

## SURVEY ARTICLES

### RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN ROMAN IBERIA (1990–2002)

By SIMON KEAY

#### INTRODUCTION

The Iberian peninsula is a key region that has the potential to transform fundamentally our understanding of the Roman Empire. The longevity of the Roman presence in Iberia, the huge geographical variety of its regions, and the cultural differences between its peoples make it ideal for understanding the genesis, development, and disintegration of the Roman Empire as a whole. The transformation of regional infrastructure in Spain and Portugal during the 1980s and 1990s has generated much new archaeological information. This is particularly true of the major cities, where intensive urban development has greatly enhanced our understanding of their layout and development during the historic periods.<sup>1</sup> In the countryside too, the expansion of the road networks,<sup>2</sup> EU-inspired changes in crop quotas, and the intensification of mechanized farming have all had a major impact and substantially increased the number of known villas and rural settlements.

This survey article reviews developments in the archaeology of Roman Spain and Portugal for the period between the late third century B.C. and the late fifth century A.D., published between 1990 and 2002.<sup>3</sup> Restrictions on space mean that it excludes the Visigothic period down to the seventh century A.D. The article aims to compare and contrast the different provinces into which the peninsula was divided and, within them, to highlight regional trends as far as possible. This is the only way to bring out the full cultural richness of the peninsula, and to get away from the notion of the Hispaniae as monolithic administrative blocks. However, the large volume of material published between 1990 and 2002 necessitates a choice of themes. While every attempt has been made to adopt an even-handed treatment of regions and themes, much has had to be omitted. This is inevitable given the fragmented nature of archaeological knowledge in Spain and Portugal, the fact that archaeological coverage for the Roman period is better in some regions than in others, and that some works are more accessible than others. Inevitably this also means that attention has had to be directed towards works of at least regional importance, and away from publications of more local significance.

The sheer pace of discovery often makes it hard for even the most dedicated researcher to keep abreast of new developments across the peninsula, and nearly impossible for the uninitiated to learn about the provinces. This argues against writing definitive 'histories' of cultural development in Iberia from the archaeological standpoint. The key to understanding how and where Roman material is currently published is to look at the political structure of Spain and Portugal. In Spain, centralized political control was relaxed in 1985 in favour of a strong regional structure, which saw the creation of seventeen autonomous communities, each of which was responsible for the management of its own cultural heritage. Thus national publications that might provide ready access to the key archaeological works on the Hispaniae in Spain are rare. The

<sup>1</sup> The consequences of this kind of activity on the urban infrastructures of Tarragona and Córdoba are discussed in R. Mar, J. Ruiz de Arbulo and E. Subias (eds), *Recuperar la memòria urbana. L'arqueologia en la rehabilitació de les ciutats històriques*, Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica 2 (1999).

<sup>2</sup> M. Prevosti, J. Arxé and A. Caballé, *Autopista i arqueologia. Memòria de les excavacions en la polongació de l'autopista A-19* (1995).

<sup>3</sup> It was written during sabbatical leave from the University of Southampton during the calendar year 2002 and involved extensive work in libraries at the Universities of Oxford, London, Barcelona (Autònoma), and Madrid (Complutense). In rare cases it has been necessary to refer to key works published in 1988 and 1989. I would like to thank Isabel Rodá for very kindly reading earlier drafts of the article.

long-running series *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España* and the *Noticiero Arqueológico Hispánico* that were published by the Ministerio de Cultura have disappeared. The long-established *Congreso Nacional de Arqueología*, which is held periodically in different cities, still continues, but has begun to take on a regional flavour. The only journal that is in any sense 'national' to Spain is the excellent *Archivo Español de Arqueología* (and its periodic *Anejos*), which has been published by the Instituto Rodrigo Caro of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas since 1940. In addition, there are also the *Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana* monographs published by the Real Academia de la Historia. Each of the seventeen autonomous regions of Spain has its own cultural heritage laws within the broader national *Ley del Patrimonio*. Their archaeological priorities, and hence publications, are often defined in the context of a broader strategy to differentiate themselves from their neighbours or from Madrid. They all publish summaries of excavations and surveys,<sup>4</sup> with varying degrees of frequency and detail. In addition, there is a myriad of regional and local publications produced with varying frequency. Management of the archaeological heritage in Portugal is more centralized. The Instituto Português de Arqueologia is a discrete entity within the Instituto Português de Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico (IPPAR), which was created within the Ministerio de Cultura in 1992, and has regional centres at Porto, Vila Real, Coimbra, Castelo Branco, Lisboa, Évora, and Faro. One of the principal journals for the dissemination of Portuguese archaeology is the *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, published by the Instituto Português de Arqueologia.

The major regular journals and their supplements tend to be published by university departments,<sup>5</sup> who play a major role in managing research projects in their regions, by the Deutsche Archäologische Institut and the French Casa de Velázquez at Madrid,<sup>6</sup> or by major regional or local museums.<sup>7</sup> Learned societies also produce journals<sup>8</sup> and data-heavy publications,<sup>9</sup> while archaeological units at towns like Mérida and Tarragona publish their own excavation reports and summaries. In addition to these, there is a myriad of excavation reports and regional thematic studies published by commercial publishers, town and county councils, private foundations, and savings banks across Spain. Furthermore, university departments and regional museums periodically organize and publish thematic conferences. There are also periodic bibliographic round-ups that allow one to keep track of publications. The most regular are the very useful annual summaries in the *Madrider Mitteilungen*, the bibliographic supplement to *Hispania Antiqua* (from 1972 onwards), and, less frequently, the summaries published by the *Révue des Études Anciennes*. There are also summaries published by individuals which deal with recently published material at the national<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Thus, for example: Catalunya (*Tribuna d'Arqueologia, Excavacions Arqueològiques a Catalunya*), Andalucía (*Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía*), Galicia (*Arqueología Informes*), Aragón (*Arqueología Aragonesa*), Castilla-León (*Numantia*), Euskadi (*Arkeoikuskia*), Extremadura (*Extremadura Arqueológica*), Murcia (*Excavaciones y Prospecciones Arqueológicas*), País Valenciano (*Memòries Arqueològiques a la Comunitat Valenciana*).

<sup>5</sup> Such as *Habis* and *Spal* (Universidad de Sevilla), *Romula* (Universidad de Pablo Olavide), *Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), *Gallaecia* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), *Saldue* (Universidad de Zaragoza), *Documentos d'Arqueologia Clàssica* (Universitat Virgili i Rovira), *Pyrenae* (Universitat de Barcelona), *Complutum* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia* (Universidad de Murcia), *Sagunto* (Universidad de Valencia), *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* (Universidad de Córdoba), *Cadernos de Arqueologia* (Universidade do Minho), *Conimbriga* (Universidade do Conimbriga).

<sup>6</sup> The *Madrider Mitteilungen* (MDAIM) and the

*Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* (MCV) respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Regional museums such as the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Catalunya (*Empúries*: known as *Ampurias* until 1982); Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Mérida (*Anas*); local museums (such as *Verdolay, Cypsela*).

<sup>8</sup> Such as the Institución de Fernando el Católico (*Caesaraugusta*), the Real Sociedad Arqueológica Tarraconense (*Bulletí Arqueològic Tarraconense*) in Spain, and the Grupo de Estudios de Arqueología do Porto (*Arqueologia*), Sociedade Martins Sarmiento (*Revista de Guimarães*), Associação do Arqueologia Portuguesa (*Arqueologia e História*), Centro de Arqueologia de Almadán (*Al-madam*) in Portugal, to name just a few.

<sup>9</sup> Such as the splendid recent series of archaeological monographs produced by the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid).

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, AAVV, *Veinte años de Arqueología en España. Homenaje a Don Emeterio Cuadrado Díaz*, Boletín. Asociación Española de Amigos de la Arqueología 30–31 (1991); more recently, see M. Martín Bueno, 'Acerca de la arqueología romana de Hispania', *Zephyrus* 53–54 (2000–2001), 393–411.

or regional level. Archaeological discoveries are also published in the monthly magazine *Arqueología*).

The last fifteen years have seen a major upsurge in the publication of Latin inscriptions in Spain and, to a lesser extent, Portugal, and these are playing a key role in re-writing the social, political, and administrative history of the Hispaniae. The on-going programme for the re-publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Volumen Secundum* has been a major driving force in this, underwritten by the on-going citations in *Année Épigraphique* and *Hispania Epigraphica* (from 1989 onwards), and the production of numerous epigraphic corpora at regional and local level.<sup>11</sup> Important collections of Iberian and Celtiberian texts in Spain and Portugal have also been published.<sup>12</sup>

The Hispaniae have a long and extremely rich history of study, which is beginning to be the subject of historiographical research.<sup>13</sup> This began with the humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,<sup>14</sup> with the work of scholars like Antonio de Nebrija and Antonio Agustín, and early studies of standing structures and sculptures from ancient towns such as Italica.<sup>15</sup> The study of Roman towns and works of art was developed and extended in the ideological context of Imperial Spain and its aftermath in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>16</sup> with the foundation of the institutional structure of Spain and Portugal. This was followed in the nineteenth century by the first

<sup>11</sup> For Tarraconensis: G. Alföldy *et al.*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Volumen Secundum. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae. Pars XIV. Conventus Tarraconensis. Fasciculus Primus. Pars Meridionalis Conventus Tarraconensis (CIL II<sup>2</sup>/14) Fasc. 1* (1995). Excellent regional studies include: G. Pereira Menaut, *Corpus de inscripciones romanas de Galicia. I. Provincia de Coruña* (1991); G. Baños Rodríguez, *Corpus de Inscripciones romanas de Galicia. II. Provincia de Pontevedra* (1994); A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres de época romana del cuadrante Noroeste de la Península ibérica. Anejo No. 1 de Larouco* (1993); J. M. Iglesias and A. Ruiz, *Epigrafía romana de Cantabria* (1998); M. A. Rabañal Alonso and S. M. García Martínez, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de León: revisión y actualización* (2001); M. Navarro Caballero, *La epigrafía romana de Teruel* (1994); R. C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, *Classical Studies* 34 (1992); L. Hernández Guerra, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Salamanca* (2001); G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodá, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. III: Gérone* (1991); G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodá, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. IV: Barcino* (1997); G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodá, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. V. Suppléments aux Volumes I–IV et instrumentum inscriptum* (2002); J. M. Abascal Palazón and S. F. Ramallo Asensio, *La ciudad de Carthago Nova: La documentación epigráfica* (1997). For Baetica: A. U. Stylow *et al.*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Volumen Secundum. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae. Pars VII. Conventus Cordubensis (CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7)* (1995); A. U. Stylow *et al.*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Volumen Secundum. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae. Pars VII. Conventus Astigitanus (CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5)* (1998); J. González, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen I: Huelva* (1989); J. González, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen II: Sevilla. Tomo I. La Vega (Hispalis)* (1991); J. González, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen II: Sevilla. Tomo II. La Vega (Italica)* (1991); J. González, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen II: Sevilla. Tomo III. La Campiña* (1996); J. González, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen II: Sevilla. Tomo IV. El Aljarafe, Sierra Norte, Sierra Sur* (1996); C. González Román and J. Mangas Manjarrés, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen III: Jaén*

*I* (1991); C. González Román and J. Mangas Manjarrés, *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía. Volumen III: Jaén II* (1991); M. D. López de la Orden, *De epigrafía gaditana* (2001); A. Ma. Canto, *Epigrafía romana de la Beturia Céltica* (1997).

<sup>12</sup> J. Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum Band III. Die iberischen Inschriften aus Spanien. 1. Literaturverzeichnis, Einleitung, Indices* (1990); idem, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum Band III. Die iberischen Inschriften aus Spanien. 2. Die Inschriften* (1990); idem, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum. Band IV. Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanien Inschriften* (1997); see also important recent discoveries: F. Beltrán Lloris, J. de Hoz and J. Untermann, *El tercer bronce de Botorríta (Contrebia Belaisca)* (1996), and F. Villar, Ma. A. Díaz, M. Ma. Medrano and C. Jordán, *El IV Bronce de Botorríta (Contrebia Belaisca): Arqueología y lingüística* (2001).

<sup>13</sup> H. Gimeno Pascual, 'El descubrimiento de Hispania', in M. Almagro Gorbea and J. M. Álvarez Martínez (eds), *Hispania. El legado de Roma* (1998), 25–35.

<sup>14</sup> See for example H. Gimeno Pascual, *Historia de la investigación epigráfica en España en los ss. XVI y XVII a la luz del recuperado manuscrito del Conde de Guimerá* (1997).

<sup>15</sup> J. M. Rodríguez Hidalgo, 'Sinopsis historiográfica del anfiteatro de Itálica', in J. Arce and R. Olmos (eds), *Historiografía de la arqueología y de la historia antigua en España (Siglos XVIII–XX)* (1991), 91–4; A. Rodríguez Morales, B. Escobar Pérez and E. García Vargas, 'Historiografía de la estatuaria de Itálica', in Arce and Olmos, 95–8; P. León Alonso, 'Las ruinas de Itálica. Una estampa arqueológica de prestigio', in J. Beltrán and F. Gascó (eds), *La antigüedad como argumento. Historiografía de arqueología e historia antigua en Andalucía* (1993), 29–61; see also A. Caballos, J. M. Fatuarte and J. M. Rodríguez Hidalgo, *Itálica arqueológica* (1999), 39–50.

<sup>16</sup> G. Mora, *Historias de marmol. La arqueología clásica española en el siglo XIII*, *Anejos de AEspA* 18 (1998); G. Mora, 'The image of Rome in Spain: scholars, artists and architects in Italy in the 16th–18th century', in R. Hingley (ed.), *Images of Rome. Perceptions of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age*, *JRA Supplement* 44 (2001), 23–55.

important excavations<sup>17</sup> and major works of scholarship, such as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.<sup>18</sup> The early excavations at sites like Empúries,<sup>19</sup> Mérida, and Numantia by scholars such as José Mélida<sup>20</sup> and Adolf Schulten in the early twentieth century, together with later archaeological and art-historical studies after the Civil War (1936–1939) by Antonio García y Bellido,<sup>21</sup> Alberto Balil, Antonio Blanco Freijeiro, Pere de Palol, Josep Tarradell, and Jorge de Alarcão, opened up new avenues of enquiry and provided new material for a number of national histories of Spain<sup>22</sup> and Portugal<sup>23</sup> during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

Many established theories have been swept away by the avalanche of new information produced in the 1980s, and particularly during the 1990s. The range of the new data is best exemplified by the catalogue to a recent exhibition on Hispania held at Zaragoza and Mérida in 1998.<sup>24</sup> This celebrated the anniversary of the birth of the emperor Trajan, and was a joint attempt by Spanish and Portuguese scholars to put across an image of the Hispaniae as a whole. The catalogue begins with synthetic treatments of the historical development of the provinces, followed by summaries of archaeological evidence for towns, villas, and other monuments, and concludes with a catalogue of objects from the exhibition. This synthetic approach to the archaeological evidence is still relatively unusual amongst Spanish and Portuguese scholars, even though national histories drawing upon archaeological material are still common,<sup>25</sup> and there are many archaeological studies that claim to be representative of *Hispania* for their field of study, even though this is not borne out in their choice of material. Foreign scholars, by contrast, often tend to look at the Hispaniae in a more global sense. Some

<sup>17</sup> The excavations by Hernández Sanahuja at Tarragona were ahead of their time in methodological terms. See E. Riu i Barrera, “‘Del mismo modo que el geólogo explica las edades de la tierra...’”. La reflexión estratigráfica de B. Hernández Sanahuja en Tarragona (h. 1850–1870)’, in Arce and Olmos, op. cit. (n. 15), 85–90; AAVV, *Homenatge a Bonaventura Hernández Sanahuja, Un home per a la Història* (1992).

<sup>18</sup> See the collected papers in G. Mora and M. Díaz Andreu (eds), *La cristalización del pasado: Génesis y desarrollo del marco institucional de la arqueología en España* (1997).

<sup>19</sup> J. Ruiz de Arbulo, ‘Excavaciones en Ampurias 1908–1936’, in Arce and Olmos, op. cit. (n. 15), 167–72.

<sup>20</sup> Ma. A. Almela Boix, ‘La aportación de José Ramón Mélida a la consolidación de la Arqueología como disciplina científica en España’, in Arce and Olmos, op. cit. (n. 15), 131–4.

<sup>21</sup> P. González Serrano and M. Ruiz Bremon, ‘Antonio García y Bellido y la Escuela de Arqueología Clásica en Madrid’, in Mora and Díaz Andreu, op. cit. (n. 18), 593–8; J. Arce, ‘A. García y Bellido y los comienzos de la historia antigua de España’, Arce and Olmos, op. cit. (n. 15), 209–11.

<sup>22</sup> Amongst many, one could cite J. M. Blázquez et

al., *Historia de España antigua. t. II. Hispania romana* (1978); A. Balil, *Historia social y económica de la España romana* (1975); A. Montenegro et al., *Hispania de España, vol. 3. España romana* (1986).

<sup>23</sup> Notably J. de Alarcão, *Portugal romano* (1983).

<sup>24</sup> M. Almagro-Gorbea and J. M. Álvarez Martínez (eds), *Hispania. El Legado de Trajano* (1998); rather less successful, J. Arce, S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca (eds), *Hispania Romana. Da terra di conquista a provincia dell'impero* (1997). This was the first overseas exhibition of Hispania Romana and was organized jointly by the Soprintendenza Archeologica del Comune di Roma and the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. The exhibition aimed to underline the links between Rome and the Hispaniae, and to use a range of objects to look at the process of Romanization. The catalogue is mixed in quality, and comprises a number of quite short essays by Spanish (but not Portuguese) and foreign scholars.

<sup>25</sup> Such as J. M. Blázquez, *España romana* (1996); J. Santos, *Historia de España 2. Hispania romana. Conquista, sociedad y cultura (s. III a. C.–IV d. C.)* (1997); G. Bravo, *Hispania y el imperio. Hispania de España 3<sup>er</sup> milenio* (2001); D. Plácido, *Historia de España, I. La Antigüedad* (1994), 57–167; J. de Alarcão, *O Domínio romano em Portugal* (3rd edn, 1995) is a rare archaeologically based approach.

do this from an historical and epigraphic perspective,<sup>26</sup> while others have a more archaeological standpoint.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the archaeological evidence from Spain and Portugal is beginning, albeit slowly, to find its way into broader analyses of the Roman Empire.<sup>28</sup> The autonomous political structure of contemporary Spain and, to a lesser extent, Portugal has tended to work against scholars producing syntheses of the archaeological evidence from individual Roman provinces. There are thus no systematic studies of Hispania Tarraconensis, a province whose ancient area is fragmented between many of the autonomous communities of Spain, and between Spain and Portugal.<sup>29</sup> Lusitania, much of which lies within modern Portugal, has been more fortunate, with a series of important conferences on different aspects of the province.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Baetica, which lies largely within the comunidad autónoma de Andalucía, has also benefited from a range of general studies,<sup>31</sup> as well as others looking more specifically at urbanism,<sup>32</sup> administration,<sup>33</sup> euergetism,<sup>34</sup> and society.<sup>35</sup> Otherwise, there are many studies of aspects of the Roman archaeology of individual autonomous regions, products of the deep-seated tradition of local interest in the archaeological past and the on-going process of political and cultural differentiation within Spain.<sup>36</sup>

#### GEOGRAPHY

One of the most important advances of recent years has been the complete revision of our understanding of the geography of the Iberian peninsula during the Roman period. The earliest attempts at this go back to the *Relaciones topográficas de los pueblos*

<sup>26</sup> Such as L. Curchin, *España romana. Conquista y asimilación* (1996) (translation of *Roman Spain. Conquest and Assimilation* (1991)); J. Richardson, *The Romans in Spain* (1996): a traditional historical narrative that looks at the development of Rome's involvement in Iberia from the third century B.C. until the fifth century A.D., with its most intense focus upon the Republic and the early Empire (translated as *Hispania y los romanos. Historia de España II* (1998)); see also the general review of the Roman presence in Iberia by M. Koch, 'Animus... Meus... Praesagit, Nostram Hispaniam Esse', in W. Trillmich, Th. Hauschild, M. Blech, H. G. Niemeyer, A. Nünnerich Asmus and U. Kreiling, *Hispania Antiqua. Denkmäler der Römerzeit* (1993), 1–40; G. Alföldy, 'Hispania bajo los Flavios y los Antoninos: consideraciones históricas sobre una época', in M. Mayer, J. M. Nolla and J. Pardo (eds), *De les estructures indígenes a l'organització provincial romana de la Hispània Citerior* (1998), 11–32, provides a sweeping review of the historical, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence for a critical phase in the development of the Hispaniae; idem, 'Spain', in A. Bowman, E. Champlin and A. Lintott (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Second Edition. Volume X. The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69* (1996), 449–63, provides a short synthesis, although it was out of date at the time of publication as the author points out; the same is true for idem, 'Spain', in A. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Second Edition. Volume XI. The High Empire, A.D. 70–192* (2000), 445–61; P. Le Roux, *Les romains d'Espagne* (1995), looks at the social integration of the population of the Hispaniae from the perspective of Roman towns and stresses the regionality of the peninsula in the Roman period. Iberia hardly figures in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Second Edition. Volume XIII. The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425* (1998).

<sup>27</sup> Such as S. Keay, *Hispania romana* (1992) (translation of *Roman Spain* (1988)); Trillmich *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 26).

<sup>28</sup> For example P. Gros, *L'Architecture romaine. I. Les monuments publics* (1996); idem, *L'Architecture romaine 2. Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux* (2001) draws upon many examples from Spain and Portugal in his recent re-assessment of architecture of the Roman Empire, while R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (2000) uses recent archaeological evidence to make a case study for cultural change that focuses upon the Hispaniae and other parts of the Roman West.

<sup>29</sup> A rare exception is J. Lostal Pros, *Los Miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* (1992).

<sup>30</sup> J. G. Gorges (ed.), *Les villes de la Lusitanie romaine. Hiérarchies et territoires* (1990); J. G. Gorges and M. Salinas de Frias (eds), *Actas de la Mesa Redonda Internacional. El medio rural en Lusitania romana. Formas de habitat y ocupación del suelo*, Studia Histórica. Historia Antigua 10–11 (1992–1993); J. G. Gorges and F. Germán Rodríguez Martín (eds), *Économie et territoire en Lusitanie romaine* (1999); J. G. Gorges and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds), *Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana* (2000).

<sup>31</sup> S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series* 29 (1998); C. González Román (eds), *La Bética en su problemática histórica* (1991).

<sup>32</sup> A. Fear, *Rome and Baetica. Urbanization in Southern Spain c. 50 BC–AD 150* (1996).

<sup>33</sup> M. L. Cortijo Cerezo, *La administración territorial de la Bética romana* (1993).

<sup>34</sup> E. Melchor Gil, *El mecenazgo cívico en la Bética* (1994).

<sup>35</sup> C. González Román (ed.), *La sociedad romana de la Bética. Contribuciones para su estudio* (1994).

<sup>36</sup> Such as F. Arias Vilas, *La romanización de Galicia* (1992); N. Santos Yanguas, *La romanización de Asturias* (1991); M. Mayer (ed.), *Roma a Catalunya* (1992); M. V. Escribano Paño and G. Fatás Cabeza (eds), *La antigüedad tardía en Aragón* (2001); I. Filloy Nieva, *La romanización de Alava* (2000).

*de España* commissioned by Philip II in the sixteenth century; these culminated in the map of the Hispaniae produced for the supplement to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Volumen Secundum* by Hübner with the assistance of local scholars.<sup>37</sup> This map has remained the principal authority for the location of the main settlements, although the historical and epigraphical evidence was reconsidered by Tovar in the 1970s and 1980s,<sup>38</sup> and some of the principal historical sources themselves have come under close scrutiny.<sup>39</sup> More recently the evidence has been re-examined in the context of the republication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* for the *conventus Tarraconensis*, *Cordubensis* and *Astigitanus*.<sup>40</sup> One of the more important recent discoveries is a fragment of a map of Iberia. This document dates to between the reigns of Nero and Domitian and the text on one side corresponds to the beginning (c. 3 per cent) of a description of Iberia by Artemidorus (late second to mid-first century B.C.), which itself formed the basis of later geographical works, such as Book 3 of Strabo's *Geographia*. On the reverse of the fragment is a sketch map of an area that corresponds to the northern Meseta; the map is crossed by parallel lines that probably represent rivers or roads, and includes point symbols that indicate different kinds of centres.<sup>41</sup>

Until recently, the mapping of the archaeological evidence for the location of ancient settlements had proceeded only fitfully, with the occasional publication of archaeological maps (*Cartas Arqueológicas*) in the modern provinces of Soria (1941), Barcelona (1945), Teruel (1980), and Huesca (1984) in Spain, and Alarcão's comprehensive gazetteer of Roman sites in Portugal.<sup>42</sup> With the development of a regional infrastructure and the delegation of responsibility for the control of archaeological heritage management to the autonomous regions in Spain, there has been a huge increase in new sites and finds collected by archaeological authorities in the modern provinces.<sup>43</sup> This has prepared the ground for the publication of the *Tabula Imperii Romani* sheets for the Iberian peninsula. These have been compiled at a scale of 1:1,000,000 by the Centro de Estudios Históricos of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid.<sup>44</sup> The volumes published to date present a wealth of information that successfully integrates the archaeological and historical information for Roman towns, sanctuaries, villas, rural settlements, and other sites, together with

<sup>37</sup> See for example R. Atencia Paez, 'Aportaciones de la historiografía al estudio y localización de las ciudades romanas de Andalucía', in Beltrán and Gascó, op. cit. (n. 15), 85–103.

<sup>38</sup> A. Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde: die Völker und die Städte des antiken Hispanien: Baetica, Zweiter Teil, Band 1* (1974); idem, *Iberische Landeskunde: die Völker und die Städte des antiken Hispanien: Lusitanien, Zweiter Teil, Band 2* (1976); idem, *Iberische Landeskunde, Segunda Parte: Las tribus y las ciudades de la Antigua Hispania, Tomo 3: Tarraconensis* (1989): this latter volume was completed after Tovar's death and lacks the precision of the earlier tomes.

<sup>39</sup> J. Mangas and D. Plácido (eds), *Testimonia Hispaniae Antiquae I. Avieno. Ora Maritima. Descriptio orbis terrae phaenomena* (1994): this is the first volume in a programme of republication of the *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* (FHA), a key literary resource that began as an initiative by P. Bosch Gimpera in 1922; J. Mangas and D. Plácido (eds), *Testimonia Hispaniae Antiquae IIB. La península ibérica prerromana de Éforo a Eustacio* (1999). This is the second volume and deals with sources of all periods which touch upon issues related to the early geography and history of Iberia, with a mixture of geographic and ethnological information; V. Bejarano, *Hispania Antigua según Pomponio Mela, Plinio el Viejo y Claudio Ptolomeo* (1987); Pomponius Mela's work and broader

context is analysed by R. Batty, 'Mela's Phoenician Geography', *JRS* 90 (2000), 70–94; for Ptolemy, see R. C. Knapp, 'Ptolemy mapping Baetica', in R. C. Knapp (ed.), *Mapping Ancient Iberia. Progress and Perspectives*, *The Classical Bulletin* 72.1 (1996), 29–36.

<sup>40</sup> supra (n. 11).

<sup>41</sup> C. Gallazi and B. Kramer, 'Artemidor im Zeichensaal. Eine Papyrusrolle mit Text, Landkarte und Skizzenbüchchen aus späthellenistischer Zeit', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* (1998), 189–208; B. Kramer and J. Kramer, 'Iberia, Hispania und das neue Artemidor-Fragment', in *ibid.*, 309–22; A. Haltenhof and F.-H. Mutschler (eds), *Hortus Litterarum Antiquarum. Festschrift für Hans Armin*, Gärtner Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften n. f., 2. Reihe, Bd. 109 (2000); the document is also discussed in Bravo, op. cit. (n. 25), 21–2.

<sup>42</sup> J. de Alarcão, *Roman Portugal*. (3 vols, 1988).

<sup>43</sup> The situation up until the end of the 1980s is reviewed in A. Jimeno Martínez, A. del Val Recio and J. J. Fernández Moreno (eds), *Inventarios y cartas arqueológicas* (1993).

<sup>44</sup> Discussed by A. Cepas Palanca, 'The Tabula Imperii Romani in Spain: integration and diversity', in Knapp, op. cit. (n. 39), 7–20.

key pre-Roman settlements,<sup>45</sup> and provides a starting point for analysing the distribution of different kinds of settlement across the regions. Overall coverage of the peninsula can also be gleaned from the requisite 1:1,000,000 sheets of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.<sup>46</sup> Here, the compilers located all the known urban settlements and peoples, making reference to key sources of recent evidence in the *Gazeteer*, but were selective in their inclusion of other kinds of site.

Apart from mapping ancient Iberia, there have been relatively few attempts to look explicitly at interaction between settled populations and the geography of the peninsula. Two studies have attempted to see how far the Pyrenees acted as a barrier to the flow of cultural and political influences between south-western Gaul and northern Iberia from the later Iron Age to the late antique period, and what role they played as a barrier during the Roman conquest.<sup>47</sup>

#### POPULATIONS PRIOR TO ROME (Fig. 1)

It is well known that prior to the arrival of Rome in 218 B.C., the Iberian peninsula was culturally heterogeneous.<sup>48</sup> One of the great merits of archaeological research in recent years has been to use the results from numerous excavations, surveys, and artefact studies better to characterize some of the key peoples who came into contact with Rome in the course of the later third, second and first centuries B.C. The Greeks and the Phoenicians have both been the subject of major reassessments. Excavations within the Greek colonial settlement at Emporion (Empúries) have clarified the occupational sequence of the town,<sup>49</sup> while the broad spread of Greek Black and Red Figure pottery across eastern and southern Spain provides a good idea of the extent of Greek influence amongst indigenous communities.<sup>50</sup> More has been learned about the character of early Phoenician settlements in southern Iberia, particularly ancient Gadir, Malaka, and the sites of Toscanos and Torre del Mar,<sup>51</sup> as well as the spread of Phoenician ceramics, ivories, and metalwork in southern and eastern Iberia and, more indirectly, up the Atlantic coast and towards the centre of the peninsula in exchange for precious metals through the mediating role of Tartessos. Notwithstanding the importance of these colonial peoples, particularly during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the strength of their influence upon the formation of the indigenous peoples of the peninsula has been

<sup>45</sup> A. Balil, G. Pereira Menaut and F. J. Sánchez Palencia, *Tabula Imperii Romani Hoja K-20: Porto. Conimbriga, Bracara, Lucus, Asturica* (1991); J. Alarcão, J. Alvarez Martínez, A. Cepas Palanca and R. Corzo Sánchez, *Tabula Imperii Romani Hoja J-29: Lisboa. Emerita-Scallabis-Pax Iulia-Gades* (1995); J. Guitart i Duran, G. Fatás Cabeza and A. Cepas Palanca, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Hoja K/J-31: Pyrénées Orientales-Baleares. Tarraco-Baleares* (1997); G. Fatás Cabeza, L. Caballero Zoreda, C. García Moreno and A. Cepas Palanca, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Hoja K-30: Madrid. Caesaraugusta-Clunia* (1993); J. N. Alvarez Martínez, C. Aranegui, A. Cepas Palanca, R. Corzo Sánchez et al., *Tabula Imperii Romani Hoja J-30: Valencia* (2001); see also P. Silhières, *Les Voies de communication de l'Hispanie meridionale* (1990).

<sup>46</sup> R. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (2000): Sheets 24 (Asturica-Conimbriga), 25 (Hispania Tarraconensis), 26 (Lusitania-Baetica), and 27 (Hispania Carthaginensis).

<sup>47</sup> C. Rico, *Pyrénées romaines. Essai sur un pays de frontière (IIIe siècle av. J.C. - IVe siècle ap. J.C.)* (1997); G. Fatás, 'Los Pirineos meridionales y la conquista romana', in J. Untermann and F. Villar (eds), *Lengua y cultura en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la península ibérica* (1993), 289-315.

<sup>48</sup> The best overview of the pre- and protohistory of

the Iberian peninsula is M. Almagro Gorbea and G. Ruiz Zapatero (eds), *La Palaeoetnologia de la Península Ibérica* (1993).

<sup>49</sup> For example, X. Aquilué et al., 'Noves dades sobre la fundació d'Empòrion', in P. Cabrera Bonet and C. Sánchez (eds), *Els Grecs a Ibèria. Seguint les passes d'Hèracles* (2000), 89-105; E. Sanmartí Grego, 'Empòrion: una ciutat grega a Ibèria', in Cabrera Bonet and Sánchez, 109-17; see also X. Aquilué (ed.), *Intervencions arqueològiques a Sant Martí d'Empúries (1991-1996). De l'assentament pre-colonial a l'Empúries actual*, Monografies Emporitanes 9 (1999).

<sup>50</sup> The collected papers in Cabrera Bonet and Sánchez, op. cit. (n. 49) provide a useful summary of key themes in Greek colonization of Iberia, including Greek coinage in Iberia, Greek artistic 'language' in Iberian sculpture; P. Rouillard, *Les grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique* (1992) provides a magisterial analysis of traded ceramics and their broader context.

<sup>51</sup> M. E. Aubet Semmler, *The Phoenicians and the West. Politics, Colonies and Trade* (1993); H. G. Niemeyer, 'Phoenician Toscanos as a settlement model? Its urbanistic character in the context of Phoenician expansion and Iberian acculturation', in B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia. From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD*, Proceedings of the British Academy 86 (1995), 67-88.

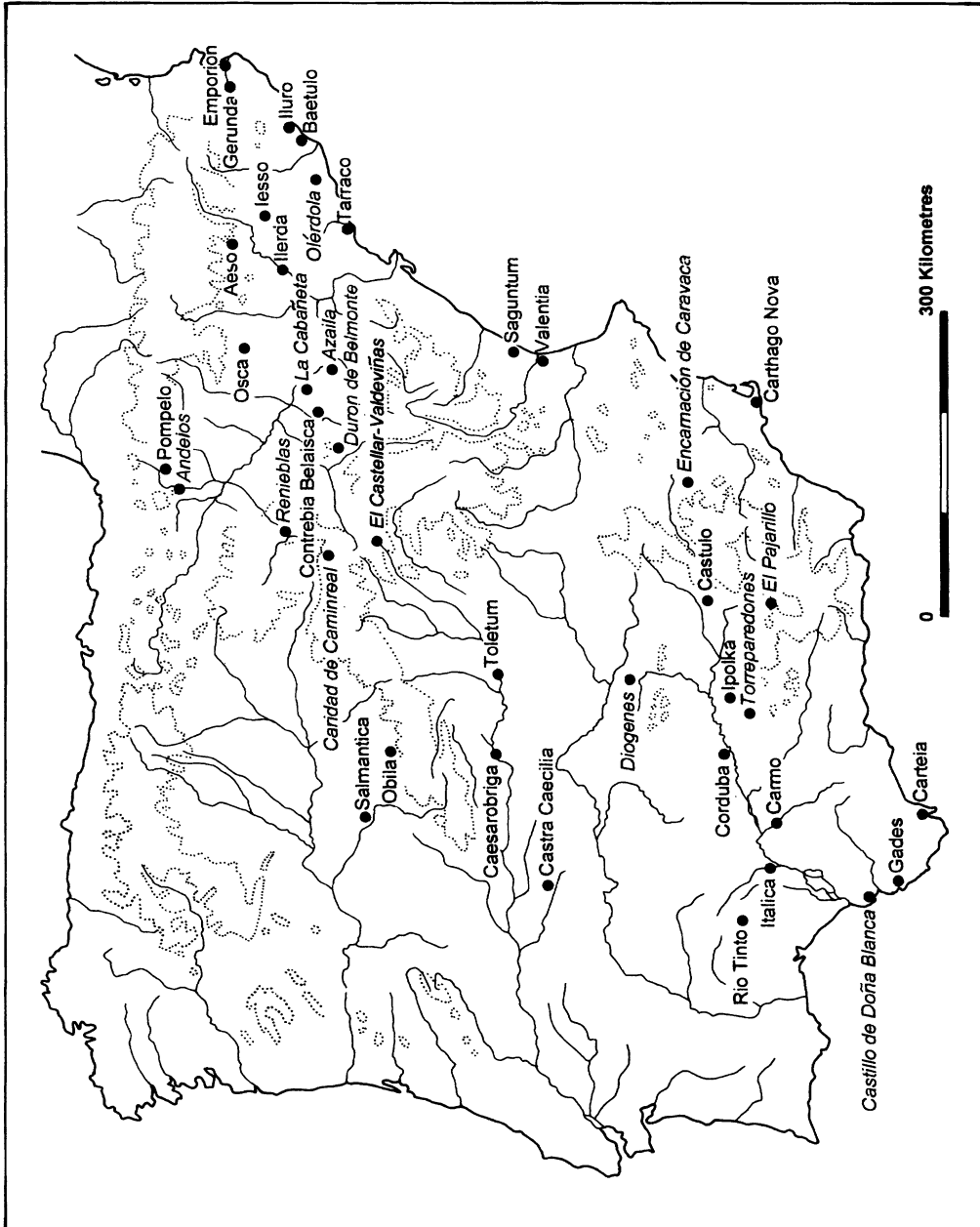


FIG. 1. MAP OF IBERIA UNDER THE REPUBLIC, SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.



the subject of a number of studies,<sup>52</sup> with some scholars seeing the formation of the Iberian peoples as the by-product of a core-periphery system centred upon Greece and Phoenicia in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>53</sup> Recent archaeological work has focused upon the very hierarchical social structure amongst the peoples of southern and south-eastern Iberia,<sup>54</sup> referred to in the classical sources as the Turdetani,<sup>55</sup> Oretani, Bastetani, and Contestani, raising the question as to how far these regions were organized around city states akin to those in other parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>56</sup> The recently discovered indigenous fifth-century B.C. sculptural suites from indigenous settlements like Ipolka (Porcuna) and El Pajarillo in upper Andalucía<sup>57</sup> betray Greek influence in style and possibly also funerary ritual. Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the Carthaginian interlude in southern Iberia, not least because the short duration of the Carthaginian occupation (237–206 B.C.) has meant that they have left relatively few archaeological traces. Nevertheless recent excavations have uncovered traces of the Punic fortifications of Carthago Nova (Cartagena),<sup>58</sup> while other work suggests that the major Turdetanian centre of Carmo (Carmona) and the small coastal settlement of Castillo de Doña Blanca (Cádiz) were fortified during the period of Carthaginian domination, and that there was a Punic precursor to the Colonia Latina of Carteia (El Rinconcillo), which was founded in 171 B.C.<sup>59</sup> Attention has also been directed towards the role and distribution of Punic coins in the south.<sup>60</sup> The cultural traditions of the Iberian peoples of the east coast, known to the Romans as the Edetani, Cessetani, Laietani, Ilergetes, and Indiketes, were different. They were heir to distinct late Bronze Age cultural traditions and were under the direct influence of Emporion and, ultimately, Massalia. The analysis of settlement patterns and the excavation of a range of settlement types<sup>61</sup> point to the consolidation of a ranked settlement hierarchy during the fourth to third centuries B.C.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>52</sup> For example, O. Jaeggi, *Der Hellenismus auf der iberischen Halbinsel. Studien zur iberischen Kunst und Kultur: Das Beispiel eines Rezeptionsvorgangs*, *Iberia Archaeologica* 1 (1999), begins by discussing concepts of 'Hellenization' before looking at the historical background, imported pottery, Iberian pottery, silver tableware, sculpture, architecture and numismatics.

<sup>53</sup> For example B. Cunliffe, 'Core-periphery relationships: Iberia and the Mediterranean', in A. Bild, P. Engberg-Pedersen, T. Hannestad, I. Zahle, J. and K. Randsbørd (eds), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (1994), 53–85.

<sup>54</sup> A. Ruiz and M. Molinos, *Los Iberos. Análisis arqueológico de un proceso histórico* (1993), attempt to analyse the archaeological evidence for the Iberians throughout Mediterranean Iberia in terms of the consolidation of aristocratic power, although the model is ultimately rooted in upper Andalucía; J. A. Santos Velasco, *Cambios sociales y culturales en época ibérica: el caso del sureste* (1994). C. Aranegui Gascó (ed.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional. Los Iberos. Principes de Occidente. Estructuras de poder en la sociedad Ibérica* (1998), provides a number of important papers on urbanism, art, society, and economy amongst the Iberians.

<sup>55</sup> Two opposing perspectives on these people are provided by J. L. Escacena and M. Belén, 'Pre-Roman Turdetania', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 23–37, and M. Downs, 'Turdetani and Bastetani: cultural identity in early Roman Baetica', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 39–53.

<sup>56</sup> See the following general surveys: M. Bendala Galán, 'La ciudad entre los Iberos, espacios de poder', in Aranegui Gascó, op. cit. (n. 54), 25–34; D. Ruiz Mata et al., 'La ciudad Tartésica-Turdetana', in Aranegui Gascó, op. cit. (n. 54), 65–82.

<sup>57</sup> I. Negeruela, *Los monumentos escultóricos ibéricos del Cerrillo Blanco de Porcuna (Jaén)* (1990); M. Molinos Molinos, T. Chapa Brunet, A. Ruiz Rodríguez, J. Pereira Sieso et al., *El santuario heroico de "El*

*Pajarillo" Huelma (Jaén)* (1998); see also T. Chapa and L. Prados, 'La utilització del llenguatge grec: homes, deus, monstres', in Cabrera Bonet and Sánchez, op. cit. (n. 49), 197–207; also R. Olmos, 'Les modes del llenguatge hellenitzant a Ibèria', in Cabrera Bonet and Sánchez, op. cit. (n. 49), 211–20.

<sup>58</sup> S. Ramallo Asensio, 'Carthago Nova. Capital de Hispania Citerior', in A. Ribera i Lacomba (ed.), *Valencia y las primeras ciudades romanas de Hispania* (2002), 112–22.

<sup>59</sup> M. Bendala Galán, 'Panorama arqueológico de la Hispania púnica a partir de la época bárquida', in M. P. García-Bellido and L. Callegarin (eds), *Los Cartagineses y la monetización del Mediterraneo Occidental* (2000), 75–88.

<sup>60</sup> See for example, M. P. García-Bellido, 'La relación económica entre la minería y la moneda púnica en Iberia', in García-Bellido and Callegarin, op. cit. (n. 59), 127–44.

<sup>61</sup> Of particular importance has been the excavation of the settlement and possible sanctuary of Mas Castellar de Pontós: E. Pons, J. Ruiz de Arbulo and D. Vivó, 'El yacimiento ibérico de Mas Castellà de Pontós (Girona). Análisis de algunas piezas significativas', in Aranegui Gascó, op. cit. (n. 54), 55–64; see also S. Blasco and R. Buxó (eds), *El graner de l'Empordà. Mas Castellar de Pont a l'edat del Ferro* (1998).

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, J. Sanmartí and C. Belarte, 'Urbanización y desarrollo de estructuras estatales en la costa de Cataluña (siglos VII–III a.C.)', in L. Berrocal-Rangel and P. Gardes (eds), *Entre Celtas e Iberos. Las poblaciones protohistóricas de las Galias e Hispania* (2001), 161–74; H. Bonet Rosado and C. Mata Parreño, 'Organización del territorio y poblamiento en el País Valenciano entre los siglos VII al II a.C.', in Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes, op. cit., 175–86; F. Sala, *La cultura ibérica de las comarcas meridionales de la Contestania entre los siglos VI y III a. de C.* (1995).

Away from the coast, the indigenous peoples of the interior were heir to highly heterogeneous cultural traditions going back to the late Bronze Age. In the course of the mid- to later first millennium B.C. they came under the indirect influence of 'celtic' traditions from peninsular Europe, of Mediterranean influences via the Iberian peoples of the fifth to third centuries B.C., and of the Phoenician world to the south, mediated by the indigenous cultural blocks of the south.<sup>63</sup> The 'balance' of these influences varied from one region to the next, mediated by geographical context and extant cultural traditions. There has been much archaeological research throughout this area, aimed at defining cultural areas, clarifying the archaeological sequences of key settlement sites, charting the spread of settlement nucleation and urbanization, and distinguishing social hierarchies through the analysis of funerary evidence. One area of particularly intense research has been the lower and middle Ebro valley, an area that corresponds to the peoples referred to by the Romans as the Celtiberians, including the Arevaci, Lusones, Berones, Pelendones, Belli, and Titti.<sup>64</sup> Culturally, these peoples were at a cross-roads of Celtic influences from the north and Iberian influences along the Ebro valley from the east. This is reflected in aspects of their very distinctive material culture.<sup>65</sup> There has been much work on the chronology and character of their fortified settlements,<sup>66</sup> the economy of the region,<sup>67</sup> and social organization in so far as it is reflected in the layout of cemeteries.<sup>68</sup> A comprehensive recent study also analysed the relationship between different ethnic groups, such as the Arevaci, Belli, and Titti, and the emergence of city states in this part of Iberia from the fourth century B.C. onwards.<sup>69</sup> Other important studies have focused on the area of the Vaccaei and Vettones further to the west,<sup>70</sup> whose settlement patterns were characterized by larger settlements classed as oppida and smaller hilltop sites, or castros. Other areas in which there is evidence for aspects of 'celtic' influence were in the north-west and west of the peninsula, where local peoples like the Callaici and Lusitani of the classical sources were also open to influences from southern Spain by means of the Atlantic seaboard. Here too, archaeological research has been intense, focusing upon the development of the distinctive fortified hilltop castros and citânias during the second half of the first millennium B.C., and also local economies.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>63</sup> This highly complex cultural panorama is surveyed by a range of papers in Almagro Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero, *op. cit.* (n. 48); a more critical approach to cultural definition and analysis is presented by G. Ruiz Zapatero, 'El concepto de Celtas en la Prehistoria europea y española', in M. Almagro Gorbea (ed.), *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa* (1993), 23–62; Ma. D. Fernández Posse, *La investigación protohistórica en la Meseta y Galicia*, *Arqueología Prehistórica* 1 (1998).

<sup>64</sup> The ethnic and cultural significance of the name is explored by F. Burillo, 'Aproximación a la arqueología de los celtiberos', in Almagro Gorbea, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 223–53.

<sup>65</sup> A. J. Lorrio, *Los Celtiberos* (1997), provides a good introduction to this.

<sup>66</sup> F. Burillo Mozota (ed.), *Poblamiento Celtibérico. III Simposio sobre los Celtiberos* (1995).

<sup>67</sup> F. Burillo Mozota (ed.), *Economía. IV Simposio sobre Celtiberos* (1999).

<sup>68</sup> F. Burillo Mozota (ed.), *Las Necrópolis celtibéricas. II Simposio sobre los Celtiberos* (1992).

<sup>69</sup> F. Burillo Mozota, *Los Celtiberos. Etnias y estados* (1998).

<sup>70</sup> J. R. Álvarez Sanchís, *Los Vettones* (1999), pro-

vides an important in-depth analysis of the archaeological evidence for this people. G. Ruiz Zapatero and J. Álvarez-Sanchís, 'Las Cogotas: oppida and roots of urbanism in the Spanish Meseta', in Cunliffe and Keay, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 209–35, discusses the character of urbanism amongst the Vettones with reference to this key site.

<sup>71</sup> For the north-west of the Iberian peninsula see most recently, Fernández Posse, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 197–234; M. Martins, 'O povoamento do noroeste no Iº milenio a.C.', in J. Alarcão and A. I. Palma Santos (eds), *De Ulisses a Viriato* (1996), 118–33. For the south-west, good regional studies for the second half of the first millennium B.C. are provided by Berrocal-Rangel and Gardes, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 213–26; A. Ma. Martín Bravo, *Los orígenes de Lusitania. El I milenio a.c. en la Alta Extremadura* (1999); L. Berrocal-Rangel, *Los pueblos célticos del suroeste de la península ibérica* (1992). V. Hipólito Correia, 'The Iron Age in South and Central Portugal and the emergence of urban centres', in Cunliffe and Keay, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 237–62, analyses the emergence of urbanism down to the Roman period, touching upon the question of Phoenician influence.

## THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

## CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION

The Roman conquest and administration of Iberia is fundamental to our understanding of the development of Roman imperialism,<sup>72</sup> and remains a focus of academic enquiry,<sup>73</sup> as do historically-based studies of the composition of the army.<sup>74</sup> By contrast, studies of the frontiers of Roman republican Iberia<sup>75</sup> and archaeologically-based analyses of the conquest are much more rare. This is because we are still a long way from being able to identify on the ground the *castra*, *castella*, and other military settlements mentioned in the ancient sources,<sup>76</sup> or use what little archaeological evidence there is to trace the progress of the Roman campaigns recorded in the ancient sources. The difficulties encountered are exemplified by a recent attempt to identify the site of El Castellar-Valdeviñas (Torres de Berellén), in the middle Ebro valley, with the *Castra Aelia* mentioned by the ancient sources in connection with Sertorius' campaigns in the region.<sup>77</sup> A recent reassessment of the evidence for Roman military camps of republican date highlights its paucity.<sup>78</sup> The walled enclosures of late third- and early second-century B.C. date at Tarraco (Tarragona) and Emporion (the 'praesidium' below the later, Roman, town and at nearby Riells) now rank as the earliest known Roman defensive structures in Iberia. The camps associated with Rome's conquest of Celtiberia are notoriously hard to understand as a result of the recording techniques used in Schulten's excavations around Numantia and the ephemeral nature of the encampments themselves prior to the first century B.C. The camps at Anguilar de Anguita and Renieblas I and II are assigned to the period of Cato's campaigns in the early second century B.C., and the Almazán encampment to campaigns dating to 153/152 B.C. Furthermore, the study supports earlier published evidence for assigning *Castra Caecilia* (Cáceres) to Metellus' campaigns in Lusitania (destroyed between 80 and 72 B.C.), and the claim that there was a camp at Pompelo (Pamplona) dating to 75–74 B.C.<sup>79</sup> Just as camps are hard to identify, so are destructions supposedly associated with particular historical events or campaigns, even though they are frequently invoked to explain the abandonment of certain indigenous settlements. This is clearest in the Ebro valley, where the settlements of Contrebia Belaisca (Botorrita), Azaila, Caridad de Caminreal, La Corona (Fuentes de Ebro), and La Cabañeta (Burgo de Ebro) were all abandoned in the first or second quarter of the first century B.C., or more specifically the

<sup>72</sup> J. Richardson, *Hispaniae. Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism 218–82 BC* (1986) remains a fundamental historical analysis; see also M. Salinas de Frias, *El gobierno de las provincias hispanas durante la República* (1995).

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, J. de Francisco Martín, *Conquista y romanización de Lusitania* (1989).

<sup>74</sup> Such as J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Los hispanos en el ejército romano de época republicana* (1993), who attempts to gauge the numbers and role of soldiers recruited in Iberia in Roman, Carthaginian, Lusitanian, and Celtiberian armies from the third to mid-first centuries B.C.

<sup>75</sup> One exception is L. A. Curchin, 'Roman frontier concepts in the Spanish interior: configuration and ideology', in W. Groenman-van Waateringen, B. L. van Beek, W. J. H. Willems and S. L. Wynia (eds), *Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (1997), 67–71, who criticizes the concept of linear 'frontiers' in republican Iberia and seeks to under-

stand them in terms of frontier zones and the inclusivity of conquered peoples.

<sup>76</sup> See the useful comments by C. González Román, 'Control romano y resistencia indígena en los orígenes de la Bética', in J. F. Rodríguez Neila (ed.), *Historia Antigua. Actas del II Congreso de Historia Antigua de Andalucía. Córdoba 1991* (1994), 131–47, esp. 134–7.

<sup>77</sup> The evidence is never more than suggestive: F. Pina Polo and J. A. Pérez Casas, 'El oppidum *Castra Aelia* y las campañas de Sertorius (77–76 a.C.)', *JRA* 11 (1998), 245–64.

<sup>78</sup> A. Morillo Cerdán, 'Fortificaciones campamentales de época romana en España', *AEA* 64 (1991), 135–90.

<sup>79</sup> Morillo Cerdán, *op. cit.* (n. 78); P. Breuer, M. Luik and D. Müller, 'Zur wiederaufnahme archäologischer forschungen in den römischen lagern bei Renieblas (Prov. Soria)', *MDAI(M)* 40 (1999), 125–45, have recently begun a re-analysis of the structural remains at Renieblas.

period 76–72 B.C.,<sup>80</sup> supposedly as a form of retribution for having supported Sertorius in his war against Perpenna.<sup>81</sup> Firmer evidence comes from Valentia (Valencia) further south, where excavations uncovered the remains of soldiers executed at the time of Pompey's sack of the city in 75 B.C., after which the town was abandoned until the Augustan period.<sup>82</sup>

#### EARLY ROMAN TOWNS

A key aspect of the administrative measures taken by Rome to consolidate its control over conquered communities down to the time of Caesar and Augustus<sup>83</sup> was the development of towns. Apart from questions related to their legal status and relationship to Rome,<sup>84</sup> recent rescue and research excavations have enhanced our understanding of the origins of settlements chosen by Rome as centres of power in Iberia, such as Tarraco, Corduba (Córdoba), Italica (Santiponce), Carteia, Pollentia (La Alcudia), Emporion (later Emporiae), and Valentia, and the gradual transformation of many indigenous centres, such as Saguntum (Sagunto).

The evidence increasingly supports the idea that Rome was working within pre-existing settlement networks, and that a specifically 'Roman' urban network did not really come into existence until the period of Caesar and Augustus. Most centres established by Rome in the later third and second centuries B.C. were founded in the context of pre-existing Iberian and Carthaginian settlements.<sup>85</sup> They yield few early structural remains but do provide evidence for growing imports of Italic wine and Black Gloss pottery.<sup>86</sup> Italica was established within an earlier Turdetanian settlement, with little evidence for the influence of Roman planning prior to the first century B.C.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>80</sup> For these destructions, see F. Beltrán Lloris, 'El terminus republicano de Fuentes de Ebro', in G. Paci (ed.), *ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ. Miscellanea Epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini. I* (2000), 71–82; Ma. A. Díaz Sanz and M. Ma. Medrano Marqués, 'La ciudad celtibérica y romana de Contrebia Belaisca', in Villar, Díaz, Medrano and Jordán, op. cit. (n. 12), 13–44.

<sup>81</sup> For recent work on Sertorius, see F. García Mora, *Quinto Sertorio* (1991); idem, *Un episodio de la Hispania republicana: la guerra de Sertorio* (1992); idem, 'El conflicto sertoriano y la provincia Hispania Ulterior', in Rodríguez Neila, op. cit. (n. 76), 271–86; see also A. Jimeno Martínez, 'Numancia: campamentos romanos y cerca 30 escipión', *AEA* 75 (2002), 159–76, for a re-evaluation of Schulten's work.

<sup>82</sup> A. Ribera i Lacomba, 'La primera evidencia arqueológica de la destrucción de Valentia por Pompeyo', *JRA* 8 (1995), 19–40.

<sup>83</sup> For example, M. Salinas de Frias, *El gobierno de las provincias hispanas durante la república romana (218–27 A.C.)* (1995).

<sup>84</sup> J. M. Abascal and U. Espinosa, *La ciudad hispano-romana. Privilegio y poder* (1989), provides a good general review of the recent historical evidence; while regional studies are provided by J. M. Roldán, 'Conquista y colonización en la Bética en época republicana', in E. Ortiz de Urbina and J. Santos (eds), *Teoría y práctica del ordenamiento municipal en Hispania. Revisión de Historia Antigua II* (1996), 27–39; H. Galsterer, 'Diritto latino e municipalizzazione nella Bética', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit., 210–22, esp. 210–15; J. J. Sayas, 'Conquista y colonización del Ebro en época tardorrepública y principado', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit., 63–82; J. M. Abascal, 'Derecho latino y municipalización en Levante y Cataluña', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit., 255–83, esp. 257–69.

<sup>85</sup> For Tarraco, see D. Asensio, M. Ciuraneta, S. Martorell and P. Otiña, 'L'assentament ibèric de Tarragona. L'excavació de Manuel Berges al carrer dels Caputxins l'any 1978', in J. Ruiz de Arbulo (ed.), *Tarraco. Arqueologia d'una capital provincial romana*, Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica 3 (2000), 71–82, and P. Otiña and J. Ruiz de Arbulo, 'De Cese a Tarraco. Evidencias y reflexiones sobre la Tarragona Ibérica y el proceso de romanización', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 107–38. For Corduba, see J. F. Murillo and D. Vaquerizo, 'La Corduba prerromana', in P. León Alonso (ed.), *Colonia Patricia Corduba. Una reflexión arqueológica. Coloquio internacional. Córdoba, 1993* (1996), 37–47; A. Ventura, J. Bermúdez, P. León, I. López and C. Márquez, 'Análisis arqueológico de la Córdoba romana: Resultados e hipótesis de la investigación', in León Alonso, op. cit., 87–118, esp. 88–93. For Carthago Nova, see M. M. Ros Sala, *La pervivencia del elemento indígena: la cerámica ibérica* (1989). For Carteia, see L. Roldán Gómez, M. Bendala Galán, J. Blázquez Pérez and S. Martínez Lillo, *Carteia* (1998), 149–225.

<sup>86</sup> J. J. Ventura Márquez, 'El origen de la Córdoba romana a través del estudio de las cerámicas de barniz negro', in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), 49–62, discusses the Black Gloss pottery from Corduba, while M. Díaz, 'Tipocronología de los contextos cerámicos tarro-republicanos en Tarraco', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 201–60, analyses a range of imported ceramics at Tarraco.

<sup>87</sup> S. Keay, 'Early Roman Italica and the Romanization of western Baetica', in P. León and A. Caballos (eds), *Italica MMCC* (1997), 21–47, reviews the evidence.

Valentia and Pollentia, by contrast, were foundations *de novo* with little trace of pre-Roman settlement.<sup>88</sup> More generally, structures that could be characterized as Roman or Italic do not tend to appear prior to the later second century but are increasingly frequent in the course of the first century B.C.<sup>89</sup> Recent excavations at Tarraco suggest that the late third-century B.C. defensive walls were extended down towards the port to encompass the Iberian settlement in the second half of the second century B.C., and that the enclosed area was probably laid out on a grid of 1 by 2 actus.<sup>90</sup> While little is known about individual buildings prior to the Augustan period, the remains of a possible small shrine of later second-century B.C. date have been discovered.<sup>91</sup> At Corduba, the earliest substantial buildings and houses with *opus signinum* floors do not appear until the transition between the late second and early first centuries B.C.<sup>92</sup>

The best known example of urban planning at this early date is the Roman town of Emporion, which is usually understood to have been founded on a low plateau overlooking the adjacent Greek port towards the end of the second century B.C.<sup>93</sup> A recent geophysical survey has revealed that the whole of the walled area was subdivided into insula blocks measuring 1 by 2 actus.<sup>94</sup> Within the adjacent Greek port, a sanctuary to Serapis was built in the first century B.C.<sup>95</sup> Recent work at Valentia has confirmed a foundation date of 138 B.C., and suggests that the Italic culture of its inhabitants was evident from the outset. The town was laid out on a regular grid, with a large 'horreum', *tabernae*, and a suite of public baths occupying different sides of the forum; the remains of houses and an inhumation cemetery in which Italic burial rites were used have also been found.<sup>96</sup> At Carthago Nova, excavations on the Molinete hill have uncovered the remains of a shrine to the Syrian deity Atargatis dating to the late second century B.C.,<sup>97</sup> while an extramural shrine to Iuppiter Stator of later second-century B.C. date was found at the Cabezo Galludo, a short distance to the south-east of the town. This temple had an *opus signinum* floor whose dedicatory inscription mentioned the gens Aquini who are attested on lead ingots produced in the silver mines near the city.<sup>98</sup> At Carteia, recent

<sup>88</sup> A. Ribera i Lacomba, 'El influjo ibérico en la ciudad romana de Valentia', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 173–81, makes the case for some limited Iberian influence in Valentia prior to its destruction by Sertorius in 75 B.C.; M. Orfila (ed.), *El fòrum de Pollentia. Memòria de les campanyes d'excavacions realitzades entre els anys 1996 i 1999* (2000), esp. 132–42, suggests that there is no evidence for monumental building of any kind at Pollentia until the second quarter of the early first century B.C.

<sup>89</sup> An exception, of course, is Saguntum. This native centre had long-standing close association with Rome that saw the construction of a capitolium on the acropolis of the Iberian settlement, discussed by C. Aranegui Gascó, 'Un templo republicano en el centro cívico saguntino', in S. Ramallo (ed.), *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana 1. Templos Romanos de Hispania* (1992), 67–82; idem, 'Evolución del área cívica saguntina', *JRA* 5 (1992), 56–68.

<sup>90</sup> J. M. Macías Solé, 'L'urbanisme de Tàrraco a partir de les excavacions de l'entorn del fòrum de la ciutat', in Ruiz de Arbulo, op. cit. (n. 85), 83–106.

<sup>91</sup> J. M. Puche, 'Sobre un conjunt amb ceràmica calena decorada i terracotes trobat a Tarragona. Un possible lloc de culte a Tarraco republicana', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 7 (1997), 237–47: finds from the site included a Calene ware bowl, an Italic-style antefix with very close Italian parallels, a shattered Cernos with female head (for incense burning in cultic contexts), and a terracotta bull.

<sup>92</sup> A. Ventura, P. León and C. Márquez, 'Roman Corduba in the light of recent archaeological research', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 87–107.

<sup>93</sup> R. Mar and J. Ruiz de Arbulo, *Ampurias romana* (1993) remains a fundamental work of reference for this.

<sup>94</sup> X. Aquilué, P. Castanyer, D. Jordan, M. Santos and J. Tremoleda, 'Resultats del projecte de prospec-

cions electromagnètiques a la ciutat romana d'Empúries (L'Escala, Alt Empordà)', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 261–79; for earlier work at the southern end of the town see X. Aquilué, R. Mar, J. M. Nolla, J. Ruiz de Arbulo and E. Sanmartí, *El fòrum romà d'Empúries* (1984). Recent excavations beneath the forum seem to suggest that the complex may have been built as late as the end of the first century B.C., rather than the end of the second century: X. Aquilué, P. Castanyer, M. Santos and J. Tremoleda, 'El campo de silos del área central de la ciudad romana de Empúries', *Romula* 1 (2002), 9–38.

<sup>95</sup> E. Sanmartí Grego *et al.*, 'Emporion: un ejemplo de monumentalización precoz en la Hispania Republicana. (Los santuarios helenísticos de su sector meridional)', in W. Trillmich and P. Zanker (ed.), *Stadtbild und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit* (1990), 117–44.

<sup>96</sup> A. Ribera, *La fundació de València. La ciutat a l'època romanorepublicana (segles II–I a.C.)*, Estudios Universitarios 71 (1998); V. Escrivà Torres and A. Ribera i Lacomba, 'Avanç a l'estudi de les termes romanes republicanes de Valentia', in R. Mar, J. López and L. Piñol (eds), *Utilització de l'aigua a les ciutats romanes*, Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica (1993); for early Roman Valentia in general, see Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 58), 267–353.

<sup>97</sup> S. Ramallo Asensio and E. Ruiz Valderas, 'Un edículo republicano dedicado a Atargatis en Carthago Nova', *AEA* 67 (1994), 79–102.

<sup>98</sup> M. Martín Camino, Ma. A. Pérez Bonet and R. González Fernández, 'Un templo suburbano consagrado a Iuppiter Stator en Carthago-Nova', *Arqueologia* 188 (1996), 28–35: the inscription reads, 'M(arcus) A(QV)INI M(arcus) L(ibertus) ANDRO/IOVI STATORI D(e) S(ua) P(ecunia)/L(ibens) M(erito)'.

excavations suggest that the forum was not built until the late second or early first century B.C.<sup>99</sup>

There is a growing body of evidence that, in addition to the transformation of Roman towns, there was a re-focusing of settlement patterns. In the course of the later second and first centuries B.C., many indigenous settlements were gradually abandoned while others were re-founded. This is clearest in the lower Ebro valley,<sup>100</sup> and the north-eastern quadrant of Hispania Citerior, where it has been ascribed to an administrative reorganization by Pompey.<sup>101</sup> The sites include La Caridad de Caminreal in the lower Ebro valley, Aeso (Isona) and Iesso (Guissona) in the Catalan interior, and Iluro (Matarò), Gerunda (Girona), Baetulo (Badalona), and Olérdola along the Catalan coast. In addition, other earlier Iberian centres like Ilerda (Lleida) underwent a phase of transformation at this time.<sup>102</sup> The discovery of a number of late second-century B.C. *miliaria* in north-east Spain suggests that some of these settlements may have been drawn into a closer relationship with the centre of Roman power in the region at Tarraco.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, one recent study interprets epigraphic evidence to suggest that the lands of communities in the middle and lower Ebro valley may have been re-distributed by Rome in the late second century B.C.<sup>104</sup>

Recent excavations have revealed that the layout of these new centres was heavily influenced by Italic planning, particularly in the lower Ebro valley. Here, excavations have revealed that a number of town-houses were laid out and decorated in an Italic style, with *opus signinum* floors decorated with white tessera mosaics.<sup>105</sup> At La Caridad de Caminreal, Andelos (Muruzábal de Andión), and Durón de Belmonte, the floors of the houses bore inscriptions in the Iberian language and script. The most complete example comes from the first of these; it reads 'likinete ekiar usekerteku' and refers to an individual, possibly Likinos, from the town of Usekerte making (it).<sup>106</sup> Other centres, such as Contrebia Belaisca<sup>107</sup> and Azaila, had various kinds of public buildings, including a possible *curia* and baths. Similar developments have been noted further to

<sup>99</sup> Roldán Gómez, Bendala Galán, Blánquez Pérez and Martínez Lillo, op. cit. (n. 85), 149–225.

<sup>100</sup> J. J. Sayas, 'Conquista y colonización del valle del Ebro en época tardorrepública y principado', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 63–82.

<sup>101</sup> For the Ebro valley, see Burillo Mozota, op. cit. (n. 69), 346–52; for north-eastern Spain, see J. Burch, J. M. Nolla, L. Palahí, J. Sagrera, M. Sureda and D. Vivó, 'La fundació de Gerunda. Dades noves sobre un proces complex de reorganització d'un territori', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 11–28; X. Payà, F. Puig and T. Reyes, 'Primeres datacions dels nivells fundacionals d'Aeso', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 4 (1994), 151–72; O. Olesti i Vila, *El territori del Maresme en època republicana (s.III–I a.C.)*. *Estudi d'Arqueomorfologia i Història* (1995); J. Pera, 'Iesso i Sigarra en el marc de la romanització de la Citerior', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 7 (1997), 229–36; J. Guitart i Duran, 'La ciutat romana en l'àmbit de Catalunya', M. Bendala (ed.), *La ciudad hispanorromana* (1993), 54–79. It should be noted that there is no unequivocal evidence to support the idea of a Pompeian reorganization of the north-east, apart from the construction of the tropaea of Pompey at the *summum pyraenaum* in 71 B.C.: for this see G. Castellví, J. M. Nolla and I. Rodá, 'La identificación de los trofeos de Pompeyo en el Pirineo', *JRA* 8 (1995), 5–18.

<sup>102</sup> X. Payà, I. Gil, A. Lorient, A. Lafuente and M. Morán, 'Evolució espacial i cronològica de l'antiga ciutat d'Ilerda', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 6 (1996), 119–49.

<sup>103</sup> G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodá, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. I. Barcelone (sauf Barcelone)* (1984), nos 175, 176 and 181; for roads in general see the useful summary by A. Nünnerich-Asmus, 'Straßen, Brücken und Bögen als Zeichen römischen Herrschaftsanspruchs', in Trillmich, Hauschild, Blech, Niemeyer, Nünnerich-Asmus and Kreiling, op. cit. (n. 26), 121–57, esp. 122–8.

<sup>104</sup> F. Beltrán Lloris, 'El terminus republicano de Fuentes de Ebro', in Paci, op. cit. (n. 80), 71–82.

<sup>105</sup> Evidence summarized by P. Sillières, 'La maison aristocratique à l'époque républicaine, principalement dans la vallée de l'Èbre', in M. Navarro Caballero and S. Demougin (eds), *Élites hispaniques*, Ausonius Publications. *Études* 6 (2001), 173–85; see also M. P. Galve Izquierdo, *Los antecedentes de Caesaraugusta. Estructuras domésticas de Salduie* (1996).

<sup>106</sup> J. D. Vicente Redón, M. Pilar Punter Gómez, C. Escriche Jaime and A. I. Herce San Miguel, 'La Caridad (Caminreal, Teruel)', in M. Beltrán Lloris (ed.), *La Casa urbana hispanorromana* (1991), 81–129; for the inscription, see F. Beltrán Lloris, 'Writing, language and society: Iberians, Celts and Romans in north-eastern Spain in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC', *BICS* 43 (1999), 131–51.

<sup>107</sup> Díaz Sanz and Medrano Marqués, op. cit. (n. 80), 13–44.

the north at Osca (Huesca) and Sesars (Gebarda), at Iesso in the Catalan interior, as well as in the vicinity of Iluro along the Catalan coast to the north-east.<sup>108</sup>

A key question is whether this transformation of urban topography was brought about by the settlement of Italians or Romans in the region, or whether it was the product of élite choice, inspired by developments at coastal settlements like Tarraco. The existence of a mosaic floor at the settlement of La Cabañeta (Burgo de Ebro) inscribed with the Latin names of two *magistri* suggests that some of these settlements might have hosted a small *conventus civium romanorum*, which might have played a role in their transformation.<sup>109</sup>

It is tempting to think that these changes are to be explained by Roman strategic needs, the proximity of these settlements to the Roman centres at Emporiae and Tarraco, and the personal choice of élites. However, it must be remembered that surveys and excavations have been very intense in this region, and that lack of research may explain their apparent absence further south. For example, recent excavations have suggested that a forum and capitolium were built on the walled acropolis of Saguntum in the course of the second century B.C.<sup>110</sup>

In Hispania Ulterior, evidence for these kinds of developments in indigenous towns is, for the moment, absent, apart from such exceptions as Iiturgis,<sup>111</sup> and continuity down to the early imperial period is common. The impact of Rome upon settlement systems in other parts of Iberia, particularly western Citerior, is less well known. However, recent work in the territory of the Vettones suggests that, following the conquest of the region by Rome in the course of the second century B.C., the pre-existing oppida-based system was broken down by a reorganization of its agricultural resources, the presence of the army, and the unprecedented political and administrative centralization represented by the Roman occupation of indigenous centres, such as Caesarobriga, Salmantica (Salamanca), Obila (Ávila), and Toletum (Toledo).<sup>112</sup>

Another area of considerable interest in recent years has been the coinage of republican Iberia, particularly the indigenous silver issues of northern Citerior and the bronze issues of Ulterior.<sup>113</sup> Many scholars seem to be in agreement in raising the chronology of the introduction of Iberian denarii from the period 155–133 B.C. to 200–180 B.C. There is also a growing consensus for accepting a link between the issue of coins by the Iberian and the Celtiberian communities and the presence of Roman armies in Celtiberia in the course of the second century B.C., suggesting that they might have been used to pay Roman troops, even though this would not have impeded their use by

<sup>108</sup> For Gabarda see J. A. Asensio Esteba and P. Silières, 'Gabarda, ville ibérique et ibéro-romaine d'Espagne Citérieure (Usón, Huesca)', *MCV* 36.1 (1995), 85–111; for Osca see M. N. Juste Arruga, 'Bolskan-Osca, ciudad iberromana', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 87–106; for Iluro see J. García Rosselló, A. Martín Menéndez and X. Cela Espín, 'Nuevas aportaciones sobre la romanización en el territorio de Iluro (Hispania Tarraconensis)', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 29–54; A. Martín Menéndez and J. García Roselló, 'La romanización en el territorio de los layetanos y la fundación de la ciudad romana de Iluro (Hispania Tarraconensis)', in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 58), 195–204.

<sup>109</sup> A. Ferreruela Gonzalvo and J. A. Mínguez Morales, 'Un nuevo descubrimiento epigráfico romanor-republicano en el valle del Ebro', in Navarro Caballero and Demougín, op. cit. (n. 105), 241–9; see intervention by G. Alföldy on 249; the site itself is examined in more depth by A. Ferreruela Gonzalvo and J. A. Mínguez Morales, "'La Cabañeta'" (El Burgo de Ebro, Zaragoza), in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 58), 205–14.

<sup>110</sup> Aranegui Gascó, op. cit. (n. 89).

<sup>111</sup> G. Burholzer, 'Das Sacellum vom Cerro de Maquiz (Mengíbar, Jaén)', *MDAI(M)* 34 (1993),

194–201; generally, see S. Keay, 'The development of towns in early Roman Baetica', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 54–86, esp. 65.

<sup>112</sup> See J. Álvarez-Sanchis, 'The Iron Age in Western Spain (800 BC–AD 50): an overview', *OJA* 19 (1) (2000), 65–89; similarly, idem, *Los Vettones* (1999), 329–37.

<sup>113</sup> L. Villaronga, *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti Aetatem* (1994) is the fundamental work of reference. This is an exhaustive catalogue of all indigenous coin emissions prior to Augustus, organized by regional linguistic group and date, with a very useful series of indices. Also useful is L. Villaronga, *Tresors monetaris de la península ibèrica anterior a August: repertori i anàlisi* (1993), which lists all hoards of Roman and Iberian coins found in the Iberian peninsula between the fourth century B.C. and the reign of Augustus; a general introduction to the coins of pre-Roman and republican Iberia is provided by Ma. P. García-Bellido and C. Blázquez, *Diccionario de cecas y pueblos hispánicos* (2001), which summarizes the broader context, background, and development of coins with a catalogue; Ma. P. García-Bellido and R. M. Sobral Centeno (eds), *La moneda hispánica. Ciudad y territorio*, *Anejos de AEspA* 14 (1995), provides a range of more focused studies.

local issuing communities to finance their own armies.<sup>114</sup> It has been pointed out, however, that the fact that Celtiberian coin legends were originally in Iberian script would have rendered them difficult to read for their supposed Roman users.<sup>115</sup> Another intriguing suggestion is that they could be regarded as ‘frontier coinages’. According to this scenario, the earlier issues will have come from the coastal centres, and later issues will have appeared further inland as the conquest progressed. Local bronze coinages in north-eastern Citerior may have been issued in the late second century B.C. to create small change for Iberian, and later Roman, denarii at a time when the region was being urbanized.<sup>116</sup> Coinage will have eventually ceased partly because the centres issuing coinage helped Sertorius in his war against Rome in the early first century B.C., and partly because the presence of the Roman army in the Ebro valley led to the large-scale arrival of Roman coins.<sup>117</sup> The bronze coins of Ulterior have also been the subject of new research, with attention focusing upon their circulation and role in the monetization of Hispania Ulterior in the later second and first centuries B.C.<sup>118</sup> Some studies have hinted at the possible symbolic role of coins, while others have stressed the variation in the size and frequency of issues, suggesting that local needs determined their issue, rather than any order from Rome, and that their effect was to accustom communities to the use of coinage by the time Roman coinage began to arrive in volume in the first century B.C.<sup>119</sup> The use of Latin on issues in western Baetica may have been intended as an act of homage to Rome by the communities of the region.<sup>120</sup> One important study<sup>121</sup> has analysed 34 hoards composed of over 4,000 Roman denarii deposited in Ulterior between the early second and late first centuries B.C. It focuses upon the well-known horizon of hoarding in the metal-rich area of the Sierra Morena in the late second century B.C., and eschews the traditional suggestion that this was a consequence of raids or military activity. Instead it is argued that it was due to social instability amongst indigenous communities brought about by the presence of increasing numbers of Italians in the region, and their gradual take over of the local silver mines. In other words, it was part of a broader crisis in southern Iberia, as indigenous communities were brought into an increasingly close economic, social, and political relationship with the Roman Empire.

#### ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Mining has long been a key issue in the study of republican Iberia, and has recently benefited from synthetic works of enormous value. Pride of place must go to Domergue’s study of the distribution, development, and organization of Roman mines in the Hispaniae.<sup>122</sup> For the republican period, this makes the point that the silver-rich areas around Carthago Nova in Citerior were the initial focus of Roman mining activity from

<sup>114</sup> M. Campo, ‘Els exèrcits i la monetització d’Hispania (218–45 aC)’, in M. Campo (ed.), *Moneda i exèrcits* (1999), 59–82; see also Mariví Gomis, ‘Moneda i organització del territori a la Celtibèria’, in Campo, op. cit., 77–93.

<sup>115</sup> J. Untermann, ‘La latinización de Hispania a través del documento monetar’, in García-Bellido and Sobral Centeno, op. cit. (n. 113), 305–16.

<sup>116</sup> M. Campo, ‘Moneda, organització i administració del nord-est de la Hispania Citerior (del 218 a l’inici del segle I aC)’, Campo, op. cit. (n. 114), 57–75.

<sup>117</sup> F. Beltrán Lloris, ‘De nuevo sobre el origen y la función del “Denario Ibérico”’, in M. Campo (ed.), *II Curs d’historia monetària d’Hispania. La moneda en la societat ibèrica* (1998), 101–17.

<sup>118</sup> A. Arévalo González, *La ciudad de Obulco: sus emisiones monetales* (1999) provides an excellent study of one of the major mints of Ulterior.

<sup>119</sup> F. Chaves Tristán, ‘The Iberian and early Roman coinage of Hispania Ulterior Baetica’, in Keay, op.

cit. (n. 31), 147–70, provides a good overview of recent work and discusses some of these issues; S. Keay, ‘La romanización en el sur y el levante de España hasta la época de Augusto’, in J. M. Blázquez and J. Alvar (eds), *La romanización en Occidente* (1996), 147–77, analyses the function of coins from a more symbolic perspective.

<sup>120</sup> Untermann, op. cit. (n. 115), 305–16.

<sup>121</sup> F. Chaves Tristán, *Los tesoros en el sur de Hispania. Conjuntos de denarios y objetos de plata durante los siglos II y I a. C.* (1996); additional points about the relationship between coinage and mining are made by A. Arévalo González, ‘La moneda hispánica en relación con la explotación minera y agrícola’, in Campo, op. cit. (n. 114), 37–55.

<sup>122</sup> C. Domergue, *Catalogue des mines et des fonderies antiques de la Péninsule Ibérique* (1989); idem, *Les mines de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l’antiquité romaine* (1990).



the late third or early second century B.C., but that the silver mines around Castulo (Linares) in the eastern Sierra Morena of Ulterior were not exploited by Rome until the very end of the second century.<sup>123</sup> Recent excavations at Valderrepisa (Fuencaliente, Ciudad Real), some 12 km from the mine of Diogenes in the Sierra Morena, have shown that settlements involved in the processing of freshly mined silver were laid out on a regular plan with a drainage system.<sup>124</sup> Mining in the areas west of the Guadalquivir, particularly Río Tinto (Huelva), may have begun at a similarly late date. Both areas would have played an important role in supplying metal for the Roman state and for financing Roman armies in Iberia. The evidence for the involvement of Italian *societates publicanorum* in the management of the mines and for trade in by-products, such as lead, is well known.

Systematic landscape surveys in Citerior have begun to document the continuity of different forms of pre-Roman agricultural exploitation through much of the republican period, with gradual change only becoming evident towards the end of the second, and in course of the first century B.C. This was the case in the area between the Ebro and Saguntum, where small undefended farms gradually break up the settlement patterns based on surviving large Iberian settlements.<sup>125</sup> To the north, a survey of the immediate hinterland of Tarraco showed that, despite the development of this town as a major military and urban centre in the course of the second and first centuries, there were few changes in the distribution or character of rural settlement.<sup>126</sup> The same is true in the territory of the Laietani, between the Llobregat and Tordera rivers, where many later, Roman, farms and villas are on the site of Iberian settlements which first appeared in the course of the earlier first century B.C., at the time of the re-foundation of the indigenous settlements of Iuro and Baetulo. Substantial changes to the settlement pattern did not occur until the Augustan period.<sup>127</sup> The same is true for parts of the Catalan interior.<sup>128</sup> Little is known of the rural settlements themselves, although excavations suggest that a few were simple farms with evidence of Italic influence in their layout and construction.<sup>129</sup> It is also clear that wine was beginning to be produced around Tarraco and in Laetania in the early first century B.C. and bottled in amphorae that imitated Italic Dressel 1 and Lamboglia 2 forms. The existence of stamps in Iberian script on some of these suggests that at least some of the production was in the hands of indigenous élites. The evidence from Hispania Ulterior is less abundant, but suggests some very regionalized responses to Roman agricultural demands. In many parts of the upper and lower Guadalquivir valley, agricultural exploitation had been primarily based at Iberian settlements, and rural settlements do not appear until the early, mid- or later first century B.C.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, the appearance of Punic stamps on Greco-Italic and

<sup>123</sup> Domergue, op. cit. (n. 122, 1990), 182–9; this is also true of the mines at La Loba: J. M. Blázquez, C. Domergue and P. Sillières, *La Loba (Fuenteolejuna) Cordove, Espagne. La mine et le village minier antiques* (2000).

<sup>124</sup> M. Fernández Rodríguez and C. García Bueno, 'La minería de época republicana en Sierra Morena: El poblado de Valderrepisa (Fuencaliente, Ciudad Real)', *MCV* 29 (1) (1993), 25–50: it has been suggested that its management may have been in the hands of a *societas* — possibly the *socii sisaponensis* or the *societas castulonensis*.

<sup>125</sup> F. Arasa i Gil, *La romanització a les comarques septentrionals del litoral valencià. Poblament i importacions itàliques en els segles II–I aC* (2001); for the region further south see H. Bonet Rosado and C. Mata Parreño, 'El final del mundo ibérico en torno a Valentia', in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 58), 233–44.

<sup>126</sup> J. M. Carreté, S. Keay and M. Millett, *A Roman*

*Provincial Capital and its Hinterland. The Survey of the Territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985–1990*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 15 (1995).

<sup>127</sup> O. Olesti, 'Integració i transformació de les comunitats ibèriques del maresme durant el s. II–I aC: un model de romanització per a la Catalunya litoral i prelitoral', *Empúries* 52 (2000), 55–86; Olesti i Vila, op. cit. (n. 101).

<sup>128</sup> Pera, op. cit. (n. 101, 1997), 229–36.

<sup>129</sup> One of the few excavated examples is J. Casas i Genover, *L'Olivet d'en Pujol I Els Tolegassos* (1989).

<sup>130</sup> See the recent work of T. Chapa Brunet and V. Mayoral Herrera, 'Explotación económica y fronteras políticas: diferencias entre el modelo ibérico y el romano en el límite entre la Alta Andalucía y el sureste', *AEA* 71 (1998), 63–77; V. Mayoral Herrera, 'El habitat ibérico tardío de Castellones de Ceal: organización del espacio y estructura socio-económica', *Complutum* 7 (1996), 225–46.

Dressel 1 amphorae manufactured in the hinterland of Gades (Gadir)<sup>131</sup> suggests that, as in coastal Citerior, production of wine and other commodities may have remained in the hands of local élites until comparatively late. In the course of the first century B.C., however, some parts of the upper Guadalquivir valley and the Portuguese Alto Alentejo saw the appearance of a pattern of rural exploitation based upon small tower enclosures and fortlets.<sup>132</sup>

Against this background, new archaeological evidence for trade has emphasized that from the later second century B.C. onwards the import of Italic wine and Black Gloss pottery was particularly intense along the Mediterranean coast of Hispania Citerior, at key Roman centres like Emporiae, Tarraco, and Carthago Nova, but also a range of indigenous centres.<sup>133</sup> The pottery is also known in some quantity from sites along the Atlantic coast of south-west Portugal.<sup>134</sup> Little is known about commodities that might have been traded in return. However, one of the most important products of the Hispaniae was silver from the mines around Carthago Nova. The lead that was an important by-product of this was exported as ingots stamped with the names of Italian businessmen and *societates* based in the city from the later second century B.C. onwards.<sup>135</sup> Evidence for trade from Ulterior is less abundant, and this is an area where future research needs to be done. It does seem, though, that, apart from major centres like Corduba<sup>136</sup> and Gades which had close and regular links with Italy, trade with the Roman Mediterranean was less intense here than along the Mediterranean coast.

#### SOCIETIES IN TRANSITION

One of the more exciting recent developments has been the breakdown of postivist views that suggested that Rome rapidly obliterated all trace of earlier cultural traditions in Iberia during the Republic and sustained the idea of bi-polar oppositions between Romans and Iberians, Celtiberians and other indigenous peoples.<sup>137</sup> This has been underwritten by a number of conferences that have focused attention upon the epigraphic, linguistic,<sup>138</sup> and archaeological<sup>139</sup> evidence for the cultural interface between Roman and indigenous societies, as well as on the persistence of Punic and Greek influence well into the Roman republican period and beyond.

<sup>131</sup> E. García Vargas, 'La producción anfórica en la bahía de Cádiz durante la República como índice de romanización', *Habis* 27 (1996), 471–8; idem, 'La producción de ánforas "romanas" en el sur de Hispania. República y alto imperio', in E. García Vargas and D. Bernal Casasola (eds), *Congreso Internacional. Ex Baetica Amphorae. Conservas, aceite y vino de la Bética en el imperio Romano. Sevilla-Écija, 17 al 20 de diciembre de 1998* (2001), Vol. I, 57–174. More generally, see J. M. Pérez Rivera, 'Las imitaciones de ánforas grecoitalicas e itálicas en el sur de la península ibérica', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit., 227–38.

<sup>132</sup> P. Moret, 'Fortins, "Tours d'Hannibal" et fermes fortifiées dans le monde ibérique', *MCV* 26 (1) (1990), 5–24; R. Mataloto, 'Fortins e recintos-torre do Alto Alentejo: antecâmara da "romanização" dos campos', *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 5 (1) (2002), 161–221.

<sup>133</sup> See, for example, J. Molina Vidal, *La dinámica comercial romana entre Italia e Hispania Citerior* (1997); Díaz, op. cit. (n. 86), 201–60.

<sup>134</sup> An area beyond the core area of Hispania Ulterior: A. M. Arruda and R. Roberto de Almeida, 'As importações de vinho itálico para o território actualmente português', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 307–37.

<sup>135</sup> Discussed in detail by Domergue, op. cit. (n. 122, 1990), 253–77 and summarized in Tableau X.

<sup>136</sup> supra n. 86.

<sup>137</sup> For example, S. Keay, 'The Romanization of Turdetania', *OJA* 11 (1992), 275–315, and M. Downs, 'Refiguring colonial categories on the Roman frontier in southern Spain', in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformation, and Failures*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 38 (2000), 197–210, argue for a strong degree of indigenous continuity during the Republican period in Ulterior; the range and richness of the evidence available is reviewed by M. Blech, 'Archäologische Quellen zu den Anfängen der Romanisierung', Trillmich, Hauschild, Blech, Niemeier, Nünnerich-Asmus and Kreilinger, op. cit. (n. 26), 71–110.

<sup>138</sup> J. Untermann and F. Villar (eds), *Lengua y cultura en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica* (1993); F. Beltrán Lloris (ed.), *Roma y el nacimiento de la cultura epigráfica en occidente* (1995); F. Villar and F. Beltrán (eds), *Pueblos, lenguas y escrituras en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del VII Coloquio sobre lengua y culturas palaeohispánicas* (1997); F. Villar and Ma. Pilar Fernández Álvarez (eds), *Religión, lengua y cultura prerromanas de Hispania* (2001).

<sup>139</sup> Collected papers in *Empúries* 52 (2000); see also Mayer, Nolla and Pardo, op. cit. (n. 26); AAVV, *Asentamientos ibéricos ante la romanización* (1988) is still useful although somewhat dated.

While new research has shown that centres like Emporiae, Tarraco, Carthago Nova, and Corduba were probably towns in the Roman sense by the later second century B.C., only a few indigenous communities in Iberia began to embrace a Roman urban-based way of life prior to the mid- to later first century B.C. Private residences, baths, and temples whose layout was inspired by Italic proto-types begin to appear in eastern Citerior in the course of the first century B.C.,<sup>140</sup> and reflect a conscious choice by local élites. However, it seems likely that this was more a piecemeal adoption of aspects of Italic or Hellenistic culture, than anything more profound.

Prior to the mid- to later first century B.C., Latin stone inscriptions were rare, and were primarily restricted to the principal centres of Roman power in eastern Citerior, like Emporiae, Tarraco, and Carthago Nova, or indigenous centres with long-established links to Rome, like Saguntum. In Ulterior they were largely absent until the middle of the first century B.C.<sup>141</sup> Most of these inscriptions were official texts produced by provincial governors and associated with civil administration, colonization, or roads, although the names of individuals sometimes appear on *opus signinum* floors.<sup>142</sup> Since the epitaphs and honorific texts that are so characteristic of early imperial epigraphic repertoires are largely absent in the Republic, surviving texts tend to tell us little about society in the Roman towns of Citerior. One side effect of the spread of Latin in official contexts was the spread of texts in Iberian script in eastern Citerior and many parts of Ulterior, occasionally in Roman centres like Emporiae and Tarraco, where they appear on stone plaques, funerary stelae, and even on buildings, but more frequently at indigenous centres like Saguntum, and particularly amongst the Celtiberian communities of the middle Ebro valley where they are expressed in the Celtiberian language.<sup>143</sup> At La Caridad de Caminreal Iberian was used to express individual identity in houses whose layout was influenced by Italic architectural traditions in a region where 'celtic' and earlier cultural traditions persisted down into the first century B.C. (Fig. 2).<sup>144</sup> Similarly, recent research has suggested that the *tesserae hospitales*<sup>145</sup> in Celtiberian script do not embody the survival of a pre-Roman social practice; they post-date the Roman conquest of the region and represent the adoption of the Roman practice of *hospitalitas* by indigenous urban communities and other social groups during the republican period.<sup>146</sup> In the non-Mediterranean areas of central and western Iberia, Latin inscriptions were almost completely absent until the end of the first century B.C.<sup>147</sup>

Attitudes to the afterlife and religion in general also reflect a gradual absorption of ideas mediated through the major Roman centres in Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, and interpreted in the context of continuing indigenous traditions. Aside from several isolated monumental tombs decorated with Italic-inspired sculptures,<sup>148</sup> our knowledge of Roman burial practice in republican Citerior was virtually nil until the recent excavations at one of the cemeteries of republican Valentia in the Calle Quart.<sup>149</sup> Its first phase dated to the later second century B.C. and yielded a number of inhumations whose

<sup>140</sup> supra n. 105.

<sup>141</sup> See Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 138), particularly papers by Mayer (97–119) and Abascal (139–49); also useful are A. Stylow, 'The beginnings of Latin epigraphy in Baetica: the case of the funerary inscriptions', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 109–21; and J. Untermann, 'Die vorrömischen Sprachen Hispaniens in römischer Zeit', in Trillmich, Hauschild, Blech, Niemeyer, Nünnerich-Asmus and Kreilinger, op. cit. (n. 26), 111–19.

<sup>142</sup> J. Gómez Pallarès, *Edición y comentario de las inscripciones sobre mosaico de Hispania. Inscripciones no cristianas* (1997).

<sup>143</sup> See Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 138), particularly papers by De Hoz (57–84), Beltrán Lloris (169–95), Untermann (197–208), and Velaza (209–18); J. Velaza, 'Nueva hipótesis sobre la inscripción ibérica del teatro de Sagunto', *Saguntum* 32 (2000), 131–4; M. Mayer and J. Velaza, 'Epigrafía ibérica sobre soportes típicamente romanos', in Untermann and Villar, op. cit. (n. 138), 667–82; J. Guitart Duran, J. Pera, M. Mayer i Olivé and J. Velaza, 'Noticia

preliminar sobre una inscripción ibérica de Guissona (Lleida)', in F. Villar and J. d'Encarnação (eds), *La Hispania prerromana. Vol. VI* (1996), 163–70.

<sup>144</sup> Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 106), 141–3.

<sup>145</sup> J. Untermann, 'Comentarios sobre inscripciones celtibéricas menores', in F. Villar (ed.), *Studia Indogermanica et Palaeohispanica in honorem A. Tovar et L. Michelena* (1990).

<sup>146</sup> F. Beltrán Lloris, 'La escritura en la frontera. Inscripciones y cultura epigráfica en el valle del Ebro', in Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 138), 169–95.

<sup>147</sup> Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 138), papers by Salinas de Frías (281–92) and Abásolo and Marco (327–59).

<sup>148</sup> For example, I. Rodá, 'Escultura republicana en la Tarraconense: el monumento funerario de Malla', in T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Actas de la I reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania* (1993), 207–15.

<sup>149</sup> E. García Prosper and P. Guérin, 'Nuevas aportaciones en torno a la necrópolis romana de la Calle Quart de Valencia (s. II a.C.–IV d.C.)', in D. Vaquerizo Gil (ed.), *Espacios y usos funerarios en el Occidente Romano. I* (2002), 203–16.

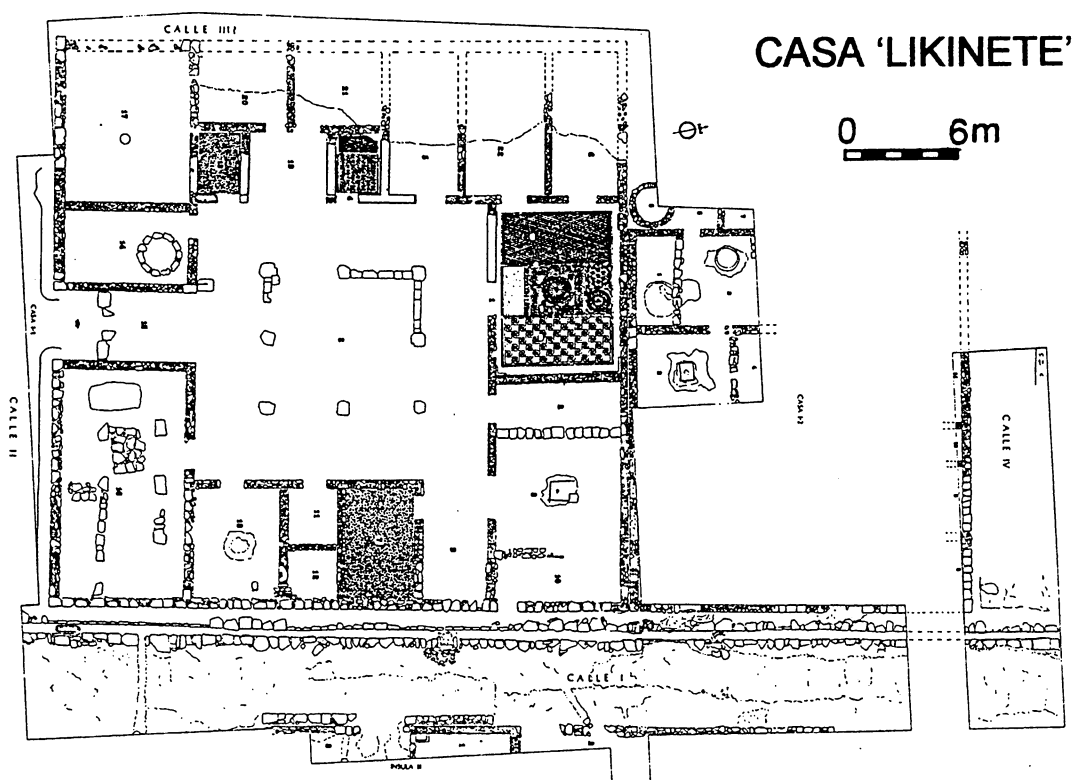


FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE 'CASA DE LIKINETE' AT LA CARIDAD DE CAMINREAL.

burial rite invites close comparison with contemporary cemeteries in Italy, while its second phase saw the introduction of cremations in the Iberian style. Excavations have highlighted the gradual disappearance of many Iberian cemeteries from the end of the third century B.C. onwards, though in some areas, such as north-eastern Citerior, the nature of the burial rites was such as to make them virtually invisible.<sup>150</sup> In the middle Ebro valley, Celtiberian cemeteries continued in use down into the second century, and in some cases the first century B.C.,<sup>151</sup> while inscribed warrior stelae point to the persistence of deep-seated indigenous traditions. In Ulterior, burial rites in the Guadalquivir valley are largely unknown until the first century B.C.,<sup>152</sup> at which time élites began to build monumental tombs that betray Italic artistic influence.<sup>153</sup> Some of these were tower-shaped and decorated with stone lions, while others were sculptures representing *venationes*, Roman soldiers, or sacrificial scenes. From the middle of the first century B.C. onwards stone funerary portraits of standing or seated individuals make an appearance.<sup>154</sup>

In so far as religious architecture has some bearing upon religious practice, the later second and first centuries B.C. also saw significant changes in religious belief. Amongst the earliest examples of Roman religious practice is the capitolium at Saguntum, which was built in the course of the second century B.C.; the indigenous cult complex at La

<sup>150</sup> See some of the papers in J. Blázquez Pérez and V. A. del Val (eds), *Congreso de Arqueología Ibérica. Las Necrópolis. Serie Varia I* (1992).

<sup>151</sup> Burillo Mozota, *op. cit.* (n. 68), esp. 13–202.

<sup>152</sup> See, however, comments by A. Jiménez Díez, 'Necrópolis de época republicana en el mediodía peninsular: "romanización" y sentimientos de identidad étnica', in Vaquerizo Gil, *op. cit.* (n. 149), 217–32.

<sup>153</sup> Rodá, *op. cit.* (n. 148); Beltrán Lloris, *op. cit.* (n. 106), 139–40.

<sup>154</sup> J. Beltrán Fortes, 'La arquitectura funeraria en la Hispania meridional durante los siglos II a. C.–I d.C.', in Vaquerizo Gil, *op. cit.* (n. 149), 233–58; P. León, 'Ornamentación escultórica y monumentalización en las ciudades de la Bética', in Trillmich and Zanker, *op. cit.* (n. 95), 367–80.

Encarnación de Caravaca (Murcia),<sup>155</sup> whose temples were laid out and decorated in a similar manner to sanctuaries in Italy; and the sanctuary of La Luz (Murcia).<sup>156</sup> Surviving evidence from the Roman towns of Emporiae,<sup>157</sup> Carthago Nova, and Carteia is later, while amongst Iberian communities in general Italic-style temples first appear in the course of the first century B.C.<sup>158</sup> Although it seems easy to 'read' Italic influence overlying indigenous traditions in many sanctuaries, the complex interplay of Iberian, Punic, and Roman influences identified in the first-century B.C. 'Iberian' sanctuary at Torreparedones (Córdoba) should caution us from doing so.<sup>159</sup>

### THE EARLY EMPIRE (Fig. 3)

#### REORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCES

The conclusion of the Cantabrian wars (28–19 B.C.) marked the final chapter of Rome's conquest of Iberia. They were followed by an extensive administrative reorganization<sup>160</sup> that involved splitting Hispania Ulterior into two new provinces — Hispania Baetica, centred on Corduba, and Hispania Lusitania, centred on Augusta Emerita (Mérida), possibly between 16 and 13 B.C.<sup>161</sup> The latter originally extended up to and included the recently conquered lands of the Gallaeci, Astures, and Cantabri in north-western Spain, although these were assigned to Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis in 13 B.C. The recently discovered edict of Augustus from Bembibre (El Bierzo, León), dating to 15 B.C., suggests that the process of reorganization may have been more complex. It records that Augustus created a *provincia transduriana* under the command of L. Sestius Quirinalis in 22 B.C., which may either have been a new province in Asturia and Gallaecia that was suppressed some time after 15 B.C., or a temporary command assigned to a legate.<sup>162</sup> A bronze *tabula hospitalitatis*, the Tabula Lougeiorum, records the existence of a *conventus Arae Augustae*, suggesting that some kind of *conventus* system existed by A.D. 1. This was later reorganized to focus upon Asturica Augusta (Astorga), Bracara Augusta (Braga), and Lucus Augusti (Lugo), towns which may not have come into existence until some time prior to the later first century A.D.<sup>163</sup> In terms of the infrastructure of the imperial provinces of Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania

<sup>155</sup> S. Ramallo Asensio, 'Un santuario de época tardo-republicana en la Encarnación, Caravaca, Murcia', in Ramallo, op. cit. (n. 89), 39–66; idem, 'Terracotas arquitectónicas del santuario de La Encarnación (Caravaca de la Cruz, Murcia)', *AEA* 66 (1993), 71–86.

<sup>156</sup> P. Lillo Carpio, 'Notas sobre el templo del santuario de la Luz (Murcia)', *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 9–10 (1993–1994), 155–74.

<sup>157</sup> supra n. 93ff.

<sup>158</sup> M. Almagro Gorbea and T. Moneo, *Santuarios urbanos en el mundo ibérico* (2000) is a good introduction to this subject; more specifically, see A. Nünnerich-Asmus, *Heiligtümer und Romanisierung auf der iberischen Halbinsel. Überlegungen zu Religion und kultureller Identität* (1999), who provides an interesting study of the transformation of temple-based religious ritual amongst the Iberians down to the end of the Republic.

<sup>159</sup> B. Cunliffe and M. C. Fernández Castro, *The Guadajoz Project. Andalucía in the First Millennium BC. Volume 1. Torreparedones and its Hinterland* (1999), 445–53. For the question of Punic influence in southern Spain persisting into the early imperial period, see J. L. López Castro, *Hispania Poena. Los Fenicios en la Hispania romana* (1995).

<sup>160</sup> Alföldy, op. cit. (n. 26), provides a synthesis of the historical and epigraphic evidence.

<sup>161</sup> J. S. Richardson, 'Conquest and colonies in Lusitania in the late Republic and early Empire', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 53–61.

<sup>162</sup> G. Alföldy, 'Das neue Edikt des Augustus aus El Bierzo in Hispanien', *ZPE* 131 (2000), 177–205; this aspect of the document is discussed in more detail by M. Salinas de Frías, 'Dión Casio, la Transduriana provincia y la evolución del ordenamiento augústeo de Hispania', in L. G. Lobo and J. L. Hoyas (eds), *El bronce de Bembibre. Un edicto del emperador Augusto del año 15 a.C.* (2001), 135–44; R. López Melero, 'Restitutere y contributio(?) en la tábula de El Bierzo', *ZPE* 138 (2002), 185–233 also has points to make about the implications of the document for our understanding of Rome's relations with indigenous peoples in the region. By contrast, P. Le Roux, 'L'Édictum de Paemeiobrigensibus. Un document fabriqué?' *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 4 (2001), 331–63, raises doubts about the authenticity of the document; see also the measured discussion by J. S. Richardson, 'Two new Augustan edicts from north-west Spain', *JRA* 15 (2002), 411–15.

<sup>163</sup> Ma. Dolores Dopico Caínzos, *La Tabula Lougeiorum. Estudios sobre la implantación romana en Hispania* (1988); A. Rodríguez Colmenero, 'La nueva Tabula Hospitalitatis de la Civitas Lougeiorum. Problemática y contexto histórico', *ZPE* 117 (1997), 213–26.

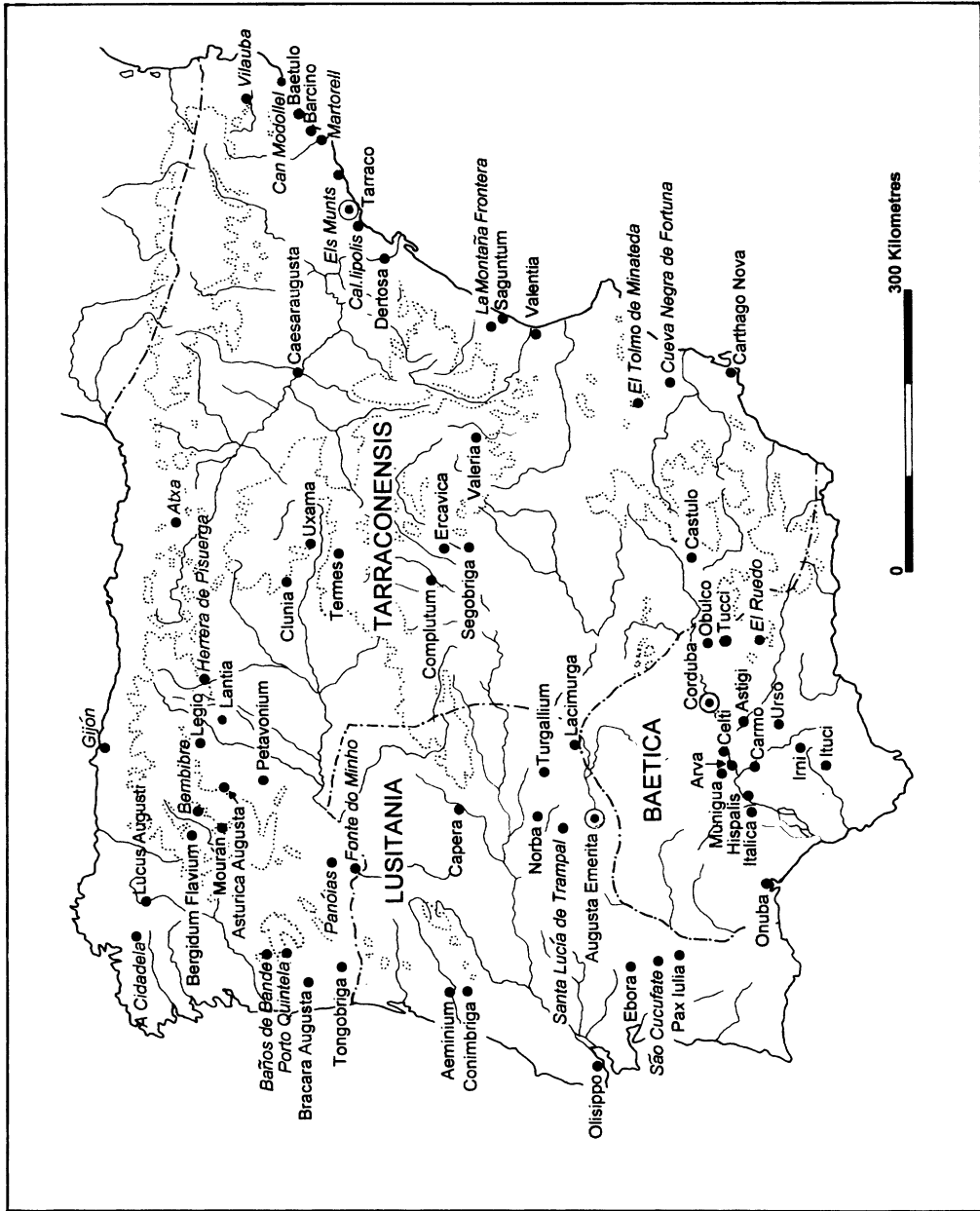


FIG. 3. MAP OF IBERIA UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE, SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.

themselves, recent epigraphic and historical studies have stressed the importance of Agrippa's personal intervention.<sup>164</sup>

Little is known about the location of military sites that played a part in the Cantabrian wars. However, recent work has done much to clarify the sequence of military occupation across the region between the late first century B.C. and the late first century A.D. Four legionary fortresses of Augustan and Julio-Claudian date have been identified, sited on the southern side of the Cordillera Cantábrica and the Montes de León. They were located on key north-south axes of communication as part of a long-term strategy to ensure the security of the recently conquered area. By the Flavian period, however, the only remaining legion was Legion VII based at Legio (León). The earliest fortress was at Herrera de Pisuerga, which was occupied by IIII Macedonica between c. 20/15 B.C. and c. A.D. 39/40, when the legion was replaced by the Ala Parthorum.<sup>165</sup> The probable base at Asturica Augusta was slightly later; recent excavations have found traces of a military ditch pre-dating the early first century A.D. which may have belonged to a fortress of Legion X Gemina, which preceded the establishment of the town of Asturica Augusta.<sup>166</sup> The camp at Petavonium (Sansueña, Rosinos de Vidriales) was probably contemporary to that at Asturica Augusta and probably housed Legion X Gemina until its withdrawal to Carnuntum in A.D. 62/63.<sup>167</sup> The site was then occupied by a smaller fort that probably housed the Ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium Romanorum between the late Flavian period and the early second century A.D.<sup>168</sup> Finally, excavations at León, which have revealed evidence for pre-Flavian occupation, suggest that Legion VI Adiutrix may have been stationed there until it was transferred out of Tarraconensis in A.D. 68 and replaced by Legion VII Gemina in the Flavian period.<sup>169</sup> It has also been suggested that Legion VI Adiutrix may have been stationed on the site of the future town of Lucus Augusti during the Cantabrian wars.<sup>170</sup>

Other known military sites were all associated with auxiliary units. The camp at Porto Quintela (Orense), adjacent to the *mansio* of Aquae Querquennae, was occupied by an unknown unit between the late first and mid-second centuries A.D., while that at A Cidadela (Sobrado dos Monxes) housed Cohort I Celtiberorum from the second to the fourth century A.D.; these bases relate to the maintenance of security in the north-west. Elsewhere, I Gallica may have been stationed at Baños de Bande, 30 km to the north of Aquae Querquennae, later at Vila d'Aguilar, and in the gold mining area of the Duerna valley during the later second century A.D.<sup>171</sup> There are additional sites, such as

<sup>164</sup> I. Rodá, 'El papel de Agripa en la trama de la Hispania Augusta', in A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los orígenes de la ciudad en el noroeste hispánico. Actas del Congreso Internacional* (1998), 275-93; J. M. Roddaz, 'Agripa y la península ibérica', *Anas* 6 (1993), 111-26.

<sup>165</sup> A. Morillo Cerdán, 'Los campamentos romanos de la Meseta Norte y el Noroeste: ¿un limes sin frontera?', in C. Fernández Ochoa (ed.), *Los finisterres atlánticos en la antigüedad. Época prerromana y romana (Coloquio internacional)* (1996), 77-83; C. Pérez González, 'Asentamientos militares en Herrera de Pisuerga', in Fernández Ochoa, op. cit., 91-102.

<sup>166</sup> Ma. González Fernández, 'Las defensas campamentales de Asturica Augusta. Avance a su estudio', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1019-38; M. Luz González Fernández, 'De campamento a civitas. La primera fortificación urbana de Asturica Augusta (Astorga, León)', *Numantia* 7 (1999), 95-115.

<sup>167</sup> Morillo Cerdán, op. cit. (n. 165); see also, P. Le Roux, 'Armées et promotion urbaine en Hispanie sous l'Empire', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 193-208. The neighbouring site of Castrocalbón was probably a training camp for X Gemina: Morillo Cerdán, op. cit. (n. 78); F. J. Sánchez-Palencia Ramos, 'El campamento romano de Valdemeda, Manzana (León): ocupación militar y explotación aurífera en el NW peninsular', *Numantia* 2 (1996),

227-34, suggests that a vexillation of X Gemina was stationed at the camp of Valdemeda (León) from the mid- to late first century A.D.

<sup>168</sup> M. V. Romero Carnicero and S. Carretero Vaquero, 'Los campamentos y la ciudad de Petavonium', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1077-108.

<sup>169</sup> Morillo Cerdán, op. cit. (n. 78); J. Vidal and V. Marcos, 'Novedades sobre el origen del asentamiento romano de León y de la Legio VII Gemina', in Fernández Ochoa, op. cit. (n. 165), 147-55.

<sup>170</sup> The very tenuous evidence is summarized by E. González Fernández and M. C. Carreño Gascón, 'La capital del extremo noroeste hispánico: Lucus Augusti y su tejido urbano a la luz de las últimas intervenciones arqueológicas', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1171-208. Additional work on the location and role of XX, VI Victrix, X Gemina, VII Gemina and IIII Macedonica is to be found in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous la haute-empire*, Collection du Centre d'Études Romaines et Gallo-Romaines. Nouvelle série 20 (2000), in papers by J. Gómez Pantoja (105-18; 169-91), P. Le Roux (383-96), S. Perea Yébenes (555-80), A. Morillo Cerdán and V. García Marcos (589-608), and A. Morillo Cerdán (609-24).

<sup>171</sup> P. Le Roux, 'Armées et promotion urbaine en Hispanie sous l'Empire', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 193-208.

Atxa (Álava), for which a military base has been claimed,<sup>172</sup> and a number of units about whose bases little is known.<sup>173</sup> The only sites where there are significant structural remains are Cidadela, where the *principia* and *praetorium* have been identified, Porto Quintela, where barracks, a *horreum* and the *praetorium* have been found, and Sansueña, where part of the defences and barracks of the camp of Ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium Romanorum have been identified.<sup>174</sup> There is also growing evidence for extramural civil settlements at Legio, Sansueña, and Herrera de Pisuerga.<sup>175</sup> In addition, the distribution of *termini augustales*, marking the boundaries between early first-century A.D. legionary *prata* and urban territories, has been reassessed.<sup>176</sup>

The location of military units described above makes it clear that for much of the Julio-Claudian period the army was an occupying force dedicated to consolidating Roman control over the Astures, Callaeci, and Cantabri. It also played a key role in developing the administrative infrastructure of Hispania Tarraconensis after the conclusion of the Cantabrian wars, with Legions IIII Macedonica, VI Adiutrix, and X Gemina involved in the foundation of the *colonia* of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) in 19 B.C.<sup>177</sup> Legionary detachments were involved in developing the road system, as is shown by an inscription recording the presence of vexillations of IIII Macedonica and VI Adiutrix on the Roman bridge that carried the Via Augusta over the Llobregat at Ad Fines (Martorell) near the Augustan *colonia* at Barcino (Barcelona) in eastern Spain between 15 and 5 B.C.<sup>178</sup> Detachments were also in some way involved in gold mining to the south-east of the future site of Augusta Emerita (Mérida) after 19 B.C.<sup>179</sup> Detachments of Legion VII Gemina are known from Tarraco, and other provincial capitals, where they had a significant social impact.<sup>180</sup> There is also archaeological evidence for the activity of military units in central Tarraconensis, and to a lesser extent Baetica, with the discovery of military diplomata,<sup>181</sup> belt buckles and other equipment,

<sup>172</sup> Lying outside the north-west and to the north of the Ebro: E. Gil Zubillaga, *Atxa. Poblado indígena campamento militar romano. Memorias de yacimientos Alaveses* (1995): this is dated to between the Flavian period and the early second century A.D. – but the evidence for military association is weak.

<sup>173</sup> Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 171), 198, mentions the Ala Antistiana, Ala Augusta II Gallorum, Ala Parthica, and the Ala Tauriorum.

<sup>174</sup> A. Rodríguez Colmenero, S. Ferrer Sierra and F. M. Hervas Raigoso, 'El complejo arqueológico romano de "Aquis Querquennis"'. Porto Quintela (Ourense)', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 891–910; J. M. Caamaño Gesto, 'El urbanismo del campamento romano de Cidadela', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1253–63.

<sup>175</sup> Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 171), 199–200; S. Carretero Vaquero, 'Petavonium: un núcleo civil surgido al abrigo del ejército', in L. Tavares Dias and J. M. Araújo (eds), *Actas da mesa redonda. Emergência e desenvolvimento das cidades romanas no norte da península ibérica* (2000), 157–70.

<sup>176</sup> J. M. Abascal, 'Programas epigráficos augusteos en Hispania', *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 7 (1996), 45–82; Apéndice (71–4); see also B. Campbell, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary* (2000), 456–7; some degree of military involvement may lie behind the erection of boundary markers between the Augustan *coloniae* of Barcino and Baetulo in eastern Tarraconensis: M. Mayer and I. Rodá, 'Darreres

troballes i estat actual de la recerca epigràfica a Catalunya', *Tribuna d'Arqueologia 1998–1999* (2002), 277–85, esp. 279–80.

<sup>177</sup> See A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. I. From the Death of Caesar to Vitellius (44 BC to AD 69)* (1992), 117 and 121; Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 171), 193–208, provides a general discussion of current evidence for the relationship between the army and urban foundation in the Hispaniae.

<sup>178</sup> Mayer and Rodá, op. cit. (n. 176), 279–80.

<sup>179</sup> Vexillations of IIII Macedonica and X Gemina: Ma. P. García-Bellido, 'Las torres-recinto y la explotación militar del plomo de Extremadura: los lingotes del pecio de Comacchio', *Anas* 7–8 (1994–1995), 187–218; see also idem, 'Lingots estampillés en Espagne avec des marques de legions et d'Agrippa', in Le Bohec, op. cit. (n. 170), 685–98.

<sup>180</sup> For example, P. Le Roux, 'Ejército y sociedad en la Tarraco romana', *Bulletí Arqueològic* 5 (1997–1998), 19–20.

<sup>181</sup> A. Balil, 'Il primo diploma militare romano scoperto in Spagna', *Epigraphica* 51 (1989), 254–5; C. González Román and P. A. Recio Veganzones, 'Diploma militar de Higuera de Calatrava en la provincia de Jaén (Baetica)', *Florentia Illiberitana* 3 (1992), 249–60; C. González Román, 'Diploma militar de Higuera de Calatrava en la provincia de Jaén (Baetica)', *Florentia Illiberitana* 4–5 (1993–1994), 241–73; F. Beltrán, 'Un diploma militar de Turiaso (Hispania Citerior)', *Chiron* 20 (1990), 261–74.



and coins countermarked with military symbols.<sup>182</sup> From the Flavian period onwards, and particularly in the second century A.D., however, the prime role of the army was to oversee gold extraction in Asturia and Gallaecia; this is borne out by the position of some of the units discussed above and epigraphic evidence for soldiers at the mines themselves.<sup>183</sup>

One key development in the reorganization of the provinces was the formalization of the road network. The provinces of Tarraconensis and Baetica have been best served with important new studies in recent years.<sup>184</sup> These have made important advances in clarifying the path and character of the Via Augusta both at the point where it crosses from Gallia Narbonensis into Hispania Tarraconensis,<sup>185</sup> and in its course across Baetica.<sup>186</sup> In addition, a study of the distribution of *miliaria* from Tarraconensis reflects the development of the road system in the north of the province, which was established from the reign of Augustus onwards.<sup>187</sup>

#### THE SPREAD OF ROMAN TOWNS

Roman towns are the most visible symbols of the Empire's success in dominating the peoples of the Hispaniae, representing a distinctive system of self-government and way of life. The period from the middle of the first century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D. marked their spread from the Mediterranean fringe of eastern and southern Spain, where they began to develop under the Republic, to parts of the Meseta of central Iberia and the Atlantic seaboard that had been heirs to very different political and social traditions.<sup>188</sup> This rich range of cultural contexts, combined with the abundance of epigraphic data and the high quality of the recent archaeological evidence, means that the towns of the Hispaniae have much to contribute to our understanding of towns in the rest of the Roman Empire.<sup>189</sup>

The discovery of new inscriptions,<sup>190</sup> the re-analysis of old texts, and a review of the historical evidence provided by writers such as Pliny<sup>191</sup> have generated a number of important new studies about the character and spread of the political status of

<sup>182</sup> J. Aurrecochea Fernández, 'Las guarniciones de cinturón y atalaje de tipología militar en la Hispania romana, a tenor de los bronceos hallados en la Meseta Sur', *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileñas* 10 (1995/1996), 49–99; E. Gil Zubillaga, 'Algunos elementos metálicos de equipo militar romano', *Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa* 17 (1990), 145–65; J. Aurrecochea Fernández, 'Acesorios metálicos de correas de cinturones militares altoimperiales hallados en Hispania', *AEA* 74 (2001), 291–302; Ma. P. García-Bellido, 'Los resellos militares en moneda como indicio de movimiento de tropas', in R. M. S. Centeno, Ma. P. García-Bellido and G. Mora (eds), *Rutas, ciudades y moneda en Hispania*, Anejos de AEspA 20 (1999), 27–37; A. Morillo Cerdán, 'Contramarcas militares en monedas de la Submeseta Norte. Unas consideraciones generales', in Centeno, García-Bellido and Mora, op. cit., 71–90.

<sup>183</sup> J. M. Roldán, 'Un factor de romanización de la España romana imperial: el ejército hispánico', in Blázquez and Alvar, op. cit. (n. 119); Domergue, op. cit. (n. 122, 1990), 179–200, 348–51 and Tableau XIX.

<sup>184</sup> For an overview, see A. Nünnerich-Asmus, op. cit. (n. 103), esp. 128ff.

<sup>185</sup> G. Castellví, J.-P. Comps, J. Kotarba and A. Pezin (eds), *Voies romaines du Rhône à l'Ebre: via Domitia et via Augusta*, Documents d'Archéologie Française 61 (1997). For the question of triumphal arches on roads see X. Dupré i Raventós, *L'arc romà de Berà* (1994).

<sup>186</sup> P. Sillières, *Les Voies de communication de l'His-*

*panie meridionale* (1990); the Baetica evidence is also discussed by R. Corzo Sánchez, *Las vías romanas de Andalucía* (1992).

<sup>187</sup> Lostal Pros, op. cit. (n. 29); see also M. A. Magallón, *Las vías romanas en Aragón* (1996).

<sup>188</sup> Usefully summarized by Abascal and Espinosa, op. cit. (n. 84); the varying density of Roman towns in the Hispaniae, conditioned by geography, Roman strategic needs, and cultural traditions, is discussed by S. Keay, 'Towns and cultural change in Iberia between Caesar and the Flavians', in L. Hernández Guerra, L. Sagredo San Eustaquio and J. Ma. Solana Sainz (eds), *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua. "La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años"* (2001), 103–18.

<sup>189</sup> Useful summary of some key issues by P. Le Roux, 'La ville romaine en Hispanie', in Tavares Dias and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 233–50; the richness of the archaeological and historical evidence is evident in the collected papers in J. Arce and P. Le Roux (eds), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania (siglos II y III d.C.)* (1993); J. González (ed.), *Ciudades privilegiadas en el occidente romano* (1999).

<sup>190</sup> supra n. 11.

<sup>191</sup> For example, F. Beltrán Lloris, 'Municipium C.R., "Oppidum C.R." y "Oppidum Latinum" en la NH de Plinio: Una revisión del problema desde la perspectiva hispana', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 247–68; see also M. Mayer, 'Plinio el viejo y las ciudades de la Baetica. Aproximación a un estado actual del problema', in J. González (ed.), *Estudios sobre Urso. Colonia Iulia Genetiva* (1989), 303–35.

individual communities that lies at the heart of the Roman concept of a town. The legal status of many towns has been the subject of study, particularly the Baetican centres of Italica,<sup>192</sup> Corduba,<sup>193</sup> Carmo,<sup>194</sup> and Siarum (Torre de Aguila).<sup>195</sup> The issue has also been approached from a regional perspective, further clarifying the extent of municipal status at towns in Baetica,<sup>196</sup> Tarraconensis,<sup>197</sup> and Lusitania under Caesar, Augustus, and the Flavians,<sup>198</sup> as well as focusing upon its implications.<sup>199</sup>

Other studies have drawn on epigraphic evidence to look at the functioning of Roman municipal institutions, particularly in Baetica,<sup>200</sup> where the colonial charter of Urso (Osuna)<sup>201</sup> and municipal charters from Irni (Los Baldíos) and Salpensa (El Casar) provide good evidence.<sup>202</sup>

The traditional academic focus of much archaeological research into Roman towns in Spain and Portugal has been particularly concerned with charting the development of the monumental centres of privileged towns between the Augustan period and the late first century A.D., often by analysing the architectural and artistic styles of individual buildings.<sup>203</sup> At the same time, the extensive re-development of modern urban centres, such as Seville, Barcelona, Cartagena, and Astorga, over the last fifteen years has begun to shift this traditional focus of attention towards other aspects of Roman urban life, such as housing and cemeteries.<sup>204</sup> Until publication catches up with the pace of development, however, our state of knowledge is still biased towards the monumental aspect of Roman towns.

<sup>192</sup> A. Fear, 'Italica: municipium civium romanorum', *Florentia Iliberritana* 3 (1992), 127–38; H. Galsterer, 'Die Stadt Italica: Status und Verwaltung', in León and Caballos, op. cit. (n. 87), 196–205.

<sup>193</sup> A. Stylow, 'Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba romana', in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 299–318; idem, 'De Corduba a Colonia Patricia. La fundación de la Corduba romana', in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), 77–85.

<sup>194</sup> A. Caballos, 'La paulatina integración de Carmo en la romanidad', in A. Caballos (ed.), *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Carmona. Carmona romana* (2001), 3–17.

<sup>195</sup> H. Galsterer, 'The Tabula Siarensis and Augustan municipalization in Baetica', in J. González and J. Arce (eds), *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis* (1988), 61–74.

<sup>196</sup> For Baetica, Fear, op. cit. (n. 32), 105–69; J. M. Roldán, 'Conquista y colonización en la Bética en época Republicana', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 27–41; A. Caballos, 'Testimonios recientes con referencia a municipios', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 175–210; H. Galsterer, 'Diritto e municipalizzazione nella Bética', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 211–21.

<sup>197</sup> J. M. Abascal, 'Derecho latino y municipalización en Levante y Cataluña', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 255–83; M. Salinas de Frias, 'Unidades organizativas indígenas y administración romana en el valle del Duero', in Ma. González and J. Santos (eds), *Las estructuras sociales indígenas del norte de la Península Ibérica. Revisiones de Historia Antigua I* (1994), 167–80; A. Tranoy, 'Communautés indigènes et promotion juridique dans le nord-ouest ibérique', in Arce and Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 27–35; M. Navarro Caballero and M. A. Magallón Botaya, 'Las ciudades del preprianeo occidental y central en época alto-imperial: sus habitantes y su status', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 61–86; J. Mangas, 'Derecho latino y municipalización en la Meseta superior', Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), stresses the broad spread of municipal status in the northern Meseta under the Flavians, although he makes the point that some communities did not receive it for specific reasons.

<sup>198</sup> P. Le Roux, 'Les villes de statut municipal en Lusitanie romaine', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 35–49;

idem, 'Droit latin et municipalisation en Lusitanie sous l'Empire', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 239–53.

<sup>199</sup> E. Ortiz de Urbina, 'Derecho latino y "municipalización virtual" en Hispania, Africa y Gallia', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 137–53; P. Guichard, 'Les effets des mesures flaviennes sur la hiérarchie existant entre les cités de la Péninsule Ibérique', in Arce and Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 67–84.

<sup>200</sup> See for example, J. F. Rodríguez Neila, 'Elecciones municipales en las comunidades romanas', in González Román, op. cit. (n. 31), 237–76; idem, 'Mecanismos burocráticos e instituciones municipales en Hispania', in Ortiz de Urbina and Santos, op. cit. (n. 84), 155–73; idem, 'Élites municipales y ejercicio del poder en la Bética romana', in J. F. Rodríguez Neila and F. J. Navarro Santana (eds), *Élites y promoción social en la Hispania romana* (1999), 25–102.

<sup>201</sup> M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes. Volume I*, BICS Supplement 64 (1996), 393–454; the context of the charter is discussed by several contributions in González, op. cit. (n. 191).

<sup>202</sup> J. González, *Bronces jurídicos romanos de Andalucía* (1990) provides an introduction to these. Further fragments continue to be found at different sites; A. Caballos, W. Eck and F. Fernández, *El Senado Consultum de Gneo Pisón Padre* (1996), 103–4, provide a more up to date list of the juridical documents from Baetica, including colonial charters and municipal charters of Irni, Malaca, Salpensa, Villo, Ostippo, Italica, Carruca, Iiturgicola, Occur and, Conobaria; see also A. Stylow, 'Entre edictum y lex. A propósito de una nueva ley municipal flavia del término de Écija', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 229–37; F. Beltrán Lloris, 'Inscripciones sobre bronce: jum razgo característico de la cultura epigráfica de las ciudades', *XI Congreso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (1990), 21–35, attempts to explain the frequency of bronze inscriptions in Iberica.

<sup>203</sup> This is the underlying emphasis of some contributions to Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95).

<sup>204</sup> The impact that this kind of development is having upon the contemporary city-scapes of Córdoba and Tarragona is analysed in Mar, Ruiz de Arbulo and Subias op. cit. (n. 1), 101–30, 131–54.

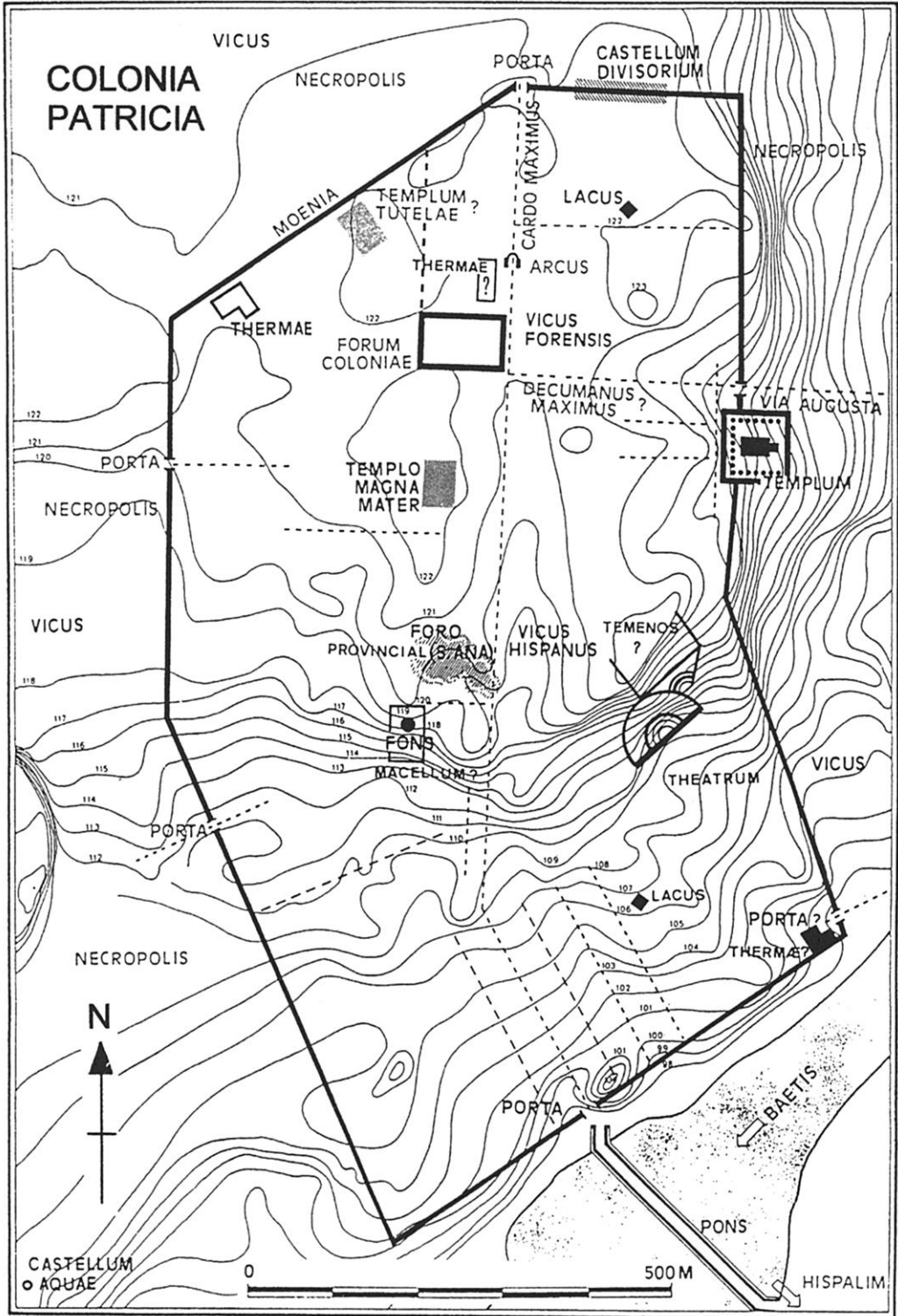


FIG. 4. PLAN OF CORDUBA.

*Baetica*

The urbanization of early Roman Baetica has been the subject of several syntheses that underline considerable variation in terms of the size, character, and history of individual towns, as well as ample evidence for the monumentalization of towns during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods.<sup>205</sup> Corduba, the capital of the province, has been the object of particularly intensive rescue work that has built upon earlier analyses of its ancient topography<sup>206</sup> (Fig. 4). It was reconstructed and walled in the later first century B.C. to enclose a gridded area of 76 ha.<sup>207</sup> The Augustan period saw the rebuilding of the forum in the northern part of the city (Iglesia de San Miguel), as well as work on the construction of the theatre in the south-eastern corner of the city, adjacent to which the amphitheatre may have been located. In the Claudian period, one major square and temple were built on a platform outside the eastern edge of the city, while another was built close to the centre (Calle Jesus María and Angel de Saavedra) under the Flavians. Both this site and the forum of the *colonia* were richly decorated with marble<sup>208</sup> and a number of statues of members of the Imperial House.<sup>209</sup> In addition, the discovery of statue pedestals dedicated to provincial *flamines* by the *concilium provinciae* suggests that the Flavian enclosure (*plaza de representación*) was formally dedicated to meetings and ceremonies associated with the provincial imperial cult — a feature of all three provincial capitals in Iberia.<sup>210</sup> Less is known about the rest of the town's infrastructure, although the location of baths and temples has been suggested on the basis of epigraphic finds and mosaics, while structural remains suggest that the intramural townscape was densely occupied.<sup>211</sup> Outside the walls, cemeteries have been discovered along roads leading west, north, and east.<sup>212</sup>

Despite considerable activity in recent years, rather less is known about the Baetican *coloniae*, except for Astigi (Écija) where elements of the street grid, part of the forum, and a suite of public baths at the centre of the town have been excavated,<sup>213</sup> and Hispalis (Seville) where broad elements of the topography are becoming clearer.<sup>214</sup>

Recent work at Italica has further emphasized the exceptional nature of this town. A geophysical survey of the site in 1991 transformed our understanding of the 'nova urbs', revealing the centrality of the 'Traianeum' in its layout, the existence of new

<sup>205</sup> P. León Alonso and P. Rodríguez Oliva, 'La ciudad hispanorromana en Andalucía', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 12–53; S. Keay, 'The development of towns in early Roman Baetica', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 56–86.

<sup>206</sup> A. Stylow, 'Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba romana', in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 299–318.

<sup>207</sup> For Corduba generally, see collected papers in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), and the syntheses provided by A. Ventura, P. León and C. Márquez, 'Roman Córdoba in the light of recent archaeological research', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 87–107, and P. León Alonso, 'Itinerario de monumentalización y cambio de imagen en colonia Patricia (Córdoba)', *AEA* 72 (1999), 39–56.

<sup>208</sup> See H. von Hesberg, 'La decorazione architettonica di Cordova — sulla funzione dell'ornamentazione architettonica in una città romana', in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), 155–74; C. Márquez, 'Modelos romanos en la arquitectura monumental de Colonia Patricia Corduba', *AEA* 71 (1998), 113–37.

<sup>209</sup> J. A. Garriguet, *La imagen del poder imperial en Hispania. Tipos estatuarios. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. España* (2001), 106–17.

<sup>210</sup> An important issue addressed by I. Rodá, 'Foros

y epigrafía: algunos ejemplos de Hispania Citerior', *Historia Antiqua* 5 (1999), 121–30, and W. Trillmich, "'Foro provincial" und "Foro municipal" in den Hauptstätten der drei hispanischen Provinzen: eine Fiktion', in Arce and Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 115–24; D. Fishwick, "'Provincial forum" and "municipal forum": fiction or fact?', *Anas* 7–8 (1994–1995), 169–86. For other towns, see J. L. Salvador, 'La multiplicación de plazas públicas en la ciudad hispanorromana', *Empúries* 51 (1998), 11–30.

<sup>211</sup> See for example M. F. Moreno González, 'Nuevas aportaciones al estudio del mosaico romano en Corduba Colonia Patricia', *AEA* 70 (1997), 101–24.

<sup>212</sup> Discussed in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 143–200.

<sup>213</sup> Most recently, A. Romo Salas, 'Las termas del foro de la Colonia Firma Astigi (Écija, Sevilla)', *Romula* 1 (2002), 151–74.

<sup>214</sup> Access to the Roman levels of Hispalis is made difficult by the overlying structures of the Almohad city: see for example J. M. Campos Carrasco, 'La estructura urbana de la Colonia Iulia Romula Hispalis en época imperial', *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 4 (1993), 181–219; M. A. Tabaes Rodríguez, 'Algunas aportaciones arqueológicas para el conocimiento urbano de Hispalis', *Habis* 32 (2001), 387–423.



FIG. 5. RESULTS OF THE GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY AT ITALICA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE BATHS-PALAESTRA AND LARGE DOMUS IN RELATION TO THE TRAIANEUM; THE LATE ANTIQUE WALL CAN BE SEEN AT BOTTOM LEFT.

public buildings, and that the 'Baths of the Reina Mora' were part of a large baths-gymnasium complex (Fig. 5).<sup>215</sup> Parallels for some of these buildings are to be found in Hadrianic buildings at Athens and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, adding fuel to the speculation that Hadrian played a key role in the transformation of this large new extension to his ancestral town.<sup>216</sup>

By contrast to these quintessentially Roman centres, more has been learned about those indigenous communities that transformed their townscapes between the mid- and later first century A.D. The classic example is Baelo (Bologna) in the *conventus gaditanus*, where many years of French excavation have clarified the chronology of the town's monumental development in the first century A.D.<sup>217</sup> The same is true of the Flavian complex at Munigua (Mulva), where recent work has concentrated upon the forum area

<sup>215</sup> J. M. Rodríguez Hidalgo, S. Keay, D. Jordan and J. Creighton, 'La Itálica de Adriano. Resultados de las prospecciones arqueológicas de 1991 y 1993', *AEA* 72 (1999), 73–98; J. M. Rodríguez Hidalgo, 'La nueva imagen de la Itálica de Adriano', in León and Caballos, op. cit. (n. 87), 87–113; for 'Traianeum' see P. León Alonso, *Traianeum de Itálica* (1988).

<sup>216</sup> M. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000), 162–7; for other recent work

on Italica, see R. Corzo Sánchez, 'El teatro de Itálica', in S. Ramallo Asensio and F. Santiuste de Pablos (eds), *Teatros romanos de Hispania*, Cuadernos de arquitectura romana 2 (1993), 157–72; J. M. Rodríguez Hidalgo, 'Dos ejemplos domésticos en Traianópolis (Itálica): Las casas de los Pájaros y de la Exedra', in Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 106), 291–302.

<sup>217</sup> Beautifully synthesized in P. Sillières, *Baelo Claudia. Una ciudad romana de la Bética* (1997).

and houses,<sup>218</sup> and Celti (Peñaflor),<sup>219</sup> where a major public building of mid- to later first-century A.D. date was replaced by a large *domus* in the late second/early third century A.D. For many towns such as Gades, Onuba (Huelva), Carmo, Arva (Peña de la Sal), Obulco (Porcuna), and Singili Barba (El Castellón), however, our knowledge is still frustratingly fragmented, despite much good recent work,<sup>220</sup> with the result that it is difficult to understand the character of transformation into the early imperial period with any degree of precision.<sup>221</sup> One exception is Carteia, where excavations have revealed a strong degree of continuity between the Punic, Roman republican and early imperial towns.<sup>222</sup>

### Tarraconensis

The large area encompassed by this province means that syntheses of the archaeological evidence have been highly regionalized, and it is difficult to draw comparisons.<sup>223</sup> Moreover, the intensity of work has also been uneven, with more work in the vicinity of the major industrial centres of eastern and northern Spain, and less in the more rural areas of the centre. Nevertheless, recent work is revealing a high degree of continuity in the occupation of indigenous settlements from the republican into the early imperial period. Marked contrasts are apparent between the 'Roman' urban forms that predominated on the east coast and those of the lower Ebro valley, the south-east, central and north-west parts of the province. Such differences seem symptomatic of the way that provincial communities of differing cultural origins reacted to incorporation into the structured political and social hierarchies of the Roman Empire.<sup>224</sup>

One of the most intensively studied towns of recent years has been Tarraco, the provincial capital.<sup>225</sup> Excavations have revealed that the 70-ha town, which was the residence of Augustus in 26–25 B.C., underwent an important phase of development during his reign. This was focused upon the reconstruction of a large rectangular

<sup>218</sup> T. Hauschild, 'Munigua. Excavaciones en el muro de contención del foro 1985', *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 1989. II. Actividades sistemáticas* (1991), 171–84; T. Hauschild and E. Hausman, 'Casas romanas en Munigua', in Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 106), 329–36; T. Hauschild, 'Los templos romanos de Munigua (Sevilla)', in Ramallo, op. cit. (n. 89), 133–43.

<sup>219</sup> S. Keay, J. Creighton and J. Remesal Rodríguez, *Celti (Peñaflor): La arqueología de una Ciudad Hispanorromana en la Bética. Prospecciones y Excavaciones 1987–1992* (2001).

<sup>220</sup> Summarized with bibliography in Keay, op. cit. (n. 205), and León Alonso and Rodríguez Oliva, op. cit. (n. 205).

<sup>221</sup> M. Downs, 'Refiguring colonial categories on the Roman frontier in southern Spain', in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformation, and Failures*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 38 (2000), 197–210, is surely right when she concludes that transformation of the urban topography of most indigenous towns in Baetica is comparatively late — a point also made by Keay, op. cit. (n. 205), 74ff.

<sup>222</sup> L. Roldán Gómez, *Técnicas constructivas romanas en Carteia (San Roque, Cádiz)* (1992); Roldán Gómez, Bendala Galán, Blánquez Pérez and Martínez Lillo, op. cit. (n. 85).

<sup>223</sup> Syntheses of the towns of Tarraconensis are included in the following works: (a) North and west Tarraconensis: Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164); Tavares Dias and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 189); Fernández Ochoa, op. cit. (n. 165); Ma. A. Mezquiriz Irujo, 'Claves del urbanismo romano en el territorio de Navarra', *Complutum Extra* 6 (1) (1996), 441–9;

J. Abásolo, 'La ciudad hispanorromana en la submeseta norte', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 190–207. (b) Central Tarraconensis: M. Almagro Gorbea (ed.), *Ciudades romanas en la provincia de Cuenca. Homenaje a Francisco Suay Martínez* (1997); G. Alföldy, 'Aspectos de la vida urbana en las ciudades de la Meseta Sur', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 467–85; M. Martín Bueno, 'La ciudad hispanorromana en el valle del Ebro', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 108–27; M. Beltrán Lloris, 'El valle medio del Ebro y su monumentalización en época republicana y augustea (antecedentes, Lepida-Celsa y Caesaraugusta)', in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 179–206; A. Fuentes Domínguez, 'Las ciudades romanas de la Meseta Sur', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 160–89; M. Martín Bueno, 'Roma. Alto Imperio', *Caesaraugusta* 72–II (1997), 95–169. (c) Eastern Tarraconensis: Guitart i Duran, op. cit. (n. 101), 54–83; L. Abad Casal and C. Aranegui Gascó, 'Las ciudades romanas de los ámbitos levantino y baleárico', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 84–107; A. González Blanco, *Urbanismo romano en la región de Murcia* (1996).

<sup>224</sup> A theme explored by Keay, op. cit. (n. 188).

<sup>225</sup> Good recent syntheses of early imperial Tarraco are provided by X. Dupré i Raventós, 'New evidence for the study of the urbanism of Tarraco', in Cunliffe and Keay, op. cit. (n. 51), 335–69; J. Ruiz de Arbulo, 'Edificios públicos, poder imperial y evolución de las élites urbanas en Tarraco (s.II–IV d.C.)', in Arce and Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 93–113; idem, 'Tarraco. Escenografía del poder, administración y justicia en una capital provincial romana (s.II aC–II dC)', *Empúries* 51 (1998), 31–61.

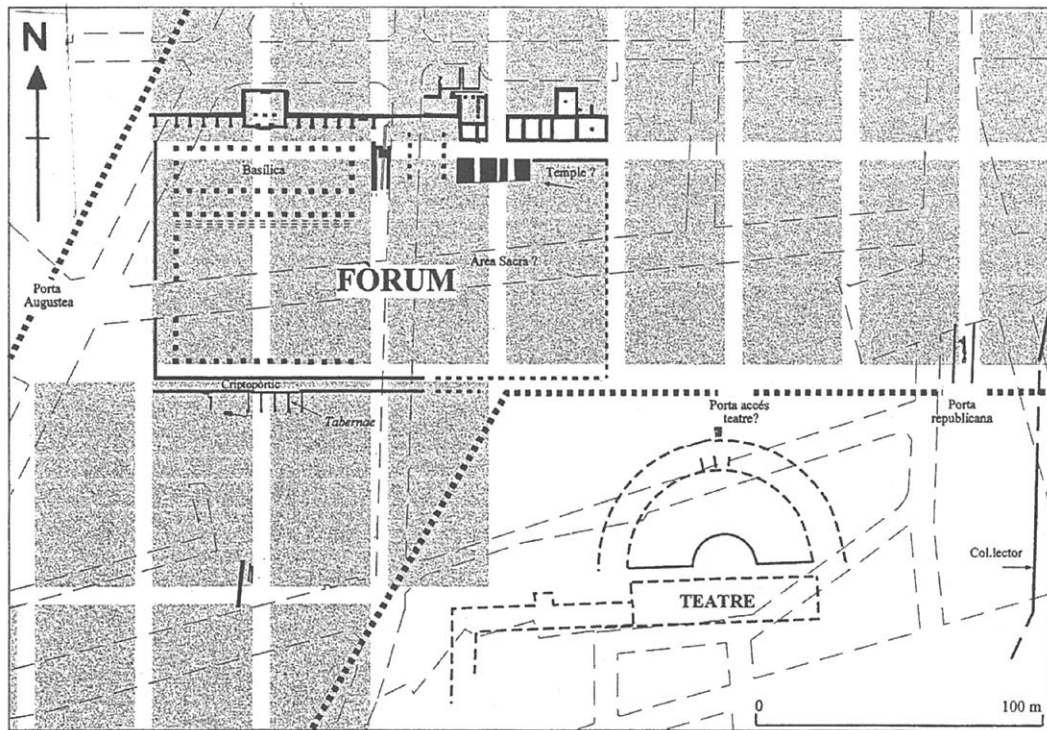


FIG. 6. PLAN OF THE MUNICIPAL FORUM AT TARRACO.

enclosure comprising forum, basilica and temple in the heart of what had been the earlier Iberian and Roman republican settlement,<sup>226</sup> together with a theatre.<sup>227</sup> The discovery of marble statues and portraits of members of the imperial house together with imperial dedicatory inscriptions in these buildings makes it clear that they were important focuses of veneration of Augustus and his successors.<sup>228</sup> Indeed, the forum may well be the site of the famous altar to Augustus set up by the people of Tarraco in 26 B.C. (Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 6.3.77) (Fig. 6). In the Flavian period, the area enclosed within the republican walls of the upper town was completely re-planned in the form of a terraced complex that hosted rituals, meetings, and celebrations associated with the provincial imperial cult.<sup>229</sup> This comprised a temple,<sup>230</sup> monumental meeting place (*plaza de representación*), and circus, executed with exquisite decoration in imported Carrara marble,<sup>231</sup> and comprising nearly 25 per cent of the total area of the town.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>226</sup> R. Mar Medina and M. Roca Roumens, 'Pollentia y Tarraco. Dos etapas en la formación de los foros de la Hispania Romana', *Empúries* 51 (1998), 105–24, esp. 118–21 and fig. 8; J. M. Macías Solé, 'L'urbanisme de Tarraco a partir de las excavacions de l'entorn del fòrum de la ciutat', in Ruiz de Arbulo, op. cit. (n. 85), 83–106.

<sup>227</sup> R. Mar Medina, M. Roca and J. Ruiz de Arbulo, 'El teatro de Tarragona. Un problema pendiente', in Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos, op. cit. (n. 216), 11–25.

<sup>228</sup> See discussion in Garriguet, op. cit. (n. 209), 113–14.

<sup>229</sup> TED'A, 'El foro provincial de Tarraco, un complejo arquitectónico de época flavia', *AEA* 62 (1989), 141–91; R. Mar, 'El recinto de culto imperial de Tarraco y la arquitectura flavia', in R. Mar Medina (ed.), *Els monuments provincials de Tarraco. Noves aportacions al seu coneixement*, Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica 1 (1993), 107–56; C. Pociña López and J. A. Remola Vallverdú, 'La plaza de representación

de Tarraco: intervenciones arqueológicas en la Plaza del Fórum y la calle d'en Compte', in Ruiz de Arbulo, op. cit. (n. 85), 27–45.

<sup>230</sup> D. Fishwick, 'The "Temple of Augustus" at Tarraco', *Latomus* 58.1 (1999), 121–38, argues that this temple may have been on the site of the temple to Divus Augustus solicited from Tiberius by the people of Tarraco in A.D. 15.

<sup>231</sup> P. Pensabene, 'La decorazione architettonica dei monumenti provinciali di Tarraco', in Mar Medina, op. cit. (n. 229), 33–105.

<sup>232</sup> G. Alföldy, 'Desde el nacimiento hasta el apogeo de la cultura epigráfica de Tarraco', in Hernández Guerra, Sagredo San Eustaquio and Solana Sainz, op. cit. (n. 188), 61–74, points out that the construction of this complex coincided with an exceptional increase in the number of inscriptions in Hispania, and is to be explained by the prestige enjoyed by the inhabitants of Tarraco as the centre of imperial power in the province.

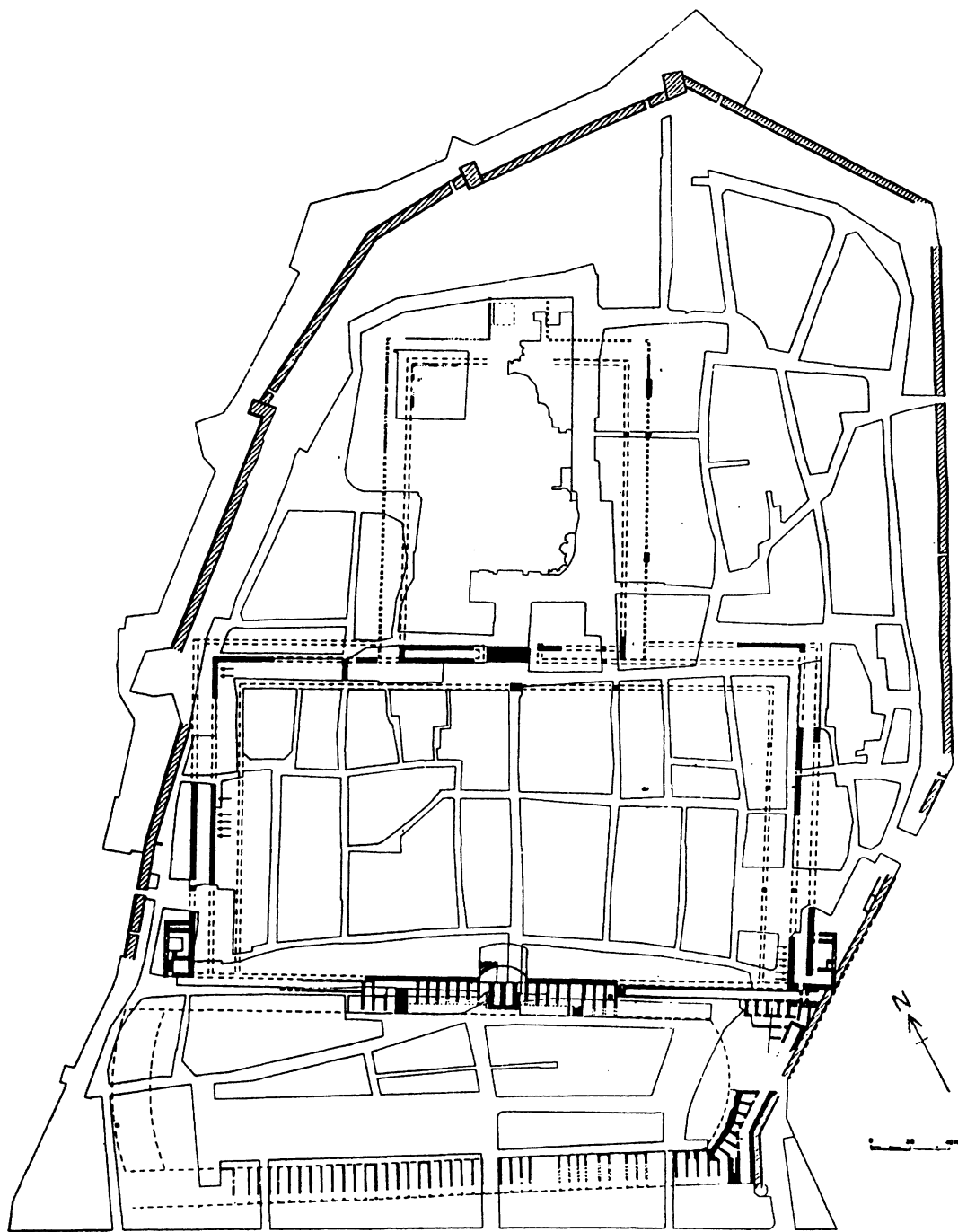


FIG. 7. PLAN OF THE MONUMENTAL TERRACED COMPLEX IN THE UPPER TOWN OF TARRACO.

(Fig. 7). The amphitheatre was built on the south side of the city in the second century A.D. Little is yet known about the residential, commercial, and social life of the town, largely because the intensity of the late nineteenth-century development in the lower town has obliterated much of the evidence. Nevertheless, recent excavations have



uncovered traces of warehouses<sup>233</sup> and baths<sup>234</sup> associated with the port, several extramural mansions, and traces of early imperial cemeteries<sup>235</sup> to the north and west.

The *coloniae* of Tarraconensis were monumentalized along similar lines, replete with imperial images and honorific dedications, even though there were architectural differences from one centre to the next, as between the Tiberian forum complex at the Augustan *colonia* of Caesaraugusta, and the forum, basilica and temple complex at the Galban *colonia* of Clunia (Coruña del Conde).<sup>236</sup> Monumentalization was undertaken on an even more ambitious scale at the *conventus* capital of Asturica Augusta in the north-west, where a huge colonnaded piazza occupying much of the eastern sector of the town was built in the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>237</sup> One of the most impressive and earliest examples of monumentalization in the province, however, took place at Carthago Nova, the centre of which was completely re-planned under Augustus. Its most impressive monument is the theatre, which was dedicated between 5 and 1 B.C. It is unrivalled in the peninsula in terms of the scope and sophistication of its programme of architectural decoration, the closest parallels for which are to be found at Rome. Clearly, the patronage of such individuals as Agrippa, Caius and Lucius Caesar, and other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty played an important role.<sup>238</sup> Away from these centres of Roman power, excavations have revealed that some indigenous communities in a contrasting range of cultural regions responded to the new world order of Augustus by transforming their urban centres at a surprisingly early date, even though the form that this transformation took differed from one centre to the next. This was as true of towns along or close to the Mediterranean coast, like Baetulo and Saguntum,<sup>239</sup> as of towns like Labitulosa (La Puebla del Castro)<sup>240</sup> in the pre-Pyrenees, and towns in the Meseta, such as El Tolmo de Minateda (ancient Illo?),<sup>241</sup> Ercavica (Cañaveruelas),<sup>242</sup> Valeria (Valera de Arriba),<sup>243</sup> and Complutum (Alcalá de Henares),<sup>244</sup> which were laid out in the Augustan period. Segobriga (Cabeza del Griego), with its magnificent suite of imperial sculptures,<sup>245</sup> was developed in the course of the Julio-Claudian period, as were

<sup>233</sup> C. A. Pociña López and J. A. Remolà Vallverdu, 'Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento del puerto de Tarraco (Hispania Tarraconensis)', *Saguntum* 33 (2001), 85–96.

<sup>234</sup> M. Díaz García, M. García and J. M. Macías Solé, 'Les termes públiques de Tarragona: excavacions en el Carrer de Sant Miquel, Núm. 33. Estudi preliminar', in Ruiz de Arbulo, op. cit. (n. 85), 111–33.

<sup>235</sup> Recent evidence is summarized by J. M. Gurt and J. M. Macías, 'La ciudad y el territorium de Tarraco: El mundo funerario', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 87–112.

<sup>236</sup> For Caesaraugusta, see J. Hernández Vera and J. Núñez Martín, 'Nuevos datos para el conocimiento del foro de Caesaraugusta', *Empúries* 51 (1998), 93–104; idem, 'La ordenación del espacio de la Zaragoza prerromana y romana', *Saldúie* 1 (2000), 181–202; M. Beltrán Lloris, 'El teatro de Caesaraugusta. Estado actual de conocimiento', in Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos, op. cit. (n. 216), 93–119. For Clunia, see P. de Palol and J. Guitart, *Los grandes conjuntos públicos. El foro colonial de Clunia. Clunia VIII.1. Burgos* (2000).

<sup>237</sup> V. García Marcos, 'La romanización urbana: Asturica Augusta y la implantación romana en León', in AAVV, *Actas. ArqueoLeón. Historia de León a través de la arqueología* (1996), 69–81; the urban development of the other Roman foundations of north-western Tarraconensis, Bracara Augusta and Lucus Augusti, seems to start at a similarly late date: respectively, M. Martins, 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular: o caso de Bracara Augusta', in Tavares Dias and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 53–76, and E. González Fernández and Ma. C. Carreño Gascón, 'La capital del extremo noroeste hispánico: Lucus Augusti y su tejido urbano a la luz de las últimas intervenciones

arqueológicas', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1171–208.

<sup>238</sup> S. Ramallo Asensio, 'Inscripciones honoríficas del teatro de Carthago Nova', *AEA* 65 (1992), 49–73; idem, 'Inscripciones honoríficas del teatro romano de Cartagena. Addendum a Aespa 1992', *AEA* 69 (1996), 307–9; idem, *El programa ornamental del teatro romano de Cartagena* (2001).

<sup>239</sup> For Baetulo, see J. Guitart Duran and P. Padró i Martí, 'Baetulo, cronología y significación de sus monumentos', in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 165–77; for Saguntum, see C. Aranegui Gascó, 'Datos para el conocimiento de Sagunto en el siglo II', in Arce and Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 139–46.

<sup>240</sup> P. Sillières, M. A. Magallón Botaya and M. Navarro Caballero, 'El municipium Labitulosanum y sus notables: novedades arqueológicas y epigráficas', *AEA* 68 (1995), 107–30.

<sup>241</sup> L. Abad Casal, 'La epigrafía del Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete) y un nuevo municipio romano del conventus Carthaginensis', *AEA* 69 (1996), 77–108.

<sup>242</sup> A. J. Lorrio, *Ercavica. La muralla y topografía de la ciudad* (2001).

<sup>243</sup> A. Fuentes Domínguez, 'Valeria. Historia del yacimiento y resultados de las últimas investigaciones', in Almagro Gorbea, op. cit. (n. 223), 103–31.

<sup>244</sup> S. Rascón Marqués (ed.), *Complutum. Roma en el interior de la península ibérica* (1998).

<sup>245</sup> M. Almagro Gorbea and J. M. Abascal, *Segóbriga y su conjunto arqueológico* (1999); J. M. Abascal, R. Cebrian and T. Moneo, 'La imagen dinástica de los Julio-Claudios en el foro de Segóbriga (Saelices, Cuenca. Conuentus Carthaginensis)', *Lucentum* 17–18 (1998–1999), 183–93.

the other Mesetan towns of Tiermes (Tiermes)<sup>246</sup> and Uxama (Burgo de Osma).<sup>247</sup> Further north and west, centres like Gijón<sup>248</sup> and Tongobriga (Freixo)<sup>249</sup> developed in the later first century A.D. It would be interesting to see how far such chronological disparities corresponded to pre-Roman cultural differences.

### Lusitania

Research into towns in Lusitania has been less intensive than in Tarraconensis, with fewer available published excavation reports or syntheses. In part this is because, apart from Lisbon, the modern towns that overlie some ancient towns have not been subject to the same degree of development. It is also because access to the Roman levels of other centres, such as Salamanca, is difficult, owing to the need to conserve the medieval and later buildings that overlie them. They have, however, been the object of a vigorous debate in recent years, with attention focusing upon a range of legal, social, cultural, and economic issues.<sup>250</sup>

The most important focus of recent work has been Augusta Emerita (Mérida). Since 1994, the Consorcio Mérida has overseen a proliferation of rescue excavation within the town and its hinterland<sup>251</sup> which is providing a secure basis for the reappraisal of earlier ideas about its development. This shows that, while the town was laid out in the Augustan period, the development of its infrastructure and monuments largely took place in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. The most recent analyses suggest that, while the most commonly accepted date for the foundation of the town was 25 B.C., there is no archaeological evidence for activity earlier than 16 or 15 B.C. Town walls of Augustan date are known from the north and west sides, with the southern stretch as yet undated and the eastern side dating to the Flavian period. The walls encompassed a regular street grid that was laid out in these formative years: excavations in the Morerías reveal a range of insula sizes.<sup>252</sup> Excavations now confirm the Augustan date of the forum of the *colonia*, which lay at the centre of the town and consisted of a long rectangular space, the northern end of which was dominated by a temple enclosed within a cryptoporticus.<sup>253</sup> On the eastern side of the forum lay a monumental portico, whose very rich marble decoration has led scholars to suggest that it might have been a *forum adiectum* (Fig. 8). Analysis of the marble decoration revealed a sculptural programme from this monument which invites comparison with that in the forum of

<sup>246</sup> E. Gutiérrez Dohijo and F. J. Rodríguez Morales, 'Tiermes. Nacimiento, formación y desarrollo de una ciudad romana en la Celtiberia', in Tavares Dias and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 171–90.

<sup>247</sup> C. García Merino, 'Urbanización y ordenación del territorio en Uxama Argaela', in Tavares Dias and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 191–220.

<sup>248</sup> C. Fernández Ochoa, 'La ciudad de Gijón: Orígenes y dinámica histórica', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1109–124.

<sup>249</sup> L. Tavares Dias, 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular: o caso de Tongobriga', in Tavares Dias and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 77–109. J. M. Abascal, M. Almagro Gorbea and R. Cebrián, 'Segóbriga 1989–2000. Topografía de la ciudad y trabajos en el foro', *MDAIM* 43 (2002), 123–61.

<sup>250</sup> Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30); J. M. Álvarez Martínez, 'Ciudades romanas de Extremadura', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 128–59; J. de Alarcão, 'Las ciudades romanas de Portugal', in Bendala, op. cit. (n. 101), 206–23; V. Gil Mantas, 'As cidades marítimas da Lusitania', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 149–205; idem, 'O espaço urbano nas cidades do norte da Lusitânia',

in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 355–91; J. de Alarcão, 'As cidades capitais do norte de Portugal na época romana', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 429–37; J. de Alarcão, 'Identificação das cidades da Lusitânia portuguesa e dos seus territórios', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 21–34.

<sup>251</sup> See the annual reports of the Consorcio Mérida: *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas. Memoria I 1994* (1997) onwards; for a review of this recent work see P. Mateos Cruz, 'Augusta Emerita. La investigación arqueológica en una ciudad de época romana', *AEA* 74 (2001), 183–208.

<sup>252</sup> M. A. Calzado, 'Características del viario urbano de Emerita Augusta entre los siglos I y III', *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas. 1999. Memoria 5* (2001), 397–424.

<sup>253</sup> Mateos Cruz, op. cit. (n. 251), 192ff.; J. M. Álvarez Martínez, 'El templo de Diana', in Ramallo, op. cit. (n. 89), 83–93; J. L. de la Barrera, *La decoración arquitectónica de los foros de Augusta Emerita* (2000), 184; the temple is traditionally identified with the imperial cult.

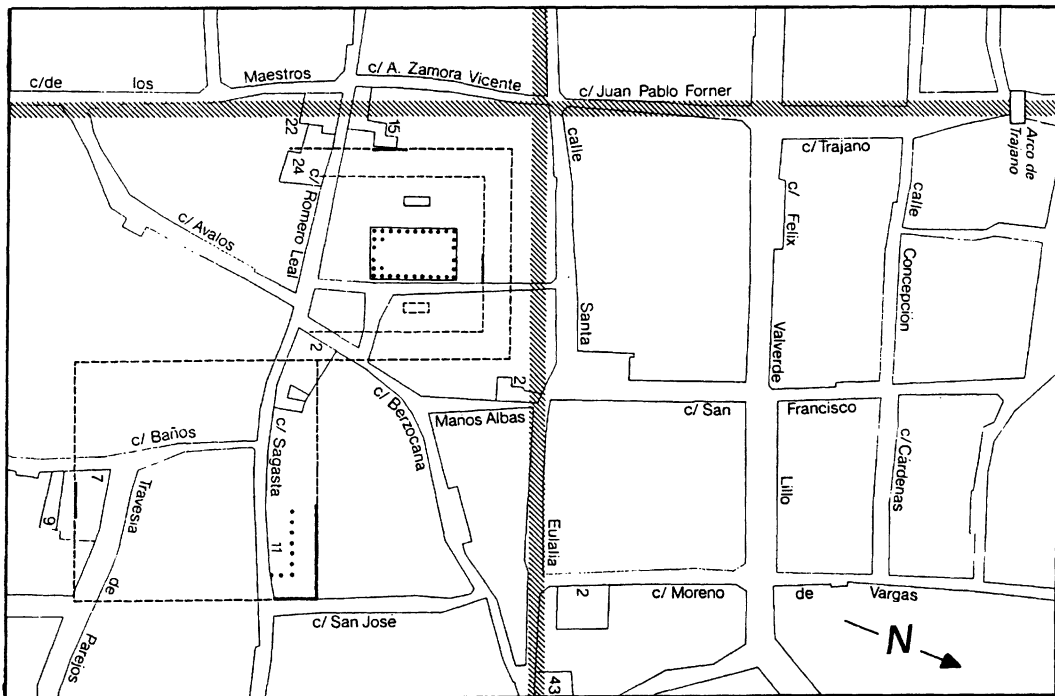


FIG. 8. PLAN OF THE FORUM ENCLOSURES AT AUGUSTA EMERITA.

Augustus at Rome, and suggests a Claudian date.<sup>254</sup> Another sculptural group, which has been identified as forming a local version of the *ara providentiae* at Rome, may have originally derived from this enclosure,<sup>255</sup> although there are considerable difficulties in trying to understand the relationship between the two adjacent enclosures. The theatre is another major Augustan monument, although recent excavations and an analysis of the marble sculptures from the *scaenae frons* suggest that much of its fabric is of mid-first-century A.D. date.<sup>256</sup> In the north-western part of the town was a large open area with a temple, which has been identified as the meeting place for the *concilium provinciae*.<sup>257</sup> Recent excavations have uncovered part of a portico of mid-first-century A.D. date that would have enclosed this *plaza de representación*,<sup>258</sup> while the analysis of the architectural decoration suggests that the temple may be of late Augustan or Tiberian date.<sup>259</sup> Finally, the amphitheatre, which lies on the northern side of the town, may have been built in the Flavian period, the time at which the eastern fortifications of the town were finished. Excavations have also provided valuable information about residential houses within the walls and in the suburbs, together with ample evidence for the development of a very rich range of cemeteries in the course of the first and second centuries A.D.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>254</sup> W. Trillmich, 'Colonia Augusta Emerita, die Hauptstadt von Lusitanien', in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 299–318; idem, 'Los tres foros de Augusta Emerita y el caso de Córdoba', in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), 175–95; idem, 'Reflejos del programa estatuario del Forum Augustum in Mérida', in J. Massó and P. Sada (eds), *Actes. II Reunió sobre escultura romana a Hispània* (1996), 95–114.

<sup>255</sup> T. Nogales Basarrate, 'Un altar en el foro de Augusta Emerita', in P. León Alonso and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds), *Actas de la III Reunió sobre escultura romana en Hispània* (2000), 25–46; this altar is known from coins issued by Augusta Emerita.

<sup>256</sup> Mateos Cruz, op. cit. (n. 251), 199ff.

<sup>257</sup> Fishwick, op. cit. (n. 210).

<sup>258</sup> Mateos Cruz, op. cit. (n. 251), 197ff.

<sup>259</sup> De la Barrera, op. cit. (n. 253), 171–4.

<sup>260</sup> For the amphitheatre, see M. Bendala and R. Durán, 'El anfiteatro de Augusta Emerita: Rasgos arquitectónicos y problemática urbanística y cronología', in J. M. Alvarez Martínez and J. J. Enríquez Navascués (eds), *Coloquio Internacional. El Anfiteatro en la Hispania Romana* (1994), 247–65; for the cemeteries, see T. Nogales and J. Márquez, 'Espacios y tipos funerarios en Augusta Emerita', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 113–44.

Outside Augusta Emerita, it has been suggested that the theatre at Olisippo (Lisbon) may have been Augustan in date.<sup>261</sup> Other sites, however, such as Aeminium (Coimbra),<sup>262</sup> Eborā (Évora),<sup>263</sup> and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha),<sup>264</sup> suggest that monumentalization of some towns took place around the middle of the first century A.D., while at others, like Capera (Cáparra), it took place in the Flavian period.<sup>265</sup>

Collectively, work in all three provinces begins to suggest that, although the Augustan period was an important formative stage in the topographical development of Roman towns in the Hispaniae, they did not, in general, crystallize until the mid- to later first century A.D. Much, however, still remains to be learned, such as the relationship of the towns to secondary settlements of indigenous origin, many of which continued to be occupied into the imperial period. This is a very prominent feature of northern and western Iberia, where centralized settlement in the Graeco-Roman tradition was comparatively new.<sup>266</sup> In north-western Tarraconensis, for example, the three *conventus* capitals of Lucus Augusti, Bracara Augusti, and Asturica Augusti were the focal points of a highly de-centralized settlement system in which *castros* and *citánias* continued to play a key social role well into the early Empire.<sup>267</sup> It is as yet hard to ascertain how far this may have been true of parts of Baetica and coastal Tarraconensis, because they are rarely the subject of sustained research.<sup>268</sup>

#### THE CREATION OF A PROVINCIAL SOCIETY

##### *The Urban Way of Life*

Most recent work on Hispano-Roman society has been biased towards urban-based élites,<sup>269</sup> not least because they are seen as key catalysts in bringing about social and cultural change.<sup>270</sup> Such a bias is almost inevitable, given the profusion of epigraphic data.<sup>271</sup> Epigraphic texts were central to the way in which the monumental centres of

<sup>261</sup> Although the epigraphic evidence suggests a Neronian dedication (T. Hauschild, 'The Roman theatre in Lisbon', in R. d'Intino (ed.), *Subterranean Lisbon* (1994), 64–6), J. de Alarcão, 'A urbanização de Portugal as épocas do César e do Augusto', in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 43–57, suggests Augustan dates for the monumentalization of Pax Iulia, Sellium, and Bobadela, although there is little firm evidence prior to the early first century A.D.

<sup>262</sup> P. C. Carvalho, *O forum de Aeminium* (1998).

<sup>263</sup> T. Hauschild, 'Évora. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen am römischen Tempel 1989–1992. Die Konstruktionen', *MDAI(M)* 35 (1994), 314–35.

<sup>264</sup> The forum at Conimbriga has recently been related to the Claudian period: A. Alarcão, 'Le centre monumental du forum de Conimbriga: réponse à quelques contestations', in A. Alarcão et al., *Itinéraires Lusitaniennes* (1997), 49–68.

<sup>265</sup> E. Cerillo Martín de Cáceres, 'Forum municipii flavii caparense', *Empúries* 51 (1998), 77–92.

<sup>266</sup> See for example M. Salinas de Frías, 'Las ciudades romanas de Lusitania oriental: su papel en la transformación del territorio y la sociedad indígena', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 255–63.

<sup>267</sup> P. Le Roux, 'Las ciudades de la Callaecia romana durante el alto imperio', *Gerión* 14 (1996), 363–79; see also A. de la Peña Santos, 'Santa Tegra (A Guarda, Pontevedra): Un ejemplo del urbanismo castrexo-romano del convento bracarense', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 693–714, for examples of settlements continuing in occupation.

<sup>268</sup> See, however, the possible *vicus* of El Templero, in A. Aguilar Saenz and P. Guichard, *Villas romaines*

*d'Estremadure. Dona Maria, La Sevillana et leur environnement* (1993), and the large rural agglomeration at Alberca de Román, in B. Muñoz Tomás, 'Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste: el altiplano, Jumilla', in J. M. Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania* (1995), 107–32.

<sup>269</sup> Studies of rural society, particularly in the south and east are rare: see, however, L. A. Curchin, 'Élite urbaine, élite rurale en Lusitanie', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 265–76; J. L. Ramírez Sádaba, 'La demografía del territorium emeritense (excepto el casco urbano) según la documentación epigráfica', in Gorges and Salinas de Frías, op. cit. (n. 30), 131–47.

<sup>270</sup> The issue of 'Romanization' in the Iberian peninsula under the early Empire has been recently discussed by S. Keay, 'Romanization and the Hispaniae', in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds), *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization* (2001), 117–45, and will not be addressed here. The impact of Roman rule upon native culture is an implicit question underlying many of the studies of Hispano-Roman culture discussed in this article. However, the issue of what the concept 'Romanization' might mean and how the processes implied might be explained is not often addressed explicitly. One exception is the collected papers in Ma. J. Hidalgo, D. Pérez and M. J. R. Gervás (eds), '*Romanización*' y '*Reconquista*' en la península Ibérica. *Nuevas perspectivas* (1998). Other useful collections of papers can be found in Blázquez and Alvar, op. cit. (n. 119), and Mayer, Nolla and Pardo, op. cit. (n. 26).

<sup>271</sup> supra (n. 11).

Roman towns in the Hispaniae were used, experienced and should be understood.<sup>272</sup> Not surprisingly, then, stone inscriptions have been the traditional source for studying Roman society in Spain and Portugal. Available evidence suggests a gradual formation of élites from the late first century B.C. onwards. This impression complements what is known about the development of the towns themselves, and is also borne out by the archaeological evidence for their buildings.

Urban élites, particularly amongst the older established communities and the colonies in the south and east, have been the subject of many studies.<sup>273</sup> While inscriptions make their appearance in the east, south-east, south, and south-west under Augustus, they only become common across the rest of the peninsula in the course of the late first century A.D.,<sup>274</sup> making it hard to understand the formative stages of some élite groups until a comparatively late date.<sup>275</sup> Some studies have attempted to gauge how far families were of Italian or provincial origin, and seem to point towards many élites, particularly magistrates, being of indigenous origin.<sup>276</sup> Other studies have attempted to chart the career progression of individuals at municipal and provincial level, and to estimate when and how far a small minority of urban élites gained access to the equestrian and senatorial orders.<sup>277</sup> They have also focused upon élite involvement in trade and commerce, drawing upon comparisons between stone inscriptions and stamps on wine, fish sauce, and olive amphorae from Tarraconensis and Baetica.<sup>278</sup>

The public activities by which the urban élites defined their social position and the Romanness of their communities can be documented by the spread of key public buildings in towns across the provinces. Theatres, for example, appear in Baetica under Augustus, while amphitheatres are not attested in the province until the later first and second centuries A.D. The same is true for Lusitania, while in Tarraconensis, by contrast, both kinds of building are rare before the mid-first century A.D.<sup>279</sup> Public baths seem to have been generally rare prior to the mid- to late first century A.D.<sup>280</sup> The active

<sup>272</sup> The significance of inscriptions in the social and political life of the towns of Iberia is reviewed by G. Alföldy, 'La cultura epigráfica de la Hispania romana: inscripciones, auto-representación y orden social', in Almagro Gorbea and Álvarez Martínez, op. cit. (n. 24), 289–301; M. Mayer, 'El paisaje epigráfico como elemento diferenciador entre las ciudades. Modelos y realizaciones locales', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 13–32; Abascal, op. cit. (n. 176), 45–82.

<sup>273</sup> For example, G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodá, 'Recruitment et promotion des "élites municipales" dans le nord-est de l'Hispania Citerior sous le Haut-Empire', *MEFRA. Antiquité* 102, 2 (1990), 525–39; I. Rodá, 'Los primeros magistrados en colonias y municipios de la Hispania Citerior (al norte de Sagunto)', in González, op. cit. (n. 191), 345–55; J. González, 'Hispalis, Colonia Romula', in Arce and P. Le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 127–38; S. Dardaine, 'La naissance des élites hispano-romaines en Bétique', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 23–43; L. A. Curchin, 'Local élites in Baetica in the time of Trajan', in J. González (ed.), *Imp. Caes. Nerva Traianus Aug.* (1993), 77–86; A. Caballos, *Italica y los Italicenses* (1994); G. Alföldy, 'Aspectos de la vida urbana en las ciudades de la Meseta Sur', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 467–85; M. Salinas de Frias and J. Rodríguez Cortés, 'Substrato y romanización de las oligarquías locales de la provincia romana de la Lusitania', in Gorges and Nogales Basarrate, op. cit. (n. 30), 17–34.

<sup>274</sup> F. Beltrán Lloris, 'Introducción', in Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 138), 11–15.

<sup>275</sup> In the case of Augusta Emerita, for example, J. L. Ramírez Sádaba, 'El nacimiento de las élites de Augusta Emerita', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 13–22; generally see J. C. Saquete Chamizo, *Las élites sociales de Augusta Emerita*, Cuadernos Emeritenses 13 (1997); J. L. Ramírez Sádaba, 'Estructura demográfica y económico-social

de Augusta Emerita según se infiere de los colectivos más humildes', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 293–311; J. Edmonson, T. Nogales Basarrate and W. Trillmich, *Imagen y memoria. Monumentos funerarios con retratos en la Colonia Augusta Emerita* (2001).

<sup>276</sup> L. Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (1990).

<sup>277</sup> A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I–III). I. Prosopografía* (1990); A. Caballos Rufino, 'Cities as a basis of supraprovincial promotion. The equites of Baetica', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 123–45; F. des Boscs-Plateaux, 'Les sénateurs hispaniques et le pouvoir d'Auguste à Trajan', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 203–15; A. Caballos Rufino, 'Preliminares sobre los caballeros romanos originarios de las provincias hispanas. Siglos I–III d.C.', in Rodríguez Neila and Navarro Santana, op. cit. (n. 200), 103–44; the early rise to prominence of the Balbi from Gades under Caesar and Augustus is analysed by J. F. Rodríguez Neila, *Confidentes de César. Los Balbos de Cádiz* (1992).

<sup>278</sup> For olive oil, see A. Caballos Rufino, 'Los recursos notables de los notables de la Bética', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 69–87; more generally, see R. Étienne and F. Mayet, 'Les élites marchandes de la péninsule ibérique', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 89–99.

<sup>279</sup> J. L. Jiménez Salvador, 'Teatro y desarrollo monumental urbano en Hispania', in Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos, op. cit. (n. 216), 225–38; for amphitheatres, see Álvarez Martínez and Enríquez Navascués, op. cit. (n. 260).

<sup>280</sup> C. Fernández Ochoa, 'Grandes conjuntos termales públicos en Hispania', C. Fernández Ochoa and V. García Entero (eds), *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón. Termas romanas en el occidente del imperio*, Serie Patrimonio 5 (2000), 59–72.

role of urban élites in the financing of these and other kinds of public buildings and other aspects of civic euergetism has been underlined by a number of important epigraphic studies.<sup>281</sup>

Recent excavations have increased our knowledge of élite housing in towns. While such housing appeared at some indigenous towns along the Mediterranean coast during the later first century B.C., it was rare at the provincial capitals prior to the mid-first century A.D.<sup>282</sup> Amongst the indigenous towns of the interior and west of Iberia, élite housing appeared in the course of the first century A.D., betraying differing levels of sophistication.<sup>283</sup> Nevertheless, the evidence is very fragmentary and our understanding of Roman urban housing in the Hispaniae is still in its infancy. It is still impossible, for example, to gain any idea of the relative proportion of élite housing to other kinds of residential occupation in different urban contexts. The artistic tastes of élites have also been the subject of many studies, focusing upon marble and bronze sculpture<sup>284</sup> and, less frequently, jewellery and items of personal adornment.<sup>285</sup> In the countryside, excavations at wealthy villas in Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania have revealed the appearance of highly sophisticated complexes decorated with very fine mosaic floors and sculptural programmes that betray a preference for classical tastes by their owners in the course of the later first and second centuries A.D.<sup>286</sup>

### *The Continuity of Indigenous Social Organization*

It has long been recognized that much of central, northern and western Tarraconensis and northern Lusitania encompassed peoples whose cultural background drew upon a range of 'celtic' cultural attributes. This is most visible in early imperial Latin inscriptions that record individuals amongst the Celtiberi, Carpetani, Vettones, Vaccaeii,

<sup>281</sup> See for example, I. Rodá, 'Encargos de monumentos públicos en Hispania', M. Mayer Olivé and M. Miró Vinaixa (eds), *Homenatge a F. Giunta. Commitenza e commitenti tra antichità e alto medioevo* (1996), 197–212; Melchor Gil, op. cit. (n. 34); J. A. Pintado, 'Munificencia y munificentes. Riqueza y manifestaciones de riqueza de las élites en la provincia Lusitania', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 453–71. Limited imperial involvement in the financing of public buildings under Augustus has been suggested from the epigraphic evidence at Pax Iulia, Augusta Emerita, and Caesaraugusta: see Abascal, op. cit. (n. 176), 45–82.

<sup>282</sup> For Augusta Emerita: F. Palma García, 'Las casas romanas intramuros en Mérida. Estado de la cuestión', *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas 1997. Memoria* (1997), 347–66; G. Sánchez Sánchez and R. Nodar Recerra, 'Reflexiones sobre las casas suburbanas en Augusta Emerita. Estudio Preliminar', *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas 1997. Memoria* (1997), 367–86; for Corduba: A. Ventura et al., 'Análisis arqueológico de la Córdoba romana: resultados e hipótesis de la investigación', in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), 104–5.

<sup>283</sup> See generally Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 106); more specifically, Ventura, op. cit. (n. 282); M. Burón Álvarez, *El trazado urbano en las proximidades del foro en Asturica Augusta*, Arqueología en Castilla y León 2 (1997); V. Hipólito Correia, 'Conimbriga, casa atribuida a Cantaber. Trabajos arqueológicos 1995–1998', *Conimbriga* 40 (2001), 83–140; wall-painting is reviewed by A. Mostalac Carrillo and C. Guiral Pelegrín, 'La Pintura', in Almagro Gorbea and Álvarez Martínez, op. cit. (n. 24), 321–9, while the spread of Pompeian style wall-painting (Styles IA to III/IV) is examined by A. Mostalac Carrillo, 'La pintura romana en Hispania de Augusto a Nerón', *MM* 40 (1999), 168–88.

<sup>284</sup> For marble sculptures, see the collections of material published in P. León, *Retratos romanos de la Bética* (2001); V. de Souza, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Portugal* (1990); J. L. de Matos (ed.), *Inventario do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Coleção de escultura romana* (1995); I. Rodá, 'La escultura romana importada en Hispania Citerior', in T. Hackens and M. Miró (eds), *Le commerce maritime des romains. PACT 27* (1990), 291–312, looks at artistic influences evident in the sculptures of north-eastern Tarraconensis. The most comprehensive recent analysis of bronze sculptures is to be found in J. Arce (ed.), *Los bronce romanos en España* (1990), which covers regional surveys of sculptures from a range of contexts.

<sup>285</sup> Generally, R. Casal García, 'La joyería', in Almagro Gorbea and Álvarez Martínez, op. cit. (n. 24), 337–42; M. D. López de la Orden, *La glíptica de la antigüedad en Andalucía* (1990); R. Casal García, *Colección de glíptica del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (1990).

<sup>286</sup> In particular see the following two villas: D. Vaquerizo and J. M. Noguera, *La Villa de El Ruedo. Almedinilla (Córdoba). Decoración escultórica e interpretación* (1997); F. Tarrats Bou, R. Sariñena and J. Macías I Solé, 'Noves intervencions a la villa romana d'Els Munts', *Tribuna d'Arqueologia 1996–1997* (1997), 35–56; more generally, see J. M. Álvarez Martínez and T. Nogales Basarrate, 'Algunas consideraciones sobre la decoración de villae del territorium emeritense: musivaria y escultura', in Gorges and Salinas de Frias, op. cit. (n. 30), 273–95; E. Koppel, 'La escultura del entorno de Tarraco: las villae', in T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Actas de la I Reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania* (1993), 221–39.

Astures, and Cantabri as being associated with social groupings denoted by the term *gentilitas*, *gens*, and *cognatio*, or groups ending in a genitive plural; to the north-west, amongst the Callaeci, individuals are associated with the symbol  $\supset$  (now interpreted as *castellum*).<sup>287</sup> These terms and groupings are not referred to by Strabo or Pliny in their descriptions of these areas, and, while it is generally accepted that they refer to aspects of indigenous suprafamilial organization continuing into the early imperial period, there has been disagreement as to the kind of organization they signify. One of the main advances of the past fifteen years has been to show definitively that *gentes* and *gentilitates* were not exclusive to indoeuropean Iberia.<sup>288</sup> They are now seen as a form of indigenous *interpretatio* whereby the Latin terms were used respectively to denote ethno-historical groups and a relationship of affinity within Iron-Age social groups, whose precise character eludes us.<sup>289</sup> A number of scholars have built on these advances. Some have noted that, while the terms were similar across early imperial Tarraconensis, their social contexts varied from the urban societies of the lower Ebro valley to parts of the north and west where urban development was less marked.<sup>290</sup> The development of urban society across the province led to their gradual disappearance from the more urbanized regions of central Tarraconensis, even though they persisted in more marginal areas, where they continued in use into the second and third centuries A.D.

The discovery in the 1980s of the *tabula lougeiorum*, tessera of Montealegre, and other documents recording the establishment of pacts of *hospitium* in the Roman style has provoked a number of important studies that have looked at the articulation of social relations between these groups during the first two centuries A.D.<sup>291</sup> Others have looked at the possible political dimensions of *gentes*, such as the Zoelae,<sup>292</sup> and the administrative organization of northern Hispania by Rome.<sup>293</sup> One suggestion is that *tesserae hospitalitatis* in the gold production area of Callaecia were used by Rome as a way of controlling indigenous society, by articulating structured forms of social dependence between *castella* and *gentilitates*.<sup>294</sup>

### Burial and Religion

Until recently, little attention was paid to burial practices in the Hispaniae. The only significant published cemeteries, at Carmo, Barcino, and Empúries, were old<sup>295</sup> and the study of funerary material was restricted to the analysis of the formulae and personal names recorded on tombstones,<sup>296</sup> and funerary monuments as a means of understanding the architectural tastes of urban élites.<sup>297</sup> This stood in strong contrast to

<sup>287</sup> The basic work for understanding the epigraphic evidence for the social organization of the region remains Ma. C. González, *Las unidades organizativas indígenas del área indoeuropea de Hispania* (1986).

<sup>288</sup> A summary of recent developments is provided by J. Santos Yanguas, '1985-1994. Un decenio fructífero en la investigación de las estructuras sociales indígenas del área indoeuropea de Hispania', *Veleia* 12 (1995), 125-49.

<sup>289</sup> P. Rodríguez, 'Los terminus gens y gentilitas en los escritores latinos', in González and Santos, op. cit. (n. 197), 67-71.

<sup>290</sup> F. Beltrán, 'Parentesco y sociedad en la Hispania céltica (I a.e.-III d.e.)', in González and Santos, op. cit. (n. 197), 73-104; M. Salinas de Frías, 'Unidades organizativas indígenas y administración romana en el valle del Duero', in González and Santos, op. cit. (n. 197), 167-80.

<sup>291</sup> See, for example, Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 163); P. le Roux, 'La tessère de Montealegre et l'évolution des communautés indigènes d'Auguste à Hadrien', *Klio* 76 (1994), 342-54; for an overview of *hospitium* in Iberia in the imperial period see M. Salinas de Frías, 'Fides, hospitium y clientela en

Hispania', in Villar and Fernández Álvarez, op. cit. (n. 138), 241-55.

<sup>292</sup> Ma. González Rodríguez, 'Reflexiones sobre las unidades organizativas indígenas del área indoeuropea', in González and Santos, op. cit. (n. 197), 139-66.

<sup>293</sup> J. Santos, 'Comunidades indígenas y administración romana en el norte de la península ibérica', in González and Santos, op. cit. (n. 197), 181-200.

<sup>294</sup> I. Sastre Prats, *Formas de dependencia social en el noroeste peninsular. Transición del mundo prerromano al romano y época altoimperial* (1998).

<sup>295</sup> M. Bendala, *La necrópolis romana de Carmona* (1976); A. Durán y Sanpere, 'Una vía sepulcral romana en Barcelona', *Cuadernos de Arqueología e Historia de la Ciudad* 4 (1963), 61-103; M. Almagro, *Las necrópolis romanas de Ampurias* (1945).

<sup>296</sup> One example amongst many is S. Dardaine, 'Honneurs funèbres et notables municipaux dans l'épigraphie de la Bétique', *Habis* 23 (1992), 139-51.

<sup>297</sup> For an overview, see H. von Hesberg, 'Römische Grabbauten in den hispanischen Provinzen', in Trillmich, Hauschild, Blech, Niemeyer, Nünnerich-Asmus and Kreiling, op. cit. (n. 26), 159-81.

the attention lavished upon Iron Age cemeteries by prehistorians. The recent proliferation of urban excavation has begun to change this. Published cemetery excavations reveal how provincial communities reacted to their integration into the Roman political and social order by developing increasingly hierarchical burial types that embody a range of new cultural influences.

Major cemeteries have been uncovered along the approach roads to Augusta Emerita,<sup>298</sup> Corduba,<sup>299</sup> Valentia,<sup>300</sup> and Tarraco,<sup>301</sup> and at other provincial towns. A feature common to many of them is the self-representation of élites by means of high quality monuments located in prominent positions close to the entrance to the towns. A range of drum-shaped mausolea, tower tombs, monumental funerary altars, cupae, and funerary stelae have been found at all the major cemeteries, sometimes carrying inscriptions and carvings of the deceased.<sup>302</sup> Stylistic analyses of monuments in the upper and lower Guadalquivir valley of Baetica point to links with central Italy, while those from Tarraco and the coastal area of Tarraconensis are closer to prototypes in Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>303</sup> Rather less has been learned, as yet, about the spatial development of cemeteries through time, not least because the modern urban environment in which they have been discovered makes meaningful analysis difficult. Research into the funerary rites used at these sites is still rare, apart from documenting the transition from cremation to inhumation in many areas by the second century A.D. However, the discovery of cremation burials in Iberian-tradition painted ware urns in Julio-Claudian contexts at Corduba points to the potential of this kind of enquiry for looking at the heterogeneity of funerary traditions in early imperial contexts.<sup>304</sup> Our knowledge of cemeteries is sketchier in much of central Tarraconensis and Lusitania,<sup>305</sup> where published work has been largely limited to the analysis of funerary monuments and decorated funerary stelae.<sup>306</sup> One exception, however, is the exhaustive publication of the cemeteries of Bracara Augusta.<sup>307</sup>

The transformation of religious practice during the early Empire has generated a number of studies that emphasize the richness and variety of the epigraphic evidence

<sup>298</sup> T. Nogales and J. Márquez, 'Espacios y tipos funerarios en Augusta Emerita', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 113–44.

<sup>299</sup> D. Vaquerizo Gil, 'Formas arquitectónicas funerarias de carácter monumental en Colonia Patricia Corduba', *AEA* 74 (2001), 131–60; idem (ed.), *Funus Cordubensium. Costumbres funerarias en la Córdoba romana* (2001), 120–242; idem, op. cit. (n. 149), 141–391.

<sup>300</sup> A. Ribera i Lacomba, 'La topografía de los cementerios romanos de Valentia', in A. Ribera i Lacomba and J. Pérez Ballester (eds), *Dossier. Necrópolis Valencianes*, Saitabi 46 (1996), 85–99; M. Roselló Mesquida and E. Ruiz Val, 'La necrópolis occidental de la Valencia romana', in Ribera i Lacomba and Pérez Ballester, op. cit., 147–68; J. L. Jiménez Salvador, 'Monumentos funerarios romanos de Valentia', in Ribera i Lacomba and Pérez Ballester, op. cit., 181–94; E. García Prósper, 'Algunos apuntes sobre las prácticas funerarias de época romana en Valentia', *Saguntum* 33 (2001), 75–84.

<sup>301</sup> J. M. Gurt and J. M. Macías, 'La ciudad y el territorio de Tarraco: el mundo funerario', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 87–112.

<sup>302</sup> See the general survey of M. L. Cancela Ramírez de Arellano, 'Los monumentos funerarios de las élites locales hispanas', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 105–19; more specifically, see Edmonson, Nogales Basarrate and Trillmich, op. cit. (n. 275) and M. Clavería Nadal, *Los sarcófagos romanos de Cataluña. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. España* (2001).

<sup>303</sup> J. Beltrán Fortes and L. Baena del Alcázar, *Arquitectura funeraria romana de la Colonia Salaria (Úbeda, Jaén)* (1996); J. Beltrán Fortes, 'La arquitectura funeraria en la Hispania meridional durante los siglos II a.C.–I d.C.', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 233–58; L. Baena Alcázar and J. Beltrán Fortes, *Esculturas romanas de la provincia de Jaén. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. España. Tomo 1. Volumen 2* (2002), 52–67; I. Rodá, 'La escultura del sur de la Narbonense y del norte de Hispania Citerior: paralelos y contactos', in León Alonso and Nogales Basarrate, op. cit. (n. 255), 173–96.

<sup>304</sup> B. García Matamala, 'Enterramientos con urnas de tradición indígena en Corduba', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 276–96.

<sup>305</sup> For example L. A. Curchin, 'Funerary customs in central Spain: the transition from pre-Roman to Roman practice', *Hispania Antiqua* 21 (1997), 7–34, looks at the continuity of burial tradition in Celtiberia during the early Empire.

<sup>306</sup> See for example J. A. Abásolo, 'Las estelas decoradas de la Meseta', in T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Actas de la I Reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania* (1993), 181–93; J. A. Abásolo and M. Mayer, 'Estelas rupestres en Hispania. La necrópolis de Termes', in J. L. Vaz et al., *Saxa Scripta. Actas do III Simpósio Ibero-Itálico de Epigrafia rupestre* (2001), 161–79.

<sup>307</sup> M. Martins and M. Delgado, *História e Arqueologia de uma cidade em devir: Bracara Augusta. As necrópolis de Bracara Augusta*, Cadernos de Arqueologia 6–7 (1989–1990).



from the towns.<sup>308</sup> One of the most significant advances has been the integration of archaeological evidence with what is known from inscriptions and historical sources. This is clearest in the case of the cults of the emperor.<sup>309</sup> At Augusta Emerita and Tarraco, architectural and historical studies have identified early to mid-first-century A.D. temples of the municipal imperial cult,<sup>310</sup> while excavations at all three provincial capitals have revealed ample evidence to associate large monumental complexes with rituals associated with the provincial imperial cult.<sup>311</sup> Augustea bearing imperial portraits have also been detected in public buildings in all three provinces, especially in the *conventus* capitals and *coloniae*, but also in privileged towns of indigenous origin.<sup>312</sup> The suggestion that fora and other public buildings were associated with emperor worship from Augustus onwards has been bolstered by the identification of inscribed statue bases and plaques erected in honour of Augustus and members of his family by decurions at towns throughout the Hispaniae,<sup>313</sup> as well as by the distribution of imperial statues.<sup>314</sup> Apart from this, epigraphic studies have looked at a range of issues, including diverse aspects of the provincial flaminiate,<sup>315</sup> the *sevirate*,<sup>316</sup> the participation of representatives from different towns in priesthoods,<sup>317</sup> and the involvement of communities in emperor worship in central Tarraconensis.<sup>318</sup>

The study of other official religions is still dominated by analyses of the distribution of epigraphic references to individual deities in the context of the historical evidence.<sup>319</sup> This has sometimes led to the identification of a sanctuary site, as in the case of the proposed sanctuary of Liber Pater at La Montaña Frontera (Sagunto) of first-century B.C. to third-century A.D. date.<sup>320</sup> Other studies have attempted to analyse the interplay of indigenous, eastern, and Roman religions in individual urban communities.<sup>321</sup> Temples have tended to be studied from the architectural, rather than the ritual, perspective,<sup>322</sup> and attempts have been made to distinguish capitolia on the basis of

<sup>308</sup> For example, compare and contrast J. L. Ramírez Sádaba, 'Panorámica religiosa de Augusta Emerita', in M. Mayer and J. Gómez Pallarès (eds), *Religio Deorum. Actas del coloquio internacional de epigrafía. Culto y sociedad en occidente* (1993), 389–98; G. Alföldy, 'Tarraco y la Hispania romana: cultos y sociedad', in Mayer and Gómez-Pallares, op. cit., 7–26; J. d'Encarnação, 'Religião e cultura na epigrafia de Liberalitas Iulia (Subsídios para o seu estudo)', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 233–53.

<sup>309</sup> D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, EPRO 108 (1987–1992), re-assesses the character and development of the cults of the emperor in the Hispaniae in the context of the western Empire as a whole.

<sup>310</sup> supra n. 230.

<sup>311</sup> supra n. 229.

<sup>312</sup> For 'Tarraconensis, for example, see I. Rodá, 'Espacios de representación y de culto dinástico en al provincia de Hispania Citerior', *Histria Antiqua* 4 (1998), 117–26; see also D. Boschung, 'Die Präsenz des Kaiserhauses im öffentlichen Bereich' in Trillmich and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 95), 391–402; J. M. Noguera Celdrán, 'Un edificio del centro monumental de Carthago Nova: Análisis arquitectónico-decorativo e hipótesis interpretativas', *JRA* 15 (2002), 63–96, postulates the existence of an *augusteum* at the centre of Carthago Nova: this was opened to the public in 2002.

<sup>313</sup> Abascal, op. cit. (n. 176).

<sup>314</sup> Garriguet, op. cit. (n. 209), discusses suites of imperial sculpture from the fora (Corduba, Augusta Emerita, Tarraco, Baelo, Barcino, Conimbriga, Italica, Saguntum), theatres (Augusta Emerita, Tarraco, Italica, Segobriga), cult enclosures (Sancti Petri at Gades, the Traianum of Italica), and sites whose context is unknown.

<sup>315</sup> Such as C. Castillo García, 'Los flamines provinciales. El caso de la Bética', in Rodríguez Neila and Navarro Santana, op. cit. (n. 200); A. Stylow, 'Las

estatuas honoríficas como medio de autorepresentación', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 141–53; J. Edmonson, 'Two dedications to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta from Augusta Emerita and the early development of the imperial cult in Lusitania re-examined', *MDAI(M)* 38 (1997), 89–103.

<sup>316</sup> Such as I. Rodá, 'Consideraciones sobre el *sevirato* en Hispania. Las dedicatorias ob honorem *seviratus* en el *Conventus Tarraconensis*', in Mayer and Gómez Pallarès, op. cit. (n. 308), 399–404.

<sup>317</sup> R. Étienne, 'Le culte impérial, vecteur de la hiérarchisation urbaine', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 215–31.

<sup>318</sup> L. Curchin, 'Cult and Celt: indigenous participation in emperor worship in central Spain', in A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: the Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 17 (1996), 143–52.

<sup>319</sup> See, for example, J. Mangas, 'El culto a Hércules en la Bética', in Blázquez and Alvar, op. cit. (n. 119), 279–97; F. Fortea, *Némesis en el occidente romano. ensayo de interpretación histórica y corpus de materiales* (1994).

<sup>320</sup> J. Corell, 'El culto a Liber Pater en el sur del *conventus Tarraconensis* según la epigrafía', in Mayer and Gómez Pallarès, op. cit. (n. 308), 125–43.

<sup>321</sup> Such as the case of the enigmatic and pluricultural town of Carmo in Baetica: J. Alvar Eszquerria, 'El panteón de Carmona: destellos de la vida religiosa en una ciudad hispanorromana', in Caballos, op. cit. (n. 194), 477–89; see also J. d'Encarnação, 'Culto e sociedade na Salácia romana', in Mayer and Gómez Pallarès, op. cit. (n. 308), 161–9.

<sup>322</sup> See, for example, W. Mierse, *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.* (1999): it should be noted that the references for many of the sites in this book were out of date at the time of publication.

epigraphic evidence and the comparative analysis of plans.<sup>323</sup> However, the potential of some sites for this kind of analysis is excellent. This is clearest in the very full publication of the Claudio-Neronian capitulum in the forum at Baelo. This now ranks as one of the best studied sanctuaries in the Iberian peninsula, and illustrates the overlapping relationship between deities.<sup>324</sup> An imperial statue was found in one of the cellae, while there are additional shrines in the temples which lie at the north end of the forum, and a sanctuary to Isis lying adjacent to the eastern side of the capitulum<sup>325</sup> (Fig. 9).

Interest in eastern religions has enjoyed something of a small renaissance, with the discovery of new evidence for deities such as Theos Megistos<sup>326</sup> and Isis,<sup>327</sup> as well as a shrine to Isis in the portico behind the theatre at Italica<sup>328</sup> and mithraea at Augusta Emerita<sup>329</sup> and Can Modollell (Cabrera de Mar) near Iluro in north-eastern Tarraconensis.<sup>330</sup> In addition, synthetic studies of mystery religions have reviewed the available evidence<sup>331</sup> and discussed it in the context of mystery religions in the Roman world at large.<sup>332</sup>

The integration of Roman and indigenous religions is another major field of research.<sup>333</sup> In particular, syncretism between Roman, 'Celtic', and Iberian cultural influences in central, northern and western Tarraconensis and Lusitania has generated a highly varied epigraphic record that is furthering our understanding of the integration of Roman and indigenous religions.<sup>334</sup> Particularly important have been studies that have looked at the *interpretatio* of Roman and indigenous religions in a regional social context,<sup>335</sup> and have attempted to identify<sup>336</sup> and characterize indigenous concepts of religious sanctuary.<sup>337</sup> Even more significant have been detailed analyses of known sanctuary sites, which reveal the Romanization of indigenous deities. The study of recently discovered altars re-used in the Visigothic church of Santa Lucia de Trampal (Alcuésar, Cáceres) suggests that the main cult centre of the Dea Ataecina Turobrigensis lay in its immediate vicinity.<sup>338</sup> Most attestations of this major regional cult have been

<sup>323</sup> M. Bendala, 'Capitolia hispaniarum', *Anas* 2–3 (1989–1990), 11–35.

<sup>324</sup> P. Sillières, *Belo VII. Le Capitole* (2001), 179–203; idem, op. cit. (n. 217), 85–96.

<sup>325</sup> Adjacent to the forum and Flavian in date: Sillières, op. cit. (n. 217), 96–102. Inscriptions from the sanctuary are to be found in J. Bonneville, S. Dardaine and P. Le Roux, *Belo V. L'épigraphie. Les inscriptions romaines de Baelo Claudia*, Archéologie 10 (1988).

<sup>326</sup> J. M. Abascal and G. Alföldy, 'Zeus Theos Meistos en Segobriga', *AEA* 71 (1998), 157–68.

<sup>327</sup> F. Beltrán Fortes and R. Atencia Páez, 'Nuevos aspectos del culto isiaco en la Baetica', *Spal* 5 (1996), 171–96.

<sup>328</sup> R. Corzo, 'Isis en el teatro de Italica', *Boletín de Bellas Artes* 19 (1991), 125–48.

<sup>329</sup> T. Barrientos Vera, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las religiones orientales en Occidente: un espacio de culto mitraico en la zona sur de Mérida', *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas 1999. Memoria* 5 (2001), 357–82. A useful overview with bibliography is provided by F. Marco Simón, *Die Religion im keltischen Hispanien*, Archæolingua. Series 12 (1998).

<sup>330</sup> Fabre, Mayer and Rodá, op. cit. (n. 103), nos 85 and 86.

<sup>331</sup> J. Alvar, 'Los cultos místéricos en la Tarraconense', in Mayer and Gómez Pallarès, op. cit. (n. 308), 27–46; for Isis in particular, see idem, 'El culto y la sociedad: Isis en la Betica', in González Roman, op. cit. (n. 35), 14–28.

<sup>332</sup> J. Alvar, *Los misterios. Religiones "orientales" en el imperio romano* (2001).

<sup>333</sup> See for example J. Alvar, 'Las religiones en Hispania en el cambio de la era', in Hernández Guerra, Sagredo San Eustaquio and Solana Sáinz, op. cit. (n. 188), 119–28. idem, 'Religiosidad y religiones en Hispania', in Blázquez and Alvar, op. cit. (n. 119), 239–77; idem, 'Arquitectura religiosa e integración

social: aspectos de la romanización de la Bética', in González, op. cit. (n. 189), 101–16; F. Marco, 'Integración, interpretatio y resistencia religiosa en el occidente del imperio', in Blázquez and Alvar, op. cit. (n. 119), 217–38; J. Cardion Ribeiro (ed.), *Religiões da Lusitânia. Loquuntur Saxa* (2002), provides a very full epigraphic and archaeological survey of evidence from this province; M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome. Volume 1. A History* (1998), 345–6 make several comments.

<sup>334</sup> See the excellent synthesis by F. Marco, 'La religiosidad en la Cética hispana', in Almagro Gorbea, op. cit. (n. 63); see also J. d'Encarnação, 'Divinidades indígenas peninsulares: problemas metodológicas de seu estudo', in González and Arce, op. cit. (n. 195), 261–74; idem, 'Religión indígena y religion popular', in Almagro-Gorbea and Álvarez Martínez, op. cit. (n. 24), 269–73; J. C. Olivares Pedreño, 'Los dioses indígenas en el noroeste de Portugal', *Conimbriga* 39 (2000), 53–83; idem, *Los dioses de la Hispania Céltica* (2002).

<sup>335</sup> F. Marco Simón, 'Reflexiones sobre el hecho religioso en el contexto social de la Celtiberia', in González and Santos, op. cit. (n. 197), 35–50; F. Beltrán Lloris, 'Culto a los Lares y grupos de parentesco en la Hispania indoeuropea', in Mayer and Gómez Pallarès, op. cit. (n. 308), 59–71.

<sup>336</sup> F. Herves Raigoso and G. Meijide Cameselle, 'O culto as ninfas nas termas de Lugo', *Gallaecia* 19 (2000), 187–96.

<sup>337</sup> F. Marco Simón, 'La individualización del espacio sagrado: testimonios cultuales en el noroeste hispánico', in Mayer and Gómez Pallarès, op. cit. (n. 308), 317–24.

<sup>338</sup> The sanctuary of Ataecina: M. Abascal, 'Las inscripciones latinas de Santa Lucia del Trampal (Alcuésar, Cáceres) y el culto de Ataecina en Hispania', *AEA* 68 (1995), 31–105.

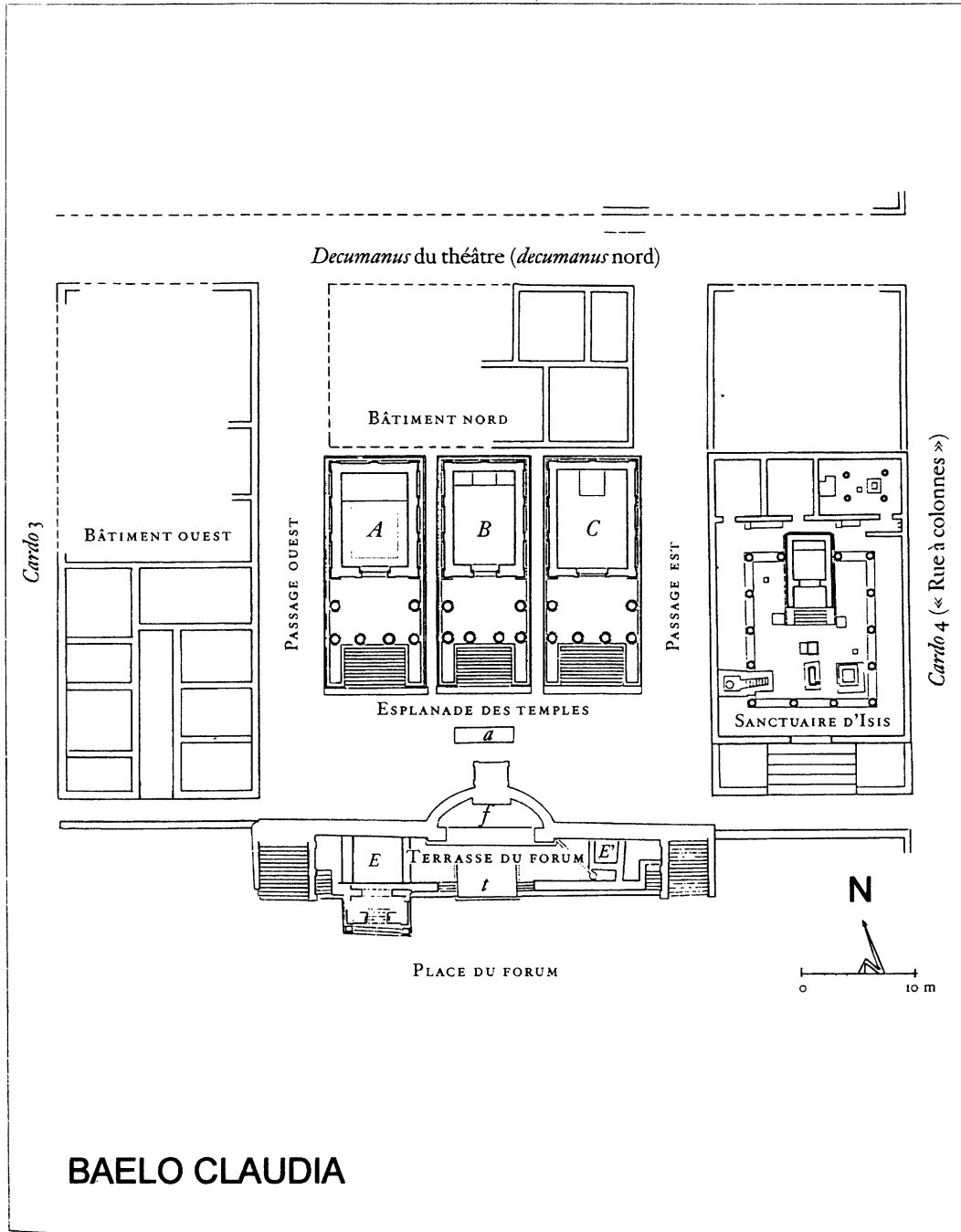


FIG. 9. PLAN OF THE FORUM AND SANCTUARY OF ISIS AT BAELO.

found in the triangle formed by Norba (Cáceres), Turgallium (Trujillo), and Augusta Emerita, in south-east Lusitania. It has been suggested that Ataecina was a deity of the Underworld of Vettonian origin, later assimilated with Proserpina and Feronia. The cult centre at Turibriga, possibly a *pagus* or *vicus* rather than a town, lay within the territory of Augusta Emerita, and has been identified with *Lucus Feroniae Emeritensium*; the deity was formally adopted by the colonists of Augusta Emerita upon its

foundation.<sup>339</sup> In north-western Tarraconensis, an area known for its rock-cut open air sanctuaries, the cult centre of the Deo Lari Bero Breo at Doñon (Pontevedra) has been a subject of study,<sup>340</sup> as has the well-known cult centre of Panóias (Vila-Real). Here, the detailed analysis of the series of rock-cut inscriptions, the *lacus* and other features provides a rare glimpse of religious practice, suggesting that Panóias was an indigenous sanctuary that incorporated Serapis and other deities in its religious canon during the early imperial period, and that the juxtaposition of the rock-cut features and inscriptions reflects a complex initiation rite.<sup>341</sup> The cave-sanctuary of the Cueva Negra de Fortuna (Murcia), in the vicinity of Carthago Nova in south-eastern Tarraconensis, has been the subject of further study, suggesting that its painted texts were the product of multiple religious syncretism, to which indigenous (in the form of nymphae), Roman, and eastern elements contributed.<sup>342</sup> In central Baetica, the architecture of the hilltop sanctuary of Munigua has been the subject of continued research. The Flavian period saw the transformation of the indigenous sanctuary to unknown deities into an architectural set-piece resembling the sanctuaries of Fortuna Primigenia and Hercules Victor in Latium, with at least three temples, a cult room to Dis Pater, and a niche dedicated to Mercury.<sup>343</sup>

#### ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Iberia is particularly renowned for its major agricultural and metal resources, both of which made an important contribution to the economic life of the Roman Empire during the early imperial period. One of the distinctive aspects of the new economic order introduced by Augustus after the disruption of the civil wars of the earlier and mid-first century B.C. was the new 'network' of some thirty mints that issued predominately bronze coinage in Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania down to the reign of Claudius.<sup>344</sup> The structure, chronology, and output of coins from these mints

<sup>339</sup> Ma. P. García-Bellido, 'Lucus Feroniae Emeritensium', *AEA* 74 (2001), 53–71.

<sup>340</sup> A. Rodríguez Colmenero, 'Donón: un santuario galaico-romano a Bero Breo en el extremo finisterre atlántico', in Paci, op. cit. (n. 80), 849–63.

<sup>341</sup> G. Alföldy, 'Die mysterien von Panóias (Vila Real, Portugal)', *MDAI(M)* 38 (1997), 176–246; his views are further developed by A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *O santuário rupestre Galaico-Romano de Panóias (Vila Real, Portugal). Novas achegas para a sua reinterpretação global* (1999).

<sup>342</sup> See most recently, A. Stylow, 'La Cueva Negra de Fortuna (Murcia), ¿Un santuario púnico?', in Mayer and Gómez Pallares, op. cit. (n. 308), 449–60; M. Mayer, '¿Rito o literatura en la Cueva Negra?', in Mayer and Gómez Pallares, op. cit. (n. 308), 347–54; M. Mayer and A. González Blanco, 'Novedades en la Cueva Negra (Fortuna, Murcia)', in A. Rodríguez Colmenero and L. Gasperini (eds), *Saxa Scripta (Inscripciones en roca). Actas del Simposio Internacional Ibero-Itálico sobre epigrafía rupestre* (1995), 109–13; collected papers in A. González Blanco, M. Mayer Olivé, A. U. Stylow and R. González Fernández (eds), *El Balneario romano y la Cueva*

*Negra de Fortuna (Murcia). Homenaje al Prof. P. H. Rahtz. Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, Monografías Históricas sobre la Antigüedad Tardía 13 (1996). Another recent discovery is the sanctuary of La Cueva de la Griega (Segovia), analysed by F. Marco Simón, 'Nemedus Augustus', in I.-J. Adiego, J. Siles and J. Velaza (eds), *Studia Palaeohispanica et Indogermanica. J. Untermann ab amicis hispanicis oblata*, Aurea Saecula 10 (1993), 165–78; M. S. Corchón (ed.), *La Cueva de la Griega de Pedraza (Segovia)*, Arqueología en Castilla-León 3 (1997), 183–254.

<sup>343</sup> T. Hauschild, 'Los templos romanos de Munigua (Sevilla)', in Ramallo Asensio, op. cit. (n. 89), 133–43: the site was granted municipal status under the Flavians. The analysis of inscriptions from the site reveals an unusually high number of votive dedications: S. Keay, 'Reflections on the epigraphy from Roman Celti', in M. Mayer and J. Velaza (eds), *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae* (forthcoming).

<sup>344</sup> The attribution and chronology of the coins from these mints has been re-analysed by Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès, op. cit. (n. 177).

have been the subject of a number of important studies,<sup>345</sup> as has their circulation<sup>346</sup> and usage.<sup>347</sup> More generic studies have suggested, however, that output from these mints was sporadic and low-volume, suggesting that they were issues primarily for a range of local needs rather than a major source of small change for the provinces.<sup>348</sup> Gold and silver issues have been attributed to the Hispaniae, although doubt has recently been cast on the attribution of two of these.<sup>349</sup> In sum, therefore, most of the gold, silver, and bronze coinage used in the funding of the army, the payment of public works, and small-scale transactions between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius must have derived from imperial mints outside the Iberian peninsula.

### *Rural Settlement*

One of the difficulties encountered in trying to grasp changes in the organization and use of the countryside of the Hispaniae under the early Empire is the lack of synthesis of the new settlement evidence that is continually being amassed in regional *Cartas Arqueológicas* and conference volumes. Notwithstanding this, one of the most important issues to emerge in recent years has been the high degree of continuity in settlement patterns between the republican, or — in the case of the more westerly parts of the peninsula — the late Iron Age period, and the early imperial period. Another has been the diversity of the responses of different regions to the economic demands made by Rome.

### Baetica

There is little doubt that Michel Ponsich's extensive survey of the lower Guadalquivir valley continues to provide the framework within which rural settlement in Baetica is studied.<sup>350</sup> This sees the development of a hierarchy of villas and farms in the course of the first and second centuries A.D., precipitated by the foundation of colonies like Hispalis (Sevilla) and Astigi, and given over in large measure to the production of olive oil for export.<sup>351</sup> While recent work on rural settlement has not been extensive, it is beginning to modify our understanding of this traditional picture. In the first instance, the impression that rural settlement was largely a product of the early imperial period underestimates the continuity of rural sites from the pre-Roman period

<sup>345</sup> These include J. Benages i Olivé, *Les monedes de Tarragona* (1994); Ma. M. Llorens, *La ciudad de Carthago Nova: las emisiones romanas* (1994); P. P. Ripollès and J. M. Abascal, *Las monedas de la ciudad de Segobriga (Saetices, Cuenca)* (1996); L. Sagredo, 'Lucus Augusti y las monedas de la caetra', *Hispania Antiqua* 19 (1995), 37–75; idem, 'Análisis y distribución de las emisiones de Emerita', *Historia Antiqua* 20 (1996), 53–79.

<sup>346</sup> Apart from the study of the distribution of coins from individual mints there have also been analyses of the range of issues (local and official) at different kinds of site, such as A. Arévalo González, 'Sobre la circulación monetaria de la ciudad de Sisapo (Almodóvar del Campo, Ciudad Real)', in García-Bellido and Sobral Centeno, op. cit. (n. 113), 129–37. Generally see P. P. Ripollès, 'Circulación monetaria en Hispania durante el periodo republicano y el inicio de la dinastía Julio-Claudia', in *VIII Congreso Nacional de Numismática (Avilés 1992)* (1994), 115–48; and T. Marot, 'Circulació i utilització quotidiana de la moneda a l'Hispania de l'època d'August', in Campo,

op. cit. (n. 114), 129–55. P. P. Ripollès, 'La moneda romana imperial y su circulación en Hispania', *AEA* 75 (2002), 195–214, reviews coin supply throughout the imperial period.

<sup>347</sup> For example, C. García Moreno, 'Material numismático de las excavaciones de la Casa de los Plintos de Uxama (Soria)', in García-Bellido and Sobral Centeno, op. cit. (n. 113), 191–8.

<sup>348</sup> P. P. Ripollès, J. Muñoz and Ma. M. Llorens, 'The original number of dies used in the Roman provincial coinage of Spain', *Actes du XIe Congrès Internationale de Numismatique. Bruxelles 1991*. Vol. 1 (1993), 315–24.

<sup>349</sup> T. Volk, 'Hispania and the gold and silver coinage of Augustus', in Campo, op. cit. (n. 114), 59–90.

<sup>350</sup> This was begun in the 1960s and was completed with the publication of the final volume of the survey: M. Ponsich, *Implantation rurale antique sur le bas-Guadalquivir* 4 (1991).

<sup>351</sup> Summarized in M. Ponsich, 'The rural economy of western Baetica', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 171–82.

in some parts of the province.<sup>352</sup> Closer analysis of the ceramics from rural sites suggests that, although there are known rural settlements of Augustan date, particularly in the region around Italica and Hispalis, Roman sites were not really a significant part of the landscape until the second half of the first century A.D. This is true of the area of the Celti, close to the junction of the Genil and the Guadalquivir, in the hinterland of Astigi, and across much of the *conventus astigitanus*.<sup>353</sup> Moreover, the tower-enclosures in the hinterland of Obulco, Ituci (?Torreparedones), and Tucci (Martos) are a reminder that there was considerable variation in settlement types across the province.<sup>354</sup>

Many farms and villas in central Baetica were involved in the production of olive oil and the manufacture of the amphorae in which it was transported.<sup>355</sup> While analysis of stamps has been undertaken to characterize the production of different Dressel 20 kilns, the kilns themselves have only rarely been studied.<sup>356</sup> Even more remarkable is the fact that not a single villa site in the lower Guadalquivir has been excavated. One of very few excavated Baetican villa sites is that at El Ruedo (Almedinilla), which lies in the Córdoba campiña, a long way to the south. This was first established in the mid- to late first century A.D., but did not achieve its maximum splendour until the second and third centuries A.D.<sup>357</sup> The organization of the rural landscape of Roman Baetica has been another area of study.<sup>358</sup> While previous studies suggested that the lands surrounding *coloniae*, like Corduba,<sup>359</sup> and some *municipia* were centuriated, recent analysis provides scant support for this, even though there is some epigraphic evidence for the quite widespread use of Roman units of area measurement from the Augustan period onwards.<sup>360</sup> One exception is the recent discovery of a fragment of a bronze cadastral *forma* that illustrates part of the centuriated territory between the towns of Ucubi (Espejo) and Lacimurga (Monasterio ?) in northern Baetica.<sup>361</sup>

## Tarraconensis

The Catalan coast has been one of the most intensively studied areas of this province. Research here is starting to show how the transformation of urban settlement along the east coast of Tarraconensis between the early first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. precipitated major changes in the way that the countryside was exploited, with Roman-style farms and villas appearing from the mid- to late first century B.C. onwards, often on the site of earlier Ibero-Roman farms. This has been noted in the area between Baetulo and Iluro,<sup>362</sup> where it has been suggested that the process was initiated by local élites. It is also true of the area in the hinterland of Barcino,

<sup>352</sup> See general discussion in S. Keay, 'Ceramic chronology and Roman rural settlement in the lower Guadalquivir valley during the Augustan period', in R. Francovitch and H. Patterson (eds), *Extracting Meaning from Ploughsoil Assemblages. The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes* 5 (2000), 162–73.

<sup>353</sup> Keay, Creighton and Remesal Rodríguez, op. cit. (n. 219); V. Durán Recio and A. Padilla Monge, *Evolución del poblamiento antiguo en el término municipal de Écija* (1990); E. Haley, 'Rural settlement in the Conventus Astigitanus (Baetica) under the Flavians', *Phoenix* 50 (1996), 283–303.

<sup>354</sup> P. Moret, 'Casas fuertes en la Bética y la Lusitania', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 55–89; these are now thought to date to between the end of the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. in Baetica.

<sup>355</sup> J. Remesal Rodríguez, 'Oleum Baeticum, consideraciones y propuestas para su estudio', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131), 373–92, has suggested that these two activities did not take place on the same estates, an observation borne out by the primarily riverine distribution of Dressel 20 kilns.

<sup>356</sup> See the excavations of A. Romo Salas and J. M.

Vargas Jiménez, 'Azanaque (Lora del Río, Sevilla). Evidencias arqueológicas de un centro de producción anfórica', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131), 405–18; also noteworthy is the geophysical survey of the Dressel 20 kilns at Arva: J. Remesal Rodríguez, V. Revilla Calvo, C. Carreras and P. Berni Millet, 'Arva: prospecciones en un centro productor de ánforas Dressel 20 (Alcolea del Río, Sevilla)', *Pyrenae* 28 (1997), 151–78.

<sup>357</sup> Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera, op. cit. (n. 286).

<sup>358</sup> J. F. Rodríguez Neila, 'Organización territorial romana y administración municipal en la Bética', in Rodríguez Neila, op. cit. (n. 76), 205–45.

<sup>359</sup> R. Corzo, 'Topografía y territorio de la Córdoba romana', in León Alonso, op. cit. (n. 85), 63–77.

<sup>360</sup> E. Haley, 'The land as map: problems of Roman land division in Baetica', in Knapp, op. cit. (n. 39), 19–28.

<sup>361</sup> J. G. Gorges, 'Nouvelle lecture du fragment de forma d'un territoire voisin de Lacimurga', *MVC* 29 (1993), 7–23;

<sup>362</sup> O. Olesti Vila, 'El origen de las villae romanas en Catalunya', *AEA* 70 (1997), 71–90.

a short distance to the south. This was founded between 18 and 15 B.C. and it has been suggested that the surrounding land was centuriated and then integrated into the provincial road network with the establishment of a *diverticulum* of the Via Augusta in 8–7 B.C.<sup>363</sup> Further south, in the immediate hinterland of Tarraco, systematic surface survey suggests that here too there was little change in the pattern of settlement during the republican period. However, the transformation of the town into provincial and *conventus* capital precipitated significant changes in the way that the landscape was used between the mid- to late first century B.C. and the mid-first century A.D. A more hierarchical settlement pattern emerges and, by the mid-first century A.D., the first villas are documented.<sup>364</sup> Excavations at Els Munts and Callipolis show that by the second century A.D. a few of these had developed into major agricultural establishments with sumptuously decorated *villae urbanae*.<sup>365</sup> By contrast, the site of Vilauba in the hinterland of Gerunda, to the north, provides a good example of the organization and development of the middling size villa that would have proliferated in the coastal region.<sup>366</sup> Many of the rural settlements throughout this area would have been involved in the local wine industry that had its roots in the early first century B.C. Wine presses<sup>367</sup> and an increasing number of kilns for the production of the characteristic Tarraconense I, Pascual I, and Dressel 2–4 amphorae have been found in the hinterland of Iluro, Baetulo, Tarraco, and Dertosa (Tortosa).<sup>368</sup> The organization of villa-based wine and ceramic production in the vicinity of Saguntum and Dianium (Denia) is far better understood as a consequence of intensive fieldwork near modern Denia.<sup>369</sup>

Survey evidence from south-east Tarraconensis, in the vicinity of Carthago Nova and coastal regions like Aguilas, as well as the inland regions of Jumilla, Yecla, and Lorca, points to a differentiated picture. There are strong degrees of continuity in rural occupation through into the imperial period, with the appearance of villas from the first century A.D. onwards.<sup>370</sup> In the area to the east of Carthago Nova, the rural settlements only became involved in agricultural production following the abandonment of the silver mines in the Augustan period.<sup>371</sup>

One region of Tarraconensis that emerges as a strong contrast to the east coast is the north and west of the Iberian peninsula. Recent research indicates that, despite the fact that these regions were incorporated into the Roman Empire some 200 years later than the east coast, the spread of rural exploitation centred upon towns happened rapidly after the conquest. In the northern Meseta, for example, rural settlements in the hinterland of towns like Numantia, Uxama Argaela, and Ocilis (Medinaceli) first appear

<sup>363</sup> J. M. Palet i Martínez, *Estudi territorial del Pla de Barcelona* (1997); for other work on centuriation in Tarraconensis see E. Ariño Gil, *Catastros romanos en el convento jurídico caesaraugustano. La región aragonesa* (1990), which attempts to identify cadasters around Osca and Caesaraugusta.

<sup>364</sup> Carreté, Keay and Millett, op. cit. (n. 126).

<sup>365</sup> F. Tarrats Bou, J. M. Macias i Solé, E. Ramón Sariñena and J. A. Remolá Vallverdu, 'Excavacions a l'àrea residencial de la villa romana dels Munts (Altafulla, Tarragonès)', *Empúries* 51 (1998), 197–225; J. M. Macias i Solé, 'La villa romana de Callipolis (Vilaseca, Tarragonès)', in Ruiz de Arbulo, op. cit. (n. 85), 207–22.

<sup>366</sup> P. Castanyer i Masoliver and J. Tremoleda i Trilla, *La villa romana de Vilauba. Un exemple de l'ocupació i explotació romana del territori a la Comarca del Pla d'Estany* (1999); J. Casas i Genover, P. Castanyer i Masoliver, J. M. Nolla i Brufau and J. Tremoleda i Trilla, *El món rural d'època romana a Catalunya. L'exemple del nord-est* (1995).

<sup>367</sup> For example M. Genera i Monells and N. Prevosti i Monclús, 'Restes de'un torcular a la partida de la Fontjoana (Vinebre, Ribera d'Ebre)', in M. Comas and P. Padró (eds), *II Colloqui internacional d'arqueologia romana. El via a l'antiguitat. Economia, producció i comerç al Mediterrani Occidental. Actes* (1998), 294–301.

<sup>368</sup> See for example P. Padrós and Can Peixau, 'Un centre productor d'àmfiores al territorium de Baetulo', in Comas and Padró, op. cit. (n. 367), 185–92; J. Massó Carballido, 'Dades sobre la producció d'àmfiores de vi romanes en el sector occidental del Camp de Tarragona', in Comas and Padró, op. cit. (n. 367), 283–8; V. Revilla Calvo, *Producción cerámica y economía rural en el bajo Ebro en época romana. El alfar de l'Aumedina, Tivissa (Tarragona)*, Col·lecció Instrumenta 1 (1993), 135–52 provides a general survey of wine production in north-eastern Tarraconensis and makes the point that wine and amphora production were both estate centred. The model is extended to other parts of the north-east in V. Revilla Calvo, *Producción, cerámica, viticultura y propiedad rural en Hispania Tarraconensis (siglos I a. C.–III a. C.)* (1995).

<sup>369</sup> Particularly at the site of La Almadrava: J. A. Gisbert Santonja, 'Àmfiores i vi al territorium de Dianium (Dénia). Dades per a la sistematització de la producció amforal al País Valencià', in Comas and Padrós, op. cit. (n. 367), 383–417.

<sup>370</sup> See collected papers in J. M. Noguera Celdrán, *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania* (1995).

<sup>371</sup> E. Ruiz Valderas, 'El poblamiento rural romano en el área oriental de Carthago Nova', in Noguera Celdrán, op. cit. (n. 370), 153–82.

in the early imperial period, with a significant proportion on earlier Celtiberian sites.<sup>372</sup> Further to the north-west, an area in which castro settlements predominated during the pre-Roman period, the first villas, such as Santa Colomba de Somoza, appear in the early first century A.D. The continued demand of towns like Asturica Augusta, Legio, Lantia (Lancia), and Bergidum Flavium (Cacabelos) during the later first and second century A.D. eventually led to a breakdown in the castro-centred system of exploitation and a proliferation of villas.<sup>373</sup> The region of Bracara Augusta, to the south, was slightly different. While recent surveys and excavations attest the continuity of upland castros and other pre-Roman settlements in the lowlands well into the imperial period, the early Roman period sees the emergence of a hierarchical settlement pattern comprising nucleated settlements as well as villas and farms. However, these predominated in areas close to the town and along major roads. Consequently, many of the more peripheral regions of the north-west were only marginally affected by the economic pull of the towns, which are seen as being essentially political foci.<sup>374</sup>

### Lusitania

Much of the analysis of rural settlement in this province draws upon comparatively old site distribution maps; new field surveys are comparatively rare.<sup>375</sup> As in Baetica and Tarraconensis, changes in rural settlement were gradual with some indigenous settlements continuing as late as the end of the first century A.D. Similarly, the major change in settlement patterns seems to have taken place in the course of the first century A.D., as a consequence of Augustus' reorganization of the urban structure of the province.<sup>376</sup> Some sites have been the subject of important excavations, such as the massive villa of São Cucufate (Vila de Frades, Vidigueira), located between Pax Iulia (Beja) and Eborac. This began as a small farm in the mid-first century A.D., and then developed into a huge peristyle villa with baths in the first quarter of the second century A.D.<sup>377</sup> In addition there have been various thematic surveys. For example, the distribution of evidence for wine production in Lusitania points to a concentration of manufacture in areas to the south of the Tagus, in major villas and rural establishments like Fonte do Milho (Paires, Peso de Régua).<sup>378</sup>

The regionality of settlement patterns is a key feature of the province, exemplified by the differences between the settlements in the region of Pax Iulia<sup>379</sup> in the south of

<sup>372</sup> J. Gómez Santa Cruz, 'Aproximación al poblamiento rural hispano-romano en la provincia de Soria', *II Symposium de Arqueología Soriana. Volumen II* (1992), 937–56.

<sup>373</sup> F. Regueras Grande, 'Villas romanas Leonesas: Una ordenación', AAVV, *Actas. ArqueoLeón. Historia de León a través de la arqueología* (1996), 91–106.

<sup>374</sup> For example, M. Martins, *O povoamento proto-histórico e a romanização de bacia do curso médio do Cávado* (1990); M. Martins, 'A ocupação romana da região de Braga: Balanço e perspectivas de investigação', in *Actas do Congresso Histórico Comemorativo dos 150 anos de nascimento de Alberto Sampaio* (1995); M. Millett, 'Roman interaction in north-western Iberia', *OJA* 20.2 (2001), 157–70 analyses rural development to the south of Braga; for the continued occupation of castros in the north-west in general, see F. Arias Vilas, 'Poblamiento rural: la fase tardía de la cultura castreña', in Fernández Ochoa, op. cit. (n. 165), 181–8; F. Pérez Losada, 'Hacia una definición de los asentamientos rurales en Gallaecia: poblados (vici) y casas de campo (villae)', in Fernández Ochoa, op. cit. (n. 165), 189–97; J. de Alarcão, R. Étienne and F. Mayet, *Les villas romaines de São Cucufate (Portugal)* (1990), 149–83.

<sup>375</sup> J. M. Fernández Corrales, *El asentamiento romano en Extremadura y su análisis espacial* (1988); J. de

Alarcão, *Roman Portugal* (1988) provides a useful gazetteer of sites from published sources; A. Aguilar Saenz and P. Guichard, *Villas romaines d'Extremadura. Dona Maria, La Sevillana et leur environnement* (1993) provide the results of a more focused survey.

<sup>376</sup> Discussed by J. Edmonson, 'Creating a provincial landscape: Roman imperialism and rural change in Lusitania', in Gorges and Salinas de Frias, op. cit. (n. 30), 13–30; for urban change see idem, 'Romanization and urban development in Lusitania', T. Blagg and M. Millett (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (1990), 151–78.

<sup>377</sup> Alarcão, Étienne and Mayet, op. cit. (n. 374).

<sup>378</sup> A. Carvalho, 'Evidências arqueológicas da produção de vinho nas villas romanas do território português', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 361–90; A. M. Arruda and R. Roberto de Almeida, 'As importações de vinho itálico para o território actualmente português', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 361–90.

<sup>379</sup> P. Sillières, 'Les premiers établissements romains de la région de Vila de Frades', in Gorges and Salinas de Frias, op. cit. (n. 30), 89–98; the tower-enclosures and fortified farms of mid-first-century B.C. date in the Portuguese Alentejo are discussed by P. Moret, 'Casas fuertes en la Bética y la Lusitania', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 55–89.



the province, and those in the north-eastern sector of the province around Salmantica.<sup>380</sup> The scale of landscape analysis has varied from gauging the relative density of villas around towns in the *conventus emeritensis*, *pacensis* and *scallibitanus*,<sup>381</sup> to the more specific studies of rural settlements and society in the hinterland of Lacimurga,<sup>382</sup> and along the Atlantic coast.<sup>383</sup> Augusta Emerita in particular has been the focus of a number of studies. These have looked at the organization of the territory as a whole<sup>384</sup> and the character of rural settlements,<sup>385</sup> and have also analysed the literary and epigraphic evidence for the cadasters of the town and the contemporary landscape.<sup>386</sup>

### *Production and Exchange*

Large amounts of stone, metal, pottery and other traded goods recovered from excavations and surveys graphically illustrate how completely the Hispaniae were integrated into the commercial currents of the Roman Empire.<sup>387</sup> The analysis of shipwreck cargoes<sup>388</sup> and excavations elsewhere in the Mediterranean are witness to the growing significance to local economies of wine, olive oil, fish sauce and other goods produced in Baetica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis throughout the first and second centuries A.D., and those products received in return.<sup>389</sup> Similarly, inscriptions attest the role played by families from the provinces involved in shipping and trading activities in different parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>390</sup> Analysis of animal bones is also starting to provide evidence for changes in the meat-based diet, particularly in Baetica, as personal tastes began to change: pork, and to a lesser extent beef, gradually gained preference over sheep/goat in the course of the first century A.D.<sup>391</sup> Economic activity in general has been seen as a major driving force for social change, with mining, and the production and commercialization of olive oil and fine tablewares, seen as promoting migration to, and within, the Hispaniae.<sup>392</sup>

<sup>380</sup> M. Salinas de Frías, 'El poblamiento rural antiguo de la provincia de Salamanca: modelos e implicaciones históricas', in Gorges and Salinas de Frías, op. cit. (n. 30), 177–88; J. Sánchez Álvarez-Sanchis, *Los Vettones* (1999), 334–7, provides a prehistorian's perspective on this issue.

<sup>381</sup> J. G. Gorges, 'Villes et villas de Lusitanie (interactions-échanges-autonomies)', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 91–113.

<sup>382</sup> A. Aguilar Sáenz and S. Lefebvre, 'La ciudad antigua de Lacimurga y su entorno rural', in Gorges and Salinas de Frías, op. cit. (n. 30), 109–30.

<sup>383</sup> V. Gil Mantas, 'As villae marimas e o problema do povoamento do litoral português na época romana', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 135–56.

<sup>384</sup> A. M. Canto, 'Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita: consideraciones en torno a su fundación y territorio', *Gerión* 7 (1989), 149–205; P. le Roux, 'Le territoire de la colonie auguste de Mérida', in Gorges and Rodríguez Martín, op. cit. (n. 30), 263–76.

<sup>385</sup> J. Jiménez and P. D. Sánchez, 'El territorio emeritense de la protohistoria a la tardoantigüedad', *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas 1999. Memoria* 5 (2001), 329–54.

<sup>386</sup> E. Ariño and J. M. Gurt, 'Catastros romanos en el entorno de Augusta Emerita. Fuentes literarias y documentación arqueológica', in Gorges and Salinas de Frías, op. cit. (n. 30), 45–66; for a new translation

of the commentaries on the territory by Iulius Frontinus and Siculus Flaccus, see Campbell, op. cit. (n. 176).

<sup>387</sup> Molina Vidal, op. cit. (n. 133), analyses the evidence for trade between towns such as Iluro, Baetulo, Saguntum, Valentia and Carthago Nova and Italy down to the second century A.D.

<sup>388</sup> A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Roman Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR International Series 580 (1992) provides a useful, albeit dated, overview. For individual wreck sites, see C. Apestegui et al., *Excavacions arqueològiques sub-aquàtiques a Cala Culip – 2: Culip IV* (1998); X. Nieto, *Excavacions arqueològiques a Cala Culip 3. Culip IV: La Terra Sigillata decorada de La Graufesenque* (2001).

<sup>389</sup> The collected papers in the following volumes are of importance for this: Hackens and Miró, op. cit. (n. 284), Comas and Padró, op. cit. (n. 367), and García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131).

<sup>390</sup> See for example R. Étienne and F. Mayet (eds), 'Les élites marchandes de la péninsule ibérique', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 89–99.

<sup>391</sup> Thus reflecting a central Italian diet: A. King, 'Meat diet in the Roman world: a regional inter-site comparison', *JRA* 12 (1999), 168–202.

<sup>392</sup> E. Haley, *Migration and Economy in Imperial Roman Spain. Aurea Saecula* (1991).

## Mines and Quarries

One of the great achievements of archaeological research over the past fifteen years has been to chart the huge increase in Roman mining activity in Iberia, with evidence for gold, silver, lead, copper, tin, iron, cinnabar, and calamine all being mined during the early imperial period.<sup>393</sup> This is particularly true of the silver-mining area around Castulo (near Linares) in south-western Tarraconensis, whose lead ingots are widely distributed around the western Mediterranean,<sup>394</sup> even though exploitation of the silver mines around Carthago Nova ceased in the Augustan period. There was also an unprecedented upsurge in silver mining the whole length of the Sierra Morena in Baetica, and in Baeturia and southern Lusitania, especially in the later first and second centuries A.D. Beyond these better known areas, more recent surveys have revealed the development of gold mines from the first century A.D. in other areas, such as north-eastern Lusitania.<sup>395</sup> Procurators represented the interests of the state at many of these precious metal mines, even though indirect management prevailed. One of the most important mining areas of the whole Empire was the recently conquered territory of the Gallaeci and Astures in the north-west, rich in alluvial, surface, and deep-rock gold. Recent surveys have revealed the huge scale of Roman mining across the modern provinces of León, Lugo, and Ourense, an enterprise that must have been managed directly by Rome. Exploitation began *c.* A.D. 15/20, was at its height in the second century, when the mines provided a major source of gold for Rome's imperial coinage, and concluded in the third century. The importance that Rome attached to these mines may partially explain the creation of Asturica Augusta, Bracara Augusta, and Lucus Augusti, the regional road network, and the military security of the region in the Julio-Claudian period. It may also have lain behind the creation of a procuratorial post for Asturia and Gallaecia in the late first/early second century A.D. Recent archaeological research has refined our understanding of the range of technical adaptations and innovations developed by Roman engineers for extracting gold from the deep rock deposits through the application of hydraulic pressure on a massive scale.<sup>396</sup> There is also increasing evidence for the involvement of the military in the overseeing of mining operations and the transport of bullion, particularly from the later first century A.D. onwards.<sup>397</sup> Moreover, excavations at mining settlements such as Mourán (Las Médulas) and Orellán (Borrenes, León) are beginning to provide some idea of the social conditions of those working the mines,<sup>398</sup> while a recent survey of inscriptions from Iberia suggests that mining generated significant migration to mining areas from different parts of the Iberian peninsula.<sup>399</sup>

In recent years archaeologists have shown much greater sensitivity towards characterizing the different kinds of decorative stone used on major public monuments in towns like Italica, Carthago Nova, and Tarraco.<sup>400</sup> While this has been driven by a desire to trace the distribution of marble and other kinds of decorative stone from

<sup>393</sup> Domergue, *op. cit.* (n. 122, 1989), and *idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 122, 1990).

<sup>394</sup> C. Domergue, 'A view of Baetica's external commerce based on its trade in metals', in Keay, *op. cit.* (n. 31), 201–14.

<sup>395</sup> In the region of Salmantica, Bletisama, and Mirobriga in northern Lusitania: M. Ruiz del Árbol and F.-J. Sánchez Palencia, 'La minería aurífera romana en el nordeste de Lusitania: Las Cavenes de El Cabaco (Salamanca)', *AEA* 72 (1999), 119–39.

<sup>396</sup> The best example of this is the recent work at Las Médulas (León): F. J. Sánchez Palencia *et al.*, 'La zona arqueológica de Las Médulas (1988–1989)', *AEA* 63 (1990), 249–64; F. J. Sánchez Palencia, M. D. Fernández Posse, J. Fernández Manzano and A. Orejas, *La zona arqueológica de las Médulas. Guía arqueológica* (1996).

<sup>397</sup> *supra* n. 183; see also Domergue, *op. cit.* (n. 122, 1990), 348–51 and Tableau XIX.

<sup>398</sup> For the social impact of gold mining upon indigenous communities in the north-west, see A. Orejas, *Estructura social y territorio. El impacto romano en la cuenca noroccidental del Duero*, *Anejos de AEspA* 15 (1996); Ma. Dolores Fernández Posse and F. Javier Sánchez Palencia, 'Las comunidades campesinas en la cultura castreña', *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 55.2 (1998), 127–50.

<sup>399</sup> Haley, *op. cit.* (n. 392), 88–99.

<sup>400</sup> I. Rodá, 'Los materiales de construcción en Hispania', in X. Dupré (ed.), *XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica. La Ciudad en el mundo romano. I* (1994), 327–31.

known quarry sites in different parts of the Mediterranean,<sup>401</sup> it is also born out of an awareness of the ideological connotations associated with the use of marble in the public sphere at Rome and in the provinces from Augustus onwards. Research has also led to the identification of a number of key quarry sites in the Hispaniae, predominately in Baetica, but also in southern Lusitania, and in northern and eastern Tarraconensis.<sup>402</sup> The stone from most of these was for local use, and Almadén seems to have been the only quarry under imperial ownership.<sup>403</sup>

## Olive Oil

The Guadalquivir valley in Baetica was by far the most important production area for olive oil destined for export from Iberia under the Empire.<sup>404</sup> A substantial proportion of production was destined for Rome. Excavations at Monte Testaccio are beginning to provide us with a much clearer idea of the volume of export of Dressel 20 oil amphorae to Rome in the course of the first three centuries A.D., and are helping to identify the main suppliers.<sup>405</sup> The frontiers were also important markets. The quantitative analysis of stamped Baetican Dressel 20 amphorae from military sites in Britain, the Danube, and the Rhine has allowed fluctuating patterns of supply to be charted.<sup>406</sup> It has been suggested that the needs of the state were a 'prime mover' in this trade, and that the stamps and *tituli picti* on the amphorae<sup>407</sup> were control marks used by the Roman authorities based at Hispalis to monitor the export of olive oil to Rome.<sup>408</sup> An alternative suggestion is that they were notations made on cargoes transported from one province to another as a way of ensuring that the *portorium* was paid to the state.<sup>409</sup> Recent studies have also focused upon non-state markets, analysing the distribution of oil-carrying Dressel 20 amphorae from the east coast of Iberia and much of Tarraconensis, emphasizing the importance of the Iberian market for olive oil producers in Baetica,<sup>410</sup> although this does not 'devalue' Rome's heavy dependence upon Baetican olive oil. Other studies have looked at the epigraphic evidence for the involvement of

<sup>401</sup> See for example, M. Mayer, 'Aproximación al problema de la importación del mármol en la Hispania romana', in Hackens and Miró, op. cit. (n. 284), 265–77; O. Williams-Thorpe and P. J. Potts, 'Geochemical and magnetic provenancing of Granite columns from Andalucía and Extremadura, Spain', *OJA* 21.2 (2002), 167–94.

<sup>402</sup> Generally, see M. Mayer and I. Rodá, 'The use of marble and decorative stone in Roman Baetica', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 217–34; examples of good studies of local quarries are provided by M. L. Loza Azuaga and J. Beltrán Fortes, *La explotación del mármol blanco de la Sierra de Mijas en época romana* (1990); M. Mayer and I. Rodá, 'El brocatello de Tortosa: testimonios arqueológicos', *Pallas* 2. *Mélanges. C. Domergue* (1999), 43–52; R. Cebrián Fernández and I. Escrivá Chover, 'La piedra de Buixarró en las obras públicas de Valentia', *Saguntum* 33 (2001), 97–110.

<sup>403</sup> I. Rodá, 'Los mármoles de Itálica. Su comercio y origen', in Caballos and León, op. cit. (n. 87), 155–82, esp. 173ff.

<sup>404</sup> For a general review of the framework of the Baetican economy under Augustus, see C. Chic García, *Historia económica de la Bética en la época de Augusto* (1997).

<sup>405</sup> E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Los tituli picti de las ánforas olearias de la Bética vol. I* (1989); J. M. Blázquez and J. Remesal Rodríguez, *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el Monte Testaccio (Roma). Memoria Campaña 1989* (1994); J. M. Blázquez and J. Remesal

Rodríguez, *Estudios sobre el Monte Testaccio (Roma) I*, *Colleció Instrumenta* 6 (1999).

<sup>406</sup> C. Carreras Monfort and P. P. A. Funari, *Britannia y el Mediterráneo. Estudios sobre el abastecimiento de aceite bético y africano en Britannia*, *Colleció Instrumenta* 5 (1998); C. Carreras Monfort, *Economía de la Britannia romana: la importación de alimentos*, *Colleció Instrumenta* 8 (2000); J. Remesal Rodríguez, *Heeresversorgung und die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen der Baetica und Germanien* (1997).

<sup>407</sup> A topic discussed by J. Remesal Rodríguez, 'Baetican olive oil and the Roman economy', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 183–99, esp. 189ff.

<sup>408</sup> Remesal Rodríguez, op. cit. (n. 407); idem, 'Politica e regimi alimentari nel principato di Augusto: il ruolo dello stato nella dieta di Roma e dell'esercito', in D. Vera (ed.), *Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi* (1999), 247–71.

<sup>409</sup> C. Domergue, 'A view of Baetica's external commerce in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. based on its trade in metals', in Keay, op. cit. (n. 31), 201–15.

<sup>410</sup> P. Berni Millet, *Las ánforas de aceite de la Bética y su presencia en la Cataluña romana*, *Colleció Instrumenta* 4 (1997); M. Beltrán Lloris, 'Ánforas béticas en la Tarraconense: bases para una síntesis', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131), 441–536; C. Carreras Monfort, 'El comercio en Asturia a través de las ánforas', in Fernández Ochoa, op. cit. (n. 165), 205–8.

individual Baetican families in the production and distribution of Dressel 20 oil amphorae.<sup>411</sup>

## Wine

Another development in recent years has been to further our understanding of the development and scale of the export of wine produced along the Mediterranean coast of Iberia.<sup>412</sup> The coast of Tarraconensis was the production area *par excellence*, although intensive research into amphora production in the vicinity of Gades and in the lower Guadalquivir suggests that Baetican wine production might have been on a larger scale than previously suspected.<sup>413</sup> Commercialization of production in Tarraconensis and Baetica can now be shown to have begun in the mid- to later first century B.C., with wine being bottled in amphorae broadly imitating Italic prototypes; the volume of production increased through the first and into the second century A.D. Analysis of amphora stamps reveals an increasingly complex pattern of production,<sup>414</sup> as well as the existence of important links between local producers and merchants and the *colonia* of Narbo in Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>415</sup>

## Fish Sauce

The production of fish sauce has also received considerable academic attention,<sup>416</sup> with the excavations and surveys clarifying our understanding of amphora production primarily in southern Baetica, but also in southern Lusitania.<sup>417</sup> Here, the excavations of fish sauce production sites<sup>418</sup> and the characterization of the amphorae<sup>419</sup> that carried the fish sauce for export have been of key importance. Recent work has also identified fish sauce production sites along the coasts of Galicia and Asturias in Tarraconensis.<sup>420</sup>

<sup>411</sup> See for example, C. Chic García, 'Los Aelii en la producción y difusión del aceite Bético', *Münsterische Beiträge z. antiken Handelsgeschichte Bd IX H.2, S-1* (1992), 1–22.

<sup>412</sup> An overall synthesis of published evidence is presented by R. Étienne and F. Mayet, *Le vin hispanique. Trois clés de l'économie hispanique* (2000), who collate the evidence for wine amphora production in Baetica (Dr.1C, Dr.12, Haltern 70) and Tarraconensis (Pascual, Tarraconense I, Laietania I, Dressel IB, Dressel 2–4, Oberaden 74, and Gauloise 4), together with relevant historical and epigraphic evidence.

<sup>413</sup> E. García Vargas, 'La producción de ánforas "Romanas" en el sur de Hispania. República y alto imperio', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131), 57–174, identifies a range of forms manufactured at local kilns, including the Haltern 70 and Dressel IC etc., although he makes the point that it is risky to attribute individual forms to a single content, and raises the possibility that 'wine' amphorae could have carried a number of different products.

<sup>414</sup> See, for example, M. Comas i Solà, *Baetulo. Les marques d'àmfores* (1997); V. Blanc-Bijon, M. B. Carré, A. Hesnard and A. Tchernia, *Recueil de timbres sur amphores romaines II (1989–1990 et compléments 1987–1988)* (1998), 158–62; 111–16.

<sup>415</sup> M. J. Peña and A. Barreda, 'Productores de vino del nordeste de la Tarraconense. Estudio de algunos

nomina sobre ánforas Laietana I (= Tarraconense I)', *Faventia* 19/2 (1997), 51–73; idem, 'Productores y comerciantes de vino layetano', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131), 305–18; M. Christol and R. Plana Mallart, 'Els negociadors de Narbona i el vi català', *Faventia* 19/2 (1997), 75–95.

<sup>416</sup> Evidence from Iberia up until 1990 is analysed in the context of the rest of the Roman Empire by R. I. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta. Production and Commerce in Materia Medica*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 3 (1991).

<sup>417</sup> See J. Edmonson, 'Le garum en Lusitanie urbaine et rurale: hiérarchies de demande et de production', in Gorges, op. cit. (n. 30), 123–47.

<sup>418</sup> Primarily in the area around Gades: see for example D. Bernal Casasola (ed.), *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el alfar romano de la Venta del Carmen, Los Barrios (Cádiz)* (1998), esp. 19–42; it is also true of southern and western Lusitania: A. Alarcão and F. Mayet (eds), *As ânforas lusitanas. Tipologia, produção, comércio* (1990); R. Étienne, Y. Makaroun and F. Mayet, *Un grand complexe industriel à Tróia (Portugal)* (1994).

<sup>419</sup> A. Alarcão and F. Mayet (eds), *As anforas lusitanas. Tipologia, produção, comércio* (1990): essentially the form Dressel 14.

<sup>420</sup> C. Fernández Ochoa and J. Martínez Maganto, 'Las industrias de salazón en el norte de la península ibérica en época romana. Nuevas aportaciones', *AEA* 67 (1994), 115–34.

## Other Products

The greatest advances here have been ceramic-based, with continued work upon the production of terra sigillata hispanica, and the characterization of coarse pottery production in central<sup>421</sup> and eastern<sup>422</sup> Tarraconensis and Baetica,<sup>423</sup> and the trade in construction materials.<sup>424</sup> These tend to have fairly regional distributions and to tell us about internal trade networks within Iberia.

## THE LATE EMPIRE (Fig. 10)

## PROVINCIAL REORGANIZATION

The period between the late third and late fifth centuries A.D. saw the transformation of the Hispaniae within the context of the broader reorganization of the Roman Empire.<sup>425</sup> Following significant changes to the political and urban character of Roman Iberia during the third century,<sup>426</sup> reforms largely completed under Diocletian saw the three provinces of the early Empire increased to seven (Tarraconensis, Gallaecia, Carthaginensis, Baetica, Lusitania, Baleares, and Mauretania Tingitania), and the creation of the Diocesis Hispaniarum, whose capital lay at Augusta Emerita. Archaeological research into this period has been quite intense,<sup>427</sup> shedding light upon the gradual contraction of imperial power in Iberia down to its disappearance in A.D. 476.

Recent work has suggested that the gold mines of north-west Spain ceased to be exploited by the Roman state in the third century A.D.,<sup>428</sup> while another reading of the evidence is that the organization of exploitation changed and that late Roman activity is

<sup>421</sup> T. Garabito, D. Pradales and M. E. Solovera, 'Los alfares romanos riojanos y la comercialización de sus productos en la región de Castilla-La Mancha', in AAVV, *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha. Tomo IV. Romanos y Visigodos: Hegemonía cultural y cambios sociales* (1988), xxx.

<sup>422</sup> M. Medrano Marqués and M. A. Díaz Sanz, 'El alfar romano, villa y necrópolis de Villarroja de la Sierra (Zaragoza)', *Salduie* 1 (2000), 273–82; M. P. Sáenz Preciado, 'Avance sobre la excavación del centro alfarero romano de "El Quemao" (Tricio, La Rioja)', *Salduie* 1 (2000), 295–302.

<sup>423</sup> M. Roca Roumens, 'Producción y comercialización de la sigillata producida en la Bética', in González Román, op. cit. (n. 31), 221–35; M. Roca Roumens and Ma. I. Fernández García (eds), *Terra Sigillata Hispánica. Centros de fabricación y producciones alto-imperiales* (1999).

<sup>424</sup> Tracing stamped bricks from Italy and Gaul as well as local products: see C. Rico, 'Index de les marques epigràfiques sobre tegulae romanes de Catalunya I el país Valencià', *Saguntum* 28 (1995), 197–215.

<sup>425</sup> The major historical treatment remains J. Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana* (1986), with the new synthesis, idem, 'La península ibérica', in A. Carandini, L. Cracco Ruggini and A. Giardina (eds), *Storia di Roma. Volume terzo. L'Età tardoantica II. Luoghi e le culture* (1993), 379–404. More recently, idem, 'Los gobernadores de la Diocesis Hispaniarum (ss. IV–V D.C.) y la continuidad de las estructuras administrativas romanas en la península ibérica', *Antiquité Tardive* 7 (1999), 73–83 re-analyses evidence for *consulares*, *praesides* and *vicarii* and the structure of the provinces between A.D. 283–288 and

the late fourth century A.D.: he also identifies known governors from A.D. 409 to 411, when captured provincial territory was shared by the Vandals, Suevi, and Alans, and during the further fragmentation of Roman power in the peninsula down to the conquest of Tarraconensis by Euric between A.D. 466 and 485; the current understanding of the prosopography of the Hispaniae is reviewed by G. Bravo, 'Prosopografía civil', in R. Teja and Pérez (ed.), *La Hispania del siglo IV. Administración, economía, sociedad, cristianización* (2002), 97–116; the historical evidence for the ecclesiastical structure of the provinces is studied by J. Vilella, 'Las iglesias y cristianidades hispanas: panorama prosopográfico', in Teja, op. cit., 117–59.

<sup>426</sup> A. Cepas Palanca, *Crisis y continuidad en la Hispania del siglo III*, *Anejos de AEspA* 17 (1997); see also the useful summary by I. Rodá, 'Hispania: from the second century AD to Late Antiquity', in M. Díaz Andreu and S. Keay (eds), *The Archaeology of Iberia. The Dynamics of Change* (1997), 211–34.

<sup>427</sup> The essays collected by P. de Palol (ed.), *Del Romà, al Romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrànea entre els segles IV i X* (1998) and J. M. Blázquez, *Aportacions al estudio de la España romana en el bajo imperio* (1990) contain useful recent studies; regional surveys are provided by A. Padilla Monje, *La provincia romana de la Bética* (1989); F. Salvador Ventura, *Hispania meridional entre Roma y el Islam. Economía y sociedad* (1990); for Gallaecia/Tarraconensis see M. V. Escribano Paño and G. Fatás Cabeza (eds), *La antigüedad tardía en Aragón* (2001); for Lusitania see A. Velázquez and E. Cerrillo (eds), *Los Últimos romanos en Lusitania*, Cuadernos Emeritenses 10 (1995).

<sup>428</sup> Domergue, op. cit. (n. 122, 1990), 215–24.

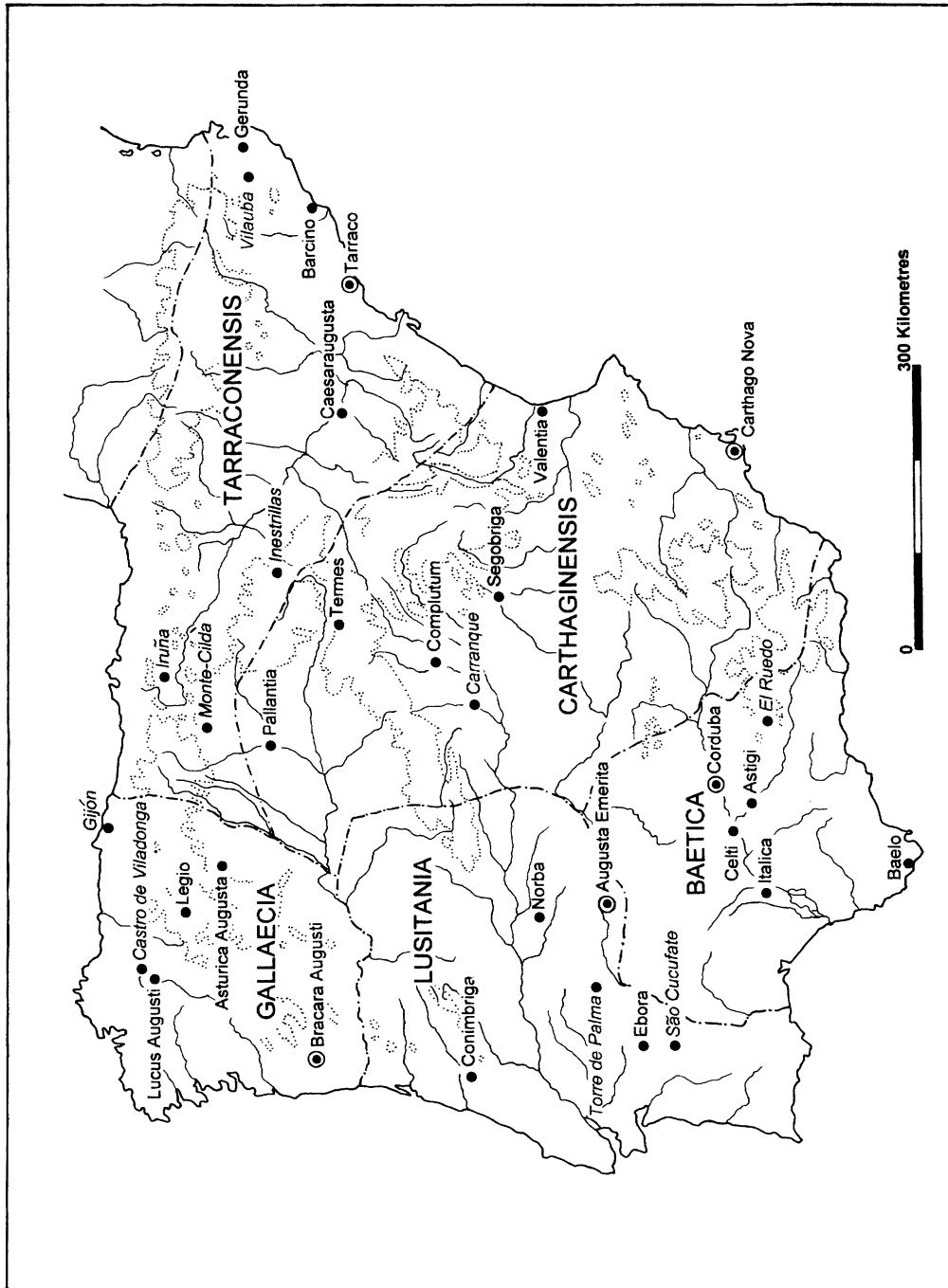


FIG. 10. MAP OF IBERIA UNDER THE LATE EMPIRE.

harder to detect archaeologically.<sup>429</sup> Nonetheless, the north-west was still a focus of military attention, particularly Legio.<sup>430</sup> Studies undertaken from the later 1980s onwards have laid to rest the belief that the distinctive weapons, brooches, and cauldrons discovered at villa cemeteries in the Duero valley should be associated with the *limitanei* mentioned in the Notitia Dignitatum. There have been attempts to link them to the private armies mentioned in the sources, such as the Honoriaci sent to Hispania by the usurper Constantine III in A.D. 407–409, or to suggest that they reflect a range of non-military estate-based activities.<sup>431</sup> More recently, however, analysis of late Roman military metalwork from a wide range of civil and military contexts in northern and western Iberia of late fourth- and early fifth-century date has begun to characterize locally produced types, as well as those than can be readily paralleled in other parts of the Roman Empire.<sup>432</sup> This evidence has been interpreted as indicative of the presence of military or civil representatives of the late Roman state<sup>433</sup> or, in some cases, of soldiers who may have served in the eastern part of the Empire.<sup>434</sup> Finally, it has been argued that Roman military activity against Germanic invaders and the subsequent social instability might explain the distribution of late fourth- and early fifth-century coin hoards containing solidi, siliquae, and bronze coinage in Gallaecia and northern Lusitania.<sup>435</sup>

#### THE TRANSFORMATION OF ROMAN TOWNSCAPES

One of the most characteristic features of the Diocesis Hispaniarum between the late third and early fifth century A.D. is the transformation of urban topography. Recent excavations have allowed the re-appraisal of the chronology of late Roman wall circuits,<sup>436</sup> suggesting that many date to between the mid-third and the end of the fourth century A.D. It also appears that there is only firm evidence for the re-walling of Barcino, Gerunda, Caesaraugusta, Termes, Inestrillas, Iruña, and Monte-Cildá in Tarraconensis; Lucus Augusti, Bracara Augusti, Gijón, and Asturica Augusti in Gallaecia; Eborā, Norba, Conimbriga, and Augusta Emerita in Lusitania; Italica in Baetica; and

<sup>429</sup> J. Edmonson, 'Mining in the later Roman Empire and beyond: continuity or disruption?' *JRS* 79 (1989), 84–102, suggests that the scale and means of gold exploitation changed.

<sup>430</sup> L. García Moreno, 'El ejército regular y otras tropas de guarnición', in Teja, op. cit. (n. 425), 267–84, re-examines the evidence for garrisons from the Notitia Dignitatum and archaeology in an attempt to explain the concentration of troops in this region in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, stressing its links by road to the lower Ebro valley and Bordeaux in Gaul.

<sup>431</sup> A general overview of late Roman bronzework in Hispania is provided by A. Fuentes Domínguez, 'Los bronzes bajoimperiales en Hispania', in Arce, op. cit. (n. 284), 117–35; more specifically, see A. Fuentes Domínguez, *La necrópolis tardorromana de Albalate de las Nogueras (Cuenca)*. *El problema de las denominadas necrópolis del Duero* (1989); J. M. Roldán, 'Un factor de romanización de la España romana imperial: el ejército hispánico', in Blázquez and Alvar, op. cit. (n. 119), 179–200; similarly, Domergue, op. cit. (n. 122, 1990), 217–18; J. Aurrecochea Fernández, *Los cinturones romanos en la Hispania del bajo imperio* (2001), 221–29.

<sup>432</sup> J. Aurrecochea Fernández, 'Las guarniciones de cinturón y atalaje de tipología militar en la Hispania romana, a tenor de los bronzes hallados en la Meseta sur', *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileñas* 10 (1995/1996), 49–99, esp. 88–93; see also J. Aurrecochea Fernández, 'Origen, difusión y tipología de los broches de cinturón en la Hispania tardorromana',

*AEA* 72 (1999), 167–97; F. Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón, 'Más allá de las "necrópolis del Duero". Hacia un nuevo panorama de la antigüedad tardía en el cuadrante noroeste peninsular', in Fernández Ochoa, op. cit. (n. 165), 223–9.

<sup>433</sup> This might be one explanation for the presence of the fourth-century phalera at Vareia: U. Espinosa and S. Noack-Haley, 'Pieza de orfebrería bajoimperial en Vareia (Varea-Logroño, La Rioja)', *MDAI(M)* 32 (1991), 170–84.

<sup>434</sup> Aurrecochea Fernández, op. cit. (n. 431), 217–20; F. Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón, 'Elementos de tipo bárbaro oriental y danubiano de época bajoimperial en Hispania', Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 629–47. Both authors have wisely stressed the difficulties inherent in trying to relate supposedly 'Germanic' metalwork to the Germanic invasions of A.D. 409.

<sup>435</sup> T. Marot, 'Invasions i accions militars a la península Ibèrica durant l'antiguitat tardana (segles v–vii): el testimoni de la moneda', in Campo, op. cit. (n. 114), 145–67.

<sup>436</sup> C. Fernández Ochoa and A. Morillo Cerdán, 'Fortificaciones urbanas de época bajo imperial en Hispania. Una aproximación crítica (\*) (Pimera Parte)', *CuPAUAM* 18 (1991), 227–59; idem, 'Fortificaciones urbanas de época bajoimperial en Hispania. Una aproximación crítica (\*) (Segunda Parte)', *CuPAUAM* 19 (1991), 319–52; for Bracara Augusta, see M. Martins, 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular: O caso de Bracara Augusta', in Tavares Díaz and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 53–76, esp. 67–8.

Pollentia in Baleares.<sup>437</sup> The most dramatic evidence for these circuits comes from Italica, where a geophysical survey has shown that walls of fourth-century date enclosed the *vetus urbs* and a small part of the *nova urbs*, cutting across earlier buildings and running along the northern side of the Traianeum (Fig. 5).<sup>438</sup> The reason for the construction of these wall circuits is harder to assess. It has been suggested that some kind of co-ordinated regional strategy may have been the motive behind those at Asturica, Legio, Lucus, Bracara, Gijón, and Iruña, aimed at controlling the movement of tax grain from the northern Meseta, and, indirectly, southern Lusitania, to Gaul and thence to the armies in Germany and Britain.<sup>439</sup> Support for this idea has been found in the continued maintenance of roads in the region at this time.<sup>440</sup> Other circuits, however, may be best understood in terms of local needs, ranging from defence to prestige.<sup>441</sup>

Within the towns themselves, rescue excavations have provided evidence for the effect of the increasing neglect of towns by the élite<sup>442</sup> that is characteristic of the third century onwards.<sup>443</sup> An equilibrium is apparent between limited state activity and the gradual degradation of the classical topography of certain key Hispano-Roman towns in the course of the fourth and earlier fifth century A.D.<sup>444</sup> It is also clear that the Christianization of urban topography,<sup>445</sup> which marks the advent of the late antique city, was essentially a product of the fifth century onwards.<sup>446</sup>

Survival of evidence across the Diocesis Hispaniarum is uneven. In part this is because of the ephemeral character of the archaeological evidence and the fact that until the 1980s most excavations were not sufficiently sensitive to the recording of late Roman levels. It is also because greater precision in the ceramic dating of fourth- and fifth-century A.D. levels has only been possible in recent years.

### Baetica

At Corduba, the practice of erecting statue pedestals to provincial *flamines*, the emperor, and leading citizens of the town at the *plaza de representación* for ceremonies associated with the provincial imperial cult and the forum of the *colonia* ended between the mid-third and mid-fourth century A.D.,<sup>447</sup> while the theatre and the temple of the imperial cult which lay immediately outside the walls on the east of the town were

<sup>437</sup> Of these, only Iruña, Monte Cildá, Pollentia, Termes, Gijón and Lucus were new circuits, while only Italica and Conimbriga involved a reduction of the early imperial urban area; the walls of most of the other towns were on the line of early imperial circuits:

<sup>438</sup> Rodríguez Hidalgo, Keay, Jordan and Creighton, op. cit. (n. 215).

<sup>439</sup> Aurecochea, op. cit. (n. 431, 2001), 215.

<sup>440</sup> J. M. Caamaño Gesto, 'Miliarios del siglo IV en Galicia', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 407–24; Lostal Pros, op. cit. (n. 29), maps 26–38.

<sup>441</sup> Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán, op. cit. (n. 436).

<sup>442</sup> The epigraphic evidence for élite involvement in urban construction and maintenance disappears in the course of the third and fourth centuries A.D. This is symptomatic of a general paucity of evidence for late Roman urban élites in Iberia. P. Le Roux, 'La "crise" des élites hispaniques (IIIe–IVe siècles)', in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 105), 45–61, looks at the epigraphic 'invisibility' of late Roman élites and argues that changed epigraphic practice masks their continuity.

<sup>443</sup> The breakdown of urban landscapes in some parts of the Hispaniae may have begun as early as the late second century A.D. Generally, see Cepas Palanca, op. cit. (n. 426); specifically, see Sillières, op. cit. (n. 217), 57–71; C. Aranegui Gascó, 'Sagunto en la antigüedad tardía', in A. Ribera i Lacomba (ed.), *Los orígenes del cristianismo en Valencia y su entorno* (2000), 119–26;

J. M. Nolla, 'Ampurias en la antigüedad tardía. Una nueva perspectiva', *AEA* 66 (1993), 207–24; S. Ramallo, 'Carthago Spartaria. Un núcleo bizantino en Hispania', in G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt (eds), *Sedes Regiae* (ann. 400–800) (2000), 579–611; more generally, S. Ramallo Asensio, 'Arquitectura doméstica en ámbitos urbanos entre los siglos V y VII', in L. Caballero and P. Mateos (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. Un debate entre la antigüedad tardía a la alta edad media*, *Anejos de AespA* 23 (2000), 367–84.

<sup>444</sup> For general works on late Roman towns in the Diocesis Hispaniarum, see J. Arce, 'La ciudad en la España tardo romana: ¿continuidad o discontinuidad?' in Arce and le Roux, op. cit. (n. 189), 177–84; A. Fuentes Domínguez, 'Aproximación a la ciudad hispana de los siglos IV y V de C', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 477–96; J. M. Gurt, 'Transformaciones en el tejido de las ciudades hispanas durante la antigüedad tardía: dinámicas urbanas', *Zephyrus* 53–54 (2000–2001), 443–71.

<sup>445</sup> For a survey of early Christian churches in the Hispaniae, see C. Godoy Fernández, *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)* (1995).

<sup>446</sup> For the historical context of the relationship between the development of late Roman towns, the changing geography of Roman power, and the growth of the bishoprics, see G. Ripoll, 'Sedes Regiae en la Hispania de la antigüedad tardía', in Ripoll and Gurt, op. cit. (n. 443), 371–401.

<sup>447</sup> Stylow, op. cit. (n. 206), 272ff.



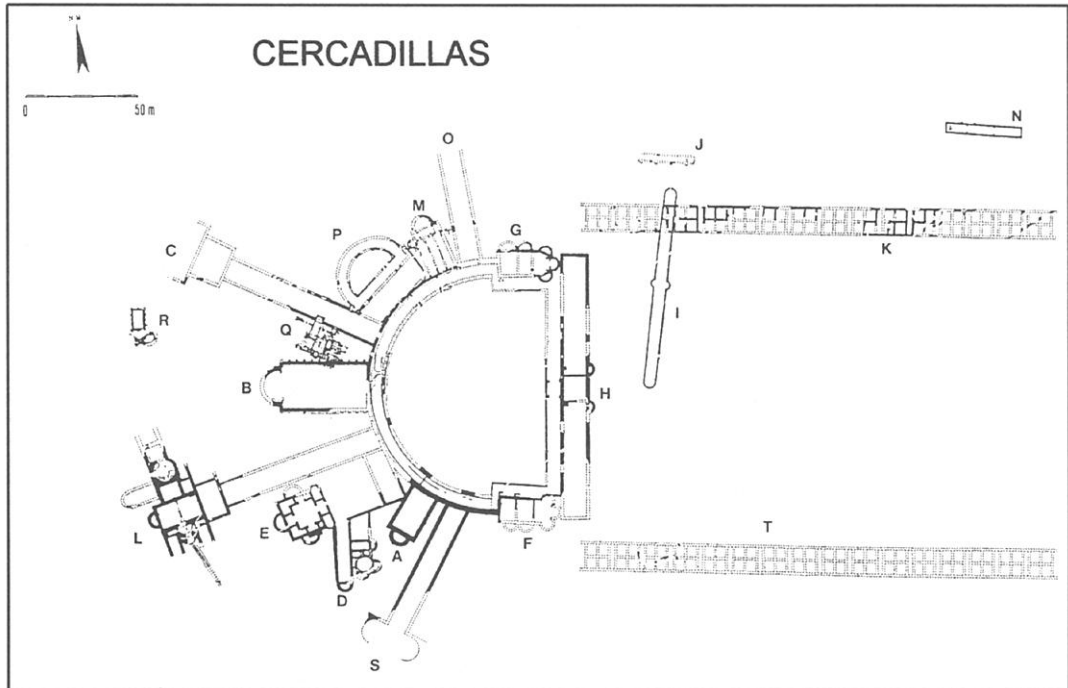


FIG. 11. PLAN OF THE LATE ROMAN PALACE AT CERCADILLAS (CORDUBA).

abandoned in the late third to early fourth century A.D.<sup>448</sup> At the same time, however, a massive *palatium* was built just over half a kilometre beyond the town walls to the north-west (Fig. 11). This building, which comprised a central aula overlooking a hemicycle enclosed by a cryptoporticus and fronted by a fortified monumental entrance, has been dated to some time between the late third and early fourth century A.D.<sup>449</sup> It has been identified as the temporary residence of the emperor Maximian during campaigns in Baetica and North Africa between A.D. 296 and 298,<sup>450</sup> although others have argued that it was a luxurious aristocratic villa,<sup>451</sup> or the palace of Ossius, the Constantinian bishop of Corduba (A.D. 294–357).<sup>452</sup> Aside from these public buildings, little is known about the character of occupation across the rest of the urban area, except that mosaics of fourth-century date that might be associated with large intramural mansions are rare.<sup>453</sup> By the beginning of the fifth century A.D., the decay of the Roman urban infrastructure had begun.<sup>454</sup> The discovery of remains of the basilica of San Vicente below the later mosque in the southern part of the town suggests that the Christianization of the topography of Corduba did not begin before the fifth century A.D.<sup>455</sup>

There has been little work of major significance on the other late Roman Baetican towns. One exception is Astigi. Recent excavations at the forum baths near the modern Plaza Mayor show that the *natatio* and *palaestra* were abandoned and backfilled with an array of exquisite marble sculpture in the early fourth century A.D., and it has been suggested that marble fragments from the upper fill may have been drawn from the rest

<sup>448</sup> Ventura, León and Márquez, *op. cit.* (n. 207), 99.

<sup>449</sup> R. Hidalgo Prieto, *Espacio público y espacio privado en el conjunto palatino de Cercadilla (Córdoba): El aula central y las termas* (1996); R. Hidalgo Prieto *et al.*, *El criptopórtico de Cercadilla. Análisis arquitectónico y secuencia estratigráfica* (1996); R. Hidalgo, 'Análisis arquitectónico del complejo monumental de Cercadilla (Córdoba)', in León Alonso, *op. cit.* (n. 85), 235–47.

<sup>450</sup> E. Haley, 'A palace of Maximianus Herculius at Corduba?' *ZPE* 101 (1994), 208–14; R. Hidalgo and A. Ventura Villanueva, 'Sobre la cronología e inter-

pretación del palacio de Cercadilla en Córdoba', *Chiron* 24 (1994), 221–40.

<sup>451</sup> J. Arce, 'Emperadores, palacios y villae', *Antiquité Tardive* 5 (1997), 293–302.

<sup>452</sup> P. Marfil Ruiz, 'Córdoba de Teodosio a Abd Al-Rahmán III', in Mateos, *op. cit.* (n. 443), 117–41, esp. 120ff.

<sup>453</sup> Moreno González, *op. cit.* (n. 211), 101–24, esp. 119.

<sup>454</sup> Ventura, León and Márquez, *op. cit.* (n. 92), 99.

<sup>455</sup> P. Marfil Riuz, *op. cit.* (n. 452), 123–30.

of the forum in the early fifth century. Further south at Baelo, excavations suggest that there was a breakdown in the urban infrastructure and an abandonment of public buildings from the beginning of the third century A.D. onwards. This was followed by an extensive re-occupation of the town around the middle of the fourth century, with buildings of a very different character; as yet there is no evidence for any Christian buildings.<sup>456</sup> In the Guadalquivir valley, by contrast, excavations at Celti point to continued occupation until the early fifth century, after which time there is evidence for a re-planning of the site.<sup>457</sup>

### *Tarraconensis*

The many excavations at Tarraco in recent years<sup>458</sup> make this one of the best documented late antique towns in Iberia.<sup>459</sup> Following a short spell of limited state intervention in the early fourth century A.D., the forum and residential buildings within the walled area of the lower town were abandoned in the course of the fourth century, as was the amphitheatre in the early fifth century.<sup>460</sup> Extramural areas to the west were abandoned by the early fourth century and given over to a very extensive burial zone.<sup>461</sup> By the mid-fifth century A.D. most of the population seems to have been living within the shell of the *plaza de representación* of the provincial imperial cult in the upper town. However, there was also some occupation in the area to the west of the port.<sup>462</sup> Available historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the Christianization of the topography of Tarraco took place during the fifth century A.D., with the construction of churches in the cemetery area to the west of the town and in the upper town.<sup>463</sup>

Excavations at Barcino, by contrast, reveal a more dynamic picture, explained in part by the choice of the town as his mint by the usurper Maximus (A.D. 409–411)<sup>464</sup> and by the temporary residence there of the Visigothic king Athaulf in A.D. 415.<sup>465</sup> There appears to have been continuity across much of the intramural area, with several large residences with mosaic floors being built in the course of the fourth century A.D.<sup>466</sup> Moreover, in the north-eastern corner of the town, the period between the later fourth and the first half of the fifth century saw the construction of a baptistery and adjacent

<sup>456</sup> For Astigi, see Romo Salas, op. cit. (n. 213); Sillières, op. cit. (n. 217), 57–63.

<sup>457</sup> Keay, Creighton and Remesal Rodríguez, op. cit. (n. 219).

<sup>458</sup> TED'A, *Un abocador del segle V dC en el fòrum provincial de Tàrraco. Memòries d'Excavació 2* (1989); TED'A, *L'amfiteatre romà de Tarragona, La basilica visigòtica i l'església romànica. Memòries d'Excavació 3* (1990).

<sup>459</sup> For general surveys of other parts of the province see A. Pérez Almuquera, 'La época de Teodosio y sus inmediatas en el oeste de Cataluña', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 605–14; M. A. Mezquíriz Irujo, 'Claves del urbanismo romano en el territorio de Navarra', *Complutum Extra* 6 (1) (1996), 441–9; A. J. Abásolo, 'La ciudad romana en la Meseta norte', in L. García Moreno and S. Rascón Marqués (eds), *Complutum y las ciudades hispanas en la antigüedad tardía*, Acta Antiqua Complutensia 1 (1999), 87–100; U. Espinosa, 'El siglo V en el valle del Ebro: Arqueología e historia', *Antigüedad y cristianismo VIII. Arte, sociedad, economía y religión durante el bajo imperio y la antigüedad tardía* (1991), 275–88.

<sup>460</sup> Useful summaries are provided by S. Keay, 'Tarraco in Late Antiquity', in N. Christie and N. Loseby (eds), *Towns in Transition* (1996), 18–44; J. M. Macías Solé, *La cerámica comuna tardoantiga a Tàrraco. Anàlisi tipològica i històrica (segles V–VII)*

(1999); idem, 'Tarraco en la antigüedad tardía: un proceso simultáneo de transformación urbana e ideológica', in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 443), 259–71.

<sup>461</sup> Recent excavations suggest that the area of the early Christian cemetery was considerably larger than hitherto thought: see J. M. Gurt and J. M. Macías, 'La ciudad y el territorio de Tarraco: El mundo funerario', in Vaquerizo Gil, op. cit. (n. 149), 87–112, esp. 91–6.

<sup>462</sup> There is also evidence for a regeneration of the port area in the late fourth century onwards: C. A. Pociña López and J. A. Remolà Vallverdú, 'Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento del puerto de Tarraco (Hispania Tarraconensis)', *Saguntum* 33 (2001), 85–96.

<sup>463</sup> J. López Vilar, 'Excavacions al Solar de Parc Central', in Ruiz de Arbuló, op. cit. (n. 85), 191–6.

<sup>464</sup> T. Marot, 'Algunas consideraciones sobre la significación de las emisiones del usurpador Máximo en Barcino', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 569–80.

<sup>465</sup> Discussed in M. Mayer, *Galla Placidia i la Barcelona del segle V* (1996).

<sup>466</sup> J. M. Gurt and C. Godoy, 'Barcino, de sede imperial a urbs regia en época visigoda', in Ripoll and Gurt, op. cit. (n. 443), 425–66; O. Granados and I. Rodá, 'Barcelona a la baixa romanitat', *III Congrés d'Història de Barcelona* (1994), 24–46.

basilica,<sup>467</sup> followed by an episcopal aula and residence a short distance to the south.<sup>468</sup> Elsewhere in the province, the evidence is more uneven. At Caesaraugusta and Segobriga, for example, the principal public buildings were abandoned in the earlier part of the fourth century A.D., and replaced by more ephemeral occupation.<sup>469</sup> At the latter, however, an extramural basilica of the early fifth century A.D. became the focus of an extensive cemetery.

### *Carthaginensis*

Recent work at Carthago Nova suggests that after a period of abandonment during the later second and third centuries A.D., in the fourth and earlier fifth centuries there was limited construction of new public buildings. Though some buildings, like the amphitheatre, continued in use into the fourth century, many earlier public buildings were re-used as private dwellings. The theatre provides the best example of this process, with the *scaenae frons*, *hyposcaenium*, and seating banks being covered by market buildings in the mid-fifth century A.D.<sup>470</sup> At Valentia there is evidence for continuity and the reconstruction of a new administrative building in the area of the forum in the early fourth century A.D., following destruction in the later third century.<sup>471</sup> It has been suggested that this building may have housed a small *martyrium*.<sup>472</sup> An artisanal quarter was created in the southern part of the city. The major break with the earlier topography, however, occurred towards the middle of the fifth century A.D., when many of the surviving public buildings were abandoned. In contrast to both of these towns, Complutum in central Spain underwent a major urban renovation in the late third to early fourth century A.D.<sup>473</sup> The forum was completely rebuilt on a grand scale with marble facing and a dedicatory inscription, while new public baths and a *macellum* were erected in the immediate vicinity. In addition, large private mansions and a *collegium iuvenum* were rebuilt and decorated with fine figured polychrome mosaics. The town seems to have continued in use until about the late fifth century A.D., after which time occupation became more dispersed and the focus of the settlement moved to a nearby *martyrium*.

### *Lusitania*

Augusta Emerita offers a similar image of state patronage side by side with gradual decline. As the diocesan capital and seat of the *vicarius Hispaniarum*, it enjoyed a degree of state patronage not evident at other provincial capitals, and inscriptions record the restoration of the theatre and amphitheatre in A.D. 335, and the circus in A.D. 337.<sup>474</sup> On

<sup>467</sup> C. Godoy Fernández, 'El complejo episcopal de Barcino', *MDAI(M)* 39 (1998), 311–22.

<sup>468</sup> C. Bonnet and J. Beltrán de Heredia, 'El primer grupo episcopal de Barcelona', in Ripoll and Gurt, op. cit. (n. 443), 467–90; idem, 'Origen i evolució del conjunt episcopal de Barcino: dels primers temps a l'època visigòtica', in J. Beltrán de Heredia Berceiro (ed.), *De Barcino a Barcinona (segles I–VII). Les restes arqueològiques de la Plaça del Rei* (2001), 74–93.

<sup>469</sup> J. A. Paz Peralta, 'La antigüedad tardía', *Crónica del Aragón Antiguo. De la Prehistoria a la Alta Edad Media (1987–1993)*, Caesaraugusta 72 (1997), 171–274; C. Aguarod Ojal and A. Mostalac Carillo, *La arqueología de Zaragoza en la Antigüedad tardía. Historia de Zaragoza. Volumen 4* (1998), 9ff.; M. Almagro Gorbea and J. M. Abascal, 'Segóbriga en la antigüedad tardía', in Rascón Marqués and García Moreno, op. cit. (n. 459), 143–59.

<sup>470</sup> Ramallo, op. cit. (n. 443), 579–611; more gener-

ally S. Ramallo Asensio, 'Arquitectura doméstica en ámbitos urbanos entre los siglos V y VII', in Caballero and Mateos, op. cit. (n. 443), 367–84, esp. 373–6.

<sup>471</sup> A. Ribera i Lacomba, 'Valentia siglos IV y V: El final de una ciudad romana', in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 443), 19–32.

<sup>472</sup> A. Ribera i Lacomba and M. Rosselló, 'El primer grupo episcopal de Valencia', in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 443), 165–85.

<sup>473</sup> S. Rascón Marqués, 'La ciudad de Complutum y su comarca en los siglos IV y V d.C.', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 649–61; S. Rascón Marqués and A. L. Sánchez Montes, 'Complutum. Tradición y cambio en la antigüedad tardía', in Ribera i Lacomba, op. cit. (n. 443), 235–42.

<sup>474</sup> J. Arce, 'Las ciudades', in Teja, op. cit. (n. 425), 40–58, esp. 52ff., refers to this with references to primary sources.

the other hand, recent excavations provide increasing evidence for the encroachment of private dwellings onto roads, and the occupation of parts of public buildings, such as the forum and the portico behind the theatre, by unofficial buildings.<sup>475</sup> Moreover, the large suburban early imperial mansions on the northern side of the town were abandoned in the course of the fourth century A.D. These houses made way for the spread of extensive cemeteries. It was not until the first half of the fifth century A.D. that there seems to have been a major break with earlier topography.<sup>476</sup> A large tract of the southern part of the city was destroyed, while, outside the walls to the north-west, a *martyrium* within a cemetery was built; it was replaced by the basilica of Santa Eulalia in the second half of the fifth century A.D.<sup>477</sup>

### *Gallaecia*

Recent excavations at walled towns such as Bracara Augusta and Lucus Augusti again highlight continued activity, with the maintenance of public infrastructure into the fourth century A.D., and the decoration of several houses with mosaic floors. The running down of the urban topography at both towns does not seem to have taken place until the early to mid-fifth century, prior to the sack of Bracara Augusta by the Suevi in A.D. 460.<sup>478</sup> By the side of this kind of evidence,<sup>479</sup> the excavation of the Castro de Viladonga is a reminder that these non-urban settlements still played an important role in the province during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.<sup>480</sup>

In sum, recent work on late Roman towns reveals the gradual run-down of civic amenities and classical urban form in tandem with the contraction of Roman power in the peninsula. Inevitably, the nature of the surviving archaeological evidence makes it difficult to say much about the character of urban populations, particularly after the earlier fourth century A.D. The presence of mansions decorated with polychrome mosaics depicting scenes from Greek and Roman mythology points to the continued existence of a classically-educated élite minority at towns like Barcino, Augusta Emerita, Complutum, and Lucus Augusti. At the same time, the functional structures that developed within the shell of earlier public buildings and mansions at towns like Carthago Nova and Caesaraugusta hint at a different reality for the less privileged dependent populations. The cemeteries from towns like Valentia, Augusta Emerita, and Corduba also provide evidence for this kind of social polarization, as well as for the spread of Christianity amongst the élite. Recent work at Tarraco makes this one of the best documented late Roman funerary landscapes in the Diocesis Hispaniarum. At least five separate burial areas developed along the western side of the town adjacent to the river Francolí in the course of the fourth and early fifth century A.D., at which time two basilical complexes were constructed.<sup>481</sup> A number of large funerary mausolea and family tomb groups have been documented, some containing imported and locally

<sup>475</sup> The best example is the Casa Basilica of Mérida, whose painted decoration has recently been re-studied and re-dated to the late fourth century by A. Mostalac, 'El programa pictórico de la estancia absidada F de la Casa Basilica de Mérida', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 581–604.

<sup>476</sup> P. Mateos and M. Alba Calzado, 'De Emerita Augusta a Marida', in Caballero and Mateos, op. cit. (n. 443), 143–68.

<sup>477</sup> P. Mateos, *La basilica de Santa Eulalia de Mérida. Arqueología y urbanismo*, Anejos de AEspA 19 (1999).

<sup>478</sup> For example, M. Martins, 'A urbanização do noroeste peninsular. O caso de Bracara Augusta', in Tavres Díaz and Araújo, op. cit. (n. 175), 53–75; E. González Fernández and M. C. Gascón, 'La capital del extremo noroeste hispánico: Lucus Augusti y su tejido urbano a la luz de las últimas intervenciones arqueológicas', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1171–208.

<sup>479</sup> See also J. López Quiroga and M. Rodríguez Lovelle, 'Consideraciones en torno al modelo de ciudad entre la antigüedad tardía y la Alta Edad Media en el noroeste de la península ibérica (s. V–XI)', in Rodríguez Colmenero, op. cit. (n. 164), 1319–46; idem, 'El mundo urbano en la "Gallaecia" (Conventus Lucense-Conventus Bracaraugustano) entre la antigüedad tardía y la Alta Edad Media', in *IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española. 'Sociedades en transición'. Actas II. Comunicaciones* (1993), 47–57.

<sup>480</sup> F. Arias Vilas, *Museo do Castro de Viladonga* (1996).

<sup>481</sup> M. García and J. A. Remolà, 'Noves intervencions a les necròpolis tardoantigues del marge esquerre del riu Francolí', in Ruiz de Arbulo, op. cit. (n. 85), 165–80.

produced sarcophagi;<sup>482</sup> a substantial number of Christian epitaphs have also been documented.<sup>483</sup> The vast majority of burials, however, were a far simpler affair. Notwithstanding all these developments, the Christianization of the topography of the towns and their suburbs did not really become a reality until the limited urban regeneration that took place in the context of the regal and ecclesiastical structure of the Visigothic kingdom in the sixth century A.D.

#### THE RURALIZATION OF POWER

An important area of research has been the aggrandizement and urbanization of villa sites that complemented the decline of towns as centres of ostentation and display in the classical tradition during the fourth and early fifth century A.D.<sup>484</sup> These have long been recognized as especially characteristic of the interior and west of the peninsula,<sup>485</sup> even though they are also present along the Mediterranean coast of Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, and in Baetica.<sup>486</sup> Recent studies tend to emphasize this contrast. The early fourth-century palatial complex of El Val, in the immediate hinterland of Complutum (Alcalá de Henares),<sup>487</sup> and that of late fourth-century Carranque, in the hinterland of ancient Titulcia (near Toledo),<sup>488</sup> are in a class of their own in terms of their scale and opulence (Fig. 12). Indeed, a mosaic inscription at the latter site has been used to suggest that it was owned by Maternus Cynegius, a member of the inner circle of the emperor Theodosius I.<sup>489</sup> Other important complexes have been discovered at Valdetorres de Jarama, between Talamanca and Complutum,<sup>490</sup> further north at Quintanilla de la Cueva near Palantia (Palencia),<sup>491</sup> to the south of Caesaraugusta at La Malena (Azuara),<sup>492</sup> at Rabaçal near Conimbriga in northern Lusitania,<sup>493</sup> at El Saucedo in eastern Lusitania,<sup>494</sup> and at São Cucufate<sup>495</sup> and Torre de Palma<sup>496</sup> in southern Lusitania, to name but a few. One of the few published late villas from Baetica is the late

<sup>482</sup> See I. Rodá, 'Sarcófagos cristianos de Tarragona', in *Akten Des Symposiums '125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus'*. *Sarkophag-Studien Band 1* (1998), 150–61.

<sup>483</sup> For general comments about early Christian funerary epigraphy see J. Gurt, G. Ripoll and C. Godoy, 'Topografía de la antigüedad tardía hispánica. Reflexiones para una propuesta de trabajo', *Antiquité Tardive 2* (1993–1994), 161–80, esp. 172–7; also, I. Rodá, 'Balanz actual de l'epigrafia cristiana a Catalunya', in *III Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (1992), 111–13.

<sup>484</sup> The current state of knowledge about the late Roman countryside is reviewed critically in an interpretative essay by E. Ariño Gil and P. C. Díaz, 'El campo: propiedad y explotación de la tierra', in Teja, op. cit. (n. 425), 59–96.

<sup>485</sup> Ariño Gil and Díaz, op. cit. (n. 484), is a very comprehensive and critical review of this and other aspects of the late Roman rural landscape of the Hispaniae.

<sup>486</sup> But they are considerably rarer in these areas. One of the best known sites, Centcelles, has been the subject of recent re-analysis: J. Arce (ed.), *Centcelles. El monumento tardorromano* (2002); see also R. Navarro Sáez, 'El territory i el món rural', in P. Palol (ed.), *Del romà al romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrànea entre els segles IV i X* (1999); J. Arce, 'Los mosaicos como documentos para la historia de la Hispania tardía', *AEA* 66 (1993).

<sup>487</sup> S. Rascón Marqués and A. L. Sánchez-Antonio Méndez, 'La villa hispanorromana de "El Val"', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 663–74.

<sup>488</sup> Including a villa complex, nymphaeum, and watermill: see collected papers in AAVV, *Carranque. Centro de Hispania romana* (2001).

<sup>489</sup> An issue discussed by M. Mayer, 'Epigrafía de

Carranque', in AAVV, op. cit. (n. 488), 121–34; L. García Moreno, 'Materno Cinegio, cristiano colaborador del hispano Teodosio el Grande', in AAVV, op. cit. (n. 488), 55–80.

<sup>490</sup> An unusual octagonal building of late fourth- and early fifth-century A.D. date: the most recent summary is J. Arce, 'El edificio octagonal de Valdetorres de Jarama (Madrid)', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 321–37.

<sup>491</sup> M. A. García Guinea, *La villa romana de Quintanilla de la Cueva (Palencia). Memoria de las excavaciones 1970–1981* (2000).

<sup>492</sup> Constructed in the earlier fourth century A.D.: J. I. Royo Guillén, 'La villa tardorromana de "La Malena" en Azuara y el mosaico de las Bodas de Cadmo y Harmonía', *JRA* 5 (1992), 148–61.

<sup>493</sup> M. Pessoa and S. Da Ponte, 'A coleção de joias representadas nas figuras do ano nos mosaicos da vila romana do Rabaçal, Penela, Portugal', in J. M. Gurt and N. Tena (eds), *V Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (2000), 541–9.

<sup>494</sup> R. Castelo Ruano, 'La villa de el Saucedo y su conversión en basílica de culto cristiano. Algunas notas sobre el mosaico de iconografía pagana ubicado en su cabecera', in Gurt and Tena, op. cit. (n. 493), 87–101.

<sup>495</sup> This was reconstructed on a massive scale in the mid-fourth century: Alarcão, Étienne and Mayet, op. cit. (n. 374).

<sup>496</sup> S. J. Maloney, 'The early Christian basilican complex of Torre de Palma (Monforte, Alto Alentejo, Portugal)', in J. M. Gurt and N. Tena (eds), *IV Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica. Lisboa 1992* (1995), 449–61; idem, 'C<sup>14</sup> dating of mortars at Torre de Palma, Portugal', in Gurt and Tena, op. cit. (n. 493), 151–5.

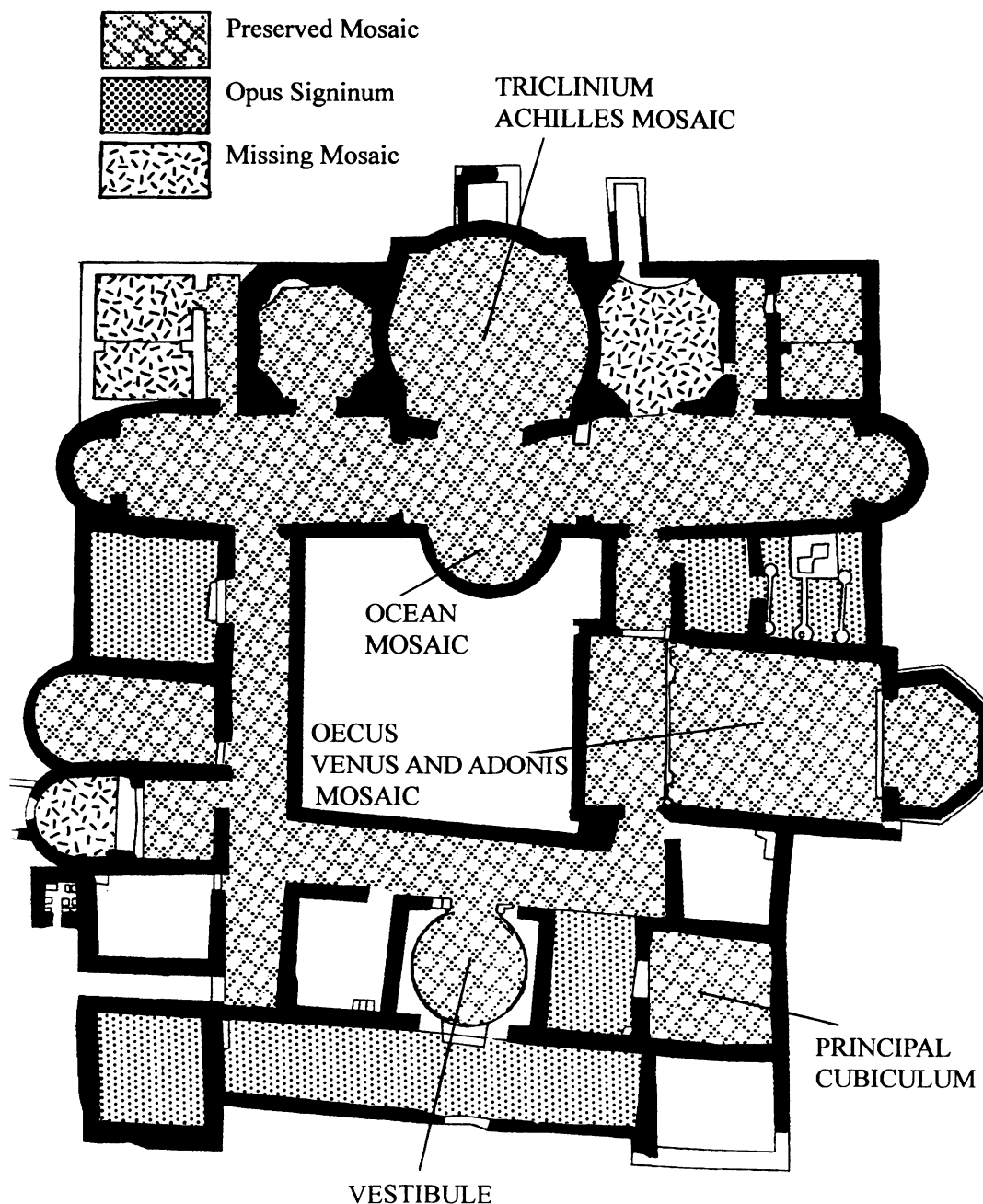


FIG. 12. PLAN OF THE LATE ROMAN VILLA AT CARRANQUE.

third/early fourth-century A.D. complex at El Ruedo (Almedinilla).<sup>497</sup> The increasingly full publication of some of these sites further reveals the classical tastes of the owners, with a proliferation of figured polychrome mosaics depicting classical scenes from hunts and classical mythology.<sup>498</sup> Analysis of the latter has focused upon the symbolic messages

<sup>497</sup> Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera, *op. cit.* (n. 357); D. Vaquerizo Gil and J. R. Caarillo Díaz-Pines, 'The Roman villa of El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)', *JRA* 8 (1995), 121–54.

<sup>498</sup> For the range of mythological themes on the mosaics of late antique villas, see J. M. Blázquez, 'La

sociedad hispana del bajo imperio a través de sus mosaicos', in Teja and Pérez, *op. cit.* (n. 425), 395–405; see also M. Guardia Pons, *Los mosaicos de la Antigüedad tardía en Hispania. Estudios de iconografía* (1992).

that may have lain behind the classical imagery.<sup>499</sup> Some of this may have been intended to enhance the persona of the *dominus* in the eyes of visitors to his villa and the tenants on his estates, with the mosaics gaining particular resonance in their setting in large centrally-placed reception rooms and *triclinia*. Classical tastes are further evidenced by the mythological themes of rich sculptural cycles at a number of sites.<sup>500</sup> In some cases, these complement the Christian beliefs of the landowners.<sup>501</sup>

While the emergence of these large villas is clearly important, the geographical, cultural, and economic regionality of Iberia means that detailed systematic studies are still desperately needed to ascertain their significance at the local level. Recent studies of the countryside around Carthago Nova, Tarraco, and Bracara Augusta, for example, have underlined very different trajectories of rural development between the third and fifth centuries A.D. In the area to the east of Carthago Nova, for example, most agricultural and maritime villas were abandoned in the later second and third centuries, with some kind of recovery in the early fourth century A.D.<sup>502</sup> Around Tarraco, to the north, some of the large palatial villas were largely abandoned in the course of the third century A.D., while the following two centuries saw fewer but more extensive sites than under the early Empire.<sup>503</sup> By contrast, the hinterland of Bracara Augusta witnessed the development of large architecturally embellished villas with mosaic floors during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.<sup>504</sup> These and other regional studies<sup>505</sup> also serve as a reminder that large palatial villa complexes were in a minority in the landscape, and that rural landscapes across the provinces contained settlements of different kinds, ranging from large nucleated settlements to small farms, as well as the cemeteries that are often found within the ruins of earlier villa buildings.

It has been customary to map the dwindling presence of readily identifiable Roman ceramics of fourth- and fifth-century A.D. date across the landscape and to equate the result with declining rural populations.<sup>506</sup> Michel Ponsich's recently completed survey of rural settlement in the lower Guadalquivir valley in Baetica is the classic case.<sup>507</sup> In using the pottery in this way, this and other publications suggest that there was continued occupation until some time in the fifth century A.D., followed by abandonment.<sup>508</sup> How far this was actually the case is still unclear, not least because of the quality of the ceramic evidence upon which the dating relies. While late ceramic sequences along the Mediterranean coast of Tarraconensis are now more precise and reliable and

<sup>499</sup> I. Morand, *Idéologie, culture et spiritualité, chez les propriétaires ruraux de l'Hispanie romaine* (1994), sees representations of landowners on mosaics as a hypostasis of the emperor, and centred compositions with figured representations as reflecting the order of the world, e.g. the villas of El Val and Carranque.

<sup>500</sup> In general see J. Beltrán Fortes, 'La incorporación de los modelos griegos por las élites romanas en ámbito privado. Una aproximación arqueológica', in F. Falque and F. Gascó (eds), *Graecia Capta. De la conquista de Grecia a la helenización de Roma* (1995), 201–32. A good case study is provided by J. M. Noguera Celdrán, 'Una aproximación a los programas decorativos de las villae béticas. El conjunto escultórico de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)', in León Alonso and Nogaes Basarrate, op. cit. (n. 255), 111–47.

<sup>501</sup> Note, for example, the very large Christian basilica at the villa of Carranque: D. Fernández Galiano, 'La más antigua basilica cristiana de Hispania', AAVV, *Carranque. Centro de Hispania romana* (2001), 71–80; for Lusitanian villas with Christian buildings, see T. Hauschild, 'Transformação no campo na baixa romanidade em Portugal', in Gurt and Tena, op. cit. (n. 493), 377–82, and El Saucedo: supra n. 494; for the Christianization of rural populations in Gallaecia between the early fifth and mid-sixth centuries A.D., see J. L. Quiroga and R. Lovelle, 'Topografía funeraria entre el Miño y el Duero durante la antigüedad tardía (s.v–vii): Aproximación a un marco cronológico y tipológico', *MDAI(M)* 40 (1999), 228–53.

<sup>502</sup> E. Ruiz Valderas, 'El poblamiento rural romano en el área oriental de Carthago Nova', in Noguera Celdrán, op. cit. (n. 370), 153–82; A. J. Javier Murcia Muñoz, 'Asentamientos rurales de los siglos V–VII dC en el contorno de Cartagena', in Gurt and Tena, op. cit. (n. 493), 371–82.

<sup>503</sup> Carreté, Keay and Millett, op. cit. (n. 126); S. Keay, 'El paisaje de Tarraco romano', in X. Dupré (ed.), *Las capitales provinciales de Hispania* (in press).

<sup>504</sup> Martins, op. cit. (n. 374).

<sup>505</sup> For example see R. Járrega Domínguez, 'El poblamiento rural en el este de la Tarraconense en época Teodosiana', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 533–42; E. Ariño Gil and J. Rodríguez Hernández, 'El poblamiento romano y visigodo en el territorio de Salamanca. Datos de una prospección intensiva', *Zephyrus* 50 (1997), 225–45; F. Regueras Grande, 'Villas romanas leonesas: Una ordenación', in AAVV, op. cit. (n. 237), 91–106.

<sup>506</sup> This phenomenon can also be explained in other ways: see Carreté, Keay and Millett, op. cit. (n. 126), 52–62.

<sup>507</sup> Ponsich, op. cit. (n. 350).

<sup>508</sup> These conclusions need to be re-assessed in the light of more refined ceramic chronologies for the fourth to sixth centuries A.D.; for the area around Carmo, see F. Amores Carredano *et al.*, 'La organización y explotación del territorio de Carmo', in Caballos, op. cit. (n. 194), 413–46.

allow sites to be confidently assigned a date in the sixth century and beyond,<sup>509</sup> they are still rare outside urban sites. The evidence from Baetica still largely awaits detailed analysis.<sup>510</sup> In the interior of Tarraconensis and Carthaginensis, the chronology of locally-produced Terra Sigillata Hispanica Tardía is still quite crude,<sup>511</sup> while in Gallaecia and northern Lusitania the extreme rarity of chronologically-sensitive imports makes the precision dating of sites very difficult. It is thus still not possible to establish how far the collapse of Roman power in Iberia in the late fifth century A.D. brought with it depopulation and the disintegration of the villa-based system that had come to prevail in the course of the fourth and earlier fifth centuries, or to be able to say with confidence when villas might have been transformed into rural villages and monasteries. One suspects, however, that many continued into the sixth century and beyond.<sup>512</sup> The careful excavation of sites like Vilauba, in the hinterland of Gerunda in north-eastern Tarraconensis, shows that some rural settlements continued to be occupied into the period of Visigothic domination in the sixth century onwards.

#### PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

It used to be thought that the contraction in the production and export of wine, olive oil, and fish sauce from the provinces of Tarraconensis, Baetica, and Lusitania in the second and earlier third centuries A.D. marked the beginning of a long spiral of economic decline. One of the great achievements of recent work has been to show that, while the scale and character of agricultural and marine production may indeed have changed,<sup>513</sup> and production may have been increasingly destined primarily for regional markets, there is ample evidence for the continuity of the long-distance trade of a range of commodities through into the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. This is true of southern Lusitania, where there is now ample evidence for the production, export, and consumption of fish sauce into the first half of the fifth century A.D. The same may be said of Baetica, where the careful characterization of amphora forms points to the continued production of wine, olive oil, and fish sauce in a range of containers, in some cases into the sixth century A.D.<sup>514</sup> The late production of fish sauce has also been attested in the region of Carthago Nova.<sup>515</sup> In north-eastern Tarraconensis, small-scale wine production destined for low-volume trade has been attested.<sup>516</sup> The continued production of these commodities should not occasion too much surprise, since it helps explain the large volume of imports of fine table wares from North Africa and Asia Minor and amphora-borne commodities from across the Mediterranean down until at

<sup>509</sup> See below for amphorae and finewares. However, J. M. Macías, *La cerámica comuna tarraconense a Tàrraco. Anàlisi tipològica i històrica (segles V–VII)* (1999) is an excellent example of the kind of urban-based ceramic analysis that could help transform our understanding of rural settlements.

<sup>510</sup> For example, Keay, Creighton and Remesal Rodríguez, op. cit. (n. 219), for some of the difficulties in constructing a full ceramic sequence for the lower Guadalquivir during the late imperial period.

<sup>511</sup> Particularly for the fifth century: see discussion in L. C. J. Tovar, 'Las industrias cerámicas hispanas en el Bajo Imperio. Hacia una sistematización de la Sigillata Hispanica Tardía', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 543–68, esp. 558.

<sup>512</sup> For this latter issue see L. García Moreno, 'El habitat rural disperso en la península ibérica durante la antigüedad tardía (siglos V–VII)', in *Antigüedad y cristianismo VIII*, op. cit. (n. 459), 265–74; see also Ariño Gil and Díaz, op. cit. (n. 485), esp. 91–4.

<sup>513</sup> For example, King, op. cit. (n. 391), argues that consumption of pork may have declined in some parts of Iberia in the Late Empire, and that this may be symptomatic of the advent of a less intensive agricultural regime.

<sup>514</sup> D. Bernal Casasola, 'Ánforas del bajo imperio en Baetica y Tingitana: Estado de la cuestión y primeras aportaciones arqueológicas', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 361–76; idem, 'Las ánforas de vino béticas en la Baja Romanidad. Novedades procedentes de recientes excavaciones en centros de producción andaluces', in Comas and Padró, op. cit. (n. 367), 543–53; idem, 'La producción de ánforas en la Bética en el s. III y durante el Bajo Imperio romano', in García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, op. cit. (n. 131), 239–372.

<sup>515</sup> Ruiz Valderas, op. cit. (n. 502), 179ff.

<sup>516</sup> C. Carreras Monfort and O. Berni Millet, 'Producció de vi i àmfores tardanes del NE de la tarraconense', in Comas and Padró, op. cit. (n. 367), 270–6; while this new evidence represents a considerable advance in our knowledge, the production context for the agricultural commodities transported in these containers is still desperately needed — the olive oil and wine carried in these containers would have been produced on small farms about which we still know virtually nothing.



least the middle of the sixth century A.D. These occur primarily at sites along the Mediterranean coast,<sup>517</sup> but have also been attested at a range of sites along the Atlantic coast of Lusitania<sup>518</sup> and Gallaecia.<sup>519</sup> This trend in turn helps explain the widespread evidence for African stylistic influence on architecture, the layout of tombs, and mosaics.<sup>520</sup> There is also good evidence for continued trade within the Iberian peninsula. The Terra Sigillata Hispanica productions of the early Empire gave way to a new period of production of Terra Sigillata Hispanica Tardía from the fourth century onwards,<sup>521</sup> with a range of new forms and a multiplicity of production centres throughout the peninsula: a first phase of production began c. A.D. 310/330, and a second phase between A.D. 360/370 and the later fifth to early sixth century.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This survey has attempted to highlight some of the important advances made in Roman archaeology in Spain and Portugal over the past twelve years. The richness of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence retrieved, together with the longevity of the Roman presence and the cultural variety of its peoples, means that Iberia is now well-placed to make its rightful contribution to broader debates about the nature and development of the Roman Empire. Unsurprisingly, the coverage of the different areas, periods and issues has been quite uneven. The intensity of research varies across the peninsula, with some areas of Tarraconensis better understood than others, and some provinces, like Baetica, desperately needing more archaeological work. In terms of period coverage, the early Empire has received the most attention, possibly because this is so much richer in material evidence of every kind. While less intensively studied, our knowledge of the later Empire is greater than it was in the mid-1980s, and allows us better to understand the impact of the contraction of Roman power at a provincial level. Nevertheless, it is the republican period that is emerging as the period with the greatest potential, which promises to help us re-frame our understanding of the character of the presence of Rome in the western provinces in the last two centuries B.C., and the range of interactions with provincial communities in the pre-imperial period. Finally, the coverage of issues investigated by scholars has been uneven, in the context of a general preference to study the material culture of the élites. Some issues, such as Roman urbanism and rural settlement, have been a focus of particularly intense research, not least as a response to widespread modern urban and rural development. Others, like production and trade, continue to be a source of sustained enquiry, born out of a long-standing tradition of seeking to explain social and political issues in terms of historical materialism. There are other areas, however, such as the archaeology of religions and cemeteries, that have attracted less attention, even though the rich cultural variety of the Iberian peninsula means that these have an especially important contribution to

<sup>517</sup> These continue to be attested at sites along the Mediterranean coast. See for example, R. Járrega Domínguez, *Cerámica finas tardorromanas africanas y del Mediterráneo oriental en España*, Estado de la cuestión Anejos de AEspA 11 (1991); J. A. Remolà Vallverdú, *Las ánforas tardo-antiguas en Tarraco (Hispania Tarraconensis)*, *Colleció Instrumenta* 7 (2000); J. A. Remolà and A. Uscatescu, 'El comercio de ánforas orientales en Tarraco (siglos V–VII d.C.)', in Comas and Padró, op. cit. (n. 367), 553–62; P. Reynolds, *Settlement and Pottery in the Vinalopó valley (Alicante, Spain), AD 400–700*, BAR International Series 588 (1995); S. Ramallo, E. Ruiz and Ma. C. Berrocal, 'Contextos cerámicos de los siglos V–VII en Cartagena', *AEA* 69 (1996), 135–90; I. García Villanueva and M. Rosselló Mesquida, 'Las ánforas tardorromanas do Punta de L'Illa de Cullera', *Estudios de Arqueología Ibérica y Romana. Homenaje a Enrique Pla Ballester* (1992), 639–61.

<sup>518</sup> Étienne and Mayet, op. cit. (n. 412).

<sup>519</sup> F. Arias Vilas, 'Materiales del Mediterráneo oriental en el Castro de Viladonga', in Teja and Pérez, op. cit. (n. 425), 339–51.

<sup>520</sup> See for example, N. Duval, 'Architecture et liturgie: les rapports de l'Afrique et de l'Hispaniae à l'époque Byzantine', in Gurt and Tena, op. cit. (n. 493), 13–28; Ma. C. Berrocal Caparros and Ma. D. Laiz Reverte, 'Tipología de enterramientos en la necrópolis de San Anton en Cartagena', in Gurt and Tena, op. cit. (n. 496), 173–82.

<sup>521</sup> Tovar, op. cit. (n. 511); for more regional trade in central Iberia see L. C. J. Tovar and J. F. Blanco García, 'Cerámica comun tardorromana, imitación de sigillata, en la provincia de Segovia', *AEA* 70 (1997), 171–219.

make to our understanding of the Roman Empire. There are also some approaches, such as the contextual analysis of ceramics and inscriptions, and the use of small finds as a means of understanding the role of individuals in society, or the study of environmental evidence, which are as yet largely untapped.

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