

Innovation and Adaptation: The Contribution of Rome To Urbanism in Iberia

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Introduction

THE TRANSITION BETWEEN IRON AGE AND ROMAN in the Iberian peninsula marks an important horizon of cultural change. The late third century BC to the first century AD are generally understood to have witnessed the spread of the Latin language and Roman artistic and architectural symbols amongst native communities, by the side of a decline in native traditions. For many, this cultural ‘romanization’ is implicitly understood to have been an inevitable process for most communities. Much research, therefore, has focused upon charting its course through the study of the frequency of *Roman* artefacts in a provincial context. However, this rarely attempts to explain *why* it was that individuals chose to adopt them, and *how* it was achieved.

‘Romanization’ was one of many cultural horizons in the development in Iberia. Cultural change during the Roman period thus needs to be understood within the context of the long-term. This is rarely done, since this particular period of transition bridges two distinct academic traditions. Iron Age archaeologists seek to explain the material record of the past in terms of social and archaeological theory. Alternatively, Roman archaeologists often merely document it in the context of the established historical and art historical traditions. This paper attempts to bridge the divide, by interpreting evidence for cultural change within three interrelated theoretical frameworks.¹ Ideology (Shanks and Tilley 1987, 180–5) has been chosen as the theoretical framework within which to study the way in which cultural form was developed in the Roman world. Secondly, patronage (Johnson and Dandeker 1990) is seen as the mechanism through which Roman cultural symbols were transmitted in the Hispaniae. Thirdly, social

competition (Mackie 1990; Johnston 1985) is understood to have been the driving force behind the desire for cultural change. This approach emphasizes the importance of *continuity* between the Iron age and Roman period and the way in which it is masked by contrasting cultural symbols.

The Republican Period: late third to mid first centuries BC

At the end of the third century BC Iberia was a mosaic of distinct cultural regions. Their development was conditioned by the availability of agricultural and metal resources to different peoples and the geographical constraints of the peninsula (see Cunliffe, elsewhere in this volume). Differing degrees of cultural complexity have been ascribed to them, with the implicit belief that this came about through a mixture of external contact and internal response. In this way, contact with the Phoenicians and Carthaginians played a direct role in the emergence of Tartessos and the sophisticated successor peoples in southern Spain of the Turdetani, Oretani and Bastetani.² Similarly, contact with the Greeks was decisive in the emergence of the archaic states of the upper Guadalquivir valley and south-eastern Iberia and the complex chiefdoms amongst the Iberians of the east coast between the fifth and late third centuries BC (Rouillard 1991, 317–60). The peoples of the Central Meseta, the Duero valley and the Atlantic coast selected and adapted cultural symbols of the Phoenicians, Greeks, Tartessians and Iberians. This gave rise to important social change amongst their societies.³ Finally, direct Celtic influence seems to have been to some degree responsible for further cultural distinction and change amongst the peoples of the lower Ebro and middle Duero valley (the Celtiberians), and possibly even further afield through indirect means (Almagro and Lorrio 1987). By the third century BC, these processes had given rise to a range of deeply rooted cultural traditions of various degrees of political complexity.

Roman involvement in Iberia came about as a result of a sustained struggle with Carthage for dominance in the western Mediterranean (Richardson 1986). The range of cultural difference and political sophistication amongst the peoples of Iberia was testing for a power which had enjoyed little contact with peoples beyond Italy and Sicily. It ensured that her experience in the peninsula would play an important role in developing military, diplomatic, administrative and economic strategies appropriate to the range of peoples who eventually came to comprise other western provinces.

The initial phase of the Roman presence in Iberia (218–206 BC) was a struggle against Carthage in the broader context of the Second Punic War. The foci of the conflict lay in the north-east, south-east and south of

the peninsula, and was followed by a period of consolidation interspersed with two rebellions (206–195 BC). The indigenous Iberian peoples were sophisticated, with varying degrees of centralized urban settlement (Ruiz and Molinos 1993). They had a long history of contact with the Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians, and pronounced cultural traditions. It is clear that from the first, an important feature of what is conventionally labelled as Roman 'provincial government' in Iberia was the individual relationship between Roman governors and native elites. In the early years of the conquest more enlightened Roman governors like Scipio Africanus rapidly recognized key native social traditions and worked through them to achieve their own strategic ends. The indigenous traditions which Rome termed as *fides* and *devotio iberica* were amongst the more important of these (Etienne 1958, 75–80) and were in some ways akin to Rome's practice of patronage (*patrocinium*). Charismatic and successful military leaders like Scipio were an object of especial loyalty and veneration by the Iberian warrior classes, in return for the guarantee of protection. At Saguntum, for instance, the memory of his deliverance of the town from the Carthaginians was perpetuated by honorary inscriptions which were periodically renewed.⁴

In the earlier second century BC, governors like M. Claudius Marcellus and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus adopted a similar approach towards the less settled peoples of central Spain.⁵ These men were exceptions and enjoyed but limited success. These were largely pastoral peoples in the earliest stages of centralized urban settlement. As there were few dominant centres, Rome thus often had to deal with a range of settlements within a particular people and cope with shifting alliances within and between peoples.

By the second century BC the situation was different. The Roman state was bound together by the sheer momentum of conquest, legitimized by a constantly nurtured divine sanction. The driving force was the desire for self-enrichment by members of the senatorial elite. Recent research⁶ suggests that the Roman Senate's long-term strategic plan in Iberia consisted of little more than reacting to perceived threats to areas of Roman interest in Hispania Citerior and Ulterior. The formulation of these responses drew heavily upon information provided by Roman governors who were career politicians fulfilling an annual posting in a region about which they understood little. Moreover, many of them were keen to use their posting to gain a military success and amass booty in order to further political careers at Rome. This gave rise to a slow and uncoordinated movement of Roman force through much of central Iberia. In this context, Rome's relations with the Lusitanians, Celtiberians and the peoples of

central Iberia during the second century BC were largely marked by confrontation and the use of force.

The above suggests that there was little concept of Empire prior to the mid first century BC. Consequently, there was little concept of 'provincial government' as such. After the formal definition of the two *provinciae* of *Hispania Citerior* and *Uterior* in 197 BC, governors used their *imperium* to develop an *ad hoc* series of measures which ensured the maintenance of the peace, the exploitation of silver mines in south-eastern Spain⁷ and upper Andalucía,⁸ the administration of justice and the more systematic payment of taxes to the Roman State.⁹ Thus the *provinciae* were being romanized in the sense that they were being drawn into a closer *economic relationship* with Rome. It seems possible that communities in the more settled regions of the south and east would have increased their agricultural output to ensure their payment of taxes which went towards the upkeep of the Roman armies campaigning in Iberia. Moreover, partial payment of this in local coinages (*infra*) and, later, Roman silver coinage may have contributed towards the gradual monetization of both regions. The intensification of surplus production and the use of coinage would also have enabled native elites to purchase imported Italian wine and other luxuries peddled by Italian merchants at Roman power centres. In the second century at least control of the re-distribution of these and other luxuries would have helped to consolidate the social position of the latter. By contrast, the communities of central and western Iberia were in a state of frequent military confrontation with Rome, and similarly paying for the maintenance of Roman troops in the field.

In this process, however, there is evidence that Rome made some rudimentary concession to the reality of cultural difference between the two *provinciae*, rather than imposing ready-made systems upon both of them. The *stipendium* and *vicensuma* was imposed upon subject communities in Citerior and, from the 150's BC, payment was largely met through silver (*denarii*) and bronze coinages which may have been inspired by Rome (Crawford 1985, 84–102). Their designs are uniform, although issuing authorities are individualized.¹⁰ This may reflect an attempt by Rome to simultaneously centralize local authority at one leading centre and focus the attentions of communities upon a broad supra-regional concept. In Uterior by contrast there was a native tradition of dense urban settlement. Coins were minted by many of them, although only in bronze.¹¹ This was issued at Rome's behest. The design and legends of these coins differed substantially from one town to another within the broader cultural regions within Uterior. The coinages of Uterior may thus reflect an attempt by Rome to reinforce the pre-existing settlement pattern and work through the native elites.¹²

In both *provinciae*, therefore, Rome did not drastically intervene in the day to day work of government. Governors were content to work through the pre-existing social systems and settlement patterns. This is supported by the fact that the many native settlements which eventually came to be supplanted by Roman centres in Citerior were only gradually abandoned in the course of the second and first centuries BC.¹³ In Ulterior, by contrast, the continuity between native and Roman was far more pronounced (Keay 1992).

This may partially explain why the 'Roman urban system' in Iberia was little more than rudimentary before the mid to later first century BC. With hindsight, it is easy to assume that the Roman Senate realised that Rome was in Iberia to stay and that it needed to 'invent' the most appropriate and rational urban system for managing provinces. The only mechanism for creating a specifically Roman urban system in conquered territory, was through the founding of Latin and Roman colonies. These had been instrumental in the conquest and consolidation of Italy during the fourth and third centuries BC (Salmon 1969). However, there were few of them in Iberia prior to the mid first century BC, since Romans and Italians probably never settled in sufficient numbers to merit them.¹⁴ Thus *conventus civium romanorum* are only known at the major centres in Iberia from the first century BC onwards (Marin Diaz 1988, 88–93). The presence of Italic black glaze pottery on urban and at rural sites is often cited as evidence supporting the case for large-scale Italic settlement, despite the unsuitability of this kind of evidence for such assumptions. In reality, it was only towards the middle of the first century BC that demographic pressures in Italy and excess military manpower in the provinces made it necessary for Rome to found colonies systematically in the provinces.

Rome thus 'managed' the Hispaniae during the Republic by working through native settlement systems rather than by imposing a preconceived 'Roman urban system' as such. Substantial native centres at Kesse (Tarragona) and the Colina de los Quemados (Córdoba) were the choices for the centres of Tarraco (218 BC) and Corduba (169 or 152 BC).¹⁵ These were primarily strategic bases for Roman armies moving against the Celtiberians and the Lusitanians, articulating 'camps' (*castra*) and garrisons placed in native settlements throughout the south and in the east (Knapp 1977, 143–52). Their layout is imperfectly known although they seem to have been largely conditioned by the pre-existing native topography, with little evidence for any specifically Roman public buildings. The base at Tarraco was enclosed by very substantial military walls in the late third to early second centuries BC. Characteristic Roman pink concrete floors do not appear in the adjacent native settlement until the end of the

second or beginning of the first century BC. There may have been a similar process of development at Córdoba.¹⁶

Carthago Nova developed in the course of the second and first centuries BC by virtue of being a centre for the extraction and re-distribution of silver and lead mined in the south-east and the upper Guadalquivir valley. Italian contractors were present here in substantial numbers from the mid second century BC onwards (Marín Díaz 1988), so that temples to Roman deities are known and houses with characteristic *opus signinum* floors and *tessera* decoration appear by the earlier first century BC (Ramallo 1989, 43; 1985, 44–8). Otherwise the topography of the town remained essentially Punic until the later first century BC.

The only 'official' foundation was the latin colony at Carteia (171 BC), the result of a special petition to the Roman Senate. The centre of Carteia (Figure 1) comprised a loose arrangement of buildings around a possible *capitolium* (Roldán 1992, 78–83). The cases of Emporion and Valentia are more enigmatic. At the former a classic walled Roman colonial-style town with rectilinear plan, forum and *capitolium* on a podium was installed *de novo* on the plateau behind the Greek port around 100 BC (Mar and Ruiz De Arbulo 1993, 203–66). This smacks of being an official Roman foundation even though there is no epigraphic or literary evidence for a *deductio* here prior to the settlement of veterans at the town by Caesar

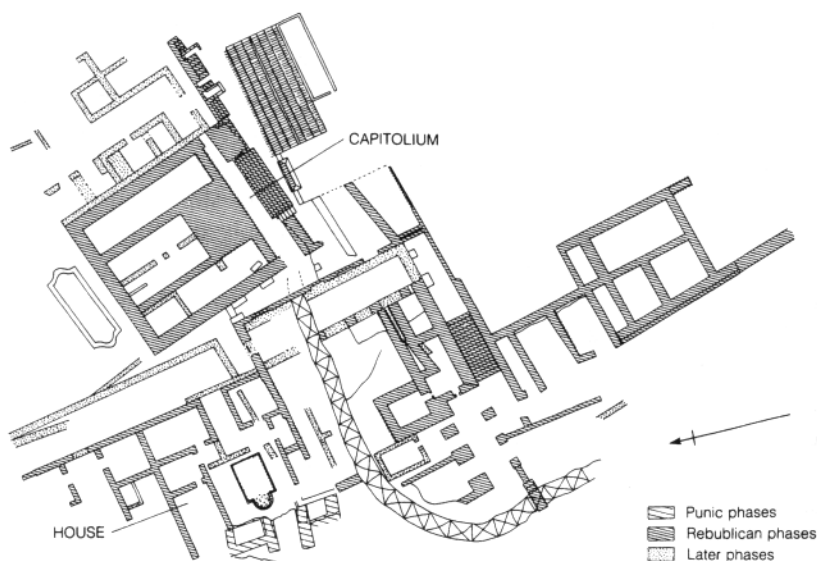
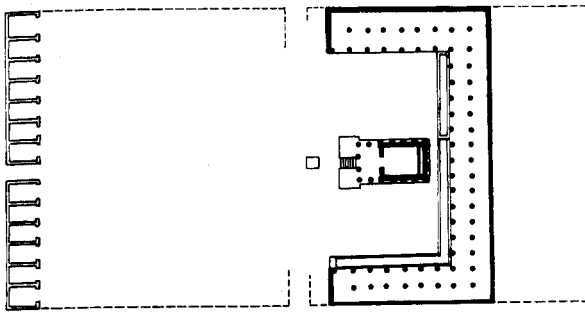
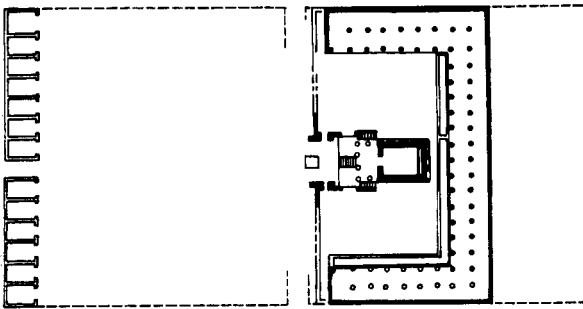


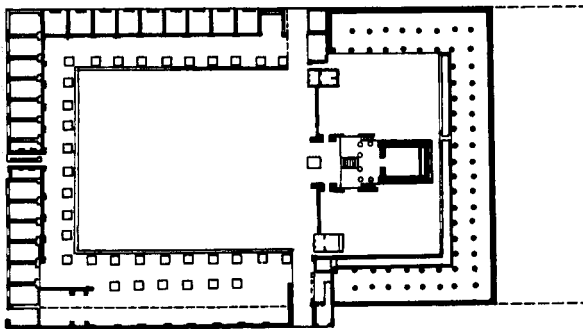
Figure 1. Plan of the *capitolium*, forum and italic-style houses at the colonia latina of Carteia (after Roldán 1992).



Republican phase
(L.2 Cent.BC)



Proto-Augustan
Phase [45-25BC]



Augustan phase
[25-0BC]

0 50 100 Metres

A horizontal scale bar is located below the plans, with markings at 0, 50, and 100 metres.

Figure 2. Successive phases of the forum complex at Emporion (after Mar and Ruiz De Arbulo 1990)

(Figure 2). Recent historical research (Pena 1984) has suggested that Valentia was founded in 138 BC with veterans from the Lusitanian wars. This has been sustained by archaeological excavations which show that this town was also walled with an orthogonal street grid, and provided with a bath-building and a building identified as an 'horreum' (Ribera forthcoming).

The character of other 'Roman' towns like Italica, or Roman-sponsored centres like Iliturgis, Gracchuris, Brutobriga and Pompaelo is difficult to discern, owing to the vagaries of either the archaeological or literary evidence. The foundation levels of Italica, Gracchuris and Pompaelo on the other hand have been largely obscured by later Roman and medieval buildings. In the latter, at least, one gets the impression of little more than undistinctive buildings with black glaze pottery present in some quantity (Mezquiriz 1978).

Paradoxically, the evidence from native centres is rather better. As some of these were abandoned in the course of the second and first centuries BC they provide better evidence for the gradual appearance of Roman-style buildings. The acropolis of Saguntum appears to have been graced with a temple or *capitolium* in the course of the second century BC, which was integrated into a later rebuilding of the forum.¹⁷ Excavations at some Celtiberian settlements¹⁸ reveal Roman-style houses and the occasional temple and bath building inserted within native layouts in the earlier first century BC. In south-eastern Spain, Italic-style temples were built within sanctuaries adjacent to major settlements.¹⁹ Thus it seems that individual elements such as baths, houses and temples were occasionally adopted by members of the native elites presumably for reasons of personal prestige or taste. There is no evidence, however, for the wholesale replanning of settlements. Headless sculptures of individuals wearing togas, the so-called *palliati*, have been occasionally discovered in cemeteries at towns in eastern Citerior²⁰ and Ulterior.²¹ The easiest explanation for these would be the presence of Roman citizens at these settlements. However, it is possible that they might represent a desire by native elites living in settlements relatively close to such towns as Emporiae, Carthago Nova and Italica to *appear* Roman to their peers. In this sense they would be symptomatic of the same wish to adopt prestigious symbols of Italic or Roman culture.

Clearly Italic and, to a lesser degree, Roman artistic and architectural symbols were present in Iberia during the second and earlier first centuries BC. The mechanism often invoked to explain their presence in Roman and native towns is the 'emigración itálica' mentioned earlier. Waves of Italic immigrants are understood to have settled in the Hispaniae during the second and earlier first centuries BC and to have transplanted precon-

ceived Roman architectural ideas to the Hispaniae. The justification for large-scale Italic settlement comes from limited literary sources²² and assumptions about the settlement of discharged legionaries. In neither case is the evidence strong. The supposition that it is reflected in the widespread distribution of Italic black glaze pottery is untenable from an archaeological standpoint.²³

However, an alternative explanation is perhaps possible. Apart from at Tarraco, Carthago Nova, Carteia and Emporion, Roman and Italic settlers were comparatively rare. They would have been an alien minority in a native cultural context. If they did bring Italic architectural ideas with them one does not have to assume that they would automatically have imposed them upon the native communities in which they settled. Foreign styles could have been attractive, but the native elites did not necessarily *have* to adopt them. One should not fall into the trap of assuming that anything foreign in a native context would automatically have been considered superior by native elites and adopted at the expense of their own traditions. Thus, Roman or Italic settlers would not necessarily have been in a position to dictate the cultural development of their settlements even if they had been so inclined.

Secondly, it is important to recognize that Roman culture in the later third, second and early first centuries BC was neither especially homogeneous nor characteristic. It has been suggested that a Roman cultural identity was non-existent before the third century BC. As Rome came into ever more sustained contact with the Hellenistic world during the third, second and earlier first centuries BC, however, artists began to respond to the need of the elites for the creation of a Roman cultural identity (Beard and Crawford 1985, 12–24; Gruen 1992, 131–82). Before the early first century BC, therefore, a Roman cultural identity would have been one deliberately coloured by Hellenistic traits. In Rome and Italy, the Roman nobility had ‘succeeded in absorbing into the mainstream of Roman culture the traditions, literature and art of Hellas and . . . employed them to draw out the distinctive nature of Roman values’ (Gruen 1992, 311). It is true that certain aspects of Greek culture were not alien to the native communities of eastern and south-eastern Iberia (Almagro Gorbea 1990). Prior to the mid first century BC, however, there was no concept of Empire or a developed state ideology apart from the traditional *mos maiorum*. Consequently there was no *standardized Roman* visual language or ‘empire-style’. It is also important to note that, at least in Rome and Italian towns, *individual* elite patronage played an important role in the fostering of architecture and the arts.²⁴

At provincial level this would have meant two things. First, there was no characteristically dominant *Roman* culture readily identifiable as a

symbol of Roman power. Architecture, town planning and the arts were quite sober and largely derived from Hellenistic models with a limited admixture of Italic traditions. In the Hispaniae this is only evident at the two exceptional centres at Carteia and Emporion,²⁵ and possibly Valentia. At centres like Tarraco, Corduba, Carthago Nova and Italica it would have been difficult for the Roman minority to have dominated the native majority with specifically Roman cultural symbols until the first century BC at the earliest. Instead they might have been put up by collectives (*collegia*) or members of a *conventus civium romanorum* as a way of trying to define their own cultural identity in an otherwise overwhelmingly native milieu. The rare Roman portrait sculptures from Tarraco (Koppel 1985, no. 120 and Taf. 50.1) and Corduba²⁶ powerfully evoke the Republican Roman spirit of *mos maiorum*, and may have been cases in point.

Another mechanism may have been the 'gift' of individual governors at Roman and native centres where they had a large clientele. M. Porcius Cato, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Quintus Sertorius had substantial *clientela* in the Hispaniae. Indeed, Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus is credited with having received oaths of loyalty from the whole of Citerior after his victory over Sertorius (Caesar, *Civil War* II.18).²⁷ It has been suggested recently that some governors may have established *clientelae* amongst the native elites in urban and rural areas throughout the two *provinciae* and allowed native elites to use their prestigious *nomina* in exchange for loyalty.²⁸ This practice drew simultaneously upon Roman and native traditions of patronage and loyalty (*supra*). If true this provides a *social* framework within which architectural types and artistic symbols could have been transmitted from individual Roman governors to Roman and native elites at the towns discussed above. It can be paralleled by the established practice of Republican elites in Italy. For example, a second century AD copy of a second century BC inscription from Italica has been interpreted (Canto 1985) as recording the adornment of the town by L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus with trophies from Zakynthus (168 BC), one of the Ionian Islands of western Greece. In this individual act by the ex-governor to one of the more important 'Roman' towns in the province (in which he may have had *clientelae*), Greek cultural objects were used out of context in a largely native milieu (Keay 1992) and were not part of any 'civilizing' strategy by Rome. A similar hypothesis has been put forward to explain the 'italicization' of such native sanctuaries as La Encarnación in south-eastern Spain (Ramallo 1993, 94). Such acts would have been yet another way of ensuring the loyalty of provincial communities to the persona and family of individual governors.

The direct impact of Rome in Iberia between the late third and mid first centuries BC would thus have been limited to the intervention of

powerful individuals or groups. The level of immigration from the Italian peninsula was low and probably focused primarily upon centres like Carthago Nova, Corduba, Tarraco, Valentia, Gades and possibly Italica. Although these were centres of Roman power there is little evidence that they were culturally 'Roman' until the first century BC. This was because until the end of the second and the beginning of the first century BC Roman architectural and artistic traditions were not sufficiently distinct for them to be employed on a large scale in a provincial context.²⁹ Their layout and decoration was largely dictated by *native* traditions rather than being imposed by a minority Roman or italic elite population. At the same time, however, elites trying to define their ethnicity in mixed towns or the patronage of individual governors may have been responsible for the appearance of individual buildings or monuments at some of them. In turn, such buildings may have been copied by elites at native towns in eastern and central Citerior. The adoption of some novel building types may have been one way for elites to enhance their personal status and thus ensure their social reproduction. The mechanism for this may have been the patronal links between native elites and governors in the more 'Roman' towns. Ulterior seems to be excluded from this process. Here the urban tradition was older and different to that in north and eastern Citerior and there may have been some conscious cultural resistance to such new ideas. It is thus difficult to talk about a romanizing *process* in cultural terms in either of the Hispaniae prior to the mid first century BC.

The mid first century BC until the early first century AD

Development of the Roman Urban System

This period marks a striking departure from the picture of limited Roman interference and cultural influence, which characterizes the Republican period. Roman citizens were settled on an unparalleled scale in a network of purpose-built Roman *coloniae*. At the same time, the *juridical concept* of the Roman town (either with the status of *colonia* or *municipium*) began to be increasingly applied to native towns. Thus, new *Roman* concepts in politics and justice, social organization and urban topography began to replace native traditions.

The mid first century BC was characterized by a new Roman awareness of her dominant position in the world, a sense of pride borne out of achievement and a religious sense of mission.³⁰ The seeds of an imperial ideology were thus present and merely awaited a sufficiently astute leader to make skilful use of them. However, the middle years of the first century BC also saw the culmination of important political, social and demographic

changes in Italy and at Rome which, in the final instance, could only be resolved through conflict: the Sertorian episode of the early first century BC was an early symptom of this. This was only finally resolved in the Civil Wars (49–31 BC). The earlier consensus in the oligarchic order and system of government had broken down and military power was concentrated in the hands of increasingly powerful military leaders.

These developments had direct repercussions in Iberia. The Roman and native communities in the *provinciae* had a long history of client-patron links with established Roman families at Rome. Such social links became important reservoirs of potential military support for leaders such as Sertorius, Pompey, Metellus, Caesar and Octavian, whose loyalties were eagerly sought. In the Civil Wars, their charisma and military successes became crucial issues, given the Iberian and Celtiberian traditions of loyalty to exceptional leaders (*supra*). In the event Caesar's eventual success over the Pompeians (Gabba 1970) was achieved through the staunch support of some towns and despite the hostility of the remainder. In the interests of broader regional security, loyalty to Caesar during the Civil War was rewarded with varying degrees of legal status and privilege. Hostility was greeted with territorial confiscation and loss of privilege.

Personal loyalty and hostility were the bases upon which Caesar chose some native centres for his *coloniae* and to reward other communities with the grant of municipal rights. In this sense, therefore, the geographical distribution of many specifically Roman towns in Iberia was conditioned by personal links between some provincial communities and Caesar and the hostility of others. A total of at least nine Roman colonies were planned by him, some of which may have been founded after his death.³¹ Most were located in Ulterior, where opposition to Caesar in the Civil War against Sextus Pompeius had concentrated. They were new foundations for the settlement and land-redistributions to groups of up to 3000 Roman citizen families at a time, at native communities. It is thus possible that much colonization was part of Caesar's retribution against communities which had opposed him (Tsirkin 1981). Others may have represented the enhancement of earlier centres of Roman power with a grant of colonial status.³² In addition, some communities³³ with long-standing personal links to Caesar may have been rewarded for their loyalty by a concession of Roman municipal rights (*municipium civium romanorum*), or Latin municipal rights.³⁴ Finally, there were towns in Ulterior which were rewarded with some form of status for remaining pro-Caesarian during the Civil War and which can be identified either by the *nomen* Iulius or a *cognomen* related to his gens. Later *coloniae* were founded at Celsa by Lepidus in the Ebro valley (44–42 BC?) and possibly at Norba Caesarina between the Guadiana and Tagus by Norbanus Flaccus (post 38 BC?),

and Roman municipia were created at Calagurris (between 36 and 28 BC) and Saguntum (between 40 and 30 BC).

After a short interregnum under the triumvir Lepidus (43–41 BC), the Hispaniae fell under the control of Octavian. He was able to draw upon reservoirs of goodwill by virtue of Caesar's links to communities there (Syme 1939, 232). As Augustus, he reinforced and completed Caesar's pattern of colonization and located new coloniae in Ulterior Baetica³⁵ and Citerior Tarraconensis,³⁶ some of which later came to be included within the new province of Lusitania.³⁷ Some of these were completely new settlements with no native predecessors. He also granted municipal status to a number of native settlements. The personal link between these urban communities and Augustus and his family was even more important than it had been under Caesar. In the first instance he was Caesar's heir. Secondly, Augustus had gained immense kudos as the supreme military leader who had completed the conquest of the north-west and who put an end to nearly 50 years of Civil Wars in Iberia. Moreover he had two prolonged stays in the provinces. Thus, native elites who had supported Caesar would have monopolized power through into the early Empire. The distribution of Caesarian and Augustan coloniae and municipia was, therefore, conditioned by native political geography. In particular it responded to a need to strengthen loyalties to the Caesarian cause after the events of the Civil Wars. Thus the urban network which ultimately came to serve Roman administrative needs for the south and east of the peninsula developed within a social framework.

In the recently conquered north-west of Spain, social traditions were different. Here there had been no sustained urban development prior to the Roman conquest between 26 and 19 BC. Subsequently this was either a military area or a freshly conquered one where the primary interest was the exploitation of the gold mines. Native communities were not readily able to demonstrate loyalty to the emperor and State in an urban context, even if they had been willing to do so. Municipal imperial cults did not flourish until later. There were only three Roman centres in this early period. Asturica Augusta and Lucus Augusti seem to have had their origin as military camps during the campaigns of Agrippa in 19 BC (Le Roux and Tranoy 1983–1984), while Bracara may have been the name given to a native religious meeting place (Alarcão 1990, 53–4). The majority of the population, however, lived in the small hilltop settlements (castros) as they had done in the pre-Roman period.³⁸ This pattern is not broken until the Flavian period, when the topography of centres like Asturica is completely replanned and municipal status is granted to native communities.

Ideology, Patronage and the Development of Roman Towns

CAESARIAN TOWNS

Unfortunately nothing is known of the topography of Caesarian coloniae, since much of the early layout is obscured by later phases of building. Recent excavations at the short-lived Lepidan colonia of Celsa suggest that those coloniae which were new foundations were regularly-planned, presumably with a central forum, drawing upon the experience of Italian town planners in northern Italy (Beltrán Lloris 1985, 27–35; Ward Perkins 1974, 27–32). Given the circumstances of their foundation, personal loyalty to Caesar must have been a central concern. In those cases where he lived long enough to be the founder (*deductor*), rather than the planner, Caesar had the privilege of becoming a patron of the town and in so doing, swelling the ranks of his *clientelae* with its population.³⁹ As in the earlier Republican period when governors may have acted as important patrons of provincial towns, patronage of this kind must have ensured that colonial elites had the advantage of Caesar's influence or that of his partisans after his death. His prestige could have brought significant gains, including access to architects, artists, etc. This process may perhaps be illustrated by recent discoveries at the Roman town of Emporion. This is recorded to have been an Augustan municipium although a detachment of veterans was settled here by Caesar (Livy 34,9). Between 45 and 25 BC (?) the frontage of the *temenos* in the forum of the Roman town was rebuilt (Figure 2) in a way reminiscent of the arrangement of the temple of *divus iulius* in the Roman forum at Rome (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1990, 147–50). Unfortunately, no dedicatory inscription survives. However if this identification is correct it suggests that elites at Emporion were using Caesar's partisans at Rome simultaneously to enhance the centre of their town and make a public memorial to him.⁴⁰

The layout of the Caesarian town is largely unknown, since much has been obscured by later buildings. However, close associations with Caesar may also have been influential in the gradual transformation of the urban landscape in this class of settlement. Recent excavations have uncovered the concrete sub-structure of the theatre of the Caesarian municipium of Gades. This was a key element in the building programme of Lucius Cornelius Balbus at the new Roman town on the island of Kotonoussa, adjacent to its Phoenician forebear.⁴¹ Balbus had been closely allied to Caesar and achieved the consulship in 39 BC. His resultant power and influence was sufficient to enable Gades to be endowed with some buildings as sophisticated as those in Rome.

AUGUSTAN TOWNS

These two pre-Augustan examples are important because they anticipate the importance that patronage and acts of public loyalty were to have in gradually transforming the topography of towns in Hispaniae from Augustus onwards. The Augustan period saw the deliberate cultivation of an imperial ideology for the first time in Roman history. This proved to mark a watershed in the nature of the Empire and in the development of the provinces. The imperial ideology formed the basis of a politico-religious theory which legitimized the real concentration of the power of the State in the hands of Augustus and his family through the development of a form of perceived legitimacy, while claiming that it really lay with the Senate. Its roots lay in the new self-awareness of Rome in the late Republic. Augustus won over the elites at Rome and in the provinces to the idea of his personal dominance in the Empire by re-writing the past in a way which exalted his own achievements and those of his real and mythical ancestors and skilfully weaving them into a divine framework. The Augustan 'age' was seen as being the natural culmination of the Roman historical process. In the provinces the imperial ideology was important in ensuring the social reproduction of loyal elites and creating a momentum towards unity by provincial peoples.

A crucial role in the development of this ideology at Rome was played by a complex and internally cohesive system of artistic and architectural symbols.⁴² After an initial period (31–27 BC) during which old symbols were given new meaning and the persona of Augustus was enhanced, the topography of the capital underwent a programme of cultural renewal with the construction of ideologically 'charged' buildings and monuments (27–9 BC), and the development of standardized 'imperial' portraits. After 17 BC this was given 'divine' sanction by the ushering in of new 'Golden Age' in which the mythical past of Rome was rewritten in Augustus' favour. As a result the layout and decoration of fora, theatres, arches, sculpture, altars, and the use of marble (Clayton Fant 1991) began to assume a consistently ideological and 'imperial' flavour which they had hitherto lacked.

The effect of this was to create a 'standardized visual language' or, put another way, a characteristically Roman cultural identity, for the first time. This was important and meant that Roman cultural symbols could be readily identified by provincial communities, and accepted or rejected in a way that had not been possible during the Republican period. In the early years of Augustus' reign this was to be reflected in the provinces through the erection of statues and altars to him and members of the imperial family, the development of ideologically-charged architecture in marble and town planning, and the minting of coins with his portrait by

provincial elites. In this way they would have enhanced their personal prestige and simultaneously endorsed the prevailing order.

The mechanism for the propagation of ideological symbols soon became the imperial cult which had Hellenistic ruler cults as its initial inspiration (Price 1984, 23–40). This harnessed provincial religious fervour and spontaneous acts of loyalty to the emperor, mediated through regional religious tradition.⁴³ It began informally as a *town*-based cult in the Hispaniae in 26 BC with the construction of the altar to Augustus at Tarraco (*infra*). From the reign of Tiberius onwards it had spread widely throughout all three provinces and formal rituals focused upon the veneration of the living and deified emperor and personalized abstract attributes. Municipal priesthoods (*flamines* and *pontifices*) have been attested at the old Roman centres, newly established *coloniae*,⁴⁴ *municipia*,⁴⁵ and occasionally at native towns,⁴⁶ essentially from the reign of Tiberius onwards. They are noticeably absent from areas like north-western Tarraconensis where urbanism had never really taken root.

It comes as no surprise to find ideological symbols present at a number of towns in the Hispaniae (Figure 3). They are most readily recognizable on the silver and bronze coinages issued from the 20's BC through until some towards the mid first century AD (Burnett, Amandry and Ripollés 1992, 63–6). The three provincial capitals minted issues with portraits of Augustus, members of his family and Tiberius, as well as reverses with such ideological connotations as imperial altars, priestly symbols of Augustus, temples, etc. Imperial portraits similarly appear on issues from colonies and native towns in Baetica,⁴⁷ Tarraconensis⁴⁸ and Lusitania⁴⁹ and are more extensive than any other western province. Most issues were on a small scale and publicly advertised the name of the local official responsible. It seems, therefore, that although profit from local exchanges must have been an important motive for issue, the prestige for visible association with the imperial image and/or symbols was also an important factor.⁵⁰ After all, until the regular issue of coins from Rome was established in the earlier first century AD, this must have been one of the principle mechanisms for introducing the imperial image to urban communities in the Hispaniae.

There is a growing body of evidence which suggests that these broader forms of imperial symbolism were adopted by Caesarian and Augustan *coloniae* and that they were catalysts in the development of culturally specific *Roman* towns. Such focal monuments as fora, theatres and decorative arches increasingly began to have 'imperial' connotations or explicitly to advertise personal links with the emperor and his family. The same may be said for the use of marble. Many quarries of white and coloured marble in Italy, north Africa and the east began to be exploited from the Augustan period onwards (Dodge and Ward-Perkins 1992, 153–9). For the earlier

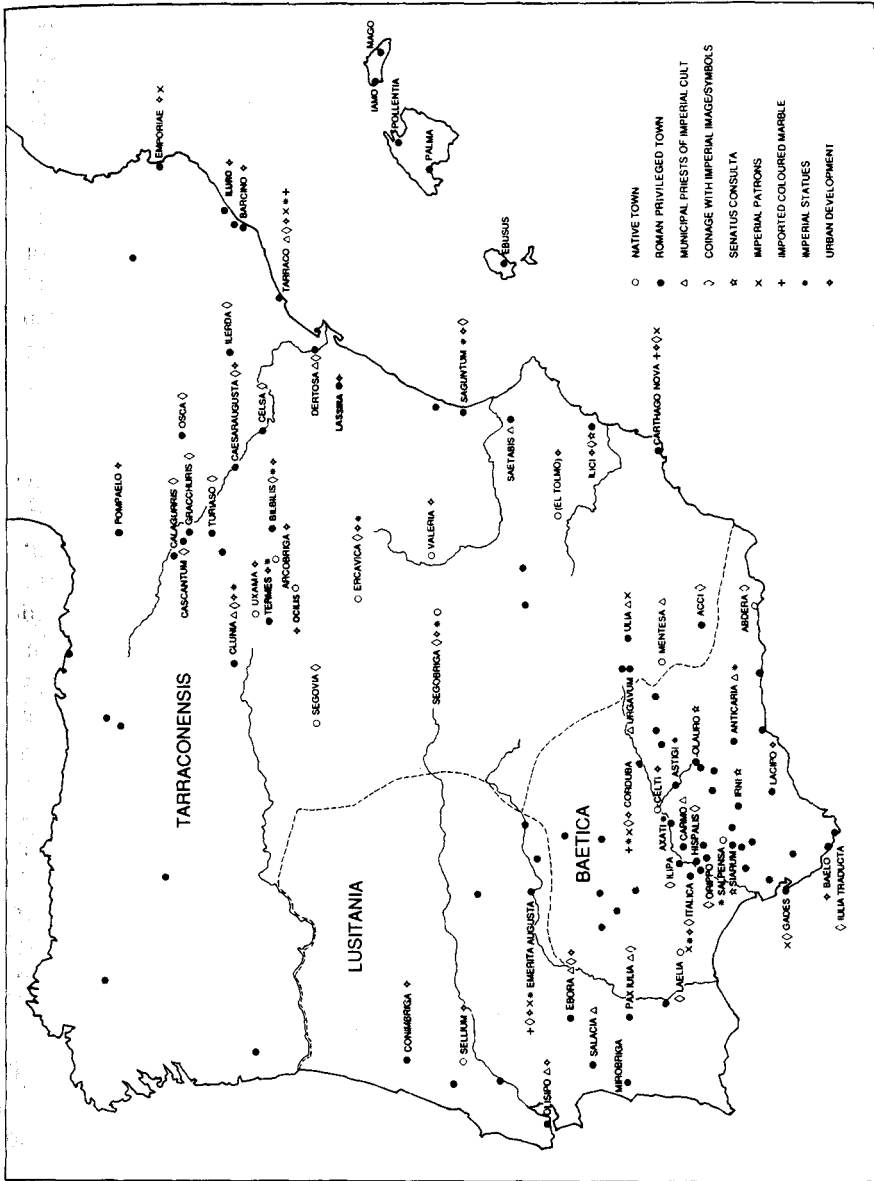


Figure 3. Map of the *Hispaniae* in the Julio-Claudian period, showing the distribution of chartered and native towns with evidence of imperial ideology. Although listed, the evidence from the towns of the Balearic Islands has not been included in this analysis.

part of the first century AD they largely supplied imperial projects in the capital, with specifically ideological symbolism (Clayton Fant 1991). Nevertheless certain Roman towns in the Hispaniae had sufficiently strong patronage for exotic marbles to be used in the decoration of public buildings (Pensabene 1993a). Other towns make use of local marble products, which also began to be exploited at this time (Cisneros 1988). The success of all these aspirations, however, ultimately depended upon the power and influence of the towns' patrons.

These kinds of development probably began as spontaneous acts of loyalty to the emperor. This is not to say that they would have been without some form of encouragement from the State.⁵¹ After all they were ultimately in Rome's interest. In the case of older centres of Roman power, the effective continuity of the native topography with little sustained Republican Roman influence would have meant that these monuments played a considerable role in conditioning their subsequent imperial Roman urban development.

Prior or contemporary to the dedication of the altar to Augustus at Tarraco in 26 BC (Quintilian, *Inst.Orat.* VI.3.77), a purpose-built forum was constructed near the port in the heart of the old Republican town (Mar and Ruiz De Arbulo 1986), possibly replacing an earlier complex. This involved demolishing a quarter of structures built in the Iberian tradition. Excavations have revealed the basilica with what has been identified as an *aedes augusti* opening off its north side (Figure 4). The plan finds ready parallels in other parts of Italy. The basilica was decorated with imported marble, as well as from local sources, which may have been built by local craftsmen (Pensabene 1993a). The *aedes augusti* would have housed an imperial image symbolizing the emperor's control over the day to day business of the colonia's magistrates. The interior of the basilica was later adorned with a suite of marble statues commemorating Augustus and members of the Julio-Claudian family.⁵² Adjacent to it was an arch whose limestone reliefs depict captured barbarians and may commemorate Roman victories (Koppel 1990, 327–340 and Taf. 30 and 31) similar to those at Carpentras and other towns in Gallia Narbonensis. The arrangement of the remainder of the forum has been obscured by nineteenth and twentieth century buildings. However it is known that during the reign of Tiberius a temple to Augustus was built, probably in this forum area.⁵³ The gradual crystallisation of an ideologically-charged monumental complex in this way finds a ready parallel in the development of the forum at Arelate in Gallia Narbonensis, and at Athens and Thasos in the eastern Mediterranean (Gros 1990a). Nearby a theatre was also constructed in the Augustan period. The decoration of much of this was the work of local craftsmen, following local traditions. However, the *scaenae frons* was adorned with

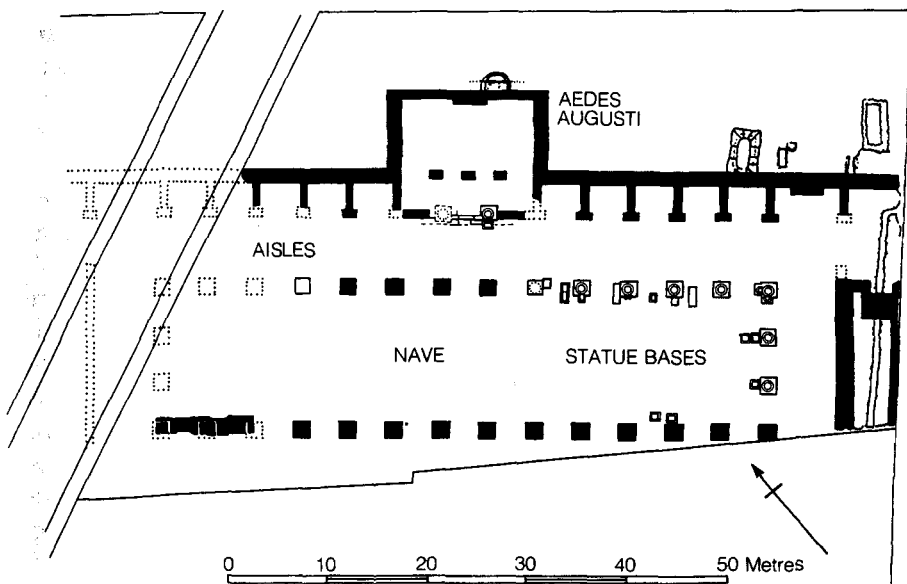


Figure 4. The basilica (with *aedes augusti*) of the forum of the colonia and provincial capital of Tarraco (after Mar and Ruiz De Arbulo 1987). The forum area, altar to Augustus and later temple would have lain to the south.

marble statues of Augustus' family.⁵⁴ Further statues were added in the course of the first⁵⁵ and in the second century AD. It is clear that this building rapidly assumed an important role in the municipal imperial cult (Fishwick 1982; Gros 1990b, 387–8), possibly from the reign of Tiberius onwards. As theatres were generically centres for political and judicial meetings, as well as entertainment, they rapidly assumed important ideological connotations (Bejor 1979). There is little doubt that the provision of all these monuments was intimately linked to the development of the municipal imperial cult to the *divus* Augustus. It has been suggested that the provision of wall circuits around Augustan towns symbolized Augustus' defence of the *virtus* of Empire (Zanker 1990, 328). In the case of Tarraco the walls which had been constructed in the late third/early second centuries BC and extended down to the lower town towards the middle of the second century BC continued to serve.

The first distinguishable phase in the 'romanization' of the topography of Tarraco was thus linked to the emergence of the imperial ideology at Rome and its articulation in the context of the nascent municipal imperial cult. It represented a conscious choice by Roman elites fuelled by two motives. On the one hand it was a public act of loyalty to the emperor, while on the other it was a conscious act of status enhancement driven by

social competition. By closely identifying themselves with Augustus and his family in this way, politically adroit Roman elites were able to enhance their own social positions and ensure their social reproduction. In short, the adoption of imperial symbols by Roman colonial elites at Tarraco ensured their social continuity.

The success of this would have hinged upon the power and influence of the town's patrons. Colonial elites needed access to the prestigious architects, artists, engineers and eventually marble quarries which would make possible the transformation of their urban centre. At the same time, it was in the social and political interest of a patron to be able to count upon the large clientele of an important provincial town, as well as to be seen to be playing a key role in the development of public gestures of loyalty to the emperor. In the case of Tarraco there was a special link with the Emperor Augustus and his family. Firstly it had been awarded colonial status, probably under Caesar (Alföldy 1991, 36). In 27 BC it had been chosen as the administrative capital of *Tarraconensis* and, during Augustus' stay of 26 to 25 BC it acted as capital of the Roman world. Even if Augustus had only been patron in name, this would go some way to explaining how the town gained access to sufficient expertise for the urban development which took place.

Similar processes were at work in other old Roman centres which had been 'promoted' under Caesar and Augustus. At Carthago Nova a theatre was built between the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD (Ramallo 1992). It was decorated with Corinthian capitals comparable to types on Augustan monuments at Rome and carved from imported pentelic marble, suggesting that the building as a whole had strong ideological connotations. Nearby, the forum was built in what had been the heart of the Punic and Republican Roman town. This town was able to count upon the patronage of Agrippa (19–12 BC), Juba II of Mauretania (AD 1–10), Caius Caesar (5–1 BC), Tiberius Claudius Nero and P. Silius Nerva (19–16 BC). At Emporion the patronage of Agrippa, Caius and Drusus Caesar⁵⁶ and provincial governors⁵⁷ was sufficient to enable the forum area to be replanned and for a basilica with *aedes augusti* to be built at its south-eastern angle (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1990, 151–4). Recent discoveries at Italica suggest that the forum and possibly the town walls were built in the Augustan period, the former being adorned with a huge marble statue of Julius Caesar.⁵⁸ The theatre and the adjacent porticoed enclosure can now be dated to the reign of Tiberius. The former was dedicated by two *pontifices* of the cult of Augustus, revealing that it had a close link with the imperial cult.⁵⁹ Such developments were probably aided by the adoption of Tiberius as patron.⁶⁰ The available evidence at Córdoba (Figure 5) suggests that there may have been a late Republican

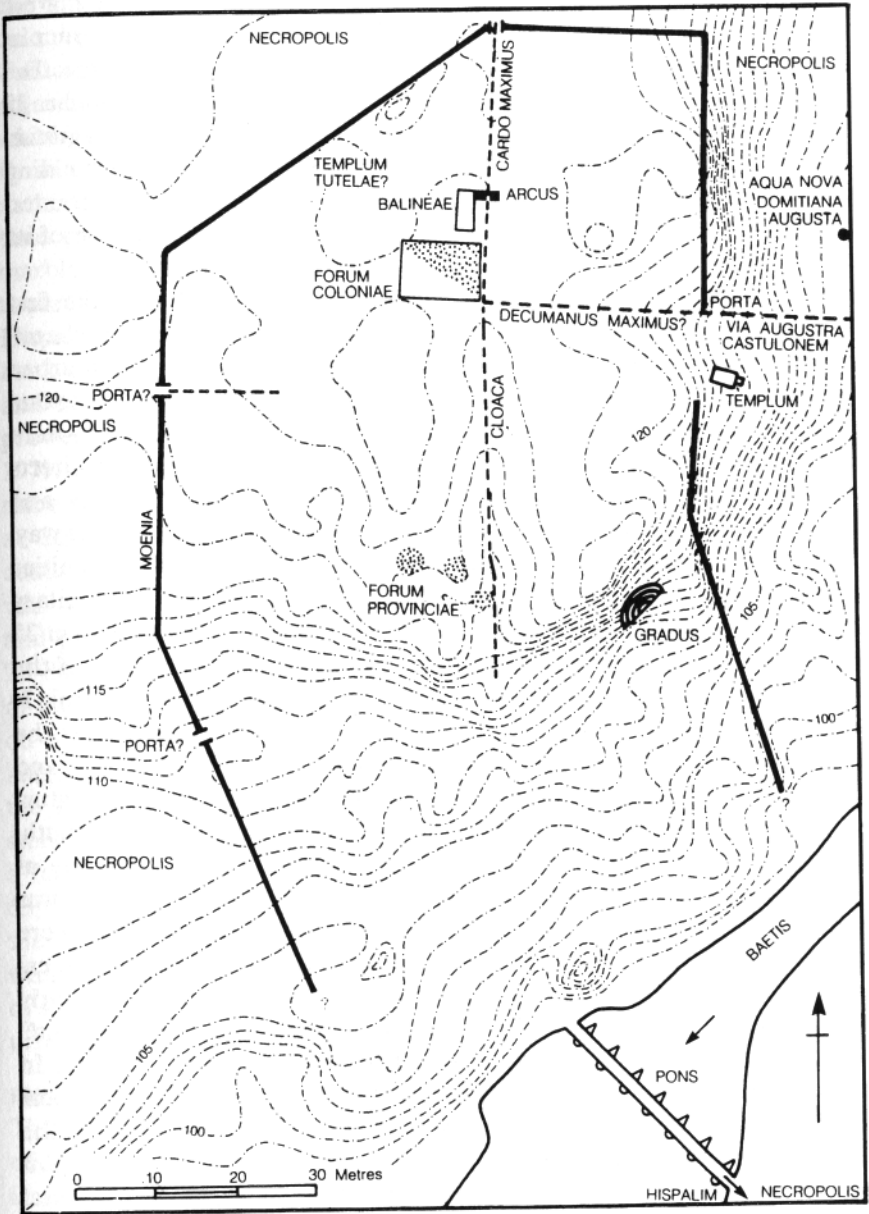


Figure 5. Plan of Roman Córdoba (after Stylow 1990).

forum, and that this was completely rebuilt under Augustus, and refurbished with marble decoration similar to that of contemporary structures at Rome (Stylow 1990, 272; Von Hesberg 1990, 283). A huge cuirassed marble statue of Mars similar to that of Mars Ultor in the Augustan forum at Rome may have been a central element in its ideological programme. The spur for this may have been the granting of colonial status at around c. 25 BC and the patronage of the town by the celebrated nephew of Augustus, M. Claudius Marcellus.⁶¹ Little is known about Gades after the building of the Roman town on the Kotinoussa island, except that it was granted the status of *municipium* under Augustus and that Agrippa was one of its patrons at this time.⁶²

These developments were important since they really mark the first stages of the cultural 'romanization' of these historic and influential centres. At the same time, their extant Iberian and Roman Republican urban fabric did not allow town planners and architects the greatest freedom. However, the new colonies were a different case. As many of them were in themselves potent political symbols and located at new sites, architects were able to draw more freely upon models in Rome and Italy and integrate ideological symbols into the town plan in a more systematic way. This allowed a common 'visual link' between all like-minded communities to develop (Mierse 1990, 318). Augusta Emerita was founded as a military colony with veterans of Augustus' campaigns in north-western Spain in 25 BC. At the time of its foundation the colonia was a vocal evocation of the emperor's military successes, in an area of uncertain military control. It lay at the heart of a huge centuriated area which was articulated by the old military road between the Tagus and Guadiana (*camino de plata*), and which had been monumentalized by Augustus and extended to link Asturica Augusta in the north-west and the colonia of Hispalis in the south. Emerita was sited on the north side of the river Guadiana by the side of a small Baeturian settlement. The urban area of the early colonia was rectangular, and enclosed within monumental walls which were approached by two monumental bridges over the Guadiana. The focal point of the early colonia was the forum. Little is known of the early phases of this. However, one suspects that an altar in honour of Augustus⁶³ may have occupied a central position as had been the case at Tarraco. In any case a temple presides over this public space. It was decorated in local stone by local craftsmen. It seems probable that it was dedicated to the veneration of Augustus, or some aspect of the emperor, at some point early in the life of the colonia. It had a gallery of statues of the imperial family in its immediate vicinity.⁶⁴ Moreover its plan and decoration had close affinities with the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome and temples associated with the imperial cult elsewhere in Italy and the provinces. An

alternative, or initial, focus of veneration to Augustus may have been the theatre and adjacent portico with *sacellum*, which lies a short distance to the north-east (Figure 6). The theatre was built in 8 BC by the patron of the colonia, Agrippa, and adorned with statues of himself, Caius and Lucius Caesar and dedications to Augustus (Saenz De Buruaga 1982, 388); the adjacent portico had similar connotations. Nearby was an amphitheatre which had been financed by Augustus in 16–15 BC (CIL II.474). All of these early monuments were built from granite but following the designation of Emerita as the capital of the new province of Luistania at some time prior to AD 14, the colonia underwent a gradual programme of marble decoration.⁶⁵ The colonia of Caesaraugusta was probably founded towards 16 BC, possibly as a result of one of Augustus' visits to the Hispaniae. As with Emerita it was a military colonia, founded on the south bank of the river Ebro in the vicinity of the native settlement at Salduie, and may have been intended as a statement about Augustus' military prowess in successfully concluding the conquest of north-west Spain (Arce 1979; Beltrán Lloris 1983). It may also have been a political statement, since it effectively supplanted the earlier colony of the triumvir Lepidus at Celsa, further down the Ebro, which was abandoned in the early first century AD. Less is known about the layout of this colonia except that it was walled, organized on a grid plan with monumental drainage system and provided with a forum complex (Martín Bueno 1993, 117–20; 1989, 77–80). In the late Augustan/early Tiberian period the dynastic character of the town becomes clear with the reconstruction of the forum complex on a more monumental scale, the construction of a temple to Pietas Augusta (Burnett, Amandry and Ripollés 1992, no. 344) and a theatre in the southern part of the colonia decorated by local architects in regional stone. Barcino was laid out along similar lines and was presided over by a temple, possibly to Augustus, in the Augustan period (Gutiérrez 1992, 65; 1993, 78). It was similar to the temple at Emerita (*supra*). However the colonia was small compared with other contemporary foundations, while the forum may have been disproportionately large.⁶⁶ The planting of a colonia of this kind in a coastal region which was already quite heavily urbanized, suggests that Barcino may have had a special ideological role.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIRST CENTURY AD

The foundation of the Caesarian and Augustan colonies marks the birth of the Roman urban system in eastern and southern Hispania. It was largely borne out of the political and ideological necessities of the time, but which was also practical in terms of administrative rationale.⁶⁷ Thus, personal links with Augustus made Tarraco and, eventually, Emerita the logical choices as capitals for Tarraconensis and Lusitania. Caesar's provin-

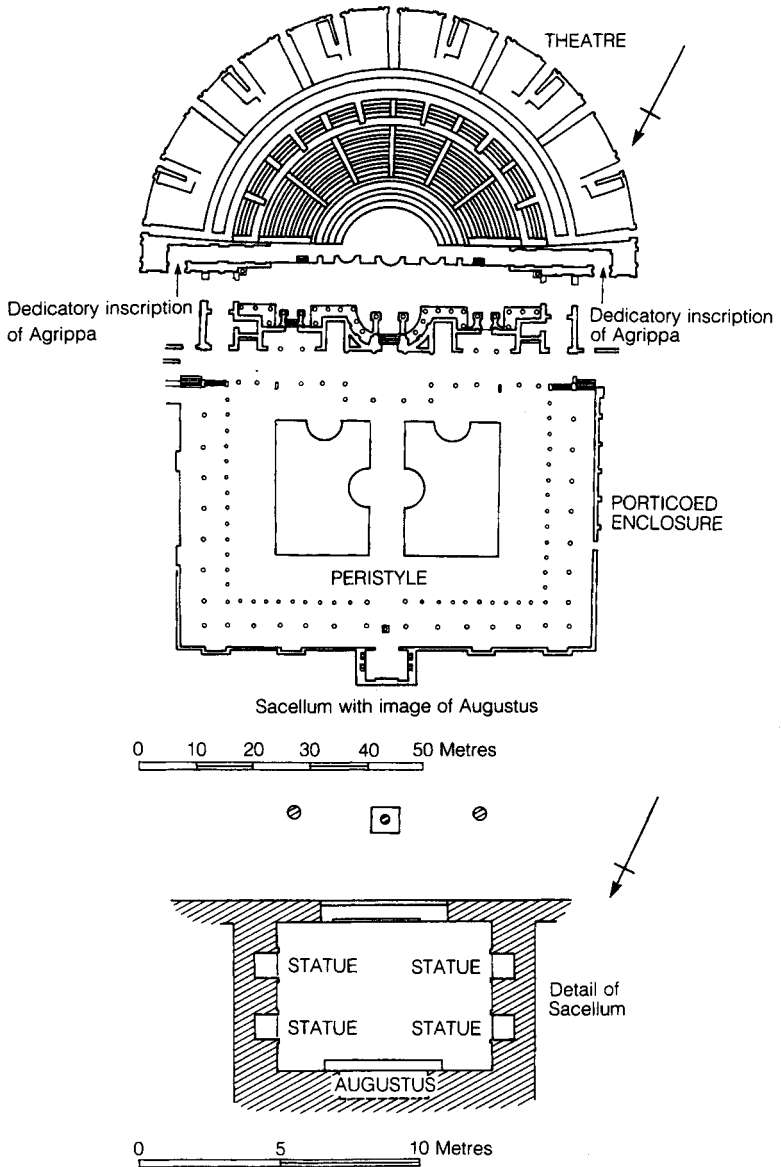


Figure 6. Plan of the theatre and associated portico at Emerita. Note the small *sacellum* to Augustus at the centre of the north side of the portico, and the inscriptions recalling Agrippa's role in its construction to either side of the *scaenae frons*. (After Boschung 1990).

cial assembly of 49 BC (Caesar, *Civil War* II.19) must have been influenced the choice of Corduba as that for Baetica. However, all three were admirably sited for communication within their respective provinces and remained dominant centres into the late Roman period. Early in the reign of Tiberius they were also centres of imperial propaganda, and ideologically important state documents were copied in bronze and diffused to the *coloniae* and *municipia*.⁶⁸ The colonies symbolized the transformation of the cultural territories of the Iberian peoples into a specifically *Roman* landscape. They were political and cultural foci with personal links to Augustus within a new ideology of Empire. The latter was implicit in the early phases of some fora and theatres and perhaps in the spatial organization of some towns.

As the demonstration of personal loyalty to the emperor hardened into a formal ritual system in the course of the first century AD, the urban landscapes of these and later *coloniae* came to be dominated by unified architectural complexes. These buildings were overtly ideological and dynastic in character, and involved the displacement of commercial and other functions. This is evident at all three provincial capitals. At Emerita a new forum for the imperial cult of the province of Lusitania was built in the Julio-Claudian period. It was decorated with caryatids and medallions bearing the heads of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa, whose style and sophistication is strongly reminiscent of the forum of Augustus at Rome (Trillmich 1990a, 310–16). Moreover it was adorned with statues of the mythical heroes of Rome and personalities like Agrippa (Trillmich 1990a, Taf. 28, etc). The complex was decorated with Italian Carrara and local Estremoz marbles, worked by itinerant Italian craftsmen who were probably also involved in other major projects in Gaul and Numidia (Pensabene 1993a, 170). Furthermore a relief showing the town's patron, Agrippa, making a sacrifice was set up close by in the middle first century AD (Trillmich 1986). The re-building of the theatre under Trajan saw the incorporation of a small shrine (*sacrarium*) to the cult of the *larum et imaginum* of the emperor (Trillmich 1990b). At Tarraco, the area enclosed within the Republican walls in the upper town was transformed into a monumental terraced complex for the imperial cult of the province of Tarraconensis (TED'A 1989), comprising temple and *temenos* of Augustus, provincial forum and circus. It may have been begun or built under the Julio-Claudians,⁶⁹ but was certainly concluded by the Flavians. This was a sanctuary which may have acted in a similar way as the provincial sanctuary (*sebasteion*) at Ancyra in Galatia, with the circus and nearby amphitheatre serving for *sacra Augustalia* and festivals. The complex was decorated with imported marble, including Luni Carrara, worked by craftsmen from the City of Rome (Pensabene 1993b). The evidence at Córdoba is less clear,

but an earlier open square of unknown function some distance to the south of the municipal forum was converted into a provincial forum in the Flavian period, decorated with imported Luni Carrara and Macael marble from Málaga (Stylov 1990, 274–82; Pensabene 1993a, 170). Similar changes took place at Pax Iulia under the Flavians (Alarcão 1990, 46–9) and at Caesaraugusta at an uncertain date in the first century AD.

Another important development was the appearance of stone, marble and occasionally bronze portrait statues to the emperor and members of his family. Individual portraits had been very rare in the Hispaniae during the Republican period. In the Julio-Claudian period, however, they become relatively common. They appear individually or in family groups and *personalized* important squares and public buildings which already had ideological associations. They are known from the old established Roman centres like Tarraco,⁷⁰ Italica,⁷¹ Carthago Nova,⁷² and such Roman coloniae as Emerita⁷³ and Astigi.⁷⁴ It is easy to underestimate the significance of these in the politico-religious context of the early stages of the imperial cult, particularly in provinces with such a strong pre-disposition towards leader veneration. Like those on the local coin issues, these were standardized images whose distribution may have been carefully controlled at Rome as part of a propaganda policy by the emperors (Walker and Burnett 1981, 25–7). They were highly prestigious symbols of the reigning emperor. Moreover in the Greek-speaking east, at least, cult images from temples were thought to embody special properties (Price 1984, 172–88). Possession of the image of a reigning emperor, therefore, may well have been the object of competition by urban elites since they were key elements in expressing loyalty to the emperor and, ultimately, in the relationship between provincial urban communities and the emperor.

The towns of Asturica Augusta, Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta were different to any of the above towns. As this was a region with non-urban traditions, the spontaneous town-based adoption of imperial symbolism could not take place. Imperial ideology was probably introduced by the army, initially with the dedication of the *arae sextianae* altars to Augustus in c. 19 BC (Etienne 1958, 380–4) and later through the military settlements of Asturica Augusta and Lucus Augusti and a native religious centre at Bracara Augusta. The only expressions of native loyalty to the emperor were put by regional communities. Recent work at Asturica suggests that these settlements only emerged as urban centres in the Flavian period (García & Vidal 1990; see also, elsewhere in this volume, pp. 371–94).

Ideology, Patronage and the Planning of Native Towns

The development of the Roman towns conditioned that of native towns. Ideology, patronage and social competition amongst Roman elites created distinctive and prestigious symbols of Roman power in Iberia. The personal element in these made them especially appealing to the elites of native towns and create a chain-effect of emulation down the social scale. This created an unprecedented degree of cultural convergence by urban communities within the Hispaniae. Social competition and a need to retain a pre-eminent social position ensured that elites attempted to identify with the emperor as closely as possible. Monuments with ideological connotations like the basilica and forum types, temples, or theatres were built in the context of regional architectural traditions. They usually lacked the sophistication of those in the Roman towns and often stood in sharp contrast to the more traditional residential buildings. Their spread was mirrored by that of the imperial cult, which provides their *raison d'être* and ritual 'life-blood'.

This took place most rapidly in eastern and central Citerior Tarraconensis. The Augustan period ushered in a major transformation of the acropolis of the Edetanian centre at Saguntum, for instance (Figure 7). What passed for the forum of the Republican town was largely demolished, and replaced with a complex comprising basilica, commercial tabernae, cisterns and a possible *aedes augusti* decorated with local marbles,⁷⁵ and adorned with imported marble statues of the members of the Julio-Claudian family.⁷⁶ This appears to have been paid for by Cnaeus Baebius Geminus (Alföldy 1977, 7–13), a member of one of the most illustrious families of the town. The theatre was probably planned at the same time as the forum, although it does not appear to have been built prior to the reign of Tiberius (Hernández 1990, 256–7). The scale of these monuments, particularly the theatre, reflected not only the wealth of the elites, but also their long contact with Rome.⁷⁷ Further to the west similarly comprehensive replanning took place at Segobriga, Valeria and Ercavica. At the first of these a substantial area of the native towns was walled in the Augustan period, and provided with a new Roman-style urban infrastructure (roads and drains). A theatre and ranges of associated porticoes and an amphitheatre were also built and decorated in local stone by local craftsmen (Almagro Gorbea and Lorrio 1989). These were adorned by statues of the emperor (Almagro Basch 1975, Lám. XLIII). The sophistication of these monuments in a region which was comparatively thinly urbanized in the pre-Roman period is impressive and must reflection the influence of the town's patrons, who are not known. In the same region, the Augustan period saw the transformation of the centres of the native towns at Valeria (Fuentes

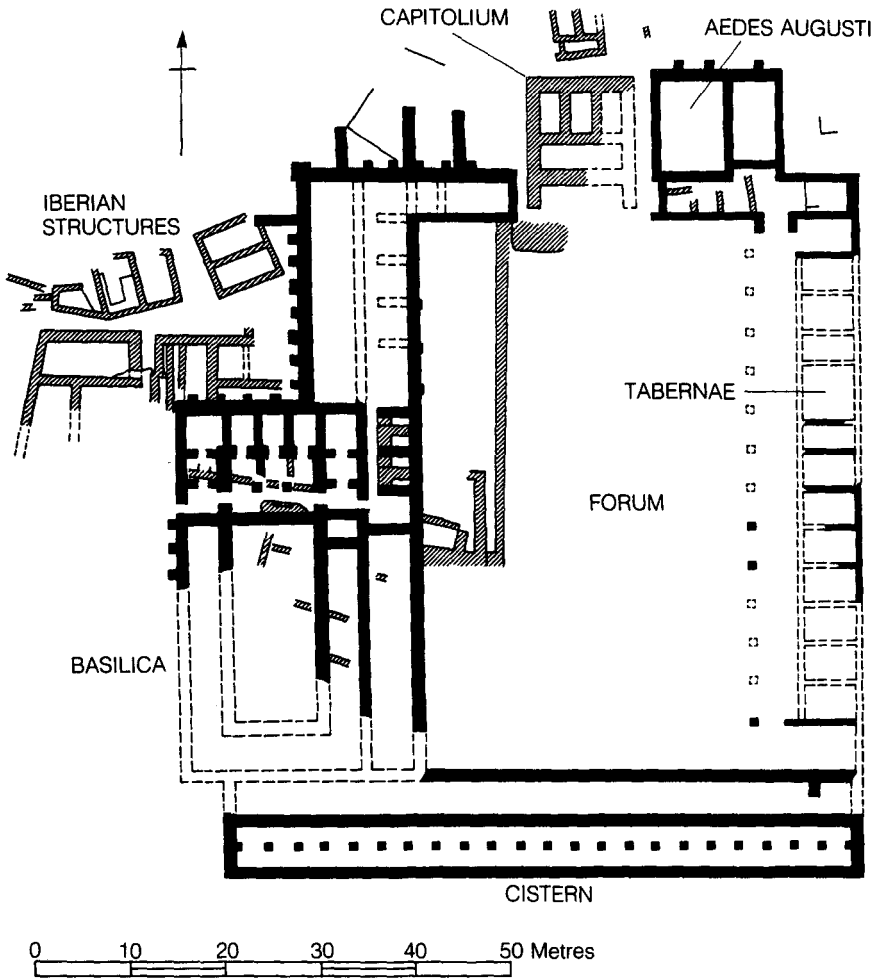


Figure 7. The forum at Saguntum showing known Augustan additions (in black) and the *aedes augusti* (after Aranegui 1987). Earlier Republican structures, including the *capitolium* are shaded.

Domínguez 1987) and Ercavica (Osuna 1976) with the construction of fora, basilica and possibly temples atop substantial stone and concrete platforms. At Ercavica, at least, the ideological flavour is explicit with the discovery of a portrait of Lucius Caesar as well as a bronze frieze depicting implements used in imperial cult rituals (Osuna 1976, 130–52). At all of these sites there were alterations to monuments under Tiberius and later Julio-Claudian emperors.⁷⁸ By contrast the towns of Pompaelo and Arcobriga are to be distinguished by having fora with basilicas closely resembling that at Tarraco, with the *aedes augusti* opening off its rear wall (Mezquiriz

1978; Lostal 1980, fig. 21). Despite its similarity, however, the Pompaelo basilica does not appear to be particularly sophisticated. This is not surprising given that the two known patrons from the town were local men of no great rank,⁷⁹ and thus would not have exercised great influence in obtaining access to material, plans or architects. At Bilbilis (Martín Bueno 1981) a residential area of the mid first century BC on the acropolis was levelled in the Augustan period to make way for an important complex with imperial ideological associations, which was probably completed during the reign of Tiberius. This consisted of a small forum enclosed by porticoes and basilica which was dominated by a temple on a high podium, and an adjacent theatre. At the complex were discovered the bases to statues which probably commemorated members of the imperial family, a portrait bust of Claudius (Trillmich *et al.* 1993, Taf. 126) and an imperial cult inscription which commemorates the construction of the forum in the reign of Tiberius, with the financial assistance of a member of the native elite. In the centre-north of the peninsula, such transformation take place at slightly later dates. At Termes a platform complex and adjacent temple area was constructed during the Julio-Claudian period,⁸⁰ and a portrait of Tiberius has been discovered. The forum complex at Uxama Argaela seems to have been constructed in the Tiberian period,⁸¹ at a time when the consul (AD 6) and governor of Tarraconensis (AD 14) was patron, only to have been abandoned in favour of a new siting in the Flavian period. Finally at Clunia a large forum basilica complex with *aedes augusti* was constructed in the Julio-Claudian period and adorned with a gallery of statues of members of the imperial family, prior to receiving colonial status under Galba (Palol 1991; Gros 1987, 116).

This was an area with varying degrees or types of urbanism in the pre-Roman and Republican period and which grosso modo had enjoyed sustained contact with Rome since the second century BC. It was also an area in which native traditions of leader veneration and loyalty to charismatic military leaders (*devotio iberica*) had had a long history (*supra*) and to whom, therefore, an ideology which exalted the position of a visibly successful general to divine status would not have been unnatural. As a result the imperial cult was enthusiastically adopted by native elites side by side with official Roman cults to the point that in the east coast at least, virtually no native deity is mentioned on inscriptions are the first century AD (Alföldy 1993). The rapid development of 'imperial' townscapes, therefore, should come as no surprise.

Native communities in the province of Lusitania showed a similar readiness to adopt sophisticated urban types wholesale from the Augustan period onwards. Within the province one can distinguish between those more urbanized regions in the south which had enjoyed sustained contact

with the urbanized peoples of southern Spain (Edmonson 1990), and the northern regions with traditions of less centralized settlement (Coelho Ferreira Da Silva 1986, 17–65). The urban transformations take place in both regions apparently irrespective of these earlier traditions. In the south, for example, the centre of the Caesarian municipium of Évora was completely re-built under Augustus with a porticoed forum at one end of which was a temple to the imperial cult surrounded on three sides by a monumental water tank (Hauschild 1993, 167). This was a scheme which echoed arrangements at the colonia of Pax Iulia, to the south. The theatre of the Caesarian municipium at Olisipo was similarly dated to the Augustan period (Hauschild 1990; Trillmich *et al.* 1993, 305–7 and Abb. 136). In the north the classic case is that of Conimbriga (Figure 8). Here the native community erected a small complex consisting of a basilica, commercial tabernae, cryptoporticus and *aedes augusti* arranged around a forum square (Alarcão and Etienne 1977; Gros 1987, 115–16). This was the focal point of the town, which was possibly walled at this time (Pessoa 1991) and equipped with baths and possibly an aqueduct. There were similar transformations at Sellium.⁸²

The rapidity and sophistication of these early transformations across the cultural divide, particularly in the north, is striking and might be explained by some form of government encouragement. As in eastern and central Tarraconensis, the crystallization of the urban system seems to have come later in the first century AD, during the Flavian period.⁸³

Some form of government encouragement, or even compulsion, is even more evident for north-western Tarraconensis. During the Augustan period, the Roman presence in the region was characterized by military-inspired settlements at Asturica Augusta and Lucus Augusti, military camps and a military road network. Otherwise native social organization provided the framework for the gradual integration of the scattered population of the region into Roman administrative units, or *civitates* (Santos Yanguas 1985). The Astures, Callaeci, Cantabri and others in the region comprised a number of peoples⁸⁴ who were generally settled in small hilltop settlements known as castros, as in the pre-Roman period. Some of these began to betray signs of regular planning and square houses planned in the Roman fashion in the course of the first century AD.⁸⁵ Castros may also have been deliberately created in agricultural and mining regions for purely pragmatic reasons (Fernández Ochoa 1993, 242–3). It was only with the grant of municipal status to peoples and settlements (Santos Yanguas 1985) and the wholesale re-urbanization of Asturica, Lucus and Bracara under the Flavians, that imperial symbolism could begin to play an important role.⁸⁶

In the province of Baetica the acceptance of the imperial cult appears

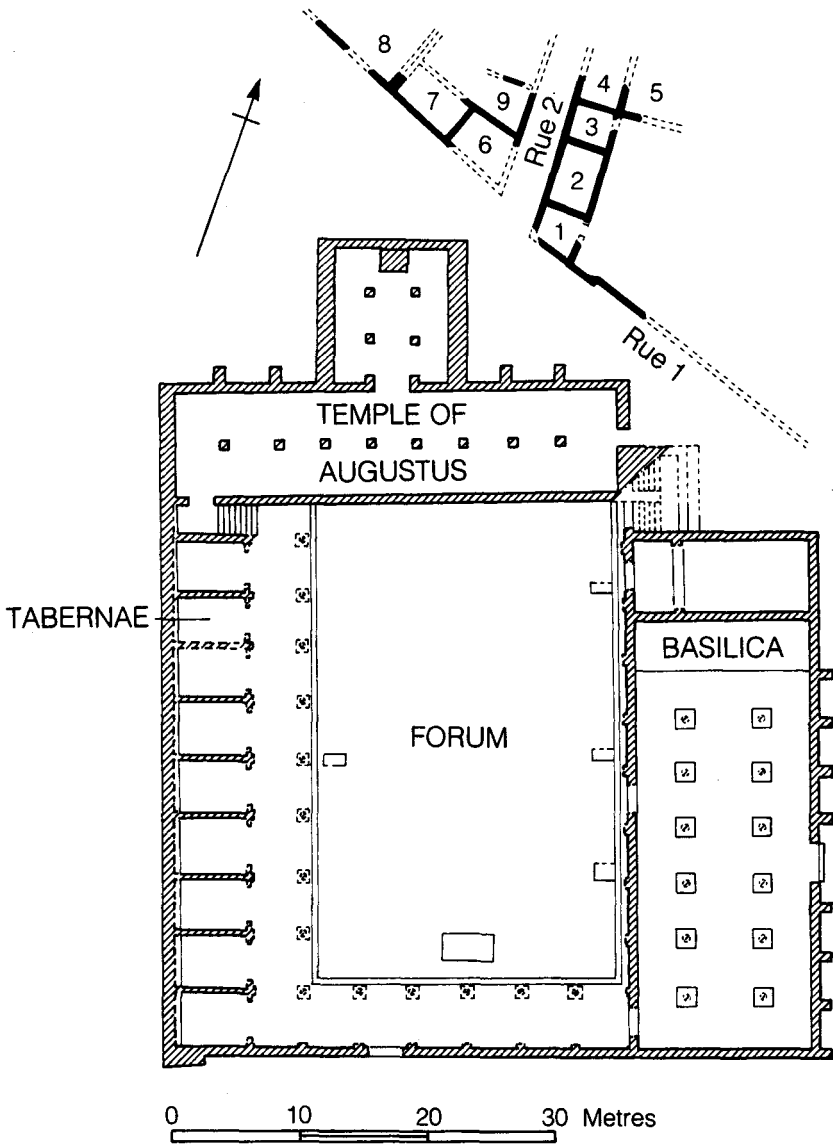


Figure 8. Plan of the Augustan forum at Conimbriga. (After Alarcão and Etienne 1977).

to have taken place later than in eastern Tarraconensis. The earliest specific reference in the sources comes in AD 25, with a request from the province to Tiberius to build a temple in his honour in AD 25.⁸⁷ The evidence suggests that although some communities (*supra* p. 306) put the image of the emperor on their coinages, there appears to be little evidence

for public adoption of imperial symbols and the 'romanization' of urban landscapes until the reign of Tiberius. After all, native communities in Ulterior had retained a strong attachment to native cultural traditions until the mid first century BC (Keay 1992).

In the lower Guadalquivir valley, the forum and *aedes augusti* of Celti was not built until *c.* AD 20 (Keay *et al.* forthcoming), while further south the forum at Baelo was not begun until some time between the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (Pelletier, Dardaine and Sillières 1987). The same may be true for Carmo (Lineros and Domínguez 1987; Keay 1992, 292–3). Further south at Lacipo, a *hypaetrum* and *crypta* was built and dedicated to the *divus Augustus* in the heart of an otherwise native settlement during the reign of Tiberius.⁸⁸ This early Tiberian date accords with that of a number of *senatus consulta* found recently at municipia and native settlements in the conventus Hispalensis. These record events of crucial ideological importance to the imperial regime⁸⁹ in settlements which otherwise lack clear evidence for cultural romanization.⁹⁰ It is possible that they represent attempts by the State to encourage public displays of loyalty to the *divus Augustus* in the interests of provincial cohesion.

As in the case of eastern Tarraconensis, the consolidation of the urban model does not come until slightly later in the first century AD. At Baelo a 'closed' administrative and ideological space is created in the forum with the construction of a basilica and the town's achievement of municipal status under Claudius. A small temple to the imperial cult is built behind the tabernae on the west side of the forum and, by the reign of Trajan at least, a larger than life-size statue of the emperor was placed in the basilica (Bonneville *et al.* 1981, 420–30 and figs. 14–20). Finally, commercial concerns are now focused upon a small macellum to the south-west (Didierjean *et al.* 1986). Further north, the wealth and ideological pretensions of Celti were such that the forum was abandoned towards the beginning of the second century, probably in favour of a more extensive complex elsewhere in the town, as may have occurred at Uxama (*supra*). Little is known about the ideological pretensions of other towns except for the discovery of imperial portrait heads at the municipia of Axati,⁹¹ Salpensa⁹² and Anticaria.⁹³

Conclusion

The relationship between ideology, patronage and social competition has been used as a framework within which to study the transition from native to Roman in Iberia (Figure 9). This has allowed a model for the 'romanization' of towns in the Hispaniae to be proposed. It is suggested

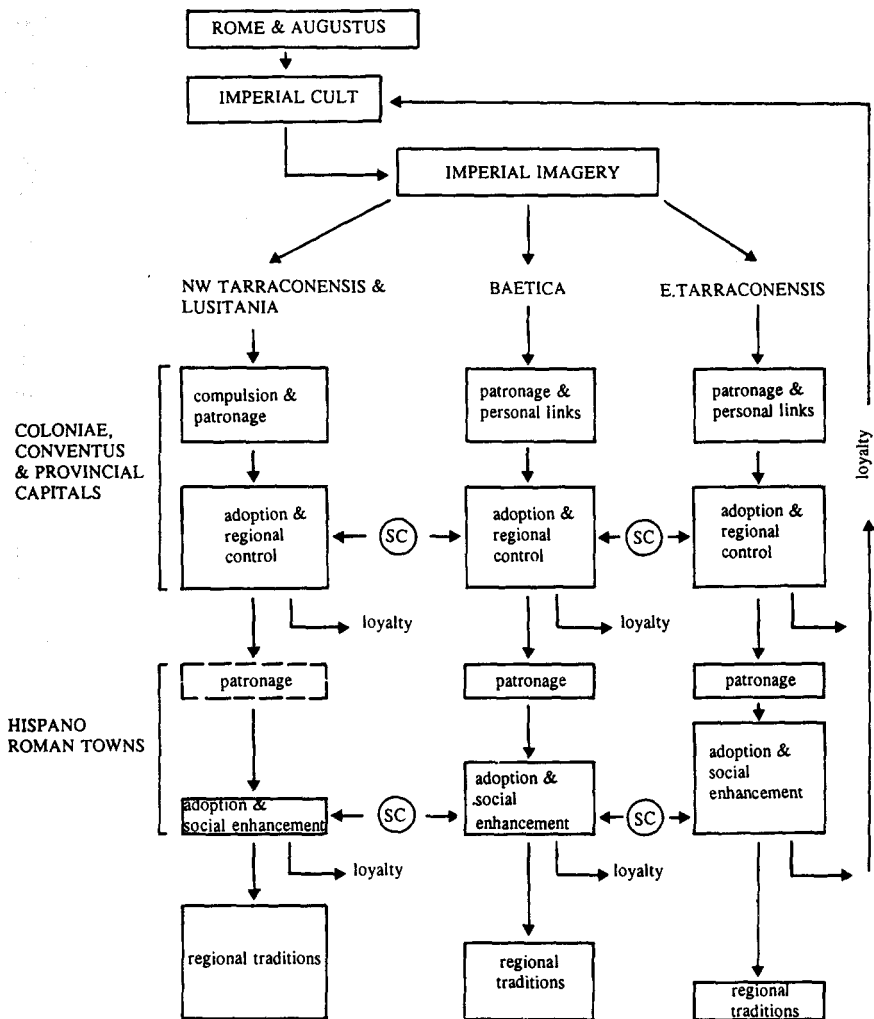


Figure 9. Flow chart showing the interaction of imperial imagery, patronage, and social competition (abbreviated to SC) in the Hispaniae. The adoption of imperial symbols at coloniae, municipia and non-privileged centres brings about a degree of 'romanization' of material culture, tempered by differing degrees of regional tradition. It also ensures loyalty to the emperor and broader social cohesion within the provinces.

that there was no characteristic uniform *Roman* cultural identity prior to the development of an imperial ideology in the Augustan period. The Republican period is essentially one of continuity from the later pre-Roman Iron Age. It is characterized by the presence of only occasional buildings in Roman and native towns. In the former, these were built by communities of Romans or Italians as a way of legitimizing their social

positions in an overwhelmingly native cultural milieu. In the latter, they were mediated by provincial governors in the context of patronal links with their client communities, and strengthened the social position of local elites. The cultural identity which develops in the Hispaniae from the Augustan period onwards is largely the symbolic face of an imperial ideology developed at Rome. Its adoption by provincial towns was a public symbol of loyalty to emperor and State. This represents a conscious choice taken by elites in the interests of an enhancement of their social positions and, ultimately, their social reproduction. The degree to which imperial symbols were adopted by different provincial towns was conditioned by the power and influence of their urban patrons and the strength of social competition within and between towns. The interaction of ideology, patronage and social competition in this way allowed the Roman colonial elites in major towns to win regional supremacy, and enabled local elites at native towns to reinforce their social positions well into the early imperial period. From this standpoint, the 'romanization' of the communities of the iberian peninsula actually marks social continuity in the context of the broader Roman consolidation of Roman power in the provinces. The latter is finally achieved with the emergence of purpose-built ideological complexes dominating urban centres under the later Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors. These played a key role in the centralizing of provincial communities within the *conventus* system and the provincial imperial cult framework. The urbanization of Iberia by Rome, then, was a dual process of innovation and adaptation rather than the imposition of a pre-conceived network.

This model raises three important points. First of all it raises the point that the 'rise' and 'decline' of towns in the early imperial Hispaniae has much to do with the desire of provincial elites to spend money on monuments or inscriptions in honour of a particular emperor (Duncan Jones 1990, 59–76), and in the presence and absence of imperial, or at least influential, patrons. Urban development cannot all be laid at the door of the 'economic success'. Thus it could be argued that the flourishing of the *municipium Emporiae* in the late first century BC and early first century AD, had much to do with historic and patronal links between the town and the established Julio-Claudian imperial house. Conversely, its decline from the late first century AD may have been related to the emergence of a new, Flavian, dynasty with its own network of different loyalties to provincial communities. Similarly, the great embellishment of Italica in the second century AD was aided by strong patronal links with the families of Trajan and Hadrian, while its early abandonment may have much to do with the end of the Antonines and the emergence of the Severans. Thus the periodization of urban prosperity for many towns was conditioned

by political considerations, while the imperial ideological system continued to flourish up until the earlier third century AD. Roman towns, thus, were largely political and it was thus which set them apart from other kinds of urbanism.

Thus, the second point concerns the provincial administrative system. Stress has been laid upon the purely political and social constraints inherent in the emergence of the Roman 'urban system' in the Spanish provinces. Given this, it seems hard to cede an interventionist approach to Augustus and his administrators in the reforms of post 12 and between 7 and 2 BC (Mackie 1983, 16 note 23). One could argue that rather than imposing an administrative system upon the provinces, he developed one which adapted to the realities of the urban developments over the previous 20 to 30 years.⁹⁴ Road networks linked the older Roman centres, newly established colonies and native centres with important communities of clients of Caesar and Augustus, rather than the other way around. All of these facets of the administrative system were thus part of a systematization of earlier Republican experimentation and a reordering of provincial space in political and ideological terms.

The final point concerns cultural unity. The Augustan period might be seen to usher in a movement towards cultural unity unprecedented in the history of the peoples of the Iberian peninsula. However this 'unity' was tempered by the contrasting degrees of alacrity with which ideological symbolism was used in eastern and central Tarraconensis, Baetica and north-west Tarraconensis. Differing regional cultural traditions also condition the character of this 'unity'. The apparent similarity of the plans of the basilicas at Tarraco, Arcobriga and Pompaelo undoubtedly belie great differences in scale, sophistication and decoration. Moreover symbols such as these were consciously chosen for their conspicuousness — so that elites could be seen as being unmistakably identified as the dominant imperial power. Thus adoption of these by regional elites does not necessarily imply that underlying cultural traditions necessarily changed. The same could be said about the use of inscriptions imported fine-wares and all the other classes of evidence used to chart the progressive 'romanization' of the Iberian Peninsula.

NOTES

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Professor John Richardson, and Drs Greg Woolf, Martin Millett and Susan Walker for commenting upon earlier drafts of this paper.

2 See for example, Keay 1992; also contributions by Aubet, Niemeyer and Ruiz elsewhere in this volume.

3 See for example Cuadrado 1974; also contributions by Almagro Gorbea, Ruiz Zapatero and Coelho elsewhere in this volume.

4 CIL II 3836 and Beltrán Lloris F. 1980, no. 37; these were dated to the early Julio-Claudian period and the late first century BC respectively.

5 Such as the Iacetani, Celtiberians, Vaccaei, Vettones, etc.

6 Richardson 1986; Knapp 1977 and Dyson 1975, 174–98 provide alternative hypotheses.

7 From the late third century BC onwards.

8 From the late second century BC onwards (Domergue 1990, 184–6).

9 From the 170's BC (Richardson 1976, 139–52).

10 Initially in Iberian and Celtiberian scripts (Villaronga 1979).

11 From the late second century BC (Crawford 1985; Knapp 1987).

12 See Keay 1992, for a discussion of this.

13 For example, Bendala, Fernández Ochoa, Fuentes Domínguez and Abad 1986.

14 Knapp 1977, 111–39 (the status of early Roman centres in Iberia); Brunt 1971, 204–33 (numbers of Romans and Italians settled in Iberia prior to the mid first century BC). See also note 22 below.

15 Alföldy 1991, Keay 1990, Ruiz de Arbuló 1990 (Tarraco); Pena 1984, Knapp 1977 (Corduba). Recently it has been suggested that Corduba may have been a centre of Roman citizens from as early as 200 BC (Canto 1991: below note 61).

16 Ventura and Carmona 1992, 219–20.

17 Aranegui 1990; 1992; the 'italic' cultural flavour of this complex is to some degree reinforced by the discovery at the temple of small bronzes of Liber Pater, Hercules, satyrs, etc. (Bletch 1989). At the same time, however, the enduring native element is underlined by the discovery of a monument, probably from the forum area, which is as yet undated but which was decorated with Iberian-style relief carving (Aranegui 1990, Taf. 18.c-j).

18 For example: Azaila (Teruel: Beltrán Lloris, M. 1976), Contrebia Belaisca (Botorrita: Beltrán Martínez 1982) and Caridad de Caminreal (Teruel: Vicente Redon et al. 1986).

19 La Encarnación de Caravaca (Ramallo 1991; 1993) and Cerro De Los Santos (Chapa Brunet 1984).

20 For example at the Ibero-Roman town of Baetulo (Guitart and Padrós 1990, fig. 12e, f and g) and the Contestanian sanctuary at the Cerro de los Santos (Ruiz Bremon 1986).

21 Niebla (Ilipula) and Salpensa (El Coronil): León 1990.

22 Amongst the early evidence which implies the presence of substantial numbers of non-military personnel is the statement by Livy (34.9.12–13) about contractors *no longer* being required to furnish grain from the Roman army in Hispania Citerior in 195 BC. More explicit is the statement by Diodorus (5.35–6), drawing upon an eyewitness account by Posidonius, about the inrush of Italians in the second century BC to work and make profits from mines which are generally assumed to be those of southern Spain (Richardson 1976, 145 note 55). These were surely contractors rather than workers and thus need not have been present.

in overwhelming numbers. Finally one should mention the *Legio Vernacula* which was raised in Ulterior in the 50's BC and which played an important role in the last phase of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey in the province in 49 BC (viz. Caesar, *Civil War* ii. 20.4). It is generally understood to have been composed of Roman citizens and thus to be an index of the size and economic strength of lower class Roman citizens in the province at this time (Roldán 1974, 209–12). However it has been recently suggested that the legion was composed of native Spaniards, that the Roman communities of the south could do little more than raise *cohortes colonicae* and that the total number of Roman citizen settlers in Ulterior was relatively small (Fear 1991). An analysis of the circumstantial literary evidence for the unofficial settlement of discharged veterans in the Hispaniae (Brunt 1971, 204–33) does not support the idea of Italian or Roman settlement on a large scale prior to the mid first century BC.

23 The assumption that the distribution patterns of Roman pottery, such as Italic black glaze, reflect settlement patterns is fallacious. The point is made clearly by Millett (1991).

24 Eck (1984, 129–67 notes 3 and 4), points to Italian examples at Rome, Trebula Mutuesca, Cures Sabini, Nursia, Parma and Fabretaria. He suggests that it was a rare practice outside Rome before the Augustan period.

25 Roldán 1992 (Carteia); Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, Sanmartí *et al.* 1990 (Emporion).

26 On display in the Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba.

27 This may have been a reason behind the erection of an inscription to Pompey at Tarraco (Alföldy 1975, no. 1) in 71 BC.

28 This study argues that the distribution of later, imperial, inscriptions mentioning particular *nomina* may reflect the activities of Republican governors bearing the same *nomina* (Dyson 1980–1981).

29 See Ward-Perkins 1970 for a broad panorama of late Republican architecture elsewhere in the western provinces.

30 Discussed in Brunt 1978.

31 Urso, Acci, Hasta Regia, Hispalis, Ituci, Scallabis, Corduba, Carthago Nova and Tarraco (Galsterer 1971); possibly also Metellinum and Pax Iulia (Richardson forthcoming).

32 Carthago Nova and Tarraco.

33 Gades and Olisippo (Galsterer 1971).

34 These would have originated during his quaestorship and praetorship in Ulterior in 68 and 61 BC; Marin Diaz 1988, 218–21 for these communities.

35 Asido, Astigi and Tucci.

36 Barcino, Caesaraugusta, Ilici, Libisosa and Salaria.

37 Emerita Augusta and possibly Pax Iulia although this may have been a Caesarian colonia: see discussion in Richardson (forthcoming).

38 With the exception of centres like Lancia.

39 In general terms, Harmand 1957.

40 These are discussed in Rodà 1986–1989.

41 Strabo III, 5, 3, Cicero, *To Atticus* XII.2.1; see also Ramírez 1982, 95–133, and Rodríguez Neila 1973.

42 Zanker 1990, chapter 2 and subsequently.

43 Fishwick 1978; Etienne 1958.

44 Such as, Tucci, Emerita, Pax Iulia and Barcino (Etienne 1958).

45 Such as, Canama, Carmo, Urgavo, Ulia, Aurgi, Anticaria, Obulco, Epora, Olisipo, Salacia, Ossonuba, Labitolosa, Complutum, Baetulo, Saguntum, Saetabis, Mentesa Bastitanorum, Valeria, Consabura, Dertosa, Ilerda, Castulo and Gerunda: Etienne 1958.

46 Such as, Lacipo, Barbesula, modern Villajoyosa and Edeta (Etienne 1958).

47 Hispalis, Italica, Gades, Iulia Traducta, Abdera, Oripippo and Laelia (Burnett *et al.* 1992).

48 Carthago Nova, Ilici, Caesaraugusta, Celsa, Acci, Osca, Saguntum, Dertosa, Ilerda, Bilbilis, Turiasu, Cascantum, Graccuris, Calagurris, Clunia, Ercavica, Osicerda, Segobriga and Segovia (Burnett *et al.* 1992).

49 Eborac and Pax Iulia (Burnett *et al.* 1992).

50 Burnett *et al.* 1992, 16–17.

51 See for example the evidence from Oenoanda in Asia Minor (Rogers 1991).

52 Koppel 1985, nos. 44, 48–50, 56 and 57 dating from the reign of Claudius onwards; also inscribed bases to statues which have since disappeared (Alföldy 1975, nos. 67, 68, etc.).

53 Tacitus, *Annals* 1, 78; Fishwick 1982; see also the discussion by Ruiz de Arbulo 1990.

54 Koppel 1985, nos. 1 and 2.

55 Koppel 1985, nos. 4–7.

56 Fabre, Mayer and Rodà 1991, nos. 19, 20 and 24.

57 Such as Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus and Marcus Iunius Silanus: Fabre, Mayer and Rodà 1991, nos. 27–9.

58 Rodríguez Hidalgo, J.M. pers. comm. (construction date; see however Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay, in this volume, p. 402, where a Tiberian date for the walls is suggested); León 1990, 375 and Taf. 45a (sculpture).

59 Gros 1990b, 388; González 1991, 55–6 no. 383, 54 no. 382; *contra* Canto 1981.

60 Prior to his official adoption by Augustus: CIL II.11133.

61 León 1990, 373–6 and Taf. 44 (statue). It has been suggested that Corduba was not founded by M. Claudius Marcellus in 169 or 152 BC, but constructed by Marcellus the nephew of Augustus in c. 26 or 25 BC. The town would have been granted colonial status at around the same time, with the name Patricia symbolizing the senatorial control of Baetica (Canto 1991).

62 Burnett *et al.* (1992), 82, issues 81–4.

63 Burnett *et al.* (1992), 72 and issue 28.

64 Trillmich 1990a, 305–10 and Taf. 24c–f.

65 Probably between 16 and 13 BC: Richardson (forthcoming) sees Emerita as taking on a special significance as the symbol of Rome in the new administrative entity of Lusitania created out of the old provinces of Ulterior and Citerior; Trillmich 1990a, 310–16 discusses the ‘marblization’: the exception to this was the temple in the forum.

66 The area of the town was 10.4 ha (Granados 1987, 66).

67 The same has been recently posited for the backbone of the road-system, the Via Augusta, in southern Tarraconensis and Baetica. Sillières (1990, 580–655)

has established that the road was only complete with *agger* and milestones along specific, politically sensitive, stretches such as that in the vicinity of Corduba. Along other stretches it represented only a marginal upgrading of traditional routes. The Via Augusta may thus have been primarily intended as a symbol of Roman power.

68 See note 88.

69 Similar decorative medallions to Emerita: Koppel 1990, 332–9.

70 Augustus, Livia, Tiberius and Claudius: Koppel 1985.

71 Augustus, Octavia, Galba and Trajan; García y Bellido 1949, Láms 9, 11, 28, 19 and 20.

72 Augustus: García y Bellido (1949), Lám. 8.

73 Augustus and Tiberius: García y Bellido (1949), Láms 10, 12 and 14.

74 Vespasian (Fernández Chicharro 1978).

75 Aranegui 1992 (complex); Mayer and Rodà 1991 (decoration).

76 Aranegui *et al.* 1991, 35 no. 1.1.

77 Recent research at the Edetanian town of Lassira (Moleta dels Frares, Forcall), suggests that this too was extensively replanned in the Augustan period (TIR K-30 1994, 104). To the north, there is epigraphic evidence for the (re)construction of the walls of Iluro (Matarò) in the Augustan period (Fabre, Mayer and Rodà 1984, no. 104).

78 Elsewhere in the region, the triumphal arch at Ocilis (Medinaceli) may have been dedicated to Lucius Caesar (Blanco Freijeiro 1978).

79 CIL II 2958 and 2960; generally, see Nicols 1980.

80 Argente (undated) interprets this large structure as a *castellum aquae* and the far smaller adjacent space as the forum (Tiermes); García y Bellido (1949), Lám. 16 (portrait).

81 García Moreno 1984; 1987, 255 no. 2 (inscription).

82 Tomar: Ponte Saleta da. 1985.

83 This is clearest at Conimbriga (Alarcão and Etienne 1977), but is also evident at Aeminium (Alarcão 1988) and possibly Bobadela and Tongobriga.

84 *Populi*: Tranoy 1981, 45–74.

85 For example the Citania de Sanfins: Coelho Ferreira Da Silva 1986, 46–8 and Est. XXIV; for other Portuguese sites like Briteiros, Terroso, etc. see Coelho (1986), 43–65.

86 Vespasian's grant of *Ius Latii* and the consequent diffusion of the Roman concept of urbanism in the north-west and other parts of Iberia is really a separate issue and is to be discussed elsewhere.

87 Which was refused: Tacitus, *Annals* 4, 38.1.

88 The function of these buildings seems to have been related to the imperial cult: Puertas and Rodríguez Oliva 1980; Puertas 1982, 61 and fig. 31.

89 Fragments of official documents have been documented at the colonia of Ilici, and at Irni, Siarum and Olaura (Lora de Estepa): the *senatus consultum* from Siarum (AD 19) has an important ideological element (Millar 1988). Those recently discovered at Olaura (AD 19) and Irni (AD 19) are identical and almost completely ideological in tone (Caballos Rufino *et al.* forthcoming a; Caballos Rufino *et al.* forthcoming b). It is suggested that the governor Numerius Vibius Serenus (AD 20/21) was charged by the Roman Senate to publish this *Senatus Consultum* at

Corduba, while the inhabitants of Irni and Olaura petitioned him for permission to publish this prestigious document in their own towns.

90 An illustration of this is the contrast between the apparent *romanitas* of the Lex Irnitana and the apparent 'rusticity' of the site of Irni (El Saucejo, Seville: Fernández Gomez 1990, 13–18).

91 Augustus: Drerup 1971, 138–46 and Taf. 39.

92 The Younger Agrippina: Fernández Chicarro 1980, Lám. XLVIII.

93 The elder Drusus: García y Bellido 1949, Láms 3–4.

94 See for example the discussion about the circumstances in the creation of the province of Lusitania in Richardson (forthcoming).

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Innovation and adaptation: the contribution of Rome to urbanism in Iberia

The presence of Rome in Iberia from the late third century BC onwards makes this an ideal area in which to study the development of Roman urbanism in a provincial setting. Many studies have charted the appearance of Roman towns or individual buildings, without attempting to explain why individuals chose to adopt them and how this was achieved. This paper explores these questions by considering the role of ideology, patronage and social competition as mechanisms for the adoption of Roman cultural form in the Hispaniae. In the Republican period Roman cultural types in the Hispaniae expressed Roman values but were expressed in Hellenistic and, to a lesser extent, Italic form. They were largely confined to the major Roman centres and diffused onto some major native settlements through patronage networks in the context of social competition. The development of an Imperial ideology from Augustus onwards ensured the emergence of specifically Roman architectural types. It also create a powerful new focus for the expression of loyalty of provincial élites. Consequently Roman architectural types became a source of great prestige for the communities that adopted them. Social competition amongst Roman and native élites, mediated through powerful patrons, ensured their spread in the course of the first century AD. In this way an unprecedented degree of cultural convergence was achieved as the topography of towns in Iberia was progressively 'romanized'.

Innovación y adaptación; la contribución de Roma a la urbanización de Iberia

La presencia de Roma en Iberia desde finales del siglo III a.C. en adelante, la convierte en una área ideal para estudiar el desarrollo del urbanismo romano en el marco provincial. Muchos estudios han señalado la aparición de ciudades romanas o de edificios individuales, sin tratar de explicar el porqué los habitantes elegían adoptarlos y cómo se realizaba este proceso. Este artículo explora estas cuestiones considerando el papel que desempeña la ideología, el patronazgo y la competición social como mecanismos para la adopción de la forma cultural romana en las Hispanias. En época republicana, los tipos culturales romanos en las Hispanias reflejaban los valores romanos, pero se expresaban con formas helenísticas, y en cierta medida, itálicas. Estos se limitaban a los principales centros romanos y se difundieron en los mayores asentamientos nativos a través de las redes de patronazgo, en un contexto de competitividad social. El desarrollo de una ideología imperial desde época de Augusto en adelante, aseguraba la emergencia de tipos arquitectónicos específicamente romanos. Además creaba un poderoso foco para la expresión de las lealtades de las élites provinciales. Por lo tanto, los tipos arquitectónicos romanos se convirtieron en fuente de prestigio para las comunidades que los adoptaron. La competitividad social entre las élites romanas y indígenas, que intervenían a través de sus poderosos patronos, aseguraban su difusión

a lo largo del siglo I d.C. De esta forma, se alcanzó un grado de convergencia cultural sin precedentes en la medida que la topografía de las ciudades en Iberia fue paulatinamente romanizándose.