DEVELOPING IDENTITIES WITHIN ROMAN IBERIA: HYBRIDITY, URBANISM, AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTHERN IBERIA IN THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES BC

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of identities within Iberia during the Roman conquest of the peninsula through the lens of cultural hybridism, urbanism and economic changes. The aim is to explore how local Iberian communities evolved culturally through centuries of pre-Roman contact, and how these interactions fuelled later adaptations to Roman rule. Iberian communities, within this context, did not simply 'become Roman' but many acculturation theories have struggled to create alternatives to the 'Romanization' model successfully. While 'Romanization' is clearly problematic, this thesis will challenge and adapt several acculturation models to explore the visibility of cultural hybridity within 'Roman' and Iberian communities, and alternatively suggest the emergence of a pan-Mediterranean cultural background. These theories will then be applied in four case studies of prominent cities in southern Iberia: Italica (Santiponce), Hispalis (Sevilla), Corduba (Cordoba), and *Augusta Emerita* (Merida). In each of these case studies the thesis will address aspects of acculturation seen in the urban and economic evidence at those sites. The conclusion of this thesis will indicate that, while further study should be conducted, a more flexible approach to cultural identity should be considered in light of the evidence presented in the case of the evidence seen in these four towns.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: IBERIA: THE LURE OF SILVER, LAND OF EXCHANGE

This thesis has been designed to discuss several aspects of interactions between Iberians and 'Romans' in Republican Spain and the development of 'Roman' urbanism within the context of interactions between different cultures within these urban landscapes. In order to fully address how these interactions evolved, this thesis also covers pre-Roman contact between Greek, Phoenician, and Punic groups as a means to explain the creation of a wider pan-Mediterranean culture within the context of trade and cultural hybridity. The Iberian Peninsula, throughout and since antiquity, has been a place of intense cultural exchange, and therefore is a logical choice to examine the development of culture. The reason that Iberia can be considered in this light is because of the centuries of contact with central and eastern Mediterranean cultures on the part of merchants and traders; even though all places of any significance are places of cultural exchange, Iberian cultures are limited in contact to only Phoenicians, Greeks, and Celts in the pre-Roman period.

Within this context urbanism, warfare, and trade all played a major role in the development of a broader cultural homogeneity with dynamic local variations. Sometimes these encounters were violent, resulting in great armies waging war across Iberia. Other episodes have been characterized by trade and exchange, both economically and culturally. From the eighth to fourth centuries BC, Phoenicio-Punic relationships with Iberian communities can be viewed as symbiotic, with a close link between exported silver and imported pottery, technology, and ideas. The silver trade was the most sought after commodity, along with other products such as gold, lead, and cinnabar; agricultural products of wine, oil and cereals; livestock and timber, which brought great wealth to the Tartessians, the Phoenicians primary trading partner until the sixth century, followed by the Turdetanians from the sixth to third

centuries BC. Tin and iron was also an important resource, but its trade and transport is eclipsed by the value placed on the silver trade, and comes from the northwest of the peninsula, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.[1] With this great wealth came the importation of ideas into the peninsula; art, sculpture, language, and technology. The influx of these extra-Iberian aspects began to influence Iberian culture in the art, coinage, and fragmentary literary evidence showing a hybridized language. Over four-hundred years, the silver deposits in southwestern Iberia were exhausted, requiring Tartessos to expand its trade network to facilitate the transport of silver from the Sierra Morena and the Rio Tinto. One result was the establishment of Ispal, which grew the opportunities of Iberian economic exploitation of mineral resources by the Tartessians, and later the Turdetanians.

The wider conflict between Rome and Carthage in the third century created an opportunity for Roman expansion into the Iberian Peninsula, and with the coming of Rome, Iberian communities faced many hardships, notably in a complex negotiation of Romano-Iberian identity, economics, and the adaptation from *oppidum* to Roman urban living. The earliest 'Roman' settlements in Iberia were among a series of strategic, economic, and political negotiations, which in some cases can be seen to benefit both Iberian and Roman interests. Rome's military permanent presence in Iberia may have encouraged the active engagement by locals, but also may be more organic in nature, as new settlers created opportunities for trade. Early settlements tended to be *civium conventus Romanorum*, and placed at strategic economic locations, which provided the necessary control over regions, and ultimately reoriented traditional trade routes away from Iberian *oppida*.[2] Over time, as Rome's territorial footprint

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[1] Neville 2007: 135-7.
[2] See Sewell 2012: 137-49.

grew along the eastern and southern regions of Iberia, political and economic power of local

Iberian tribes began to lessen, which created the opportunity for Rome to co-opt some groups,

either through coercion or enfranchisement. The result of many of these interactions with

'Romans' and the creation of a political and economic culture centreed on 'being Roman'

requiring Iberians to engage in actions which were outwardly Roman in appearance. In reality,

the adoption of Roman cultural elements did not mean the abandonment of Iberian culture, but

rather a complex and dynamic negotiation with local variation, much as seen before with

Iberian contact with Greek and Phoenician influences. One of the primary differences was the

creation of a Roman political identity, whereas in the pre-Roman period, acculturation occurred

as a byproduct of commerce.

In this thesis, I will address some of these core issues: the definition of 'Roman' has

become problematic as arguments that 'Roman' provincial culture was a hybrid of many

cultural influences rather than Roman culture dominating the region; 'being Roman' was more

about political affiliation than cultural aspects; and that local cultures was an amalgam of

influences. Strabo claims that some Iberians abandoned all native identity to become Roman,[3]

but if 'being Roman' included a variety of Mediterranean cultural traits, what does it mean to

'become Roman'? This thesis will argue that as the Roman state grew from effective hegemony

to empire in the second and first centuries BC over Iberian communities, the influx of non-

Romans in Iberia meant that 'being Roman' was less about a clear cultural identity but political

affiliation and engaging in a certain set of politically oriented actions. One of the central

discussions within this project is regarding the term 'Romanization', which as we will see in

chapter one, is a highly problematic term with much intellectual baggage. 'Romanization', in a

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[3] Strabo 3.2.15

brief summary, was a nineteenth century concept that non-Romans adopted Roman culture through the encouragement of the Roman élite: Latin, political systems, artistic and architectural styles, and so forth, while at the same time abandoning local cultural traits. The primary issue with 'Romanization' approaches to identity studies is that 'Romanization' is based in the implicit concept that dominant cultures exterminate all evidence of local identities in favor of the dominant political structure.

The concept of 'Romanization was developed during the nineteenth century, when intellectuals and politicans saw inherent links between Roman and modern imperialisms. The 'civilizing mission' of Rome was perceived as an imperative by modern nations as a means to justify the imperialist agendas, which notably viewed colonialism and imperialism within a positive light by nations who saw themselves as doing good within the world. Many scholars, whose theories will be discussed below in this chapter, have attempted to develop new theories of cultural exchange or change, and while these theories have widened the field identity studies, it could be argued that they are yet to develop a fully functional alternative to 'Romanization'.[4] The original incarnation is fundamentally flawed due to the extra baggage attached, but I believe that the term, due to its flexibility and dynamic nature, can endure the challenges placed by scholars and continue to evolve past its current diminished form.

While the notion of a top-down state promotion of 'Romanization' has been profoundly debunked, the term itself should be seen as still valid, with the caveat that the term should be robustly defined before it can be properly applied. Some of the key arguments of this thesis then are that acculturation and hybridity models have failed to produce sufficient alternatives

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[4] Major scholars who have contributed theories advancing identity studies include Martin Millett, David Mattingly, Janet Webster, James Adams.

to the 'Romanization' model and that there are other influences in provincial spaces to the spread of 'Roman' culture; pre-Roman influences from the eighth century are seen to have introduced ideas and culture into Iberian communities. I will also argue that 'Romanization' is not 'dead', but rather the theoretical model has been transformed to include a plethora of different approaches, allowing nuanced explorations of acculturation; 'Romanization' is not incompatible with other theories, so long as the scholar can define how the term will be employed. 'Romanization' from this perspective is now a looser term, which no longer holds the teleological character of its original forms and its employment puts the onus on scholars to clearly identify what they mean when they use it. 'Romanization' also has inherent benefits as well, as the term describes the adoption of 'Roman' aspects, regardless of the need for the scholar to be conscious and reflective of the methods in which the term is employed. In many ways, this consciousness can be a positive trait, as the term would require the research to be consistent.

Another objective of this thesis is to highlight how some acculturation models work and others do notby working through approaches to cultural changes using certain case studies. The term acculturation is used within this thesis to denote the appropriation of cultural traits from one group to another, which then modifies an aspect of the recipient group and is synthesized to create a hybrid element within the group. Acculturation will be used throughout this thesis, and should denote the adoption of foreign influences by Iberian communities or individuals where the evidence is visible, whether these influences were from images, technology, ideas, language, political systems, and so on. Acculturation should not denote a 'Romanization' or linear model of wholesale cultural appropriation, but elements of culture exchanged over time.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organized into three parts, the first focusing on pre-Roman Iberia, followed by Roman activity in Iberia, and proceeds to four case studies in southern Ibeira. First, it will examine the development of identity in locations within the southern Iberian Peninsula (modern Spain) from the early second century BC to the early first century AD. Second, it will provide a context for acculturation in Iberia, by examining the period of pre-Roman contact in Iberia, which includes regions in northeastern Iberia (modern Catalonia). Finally, the examination of acculturation through the early Roman period in Iberia focuses on three case studies of 'Roman' towns developed within this period, within *Hispania Ulterior* (modern Andalusia and the Extramadura). The aim of the thesis is to examine how these communities were formed and the extent of their cultural contacts with other colonial settlements and native populations on the peninsula, primarily with Phoenician, Punic, and Greek settlements established on the periphery of Iberia. Within this thesis the urban landscape examines evidence, where available, of the hybrid identities present within communities which in turn creates a more complex understanding of developing identities within urban spaces.

In addition to the primary focuses of this thesis, the examination of the developing economies in southern Iberia is also considered. The reason for an examination of the ancient economy being included is that mineral resources in Iberia appear to be the primary motivator for colonial contact in the second and first centuries BC. The study of ancient economies is a somewhat hypothetical endeavour, but in several instances the economic impact of Roman political and military activity can be seen within the historical narrative surrounding Roman and Punic expansion. In this light, it is important to consider both the economic impact of contact and conquest. Both contact and conquest had significant impacts on the actions taken by

Iberian élites, which in turn spurred the intensification of internal trade and transport of goods between coastal and the Meseta, which contained the mining centres. The result of foreign desire for minerals then essentially provided the basis of cultural exchange through the infusion of Greek and Phoenician art and pottery, which in turn began to create cultures within Iberia influenced by extra-Iberian aspects. As I will show throughout this thesis, the creation of a Mediterranean influenced culture is the definition of acculturation. Communities, regardless of the Punic, Greek, Iberian, or a hybridized identities present, did not simply 'become Roman' over time. Rather, local communities, through a series of economic, political, and military actions and reactions, were disrupted. This disruption created the opportunity for Rome to become politically dominant, but a cultural synthesis persisted, and formed the basis for a wider Mediterranean cultural context.

One reason for this study being conducted is because of a major gap in the scholarship on Iberian-Romano relationships in the Republic within the Anglophone scholarly tradition on Republican Spain, although significant scholarship does exist scholars such as by Simon Keay, Benedict Lowe, Alicia Jiminez, Johnathan Edmondson, Leonard Curchin, Andrew Fear, and Mary Boatwright.[5] This gap is readily apparent when compared to Spanish scholarship on the topic. Generally, most Anglophone scholars focus on the imperial period, which overlooks much of the formation of Roman imperialism and the provinces, early relationships with Iberians, and how 'Roman' urbanism developed in the provincial setting. Because of the deficiencies in the archaeological record much of the scholarship on early 'Roman' settlements in Iberia is limited to the examination of the literary traditions put forth by Roman writers,

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[5] See Keay 1991; 1997; 2001; 2003; Lowe 2009; Jiminez 2002; Edmondson 1994; Curchin 1991; 2004; Fear 1996; Boatwright 2002.

which are highly problematic as commentaries are limited to a few lines describing the conditions of the foundation of many towns in Iberia. There are several scholars' works that feature prominently within this thesis, and I will provide a brief overview of their work alongside how their research is relevant to this study.

Beginning with the Phoenicians, M.E. Aubet Semmler and Diego Ruiz Mata have produced a wealth of scholarship on the settlements at Gadir and Castillo de Dona Blanca.[6] Beyond providing much evidence for the early settlements and interactions between Tartessians and Phoenicians, both scholars address the topics of 'pre-colonization' and the nature of trade and co-optation of local Tartessian élites, and the establishment of the first foreign permanent settlements in Iberia.[7] I will argue against 'pre-colonization', because it implies that a long period of trade occurred prior to the establishment of Phoenician settlements which seems unlikely due to the radiological evidence, and that these settlements were colonies in the sense that their purpose was territorial control. In the Greek context, the scholarship of A. Dominguez Mondero is central to the discussion on Emporion, the creation of hybrid communities and culture, and the use of the term 'presence'; which means that Greek culture was highly visible throughout Iberia, while Greek settlements were limited to the northeast at Emporion and the Bay of Rosas, or small *emporia* along the coast.[8] I will argue for the idea of presence, as Greek wares penetrated deep into the Iberian mainland and traded across the peninsula, even within areas of Phoenician interest, and through this commerce, aspects of identity were imported into the region, which was then adopted by local artistic styles, which in turn brough other aspects of Greek culture through contact. The creation of hybrid communities emphasizes that by the

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[6] See Aubet 2001; Ruiz Mata 1999; 1994.
[7] Aubet 1990: 29-44.
[8] See Dominguez 2013; 2012; 2006; 1993; *cf.* Rouillard 2009.

second century, Iberians had adopted some Greek and Phoenician aspects. Both topics will be considered in chapter two.

Chapter three consists of a discussion on Roman imperialism and economics, which is designed to set forth how Roman control differed from interactions between Iberians, Greeks, and Phoenicians. The primary focus of the first part of the chapter is on the development of Roman imperialism, and the negotiation of how Romans dealt with their growing territories. John Richardson's *The Language of Empire* sets out a series of arguments on the development of Roman imperialism, most notably that Rome did not have a firm sense of how to conceptualize overseas territories. Richardson's argument is contradicted by Peter Edwell in *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, who argues that Rome did understand how to control foreign territory.[9] I will argue that both are true because of Rome's experience in maintaining a hegemony over much of Italy by the end of the third century, but at the same time Rome did not understand how to create semi-autonomous governatiorial states beyond the Senate's direct control. Another major topic is the concept of otherism – namely that Rome saw non-urban communities unlike themselves as an existential threat, which is linked to the sack of Rome in the fourth century BC. I argue that the origins of Rome's policy on foreign provinces was rooted in fear of the other. When compounded with Rome's belligerent culture of glory from battle, which is then translated into political power, Roman anxieties over non-urban peoples emerges as an organic merging of need, greed, and creed. My approach to Roman imperialism is a synthesis of several ideas: John Rich's *Fear, Greed, and Glory*, William Harris' *War and Imperialism*, and John Richardson's *Hispaniae*.[10] I also employ Hillard and Beness' arguments on

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[9] Richardson 2008; *cf.* Edwell 2013.
[10] Harris 1979; Richardson 1984; Rich 1993.

the stages of Roman imperialism found in *A companion to the Roman Republic.* The goal of this theory is to explain the reasons why Roman imperialism changed and adapted alongside local responses to Roman aggressions, which plays a part in acculturative aspects.

In the three case studies on Roman urbanism, each city highlights a different aspect of acculturation. One of the most valuable resources for this project was the series *Ciudades de Hispania*, an up-to-date consolidation of work on a series of major Roman towns in Iberia.[11] Three volumes, which focus on Italica, Cordoba, and *Augusta Emerita* feature prominently in their respective chapters. Generally, these works provided the basis for the consideration of these settlements, but other scholarship has played a critical role. For Italica located in chapter four, one of the central ideas is that the settlement was the 'first colony in the west', which has been suggested by many scholars and especially by Simon Keay.[12] I will argue against this theory and will present an argument for the early settlement being established within a network of defensive settlements. In tandem with Italica, I will also consider Ispal (Roman Hispalis, modern Sevilla) and the work by J.M. Campos Carrasco and I.R. Temino.[13] Carrasco was involved in several rescue archaeology projects mid-1980s and assembled an image of the potential urban landscape, and argued that the community was not very Roman in the second century based on the archaeological evidence. Temino argues that the Roman *conventus* established was perhaps more Punic and Greek than Roman, based on the temple located at Calle Marmoles. These two scholars' work highlights how early 'Roman' settlements in the region consisted of many cultural influences, and the effects of hybridization is seen throughout the Roman period as well.

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[11] Dupre Raventos 2004a; 2004b; Caballos 2010.
[12] Hidalgo and Keay 1995.
[13] Campos Carrasco 1993;1989; 1986; Temino 1991.

In the case of Cordoba, there is very little recent scholarship beyond the most recent *Ciudades de Hispania* volume that deals specifically with the Republican period. The most valuable study, although conducted nearly four decades ago, is by Robert Knapp.[14] In relation to hybridity, Knapp discusses in detail the creation of the *vicus Hispanus*, a village or district located initially just beyond Cordoba's walls. I will argue in support of Knapp that the *vicus Hispanus* was indeed a Turdetanian settlement and was influenced by the co-option of local élites from the nearby *oppidum* of Colina de los Quemados. However, in extension to Knapp's research, I will argue that the incorporation and persistence of the name of the *vicus Hispanus* is due to the creation of a local cultural memory: a fusion of dynamic Romano-Turdetanian culture within a Roman political context. Furthermore, Knapp argues that the Roman consul M. Marcellus founded Cordoba, but in reality the settlement was initially a *conventus*, which similar to early Roman Hispalis, provided the context for a hybrid cultural context. The final case study will be *Augusta Emerita*, discussed in chapter six, and the primary scholarship employed is by J.C. Saquete Chamizo from his *Las élites sociales de Augusta Emerita* and the *Ciudades de Hispania* volume. Saquete argues that the establishment of *Emerita* was designed as a *praenium victoriae*, which I agree, but in extension, I argue that the 'pure' 'Roman' provincial capital is an idealized political statement of urban living, where in reality the cultural composition of Roman identity by the first century AD is an amalgam of Mediterranean influences.

To adapt the theory of 'Romanization', I have incorporated many of the identity theories to attempt to create new methods of considering identity, either in sum or in part. None of the theories discussed provides a model which addresses all of the challenges of addressing acculturative processes; a hybrid of the theories is employed. The reason for this hybrid

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[14] Knapp 1983.

approach is that no two scenarios of contact are identical, and therefore specific models of hybridity, acculturation, or 'discrepant identity' must be applied on a case-by-case basis. Whilst the types of interactions can vary, employing several models at once can help characterize the effects, level of adoption, resistance to influence, and how local communities appropriate and adapt cultural input. The result is that cultural change should be seen as a highly complex, variable, and dynamic process linked not only to internalization of cultural traits, but one that also must consider external pressures as well. In my opinion, it is inappropriate to claim the Iberians simply became Romans, but rather became hybridized through contact with the cultures of the wider Mediterranean over a millennia. The evidence I will present suggests that rather than 'becoming Roman', a dynamic synthesis evolved within Iberian communities due to the influx of cultural objects from foreign culturual influences. The introduction of Roman political systems adds another layer to the complexity of cultural change, as not only was a 'negotiation' between Iberian and foreign material culture underway for centuries, in the second century military and political pressures were applied to local communities. Within this period, there a temptation to slip back into the 'Romanization' paradigm and view acculturation as a Roman-driven endeavour, but through the application of acculturation models to deconstruct local identity to view the origins of cultural influences, we may begin to perceive the complex relationships, both economically and politically, which influenced hybridization and acculturation.

The result of acculturative contact and exchange has been described as creating new hybrid cultures, primarily resulting from colonial contact, such as creole and Caribbean cultures. However, much like 'Romanization', the term acculturation suggests that one culture becomes dominant over another, and that suggested dominance especially applies in a colonial

setting. To this end, I will propose an alternative model of acculturation, that of the genesis of a local variation of a dynamic 'pan-Mediterranean culture'. What this term would suggest is that cultural contact between Iberian and other Mediterranean cultures created culture(s) with traits inherited from a range of other cultures. My theory is that a wider organic cultural conformity with local dynamic attributes appeared within areas of multiple cultural confluences; this is most prevalent within spaces of intense contact, whether they be political, economic, or two communities of differing cultures in close proximity. In contrast to 'Romanization' the suggestion is that rather than groups 'becoming Roman', the situation may be closer to Iberian or Italo-Iberian groups becoming more like other cultures around the Mediterranean; with multiple cultural influences being evident and spread through trade and exchange, images and technologies. Furthermore, the development of 'pan-Mediterranean culture' is not dependent upon colonial contact: economic relationships spread culture more readily than colonial models, as images and ideas are accepted rather than resisted as evidenced by the penetration of Greek and Phoenician wares, the synthesis of foreign imagery and the establishment of trade communities like Ispal all of which indicates that cultural transmission does not require territorial control, which will be highlighted in chapter two. Conversely, if ideas are resisted, perhaps as in the case of Italica, communities may begin to produce hybridized elements through a negotiation. This theory of 'Pan-Mediterranean' culture primarily addresses a wider synchronism with other Mediterranean cultures, which does not claim Iberian communities *became* as Greeks, Phoenicians, or Romans, but adopted some cultural elements through a series of dynamic negotiations. 'Pan-Mediterranean' would suggest that as some cultural elements were acculturated, others may have been rejected, but further study will be required to expand on this theory.

METHODOLOGY (ARCHAEOLOGICAL, LITERARY, ECONOMY, HYBRIDITY)

To achieve these goals, my methodology will consist of three primary aspects: analysis of recent studies of ancient identity, examinations of historical narratives such as Livy, Strabo, Appian and Caesar surrounding the case studies, and the archaeological evidence, the majority of which comes from Spanish scholarly sources. The survey of identity scholarship, which I will discuss in chapter one, focuses on a variety of approaches to cultural transmission, and, as was noted above, will mean the consideration of theories such as 'discrepant identity', 'creolization', structuration and agency, and recent interpretations of 'Romanization'.[15] Both 'discrepant identity' and 'creolization' have forwarded some understanding of identity studies, but also create new issues to contend with as some evidence is missing to support some models. Central to the creation of hybrid identities will be the concept of structuration and agency, as the engagement in activities is the genesis point of culture. This methodology serves as the basis for considering the development of the theory of 'pan-Mediterranean' culture.

SURVEY OF LITERARY MATERIAL ON CASE STUDIES

The literary evidence forms the basis of the historical narrative, but in each case, limited information is provided by Roman authors on the early history of these settlements, and must be paired with the archaeological evidence from each settlement so that we can understand early 'Roman' urbanism in Iberia. The main sources which will be used are Livy, Strabo, Appian and Dio Cassius, and a host of other sources are employed. In addition, beyond the immediate

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[15] On 'discrepant identity', see Mattingly 2013; on 'creolization', see Webster 2002; on structuration and agency, see Revell 2009; Giddens 1984.

scope of the foundation, an examination of the wider historical context surrounding each case

study's formation is necessary to form an image of the broader issues of the time. No Iberian

literature exists to provide an alternative to Roman narratives and although the Roman

scholarship is oriented towards Roman agendas and perspectives, as well as offering extremely

limited insights in relation to discussions of acculturation, ancient authors still play a pivotal

role in determining the character of these settlements.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

A wide array of Spanish archaeological and historical scholarship has been consulted in

regards to the case studies. Each of the case studies has difficulties with the archaeology

conducted, as many modern Spanish cities exist directly atop Roman settlements, which will be

addressed in the relevant chapters. However, other problems exist within the context of the

archaeology: the unproblematic use of 'Romanization' within Spanish scholarship; the issues of

reliability of early archaeological studies of Roman sites in Spain; and the lack of synthesis

between Spanish regions. These three issues are inherently linked, and I will outline how these

are problematic. First, the term 'Romanization' appears as a staple among Spanish scholarship,

even in recent years when Romanists have moved away from employing the term in its original

nineteenth century sense. The continued use of the term in this context creates a problem with

archaeological research because the produced scholarship is oriented less on creating a nuanced

analysis, but generally supports the image of 'becoming Roman'. The persistence of the archaic

usage of the term is perhaps linked to the origins of Spanish archaeology in the fifteenth

century, which saw a direct link between the rise of the Spanish empire and its self-proclaimed

Roman roots.[16] The scholarly traditions founded at the Real Academia created a school of thought regarding Rome as the progenitor of Spanish culture, and research was influenced in such a way that non-Romans were largely ignored in the context of the Roman period. While this model of linear 'Romanization' remained true in Spanish scholarship, new theories were developed over the last twenty-five years. It has been only very recently that some scholars have begun to challenge the 'Romanization' paradigm within Spanish academia.[17] The inherent Roman links between Spanish and Roman identity, and the resistance to advancing theories beyond 'Romanization' has led to a lack of synthesis between academics beyond Spain; the reason for the disparity between non-Spanish scholarship and Anglophone scholars on archaeological topics in Spain is due to linguistic inaccessibility, but also the lack of engagement by the wider academic world: generally most non-Spanish scholars had abandoned the nineteeth century view of 'Romanization' in the second half of the twentieth century. Very few non-Spanish scholars work on Roman Spain, but conversely many Spanish scholars have a regional focus, or even limited to one city. Although historically this has been the trend within research on Roman Spain, more scholars have been writing in both English and Spanish, beginning to bridge the language and academic barriers previously in place, such as Aubet, Dominguez, Keay, Ruiz Mata, Jiminez, and Edmondson. Nonetheless, much of the existing archaeological body of work prior to 2000 tends to follow along these lines.

The majority of the archaeological evidence comes from rescue archaeology carried out in the modern cities of Sevilla and Cordoba, as both cities have been redeveloped significantly during the twentieth century. The archaeological evidence is key to the way that it informs us

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[16] See Dupre Raventos 2004a: 7-21; 2004b: 17-35; Caballos 2010: 15-26; for examples, see Morales 1575; Moreno de Vargas 1633.
[17] Saquete 1997.

about the development of urbanism and particularly the aspects of early 'Roman' structures located in each case study; infrastructure such as roads, ports and other transportation facilities considered within the context of economic terms and cultural contact; numismatic evidence especially in relation to propaganda and the depiction of foreign imagery; the spread of ideas, such as art, sculpture, technology, and language; and lastly funerary evidence which allows for the examination of goods which individuals may have determined to take with them into death.

APPLICABILITY OF ECONOMIC THEORIES

I will also consider the scholarly discourse on economics in the ancient world because there are several existing theories concerning how the Roman economy functioned. Three main approaches to ancient economies can be said to exist: the primitivist, Marxist, and neo-liberal approaches.[18] In essence, the primitivist approach considers economics based around local and regional needs, focusing primarily on local production and consumption of agricultural products, with surpluses being traded regionally for luxury or crafting materials. The emphasis of the primitivist model in the ancient economy is on the lack of an official organized trade and transport network, with commerce largely existing as an organic aspect rather than a primary motivator. In contrast, the Marxist perspective views trade as built, controlled, and operated by the state. In many ways, some of these elements are present within the ancient economies within Iberia, but at the same time over extend the reality of trade in antiquity. Neo-liberal ideologies on the ancient economy will not be employed because the applicability, in my opinion, is null due to the lack of comparable systems visible in the past. Neo-liberal

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[18] See Hobson 2015: 1-7.

approaches seek to apply modern concepts of economic on the ancient world, such as market economies, advanced logistical trade, and global financial systems. For the purposes of this thesis, I employ a blend of primitivism and Marxism, as I will argue that neo-liberal ideas of the ancient economy are not sufficient in that neo-liberal approaches apply modern economic theories on antiquity. Both Marxism and primitivism appear to be most relevant because the ancient economies I will examine potentially have both a state-influenced direction of expanding trade networks, while simultaneously existing within a local and regional agrarian context, which is far more organic in nature than the top-down Marxist approach to ancient economics. However, although Marxism and primitivism address different economic ideologies, it is plausible and appropriate to apply a hybridized theory based on the evidence available, as neither addresses the evidence wholly. The problem with applying a hybrid theory is that the application of such a theory may inadvertently apply incorrect perceptions to ancient economies, or overestimate the role of certain attributes as the archaeological evidence becomes more difficult to interpret further back in history. In order to overcome this, I will address what elements *are* visible within the ancient economies, rather than attempt to bridge the gap. I will discuss this further in chapter three.

OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURE

The thesis is divided into two general parts. The first part which can be defined as providing the theoretical and historical context consists of three chapters: Chapter one 'Romanization', provides an analysis and evolution of the theory, as well as competing theoritical models; and chapters two and three which can be considered in tandem because they analyze pre-Roman contact and urbanism in Spain, followed by Roman contacts in Spain. The

primary discussions in chapter two focuses on Phoenician, Punic, and Greek interactions in Iberia from the eighth to late third century BC, examining case studies of settlements at Gadir and several Phoenician settlements of the southern coast, and Emporion in the northeast. Chapter two also contains a discussion on Tartessian expansion, notably on Ispal (modern Seville, Roman Hispalis), a location which remains important throughout antiquity as a centre for trade. The goal of chapter two is to highlight the growing interdependent relationship between Iberia and the wider Mediterranean through imports of pottery, technology, and art, and the export of minerals. Chapter three focuses on the early Roman period in Iberia (from circa the early second century BC) and emphasizes the shifting relationships between Roman and Iberian communities, including *civium conventus Romanorum* communities; settlements recognized by Rome, but comprised of Roman and non-Roman individuals. These communities become the basis of bridging the gap between Iberian and Roman communities, as the organic formation of these communities allows for co-optation within a Roman framework for non-Romans.

Chapter four focuses on the creation of 'Rome's first colony in the west': Italica, settled in 206 BC following the battle of Ilippa, where Scipio defeated the Carthaginian forces and Ispal was potentially destroyed by the retreating Carthaginian army. I will argue that Italica was initially not a colony in the Roman official sense, but rather it has been misinterpreted by modern scholars who apply imperial aspects of colonialism to the early settlement that are not relevant as Rome did not have interests in directly controlling overseas territories at the end of the second century BC. Instead I will argue Italica was settled initially as a temporary garrison to function within a defensive network of allied settlements in southern Iberia, and while Appian reports the garrison was established as a peacekeeping force in the region, the aim was

primarily to prevent the return of Carthaginian forces or the uprising of Iberian allies. After the

Second Punic War had concluded, the necessity for such a site so far from Roman interests in

the Ebro valley in northeastern Iberia ended, and the veterans appear to have been either

discharged or otherwise abandoned. In consequence, the *Italicenses* merged with local Iberian

communities nearby either by intermarriage or cohabitation, and created a hybrid urban

landscape consisting of Iberian, Punic, and Italic influences. Alongside Italica, I will examine the

evolution of Ispal to Hispalis; from Turdetanian trade hub to Roman *conventus*. Italica and Ispal

are both important sites to consider because both provide examples in which various

acculturative processes can be seen; in the case of Italica, the urban development of the town

highlights a synthesis of Iberian-Italic urbanism, whilst at Ispal the town's redevelopment and

co-optation of local non-élites encourages a hybrid community to coalesce.

Chapter five focuses on Cordoba, located up the Guadalquivir river from Ispal, where another

conventus was established in the mid-second century BC, but with the addition of co-opted élites

from the nearby earlier native settlement of Colina de los Quemados. Cordoba is an important

site because I argue that warfare occurring to the east and north of Quemados may have

influenced Iberian élites to accept co-optation in an effort to maintain their economic and

political integrity. Cordoba also highlights how Roman settlements reoriented traditional trade

routes, which resulted in the decline of Quemados, and the formation of a unique community at

Cordoba: the *vicus Hispanus*. Through a complex series of events, Cordoba emerges as a hybrid

community.

The final case study is *Augusta Emerita*, which was founded *ex nihilo* in 25 BC by

Augustus to settle veterans of the Cantabrian Wars. In contrast to the other case studies, *Emerita*

was not a hybrid community in the way the others were, but rather as a composite of Roman

identity; no visible Iberian community was present prior to the foundation, although some Turdulians may have been resettled in the suburban *incolae*, but the six thousand veterans themselves were enlisted from a variety of Italian, Roman and allied settlements. *Augusta Emerita* was designed to be an idealized Roman provincial settlement, seemingly for propaganda purposes as *Emerita* was constructed as a *victoriae praenium* for Augustus' province. The three case studies presented aim to highlight the impact of pre-Roman cultural influences in southern Iberia, and how the impact of Roman penetration into the region in the second century BC created a hybridized identity with a political affiliation under Roman dominion. The final chapter is a discussion of the material presented, which aims to emphasize the dynamic organic acculturation of eastern Mediterranean culture, followed by the adaptation to Roman urbanism following the conquest.

Following the case studies, I will conclude the evidence seen in the three case studies, and emphasize how each case study relates to the development of a pan-Mediterranean culture, and how each is representative of the different interaction presented. This thesis will serve to highlight several important points: 1) 'Romanization' studies are not dead, but are transforming to represent advancements in identity studies; 2) Spanish archaeological investigation of Roman settlements should be made more widely available to enhance a broader understanding of Iberia's integration into the wider Mediterranean as well as the wider academic community engaging with Spanish scholars, and 3) in addition to identities being plural and flexible, designations of 'Roman' are problematic and must be understood as within a wider Mediterranean concept of identity.

CHAPTER 2: ROMANIZATION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Over the course of three centuries, the Roman Republic would come to span the Mediterranean, from the Atlantic to the Levant, and the deserts of North Africa to the Rhine in the north. Rome's expansionist policy, framed as a 'civilizing mission' by Virgil caused, for many early twentieth century scholars, the replacement of indigenous culture with Roman. Their touchstone texts were Tacitus' discussion of 'Romanization' in Britain, and Strabo's report that the influence of Rome caused the Turdetanians to forget their native tongue.[19] The presumption by both Tacitus and Strabo is that the participation in Roman culture by non-Romans was total. The image of '*togati*', non-Romans who had garbed themselves like Romans, was transmitted throughout history and was used by eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars, during the age of modern imperialism, seeking justifications for colonization and overseas expansion. The theory of 'Romanization' was developed amidst the ascendancy of European dominion over much of the 'uncivilized' regions: the Americas, Africa, and in the South Seas. Parallels were found between the perceived goals of the Roman Empire and modern imperial expansion and exploitation. The justifications provided, however, were

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[19] This was primary evidence used by Mommsen, Haverfield, and Collingwood's arguments for the Roman mission to bring civilization to the frontier; Mommsen, T. 1885: *Römische Geschichte*; Haverfield, F. 1905: *The Romanization of Britian*; Collingwood, R.G. 1923: *Roman Britain*. On classical texts employed, see: Huskingson, J. 2000: 21; Woolf, G. 1997: 339; 1998: 54-67. Tacitus, Agricola, 21: "(Agricola) provided a liberal education for the sons of the chiefs, and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence. Hence, too, a liking sprang up for our style of dress, and the "toga" became fashionable. Step by step they were led to things which dispose to vice, the lounge, the bath, the elegant banquet.; Strabo 3.2.15: "The Turdetanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis, have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more. And most of them have become Latins, and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans. And the present jointly-settled cities, Pax Augusta in the Celtic country, Augusta Emerita in the country of the Turdulians, Caesar-Augusta near Celtiberia, and some other settlements, manifest the change to the aforesaid civil modes of life. Moreover, all those Iberians who belong to this class are called "Togati." And among these are the Celtiberians, who were once regarded the most brutish of all. So much for the Turditanians."

inarticulate, partial, and misrepresentative of interactions between Romans and non-Romans. Despite these problems 'Romanization' rapidly became popular and the staple of ancient historians to explain the activities of Rome, now seen as the beneficent provider of civilization.

As I will discuss in detail, these theories of Rome's 'beneficence' and 'Romanization' were ultimately challenged in the latter twentieth century. A series of developing concepts and theories on cultural change and identity studies have evolved from the imperial ideologies mentioned above to post-colonial approaches. The 'Romanization' model has been found to be flawed by many commentators even in modernized and modified forms, but alternative theories of hybridity and acculturation have adapted some of the core concepts within 'Romanization', synthesizing new frameworks for examining acculturation. Studies of identity and the adaptation of culture in antiquity continues to be a topic of debate due to the conflicts between post-colonial explanations and more recent trends that have examined change through the prism of cultural hybridity, amongst other models.[20] For the purpose of this study, I will first define 'Romanization' theory in its first iteration, then examine the theory's evolution, followed by the post-colonial perspectives on 'Romanization' and cultural change. The goal of this chapter will be to discuss the origins and history of 'Romanization' theory, and consider the subsequent theories on acculturation which have been developed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The latter aspect is important within this thesis because the scholarly understanding of the past is not static and many current assumptions will be challenged within this study. The value of suych a study is that it explores a variety of different approaches to identity and acculturation, which mean that not one model is appropriate or functional when applied to various regions due to the complex and diverse historical situations. Through

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[20] See Mattingly 2010; Webster 2001; Adams 2001.

examining the theories on acculturation and identity studies prior to considering the Spanish

evidence, my discussion of Iberian interactions with Romans will provide a strong context

within the established scholarly discourse. This chapter on identity studies is designed as a

cornerstone to the discussions later in this thesis, mostly to identify the strengths and

weaknesses of the theories that currently exist, but also to address the situational and temporal

issues in each of the case studies presented. It may in fact be that no theory or model can

provide answers to why acculturation happened. Nonetheless, in my opinion, Romanization

still should be considered as a viable topic for three reasons: (1) the intellectual heritage and

development of this theory makes it invaluable to scholars to view the future of scholarship by

not repeating the failures of the past; (2) Romanization is a flexible and dynamic term, which

can be shaped to the will of the scholar by exacting definition, and can be applied to a wide

variety of interactions; (3) If 'Romanization' studies are to be challenged, then all '-ization'

studies should be challenged as well; orientalization, for example, which has not been so

derisively treated, could not be applied without an exacting definition. The tracing of the

development of identity studies will help focus the thesis on the difficulties of uniform theories

such as 'Romanization' due to the irregularities of local evolution of urban spaces.

2.1 DEFINING 'ROMANIZATION'

The concept of 'Romanization' first appeared in the fifth volume of Theodor Mommsen's

Römische Geschichte (1885). Mommsen's theory attempted to explain Roman empire-building

through the transformation of frontiers into provinces, as well as to account for the cultural

evolution towards a homogenous Roman culture.[21] The term had already existed for nearly

three centuries as the first instance of the term Romanization appeared in John Fletcher's play

Bonduca (referring to Boudica) was first debuted in 1609.[22] The core concept within Mommsen's

'Romanization' theory was that culture was evolutionary, but only to a terminal point when the

native achieves civilization. Mommsen claimed that this cultural change was led by the Roman

élite, and through their encouragement, natives took up a Roman lifestyle, the Latin language,

Roman political systems and abandoned their own identity. The evidence which Mommsen

employed were largely literary, but also included the epigraphic evidence found across the

Roman world.

Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* could be seen as a strange departure from the tenor of

his other work. Mommsen was the founder of the *Corpus Inscriptorum Latinorum*, and was the

editor of the Theodosian Code and Justinian's Digest, all of which are still used by scholars

today. For his time, Mommsen's projects were detailed and exacting. However, the reaction to

Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* was not all positive. Although not alone in his criticism, the

British historian E.A. Freeman of Oxford, stated that Mommsen had written a popular history

book.[23] Freeman pointed to Mommsen's lack of references and citations, as well as his

positivism regarding the effects of Roman imperialism, rather than the causes and effects, and

states that 'Mommsen has faults but we cannot say that he has failings. His errors are never on

the side of weakness or defect. They are errors on a grand scale'. Freeman also criticized

Mommsen's grammatical ineptitude and how Mommsen was a 'corrupter of our common

Teutonic speech'. Freeman sums up his criticism of Mommsen's work by stating:[24]

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[21] Hingley 2005: 91-2.
[22] Hingley 2009: 427-8; Jowitt 2003: 475-94; Fletcher 1979: 149-259.
[23] Gooch 1957: 461.
[24] Freeman 1997: 30-5.

"… there is a fault in Mommsen's work far graver than any of which we have spoken, and one which we think is of itself enough to make the book unfit for the position which it now holds at Oxford. It is not too much to say that Mommsen has no notion whatever of right or wrong. It is not so much that he applauds wrong actions, as that he does not seem to know that right and wrong have anything to do with the matter … a book which gives no references, which puts forth new theories as confidently as if they were facts which had never been doubted – above all a book which seems perfectly indifferent to all considerations of right and wrong, seems to us, when put alone in to the hands of those who are still learners, to be thoroughly dangerous and misleading."[25]

Freeman, in a later reprint of his *Historical essays* (1873) states in the introduction that: "… if, as there seems to be some danger … Mommsen should be looked up to as an infallible oracle as Biebuhr was in my own Oxford days, I believe that the result would be full of evil, not only for historical truth, but in the case of Mommsen, for political morality also."[26]

Beyond Mommsen's prose and evidence presented in the *Römische Geschichte,* scholars of the time questioned the properness of a historian as political propagandist. Mommsen, who at the time was a politician in the newly formed German state, was seen acting both in academic and political spheres as creating a new unified national identity. However this appropriation of history did not go unnoticed. G.B. Grundy, also a professor at Oxford, pointed out the problems of political propaganda in historical discourse:

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[25] Freeman 1873: 269-70.
[26] Freeman 1873: vi.

"At the time Grote and Mommsen wrote it was considered quite an open question whether an historian was justified in making what professed to be history political propaganda which might influence the men of the times at which he wrote. Such so-called historians do not seem to have falsified such evidence as did exist, but to have omitted or suppressed such as conflicted with views they sought to propagate."[27]

The outcome of the intellectual debate was that 'Romanization' was the appropriation of and institutionalization of the theory within studies of Roman history, and emphasized the positive influences empire had within colonial encounters. The concept of 'Romanization' was adopted by American, French, and British scholars, and rapidly became the standard of acculturation for over a century. 'Romanization' was adopted and promoted by several scholars in this period, specifically Holleaux in France, Frank in the United States, and Haverfield in Britain, whose work will be discussed in detail below. It is important to note that this was not a purely German or European aspect, but in the nineteenth century, nearly every industrialized nation was engaging in the appropriation of history.[28] The primary method which scholars identified with Romans was through literature, rather than archaeology, and used these writings as a tool to view the ancient world. I will now turn to the literature that was utilized by ancient historians to come to their conclusions on acculturation.

2.1.1 LITERARY BASIS OF 'ROMANIZATION' THEORY

Modern scholars are reliant upon second hand information from the Roman past from authors such as Strabo, Appian, and Livy. Much of the information on Iberia that Strabo reports

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[27] Grundy 1945: 151.
[28] Erskine 2010: 36-9.

originates within the accounts of his intellectual predecessor Posidonius, and relies on Polybius

when discussing the wealth of the mines at Carthago Nova.[29] In Strabo's depiction of Iberia, his

writings only depict what the current outward image of first century AD Iberia presents, and in

his comments on the Turdetanians lacks any functional knowledge, as he had second-hand

reports at best. Similarly, both Livy and Appian suffer from similar problems.[30] Livy's sources

on Iberia are unknown and Appian's sources tend to follow the Livian tradition, although with

variations throughout. Appian's perspective is based on how being part of the Empire is

positive, and although critical at times of Roman commanders in the *Hispaniae*, still portrays the

submission of Iberians in a generally positive manner. Secondly, while both are useful in other

areas relating to Spain, authorial agenda obscures accurate depictions of events. Discussions on

Caesar in Iberia are instructive, both in his own words and by others, although they are very

brief due to the loss of much of the text in the *Spanish Wars*.[31] What does survive of Caesar is

difficult to accept as accurate, due to the political nature of Caesar's memoirs. Caesar does

provide references to settlements like *Ispal* (later Hispalis) and Italica, but his narrative

primarily focuses on himself. Polybius, with his political affection for Scipio, also becomes a

problematic source as well because the text portrays him in a purely positive light in contrast to

the Barcid commanders.[32] Third, many of these authors are writing hundreds of years after the

events they are depicting, which can easily lead to misrepresentations at best, and blatant

fabrications at worst. Most Roman writers are guilty of this fabrication, as in the case of Appian,

but modern scholars are grateful to them for what information they do impart.[33] In addition,

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[29] Strabo, 1.6.9 for topics of Poseidonius' text; 3.2.10 on the mines of Carthago Nova. See also Dueck 2000: 1-15; Engels 2007.
[30] Miles 1995: 8-13; Forsythe 2005: 59-77. On Appian, see Richardson 1984: 194-8.
[31] Brown 1972: 1-12.
[32] See Polybius 10.2-20; *cf.* 9.12-21, and 9.22-6
[33] White 1912: *Appian's Roman History,* Introduction.

many of these writers are relying on second hand information; this is especially true in the case

of Strabo as he never travelled to the western provinces.[34]

2.1.2 FAILURES OF 'ROMANIZATION' THEORY

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of 'Romanization' as a theoretical model is that it

fundamentally does not work and ignores much of the evidence, or simply attributes difference

between provincial cultures to 'failed' Romanization. The theory put forward by Mommsen is

essentially one of acculturation, but it implies a one-way process of exchange. The term

acculturation, which is used throughout this thesis, is defined as the acquisition of cultural

aspects, practices, and traits, as well as social structures or patterns of another group, and

contact between groups is a two-way process of exchange. The concept of acculturation seems

to have been recognized alongside 'Romanization', but Mommsen's imperialist version of

acculturation requires that Rome, much like the empires of his day, 'brought' civilization to the

world, typically by the sword.[35] Modern imperial policy, especially those of the French,

Portuguese and the United States, was to reward subjugated peoples who adopted European

culture, language and religion.[36] This concept of 'bringing civilization' is echoed in Mommsen's

'Romanization' model, and is therefore different from 'acculturation', which denotes exchange,

and not necessarily a one-way cultural transaction.[37] In this way, the term 'Romanization' is

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[34] Strabo 2.5.11; Dueck 2002: 13-15, fig 2.
[35] This concept of Rome's civilizing mission appears constantly in Roman literature. See Woolf 1998: 48-76.
[36] The bibliography on modern imperialism is vast, and only a selection is provided here: Hoxie, F. 1984: *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*; Conklin, A. 1998: *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa (1895-1930)*; Daughton, J.P. 2006: *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, (1880-1914)*; Jeronimo, M.B. 2015: *The 'civilising mission' of Portuguese colonialism*.
[37] Ferguson 1992: 150, n. 22.

fundamentally flawed, and in the context of identity studies and in-depth scholarly analysis of

cultural exchange in the Roman provinces required a more advanced approach. In consequence,

the majority of scholars working on identity studies in the Roman period today have railed

against Mommsen's theory, mostly because their research is built from the bones of their

predecessors; namely that most scholarly discussions begin by tearing down Mommsen's

opinions without due deference to his time in history.[38] What seems to be overlooked by post-

colonial scholars in their own research is that Mommsen and Haverfield are writing what is

acceptable during their time, and hold the deluded notion that global imperialism ever ceased,

but express valid concerns with how the term shaped scholarly discourse.[39] It is important to

note that their theories arise from Victorian and Darwinian ideologies that only the 'better'

qualities of society survive.[40] Several post-colonial scholars, such as David Mattingly, Janet

Webster, Richard Hingley, and John Barrett have called for the disuse of the term, but in my

opinion, the term 'Romanization' should remain used in academic circles, but I will return to

this topic later in the chapter.[41]

2.1.3 EVOLUTION OF 'ROMANIZATION' THEORY (1920-1960)

In 1905, Francis Haverfield published *The Romanization of Britain*, which examined the

effects of Roman conquest to a limited geographic area. Haverfield made two primary

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[38] This seems to be true of most post-colonial discourses on 'Romanization' in the latter twentieth century, see Webster 2000; Mattingly 1996:; 2002: 536-40; 2008; 2011; two notable exceptions are Freeman 1997: 27-50; and Hingley 2005: 30-2.

[39] Erskine 2010: 3-4.

[40] Hingley 2000: 144; 2005: 37-9 provides a precise examination of intellectual thought during the late eighteenth century. See also Bowler, P. 1989.

[41] Mattingly 1997; 2013; Barrett 1997; Hingley 2000; 2005; Webster 2001.

assertions about how Rome controlled their provinces; first by creating defensive borders, secondly by encouraging the development of foreign civilizations.[42] This development of civilization, as Haverfield states, required that the Romanizing process "extinguished the distinction between Roman and provincial, alike in material culture, politics and language. Secondly it did not everywhere and at once destroy traces of tribal and national sentiments of fashions."[43] Haverfield also assumed that 'Romanization' is visible across the empire, resulting in the disappearance of local art in lieu of Roman cultural images and asserted that the 'Romanizing' process was also more effective in urban areas with access to agriculture, rather than the rural mountainous regions of Britain.[44] 'Romanization' was dependent upon local élites who were conduits for urban development in the Roman period, but Haverfield fails to identify the reasons why Roman culture was more successful in urban areas in contrast to rural regions, simply stating that the 'peasantry' of rural Britain failed to adopt Roman culture due to "superstitions, sentiments, even language and the consciousness on nationality".[45] Haverfield believed that the west was easier to 'Romanize' in contrast to Greece because peoples of the west lacked a long-standing culture, but Haverfield's dismissive attitude towards non-urban communities overlooked the economic and cultural impacts of cities as hubs for language and exchanges of ideas and foreign concepts. It also betrayed a fundamental misunderstanding of the process of human interaction and suggested that the lack of urbanization was a primary factor in the survival of local languages, viewed as a symptom of resistance to 'Romanization'. Following Haverfield, R.G. Collingwood published *Roman Britain* (1932) and rejected some of Haverfield's claims, stating that "we cannot be content simply to assert that Britain was

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[42] Haverfield 1923: 10-11.
[43] *ibid*: 18.
[44] *ibid*: 19.
[45] *ibid*: 22.

Romanized" and that communities in Britain were "by no means a pure, or even approximately pure, Roman civilization." Collingwood stated that the resulting interaction between Roman and Briton resulted in "neither Roman nor British (culture), but Romano-British, a fusion of the two things into a single thing different from either."[46] Fusion is found in many urban spaces and artistic styles as will be discussed in this dissertation, but some scholars have claimed that Collingwood's statements are insufficient to fully employ fusion as a viable replacement for Romanization, as both are inherently broken theories. Collingwood's fusion still employed a 'top-down' model of acculturation, which has been criticised but fusion is still at the core of many anthropological studies conducted in the Americas, although anthropologists seem to have created these theories independently.[47] Collingwood's fusion was not an unimportant step, as his theories had significant impact on Romano-Celtic studies.[48]

2.1.4 REVOLUTION IN 'ROMANIZATION' THEORY (1970-1990)

A core aspect of Mommsen's view that Rome's empire brought stability was that Romans were reluctant to create an empire. This theory, which Mommsen coined as 'defensive imperialism', was that Rome was not an aggressive expansionist polity, and instead reacted to non-Roman hostility rather than instigating conflicts.[49] As with 'Romanization', 'defensive imperialism' was the staple of Romanists for nearly a century. This was based on modern identifications with aspects of imperialism and militarism seen within Rome.[50] Indeed, within

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[46] Collingwood 1932: 92.
[47] Webster 2002: 'Creolizing the Roman provinces', 212.
[48] Most notably, see Henig 1984; 1995; Green 2011; 2003; 1997: 898-911; 1998: 17-30.
[49] Erskine 2010: 36.
[50] Linderski 1984.

the literary record, Rome was rarely presented as the initial aggressors in conflict, but at the same time did not actively attempt to avoid confrontation. However, scholars such as Harris, began to recognize problems within the theory, and began to reconsider 'Romanization' and 'defensive imperialism' in a new light.[51] Several prominent scholarly works fueled discussions on problems within studies of 'Romanization', which in turn spawned several sub-disciplines, and most notable in this case is the formation of identity studies.

Identity studies found a new way of thinking about culture, identity, and power in the latter two decades of the twentieth century.[52] Expressions of aspects of Roman identity, the urbanization of the former frontier and changing power structures of the Mediterranean all played a role in the spread of Roman culture. In Spain, the first province of Rome, the development of 'Roman' urban space is readily seen, but as we will see in the case studies, the conception and practicalities of this urbanism varies greatly from period to period. The outward projection of Roman identity and the enfranchisement of élites, in conjunction with local adaptations of Roman art and religion are all symptoms of the effects of interpreted cultural and political systems by local communities. This will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter three. Martin Millett's influential work *The Romanization of Britian*, followed by '*Romanization: Historical issues and archaeological interpretations*' in the same year, put forth two new ideas on Romanization. While not revolutionary by any means, his works served to reignite discussion on the topic in new and evolutionary ways.[53] Millett proposed two types of 'Romanization', characterized by the origins of influence: self-Romanization, a bottom-up model which predicates adoption of culture through imitation, and a top-down élite model where élites

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[51] Harris 1979; 1983.
[52] See Revell 2005: 1-15.
[53] Millett 1990a; 1990b: 35-41.

emulate Roman culture for personal gain. Millett's work, although still firmly standing in the shadow of Mommsen, was attempting to create a functional and processual form of 'Romanization' by focusing on the cultural aspects rather than Roman military exploits and to this effect Millett's work has been highly influential in moving acculturation studies forward. Nonetheless several authors have been critical of Millett's theory.[54] The primary focus of Romanization studies until this point has been two distinct aspects: the inclusion of Roman provinces into the imperial political network, and the emulation and imitation of Roman culture by local communities.[55] However, these traits were seen by scholars as far too limiting. The two primary issues scholars have identified with Millett's work is that it: (1) continues the problematic framework of Romanization's effect on cultural transformation, specifically the indigenous-Roman binary relationship, and (2) de-emphasizes the imbalanced relations between Roman and local communities.[56]

The outcome of this discourse is that scholars tend to follow one of two processes: either to accept 'Romanization' as a problematic theory which requires more study, or the complete excision of the term within academic conversations.[57] Several schools of thought have attempted to break away from the 'Romanization' paradigm, and in the process have greatly diversified in approach to identity in the ancient world,[58] though theoretical models have diversified the field, which include: discrepant identity, creolization, and agency, which will be discussed shortly.[59] However, all of these new schools of thought have three things in common, they argue that:

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[54] For a summary of the evolution of identity studies, see Webster 2002: 209-225 and Revell 2009: 1-39.
[55] Hingley 1997: 91-2.
[56] Freeman 1993: 438-445; Hingley 2005: 38, 48, 64; Mattingly 2006.
[57] For examples, see Keay 2001: 117-44; for scholars wanting to abandon 'Romanization' completely, see Barrett 1997; Mattingly 2006 and 2011. *cf.* Woolf 1998.
[58] Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994; Thomas 1996; Fowler 2004.
[59] On discrepant identity, see Mattingly 2011: 219-36; on creolization, Webster 2002; 2003 24-51; on agency, see Barrett 1997; Revell 1999; Gardner 2002: 323-51.

"identity is multiple, fluid and situational; practice forms the point of reproduction of individual identity; material culture is implicated in the internalization and the expression of identity."[60]

2.1.5 POST-COLONIALISM, NATIVISM, AND RESISTANCE: (1970 – 1990)

In the latter twentieth century, a radical inversion of Haverfield's 'Romanization' was developed. Nativism, which stated that indigenous cultures survived, and indeed flourished under Roman dominion, was introduced. Nativism focused on settlement patterns, religious practices alongside cultural interpretations and resistance to foreign culture.[61] The primary component of nativism was the idea of resistance, which highlighted local communities rejecting Roman culture in lieu of regional traditions. Notably, nativism emerged from Haverfield's own concerns regarding the lack of 'Romanization' taking place in rural areas.[62] In the nativist perspective, living as a Roman was an outward image with a pure Celtic culture at its core. Following the retreat of Rome in late antiquity, Celtic culture resumed its supposed primacy, as if Roman culture had no impact. Beyond Roman Britain, resistance models were also employed in Roman North Africa by a new generation of North African scholars. The idea that Romans attempted to civilize the provinces, and claimed success in bringing civilization to the frontiers, as noted in the discussion on Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* above, seemed

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[60] Revell 2009 after Jones 1997; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005.
[61] On expressions of Roman political identity, see Reece 1980: 77-91; 1988; on rural and urban settlements, see Smith 1978: 149-85; Highley 1989; on rituals and religion, see Scott 1991: 115-21.
[62] Haverfield 1923: 59.

inaccurate, deliberate, and based on a narrow range of sources to scholars.[63] The post-colonial

perspectives have been challenged for maintaining the dichotomy between Roman and non-

Roman, even though scholars have identified a complex cultural identity existed within the

region.[64]

Resistance models largely focused on the material culture and religious continuity, but

failed to encompass artistic aspects. It was apparent that there was a fusion between Roman and

Celtic symbols in public art and architecture, but in the setting of a private urban home or rural

settlements, Roman symbols were largely absent.[65] However the nativist approach did not fully

recognize the fusion of cultures and public and private dichotomy of imagery. The

presupposition that when Roman influences waned, the resumption of indigenous culture as a

sign of resistance is flawed: the appearance of Roman images alongside local images denotes

hybridity, not resistance. The evidence would suggest rather that a complex and dynamic

fusion of cultural images had occurred, resulting in local and Roman elements becoming

hybridized rather than one type of images dominating the other. The images seen post-Roman

conquest may look more indigenous than before, but Roman elements persist.

2.2 SURVIVING POST-COLONIALISM: EMERGENCE OF IDENTITY
STUDIES: (1990-2015)

The emergence of an array of different theorhetical models has advanced our

understanding of identity, both modern and antique. There has been increased recognition that

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[63] For an in-depth analysis of North African nativism, see Mattingly 1996: 49-69. On North African resistance, see Laroui 1970; Benabou 1976a; 1976b: 367-75.
[64] Cherry 1998; Fentress 2006: 3-33; on resistance through burial goods see Fontana 2001: 161-72.
[65] Forcey 1997: 15-21.

identity is highly complex and evolutionary. Reece's classic statement that communities in

Roman Britain 'became more Gaulish, more Rhinelandish, more Spanish, a little more Italian, a

very little more African, and a little more Danubian' can be held as true within the context of

this thesis.[66] The existing theories of acculturation could not answer the questions which were

being revealed by more archaeological evidence which pointed to the complexities of identity:

Roman provincial culture was far from being 'Roman', and by extension raised the question of

what being Roman in Rome meant. For this reason, many scholars have sought out differing

approaches to imperialism, identity, and concepts of power. Many of these theories aimed to

break free of 'Romanization', however there are significant problems to address with each. The

theories that I will be discussing here are Mattingly's 'discrepant identity', Janet Webster's

'creolization', and James Adams and Wallace-Hadrill's 'bilingualism', all based on Giddens'

concept of structuration and agency.[67] All three theories originate in non-historical fields.

Discrepant identity stems from sociology and anthropology focusing on the Maghreb, while

creolization emerges from anthropological studies focusing on Caribbean communities, and

bilingualism is rooted in linguistics and focuses on multilingualism and adaptability of

language in the Greek east. In relation to the Iberian Peninsula, many of these models have not

been applied to the region, and therefore within the context of this thesis seeks to apply some

perspectives to the specific case studies. The reason for the lack of application of acculturation

models lies perhaps due to linguistic barriers and lack of integration with Spanish scholarship

beyond Spain in the last quarter of the twentieth century, as many of these theories have been

previously applied to Roman Britain, Gaul, Italy, and North Africa in the Republican period,

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[66] Reece 1988: 11.
[67] Mattingly 2013; Webster 2001; Adams 2001.

but Spain was curiously absent from these discussions. Below is a brief summation of these theories, all which have influenced this project in various ways.

2.2.1 STRUCTURATION

Structuration, developed by Giddens, is a sociological theory which has two primary elements. Giddens argues that society (structures) and individual persons (agents) are not two separate entities, but exist in a symbiotic relationship. These two aspects form a precondition for the other to be formed and replicated through action; agents, through their actions (agency), create social structure, which in turn conditions agents to engage in actions. This reciprocal relationship is at the core of Giddens argument: the creation of social structure is formed through daily activities of people.[68] The question of structuration is if society is replicated through the agency of daily actions, how does this relate to 'Romanization'? In essence, under structuration theory, it does not matter necessarily what individuals thought, but more that their actions were perpetuated to exist within a certain set of social structures, and by engaging in these practices 'Roman culture' grew in the provinces. Structuration has been employed by a number of studies on Roman urbanism, religion and material culture, which has provided various insights into the creation of 'provincial' 'Roman' cultures in Italy, Spain and Gaul.[69] While this model can provide insights into how culture is replicated and disseminated, the use of structuration is problematic due to gaps in the scholarly knowledge of the ancient world. Due to this lack of clarity on several topics within the archaeology, the creation of culture becomes

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[68] Giddens 1984: 25, esp. 281-5.
[69] Laurnce R. *et al*. 2011: 245-319; Revell 2011; Laurence, R. 2007; 20-61; Woolf, A. 2002: 111-25 and Van Dommelen, P. 2002; 25-48.

problematic. However, the strength of this model is that this model can be used wherever

Roman culture extended to, as it represents a framework for examining cultural change *en masse*

through the reproduction and engagement in 'Roman' society. Ultimately, structuration is a

theoretically useful framework, but requires the impetus to facilitate cultural change. Within

this project, structuration will be employed, alongside some of the other theories used here, to

approach the reasons why, and to what degree, communities in southern Iberia adopted

Romanism.

2.2.2 'DISCREPANT IDENTITY'

Mattingly's 'discrepant identity' model reacts against 'Romanization'. Mattingly,

alongside Hingley, Barrett, and Webster, has been perhaps the most critical of opponents of

'Romanization' studies to date with a series of strongly worded articles published at the close of

the twentieth century.[70] Mattingly argues that post-Mommsen, 'Romanization' models are

problematic because the term is ambiguous, politically motivated and lacked objectivity, and

misleading to the realities of acculturation.[71] From these frustrations, Mattingly produced his

rebuttal to 'Romanization'; a hybridization between nativism, structuration, and resistance

models of acculturation theory aptly named 'discrepant identity'.[72] The core of 'discrepant

identity' is the concept of 'discrepant experience': that no individual person's experience will be

identical, and all the components of an individuals' existence makes up their view on the world.

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[70] Mattingly 1997.
[71] Mattingly 2011: 208, n. 21.
[72] Mattingly 2011: 203-245, esp. 213-9.

In turn, these individuals, through a host of variables, interact with social structures.[73] In essence, Mattingly suggests that Roman imperialism was not a uniform experience, in which all non-Romans experienced contact with Rome, but was extremely varied based on individual's economic, socio-political, ethnic and geographic status.

The goal of Mattingly's argument is to consider how societies and individuals on the periphery of Roman power engaged with empire or not, and targets non-élite identity specifically. The inherent problem with 'discrepant identity' is that this theory is largely difficult to prove. There are *examples* of identity which can be extracted, such as the Tomb of Regina, but the difficulty lies in the vast typological characterization of processual identity shifts. 'Discrepant identity' works *in theory* but due to the large gaps in our understanding of the ancient world, especially in regards to non-élites, this theory is another valuable tool that can only be employed when enough data is available. In addition, the viability of 'discrepant identity and experience' becomes problematic because of the polemical method applied to other theories of acculturation. Mattingly lumps all other theories that differ from post-colonial discourse under 'Romanization', and suggests that alternative frameworks from the post-colonial camp are perceived as forwarding the nineteenth century version of Romanization, while at the same time asserting 'I am not, of course, arguing that we totally abandon the fruits of two hundred years or more of research and turn our backs on the élite culture of the Roman world.'[74]

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[73] Mattingly 2011: 217 provides a brief list of 'discrepant experiences' and cites the Tomb of Regina (fig 8.3, 218) as a prime example of 'discrepant identity'. *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 1065.
[74] Mattingly 2011: 204-6.

2.2.3 'CREOLIZATION'

Webster's 'creolization' is another hybridized interdisciplinary theory, which borrows from linguistic and anthropological studies.[75] The term 'creole' itself is a linguistic term which indicates when, in the case of West African slaves, a term does not exist in the indigenous language and a substitute for the term is applied from the native language.[76] The relationship between material culture and language is seen specifically in this context, as African women adapted to European cooking, but employed native customs in the preparation, which implies not mere survival of indigenous aspects, but a detailed negotiation between slaves and European culture.[77] Perhaps the most influential of these studies that can be applied to acculturation, and most valuable to this study, is Ferguson's 1992 study of material culture and the non-European creation of a 'lexicon of culture'. Ferguson demonstrates that African slaves interpreted the use of European material culture within their own terms, thereby *appearing* as if they were acculturated, but were instead negotiating European material culture within their own frameworks. Through this process of interpretation, language and community evolved into a new 'creolized' African-American culture. This aspect, which Webster points to as a basis for 'creolization', a process in which a variety of indigenous traits are seemingly synchronized with a culture which initially dominates the indigeneous culture, but ultimately adopts some of the cultural traits of the dominant. This process, furthermore, develops within a power structure

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[75] 'Creolization' borrows from a number of studies conducted on African communities in the Caribbean and North America: see Braithwaite 1971; Abrahams 1983; Ferguson 1992; Yentsch 1994.
[76] Abrahams 1983: 23.
[77] Yentsch 1994: 374.

where one group is marginalized (eg. Roman-Iberian relations) and indigenous heritage survives, within the context of élite-driven acculturation.

There are two major issues with Webster's 'creolization'. First, 'creolization' is not a true departure from 'Romanization' due to the revival of nativism, redressed as a linguistic hybridity model, which claims itself in opposition to nativist concepts of acculturation, but nonetheless echoes the nineteenth century conceptions.[78] Nativism, as Webster states, fails to step out of the nineteenth imperialistic models 'by falling back on the trend of thinking about Romanization as the gradual triumph of one set of lifeways over another, which has continued from Haverfield to the present.' This is problematic because if the goal of 'creolization' is to explain acculturation beyond the context of 'Romanization', the core of Webster's argument still appropriates the nativist arguments of Haverfield. Secondly, 'creolization' during the Roman period does not function the same as in the American colonial period. While in the North American and Caribbean context, a fully new society was forged from the slave-master relationship, Roman relations with non-Romans trend more towards cultural syncretism, which is different because a wholly new society is not born from these interactions, but rather becomes a composite cultural hybrid entity, rather than a product of the two combined. Both cultures still exist simultaneously within the community, and are expressed in different mediums based on the individuals, the environment, and the type of interactions. Culture and identity, as will be discussed in chapter two, had already been trending in the Iberian Peninsula towards a pan-Mediterranean culture since the eighth century BC. Pre-Roman relations did not typically exist in a weakened power relationship, and oriental influence was adopted for a variety of reasons.

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[78] See note 44.

2.2.4 BILINGUALISM

The last theory which will be examined here is bilingualism. In the ancient world, language is a major marker of identity, especially in the Iberian context, but across the Mediterranean. James Adams and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill have written extensively on bilingualism, with the emphasis that Latin was not the dominant day-to-day language, and Greek as well as local languages coexisted in tandem.[79] It is increasingly clear that native languages in the Roman Empire were not suppressed, although in certain situations, Latin did have primacy over other languages. As bilingualism is a theory rooted in human face-to-face interaction, there is very little physical evidence for us to use to quantify bilingualism in a region except in the rare cases of either hybridized script, or inscriptions bearing multiple languages. Other issues with bilingualism is that Latin was not universally adopted, and regional languages persisted demonstrated by: the dominance of the Greek language in the east, as well as the need for North African clergy to continue using Punic into the fourth century AD as Latin had not been adopted by many people in rural districts.[80] Another aspect of bilingualism is 'code-switching', which is the concept that 'the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation', and is especially applicable where one language is more effective for the expressions of certain thoughts or knowledge.[81] Language, much like identity, is fluid, multiple and highly situational, as

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[79] Adams *et al.* 2002; Adams 2003; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.
[80] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13-5.
[81] Hoffman 1991: 110; Adams 2003: n. 55 for cross reference.

described by Adams referring to Cicero's condemnation of the practice.[82] Bilingualism then is a theory that provides interesting insights into the complexities of social dynamics, multiple identities and power relationships. As noted above, physical evidence is limited, but there are examples which do show that bilingualism is an important aspect to identity within a complex multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic empire.

Bilingual inscriptions are uncommon, but are nonetheless present, typically found in funerary stele from across the empire, which feature either hybridized names or were inscribed with multiple languages. A prime example of this is the Tomb of Regina from South Shields, England, which features a seated woman, surrounded by a lockbox and weaving tools, on which her name is inscribed in Latin, but below a personal inscription in Syriac is found. In addition, Regina is depicted in a Greek manner by being garbed in Greek-styled clothing and surrounded by Greek influenced imagery, but has a distinctly Roman name. The Tomb of Regina is one of the most notable evidence of bilingualism being present in the far west, and was created due to the mobility of individuals from across the empire. Regina's husband, a banner maker for the Roman army, is a dramatic example of migration, and the presence of Syriac language on a British woman's tomb is striking. Ultimately, bilingualism is a very helpful tool in looking at local cultures, complex identities and wider Mediterranean interactions, and does appear several times in the Iberian context. This is seen in several contracts between Greeks and Iberians, which highlights an 'Iberianized' Greek script, which will be discussed further in chapter two.

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[82] Adams 2003: 19; Cicero, *Off. 1.111* 'For as we ought to employ our mother-tongue les, like in certain people who are continually dragging in Greek words, we draw well-deserved ridicule upon ourselves…'

2.3 CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES

The theories presented above all have distinct value within themselves, but the difficulties with applying them relate to the evidence base. Many of the models presented are theoretical in nature, and the evidence from archaeological record does not always fill the gaps. These difficulties, however, do not mean that these models are inherently broken; they can be applied *when* there is evidence to support a claim. Making inferences and deductions based on what the scholar *believes* should exist in the evidence gap may not be an accurate representation, and so the theoretical nature should remain in question until evidence is located to support such claims. For example, 'discrepant identity' relies on physical evidence and the interpretation and negotiation of how individuals engaged with structures, artifacts, and presumed social interactions, which are all problematic because there are gaps in the archaeological record and social aspects of individuals is presupposed, rather than based in specific evidence. As noted by Webster's discussion on 'creolization', tools and symbols can be interpreted differently by archaeologists than they were actually employed.[83] Overall, I believe these theories are valuable methods of thinking about culture, but ultimately I think that many do not fully debunk the Romanization model because 'discrepant identity' only creates a framework to identify individual traits and how they may interact with objects, and 'creolization' claims a new hybrid culture emerges, but fails to make clear how 'creolization' differs from 'Romanization' in that it is still a processual cultural evolution. Although there are clear links to hybridity in several aspects of Iberian communities, hybridization has been overlooked thus far in how identity studies in Spain have been treated over the last century. I

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[83] Webster 2001

will now consider Romanization studies in Spain, which are very different than those in the

Anglophone world.

2.3.1 'ROMANIZATION' AND IDENTITY STUDIES IN SPAIN

A wholly different context for the use of 'Romanization' can be seen in the modern

Spanish scholarly world. Romanization theory, even today, remains a central concept within

Spanish archaeology. Until the twenty-first century, the use of the term was unchallenged and

the Romanization paradigm is still central today - a very different state than that of the

Anglophone world. In the following discussion, I will address the status of Roman studies in

Spain. The purpose of this is to highlight the reasons why the study of Romanization is largely

considered to be a factual process. In this section, I will address the early research conducted in

the three case studies: Cordoba, Italica, and *Augusta Emerita*.[84] The first research on these sites

began between the mid-sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, beginning in 1575 at Cordoba,

1633 at Merida, and 1732 at Italica.[85] These early examinations of Roman sites was largely out of

amateur interest, conducted by local clerics, or were made more widely known by poets during

the Golden Age of Spanish literature.[86] Due to the non-specialist approaches employed, many

Roman sites were misidentified due to the inaccurate interpretation of epigraphic and

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[84] A recent analysis of the historiography of the excavations has been published in the series *Ciudades Romanas de Hispania*. See Luzon Nogue 2004a: 21-39; Mora 2004b: 15-27; Rodriguez Hidalgo 2010: 17-35.

[85] For Cordoba, see de Morales 1575; for *Augusta Emerita*, see Moreno de Vargas 1633.

[86] A number of poets are noted to reference the ruins of Italica, and imagery was disseminated by artists: Rodriguez Hidalgo 2010: 17.

numismatic evidence. The cause of the inaccuracy was that ancient texts were used as guides, and in several instances purposeful falsifications were made to force the epigraphic and textual evidence to agree.[87] These methods persisted until the early eighteenth century, when the Real Academia de la Historia was founded in 1738. Spanish scholars, now supported by the Bourbon dynasty, adapted historical studies to the new concepts emerging from France and Italy.[88] The identification with Rome stems from the *Reconquista* during which Christian kings were able to expel the Moors from Spain over seven centuries. The last Moorish stronghold of Granada fell in 1492, which also marked the voyage of Christopher Columbus. Those events and the unification of Spain under Isabella and Ferdinand were seen as the beginning of a golden age. The new Spanish kingdoms inherited classical texts preserved during the rise of the Caliphate from the seventh century AD, specifically those relating to Greek philosophy, medicine, and science. Following the Spanish Inquisition, Catholicism became the universal religion in Spain, and with the identification with the Roman church and the Romans, a clear link was made between Imperial Spain and Imperial Rome. For these reasons, Romanization theory remained an unquestionable staple of the scholarly tradition in Spain as early modern scholars clearly saw links between Roman and Spaniard.[89] Much like Appian, many Spanish scholars during the sixteenth and seventeenth century saw no reason why people would not want to be Roman.

The effect of continued usage of the early incarnations of Romanization theory in Spain has been highly detrimental to historical studies. First, archaeology in Spain, until recently, focused primarily on the Roman period, but did not go beyond the Roman layers. This is

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[87] Gonzalez 1993: 63-84 and Beltran Fortes 1993: 105-124.
[88] Mora 1998; Beltran Fortes 2003: 47-64.
[89] See Garcia y Bellido 1960 as a prime formula for the discussion of Romanization in the *Hispaniae* in the twentieth century; see discussions in Dupre Raventos 2004a: 27-38; 2004b: 20-6; and Caballos Rufino 2010: 24-34.

perhaps due to the value of later Roman sites, for instance the ruins in the city of Merida (*Augusta Emerita*), which provide a major boost to local economies. A popular trend currently is to renovate these sites, specifically ruins with amphitheaters for performances of classical plays. More importantly, the lack of access for archaeological field work in urban spaces is due to modern cities existing atop Roman and Iberian settlements, as is the case in Sevilla (Hispalis), Merida (*Augusta Emerita*), and Cordoba (Corduba). Second, scholarship has been bound to modern cultural values and political processes, especially national and religious identity. The consequence of these issues is that Spanish scholars tended to limit research to a nationalistic and religious orthodoxy regarding its Roman heritage. Only recently have Spanish scholars begun to break away from this nationalist orthodoxy to address the problems with Romanization theory, and have made steps to move beyond the term and embrace identity and acculturation studies in a sophisticated way.

The best example of this new approach is Jose Carlos Saquete Chamizo's (1997) *Las Élites Sociales de Augusta Emerita*. Saquete's work focuses mostly on epigraphic work and the local élites of *Augusta Emerita*, as well as incorporating many of the ideas expressed by non-Spanish scholars.[90] What is evident in Saquete's book, even though it focuses on the élite, is an awareness of non-élite and non-Roman elements within the society. This is a distinctive break from early and mid-twentieth century Spanish scholarship, but in fairness, occurred similarly in the Anglophone world, but about a decade earlier. The advancement of scholarship can be seen in the extensive bibliographies of the series *Las Ciudades de Hispania.* In reality, the problem with communication between Spanish and non-Spanish scholars is a two-way issue: non-Spanish scholars have historically tended to be skilled in German, French, and English, which created a

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[90] Saquete Chamizo 1997: 13-21 cites Curchin 1990, Dyson 1981 and Fear 1995 as major influences, among others, on his work: 13.

linguistic barrier, while Spanish scholars were limited to Spanish sources because of the difficulty in publishing materials in other languages. As discussed earlier, the German DAI and French Casa de Velasquez have breached this issue, but Spanish scholarship is limited in its accessibility due to the local nature of journal and monograph production in Spain.

2.3.2 THE FUTURE OF 'ROMANIZATION'

In the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the future of 'Romanization' models. I do believe that there *is* a future for Romanization studies. The lack of inverted commas is important here because even if 'Romanization' theory is problematic, the alternatives are equally problematic. These new theories about identity either descend from Mommsen's 'Romanization' themselves or do not fully answer the question of what does it mean to 'be Roman', but do offer plausible alternatives, although no single theory is satisfactory to explain each scenario independently. The studies listed above have provided a host of tools and new methods for examining identity, but lack the fundamental paradigm shift that is supposedly desperately needed.[91] Scholars have already made concessions regarding 'Romanization' theories, but no more apologies must be made for the errors of past scholars: the relentless assault against Mommsen's shade are derisive to modern scholarly discussions on identity. It is well time that the ghost of Mommsen is put to rest and scholars cease to frame their argument against 'Romanization's' first incarnation, but rather stand upon their own scholarly work.

Romanization, in its original form is clearly dead. In reality there is no more useful discussion to be had regarding the flaws of Mommsen, Haverfield *et al.* Scholars have

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[91] Mattingly, 1996.

exhaustively explored the nineteenth and early twentieth century historiography.[92] It has been

made abundantly clear what Mommsen's intentions were, as well as the problems of

Haverfield's appropriation of the term. Both of Mommsen's theories – Romanization and

'defensive imperialism' have, in recent years, undergone considerable reformulation.

Reflections on modern versus ancient imperialism have provided new insights and advanced

dialogues.[93] Whilst discussions of Roman identity have had similar outcomes, the process has

been far more polarized.

The polemic assault on adherents of Romanization throughout the last twenty years has

served to create a divide by the creation of competing schools of thought. The post-colonial

theories presented above, although full of insight and nuanced considerations, are shrouded in

an air of academic hostility. However, the continual resurrection of Mommsen for the purpose

of public execution serves no purpose but to provide a platform from which to besiege

contemporary theories which do not agree with their own. I am specifically referring to the

decade-long feud between Mattingly and Keay, culminating with Keay and Terrenato (2001)

and Mattingly (2002), after which Mattingly continues to assault the ideology without major

opposition. Post-colonial scholars have subsequently claimed victory in the 'Romanization'

debate, but have presumed too much. Some scholars have likened the post-colonial war on

Romanization to be akin to beating a dead horse, but the horse 'is well worth anther crack of the

whip.' Mattingly (2011) claims that Romanization is dead, while scholars like Curchin (2004)

The Romanization of Central Spain, 8; Merryweather and Prag (2002) '"Romanization"? or, why

flog a dead horse?' have clearly indicated that Romanization studies are still alive, even under

the duress of critics like Mattingly *et al*. Indeed, a number of monographs on Romanization

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[92] Freeman 1997; Hingley 2005.
[93] Erskine 2010; Richardson 2008.

have been published during the height of post-colonial criticism: Torelli, M. (1995) *Studies in the Romanization of Italy*; Hoff and Rotroff (1997) *The Romanization of Athens*; Cherry, D. (1998) *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa*; MacMullen, R. (2000) *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*; Fentress, E. (2000) *Romanization and the city* and (2002) 'Romanizing the Berbers'; Woolf G. (2000) *Becoming Roman*; Keay and Terrenato (2000) *Italy and the West*; Arasa i Gil, F. (2001) *La Romanitacio a les comarques septentrionals del litoral valencia*; Pollini (2002) *Gallo-Roman Bronzes and the Process of Romanization*; Yat Tin Lee, R. (2003) *Romanization in Palestine*. Clearly, the idea of cultural change under the banner of Romanization carries on.

I would propose a middle ground. On one hand, it is clear that the process of linear 'Romanization' models do not work. On the other, new theoretical frameworks work *in theory*, but a lack of archaeological evidence to support the arguments made is problematic. It is my opinion that the current trajectory of identity studies and Roman archaeology is correct: synthesis is creating powerful new conceptions of the ancient world.[94] These hybrid models are far more durable than theoretical models like 'discrepant identity' and 'creolization', although very similar to hybridity, are largely presumptive. However, Mattingly and Webster's identity models can be used as a guide when certain evidence can be extracted from archaeological evidence. The ultimate problem remains, which is the term 'Romanization' itself. Some scholars want this term to be abandoned, as discussed above, whilst other scholars have engaged directly with Romanization. Mattingly states he 'is not arguing that we abandon the fruits of two hundred years or more of research', but at the same time claims 'orthodox approaches to Roman archaeology follows an agenda that is predisposed to emphasize the cultural achievements of the empire… and Roman rule.'[95] Although Mattingly may on one hand be

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[94] Revell 2002.
[95] Mattingly 2011: 205.

arguing that future scholarship approaches acculturation studies in a highly nuanced manner, but on the other it is impossible to divorce the intellectual heritage from the scholarly research without reconsidering several lifetimes' worth of study.

The middle ground, I believe, is flexibility. Romanization does have the benefit of telling the reader that a society looks more 'Roman' but that needs to be heavily qualified. The contention between the post-colonial scholars and their 'traditionalist' foes is the use of 'Romanization' as a functional term. Mattingly's camp believes that 'Romanization' is an inflexible linear A→B evolution, but at the same time is weakly defined as a process. Conversely this lack of definition is also the strength of 'Romanization', but requires the individual author to defend, and discuss their use of the term extensively. In this regard, generally a well-explained argument provides a better understanding of the concept, but this is not isolated to only 'Romanization' scholars. Nearly every scholar since the early twenty-first century has concurred that 'Romanization', as a processual term, is too problematic to use. However, 'Romanization' is still usable. This is because it can be used as a broad umbrella for a number of models all relating to Roman identity.

<center>END OF CHAPTER 1</center>

CHAPTER 3: PRE-ROMAN IBERIA

In the previous chapter, I explored the concepts of 'Romanization' and acculturation. In this chapter, I turn to pre-Roman Iberia, and consider the interactions between Phoenicians and Greeks from the beginning of the first millennia to the end of the third century BC. The purpose of examining Iberia is that the region, with its history of contact with eastern Mediterranean cultures, permits an examination of the long-term impact of foreign culture on local communities. This examination takes two forms; first, I examine the physical impact on Iberian culture, primarily through the establishment of periphery trade communities, and second, the cultural impact of imported 'luxury goods' which influenced Iberian society, and in turn encouraged the adoption of skills, cultural aspects, and industrial actions. Phoenician and Punic interactions and later settlements take primacy in this discussion over Greek settlements due to the geographic area which this project encompasses.

The goal of this chapter is to highlight the introduction of a foreign culture to Iberian communities and the formation of new multi-layered identities within communities, which effectively creates a suitable environment for later acculturation through Roman influence. I address this by first considering the various time periods of interactions in Iberia, and the misconceptions surrounding models of colonization versus presence. After examining the temporal divisions of interactions, I will discuss the Greek settlements in north-eastern Iberia, and the southern Phoenician settlements. The second phase of interactions will focus on the period of the 'sixth century crisis' which is especially important in relation to Punic-Iberian interactions. This period demonstrates specific changes in attitudes towards Iberia on the part of Carthaginian hegemony. Punic imperialism evolved dramatically, especially in the third

century with the Barcids, which directly impacted Iberian culture through multi-faceted political, economic, and militaristic aspects. Finally, I will consider Greek, Phoenician, and Punic influences on Iberian culture, and how contact with foreign culture permanently altered the trajectory of Iberian communities. I will now turn to the chronology of Iberian interactions with foreign cultures which will guide the discussion for the following sections.

3.1 CHRONOLOGY OF IBERIAN INTERACTIONS

When considering contact between Iberians and eastern Mediterranean cultures, it is important to frame the discussion by understanding the broad temporal context. In this section, I will outline three periods of interaction within Iberia which will serve as a general guide to the discussions that follow. Conceptually, these periods can be differentiated by three different types of interaction: presence, occupation, and penetration. As will be discussed in chapter three, these models vary slightly, primarily because of the types of pre-Roman interactions, but follow a similar trend. Phase one (c. 1200-650) is characterized by the appearance of Phoenician and Greek trade ports. Radiometric evidence has shown the earliest Phoenician settlements being established during the eighth century, but this conflicts with the literary narrative.[96] These trade ports, or *emporiae*, initially created links to Iberian settlements, with Phoenicians apparently focusing along the southern coast, and Greeks primarily along the eastern coast, at least in terms of their trading stations. During the second phase (c. 650-400), a distinct expansion of the Phoenician settlements occurred, now under Punic control.[97] At the same time,

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[96] Aubet 2001: 372-81; Neville 2007: 7 and 175, n.1 for an extensive bibliography on radiocarbon dating of Gadir.
[97] Crawley Quinn and Vella 2014: 42-58. For the purposes of this project, the definition of 'Phoenician' indicates groups originating from Tyre, or Tyrian colonies until 650 BC; post-650 BC, I employ the term 'Punic' to indicate

Phocaean colonies were settled and expanded in northeastern Iberia.[98] This period shows a distinct co-optation of local Iberian communities, the permanence in colonial activity, and the expansion of Iberian-controlled trade routes.[99] Within this context, the co-optation of Iberians indicates a manifestation of synergistic economic networks suggesting that Iberian trade was reoriented into the wider Roman network.[100] Phase three (c. 400-206) exhibits a shift in Punic-Iberian relations, as Carthage sought to aggressively expand its territory in Iberia. The Carthaginians, and particularly the Barcids, took actions in Iberia as part of what may have been an expansionist policy. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence to indicate the specifics of the motivations of the Barcids as the texts relating to this period are anachronistic Roman perceptions.[101] Nonetheless, the Barcids actions in Iberia suggests there was an attempt at the creation of empire, but this empire was a product only of the third century. The sixth century then was a period of dynamic change towards the establishment and expansion of permanent settlements, but scholars have persisted using the term 'colonization' for the entire period of Phoenician interaction in Iberia.[102] In the latter period, Carthaginian interests appear to move towards imperialism and expansionism, and surely the characterization of 'colonization' becomes a more accurate appellation at that period. However, an important distinction is to be made here between the various periods of interactions in Iberia, and understanding the purpose and type of settlement creates a more accurate image of pre-sixth century contact.

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settlements outside of Carthage of Phoenician origin, while the term Carthaginian relates specifically to individuals or influences from the North African city.
[98] Dominguez 2013: 23-36.
[99] Aubet 1990: 29-44.
[100] Aranegui Gasco and Sanchez 2014: 243-256.
[101] Hoyos 2010; 2003.
[102] See Belarte 2009: 91-112 and Sanmarti 2009: 49-90.

3.1.1 COLONIZATION VS. PRESENCE

A major issue scholars have attempted to address for decades in the context of overseas settlement in antiquity has been the term 'colonization'. There is a dramatic difference between pre-sixth century Phoenician and Greek settlements and their later incarnations, primarily due to economic, rather than territorial interests, and modern interpretations of colonialism and imperialism obscure these settlements' purposes. The term carries with it a great deal of intellectual baggage, such as the presupposition by modern scholars that overseas settlements imply imperialism. The incautious use of the term as a blanket statement is problematic, and a more nuanced approach is needed.[103] The settlements found in the early stages of Phoenician contact with the western Mediterranean do not represent the typical image of the colony; many early settlements were initially developed for trade rather than being deployed to control territory.[104] Rather, these sites were purpose-built for contact, and later provide the frameworks for permanent urban centres.

Recently the concepts of colonization and imperialism, with regards to their form and function have begun to be reappraised, due to the problematic nature of the terms.[105] Recent scholarly works have challenged the traditional view of colonization by replacing colonization with the term 'presence' in the Greek context,[106] whilst 'pre-colonization' has been used in the Phoenician context.[107] Both 'presence' and 'pre-colonization' deal with the awkward period of

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[103] Dietler 2009: 3-49.

[104] On Phoenician settlements, see Aubet 1995: 227-43. On Greek settlements, see Roullard 2009: 131-154.

[105] Aubet 2001: 200-1 applies the term 'colony' loosely to Gadir, as well as other Phoenician settlements in Iberia, 257-304; but clearly challenges these conceptions earlier. Early interpretations employed colonial language: Carpenter 1925; Garcia y Bellido 1936; 1948.

[106] This is a vast topic and I will not discuss it in detail: general works include Graham 1982: 83-162; 163-95 and Boardman 1999: 212-8. On the Greek 'presence' in the west, see Kimmig 1983: 5-78. Extensive bibliographies and more recent surveys are found in Dominguez 1991: 109-61; 1993: 469-86; Olmos 1991: 123-33; Dominguez and Sanchez 2001; Dominguez 2006: 429-505.

[107] Aubet 2001 : 194, 200-1; Celestino Perez 2009 : 229-54.

history in which foreign traders appeared and projected cultural influence via a network of settlements. The emphasis on presence versus colonization is that the archaeology has identified the *presence* of foreign cultural influences though pottery, art, and architecture, but the evidence for permanent substantial settlements is not extant prior to the sixth century in many respects. I believe that 'presence' is a more accurate term to describe the activities of Greek and Phoenicians in the Western Mediterranean prior to the sixth century, but is not free from problems in itself. Dominguez states his preference for 'presence' due to its neutrality, and argues for a multi-faceted approach to interpretations.[108] However, the argument for a 'presence' model is rooted in a lack of evidence rather than anything more positive; early Phoenician and Greek sites have either been obliterated by shifting topography or human habitation, leaving little evidence at these 'colonial' sites.

As an alternative to the 'presence' model, Rouillard has proposed a hybridity model, espousing a 'partnership' model, and argues that presence is too limited and ephemeral to account for long-term impact and co-habitation. Rouillard focuses on the purpose, rather than the configuration, of the settlement and challenges the definition of these sites as *apoikiai* or *emporiae*.[109] Instead, Rouillard identifies larger settlements, such as Emporion, as integrated communities, out of necessity and convenience, but also theorizes that smaller *emporiae* were integrated into local Iberian communities. A small number of resident traders would maintain the port, but also act as liaisons and interpreters, suggesting some level of hybridization. Despite this, there is very little difference between Dominguez's 'presence' and Roulliard's hybridity models, but both address important aspects of early contact and how these

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[108] Dominguez 2006 : 429.
[109] Roulliard *et al.* 2009: 125-45. The nature of the Greek settlement in the west has been a major issue, and over the last decade a wealth of publications on the nature of Greek colonization have emerged: Ridgeway 1992; Osborne 1998: 251–69; *cf.* Dominguez 2011: 195-207.

settlements may have functioned. Both recognize the purpose, scope, and function of peripheral

sites, this also includes the partnership aspects between economic networks, which functioned

in tandem, and both generally agree that most early Greek sites in Iberia should be classified as

emporiae, which is more correct than *apoikiai*. This is the model that this chapter will employ, as

it provides the best context for relationships between Iberians, Greeks and Phoenio-Punic

contacts.

3.2 THE GREEKS IN THE WEST

The Greeks first appeared in Iberia in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The first reports of

Greek activity in the western Mediterranean comes in two distinct tales, but it is important to

note that both accounts have a questionable accuracy because they reside at the conflux of fable

and fact.[110] Regardless of Herodotus' reliability,[111] the reality appears to be a strong commercial

link between Tartessos and the Phocaeans which began as early as the seventh century.[112] The

first true Greek colony in the far west, Massalia, was founded in the sixth century by Phocaeans

fleeing the Persian conquest of Phocaea.[113] Within a few decades, Massalia founded Emporion,

and within two centuries had established further settlements around the western

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[110] The first account is related to the misadventures of a merchant named Colaeus who inadvertently arrived in Tartessos, thereupon acquiring a vast fortune, which later enables his dedication of a great bronze vessel adorned with mythic beasts to the temple of Hera in Samos. Herodotus, 4.152 claims this event as the cause for the close friendships between Samos and Cyrene, which may place this event c. 630 BC; on the date of Cyrene's foundation, see Stucchi 1989: 73-84; Laronde 1990: 169-80. A Phoecaean expedition made contact with Tartessos and established a relationship of *philia* with the 'silver king' Arganthonis, enabling trade to be conducted and bringing the mineral wealth, specifically silver, to Phocaea. This may have led to a permanent colony being established nearby with a donation of land. Herodotus, 1.163-8 claims the Phocaeans discovered much of the western Mediterranean, including exploring the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas and Iberia. On Greek relations with local communities, see Dominguez 2003: 429; for a detailed analysis of this tale, see Olmos 1989: 505.
[111] On the difficulties with Herodotus' accounts, see Olmos 1986: 584-600 and 1989: 495-521.
[112] Fernandez Jurado 1986: 149-70.
[113] Justin 43.3; for a list of Greek and Roman authors that discuss the foundations of Massalia, see Kinzl 2010: 183.

Mediterranean.[114] I will focus primarily on Emporion, as it lay beyond the Pyrenees, within the geographical confines of Iberia.

Our information on Greek colonies in the west primarily comes from Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium who are reliant on the earlier, non-extant, sources of Artemidorus of Ephesus and Posidonius. Artemidorus was the first geographer to seize the opportunity the Roman occupation of Iberia provided to gain first-hand knowledge of Iberia.[115] Poseidonius was a mathematician and wrote of his travels to Gades.[116] Strabo's *Geographia* has been deemed generally reliable, and has been used to correctly locate some Greek urban sites by modern scholars, but the *Geographia* also contains many anachronisms and errors, which has led to problems due to the disparities between his work and the results of archaeological excavations.[117] Stephanus of Byzantium commented extensively in the *Ethnica* on the activities of Massalia in the third century.[118] By focusing on Massalian activities, Stephanus' work provides some interesting information on the pre-Roman and Republican-era town, which is relevant to Massalian connections to Emporion and other Phocaean colonies.[119] A final relevant

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[114] For a brief summary of the foundation and expansion of Phocaean settlements in southern Gaul and eastern Iberia, see Dietler 2010: 4-8.

[115] Kramer 2001: 116; Berger 1903: 525.

[116] Strabo 1.1.9; 4.4.5

[117] Strabo comments on most of the major Greek cities in Iberia, see Dominguez 2006: 443-50; 484-5, Table 1; Strabo states his intentions for the *Geographia*: "…to try to give, in the simplest possible way, the shape and size of that part of the earth which falls within our map, indicating at the same time what the nature of that part is and what portion it is of the whole earth; for this is the task proper of the geographer." By default, Strabo's interests in some areas over other can create issues of accuracy, 2.5.13; see also 3.1.6 on regions of Iberia; 8.7.3 for discussion of Achaens; 10.3.5 Strabo presses the need for reinforcement of previous comments by earlier authors; 14.1.6 inserts Ionian cities which were previously omitted; 15.1.4 expands the knowledge on Taprobane from Eratosthenes; Dueck 2002:157.

[118] Arcelin 1986 43-104. Stephanus' work hints at influences from the logographist Hecataeus of Miletus, who had exceptional knowledge of the native peoples and coast of Iberia; On Stephanus' references to Spain, see Gonzalez Blanco 1999: 100-1, 23-50; on Hecataeus' knowledge of Spain, see Garcia y Bellido 1948: 2-12.

[119] Nieto 1980: 555-61; 1992: 144-5. *Cf.* Dominguez 2006: 447.

source is that of the fourth century AD poet named Rufus Festus Avienus which preserved a

possible *periplous*, unanimously agreed by scholars to stem from a sixth century source.[120]

Through the sixth and early fifth centuries, Greek commercial efforts in Iberia increased

dramatically, fuelled by shifting political dynamics within the eastern Mediterranean.[121] These

trading ports, *emporia*, provided the basis for Greek commerce around the Mediterranean.[122] The

definition of the *emporia* is unclear,[123] but for my purposes *emporia* were small regional trade

ports operated by a small number of resident traders. These traders served as both liaisons and

interpreters with local communities, but operated independently from indigenous authorities as

framed by treaties.[124] Native kings actively sought traders willing to supply imports, as these

goods would provide prestige through the acquisition of foreign luxury goods. Within the

emporia itself, Greeks acted autonomously from local authorities, but the relationship was

bound by treaties. There are many examples of kings seeking traders and inviting merchants to

establish permanent outposts within their territories.[125] These exchanges have been perceived as

unequal by scholars, but perhaps this has been misunderstood.[126] Greek traders had a firm

grasp on the concepts of supply and demand, but local kings had a large supply of mineral

resources. Rather than not understanding the value of goods, it seems more likely that a lower

value was attributed to mineral wealth and a high value to imports.

Diodorus' comment on the price Gauls paid for a single jar of wine has been used by

modern and ancient scholars to describe Gauls' and Celts' poor understanding of trade and

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[120] Schulten 1922; Mangas and Placido 1994. For variation on the *periplous'* chronology, see Ugolini and Olive 1987: 143-54.

[121] On Phocaean travels to Spain, see Alvar 1979: 67-86; on the general travel conditions, see Morrison and Williams 1968; Casson 1991; Wallinga 1993.

[122] Lepore 1970 : 26-41; Clavel-Leveque 1977; Morel 1988: 443-5.

[123] Morel 2006: 374-7; *cf.* Dominguez 2006; Rouillard 2009.

[124] See Dominguez 2006.

[125] Herodotus, 1.163; Justinus, 43.3.11

[126] See Aubet, 2001: 241-7; see also Rouillard 2009.

value.[127] However, local élites both needed and desired these goods, in this case imported

Italian wine, both for its prestige and effect.[128] And so scholarly perceptions are wrong because

they presume Iberians and Gauls lacked trading skills. Although Diodorus' quotation relates

specifically to the Gallic context, similar presumptions can be applied to Iberians' relationship

with traders. This image is further enhanced by examining the relationships between Greeks

and Iberians at Emporion, which highlights Iberian sophistication in mercantile endeavours, but

also in the development of regional trade networks and legal hybridity.

3.2.1 EMPORION

Emporion, founded c. 600 BC, was attested by Livy as the first Phocaean city in Iberia,

but that claim conflicts with Strabo, who states that Emporion was a colony of Massalia.[129]

However, the archaeological material demonstrates that Massalia and Emporion were founded

around the same period. The initial foundation was situated on the island of San Martin de

Ampurias off the coast, a site later named as the Palaiapolis.[130] The Neopolis was developed on

the mainland in the mid-sixth century, possibly following a migration after the fall of Phocaea

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[127] Diodorus, 5.26, 'The Gauls are exceedingly addicted to the use of wine and fill themselves with the wine which is brought into their country by merchants, drinking it unmixed, and since they partake of this drink without moderation by reason of their craving for it, when they are drunken they fall into a stupor or a state of madness. Consequently many of the Italian trader, induced by the love of money which characterizes them, believe that the love of wine of these Gauls is their own godsend. For these transport the wine on the navigable rivers by means of boats and through the level plain on wagons, and receive for it an incredible price; for in exchange for a jar of wine they receive a slave, getting a servant in return for the drink.'
[128] Dietler 2010: 131-57.
[129] Livy 34.9; Strabo, 3.4.8-9; for a detailed account of Emporion's development, see Dominguez2013: 23-36; 2006: 476-91, esp. 484. While technically Livy is correct, Strabo is also correct. Emporion did grow into a city, and the first Phocaean city in Iberia, but was also an *emporiae* of Massalia.
[130] Dupre 2005: 103-123; Dominguez 2006: 476; 2012:: 61-82.

to the Persians. Emporion and Massalia should be considered as sister-cities as Emporion

matured, but it is clear that initially Emporion was founded as an *emporia* linked to Massalia.[131]

The interest here is not in the urban development of Emporion *per se*, but Emporion's

relationship with Iberian communities. Emporion was created as a diopolis with a local Iberian

group named the Indecetani.[132] Emporion's residents and the local Indecetani had a shared

community for mutual security, with whom they had a combined legal system (*politeuma*). Each

of the two communities had independent governments, and minted their own coinages.[133] The

Iberian coinage was only issued in bronze asses, whilst the Greek drachma was issued in silver,

which indicates Iberian coins were used for daily transactions, and Greek drachma for larger

transactions.[134] Many of the Iberian issues are heavily influenced by Greek imagery, and the

minting of high-value coins as drachma may suggest an admiration of Greek identity. Both

Iberian and Greek mints persist into the Roman era, which has led some scholars to the

conclusion that Rome was responsible for the creation of the *Emporitani Hispani*.[135] This theory

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[131] Dominguez 2006: 443-4; for a review of Strabo's comments, see Santiago 1994:61-74.

[132] It seems unclear where this name comes from, either if this was place-naming in agreement with Stephanus of Byzantium; Dominguez 2014:30-1, or if this were a Roman appellation based on coinage (*Untika-Indika*); Garcia y Bellido and Blazquez 2002: 50.

[133] Strabo 3.4.8: 'The Emporitans formerly lived on a little island off the shore, which is now called Old City, buy they now live on the mainland. And their city is a double one, for it has been divided into two cities by a wall, because, in former times, the city had for neighbours some of the Indicetans, who, although they maintained a government of their own, wished, for the sake of security, to have a common wall of circumvallation with the Greeks, with the enclosure in two parts – for it has been divided by a wall through the centre; but in the course of time the two peoples united under the same constitution, which was a mixture of both Barbarian and Greek law – a think which have taken the place in the case of many other peoples.' Livy 34.9.1: 'Even at that time Emporiae consisted of two towns separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea, whence came the Massilienses also, the other by the Spaniards; but the Greek town, being entirely open to the sea, had only a small extent of wall, of less than four hundred paces in length, while the Spaniards, who were farther back from the sea, had a wall three miles around. A third class of inhabitants, Roman colonists, was added by the deified Caesar after the final defeat of the sns of Pompey, and at present all are fused into one mass, the Spaniards first, and later the Greeks, having been received into Roman citizenship.' See also Dominguez 2013.

[134] On Iberian coinage at Emporion, see Garcia y Bellido, M. and Blazquez 2002: 387-96; on Greek coinage, see 138-141; Rippoles 2012: 131-138.

[135] Livy 34.16.4-5: They ravaged more widely, since the enemy was scattered in flight. This had no less influence than the defeat of the previous day in causing the Spaniards of Emporiae and their neighbours to submit. Many citizens of other states as well, who had taken refuge in Emporiae, surrendered. All of these the consul treated kindly, and after refreshing them with wine and food sent them home.

accounts primarily for political interactions with Rome, whereas the cultural and economic

interactions provide an image of a hybridized community, which predated Roman presence by

over three centuries.[136]

The relationship between Emporion and the Iberian communities beyond the *chora* is

seen in a series of agriculture-focused settlements in the city's hinterland and a type of

regionally produced pottery. The most helpful of Iberian sites is Mas Castellar de Pontos with

regards to the relationship between Iberian and Emporion. Located about twenty kilometres to

the north-west, Mas Castellar was occupied from the fifth to third centuries, and the main

feature of the town was that it produced and stored cereals in large underground pits.[137]

Agricultural exploitation continued well after the site was abandoned in the third century, most

Figure 1 Artists' rendition of Emporion: on the right, the Old City, on the left, the New City. (Dominguez 2006)

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[136] Pena 1988: 11-45.
[137] See figure 2 for a distribution of communities with pit storage for agricultural products. Pons 2002 : 587-94; Asensio and Pons 2004-5 :199-211; Pons 2010: 105-118.

likely occurring in tandem with shifting political and commercial situations in the region.[138]

This method of production and storage was a regional endeavour as many sites along what may

have been Emporion's *chora*, as suggested by the linear position of these settlements but may be

more likely attributed to geographical locations suitable for Iberian settlements as many sites

along what may have been Emporion's *chora*.[139]
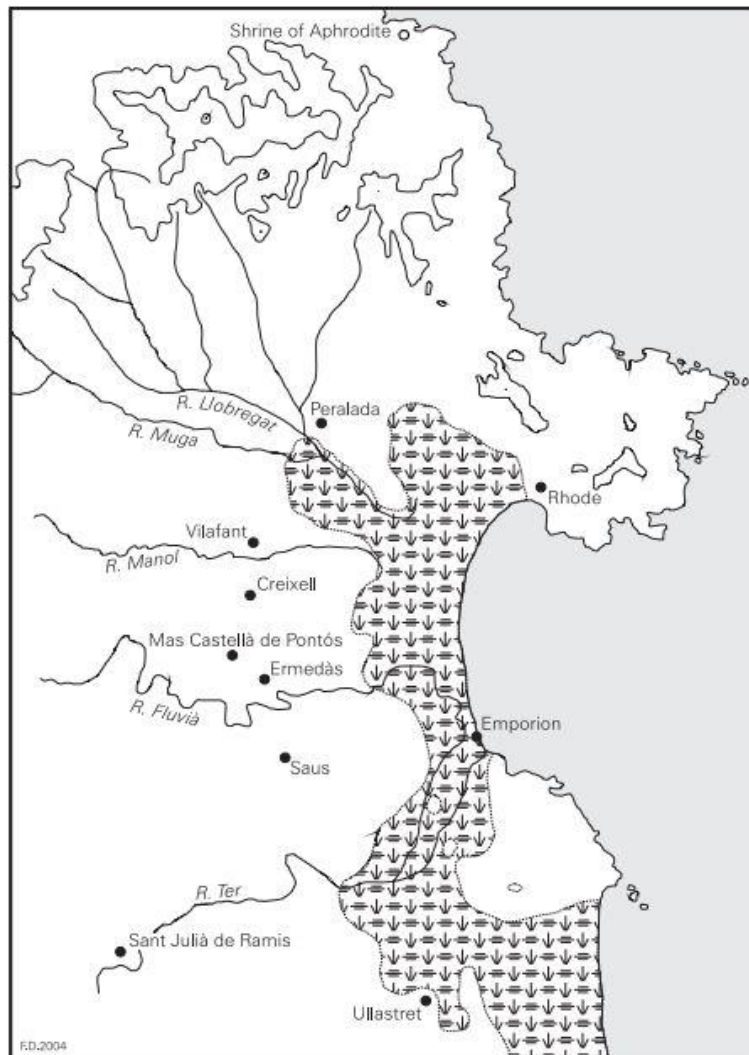
Figure 2 Map of Emporion's chora and nearby Iberian agricultural communities, c. 4th century BC.
(Dominguez 2006)

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[138] Plana 2012 : 165-8.

[139] See maps 2 and 3. Ruiz de Arbulo 1992; *cf.* Dominguez 1986c: 193-9; Sanmarti 1993: 92-4, claims the *chora* was located towards the south where evidence of Greek anchorages have been located, Nieto and Nolla 1985: 265-83; *cf.* Sanmarti 1995: 157-74, again claims the western territory may have been part of the *chora* and employed for agricultural purposes. See Plana 1994 for a study of Emporion's *chora*.
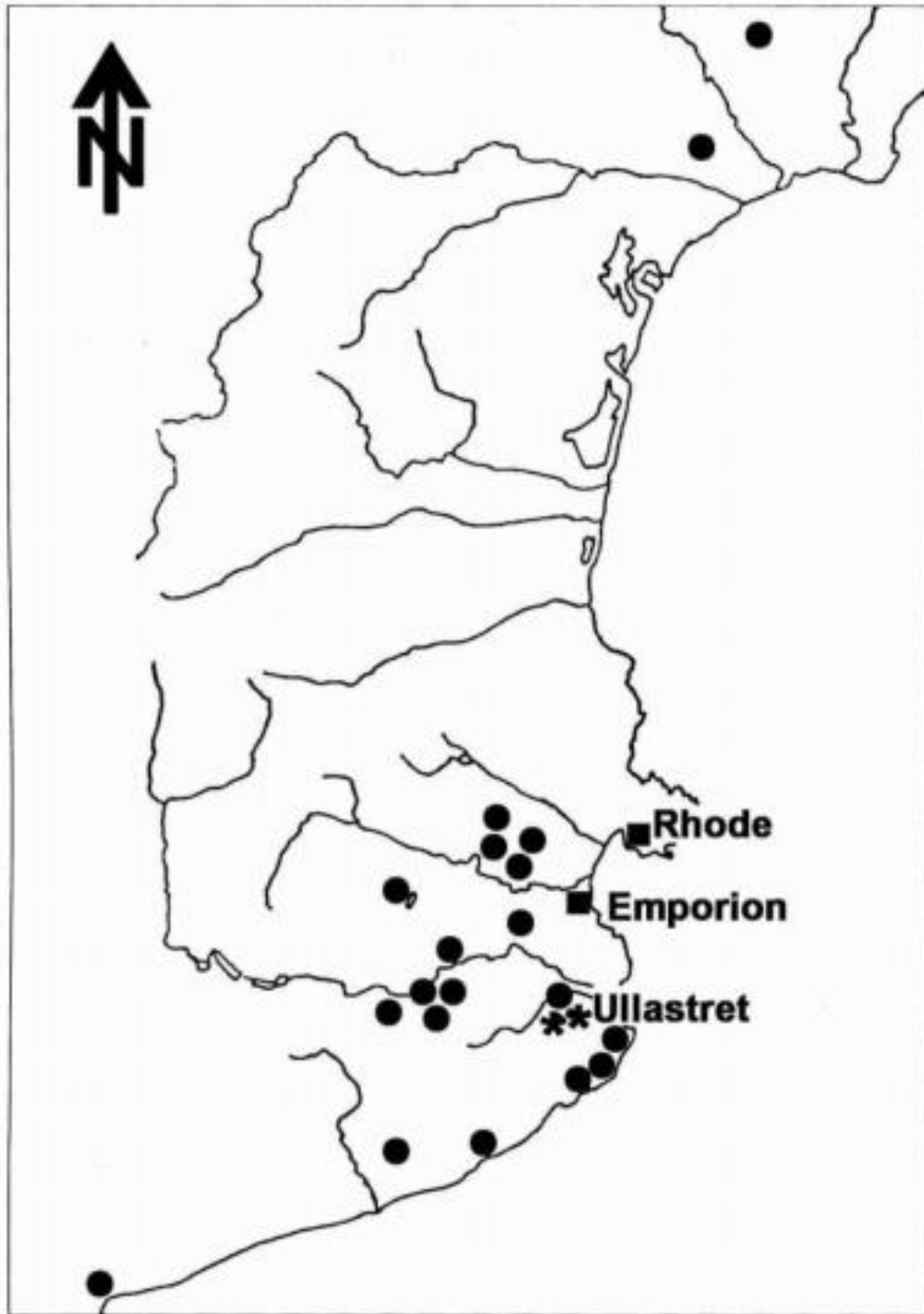
Figure 3 Distribution map of Indecetan grey-style pottery, c. 550-350 BC. (Dominguez 2006)

The rapid appearance of cereal-producing settlements with large pit storage in the fifth

century along Emporion's potential *chora* suggests either some agreement was established with

regional Iberian communities, or possibly that communities resettled into the region due to the

positive economic environment. Another feature of these communities is a locally produced and

traded grey pottery that was ubiquitous among settlements surrounding Emporion, and the

majority of these communities were also engaged in cereal production and pit-style storage,

which suggests some form of regional co-optation by major settlements like Emporion or

Ullastret, the major Iberian community in the region. It may also just be a response to

opportunities offered by larger settlements. Ullastret, seems to have been the production centre

for this style of pottery, which was clearly of Indecetan origin, but it was heavily influenced by

Greek motifs. This pottery has been used to define the Indecetan cultural area, as limited finds

of this type of pottery are found elsewhere, and it only appears from the mid-fifth century and

declines in quality after the mid-third century (see figure 3).[140] However, the use of this pottery

to define a cultural region is problematic because the pottery may have been traded more

widely than the region it was produced, creating a false image of the cultural territory. Both the

pottery from Ullastret and the cereals were marketed throughout the region, which may have

created a dependency on Emporion and the regional economic and political centre due to its

large population and access to foreign goods. Ullastret may have been the exception to this

dependency due to its uniqueness among other Iberian settlements. Emporion's links reached

as far south as Campello (Alicante), Magna Graecia, and Attica as evidenced by the importation

of Attic pottery.[141]

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[140] On distribution, see Martin 1988: 47-56; on production, see Maluquer de Motes *el al.* 1984: 47-53.
[141] On exported Iberian wares, see Sanmarti 1995: 31-47; several Attic red-figure and black-glaze vases have been found at Ullastret: Picazo 1977: 131-3.

Emporion provides an excellent image of acculturation, as Greek identity is negotiated within an Iberian environment. Emporion serves as an example of integration to a high degree in political, economic terms and within the urban landscape, but still with strong elements of Iberian and Greek culture persisting throughout. The economic interdependencies provided a framework for a strong cultural identity within the area, and perhaps even stabilized Phocaean Greek identity during a time of political change in the sixth century, but do not necessarily create a single cultural identity. In the larger picture of Iberian interactions with eastern Mediterranean cultures, the Emporitani are seen as a hybrid community by Roman writers, ultimately being referred to as the *Emporitani Hispani*.[142] While it could be argued that Livy was making the case that these were the *Hispani* of Emporion, it may be more likely that the resistance to Cato came from the federation of the Indecetai, as the level of resistance he records far exceeds the potential population at Emporion.[143] The result of this cultural and economic synchronicity between Emporiae and the various Iberian communities is that by the second century, as ancient authors saw, the Emporitani had become *Hispani*, but at the same time their Greek-ness set them apart from other Iberians.[144] In the second century, the Greek half of the city embarked on an ambitious building program: the reconstruction of the walls, revitalizing aging temples and raising new ones, redeveloping the agora which included a stoa, and new Greek-influenced housing.[145] What should be considered is that the Emporitanians represent a hybridized community built on legal and economic equilibrium. The resulting image, as

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[142] Livy 34.16.4-5: They ravaged more widely, since the enemy was scattered in flight. This had no less influence than the defeat of the previous day in causing the Spaniards of Emporiae and their neighbours to submit. Many citizens of other states as well, who had taken refuge in Emporiae, surrendered. All of these the consul treated kindly, and after refreshing them with wine and food sent them home.
[143] Nolla 1984: 154.
[144] Strabo 4.1.5; Livy 37.54.21
[145] Ruiz de Arbula 1998: 539-54; Kaiser 2000; Aqulue 2012b: 30-2; Santos 2012: 69.

perceived by Livy and the archaeology, is a symbiotic cultural unit with a variety of Greek and Indecetani aspects.

In contrast to the Phocaean settlements in northeastern Iberia, the Phoenican and later Punic communities appear to have functioned more alongside Iberian communities, where populations were very distinct in contrast to Emporion. In contrast to Emporion, the Phoenician and Punic settlements were linked to a larger identity in North Africa, and while the Emporitanians ethnically were Greeks, their home city had been destroyed, leaving nowhere to go if the western colonies collapsed. I will now discuss the Phoenician and Punic settlements in Iberia, followed by a summary of the major impacts on Iberian culture.

3.3 PHOENICIAN SETTLEMENT IN IBERIA

Figure 4 Major Phoenician Settlements, c. 6th century BC

Literary sources unanimously agree that the motivation for ancient traders of all types to establish settlements in the far west was silver and tin.[146] The literature primarily focuses on the wealth of Iberian silver and the naivety of local kings about the value of minerals, but give no

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[146] Avienus, *O.M.*, 85; Pliny, *NH* 33.31

information on Phoenician populations, cultural stratification, or urban development.[147] Strabo

reports several settlements on the southern coast which are Phoenician in origin and which

highlight the scope of Phoenician and later Punic interests in southern Iberia.[148] Diodorus

relates a story about how the Pyrenees was named: a fabled blaze, which ravaged the

mountains, caused silver to pour forth from the land due to its richness, and merge into streams

of pure silver.[149] Diodorus' recounting of metals pouring from mountains might be quite close

to the reality of early mining, if overtly dramatic: surface gathering of readily available silver is

perhaps the most likely early mining method. Silver was rich in the mines of the Rio Tinto area

within the Sierra Morena and from locations in the northern Guadalquivir valley; Tartessian

traders exploited these resources by co-opting local communities.[150] Extraction, smelting and

transport of minerals was handled by local populations, and exchanged at coastal sites, where

initially small enclaves or trade ports were operated by a small number of resident traders.[151]

On an unprecedented scale compared to previous exploitation, the Phoenicians created an

economy that traded cheap Phoenician goods for Iberian silver. To achieve the insatiable

Phoenician desire for silver, more effective means of extracting ores was required and was

provided by Phoenicians, namely cupellation.[152] By providing the Tartessians with these new

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[147] Strabo, 3.2.9; Atenaios 6.233; Diodorus, 5.35.4; Diodorus discussed pejoratively the greed of Italian traders in the first century, highlights the use of silver as a replacement for the lead of ship anchors to increase capacity, and the naivety of a Gallic kings who had traded one slave for a single amphora of wine. This is an important example of unfair exchanges.

[148] Strabo 3.4.2-3. Sites include Malaca (Malaga), Abera (Adra), Sexi (Almunecar), Toscanos and Trayamar. H. Niemeyer and Schubart 1969 and 1975.

[149] Diodorus, 5.35

[150] Rothenberg and Blanco Frejeiro 1981; Domergue 1990: 87-173.

[151] Neville 2007: 148-9; Aubet 2001: 281-5.

[152] Cupellation: a two-step process with lead added to the ore, then heated. The lead would extract the silver, leaving behind the other minerals, as well as traces of gold and bismuth in the silver itself. The lead would be heated again, this time extracting the silver from the lead. The lead slag would be discarded or used in other industrial activities. On the process of cupellation, see Tylecote 1992: 45; Fernandez Jurado 1989b: 160; Kassianidou 1992a: 32-44; Craddock 1995: 216-31; Izquierdo 1997. Cupellation was most likely not a Phoenician skill, but more likely Greek in origin because the Near East lacks many mineral resources, and the skill was imported to facilitate silver production.

skills, this enabled the intensification of industrial mining by the eighth century at centres like

Huelva and San Bartolome de Almonte.[153] These metalurgical practices stayed in use in Iberia

through to the Roman period.[154]

Phoenician sites show specific settlement patterns: generally located near native

settlements, near the mouth of a river or an offshore island and facing the mainland. This

settlement typology is seen in nearly all eighth to sixth century Phoenician settlements: Gadir,

Cerro del Villar, Toscanos, even the later foundation of Ebesos and Motya all show similar traits

to varying degrees.[155] These sites were developed with pragmatism in mind: both defensive and

purpose-built, the earliest settlements were designed as points of contact for trade featuring

natural harbours and limited access to the mainland, and visibility and access to the

Mediterranean, not as permanent population centres, but also settlements designed as

agricultural focused settlements are nonetheless an important aspect to urban development and

acculturation in Iberia.[156] Central to the larger argument of this discussion is that there is a

difference between pre and post-sixth century Phoenician and Punic settlements.

However, evidence suggests cupellation techniques were previously known within Iberia: see Pérez Macías, and
Frías1989:11-21.

[153] Aubet 2001: 283-4.

[154] Pliny, *NH* 33.95; see also Jurado and Ruiz Mata 1985.

[155] For an up-to-date, but brief, summary on Phoenician settlements in Iberia, see Arteage 2004; Schubart and Maaß
2004; for Phoenician settlements on the Atlantic coast, see Arruda 2002; On Gadir, see Aubet 2001: 259-73; Dominguez
Perez 2006; Hunt Ortiz 2003: 356-71; on Toscanos, see Schubart 2002.

[156] Aubet 2001: 313-4.

3.3.1 GADIR

Of all the Phoenician colonies in southern Spain, the most prominent was Gadir (later

Gades, modern Cadiz).[157] The literary references to Gadir are prolific, with several legendary

heroes of the Trojan War visiting the far west.[158] Most notable of these heroes was Hercules,

who completed his tenth labour: stealing the cattle of Geryon.[159] Hercules' connection to Gadir

prompted many significant visitors in the city's history.[160] Gadir held a special place within

mythic and historical discourses, but there are many challenges when considering the early

history and interconnectivity of the city, both in Iberia and beyond. Gadir was located on an

island off the coast named Erytheia, with two adjacent islands named Kotinoussa and Antipolis.

A coastal Phoenician settlement at Castillo de Dona Blanca (Puerto de Santa Maria) was

founded near the same time at the island site and located approximately ten kilometres

northeast of Gadir was the mainland port.[161] These two settlements form the basis of the early

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[157] Some of the most notable Phoenician settlements (see fig. 4) were all located along the coast or on the mouth of major rivers: Gadir, Cerro del Prado (Guadarranque), Montilla (Guadiaro), Cerro del Villar (Guadalhorce), Malaka (Guadalmedina), Toscanos (Velez), Morro de Mezquitilla (Algarrobo), Chorreras, Almunecar-Sexi (Seco), Abdera (Adra) and Baria Villaricos (Almanzora). No site map exists of the Phoenician city due to constant habitation over three thousand years.

[158] Strabo claims Odysseus travelled beyond the Pillars of Heracles, and shields adorned the Temple of Athena in Odysseia to recount the sojourns of Odysseus, 3.2.13; 3.4.3-4; Justin states Teucer landed at Carthago Nova and settled at Callecia, 44.2-3; Strabo 3.4.3. Other heroes visited Gadir: the Athenian Menestheus, who contributed fifty ships to the Trojan War: Apollodorus *Library* 3.10.8;p Homer *Illiad* 2.557; Strabo states Menestheus had a settlement named after him (possibly Castillo de Dona Blanca) with an oracle that offered sacrifices to him, while Themistocles allegedly was honoured by the Gaditanians with a statue; Strabo 3.1.9; Philostratus *Life of Apollinius of Tyna* 5.4; Teucer's girdle and the golden olives of Pygmalion were housed in the temple of Hercules at Gadir; Philostratus 5.5

[159] Hesiod *Theogony* 287-8; Herodotus, Histories 4.8.1; Apollodorus, Library 2.5.10; Justin, Epitome of Trogus 44.4.15-16; Ibycus fr. 282A; Aeschylus, Heracleidae fr. 37; Avienus, *Ora Maritima* 264-5.

[160] Hannibal visited the temple prior to embarking in the Second Punic War in 218; Livy 21.21.9; Silius Italicus *Punica* 3.1-16; Fabius Maximus Aemilianus offered a sacrifice at the temple before campaigning against Viriathus; Appian 65; Caesar allegedly lamented about his lack of accomplishment in comparison to Alexander the Great, claiming to have seen an statue in the temple. The following night, Caesar dreamt of his mastery over all; Suetonius, Caesar 7; Dio Cassius, Roman History 37.52.2. Plutarch, Caesar 32.9 claims that the dream took place prior to crossing the Rubicon in 49 BC.

[161] Pliny *NH* 4.22 states there are three islands, but discusses only Kotinoussa and Erytheia, Pliny's discussion echoes Strabo in note 3. Pliny claims Timaeus and Polybius as sources and notes the various names of Erythreia: *Insula Iuonis* by the natives, and Aphrodisias by the Gaditanians, and Erythreia stems from name for the Red Sea: Erythræn, which Pliny claims as the origins of the Phoenicians. Strabo 3.5.3 states Antipolis was the closest to the mainland, and

Phoenician presence in the region, and are vital to perceiving the reality of early Phoenician

colonization in the far western Mediterranean.

contained temples to Heracles and Cronus. Neville 2007: 93 states that large quantities of *murex trunculus* shells have been found, indicating dye manufacturing, and the lack of Phoenician occupation may suggest the island's industrial nature warded away residents.

Figure 5 Regional map of Gadir and Castillo de Dona Blanca, c. 6th century BC

The historical image of Gadir stems from a combination of its mythological origins, the presence of temples, and expansion of the Punic settlement on Erytheia in the sixth century, which is the image seen during the Roman conquest. Strabo, although relaying incorrect information on the date of Gadir's settlement, reports the legend of the town's foundation.[162] Bunnens has asserted that the tale is simply a Greek fable, intended to locate the Pillars of Herakles, and it is unlikely that the Phoenicians founded two colonies prior to Gadir.[163] However, Strabo states the intention of the men sent west were also sent to locate the Pillars, so it is not unconceivable that the failed sacrifices were intended to denote the failure to find a suitable place for a colony. Ultimately, Neville concludes that the tale as a *pseusma phoinikikon*; all stories have some truth to them, even if exaggerated, but does not provide evidence to support the claim. Strabo's characterization of Gadir is intrinsically linked to his understanding of Phoenician settlements in the eastern Mediterranean and is presented in an anachronistic manner.

While the literary evidence provides a framework for the image of Gadir in antiquity, the archaeology is unclear as to the urban landscape of the ancient city, and no archaeology has delimited the city's exact footprint as of yet. The location of Gadir has been debated extensively,

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[162] Strabo 3.5.5: 'In telling stories of the following sort about the founding of Gades, the Gaditans recall a certain oracle, which was actually given, they say, to the Tyrians, ordering them to send a colony to the Pillars of Herakles: the men who were sent for the sake of spying out the region, so the story goes, believed, when they got near to the strait at Calpe, that the two capes which frmed the strait were the ends of the inhabited world and of Herakles' expedition, and that the capes themselves were what the oracle called 'pillars,' and they therefore landed at a place inside the narrows, namely where the city of the Exitanians now is; and there they offered sacrifice, but since the sacrifices did not prove favorable, they turned homeward again, but the men who were sent at a later period went on outside the strait, about fifteen hundred stadia, to an island sacred to Herakles, situated near the city of Onoba in Iberia, and believing that this was where the Pillars were they offered sacrifice to the god, but since again the sacrifices did not prove favorable they went back home; but the men who arrived on the third expedition founded Gades and placed the temple in the eastern part of the island but the city in the western.'
[163] Bunnens 1979: 194-5; 1986: 122. Bunnens claims this is a Greek fable, even though it is Phoenician in origin, which would be considered by Greeks as a Phoenician lie.

primarily due to the changes the region has undergone over the past three thousand years.

Three islands existed in the archipelago that Gadir inhabited consisting of Erytheia, Kotinoussa, and Antipolis. The evidence provided by Strabo and Pliny state that there were two islands, not three, that made up the city indicating that by the first century AD Erytheia and Kotinoussa had merged. The image presented by Strabo of Gadir is similar to that of Tyre with its mainland communities at Paleotyre and Ushu, and in Strabo's period Gadir may have reflected the contemporary image of Tyre more than what the archaeology reveals from the seventh and eighth centuries. The comparison between Tyre and Gadir is based on the land bridge found at Tyre, but the archaeological evidence highlights Gadir's original geography. Over time, Erytheia merged with Kotinoussa due to the silting of the Bahai Caleta Channel by the end of the first century BC, which is why Strabo states that there are two large islands, instead of three.[164] Structures have not been identified on either Kotinoussa or Antipolis prior to the sixth century. Finds of pottery, anchors, and shipwrecks dating to the Julio-Claudian and Arabic periods have been located, which suggests the Bahai Caleta was employed as a harbour. These topographical changes may have been due to human occupation, and the landscape altered by the Roman period.[165]

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[164] Neville 2007: 93, 190, n.94; Phoenician settlements in Iberia typically are found in uninhabited or abandoned sites (e.g. Morro de Mezquitilla), but equally are likely to create settlements near to existing native populations (e.g. Almunecar).

[165] The Bahai-Caleta canal also may have been the earliest settlement site, and may have contained a port; see Ramirez 1982: 82 and Escacena 1986: 41-2.

Figure 6 Phoenician Thymiaterion, Punta del Nao, Museum of Cadiz

The evidence of occupation on Erythreia is limited in the eighth and seventh centuries, which has led some scholars to conclude that the main Phoenician settlement was elsewhere during the pre-Roman period.[166] Recent archaeological work in the vicinity of the Teatro Comico has found evidence of human presence from as early as the end of the eighth century, with a second wave of housing developed about a century later, however the housing is of poor quality and low quantity, which suggests that settlement of the island was not major, perhaps only limited to priests, perhaps fishermen, or dockworkers.[167] The existence of Gadir is obviously not in question, but more problematic is *when* the city was developed. The city of Gadir, which Avienus describes as a former citadel, was most likely located on the Torre de Tavira, the highest point within the old city of Cadiz, which exhibits evidence of some Phoenician structures.[168] Strabo claims that Gadir was located on the westernmost part of Erytheria, but contradicts Avienus' assertion of a citadel; the western part of Erytheia was home to a temple on the Punto del Noa. Additionally Strabo's claim in problematic because of the location of the acropolis and the Bahai Caleta provided a natural harbour, whereas the western part of the island held no such shelter.[169] Lack of evidence for habitation on the western coast is further enhanced by excavations in the area of Punta del Nao,

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[166] Ruiz Mata 1999a and 1999b: 11-88.

[167] Basallote *et al*. 2014: 14-51.

[168] Avienus *OM* 304; the earliest Phoenician artifacts have been found at this location, on the bronze statuette of the 'priest of Cadiz' (figure 7), see Lipinski 1984: 86-9; on stratigraphy of the excavations, Escacena 1986: 43; on early low-quality structures found, Neville 2007: 189, n.65; on masonry and Greek imports, Ruiz Mata 1999a: 299.

[169] Strabo 3.5.3

located north of San Sebastian on a semi-submerged peninsula. Most likely it was a temple to Astarte, which Avienus names the *Venus Marina*, it had an oracle, crypt, and flooded at high tide.[170] Artifacts recovered at Punta del Nao have yielded ritual goods: small terracotta male and female figurines, miniaturized pottery, a *thymiateria* (fig. 6), and sculpted statuary heads in an Egyptian style.[171] The objects found at Punto del Nao may have been thrown into the bay as offerings rather than being the result of shipwrecks.[172] The most well attested sanctuary is the temple of Melqart, located at the southern end of Kotinoussa on the island of Sancti Petri, but nothing beyond the literary references remain of the temple itself.[173] The location of the temple is known from a wealth of artifacts located on the island.[174] Another temple is found on the western end of Erytheia on the islet of San Sebastian, perhaps to Baal-Hammon; evidence of its existence may be supported by the discovery of a limestone capital pulled from the sea south of the island in 1958.[175]

Figure 7 The Priest of Cadiz, 8th c. BC figuring located near the Torre de Tavira, Cadiz

The evidence presented by pre-sixth century Erytheia is primarily related to religion. The island was inhabited, as evidenced by finds at the Torre de Tavira (fig. 7), but apparently there was no significant population present until the late seventh century. The lack

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[170] Avienus *OM* 314-7; Munoz 2008: 64; 2008: 29; Albelda 2000: 110-111; Marinas 2009: 56-59; Maestre 2010: 130-131.
[171] The *thymiaterion* is an incense burner, adorned with three supporting adherents and a central tree of life in an oriental style: Minguez 1970: 53-57. The figurines have been identified as either worshippers, priests, or potentially as a representation of the goddess: Munoz 2008: 65; Minguez 1970: 58-9.
[172] Neville 2007: 90; Escacena Carrasco 1986: 44-5; Perdigones Moreno 1991: 222; Blanco Freijeiro 1970: 50; Ruiz Mata 1999: 302; *cf.* Flores2007: 61-78.
[173] Silius Italicus, Punica 3.14-44; see also Salmonte 2011: 113-4; Mela *Descriptions of the World* 3.46; Diodorus *Library of History*, 5.20.2; Avienus *OM* 273-6; Philostatus *Apollonius of Tyana* 5.5.
[174] On the bronze statuettes found, see García y Bellido 1963: 86. On potential remnants of the temple now underwater, see Munoz 2008: 59-60. Several bronzes have been found, depicting the smiting of foes by the Near Eastern god Reshef, see Sánchez 2005: 93-101; Freijero 1985: 208-213; Romero *et al*. 2005: 876-877.
[175] The capital found here appears proto-Aeolian in nature and dates to 800-500 BC and is typical among temples found at sites in Near East and Cyprus: Lowe (*forthcoming*) *Cadiz*; Peman 1959: 61-67; Ceballos *et al*. 2013: 122-124; Ceballos *et al.* 2009: 374; Aubet 1993: 230.

of occupation may have been for several reasons: the presence of several sanctuaries and temples, the lack of available resources and space, and the difficulty in accessing the island. Logistically, Erytheia was not a site conducive to constructing a town until the silting of the Bahai Caleta, which then expanded the easily accessible land, and provided a sheltered harbour that encouraged expansion onto Kotinoussa. Human activity, as well as natural processes, contributed to the changing geomorphology of the Guadalete. Modern archaeology has provided a more accurate image of the islands, which reinforces the inaccuracies in Strabo and Mela.[176] The lack of evidence on Erytheia of a major Phoenician presence on the island until the sixth century has encouraged archaeologists to look elsewhere for the Phoenician settlement in the area. Diego Ruiz Mata, in an extensive archaeological project spanning twenty years, has examined the evidence from the nearby settlement of Castillo de Dona Blanca. In this examination, Ruiz Mata found that a sizable settlement was established on the Bay of Cadiz, and potentially formed a hybrid community with the local Iberian community from Las Cumbres. Ruiz Mata's theory is that Dona Blanca was Gadir: the primary Phoenician settlement in the region due to the size, density, and monumental construction found at the site, in addition to the fact that Dona Blanca was settled at a similar time to the residences found at Torre de Tavira on Erytheia.

In contrast to Gadir, there is minimal textual evidence on Dona Blanca beyond what Strabo reports. Dona Blanca, founded in the eighth century, was originally located on a small hill adjacent to the coast, with at least one port and an enhanced natural harbour to the west. Directly to the north is the Sierra de San Cristobal, rising sharply to a height of 125 metres, with

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[176] A canal, named the Bahai-Caleta canal by modern scholars, originally split the northern island of Erytheia from Kotinoussa (see fig. 5 and 8); Aubet 1994: 232; Fernandez Castro 1995: 179-82; Martin Ruiz 1995: 47-55, Vallespin 2000; on the causes of the filling of the canal, see Ramirez 1982: 78-81 and Lomas 1991: 50-6.

the Phoenician necropolis of Las Cumbres beyond a small channel to the north (fig. 8).[177]

Scholars have suggested that the primary purpose of Dona Blanca was trade rather than

defense, as its position in the area only provided sightlines to the coast and sea and inland the

view was

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[177] Ruiz Mata 1991a; Ruiz Mata and Perez 1989.
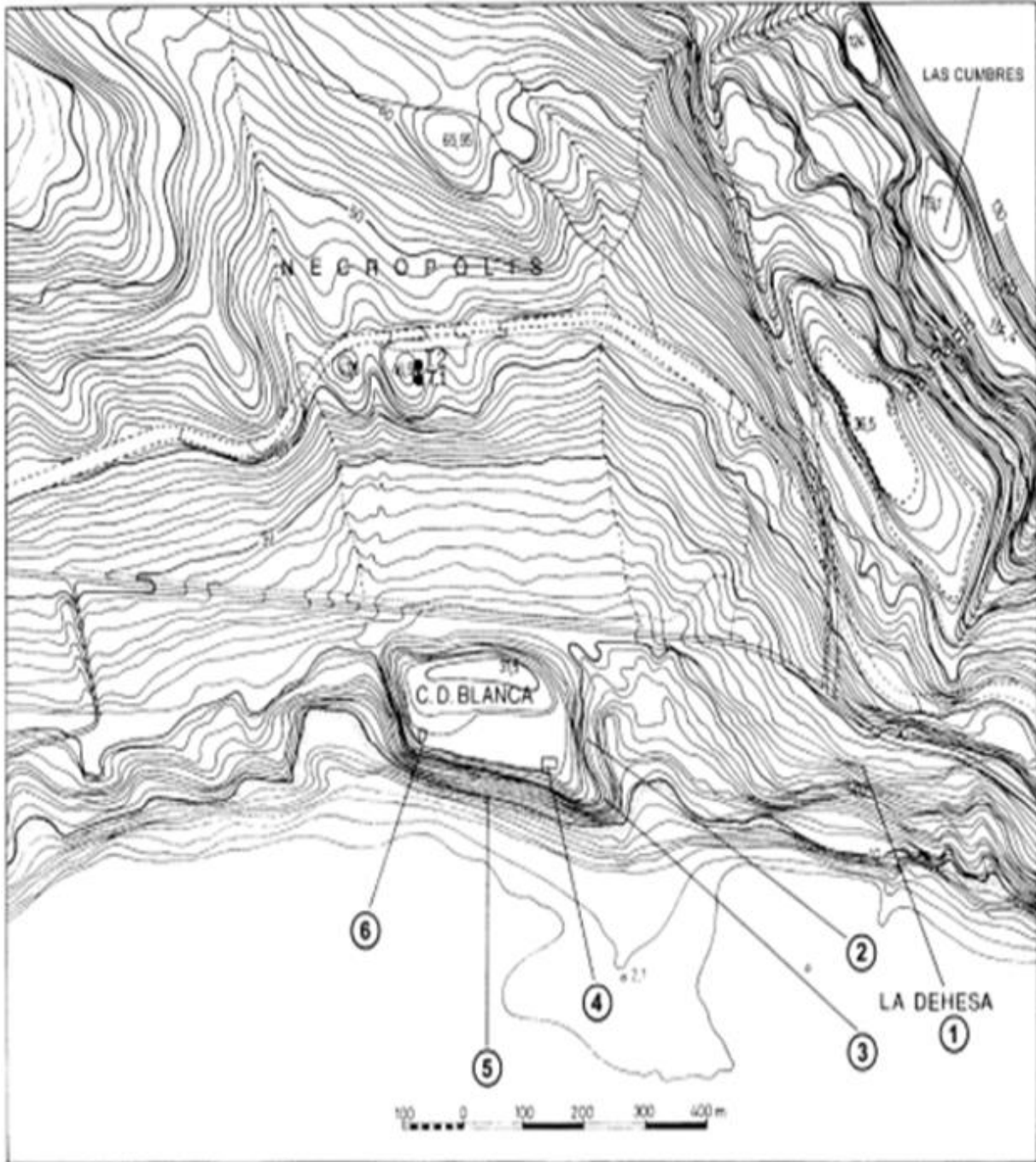
Figure 6 Topographical map surrounding Castilla de Dona Blanca. 1) Chalcolithic town of La Dehesa 2) docking port 3) site of 1987 and 1989 excavations 4) excavations of 1982-3, location of 4th -3rd century Punic settlement 5) ancient coastline 6) excavation of 1979-81.

blocked by the Sierra de San Cristobal.[178] An Iberian community, also named Las Cumbres, existed approximately eight-hundred metres to the northeast situated high on the Sierra de San Cristobal, and it appears to have settled there in the ninth century. The Las Cumbres community was abandoned around the same time as Dona Blanca's settlement was established in the eighth century, which suggests the residents of Las Cumbres either migrated to the Phoenician town or relocated elsewhere as Dona Blanca, from the eighth century, commanded the entire coastal plain.

In the fourth and third centuries, Dona Blanca expanded into the Las Cumbres siteREF. Both sites were abandoned at the end of the third century BC however, which has been attributed to the aftermath of Carthage's war with Rome. The abandonment of Dona Blanca and Las Cumbres can be dated fairly precisely to c. 215-10 due to the discovery of forty-six Carthaginian coins, and the end of the town appears to have accompanied by fire.[179] However, alternative theories on the abandonment of both sites have been suggested; the silting of the Guadelete may have encouraged relocation to nearby Puerto de Santa Maria to the east or the local Punic and Iberian populations were reorganized by Roman administrative actions.[180] Ruiz Mata's theory that Dona Blanca was Gadir: the primary settlement located on the mainland with a religious site is reinforced by the urban characteristics of Dona Blanca. The site appears to have been founded with a series of defenses, including three metre high walls made of clay brick and cemented with mortar. The perimetre wall may have been fitted with casemates, which nearly doubled the height of the wall. Beyond the perimetre wall was a

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[178] Ruiz Mata 1986c: 241; 1993a: 41-3; 1999a: 305; Neville 2007: 190, n. 98. However, this does not account that simple outposts could have been constructed to watch the northern approach, but this may have been unnecessary as the Phoenicians appear to have had amicable relations with communities in the region:
[179] Ruiz Mata 1993a: 43-4; 1994: 3-4; on Carthaginian coinage, see Alfaro and Marcos 1994.
[180] Neville 2007: 190-1, n. 102.

twenty metre wide defensive trench, measuring four metres deep.[181] Similar defenses are found

at La Fonteta in Alicante, another important Phoenician site in south eastern Iberia.[182] In the

fifth century, a new wall was constructed, complete with oriental-styled casemate defenses with

staggered rooms and defensive turrets. This style of defensive network has been related to

evidence from sites within Lebanon.[183] By founding a city with significant defenses, the

implication is that this town was of significance to Phoenician operations in the region and

served as the primary settlement in the locale.

The perimetre wall enclosed an area of over a thousand square metres of urban space.

Named the *'barrio fenicio'* by Ruiz Mata, the space contained many homes and a network of

narrow streets. The homes were built on terraces due to the incline of the terrain, each

consisting of three to four rooms. Rising to nearly three metres high, the homes were either

made of masonry or mud brick with plastered white walls and red clay floors.[184] Many homes

were fitted with a bread oven. Along the lowest terrace ran a small trench, which may have

been for defense or water storage. A second trench was located beyond the first, approximately

five metres deep and twelve metres wide. The second trench appears less utilitarian and

defensive in nature.[185] Similar style housing is found at Huelva, Carmona, and Niebla.[186] The

nature of the Phoenician settlement may have impacted the nearby settlement of Las Cumbres

as well. While there is no evidence to indicate that the Phoenicians at Dona Blanca co-habitated

with the residents of Las Cumbres, the abandonment of Las Cumbres coincided with the

establishment of Dona Blanca, which could suggest three possibilities: (1) Las Cumbres was

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[181] Ruiz Mata 1994: 7; 1993a: 48.
[182] Gonzalez Prats and Ruiz Segura 2000: 43.
[183] Ruiz Mata 1994: 7-9; Ruiz Mata and Perez 1995: 99-103; on sites in Lebanon, see Markoe 2000: 201-2.
[184] Ruiz Mata 1993a: 46; 1991b: 94.
[185] Ruiz Mata 1993a: 48; 1994: 9; 1987: 381.
[186] Ruiz Mata 1991b: 94.

abandoned due to the establishment of Dona Blanca, and were forced from the region; (2) the residents were emigrated to near the Phoenician settlement and theoretically were employed as troops or translators, but no secondary settlement has been identified near to Dona Blanca and it seems unlikely that the Las Cumbrans were resettled within the walls; and (3) Las Cumbres was abandoned shortly before the arrival of the Phoenicians, which could indicate why no Phoenician wares are visible in the archaeology of the site. It is plausible that although the Phoenicians were not interested in territorial claims, the settlement at Las Cumbres may have been a threat to the security of Dona Blanca, and some action may have been taken to prevent a potential issue, but none of these scenarios are sustainable based on the evidence currently available. What can be said for Dona Blanca is that it was a significant settlement, with defensive structures and may have controlled the immediate vicinity around the settlement.

What is clear from Castillo de Dona Blanca and Gadir is that one was initially designed as a religious centre, while the other was a population centre. I would concur with Ruiz Mata's theory: the early Phoenician settlements at Dona Blanca was the primary population settlement, and remained so until the third century. In addition, the presence of the existing population at Las Cumbres may have provided a source of labour and troops for defense, as well as local representatives for Phoenician interests. Prior to the sixth century, the evidence implies that the islands of Gadir were primarily a religious centre, and the likeliness of a significant population seems low due to logistical problems. The lack of resources and accessibility along with the mythology surrounding the island of Erytheia may have discouraged development of the site until local needs demanded additional urban space or that the geography had changed to be more suitable for habitation. Ruiz Mata's research suggests that Gadir may not have been located on the island, but on the mainland, or that the Dona Blanca-Erytheia regions was

cumulatively identified as Gadir, functioning as a diopolis. It is plausible that Dona Blanca was established to support the religious centre at Gadir until the sixth century expansion. Therefore, not only should Dona Blanca be considered the primary settlement during this period, but potentially also a hybrid community.

3.3.2 TOSCANOS

Toscanos, situated on the coast east of Malaga, was founded in the latter half of the seventh century. A significant amount of research has already been conducted on the site in the latter half of the twentieth century by the German Archaeological Institute, and new archaeological research has primarily been conducted under rescue conditions.[187] Toscanos is typical of Phoenician settlements due to its rapid growth and urban footprint of upwards of five-hundred square metres. The urban centre of Toscanos was on a small hill on the coast with the natural defenses of the Cerro del Alarcon to the northwest and Cerro del Penon to the southwest (fig. 8). The settlement was further reinforced by a perimetre wall running east-west between the coast and Cerro del Alarcon north of the urban nucleus. Toscanos also shows an organized urban landscape, with clearly designated commercial, industrial, and residential areas. The primary population was apparently located at Toscanos' northern slope, which was directly linked to the harbour.

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[187] H.G. Niemeyer was the head of the archaeological research conducted at Toscanos, and naturally the majority of the archaeology conducted was published by him: Niemeyer 1979-80 and 1980b.
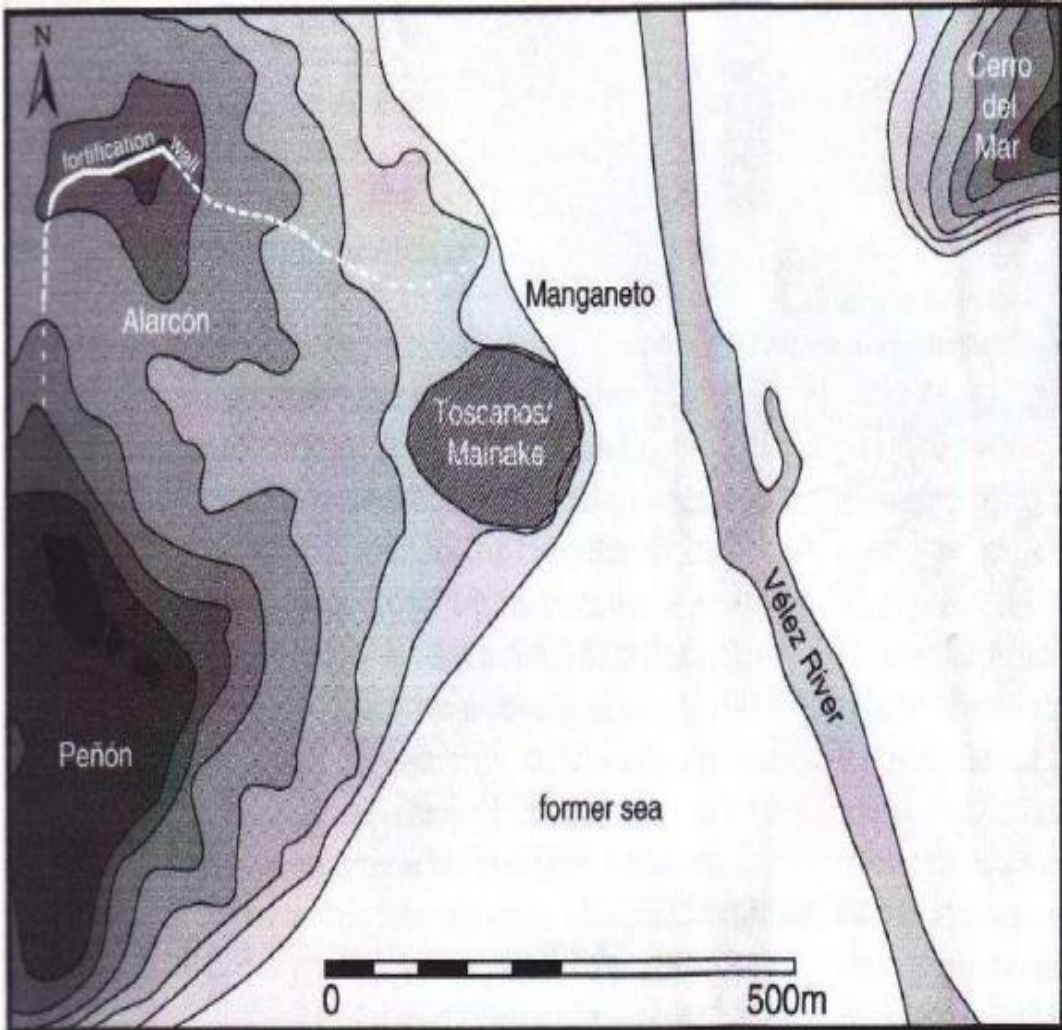
Figure 7 Regional map of Toscanos.
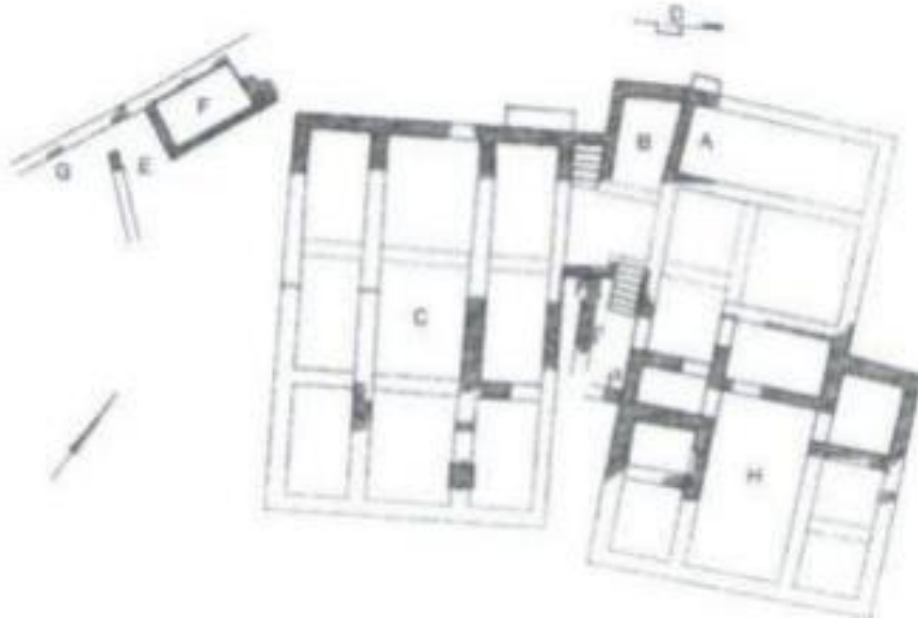
Figure 8 Floor plan of Phoenician houses at Toscanos.

The residential quarter contained 'élite housing' based on the quality of the construction, size of the structure, column bases, and many rooms, dating to the mid seventh century, signifying a new level of importance at that time, namely that Toscanos had enough clout and resources to support élite housing. Two houses, H and K, feature multiple rooms with exterior access, a central courtyard or communal space, and hallways separating the interior courtyard from surrounding rooms (fig. 10).[188] An industrial zone was located to the west of Toscanos at the foot of Penon: evidence of a smelting furnace, iron slag, and bellow pipes, have been found with the quantity of slag suggesting a large-scale operation.[189] What has been interpreted as the commercial district of the city was centreed on a building identified as a warehouse, which lay

[188] Niemeyer 1990: 480.
[189] Niemeyer, Briese and Bahnemann 1988b: 158-63; Niemeyer 1986a.

close to the harbour.[190] However, the claim that a warehouse makes a 'district' is questionable; certainly some trade or storage took place, as evidenced by finds within, but a 'district' may be pushing the evidence too far. Building C is set apart from the other structures in several ways: its alignment does not coincide with those of earlier buildings, the construction methods and materials are of higher quality than earlier structures, and it is larger than surrounding structures, highlights its importance. More humble housing than the structures in the 'residential quarter' has been located around the warehouse but is built with lower quality materials. The distinction between these smaller dwellings and the 'élite housing' are indicative of social stratification with the former most likely housing workers in the warehouse port. The warehouse at Toscanos and its adjacent buildings represents another example of specialized aspects of the settlement's population.[191]

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[190] On the harbour, see Artega 1982a and 1988; on the warehouse, Niemeyer 1982a. Similarities are seen between Toscanos and Motya: both feature similar styles of warehouses and harbours; Isserlin 1982: 115-6; Isserlin and du Plat Taylor 1974: 91; Niemeyer 1982b: 112; Niemeyer and Schubart 1968: 81-2.
[191] Aubet 2001: 319-21; Niemeyer 1990: 482.

3.3.3 CERRO DEL VILLAR
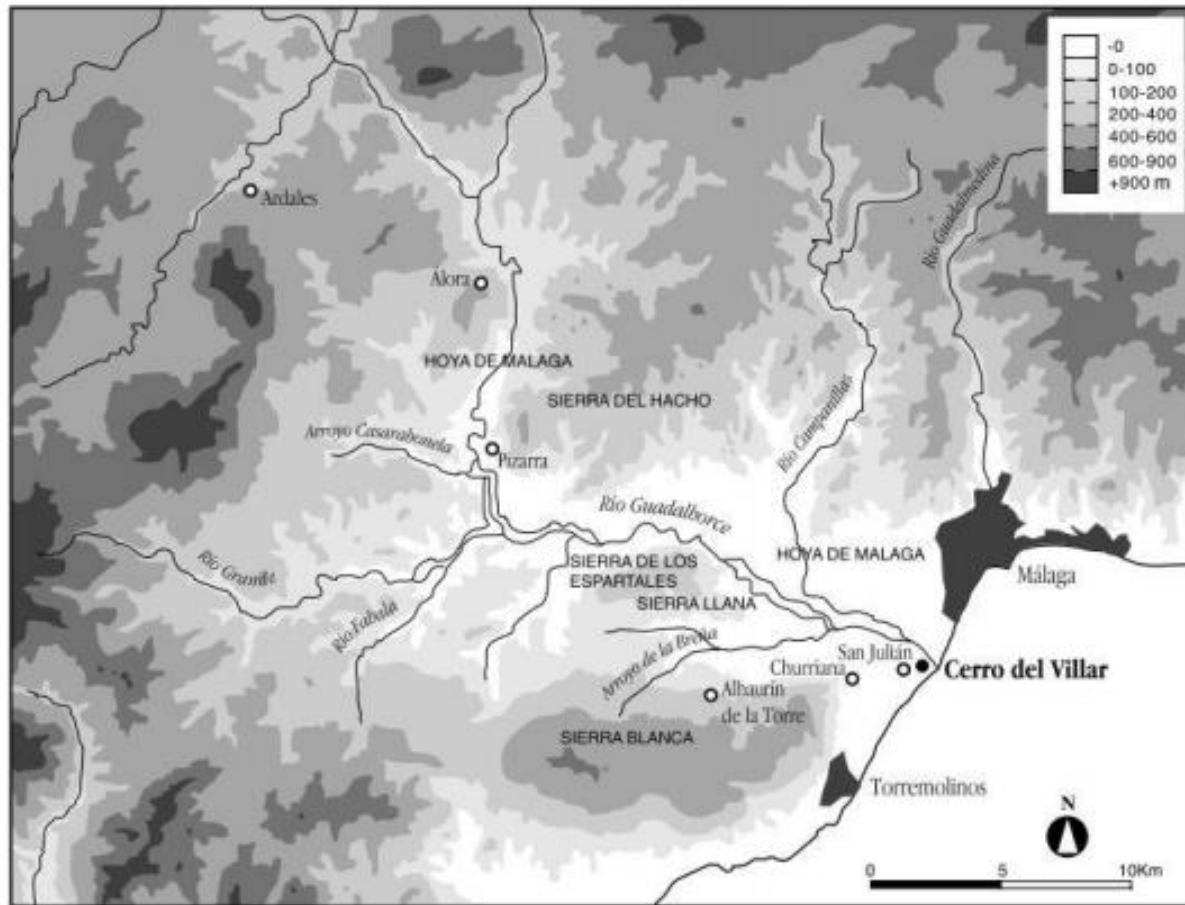
Figure 9 Regional map of Cerro del Villar, c. 6th century BC

The settlement at Cerro del Villar differs from others among Phoenician settlements in southern Iberia as the town appears to lack any direct access to mineral resources nor shows evidence for metallurgical activities but instead was concerned with agriculture and pottery production.[192] The placement of the town is strange because if the Phoenicians were traders, and there was no direct access to minerals, what was the purpose of this settlement? This site is one

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[192] Cerro del Villar is one of many sites established for agricultural purposes: sites found within the Guadalhorce, Ronda and the Rio Guadalteba have yielded evidence of agricultural settlements, see Garcia Alfonso 2000: 1802.

of many that has thrown the concept of Phoenician dependence on mineral trade into question and its purpose has been debated extensively.[193] Wagner and Alvar's theory of 'agricultural colonization' has since undergone criticism for various reasons, but agricultural focused settlements are nonetheless an important aspect to urban development and acculturation in Iberia.[194] The settlement of El Villar was placed at the heart of the Guadalhorce's delta on an islet only 250 by 200 metres in size. This site was conspicuously located and could have easily served as a landmark for traders (fig. 11).[195] Clearly this site was not constructed for residential purposes, but for commercial activities because of the limited space. Ultimately Villar was abandoned due to flooding, and the site was relocated to the mainland.[196] The new site on the mainland still provided the benefits of easy communication with both the interior and the wider Mediterranean due to being situated just inside the river delta. Additionally, the site provided superior agricultural lands: the river provided alluvial soils to grow crops, specifically wheat and barley production as well as viticulture for export.[197] A pottery workshop, dated to the early sixth century produced a variant of Vuillemont R1 amphorae which may have carried wine, but may also have been for other exportable produce, and which made up nearly half of the export-bound amphorae. [198] The foothills of the mountains provided ideal grazing lands for livestock.[199]

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[193] Whittaker 1974: 62-3. On locally produced wine, see Guerrero 1995: 77 and Dominguez 1995: 47.

[194] On agriculture interests, see Alvar *et al.* 1988: 169-70. Wagner and Alvar 1989: 65-77, suggested Phoenician colonization was due to various logistical and agricultural issues due to population growth, loss of agricultural resources, and Assyrian conquest of Phoenician cities; *cf.* Ps. Aristotle, *Politics*, 293 states Carthage deployed colonists to reduce pressure due to population growth.

[195] Aubet 1991c: 626.

[196] On Malaka, see Martin Ruiz 1995: 66-9; Gran Ayermich 1991.

[197] The area surrounding the settlement was also supplied by freshwater springs in addition to river water, see Aubet 1991c: 622. In addition to the excellent agricultural opportunities and pasture lands, fish would have been easily accessible via the river or the River Delta, see Aubet 1999.

[198] This type of amphora dates between 675-550, see Ramon Torres 1995: 231; Aubet 1995: 140; Aubet *et al.* 1999: 151-6; on percentages of export amphorae, see Barcelo *et al.* 1995: 158.

[199] Aubet and Carulla 1986: 429.

This type of settlement appears to have played an important role in Phoenician colonisation and trade in Iberia: many of the smaller settlements may not have had access to significant agricultural resources and may have relied on sites like Cerro del Villar to supplement their diets. Additionally, Villar, as a trade *emporia*, provided access to the Iberian interior via the Guadalhorce and as it was situated halfway between Toscanos and Gadir encouraged trade within the region as a natural port of call for ships passing through the Pillars. The fact that graves within the Tartessian necropolises of Cruz del Negro, Frigiliana, Setefillia and Medellin have yielded a large number of Phoenician goods could indicate Phoenician settlements within the agricultural zones of the Guadalquivir valley, but may just indicate substantial trade with coastal communities as well as the value placed on Phoenician wares.[200] The site at Cerro del Villar was abandoned by the mid-sixth century due to degradation of the environment through depletion of soils, clear cutting of nearby timber and overuse of land by livestock helped to acerbate the alluvial flooding and causing the residents to relocate to Malaka.[201] However, the site was important enough to be visited by Greek traders after abandonment, as indicated by fifth century Attic wares.[202]

These three Phoenician settlements discussed above provide a brief overview of the types of settlements being established prior to the 'sixth century crisis'. Pre-sixth century endeavours were characterized by economic exploitation; the main goal was not territorial acquisition, but extraction of wealth. This goal appears to change over time, as Tyrian fortunes

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[200] Alvar *et al.* 1988: 180-1; Wagner *et al.* 1989: 98-9.
[201] Aubet 2001: 323-5; Lowe 2009: 29-34 on agriculture, esp. 29-30 for Cerro del Villar.
[202] Neville 2007: 161; Gran Ayermich 1991a: 128-39; Olmos 1991.

began to wane in the waxing of Babylonian success: Tyre's war with Nebuchadnezzar II ended

with the loss of control over the western colonies, most notable of them Carthage.

3.3.4 CARTHAGE IN IBERIA: THE SIXTH CENTURY 'CRISIS' (C. 600-206)

The Phoenicians entered a period of 'crisis' in the sixth century. The extent and nature of

this crisis has been debated by many scholars recently, but has been regarded as having a major

negative impact on Phoenicians in the west.[203] Traditionally this crisis was thought to have

stemmed from the conquest of Tyre in 573 by Nebuchadnezzar II, as well as a host of

environmental issues which impacted Phoenician settlements in southern Spain. The

Phoenician colonies in the central and western Mediterranean were politically affected by the

capitulation of Tyre to the Babylonians, but more directly and immediately impacted by local

environmental changes, encouraging relocation.[204] Environmental changes caused the residents

of some Phoenician settlement in Iberia to migrate, further threatening Phoenician interests in

southern Iberia with the loss of several key settlements.[205] Population change does not

necessarily mean that the Phoenicians completely abandoned all the sites: the necropolis north

of Toscanos has revealed burials indicating occupation down to the fourth century.[206]

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[203] Hoyos 2010: 55-6; Lowe 2009: 39; Moscati 2001: 288; Aubet 2001: 341-6; see Neville 2007: 159-70 for an indepth consideration of the 'crisis'.

[204] Artega 1981: 295; 1997: 20, 166: The abandonment of Cerro del Villar and Toscanos have been attributed primarily to environmental impact. Both sites were affected by the silting up on the rivers next to their settlement and the loss of riverine trade routes decreased access to inland trade centres, resulting in population migration to centres with accessible trade routes, see Aubet 1991: 624; 2003: 63.

[205] Populations at Cerro del Villar and Toscanos most likely relocated to nearby Malaka, situated between the two settlements and had a reliable port for economic activity since its founding (two-thirds of its amphorae appear from the earliest period of occupation) and which still allowed for contact with Tartessos and a route to the upper Guadalquivir river valley, Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 178-82; Gran Aymerich 1986: 137.

[206] Schubart and Maass-Lnemann 1995: 59.

During this 'crisis', Gadir may have become threatened by Iberian groups, prompting the deployment of Carthaginian forces, which pushed back the invading Iberian forces.[207] The result of Carthage's intervention may have resulted in dominion over Gadir, providing control over the major trade route through the Pillars, but more likely Gadir entered into a hegemonic relationship with Carthage. Perhaps at this point the identity as 'Punic' emerges from the former Phoenician identity: political identification came to be within a Carthage-led hegemony. During the latter sixth century, several colonies were established along the Atlantic coast and within the Mediterranean: Mogador and Lixus on Atlantic North African coast, Abul on Portugal's shores, also Cerro del Prado in the Straits of Gibraltar, in the Alicante region, on the island of Ibiza, with Phoenicians traders ranging as far north as the Ebro valley and the Gulf of Lions.[208] The evidence would suggest that the sixth century was not an outright crisis: although communities were abandoned due to environmental changes, new colonies were founded and a new political order established, and there was little apparent impact upon trade in the region.

This image of hegemony seems to be aimed at issues in the central Mediterranean. The first known possible political activity in Carthage's history in Iberia came with the founding of a settlement on Ebesos in 653 when Carthage either annexed or co-opted the locals (Phoenician Eibshim, modern Ibiza), which was previously known to be in Phoenician holdings.[209] The settlement at Ebesos was an *emporiae*, with all the accoutrements to support commercial activity with a few modest homes, a warehouse, and served as a port to link Iberian coastal settlements

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[207] Justin 44.4; Polybios, 2.1.5; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.20.12.

[208] On Mogador and Lixus, see Jodin 1966; Abul, see Mayet and Tavares da Silva 1993; Cerro del Prado, see Rouillard 1978; and Ulreich, Negrete, Puch and Perdigones 1990; Ibiza, see Ramon Torres 1991. However, the presence of Punic goods does not necessitate Punic traders.

[209] Diodorus, 5.16.2-3

to the larger Punic trade network.[210] In addition, the site was a superior naval base and

developed as a military port in the fifth and fourth centuries, featuring prominently in the

Second Punic War.[211] In addition to Ebesos' utility as a naval post and bridge between the

African and Spanish coast, the site provided control over the Balaeric islands.[212] Recent

excavations at the cemetrey discovered at Puig des Molins have identified Ebesos as a

Phoenician settlement: cremation burials feature limited grave goods and bits of Etruscan

pottery in pits or urns, indicating a pre-650 foundation.[213] It is unclear if either Carthage or a

Phoenician city founded Ebesos, but there seems to be no clear evidence to reject Diodorus'

claims that Carthage founded Ebesos.[214] Into the sixth century, Carthage's influence is seen at

Ebesos: evidence stems from changes in burial typology at Puig des Molins cemetrey and at the

tophet of Illa Plana, where statuary with male and female imagery is found. This type of

statuary was unknown in Iberia, but common in Carthage during the sixth century, clearly

showing Punic influence at Ebesos at least from that date.[215] What does the case of Ebesos say

about Carthage's empire following the sixth century 'crisis'? The appearance of Carthaginians

on the Balearics are a sure indication of the spread of Carthaginian influence and control, and

this activity at Ebesos could be seen as evidence of early Carthaginian imperialism, but this is

highly debatable.[216] Logistically, the 'loss' of the eastern trading route should have been

catastrophic to the Phoenicians, but in reality, Carthage was in a position to seize control of the

Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean and reorient the mineral and agricultural

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[210] For general description of Ebesos and its environment, see Gomez Bellard 1995: 442-57.
[211] Ebesos resisted Scipio's assaults, ultimately seeking terms: Livy 22.20.6-9, states the residents of the island were Punic and Mago was able to resupply his forces in 206.
[212] Strabo 3.5.1; Livy 28, 37.5; Polybios 1.67 and 3.113.
[213] Gomez Bellard 1990: 178.
[214] Roulliard 1989: 227.
[215] Gomez Bellard 1990: 183;
[216] Lancel 1995: 82.

trade to itself. In the cases of Gadir and Ebesos direct intervention by Carthage to appropriate

and incorporate these settlements into their new hegemonic network had a positive impact

economically speaking as evidenced by rapid urban expansion and military intervention.[217] It is

my opinion that the 'crisis' of Tyre did not weaken the former Phoenician colonies of the west,

but rather the evidence of expansion and commercial intensification discussed above suggests

that it strengthened their economic and political integrity and provided Carthage the

opportunity to expand its influence in the western Mediterranean.

The question then becomes was this a period of 'crisis' or simply change? The answer

seems to be the latter, as the evidence implies that the western Phoenicians adapted to the new

political reality and endured the environmental challenges. Scholarship is beginning to

recognize the sixth century as a period of change throughout the Mediterranean, as old empires

fell and new states rose. The Phoenicians are not exceptional in this, and the use of 'crisis'

overstates the change for the western Phoenicians, but this period seems more like business as

usual. This 'crisis' is integral to addressing the role of Carthage in the western Mediterranean

from the sixth to third century. It is not clear that Carthage became the head of an empire after

the destruction of Tyre. There was a shift from clearly independent coastal cities spread across

the Mediterranean to a more uniform 'Punic' world but this does not denote imperialism, but

rather hegemony, with Carthage as the leader. The term 'Carthaginian imperialism' only

becomes truly applicable during the third century with the Barcid dynasty. The creation of a

new Barcid territory, seemingly independent from the leadership of the Carthaginian senate,

complete with political alliances, military conquests, and settlements all suggest that the

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[217] Aubet 2001: 343; Lancel 1995: 81-3.

development of imperialism was due to the Barcids, rather than as an agenda by the

Carthaginian state directly.

3.4 IMPACT ON IBERIAN CULTURE

To conclude this chapter, I will highlight some of the major aspects that contact with the

wider Mediterranean had on pre-Roman Iberian culture. I have addressed why and how

Phoenician and Greek settlements were established, but the repercussions of the contacts that

took place in and around these settlements had far reaching cultural and commercial effects for

both Iberian and Phoenicio-Punic settlements. Obviously addressing the specific outcomes of

each settlement is a vast discussion, and therefore I will target three key aspects of acculturation

and hybridity in Iberia: sculpture, writing, and coinage. All three types of impacts can be seen

as deriving from trade. Early contacts, even if questionable due to their mythic aspects,

emphasize that the Iberians were not ill-educated and primitive people, but had an appreciation

for the exotic, and sought to promote trade to acquire imports. The impetus for … was largely

one of self-interest, as power can be generated from displays of wealth, but there is no evidence

that they were not also formed by a genuine interest in the world beyond Iberia. By

incorporating Phoenician and Greek aspects into art, coinage, and adaptive writing, Iberian

communities evolved complex hybrid identities.

The impact of eastern Mediterranean trade on Iberian culture can be seen in the way that

local élites sought out eastern Mediterranean goods for prestige purposes, as discussed earlier

in this chapter. The rapid development of the mining industry alongside the infrastructure to

facilitate the movement of goods from inland sites to coastal markets, largely operated by

Iberian labour, in the eighth and seventh centuries indicates a significant investment in these endeavours. After the depletion of resources near Huelva, the establishment of secondary industrial sites promoted the spread of Phoenician and Greek wares in exchange for minerals. The agents of transportation and trade were most likely Iberians, perhaps Tartessians, acting as secondary or tertiary import merchants. It has been suggested that élites engaged in trade among themselves, as evidenced by shards of possible Attic pottery found at Segobriga is indicative of potential secondary exchange between coastal and interior communities.[218] To further facilitate trade, Iberian traders adapted Greek writing, highlighting a mutual investment in trade relations and the importance of communication. The influx of Greek and Phoenician wares had a major impact on Iberian art. Evidence in the post-contact period highlights the development of orientalized Iberian sculpture, indicating the appreciation of eastern Mediterranean art by Iberians. Greek and Phoenician styles are found within many élite Iberian burials, and pottery with either reproduced or hybridized the imported images. Iberian élites required imports to maintain their status and wealth; stratified societies which had developed and grown wealthy from centuries of contact with foreign traders and coastal élites would become mediums for Greek goods for inland polities. Tartessos extracted and traded silver in considerable amounts with foreign traders, so much that the boom in silver mining may have led to the economic collapse when silver production in the region of Huelva declined.

The Iberian kingdom of Tartessos experienced its own 'crisis' in c. 540 when the silver was depleted in the Huelva region.[219] Tartessos' dwindling silver supply began to inhibit trade, as evidenced by the decline in Greek imports seen in the region in the sixth century, and Greek

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[218] Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 275. *Cf.* Curchin 2004: 81.

[219] This appears with the penetration of Greek goods into the interior of the peninsula, especially with the discovery of the Little Master Cup at Medellin. See Almagro 1970: 437-8; 1991: 159-73; Olmos 1976: 251-64; Dominguez and Sanchez 2001: 79.

traders sought other sources, and other communities, to trade with via land routes along the

Vinalopo and Segura rivers.
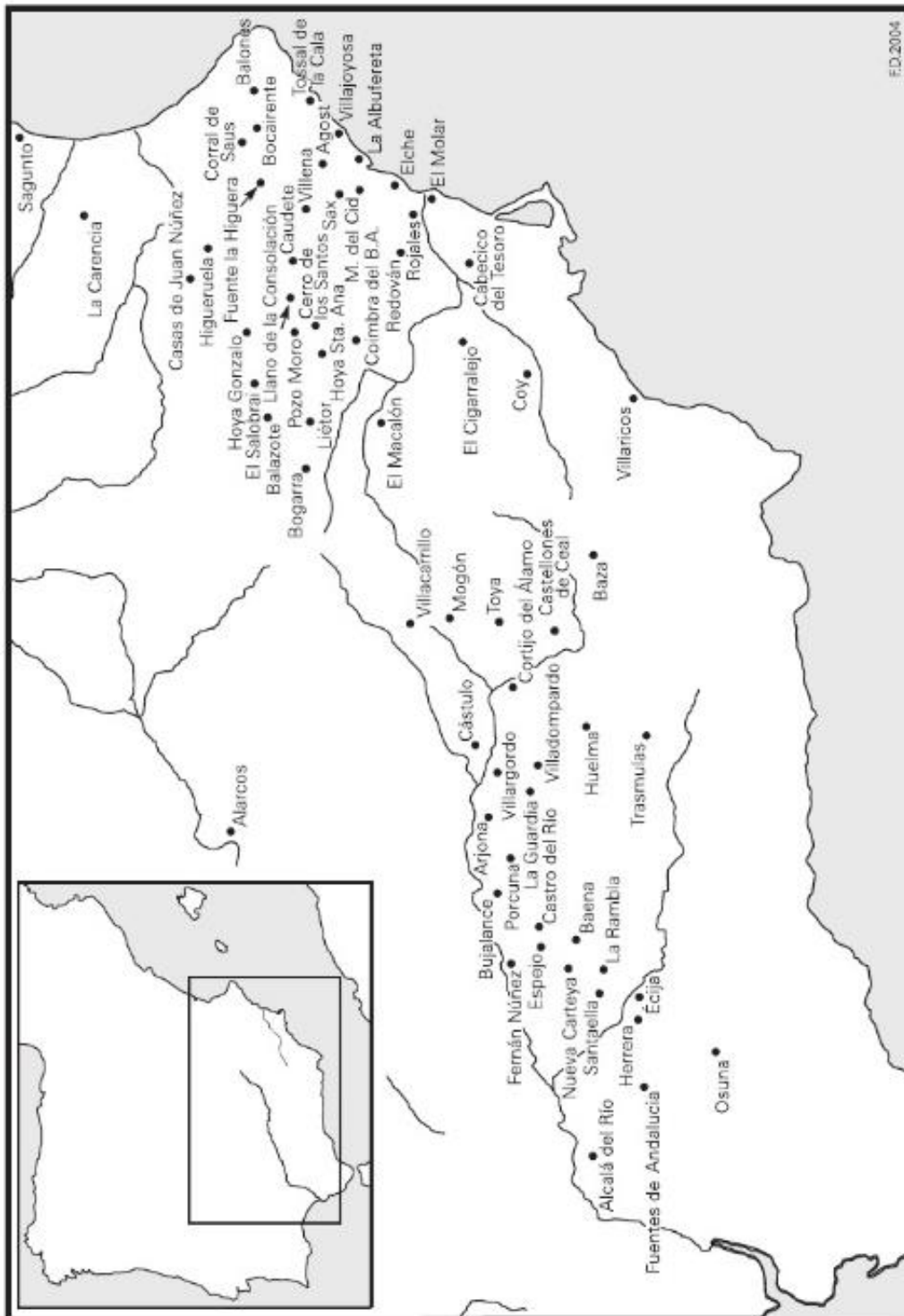
Figure 10 Primary sites in Iberia which features Greek-influenced stone sculpture. (Dominguez 2006: 457.)

Figure 11 Sites within Iberia with imported Greek pottery in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. (Dominguez 2006: 450)

In response, Tartessian élites may have began to undertake the movement of mineral resources from inland regions in exchange for Greek imports; Iberian élites were trading Greek wares to the Iberian interior as Attic wares began to appear within the peninsula.[220] If Strabo is to be

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[220] On relationships between Tartessos and adjacent polities, see Cunliffe 1993: 56; Aubet 1982: 309-35; 1990: 29-44. On the inland distribution of pottery in Iberia, see Trias 1967-8: xxxlviii – xlii; Garcia Cano 1982: 272-4.

trusted, these goods may have been transported via the Jucar to the shipping ports near

Hemeroskopion, a small Greek *emporia* potentially located south of Valencia.[221] A problem

arises when pottery types distributed within Iberia in that it was imported from Greece, rather

than potters in Massalia and Emporion. Emporitanian traders were apparently importing Attic

pottery from Athens in the fifth century, highlighting a potential special relationship between

the two cities.[222] However, the amphorae used to transport goods in Iberia are most commonly

Iberian-Punic, stylized after Punic amphorae from Ebesus.[223] The large quantity of Ebesian

pottery at Emporion, which differs from the Indecetanian grey ware pottery produced locally,

highlights a strong relationship and trade networks between Ebesian-Punic settlements of the

Balearics, as well as the production of storage vessels that were produced beyond Emporion's

vicinity.[224] It is conceivable that products from Emporion's *chora* were loaded into Ebesian

amphorae for transport and storage to then be distributed within the wider Peninsula, but

further study would be required on this subject.[225] Phoenician and Punic wares are also found at

Iberian sites (see figure 12) throughout the Iberian interior within areas of high agricultural and

mineral wealth emphasizing the reach of Greek cultural presence within Iberia.[226] This

evolution of internal trade among Iberian communities is central to the spread of culture, as

Greek imports penetrated beyond the littoral regions, but does not appear in large quantities

until the mid-fifth century.[227]

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[221] Strabo 3.4.6 reports that: '…New Carthage is a rather important emporium, not only of the imports from the sea for the inhabitants of the interior, but also of the exports from the interior for all the outside world.'

[222] Sanmarti 1989: 398; Garcia and Muilla 1993: 248-59; *cf.* Shefton 1995: 143, who suggests a Sicilian connection.

[223] Upwards of 70% of pottery found at Emporion is Iberian Punic style. Sanmarti *et al.* 1990: 161-4.

[224] See Sanchez 1985: 83-5

[225] On Phoenician and Punic amphorae in Emporion, see Ramon 1995: 36-9. See Pujol 1984-5: 15-28, on the usage of Punic amphorae in the fifth and fourth centuries.

[226] Brunet 1997: 141-50.

[227] It is clear that imports began to be moved inland during the sixth and fifth centuries, see distribution maps in Rouillard 1991: 114-5 and 118-9. Typical objects found in this period are Ionian B2 type cups, Roullard 1982: 417-31. Similar evidence has been found in the Greek wreck off Point Lequin, France, see Long *et al.* 1992: 199-234. Greek imports appear to be used as luxury wares, with emphasis on larger burials with high quality Attic goods.

3.4.1 SCULPTURE

Appreciation of Greek and Phoenician culture amongst Iberian communities also extended to sculpture. The Museo Arqueologia of Madrid holds several sculpted anthropomorphized funerary pieces, and although Iberians did have a history of creating stone sculpture, it was crude by the standards seen in Greek and Phoenician styles. This style of sculpture appeared in the Huelva region in the sixth century, later spreading to other communities. Many of the objects are heavily influenced by Greek and Punic mythological images, and spurred the interpretation of sirens, gryphons, sphinxes, and a human-headed bull. Greek artistic styles were also seen in artistic styles through the fourth century BC, most notably in the renowned Dama de Elche. In contrast to the sculpture seen here, pre-contact Iberian sculpture is relatively basic.

Figure 14 The Dama de Elcha, Madrid Archaeological Museum

Figure 15 Oriental-styled burial guard dog, Madrid Archaeological Museum.
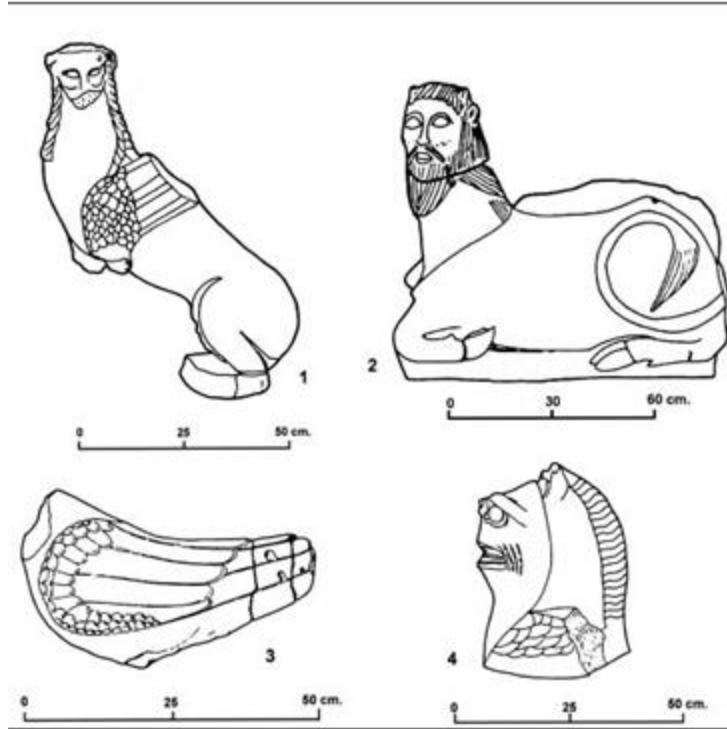
Figure 12 Hybridized Iberian sculptures. 1: Sphinx from Agost (Alicante); 2: Anthropomorphized bull from Balazote (Albacete) 3: A siren's wing from Corral de Saus (Valencia) 4: Gryphon's head from Elche (Alicante) (Dominguez 2006: 458)
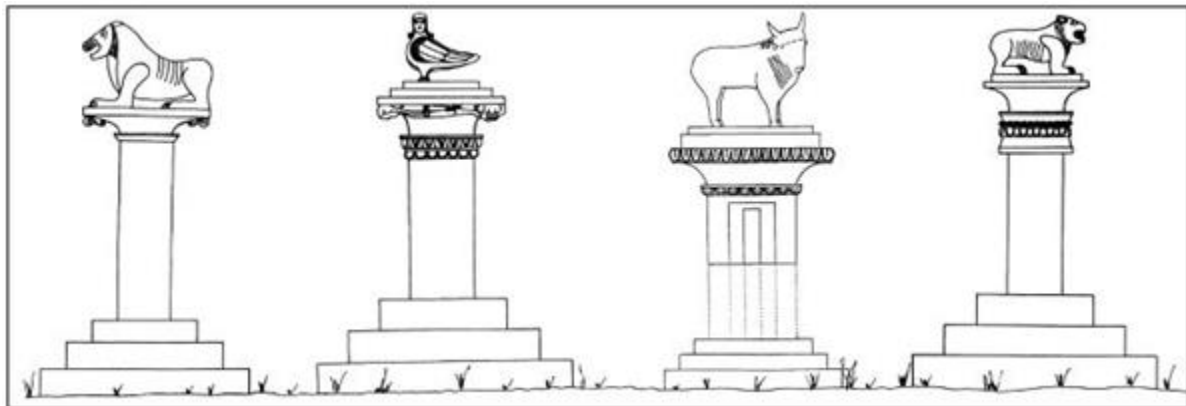
Figure 13 Iberian funerary stele (reconstructed) from Coy (Murcia), Corral de Saus (Valencia), Montforte del Cid (Alicante), and Los Nietos (Murcia) (Dominguez 2006: 460)
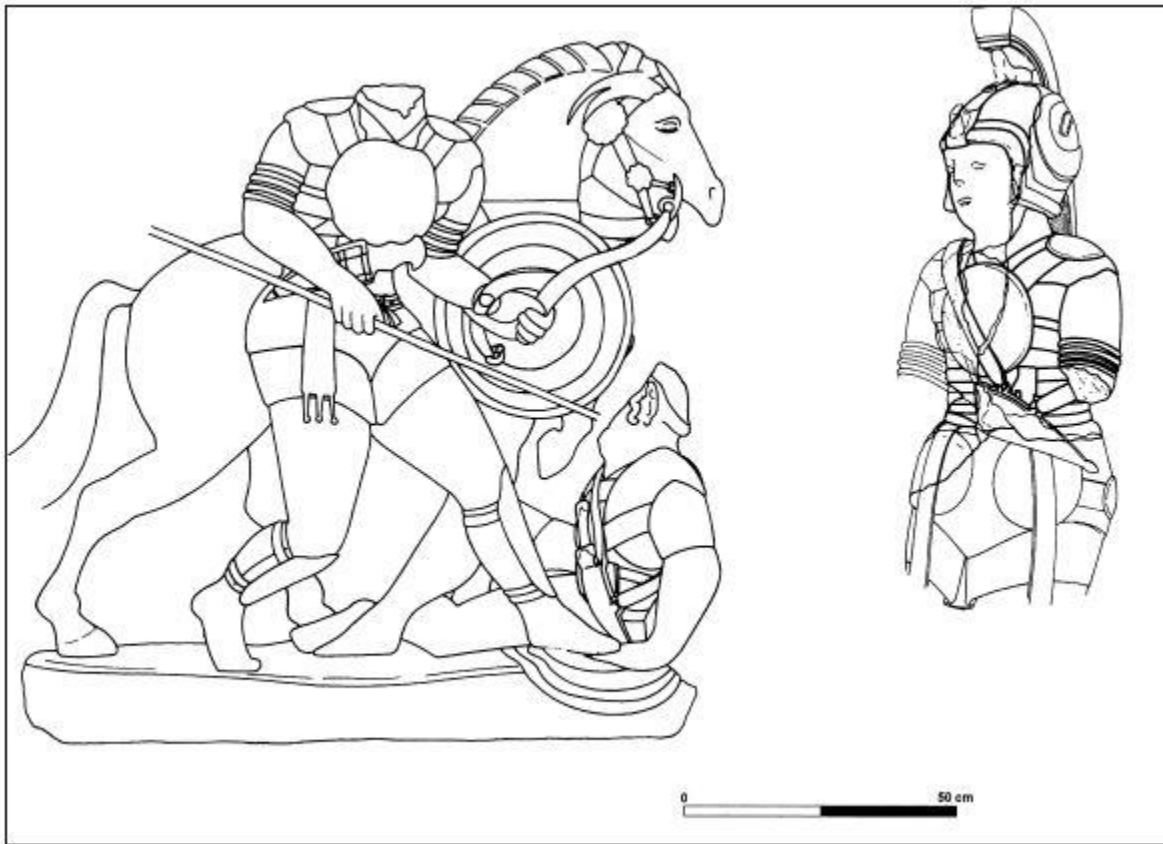
Figure 14 Reconstructed Iberian sculptures from Porcuna (Jaen) (Dominguez 2006: 460)

In addition to their standard wares, Greek and Phoenician traders offered the technical skills of craftsmen. The presence of Phoenician and Greek artistic styles in Iberia and the clear interest in and desire for these luxury items sparked the development of locally produced eastern influenced sculpture, which first began to appear in the late sixth century in southeastern Iberia. The importation of skilled labour into the region may have been due to the development of Phoenician and Greek communities which required them for their own purposes. Its emulation may well have been because it was far less expensive to generate local sculpture than having sculptures imported from the east. These techniques were rapidly incorporated into local

burials and local statuary traditions which removed the dependency on foreign imports of this type to generate prestige.[228] In some instances, Greek imports are found in great quantity in burials.[229] The methods employed in these sculptures exhibit distinctive Hellenic traits: centaurs and satyrs are some of the most iconic images which appear to have been imported.[230] In turn, if trained sculptors would be retained by local Greek and Phoenician élites, this would suggest the development of regional supply of goods, including the employment of local labourers as stonecutters, builders, and transportation of raw materials, which only reinforced the development of the economic network, reinforcing the importance of links with foreign traders and bolstering the wealth of Iberian communities as trade and industry expands. Many regions in Iberia had a history of stonecutting for statuary, so it may have been Greek and Phoenician élites made use of this industry alongside mining for the purposes of acquiring local materials for sculpture production. Presumably, this sculpture was traded with Iberian communities, and potentially local Iberian artists attempted to reproduce or synthesize local sculpture. Equally likely is that foreign artisans were hired by Iberian élites and/or that Iberian artisans were then apprenticed to Phoenician sculptors. Other avenues of acquisition of artistic skills may have occurred, but leave just as little evidence to how these situations evolved. Nonetheless, the outcome was that Iberian art began to be locally produced in regions within the interior, influenced heavily by oriental imagery.

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[228] For a summary of burial typologies in Iberian burials pre-contact, see Gonzalo 1997: 85-94; Bettencourt 2008: 99-104; Subira *et al.* 2011: 565-76. See also Fort *et al*. 2013: 391-406.

[229] The tomb at Los Villares features two set pieces of Greek imports: a series of dining or ritual banquet pieces; Blanquez 1990b: 222-6; and the second set contained fifty-three pieces of black glaze and red-figure pottery, with the tomb itself topped with a statue of a horseman; 1992: 121-43; 1993: 11-28.

[230] On mythological creatures in Iberian statuary, see the centaur of Royos in Olmos 1983: 377-88, esp. 379; Chapa 1986: the sphinx, 251 and griffon head, 252 from Alicante in, 251, human-headed bull from Albacete, 259, and a siren's wing from Valencia, 249. The distribution of this style of statuary is indicative of the spread of Greek technical skills.

3.4.2 WRITING

Writing appears alongside sculpture and trade as another indication of Greek influence on Iberian culture. The first appearance of an Ionian script in Spain first appears within the Tartessian sphere as early as the mid-fifth century, which notably was the same region that had adopted Greek sculptural techniques, and the development of writing coincided with the expansion of the Greek and Punic pottery trading as evidenced by two fragmentary letters.[231] One found at Emporion and the other at Pech Maho.[232] The first letter suggests economic activities and trade links between Emporion and the nearby settlement of Saigantha. The author recommends the services of the barge operator whose job was to guide ships to the harbour. Saigantha has been suggested to be Saguntum; the Greek name for the city was Zakantha. The author is assumed to be Phocaen due to the dialect. This letter highlights the commercial connections of Emporitanians with Iberians because the letter names the Iberians, but also because the letter is suggesting that other Greeks employ these services. The second letter, found in southern France near modern Narbonne, was written sometime in the mid-fifth century and references six Iberians in total, several who are designated as witnesses to the exchange and that the business was conducted in Emporion. The letter discussed the sale of an *akation* and a shipment of what may have been oil.

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[231] On the relationship of trade and language, see De Hoz 1994: 259-60; on the development of an Iberian-influenced Greek alphabet, see De Hoz 1985-6: 285-98; 1989b: 179-87; 1993: 635-66.

[232] The commentary on these letters is extensive, so I have listed only the most relevant discussions: on the first letter, see Sanmarti and Santiago 1987: 119-27; 1988: 3-17; Santiago 1990: 123-40; 1993: 281-94; 1994: 51-6. For the second letter, see Lejeue and Pouiloux 1988: 526-35.
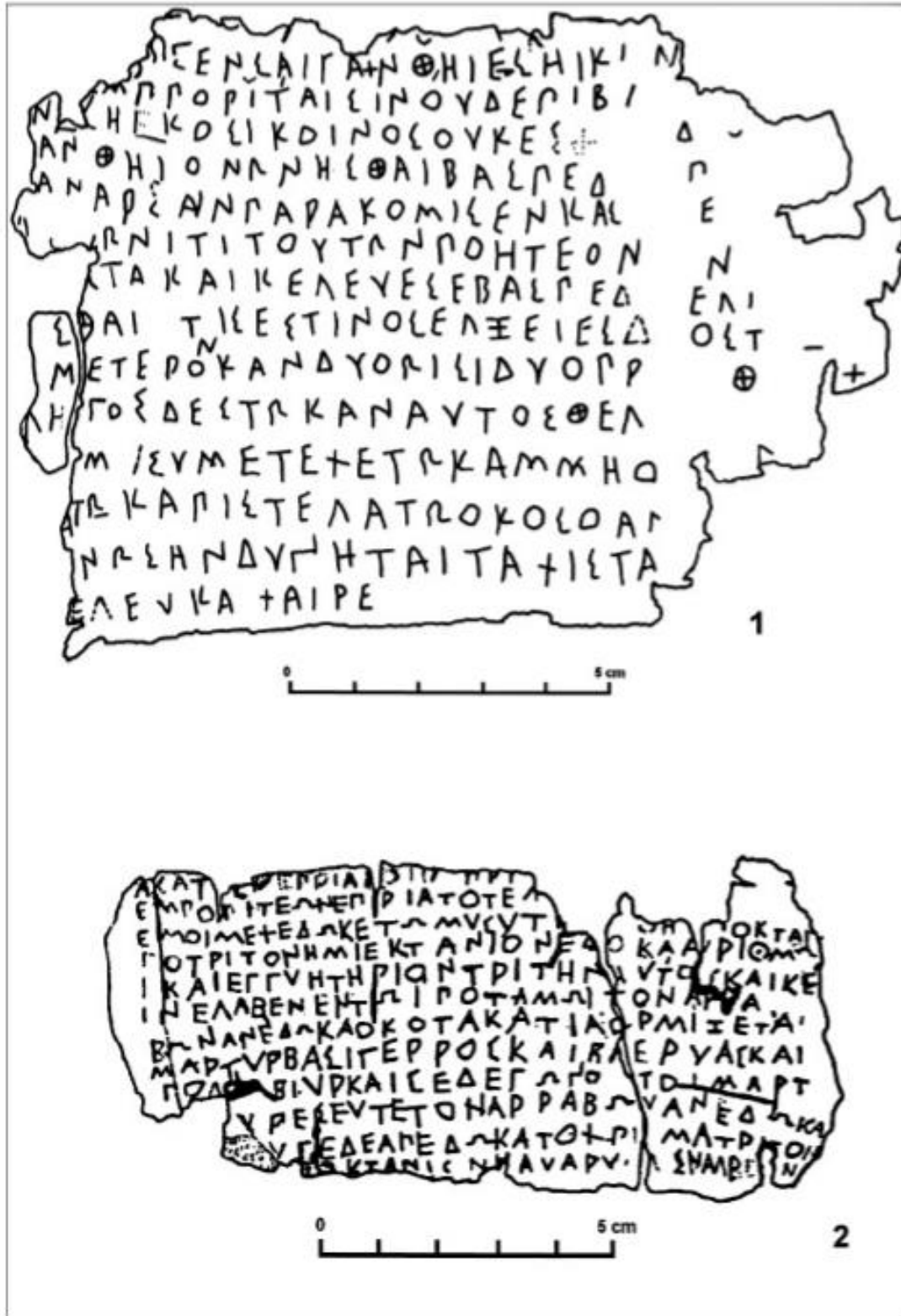
Figure 15 Above: Letter from Emporion, late sixth c. BC. Below, letter from Pech Maho c. last third of fifth c. BC. (Dominguez 2006: 465)
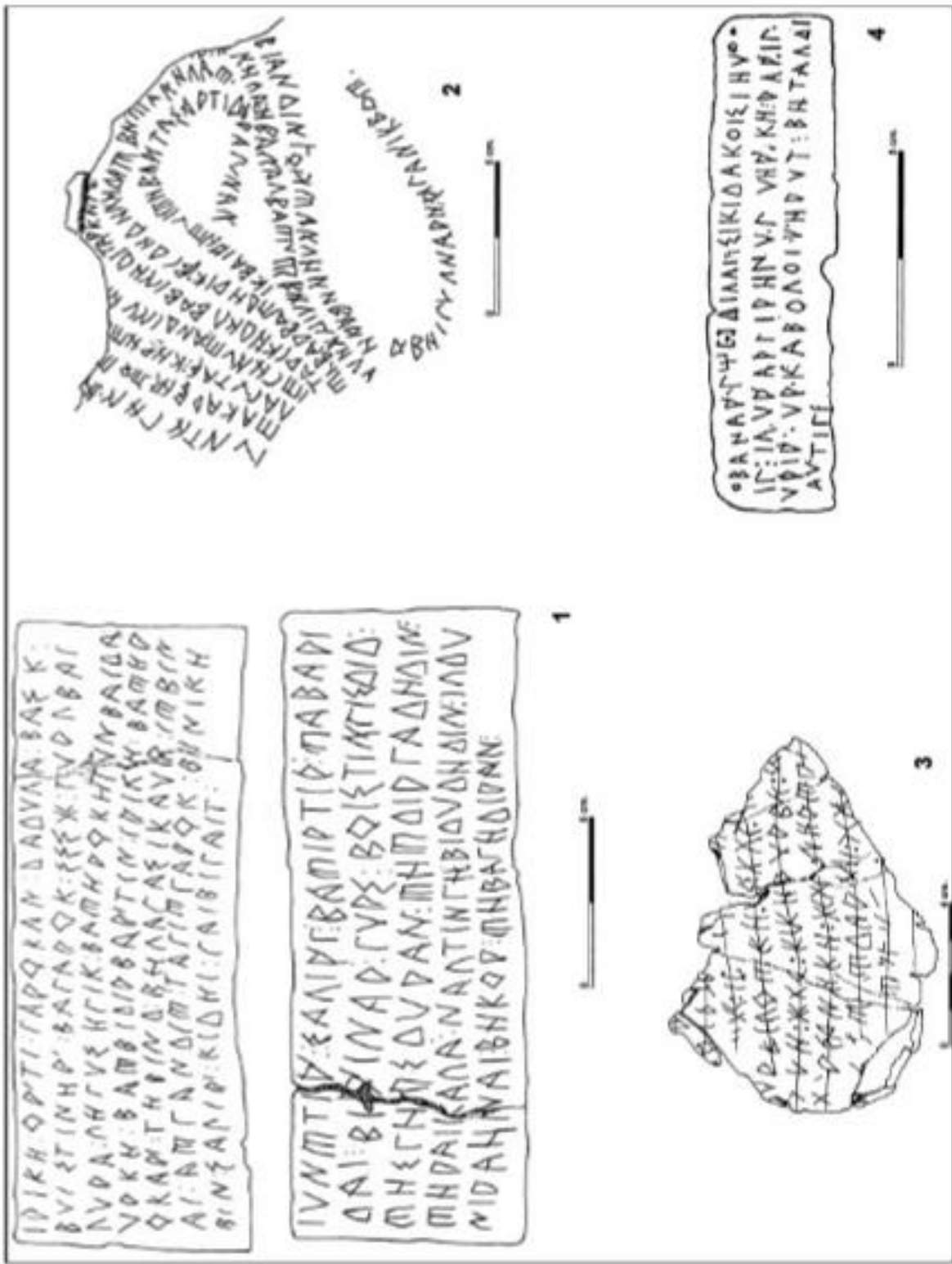
Figure 16 Greco-Iberian script on lead. 1: La Serreta (Alicante) 2: El Cigarrelejo (Mula, Murcia) 3: Coimbra del Barranco (Jumailla, Murcia) 4: Sagunto (Valencia). (Dominguez 2006: 464)

These two letters, in conjunction with development of indigenous sculpture and the spread of Greek and Punic pottery trade are indicative of how Iberians and Greeks interacted in the sixth and fifth centuries. As the local élites began to engage and organize in trade missions to the interior caused the importation of Greek pottery in the latter half of the fifth century to reach its pinnacle due to the increased demand for minerals, which further spurred the Iberian trade networks to expand to fulfil the needs of Greek and Phoenician enclaves.[233] Likewise the alternative could be true; local desire for eastern goods drove the expansion of mining. These developements appear to have evolved more dramatically with wealthier communities such as at Emporion as discussed earlier. The exact circumstances for the development of the Iberian-Greek hybridized script is, of course, unclear but the adoption of writing is clearly linked with trade. These technical skills should be seen as generally developing synchronously; the incorporation of writing appears alongside the expansion of interior trading with the Meseta, but also the appearance of Greek and Phoenician wares and sculpture.

Interactions between Greeks, Phoenicians, and Iberians before the sixth century show a dynamic economic framework of exchange. Before the sixth century, exposure to eastern Mediterranean culture was driven by the trade and exploitation of natural resources by foreign interests. As I have shown in this chapter, the Greek and Phoenician settlements were developed initially as *emporiae*, but within a few decades of establishment evolved into towns. The origins of many of these settlements was apparently primarily trade-based, but they were also communities, and integrated into the cultural landscape by sharing art, language, funerary practices, food preferences, and technology, which suggests that over the centuries Phoenicio-

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[233] Dominguez and Sanchez 2001: 1-170; Rouillard 1991: 117-23.

Punic and Greek communities had become a recognized part of Iberian culture; foreign communities became weaved into the cultural landscape over time. In the sixth century, the Phoenician communities in southern Iberia were confronted not only by political instability in the eastern Mediterranean, but also the appearance of the Phocaeans in northeast Iberia. Although this was not a direct territorial confrontation, relations between Greeks and Phoenicians appeared largely neutral, as both types of goods were freely transported within Iberia. Relations between Greeks and Punic settlements appear to remain neutral until the third century when Barcidian interests expanded in south-eastern Iberia. Throughout the majority of the first millennia, trade and acculturation appears to have been the norm among the foreign and indigenous communities of Iberia, which suggests that this was not a 'colonial' period in the modern sense, but a period of incorporation of Iberia into the wider pan-Mediterranean network.

The inevitable conflict of empires between Carthage and Rome obscures much insight into the level of acculturation during this period, as little attention is paid to Iberians in our sources during the third century. However, the confluence of Iberian acculturation and foreign imperialisms highlights the enfranchisement of economic networks. I will now turn to examine the appearance of Roman imperialism in Iberia, which will lead the discussion to the development of urbanism in the second and first centuries.

END OF CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 4: ROMAN IMPERIALISM

In this chapter, I will be examining both the development of Roman imperialism and the theories that scholars have developed to explain Rome's expansion during the second and first centuries BC. I will begin, much like in chapter one, with ancient perspectives on Roman *imperium*. The second half of this chapter will be divided into two parts; early Roman imperialism from the fourth to early second century BC, and from the second century to the close of the first century BC. The latter period shows a dramatic divergence from earlier policies, and as I will show in this discussion, two key dates hold major significance to Rome's conceptual development of empire. I will conclude with a brief discussion on the nature of Roman economics, as this will provide a basis for the economic aspects of the case studies of Italica, Cordoba, and *Augusta Emerita*.

4.1 THE REPUBLICAN *IMPERIUM*

Ancient authors were aware of Rome's *imperium* as a concept and provided several different views on the nature of empire. The concept of *imperium*, which is reflected by modern scholars as empire, is important to understand from the ancient perspective because *imperium* was a complex idea of a state's control of foreign lands, but also of personal power, as well as military might.[234] *Imperium* is integral to the development of *coloniae* throughout Roman history, and provides the basis for cultural and economic interactions in the chapters to follow. In Vergil's *Aeneid*, Jupiter states that Rome shall have *'imperium sine fine'*, and clearly by the first

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[234] See Richardson 2008: 1-10; *cf.* Gruen 1984: 274.

century Roman writers saw that there was a divine right granted to Roman dominion. Romans

viewed their success as attributed to the gods and their great piety granted them favor,

reflecting Rome's destiny to rule the world.[235] Conversely, on the terrestrial plane, writers

ascribed Rome's *imperium* to be rooted in fear of barbarians, relying on Roman anxieties of

Celtic raiders and the sack of Rome in c. 398 BC. The Roman experience in the early fourth

century was framed by the elation of the conquest of Veii, and the crushing sense of defeat at

Allia and the sack of Rome, which may have resulted in an irreparable scar to the Roman

psyche. Out of these traumatic events, Rome's attitude towards non-urbanized peoples was

galvanized into a new policy which demanded Rome's security and stability by either

subjugation, or if resistance was offered after terms, eradication.

Polybius, in the second century BC, was present for sweeping changes in the

Mediterranean world. From Polybius' experience, the conflict between Rome and Carthage was

an unavoidable event; the consolidation of lands and people under the banners of these empires

meant one titanic struggle would determine the trajectory of history.[236] However, as Polybius

had an investment in the portrayal of his Roman patron Scipio, this image of the epic struggle

for dominion also provided an apology for empire. The 'scattering' of peoples would suggest

disorganization, and the 'one end' refers to empire, the organization of all Mediterranean

peoples under the leadership of Rome. The date Polybius gives of 220 BC as the beginning of

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[235] Cic. *Haru.* 19; *Phil.* 6.19; Virgil 1.278 : 'Here three full centuries shall Hector's race have kingly power; till a priestess queen, by Mars conceiving, her twin offspring bear; then Romulus, wolf-nursed and proudly clad in tawny wolf-skin mantle, shall receive the scepter of his race. He shall uprear and on his Romans his own name bestow. To these I give no bounded times or power, but empire without end.'

[236] Polybius 1.3.1-6 'In earlier times the affairs of the inhabited world had been, so to speak, scattered, on account of their being separated by origins, results and place. From this point onwards (220-16 BC), however, history becomes an organic whole and Italian and Libyan affairs are interlinked with Asian and Greek affairs, all leading up to one end… For having defeated the Carthaginians in this war and thinking that they had accomplished the most difficult and most important step towards their goal of universal dominion, thus and at that point where the Romans for the first time emboldened to reach out their hands for the rest and to cross with an army into Greece and Aisa.'

Roman imperialism conflicts with a later comment, where Polybius states that the crushing

defeat of Carthage coincided with the conception of an expansive empire.[237] Polybius, in his

sixth book, discusses the causes for Rome's success. The core of Roman success is the

unwavering devotion to the state, with glorious deeds inspiring young men to even greater

feats. The Roman funeral is characterized by Polybius as a spectacle, with the dead

reinvigorating the living for the glory of Rome.[238] By extension, the deeds that earned such a

funeral were rooted in victory on the battlefield by Rome's legions. Polybius' narrative

highlights the Roman legions' ruthless efficiency, a mechanical juggernaut of war, and the

prosecution of Roman will on the battlefield as absolute.[239] Polybius, however, is Greek and is

attempting to reconcile how Rome succeeded in conquering his homeland, and thus was

perceiving Roman *imperium* from a foreign perspective. In addition as noted above Polybius'

conception of *imperium* is clouded by his own interests in Scipio's success. Unfortunately, no

Roman account of ancient author contemporary to Polybius' concept of *imperium* can be

contrasted with, but the alternative is to consider Cicero's writings, written about a century

later.

Cicero saw Rome's empire in a very different way.[240] In contrast to Polybius' view that

Rome and Carthage were on an inevitable course of conflict, Cicero argues that *imperium* itself

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[237] Polybius 3.2.6 '…I shall point out how the peculiar qualities of the (Roman) Constitution conduced very largely not only to their subjection of the Italians and Sicilians, and subsequently of the Spaniards and Celts, but finally to their victory over Carthage and their conceiving the project of universal empire.' Polybius' imprecise dating of… has been problematic for modern scholars, but this minor detail should not detract from the overall point: see Walbank 1963: 5-6; Derow 1979: 2-4; Gruen 1984: 345-6.

[238] Polybius 6.53-5 'It would be hard to imagine a more inspiring spectacle than this for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men famed for their excellence, all fathered together as if living and breathing? What could be a more glorious spectacle?'

[239] On military discipline, see Polybius 6.37.1-6; on the Roman legion versus Macedonian phalanx, see 18-27-7-32; the sack of New Carthage, see 10.15.4-16.5.

[240] The language Cicero employs may be invoking the lost works of Fabius Pictor, who possibly wrote during the final years of the Second Punic War.

was a justifiable objective.[241] Cicero rationalized Rome's need for stability and security, and both were provided by military power and led directly to create Rome's empire. However, empire in the mid-Republic is not a correct term to describe the political and military reality of Rome. In Cicero's work, Roman wars were always fought on behalf of their friends and allies, or in defense of their own state, and through this friendship and the defeat of hostile forces, the Romans became masters of the known world.[242] In this capacity, the Roman Republic should be considered at the head of a hegemony, rather than an empire, although clearly had imperial aspects in the late third and second centuries BC. The difference between Polybius and Cicero, besides the passing of nearly two centuries and the substantial development of the empire and its machinery in that time, was that Polybius is writing as a third party on the affairs of Romans following the capitulation of Greece, and is arranging Roman dominion as a positive consolidation. Cicero, in contrast, was writing about *imperium* as a just and noble Roman goal, reliant upon Roman fears of the other to legitimize Roman conquest.

Cicero makes clear that in order to keep Rome in good standing with the gods, Rome must not engage in uprovoked war unless injury to the Roman state was unsatisfied, but defensive wars were authorized. Ultimately, Cicero also states that Rome's supremacy, *imperium*, is a justifiable objective of war-making, with the caveat that the fetial rules must apply. These religious laws require that for a war to be just, three elements must be present: the enemy must 1) perform an aggressive act, or wronged Rome or her allies, 2) be provided the opportunity to make sufficient amends for these crimes, real or perceived and 3) be provided

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[241] Cic. *Off.* 1.36 '… it can be understood that no war is just unless it is waged after a demand for satisfaction has been made or unless a warning has been given beforehand and the war has formally been declared.' See also Cic. *Rep.* 3.24. On discussions of just war, see Brunt 1978; Riggsby 2006: esp. 160-90. On fetial practice, see Livy 1.32.5-10, Rich 1976; Harris 1979: 163-75; North 1981.

[242] Cic. 3.35 'Our people by defending its allies has become ruler of the whole world.' and 'Wars, therefore, should be undertaken for this reason, that we may live in peace without harm…'

with a formal declaration of war, complete with the required religious observations.[243] Conversely Polybius saw the Romans' reverence for the gods as a core social value, which created strong inter-communal bonds, and both criticizes and praises the extent to which Rome's religiousness is extended.[244] Notably, Cicero states there is a difference between wars for survival and for glory; wars for survival are against barbarians, and glory is against Latin peoples, Carthaginians, and Pyrrhus, suggesting an inherent fear of the 'barbarian' other.[245] In contrast to Cicero, Caesar provides justifications for war, rather than the ethics of war-making. For Caesar, as non-Romans were not bound by religious requirements, battle commanders sometimes were forced to conduct warfare without divine authorization. Caesar used the justification, as protectorate of allies, to engage the Helvetii, although this is a clear violation of the fetial rites of war.[246]

Rome's policy of *imperium* relates to the larger thesis in that war-making in Iberia had significant impact on Iberian interests, both politically, economically, and culturally. In many cases, as we will see later in this thesis, unauthorized Roman aggressions resulted in displacement of Iberian communities and disruption of economic networks. Rome's early agenda in Iberia was not territorial, but the extraction of wealth, so therefore if a community was willing to submit to Rome's dominion, in many cases the town was left alone, but there are exceptions to this. In the case of Cordoba, the pressures applied by Rome through military

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[243] North 1981: 1; *cf.* Eckstein 2006: 220-1.

[244] Polybius 6.56.6-13

[245] Cic. *Off.* 1.38 'But when a war is fought out of supremacy and when glory is the object of war, it must not fail to start from the same motives which I said a moment ago were the only righteous grounds for going to war.' and 'So with the Celtiberians and the Cimbrians we fought as with deadly enemies, not to determine which should be supreme, but which should survive; but with the Latins, Sabines, Samnites, Carthaginians, and Pyrrhus we fought for supremacy.'

[246] Caesar, *Bel. Gall.*, 1.10-11 '…he realized that it would put the province in serious danger to have warlike men, who were hostile to the Roman peope, close to vulnerable and important corn-producing regions.' and 'For these reasons (the destruction of the lands of the Ambarri and Allobroges by the Helvetii) Caeser decided that he should not wait until all the property of our allies had been destroyed and the Helvetii had reached the Santoni.'

pressure along the eastern coast, while Roman allies and Roman *conventus* were established in the south of the Guadalquivir valley, both impacting Iberian commercial potential and political independence. The economic limitations placed on the Turdetanians *oppidum* resulted in economic and political co-optation. In many ways, Rome's *imperium* is the catalyst for the penetration of Roman political culture, which further hybridized local Iberian communities. Nonetheless, Roman military and political activity in Iberia should be seen as the primary influence of acculturation from the second century BC.

Rome became an imperial power during the third century BC. Roman imperial actions can be broken down into three specific categories: penetration, exploitation, and occupation. Some of these actions appear very similar to the activities of the Barcids in Spain as described in the previous chapter. Although the activities in the second century are not part of a program of Roman colonialism, the types of actions taken by Rome in this period coincide within the political and economic climate at Rome; namely the greed of Roman élites for both wealth and glory. In many respects, the actions taken in the *Hispaniae* served as a general model for actions taken in Greece, North Africa, and the Near East: defeat local resistance, extract wealth from the region, and receive recognition at Rome for victories. This discussion will focus exclusively on imperial activity conducted in Spain, but similarities can be seen with other episodes of Roman aggressions. In this final section of this chapter, I will highlight the three different phases of Roman imperialism, which will then provide the basis for the three case studies which will follow. It is notable that these 'phases' do not necessarily appear in succession, especially in penetration and exploitation, as is the case in the mines at Carthago Nova, apparently operated by local administrators.[247]

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[247] Richardson 1976: 139-52.

The first stage of the Roman imperial agenda can be characterized by penetration: the expression of military power within a region. In the case of Iberia, following the conclusion of the Second Punic War, Roman legions operated within the northeastern littoral and the Ebro valley, seizing many Iberian towns captured by Roman consular armies. Appian's account in the *Ibereke* focused on Roman military actions in Spain, and in many cases highlights the atrocities of consuls against Iberian communities. The goal of Rome's penetration of the Ebro valley was two-fold: acquiring portable wealth and glory for consuls, and capturing major coastal cities such as Emporion.[248] These two elements served as a major reason for military action in general, because without the physical capital, the acquisition of power at Rome would be impossible; glory obtained through campaigning provided the context for the growth of personal power within Roman political culture. The scope of these campaigns was restricted by two aspects: logistical restraints and the opportunity for justified war. Logistically, there was a distinct range to the territory of consular armies; consuls were assigned to either *Citerior* or *Ulterior*, but many times consuls were found in either region to aid the other consul. In many cases, Appian does provide the *casus belli*, and reports consular activities that he regarded as unjustified and especially attacks on Iberian communities that took place even when treaties had been established with Rome.[249]

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[248] Cato claims that he captured or sacked three hundred Iberian communities during his campaigns, but while this figure is questionable, the volume of attacks made on Iberian towns highlight that Roman interests were aimed at extraction of wealth and glory rather than occupation. See Harris 1979: 10-41; Rich 1993; Rosenstein 2006: 365-82; Eckstein 2006: 181-6.

[249] Most notable is the fallacious charges against Segeda, an Iberian town belonging to the Belli, who had constructed a defensive wall and brought together several tribes. Upon learning on this, the Romans demanded taxation from the Belli, and that the wall be dismantled. The Belli indicated the terms of the treaty with Gracchus had been satisfied and had not constructed any new cities, but reinforced existing ones. Rome found this unsatisfactory and launched an assault, led by F. Nobilior. Appian describes the actions of Lucullus and the unjustified wars against several tribes in the name of glory and greed. App. *Iber.* 44-55. Perhaps the most notorious of Roman *causi belli* was the Numantine War, which was caused by the oppression of several groups, and led to an Iberian first strike and the pretext for war. When treaties were agreed, the new incoming consul Laenas rejected this, and was supported by the Senate when the Numantines pressed for peace. App. *Iber.* 78-9. Is this section really necessary? If it is, should it be in the text?

Roman penetration into Iberia was originally characterized by the lack of direct territorial

acquisition. In the early second century BC, only one permanent Roman base was established at

Tarraco. Instead, Rome operated within a network of alliances with major former Phoenician

settlements (for example Gades, Carthago Nova), both enfranchising and subjugating allies as

Rome sought to eliminate rivals.[250] The Roman agenda in the second century was not aimed at

occupation, but the extraction of wealth and glory at the cost of the Iberians. For those cities

allied with Rome, the cost of being linked to Rome was paid in taxes, and supplied the troops

and support to the consular armies. For this reason, Rome did not need to control territory, they

controlled territory by proxy. Rome's allies provided all the territorial control needed in the

early stages of Roman penetration. Physical acquisition of territory by Rome, seen in the

establishment of permanent 'Roman' settlements or *conventus* communities such as Cordoba

and Hispalis, did not occur until the mid-second century, which clearly highlights the Spanish

provinces as 'fields of duty' rather than being included part of the Roman dominion in any

substantive form.[251]

The second phase, exploitation, occurred in instances where local élites were able to find

common interest with Roman expansion. In the case of Spain, Iberian élites engaged in a wide

variety of economic activities, many of which I have already outlined in chapter two. Roman

networks in the second century adaption of Punic and Iberian networks are characterized by the

creation of 'Roman' allied *conventus* communities or the co-optation of local élites rather than

the creation of alliances with existing Iberian communities, with trade being conducted via

Roman proxies, such as Greek traders from Emporion and Massalia. There may have been some

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[250] Plut. *Mar.* 31 'Be stronger than Rome, or obey their commands in silence.' Eckstein 2006: 244-57.
[251] Richardson 2008: 10-62, esp. 12-25. It is important to note that the first instance that Livy uses the term *imperium* to denote Roman power as an institutional form appears during the North African campaign in 202 BC, where Livy states 'In that year the *imperium* was defended by no more than sixteen legions.' Livy, 30.27.8-12.

level of control exerted by the Roman state over allied cities in Iberia, but this seems related to taxation and military support rather than direct influence over trade. However, the recognition given to *conventus* communities which were located at important transportation nexuses such as Hispalis and Cordoba suggests that Romans were interested in commerce, but indirectly. Several terms can be applied to the type of relationship within this phase, but collabouration or co-optation describe the relationship sufficiently. As I will describe later in chapter five, the developing relationship between Iberians and Romans at Cordoba was partly due to the necessity of survival for the Iberians and part sensibility to remain prosperous for local élites. The creation of a permanent 'Roman' settlement at Cordoba was part of a complex series of actions and reactions to economic and military pressure, resulting in Rome's creation of a strategically important settlement to ensure export of minerals and provide a broader operational region for the legions.

The co-optation of non-Roman élites into Roman communities empowered the creation of economic networks which operated independently from direct Roman controls, but were oriented on Roman interests. Rome proactively encouraged the co-optation of Iberian élites through a number of measures: forced dependency on Roman markets, reorientation of traditional trade routes to accommodate Roman expansion, and in the background there was always the fear of conquest if Rome was resisted. By altering traditional networks, either by military conquest, destruction of Iberian communities, or by interacting with individual communities as separate entities from their tribal federation, Rome created a climate which left few options for local élites except to become co-opted into the Roman hegemony. By accepting co-optation, these Iberian communities would pay taxes, but also serve as facilitators in the extraction and exportation of wealth; the local industries appear to have remained largely controlled by local labour, which may have been part of an agreement made inicially for Iberian

élites who were co-opted. Exploitation also coincides with the development of permanent occupation, as many Roman settlements like Cordoba and Hispalis were hybrid urban landscapes which is reflected in the presence of Punic or Greek temples, art, and architecture within a core with basic infrastructure (walls, forum, port,) and later evolved further Roman amenities (baths, theatres, circuses). Many of these core aspects could be considered to be parallels of pan-Mediterranean urbanism, as basic infrastructure was similar across Punic, Italic, and Greek communities. Cordoba is a prime example of how Roman and indigenous communities were fused to create communities invested in Roman expansion though the inclusion of the indigenous community within the urban landscape.[252]

The final phase of Roman imperialism is occupation, which features two main aspects: cultural or political expressions of Roman-ness, both of which began roughly after c. 150 BC. Roman occupation, at least initially, is difficult to quantify as there is no clear division between exploitation and occupation. Territorial acquisition, enfranchisement, and acculturation generally blends together, and it is not a simple case of Rome moving provincial borders. Therefore, occupation should be seen as an incremental process, as by the mid-second century BC, much of the southern and eastern regions of Iberia was transitioning from local control to Roman dominion, both economically and politically. The best two examples of this are the settlements at Hispalis and *Augusta Emerita*. On the one hand, Hispalis exemplifies occupation, as the site remained largely under the control of the Roman *conventus* established there throughout the second and first centuries BC, and only acquired colonial status in the first century AD. A process of acculturation at Hispalis is centreed around the establishment of the

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[252] Knapp 1983: 13; on local élites and veterans settled together, see Contreras de la Paz 1977: 382-91, who notes that the names of the native élites have been lost, but clearly were included based on the literary and archaeological evidence.

conventus: the Roman *conventus* formed the centre of commerce, and non-Romans existed on the periphery, and by exhibiting Roman aspects may have initially given an outward image of Roman-ness, but eventually became blended with local identity through lifestyle. For non-Romans living on the periphery of a Roman community, it is plausible that some of the cultural traits were transferred, but at the same time, Romans may have adopted some aspects of Iberian, Greek, and Punic life as well. On the other hand, *Augusta Emerita* appears as a political statement, created *ex nihilo*, and is a purely Roman construction. Both subjects of acculturation and political statements of dominion will be explored in later chapters.

4.2 AN AGE OF EMPIRES: EARLY MODERN IMPERIALISM AND ROME

Scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries promoted concepts of imperialism as an apologetic, and because of the similarities between the Roman empire and modern imperial states suggested the results on empire were positive in nature.[253] Cicero's own apologetics of empire was promoted over Polybius because his perspective agreed with many of these parallels: empire was beneficial as just wars provided security and threats, either real or perceived was treated as an excuse for war.[254] The parallels between Rome and modern empires were based less on defense than exploitation, although both created justification for aggression by claiming a civilizing mission and empire benefitted all, but modern empires extracted wealth to the detriment of colonial regions. Given the discussions above 'imperialism' is an

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[253] See chapter 1 on Mommsen's conception of 'defensive imperialism' and Rome as the reluctant inheritor of empire; Adler 2008: 190-2.

[254] Scullard 1980: 167, explains both the First Punic War and the Second Macedonian War from the defensive perspective. Rome's intervention in Sicily was out of concern for the 'safety of Italy'. Scullard also relates British imperialism to Rome's mishandling, but eventual success against Carthage: '…a people who, like the British, proverbially had a genius for muddling through…', 167.

anachronistic term to employ when discussing the Roman Republic. The term came into use during the nineteenth century amidst the growth of modern empires, and developed as modern states grappled with the concept of empire alongside theories such as Marxism and Liberalism, and Imperialism became popular to explain the actions of empires, with many of these schools of thought influencing the trajectory of studies of Rome's empire.[255]

The United States is a prime example of this identification with Rome. The concept of manifest destiny which emerged after the War of 1812, a generalized concept linked to American exceptionalism and nationalism, evoked the morality of expansionism: the inherent virtue of Americans and their government, the civilizing mission to spread American dominion, and both destinies of Rome and modern empires under divine auspices. In conjunction with America's new ethos, the *Apotheosis of Washington*, completed in 1865, depicted George Washington in his ascendancy to godhood, flanked by the personification of Liberty and Victory, and assisted by six Roman gods; Roman imagery became common within art of the early American Republic through the eighteenth century.[256] The creation of Washington itself, intended as the grand seat of a new capital, was developed in such a way to awe visitors at its majesty, as well as the frequent usage of classical art, columns and broad avenues.[257] The physical and psychological links to ancient Rome with Washington is a clear inheritance to the new crown of a growing global empire.

Much like 'Romanization', Mommsen's 'defensive imperialism' was acceptable within the nineteenth century political and intellectual climate. 'Defensive imperialism' became the status

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[255] Edwell 2013: 39.
[256] Lloyd-Jacobs 1977: 115-37.
[257] Gutheim 2006: 137. Although the city planners of Washington borrowed inspiration from many European cities such as London and Paris, Roman attributes seem the most prominent.

quo for understanding Rome's empire, and by extension modern empire.[258] It is unsurprising

that the apologetic preference for 'defensive imperialism' developed amongst American, British

and French scholars, all whom worked within empires with overseas territories, many of which

were acquired through aggression.[259] Returning to the views of Mommsen, Frank and Holleaux,

whilst these initial interpretations of empire were rooted in their own conceptions of

contemporary empire, they were rather inarticulate in their understanding of Roman power

relationships with non-Romans. Later interpretations, such as Brunt, accurately identified these

imbalanced relationships, but it is clear that Roman dominion was not just carved out by seizing

land, deploying colonists and pushing boundaries outward. However, 'defensive imperialism'

was not accepted by all scholars in the early twentieth century. Italian scholars largely rejected

these ideas.[260] The critique increased throughout the twentieth century as European empires

decolonized regions throughout the world, which prompted a post-colonial discourse. In the

wake of America's botched involvement in Vietnam, scholars directly challenged the concept of

'defensive imperialism', resulting in a revolution in thought on Roman imperialism.

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[258] Frank 1914; Holleaux 1921.
[259] See Linderski 1984 in the development of imperialism in the twentieth century within intellectual circles; also Hingley 2000.
[260] De Sanctis 1923 and 1964; Musti 1978.

4.2.1 (R)EVOLUTIONS IN ROMAN IMPERIALISM STUDIES

As we saw above Roman authors sought to portray Rome as a just state, and war was declared only after an 'injustice' was committed against Rome: responding to an assault was different than declaring unprovoked war. Rome was not to be the aggressor in any war, lest the gods would frown upon the Romans.[261] Post-defensive imperialism models challenged this model; Roman culture was now viewed as highly belligerent, with personal glory and political life was centreed on success on the battlefield, and the financial ability to pursue political office was fueled by the spoils of war. In 1979, W.V. Harris published *War and Imperialism*, which effectively deconstructed 'defensive imperialism', pointing out that Roman imperialism was driven by social and economic needs.[262] Harris's work caused much discussion, and a plethora of publications on Roman imperialism have followed in the wake of *War and Imperialism*.[263] Harris saw two primary components of Roman imperialism: the exploitation of non-Romans and the greed of élites. In summary, Harris states four primary points in *War and Imperialism*: 1) Roman culture, as a whole, was designed for war with complimentary customs that equated military success to political advancement; 2) Warfare was the primary method of acquiring wealth and élite decision-making was influenced by this; 3) Regardless of the *ius fetiale*, Rome was an expansionist state; 4) Generally, Rome was the aggressor in most of its conflicts. Effectively, Harris' model details a cycle of expansion which was created by Roman culture: the need for political success required capable field commanders, and victory brought booty into

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[261] Erskine 2010: 36-42.

[262] Harris 1979; *cf.* Sherwin-White 1980: 177-81; North 1981: 1-9. For a summary of Harris, see Sidebottom 2005: 315-330. For a more recent discussion of Roman imperialism, see Erskine 2010: 33-50.

[263] Gruen 1984; Sherwin-White 1984; Dyson 1985; Richardson 1986; Eckstein 1987; Rosenstein 1990; Oakley 1993: 9-37; Cornell 2006: 139-70.

Rome, which enriched the élite. To maintain the wealth of the city further expansion was needed and commanders required the personal glory from successful campaigns to be successful in political campaigns. This created a closed loop of warfare → loot/glory → economic/political boost → warfare.[264] This cycle of expansion and conquest continued from the middle Republic through the early Imperial period.[265] Nonetheless, Harris' *War and Imperialism* provided a definitive break from defensive imperialism, and provided new ways of thinking about Rome's empire.

Harris' deconstruction of 'defensive imperialism' was then a major step forward in studies of Roman imperialism, but as that was the primary reason for Harris writing *War and Imperialism*, many other aspects of imperialism were overlooked or Rome's territorial goals was overstated in the book.[266] In many ways, Harris' work approached Roman imperialism in a far too aggressive way, and was delivered in an un-nuanced manner, but nonetheless spurred further discussions and should be recognized for this contribution to the study of Roman imperialism. Harris' study of imperialism led to a series of more nuanced approaches to Romans and interactions in frontier regions. Richardson for instance has produced a number of works which identified the slower rate of deployment of Roman government in the provinces than Harris suggested, as well as tracking the development of ideology surrounding the concepts of *provincia* and *imperium*, and examined the methods of control of the regions, either under Roman or local administration.[267]

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[264] Rich 1993: 4.
[265] Sidebottom 2005: 316-7.
[266] North 1981: 1 points out the many flaws in Harris' work, but the deconstruction of 'defensive imperialism' was absolute.
[267] Richardson 1975: 50-63; 1976: 139-52; 1984; 2008.

Henrik Mouritsen, in *Italian Unification*, addressed the flexibility of Roman imperialism to allow for non-Roman inclusion in Roman political systems whilst still retaining political primacy.[268] Other studies have been successful in expanding our understanding of power and identity in the middle and late Republic.[269] Critics of Harris felt that his study did not go far enough in attempting to re-examine Roman imperialism, and Harris' reaction to critics perhaps demonstrated his own inability to adapt his theory.[270] However, Harris rebutted against scholars building off his work by rejected much of the scholarship of contemporaries, claiming further scholarship resulted in the 'fracturing' of historical narrative and the lack of evidence within texts.[271] Harris also claimed that an unequal relationship between Romans and provincial élites resulted in a local élites being subordinate to Romans in economic terms, but this argument is problematic as there is clear evidence that provincial élites that allied with Rome or held citizenship were able to amass great wealth.[272] For these reasons, although *War and Imperialism* was a major breakthrough in 'Romanization' and imperialism studies, it does show weaknesses as well.

Whilst Harris focused on the political and personal goals of Roman imperialism, the aspects of both fear and security have been put forth as reasonable causes for Roman aggressions, but also the anarchy of the ancient world, which encouraged states' to be defensive in nature.[273] Perhaps one of the most valuable interpretations of Roman imperialism beyond *War and Imperialism* is Rich's 1993 'Fear, Greed and Glory', where he argues successfully that

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[268] Mouritsen 1998.
[269] Beard and Crawford 1985: 72-84; Oakley 1993: 9-37; Cornell 1995: 345-68. Eckstein 2006: 181-2 reformulates Harris' theory as 'Roman exceptionalism'.
[270] Harris 1984: 1-34, and esp. 189-91; 1990: 494-510; *cf.* North 1981; Rich 1993.
[271] Errington 1972; Veyne 1975; Albert 1980; Sherwin-White, A. 1980 and 1984. Harris is especially critical of Sherwin-White, see n. 39, n. 47, n. 51. Harris also attacks North 1981, who came to his defense and supported his argument, albeit in a more moderate tone.
[272] Harris 1984: 13-24. Overall Harris' complaints seem bound to criticisms of *War and Imperialism*.
[273] Rich 1993; Mattern 1999: 214-5; Eckstein 2006; 2008.

much like 'defensive imperialism', Harris' alternative was equally as simplistic.[274] In contrast,

Rich states that the success of Rome was due to its culture of supremacy, where battlefield

victories were transmuted into political and personal glory, which, as Polybius notes, was

integral to Roman identity.[275] The impetus for Roman belligerence goes beyond solely glory

though to fears about security and, just like in Harris, the greed of élites. Rich's argument

clearly echoes Harris' thesis then in some respects, but provides a more complex and nuanced

approach to Roman imperialism. Whilst Rich's argument is sufficient to address the motivations

of Romans to achieve political and financial greatness at home, in some respects, it does not

address the core of Roman fear and imperialism, as his focus is primarily on third and second

century BC Roman imperial actors and actions and what their goals resulted in. It could be

argued that although Rich rightly identified the impetus for expansion as fear, greed, and glory,

the interpretations of early and mid-Republican Rome are viewed from a late Republican

perspective or that of a more fully developed embodiment of an 'imperial' Rome. It is also

possible that Rome's culture of belligerence had not changed much in this regard, hence why

Rich's work is so durable in light of recent scholarship of cultural change.

Beyond the theoretical debate, a major study has examined the development of the

Roman conception of frontiers, *provincia*, and the development of *imperium*. Two recent works

discuss the development of Roman imperialism: Richardson's *The Language of Empire*, which is

largely concerned with responding to the claims made by Corey Brennan in *The Praetorship in*

the Roman Republic, and Edwell's '*Definitions of Roman Imperialism*' which addresses several

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[274] Rich 1993: 49; North 1981: 9. North correctly identifies that Harris assessment of Roman war-making is oversimplified: 'Wars begin from complex situations, in which aggression, mutual fear, confusion, accident, bad communications, personal and political ambitions and many other factors play a part.', 2.
[275] Polybius 6.56.6-13

issues of clarity in Richardson's work.[276] The primary discussion within Richardson's work is the definition of *provincia*, and what *imperium* was in relation to the seemingly abstract concept of *provincia.* The concept of *provincia*, in Lintott's estimation, is simply a specific territory to be administrated by a Roman official, which is the beginning of empire.[277] The problem with Lintott's description is that it is limited by its geographical scope, as it does not account for other implications the term has, such as in relation to personal *imperium*, the conceptuality of overseas control, and the development of extra-Italic governance. Richardson's study accepts Lintott's terminology, but views *provincia* as regions of 'responsibility' for consuls, and expands his definition to include *provinciae* as 'fields of duty', and is given to a Roman official with the corresponding *imperium*.[278] Although Richardson's argument is far more nuanced, I find it unlikely that Romans thought about 'fields of duty' as passive territory, and required Romans to exploit them. Rather Roman consuls saw opportunities to gain glory and wealth, regardless of the bounded territory a Roman commander operated from. This is seen in Iberia many times when Roman consuls took their armies between *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior* during the second and first centuries. These 'provincial' boundaries were less applicable in practice than on paper, as consuls in Iberia took it upon themselves to take military action beyond their proscribed *provincia.* It would seem likely, with the addition of Rich's concept of Roman greed and belligerence, that Richardson's perspective may be less precise. The actions of consuls in Iberia, as reported by Livy and Appian, suggest a primary motivator was the granting, or in some cases blocking, of triumphs. Actions taken by consuls were aimed at gaining political clout in exchange for military victories, as was their 'duty', but also their goal; territorial boundaries

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[276] Brennan 2000: 39-52.
[277] Lintott 1981: 55; 1993: 23.
[278] Richardson 2008: 8; Edwell 2013: 44.

were arbitrary when faced with the opportunity to out-manuever political rivals.[279] The

question of what Romans thought about their own empire functioned within Rome's cultural

and political framework will still be debated, but it seems more profitable to consider the

operation of these regions and why, or why not, Rome chose to proceed with annexation of

former provincial space, or create a hegemonic relationship.

4.2.2 'ROMAN' ECONOMICS

The difficulty of discussing the Roman economy is due to the disagreement on the

nature of Rome's economic model, but is nonetheless an important topic to discuss because of

the impact that Rome had on local economic systems and local identity. A synthesis of recent

studies on the Roman North African economy is perhaps the most useful way of presenting the

status quaestionis on Roman economics.[280] Without expanding on Hobson's recent survey of

scholarly work, the interpretations of economic theories on Rome's relationship with provincial

economies essentially falls along two camps: the primitivist and modernist perspective. The

primitivist perspective, which was championed by Moses Finley and A.H.M. Jones of

Cambridge in the 1950-60s, is concerned with the 'cellular self-sufficiency of the ancient

world'.[281] Finley's arguments were rooted in local aspects, including the rise and fall of local

economies depending upon political unrest or environmental disasters, and that no market

existed across an interregional space, meaning anachronistic perspectives could not apply to the

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[279] See Chapter 5 on the conflict between Marcellus, Lucullus, and Nobilior.
[280] Hobson 2015: 207-34; 2012: 9-33.
[281] Hobson 2012: 21; Finley: 1999; Jones 1964.

ancient world.[282] Jones stated that commerce in antiquity was primarily associated with local

production, and long-distance trade was focused on luxury goods or materials that could not be

locally sourced, such as salt or iron.[283] The cause of the focus on local production was because of

the difficulty and cost associated with long-distance transportation.[284] Finley asserts that for

these reasons ancient authors had no reason to consider theories of mass interregional trade,

and that modern economic theories could not be applied to the ancient world. The central

component to the Finley-Jones argument was that Roman élites had little interest in trade, and

therefore did not engage in the development of economic infrastructure, nor geographical or

chronological differences. The Finley-Jones model emerged as an inflexible polemical argument,

in that the ancients had no concept of an economy at all, and that trade in the ancient world was

completely dependant upon the fortunes or failures of political systems or environmental

disasters.

An extension of the primitivist view was the Marxist view which was promoted by

Italian scholars of the 1960-70s claimed a model of trade with local economies becoming slave to

the Roman state. In contrast to the Finley-Jones model, Marxist theories were couched within

arguments that during the third and second centuries BC, Rome's economy was essentially

supported by small landowners, and during Roman expansion into northern Italy, it created a

network of enfranchised landowners. During this period, an entrepreneurial class of traders

emerged, as evidenced by the black glaze pottery produced and distributed around the western

Mediterranean including Iberia, Gaul, North Africa, and within Italy. The archaeological

evidence would seem to support the Marxist perspective of ancient economies because there is

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[282] Finley 1999: 142.
[283] Brunt 1971.
[284] Finley 1999: 138.

some evidence that states potentially had a hand in the development of trade-focused

settlements, such as in the case of Emporion and Tartessos, however primitivist scholars

rejected the Marxist interpretation because the model fit neatly into preconceptions between

economic and social developments. The Marxist perspective was largely a response to capitalist

market theories of the nineteenth century, and applied anachronistic perspectives in the

analysis of ancient economies, but may be applicable partly as some sites may suggest state

involvement from the archaeological record, but likewise is a difficult position to maintain as a

broad statement.

Neo-liberal approaches to the economy emerged in the 1980s, beginning with Hopkins

'Taxes and Trade' (1980) and *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (1983), which sought to interpret

'with empathetic understanding of what the Romans themselves thought and with concepts

which we ourselves use.'[285] Hopkins thought that some modern economic theory was

applicable to ancient economies, specifically sociological approaches, and was critical of

scholars who were reticent to use interdisciplinary methods to advance scholarship, thus taking

a polemic stance in regards to other scholars' research.[286] The subsequent literature on ancient

economies following Hopkins work focused on mathematical application of modern economics

on antiquity, emphasizing quantitative analysis to decipher how ancient economies functioned.

Through the late twentieth and into the twenty-first century, many scholars sought to create

interdisciplinary links between ancient history and modern economies, the bibliography is

dense with scholarly articles referencing 'underdeveloped economies', gross domestic product,

per capita growth, modern institutions which did not exist in antiquity such as the World Bank

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[285] Hopkins 1980 and 1983: xiv.
[286] Hopkins 1978; *cf.* Badian 1982.

and the IMF. Hobsbawn stated 'there are two types of economic history: the sort practiced by historians, on one hand, and the sort practiced by economists, on the other.'[287] Neoliberal ancient economists created a new paradigm based in anachronisms; the resulting distortion has sufficiently obscured the economic history of the ancient world among many scholarly circles. Hobson accurately makes his sentiment clear: 'I hope it is plain that the connection between the rhetoric being used in ancient history and in the modern political sphere has become uncomfortably close' and argues that 'With the value of its various precepts no longer taken as axiomatic, its use of historical analysis becomes something which needs to be justified or abandoned.'[288] The Neo-Liberal position in recent years has become the new orthodoxy and is now being reacted against by scholars like Hobson, which makes his research valuable because it offers a critical analysis of Neo-Liberal economic models which clearly are problematic.

For the purposes of this project, I employ a hybrid model of primitivist and Marxist theories when considering Iberian economics of the second and first centuries BC. Economics prior to the penetration of Rome appears more along the lines of the Finley-Jones theory of local production and consumption, but also elements of the Marxist approach are visible in the development of secondary trade sites like Ispal, most probably by élites invested in the state. Two potential models appear in the pre-Roman era: Phoenician export of minerals and Greek integration, but no unitary approaches exist along these lines. In the Phoenician model, extra-regional trade centreed on the exchange of Phoenician and Greek wares for resources that could not be accessed locally at Tyre, especially silver and other minerals not available to Phoenicians. With the interest in exportation of silver, southern Iberian communities began to intensify the exploitation of the local resources. The primitivist might argue that this is a local production of

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[287] Hobsbawm 1997: 127.
[288] Hobson 2015: 27-8 and 29.

goods on a small scale to support a new trade endeavour, whilst the Marxist may see the development of industry as driven by the Tartessian state. Both aspects may be correct, in their own ways; the primitivist perspective addresses the early stages of Iberio-Phoenician economic models, whilst the Marxist approach may be more applicable to the latter period after the Tartessians had exhausted the local supply of minerals. At the same time, the Marxist perspective overestimates the role of the 'State', in that Iberian communities were largely either federated tribes with an élite ruling class or king. The expansion of trade networks and exploitation of extra-regional resources may have been initiated by élites, with the the creation of a merchant class, but does not mean that trade and resource extraction was moderated by the Tartessian state. Too little information exists to support such a claim, so a modified view of the Marxist perspective would need to be applied. More likely is that élites within the ruling class of southern Iberian polities were able to make contacts with other Iberian communities. Ispal was established on the lower Guadalquivir to extend trade routes into the Sierra Morena, most likely creating a riverine link between Tartessian Ispal and Colina de los Quemados (future site of Cordoba), which was located at an important trade nexus between mining centres such as Castulo in the mountains. There is no evidence to prove either way that Ispal's foundation was established as a state-sanctioned settlement or by entreprunial Tartessians, but it is clear that Ispal became an important trading nexus, and may have been populated by Iberians, with a minority population of Greeks and Phoenicians who may have been transient traders rather than permanent residents. Turning back to Phoenician settlements, it is apparent that commerce was the main purpose, with only Cerro del Villar exhibiting intense agricultural endeavours, highlighting the primary purpose of Iberio-Phoenician contacts prior to the sixth century.

The Greek presence in Iberia is a somewhat different model, but many of the littoral Greek *emporia* were similar in nature to Phoenician settlements, with focus on trade. The exception to this is seen at Emporion, where the Phocaeans integrated with the local Indecetani population. The economic nature of Emporion and the Indecetani was essentially a hybrid network, with the Greek city, alongside other major Iberian *oppidum* such as Ullastret creating an intra-regional market. Archaeological evidence has indicated that Iberian communities around Emporion evolved to suit the town's agricultural needs, either for local consumption or export. If agricultural goods were being exported from Emporion, it seems likely that cereals would have been transported to other regional Greek sites, such as Massalia, Rhode, or *emporia*. Both the Greek and Phoenician economic relations with Iberians can be viewed through both lenses of Marxism or primitivism, but neither completely addresses the role of individual or groups of traders. In the pre-sixth century, it seems more likely that the role of extra-Iberian states involvement was minimal, and the majority of trade was conducted by a non-élite entrepreneurial merchant class under the direction of élites. The actual transportation of goods and wares was not conducted by a state-sanctioned shipping group, and less likely that traders would have received a commission by states to move goods. Rather remuneration was conducted in some form of taxation, but no information exists to identify what, if any, taxes were levied on transported goods.

The detailed evidence for the economy in the early Republic is equally scant. However, it seems probable that the network of intra-regional trade of basic goods such as agricultural products and extra-regional mineral exports remained relatively unchanged. During the early Roman period in southern Iberia, the greatest shift was in the political economy, with cities providing financial and material support to Rome's legions. In many regards, Rome's hegemonic political construct is relevant to the development, or perhaps the domination, of

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local economic networks as trade routes reoriented to Roman settlements such as Hispalis and Cordoba. The trade routes altered due to the establishment of Roman settlements, but the alteration in many ways enhanced commercial endeavours. The primitivist and Marxist hybrid perspective still seems to apply, with the Roman state largely uninvolved in the direction of trade. The political economy adapted to reflect this however; communities that were allied with Rome traded more with other allied or Roman communities, creating a semi-closed network of commerce, such as in the case of Hispalis and Gadir, especially during the early second century BC. Theoretically, this could be seen as state involvement, but only indirectly. Roman interests, as highlighted by Hobson, theoretically excluded commerce as a profession, which may be reflected in the quantity of Italic, Etruscan, and Punic individuals within Roman *conventus* in Iberia.

To summarize my view of how the economies within ancient Iberia functioned, three aspects should be considered; the creation of regional economies, state involvement in commerce was limited, and trade was facilitated by a non-élite mercantile class. First, most commercial endeavours were contained within a specific region, as seen within the Gadir-Guadalquivir and Emporion regions, as discussed in chapter two. Conceptually, it is important to remember that the ancient world was far less integrated, meaning that communities were separated by great distances, and regions were restricted by the topography. This is especially true of Iberia, which is divided by many mountain ranges, creating smaller regional micro-economies specific to their own geography. The creation of regional economics in antiquity is clearly organic in nature as the majority of local agriculture was produced for local trade or consumption. Agricultural production was limited to within their own region because transportation of low-value goods, in contrast to mineral resources, meant that the cost to transport consumable goods (cereals, wine, or oil) beyond their production region may have

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exceeded their value. The difficulty in transporting goods over long distances may also hindered the ability or desire to trade beyond the immediate region. In contrast, mineral resources were transported great distances because of the value to foreign traders. Tartessian élites were integral in the development of mining centres, which helped develop the infrastructure to support transportation.

The development of the Iberian economy was not directly linked to the involvement of states, but individuals. The tales provided by Herodotus about the early appearance of traders was not attributed to a state-led endeavour to find new sources of wealth, but individual traders or small groups of ship captains. Although Herodotus is questionable in many regards, the fact that the appearance of individual ships, and not a state-sponsored expedition, should signal that the silver trade evolved through an increasing number of entrepreneurs. This system seems generally unchanged through the second and first centuries BC, as Rome's direct involvement in commerce was limited. Greek, Phoenicio-Punic, and Roman élites did not appear to have been directly engaged with commerce, this would indicate the creation of a non-élite mercantile class. In this way, the non-élite class of allied (Italic, Etruscan, or Punic) or Roman traders established hybrid communities, seen in the creation of *conventus* communities. In the case of Cordoba, the *conventus* was created by the consul M. Marcellus in 151 BC, but was linked to a pre-existing settlement which may have existed in the region. The *conventus* at Cordoba could serve as an example of how the Roman economic network was facilitated; primarily by non-Romans and served to adapt pre-existing trade routes.

Perhaps most important for this study is the role that economic integration played in the hybridization of local Iberian communities. The elements of local engagement with foreign traders prior to the arrival of Rome highlights the investment in maintaining and developing local economies to supply foreign traders with the goods they sought. However, as seen in the

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case of Tartessos, these relationships were not static, and does show some elements of supply and demand, as when the region of Huelva was depleted of mineral resources, foreign traders sought out new markets. The response of Tartessians highlights that élites were motivated to reinforce this relationship. Likewise, during the early years of the second century BC, the establishment of the Roman *conventus* at Hispalis, and the subsequent spread of Greek, Punic and Roman wares into the lower Guadalquivir valley indicates the beginings of the co-optation of local traders around the new economic reality. The economic component is important to the hybridization of Iberian communities because Roman traders essentially began to assume primacy over local trade networks, which in turn encouraged the adoption of Roman aspects. In the previous chapter, I discussed Greek, Punic, and Iberian interactions on the Iberian Peninsula. These interactions paved the way for a Barcidian kingdom in southern Iberia, and apparently provided great wealth to both traders and élites in Iberia. The development of internal Iberian trade routes spread oriental culture and technology, and created a dependent relationship between Iberian metals and imported trade goods. Southern Iberia, the gateway to the Atlantic, and the Balearics constituted much of the Carthaginian territory through until the last quarter of the third century BC. As discussed earlier, much of the inner workings of the Barcid 'empire' in Iberia is unknown, but it is clear that Iberia was heavily exploited for its rich resources. Eventually, it appeared that exploitation through allied settlement was insufficient, and the Barcids took direct control of the territory, forcibly extracting wealth from local communities and laying territorial claims through marriage. These activities brought the attention of Roman legates, and eventually the conflict at Saguntum triggered the Second Punic War. In contrast to the growth of Barcidian dominion in southern Iberia, Greek activities within Iberia were limited, as Greek traders established a series of cities along the eastern coast at Emporion, Rhodes and Massalia. These communities were limited in their territorial ambitions,

and apparently aimed more for economic prosperity and mutual defense rather than expansion, which was possibly limited by their location and limited allies, until Rome's interests turned westward.

In the following chapters, I will address three case studies of 'Roman' settlements in Iberia. These three studies focus on the development of urbanism during the late third century BC to early first centuries AD, and examine the impact of hybridity and acculturation on their neighbouring, or internalized, Iberian communities. The goal of these case studies will be to target the specific processes of acculturation at work, and to address the cultural, economic, and political impact of Rome on communities in Iberia. First, I will examine Italica, which appears in the late third century BC, and provides the earliest example of 'Roman' settlement in southern Iberia. Italica provides perhaps the best image of negotiating identity within Rome's Iberian hinterland. In conjunction with Italica, this case study also examines the development of *Ispal* (Hispalis) from native centre to Roman capital. Following Italica, Cordoba, which was the first major Roman 'colony' deployed in Hispania Ulterior, will be examined. This settlement falls at the initial stages of Roman exploitation of the region, and shows the co-optation of the local aristocracy from the nearby Colina de los Quemados. Furthermore, the urban landscape suggests an incorporation of non-élite Iberians, as well as a Roman negotiation of how a *colonia* should function and appear. Finally, I will examine *Augusta Emerita*, which provides perhaps the best example of true Roman occupation. *Emerita* is highlighted as a living monument of Roman power, due to the size, population, amenities, and reflection of Rome on the borders of the western world.

END OF CHAPTER 3

PART II: THE CASE STUDIES

In previous chapters, I discussed the evolving contact and realities of imperialism between Greeks and Phoenicians and Iberian polities, as well as the aggressive imperial policy of Rome. This chapter is set up to examine the early development of Italica, the so-called 'first Roman colony in the west', and Hispalis, the former Tartessian and Turdetanian trade settlement on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and how the creation of these settlements influenced the direction and evolution of identity and economics in the second century BC. In the following chapters, I examine three examples of Roman urbanization and acculturation in Iberia. The goal of the case studies is to track the development of 'Roman' settlements in Iberia, and how local Iberian communities were affected by exposure to 'Roman' culture by employing methods described previously. In addition, each case study will tie both chapters two and three together by emphasizing the hegemonic aspect of ancient economics through the development of wider Mediterranean contact and conflict, and how the spread of 'Roman' culture was facilitated by the synchronization of political and economic networks through the co-optation of local élites and trade routes. The case studies will be presented chronologically, beginning with Italica, followed by Cordoba, and they conclude with *Augusta Emerita*, and each will emphasize a different type purpose altogether, but nonetheless underlines how 'Roman' culture by the first century had become a political identification rather than a pure cultural association due to the cultural synchonicity of Mediterranean cultures, with local dynamic variations.[289] The approaches to each city varies because in each scenario conditions differ; the construction of identity cannot be attributed to a singular static model. Iberian settlements in close proximity to Roman settlements, where relevant, will be examined alongside the respective city. Interactions

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[289] Webster 2002.

between Iberian and 'Roman' communities are best understood when examined in tandem with the historical and political events surrounding their early settlement as each case study highlights different types of acculturative responses based on the type of settlement, and the strategic and economic value of the site. It is worth reminding ourselves that as we saw in Chapter 2, Iberian communities in southern Iberia already were previously exposed to wider Mediterranean cultures for several hundred years, which may have resulted in 'Roman' culture being more easily adopted due to similar nature of Roman wares, although the political nature of Rome added a new element to Iberian foreign relations.

The three towns that I will examine have little written about them for the Republican period, which is due to the difficulties of conducting archaeological research within modern cities, and is especially true of major Spanish cities as much of the oldest modern city typically resided atop the Roman and pre-Roman layers. Sparse international attention has been given to Italica and *Augusta Emerita*, and even less to Cordoba. Within the context of identity studies, a different model was applied; Italica has been considered as a bottom-up hybridization model; Cordoba has been seen as a top-down acculturation framework; and Hispalis has been viewed through the lens of appropriation of Iberian space, and *Emerita* is viewed as a purely 'Roman' settlement, but none of these approaches fully address the challenges at each site. Both the German-run DAI and the French-run Casa de Velasquez have produced significant works on sites throughout Spain over the last century, especially the works by Schulten and Untermann, as well as individual Spanish scholars, but the produced research is largely limited to Spanish language publications, and rarely transmitted outside of Spain. Within Spain, there are many regional and local publishers that produce materials from local researchers within their area; these journals rarely promote their publications, and therefore are generally difficult to locate, and even harder to obtain. The result is that non-Spanish scholars have traditionally leaned

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towards the Imperial Roman era, and synthetic discussions on Republican era interactions between Iberians and Romans are sparse, even when the archaeological evidence indicates that a strong connection exists between the pre-Roman and early Roman period, which in turn effected the later Imperial period. In the works that do exist, the cumulative effect of pre- and early Roman interactions with Iberians should be a central issue, but this is largely overlooked. However, there has been extensive scholarship in the past on Republican Iberia, especially Simon Keay, Alicia Jiminez, Johnathan Edmondson, Leonard Curchin, Andrew Fear, and Mary Boatwright. This is an important recognition for future studies on acculturation and the evolution of urbanism, as the lack of discussion by scholars beyond Spain is detrimental to forwarding understanding of acculturation in general of Spanish material.

Accessing early Roman material at many key sites is problematic. The cause of this difficulty is due to the location of modern Spanish cities; many Spanish cities are built upon millennia old sites, and due to this legacy, access is limited. In some cities, such as modern Cordoba and Seville (Hispalis), access is limited due to the placement of religious structures upon the oldest parts of the city; as will be noted in chapters four and five, the Roman and Arab city walls can be traced by following the avenues which cathedrals and monastic buildings were constructed upon. In the case of Merida, much of the Roman city has been excavated, and due to its relative isolation in the Extramadura, there were not major difficulties in conducting excavations on the earliest phases as the modern city was largely built around the Roman ruins. Similarly, Italica has been generally left intact, most likely because during the early modern period only the small village of Santiponce existed on the lower hills adjacent to Italica, and much of the expansion of this settlement was towards Sevilla. In recent years rescue archaeology has provided much of the evidence which is employed in this thesis. Through the renovations of private homes and public buildings, archaeologists have begun to piece together

a more complete image of Iberian and early Roman urbanism. Still, major gaps exist within the archaeological record, and only further studies will expand the understanding of the early Roman period in southern Iberia.

CHAPTER 5: ITALICA (SANTIPONCE) & HISPALIS (SEVILLE)

Italica (Santiponce) is the oldest recorded 'Roman' settlement in *Hispania Ulterior*, and has long been credited incorrectly as the first Roman colony in the west. Italica was established as a home for Scipio's wounded veterans of the battle of Ilippa, where Carthaginian forces were routed and forced to withdraw from Iberia.[290] Italica later rose to prominence as the hometown of both Hadrian and Trajan, and was in consequence granted colonial status in the early second century AD. Initially, the veterans settled there had no civic status, and thus it could not have been a 'colony', as is confirmed by the grant of colonial rights by Hadrian, but modern scholars nonetheless have tended to view Italica as a colony.[291] We can correct this by noting that Italica was a colonial settlement, but by definition was not a Roman *colonia*. The major misconception lies with the purpose and status of the settlement. The distinction between settlements recognized as a Roman *colonia*, which had a very specific set of rights and legal standings, and the idea of *colonial*, which relates to the modern conception of imperialism is important. Within the historical context, the original purpose of Italica was not for enlargement of Roman

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[290] Appian, *Iber*. 38: 'The Romans from this time, shortly before the one hundred and forty-fourth Olympiad, began to send praetors to Iberia annually to those peoples they had captures, to act as governors and to ensure the peace there. Scipio left them a small army suitable for peaceful conditions, and established a town for his wounded men, which he named Italica, taking the name from Italy.

[291] Hidalgo and Keay 1995: 395-420; Richardson 1986: 53; Castro 2013: 77, notes that Italica was 'founded' but was not among colonies established during this period; Curchin 1991: 104, claims the town was established for 'Romans'; Revell 2009: 27-8, rightly states that Italica is initially a troop settlement.

territory, but rather as part Rome's defensive military strategy at the end of the Second Punic War. Several indications can be extracted from the literary evidence as to the purpose of Italica. Appian states that Italica was established in order to create peaceful conditions in the region. Appian may be alluding to the wider military situation in southern Iberia; the Carthaginians previously had alliances with many southern Iberian groups, and following Mago's defeat at Illipa, there was a serious concern over the return of fighting in Iberia with support from former Punic allies. In this light, it seems likely Italica was established as a defensive garrison, as Rome was still at war with Carthage in 206. For this reason, early Italica should be seen not as a colony, but rather as part of a network of defensive settlements to guard against a Carthaginian return to Iberia. However once the Carthaginians were defeated in 202, and a defensive network was no longer necessary Rome's focus moved to *Hispania Citerior*, resulting in Italica being left isolated from Roman official contact in an Iberian hinterland for two generations. To accommodate this new reality for the *Italicenses*, the residents established links with local Iberian communities through local trade, potentially mutual protection, and proximity to Iberian settlements may have encouraged the transmission if ideas, as indicated in some of the early urban features of Italica. As I will show later in the chapter, this relative isolation evolved into a unique Iberian-Italic urban identity, creating a problem with 'Romanization' models and highlighting the dynamic identity negotiation between Roman and pan-Mediterranean cultural influences.

Italica was established close to Ispal (later Hispalis, modern Seville), which was formerly the second major settlement of the Turdetanian federation after Colina de los Quemados (later Cordoba), and was situated eight kilometres to Italica's southeast, but Ispal had been reduced to ruin in the late third century. Ispal became home to an important *conventus*, and rapidly redeveloped into a major Roman port. Ispal, originally founded by Tartessians in the eighth

century, came into Turdetanian control following the collapse of Tartesos in the sixth century.[292]

Ispal had been an important trade nexus, boasted shipyards, and linked communities in the lower Guadalquivir, and featured prominently in the Roman Civil War.[293] Ispal underwent a dramatic evolution from Iberian trading mecca to Roman administrative centre over the course of two centuries, and Hispalis later became a major source of 'Roman' culture in the region as the city flourished into an economic and administrative centre.[294]

Ispal and Italica could be seen as a symbiotic entity during the mid-Republic. Italica as a hybrid community shows both 'Iberian' and 'Roman' cultural and political aspects.[295] Italica has been considered as a model of bottom-up acculturation, in that the veterans settled there interacted with the local Iberian communities, and resulted in the emergence of a hybrid community as seen in the development of hybrid structures and public space. As far as we know, there were no 'Roman' élites at early Italica or the nearby Iberian settlement, and the development of a political identity centreed on Rome did not form until the mid-first century, hence why the 'bottom-up' model has been applied. However, the directionality of acculturation is problematic because it presumes that acculturation occurs in the presence of Roman influence, but that clearly is not the case at Italica, as Roman political presence was not visible in the region until at least fifty years after Italica's settlement. The *conventus* at Ispal may have influenced Italica in unseen ways, but by the latter first century BC, Italica had become

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[292] See chapter 2 on Ispal.
[293] The first statement of existence of these structures comes from Caesar: on the forum, BC 2.20.4; shipyards BC 2.18.1: '(Caesar) held a levy throughout his province, and when he had made up two legions he added about thirty auxiliary cohorts. He collected a great store of corn to be sent to the Massilians, some also to Afranius and Petreius. He ordered the Gaditanians to make ten ships of war and contracted for the building of many others at Hispalis.'; walls BH 36.1.2: 'At Hispalis the Lusitanians kept up the fight without a moment's pause; and when Caesar observed their stubbornness he was afraid that, if he made strenuous efforts to capture the town, these desperadoes might fire the town and destroy the walls.'
[294] Campos Carrasco 1993: 181-219.
[295] See chapter 2 on the hybridization Iberian material culture with foreign influences. 'Iberian' by this point is an amalgam of Punic, Iberian, and Greek material culture.

influenced by Roman political and economic interests in the region as Italica begins competing

with other major cities in Iberia for status and imperial attention through to production of

Augustan propaganda. These two settlements are representative of shifting cultural dynamics:

Italica is influenced initially by the cultural Iberian hinterland, and Ispal was influenced by

Roman military and economic engagement, which in turn affected Italica's identity.

5.1 EARLY SETTLEMENT AT ITALICA

Italica was established following the battle of Ilippa in 202 BC. Scipio stationed his

wounded veterans at Italica before returning to Rome to prepare for the war in North Africa.[296]

Beyond this statement, there is no comment on Italica in existing literature on the settlement

until the first century BC. I would propose a critical examination of Italica's early history and

development because of the problematic framing scholars have applied to the town, specifically

in three distinct stages of evolution. In phase one Italica was essentially a military outpost to

oversee the Guadalquivir valley. The settlement of troops at Italica was designed to function as

part of a defensive network of allied cities along the southern Iberian coast, in the event that

Carthage returned to Iberia. Scipio's settlement of troops could be considered on the one hand

to be pragmatic, and on the other as an act of propaganda. Scipio's return to Rome with a

victorious army may have served as propaganda to the Senate, highlighting the effectiveness of

Scipio which would ensure his retention of the command and allow him the honour of taking

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[296] Appian, *Iber*. 38.152 'the Romans from this time, shortly before the one-hundred and forty-fourth Olympiad, began to send praetors of Iberia annually to those peoples they had captured, to act as governors and to ensure the peace there. Scipio left them a small army suitable for peaceful conditions, and established a town for his wounded men, which he named Italica, taking the name from Italy.'

the fight to North Africa, while allied troops were left to guard the periphery of Roman interests. [297] Appian asserts that Scipio's triumphal return to Rome was adorned with the spoils of war, and presumably by leaving the injured allied troops at Italica, Scipio's army appeared intact.[298] Pragmatically, the creation of a defensive line meant Rome could focus on Carthage, without major concern for the west.[299] Some researchers suggest the residents of Italica remained culturally intact, but fail to provide any evidence for this, and in the absence of evidence make the assumption Italica was a Turdetanian community with Italians living there.[300]

Figure 17 Map of Roman and allied settlements c. 200 BC

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[297] Appian, 24.93; Livy 28.37; Richardson 2000: 135.
[298] Appian, 38.154 'He himself sailed to Rome with a large fleet, brilliantly adorned and packed with prisoners, money, arms and spoils of different kinds. The city welcomed him magnificently and honoured him to a famous and unprecedented extent, both because of his youth and the speed and extent of his success.'
[299] Knapp 1977: 113-5.
[300] Hidalgo and Keay 1994: 399.

Phase two covers the period between the beginning of the second to first century (c. 200 – 100 BC), which emphasizes Italica's Iberian cultural influence. Through the first half of the second century, Italica is largely indistinguishable archaeologically from other Iberian communities, as the evidence indicates a sustained Iberian material culture until the latter half of the second century, but does contain several structures that have been erroneously identified as a '*capitolium*', suggesting an inherent hybridity. Regional 'Roman' influences at Ispal and Cordoba may have influenced the change in material culture, as Roman military presence, settlement of Roman allies at regional *conventus* communities, and the spread of Roman wares.

During the third phase (c. 100 BC-50 AD) Italica was involved in Roman political issues, especially during the Civil Wars, and the production of coinage featuring Augustan era propaganda was produced in order to compete for status with other cities in the region, many of them already holding citizen status.[301] This final phase demonstrates attempts to showcase Italica's Roman heritage and redefine its own identity as 'first in the west'. Italica's claim as 'first in the west' may be a manufactured identity to compete amongst other regional cities for status and recognition, which in turn has influenced scholarly conceptions of Italica in modernity. Many scholars consider Italica to be 'the first Roman colony in the west'.[302] However Italica's status has been misinterpreted by modern scholars, but the evidence does not support this as the town did not receive status until the Imperial period, and the confusion may stem from how scholars apply the term 'colony' to Italica based on the importance and resemblance to other veteran colonies in the latter second and first centuries BC.[303] In addition the assumption that Italica was a 'Roman'

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[301] Caesar, BA 59; Ripolles 2010: 367-71 on Augustan era coinage, see Tristan 1978.

[302] Garcia y Bellido 1960: 14; Richardson 1986: 53; Curchin 1991: 103; Richardson 1998: 36 and 2004: 52; Keay 2010: 44-6. It seems more likely that the first Roman colony in the west was Cordoba, founded c. 152, see chapter 5 for further discussion. Fear 1992: 127-38; see also Caballos *et al*. 1996*:* 103-4 on colonial documents.

[303] See Keay 2003 and Revell 2009: 57-60, for a summary of research on a variety of topics relating to Italica. Curchin 1991: 103-29.

settlement is problematic: Appian is unclear if these troops were Roman, Italian, or Latin, but the naming of Italica suggests non-Romans were settled there. I will begin by examining the territory of Italica, followed by the urban development.

5.1.1 THE 'CAPITOLIUM'

A three-roomed structure, which has been claimed by Bendala Galan to be either a temple or a *capitolium*, was placed on the eastern side of Los Palacios and overlooked the floodplain below.[304] Bendala Galan claims that an open space adjacent to the '*capitolium*' was a forum, which also reinforces the identification of this structure as a *capitolium* as there is an assumption that this arrangement was standard in Roman foundations. The fundamental problem is that early Italica clearly did not adhere to Roman standards in urban construction. Therefore, naming this structure as a *capitolium* is a dubious claim at best due to the numerous problems in identifying structures at Italica as purely 'Roman'. I will refrain from designating it as a *capitolium* because the requirements for a *capitolium* are not met. Nor should the structure be definitively considered as a temple because no ritual activity is evident, nor evidence of a dedication to a specific deity or cult activity of any sort. This lack of evidence may stem from fire damage to the structure in the Republican period, as well as expansion during the Imperial period. The exact purpose of the structure then is unknown, but the structure emphasizes Italica's hybrid population as evidenced by the construction methods and buildings employed. As was mentioned above the structure's three-room layout, prominent placement, and the location of public space nearby are what suggested that this building was a *capitolium* to

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[304] Bendala Galan 1989-90: 17-20; Mierse 1999: 1-11.

Bendala Galan.[305] The structure is oriented on an east-west axis with doorways to the east. Each of the three rooms measures ~8.8 metres in length, with the northern room 2.5 metres in width, and the central chamber nearly double at 4.85 metres wide.[306] The southern chamber was destroyed by a modern ditch, but enough evidence of the wall survived to suggest a similar form to the northern room. An exterior wall ran behind the structure, possibly creating another room to the rear of the temple, or it continued southward to create an enclosure, but there is insufficient evidence to definitively claim if this was another room or perimetre wall. Excavations around the entrance to the structure confirmed a second century BC foundation, and indicated no earlier occupation.[307]

The identification of this structure as a *capitolium* is problematic for several reasons. Bendala Galan's argument is primarily based on the floor plan rather than any specific evidence such as the presence of a podium, epigraphy, or religious activity. The structure's floor plan does emulate the typology of other similar structures that have been identified more securely as *capitolia*, for instance in Iberia at Tarraco, and Narbo Martius in Gaul. Italica is clearly different; primarily due to when it was founded, and its purpose. Italica, as I have argued above, was a garrison and not a *colonia*, and therefore most likely did not have a similar foundation seen in other *colonia*, of marking out of the urban space and religious processions.[308] The lack of a podium may be indicative that the building was not a religious site as well: *capitolia*, even at early dates, typically feature a *pronaos* and should include a podium, linked to a forum nearby,

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[305] Bendala Galán 1989.
[306] Barton 1982: 334, cites the size of this temple as similar to temples found at Narbo Martius. Other examples of similar sized *capitolia* are found at Scarbantia (Odenburg, Austria), see Hellenkemper 1975: 808. For a summary of temples elsewhere, but is based on questionable evidence, see Cavalieri Manasse 2008: 309-115, *cf.* Quinn and Wilson 2013: 168-73, table 1.
[307] Bendala Galan 1975: 867-8, n.6.
[308] For Narbo Martius, see Quinn and Wilson 2013: 144-5, n. 151; *cf.* Rupke 2006; on Tarraco, see *RIT* 922, *cf. RIT* 34, which records a dedication to several Roman gods including Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and others.

neither of which is present.[309] Typically, a *capitolium* would contain evidence of cult activity, specifically to Juno, Minerva and Jupiter. There is no evidence of this structure being used for religious purposes and the earliest evidence of pre-Augustan era cult activity is linked to an ornamental statue of Potnia Theron found nearby, which was clearly not linked to any of the gods typically associated with *capitolia*.[310] Bendala Galan's theory about the structure is also untenable because of the presumption that the open space in front of the structure was actually a 'forum'. It is plausible that this open space was a public space, but there is no evidence to identify the structure and public space as part of an actual forum complex.
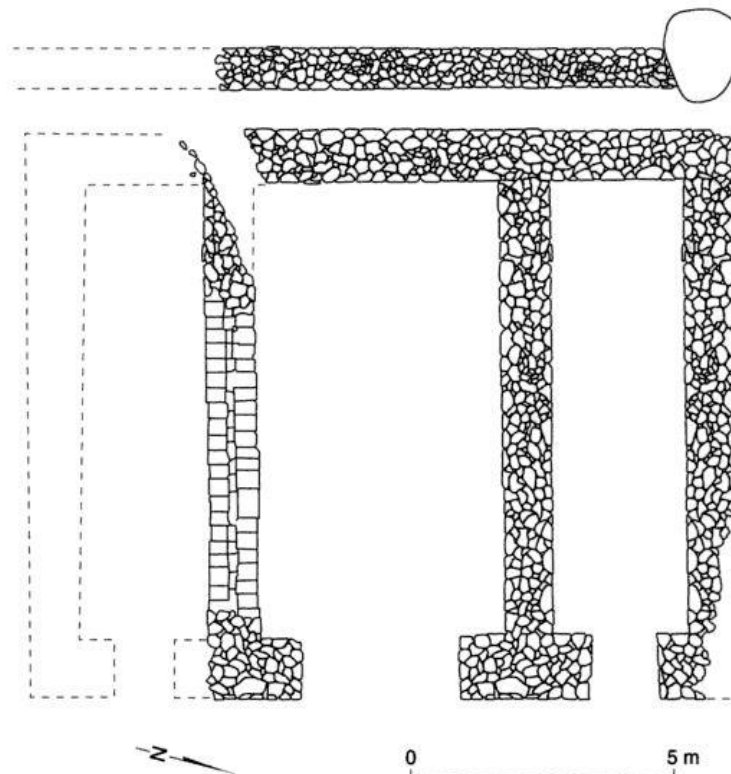
Figure 18 Floor plan of Italica's 'capitolia' (Mierse 1999: 4, fig. 3)

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[309] Quinn and Wilson 2013: 130; *cf.* Barton 1982: 259-60. Barton identifies the earliest capitolium at Pompeii in the third century BC, followed by Aquinium in the second century. If this structure was identified as a capitolium, it would be the earliest outside of Italy.
[310] Garcia y Bellido 1979: 18-9, fig. 11, but does not provide where it was discovered, *cf.* Blázquez 1953.

Recently, Wilson and Quinn have examined the many problems associated with identifying structures as *capitolia*, most notably that scholars have assumed that a Roman city, and particularly a colony should have a *capitolium* and have then looked at potential *capitolia* through that prism, when in fact structures may have had other purposes.[311] In reality, not all structures that meet these criteria may be *capitolia*. More generally, as discussed by Quinn and Wilson, nineteenth and twentieth century Roman archaeologists set out specific typologies of city centres or monumental centres, seeking out specific structures that agree with Republican urban typologies. To this end, scholars seek out structures that fit these criteria: *capitolium*, basilica, forum, temples and so forth. The Italica structure does meet the three-room appearance, it overlooks the floodplain below and it is conceivable that some form of public or religious events could take place here. However, the structure is decidedly not classically 'Roman': building techniques, the lack of a podium, the small size, and the fact it was an interpretation of Roman architecture by Italians and Iberians.[312] However, the structure can only be an *interpretation* of a *capitolia* if that was what the designers were constructing; if not, then the structure may have been some other form of public space. All evidence points to the conclusion that this structure is not a *capitolia*, but then it is also true that not all *capitolia* are simple replications, but vary in many ways.[313] Likewise, attributing religious activity to the structure is also problematic: the appearance of Roman deities in non-Roman communities is not indicative of 'Romanization', although examples of Roman deities in non-Roman communities prior to

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[311] Quinn and Wilson 2013: 117-73. The voluminous bibliography of Quinn and Wilson's article, summarized in n.1, indicates the importance to the development of Roman colonial urbanism, but also modern scholars which misinterpret urban constructs due to assumptions on provincial urbanism in the mid to late Republican era. See also Barton 1982: 259-342, who indicates this structure may have been a temple or '*capitolia*'.

[312] Zanker 1998: 53-5, esp. 54, fig. 19.

[313] Wilson and Quinn 2013: 70-3. The surveys of *capitolia* indicate that a variety of different opinions by scholars and the samples from *capitolia* are not exactly the same in each instance.

their grant of Roman legal status include the temple of Jupiter at Pompeii and Cosa.[314] Although scholars have sought to categorize attributes to map hybridization and sharing of religious syncretism, the summation of evidence indicates that during the mid-Republic, provincial settlements provided a point of negotiation and hybridization between local, Italian, and Roman influences.[315]

Beyond the simple physical attributes of the '*capitolium*', other conceptual doubts arise about the appellation of this structure. When Rome began to deploy colonies across the Mediterranean, only settlements with colonial status would be granted the legal right to construct a *capitolium.* As Italica held no legal status prior to the first century BC, that does not preclude the residents from constructing a temple. Until the mid-first century, when Hadrian granted Italica colonial rights, the settlement was not prestigious enough to warrant the construction of a *capitoliia*.[316] Nonetheless, a city could construct a temple of Jupiter on its own, as seen in Pompeii in the mid-second century BC,[317] but the structure would be a temple of Jupiter rather than a *capitolium* per se because for the structure to be a *capitolia*, Minerva and Juno must be worshipped in addition to Jupiter. The likeliness that the '*capitolium*' was a temple rather than a civic structure is low given the lack of evidence.

What might be more productive than a slightly reductive argument about the purpose of the building is to consider that this structure as a negotiation between Iberian and Italian communities, with this structure and adjacent open space as a negotiation of Italic urban life hybridized by Punic-Iberian construction methods with the quality of the 'complex' limited by

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[314] Zanker 1998: 55; Brown 1951: 63; *cf.* Quinn and Wilson 2013: 123-4.
[315] Millett 1995: 93-5; Birley 1986; Revell 2009: 110-5. See also Mattingly 2011: 266-8;
[316] Keay 2010: 43-55.
[317] Laurence 2010: 22-5.

access to materials and the wealth of Italica in the early second century BC.[318] The construction

techniques of the '*capitolium*' emphasize the relationship between the *Italicenses* and local Iberian

communities; the materials and methods used are similar to stone rubble construction found in

Iberian communities.[319] The southern part of the structure is the most well-preserved; the base

of the walls are constructed using a rubble stone foundation consisting of larger stones below

and blocks diminishing in size in the next two layers. Above the third layer, stone slabs were

employed to reinforce the structure; this pattern repeats throughout the wall's construction.

Similar stone slabs were used to create uniformity along the exterior of the wall, which was then

reinforced with brick exterior assembled systematically and plastered with lime coated clay

walls. The floor of the structure was unfinished and consisted of simple trampled earth.[320]

Similar forms of architecture can be seen from hybridized Iberian settlements across the

southern peninsula.[321]

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[318] Boatwright 2000: 162-7.
[319] Roldan Gomez 1987: 91-2.
[320] Bendala Galan 1975: 865; Leon 1977-8: 144, suggests these walls coincide with Vitruvian dimensions.
[321] Keay 1991: 336; Downs 1992: 359. See chapter 2 for a discussion on Iberian communities with Phoencio-Punic and Greek influences.
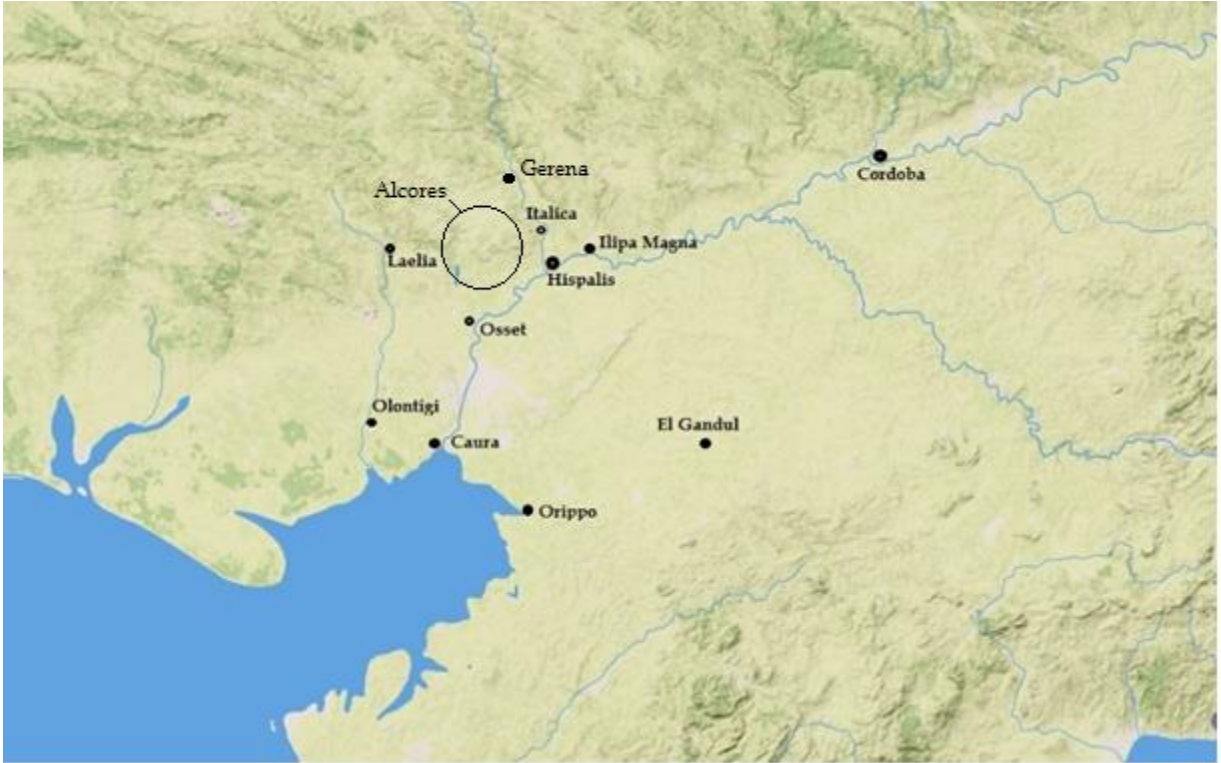
Figure 19 Italica and Hispalis in an Iberian hinterland, c. second century BC.

5.1.2 TERRITORY OF ITALICA

The extent of Italica's territory is difficult to determine. Epigraphic evidence for the boundaries of early Italica is non-extant, and indeed may never have existed in this period. Some clear geographic and political boundaries may, however, have influenced Italica's territory.[322] Italica existed in a landscape of several communities, and there is no evidence to suggest that Italica's presence altered the territorial topography of the second century BC.[323] The most obvious boundary would be to the southeast: the territory of Ispal and the lower

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[322] Extensive studies have been conducted by Ponsich into the relationships between towns and their hinterlands, and influenced much of the scholarship to date; Ponsich 1974; 1979; 1987; 1991.
[323] See Brughmans *et al.* 2012: 280; Keay 1998; refer to figure 14 (*supra*).

Guadalquivir river. Several smaller Iberian ports that predated Italica's foundation existed

along the lower *Betis* at
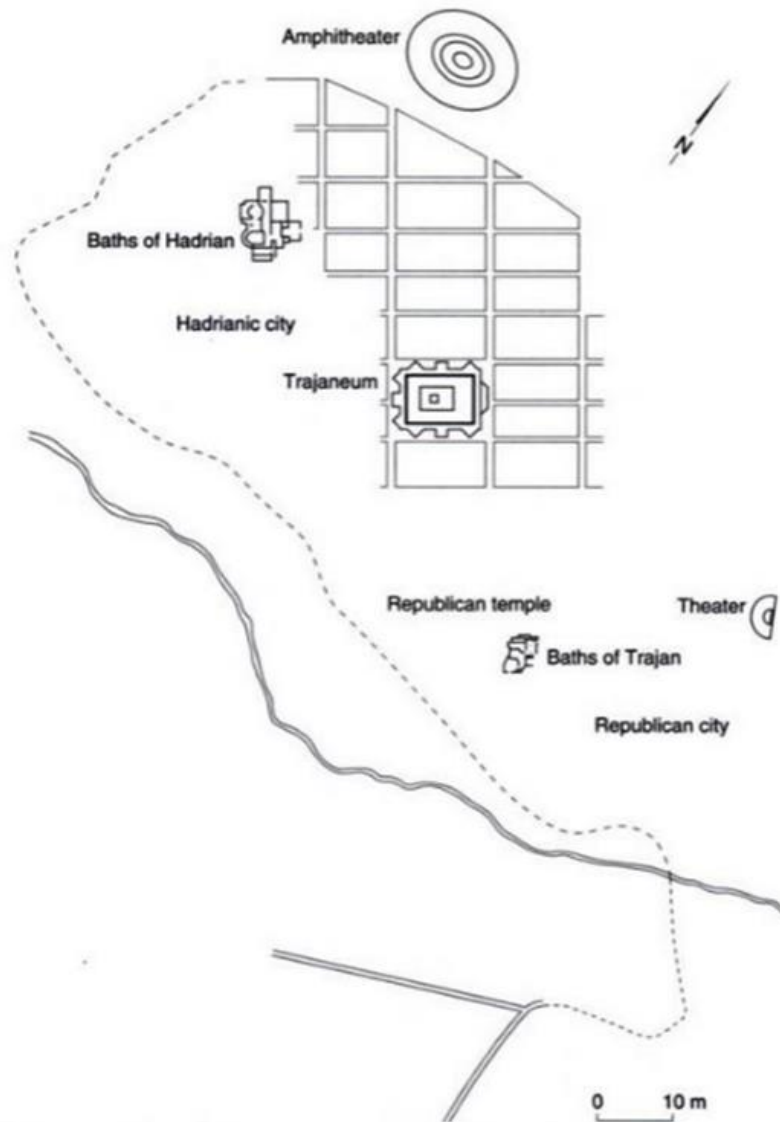
Figure 20 Urban map of Italica, including the Hadrianic city (Mierse 1999: 3, fig. 2)

Orippo, Caura (Coria del Rio), and at Ilippa Magna (Alcala del Rio).[324] Another Iberian

community, whose Latin name has been lost, existed at Gerena, northwest of Italica by about 17

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[324] Rescue archaeology has benefitted the study of several of these regions: Amores Carredano 1982; Ruiz Delgado 1985; Oria Segura *et al*. 1990; Duran Recio and Padilla Monje 1990; Fernandez Caro 1992; Escacena Carrasco and

kilometres. Gerena may also have controlled the fields south of Italica, as well as territory in the Alcores region, west of Italica.[325] To the west of Italica, a mining community was located at Laelia (Cerro de la Cabeza, Sobarbina, OIivares), on the western slopes of the Alcor valley and may have controlled much of the western and central valley. On the western bank of the *Betis*, probably adjacent to Ispal's territory and south of Italica was Osset (San Juan de Aznalfarache), which presumably controlled the western and northern expanse of the Aznalfarache region.[326] The common feature of all of these settlements is that they are situated on high plateaus, with lines of sight across their territories.[327] Although Italica's exact boundaries are unknown, the density of Iberian settlements should indicate limited access to land and resources. In contrast, much more is known on the urban landscape and the archaeological evidence highlights Italica's complex identity.

Italica's urban zone encompassed two hilltops, Cerro de San Antonio and Los Palacios, and lacks any specific planning as seen in later Roman settlements. Italica was situated next to a pre-existing, but unnamed Iberian community at Cerro de la Cabeza, where the village of Santiponce currently exists.[328] The nearby Iberian community was established in the fifth or fourth centuries, but little is known about this site. Fragmentary information is available on the community, but is unremarkable as no clear image of Cabeza can be deduced from the limited information beyond an Iberian community existed contemporaneously with Italica.[329] Leon has claimed that Italica's Republican forum is located under the modern Santiponce, and if that

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Padilla Monge 1992. The destruction of Ispal at the end of the third century may have caused the Betis to be more of a boundary than Ispal's influence.

[325] Amores 1982: 20

[326] Keay 2010: 35-40; see also Corzo 1982 and Sillieres 1990.

[327] Keay1998: 12-3, 60.

[328] Keay 1997: 21-47.

[329] Keay 2010: 44. Cerro de la Cabeza may have contained adobe structures that may have featured painted clay flooring.

were true, the relationship between this community and the early settlers at Italica could be perceived as close, but the majority of Republican era activity is located further up the hill, perhaps making this claim unlikely and it is certainly unproved as it stands.[330]

It has been argued that there are clear zones of activity at Italica, although this characterization of space is problematic and based on very limited evidence. Los Palacios is suggested to be the residential and administrative district because of the presence of a so-called *capitolium*; the problems of this identification will be discussed below. Cerro de San Antonio, on the other hand, is argued to be an industrial area because of the presence of a kiln, but it is unclear what was produced in it. This interpretation may not be accurate, as there is no clear indication of the kiln's purpose was and it may have been used for purposes other than industry. Likewise the absence of residential housing on Cerro de San Antonio is not justification for such zonal designations; the presence of one kiln does not make a region industrial by nature.[331]

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[330] Leon 1995: 18-20.
[331] Pelliger Catalan 1998: 145-86.

5.1.3 ROMAN STATUS

When Italica was first settled by Scipio in 202, the settlement held no official status. The residents may have recognized themselves as an *urbs* or *oppidum*, or perhaps an *arx* if the community initially considered itself a garrison, and gained municipial status much later.[332] Italica later became a *municipium* sometime during the Augustan period and became a *colonia* under Trajan. Early evidence of Italica's status comes from an inscription which records the donation of portions of Corinthian war spoils by Lucius Mummius following the Achaean War of 146 BC. Even though the inscription is problematic in many respects, this is the primary evidence used as the basis for Italica's early status. The inscription was restored by Mommsen with the word *vicus* being inserted to describe Italica. The term *vicus* has been challenged by scholars, who claim that Mommsen inserted the word and the repairs left little evidence of the original term used.[333] Mommsen's restoration, however, ultimately was accepted as correct, and scholars agreed that early Italica held no municipal status in the early second century.[334] Further reinforcing Italica's lack of colonial or municipal status before the first century is Velleius' statement, although incorrect, that the first colony established outside of the Italian peninsula was at Carthage in 122.[335]

Italica's lack of status before the first century is unsurprising because grants of colonial rights were given by the Senate, but in the case of Italica the settlement was an ad hoc

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[332] Knapp 1977: 111 states that Italica was not a pre-Caesarian *munipicia*, based on the language employed in Caesar's reference to *municeps* or 'townsfolk', and should not indicate municipal status. Caesar, *BA* 52.4

[333] [L(ucius) Mummius] L(uci) f(ilius) Imp(erator) / [ded(icavit) Corintho] capta / [vico Italice] nisi. Degressi *ILLRP* 331 interprets *ded* as *ded(it)*. Knapp 1977: 113, n.28.

[334] Hubner and Shulten, *RE* 1912, 9.2 believe this inscription should read *urbs* or *oppida*. This is due to later inscription bearing these titles and may relate to previous titles (see *CIL* II.213). Knapp 1977: 113 suggests Italica may have originally been recognized as an *urbs* based on the feminine gender of Italica.

[335] Vellius 2.7.7; this is clearly inaccurate as Cordoba was founded with colonial status in 152, but identifies the importance of recognition of extra-Italian colonies did not occur until at least the mid-second century.

foundation by a general. Wilson states accurately that Italica was a: "settlement […] founded without legislation, simply by the decision of the representative of the state in the province", which concurs with previous scholarship. Similarly, Knapp applied the term "peregrine right" to the creation of Italica.[336] In conclusion, whilst Mommsen's inscription has been accepted as the basis for Italica's early status (*supra* n. 45), I am persuaded by Wilson's argument that Italica lacked a civic status because of its improvised nature by commanders during war-time.[337] As I have mentioned above I would also argue that Italica was an *ad hoc* defensive community, possibly to reinforce Gaditanian troops should Carthage attempt to regain southern Iberia and the Pillars.[338]

Even if the inscription was restored correctly by Mommsen, it does not accurately capture the initial purpose of Italica, only the beneficence of Mummius by providing to the *vicus* seen in the mid-second century. First, a *colonia* would be comprised of a majority of Roman citizens; it is unclear who was settled at Italica, but most likely on the basis of Appian's comment of a home for wounded soldiers and named after Italy, Italica was a mixed group of some Romans, Latins, and Italians; the majority of veterans settled may not have held Roman citizenship.[339] Therefore, the resident population of Italica should not have been granted Roman citizenship, nor benefitted from living in a colonial setting. Second, the historical accounts of Italica's establishment suggests that fetial rites were not performed (they are certainly not present in Appian's comment on Italica) and if these rites were not observed, Italica by definition cannot be recognized as a *colonia*. Although Italica was not founded with a specific

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[336] Wilson 1966*:* 15; Knapp 1977: 113, citing Gasterer 1971: 7.
[337] Wilson 1966: 14-6.
[338] Richardson 1986: 54-7, emphasizing the role of consular commanders versus senatorial direction. Richardson cites the designation of *provincia* as the basis for consular power over senatorial concerns; Livy 27.7.1-4.
[339] Italians were not granted the Roman citizenship until the end of the Social War. Appian, *Civil Wars*, 8-10.

status, this did not later prevent the creation of propaganda to emphasize the town's claim to be the 'first Romans in the west'.

5.1.4 ROMAN PROPAGANDA AND COINAGE

In AD 19, two series of coins were produced at Italica.[340] The obverse of these coins portrays the image of Drusus or Germanicus, both of whom commonly featured on coinage produced in the *Hispaniae* during this period.[341] The reverse, however, features a legionary eagle in the centre, crowned with a *vexillum*, and flanked by two military symbols. Minor variations have been identified in both series, indicating several dies were employed in the crafting of these coins. Whilst this design found on these coins is not uncommon amongst Baetican towns,[342] Italica's coin production is strange due to the fact that all other towns that produced coins were *coloniae* and generally displayed the names of legions which were settled there.[343] The example from Acci (Gaudix) for instance depicts twin legionary standards, referring to the veterans settled at Acci. This coin issue from Italica then seems to be anomalous among the other coin issues minted during the Augustan period and is clearly interesting if it was an attempt to promote the city against other communities in the region.[344] Scholars have identified that coin production in the Roman period was linked to urbanization and the exploitation of local resources, such as coins featuring goods produced by the city. Producing coins with these

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[340] Vives 1924: 125; Chaves 1979: 68-71.
[341] Chaves 1979: 29-30.
[342] Coinage was produced in the region for centuries, see Ripolles 2010: 358-61; on Augustan era coinage, see Tristan 1978.
[343] Villaronga Garriga 1987; on Ilici, see 997; Acci, 1000 and 1114; Cordoba, 8.1002; Emerita, 1030; Caesar Augusta, 1062, 1089, 1129; Carthago Nova, 1135
[344] Vives 1924; Villaronga Garriga 1987 : 1007.

images would suggest the economic and cultural integration of Romano-Iberian élites, who were based within cities controlling exploitable resources such as towns with significant mining or agricultural production, with the wider Roman world.[345] It is also the case that many of the mints were located at settlements with strategic economic importance; they were located at crossroads, natural fords, or areas that produced a high volume of resources, such as mines.[346] However, there are examples of towns that produce coinage when local resources had been exhausted, such as at Carthago Nova, which suggests that promotion of cities was not always linked to the goods or resources produced locally.[347] The production of coinage may have been linked to a general promotion of the appearance of supporting Rome, insomuch as towns could represent themselves.

Given the circumstances of coin production in the rest of Iberia it is worth posing the question: if Italica had no major resources beyond minor agricultural resources, was not located at a point that was economicaly or strategically important, and did not hold colonial status, why then was coinage being produced here? The lack of natural resources or apparent goods produced for export and the fact that the town was not a major trading nexus does not suggest propaganda based on economic power. With these aspects in mind, there is no other clear purpose for the production of coinage other than to appeal to Rome for greater status, and did so through the production of military-themed coinage and identifying with Augustus' regime. The coinage is representative of the generation of an outward Roman image, but the resumptive

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[345] Several examples of coin production are linked to communities with major resources or points of exchange: on ports at Gades, Saguntum, Malaka, and Cartiea, see Ripolles and Llorens 2002: 321-46; Campo and Mora 1995; Alfaro 1988; Chaves 1979: 104-9. On mines at Castulo, see Garcia y Bellido 1982) and Arevalo 2000: 39-46, *cf.*

[346] See map X, note the distribution along the Ebro and Guadalquivir valley, indicating a major uptake of Roman coin issues across the areas of significant Roman activity.

[347] Specifically Carthago Nova, which began producing coinage well after the mines of the Rio Tinto had been depleted; Llorens 1994; Domergue 1990; 1987: 362-405.

heritage that is being claimed is one not of Roman origins, but rather Italic, but in a way

represents Italica in an idealized Roman manner rather than the historically accurate version.

Andrew Fear has argued that the coinage was produced at Italica not to promote the city

as 'first in the west', but to denote an Augustan settlement of troops at Italica. The evidence has

been interpreted to suggest a military settlement located somewhere between Hispalis and

Italica, but scholars have argued this point.[348] A settlement that Henderson claimed would have

been placed across the Betis from Hispalis, potentially near Osset.[349] Fear rejected Henderson's

theory due to the lack of a bridge, and employs Strabo's commentary as a basis for claiming an

undocumented veteran settlement, arguing that Strabo 'is only guilty of poor editing'.[350] Whilst

Fear argues inaccurately for the presence of a veteran settlement and in favor of Strabo's

knowledge of the region, he rightly identified the purpose of these coins when arguing that: 'the

most obvious solution unknown veteran settlement is that Italica is recalling its own military

foundation', because regardless of any later settlement of troops, Italica had the unique

experience as the first veteran settlement in *Hispaniae Ulterior*. The fact that Italica is the only

town with municipal, rather than colonial, status that was producing coinage in Baetica is a

statement in itself, which highlights an exclusive heritage.

Fear's article also overlooks another aspect, the inundation of 'Roman' wares into the

region during the latter first century BC and the competition for status. The adoption of coinage,

as discussed in chapter two, was a protracted development in Iberia, as Punic and Greek

influences initially encouraged the monetization of trade, and previously trade was generally

conducted by barter rather that a monetary system. The effect of trade on Iberian communities

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[348] Fear 1991: 213-5.
[349] Henderson 1942 1-13.
[350] Fear 1991: 215; Strabo 3.2.2

by Greek and Punic traders and settlements encouraged the development towards a monetized economy between the eighth and third centuries. The minting of coins by Iberian communities was not isolated to the Roman period, as seen in the case of Emporion in chapter two, and was most likely due to contact with colonists, soldiers, craftsmen and entrepreneurs.[351] In the case of Italica, the first coins minted with Roman imagery appeared after 27 BC, exhibiting Augustus' image and celebrating Rome's success.[352] The engagement with Roman economic networks is an extension of previous experiences; regions that traded with Greek and Punic towns tended to produce coinage that agreed with their major commercial partners.

It is Italica's emphasis of its own local heritage that is the key point here. Italica was engaging with Roman imperial culture by highlighting the town's legendary connection to Rome. The image of Drusus and Germanicus on the obverse is a clear indication of a public statement of loyalty to Rome, while the obverse heralds its military foundation, regardless of Fear's presumption of an alleged Augustan settlement of veterans at Italica. The reverse image is somewhat problematic, because it is an eagle, which only comes into use in the late second century BC and therefore it could be seen as not accurately representing the past, but perhaps it is an anachronistic interpretation of Italica's heritage.[353] In my opinion, the intended message of this coin issue was designed to emphasize the image of 'first in the west' and an expression of Italica's devotion to the Roman state, as well as acknowledgement of Rome's authority. Italica's coins are a clear statement of Roman identity and a public announcement of cultural affiliation alongside self-propaganda.

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[351] Marin 1988; Tsirkin 1993: 312; Blazquez 1996: 186; Arevalo 2000: 41.
[352] Tristan 1978: 98-100.
[353] Pliny, *NH* 10.5

Another aspect to consider regarding Italica's coin production is the social and political

climate of the Augustan period. As discussed earlier, by this period Italica was not a colony, but

was a *municipium*, as highlighted in the inscription on these coins: *Per. Aug. Munic. Italic*.

Caesar's commentary on the rebellion against Q. Cassius Longinus, the pro-praetor assigned to

Hispania Ulterior in 48-7, by Marcellus, provides an interesting perspective on Italica's role in the

Civil War. Caesar describes Cassius as a corrupt and disreputable praetor, engaged in open

bribery and who levied taxes for personal gain, as well as someone who encouraged dissent

between rich and poor.[354] The conspirators were primarily from Italica, including their leader

Marcellus. The men allegedly inscribed their shields with Pompey's name, and were persuaded

by Marcellus that their rebellion was not against Caesar, but Longinus' tyranny.[355] Caesar may

have considered *Italicenses* to be of good character for supporting Caesar after Marcellus

admonished them for rebelling against Cassius, and by extension Rome, and this attitude

potentially reflects Caesar's own doubt about appointing Cassius as pro-praetor in his absence.

This episode relates to Italica's status because it highlights Italica's involvement in

displaying good Republican values by supporting and submitting to Caesar, whilst rejecting

tyrannical governance. By calling the men *municeps*, Caesar is indicating on one hand that they

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[354] Caesar, *BA* 49: 'Wealthy men were ordered to furnish sums of money, and these Longinus not merely allowed but even compelled to be debited to his account. Poor men were precipitated into conflict with the wealthy class to promote dissensions, and no kind of profit, either large and obvious, or quite insignificant and mean, was overlooked, non with which the commander-in-chief was not involved privately and officially. There was not one man – provided only he had something to lose – but he was either held on bail or duly entered in the lists of the accused. Thus there was also a very uneasy presentiment of danger in addition to the sacrifices and losses of personal possessions.'

[355] Caesar, *BA* 59: 'The tears and entreaties of this vast multitude had no little effect upon the army; it saw too that to punish Cassius it had no need of the name and memory of Cn. Pompeius; that Longinus was equally hateful to all the adherents of Caesar as he was to those of Pompey; and that is could induce neither the citizen corporation of Cordoba nor Marcellus to act contrary to Caesar's interest. Accordingly they removed Pompey's name from their shields, adopted Marcellus, who professed his intention to champion Caesar's cause, as their leader and hailed him as praetor, made common cause with the citizen corporation, and pitched their camp near Cordoba.'

are residents of Italica, but on the other referencing the fact that the men are also acting as agents on behalf of Caesar by engaging in Roman affairs by confronting threats to the region. In the wider Baetican political landscape, Italica in the late first century BC became a *municipium*. For the reasons discussed above then the city's coinage can be perceived as an appeal for greater recognition, as many other regional Roman settlements held greater status. On a wider scale, this is not isolated to just Italica; coins were produced at one-hundred and sixty different settlements throughout the *Hispaniae*, used locally to pay for goods and services, as well as pay for auxiliary troops. The majority of these coins are found within Iberia, but Iberian coins do turn up in Gaul and North Africa.[356] These coins were so prolific that in some cities, these local issues made upwards of 85% of all bronze coins in circulation.[357] There are many reasons for the production of coins: payment for public projects and services, money-changers for local trade, grants of public donations by beneficiaries, public events such as games, festivals, or commemorative moments in civic history, or even financial and prestige benefits on providing a mint or engraver, and lastly supplying the military with bronze issues for daily transactions.[358] All of these aspects are likely to have played a part in the minting of Italica's coins, and multiple aspects could be true at once. The production of coinage at Italica was primarily meant to promote the town's legendary status as 'first in the west', but also enhance Italica's status in general against other Roman settlements in Iberia.

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[356] On Gaul, see Py 2006: 665-89; Callegarin and el Harrif 2000.
[357] Bost *et al* 1987: 45-51.
[358] Rippolles 2012: 370-1.

5.2 ISPAL

In this section I will turn to Ispal, later Hispalis, which was a major regional centre of political and economic power within the lower Guadalquiver. The purpose of examining Hispalis is to consider the acculturative aspects of interaction with Rome. The difficulty with Ispal and the Republican-era Hispalis is that both the Roman and pre-Roman city is largely obstructed by the modern city of Sevilla. Much of the early archaeological evidence discovered is fragmentary, but still allows a partial reconstruction of Ispal based on the later Imperial-era city. Recent research, although expanding knowledge of Hispalis, is generally weak and based on the earlier works.[359] I will first discuss what is known about the urban aspects of the Turdetanian settlement, followed by the Roman *conventus*. After this, I will address the acculturative forces which impacted on the city throughout its history, up to the first century AD.

Ispal, and later Hispalis, had strong cultural influence on regional communities: in the pre-Roman period, Greek and Phoenician culture was transmitted through trade, and in the Roman period, local élites disappear as a Roman *conventus* appropriates Ispal's location. Ispal has been considered through the lens of appropriation of space, but in the settlement's early history, there were many identities present as indicated by non-Roman temples and the importation of Punic wares in large quantities, which would suggest that even though a Roman *conventus* was established here, regional goods and cultural influence was still present throughout the second and early first centuries BC. The presence of regional cultures would

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[359] Blanco Freijeiro 1984; Collantes 1977 ; Temino 1991: 157-75, notes 'Sin embargo, la interpretacion historica de esos nuevos datos es, en general, bastante endeble manteniendose basicamente fundamentada en los estudios anteriores de Collantes de Teran y A. Blanco, sin haberse sido capaz de componer una articulacion distinta a pesar de trabajar con un cuerpo de informacion practicamente nuevo.'

suggest that early Hispalis was a hybridized community, with a small number of Romans living in the *conventus* and non-Romans living around the nucleated settlement.

The earliest settlement at Ispal first appears in the eighth century: pottery sherds discovered under the north wall of the Real Alcazar date to the eighth and seventh centuries BC, and the pottery assemblage continues through to the Roman period with adaptations in style, use, and overall indicates a shift in the foods stored from Iberian and Punic wares to Roman wares.[360] Initially, Ispal was a Tartessian community, but in the sixth century BC Ispal appears to come under Turdetanian control.[361] The mineral trade continued under Turdetanian control of Ispal, as well as Punic relations.[362] There is limited information about the pre-fifth century settlement, but from the fourth century, there was a sharp increase and abundance of Phoenician-style amphorae, mainly carrying oil, suggesting that Ispal was a redistribution site for imported goods.

The topography surrounding Ispal has changed dramatically over the past three millennia. Ispal was originally located on a small island in the Betis (Guadalquivir) at the confluence with the Rio Tagarete. In Figure 17 below, the shaded area denotes the Roman territory within the city walls, with the harbour placed along the southwest of the main Roman city. The original Turdetanian settlement existed within the later walled area, most likely along the Cuesta del Rosario, where the oldest finds of pottery have been found.[363] Ispal was located at a strategic crossroads: the Betis provided access to the upper Guadalquivir on smaller vessels, while the lower Betis allowed access for larger ships, and served as a natural landing for goods being transported to and from the interior of the Meseta. Over time, sediment from agricultural

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[360] Garcia Ferdandez and Garcia Vargas 2009: 121-55.
[361] See chapter 2 for a full discussion.
[362] Garcia Fernandez and Gonzalez Acuna 2007: 525-566; Jiminez *et al.* 2006: 281-312; Ferrer *et al.* 2005.
[363] Roldan 2007: 11-12.

activity along the Tagarete changed the topography around Ispal and merged the island with the mainland.[364] The changing topography had significant impacts on urbanization and trade. Urban expansion at Ispal took place during the fifth century, and the new urban zones were developed towards the Guadalquivir along the calle Alameda, Trajano and Tetuan avenues, which would have formed a curved boundary where the riverbed existed in the fifth century. The expansion of the urban area coincides with the regional development of overland trade routes, which suggests that with the control of Ispal transferring from the Tartessians to Turdetanians there was an organic investment by local residents to enhance Ispal*'s* facilities. Ispal's location was placed at a natural point of exchange, and with bountiful agriculture and access to grazing lands to the south along the *Lacus Lagustinus*, an area which had great importance since the Bronze Age as a principal trade location.[365] The development of trade routes stemming from Ispal appear to be organic, linked to the movement of livestock, transportation of Punic and Greek imports, and the export of minerals, rather than other sites because of the established settlement, access to the upper Guadalquivir, and was a short distance up the coast from Gadir.[366] Contact with Greek and Punic traders also saw the rise of viticulture around Ispal, with several communities cultivating vines in the lower Guadalquivir valley.[367] Overland trade routes and their associated communities were impacted by the shift in political control over Ispal following the decline of Tartessos, as discussed in chapter two. The main Turdetanian settlement, as I will discuss in the next chapter on Cordoba, was located at Colina de los Quemados, which was situated near to the Betis River and controlled significant amounts of territory within the Aljarafe and the Sierra Moreno, with Ispal as the southern-most

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[364] Dietler 2009: 10.
[365] Haley 2003: 56; Keay 1996: 51.
[366] See chapter 2 on the distribution of goods.
[367] Sil. Ital. 3.390; Shulten 1958-61: 428; On the distribution on early Baetican viticulture, see Colls *et al.* 1977: 130; Evidence of wine exported from Gades, *CIL* XV.2 4570.

trade port in its territory. Archaeological evidence at Colina de los Quemados suggests that between the sixth and third centuries, the community grew to unprecedented size, most likely due to facilitating trade with Punic communities. These trade routes were enhanced by the singular control extended from Colina de los Quemados to the south, which led to the Turdetanians becoming one of the most powerful tribes and their control of significant territories.

Evidence of a series of fires at Ispal and other towns in the lower Guadalquivir suggests that by the end of the Second Punic War, significant damage had been done to the Iberian settlements and their economic networks, including the commercial and industrial infrastructure.[368] The region apparently then suffered a major economic degradation, which was primarily due to marauding Carthaginian and Roman armies, as well as Roman alliances with Punic settlements, further disrupting the Barcid status quo. For these reasons, following the war the Guadalquivir valley was in a state of economic and

Figure 21 Location of Ispal, and later Hispalis, within the modern city of Seville and original river routes. (Campos Carrasco 1989: 253)

[368] Escacena and Padilla 1992; Keay 2010: 36.

political flux. Traditional trade links had been disrupted, allowing foreign influences to affect change by re-establishing connections within the region. Roman Hispalis is one of those links, and I will now turn my attention to the foundations of the new city.

We should not think that of Ispal as a large, powerful Turdentian port city, especially at the end of the second century BC. Evidence derived from a series of archaeological excavations along the Roman-era wall provides the basis for the arguments below. While Ispal retained its prime location on the Guadalquivir, as was noted above, the city suffered from a major fire during the last years of the second century. The origins of the conflagration are unknown, but it seems to have destroyed the majority of the city. The first identification of Ispal*'s* destruction came in 1944 following Collantes' excavations and was later supported by Chicarro's find of Carthaginian coins dated between 209 and 206 BC sealed by the destruction layer.[369] Another hypothesis is that the city may have been destroyed during a rebellion against Hasdrubal in 216.[370] Campos Carrasco on the other hand also claims that Ispal was also destroyed by fire between 230–225, on the basis of evidence, which coincides with Barcid control of the region.[371] Contrary to the hypotheses of Chicarro and Campos Carrasco, Temino argues for a later date of the destruction of Ispal, stating that it is conceivable that a withdrawing Carthaginian army may have set the city ablaze to prevent Romans from capturing Ispal.[372] Evidence from mid-second century Ispal, especially around Argote de Molina, indicates a planned reconstructed urban area heavily influenced by Roman planning techniques, revealing the opportunity for considerable rebuilding and suggesting previous considerable damage to the urban area.[373]

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[369] Collantes 1977: 53, n. 18.
[370] Blanco 1984: 94-108.
[371] Campos Carrasco 1986; Campos Carrasco *et al.* 1988; Escudero Cuesta *et al.* 1987: 591; Fernandez Ruiz 1987: 603; Escudero Cuesta and Vera Reina 1988: 407; Campos Carrasco 1990: 245.
[372] Temino 1991: 160.
[373] Campos Carrasco 1986: 153-5.

Ultimately, it is plausible that there were three distinct incendiary incidents at Ispal; a fire in the city in the 220s, a rebellion in the 210s, and a strategic immolation in 206, but it is difficult to be certain who burnt the city although it is clear there was significant damage which seems to have reduced Ispal from major port to a riverside village by the beginning of the second century. It is also plausible that the archaeology may have been flawed, and that there was one blaze, depending on the accuracy of the archaeology conducted, but the results was that the town was reduced from a regional trade hub to a village near the town's ruins, and that the site may have been abandoned for other Iberian settlements nearby such as Osset. The entirety of Ispal may not have been destroyed, which may be why the Roman *conventus* was built atop the old Iberian town, or possibly simply for the logistical prominence of the site.

The establishment of a *conventus* at the site may relate to the wider regional post-Punic War environment; the disruption of the regional political and economic status quo in southern Iberia and the insertion of 'Roman' communities in their place. As we have seen the actions of the Barcids and the wider impact of war in southern Iberia during the third century must have had a significant impact on regional Iberian communities near Ispal, especially if the largest town in the region was sacked or otherwise destroyed. The post-war landscape could have provided major opportunities for non-Iberian economic interests to be directed towards the Guadalquivir, creating a climate suitable for entrpruerial enterprises; Roman interests elsewhere in Iberia had been primarily military in nature, but few military engagements occurred in the Guadalquivir in general between the end of the Punic War and the mid-second century.[374] The reason that southern Iberia was not the primary area of penetration for … may

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[374] Appian is very clear to note that much of the fighting in the mid and latter second century took place in Lusitania and western Citerior, with little spilling over into the territory of Ulterior. It should be noted that the consuls assigned to each region did not treat each region as isolated, with several instances of consular armies marching to either province to support the other.

have been logistical in nature; Scipio had previously established a base at Tarraco, and the distance between Tarraco and Roman settlements in Italy was far closer than to southern Iberia. During the Punic War, much of the fighting had taken place in central and southern Iberia, meaning that the northern region was generally intact, providing more bountiful rewards; the lure of glory and booty naturally drew consuls to wage war in the north.[375]

The presence of the *conventus* at Hispalis would suggest that the community had two main components, the Roman *conventus*, populated by a small number of resident 'Romans', which by the end of the second century may have included Romans of Italic and Etruscan origins. The second element of early Hispalis would have been the non-Roman parts on the town, inhabited by Greeks, Iberians, and Punic individuals. Hispalis may have developed organically, as a diverse community living in close proximity may have led to acculturation, and with the enfranchisement of some non-Romans in the mid-second century, it is plausible that the creation of temples within the city dedicated to Greek or Punic deities may reflect this element of political, economic, and cultural hybridity, as we will see shortly. The formation of a *conventus* made perfect sense as Ispal was a key location on a major trade route through the region to Gades and the wider Mediterranean and afforded excellent access to other trade routes. Looking forward to the case study on the foundation of Cordoba (Chapter 5), the presence of a *conventus* emerges amidst political and economic pressures applied to Colina de los Quemados through military action during the Celtiberian War in the mid 150's BC. In contrast to Ispal, the Cordoban *conventus* encouraged co-optation, although under duress, of Colina de los Quemados, while Ispal appears to form without resistance as far as the

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[375] Richardson 2008: 10-63, esp. 12-18 and 49-63; *cf.* Plut. Cato 10.3 'And Cato himself says that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor is this a mere boast, since, in fact, there were four-hundred of them.' Appian, *Iber.*, is largely concerned with military action in *Citerior* until the mid-second century, and even into the mid-second century, most of the fighting is contained to the east of the Guadalquivir valley in the Celtiberian War (44-55) or north of the Sierra Morena in the Lusitanian War (56-70).

archaeological record shows. The imposition of a Roman *conventus* may have been resisted, but if so no evidence exists to demonstrate it. Ultimately, all of these factors may be attributable to the further development of Roman settlements in *Hispania Ulterior*.

Early Roman Hispalis is difficult to define in terms of its urban topography and population. Its nature as a *conventus civium Romanorum* does not assist us in developing an image of the early settlement; the urban features which do remain are limited and do not provide a great deal of context of the early settlement. What can be said for the creation of the *conventus* is that the settlement was created by entreprunurial Romans in response to the opportunity presented by the destruction of Turdetanian Ispal. It may have been that the veterans at Italica, following the conclusion of the war, may have had a hand in the creation of the *conventus* at Ispal as they appear to be the closest group that may have had a number of Romans. Whilst there is no evidence to support this, it is nonetheless possible that Romans from Italica were involved with the creation of the *conventus*. Likewise, the creation of a *conventus* may also have been a response to Roman traders already existing within the region who seized an opportunity to begin trading in a new market. This opportunistic element to the creation of Roman economic endeavours is seen widely in Iberia.

A prime example of Rome's opportunistic attitude can be seen at Carthago Nova, where the *publicani*, Roman tax collectors, extracted large sums of money from the region, and also with the creation of *conventus* communities at stragetically and economically valuable locations, such as we have seen at Hispalis as well as at Cordoba.[376] The contracts for the *publicani* were discharged based on bidding, and thus creates a market for Roman income. The *publicani*

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[376] Knapp 1977: 66; Marin Diaz 1988: 11, *cf.* Haley 1991; on *publicani,* see Richardson 1976: 139-52, and Diodorus 5.36; on *conventus*, see 2; Curchin 1991: 57-8; Caesar *BC* 2.19.3; on Carteia, see Laurence *et al.* 2011: 25 and Livy 43.3

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appear to be the closest connection that Rome has with local economies, as it was up to the individual contractor to fulfil their quota, and their obvious success led to conflicts at Rome with the Senate.[377] With the relationship of the *publicani* to Rome in mind, it is not unlikely that the shipment of goods was also of disinterest to Romans; the point of Rome's interest in markets was limited to the influx of taxes to support their armies. The Romans were not alone in these endeavours as Roman allies and co-opted Iberian élites assisted in the development of resources for extraction and distribution of imported wares.[378] Mining was Iberia's primary industry, but was relatively small in scale and conducted by local Iberian communities during the second century, serving as the primary economic motivator during the Republic. There are notable exceptions to this, as several consuls are credited with the extraction of massive quantities of silver and gold during their time in Iberia.[379] The reaction to Roman aggressive exploitation of resources and communities is visible in a series of revolts and raids by Iberian tribes in the first years of the second century.[380] This turmoil became a standard for the peninsula for the next century, leading to the conclusion that Rome's interests were in war, with the Roman state having little regard for commercial endeavours, but was clearly of personal interest to consuls. As discussed in chapter three, the 'Roman' economy of southern Iberia consisted of small-scale local production of resources during the Republic, with high-value goods exported, while local goods are traded within a regional trading sphere.

Emigration from Italy played an important role in the development of 'Roman' settlements and should be considered as a primary motivator in the spread of 'Roman' culture.

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[377] Badian 1983; *cf.* Brunt, P. 1971: 121.
[378] As Rome attempted to expand control in Iberia, resistance is seen among allied cities to Roman taxation and exploitation: Livy 32.7.4, 31.50.11
[379] Livy 31.20, 352.2.5-6,
[380] Dyson 1983: 186-8; Livy 31.50.11, 33.27.1-3; 33.24.8-10, 34.16.7-8; Appian 39, Orosius 4.20.10.

As communities were not ethnically homogenous: the majority of settlers in Hispania during the second century were Italian, rather than Roman, based on inscriptional and onomastic evidence.[381] The majority of immigration occurred later in the Republican period, and primarily to locations with established *conventus* communities such as Carthago Nova, Tarraco, and Hispalis.[382] The quantity of settlers appears limited beyond locations like Carthago Nova and Tarraco through the second century BC, as settlements along the eastern coast, perhaps for logistical reasons, appear to have a greater influx of Italians than Romans, as Rome was struggling to deal with issues of overpopulation and unemployment during the second century.[383] As migrants arrived first in the eastern Iberian towns, the rate of economic development in the Guadalquivir is emphasized by the lack of productivity until the first century BC when immigration appears to have increased. There is no reason to believe that a wave of colonists or entrepreneurs appeared at Hispalis in the wake of Carthage's retreat, but rather a trickle of traders, entrepreneurs, and landless poor were filtering into the southern Iberian *conventus*. The Guadalquivir valley, as discussed in chapter two, remained dominated by Iberian-Punic culture until the mid-first century, and the incremental immigration of Italians and Romans should further reinforce that 'Roman' cultural influence was slow to develop within the region.[384] Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that the urban area of Hispalis evolved incrementally, with the speed increasing as the Roman socio-political situation in *Ulterior* improved in the mid-second century BC.

The *conventus* at Hispalis is problematic for several reasons. The evidence available points to Hispalis functioning as an *emporium*, but also was highly organic in terms of its urban

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[381] Marin Diaz 1988; 1986: 55-7; Wilson 1965: 22-7, 29-42, and 156-64; Diod. 5.36, Strabo 3.2.9-10; *cf.* Haley 1991: 27.
[382] Brunt 1971: 204-17; Marin 1988: 92, 169, and 192.
[383] See Mouritsen 1988 on the socio-economic conditions at Rome in the mid-second century.
[384] See chapter 2 on trade between Gadir and Iberian settlements, 94-109.

development – there was not a clear gridiron plan in the sense we see at Cordoba.[385] The lack of a definite urban plan suggests that the *conventus* was either focused on the economic goals or that it was an organic formation and not an implantation.[386] Hispalis features very little in the way of civic structures, but has all of the basic elements to support trade: walls, forum, a port, and also included a temple.[387] These basic components suggest that early Hispalis was not intended as a permanent settlement, but perhaps functioned similarly to an *emporia*. Furthermore, it is likely that the residents were primarily Italic based on inscriptional evidence and due to the proximity to Gadir may have included Gaditanians as well-based on the architectural forms found in the city. This may be due to abandonment of the site by a majority of Iberians, as evidence suggests the remaining population following the Second Punic War was significantly reduced, although their destination is unclear. If this were the case, the most probable destination would be one of the various Iberian settlements along the Guadalquivir in near proximity to Hispalis.[388] Ultimately, Ispal's transition to the Roman *conventus* will remain problematic until further research is conducted.

5.2.1 URBAN LANDSCAPE OF REPUBLICAN HISPALIS

Studies of Hispalis' urban landscape have provided a limited, yet telling image of the second and first century BC town. Three major features of the early urban landscape will now be discussed, as they relate to the development of acculturation: the city walls, the forum

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[385] See chapter 5 on Cordoba's urban grid, fig. 30.
[386] Beltrán *et al.* 2005: 61-88; González Acuna 2005: 59-90.
[387] Campos Carrasco 1986, *cf.* Temino 1991.
[388] Fear 1996: 94.

complex at Argote de Molina, and the temple contained within the forum. The most interesting

aspect is that there seems to be limited development of urban characteristics of early Roman

Hispalis as there are no other obvious civic structures. This may have been that the

development of Hispalis was based around the evolution of trade networks at the site, rather

than it being deliberately established as a population centre. In addition, there is the question if

a civic centre was required at this period, as evidence from Republican sites in North Africa lack

any such infrastructure prior to the Augustan period. A forum may have existed near the

temples found on Argote de Molina and Calle Marmoles, and it seems plausible that this was

developed during the second century, but unclear if this space was created when Hispalis's

conventus was first established. The lack of a forum may stem from the fact that early Hispalis

was a *conventus* community, rather than a colony, and lacked the official support of the state

until the mid-first century. In this regard, the early city had more in common with either Greek

emporia, such as settlements like Castilla de Dona Blanca and early Emporion.[389] Seeing early

Roman Hispalis in this light may be more helpful than considering the establishment of the city

as a state-organized, top-down Roman endeavour. The *conventus* established at Ispal was

evolved as a small, purpose-built trade-based community that marginalized the remaining local

population in the early second century.

5.2.2 REPUBLICAN HISPALIS: WALLS AND INTRAMURAL SPACE

The city itself sits upon a small rise created by alluvial deposits primarily of gravel, clay, silt and

sand from the Guadalquivir. To the west was the main course of the river and another smaller

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[389] See chapter 2, 61-8 and 76-81.

river, the Tagarete, ran along the south of the city. The position of Hispalis was highly

defensible, but nonetheless the *conventus* began to erect walls. Due to the strong currents of the

Guadalquivir, the port was located along the rio Tagarete, but changes in the terrain has erased

evidence of the port at this location.[390]
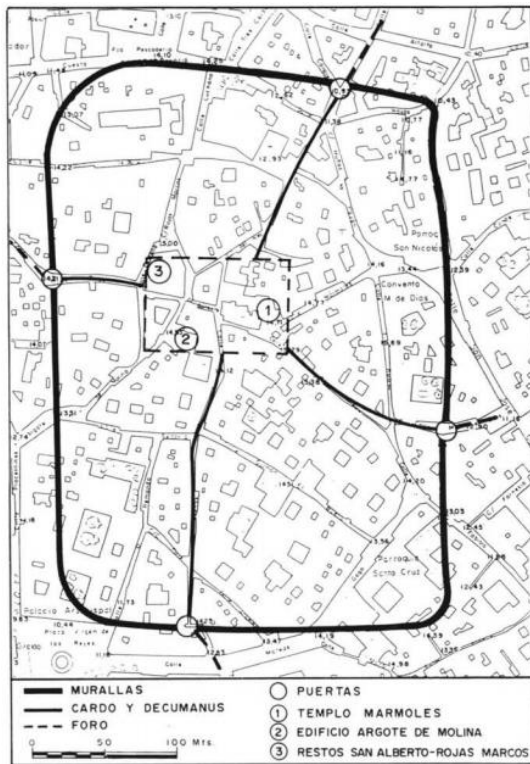
Figure 22 Walls and Forum Space at Hispalis
(Campos Carrasco 1989: 253)

Several archaeological projects conducted throughout this region in the mid and latter twentieth century have provided a hypothetical route of the walls and the primary roads. The western wall, running north to south, began somewhere around calle Cuesta del Rosario and calle Callejon de Galindo.[391] At this intersection, evidence of Republican era occupation exists, notably the presence of Italic construction and Campanian pottery.[392] However, the presence of Campanian pottery obviously does not directly indicate the presence of Romans or any specific

ethnic group as goods could have been carried by any trader.[393] In the south, the wall ended

near the Archbishop's palace, but the grounds of the palace obscure the terminal point of the

western wall. The southern expanse of the wall extends along calle Mateos Gago and Ximinez

de Enciso, where two large ramparts may have existed. The eastern wall is largely obscured by

several churches, and its route cannot be accurately tracked. The northern wall ran along

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[390] Bernaldez and Valverde 1989: 8-9; Campos Carrasco 1986: 146.
[391] Collantes 1977.
[392] Ventura 1985: 41.
[393] Temino 1991160.

Almirante Hoyos, returning to Cuesta del Rosario in the northwest.[394] The evidence would seem to suggest that the whole wall was largely constructed at the same time, however the northern wall may have been constructed somewhat earlier as it appears at a lower level in the archaeological record.[395] It is plausible that due to the natural protections offered by both the Guadalquivir River and the Tagarete a total enclosure of the urban space was not immediately necessary, but the walls were developed over time, which would account for the difference in the archaeological record.

The road network of modern Sevilla within this space may reflect the original routes of the roads of the settlement. The location of the Republican forum, *cardo* and *decumanus* all would conform to correct axis patterns of other Roman colonies. Campos Carrasco offers a model of what the interior may have resembled, and whilst arguably hypothetical in nature, it is the only model that has been proposed. Campos Carrasco suggests that within the intramural space, there may have been some Iberian presence, as several of the houses along calle Aire were constructed using Iberian techniques in the first half of the second century, but it is equally as likely that Iberian labour was employed for construction.[396] However, the implication of hiring Iberian craftsmen and labourers must indicate that some Iberian presence in the wider area persisted. Iberian style construction disappeared from the mid-second century onwards, which coincides with the development of the forum and the temple at Argote de Molina. If this model is accepted, then it would highlight that the intra-urban landscape was designed with a specific grid-layout, but one that lacks the precision that later Roman colonies possessed.

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[394] Campos Carrasco 1986.
[395] Temino 1991.
[396] Campos Carrasco 1989: 254.

Nonetheless, the urban landscape has a specific form, with what appears as a forum complex, complete with temple and public buildings.

In the first century of Roman Hispalis' existence, a large central public space was constructed, with two large buildings: what has been identified as a 'basilica', and a temple, perhaps to Hercules. At the corner of calle Bamberg and Aire, a recorded rectangular-shaped open space existed in the second century BC, and this is where the *decumanus* and *cardo* meet. Archaeologists have naturally assumed this to be the forum space due to its uniqueness and large buildings near the perimetre. Along calle Marmoles, archaeologists have identified a temple, based on the presence of a podium and six large columns, several which survive *in situ* today.[397] Evidence of public building of dating to the same period is located under the church of San Alberto on calle Marcos Rojas.

The temple is interesting for several reasons. Constructed sometime in the first half of the second century BC, the structure is believed to have been dedicated to Hercules or possibly Melqart on the basis of the artistic styles on the column's bases. The presence of a structure dedicated to Hercules-Melqart is not unsurprising given the proximity to Gadir and the mythological links between Hercules and the region. In addition, the hybridized population present at Hispalis may have established this temple, either as the city grew, or if individuals were enfranchised. The evidence from the temple itself may suggest the composition of the population of the *conventus*; if dedicated to Hercules-Melqart, the implication is either a Punic presence, Iberian-Punic, or Greek population took up residence at early Hispalis, or potentially all three cultural combinations were present, as well as Hercules being associated with Melqart

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[397] Campos Carrasco 1989.

as a reinterpretation in Greco-Roman terms.[398]   The temple was renovated in the second century AD, perhaps during Hadrian's reign. Upon closer inspection of the five surviving columns, it appears that the columns had different architectural features: the base of the columns on Alameda de Hercules are all Ionian, whilst the column base on calle Marmoles is Attic. [399] This evidence suggests that there was a significant presence of Greek or Punic residents, or perhaps cultural influences, within the *conventus*.

The presence of Greeks is not unprecedented, as in the case of Cerro del Villar on the southern

Figure 23 Remains of the 'Roman' temple at Calle de Marmoles. (Temino 1991, 169)

Iberian coast was frequented by traders following the Punic abandonment of the site.[400] The proximity of Hispalis to Gadir could easily account for the presence of Punic influences, and is not unlikely that some Punic traditions were transferred to Hispalis through transmission, which then developed into a hybrid community of several cultures.[401] The appearance of multiple cultural aspects, such as the potential dedication to Hercules-Melqart, may reinforce the organic nature of early Hispalis.[402] Moreover the hybrid nature of Hispalis becomes clearer when the wider

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[398] Fear 1996: 94 states that in several *conventus* communities in Iberia, the indigenous populations are relocated to *incolae* beyond the town.
[399] Campos Carrasco 1989: 256; *cf.* Temino 1991: 166-72.
[400] Refer to chapter 2 on Greek goods appearing at Cerro del Villar after the abandonment of the site, suggesting continued usage of the site for trade, 86-9.
[401] Van Dommelen 2008: 63-64.
[402] Sanmarti 2009: 49-90.

distribution of goods consumed in the region is considered. Punic wares from Gadir highlight the continued presence of Punic-style goods.[403] What may be happening at Hispalis is that a multi-cultural trade community formed, consisting of Iberians, Punic Gaditanians, Greeks, Italians, and Romans. [404] Over the next century, as Roman control over *Hispania Citerior* was consolidated and the number of immigrants to regions in south-eastern Iberia rose, the cultural composition of Hispalis was effected, as will be discussed shortly. In my opinion, Hispalis, much like Italica, should be considered as a place where cultures blended into new hybrids, which eventually trended towards a pan-Mediterranean culture rather than simply 'becoming Roman'. Local identity, as noted time and again by Romans, was clearly not Roman, but something attributable to that specific town or region.

5.3 ECONOMICS AND ACCULTURATION IN THE MID-GUADALQUIVIR VALLEY

As mentioned above, I believe that the purpose of Hispalis' *conventus* community was essentially to engage with the opportunities of the rich trade routes within the Guadalquivir. In this capacity, early Roman Hispalis functioned more like an *emporion*. Therefore it may be more useful to briefly consider some of the trends in consumption of goods in relation to the changing desires of the southern Iberian region, specifically focusing on the Turdetanian region.[405] The evidence presented suggests that during the Punic period, the distribution of Punic-style amphorae and pottery were ubiquitous in the region, and that wine, salted fish, oil,

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[403] Vargas and Fernandez 2009: 131-65.
[404] Marin Diaz 198811, *cf.* Haley 1991.
[405] Vargas and Fernandez 2009: 131-65.

and garum were the primary imports into the region. Many of these amphorae and wares originated from Gadir (Tavira), but also from the North African and Atlantic Punic settlements, such as Lixus, Huelva, Casto Marim, Tinosa and Kouass.[406] Many of these styles begin to appear within the interior at sites such as Ispal, Italica, Cerro Macereno and Ilippa Magna, specifically in the Lucerne-style bowls, drinking glasses and variations of globular-style urns.[407] Vargas suggests that this is evolution on a local level by communities interpreting Punic wares. The importance of this is to show that interpretations are not broad sweeping adaptations, but rather that communities were engaging in a dynamic negotiation of their interpretation of foreign cultural input within their local or regional context, meaning that variations of interpretations would be diverse based on a number of local elements: exposure to foreign culture, resistance, economic dependace on external trade, and so forth.[408] In the latter years of the third century, the relationship between the Punic and Turdetanian world appears to intensify.[409] Evidence of this relationship is exemplified by the appearance of large quantities of North African pottery (C2 Mana and D Mana style) documented at Argote de Molina, which carried Carthaginian garum and wine. The quantity found at Ispal is dwarfed by the quantity of this type of pottery found at Gadir and Castillo de Dona Blanca.[410] The most numerous type of pottery found at Gadir is Pellicer type D amphorae, which were manufactured at Gadir, specifically for the transport of wine and salted fish.[411]

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[406] Garcia and Ferrer 2010: 335-74.
[407] Garcia and Gonzalez 2007: 531-3; in settlements near Hispalis, see Pellicer *et al.* 1983; Bandera and Ferrer 2002: 121-49.
[408] Ferrer and Garcia 2008: 211; Garcia and Gonzalez 2007: 559; Jiminez and Garcia 2006: 143.
[409] Campos 1986: 97.
[410] At Gadir, see Munoz 1987: 475-6; Niveau 2002: 11; at Dona Blanca, Niveau and Ruiz Mata 1999: 134-5.
[411] de Frutos Reyes and Munoz 1996: 140.

Interestingly, the conclusion of the Second Punic War did not negatively impact the production and distribution of Punic wares and goods throughout southern Iberia, which instead intensified.[412] Although significant damage was done to Iberian settlements like Ispal during the latter years of the war, Gadir's economic profile appears to not have diminished in the wake of Roman victory. The production, distribution and consumption of wine, oil, and salted fish increased in the post-war period, specifically at Gadir and the communities near Huelva and the Pillars. Campanian wares also begin to appear, but the quantity of these wares is dwarfed by the Punic-style amphorae and wares in the region, which naturally could be related to the proximity of Punic settlements in contrast to Roman or Greek settlements. Likewise, wares produced locally also adapted oriental styles as discussed above, which may also obscure the quantities of wares produced at Punic settlements, but nevertheless suggest a dominant Punic-Iberian cultural construct by the second century BC.[413] Only after the Roman conquest and territorial reorganization does the influence of Punic culture begin to wane.[414] The shift from oriental styles seems linked to the exploitation of mineral resources in the region, which brought foreign merchants, labourers, administrators, and soldiers in the region.[415] The slow inundation of immigrants to the Sierra Morena and the greater Guadalquivir Valley through the second and first centuries provided the context for acculturation through economics and colonization, leading ultimately to a genesis of a new hybrid culture. This new hybrid was founded in Iberian-Punic cultural traits, with a surface of Italic-Roman influences.

The evidence presented in this chapter should demonstrate that both settlements have complex and evolving histories. In the case of Italica, scholars have dubbed the settlement as the

[412] Ferrer 2004; 2007.
[413] Escacena 1987: 1083;
[414] Ferrer 1998: 44-7.
[415] Chaves 1994.

'first Roman colony in the west', which was clearly not so, and its foundation and early development should be seen within the proper context. It originated from a garrison, which was later abandoned once the war was over, integrating with the local Iberian community to produce an Italic-Iberian urbanscape. The latter stage of Italica's development was characterized by its political use of its own embellished history, for example through coinage, to compete with other, more authentic Roman settlements such as Cordoba, Hispalis, and *Augusta Emerita*. By the late first century BC, Italica existed within a landscape of status-bearing settlements, and with the lack of resources to promote Italica to greater status, those with the means to mint coins did so in an effort to gain recognition from Augustus. In contrast, Ispal's history stretched back nearly a millennia. From Tartessian outpost, to Turdetanian market town, then to Roman *conventus*, and during the second and first centuries is emphasized by its diversity of peoples that resided there. Punic, Greek, Iberian, Roman and Italic peoples all made up the identity of Ispal, resulting in a pan-Mediterranean culture focused on trade and transport of goods within the Guadalquivir and the export of minerals beyond.

What is most important about these two settlements in regards to the overall thesis is that they both exhibit periods of prolonged contact between Iberians and Mediterranean cultures, which directly impacted concepts of urbanism and identity. By the first century AD, both settlements had been co-opted into the Roman political system through economic co-optation. In the case of Ispal, the recognition of the settlement as a *civium conventus Romanorum* created a climate profitable to economic endeavours, and it is altogether likely that due to the proximity of the two settlements that Italica was dependant upon Ispal for the transport of goods into the region. This dependency surely created economic ties between the two settlements, and through economic co-optation, both settlements opted in to political struggles during the Civil War. The effect of successive co-optation over two centuries led to the creation

of a pan-Mediterranean culture with a veneer of Roman identity, with each settlement

emphasizing its own specific local identity at its core.

<div align="center">END OF CHAPTER 4</div>

CHAPTER 6: CORDOBA

Following my assessment of the settlement of Italica and the establishment of the *conventus* at Hispalis, the next settlement I will examine is Cordoba. Cordoba is the second case study in the series, and highlights the growing political and military power of Rome within Iberia in the second century BC. The new reality of Roman conquest and dominion enables an interesting examination of Iberian actions and reactions to Roman imperialism, and Cordoba provides an excellent example of Roman co-optation of local élites, reminiscent of the top-down 'Romanization' model. However, while it may be attractive to argue that trickle down acculturation is evident at Cordoba, I would instead argue that by the mid-second century the Turdetanians had already been exposed to Greek and Punic contact and were well informed of Roman conquests in Iberia, which led to the Turdetanian élites creating a conciliatory political agenda to survive the coming storm. The result was that the Turdetanians appear to have actively engaged with the establishment of a Roman *conventus* on their doorstop in order to forestall their destruction through resistance. The benefits of co-optation was that the Turdetanians received a powerful Roman patron, which in turn aided Cordoba's founder by blocking the successes of rival consuls.

Cordoba's foundation, as well as the inclusion of élites from the nearby Iberian *oppidum* and the subsequent reorganization of trade routes, is representative of the socio-political adaptation of Roman and Iberian interests within Iberia following the Second Punic War; the historical background of the mid-second century heavily influenced the Iberian élites' actions. Cordoba's foundation was potentially linked to Roman military action in *Hispania Citerior*, specifically the actions at Numantia and other military actions in the north, which in turn affected the Turdetanian willingness to engage in a costly battle with Rome. As some scholars,

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which will be discussed below, have suggested the inclusion of élites from the *oppidum* at Conde Cruz Parque may be symptomatic of Turdetanian compliance, in order to ensure the preservation of the Turdetanian people. Through the foundation of Cordoba, trade was redirected away from the Colina de los Quemados *oppidum* to Cordoba due to it being located on the banks of the Guadalquivir. With Quemados' élites enfranchised as Roman citizens and trade flowing through Cordoba, the potential unintended consequence was that Quemados began to wither, causing Turdetanians to relocate to Cordoba. Over time, migration to Cordoba formed apparently several *vici* near, or in, the Roman city. The result was the development of 'quarters' or 'districts' with particular ethnic identities, especially after the expansion of the city in the late first century BC.

Similar challenges are found in attempting to explore early Cordoba as those that were discussed for Hispalis and Italica. As with Hispalis, examining the archaeology of Cordoba is complicated by two thousand years of continual habitation as the Roman-era town sits beneath the medieval and modern iterations of the city. Studies of Quemados have revealed that the site was occupied since the second millennia BC and recent surveys reveal that by the end of the second century BC the site was abandoned and remained unused until the tenth century AD.[416] Cordoba's relationship with Quemados seems quite clear based on the evidence found in the southern district of Roman Cordoba. Despite the source issues in this chapter, I have assembled a range of information for the development of the early city, and how the relationship between Iberians and 'Romans' evolved over two centuries.

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[416] See Luzon and Ruiz Mata 1973; Marcos Pous 1978: 415-23; Murillo 1995: 303-4; Carrillo *et al.* 1995: 28-35; Murillo and Vaquerizo 1996: 37-47; Ventura *et al*. 1988: 88-107.

6.1 FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN CORDOBA

Cordoba, which Strabo claimed to be Rome's first *colonia* in the region, was founded by M. Claudius Marcellus in 152/1 and was a joint foundation between 'picked men' of both the Turdetanians and Romans.[417] Most scholars agree that Marcellus was the founder of Roman Cordoba and there is little debate about a foundation date in the mid-second century.[418] Contrary to this traditional opinion, however, Canto argued for a much later date for Cordoba's foundation on the basis of the later Augustan foundation as *Colonia Patricia Corduba*, but scholars have successfully dismantled this theory.[419]

Roman Cordoba was founded on a small rise adjacent to the Guadalquivir river at the highest navigable point for shallow draught riverine transport. The placement of Cordoba at this point secured both overland routes to the north and east into the Meseta, which held important mineral resources in the Sierra Morena. Logistically, Cordoba served as a military base for wintering soldiers, and featured in the Celtiberian and Civil Wars. The foundation of Cordoba came after a string of non-Roman settlements accepted Roman dominion in the wake of the Punic Wars.[420] The traditional narrative surrounding Cordoba's foundation is characterized as a Roman endeavour, with the Turdetanian 'picked men' as almost an

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[417] The majority of scholars ascribe to the theory that Marcellus, the three time consul, was the founder of Cordoba; Contreras 1977; Strabo 3.2.1 'But the two that have grown most in fame and in power are Corduba, which was founded by Marcellus, and the city of the Gaditanians: the latter, because of its maritime commerce and because it associated itself with the Romans as an ally; the former because of the excellence of its soil and the extent of its territory, though the Baetis River has also contributed in great measure to its growth; and it has been inhabited from the beginning by picked men of the Romans and of the native Iberians; what is more, the first colony which the Romans sent to these regions was that to Corduba.'
[418] See Knapp 1983: 10; Stylow 1990: 262 and 1996: 77-8. Conversely, Rodriguez Neila 1992: 177 believes that the latter date of 152 may be more accurate for the foundations of Cordoba due to the appearance of a Roman *conventus* at this period.
[419] Canto 1991: 847-8; *cf.* Stylow 1996: 77-85; Ventura Villanueva 2008: 89-91.
[420] Livy 43.2.3; Strabo 3.4.12, Appian, *Iber.* 50; Polybius 35.2.2; Knapp 1983: 101, n. 67.

addendum. I would challenge this narrative, but first, I will describe the Turdetanian

community these 'picked men' came from.
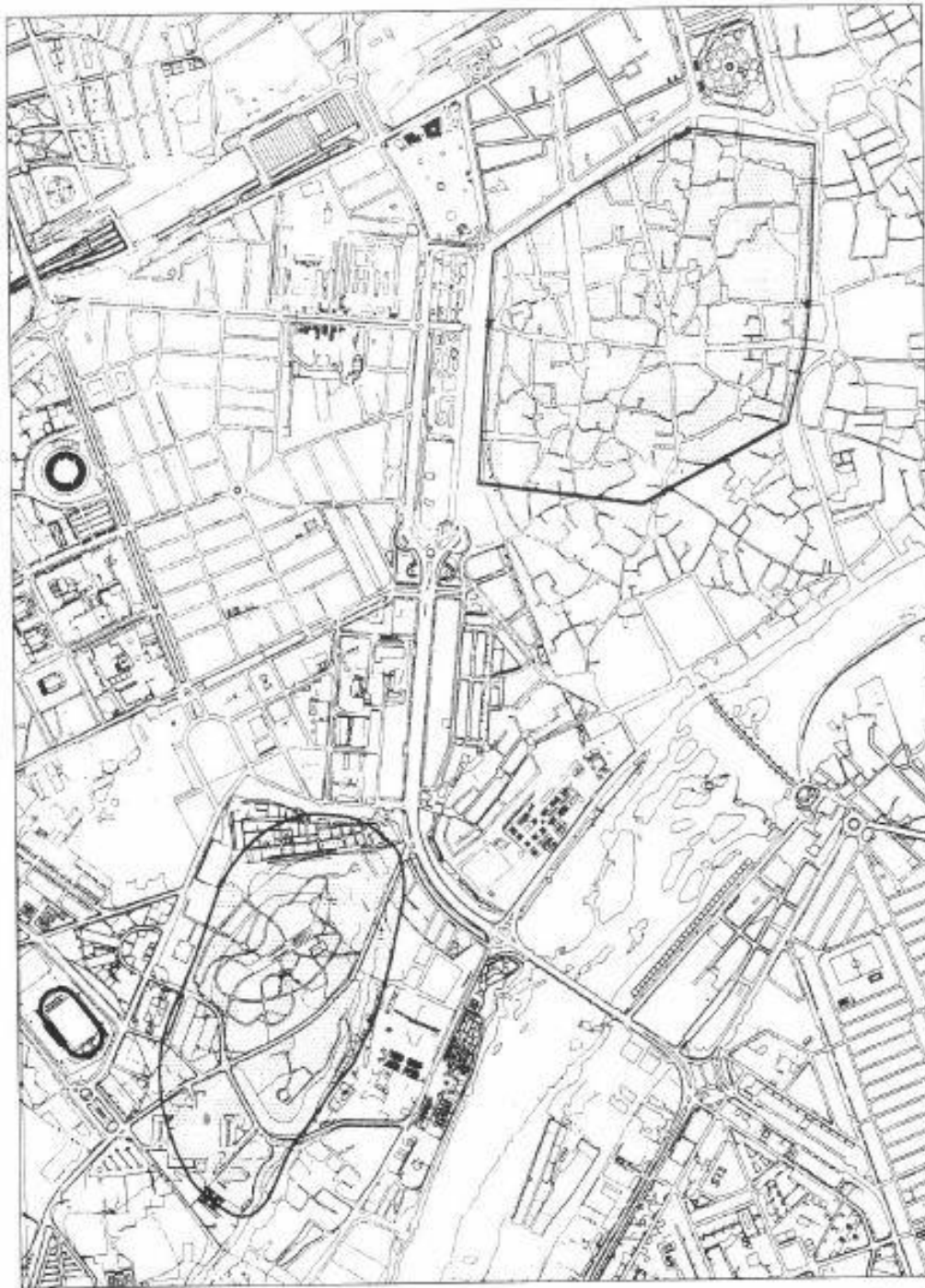
Figure 24 Map of Cordoba in the Late Republic with modern city overlay. (Jiminez and Carrillo 2011, 57, fig. 4.1)

Figure 25 Topographica map of Cordoba, highlighting the Roman and Turdetanian settlements. (Murillo Redondo 2004, 41, fig. 21.)

Roman Cordoba was settled about a hundred metres from a major Turdetanian *oppida* named Colina de los Quemados (Burnt Hill), which had existed since the second millennium with continuous uninterrupted habitation, but with adaptations to the regional dominant culture.[421] The *oppidum* appears to have served as a major trade centre: fifth and fourth century Attic wares have been found at Quemados in abundance. From the sixth to second century BC, Quemados developed into a powerful and wealthy community by Iberian standards, namely due to the town's location and access to mining communities within the Sierra Morena and traded with Phoenicians following the acquisition of Ispal.[422] Following the foundation of Cordoba, Quemados began to decline as trade reoriented to Cordoba. Politically, Quemados belonged to one of the largest groups of tribes in southern Iberia, the Turdetanians, whose control extended southwards to Ispal and much of the Aznalfarache region to the west. Quemados was typical in terms of its construction compared to other Iberian *oppida*, but the scale of the urban space, which is defined by the loose congregation of residences and industrial sites but lacked a unified urban plan typical of Roman settlements, was large by Iberian and Roman standards; some scholars have estimated upwards of fifty hectares of urban space.[423] Few indications survive of the territory that Quemados controlled, but if we follow Knapp's suggestion that Cordoba was founded as a diopolis, part, if not all, of the territory attributed to Roman Cordoba may have been within the Turdetanian sphere.[424] Quemados' territory was most likely bounded by natural features, most likely the rivers nearby: the Genil, Retortillo,

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[421] Luzon and Ruiz Mata 1973: 35; on cultural shifts, see Blanco 1969: 123-5; Blazquez 1975: 367-8. Evidence in the form of ceramics suggest a wide-spread culture shift in the ninth century.

[422] See chapter 4, 165-9.

[423] Ventura *et al.* 1998: 87 claims more than fifty hectares of urban space for Roman Cordoba, but fails to provide evidence for this; Jiminez and Carrillo 2011 states these are 'optimistic estimates' and offer 47 hectares as an alternative, 56; Vaquerizo 1996: 26; Carrillo 1999: 42.

[424] Knapp 1983: 37-8; Melchior Gil 2004: 107; Melchior Gil 2004: 105-9, see Knapp 1983: 30, map 5; Stlyow in the preface to *CIL II² 7, 63.*

Guadilin, and the Guadalmellato rivers.[425] Quemados' territory was substantial for an *oppidum*,

dominating the pre-Roman landscape.

6.1.1 STATUS OF ROMAN CORDOBA

The evidence suggests that Cordoba was the 'first colony' in the region, as described by

Strabo, but it appears Cordoba was not simply founded as a colony *ex nihilo*. Several

suggestions have been made about the status of early Roman Cordoba. Strabo states that

Cordoba was the 'first Roman colony in the region', but Caesar refers to the town as a *conventus*

civium Romanorum, and Velleius Paterculus states that the first colony beyond Italy was at

Carthage in 122 BC, followed by Narbo Martius in 118.[426] Strabo may not have intended to use

apoikia in the same sense of the administrative settlement seen in the imperial period, but rather

to indicate aspects of extra-Italic emigration.[427] Scholars have suggested that an alternative

reading of Strabo's comment leads to better understanding of the status and situation at

Cordoba: the settlement most likely was founded as a *conventus* with a combination of Italian,

Roman and Iberians, which is not uncommon to have mixed populations.[428] Strabo more likely

was citing Cordoba's second stage of evolution into a *colonia* by Caesar.[429] Strabo's commentary

is not totally incorrect, as he states it is the first colony founded *in the region*, which does not

disagree with Velleius Paterculus' first non-Italian colonial foundation of *Colonia Iunonia* in 122

at Carthage.[430] If Cordoba was not a colony at its foundation, it may have followed a similar

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[425] Melchior Gil 1995: 35, 80, 88.
[426] Strabo 3.2.1; Caesar *BC* 2.19.3; *BA* 57-9; Velleius 2.7.8
[427] Rodriguez Niella 1992: 181; it is worth noting that even small garrisons are referenced as *colonia* in some instances, Bispham 2006: 83 and 122.
[428] Gonzalez Roman 2002: 161.
[429] Garcia 2009: 385 and 2002: 268;
[430] Velleius Paterculus 2.7.8

path to Hispalis or Carteia, which would indicate that Latin status was applied to Cordoba, as well as it hosting a *conventus*.[431] Carteia was a unique settlement: populated by the sons of Roman soldiers and Iberian women who had appealed to the Senate for a grant of citizenship. It was the first *colona Latina* in Ibeira and lacked the typical *viri coloniae deducendae* because of the presence of a Roman official in the region, in this case Canuleius.[432] The application of Latin status appears to be linked to the development of a colonial model pre-dating the settlement of Aquileia in 181 BC; settlements acted as military garrisons in strategic locations designed to create stability.[433] This would explain the wintering of Marcellus' troops at this location, as well as Strabo's reference to a first century foundation, when Cordoba received a colonial grant, would be in step with Velleius' statement regarding extra-Italian colonies.[434]

6.1.2 A DIOPOLIS AT CORDOBA?

Two main themes run through the scholarly discussions on the foundations of Cordoba; first, that Cordoba was founded as a diopolis with Quemados and second, that Cordoba was founded as a means to weaken and destabilize the last major Iberian federation in the

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[431] Ventura 2009: 100; Stylow 1996: 80; Knapp 1983: 11.

[432] Livy 43.3: Another deputation from Spain arrived, who represented a new race of men. They declared themselves to be sprung from Roman soldiers and Spanish women who were not legally married. There were over 4000 of them, and they prayed that a town might be given them to live in. The senate decreed that they should send in their own names and the names of any whom they had manumitted to L. Canuleius, and they should be settled on the ocean shore at Carteia, and any of the Carteians who wished to remain there should be allowed to join the colonists and receive an allotment of land. This place became a Latin colony and was called the "Colony of the Libertini." The African prince Gulussa, Masinissa's son, arrived in Rome simultaneously with a deputation from Carthage. Audience was granted to Gulussa first. He described the nature of the force that his father had sent for the Macedonian war and promised, should the senate require anything more, that he would supply their demands, out of gratitude for the kindness which the people of Rome had shown towards him. He then warned the senate to be on their guard against the bad faith of the Carthaginians; they had formed the design of fitting out a great fleet, ostensibly to assist the Romans against the Macedonians. When this fleet was equipped and manned they would have it in their power to choose whom they would as an enemy or an ally. See also Knapp 1977: 116-20.

[433] Jiminez and Carrillo 2011: 72, n. 14.

[434] Garcia 2009: 379.

Guadalquivir valley. Both of these theories are problematic for a variety of reasons. The underlying theme to these discussions is that Cordoba was a Roman colonial endeavour, extending the Roman state's influence over the region. As I will show later in this chapter, the reality was that early 'Roman' Cordoba was neither a colony, nor a large-scale Roman project. The diopolis argument, although problematic, highlights several ways in which the Turdetanians were impacted by the creation of Cordoba.

The political situation within the Turdetanian kingdom is unclear. The territory that was controlled by the Turdetanians, to the best of our knowledge, stretched across most of the Guadalquivir between the Betis and Anas rivers. Roman literary sources are mute on the subject of Turdetanian political structure, and it is unclear what the political importance of Colina de los Quemados was specifically. For our purposes, the reorientation of power from Quemados to Cordoba may have been more focused on the economic and military implications of controlling this region. As each Iberian community was dealt with as a single unit, Roman policy would not have recognized the political power, although there must be some incentive for the enfranchisement, in this case the Roman citizenship.

Knapp has stated that Cordoba was a diopolis, by which he means that Quemados operated in tandem with the Roman *conventus*, but I do not believe this characterization to be correct.[435] Knapp asserts that the epigraphic evidence identified two parts of the city; the *vicus forensis* and the *vicus Hispanus*, which he states highlights the co-operation between Turdetanians and Romans, but for the purpose of Cordoba's foundation as a dipolis is problematic. Knapp's presumption is that the *vicus Hispanus* was established alongside Cordoba as a replacement for Quemados, but this claim is problematic because the Turdetanian *oppidum*

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[435] Knapp 1983: 13; Santos Jener 1955; Knapp notes that Jener's work is unpublished, and is cited by Muro 1977.

nearby was not abandoned until the first century AD. Knapp's argument is seen primarily through an administrative lens in that the establishment of the *vicus Hispanus* is seen as an extension of the political and economic alliance, and does not account for organic aspects. Knapp also argues that the existence of a wall between the *vicus Hispanus* and the Roman town creates an image of a diopolis, but this claim is theoretical and although based in evidence Knapp presumes correlation without accounting for causation. While this claim may be true in the imperial era, after Cordoba received a grant of land and a wall enclosed the *vicus*, this is not plausible at foundation. The reason for this is the fact that Quemados remained in use for a century after Cordoba's foundation and therefore emphasizes the organic nature of the transition from Quemados to Cordoba. It may be that Knapp was correct that there was a diopolis, but if so it was with Quemados, and not the *vicus*. The argument for a Cordoba-Quemados diopolis seems much more likely as it was necessary to place Cordoba in close proximity to the highest navigable point and natural crossing, but also near to Quemados for the purposes of access to local labour. Ultimately, Knapp is correct that there is an intrinsic link between Cordoba, Quemados, and the *vicus Hispanus*.

6.1.3 DESTABILIZATION OF TURDETANIAN POWER

As was mentioned above the tale surrounding Cordoba's foundation, which is generally accepted by modern scholars, is that Cordoba was founded by Marcellus, with, as Ventura claims, the intention of 'supplanting the strategic, economic and political role of Ibero-Turdetanian Corduba (referring to Colina de los Quemados), as well as its regional pre-

eminence.'[436] Ventura presumes that Quemados and Cordoba were designed as a diopolis (in contrast to Knapp's claim that the *vicus Hispanus* was the second element in a diopolis), but by the first century BC, Quemados entered an entropic state as the population emigrated to other settlements; the lack of support for Quemados seems peculiar if the twin town formation was a purposeful construct. However there is no evidence that Cordoba was founded with the intention of destabilizing Turdetanian regional power; the decline of Quemados may have been an unintended consequence to the inclusion of Turdetanian élites at Cordoba. Ventura's argument on Cordoba's placement implies that trade routes transferred from Quemados to Cordoba due to its river port and overland trade routes, but also implied that Cordoba was *designed* with the purpose of weakening the Turdetanians. This suggestion is problematic because there is no direct evidence of a Roman agenda in this capacity. The situation surrounding Quemados' decline may have been similar to what we will see for the *vicus Hispanus*, in that it was entirely an organic development rather than imposition deliberate consequence of the creation of Cordoba.

Ventura asserts that the foundation of Cordoba was done with the 'acquiescence' of the local community, but no scholar has considered other potentialities for Cordoba's foundation.[437] The characterization of 'acquiescence', which implies a very submissive acceptance of Roman rule is not a correct term here for a variety of reasons, mainly that the Turdetanians would have had a vested interested in gaining the best possible terms. It seems unlikely that a Roman foundation would have been established without some discussion with the Turdetanian leadership, but this does not preclude the possibility that the discussion was not a two-sided negotiation. If the Turdetanian élites had simply accepted Roman dominion, the grant of

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[436] Ventura, Leon, and Marquez 1998: 88.
[437] Ventura 1998.

citizenship may not have been extended. Conversely, if the Turdetanians would have been forced into accepting Rome's imposition, there would be immediate evidence of resistance, but there is none until four years after the foundation, generated by issues relating to Viriathus, and so direct coercion seems unlikely. Alternatively, qualified compliance seems more likely, and the élites should not be viewed as passive participants in the establishment of the *conventus* at Cordoba. The establishment of Cordoba may have been reluctantly supported by local élites, as a necessary condition to maintain their position and survival. Ventura's view of Turdetanian 'acquiescence' is a very broad and lacks a nuanced approach, and presumes the élites did not have the willpower to negotiate when their town was in peril. There is no clear way to rank the plausibility of each set of factors, and therefore some combination or all factors may be true.

Although Ventura and Knapps' arguments on Cordoba's foundational characteristics are problematic, they do highlight several ways that Turdetanian identity may have been impacted. Knapps' claim that the *vicus Hispanus* was in a symbiotic relationship with Cordoba is in essence correct, but extends beyond simply co-existing in a shared urban space. Alternatively, the *vicus Hispanus* could be considered as another district, and potentially even a separate town, but the proximity could suggest the *vicus* may have been independent during the early years of Cordoba's existence, and was later incorporated into the city. It may be plausible to argue that the situation at Cordoba may be similar to that of Emporion, as the Greeks and Iberians there shared a common urban space, laws, and created a synergistic commercial network.[438] Similarly, the result of co-opting élites at Cordoba was that the trade network realigned away from Quemados, a 'shared' urban environment developed, and Roman laws were applied to some of the Turdetanians. This scenario might lead to complex questions

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[438] See chapter 2 for more on Emporion's diopolis, 63-70.

about identity at the city; issues that will be discussed below. From the discussion up to this point perhaps the most important aspect to acknowledge is that early on Cordoba was not a *colonia*, but contained a *conventus*, which means that the city may have consisted of individuals from a variety of backgrounds: Roman, Greek, Punic, Iberian, and Italian in the second century.

The identity of early Cordoba seems more likely to have been influenced by Mediterranean cultural elements by the mid second century, which may include aspects of Greek and Punic identities previously present in Iberia, with the broader culture context interpreted through a Turdetanian lens, as discussed in chapter 2. Strabo states that the Turdetanians' fate was that they became like the Romans, lost all use of their native language, and had received Latin rights.[439] However, Strabo's interpretation is a simplistic Roman perspective on Iberian identity from the first century AD, and the reality was far more complex. The grant of Latin rights is not an indication of assimilation, nor is the usage of Latin, although in situations where Iberians and Latin-speakers met, Latin most likely became the language of choice.[440] Strabo's comments have served as one of the primary motivators for discussion of 'Romanization'; the alleged total loss of cultural identity in reaction to Rome's colonization signaled that complete cultural transition was a function of empire.

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[439] Strabo 3.2.15: 'Along with the happy lot of their country, the qualities of both gentleness and civility have come to the Turdetanians; and to the Celtic peoples, too, on account of their being neighbours to the Turdetanians, as Polybius has said, or else on account of their kinship; but less so the Celtic peoples, because for the most part they live in mere villages. The Turdetanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis, have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more. And most of them have become Latins, and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans. And the present jointly-settled cities, Pax Augusta in the Celtic country, Augusta Emerita in the country of the Turdulians, Caesar-Augusta near Celtiberia, and some other settlements, manifest the change to the aforesaid civil modes of life. Moreover, all those Iberians who belong to this class are called "Togati." And among these are the Celtiberians, who were once regarded the most brutish of all. So much for the Turditanians.'
[440] Adams 2003: 19 Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13-5 see chapter 2 for a fuller discussion on acculturation and hybridity.

6.2 HYBRIDITY WITHIN THE *CONVENTUS* OF CORDOBA

The dual nature of Cordoba's foundation leads to questions of status, as the exact combination of native and 'Romans' is unclear. No ancient source provides any substantive commentary about the configuration of the first population settled here, but if Latin colonies in Italy are an example, Romans, or those with citizen status, may have made up the majority.[441] As this status was established first as a *conventus* and not a *colonia*, the rights given would have been Latin rights. By providing the basic rights to interact with Romans, the inclusion of native élites could suggest their assistance in the continual exploitation of mineral resources, albeit now with taxation being sourced by *publicani,* creating a profitable return for the Roman state to encourage this type of settlement. That is not to say the *conventus* was operated by Rome, but rather created a formalized recognition of the settlement and provided it with protections, such as Marcellus' military presence in the region following the foundation.[442] Several ancient authors have discussed the traits of Iberian tribes in relation to their stalwart allegiance to their leaders; *devotio* or *fides iberica* has been used in a variety of ways to express Iberian cultural importance of patron-client relationships.

The first usage of the term *devotio iberica* appears in Strabo.[443] *Devotio iberica* was employed to highlight Iberian dedication to their leader in life and death. This perception of

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[441] Dyson 1983: 186-8.

[442] Livy 43.2.3; Appian 50.

[443] Strabo 3.4.18: 'As for the insensibility118 of the Cantabrians, this instance is also told, namely, that when some captive Cantabrians had been nailed on their crosses they proceeded to sing their paean of victory. Now such traits as these would indicate a certain savageness; and yet there are other things which, although not marks of civilisation perhaps, are not brutish; for instance, it is the custom among the Cantabrians for the husbands to give dowries to their wives, for the daughters to be left as heirs, and the brothers to be married off by their sisters. The custom involves, in fact, a sort of woman-rule — but this is not at all a mark of civilisation. It is also an Iberian custom habitually to keep at hand a poison, which is made by them out of an herb that is nearly like parsley and painless, so as to have it in readiness for any untoward eventuality; and it is an Iberian custom, too, to devote their lives to whomever they attach themselves, even to the point of dying for them.' In a similar appreciation for Germanic tribal devotion, see Tacitus *Germ.* 14; *cf.* Val.Max., *2.6.11; 7.8;* Plut., *Sert., 14)*

Iberians' warlike nature is proscribed to the northern Cantabrian and western Lusitanian tribes.[444] In contrast, the *devotio iberica* in the south is attributed more towards patron-client relationships, rather than war-making.[445] The contrast between northern and southern Iberians can be seen in other ancient writers, especially Justin and Pompeius Trogus, characterized by the south's richness, cultural diversity, and ethnographic descriptions which create a dichotomy between Strabo's descriptions.[446] In this respect, the southern Iberian tribes appeared to be more receptive to the genesis of a client-patron relationship on economic terms with foreigners.[447] It is unclear who the patron was, or even if there was a patron, of the Turdetanian élites at Quemados. In light of Cicero's comments, it may be that Marcellus became the patron of Cordoba. The language used by Strabo to describe Marcellus as the founder of Cordoba has been interpreted as 'benefactor', as claimed by Canto.[448] If this were the case, not only would this imply that Marcellus' role in the foundation of Cordoba was sponsored by himself, and therefore would act as a powerful patron to the Turdetanian élites. Furthermore, Jiminez and Carrillo suggest that Scipio created the precedent for acting as beneficiary to an Iberian town, as cited in the case of Tarraco.[449] Adding to the list, Cato might be seen in the same light in regards

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[444] Dominguez 1984: 202-3; García Quintela 2007: 99-100.

[445] Strabo 3.4.14

[446] Just., Epit., 44.1.5-6

[447] Barrandon (2011) *De la pacification à l'intégration des Hispaniques (133-27 a.C.):les mutations es sociétés indigènes d'Hispanie centrale et septentrionale sousdomination* romaine, 218-29; Amela Valverde, L. (2003) *Las Clientelas de Cneo Pompeyo Magno en Hispania*, 98; Cicero *Off.* 1.35 'The only excuse, therefore, for going to war is that we may live in peace unharmed; and when the victory is won, we should spare those who have not been blood-thirsty and barbarous in their warfare. For instance, our forefathers actually admitted to full rights of citizenship the Tusculans, Aequians, Volscians, Sabines, and Hernicians, but they razed Carthage and Numantia to the ground… Not only must we show consideration for those whom we have conquered by force of arms but we must also ensure protection to those who lay down their arms and throw themselves upon the mercy of our generals, even though the battering-ram has hammered at their walls. And among our countrymen justice has been observed so conscientiously in p39this direction, that those who have given promise of protection to states or nations subdued in war become, after the custom of our forefathers, the patrons of those states.

[448] Canto (1991) identifies the changing role of commanders in Iberia, although the overall argument is flawed and has been thoroughly refuted, 847.

[449] Jiminez, A. and Carrillo, J. (2011) 'Corduba/Colonia Patricia: the colony that was founded twice' in *Roman Colonies in the first century of their foundation*, 55-6.

to his alleged statements to the Emporitanians; soliciting local élites' advice on how to rule

could have been the basis of a patron-client relationship.[450] The client-patron relationship fits

well with Iberian guest friendship customs, and it is plausible that the transfer from Iberian to

'Roman' patrons occurred in the later second century, but appears to have developed more fully

in the mid-first century BC during the Civil Wars.[451] Although there is no archaeological

evidence of a client-patron relationship between Marcellus and the élites at Quemados, it

should be clear that these social and cultural relativisms between 'Roman' and Turdetanians

provided the basis for inclusion, at least on the periphery, of the urban landscape.

Cordoba, as described by Strabo, consisted of a hybrid population. The evidence suggests a

population consisting of Italians, Romans, Iberians, and *hybridae*; individuals who shared both

Roman and Iberian heritage, similar to the residents of Carteia.[452] Prosopographic studies have

revealed limited information, but Italic names appear more commonly in the second century.[453]

Names of individuals of Italic origin appear in important cities across Iberia, including Castulo,

Carteia, Emporion, Tarraco, and also at Cordoba.[454] The appearance of Italic names is most

likely due to Italians service in the Roman army as *auxilia* in Iberia, later acting as traders after

discharge. The quantity of these names in the second century suggests a large quantity of allied

Italian troops remained in Iberia after their service was complete. Some scholars have suggested

that a *castellum* or *praesidium* existed in the area around Cordoba's location because of several

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[450] Livy 34.17.7-8: When this was reported to the consul, he ordered the senators of all the states summoned to his presence and addressed them thus: "It is not more to our interest than to yours that you should not rebel, inasmuch as this has always happened with greater misfortune to the Spaniards than trouble to the Roman army. I think that there is only one way to prevent this —to arrange matters so that you will not be able to rebel. I wish to accomplish this in the gentlest possible manner. Do you, then, aid me with your advice on this matter? I shall follow no counsel more gladly than that which you yourselves shall give me."
[451] For example, see Suetonius, *Julius Caesar.*, 28.1; Caesar, *BC*, 2.18; *BH*, 42; Badian 1958: 162-3.
[452] Stylow 1996: 78; Knapp 1983: 138.
[453] Knapp 1983: 12-3, n. 76
[454] Rodriguez Neila 1992: 180.

pieces of evidence: several mentions of troops wintering at this site;[455] the fact that the region was an important communication hub; and the strategic nature of the site in terms of its economic links to other communities.[456] Furthermore, archaeological evidence has identified the presence of significant quantities of 'Roman' wares, and can be dated relatively closely, dating to the end of the third century through the first quarter of the second century BC.[457] Alongside the Roman imports, Bendala claims Etruscan cultic activity appear within early Cordoba, which suggests some Etruscan population, or at least that Italians familiar with aspects of the cult imported their religion.[458]

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[455] Polybius 35.22; Sallust, *Hist.,* 2.20.28; Appian, 65-6; Cicero. *Pro Arch.*, 26; Caesar, *BH*, 5.6.12; Stylow 1996: 77–85 and Cadiou 2008: 369 both suggest that troops at Cordoba were placed in various locations, and not always within the walls.

[456] Jiminez and Carrillo 2011: 72, n. 33.

[457] Rodríguez Neila 1976, 113; 1981, 115; Bendala, 2003, 20; Murillo and Jiménez Salvador, 2002, 189; Carrillo et al. 1999, 42, note 8; Sillières 2003, 33; Jiminez and Carrillo 2011. On pre-second century evidence, see Hita *et al.* 1993. Evidence from other locations within the city provide a less reliable date, Ventura Martínez, 1992; Ventura Martínez, 1996; recent excavations within the city at various points reinforces many of these dates as correct: Carrillo et al. 1999: 42, note 8; Murillo and Jiménez Salvador 2002: 184.

[458] Bendala 1981: 45.
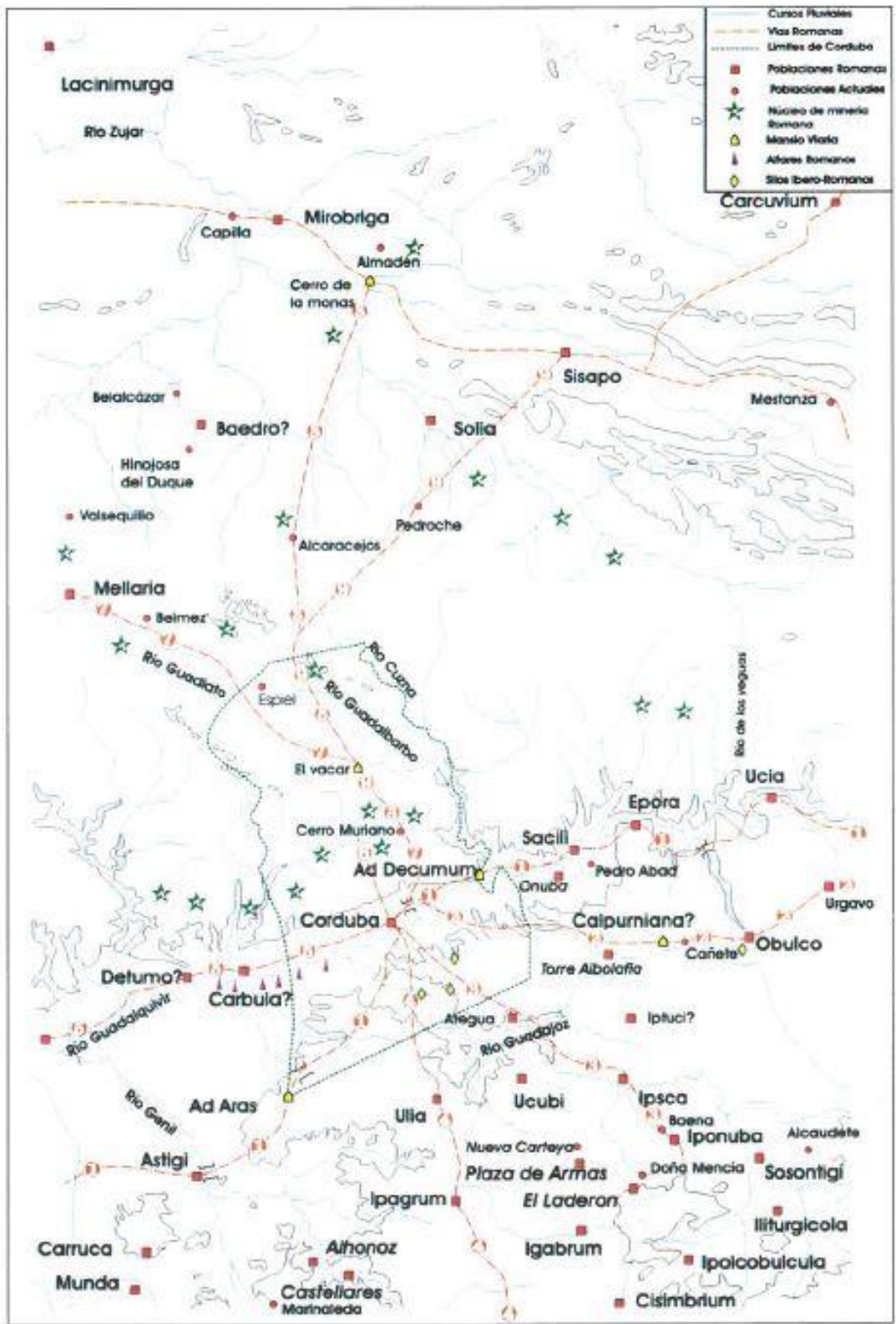
Figure 26 Regional map with Roman and Iberian settlements in the first century BC. (Dupre Raventos 2004a, Lam. 7)

The name of the town, *Corduba*, is an undefined Iberian word in that scholars are unsure of its meaning, and its survival is significant in itself. The name itself is clearly of Iberian origin, although some scholars have suggested Punic or other more interesting, but less probable origins.[459] While Punic origins would be plausible as the words are very similar based on Santos Jener and Schulten's interpretation, a Punic settlement would have left stronger archaeological evidence behind. No indications of a Punic settlement exist on or near the site of Cordoba. Knapp's explanation of the evolution of the name of Cordoba seems far more plausible: Knapp theorizes that 'Cerduba' may mean 'town by the Guadalquivir', but goes on to suggest the Cord- could have morphed from Tord-, ultimately linking back to the Turdetani. Knapp's theory, although plausible, has no way of being proved true at this time as much of the Iberian language is still unknown to this day.[460] Livy stated that the original name of the Guadalquivir river was the Certis,[461] and it is not impossible that the word was morphed by transmission from Cerduba to Corduba between Iberian tongues and Latin ears. Untermann suggests the 'uba' portion is intact, because Livy claims a man from Castulo was named Cerdubelus, which although it may be Latinized, may contain some hints that the town was simply renamed.[462] The naming of the town, presence of 'Roman' wares, and the presence of Etruscan cults indicates that Roman Cordoba was a hybrid community in many ways from its foundation, but that it was also a diopolis. The data from the most recent archaeological surveys of Quemados (Parque Cruz Conde) have highlighted that the town was not immediately abandoned after the foundation of Roman Cordoba, which is significant because the continued presence of

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[459] Santos Jener 1958b: 94 and Schulten 1959: 2.50 assert a Punic origin for Cordoba, based off Cord- = Cart, meaning 'city' in Punic; Jaen 1935: 30 suggests a more colorful origin as 'Chaldeo-Aramean'.
[460] Knapp 1983: 7.
[461] Livy 28.22: Meantime operations were carried on no less actively by the lieutenants. Marcius after crossing the river Baetis, which the inhabitants call Certis, accepted the surrender of two rich cities without an engagement.'
[462] Livy, 28.20.11; Untermann 1961: 17.

Quemados adjacent to Cordoba highlights the Iberian town's importance as well as political, economic, and cultural integrity.

The extension of Roman might, both militarily and politically, may have been the impetus for the foundation of Cordoba. With a decision being taken to create the first Roman political identity in Iberia. Rome added the members of Roman Cordoba to the *Sergia* tribe initially, and later in the Imperial period inducted citizens into the *Galeria* tribe. Notably prior to 45 BC, all of the town which already held Latin status were enrolled in the *Sergia* tribe, whilst those with allied status were enrolled in the *Galeria* tribe.[463] The enrollment of members of the *conventus* community into the *Sergia* and *Galeria* was part of Rome's co-optation of élites, but this process may also work as a two-way process; granting status meant that non-Romans can now be dealt with by the Romans on Roman terms, as well as incentivizing participation in the *conventus*, which ultimately benefitted the Roman state.

6.2.1 GEOGRAPHY OF CORDOBA'S TERRITORY

Roman Cordoba, and the Turdetanian *oppidum* before it, controlled a sizable area of fertile land which gave it considerable economic might.[464] Cordoba was roughly half the size of Quemados at its foundation; the intramural urban space was approximately 31 hectares, but later expansions in the imperial period nearly doubled the intramural space. The territory of Roman Cordoba was significant, rich in minerals, and held economic and military strategic value.

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[463] Knapp 1983: 107, n.149. Knapp states that the settlements of Italica, Cordoba, Hispalis, Tucci, Urso, Hasta, and Ucibi all received Latin rights, whilst the towns of Gades and Epora receive allied status (*civitates feoderatae*), with Carteia starting the basis for this division among allied versus native communities, citing Woods 1969: 251-6.
[464] See Knapp 1983: 38, map 5 for a general map; for a more updated and accurate map, see Stylo preface to *CIL* II² 7, 63.

Roman Cordoba, placed just to the north-east of Quemados, was located at the highest navigable point on the Baetis on a hillock adjacent to the Guadalquivir River (fig. 29). Its position secured both access and the approaches to the city and provided access to a river port, which contributed greatly to the city's importance, allowing Cordoba's agricultural and mineral resources to be exploited.[465] The resources Cordoba had access to included livestock, cereal production, and a wide variety of minerals (fig. 28).[466] The geography of Roman Cordoba was positioned to extend Roman influence in the region, reinforcing economic interests at Hispalis. Military influence could be projected both within the lower Guadalquivir, but also into Lusitania as well.
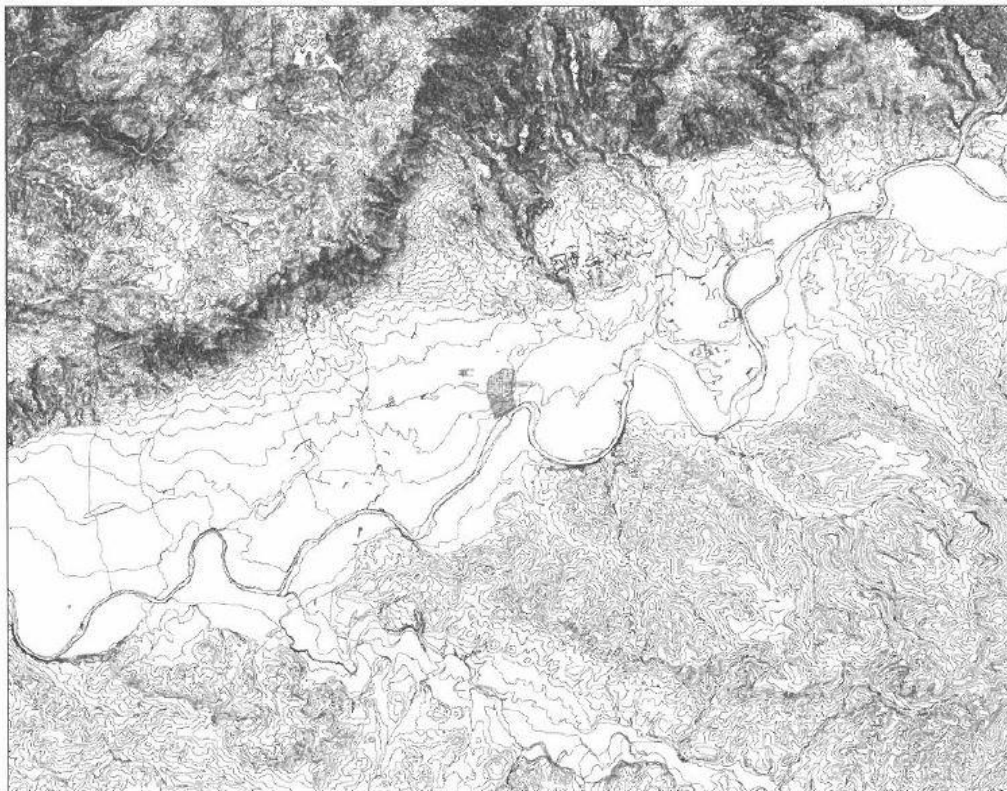
Figure 27 Cordoba's regional geography. (Murillo Redondo, 2004a: 40, fig. 20)

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[465] Lopez Ontiveros, 'Situacion y emplazamiento de Cordoba,' in *Cordoba capital 3*.
[466] Murillo Redondo 'Topografia y evolucion urbana' in *Colonia Patricia Corduba*, 39-54; E. Melchior Gil, 'El territorio' in *Colonia Patricia Corduba*, 105-118.

Given its position at the end of navigable Guadalquivir Cordoba was in an excellent geographic location to facilitate communication and trade between the greater Mediterranean and the interior of southern Iberia. The upper Guadalquivir included the mining centres of Castulo and Sisapo, and those beyond in the interior of the Meseta.[467] Although Cordoba was well connected prior to the first century to other major settlements, access was limited in terms of major overland routes due to difficulties with crossing the Guadalquivir because there were only seasonally fordable crossings nearby.[468] The first bridge was most likely built across the Baetis by Caesar, which would have improved the transportation of goods and communication between communities on either side of the river. The date of the construction of Cordoba's bridge has been thoroughly explored as it one of the few remaining structures still in use today. A pre-Caesarian date for the existence of a bridge seems implausible due to the available evidence indicating that the walls predated the presence of a bridge, as the walls were first constructed, and during Caesar's period the bridge was not present.[469] L. Sainz, the engineer who undertook repairs to the stone bridge in 1877, claimed the bridge foundation was most likely constructed during the same period as the walls due to the usage of similar materials and methods. Sainz's speculation probably was incorrect because the walls were among the first structures erected at Cordoba. Secondly, even if the techniques are similar, the difficulties that pre-Caesarian commanders had when approaching the city was quite clear. Caesar reports that in Marcellus' revolt against Longinus, Longinus had difficulty in engaging Marcellus due to positions on either side of the river. Caesar also allegedly constructed a wooden bridge to cross the Betis to engage Pompey. Even without the existence of a bridge, the Guadalquivir was

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[467] Corzo 1992: 21.
[468] Castejon 1929: 263.
[469] See Torres 1922: 95, n. 11; *Bell. Alex.* 59-60., *Bell. Hisp.*, 5.1-5 and 33.1-2.

fordable in several locations throughout the winter and more widely in the summer. The evidence should therefore indicate that Cordoba was initially a walled town, without bridge access across the Guadalquivir, and that the bridge was first created around the mid-first century BC. In any case, the lack of a bridge did not impinge on Cordoba's strategic value, and it was linked to communities within the Meseta and the upper Guadalquivir valley, and providing economic links between the lower Guadalquivir and the wider Mediterranean. Cordoba was well connected to other major centres. To the north, Cordoba was linked to *Augusta Emerita* via the Puerta Osario and to the south, along the eastern bank of the Guadalquivir river, ran another road that stretched to the coast and terminated at Malaca.[470] Perhaps the most important land route was the *Via Augusta*, which ran from Gadir to Cordoba and onwards to Carthago Nova after passing over the Sierra Moreno, and then turning north to the Pyrenees where it terminated at Narbo Martius and linked with the *Via Domitia*.[471] The *Via Augusta* was finished in the final years of the first century BC, but was not created *ex nihilo*. The *Via Heraclea*, the predecessor of the *Via Augusta*, had been in use since the sixth century BC and connected many Greek ports with Iberian communities. This network was remodeled to Roman standards, but it should be clear that this network had been in effect long before the arrival of Rome, indicating an appropriation and adaptation of existing networks.

In the immediate vicinity of Cordoba, many of these roads served as burial avenues.[472] Along many of the roads, many burials have been found dating to the second and first centuries, but along the western road to Almodovar, and running near Quemados, the tombs

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[470] Knapp 1983: 65.
[471] Keay 2003: 93.
[472] Keay 2003: 146; *CAH*, v. 10, 454.

are almost exclusively 'lower class' burials as well as gladiators' epitaphs (fig. 30).[473] More

importantly, the oldest tombs, which pre-date the second century BC, have been found along

this road, either emphasing the links between Quemados and Roman Cordoba, or as a

consequence of a preexisting, unknown, settlement at Cordoba's site; the oldest burials exist

closer to Quemados, and later burials closer to Cordoba. The burials which do date to the mid-

second century appear to coincide with the abandonment of Quemados. The placement of the

burials along the western road may suggest that even though the population had relocated to

Cordoba, the Turdetanian burial practices persisted. However, the reliability of this information

remains in question; scant evidence persists for the burials as early twentieth century

researchers failed to record in detail their findings, making gaining a clear picture of early

Roman Cordoba much more difficult.[474] As it stands, the shift towards 'Roman' funerary

practices, characterized by burials along major roads and containing Roman wares, appears to

have not occurred until the latter first century BC,[475] and might be connected to the granting of

colonial status by Augustus, and the monumentalizing of Cordoba.[476]

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[473] Knapp 1983: 121, n. 318 discusses the original archaeological work done between these areas, and is critical of Santos Jener's work due to his dubious conclusions. Nonetheless, funerary remains indicate that burials were located along these roads.
[474] Jaen 1935: 39, *cf.* Knapp 1983: 65.
[475] Vaquerizo 2001; 2002a; 2002b: 168-206.
[476] Vazquero 2005: 81-94; Leon 1996; 1999: 39-56; Marquez 1998; Ventura 1996; Ventura *el al*. 1998: 87-107.
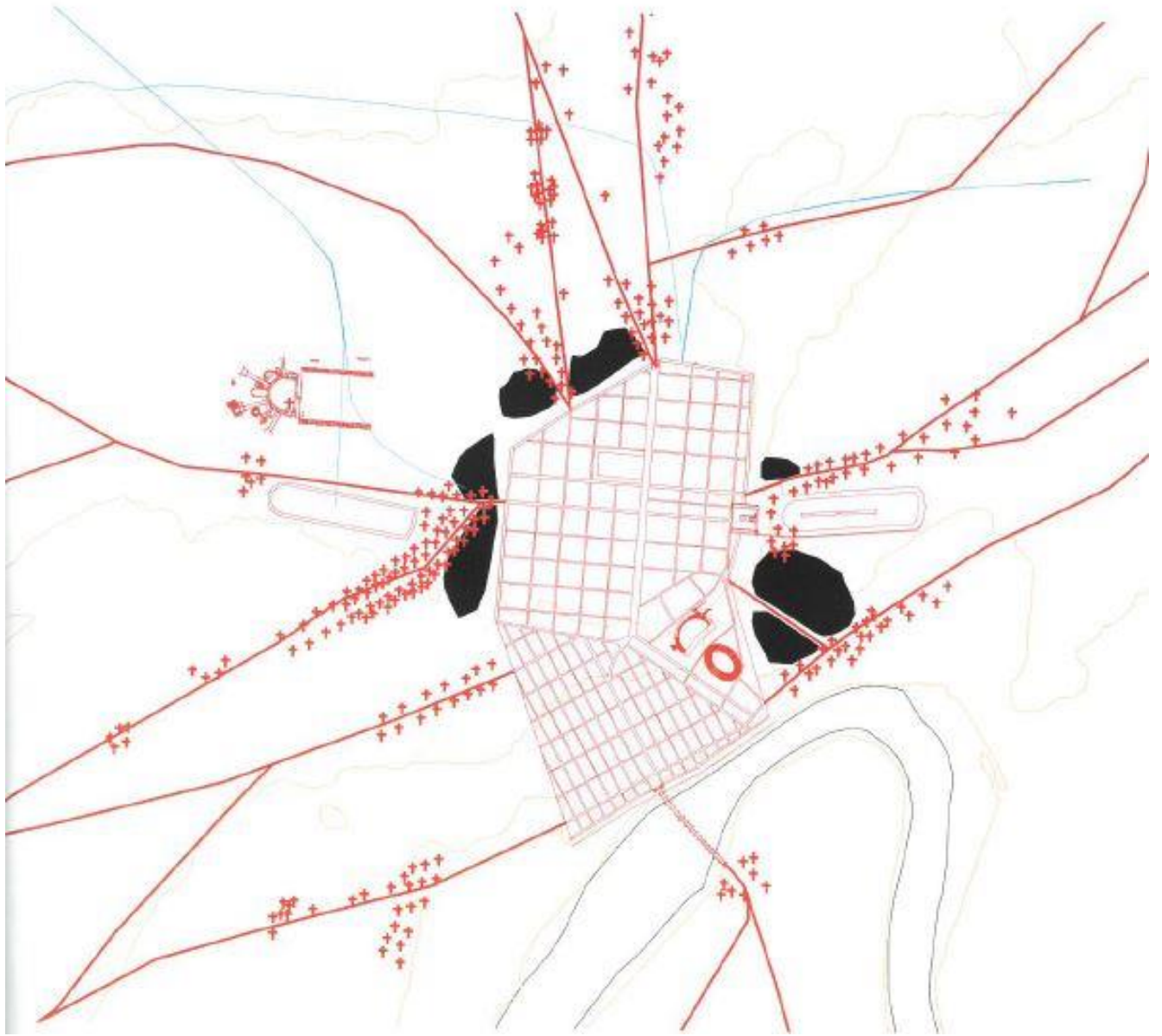
Figure 28 Cordoba's roads and funerary density. (Dupre Raventos 2004a, Lam. III)

Some of the most spectacular burial finds have been found beyond the northern gate, aptly named the Puerta Osario. Santos Jener made several significant finds along the Avenida de Medina-Az-Zahra, located approximately five-hundred metres to the west of Roman

Cordoba, with several lead tombs being found. To the east, near the Plaza del Salvador which is located just north of the Roman temple at calle Alfonso XIII and San Pablo, Santos Jener also discovered a series of burials and inscriptions dating to the second half of the second century BC.[477] The material evidence discovered in the west and south may be considered poor in comparison to finds closer to Cordoba's northern gate, but could indicate links between Quemados and Roman Cordoba. Conversely, the other routes from the city were host to more affluent tombs dating from the first century BC, possibly suggesting that these routes were more heavily travelled in the first and second centuries because of overland trade. The changes in tomb locations may be due to the adoption of Roman funerary practices, especially as many of the local élites had been granted Roman citizenship, and may have sought to memorialize themselves in this way. It is also possible that burials were taking place near to Cordoba for logistical purposes: the Puerto Osario and other known burials appear in areas close to the town, but the full funerary picture may be incomplete as only a few locations have revealed burials. Although the distribution of burials may be incomplete, we can still draw conclusions from the evidence available. First, the changing demographics at the native *oppidum* following the foundation of Roman Cordoba during the latter second century through to the end of the first century may coincide with adaptations to economic or political power. Native, poorer individuals may still have inhabited Quemados leading to burials with poor quality goods, while élite burial locations are found to the east and north of Cordoba with more valuable grave goods.

The Cordoban roads also allowed for the rapid deployment of troops anywhere along the lower Baetis or for the projection of Roman authority into the upper Guadalquivir. The

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[477] Santos Jener 1955: 8-9 on finds at Medina Az-Zahra; 11-12 on lead sarcophagi.

settlement of Italica in 206 BC and the establishment of Corboda meant that Roman military

strength could be projected over much of southern Iberia. In economic strategic terms, the

geographical placement of Roman Cordoba reoriented economic networks away from the

native settlement of Quemados to the Roman dominated settlement; the impact on local

economies can be seen through the transfer of population from the *oppidum* to Cordoba and the

decline of Turdetanian power. The economic attrition that Quemados suffered may have been

an unintentional organic process, but the co-optation of élites eventually encouraged the

relocation of lower classes, causing trade to Quemados to decline because local power had been

moved to Cordoba. Direct access to river trade also improved Cordoba's economic position vis-

à-vis Quemados and as river trade was more suitable than overland routes, the natural growth

of trade led to population shifts.

6.2.2 EVOLUTION OF URBAN SPACE

The urban space of early Roman Cordoba consisted of several elements: the walls, port,

private homes, markets and administration buildings. Cordoba contained two known

intramural urban spaces or districts: the *vicus forensis,* is identified as the 'Marcellan' foundation

measuring 31 hectares in size; the second district, known as the *vicus Hispanus*, which appears to

have developed shortly after the foundation of Cordoba, and was later part of the Augustan

extension of the wall and measured 20 hectares. The Marcellan town was founded on a grid

plan, the *kardo maximus* and *decumanus* maximus cross at the colonial forum's site, and the roads

terminate at four perimetre gates. The basic urban infrastructure of Cordoba resembles a

standard Roman settlement with a *kardo* and *decumanus* and forum at their crossing. The form

Cordoba initially took may have been strongly influenced both by economic and military needs, as the early structures on the city included the walls, port, and the forum.

In 45 BC, during Caesar's siege of the city in the Pompeian civil war, Caesar prevented Pompey's troops from resupplying the city.[478] The result of the siege was that the 'Marcellan' foundation sustained significant damage and several new buildings were later constructed on top of Republican-era structures destroyed during the war. Several buildings were rebuilt after the Civil Wars as indicated by the different orientation of late first century buildings.[479] Cordoba was re-founded as *Colonia Patricia Cordoba* in the late first century BC by Augustus when it received a grant of colonial rights, and included an expansion of the city, extension of the existing wall, and the enrolling of its citizens into what was a new tribe for the region, the *Galeria*.[480] Cordoba's grid pattern remained as the basic form of the city and it was not altered significantly throughout the city's history. The main city gates were still in use until the eighteenth century, highlighting the perseverance of the original Roman layout.[481] Ultimately, the design of the urban landscape of Cordoba is unremarkable by Roman standards, but does highlight the creation of typical 'Roman' urban environments.

One of the early monumental constructions of Cordoba, and certainly the most discussed, was its wall circuit. The walls featured prominently in the history of Cordoba, however there are gaps in the wall's story. The wall itself was two metres thick and included several towers, and was built in a two-stage process.[482] The division between the Marcellan walls and the later

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[478] Caesar, *Bell. Hisp.* 5; 33.1-2
[479] Knapp 1983: 54.
[480] On the *pomerium*, see Carrillo *et al.* 1999: 46; On the *aqua Augusta*, see Ventura Villanueva 1993 and 1996; on decorative features, see Murillo 2004: 46; on usage of marble, see Von Hesberg 1996 and Ventura Villanueva 1998: 95; on the *Galerii*, see Haley 1991: 103-4.
[481] Knapp 1983: 54, 118, n. 287.
[482] Murillo and Jiminez Salvador 2002: 184 and 189-92.

Augustan expansion of the walls is found on calle Naranjo Pineda.[483] The walls were clearly in

place at the time of Viriathus' attempt to breach them in 148 BC, indicating that the walls were

the first major structure to be erected.[484] The east end of the wall begins at Puerta del Rincon

(Plaza Ruiz Alda) and runs to Cruz del Rastra near to the Guadalquivir. Several modern roads

follow the route of the ancient wall: along Alfaros, Calvo Sotelo, Diario de Cordoba, and finally

San Fernando. Santos Jenner suggests a tower was placed north of the calle Portillo, and there is

evidence for a tower near Santa Marta and the Plaza San Salvador.[485] The northern wall ran

along the Avenida del Generalisimo, which Sanchez de Feria identified evidence for near the

Huerta de la Regina. Strong evidence for the walls' course runs through de la Merced and the

Barrios de los Tejadores.[486] Irregularities are found in the original course of the northern wall

are due to an intermittent stream.[487] The western wall followed on from the Avenida del

Generalisimo to the Jardines de la Victoria along the Paseo del General Primo de Rivera, ending

at the Huerta del Rey. The southern wall reportedly ran along the Guadalquivir, however no

significant evidence remains to follow its exact course.[488] The southern route of the wall ran

along the calle Cuesta Santa Ana, Pineda Saravia and Naranjo, but cannot be definitely located.

Evidence found in front of the Museo Arquelogico and in the gardens of the Colegio de Santa

Victoria suggest that the wall ran nearby, especially as the inscription to Axius Naso is located

within this area for the *vicus Hispanus*.[489] Cordoba's early urban environment appears like a

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[483] Insert maps in Knapp 55
[484] Appian, *Iber.*, 67-76.
[485] Santos Jener 1948: 217; 1950: 140. Knapp reports that Sentenach 1918: 204 identifies a tower near the Ermita de la Aurora, which Knapp 1983: 118, n. 281 was unable to reconcile.
[486] Thouvenot 1973: 383, n. 20
[487] Knapp 1983: 118, n. 286.
[488] Castejon 1929: 276-7 disagrees with Schulten's identification of the wall, but is reinforced by Garcia Rodriguez 1966: 263 identified the wall behind the Basilica de San Vicente.
[489] On the Museo: Castejon 1964: 373, n. 12. On Santa Victoria: Sentenach 1918: 208, n. 1 identified walls near Santa Victoria is reinforced by Torre 1922.

standard Roman settlement on the model of other Italian colonies, such as Aquillea after 181

BC.[490] Even though the settlement did not hold colonial status, the military had a clear interest

in the establishment and success of this city, and it is probable that Cordoba is the first Roman

designed city in southern Iberia.

6.2.3 THE REPUBLICAN FORUM

Cordoba, of course, had all of the buildings that one would expect in a major Roman

colony and over time forums, basilica, a curia, and temples were all built. For this discussion, I

will focus on the early evolution of the urban landscape and omit discussions of later Imperial

structures, unless these buildings were directly influenced by earlier structures.

The Marcellan forum, which Cicero mentions as being extant in the early first century BC, was

first discovered in 1929, and subsequent finds were made until 1970 at which date the forum

had been largely explored. [491] The forum itself was a sizable area, somewhere around 360 square

metres around the perimetre of the modern streets of Gongora, Cabrera, Cruz Conde, and

Ramirez de Arellano, and bordered by a portico as evidenced by boreholes in the pavement.

However it is unclear if the forum is from a later period, but all that can be claimed is the size of

the space, as decorative features were most likely added over time and not included in the

original format. The justification given for the dating of the forum as being from the mid-

Republic comes from Santos Jener's finds of mid-second century Campanian pottery, which

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[490] See Sewell 2010.
[491] Cicero, *Verr.* 4.56

was discovered at the bottom of a well beneath the forum, but Knapp cautions against precise dating of this forum as a Marcellan structure.[492]

Ultimately, Republican period architecture from Roman Cordoba suffers from the same problems as other such sites across western Europe: damage to the original forum, along with continuous habitation and salvaging of materials obscures precise identification of the early urban environment. The first hard evidence that states the area was used as a forum comes from an inscription to L. Axius Naso set up in c. AD 20, and Cicero's claim that the forum had been a forum since the early first century. The evidence become more dubious in the mid-second century: the pottery found does not necessarily indicate that the site was a forum, but may have been a public space within the early city, which nonetheless could have functioned similarly to a Roman forum. It seems more likely that early Roman Cordoba was a work in progress, and developed a more concrete urban image over time.

There are similar debates with early Cordoba's forum to Italica's *'capitolium'*.[493] Scholars have presumed that a 'forum complex' existed around the forum, including a temple, basilica, and curia.[494] A basilica is referenced in 'Caesar's' description of the events of 48 BC as the location of the attempted assassination of Q. Cassius Longinus, pro-praetor of *Hispaniae Ulterior* and Caesarean supporter in the war with Pompey, but the archaeological evidence for it is scant.[495] We lack any evidence of such a structure for the 'Marcellan' forum in the second century, although some analyses claim that the presence of marble staircases, several large columns, and a variety of other structural remains on calle Marmol de Banuelos and in the vicinity of the church of San Miguel, may relate to a Marcellan structure, but it is unclear if there

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[492] Santos Jener 1947: 93; *cf.* Knapp 1983: 56.
[493] See chapter 4, 151-6.
[494] Santos Jener 1955: 98-102; Contrearas 1977: 391; Knapp 1983: 56, citing War-Perkins 1970.
[495] *Bell. Alex.* 52.2

was a forum established at Cordoba in the first years.[496] However it is clear, and I would emphasise, that the evidence for second century public structures in Cordoba is sparse, and the administrative centre of Cordoba appears not to have taken form until the first half of the first century BC.

6.3 VICUS FORENSIS vs. VICUS HISPANUS

The *vicus Hispanus* marks out the 'Spanish Quarter' of Cordoba, and the Augustan grants of colonial status and additional *territorium* added the *vicus Hispanus* to the intramural urban landscape. The *vicus Hispanus* is perhaps the best attested district of Cordoba, but other *vici* existed around the town. None of the other *vici* are found inside the walls, although Niela claims that the *vicus capite canteri*, as well as the *vicus Patricius* were located at Cordoba, but Knapp states that this latter *vicus* was only located at Rome and Psidian Antioch.[497] Another village, named the *vicus turris* is also stated to be within the vicinity of Cordoba, and exists well into the second century AD as the *vicus* is alleged to be burial place of the three martyrs of the crown (*tres coronae marti*).[498] For the period in question, the only *vicus* which most likely existed through the first century BC was the *vicus Hispanus*. As was mentioned above two of these districts are known with the evidence provided by inscriptions dedicated to L. Axius Naso, a local senator and magistrate in c. AD 20: the *vicus Hispanus*, the 'Iberian distict' and the '*vicus forensis*', the forum district.[499] The *vicus forensis* inscription was discovered at the intersection of

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[496] Santos Jener 1955: 67; Wiseman 1956: 198.
[497] Rodriguez Niela 1976: 111-8, esp. 117; *cf.* Knapp 1983: 119, n. 291.
[498] See Thouvenot 1973: 409; Wiseman 1956: 198.
[499] Vincent 1973: 676-7. (1) L(ucio) Axio L(uci) f(ilio) Pol(lia tribu) Naso(i) / q(uaestirui) trib(uno) milit(um) / proleg(ato), decimvir(o) stlit(ibus) iud(icandis) / vicani vici Hispani. (2) L(ucio) Axio L(uci) f(ilio) Pol(lia tribu)

calle Alvaro and calle Gongora, near calle Cruz Conde, whilst the inscription mentioning the *vicus Hispanus* was discovered in the southern part of the city on the calle Angel de Saavedra.[500] The names applied to the urban space may emphasize in real terms the population distribution. What this means for the identity of Roman Cordoba is an important question. What does the inclusion of the 'Spanish Quarter' of Cordoba mean?

These *vici* inscriptions are highly important, not because of their dedication to…, but because the implication is that there may at one point have been a division between Roman and Hispani residential districts. However, it is important to note that this division may be organic, meaning that these 'districts' may have been regions of the city that evolved around transplanted populations from Quemados, rather than a Roman imposition of a designated region: few examples exist from the empire of *vici* designated by ethnicity or geographic conditions; most are simply imported from individuals, geographical locations or deities.[501]

The location of the *vicus Hispanus* is important because of all of the potential *vicus* around Cordoba, it is the only *vicus* which is incorporated into the town's urban landscape. The incorporation of the *vicus* may be due to proximity to Cordoba versus the other *vicus*, or possibly that the other *vicus* did not exist at the end of the first century BC. Likewise, possibly as one of the oldest *vicus* near Cordoba, there may have been a unique existing relationship between the *vicus Hispanus* over the other extramural villages. Although the political incorporation of Iberian élites into Roman tribes is a major shift in the mid-second century BC, the physical incorporation of Iberian space into the Roman urban landscape represents a gradual change in that initially the *vicus Hispanus* was established and later incorporated,

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Naso(i) / q(uaestirui) trib(uno) milit(um) / proleg(ato), decimvir(o) stlit(ibus) iud(icandis) / vicani vici forensis. See Knapp (1983) for detailed analysis on the inscriptions.
[500] Contreras 1977: 392.
[501] See ILS 3.2, 673 for a list of other urban *vici* across the Empire.

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highlighting the acceptance of the 'Spanish Quarter' as part of the dynamic urban identity of Cordoba. It is tempting to see a deliberate development towards a 'Roman' identity, but the evidence suggests that the Turdetanian incorporation was not forced by Roman order as far as we know, and the relocation from Quemados to Cordoba was an organic process based on a more vibrant economy at Cordoba and the patron-client relationships between Romans and Turdetanian élites, and also between élites and lower classes of Quemados. If the Turdetanians had become dependent upon economic relations with Roman patrons, the appearance of the *vicus* adjacent to Cordoba's walls would be an obvious … . Close proximity to patrons provided the Turdetanians with the opportunity to engage in Roman endeavours, such as doing business in the forum, engaging in Roman entertainment, and opportunities to interact with visitors or immigrants from Italy. It seems clear that the Turdetanians did not abandon Quemados *per se*, but rather reoriented their economic networks to synchronize with Cordoba's access to the Mediterranean via the river port. Through resettling close to Cordoba, the Turdetanians gained access to labour sources, foreign goods being imported, and Romans gained as well due to the relocation. Clearly, the developing relationship between the Turdetanians and Romans at Cordoba encouraged urban fusion between the two peoples. The retention of the name *vicus Hispanus* may be indicative of this special relationship, or perhaps the name remained due to its long-standing appellation. It may be plausible that the inscription of Axius Naso could imply that a strong connection existed between the administrative body of Cordoba and the *vicus.*

Over the span of nearly a hundred and fifty years of co-optation and enfranchisement may have meant that Turdetanian élites were not the only patrons available to Iberian clientele. The shifting economic relationship meant that as 'Roman' commercial interests grew, so too did Turdetanian investment in maintaining these contacts. Over time, the Turdetanian population would become a more fixed aspect of the city, developing from a nearby village to an

incorporated district, but ultimately there is little evidence to definitively state how this process

occurred. Finally, the dedications of Naso reveal that the *vicus Hispani* may no longer be a

village *per se* as the district now belonged to Colonia Patricia as part of its urban landscape.

6.3.1 THEORETICAL EXPLAINATION FOR CORDOBA'S FOUNDATION

The traditional image of Cordoba's foundation has been as a top-down Roman inspired

settlement *ex nihilo*.[502] However, Cordoba's foundation may have had more complex

motivations with multiple actors and I would offer an alternative view of the relationship

between the Iberian *oppidum* and Roman foundation than that of Ventura and Knapp. As

discussed above, Strabo's narrative states that the core of Cordoba was a fusion of 'picked men'

of Turdetanians and Romans.[503] This terminology is of great interest, not only is it the sole

evidence on who the initial residents were, but also the term applies a positive image for the

individuals. Presumably these individuals were valued because of a combination of some of the

following aspects: their wealth, friendliness towards Rome, and their local importance and

regional influence. First, as noted above, the Marcellan foundation was most likely a *conventus*

community with Latin rights within or near an existing settlement.[504] The granting of Latin

rights would suggest that the co-optation of Turdetanian élites followed a similar pattern as that

at Italica, Hispalis, Tucci, Urso, Hasta, and Ucibi.[505] As a trend begins to emerge in the

development of Roman foreign policy, it may be helpful to consider other instances of how

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[502] Jiminez and Carrillo 2011; Ventura Villanueva 2008; Rodriguez Niela 2005; Stylow 1990: 262 and 1996; Murillo and Vaquerizo 1996; Knapp 1983; Contreras 1977: 77-8.
[503] Strabo 3.2.1
[504] Stylow 1996: 77–85.
[505] Jiminez and Carrillo 2011.

Roman commanders interact with Iberians as negotiators of 'peace'. Two events prior to the foundation of Cordoba are of primary interest. First, Cato's attempt to subdue the Emporitanians and their Indecetai allies, and second the repercussions of Roman campaigns fifteen years later and the relationships between the Complegians, and the consuls Fulvius Flaccus and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

There may also be parallels between the situation at Emporion and that of Cordoba. Notably Emporion, as discussed in chapter 2, which appears to have been part of a federation of Iberian tribes identified as the Indecetani, and by Cato attempting to subdue the Emporitanians, may have had a quelling effect of further hostilities.[506] Following the conclusion of Cato's assault on Emporion, he allegedly provided those who surrendered with respite, which may be similar to Iberian guest-friendship tradition. Cato's aim was to capture Emporion, subdue the Emporitanians, and quell further resistance from Iberian tribes in the region. In the wake of Emporion, Cato sought to establish a rapport with the conquered Emporitanians and Indecetani, and sought their thoughts on how best to rule them. Although Cordoba was created without the use of violence, this scenario highlights that Roman consuls could use violence to create opportunities for submission, as I believe is the case with Quemados and Cordoba. In the case of Emporion, the region contained a network of Indecetanian settlements, which theoretically Cato was attempting to subdue by enfranchising the aristocracy at Emporion. Similarly, the Turdetanians were influenced a vast territory in the Guadalquivir and was host to potentially dozens of settlements and Marcellus' stratagem may have been to co-opt the élites of

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[506] Livy 34.17.7-8

Quemados, ideally influencing the remainder of settlements within the Turdetanian federation.[507]

Cato's campaigns in 195 BC had several repercussions on Iberian communities in *Hispania Citerior*, including the displacement and impoverishment of many Iberians. Following over a decade of campaigns in northeastern Iberia and the eastern coast, many displaced Iberians founded a new Iberian city named Complega in the eastern Ebro valley. In 181 BC, the Complegians made demands upon Fulvius Flaccus for reparations against other Iberians.[508] In 179 BC Ti. Gracchus, following an episode of subterfuge by his cavalry commander Cominius and lifted the siege at Caravis, was assaulted by Iberian assassins guised as petitioners. Gracchus abandoned his camp in what Appian described as 'simulated flight', and then returned to repel the Iberian forces who had begun pillaging his camp. Afterwards, Gracchus took the fight to Complega, sacking the town and subjugating the region. Following the defeat of the Complegans, Gracchus 'divided the land among the poor and settled them on it, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect.'[509] Appian does not provide a wealth of information on the events at Complega, but some information can be extrapolated and applied towards the evolution of Rome's foreign policy. Livy reports an inquiry by Cato of the Iberian aristocrats as

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[507] Strabo 3.2.1 'At all events, it is above the coast this side the Anas that Turdetania lies, and through it flows the Baetis River. And its boundary is marked off on the west and north by the Anas River, on the east by a part of Carpetania and by Oretania, and on the south by those of the Bastetanians who occupy a narrow stretch of coast between Calpe and Gades and by the sea next to that stretch as far as the Anas. But these Bastetanians of whom I have just spoken also belong to Turdetania, and so do those Bastetanians beyond the Anas, and most of its immediate neighbours. The extent of this country is not more than two thousand stadia, that is, in length or breadth, but it contains a surpassing number of cities — as many, indeed, as two hundred, it is said.'

[508] Appian, *Iber*. 42: 'The rest, being destitute of land and living a vagabond life, collected at Complega, a city newly built and fortified, and which had grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they demanded that (Quintus Fulvius) Flaccus should deliver to each of them a cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for their dead in the late war, and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences.'

[509] Appian, *Iber*. 43.

to how best to prevent revolts; he sought to do this by depriving them of the ability to rebel, in a way that would be palatable to the Iberians.[510] However, Cato's attempt to find a peaceful solution failed as the aristocracy remained silent, and the Roman expansionist policy continued unabated. This episode is important because it highlights the openness of Roman consuls, such as Cato, Marcellus, and Scipio, to the possibility of Iberian leaders deciding their own fate. However, there is a danger of extrapolating too much from a handful of instances, as scholars may inadvertently re-write history through misinterpretations. Perhaps from the Turdetanian perspective, the encroachment of Rome and her armies had significant impact on morale and willingness to resist. In this capacity, the campaigns in the northeast may have had a chilling effect on the Turdetanian will to reject Roman rule.[511] As a major trading nexus between central and southern Iberia, Quemados surely would have received information about Roman activity in the northeast, and in conjunction with Roman allies along the southern coast and the lower Guadalquivir, the feeling could have been as if a noose were about Turdetanian necks, and it would only be a matter of time before Rome came to Quemados. Fear was a major factor that played into garnering support for war making at Rome, and in consuls were keen the employ these tactics at home, it would not be unsurprising if they were used abroad.[512]

Economic factors undoubtedly influenced the élites at Quemados when it came to supporting the Roman *conventus* at Cordoba. The economic position of Quemados was significantly impacted by Roman expansion as seen through co-optation or alliance, and in

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[510] Livy 34.17.7-8: When this was reported to the consul, he ordered the senators of all the states summoned to his presence and addressed them thus: "It is not more to our interest than to yours that you should not rebel, inasmuch as this has always happened with greater misfortune to the Spaniards than trouble to the Roman army. I think that there is only one way to prevent this —to arrange matters so that you will not be able to rebel. I wish to accomplish this in the gentlest possible manner. Do you, then, aid me with your advice on this matter? I shall follow no counsel more gladly than that which you yourselves shall give me."

[511] Appian, *Iber.* 62 'Thus did Viriathus, in an unexpected way, rescue his army from a desperate situation. This feat, coming to the knowledge of the various tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reinforcements from different quarters, and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years.'

[512] Quillin 2004: 765-85; Rich 2002: 38-68.

some cases included the threat of violence as a repercussion of rejection. An alliance with Rome did not necessarily mean that economic prosperity of individuals was hampered by establishing a relationship with Rome. In the wake of the Barcid withdrawal from the peninsula, the result could be viewed as communities which allied with Rome were left unfettered by previous alliances, such as Gades to Carthage and Ispal to Quemados, although in the case of Ispal the community may have been annihilated, and individual traders or groups of traders in the second century prospered greatly. In addition, communities to the north of Quemados had been dealt a significant blow, as Castulo was sacked in the aftermath of the Punic War when they attempted to assert their independence.[513] The situation at Cordoba may have been quite similar to the scenario at Castulo, where the threat of war had a high probability of occurring in the near future, and an alliance was the best option for the élites to preserve themselves. Ultimately, economic pressures may have encouraged Turdetanian co-optation, but seems clearly pragmatic when compared with the political and military situation in the mid-first century BC. The situation may have arisen from contacts with the *conventus* at Hispalis, and Rome's allies at Gadir, now Gades. The success of these communities saw a rise in trade and established security for a generation.[514] It may be that, in conjunction with the organic nature of Roman provincial management and overseas colonization, the idea of self-enfranchisement was borne out of necessity, fear, and acceptance of Rome's expanding dominion.

Theoretically a political resolution which favored the Turdetanian élites could have prevented resistance, while at the same time providing protections for the Turdetanians.

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[513] Levene 2010: 348; Livy 28.20.8-12; *cf.* 28.20.6-7 on Illiturgis' fate: No one though of capturing anyone alive, no one thought of booty even through everything lay open to plunder; they slaughtered the unarmed as much as the armed, women no less than men; their cruel anger extended to the slaughter of infants. Then they threw fire onto the buildings and tore down what could not be consumed burning; so keen were they to extinguish the very traces of the city and destroy the memory of the enemy's abode.
[514] See chapter 2: 186-90.

However, the benefits of inclusion largely applied to the Turdetanian aristocracy, as during the

Lusitanian War, many Turdetanian settlements appear to have joined in the rebellion. The élites

at Quemados were apparently awarded Latin status for their allegiance, which provided

significant protections in contrast to holding no status. If Cordoba's foundation was initiated by

Marcellus, then the decision to support the *conventus* contained an element of self-interest; the

immediate need for self-preservation would be paramount as a Roman military presence would

signal an existential threat to Quemados, and therefore may have resulted in their reluctant

support. By engaging with the new settlement and receiving Latin status, this meant the threat

to the Turdetanians was lessened, or at least to the élites who now held some status at the

conventus. Clearly, many Turdetanians found the will to fight following Servius Sulpicius

Galba's treachery in 151-0 BC, when Galba slaughtered an unspecified number of unarmed

Iberians to whom he had promised lands to, but had his soldiers murder them in a ditch.[515] ,

which emphasizes that relations between Iberians and Romans in the region were already tense.

The foundation of Cordoba may have been linked to the Celtiberian War, which may have

pressured Iberian élites at Quemados to preserve themselves by creating a political alliance with

Rome. Although there is no evidence of treaty or conditions surrounding the foundations of

Cordoba, there must have been some discussion between Roman envoys and the Turdetanian

élite based on Strabo's comment on the 'picked men'.[516] Assuming some form of negotiation

occurred, the genesis of contact between Romans and Turdetanians may have begun due to the

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[515] Appian, *Iber.*, 60: 'Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place where Galba directed. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country until he should assign them their places. Then he came to the first division and told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, they, meanwhile, crying aloud and invoking the names and faith of the gods. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery in a manner unworthy of a Roman, but imitating barbarians.'
[516] Strabo 3.2.1

conflicts in northeastern Iberia. The realization that Roman encroachment was a significant threat to Turdetanian independence and prosperity must have come in the wake of the conflict at Numantia in 153 BC. One aspect of the unsuccessful siege of Numantia was that the consul leading the assault, Q. Fulvius Nobilior, deployed war elephants in an attempt to breach the walls.[517] The siege at Numantia, coupled with Nobilior's other actions in Iberia, may have resurrected memories from the Barcid period sixty years prior. Nobilior's deceitful negotiations are clearly more relevant to Turdetanian concerns, and Marcellus showed that he was willing to negotiate, with a preference for peace, although Appian clearly states his motivation was to secure the glory for himself over Licinius Lucullus.[518] The successive defeats and oppression put upon Iberian communities by Roman governors encouraged the Turdetanians to integrate, rather than to engage in a costly war with the Romans.

To conclude, I will summarize the timeline for Cordoba's foundation using the framework discussed above, and also examine what the *vicus Hispanus* can reveal about the nature of hybridization of Roman settlements in Iberia, as well as the consequences of the polarization of élites from Quemados to Cordoba. The timeline between 206 and c. 150 BC is problematic for Quemados because of a lack of non-archaeological (?) evidence and is therefore slightly hypothetical. Events occurring in the wider Iberian Peninsula surely had a profound effect on the decisions of élites at Quemados and in particular their choice to …. The most obvious of these events is the defeat of the Carthaginians at Ilipa, not far to the south of the Turdetanian *oppidum*. Initially, strategic alliances between Romans and groups like the Turdetanian élite, were designed to excise Carthaginian control and strengthen Rome's ability to simultaneously protect itself and exploit extra-Italic regions for portable wealth and tribute.

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[517] Appian, *Iber.* 46-7.
[518] Appian,

The by-product of the former element may have been that southern Iberian polities regained some limited autonomy after the withdrawal of the Barcids, which was followed by an alliance with Rome; such treaties may have been less aimed at extending direct control, from the Roman point of view, than to create a political relationship. We can see limited autonomy in the way that Cato engaged with élites around Emporion requesting that they submit to Roman authority.

The events at Cordoba was one model among others in the wave of alliances that Rome formed with Iberian and Punic cities. Both Gadir and Carthago Nova had allied with Rome during the war as Carthaginian fortunes declined, but these alliances were strategic in nature, as remaining allied with Carthage may have resulted in their destruction. A different type of relationship with Rome appeared at Carteia, which was similar to the rights expressed at Cordoba by appealing directy to the Roman Senate for official recognition and a grant of rights, but Carteia's status was wholly unique among non-Roman cities.[519] The conventus at Hispalis, as discussed in the previous chapter, may have served as a basis for the co-optation of Cordoban élites by Rome. These alliances may have created the conditions for peaceful co-existence, however the threat of war with Rome may also have precipitated the co-optation of the Turdetanians through fear.

Following the end of the Second Punic War, the threat of war was not alleviated. War was an annual event in Iberia, with Roman consuls striking out at Iberian cities across the Ebro valley and extending south along the eastern coast. The most notable periods of conflict were Cato's campaign in 195, which allegedly captured more towns than days he spent in Iberia. In 188, the First Celtiberian War began, which stemmed from the dislocation of Iberian

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[519] Knapp 1977: 120.

populations due to Roman expansion in north-eastern Iberia. The Celtiberian Wars (188-152) must have had a significant influence on Turdetanian decisions. Unscrupulous consuls created an atmosphere of terror, and the successive attempts by Iberians to halt the Roman onslaught could be a major factor leading to the Turdetanian decision to enfranchise. Following the departure of Nobilior and the arrival of Marcellus, the Turdetanian leadership may have seen this as an opportunity to come to peaceable terms with Rome, as Marcellus was more interested in his own personal interests in blocking Lucullus from gaining a triumph than concern for peace than war. The impact on Turdetanian decisions may have been influenced by events within the wider Iberian Peninsula; surely the Turdetanians were aware via trade with other Iberian communities of the events elsewhere in the peninsula.

The next fifty years of history around Cordoba is obscured by the war with Viriathus. During this period, the historical accounts of the region are focused on the conflict, with little evidence indicating interactions between Quemados and Cordoba. The archaeological evidence cited above is quintessentially murky, as access to archaeology is limited and epigraphic evidence is non-extant. However, two aspects, although speculative, could provide insight into the activities of Romans and Turdetanians during the latter second century BC. First, the Lusitanian War potentially drew military support from various places, and although Appian is unhelpful in identifying these locations, the poor of Quemados could have been one source of support. It may be possible that Turdetanians who were resistant to foreign occupation may have rallied to Viriathus. This may have been especially true for individuals who were not clients of co-opted élites or resident at Cordoba, and thus potentially impoverished by the reorientation of trade to Cordoba.

By the beginning of the first century, migration from Quemados to Cordoba was well underway. The creation of the *vicus* adjacent to Cordoba may have been a slow development,

but over time the community must have accelerated in growth. Initially few Turdetanians may have migrated to the city, and those that did are likely to be those most closely linked to the élite. However as Quemados' position declined, so too did the population. Access to goods and services may have been a base cause for relocation, but also the political and cultural identity of their community was a motivation as well, as the Turdetanian aristocracy moved to Cordoba, the loyalty of clients encouraged them to follow. Although no evidence exists to support this theory, the fact that the residents of Quemados did not simply abandon their homes and move to Cordoba suggests that this process was (1) gradual and not an immediate exodus and (2) suggests some cultural or economic resistance as Quemados' importance waned and (3) that the transition from Quemados to Cordoba was an organic process based on the economic and political realities. By the end of the first century, Quemados had been largely abandoned, with the bulk of the population presumably now in residence at Cordoba's *vicus* or elsewhere in or around Cordoba, or had migrated elsewhere in the region; most probablly to other Turdetanian *oppida* to the west of Quemados.

The *vicus Hispanus* might be understood in several ways when we look at the relationship of native populations with Roman Cordoba. First, the *vicus* may represent an acceptance of the local Turdetanians as part of the Cordoban urban space. Much like in the case of Emporion, where the *Hispani* and the *Emporitani* were fused together into one social construct based on mutual administrative and defensive needs. In the case of Cordoba and the *Hispani*, a similar type of construct emerges, but one less based on basic needs of security, and more directed to political reorganization, protection and economic profitability. In a way, the security aspect is true as well, but unlike Emporion, the local Turdetanians may have sought an alliance with the Romans to protect themselves from Romans. The situation at Emporion emerges as mutually beneficial, and while the same could be said of the Turdetanians, to some at least the

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local culture could be understood as intact in the wake of Cordoba's foundation. Strabo states:

"So much for the Turdetanians", claiming by the first century they had lost all local knowledge,

but his clumsy characterization may reflect both the diversification of local identities as well as

Strabo's own ignorance on the matter.[520]

Ultimately, the hybrid nature of Cordoba emerged from a complex series of political,

economic, and military actions. Roman expansion was the primary engine behind these actions,

while Turdetanian élites' desire for self-preservation provided the basis for inclusion in

Cordoba's urban landscape. The fate of the Turdetanians was not to disappear, but rather to

become part of the new Roman *conventus*, which should be seen not as 'Roman' *per se.* Rather

than viewing the fate of the Turdetanians as a total loss of their identity, it may be more likely

that the Turdetanians became *like* Romans, but also became a little more Greek, Phoenicio-

Punic, and Italic. Cordoba's cultural identity emerges to reflect the wider regional identity

through the second century, while developing a political profile associated with Rome. While

initially these connections with Rome was done out of necessity for survival, the political

affiliation developed into acculturation, but was done in a dynamic, local, and multi-directional

manner, meaning that 'Romans' living in Cordoba may have likewise become a little more

Iberian, Punic, and Greek.

END OF CHAPTER 5

[520] Strabo 3.2.15

CHAPTER 7: AUGUSTA *EMERITA* (MERIDA)

The final case study of this project will focus on *Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita*, which I have selected because of its importance in the development of the Roman frontier in the latter first century BC, which can illuminate the method and approach to city foundations in the Augustan period. The traditional view of *Augusta Emerita* produced by scholars has been that the city was designed to be a reflection of the grandeur of Rome in a provincial setting. While I would agree that this general interpretation is correct, there is a far more complex relationship between: Augustus and *Emerita*, the political and economic factors in founding a major settlement so far from any major mineral resources, and the creation of 'Roman' identity. The scholarly discussion on *Emerita* is vast, with over two-thousand titles relating to the city, but most are rather general, and focus on monumental structures rather than the creation of the city itself.[521] In this chapter, I will explore the development of the economic, urban landscape, and elements of 'Roman' identity. Most importantly, *Emerita* was developed not only as a means to promote Augustan success; there are political and economic aspects, as well as the creation of a new 'Roman' identity during the transition to the imperial period. In this chapter, I will argue that there were a series of political realities that the veterans of *Emerita* had to face due to prior allegiances, and through the adoption of Augustan political agendas the economic and identity of the settlement was influenced, thus creating an 'idealized' 'Roman' urban landscape.

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[521] See the extensive bibliography for reference in Velazquez 2002.

7.1 *AUGUSTA EMERITA'S* FOUNDATION

Augusta Emerita was founded in 25 BC, and was populated with veterans from the Cantabrian Wars, conducted in northern and north eastern Spain. Dio Cassius, in his discussion of Rome's campaigns against the Cantabri and Astures, states that: 'Upon the conclusion of this war Augustus discharged the more aged of his soldiers and allowed them to found a city in Lusitania, called *Augusta Emerita*. For those who were still of military age he arranged some exhibitions in the very camps, under the direction of Tiberius and Marcellus, since they were aediles.'[522] The name of the colony is derived from the veterans (*emeriti*) and their close association with Augustus. *Emerita* was founded far from the battlefields of the Cantabrian Wars, but was not established in a peaceful location. In contrast to the other towns discussed in previous chapters, *Emerita* was a colony from the start: there is little question to the level of investment in the urban development of the city as is reflected in the *territorium* of *Emerita*.

Figure 29 Emerita's urban plan.

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[522] DC, 53.26.1

The town was founded in the territory of the Vettones and Lusitani, two major indigenous ethnic groups in the region, both of which had a long history of conflict with Rome. As we will see later in this chapter, the evidence suggests that the site, and its immediate hinterland, may have been uninhabited in the latter first century by Iberians, but other Roman settlements did exist within *Emerita*'s hinterland before its foundation. *Emerita* was situated on the banks of the *Anas* river (modern Rio Guadiana), which served as the boundary between the provinces of Lusitania and Baetica. The city was located on a small hill, rising 250m from the valley floor, which provides significant visibility across the relatively flat Extramadura. In addition to visibility, the city sat at the highest navigable point of the *Anas*, making *Emerita* the terminal point in riverine commerce.[523] The initial urban footprint of *Emerita* was immense by colonial standards; the intramural region of the city encompassing eighty hectares of land, which is nearly double that of Cordoba and Hispalis. *Emerita* boasted a theatre, walls, amphitheatre, and circus, all erected within twenty years of the city's foundation with patronage by imperial sponsors (fig. 31), which is different from the early histories of both Cordoba and Italica as neither had entertainment structures until well after their settlement. The town's *decumanus maximus* was oriented along the exceptionally long bridge across the *Anas*, which spanned over eight-hundred metres and connected *Emerita* with Italica and Hispalis. A small island in the *Anas* connected to the bridge was used as the port for the city, and included warehouses.[524] The road north from the city crossed the Albarregas river by a small bridge and continued onwards to Caesaraugusta. The territory of *Emerita* was substantial, with centuriated plots of land double those typically seen in land grants to veterans elsewhere. The reason for these significant plots

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[523] Campbell 2012: 262.
[524] Curchin 1991: 106.

was that there simply was so much unworked land that the *agrimensores* could allocate larger

than average plots.[525]
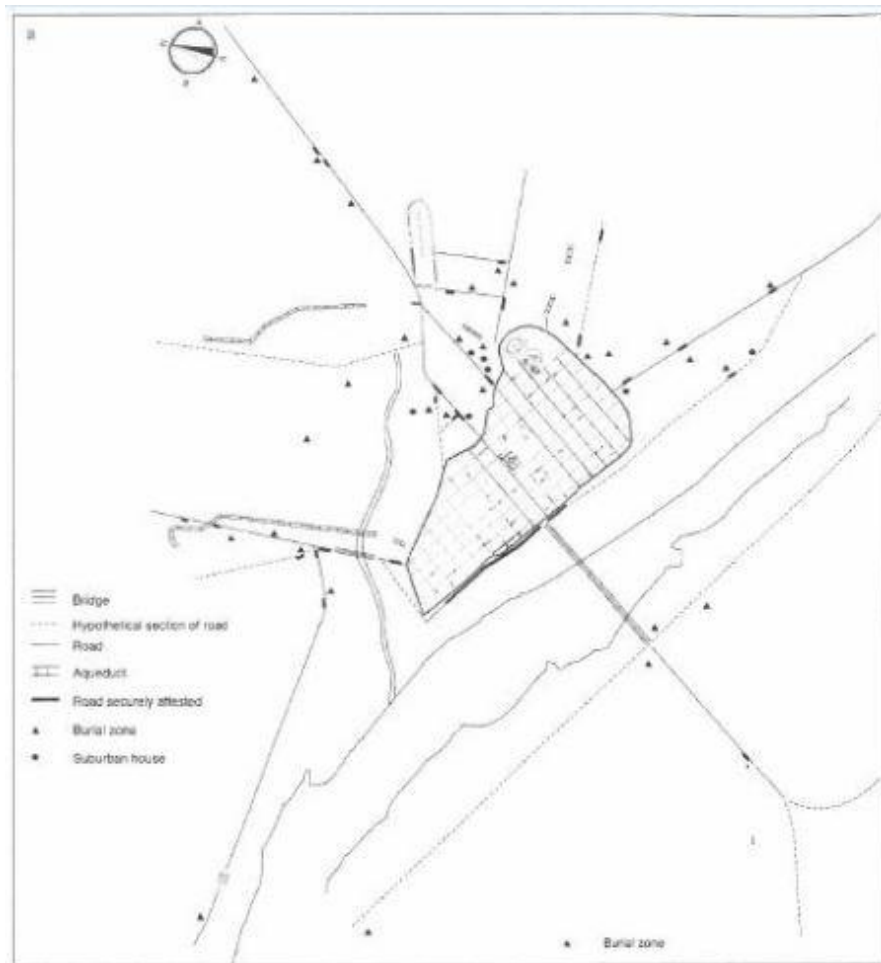
Figure 30 Emerita urban and suburban zones, funerary sites and roads. (Mateos Cruz, 2004b: 29, fig. 11)

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[525] Melchior Gil 2004: 106-9.

Dio Cassius is the only classical source who provides a date for the foundation of *Emerita*: 25 BC. (53.26.1). No other source exists which contradicts this information, and thus this date might be considered as accurate. Moreover, Dio's accuracy is superior to later sources, such as Orosius, which transmit the same material, although praise Augustus more extensively.[526] Unfortunately, Dio Cassius' text is not free from errors and should be examined critically due to the narrative's composition and the variety of evidence the author presents. As an example, Dio mistakenly states Egnatius Rufus as *aedile* in 26 BC (53.24.4-6), but the events appear to occur in 22 BC (54.2.4), showing an error in Dio's chronology.[527] Such errors might be explained if some of Dio's sources were non-annalistic sources, without an accurate chronology; similar issues of chronological accuracy emerge in book 54 regarding plots against Augustus.[528] Dio's sources in these books appear not to be Livy, as Dio's usage of Livy ends after 53.17-18, directly following the explanation of Augustan authority, but some unknown source. Despite these potential problems regarding dates within Dio Cassius's work, the date of 25 BC can be accepted as the date of the foundation of *Augusta Emerita* as it followed Dio's chronology of the Cantabrian Wars, which is far more detailed than other discussions found in his work and for which we have accurate dates that agree with other authors.[529] Dio Cassius states in the passage before *Emerita's* foundation that: 'for this and his other exploits of this period a triumph, as well as the title, was voted to Augustus; but as he did not care to celebrate it, a triumphal arch was erected in the Alps in his honour and he was granted the right always to wear both the crown and the triumphal garb on the first day of the year.

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[526] See Acre 2004: 7-13 for an updated discussion on Emerita's foundation and early history.
[527] Millar 1964: 83-90.
[528] The bibliography on Dio Cassius' *Roman History* is vast. See Barnes 1984: 240-255; Gowing 1992; Levi 1937: 15 and 24.
[529] Saquete 1997: 24; *cf.* Manuwald 1979: 242.
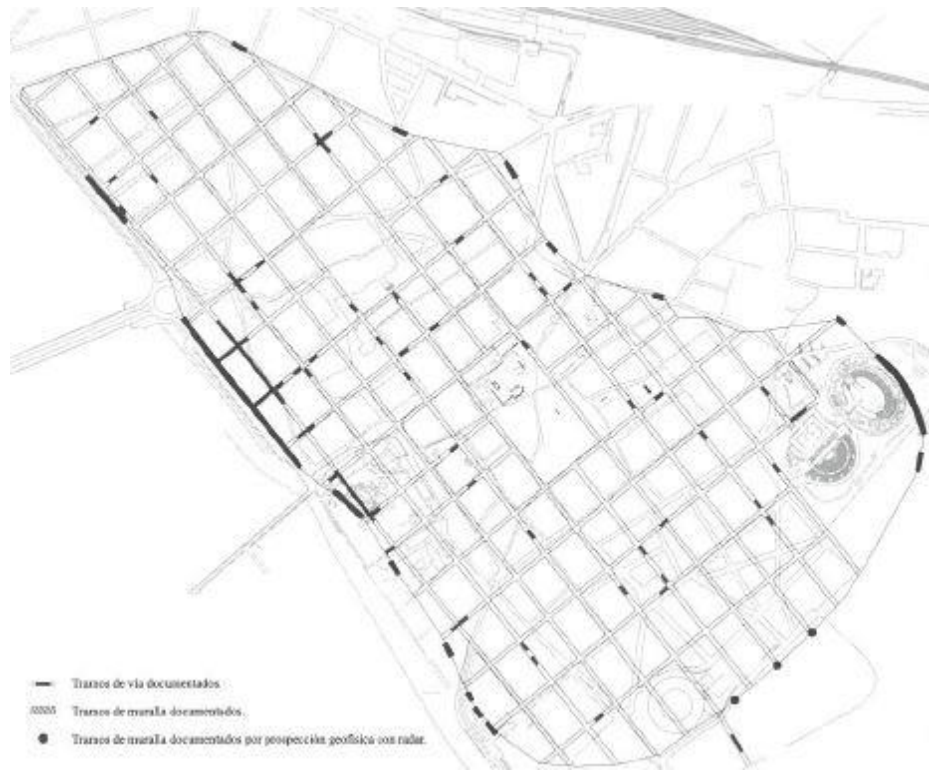
Figure 31 Areas or archaeological activity within *Emerita*. (Dupre Raventos, 2004a. Lam 1)

After these achievements in the wars, Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars.'[530] In this sense, *Augusta Emerita* is founded as a *victoriae praemium*, creating a permanent association with the triumph and victory of Augustus.[531] The evidence presented by Dio should suggest a foundation date of *Emerita* around the Cantabrian Wars, around 25 BC, although as indicated above that there are some issues with Dio's chronology.

Some academics argue that *Augusta Emerita* was a Caesarian settlement. A. Canto, in a detailed but flawed study suggests incorrectly, based on a series of archaeological, philological and historical pieces of evidence, that the traditional date of *Emerita*'s foundation is wrong and that *Emerita* was actually a Caesarian foundation.[532] The evidence presented by Canto, while plausible in some respects, does not sufficiently or definitively mark out *Emerita* as a pre-Augustan settlement. Without exploring Canto's argument in detail, which has been thoroughly and correctly refuted by J.C. Saquete who provides a critical point by point analysis of Canto's claims, there are significant elements which can be extracted from this discussion which are beneficial when considering *Emerita*'s foundation.[533] Archaeologically, *Emerita* is clearly an Augustan era foundation: among the abundant pottery discovered, no Campanian ware has been found. The lack of Campanian wares suggests that Italic or Roman trade to the region was minimal before the latter first century BC, and might suggest that the *colonia* in the region that existed before *Emerita*'s foundation were not producing enough goods to sustain the importation of Roman wares in this period.

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[530] DC, 53.26.6
[531] Arce 2004: 7
[532] Canto 1989: 149-206; 1990: 289-97.
[533] Saquete 1997: 24-39. Saquete lays out Canto's argument on p. 24-5.

Epigraphic evidence from *Emerita* also supports an Augustan era foundation as well. Marcus Agrippa became the patron of *Emerita* in 19 BC, and his name features prominently on the theatre.[15] The oldest inscription located within *Emerita* is found on the *aditus* of the theatre, which names M. Agrippa as the primary benefactor.[9] In total, five inscriptions survive which name Agrippa, and the theatre is presumed to have been completed in 16-15 BC as indicated by his titles. Another inscription which refers to Trajan relates to the construction of a *sarcrarium* in the seating area, and it includes the text *ANNO COLONIAE CXXX*, which allows a date to be applied to the inscription.[534] The date of the inscription is set in 105 AD, and references Trajan's titles of *Germanicus* and *Dacius* which were granted in 97 and 102 respectively. If Saquete's estimations are considered correct, this would suggest that the date of the foundation was closer to 28 BC than Dio's date of 25 BC, but this would be problematic because… conflicts with the ongoing Cantabrian Wars, would suggest that the *Legiones X* and *V* were still engaged in the campaign.[11] In any case the epigraphic evidence generally accords with Dio Cassius' foundation date of 25 BC, and most certainly discounts the possibility of an earlier Caesarian colony.

The name of *Emerita* has been questioned by scholars. This is important because by clarifying the order in the evolution of *Emerita's* name can illuminate interactions between Augustus and the veterans at *Emerita*. The evolution of *Emerita's* name can be successfully tracked across time. The first coinage issued at *Emerita* in 25-23 BC was inscribed with the title of the *colonia* as *Emerita*. The inscriptions from the first and second century AD take on the full name of the *colonia*, with either *Augusta Emerita* or *Col(onia) Augusta Emerita* appearing commonly by the end of the century.[535] A first century AD stamp of *GCIAE* was discovered on several lead pipes

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[534] Three granite with inserts for bronze lettering was originally placed: *CIIAE* 4 = Trillmich 1990: 304; two lintel blocks: *CIL II* 474.
[535] Trillmich 1990: 299-318.

and bricks,[536] which scholars have interpreted in one of two ways: the standard C(olonia) I(ulia) A(ugusta) E(merita) or alternatively C(olonia) I(nmunis) A(ugusta) E(merita); the G is understood as G(enio).[537] The later version including *Inmunis* seems less likely than *Iulia* because even if *Emerita* was founded as *Augusta Emerita*, it would be logical that the *Iulia* may have been applied to the town, perhaps unofficially, because of the links of the veterans to Caesar. More generally, *Iulia* and *Augusta* appear as common typonyms for Augustan era colonies.

The title of *Iulia* is typically attributed to Caesarian foundations, but due to the lack of information referring to colonies in Hispania, the evidence for the early name of *Emerita* is highly fragmentary compared to knowledge regarding other Roman territories.[12] The *Iulia* and *Augusta* *cognomen* are not exclusive to one period as *Iulia Gemella Acci* (Gaudix), which was potentially founded during Augustus' life, does not carry the title of *Augusta*, as well as *Iulia Emona*, founded in the same year of Augustus' death.[13] These examples suggest that there was no typical naming convention for colonial settlements under Augustus, and scholars such as have asserted that other formations of *Emerita's* name, for example *Iulia Augusta*, are just as likely to be accurate as *Augusta Emerita*. Conversely, J.M. Roddaz takes a simplistic approach to the colony's name, stating that *Emerita* was only known as that because the name was *inscribed* on coinage as only *Emerita*, and the additional *cognomen* were added with *Emerita's* ascension provincial capital in 2 BC.

Saquete's assessment of Roddaz's argument relies on the basis that Augusta was a viable name for a town, but is problematic in the sense that other towns are identified with a toponym, as Forni argued for in the case of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta); it would be quite confusing to simply to call cities founded by Augustus only *Augusta*.[17] The title of *Iulia* seems to have been tacked on

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[536] G(enio) C(oloniae) I(uliae) A(ugustae) E(meritea)
[537] Le Roux 1982: 62; Canto 1990: 291; Trillmich 1990.

in an ad hoc manner, possibly at the same time when the titular *Augusta* was applied in the last quarter of the first century BC, but further reinforces the point that *Emerita* was not a Caesarian foundation, but an Augustan foundation.[538] This would further indicate that no official colony was present prior to 25 BC, and if there was a Roman settlement at *Emerita*, there would be some evidence, either in the literature or archaeology.

If a town had been present in the first century BC, either from the Sertorian Wars, which is when several of the smaller Roman towns were established in the region, or from the Civil Wars, it is more likely that some evidence would exist, either in the status or the placement of troops, but alas there is none, as previously no judicial or administrative authority was previously granted to *Emerita*.[16] Initially, then the town appears to be simply known officially as *Emerita*, which is similar to the case of Nicopolis, which only acquired further titles after Agrippa became patron to the city. Between 23 and 2 BC, the title *Augusta* was added and functioned as a typical name of Augustan settlements, but the application of the title of *Augusta* suggests *Emerita* officially received colonial status hence it became politically viable to do so by Augustus.[539] Later in the third century, the name shifted to *Emerita Augusta* and finally, as stated in the *Vitas Patrum Emeritsensium* of Paul the Deacon of Merida during the seventh century AD, the name of the town reverted back to simply *Emerita*.[540]

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[538] Saquete 1997: 33; *cf.* Canto 1990.
[539] Forni 1976: 38; Le Roux 1982: 69.
[540] Arce 1982a and 1999a.

7.1.1 HOME FOR VETERANS OF CANTABRIAN WARS

The initial purpose for the creation of *Emerita* should not be considered as being due to a desire on the part of the builders to create the idealized Roman space. Many scholars have argued that *Emerita's* purpose was to be the centrepiece of Augustan provincial urban life, however, this is not absolutely correct.[541] It is true that *Emerita* became the 'idealized' Roman city in Lusitania through modelling the civic structures after Rome, but the construction of the theatre, amphitheatre and baths does not begin until a decade after the city was founded. Only when M. Agrippa became patron of the city following a visit in 19 BC and the reversal of the Augustan policy of the marginalization of the former Antonian legions' veterans, does the city's rise to prominence begin as defined by the adornment of the city and the promotion to provincial capital. Only by the close of the first century BC did *Emerita* truly become a minor reflection of Rome: a capital in its own right, forging order out of nothing and reshaping the land to reap the financial rewards, with all the comforts of urban life, a centre for trade, boasting high walls and grand gates, with Romans living in a fragment of Rome in the far west.

In this section, I will examine the evolution of the city beginning with the quantity of soldiers settled at *Emerita*, the history of the legions settled, and the relationship to Augustus, their role in the development of *Emerita* as the idealized Augustan town, and the presence of local populations. As we have seen Dio states that the veterans of the Cantabrian Wars were settled at *Emerita*; numismatic evidence from the first coin issues depicts an eagle between two battle standards highlighting a V and X - the *V Alaudae* and *X Gemina* legions. These two legions, as discussed by Dio, participated in the Cantabrian Wars and were retired from service following the conclusion of hostilities in 25 BC. The military heritage of *Emerita* is not actively

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[541] See Dupre Raventos *et al.* 2004b.

promoted in coinage until 2 BC following the promotion of the city to provincial capital. Coins

produced pre-2 BC depict the monumental gates of *Emerita* on the obverse and the name of P.

Carisius, a notoriously greedy Augustan legate who had fought on the Asturian front during

the Cantabrian Wars.[542] Carisius was selected to lead the civilian community based on military

rank.[543] It is unclear why *Emerita's* link to the settled legions was not promoted during the first

issues produced, but the images of the *V* and *X* appear only after Augustus became patron to

the city and granted provincial capital status.[544] This may harken back to the marginalization of

Antonian troops and popularizing these troops may have been difficult during the last quarter

of the first century BC. Nonetheless, even with the Antonian legacy of the veterans, *Emerita* was

established and designated at the provincial capital. In contrast to the other towns where

Antionian troops were settled, none were provincial capitals, although this may account for the

quality and size of the infrastructure following the involvement of Agrippa and Augustus.

Attempts have been made to calculate the number of veterans settled at *Emerita*. Forni

has estimated, based on the size of the theatre, amphitheatre and circus that 5-6,000 veterans

were settled, and were accompanied by a median four family members per for a total initial

settlement of 20-24,000 settlers. This figure is less than the total capacity of the theatre, which

Forni estimated to be nearly 30,000 seats.[545] Forni further suggests that by the first century AD,

the population increased to roughly 56,000 residents based on the addition of the circus.[546]

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[542] DC 54.5.1: These were the events (flooding, pestilence and food shortages) that occurred in Rome; and at about this same period the Cantabri and the Astures broke out into war again, the Astures on account of the luxurious ways and cruelty of Carisius, and the Cantabri because they perceived that the others were in revolt and because they despised their own governor, Gaius Furnius, since he had but lately arrived and they supposed that he was unacquainted with conditions among them.
[543] Saquete 1997: 22.
[544] Saquete 1997: 46.
[545] Forni 1982.
[546] Sanchez Palencia *et al*. 2001: 79-80.

These calculations are purely hypothetical, and recent studies have indicated that seating capacity of public buildings is not an adequate method to evaluate the population of Roman cities.[547] Some scholars believe that the figures for the initial foundation seem logical; however the upper estimation of 24,000 may be unrealistic, but the population would surely be increasing over time.[548] The accuracy of these figures might be even more debateable because of Dio's claim that only the 'more aged of his soldiers' were discharged. Forni assumes that the number of discharged veterans from the *V* and *X* was about three thousand soldiers each – essentially half of the legion - but this is a completely arbitrary assessment of what 'aged' might signify. Without providing exact numbers of colonists, it is safe to claim that the numbers would have been enough to: support a considerable local economy through the centuriated lands to the south of the *Anas,* although the veterans might well not have been directly engaged in fieldwork; provide a capable of defense of the city; establish the basic functions of administrative and judicial authority; create the initial foundations for the community to grow and flourish.

  Emerita's first colonists presumably included troops and officers from every rank, which effectively created a community with an established relationship of trust and order. A second deployment of veteran colonists which added to the population, but more importantly changed the social composition of *Emerita* by including veterans from other legions in the colony's citizenry, occurred in 15 BC when Agrippa passed through Lusitania. These troops may have been from the *I legio*, but there is some debate on the legion of these veterans.[549] Tacitus refers to this earlier practice of investing troops from a single legion as creating 'a little commonwealth'

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[547] Duncan-Jones 1974: 259.
[548] Acre 2004: 10.
[549] DC, 54.11.5; Syme (1933), 15, n. 11.

at new Roman colonies in contrast to the transfer of veterans from Tarentum and Antium to Puteoli, which Tacitus laments as leaving the streets empty and the transplanted colonists as 'strangers among strangers'.[550] The Augustan policy seems, in a way, to follow some of Tacitus' lamentations as the majority of Antony's veterans, now under Augustus' command, were placed at the edges of the empire, while Augustus' own legions were settled generally within existing foundations. Antony's legions were sent to Anatolia (Alexandria Troas, 190 BC), Lebanon (Berytus, 15 BC), Greece (Patrae, 146 BC), and Mauritania, which later received a secondary investiture of veteran colonists by Agrippa in 15 BC.[551] *Emerita* is the only city in which Antoinian legions were settled at that did not have a pre-existing settlement, which may suggest that there may have been other plans for *Emerita* than simply as a home for veterans. The Augustan policy of settlement of Antony's former legions can be seen as punitive, or perhaps as protective from Augustus' point of view, as these legions, were placed on the periphery of the empire. Augustus' treatment of Antonian supporters in communities within Italy was equally harsh, granting lands to Augustan veterans and relocating the residents to Albania (Dyrrachium) and Greece (Philippi).[552] Conversely, the creation of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) which placed a favored Augustan legion at the gates of the Julian Alps and took the most profitable lands from the Salassi as their own is a prime example of rewards granted.[553] The placement of his own troops closer to Rome can be viewed as a reward for loyal service, as in contrast to Antony's traitorous legions, and both perspectives can equally be true.

The *V* and *X* have a significant legacy in relation to the *triumviri*. The *V Alaudae* fought with Caesar at both Philippi and Mutina, and served as his personal guard until his death.[554]

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[550] Tacitus, *Ann.*, 14.27
[551] Roddaz 1984: 431.
[552] Keppie 1983: 80; Mackie 1983: 332-58; Brunt 1971: 593; Vittinghoff 1951: 116.
[553] DC 54.11.4; Keppie 1983: 205; Van Royen 1973: 48.
[554] Keppie 1983: 30; 1984: 206.

The *Alaudae* was later transferred to Antony and was claimed to have significant affection towards his troops. Cicero reports in the First Philippic that Antony attempted to place members of the *V Alaudae* into the third *decuia* and later writes to Atticus about a report from Caecina of Volaterrae, an ally of Octavian, that Antony was marching on Capua with the *V Alaudae*.[555] The *X Gemina*, one of the oldest of Caesar's legions served through the Gallic Wars and the Civil War, also fought at Philippi and was reinforced by Lepidus, but in 43 BC was transferred to Antony. Both the *V* and *X* were present at the battle of Actium in 31 BC but did not see any action.[556] Following their surrender, both the *V* and *X* were transferred to the *Hispaniae*, but the exact date of transfer remains unclear.

These veterans came from legions which served initially under Antony, then Augustus, and it has been suggested that these links with Augustus' now long-vanquished foe caused their settlement in a backwater province. The other cities where Antonian troops were settled all had long histories: Berytus, Patrae and Alexandria Troas were much older cities and at Carthage, even with Scipio's destruction of the city, still retained its history and heritage from surrounding communities. Conversely, *Emerita* was created *ex nihilo* with a number of regional *colonia*, around eighty kilometres away, with the distance to the nearest major Roman settlements of Hispalis and Cordoba being over 180 km away to the southeast, but in reality, the rough terrain of the Sierra Morena would make overland transport difficult and the clear route along the Roman road would be rigorous, making travel by river and along the coast more effective, which may suggest the mountains created a significant barrier, both politically and economically. The placement of these troops in this location is intrinsically linked to their history with Antony.

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[555] Cicero, *Phil*. 1.20; 5.12; 13.3; *Ad Att*. 16.8.2
[556] Brunt 1971: 511.

Dio Cassius clearly states that the *V Alaudae* and *X Gemina* fought with distinction during the Cantabrian Wars, and according to Hyginius, Augustus treated these legions as if they were his own, which although they were following the settlement of 27 BC these legions had no contact with Augustus except as the enemy.[557] Saquete argues that the logic behind the fair treatment of the *V Alaudae* and *X Gemina* stems from Augustus' need to capture Antony's army intact which was logical at the time: a land battle at Actium, which would surely have ended in defeat for Augustus, would have cost many Roman lives and there were better uses for those legions in the provinces.[558] However, the disbursement of funds seems less as an equal treatment of veterans, but as bribery to quell rebellion: following the unrest in Sicily, and later Brundisium, it can be interpreted that legions realized their ability to influence the imperial body through threats of force.[559] Augustus states that he granted monies to 120,000 soldiers, which clearly was not the current standing army, and must include settled colonial veterans.[560] My interpretation of these events is that not only were these grants of monies given to troops for continued services, but also to quell any rebellion by settled veterans. With this in mind, it may be plausible that by settling the *V* and *X* at *Emerita* with large land grants was intended to placate and marginalize the legions to prevent rebellion, and if in the event they did rebel, they would be far enough from the centre of the empire to be dealt with swiftly.

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[557] Hyginius 177.

[558] The land army present at the battle of Actium is largely overlooked because Augustus' victory took place at sea. Antony's land army numbered 19 legions and surrendered a week after to conclusion of hostilities (September 9, 31 BC). Saquete 1997: 42; Gurval, 1995: 148.

[559] App., *B.C.* 5.96-144; DC 49.1-18. Lepidus appears to be the instigator of this event, following the retreat of Sextus Pompeius. Following Agrippa's successful capture of several Sicilian ports and Sextus fled west, Lepidus found nearly two dozen legions under his command. Lepidus demanded the withdrawal of Augustus' troops, but resulted in Augustus moving on Lepidus' encampment, causing the legions to abandon him. Augustus stripped his consular powers and exiled him to the North African town of Circeii, where he lived out the rest of his life in peace until his death in 12 BC.

[560] *RG*, 15 'In the colonies of my soldiers, as consul for the fifth time, I gave one thousand sesterces to each man from the spoils of war; about one hundred and twenty thousand men in the colonies received this triumphal largesse.' On settled colonists, see Brunt 1971: 338 and Keppie 1983: 74.

In my opinion, the solution to the question of the purpose of *Emerita* lays at the confluence of the original name of *Emerita*, the descendants of the veterans, and the will of Augustus. First, the name of *Emerita*, discussed earlier, appears on the early coinage with the single name of *EMERITA*. Assuming that the initial name of the town omitted the title of *Augusta*, *Emerita* may have been initially founded without the intent to create an idealized 'Augustan' provincial town. The granting of the name *Augusta* might subsequently be part of a phase where Augustus attempted to establish a link with the residents of *Emerita* and create a permanent bond with the city, although Augustus had a long and complicated relationship with the legions settled at *Emerita*. It may be that after nearly thirty years since the battle of Actium and the fact that the soldiers involved were now either dead or very old, Augustus' attitude towards the city could have change to that of a benefactor, perhaps due to Agrippa's patronage, and perhaps as homage to Augustus' right handman following his death in 12 BC. Once the Antonian legacy had faded, Augustus was free to promote the city and its legacy as his own as the second and third generations of *Emeritenses* came to power. By the end of the first century BC, *Emerita* may have appeared more Roman than Iberian, and in this next section, I will consider the evidence for the continuing presence of local communities, and how they exist within a changing world.

Emerita was founded with the express purpose of the city becoming the capital of a province at some stage in the future. Three specific stages of interactions emerge and are very informative for examining the development of *Emerita*. The first phase relates to the aftermath of the battle of Actium, the First Augustan Settlement of 27 BC, and Augustus' relationship with his own versus 'rebel' troops. 'Rebel' troops (those that had served Antony and others) were marginalized towards the edges of the empire, whilst his own veterans were relocated to more

favorable lands nearer to Rome. During this early period *Emerita* was largely left alone, as more pressing matters drew the attention of the *Princeps* away from northern Baetica. It is also worth noting coinage produced during this period neither referenced the full title of *Emerita*, naming the city only as *Emerita,* nor the military heritage of its colonists. The second phase begins with the admittance of a second wave of veteran colonists, around 19 BC, and Marcus Agrippa becoming patron of the city as seen through inscriptions on the theatre bearing his name. Between c. 19-16 and 2 BC, *Emerita* grew quietly in stature with a second wave of veteran colonists, and further public buildings added to the city, with Agrippa as patron until his death. Through this period, the city continued to evolve, possibly beginning to develop an extramural suburban community by the end of the first century BC. At the close of the first century, Augustus seems to have a change of mind towards this colony and this final phase of interactions with Augustus shows a reversal of the previous policy of marginalization. The new policy may have also stemmed from the decline in foreign wars and the rise of peacetime, Augustus' legacy may have been more important. The shift in policy is demonstrated by several pieces of evidence: the creation of the province of Lusitania with *Emerita* as the capital although there were few other pre-existing settlements which could become a provincial captial, the production of coinage bearing the name *Augusta Emerita*, suggesting Augustus became the patron of the city, and Augustus' acknowledgement of the contribution of the *X Gemina* and *V Alaudae* to the foundations of the city through promotion of its residents. The establishment of *Emerita* as the capital of the new province seems linked with all things new: a new territory, crowned by a perfect Roman city, a reflection of Rome. The other choices for capitals near to *Emerita* were unsuitable for the grandeur which a provincial capital demanded. *Emerita* was designed to be a capital in the indeterminate future after 25 BC, and is representative as a centrepiece of Augustan provincial urban living. The change from

mere *colonia* to 'capital' is the defining moment in *Emerita's* ascension during the Principate. Below, I will provide a detailed analysis of these events, as well as a discussion on the contents of the urban space.

To sum up this section, on the basis of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological material, *Emerita* should be considered as an Augustan colony. As has been shown the argument for a Caesarian foundation, it is improbable that *Emerita* was founded before the last quarter of the first century based on Dio's dating and the coin issues that refer to the Julians may be an appeal to present themselves as loyal to Caesar, and by extension Augustus. The first coins issued at *Emerita* only refer to the singular *cognomen* of *EMERITA* with *Iulia* only appearing well after *Emerita*'s foundation.[20] Adaptations to names are not unheard of, and in the case of Celsa (Vellila de Ebro), which was first founded by Lepidus in 42 BC and produced coinage with the name C(olonia) V(ictrix) I(ulia) L(epida), the colonial name was later adapted followed the death of Lepidus to reflect Augustus' ideals: C(olonia) V(ictrix) I(ulia) Cel(sa).[19] The change of Celsa's official title should be considered as an adaptation to the political climate following the ascent of Augustus; expunging the names of lesser *triumvirs* such as Lepidus in favor of Augustus could either be seen as a political move on the part of Augustus, or a local desire to promote their allegiance with the current leadership of Rome. Coins minted with *Emerita's* name reveal the official identity of the town evolved over time and with the third coin issues, datable to after 2 BC and containing the text C(olonia) A(ugusta) LE(gions) V (and) X, the veteran origins of the city appeared as a basis for the name of the town. The adaptation of the name of *Emerita* should reflect the patronage of Augustus and Agrippa rather than any substantive change in the identity of the city.

7.1.2 LOCAL COMMUNITIES NEAR *EMERITA*

In contrast to the archaeological and literary evidence regarding the colonists at *Emerita*, very little information exists on the local Iberian communities which existed in the region before and after the Roman conquest. So little evidence is there for pre-existing communities that the image presented by the archaeological material is one of the city, *Emerita*, founded *ex nihilo* with no local population nearby.[561] The region was obviously not devoid of human activity prior to the arrival of Rome, as the region beyond the *Anas* was territory inhabited by the Vettones and Lusitanians according to reports from the Roman Civil War, Lusitanian War, and the Sertorian War.[562] However, specific information on the presence and location of Iberian communities within the region is sparse and not contemporaneous to the foundation of *Emerita*. It is plausible that the absence of a population on or near the site of *Emerita* was due to the presence of other *colonia* in the region: *Narbo Caesarina*, *Metellinum*, and *Turgalium* all had established agricultural lands which may have employed local Iberian communities as labour forces, and those communities may have relocated to these towns because of the economic opportunities at Roman centres. These Iberian settlements were potentially too small, or disparate to have been located as of now.[563] Conversely, if there were a local population present at or near the foundation of *Emerita*, that has not been discovered it might have been incorporated into the urban network of the city, which might explain the rapid development of the suburban section of *Emerita*. Alternatively, they could have been absorbed by the other regional *colonia*. Unfortunately, no archaeological evidence has been found yet which indicates that such a permanent population was present, however cultic activity may have been present.

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[561] Keay 2003: 146-211.
[562] Egan 2013: 7-12; Konrad 1995: 157; Curchin 1991: 53-8.
[563] Edmondson 1994: 13-30.

Nonetheless, with the quantity of lands granted to the colonists, there must have been external labour to work the huge tracts of land. If so, where were these populations?

Strabo lists *Emerita* as one of the jointly settled cities within Lusitania comprising of Romans and Turdulians, a group of Iberians that lived in the region to the south of *Augusta Emerita* in the Alcores, near the Guadilmar river west-southwest of Cordoba.[564] It is unlikely that the Turdulians settled at the city would have been granted citizenship, more likely they were added as *incolae*.[565] Unfortunately, evidence for the presence of Turdulians is scarce. At the site of *Emerita,* the discovery of several Iberian religious artifacts such as small statues and sacrificial offerings, suggests that there was originally an indigenous settlement at the site, or possibly the site was a religious site, but no evidence to suggest a permanent population centre has been located.[566] However, the presence of Iberian cultic goods does not necessarily mean that there was a population here, and these cultic goods may have been deposited due to a local population of Iberians that were relocated to the *incolae* at *Emerita*. The lack of evidence for the location of the incorporated Turdulians may suggest that the indigenous people may have relocated, either willingly or not, to other *colonia* in the region previously. Hypothetically, if this had happened, the interaction with local Roman *colonia* may have encouraged a hybrid culture, which would cause their culture to become less discernible in the archaeological record. The inclusion of local populations near to Roman colonies was a strategy the Romans clearly employed in Iberia: previously I have highlighted Cordoba's inclusion of 'picked men' into the settlement's foundation, and Dio Cassius highlights the conglomeration of peoples' into the

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[564] Strabo 3.2.16
[565] Le Roux 1982: 70, n.284; Edmondson 2011: 32; *cf.* Canto 2001.
[566] Blazquez 1975: 11-7.

town of Nicopolis following the battle of Actium, which used similar strategies of incorporation and dislocation.[567]

Roman impact on rural Iberia was a gradual process, but through the Augustan reforms major changes affected rural Iberian communities. Small, rural settlements such as Conimbriga, Sellium, and Mirobriga were promoted, but others like *Emerita* were created to serve as administrative centres.[568] The residents of smaller communities may have been encouraged, and in some cases forced to relocate and resulted in the gradual abandonment of many Iberian settlements, but this process accelerated towards the close of the first century BC.[569] This was not a complete abandonment, with some *oppida* remained occupied through the first century AD. Some scholars have claimed that many newly created towns stagnated due to the local resistance to migration as evidenced by *oppidum* existing nearby to minor Roman settlements.[570] This resistance is important to determining where local populations were located in southern Lusitania, mostly because there is no forced relocation which takes place around the foundation of *Emerita,* as far as we know from our sources. It would seem more likely that the Iberian populations migrated on their own accord, but Roman influence encouraged this by the introduction of road networks and reshaping the countryside by introducing new trade contacts. For the purposes of *Emerita*, examining the types of settlements present will suggest where these populations were existing in the latter first century BC.

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[567] DC, 51.1 'Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis.'

[568] Edmondson, J. 1990: 151-78.

[569] This is a well-documented process of abandonment and relocation with an extensive bibliography. See Edmondson 1994, n. 22 for a brief bibliography on several rural Iberian settlements abandoned during this period.

[570] Gamito and Arnaud 1981: 69-71; Gamito 1987: 149-60; Rodriguez Diaz 1989: 619-28 and 1991: 283-300. See Keay 2003: 150, n. 30 for a brief bibliography on the territory.

7.1.3 URBAN VS. SUBURBAN ZONES

One of the major differences in *Emerita's* urban design versus other towns in Iberia

before 25 BC is that *Emerita* was created as an idealized Roman city. Recent studies have taken

this purposeful design into mind, specifically in relation to the development of the urban versus

suburban zones with the walls as the demarcation of the two spaces.[571] Recently one

methodological adaptation to studies of the city has been to consider the urban space of *Emerita*

as part of the territory, not as a walled urban town isolated from the rest of the rural landscape.

Rather *Emerita's* urban landscape has started to be considered in relationship to the suburban

environment, access to burial and industrial areas, as well as the transport links for riverine and

overland commerce (fig. 32).[572] Conversely, through considering the ancient topography of

Emerita as a whole, rather than various aspects independently from other aspects has provided

scholars with new archaeological methods to view the relationship between the urban and rural

physical landscapes.[573]

Augusta Emerita was founded on the north side of the *Anas* with transport links across

the *Anas* river and roads leading east and west along the river. The bridge, which connected the

provinces of Baetica and Lusitania, spanned over eight-hundred metres. *Emerita's* territory was

not limited to land on the north side of the *Anas*, as centuriated land beyond the bridge was

allocated to *Emerita*. The lands granted to *Emerita* were exceptionally expansive, so noteworthy

that the territorial footprint of the *colonia* was preserved in fourth century compilations of land

surveyors.[574] The wealth of land allowed for nearly double the size of standard plots, and also a

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[571] See *Augusta Emerita* 1976; Mateos 2001: 183-208.
[572] Mateos Cruz 2004: 27.
[573] Feijoo 2002: 11-22.
[574] See Campbell 2000.

very low price of land, so much that in some cases, the cost was nothing.[575] In addition, whole

sections of this new territory remained empty until later investments of veterans, as there were

huge tracts of land and only so many veterans to allocate already double-sized plots. As

discussed earlier, there appears to have been some Iberian presence near the future site of

Emerita, but the literary sources do not reference any local populations needing to be displaced

to make way for *Emerita*, which would suggest that no policy of active displacements of local

communities was required.[576] The *Anas* was the boundary between Baetica and Lusitania, and it

is odd that the colony was granted additional lands beyond the boundary because the territory

granted to *Emerita* on the northern bank of the *Anas* was substantial. Clearly, *Emerita's* territory

was designed to provide the town with a huge territory but this must take into account pre-

existing territories leading to a not entirely contiguous set of spaces; this is also seen in the case

of Augustan Carthage with territories scattered throughout large tracts of Proconsularis, which

is interrupted by the territories of other colonies, *municipia* and independent *civitates*.[577]

The territory of *Emerita* expanded south to the mountains of Los Santos, Calera and

Feria, which provided much of the water supply for the city (fig. 35). The Via de la Plata extends

northward from here, intersecting with the *Cardo Maximus* at *Emerita*, and this route creates the

framework for the centuriation of the southern expanse of the town.[578] Evidence from the south

of *Emerita* reveals significant agricultural exploitation, especially in viticulture and olive

production, but also included cereals and livestock. The north, east and west of *Emerita's*

territory is much less clearly defined, especially in relation the colonies of Metellinum and

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[575] Weigels 1976; Saquete 1997; Canto 1989 and 1990; Arino and Gurt 1992-3; Arce 2004.
[576] Arino and Gurt 1992-3: 47.
[577] Fernandez 1989: 889.
[578] Arino and Gurt 1993: 51; Gorges 1982: 101.

Figure 32 Emerita's territory, including land near
Metellinum (Edmondson 2011: 33, fig. 3.1)

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Norba Caesarina.[579] Determining the boundaries between the territories has been especially difficult because the initial territory granted to *Emerita* was formed partly from these colonies' space, although this is not unique to *Emerita*;[580] territory is reallocated to different cities when a city is granted higher status. The location of the boundary between *Emerita's* territory and other Roman settlements is reported by Agennius Urbicus, the *agrimensor* assigned to the centuriation of lands around *Emerita*: 'because of the magnitude of its territory, Augustus distributed the veterans around the almost outermost edge as it were like boundary-markers, and the remainder has been left vacant so as to be filled up later. In the same way a second and third assignation took place subsequently. Even so such a process of division did not exhaust the limit of the land available, but there was still surplus land left unassigned.'[581] As noted by the *agrimensori* Hyginius, further lands were granted to *Emerita* as *praefracturae* were created beyond its immediate territory near *Turgaliensis* (Trujillo, 80 km to the north), the *Mullicensis* (Montemulin, c. 80 km to the south), and other unnamed *praefecturae*.[582] As suggested by Edmondson these unnamed *praefecturae* could have included land near Metellinum, and although the *agrimensores* are unclear on the matter, Edmonsdon claims that the land grant to *Emerita* was intended to enhance its economic and administrative prestige and authority.[583] Due to the method of distribution, the actual territory of *Emerita* becomes increasingly difficult to quantify with specific borders. The situation is only further complicated by a small surviving fragment of bronze inscription, which indicates that the eastern perimetre of *Emerita's* territory

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[579] Alvarez 1988b: 190; Fernandez 1988; Cerrillo 1988b.
[580] Fishwick 1996: 13-36.
[581] Aggenius Urbicus, *Dr Contr. Agr.* 44; see fig. 35 for map of *Emerita's* lands.
[582] Hyginus Constiutio limitum 136; Edmondson, 51, n.14: each centuria was 40 x 20 actus instead of the standard 20 x 20. 'In the territory of Emerita there are several *praefecturae* whose *decumani* likewise face east, the *kardines* south. But in the *praefecturae* of the regions of Mullica and Turgalium, the *decumani* have 20 *actus*, the *kardines,* 40.
[583] Edmondson 2011: 32-54.

may have extended as far as Lacimurga.[584] However, the evidence for lands near Lacimurga comes from a single fragment, which does not provide much information, and much of these arguments are based on inference. The fragment itself is heavily damaged, and only is part of a more complete map, and therefore is problematic to use as definitive evidence of *Emerita's* territory extending as far as Lacimurga. It may have been that *Emerita*'s boundaries were limited only by geographical features, and as the surrounding territory north of the *Anas* is primarily flat plains, there was no physical boundary that was clearly identifiable. As *Emerita* was designed to be a provincial capital of unprecedented size, the territory allocated to the city may have been more than estimated, with lands allocated for further expansion as *Emerita* grew.

Figure 33 Fragment showing *Emerita's* territory bordering with Lacimurga. (Sanchez Barrero 2004: 105)

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[584] Sanchez Barrero 2004: 103-7, fig. 53, 105.

The southern expanse of *Emerita* beyond the *Anas* is quite problematic when considering both *Emerita's* territory and the boundary between Lusitania and Baetica. The occupation of space in another province seems odd; lands beyond the Baetican border are included in *Emerita's* territory. Ancient sources indicated that the *Anas* was the border between the provinces of Lusitania and Baetica, and this picture has been largely accepted by academics, but the expansion of the *Emeritenses* territory into what should be Baetican provincial space is potentially problematic because as evidenced above it is not unheard of for Roman settlements to have territory among other towns *within the same province*, but not beyond the provincial boundaries. Given this problem, many recent historians have begun to demarcate the border of Lusitania and Baetica to the south of the centuriated territory owned by *Emerita*.[585] However, the division between the provinces of Baetica and Lusitania has been suggested to be reliant upon cultural boundaries to determine where 'Roman' began and 'Iberian' 'ended. Some scholars have suggested that Iberian culture was still strong within Lusitania when the province was created in 27 BC due to the lack of Roman presence in the region, and *Emerita* was therefore placed at the northern edge of Roman territory, not far from major 'Roman' settlements at Cordoba and Hispalis, in order to encourage 'Romanization'.[586] The reason for the lack of Romans in Lusitania is more likely that southern and eastern Roman provinces in Iberia was due to its distance from the Mediterranean coast, lack of resources, as the Meseta was generally a brutal environment with little access to water away from the rivers, and divided by steep mountains. Resistance to Roman cultural influence could on one hand indicate that there was little Roman influence, but on the other it may indicate that Romans living in the region

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[585] The list of maps which the border is placed south of the centuriated lands is numerous. See Mackie 1983: 249; Edmondson 1990: 55, fig. 11.1; 2011: 33, fig. 3.1; Richardson 1998: 128, fig. 4; Sanchez Barrero 2004b: 102, fig. 51.
[586] For a summary of Spanish scholars using 'cultural boundaries' as a means to determine borders, see Lopez *et al* 2004 for a bibliography of Spanish scholarship. See also Edmondson 2011, 98-101; 1990.

adopted some Iberian traits, suggesting that the Roman profile was less visible if they had a hybridized identity. The cultural territory attributed to *Emerita* may have included areas that crossed the border for a variety of reasons, and it may have been that these lands that crossed the provincial boundary were overlooked due to the political clout of Augustus' provincial capital *Emerita* may have had.

The province of Baetica was based initially on pre-Roman divisions which were primarily geographic relying on mountain ranges, rivers, and inhospitable lands to help define space, but also Iberian cultural territories influenced the development of the division of spaces. However, although these geographic delimiters are convenient for approximating divisions between *provincia*, these spaces may be more flexible than perceived in terms of allocated territories to cities.[587] The primary focus for this discussion will be on the validity of the river *Anas* on the boundary between Lusitania and Baetica, as this territory is important, both determining the extent of the importance of the city, but also examine the development of the provincial system in the Augustan period. The boundaries of Baetica have been the focus of academic discussion over the last century, with three waves of research determining the position of the boundary in different ways. Early interpretations of the *fines* of Baetica were based solely on textual approaches and claimed the *Anas* to be the northern border of the *provincia*.[588] Later interpretations were defined by the presence of Roman or indigenous populations, and did not identify the *Anas* as the definite border of Baetica.[589] More recently,

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[587] Bastos *et al*. 2012: 83-4.
[588] Albertini 1923 and Thouvenot 1940 both use Pliny's account as the basis for the boundaries of Baetica, but note that *Augustua Emerita, Metelinum* and *Serpa* are the exeption.
[589] Marin and Prieto 1972; Garcia Iglesias 1972; Alarcao 1988. Marin and Prieto focused primarily on Iberian populations, without a specific *limes* as this was a Roman perspective, and indicated where both Albertini and Thouvenot had made errors. Conversely, Garcia Iglesias used cities as delimitations between provinces. Alarcao examined the western border of Baetica, and all three indicated that the either the *Anas* was definitely not the border or not the precise border.

scholars have engaged more scientifically with this region through GIS surveys, targeting sites

of Roman occupation through archaeological evidence, but omit data pertaining to the presence

of Iberian communities, which most likely provided the primary labour force in the region

during the Principate.[590] However, the first two types of studies have either largely dismissed

local populations as a factor in the development of the borders, or examines the geographic and

urban elements as taking precedence over the presence of indigenous populations.

In my opinion, the border between Lusitania and Baetica should be seen as a fluid boundary for

the purposes of agriculture due to the apparent lack of other settled populations south of the

Anas in close proximity to *Emerita*. This may be unique to Emerita, as it existed close to Baetica's

border and with no other major cities nearby this space could be farmed without incident,

primarily due to *Emerita's* political importance. Therefore, the lands south of the Anas should be

considered flexible, as it may have been controversial for Baetican provincial leaders to

challenge the right of *Emerita's* access to this space due to the imperial links to *Emerita*. The two

nearest *colonia* on the southern banks of the *Anas* are *Ugultunia Contributa Iulia* (Medina de las

Torres) and *Turobriga* (Aroche?), but are over 70 km from *Emerita*.[591] In reality, the lack of any

significant populations to the south beyond the centuriated lands was due to very rough terrain

consisting primarily of steep valleys and rocky arroyos, very little water and persistent scrub

vegetation, which suggests that the provincial border was less important than access to prime

agricultural lands; the *Anas* then was not a constraining factor in the development of the lands

surrounding *Emerita*, but rather the inhospitable regions south of the plains adjacent to the *Anas*

and *Emerita*. Moreover, even if there were a population that was using these lands, it is unlikely

they would have continued to retain them as there is no evidence of taxation of local

[590] Cortijo Cerezo 1993 and Corrales Aguilar 1997.
[591] Edmondson 2011: 33, fig. 3.1, Arino Gil 2004: 141, fig. 143.

communities at *Emerita.* However, if there was a population there, and were not politically

significant, they could easily just be attributed to the colony. It is more likely than not that with

the creation of the *provincia* of Lusitania, the lands beyond the *Anas* were officially granted to

Emerita due to the town's proximity to prime unexploited agricultural lands. If *Emerita*'s border

was the *Anas*, this would suggest that the working of lands south of the border was an organic,

rather than administrative action. It is my conjecture that in order to create the perfect

centrepiece of Augustan provincial life, the lands south of the *Anas* were either appropriated or

granted to the colonists for the purpose of providing financial stability to the city.

7.2 *EMERITA'S* IMPACT ON LOCAL ROMAN SETTLEMENTS

     Emerita's foundation had a significant impact on local Roman communities. 30 km east

of *Emerita* was the Roman military base of *Metellinum* (Medellin), initially founded in 80 BC by

Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius during the Sertorian War. The site was a prominent Iron-Age

settlement, and *Metellinum*, which originally held the status of *civitas stipendiaria,* was granted

colonial status sometime in the 40s BC by Caesar.[592] 70 km to the north of *Emerita* was the

colony of *Norba Caesarina* (Caceres), which was founded during the proconsulship of C.

Norbanus Flaccus in 35-34 BC. *Norba Caesarina's* foundation was most likely planned under

Caesar, as indicated by the name, and the foundation completed posthumously by Flaccus.[593]

Both of these colonies were impacted, both physically and economically, by the new giant in the

region, but there was particularly a distinct and possibly measurable impact on *Metellinum.*

     In comparison to *Emerita*, *Metellinum* was a backwoods country town. With a designated

urban area of only 25 hectares, *Metellinum* was dwarfed by *Emerita*. As *Metellinum* had received

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[592] Pliny, *NH*, 4.35.117; Marin Diaz 1988: 198-9; Haba Quiros 1998: 406-11
[593] See Callejo Serrano 1968; Salas Martin 1982; Salas Martin and Esteban Ortega 1994.

the status of *colonia* only a decade or so prior to the foundation of *Emerita*, the territory of

Metellinum would have been already clearly established by the mid-20s BC. Very little is known

about *Metellinum's* urban centre, and even less so regarding the late-Republican features of the

town, but some features are readily apparent. *Metellinum* was located on the south side of the

Anas and its territory extended into the rich agricultural lands to the city's south, much like at

Emerita. The southern expanse of agricultural lands were centuriated differently than at *Emerita,*

with the size of plots being 275 *iugera* rather than the standard of 400 seen at *Emerita.* Remains

of a small Roman theatre which was only 30 m wide – in contrast to *Emerita*'s theatre of 80 m in

width – survives due to its construction on an artificial terrace excavated into the adjacent hill,

but its date of construction is unclear.[594]

Recently, a study on the impact of *Emerita* on the territory of *Metellinum* has been

conducted by Edmondson, who suggests that some of the territory owned by *Metellinum* came

into the hands of *Emerita* and that evidence exists to approximate the boundaries of the

territories of both cities. The primary evidence that Edmondson employed was the fragmentary

forma discussed earlier, which features Lacimurga and the *Anas* as the main features.

Edmondson admits to the lack of evidence this *forma* provides, but uses a great deal of inference

and deduction to extrapolate information. Edmondson claims that the territory of *Metellinum*

extended south of the *Anas*, perhaps unsurprisingly given the city's location on the southern

bank, but this was clearly not *Emeritense* territory because the centuriated plots were 275 *iugera*,

where the *agrimensores* stated that centuriated lands belonging to *Emerita* were 400 *iugera*, at

least originaly although territory could have been transferred between the two.[595] What this

forma may show is the territory of *Metellinum* bordered the uncenturiated lands attributed to

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[594] Edmondson 2011: 40; Haba Quiros 1998: 262.
[595] See Arino Gil *et al*. 2004: 44-6, and fig. 9, 70-2, and fig. 18 for aerial photography highlighting centuriation.

Lacimurga, and can generally show that *Emerita's* territory did not extend this far east. We may

surmise, however, that the border of *Emeritense* territory, especially those lands south of the

Anas, came near to the '*pertica'* of *Metellenum* as lands south of the *Anas* were prime agricultural

space.

Edmondson also rightly argues that some territory formerly belonging to *Metellenum*

came under the control of *Emerita*. The main evidence for the location of *Emerita's praefectura* in

this region comes from a *terminus Augustalis*, an indicator of boundaries, found at Mojon Gordo,

120 kilometres east of *Emerita* and thirteen kilometres north of the town of Valdecaballeros,

which should have been part of *Metellinum*'s lands. The town of *Ubici*, located some twenty

kilometres south-east of Cordoba, controlled territory within this region.[596] But so did the

fledgling settlement of Lacimurga which was a *civitas stipendiaria* at this time.[597] This would

accord with the writings of the *agrimensores* that lands granted to *Emerita* comprised partly 'of

territory belonging to other settlements' and indicates that 'ownership of *praefecturae* belongs to

the settlers, not to the residents of the territory that was reduced'.[598] It is unclear exactly how

this territory came to belong to *Emerita*, but it is most likely the work of P. Carisius, who was

discussed earlier. It may be that the land simply was appropriated due to lack of usage.

It would seem likely that this territory was taken from *Metellinum* for several reasons: first, the

boundary markers date to the Flavian period and would coincide with the promotion of

Lacimurga to municipal status, meaning that land distribution may have been fixed through the

early principate, but adapted at a later period.[599] Second, Roman land surveyors would have

targeted non-Roman communities to reallocate land from, so as not to damage Roman

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[596] Clavel-Leveque 1993; Gorges 1993; Gorges and Rodriguez Martin 2004: 112-3; Gonzalez 2004: 55-6; *cf*. Canto
[597] Pliny, *NH*, 4.118
[598] *De. Contr. Agr.,* 36; See also Rizakis 2004: 77-81, on the writing of the *agrimensores*.
[599] See Habas Quiros 1998: 293-4.

communities, as would have been the case if the territory was taken from *Mettelinum*. There is a possibility however that the land may have been redistributed unless the land was unused, which may have prompted reallocation. So, we might square Edmondson's argument that *Emerita's* sizable territory did not impact Roman communities by reallocating previously centuriated lands with the apparent evidence that *Emerita* did have lands that had previously belongd to *Mettelinum* if we accept that lands were reallocated because they were underused or vacant. The policy at work was designed to create a provincial capital, complete with a wide territory, but also the centralized administrative, economic and cultural components, but in such a way that did not impinge on the territory or rights of other *colonia*. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, I will address the aspects of *Emerita's* administrative and economic purpose.

7.3 *EMERITA* AS THE PLANNED CENTRE OF LUSITANIA

During the Augustan period, Spain was divided into three provinces; Tarraconensis, Baetica, and Lusitania. Within these provinces, each territory was assigned a number of judicial divisions, or *conventus*. Within Lusitania, Pliny reports three *conventus*: Scallabis, Pax Iulia and *Augusta Emerita*. Within its *conventus*, officials based at *Emerita* oversaw a series of towns and colonies: Strabo and Pliny both report that *Emerita* oversaw *Narbo Caeserina*, *Mettelinum*, *Paresidium Julium* and *Pax Augusta*, but also thirty-six *stipendaria*.[600] The divisions between the *conventus* seemed arbitrary and without significant planning in regard to communities: Tarroconensis was divided along its geographic attributes, in this case mountains, but these

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[600] Strabo 3.2.15; Pliny, iv.117

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divisions, irrespective of the ethnic or political affiliation of local communities provide an easily

discernible boundary within *provinciae*.[601] Within the *Hispaniae*, these was a definite hierarchy:

Tarraconensis was the largest of the three provinces with 293 communities, followed by Baetica

with 175 communities, and finally Lusitania with only 45 communities, indicating that of the

three provinces, Lusitania was the least densely populated in terms of recognized settlements in

contrast to Baetica and Tarraconensis.[602] Independent communities, *civitates*, of course existed

within Lusitania, but were concentrated along the northern edges of the province where one

might argue that Roman influence, as defined by the lack of density of Roman settlements, was

least present.

Rome's policy towards indigenous tribal communities, especially those with a

confederation of towns was to regard the tribal community of each town as singular entities.

Pliny, when listing native communities refers to them as '*oppidum*' rather than recognizing the

organized tribal unit, but he also uses this description to identify urban spaces which are simply

well-developed.[603] The method of dealing with communities as individuals, rather than

collectives, is represented through the deconstruction of tribal alliances.[604] From *Emerita's*

foundation, the city was designated as the administrative centre of Lusitania. The primary

difference between Cordoba, Tarraco and *Emerita* was that the previous two had been the seats

of provincial governors for well over a century prior to the redevelopment of the provincial

system in the *Hispaniae* under Augustus. In addition, Baetica and Tarraconensis both had much

more intensely developed areas of agriculture and industry, whereas Lusitania was largely

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[601] Mackie 1983: 17-8, n. 24
[602] Pliny *NH*, 37 and 18; 4.117
[603] Pliny *NH*, 3.18
[604] This policy is a long-standing method Rome employed: Pliny, iii.26-7; *cf.* CIL 2 6093; 4240; 4233. On the division of tribes, see iii, 23; DC 55.9.4; *cf* the Asturian tribe, which remained an intact political unit until after the death of Augustus: DC 53.25.8; Florus 2.33; Orosius 4.21.10. This also appears to be the case at Brigiaecium: Florus 2.33

undeveloped in Roman terms due to a lack of population and resouces, but all three *provinciae*

had minor rural or independent communities near larger settlements. The lack of organization,

at least in the Roman sense of urban spaces, meant that the local administration in *provinciae*

was required to create order in the region. One example is the *contributio* of *Castra Servilla* and

Castra Caecilia, which were connected to *Norba Caesarina*.[605] These communities, both established

in the mid-Republic by settlements of veterans were very much 'Roman', and had existed for a

significant period as independent communities. However, with the policy of creating order and

developing the new Roman frontier, these communities became amalgamated with their larger

neighbours. The act of '*contribuere*' was to link geographically distant communities, or

independent communities, that were either too small or too distant from larger communities to

be included in that city's administration. This policy of networking together disparate

communities across *provinciae* appear in Cisalpine, Gaul and North Africa.[606] According to Pliny

this process also happened to an unnamed number of minor settlements in Tarraconensis.[607]

Through this policy, the provincial capitals of *Emerita,* Cordoba and Tarraco served as anchors

for a system of regularization for tax purposes.

     As eluded to earlier, *Emerita* was apparently designed to be an economic hub for

Lusitania. The development of centuriated lands double that of normal plots were granted to

veterans settled there in lieu of extra payment upon discharge. The problem with *Emerita* is that

it itself existed within the hinterlands of far more developed and connected settlements,

particularly in Baetica and Tarraconensis. As discussed in chapter 3, Roman economics during

the Republic were focused on local production and regional trade, with few items being

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[605] Pliny *NH* 4.117
[606] Mackie 1983: 24-27, 35-6.
[607] Pliny 3.18

exported due to the financial cost and difficulty in long-distance trade. *Emerita* had several

major cities which it may have traded with: Gades, Hispalis, and Cordoba. Most likely the

transportation of goods from *Emerita* was via the *Anas* river, but the overland routes may also

have been used for trading with local and Roman communities to the north and northeast.

Emerita was located in a strategic location on the *Anas* which could theoretically have facilitated

the transport of mineral wealth from the northwestern regions of Iberia, which were rich in

metals.[608] These minerals may have been transported south from northern Lusitania along

roads, then loaded onto transports destined for other cities on the coast or processed locally into

other goods for trading. With *Emerita* sitting at the highest navigable part of the *Anas*, the city

was afforded the capacity to trade larger quantities of wares than communities beyond this

point on the *Anas*. However, in contrast to Cordoba or Hispalis, which had regional access to

these goods via communities within the Sierra Morena, mineral resources were located

atsignificant distances from *Emerita*, making the transportation of minerals a more costly

endeavour than in the south.[609] *Emerita* was located too far to the south of the Gallacian and

Asturian mining centres to make transport south a viable option, as it may have been easier to

transport minerals east to *Tarroconensis* for export. Then why was *Augusta Emerita* such a

significant city placed to the north of existing Roman settlements in the 'Siberia Extramadura',

with little access to minerals nearby, too far to make transport down the *Anas* a cost-effective

means of transport? *Emerita* could not have been established to be an economic hub for mineral

transport, and as discussed in chapter three, the production of consumable goods was generally

for local and regional consumption. Alternatively, agricultural production, as well as livestock,

could have been a major economic opportunity, and may have featured prominently in

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[608] See Holleran 2016; Hirt 2010.
[609] Domergue 1990.

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Emerita's commercial profile. The double-sized plots could have afforded large quantities of agricultural products or livestock that could be transported downriver to Gades, Hispalis, north to Astures, or even locally with other communities such as Metellinum. Furthermore, the *Anas* during the summer would run very low, making riverine transport hazardous, and overland routes were less desirable due to the harshness of the terrain over the mountains to the south, or through the high plateau to the north and east. The conclusion must be that the primary purpose of *Emerita* was as a *victoriae praemium*; there were minimal economic or military reasons for the establishment of such an ornate city, by provincial standards, at the end of the first century BC. *Emerita* was as much a statement of Roman imperial power as it was a declaration of Augustus' personal power. *Emerita* emerges rather not as a settlement designed to exploit economic opportunities *per se*, as the Augustan objective was not to create a financial boon for the empire from the establishment of a major city on its periphery, but rather as a jewel in one of Augustus' first provinces. The result was a purely 'Roman' city, with emphasis on monumentalized urbanism, supported by the imperial family, which espoused all the great things of Rome. The issue of identity at *Emerita* is different from the other two case studies in that no local identity is visible within the urbanism of the city, but there must have been a local Iberian influence within the region. First, 'being Roman' at *Emerita* was the evolution of a complex series of political manueverings by Augustus to create a provincial image of idealized Roman life. However this political affiliation does not mean the residents were Roman, as many of the veterans settled came from Italian towns. While ostensibly individual veterans may have been culturally affiliated with 'Roman' culture, they had also been exposed to Iberian culture for many years, which may have led to the adoption of Iberian traits such as language, art, food, and perhaps even married Iberian women. *Emerita*, in the urban context, was not purely Roman either. The inclusion of Turdulians at the foundation of *Emerita*, even though living in the

suburban zone would add an Iberian element to the city. In reality, the 'Romans' living at

Emerita may have adopted Iberian aspects, and perhaps some Punic aspects as well due to the

proximity to Gades via the *Anas*. Ultimately, *Emerita* is representative of the urban standard of

Roman imperial identity, and as many of the veterans settled at *Emerita* were of various Roman

and provincial origins.

<div align="center">END OF CHAPTER 6</div>

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I will discuss the differences between the three Roman settlements I have presented: Italica, Cordoba, and Merida. Each of these settlements provide a variety of insights into urbanization, acculturation, and hybridity in southern Iberia and the changing needs of both Iberians and Romans under the growing dominion of Rome. This discussion will be conducted chronologically, much like the previous chapters, to help track the development of settlements and their physical, cultural and political evolution. In this discussion, I will first examine the differences between the types of settlements that appear in Republican Spain through to the early Principate (c. 206-2 BC). The type of settlements founded informs us of the shifts in the political, economic and military environment in southern Iberia in conjunction with events in the wider empire. I will then examine the urban archaeology of these settlements, which will provide a basis for explaining the differences between relationships Romans and Iberians at different periods.

I will then turn to the relationships exemplified by each of these settlements and their local populations at foundation, either Iberian or Roman, as well as how Roman imperialism and acculturation affected 'dual' settlements. Expanding on the relationships between settlements, I will discuss two examples of cultural influence that they exemplify. First, I will examine what happens when the cultural landscape is dominated by either 'Roman' or 'Iberian' influences, which will relate to the difficulties in identifying what is or is not 'Roman' or 'Iberian'. Second, I will examine economic and political influence at cities and how co-optation and incorporation impacted local identity. The second half of this discussion will focus on what the different types of settlements tells us about the dynamics of political and economic

relationships between Roman and Iberian settlements, Roman imperialism, and how this informs studies of Roman urbanism and acculturation.

8.1 DIFFERENCES IN SETTLEMENTS OVER TIME

As discussed in detail in the previous three chapters, there are distinct differences between the types of settlements found in Iberia in early Republican Spain. Whatever the type of settlements being examined, whether colony, capital or those lacking a distinct municipal status, and their structures are rooted in the political, economic and military situation contemporaneous with their foundation. In this section, I will summarize the situations surrounding each settlement, based on the conclusions of chapters 4-6, and will provide the context for cultural, economic and political interactions with indigenous communities nearby.

In chapter four, I discussed Italica's foundation as a home for Scipio's wounded veterans. The scholarly discussions of this site gloss over nearly three-hundred years, focusing primarily on the Hadrianic periods of Italica, in which the city was embellished due to the imperial link. No critical examination of the origins or early history of Italica exists. The most recent in-depth discussion of Italica was in 2004, but again focused on the later imperial period.[610] The result of this preference for the imperial period of Italica is a seemingly fundamental misperception of the purpose of Italica's early history and role within Rome's military agenda during the Second Punic War. Furthermore, studies of Italica during the second and first centuries BC are limited, with few scholars considering this period due to lack of evidence, but the limited evidence does permit a composite of the site to be created. What can

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[610] Dupre Raventos 2004a.

be seen from the evidence is that a hybrid urban environment developed throughout this period. The most prominent evidence of early Italica's urban environment is the so-called *capitolium*. The perception of early Italica should be that the settlement was an amalgam between Punic-Iberian and Italic individuals, resulting in a unique hybrid community in the Guadalquivir. The importance of Italica is that it highlights the lack of scholarship on the early Roman periods in southern Iberia, and the deference towards later Imperial archaeology, but overlooks the important cultural hybrid elements which are visible.

Italica is the earliest 'Roman' settlement found in the far west. Founded in 205 BC following the battle of Ilippa, the settlement is heralded as 'the first Roman colony in the west' by modern scholars discussed in chapter four. In reality, as we have seen, Italica is neither Roman nor a colony, and therefore not 'the first Roman colony in the west'. The settlement at Italica was most likely originally a military outpost, instead of a settlement *per se*. Situated on the west bank of the Guadalquivir (Betis), Italica was designed to oversee the highest navigable point of the river. Italica fits into a network of defensive positions all across southern Iberia and the Balearic Islands to prevent the renewal of Carthaginian power and their contact with Iberian allies, creating a blockade in the event that the North African campaign were to fail. Fortunately for Rome, these measures were unnecessary due to Scipio's success at the battle of Zama in 202 BC. Italica's importance in the now-defunct defensive network along with Roman military interests moving away to the north-east of Spain provided the context for Italica's disappearance from history for over half a century. Early Italica was in essence a military outpost, more likely a *castra* than a *colonia* due to its military nature as 'peacekeepers' and due to Scipio's lack of senatorial authorization to found a *colonia* as we will see in the discussion below.

What Italica demonstrates was the limit of Roman influence, and how cultural identity can change and hybridize when colonists interact with pre-existing communities, although in the case of Italica the original identity is not fully clear. As discussed in chapter two, Iberian communities, especially those engaged in trade such as *Ispal* (Hispalis), had become hybridized and adopted or interpreted some Phoenician or Greek art, building practices and cultural attributes by the late third century BC. The earliest structures at Italica show some of these influences, specifically in the construction of what may, or may not have been, a temple – the so-called '*capitolium*'. The archaeological evidence, when paired with the literature relating to Italica, suggests then that the residents of Italica may have adopted many aspects of the local culture, resulting in an appearance as an indigenous community to the Roman writers Strabo and Appian.[611] This image of 'becoming Roman' through deliberate production of coinage emphasizing Italica's resumptive heritage as a game of status may have been a leading element in the *appearance* of adopting Roman culture.

Also in chapter four, Hispalis' early incarnation was also considered. The location of the former Tartessian and Turdetanian settlements that the town existed on remained an important trade port linking the upper Guadalquivir valley and the wider Mediterranean throughout its history, and should be a site which has major consideration within scholarship. However, although Hispalis features prominently in Spanish scholarship, very little exists on the early histories of the city beyond Spainish context. Due to the limited scholarship on the site and its importance during the pre-Roman period, Hispalis should be viewed as an organic extension for the spread of culture throughout both the pre-Roman and Roman periods. The evidence suggests that the Turdetanian settlements was destroyed in the late third century, potentially by

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[611] On a brief biography of both Strabo and Appian, and their travels, see Dueck 2002; Richardson 2000: 1-9.

retreating Carthaginian troops in the aftermath of the battle of Ilippa. Following the destruction

of the Turdetanian settlement, a Roman *conventus* was established on the site; the resulting

settlement was a hybrid community of Greek, Punic, Italic, Romans and Iberians from

surrounding settlements along the Guadalquivir. The transition from Turdetanian to Roman

conventus created a new hybrid community, featured in the Greco-Punic temple located on calle

Marmoles, which may have been dedicated to either Hercules or Melqart, and the presence of

Attic wares highlights that Greek trades or at least Greek goods were penetrating into the

region. The evidence suggests that Greek and Punic wares were still highly desired within the

Guadalquivir, and late third-early second century Punic amphorae emphasized the increased

production and distribution of goods. Hispalis in the early second century appears not only as a

hybrid environment, but an important economic centre, which further emphasized its

importance as a cultural exchange nexus to the region.

In chapter five, I examined Cordoba, which is perhaps the first settlement which can be

considered 'colonial' in nature, due to the direct effect the establishment of the town had on

local political structures. Similar to Hispalis, few scholarly sources discuss the early history of

Cordoba, with the last major study of the early town over thirty years ago. The result is that

Cordoba in its early stages is overlooked, although the evidence discussed in chapter three

clearly indicates that Cordoba is directly linked to the development of Roman imperialism.

Cordoba's early history and urban structure emphasizes several traits within the

'Romanization' paradigm such as top-down, bottom-up, and resistance acculturation models,

but in my opinion, the background effect of Roman military action and economic

marginalization both threatened and encouraged Turdetanian élites to co-opt with the *conventus*

community established at Cordoba. The decline of Colina de los Quemados, the formation of

the *vicus Hispanus*, and the later incorporation of the *vicus Hispanus* highlights the importance of

local identity within the 'Roman' urban landscape, which was discussed at length. In line with the creation of a pan-Mediterranean culture, these traits were retained, but combined with other Greco-Punic and Italic influences, resulting in a hybridized community unlike others in southern Iberia. The importance of Cordoba to pan-Mediterranean culture is that the city was founded using an Iberian name, fused several groups together within a 'Roman' environment, and further incorporated the peripheral Turdetanian community into the urban landscape in the imperial period, suggesting and inherent flexibility to 'Roman' provincial culture.

In contrast to Italica, Cordoba can be considered as an 'offensive' colony, which was aimed at destabilizing the most powerful Iberian kingdom in southern Spain, the Turdetanians. By 152 BC, Roman control of Spain had extended southward from Tarraco and westwards from the coast. Iberian kingdoms resisted Roman expansion with force, but resistance was fractured by the mid second century BC. Resistance continued through to the last quarter of the first century BC, but more Iberian communities sought alliances and treaties with Rome. Political and economic alliances provided greater assurances of survival, but were not guaranteed. The Turdetanians since the sixth century BC had controlled the major trade routes along the upper Guadalquivir valley, and Colina de los Quemados was the single greatest political entity in southern Iberia. The presumed capital of the Turdetanian kingdom was located at Colina de los Quemados, with *Ispal* as its second major community. Colina de los Quemados was located on an elevated plain, several hundred metres from the river, and acted as the economic hub for trade from the interior of the Meseta, with products then transported southwards along the Guadalquivir (Betis) for export.

Roman foreign policy was to deal with each community independent from their federation, and to do this, the Romans offered the élite of Colina de los Quemados the opportunity to join the new Roman settlement. The élites were offered Roman citizenship for

offering no resistance to the insertion of the Roman colony, and were presumably provided with some economic incentives, such as retaining control of their lucrative trade operations. In reality, this was an offer made under duress as the alternative was war. The initial enfranchisement was aimed at the élite, but later incorporated non-élites in a physical and ideological way. After the élites migrated to the city, the labour force slowly followed, eventually abandoning Colina de los Quemados. A new suburban settlement emerged, and following the Civil Wars, this former village became a district in the intramural area of Cordoba. This district was commemorated in the first century AD by L. Axius Naso, noting it as the *vicus Hispani*. The retention of the name of the *Hispani* highlights the retention or perhaps just a memory of the native identity within the Roman urban zone, effectively creating a 'Spanish Quarter'.

Cordoba might represent the essence of nineteenth century conceptions of Roman imperialism. The purpose of Cordoba was to replace and take control of the region dominated by the Turdetanians, along with their trade network. To achieve this, Rome offered Iberian élites an avenue to conform without the need for violence by accepting the Roman citizenship, the Turdetanian élites effectively were taking a defensive political stance, but appear to have expertly navigated the political currents to achieve an equitable resolution that both preserved their relative economic and political standing at Quemados while gaining entry into the Roman sphere which allowed for greater access to trade, but at the same time protected the Turdetanians from conquest and subjugation. The foundation of Cordoba and the 'capitulation' of the Turdetanians can then be interpreted as being part of an aggressive expansionist Roman foreign policy. The result was an élite invested in their own future, which was now included the promotion and success of Roman dominion in the west. By co-opting the élite, the resulting political and economic alliance provided a major territorial acquisition, and incorporated the

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greatest economic power in the Guadalquivir valley into the Roman economic network. The scenario at Cordoba is reminiscent of a top-down acculturation model because of the method of enfranchising élites to gain political power over a region, where the élite community began to adopt 'Roman' ways of life.

The long-term effect on the Iberian community at Cordoba may be inferred from the *vicus Hispani*. Unfortunately, there is little known about this region of the city other than its name. My interpretation of the *vicus Hispanus* is that this district provided the area of interaction in the early periods of foundation in that Iberians and Romans were living in close proximity, and was later preserved in the extension of the city. Throughout the early history of Cordoba, this suburban area may have been originally the village of the *Hispani*. The name would imply that this was a Roman understanding of the identity of those who lived there but beyond that we cannot say anything concrete about identities in the *vicus* and how these were demonstrated locally. We might think that it came into being as trade routes reoriented themselves away from Colina de los Quemados and the opportunities increased at Cordoba. After a century of living so close to Romans, the 'Spanish Quarter' may have essentially become part of the urban landscape, and the incorporation of the city in the early first century AD emphasizes the importance of the city, not just for cultural reasons, but it may have been that the *vicus Hispani* contained many valuable commercial and residential structures.

Cordoba also represents the first significant provincial settlement in *Hispania Ulterior*, founded as a *colonia* and created with the purpose of being the administrative centre of the territory. The only two previous 'Roman' settlements in the region were Italica and Carteia, but both were not, in reality, Roman foundations: Carteia was a pre-existing Iberian settlement with a high number of children of Roman soldiers and Iberian women, and Italica was not a foundation by definition. Neither were Italica and Carteia recognized as a colony until much

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later in the first century AD. Cordoba's status as the first major Republican settlement in the region provides the opportunity to examine the development of mid-first century conceptions of provincial urban space.

The final case study in this thesis was *Augusta Emerita*, which was established as an idealized Roman city. *Emerita* is important because it highlights the new standard of Augustan culture, which reinforces the idea that 'Roman' identity was flexible, and relates more to political affiliation than cultural dominion. *Emerita* was founded *ex nihilo* without any apparent local presence of Iberians within the vicinity. Potentially, some Iberians were relocated to the city to live in *incolae* in the suburban zone, but the identity of *Emerita* was strictly 'Roman'. Again, this concept of an idealized 'Roman' environment conflicts with the identity of the first residents of *Emerita*. The legions settled there had fought across the Mediterranean, which may have influenced their cultural perspectives through contact with other cultures in the eastern Mediterranean and northern Iberia. Furthermore, the legions in question consisted of Romans, Italians, and Etruscans, which meant that the actual identity of *Emerita* was hybridized, although the city rapidly evolved to represent the Augustan image of provincial life. *Augusta Emerita* is important to the examination of identity because by the close of the first century BC, 'Roman' identity in the *Hispaniae* was less about ethnic heritage and local culture and more about political affiliation and acknowledgement of imperial power.

Augusta Emerita, in contrast to both Cordoba and Italica, was essentially a political statement of Roman power. Founded in 25 BC following the conclusion of the Cantabrian Wars, *Emerita* is created with a three-fold agenda to: create a new province of Lusitania with *Emerita* as its capital; garrison the town with Antonian troops from the battle of Actium and getting non-Augustan troops out of the interior of the empire; provide a direct link to the north-western region of Spain, rich in mineral resources, agriculture and slaves. *Emerita*'s profile was raised

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over time, which can be seen in three stages of urban development: first with its massive urban footprint, the framework for later civic structures were laid, second with the patronage of Agrippa and the construction of the theatre and amphitheatre, and finally with Augustus' patronage which marked *Emerita*'s elevation to provincial capital.

What can be seen at *Emerita* is a long-term Augustan agenda of developing the idealized image of provincial life.[612] Physically, this is represented in the host of structures in the city: a large urban plan for the substantial population, monumental walls to provide for their defense, transport links to connect the city to the wider empire, and all the comforts found in Rome. Conceptually, *Emerita* can be seen as a purely Roman construct, where any Iberian presence is hidden behind the outward Roman expression in the urban space. As discussed in chapter six, the literary sources do indicate the presence of Iberians at the foundation of the city, most likely as an imported labour force due to the lack of pre-existing sources of nearby manpower. The question still remains if there were nearby native populations towards the end of the first century BC. Archaeology at *Emerita* has found a small site of indigenous activity, but it appears to be a religious site rather than a population centre. Further studies need to be conducted to identify indigenous residences, but due to the nature of the terrain it would seem unlikely that any substantial pre-Roman occupation took place in the region. What seems more likely is that populations either emigrated from traditional *oppidum* communities to *Emerita*, to other Roman *colonia* in the area, to small rural farmsteads, or to *stipendaria* within the territory. While it is clear that there was limited Iberian presence at the site where *Emerita* was founded, this does not mean that the Iberians were not in the region. It may be that the previous Roman settlements in the region had drawn populations from *oppidum* to the cities due to the

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[612] See Rufino, A. *et al* 2016; Houten, P. 2016; Laurence *et al.* 2011: 91-135; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Edmondson 2002: 42-63.

reorientation of trade routes, and with the absence of a Roman settlement at *Emerita* may be the justification for the absence of a permanent Iberian settlement at this location, even with the bountiful agricultural lands around the site.

The brief summary of the main points of the case studies above will help inform the two discussions that follow. The first will focus on the relationships between 'Roman' settlements and indigenous settlements. The conclusions for this will then be important in further topics of political and economic contact between Romans and Iberians, how these types of interactions instruct us on issues of Republican urban models, and how models of acculturation can interpret the output of Romano-Iberian contact.

The types of settlements discussed in the case studies reveal three distinct periods in Republican colonization. Each of these settlements is characterized first by the larger political situation affecting Rome, Iberians and their interaction in the peninsula. Italica, as discussed previously, was a defensive military outpost. Settled in the latter stages of the Second Punic War, the site served as an impediment against Punic and Iberian forces re-establishing communications, which could have led to a resurgence of hostilities on the Iberian front. For this purpose, Italica was a necessary military settlement, while Cordoba, in contrast, served a very different purpose based on the wider situation for Rome. By the mid-second century, Rome had defeated both the Greeks and Carthaginians, and was seeking to consolidate territorial gains in Baetica and Lusitania. Cordoba marks the beginning of Roman expansion into the Guadalquivir valley, although previously Carteia had been granted Latin rights in 171 BC. The spread of Roman imperialism in the mid-second century is characterized by individual native settlements making treaties with Rome, many of them becoming *stipendaria*. In the case of Colina de los Quemados, it may have been determined to be more expedient to offer the Roman citizenship to the élites of Quemados in lieu of another war. The acquisition of such a large

portion of the Guadalquivir valley, as well as building a new Roman city, would provide an important crossing on the *Betis* river. Cordoba also marks the first step in Roman imperialist aspiration in the region, the first permanent Roman capital established in Hispania Ulterior. *Emerita*, in contrast to Cordoba, is the final step in the consolidation of imperial power in Spain. When the Republic began to transform into the empire in the latter first century BC, Roman imperial policy adapted alongside the political changes. Most notable was the construction of monuments to represent the great achievements of Augustus. Examples of this include the *Ara Pacis* in Rome, but there are similar monuments in the provinces. The *Tropaeum Alpinum*, situated on a hilltop near La Turbie a few kilometres from modern Monaco, commemorates the definitive defeat of Gallic forces by Augustus.[613] *Emerita* is another victory monument, but a living one, which represents the defeat and subjugation of Antony, and the ultimate expression of Roman power in the west, as seen in Nicopolis was well in the east. *Emerita* is built for Romans, by Romans, and is meant to serve as a mirror of the greatness of Rome in the farthest reaches of the western empire, although the town did include Iberians. Each of these colonies represents the political, economic and military situation of Rome during their construction, but it is also important to see the Roman ideologies towards indigenous peoples. These interactions will later serve to highlight hybridity and acculturation.

The situations surrounding each of these foundations directly relates to the types of interactions found in each instance. In the case of Italica, our literary sources state that the garrison was to act as 'peacekeepers' between the Iberian tribes. More realistically, this garrison was not meant to prevent warfare between Iberians, but to prevent Iberian contact with Carthaginians. Through this lens, the initial relationship between Iberians and 'Roman' forces at

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[613] Pliny *NH* 3.24

Italica would be less than congenial. Seeing as the largest trade port in the region was located just eight kilometres away at *Ispal* (Sevilla), and Carthaginian traders were the primary source of trade prior to the expulsion of Punic forces in 206 BC, the Turdetanians would presumably have not been happy with the disruption to trade, although there wasn't a disruption in practice, but Roman aggressions foreshadowed the potential in theory. In the early second century, the Roman view of Iberians was one of hostility and fear; first because of the tangible threat of an Iberian-Punic alliance and the terror Hannibal had spread on the Italian peninsula in part using Iberian troops. In the capacity as 'peacekeepers', the garrison at Italica also can be perceived in a political and economic aspect as well. Through the prevention of political alliances between Iberians and with Punic forces, Italica created a political blockade near *Ispal*, the greatest trade partner for minerals from the interior of the Meseta. The economic implications are clear as well for both Iberians and Punic interests: without access to each other, Iberian trade networks would be forced to reorient to other trading partners. With no other external trade partners at the conclusion of the Second Punic War, Iberian exports would transfer to Roman proxies, specifically Greek traders operating within an expanding Roman empire. For the above reasons, Italica, as a primary military outpost, caused significant impact on a wide scale. Even if Italica lacked a military purpose following the end of the Second Punic War, the aftermath of Italica's 'peacekeeping' efforts may have helped change the course of political and economic history of southern Iberia alongside Roman-allied Gadir and the support of the *conventus* at Hispalis.

Cordoba's interaction with indigenous populations was very different from that of Italica. While Italica was initially designed to function in a military capacity, Cordoba was an economic and political construct. The establishment of a *conventus* at Cordoba with support of the local Turdetanians was a confluence of political fortunes for both Marcellus and the

Turdetanian élites, as Marcellus needed a way to block L. Lucullus from potentially gaining a triumph by assaulting the Turdetanians, and the Turdetanians required protections against Roman aggressions. Economically, the inclusion of Iberian élites into the foundation of Cordoba did not occur without Iberian exports being incorporated into the Roman trade network. Over fifty years, contact between Romans and Iberians increased, and this contact essentially grew until it became clear that Romano-Iberian interests could be merged, both politically, economically, and physically. In my opinion, the inclusion of Iberian élites at Cordoba is essentially a political marriage of interests: both parties prospered from the arrangement, Romans gaining influence within the region and Iberian élites being guaranteed rights and all the benefits of the Roman citizenship, as well as removing the direct threat of conquest. Through these highly political movements, the Iberian élites sought to preserve and promote themselves and their interests.

Augusta Emerita, in contrast to Cordoba and Italica, does not directly interact with the indigenous population. At foundation, Iberians were present and were provided six *insulae*, but there is no other mention of indigenous populations anywhere within the territory of *Emerita*. The absence of acknowledgement of native populations may simply be because Dio Cassius, our main source for the foundation, was not concerned with the relationship of Romans with Iberians. Dio Cassius' discussion surrounding the foundation of *Emerita* is instead primarily aimed at discussing Augustan political and military successes, and Iberians do not fit into that equation (except as the defeated). However, there are several other plausible reasons for the lack of Iberian populations in the region. First, the location of *Emerita* was on a small rise above a vast plain. This location may not have been ideal for an *oppidum*-style settlement, as it was not as defensible as locations found on steep hilltops. There was a significant Iberian population within the region, but farther to the north where the terrain becomes rougher with locations

suitable for traditional *oppidum*-style settlements. Additionally, the site of *Emerita* is too far from known *oppida* in southern Lusitania to be a viable agricultural satellite community. Alternatively, if there was a settlement nearby, the territory may have been used as pastoral lands in lieu of agriculture, and therefore any populations present would be ephemeral. Likewise, if there was an agricultural community present, evidence would be obscured or destroyed when Roman centuriation and intensive agricultural practices began. The evidence of what has been as a religious site near *Emerita* may signify that part, or all of the lands near the *Anas* was designated as a religious area and forbidden to local populations from exploitation. As discussed earlier in chapter six, *Emerita* was a living monument to Roman victory, both over the barbarians at the borders of the empire, but also a symbol of peace, prosperity and propaganda indicating the *Pax Augusta* had begun.

8.2 URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY STRUCTURES

Over the course of two centuries, Roman settlements have produced a variety of urban landscapes and structures. From a 'Romanization' perspective, the urban landscape is informative in many respects because it reflects how 'Roman' the city is, but other approaches would emphasize differences within the urban landscape and how these differences inform on the identity within the town. Additionally, the urban landscape informs us on the purpose of the settlement is, and how Romans and Iberians interact in these spaces. The urban landscape also communicates the developing image of the idealized Roman city, and how this is interpreted by local élites, many who had never been to Rome. Early Republican settlements

also inform studies of Roman urbanism on a common trajectory of urbanization, and how

scholars can chart the development of a synchronized image of provincial life.

The urban structure of early Italica is difficult to characterize, largely because of the lack of

remains from the early second century BC. Most of those remains were destroyed, either by

subsequent construction following the expansion of the town in the second century AD or

possibly through warfare during the Civil Wars. The urban space consists of two small hilltops

next to each other, but there is little organization to this early period. Instead the early urban

landscape is characterized initially by a disorganized 'urban' layout between the two hills of

Los Palacios and Cerro de San Antonio surrounding a semi-monumental complex. Changes in

the urban landscape to make the city more organized only begins to appear in the first half of

the second century, which implies that by this stage the *Italicenses* realized their stay at Italica

was not temporary. The first monumental structures at Italica were a three-roomed structure,

adjoined to an open space.

This structure has been misinterpreted as a '*capitolium*', but the '*capitolium*' meets only

some of the criteria to be considered as such: the complex was placed in a conspicuous location,

and the structure located here may have been a temple due to the configuration, but if this

structure was not intended as a *capitolium*, then the space may not have functioned as a forum

complex. However, as discussed in detail in chapter four this structure is most likely not a

capitolium: the purpose and presence of cultic activity is problematic, the space as a whole does

not conform to standard of other forum complexes, Phoenicio-Iberian construction methods

were employed, and most importantly Italica did not have the political standing to construct a

recognized *capitolium.* It is possible that this structure was a religious structure, but equally

possible as an administrative structure as well if the open space was a forum. What the building

does tell us about the construction of the urban landscape is that local labour from a nearby

Iberian settlement and Iberian construction methods was employed. The access to local artisans and goods hypothetically could create an appreciation of orientalized and local Iberian goods and culture, as seen in the process of acculturation within southern Iberia during the height of the Phoenician trade empire. Presumably as the *Italicenses* intermarried with local women, their families would have an appreciation for both 'Roman' and Iberian culture although the deficiencies of the evidence make this hard to trace.

The first half of the second century BC is when Roman imperialism began to develop from concept to policy. In contrast to Italica, Cordoba marks the realization of a functional form of colonial imperialism previously framed in a military context, now transmuted into a civilian setting. Cordoba is the first permanent Roman colony in southern Iberia, in contrast to Italica's apparently originally temporary, or ill-defined, purpose. The early development of Cordoba appears to be part of this evolving concept of physical imperialism, as we see in North Africa and Gaul in the second and first centuries BC. A physical expression of Roman identity, colonies in general were spaces of interaction between Romans and non-Romans, and provided the means for expressing Roman power, economically, militarily, and politically. However, at this stage in the mid-second century, the concept of imperialism was in the second stage of another evolution; first in a military capacity; second in the establishment of Rome's permanent physical presence. Cordoba's early urban landscape, in my opinion, is an immature representation of this expression of extra-Italic hegemony, as Rome was still coping with how to express power beyond the military aspect. To achieve this, Roman power had to be permanent, and not just backed by the legions' might.

In contrast to Italica, Cordoba's urban landscape is more orderly, with emphasis on the *decumanus* and *kardo* with the colonial forum at the heart of the oldest part of the city. The archaeological evidence of the urban contents of the city is questionable because of structures

destroyed and rebuilt following the Civil Wars. During the Civil War, Caesar's siege of Cordoba did significant damage to structures within it, making the identification of early Republican structures difficult, but at the same time new structures were often built on different axises which helps the occasional identification. Cordoba, in its first incarnation, was organic in expressing the concept of what 'Roman' was, through an urban landscape. During this period, Rome was expanding at a rapid pace: victories in North Africa, Spain, Greece and Gaul were propelling exponential growth in Rome's power. To this effect, Romans expressed their imperialism both in their cities and policies, and Cordoba is a prime example.

Conceptually, Cordoba is a political statement of imperial policy. The inclusion of Turdetanians within the foundation is a major aspect of this expression of imperialism: the *vicus Hispani*, and the suburban space is important to this idea of Roman imperialism. The population of the *vicus Hispani* were, in some ways, excluded from the city, but they were dependent upon the Roman city and their close proximity surely makes the idea of a purely 'Roman' city problematic. It was a reflection of the symbiotic nature of the city, since the *Hispani* served as a source of manpower, but were dependent upon the *Cordobensis* for employment while the Roman *conventus* gained economic control over the region, and the Roman state benefitted from the taxes generated. Through this relationship the Turdetanian élites were able to tap into the wider economic and political benefits of 'being Roman'. The later incorporation of the *vicus Hispani* into the urban landscape was still demarcated by a wall between the two districts, meaning that even though that both the *vicus forensis* and the *vicus Hispani* were now joined together in a larger intramural space, the two districts were segregated, albeit this may not be secure based on the incomplete evidence. This is the essence of mid-second century to first century BC imperialism: segregation of space, and control of native populations through political exclusion and economic dominance,and backed by military force.

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In contrast to both Italica and Cordoba, *Emerita* is a wholly different type of city. *Emerita* was initially designed to be a large, wealthy city complete with every entertainment offered in Rome, and later gains additional prestige first through the patronage of Agrippa, and then later Augustus. The footprint of *Emerita*, as discussed previously, was nearly three times as large as the most expansive Roman colony in Iberia. The sheer size of the territory, in contrast to Cordoba, was organized to maximize the size of centuriated lands, making the veterans settled there potentially very wealthy. *Emerita* was framed by a monumental wall, which is depicted on early coinage from the city, and contained eighty hectares of intramural space. A major shift from Republican to Augustan urbanism is seen at *Emerita*, principally in the predetermination of space, imperial patronage of the city for major structures, and a defined building program to create a standardized image of the Roman provincial city. Furthermore, *Emerita* is enhanced by the granting of lands beyond its already expansive territory. These *praefecturae* are indicative of an enhancement of provincial capitals in relation to other Roman and indigenous communities, as seen at Carthage. *Emerita* seems exceptional in this case, as the Extramadura was largely devoid of many settled populations by the end of the first century BC. Nonetheless, the addition of *praefecturae* to the already massive territorial lands attributed to the *Emeritenses* is indicative of the status of *Emerita* over other Roman *colonia* within its jurisdiction.

8.3 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Each of the case studies examined highlight different potential political relationships with pre-existing native communities and different impacts on the local and wider economic network. The main discussion in this section will focus less on how one group affected the other, but summarizes aspects of the cultural, economic and political hybridity seen in each case. These conclusions will help inform the later discussion on the viability of 'Romanization' and associated theories. As stated before, Italica existed for the first several decades in relative isolation from other 'Roman' communities. Roman influence at Italica grew as military and political control of the region was consolidated through the latter second and first centuries BC. Through roughly 197 to 151 BC, Roman presence in the region was largely military, with wider Mediterranean influences coming with Greek traders transporting mineral exports from *Ispal*. As discussed earlier, there has been no evidence of Roman pottery dating to the first half of the second century BC found at Italica whereas pottery from Greek origins has been found. This suggests several possibilities. Roman goods were less popular than Greek-style wares, reflecting the cultural affinity towards oriental products. Italica, then, can be viewed as going through a period of hybridization which was first based in economic dependence on possible local labour and intermarriage. As discussed previously, the early site of Italica was capable of supporting a small military force. The site itself has been interpreted as including a small industrial site, but only evidence of one oven exists. The early territory attributed to Italica was quite small in comparison to *Ispal*; the lands controlled by Italica were essentially within its immediate surroundings, bordered by rivers, and not conducive to conducting substantial agriculture for export. The community at Italica was perhaps large enough to support a small agricultural community, but the town itself would have been relatively poor.

The effects on Italica of hybridity are clearly seen in both the archaeology and the literary record. As discussed previously, the construction methods, appearance of Iberians from Italica in Caesar's Civil Wars, and the lack of Roman goods discovered at Italica all indicate a strong Iberian cultural influence at the settlement, creating a hybridized Italian-Iberian community. What is seen at Italica could be claimed to be a process of 'Iberianization', with the outcome being a hybridized community. As with 'Romanization', this is a simplification of the processes at work, but the overall concept is the same, and therefore requires a more nuanced approach. Perhaps what may be going on at Italica in the early second century is a dynamic interpretation of Italic culture: the individual veterans settled at Italica may have had limited conceptions of how to construct a settlement, or what was required, and therefore the image of the early settlement is obscured by the lack of a standard Roman settlement due to the possibility the first incarnation of the 'urban' landscape may have been *ad hoc* in nature. The access to materials and the wealth needed to secure resources is also problematic, as skilled labour was required to cut and transport stone, and therefore the residents may have relied on Iberians to support the new community. The reliance on the local Iberians to help support and develop Italica was perhaps the most probable reason how cultural exchange occurred, as well as Iberians taking up residence at Italica, potentially with intermarriage leading to further hybridization.

In the first century BC, as the political and economic situation shifted, the *Italicenses* adapted. The changing political reality of the first century created many challenges for communities in Iberia, regardless if they were native or 'Roman'. The Civil Wars created an opportunity for the expression of Roman support with the possibility of reward. In the case of Italica, the outcome of their support is unknown specifically, but it seems that through the implications of the construction of Caesar's fleet at *Ispal*, that it is likely that Italica initially

supported Caesar, but later switched to support Pompey. Italica's involvement in Roman affairs, especially as the town held no status previous to Augustus' grant, was purely self-motivated as opposed to a genuine expression of support for Augustus, although it could be that the support was genuine and the benefits of supporting Augustus was reciprocal.

By the very early first century AD Italica sought to promote itself among the other Roman cities of the *Hispaniae*. Later in the same century AD, Italica held *municipia* status, but was a minor town, between several important cities: *Emerita*, Cordoba, Hispalis, Carthago Nova, and Gades. All of these cities produced their own coinage, and Italica followed with its own coins promoting the military heritage of the town. These coins, as discussed in chapter two, state that Italica was the 'first in the west', creating a resumptive heritage of the military legacy of Italica. These coins create an idealized image of what Italica was initially, and perhaps because of the residents own beliefs about their heritage, this image has become the common tale about Italica's foundation. In my opinion, these coins, when coupled with the literary tradition of Appian, created a romantic image of the frontier outpost which grew into a small town. Both of these examples are attempts by the *Italicenses* to promote themselves with the goal of receiving status and favour from Rome. This was only truly accomplished when Hadrian and Trajan became emperors, although Appian is more likely reflecting Trajanic or Hadrianic propaganda. Most notable in the political and economic relationship between Rome and Iberian cities is that Rome did not recognize federations. Instead it dealt with individual towns which politically gave Rome the advantage. This advantage was bolstered by the fact that after consecutive battles with Iberian forces, the resistance to Roman expansion withered. As Roman military conquest eroded the Iberian ability to resist, so too did their political will to remain independent. The breakdown in Iberian political alliance also affected their economic ability as new Roman towns reoriented the economic landscape as well. The Turdetanian kingdom is one

of these alliances that was affected strongly by this Roman policy of non-recognition. The

reorientation of of power from Quemados to Cordoba was key to the Roman expansion in the

Guadalquivir and could serve to project Roman influence into Lusitania. The strategic

implications of controlling the mineral trade, as well as providing a military position just south

of the mountains, would provide a strategic benefit over the entire mid and lower valley.

Political relationships aimed to control, but rewarded compliance.

The establishment of Cordoba served one simple Roman agenda: to gain control over

the frontier of Hispania Ulterior. By 197 BC date it is clear that Spain was to be the next theatre

of warfare for the Romans, and nearly eighty-five percent of commanders between 197 BC and

138 BC in Spain held consular authority. The Lusitanian War (155-138 BC) marked the end to

major resistance to the Romans in *Hispania Ulterior* and *Citerior*. The siege of Numantia, which

ended in 151 BC concluded in light penalization for the resistance, but it may have been clear to

Iberian élites that treaties were better insurance against destruction than engaging the Romans

in battle. The timing of the foundation of Cordoba and citizenship grant to the élites of

Quemados is clearly related to the ongoing hostilities in the region during the Lusitanian War.

Cordoba, in my opinion, is a marriage of the interests of Iberian élites with Roman imperial

interests, as Spain continued to be a source of conflict for Rome. Being a highly belligerent

society, rooted in promotion of those successful in war, the northern Iberians were a prime

target for exploitation for aspiring Roman commanders seeking to promote themselves, but this

is not unique among tribal societies, as characterizations of Celts and Gauls follows similar

lines, but the brutality and deceptiveness of Romans was equally as monstrous, as we saw with

Lucullus, Galba, and Nobilior's exploits. The response from Iberian élites at Colina de los

Quemados, in all probability, after seeing the aggressions of Romans towards Iberian

communities, sought to make alliances to preserve themselves and their community, rather than risk a costly war with Rome.

Another primary feature of the changing economic and political relationships is the reorientation of economy following the shift of political power. This process of reorganization of trade networks began when the first Roman *colonia* were founded in the southern Iberia, shortly after the Sertorian War. This featured the shifting of traditional Iberian trade routes, generally along grazing routes and near *oppidum*, towards Roman settlements, which were located along newly developed roads. The impact on local Iberian communities was economically devastating, as trade was beginning to reorient on Roman centres, which were often more accessible and had port access. This is seen especially in the case of Cordoba and Quemados, with the control of the mineral routes following the relocation and gaining of Roman citizenship of the Quemados élites. In the case of *Emerita*, this shift in economic trade routes was not aimed specifically at Iberian communities, but it also impacted Roman *colonia* in southern Lusitania. In this sense, the foundation of *Emerita* was aimed at organizing the province of Lusitania, and in that capacity became not only the administrative centre of the province, but also the economic centre. When examining the road network developed in the latter first century BC and first century AD, it is clear that one of the key aspects of exploiting the province was was the creation of a central transport hub where materials and goods could be imported and exported. The port at *Emerita* were not substantial, in contrast to Cordoba's or Hispalis' ports, but were situated at the highest navigable point on the Anas, where deep-draught ships could dock without endangering their hulls and cargo. The effect on the provincial economy following *Emerita*'s foundation, both for Iberian and Roman communities, was substantial. *Emerita* was founded at the end of this period of expansion, and trade had already previously gravitated towards Roman centres. *Emerita* suited the needs of the trade

network at the end of the first century BC, providing an overland route to transport goods from the northern regions of Lusitania for export. This road network, with *Emerita* as its terminal point, allowed for Roman influence and control to radiate northwards and into the far reaches of Lusitania, but also reflected the Roman political needs by settling former enemy troops on the periphery.

8.4 HYBRIDITY AND ACCULTURATION

In both the case studies of Cordoba and Italica acculturation and imperialism play a fundamental role in the developments seen over time. Initially, in both cases, Roman political, economic and military interests are injected into the region, and over time, these communities could be argued as showing distinct trends towards either a predominance of Iberian or Roman cultural influences, although since such readings are based on very partial evidence, this would be therefore necessarily be a basic interpretation. Additionally, both cases feature Roman settlements near, or next to Iberian communities. This is a trend among many Roman foundations during the Republic, and was part of an aggressive imperial policy. In this section, I will discuss three aspects of imperialism and acculturation: expressions of identity, retention of social memory, and the synthesis of culture. This brief discussion will then inform my final comments on impact of cultural conquest.

Outward expressions of identity are central to determining the impact of 'Romanization' or to put it another way, if Iberian or Roman settlements became hybridized, how, and to what extent they were they Roman. In the case of Italica, it appears that in the early second century BC that this settlement was highly 'Roman' or Italic, as evidenced by the literary evidence and the archaeological evidence from the hybridized '*capitolium*' structure. It seems clear that when

the initial mission of the outpost was complete, the residents did not need to express the same level of Roman-ness, but it may be that in isolation, cultural attributes become more pronounced. While the assertion has been made that there was a pre-existing Iberian settlement at the site of Italica, into which some Italians were placed, there is little evidence to support this in the pre-Roman archaeological record. It may be that the Iberian and Italic layers are so closely linked that this may *appear* to be an Iberian site. There is evidence available that the Italian contingent of the population, as expressed in the construction of the possible temple, and the later aspirations during the Civil Wars, but it seems more likely that any pre-Roman Iberian presence was linked to the community just to the south, currently located under the village of Santiponce. Cordoba expresses its Roman identity in stark contrast to the hybrid community at Italica: Cordoba is a town built for Romans in the provision of its grid and road axis in the urban landscape and establishment as a *conventus*, even if some of the residents were Iberians.

The retention of a social memory of the past can be linked to the expression of identity through the assertion of either an idealized past or a reconstituted historical origin. Communities at Italica, Cordoba, and Hispalis all seem to in some way reference back to their earlist identities as confirmation of Roman origins. In the case of Italica, the literature regarding the foundation is very brief, and the archaeological evidence is obfuscated by later developments in the city. However the coins produced at Italica in the first century AD provide a link for us to this social memory. Although these coins are produced with the intention of promoting the Roman affiliation or alliegance, such as in the coinage of Italica, the social memory of early hybridized identities clearly persists because unless these memories were sanitized to meet the current political environment, it would have been remembered that the *Italicenses* ancestors were in fact Italic, rather than Roman. The retention of this memory of origins is retained in an idealized manner, at least publicly, or to put it another way it was

expressed in such a way as to communicate only part of the history of Italica but the part of its history that was most useful in the circumstances of political advancement and local propaganda. For Cordoba, the name of the town is a link to the social memory of the town in that it may be reminiscent of an Iberian word, as well as the *vicus Hispanus*, reinforced this link. The retention of these two names suggests a level of local identity remained intact well after Colina de los Quemados had ceased to be inhabited. With the latter inclusion of the *vicus Hispanus* into the urban landscape of Cordoba, the social memory of Turdetanian presence at Cordoba is highlighted. Hispalis as well exhibits similar traits to Cordoba, as the original name of the town, Ispal, is contained within the Roman name for the city. The addition of the h- and -is may have been a linguistical transition between Iberian and Roman tongues, but clearly the original name of the Tartessian and Turdetanian settlement persisted.

The question of why these names and ideas persisted is far more difficult to answer. The root of this difficulty lies within the fact that no literary evidence explains why the name was retained in regards to Cordoba and Hispalis. The persistence of names might simply have been accepted given Roman familiarity with them and their nomenclature were adapted to Roman forms when status was granted. Equally likely is that when Rome was initially entering the region and *conventus* communities settled at strategic locations, that notable co-opted Iberian élites expressed some need for traditional names to be applied to these new *conventus* communities, although Rome did not need to and ultimately we cannot reconstruct what natives at these sites originally called these twons in the immediate aftermath of the changes. Ultimately the reasons for the survival of these names must be rooted in local memory of these sites, as in both the case of Cordoba and Hispalis, there had been a population at both sites from at least the eighth century BC.

The *conventus* communities emerging in the Iberian landscape all exhibit a level of cultural synthesis. As discussed in chapters four and five Italica, Hispalis, and Cordoba all show signs of cultural synthesis between Roman and Greek or Punic cultural influences. In the case of Italica, the construction of the '*capitolia*' and associated structures and the construction techniques used highlight the need for some form of public space but mediated through local techniques, and by the first century BC, some of the residents of Italica are labelled as 'Iberians', rather than Italic. In the case of Hispalis, the temple within the city has been identified with Punic or Greek deities, and much of the city constructed during the early second century is characteristic of Iberian rubble-style construction seen at Italica suggesting that there was significant cultural influence, or perhaps individuals were granted Roman status in the *conventus* erected non-Roman cultural structures. Cordoba presumably would have shown a complicated hybrid culture in that Iberian élites were included in the foundation, and as described before, the *fides iberica* may have brought some of the local population to Cordoba over time. These *conventus* communities were significant in the development of a pan-Mediterranean culture, as these communities were a hybrid of Punic, Greek, Italic, Etruscan, Iberian, and Roman individuals. With such a diverse cultural sprectrum within *conventus* communities, the image of a 'Roman' city is misleading because naming such a community as Roman only addresses the political affiliation, and overlooks the cultural identities of the inhabitants. The synthesis of culture directly relates to the problem of 'Romanization', as it should become clear that in the case studies presented none of the native populations abandoned their cultural identity. Rather they entered into a complex relationship with a variety of other individuals from across the Mediterranean. The temptation of 'Romanization' lies in its use as a shorthand because as time goes on, it does become more difficult to see differences between Roman and non-Roman. It is however over-simplifying the cultural

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interactions within these communities since it could not simply be that individuals and communities simply stopped being Iberian, or Greek, or Punic.

In contrast to Cordoba, Italica, and Hispalis, *Augusta Emerita* seems to stand apart culturally, as *Emerita* is founded with no apparent connection to local Iberians, although Turdulians were included in the foundation in six *incolae*. *Emerita*, however, is problematic, because the initial inhabitants of the city are legionary veterans, who had served in many regions such as Gaul under Caesar, Antony in Egypt, and Augustus in northern Iberia. The members of these legions were perhaps not all ethnically Roman, but a mix of Italians, Etruscans, and may have included North African troops as well auxiliaries as well, although they are all Roman citizens by this date. Culturally, the veterans were just as diverse as any of the populations at Cordoba or Hispalis, and perhaps can be considered to be similar to the population distribution of a *conventus*.

Perhaps when considering *Augusta Emerita* as an 'ideal Roman city', scholars may contemplate the identity of 'Roman' in the context of pan-Mediterranean culture. It seems that 'being Roman' was more about political affiliation than local identity, as by the time Rome began to dominate the west, a strong Greco-Punic influence was already present within Iberia. As seen in chapter two, there were relatively few changes in artistic models following Rome's success over the Carthaginians. Tradfe continued relatively unabated, and even saw increases in the distribution of Punic and Greek wares during the second century.

The evidence presented should indicate that 'Romanization' is a problematic approach, but that the newer approaches to identity are equally problematic, and that a nuanced study of interactions between Iberian communities and foreign influences provides a basis for the conclusion that various types of acculturation occurred. By extension, the result of these interactions was neither a new culture, nor a simple hybrid of Iberian-Roman cultural traits, but

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a highly diverse set of local and regional elements, blended together with a polarity towards Roman political culture. 'Discrepant identity', 'creolization', and 'bilingualism' all provide new tools to approaching identity, but do not completely exhaust the 'Romanization' debate. Rather, a detailed and nuanced study of each subject should be engaged with, in which all of these theories should be applied where applicable, insomuch as to scientifically assess the viability of each theory in the context of the evidence available. However, these theories themselves are not watertight. 'Discreptant identity' falls short because various aspects of identity are presumed. However, a certain set of presumed responses of individuals to cultural items is inherently problematic due to modern interpretations of ancient identities of gender, race, social status, economic standing, political affiliation, and so on and may not accurately reflect how individuals may have interacted at the time, and is further complicated by the lack of evidence. 'Creolization' presumes that hybridity is in essence the marriage of two groups of cultures, and within this context certain aspects are adopted or adapted to reflect the cultural importance of objects. The problem with hybridity versus 'creolization' is three-fold; first the '-ization' suggests a uniform process, and harkens back to 'Romanization', and second is that hybridity and 'creolization' are very similar, but inherently different. I would agree that this *can* be the case, but for 'creolization' to be a valid concept in antiquity, a strong native element must be present to fully claim this as true. The modern examples used to generate this concept are based on *visible* cultures in modernity; Afro-Caribbean and southern American Creole cultures specifically. In these cases, a strong native element persists throughout, and adopted and adapted many of the colonial influences. However this is not the case in Iberia, as *elements* of Iberian identity are visible, but largely obscured by the dominant political and the wider Mediterranean cultures, which would suggest a hybridized identity, with the most visible aspects being Roman. Lastly, 'creolization' presumes that hybridity results in the production of

a third, new culture, through the blending of two cultures. This is not the case in Roman-Iberian interactions because the evidence suggests rather than becoming a wholly new culture, Iberian culture interfaced with Roman political culture, and its people were largely co-opted by the economic changes through the creation of Roman settlements. Although local culture may have persisted within Roman communities, many of these cultural traits are again obscured by the surviving *vicus*, and the prevalence of Mediterranean wares. Millett's top-down and bottom-up acculturation models works at Cordoba with the obvious co-optation of Turdertanian élites and, possibly depending on our interpretation of the evidence, the creation of the *vicus Hispanus*, but it is not applicable to Italica as there were no Iberian élites present, as far as we know, to co-opt during the second century BC. 'Bilingualism' is a precise tool that can be employed to deconstruct identity within literary evidence, but the little evidence available highlights that while Iberians did develop a hybridized Greek-Iberian language as evidenced in the letters from Emporion and Pech Maho, evidence for hybridized Iberian scripts with Latin is non-extant. If new evidence became available, scholarship may be able to identify further aspects of cultural hybridity, but is more relevant when considering Greek and Latin text due to the larger body of surviving evidence. In light of these problems, the evidence suggests that rather than losing local cultural identities, Iberian identity became layered through centuries of contact with the wider Mediterranean.

The varying approaches to Iberian-Roman development of urbanism and identity largely do not address the pre-Roman context, and I have attempted to examine the pre-Roman and Roman relationships to highlight that 'Roman' settlements in southern Iberia were far from having a single homogenous cultural identity. By approaching identity within the imperial period, scholars have sometimes overlooked a millennium of interactions in Iberia. These

interactions between Greek and Phoenicio-Punic communities provided the basis for later interactions with Italians and Romans. Scholars have still made significant contributions to identity studies, but I believe this is this crux of the 'Romanization' paradigm; the focus has primarily been on actions *within* this period, but the oriental and Roman periods in Iberia are inextricably linked. This thesis, although limited in scope, should highlight that there is enough evidence for this argument to expand the definition of what 'Roman' culture was by the end of the first century BC.

In this thesis, I have examined four instances of hybrid urban communities which formed the basis of Roman Republican era urban developments in Iberia. The aim of this study was to highlight the various evolutions of urban sites, and how pre-Roman contacts influenced the development of hybridized 'Roman' settlements. In each of the case studies, my objective was to explore the early history of each site through literary and archaeological evidence of interaction. The interrelationship between Iberians, Greeks and Phoenicio-Punic communities and individuals did not cause the abandonment of local identity, but rather these contacts began to influence an appreciation for eastern Mediterranean cultural artifacts, which was interpreted in local art, sculpture, coinage, and language. It is clear that during the pre-Roman period, Greek and Phoenio-Punic elements were adopted, resulting in hybrid local cultures, although there are clear differences between the two regions. Within the eighth to fourth centuries BC, the contact between Greek and Phoenicio-Punic communities was typically economically based, with some instances of co-habitation in individual communities from the sixth century BC onwards. Through contact, elements of Mediterranean cultures were spread, but occurred in a dynamic manner, and interpreted by Iberian communities to reflect the negotiation with cultural inputs. Specifically artistic styles, language, and food production and

consumption were symptomic of the interconnectivity of cultures via trade and regional co-habitation, and could be viewed as an accretion of Mediterranean culture within a dynamic negotiation at local communities.

In addition to the pre-Roman period, the mid-Republican period in Iberia is generally overlooked due to the difficulty of the scant literary evidence, the difficulty in accessing archaeological data due to modern urban development, and by the lack of diffusion of Spanish scholarship and the general trend of Anglophone scholarship to focus on the Imperial period due to the wealth of surviving archaeological structure and artifacts (although recent publications of the scholars listed below have expanded the discussions on this period significantly). The value of this research is that through careful consideration of individual settlements, the evidence of the urban environment, as well as the cities' immediate territories, can provide evidence on the reception of Roman influences in different cultural spheres. To achieve this, Spanish archaeology should be promoted into the wider Anglophonic academic world, which would enhance the current trajectory of scholarship on Iberia, although significant contributions have previously been made by scholars such as Leonard Curchin, Simon Keay, Benedict Lowe, Adolfo Dominguez-Mondero, Mary Boatwright, Alicia Jiminez, Johnathan Edmondson, and Louise Revell. By promoting Spanish scholarship, a wide variety of discussions can be undertaken: the nature of early Roman imperialism, the development of trade in southern Iberia in post-Barcid Iberia, and of course hybridized local culture in local Iberian communities. This research can potentially provide new avenues to approach a variety of topics, but further research and publications will be required.

The main purpose of this thesis was to explore the concepts of identity and acculturation through the urban and economic developments in the second and first centuries BC. Another

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aim of the thesis was to challenge identity theories as only applicable in certain scenarios where evidence was available. In the case of each study, a different model has been argued as being applicable; Italica has been considered as a bottom-up model, but in reality is a hybridization of Italic and Iberian elements; Cordoba is seen as a top-down acculturation framework, but the interactions at Cordoba were rooted in a complex series of political and economic negotiations followed by an organic evolution of the community of the *vicus Hispanus*; and Hispalis is viewed through the lens of appropriation of Iberian space, and while this is technically correct, it overlooks the hybridized community that persisted. *Augusta Emerita* has been viewed as a purely 'Roman' environment, but is problematic because the definition of 'Roman' is further complicated by the contrast between the residents and the political agenda at work in *Augusta Emerita*. The definition of 'Roman culture' was also a central discussion. What does Roman culture consist of, and how do scholars define the difference between Roman and non-Roman in the second and first centuries BC? The definition of 'Roman' is difficult to characterize because it relates to a political, not cultural affiliation; archaeological evidence of Campanian pottery is a sign of the presence of imported goods from Italy, but does not necessarily mean that this can be characterized as primarily being part of a 'Roman' cultural package as Campanian wares were widely found in Italian and Greek settlements both in and around the Italian Peninsula. The presence of Campanian wares in Iberia then does not imply simply that communities had become more 'Roman' per se – the use of these artifacts and their relationship to practice and other aspects of 'Roman' life are important. Clearly, 'Roman' culture was a complex construct of many identities by the end of the first century BC, primarily consisting of cultural elements from the Italian Peninsula, but had grown to include elements of Greek, North African, Syrian, Gallic, and Punic cultures, all with local dynamic variation. The crux of the problem lies within

visibility; 'Roman' 'elements' are more prevalent than Iberian 'elements' in our evidence in the second and first centuries BC.

The political culture of Rome encouraged aspiring provincials to engage with Rome for status and prestige. As seen at Italica, the production of coinage was intended primarily as a promotion of Italica's Roman legacy to indicate Italica's link to Rome, and to emphasize the long-standing relationship with Rome in contrast to newer 'Roman' cities in the region. Another example would be the adaptionh of personal names to sound more Roman. This can be seen in the funerary stele found across Iberia, notably at *Emerita,* and is not uncommon within the provinces in general. For these reasons, the native élites began to *appear* more Roman, but retained elements of their original identity within their new Roman name. In contract to 'creolization', the incorporation on Roman identities by Iberians should indicate that a new culture did not emerge, but Iberian identities negotiated with Roman cultural inputs, resulting in a hybrid. This is not to say that Iberian-Roman culture was a 'fusion', but rather certain elements were adopted because of indivudal values attributed to Roman cultural aspects.

Latin rapidly became the language used by traders and administrators, and as individual Roman entreprenuers were concerned with control and exploitation of wealth, taxation and trade were two areas where the use of Latin was rapidly adopted. The Iberians were not unaccustomed to adopting new languages, as discussed in chapter two, evidence exists in the tablet from Pech Maho of hybridized Greco-Iberic script, which highlights that Iberians were not only adept at linguistics, but also they were at least bilingual, if not multi-lingual. The prevalence of Iberian language in a public Roman space appears to never have developed as Iberians did not create similar types of monuments, nor inscribe cultural objects; this is not to say the language disappeared entirely, but perhaps was spoken within the home

among other Iberians. Many of these aspects of acculturation can be seen in the modern world as well: immigrants adopt western names or use English in public, but in private or with members of their own cultural group use their original language. The disappearance of languages is clearly linked to the economic, military, and political success of empires, but likewise the cultural hybridization of languages plays a major role in the dynamic negotiation between Roman-Iberian culture.

In opposition to the idea that Iberians 'became Roman', I would assert that Iberians became more like the rest of the Mediterranean, albeit with local variations – the histories of the four cities discussed in this thesis show varying, evolving, identities at different points in the last two centuries BC. Part of Rome's success within the Iberian provinces stemmed from the cultural similarities that had evolved between Iberian, Punic, and Greek communities in Iberia, with some Iberian cultures becoming complexly hybrid through contact, although 'Roman' culture was equally diverse. For example, in the case of the *Italicenses*, the troops settled there initially were Italic in origin. In contrast, the local Iberian populations near Italica were potentially already hybridized with Punic and Greek identities as seen in the methods used to construct the so-called '*capitolium*', which featured Punic-Iberian style construction, as well as a public space adjacent, potentially likened to a forum, that was the original intention of the builders. The presence of high levels of Greek and Punic wares in the region around Ispal, resulted in a fusion of Italic, Punic, and Iberian traits, possibility including elements of Greek and Punic identity as well through transmission. Another example is seen at Emporion, which had a clear fusion of Indecetan-Greek urban environment, a shared regional economic network which included the production of coinage, and produced the first written documents showing legal transactions between Iberians and Greeks. In each of the case studies, except for *Augusta*

Emerita, cultural background with elements informed by wider Mediterranean cultures existed following foundation. Even though *Augusta Emerita* does not specifically fit such a model, as the city was designed to be an 'idealized' Roman environment, the identity of the legions settled there was complex, not only in their origins, but also in the fact they had been exposed to contact with many extra-Italic cultures. Perhaps the best single evidence of hybridized Roman sculpture is seen in the Tomb of Regina, discussed in chapter two, which is a tomb of a British woman, constructed by a Syrian banner maker for the Roman army, featuring Palmyrene imagery, Latin script, and a personal dedication to Regina in Syriac, In contrast, although the Dama de Elche is a Greco-Iberian hybrid, and the examples of Phoeician influence in chapter two are clear, no Iberian-Roman sculpture styles has been noted.

The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that identity within the communities studied in this thesis should be seen less as expressions of Roman culture that forced identity change on non-Romans, than rather a form of wider cultural synchronism with dynamic local variations. By bridging the gap between pre-Roman Iberia and the Republican Roman period in the second century BC, evidence would highlight a long term process of acculturation of different groups with this being expressed through linguistic changes and the adoption of new art forms and ideas, along with a shift in the types of goods consumed and distributed in the southern Iberian Peninsula. In contrast to this thesis, previous scholarship focuses primarily on the Roman Imperial period, with few links being made to the pre-Roman period. Viewing 'Roman' culture within the Imperial period is problematic because by the first century AD, the early stages of cultural negotiation had already taken place, and it is far more difficult to track the development of identities if the study does not start with first contact. I would assert that to access the interplay of Roman and Iberian identities within the region, scholarship needs to

focus on early interactions during the Republican period, which could serve to create a nuanced view of adaptations of identity.

The result of this thesis should emphasize two primary aspects. First, the theories of acculturation in their current state cannot fully address the question of identity in the Roman period because they either do not fully disengage with the 'Romanization' paradigm, or are limited in practice due to the vagaries of physical evidence, although this is a perennial problem. To further the understanding of changing identity in antiquity between the Phoenicio-Punic and Roman periods, scholarship should address the local dynamic changes, where evidence is available, and craft theories that are flexible and applicable in a variety of situations, rather than a singular sweeping theory on cultural change. 'Discrepant identity' is too flexible and applies potentially problematic interpretations of ancient values where they may not have been, and 'creolization' overreaches in that it claims a genesis of a new culture. Indeed, the aim of creating a universal theory which explains all aspects is potentially problematic as well, because of the dynamism of local cultures, although theories like 'discrepant identity' could take account of this if applied within the ancient context. Scholars have viewed these two periods within the specific lens of a singular cultural trajectory towards 'being Roman' but perhaps it may be more fruitful to to explore how Iberian and foreign cultures hybridized. Second, Spanish archaeology needs to be brought into the mainstream scholarly discussion. By bringing more of the detailed archaeological studies conducted in Spain to a wider academic audience these studies will assist further discussions on this important region in terms of studies of imperialism, economics, and identity during a period of significant political transition. This thesis aims to be the first step in a succession of exploratory discussions on how the wider Mediterranean accretion of culture created a cultural background of semi-regional

synchronicity, as the evidence may produce a new understanding how identity is formed through contact and exchange, and transforms in relation to political affiliations. Ultimately, Iberia in antiquity should be recognized as playing a pivotal role in the development of Roman culture, which can assist scholars in better understanding reflections of what it means to 'be Roman'.

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