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

Houten, P.H.A.

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Author: Houten, P.H.A.

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MONUMENTS FOR URBAN LIFESTYLE

5.1 Introduction

Monuments have been one of the main focal points within urban studies for a very long time. Many studies focus on the architecture, studying styles and forms¹, while other publications deal with the technical aspects of the construction of impressive monuments. Yet another category of studies centres on monuments as part of an 'urban lifestyle'.²

When, however, I found that your attention, not exclusively devoted to state affairs, was bestowed on the state of the public buildings, so that the republic was not more indebted to you for its extended empire, in the addition of so many provinces, than for your numerous public buildings by which its grandeur is amply manifested, I considered it right that no time should be lost in laying these precepts before you.³

Vitr. *De Arch.* I Praef. 2

There is a supposed relation between status and monumentality. However, Goffaux has argued convincingly that after the Augustan period there is no direct relation between these variables.⁴ At first, recently promoted communities may have

¹ Sear (2006) *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*; Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*; Thomas (2007) *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: architecture in the Antonine Age*; Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990).

² Kolb (1984): 15; Fear (1996): 15; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 203; Arribas Domínguez (1999): 427; Edmondson (2006): 250. Andreu Pintado (2004a) 'Algunas consideraciones sobre las ciudades romanas del territorio vascón y su proceso de monumentalización.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 17-18, 251-99; Curchin (2012) 'The Urban Experience in Castilla-La Mancha in the Roman Period.' In: Carrasco Serrano (ed.), *La ciudad romana en Castilla-La Mancha*, 15-28; Pfanner (1990) 'Modelle römischer Stadtentwicklung am Beispiel Hispaniens und der westlichen Provinzen.' In: Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) *Stadt und Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit*, München: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 59-116; Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990). For a historiography of the study of monumentalisation outside the Iberian Peninsula, see: Thomas (2007): 2ff.

³ Translation from LacusCurtius.

Cum vero adtenderem te non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum, quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem, ideo quod primum parenti tuo de eo fueram notus et eius virtutis studiosus.

⁴ Goffaux (2003): 144.

tended to build monuments. However, in the Augustan period non-privileged communities also began to construct monuments. In the Flavian period, no second wave of monumentalisation is observed in response to the grant of *ius Latii*.

The rationale behind this supposed link is that privileged cities are assumed to have had an élite that was well connected to the centre of power. The new élite would be 'highly imitative' in their acts of euergetism and would start creating the civic monuments found in other cities.⁵ Zanker goes as far as stating that there is a difference between the monumentalisation of Caesarean promotions and those of the Augustan age and later, recognisable by the uniformity of the architecture.⁶ He states that the monuments created in the Caesarean period were those of an élite representing their diversity through the monuments, whereas the Augustan monuments were a response to the new state.

Another theory is that there was a relationship between monumentalisation and the degree of exposure to 'Roman' culture. This exposure led to a situation where monuments were erected without being directly related to the specific status of a community.⁷ In particular the theatre and, possibly later, the amphitheatre seem to have been related to the idea of 'urban lifestyle'.⁸ The development of monumental structures may reflect the wish to construct an urban identity, possibly to incite the promotion of the community or as a response to its promotion.

Finally, we find the idea that monumentalisation is linked to geographical location or connectivity.⁹ The rationale behind this theory is the idea that neighbouring or closely connected cities start to compete, as happened later in the case of *campanilismo* in northern Italy.¹⁰ Within a peaceful region, neighbouring communities will refrain from violence but will still compete. A solution for these communities is competition in religious symbols and rituals.¹¹ Similar to the case study provided by Tak, we find a pacified region with possible older rivalries. In this environment, communities and especially the élites may have continued their competition using euergetism and monumentalisation, as Syme has argued for *Tarraco* and *Barcino*.¹² An example of civic pride in Hispania is found in Martialis where he boasts about his

⁵ Purcell (2010): 588.

⁶ Trillmich and Zanker (eds.) (1990): 18.

⁷ Aktüre (2007) 'Geographic Distribution and Architectural Characteristics of the Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain: A Structuralist Interpretation.' In: Croxford, Ray, Roth and White (eds.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 17-33; Sear (2006): 117; (1984) *Villes et fonctions urbaines dans le Nord-Ouest hispanique sous domination romaine*. Porto, 1983a: 195.

⁸ Woolf (1998) *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*: 122; Woolf (2000) 'Urbanization and its discontents in early Roman Gaul.' In: Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City*, 115-32: 120.

⁹ Aktüre (2007): 19.

¹⁰ Zanker (2000) 'The city as symbol: Rome and the creation of an urban image.' In: Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City*: 39; Tak (1990) 'Longing for an Identity: intervillage relations in an Italian mountain area.' *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 63, N° 2, 90-100: 90.

¹¹ Tak (1990): 95.

¹² Syme (1981) 'Rival cities, notably Tarraco and Barcino.' *Ktema* Vol. 6, 270-85; Zanker (2000): 39.

hometown of *Bilbilis*.¹³ It is likely that élite euergetism was fuelled by local pride and by the wish to outdo the élites of neighbouring towns.¹⁴

Combining these theories, various scholars have proposed that a combination of multiple factors may have played a role at the same time.¹⁵ In these works, it is stated that the complex process of monumentalisation cannot be explained as reflecting the operation of one particular factor, such as a juridical promotion, but must be seen within the context of the entire process of cultural changes.

One very important part of monumentalisation is funding. As Andreau stated, “Sans ressources, pas de monumentalisation”.¹⁶ Three types of funding for monumental structures have been recognised: the city, the emperor and benefactors.¹⁷ For the self-governing communities, Andreau argues that there were several ways to obtain the financial needs for construction.¹⁸ Some of these are rather straightforward and apply to all self-governing communities, such as income from taxes, fines and honorary sums imposed on the élites for the magistracies. However, some are related to the natural riches of the territory and logically vary a lot, such as income from mines, port taxes and land owned by the community; here we have to think about the places with tax exemption.¹⁹ Besides the construction paid for by the city, there were also the benefactions. Whether these were imperial or local, they were voluntary donations to construct part or the whole of the relevant monument. Unfortunately, the evidence is too often lacking to investigate the frequency of the different forms of funding proposed by Andreau. Nonetheless, keeping these forms in mind we may be able to understand the development of monumentalisation in different cities.

¹³ Mart. XII 1.49; XII 4.55.

¹⁴ A similar situation is found in my hometown Gronsveld where once in four years during *Groete Broonk* a religious procession is accompanied by a civilian militia. This custom is found within most towns in the region, however, in my hometown people are willing to pay thousands of euros to become an officer as this will be a source of pride for them and they know the money will benefit the militia.

¹⁵ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 67; Keay (1996) 'Ideology and the location of Roman towns in Baetica.' *The Classical Bulletin* Vol. 72, 51-7: 55.

¹⁶ Andreau (2016) 'Monumentalisation, finances publiques et vie économique.' In: Bouet (ed.), *Monumental! La monumentalisation des villes de l'Aquitaine et de l'Hispanie septentrionale durant le Haut-Empire - Actes du colloque de Villeneuve-sur-Lot (10-12 septembre 2015)*, 43-53: 52.

¹⁷ Sear (2006): 11; Andreau (2016): 44.

¹⁸ The categories: “les revenus de immeubles, des terres de culture et de pâture appartenant à la cité; les revenus du reste de son patrimoine (carrières, blancs de terre glaise, mines, etc.); le produit de diverses taxes prélevées par elle (et par exemple les taxes d'octroi, les taxes portuaires, les droits sur les foires et marchés, etc.); le produit des amendes; et le montant de “sommés honoraires”, imposées aux notables accédant aux magistratures ou autres charges municipales.” Andreau (2016): 44.

¹⁹ Saquete Chamizo (2000) 'Privilegio y sociedad en *Augusta Emerita*: la cuestión del *Ius Italicum* y la *Immunitas*.' In: Gorges and Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *IV Mesa Redonda Internacional: Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana*, 379-89: 380.

5.2 Monumental cities

This chapter will first establish which monuments can be found in the different cities and to which period they can be dated. Despite the fact that the largest part of the archaeological record still has to be disclosed, as many cities have either not been excavated at all or only partially excavated, we can start analysing the data for their first results.²⁰

First, we have to establish which monuments are considered to be part of the 'urban' monuments. The scholarly consensus on urban monuments include defensive walls, aqueducts, *thermae*, theatre, amphitheatre, circus, the *forum* and the buildings related to it.²¹ However, these monuments are also found in non-urban settlements. Defensive walls are quite common for non-urban settlements, especially in the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula where the *Castreño* culture is found.²² Similarly, aqueducts and baths can be found in non-urban contexts.²³ In several provinces of the Roman Empire spectacle buildings are also found in non-urban contexts.²⁴ This raises the question of how these monuments relate to the urban nature of a settlement. Would one of these monuments suffice? Or do we need more, and, if so, how many? This study will exclude defensive walls and aqueducts as these are too common to provide a better understanding of urbanism.

Thermae will be included, although these create a number of problems when they are used to define the difference between urban and non-urban. One of the major problems is that they are not necessarily public; they can quite easily be private, belonging to a *domus*.²⁵ Clearly, these private baths should not be taken into account as part of the monumentality of a city. In addition, so far no detailed study of all the

²⁰ New monuments or indications that there might be monuments are found every year. As recently as in 2017 two possible amphitheatres were found in the region of *Baetica*: Zarzalejos Prieto *et al.* (2017) 'La Beturia Túrdula de la provincia de Ciudad Real. El Ager sisaponensis y los paisajes mineros del Norte de Sierra Morena. Prospecciones geofísicas en la microrregión de Almadén y aplicaciones no destructivas para la identificación de la trama urbana de Sisapo (La Bienvenida. Ciudad Real)'. *Paisajes urbanos y rurales de la antigua Beturia Túrdula (Badajoz-Ciudad Real-Córdoba)*, *Estrategias de investigación y revalorización*, Madrid: (Unpublished paper); Monterroso-Checa *et al.* (2017) 'La Beturia Túrdula del norte de Córdoba. Arqueología aérea a través de métodos de teledetección remota desde UAV, Aeronave y Satélite para delimitar Mellaria y configurar el Ager Mellariensis (Fuente Obejuna-Alto Guadiato-Córdoba)'. *Paisajes urbanos y rurales de la antigua Beturia Túrdula (Badajoz-Ciudad Real-Córdoba)*, *Estrategias de investigación y revalorización*, Madrid: (Unpublished paper).

²¹ Vaquerizo and Murillo (2010) 'Ciudad y suburbia en Corduba: una visión diacrónica (siglos II a.C. – VII d.C.)'. In: Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función*, 455-522: 486; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 137.

²² Padin Nogueira (1998) 'Urbanismo e sociedade na cultura castrexa'. In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 715-34.

²³ Noguera Celdrán (ed.) (1995) *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania*. Jumilla, 1993.

²⁴ Bouley (1983) 'Les théâtres culturels de Belgique et des Germanies'. *Latomus* Vol. 42, 546-71; Sear (2006).

²⁵ García Entero (2005) *Los balnea domésticos - ámbito rural y urbano- en la Hispania romana*.

thermae has been made. Those that are available are often rather outdated. Luckily, the thermal complexes are under investigation in the doctoral thesis by Pavia Page.²⁶

The *fora* pose another problem. Based on the idea that each city must have had a *forum*²⁷, several *fora*, located at the supposed crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*, have been assumed to exist rather than identified, leading to a complicated dataset.²⁸ Moreover, there is no complete collection of these building types. Romero Novella is currently researching the *fora* of *Hispania Citerior* within his doctoral thesis.²⁹

As a result of the limited research on these building types, the absence of these buildings in the archaeological record most probably only indicates a research bias, a view which is supported by the fact that in the well-investigated cities both buildings have always been found. We must therefore refrain from drawing conclusions based on the absence of these buildings.

Interestingly, in the *Hispaniae* all but one of the spectacle buildings are found in an urban context.³⁰ For this reason it makes sense to focus mainly on theatre, amphitheatre and circus, as these are buildings that set cities apart from rural agglomerations. Moreover, spectacle buildings were prime targets for acts of *euergetism* relating them to the élite or even the imperial family.³¹ Even if built (partially) by public money, they still provided the possibility to redecorate or give *ludi* or *munera* as acts of *euergetism*.

In many cases, we can be certain about the existence of a spectacle building, but in other cases it is only probable or doubtful. Spectacle buildings attested in archaeology are obviously certain. The task of collecting the different buildings is facilitated by several compendia.³² In addition to the archaeologically attested buildings, we can

²⁶ Pavia Page (2016) 'Termas públicas del conventus Carthaginiensis. Primera aproximación a su catalogación y estudio.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 24, 81-101; Noguera Celdrán, J.M., García-Entero, V., and Pavia Page, M. (eds.) (2018) *Congreso internacional termas públicas de Hispania pre-actas*. Murcia, UNED.

²⁷ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 170.

²⁸ The only case in which a large area has been excavated and still no *forum* has been found is *Numantia*, although, it could be located in the area that up to date has not been excavated or researched with a geophysical survey.

²⁹ Romero Novella (2014a) 'Los foros hispanorromanos del *Conventus Caesaraugustanus*.' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 22, 149-217; Romero Novella (2014b) 'Novedades en los fora del conventus Caesaraugustanus.' *Bolskan* Vol. 25, 195-219.

³⁰ Although one could argue that the amphitheatre belonging to the legionary camp Legio VII, is also "urban" as these garrison settlements fulfil urban functions.

³¹ Arce (2015) 'La inscripción de Orcistus y las preocupaciones del emperador.' In: Brassous and Quevedo (eds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise*, 311-23; 273; Mingoia (2004) 'Evergetismo relativo agli edifici da spettacolo romani. Una rassegna di testi epigrafici della Baetica.' *ROMULA* Vol. 3, 219-38; 220; Rodríguez Neila and Melchor Gil (2003) 'Magistrados municipales y munificencia cívica en las provincias de Bética y Lusitania.' In: Armani, Stylow and Hurler-Matineau (eds.), *Epigrafía y sociedad en Hispania durante el Alto Imperio: estructuras y relaciones sociales*, 209-39; 216.

³² Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003) 'Los espectáculos del anfiteatro en Hispania.' *IBERIA* Vol. 6, 57-70; Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.) (2001) *El circo en Hispania Romana*; Sear (2006).

turn to epigraphy and literary sources for evidence. Here, we enter into the area of deciding whether a building definitely existed, such as the case of *Gades* where the amphitheatre has not yet been found. However, the combination of the depiction of an elliptical building with a *cavea* by Wyngaerde, possible elliptical foundations found at the Puerta de Muro³³ referred to as Huerta del Hoyo, a passage from Cicero and an epitaph for a gladiator strongly suggest that there may well have been an amphitheatre in the *forum* rather than games being staged there.³⁴ Hence the amphitheatre of *Gades* is considered certain. Similarly, we find certain buildings, although not attested archaeologically, in epigraphy. An example is the circus at Zafra, possibly belonging to *Contributa Iulia*, which is mentioned in CIL II 984.³⁵

The group of 'probable' spectacle buildings is based on epigraphic evidence for *ludi* or *munera* without a mention of the actual building. Whilst these games could have been held in a proper spectacle building, we cannot exclude the possibility that they were held in a temporary building³⁶ or in another venue, like the *forum* or theatre³⁷ or even outside the urban context.³⁸ In addition, the probable spectacle buildings found by non-invasive techniques, but not attested with certainty, such as the recently discovered amphitheatre of *Mellaria* are added to this category.³⁹

The questionable spectacle buildings are those whose existence has been proposed in the scholarly literature without the backing of direct archaeological, epigraphic or other ancient sources. For example, in the case of *Asturica Augusta*, González Fernández states that a theatre is to be expected in the city.⁴⁰ In *Italica*, the discovery of a mosaic with the depiction of a circus has fuelled speculation that such a building existed in the city.⁴¹ A similar discussion is based on the depiction of gladiatorial fights on fine ware found in *Calagurris Iulia*.⁴² An interesting case is that of *Balsa* where Fraga da Silva uses several techniques, including topological survey, to find a theatre, an amphitheatre and two circuses. The existence of the second circus and the amphitheatre seems very unlikely.⁴³ The questionable category has been collected to

³³ This gate is also referred to as Puerta de Tierra.

³⁴ IRP Cadiz 398; Cic. Ad. Fam. 10.32.2-3; Wyngaerde, 1567; Fear (1996): 199; Ramírez Delgado (1982) *Los Primitivos Núcleos de Asentamiento en la Ciudad de Cádiz*: 113; Suarez de Salazar (1610 [1985]) *Grandezas y antigüedades de la isla y ciudad de Cádiz, Facsimil de la edición de Cádiz de 1610*: 128.

³⁵ CIL II 984: L(ucius) · Valerius · Amandus · / et · L(ucius) · Valerius · Lucumo / podium · in · circo · p(edum) · dec(em) / ob · honorem IIIII-vir(atu)s · / ex · decreto · decurionum · / d(e) · s(uis) · p(ecuniis) · f(aciendum) · c(uraverunt) ·. The inscription is found in Zafra, near *Contributa Iulia*.

³⁶ Plut. Vit. C. Gracchi 12.

³⁷ Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 31.121.

³⁸ Humphrey (1986) *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*: 1; Fear (1996): 7.

³⁹ Monterroso-Checa *et al.* (2017).

⁴⁰ González Fernández (2012) 'Origen militar y desarrollo urbano de Asturica Augusta.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 257-94.

⁴¹ Humphrey (1986): 233.

⁴² González Blanco (1998) 'El anfiteatro de Calahorra.' *Kalakorikos* Vol. 3, 193-6.

⁴³ Fraga da Silva (2007).

point out possible additions if more evidence is found. However, the settlements in this category will not be part of the analysis.

5.2.1 Amphitheatres⁴⁴

The amphitheatre is the most characteristic Roman spectacle building, due to its development on the Italic peninsula and its diffusion after the conquest of the western part of the Empire.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, this building developed later than the *munera*, or games, as these were held at first in open spaces and in the *forum*.⁴⁶ Welch has related the development of this structure to Roman veteran *coloniae* in the Republican period.⁴⁷

Most of the evidence for certain amphitheatres on the Iberian Peninsula is found in two publications dealing with all types of spectacle buildings and amphitheatres respectively.⁴⁸ In addition, epigraphy makes it possible to add a particular amphitheatre in *Castulo* as mentioned by epigraphy (CILA III 84). Moreover, two amphitheatres can be added based on references to *loca spectaculorum*, on the assumption that this phrase refers to an actual amphitheatre.⁴⁹ This leads to the inclusion of the amphitheatre in *Siarum* (CILA II 946) and that in *Aurgi* (CIL II² 5.31).⁵⁰

Based on epigraphic evidence only mentioning games without reference to the actual building, we can add three probable amphitheatres: *Aquae Flaviae*, where an inscription refers to the *gladiatorum munus* (CIL II 2473); *Ceret* where a *IIIvir* provided twenty pairs of gladiators (CIL II 1305); and *Urso*, which is added based on references to *munera* (*Lex Urs.* Ch. 71). Whilst these attestations of *munera* are solid, it should be remembered that games could be held in the *forum*, as stated in the *Lex Ursonensis*, or in a circus or a temporary wooden construction.⁵¹

The existence of an amphitheatre has been proposed or suggested for some cities without any archaeological or epigraphic evidence. These amphitheatres are considered doubtful. For example, in the case of *Calagurris Iulia*, the existence of the amphitheatre is based on 19th-century references and on images of gladiatorial fights on

⁴⁴ See Table 4.

⁴⁵ Ramallo Asensio (2002) 'La arquitectura del espectáculo en Hispania: teatros, anfiteatros y circos.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana*, 92-118: 108; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 259.

⁴⁶ Vitr. *De Arch.* V 1.1.

⁴⁷ Welch (2007) *The Roman amphitheatre: from its origins to the Colosseum*.

⁴⁸ Ramallo Asensio (2002); Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003).

⁴⁹ Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003): 59.

⁵⁰ According to Ceballos Hornero & Ceballos Hornero, the one in *Aurgi* is located in Los Villares (Jaén), however, the inscription reads: *L(ucius) Manilius Gallus et L(ucius) Man[i]lius Alexander Aurg(itani) ob hono/rem VI(vi)r(atus) secundum petitionem m(unicipii) optimi patroni loca spectacul(orum) / numero CC singuli ex duplici pecunia / decreto optimi ordinis municipib(us) m(unicipii) Aurgita[ni] dederunt donaverunt*. According to Sear (2006: 101) the inscription refers to a theatre.

⁵¹ Ceballos Hornero and Ceballos Hornero (2003): 60; Humphrey (1986): 1.

fine ware⁵²; the building has not been located.⁵³ In the case of *Hispalis*, the sole reference to an amphitheatre is an allusion to the martyrdom of Justa and Rufina in the late third or early fourth century.⁵⁴ Thouvenot mentions the amphitheatres of *Acinippo* and *Ucubi*⁵⁵, though in both cases the evidence is rather slim. The amphitheatre of *Acinippo* shown in the picture seems to belong to the theatre.⁵⁶ The existence of an amphitheatre in *Ucubi* has not been proven by archaeology.⁵⁷ In addition, we find two doubt amphitheatres with a size indication: *Barcino* and *Olisipo*. In these cases, the topography of the modern city has been used, based on the argument that the foundations of ancient buildings have been fossilised within the city plan. In the case of *Barcino*, the curvature of the *Calle Cardenal Casañas* and on the opposite side the curvature of the *Calle Cecs de la Boqueria* have been used to identify a possible amphitheatre.⁵⁸ Similarly, an argument has been made for a possible amphitheatre for *Olisipo*, located at the curvature of the *Rua de São Miguel*.⁵⁹ A third case based on topography is the amphitheatre of *Balsa*, where the evidence is based on deviations in the natural terrain. However, the book on *Balsa* by Fraga da Silva does not explain on what basis the amphitheatre is located, making it a very doubtful case.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding, the existence of amphitheatres in these cities is not completely ruled out.

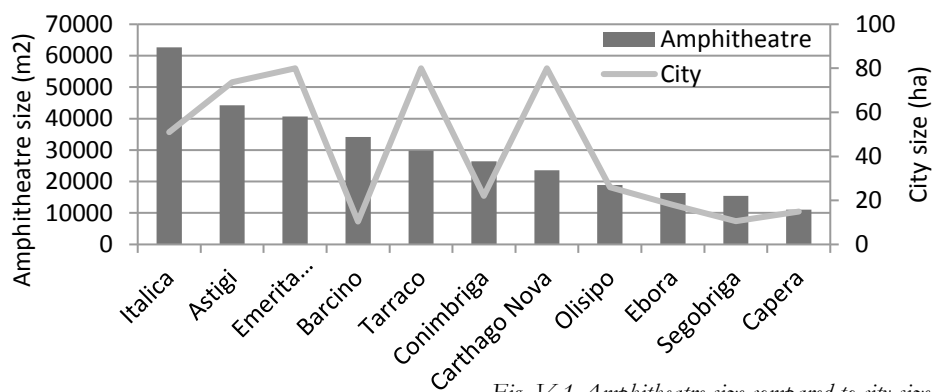


Fig. V.1 Amphitheatre size compared to city size

In the scholarly literature, monumental buildings are often related to the size of cities and their hinterland, based on the presumption that the whole, or at least the

⁵² González Blanco (1998).

⁵³ Andrés Hurtado (2002) 'Municipium Calagurris Iulia Nassica.' *Kalakorikos* Vol. 7, 51-78: 71.

⁵⁴ Beltrán Fortes *et al.* (2005) 'Acerca del urbanismo de Hispalis. Estado de la cuestión y perspectivas.' *Mainake* Vol. 27, 61-88: 77.

⁵⁵ Thouvenot (1940): 458.

⁵⁶ Thouvenot (1940): 458.

⁵⁷ Roldán Gómez (1992) 'El acueducto romano de Ucubi (Espejo, Córdoba).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 19, 245-64: 252.

⁵⁸ Conde Moragues (2013) 'Hipótesis sobre la posible identificación del anfiteatro de Barcino.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 2, Nº 44, 47-68.

⁵⁹ Vasco de Melo Martins (2014) 'O Anfiteatro Romano de Lisboa. Hipótese de localização através de uma leitura Tipo-Morfológica do Tecido Urbano.' *Revista russio. estudos de Lisboa* Vol. 4, 162-73.

⁶⁰ Fraga da Silva (2007).

free, population should be able to attend the spectacles organised.⁶¹ When relating the amphitheatre size to the city size, we do not find any correlation between these two parameters (fig. V.1).

The arena size has an influence on the actual size of the *cavea* of the amphitheatre. The larger amphitheatres may have had a larger arena and as such provided less space for spectators. By subtracting the known arena sizes from the total amphitheatre size, we can reorganise the bar chart to roughly display the amphitheatres based on the *cavea* size. This reorganisation has almost no influence on the distribution of the graph (fig. V.2).

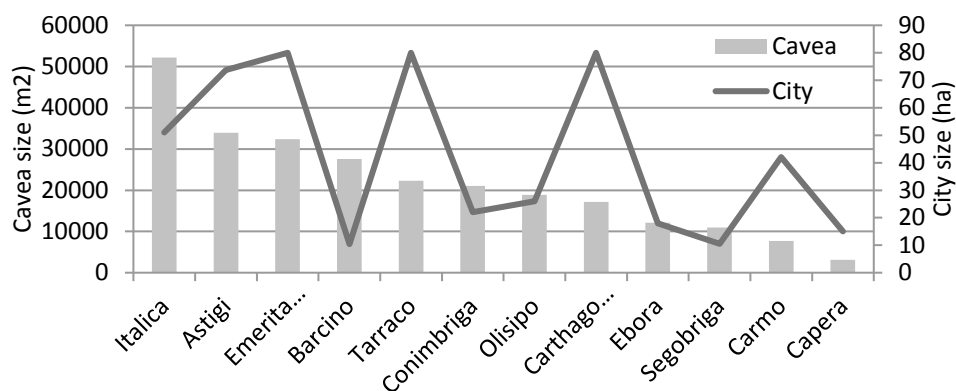


Fig. V.2 *Cavea size compared to city size*

The size of the amphitheatre of *Italica* is striking. This is the largest amphitheatre in the Roman west, excluding the Italic Peninsula.⁶² The reason for this massive amphitheatre should not be sought in the size of the city or its importance for the region, but in one of its natives: Hadrian. *Italica* was the birthplace of Trajan and Hadrian and due to the Imperial connection it developed in the early second century into a centre to display the power of the Emperor in *Baetica*.⁶³ The amphitheatre was part of the renovation and monumentalisation of the old city in the early second century and the creation of a new district, now known as the *urbs nova*, also including a new thermal complex and the temple called the *Traianeum*.⁶⁴

Looking at the other amphitheatres with a known size, we can observe that the largest are those of *coloniae*. The only exception is *Carthago Nova*. The amphitheatre of this city is slightly smaller than that of *Conimbriga*, the first city that is not a *colonia*. The reason for the slightly smaller amphitheatre of *Carthago Nova* may be found in the limited space on the peninsula on which *Carthago Nova* is located.

⁶¹ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 266.

⁶² *Ibid.* 271.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 58. This is based on Gellius' idea of "*effigies parvae simulacraque (Romae)*": Gell. *NA* XVI 13.9.

⁶⁴ Beltrán Fortes *et al.* (2011) 'La explotación y el empleo de Marmora en la Baetica. Un proyecto de investigación de base arqueométrica.' *Itálica. Revista de Arqueología de Andalucía* Vol. 1, 51-75: 57; Caballos Rufino (2010b) *Itálica-Santiponce: municipium y Colonia Aelia Augusta Italicensium*.

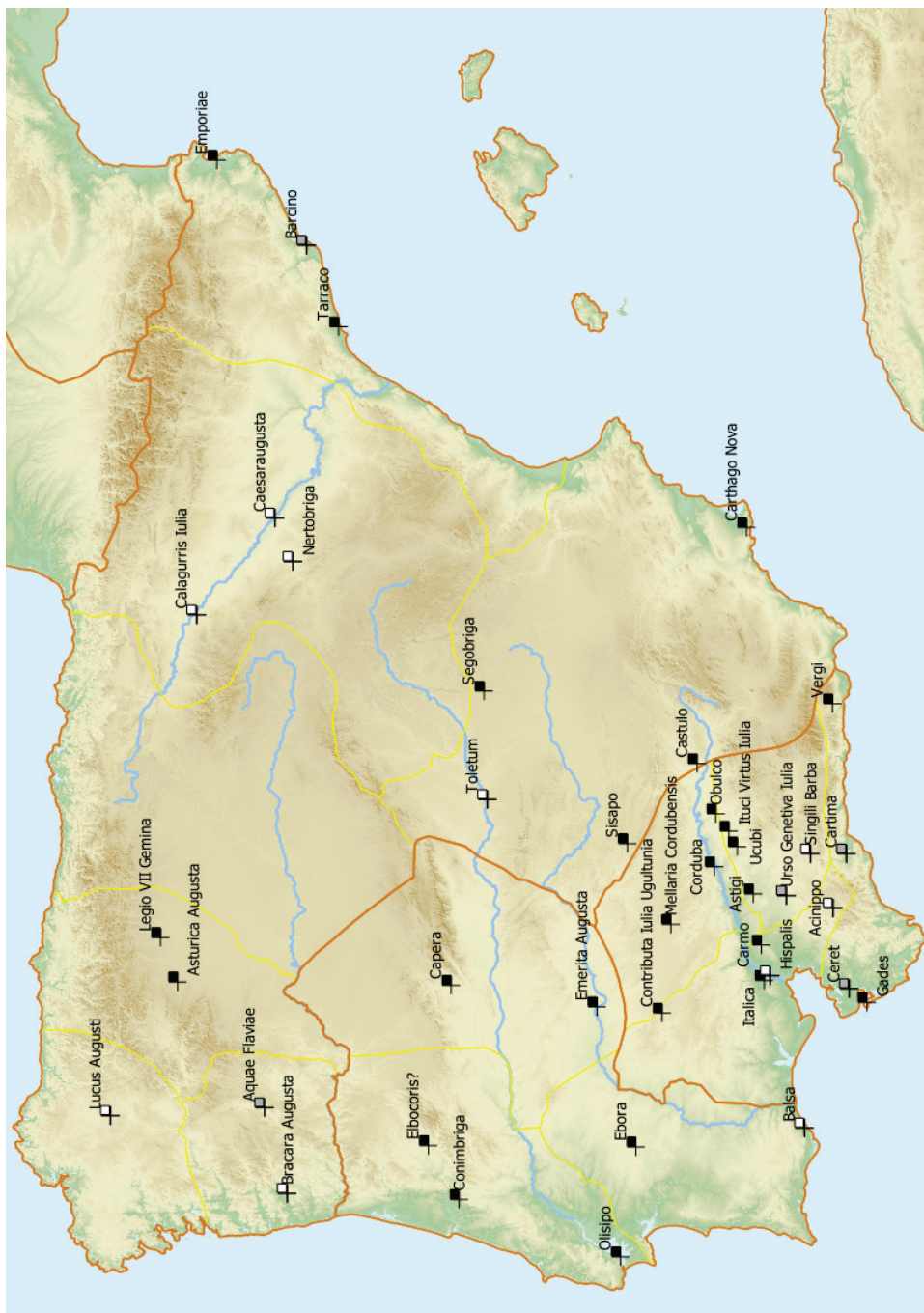


Fig. V.3 Amphitheatres on the Iberian Peninsula. Black = certain, grey = probable and doubted = white

5.2.2 Circuses⁶⁵

Ludi circenses were the oldest and most popular games in the city of Rome.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the circus was often the last spectacle building to be erected.⁶⁷ In only two cities of the Iberian Peninsula - *Mirobriga Celticorum* and *Valentia* - do we find the circus as the sole spectacle building. Especially in the case of *Valentia* one might expect to find other spectacle buildings, since the modern city still covers large parts of the archaeological record. Compared to the rest of the Empire, the circuses in Hispania are relatively early and less rare.⁶⁸

Humphrey points out that the circus would most probably be an imperial benefaction.⁶⁹ However, in Hispania we find evidence for parts of the podium being erected using particular donations in Zafra (located in *Baetica*) and *Balsa*.⁷⁰ Mingoia suggests that some benefactors might have spent money on the spina; located in the centre of the circus, it would be ideal for benefactions.⁷¹ Without a doubt, the *ludi circenses* were part of the benefactions of the local élite, as is proven in a multitude of inscriptions commemorating these events.

An examination of the epigraphic evidence led to the inclusion of fifteen possible circuses. The number of inscriptions commemorating the *ludi circenses* supports the idea that these were rather popular shows.⁷² Again, we have to keep in mind that circus games could well have been held on a field with temporary constructions.⁷³

The existence of two unexcavated circuses is proven by epigraphy. A building inscription found in Zafra, near *Contributa Iulia* and possibly related to this city, commemorates the gift of the podium of the local circus in CIL II 984. Similarly, we find the case of *Balsa*, where two inscriptions also mention the dedication of 100 pedes of the podium in CIL II 5165-5166. In addition to this evidence, Fraga da Silva proposes a possible location for a second circus in *Balsa*.⁷⁴ His book is mainly descriptive and leaves out the actual arguments to identify this second circus. The epigraphic evidence proves the existence of one circus. For this reason, only one circus has been accepted for *Balsa*.

An interesting case of a city with a probable circus is *Castulo*. The epigraphic evidence for *ludi circenses* is abundant in this city.⁷⁵ Recent research using LiDAR has

⁶⁵ See Table 5. Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.) (2001); Ramallo Asensio (2002); Humphrey (1986).

⁶⁶ Bell (2013) 'Roman Chariot Racing: Charioteers, Factions, Spectators.' In: Christesen and Kyle (eds.), *Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 492-502: 493.

⁶⁷ Ramallo Asensio (2002): 113.

⁶⁸ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 296.

⁶⁹ Humphrey (1986): 333.

⁷⁰ CIL II 984 (inscription found in Zafra); CIL II 5165 and CIL II 5166 (inscription found in Luz de Tavira - *Balsa*).

⁷¹ Mingoia (2004): 222.

⁷² Humphrey (1986): 382.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 3; Mingoia (2004): 227.

⁷⁴ Fraga da Silva (2007): 102.

⁷⁵ CIL II 3270; CIL II 3265; CILA III, 101.

indicated that a structure resembling a circus was located near the city of *Castulo*.⁷⁶ It is very likely that in the near future the existence of a circus in *Castulo* will be proven. In the other cases of a probable circus, we find only references to the *ludi circenses*. As has already been stated, this is not evidence of a circus, although a circus may have been present.

Only fifteen circuses have been found and the sizes of only seven could be determined (fig. V.4). Major conclusions cannot therefore be drawn. However, we can observe one medium-sized city with a larger circus and one large city with a relatively small one. *Toletum*, estimated at 40 hectares, has the second largest circus. This circus is found outside the city and as such was not limited in its size by the city itself. However, we also find smaller circuses outside the walled area, such as that of *Mirobriga Celticorum*. Sánchez Palencia and Sáinz Pascual argue that the circus of *Toletum* may have been inspired by the construction of the circus of *Augusta Emerita*.⁷⁷ Since *Emerita* has the largest circus found on the peninsula, this could explain the rather large circus of *Toletum*.

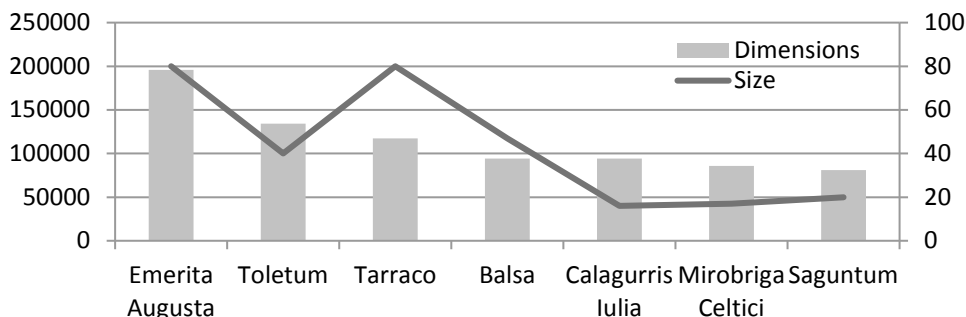


Fig. V.4 Circus size compared to city size

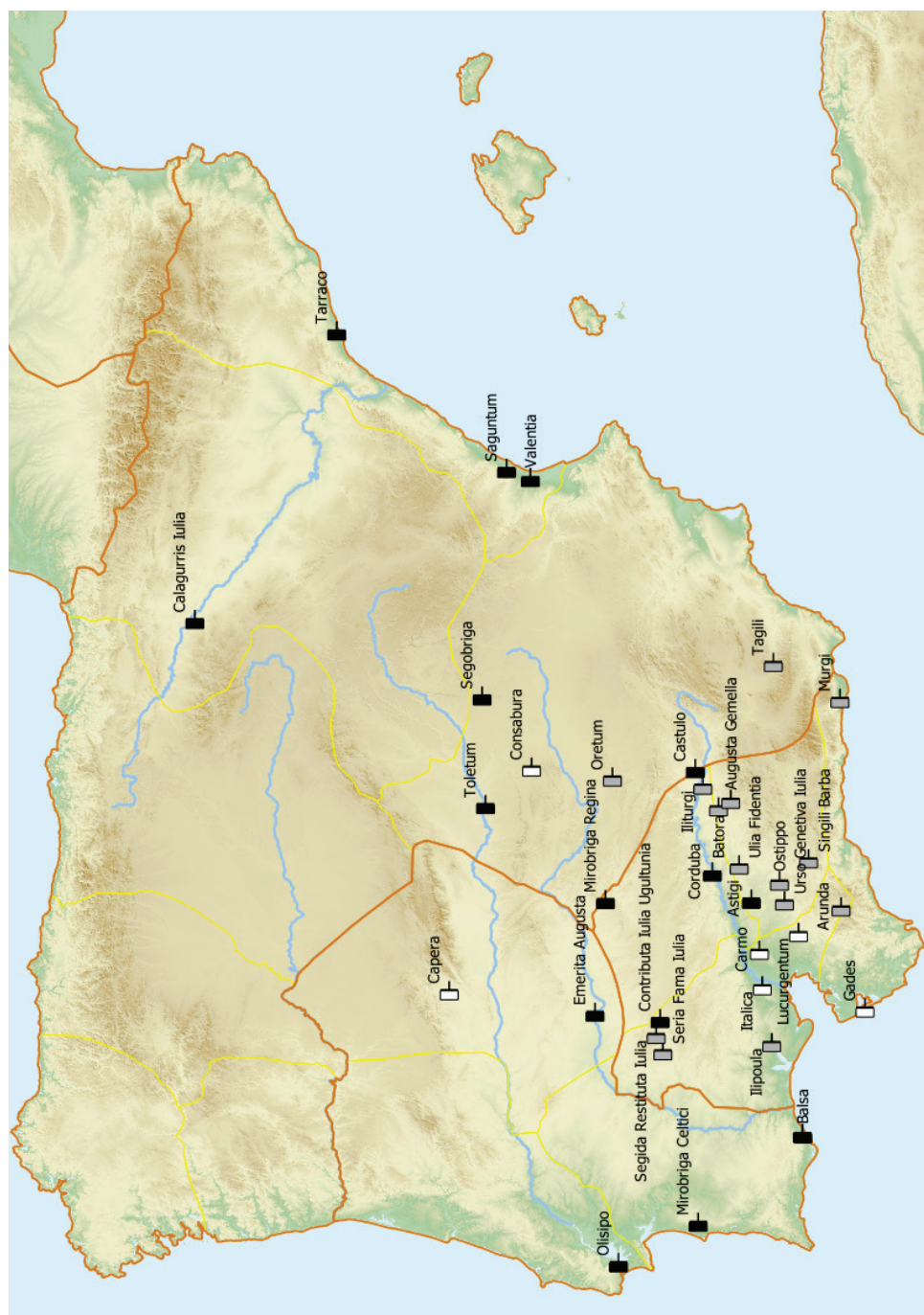
Conversely, *Tarraco*, one of the largest cities, has a relatively small circus compared to the size of the city. The size of the circus is even more surprising in view of the fact that it was part of the major renovations of the provincial *forum* in the Flavian period, which covers a total of 11 hectares. It could be exactly this relationship between the *forum* and the *circus* that has limited the size, as it had to fit between the *pomerium* and the new *forum*.⁷⁸ Dupré postulates that the location of the circus may have been chosen so that the complex would resemble the complex of the Circus Maximus, the portico of the Danaids and the temple of Apollo.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ <http://arqueologiaenred.paleorama.es/2017/04/castulo-tambien-tenia-circo-lo-muestra.html?m=1> (30-05-2018). Pers. Comm. Monterosso at the conference Urban Boom in the DAI Madrid: The LiDAR most probably shows field boundaries.

⁷⁷ Sánchez-Palencia and Sáinz Pascual (2001) 'El circo de *Toletum*.' In: Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez Palencia (eds.), *El circo en Hispania Romana*, 97-115: 110.

⁷⁸ Mar et al. (2015) *TARRACO. Arquitectura y urbanismo de una capital provincial romana: la ciudad imperial*: 210.

⁷⁹ Dupré i Raventós (1997) 'El Foro en las Provincias Hispanicas.' In: Arce, Ensoli and La Rocca (eds.), *Hispania Romana: desde tierra de conquista a provincia del imperio*, 156-60: 159.



5.2.3 Theatres⁸⁰

A theatre is a multipurpose building.⁸¹ The events of the ides of March in 44 BCE show that a theatre could also be used as a place to convene for political meetings.⁸² Due to its multifunctional nature, it was one of the buildings most frequently funded by benefactors.⁸³ In addition, the theatre provided a multitude of options for benefactors. They could donate parts of such buildings, contribute to restorations, pay for statues and organise the *ludi*.⁸⁴ The *frons scaenae*, in particular, as the centre of the theatre was an important focus for euergetism.⁸⁵

Though the theatre is one of the oldest monumental buildings, it was not as prevalent in Hispania as in the other provinces.⁸⁶ In addition, the theatres in Hispania are all found in an urban context. The rural temple complexes with theatres as found in other provinces do not occur in Hispania.⁸⁷ Moreover, theatres are less frequently found in the Hispaniae; nonetheless, most of the theatres in Hispania were constructed in the Caesarean or Augustan period.⁸⁸ There are 31 certain theatres in Hispania; 13 probable candidates can be added based on epigraphic evidence and 14 doubted theatres are based on circumstantial evidence (Appendix IV.3).

Existing publications list ten cities where *ludi scaenici* were organised. A probable theatre at *Oducia* can be added to that list, based on a very fragmented inscription that reads 'scaenic' (CIL II² 5.1330).

In addition, Fraga da Silva has identified the site of a probable theatre in *Balsa*. Again, the argument is based on topography, which seems to indicate a possible theatre.⁸⁹ In the case of *Segisamo*, the evidence put forward by Abásolo appears more solid and the existence of a theatre in this city may be regarded as probable.⁹⁰ The theatre of *Hispalis* is considered certain by Sear. However, this theatre is only known

⁸⁰ See Table 6. The evidence for Roman theatres has been collected in several compendia: Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos (1993) 'Teatro y desarrollo monumental urbano en Hispania.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2, 225-38; Sear (2006); Ramallo Asensio (2002); Noguera Giménez *et al.* (2011-2012) 'Teatros romanos de Hispania: introducción a su estado de conservación y criterios de restauración.' *Arché* Vol. 6-7, 383-90; Aktüre (2007).

The theatre of *Bracara Augusta* was discovered and excavated in 1999 and has escaped the attention of the above mentioned scholars. See: Martins *et al.* (2013) 'A construção do teatro romano de *Bracara Augusta*.' In: Sousa Melo and Carmo Ribeiro (eds.), *História da Construção – Arquiteturas e Técnicas Construtivas*, 41-74; Martins *et al.* (2014) 'The Roman Theatre of Bracara Augusta.' *XVIII CIAC: Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico*, Mérida, 861-4.

⁸¹ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 231.

⁸² Plut. *Caesar* 66; Suet. *Divus Julius* 80.

⁸³ Sear (2006): 13.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 23.

⁸⁵ Mingoia (2004): 222.

⁸⁶ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 231.

⁸⁷ Woolf (1998): 122.

⁸⁸ Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos (1993): 231; Ramallo Asensio (2002): 93.

⁸⁹ Fraga da Silva (2007).

⁹⁰ Abásolo Álvarez (1998) 'La ciudad de Segisamo.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, I Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 585-98: 596.

via Philostratus who refers to *ludi scaenici*.⁹¹ It has therefore been assigned to the probable category. I do not doubt that *Hispalis* had a theatre, but if we apply our methodology consistently we cannot go beyond the conclusion that the existence of the theatre is probable.

A fragmentary inscription from *Urgavo* contains the sequence *ludis*. Since the theatre is the most common building, these *ludi* were most probably *ludi scaenici*. The theatre of *Astigi* keeps returning as a doubted theatre. Thouvenot mentioned this possible theatre with some doubt. Sear mentions that the possible theatre has been attested to be an amphitheatre.⁹² Carrasco and Jiménez have formed a new thesis for its possible location.⁹³ Up to the present day, no theatre has been found in *Astigi*. Nonetheless, the literature continues to refer to a theatre as a city of this size and importance is expected to have a theatre.

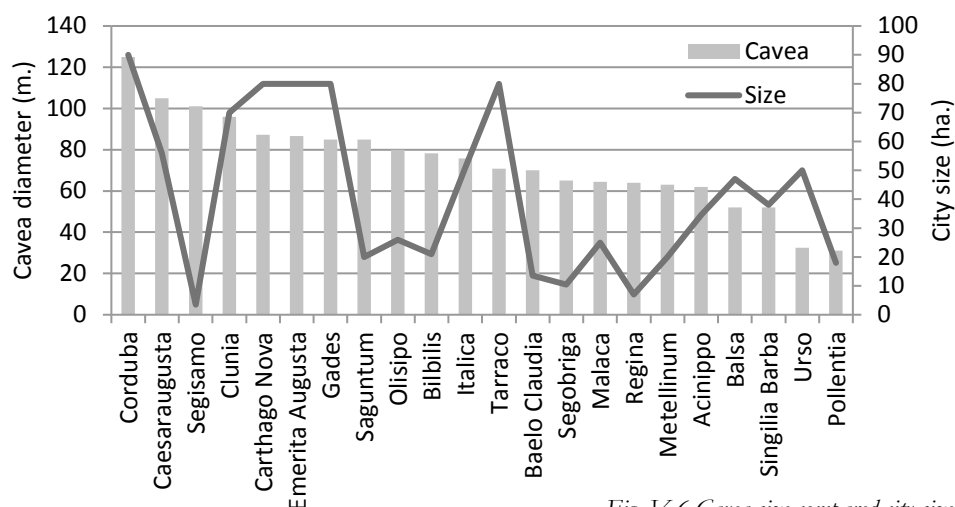


Fig. V.6 Cavea size compared city size

When considering theatres and their relationship to the size of a city, we can conclude that there is no relationship at all (fig. V.6). The most striking case is that of *Segisamo*, a city of only 3.5 hectares, which has a theatre with a *cavea* diameter of a massive 101 metres.⁹⁴ Since the theatre has not been excavated and the measurement of this *cavea* diameter has been made on the surface, it is quite likely to have been smaller. If there was a theatre and if it was as large as proposed, the explanation may

⁹¹ Phil. *Vit. Apol.* 5.9.

⁹² Thouvenot (1940): 426; Sear (2006): 101.

⁹³ Carrasco Gómez and Jiménez Hernández (2008) 'Acerca de los edificios de espectáculos en Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi (Écija, Sevilla).' *ROMULA* Vol. 7, 7-52: 8.

⁹⁴ Abásolo Álvarez (1975) 'Notas sobre el campamento romano de Sasamón (Burgos).' *PYRENAE* Vol. 11, 127-32 & I-IV: 135; Olmo Martín (2006) 'Arqueología Aérea de las Ciudades Romanas en la Meseta Norte.' *III Congreso de las Obras Públicas Romanas: Nuevos Elementos de Ingeniería Romana*, 313-40: 335; Abásolo Álvarez (1998): 596.

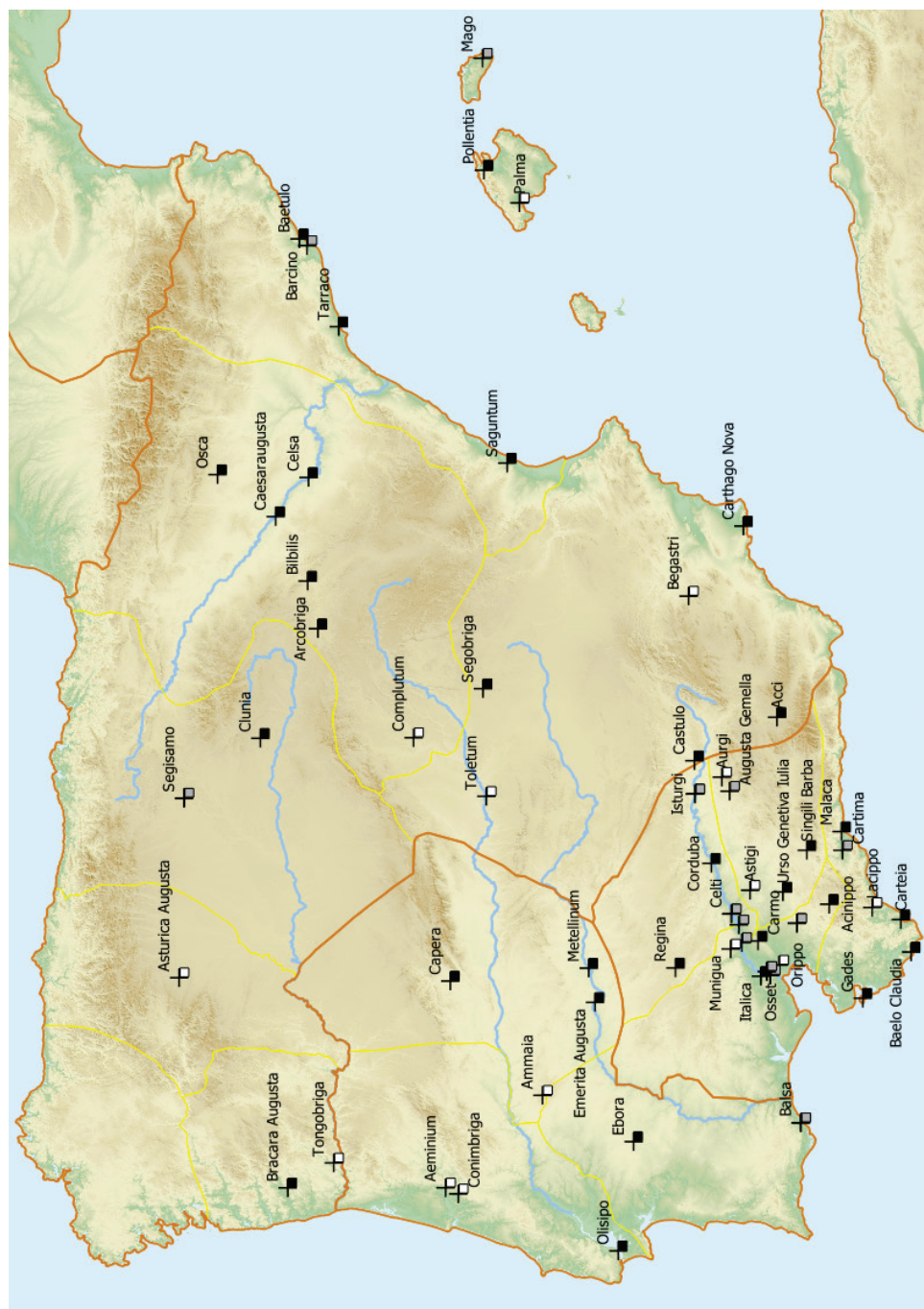


Fig. V7 Theatres on the Iberian Peninsula. Black = certain, grey = probable and white = doubted.

be found in the origin of the settlement as a military encampment.⁹⁵ Another possibility is that *Segisamo* was much larger than is generally thought. The estimated size of 3.5 hectares is based on a suggestion put forward by Abásolo in 1975. García Sánchez points out that the old city may have been larger than the modern city of Sasamón, as a few *insulae* can be observed continuing into the fields adjacent to the city.⁹⁶

5.2.4 Fora⁹⁷

There are few general studies on the *fora* of the Iberian Peninsula; most studies concentrate on one particular *forum*. Even those works that aim to present an overview of the *fora* of the Iberian Peninsula present mostly case studies.⁹⁸ There are, however, some exceptions, such as the work by Romero Novella.⁹⁹ Given the present state of research, the list created for the purposes of my inquiries is far from complete.

The *forum* is strongly related to the urban nature of the settlement and often broadcast the relationship between a particular city and the city of Rome, frequently through the Imperial cult.¹⁰⁰ The *forum* is usually located in the centre of the city where the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus* cross, although this rule is not set in stone, as we can see at the *forum* of *Gerunda*, which was located at the northern gate. The *forum* functioned as the religious and administrative focal point. It usually had a central podium temple and was flanked by public and commercial buildings such as the *tabernae*.¹⁰¹ We have to bear in mind that these spaces could have been used in multiple ways. The *basilica* was not only a place for trade in winter times as Vitruvius

⁹⁵ Flor. *Epit.* II 33.48; Oros. *Hist.* VI 21.3; Abásolo Álvarez (1975), although this identification with a Roman military camp is not completely certain see: García Sánchez (2016) 'Aerial survey of the Ager Segisamonensis: a Roman landscape revisited (Sasamón, Spain).' *AARGnews* Vol. 52, 34-42: 37.

⁹⁶ García Sánchez (2016): 35.

⁹⁷ See Appendix III.

⁹⁸ Cortés (ed.) (1987) *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*; Noguera Celdrán (ed.) (2009) *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*; Nogales Basarrate (2007) 'Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Cuidad y Foro en Lusitania romana"'. In: Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Cuidad y Foro en Lusitania romana*.

⁹⁹ Jiménez Salvador (1987b) 'Los modelos constructivos en la arquitectura Forense de la Península Ibérica.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 173-7; Jiménez Salvador (2009) 'Los foros en las provincias de Hispania: estado de la cuestión.' In: Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, 37-64; Rodà i Llanza (2009a) 'Espacios de representación en los foros de Hispania.' In: Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, 65-84; Abascal Palazón (2009); Romero Novella (2014a); Romero Novella (2016) 'Los criptopórticos en los foros Hispanorromanos: ¿una arquitectura necesaria?' *Cuadernos de arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* Vol. 24, 193-214.

¹⁰⁰ Jiménez Salvador (1987a) *Arquitectura forense en la Hispania romana: bases para su estudio*: 173; Zanker (2000): 36; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 175.

¹⁰¹ Vit. *De Arch.* V 1.4; V 2.1; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 170; Jiménez Salvador (1987b): 175-6; Dupré i Raventós (1997): 156.

states¹⁰², but was also a place where the Imperial cult could be found.¹⁰³ At *Clunia* the *tabernae* were converted into small temples.¹⁰⁴

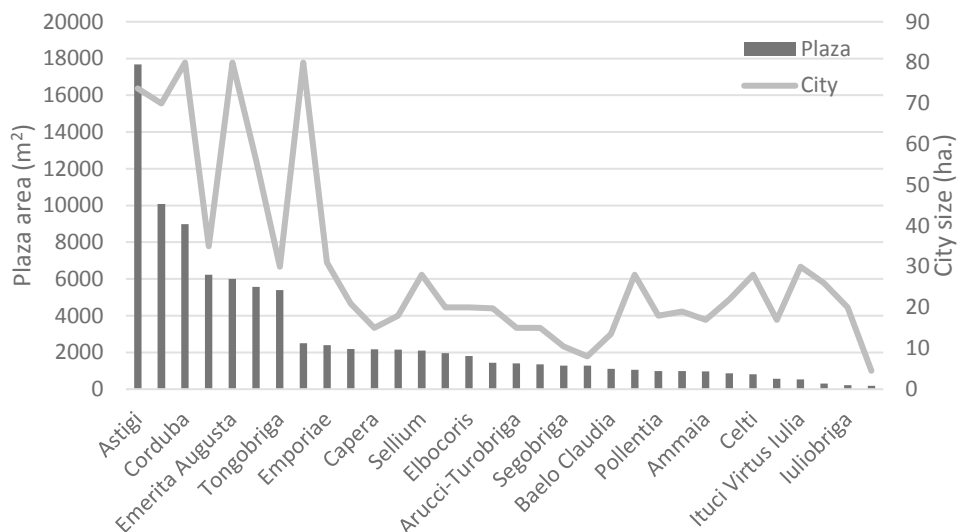


Fig. V.8: Plaza size compared to city size

It has been suggested that the size of the *fora* is related to the population. Laurence *et al.* argue that this was to avoid having the plaza too crowded or too empty when games were held there.¹⁰⁵ We know the size of 30 cities and the size of the *forum*, which then can be plotted in a combi-plot (fig. V.8).

Interestingly, we immediately see that the larger plazas tend to belong to the larger cities. The largest plaza belongs, maybe surprisingly, to *Astigi*, whereas the plazas of the largest cities, *Augusta Emerita*, *Corduba* and *Tarraco*, are surprisingly small. This is due to the fact that these have two different *fora* (in graph V.8 only the so-called colonial *fora* have been included).¹⁰⁶ The existence of a clear division between 'colonial' and 'provincial' *fora* has been disputed; nonetheless, multiple representation areas are found in all three provincial capitals.¹⁰⁷ The fact that the provincial capitals do indeed have smaller *fora* than expected based on size seems to indicate that there

¹⁰² Vittr. *De Arch.* V 1.4.

¹⁰³ Zanker (2000): 36.

¹⁰⁴ Palol (1987) 'El Foro Romano de Clunia.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 153-63: 154.

¹⁰⁵ Vittr. *De Arch.* V 1.1.

¹⁰⁶ The dataset would simply become confusing as we only have both sizes for *Corduba*. For *Tarraco* only the size of its massive provincial *forum* is known: the plaza is over 4.5 hectares. In the case of *Emerita Augusta*, the size is that of the colonial *forum* with the *forum adiectum*, the size of the provincial *forum* is unknown.

¹⁰⁷ Trillmich (1993) 'Foro provincial' und 'foro municipal' in den Hauptstädten der drei Hispanischen Provinzen: eine Fiktion.' In: Arce and Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania (s. II-III d.C.)*, 115-25.

In these so-called 'provincial *fora*' the epigraphy relating to the *flamines* and the different *concilium provinciae Hispaniae* are found.

was an overlap in function between the different representation areas, as stated by Trillmich.¹⁰⁸

Among the cities with larger plazas we observe two relatively small cities. The first of these is *Lucus Augusti*, a city of 35 hectares.¹⁰⁹ The second city, with a rather large plaza, in relation to size is that of *Caesaraugusta*.¹¹⁰ These two relatively small cities were *conventus* capitals. Indeed we find that all cities with large *fora* are *conventus* capitals. As has already been noted by Romero Novella, there is a clear relationship between the juridical function of these cities and the size of the *forum*.¹¹¹

The strangest case is that of *Tongobriga*. The *forum* of this city has a plaza of 90 by 60, giving a massive 5400 m².¹¹² *Tongobriga* is estimated to have been 30 hectares and possibly had a theatre, based on the topography of the city. The city is located in an area with a low level of urbanism where we find the dispersed *civitas*. As an *ex novo* foundation of considerable size in a lowly urbanised region, *Tongobriga* might have

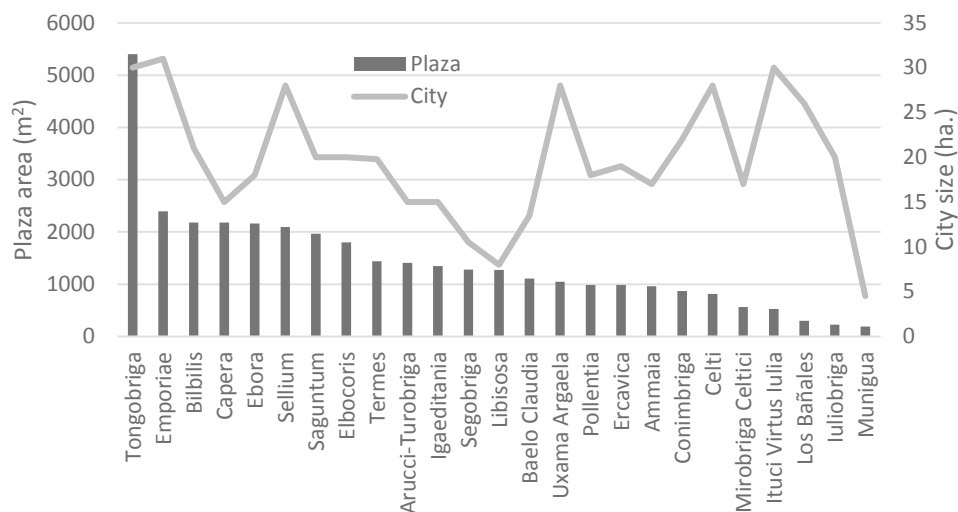


Fig. V.9 Plaza size compared to city size without *conventus* capitals

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 124.

¹⁰⁹ González Fernández and Cearreño Gascón (1998) 'La capital del extremo noroeste hispánico: Lucus Augusti y su tejido urbano a la luz de las últimas intervenciones arqueológicas.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la Ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, II Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1171-208: 1178; Pérez Losada (2002): 85; Carreras Monfort (1996): 107; Carreras Monfort (2014): 75; Le Roux (2014c): 182; Carreño Gascón and Rodríguez Colmenero (2012) 'La trama urbanística de Lucus Augusti: Génesis y evolución.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 295-318: 300.

¹¹⁰ Romero Novella (2014a): 169; Escudero Escudero and Galve Izquierdo (2013) *Las Cloacas de Caesaraugusta y Elementos de Urbanismo y Topografía de la Ciudad Antigua*: 311.

¹¹¹ Romero Novella (2014a): 168.

¹¹² Tavares Dias (1999) 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular: o caso de Tongobriga.' In: Tavares Dias and Araújo (eds.), *Actas da mesa redonda: Emergência e desenvolvimento das cidades romanas no norte da Península Ibérica*, 77-108: 87; Le Roux (2014c): 173.

been planned as a centre for a larger region than its own *civitas* territory.¹¹³ This also raises the question of whether some of the dispersed *civitates* of this region might have been contributed to *Tongobriga* prior to their possible promotion under the Flavian grant. The fact that the *forum* and *thermae* were constructed in the Flavian period contradicts this idea.¹¹⁴

A graph excluding the *conventus* capitals exhibits a completely different pattern (see fig. V.9). Suddenly the relation between city size and plaza size is lost, whilst the absurdly large *forum* of *Tongobriga* is emphasised by this graph. It might indeed indicate that *Tongobriga* had a function beyond that of its own *civitas*.

Clearly, the *forum* and its size are related to the function of the *forum* as a juridical and administrative centre. We must also take into account that because the *conventus* capitals had this additional function, increased economic activity is expected in these centres, as is also mentioned by Dio Chrysostom.¹¹⁵ There was no relationship between the *forum* and elevation to municipal status. In the cases of *Conimbriga* and *Iuliobriga*, the promotion under Flavian times is certain, but these cities already had *fora* in Augustan times, which were replanned in Flavian times.¹¹⁶

5.2.5 *Thermae and Balnea*¹¹⁷

Strabo states that the people living in the Duero valley in pre-Roman times were in the habit of taking baths in saunas.¹¹⁸ In addition, these pre-Roman saunas have been attested in several settlements, indeed mostly around the Duero valley.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, in the Roman world *thermae* and *balnea* were seen as one of the major elements for the 'urban lifestyle'.¹²⁰ However, they pose a significant problem as they also occur in non-urban settlements such as secondary agglomerations and *villae*.¹²¹ In addition,

¹¹³ Tavares Dias (2015) 'Tongobriga. Civitas "Transduriana" na Tarraconense.' In: López Vilar (ed.) *2^{on} Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia i Món Antic: August i les províncies occidentals 2000 aniversari de la mort d' August*, 2 Tarragona: Fundació Privada mútua Catalana, 67-74: 68; Tavares Dias (1998) 'Tongobriga.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 751-77: 763.

¹¹⁴ Tavares Dias (1998): 767.

¹¹⁵ Dio *Or.* 35.15.

¹¹⁶ RAP 211 = AE 1969/70, 247; Alarcão (1988): 3/172; Mierse (1999) *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia: the social and architectural dynamics of sanctuary designs from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.*: 95; Romero Novella (2014a): 169.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix III.

¹¹⁸ Str. III 3.6: ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν προσοικούντων τῷ Δουρίῳ ποταμῷ λακωνικῶς διαγίνειν φασίν, ἀλειπτηρίοις χρωμένους δις καὶ πυρίαις ἐκ λίθων διαπύρων, ψυχρολουτροῦντας καὶ μονοτροφοῦντας καθαρίως καὶ λιτῶς.

Now some of the peoples that dwell next to the Durus River live, it is said, after the manner of the Laconians using anointing-rooms twice a day and taking baths in vapours that rise from heated stones, bathing in cold water, and eating only one meal a day; and that in a cleanly and simple way. (Loeb-translation)

¹¹⁹ Almagro-Gorbea and Álvarez Sanchís (1993); Villa Valdés (2000): 97.

¹²⁰ Fear (1996): 15; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 205; Arribas Domínguez (1999): 427. ILS 5720: lavat(ur) mo/re urbico, et omnis / humanitas praesta / tur; ILS 5721: more urbico lavat(ur) / [et] omnia commoda praestantur.

¹²¹ Arribas Domínguez (1999): 428; Hanel (2000) 'Militärische thermen in Niedergermanien - Eine bestandsaufnahme.' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 23-34: 23ss; Andreu Pintado (2000)

when found in the urban sphere it is often difficult to assert whether thermal complexes were public or private.

For the *thermae* and *balnea* we can turn to the collections for the Iberian Peninsula that were started by Moltó in 1992. As has already been stated, these collections focus on the morphology of the bath complexes. In addition, the works by Fernández Ochoa *et al.* and Pavía Page, in combination with the publications on individual cities give an idea of the geographical distribution of this building type.¹²² None of them looks into the role of the spas in the settlement pattern.¹²³ We have to keep in mind that public *thermae* are found in most, if not all, cities. Therefore, the absence of *thermae* is almost certainly a result of research bias. Similar to *fora*, the presence of *thermae* cannot be used to evaluate the monumentality of the settlement. It only reflects the current status of research.

An interesting thermal complex is that of Cabrera del Mar, in part because of its relatively early date but also because it seems not to be directly related to a Roman city. The *thermae* are of interest as they measure about 450 m² (excluding as possible *palaestra*).¹²⁴ This size is comparable to that of the smaller urban *thermae*, and thus could be seen as an indicator for the town-like nature of the settlement.¹²⁵ The settlement to which they belong measures only 7,000 m² and was a centre for pottery production; in addition, evidence of metallurgy has been found.¹²⁶ The settlement dates to the republican period and is located close to the *oppidum* of Burriac and the later city of *Iluro* (Mataró). The settlement may have been the predecessor of *Iluro* as it was abandoned at the latest in the second half of the first century BCE, at the time when *Iluro* was founded *ex novo*.¹²⁷

'Evergetismo edilicio sobre termas en Hispania.' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 289-94: 83ss.

¹²² Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2004) 'Proyecto Termas Romanas en Hispania. Balance de una década de investigación (1993-2003).' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 30, 167-85; Pavía Page (2016).

¹²³ Moltó (1992); González Soutelo (2012); González Soutelo (2013); Peréx Agorreta and Miró i Alaix (2011); Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2004); Pavía Page (2016); Noguera Celdrán *et al.* (eds.) (2018) *Congreso internacional termas públicas de Hispania pre-actas*.

¹²⁴ Martín (2000) 'Las termas republicanas de Cabrera del Mar (Maresme, Barcelona).' In: Fernández Ochoa and García Entero (eds.), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón: Termas romanas en el Occidente del Imperio - Gijón 1999*, 157-62: 157.

¹²⁵ The smaller *thermae* all measure about 400-500 m².

¹²⁶ Martín (2000): 157.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 161; Cerdà *et al.* (1994) 'Iluro oppidum civium romanorum. Estado de la cuestión.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 97-9: 97.

5.3 Privileged communities and monumentality

As has already been stated, the idea that monumental public buildings were typical of self-governing cities is quite old. Pausanias already uses the presence of an 'urban kit' to identify a proper city.¹²⁸ A telling example is the *Orkistos* inscription, in which the community refers to its urban planning as an argument for promotion.¹²⁹ Similarly, the *Lex Flavia municipalis* clearly states that *ludi* have to be organised, a requirement that must have prompted the construction of spectacle buildings.¹³⁰ On this basis, the promotion of a community has often been dated to the moment when monuments with a known construction date were erected, or the known date of the promotion has been used to date the monumentalisation of a city.¹³¹

Unfortunately, these data have become completely entangled, making it very difficult to establish whether a relation exists between promotion and monumentalisation, and, if so, what this relationship is. What is apparent is that there is no direct relation at all; as an example, in the clear Flavian *municipium* of *Malaca*¹³² we find an Augustan theatre.¹³³ Moreover, an Augustan *forum*-complex is found in the Flavian *municipium* of *Conimbriga*.¹³⁴ Interestingly, the *forum* was enlarged and reoriented after the promotion in the Flavian period, indicating that such an event might have led to a new monumentalisation.¹³⁵

Another question is whether there is a relation between the bestowal of privileged juridical status and the presence of spectacle buildings (fig. V.10). In the case of the *coloniae*, the percentage with spectacle buildings is higher. Evidence shows that 46% of all certain spectacle buildings have been found in the 30 cities belonging to this category. In ten *coloniae*, no evidence for spectacle buildings has been found so far, but this could well be due to the fact that some of these *coloniae* have continued to

¹²⁸ Paus. 10.4.1.

¹²⁹ Kolb (1993) 'Bemerkungen zur urbanen Ausstattung von Städten im Westen und im Osten des Römischen Reiches anhand von Tacitus, Agricola 21 und der Konstantinischen Inschrift von Orkistos.' *Klio* Vol. 75, 321-41; Arce (2015): 312.

¹³⁰ *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* Ch. LXX; *Lex Irmitana* Ch. 77; Ceballos Hornero (2007) 'Geografía y cronología de los ludi en la Hispania romana.' *Caesaraugusta* Vol. 78, 437-54.

¹³¹ Goffaux (2003): 145; Curchin (2012): 20. E.g. The construction of the theatre of *Segobriga* was finished under the Flavians; the start of the construction under Augustus is based on the promotion, see: Almagro-Gorbea and Abascal Palazón (1999) *Segobriga y su conjunto arqueológico*; Abascal Palazón and Cebrián (2010) 'El paisaje suburbano de Segobriga.' In: Vaquerizo (ed.), *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función*, 289-308. Conversely, the promotion to *colonia* in *Libisosa* has been dated to the beginning of the first century based on the dated monumentalisation in this period, see Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2003).

¹³² CIL II 1964.

¹³³ Rodríguez Oliva (1994) 'Transformaciones urbanas en las ciudades de la Baetica durante el alto imperio.' In: Dupré i Raventós (ed.), *La ciutat en el món romà: actes / XIV Congrés Internacional d' Arqueologia Clàssica = La ciudad en el mundo romano: actas / XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica*, 347-56: 351; Ramallo Asensio (2003): 141.

¹³⁴ RAP 211.

¹³⁵ Alarcão (1988): 3/172; Mierse (1999): 95; Romero Novella (2014a): 169.

be occupied until the present day, making it difficult to access the archaeological record. *Pax Iulia* provides a good illustration of this problem.

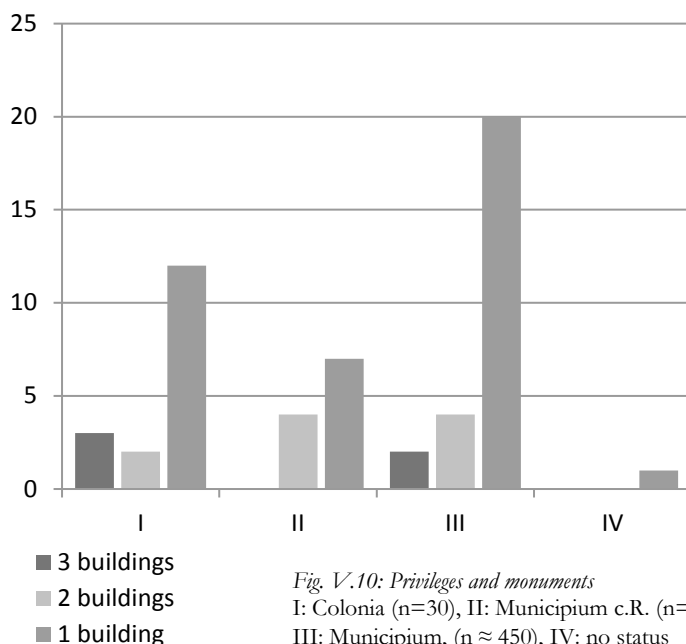


Fig. V.10: Privileges and monuments

I: Colonia (n=30), II: Municipium c.R. (n=24)

III: Municipium, (n ≈ 450), IV: no status

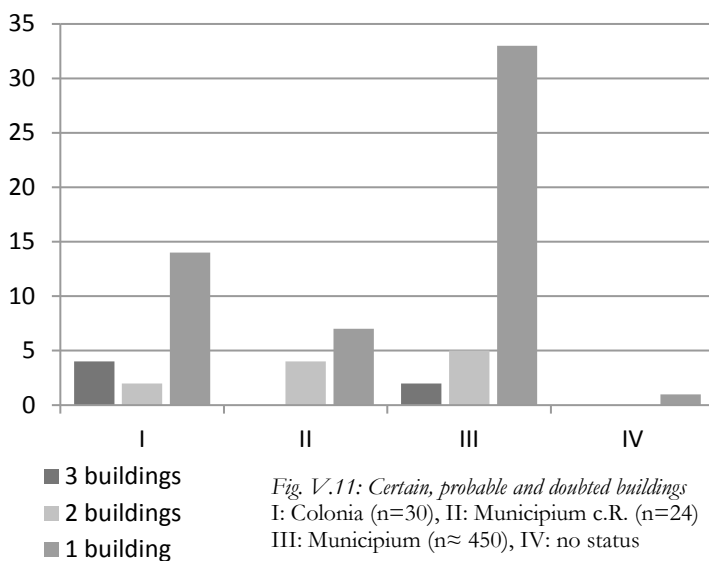
In three *coloniae*, the existence of all three types of spectacle buildings is certain. Interestingly, these are the three provincial capitals: *Augusta Emerita*, *Tarraco* and *Corduba*. Two *coloniae*, *Italica* and *Carthago Nova*, have an amphitheatre and a theatre, whilst the other *coloniae* have one building attested for certain. *Carthago Nova* not only had colonial status, but was also a *conventus* capital. Regarding other *conventus* capitals – *Hispalis*, *Astigi*, *Corduba*, *Gades*, *Caesaraugusta*, *Clunia*, *Bracara Augusta* and the provincial capitals – we can observe they had at least one spectacle building. For the remaining four *conventus* capitals – *Lucus Augusti*, *Asturica Augusta*, *Pax Iulia* and *Scallabis* (the latter two also being *coloniae*) – the existence of spectacle buildings has been posted, based on this status as an administrative and juridical centre, but to date these have not been found.¹³⁶

For the 24 *municipia c.R.*, we find that eleven produced archaeological evidence for one or more spectacle buildings, making this almost half of the *municipia c.R.* Again we should keep in mind that several of the sites are still occupied. In four cases there are certainly two spectacle buildings: *Carmo*, *Olisipo*, *Saguntum* and *Gades*.

A very clear difference is seen with respect to the other *municipia*. Assuming that all the *oppida Latini iuris, libera* and *stipendiaria* became *municipia i.L.* after the grant by Vespasian, over 450 *municipia i.L.* are to be expected based on the total of

¹³⁶ Nogales Basarrate (2008) 'Circos romanos de Hispania: Novedades y perspectivas arqueológicas.' In: Nelis-Clément and Roddaz (eds.), *Le cirque romain et son image*, 161-202: 196.

self-governing places given by Pliny.¹³⁷ Only 20 of these *municipia* have certain spectacle buildings, and only six cities had two or more spectacle buildings. We find among the *municipia* one case where all three buildings have been attested: *Segobriga*. In addition, we have to consider *Castulo*, which certainly had an amphitheatre and a theatre, and there is a considerable amount of evidence for the existence of a circus. Similarly, we find three cities with two spectacle buildings: *Contributa Iulia*, *Ebora* and *Capera*. The vast majority yielded no evidence of spectacle buildings.



Outside the Iberian Peninsula, spectacle buildings, especially theatres, have been identified near sanctuaries and in non-urban places.¹³⁸ On the Iberian Peninsula, only one place that was not a self-governing city is known to have possessed a spectacle building: the legionary camp of *Legio VII Gemina*, which had an amphitheatre. However, legionary camps tended to give high priority to the construction of amphitheatres.¹³⁹

When the uncertain spectacle buildings are taken into account, the relationship between a higher status and multiple spectacle buildings becomes stronger (fig. V.8). Of the *coloniae*, one-third would have multiple spectacle buildings. In the case of the *municipia c.R.*, the number of places with multiple spectacle buildings rises to 17%. However, in only eight cases of the *municipia i.L.* did the inclusion of probable and doubted buildings lead to multiple spectacle buildings. The vast majority of the *municipia i.L.* with spectacle buildings still have only one such building.

¹³⁷ As Pliny gives us the total number of 513 of *civitates* on the Iberian Peninsula and we assume that all became Latin *municipia* after the grant of *ius Latii*. Following Canto (1996); Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989) we then have to subtract the number of *coloniae* (30) and *municipia c. R* (24) to arrive at a number of 468 possible Latin *municipia*.

¹³⁸ Bouley (1983); Sear (2006): 44.

¹³⁹ Welch (2007): 119; Sear (2006): 43.

Based on the foregoing discussions, we can state that in the case of the *Hispaniae* the relationship between privileged status and the occurrence of spectacle buildings is strong. The presence of at least one spectacle building in *colonia* and *municipia c.R.* is very likely. Spectacle buildings are not found outside the self-governing cities, except near a single legionary encampment. Based on this isolated example, we could expect evidence of a permanent or temporary amphitheatre in *Pisoraca*, where *Legio IIII Macedonica* was stationed.¹⁴⁰ In those *coloniae* and *municipia c.R.* which have not produced evidence for the presence of multiple buildings, these might be expected based on the high number of possible and doubted buildings.

The probability of multiple spectacle buildings in the *municipia i.L.* is much lower. Those few cases where two or even three spectacle buildings are found are of great interest. Why do we find three buildings in *Segobriga*? Similarly, *Contributa Iulia*, *Ebora* and *Capera* with two certain spectacle buildings each need explanation. Taking an optimistic approach, we might add *Castulo*, and perhaps also *Capera* and *Toletum*, all of which may have had three spectacle buildings. Using the same approach, *Aurgi*, *Acinippo* and *Bracara Augusta* may be credited with two spectacle buildings each. In order to understand the factors that led to their extraordinary monumentality we have to consider other factors than juridical status.¹⁴¹

The strong connection between privileged status and monumentality raises the question of whether the point in time of the construction of monuments and of the promotion of cities are related. In the case of theatres, which were the first to be constructed¹⁴², we find monumentalisation prior to the promotion for three clear cases. *Malaca*'s promotion can be dated with certainty to the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* based on the partial preservation of its municipal law.¹⁴³ Its theatre has been dated to the Caesarean/Augustan period and thus clearly predates the promotion under the Flavians.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, we find *Singili Barba* as an obvious Flavian *municipium*.¹⁴⁵ Its theatre has been dated to the Augustan period, unfortunately on the basis of unclear criteria.¹⁴⁶ The city of *Acinippo* was also promoted after the Flavian grant.¹⁴⁷ Its theatre is dated to the Augustan period or even earlier, although Sear states that it cannot

¹⁴⁰ Ceballos Hornero (2007): 443.

¹⁴¹ Laurence *et al.* (2011): 122.

¹⁴² Brassous (2015) 'Les édifices de spectacles d'Hispanie entre les II^e et IV^e siècles.' In: Brassous and Quevedo (eds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise*, 273-88: 276.

¹⁴³ CIL II 1964.

¹⁴⁴ Corrales Aguilar (2003) 'Datos para la reconstrucción histórica de la Málaga romana: una aproximación a su urbanismo.' *Mainake* Vol. XXV, 377-92: 384.

¹⁴⁵ CIL II² 5.788: [...] m(unicipies?) m(unicipii) flavii lib(eri) sing(iliensi); CIL II² 5.789: [...] Ilvir(o) m(unicipum) m(unicipii) [...] in municipio / habitantem [...].

¹⁴⁶ Jiménez Salvador (1993) 'Teatro y desarrollo monumental urbano en Hispania.' *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* Vol. 2, 225-38: 233; Ramallo Asensio (2002): 117; Aktüre (2007): 27.

¹⁴⁷ The evidence for the promotion of *Acinippo* in Flavian times is less strong; it is based on the magistracies (CIL II 1347 & 1348) and the *tribus Quirina* (CIL II 1348), see Andreu Pintado (2004c): 162; MacMullen (2000) *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*: 60.

be pre-Augustan.¹⁴⁸

Similarly, we find that the *forum* of *Conimbriga* predates the promotion of the city in Flavian times.¹⁴⁹ This is one of the standard examples to show that cities were monumentalised well before their promotion.¹⁵⁰ Interestingly, its *forum* was reconstructed and further monumentalised in Flavian times.¹⁵¹ According to Mierse, this reconstruction was carried out to create a new *forum* suitable for the new *municipium*.¹⁵²

5.4 Connectivity

Our earlier analysis of connectivity allows us to explore the relation between connectivity and monumentalisation.¹⁵³ As has already been stated, we find two provincial capitals, boasting three spectacle buildings, as the cities with the highest Weighted Degree. When looking at the network graphs diagram (see fig. V.12, which shows a dual circle layout clockwise with the highest degree in the outer circle), we observe that the cities with spectacle buildings tend to be located in the higher parts of the different centralities. Especially for the Weighted Degree and the Betweenness centrality, we see that the cities with spectacle buildings are concentrated in the higher centralities.

The bar charts showing the different centralities show that the cities with multiple buildings tend to be found in the first quartile (fig. V.13).¹⁵⁴ The very small purple bar representing cities with three monuments immediately draws the attention. They are only found in the highest range, except for the EC. Moreover, those with two monuments (green bars) are also located mostly within the higher ranges.

¹⁴⁸ del Amo (1982) 'El teatro de Acinipo.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Actas del Simposio 'El teatro en la Hispania Romana'*, 215-52: 227ff; Jiménez Salvador (1993): 233; Ramallo Asensio (2002): 117; Sear (2006): 28 & 260.

¹⁴⁹ RAP 211 = AE 1969/70, 247: Fl(aviae) · Conimbrica[e] / et · Larib(us) ei[u]s / - - -]us Faustu/[s - - -].

¹⁵⁰ Richardson (1995) 'Neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum: Reflections on Iberian urbanism.' In: Cunliffe and Keay (eds.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia*, 339-54: 348; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 55; Diarte Blasco (2012) *La configuración urbana de la Hispania tardoantigua*: 125.

¹⁵¹ Diarte Blasco (2012): 126; Mierse (1999): 85.

¹⁵² Mierse (1999): 213.

¹⁵³ See chapter IV.5. The centralities: Weighted Degree (WD), the number of connections a city has, weighted by the type of connection (primary or secondary roads, maritime or fluvial); Closeness Centrality (CC) represents the accessibility to all other nodes in the network; Betweenness Centrality (BC) gives the probability a node is part of the shortest route; Eigenvector Centrality (EC) values the degree and the importance of the connections.

¹⁵⁴ To keep the bar charts, especially the bars with monuments, readable the bars representing the settlements without monuments have been cut, the value is given in the bar.

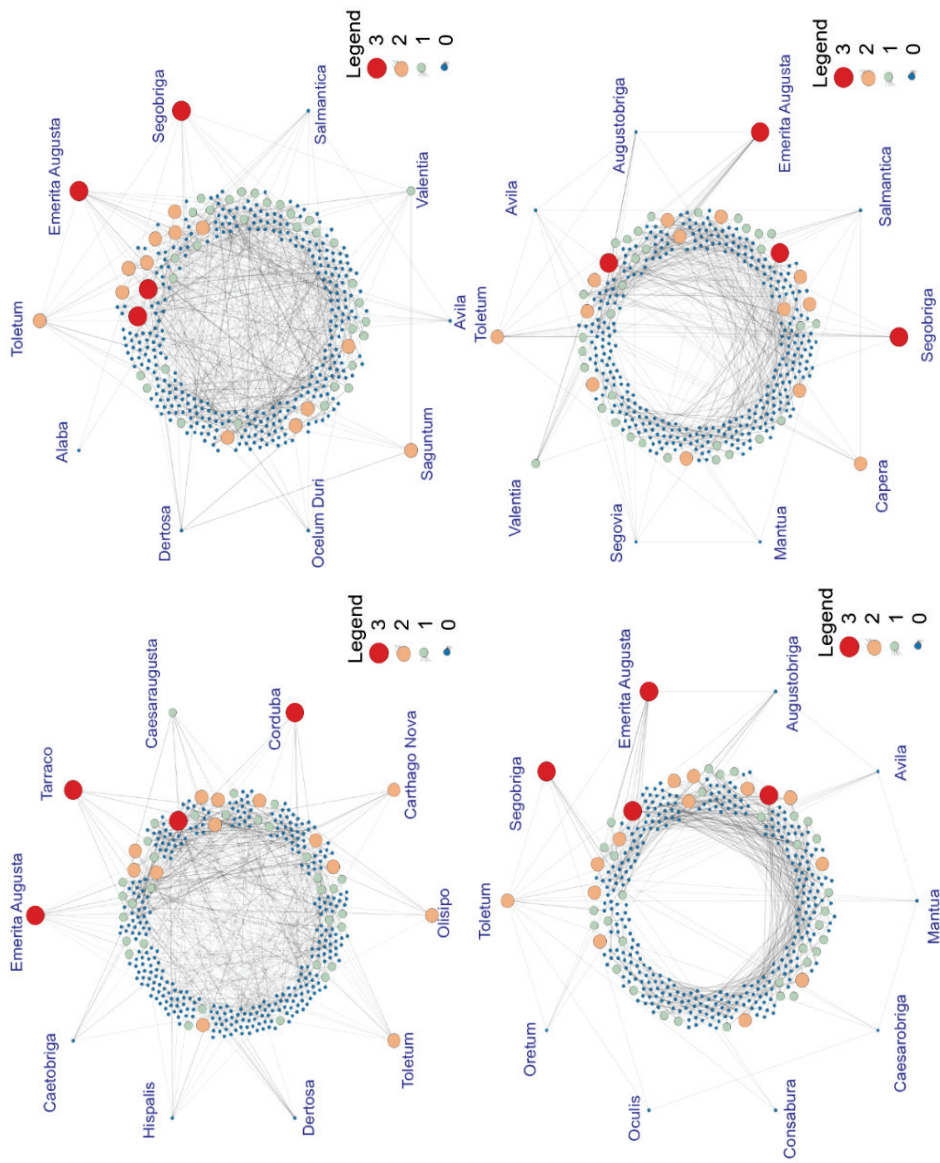


Fig. V.12: Dual Circle lay-out Monumentality of places against Centralities

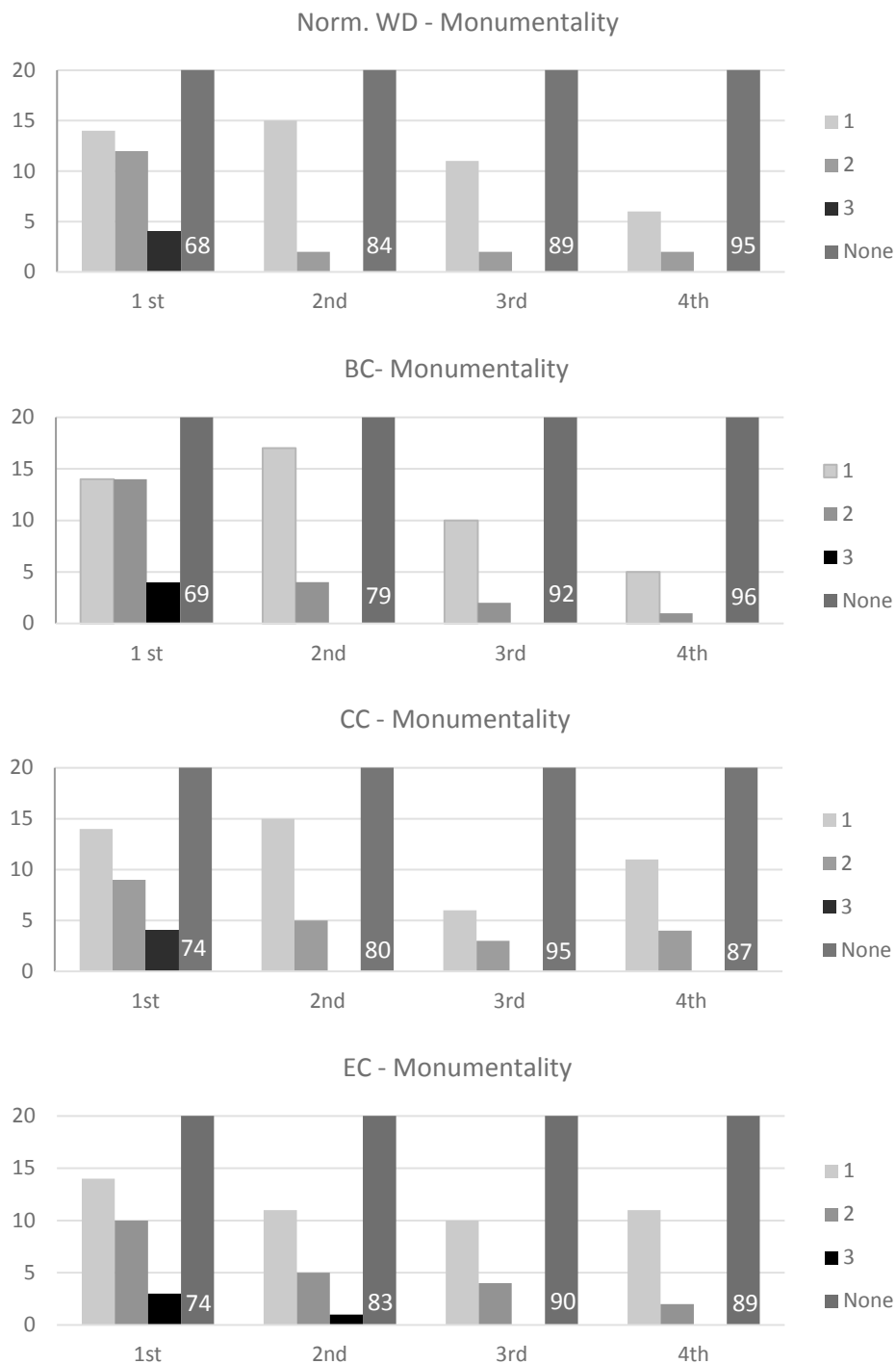


Fig. V.13 Bar chart monumentality of places against centralities per quartile

The only settlement with a lower EC and all three spectacle buildings is *Corduba*. Its low EC is due to the fact that it is located in the Guadalquivir Valley. This region is not very well connected to the rest of the Peninsula because of its location between the Sierra Morena and the Baetican System (Sierra Nevada). Most nodes along the Guadalquivir are only connected to the other settlements along this route, and obviously with a downriver preference. However, *Corduba* is one of the major nodes in the valley, with connections leading outside the valley. These connections place it within the higher WD, BC and CC.

A high degree of connectivity would make it easier to transport materials to a city, as in the case of *Segobriga*. From this city, *lapis specularis* was conveyed to nearby ports such as *Carthago Nova*.¹⁵⁵ The routes that were used for this purpose made it easy to import luxury goods, such as Carrara marble.¹⁵⁶ In addition, there is evidence for members of the imperial élite overseeing the mining operations.¹⁵⁷ These also connected the city to the élite of the empire. Returning to the ideas put forward by Andreau, *Segobriga* had extra income due to its mining resources, which could be used for the monumentalisation of the city. A similar explanation holds for *Castulo*. As a mining city it would have had similar relations with the imperial élite, and access to funding. However, it was less well connected than *Segobriga*.

Good connections may also have led to more interaction with neighbours. As Zanker has put it, "cities measured themselves against one another".¹⁵⁸ As an example, after passing the magnificent *Augusta Emerita*, the next city would look like a small, backward place, unless the smaller place decided to create its own monumental centre. This intercity competition could explain the monumentality of *Contributa Iulia*, which is on the route between *Augusta Emerita* and *Hispalis*. Similarly, the high monumentality of *Carmo* may reflect its position on the road between the *conventus* capitals and *coloniae* *Hispalis* and *Astigi*. In addition, we can explain the presence of an amphitheatre and a theatre in the *municipia i.L.* of *Ebora* and *Capera*: *Ebora* was an old *oppidum Latinum* that controlled the road network between *Olisipo*, the Atlantic coasts and *Augusta Emerita* and *Capera* is located in the *Meseta Central* occupying a central position within the network. It was situated on the *Via Plata*, a major route between *Hispalis* and the mines in the north, passing *Augusta Emerita*. Lastly, the idea of competition with nearby cities along the road would explain the monumentality of *Bilbilis*. When travelling from the south to *Caesaraugusta*, one would see *Bilbilis*' magnificent forum complex and theatre positioned on top of the hill alongside the road.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ A transparent selenite found in the vicinity of *Segobriga* and used for windows in the Roman Empire. Pliny refers to the *lapis specularis* production of *Segobriga* (NH XXXVI 160).

¹⁵⁶ Gutiérrez García-Moreno and Rodà de Llanza (2012) 'El mármol de Luni-Carrara en la fachada mediterránea de Hispania.' In: Keay (ed.), *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*, 293-312: 301.

¹⁵⁷ Abascal Palazón and Alföldy (1998) 'Zeus Theos Megistos en *Segobriga*.' *AEspA* Vol. 71, 157-68: 157.

¹⁵⁸ Zanker (2000): 39; Laurence *et al.* (2011): 122.

¹⁵⁹ Pfanner (1990): 74; Espinosa Espinosa (2015): 228.

