is an aspect of the city that needs to be taken in account when investigating the Roman settlement system of the Iberian Peninsula.

This chapter sets out to collect all the sizes available for the Roman period based on existing surveys and new archaeological evidence. The existing lists often date to the last decades of the 20th century and are generally used uncritically. Newly published lists and updates of older lists of sizes seem to have escaped the attention of many researchers. Marzano uses the 1996 list by Carreras without taking into account any later publications.[2] Hanson (2016) has overlooked a relatively recent survey by Keay and Earl (2011) and the updated list by Carreras (2014). The critique in Hanson's work on published estimates is also minimal.[3]

Taking into account the most recent estimates, an analysis of the settlement system will be made based on a rank-size analysis. This form of analysis allows for a study

[1] Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικον, ὡς τὸ ἐλέγχειν ὁδῷ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἕκαστον τῶν <ἐν> τῷ βίῳ ὑποπιπτόντων δύνασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ οὕτως εἰς αὐτὰ ὁρᾶν, ὥστε συνεπιβάλλειν, ὁποίῳ τινὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὁποίαν τινὰ τοῦτο χρείαν παρεχόμενον τίνα μὲν ἔχει ἀξίαν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, τίνα δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πολίτην ὄντα πόλεως τῆς ἀνωτάτης, ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ οἰκίαι εἰσίν. (Loeb translation).

[2] Marzano (2011); Carreras Monfort (1996).

[3] Hanson (2016) *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100BC to AD 300*; Keay and Earl (2011); Carreras Monfort (2014).

based on the hierarchy of the settlements. How are the urban settlements of the Iberian Peninsula distributed across various size brackets? Do we find clusters of sizes, and how can we explain possible clusters?

In addition, we will look at the geographical dispersal of settlements belonging to various size categories. Can we observe a clustering of larger cities in certain areas? Can we find a relation with the pre-Roman system as described in chapter two? In order to gain a better understanding of this spatial pattern, we will turn to network analysis to discover whether larger cities are better connected within the urban system, and whether these cities indeed have an edge.

6.2 City sizes

As has already been asserted, we can identify at least 430 self-governing communities in the three provinces of the Hispaniae. One of the aims of this chapter is to collect the sizes of the urban centres of these self-governing communities. The starting point for this endeavour is the 1996 article by Carreras Monfort in which 107 sizes are given.[4] Since the origin of Carreras' sizes is unclear, his sources have been checked. As Carreras already acknowledges, several of these are based on the Republican or even pre-Roman sizes given by Almagro-Gorbea.[5] Some of Carreras' estimates were derived from sources such as Taracena.[6] Only after reading the work of Taracena does it become clear that several of the sizes found in his work are guestimates. For instance, the cities of *Blandae*, *Iluro* and *Baetulo* are all credited with a built-up area of 9 hectares, the same size as *Barcino*, based on the fact that *Mela* referred to all of them as *parva oppida*.[7] Other estimates are based on the function of particular settlements within the urban network or their origin as a new foundation.[8]

Despite Carreras' call to improve the data, the figures have been used with little discrimination during the past twenty years.[9] In 2014 Carreras published an updated and extended list of sizes containing 209 sites, each with an indication of its size.[10]

[4] Carreras Monfort (1996). The English publication is often used in the Anglophone publications: Carreras Monfort (1995-1996) 'A new perspective for the demographic study of Roman Spain.' *Revista de Historia da Arte e Arqueologia* Vol. 2, 59-82.
Marzano already spotted that there was a discrepancy here: Carreras' mentioning in text only 106 cities, whilst the list contains 107 cities, see (2011): 207. After a close look at the list of cities, it appears that Carreras has not given Santarem (*Scallabis*) a number for mapping in his list, hence the highest number on the map is 106.
[5] Almagro-Gorbea (1987); Almagro-Gorbea (1994); Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[6] Taracena (2007 [1949]): 2027 [429].
[7] Mela II.90; *ibid.* 2025 [427].
[8] *Ibid.* 2024 [426].
[9] Marzano (2011); Hanson (2016).
[10] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Several other publications also list the sizes of settlements on the Iberian Peninsula.[11] Unfortunately, several of these lists repeat each other's sizes or only mention those of well-studied settlements. For the purpose of this study, the sizes of the different lists have been compared with each other and checked against the underlying archaeological reports or satellite imaging of individual sites. After collecting and screening all the size estimates published, 265 sizes remain for the Imperial period. Of these 265 sizes, 25 belong to settlements of which the self-governing nature cannot be established. The remaining 240 sizes account for just over half of the 430 self-governing communities that are known to have existed in the Imperial period. Unfortunately, the data do not allow for a precise dating within this period. As Carreras has commented, we have to make do with the information we have at our disposal.[12]

A complete treatment of the origin of all 265 would be a lengthy and tedious exercise. A detailed discussion of the sizes that have been used in this study is therefore given in Appendix I. A major point to be made concerns the difference between the sizes of walled areas and those of built-up areas. In principle, we would like to collect the evidence for built-up size. One can easily imagine a city growing beyond its walled area in the case of early Imperial walls. An example would be *Corduba,* where extramural habitation has been attested.[13] Conversely, we might also find a city whose walled area was larger than its built-up area. This may have been the case for *Clunia.* The size mostly mentioned for *Clunia* is 130 hectares.[14] Despite the dispersion of ceramic material within the whole walled area, the excavated archaeological remains of the inner city are clearly dispersed and discontinuous.[15] Even in well-studied cases, such as *Corduba*, the exact size of a settlement cannot be determined precisely. Like Carreras, I invite other scholars to improve those estimates that have been used in this study.

[11] Hourcade (2004) 'Géographie des villes fortifiées en Lusitanie Romaine: tentative de definition de réseaux et de hiérarchies urbaines.' In: Gorges, Cerrillo and Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones*, 223-53; Almagro-Gorbea (1987); Almagro-Gorbea (1994); Keay (1998b); Fatás Cabeza (1990b) *De Zaragoza*; Keay and Earl (2011).
[12] Carreras Monfort (1996): 98: "uno se debe conformar con la información de que se dispone". .
[13] Ventura *et al.* (1998) 'Roman Cordoba in the light of recent archaeological research.' In: Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, 87-107; Dupré i Raventós (2004a) *Córdoba: Colonia Patricia Corduba*: 39; Vaquerizo (ed.) (2010) *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografia, usos, función*: 476.
[14] Palol (1991): 19; Taracena (2007 [1949]): 2043 [441].
[15] Palol (1991): 19 & 361; Diarte Blasco (2012): 116.

6.3 Rank-size analysis

Recent years have seen a reappraisal and increased use of rank-size analysis (RSA) in the study of Roman urban settlement systems.[16] Rank-size analysis started when Auerbach in 1913 found a regular pattern when the population numbers of cities were ranked according to size. Simply put, he found that the largest city of a region has twice as many inhabitants as the second, and three times as many as the third. This regularity has been shown by Zipf to follow a log linear distribution with a coefficient close to one. In an important article that appeared in 1996, Krugman tries to find an explanation for the fact that the Rank-size graph for the largest U.S. metropolitan populations obeys the linear distribution predicted by Zipf's Law.[17] Such a Rank-size distribution is often taken to indicate a highly integrated urban system.[18] Opting for a different interpretation, Krugman argues that Zipf's Law could be the result of essentially random processes, as is often observed in nature.[19] In this context it must be emphasised that random processes lead to a set of numbers that is not random but follows Zipf's law.

Although no convincing explanation for Zipf's Law has yet been found, geographers and archaeologists continue to use this analysis. In general, a lack of conformity to Zipf's Law has been observed, and much of the literature has been dedicated to explaining why this should be the case.[20] These deviations from Zipf's Law are mostly explained as resulting from incomplete data or from the combination of different data sets, but they are most probably a representation of reality. There are four basic shapes to be recognised in the rank-size analysis: Zipf's Law and three different deviations.[21] The most important of the three deviations is the concave shape, which is erroneously referred to as 'convex' in many archaeological publications.[22] This chapter will use the correct terminology (see fig. VI.1).

[16] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995); Marzano (2011); Smith (2011) 'Empirical Urban Theory for Archaeologists.' *Journal of Archaeological Method & Theory* Vol. 18, 167-92; Keay and Earl (2011); Graaf (2012) *Late Republican-Early imperial Regional Italian Landscapes and Demography*; Hanson (2016).

[17] Krugman (1996); Zipf (1949).

[18] Nitsch (2005) 'Zipf Zipped.' *Journal of Urban Economics* Vol. 57, 86-100; Zipf (1949).

[19] Krugman (1996): 414.

[20] Nitsch (2005); Marzano (2011); Johnson (1980) 'Rank-Size Convexity and System Integration: A View from Archaeology.' *Economic Geography* Vol. 56, N° 3, 234-47; Ligt (2016).

[21] Drennan and Peterson (2004) 'Comparing archaeological settlement systems with rank-size graphs: a measure of shape and statistical confidence.' *Journal of Archaeological Science* Vol. 31, 533-49: 534. For a good review of the multitude of interpretations based on these shapes, see: Savage (1997) 'Assessing Departures from Log-Normality in the Rank-Size Rule.' *Journal of Archaeological Science* Vol. 24, 233-44: 234ff.

[22] Ligt (2016): 33; Johnson (1980); Vries (1984) *European Urbanization 1500-1800*: 89.

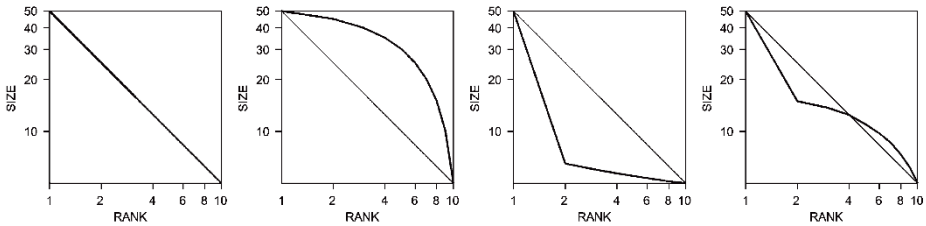


Fig.VI.1 Examples of the different shapes for RSA graphs (Drennan and Peterson (2004) fig.1 p. 534) From left to right: Zipf's Law, concave, primate and primo-concave.

Within this study RSA will not be used as an explanatory tool, but simply as an instrument to present and compare the distribution of population within the settlements of a region or period.[23] In brief, RSA will be used as a descriptive method to reveal differences between urban systems and to understand the relations between settlements within the system.

To support the interpretation and comparison of graphs with similar shapes, we have to add two elements to the graph: firstly, the line indicating the trend line of Zipf's Law, which shows the deviation from Zipf's Law and thereby the general shape of the graph, and secondly, the most fitting trend line of the graph, given with an equation. The equation of the trend line gives two values: the *q*-value, the exponent in the y equation, which gives the slope of the graph (in the case of Zipf's Law this would be -1) and the R^2 value, which indicates the degree of fit between the best fitting trend line and the data.

6.3.1 Earlier RSA for the Iberian Peninsula

In a recent chapter by Marzano, an RSA was carried out for the Iberian Peninsula and for the individual provinces based on the sizes given in the 1995-1996 article by Carreras, which contains the sizes of 107 settlements in Antiquity. Since we lack population figures for the ancient Roman cities, Marzano uses the size of a city in hectares. A simple multiplication of the size by a chosen density per hectare would not influence the distribution, but Marzano argues that the population density of a city may be higher in the case of larger cities.[24] However, Marzano admits that any estimates relating to population densities for the different tiers of cities would be arbitrary.[25] She therefore decides to adhere to the actual data and rank the cities based on their sizes in hectares.

[23] Drennan and Peterson (2004): 533.
[24] Marzano (2011): 203.
[25] *Ibid.* 204. She proposes to use 216 for settlements larger than 40 ha, 180 for those between 39 and 10 ha and 130 people/ha for the smaller settlements.

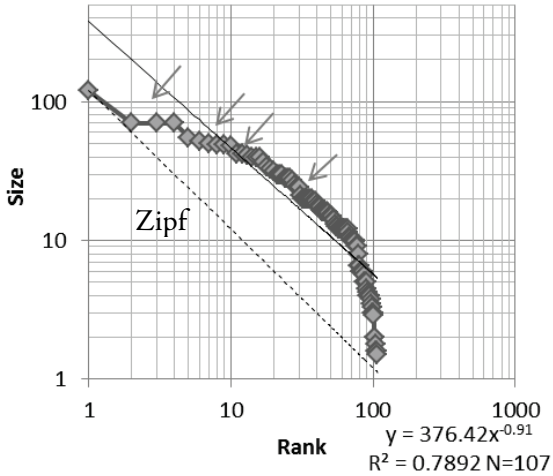


Fig. VI.2 RSA by Marzano (2011), arrows indicate the effect of levelling at intervals of a decade.

When looking only at the equation for the Carreras dataset, we observe that the projected size of the largest city would be 452.73 hectares and that the slope or *q*-value of the trend line is 0.91. However, with an R^2 value of 0.7892, it is clear that Marzano's rank-size graph does not obey the 'rank-size rule' at all. Marzano concludes that the urban system of the Iberian Peninsula in Roman times follows a concave distribution.[26] She buttresses this conclusion with the following observations:

> A convex (sic!) distribution signifies that the settlements below the size of the largest one are larger than the rank-size rule would predict; an alternative view holds that the largest settlement in the examined system is smaller than the rank-size would predict.[27]

The top ten cities are all of a similar size. Only *Augusta Emerita* stands out from the group of 70-hectare cities. In other words, the concave distribution is the result of a relatively small primary centre and a relatively large number of similarly sized cities.[28] We should note that the dataset tends to level out at certain size ranges. There are three cities occupying the second rank at 70 hectares[29] and another group occupying the third rank at 50 hectares, both leading to a levelling of the graph.

In addition, Marzano notes the lower-limb problem, the drop at the tail end of the concave curve. This drop might be interpreted as the result of the absence of undetected small places. In order to rule out that the graph may have been heavily influenced by missing data, Marzano estimates the number of undetected settlements

[26] Marzano (2011): 209.
[27] *Ibid.* 211. Note that Marzano uses the terminology of Johnson and thus refers to a convex distribution.
[28] *Ibid.* 211.
[29] Carreras states he has estimated the size of *Clunia* as among the range of *Corduba* and *Tarraco.* See Carreras Monfort (1996): 103.

and adds them to her graph. According to Carreras, 293 sites are missing, based on the total of 399 self-governing places mentioned in Pliny.[30] He states that of these 293 settlements, 93 would have been approximately 10 hectares and the remainder about 5 hectares.[31] Marzano then adds the 293 sites with randomly allocated sizes following the distribution proposed by Carreras. As the graph representing these adjusted data looks very similar to the shape of the original one (the *q*-value -0.83 and the R^2 0.793), Marzano concludes that the missing data did not influence the graph. Unfortunately, no conclusions were drawn based on the shape of the graph for the whole Iberian Peninsula.

After presenting her graph for the Iberian Peninsula, Marzano discusses the three provinces separately. However, she only shows the graph for the province of *Baetica,* stating that it is the most urbanised province. The trend line for the graph of this province has a *q*-value of -1.015. However, as the R^2-value is 0.826, we have to conclude that we are far from a rank-size rule. Instead of a linear appearance, the graph is clearly concave.

Marzano does not pay a great deal of attention to *Hispania Citerior/Tarraconensis* either, but she notes that the trend line for this province has a *q*-value of -0.895 and an R^2 value of 0.7799. As a possible explanation for the difference between the provinces, Marzano points out that the urban centres of *Citerior* are most likely to be found close to the coastal areas as the inland regions are rather mountainous.[32]

Nonetheless, a short interpretation is given for *Baetica* and *Citerior*. Marzano states that, based on the middle segment of the graphs, the largest settlements must be considered too small for the settlement system. She attributes this "missed growth" to the consumption of the resources of these provinces by other parts of the empire.[33] She points out that not all resources are traded but some are also siphoned away as taxes or rents.

For the RSA of the province of *Lusitania,* Marzano gives an interpretation based on 14 sizes. The *q*-value of the set by Marzano is -1.257 and the R^2 value 0.8472. Her graph is close to log-normal.[34] Her conclusion is that the province of *Lusitania* was well integrated, which she deems possible based on its topography, the area being less mountainous than the two other provinces. However, there are a number of problems with the data. First, the size of the so-called primate centre *Augusta Emerita*,

[30] Carreras has calculated the 293 missing sites by retracting the 106 known sizes (in text Carreras wrongly used the number 106 for his amount of sizes) from the 399 cities mentioned in Pliny. See also: Chapter III footnote 24.

[31] De Vries notes that the number of smaller towns might not actually be larger, because small settlements with urban functions, such as administration, are a rarity. See Vries (1984): 91.

[32] Marzano (2011): 218.

[33] *Ibid*: 221.

[34] *Ibid*. 218. Marzano states it is 'almost log-linear'.

120 hectares, is based on a guestimate given by Taracena in 1949.[35] Some of her other estimates can also be improved upon and new data can be added. In addition, the small size of the dataset for *Lusitania* is problematic. The slightest deviations from reality will distort the graph. In particular, Marzano's inflated estimate for the largest city has a major distorting effect on the graph.

6.3.2 RSA Iberian Peninsula

As has already been explained, the sizes of 240 of the 430 self-governing communities that have been identified in this monograph can be estimated. Since the number of self-governing communities according to Pliny stood at 513, we have missed the size of 275 self-governing communities, but this figure includes the 114 dispersed *civitates* with no central *urbs*.[36] The sizes of the self-governing settlements span from 90 hectares to 1 hectare.

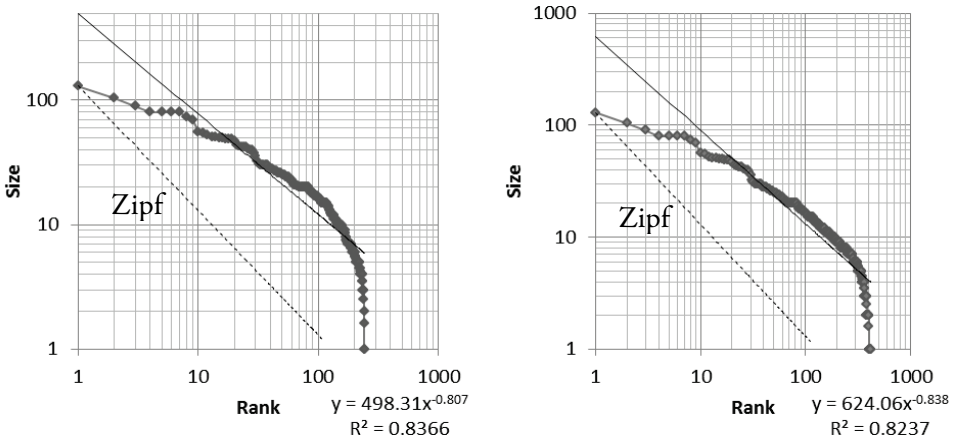


Fig.VI.3 RSA graphs for the self-governing cities, the current dataset (left) and the dataset with projected sizes (right).

As we have seen, Carreras has suggested that the vast majority of those settlements for which no data are available must have been small and that about one-third would be on average 10 hectares and the remaining two-thirds 5 hectares.[37] Based on this idea I will add 54 sizes between the range of 6 to 14, on average 10 hectares, and 107 sizes between 1 and 9, on average 5 hectares. Similar to the graphs drawn by Marzano,

[35] Taracena (2007 [1949]): 427.: "[...] Emerita Augusta, cuyo caserío solo fue después cuando llegó a medir 120 hectáreas, como la más importante de Lusitania, [...]". This large size for *Augusta Emerita* is not supported by archaeology: the walled size of *Emerita Augusta* is 71 hectares, whereas the built-up area is estimated to be about 80 hectares: Hourcade (2004): 227; García y Bellido (2009 [1966]): 247.

[36] Note that the self-governing communities did not necessarily function with an *urbs* (see the dispersed *civitas* chapter III). Nonetheless, there would be smaller settlements present; if a size is known for one or more of these settlements the largest is taken to be the *urbs*.

[37] Carreras Monfort (1996): 106; Marzano (2011): 211.

no major difference is observed between the original graph and the projected graph. Both the *q*-values, -0.807 and -0.838 respectively, and the R^2 value or fit, 0.8366 and 0.8237 respectively, are within the same range. It follows from this that the steep decline of the right-hand part of the graph is not caused by missing data.

In all likelihood, few self-governing cities were very small due to their administrative function.[38] A drop at the lower end of the graph is therefore to be expected.[39] As the lowest limb does not help us to understand the graphs and the standard RSA is made on the largest settlements, the RSA will be made on settlements with a size of 10 hectares and above.

Obviously, the effect of deleting the lower limb has a levelling effect on the graph. However, while the adjusted graph is less steep, it is still concave, reflecting the relatively small size of the highest-ranking cities and the existence of a large group of middle-sized cities between 20 and 50 hectares. The gentle slope and concavity of the rank-size graphs for northern and peninsular Italy have been interpreted as evidence for the "modular nature of the urban system".[40] The underlying idea is that the vast majority of Roman cities interacted more intensely with their administrative territories than with each other. This has been contrasted with the 'global' system, where we see the Roman urban system as a well-thought-through and integrated system of several layers of administration working towards Rome.[41]

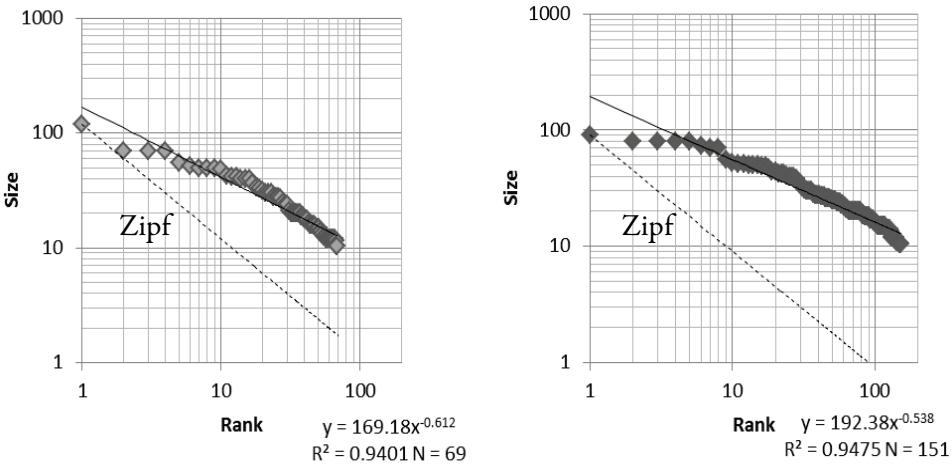


Fig. VI.4 RSA of settlements > 10 ha. Carreras dataset (1996) left current dataset (right).

[38] Vries (1984): 91. Nonetheless, we find small self-governing settlements below 5 hectares in Hispania. For example, the *municipium Flavium Munigua* has a walled size of 4.5 hectares (See: Schattner (2005), 254), its built-up area is estimated at only 3 hectares, personal communication T. Schattner. Therefore, it is very likely that this group is incomplete.

[39] Still, a considerable number of small self-governing cities might be missing. However, adding these has no influence on the graph.

[40] Ligt (2016): 39.

[41] Corbier (1991) 'City, Territory and Taxation.' In: Rich and Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, 214-43: 216.

Many cities were approximately within a range of between 20 and 50 hectares, based on the size and productivity of their territory in relation to the history of the individual cities. There seems to be a natural break between the larger eight cities and the rest. However, the few larger cities seem not to have relied on access to regional and supra-regional resources, but on their larger territories.[42] None of these cities reached beyond 100 hectares. It therefore appears that the absence of very large centres reflects the inaccessibility of regional and supra-regional resources.[43]

It has been argued that those places with a higher status, such as provincial capitals, *conventus* capitals and *coloniae*, are larger than non-privileged communities.[44] Figure VI.5 shows box and whisker plots for the different status categories:

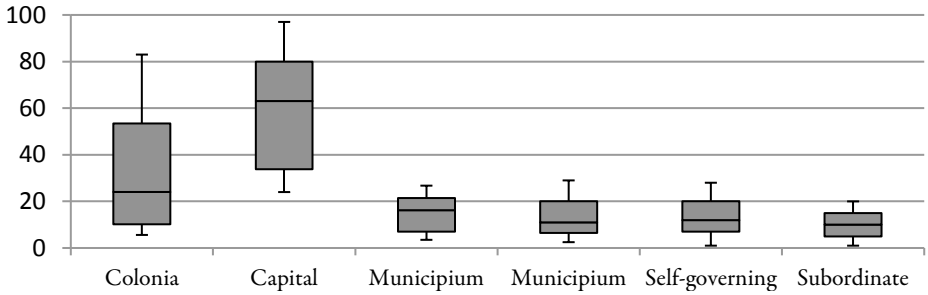


Fig. VI.5: Box and whisker plot of size distribution per status and conventus capital function of cities.

Indeed, we observe that the *coloniae* are larger than cities with other statuses. Up to a point this reflects the fact that the four largest cities are all *coloniae*. However, if we look at the median for all the *coloniae,* we observe that this value even surpasses the Q3 of the other statuses. We can conclude that the *coloniae* are significantly larger than the other settlements. The explanation for this difference may be found in the different nature of this type of settlement. As we shall see, the territories of these *coloniae* are rather large[45], which would have allowed them to draw resources from a larger territory and as a result support a larger population.

The effect of state intervention becomes even clearer when considering the 'capitals', even though probably not all of these were *coloniae.* The provincial capitals, *Corduba*, *Augusta Emerita* and *Tarraco*, are the largest cities on the Iberian Peninsula. It is clear that the large territories of these cities in combination with their administrative role has led to the development of larger settlements. Their larger size is partially due to the representative areas, such as the larger *fora* of these capitals.[46] In addition,

[42] Infra section 6.4.1.
[43] Ligt (2016): 40.
[44] Keay (2001): 107. Referring as well to: Millett (1991) *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*: 144; Woolf (1997) 'The Roman urbanization of the East.' In: Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, 1-14: fig. 5.
[45] Infra section 6.4.1.
[46] On the *fora* of capitals supra section 5.2.4 on the *forum*.

their assize function must have drawn people and with it trade opportunities to the city, leading to an advantageous position within the urban network.

The 'self-governing' box represents those settlements whose municipal status cannot be demonstrated with the help of the published evidence, but they were most likely promoted after the grant of *ius Latii.* When comparing this bar with the bar representing the *municipia,* we observe that they are very similar, suggesting that they belong to the same group.

6.3.3 RSA Lusitania

Lusitania is not well covered by Carreras' data set. Pliny states that there were only 45 *populi*, and the size of 23 of the 45 central places of these communities can be established. In the corrected data set *Augusta Emerita* remains the largest settlement, although it has a significantly smaller size than in the Carreras dataset.

The corrected dataset gives different values from those calculated by Marzano. Interestingly, the slope of the graph is -0.514, leaving no doubt that we are far from a log-normal distribution. In addition, the fit of the line is significant and the R^2 is 0.962. The concave shape of the graph is mostly due to the fact that the size of 50% of all the settlements is within the range of between 30 and 15 hectares. The sharp drop at the end of the graph, indicated by the last size, is mostly due to settlements in the northern part of the province, where we find the dispersed *civitas* and small central settlements. Interestingly, we do not find the city of *Olisipo* amongst the higher-order cities; instead we find *Mirobriga Vettonum* (Ciudad Rodrigo) and *Balsa*. The latter was a port for trade passing through the Strait of Gibraltar and had connections to the Guadiana River leading towards *Myrtilis* and further to *Augusta Emerita*. The size of *Mirobriga Vettonum* is slightly problematic: it is based on the walls of the old *oppidum*, and the size of its built-up area may have been lower.

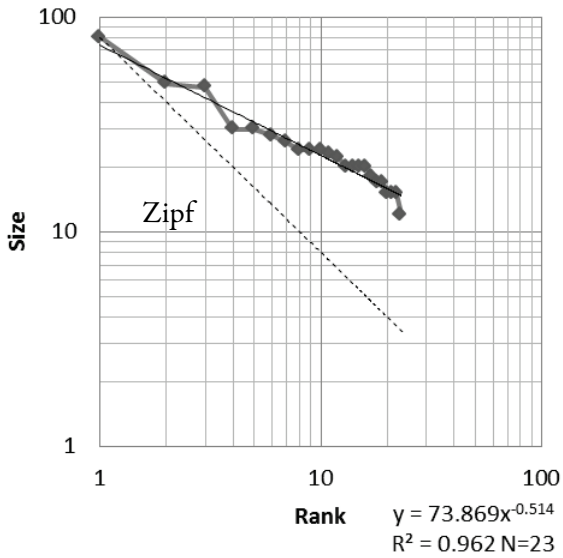


Fig. VI.6: RSA for Lusitania (n=23)

We observe that the provincial capital is the largest centre. *Augusta Emerita* was founded in Augustan times to settle the veterans of the Cantabrian Wars. Its territory

was of considerable size and would have easily supported the urban population.[47] In addition, *Emerita* was given at least three *praefectura*.[48] Apparently, the land available to create the continuous territory was too small and more land had to be granted. Moreover, the city was located along what is nowadays called the Via Plata, the route connecting the mines of the north with the main harbour at *Hispalis*. It is clear that *Emerita* was ideally placed to become the largest city of the region.

Lusitania as a whole can be described as a province where most cities are of moderate size, between 30 and 15 hectares, pointing to a heterarchical system. At the same time, the settlement system imposed by Rome was clearly dominated by *Augusta Emerita*. This can also to be observed when looking at its network, with *Augusta Emerita* clearly positioned in the centre of the network, despite its position on the boundary of the province.[49] We can conclude that Marzano's interpretation of the RSA of *Lusitania* was based on a too small and incorrect dataset. *Lusitania* clearly was not as integrated as she thinks it was.

6.3.4 RSA Baetica

A rank-size graph for *Baetica* that is based on revised size estimates looks somewhat different from Marzano's graph. The *q*-value of -0.67 fits well with an R^2 value of 0.932. The slightly steeper slope, in respect to that of *Lusitania,* and the good fit indicate a more hierarchical pattern, although the overall shape of the graph remains concave.

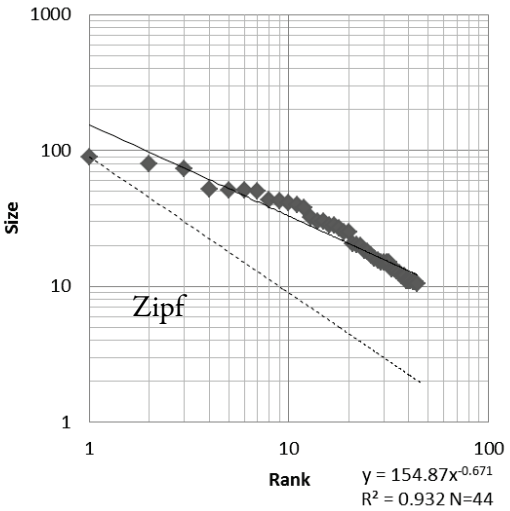


Fig.VI.7: RSA Baetica (n=44)

As Marzano already states, *Baetica* was one of the most urbanised regions of the Iberian Peninsula, and even of the Roman West.[50] Hence it is not very surprising that, in contrast to *Lusitania*, the urban

[47] Cordero Ruiz (2010) 'Una nueva propuesta sobre los límites del *Ager Emeritensis* durante el Imperio Romano y la Antigüedad Tardía.' *Zephyrus* Vol. LXV, 149-65: 149. See below for a further analysis of the territory of *Augusta Emerita*.

[48] Hyg. Grom. *De Lim. Const.* La. 171, 6-10 = Th. 136, 3-7. Ramírez Sábada (1994) 'La demografía del Territorium Emeritense (excepto el casco urbano) según la documentación epigráfica.' In: Gorges and Salinas de Frías (eds.), *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine. Occupation du sol et habitats*, 131-47: 131.

[49] Carreras Monfort and De Soto (2010): 32.

[50] Marzano (2011): 2018.

populations of this province lived in settlements of widely varying size. This explains why the trend line follows the graph rather closely from 50 hectares to 10 hectares.

The different shape of the graph for *Baetica* might reflect a difference in the history of urbanisation. *Baetica* had fertile lands and mineral-rich mountains. The area played important role within the Mediterranean trade from early times.[51] We find that settlements within the province are well connected due to its extended road network and the importance of the Guadalquivir River (*Baetis*). These factors may have enhanced urban development.[52] Clearly, the integration of *Baetica* within the Roman economic network as a source for olive oil and grain only enhanced its position.[53] The combination of the concentration of natural riches, early contact with other regions and a well-integrated network of settlements led to the development of a strong urban settlement pattern. The larger cities controlled large territories with abundant resources, and also controlled the trade derived from the territories of the smaller cities.[54] In the Roman period we find several large settlements[55], such as the *conventus* capitals *Corduba* (90 hectares), *Gades* (80 ha), *Astigi* (73.3 hectares) and *Hispalis* (51 hectares), which were granted large territories and in addition were important fluvial or maritime ports.

The settlement system is mostly concentrated along the Guadalquivir. Here we find a rather regular pattern of cities of different sizes located on average 12.67 kilometres apart. The locations of larger cities can be related to their roles as shipment centres. At the extreme end, the furthest one can travel on board a small ship, we find *Castulo* (44 hectares) as a relatively large city.[56] The next large city, which happens to be the largest on the Peninsula, is *Corduba,* located at the furthest point that large river ships could sail.[57] *Celti* occupied an area of only 17 hectares, but was still among the larger cities along the Guadalquivir. It was located at the confluence of the Genil and the Guadalquivir. Finally, we find *Hispalis*, the last city accessible for maritime ships, as a large city.[58] This interesting pattern may be the result of larger ports functioning as transhipment ports, where goods were unloaded from maritime ships and put on board barges. Between these large cities we find a multitude of smaller cities,

[51] Ponsich (1998) 'The rural economy of western Baetica.' In: Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, 171-82: 171.
[52] See supra sections 4.5 and 5.4 for the network.
[53] Remesal Rodríguez (1998) 'Baetican olive oil and the Roman economy.' In: Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, 183-99: 188.
[54] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 132.
[55] In the work by Keay (2011) we find rather large sizes for *Urso* (115.5) and *Ostippo* (104.5). Keay already admits that these sizes are rather large and can be doubted since almost no archaeological research has been done to verify these settlement sizes (Keay 2011: 305). Since these fall well beyond the range of what are known to be the largest cities on the Iberian Peninsula and it has been impossible to falsify the size, these have been omitted. Cities like *Gades* and *Corduba* are more likely to be the largest, e.g. Strabo mentions *Gades* as the most famous and most populous city in the west (III 1.8; III 5.3).
[56] Str. III 2.3; Carreras Monfort (2014): 74.
[57] Carreras Monfort and De Soto (2010): 31.
[58] Carreras Monfort and De Soto (2010): 31.

the size of which remains unknown, although they are unlikely to have been much larger than ten hectares.

To the north of the Guadalquivir, in the Sierra Morena, we find mining cities. This category again includes *Castulo*, controlling the silver mines, but also *Corduba* with its large territory stretching into the mountains.[59] Another example of a mining

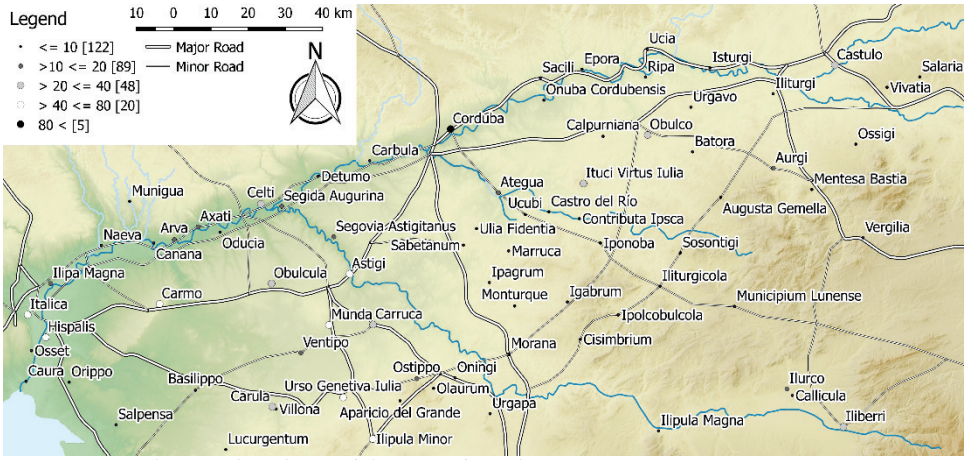


Fig. VI.8 Settlements along the Guadalquivir and Genil.

city is *Munigua*. This rather small but heavily monumentalised city is a good example of a central place controlling the mining area within its territory.[60] The mining operations were located throughout the territory of the city, with the town-based *mercatores* controlling the mining operations and the transportation of ores or metal to *Hispalis* for onward shipment.[61] Along the banks of the Guadalquivir and Genil rivers we find the kilns for the Baetican olive oil amphorae. This pattern was dictated by the presence of good clay deposits and by a strong demand for amphorae.[62] The valleys of these rivers were rich in olive orchards that produced the olive oil for the market in Rome, as shown by the mountain of broken amphorae at Monte Testaccio.

The Baetican settlement system consists of three subsystems. The most important was that in the Guadalquivir valley, which was bounded by two mountain ranges, the Sierra Morena and Sierra Nevada. Marzano considers it was these mountain ranges that led to a less integrated system in *Baetica*. However, while the significance of these barriers cannot be denied, the cities to the north of the Sierra Morena were connected to the Guadalquivir via roads along which they could transport the metals obtained from the mines.[63] The settlements to the south of the Sierra Nevada were

[59] Domergue (1998) 'A view of Baetica's external commerce in the 1st c. A.D. based on its trade in metals.' In: Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, 201-15: 205.
[60] Schattner *et al.* (2008): 139; Domergue (1990): 384.
[61] Domergue (1998): 203.
[62] Remesal Rodríguez (1998): 188.
[63] Monterroso-Checa and Gasparini (2016) 'Aerial Archaeology and Photogrammetric Surveys along the Roman way from Corduba to Emerita. Digitalizing the Ager Cordubensis and the Ager Mellariensis.' *SCIRESit* Vol. 6, N° 2, 175-88: 176.

port settlements that were connected to the ports at the estuary of the Guadalquivir by sea and via roads to the inland centres. Clearly, these settlements were not as well integrated into the system as those in the Guadalquivir valley. Nonetheless, they were an integral part of the Baetican system.

6.3.5 RSA Hispania Citerior

In the case of *Citerior,* the values calculated using the updated dataset are very different from those calculated by Marzano: the slope is -0.499 and the R^2 value 0.9635. The rank-size graph has a flat appearance. Again we see that the system levels out at the top, with the largest cities being of similar size, as in the graphs of *Lusitania* and *Baetica*. In this case we find two cities occupying areas of 80 hectares, *Tarraco* and *Carthago Nova*. Both were *conventus* capitals and provincial capitals, although *Carthago Nova* only became a capital after Diocletian's reorganisations. *Clunia*, another *conventus* capital, followed these two cities. However, the other *conventus* capitals of *Citerior*, namely *Caesaraugusta, Asturica Augusta, Bracara Augusta* and *Lucus Augusti*, are not among the largest in the province, although they are relatively large within their own regions. Their role as assize centres may have created more opportunities for these cities. This observation applies especially to the north-western *conventus* capitals. These cities were created by Augustus to provide a rather unurbanised region with administrative centres. Naturally, these cities were granted large territories from which to draw.

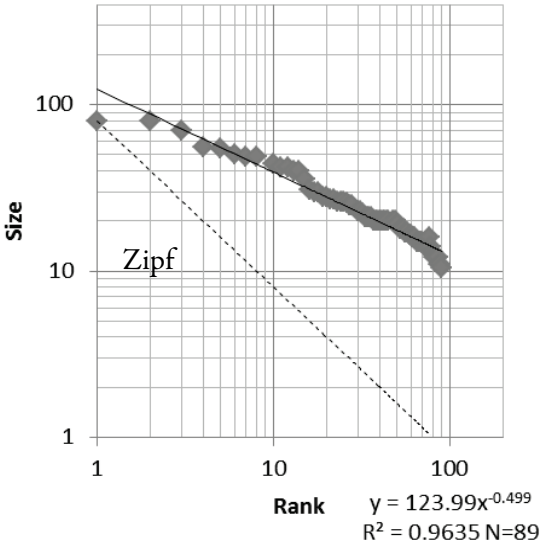


Fig. VI.9 RSA Citerior (n=89)

In general, the distribution of the graph can be described as concave, with all the dots representing the large and medium-sized cities above the Zipf line and a drop being visible at the end of the graph. As has already been stated, we find the largest cities on the Mediterranean coast. In contrast to this, the second category (40-80

hectares) is found inland. However, if we want to achieve a better understanding of the settlement system of *Citerior* we need to go beyond these basic observations and look at individual regions.

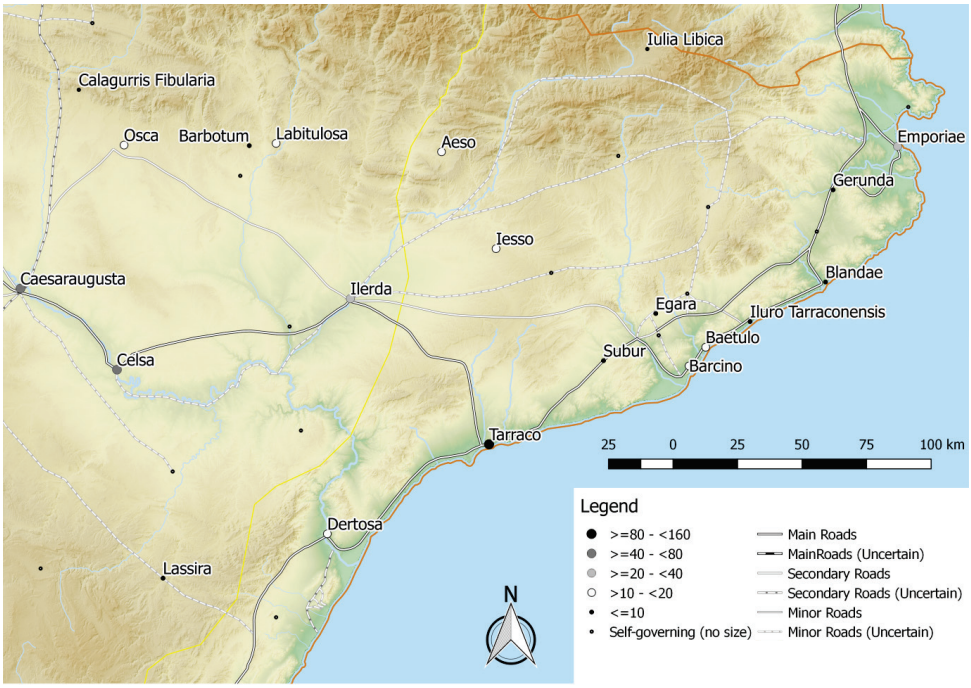


Fig. VI.10 The urban system at the modern-day Catalan coast

In the area corresponding largely to modern Catalonia we find the major urban centre of *Tarraco*, with its 80 hectares. The function of *Tarraco* as the provincial capital can be seen as the result of its history as the base of operations during the republican period, and its role as a maritime port.[64] To the north we find a medium-sized city, *Emporiae* (31 hectares), with a similar history, and inland we find *Ilerda* (23 hectares). Both these cities played important roles during the early conquest and consolidation of the area. The two former Republican bases of operations, *Tarraco* and *Emporiae*, were separated by a distance of almost 200 kilometres. Between these Republican cities we find the Augustan *colonia Barcino* mentioned by Mela as *parvum oppidum*. One of the aims of this colonial foundation must have been to strengthen control over the *Via Augusta*.[65] In addition, located along the coast we find the other *parva oppida* of *Blandae*, *Iluro* and *Baetulo*.[66] These small cities must have been maritime ports from which surpluses produced in the coastal zone or the inland region could be shipped to *Tarraco* and further afield. The city of *Ilerda*, which exceeded

[64] Panzram (2002) *Stadtbild und Elite: Tarraco, Corduba und Augusta Emerita zwischen Republik und Spätantike*:123.
[65] Guitart i Douran (2010): 26.
[66] Mela II 90.

most coastal cities in size, is located at an important road axis leading inland to *Caesaraugusta* and *Pompelo*. The inland city of *Celsa* was most probably abandoned in the second half of the first century.[67] In addition, we find such cities as *Iesso* (18 hectares) and *Aeso* (18 hectares) located further apart controlling these inland regions. In between these medium-sized inland centres and the coastal settlements we find several cities, most of which were founded by the Romans with the aim of controlling and exploiting the inland districts.[68] The concentration of cities between *Emporiae* and *Tarraco* along the different routes of the *Via Augusta* is clearly related to the fertile lands of this region, which produced large amounts of wine and olives.

The north-western part of the Peninsula comprised the *conventus Bracarum* and the *conventus Lucensis* (see fig. VI.11). The *conventus* capitals *Bracara Augusta* and *Lucus Augusti* were the largest cities in this region. In the 20 to 40-hectare bracket we find *Iria Flavia* and *Castellum Tyde,* the size of which can be related to their position along the coast and the coastal road. The 10 to 20-hectare bracket contains two maritime settlements, *Cale* and *Aquae Flaviae*. The latter must have been an important roadside settlement, between *Bracara Augusta* and *Asturica Augusta*.[69] *Cale* is again a port city. In general, the other settlements are small, occupying less than 5 hectares. As has been explained in an earlier chapter, the population of the *civitates* and *municipia* in the north-western region was dispersed over multiple smaller settlements. The urban settlement pattern is therefore rather limited, but well spread over the area.

When looking at the territories as drawn by Rodríguez Colmenero, we observe that the territories are of roughly similar size.[70] However, they are based on the tribes mentioned in the literary sources, such as Pliny and Ptolemy, and must reflect the situation just before the conquest. It is most likely that the two *conventus* capitals, created by Augustus, obtained larger territories. Moreover, Rodríguez Colmenero's map also shows *civitates* that might have been *civitates contributae*, the territories of contributed *civitates* would have belonged to other *civitates*. Nonetheless, the large territory of the small city of *Brigantium*, only 7 hectares, stands out. Gonzalez postulates that *Brigantium* was an important centre for trade, controlling the route from *Gades* to the British Isles and the interior of this region.[71] That this small city continued as an important maritime port is shown by the presence of the Roman pharos, the Torre de Hercules.

[67] Beltrán Lloris and Martín Bueno (1982) 'Bilbilis y Celsa, dos ejemplos de ciudades romanas en el Aragon Antiguo.' *Caesaraugusta* Vol. 55-56, 143-63: 146.
[68] Guitart i Duran (2010): 10.
[69] As ten *civitates* constructed with the *Legio VII Gemina* a bridge at the crossing of the Tamega, see CIL II 2477.
[70] Rodríguez Colmenero (1999) *Aquae Flaviae I fontes epigráficas da Gallaecia meridional interior*: 15.
[71] González Ruibal (2006): 517; López Pérez (2010) 'Reflexiones sobre la época Flavia en Brigantium a partir de los datos proporcionados por la Terra Sigillata.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 36, 95-106: 97.

Fig. VI.11 The urban system of the conventus Bracarum and Lucensis

In addition to the urban centres, we also find two garrison settlements, which belong to the *Cohors I Celtiberorum* and the cohors located at *Aquae Querquernae*, both located in areas between the urban centres. As Rodríguez Colmenero's map represents the Late Republican situation, it does not show the territories of the military cohorts. As has already been stated, we find a complementary relationship between the cohort positioned at *Aquae Querquernae* where the *mansio* was located, and Castro de Rubiás, where the inscriptions mentioning the *civitas* are found.[72]

The north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula was rich in minerals, especially gold, which was controlled by the military. Moreover, the region was only incorporated and pacified during the reign of Augustus. Another difference between this region and the eastern districts of *Citerior* is the relatively small size of the *civitas* capitals in the north-west. As has already been discussed, here we find the dispersed *civitas*, characterised by a dispersal of administrative, economic, social and religious functions among multiple settlements, none of which appeared 'urban' in terms of size or levels of monumentalisation.

6.4 Geographical distribution of large and small cities

The geographical distribution of the cities belonging to various size brackets gives new insight into region-specific patterns of urbanisation of the Iberian Peninsula and the nature of the urban network. The importance of geography as a key to understanding economic patterns was proposed by Krugman in 1991 and led to the New Economic Geography.[73] Here we find two competing ideas. One of these is based on Central Place Theory that starts from the premise that the most important role of cities is to provide various services: economic, religious or administrative.[74] The place with the highest number of services is the central place of the highest order. Its service area is the largest as it provides, among others, services that are rarely needed. Each lower order centre provides fewer services, with the lowest order settlement providing services that are needed on a regular basis. If Central Place Theory were valid for Roman Hispania, we would expect to find the largest cities evenly distributed over the landscape, with medium-sized and small cities filling the gaps between the large centres. Of course, this theory is based on the idea of an empty landscape with all resources evenly distributed. Since in reality resources are not evenly distributed over the landscape, the cities are consequently unevenly distributed. Nonetheless, we would still expect the largest cities to be distributed more or less evenly and the lower order cities to be separated by smaller distances.

[72] Supra section 3.5.1 and 4.4.1.
[73] Krugman (1991) *Geography and Trade*.
[74] Christaller (1933); King (1984) *Central Place Theory*: 37; Kunow (1988) 'Zentrale Orte in der Germania Inferior.' *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* Vol. 18, 55-67: 55.

Similarly, Bekker-Nielsen has argued that the dispersion of larger cities is based on their functions. In his view, the largest self-governing cities of various Roman provinces, such as those of Gaul, have too large a territory to function as the main market centre for their region. He also argues that a peasant needs a market to sell his surplus produce. Half a day's walk (15 km) would be no problem and economically profitable.[75] However, the locations of the Roman administrative system were not always separated by distances of less than 30 kilometres.[76] If the rural population of such areas needed a market, this would be provided by smaller settlements taking up the market function or by periodic fairs and markets.[77]

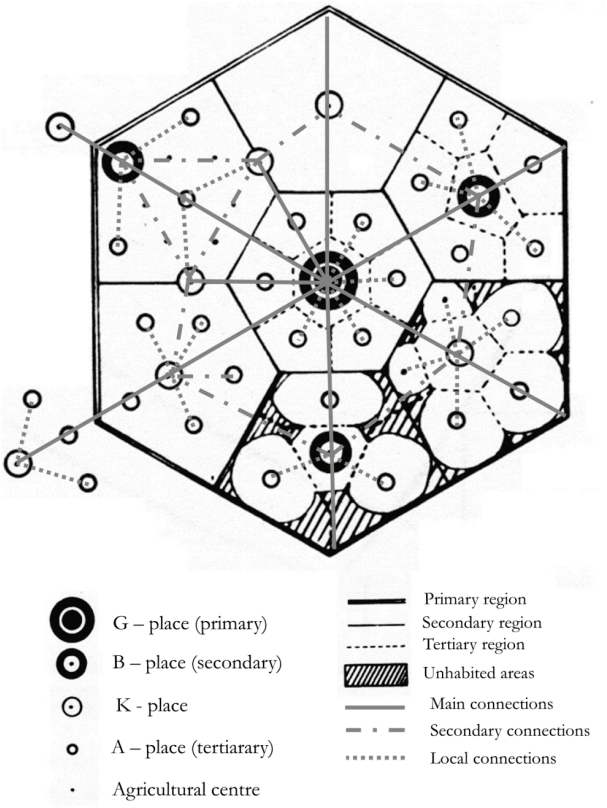


Fig. VI.12 CPT based on the administrative and traffic principle (after King (1984) Figs. 3.4 & 3.5 and Kunow (1988)

Challenging some of the assumptions of Central Place Theory, Krugman has argued that the larger cities would not be evenly distributed, but would be randomly dispersed, centring on the most advantageous locations, along rivers or coastal areas, controlling fertile lands and on important trade routes.[78] He postulates that, due to their advantageous position, these cities would be able to develop into demographic and economically more important centres. This concentration is followed by what he calls the concept of *cumulative causation*: a concentration of trade opportunities will attract more trade,

[75] Bekker-Nielsen (1989): 57; Bintliff (2002): 217.
[76] Bekker-Nielsen (1989): 55.
[77] *Ibid.* 62; Ligt (1993): 108.
[78] Krugman (2009) 'The Increasing Returns Revolution in Trade and Geography.' *The American Economic Review* Vol. 99, N° 3, 561-71: 567; Kunow (1988): 57.

thereby further increasing trade opportunities.[79] Kunow has posited a similar development, emphasising the effect of the road system on the settlement system. He states that large centres are well served by the road system as this system allows them to supply goods and services to the smaller centres. However, as the road system develops, new opportune locations arise where different roads meet, leading to the development of small centres at these intersections.[80] In this model we expect to encounter large cities in geographically and economically advantageous locations. Following the idea of cumulative causation, these large cities would draw in more settlements to make optimum use of the geographically advantageous areas.

In order to test these hypotheses, different approaches will be used to uncover relationships between geographical distribution and size. As a first step, we will simply look at the distribution of the cities on the map per size category. A nearest neighbour analysis will be carried out for each size category in order to define distance categories.

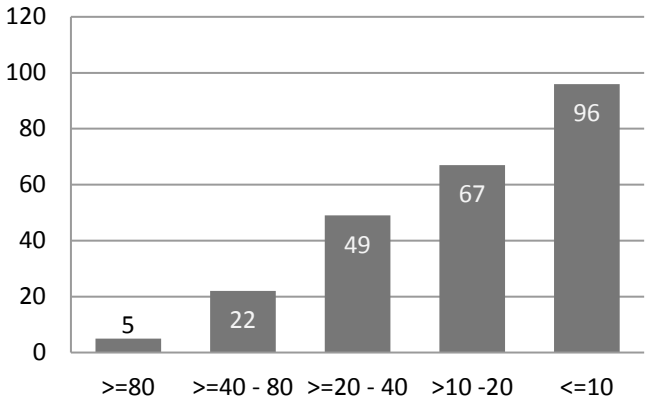


Fig. VI.13: Bar-chart of size categories

In order to illuminate the importance of the lower size categories, my map shows all self-governing communities whose size can be estimated with a reasonable degree of confidence. For analytical purposes the sizes will be grouped into five categories:

1. 80 hectares and higher;
2. 40 ha (incl.) to 80 ha (excluding 80);
3. 20 ha. (incl.) to 40 ha (excl.);
4. 10 ha (excl.) to 20 ha (excl.);
5. 10 ha. (incl.) and lower.[81]

[79] Krugman (1998) *Development, Geography, and Economic Theory*: 47; Krugman (2009): 569.
[80] Kunow (1988): 57.
[81] The reason for including ten hectares in the fifth category is in order to avoid including settlements smaller than 10 hectares in the fourth, as these have been rounded to the nearest ten (in total we find 14 sizes of 10 hectares). This will be of importance in the later rank-size analysis, which is distorted if we include too many sites in the lower categories.

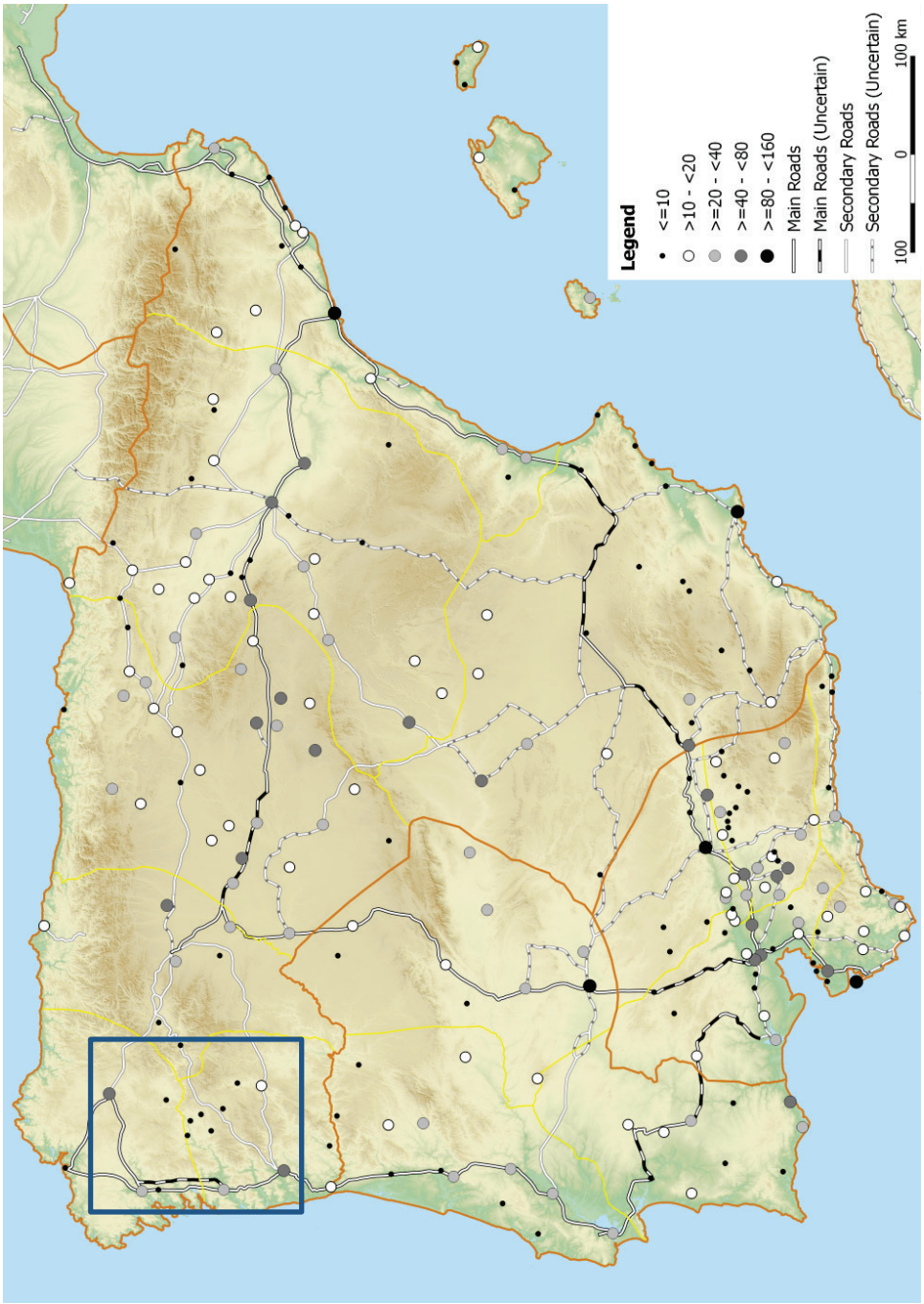


Fig. VI.14: Geographical distribution of all estimated sizes

In general, cities belonging to these five size brackets are rather equally distributed over the Iberian Peninsula. However, there is a clear concentration in the Guadalquivir valley (see fig VI. 14). In addition, some regions have a rather dense pattern, for instance the northern part of the *conventus Bracarum*. This concentration of settlements with estimated sizes is mostly a result of the effort that has been made in this study to understand the dispersed *civitas* (see fig. VI.14 box). Such discrepancies resulting from research biases are unavoidable. Nonetheless, the extremely dense settlement pattern in *Baetica* is a historical reality rather than a research focus.

With these general observations in the back of our minds, we can look at the different size categories one by one. The first map shows all places with a size of 80 and over (see fig. VI.15). This category comprises only five cities: *Corduba* (90 hectares); *Carthago Nova* (80 hectares); *Augusta Emerita* (80 hectares)[82]; *Gades* (80 hectares) and *Tarraco* (80 hectares). The estimated sizes of these cities are all multiples of ten, thereby highlighting the fact that we are dealing with rough approximations. Nonetheless, the estimations are based on lengthy research and we can be certain they are the minimal extent of these cities.

Among these five cities we encounter the three provincial capital cities, *Augusta Emerita*, *Corduba* and *Tarraco*.[83] As we have already seen, these cities had multiple *fora*. The need for more than one *forum* must be related to a higher concentration of functions. The epigraphic evidence for provincial *flamen* in the *concilium provinciarum provinciae* of *Tarraco* indicates a higher concentration of religious activity in *Tarraco*.[84] However, it must be said that the majority of these inscriptions have been found in the lower city.[85] It is possible that a higher level of religious activity was also found in the other capitals. What is equally important is that these provincial capitals had large territories bestowed upon them by the Roman state. These cities thus had large amounts of cultivable land that could support large numbers of inhabitants. Nonetheless, this cannot be the whole explanation, as *Gades* and *Carthago Nova* also belong to the top five of large cities.

Looking at these five cities from another angle, we observe three coastal cities, which are large ports: *Tarraco*, *Carthago Nova* and *Gades*. Ports obviously attracted economic activity and people. However, other port cities are a lot smaller. Hence their function as port settlements is not the sole explanation for their size.

[82] Although we encounter sizes as great as 120 hectares, as given in the work by Taracena based on its importance: "[...] Emerita Augusta, cuyo caserío solo fue después cuando llegó a medir 120 hectáreas, como la más importante de Lusitania, [...]". Unfortunately, this estimate by Taracena has been repeated, whereas the actual size of the walled city is only 71 hectares and another ten hectares are expected to be found outside the walls. Hourcade (2004): 227; García y Bellido (2009 [1966]): 247.

[83] *Carthago Nova* did not become a provincial capital until Diocletian's reforms.

[84] Ruiz de Arbulo (2007) 'Das "Provinzialforum" von Tarraco.' In: Panzram (ed.), *Städte im Wandel: Bauliche Inszenierung und literarische Stilisierung lokaler Eliten auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, 149-212: 179-80.

[85] Haensch (1997) *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*: 165.

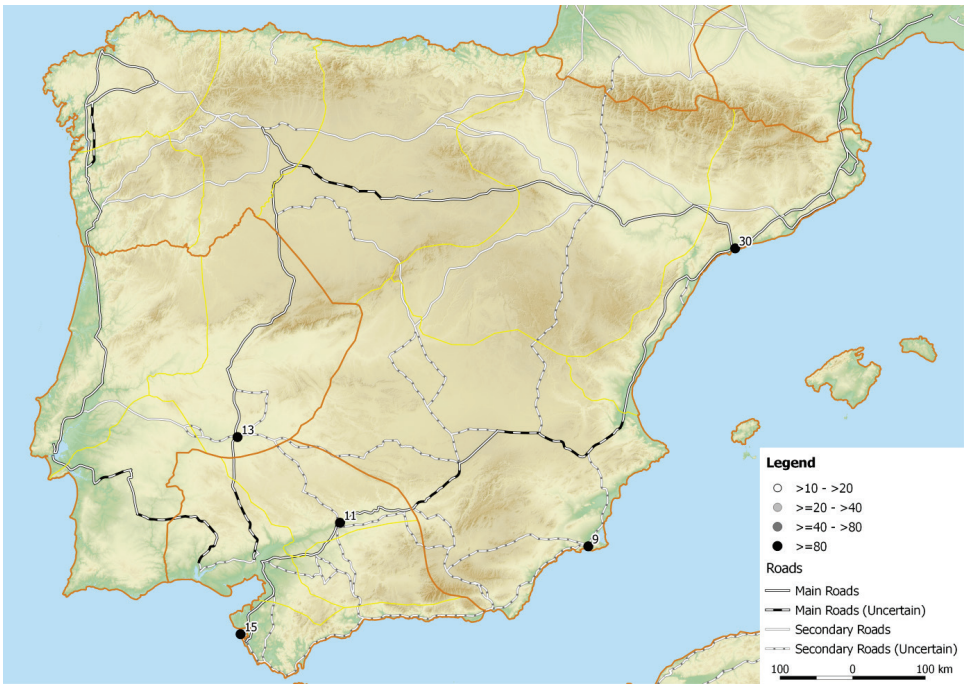


Fig. VI.15 Distribution of places with a size of 80 ha or higher

Part of the reason why *Augusta Emerita*, *Carthago Nova*, *Corduba*, *Gades* and *Tarraco* were larger than other cities has to do with their pre-Roman or early Roman history. As was explained in an earlier chapter, *Gades* played an important role in trade between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean due to its position at the strait of Gibraltar. As Strabo observes:

> There is more to be said about it than the others. For example, [In Gades] live the men who fit out the most and largest merchant-vessels, both for Our Sea and the outer sea.[86]

According to Strabo, *Gades* was the Empire's largest city after Rome. The size of the territory of *Gades* is unknown; located on two islands its immediate surroundings do not allow for a large territory. Nonetheless, the coastal area opposite to the islands does not have large settlements, possibly because it was the territory of *Gades*. This is supported by the location of *Portus Gaditanus* on this coast.[87]

[86] Str. III 5.3. (Loeb translation)
Πλείους δ' εἰσὶ λόγοι περὶ αὐτῆς. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα ναυκλήρια στέλλοντες εἴς τε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν καὶ τὴν ἐκτός.
[87] Str. III 5.3; Mela III.4. Present-day Puerta Real.

Carthago Nova founded by Hasdrubal between 229 and 228 BCE, was the Barcid centre of power.[88] Its location on the Mediterranean coast and a lagoon gave it a large and well-protected port. As such, it remained an important port city from the moment it was conquered by Scipio in 206 BCE. Moreover, the territory of *Carthago Nova* contained several mines, providing it with a steady income.[89]

Corduba was an old Turdetanian city whose origin can be traced back all the way to the Copper age.[90] It grew into an important centre on the banks of the Guadalquivir during this period. Its territory contained rich farmlands as well as rich metal deposits in the mountains, putting the city in a strong position. This centre remained important in Punic and Roman times and became the provincial capital of *Baetica*.

In the case of *Tarraco,* direct Roman influence played an important role. The city started as a *castra hiberna* near an *oppidum*, probably *Kesse*, and developed into the main centre for the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Its promotion to provincial capital followed naturally from there. In addition, the city acquired a large and fertile territory, making it possible to support a large population and yielding a steady surplus of produce that could be traded.[91]

Augusta Emerita was an entirely new foundation that appeared on the map in 25 BCE. Although this city was a newcomer, it still managed to become the largest city of *Lusitania*. It cannot be a coincidence that *Augusta Emerita* was a provincial capital, just like two other members of the highest size bracket.

Tarraco	Carthago Nova	435.8	Median	202.3
Carthago Nova	Corduba	335.7	Average	265.84
Corduba	Emerita	177.7	Largest	435.8
Emerita	Corduba	177.7	Smallest	177.7
Gades	Corduba	202.3		

Table VI.1: Intercity distance largest cities

The intercity distances for the five largest cities of the Hispaniae range from 435.8 km (*Tarraco-Carthago Nova*) to 177.7 (*Corduba-Augusta Emerita*); it is clear that their distribution is rather uneven. If we add those cities belonging to the 40 to 80-hectare bracket, which is a total of 22 places, the surprising absence of more port cities

[88] Polyb. II.13; Str. III 4.6; Mela II.94; Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 49; Noguera Celdrán (2012): 124. Most scholars base the size of *Carthago Nova* on the peninsula giving an estimation of 52 hectares. The map by Ramallo Asensio shows that the *necropoleis* are located further inland, allowing for extra mural quarters, leading to an estimation of 80 hectares Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010) 'Carthago Nova y su espacio suburbano: Dinámicas de ocpación en la periferia de la urbs.' In: Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografia, usos, función*, 211-54.

[89] Plin. *NH* II 96-98; Domergue (1990): 166.

[90] Jiménez and Carrillo (2011): 56.

[91] Prevosti (2010) 'La ciutat de Tarraco, entre nucli urbà i territori / The city of Tarraco, between an urban centre and a territory.' In: Prevosti and Guitart i Duran (eds.), *Ager Tarraconensis 1: Aspectes històrics i marc natural / Historical aspects and natural setting*, 25-112: 27, 56 & 63. See infra for a detailed treaty on the relation between the territory and the size of the city.

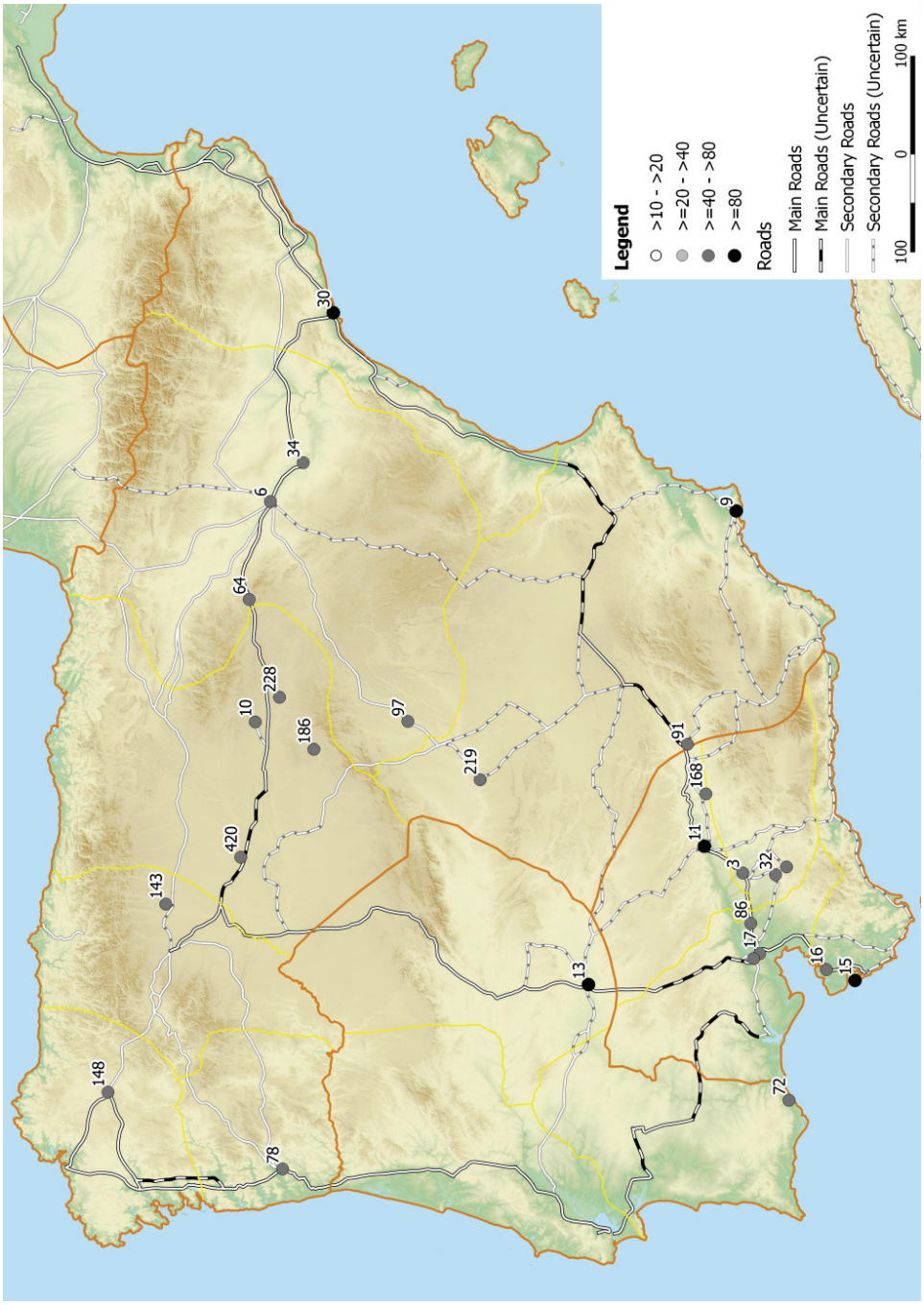


Fig. VI.16 Distribution of places with a size 40 hectares or higher, the ID numbers can be found in appendix II. In text the cities mentioned have their ID in brackets behind the names.

becomes apparent. This shows that the presence of a port was an insufficient precondition for the emergence of a larger urban centre.

Along the southern Atlantic coast, only the city of *Balsa* (72: 47 hectares) appears as a large city.[92] This city must have been of importance for the coastal trade as it, too, was monumentalised.[93] Fraga da Silva argues that evidence for its special position can be found on its republican coinage. Whilst cities in its vicinity have dolphins or tuna fish on the reverse of coins, we see the prow of a warship on the coins of *Balsa*. This seems to support the idea that *Balsa* was an important harbour for Pompeius' war against the pirates.[94] Bernardes has advanced a similar explanation for *Ossonoba*, a smaller port city in the vicinity. He argues that the growth of *Ossonoba* in the early first century could be explained by the role it played as an Atlantic harbour during the conquest of *Britannia*, where ships had to pass in order to go north.[95] *Balsa* may at a later stage have become a stopping place for ships sailing along the Atlantic coast to the north-western provinces of the Empire.

Inclusion of 40 to 80-hectare bracket also gives the first cities in the Central Meseta and the northwest. The high density of large settlements in the Upper Duero valley on the Central Meseta are, as already stated, most probably the result of the large pre-Roman *oppida* attested in this region. The custom of living in fortified hilltop settlements has led to large fortified settlements with a much smaller built-up area. In the case of *Clunia* (#10), probably only 70 hectares of the 130 hectares enclosed by the city wall were built up.[96] Some of the pre-Roman *oppida* of this region were abandoned, but interestingly those along the roads seem to have continued. In the Guadalquivir valley we find a similar pattern of larger cities following the major road, including two *conventus* capitals: *Hispalis* and *Astigi*.

In the north-western region, the two *conventus* capitals of *Bracara Augusta* (#78: 42 hectares) and *Lucus Augusti* (#148: 42 hectares) belonged to the 40 to 80-hectare bracket. These cities were founded by Augustus to function as centres for an under-urbanised region.[97] The new cities founded by the Romans are oversized in comparison to the other settlements of this region. Surprisingly, the largest city of the *conventus Asturum* was *Lancia* (#143: 44 hectares) rather than the *conventus* capital of *Asturica Augusta* (#63: 27 hectares). Again, this can be explained by the pre-Roman

[92] Although I use a more reserved estimation given by Fraga da Silva, the publication alludes to a massive size of over 100 hectares, this seems to be including the *necropoleis*.
[93] See section IV.3.2.
[94] Fraga da Silva (2007): 52; *ibid*. 23; Fraga da Silva (2010).
[95] Fabião (2009) 'A dimensão Atlântica da Lusitânia: periferia ou charneira no Império Romano?' In: Gorges, d'Encarnação, Nogales Basarrate and Carvalho (eds.), *Lusitânia Romana- entre mito e realidade: Actas da VI Mesa-Redonda Internacional sobre a Lustânia Romana*, 53-74: 64; Bernardes (2012): 13. Fraga da Silva (2010): 62.
[96] Palol (1991): 19; Carreras Monfort (2014): 74.
[97] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 61; Pereira Menaut (1982).

origin of *Lancia*, which has been taken as the former "capital" of the *Astures*.[98] However, the size of *Lancia* is based on the walled area. The habitation area might well have been substantially smaller, as in the case of *Clunia*. In this area the top three is formed by *Lancia, Asturica Augusta* (#63: 27 hectares) as the second largest and lastly the legionary camp of *Legio VII* (#363: 20 hectares).

If we add those settlements in the 20 to 40-hectare bracket to our map, we still have just about half of all settlements; adding 49 sizes brings the total number of sizes to 76 (see fig. VI. 17). Cities belonging to this bracket are more evenly distributed over the peninsula, although we still observe a relation between the main roads and these cities. A road was present connecting *Norba Caesarina* (#25) with *Toletum* (#219) via *Caesarobriga* (#80) and *Augustobriga Vettones* (#65), although this is not shown on the map due to its very uncertain route. The connection between roads and cities seems logical; however, we are only considering the main routes here.[99] If we expand the scope of our inquiries, we see that smaller centres are found along secondary roads.

A quarter of all cities above 20 hectares were situated in *Baetica*. In *Lusitania* cities only seem to appear when looking at the third tier, its settlements are in general smaller. Treating this category as the one showing the most important cities of *Lusitania,* a relatively large proportion of cities belonged to this size category, reflecting the relatively small size of settlements in this province. The *conventus* capital of *Pax Iulia* (#29) occupied 30 hectares and *Scallabis* (#27) 24 hectares. In addition, we find *Metellinum* (#23: 20-25 ha), *Norba Caesarina* (#25: 24 ha) and *Olisipo* (#174: 26 ha).[100] These cities were of military importance in the republican period.[101] This might explain not only their origin as Roman settlements of considerable importance, but also their promotion to *colonia*, and in the case of *Olisipo* to *municipium c.R.*[102]

In the 20 to 40-hectare category we find one subordinate settlement: *Portus Ilicitanus* (#50: 24 hectares). This port city was subordinate to the much smaller *colonia immunis* of *Ilici* (#19: 9.8 hectares).[103] This subordinate settlement has been included in this analysis because of its large size. As we have already seen *Portus Ilicitanus*,

[98] Edmondson (2014): 19; Santos Yanguas (2004) 'Lancia de los astures: ubicación y significado histórico.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. 28, 71-86.
[99] Krugman (1998): 47; Krugman (2009): 569.
[100] Although Carreras (1996 & 2014) gives 48 hectares, the 26 hectares given by Fraga da Silva (2007) matches the description of the distribution of archaeological remains by Mantas (1990).
[101] Brunt (1971): 250.
[102] *Olisipo* was fortified and made into the base of operations in 138 BCE by Decimus Iunius Brutus Callaecus. The role the city played in the early history might be the reason for its promotion, it is noteworthy that it is the only *municipium c.R.* in the province of *Lusitania*. Similarly, we find *Metellinum* and *Norba Caesarina* named after the commanders and founders, they were founded respectively in 79 and 37 BCE to protect the route to *Baetica*.
[103] Plin. *NH* III 19; Mela III 6; Ptol. *Geog.* II 6.14. *Ilici* is measured to be only 9.8 hectares whereas 24 hectares is given for *Portus Ilicitanus* at Santa Pola. Aranegui Gascó (2011); Carreras Monfort (2014).

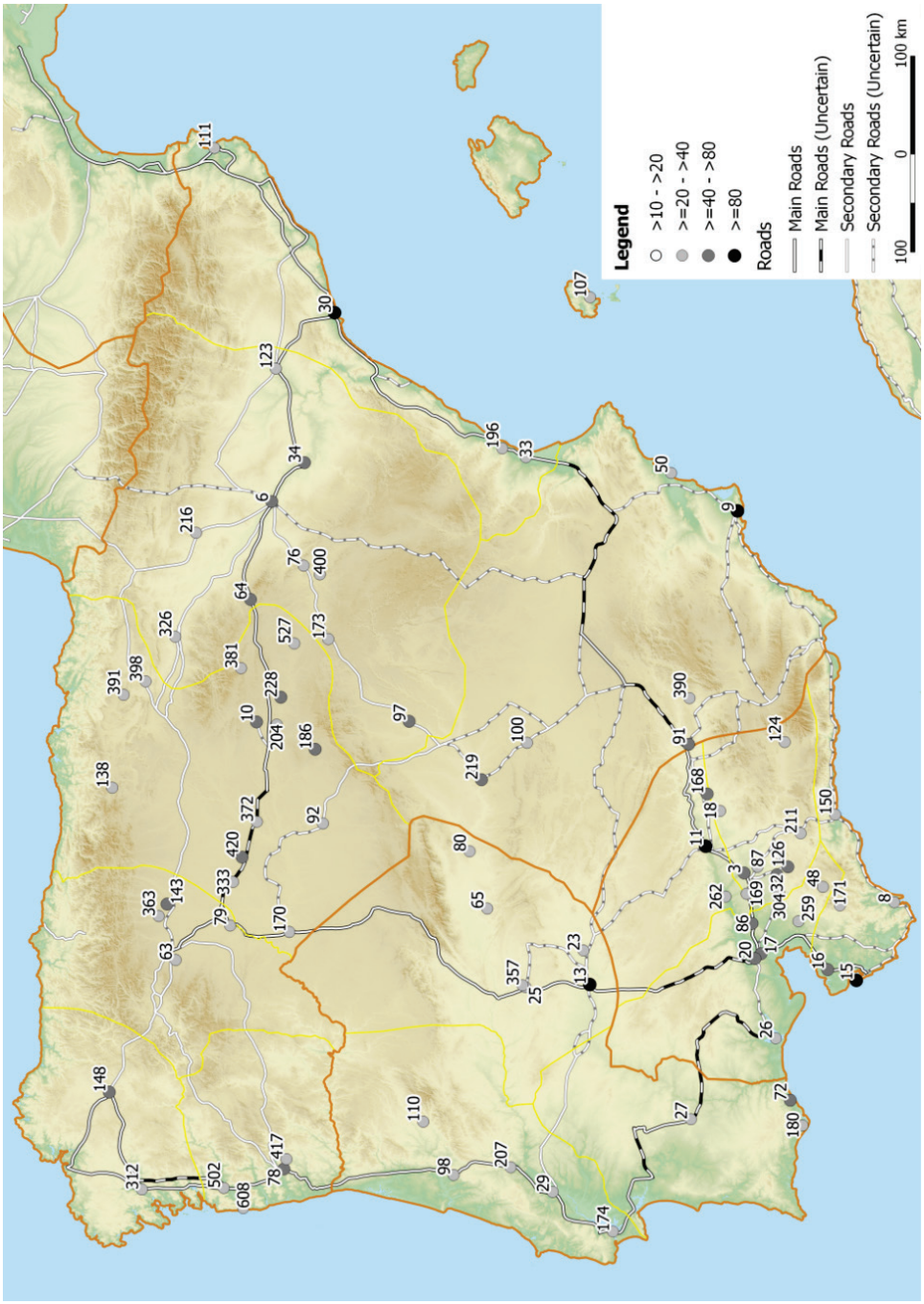


Fig. VI.17: Distribution of places 20 hectares or larger

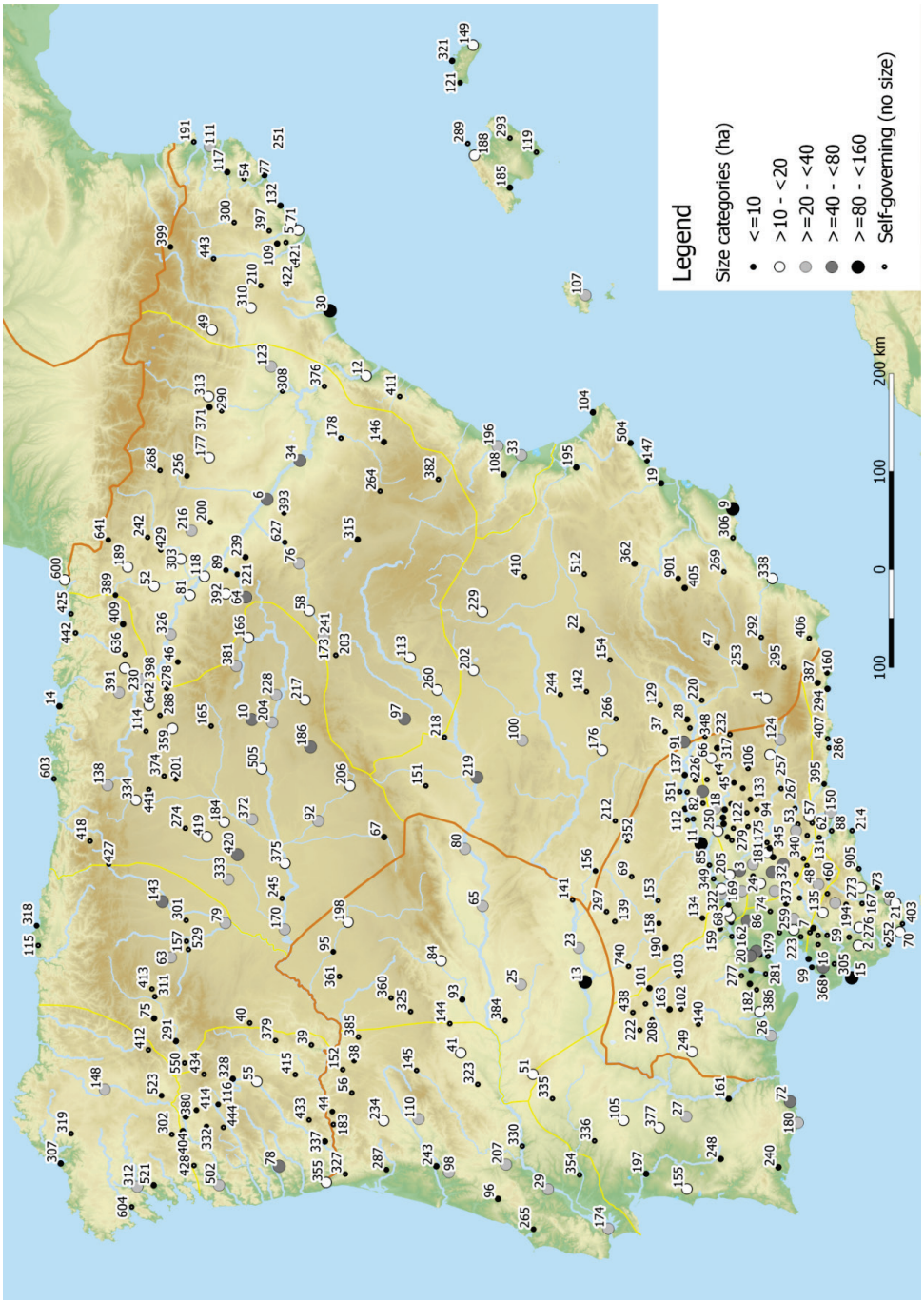


Fig. VI.18: Distribution of self-governing places with a size

although not being the centre of a *civitas*, played a role in Mediterranean trade. This may help to explain why *Ilici* was promoted to *colonia immunis* and received permission to mint coins in the Early Empire. In addition to *Portus Ilicitanus,* we find some other ports in this size bracket, such as *Emporiae* (#111), *Saguntum* (#196), *Valentia* (#33), *Malaca* (#150), *Carteia* (#8) and *Ossonoba* (#180).

The majority of self-governing communities had a centre that belonged to the 10 to 20-hectare bracket. Unsurprisingly, such small cities are found everywhere, along the coasts as port cities as well as along main and secondary roads, and also in the less connected inland areas.

6.4.1 Site distribution and size

The geographical distribution of cities belonging to various size brackets can be analysed further by looking at the distances between the different centres. If we plot size against distance to the nearest self-governing town, we can visualise how these two are related.[104] The cities of the Balearic Islands have been omitted from this analysis as nearest neighbour analysis cannot be applied to insular cities. The average distance for all self-governing communities is 22.39 km, with a median of 20.50 km. The largest distance between a city and its nearest neighbour is that between *Olisipo* and *Scallabis,* 59.05 km. The smallest distance is that between *Villona* and *Carula* with only 1.20 km. This is expected for the region of the Guadalquivir, which was densely populated from pre-Roman times. To further analyse the relation between distances to nearest neighbour and size the variables can be displayed in a scatter diagram (fig. VI.19). If larger towns had larger territories, these parameters should be systematically related.

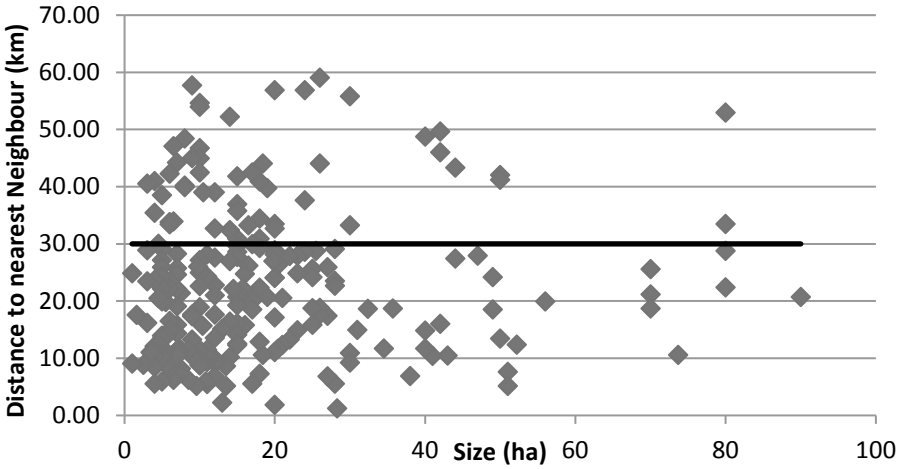


Fig. VI.19 Nearest neighbour vs size (line at 30 kilometres, cf. Bintliff (2002))

[104] Millett (1995) 'Strategies for Roman small towns.' In: Brown (ed.), *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, 29-38: 31.

When looking at the graph, we observe a clear cluster of smaller settlements below the stated 30 kilometres. In addition, we observe that the larger cities indeed tend to be located further from other places, possibly indicating a larger territory. However, the outliers on the y-axis are still found in all the size brackets, showing that small cities could also have large territories.

The average distance separating the largest cities from their nearest neighbour is significantly more than the average distances for the other size categories, but within the former group large variations can be observed (fig. VI.20). Looking at the distances within this group, we find that *Corduba* has the smallest inter-city distance for the 5 largest cities at 20.70 km, which is logical as it is located within the Guadalquivir valley where we find a rather dense urban pattern. Similarly, we find *Gades* as the second smallest intercity distance in the highest size category ay 22.35 km, even though it is located on an island. The intercity distances are smallest in the whole Guadalquivir valley and estuary. As a result of the high fertility and economic activity of this area, it supported large and concentrated populations.

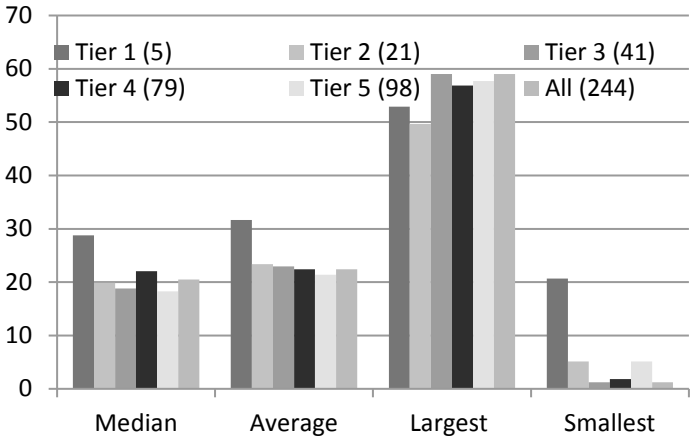


Fig. VI.20 Median, average, largest and smallest per tier for Nearest Neighbour

The smaller settlements with large intercity distances also represent an interesting phenomenon. Calculating the actual intercity distance of the 381 centres that have been located (leaving out the Balearic centres), we observe a mean intercity distance of 21.75 km. However, this mean intercity distance based on Nearest Neighbour is misleading as clusters of centres account for the relatively low mean intercity distance (visible in fig. VI. 21 & 25). The distances between clusters are well over the 30 kilometre range proposed by Bintliff.[105] Therefore, another approach is needed to circumvent the problems with Nearest Neighbour posed by clustering.

Another way of analysing the geographical distribution of cities is to look at relationships between the size of cities and the size of their territories. Unfortunately, the territories of the cities in Roman times are often unknown. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the territories of single cities and even regions. Some of

[105] Bintliff (2002) 242.

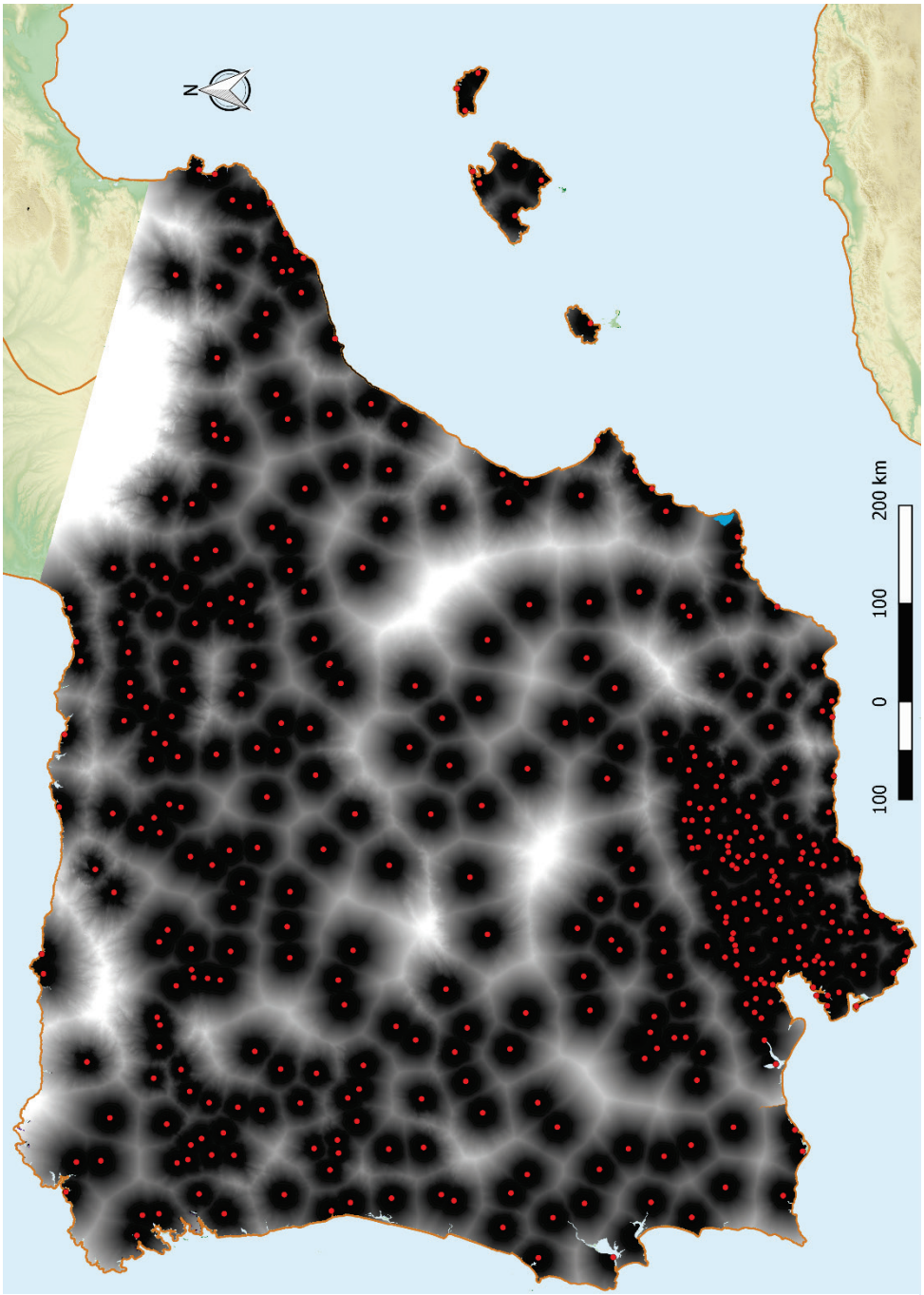


Fig. VI.21 All located self-govering communities with allocated territories based on equidistant least-cost paths based on walking time.

these have already been disputed or corrected by new insights. In the absence of reliable evidence, several options are available. First there are the Thiessen polygons. This simple spatial analysis divides geographical spaces by placing the borders equidistantly between points. A mayor weakness of using unweighted Thiessen polygons is that this method ignores the variations between cities and geography.[106]

As a variation on Thiessen polygons, there are weighted Thiessen polygons, which take account of differences in city size, based on the assumption that larger cities needed larger territories. However, this does not allow for the inclusion of other factors leading to larger territories, such as political or religious functions.

Another problem we encounter when attempting an analysis based on Thiessen polygons is the fact that we have an incomplete dataset. Creating Thiessen polygons for the whole Iberian Peninsula would lead to strangely large territories for some communities, simply because many self-governing communities are missing. Within this study, possible territories have been allocated based on least-cost paths between settlements.[107] Using this approach, we can create a map on which cities are allocated territories based on the equidistance using walking speed on the terrain (fig. VI. 21).

Figure VI.21 shows the distance from the centre in shades of grey; the lighter the colour, the further we are from the centre. We can immediately identify those areas where self-governing settlements were separated by large distances. Not surprisingly, the provincial capitals have larger territories on this map.

6.4.2 Territory of *Cordoba*

When looking at walking distances from *Corduba,* we observe that *Ategua* is located to the south at a distance of only 20.70 kilometres. To the south of *Corduba* is the densely populated Guadalquivir valley. The smallest intercity distances are found in this area. The distances between *Corduba* and its western and eastern neighbours - *Carbula* at 23 and *Onuba* at 25 kilometres - are larger. To the north of *Corduba* we enter the Sierra Morena, a less densely occupied region. In this area the distances separating *Corduba* from its nearest neighbours exceed 70 kilometres. It is clear that *Corduba* controlled a large territory in *Baetica* compared to other cities in the same region.

[106] Ducke and Kroefges (2008) 'From Points to Areas: Constructing Territories from Archaeological Site Patterns Using an Enhanced Xtent Model.' In: Posluschny, Lambers and Herzog (eds.), *Layers of Perception. Proceedings of the 35th International Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA)*, 245-51: 247.

[107] For the walking distances I am greatly indebted to P. Kloeg, who was so kind as to write and run these analyses. The walking distances are based on a least-cost path analysis and the DEM for the Iberian Peninsula in Antiquity derived from the AWMC.

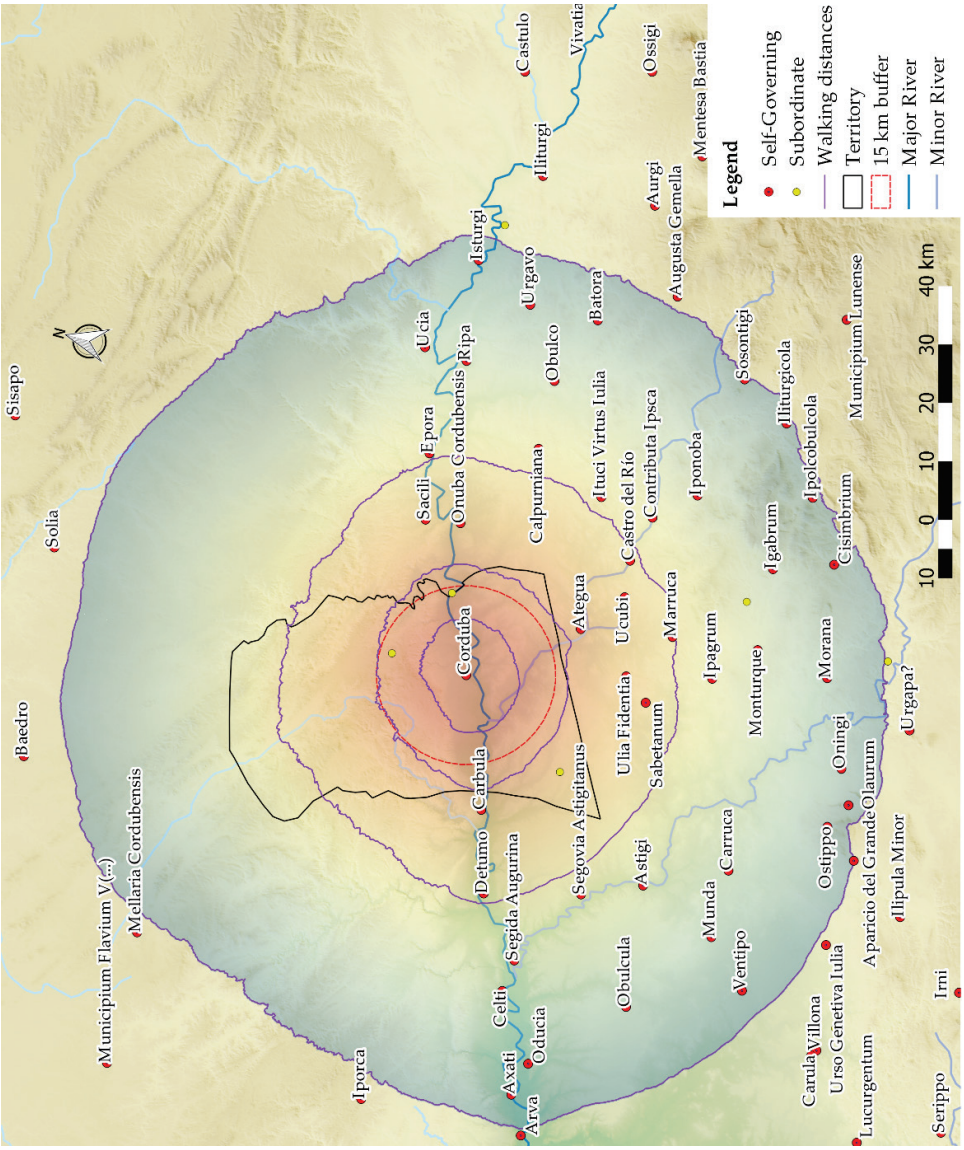


Fig. VI.22: Walking distance from Corduba (contour lines at 2h, 4h, 8h, and 16h).

The reconstructed territory of *Corduba* measures about 2000 km². However, a large proportion of this territory is mountainous and contains little fertile land.[108] When looking at the land in the direct vicinity of *Corduba*, within a 15-kilometre

[108] Melchor Gil (2004) 'El territorio.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *Córdoba: Colonia Patricia Corduba*, 105-17: 105ss. & lamina VIII.

radius, we observe that it had 80,000 hectares of arable land available for agriculture.[109] Using estimates of the carrying capacity of the land, it can be calculated that this territory could have supported between 90,000 and 280,000 people (Table VI.2).[110]

	Urban	Carrying capacity (3h)	%
Carreras (2014)	ca. 21,000	90,000-280,000	ca. 7.5 - 23
Keay (2011)	19,500-12,500	90,000-280,000	4.5 - 21.7

Table VI.2 Estimated population for Corduba

In calculating the urban population, we are relying on the 2014 article by Carreras and a recent article by Keay and Earl.[111] Although these calculations are largely hypothetical, they clearly show that the urban population of *Corduba* could easily be sustained by the city's territory.

6.4.3 Territory of *Tarraco*

The largest intercity distance in the highest size category is between *Tarraco* and *Subur*, at 52.92 kilometres. *Subur* is one of the *parva oppida* mentioned by Mela. On this basis, its size may be estimated at circa 10 hectares, based on the known size of the *parvum oppidum Barcino*, following Taracena and Carreras.[112] Traditionally, *Subur* is located at Sitges.[113] The next town would be *Dertosa* at 72 kilometres, fitting the distances found to the north of *Corduba*. In the case of *Tarraco,* most of its neighbours were located at more than 16 hours walking distance. Only *Subur*, the location of which is uncertain, and *Dertosa* are located within the radius. These observations suggest that *Tarraco* had an extensive territory.

	Maximum population	Minimum population
Engels (1990)	66,212	21,548
de Angelis (2000)	31,667	23,750

Table VI. 3 Estimated carrying capacity for the arable land within a three-hours walking distance from Tarraco

[109] Plin. *NH* III 2.1.
[110] Willet (2012) 'Whirlwind of numbers - Demographic experiments from Roman Corinth.' *Ancient Society* Vol. 42, 127-58: 128ss. Cf. Engels (1990) *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*: 203; Angelis (2000) 'Estimating the Agricultural Base of Greek Sicily.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* Vol. 68, 111-48: 118ss.
[111] Carreras Monfort (2014): 64; Keay and Earl (2011): 304.
Carreras gives 233 inhabitant per hectare as the density for cities. Keay and Earl only give a range for number of inhabitants per hectare, based on Hassan 1981.
[112] Mela II 90; Taracena (2007 [1949]): 427; Carreras Monfort (1996): 104.
[113] Cepas Palanca *et al.* (1997): 148; Tovar (1989): 434, C-567.

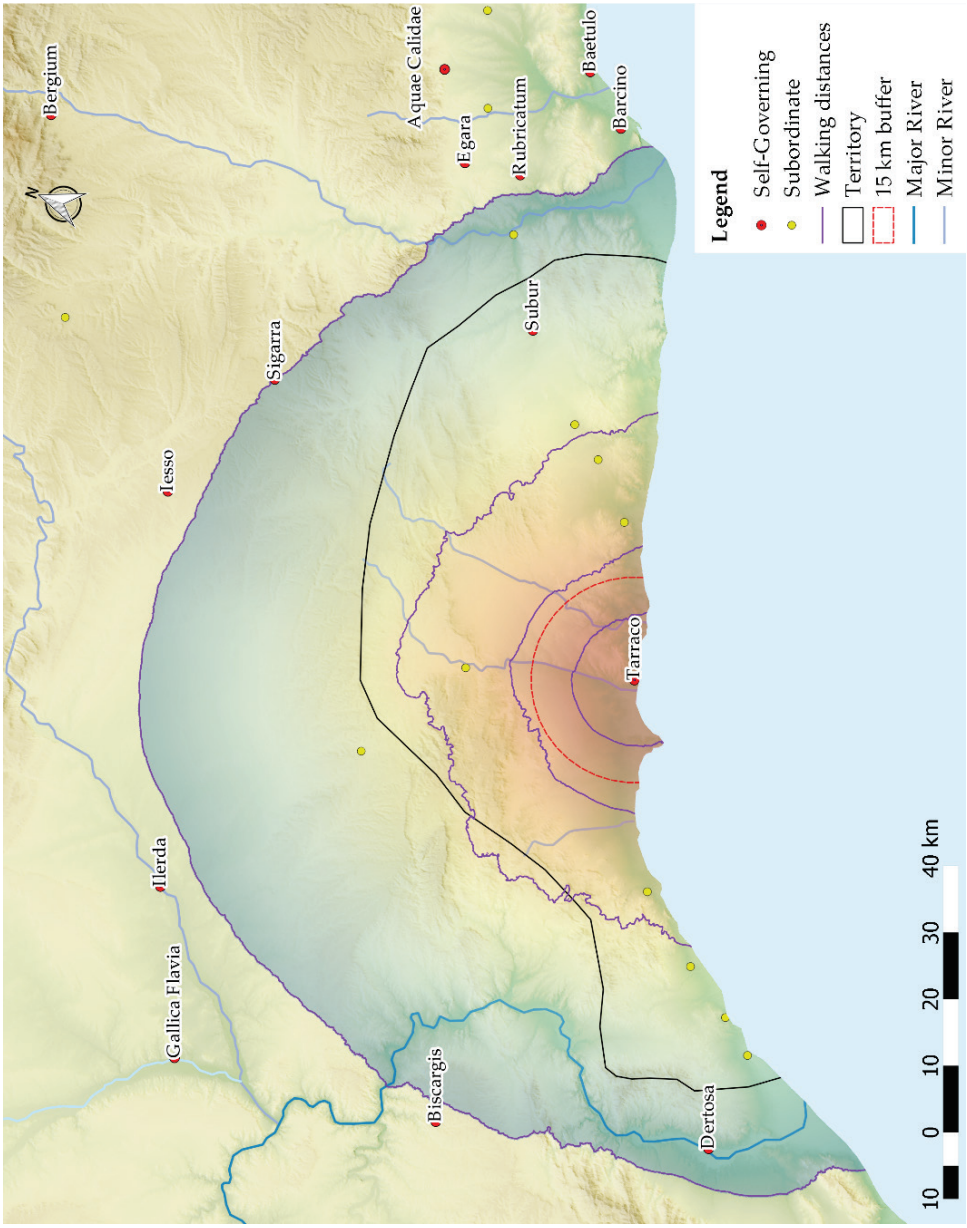


Fig. VI.23: Walking distance from Tarraco (contour lines at 2h, 4h, 8h, and 16h).

The total reconstructed territory of *Tarraco* measures 3,750 km², of which 300 km² was centuriated.[114] Only 190 km² of the centuriated land was located within a three-hour walking radius. When calculating the possible production of the centuriated land in the direct vicinity of *Tarraco,* we can establish that at least circa 23,000 people could be supported (Table VI.3).

Since *Tarraco* must have had approximately the same number of inhabitants as *Corduba* (c. 12,500-21,000) this area was barely large enough to sustain the urban population. However, the centuriated land goes well beyond the three-hour walking distance. If we take this into account, the number of people that could be sustained by the centuriated territory increases to *c.* 35,000 (Table VI.4).

	Urban	Carrying capacity	%
Carreras (2014)	ca. 21,000	34,000 -105,000	20 - 61.8
Keay (2011)	19,500 -12,500	34,000 -105,000	18.6 - 57.4

Table VI.4 Estimated population for Tarraco based on centuriated land

It appears that the centuriated territory of *Tarraco* could support the urban population if the lower estimates are applied. At the same time it is clear that the urban population *Tarraco* had to rely on the entire centuriated territory for its sustenance, and probably needed additional foodstuffs produced in the remainder of its territory, which contained some 700 km² of non-centuriated arable land. By any account, the agricultural land of *Tarraco* must have been sufficient for the population of *Tarraco*. This is demonstrated by the fact some of the land was used to produce wine, some of which was traded beyond the Iberian Peninsula.[115]

6.4.4 Territory of *Augusta Emerita*

The last provincial capital, *Augusta Emerita,* was separated from its nearest neighbour *Metellinum* by a distance of 35 kilometres. However, other cities are located at 60 kilometres. There can be no doubt that *Emerita* had a massive and very complicated territory measuring as much as 8,500 square kilometres.[116] In addition to its continuous territory, *Emerita* also had three *praefecturae* (enclaves in the territory of other *civitates*): the *praefectura Turgaliensis*, the *praefectura Mullicenses* and a third of

[114] Orengo *et al.* (2011) 'Restitución 3D de la Topografía de la Antigua Ciudad de Tarraco en un Entorno SIG: Propuestas Metodológicas y Primeros Resultados.' *Anejos del Archivo Español de Arqueología* Vol. 59, 61-8.

[115] Martín i Oliveras *et al.* (2017) 'The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization.' In: Remesal Rodríguez (ed.), *Economía romana. Nuevas perspectivas / The Roman economy. New perspectives.*, 189-237: 196.

[116] Front. *De Contr.* La. 22, 6-8 = Th. 9, 10-12; *De Contr. Arg.* La. 51, 20-52,4 = Th. 44, 5-15; Hyg. Grom. *De Lim. Const.* La. 171, 1 = Th. 135, 18. Cf. Cortés Bárcena (2013): 64; Ramírez Sábada (1994): 131; Cordero Ruiz (2010): 160.

which the name is unknown.[117] Since the boundaries of these *praefecturae* remain undetermined, it is difficult to establish the extent of the territory of *Emerita*.[118]

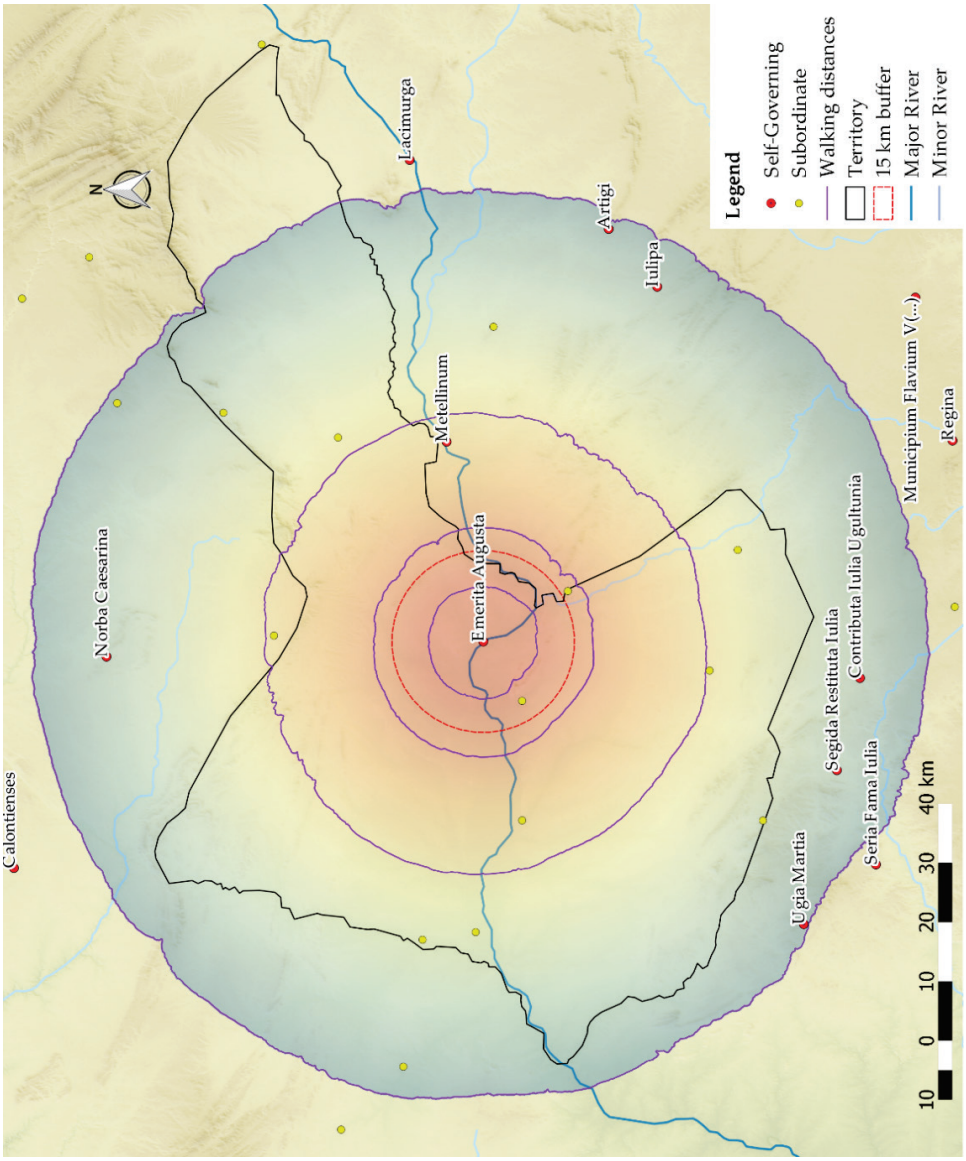


Fig. VI.24: The territorium Emeritense as proposed by Cordero & Franco (2010) and walking distance (contour lines at 2h, 4h, 8h, and 16h)

The carrying capacity of the continuous territory of *Augusta Emerita* was definitely sufficient for the city, especially in view of its location in the fertile Guadiana

[117] Hyg. Grom. *De Lim. Const.* La. 171, 6-10 = Th. 136, 3-7; Ramírez Sábada (1994): 131.
[118] Cordero Ruiz (2010): 155.

valley. In addition, we can try to establish whether or not the area in the direct vicinity of the city was sufficient to support the community. Unfortunately, we do not know the centuriations around *Augusta Emerita*, although there is evidence that the lands in this region were centuriated.[119]

	Maximum population	Minimum population
Engels (1990)	191,667	62,377
de Angelis (2000)	91,667	68,750

Table VI.5 Estimated carrying capacity for the arable land within a three-hour walking distance from Augusta Emerita

The carrying capacity of the area within a three-hour walking distance from *Emerita* is much higher than that of *Tarraco.* The obvious explanation for this is the fact that *Tarraco* is located on the coast and therefore has only half the area available to *Augusta Emerita*. Since *Augusta Emerita* was slightly smaller than *Tarraco,* it is immediately clear that the city could rely on the lands in its vicinity. The arable land in the direct vicinity of *Augusta Emerita* had a carrying capacity of at least 62,000 inhabitants. Clearly, this could have supported the population of the city, which may have had between 11,000 and 19,000 inhabitants.

	Urban	Carrying capacity (3h)	%
Carreras (2014)	ca. 19,000	62,000 -190,000	9.9 - 30.6
Keay (2011)	17,250 -11,000	62,000 -190,000	9.0 - 27.8

Table VI.6 Estimated population for Augusta Emerita

When mapping the known locations of smaller self-governing communities with a buffer based on the three-hour walking distance, we observe that the majority of these cities are separated by relatively large distances (see fig. VI. 25). We also observe several clusters, leading to lower intercity distances. As has already been stated, we have to bear in mind that only 399 of the 513 *civitates* mentioned by Pliny have been located.[120] In addition, Pliny states that there were an unknown number of *civitates contributae*. Furthermore, as has already been argued, there is the possibility of the dispersed *civitas*, a *civitas* centred on multiple town-like settlements rather than on a single city. Unfortunately, these elements cannot be included in this analysis as we have no data on them.

[119] AE 1993, 1018a-d. For a proposed centuriation see Cordero Ruiz (2010): 154.
[120] Of the total of 430 *civitates* recognized in the different sources, 31 could not be located at all. Some have been roughly located to be able to draw these maps, although their position is not certain, they have been placed within the region where they are thought to be located.

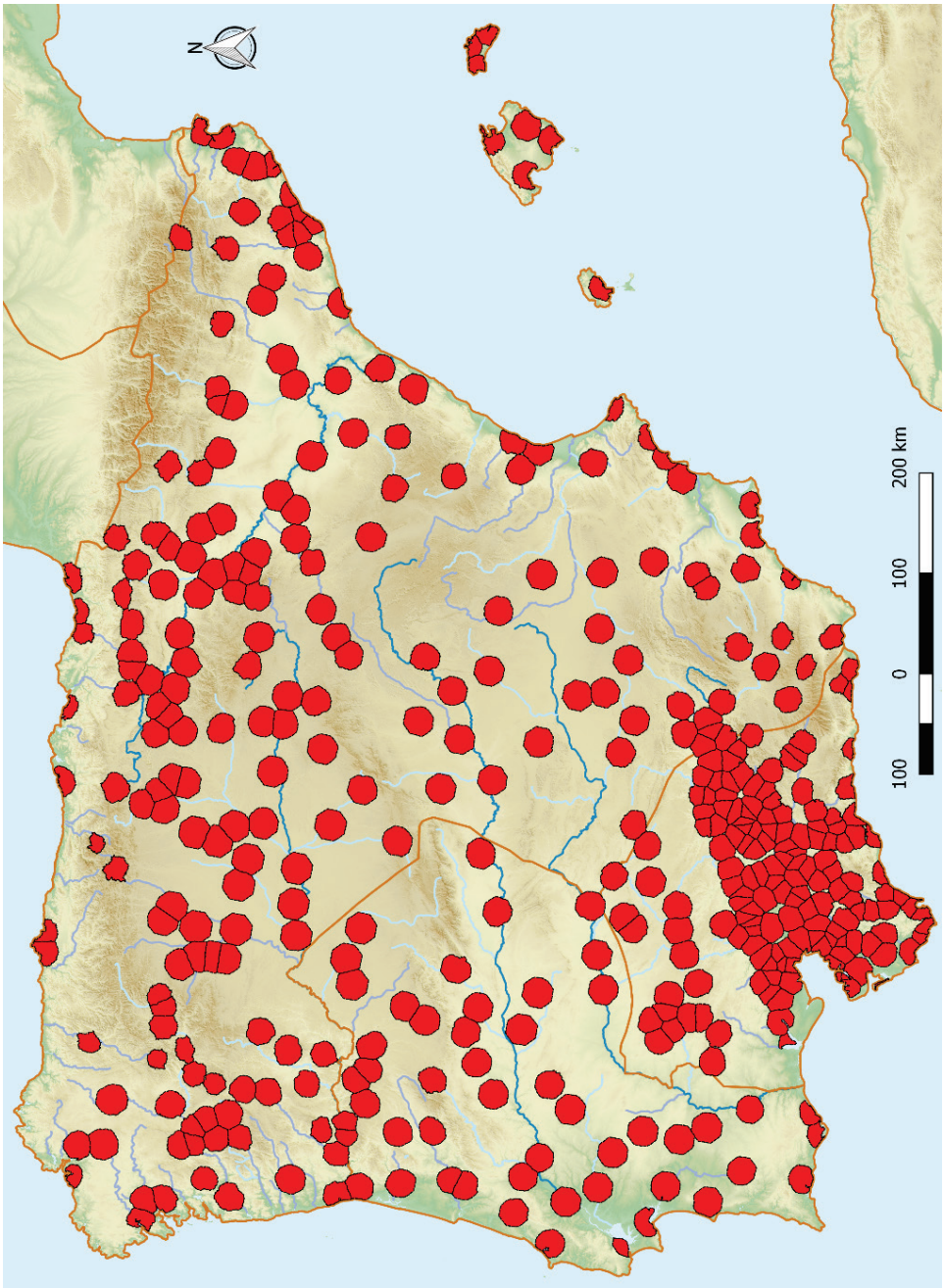


Fig. VI 25: All located self-govering communities with a 3-hour walking buffer

6.5 Geographical overview and the problem of missing sites

Despite the deficiencies of our data set, it is still worth exploring to what extent the patterns revealed by our maps might reflect the operation of geographical and climatological factors. This analysis will be carried out by creating a series of maps for four different factors; namely precipitation, height levels, Terrain Ruggedness Index and fertility of the land. The maps will show all the self-governing communities as before, but all settlements occupying less than 10 hectares and of unknown size are shown with the same dot. It is most likely that all unknown sizes all fall within the lowest category.

6.5.1 Precipitation

My first analysis focuses on the relation between precipitation and urban density. The rationale behind this approach is the idea that areas with less rainfall will not be able to support large urban centres, as they cannot rely on rainfall for agriculture. Precipitation levels in the Roman period have been modelled using the long-term precipitation averages from the WorldClim website.[121] This web-based dataset contains

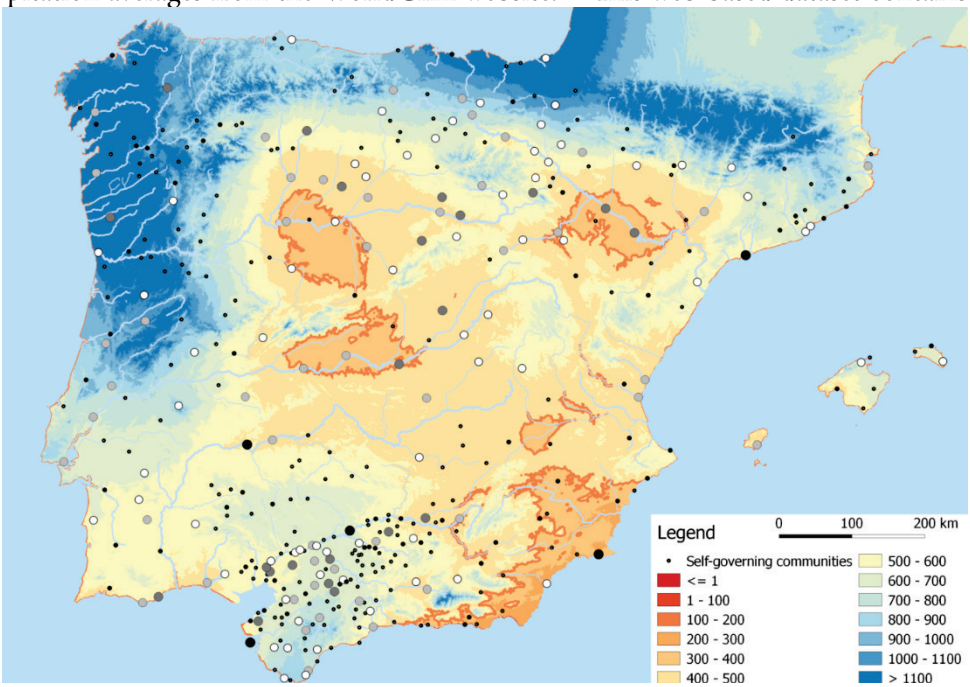


Fig. VI.26 Precipitation map based on the average annual rainfall 1960-1990 with the 400 ml isohyet

[121] http://www.worldclim.org/ (last visited 31-05-2017) For this the regions 15 and 16 (east and west of the Greenwich line) have been used.

rainfall data for the period between 1960 and 1990 at a 1-km spatial resolution.[122] There may have been a difference in climate between the Roman period and now, but since the pattern of rainfall is determined by the geography of the mountainous areas, it cannot be substantial. Even if amounts of rainfall were higher or lower in Roman times, the regional differences highlighted by the modern data must also have existed in Antiquity.

An initial glance at the map shows we can already establish that the areas with a lower level of precipitation were less densely urbanised. When comparing the number of self-governing communities against the precipitation in a bar chart, we can observe the distribution in a more precise way (see fig. VI.26). We see a steep drop between 400 and 300 ml per annum, which is the limit for normal agricultural production that relies on rainfall.[123] The few cities that existed in regions with less than 400 ml per annum (orange line on the map) were all located along rivers.

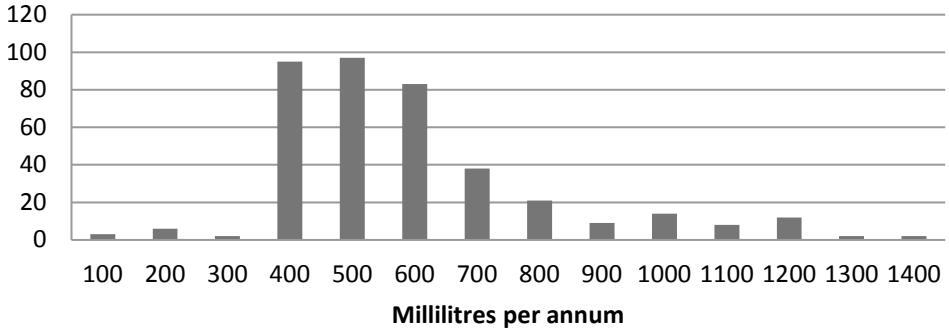


Fig. VI.27 Point sample percipitation per self-governing community

The concentration of settlements in these areas must reflect the use of irrigation schemes.[124] It is interesting that the number of settlements below the 400 ml isohyet drops significantly. Nonetheless, the vast majority of settlements were situated in areas with a higher annual rainfall. Most cities are found in zones that received between 400 and 600 millimetres of precipitation; above this we see a decline in the number of places. There are two possible explanations for this: areas with high precipitation rates were rather small. Secondly, high precipitation often is a result of mountains, because rain falls on the rainfall side of a mountain range. In mountainous regions we expect to find a lower urban density.

[122] Hijmans *et al.* (2005) 'Very high resolution interpolated climate surfaces for global land areas.' *International Journal of Climatology* Vol. 25, 1965-78: 1966.
[123] Wilkes (2005) 'Provinces and fronties.' In: Bowman, Garnsey and Cameron (eds.), *The Crisis of the Empire A.D. 193-337*, 212-68: 217; Halsall (2007) 'Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568.' 93.
[124] Butzer *et al.* (1985) 'Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 75, N° 4, 479-509; Cf. Bintliff (2014) 'Prosperity, sustainability, and poverty in the Late Antique world: Mediterranean case studies.' In: Jacobs (ed.), *Production and prosperity in the Theodosian Period*, 319-83: 322.

6.5.2 Altitude

As a next step I will look at altitude (see fig. VI. 29), which, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, is an important variable. To the north we find the Pyrenees with mountains reaching well above 3,000 metres, and the Cantabrian Mountains where we find the Picos de Europa, a group of mountains rising to 2,600 metres. The Central Meseta at the heart of the Iberian Peninsula has an average altitude of 650 metres. To the north, east and south it is bordered by mountain ranges, namely the Cantabrian Mountains, the Sistema Ibérico and the Sierra Morena. It is divided into two different plains by the Sistema Central, with peaks reaching 2,400 and even 2,592 metres (Pico Almanzor). To the west it slopes down to the Portuguese coastal lands.

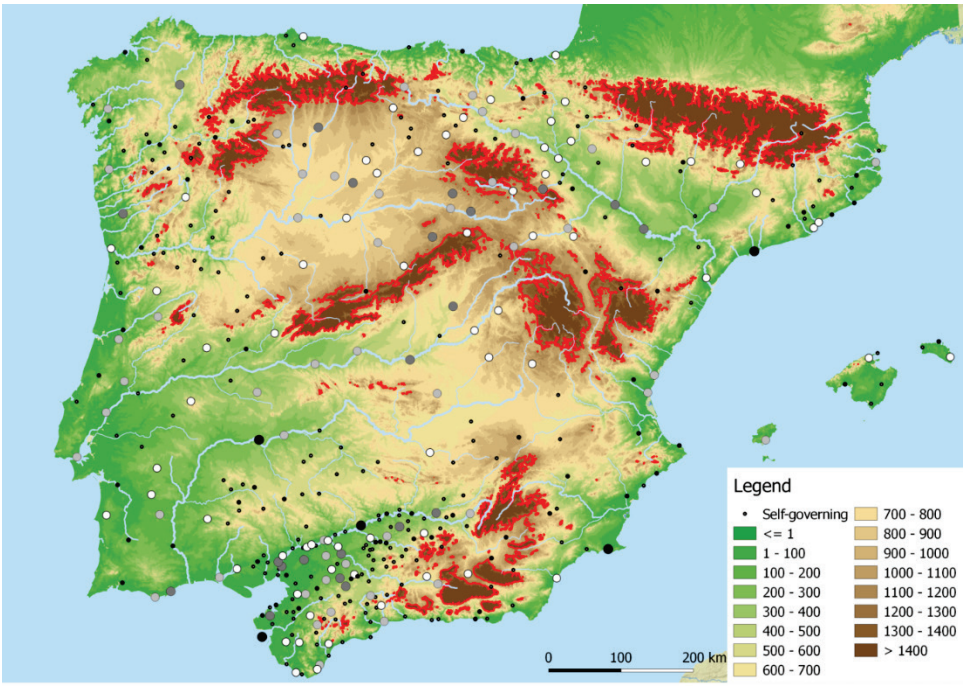


Fig. VI.28: Altitude map with polygons indicating areas above 1200 m

When looking at the distribution of areas with different altitudes, we can observe a concentration of cities in the lowest category. Some 92 are found below 100 metres above sea level. These places are all located along the coast or in the Guadalquivir valley. We also find a large number of settlements that are situated between 300 and 700 metres above sea level. This makes sense because the majority of the Peninsula is composed of Meseta plains with an average height of 650 metres.

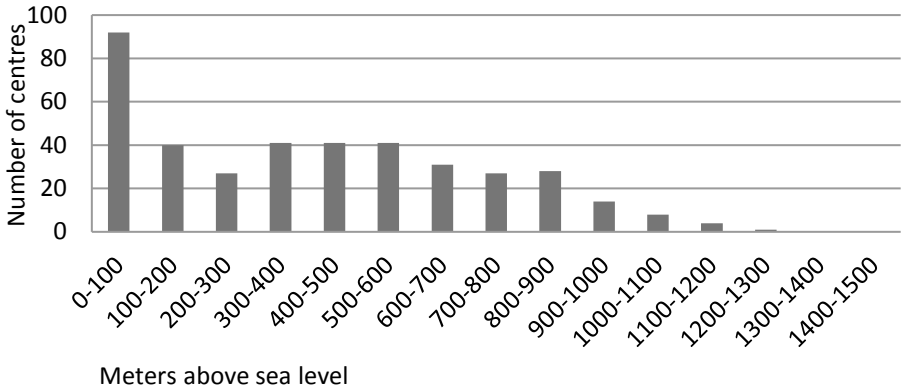


Fig. VI.29 Point sample altitude per self-governing community

For the higher altitudes the numbers start to decrease. This can be explained in two ways. Firstly, land at higher altitudes accounted for a relatively low proportion of all land. Secondly, and more importantly, at higher altitudes it is more difficult to find land suitable for agriculture. Above 1,200 metres we find only one settlement: *Iulia Libica* that was located high up in a valley of the Pyrenees at about 1,220 metres. This was a small settlement whose size has been estimated at only 3 hectares.

6.5.3 Terrain Ruggedness Index

Another geographical aspect, related to altitude, that has to be taken into account is the so-called Terrain Ruggedness Index (TRI). This is a quantitative measurement based on the change in elevation between points within the geographical area. The higher the index, the steeper the slope of the area.[125] This index allows for the recognition of level areas in mountainous areas, as well as for the identification of slopes, or rugged terrain, in low areas. In the case of TRI, point samples are not very useful because even in rugged terrain settlements will be positioned in level areas. For this reason a buffer of 10 kilometres will be used to determine the mean TRI for the region around the settlements.

[125] Riley *et al.* (1999) 'A Terrain Ruggedness Index That Quantifies Topographic Heterogeneity.' *Intermountain Journal of Sciences* Vol. 5, N° 1-4, 23-7.

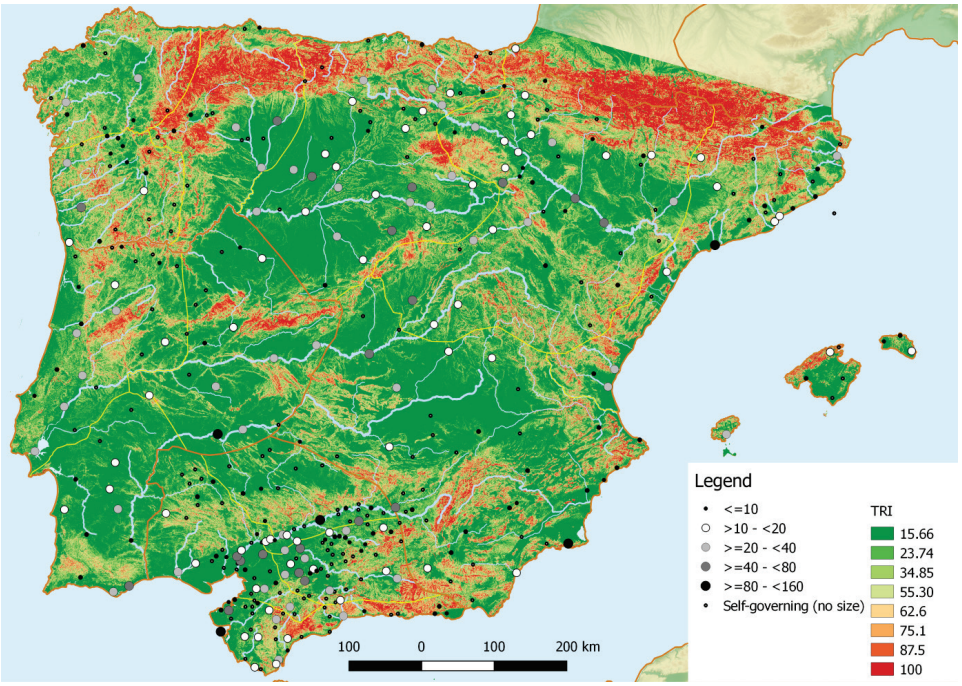


Fig. VI.30: Terrain Ruggednes Index map

The TRI values within the buffers range from 0 to 789.2, and the values for about 5,000 points were established in each buffer. The means for all the buffers a range of between 4.74 and 114.76. Looking at the graph based on the mean value for the buffers, we can immediately observe a concentration of settlements below an index of 40. The upper limit of the third quartile, is 34.86, meaning that 75% of all settlements occupied areas whose TRI did not exceed that value. The first 95% of all settlements were located in areas with a TRI lower than 55.3. The colouring of the map with the TRI is based on these statistics (see fig. VI.31).

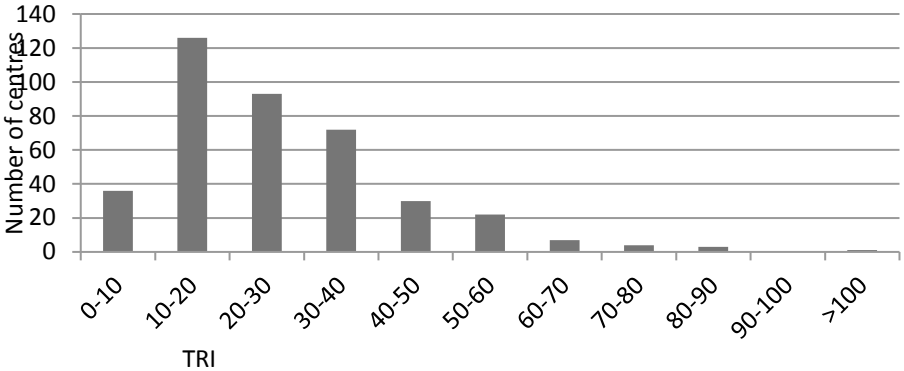


Fig. VI 31: Buffer sample mean TRI per self-governing community

6.5.4 Cultivable land

While the three geographical aspects discussed so far clearly delimit areas for urbanisation, they still do not take into account the agricultural output necessary to sustain urbanism. For this data we have turned to the Global Agro-Ecological Zones web database.[126] This dataset allows for the calculation of production capacity of land with different techniques based again on a thirty-year average (1961-1990). While average production has been calculated for the modern period, the database allows recalculations for arable cultivation without the use of chemical fertilizers or modern irrigation equipment.[127] The resulting map takes into account all land that is in theory available for cultivation (see fig. VI. 32). In addition, the areas have a resolution of approximately 60 square kilometres. Despite these disadvantages, the map can be used as a tool for identifying fertile and less fertile areas, thereby allowing us to identify areas where urbanisation is less likely.

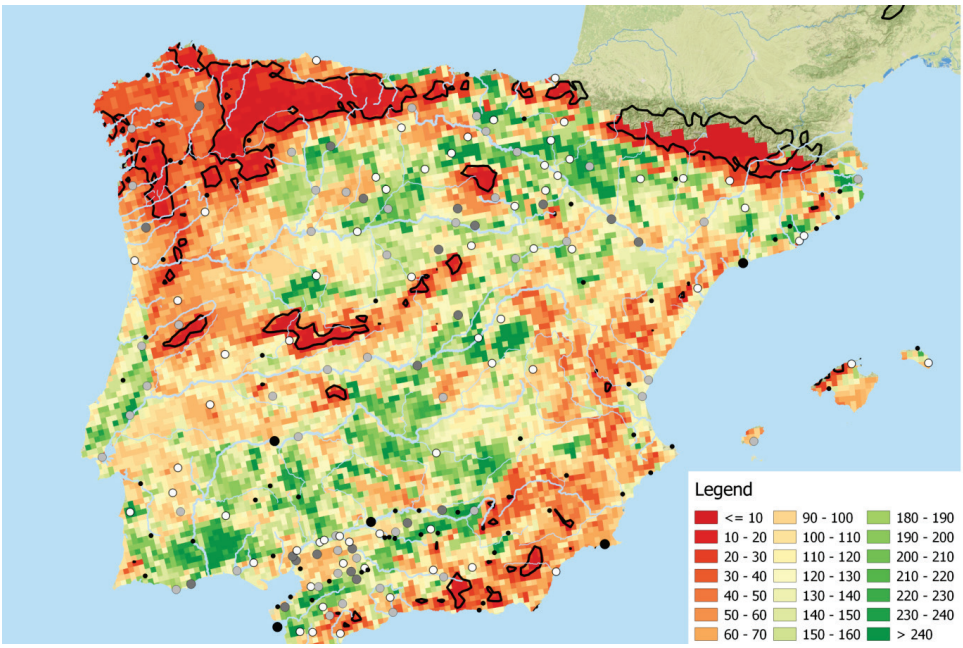


Fig. VI.32: Crop yield based on the long-term average (1961-1990) in kg dry weight (DW) per hectare

A glance at the map clearly reveals that the areas with a yield below 30 kilograms dry weight (DW) per hectare are virtually non-urbanised (see fig. VI.33). We find three places within a yield of 20 kg DW/hectare and three places with a yield of 10 kg

[126] FAO/IIASA (2011-2012) *Global Agro-ecological Zones (GAEZ v3.0)* FAO Rome, Italy and IIASA, Luxemburg -Austria: http://gaez.fao.org/Main.html#_Map based on data available on the website at 27/07/2013.

[127] Clearly, there were forms of irrigation in antiquity, as well as forms of fertilisation, see Butzer *et al.* (1985): 481. Obviously, these were on a completely different scale from modern-day irrigation and fertilisation, hence the choice has been made to show the map without these techniques.

DW/hectare In all cases we are dealing with areas in which 'urbanism' took the form of the dispersed *civitas*. Rather than having a centralised urban core, these *civitates* had a more dispersed organisation, leading to the absence of a central city. In these areas, the non-agrarian population was spread over a larger area and depended less on large pockets of farmlands.

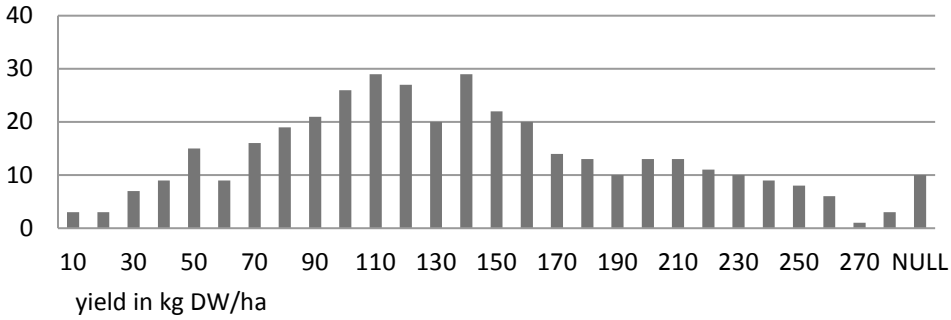


Fig. VI.33 Point sample of yield per self-governing community

6.5.5 The problem of missing sites

When we combine these approaches into one map, it becomes possible to draw some general conclusions concerning the relationship between geographical and climatological environments and the existence of possible urban centres (See fig. VI.34). It is clear that a geographical deterministic approach cannot fully explain the low density areas. Nonetheless, there are clear preferences for certain regions, especially in the case of precipitation, where a steep drop outside the 400+ millimetre per annum zone can be observed. In addition, we can observe that most areas with suboptimal conditions were indeed avoided. As the data to determine the suboptibal conditions is based on the whole range of self-governing communities, from the largest to the smallest self-governing settlements, I suspect that the existence of 'town-like' settlements in the areas with suboptimal conditions is an exception.

When the map showing the self-governing settlements with three-hour walking distance buffers is superimposed on the map showing the unfavourable areas to urbanism, we still observe some areas without urban coverage (fig. VI.34). Some of these empty areas might have been covered by self-governing cities whose locations remain unknown but a detailed investigation of the problem shows that large part of the Iberian Peninsula would remain uncovered even if all of these missing cities could be added to our maps.

In the case of *Baetica* the locations of 25 *oppida* referred to by Pliny cannot be determined. At first sight, it is tempting to assign a large proportion of these cities to *Baeturia,* the northern region of *Baetica*, where few self-governing cities have been identified on the ground. However, the study by Berrocal Rangel has shown that this

region was a mining region.[128] A comparison with other mining regions, such as Galicia, suggests that *Baeturia* was neither densely populated nor dotted with self-governing cities. More likely this was a region with only a few small towns. It follows from this that the majority of the 25 unlocated *oppida* must have been located in the already densely urbanized Guadalquivir valley, thereby not changing the overall pattern of urbanization within the province of *Baetica*.

Based on Pliny's account of *Citerior* we may posit the existence of 94 unlocated *civitates* (the total number of *civitates* in this province being 293). The total area favourable to urbanism but not covered by self-governing cities which appear on our maps can be estimated as about 114,150 km². If each of the missing 94 central places of *civitates* is assigned a buffer zone with a radius of 15 km, the maximum area covered by these missing centres would have been 66,458 km². This would have left a vast area of 47,692 km² uncovered by the 293 self-governing cities of *Citerior*. In reality the size of the uncovered area must have been considerably larger because the buffers of several of these cities must have overlapped.

The questions raised by incomplete urban coverage are even more acute in the case of *Lusitania*. As we have seen in previous chapters, the self-governing cities of this province were dispersed over a large area, leaving huge gaps in terms of market coverage. Pliny mentions 45 *populi* in his survey of *Lusitania* and based on other sources a further eight self-governing communities can be identified. Bringing the total number of self-governing cities or communities to 53. The central places of 51 of these communities have been identified on the ground, with varying degrees of confidence. This leaves only 2 unlocated central places of self-governing communities whose 15 km buffer zones would have covered an aggregate area of 1,414 km². The total area favourable to urbanism but not covered by self-governing cities in *Lusitania* can be estimated as about 14,350 km². Subtracting the area possibly covered by the two centres of the unlocated self-governing communities results in an uncovered area favourable to urbanism of 12,936 km².

It is may not be a coincidence that the two provinces with limited market coverage are those which appear in Pliny with *populi* rather than with *oppida*. Many of the *populi* of *Citerior* and *Lusitania* might have been poly-centric *civitates* of the 'dispersed' type and have had much larger territories than most *oppida* in *Baetica*.

The inhabitable areas of *Citerior* and *Lusitania* which were devoid of urban centres must have supported some habitation, and the populations of these areas are likely to have visited markets, for instance because they had to sell some of their surpluses in order to pay taxes or simply because they wanted to buy certain goods which were not locally available. On general grounds it seems therefore reasonable to posit the existence of a considerable number of secondary agglomerations which served as

[128] Berrocal-Rangel *La Baeturia: Un territorio prerromano en la baja Extremadura*: 51.

market centres for the inhabitants of the surrounding districts.[129] However, the almost complete lack of research into the secondary agglomerations of Roman Spain and Portugal makes it impossible to go beyond such general observations. I call upon other scholars to investigate the secondary agglomerations of the Iberian Peninsula in order to advance our understanding of the different levels of urbanization in the Iberian Peninsula during the High Empire.

[129] The total area on the map that could have supported urban or "town-like" settlements but where no evidence of the existence of town-like places has been detected is roughly 192,000 km². If we subtract 67,872 km², which is the sum of the areas that might have been served by unlocated self-governing cities of *Lusitania* and *Citerior,* we are left with an area of 124,128 km². Full market coverage of this area would have required the existence of at least 176 "town-like" secondary agglomerations if each of these agglomerations is credited with a buffer zone with a radius of 15 km (707 km²). Of course periodic markets could also be held in uninhabited places.

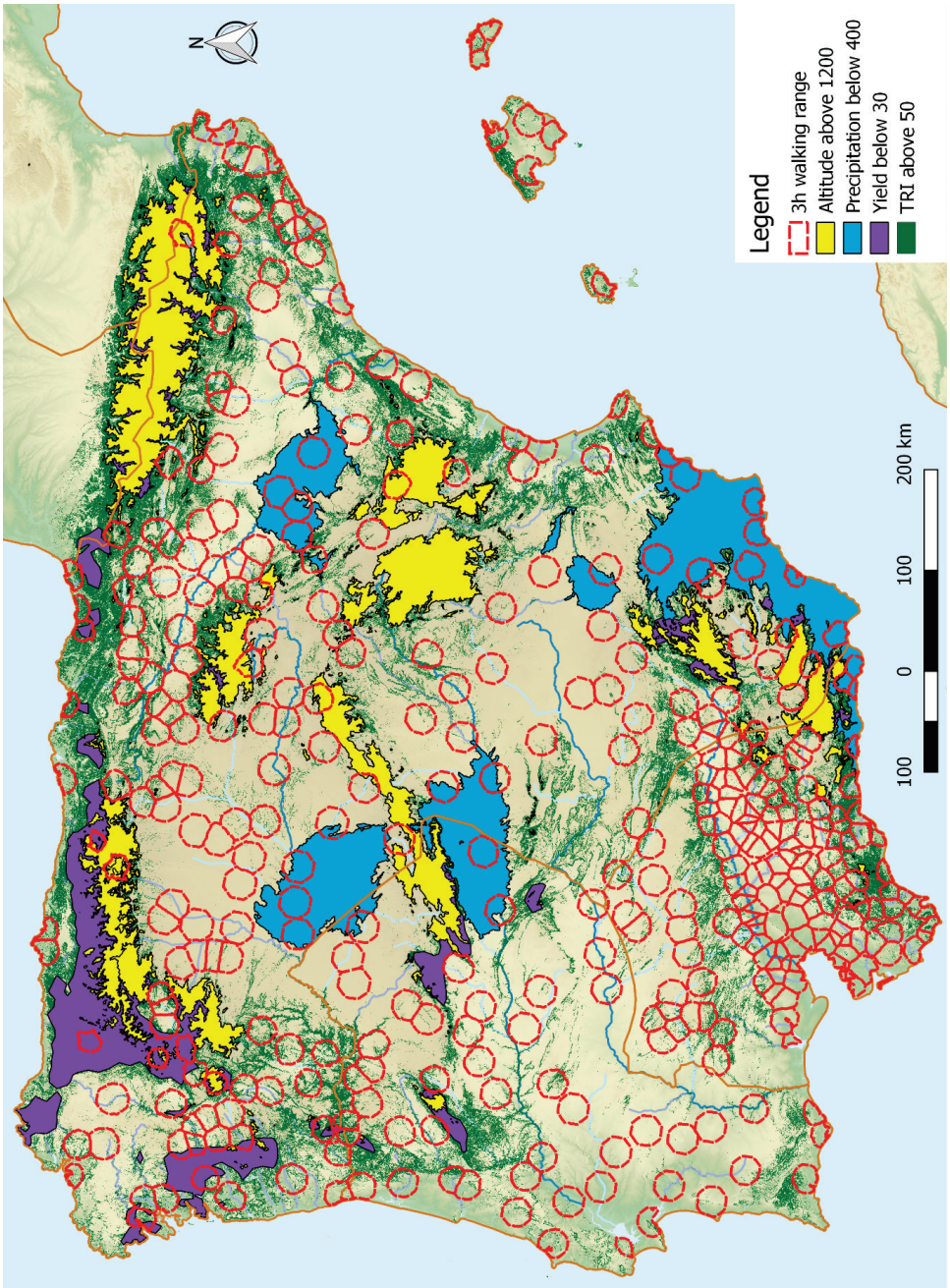


Fig. VI.34 Overview of geographical and climatological environments in relation to a three-hour walking range

CONCLUSIONS

The principal aim of the foregoing chapters has been to delineate the contours of the urban system of the Iberian Peninsula in the Roman period. As was explained at the beginning of this book, this is by no means an easy task, not only because the literature is vast but also because 'cities' or 'towns' can be defined in multiple ways. A variety of different sources has been used to locate these self-governing communities. We started with the *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny as it provides a list of self-governing communities with the privileges granted by the Roman state. However, Pliny's literary freedom in varying the terminology he uses poses a large problem. It makes it hard to differentiate between *populus*, *civitas* and *oppidum*; these are used interchangeably by Pliny within the section on the Hispaniae. To complicate matters further, he also uses these words to refer to *municipia* and *coloniae*, thereby making it impossible to differentiate clearly between the self-governing communities. Despite the problems posed by Pliny's lack of consistency regarding terminology, his work is a very useful source. In the *conventus* lists he uses the term *oppidum* to refer to the *urbs* of the *civitas*, and in his account of the province of *Citerior,* he mentions 293 *civitates,* of which 189 have *oppida*. It therefore follows that there were 114 *civitates* without *oppida.* In this monograph such communities without a central city are referred to as dispersed *civitates*.

When comparing the *populi* of Pliny to those found in the *Geographica* of Ptolemy, Detlefsen recognised that some were mentioned with a *polis* named *Aqua* or *Forum*. He argued that these were the central places of the *civitates* without *oppida*. The case studies conducted in this research have proven Detlefsen's interpretations to be correct. In some cases, we observe a territory with multiple town-like centres and in other cases there is a complete absence of an urban centre. We have to conclude that not all the *civitates* and not even all the *municipia* of Hispania were of the classical *urbs et territorium* model.

In terms of the self-governing communities, Ptolemy is only a subsidiary source. Not only do we find a multitude of hapaxes, sometimes due to translation and transliteration faults, but his lists also contain several *mansiones* and *mutationes*. Nonetheless, the information provided by Ptolemy does make it easier to understand some of the dispersed *civitates*, for example that of the *Limici* whose 'capital' appears in Ptolemy as *Forum Limicorum*.

In addition to these literary sources, the epigraphic record has been of great importance in understanding the urban network. Epigraphy adds evidence for the self-

governing nature of the *civitates.* As Galsterer had already shown, epigraphy and numismatics are especially useful for recognising the unnamed privileged communities referred to by Pliny.

The epigraphic evidence also allows us to identify several of the Flavian *municipia*. Pliny mentions that a grant of *ius Latii* was given to *universa Hispania*, but gives no further details. Several communities refer to themselves as *municipium Flavium*. Unfortunately, the exact juridical status of many *municipia* remains unclear. However, since the main goal of this research was to establish the number of self-governing communities and their locations, knowledge of the rights of these communities is of minor importance.

In addition to the self-governing communities, we find secondary agglomerations that played an important role in the settlement pattern. These agglomerations functioned as central places that helped to link the urban centres with their rural hinterlands. Within the literary sources and epigraphy, four forms of these secondary agglomerations can be recognised: *pagi*, *castella*, *vici* and contributed *civitates*. The latter group is of particular interest. In some cases, Rome decided that a *civitas* would be subordinated to another community. Several such cases are known from literary sources or epigraphy. Moreover, it seems that Ptolemy included this category in his lists, for example the case of the *Copori* with two *poleis*: *Lucus Augusti* and *Iria Flavia*. While the *conventus* capital of *Lucus Augusti* must have been the *civitas* capital, *Iria Flavia* may have been the central place of a contributed *civitas*. Unfortunately, contributed *civitates* remain heavily under-researched.

More in general, the secondary agglomerations of the Iberian Peninsula have received little attention. Based on the extensive literature on the 'small towns' of Roman Britain and the 'agglomérations secondaires' of Roman Gaul, a basic categorisation of these settlements was proposed. While some secondary agglomerations were 'town-like' settlements, we also find specialised settlements or agricultural settlements. The latter are not of interest for this research. The specialised settlements fulfilled various religious roles (spas, sanctuaries), or economic roles (mines, ports, market places) and functioned as central places for a larger region. Clear examples are *Archena*, *Portus Ilicitanus* and *Metallum Vipascense*. In addition, some *mansiones* and *mutationes* may have developed into central places due to their position along the main roads, such as *Iturissa* and possibly *Ildum*.

The development of the settlement system cannot be fully understood without examining the pre-Roman settlement system. Basically, two different settlement patterns can be distinguished in Roman times. On the one hand, we observe that the regular settlement system as recognised by Bonet, or the city state model as proposed by Collis, is found in the eastern coastal areas of the Iberian Peninsula. A clear urban settlement pattern and hierarchy developed particularly in the Mediterranean façade, facilitating the rapid conquest of this region. The high pre-Roman urbanisation

rate in the Guadalquivir valley prefigured the dense urban pattern of the Roman period. In this region, all urban settlements were located within three-hour walking distances of their nearest neighbours.

In the inland regions, we find the tribal state organisation, as recognised by Collins, or Bonet's dispersed settlement system. The tribes converged on one central fortified urban or proto-urban place with subordinate *castros*. This pattern can be recognised for the regions of the Central Meseta. However, as argued by Pereira, the pre-Roman settlement systems of these tribal areas may well have been heterarchical rather than hierarchical. Regardless of which of these interpretations is correct, the multitude of tribes and *castros* created a divided landscape, forcing the Romans to deal with each of these tribes and *castros* separately. This can be derived from the Bronze de El Bierzo, from which it appears that the *Paemeiobrigensis* were rewarded with *immunitas* for siding with the Romans while the tribe to which they belonged opposed the Romans.

The differences in urbanism on the Iberian Peninsula and the different instances of conquest had a significant impact on the later development of the Roman settlement system. It appears that communities incorporated in the earlier period had relations with Rome that led to a later granting of privileges, such as immunity from taxes, Latin rights and Roman citizenship. Most of the pre-Flavian privileged communities were located within the region that had been conquered before 133 BCE. These communities aided Rome in the period of conquest after 133 BCE and during the civil wars fought in the first century BCE.

Communities with the old Latin rights of the Republican *coloniae* seem to have been promoted by Caesar or Augustus to *municipia civium Romanorum,* as can be observed for *Palma* and *Pollentia*. That the *municipium c.R.* was a status granted to the friends of Rome is especially clear under Caesar, who only promotes his allies to *municipia c.R.* Various cities that had opposed him lost large tracts of land and became *coloniae*. This purgative use of colonial foundations helps to explain Hadrian's surprise when *Italica* asked to become a *colonia*. At the same time we observe that *coloniae* tended to be larger than other cities, had larger territories and more often had more monuments.

Unlike other cities, a large proportion of the *coloniae* and *municipia c.R.* had multiple spectacle buildings. Moreover, those *municipia c.R.* and *coloniae* where no spectacle buildings have been detected are often those that have not been thoroughly investigated. These monumentalised communities were also important nodes within the road network. This relation between a higher connectivity and monumentality may be the result of the important economic roles some of these settlements played. Obviously, the provincial capitals drew many of the élite that provided for these buildings and the games and plays staged there. Other places such as *Segobriga* and

Castulo were important mining centres, which were well connected to the road network. The mineral resources of their territory yielded income that could be used to erect spectacle buildings.

Another explanation for the higher monumentalisation of the well-connected centres can be found in civic rivalry or *campanilismo*. Those places that could easily be reached were in contact with other settlements, some of which had beautiful monuments. Civic pride may have prompted the local élites of such towns to pay for spectacle buildings or games. One can imagine a magistrate from *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia* with a provincial office in *Augusta Emerita* being willing to provide his hometown with games or even (partially or fully) funding the construction of an amphitheatre or circus, as this would enhance the prestige of his home town.

The *fora* as the political and religious centres of a community are most probably the centres for smaller form of euergetism and civic pride. Further research into other forms of monumentality is needed to create a clearer picture of the relationships between juridical status, connectivity and monumentality.

In many publications, including the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, cities are defined as large settlements. However, based on the evidence regarding the size of the central places of the self-governing communities of the Iberian Peninsula, we have to conclude that the vast majority of its cities were rather small. Even the largest cities, such as *Tarraco*, *Augusta Emerita*, *Carthago Nova* and *Gades,* are thought to have occupied 80 to 90 hectares. They are far outstripped by other famous centres, such as *Carthago*, *Antiochia*, *Alexandria*, and even by many less famous Roman cities, such as *Mogontiacum*, *Lugdunum* and *Londinium*. Viewed in this light, Strabo's claim that *Gades* was the largest city in the west is interesting. He was referring to a period when *Carthago* had not yet been re-established and when *Mogontiacum*, *Lugdunum* and *Londinium* remained outside the Roman sphere. In any case, most cities of the Iberian Peninsula are small or very small. The *municipium Munigua* with its built-up area of only three hectares is one of many examples that show we cannot define the city on the Iberian Peninsula based on size.

As was demonstrated in chapter six, the largest cities of the Iberian Peninsula could depend on their own territories to sustain them. The extent and resources of a territory were thus a limiting factor. As a general rule, the population size of the largest cities did not exceed the carrying capacity of their territories. Urban growth may also have been inhibited by the fact that the Roman Empire drew necessary resources from these provinces. However, cities in other provinces would have had similar problems.

The urban patterns of the Iberian Peninsula were not only prefigured by the pre-Roman pattern, but also by geographical factors. The more densely populated and smaller territories are found in the Mediterranean façade and at the Iberian Levant where the city-state model developed at an earlier date. The five largest centres in these areas controlled larger territories granted to them by the Roman state.

The intermediate centres were located along major arteries of the network, for example the cities along the 'Via del Norte', the road connecting the mines of the northwest with *Tarraco*. Alternatively, we find large settlements at intersections of rivers and roads, for example in the Guadalquivir basin. These centres were able to develop further due to their position along the network and could also draw from their trade with other places.

A remarkable concentration of self-governing communities can be observed in the Guadalquivir basin. Here, the outlying territories of the communities are always within a three-hour walking radius from the centre. A similar observation can be made for the central Ebro valley. The remainder of the Iberian Peninsula also had pockets of self-governing communities creating clusters, but there were still vast empty areas. An examination of geographically and climatologically unfavourable conditions shows that some of these areas are less optimal for urban centres. Although areas completely hostile for urbanism are rare, it is clear that disadvantageous areas are avoided. Given the low overall population density, there was no need to occupy these inopportune areas. Interestingly, some areas, seemingly favourable to urbanism do not seem to have had urban centres. However, we have to take into account that we only identified 430 self-governing communities, of which about 30 were not located. In addition, Pliny states that there were 513 *civitates.* It follows that there were about 110 unlocated self-governing communities, which would occupy the less densely inhabited areas.

Still, when considering *Lusitania*, we have to conclude that the low urbanisation rate is a reality. We even found more *civitates* in this province than the 45 *populi* mentioned by Pliny. As a result, we have to accept either that a considerable proportion of the rural population lived beyond the three-hour radius, or that secondary agglomerations fulfilled various central place functions, allowing the territories of the self-governing communities to be larger than this three-hour walking radius.

The existence of a secondary level of settlements functioning as central places has indeed been established. We can, therefore, assume that areas without direct contact with a self-governing centre were provided with economic, religious and possibly even administrative functions. These secondary agglomerations warrant greater attention in the debates on the Iberian Peninsula.

Defining Roman urbanism on the Iberian Peninsula based on one clear definition is impossible. The plethora of different forms of urban settlements and self-governing communities that have developed through history created a mosaic of settlements.

The Roman Empire incorporated a myriad of cultures each with their own settlement system. Rather than forcing all these communities to follow the strict model of the city-state, the Roman state incorporated different systems. On the Iberian Peninsula, one can observe the classical city-state model, but we also encounter the dis-

persed *civitates* with their multiple smaller centres each taking up a part of the economic, administrative and religious functions that we normally find centred in the *urbs* of a *civitas*.

APPENDICES

Appendix I
Self-governing cities alphabetically

Canon name	Modern name(s)	ID
Self-governing		Pro-vince
Monuments		Size
References		

Canon name is the name by which the community is known, standard is the ancient name. Where unknown or disputed the alphabetical order is continued with its modern name, thus Chao Samartin is found in the section for C but with Ocelo? as name. Similarly we find Los Bañales under the B, although its ancient name is probably Tarraga. This is to avoid a convoluted table where we enter literary and epigraphic places seperately from the archaeological places.

Modern name is the actual place name or locality by which the place is known.

The Self-governing line gives evidence for the self-governing status of these communities and places. Stat. refers to direct evidence for the status of the community according to the ancient sources or epigraphy. Obviously all communities in this list have a status ranging from *colonia* to *stipendiaria*. However, for some we have no indication what privilege was granted to the community. The other categories (Mag. Trib. and Coin.)are indirect evidence for the self-governing status of the community.

The size given is the preferred size for the 'central place' of the community.

Abdera	Adra	294
Stat.[4]; Coin.[2]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		5.3 ha[3]

[1] CIL II 1979
[2] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 86.
[3] Carreras Monfort (2014), 73.
[4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Abelterium	Alter do Châo	335
Stat.[2,3]		Lusitania
Baths?[1,4]		(unknown)

[1] Reis (2014b), 397.
[2] António and d'Encarnação (2014), 199.
[3] Alarcão (1988), 6/118.
[4] Reis (2014a), 22.

Acci	Guadix	1
Stat.[1,2,3,4,7,11]; Coin.[8]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[9]; Baths[6]; Theatre[5]		15 ha[10]

[1] CIL II 3391
[2] CIL II 3393
[3] CIL II 3394
[4] Plin. NH III 25
[5] Noguera Giménez *et al.* (2011-2012), 384.
[6] Pavía Page (2016), 7.
[7] Salmon (1969), 164.
[8] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 89.
[9] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 997.
[10] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[11] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.

Acinippo	Ronda la Vieja	48
Stat.[12]; Trib.[1,13]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
Amphitheatre?[6,17,19]; Aqueduct[7]; Baths[8,9]; Theatre[4,5,15,16,18]		34.5 ha[10,11,14,16,20]

[1] CIL II 1348
[2] CIL II 1351
[3] CIL II 1351
[4] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 141.
[5] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[6] Fear (1996), 198.
[7] Fear (1996), 187.
[8] Fear (1996), 183.
[9] Fernández-Baca Casares *et al.* (1993), 199.
[10] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[11] Keay (1998a).
[12] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.
[13] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[14] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[15] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 351.
[16] Diarte Blasco (2012).
[17] Ramallo Asensio (2002).
[18] Sear (2006).
[19] Thouvenot (1940), 458.
[20] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Aebisoci	Unlocated	415
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior

(none)	(unknown)

[1] CIL II 2477
[2] CIL II 5616

Aeminium	Coimbra	243
Stat.[1,2,3,4,9]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[10]; Public square (forum)[6,8]; Theatre[5]		9 ha[7,10]

[1] CIL II 5239
[2] Plin. NH IV 118
[3] Plin. NH IV 113
[4] CIL II 5239
[5] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 277.
[6] Reis (2014b), 344.
[7] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[8] Alarcão (1988), 3/106.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 166.
[10] Hourcade (2004), 226.

Aeso	Isona	49
Stat.[1,14,17]; Trib.[15]; Mag.[2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[11]		18 ha[11,12,13,16]

[1] Plin. NH III 23
[2] CIL II 4464
[3] IRC II, 27
[4] IRC II, 29
[5] CIL II 4458
[6] CIL II 4466
[7] CIL II 4468
[8] IRC II, 30
[9] CIL II 4466
[10] IRC II, 26
[11] Guitart i Duran (2004).
[12] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[13] Cepas Palanca *et al.* (1997), 32.
[14] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[15] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 130.
[16] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[17] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Agla Minor	Unlocated	436
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Possibly self-governing based on the reference in Pliny (*NH* III 10) and Ptolemy (II 4,10: Ἄσυλα).
In addition, it is found as an *origo* (CIL II[2] 5,258; 5,280).

Alaba	Argamasilla de Alba?	244
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 25
[2] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[3] CIL II 4200

Alba Bastetanorum	Abla?	295
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 25

Alba Varduli	San Román de San Millán	409
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha[1]
[1] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 43.		
Possibly self-governing based on the reference in Pliny (*NH* III 25) and Ptolemy (II 6,66: 'Αλβα). Also found in the itineraries (Ravenn. 318.5).		

Albocela	El Alba de Villalazán?, Toro	245
Stat.[4]; Trib.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[3]		20 ha[2,3,5]
[1] HEp 5, 1995, 893 [2] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [3] Martino García (2004), 203. [4] Martino García (2004), 202. [5] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Alonis	La Vila Joiosa, Villajoyosa	504
Stat.[3]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2]; Public square (forum)[2]		6 ha[4]
[1] CIL II 3571 (p 958) [2] Pavía Page (2016), 7. [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153. [4] Carreras Monfort (2014), 73.		

Amaia	Amaya	441
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[2]		42 ha[1]
[1] Cisneros *et al.* (2005), 579. [2] Hernández Guerra (2007), 103.		

Amallobriga	Tiedra, Torrelobatón	375
Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		14 ha[2,3,4]
[1] HEp 6, 1996, 987 [2] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995), 213.5 [3] Olmo Martín (1998), 423. [4] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Ammaia	São Salvador de Aramenha	51
Stat.[2,8]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[1,3,4]		Lusitania
Aqueduct[11]; Baths[5,7]; Circuit wall[9]; Public square (forum)[10]; Theatre?[6]		17 ha[9,12]
[1] CIL II 159 [2] CIL II 158 [3] CIL II 159 [4] HEp 18, 2009, 583 [5] Reis (2014b), 379.		

[6] Corsi (2012), 163.
[7] Corsi (2012).
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[9] Hourcade (2004), 226.
[10] Corsi *et al.* (2012).
[11] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1118, ID 9.
[12] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Andelos	Muruzabal de Andión (Mendigorria)	52
Stat.[1,4]; Mag.[2,7]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[3,8]; Baths[6]; Circuit wall[3]; Public square (forum)[4]		18 ha[5,9]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] HEp 1, 1989, 491
[3] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 48.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[5] Mezquíriz Irujo (1998), 512, 3.
[6] Mezquíriz Irujo (1998), 514.
[7] Mezquíriz Irujo (1998), 516.
[8] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 529.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 268.

Anticaria	Antequera	53
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
Baths[4]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 742
[2] CIL II2/5, 753
[3] CIL II2/5, 845
[4] Keay (1998a).

Aparicio del Grande	Gilena	341
(none)		Baetica
Baths[1]		7.3 ha[2,3]

[1] García Entero (2005), 646.
[2] Keay and Earl (2011).
[3] Keay (1998a).

Following the table by Keay the settlement has several urban characteristics, amongst which 13 inscriptions (2011: 306)
Other sources such as García-Entero (2005) state it was a large villa.

Aquae Calidae	Caldas de Montbuy	397
Stat.[2,3]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[1,5]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[4]		(unknown)

[1] IRC I, 42
[2] Plin. NH III 23
[3] CIL II 4491
[4] González Soutelo (2012), 81.
[5] Mayer i Olivé (2010), 307.

Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae	Caldes de Malavella	54
Stat.[6]; Trib.[1,7]; Mag.[2,3]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[4,5,8]		(unknown)

[1] IRC III 9
[2] IRC III, 9

[3] CIL II 6181
[4] González Soutelo (2012), 81.
[5] Costa Solé (2011), 40.
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.
[8] Bayona i Prats and Buscató i Somoza (2011).

Aquae Celenae	Caldas de Reis	521
Stat.[1,4]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2]		6 ha[3]

[1] I Concilium of Toledo.
[2] González Soutelo (2005).
[3] Pérez Losada (2002), 150.
[4] Pérez Losada (2002), 141.

Aquae Flaviae	Chaves	55
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,8,9]; Trib.[10]; Mag.[6]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[8,13,15,17]; Aqueduct[14]; Baths[7,11]; Public square (forum)[8,11,3]		14.5 ha[11,12,16]

[1] RAP 560
[2] CIL II 2477
[3] HEp 2, 1990, 843
[4] AE 2000, 745
[5] AE 1973, 304
[6] CIL II 4204 (p 902, 972)
[7] González Soutelo (2012), 79.
[8] Alarcão (1988), 1/116.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129.
[11] Diarte Blasco (2012).
[12] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[13] Ramallo Asensio (2002).
[14] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 986.
[15] Fonseca Sorribas (2012), 520.
[16] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[17] CIL II 2473

Aquae Querquernae	Baños de Bande, Baños de Molgas, Porto Quintela	296
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[3,6]		7.8 ha[4,5]

1 CIL II 2477 / 5616
2 Plin. NH III 28
3 HEp 14, 2005, 227
4 Rodríguez Colmenero, Antonio et al. (1998).
5 Pérez Losada (2002), 184, 95.
6 Pérez Losada (2002), 188.

Garrison settlement with thermae and mansio. The capital of the *Querquernae* was most probably located at Castro de Rubiás. (See Castro de Rubiás)

Arabriga	Near Sernacelhe	56
Stat.[1,2]		Lusitania
Public square (forum)?[3]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 760 [2] Plin. NH IV 118 [3] Vaz (2010).		
Terminus (HEp 1, 1989, 694)		

Arabriga Scallabitanus	Unlocated	246
Stat.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH IV 118 (Axabriga)		

Aracaeli	Araciel, Huarte-Araquil	389
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		5 ha[2]
[1] Plin. NH III 24 [2] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Arandis	near Ourique	248
Stat.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		7 ha[2]
[1] Plin. NH IV 118 [2] Bernardes (2006), 160.		

Aratispi	Cauche el Viejo	57
Stat.[1,2,3,5]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
(none)		18 ha[4]
[1] CIL II2/5, 730 [2] CIL II2/5, 731 [3] CIL II2/5, 732 [4] Keay (1998a). [5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161.		

Arcobriga	Cerro Vilar (Monreal de Ariza)	58
Stat.[1,5]; Trib.[6]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[4,8]; Public square (forum)[4]; Theatre[7]		14 ha[2,3,9]
[1] Plin. NH III 24 [2] Almagro-Gorbea (1995). [3] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [4] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 51. [5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151. [6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129. [7] Sear (2006), 265. [8] Andreu Pintado (2012a), 239. [9] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Arcos de la Frontera	Arcos de la Frontera	59
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
Aqueduct?[4]		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 1362 [2] CIL II 1364 [3] EE VIII 94 [4] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1007.		

Arialdunum	El Arahal, Unlocated	432
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
Pliny mentions this settlement as one of the "*Celeberrima (oppida) inter hunc (Baetis) et oceani oram in mediterraneo [...]*" As it is mentioned along many other self-governing communities it is considered as such with some reservation.		

Aritium	Casal de Várzea (Alvega, Abrantes)	330
Mag.[1,2]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[3]		(unknown)
[1] HEp 4, 1994, 1079 [2] HEp 4, 1994, 1080 [3] Hourcade (2004), 227.		

Artigi	Castuera, Zalamea de la Serena	297
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
Self-governing based on mention in Pliny (*NH* III 10) and Ptolemy (II 4,10: 'Αρτιγίς). There is a possibility that the *Artigi* mentioned in the itineraries is a different one, see Thouvenot (1940), 486; Tovar (1974), 95.		

Arucci	Aroche, Cortijo de Fuente Seca	249
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
Aqueduct[5]; Public square (forum)[3]		15 ha[4,6]
[1] HEp 3, 1993, 205 [2] CIL II 963 [3] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [4] Diarte Blasco (2012), 229. [5] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1002. [6] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Arunda	Ronda	60
Stat.[4]; Trib.[5]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
Aqueduct[6]; Circus? [7]; Public square (forum)[3,1]		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 1359 [2] CIL II 1348 [3] Fear (1996), 179. [4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163. [5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 132. [6] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1006. [7] CIL 1360		

Arva	Alcolea del Río	61
Stat.[2,6]; Trib.[1,7]		Baetica
Aqueduct[3]; Baths[4,5]		11 ha[8]
[1] CILA, 2, 25 [2] CIL II 1064 (p 837) [3] Fear (1996), 187. [4] Fear (1996). [5] Keay (1998b). [6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.		

[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 132.
[8] Remesal Rodríguez *et al.* (1997).

Asido	Medina Sidonia	2
Stat.[1,2,3,6,9]; Mag.[2,10,11]		Baetica
Aqueduct[7]; Public square (forum)[5]		15 ha[4,8]

[1] Plin. NH III 11
[2] CIL II 1315
[3] Salmon (1969), 164.
[4] Lagóstena Barrios (2011).
[5] Lagóstena Barrios (2011), 132.
[6] Lagóstena Barrios (2011), 162.
[7] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1133.
[8] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.
[10] CILA II, 1220
[11] CIL II 1314

Asso	Caravaca	405
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		7 ha[2]

[1] CIL II 5941
[2] López-Mondéjar (2010), 9.

Astigi	Écija	3
Stat.[1,2,18,20]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[6,13,16,22,25,27,30]; Aqueduct[29]; Baths[8,14]; Circuit wall; Circus[2,11,22,26]; Public square (forum)[10,15,23]; Theatre?[12,28]		73.7 ha[15,17,19,21,24,31]

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] CIL II2/5, 1162
[3] CIL II2/5, 1168
[4] CIL II2/5, 1175
[5] CIL II2/5, 1174
[6] CIL II 5102
[7] CIL II 5116
[8] CIL II 1478
[9] CIL II2/5, 1179
[10] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[11] Brassous and Quevedo (2015).
[12] Aktüre (2007).
[13] Fear (1996).
[14] Fear (1996), 182.
[15] Keay (1998b).
[16] Brassous (2015).
[17] Keay and Earl (2011).
[18] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[19] Sáez Fernández *et al.* (2004), 35.
[20] Salmon (1969), 164.
[21] García-Dils de la Vega (2012a).
[22] García-Dils de la Vega (2012b), 727.
[23] García-Dils de la Vega (2012b), 733.
[24] León (2008), 86.
[25] Diarte Blasco (2012), 42.
[26] Diarte Blasco (2012), 44.
[27] Thouvenot (1940).
[28] Thouvenot (1940), 426.
[29] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1211.
[30] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003).
[31] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Asturica Augusta	Astorga	63
Stat.[1,9]; Trib.[10,15]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior

Amphitheatre[4]; Baths[8,13]; Circuit wall[14]; Public square (forum)[3,7]; Theatre?[8]	27 ha[5,6,11,12,16,17,18]

[1] IRPLE, 63
[2] ERPLe 339
[3] CIL II2/14, 374
[4] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 278.
[5] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[6] González Fernández (2012), 265.
[7] González Fernández (2012), 284.
[8] González Fernández (2012).
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 149.
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[11] Pérez Losada (2002).
[12] Diarte Blasco (2012), 46.
[13] Diarte Blasco (2012), 47.
[14] Martino García (2004), 220.
[15] Martino García (2004), 217.
[16] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[17] Fatás Cabeza (1990a).
[18] Carreras Monfort (2014), 75.

Ategua	Cortijo de Teba la Vieja	250
(none)		Baetica
(none)		12 ha[1,2]

[1] Carrilero Millán and López Medina (2006), 12.
[2] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Pliny (*NH* III 10) refers to this settlement as *oppidum.*

Attac-censis	Ateca	299
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[2] CIL II 4189 (p 972)

Augusta Gemella	Martos	4
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6,7,15]; Mag.[1,2,3,4,8,9,10,11]		Baetica
Circus?[12]; Theatre?[12]		5.6 ha[14]

[1] CIL II2/5, 86
[2] CIL II2/5, 88
[3] CIL II2/5, 96
[4] CIL II2/5, 157
[5] Plin. NH III 12
[6] CIL II2/5, 74
[7] CIL II2/5, 75
[8] CIL II2/5, 72
[9] CIL II2/5, 82
[10] CIL II2/5, 72
[11] CIL II2/5, 80
[12] CIL II 1685
[13] CIL II2/5, 69
[14] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[15] Salmon (1969), 164.

Augustobriga Pelendones	Muro de Ágreda	64
Stat.[2]; Trib.[1,5]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[4]		49 ha[3,4,6,7]

[1] ERPSo 31
[2] CIL II, 4277
[3] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[4] Martino García (2004), 223.

[5] Martino García (2004), 222.
[6] Taracena (2007 [1949]).
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Augustobriga Vettones	Talavera la Vieja?	65
Stat.[1,4]; Trib.[5]; Mag.[2]		Lusitania
Aqueduct?[7]; Circuit wall[6]		20 ha[3,6,8]

[1] Plin. NH IV 118
[2] CIL II 5346
[3] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 167.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[6] Hourcade (2004), 227.
[7] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 530.
[8] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Aurgi	Jaén	66
Stat.[2,3,4]; Trib.[1,10]; Mag.[2,5,6]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[7,9,14,16]; Aqueduct[6,13]; Baths[6,12]; Theatre?[8,12]		11 ha[11,15]

[1] CIL II2/5, 93
[2] CIL II2/5, 49
[3] CIL II2/5, 29
[4] CIL II2/5, 32
[5] CIL II 1685
[6] CIL II2/5, 30
[7] CIL II2/5, 31
[8] Aktüre (2007).
[9] Brassous (2015).
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.
[11] Serrano Peña (2004).
[12] Serrano Peña (2004), 14.
[13] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1012, ID 3.
[14] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[15] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[16] Mingoia (2004), 227.

Auriensis	Orense	380
Stat.[2,5]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[1,4]		7 ha[3]

[1] González Soutelo (2012), 79.
[2] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991), 30.
[3] Pérez Losada (2002), 176.
[4] Pérez Losada (2002), 167.
[5] Pérez Losada (2002), 154.

Auso	Vic	300
Stat.[1,4]; Mag.[2,3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 23
[2] CIL II 4537 (p 982)
[3] Rodà i Llanza (2013), 151.
[4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Avila	Avila	67
Stat.[2,4]; Trib.[1,5,6]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[7]; Public square (forum)[9]		9 ha[3,8,10]

[1] CIL II 3050
[2] HEp 14, 2005, 30
[3] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[6] Martino García (2004), 227.
[7] Hourcade (2004), 227.
[8] Barraca de Ramos (1994), 51.
[9] Barraca de Ramos (1994), 49.
[10] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Avobriga	Unlocated	379
Mag.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 4247 (p 973)
[2] RIT 261

Axati	Lora del Río	68
Stat.[1,4]; Trib.[5]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
Baths[3]		10.8 ha[6]

[1] CIL II 1055
[2] CIL II 1054
[3] Fear (1996), 184.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[6] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).

Baeculo	Unlocated	251
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 23

Baedro	Hinojosa del Duque	69
Stat.[3]; Trib.[1,2,4]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 2/7844
[2] CIL II 2/7845
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c).

Baedunia	San Martin de Torres	301
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] ERPLe 315
[2] ERPLe 305

Baelo Claudia	Bolonia	70
Stat.[1,18,19]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Aqueduct[15,16]; Baths[5,9,12]; Circuit wall[3]; Public square (forum)[2,4,6,7,8,9]; Theatre[3,8,9,10,11]		13.5 ha[9,10,13,14,17]

[1] IRPCadiz 68
[2] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[3] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 141.
[4] Fear (1996), 173ff.
[5] Fear (1996), 183.
[6] Keay (1998b).
[7] Sillières (1995).
[8] Mierse (1999).
[9] Álvarez Rojas (2002), 12.
[10] Keay (1998a).

[11] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 351.
[12] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 353.
[13] Diarte Blasco (2012), 65.
[14] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[15] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1008, ID 9, ID 532.
[16] Sánchez López (2008), 131.
[17] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[18] Le Roux (2014f), 627.
[19] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Baesippo	Castillo de Santiago (Barbate)	252
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15

Baesucci	Vilches	37
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 3250
[2] CIL II 3251
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.
[4] CIL II 3249

Baetulo	Badalona	71
Stat.[1,9,10,16]; Mag.[2,3,4,5,6]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2,8,11,12]; Circuit wall[14]; Public square (forum)[8,11]; Theatre[7]		11 ha[8,13,14,15]

[1] Plin. NH III 22
[2] CIL II 4610
[3] CIL II 4605
[4] CIL II 4606
[5] CIL II 4607
[6] CIL II 4608
[7] Noguera Giménez *et al.* (2011-2012), 384.
[8] Guitart i Duran (2004).
[9] Brunt (1971), 603.
[10] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 163.
[11] Guitart i Duran (2010).
[12] Antequera *et al.* (2010), 174.
[13] Guitart i Duran (1994).
[14] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[15] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[16] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Balsa	Tavira	72
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[6,7,8,6]		Lusitania
Amphitheatre?[5]; Circus[5,8,9]; Circus?; Public square (forum)[5]; Theatre[5]		47 ha[4]

[1] Plin. NH IV 118
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 133.
[4] Fraga da Silva (2007), 107.
[5] Fraga da Silva (2007).
[6] CIL II 4990
[7] CIL II 4990a
[8] CIL II 5165
[9] CIL II 5166

Barbesula	Torre de Guadiaro (S. Roque)	73
Stat.[1,3]; Trib.[1,2,3]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		3 ha[4]
[1] CIL II 1941 [2] CIL II 1940 [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164. [4] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Barbotum	Coscojuela de Fantova, Monte Cillas	371
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		8 ha[1]
[1] Navarro *et al.* (2000), 252. [2] Navarro Caballero and Magallón Botaya (1999).		
The connection between *Barbotum* and Monte Cillas is based on the inscription CIL 5841, it remains uncertain. It is considered a city by Navarro and Magallón.[2]		

Barcino	Barcelona	5
Stat.[1,2,3,4,18,20,28]; Mag.[5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,9,10,13]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[26]; Aqueduct[25]; Baths[4,16]; Circuit wall[5]; Public square (forum)[17,27]; Theatre?[9,14,15,24		10.4 ha[16,19,21,22,23,28]
[1] CIL II 4511 [2] CIL II 4536a		

[3] Plin. NH III 22
[4] CIL II 4514 (p XLVIII, 711)
[5] CIL I, 2673 (p 1109)
[6] IRC IV, 64
[7] IRC IV, 54
[8] IRC IV, 69
[9] CIL II 4514
[10] CIL II 4520
[11] AE 1957, 33
[12] AE 1969/70, 281
[13] CIL II 4521
[14] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 277.
[15] Aktüre (2007).
[16] Guitart i Duran (2004).
[17] Mierse (1999).
[18] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[19] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[20] Salmon (1969), 164.
[21] Diarte Blasco (2012), 70.
[22] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[23] Fatás Cabeza (1990a).
[24] Sear (2006).
[25] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1254, ID 533.
[26] Conde Moragues (2013).
[27] Ayerbe Vélez *et al.* (2009), 829.
[28] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.

Bardili	Unlocated	354
Stat.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH IV 118		

Baria	Villaricos	338
Stat.[1,2,5]; Mag.[7]		Hispania Citerior

(none)	11 ha[3,4,6]

[1] CIL II 5947
[2] Schneider (2017), 13.
[3] López Castro *et al.* (2010).
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[6] Chávez Álvarez (2004), 512.
[7] ZPE 49 (1982), 186

Basilippo	Cortijo de Cincho? (Arahal)	74
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Possible self-governing settlement based on the *origo* in CIL II 1373 and the references in the itineraries (Itin.Ant. 410.14; Ravenn. 316.13).

Basti	Baza	253
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2]		6 ha[3,4]

[1] Plin. NH III 25
[2] Pavía Page (2016), 8.
[3] Keay (1998a).
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Batora	Torre Vencelá	238
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
Circus?[3]		(unknown)

[1] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[2] CIL II2/5, 60
[3] CIL II2/5, 59

Baxon(...)	Las Torres de Alocaz, Loja	324
Stat.[1]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/7, 187

In addition to the 'senatus populusque Baxonensis' we also find Baxon(...) as an *origo* in CIL II2/5, 713 and CIL II2/7, 391.

Begastri	Cehegín	901
Stat.[1,6]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[3]; Circuit wall[4]; Theatre?[2]		5 ha[5]

[1] CIL II 5948
[2] Aktüre (2007).
[3] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 974.
[4] González Blanco (2004), 551.
[5] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[6] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Belippo	Unlocated	254
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15

Bergidum Flavium	Cacabelos	75
Stat.[1,3]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		5.5 ha[2,4]
[1] CIL II 4248 [2] Díaz Álvarez (2009), 23. [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c). [4] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Bergium	Berga	443
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
Possible self-governing community based on the reference in Ptol II 6.67 (Βέργιδον) and Liv. 34.21.1.		

Besaro	Unlocated	320
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 15		

Bilbilis	Cerro de la Bámbola (Calatayud)	76
Stat.[1,2,10,17,18]; Coin.[14]; Mag.[3]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct?[15]; Baths[7]; Public square (forum)[4,7]; Theatre[5,6,7,11]		21 ha[7,8,9,12,13,16]
[1] HEp 7, 1997, 1093 [2] Plin. NH III 24 [3] VM 139: 1-10 [4] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [5] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139. [6] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445. [7] Galve *et al.* (2005). [8] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [9] Martín Bueno (1991). [10] Brunt (1971), 603. [11] Mierse (1999). [12] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107. [13] Le Roux (2014c), 182. [14] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 127. [15] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1124. [16] Carreras Monfort (2014). [17] Le Roux (2014f), 627. [18] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Biscargis	Moleta dels Frares (El Forcall)?	376
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 23 [2] Brunt (1971), 603.		

Blandae	Blanes	77
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha[2,3]
[1] Plin. NH III 22 [2] Carreras Monfort (1996). [3] Taracena (2007 [1949]).		

Bletisama	Ledesma	95
(none)		Lusitania
Circuit wall[2,3]		4 ha[1,4]

[1] Almagro-Gorbea (1995).
[2] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991), 32.
[3] Hourcade (2004), 228.
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Bocchori	Formentor (N Mallorca)	289
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 77
[2] CIB 1965, nº 21
[3] CIL II 3695

Boletum	Barbastro, Monte Cildá, (Barbastro)	290
Stat.[4]; Trib.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 5843
[2] CIL II 5846
[3] Navarro Caballero and Magallón Botaya (1999).
[4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Bracara Augusta	Braga	78
Stat.[1,2,6,7]; Trib.[8]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[10]; Baths[6]; Public square (forum)[3]; Theatre[4]		42 ha[5,9,11]

[1] Plin. NH III 28
[2] CIL II 4237
[3] Martins (2006), 217.
[4] Martins *et al.* (2013).
[5] Alarcão (1988).
[6] Alarcão (1988), 1/198.
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 149.
[9] Pérez Losada (2002), 85.
[10] Diarte Blasco (2012), 81.
[11] Le Roux (2014c), 182.

Brigaecium	Dehesa de Morales (Fuentes de Ropel)	79
Stat.[3]; Trib.[4]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		22 ha[2,5]

[1] CIL II 6094
[2] Olmo Martín (2006), 322.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 150.
[5] Olmo Martín (1998), 410.

Bursao	Cerro del Castillo (Borja)	239
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		9 ha[3]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Liv. frag. 91
[3] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Caesaraugusta	Zaragoza	6
Stat.[2,3,18,20,25]; Coin.[21]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[2,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[15]; Aqueduct[23]; Baths[16]; Circuit wall; Public square (forum)[10,12,17]; Theatre[13,14,16]		56 ha[19,22,24]

[1] HEp 20 2011, 31
[2] CIL II 2992
[3] Plin. NH III 24
[4] CIL II 4238
[5] VM 148-153
[6] VM 149:1-5
[7] VM 151:5-6
[8] VM 151:8-10
[9] CIL II 4244
[10] CIL II 4249
[11] Galve *et al.* (2005).
[12] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[13] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 138.
[14] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[15] Galve *et al.* (2005), 181.
[16] Galve *et al.* (2005).
[17] Mierse (1999), 70.
[18] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[19] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[20] Salmon (1969), 164.
[21] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 117.
[22] Fatás Cabeza (1990a).
[23] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 584.
[24] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.
[25] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.

Caesarobriga	Talavera de la Reina	80
Stat.[2,3,4]; Trib.[1,5]; Mag.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		24 ha[6]

[1] CIL II 896
[2] Plin. NH IV 118
[3] CIL II 895
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 133.
[6] Urbina Martínez (2000).

Calagurris Fibularia	Castillo de Loarre	256
Stat.[1]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	1 ha[2]	

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Calagurris Iulia	Calahorra	81
Stat.[1,16]; Coin.[13]; Mag.[2,3,4]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[7]; Aqueduct[12,14]; Baths[9,12]; Circuit wall[15]; Circus[5,6,7]; Public square (forum)[8]		16 ha[10,11]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] VM 157-159
[3] VM 157
[4] VM 159:7
[5] HEp 7, 1997, 589
[6] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[7] Galve *et al.* (2005), 194.
[8] Galve *et al.* (2005).

[9] Galve *et al.* (2005), 193.
[10] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[11] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[12] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 75.
[13] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 135.
[14] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1120, ID 535.
[15] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 292.
[16] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Cale	Porto, Vila Nova de Gaia	355
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[1]		15 ha[1]
[1] Hourcade (2004), 230.		
Possible self-governing community based on its importance as a port and *mansio* (Itin.Ant. 421.8). Hourcade considers it a 'ville stipendiaire'.		

Callaeci	Unlocated	433
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 28		

Callet Aenanicorum	El Molino Pintado?	259
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
(none)		20 ha[4]
[1] CILA II, 969 [2] CILA II, 966 [3] CILA II, 1220 [4] Keay (1998b), 84.		

Callet Gaditanus	El Coronil	258
Stat.[1,2,3]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 15 [2] CIL II 1372 [3] Álvarez Martínez *et al.* (2001), 117.		

Callicula	Daragoleja (Pinos Puente)	257
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 12		
Certain self-governing community based on the reference in Pliny, Ptolemy (II 4.10 Καλλίκουλα) and the *origo* CIL II 5500.		

Calpurniana	Cañete de las Torres, Cerro de Hornillo	82
Stat.[1]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[3]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161. [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 132. [3] CIL II2/7, 180		

Canana	La Mesa (Alcolea del Río)	83
Stat.[1,5]; Trib.[1,6]; Mag.[2,1]		Baetica
Baths[4]; Public square (forum)[1,3]; Theatre?[1,7]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1074
[2] CILA II.II 239
[3] Fear (1996).
[4] Fear (1996), 183.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 132.
[7] Sear (2006), 261.

Capera	Ventas de Cáparra	84
Stat.[1,2,14]; Trib.[15]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Lusitania
Amphitheatre[11,13,20,22]; Aqueduct[6]; Baths[10]; Circuit wall[16]; Circus?[8,18]; Public square (forum)[7,17]; Theatre[9,19]		15 ha[12,21]

[1] AE 1986, 307
[2] Plin. NH IV 118
[3] AE 2010, +00058
[4] HEp 9, 1999, 252
[5] ZPE 183, 2012
[6] HEp 1, 1989, 158
[7] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[8] Humphrey (1986), 376.
[9] Aktüre (2007).
[10] Reis (2014b), 393.
[11] Brassous (2015).
[12] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[13] Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010), 233.
[14] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[15] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 133.
[16] Hourcade (2004), 230.
[17] Cerrillo Cuenca *et al.* (1994), 100.
[18] Ramallo Asensio (2002).
[19] Sear (2006), 265.
[20] Thouvenot (1940).
[21] Martín Bravo (1995), 502.
[22] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.

Cappa	Esperilla, Espera	657
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15

Cara	Santacara	303
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)[3]		17 ha[2]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Mezquíriz Irujo (2006), 152, 62.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 292.

Caracca	Driebes	260
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[1]; Baths[2]; Public square (forum)[2]		8 ha[2]

[1] Gamo Pazos (2014), 239ff.
[2] Gamo Pazos *et al.* (2017), 238.

Carbula	Almodóvar del Río?	85
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 10
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161.

Carissa	Bornos	7
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[4]		Baetica
(none)		10 ha

[1] Plin. NH III 15
[2] AE 2000, 725
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 76.
[4] IRPCadiz 100

Carmo	Carmona	86
Stat.[1,8,13,22]; Mag.[1,2,3]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[7,9,11,12,17,21]; Aqueduct[20]; Baths[10,16]; Circus?[6,15]; Public square (forum)[5,19]; Theatre[15,19]		42 ha[4,14,18]

[1] CIL II 5120
[2] CIL II2/5 457,2*
[3] CIL II 1379
[4] Lineros Romero (2005), 1004, 5.
[5] Lineros Romero (2005), 1025.
[6] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 278.
[7] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[8] Sáez Fernández (2011), 175.
[9] Fear (1996), 198.
[10] Fear (1996), 182.
[11] Keay (1998b).
[12] Brassous (2015).
[13] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 164.
[14] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[15] Anglada Curado (2012), 196.
[16] Anglada Curado (2012), 195.
[17] Ramallo Asensio (2002), 233.
[18] Caballos Rufino (2001), 13, 141.
[19] Caballos Rufino (2001), 140.
[20] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1214.
[21] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[22] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Carruca	Cortijo de Los Cosmes	87
Stat.[1,3]		Baetica
(none)		20.4 ha[2]

[1] CIL II2/5, 1145
[2] Keay and Earl (2011).
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159.

Carteia	El Rocadillo, near S. Roque	8
Stat.[1,2,10,15]; Coin.[13]; Mag.[3,4]		Baetica
Aqueduct[14]; Baths[8,9]; Public square (forum)[7,11]; Theatre[5,6,9,12]		27 ha

[1] Liv. 43, 3, 1ff
[2] HEp 15, 2006, 126
[3] CIL II 1940
[4] IRPCadiz 92
[5] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 141.
[6] Jiménez Hernández *et al.* (2015).
[7] Fear (1996), 172.
[8] Fear (1996), 183.
[9] Roldán Gómez *et al.* (2004).
[10] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.

[11] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 353.
[12] Rodríguez Oliva (1994).
[13] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 84.
[14] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1096.
[15] Le Roux (2014f), 627.

Carthago Nova	Cartagena	9
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,17,18]; Coin.[25]; Trib.[28]; Mag.[1,5,6,7,8]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[12,14,15,19,24,27]; Aqueduct[26]; Baths[13,21]; Circuit wall[6]; Circus?[11,15]; Public square (forum)[9,15]; Theatre[10,12,15,19,20]		80 ha[16,19,22,23,29]

[1] CIL II 3417
[2] CIL II 5930
[3] HEp 18, 2009, 231
[4] Plin. NH III 19
[5] CIL II 3435
[6] CIL II 3425
[7] AE 1908, 149
[8] CIL II 4230
[9] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[10] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139.
[11] Llorens Forcada (1994), 71.
[12] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[13] Pavía Page (2016), 4.
[14] Brassous (2015), 278 & 83.
[15] Abad Casal (2004).
[16] Mierse (1999).
[17] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[18] Salmon (1969), 164.
[19] Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010).
[20] Noguera Celdrán (2012), 151.
[21] Noguera Celdrán (2012).
[22] Bendala Galán (1994b).
[23] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[24] Diarte Blasco (2012), 110.
[25] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 90.
[26] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1073.
[27] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[28] González (1989b).
[29] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.

Cartima	Cártama	88
Stat.[1,2,7,13]; Trib.[8]		Baetica
Amphitheatre?[1,9,12]; Aqueduct?[11]; Baths[1,5]; Public square (forum)[1,4]; Theatre?[1,3,6,10]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1956
[2] CIL II 1955
[3] Aktüre (2007).
[4] Fear (1996), 179.
[5] Fear (1996), 185.
[6] Brassous (2015), 277.
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[9] Sear (2006), 261.
[10] Sear (2006).
[11] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1199.
[12] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 61.
[13] Mingoia (2004), 235.

Carula	Cerro de Agua	304
(none)		Baetica
(none)		28.3 ha[1]

[1] Keay and Earl (2011).

Possible self-governing city based on its size in combination with the reference in

the Antonine Itinerary (411.1) and *origo* CIL II 5459.		

Cascantum	Cascante	89
Stat.[1,2,4,5]; Coin.[3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		4 ha[6]
[1] Plin. NH III 24 [2] VM IV 108:1/3/4 [3] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 134. [4] Villaronga (2004), 281. [5] Vives y Escudero (1924b), 108. [6] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Castellum Tyde	Túy	502
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)?[1,4]		28 ha[3]
[1] CIL II 5613 [2] CIL II 6229 [3] Pérez Losada (2002), 85, L. [4] Pérez Losada (2002), 82.		
Capital of the *Grovii* (Ptol. II 6.44 and Plin. NH VI 112)		

Castra Gemina	Unlocated	261
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 12		

Castro del Río	Castro del Río	90
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[4]		Baetica
(none)		6.5 ha[3]
[1] CIL II 1750 [2] Stylow (2000). [3] Carrilero Millán and López Medina (2006), 12. [4] Carrilero Millán and López Medina (2006), 16.		

Castro de Rubiás	Castro de Rubiás	444
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] AFFE I 591 [2] AFFE I 608		
Possible capital of the *Querquernae.*		

Castulo	Cortijos de S. Eufemia y de Yangues	91
Stat.[1,2,3,4,17,18]; Coin.[13]; Mag.[4,5,6,7,8,9,10]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[1]; Aqueduct[15]; Baths[11,3]; Circuit wall[3]; Circus[6]; Theatre[14,3]		40 ha[12,16]
[1] HEp 5, 1995, 424 [2] Plin. NH III 25 [3] CILA III, 91 [4] CILA III, 101 [5] CIL II 4209		

[6] CIL II 3270
[7] CILA III, 97
[8] CILA III, 100
[9] CILA III, 216
[10] HEp 19, 2010, 182
[11] Pavía Page (2016), 9.
[12] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[13] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 88.
[14] Sear (2006), 267.
[15] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 537.
[16] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.
[17] Le Roux (2014f), 627.
[18] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.
[19] CIL II 3265

Cauca	Coca	92
Stat.[1,2,3,4,6]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		26 ha[5]

[1] Plin. NH III 26
[2] HEp 6, 1996, 987
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[4] Martino García (2004), 121.
[5] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[6] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Caura	Coria del Río	797
(none)		Baetica
Baths[1]		(unknown)

[1] González Soutelo (2012), 82.

An *oppidum* mentioned by Pliny (NH III 11), due to its position at the mouth of the Guadalquivir at the Lacus Ligustinus it must have been an important port. It minted coins in the Republican period (VM 108), these were very similar to those from Carmo (TIR J-29 p. 59).

Caurium	Coria	93
Stat.[1,4]; Trib.[5]; Mag.[2]		Lusitania
(none)		7 ha[3]

[1] Plin. NH IV 118
[2] ILER, 5858
[3] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 133.

Celsa	Velilla del Ebro	34
Stat.[1,8,9]; Coin.[11]; Mag.[2,3,4,5]		Hispania Citerior
Theatre[6,12]		44 ha[7,10]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] VM 160: 9-10/12
[3] VM 161: 1-4/8-9
[4] VM 160:6-7
[5] VM 161:5-7
[6] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[7] Galve *et al.* (2005), 171.
[8] MacMullen (2000), 52.
[9] Beltrán Lloris and Martín Bueno (1982), 146.
[10] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[11] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 110.
[12] Sear (2006), 267.

Celti	Cerro del Calvario (Peñaflor)	262
Stat.[12]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Aqueduct[10]; Public square (forum)[3,5,6,9]; Theatre[2,4]		28 ha[7,8,11]

[1] AE 1996, 835
[2] CILA II, 167
[3] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[4] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 446.
[5] Fear (1996), 173.
[6] Keay (1998b).
[7] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[8] Keay (1998a).
[9] Rodríguez Oliva (1994).
[10] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1004.
[11] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[12] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Ceret	Jérez de la Frontera	305
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
Amphitheatre?[3,4]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1305
[2] CIL II 1306
[3] CIL II 1305
[4] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 60.

Chao Samartín	Chao Samartín	347
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

The *castro* of Chao Samartín might have been a central place in a self-governing community. This is based on the *domus* found within the castro (Montes 2015, 283). It has been linked with *Ocelum* (Ptol. II 6.22 Ὄκελον) by Villa Valdés, 13.

Cibilis	Cerro da Rocha Branca, Silves	240
Stat.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		8 ha[2]

[1] Plin. NH IV 118
[2] Varela Gomes (2002).

Cinna	Unlocated	237
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24

Self-governing community based on the stipendiary status in Pliny and the reference in Ptolemy (Ptol. II 6.71 Κίννα).

Cisimbrium	Lucena, Rute, Zambra	94
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[4,5,6]		Baetica
Public square (forum)[4]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 302
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 156.
[4] CIL II2/5, 294

[5] CIL II2/5, 291 [6] CIL II2/5, 292

Civitas Aravorum	Marialva	38
Stat.[1,2,3]		Lusitania
Baths[4]; Circuit wall[5]; Public square (forum)?[6]		5 ha[5]
[1] ERAE 161 [2] CIL II 429 [3] CIL II 760 [4] Alarcão (1988), 4/66. [5] Hourcade (2004), 234. [6] Vaz (2010).		

Civitas Baniensium	Mesquita	39
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 760 [2] CIL II 2399		

Civitas Coilarnorum	Cárquere, Lamego	44
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[3,4]		Lusitania
Public square (forum)[3,6]		4 ha[5]
[1] CIL II 760 [2] Plin. NH IV 118 [3] HEp 13, 2003/2004, 1036 [4] ILER 125 [5] Vaz (2010), 320. [6] Vaz (2010), 319.		

Civitas Lougeiorum	Unlocated	412
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] ZPE 117: 213–26.		

Civitas Luggonum	Beloncio?	157
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] IRPLe 310 [2] IRPLe 311		

Civitas Maggaviensium	Monte Cildá, Olleros de Pisuerga	334
Stat.[1]; Mag.[1]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	13 ha[2]	
[1] HEp 12, 2002, 363 [2] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Civitas Mirietanorum	Vilanova da Baronia	377
Stat.[1]	Lusitania	
(none)	15 ha	
[1] IRCP 229t		

Civitas Orgenomesci	Pembes?	418
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH IV 111		

Civitas Susarri	Bembibre	413
Stat.[1]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	(unknown)	
[1] HEp 11, 2001, 286		

Civitas Zoelarum	Castro de Avelâs	40
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[3,4]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	(unknown)	
1 CIL II 5684 2 Andreu Pintado (2004a), 147. 3 CIL II 2633 4 CIL II 2606		

Clunia	Peñalba de Castro	10
Stat.[2,3,4,5,17,19,24]; Coin.[22]; Trib.[1,20]; Mag.[1,6,7,8,9]	Hispania Citerior	
Baths[15]; Public square (forum)[10,15]; Theatre[11,12,15]	70 ha[13,14,16,18,21,23]	
[1] CIL II 278 [2] Plin. NH III 27 [3] AE 1971, 204 [4] CIL II 2780 [5] Ptol. II 6.55 [6] HEp 5, 1995, 146b [7] VM 163:7-8 [8] VM 163:2-5 [9] CIL II 2822 [10] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [11] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139. [12] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445. [13] Palol (1978). [14] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [15] Mierse (1999). [16] Palol (1991), 19. [17] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161. [18] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104. [19] Salmon (1969), 164. [20] Martino García (2004), 254. [21] Taracena (2007 [1949]), 2043 [441]. [22] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 139. [23] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74. [24] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Cobelcorum	Almofala	385
Stat.[1]		Lusitania
Public square (forum)[2]		(unknown)
[1] HEp 8, 1998, 601 [2] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 221.		

Cohors I Celtiberorum	Cidadela	369
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		2.31 ha
Measured area based on satellite image. Garrison settlement.		

Cohors IV Gallorum	Castrócalbon	396
(none)	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	4 ha[1]	
1 TIR K-29, p. 42		
Garrison settlement.		

Collippo	S. Sebastião do Freixo	96
Stat.[1,2,3,4]; Trib.[1,3,5]; Mag.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		6 ha[6]
1 CIL II 5232 2 CIL II 353 3 McElderry (1918), 73. 4 Andreu Pintado (2004c), 167. 5 Andreu Pintado (2004c). 6 Bernardes (2010), 116.		

Complutum	Alcalá de Henares	97
Stat.[1,9]; Trib.[10]; Mag.[2,3]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[7,8]; Public square (forum)[7]; Theatre?[4]		50 ha[5,6,11]
1 Plin. NH III 24 2 CIL II 4199 3 CIL II 3033 4 Azcárraga Cámara and Ruiz-Taboada (2012-2013). 5 Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995), 212. 6 Carreras Monfort (1996). 7 Rascón Marqués and Méndez Madariaga (1994), 348. 8 Rascón Marqués and Sánches Montes (2010), 341. 9 Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151. 10 Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129. 11 Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Concordia	Unlocated	336
Stat.[1,2]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)
1 Plin. NH IV 118 2 Alarcão (1990).		

Confluentia	Duratón, Paredes de los Mercados	186
Stat.[1,2,3]; Trib.[4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		50 ha[5]
1 HEp 6, 1996, 855 2 Hoyo (1995). 3 Andreu Pintado (2004c). 4 Andreu Pintado (2004c), 150. 5 Martínez Caballero (2010), 160.		

Conimbriga	Condeixa-a-Velha POR	98
Stat.[1,2,9]; Trib.[10]; Mag.[3]		Lusitania
Amphitheatre[7,15,18]; Aqueduct[14]; Baths[16]; Circuit wall[19]; Public square (forum)[4,6,8]; Theatre?[5]		22 ha[11,12,13,17]

[1] RAP 211
[2] FE 98, 444
[3] FE 98, 444
[4] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[5] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 277.
[6] Mierse (1999), 95.
[7] Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010), 233.
[8] Alarcão (1988), 3/172.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 167.
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 133.
[11] Hourcade (2004), 231.
[12] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[13] Pinheiro Blot (2003), 210.
[14] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 512.
[15] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[16] Nielsen (1993), C 115, C 6, C 7, C 8.
[17] Carreras Monfort (2014), 73.
[18] Man (2009), 746.
[19] Man (2009), 745.

Conobaria	Cerro de las Vacas (Lebrija)	99
Stat.[1,3]; Trib.[3]		Baetica
(none)		2.5 ha[2]

[1] AE 1955, 42
[2] Keay (1998a).
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.

Consabura	Consuegra	100
Stat.[1,2,5]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[6]; Circus[3]		30 ha[4,7]

[1] CIL II 4211
[2] Plin. NH III 25
[3] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 279.
[4] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.
[6] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 542.
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Contrebia Belaisca	Botorrita	393
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		5 ha[3]

[1] Ravenn. 310.12
[2] HEp 3, 1993, 414
[3] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Important pre-Roman settlement known for the Bronzes of Botorrita.
HEp 3, 1993, 414 related to Contrebia Belaisca reads Munic(ipium) Elaisio(nensium?). In the Ravenna Cosmography it is referred to as *civitas*.

Contrebia Leucada	Inestrillas (Aguilar del Río Alhama)	392
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[1]		17 ha[2]

[1] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 103.
[2] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Contributa Ipsca	Cortijo de Iscar	42
Stat.[1,2,3]; Trib.[1,4]; Mag.[1,6,7]		Baetica
(none)		7.5 ha[5]

[1] CIL II2/5, 388
[2] CIL II2/5, 387
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.
[5] Carrilero Millán and López Medina (2006), 12.
[6] CIL II2/5, 391
[7] CIL II2/5, 389

Contributa Iulia Ugultunia	Los Cercos de La Dehesa de Los Castillejos	101
Stat.[2,9,11]; Trib.[1,9]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[6]; Baths?[8]; Circus[3,4]; Public square (forum)[7]		7 ha[5,10]

[1] CIL II 1029
[2] CIL II 1025
[3] CIL II 984
[4] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 279.
[5] Mateos Cruz *et al.* (2014), 122.
[6] Pizzo *et al.* (2016), 254.
[7] Pizzo *et al.* (2016), 259.
[8] Pizzo *et al.* (2016), 268.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161.
[10] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[11] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Corduba	Córdoba	11
Stat.[3,4,5,6,11,28,30,47]; Coin.[41]; Trib.[1,2,45]; Mag.[2,7,8]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[5,12,13,20,33,39,44]; Aqueduct[2,15,21,25,43]; Baths[16,35]; Circuit wall[26,36]; Circus[5,12,23,34]; Public square (forum)[9,14,18,21,24,27]; Theatre[10,12,18,21,37,42]		90 ha[17,19,21,22,29,31,32,38,40,46]

[1] CIL II2/5, 257
[2] CIL II2/7, 218
[3] Plin. NH III 10
[4] Str. III, 2, 1
[5] CIL II2/7, 221
[6] CIL II2/7, 228
[7] CIL II 5525
[8] CIL II 2225
[9] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[10] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 142.
[11] Bandelli (2002), 108.
[12] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[13] Fear (1996), 199.
[14] Fear (1996), 171.
[15] Fear (1996), 335.
[16] Fear (1996).
[17] Hanson (2016), 340.
[18] Keay (1998b).
[19] Ventura *et al.* (1995).
[20] Brassous (2015), 278.
[21] Ventura *et al.* (1998).
[22] Dupré i Raventós (2004a), 39.
[23] Dupré i Raventós (2004a), 48.
[24] Dupré i Raventós (2004a), 56.
[25] Dupré i Raventós (2004a), 46.

[26] Dupré i Raventós (2004a).
[27] Mierse (1999).
[28] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[29] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[30] Salmon (1969), 164.
[31] Vaquerizo (2010), 457.
[32] Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010), 457.
[33] Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010), 477.
[34] Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010), 471.
[35] Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010), 467.
[36] Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010).
[37] Bernal Casasola and Lara Medina (2012), 453.
[38] León (2008).
[39] Diarte Blasco (2012), 136.
[40] Taracena (2007 [1949]).
[41] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 86.
[42] Ramallo Asensio (2002), 117.
[43] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1010, ID 1, ID 541.
[44] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[45] González (1989b).
[46] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.
[47] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.

Corticata	Cortegana	140
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CILA, II 340 [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.		
The location of a fragment of the Lex Flavia municipalis, however, the fragment does not mention a name. The place is also referred to by Ptolemy (II 4.10 Κορτίκατα).		

Andreu lists it as a doubted flavian municipium.		

Cortijo del Tajo	Teba	340
Trib.[1,2,3,4,5]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II2/5, 854 [2] CIL II2/5, 857 [3] CIL II2/5, 856 [4] CIL II2/5, 858 [5] CIL II2/5, 859		

Cortona	Salinas de Medinaceli	241
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 24		

Cumbres Mayores	Cumbres Mayores	102
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] HEp 7, 1997, 347 [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.		

Curiga	Monesterio	103
Stat.[2,3,4]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[3]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1042
[2] CIL II 1041
[3] CIL II 1040
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 185.

Dactonium	Castillós, Monforte de Lemos	523
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		3 ha[1]
[1] Pérez Losada (2002), 287, 330.		
Posible central place of the *Lemavi*. *Lemavi* are mentioned as one of the *populi* by Pliny (NH III 28). Ptolemy mentions *Dactonium* as the *polis* of the *Lemavi* (II 6.25).		

Damania	Domeño, La Muela, Hinojosa de Jarque	264
Stat.[2,3,4]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148. [2] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [3] Plin. NH III 24 [4] CIL II 4249		

Deobriga	Miranda de Ebro, Puentelarrá	398
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		26 ha[1]
[1] Carreras Monfort (2014).		
Possible self-governing community based on the references in Ptolemy (II 6.52 Δεόβριγα) and the itineraries (Itin. Ant. 454.7, Ravenn. 318.8), in combination with the size.		

Dertosa	Tortosa	12
Stat.[1,2,3,5,6]; Coin.[4]; Mag.[7,8,9,10,11,12]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		15 ha
[1] Plin. NH III 23 [2] CIL II2/14, 786 [3] Salmon (1969), 164. [4] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 101. [5] Le Roux (2014f), 627. [6] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [7] CIL II2/14, 794 [8] CIL II2/14, 795 [9] CIL II2/14, 796 [10] CIL II2/14, 792 [11] CIL II2/14, 791 [12] CIL II2/14, 788		

Detumo	Posadas	349
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Possibly self-governing based on the reference in Pliny (NH III 10) and Ptolemy (II 4,9: Δητοῦνδα).
Stylow (1995) considers it a *civitas*.

Dianium	Denia	104
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,10]; Mag.[2,3,4,5,6,7,8]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		6.5 ha[9]

[1] Plin. NH III 20, 24
[2] CIL II 3582
[3] CIL II 3583
[4] CIL II 3584
[5] CIL II 3580
[6] CIL II 3598
[7] CIL II 5962
[8] CIL II 3592
[9] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[10] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Ebora	Évora	105
Stat.[1,2,3,9,10,18,22]; Coin.[16]; Mag.[4]		Lusitania
Amphitheatre[12,20]; Aqueduct[19]; Baths?[7,14]; Circuit wall[21]; Public square (forum)[5,13]; Theatre[6,12,17]		18 ha[8,11,15]

[1] CIL II 114
[2] CIL II 115
[3] Plin. NH IV 117
[4] HEp 14, 2005, 439
[5] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[6] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 140.
[7] Reis (2014b), 239ff.
[8] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[9] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 164.
[10] Osland (2006), 19.
[11] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[12] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 224.
[13] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 218.
[14] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 225.
[15] Le Roux (2014c), 182L.
[16] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 73.
[17] Sear (2006), 265.
[18] Galsterer (1971), 68.
[19] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 515.
[20] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[21] Borges Abel (2008), 16.
[22] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Ebura	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	368
(none)		Baetica
(none)		7 ha[1]

[1] Fatás Cabeza (1990b).

Considered a self-governing based on the multitude of literary references: Ptol.II 4.10 Ἔβορα; Str. III 1.9 πόλις Ἔβοῦρα; St. Byz. p. 37 Αἴβουρα πόλις; Plin. NH III 10; Mela III 4.

Eburobrittium	Óbidos?	265
Mag.[1]		Lusitania
Baths[4]; Public square (forum)[3]		4 ha[2]

[1] AE 1936, 106
[2] Reis (2014b), 303.

[3] Reis (2014b), 305.
[4] Reis (2014b), 307.

Ebusus	Eivisa (Ibiza)	107
Stat.[1,2,3,8]; Coin.[10]; Trib.[9]; Mag.[4,5,6]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[2,7]; Public square (forum)[7]		21 ha[7]

[1] Plin. NH III 76
[2] CIL II 3663
[3] CIL II 3664
[4] CIL II 3662
[5] CIL II 3661
[6] CIL II 3660
[7] Ramon Torres (2004).
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129.
[10] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 144.

Edeba	Tor-renueva	266
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] HEp 14, 2005, 363
[2] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Edeta	Lliria	108
Stat.[1,2,3,15]; Trib.[12]; Mag.[4,5,6,7,8,9,10]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[11]		10 ha[13,14]

[1] Plin. NH III 23
[2] CIL II2/14, 1171
[3] CIL II2/14, 136
[4] CIL II2/14, 133
[5] CIL II2/14, 135
[6] CIL II2/14, 1171
[7] CIL II2/14, 132
[8] CIL II2/14, 134
[9] CIL II2/14, 131
[10] CIL II2/14, 137
[11] Jiménez Salvador (2004).
[12] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.
[13] Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001), 181.
[14] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[15] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Egara	Terrassa	109
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[4,1,4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		6 ha

[1] CIL II 4494
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[4] CIL II 4495

Ege-lesta	Iniesta	410
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2]		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 25
[2] Mora (1981), no. 24.

Elbocoris?	Bobadela	110

Stat.[1,2,6]	Lusitania
Amphitheatre[4,7,10]; Circuit wall?[9]; Public square (forum)[3,5,8,9]	20 ha[9]
[1] Plin. NH IV 118 [2] CIL II 401 [3] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [4] Alarcão (1988), 4/ 316. [5] Alarcão (1988), 4/316. [6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 167. [7] Diarte Blasco (2012), 76. [8] Diarte Blasco (2012). [9] Hourcade (2004), 229. [10] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.	
Elbocoris (Plin NH IV 118) has been linked with some reservations to Bobadela. The archaeological evidence belongs to Bobadela.	

Eliocroca	Lorca	269
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 25		

Emerita Augusta	Mérida	13
Stat.[1,2,3,4,32,33,48]; Coin.[43]; Trib.[47]; Mag.[3,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25]		Lusitania
Amphitheatre[27,28,37,40,46]; Aqueduct[35,45]; Baths[36,40]; Circuit wall[34]; Circus[27,40]; Public square (forum)[26,29,31,39]; Theatre[27,31,40,44]		80 ha[30,38,41,42]

[1] Plin. NH IV 117
[2] AE 1952, 49
[3] ERAE 94
[4] ERAE 171
[5] HEp 4, 1994, 162
[6] ERAE 543
[7] ILER 6398
[8] AE 1971, 144
[9] HEp 5, 1995, 94
[10] ERAE 96
[11] HEp 18 2009, 42
[12] ERAE 95
[13] HEp 4, 1994, 162 ERAE 592
[14] ERAE 145
[15] ERAE 95
[16] ERAE 110
[17] ERAE 112
[18] CIL II 493
[19] HEp 4 1994, 160
[20] HEp 4 1994, 162
[21] HEp 12 2002, 14
[22] ERAE 103
[23] ERAE 108
[24] HEp 19 2010, 17
[25] ERAE 98
[26] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[27] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 140.
[28] Fear (1996).
[29] Keay (1998b), note 81.
[30] García y Bellido (2009 [1966]), 247.
[31] Mierse (1999).
[32] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[33] Salmon (1969), 164.
[34] Mateos Cruz (2011).
[35] Márquez (2010), 148.
[36] Márquez (2010), 149.
[37] Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010), 233.
[38] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), fig. 245.

[39] Mateos Cruz (2001), 190.
[40] Mélida (1929).
[41] Hourcade (2004), 227.
[42] Taracena (2007 [1949]), 427.
[43] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 69.
[44] Sear (2006).
[45] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 557, ID 8, ID 9.
[46] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[47] González (1989b).
[48] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.

Emporiae	Empúries	111
Stat.[1,2,3,4,15,16]; Coin.[12]; Mag.[17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[5,6,9,13,14]; Baths[9,10]; Circuit wall; Public square (forum)[9,10]		31 ha[7,8,9,11]

[1] Plin. NH III 22
[2] HEp 4, 1994, 404
[3] HEp 4, 1994, 374
[4] Plana Mallart and Pena Gimeno (1995-6), 89.
[5] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 138.
[6] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[7] Aquilué Abadias (2012).
[8] Sanmartí and Belarte (2001).
[9] Guitart i Duran (2004).
[10] Guitart i Duran (2010).
[11] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[12] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 105.
[13] Ramallo Asensio (2002), 233.
[14] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[15] Le Roux (2014f), 627.
[16] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[17] AE 1981, 561
[18] AE 1981, 562
[19] AE 1981, 563
[20] AE 1981, 564
[21] IRC III, 33
[22] IRC III, 41
[23] IRC III, 42
[24] IRC III, 46

Epora	Montoro	112
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1,3,4]		Baetica
(none)		7 ha[5]

[1] CIL II2/7, 139
[2] Plin. NH III 10
[3] CIL II2/7, 143
[4] CIL II2/7, 146
[5] Keay (1998b), 84.

Equaesi	Unlocated	434
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 28
[2] CIL II 2477

Ercavica	Castro de Santaver (Cañaveruelas)	113
Stat.[1,2,9,12,14]; Coin.[11]; Mag.[3,4,5,6,15,16]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[10]; Public square (forum)[7,8]		19 ha[10,13]

[1] HEp no. 24106.
[2] Plin. NH III 24.
[3] CIL II 4203.
[4] AE 1982, 618.
[5] HEp 2, 1990, 367.
[6] HEp 9, 1999, 304
[7] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[8] Rubio Rivera (2013), 176.
[9] Rubio Rivera (2013), 175.
[10] Fernandez Ortea (2017), 123.
[11] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 140.
[12] Vives y Escudero (1924c), 109.
[13] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.
[14] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[15] VM 162:5-6
[16] VM 162:8-11

Ficariensis Locus?	Mazarrón	306
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct?[3]; Baths[2]		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 3525 [2] Pavía Page (2016), 12. [3] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1125.		

Flavia Lambris	Lambre (Ambroa, Irixoa)	319
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 144.		
Possible Self-governing community based on the reference to the Flavians in the name (Ptol. II 6.26 Φλαυία Λαμβρίς). Possibly the same as Lambriaca in Mela III 10.		

Flaviaugusta	Cerro del Milagro, Poza de la Sal	114
Stat.[1,3]; Trib.[1,4]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct?[6]; Baths[5]; Public square (forum)[2]		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 4196 [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 150. [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c). [4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 130. [5] Martino García (2004). [6] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 563.		

Flaviobriga	Castro Urdiales	14
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct?[3]		10 ha
[1] Plin. NH IV 111 [2] Salmon (1969), 164. [3] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1198.		

Flavionavia	Santianes de Pravia	115
Stat.[1,3]; Mag.[2,4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Menéndez Bueyes (2001), 155.
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 150.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[4] ERAsturias 20

Flavium Brigantium	La Coruña	307
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths?[4]		7 ha[2,3]

[1] Oros. Hists. 1, 2 71 & 81
[2] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[3] Pérez Losada (2002), 124 and 303.
[4] Pérez Losada (2002), 128.

Forum Bibalorum	R. Búbal basin	302
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 2477 / 5616
[2] Plin. NH III 28

Chosen to enter the name of the *Forum* based on its occurance in Ptolemy (II 6.42 Φόρος Βιβαλῶν) as the *polis* of the *populus Bibali* (Plin. NH III 28).
Most likely a dispersed *civitas*.

Forum Gigurrorum	A Cigarrosa (A Rúa), A Proba	291
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Baths?[2]		7.5 ha[1]

[1] Pérez Losada (2002), 205.
[2] Pérez Losada (2002), 206.

Chosen to enter the name of the *Forum* based on its occurance in Ptolemy (II 6.37 Γιγουρρῶν Φόρος Γιγουρρῶν) as the polis of the populus *Gigurri* (Plin. NH III 28).
Most likely a dispersed *civitas*.
Also found in the itineraries (Ant. It 428.7; Ravenn. 320.8).

Forum Limicorum	Monte do Viso (Sarreaus), Nocelo da Pena, Xinzo de Limia	116
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6]; Trib.[7]; Mag.[10]		Hispania Citerior
Baths?[9]		5 ha[8]

[1] CIL II 2477
[2] CIL II 5616
[3] CIL II 2516
[4] CIL II 2517
[5] Plin. NH III 28
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129.
[8] Pérez Losada (2002), 219.
[9] Pérez Losada (2002), 216.
[10] CIL II 4215

Chosen to enter the name of the *Forum* based on its occurance in Ptolemy (II 6.43 Φόρος Λιμικῶν) as the polis of the *populus Limici* (Plin. NH III 28).
Most likely a dispersed *civitas*.
In the itineraries we find its statio *Gemestarium* (Ant. It 429.1).

Forum Narbasorum	Unlocated	428
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Uncertain wether *Forum Narbasorum* (Ptol. II 6.48 Φόρος Ναρβασῶν) was a self-governing community. Based on the other *Fora* it might have been the economic centre of a dispersed *civitas*.

Gades	Cádiz	15
Stat.[2,3,4,12,25,27]; Coin.[24]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[5,6,7,8,9,10]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[11,14,19]; Aqueduct[26]; Circuit wall[18]; Circus?[15]; Public square (forum)[20]; Theatre[11,13,18,21,23]		80 ha[16,17,18,22]

[1] CIL II 1726-9
[2] Plin. NH IV 119
[3] VM: 78.1-8
[4] CIL II 1313
[5] IRPCadiz 123
[6] IRPCadiz 346
[7] IRPCadiz 361
[8] IRPCadiz 127
[9] IRPCadiz 125
[10] IRPCadiz 126
[11] Cic. Fam. 10.32
[12] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.
[13] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 141.
[14] Fear (1996), 199.
[15] Fear (1996), 116.
[16] Keay (1998b).
[17] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[18] Bernal Casasola and Lara Medina (2012).
[19] Bernal Casasola and Lara Medina (2012), 404.
[20] Bernal Casasola and Lara Medina (2012), 440.
[21] Keay (1998a).
[22] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[23] Rodríguez Oliva (1994).
[24] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 81.
[25] Galsterer (1971), 17.
[26] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 534.
[27] Le Roux (2014f), 627.

Gallica Flavia	Fraga	308
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Cepas Palanca *et al.* (1997), 82.
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.

Possible self-governing community based on the reference to the Flavians in the name (Ptol. II 6.67 Γάλλικα Φλαουία).

Gella	Montealegre de Campos	420
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		49 ha[1]

[1] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995), 212.

Possibly self-governing based on the reference in Ptolemy (II 6,49: Γέλλα) and the itineraries (Ant.It 440.3; Ravenn. 318.7).

Its large size makes it a possible site for an urban settlement.

Gerunda	Girona	117
Stat.[1,2,3,8]; Mag.[4,5]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[6]; Public square (forum)[7]		6 ha[6]

[1] IRC III, 1
[2] IRC III, 2
[3] Plin. NH III 23
[4] IRC III, 3
[5] IRC III, 3
[6] Burch *et al.* (2000), 16.
[7] Burch *et al.* (2000), 15.
[8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Gracchurris	Eras de San Martín (Alfaro)	118
Stat.[1,2,6]; Coin.[1,6]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[4,5]		17 ha[7]

[1] VM IV 113:1-2
[2] Plin. NH III 24
[3] Galve *et al.* (2005), 196.
[4] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 890.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 292.
[6] Vives y Escudero (1924c), 113.
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Grallia	Unlocated	36
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 4244
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.
[4] CIL II 4244 = RIT 304

Guium	Ses Salines	119
Stat.[2,3]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.
[2] Plin. NH III 77
[3] CIL II 4218

Hasta Regia	Cortijo el Rosario, Mesas de Asta, Jérez de la Frontera	16
Stat.[2,3,5,7]; Trib.[1,9]		Baetica
(none)		41 ha[4,6,8]

[1] Hep 20 2011, 58
[2] Mela III 4
[3] Plin. NH III 11
[4] Keay (1998b), 84.
[5] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[6] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[7] Salmon (1969), 164.
[8] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[9] González (1989b).

Hispalis	Sevilla	17

Stat.[1,2,3,14,16,25]; Coin.[20]; Trib.[24]; Mag.[4,5,6,7,8]	Baetica
Amphitheatre?[13,23]; Aqueduct[22]; Baths[12,19]; Circus?[10]; Public square (forum)[11,19]; Theatre[9,21]	51 ha[15,17,18]

[1] CILA II, 28
[2] CILA II, 14
[3] Plin. NH III 11
[4] CILA II, 1220
[5] CILA II, 28
[6] CILA II, 20
[7] CILA II, 27
[8] CILA II, 24
[9] Philostr. *VA* 5.9
[10] Humphrey (1986).
[11] Fear (1996), 171, , 3.
[12] Fear (1996), 181.
[13] Beltrán Fortes *et al.* (2005), 77.
[14] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[15] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[16] Salmon (1969), 164.
[17] Escacena Carrasco and García Fernández (2012).
[18] González Acuña (2012).
[19] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 353.
[20] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 79.
[21] Sear (2006).
[22] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 571.
[23] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[24] González (1989b).
[25] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.

Iacca	Jaca	268
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[3]		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] HAE 971
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 292.

Iamo	Ciudadela?	121
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		5 ha[3]

[1] Plin. NH III 77
[2] CIL II 4538
[3] Zucca (1998).

Ibrona	Unlocated	255
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin NH III 15

Iesso	Guissona	310
Stat.[3,8]; Trib.[1,2]; Mag.[4]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[7]; Circuit wall[6]; Public square (forum)?[9]		18 ha[5,6]

[1] CIL II 4610
[2] CIL II 4463
[3] Plin. NH III 23
[4] CIL II 4452
[5] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[6] Guitart i Duran (2010), 17.
[7] Guitart i Duran (2010), 18.
[8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

[9] Possibly located at the church Santa Maria de Guissona

Iga-brum	Cabra	122
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[4,1]		Baetica
Aqueduct[3,5]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 308
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159.
[3] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1014.
[4] CIL II2/5, 311
[5] CIL II2/5, 316

Igaeditania	Idanha-a-Nova	41
Stat.[1,2,3,7]; Trib.[8]		Lusi-tania
Baths?[6]; Circuit wall[9]; Public square (forum)[4,5,10]		15 ha[9]

[1] RAP 484
[2] CIL II 760
[3] Plin. NH IV 118
[4] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[5] Carvalho (2009).
[6] Reis (2014b), 328.
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 167.
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 166.
[9] Hourcade (2004).
[10] Mantas (2009).

Ilerda	Lleida	123
Stat.[1,2,6,8,9,10]; Coin.[7]; Mag.[3,4]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[5]		23 ha

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] IRC II, 1
[3] CIL II 3010 (p LXXIX, 710, 940)
[4] IRC II, 3
[5] Andreu Pintado (2012b), 239.
[6] Guitart i Duran (2010).
[7] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 109.
[8] Galsterer (1971), 11.
[9] Le Roux (2014f), 627.
[10] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Iliberri	Granada	124
Stat.[2,10,13]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[1,3,4,5,6]		Baetica
Aqueduct[11]; Baths?[8]; Public square (forum)[7,9]		25 ha[12]

[1] CIL II2/5, 630
[2] CIL II2/5, 387
[3] CIL II2/5, 620
[4] CIL II 2070 (p 705, 882)
[5] ILPGr 32
[6] CILA IV, 2
[7] Fear (1996), 177.
[8] Fear (1996), 182.
[9] Ruiz Montes and Rodríguez Aguilera (2009).
[10] Galsterer (1971), 66.
[11] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 543.
[12] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[13] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Ilici	Alcudia de Elche	19
Stat.[1,2,3,8,10,11,14,15,17,19]; Coin.[13]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Hispania Citerior

Baths[6,7]; Public square (forum)[20]	9.8 ha[9,12,16,18]

[1] Plin. NH III19
[2] CIL II 3556
[3] CIL II 3557
[4] AE 1961, 99
[5] AE 1961, 99
[6] Pavía Page (2016), 9.
[7] Abad Casal (2004).
[8] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[9] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[10] Salmon (1969), 164.
[11] Márquez Villora (1999), 189.
[12] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[13] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 97.
[14] Villaronga (2004), 261.
[15] Galsterer (1971), 70.
[16] Aranegui Gascó (2011).
[17] Aranegui Gascó (2011), 13.
[18] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[19] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.
[20] CIL II 5952

Ilipa Magna	Alcalá del Río	125
Stat.[1,6]		Baetica
Baths[4]; Public square (forum)[4]		14 ha[2,3,5,7]

[1] CIL II 1192
[2] Keay (1998b).
[3] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[4] Rodríguez Gutiérrez *et al.* (2012), 686.
[5] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2012), 162, 74.
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[7] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).

Ilipoula	Niebla	386
Stat.[1]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[4]		Baetica
Aqueduct[2]; Circus?[4]		15.7 ha[3]

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[2] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1001.
[3] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[4] CIL II 954

Ilipula Magna	Loja?	267
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Possibly self-governing based on the reference in Ptolemy (II 4,10: Ἰλλιπουλα μεγάλη) when linked to Ilipula Laus in Pliny (NH III 10). Minted coins as Ilipula Halos (VM 107:161).
See also TIR J-30 p. 203.

Ilipula Minor	Cortijos de Repla, near Los Corrales, Lucena	126
Stat.[1,2,3,8,10,11,12]; Trib.[10]; Mag.[4,5]		Baetica
(none)		52.2 ha[6,7,9]

[1] CIL II 1470
[2] CIL II2/5.896
[3] Plin. NH III 12
[4] CIL II2/5, 897
[5] CIL II2/5, 896
[6] Keay (1998b), 84.

[7] Keay and Earl (2011).
[8] Bravo Castañeda (2007).
[9] Álvarez Martínez *et al.* (2001), 202.
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159.
[11] Morales Rodríguez (2000).
[12] Galsterer (1971).

Iliturgi	Cerro Máquiz, E Mengíbar	127
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5]		Baetica
Circus?[6]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/7, 31
[2] Jiménez (2011), 507.
[3] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 165.
[4] Galsterer (1971), 66.
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[6] CIL II2/7, 28

Iliturgicola	Cerro de las Cabezas? (Fuente-Tójar)	128
Stat.[2,3,8]; Trib.[1,9]; Mag.[1,3]		Baetica
Public square (forum)[4,5]		5 ha[6,7]

[1] CIL II2/5, 255
[2] HEp 7, 1997, 291
[3] CIL II2/5, 254
[4] CIL II 1649
[5] Fear (1996), 178.
[6] Keay (1998b).
[7] Keay and Earl (2011).
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 156.

Iluberis	Lumbier	242
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24

Ilugo	Santisteban del Puerto	129
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 3239
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.

Ilunum	Hellín	362
Trib.[3]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha[2]

[1] HEp 10, 2000, 2
[2] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.
[3] Pers. Comm. J.M. Abascal Palazon

Ilurco	Cerro de los Infantes	130
Stat.[5,9]; Trib.[1,5]; Mag.[2,3,4]		Baetica
Aqueduct[8]		13 ha[6,7]

[1] CIL II2/5, 670
[2] CIL II2/5, 678
[3] CIL II2/5, 681
[4] CIL II2/5, 679
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159.
[6] Keay (1998b).
[7] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).

[8] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 993. [9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Iluro Gaditanus	Alora (Málaga)	131
Stat.[1,2,3,5]; Trib.[4]; Mag.[1,6]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 1945 [2] CIL II 1946 [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164. [4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 132. [5] Galsterer (1971), 66. [6] CIL II 1947		

Iluro Tarraconensis	Mataró	132
Stat.[1,2,4,5]; Mag.[6,7,8]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[3,10]; Circuit wall[3]; Public square (forum)?[3,9]		7 ha[3]
[1] Plin. NH III 22 [2] Brunt (1971), 603. [3] Guitart i Duran (2010), 12. [4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [5] Revilla Calvo and Cela (2006), 93. [6] IRC I, 101 [7] IRC V, p. 23, 24 [8] IRC V, p 023, 24 [9] HEp 12, 2002, 58 [10] HEp 12, 2002, 59		

Ilursenses	Unlocated ethnonym	270
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 24		

Interamica	Castro da Cibdá de Arméa	414
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[3]		4.2 ha[4]
[1] HEp 3, 1993, 277 [2] CIL II 2477 [3] Mora (1981), no. 1. [4] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Interamna	Viseu	234
Stat.[1,2,3]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[6]; Public square (forum)[7]		12 ha[4,5,6]
[1] Plin. NH IV 118 [2] CIL II 2477 [3] CIL II 760 [4] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104. [5] Alarcão (1988), 4/160. [6] Hourcade (2004), 238. [7] Haba Quirós (1998), 321.		

Interamnium Flavium	Bembibre, Noceda del Bierzo, Xano de Arriba (Congosto)	311

Trib.[1]	Hispania Citerior
(none)	(unknown)
[1] HEp 20 2011, 389	
In addition to the tribe also found in Ptolemy (II 6,29: Ἰντεράμνιον Φλαούιον) and the itineraries (Itin. Ant. 429.3; Itin. Ant. 431.2; Ravenn. 320.11).	

Intercatia	Aguilar de Campos, Paredes de Nava, Villalan de Campos	333
Stat.[2]; Trib.[1,2]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		25 ha[3]
[1] CIL II 6093 [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129. [3] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Intercatia Vaccea	La Ciudad, Paredes de Nava	419
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		19 ha[2]
[1] Plin. NH III 26 [2] Abarquero Moras and Pérez Rodriguez (2010), 173.		

Ipagrum	Aguilar de la Frontera	344
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [2] CIL II2/5, 584 [3] CIL II2/5, 583		

Ipolcobulcola	Carcabuey	133
Stat.[1,2,5]; Trib.[6]; Mag.[3]		Baetica
Aqueduct[4,8]; Public square (forum)[7]		(unknown)
[1] CIL II2/5, 277 [2] CIL II2/5, 217 [3] CIL II2/5, 276 [4] Fear (1996), 188. [5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159. [6] Andreu Pintado (2004b), 347. [7] CIL II2/5, 276 [8] CIL II 1643		

Iponoba	Cerro de Minguillar, SE Baena	120
Stat.[1,3]		Baetica
(none)		4 ha[2,4,5]
[1] CIL II2/5, 366 [2] Keay (1998b), 84. [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 159. [4] Almagro-Gorbea (1987). [5] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Iporca	Constantina	134
Stat.[5]; Trib.[1,6]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
(none)		4.5 ha[4]

[1] CIL II2/7, 291
[2] CIL II 1046
[3] CIL II 1047
[4] Keay (1998b).
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c).

Iptuci	Cabeza de Hortales (Prado del Rey)	135
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[4]		Baetica
(none)		10.4 ha[3]

[1] Plin. NH III 15
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.
[3] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[4] IRPCadiz 503

Iria Flavia	Padrón	312
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		23 ha

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 147.

Irni	Cerro del Castillejo (El Saucejo)	136
Stat.[1,3]; Mag.[1]		Baetica

Aqueduct?[2]; Public square (forum)[1]	(unknown)

[1] Lex Irnitana
[2] Fear (1996), 188.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.

Ispalensis	Unlocated ethnonym	272
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.

Isturgi	Los Villares de Andújar	137
Stat.[1,2,4,7]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
Aqueduct[3]; Theatre[2,5]		7 ha[6]

[1] CIL II2/7, 60
[2] CIL II2/7, 56
[3] Fear (1996), 187.
[4] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 165.
[5] Sear (2006), 261.
[6] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[7] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Italica	Santiponce	20
Stat.[1,2,3,18,22,28,32]; Coin.[29]; Trib.[21]; Mag.[4,5,6]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[8,11,12,16,17,19,23,31]; Aqueduct[30]; Baths[14,16,19]; Circuit wall[24]; Circus?[9,10,11,13];		51 ha[15,17,24,25,26]

Public square (forum)[20]; Theatre[7,8,15,19,27]	

[1] Gellius NA, 16.13.4-5
[2] AE 1952, 121
[3] CILA II, 382
[4] ERItalica 49
[5] ERItalica 22a
[6] CILA II, 1220
[7] CIL II 1108
[8] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 142.
[9] Hidalgo Prieto (2003), 114.
[10] Canto (1986), 49.
[11] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[12] Fear (1996), 198.
[13] Fear (1996).
[14] Fear (1996), 181.
[15] Keay (1998b).
[16] Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay (1995).
[17] García y Bellido (2009 [1966]).
[18] Brunt (1971), 603.
[19] Mierse (1999).
[20] Mierse (1999), 289.
[21] González (1989c).
[22] Salmon (1969), 164.
[23] Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010), 233.
[24] Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez and Izquerido de Montes (2012).
[25] Edmondson (2006).
[26] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011).
[27] Rodríguez Oliva (1994).
[28] Curchin (1990), 14.
[29] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 77.
[30] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 546.
[31] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[32] Le Roux (2014f), 627.

Ituci	Tejada la Nueva	35
Stat.[1]; Mag.[3]		Baetica
(none)		5.6 ha[2]

[1] Jiménez (2011), 507.
[2] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[3] CIL II 1258

Ituci Virtus Iulia	Torreparedones	18
Stat.[1,8,9]; Mag.[2,3,4]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[7]; Public square (forum)[5,6,12]		30 ha[10,11]

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] CIL II2/5, 422
[3] CIL II2/5, 409
[4] CIL II2/5, 420
[5] HEp 18, 2009, 117
[6] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[7] Monterroso-Checa (2017).
[8] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[9] Salmon (1969), 164.
[10] Carrilero Millán and López Medina (2006).
[11] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[12] Merino (2015).

Iturissa	Auritzberri/Espinal, Auritz/Burguete	641
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall?[1]		4.5 ha[1]

[1] Garcia-Garcia *et al.* (2016), 247.

Self-governing based on the reference in Ptolemy (II 6,66: Ἰτούρισσα), the itineraries (Ant. It 455.6; Raven. 311.14) and the use as *origo* (HEp 17, 2007, 205).

Iulia Libica	Llivia	399
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)[2]		3 ha
[1] Plin. NH III 23 [2] Recently discovered forum see http://blogs.uab.cat/iulialibica/ (02-05-2018)		
Self-governing based on the reference in Pliny (NH III 23: Cerretani Iuliani) and Ptolemy (II 6,68: Ἰουλία Λίβυκα).		

Iulia Traducta	Algeciras	21
Stat.[1,2,3]; Coin.[5]		Baetica
(none)		12 ha[4]
[1] Plin. NH V 2 [2] Salmon (1969), 164. [3] García y Bellido (1959), 493. [4] Sabio González (2003), 286. [5] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 83.		

Iuliobriga	Retortillo (Reinosa)	138
Stat.[1,4]; Trib.[5]		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)[2,3]		20 ha[3,6,7]
[1] Plin. NH IV 111 [2] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [3] Ruiz Gutiérrez (2016), 129. [4] Andreu Pintado (2004c). [5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 130. [6] Almagro-Gorbea (1987). [7] Cepeda Ocampo *et al.* (2008), 320.		

Iulipa	Zalamea de la Serena	139
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1,3]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II2/7, 903 [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162. [3] CIL II2/7, 904		

Koliobriga	Castromão	332
Stat.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		1.6 ha[3]
[1] CIL II 2477 [2] Plin. NH III 28 [3] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Labitulosa	Cerro del Calvario (Puebla de Castro)	313
Stat.[2,3,4,6,7]; Trib.[1,6]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[5,8,9]; Public square (forum)[5,8]		12 ha[10]
[1] CIL II 3008 [2] CIL II 5837		

[3] HEp 6, 1996, 600
[4] Goffaux (2003), 147.
[5] Galve *et al.* (2005).
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[7] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[8] Oller Guzmán (2014), 95.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2012a).
[10] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Lacilbula	Cortijo de Clavijo, near Grazelema	43
Stat.[2]; Trib.[1,3]; Mag.[4,1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1342
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[4] CIL II 5409

Lacimurga	Cerro de Cogolludo? (Navalvillar de Pela)	141
Stat.[1,3]		Lusitania
Baths[2]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/7, 826
[2] Aguilar Sáenz *et al.* (1995), 42.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.

Lacippo	Alechipe, near Casares	273
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[3]		Baetica
Aqueduct[8]; Theatre[4]		15 ha[5,6,7,9]

[1] Plin. NH III 15
[2] CIL II 11936
[3] CIL II 1936
[4] Fear (1996), 183.
[5] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[6] Keay (1998a).
[7] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[8] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 999.
[9] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Lacobriga	Iglesia de Belén (Carrión de los Condes)	274
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		70 ha[2]

[1] Plin. NH III 26
[2] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Laelia	Cerro de las Cabezas, Sanlúcar la Mayor	275
Stat.[1,6]; Coin.[7]; Mag.[2,3]		Baetica
(none)		5 ha[4,5]

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] CILA II, 1014
[3] CIL II 1266
[4] Keay and Earl (2011), 306.
[5] Keay (1998a), 84.
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 156.
[7] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 75.

Laepia Regia	Unlocated	314
Stat.[1,2]	Baetica	
(none)	(unknown)	
[1] Plin. NH III 15 [2] Espinosa Espinosa (2013), 31.		

Laminium	Alhambra (CR), Fuenllana	142
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6]; Mag.[1,2]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	(unknown)	
[1] CIL II 3251 (p 949) [2] CILA III, 47 [3] CIL II 3252 [4] CILA III, 48 [5] Plin. NH III 25 [6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.		

Lancia	El Castro, Villasabariego	143
Stat.[3]; Trib.[4]; Mag.[1]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	44 ha[2,5,6]	
[1] CIL II 4223 [2] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c). [4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148. [5] Martino García (2004), 291. [6] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Lancia Oppidania	NW Cáceres province	144
Stat.[1,2]	Lusitania	
(none)	(unknown)	
[1] CIL II 760 [2] Plin. NH IV 118		

Lancia Transcudana	Teixoso area	145
Stat.[1,2]	Lusitania	
(none)	(unknown)	
[1] CIL II 760 [2] Plin. NH IV 118		

Langobriga Turduli Veteres	Fiães, Monte de S. Maria/Redondo	327
(none)	Lusitania	
(none)	(unknown)	
The capital of the *Turduli Veteres* (Plin. NH IV 113; AE 1983, 476). Alarcão (2004: p. 328) states with some reservation that *Langobriga* would have been the capital. Terminus between *Turduli Veteres* and *Talabriga* indicates they had their own territories. See: D. Fernando de Almeida, "Terminus Augustalis entre Talábriga e Langóbriga", *OAP* - N. s., vol. 2 (1953), p. 209-212.		

Lansbrica	San Cibrán de Lás?	404
Stat.[1,3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		9 ha[2,4]
[1] Hyd. chron. 253 [2] Álvarez González *et al.* (2017). [3] Balil Illana *et al.* (1991), 64. [4] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Lascuta	near Alcalá de los Gazules	276
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		15 ha[3]
[1] CIL II 5119 [2] Plin. NH III 155 [3] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Lassira	Moleta dels Frares (El Forcall)	146
Stat.[1,5]; Trib.[3]		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)[2]		8 ha[2,4]
[1] CIL II 4052 [2] Jiménez Salvador (2004). [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148. [4] Aranegui Gascó (2011). [5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Lastigi	Aznalcóllar?	277
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 125 [2] VM: 104		

Legio VII Gemina	León	363
Trib.		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[1]; Aqueduct[3]; Circuit wall		20 ha[2]
1 Morillo Cerdán (2012), 234. 2 Le Roux (2014c), 182. 3 Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 547.		
Garrison settlement.		

Leonica	Poyo del Cid (Teruel)	315
Stat.[1,3,4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha[2]
[1] Plin. NH III 24 [2] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [3] Beltrán Lloris (2004), 75. [4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Libia	Colina de las Sernas (Herramélluri)	278
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24
One of the stipeniary towns found in Pliny. Mentioned by Ptol. (II 6.54 Ὀλίβα) and Itin.Ant. 394.2.

Libisosa	Lezuza	22
Stat.[2,3,7,8,9]; Trib.[1,5]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)[4]		8 ha[6]
[1] CIL II 4254 [2] CIL II 3234 [3] Plin. NH III 25 [4] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [5] Carrasco Serrano (2004), 118. [6] Uroz Sáez (2012), 89. [7] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161. [8] Salmon (1969), 164. [9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.		

Lucentum	Alicante	147
Stat.[1,2,6,11]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[3,4,5]; Public square (forum)[5]		5 ha[7,8,9,10]
[1] Plin. NH III 20 [2] CIL II 5958 [3] IRPA 2 [4] Pavía Page (2016), 10. [5] Abad Casal (2004). [6] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 165. [7] Carreras Monfort (1996). [8] Almagro-Gorbea (1987). [9] Aranegui Gascó (2011). [10] Carreras Monfort (2014). [11] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Lucurgentum	Morón de la Frontera	373
Stat.[4]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Baths[1]; Circus[2]; Theatre[1]		7 ha[3]
[1] CILA II, 1209 [2] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 279. [3] Keay (1998b). [4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 76.		

Lucus Augusti	Lugo	148
Stat.[14,19]; Trib.[14]; Mag.[1,2,3]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[5,8,11]; Aqueduct[13,18]; Baths[6]; Circuit wall[10]; Public square (forum)[4,12]		35 ha[9,10,15,16,17]
[1] CIL II 2585 [2] HEp 15, 2006, 341 [3] CIL II 2582 [4] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [5] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 278. [6] González Soutelo (2012), 82. [7] Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán (2003). [8] González Fernández and Cearreño Gascón (1998), 1185. [9] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107. [10] Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012), 300. [11] Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012), 313.		

[12] Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012), 302.
[13] Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012).
[14] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 147.
[15] Pérez Losada (2002), 85.
[16] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[17] Taracena (2007 [1949]).
[18] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 828.
[19] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Maenuba	Vélez-Málaga	395
(none)		Baetica
(none)		5 ha[1]

[1] Carreras Monfort (2014).

City of unknown status but certainly self-governing based on the number of references in ancient sources:
Str. III 2.5; Mela II 94; Plin. NH III 8; Ptol. II 4.7 Μαίνοβα; Itin. Ant. 405.5; Ravenn. 305.5; Ravenn. 343.17 and St. Byz. Μαινόβορα.
Location unceratian, certainly at the coast.

Mago	Mahón, Maó	149
Stat.[1,2,3,4,8]; Trib.[9]; Mag.[1,2,3]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall; Public square (forum)?[5]; Theatre?[6,7]		16 ha[7]

[1] CIL II 3710
[2] CIL II 3708
[3] CIL II 3709
[4] Plin. NH III 77
[5] CIL II 6001b
[6] CIL II 6001
[7] Orfila Pons and Riera Rullan (2004).
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.

Malaca	Málaga	150
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6,14]; Trib.[15]; Mag.[5,7,8]		Baetica
Baths[10,13]; Public square (forum)[12]; Theatre[9,12,16]		25 ha[11,17]

[1] Plin. NH III 8
[2] Lex Flavia Malacitana
[3] CIL II 1969
[4] CIL II 1970
[5] Lex Flavia Malacitana
[6] CIL II 1973
[7] CIL II 1967
[8] CIL II 1971
[9] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 141.
[10] Fear (1996), 184.
[11] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[12] Corrales Aquilar and Corrales Aquilar (2012), 374.
[13] Corrales Aquilar and Corrales Aquilar (2012), 375.
[14] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.
[15] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.
[16] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 351.
[17] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Mantua	Perales de Milla?, Villamanta?	151
Stat.[1]; Trib.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 154.		
Mentioned by Ptol. (II 6.56 Μάντουα). A terminus (AE 1990, 580) is found between *Mantua* and *Complutum*, Cortés Barcena (2013) p. 103 argues this would have been the result of the grant of *ius Latii* and the promotion of *Mantua* and *Complutum* to *Municipi Flavii*.		

Marruca	Cerro de la Zarzuela	279
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 12		
Possibly the capital of the *civitas* located at Montilla according to Stylow.		

Maxilua	Unlocated	811
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH XXXV 170		
Pliny mentions it as a *civitas*. Also found in Ptol. (II 4.10 Μαξιλούα).		

Meidubriga	Castro de Ranhados, Castro de S, Jurjo	152
Stat.[1,2]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 760 [2] Plin. NH IV 118		

Mellaria Cordubensis	Cerro de Masatrigo, Fuente Obejuna	153
Stat.[1, 9]; Trib.[1,10]; Mag.[2,3,1]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[8]; Aqueduct[4,11]		26 ha
[1] CIL II2/7, 801 [2] CIL II2/7, 798 [3] CIL II2/7, 799 [4] CIL II 2343 [5] CIDER 1977, p. 198, nº 83 [6] AE 1987, 538 [7] AE 1992, 982 [8] Monterroso-Checa (2017). [9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162. [10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129. [11] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 963.		

Mellaria Gaditanus	Valdevaca	403
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
City of unknown status but certainly self-governing based on the number of references in ancient sources: Ptol. II 4.6 (Μενραλία); Str. III 1.8; Marcian. Peripl. II.9; Plin. NH III 7; Mela II 96; Itin. Ant. 407.2; Ravenn. 305.14; Ravenn. 344.8.		

Menosca	Orio, Zarautz, Zumaya	425
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
Mentioned by Pliny (NH IV 110) and Ptolemy (II 6.9 Μηνόσκα). Location uncertain. Zarauts seems to be the concensus.		

Mentesa Bastia	La Guardia de Jaén	317
Stat.[1,8]; Mag.[2,3,4,5,6]		Baetica
(none)		10 ha[7]
[1] Plin. NH III 25 [2] CIL II2/5, 3 [3] CIL II2/5, 4 [4] CIL II2/5, 10 [5] CIL II2/5, 7 [6] CIL II2/5, 6 [7] Carreras Monfort (2014). [8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Mentesa Oretana	Villanueva de la Fuente	154
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 25 [2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 154. [3] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [4] CIL II 3236		

Metellinum	Medellín	23
Stat.[1,6,7,9,13,15]; Mag.[2,3]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[10]; Theatre[4,8,14]		20 ha[5,11]
[1] Plin. NH IV 117 [2] HEp 5, 1995, 94 [3] CIL II 610 [4] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 140. [5] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995). [6] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161. [7] Salmon (1969), 164. [8] Mateos Cruz (2011). [9] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 205. [10] Hourcade (2004), 234. [11] Haba Quirós (1998), 278. [12] Haba Quirós (1998). [13] Haba Quirós (1998), 408. [14] Sear (2006), 265. [15] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 62.		

Mirobriga Celticorum	Santiago do Cacém	155
Stat.[1,2,10]; Trib.[11]; Mag.[3]		Lusitania
Baths[6,8,14]; Circuit wall[13]; Circus[9]; Public square (forum)[4,5,7]		17 ha[9,12]
[1] CIL II 25 [2] Plin. NH IV 118 [3] CIL II 25 [4] Romero Novella (2014a), 169. [5] Barata (2009), 212. [6] Reis (2014b), 198, 204. [7] Mierse (1999). [8] Mierse (1999), 288.		

[9] Biers (1988).
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[11] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 166.
[12] Hourcade (2004), 236.
[13] Hourcade (2004), 235.
[14] Nielsen (1993), C 119.

Mirobriga Regina	Cerro del Cabezo (Capilla)	156
Stat.[1,2,5]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
Circus[3,4]		4 ha[6]

[1] CIL II2/7, 852
[2] CIL II2/7, 853
[3] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 142.
[4] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.
[6] Barata (1998), footnote 141.

Mirobriga Vettonum	Ciudad Rodrigo	360
(none)		Lusitania
Aqueduct[2]		5 ha[1]

[1] Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001), 258.
[2] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 540.

The relation between *Mirobrtiga Vettones* and Ciudad Rodrigo has been based on the location of the *termini* CIL II 857-858. The little Roman finds in Ciudad Rodrigo do not support a roman *oppidum*, rather a *vicus* according to Hernadez & Jiménez (2000) p. 257ss.
It is without doubt that *Mirobriga Vettonum* was self-governig based on the *termini*.

Monturque	Monturque	213
Stat.[2]		Baetica
(none)		1 ha[1]

[1] Keay (1998b).
[2] Morales Rodríguez (2000), 315.

Morana	Morana	346
(none)		Baetica
Circuit wall?[1]		(unknown)

[1] TIR J-30 p. 242.

Morana is a *civitas* acording to the map by Stylow (1995).
TIR J-30 p. 242 mentions a fortified settlement with mining activity.

Munda	Cerro de las Camorras? (Santaella)	24
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		43 ha[2]

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] Keay (1998b).

Left out of the analysis as it was destroyed in the Civil War Plin. *NH* III 12 *inter quae fuit Munda, cum Pompeio filio rapta.*

Municipium Flavium V(...)	Azuaga	158
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,8]; Trib.[6]; Mag.[1,2,3,4,9]		Baetica

(none)	5 ha[7]

[1] CIL II2/7, 887
[2] CIL II2/7, 887a
[3] CIL II2/7, 888
[4] CIL II2/7, 890
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 157.
[7] Berrocal-Rangel (1998), 136.
[8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[9] CIL II2/7, 895

Municipium Lunense	Alcalá la Real	106
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[2,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 217
[2] CIL II2/5, 218
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.

Munigua	Villanueva del Río y Minas	159
Stat.[1,2,3,4,18]; Trib.[19]; Mag.[1,2,3,4,5]		Baetica
Baths[10,13]; Circuit wall[16]; Public square (forum)[7,9,13,14,17]; Theatre[6,8]		4.5 ha[11,12,13,15,20]

[1] CILA II, 1055
[2] CIL II 1051
[3] CIL II 1049
[4] CIL II 1050
[5] CILA II, 1052
[6] CILA II, 1094
[7] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[8] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 446.
[9] Fear (1996), 177.
[10] Fear (1996), 182.
[11] Schattner *et al.* (2005), 254.
[12] Keay (1998b).
[13] San Martín Montilla and Schattner (2006).
[14] Mierse (1999).
[15] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[16] Schattner (2003).
[17] Keay (1998a).
[18] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[19] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.
[20] Le Roux (2014c), 182.

Murgi	near El Ejido?, W Almería, Punta de Salinas	160
Stat.[1,2,3,9]		Baetica
Baths[4,7]; Circus?[5,6]		5 ha[8]

[1] CIL II 5489
[2] AE 1911, 2
[3] IRAL 46
[4] CIL II 5489
[5] CIL II 5490
[6] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 279.
[7] Fear (1996), 185.
[8] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Myrtilis	Mértola	161
Stat.[3,4,7,11]; Trib.[1,2,8]; Mag.[5]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[9]; Public square (forum)[12]		9 ha[6,9,10]

[1] IRCP 110
[2] IRCP 407

[3] Plin. NH IV 118
[4] IRCP 7
[5] CIL II 15
[6] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[7] Osland (2006), 25.
[8] Osland (2006).
[9] Hourcade (2004), 236.
[10] Fraga da Silva (2007), 107.
[11] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[12] Torres e Oliveira (1987), 618.

Nabrissa	near Lebrija	280
Stat.[3]; Coin.[1]		Baetica
(none)		10 ha[2]

[1] VM: 28:1
[2] Caro Bellido (1986-7), 70.
[3] Alarcão *et al.* (1995), 114.

Naeva	Cantillana, near Seville	162
Stat.[1,9]; Trib.[10]; Mag.[1,2,3,4,5,6,7]		Baetica
Public square (forum)[8]		(unknown)

[1] CILA II, 271
[2] HAE 1027
[3] AE 1958, 39
[4] HEp 2, 1990, 624
[5] HEp 3, 1993, 336
[6] HEp 8, 1998, 396
[7] CIL II 4968,14
[8] Fear (1996), 179.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 163.
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 157.

Nemetobriga	A Quintá	550
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Mentioned in Ptolemy (II 6.36: Τειβούρων Νεμετόβριγα), found in Ant.It.428.6 and Ravenn. 320.7.

Possibly one of the dispersed *civitates* with a -briga as *polis* (cf. Pérez Losada (2002), 319).

Nertobriga	Calatorao	627
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[1]		(unknown)

[1] DARE http://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/places/24675

Nertobriga was an important Celtiberian *oppidum* minting its own coins between 100 and 70 BCE. It has continued as a settlement well into the V century. Due to its longevity I am inclined to take it as a continuous self-governing community. If it had been in decline from the republican period from an important *oppidum* to a villa in the imperial period, it most probably would not have lasted much longer.

Adding to the credibility of its self-governing status is the number of references in ancient sources: Ptol. II 6.57 Νερτόβριγα; Floro epit. I 33.10; App. *Iber.* 200, 204 & 213; Itin. Ant. 437.4, 439.2; Ravenn. 309.15.

The amphitheatre is mentioned in the DARE database, there is an elliptical structure to recognised in satellite images, however no publications have been found on this supposed amphitheatre.

Nertobriga Concordia Iulia	Fregenal de la Sierra	163
Stat.[1,4,5,7,8]		Baetica
Baths?[2]		7 ha[3,6]

[1] ERBC 36
[2] Fear (1996), 184.
[3] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[4] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 165.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.
[6] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[7] Le Roux (2014f), 627.
[8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Nescania	Cortijo de Escaña, near Valle de Abdalagís	164
Stat.[1,2,3,8]; Trib.[9]; Mag.[4,5,6]		Baetica
Public square (forum)[1,7]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 838
[2] CIL II2/5, 839
[3] CIL II2/5, 841
[4] CIL II2/5, 846
[5] CIL II2/5, 847
[6] CIL II2/5, 845
[7] Fear (1996), 179.
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 157.

Noega Ucesia	Campo Torres, 2.5 miles NW Gijón?, Ribadesella, Villaviciosa	318
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		2 ha[1,2]

[1] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[2] Almagro-Gorbea (1994), 66, note 24.

Noega and *Gigia* are located very close to each other, only this might have been two settlements working in tandem as the "capital" of a *civitas*. *Noega* chosen as the self-governing place based on the fact it is mentioned by Mela (III, 13) and Ptolemy (II 6.7 Νοίνα Οὐκεσία), *Gigia* only by Ptolemy (II 6.29 Γίγια).

Noouion	Noya	604
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Mentioned by both Pliny (IV 111 *Copori, oppidum Noeta*) and Ptolemy (II 6.21 Νοούιον). Possibly the 'capital of the *Copori*, at least belonging to these people.

Norba Caesarina	Cáceres	25
Stat.[1,2,3,5,7,10]; Trib.[9]; Mag.[11,12,13]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[6]		24 ha[4,8]

[1] Plin. NH IV 117
[2] CIL II 694
[3] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[4] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[5] Salmon (1969), 164.
[6] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 216.
[7] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 205.
[8] Taracena (2007 [1949]).
[9] González (1989b).
[10] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 62.
[11] CIL II 693
[12] CIL II 695
[13] HEp 4, 1994, 214

Nova Augusta	Lara de los Infantes?	165
Stat.[1]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[3,4,5,6,7]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 130.
[3] AE 1981, 553
[4] AE 1984, 568
[5] AE 1981, 552
[6] AE 1993, 1041
[7] AE 1993, 1041

Numantia	Cerro de la Muela (Garray)	166
Stat.[1,5]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[6]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[4]		11 ha[3]

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 130.
[3] Jimeno Martínez and Tabernero Galán (1996), 422, 7, 30.
[4] Jimeno Martínez and Tabernero Galán (1996), 427.
[5] Jimeno Martínez and Tabernero Galán (1996), 426.
[6] CIL II 2886

Oba	Jimena de la Frontera (Sierra de Ronda)	167
Stat.[1]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1330

Mentioned by Ptolemy (II 4.1 Ὄνοβα)

Obulco	Porcuna	168
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1,2,3,4,5]		Baetica
Amphitheatre		40 ha[6,7]

[1] CIL II2/7, 93
[2] CIL II2/7, 97
[3] CIL II2/7, 98
[4] CIL II2/7, 127
[5] CIL II2/7, 99
[6] Keay (1998b).
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014), 74.

Obulcula	La Monclova (Fuentes de Andalucía)	169
Stat.[1,7]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
Baths[3]		32.4 ha[4,5,6,8]

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] CIL II2/5, 1322
[3] Fear (1996), 183.
[4] Keay (1998b).
[5] Keay and Earl (2011).
[6] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.
[8] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Ocelum Duri	Zamora?	170
Stat.[2]; Trib.[1,4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		25.5 ha[3]

[1] CIL 2628
[2] Plin. NH IV 118
[3] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c).

Ocilis	Medinaceli	173
Stat.[4]; Trib.[1,5]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		20 ha[2,3,6]

[1] ERPSo, 71
[2] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[3] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 129.
[6] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Ocurri	Casas de S. Lucía (Ubrique)	171
Stat.[1,2,6]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
Aqueduct[4]; Baths[3]		30 ha[5]

[1] CIL II 1336
[2] CIL II 1337
[3] Álvarez Martínez *et al.* (2001), 252.
[4] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1005.
[5] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[6] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Oducia	Lora la Vieja, Tocina	172
Stat.[1,4]		Baetica
Baths[2]; Theatre?[6]		5 ha[3,5]

[1] CIL II2/5, 1330
[2] Fear (1996), 183.
[3] Keay and Earl (2011).
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.
[5] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[6] CIL II2/5, 1330

Oiasso	Irún	600
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		15 ha[1]

[1] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Found in multiple ancient sources: Plin. NH III 29 & IV 110 (Olarso); Str. III 4.10: Οἰασωνα; Ravv. 308.17; 318.2 (Ossaron) Ptolemy (II 3.10 Οἰασσω) refers specifically to Oiasso as a *polis*.
Must have been an important port settlement.

Olaurum	Cerro de Hachillo, near Lora de Estepa	345
Stat.[1]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		9.6 ha[2,3,4]

[1] ZPE 192, 201
[2] Keay (1998b).
[3] Keay and Earl (2011).
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Oleastrum Gaditanus	Unlocated	435
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15

Self-governing community based on the stipendiary status in Pliny and the reference in Ptolemy (Ptol. II 4.10 'Ολέαστρον).
Also found in Mela III 4.

Olisipo	Lisbon	174
Stat.[1,13]; Mag.[2,3,4,5,6]		Lusitania
Amphitheatre?[10]; Aqueduct[20]; Baths[11,15]; Circuit wall[7,16,17]; Circus[12]; Public square (forum)[15]; Theatre[8,9,15]		26 ha[14,18,19]

[1] Plin. NH IV 117
[2] CIL II 193
[3] CIL II 194
[4] CIL II 225
[5] CIL II 261
[6] CIL II 262
[7] Str. III 3.1
[8] CIL II 183
[9] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 140.
[10] Vasco de Melo Martins (2014).
[11] Reis (2014b), 261, 72.
[12] Osland (2006), 25.
[13] Osland (2006), 19.
[14] Carreras Monfort (1996), 104.
[15] Alarcão (1988), 5/273.
[16] Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011), 204.
[17] Hourcade (2004), 237.
[18] Fraga da Silva (2007), 107.
[19] Mantas (1990), 164.
[20] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 516.

Olontigi	Aznalcázar	281
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 12

Oningi	Casariche	175
Stat.[2,3]; Trib.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.
[2] Plin. NH III 12
[3] CIL II2/5, 930

Onoba Aestuaria	Huelva	26
Stat.[1,4,7]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
Aqueduct[3,5,11]		20.5 ha[6,8,9,10]

[1] Pecio Planier 4
[2] HEp 18, 2009, 165
[3] Campos Carrasco *et al.* (2010), 278.
[4] Campos Carrasco *et al.* (2010), 102.
[5] Fear (1996), 187.
[6] Keay (1998b).
[7] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[8] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[9] Campos Carrasco (2012).
[10] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[11] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 544.

Onuba Cordubensis	El Carpio	350
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Found in Pliny NH III 10 as an *oppidum* without specific privileges. According to Stylow (1995) a *civitas*. The Hispania Epigraphica database considers it a *municipium*.

Oretum	Granatula de Calatrava, Nuestra Señora de Zúqueca	176
Stat.[1,5]		Hispania Citerior
Circus?[2]		16.5 ha[3,4]

[1] Plin. NH III 25
[2] CIL II 3221
[3] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Orippo	Dos Hermanas, Torre de los Herberos	282
Stat.[3]		Baetica
Theatre[1]		8.5 ha[2]

[1] Fear (1996), 183.
[2] Keay (1998a).
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.

Osca	Huesca	177
Stat.[1,2,3,8]; Coin.[4]; Mag.[9]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[6]; Theatre[5]		16.5 ha[7]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Juste Arruga (2000), 94.
[3] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 165.
[4] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 114.
[5] Sear (2006), 268.
[6] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1349.
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[9] VM 136:6-137:11

Osca	Unlocated	738
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Possible self-governing community based on its appearance in Pliny (NH III 10) and Ptolemy (II 4.10 Ὄσκα)

Osicerda	El Palao (Alcañiz, Teruel)	178
Stat.[1,4,5]; Coin.[3]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] CIL II 4267
[3] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 142.
[4] Vives y Escudero (1924c), 101.
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Osqua	Cerro de León	62
Stat.[2,3]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL, II2/5, 739
[2] CIL II2/5, 736
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.

Osset	S. Juan de Aznalfarache? / Triana	179
Stat.[1,5]; Coin.[3]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Circuit wall[2]; Theatre[4,6]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1256
[2] Alarcão *et al.* (1995), 121.
[3] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 76.
[4] Sear (2006), 262.
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[6] CIL II 1255

Ossigi	Cerro Alcalá	348
Stat.[3,4]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 3350
[2] Curchin (1990).
[3] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[4] Jiménez Cobo (2003), 60.

Ossonoba	Faro	180
Stat.[1]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[6]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[4]; Public square (forum)?[3]		23 ha[5]

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 133.
[3] Bernardes (2012), 18.
[4] Hourcade (2004), 237.
[5] Fraga da Silva (2007), 107.
[6] CIL II 5141

Ostippo	Estepa	181
Stat.[1,2,8]; Trib.[9]; Mag.[1,3]		Baetica
Circus?[4]		13.5 ha[5,6,7]

[1] CIL II2/5, 959
[2] Plin. NH III 12
[3] CIL II2/5, 963
[4] CIL II2/5, 985
[5] Pérez (1981).
[6] Keay and Earl (2011), 306.
[7] Keay (1998a).
[8] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.
[9] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 157.

Ostur	Manzanilla	182
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.
[2] AE 1979, 348

Otobesa	Rubielos de Mora	382
Mag.[1,1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 3174

Paesuri	Cárquere	183
Stat.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 760

Palantia Vaccea	Palencia	184
Stat.[1,2,3]; Trib.[4]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		15 ha[5]

[1] CIL II 5763
[2] Plin. NH III 26
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c).
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[5] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Palma	Palma de Mallorca	185
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6,7,11,13]; Trib.[15]; Mag.[6,8,9]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[12]; Baths?[10,12]; Theatre?[12]		14 ha[14,16]

[1] Flor. I 43.2
[2] Liv. per. 60
[3] Oros. V 13.1
[4] Str. III 5.1
[5] Mela II 124.
[6] CIL II 4218
[7] Plin. NH III 77
[8] HEp 9, 1999, 237
[9] ILER 1387
[10] Pavía Page (2016), 11.
[11] Beltrán Lloris (2011), 141.
[12] Cau Ontiveros (2004).
[13] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[14] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[15] Galsterer (1971), 10.
[16] Carreras Monfort (2014), 75.

Pax Iulia	Beja	27
Stat.[1,2,3,11,13,19]; Coin.[18]; Mag.[3,4,5,6,7,8,9]		Lusitania
Baths[10,14]; Circuit wall[2,15]; Public square (forum)[14]		24 ha[12,15,16,17]

[1] Plin. NH IV 117
[2] HEp 2, 1990, 744
[3] CIL II 47
[4] CIL II 50
[5] CIL II 49
[6] CIL II 49
[7] CIL II 52
[8] CIL II 53
[9] IRCP 305
[10] Reis (2014b), 297.
[11] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.

[12] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[13] Salmon (1969), 164.
[14] Alarcão *et al.* (1995), 124.
[15] Hourcade (2004), 238.
[16] Barata (1998), footnote 141.
[17] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[18] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 74.
[19] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.

Petavonium	Rosinos de Vidriales	187
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2]		5 ha[1]

1 Carreras Monfort (1996).
2 Jiménez and Hernández, 73.

Garrison settlement.
Mentioned by Ptol. (II 6.34 Σουπερατίων Πετανόνιον), Itin.Ant. 423.3 and Itin. Astorga 4.4.

Pintia	Padilla de Duero	372
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		25 ha[1,2]

[1] Olmo Martín (2006), 314.
[2] Olmo Martín (1998), 416.

Pisoraca	Herrera de Pisuerga	503
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		6 ha[1,2]

1 Pérez González (1998), 549, 51.
2 Carreras Monfort (2014).Carreras Monfort (2014).Carreras Monfort (2014).Carreras Monfort (2014).Carreras Monfort (2014).Carreras Monfort (2014).Carreras Monfort (2014).

Garrison settlement.

Poliba	Lerilla	361
(none)		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)

Self-govering community based on the *terminus* found (CIL II 5033) which gives Polibense or Polibedenses.
Cf. Cortés Bárcena (2013), no. 7-9; Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001), 256.

Pollentia	Alcudia de Polensa, on Mallorca Is.	188
Stat.[1,2,9,13,15]; Trib.[16]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[12]; Baths[12]; Public square (forum)[6,11,12]; Theatre[7,8,10]		18 ha[14]

[1] Mela II, 124
[2] Plin. NH III 77
[3] CIL II 3696
[4] CIL II 3697
[5] CIL II 3698
[6] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[7] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139.
[8] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.

[9] Beltrán Lloris (2011), 141.
[10] Orfila Pons and Cau Ontiveros (2004).
[11] Moranta Jaume (2004).
[12] Orfila Pons and Riera Rullan (2004).
[13] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[14] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[15] Marín Díaz (1988), 140.
[16] Galsterer (1971), 10.

Pompelo	Pamplona	189
Stat.[1,2,3,4,9,11]; Trib.[5]; Mag.[12,13]		Hispania Citerior
Baths?[8,10]; Circuit wall[7]; Public square (forum)[8,10]		12 ha[6,7]

[1] CIL II 2958
[2] CIL II 2960
[3] Plin. NH III 24
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.
[6] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[7] Mezquíriz Irujo (1998), 520.
[8] Mezquíriz Irujo (1998), 521.
[9] Galsterer (1971), 14.
[10] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 292.
[11] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[12] CIL II 4234
[13] CIL II 2959

Portus Blendium	Suances	603
Stat.[1]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	(unknown)	

[1] Plin. NH IV 111

Mentioned among the nine *civitates* of the *Cantabri* (Plin. NH IV 111). Also occurs in the Itin. Astorga 1.1-3.

Rauda	Hontangas, Roa de Duero	505
(none)	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	14 ha[1]	

[1] Martínez Caballero (2010), 160.

Possible the 'capital'of a self-governing community according to Martínez Caballero. Founf in Ptolemy (II 6.49 'Ραῦδα) and the Antonine Itinerary (Ant.It. 440,5).

Regina	Casas de Reina, Reina de Los Paredones	190
Stat.[1,2,3]	Baetica	
Amphitheatre[6]; Theatre[4]	7 ha[5]	

[1] Plin. NH III 15
[2] CIL II2/7, 976
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.
[4] Gorges and Rodríguez Martín (2004), 63.
[5] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[6] Pers. Comm. A. Monterosso.

Rhoda	Ciudadela de Rosas, Ciutatella de Roses	191
Stat.[1,3,4]	Hispania Citerior	
(none)	(unknown)	

[1] Ptol. II 6.19
[2] Aquilué Abadias *et al.* (2002).
[3] Pena (1993).
[4] Nolla (1993).

Ripa	Unlocated	408
Stat.[1]	Baetica	
(none)	(unknown)	

[1] Plin. NH III 10

Rubricatum	Rubí	421
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Mentioned by Ptolemy (II 6.74 'Ρουβρικάτα), Mela II 90 and the Itineraries (Raven. 304.3; 342.10).
TIR K-J 31 gives a ocupational range from V BCE to V CE based on ceramics found. some walls, a kiln and epigraphy has been found. The longevity and production of the settlement indicates its importance, possible self-governing community.

Sabetanum	La Rambla	343
Stat.[1]; Mag.[2]		Baetica
Circuit wall[2]		(unknown)

[1] Detlefsen (1870).
[2] CIL II2/5, 521

Sabora	Cerro de Sabora, near Cañete la Real	192
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[4]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 160.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.
[4] CIL II2/5, 871

Sacili	Alcorrucén	193
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/7, 197
[2] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166.
[3] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Saepo	Dehesa de la Fantasía, Cortes, Vejer de la Frontera, Cádiz	194
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[2,4]		Baetica
Public square (forum)[5]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1341
[2] HEp 2, 1990, 267
[3] CIL II 1339
[4] CIL II 1340
[5] Fear (1996), 179.

Saetabis	Játiva, Xátiva	195
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,7]; Mag.[3,8,9,10]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha[6]

[1] CIL II 4213
[2] Plin. NH III 25
[3] CIL II 3624
[4] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166.
[5] Morales Rodríguez (2000), 33.
[6] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[7] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[8] CIL II 3620
[9] CIL II 3623
[10] CIL II 3625

Saguntia	Baños de Gigonza (Paterna de Rivera)?	283
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15

Stipendiary *oppidum* mentioned by Pliny, also referred to by Ptolemy (II 4.10 Σαγουντία).

Saguntum	Sagunto	196
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,18,19,20,28,30]; Coin.[24]; Mag.[6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[26]; Circus[16,17,19,25]; Public square (forum)[14,15,19,21]; Theatre[16,17,19]		20 ha[22,23,27,29]

[1] Cic. Pro Balbo IX, 23
[2] CIL II2/14, 378
[3] CIL II2/14, 305
[4] Plin. NH III 20
[5] Plin. NH III 24
[6] CIL II2/14, 302
[7] CIL II2/14, 349
[8] CIL II2/14, 350
[9] CIL II2/14, 655
[10] CIL II2/14, 689
[11] CIL II2/14, 333
[12] CIL II2/14, 364
[13] CIL II2/14, 351
[14] CIL II2/14, 374
[15] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[16] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139.
[17] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[18] Aranegui Gascó (2004).
[19] Jiménez Salvador (2004).
[20] Brunt (1971), 603.
[21] Mierse (1999).
[22] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[23] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[24] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 99.
[25] Pascual Buyé (2001).
[26] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 568.
[27] Aranegui Gascó (2011).
[28] Aranegui Gascó (2011), 18.
[29] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[30] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Salacia	Alcácer do Sal	197
Stat.[1,10,12]; Coin.[10]; Trib.[9]; Mag.[2,3,4,5]		Lusitania
Aqueduct[11]; Public square (forum)?[8,9]		10 ha[6,7]

[1] Plin. NH IV 118
[2] IRCP 186
[3] CIL II 34
[4] CIL II 2479
[5] IRCP 188
[6] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[7] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[8] Alarcão *et al.* (1995), 137.
[9] Alarcão (1988), 5/357.
[10] Burnett *et al.* (2006), 8.
[11] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 510.
[12] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.

Salaria	Ubeda la Vieja	28
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6,9]; Trib.[7]; Mag.[8,10,11]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha

[1] CIL II 5093
[2] AE 2004, 811
[3] Plin. NH III 25
[4] Jiménez (2011), 507.
[5] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[6] Salmon (1969), 164.
[7] González (1989b).
[8] Gimeno Pascual (2004-2005), 183.
[9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 65.
[10] HEp 14, 2005, 192
[11] CIL II 3329

Salduba	Estepona	905
(none)		Baetica
Aqueduct[1]		(unknown)

[1] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1003.

Possible self-governing community based on the appearance in Pliny (NH III 8), Mela (II 94), Ravenn. (305.8) and Ptolemy (II 4.9 Σάλδουβα).

Salmantica	Salmantica	198
Stat.[1,3]; Mag.[4]		Lusitania
Circuit wall[2]		18 ha[2]

[1] Martino García (2004), 330.
[2] Hourcade (2004), 238.
[3] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[4] HEp 11, 2001, 395

Sal-pensa	Cortijo de la Co-ria (Utrera)	199
Stat.[1,2,3]; Trib.[4]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(un-known)

[1] CIL II 1286
[2] CIL II 1963
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.

Saltigi	Chinchilla	512
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Possible self-governing community based on it s reference in Ptolemy (II 6.60 Σάλτιγα) and the itineraries (Itin.Ant.

447.2; Ravenn. 313.13; Vicar. I, II, III, IV.). Also located at an important road crossing.

Sanisera	Sa Nitja	321
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		6 ha[2]

[1] Plin. NH III 77
[2] Measured after satellite image of the site

Santa Criz	Santa Criz de Eslava	429
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Public square (forum)[1,2]		(unknown)

[1] Romero Novella (2014a), 155.
[2] Romero Novella (2014b), 195.

Saudo	Sierra Gamaza (Arcos de la Frontera)?	284
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15

Stipendiary *oppidum*, also found in the Ravenna Cosmography 305.8.

Scallabis	Santarém	29
Stat.[2,3,4,5,6,9,12]; Trib.[1,11]; Mag.[13]		Lusitania
Baths[8]; Circuit wall?[10]		30 ha[7]

[1] CIL VIII 3812
[2] Plin. NH IV 117
[3] RAP 546
[4] HEp 20 2011, 712
[5] Ptol. II 5.6
[6] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[7] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[8] Arruda and Guerra (2002), 79.
[9] Salmon (1969), 164.
[10] Hourcade (2004), 238.
[11] González (1989b).
[12] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 62.
[13] AE 1999, 870

Segia	Ejea de los Caballeros	200
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.

Segida Augurina	La Saetilla? S Palma del Río	322
Stat.[5]; Mag.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		17 ha[3,4]

[1] CIL II2/5, 1296
[2] CIL II2/5, 1297
[3] Keay and Earl (2011).
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Segida Restituta Iulia	Burguillos del Cerro?	285

Stat.[4]; Mag.[1]	Baetica
Baths[1,2]; Circus?[1,2,3]	(unknown)

[1] CIL II 5354
[2] Fear (1996), 184.
[3] Keay (1988), 78.
[4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Segisama Iulia	Villadiego?	374
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Possible self-governing community based on the reference in Pliny (NH III 25 *populus*) and Ptolemy (II 6.49 Σεγισάμα Ἰουλία).

Segisamo	Sasamón	201
Stat.[1,4]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[6]; Theatre[2,4]; Baths[8]		3.5 ha[3,5,7]

[1] CIL II 5812
[2] Abásolo Álvarez (1998), 596.
[3] Abásolo Álvarez (1975), 135.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[5] Olmo Martín (1998), 335.
[6] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 569.
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014), 75.
[8] García Sanchéz (2018).

Segobriga	Saelices	202
Stat.[4,5,21]; Coin.[32]; Trib.[1,2,3]; Mag.[6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[17,18,21,23,25,34]; Aqueduct[33]; Baths[21,29]; Circus[26]; Public square (forum)[14,16,21,27]; Theatre[17,18,22,28,30]		10.5 ha[19,20,24,31]

[1] CIL II 4220
[2] CIL VI 2454
[3] CIL XXII 4536
[4] EE VIII 182
[5] Plin. NH III 25
[6] HEp 2, 1990, 382
[7] CIL II 3103
[8] CIL II 3104
[9] HEp 10, 2000, 296
[10] HEp 10, 2000, 297
[11] HEp 2, 1990, 382
[12] HEp 10, 2000, 302
[13] HEp 10, 2000, 303
[14] HEp 1, 1989, 334
[15] HEp 10, 2000, 210
[16] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[17] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139.
[18] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[19] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[20] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[21] Abascal Palazón *et al.* (2006).
[22] Abascal Palazón *et al.* (2006), 324.
[23] Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (2010), 233.
[24] Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010), 289.
[25] Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010), 294.
[26] Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010), 292-6.
[27] Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010), 297.
[28] Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010),

292.
[29] Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010).
[30] Diarte Blasco (2012), 205.
[31] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[32] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 142.
[33] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 567.
[34] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.

Segontia	Sigüenza	203
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[1,2,4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		21 ha

[1] CIL II 4195
[2] Abascal Palazón (1986), 219.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.
[4] Curchin (1990), 884.

Segontia Lanka	Langa de Duero	204
Stat.[3,7]; Trib.[1,2]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Hispania Citerior
Circuit wall[9]		35.7 ha[6,8]

[1] CIL II 2828
[2] CIL II 2830
[3] CIL II 2822
[4] CIL II 2820
[5] ERPSo 128
[6] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 208-9.
[7] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 147.
[8] Martínez Caballero (2010), 160.
[9] Martínez Caballero (2010).

Segovia Astigitanus	Isla del Castillo de Écija	205
Stat.[3]; Trib.[1,4]		Baetica
(none)		18.4 ha[2]

[1] CIL II 1166
[2] Keay and Earl (2011).
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.

Segovia Carpetania	Segovia	206
Stat.[1,3]; Trib.[4]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[5]		18.4 ha[2,6]

[1] AE 1997, 882
[2] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 130.
[5] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 570.
[6] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Sellium	Tomar	207
Stat.[1,4]		Lusitania
Public square (forum)[2,3,6]		28 ha[5]

[1] AE 1993, 881
[2] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[3] Alarcão (1988), 3/26.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 167.
[5] Barata (1998), footnote 141.
[6] Pinheiro Blot (2003), 258.

Seria Fama Iulia	Jérez de los Caballeros	208
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica

Baths[3]; Circus?[3]	(unknown)
[1] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166. [2] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [3] CIL II 5354	

Serippo	Puebla del Gastor, near Coripe	271
Coin.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 75.		
Mentioned by Pliny (NH III 14) as Serippo. Minted coins with the legend *Irippo* as a response to a visit by Augustus cf. Burnett (1992a).		

Sexi Firmum Iulium	Almuñécar	286
Stat.[4]; Trib.[1]		Baetica
Aqueduct[2,3]		(unknown)
[1] HEp 9, 1999, 367 [2] Fear (1996), 187. [3] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 526. [4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Siarum	La Torre del Aguila? S Utrera	209
Stat.[1,2,9]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[6,8]		11 ha[7]
[1] CIL II 1280 [2] CILA II, 931 [3] CIL II 1277b [4] CILA II, 1220 [5] CILA II, 935 [6] CILA II 946 [7] Hanson (2016), 351. [8] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59. [9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Sigarra	Els Prats de Rei	210
Stat.[1,2,3,4]; Mag.[1,5]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 4479 [2] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166. [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 153. [4] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67. [5] IRC I, 18		

Singili Barba	Cortijo del Castillón, 4 miles W Antequera	211
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[12]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Amphitheatre?[6]; Aqueduct[10]; Baths[1]; Circus?[3,4]; Public square (forum)[1,8]; Theatre[1,5,7,9]		38 ha[7,11]
[1] CIL II2/5, 789 [2] CIL II 5788		

[3] CIL II2/5, 785
[4] CIL II2/5, 816
[5] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 141.
[6] Brassous and Quevedo (2015), 278.
[7] Keay (1998b).
[8] Keay (1998a).
[9] Ramallo Asensio (2002), 117.
[10] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), 1000.
[11] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[12] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 158.

Sisapo	Los Castillejos de La Bienvenida	212
Stat.[1,5,9]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[2,3]		12 ha[4,6,7,8]

[1] HEp 20 2011, 66
[2] Zarzalejos Prieto *et al.* (2010).
[3] Zarzalejos Prieto and Fernández Ochoa (2011), 370.
[4] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[5] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166.
[6] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[7] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[8] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Solia	Nuestra Señora de las Tres Cruces	352
Stat.[1]		Baetica
Baths[2]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 2349
[2] Rosas Alcántara (2008), 194.

Sosontigi	Alcaudete, SW Jaén	45
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		4 ha[3]

[1] CIL II2/5, 232
[2] CIL II2/5, 367
[3] Keay (1998b).

Subur	Sitges	422
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		10 ha[1]

[1] Mela gives *Subur* among the *parva oppida*. For *Barcino* this has been 10 ha.

Subur is among the *parva oppida* of Mela (II 90), as the others in this list are self-governing it is likely that *Subur* was as well.

Adding to this we find it in Ptolemy (II 6.17 Σούβουρ) and Pliny (NH III 21).

Suel	Sohaíl (Fuengirola)	214
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 1944
[2] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Suestatium	Arcaya	636
(none)		Hispania Citerior

Baths[1,2]	(unknown)

[1] Loza Lengaran *et al.* (2014).
[2] Fernández Bordegarai (2015).

Tagili	Armuna de Almanzora, Tíjola	292
Stat.[1,4,5]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[2,3,6]; Circus?[6]		(unknown)

[1] IRAL 48
[2] Fear (1996), 185.
[3] Pavía Page (2016), 13.
[4] Schneider (2017), 106.
[5] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[6] AE 1979, 352

Talabriga	Cabeço do Vouga	287
(none)		Lusitania
Public square (forum)?[2]		5 ha[1]

[1] Seabra Lopes (1995), 337.
[2] Seabra Lopes (1995), 338.

Terminus between *Turduli Veteres* and *Talabriga* indicates they had their own territories. See: D. Fernando de Almeida, "Terminus Augustalis entre Talábriga e Langóbriga", *OAP* - N. s., vol. 2 (1953), p. 209-212.

Tamagani	Verín	328
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths?[2]		7 ha[2]

[1] CIL II 2477
[2] Pérez Losada (2002), 237.

Tapori	Castelo Branco	323
Stat.[2,3]; Trib.[1]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 519
[2] Plin. NH IV 118
[3] CIL II 760

Tarraco	Tarragona	30
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,29,30,37]; Coin.[32]; Mag.[4,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre[20,21,23,26,27,35]; Aqueduct[34]; Baths[27]; Circuit wall[24]; Circus[21,27,28,31,38]; Public square (forum)[19,24,25,27,28]; Theatre[20,27,33,36]		90 ha[22]

[1] CIL II 4514
[2] CIL II 4276
[3] CIL II 4274
[4] CIL II 4071
[5] Plin. NH III 21
[6] CIL II 2227
[7] CIL II 4212
[8] CIL II 4224
[9] CIL II 4262
[10] CIL II 4263
[11] CIL II 4267
[12] CIL II 4616
[13] CIL II 4216
[14] CIL II 4272
[15] RIT 340

[16] RIT 172
[17] RIT 922
[18] IRC IV, 69
[19] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[20] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139.
[21] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[22] Macias (2012), 69.
[23] Fear (1996).
[24] Mar *et al.* (2015).
[25] Dupré i Raventós (1997).
[26] Dupré i Raventós (2004b).
[27] Guitart i Duran (2004).
[28] Mierse (1999).
[29] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[30] Salmon (1969), 164.
[31] Edmondson (2006), 269.
[32] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 102.
[33] Ramallo Asensio (2002), 117.
[34] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 573, ID 990.
[35] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[36] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 445.
[37] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.
[38] CIL II 4314

Tarraga	between Segia and Cara, Los Bañales de Uncastillo	216
Stat.[1,3]; Trib.[3]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[4,5]; Baths[5]; Public square (forum)[2,5]		26 ha[6]

[1] Plin. NH III 24
[2] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[4] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 579.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004a), 292.
[6] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Los Bañales could have been *Tarraga* as it is located between *Segia* and *Cara*.

Termes	Tiermes (Montejo de Tiermes)	217
Stat.[1,9]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[8]; Public square (forum)[3]; Theatre?[4,5]		19.8 ha[6,7]

[1] Plin. NH III 27
[2] AE 1953, 267
[3] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[4] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[5] Aktüre (2007).
[6] Gutiérrez Dohijo and Rodríguez Morales (1999), 185.
[7] Martínez Caballero (2010), 160.
[8] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 575.
[9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Tiar Iulia	Traiguera	411
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 23

A *populus Latinum* (Plin. NH III 23) also mentioned by Ptolemy (Ptol. 6.63: Τιαριουλία).

Titulcia	Bayona de Tajuña	218
Stat.[1]; Trib.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 154.
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.

Possible municipium Latinum based on the presence of the Quirina tribus and the reference in Ptolemy (II 6.56 Τιτουλκία). Also appears in the itineraries (Itin. Ant. 436.1).

Toletum	Toledo	219
Stat.[1,2,11]; Mag.[3]		Hispania Citerior
Amphitheatre?[4,6,16]; Aqueduct[15]; Baths[8]; Circuit wall[6]; Circus[7,13,18]; Theatre?[5,14]		40 ha[9,10,12,17]

[1] HAE, 1769
[2] Plin. NH III 25
[3] CIL II 3073
[4] Blázques Martínez (2012), 59.
[5] Blázques Martínez (2012), 84.
[6] Velázquez and Ripoll (2000), 533.
[7] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[8] Pavía Page (2016), 14.
[9] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[10] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[11] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 148.
[12] Diarte Blasco (2012), 225.
[13] Diarte Blasco (2012), 226.
[14] Sear (2006), 270.
[15] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 576.
[16] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.
[17] Carreras Monfort (2014), 76.
[18] HEp 5, 1995, 788.

Tongobriga	Freixo	337
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
Baths[4,6]; Public square (forum)[3,6]; Theatre[6]		30 ha[2,5,6]

[1] CIL II 5564
[2] Tavares Dias (1998), 764.
[3] Tavares Dias (1998), 761.
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 172.
[5] Barata (1998), footnote 141.
[6] Le Roux (2014c), 173.

Tritium Autrigonum	Monasterio de Rodilla	359
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		14 ha[2,3,4]

[1] Plin. NH III 27
[2] Passini (1987), 282 fig. 2.
[3] Martino García (2004), 357.
[4] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Tritium Magallum	Tricio	46
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[3]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		5 ha

[1] CIL II 2892
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 152.
[3] CIL II 4227

Tritium Tuboricum	Astigarribiz, Mendaro, Motrico	442
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
Possible self-governing community as it is mentioned by Ptolemy (II 6.65 Τρίτιον Τουβόρικον) and Mela (II 11). Also might have minted the coins TITIACOS (MLH A 58) in the republican period.		

Tuci	Manacor, on Mallorca Is.	293
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] Plin. NH III 77		
Mentioned as a *populus Latinum* in Pliny.		

Tugia	Toya	220
Stat.[1]; Mag.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 3251		
Clear *Flavian municipium* as found in CIL II 3251. Also attested in Ptolemy (II 6.58: Τουία) and the Antonine Itinerary (404.3).		

Turiaso	Tarazona	221
Stat.[1,6,9]; Coin.[7]; Mag.[2,3,4]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[8]		3.5 ha[5]
[1] Plin. NH III 24 [2] VM 156:8-157:2 [3] VM 155:9 [4] VM 157:1 [5] Beltrán Lloris and Paz Peralta (2004), 25. [6] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166. [7] Burnett *et al.* (1992b), 130. [8] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 574. [9] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.		

Tutugi	Galera	47
Stat.[1,2,3]; Mag.[4]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		6.5 ha[5]
[1] ILPGr 27 [2] CIL II 3406 [3] ILPGr 26 [4] AE 1984, 598 [5] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Ucia	Marmolejo	351
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)
Possible self-governing community based on its appearance in Pliny (NH III 10) and Ptolemy (II 4.9 Οὐώγια). Also found in the itineraries (Itin. Ant. 403.7: Vciense; Ravenn. 315.12: Noclensis; Vicar. I, II, III, IV)		

Ucubi	Espejo, SE Córdoba	31
Stat.[1,2,3,4,5,6,15,18,21]; Mag.[5,7,8,9,10,11]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[14,17,19]; Aqueduct[12,20]		8.5 ha[16]

[1] CIL II2/5, 442
[2] CIL II2/5, 870
[3] CIL II2/5, 387
[4] CIL II2/7, 228
[5] CIL II2/7, 271
[6] Plin. NH III 12
[7] CIL II2/5, 446
[8] CIL II2/5, 441
[9] CIL II2/5, 447
[10] CIL II2/5, 447
[11] CIL II2/7, 243
[12] CIL II 2343
[13] CIL II 1614
[14] Fear (1996), 198.
[15] García y Bellido (1959), 464.
[16] Carrilero Millán and López Medina (2006).
[17] Caballos Rufino (1978), 274.
[18] Caballos Rufino (1978).
[19] Thouvenot (1940), 442.
[20] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 975.
[21] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.

Ugia Martia	Jerez de Los Caballeros	222
Stat.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] AE 1952, 49

Certain self-governing community based on the hospitium agreement with *Emerita Augusta*.		

Ulia Fidentia	Montemayor	224
Stat.[2,3,4,8]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[1,2,3,4,5,6]		Baetica
Circus?[4]		4 ha[7]

[1] CIL II2/5, 520
[2] CIL II2/5, 495
[3] CIL II2/5, 497
[4] CIL II2/5, 492
[5] CIL II2/5, 496
[6] CIL II2/5, 495
[7] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[8] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Ulisi	Archidona, E Antequera?, area of Loja?	225
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[1,4,5]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 721
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 162.
[3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 132.
[4] CIL II2/5, 723
[5] CIL II2/5, 722

Urci	Pechina	406
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
Certain self-governing community as it is mentioned as *oppidum* in Pliny (NH III		

19) and is used as an *origo* CIL II 3750 and 6158.
In addition it is also found in Ptolemy (II 6.13 Οὔρκι) and the Antonine Itinerary 404.8. Also might have minted the coins Urkesken (VM 67:92) in the republican period.

Urgapa	La Alameda	227
Stat.[4]; Trib.[1,2,3,5]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/5, 913
[2] CIL II2/5, 914
[3] CIL II2/5, 915
[4] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 161.
[5] Andreu Pintado (2004c).

Urgavo	Arjona	226
Stat.[2,3]; Trib.[1]; Mag.[1,4,5,6]		Baetica
Theatre?[6]		(unknown)

[1] CIL II2/7, 68
[2] CIL II2/7, 74
[3] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.
[4] CIL II2/7, 70
[5] CIL II2/7, 76
[6] CIL II2/7, 89

Urgia	Torres de Alocaz?/ Cabezas de S. Juan	223
Stat.[1,2]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 15
[2] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Urso Genetiva Iulia	Osuna	32
Stat.[1,2,3,9,13,19]; Trib.[18]; Mag.[2,4,5,6]		Baetica
Amphitheatre?[17,2]; Aqueduct[16,2]; Baths[11]; Circus?[2]; Public square (forum)[10]; Theatre[7,8,15]		50 ha[12,14]

[1] CIL II2/5, 1027
[2] CIL II2/5, 1022
[3] Plin. NH III 12
[4] CIL II2/5, 1030
[5] CIL II2/5, 1032
[6] CIL II2/5, 1035
[7] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 142.
[8] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[9] Jiménez (2011), 507.
[10] Fear (1996), 178.
[11] Fear (1996), 182.
[12] Keay and Earl (2011).
[13] Salmon (1969), 164.
[14] Almagro-Gorbea (1987).
[15] Rodríguez Oliva (1994), 351.
[16] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 580.
[17] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 60.
[18] González (1989b), 133.
[19] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 61.

Urunia	Urueña	325
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[3]		Lusitania
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CIL II 863
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 168.
[3] CIL II 862

Uxama Argaela	Cerro del Castro (Burgo de Osma)	228
Stat.[1,13]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct[12]; Circuit wall[8]; Public square (forum)[3,11]; Theatre?[4]		28 ha[5,6,7,8,9,10]

[1] Plin. NH III 27
[2] ERPSo 128
[3] Romero Novella (2014a), 169.
[4] Aktüre (2007).
[5] García Merino (1999), 192.
[6] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[7] Carreras Monfort (1996), 107.
[8] Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993), 249.
[9] Le Roux (2014c), 182.
[10] Taracena (2007 [1949]).
[11] García Merino (1987), 84.
[12] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1283, ID 581.
[13] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Uxama Barca	Osma de Valdegobia	391
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		28 ha[1]

[1] Carreras Monfort (2014).

Considered self-governing based on the *origo* IRPLe 100 and the reference in Ptolemy (II 6.52 Οὔξαμα Βάκρα).
Possibly the place mining coins with the legend u.a.ŕ.k.a.s. MLH A.93

Vadinia	Riaño	427
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] HEp 2, 1990, 449

Self-govering community based on the multiple *origo*-inscriptions found within the *civitas* (cf. Ramírez-Sánchez and González Rodríguez (2007). Also found in Ptolemy (II 6.50 Οὐαδινία).

Valabriga	Unlocated	439
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

Tovar mentions *Valabriga* as the capital of the *Nemetatae* (Ptol. II 6.41: Οὐολόβριγα), votive inscriptions mentioning Valabriga (CIL II 5561), *Valubrica* (ILER 5439) and a god *Netaciueulebrigae* (CIL II 2539) seem to indicate the place was of importance. Might have been a self-governing community.

Valentia	Valencia	33
Stat.[1,2,7,9,11,12,16]; Mag.[3,4,5]		Hispania Citerior

Aqueduct[14]; Baths[10]; Circus[6,8,10,13]; Public square (forum)[10]	20 ha[10,15,17]

[1] Plin. NH III 20
[2] Liv. Per. 55
[3] CIL II2/14, 24
[4] CIL II2/14, 28
[5] CIL II2/14, 25
[6] Ramallo Asensio (2003), 139.
[7] Bandelli (2002), 119.
[8] Ceballos Hornero (2007), 445.
[9] Beltrán Lloris (2011), 142.
[10] Jiménez Salvador (2004).
[11] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 161.
[12] Salmon (1969), 164.
[13] Ribera i Lacomba (2001).
[14] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017).
[15] Aranegui Gascó (2011).
[16] Aranegui Gascó (2011), 13.
[17] Carreras Monfort (2014), 76.

Valeria	Las Valeras, Valeria de Arriba	229
Stat.[1,2,8,12]; Mag.[3,4]		Hispania Citerior
Aqueduct?[10]; Baths[5]; Public square (forum)[6]		14 ha[7,9,11]

[1] Plin. NH III 25
[2] CIL II 3181
[3] HEp 2, 1990, 392
[4] HEp 2, 1990, 393
[5] Pavía Page (2016), 15.
[6] Fuentes Domínguez (1987), 69.
[7] Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995).
[8] Bravo Castañeda (2007), 166.
[9] Carreras Monfort (1996).
[10] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 1338.
[11] Carreras Monfort (2014).
[12] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Vareia	Varia?	326
(none)		Hispania Citerior
Baths[1]		27 ha[2]

[1] Galve *et al.* (2005).
[2] Carreras Monfort (2014), 76.

Possible self-governing community based on its appearance in Pliny (NH III 21) and Ptolemy (II 6.54 Οὐάρεια). Also found in the Antonine Itinerary 393.2.

Veleia	Iruña	230
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		12 ha[3]

[1] Plin. NH III 26
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 151.
[3] Carreras Monfort (2014), 76.

Ventipo	Cerro de la Atalaya, Cerro de las Balas (La Lantajuela)	231
Stat.[1,2,3,7]; Trib.[6]; Mag.[3,4]		Baetica
(none)		10.9 ha[5]

[1] Plin. NH III 12
[2] CIL II2/5, 919
[3] CIL II2/5, 1006
[4] AE 2000, 728

[5] Keay and Earl (2011).
[6] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 131.
[7] Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989), 67.

Vergi	Berja	387
Stat.[2,6]; Trib.[1]		Baetica
Amphitheatre[4,7]; Aqueduct[5]		7.5 ha[3]

[1] IRAL 35
[2] IRAL 59
[3] Fernández Palacios (2011), 219.
[4] Fernández Palacios (2011), 224.
[5] Fernández Palacios (2011), 221.
[6] Fernández Palacios (2011), 225.
[7] Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003), 59.

Vergilia	Albuniel de Cambil	232
Stat.[1,2]; Trib.[2]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
Aqueduct[3]		(unknown)

[1] CILA III, 581
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 154.
[3] Passchier *et al.* (2004-2017), ID 998.

Vesci Faventia	Unlocated	431
(none)		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

Possible self-governing community based on its appearance in Pliny (NH III 10) and Ptolemy (II 4.11 Οὐεσκίς).

Villona	Rancho de la Estaca	233
Stat.[1,2]; Mag.[1]		Baetica
(none)		(unknown)

[1] CILA II, 1206
[2] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 164.

Vindeleia	Cubo de Bureba	642
(none)		Hispania Citerior
(none)		12 ha[1]

[1] Martino García (2004), 386.

Possible self-governing community based on its appearance in Ptolemy (II 6.53 Οὐινδέλεια), the Antonine Itinerary (454.6) and the *origo* (ERClu 218). In addition its size seems to indicate a place with possible town-like functions.

Virovesca	Cerro de San Juan	288
Stat.[1]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)

[1] Plin. NH III 27

Certain self-governing community based on its appearance in Pliny as a *civitas* (NH III 27) and Ptolemy (II 6.52 Οὐιρούεσκα). Its important position in the Itineraries

(Itin. Ant. 454.5; Itin. Ant. 450.2; Itin. Ant. 394.4 and Ravenn. 318.10) indicates we are dealing with a important cross roads.

Visontium	Vinuesa	381
Mag.[1,2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		20 ha[3]
[1] CIL II 2886 [2] Curchin (1990), 216. [3] Carreras Monfort (2014).		

Vivatia	Baeza	235
Stat.[1,2,3]; Trib.[3]; Mag.[2]		Hispania Citerior
(none)		(unknown)
[1] CIL II 3343 [2] CIL II 3251 [3] Andreu Pintado (2004c), 154.		

Appendix II
Self-governing communities with ID-numbers

id	canon_name
1	Acci
2	Asido
3	Astigi
4	Augusta Gemella
5	Barcino
6	Caesaraugusta
7	Carissa
8	Carteia
9	Carthago Nova
10	Clunia
11	Corduba
12	Dertosa
13	Emerita Augusta
14	Flaviobriga
15	Gades
16	Hasta Regia
17	Hispalis
18	Ituci Virtus Iulia
19	Ilici
20	Italica
21	Iulia Traducta
22	Libisosa
23	Metellinum
24	Munda
25	Norba Caesarina
26	Onoba Aestuaria
27	Pax Iulia
28	Salaria
29	Scallabis
30	Tarraco
31	Ucubi
32	Urso Genetiva Iulia
33	Valentia
34	Celsa
35	Ituci
36	Grallia
37	Baesucci
38	Civitas Aravorum
39	Civitas Baniensium
40	Civitas Zoelarum
41	Igaeditania
42	Contributa Ipsca
43	Lacilbula
44	Civitas Coilarnorum
45	Sosontigi
46	Tritium Magallum
47	Tutugi
48	Acinippo
49	Aeso
50	Portus Ilicitanus
51	Ammaia
52	Andelos
53	Anticaria
54	Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae
55	Aquae Flaviae
56	Arabriga
57	Aratispi
58	Arcobriga
59	Arcos de la Frontera
60	Arunda
61	Arva
62	Osqua
63	Asturica Augusta
64	Augustobriga Pelendones
65	Augustobriga Vettones
66	Aurgi
67	Avila
68	Axati
69	Baedro
70	Baelo Claudia
71	Baetulo
72	Balsa
73	Barbesula
74	Basilippo
75	Bergidum Flavium
76	Bilbilis
77	Blandae
78	Bracara Augusta
79	Brigaecium
80	Caesarobriga
81	Calagurris Iulia
82	Calpurniana
83	Canana
84	Capera
85	Carbula
86	Carmo
87	Carruca
88	Cartima
89	Cascantum
90	Castro del Río
91	Castulo
92	Cauca

93 Caurium
94 Cisimbrium
95 Bletisama
96 Collippo
97 Complutum
98 Conimbriga
99 Conobaria
100 Consabura
101 Contributa Iulia Ugultunia
102 Cumbres Mayores
103 Curiga
104 Dianium
105 Ebora
106 Municipium Lunense
107 Ebusus
108 Edeta
109 Egara
110 Elbocoris?
111 Emporiae
112 Epora
113 Ercavica
114 Flaviaugusta
115 Flavionavia
116 Forum Limicorum
117 Gerunda
118 Gracchurris
119 Guium
120 Iponoba
121 Iamo
122 Igabrum
123 Ilerda
124 Iliberri
125 Ilipa Magna
126 Ilipula Minor
127 Iliturgi
128 Iliturgicola
129 Ilugo
130 Ilurco
131 Iluro Gaditanus
132 Iluro Tarraconensis
133 Ipolcobulcola
134 Iporca
135 Iptuci
136 Irni
137 Isturgi
138 Iuliobriga
139 Iulipa
140 Corticata
141 Lacimurga
142 Laminium
143 Lancia
144 Lancia Oppidania
145 Lancia Transcudana
146 Lassira
147 Lucentum
148 Lucus Augusti
149 Mago
150 Malaca
151 Mantua
152 Meidubriga
153 Mellaria Cordubensis
154 Mentesa Oretana
155 Mirobriga Celticorum
156 Mirobriga Regina
157 Civitas Luggonum
158 Municipium Flavium V(...)
159 Munigua
160 Murgi
161 Myrtilis
162 Naeva
163 Nertobriga Concordia Iulia
164 Nescania
165 Nova Augusta
166 Numantia
167 Oba
168 Obulco
169 Obulcula
170 Ocelum Duri
171 Ocurri
172 Oducia
173 Ocilis
174 Olisipo
175 Oningi
176 Oretum
177 Osca
178 Osicerda
179 Osset
180 Ossonoba
181 Ostippo
182 Ostur
183 Paesuri
184 Palantia Vaccea
185 Palma
186 Confluentia
187 Petavonium
188 Pollentia
189 Pompelo
190 Regina
191 Rhoda
192 Sabora
193 Sacili
194 Saepo
195 Saetabis
196 Saguntum
197 Salacia
198 Salmantica
199 Salpensa
200 Segia
201 Segisamo
202 Segobriga
203 Segontia
204 Segontia Lanka
205 Segovia Astigitanus

	Segovia
206	Carpetania
207	Sellium
208	Seria Fama Iulia
209	Siarum
210	Sigarra
211	Singili Barba
212	Sisapo
213	Monturque
214	Suel
215	Tapori Emeritensis
216	Tarraga
217	Termes
218	Titulcia
219	Toletum
220	Tugia
221	Turiaso
222	Ugia Martia
223	Urgia
224	Ulia Fidentia
225	Ulisi
226	Urgavo
227	Urgapa
228	Uxama Argaela
229	Valeria
230	Veleia
231	Ventipo
232	Vergilia
233	Villona
234	Interamna
235	Vivatia
236	Archena
237	Cinna
238	Batora
239	Bursao
240	Cibilis
241	Cortona
242	Iluberis
243	Aeminium
244	Alaba
245	Albocela
	Arabriga
246	Scallabitanus
247	Aracilus
248	Arandis
249	Arucci
250	Ategua
251	Baeculo
252	Baesippo
253	Basti
254	Belippo
255	Ibrona
	Calagurris
256	Fibularia
257	Callicula
258	Callet Gaditanus
	Callet
259	Aenanicorum
260	Caracca
261	Castra Gemina
262	Celti
263	Velladis
264	Damania
265	Eburobrittium
266	Edeba
267	Ilipula Magna
268	Iacca
269	Eliocroca
270	Ilursenses
271	Serippo
272	Ispalensis
273	Lacippo
274	Lacobriga
275	Laelia
276	Lascuta
277	Lastigi
278	Libia
279	Marruca
280	Nabrissa
281	Olontigi
282	Orippo
283	Saguntia
284	Saudo
	Segida
285	Restituta Iulia
	Sexi
286	Firmum Iulium
287	Talabriga
288	Virovesca
289	Bocchori
290	Boletum
	Forum
291	Gigurrorum
292	Tagili
293	Tuci
294	Abdera
	Alba
295	Bastetanorum
	Aquae
296	Querquernae
297	Artigi
298	Castra Servilia
299	Attaccensis
300	Auso
301	Baedunia
302	Forum Bibalorum
303	Cara
304	Carula
305	Ceret
306	Ficariensis Locus?
	Flavium
307	Brigantium
308	Gallica Flavia
309	Gigia
310	Iesso
	Interamnium
311	Flavium
312	Iria Flavia
313	Labitulosa
314	Laepia Regia
315	Leonica
316	Lucus Asturum
317	Mentesa Bastia

318 Noega
319 Flavia Lambris
320 Besaro
321 Sanisera
322 Segida Augurina
323 Tapori
324 Baxon(...)
325 Urunia
326 Vareia
327 Langobriga
328 Tamagani
329 Ocelum
330 Aritium
331 Arcobriga Celtici
332 Koliobriga
333 Intercatia
334 Civitas Maggaviensium
335 Abelterium
336 Concordia
337 Tongobriga
338 Baria
339 Nossa Senhora d'Aires
340 Cortijo del Tajo
341 Aparicio del Grande
342 Contrebia Carbica
343 Sabetanum
344 Ipagrum
345 Olaurum
346 Morana
347 Chao Samartín
348 Ossigi
349 Detumo
350 Onuba Cordubensis
351 Ucia
352 Solia
353 Ipses
354 Bardili
355 Cale
356 Metallum Vipascense
357 Castra Caecilia
358 Baesuris
359 Tritium Autrigonum
360 Mirobriga Vettones
361 Poliba
362 Ilunum
363 Legio VII Gemina
364 Castra Caepiana
365 Tróia
366 Serpa
367 Caetobriga
368 Ebura
369 Cohors I Celtiberorum
370 Oculis
371 Barbotum
372 Pintia
373 Lucurgentum
374 Segisama Iulia
375 Amallobriga
376 Biscargis
377 Civitas Mirietanorum
378 Ucubitanorum Praefectura
379 Avobriga
380 Auriensis
381 Visontium
382 Otobesa
383 Castro Cárcoda
384 Calontienses
385 Cobelcorum
386 Ilipoula
387 Vergi
388 Turgaliensis Regionis Praefectura
389 Aracaeli
390 Baecula
391 Uxama Barca
392 Contrebia Leucada
393 Contrebia Belaisca
394 Segeda
395 Maenuba
396 Cohors IV Gallorum
397 Aquae Calidae
398 Deobriga
399 Iulia Libica
400 Mundobriga
401 Almadén de la Plata
402 Uxamilla
403 Mellaria Gaditanus
404 Lansbrica
405 Asso
406 Urci
407 Sel
408 Ripa
409 Alba Varduli
410 Egelesta
411 Tiar Iulia
412 Civitas Lougeiorum
413 Civitas Susarri
414 Interamica
415 Aebisoci
416 Castro de Coana
417 Citânia de Briteiros
418 Civitas Orgenomesci
419 Intercatia Vaccea
420 Gella
421 Rubricatum
422 Subur
423 Sebendunum
424 Setelsis

425	Menosca
426	Samani
427	Vadinia
428	Forum Narbasorum
429	Santa Criz
430	Águilas
431	Vesci Faventia
432	Arialdunum
433	Callaeci
434	Equaesi
435	Oleastrum Gaditanus
436	Agla Minor
438	Vama
439	Valabriga
440	Segontia Paramika
441	Amaia
442	Tritium Tuboricum
443	Bergium
444	Castro de Rubiás
445	Octaviolca
500	Vicus Aunigainum
501	Vicus Baedorus
502	Castellum Tyde
503	Pisoraca
504	Alonis
505	Rauda
506	Turbes
507	Centum Celas
508	Araducta
509	Chretina
510	Ierabriga
511	Urium
512	Saltigi
513	Vicus Spacorum
514	Vicus Atucausensis
515	Vicus Vagornicensis
516	Vicus Ilex...
518	Vicus Venienses
519	Vicus (Se)goaboncenses
520	Assegonia
521	Aquae Celenae
522	Turoqua
523	Dactonium
524	Citânia de Sanfins
525	Villavieja de Muñó
526	Los Balbases
527	Los Valladares
528	Castellum Toletum
529	Argentiolum
530	Ildum
531	Ad Duos Pontes
532	Ad Lippos
533	Ambinon
534	Aquae Originae
535	Brevis
536	Caladunum
537	Camala
538	Caranicum
539	Compleutica
540	Deobrigula
541	Dessobriga
542	Equosera
543	Gemestarium
544	Geminae
545	Glandimirum
546	Limia
547	Mancellus
548	Memoriana
549	Miaccum
550	Nemetobriga
551	Nivaria
552	Palantia Asturum
553	Vicus Mace[---]enses
554	Pons Neviae
555	Preterion
556	Salaniana
557	Salientes
558	Sentice
559	Septimanca
560	Uttaris
561	Vallata
562	Veniatia
563	Vicus Aquarius
564	Viminacium
565	Albecia
566	Amneni
567	Arae Augusti
568	Arragina
569	Cambracum
570	Canibri
571	Castra Manuaria
572	Cenum Oppidum
573	Cistonia
574	Cougion
575	Dracina
576	Medioga
577	Ontonia
578	Passicin
579	Pirascon
580	Roboretum
581	Castellum Durbeda
582	Sandaquitum
583	Ad Centenarium
584	Ad Novas
585	Ad Pyrenaeum
586	Ad Septimum Decimum
587	Ad Stabulum
588	Agiria
589	Alantone
590	Vicus Camalocensis
591	Allobo
592	Antequia
593	Antistatiana

	Aquae
594	Bilbitanorum
	Castellum
595	Meidunium
596	Arragona
597	Arentia
598	Atiliana
599	Arsi
600	Oiasso
601	Portuondo
	Portus Victoriae
602	Iuliobrigensium
603	Portus Blendium
604	Noouion
605	Portus Veseiasueca
606	Aquabona
607	Sines
608	San Tecla
609	Santa Luzía
	Castro de São
610	Lorenço
611	Portus Hannibalis
612	Portus Magnus
613	Turris Augusti
614	Bourtina
615	Caravis
616	Caum
617	Cinniana
618	Deciana
619	Castellum Agubri
620	Ebelinum
621	Forum Gallorum
622	Forum Ligneum
623	Gallicum
624	Intibilis
625	Iuncaria
626	Mendiculeia
627	Nertobriga
628	Oleastrum
629	Palfuriana
630	Pertusa
631	Segesamunculum
632	Sermonae
633	Seterrae
634	Stabulum Novum
635	Sub Saltu
636	Suestatium
	Summus Pyreneus
637	(West)
	Summus Pyreneus
638	(East)
639	Tolous
640	Tria Capita
641	Iturissa
642	Vindeleia
643	Voluca
644	Albonica
645	Articabe
646	Gergium
647	Iologum
648	Cantigi
649	Ad Pontem
650	Ad Rubras
651	Ad Septem Aras
652	Ad Sorores
653	Albus Portus
	Aritium
654	Praetorium
655	Budua
656	Burdoga
657	Cappa
658	Cetaria
659	Cilniana
660	Contosolia
661	Fines Pacensis
662	Castellum Arcucis
663	Lacunis
664	Malateca
665	Matusarum
666	Plagiaria
	Praesidium
667	Hispalensis
668	Tabucci
669	Turgalium
670	Caeciliana
671	Caviclum
672	Castellum Berensis
673	Montobriga
674	Rodacis
675	Menestheos Limen
676	Ad Duo Solaria
677	Adello
678	Ad Leones
679	Ad Morum
680	Ad Morum (Basti)
681	Ad Murum
	Ad Novlas
682	(Isturgi)
683	Ad Putea
684	Alces
685	Bactara
686	Aspis
687	Mariana
688	Parietinis
689	Sebelaci
690	Sucro
691	Thiar
692	Turaniana
693	Vicus Cuminarius
694	Urbiaca
695	Valebonga
696	Antia
697	Articondo
698	Balsio
699	Beldalin
700	Belisarium
701	Bituris
702	Burbida
703	Castellum Circine
704	Caelionicco
705	Caesada
706	Castellum Eritaeco

707	Caput fluminis Anae
708	Carae
709	Castellum Ercoriobri
710	Carcuvium
711	Celeret
712	Cirsone
713	Comeniaca
714	Dipo
715	Erguti
716	Evandriana
717	Fraxinum Pacensis
718	Lomundo
719	Lugisonis
720	Mercablum
721	Castellum Intercatia
722	Pacca
723	Perceiana
724	Pinetum
725	Pinos
726	Pons Albae
727	Pons Nartiae
728	Portus Gaditanus
729	Praesidium Bracaraugustanus I
730	Praesidium Bracaraugustanus II
731	Praetorium
732	Praetorium Caesaraugustanus
733	Castellum Letiobris
734	Rusticiana
735	Salacia Bracaraugustanus
736	Saramon
737	Segontia (mansio)
738	Osca
739	Stacio sacra
740	Fornacis
741	Tema
742	Tenobriga
743	Timalinum
744	Tonobriga
745	Tullonium
746	Urion
747	Viniolae
748	Ad Aras Astigitanus
749	Ad Atrum Flumen
750	Ad Fines Tarraconensis
751	Ad Gemellas
752	Ad Herculem (Baetica)
753	Ad Statuas
754	Ad Turres (Edeba)
755	Ad Turres (Saetabis)
756	Agatucci
757	Interamnium (mansio)
758	Iulia
759	Lacipea
760	Lebura
761	Leuciana
762	Monte Maiorum
763	Morodon
764	Sibaris
765	Barbariana
766	Paemeiobriga
767	Vicus Cabr(icenses)
768	Huete
769	Alconchel de Estrella
770	Castellum Aviliobris
771	Castellum Ciseli
772	Araocelensi
773	Fraxinum Tarraconensis
774	Castellum Berisamo
775	Castellum Berisum
776	Castellum Blaniobrensis
777	Castellum Cal[lae]c[o]
778	Castellum Cariaca
779	Enxames
780	Castellum Louciocelum
781	Castellum Lubris
782	Castellum Nem...
783	Castellum Olca
784	Castellum Narelia
785	Castellum Queledini
786	Castellum Saqua
787	Castellum Serantis
788	Castellum Sermaceles
789	Castellum Sesmaca
790	Castellum Talabriga
791	Castellum Tardum
792	Castellum Venaesini
793	Castellum Verium
794	Castellum Uliainca
795	Pagus Gallorum
796	Alange
797	Caura
798	São Pedro do Sul
799	Fitero
800	Monte Neme
801	Ad Duos Pontos
802	El Centenillo
803	Cerro Muriano

804	Laccobriga
805	Alhama de Murcia
806	Cueva Negra
807	Aquae Calidae (Celeni)
808	Saldania
809	Aquae Quintinae
810	Palantia Arevaca
811	Maxilua
812	Ad Legionem
813	Ad Aras
814	Ad Decem
815	Ad Palem
816	Ad Aras
817	Ad Novlas
818	Sempronia
900	Cella
901	Begastri
902	Lama
903	Lobón
904	Beligio
905	Salduba
906	Valencia de Alcántara
907	La Manga
908	Turmulos

Appendix III
Self-governing communities with evidence table

Status is based on epigraphic evidence if not available as given by Pliny. C= *colonia*; M= *municipium*; M.c.R.= *Municipium civium Romanorum*; Olat= *Oppidum Latinum*; Olib= *Oppidum Liberum*; OS= *Oppidum Stipendiarium*; Civ. = *civitas*; GS= Garrison Settlement

Magistates is based on epigraphic evidence for *IIvir*; *Aedil*; *Quaestor*; *Ordo Decurionum*; *Flamen*.

Promotion is based on Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989) and Andreu Pintado (2004c). When given with a '–' between the names it indicates a date range, an '&' indicates the promotion to *municipium* and the later promotion to *colonia*.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
1	Acci	C	x	x	x	x									x	Aug.
2	Asido	C	x	x			x				x					Caes.
3	Astigi	C	x	x	x	x					x					Aug.
4	Augusta Gemella	C	x	x		x			x		x					Aug.
5	Barcino	C	x	x	x	x			x		x					Aug.
6	Caesaraugusta	C	x	x	x	x					x				x	Aug.
7	Carissa	M	x	x			x									Caes.
8	Carteia	M	x	x	x		x				x		Serg./Quir.		x	
9	Carthago Nova	C	x	x	x	x			x		x		Serg./Gal.		x	Caes.
10	Clunia	C	x	x	x	x	x			?	x				x	Tib.&Gal.
11	Corduba	C	x	x	x	x					x		Serg./Gal.		x	Caes.
12	Dertosa	M c.R.	x	x	x		x		x		x				x	Aug.
13	Emerita Augusta	C	x	x	x	x					x			x	x	Aug.
14	Flaviobriga	C	x	x		x										Fl.
15	Gades	M	x	x	x		x				x				x	Caes.
16	Hasta Regia	C	x	x	x	x							Serg.			Caes.
17	Hispalis	C	x	x	x	x				?	x		Serg./Gal.		x	Caes.
18	Ituci Virtus Iulia	C	x			x					x					Caes-Aug
19	Ilici	C	x	x	x	x			x	?	x				x	Caes.
20	Italica	C	x	x	x	x	x				x		Serg.		x	Caes.&Had.
21	Iulia Traducta	C	x	x											x	Aug.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
22	Libisosa	C	x	x	x	x					x					Aug.
23	Metellinum	C	x	x	x	x					x					Caes.
24	Munda	C	x			x										Caes.
25	Norba Caesarina	C	x	x	x	x					x		Serg.			Caes.
26	Onoba Aestuaria	C	x	x		x					x					
27	Pax Iulia	C	x	x	x	x					x				x	Aug.
28	Salaria	C	x	x		x					x		Serg.			Aug.
29	Scallabis	C	x	x	x	x					x		Serg./Gal.			Caes.
30	Tarraco	C	x	x	x	x			x		x				x	Aug.
31	Ucubi	C	x			x			x		x					Caes.
32	Urso Genetiva Iulia	C	x	x		x			x	x	x					Caes.
33	Valentia	C	x	x	x	x					x					Aug.
34	Celsa	M c.R.	x	x		x					x				x	Caes.
35	Ituci				x						x					
36	Grallia								x		x		Quir.			Fl.
37	Baesucci	M					x				x					Fl.
38	Civitas Aravorum	M		x			x	x								
39	Civitas Baniensium	M					x	x								
40	Civitas Zoelarum	Civ	x					x			x					Fl.?
41	Igaeditania	M					x	x					Quir.	x		Fl.
42	Contributa Ipsca	M					x				x		Quir.			Fl.
43	Lacilbula										x		Quir.			Fl.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
44	Civitas Coilarnorum	OS	x	x										x		Fl.?
45	Sosontigi	M	x				x				x					Fl.
46	Tritium Magallum			x	x				x		x		Quir.			Fl.
47	Tutugi								x		x					
48	Acinippo		x	x							x		Quir.			Fl.
49	Aeso	OS	x	x							x		Gal./Quir.			Pre-Fl./Fl.
51	Ammaia	M		x			x				x					Claud./Fl.
52	Andelos	M	x	x			x				x					Fl.
53	Anticaria	M			x		x									
54	Aquae Calidae vel Voco-niae	OS	x	x	x						x		Quir.			Fl.
55	Aquae Flaviae	M		x	x		x	x	x		x		Quir.			Fl.
56	Arabriga	M	x	x			x							x		Fl.?
57	Aratispi	Civ						x	x							Fl.
58	Arcobriga	OS	x	x	x								Quir.			Fl.
59	Arcos de la Frontera	M					x				x					
60	Arunda		x	x							x		Quir.			Fl.
61	Arva	M	x				x				x		Quir.			Fl.
62	Ascua	M	x	x			x				x		Quir.			Fl.
63	Asturica Augusta		x	x	x				x		x		Quir.			Fl.
64	Augustobriga Pelendones	M		x	x		x									

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
65	Augustobriga Vettones	M	x	x	x		x				x		Quir.			Fl.
66	Aurgi	M					x				x		Gal./Quir.			Fl.
67	Avila	M		x			x						Quir.	x		Fl.
68	Axati	M	x				x				x		Quir.			Fl.
69	Baedro										x		Quir.			Fl.
70	Baelo Claudia	M	x	x	x		x				x					Claud.
71	Baetulo	M c.R.	x	x			x				x					Aug.
72	Balsa	M	x	x	x		x				x		Quir.			Fl.
73	Barbesula	M	x	x	x		x			?	x		Gal.			Fl.
74	Basilippo	M			x		x			x						
75	Bergidum Flavium			x	x				x		x					Fl.
76	Bilbilis	M c.R.	x	x	x		x				x				x	Aug.
77	Blandae		x	x												
78	Bracara Augusta		x	x	x				x		x		Quir.			Fl.
79	Brigaecium			x	x						x					Fl.
80	Caesarobriga	M	x	x			x				x		Quir.			Fl.
81	Calagurris Iulia	M c.R.	x	x	x		x				x				x	Aug.
82	Calpurniana			x	x						x		Quir.			Fl.
83	Canana	M	x				x				x		Quir.			Fl.
84	Capera	M	x	x	x		x				x		Quir.			Fl.
85	Carbula		x													Fl.
86	Carmo	M		x	x		x				x					Caes-Aug

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
87	Carruca	M					x			?	x					Fl.
88	Cartima	M					x	x			x		Quir.			Fl.
89	Cascantum	M	x	x	x		x								x	Caes-Aug?
90	Castro del Río	M					x									
91	Castulo	M	x	x	x		x	x	x		x				?	Caes.
92	Cauca		x	x	x						x					Fl.
93	Caurium	M	x	x			x						Quir.			Fl.
94	Cisimbrium	M	x				x				x		Gal./Quir.	x		Fl.
95	Bletisama													x		
96	Collippo	M	x				x		x		x		Quir.			Fl.
97	Complutum	OS	x	x	x						x		Quir.			Fl.
98	Conimbriga	M	x		x		x						Quir.			Fl.
99	Conobaria	M	x				x			?			Quir.			Fl.
100	Consabura	M	x	x	x		x				x					Fl.
101	Contributa Iulia Ugultunia	M	x	x	x		x				x		Quir.			Caes-Aug/Fl.
102	Cumbres Mayores	M					x				x					Fl.
103	Curiga	M	x	x	x		x		x				Quir.			Fl.
104	Dianium	M	x	x			x		x		x					Aug.
105	Ebora	M	x	x	x		x				x				x	Caes-Aug
106	Municipium Lunense	M					x				x					Fl.
107	Ebusus	M	x	x			x		x		x		Quir.		x	Fl.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
108	Edeta	OLat	x	x				x	x		x					Aug.
109	Egara	M		x			x				x		Gal./Quir.			Fl.
110	Elbocoris	M	x	x			x									Fl.?
111	Emporiae		x	x					x	?	x				x	Aug.
112	Epora	M	x		x		x				x					Pre-Fl.
113	Ercavica	M	x	x			x				x				x	Aug.
114	Flaviaugusta								x		x					Fl.
115	Flavionavia			x							x					Fl.
116	Forum Limicorum	Civ	x	x				x			x		Quir.			Fl.
117	Gerunda	OLat	x	x	x				x		x					Aug.
118	Gracurris	M	x	x	x		x									Caes-Aug?
119	Guium	OLat	x						x		x		Quir.			Fl.
120	Iponoba	M	x				x									Fl.
121	Iamo	M	x	x			x				x					Fl.
122	Igabrum	M					x				x					Fl.
123	Ilerda	M c.R.	x	x	x		x		x		x				x	Aug.
124	Iliberri	M	x	x			x				x					Aug.
125	Ilipa Magna	M	x	x			x									Caes.
126	Ilipula Minor	M	x		x		x				x		Quir.			Fl.
127	Iliturgi		x	x	x				x							Caes-Aug
128	Iliturgicola	M					x			?	x		Gal.			Fl.
129	Ilugo	M					x						Quir.			Pre-Fl./Fl.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
130	Ilurco		x								x		Quir.			Pre-Fl./Fl.
131	Iluro Gaditanus								x		x		Quir.			Fl.
132	Iluro Tarraconensis	M c.R.	x				x				x					Aug.
133	Ipolcobulcola	M					x				x		Quir.			Fl.
134	Iporca										x		Gal./Quir.			Fl.
135	Iptuci	OS	x	x							x		Quir.			Fl.
136	Irni	M					x			x	x					Fl.
137	Isturgi	M	x				x		x		x					Caes-Aug
138	Iuliobriga		x	x							?		Quir.	x		Fl.
139	Iulipa	M					x				x					Fl.
140	Corticata	M					x			x						
141	Lacimurga	M	x	x			x									Fl.
142	Laminium	M	x	x	x		x				x					Fl.
143	Lancia			x	x						x		Quir.			Fl.
144	Lancia Oppidana	M	x	x			x							x		
145	Lancia Transcudana	M					x									
146	Lassira			x					x				Gal.			Pre-Fl.
147	Lucentum	M	x	x			x									Aug.
148	Lucus Augusti		x	x	x						x		Gal.			Aug./Fl.?
149	Mago	M	x	x			x		x		x		Quir.			Fl.
150	Malaca	M	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		Quir.			Fl.
151	Mantua			x									Quir.	x		Fl.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
152	Meidubriga	M	x	x			x									Fl.?
153	Mellaria Cordubensis	M	x		x		x				x		Quir.			Fl.
154	Mentesa Oretana	OS	x	x							x					Fl.
155	Mirobriga Celtici	M	x	x			x				x		Quir.			Fl.
156	Mirobriga Regina	M	x	x	x		x									Fl.
157	Civitas Luggonum	Civ						x								
158	Municipium Flavium V(...)	M	x	x			x				x		Gal.			Fl.
159	Munigua	M					x		x	?	x		Quir.			Fl.
160	Murgi	M	x	x	x		x		x							
161	Myrtilis	M	x	x	x		x				x				x	Pre-Fl.
162	Naeva	M	x				x				x		Quir.			Fl.
163	Nertobriga Concordia Iulia	M	x	x			x									Caes-Aug
164	Nescania	M					x				x		Quir.			Fl.
165	Nova Augusta		x	x							x		Quir.			Fl.
166	Numantia		x	x	x								Quir.			Fl.
167	Oba			x					x		x					
168	Obulco	M	x	x			x		x	?	x					Caes.
169	Obulcula	OS	x	x	x						x					Fl.
170	Ocelum Duri	OS	x	x	x								Quir.			Fl.
171	Ocurri								x		x					

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
172	Oducia	M					x									Fl.
173	Okilis												Quir.			Fl.
174	Olisipo	M c.R.	x	x	x		x				x					Caes.
175	Oningi	M	x				x		x		x		Quir.			Fl.
176	Oretum	OS	x	x												Aug.
177	Osca	M c.R.	x		x		x				x				x	Aug.
178	Osicerda	OLat	x	x							x				x	Pre-Fl.
179	Osset	M	x				x		x		x				x	Aug.
180	Ossonoba		x	x	x						x		Quir.			Fl.
181	Ostippo	M	x		x		x			x	x		Quir.			Fl.
182	Ostur										x					Fl.?
183	Paesuri	M	x				x									
184	Palantia Vaccea	Civ	x	x				x					Quir.			Fl.
185	Palma	M c.R.	x	x					x		x					Caes-Aug?
186	Confluentia	M		x			x			?	x		Quir.			Fl.?
187	Petavonium	GS		x	x									x		
188	Pollentia	M c.R.	x	x							x					Caes-Aug?
189	Pompelo	OS	x	x	x			x	x		x		Quir.			Pre-Fl./Fl.
190	Regina	M c.R.	x	x	x				x		x					Aug.
191	Rhoda			x												
192	Sabora	OS	x							?	x		Quir.			Fl.
193	Sacili	M	x	x			x				x			x		Caes-Aug

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
194	Saepo	M	x				x		x		x					Fl.?
195	Saetabis	M	x	x			x		x		x					Aug.
196	Saguntum	M c.R.	x	x	x		x	x			x				x	Aug.
197	Salacia	M	x	x	x		x				x					Caes.
198	Salmantica			x	x						x			x		Fl.?
199	Salpensa	M	x				x			x	x		Quir.			Fl.
200	Segia	OS	x	x									Quir.			Fl.
201	Segisamo	Civ	x	x	x			x			x			x		Fl.
202	Segobriga	OS	x	x					x		x				x	Aug.
203	Segontia		x		x						x		Quir.			Fl.
204	Segontia Lanka		x	x					x		x		Gal./Quir.			Fl.
205	Segovia Astigitanus												Quir.			Fl.
206	Segovia Carpetania	M	x	x	x		x				x				x	Fl.
207	Sellium	M		x	x		x									Fl.
208	Seria Fama Iulia		x	x												Caes-Aug/Fl.?
209	Siarum	M	x				x		x		x					Caes./Fl.?
210	Sigarra	M		x			x				x					Aug./Fl.
211	Singilia Barba	M	x		x		x		x		x		Quir.			Fl.
212	Sisapo	M	x	x	x		x									Aug.
213	Monturque	M					x				x					Fl.
214	Suel	M	x	x	x		x									Pre-Fl.
216	Tarraga	OF	x	x									Quir.			Fl.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
217	Termes		x	x							x					Tib.
218	Titulcia			x	x								Quir.			Fl.
219	Toletum	OS	x	x	x				x		x					Fl.
220	Tugia	M	x	x	x		x				x					Fl.
221	Turiaso	M c.R.	x	x	x		x				x				x	Aug.
222	Ugia Martia	M					x									
223	Urgia	OLat	x	x	x											Caes.
224	Ulia Fidentia	OLat	x	x	x				x		x					Caes.
225	Ulisi								x		x		Quir.			Fl.
226	Urgavo	M					x				x					Caes.
227	Urgapa?				x								Quir.			Fl.
228	Uxama Argaela		x	x	x											Tib.
229	Valeria	OLat	x	x					x		x					Aug.
230	Veleia		x	x	x								Quir.			Fl.
231	Ventipo	M	x				x			?	x		Quir.			Fl.
232	Vergilia	M	x	x			x				x		Quir.			Fl.
233	Villo	M					x			x	x					Fl.
234	Interamna	M	x				x	x								
235	Vivatia	M	x				x		x		x		Quir.			Fl.
237	Cinna	OS	x	x	x											Fl.?
238	Batora										x					Fl.?
239	Bursao	OS	x	x												Fl.?

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
240	Cibilis	M	x				x									Fl.?
241	Cortona	OS	x													Fl.?
242	Iluberis	OS	x	x												Fl.?
243	Aeminium	OS	x	x	x				x							Fl.?
244	Alaba	OS	x	x	x						x					Aug.
245	Albocela			x	x											
246	Arabriga Scallabitanus	OS	x													
248	Arandis	M	x	x	x		x									Fl.?
249	Arucci	M	x	x	x		x	x								Fl.?
250	Ategua		x													Fl.?
251	Baeculo	OS	x	x												Fl.?
252	Baesippo	OS	x	x	x											Fl.?
253	Basti	OS	x		x											Fl.?
254	Belippo	OS	x													Fl.?
255	Ibrona	OS	x													Fl.?
256	Calagurris Fibularia	OS	x													Fl.?
257	Callicula	OS	x	x												Fl.?
258	Callet Gaditanus	OS	x						x							Fl.?
259	Callet Aenanicorum	M	x				x				x					Fl.?
260	Caracca			x												
261	Castra Gemina	OS	x													Fl.?
262	Celti		x		x											Pre-Fl.

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
264	Damania	OS	x	x					x		x		Gal.			Pre-Fl.
265	Eburobrittium	M	x				x				x					Fl.?
266	Edeba								x							Fl.?
267	Ilipula Magna		x	x									Quir.			Fl.
268	Iacca	OS	x	x												Fl.?
269	Eliocroca	OS	x		x											Fl.?
270	Ilursenses	OS	x													Fl.?
271	Serippo		x												x	Fl.?
272	Ispalensis	OS	x													Fl.?
273	Lacippo	OS	x	x					x		x					Fl.?
274	Lacobriga		x	x	x											Fl.?
275	Laelia	M	x	x			x				x				x	Fl.?
276	Lascuta	M	x				x									Fl.?
277	Lastigi	OS	x													Fl.?
278	Libia	OS	x		x											Fl.?
279	Marruca	OS	x													Fl.?
280	Nabrissa		x	x												Fl.?
281	Olontigi	OS	x													Fl.?
282	Orippo		x		x											Fl.?
283	Saguntia	OS	x	x												Fl.?
284	Saudo	OS	x													Fl.?
285	Segida Restituta Iulia		x	x							x					Fl.?

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
286	Sexi Firmum Iulium		x	x	x											Caes.
287	Talabriga		x	x	x									x		Fl.?
288	Virovesca		x	x	x											Fl.?
289	Bocchori	OF	x					x								Aug.
290	Boletum												Gal.			Aug.
291	Forum Gigurrorum		x	x	x											
292	Tagili								x							
293	Tuci	OLat	x													
294	Abdera		x	x											x	Pre-Fl.
295	Alba Bastetanorum	OS	x													
296	Aquae Querquernae	GS	x	x	x			x								
297	Artigi		x	x	x											
299	Attaccensis			x							x					
300	Auso	OLat	x	x							x					Aug.
301	Baedunia	Civ		x	x			x						x		
302	Forum Bibalorum	Civ	x	x				x								
303	Cara	OS	x													Fl.?
304	Carula				x											
305	Ceret	M					x									
306	Ficariensis Locus															
307	Flavium Brigantium			x	x											
308	Gallica Flavia			x												Fl.?

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
310	Iesso	OLat	x	x												Aug.
311	Interamnium Flavium			x	x											
312	Iria Flavia		x	x	x											
313	Labitulosa	M					x		x		x		Gal.			Aug.
314	Laepia Regia	OLat	x													
315	Leonica	OLat	x	x												Aug.
317	Mentesa Bastia	OS	x		x											Caes-Aug/Fl.?
318	Noega		x	x												
319	Flavia Lambris			x												Fl.?
320	Besaro	OS	x													Fl.?
321	Sanisera	Civ	x													
322	Segida Augurina		x													Caes-Aug
323	Tapori	M	x	x			x						Quir.			Fl.
324	Baxon(...)								?							
325	Urunia	M					x				x					Fl.
326	Vareia		x	x	x											
327	Langobriga		x		x									x		
328	Tamagani	Civ						x								
330	Aritium			x	x						x					
332	Koliobriga	Civ	x	x				x								
333	Intercatia			x							x		Quir.			Fl.
334	Civitas Maggaviensium	Civ						x								

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
335	Abelterium				x											Claud.?
336	Concordia	OS	x	x												Fl.?
337	Tongobriga			x												
338	Baria		x	x					x		x					Aug.
340	Cortijo del Tajo												Gal.			Aug.?
341	Aparicio del Grande															
343	Sabetanum										x					
344	Ipagrum				x						x					
345	Olaurum	M					x				x		Quir.			Fl.
346	Morana															
348	Ossigi		x								x					Caes-Aug
349	Detumo		x	x												
350	Onuba Cordubensis		x	x	x											
351	Ucia		x	x	x											
352	Solia													x		
354	Bardili	M	x				x									
355	Cale				x											
359	Tritium Autrigonum		x		x											
360	Mirobriga Vettones													x		
361	Poliba													x		
362	Ilunum			x							x		Gal.			Aug.?
363	Legio VII Gemina	GS		x	x								Quir.	x		Fl.?

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
364	Castra Caepiana	GS														
368	Ebura		x	x												
369	Cohors I Celtiberorum	GS														
371	Barbotum										?					Fl.?
372	Pintia			x	x											
373	Lucurgentum		x								x					
374	Segisama Iulia		x	x												
375	Amallobriga				x							x				
376	Biscargis	M c.R.	x	x			x									Aug.
377	Civitas Mirietanorum	Civ						x								
379	Avobriga	Civ	x					x			x					
380	Auriensis							?								
381	Visontium			x							x					
382	Otobesa			x							x					
384	Calontienses															
385	Cobelcorum	Civ						x								
386	Ilipoula			x	x											
387	Vergi		x						x							
389	Aracaeli	OS	x		x											Fl.?
391	Uxama Barca			x												
392	Contrebia Leucada															
393	Contrebia Belaisca	M					x									

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
395	Maenuba		x	x												
396	Cohors IV Gallorum	GS												x		
397	Aquae Calidae								x		x		Gal.?			Fl.
398	Deobriga			x	x											
399	Iulia Libica	OLat	x	x												
403	Mellaria Gaditanus		x		x											
404	Lansbrica	M					x									
405	Asso			x					x							
406	Urci		x	x	x											Caes-Aug
407	Sel		x	x												
408	Ripa	OF	x													
409	Alba Varduli		x	x	x											
410	Egelasta	OS	x	x												Fl.?
411	Tiar Iulia	OLat	x	x												
412	Civitas Lougei	Civ						x								
413	Civitas Susarri	Civ						x								
414	Interamica	Civ						x	x		x					
415	Aebisoci	Civ						x								
418	Civitas Orgenomesci		x	x												
419	Intercatia Vaccea		x	x	x						x		Quir.			Fl.
420	Gella			x	x											

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
421	Rubricatum			x												
422	Subur		x	x												
425	Menosca		x	x												
427	Vadinia	Civ		x				x								
428	Forum Narbasorum			x												
429	Santa Criz															
431	Vesci Faventia		x	x												
432	Arialdunum		x													
433	Callaeci	Civ	x													
434	Equaesi	Civ	x					x								
435	Oleastrum	OS	x	x												
436	Agla minor		x	x												
438	Vama			x												
439	Valabriga			x												
441	Amaia															
444	Castro de Rubiás															
502	Castellum Tyde		x	x												
503	Pisoraca	GS		x												
504	Alonis			x							x		Quir.			Fl.
505	Rauda			x	x											
512	Saltigi			x	x											
521	Aquae Celenae		x	x	x											

id	Canonical name	Status	Plin	Ptol	Itin.	Col.	Mun.	Civ.	R.p.	Lex	Mag.	Hos.	Tribus	Term.	Coin.	Promotion
523	Dactonium		x	x												
529	Argentiolum			x	x											
550	Nemetobriga			x	x											
600	Oiasso		x	x										?		
603	Portus Blendium	Civ	x													
604	Noouion		x	x												
627	Nertobriga			x	x											Fl.
636	Suestatium			x	x											
641	Iturissa			x	x											
642	Vindeleia			x	x											
657	Cappa	OS	x		x											Fl.?
740	Fornacis			x												
797	Caura		x													Fl.?
901	Begastri								x							
905	Salduba		x	x												
910	Cerretani Augustani	OLat	x													
911	Astigi Vetus	OLib	x													
912	Turduli	OS	x													

Appendix IV
Monumental buildings

Amphitheatres[1]

Canonical name	Degree	Dimensions	Arena	Foundation	Capacity	Source
Astigi	C	133*106?	73*45	High Empire		[2]; [3]; [4]
Aurgi	C			II		[4]; CIL II2/5,31
Capera	C	69*51	59*43	Flavian?		[2]; [3]; [4]
Carmo	C		58.8*39	I		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]
Carthago Nova	C	96.6*77.8	55.5*37	Augustan	10000-11000	[2]; [3]; [4]
Castulo	C					[3]; [4]
Conimbriga	C	98*86	48*36	Claudian-Nero	4000	[2]; [3]; [4]
Contributa Iulia	C					[A]

[1] [1]: Ramallo Asensio (2002).
[2]: Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003).
[3]: Thouvenot (1940).
[4]: Brassous (2015).
[A]: Mateos Cruz *et al.* (2014) 'El paisaje urbano de Contributa Iulia Ugultunia (Medina de las Torres, Badajoz).' In: Nogales Basarrate and Pérez del Castillo (eds.), *Ciudades Romanas de Extremadura*, 113-34.
[B]: Fraga da Silva (2007).
[C]: Conde Moragues (2013).
[D]: Diarte Blasco (2012): 81.
[E]: Galve *et al.* (2005): 181.
[F]: Vasco de Melo Martins (2014).
[G]: only recently discovered (February 2015) and not published yet.
[H]: González Fernández and Cearreño Gascón (1998): 1185.
[I]: Vasco de Melo Martins (2014).

Corduba	C			Augustan	30000-50000	[2]; [3]; [4]
Ebora	C	80*65	45*30	I-II		[2]; [4]
Elbocoris? (Bobadela)	C		49.5*39.5	I	1500-2000	[2]; [3]; [4]
Emerita Augusta	C	126.3*102.65	64.5*41.2	-8	15000-20225	[2]; [3]; [4]
Emporiae	C		74*44.4	Claudio-Neron	3000-3500	[2]; [3]; [4]
Gades	C			Pre-Augustan?		[2]; [4]
Italica	C	152.8*130.6	70.6*47.3	Hadrian	20000-35000	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]
Legio VII Gemina	C					[3]; [4]
Mellaria	P					[B]: Per. Com. Montorosso
Obulco	C					[G]
Segobriga	C	74*66.2	41.7*34	Claudian-Vespasian	5000-7000	[2]; [3]; [4]
Siarum	C			II		[3]; [4]; CILA II 946
Sisapo	C					[C]
Tarraco	C	109.5*86.5	61.5*38.5	II	12000-14000	[2]; [3]; [4]
Vergi	C			Augustan		[3]
Aquae Flaviae	P					[2]; CIL II 2473
Ceret	P					[2]; [3]; CIL II 1305
Urso	P					[3]; CIL II2/5, 1022
Acinippo	D					[1]
Asturica	D					[4]
Balsa	D					[D]
Barcino	P	117*93	60*35			[4]; [E]
Bracara Augusta	D					[4]; [F]

Caesaraugusta	D			[4]; [G]
Calagurris Iulia	D			[3]; [4]
Hispalis	D			[3]; [4]
Lucus Augusti	D			[4]: [H]
Olisipo	P	86*70		[I]
Singili Barba	D			[4]
Toletum	D		High Empire	[2]; [4]
Ucubi	D			[1]

Circus[2]

Canonical name	Degree	Dimensions	Arena	size (ha)	Foundation	Capacity	Source
Astigi	C						[4]; [A]; [B]; CIL II 1471/9
Balsa	C	375*80			II		[1]; [4]; [D]; CIL II 5165-5166
Calagurris Iulia	C	400*75		3	I (first half)		[1]; [3]; [4]
Contributa Iulia	C				Imperial		[1]; [4]; CIL II 984
Corduba	C			3	?		[1];[2]; [3]; [4]
Emerita Augusta	C	433*144	403*96	6.2	Julio-Claudian	30000	[1];[2]; [3]; [4]
Mirobriga Celtici	C	360*76		2.7	125		[1];[2]; [3]; [4]
Olisipo	C						[2]; [4]; [I]
Saguntum	C	354*73		2.6	II		[1];[2]; [3]; [4]
Segobriga	C				II		[4]; [C]

[2] [1]: Ramallo Asensio (2002).
[2]: Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.) (2001).
[3]: Humphrey (1986).
[4]: Brassous and Quevedo (eds.) (2015) *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise: Les espaces publics d'Hispanie et de l'Occident romain entre le IIe et le IVe siècle*.
[A]: García-Dils de la Vega (2012b) 'Colonia Augusta Frima Astigi (Écija, Sevilla): La estructura urbana de una fundación Romana en la Baetica.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincial de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, 111- 41.
[B]: Diarte Blasco (2012): 81.
[C]: Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010).
[D]: Fraga da Silva (2007).
[E]: Anglada Curado (2012) 'Arqueología urbana en Carmona: la ciudad romana.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincia de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, 185-205.
[F]: Fear (1996).
[G]: Ramírez Delgado (1982).
[H]: Canto (1986) 'Nemesis y la localización del circo de Itálica.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 52, 47-81; Hidalgo Prieto (2003) 'En torno a la imagen urbana de Italica.' *ROMULA* Vol. 2, 89-126.
[I]: Osland (2006) *The early Roman cities of Lusitania*.

Tarraco	C	325*115	290*77	3.7	Domitian	23000	[1];[2]; [3]; [4]
Toletum	C	423*101	408*85	4.3	I (first half)	13000	[1];[2]; [3]; [4]
Valentia	C				Imperial		[2];[3]; [4]
Arunda	P						[4]; CIL 1360
Augusta Gemella	P						[4]; CIL II 1663/1685
Batora	P						CIL II2/5,59
Castulo	P						[1]; [4]; CILA III 80/91/101
Ilipoula	P						[4]; CIL II 954
Iliturgi	P						[4]; CIL II 2100
Murgi	P						CIL II 5490
Oretum	P						[1]; CIL II 3221
Ostippo	P						[4]; CIL II 1441
Segida Restituta Iulia	P						CIL II 5354
Seria Fama Iulia	P						CIL II 5354
Singilia Barba	P						[4]; CIL II2/5,785
Tagili	P						[4]; AE (1979) 352
Ulia Fidentia	P						[4]; CIL II 1532
Urso	P				44 BCE		CIL II2/5,1022
Capera	D						[1]
Carmo	D						[4]; [E]
Gades	D						[1]; [F]; [G]
Hispalis	D						[3]
Italica	D						[1]; [H]

Consabura	D	[4]
Lucurgentum	D	[4]
Murgi	P	[4]; CIL II 5490

Theatres[3]

Canonical name	Degree	Cavea	Proscena	Date	Capacity	Source
Caesaraugusta	C	105	64	Tiberian	6000	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Clunia	C	96	49.5	Tiberian-Flavian	10000	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Carthago Nova	C	87.2	47	I BCE (end) - Augustan	7000	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Malaca	C	64.5	45	Augustan		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Saguntum	C	85	44	Julio-Claudian	6000	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Acinippo	C	62	42	59-53 BCE	3400	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Segobriga	C	65	42	Claudian-Flavian	2050	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Tarraco	C	70.8	41	Augustus-Flavian	4750	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Italica	C	75.76	40.5	13 BCE	4200	[1]; [2]; [3]; [5]
Regina	C	64	38	Tiberian-Flavian		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Bilbilis	C	78.2	36.5	Augustus-Tiberius	4600	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]

[3] [1]: Ramallo Asensio (2002).
[2]: Noguera Giménez *et al.* (2011-2012).
[3]: Sear (2006).
[4]: Aktüre (2007).
[5]: Brassous (2015).
[A]: Martins *et al.* (2013).
[B]: Caballos Rufino (2001) *Carmona Romana*.
[C]: Anglada Curado (2012).
[D]: Fraga da Silva (2007).
[E]: Philostratus *Vit. Apol.* 5.9
[F]: Abásolo Álvarez (1998).
[G]: González Fernández (2012).
[H]: Serrano Peña (2004) 'Las fortificationes de Orongis/Aurgi.' *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* Vol. 11, Nº 2, 11-22.
[I]: Fear (1996): 183.
[J]: Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012).
[K]: Dias (1997) *Tongobriga*.
[L]: Carrasco Gómez and Jiménez Hernández (2008).

Baelo Claudia	C	70	34	Claudius-Nero		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Pollentia	C	31	32	Julio-Claudian		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Singilia Barba	C	52	30	Augustus		[3]; [4]; [5]
Urso	C	32.5		Augustus		[3]; [4]; [5]
Metellinum	C	63		Augustus-Flavian		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Olisipo	C	80		Augustus		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 183
Gades	C	85		Late Republican		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Emerita Augusta	C	86.63		16-15 BCE	6250	[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Corduba	C	125		Augustus-Tiberius		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Acci	C					[2]
Arcobriga	C					[3]; [4]; [5]
Baetulo	C					[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Bracara Augusta	C					[A]
Capera	C					[3]; [4]
Carmo	C			I		[4]; [B]; [C]
Carteia	C			Augustus-Tiberius		[1]; [2]; [3]; [4]; [5]
Celsa	C					[3]; [4]; [5]
Ebora	C					[3]; [4]; [5]
Osca	C					[3]; [4]; [5]
Balsa	P	52				[D]
Segisamo	P	101				[F]
Augusta Gemella	P					[3]; [4]; CIL II 1663-1685
Barcino	P			Augustus		[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 4514
Canana	P					[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 1074
Cartima	P					[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 1956

Castulo	P	I-III	[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 3270
Celti	P	Imperial	CILA II 167
Hispalis	P	II-III	[3]; [5]; [E]
Isturgi	P		[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 2121
Lucurgentum	P		[3]; [4]; [5]; CILA II 1209
Mago	P	I	[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 6001b
Oducia	P		[5]; CIL II2/5, 1330
Osset	P		[3]; [4]; [5]; CIL II 1255
Palma	P		[2]; [4]; [5]
Aeminium	D		[5]
Astigi	D		[4]; [L]
Asturica Augusta	D		[G]
Aurgi	D		[4]; [H]
Begastri	D		[4]
Lacippo	D		[I]
Munigua	D		CILA II 1094
Orippo	D		[J]
Termes	D		[4]
Toletum	D		[3]; [4]
Tongobriga	D		[K]
Urgavo	D		CIL II 2113
Uxama Argaela	D		[4]

Fora[1]

Canonical name	Plaza	Source
Ammaia	31*31	Corsi (2012),
Astigi	135.04*130.91	[1]; García-Dils de la Vega, 2012: 740.
Baelo Claudia	37*30	[1]; Sillierès, 1997: 103.
Bilbilis	48.64*44.88	[1]; Martín-Bueno, 1990: 228.
Bobadela	48.2*37.3	[1]; Simões, 2009: 50-51.
Caesaraugusta	103*54	[1]; De Asís, Hernández Vera y Nuñez, 2007: 54-56
Capera	66*33	[1]; Cerrillo, 2009: 132.
Carthago Noua	76*33	[1]; Noguera *et al.*, 2009: 242.
Celti	28.50*28.50	[1]; Keay, Creighton y Remesal, 2000: 179.
Civitas Igaeditanorum	45*30	[1]; Gil Mantas, 2009: 183.
Clunia Sulpicia	140*72	[1]; Palol y Guitart, 2000: 17.
Conimbriga	36.80*23.60	[1]; Alarcão y Étienne, 1977: 99.
Corduba (Colonial)	132*68	[1]; Murillo, 2010: 77.
Corduba (Nouum)	145*90	[1]; Peña, Ventura y Portillo, 2011: 66.
Ebora	60.95*35.44	[1]; Hauschild, 2009: 33-34.
Emerita Augusta (Colonial)	100*60	[1]; Ayerbe, Barrientos y Palma, 2009: 698.
Ercauica	37*26.60	[1]; Lorrio, 2001: 108.
Iuliobriga	16*14	[1]; Fernández Vega, 1993: 169.
Libisosa	44*29	[1]; Uroz, 2012: 112.
Los Bañales	21.5*14	[1]; Andreu *et al.*, en prensa.
Lucus Augusti	93.6*66.5	[1]; Carreño y Rodríguez Colmenero, 2012: 302.
MirobrigaCeltici	25.5*22.08	[1]; Filomena, 2009: 212

[1] [1]: Dupré i Raventós (1997).
[2]: Romero Novella (2014a).
[3]: Romero Novella (2017) 'Los foros como indicio: la amortización de los espacios forenses en la Tarraconense.' In: Andreu Pintado (ed.), *Oppida Labentia: Transformaciones, cambios y alteración en las ciudades hispanas entre el siglo II y la tradoantigüedad*, 245-68.

Munigua	16'5*11'5	[1]; Cepeda, Iglesias y Ruiz Gutiérrez, 2009: 111.
Pollentia	38*26	[1]; Arribas y Tarradell, 1987: 124-125.
Saguntum	54*36.40	[1]; Aranegui, Hernández y López Piñol, 1987: 94.
Segobriga	38.76*32.98	[1]; Abascal, Almagro-Gorbea y Cebrián, 2007: 387.
Sellium	67.1*31.2	[1]; Da Ponte, 2009: 329.
Tarraco (Provincial)	293.56*159.43	[1]; Macías *et al.*, 2007a: Fig. 22.
Termes	45*32	[1]; Martínez Caballero, 2010: 246.
Tongobriga	90*60	Le Roux, 2014 [1999]: 173
Torreparedones	24*22	[1]; Morena y Moreno, 2010: 452.
Turobriga	38*37	[1]; Bermejo, 2010: 598.
Uxama Argaela	35*30	[1]; García Merino, 1987: 84-85.

Thermae et Balnea[1]

Canonical name	type	name thermal complex	size (excl. palaestra)	size (incl. palaestra)	epigraphy	source
Alange	Medicinal				CIL II 1024; ILS 3106	[1]
Aquae Bibilitanorum	Medicinal					[1]
Aquae Calidae	Medicinal				CIL II 4487-93	[1]
Aquae Celenis	Medicinal					[1]
Aquae Eletesibus?	Medicinal					[1]
Aquae Flaviae	Medicinal				CIL II 344	[1]
Aquae Voconiae	Medicinal	Puig de les Animes				[1]
Aquae Voconiae	Medicinal	Puig de Sant Grau				[1]
Aquae Celenae - Baenis	Medicinal					[1]
Aquae Querquernae	Medicinal				CIL II 2530	[1]
Arcobiga	Urban					[1]
Arva	Urban					[1]
Astigi	Urban				CIL II2/5, 1175; CIL II 1478	[1]
Asturica Augusta	Urban	Termas Mayores	1670	4200		[1]; [2]; [3]

[1] Arribas Domínguez (1999): 428; Hanel (2000): 23ss; Andreu Pintado (2000): 83ss; Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2004); Pavía Page (2016); Moltó (1992); González Soutelo (2012); González Soutelo (2013); Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011); Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2004); Pavía Page (2016); Noguera Celdrán *et al.* (eds.) (2018).

Asturica Augusta	Urban	Termas Menores		
Augusta Emerita	Urban	C. Baños close to forum		[1]
Aurgi	Urban		CIL II 3361	[1]
Azaila	Urban			[1]
Baelo	Urban			[1]
Baetulo	Urban	Clos de la Torre		[1]
Baetulo	Urban	Hort de les Monges	CIL II 4610: curator balinei novi	[1]
Baños de Archena	Medicinal		CIL II 3541-2	[1]
Baños de Cerrato	Medicinal			[1]
Baños de Ledesma	Medicinal			[1]
Baños de Molgas	Medicinal		EE IX 283b = IRG IV, 76; HEp 14, 2005, 228	[1]
Baños de Montemayor	Medicinal		CIL II 883-892	[1]
Barcino	Urban	Plaça de Sant Miquel	CIL II 4509; CIL II 4514	[1]; [2]; [3]
Barcino	Urban	casa Padellàs-carrer del Veguer		[1]; [2]; [3]
Bilbilis	Urban			[1]
Burguillos	Urban		CIL II 5354	[1]
Cabrera del Mar	Urban	450		[2]
Calagurris	Urban	Carretera de Arnedo		[1]; [2]
Calagurris	Urban			[1]
Calagurris	Urban	del norte		[2]

Caldas das Tiapas	Medicinal			CIL II 5560	[1]
Caldas de Canaveses	Medicinal				[1]; [3]
Caldas de Monchique	Medicinal			IRCP 56 = AE 1955, 262 = RAP 240	[1]
Caldas de Reyes	Medicinal				[1]
Caldas de Vizela	Medicinal			CIL II 355ss.; 2402; 2403 (Bormanico); 2407 (Fortunus; Aesculapius)	[1]
Caldelas	Medicinal			CIL II 5569; 5572; 2457	[1]
Carballo	Medicinal				[1]
Carteia	Urban				[1]
Carthago Nova	Urban				[1]; [3]
Cartima	Urban			CIL II 1956	[1]
Castulo	Urban			CIL II 3270	[1]
Cibda de Armea	Urban				[1]; [3]
Clunia	Urban				[1]
Complutum	Urban	Termas del Norte	348		[1]
Complutum	Urban	Termas del Sur	188		[1]
Conimbriga	Urban				[1]
Corduba	Urban				[1]
Cortijo del Ahorcado	Medicinal				[1]
Deobriga	Urban				[1]

Elegesta /Segestica	Urban					[1]
Emporiae	Urban					[1]
Fadagosa	Medicinal					[1]
Fitero	Medicinal					[1]
Flaviobriga	Urban					[1]
Fuente de la Mortera	Medicinal				CIL II 2701	[1]
Igaeditana	Urban					[1]
Ilerda	Urban			2000		[2]
Ilici	Urban					[1]
Ilici	Urban					
Iluro	Urban					[1]
Italica	Urban	Termas Mayores - Baños de la Reina				[1]
Italica	Urban	Termas Menores - Los Palacios				[1]
Iuliobriga	Urban					[1]
Labitolosa	Urban	Termas I	524			
Labitolosa	Urban	Termas II	450			
Lancia	Urban					[1]; [2]
Las Bovedas	Urban					[1]
Legio VII Gemina	Urban					[1]
Linares	Medicinal					[1]
Lucentum	Urban					[1]

Lucentum	Urban				[1]
Lucentum	Urban	M. Popilio Onyx			[1]
Lucus Augusti	Medicinal	actual Balneario			[1]
Lucus Augusti	Urban	500	2500?		
Mirobriga Celtici	Urban				[1]
Munigua	Urban				[1]; [3]
Murgi	Urban			CIL II 5489	[1]
Nertobriga	Urban				[1]
Numacia	Urban				[1]
Olisipo	Urban	Rua das Pedras Negras		CIL II 191-175	[1]
Olisipo	Medicinal	Rua da Prata - Rua dos Retroseiros		CIL II 175: Aesculapius (Claudian date)	[1]
Panticosa	Medicinal				[1]
Portus Hanni-balis	Urban	Convento de S. Francisco			[1]
Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium	Urban	180			
Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium	Urban				
Poza de la Sal	Urban				[1]
Quintanilla Cabe Soto	Urban				[1]
S. Pedro do Sul	Medicinal			RAP 239	[1]

S. Vicente do pinheiro da Vandoma	Medicinal				[1]
Segobriga	Urban	Termas orientales			[1]
Segobriga	Urban	Termas Occidentales - forum			[1]
Senhora da Luz	Medicinal				[1]
Suestatium		Termas de Arkaia	750		
Tarraco	Urban	C/ Sant Miquel	1400	CIL II 4112; 6102:	[1]; [2]
Tarraga	Urban				[1]
Tejares	Medicinal				[1]
Termes	Urban				[1]
Tiermas	Medicinal				[1]
Torreblanca del Sol	Medicinal				[1]
Tróia	Urban				[1]
Urso	Urban				[1]
Uxama	Urban				[1]
Vilavella	Medicinal				[1]
Vipasca	Urban			CIL II 5181	[1]

Appendix V
Social Network Analysis parameters

D = Degree; WD = Weighteed Degree; Norm. WD = Normalised Weighted Degree; CC = Closeness Centrality; BC = Betweenness Centrality; EC = Eigenvector Centrality.

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
1	Acci	6	7	0.24137931	0.118367	0.040831966	0.08644622
2	Asido	2	2	0.068965517	0.087822	0.00506703	0.01389588
3	Astigi	7	12	0.413793103	0.136425	0.096469343	0.06970971
4	Augusta Gemella	3	3	0.103448276	0.107322	0.0062958	0.01143589
5	Barcino	3	9	0.310344828	0.117037	0.019909949	0.08731348
6	Caesaraugusta	14	22	0.75862069	0.127074	0.056148022	0.36652036
7	Carissa	2	2	0.068965517	0.09506	0.004782668	0.01793949
8	Carteia	3	9	0.310344828	0.088165	0.021180728	0.00990892
9	Carthago Nova	7	19	0.655172414	0.138001	0.109177891	0.16374888
10	Clunia	6	8	0.275862069	0.125193	0.024584115	0.07752319
11	Corduba	10	19	0.655172414	0.146412	0.171689842	0.07571825
12	Dertosa	11	21	0.724137931	0.138898	0.124720445	0.43606132
13	Emerita Augusta	14	22	0.75862069	0.167561	0.252287929	0.70868687
14	Flaviobriga	5	11	0.379310345	0.105372	0.019877267	0.05134151
15	Gades	4	13	0.448275862	0.096828	0.008869065	0.07035739
16	Hasta Regia	7	15	0.517241379	0.103255	0.029095863	0.11879217
17	Hispalis	10	17	0.586206897	0.127753	0.103351125	0.13431693
18	Ituci Virtus Iulia	3	3	0.103448276	0.112715	0.004996707	0.01648993
19	Ilici	5	9	0.310344828	0.143058	0.036116737	0.20554131
20	Italica	7	9	0.310344828	0.134393	0.09848184	0.12017091
21	Iulia Traducta	3	9	0.310344828	0.085799	0.009117769	0.01135683
22	Libisosa	6	9	0.310344828	0.148121	0.01845174	0.3121232
23	Metellinum	7	13	0.448275862	0.150761	0.00827769	0.32909499
24	Munda	4	4	0.137931034	0.12648	0.084935817	0.04928759
25	Norba Caesarina	5	7	0.24137931	0.153671	0.010362722	0.34439867
26	Onoba Aestuaria	4	12	0.413793103	0.108353	0.027354138	0.03121021
27	Pax Iulia	3	5	0.172413793	0.132723	0.011673622	0.05482849
28	Salaria	4	4	0.137931034	0.120726	0.002808867	0.07876681

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
29	Scallabis	6	14	0.482758621	0.121557	4.37E-04	0.05943522
30	Tarraco	10	29	1	0.131904	0.124976611	0.37736916
31	Ucubi	3	3	0.103448276	0.129671	0.024689743	0.02538695
32	Urso Genetiva Iulia	3	3	0.103448276	0.114366	0.040669117	0.02259684
33	Valentia	8	15	0.517241379	0.155436	0.128082432	0.41972464
34	Celsa	8	14	0.482758621	0.125736	0.004282813	0.33045285
35	Ituci	1	1	0.034482759	0.081921	0	0.00139755
37	Baesucci	2	2	0.068965517	0.130505	0.030766539	0.03649669
38	Civitas Aravorum	3	3	0.103448276	0.114431	0.005008664	0.03211291
39	Civitas Baniensium	4	4	0.137931034	0.117239	0.007589716	0.05850856
40	Civitas Zoelarum	3	3	0.103448276	0.112872	8.59E-04	0.06877449
41	Igaeditania	3	3	0.103448276	0.135469	0.007647237	0.07617814
42	Contributa Ipsca	3	3	0.103448276	0.110627	0.009598543	0.01299404
43	Lacilbula	3	3	0.103448276	0.080941	0.005845021	0.00691929
44	Civitas Coilarnorum	10	14	0.482758621	0.131307	0.045179201	0.22513206
45	Sosontigi	2	2	0.068965517	0.099267	0.001098263	0.00858882
46	Tritium Magallum	2	4	0.137931034	0.100744	9.69E-04	0.01529234
47	Tutugi	2	2	0.068965517	0.11284	0.001286364	0.02900062
48	Acinippo	2	2	0.068965517	0.083798	0.003386384	0.00619288
49	Aeso	3	3	0.103448276	0.114949	0.008316615	0.08539623
51	Ammaia	4	4	0.137931034	0.147851	0.005679698	0.23594308
52	Andelos	5	5	0.172413793	0.106005	0.006316387	0.09633484
53	Anticaria	6	7	0.24137931	0.105674	0.041550413	0.04001024
54	Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae	2	2	0.068965517	0.088357	1.04E-04	0.00959682
55	Aquae Flaviae	5	5	0.172413793	0.137861	0.070834868	0.18110607
56	Arabriga	3	3	0.103448276	0.119764	0.002963371	0.08948203
57	Aratispi	2	2	0.068965517	0.099	0.006575874	0.01769002
58	Arcobriga	4	6	0.206896552	0.128807	0.005712029	0.08626653
59	Arcos de la Frontera	2	2	0.068965517	0.081038	6.27E-04	0.0054503
60	Arunda	2	2	0.068965517	0.087256	0.006660358	0.00854558
61	Arva	4	8	0.275862069	0.106033	4.36E-04	0.01152528
62	Ascua	2	2	0.068965517	0.099	0.006575874	0.01769002
63	Asturica Augusta	8	12	0.413793103	0.120296	0.041191275	0.1601347

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
64	Augustobriga Pelendones	3	5	0.172413793	0.132033	0.011614937	0.068509
65	Augustobriga Vettones	8	12	0.413793103	0.165579	0.059003447	0.70613711
66	Aurgi	3	3	0.103448276	0.111081	0.010594517	0.01988217
67	Avila	8	8	0.275862069	0.165714	0.186282304	0.81339943
68	Axati	4	8	0.275862069	0.107096	9.43E-04	0.01128574
69	Baedro	4	4	0.137931034	0.161047	0.123235044	0.28283069
70	Baelo Claudia	3	9	0.310344828	0.089486	0.013643047	0.01840844
71	Baetulo	2	8	0.275862069	0.105209	0.004618491	0.02523177
72	Balsa	4	12	0.413793103	0.113821	0.024945316	0.02307311
73	Barbesula	4	10	0.344827586	0.08666	0.026312213	0.01125764
74	Basilippo	4	4	0.137931034	0.127273	0.050560789	0.06363589
75	Bergidum Flavium	5	8	0.275862069	0.107068	0.008260796	0.12432815
76	Bilbilis	2	3	0.103448276	0.119062	0.002560709	0.03223663
77	Blandae	3	9	0.310344828	0.087594	2.35E-04	0.01422381
78	Bracara Augusta	7	16	0.551724138	0.120761	0.033828966	0.16440012
79	Brigaecium	6	9	0.310344828	0.130337	0.042968463	0.17034524
80	Caesarobriga	5	11	0.379310345	0.157425	0	0.42188558
81	Calagurris Iulia	5	11	0.379310345	0.110778	0.007998553	0.0483748
82	Calpurniana	2	4	0.137931034	0.130757	0.02163586	0.02359012
83	Canana	5	9	0.310344828	0.117037	0.004395266	0.03454603
84	Capera	5	7	0.24137931	0.153265	0.022731299	0.46028748
85	Carbula	6	12	0.413793103	0.128319	0.004257064	0.02903728
86	Carmo	4	6	0.206896552	0.12303	0.004030024	0.07136254
87	Carruca	4	4	0.137931034	0.116066	0.039205498	0.04356573
88	Cartima	3	3	0.103448276	0.094221	0.020996162	0.01664217
89	Cascantum	2	4	0.137931034	0.104585	1.38E-04	0.03178965
90	Castro del Río	2	2	0.068965517	0.117307	0.011854403	0.01074785
91	Castulo	5	7	0.24137931	0.130003	0.050022646	0.07550698
92	Cauca	3	5	0.172413793	0.140923	0.003468469	0.28347329
93	Caurium	4	4	0.137931034	0.140923	0.006680416	0.14507088
94	Cisimbrium	1	1	0.034482759	0.085402	0	0.00211824
95	Bletisama	4	4	0.137931034	0.138519	0.004926108	0.23541095
96	Collippo	3	3	0.103448276	0.114722	7.37E-04	0.05630028
97	Complutum	4	6	0.206896552	0.154197	0.048335341	0.22450031

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
98	Conimbriga	7	15	0.517241379	0.129382	0.033805137	0.1562071
99	Conobaria	5	11	0.379310345	0.103413	0.001032325	0.12627242
100	Consabura	3	5	0.172413793	0.158532	0.0014097	0.30352345
101	Contributa Iulia Ugultunia	4	6	0.206896552	0.151323	0.082039687	0.15692523
102	Cumbres Mayores	2	2	0.068965517	0.124007	0.003679756	0.01775438
103	Curiga	3	6	0.206896552	0.139904	0.059566798	0.07406686
104	Dianium	5	14	0.482758621	0.143717	0.034706784	0.17786804
105	Ebora	6	6	0.206896552	0.152402	0.077400153	0.21041782
106	Municipium Lunense	3	3	0.103448276	0.102499	0.010326541	0.01946106
107	Ebusus	4	16	0.551724138	0.138378	0.092807845	0.16436753
108	Edeta	3	3	0.103448276	0.143311	0.003998282	0.18223332
109	Egara	3	3	0.103448276	0.105263	0.001290047	0.03543744
110	Elbocoris	6	6	0.206896552	0.128481	0.007363526	0.1985104
111	Emporiae	4	13	0.448275862	0.088395	0.005030167	0.01088265
112	Epora	4	8	0.275862069	0.105482	0.004760646	0.00372165
113	Ercavica	3	3	0.103448276	0.149926	0.013328399	0.18865859
114	Flaviaugusta	2	2	0.068965517	0.111784	0.009851063	0.03343425
115	Flavionavia	6	12	0.413793103	0.11105	0.027103506	0.16498102
116	Forum Limicorum	3	3	0.103448276	0.111661	0.006075301	0.07373539
117	Gerunda	4	7	0.24137931	0.096713	0.01465398	0.01990887
118	Gracurris	5	11	0.379310345	0.1167	0.012281023	0.08649805
119	Guium	2	2	0.068965517	0.111815	8.29E-04	0.03314182
120	Iponoba	3	3	0.103448276	0.107237	0.016822067	0.01596298
121	Iamo	4	10	0.344827586	0.116801	0.00982789	0.10874286
122	Igabrum	3	3	0.103448276	0.107664	0.011670942	0.02535365
123	Ilerda	10	16	0.551724138	0.129341	0.045960972	0.39082716
124	Iliberri	3	3	0.103448276	0.111324	0.026307002	0.02847432
125	Ilipa Magna	6	11	0.379310345	0.132291	0.018174315	0.08693198
126	Ilipula Minor	4	4	0.137931034	0.106674	0.037236515	0.02635018
127	Iliturgi	5	9	0.310344828	0.1224	0.032981879	0.02917238
128	Iliturgicola	4	4	0.137931034	0.102889	0.018308411	0.01544958
129	Ilugo	4	7	0.24137931	0.128157	0.011843364	0.09593251
130	Ilurco	3	3	0.103448276	0.103519	0.003900739	0.02141623
131	Iluro Gaditanus	4	4	0.137931034	0.095372	0.019751725	0.01953785

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
132	Iluro Tarraconensis	4	10	0.344827586	0.0958	0.004943011	0.03001256
133	Ipolcobulcola	2	2	0.068965517	0.093355	0.004926108	0.00585805
134	Iporca	2	2	0.068965517	0.12454	0.008285528	0.01924067
135	Iptuci	2	2	0.068965517	0.096231	0.015724657	0.00802095
136	Irni	1	1	0.034482759	0.083419	0	0.00356092
137	Isturgi	4	8	0.275862069	0.109346	0.006588907	0.00931916
138	Iuliobriga	5	5	0.172413793	0.110087	0.026703177	0.05112654
139	Iulipa	1	1	0.034482759	0.122289	0	0.01489889
140	Corticata	4	4	0.137931034	0.141119	0.063645687	0.07488239
141	Lacimurga	5	7	0.24137931	0.151549	0.001708362	0.40598008
142	Laminium	5	7	0.24137931	0.142256	0.002728382	0.2235609
143	Lancia	6	9	0.310344828	0.130253	0.060627394	0.14389322
144	Lancia Oppidania	3	3	0.103448276	0.125154	1.83E-04	0.05541501
145	Lancia Transcudana	4	4	0.137931034	0.129588	0.0066193	0.11638941
146	Lassira	2	2	0.068965517	0.122032	0	0.11070019
147	Lucentum	4	10	0.344827586	0.131947	0.002991162	0.11664076
148	Lucus Augusti	8	12	0.413793103	0.102087	0.008768154	0.19830933
149	Mago	2	2	0.068965517	0.104639	0	0.02724673
150	Malaca	5	11	0.379310345	0.097013	0.03906176	0.02193692
151	Mantua	5	5	0.172413793	0.162791	0.031773852	0.57831236
152	Meidubriga	1	1	0.034482759	0.102707	0	0.00700612
153	Mellaria Cordubensis	4	6	0.206896552	0.154314	0.148810466	0.10907985
154	Mentesa Oretana	2	4	0.137931034	0.13268	0.002351046	0.07550405
155	Mirobriga Celtici	3	3	0.103448276	0.132853	0.0155157	0.06214305
156	Mirobriga Regina	5	5	0.172413793	0.155258	0.003826508	0.37218722
157	Civitas Luggonum	2	2	0.068965517	0.107521	0	0.04822618
158	Municipium Flavium V(...)	3	3	0.103448276	0.153381	0.04287373	0.15303905
159	Munigua	2	2	0.068965517	0.137487	0.016122864	0.04309577
160	Murgi	4	10	0.344827586	0.115079	0.047483147	0.03065845
161	Myrtilis	3	6	0.206896552	0.119976	0.0077702	0.01709268
162	Naeva	7	11	0.379310345	0.128481	0.0142185	0.06824476
163	Nertobriga Concordia Iulia	2	2	0.068965517	0.110808	4.83E-04	0.00681255
164	Nescania	2	2	0.068965517	0.093873	0.001023033	0.0143429

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
165	Nova Augusta	2	2	0.068965517	0.11284	0.001084899	0.02770586
166	Numantia	2	4	0.137931034	0.122437	0.003142532	0.02379706
167	Oba	2	2	0.068965517	0.079937	0.005187312	0.00566823
168	Obulco	4	6	0.206896552	0.122993	0.025129642	0.01778923
169	Obulcula	3	5	0.172413793	0.123254	0.005571558	0.04137517
170	Ocelum Duri	7	12	0.413793103	0.143972	0.081703668	0.31482681
171	Ocurri	2	2	0.068965517	0.076087	0.001651582	0.00430616
172	Oducia	6	10	0.344827586	0.121593	0.002959442	0.06986756
173	Ocilis	3	3	0.103448276	0.128076	0	0.08074458
174	Olisipo	6	17	0.586206897	0.128238	0.030051105	0.07952542
175	Oningi	2	2	0.068965517	0.099315	2.91E-04	0.02187743
176	Oretum	5	5	0.172413793	0.15508	0.040299812	0.37603508
177	Osca	6	8	0.275862069	0.120332	0.042773621	0.29908778
178	Osicerda	2	2	0.068965517	0.123856	0	0.15006767
179	Osset	6	12	0.413793103	0.123856	0.044791159	0.10927887
180	Ossonoba	5	11	0.379310345	0.121922	0.024360298	0.0469534
181	Ostippo	5	5	0.172413793	0.105072	0.009600438	0.03113603
182	Ostur	2	2	0.068965517	0.089211	0.004926108	0.00336186
183	Paesuri	4	8	0.275862069	0.118402	7.49E-04	0.06057446
184	Palantia Vaccea	4	4	0.137931034	0.130589	0.032915663	0.12784892
185	Palma	4	13	0.448275862	0.125774	0.008843185	0.13568575
186	Confluentia	3	3	0.103448276	0.140484	0.015640349	0.11145794
187	Petavonium	3	3	0.103448276	0.116499	0.003111504	0.06280972
188	Pollentia	5	14	0.482758621	0.116868	0.009041558	0.1311748
189	Pompelo	9	10	0.344827586	0.107921	0.053523782	0.14564151
190	Regina	3	4	0.137931034	0.133905	0.011312388	0.05738373
191	Rhoda	1	4	0.137931034	0.081232	0	0.00346188
192	Sabora	3	3	0.103448276	0.090991	0.012490955	0.01095054
193	Sacili	4	8	0.275862069	0.114463	0.008393354	0.00690927
194	Saepo	2	2	0.068965517	0.074619	0.00134652	0.00396997
195	Saetabis	4	7	0.24137931	0.142606	0.005885366	0.19563285
196	Saguntum	8	14	0.482758621	0.146889	0.128460179	0.31847603
197	Salacia	4	8	0.275862069	0.137023	0.018723124	0.08048236
198	Salmantica	10	12	0.413793103	0.156636	0.113890944	0.71101094
199	Salpensa	2	2	0.068965517	0.114334	0.032926471	0.03571411
200	Segia	2	4	0.137931034	0.115967	0.008288932	0.07695855

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
201	Segisamo	5	7	0.24137931	0.123517	0.035854099	0.08687047
202	Segobriga	9	9	0.310344828	0.166667	0.193730702	0.55270387
203	Segontia	9	11	0.379310345	0.146623	0.082570235	0.24553442
204	Segontia Lanka	2	2	0.068965517	0.128278	0.003638482	0.03737286
205	Segovia Astigitanus	4	8	0.275862069	0.120511	0	0.0250381
206	Segovia Carpetania	7	9	0.310344828	0.154197	0.056377698	0.52539202
207	Sellium	5	9	0.310344828	0.122437	0.00153132	0.08182522
208	Seria Fama Iulia	2	2	0.068965517	0.116767	0.001719502	0.00909013
209	Siarum	2	2	0.068965517	0.096049	0.001512033	0.02024123
210	Sigarra	4	4	0.137931034	0.118713	0.028253157	0.17694732
211	Singilia Barba	4	4	0.137931034	0.102293	0.011618825	0.03002917
212	Sisapo	4	4	0.137931034	0.141958	0.006069727	0.18050381
213	Monturque	4	4	0.137931034	0.113313	0.007835555	0.025392
214	Suel	2	8	0.275862069	0.090142	0.008961602	0.01072855
216	Tarraga	2	4	0.137931034	0.109316	0.00560132	0.03614699
217	Termes	3	3	0.103448276	0.136059	0.028990852	0.07684446
218	Titulcia	4	7	0.24137931	0.160221	0.016491677	0.39175071
219	Toletum	13	18	0.620689655	0.17737	0.349765552	1
220	Tugia	4	4	0.137931034	0.116266	9.14E-04	0.08483185
221	Turiaso	2	4	0.137931034	0.11284	0.0019499	0.0757585
222	Ugia Martia	2	2	0.068965517	0.12378	5.19E-04	0.02448323
223	Urgia	6	8	0.275862069	0.104855	0.028795863	0.06065159
224	Ulia Fidentia	2	3	0.103448276	0.129878	0.014927017	0.02240354
225	Ulisi	2	2	0.068965517	0.101627	0.016983542	0.01324103
226	Urgavo	2	4	0.137931034	0.117613	0.01282811	0.01292576
227	Urgapa?	2	2	0.068965517	0.09571	0.001404865	0.01470199
228	Uxama Argaela	4	6	0.206896552	0.126677	0.031341959	0.04324429
229	Valeria	4	4	0.137931034	0.148121	6.96E-04	0.25541757
230	Veleia	5	5	0.172413793	0.103757	0.011689331	0.08007815
231	Ventipo	2	2	0.068965517	0.099315	2.91E-04	0.02187743
232	Vergilia	2	2	0.068965517	0.108614	0.004657046	0.02838954
233	Villona	2	2	0.068965517	0.104666	3.33E-04	0.01060187
234	Interamna	7	7	0.24137931	0.131349	0.019332054	0.23972016
235	Vivatia	6	6	0.206896552	0.124578	0.032451893	0.10478115
238	Batora	2	2	0.068965517	0.110566	0.004758568	0.00898385

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
239	Bursao	2	4	0.137931034	0.124808	0.005869346	0.08297802
240	Cibilis	4	10	0.344827586	0.115967	0.012876054	0.04616012
241	Cortona	3	3	0.103448276	0.128076	0	0.08074458
242	Iluberis	5	5	0.172413793	0.108527	0.034472044	0.10068345
243	Aeminium	4	6	0.206896552	0.124387	0.005388811	0.15512786
244	Alaba	3	3	0.103448276	0.144279	0.001236866	0.18484611
245	Albocela	4	6	0.206896552	0.139904	1.62E-04	0.29272417
248	Arandis	2	2	0.068965517	0.111172	0	0.02268137
249	Arucci	2	2	0.068965517	0.132377	0.001777193	0.0444631
250	Ategua	3	6	0.206896552	0.128035	0	0.02571153
252	Baesippo	4	11	0.379310345	0.096117	0.025851332	0.05085522
253	Basti	6	8	0.275862069	0.126875	0.051951812	0.11034048
256	Calagurris Fibularia	3	3	0.103448276	0.113187	0.038315926	0.08581794
257	Callicula	2	2	0.068965517	0.1054	0.018713885	0.00934958
259	Callet Aenanicorum	5	5	0.172413793	0.10472	0.031149132	0.02013172
260	Caracca	2	2	0.068965517	0.147475	8.63E-04	0.13543845
262	Celti	8	15	0.517241379	0.119588	0.009795744	0.03033435
264	Damania	4	4	0.137931034	0.129837	0.003513192	0.10722464
265	Eburobrittium	2	2	0.068965517	0.113789	4.72E-04	0.02960827
266	Edeba	3	3	0.103448276	0.139089	0.033359638	0.11041388
267	Ilipula Magna	2	2	0.068965517	0.101297	0.016922655	0.0066365
268	Iacca	2	2	0.068965517	0.104828	0	0.03892302
269	Eliocroca	4	6	0.206896552	0.132033	0.005916223	0.10867147
271	Serippo	1	1	0.034482759	0.094816	0	0.00578995
273	Lacippo	1	1	0.034482759	0.079764	0	0.00399403
274	Lacobriga	6	8	0.275862069	0.131562	0.025226975	0.12978086
275	Laelia	3	5	0.172413793	0.119623	0.006269299	0.05022541
276	Lascuta	2	2	0.068965517	0.090504	0.012658671	0.00615084
277	Lastigi	1	1	0.034482759	0.118506	0	0.02614776
278	Libia	2	4	0.137931034	0.10042	0.001242105	0.02261659
279	Marruca	2	2	0.068965517	0.118333	0.005397953	0.01380901
280	Nabrissa	6	19	0.655172414	0.11259	0.035788006	0.14560973
281	Olontigi	6	19	0.655172414	0.10911	0.003223026	0.11359159
282	Orippo	2	4	0.137931034	0.114366	0.029879011	0.04437544
283	Saguntia	2	2	0.068965517	0.080876	7.41E-04	0.00569018

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
284	Saudo	3	3	0.103448276	0.086975	0.004806413	0.01143185
285	Segida Restituta Iulia	3	3	0.103448276	0.131818	0.011049916	0.03314479
286	Sexi Firmum Iulium	3	9	0.310344828	0.102655	0.034032832	0.0111121
287	Talabriga	6	14	0.482758621	0.12558	0.023885516	0.18851209
288	Virovesca	6	8	0.275862069	0.110147	0.039742176	0.08057747
289	Bocchori	1	1	0.034482759	0.104666	0	0.02571071
290	Boletum	3	3	0.103448276	0.112872	0.004926108	0.10030427
291	Forum Gigurrorum	7	11	0.379310345	0.114205	0.022317881	0.14622595
292	Tagili	2	2	0.068965517	0.11284	2.99E-04	0.03745353
293	Tuci	2	2	0.068965517	0.10472	2.43E-05	0.0325721
294	Abdera	4	10	0.344827586	0.107778	0.042366375	0.01604533
295	Alba Bastetanorum	2	2	0.068965517	0.107379	0.002290984	0.02343708
296	Aquae Querquernae	5	7	0.24137931	0.124425	0.030793486	0.13947915
297	Artigi	3	5	0.172413793	0.13928	0.00654913	0.08072852
300	Auso	5	5	0.172413793	0.106814	0.023465408	0.0615899
301	Baedunia	2	2	0.068965517	0.118402	9.16E-04	0.06381603
302	Forum Bibalorum	3	3	0.103448276	0.096414	9.73E-04	0.07496618
303	Cara	5	7	0.24137931	0.105345	0.005259239	0.09589006
304	Carula	2	2	0.068965517	0.113503	0.002586101	0.01793852
305	Ceret	2	2	0.068965517	0.094595	0	0.04206914
306	Ficariensis Locus?	3	3	0.103448276	0.121812	0.00256505	0.06325926
307	Flavium Brigantium	6	12	0.413793103	0.103996	0.011623628	0.15448063
308	Gallica Flavia	5	5	0.172413793	0.120869	0.014093827	0.284672
310	Iesso	2	2	0.068965517	0.114851	0	0.10590772
311	Interamnium Flavium	3	5	0.172413793	0.108382	0.005879745	0.06251314
312	Iria Flavia	7	8	0.275862069	0.101831	0.005201014	0.15161301
313	Labitulosa	1	1	0.034482759	0.101449	0	0.01926462
314	Laepia Regia	2	2	0.068965517	0.095936	0	0.040797
315	Leonica	2	2	0.068965517	0.128197	0	0.08002925
317	Mentesa Bastia	5	5	0.172413793	0.107692	0.014058924	0.0318618
318	Noega	3	9	0.310344828	0.103757	0.012919905	0.07804397

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
319	Flavia Lambris	1	1	0.034482759	0.094221	0	0.03180552
321	Sanisera	2	2	0.068965517	0.104639	0	0.02724673
322	Segida Augurina	5	11	0.379310345	0.120941	0.002288187	0.03140573
323	Tapori	3	3	0.103448276	0.125619	7.33E-04	0.07998423
325	Urunia	3	3	0.103448276	0.132161	0.001837287	0.07931485
326	Vareia	5	9	0.310344828	0.109582	0.009904968	0.04114158
327	Langobriga	3	5	0.172413793	0.120905	0.008176281	0.11742655
328	Tamagani	5	5	0.172413793	0.123554	0.024721361	0.12312802
330	Aritium	6	10	0.344827586	0.134259	0.01820227	0.12314807
332	Koliobriga	3	3	0.103448276	0.112341	0.010310725	0.07725868
333	Intercatia	7	9	0.310344828	0.140097	0.08936723	0.21356272
334	Civitas Maggaviensium	5	5	0.172413793	0.119658	0.042867894	0.06490775
335	Abelterium	4	6	0.206896552	0.148663	0.021061156	0.24962881
336	Concordia	2	2	0.068965517	0.132377	1.98E-04	0.06297565
337	Tongobriga	2	2	0.068965517	0.117104	0	0.07705026
338	Baria	3	9	0.310344828	0.124349	0.048358127	0.04890219
340	Cortijo del Tajo	4	4	0.137931034	0.099803	0.031026233	0.02532965
341	Aparicio del Grande	2	2	0.068965517	0.097409	5.01E-04	0.01589392
343	Sabetanum	2	2	0.068965517	0.118783	0.011667812	0.01526433
344	Ipagrum	4	5	0.172413793	0.114398	0.013421954	0.03592948
345	Olaurum	2	2	0.068965517	0.09821	0.001254459	0.01265921
346	Morana	6	8	0.275862069	0.110027	0.042390102	0.05057921
348	Ossigi	2	2	0.068965517	0.112279	0.007048984	0.03211574
349	Detumo	4	8	0.275862069	0.116432	8.55E-04	0.01554149
350	Onuba Cordubensis	4	8	0.275862069	0.128116	0.012920914	0.02051034
351	Ucia	4	8	0.275862069	0.100744	0.002968874	0.00433991
352	Solia	1	1	0.034482759	0.124349	0	0.03102734
354	Bardili	2	2	0.068965517	0.143666	0.001737139	0.13526709
355	Cale	4	12	0.413793103	0.115967	0.00800413	0.08288362
359	Tritium Autrigonum	3	5	0.172413793	0.114463	0.028273594	0.04410637
360	Mirobriga Vettones	5	5	0.172413793	0.139041	0.030686471	0.23363726
361	Poliba	1	1	0.034482759	0.121703	0	0.04091146

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
362	Ilunum	7	12	0.413793103	0.140097	0.027062961	0.25274189
363	Legio VII Gemina	2	3	0.103448276	0.117307	0	0.06367509
368	Ebura	5	17	0.586206897	0.104774	0.019088059	0.10510217
369	Cohors I Celtiberorum	3	3	0.103448276	0.094683	0	0.10419844
371	Barbotum	3	3	0.103448276	0.114463	3.10E-04	0.14398827
372	Pintia	3	5	0.172413793	0.125619	0.003270317	0.05911008
373	Lucurgentum	1	1	0.034482759	0.094816	0	0.00578995
374	Segisama Iulia	2	2	0.068965517	0.110597	8.15E-05	0.02986195
375	Amallobriga	6	8	0.275862069	0.153208	0.155605124	0.43105005
376	Biscargis	2	2	0.068965517	0.123068	5.32E-04	0.13334346
377	Civitas Mirietanorum	4	4	0.137931034	0.147529	0.033123396	0.18643732
379	Avobriga	1	1	0.034482759	0.104964	0	0.01231702
380	Auriensis	12	18	0.620689655	0.106366	0.013701386	0.17833381
381	Visontium	2	2	0.068965517	0.11456	0.01024785	0.01975457
382	Otobesa	2	2	0.068965517	0.128197	0	0.08002925
384	Calontienses	4	4	0.137931034	0.148392	0.010406692	0.23953973
385	Cobelcorum	3	3	0.103448276	0.125116	0.010802531	0.06200121
386	Ilipoula	3	5	0.172413793	0.097878	0.00982789	0.00883412
387	Vergi	1	1	0.034482759	0.097315	0	0.00494773
389	Aracaeli	3	3	0.103448276	0.097667	0.00982789	0.05456119
391	Uxama Barca	3	3	0.103448276	0.104585	0.004241884	0.04341263
393	Contrebia Belaisca	2	2	0.068965517	0.120941	8.82E-04	0.08976813
395	Maenuba	2	8	0.275862069	0.098832	0.03223583	0.01030632
396	Cohors IV Gallorum	4	5	0.172413793	0.107807	3.39E-04	0.06759686
397	Aquae Calidae	4	4	0.137931034	0.096851	5.43E-04	0.03965491
398	Deobriga	2	2	0.068965517	0.094069	4.87E-05	0.02430994
399	Iulia Libica	2	2	0.068965517	0.103704	5.68E-05	0.02993551
403	Mellaria Gaditanus	2	2	0.068965517	0.083763	0	0.00876567
404	Lansbrica	2	2	0.068965517	0.093398	6.08E-06	0.02742035
405	Asso	2	2	0.068965517	0.114722	0.001795545	0.0213268
406	Urci	2	2	0.068965517	0.105839	0.001858021	0.01352225
407	Sel	2	2	0.068965517	0.099828	0	0.00861851
408	Ripa	4	8	0.275862069	0.10042	0.00250217	0.00327807

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
409	Alba Varduli	2	2	0.068965517	0.089035	0.004926108	0.01362356
410	Egelesta	5	5	0.172413793	0.13833	0.00178306	0.27535667
411	Tiar Iulia	3	3	0.103448276	0.133115	0.001607891	0.16080713
412	Civitas Lougeiorum	1	1	0.034482759	0.096736	0	0.02583976
413	Civitas Susarri	1	1	0.034482759	0.097808	0	0.01331788
414	Interamica	2	2	0.068965517	0.102655	0	0.05287314
415	Aebisoci	2	2	0.068965517	0.122252	0.001301904	0.04670614
418	Civitas Orgenomesci	2	2	0.068965517	0.099242	0.004926108	0.01369683
419	Intercatia Vaccea	2	2	0.068965517	0.118922	9.29E-05	0.05235492
420	Gella	2	2	0.068965517	0.122993	0	0.0536477
421	Rubricatum	4	4	0.137931034	0.105427	0.005910566	0.04314781
422	Subur	2	2	0.068965517	0.116801	0.005943496	0.07950914
425	Menosca	3	3	0.103448276	0.098544	0.004926108	0.02650129
427	Vadinia	1	1	0.034482759	0.090302	0	0.00368745
428	Forum Narbasorum	3	3	0.103448276	0.102681	0.00449756	0.05381679
429	Santa Criz	2	2	0.068965517	0.098258	0	0.05388746
433	Callaeci	1	1	0.034482759	0.1161	0	0.04378059
434	Equaesi	1	1	0.034482759	0.093376	0	0.0150828
438	Vama	1	1	0.034482759	0.116499	0	0.00696942
441	Amaia	1	1	0.034482759	0.106898	0	0.01476738
442	Tritium Tuboricum	1	1	0.034482759	0.089724	0	0.00663118
443	Bergium	2	2	0.068965517	0.103704	5.68E-05	0.02993551
502	Castellum Tyde	4	7	0.24137931	0.109257	0.007545175	0.08085063
503	Pisoraca	3	3	0.103448276	0.11792	0.001870467	0.04903228
504	Alonis	2	2	0.068965517	0.128157	0	0.05633025
505	Rauda	2	4	0.137931034	0.117989	0.001153458	0.0296726
512	Saltigi	6	9	0.310344828	0.15373	0.048883397	0.36388724
521	Aquae Celenae	2	2	0.068965517	0.099951	3.24E-05	0.04837017
523	Dactonium	2	2	0.068965517	0.098424	0	0.07826786
529	Argentiolum	2	2	0.068965517	0.107521	0	0.04822618
550	Nemetobriga	3	3	0.103448276	0.102967	0.004926108	0.07121426
600	Oiasso	3	6	0.206896552	0.102889	0.015559891	0.05184306
603	Portus Blendium	3	9	0.310344828	0.104076	0.012959495	0.04141018

id	Canonical name	D	WD	Norm. WD	CC	BC	EC
604	Noouion	3	9	0.310344828	0.110206	0.013298123	0.09657248
627	Nertobriga	2	2	0.068965517	0.115014	0.001859121	0.07595358
636	Suestatium	1	1	0.034482759	0.081772	0	0.00346692
641	Iturissa	1	1	0.034482759	0.097432	0	0.03268247
642	Vindeleia	2	2	0.068965517	0.099291	0.001290903	0.02448158
657	Cappa	2	2	0.068965517	0.09506	0.004782668	0.01793949
740	Fornacis	2	4	0.137931034	0.144381	0.006809933	0.13456923
797	Caura	5	16	0.551724138	0.111447	0.001785955	0.10537476
901	Begastri	3	3	0.103448276	0.126598	0.005410962	0.07399262
905	Salduba	3	9	0.310344828	0.088472	0.019085964	0.01252589

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abad Casal, L. (1984) *Los orígenes de la ciudad de Alicante*. Alicante, Instituto Juan Gil Albert.

(2004) 'Les ciutats romanes del sud-est del Conuentus Carthaginensis.' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 95-116.

Abad Casal, L. and Bendala Galán, M. (1997) 'Urbanismo y Ciudad: de las formaciones ibéricas a la consolidación del modelo romano.' In: L. Abad Casal, M.S. Hernández Pérez, and R. Ramos Fernández (eds.), *XXIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (Elche, 1995)* Vol. 2, Elche, Ayuntamiento de Elche: 11-20.

Abarquero Moras, F.J. and Pérez Rodriguez, F.J. (2010) '"La Ciudad" de Paredes de Nava y el problema de la identificación de la Intercatia vaccea.' In: F. Romero Carnicero and C. Sanz Mínguez (eds.), *De la región vaccea a la arqueología vaccea: Jornadas Científicas conmemorativas del 50 aniversario de la publicación de La Región Vaccea*, Valladolid, Centro de Estudios Vacceos "Federico Wattenberg" de la Universidad de Valladolid: 163-92.

Abascal Palazón, J.M. (1986) 'En torno a la promoción jurídica de la Segontia de los Arevacos.' *Gerión* Vol. 4: 213-23.

(1989) *La circulación monetaria del portus ilicitanus*. Valencia, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència.

(1995) 'Veinticinco años de estudios sobre la ciudad hispano-romana.' *Tempus* Vol. 10: 19-84.

(2009) 'Programas epigráficos en los foros Romanos de Hispania.' In: J.M. Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, Murcia, Museo Arqueológico de Murcia: 89-104.

Abascal Palazón, J.M. and Alföldy, G. (1998) 'Zeus Theos Megistos en *Segobriga*.' *AEspA* Vol. 71: 157-68.

Abascal Palazón, J.M., Almagro-Gorbea, M., and Cebrián, R. (2006) 'Segobriga: *Caput Celtiberiae* and Latin municipium.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmouth: 184-96.

Abascal Palazón, J.M. and Cebrián, R. (2010) 'El paisaje suburbano de Segobriga.' In: D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función* Vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba: 289-308.

Abascal Palazón, J.M. and Espinosa, U. (1989) *La ciudad hispano-romana: Privilegio y Poder*. Logroño, Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Tecnicos de La Rioja.

Abásolo Álvarez, J.A. (1975) 'Notas sobre el campamento romano de Sasamón (Burgos).' *PYRENAE* Vol. 11: 127-32 & I-IV.

(1998) 'La ciudad de Segisamo.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* I Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 585-98.

Abásolo Álvarez, J.A. and Albertos, M.L. (1976) 'Acerca de unas inscripciones de Poza de la Sal.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 42: 393-407.

Acuña Castroviejo, F. and Alles León, M.J. (2001-2002) 'Nuevas aportaciones a los mosaicos romanos de Galicia.' *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología* Vol. 17-18: 365-74.

Aguilar Sáenz, A., Guichard, P., and Lefebvre, S. (1995) *La ciudad antigua de Lacimurga y su entorno rural.* Badajoz, Diputacion Provincial de Badajoz.

Aktüre, Z. (2007) 'Geographic Distribution and Architectural Characteristics of the Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain: A Structuralist Interpretation.' In: B. Croxford, N. Ray, R. Roth, et al. (eds.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference,* Oxford, Oxbow Books: 17-33.

Alarcão, J.de (1988) *Roman Portugal.* Warminster, Aris & Philips.

(1990) 'Identificação das Cidades da Lusitânia Portuguesa e dos seus Territórios.' *Les Villes de Lusitanie Romaine: hierarchies et territories. Table ronde internationale du CNRS,* Éditions du Centre Nacional de la Recherche Scientifique: 21-34.

(1996) 'Aglomerados urbanos secundários romanos de Entre-Douro e Minho.' In: S. Reboreda Morillo and P.M. López Barja de Quiroga (eds.) *A cidade e o mundo: Romanización e cambio social,* Xinzo de Limia, Excmo. Concello de Xinzo de Limia: 169-80.

(1998) 'As cidades capitais do norte de Portugal na época romana.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* vol. I, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 429-37.

(2001) 'Novas perspectivas sobre os Lusitanos (e outros mundos).' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 4, Nº 2: 293-349.

(2004) 'Notas de arqueologia, epigrafia e toponímia - II.' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 7, Nº 2: 193-216.

Alarcão, J.de, Álvarez Martínez, J.M., Cepas Palanca, A., *et al.* (1995) *TIR J-29: Lisboa, Emerita, Sacallabis.* Madrid, Instituto Geográfico Nacional.

Albertos, M.L. (1975) 'Organizaciones suprafamiliares en la Hispania Antigua.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 40-41: 5-66.

Alföldy, G. (1987) *Römischen Städtewesen auf der neukastilischen Hochebene: Ein Testfall für die Romanisierung.* Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

(2000) 'Das neue Edikt des Augustus aus El Bierzo in Hispanien.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 133: 177-205.

(2002) 'In omnes provincias exemplum: Hispanien und das Imperium Romanum.' In: G. Urso (ed.) *Hispania terris omnibus felicior. Premesse ed esiti di un processo di integracione - Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 27-29 settembre 2001,* Pisa, Fondazione Niccolò Canussio: 183-99.

Almagro-Gorbea, M. (1957) *Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciónes.* Barcelona, CSIC.

(1987) 'El área superficial de las poblaciones ibéricas.' In: AAVV (ed.) *Los asentamientos Ibericos ante la Romanización,* Casa de Velazquez.

(1994) 'El Urbanismo en la Hispania <<Céltica>>: Castros y Oppida.' *Complutum* Vol. 4 Extra: 13-76.

(1995) 'From Hill Forts to *Oppida* in 'Celtic Iberia'.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.), *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia*, London, Oxford University Press: 175-207.

(2008) 'Medellín-Conisturgis: reinterpretación geográfica del Suroeste de Iberia.' *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* Vol. 126: 84-155.

Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Abascal Palazón, J.M. (1999) *Segobriga y su conjunto arqueológico*. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Álvarez Sanchís, J.R. (1993) 'La 'Sauna' de Ulaca: Saunas y baños iniciáticos en el mundo Céltico.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 1: 178-232.

Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Dávila, A.F. (1995) 'El área superficial de los oppida en la Hispania céltica.' *Complutum* Vol. 4 Extra: 209-34.

Álvarez González, Y., López González, L., García Quintela, M.V.*, et al.* (2017) 'Fonction urbanistique et religieuse de l'acropole de l'oppidum de San Cibrán de Las (Galicia, Espagne).' *41e Colloque International de l'Association Française pour l'Etude de l'Âge du Fer: Sanctuaires de l'âge du Fer. Actualités de la recherche en Europe celtique occidentale,* AFEAF.

Álvarez Martínez, J.M., Aranegui Gascó, C., Cepas Palanca, A.*, et al.* (2001) *TIR J-30: Valencia, Corduba, Hispalis*. Madrid, Instituto Geográfico Nacional.

Álvarez Rojas, A. (1999) *Tres estudios de historia de Cáceres: la colonia Norba y los campamentos de Servilio y Metelo; la calzada romana del puente de Alcántara; el término municipal de Cáceres en el siglo XIII*. Cáceres, Universidad de Extremadura.

(2002) 'Paisaje y Patrimonio. El caso de Baelo Claudia.' *Mérida: Ciudad y Patrimonio* Vol. 6: 11-20.

Álvarez Sanchís, J.R. (1999) *Los Vettones*. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

(2000) 'The Iron Age in Western Spain (800 BC-AD 50): an overview.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 19, Nº 1: 65-89.

(2011) 'Ciudades vettonas.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, Nº 2: 147-83.

Álvarez Sanchís, J.R. and Ruiz Zapatero, G. (2014) 'The Emergence of Urbanism in Early Iron Age Central Iberia.' In: M. Fernández-Götz, H. Wendling, and K. Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, Oxford & Philadelphia, Oxbow Books: 204-13.

Amela Valverde, L. (2000) 'Las ciudades fundadas por Pompeyo Magno en Occidente: Pompaelo, Lugdunum Convenarum y Gerunda.' *POLIS. Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antigüedad Clásica* Vol. 12: 7-41.

Amo, M. del (1982) 'El teatro de Acinipo.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Actas del Simposio 'El teatro en la Hispania Romana'*, Badajoz, Institución Cultural Pedro de Valencia: 215-52.

Andreau, J. (2016) 'Monumentalisation, finances publiques et vie économique.' In: A. Bouet (ed.), *Monumental! La monumentalisation des villes de l'Aquitaine et de*

l'Hispanie septentrionale durant le Haut-Empire - Actes du colloque de Villeneuve-sur-Lot (10-12 septembre 2015) Vol. 1, Bordeaux, Ausonius éditions: 43-53.

Andrés Hurtado, G. (2002) 'Municipium Calagurris Iulia Nassica.' *Kalakorikos* Vol. 7: 51-78.

Andreu Pintado, F.J. (2000) 'Evergetismo edicilio sobre termas en Hispania.' In: C. Fernández Ochoa and V. García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, Gijón, vtp editorial: 289-94.

(2004a) 'Algunas consideraciones sobre las ciudades romanas del territorio vascón y su proceso de monumentalización.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 17-18: 251-99.

(2004b) 'Apuntes sobre la Quirina tribus y la municipalización flavia de Hispania.' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 7, Nº 1: 343-64.

(2004c) *Edictum, municipium y lex: Hispania en época flavia (69-96 d.C.)* Vol. 1293. Oxford, Archaeopress.

(2012a) *La ciudad romana de Los Bañales (Uncastillo, Zaragoza): entre la historia, la arqueología y la historiografía.* Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Cátolico.

(2012b) 'Vbi aqvae ibi salvs: Verbindung zwischen Gesundheit und Religion in den Thermen des Römischen Hispanien.' In: R. Kreiner and W. Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, Leuven & Paris & Walpole, Peeters: 71-8.

Andreu Pintado, F.J., Cabrero Piquero, J., and Rodà de Llanza, I. (eds.) (2009) *Hispaniæ: Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*. Tarragona, Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica.

Angelis, F.de (2000) 'Estimating the Agricultural Base of Greek Sicily.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* Vol. 68: 111-48.

Anglada Curado, R. (2012) 'Arqueología urbana en Carmona: la ciudad romana.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and S. Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincia de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 185-205.

Antequera, F., Padrós, P., and Rigo, A., *et al.* (2010) 'El suburbium occidental de Baetulo.' In: D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función* vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba: 173-210.

António, J. and d'Encarnação, J. (2014) 'Grafito identifica Alter do Chão como Abelterium.' *ABELTERIVM* Vol. I: 39-42.

Aquilué Abadias, X. (2012) *Empúries: municipium Emporiae* vol. 6. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Aquilué Abadias, X., Castanyer, P., Santos, M., *et al.* (2002) 'El campo de silos del área central de la ciudad roman de Empúries.' *ROMULA* Vol. 1: 9-38.

(2006) 'Greek Emporion and its relationship to Roman Republican Empúries.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmouth, JRA: 18-31.

Aranegui Gascó, C. (2004) *Sagunto: Oppidum, emporio y municipio romano*. Barcelona, Bellaterra.

(2006) 'From Arse to Saguntum.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmouth, JRA: 63-74.

(2011) 'The most important Roman cities in Valencian Land untill the 3rd century.' *Catalan Historical Review* Vol. 4: 9-26.

Arasa i Gil, F. (1987) *Lesera: la Moleta dels Frares, el Forcall: estudi sobre la romanització a la comarca dels Ports*. Castellón, Servei d'Investigacions Arqueològiques i Prehistòriques.

(2008) 'La Mansio Ildum de la vía Augusta (Vilanova d'Alcolez, Castellón).' *El Nuevo Miliario* Vol. 5: 6-10.

(2013) 'L'Hostalot (Vilanova d'Alcolea, el Baix Maestrat). Excavacions a la *mansio Ildum* de la via Augusta. El complex arquitectònic de l'*horreum*.' *Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de Castelló* Vol. 31: 163-202.

Arboledas Martínez, L. (2008) 'Aspectos sociales y fiscales en las minas romanas del Alto Guadalquivir.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 29, Nº 2: 71-99.

Arce, J. (2006) 'Villae en el paisaje rural de Hispania romana.' In: A.A. Chavarría, J. and G.P. Brogiolo (eds.), *Villas tardoantiguas en el mediterráneo occidental*, Madrid, CSIC: 9-16.

(2015) 'La inscripción de Orcistus y las preocupaciones del emperador.' In: L. Brassous and A. Quevedo (eds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez: 311-23.

Arribas Domínguez, R. (1999) 'Los balnea privados en el ámbito rural lusitano.' In: J.-G. Gorges and F.G. Rodríguez Martín (eds.), *Économie et territoire en Lusitanie romaine*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez: 427-51.

Arruda, A.M. (2009) 'Phoenician Colonization on the Atlantic Coast of the Iberian Peninsula.' In: C. López-Ruiz and M. Dietler (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 113-30.

Arruda, A.M. and Guerra, Á. (2002) *De Scallabis a Santarém*. Lisbon, Instituto Português de Museus.

Aubet, M.E. (2001) *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Ayerbe Vélez, R., Barrientos Vera, T., and Palma García, F. (eds.) (2009) *El foro de Avgvsta Emerita génesis y evolución de sus recintos monumentales*. Mérida, CSIC - IAM.

Azcárraga Cámara, S. and Ruiz-Taboada, A. (2012-2013) 'Los Orígenes de Complutum: el descubrimiento de la planta de la ciudad romana de San Juan del Viso (Villalbilla, Madrid).' *Anales de arueología cordobesa* Vol. 23-24: 95-116.

Bagnall, R. and Talbert, R. (2012) 'Pleiades.' pleiades.stoa.org (Published: 2012, Accessed: 16-05-2017).

Balil, A. (1987) 'Forum y fora en el noroeste peninsular.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 143-6.

Balil Illana, A., Pereira Menaut, G., and Sánchez-Palencia Ramos, F.J. (1991) *TIR K-29: Porto, Conimbriga, Bracaraugusta*. Madrid, Instituto Geográfico Nacional.

Bandelli, G. (2002) 'La colonizzazione romana della peninsola Iberica da Scipione Africano a Bruto Callaico.' *Hispania terris omnibus felicior: Premesse ed esiti di un processo di integrazione,* Pisa, Edizioni ETS - Fondazione Niccolò Canussio: 105-42.

Baquedano, E. (ed.) (2014) *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*. Alcalá de Henares, Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid.

Barata, M.F. (1998) *Miróbriga: Urbanismo e Arquitectura* Doctoral Thesis, Facultade de Letras, Universidade do Porto, Porto.

(2009) 'Caractarização Geral de Mirobriga.' In: T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudad y foro en Lusitania Romana / Cidade e foro na Lusitânia Romana*, Mérida, MNAR: 201-30.

Baret, F. (2013) 'Les agglomérations antiques du Massif Central.' In: F. Trément (ed.), *Les Arvernes et leurs voisins du Massif Central à l'époque romaine. Une archéologie du développement des territoires* vol. 2, Clermont-Ferrand, Alliance Université d'Auvergne: 31-70.

Barraca de Ramos, P. (1994) 'Problemática del urbanismo romano en Ávila.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* Vol. 2, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 49-51.

Barrandon, N. (2011) *De la pacification à l'intégration des Hispaniques (133-27 a.C.).* Bordeaux, Ausonius.

Bayona i Prats, L. and Buscató i Somoza, L. (2011) 'Restauració i condicionament de les termes romanes de Caldes de Malavella.' *Quadernos de la Selva* Vol. 23: 231-48.

Bejega García, V., González Gómez de Agüero, E., Campomanes Alvaredo, E*., et al.* (2012) 'Análisis Arqueomalacológico de la cannaba de Ad Legionem VII Geminam (Puente Castro, León): Primeros resultados.' In: J. Honrado Castro, M.A. Brezmes Escribano, A. Tejeiro Pizarro, et al. (eds.) *Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el valle del Duero: Del Neolítico a la Antigüedad Tardía. Actas de las segundas jornadas de jóvenes investigadores del valle del Duero.,* Glyphos.

Bekker-Nielsen, T. (1989) *The Geography of Power: Studies in the Urbanization of Roman North-West Europe*. BAR, Oxford.

Belén Deamos, M. (2009) 'Phoenicians in Tartessos.' In: C. López-Ruiz and M. Dietler (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*, Chicago, Chicago University Press: 193-228.

Bell, S. (2013) 'Roman Chariot Racing: Charioteers, Factions, Spectators.' In: P. Christesen and D. Kyle (eds.), *Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell: 492-502.

Bellvís Giner, M.A. (2006) 'Saetabis *versus* Edeta, Saguntum, Valentia y Carthago: interacción y dinamismo en el Levante Hispánico.' *ROMULA* Vol. 5: 7-26.

Beltrán Fortes, J., González Acuña, D., and Ordóñez Agulla, S. (2005) 'Acerca del urbanismo de Hispalis. Estado de la cuestión y perspectivas.' *Mainake* Vol. 27: 61-88.

Beltrán Fortes, J., Loza Azuaga, M.L., Ontiveros Ortega, E.*, et al.* (2011) 'La explotación y el empleo de Marmora en la Baetica. Un proyecto de investigación de base arqueométrica.' *Itálica. Revista de Arqueología de Andalucía* Vol. 1: 51-75.

Beltrán Lloris, F. (1999) '*Municipium C. R., << oppidum C.R.>> y << oppidum latinum>>* en la *NH* de Plinio: una revisión del problema desde la perspectiva Hispana.' In: J. González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, Sevilla, Universidad Sevilla-Diputación Provincial: 247-67.

(2004) 'Sobre la localización de Damania, Leonica, Osicerda y Orosis.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 4: 67-88.

(2011) 'Les colonies latines d'Hispanie (IIe siècle av. E.): émigration italique et intégration politique.' In: N. Barrandon and F. Kirbihler (eds.), *Les gouverneurs et les provinciaux sous la République romaine*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 131-44.

Beltrán Lloris, M. and Martín Bueno, M.A. (1982) 'Bilbilis y Celsa, dos ejemplos de ciudades romanas en el Aragon Antiguo.' *Caesaraugusta* Vol. 55-56: 143-63.

Beltrán Lloris, M. and Paz Peralta, J.A. (eds.) (2004) *Las aguas sagradas del Municipium Turiaso*. Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Cátolico.

Bénard, J., Mangin, M., Goguey, R.*, et al.* (1994) *Les agglomérations antiques de Côte d'Or*. Paris, Annales littéraires de l'Univeristé de Franche-Comté, Les Belles Lettres.

Bendala Galán, M. (1987) 'El plan urbanístico de Augusto en Hispania: precedentes y pautas macroterritoriales.' In: W. Trillmich and P. Zanker (eds.) *Stadtbild und Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit,* München, Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: 25-42.

(ed.) (1993) *La ciudad Hispanorromana*. Barcelona, Àmbit Serveis Editorials.

(1994a) 'El influjo cartaginés en el interior de Andalucía.' In: AAVV (ed.), *VIII Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica: Cartago, Gadir, Ebusus y la Influencia Púnica en los territorios Hispanos*, Ibiza, Govern Balear: 59-74.

(1994b) 'La Ciudad en la Hispania Romana.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* vol. 1, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 115-23.

(2001) 'Procesos de poblamiento, urbanización y evolución social en Iberia: una introducción.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia-Casa de Velázquez: 19-28.

Bernal Casasola, D. and Lara Medina, M. (2012) 'Desenterrando a Gades. Hitos de la arqueología preventiva, mirando al futuro.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 423-73.

Bernardes, J.P. (2006) ' A propósito da localização de Aranni/Arandis.' *Conimbriga* Vol. 45: 153-64.

(2010) 'Collipo: análise de espaços públicos.' In: T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Ciudad y Foro en Lusitania romana"*, Mérida, MNAR: 107-19.

(2012) 'A cidade de Ossónoba e o seu Território.' *Anaís do Municipio de Faro* Vol. XXXVII: 11-26.

Berrocal-Rangel, L. (1994) 'Castros de la Baeturia Céltica.' *Complutum* Vol. 4 Extra: 189-242.

(1998) *La Baeturia: Un territorio prerromano en la baja Extremadura*. Badajoz, Diputación de Badajoz.

Berrocal-Rangel, L. and Moret, P. (2007) 'Las Fortificaciones Protohistóricas de la Hispania Céltica. Cuestiones a debate.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Moret (eds.), *Paisajes Fortificados de la Edad del Hierro*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia: 15-33.

Biers, W.R. (1988) *Mirobriga: investigations at an Iron Age and Roman site in southern Portugal by the University of Missouri-Columbia, 1981-1986*.

Bintliff, J.L. (2000) 'Settlement and Territory: a socio-ecological approach to the evolution of settlement systems.' In: G. Bailey, R. Charles, and N. Winder (eds.), *Human Ecodynamics*, Oxford, Oxbow Books: 21-30.

(2002) 'Going to Market in Antiquity.' *Zu Wasser und zu Land* Vol. 7: 209-50.

(2010) 'Classical Greek Urbanism: a social Darwinian view.' In: R.M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds.), *Valuing Others in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden -Boston, Brill: 15-41.

(2014) 'Prosperity, sustainability, and poverty in the Late Antique world: Mediterranean case studies.' In: I. Jacobs (ed.), *Production and prosperity in the Theodosian Period*, Leuven - Warpole, Peeters: 319-83.

(2016) 'Early States in the Mediterranean Ion Age (Ca 1000-400 BC).' In: P. Attema, J. Seubers, and S. Willemsen (eds.), *Early States, Territories and Settlements in Protohistoric Central Italy*, Groningen, Universiteit Groningen: 1-8.

Bintliff, J.L. and Sbonias, K. (eds.) (1999) *Reconstructing Past Population Trends in Mediterranean Europe*. Oxford,

Blackman, D.J. (1982a) 'Ancient harbours in the Mediterranean. Part 1.' *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* Vol. 11, Nº 2: 79-104.

(1982b) 'Ancient harbours in the Mediterranean. Part 2.' *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* Vol. 11, Nº 3: 185-211.

Blasco Bosqued, M.C. (2001) 'El poblamiento en las cuencas de los ríos Duero y Tajo durante la Edad del Hierro.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia-Casa de Velázquez: 201-12.

Blázques Martínez, J.M. (1962) 'El impacto de la conquista de Hispania en Roma (218-154 a.C.).' *Estudios Clásicos* Vol. 7: 1-29.

(1963) 'El impacto de la conquista de Hispania en Roma (154-83 a.C.).' *Klio* Vol. 41: 168-86.

(2012) 'Toledo romana en la investigación actual.' *La ciudad romana en Castilla-La Mancha.*, Cuenca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: 57-85.

Bonet Rosado, H. and Mata Parreño, C. (2001) 'Organización del territorio y poblamiento en el país Valenciano entre los siglos VII al II a.C.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia-Casa de Velázquez: 175-86.

Borges Abel, A. (2008) *Os limites da Cidade.* Faculdade de Arquitectura, Universidade de Évora, Évora.

Bouley, E. (1983) 'Les théâtres cultuels de Belgique et des Germanies.' *Latomus* Vol. 42: 546-71.

Brañas Abad, R. (2004) 'A sociedade Castrexa a través da Epigrafía.' *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* Vol. LI, Nº 117: 115-205.

Brassous, L. (2015) 'Les édifices de spectacles d'Hispanie entre les IIe et IVe siègles.' In: L. Brassous and A. Quevedo (eds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez: 273-88.

Brassous, L. and Quevedo, A. (eds.) (2015) *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise: Les espaces publics d'Hispanie et de l'Occident romain entre le IIe et le IVe siècle.* Madrid, Casa de Velázquez.

Braudel, F. (1995) *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* Vol. 1. Translated by S. Reynolds, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Braunert, H. (1966) 'ius latii in den Stadtrechten von Salpense und Malaca.' *Niederösterreich* Vol. 5: 68-83.

Bravo Bosch, M.J. (2009) 'Latium maius versus latium minus en la Hispania Flavia.' *Anuario da Facultade de Dereito da Universidade da Coruña* Vol. 13: 39-56.

Bravo Castañeda, G. (2007) *Hispania: La epopeya de los romanos en la Península.* Madrid, La Esfera de los Libros.

Brodersen, K. (2001) 'The presentation of geographical knowledge for travel and transport in the Roman world: *itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta.*' In: C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, London, Routledge: 7-21.

Brunt, P. (1971) *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.- A.D. 14.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Burch, J., Nolla, J.M., Palahí, L.*, et al.* (2000) 'La fundació de Gerunda. Dades noves sobre un procés complex de reorganització d'un territori.' *Empúries* Vol. 52: 11-28.

Burillo Mozota, F. (2001) 'Etnias y poblamiento en el área Ibérica del Valle medio del Ebro: Sedetanos y Edetanos.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia-Casa de Velázquez: 187-200.

(2006) 'Segeda and Rome: the development of a Celtiberian city-state.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmouth, JRA: 159-71.

(2008) *Los Celtíberos. Etnias y estados* Barcelona, Crítica.

(2011) 'Oppida y "ciudades estado" celtibéricos.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, Nº 2: 277-95.

Burillo Mozota, F., Arenas, J., Picazo, J., *et al.* (2008) 'The Uncorrupting Mountain. Historical Dynamics in the Iberian Mountain Range from 5.500 BC to 1.800 AD.' In: C. Gandini, F. Favory, and L. Nuninger (eds.) *Colloque ArchaeDyn: 7 millennia of territorial dynamics*: 155-66.

Burnett, A., Amandry, M., and Ripollès Alegre, P.P. (1992a) *Roman Provincial Coinage, Volume I, Supplement 1*. London, British Museum Press.

(1992b) *Roman Provincial Coinage: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)* Vol. 1. London, British Museum Press.

Burnett, A., Amandry, M., Ripollès Alegre, P.P., *et al.* (eds.) (2006) *Roman Provincial Coinage Suppl. II*. Universidad de Valencia.

Burnham, B.C. (1993) 'The "Small Towns" of Roman Britain - The Last Fifty Years.' In: S. Greep (ed.), *Roman Towns: The Wheeler Inheritance: A Review of 50 Years' Research* Vol. 93, London, British Archaeology Research Report: 99-110.

(1995) 'Small Towns: The British perspective.' In: A.E. Brown (ed.), *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, Oxford, Oxbow: 7-18.

Burnham, B.C. and Wacher, J.S. (1990) *The 'small towns' of Roman Britain*. London, Batsford.

Butzer, K.W., Mateu, J.F., Butzer, E.K., *et al.* (1985) 'Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 75, Nº 4: 479-509.

Caballero Casado, C. (2016) 'Roman Roads: the Backbone of the Empire.' In: A. Cámara Muñoz and B. Revuelta Pol (eds.), *Roman Engineering*, Madrid, Fundación Juanelo Turriano: 69-86.

Caballos Rufino, A. (1978) 'Colonia Claritas Ivlia Vcvbi.' *Habis* Vol. 9: 273-92.

(2001) *Carmona Romana* vol. Universidad de Sevilla. Carmona.

(2010a) 'Colonizzazione cesariana, legislazione municipale e integrazione provinciale: la Provincia Hispania Ulterior.' In: G. Urso (ed.), *Cesare: precursore o visionario?*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS: 63-84.

(2010b) *Itálica-Santiponce: municipium y Colonia Aelia Augusta Italicensium* Vol. 7. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Cadiou, F. (2008) *Hibera in terra miles: les armées romaines et la conquête de l'Hispanie sous la république (218-45 av. J.-C.)*. Madrid, Casa de Velázquez.

Campbell, B. (1994) *The Roman Army (31 BC - AD 337)*. London-New York, Routledge.

Campos Carrasco, J.M. (2012) 'Arqueología urbana en Huelva: La ciudad romana (Onoba Aestuaria).' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 527-59

Campos Carrasco, J.M., Vidal Teruel, N., and Ruiz Acevedo, J.M. (2010) 'Acerca de la condición jurídica de Onoba Aestuaria.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 41, Nº 1: 97-117.

Canal Junco, A.P. (1994) *Sexto Pompeyo en Hispania*. Facultad de Geografía e Historia - Departamento de Historia Antigua, Universidad de Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

Canto, A.M. (1986) 'Nemesis y la localización del circo de Itálica.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 52: 47-81.

(1990) 'La tabula Lougeiorum: un documento a debate.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 17: 267-75.

(1991) 'Colonia Patricia Corduba: nuevas hipótesis sobre su fundación y nombre.' *Latomus* Vol. 50: 846-57.

(1996) '*Oppida Stipendiaria*: Los Municipios Flavios en la descripción de *Hispania* de Plinio.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 23: 212-43.

(1997) 'Algo más sobre Marcelo, Corduba y las Colonias Romanas del año 45 a.C.' *Gerión* Vol. 15: 253-81.

(1999) 'La Vetus Urbs de Itálica, quince años después. La planta hipodámica de D. Demetrio de los Ríos, con otras novedades.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 25, Nº 2: 145-91.

Caro Bellido, A. (1986-7) 'Nabrissa (Lebrija, Sevilla) los orígenes del núcleo urbano.' *Anales de la Universidad de Cádiz* Vol. 3-4: 55-70.

Carrasco Gómez, I. and Jiménez Hernández, A. (2008) 'Acerca de los edificios de espectáculos en Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi (Écija, Sevilla).' *ROMULA* Vol. 7: 7-52.

Carrasco Serrano, G. (2004) 'Avance para el estudio del poblamiento del territorio meridional de Castilla-La Mancha en época romana.' *Historia Antigua* Vol. XXVIII: 117-40.

Carreño Gascón, M.C. and Rodríguez Colmenero, A. (2012) 'La trama urbanística de Lucus Augusti: Génesis y evolución.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 295-318.

Carreras Monfort, C. (1995-1996) 'A new perspective for the demographic study of Roman Spain.' *Revista de Historia da Arte e Arqueologia* Vol. 2: 59-82.

(1996) 'Una nueva perspectiva para el estudio demográfico de la Hispania Romana.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 62: 95-122.

(2014) 'Nuevas tendencias y datos sobre la demografía romana en la Península Ibérica.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. LXXX: 53-82.

Carreras Monfort, C. and De Soto, P. (2010) *Historia de la movilidad en la Península Ibérica: redes de transporte en SIG*. Barcelona, UOC.

Carrilero Millán, M. and López Medina, M.J. (2006) 'La organización de la sociedad en el municipio romano de Castro del Río.' *Revista de Feria* Vol.: 12-20.

Carvalho, P.C. (2009) 'O *forvm* dos *Igaeditani* e os primeiros tempos da *civitas Igaeditanorum* (Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal).' *AEspA* Vol. 82: 115-31.

Castillo, C., Navarro Santana, F.J., and Martinez, R. (2001) *De Augusto a Trajano: un siglo en la historia de Hispania*. Pamplona, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra.

Cau Ontiveros, M.A. (2004) 'La ciutat romana de Palma: hipòtesis sobre el seu traçat urbà i restes arqueològiques.' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 191-237.

Cauuet, B. (2004) 'Apport de l'archéologie minière à l'étude de la mise en concessions des mines romaines aux IIe et IIIe siècles. L'exemple de Vipasca (Aljustrel, Portugal) et d'Alburnus Maior (Rosia Montana, Roumaine).' In: J.G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo, and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds.) *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones,* Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 33-60.

Ceballos Hornero, A. (2007) 'Geografía y cronología de los ludi en la Hispania romana.' *Caesaraugusta* Vol. 78: 437-54.

Ceballos Hornero, A. and Ceballos Hornero, D. (2003) 'Los espectáculos del anfiteatro en Hispania.' *IBERIA* Vol. 6: 57-70.

Celestino Pérez, S. (2013) '¿Fenicios en el interior?' In: A.M. Arruda (ed.), *Fenícios e Púnicos, por terra e mar - Actas do VI Congresso Internacional de estudos Fenícios e Púnicos* Vol. 1, Lisboa, Uniarq: 463-70.

Cepas Palanca, A., Guitart Duran, J., and Fatás Cabeza, G. (1997) *TIR K/J-31: Pyrénées Orientales, Baléares, Tarraco.* Madrid, Instituto Geográfico Nacional.

Cepeda Ocampo, J.J., Iglesias Gil, J.M., and Ruiz Gutiérrez, A. (2008) 'Territorio rural y espacio urbano en Iuliobriga (Cantabria).' In: J. Mangas Manjarrés and F.J. Navarro Suárez (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, Madrid, Sisifo: 103-39.

Cerdà, J.A., García, J., Martí, C.*, et al.* (1994) 'Iluro oppidum civium romanorum. Estado de la cuestión.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* Vol. II, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 97-9.

Cerrillo Cuenca, E., Alvarado, M. de, Castillo, J.*, et al.* (1994) 'La ciudad romana de Capara (Cáceres).' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* Vol. II, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 100-1.

Chao, J.J., Mesa, J.F., and Serrano, M. (1999) 'Un nuevo bronce hallado en la Alcudia.' In: J. González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, Sevilla, Universidad Sevilla-Diputación Provincial: 417-24.

Chastagnol, A. (1990) 'Considérations sur les municipes latins du premier siècle apr. J.-C.' In: AAVV (eds) *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IVe siècle ap. J.-C.)* Rome, École Française de Rome: 351-365.

Chávez Álvarez, M.E. (2004) *Análisis del territorio durante la ocupación protohistórica y romana en la depresión de Vera y Valle del río Almanzora, Almería.* Doctoral Thesis, Departamento de Prehistoria, Antropología e Historia Antigua, Universidad de la Laguna, Tenerife.

Childe, V.G. (1950) 'The Urban Revolution.' *The Town Planning Review* Vol. 21, N° 1: 3-17.

Chouquer, G. (2014) 'Carteia, colonie d'affranchis (Espagne - 171 av. J.-C.).' In *Etude juridique et historique du dominium et de la propriété foncière dans le monde romain (Ier s. av. - Ier s. ap. J-C)*, Paris, L'observatoire des fromes du foncier: (http://www.formesdufoncier.org/pdfs/Carteia.pdf).

Christaller, W. (1933) *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesotzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen*. Jena, Gustav Fischer.

Cisneros, M., Quintana, J., and Ramírez, J.L. (2005) 'Peña Amaya y Peña Ulaña: toponimia y arqueología prerromanas.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 5: 565-84.

Clark, P. (ed.) (1995) *Small towns in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

(2009) *European Cities and Towns 400-2000*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Clark, P. and Slack, P. (1976) *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Coelho Ferreira da Silva, A. (1995a) 'A evolução do hábitat castrejo e o proceso de proto-urbanização no noroeste de Portugal durante o I milénio a.C.' *Revista da Facultade de Letras. Historia* Vol. 12: 505-46.

(1995b) 'Portuguese Castros: The Evolution of the Habitat and the Proto-Urbanization Process.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: from the copper age to the second century AD*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 263-89.

(2007) 'A Evoluçâo do Sistema Defensivo Castrejo no Noroeste Peninsular.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Moret (eds.), *Paisajes Fortificados de la Edad del Hierro*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez: 99-111.

Collis, J. (2012) 'Centralisation et urbanisation dans l'Europe tempérée à l'âge du Fer.' In: S. Sievers and M. Schönfelder (eds.), *Die Frage der Protourbanisation in der Eisenzeit / La question de la proto-urbanization à l'âge du Fer*, Aschaffenburg, Dr. Rudolf Habelt: 1-15.

(2014) 'Urbanisation in Temperate Europe in the Iron Age: Mediterranean Influence or Indigenous?' In: M. Fernández-Götz, H. Wendling, and K. Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, Oxford & Philadelphia, Oxbow Books: 15-22.

Conde Moragues, L. (2013) 'Hipótesis sobre la posible identificación del anfiteatro de Barcino.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 2, Nº 44: 47-68.

Contreras Martínez, M., Märtens Alfaro, G., Ruiz Zapatero, G., *et al.* (2014) 'Oppidum, urbanismo y organización de los espacios de hábitat en El Llano de la Horca (Santorcaz, Madrid).' In: E. Baquedano (ed.), *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*, Alcalá de Henares, Museo Arqueológico Regional: 111-24.

Corbier, M. (1991) 'City, Territory and Taxation.' In: J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, London & New York, Routledge: 214-43.

Cordero Ruiz, T. (2010) 'Una nueva propuesta sobre los límites del *Ager Emeritensis* durante el Imperio Romano y la Antigüedad Tardía.' *Zephyrus* Vol. LXV: 149-65.

Corrales Aguilar, P. (2003) 'Datos para la reconstrucción histórica de la Málaga romana: una aproximación a su urbanismo.' *Mainake* Vol. XXV: 377-92.

Corrales Aquilar, P. and Corrales Aquilar, M. (2012) 'Malaca: de los textos literarios a la evidencia arqueológica.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 363-402.

Corsi, C. (2012) 'The Ammaia Project: Integrated Approaches for Studying Roman Towns in Lusitania.' In: F. Vermeulen, G.J. Burgers, S. Keay, et al. (eds.), *Urban Landscape Survey in Italy and the Mediterranean*, Oxford, Oxbow Books: 160-9.

Corsi, C., Johnson, P.S., and Vermeulen, F. (2012) 'A geomagnetic survey of *Ammaia:* a contribution to understanding Roman urbanism in Lusitania.' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Vol. 25: 121-45.

Cortés Bárcena, C. (2013) *Epigrafía en los confines de las ciudades romanas: los termini publici en Hispania, Mauretania y Numidia.* Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Cortés, R. (ed.) (1987) *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales.* Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos.

Costa Solé, A. (2011) 'Els espais de culte a les aigües al Territorium de Gerunda.' In: A. Costa Solé, L. Palahí Grimal, and D. Vivó i Codina (eds.), *Aquae Sacrae. Agua y sacralidad en la Antiguedad*, Girona, Universitat de Girona: 29-58.

Crawford, M.H. (ed.) (1996) *Roman Statutes: Volume I.* London, University of London Institute of Classical Studies.

Crawley Quinn, J. and Vella, N.C. (eds.) (2014) *The Punic Mediterranean: Identities and identification from Phoenician settlement to Roman rule.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Crespo Cabillo, C. (2009) 'Los "fora" de la época imperial: los ejemplos alpinos y sardos.' *VELEIA* Vol. 26: 287-95.

Cruz, G. (2015) 'O surgimento do espaço urbano no Noroeste da Ibéria. Uma reflexão sobre os oppida pré-romanos.' In: R. Martínez-Peñín and G. Cavero-Domínguez (eds.) *I Jornadas Internacionales sobre la Evolución de los espacios urbanos y sus territorios en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica,* León, Universidad de León - Universidade do Minho.

Cuco i Giner, J. (2008) *Antropología Urbana.* Barcelona, Ariel.

Cunliffe, B. (1995) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD.* London, 1994, British Academy.

(2001) *The Oxford Illustrated History of Prehistoric Europe* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Cunliffe, B. and Keay, S. (eds.) (1995) *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia.* London, British Academy.

Curchin, L.A. (1985) 'Vici and Pagi in Roman Spain.' *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* Vol. 87, Nº 3-4: 327-43.

(1990) *The local magistrates of Roman Spain.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

(2004) *The Romanization of Central Spain.* London & New York, Routledge.

(2012) 'The Urban Experience in Castilla-La Mancha in the Roman Period.' In: G. Carrasco Serrano (ed.), *La ciudad romana en Castilla-La Mancha*, Cuenca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: 15-28.

(2015) *A Supplement to the Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*. Waterloo, University of Toronto Press.

d'Encarnação, J. (2014) 'Augusto e a Lusitânia ocidental: uma nótula.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 32: 197-208.

d'Ors, A. and d'Ors, J. (1988) *Lex Irnitana: (texto bilingüe)* vol. 1. Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

d'Ors, X. (1997) 'Observaciones formales sobre la composición de la ley Ursonense.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 15: 63-93.

Dardaine, S. (1993) 'Une image des cités de Bétique aux IIe et IIIe siècles après J.-C.: l'emploi du terme respublica dans les inscriptions de la province.' In: J. Arce and P. Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez & CSIC: 47-58.

De Soto, P. and Carreras Monfort, C. (2009) 'La Movilidad en época Romana en Hispania: Aplicaciones de análisis de redes (SIG) para el estudio diacrónico de las infraestructuras de transporte.' *Habis* Vol. 40: 303-24.

Detlefsen, D. (1870) 'Die geographie der provinz Baetica bei Plinius (N.H. III, 6-17).' *Philologus* Vol. XXX: 265-310.

(1873) 'Die geographie der tarraconensischen provinz bei Plinius (NH. III, 18-30, 76-79; IV, 110-112).' *Philologus* Vol. XXXII: 600-68.

Diarte Blasco, P. (2012) *La configuración urbana de la Hispania tardoantigua*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Dias, L.T. (1997) *Tongobriga*. Lisboa, IPPAR - Ministério da Cultura.

Díaz-Andreu, M. and Keay, S. (eds.) (1997) *The archaeology of Iberia: the dynamics of change*. London, Routledge.

Díaz Álvarez, I. (2009) 'M.AR.CA. Museo Arqueológico de Cacabelos (León).' *Sercam.es* Vol. 3: 21-30.

Díaz Ariño, B. (2008) *Epigrafía Latina Republicana de Hispania (ELRH)*. Barcelona, Publicacions i Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.

Díaz Ariño, B. and Antolinos Marín, J.A. (2013) 'Los *argentarii* y las *societates* mineras de la zona de *Carthago Nova*.' In: J. López Vilar (ed.) *1er Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic,* Tarragona, Fundación Privada Mútua Catalana: 115-20.

Dietler, M. (2009) 'Colonial Encounters in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean: An Exploratory Framework.' In: M. Dietler and C. López-Ruiz (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia*, Chicago, The Chicago University Press: 3-48.

Domergue, C. (1990) *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l´antiquité romaine*. Rome, École Française de Rome.

(1998) 'A view of Baetica's external commerce in the 1st c. A.D. based on its trade in metals.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, Portsmouth, JRA: 201-15.

Domínguez, A.J. (2006) 'Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula.' In: G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* vol. I, Leiden, Brill: 429-505.

Dopico Caínzos, M.D. (1986) 'Los conventus iuridici: origen y naturaleza histórica ' *Gerión* Vol. 4: 265-83.

Drennan, R.D. and Peterson, C.E. (2004) 'Comparing archaeological settlement systems with rank-size graphs: a measure of shape and statistical confidence.' *Journal of Archaeological Science* Vol. 31: 533-49.

Ducke, B. and Kroefges, P.C. (2008) 'From Points to Areas: Constructing Territories from Archaeological Site Patterns Using an Enhanced Xtent Model.' In: A. Posluschny, K. Lambers, and I. Herzog (eds.), *Layers of Perception. Proceedings of the 35th International Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA)*, Berlin, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH: 245-51.

Dupré i Raventós, X. (ed) (1994) *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.

(1997) 'El Foro en las Provincias Hispanicas.' In: J. Arce, S. Ensoli, and E. La Rocca (eds.), *Hispania Romana: desde tierra de conquista a provincia del imperio*, Madrid, Electa: 156-60.

(2004a) *Córdoba: Colonia Patricia Corduba*. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

(2004b) *Tarragona: Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Edmondson, J. (2006) 'Cities and Urban Life in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, 30 BCE-250 CE.' In: D.S. Potter (ed.), *Companion to the Roman Empire*, Oxford, Wiley Blackwell: 250-80.

(2014) 'Hispania capta: Reflexiones sobre el proceso e impacto de la conquista romana en la Península Ibérica.' In: G. Bravo Castañeda and R. González Salinero (eds.), *Conquistadores y conquistados: Relaciones de dominio en el mundo romano*, Madrid-Salamanca, Signifer Libros: 19-44.

Engels, D.W. (1990) *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*. Chicago, University of Chicage.

Escacena Carrasco, J.L. and Belén, M. (1998) 'Pre-Roman Turdetania.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, Portsmouth, JRA: 23-37.

Escacena Carrasco, J.L. and García Fernández, F.J. (2012) 'La Sevilla Protohistorica.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 763-814.

Escudero Escudero, F. and Galve Izquierdo, M.P. (2013) *Las Cloacas de Caesaraugusta y Elementos de Urbanismo y Topografía de la Ciudad Antigua*. Madrid, Institución Fernando el Cátolico.

Espinosa Espinosa, D. (2013) *Plinio y los "oppida de antiguo Lacio": El proceso de difusión del Latium en Hispania Citerior*. Doctoral Thesis, Facultad de Geografía e Historia - Departemento de Historia Antigua, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

(2014) *Plinio y los "oppida de antiguo Lacio": El proceso de difusión del Latium en Hispania Citerior*. Oxford, Britisch Archaeological Reports.

(2015) 'Consideraciones sobre el papel de los "oppida veteris Latii" como focos de ignición de la romanización cultural y política de las comunidades hispanas en época republicana.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 23: 225-52.

Fabião, C.S. (2001) 'O povamento do sudoeste peninsular na segunda metade do I milénio a. C: Continuidades e rupturas.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Iberos*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia: 227-46.

(2009) 'A dimensão Atlântica da Lusitânia: periferia ou charneira no Império Romano?' In: J.-G. Gorges, J. d'Encarnação, T. Nogales Basarrate, et al. (eds.), *Lusitânia Romana- entre mito e realidade: Actas da VI Mesa-Redonda Internacional sobre a Lustânia Romana*, Cascais, Câmara Municipal de Cascais: 53-74.

(2014) 'La creación de la provincia romana de Lusitania.' In: J.M. Álvarez Martínez and N. Barrero Martín (eds.), *Augusto y Emerita*, Mérida, MNAR: 25-39.

Faroqhi, S. (1990) 'Towns, Agriculture and the State in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Anatolia.' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. XXXIII: 125-56.

Fatás Cabeza, G. (1990a) 'De la Extensión y el Poblamiento del casco Urbano de Caesaraugusta.' In: G. Fatás Cabeza (ed.), *De Zaragoza*, Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Cátolico: 87-101.

(1990b) *De Zaragoza*. Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Cátolico.

Fatás Cabeza, G., Caballero Zoreda, L., García Merino, C.*, et al.* (1993) *TIR K-30: Madrid, Caesaraugustus, Clunia*. Madrid, Instituto Geográfico Nacional.

Fear, A. (1996) *Rome and Baetica: urbanization in Southern Spain c. 50 BC- 150 AD*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Fernández-Baca Casares, R., Martín Alafont, F., García Jiménez, F.*, et al.* (1993) 'La consolidación y restauración del teatro romano de Acinipo. Ronda (Málaga). 1980.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2: 199-205.

Fernández Bordegarai, J. (2015) *In Corpore Sano: Las termas romanas de Arkaia - Erromatar garaiko Arkaiaki termak (Catalogue)*. Álava, Diputación Foral de Álava & Arkeologia Fournier de Naipes Museoa.

Fernández Ochoa, C. and Morillo Cerdán, A. (2003) 'Ciudades y aglomeraciones secundarias en el norte y noroeste de Hispania en época julio-claudia.' In: AAVV (ed.) *Colloquio Aquitania,* supp. 13 Federación Aquitania: 157-67.

Fernández Ochoa, C., Salido Dominguez, J., and Zarzalejos Prieto, M. (2004) 'Proyecto Termas Romanas en Hispania. Balance de una década de investigación (1993-2003).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 30: 167-85.

(2014) 'Las formas de ocupación rural en Hispania. Entre la terminología y la praxis arqueológica.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 40: 111-36.

Fernandez Ortea, J. (2017) 'Gestion privada del patrimonio cultural: los casos del monasterio de Monsalud y la ciudad romana de Ercavica.' *Pasos* Vol. 15, Nº 1: 121-37.

Fernández Palacios, F. (2011) 'Acerca del estatuto jurídico de Vergi (Villavieja, Berja, Almería) en época romana.' In: E. Sánchez-Moreno and G. Mora Rodríguez

(eds.) *Actas de las II Jornadas de Investigación en Historia Antigua: Política, Cultura e Imagen en el Mundo Antiguo,* Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: 219-31.

Ferrer Albelda, E. (2000) 'Nam sunt feroces hoc Libyphoenices loco: ¿libiofenicios en Iberia?' *SPAL* Vol. 9: 421-33.

Ferrer Sierra, S. (2015) 'Actuacións arqueolóxicas en Aquis Querquennis: 2010-2014.' *Larouco* Vol. 6: 149-54.

Fonseca Sorribas, D. (2012) 'El municipium Romano de Aquae Flaviae y su problemática.' *Antesteria* Vol. 1: 519-28.

Fonte, J., Valdez, J., Lemos, F.S.*, et al.* (2011) 'Citânia de Briteiros e médio vale do Ave (NW de Portugal): SIG e análise arqueológica do território.' In: V. Mayoral Herrera and S. Celestino Pérez (eds.), *Tecnologías de Información Geográfica y Análisis Arqueológico del Territorio. Actas del V Simposio Internacional de Arqueología de Mérida*, Mérida, IAM: 359-66.

Fraga da Silva, L. (2007) 'Balsa, cidade Perdida.' Tavira, Campo Arqueológico de Tavira e Câmara Municipal de Tavira:

(2009) 'Marim Romano: Recontituição topográfica e funcional do sítio arqueológico da Quinta de Marim (Olhão, Faro) e elementos da sua história territorial.', http://www.arkeotavira.com/alg-romano/marim2/index.html.

(2010) 'Da classificação de materiais arqueológicos à conjuntura Socioeconómica do passado romano.' *Xelb* Vol. 10: 191-214.

Francisco Martín, d., J. (1996) *Conquista y Romanización de Lusitania.* Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca.

Frigola Torrent, J. (ed.) (2015) *Intervencions arqueològiques al conjunt ibèric d'Ullastret (Baix Empordà) durant el bienni 2012-2013* Besalú, 2015, MAC Girona.

Fuentes Domínguez, A. (1987) 'Avance del Foro de Valeria (Cuenca).' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 69-72.

Fumanal, M.P. and Ferrer, C. (2007) 'El yacimiento arqueológico de La Picola (litoral de Santa Pola, España): estudio geomorfológico y sedimentológico.' *Cuaternario y Geomorfología* Vol. 12, Nº 1-2: 77-93.

Fustel de Coulanges, N.D. (1864) *La Cité Antique*. Paris, Durand.

Galsterer-Kröll, B. (1972) 'Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum.' *Epigraphische Studien* Vol. 9: 44-145.

(1975) 'Zu den spanischen Städtelisten des Plinius.' *AEspA* Vol. 48: 120-8.

Galsterer, H. (1971) *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel* vol. 8. Berlin, De Gruyter.

(1995) 'La trasformazione delle antiche colonie latine e il nuovo ius Latii.' In: A. Calbi and G. Susini (eds.), *Pro Populo Arimenese*, Faenza, Fratelli Lega: 79-94.

Galsterer, H. (1998) 'Wie funktioniert eine römische Stadt? Die Infrastructur römischer Municipien und Kolonien nach den Stadtgesetzen.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* vol. 1, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 19-33.

Galve, M.P., Magallón, M.A., and Navarro, M. (2005) 'Las ciudades romanas del valle medio del Ebro en época julio-claudia.' In: B. Goffaux (ed.), *L'Aquitaine et l'Hispanie septentrionale à l'époque julioclaudienne. Organisation et exploitation des espaces provinciaux (Saintes, 2003) IVe Colloque Aquitania*, Bordeaux, Fédération Aquitania: 169-214.

Gamo Pazos, E. (2014) 'El "Llano de San Pedro"(Valderrebollo, Guadalajara): Un oppidum en los confines de la Carpetania.' In: E. Baquedano (ed.), *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*, Alcalá de Henares, Museo Arqueológico Regional: 427-34.

Gamo Pazos, E., Fernández Ortea, J., and Sánchez Vela, J. (2017) 'El abastecimiento de agua a la ciudad romana del cerro de la Virgen de la Muela (Driebes, Guadalajara).' *VELEIA* Vol. 34: 237-47.

García-Bellido, M.P. (2002) 'Labores mineras militares en Hispania. Explotación y control.' In: Á. Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, Madrid, CSIC - Ediciones Polifemo: 19-46.

García-Dils de la Vega, S. (2012a) 'Colonia Augusta Frima Astigi (Écija, Sevilla).' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 723-62.

García-Dils de la Vega, S. (2012b) 'Colonia Augusta Frima Astigi (Écija, Sevilla): La estructura urbana de una fundación Romana en la Baetica.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and S. Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincial de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, Sevilla Universidad de Sevilla 111-41.

Garcia-Garcia, E., Txoperena, J.M.M., Sala, R., *et al.* (2016) 'Magnetometer survey at the newly discovered Roman city of Auritz/Burguete (Navarre). Results and preliminary archaeological interpretation.' *Archaeological Prospection* Vol. 23: 243-56.

García Alonso, J.L. (2003) *La Península Ibérica en la Geografía de Claudio Ptolomeo*. Vitoria Gasteiz, Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.

García Entero, V. (2005) *Los balnea domésticos - ámbito rural y urbano- en la Hispania romana*. Madrid, CSIC.

(2016) 'Öffentliche Thermen un private Bäder in Hispanien.' In: F. Teichner (ed.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Provinzialrömischen Archäologie in Hispanien*, Marburg, Vorgeschichtliches Seminar der Phillips-Universität Marburg: 63-9.

García Fernández, D.E. (2014) 'Estrabón (III, 2, 1) y la fundación de Córdoba. Una nueva propuesta de interpretación.' In: M. Chiaba (ed.), *Hoc qvoqve laboris praemivm. Scritti in onore di Gino Bandelli*, Trieste, Edizioni Universtà di Trieste: 173-88.

García Fernández, E. (2000) 'Plinio y los oppida stipendiaria. A propósito de un artículo de Alicia M.ª Canto.' *Gerión* Vol. 18: 571-91.

García Fernández, E.B. (1991) 'El ius latii y los municipia Latina.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 9: 29-42.

García García, M. (2011) 'La ocupación del valle del Duero en la Prehistoria Reciente: los recintos de fosos.' In: V. Mayoral Herrera and S. Celestino Pérez (eds.), *Tecnologías de información geográfica y análisis arqueológico del territorio*, Mérida, IAM - CSIC: 161-6.

(2016) 'Interpreting social change from above: causewayed enclosures of Northern Spanish Plateau.' *AARGnews* Vol. 52: 14-23.

Garcia i Rubert, D. (2011) 'Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de los patrones de asentamiento en el nordeste de la Península Ibérica durante la Primera Edad del Hierro. El caso del complejo Sant Jaume.' *Trabajos de Prehistoria* Vol. 68, Nº 2: 331-52.

Garcia i Rubert, D., Moreno Martínez, I., García Alonso, F., *et al.* (2011) 'Genesis and Development of the First Complex Societies in the Northeastern Iberian Peninsula During the First Iron Age (7th-6th Centuries BC). The Sant Jaume Complex (Alcanar, Catalonia).' In: P.M. Militello and H. Öniz (eds.) *15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology,* 1 Oxford, Archaeopress: 445-52.

García Iglesias, L. (1976) 'Autenticidad de la inscripción de municipios que sufragaron el puente de Alcántara.' *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* Vol. 32, Nº 1: 8.

(1979) 'Sobre los municipios Flavios de Lusitania.' *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* Vol. 118: 81-6.

García Merino, C. (1987) 'Desarrollo urbano y promoción política de Uxama Argaela.' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 53: 73-114.

(1999) 'Urbanización y ordenación del territorio en Uxama Argaela.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Actas da Mesa Redonda: Emergência e desenvolvimento das cidades romanas no norte da Península Ibérica*, Porto, IPPAR - Escola Profissional de Arqueologia: 191-220.

García Sanchéz, J. (2016) 'Aerial survey of the Ager Segisamonensis: a Roman landscape revisited (Sasamón, Spain).' *AARGnews* Vol. 52: 34-42.

(2018) 'Recuperar las termas de Segisamo (Sasamón): ¿una misión imposible?' In: J.M. Noguera Celdrán, V. García-Entero, and M. Pavía Page (eds.) *Congreso internacional Termas públicas de Hispania,* UNED.

García Valdeiras, M. (2001) 'O Forum Limicorum.' *Minius* Vol. IX: 39-50.

García y Bellido, A. (1958) 'Las colonias romanas de Lusitania.' *Arqueología e Historia* Vol. 8: 13-23.

(1959) 'Las Colonias romanas de Hispania.' *Anuario de historia del derecho español* Vol. 29: 447-512.

(2009 [1966]) *Urbanística de las grandes ciudades del mundo antiguo*. Madrid, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas.

Gimeno Pascual, H. (2004-2005) 'Nuevos datos para la Colonia Salaria.' *Lucentum* Vol. XXIII-XXIV: 181-4.

Goffaux, B. (2003) 'Promotions Juridiques et Monumentalisation des Cités Hispano-Romaines.' *Saldvie* Vol. 3: 143-61.

Gómez-Iglesias Casal, Á. (1997) 'Lex Ursonensis cap. 109: La tutela en la lex Usronensis y la ley municipal.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 15: 247-66.

Gómez-Pantoja, J.L. (2002-2013) 'Hispania Epigraphica Online Database.' Alcalá de Henares, Departamento de Historia I y Filosofia Universidad de Alcalá: http://eda-bea.es/ (Published: 05-11-2013, Accessed: 22-06-2017).

(2011) 'Un nuevo terminus augustalis de la Lusitania.' In: A. Sartori and A. Valvo (eds.), *Identità e autonomie nel mondo romano occidentale*, Faienza, Fratelli Lega Editori: 291-318.

Gómez Toscano, F. and Campos Carrasco, J.M. (1998) 'El Bronce Final prefenicio en Huelva según el registro arqueológico del Cabezo de San Pedro.' *Complutum* Vol. 19, Nº 1: 121-38.

González-Tablas Sastre, F.J. (2008) 'Los castros del occidente salmantino: Edad del Hierro y romanización.' *Zephyrus* Vol. 62: 139-49.

(2009) 'Las murallas de Las Cogotas y La Mesa de Miranda: Apuntes a la arquitectura defensiva de los Vettones.' *Zephyrus* Vol. 64: 63-79.

González Acuña, D. (2012) 'Planificación y gestión urbana en Hispalis.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 859-79.

González Blanco, A. (1987) *La cueva Negra de Fortuna (Murcia) y sus tituli picti. ¿Un santuario de época romana?* , Murcia, Universidad de Murcia.

(1992) 'El balneario de Fortuna y la Cueva Negra (Fortuna, Murcia).' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol.: 421-54.

(1998) 'El anfiteatro de Calahorra.' *Kalakorikos* Vol. 3: 193-6.

(2004) 'Begastri y la recuperación de la Antigüedad Tardía en el Sureste Peninsular. Reflexionando sobre la arqueología de campo de este período histórico.' *Antigüedad y Christianismo* Vol. XXI: 543-62.

González Fernández , E. and Cearreño Gascón, M.C. (1998) 'La capital del extremo noroeste hispánico: Lucus Augusti y su tejido urbano a la luz de las últimas intervenciones arqueológicas.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* II Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 1171-208.

González Fernández, J. (ed.) (1999) *Ciudades privilegiadas en el occidente romano: Actas del Congreso Internacional "Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano"*. Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla-Secretariado de Publicaciones.

González Fernández, M.L. (2012) 'Origen militar y desarrollo urbano de Asturica Augusta.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 257-94.

González Fernández, R. and Matilla Séiquer, G. (2007) 'Dos nuevas estelas funerarias con mención de origo procedentes del balneario de Archena (Murcia).' *Faventia* Vol. 29, Nº 2: 21-36.

González García, F.J. (2007) *Los pueblos de la Galicia céltica*. Madrid, Akal.

González García, F.J., Parcero Oubiña, C., and Ayán Vila, C. (2011) 'Iron Age Societies against the State: An Account of the Emergence of the Iron Age in North-western Iberia.' In: T. Moore and X.L. Armada (eds.), *Atlantic Europe*

in the First Millenium BC: Crossing the Divide, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 285-301.

González, J. (1989a) 'Las leyes municipales flavias.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, Mérida, MNAR: 133-52.

(1989b) 'Urso: ¿Tribu Sergia o Galeria?' In: J. González (ed.), *Estudios sobre Urso Colonia Iulia Genetiva*, Sevilla, Ediciones Alfar: 133-55.

(ed.) (1989c) *Estudios sobre Urso Colonia Iulia Genetiva: Simposio Internacional sobre Urso*. Osuna, Ediciones Alfar.

(1999) 'Nuevos fragmentos de la Lex Flavia Municipalis pertenecientes a la Lex Villonensis y a otros municipios de nombre desconocido.' In: J. González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, Sevilla, Universidad Sevilla-Diputación Provincial: 239-45.

González, J. and Crawford, M.H. (1986) 'The Lex Irnitana: A New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law.' *The Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 76: 147-243.

González Ruibal, A. (2006) *Galaicos: Poder y comunidad en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica (1200 a.C. - 50 d.C.)*. A Coruña, Museo Arqueolóxico e Histórico Castelo de San Antón.

González Soutelo, S. (2005) 'Aproximación al estudio de las aguas minerodecinales en la Antigüedad. El caso concreto de Caldas de Reis (Pontevedra).' *Gallaecia* Vol. 24: 99-125.

(2012) 'Thermal Spas in the Roman Age: An approximation to the architectonic configuration of baths with mineral-medicinal water in Hispania.' In: R. Kreiner and W. Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, Leuven & Paris & Walpole, Peeters: 79-86.

(2013) '¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de balnearios romanos? La arquitectura romana en los edificios de baños con aguas mineromedicinales en Hispania.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 39: 123-50.

Gorges, J.G. and Rodríguez Martín, F.G. (2004) 'De Lusitanie en Bétique: Regina et le reseau routier romain entre Guadiana et Sierra Morena.' In: J.G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo, and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds.) *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lvsitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones,* 5 Ministerio de Cultura 61-108.

Gozalbes Cravioto, E. (2000) *Caput celtiberiae: la tierra de Cuenca en las fuentes clásicas*. Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.

Graaf, P. de (2012) *Late Republican-Early imperial Regional Italian Landscapes and Demography*. Oxford, BAR.

Graauw, A. de (2016) 'Ancient Ports and Harbours, The Catalogue.' Grenoble, DARMC, Center for Geographic Analysis: http://www.ancientportsantiques.com/docs-pdf/ (Published: 2016, Accessed: 16-05-2017).

Graham, S. (2006) 'Networks, Agent-Based Models and the Antonine Itineraries: Implications for Roman Archaeology.' *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* Vol. 19, Nº 1: 45-64.

Grau Mira, I. and Moratalla Jávega, J. (2004) 'El paisaje antiguo.' In: L. Abad Casal and M.S. Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, Alicante, Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo: 111-8.

Gros, P. and Torelli, M. (1994) *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il mondo romano*. Rome, Editori Laterza.

Guitart i Duran, J. (1994) 'Un Programa de fundacions urbanes a la Hispania Citerior del principi del segle I A.C.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* vol. 1, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 205-13.

(2004) 'Ciutats romanes a Catalunya: urbanisme i arquitectura civil.' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 17-66.

(2010) 'The origin of the earliest Roman cities in Catalonia: An examination from the perspective of archaeology.' *Catalan Historical Review* Vol. 3: 9-30.

Gutiérrez Dohijo, E. and Rodríguez Morales, F.J. (1999) 'Tiermes: Nacimiento, formación y desarrollo de una ciudad romana en la Celtiberia.' *Actas da Mesa Redonda: Emergência e desenvolvimento das cidades romanas no norte da Península Ibérica*, Porto, IPPAR - Escola Profissional de Arqueologia: 171-90.

Gutiérrez Garcia-Moreno, A. and Rodà de Llanza, I. (2012) 'El mármol de Luni-Carrara en la fachada mediterránea de Hispania.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*, London, The British School at Rome: 293-312.

Gutiérrez Lloret, S. (2004) 'Ilici en la antigüedad tardia.' In: L. Abad Casal and M.S. Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, Alicante, Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo: 95-110.

Haba Quirós, S. (1998) *Medellín Romano: La Colonia Medellinensis y su Territorio*. Badajoz, Diputación de Badajoz.

Haensch, R. (1997) *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz, Zabern.

Halsall, G. (2007) 'Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568.' Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hanel, N. (2000) 'Militärische thermen in Niedergermanien - Eine bestandsaufname.' In: C. Fernández Ochoa and V. García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, Gijón, vtp editorial: 23-34.

(2005) 'Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence.' In: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A companion to the Roman army* Oxford, Blackwell: 375-416.

Hanley, R. (2000) *Villages in Roman Britain*. Princes Risborough, Shire.

Hanson, J.W. (2016) *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100BC to AD 300*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Haselgrove, C. (2000) 'The character of oppida in Iron Age Britain.' In: V. Guichard, S. Sievers, and O.H. Urban (eds.), *Les processus d'urbanisation à l'âge du fer: actes du colloque Glux-en-Glenne, 8–11 juin 1998*, Glux-en-Glenne: 103-10.

Hassan, F. (1981) *Demographic Archaeology*. New York, Academic Press.

Hauschild, T. (1994) 'Murallas de Hispania en el contexto de las Fortificaciones del área occidental del imperio Romano. .' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* vol. 1, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 223-32.

Haynes, I. (2013) *Blood of the provinces: the Roman auxilia and the making of provincial society from Augustus to the Severans*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hernández Guerra, L. (2007) *El tejido urbano de época romana en la Meseta septentrional*. Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

(2008) 'Algunas consideraciones sobre municipios flavios en la Meseta septentrional ' *Gerión* Vol. 26, Nº 1: 407-38.

Hernández Guerra, L. and Jiménez de Furundarena, A. (2001) 'Nueva propuesta de distribución territorial en la provincia de Salamanca.' In: L. Hernández Guerra, L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, and J.M. Solana Sáinz (eds.), *I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua "La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años"*, Valladolid, Centro Buendía, Universidad de Valladolid: 255-61.

Hernando Sobrino, M. (2002) 'Nota sobre nota. El bronce de El Bierzo y la Tabula de El Caurel.' *Gerión* Vol. 20, Nº 2: 577-84.

Hidalgo Prieto, R. (2003) 'En torno a la imagen urbana de Italica.' *ROMULA* Vol. 2: 89-126.

Hijmans, R.J., Cameron, S.E., Parra, J.L., *et al.* (2005) 'Very high resolution interpolated climate surfaces for global land areas.' *International Journal of Climatology* Vol. 25: 1965-78.

Hingley, R. (1989) *Rural settlement in Roman Britain*. London, Seaby.

Hipólito Correia, V. (1995) 'The Iron Age in South and Central Portugal and the emergence of Urban Centres.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 237-62.

(2001) 'O povoamento do Noroeste no I.º millenio a.C.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia-Casa de Velázquez: 213-26.

Hirt, A.M. (2010) *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235*. Oxford Scholarship Online.

Hollander, D.B. (2007) *Money in the Late Roman Republic*. Leiden, Brill.

Hourcade, D. (2004) 'Géographie des villes fortifiées en Lusitanie Romaine: tentative de definition de réseaux et de hiérarchies urbaines.' In: J.G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo, and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 223-53.

Houten, P.H.A. (2017) 'El papel de las aglomeraciones secundarias en las civitates dispersas.' In: S. Panzram (ed.), *Oppidum – civitas – urbs. Städteforschung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel zwischen Rom und al-Andalus*, Münster, LIT-Verlag: 569-95.

(Forthcoming) 'The dispersed civitas in Lusitania.' In: T. Stek (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Portugal in its Western Mediterranean context*, Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Hoyo, J. del, (1995) 'Duratón, municipio romano.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 108: 140-4.

Hübner, E.W.E. (1869) *Inscriptiones Hispaniae latinae/cconsilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae*. Berlin, Georgium Reimerium.

Humberts, M. (1976) 'Libertas id est civitas: autour d'un conflit négatif de citoyennetés au IIe s. avant J.-C.' *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité* Vol. 88, Nº 1: 221-42.

Humphrey, J.H. (1986) *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*. University of California Press, BErkley & Los Angeles.

Hurtado Aguña, J. (2000) 'Castros carpetanos de época prerromana.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 26: 85-93.

Illarregui Gómez, E. (2002) 'Acerca de los campamentos altoimperiales de Herrera de Pisuerga y su entorno.' In: Á. Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, Madrid, CSIC - Ediciones Polifemo: 155-65.

Isaksen, L. (2007) 'Network Analysis of Transport Vectors in Roman Baetica.' In: J.T. Clark and E.M. Hagemeister (eds.) *CAA: Digital discovery: exploring new frontiers in human heritage,* Budapest, Archaeolingua: 75-87.

Jiménez, A. (2011) 'Changing to Remain the Same: The Southern Iberian Peninsula between the Third and the First Centuries BC.' In: T. Moore and X.L. Armada (eds.), *Atlantic Europein the First Millenium BC: Crossing the Divide*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 506-20.

(2014) 'Punic after Punic times? The case of the so-called 'Libyphoenician' coins of southern Iberia.' In: J. Crawley Quinn and N.C. Vella (eds.), *The Punic Mediterranean: identities and Identification from phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 219-42.

Jiménez, A. and Carrillo, J.R. (2011) 'Corduba/Colonia Patricia: the colony that was founded twice.' In: R.J. Sweetman (ed.), *Roman Colonies in their First Century of their Foundation*, Oxford, Oxbow Books: 55-74.

Jiménez, A. and Hernández, L. (1999) 'La convivencia entre militares y civiles en Petavonium: una oportunidad para el evergetismo de los caballeros romanos.' *Conimbriga* Vol. 38: 65-74.

Jiménez Cobo, M. (2003) 'Las inscripciones romanas de Cerro Alcalá.' *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* Vol. 184: 39-82.

Jiménez Hernández, A., Jaén Candón, M., Peña Ruano, J.A., *et al.* (2015) 'El teatro romano de Carteia (San Roque, Cádiz): análisis de su diseño a partir de la prospección geofísica.' *ROMULA* Vol. 14: 161-85.

Jiménez Salvador, J.L. (1987a) *Arquitectura forense en la Hispania romana: bases para su estudio*. Zaragoza.

(1987b) 'Los modelos constructivos en la arquitectura Forense de la Península Ibérica.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 173-7.

(1993) 'Teatro y desarrollo monumental urbano en Hispania.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2: 225-38.

(2004) 'Les ciutats romanes de Castelló i València (ss. II aC-II dC).' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 67-94.

(2009) 'Los foros en las provincias de Hispania: estado de la cuestión.' In: J.M. Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, Murcia, Museo Arqueológico de Murcia: 37-64.

Jimeno Martínez, A. and Tabernero Galán, C. (1996) 'Origen de Numancia y su evolución urbana.' *Complutum Extra* Vol. 6, Nº 1: 415-32.

Johnson, G.A. (1980) 'Rank-Size Convexity and System Integration: A View from Archaeology.' *Economic Geography* Vol. 56, Nº 3: 234-47.

Jones, A.H.M. (1937) *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

(1971) *The cities of the Eastern Roman provinces*. Oxford, The Clarendon Press.

Juste Arruga, M.N. (1990) *El poblamiento de la Edad del Bronce y primera Edad del Hierro en Mora de Rubielos (Teruel)*. Seminario de Arqueología y Etnología Turolense.

(2000) 'Bolskan-Osca, ciudad iberorromana.' *Empúries* Vol. 52: 87-106.

Keay, S. (1988) *Roman Spain*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

(1996) 'Ideology and the location of Roman towns in Baetica.' *The Classical Bulletin* Vol. 72: 51-7.

(1998a) *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica* vol. 29. Portsmouth, JRA.

(1998b) 'The Development of Towns in Early Roman Baetica.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica* vol. 29, Portsmouth, JRA: 55-86.

(2001) 'Towns and cultural change in Iberia between Caesar and the Flavians.' In: L. Hernández Guerra, L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, and J.M. Solana Sáinz (eds.), *"La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años": actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid: 103-18.

Keay, S. and Earl, G. (2011) 'Towns and Territories in Roman Baetica.' In: A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 276-316.

Keppie, L. (1991) *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

King, L.J. (1984) *Central Place Theory*. London, SAGE publications.

Knapp, R.C. (1977) *Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206-100 B.C.*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid.

Kolb, A. (2001) 'Transport and communication in the Roman state: the *cursus publicus*.' In: C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, London, Routledge: 95-105.

Kolb, F. (1984) *Die Stadt im Altertum*. München, Beck.

(1993) 'Bemerkungen zur urbanen Ausstattung von Städten im Westen und im Osten des Römischen Reiches anhand von Tacitus, Agricola 21 un der Konstantinischen Inschrift von Orkistos.' *Klio* Vol. 75: 321-41.

Krugman, P. (1991) *Geography and Trade*. Leuven, Leuven University Press.

(1995) *Development, Geography, and Economic Theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

(1996) 'Confronting the Mystery of Urban Hierarchy.' *Journal of Japanese and International Economies* Vol. 10: 399-418.

(1998) *Development, Geography, and Economic Theory*. Cambridge, The MIT Press.

(2009) 'The Increasing Returns Revolution in Trade and Geography.' *The American Economic Review* Vol. 99, Nº 3: 561-71.

Kunow, J. (1988) 'Zentrale Orte in der Germania Inferior.' *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* Vol. 18: 55-67.

Laffi, U. (1966) *Adtributio e Contributio: Problemi del sistema politico-administrativo dello stato romano*. Pisa, Nistri-Lischi Editori.

Lagóstena Barrios, L.G. (2011) 'Asido Caesarina: La Antigüedad Romana de Medina Sidonia.' In: A.M. Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas (ed.), *Historia de Medina Sidonia desde los orígenes a la época Medieval* Vol. 1, Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación de Cádiz: 115-91.

Laurence, R., Esmonde Cleary, S., and Sears, G. (2011) *The City in the Roman West*. Cambridge, Cambridge U.P.

Le Roux, P. (1982) *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409*. Paris, De Boccard.

(1984) *Villes et fonctions urbaines dans le Nord-Ouest hispanique sous domination romaine*. Porto, 1983a, Porto, Instituto de Arqueologia.

(1990) 'Les villes de statut municipal en Lusitanie Romaine.' In: J.G. Gorges (ed.), *Les villes de Lusitanie Romaine: Hiérarchies et territoires*, Paris, CNRS: 35-49.

(1992-1993) 'Vicus et Castellum en Lusitanie sous l'empire.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 10-11: 151-60.

(1998) 'Armées et promotion urbaine en Hispanie sous L'Empire.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* I Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 193-208.

(2014a) 'Cités et territoires en Hispanie: l'épigraphie des limites.' In: P. Le Roux (ed.), *Espagne romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* vol. II, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 131-44.

(2014b) 'Géographie péninsulaire et épigraphie romaine.' In: P. Le Roux (ed.), *Espagne romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* vol. II, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 43-61.

(2014c) 'La ville romaine en Hispania.' In: P. Le Roux (ed.), *Espangnes romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* vol. II, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 173-88.

(2014d) 'Les colonies et l'institution de la province romaine de Lusitanie.' In: P. Le Roux (ed.), *Espangnes romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* vol. II, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 95-111.

(2014e) 'Rome et le droit latin.' In: P. Le Roux (ed.), *Espangnes romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* vol. II, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 455-78.

(ed.)(2014f) *Espagne romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Le Roux, P. and Tranoy, A. (1983b) 'Ɔ le mot et la chose: contribution au debat historiographique.' *AEspA* Vol. 56: 109-21.

Lemos, F.S., Cruz, G., Fonte, J., *et al.* (2011) 'Landscape in the Late Iron Age of Northwest Portugal.' In: T. Moore and X.L. Armada (eds.), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millenium BC: Crossing the Divide*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 187-204.

León, P. (ed.) (2008) *Arte romano de la Bética: Arquitectura y urbanismo*. Sevilla, Focus Albengoa.

Leveau, P. (1993) 'Agglomérations secondaires et territoires en Gaule Narbonnaise.' *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaisse* Vol. 26: 227-99.

Ligt, L. de (1993) *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire*. Amsterdam, J.C. Gieben.

(2012) *Peasants, Citizens and Soldiers. Studies in the Demographic History of Roman Italy 225 BC-AD 100*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

(2016) 'Urban Systems and the Political and Economic Structures of Early-Imperial Italy.' *Rivista di storia economica* Vol. XXXII, Nº 1: 17-76.

Ligt, L. de and Northwood, S. (eds.) (2008) *People, Land, and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC–AD 14*. Leiden, Brill.

Lineros Romero, R. (2005) 'Urbanismo romano de Carmona I.' *CAREL* Vol. 3, Nº 3: 987-1033.

Llorens Forcada, M.d.M. (1994) *La ciudad romana de Carthago Nova: las emisiones romanas*. Murcia, Universidad de Murcia.

Lomas, K. (1997) 'The idea of a city: élite ideology and the evolution of urban form in Italy, 200 BC–AD 100.' In: H.M. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City*, London & New York, Routledge: 21-40.

López-Mondéjar, L. (2010) 'El poblamiento ibérico en el Noroeste Murciano. Una aproximación al oppidum de Los Villaricos a través de su patrón de asentamiento.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 36: 7-25.

López Barja de Quiroga, P.M. (2010) '¿Quién hace qué con quién? La reconstrucción del texto.' In: I. Sastre Prats and A. Beltrán Ortega (eds.), *El Bronce de "El Picón" (Pino del Oro). Procesos de cambio en el occidente de Hispania.*, Junta de Castilla y León; Consejería de Cultura y Turismo: 61-5.

López Barja de Quiroga, P.M. and Rúa Carril, V. (2011) 'Vicarius en un nuevo altar a Edouius de Caldas de Reis (Pontevedra).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 177: 298-302.

López Castro, J.L., Martínez Hahnmüller, V., and Pardo Barrionuevo, C.A. (2010) 'La ciudad de Baria y su territorio.' *Mainake* Vol. 32, Nº 1: 109-32.

López Muñoz, J.J. (2015) 'Revalorización del patrimonio termal en la Región de Murcia. El Balneario de Archena: historia y arquitectura.' *IMAFRONTE* Vol. 24: 9-42.

López Pérez, M.C. (2010) 'Reflexiones sobre la época Flavia en Brigantium a partir de los datos proporcionados por la Terra Sigillata.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 36: 95-106.

Lorrio Alvarado, A.J. (1997) *Los Celtíberos*. Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid - Universidad de Alicante.

Lösch, A. (1938) 'The nature of economic regions.' *The Southern Economic Eournal* Vol. 5, Nº 1: 71-8.

Lostal Pros, J. (1992) *Los miliarios de la Provincia Tarraconense: (Conventos Tarraconense, Cesaraugustano, Cluniense y Cartaginense).* Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Cátolico.

Loza Lengaran, R., Loza Uriarte, M., and Niso Lorenzo, J. (eds.) (2014) *Las termas romanas de Arcaya / Suestatium (Arkaia. Vitoria-Gasteiz), Memoria de las intervenciones arqueológicas en Otazibarra (1976-1982).* Vitoria-Gasteiz, Diputación Foral de Álava.

Luján, E.R. (2011) 'Briga and castellum in North-Western Hispania.' In: E.R. Luján and J.L. García Alonso (eds.), *A Greek man in the Iberian street*, Budapest, Amulett: 225-42.

Macias, J.M. (2008) 'Vici y articulación del territorium: Segobriga, Ercavica y Valeria.' In: J. Mangas Manjarrés and M. Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, Madrid, Sisifo: 617-32.

(2012) 'Los Suburbia en el Medeterráneo de la Hispanie citerior, o los termómetros de la salud del Imperio.' In: C. Belarte and R. Plana Mallart (eds.), *El paisatge periurbà a la Mediterrània occidental durant la protohistòria i l'antiguitat*, Tarragona, Intitut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica: 67-79.

Mackie, N. (1983) *Local administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14-212* vol. 172. Oxford, BAR.

MacMullen, R. (2000) *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. Yale, Yale University Press.

Malkin, I. (2011) *A small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Man, A. de (2009) 'Late Urban Defences of the lower Mondego. The cases of Aeminium and Conimbriga.' *Gladius* Vol. 13: 741-8.

Manchón Zorilla, A. (2014) 'Pietas erga patriam: la propaganda política de Quinto Sertorio y su trascendencia en las fuentes literarias clásicas.' *Bolskan* Vol. 25: 153-72.

Mangas Manjarrés, J. 'El Bronce de Bembibre (HEp 7, 378) ':

(1989) 'La municipalización flavia de Hispania.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, Mérida, MNAR: 153-67.

(1996) *Aldea y ciudad en la antigüedad hispana* vol. 7. Madrid, Arco Libros.

Mangas Manjarrés, J. and Ángel Novillo, M. (eds.) (2008) *El territorio de las Ciudades Romanas*. Barcelona, Sísifo.

Mangas Manjarrés, J. and Novillo López, M.Á. (eds.) (2014) *Santuarios suburbanos y del territorio de las ciudades romanas*. Madrid, ICCA.

Mangin, M., Jacquet, B., and Jacob, J.-P. (1986) *Les agglomérations secondaires en Franche-Comté romaine*. Paris, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Les Belles Lettres.

Mangin, M. and Tassaux, F. (1992) 'Les agglomérations secondaires de l'Aquitaine romaine.' *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de la Gaule: histoire et archéologie: 2e Colloque Aquitania,* Bordeaux Fédération Aquitania: 461-96.

Mantas, V.G. (1990) 'Cidades Marítimas da Lusiânia.' In: J.G. Gorges (ed.), *Les Villes de Lusitanie Romaine. Hiérarchies et territoires*, Paris, C.N.R.S.: 149-205.

(2004) 'Vias e Portos na Lusitânia Romana.' In: J.G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo, and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: Las Comunicaciones*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 427-54.

(2009) 'Ammaia e Civitas Igaeditanorum: Dois espaços forenses lusitanos.' In: T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudad y foro en Lusitania Romana / Cidade e foro na Lusitânia Romana*, Mérida, MNAR: 167-88.

(2010) 'Atlântico e Mediterrâneo nos portos romanos do Sado.' *Revista Portuguesa de História* Vol. XLI: 195-221.

Mar, R., Ruiz de Arbulo, J., Vivó, D.*, et al.* (2015) *TARRACO. Arquitectura y urbanismo de una capital provincial romana: la ciudad imperial* vol. 2. Tarragona, Publicaciones URV.

Marín Díaz, M.A. (1988) *Emigración, colonización y municipalización en la Hispania Republicana.* Granada, Universidad de Granada.

(2002) 'Observaciones sobre las colonias latinas en la Hispania meridional.' In: C. González Román and A.R. Padilla Arroba (eds.), *Estudios sobre las ciudades de la Bética* Granada, Universidad de Granada: 277-87.

Marquardt, J. (1851) *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer* vol. III.1. Leipzig, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung.

Marques de Faria, A. (1995) 'Moedas da época romana cunhadas em território actualmente Português.' *Anejos de AEspA* Vol. XIV: 143-53.

Márquez, J. (2010) 'Los suburbios de Augusta Emerita en perspectiva diacrónica.' In: D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función* vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba: 135-52.

Márquez Villora, J.C. (1999) *El Comercio Romano en el Portus Ilicitanus: El abastecimiento exterior de productos alimentarios (siglos I a. C. - V d. C.).* Alicante, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante.

Martín, A. (2000) 'Las termas republicanas de Cabrere del Mar (Maresme, Barcelona).' In: C. Fernández Ochoa and V. García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, Gijón, vtp editorial: 157-62.

Tréziny, H. (ed.) (2010) *Le site ibérique d'Ullastret (Baix Empordà, Catalogne) et son rapport avec le monde colonial méditerranéen.* Aix-en-Provence, 2010, Paris, Centre Camille Jullian.

Martín Bravo, A.M. (1995) *Las sociedades de la edad del hierro en la Alta Extremadura.* Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Departamento de Prehistoria, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

Martín Bueno, M.A. (1991) 'Excavaciones en Bilbilis. 1988-1989.' *Arqueología aragonesa* Vol. 11: 197-200.

Martín i Oliveras, A., Martín-Arroyo Sánchez, D.J., and Revilla Calvo, V. (2017) 'The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization.' In: J. Remesal Rodríguez (ed.), *Economía romana. Nuevas perspectivas / The Roman economy. New perspectives.*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona: 189-237.

Martínez Caballero, S. (2010) 'Segontia Lanca (Hispania Citerior): Propuesta para la identificación de la ciudad Celtíbera y Romana.' *VELEIA* Vol. 27: 141-72.

Martínez López, E.J. (2013) 'El tratado de Asdrúbal: firma, vigencia, muerte, torcimiento y meramorfosis.' *Arse: Boletín anual del Centro Arqueológico Saguntino* Vol. 47: 43-102.

Martino García, D. (2004) *Las Ciudades Romana de la Meseta Norte de la Península Ibérica: identificación, estatuo jurídico y oligarquías (ss. I-III d.C.).* Doctoral Thesis, Departemento Historia Antigua, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

Martins da Fonte, J.M. (2006) 'O "Padrão dos Povos" de Aquae Flaviae.' *Al-Madan adenda electronica* Vol. 14: VI.1-VI.7.

Martins, M. (2006) 'Bracara Augusta: a Roman town in the Atlantic area.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmounth, Journal of Roman Archaeology: 213-22.

Martins, M., Mar, R., Ribeiro, J.*, et al.* (2013) 'A construção do teatro romano de *Bracara Augusta*.' In: A. Sousa Melo and M. do Carmo Ribeiro (eds.), *História da Construção – Arquiteturas e Técnicas Construtivas*, Braga, CITCEM & LAMOP: 41-74.

(2014) 'The Roman Theatre of Bracara Augusta.' *XVIII CIAC: Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico,* Mérida: 861-4.

Marzano, A. (2011) 'Rank-Size Analysis and the Roman Cities of the Iberian Peninsula and Britain.' In: A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization and Population*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 196-228.

Mason, K. (1941) *Spain & Portugal: The Peninsula* Vol. I. London, Naval intelligence division.

Massy, J.-L. (1997) *Les agglomérations secondaires de la Loraine romaine*. Besançon, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Franche-Comté.

Mateos Cruz, P. (2001) 'Augusta Emerita: La investigación arqueológica en una ciudad de época romana.' *AEspA* Vol. 74: 183-208.

(2011) 'Archeologia della citta: Analisi dell'Architettura e dell'Urbanista antica.' *Archeologia dell'Architettura* Vol. 14: 163-7.

Mateos Cruz, P., Pizzo, A., and Mayoral Herrera, V. (2014) 'El paisaje urbano de Contributa Iulia Ugultunia (Medina de las Torres, Badajoz).' In: T. Nogales Basarrate and M.J. Pérez del Castillo (eds.), *Ciudades Romanas de Extremadura*, Mérida, MNAR: 113-34.

Matilla Séiquer, G. and Adrados Bustos, R. (2008) 'Obras hidráulicas antiguas en Murcia, tipos y reiteraciones: la huella de Carthago Nova en el balneario de Archena.' *Revista Murciana de Antropología* Vol. 15: 53-77.

Álvarez Martínez, J.M., T. Nogales Basarrate, and I. Rodà de Llanza (eds.) (2014) *El balneario suburbano romano de Fortuna: impacto, tipificación y problemas*. Mérida, 2013, Mérida, MNAR.

Matilla Séiquer, G., Egea Vivancos, A., and Gallardo Carrillo, J. (2003) 'El balneario romano de Fortuna estado de la cuestión y perspectivas de futuro.' In: A.

González Blanco and G. Matilla Séiquer (eds.), *La cultura latina en la Cueva Negra: En agradecimiento y homenaje a los Profs. A. Stylow, M. Mayer e I. Velázquez*, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia: 79-182.

Matilla Séiquer, G., Gallardo Carrillo, J., and Egea Vivancos, A. (2002) 'El santuario romano de las aguas de Fortuna (el balneario de Carthago Nova).' *Mastia* Vol.: 179-90.

Matilla Séiquer, G., Molina Mahedero, J.A., Egea Vivancos, A.*, et al.* (2012) 'Roman baths in South-East Hispania: historical. architectonical, religious and social aspects.' In: R. Kreiner and W. Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, Leuven & Paris & Walpole, Peeters: 253-8.

Mattingly, D. (2007) *An imperial possession: Britain in the Roman Empire 54 BC-AD 409*. London, Penguin Books.

Matyszak, P. (2013) *Sertorius and the struggle for Spain*. Barnsley, Pen & Sword Military.

Maurin, L. (ed.) (1992) *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de La Gaule 2e colloque Aquitania*. Bordeaux, 1990, Bordeaux, Fédération Aquitania.

Mayer i Olivé, M. (2010) 'El Problema de la Aquae Calidae del norte del Conventus Tarraconensis.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 10: 303-17.

McElderry, R.K. (1918) 'Vespasian's reconstruction of Spain.' *Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 8: 53-102.

Melchor Gil, E. (2004) 'El territorio.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *Córdoba: Colonia Patricia Corduba*, Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider: 105-17.

(2011) 'Sobre los Magistrados de las Comunidades Hispanas no Privilegiadas (s. III A.C. - s. I D.C.).' *Epigrafia e Antichità* Vol. 29: 151-71.

Mélida, J.R. (1929) 'Mérida.' In: AAVV (ed.) *IV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología,* Exposición Internaciol de Barcelona

Menéndez Bueyes, L.R. (2001) *Reflexiones críticas sobre el origen del reino de Asturias*. Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Merino, A. (2015) 'Análisis arquitectónico de los edificios de lado Oeste del foro de Torreparedones.' *I Encuentro de Jóvenes Investigadores en Arqueología Clásica ROMA AETERNA*.

Mersch, A. (1997) 'Urbanization of the Attic Countryside from the late 8th century to the 6th century BC.' In: H.D. Andersen, H.W. Horsnaes, and S. Houby-Nielsen (eds.), *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th Centuries BC*, Copenhagen, Collegium Hyperboreum and Museum Tusculanum Press: 45-62.

Mezquíriz Irujo, M.A. (1998) 'Urbanismo de época romana en Navarra.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* vol. I, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 511-22.

(2004) 'Algunas aportaciones al urbanismo de "Pompaelo".' *Trabajos de arqueología Navarra* Vol. 17: 173-8.

(2006) 'La antigua ciudad de los carenses.' *Trabajos de arqueología Navarra* Vol. 19: 147-268.

Mierse, W.E. (1999) *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia; the social and architectural dynamics of snctuary designs fom the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Millett, M. (1991) *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

(1995) 'Strategies for Roman small towns.' In: A.E. Brown (ed.), *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, Oxford, Oxbow: 29-38.

Mingoia, V. (2004) 'Evergetismo relativo agli edifici da spettacolo romani. Una rassegna di testi epigrafici della Baetica.' *ROMULA* Vol. 3: 219-38.

Mira, I.G. (2011) 'Landscape dynamics, political processes, and social strategies in the Eastern Iberian Iron Age.' In: T. Moore and X.L. Armada (eds.), *Altantic Europe in the First Millennium BC*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 153-70.

Molina Vidal, J. (2004) 'Comercio y relaciones portuarias en el territorio de Ilici.' In: L. Abad Casal and M.S. Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, Alicante, Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo: 189-96.

(2005) 'La cetaria de Picola y la evolución del Portus Ilicitanus (Santa Pola, Alicante).' In: J. Molina Vidal and M.J. Sánchez Fernández (eds.), *III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Históricos: El Mediterráneo: la cultura del mar y la sal*, Elche, Ayuntamiento de Santa Pola: 95-112.

Moltó, L. (1992) 'Tipos de aguas minero-medicinales en yacimientos arqueológicos de la península Ibérica.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol.: 221-8.

Mommsen, T. (1887) *Römische Staatsrecht* vol. III. 1. Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel.

Montenegro, A. (1975) 'Problemas y nuevas perspectivas en el estudio de la Hispania de Vespasiano.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. 5: 7-88.

Monterroso-Checa, A. (2017) 'Remote Sensing and Archaeology from Spanish LiDAR-PNOA: Identifying the Amphitheatre of the Roman City of Torreparedones (Córdoba-Andalucía-Spain).' *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* Vol. 17, Nº 1: 15-22.

Monterroso-Checa, A. and Gasparini, M. (2016) 'Aerial Archaeology and Photogrammetric Surveys along the Roman way from Corduba to Emerita. Digitalizing the Ager Cordubensis and the Ager Mellariensis.' *SCIRESit* Vol. 6, Nº 2: 175-88.

Monterroso-Checa, A., Gasparini, M., and Martínez Reche, T. (2017) 'La Beturia Túrdula del norte de Córdoba. Arqueología aérea a través de métodos de teledetección remota desde UAV, Aeronave y Satélite para delimitar Mellaria y configurar el Ager Mellariensis (Fuente Obejuna-Alto Guadiato-Córdoba).' *Paisajes urbanos y rurales de la antigua Beturia Túrdula (Badajoz-Ciudad Real-Córdoba), Estrategias de investigación y revalorización,* Madrid, (Unpublished paper).

Montes Lopéz, R. and Villa Valdés, Á. (2015) 'Una *domus* altoimperial en el castro de Chao Samartín (Asturias): Quién, comó y porqué.' *Férvedes* Vol. 8: 277-84.

Montes, R., Villa, Á., Gago, O.*, et al.* (2013) 'Avance sobre la excavación de una *domus* altoimperial en el castro de Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime).' *Excavaciones*

Arqueológicas en Asturias 2007-2012 vol. 7, Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones: 225-38.

Moore, T. (2012) 'Beyond the Oppida: Polyfocal Complexes and Late Iron Age Societies in Southern Britain.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 31, Nº 4: 391-417.

Mora, G. (1981) 'Las Termas en Hispania.' *AEspA* Vol. 54: 37-89.

Mora Serrano, B. (2011) 'Apuntes sobre la iconografía de las monedas de *BEUIPO- (Salacia) (Alcácer do Sal, Setúbal).' In: J.L. Cardoso and M. Almagro-Gorbea (eds.), *Lucius Cornelius Bocchus. Escritor lusitano da Idade de Prata da Literatura Latina*, Lisbon & Madrid, Academia Portuguesa da Historia-Real Academia de la Historia: 73-102.

Mora Serrano, B. and Cruz Andreotti, G. (2012) 'Ethnic, cultural and civic identities in Ancient Coinage of the Southern Iberian Peninsula (3rd C. BC - 1st C. AD).' In: F. López Sánchez (ed.), *The City and the Coin in the Ancient and Early Medieval Worlds* Oxford, Archaeopress: 1-15.

Morales Rodríguez, E.M. (1998) 'Espacios funerarios: necrópolis urbanas y rurales en los municipios flavios de la provincia de Jaén.' *Florentia Iliberritana* Vol. 9: 237-62.

(2000) *Los Municipios Flavios de la Bética*. Doctoral Thesis, Departemento de Historia Antigua, Universidad de Granada, Granada.

Moranta Jaume, L. (2004) 'L'estructuració urbana de Pollentia (ss. I aC-I dC).' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 137-59.

Morel, J.P. (2006) 'Phocaean Colonisation.' In: G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* Vol. I, Leiden, Brill: 359-428.

Moreno Martín, F. (1997) 'Ocupación territorial hispano-romana. Los Vici: poblaciones rurales.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 10: 295-306.

Morillo Cerdán, Á. (2003) 'Los campamentos romanos de Astorga y León.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 16: 83-110.

(2012) 'Investigacion científica y arqueología urbana en la ciudad de León.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 211-56.

(2015) 'León, campamento romano.' In: L.A. Grau Lobo (ed.), *ArqueoLeón II: Historia de León a través de la Arqueología (noviembre 2013 / marzo 2014)*, Museo de León, Junta de Castillia y León: 91-112.

Morillo Cerdán, Á., Fernández Ochoa, C., and Salido Dominguez, J. (2016) 'Hispania and the Atlantic route in Roman times: new approaches to ports and trade.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 35, Nº 3: 267-84.

Morillo Cerdán, A. and García Marcos, V. (2006) 'Legio (León) introducción histórica y arqueológica.' *Gladius Anejos* Vol. 9: 225-303.

(2009) 'The Roman camps at León (Spain): state of the research and new approaches.' *Gladius Anejos* Vol. 13: 389-405.

Morillo Cerdán, A. and Salido Dominguez, J. (2012) 'Military Vici in Roman Spain.' *Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*: 519-30.

Morillo Cerdan, Á., Salido Dominguez, J., and Durán Cabello, R. (2014) 'Aglomeraciones secundarias de carácter militar en Hispania.' *Anejos a CuPAUAM* Vol. 1: 117-31.

Morley, N. (1997) 'Cities in context: urban systems in Roman Italy.' In: H. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: beyond the consumer city*, London & New York, Routledge: 41-56.

Muñiz Coello, J. (1985) 'La Política Municipal de los Flavios en Hispania. El Municipium Irnitanum.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 3: 151-76.

Navarro Caballero, M. and Magallón Botaya, M.A. (1999) 'Las ciudades del perpirineo.' In: J. González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, Sevilla, Universidad Sevilla-Diputación Provincial: 60-86.

Navarro, M., Magallón, M.A., and Sillières, P. (2000) 'Barb(otum?): una ciudad romana en el somontano pirenaico.' *Saldvie* Vol. I: 247-72.

Nielsen, I. (1993) *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*. Translated by P. Crabb, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.

Nitsch, V. (2005) 'Zipf Zipped.' *Journal of Urban Economics* Vol. 57: 86-100.

Nogales Basarrate, T. (2007) 'Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Cuidad y Foro en Lusitania romana".' In: T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Cuidad y Foro en Lusitania romana* Vol. 4, Mérida, MNAR.

(2008) 'Circos romanos de Hispania: Novedades y perspectivas arqueológicas.' In: J. Nelis-Clément and J.-M. Roddaz (eds.), *Le cirque romain et son image*, Bordeaux, Ausonius: 161-202.

Nogales Basarrate, T. and Sánchez Palencia, F.J. (eds.) (2001) *El circo en Hispania Romana*. Madrid, Ministerio de educación y ciencia.

Noguera Celdrán, J.M. (ed.)(1995) *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania*. Jumilla, 1993, Murcia, Editum.

(ed.)(2009) *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*. Museo Arqueológico de Murcia.

(2012) 'Carthago Nova: vrbs privilegiada del mediterráneo occidental.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 121-90.

Noguera Celdrán, J.M., García-Entero, V., and Pavía Page, M. (eds.) (2018) *Congreso internacional termas públicas de Hispania pre-actas*. Murcia, UNED.

Noguera Giménez, J.F., Guimaraens Igual, G., Lara Ortega, S., *et al.* (2011-2012) 'Teatros romanos de Hispania: introducción a su estado de conservación y criterios de restauración.' *Archè* Vol. 6-7: 383-90.

Nolla, J.M. (1993) 'Les ciutats romanes del nord-est de Catalunya: els municipis flavis.' *Homenatge a Miquel Tarradell*, Barcelona, Curial Edicions Catalanes: 659-65.

Oelmann, F. (1922) 'Gallo-römische Strassensiedelungen und Kleinhausbauten.' *Bonner Jahrbücher* Vol. 128: 77-97.

Olivares Pedreño, J.C. (2010/2) 'Los ástures del conventus Lucensis y el culto al dios Lug en el noroeste de Hispania.' *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* Vol. 36, Nº 2: 117-36.

Oller Guzmán, J. (2009) 'El municipi Romà d'Ègara: antecedents, constitució i evolució.' *TERME* Vol. 24: 189-208.

(2011) 'La ciudad sin ciudad: la ciuitas sine urbe como elemento de control territorial.' *Estrat Critic* Vol. 5, Nº 1: 190-203.

(2012) *El territori i poblament del Vallès en época antiga*. Faclutat de Filosofia i Lletres - Departament de Ciències de l'Antiguitat i l'Etat Mitjana, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona (unpublished).

(2014) 'La civitas sine urbe y su función de vertebración en el territorio provincial Hispano: los casos de Egara y Caldes de Montbui.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 1, Nº 45: 89-110.

Olmo Martín, J. del (1998) 'Arqueología aérea en tres ciudades indígenas romanizadas.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* Vol. I, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 409-28.

(2006) 'Arqueología Aérea de las Ciudades Romanas en la Meseta Norte.' *III Congreso de las Obras Públicas Romanas: Nuevos Elementos de Ingeniería Romana*, Astorga, Junta de Castilla y León: 313-40.

Orejas, A. and Ruiz del Árbol, M. (2010) 'Los *castella* y la articulación del poblamiento rural de las "civitates" del Noroeste peninsular.' In: C. Fornis, P.M. Gállego, and P. López Barja de Quiroga (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social* Vol. II, Zaragoza, Pórtico: 1091-128.

Orejas, A., Sastre Prats, I., and Zubiaurre, E. (2012) 'Organización y regulación de la actividad minera hispana altoimperial.' In: M. Zarzalejos Prieto, P. Hevia Gómez, and L. Mansilla Plaza (eds.), *Paisajes mineros antiguos en la Península Ibérica = Ancient Mining Landscapes in the Iberian Peninsula*, Madrid, UNED: 31-46.

Orengo, H.A., Fiz, I., and Macias, J.M. (2011) 'Restitución 3D de la Topografía de la Antigua Ciudad de Tarraco en un Entorno SIG: Propuestas Metodológicas y Primeros Resultados.' *Anejos del Archivo Español de Arqueología* Vol. 59: 61-8.

Orfila Pons, M. and Cau Ontiveros, M.A. (eds.) (2004) *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Baleares*. Barcelona, Pòrtic Els Juliols.

Orfila Pons, M. and Riera Rullan, M. (2004) 'Les ciutats romanes de menorca (ss. II aC-V dC).' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 239-60.

Ortiz de Urbina, E. (1992) *Municipalizacion Real, Municipalizacion Virtual. Funcionamiento Interno de Comunidades sin Documentacion del Estatuto Municipal en Hispania, Africa y Gallia*. Doctoral Thesis, Universidad de País Vasco, Vitoria Gasteiz.

(2001) 'Aspectos constitutionales del Municipium. A propósito de la Lex Malacitana.' *Mainake* Vol. XXIII: 137-54.

Osland, D. (2006) *The early Roman cities of Lusitania*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Ozcáriz Gil, P. (2008) *Los Conventus de la Hispania Citerior*. Madrid, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos.

Padilla Monge, A. (1985) 'Asido Caesarina: consideraciones acerca de su "status".' *Habis* Vol. 16: 307-27.

Padin Nogueira, F.J. (1998) 'Urbanismo e sociedade na cultura castrexa.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* vol. I, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 715-34.

Palao Vicente, J.J. (2009) 'Los asentamientos civiles en los campamentes hispanos durante el alto imperio.' In: Á. Morillo Cerdán, N. Hanel, and E. Martín (eds.), *LIMES XX Congreso International de estudios sobre la frontera romana* vol. I, León, CSIC - IHH - IAM: 525-40.

Palol, P. de (1978) *II Reunió d'Arqueologia Paleocristiana Hispànica*. Montserrat, Institut d'arqueologia i Prehistòria.

(1987) 'El Foro Romano de Clunia.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura: 153-63.

(1991) 'Clunia Sulpicia, Ciudad Romana.' In: P. de Palol (ed.), *Clunia 0: Studia Varia Cluniensa*, Burgos, Diputación Provincial de Burgos.

Panzram, S. (2002) *Stadtbild und Elite: Tarraco, Corduba und Augusta Emerita zwischen Republik und Spätantike*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Parcero Oubiña, C. and Cobas Fernández, I. (2004) 'Iron Age Archaeology of the Northwest Iberian Peninsula.' *e-Keltoi* Vol. 6: 1-72.

Pascual Buyé, I. (2001) 'El circo romano de Sagunto.' In: T. Nogales Basarrate and F.J. Sánchez Palencia (eds.), *El circo en Hispania Romana*, Madrid, Ministerio de educación y ciencia: 155-74.

Passchier, C.W., Opstal, D. van, Schram, W.*, et al.* (2004-2017) 'ROMAQ: The Atlas Project of Roman Aqueducts.' http://www.romaq.org/ (Published: 2011, Accessed: 22-06-2017).

Passini, J. (1987) 'El conjunto urbano de Tritium Autrigonum.' *Gerión* Vol. 5: 281-7.

Pavía Page, M. (2016) 'Termas públicas del conventus Carthaginiensis. Primera aproximación a su catalogación y estudio.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 24: 81-101.

Pena, M.J. (1993) 'El municipio flavio de Rhode: una hipótesis errónea.' *Homenatge a Miquel Tarradell*, Barcelona, Curial Edicions Catalanes: 667-73.

(2004) 'La tribu Velina en Mallorca y los nombres de Palma y Pollentia.' *Faventia* Vol. 26, Nº 2: 69-90.

Pereira Menaut, G. (1982) 'Los castella y las comunidades de Gallaecia.' *Zephyrus* Vol. XXXIV-XXXV: 249-67.

Peréx Agorreta, M.J. and Miró i Alaix, C. (2011) 'VBI AQUAE IBI SALVS. Atlas de aguas minerolas aguas en la Hispania antigua.' In: A. Costa Solé, L. Palahí Grimal, and D. Vivó i Codina (eds.), *Aquae Sacrae. Agua y sacralidad en la Antiguedad*, Girona, Universitat de Girona: 59-67.

Peréx Agorreta, M.J. and Unzu Urmeneta, M. (1990) 'Emplazamiento de Iturissa, mansio en la vía de Astorga a Burdeos.' *La red viaria en la Hispania romana*, Madrid, Institución Fernando el Cátolico: 373-84.

Pérez González, C. (1998) 'Pisoraca (Herrera de Pisuerga): Urbanismo militar y civil de época romana.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* vol. I, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 535-58.

Pérez González, C., Illarregui, E., and Arroyo Rodríguez, L.A. (1999) *Papeles Herrerenses II*. Palencia, Instituto de Estudios Pisoraca.

Pérez González, C., Illarregui, E., Ortíz Nozal, M.Á.*, et al.* (1992) *Papeles Herrerenses I*. Palencia, Obra Socio Cultural Caja Salamanca y Soria.

Pérez, J.A. (1981) 'Un caso de pervivencia púnica durante el Imperio romano: el municipio bético de Ostippo.' *Memorias de Historia Antigua* Vol. 5: 95-101.

Pérez Losada, F. (2002) *Entre a cidade e a aldea: estudio arqueohistórico dos "aglomerados secundarios" romanos en Galicia*. A Coruña, Museo Arqueolóxico e Histórica.

Petit, J.-P. and Mangin, M. (eds.) (1994) *Les agglomérations secondaires: La Gaule Belgique, les Germanies et l'Occident romain: actes du colloque Bliesbruck-Reinheim/Bitche (Moselle) 21, 22, 23 et 24 octobre 1992*. Paris, Errance.

Pfanner, M. (1990) 'Modelle römischer Stadtentwicklung am Beispiel Hispaniens un der westlichen Provinzen.' In: W. Trillmich and P. Zanker (eds.) *Stadtbild un Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit,* München, Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: 59-116.

Pina Polo, F. (2006) 'El imperialismo romano en la primera mitad del siglo II a.C.' In: F. Burillo Mozota (ed.), *Segeda y su contexto histórico: Entre Catón y Nobilior (195 al 153 a.C.)*, Mara, Fundación Segeda - Centro de Estudios Celtibéricos: 27-33.

(2009) 'Hispania y su conquista en los avatares de la República Tardía.' In: F.J. Andreu Pintado, J. Cabrero Piquero, and I. Rodà de Llanza (eds.), *Hispaniae. Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*, Tarragona, Institut Catalàd'Arqueológia Clàssica: 223-36.

Pina Polo, F. and Alfayé Villa, S. (2002) 'Propuesta de ubicación de los Volcianos en el área preperinaica.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 2: 201-11.

Pinheiro Blot, M.L.B.H. (2003) *Os portos na origem dos centros urbanos*. Lisboa, Instituto Português de Arqueologia.

Pizzo, A., Mateos Cruz, P., and Mayoral Herrera, V. (2016) 'El anfiteatro de Contributa Iulia Ugultunia. Identificación y primer análisis arqueológico.' *AEspA* Vol. 89: 249-71.

Plana Mallart, R. and Martín, A. (2012) 'El paisatge periurbà de l'oppidum d'Ullastret: una nova imatge de la morfologia i del funcionament d'una ciutat Ibèrica.' In: C. Belarte and R. Plana Mallart (eds.), *El paisatge periurbà a la Mediterrània occidental durant la protohistòria i l'antiguitat*, Tarragona, Intitut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica: 123-48.

Plana Mallart, R. and Pena Gimeno, M.J. (1995-6) 'Ampurias: cuestiones agrarias y jurídicas de finales de la república.' *Studia historica. Historia antigua* Vol. 13-14: 89-104.

Ponsich, M. (1998) 'The rural economy of western Baetica.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, Portsmouth, JRA: 171-82.

Poulter, A. (1989) 'Gli insediamenti presso i campi militari: <<canabae>> e <<vici>>.' In: J. Wacher (ed.), *Il mondo di Roma imperial. Vita urbana e rurale* vol. II, Roma-Bari, Laterza: 69-106.

Poux, M. (2014) 'Enlarging Oppida: Multipolar Town Patterns in Late Iron Age Gaul.' In: M. Fernández-Götz, H. Wendling, and K. Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, Oxford & Philadelphia, Oxbow Books: 156-66.

Poveda Navarro, A.M. (2002) 'Fora Hispana: la evidencia de Libisosa Forum Augustum (Lezuza, Albacete).' *Conimbriga* Vol. XLI: 5-38.

Prevosti, M. (2010) 'La ciutat de Tarraco, entre nucli urbà i territori / The city of Tarraco, between an urban centre and a territory.' In: M. Prevosti and J. Guitart i Duran (eds.), *Ager Tarraconensis 1: Aspectes històrics i marc natural / Historical aspects and natural setting*, Tarragona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans: 25-112.

Ptolemaeus, C. (1932) 'Geographia.' In *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, edited by E.L. Stevenson, New York, New York Public Library

Puig i Cadagalch, J. (1909) 'Les excavacions d'Empúries.' *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* Vol. Anuari MCMXIII: 150-94.

Purcell, N. (2010) 'Urbanism.' In: A. Barchiesi and W. Scheidel (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 579-92.

Ramage, E.S. (1998) 'Augustus' Propaganda in Spain.' *Klio* Vol. 80, Nº 2: 434-90.

Ramallo Asensio, S.F. (2002) 'La arquitectura del espectáculo en Hispania: teatros, anfiteatros y circos.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana*, Mérida, MNAR: 92-118.

(2003) 'Las ciudades de *Hispania* en época republicana: una aproximación a su proceso de "monumentalización".' In: L. Abad Casal (ed.), *De Iberia in Hispaniam: la adaptación de las sociedades ibéricas a los modelos romanos*, Alicante, Universidad de Alicante: 101-50.

(2006) 'Carthago Nova: *urbs opulentissima omnium in Hispania*.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmouth, JRA: 91-104.

Ramallo Asensio, S.F., Murcia, A.J., and Vizcaíno, J. (2010) 'Carthago Nova y su espacio suburbano: Dinámicas de ocpación en la periferia de la urbs.' In: D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función* Vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba: 211-54.

Ramallo Asensio, S.F. and Santiuste de Pablos, J.F. (1993) 'Teatro y desarollo monumental urbano en Hispania.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2: 225-38.

Ramírez-Sánchez, M. and González Rodríguez, M.C. (2007) 'Observaciones sobre la mención de la origo 'intra ciuitatem' en la epigrafía hispana.' In: M. Mayer i Olivé, G. Baratta, and A. Guzmán Almagro (eds.), *Actas del XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae*, Barcelona, Instituto de Estudios Catalanes-Universidad de Barcelona-Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona: 595-600.

Ramírez Delgado, J.R. (1982) *Los Primitivos Núcleos de Asentanmiento en la Ciudad de Cádiz*. Cádiz, Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Cádiz.

Ramírez Sábada, J.L. (1994) 'La demografía del Territorium Emeritense (excepto el casco urbano) según la documentación epigráfica.' In: J.-G. Gorges and M. Salinas de Frías (eds.), *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine. Occupation du sol et habitats*, Madrid-Salamanca, Casa de Velázquez: 131-47.

Ramon Torres, J. (2004) 'La ciutat romana d'Ebusus.' In: M. Orfila Pons and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), *Les ciutats romanes del llevant peninsular i les Illes Balears*, Barcelona, Pòrtic: 261-310.

Ramos Fernández, R. and Ramos Molina, A. (2004) 'La escultura ibérica de La Alcudia.' In: L. Abad Casal and M.S. Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, Alicante, Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo: 133-44.

Ramos Ferreira, A.P. (2004) *Epigrafia funerária romana da Beira Interior: inovação ou continuidade?* , Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia.

Rascón Marqués, S. and Méndez Madariaga, A. (1994) 'Complutum: urbanismo y edificio públicos.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* Vol. 2, Tarragona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: 347-8.

Rascón Marqués, S. and Sánches Montes, A.L. (2010) 'Complutum, el campo laudable, Qala't Abd Al-Salam y el burgo de Santuiste. Centros urbanos y Suburbios de Alcalá de Henares en la Antigüedad y la Edad Media.' In: D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función* Vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba: 335-62.

Raynaud, C. (2002) 'Les agglomérations gallo-romaines en Languedoc-Roussillon de la conquête romaine au Moyen Âge.' In: J.-L. Fiches (ed.), *Les agglomérations gallo-romaines en Languedoc-Roussillon*, Lattes, UMR: 39-54.

Reboreda Morillo, S. and López Barja de Quiroga, P. (eds.) (1996) *A cidade e o mundo: Romanización e cambio social*. Xinzo de Limia, Excmo. Concello de Xinzo de Limia.

Reis, M.P. (2014a) 'As termas de Abelterium, breve análise do que se conhece.' In: J. António, L. Santos, and M.C. Rosalino (eds.), *Abelterium: Revista Online de Arqueologia e História do Município de Alter do Chão* vol. I, Alter do Chão, Município de Alter do Chão.

(2014b) *De Lvsitaniae Vrbium Balneis: Estudo sobre as termas e balneários das cidades da Lusitânia*. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.

Remesal Rodríguez, J. (1998) 'Baetican olive oil and the Roman economy.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, Portsmouth, JRA: 183-99.

Remesal Rodríguez, J., Revilla Calvo, V., Carreras Monfort, C., *et al.* (1997) 'Arva: prospecciones en un centro productor de ánforas Dressel 20 (Alcolea del Río, Sevilla).' *PYRENAE* Vol. 28: 151-78.

Revilla Calvo, V. and Cela, X. (2006) 'La transformación material e ideológia de una ciudad de Hispania: Iluro (Mataró) entre los siglos I y VII d.C.' *AEspA* Vol. 79: 89-114.

Reynolds, P. (2010) *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean AD 100-700: Ceramics and Trade*. London, Duckworth.

Ribera i Lacomba, A. (2001) 'El circo romano de Valentia (Hispania Tarraconensis).' In: T. Nogales Basarrate and F.J. Sánchez Palencia (eds.), *El circo en Hispania romana*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencias: 175-96.

(2006) 'The Roman foundation of Valencia and the town in the 2nd-1st c. B.C.' In: L. Abad Casal, S. Keay, and S.F. Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, Portsmouth, JRA: 75-89.

Ribera i Lacomba, A. and Jiménez Salvador, J.L. (2012) 'Valentia, ciudad romana: su evidencia arqueologica.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 77-120.

Richardson, J.S. (1986) *Hispaniae, Spain and the development of Roman imperialism, 218-82 BC*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

(1995) 'Neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum: Reflections on Iberian urbanism.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia*, Oxford: 339-54.

(1996) *The Romans in Spain*. Oxford, Blackwell.

(2015) 'Roman Law in the Provinces.' In: D. Johnston (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 45-85.

Riley, S.J., DeGloria, S.D., and Elliot, R. (1999) 'A Terrain Ruggedness Index That Quantifies Topographic Heterogeneity.' *Intermountain Journal of Sciences* Vol. 5, Nº 1-4: 23-7.

Ripollès Alegre, P.P. and Abascal Palazón, J.M. (eds.) (2000) *Monedas Hispanicas*. Vol. II, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

Rodà i Llanza, I. (2009a) 'Espacios de representación en los foros de Hispania.' In: J.M. Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, Murcia, Museo Arqueológico de Murcia: 65-84.

(2009b) 'Hispania en las provincias occidentales del Imperio durante la República y el Alto Imperio: una perspectiva arqueológica.' In: F.J. Andreu Pintado, J. Cabrero Piquero, and I. Rodà de Llanza (eds.), *Hispaniae. Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*, Tarragona, Institut Catalàd'Arqueológia Clàssica: 193-222.

(2013) 'La inscripció més antiga d'Auso (Vic) i el context preaugustal.' In: J. López (ed.), *Actes del 1er Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia i món antic Tarraco Biennal. overn i Societat a la Hispania romana. Novetats epigràfiques. Homenatge a Géza Alföldy*, Tarragona Fundació Privada Mútua Catalana: 145-52.

Rodríguez Colmenero, A. (1991) '<<Aquis Querquennis>>: quince anos a carón.' *Larouco* Vol. 1: 123-30.

(1997) 'La nueva Tabula Hospitalitatis de la Civitas Lougeiorum. Problematica y contexto historico.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 117: 213-26.

(1999) *Aquae Flaviae I fontes epigráficas da Gallaecia meridional interior.*

(2002) 'El campamento auxiliar de Aquis Querquennis (Naños de Bande, Ourense).' In: Á. Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, Madrid, CSIC - Ediciones Polifemo: 227-4.

Rodríguez Colmenero, A., Ferrer Sierra, S., and Herves Raigoso, F.M. (1998) 'El Complejo arqueológico romano de "Aquis Querquernnis" Porto Quintela (Ourense).' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* II Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 891-910.

Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez, S. and Izquerido de Montes, R. (2012) 'Conocer Itálica: la acción investigadora desde el plan director del conjunto arqueológico.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and S. Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincial de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, Sevilla Universidad de Sevilla 273-.

Rodríguez Díaz, A. (2015) 'Landscapes and Seascapes of Southwest Iberia in the First Millennium BC.' In: A.B. Knapp and P.A.R.v. Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 488-505.

Rodríguez Gutiérrez, O. (2011) *Hispania Arqueológica: Panorama de la Cultura Material de las Provincias Hispanorromanas* vol. 187. Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla.

(2012) 'Ἰλιπα μεγαλη (Ptol., Geo., 2.4.10): de la ciudad de las Fuentes a la evidencia arqueológica: la nueva imagen de Ilipa romana.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and S. Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincial de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, Sevilla Universidad de Sevilla 143-84.

Rodríguez Gutiérrez, O., Fernández Flores, A., and Rodríguez Azogue, A. (2012) 'Ilipa (Alcalá del Río, Sevilla).' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and O. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 683-721.

Rodríguez Hidalgo, J.M. and Keay, S. (1995) 'Recent Work at Italica.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.), *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia*, London, Oxford University Press.

Rodríguez Morales, F.J. (2001) 'Paemeiobrigenses y ailobrigiaecinos en el bronce de Bembibre.' In: L.A. Grau Lobo and J.L. Hoyas Díez (eds.), *El bronce de Bembibre: un edicto del emperador Augusto del año 15 a.C.*, León, Junta de Castilla y León: 111-22.

Rodríguez Neila, J.F. (1977) 'Notas sobre la "contributio" en la administración municipal de la Bética Romana.' *Archivo Hispalense* Vol. LX, Nº 185: 55-61.

(1980) *El municipio romano de Gades*. Cádiz, Instituto de Estudios Gaditanos.

(1994) 'Organización territorial romana y administración municipal en la Bética.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Historia Antigua : actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Córdoba, 1991*, Córdoba, Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura: 201-48.

Rodríguez Neila, J.F. and Melchor Gil, E. (2003) 'Magistrados municipales y munificencia cívica en las provincias de Bética y Lusitania.' In: S. Armani, A.U. Stylow, and B. Hurlet-Matineau (eds.), *Epigrafía y sociedad en Hispania*

durante el Alto Imperio : estructuras y relaciones sociales, Madrid-Alcalá de Henares, Casa de Velázquez-Universidad de Alcalá: 209-39.

Rodríguez Oliva, P. (1994) 'Transformaciones urbanas en las ciudades de la Baetica durante el alto imperio.' In: X. Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* Vol. 1, Tarragona, Comitè Organitzador del XIV C.I.A.C.: 347-56.

Roldán Gómez, L. (1992) 'El acueducto romano de Ucubi (Espejo, Córdoba).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 19: 245-64.

Roldán Gómez, L., Bendala Galán, M., Blánquez Pérez, J., *et al.* (2004) *Guía del yacimiento arqueológico Carteia*. Cádiz, Junta de Andalucía.

Roldán Hervás, J.M. (1975) *Itineraria Hispania: fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las Vías Romanas en la Península Ibérica*. Valladolid & Granada, Departemento de Historia Antigua.

(1989a) 'Colonización y municipalización durante la República.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, Mérida, MNAR: 11-32.

(ed.)(1989b) *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*. Mérida, MNAR.

(2013) 'Augusto y la administración provincial.' In: J.M. Blázques Martínez and P. Ozcáriz Gil (eds.), *La Administración de las Provincias en el Imperio Romano*, Madrid, Dykinson: 49-74.

Roldán Hervás, J.M. and Caballero Casado, C. (2014) *Itinera Hispana: Estudio de las vías romanas en Hispania a partir del Itinerario de Antonino, el Anónimo de Ravena y los Vasos de Vicarello*. Madrid, Fundación Juanelo Turriano.

Romero Novella, L. (2014a) 'Los foros hispanorromanas del *Conventus Caesaraugustanus*.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 22: 149-217.

(2014b) 'Novedades en los fora del conventus Caesaraugustanus.' *Bolskan* Vol. 25: 195-219.

(2016) 'Los criptopórticos en los foros Hispanorromanos: ¿una architectura necesaria?' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 24: 193-214.

(2017) 'Los foros como indicio: la amortización de los espacios forenses en la Tarraconense.' In: J. Andreu Pintado (ed.), *Oppida Labentia: Transformaciones, cambios y alteración en las ciudades hispanas entre el siglo II y la tradoantigüedad*, Uncastillo, Fundación Uncastillo: 245-68.

Rosas Alcántara, E. (2008) 'Yacimiento Arqueológico de Majadaiglesia, el Guijo (Córdoba) Estudio Histórico y Proyecto de Puesta en Valor.' *Arte, arqueología e historia* Vol. 15: 191-8.

Rubio Rivera, R. (2013) 'Los orígenes de Ercávica y su municipalización en el contexto de la romanización de la Celtiberia meridional.' *Vínculos de Historia* Vol. 2: 169-83.

Ruiz, A. (1988) 'Ciudad y territorio en el poblamiento ibérico del Alto Guadalquivir.' In: AAVV (ed.) *Los Asentamientos Ibéricos ante la Romanización,* Casa de Velazquez.

Ruiz de Arbulo, J. (2007) 'Das "Provinzialforum" von Tarraco.' In: S. Panzram (ed.), *Städte im Wandel: Bauliche Inszenierung und literarische Stilisierung lokaler Eliten auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*: 149-212.

Ruiz Gálvez Priego, M. (2001) 'La economía Celtibérica.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Celtas y Vettones*, Avila, Diputación Provincial de Avila: 209.

Ruiz Gutiérrez, A. (2013) 'El paisaje epigráfico de la ciudad romana: concepto y perspectivas de estudio.' In: J.M. Iglesias Gil and A. Ruiz Gutiérrez (eds.), *Paisajes epigráficos del Occidente romano: monumentos, contextos, topografías*, Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider: 13-27.

(2016) 'Ritmos y límites de la monumentalización en las ciudades de la regio Cantabrorum.' In: A. Bouet (ed.), *Monumental! La monumentalisation des villes de l'Aquitaine et de l'Hispanie septentrionale durant le Haut-Empire - Actes du colloque de Villeneuve-sur-Lot (10-12 septembre 2015)* vol. 1, Bordeaux, Ausonius éditions: 125-40.

Ruiz Montes, P. and Rodríguez Aguilera, A. (2009) 'Sobre el hallazgo de un nuevo testimonio epigráfico para el estudio del Municipium Florentinum Iliberritanum (Granada).' *Herakleion* Vol. 2: 107-16.

Ruiz Zapatero, G. (2011) 'El caleidoscopio urbano en el mundo "celtíco" de la Meseta.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, Nº 2: 297-309.

Ruiz Zapatero, G. and Álvarez-Sanchís, J.R. (1995) 'Las Cogotas: *Oppida* and the Roots of Urbanism in the Spanish Meseta.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.), *Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia*, London, Oxford University Press: 209-36.

Ruiz Zapatero, G., Fernández-Götz, M., and Álvarez-Sanchís, J.R. (2012a) 'Die Ausbreitung der Eisenmetallurgie auf der Iberischen Halbinsel.' In: A. Kern, J.K. Koch, I. Balzer, et al. (eds.), *Technologieentwicklung und –transfer in der Hallstatt- und Latènezeit*, Weißbach, Beier & Beran. Archäologische Fachliteratur: 149-66.

Ruiz Zapatero, G., Fernández-Götz, M., and Álvarez Sanchís, J. (2012b) 'Die Ausbreitung der Eisenmetallurgie auf der Iberischen Halbinsel.' *Technologieentwicklung und -transfer in der Hallstatt- und Latènezeit*, Langenweissbach, Beier & Beran. Archäologische Fachliteratur: 149-65.

Rust, T.C. (2006) *Architecture, Economics, and Identity in Romano-British 'Small Towns'*. Oxford, BAR.

Sabio González, R. (2003) 'Villa vieja-villa neuva, villa nueva-villa vieja. Una revisión arqueológica de la ciudad de Algeciras.' *Almoraima: revista de estudios campogibraltareños* Vol. 29: 273-87.

Sacristán de Lama, J.D. (2011) 'El urbanismo vacceo.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, Nº 2: 185-222.

Sáez Fernández, P. (1993) 'Nuevas perspectivas en relación a la ordenación territorial del sur de la Lusitania española.' In: J.-G. Gorges and M. Salinas de Frías (eds.), *Mesa Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana* vol. I, Salamanca, Casa de Velázquez - Universidad de Salamanca: 99-108.

(2008) 'Colonias romanas y municipalización flavia: ¿conflicto de intereses?' In: J. Mangas Manjarrés and M. Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, Madrid, Sisifo: 155-76.

(2011) 'Territorio y agricultura en Carmo Romana.' In: M. González Jiménez and M.A. Piñero Márquez (eds.) *Carmona 7000 años de Historia Rural: VII Congreso de Historia de Carmona,* Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Carmona - Universidad de Sevilla: 165-201.

Sáez Fernández, P., Ordóñez Agulla, S., García Vargas, E.*, et al.* (eds.) (2004) *Carta Arqueológica Municipal de Écija. 1 La ciudad.* Écija, unknown.

Salas Martín, J. (2001) 'Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de la Colonia Metellinensis.' *Norba* Vol. 15: 101-16.

Salinas de Frías, M. (1997) 'En Torno a Viajas Cuestiones: Guerra, Trashumancia y Hospitalidad en la Hispania Prerromana.' In: F. Villar and F. Beltrán Lloris (eds.), *Pueblos, lenguas y escrituras en la Hispania prerromana: actos de VII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas*, Salamanca, Institución Fernando el Cátolico: 281-93.

(2007) 'Los carpetanos: siglos III a. C. al I a. C.' In: G. Carrasco Serrano (ed.), *Los pueblos prerromanos en Castilla-La Mancha*, Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: 37-66.

Salmon, E.T. (1969) *Roman Colonization under the Republic*. London, Thames & Hudson.

Salway, B. (2001) 'Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*.' In: C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, London, Routledge: 22-66.

Salway, P. (1980) 'The Vici: urbanisation in the North.' In: K. Branigan (ed.), *Rome and the Brigantes: the impact of Rome on northern England*, Sheffield, University of Sheffield: 8-17.

San Martín Montilla, C. and Schattner, T. (2006) *Munígua: la colina sagrada*. Sevilla, Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura.

Sánchez-Palencia, F.J. and Sáinz Pascual, M.J. (2001) 'El circo de *Toletum*.' In: T. Nogales Basarrate and F.J. Sánchez Palencia (eds.), *El circo en Hispania Romana*, Madrid, Ministerio de educación y ciencia: 97-115.

Sánchez López, E.H. (2008) 'Introducción a los Acueductos Romanos en Andalucía.' *@rqueología y Territorio* Vol. 5: 127-39.

Sánchez Moreno, E. (2001) 'Cross-cultural links in Ancient Iberia: Socio-economic anatomy of hospitality.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 20, Nº 4: 391-414.

Sancho Royo, A. (1976) 'En torno al tratado del Ebro y Asdrubal.' *Habis* Vol. 7: 75-110.

Sanmartí, J. (2009) 'Colonial Relations and Social Change in Iberia (Seventh to Third Centuries BC).' In: M. Dietler and C. López-Ruiz (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia*, Chicago, The Chicago University Press: 49-88.

(2015) 'Long-Term Social Change in Iron Age Northern Iberia (ca. 700–200 BC).' In: A.B. Knapp and P.A.R.v. Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, New York, Cambridge University Press: 454-70.

Sanmartí, J. and Belarte, C. (2001) 'Urbanización y desarrollo de estructuras estatales en la Costa de Cataluña (siglos VII-III a.C.).' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos: Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia-Casa de Velázquez: 161-74.

Santos, J. (2009) 'De nuevo sobre los CASTELLA: naturaleza, territorio e integración en la CIUITAS.' *Onomástica galega II. Onimia e onomástica prerromana e a situación lingüística do noroeste peninsular*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela: 196-83.

Santos Yanguas, J. (1989) 'Colonización y municipalización de Hispania desde Tiberio a los flavios.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, Mérida, MNAR: 107-32.

(1998) 'Comunidades indigenas y centros urbanos en Hispania en el proceso de conquista y organización de los territorios conquistados.' In: L. Hernández Guerra and L. Sagredo San Eustaquio (eds.), *El proceso de municipalización en la Hispania Romana*, Valladolid, Servicio de apoyo a la enseñanza: 11-38.

Santos Yanguas, N.V. (2004) 'Lancia de los astures: ubicación y significado histórico.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. 28: 71-86.

Saquete Chamizo, J.C. (2000) 'Privilegio y sociedad en *Augusta Emerita:* la cuestión del *Ius Italicum* y la *Immunitas*.' In: J.G. Gorges and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *IV Mesa Redonda Internacional: Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana*, Mérida, Editora Regional de Extremadura: 379-89.

Sarabia Rogina, P.M. (2005) 'Algunos aspectos de la formación del paisaje marítimo de Cantabria: de la Antigüedad a la afirmación de las villas costeras medievales.' In: J.Á. Solórzano Telechea and M.R. González Morales (eds.), *II Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria: actas del II encuentro celebrado en Santander los días 25 a 29 de noviembre del año 2002* vol. I, Santander, Universidad de Cantabria, Servicio de Publicaciones: 163-90.

Sastre Prats, I. (2008) 'Community, Identity, and Conflict: Iron Age Warfare in the Iberian Northwest.' *Current Anthropology* Vol. 49, Nº 6: 1021-51.

Sastre Prats, I., Beltrán Ortega, A., and Sánchez-Palencia Ramos, F.J. (2009) 'Nuevo pacto de hospitalidad procedente de Pino del Oro (Zamora).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 168: 287-92.

Savage, S.H. (1997) 'Assessing Departures from Log-Normality in the Rank-Size Rule.' *Journal of Archaeological Science* Vol. 24: 233-44.

Sayas Abengochea, J.J. (1985) 'El caso de Norba Caesarina y sus contributa castra Servilia y Castra Caecilia.' *Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez* Vol. 21: 61-75.

(1989) 'Colonización y municipalización bajo César y Augusto: Bética y Lusitania.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, Mérida, MNAR: 33-70.

Schattner, T.G. (2003) *Munigua. Cuarenta años de Investigaciones*. Sevilla, Junta de Andalucía-Consejería de Cultura.

Schattner, T.G., Ovejero Zappino, G., and Pérez Macías, J.A. (2005) 'Avances sobre la producción metalúrgica en Munigua.' *Habis* Vol. 36: 253-76.

(2008) 'Avances sobre el territorio de Munigua.' In: J. Mangas Manjarrés and M. Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, Madrid, Sisifo: 129-54.

Schattner, T.G., Ovejero Zappino, G., and Pérez Macías, J.A. (2012) 'Munigua, ciudad y territorio.' In: J. Beltrán Fortes and S. Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincia de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla: 207-34.

Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (2012) 'ORBIS: The Stanford geospatial network model of the Roman world.' orbis.stanford.edu (Published: 2013-2014, Accessed: 16-04-2018).

Schmidt, M.G. (2011) '*A Gadibus Romam* myth and reality of an ancient route.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* Vol. 54, Nº 2: 71-86.

Schneider, J. (2017) *Ländliche Siedlungsstrukturen im Römischen Spanien. Das Becken von Vera und das Camp de Tarragona - zwei Microregionen im Vergleich.* Oxford, Archaeopress.

Schulten, A. (1952) *Estrabón Geografía de Iberia.* Barcelona, Librería Bosch.

(2013 [1926]) *Sertorio.* Translated by M. Carreras, Sevilla, Renacimiento.

Seabra Lopes, L. (1995) 'Talábriga situação e limites aproximados.' *Portugalia* Vol. XVI: 331-43.

Sear, F. (2006) *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Serrano Peña, J.L. (2004) 'Las fortificationes de Orongis/Aurgi.' *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* Vol. 11, Nº 2: 11-22.

Sillières, P. (ed.) (1995) *Baelo Claudia: une cité romaine de Bétique.* Madrid, Casa de Velázquez.

Smith, M.E. (2011) 'Empirical Urban Theory for Archaeologists.' *Journal of Archaeological Method & Theory* Vol. 18: 167-92.

Soares Fortes, M.L. (2008) *A xestión da auga na paisaxe romana do occidente peninsular.* Doctoral Thesis, Facultade de Xeografía e Historia, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela.

Soares, J. and Tavares da Silva, C. (2012) 'Caetobriga: uma cidade fabril na foz do Sado.' *Portugal Romano* Vol. 1, Nº 2: 56-73.

Solana Sáinz, J.M. (1989) 'Colonización y municipalización bajo César y Augusto: Hispania Citerioris.' *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, Mérida, MNAR: 71-106.

(1998) 'Organización y administración del territorio de los cántabros en el Alto Imperio.' In: L. Hernández Guerra and L. Sagredo San Eustaquio (eds.), *El proceso de municipalización en la Hispania Romana*, Valladolid, Servicio de apoyo a la enseñanza: 57-80.

Sommer, S.C. (1984) *The military vici in Roman Britain: aspects of their origins, their location and layout, administration, function and end* Oxford, BAR.

Spann, P.O. (1987) 'Quintus Sertorius and the legacy of Sulla.' Fayetteville, Ark, University of Arkansas Press.

Stevenson, E.L. (1935) '[review] A. Diller, Geography of Claudius Ptolemy.' *Isis* Vol. 22, Nº 2: 533-9.

Stylow, A.U. (1998) 'Corpus Instriptionum Latinorum II2: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae.' Berlin, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften:

(2000) 'Castro del Río, municipio Flavio. A propósito de una nueva versión de CIL II 1750 = II2/5, 401.' *Habis* Vol. 31: 167-75.

Suarez de Salazar, J.B. (1610 [1985]) *Grandezas y antigüedades de la isla y ciudad de Cádiz, Facsímil de la edición de Cádiz de 1610*. Cádiz, Caja de Ahorros de Cádiz.

Syme, R. (1969) 'Pliny the Procurator.' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 73: 201-36.

(1981) 'Rival cities, notably Tarraco and Barcino.' *Ktema* Vol. 6: 270-85.

(1989) *The Augustan aristocracy* Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Tabernero Galán, C., Heras Fernández, E., Benito Batanero, J.P., *et al.* (2005) 'Segontia Lanka.' In: A.C. Galán and J.I. De la Torre Echávarri (eds.), *Celtíberos: tras la estela de Numancia*, Soria, Diputación Provincial de Soria: 179-204.

Tak, H. (1990) 'Longing for an Identity: intervillage relations in an Italian mountain area.' *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 63, Nº 2: 90-100.

Talbert, R.J.A. (2000) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Taracena, B. (2007 [1949]) 'Las Fortificaciones y la población de la España Romana.' In: J.M. Abascal Palazón, J.M. Noguera Celdrán, and F.J. Navarro Suárez (eds.), *IV Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español: Edición Facsimilar*, Murcia, Museo Arqueológico de Murcia: 421-42.

Tarpin, M. (2002) *Vici et pagi dans l'occident romain*. Rome, École Française de Rome.

Tavares Dias, L.A. (1998) 'Tongobriga.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico* vol. II, Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 751-77.

(1999) 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular: o caso de Tongobriga.' In: L.A. Tavares Dias and J.M.S.M. Araújo (eds.), *Actas da mesa edonda: Emergência e desenvolvimento das cidades romanas no norte da Península Ibérica*, Porto, IPPAR: 77-108.

(2015) 'Tongobriga. Civitas "Transduriana" na Tarraconense.' In: J. López Vilar (ed.) *2on Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic: August i les províncies occidentals 2000 aniversari de la mort d'August,* 2 Tarragona, Fundació Privada mútua Catalana: 67-74.

Tendero Porros, M. (2004) 'Urbanismo.' In: L. Abad Casal and M.S. Hernández Pérez (eds.), *Iberia, Hispania, Spania: Una mirada desde Ilici*, Alicante, Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo: 125-32.

Thomas, E. (2007) *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: architecture in the Antonine Age*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Thouvenot, R. (1940) *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique*. Paris, Boccard.

Todd, M. (1970) 'The Small Towns of Roman Britain.' *Britannia* Vol. 1: 114-30.

Torres Ortiz, M. (1998) 'La cronología absoluta europea y el inicio de la colonización fenicia en occidente: implicaciones cronológicas en Chipre y el próximo oriente.' *Complutum* Vol. 9: 49-60.

Torres Rodríguez, J. de (2014) 'La investigación protohistórica en la Carpetania.' In: E. Baquedano (ed.), *1er Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un*

pueblo de la edad del hierro, Alcalá de Henares, Museo Arqueológico Regional: 15-38.

Tovar, A. (1974) *Die Völker und Die Städte des Antiken Hispanien, Bd. I Baetica*. Baden-Baden, Koerner.

(1976) *Die Völker und Die Städte des Antiken Hispanien, Bd. II Lusitanien*. Baden-Baden, Koerner.

(1989) *Die Völker und Die Städte des Antiken Hispanien, Bd. III Tarraconensis*. Baden-Baden, Koerner.

Tovar, A. and Blázques Martínez, J.M. (1975) *Historia de la Hispania Romana: La Península Ibérica desde 218 a. C. hasta el siglo V.*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial.

Trément, F. (2010) "Romanisation' et dynamiques territoriales en Gaule centrale. Le cas de la cité des Arvernes (IIe s. Av. J.-C.-IIe Ap. J.-C.).' In: C. Corsi and F. Vermeulen (eds.), *Changing Landscapes: The impact of Roman towns in the Western Mediterranean*, Bologna, Ante Quem: 85-104.

Trillmich, W. (1993) "Foro provincial' und 'foro municipal' in den Hauptstädten der drei Hispanischen Provinzen: eine Fiktion.' In: J. Arce and P. Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania (s. II-III d.C.)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez / CSIC: 115-25.

Trillmich, W. and Zanker, P. (eds.) (1990) *Stadtbild un Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit (Kolloquium in Madrid vom 19. bis 23. Oktober 1987)*. München, Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Tsirkin, J.B. (1991) 'El tratado de Asdrubal con Roma.' *POLIS. Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antigüedad Clásica* Vol. 3: 147-52.

UNSD (ed.) (2013) *United Nations Demographic Yearbook 2012*. vol. 63, New York, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Urbina Martínez, D. (2000) *Talavera de la Reina en la Antigüedad. Una ciudad romana de los orígenes al siglo VI d.C.* Talavera de la Reina, Ayuntamiento de Talavera de la Reina.

Uroz Sáez, J. (2012) 'La colonia de Libisosa y sus precedentes.' In: G. Carrasco Serrano (ed.), *La ciudad romana en Castilla-La Mancha*, Cuenca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: 81- 130.

Uroz Sáez, J., Molina Vidal, J., Poveda Navarro, A.M., *et al.* (2004) 'Aproximación al conjunto arqueológio y monumental de Libisosa (Cerro del Castillo, Lezuza, Albacete).' In: A. Caballero Klink and J.L. Ruiz Rodríguez (eds.), *Investigaciones arqueológicas en Castilla-La Mancha, 1996-2002*, Toledo, Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha: 181-91.

Uroz Sáez, J., Poveda Navarro, A.M., and Márquez Villora, J.C. (2003) 'Libisosa. La transformación de un *oppidum* en colonia romana.' *Alebus* Vol. 13: 221-52.

Urueña Alonso, D.J. (2008) 'Comunidades dobles en la Hispania Romana.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. XXXII: 107-30.

(2010) *La descripción geográfica de Hispania en la Naturalis Historia de Plinio*. Doctoral Thesis, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras - Área de Historia Antigua, Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid.

Vaquerizo, D. (ed.) (2010) *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función*. Vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba.

Vaquerizo, D. and Murillo, J.F. (2010) 'Ciudad y suburbia en Corduba: una visión diacrónica (siglos II a.C. – VII d.C.).' In: D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función* Vol. 18, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba: 455-522.

Varela Gomes, R. (2002) *Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb Al-Andalus: território e cultura*. Lisboa, Instituto Português de Arqueologia.

Vasco de Melo Martins, P. (2014) 'O Anfiteatro Romano de Lisboa. Hipótese de localização através de uma leitura Tipo-Morfológica do Tecido Urbano.' *Revista rossio. estudos de Lisboa* Vol. 4: 162-73.

Vaz, J.L.I. (2010) 'Elementos para o estudio dos *fora* das cidades do norte da Lusitânia.' In: T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudad y foro en Lusitania Romana / Cidade e foro na Lusitânia Romana*, Mérida, MNAR: 315-24.

Vega Aveleira, T. (1998) 'Las aglomeraciones civiles (vici y kanabae) de los campamentos romanos: Aspectos urbanísticos.' In: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico,* II Lugo, Diputación Provincial de Lugo: 1265-89.

Vega Aveleira, T., Ferrer Sierra, S., and Rodríguez Colmenero, A. (2009) 'Los principia del campamento romano de Aquae Querquennae (Portoquintela, Baños de Bande, prov. de Ourense. España).' In: A. Morillo Cerdán, N. Hanel, and E. Martín (eds.), *LIMES XX Roman Frontier Studies. (Anejos de Gladius, 13)*, Madrid, CSIC: 465-80.

Velázquez, I. and Ripoll, G. (2000) '*Toletvm,* la construcción de una *vrbs regia*.' *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* Vol. 25: 521-87.

Ventura, A., León, P., and Márquez, C. (1995) 'Roman Cordoba in the light of recent archaeological research.' In: B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds.) *The Origins of Urbanization in Iberia,* 86 Oxford University Press.

(1998) 'Roman Cordoba in the light of recent archaeological research.' In: S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica* Vol. 29, Portsmouth, JRA: 87-107.

Villa Valdés, A. (2000) 'Saunas castreñas en Asturias.' In: C. Fernández Ochoa and V. García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, Gijón, vtp editorial: 97-114.

(2007a) 'El Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime, Asturias) y el paisaje fortificado en la Asturias protohistórica.' In: L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Moret (eds.), *Paisajes Fortificados de la Edad del Hierro*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia: 191-212.

(2007b) 'Mil años de poblados fortificados en Asturias (siglos IX a.C.-II d.C.).' In: J.A. Fernández-Tresguerres (ed.), *Astures y romanos: nuevas perspectivas*, Oviedo, Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos: 27-60.

(2013) *Los castros del valle del Navia: Tesoro arqueológico en el occidente de Asturias*. Navia, Museo Arqueológico de Asturias.

Villa Valdés, Á. (2009) '¿De aldea fortificada a Caput Civitatis? Tradición y ruptura en una Comunidad Castreña del siglo I D.C.: El Poblado de Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime, Asturias).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 35: 7-26.

Villaronga, L. (2004) *Numismàtica Antiga de la Península Ibèrica*. Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

Vittinghoff, F. (1952) *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*. Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.

Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, J. (2015) 'Mobility, Interaction and Power in the Iron Age Western Mediterranean.' In: A.B. Knapp and P.A.R.v. Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, New York, Cambridge University Press: 299-316.

Vives y Escudero, A. (1924a) *La Moneda Hispánica: Fenicias, Libi-fenicias, Turdetanas, Latino-béticas* vol. III. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

(1924b) *La Moneda Hispánica: Ibero-romanas* vol. II. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

(1924c) *La Moneda Hispánica: Imperiales* vol. IV. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

Vries, J. de (1984) *European Urbanization 1500-1800*. London, Methuen & Co.

Weber, M. (1922) *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik III Wirtshaft und Gesellschaft*. Tübingen, Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

Welch, K.E. (2007) *The Roman amphitheatre: from its origins to the Colosseum*. New York & Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wells, P.S. (1980) *Culture contact and culture change: early Iron Age central Europe and the Mediterranean world*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wilkes, J. (2005) 'Provinces and fronties.' In: A.K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Crisis of the Empire A.D. 193-337*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 212-68.

Willet, R. (2012) 'Whirlwind of numbers - Demographic experiments from Roman Corinth.' *Ancient Society* Vol. 42: 127-58.

(Forthcoming) 'Regional perspectives on urbanism and settlement patterns in Roman Asia Minor.' *Regional urban systems in the Roman Empire*.

Wirth, L. (1938) 'Urbanism as a Way of Life.' *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 44, Nº 1: 1-24.

(1964) *On cities and social life: selected papers*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Wittke, A.M., Olshausen, E., and Szydlak, R. (2012) *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt: Sonderausgabe*. Stuttgart, J.B. Metzler.

Woolf, G. (1997) 'The Roman urbanization of the East.' In: S.E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, Oxbow Books: 1-14.

(1998) *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

(2000) 'Urbanization and its discontents in early Roman Gaul.' In: E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City*, Portsmouth, JRA: 115-32.

Zanker, P. (2000) 'The city as symbol: Rome and the creation of an urban image.' In: E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City*, Portsmouth, JRA.

Zarzalejos Prieto, M. and Fernández Ochoa, C. (2011) '¿Sisapo en La Bienvenida (Ciudad Real)? De nuevo sobre la radicación geográfica y el estatuto jurídico de la capital del cinabrio hispano.' In: P. Bueno, A. Gilman, C. Martín Morales, et al. (eds.), *Arqueología, sociedad, territorio y paisaje. Homenaje a Mª Dolores Fernández Posse*, Madrid, CSIC: 361-73.

Zarzalejos Prieto, M., Fernández Ochoa, C., and Hevia Gómez, P. (2010) 'Espectáculos Públicos en Sisapo (La Bienvenida, Ciudad Real, España): Un grafito con escena de gladiatura en la domus de las columnas rojas.' In: I. Bragantini (ed.), *Atti del X Congresso Internazionale dell´AIPMA ("Association internationale pour la peinture murale Antique)* vol. II, Napels, Università degli studi di Napoli << L'Orientale>>: 833-9.

Zarzalejos Prieto, M., Hevia, P., Vallés, J.*, et al.* (2017) 'La Beturia Túrdula de la provincia de Ciudad Real. El Ager sisaponensis y los paisajes mineros del Norte de Sierra Morena. Prospecciones geofísicas en la microrregión de Almadén y aplicaciones no destructivas para la identificación de la trama urbana de Sisapo (La Bienvenida. Ciudad Real).' *Paisajes urbanos y rurales de la antigua Beturia Túrdula (Badajoz-Ciudad Real-Córdoba), Estrategias de investigación y revalorización,* Madrid, (Unpublished paper).

Zipf, G.K. (1949) *Human behavior and the principle of least effort: an introduction to human ecology*. Cambridge, Addison-Wesley.

Zucca, R. (1998) *Insulae Baliares: Le Isole Baleari Sotto Il Domini Romano*. Rome, Carocci.

SAMENVATTING

Civitates Hispaniae: Urbanisatie op het Iberisch Schiereiland ten tijde van het Principaat

Dit proefschrift behandelt de stedelijke systemen van Romeins Spanje en Portugal. Daarbij staan twee doelstellingen centraal. Enerzijds bieden de zes hoofstukken een zo volledig mogelijke reconstructie van de stedelijke netwerken van de provincies *Hispania Citerior*, *Baetica* en *Lusitania*. Anderzijds beoogt het proefschrift de gereconstrueerde patronen van verstedelijking te verklaren. Uitgangspunt hierbij is dat deze patronen alleen dan goed kunnen worden geduid wanneer zij zowel vanuit diachroon als vanuit synchroon perspectief worden bestudeerd.

De reconstructie en bestudering van de stedelijke systemen van Romeins Spanje en Portugal is geen eenvoudige taak. In de eerste plaats is het merendeel van de wetenschappelijke literatuur geschreven in de verschillende talen die gesproken worden op het Iberisch Schiereiland. Daarnaast bestaat er geen eenduidige definitie van de antieke stad, een essentieel element om dit onderzoek te kunnen uitvoeren. Het debat over de definitie van de antieke stad kent een lange geschiedenis die behandeld wordt in het eerste hoofdstuk van dit boek. Een van de belangrijkste conclusies in dit debat is dat zelfbestuur een wezenskenmerk van de antieke stad is. Alle nederzettingen die we kennen als *coloniae*, *municipia* en *civitates* voldoen aan dit criterium. Deze drie soorten 'gemeenten' kenden een bestuurlijke organisatie met bestuurlijke functies zoals *duumviri*, *aediles* en een *ordo decurionum* (stadsraad). Daarnaast zijn er enkele functies en diensten aan te wijzen die een nederzetting haar urbane kenmerken geeft. Hierbij moet men denken aan functies en diensten die de nederzetting zelf overstijgen en bovendien van een breder regionaal karakter zijn, zoals heilige plaatsen, administratieve centra en markten.

Met deze definitie in gedachten wordt gekeken naar de voor-Romeinse nederzettingssytemen. In principe kunnen twee verschillende systemen worden onderscheiden. Ten eerste is er het systeem van stadstaten zoals beschreven door Collis, dat min of meer correspondeert met het regelmatige nederzettingenpatroon van Bonet. Met name in de Mediterrane kustgebieden en de Guadalquivir-vallei ontwikkelde zich een nederzettingenpatroon gebaseerd op stadstaten die op niet al te verre afstand van elkaar lagen. Dit voor-Romeinse systeem had grote invloed op het nederzettingenpatroon van de Romeinse tijd. Het vergemakkelijkte de Romeinse verovering van dit

gebied. Daarnaast leidde de verstedelijkte voor-Romeinse structuur van de Guadalquivir-vallei tot de ontwikkeling van een van de meest urbane gebieden in de Romeinse periode.

Naast de voor-Romeinse stadstaten bestond een tweede systeem, te weten dat van 'tribal states' (stamstaten). Deze politieke eenheden werden gekenmerkt door een meer verspreid nederzettingenpatroon. Hierbij concentreerde de macht van de stam zich in een grote (proto-)urbane nederzetting, van waaruit de ondergeschikte nederzettingen (*castros*) werden gecontroleerd. Doordat dit systeem bestond uit een groot centrum met ondergeschikte kleinere centra, waren de territoria van de 'tribal states' groter dan die van de 'stadstaten'. Dergelijke 'tribal states' kunnen met name worden herkend op het Tafelgebergte. Daarentegen heeft Pereira beargumenteerd dat de *castros* in de Cantabrische bergketen ook als een heterarchisch systeem geïnterpreteerd kunnen worden. In een dergelijke situatie hebben we nog steeds te maken met grote territoria van 'tribal states', maar bestaat er geen centrale (proto-) urbane nederzetting. Ongeacht welke interpretatie correct is, staat vast dat het grote aantal *castros* in het binnenland zorgde voor een verdeeld landschap, waarin de Romeinen elk *castro* apart moesten veroveren. Dit is af te leiden uit de Bronze de El Bierzo, waarin de *Paemeiobrigensis* als bewoners van een *castro* beloond worden met belastingvrijheid, omdat ze tegen de wil van de stam voor de zijde van de Romeinen kozen.

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt gekeken naar het Romeinse stedelijke netwerk. In talrijke publicaties wordt Plinius' *Naturalis Historia* gebruikt om een lijst van zelfbesturende gemeenschappen te creëren. De door Plinius gebruikte terminologie, zoals de gedeeltelijk uitwisselbare termen *populus*, *civitas* en *oppidum*, leidt echter tot moeilijkheden bij de reconstructie van het stedelijke netwerk van de drie *Hispaniae*.[1] Bovendien kunnen deze termen ook gebruikt worden als aanduiding voor *coloniae* en *municipia*, waarmee het vrijwel onmogelijk wordt om de verschillende zelfbesturende gemeenschappen te herkennen. Ondanks deze problematiek is de *Naturalis Historia* een goed startpunt voor een onderzoek naar zelfbesturende gemeenschappen in de *Hispaniae*. In zijn *conventus*[2]-lijsten gebruikt Plinius het woord *oppidum* als aanduiding voor de stedelijke kern (*urbs)* van de *civitas*. In zijn paragraaf over *Citerior* refereert hij aan 293 *civitates,* waarvan er 189 een *oppidum* hebben. Hieruit volgt dat de overige 114 geen *oppidum* hadden. In dit proefschrift worden dergelijke gemeenschappen 'dispersed *civitates*' genoemd. Hierbij gaat het om 'gemeenten' met meerdere centra die elk een bijzondere functie (religieus, bestuurlijk of economisch) vervulden.

[1] Dit zijn de Romeinse provincies Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior Baetica en Hispania Ulterior Lusitania.
[2] De *conventus* is een onderverdeling van de provincie. In totaal zijn er 14 *conventus* in *Hispania*.

Een andere belangrijke bron is Ptolemaeus' *Geographica*. De verhandeling van Ptolemaeus bestaat uit lange lijsten van *poleis* (steden/nederzettingen) met coördinaten. Helaas is Ptolemaeus' *Geographica* op zichzelf niet bruikbaar als bron, dit komt onder andere door de vele hapaxen in zijn werk. Daarnaast bevat de lijst van *poleis* ook verscheidene niet-urbane nederzettingen zoals *mansiones* en *mutationes* (halteplaatsen en pleisterplaatsen voor reizigers over de Romeinse wegen).

Detlefsen heeft opgemerkt dat de door Ptolemaeus genoemde *poleis* van sommige uit Plinius bekende *populi* aangeduid worden als *Aqua* of *Forum*. Hij beargumenteerde dat dit de centrale nederzettingen zijn van *civitates* zonder *oppidum*. In dit onderzoek wordt de interpretatie van Detlefsen met casestudies bewezen. In bepaalde gevallen zien we binnen het territorium van een *civitas* dat er meerdere nederzettingen zijn met bepaalde stedelijke kenmerken, maar dat er niet één duidelijk urbaan centrum is. We moeten hieruit concluderen dat de *civitates* en zelfs sommige *municipia* in *Hispania* niet voldoen aan het klassieke *urbs et territorium*-model. Op deze manier leidt bestudering van het werk van Ptolemaeus tot een beter begrip van de dispersed *civitas*, bijvoorbeeld in het geval van de *Limici* en hun 'hoofdstad' *Forum Limicorum*.

Naast de werken van Plinius en Ptolemaeus is de epigrafie een belangrijke bron om tot een beter begrip van het stedelijk netwerk te komen. Inscripties kunnen bewijs leveren voor het zelfbestuur van gemeenschappen. Bovendien kan de epigrafie helpen bij het herkennen van Flavische *municipia*. Reeds in Plinius' werk wordt terloops vermeld dat keizer Vespasianus *ius Latii* had toegekend aan *universa Hispania*. In de epigrafische bronnen duiden verschillende gemeenschappen zichzelf aan als *municipium Flavium*. Helaas kan de precieze juridische status van veel *municipia* niet meer worden achterhaald. Het uitgevoerde onderzoek richt zich echter voornamelijk op gemeenschappen met zelfbestuur, waarbij de exacte juridische status van ondergeschikt belang is.

Naast het systeem van zelfbesturende gemeenschappen bestond een netwerk van secundaire nederzettingen welke een belangrijke rol speelden binnen het totale nederzettingenpatroon. Sommige van deze nederzettingen functioneerden als centrale plaatsen met urbane functies en hielpen om de 'officiële' urbane centra te verbinden met hun rurale achterland. In de klassieke teksten en epigrafie vinden we vier vormen van secundaire nederzettingen: *pagi*, *castella*, *vici* en de centrale nederzettingen van *civitates contributae*. Deze laatste categorie van nederzettingen is van uitzonderlijk belang. In sommige gevallen werd vanuit Rome besloten dat een *civitas* ondergeschikt werd aan een andere gemeenschap. In zijn lijsten lijkt Ptolemaeus aan deze categorie te refereren, bijvoorbeeld in het geval van de *Copori* aan wie twee *poleis* worden toebedeeld: *Lucus Augusti* en *Iria Flavia*. Hoewel de *conventus* hoofdstad *Lucus Augusti* zonder enige twijfel de hoofdstad was van deze *civitas,* is het goed mogelijk dat *Iria Flavia* de 'hoofdplaats' was van een *civitas contributa*. Helaas is tot op heden weinig onderzoek naar de *civitates contributae* van het Iberisch schiereiland gedaan.

Meer in het algemeen kunnen we stellen dat het onderzoek naar de secundaire nederzettingen van het Iberische Schiereiland een ondergeschoven kind is. Op basis van de uitgebreide literatuur over de 'small towns' van Britannia en de 'agglomérations secondaires' van Gallië kan een basale typologie van deze nederzettingen worden geïntroduceerd. Terwijl sommige secundaire nederzettingen geïdentificeerd kunnen worden als 'stadachtig/town-like', waren er ook gespecialiseerde nederzettingen en agrarische dorpen. Laatstgenoemde categorie speelt in het uitgevoerde onderzoek geen rol. De gespecialiseerde nederzettingen vervulden verschillende functies, waaronder religieuze (badplaatsen en heilige plaatsen), economische (mijnen, havens, marktplaats) en bestuurlijke (bijvoorbeeld als ondergeschikte bestuurscentra in het geval van een zelfbesturende gemeenschap met een groot territorium). Duidelijke voorbeelden van secundaire nederzettingen zijn de badplaats *Archena*, de haven *Portus Ilicitanus* en de mijnbouw-nederzetting *Metallum Vipascense*. Daarnaast kunnen sommige *mansiones* en *mutationes* zich, door hun positie als stopplaats langs de belangrijke wegen, verder ontwikkeld hebben tot centrale plaatsen. Te denken valt aan plaatsen als *Iturissa* en mogelijk ook *Ildum*. Dergelijke nederzettingen boden de bevolking van afgelegen regio's toegang tot eenvoudige 'stedelijke' goederen en diensten.

In een aantal gevallen zien we dat de secundaire nederzettingen voortzettingen zijn van mogelijke voor-Romeinse zelfbesturende gemeenschappen, zoals *Baesuris*. Naast de verschillende voor-Romeinse stedelijke patronen had ook het moment van verovering een groot effect op de verdere ontwikkeling van het Romeinse nederzettingspatroon. Het lijkt erop dat die gemeenschappen die vóór 133 v. Chr. opgenomen waren in het Romeinse bestel, in de pre-Flavische periode al bepaalde privileges kregen, zoals belastingvrijheid, Latijns of zelfs Romeins burgerrecht. Van een aantal van deze gemeenschappen is bekend dat zij de Romeinen hielpen bij de verovering van het Iberische Schiereiland en andere gebieden nadat ze opgenomen waren in het Romeinse Rijk.

Republikeinse *coloniae* met Latijns recht lijken in de periode van Caesar en Augustus gepromoveerd te zijn tot *municipia civium Romanorum* (steden met Romeins burgerrecht), zoals in het geval van *Palma* en *Pollentia*. Dat de status van *municipium civium Romanorum* werd gegund aan vrienden van Rome blijkt uit de promoties na de burgeroorlog tussen Julius Caesar en Pompeius: alleen Caesars bondgenoten werden gepromoveerd tot *municipia civium Romanorum* Verschillende steden die zich achter Pompeius hadden geschaard, verloren grote delen van hun territorium en werden *coloniae*. Het stichten van kolonies in gemeenschappen die bestraft werden voor hun steun aan Pompeius verklaart de verbazing van Hadrianus over het verzoek van *Italica* om *colonia* te mogen worden. Tegelijkertijd kunnen we vaststellen dat *coloniae* vaak groter zijn dan andere steden; ze hadden grotere territoria en hadden vaak verscheidene monumentale gebouwen.

In tegenstelling tot andere steden hadden *coloniae* en *municipia civium Romanorum* vaak verscheidene gebouwen voor het bijwonen van toneeluitvoeringen, wedstrijden of gladiatiorengevechten (amfitheater, circus en theater). Bovendien zijn de *coloniae* en *municipia c.R.* waar dergelijke gebouwen niet zijn gevonden vaak slecht onderzocht. De meest gemonumentaliseerde steden lagen veelal op belangrijke punten van het wegennetwerk. Deze correlatie tussen connectiviteit en monumentaliteit zou het gevolg kunnen zijn van de belangrijke economische posities die sommige nederzettingen hadden. Natuurlijk valt het te verwachten dat de provinciehoofdsteden meer leden van de provinciale elite aantrokken die de voorstellingen en benodigde gebouwen vaak financierden. Andere gemonumentaliseerde plaatsen waren belangrijke mijnbouw-centra, zoals *Segobriga* en *Castulo*, die hierdoor ook een goede positie hadden binnen het wegennetwerk. De minerale rijkdom van hun territoria leidde tot een inkomen dat aangewend kon worden voor het bouwen van de monumentale schouwplaatsen.

Een andere verklaring voor de monumentaliteit van sommige steden kan worden gevonden in interstedelijke rivaliteit. Nederzettingen die waren gelegen op belangrijke knooppunten in het netwerk, hadden een korte verbinding met andere steden, waarvan sommigen schitterende monumenten hadden. Het stedelijk chauvinisme van de lokale elite lijkt hen ertoe te hebben gestimuleerd om ook voor hun eigen stad dergelijke monumenten te betalen. Men kan zich voorstellen dat een magistraat uit *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia* met een provinciale functie in *Augusta Emerita* geneigd was zijn eigen thuisstad meer allure te geven door spelen te organiseren of zelfs een theater of amfitheater te financieren. Het *forum* als politiek centrum van de stad was zeer waarschijnlijk de belangrijkste plaats voor verschillende vormen van euergetisme en stedelijke trots. Verder onderzoek naar de monumentaliteit van stedelijke *fora* zal een beter inzicht kunnen geven in de relatie tussen monumentaliteit, connectiviteit en juridische status.

In veel publicaties worden steden gedefinieerd als grote nederzettingen. Daarentegen moeten we vaststellen dat de overgrote meerderheid van de steden van het Iberische Schiereiland klein waren in vergelijking met steden in andere delen van het Romeinse Rijk. Zelfs de grootste steden zoals *Tarraco*, *Augusta Emerita*, *Carthago Nova* en *Gades* hadden een oppervlakte van slechts 80 tot 90 hectaren. Deze steden waren niet alleen klein in vergelijking met de grote steden zoals *Carthago*, *Antiochia en Alexandria,* maar ook in vergelijking met andere Romeinse steden zoals *Mogontiacum*, *Lugdunum* en *Londinium*. Vanuit dit oogpunt is Strabo's bewering, dat *Gades* de grootste stad in het westen is, opmerkelijk. Hierbij moeten we niet vergeten dat hij gebruik maakte van bronnen die stammen uit een tijd waarin Carthago nog niet hersticht was en steden als *Mogontiacum*, *Lugdunum* en *Londinium* nog niet bestonden. In ieder geval waren de steden van het Iberisch Schiereiland klein of zelfs zeer klein. Het *municipium Munigua* met een bebouwd areaal van slechts drie hectaren is een van de vele voorbeelden die illustreren dat we de Romeinse stad op het

Iberisch Schiereiland niet kunnen definiëren aan de hand van de grootte van het bebouwde areaal.

In hoofdstuk zes wordt aangetoond dat de grootste steden van het Iberische Schiereiland konden leven van de opbrengsten van hun eigen territoria. Dit wijst erop dat de groei van de stedelijke bevolking werd gelimiteerd door de economische draagkracht van het directe achterland. Het stedelijke patroon werd ook bepaald door de geografische factoren. De dichtbevolkte en kleinere territoria vinden we in de Mediterrane Façade en de Iberische Levant, waar het model van de stadstaat zich al in een vroeg stadium ontwikkelde. De vijf grootste steden hadden controle over grotere territoria, die aan hen door Rome waren toegewezen.

De middelgrote centra vinden we langs de belangrijkste verbindingen in het netwerk, bijvoorbeeld de steden aan de weg die de mijnen van het noordwesten verbond met *Tarraco* ('Via del Norte'). Daarnaast vinden we grote nederzettingen op kruisingen van wegen en rivieren, bijvoorbeeld in de Guadalquivir-vallei. Deze centra konden zich verder ontwikkelen door de handel die mogelijk was dankzij hun voordelige positie binnen het netwerk.

Een opvallende concentratie van zelfbesturende steden is te vinden in de reeds genoemde Guadalquivir-vallei. Hier waren de grenzen tussen de stedelijke territoria altijd gelegen binnen een loopafstand van maximaal 3 uur vanuit twee aangrenzende centrale steden. Een vergelijkbaar patroon bestond langs de middenloop van de Ebro. De overige regio's van het Iberisch Schiereiland kenmerken zich door clusters van zelfbesturende gemeenschappen in verder lege landschappen. Geografisch en klimatologisch onderzoek laat zien dat in sommige regio's met een lage urbanisatiegraad de geografische en klimatologische situatie suboptimaal was. Hoewel volledig onbewoonbare gebieden zeldzaam zijn, is het duidelijk dat de bevolking zich concentreerde in gebieden met betere omstandigheden. Desondanks zijn ook in enkele gebieden met gunstige geografische en klimatologische omstandigheden geen sporen van stedelijke bewoning aangetroffen. Hierbij moet wel worden bedacht dat 30 van de 430 zelfbesturende gemeenschappen van Romeins Spanje en Portugal tot op heden niet zijn gelokaliseerd. Bovendien moet worden meegenomen dat Plinius melding maakt van niet minder dan 513 *civitates*. Hieruit volgt dat we nog steeds te maken hebben met een incomplete dataset. In het geval van *Lusitania* valt echter niet te ontkomen aan de conclusie dat deze provincie slechts weinig nederzettingen met een stedelijk karakter kende.

De bevolking van gebieden die ver van zelfbesturende steden lagen, kunnen gebruik hebben gemaakt van nabijgelegen secundaire nederzettingen. Dergelijke nederzettingen zouden een reeks van economische, religieuze en wellicht zelfs bestuurlijke functies vervuld kunnen hebben. Om een volledig beeld te krijgen van de geografische spreiding van verschillende soorten 'centrale plaatsen' op het Iberisch Schiereiland zouden deze secundaire nederzettingen dan ook meer aandacht moeten krijgen in toekomstig onderzoek.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Pieter Houten (Gronsveld, 1984) studied Veterinarian Medicine at Utrecht University from 2003 to 2008. In 2008 he started the BA History at the same university. In 2011 he obtained the bachelor degree in History with a minor in Ancient Culture. Subsequently he registered for the research master Ancient Studies at Utrecht University. As part of this programme he spent a semester at Universidad Complutense de Madrid, where he studied at the faculties Ciencias Políticas y Sociología and Geografía e Historia. During this stay he started his master thesis on Celtiberian urbanization in pre-Roman and Roman times. A Philologisch Studiefonds travel grant created the possibility to visit different Celtiberian sites, among others *Numantia*, *Termes* and *Clunia*. He obtained his research master degree in 2013.

In the same year he started with his PhD within the ERC-funded research project 'An Empire of 2000 Cities'. In this project he focussed on Roman urbanism on the Iberian Peninsula during the High Empire.

Between 2011 and 2016 he took part in various archaeological excavations. His first experience in this field was gained in 2011 and 2012 during an archaeological internship in the Netherlands. In 2012 he participated in the excavation at Thorikos carried out by Utrecht University. While working on his PhD thesis he took part in several geophysical prospection campaigns in Boeotia. In addition, he joined two field schools focussing on Roman cities in Spain, in 2015 the TOLETUM Field School in *Segobriga* and in 2016 a course focussing on *Iesso*, present-day Guissona.

During his PhD research period he started teaching Ancient History at Leiden University. Since September 2017 he has been working as an Academic Skills Teacher at Leiden University. In 2018 he became University Teacher at Utrecht University and worked as Coordinator of Studies for the Research Master History at Leiden University.