

Roman Iberia
Architecture in the Presence of Cultural Change

Katie tipton
06-02-04
HST 499
Dr. Smith

The Roman author Tacitus described Roman culture in one primary text his *Agricola*, "...our style of dress came to be esteemed, and the toga became fashionable. Step by step they turned aside to alluring vices, porticoes, baths, elegant banquets. This in their inexperience they called "culture," whereas it was but an aspect of their enslavement."¹ What Tacitus is describing is an educated urban society. These people that he is discussing have looked into the surrounding Roman cultural standards of physical appearance, architectural design and civic amenities. They adopted these Roman cultural aspects and practiced them with the same respect and with same intentions as their Roman counterparts. They also incorporated some of these aspects within their own cultural practices, which evolved into the Hispano-Roman culture.

The capitals of the Iberia provinces; Baetica, Lusitania and Tarraconesis, provided the model for a Roman town and a standard for comparing the evidence found with other *coloniae* and in non-Roman towns in Iberia. The Iberians adopted individual aspects of Roman culture to display their association with the empire. This is the essence of this paper: why native individuals in Spain adopted specific cultural aspects and used them in conjunction with their own practices or abandoned their practices to participate in the dominating culture. By adopting Roman values indigenous magistrates demonstrate loyalty and assimilation to Rome, which evolved into the Hispano-Roman culture.

Architecturally, this includes *fora* and inscriptions (Plate 1: A,B); temples; (especially those with association to the imperial cult); civic amenities such as baths, temples and amphitheatres; and the organization of town layout (also called *centuriation*). These architectural aspects are important to the discussion of Roman culture because they are the most clearly visible indicator of Roman culture. They also demonstrate that

¹ Tacitus. *Agricola*. Trans. Sir William Petersen. London: William Heinemann. LTD. 1963.

Roman culture is a visually dynamic and appealing culture. Their architecture speaks volumes about what a Roman considered to be culturally acceptable.

The establishment of specific architectural ideology is what they left behind. In the Republic there is little evidence of a concise plan to what Roman culture even meant to a Roman living at that time. Hellenistic architecture is found in the Republic, but there is little to establish anything specifically Roman. During Augustus's reign this changed. His efforts to re-design Rome, organize building projects and refurbish old temples standardized Roman architecture. In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus laid claim to refurbishing 82 temples along with a massive building project.² Many of the provinces throughout the Empire used these buildings as models for their own projects; Spain was no exception.

The location and construction of the forum was a strong indicator of Roman culture. Not only did it provide a wealthy patron the opportunity to establish a connection with Roman elite or to portray themselves as a member of the elite, it was also a place for common gathering. In a forum there were markets, courthouses, senate houses and various temples. This is also an indicator of a practicing Roman judicial system which would rely heavily on native elites fulfilling the role of Roman judicial officials. In some situations, the entire town was designed around the location of the forum. It was a central piece of Roman government and political influence.

Also within *fora* also are the inscriptions of those who dedicated it and the statuary of the town's patrons, the imperial family, and those of the divinities. Inscriptions especially provide detailed information on the relationship between communities, the adoption of the Latin language and the adoption of the *tria nomina*,

² Paternus, Velleius. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Translation Fredrick W. Shipley. (Harvard University Press: Massachusetts. 1967.) 375-379.

which are the three names all Roman citizens had or natives would have adopted to identify themselves as a Roman citizen.

The establishment of the Imperial Cult did not begin until the reign of Augustus. Whether municipal or provincial, it represented not only allegiance to the Emperor and Rome but also the acceptance of the religious phenomenon of deifying the Emperor. It was a political propaganda tool used to portray the Emperor as a god or in respect to a god to legitimize his position. Evidence of this is found in all three Iberian provincial capitals at the municipal level within the Julio-Claudian era (27 BC-68 AD). It is depicted on coinage from all three capitals, which in some cases is the only physical evidence that the municipal Imperial Cult existed. By the middle of the 1st century AD under Claudius, the provincial Imperial Cult was founded in the capitals and spread throughout the urbanized areas of Iberia.

Civic amenities such as theatres and baths contribute to the aesthetic appeal of the Roman culture. The application of these to the landscape provides an educated and sophisticated atmosphere. Only those that could read Latin would understand the inscriptions and the plays produced in the theatres. In the native towns of Iberia these amenities are the best examples of the patron-client relationship so heavily relied upon by the Romans. Rome relied on native patrons, who were elites in their community, and would have been appointed to magistracy in their community. Often local magistrates looked to become a magistrate and participate within Roman culture for a higher social status for themselves and for their community. This would encourage those wealthier natives to erect monumental buildings in a Roman style and place inscriptions in Latin on them. As discussed earlier, the idea of Rome is a visual one with an overwhelming

largeness to it. By adopting individual aspects of it, you create an alliance between yourself, your community and Rome.

Two ideas in the concept of adoption in the patron-client form are *conventus civium Romanarum* and *hospitium*. The patron is in most cases an individual and the client usually a community.³ *Hospitium* was used between communities as a form of patronage that usually included the exchange of inscription tablets. Examples of this patron-client relationship are found in *tessera hospitia*, bronze plaques that commemorate *hospitium* between the two parties.⁴ In northwest Iberia several have been located. In the town of La Coruna a plaque is dated 1 AD, another at Astorga is dated 27 AD, and in Torre de Cabreira a plaque is dated 28 AD⁵. It is possible that patronage could have come in any form, including that of providing for civic amenities that were Roman in nature. *Conventus civium Romanarum* were groups of powerful and wealthy Roman citizens. These committees would have protected the town's interests, increasing the social status of the town, creating a visual alliance with Rome and the emperors and encouraging positive relationships among other towns. They would link the native towns to the *municipia* and *coloniae*.⁶

The connections between the *coloniae*, towns of Roman citizens, which is the highest level of citizenship, *municipia*, autonomous towns of divided citizenship between the local magistrates whether native or Roman, and towns of Latin rights, one of the lowest level of social stratification in which many lacked the right to vote, are more

³ Nicols, J. "Indigenous Culture and the Process of Romanization in Iberian Galicia" in *AJPH* 108. (1987): 136.

⁴ Nicols, J. "Indigenous Culture and the Process of Romanization in Iberian Galicia" in *AJPH* 108. (1987): 134.

⁵ Nicols, J. "Indigenous Culture and the Process of Romanization in Iberian Galicia" in *AJPH* 108. (1987): 133-137.

⁶ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 73.

obscure, but influential. The *coloniae* connections are well evident in the process of *centuriation* and the urban organization of the towns. The urban layout of Emerita, Corduba and Tarraco are consistent with the typical Roman town scheme. The *territorium* was divided into equal areas. Land was divided into a typical land allotment in a process known as *centuriation*, of about 20 *actus* square (710 meters square, an *actus* is a measurement of 120 feet). The size of allotments often varied. The veterans who settled Emerita were given lots of 20 *actus* by 40 *actus* (710 by 1,420 meters).⁷ *Centuriation* was dependent upon the orientation of the main street called the *decumanus*.⁸ These plots of land were oriented to the two main streets: the *decumanus* and *kardo*. The center area of the town where the two met established the *decumanus maximus* and the *kardo maximus*.⁹

Organization is a key element of Roman culture, especially under Augustus. *Centuriation* provided not only the town layout, but the ability to easily collect taxes. The placement of the *fora* within a municipal or provincial town with judicial buildings and the temple placed in a position would create visual appeal and authority. Those sponsoring these large architectural projects would expect them to be seen and revered as something important and themselves as influential. Properly laying out a town is also conducive to growth of population and architectural expansion: thus *centuriation*, even though not original to Roman culture, plays a very important role in the adoption of its culture in Iberia.

⁷ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. Pgs 67-68.

⁸ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. Pgs. 68.

⁹ Salmon, E. T. *Roman Colonization Under The Republic*. Cornell University Press: New York, 1970. Pgs. 21.

Iberia was a culturally diverse peninsula. Phoenicians had settled in the southern and southeastern part of Iberia since the 8th century BC. Their influence spread by means of trade throughout 71 towns in the southern part of Iberia.¹⁰ The Greeks also were established in Iberia with towns at Rosas, Empuries, Alonis, Akraleuke, Mainake and Hemeroskopeion. Punic influences were established, from the north and west there are Celtic influences and in the central Mesta there were the Celtiberians.

The adoption of Roman culture began slowly, initiated by the Second Punic War in 218 BC. The earliest Roman settlement is at Italica, founded in 206 BC by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, and has an inscription of its Roman patron L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus.¹¹ Valentia has a foundation of 138 BC,¹² Carteia dates from 171 BC¹³, Saguntum has temple of the *capitolium* dating from the 2nd century BC. Other towns such as Gades, founded by the Carthaginians in 206 BC,¹⁴ and Gracchuris, founded in 178 BC¹⁵, also display Roman symbols. In many of these cases the patrons funding the Roman architecture in these towns were Roman military figures such as Scipio Africanus, who was a patron of Saguntum; M. Claudius Marcellus and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, patron of Gracchuris.¹⁶ Little is found archaeologically in the early settlements of Rome. Presumably, this is because in the early occupation of Iberia Rome's presence was specifically for military purposes. Even though Iberia was becoming more urbanized,

¹⁰ The Phoenicians in Spain. (ed) Marilyn R. Bieling. 2002. Pgs xiii.

¹¹ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (ed) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995): 298

¹² Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." The Journal of Roman Studies 93 (2003): 158

¹³ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." The Journal of Roman Studies 93 (2003):158

¹⁴ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 120.

¹⁵ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991.104

¹⁶ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995):.293

a consistent Roman influence was not established and the wars did not allow for the possibility for the construction of monumental architecture.

In the late Republic through the Julio-Claudian period (44 BC – 68 AD), the establishment of *coloniae* and *municipia* status became an increasingly persuasive tool for creating a relationship between Rome and the native Iberians. By granting the right to Roman citizenship in a *coloniae* or giving partial Roman citizenship in a *municipia*, while holding out the possibility of full Roman citizenship to the elite and native patrons of the *municipia*, Rome was able to encourage competition for Roman status and thus encouraged loyalty. This adoption of Roman culture in non-Roman towns was evidence of such loyalty. This breaks away from the preconceived notion of “Romanization,” which typically implies the forcing of the stronger culture upon the weak. Loyalty to Rome led native individuals of Iberia to erect monumental architecture with Roman characteristics in native sophistication. The evidence of loyalty and competition is clear in many areas in Iberia. This also allowed for a pacified area to stay more loyal to their own native leader and encouraged the native elite to continue peaceful agreements with Rome. For Rome, it avoided having to send generals and senators to an already pacified area, Rome could concentrate troops and generals in other parts of the empire.

The major centers for Roman architecture in the early empire were the provincial capitals of Emerita in the province of Lusitania, Tarraco in the province of Tarraconensis and Corduba in the province of Baetica, established by Augustus. *Coloniae* and *municipia* established in the Republic and the early Empire existed in all three provinces. In total, there were a possible total of twenty-one *coloniae* in the Iberian Peninsula

through the Julio-Claudian era: nine in Baetica, eight in Tarraconensis, and four in Lusitania.¹⁷

These urban centers were modeled on Rome. Archaeological evidence suggests that certain aspects of their architecture was modeled on Italian architecture, such as the marble decoration in the forum at Emerita which can be compared to the forum of Augustus in Rome.¹⁸ Similarities with Rome have been found between not only in the three capitals but also the surrounding *coloniae* and non-Roman towns.

Roman architectural aspects were used in the three capitals, providing a basis for comparison due to the fact that each of the three capitals were used as a residence that symbolized Rome's authority. Under Augustus, Iberia rapidly adopted Roman culture and urbanization in the three provinces. This was a result of peace in the entire peninsula. After the Cantabrian War of 26-19 BC, peace finally happens after endless campaigns since 218 BC. It ended the civil wars among the Romans and the Roman wars in suppressing the northern tribes of Iberia. Under the control of Augustus, the peninsula was divided into the three provinces and urbanization flourished unattached from military manipulation.

Architecturally, Augustus brought not only continuity but also organization. Prior to Augustus, the sense of being Roman and or recognizing Roman culture was vague. The dissolution of the Republic ended the civil wars between Roman generals and established a single entity that controlled the Imperial Army and enforced peace in the Senate. One of the most important aspects of Augustus' reign was the creation of the Imperial Cult. This was a major political and religious campaign of Imperial propaganda

¹⁷ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 55-56

¹⁸ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." The Journal of Roman Studies 93 (2003): 179-180.

that profoundly affected the entire Empire. Through the establishment of the Imperial Cult, Augustus legitimized his position as Emperor, military leader and head priest while guaranteeing that his title would be passed to his heir.

Augustus established numerous colonies in Iberia to provide land for his veterans. By planting his soldiers in Iberia he succeeded in pacifying rebels and also established the social Roman infrastructure in Iberia. This would be very valuable in the protection of the mines and other resources that the Romans would exploit. They brought with them Roman culture along with the social stratification of *coloniae*, *municipia*, and towns of Latin rights.

Provincial Capitals

The capital of Lusitania, Augusta Emerita (fig. 1), was possibly established by 25 BC; however, archaeological evidence supports the idea that activity did not begin until 16 or 15 BC. The town is laid out in a rectangular grid with the forum at the center. The *decumanus maximus* runs east-west and the *kardo maximus* runs north-south.¹⁹ In the northern part of the forum is a temple surrounded by a cryptoporticus. Another portico is found on the eastern side, which possibly could be a *forum adiectum* due to its elaborate marble decoration.²⁰ This marble consisted of roundels of the heads of Jupiter Ammon, Medusa and Carytids. All of these built with a high quality of craftsmanship, which could be interpreted that these were made by Roman craftsmen from Italy²¹. The temple within the portico could possibly date from the Augustan or Tiberian era.²² It is

¹⁹ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 106.

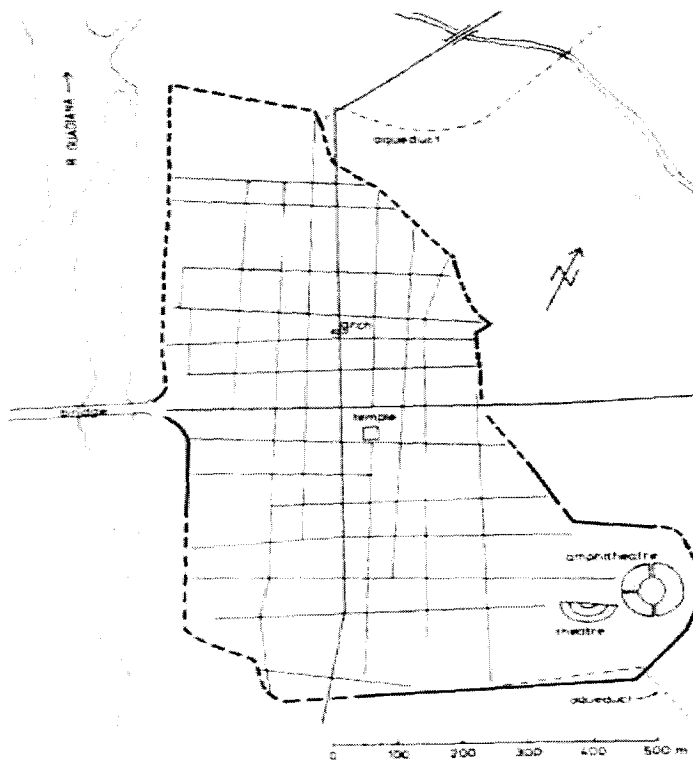
²⁰ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 180.

²¹ Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (ed.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990):168-169.

²² Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 179-180.

possible that a focal point of the forum was an altar dedicated to Augustus, like that of Tarraco. A temple for the Imperial cult was built in the Julio-Claudian era. It was built on a podium in a hexastyle and was created from local stone by local skilled workers. Within the forum were the statues of the Imperial family, which included a marble relief of possibly Agrippa making a sacrifice. This would imply that there was some form of dedication to the Imperial cult. Prior to Emerita becoming the capital to Lusitania the monumental architecture listed was made with granite, but before 14 AD marble began to be imposed.²³ (Plate 2: A).

Figure 1. Emerita²⁴



Another Augustan-influenced piece of architecture is the theatre (Plate 3: A, B,C), dedicated by Agrippa in 8 BC, along with another portico which dates approximately

²³ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* *Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 312-313.

²⁴ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 107.

from the same year. An amphitheatre (Plate 4: A) which was patroned by Augustus in 16-15 BC is located in the vicinity of the theatre. A circus (Plate 5:A) has also been located; it was built in the reign of Tiberius and seems closely modeled after the Circus Maximus at Rome.²⁵ Two sets of baths have been found connected to the water system that was built in the Augustan era. An inscription that is a replica of the one placed on the forum of Augustus in Rome describing Aeneas has also been located.²⁶ The overall aesthetic appeal of the forum at Emerita is very closely related to that of the forum of Augustus in Rome. The capital attempts to recreate Rome. The elaborate representation of the Imperial cult, the civic amenities and forums are seen to be the dominating Roman cultural force and example what culture is and should be.

Corduba, (fig. 2) the capital of Baetica, was established in 169/8 or 152/1. Under Augustus it became a veteran colony.²⁷ It was patroned by M. Claudius Marcellus, nephew to Augustus, and granted colonial status in 25 BC²⁸. Possibly in 15-16 BC, Augustus visited the capital.²⁹ The streets run in the same direction as those of Emerita and enclosed an area of 76 ha.³⁰ The forum was rebuilt in the era of Augustus in the northern part of the city it was possibly 9309 meters square.³¹ A theatre was added in the south-eastern corner with the amphitheatre adjacent. A basilica, a judicial building, was

²⁵ Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (ed.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990): 168-169.

²⁶ Fishwick, D "A new Forum at Corduba." *Latomus* 59. (2000):98.

²⁷ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991.110-111.

²⁸ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995): 312.

²⁹ Knapp, R.C. "Roman Cordoba" University of California Press: Berkeley. 30.

³⁰ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003) Pgs. 146-211. Pgs 173.

³¹ Keay, Simon, "The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29. (1998): 67.

built around 48 BC; along with a temple and a curia, a senate house was also added.³²

Archaeological evidence of baths has not been discovered; however, there is a reference to baths in the Republican era that were possibly destroyed in war. Under Claudius a major square and a temple were built out in the eastern part of the city. Also under Augustus, the forum was decorated with marble, making it contemporary with those of Rome. A statue of possibly of Aeneas has been located which provides resemblance of the forum of Augustus in Rome; also masks of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa, much like those of Emerita, have been found and located in the portico of this, the *forum adiectum*³³.

A partial inscription has been found that is a replica of the inscription found at the forum of Augustus, which describes Aeneas³⁴. Much like that of Emerita, this forum was dedicated to Divus Augustus and gives evidence of the imperial cult. Another forum, the *forum nouum*, has been located and was the site for the municipal temple. A large statue of Mars, much like that of the statue of Mars Ultor in the Augustan forum in Rome, may have been a key theme and possibly could have brought about the colonial status in 25 BC³⁵. The evidence describes again another situation of a capital recreating the appearance of Rome. Iconographically, the *fora* of Corduba and Emerita are very similar both are closely related to the forum of Augustus at Rome. Clearly, this is an intentional pattern in the recreation of Roman cultural architecture.

³² Knapp, R.C. "Roman Cordoba" University of California Press: Berkeley. 56.

³³ Fishwick, D "A new Forum at Corduba." in *Latomus* 59. (2000): 96—97.

³⁴ Fishwick, D "A new Forum at Corduba." in *Latomus* 59. (2000): 98.

³⁵ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995):312.

divided between an upper and lower town. Prior to the Flavian dynasty, the upper town was used as a military barracks; however, archaeological evidence supports that this upper section was becoming urbanized and does display aligned streets typical of Roman town layout. However, the lower town is much more urbanized and orthogonal; the *decumanus maximus* and *kardo maximus* are more obvious. The reconstruction of the forum was on a larger scale than the Republican forum and placed in the center of the town. It contained a basilica in its main hall, which measured 58 by 13 meters; at the entrance stood two columns bearing identification of *aedes augusti*. Presumably, this was a temple to Augustus.³⁸ The basilica dates to 16-14 BC. Also located in the forum is a *capitolium*, which would have contained statuary of the cult of Jupiter and dates to sometime before the 60's AD³⁹. A senate house of 13 by 11 meters has been located.⁴⁰

It is in the lower forum that the much debated altar to Augustus could be located that was dedicated in 26 BC and finished in 2 BC. In the reign of Tiberius, a temple to Divus Augustus was built in honor of Augustus; it probably was located in the forum, which may have begun being built in 15 AD.⁴¹ This controversial municipal altar that has been found only on coins is displayed with a palm tree which signifies fortune on one side, with a seated Augustus and inscription of *Deo Augusto* along with a bull and the head of Augustus with an inscription of *Divus Augustus Pater*, or the head of Tiberius with a laurel on his head with the inscription *Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Augustus*.⁴² The

³⁸ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* *Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 309.

³⁹ Keay, S.J. "Urban Transformation and Cultural Change" in M. Diaz-Andreu and S.J. Keay (edd) *The Archaeology of Iberia: The dynamics of change*. (1997): 200.

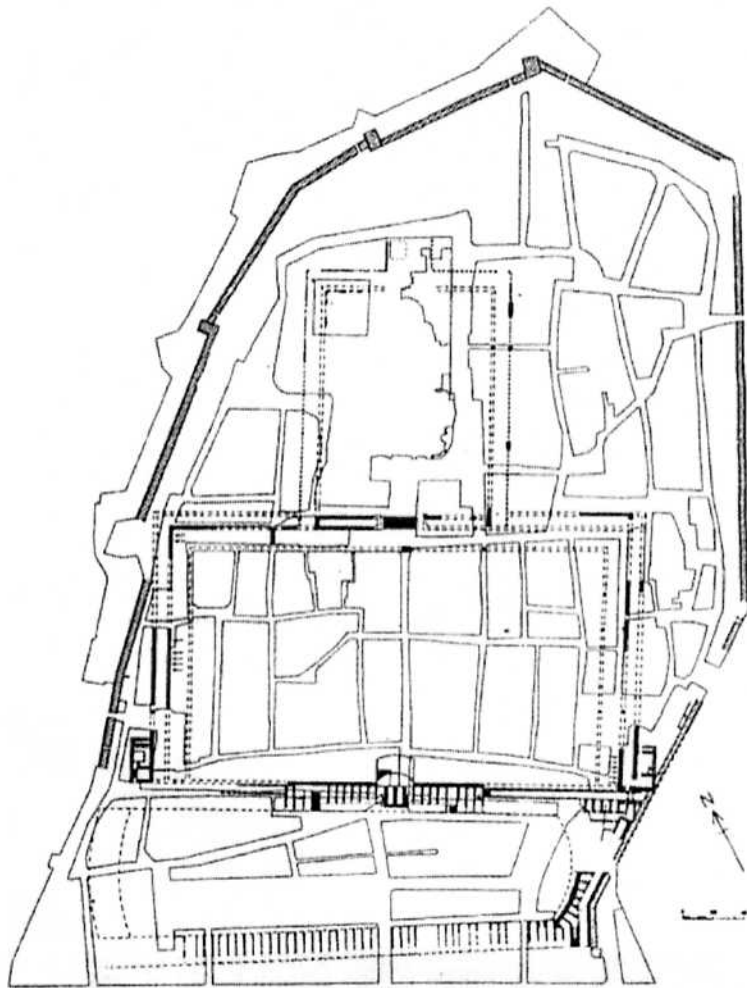
⁴⁰ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 112-113.

⁴¹ Keay, S. J, Martin Millet and Josep-Maria Carrete. "A Roman Provincial Capital and its Hinterland: The Survey of the Territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985-1990." In *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15. (1995): 31.

⁴² Fishwick, D. "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco" in *MM* 23. (1982): 222-223.

placement of the altar in the lower forum seems the most likely, since during the Flavian era the upper town begins to be used for urbanized use even though this is the location of the provincial temple. The process of the altar was probably begun during Augustus' stay in Tarraco 26-25 BC when he received his eighth and ninth consulships.⁴³ With this in mind the location of the altar must be in the lower town.

Figure 3. Tarraco⁴⁴



⁴³ Fishwick, D. "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco" in *MM* 23. (1982): 223-224.

⁴⁴ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 177.

A theatre was also constructed in the Augustan period. Evidence of warehouses and baths has been located.⁴⁵ Statues of the Imperial family and municipal elite have been found along with a victorious arch that commemorates Augustus' victories.⁴⁶

The symbolism of these structures patroned by Augustus and other influential Romans establishes the authority of the Emperor and Rome (Augustus is all around you). Local natives established a municipal cult as an individual claim of loyalty to the Emperor and Rome. For a Roman to assert their own heritage in a new land is of little consequence, but the adoption and willing participation of natives in Roman culture establishes a trend of competition, not only among natives, but also for natural Roman citizens, who suddenly had to contend with the social positioning among natives. Whether or not it was a deliberate tactic of Rome to create competition among the natives and between the natives and the Romans, the reality of is that this enabled the culture of Rome to spread rapidly over the years of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties.

Conventus Capitals

The evidence of the adoption and patronage of Roman culture is also evident in other established *coloniae* and *municipia*. Such evidence is found in the *conventus capitals*, which were the judicial districts for the provinces. There were 15 of these judicial centers throughout Iberia. In the province of Tarraconensis there was a judicial network of Tarraco, Carthago Nova, Caesaraugusta, Clunia, Asturica Augusta, Bracara Augusta and Lucus Augusta. In Baetica there were Cordoba, Hispalis, Astigi and Gades. In Lusitania there were Emerita, Pax Iulia and Scallabis. These towns were the unofficial

⁴⁵ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 178.

⁴⁶ Keay, S. J, Martin Millet and Josep-Maria Carrete. "A Roman Provincial Capital and its Hinterland: The Survey of the Territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985-1990." In *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15. (1995): 31.

outlying administration centers of the previously mentioned capitals. Although some were native towns these *coventus capitals* brought Roman cultural identification into more rural areas.

In the province of Tarraconesis, the town of Caesaraugusta, colonized in 16 BC, was designed in a typical grid pattern that was 60 ha.⁴⁷ A civic forum has been located and possibly a commercial forum as well. A basilica has been located along with a theatre dating from the first century AD, with dimensions of 104 by 54 meters, and a capacity of 6,000 people. Also, baths have been located.⁴⁸

In the colony of Carthago Nova, a forum has been located in a typical grid pattern. Temples have been found, dedicated to Saturn, Vulcan, Asclepius and Aletes, along with another temple which cannot be excavated.⁴⁹ Another colony, Celsa, was colonized in 45 BC and designed on a planned town with a central forum. The *municipium* of Emporiae was rebuilt between 45 and 25 BC, adding along with the forum, a basilica, curia, a *capitolium* and an amphitheatre.⁵⁰ The *municipium* of Saguntum (40-30 BC) had a forum and *capitolium* as early as the second century BC and was renovated in the first century BC with a new forum⁵¹. In Emporion, multiple Roman patrons, including Agrippa (19-12 BC), Tiberius Claudius Nero and P. Silius Nerva (19-16 BC), Caius Caesar (5-1 BC), and Juba II of Mauretania (1-10 AD) all provided for the

⁴⁷ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 55.

⁴⁸ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 117.

⁴⁹ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 117-118.

⁵⁰ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 118.

⁵¹ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995): Pgs. 291-337. Pgs 309.

town.⁵² A forum with a basilica displaying *aedes augusti* was planned to be built. The town of Celsa was laid out on a grid and provided with a forum complex. From the later years of Augustus through the earlier years, of Tiberius, the complex was rebuilt in more monumental capacity with a temple dedicated to *Pietas Augusta* and a theatre that was decorated by local architects and materials.⁵³ Barcino is rather similar to Emerita with a small colony and large forum.⁵⁴ In the colony of Valentia, orthogonal street grids can be detected, along with a bath complex and a building that has been determined to be a “*horreum*”.⁵⁵

Evidence of adoption from the Roman culture is found in the province of Baetica in the *municipium* of Gades, which includes a theatre, along with other Roman buildings from the patronage of Lucius Cornelius Balbus. The colony of Hispalis is in a typical grid pattern with three forums, two bath complexes, a basilica, and curia.⁵⁶ In the colony of Astigi, an orthogonal street grid has been found along with an amphitheatre that is 133 by 106 meters.⁵⁷ Excavation of Italica suggests that a forum and walls were built under Augustus with a large marble statue of Julius Caesar located in the forum. A theater and

⁵² Key, S.J. “Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia” in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 310.

⁵³ Key, S.J. “Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia” in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 313.

⁵⁴ Key, S.J. “Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia” in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 313.

⁵⁵ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 121

⁵⁶ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 121

⁵⁷ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 114.

portico have also been discovered. In the theater iconography of the Imperial cult has been found.⁵⁸

Evidence in the province of Lusitania in the colony of Asturica Augusta includes a bath-house. In Lucus Augusti, a forum has been found, and the town was laid out in a grid pattern. The colony of Pax Iulia included a forum and a temple that was 29 by 16.5 meters in size. A bath complex has been excavated and evidence of another public has been located.⁵⁹ At Norba, the altar of *numen Augusti* has been found, located by the forum and the municipal temple of the Imperial cult.⁶⁰ At Bobadella, a forum in a monumental center with arches, an amphitheatre, a temple to Neptune and a temple dedicated to the *genius municipi* have been located.⁶¹

The three capitals along with the towns of known social status demonstrate Rome's recreation of Italy in Iberia. These towns have allied themselves with the capitals, with Rome and with the emperor. The advantage of the creation of these towns so closely related to Rome is that participating in Roman culture is accessible and easy in a land far from Italy. This only encourages more adoption and participation in Roman culture and creates distance between the native culture and Roman culture. Visually, it is easy to see, who and what is Roman and what is not Roman, making loyalty an inevitable outcome.

⁵⁸ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* *Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 310.

⁵⁹ Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991. 123

⁶⁰ Fishwick, D. "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco" in *MM* 23. (1982): 224.

⁶¹ Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (ed.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990): 167.

However, the native towns without a known social status or of a lower rank in status also display some of the architectural features found in the major centers. This must be understood within the social atmosphere of competition. These native towns were in most cases poor and lacked the financial capability for producing monumental architecture on the scale of a largely urbanized town. They relied on the wealth of local elites attempting to gain prominence and display their wealth and loyalty to the surrounding population. To do so would show their personal association with Rome and the Emperor. By providing their town with civic amenities, *fora* or a temple they proved not only that the community deserved a higher social status or at least higher than they themselves did, but that they deserve to be placed among equals with their Roman counterparts.

Native Towns

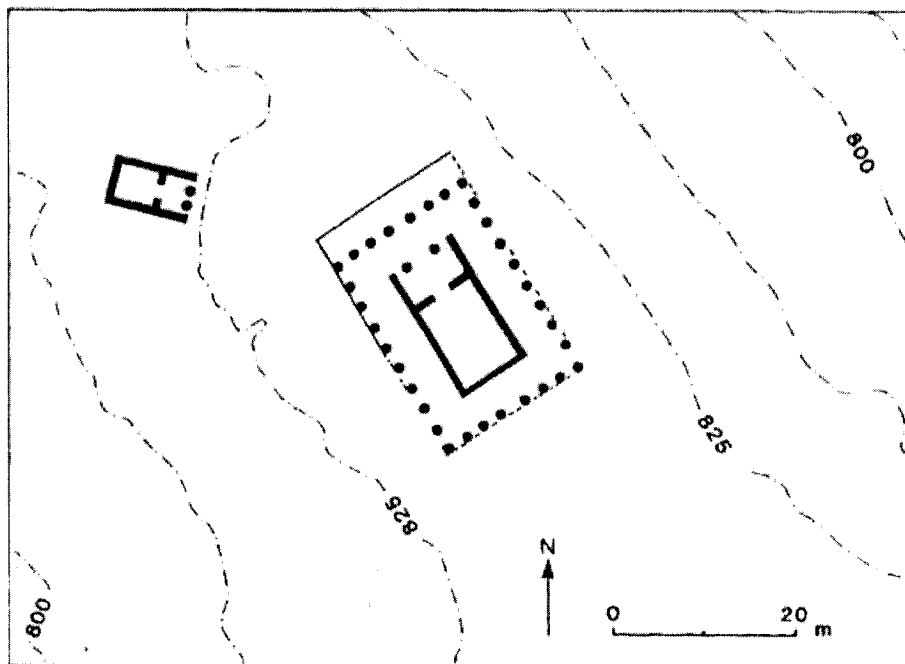
Extensive evidence has been found throughout the provinces demonstrating that native towns adopted aspects of Roman culture. Examples of natives adopting Roman culture are found in two Italic stylized temples, which were built within the Iberian sanctuary of La Encarnacion de Caravacas (fig. 4). Another example of Iberians using their own native sanctuaries and creating Italic temples occurred at Cerro de los Santos. Also found at Cerro de los Santos are depictions of native elites wearing togas with Roman names in Iberian text.⁶² Another temple was found near Corduba, at Torreparedones, a native Iberian sanctuary dated to the first century BC.⁶³ This temple

⁶² Keay, S.J. "The Role of Religion and Ideology in the Romanization of South-Eastern Tarraconensis" in J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Slofstra (eds) *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology* Dossiers d'Archeologie du Musee National d'Histoire et d'Art 4. (1995): Pgs. 38.

⁶³ Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003) Pgs 165-166.

displayed Italic statuary with the dedicants names on two votives in Latin, Lucretians and Ageleanus.

Figure 4. The sanctuary of La Encarnacion de Caravaca. (Murcia)⁶⁴



These native temples symbolize that even though Roman culture was being adopted the natives did not do so at the expense of their own heritage. This gives more emphasis to the point of individual natives adopting Roman culture as they saw fit. By adopting aspects of Roman culture, in these cases the Italic temple stylings, natives are participating in Roman culture, but not in the same respect. Clearly, to create this atmosphere of Rome culture they first needed an example of what was Roman. The example needed to come from a local area, since they were not going to be traveling to Italy to create a temple that only looked Roman. The early patronage and establishment

⁶⁴ Keay, S.J. "The Role of Religion and Ideology in the Romanization of South-Eastern Tarraconensis" in J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Slofstra (eds) *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology* Dossiers d'Archeologie du Musee National d'Histoire et d'Art 4. (1995): 37.

of Roman culture, even though mostly military until after the Cantabrian War, enabled those natives with the financial and organizational authority to create the early influential architecture of Iberia and display Roman architecture in a native setting. Demonstrating the flexibility of the Roman culture and that Roman culture was not an imposition, but personal adoption by individual Iberians. The natives willingly participated in a culture separate from their own.

In the province of Baetica, the native town of Lacipo displays the early Iberian architectural style adopted from the Greeks called Turdentanian. Discoveries of a marble inscription to the deified Augustus and large public buildings have been found at Lacipo.⁶⁵ In Munigua, the locals used their own native sanctuary to make a temple of Fortuna at Praeneste in Italy.⁶⁶ At Baelo (Plate 6:A), a forum was built between the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Under Claudius, a closed administrative area and Roman ideological space was created in the forum with the construction of a basilica.⁶⁷ At Celti, a forum that displayed *aedes augusti* was built around 20 AD.⁶⁸ Carmo also has a forum that was possibly begun between the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.⁶⁹ Other towns with Roman cultural iconography are Salpensa, Axati, and Anticaria, none of which display any other evidence than portraits of imperial heads.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Key, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 54

⁶⁶ Key, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 136.

⁶⁷ Key, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 322.

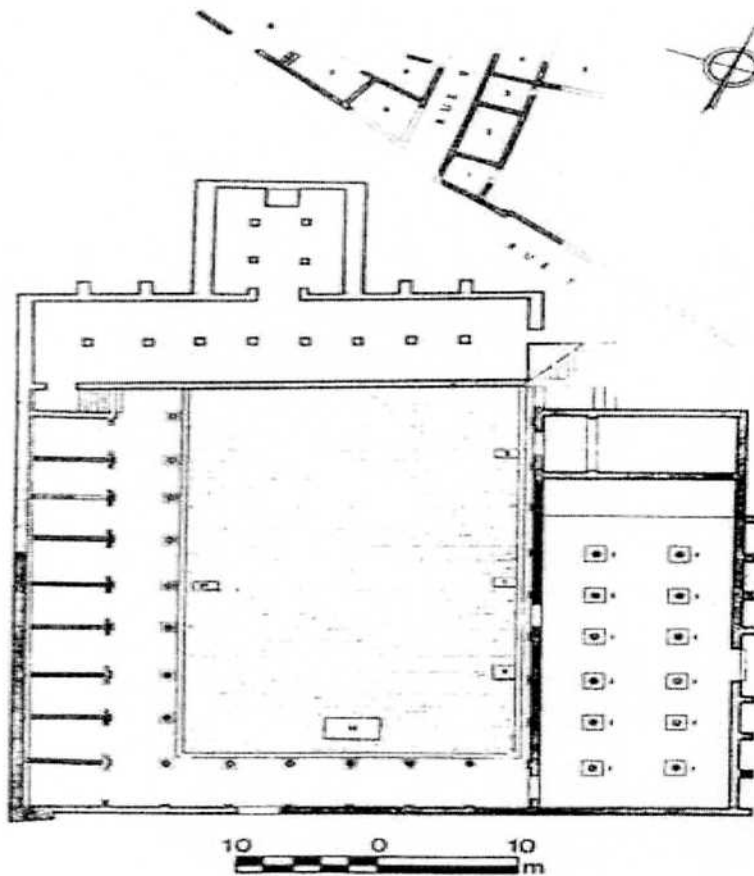
⁶⁸ Key, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 322.

⁶⁹ Key, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 322.

⁷⁰ Key, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Key (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 322.

In the province of Lusitania, the native town of Conimbriga (fig. 5) built a forum of 50 by 60 meters⁷¹ with civic buildings, which enclosed a temple dedicated to Augustus.⁷² (Plate 7: A, B) The temple had a portico on both sides and the back. A cryptoporticus has been located underneath the temple portico, which raises the temple in appearance to a dominating position. In the open square statuary has been located, along with baths.⁷³

Figure 5. The forum built under Augustus at Conimbriga.⁷⁴



⁷¹ Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (edd.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990): 169.

⁷² Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 55.

⁷³ Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (edd.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990): 169-170.

⁷⁴ Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (ed.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990): 171.

Also, baths were added, and the native town of Sellium displays some of the same changes.⁷⁵ Two native *municipia* made additions to their towns. Evora added a porticoed forum with a temple to the imperial cult, and Olisipo added a theatre.⁷⁶

In the province of Tarraconensis, a bath and a temple have been discovered in the native town of Cabezo de Alcalá.⁷⁷ In Bilbilis, a native town with colonial status, a basilica with porticos and a theatre, along with a small forum a large temple, has been found as well as iconography of the Imperial family and a portrait of Claudius. An inscription of the Imperial cult that commemorates the forum during the reign of Tiberius, probably indicating when it was finished, has been located that includes the name of a local elite who provided financial support.⁷⁸ In the native town of Arcobriga a recreation of the basilica at Tarraco was made.⁷⁹ The basilica was 31 by 7.6 meters with a line of columns down the middle with a small room that measures 5.33 by 4.4 meters opening off the back wall with the *aedes augusti*. This was built in native granite and did not have the marble features apparent at Tarraco.⁸⁰ In Pompaelo the same attempt was made to represent the basilica at Tarraco.⁸¹ At Ercavica, the Imperial cult is represented

⁷⁵ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 320.

⁷⁶ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 320.

⁷⁷ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. 54-55.

⁷⁸ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): 319.

⁷⁹ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): Pgs. 318-319.

⁸⁰ Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988. pgs. 136.

⁸¹ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): Pgs. 319.

by a bronze frieze, which displays ritual tools and a portrait of Lucius Ceasar.⁸² In Clunia, a forum with a basilica complex that displays *aedes augusti* also has statues of the Imperial family, built before it received colonial status. In Segobriga a theatre, porticoes and amphitheatre were built by local people from local materials; and within them statuary of the emperor has been found.⁸³

The significance of the native towns voluntarily adopting Rome standards of culture creates the impression that the Roman culture is naturally appealing. It also clarifies the fact of local aristocracy adopting this culture to enhance their own social status. Without adopting the culture, they and their community would have been left behind, not just in social status, but also in the created cultural atmosphere created by Roman culture. Competitively, among the local magistrates not participating in the newest cultural trends, they could have found themselves replaced or unable to hold a position within their community. Between communities, the competition for prestige and alliance with Rome was a serious and important cause for themselves, their sons and their communities. To have the ability to encourage trade and establish commercial markets in your own forum and participate within the Roman judicial system would have been the ideal position for a local magistrate. These native towns were the last frontier in the conquering of Spain.

In conclusion, the binding of natives to the new Roman culture is well demonstrated in the adoption of Roman architecture. By demonstrating their loyalty to

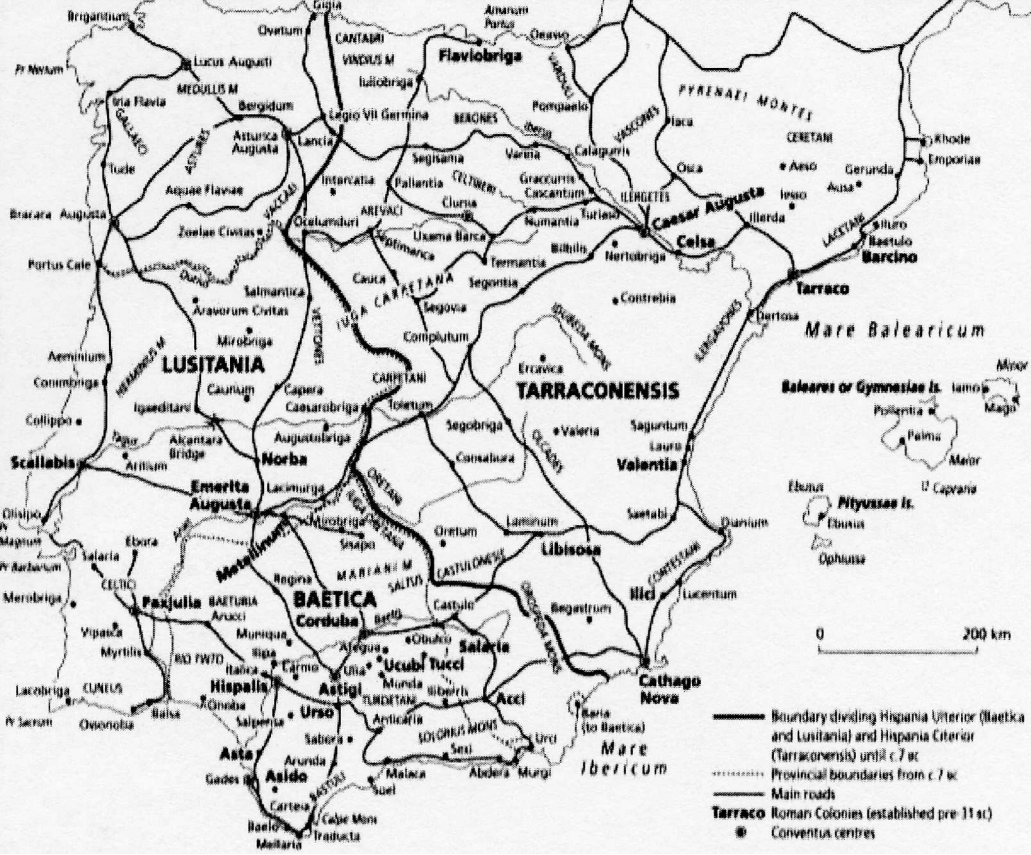
⁸² Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995): Pgs. 317-318.

⁸³ Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995): Pgs. 317.

Rome and the emperor, the natives of Iberia were able to increase their social status in the Roman social stratigraphy. By participating in Roman trends, natives were encouraging more cultural changes in their own towns. However, it is evident that they were not willing to completely abandon their own values, such as the Italic temple of La Encarnacion de Caravacas and finding ways to incorporate Roman values with pre-established native centers such as Torreparedones, which demonstrates the need for assimilating themselves with Rome. The ability for the idea of Roman culture to take on multiple meanings is part of its accessibility. These natives could participate in certain Roman cultural aspects, but still maintain a level of indigenous qualities that became part of the Hispano-Roman culture. The necessary step in creating Roman standards are to create the visual links between your community and the models of what is Roman. This is what the capitals, *coloniae*, *municipia*, and native towns represented: replicas of Rome spread throughout the entire empire. This is what unified the empire and created uniformity. It allowed subjects (Roman or native) far from Rome to have a participating place in the Roman culture. Local competition among the native towns to display their association with Roman practices led to the rapid induction of Roman ideals of culture.

Looking forward to middle and late 1st century AD, the increase of Roman urbanization became very rapid in the Flavian dynasty 69-96 AD and led to many prominent Spaniards participating at Rome in the political and education fields. Emperors Trajan (98-117 AD) and Hadrian (117-138 AD) both were of Spanish descent. Seneca, who was the tutor of the Roman emperor Nero, (54-68 AD) was a member of an elite Iberian family. The social statuses of families in Iberia with citizenship were equal to those throughout the empire. Political boundaries were only set in the social status of

citizenship. Through the progression of the Roman Empire, the boundaries of citizenship became relaxed. Under Vespasian (69-79 AD) all of Hispania was granted Latin rights. This would have allowed for the furthering of the town's social status to a *municipium*. This was begun with early demonstrations of loyalty to Rome and the emperor. Local native aristocrats created the alliance on their own initiative by adopting architecture, which allowed for the establishment of the Hispano-Roman culture.



Appendix II

Plate 1: A. Inscriptions at Tarraco.



Plate 1: B. Inscriptions at Tarraco.



Plate 2: A. Marble fragments from the arena wall in the amphitheatre of Tarraco.

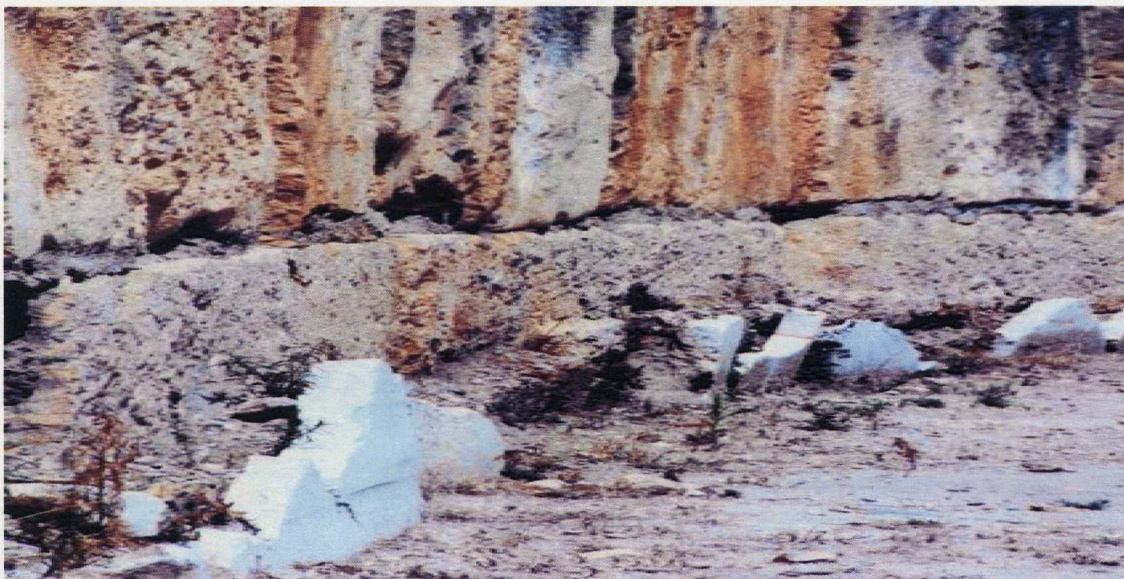


Plate 3: A. Back of the stage at Emerita.



Plate 3: B. Stage at the theatre of Emerita

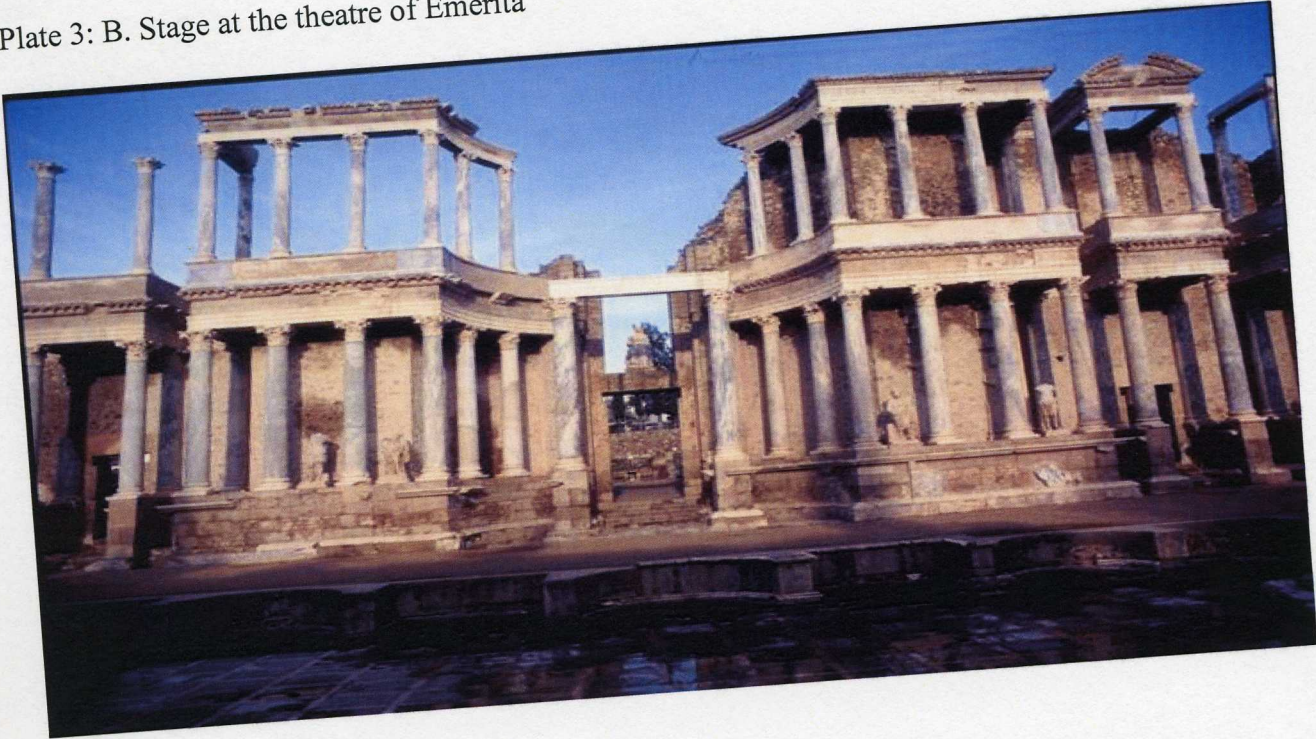


Plate 3: C. Statuary at the theatre of Emerita

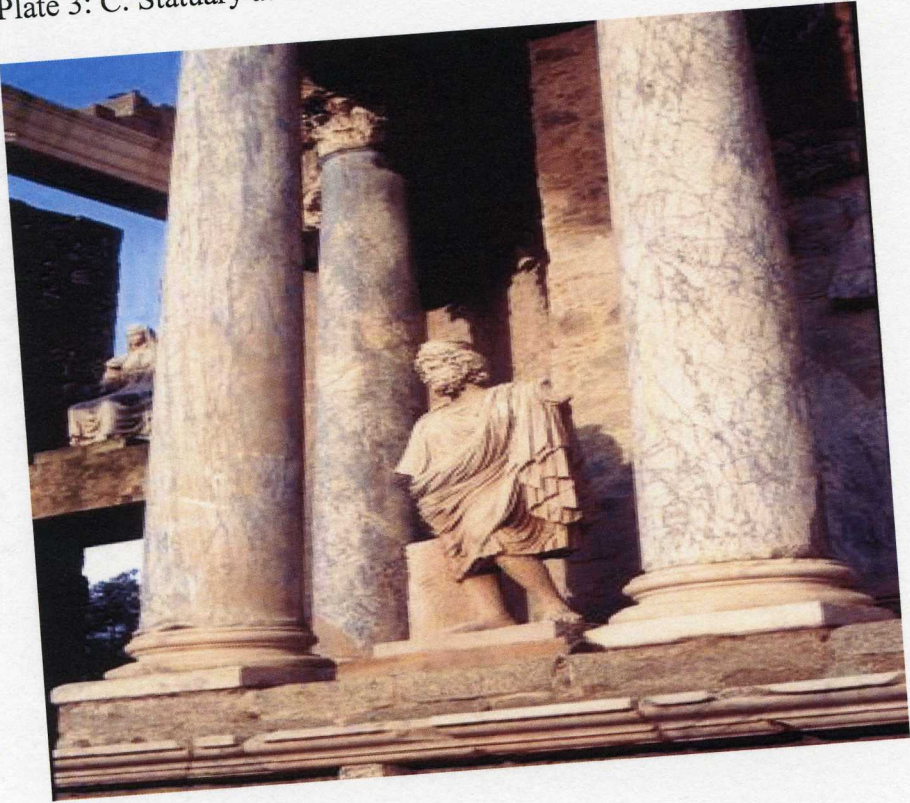


Plate 4: A. Amphitheatre at Emerita

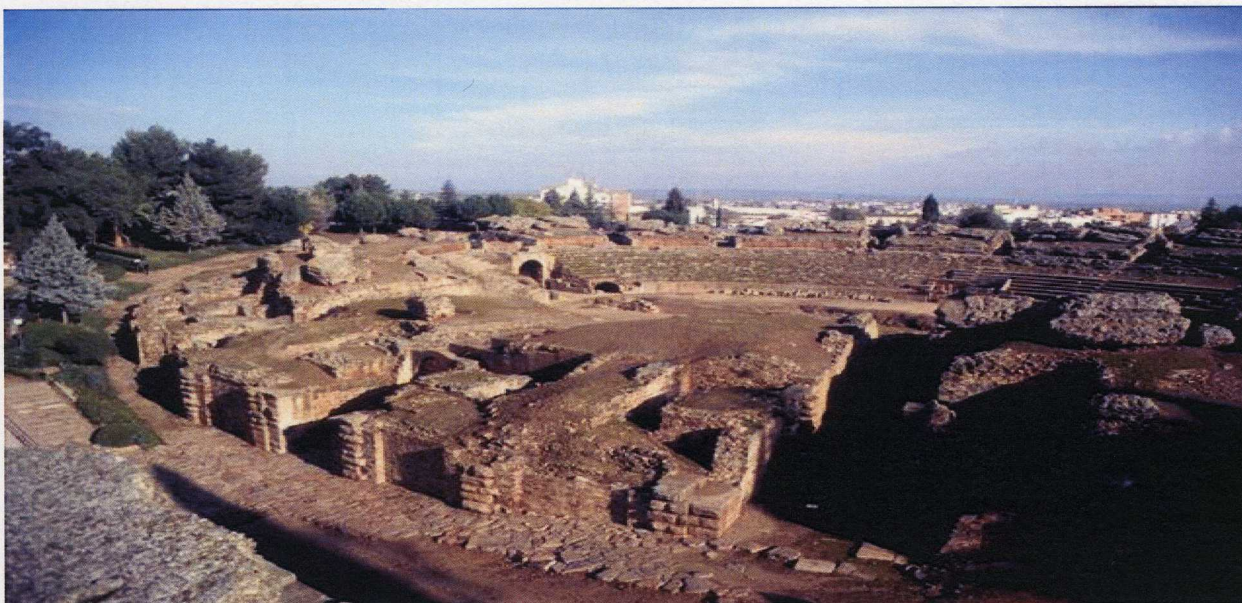


Plate 5: A. Circus at Emerita



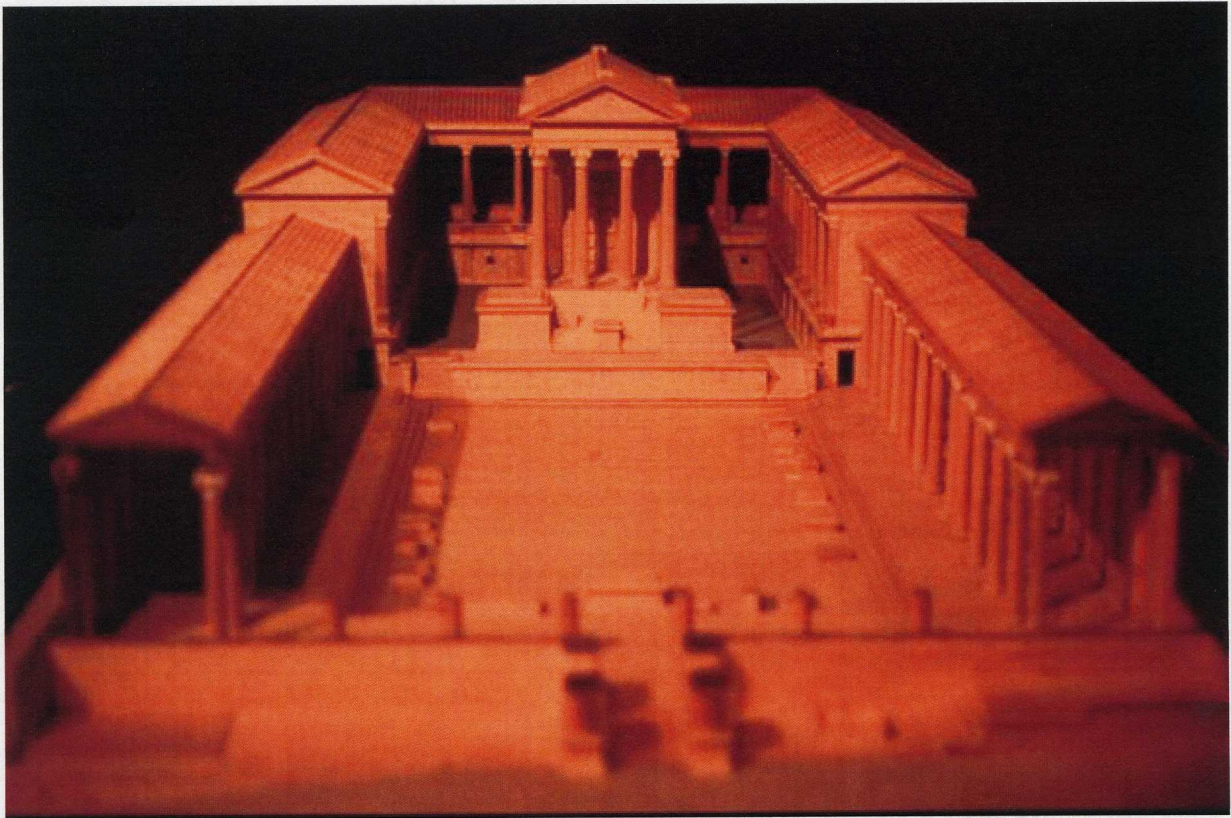
Plate 6: A. Basilica at Baelo



Plate 7: A. Forum with podium at Conimbriga



Plate 7: B. Model of the Forum at Conimbriga



* All plates located at:
www.perseus.tufts.edu

Primary Sources

Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Translated by Fredrick W. Shipley. Harvard University Press: Massachusetts, 1967.

Tacitus. *Agricola*. Trans. Sir William Petersen. London: William Heinemann. LTD. 1963.

Books

Castro, Maria cruz Frenandez. *Iberian in Prehistory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995.

Curchin, L. *Roman Spain*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Curchin, L. *The local magistrates of Roman Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Curchin, L. *The Romanization of central Spain: complexity, diversity, and change in a provincial hinterland*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Green, Miranda J. *The Celtic World*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Haley, E. *Baetica felix: people and prosperity in southern Spain from Caesar to Septimius Severus*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003.

Harrison, Richard J. *Spain at the dawn of history*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1998.

Huskinson, J. *Experiencing Rome: culture, identity and power in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge in association with Open University Press, 2000.

Keay, S. J. *The archaeology of Iberia : the dynamics of change*. (eds) Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Simon Keay, London ; New York : Routledge, 1997.

Keay, S. J. *Social complexity and the development of towns in Iberia : from the Copper Age to the second century AD*. (edd) Barry Cunliffe and Simon Keay. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Keay, S.J. *Roman Spain*. California: University of California, 1988.

MacMullen, R. *Romanization in the time of Augustus*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Mierse, William E. *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Richard, J. S. *The Romans in Spain*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Salmon, E. T. *Roman Colonization Under The Republic*. Cornell University Press: New York, 1970.

Stambaugh, J. E. *The ancient Roman city*. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Woolf, G. *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Articles

Beltran Lloris, F. "Writing, Language and Society: Iberians, Celts and Romans in Northeastern Spain in the 2nd and 1st Centuries B.C." in BICS 43. (1999): Pgs. 131-151.

Cabrera, P. "Greek Trade in Iberia: The Extent of Interaction" in OJA 17. (1998): Pgs. 191-206.

Chapa Brunet, T. "Models of Interaction between Punic Colonies and Native Iberians: the Funerary Evidence " in M.S. Balmuth, A. Gilman and L. Prados-Torreira (eds.) *Encounters and Transformations: The Archaeology of Iberia in Transition* Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 7. (1997): Pgs. 141-150.

Cunliffe, B "Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* Proceedings of the British Academy 86. (1995): Pgs. 5-28.

Curchin, L. A. "Literacy in the Roman Provinces: Qualitative and Quantitative data from Central Spain" in American Journal of Philology 116. (1995): Pgs. 461-476.

Dyson, S.L. "The distribution of Roman Republican Family names in the Iberian Peninsula." Ancient Society 12/12 (1980): Pgs. 257-299.

Edmondson, J.C. "Romanization and Urban Development in Lusitania" in T. Blagg and M. Millett (edd.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. (1990): Pgs. 151-178.

Edmondson, J.C. "Two dedications to *Divus Augustus* and *Diva Augusta* from Augusta Emerita and the early development of the Imperial Cult in Lusitania re-examined" in MM38. (1997): Pgs. 89-105.

Fishwick, D. "A new Forum at Corduba." in *Latomus* 59. (2000): Pgs 96—97.

Fishwick, D. "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco" in *MM* 23. (1982): Pgs. 223-233.

Hanson, W.S. "Forces of Change and methods of control" D.J. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary series* 23 (1997): Pgs. 67-80.

Lloris, F.B. "Writing, Language and Society: Iberians, Celts and Romans in Northeastern Spain in the 2nd & 1st centuries BC." *BICS* 43 (1999): Pgs.131-151.

Keay, S.J. "Recent Archaeological work in Roman Iberia (1990-2002)." in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003) Pgs. 146-211.

Keay, S.J. "Innovation and Adaption: the Contribution of Rome to Urbanism in Iberia" in B. Cunliffe and S.J. Keay (edd) *Social Complexitiy and the Development of Towns in Iberia: From the Copper Age to the Second Century AD* *Proceedings of the British Academy* 86. (1995): Pgs. 291-337.

Keay, S.J. "Romanization and the Hispaniae." *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*. (2001): Pgs.117-144.

Keay, S.J. "The "romanisation" of Turdentia', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11. (1992): Pgs. 275-315.

Keay, S.J. "The Role of Religion and Ideology in the Romanization of South-Eastern Tarraconensis" in J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Slofstra (eds) *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology* *Dossiers d'Archeologie du Musee National d'Histoire et d'Art* 4. (1995): Pgs. 33-43.

Keay, S.J. "Urban Transformation and Cultural Change" in M. Diaz-Andreu and S.J. Keay (edd) *The Archaeology of Iberia: The dynamics of change*. (1997): Pgs. 192-210.

Keay, S. J, Martin Millet and Josep-Maria Carrete. "A Roman Provincial Capital and its Hinterland: The Survey of the Territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985-1990." In *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15. (1995).

Knapp, R.C. "The origins of provincial prosopography in the West" *Ancient Society* 9. (1978): Pgs. 187-222.

Knapp, R.C. "Roman Cordoba" University of California Press: Berkeley, Pgs. 14-68.

Mierse, W. "Augustan Building Programs in the Western Provinces" in K.A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds) *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*. (1990): Pgs. 308-333.

Nicols, J. "Indigenous Culture and the Process of Romanization in Iberian Galicia" in *AJPH* 108. (1987): Pgs. 129-151.

Parados-Torreira, Lourdes. "Sanctuaries of the Iberian Peninsula: Sixth to First Centuries B.C." *Encounters and Transformations*. (1997): Pgs. 150-158.

Slofstra, J. "The Villa in the Roman West: Space, Decoration and Ideology" in J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Sloftra (eds) *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Cultures and Ideology* Dossiers d' Archeologie du Musee National d' Histoire et d' Art 4. (1995): Pgs. 77-90.

Webster, J. "Creolizing the Roman Provinces" in *AJA* 105. (2001): Pgs. 209-225.

Woolf, G. "The formation of Roman provincial cultures", in J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Slofstra, *Integration in the Early Roman West: The role of culture and ideology*, Dossiers d' Archeologie du Musee National d' Historire et d' Art 4, Luxembourg, (1995): Pgs. 9-18.