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

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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 sea-shore which is now called Carpesus. I think also that the Phœnicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits. The religious rites performed there are still of Phœnician 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 Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινων ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀπιστον ὥς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίου σταδίου ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι.

(2) οἱ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, [...], πλὴν ὅτι Κέλται μοι δοκοῦσι ποτε, τὴν Πυρρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρῶν. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαι τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας Ἑλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεῖα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδ' ἐτι τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ἢ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἦν, καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσός ὀνομάζεται. τὸ τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοινικῆς μοι δοκοῦσιν ἰδρῦσασθαι καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἐτι φοινικικῶς, ὃ 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 Información 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.

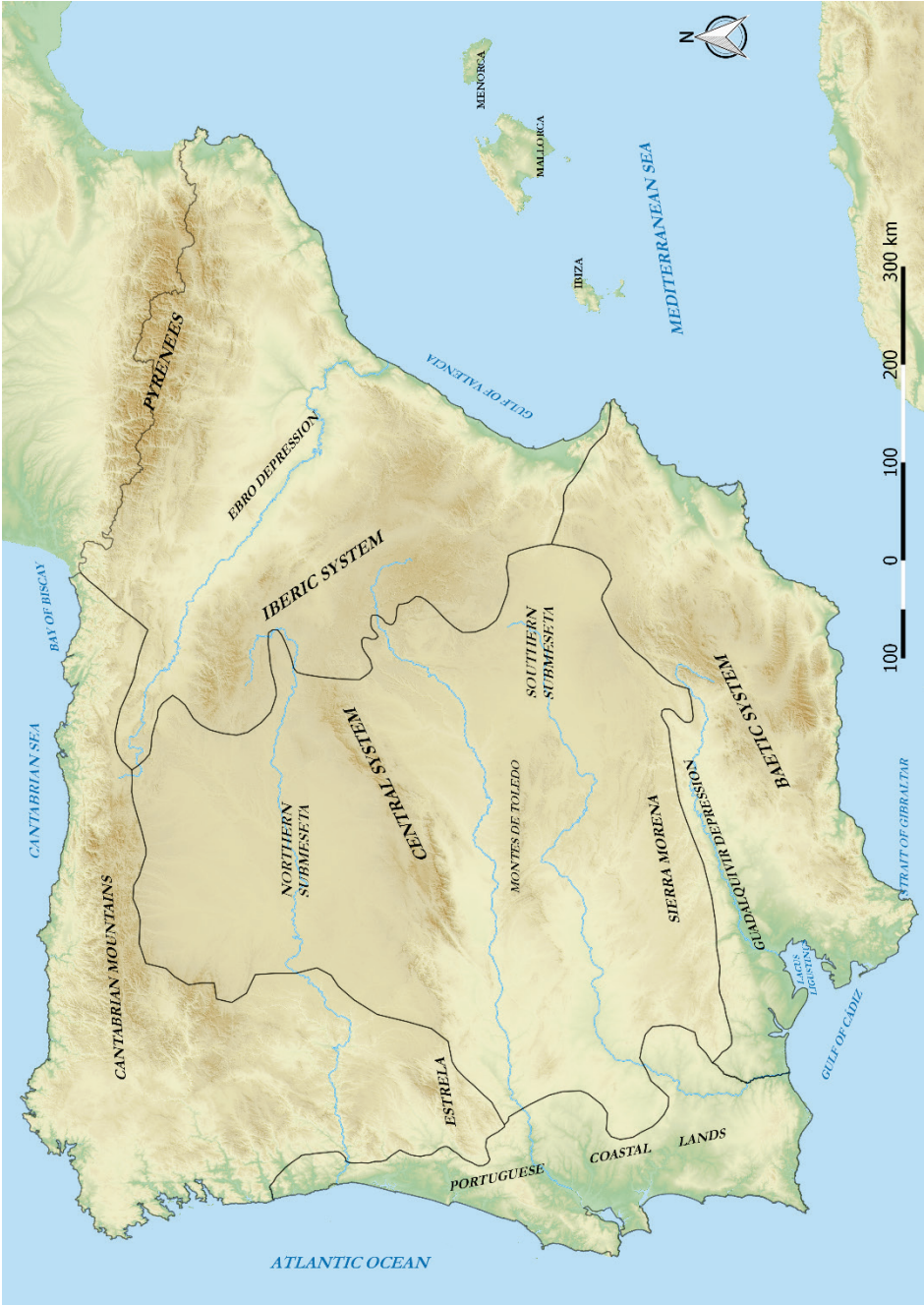


Fig. II.2 Major geographical features on the Iberian Peninsula

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 region¹³, the Mediterranean coast¹⁴, the southern Mediterranean and Atlantic coast often described as the Tartessian region¹⁵, the Central Meseta¹⁶ and the Southern Atlantic façade¹⁷. 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 milénio 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 Evolução 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 celta*; 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 Tago 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 povoamento do sudoeste peninsular na segunda metade do I milénio a. C: Continuidades e rupturas.' In: Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes (eds.), *Entre Celtas e Íberos*, 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.

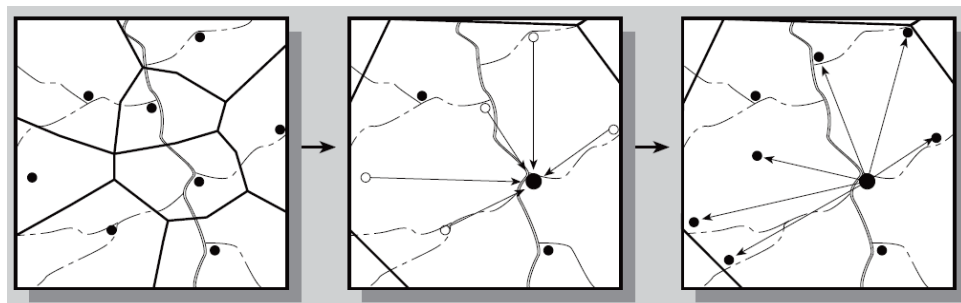


Fig. II.3: Diachronic development of the city (Burillo 2008, fig. 65, p. 261)

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 Iberos: 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 traders²⁵ 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 Cervero-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, No 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 Archaeodyn: 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 Bindliff (2016) 'Early States in the Mediterranean Iron 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.

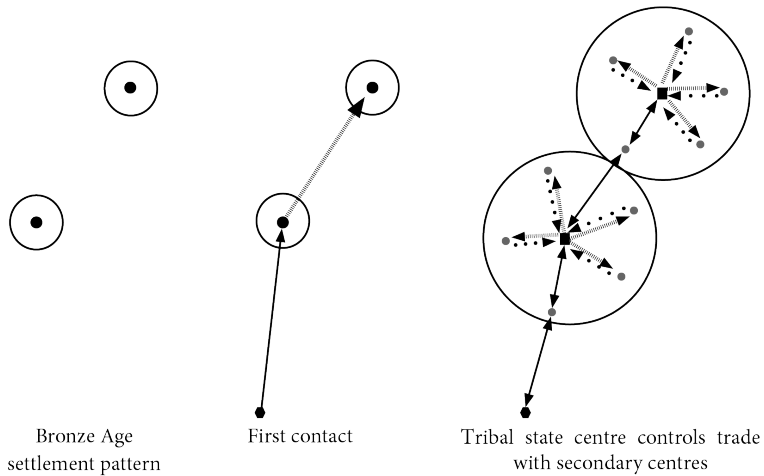
With these two types of 'state organisation' and patterns of development in mind, we can start to differentiate the origin and type of urbanisation in the various geographical regions.

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.

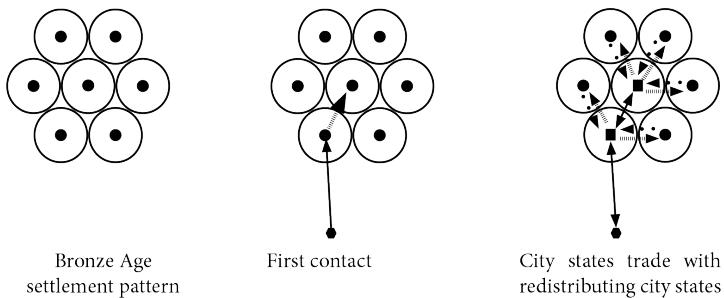
³³ Collis (2014): 15.

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.

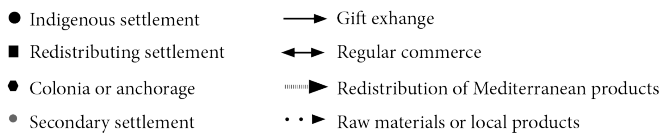


Fig. II.4 Models of settlement pattern changes (slightly modified after Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño (2001), 175-86. fig. 3 p. 183)

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 Marim, 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-

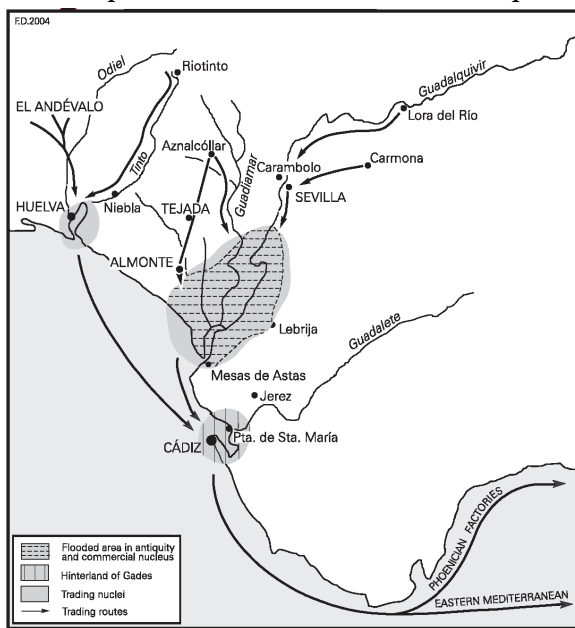


Fig. II.5: Possible trade routes between the silver mines and Doña Blanca. See Domínguez (2006), 429-505. fig. II p. 451.

³⁶ Bendala Galán (2001): 21.

³⁷ Gómez Toscano and Campos Carrasco (1998) 'El Bronce Final preferencio en Huelva según el registro arqueológico del Cabezo de San Pedro.' *Complutum* Vol. 19, N° 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 *Carmono* (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 Phoenician⁴⁵ 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, Ramsel, 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, Libyphoenician⁵⁸ 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: *urbs 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.

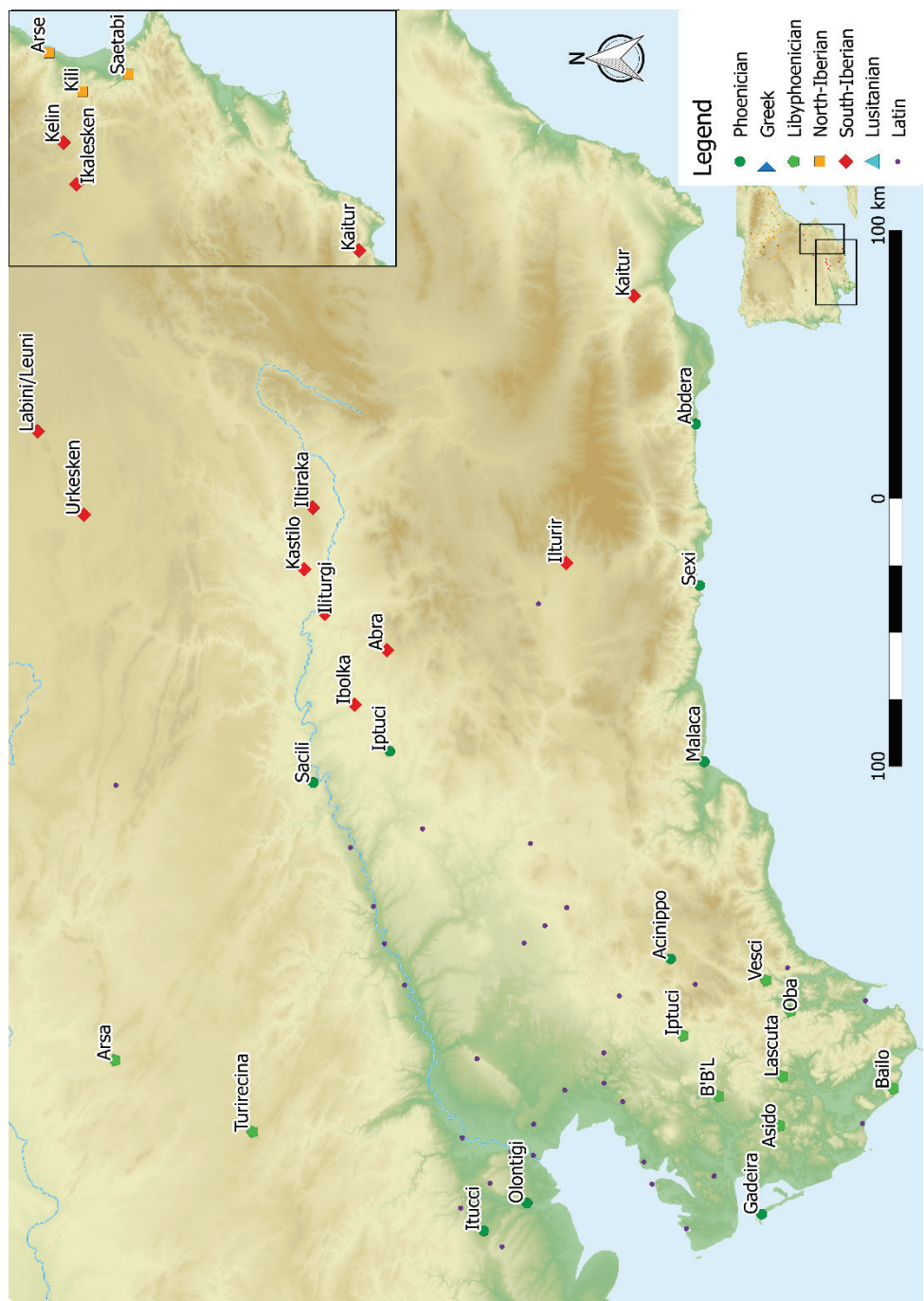


Fig. II.6: Coinage in the Mediterranean façade

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* (Bologna); *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 elite 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: Reconstituição topográfica e funcional do sítio arqueológico da Quinta de Marim (Olbão, 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.

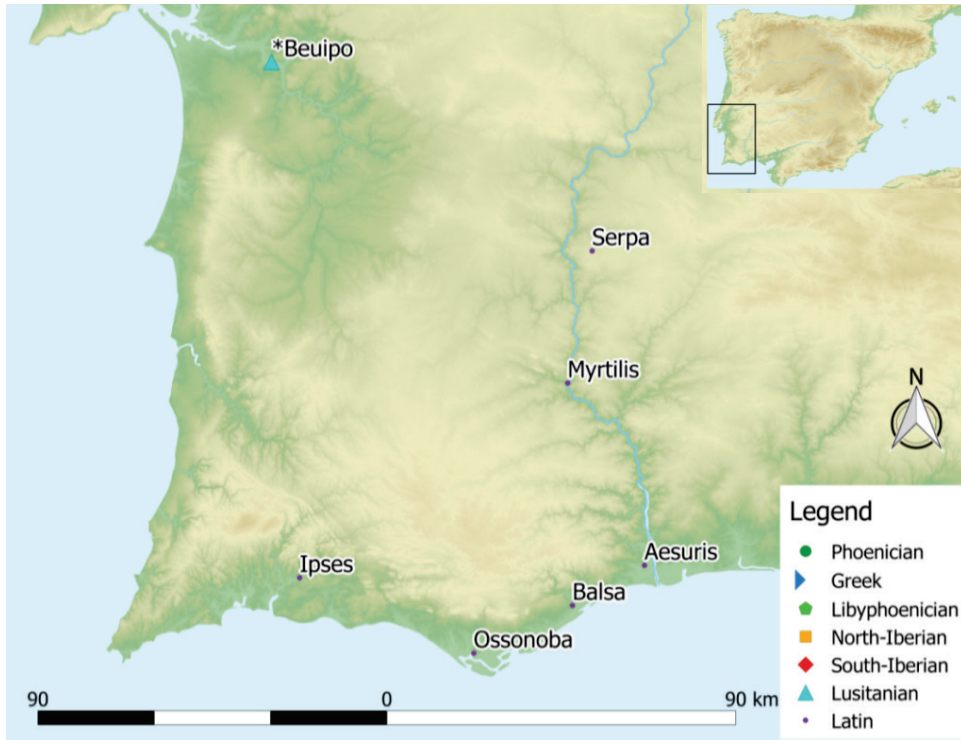


Fig. II.7 Coinage in the Southern Atlantic coast

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. Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον⁸², Ῥόδη⁸³ and Ἐμπορίον⁸⁴). The best-known 'colony' was the Greek Ἐμπορίον or later *Emporiae*. The first Greek settlement (3.75 ha) of Ἐμπορίον 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 Deniá, see for further reference: Domínguez (2006) 'Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula.' In: Tsatskheladze (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 Abadías 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: Tsatskheladze (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 Cadagallch (1909) 'Les excavacions d'Empúries.' *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* Vol. Anuari MCMXIII, 150-94.

⁸⁸ Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez (2015): 309.

⁸⁹ Aquilué Abadías 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.

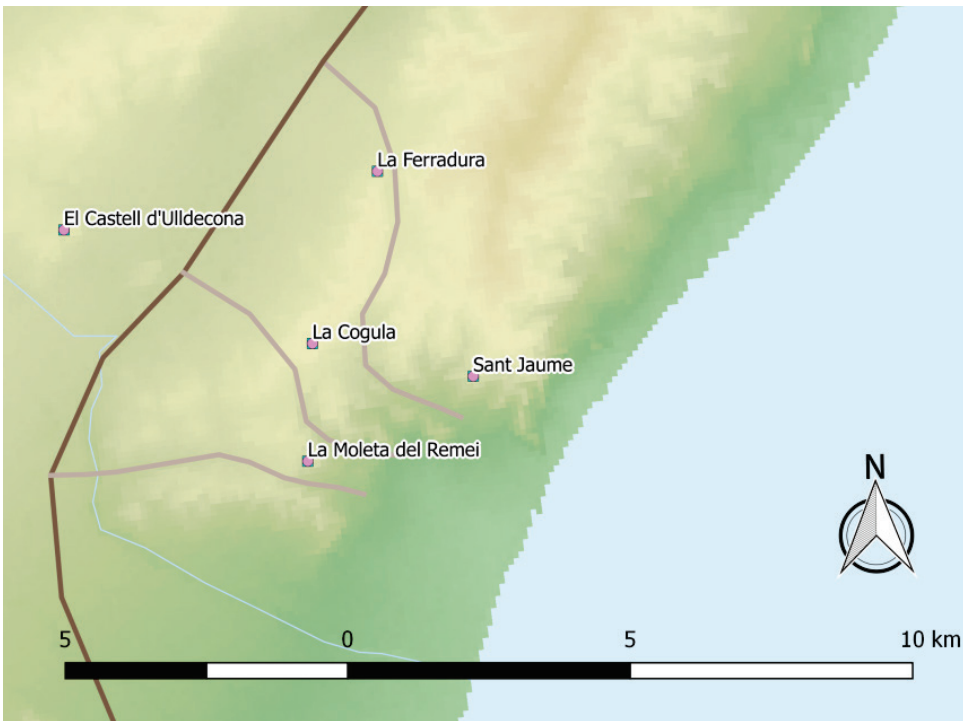


Fig. II.8 settlement pattern at Sant Jaume (after Sanmartí 2015)

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 Öñiz (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.

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, donec ad praevallidam 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

Wedge 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.

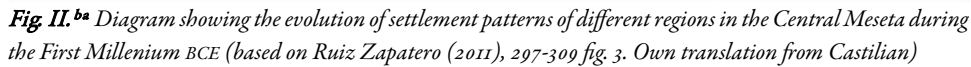
¹¹⁵ App. *Iber* 44; Diod. Sic. 31.39.

¹¹⁶ Burillo Mozota (2008) *Los Celtiberos. 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 "celtico" de la Meseta.' *Complutum* Vol. 22, N° 2, 297-309: 297.



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.

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 Vaccaean 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, N° 4, 391-414: 400; Almagro-Gorbea (1995): 180.

¹³⁴ Álvarez Sanchís (2011): 163; Sánchez Moreno (2001): 400. Up to 400 verracos have been treated in 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 Celtiberos*: 359, fig. 137.

¹⁴¹ Sánchez Moreno (2001): 392.

the region and the *Carpetani* 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.), *1^{er} Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*, 15-38: 18ff.

¹⁴³ Hurtado Aguiña (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.), *1^{er} Simposio sobre los Carpetanos: Arqueología e historia de un pueblo de la edad del hierro*, 111-24: 116.

¹⁴⁵ Hurtado Aguiña (2000): 86.

¹⁴⁶ Liv. *AUC* XXXV 6.8 & XXXV 22.7-8.

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 arqueología cordobesa* Vol. 23-24, 95-116: 100.

¹⁵⁷ Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila (1995): 212; Salinas de Frías (2007): 45; Hurtado (2000): 87ff.

¹⁵⁸ Hurtado Aguiña (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 Castilian *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, N° 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 processo de proto-urbanização no noroeste de Portugal durante o I milénio a.C.' *Revista da Faculdade 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

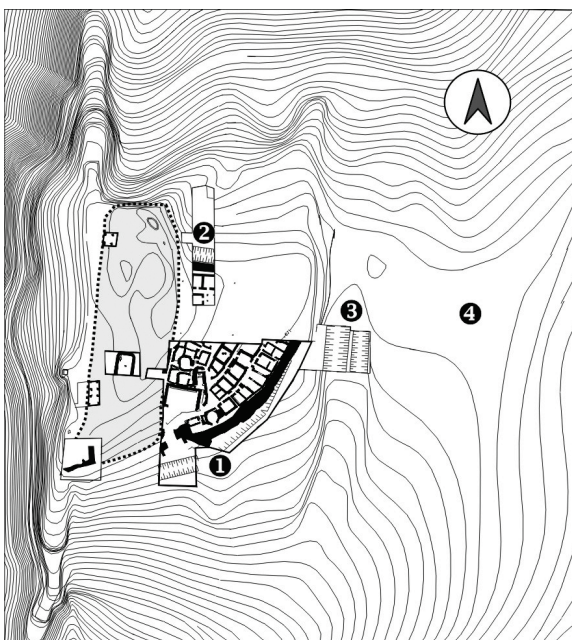


Fig. II.12 Chao Samartín (Villa Valdés (2006) fig. 3, p. 586) 1) the southern area; 2) the northern area with domus; 3) the double fossae; 4) location of the modern settlement.

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, cómo 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) *Hispaniae: Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*; Blázquez Martínez (1963) 'El impacto de la conquista de Hispania en Roma (154-83 a.C.).' *Klio* Vol. 41, 168-86; Blázquez 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; 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; Martínez López (2013) 'El tratado de Asdrubal: 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: Blázquez Martínez (1962); Blázquez 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 *Cesetani*, 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 República.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Aspectos de la colonización y municipalización de Hispania*, 11-32: 21.

²¹⁵ App. *Iber.* 4.4; 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 *Aratispī*); CIL II, 1053 (*Munigua*); HAE 1965; AE 1961, 96 (28 CE with different tribes in the North west).

²¹⁷ Santos Yanguas (1998) 'Comunidades indígenas 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 *Uterior*, 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 julio-claudienne. 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 penisola 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 *Bрутотрига*. 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 quoque laboris praemium. 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 until 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* (*iltiúrta*) 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 *Pompeïopolis* 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 Bellví 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 *Ultrior*.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 arqueológica.' 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.

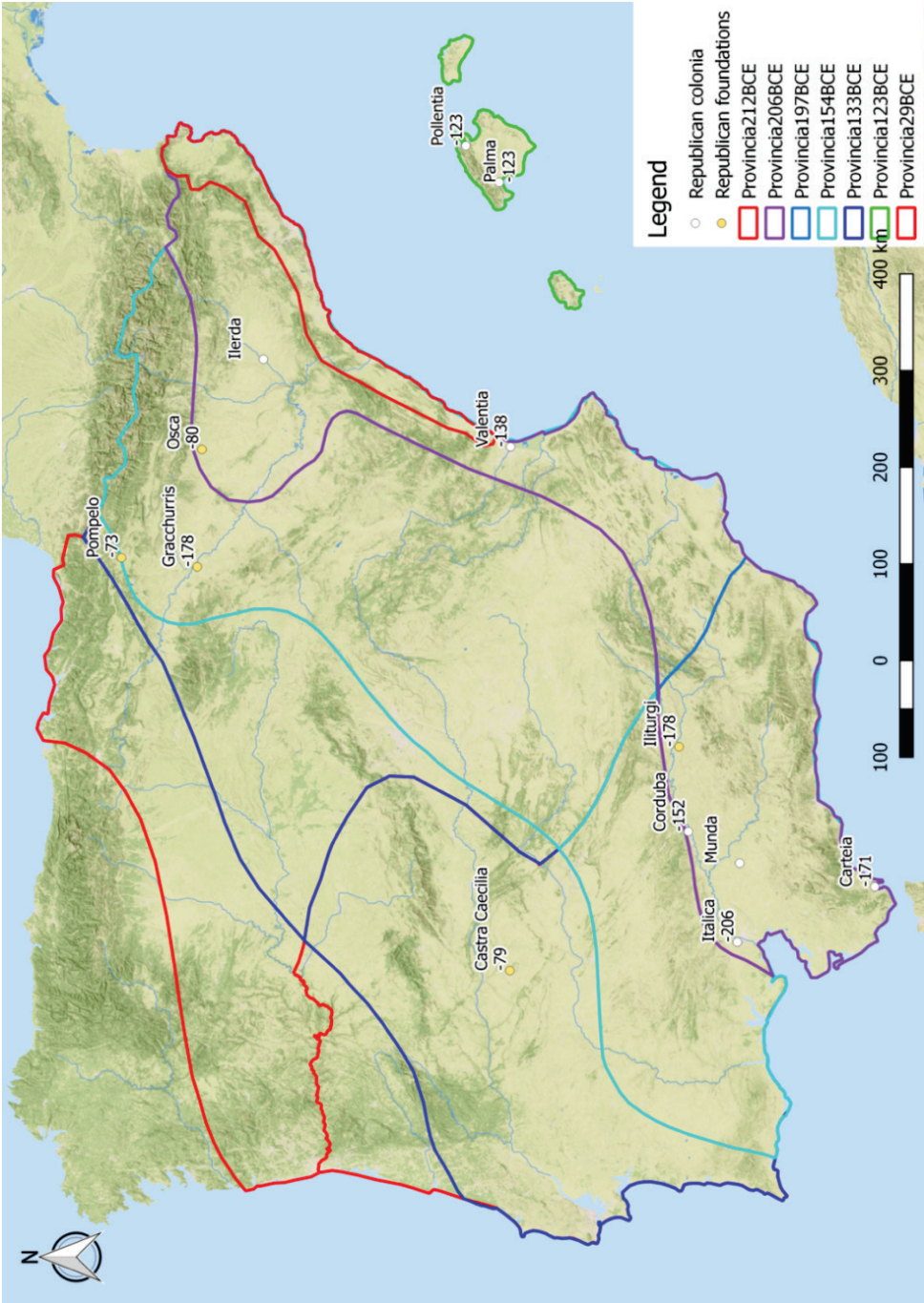


Fig. II.14 Republican provinciae, coloniae and foundations

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 nótila.' *Studia historica. Historia antiqua* 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 (ἐποικιστοί) 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 Ursonensis 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 ilitanus*: 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 Arimense*, 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 felicio. Premesse ed esti di un processo di integrazione - 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 antiqui*.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 antiqui*, 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, N° 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*, *Ulía 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 desciscitibus / 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 / Aiiobrigiacinos ex gente Gigurro/rum volente **ipsa civitate** eosque / castellanos Aiiobrigiacinos 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 aiiobrigiacinos 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 Cluniensis*: 31. The Hadrianic inscription: CIL II 2780. The reference in Ptolemy: II 6, 56: Κλονία 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 bilingüe)*; 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: Romanização e cambio social*; González (1999); Morales Rodríguez (2000); Ortiz de Urbina (2001) 'Aspectos constitucionales 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, N° 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 north-west, 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, N° 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 Flaviobriga 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 Herrenenses I*: 77.

³⁰³ Gellius *NA*, 16.13.4-5

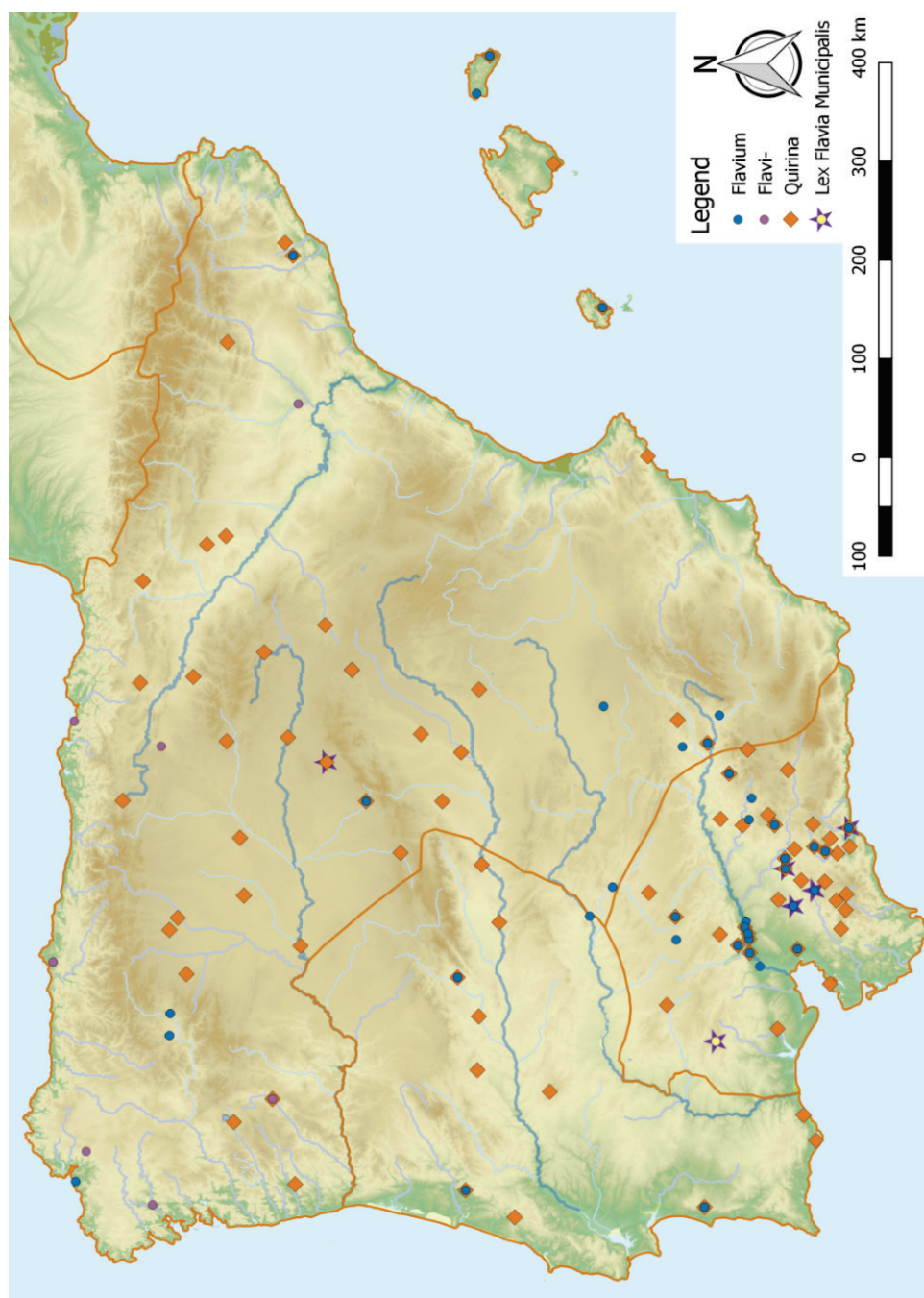


Fig. II.15 Evidence for Flavian municipia. The epigraphically attested municipia Flavia are indicated in blue. Cities with a reference to the Flavians in their name are shown in purple. The laws are indicated with stars

