

## TO BUILD A CITY: ANCIENT URBANISM ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

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### Urbanization

In the 1920's Spanish archaeologists began the extensive excavations of Italica [fig. 1], just outside of modern Seville (ancient Hispalis). They exposed a gridded set of streets, crossing at right angles in-filled with large houses set on insulae. What they revealed, at first glance, is exactly what we expect to find at a Roman city. The design seems quite appropriate for a settlement which could trace its Roman ancestry back to a foundation date of 206 B.C. (García y Bellido (1979)). But what is visible represents the city as it appeared in the second century A.D. and what seems to be straight forward enough, in reality hides as much as it shows. It rests on a foundation of more than half a millennium of urban experimentation on the Iberian peninsula, experimentation that tells us as much about provincial notions of the role of cities as it does about the larger conception of urban space as a Roman construct.

The term "urbanism" is a neologism, invented in the 1920's to describe radical changes being planned for Paris. The term has no Latin gloss though clearly it is built atop a Latin root – urbane, urbanitas, urbanus, and of course, urbs. In its Latin aspect the word probably also connotes associations with Rome itself, the urbs of the Roman world. The point is not merely interesting but, I think, essential for understanding what happens in city development on the Iberian peninsula and perhaps throughout the Roman West during centuries of Romanization beginning in the third century B.C. I would suggest that in considering the story of ancient urbanization on the Iberian peninsula, two opposing forces need always to be kept in mind: The lure of Rome as an ideal and the practical necessity of making urban forms meet local needs.

Roman urbanization on the Iberian Peninsula went through three chronological stages which in effect reveal three different attitudes towards the process. The first, which occupied the century and a half of Republican rule, was marked by an undirected urban growth in which the older urban forms that had emerged as a result of Phoenician and Greek colonization or native reaction were now adapted to accommodate Italic ideas. The second phase perhaps

begins with Caesar but clearly emerges under Augustus and shows the forceful imposition of full urban programs either placed over older centers or created *ex novo*. This second period bleeds into the third and most intriguing epoch which first manifests itself during the reign of Tiberius but becomes most apparent in the later first century A.D. and dominates the development of the second century urban forms. This last phase I call «response and reaction», a long period in which the experiments of the previous centuries come to flower into an urbanization that meets real needs and aspirations on both local and pan-Roman levels. In all these stages the idea of a built urban environment rests on the construct of Rome itself, though how the model is construed changes dramatically over time.

### Preroman Urban Forms on the Iberian Peninsula

The Phoenicians and the Greeks arrived to exploit the mineral wealth and trade opportunities of the Peninsula certainly by the eighth century if not earlier [fig. 2]. Phoenician colonies were established along the south coast, and from the sixth century on, Greek penetration was concentrated in the northeast (Aubet (1995) 47-66; Harrison (1988) 44-50). The immediate impact of these foreign forces was to encourage urban development among the indigenous peoples.

The oldest and most important of the Phoenician settlements, Gadir, Roman Gades and modern Cádiz, is unfortunately little known archaeologically. We know that the city occupied the far western end of an island which it shared with an important sanctuary to the god Melqart on the opposite east end (García y Bellido (1963b) 70-153).

However, the excavations at the south coast site of Toscanos do provide us with some glimpse of urban forms during the early colonial phase of the eighth-fifth centuries B.C., a time during which the town was redesigned three times (Niemeyer (1995) 67-88). The site has revealed the use of Near Eastern building techniques for its public structure, in particular Phoenician pier-and-rubble construction (Stern (1993) 24). There is a rough approximation of a grid plan into which structures are set onto insulae, and urban space seems to have been assigned by labor classifications

seems to have been assigned by labor classifications which may reflect also some social stratification within the community. A similar type of urbanization probably emerged during these centuries in the native kingdom of Tartessos whose capital may have been on the spot now occupied by Huelva. Archaeological work here, as at Cádiz, is hampered by the modern city, and to date only bits and pieces of the puzzle of the ancient city have been found. There is no real coherent understanding of the urban character of the site.

The most important Greek settlement, the Phocaean foundation at Emporiae, on the Catalan coast north of Barcelona, is much better understood archaeologically. Here a small Greek factory was established during the sixth century on a small off-shore island to take advantage of the potential inland trade and to block Rhodian expansion down the coast. The settlement was an outlying colony of Marseilles, the major Phocaean colony in the West (Mierse (1994) 790-791; Harrison (1988) 69-79).

During the fourth century the small island was abandoned and the colony re-established on the mainland [fig. 3]. Here there developed a walled Greek city which went through several changes. The massive walls erected to protect the town and the associated gateway, which reflects contemporary fourth century gate styles the Greek world with its deep well, influenced the design of defensive systems at nearby native settlements where we find carefully crafted walls and elaborate gate designs.

The earliest form of this new city, Neapolis, has not yet been unearthed, though a recent review of the excavations at the site of the later sanctuary of Serapis indicates that in the second century B.C. there was a major sector set-off from the rest of the city by use of stoas to define a space (Sanmartí-Gregó (1992) 152-153), a Hellenistic urban design feature well known from Miletus on the coast of Asia Minor (Ward-Perkins (1974) 14-15). Probably the agora was also in place.

The collapse of the native kingdom of Tartessos (Harrison (1988) 51-68) sometime in the late fifth century and the spread of its ideas through the south and east (perhaps carried by exiles?), the direct influence of Phoenician and Greek coast settlements which had now several centuries of presence, and the probable arrival of new Celtic inspiration into the older Hallstatt culture on the peninsula, led to creation of an oppida based type of proto-urbanization among the native communities throughout much of the peninsula

(Almagro-Gorbea (1995) 175-208; Ruiz Zapatero and Alvarez-Sanchís (1995) 209-236; Savory (1968) 239-259).

These oppida follow the standard format so well known from Gaul and described by Caesar. They occupy hillock sites, are defended by walls, have houses arranged into tight formations. Whether they functioned in a manner analogous to those in Gaul about which Latin writers were well informed or whether their variety of different sources of influence actually resulted in a distinct oppidum type for the peninsula is not clear, and does not really concern me.

### **Roman Urbanization-Phase One Republican Experiments**

This then was the setting when Roman forces first arrived at Emporiae at the start of the second Punic War in 218 B.C. From Emporiae they slowly set about pacifying large sections of the territory and officially annexed it at the end of the War. The Peninsula became the first overseas provinces of the emerging Empire, and as such provided a testing ground for Roman generals and administrators (Keay (1988) 25-71; Richardson (1986) 31-180). They troubled Rome with rebellions and played a significant role in the civil wars of the late Republic (García y Bellido (1963a) 213-226).

For all intents and purposes, urbanization on a Roman rather than a Peninsular model never emerged as a policy during the Republic period. Instead, changes were made to existing urban structures through the introduction of new design elements, most commonly architectural features into the urban landscape. At an oppidum like Azaila we find integrated into the urban fabric an Italic temple type [fig. 4] which has no precedent in earlier oppida (Cabré (1929) 1-38).

At newly established settlements like Italica (Canto (1985) 136-148) or Carteia (Roldán (1992) 78-83) we find structures that look very much like Capitulum triad temples [fig. 5] (Bendala Galán (1989-1990) 11-36; *ibid* (1975) 861-868). I am loath to identify the cult for certain as that of the Capitulum Triad, particularly in light of the fact that both of these structures lack any evidence of cult and are in the south, in an area with strong Semitic influence. Semitic religion has a triadic element which often is reflected in architectural choices (Trell (1982) 422-428). However, there is no denying that the form of these plans does resonate with the proposed restoration of the Capitulum temple in Rome.

Nowhere is the comparison to the Republican Capitulum type stronger than with the temple built in the high spot of Sagunto (Abad Casal and Arangui Gascó (1993) 92; Arangui (1986) 155-162), an old native settlement, the siege of which precipitated the Second Punic War. Here the plan's visual associations cannot be ignored [fig. 6]. During the Republic, the south and east coasts of the peninsula formed part of the Italian wine trade, much of which passed through Cosa (Will (1987) 171-220; Tchernia (1983) 87-104). I suspect the development of the Italian coastal colony's great triadic sanctuary (Brown (1980) 51-53) may have been the inspiration for Sagunto's temple. The town had no real reason to erect such a building since Sagunto was not a new Italic foundation nor did it have, so far as we know, a large Italian population.

The strange case of Sagunto may not be explicable from the archaeological evidence alone. It fits uncomfortably into what we think we understand about the relationship between Rome and her overseas provinces. We do know from the Imperial epigraphic evidence, that Sagunto was a closed society. Its elite was strongly native (Alföldy (1984) 193-238), and there is little evidence for a major presence from outside at the town. Within such a context, it seems hard to believe that earlier there was a significant Italian population which then later left or disappeared. I am more inclined to see this as local emulation, the elite of Sagunto creating a new temple form that replicates that which is to be seen at the Italian town with which they have the strongest associations. The cult of the temple may have remained quite local.

By the middle of the second century B.C., the area overlooking Neapolis was the site of a garrison, probably to protect the town; Livy's account (34.9) suggests that the Greek settlers did not have the best of relations with the local natives. Around 100 B.C., the fortress was leveled and the site reconfigured with a rectangular frame outlining a grand plaza defined by tabernae at one end and a temple surrounded by a cryptoportico at the other [fig. 7] (Aquilué Abadías, et al. (1984) 48-77). The design is a classic forum, the first one to be built in the western region and perhaps the oldest completely designed forum in the Roman world. It represents an entirely new architectural form, the parts for which can be found being used and developed independently in Campania, one of the other wine trading regions with which the peninsula was connected, and one which I suspect had a particularly strong draw for Emporiae since its sister colony of Alalia was in the Campanian region (Mierse

(1994) 798-801). The building of this new architectural type at Emporiae may have spurred on its use at other coastal sites, the archaeological evidence is somewhat sketchy on this point (Keay (1995) 296; Guitat Durán (1993) 54-83), but more important for me is what I think it did in terms of the response of the lower city (Mierse (1994) 801-804). Here there is a question of dynamics and meaning. The wall that encircled the lower city was removed, and to most scholars that removal and joining of the upper and lower city occurred during Caesar's time when he settled a veterans' colony at the site (Aquilué, Mar, and Ruiz de Arbulo (1983) 127-137). The upper city was largely free of any early urban burden and the constructions here represent something new, what we might call a new order, and I think that it prompted someone or some entity or entities to reply from the older Greek center, because something does happen down here as well. First the formally defined space at the entrance to the city is given a sacral nature and a temple incorporated into the plan – creating the sanctuary of Serapis. Within the same district another grouping of small temples is erected to form a second sacred ensemble, and the whole main entrance to the lower city becomes a religious quarter. A new main thoroughfare is driven through the older warren of domestic buildings, and the religious quarter is linked to the agora [fig. 8]. It too is redefined with a great two story stoa on the model of the stoa of Attalos in Athens (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo (1988) 39-60). Interestingly, the gate to the city is retained, even though it is rendered useless because the sanctuary violates the curtain wall and eventually part of the wall is razed. The gate now serves as the formal entrance into the city. All this civic improvement has the look of Hellenistic urban planning, areas of the city designated to serve clearly defined functions, the use of grand avenues, and the creation of civic spaces with monumental civic architecture. Whether the developments in the lower city represent some type of challenge to the changes on the upper city or are more likely the expansion of energy that come with a combination of prosperity and peace cannot be determined from the archaeological evidence, but it suggests the potential richness of the investigation of Republican experiments in urbanism.

### **Roman Urbanization-Phase Two The Early Imperial Forms**

Augusta Emerita (Mérida) was a new foundation [fig. 9] established under Augustus to be the capital of

the newly designated province of Lusitania. The plan is somewhat uncertain but the remains of drains suggest a grid plan (Almagro Basch (1976) 196-198; Macías Liáñez (1913) 49) of some type into which were laid a forum complex, a theater-amphitheater unit, a bridge that feeds into one of the major streets, and an aqueduct. Here there was nothing previous to influence the formation of the new city, and it reveals, more than anything else, the urban policy of the Emperor Augustus (Mierse (1990) 308-333). The Emperor promoted urbanization and urban renewal in Rome itself and in the provinces. This is well documented in both the literary testimonia (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 46), the epigraphic evidence (*Res Gestae*), and the archaeological finds. Urbanization was part of the process of Romanization, and under Augustus the towns begin to take on a homogeneity of form. We see it in the repeated appearance of specific urban features, the theater/amphitheater, the fora, the important amenities of bridges and aqueducts.

We see it also in the ubiquitous gridiron plan that now begins to distinguish every city. Many older communities like Barcino (Barcelona) [fig. 10] were encouraged to move from older upland sites (oppidum settings) to flat lands (Mierse (1990) 308-333; Balil (1964)). The moves were usually occasioned by the need to exploit effectively the road systems which under the Emperor both expanded and more efficiently connected the towns to one another and ultimately to the large redistribution centers. This abandoning of the old locations encouraged the building of new towns, often quite small – Barcino – but which were structured according to the same principles as bigger units.

Even when the older site was not abandoned, as is the case at Conimbriga (Alarcão (1983) 90-92) on the coast of Atlantic Lusitania, the native town was reconfigured to reflect a new governing principal [fig. 11]. The old native settlement was pushed to the margins and the heart of the city received a massive architectural ensemble with temple, cryptoportico, tabernae, basilica, and curia. This was the vocabulary of Roman urbanization being forced onto a non-Roman community, and represented a policy decision. We know that Augustus's agent, Agrippa, went to Augusta Emerita to dedicate the theater. What was created in this environment begins to look monotonously similar, whether we are considering Conimbriga in Portugal or the old forum at Leptis Magna, the sense of locality is banished in favor of a pan-Roman identity.

One of the striking features about these Augustan creations is their homogeneity not only in plan but also in architectural members. I suspect this is caused by the use of army engineers to lay out cities and to build many of the major monuments (Mac Mullen (1959) 210, 214). These were tried and true plans which used stock, off-the-shelf architectural features and were therefore going to look much alike.

But it is the one that breaks that pattern that requires some attention. Again it is to Sagunto that we return, this time in its Augustan phase when the Republican period temple was incorporated into a much larger architectural grouping comprising a forum with tabernae and basilica [fig. 12]. The Republican temple was retained as the anchoring feature, serving to mark the axis of symmetry for the design. But off to the east side is a new feature, a second temple, probably associated with the Emperor but officially dedicated to Apollo and Diana (Bonneville (1985) 255-277). The temple is different from what might be expected, a two room shrine with porch lacking the normal axiality associated with Roman temples, a design so far unique to Sagunto, at least on the Peninsula.

Sagunto yields another important piece of information, we know the name of the man who paid for the construction, a member of the Baebii family, one of the older and more distinguished families in the city with connections to other cities on the Peninsula and to Rome itself (Alföldy (1977)). It was private patronage that carried forward the process of visual Romanization, and yet within that process there was room for something a little different, a shrine that did not work as one expected.

Throughout the rest of the century, the force of Augustan homogeneity is to be seen at work in many of the new foundations or in reconstructed older cities. The stock items of temples on tabernae-lined forum spaces defined by basilicas at one end are found everywhere. The variations seem too minor to really notice. And yet every now and then, something breaks the pattern and warrants attention. At Clunia [fig. 13], from which Galba was called to take the reigns of government and where he heard the prophesy of his success (Suetonius, *Galba* 9.2), we may well have the oracular temple of Jupiter. Here is the temple on the forum, an impressive construction that dominated the great plaza but with an odd feature, a semi-circular adyton, a rear room which clearly had limited access. I think that it was an oracular chamber, and it can be

paralleled by similar constructions in Celtic areas of England under Roman control. The oracular nature of the site probably pre-dated Roman arrival and reflected an old, Celtic divinity at the site whose importance was still significant enough to cause the builders to modify an otherwise very Roman design.

### Roman Urbanization-Phase Three Roman Urban Design

Up to this point I have been discussing urban planning, the way in which a city is put together, perhaps according to a preconceived notion of what it should look like as under Augustus or perhaps in a more casual manner as under the Republic when options for modification and specific, local needs could impel a plan to adapt to certain needs. But I do not believe that I have been treating urban design, the conscious manipulation of the features of the city to create an over-all effect and in which many elements can be brought together to play-off one another.

I would argue that the situation begins to change during the reign of Tiberius, and especially because of the Emperor's lack of interest in the Peninsula. The western provinces were largely allowed to develop on their own with no great Imperial involvement. Where we can first see this emerge is in the development of the Imperial Cult which took root early on the Peninsula (Etienne (1958)).

Already during the reign of Augustus there was some type of unofficially sanctioned cult at Tarraco (Fishwick (1982) 223-233). Augustus knew about it for Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.3.77) tells us so. It was centered on an altar celebrated as a reverse type [fig. 14] on a series of coins struck by the city during Tiberius's rule (Gamer (1982) 341-345; Guadán (1980) no. 410). The excavations of the basilican hall in the lower forum at Tarraco [fig. 22] have revealed an interesting feature of the building, a small extension in one of the long walls which is now generally agreed to have housed the altar, creating an *aedes Augusti*. (Cortés (1987) 9-24; Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo (1987) 31-44). This was an architecturally restricted space appended to a normally secular building but forming part of the ensemble that defined any Roman town. The design broke with the norm for basilican halls that had developed during the Augustan period on the Peninsula and may have added a cultic nature that was absent in the earlier forms.

The real question is, "What was the nature of this cult?" There was an officially approved cult to Roma

and Augustus centered on the Altar at Lugdunum (Lyon) and used as an element in the propaganda for the native elite of conquered Gaul (Wuilleumier (1953) 33-42). But this is not the case with the Tarraco cult which had nothing to do with conquest since the area was not in a recently pacified region. Instead the cult was integrated into the civic architecture of the city and was clearly intended to visually manifest an association between the city and the Emperor, not inappropriate since Tarraco had served for a short while as the defacto capital of the Roman world while the Emperor was resident in it. The acknowledgment of the cult by the Emperor which is indicated in Quintilian's story suggests that perhaps Augustus was willing to permit the city to foster this idea of a special relationship.

This will not explain the possible altar at Augusta Emerita also recorded as a coin reverse type [fig. 16] and which could have been built at the same time (Gamer (1982) 345-347; Guadán (1980) no. 1001; Beltrán (1976) 97, 103-104). If the assumption of contemporaneity is correct then the altar at Augusta Emerita must be understood to reflect the existence of a larger pan-Peninsular(?) Imperial cult that was emerging during Augustus's reign and which was municipal in form and content. Etienne thought that it could have been built on an earlier notion of hero deification that was a feature of native religions.

What interests me is the possibility that by the end of Augustus' reign there was emerging on the Peninsula a sense of self-identity that permitted the formation of a new local cult, possibly fostered from Rome but not sanctioned by it, which spawned the creation of an architectural type, albeit simple, to meet the cult needs. It may have further caused some modification to what had become standard urban features as at Tarraco.

The altars, I think, hint that something is happening which only begins to come to the surface during the next period, again at Tarraco. The citizens petitioned the Emperor Tiberius and were granted the right to build a temple to the Divine Augustus and to establish an officially sanctioned version of the Imperial cult (Tacitus, *Anal.*, 1.77-1.78). They celebrated this by striking a small coin issue with the reverse of a temple clearly designated to the Divine Augustus [fig. 17]. The temple is straight forward enough, a standard Italic temple type raised on a high podium with an octastyle facade (Asís Escudero y Escudero (1981) 177-178; Beltrán Martínez (1980)

137; Guadán (1980) no. 412; Woods (1975) 345-352; Beltrán (1953) 61-63).

The city had good reason to be proud. It had beaten out Carthago Nova to be capital of the newly created province of Tarraconensis, the largest province in the Empire. It was an old city with monuments dating back to the Republican period but had been given a face lift during the Augustan period when the lower forum had been designed to accommodate the basilica and its special altar space. And here there also stood a victory monument decorated with reliefs that celebrated Augustus's Cantabrian victories (Aquilué, Dupré, Masso, and Ruiz de Arbulo (1991) 56; Koppel (1990) 327-340).

But then all of a sudden there is another temple image which is clearly intended to honor the same cult [fig. 18]. Two temples seem unlikely, so what is the answer? This second image is part of a larger series and I suspect a longer lived series to judge from the surviving examples in coin collections. Moreover, the coin itself is larger with a bigger surface for the image. The differences between the two temples are not due to different die cutters. This second image is a different type of temple set atop a much lower platform which looks more like the stylobate of a Greek peripteral temple than the podium of an Italic temple.

The answer lies here in a third temple coin type [fig. 19], this one issued by the mint at Augusta Emerita, perhaps about the same time and dedicated to the Imperial Cult (Guadán (1980) no. 1011). Now officially Tarraco had the cult and was to serve as a model for others, or so Tacitus tells us, and maybe it did just that only a little too quickly. I propose that Augusta Emerita established the officially sanctioned cult faster than Tarraco by turning over an existing temple to the cult. This had perhaps been the intention of Tarraco as well. The first coin image with the Italic looking temple I have a strong suspicion is the temple on the lower forum at Tarraco, which has not yet been found.

But what about the other image? This is what they built or proposed to build, a quite different temple, one with a strong stylistic link to Greek temple types rather than Italic. Someone at Tarraco – one assumes the elite of the city, according to my reading, made a design choice and in so doing broke with tradition and set Tarraco on a course which was to have dramatic results. It also marks the start of the last great phase, and for me the most interesting one, when the urban

plans change to urban designs and when the forces dictating the forms become manifestly local.

By mid-century at Augusta Emerita, there were two fora (Alvarez Martínez (1982) 53-69). The design may date to the inception of the plan, but by mid-century, one of the fora had clearly been demarcated as belonging to the Imperial Cult. Here a monumental composition modeled [fig. 20] on that of the forum of Augustus in Rome was transformed to suit the needs of a small provincial capital (Trillmich (1995) 269-291). Caryatids and tondi with alternating heads of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa decorated the upper attic. Similar types of experimentation can be found elsewhere in the west, and one can easily observe that this type of celebration of Imperial associations can be seen all over the Empire as it emerges into the mid-century. The sources for the inspiration in the West remain the metropolitan models of Rome itself, but there is a freedom in their recombinations that suggests to me that we are not looking at slavish copying or even emulation, but at free, local reinterpretations.

There is a kind of excitement that I find in these first tentative steps towards architectural independence in the Tiberian period. Rome still hovers over all, and it is the vehicle of the Imperial Cult through which these explorations can be made. So to me it is quite startling what suddenly appears on the scene at the little town of Bilbilis, an insignificant hilltop community located on a tributary of the Ebro River. Here in the birthplace of Martial, an old native settlement was redesigned in the second quarter of the first century (Martín-Bueno and Jiménez (1983) 69-78; Martín-Bueno (1981) 244-254). A grand plan was envisioned and built which combined theater, temple platform, temple, and forum space, all technically associated with the Imperial Cult [fig. 21].

What was built is extraordinary. A tongue of land was buttressed so that it flies out into space and commands the views from below and out over the plain. This was to hold the forum plaza and the side units designed to allow for views out onto the landscape. The temple was placed atop a natural mound which permitted it to crown the ensemble, and to one side was the natural cavea of the theater which was bedded onto the slope of the hill with the *scenae frons* placed atop a concrete mass.

The model for Bilbilis has to be the great Hellenistic ensembles of western Asia Minor, Pergamon and its offspring Aegae, both of which had

been damaged in the earthquake of A.D. 17 and which were in the process of being reconstructed during these years (Hanfmann (1975) 42). The freedom of the design which lacks the pronounced axiality of most large-scale Italic ensembles and the use of the natural setting to both heighten the effect of the architecture and to allow for the individual to become involved with the landscape are traits most commonly found in Hellenistic architectural compositions of the Pergamene region (Lehmann (1954) 15-20).

The cost of building the new ensemble of Bilbilis must have been quite high, and we really don't know who paid for it, though it seems most likely that the local elite supplied the resources. Bilbilis does not itself help us to understand how the elements of architecture, Imperial Cult, and elite patronage come together.

To appreciate the relationship of these three dynamic forces we need to look ahead to the Flavian period and to the redesigned civic heart of the little Lusitanian site of Conimbriga. You will remember that Conimbriga had been given a monumental quarter during the Augustan period, but now three-quarters of a century later, the forum was redesigned, and the change is significant (Alarcão (1988) 72, fig. 14; Alarcão and Etienne (1977) 85-110). The basilica and the tabernae were dispensed with and the temple was made far more formidable [fig. 23]. It now towered over the complex. Axiality had been restored, and with it a hierarchy of the parts so that all led to the temple. The space itself was completely sealed off from the outside, both visually and physically, the direct connection with the older, native settlement, no longer existed.

Statue bases lined the interior plaza, statue bases arranged to hold images of the city's elite placed in proximity to the temple dedicated to the Imperial Cult. The space had been reconfigured as a stage setting for a display of elite prestige. And the elite paid for it, and we have some idea of how. For the high ranking Roman of a provincial city, the norm was to pass through the *cursus honorum*, through a series of civic positions, all of which were costly to obtain and to maintain, and the money paid for positions provided resources for public building (Curchin (1990)). We know something of costs, and we know from inscriptions that public structures were often the gifts of individuals to specific cities, though occasionally public subscriptions could be used (Duncan-Jones (1985) 28-33). The elite funneled their money into

public munificence, but also into projects that ultimately served their aims as a means of creating a space to celebrate their achievements. The Imperial Cult, whose priesthood was a part of the *cursus honorum* held late in the process, obviously furnished the pretext for the display.

Conimbriga was a minor settlement with no significant population or important individuals, but at a place like Tarraco the combined forces could have real potential for dramatic effects on urban design, especially if we add the fourth element to the mix, competition. We understand the competition among urban centers much better in the Roman East, but I'd suggest that it flourished here in the West as well, particularly in a city like Tarraco which probably had a large population of foreign residents because of political appointments or economic reasons who would have been able to supply information about developments elsewhere. Under the Flavian rulers, the circumstances were perfect for grand statements. The Peninsula had been at peace for over a century. It was prosperous. There was a community of well-to-do Peninsulares (senators? this is unclear) who lived at Tivoli (Syme (1988) 94-114). The Peninsula was tied into the larger network of the Roman world with some of the Iberian elite showing up performing their duties as part of the *cursus honorum* throughout the Empire, and often in important posts.

The result was a startling design for the provincial capital [fig. 24]. The area of the old Republican garrison was reconfigured (TEDA (1989) 141-191; Dupré (1988) 25-30; Aquilué (1982-1983) 165-186; Hauschild (1976) 213-218). Three great plazas were designed to climb up the hill in order of decreasing size. In each case they were defined by framing architecture. At the bottom stood a circus and at the top a temple which defined the axis. The result transformed the side of the hill into a ceremonial space occupying almost 20% of the city's land. The epigraphic evidence allows us to understand that we are here looking at the Imperial Cult writ large on the provincial scale with the arrangement of statues carefully controlled. Tarraco was the center for the *Concilium Provinciae*. On the upper terrace where there was a temple (I believe the second temple pictured on the Tiberian coins) and surrounding it, statues and inscriptions which honored the Institution and divinities with Imperial affiliations (Alföldy (1979) 177-275; *ibid* (1975) 474-477). This was the Imperial space with the Temple to the Divine Augustus as its

center piece. The second and much larger terrace was filled with honorific statuary for leading citizens of Tarraco often erected by corporate bodies. The position of the elite as members of the governing system, as individuals worthy of celebration, and as creators of the civic life is given a visual setting the dramatic potentials of which are seldom equaled in the Roman world.

We end where we began, with Italica. By the time that Hadrian emerged from the city in the first quarter of the second century A.D., the city had witnessed three hundred years of Roman building. The role of the local elite as the force to determine local architectural forms, at least in civic architecture, had clearly become the norm. The linkages of Imperial Cult to elite patronage to civic design had strengthened over a century and matured into a symbiotic relationship where cultic ritual, elite need, and civic design had fused together.

The design here takes us possibly in yet another direction. The old grid was abandoned and a new city laid out. A similar thing happened at Cordoba (Knapp (1983) 54-56) and later in North Africa at Volubilis (Etienne (1960)). The expansion created a new gridiron plan into which everything could be neatly laid. What appears as the single most important element would seem to be a forum, but closer inspection reveals that it is not so. Rather it is a temple completely enclosed and separated from the outside.

It was a large temple, and the surrounding ambulatory space appears to have had no function other than to frame it and make the sacred area equal to the other insulae of the region [fig. 25]. This is assumed to be a temple to Trajan, first son of the city, a Trajaneum, erected most likely by Hadrian (León (1988)). There are architectural features that can be compared with other Hadrianic monuments, the alternation of semi-circular and squared niches as in the Library of Hadrian in Athens and the Pantheon. The octastyle temple with its surrounding framing devices looks somewhat like the design of the great temple and sanctuary that Hadrian erected in Pergamon. And the peripteral nature of the temple plan (never common in the West) echoes the peripteral plan of the Temple of Trajan in Pergamon and Hadrian's temple to Venus in Rome.

This new sector of the city was planned as an elite region. The houses on the insulae are big and spacious and the floors are richly mosaicked. In fact, it is the mosaics that have attracted the greatest attention. Here

amongst the elite is placed this great complex which blends in with other structures in the way that it sits on its insula but also stands in stark contrast to the structures that surround it. The Temple of Trajan is now embedded into the urban fabric of the new town and integrated among the domestic structures of those who most profit from its existence as a cult. The local needs have transcended the pan-Roman desires, and the Sanctuary of Trajan functions first and foremost as a feature of Italica and secondly as an element which somehow speaks of pan-Roman concepts.

With the redesign of Italica and the creation of its new sanctuary complex we reach the point where provincial wants supply the driving force for architectural decisions. This same development can be found elsewhere in the Empire in the Greek East and eventually in North Africa. Whether or not the self-confidence that emerges on the Iberian Peninsula as the process of Romanization is turned from something imposed to something self-directed can be argued to be manifested in other than urban design, I am not certain. What I would suggest is that no study of the Roman world which tends to see the western provinces as merely slavish imitators of metropolitan models is a fair assessment of that world. Nor need we see them as always seeking to copy Rome, though clearly emulation often in the form of free interpretation is a regular feature of provincial creation. The forces that influence both the design choices and the final results of those choices are complex and must usually be analyzed in terms of local needs which may or may not mesh with the desires of centralized authorities, that is if we are to really begin to understand the dynamics that made the Mediterranean a Roman lake and left forever a stamp of the Roman presence on the consciousness of several modern peoples.

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Fig. 1 - Plan of Italica old and new cities.

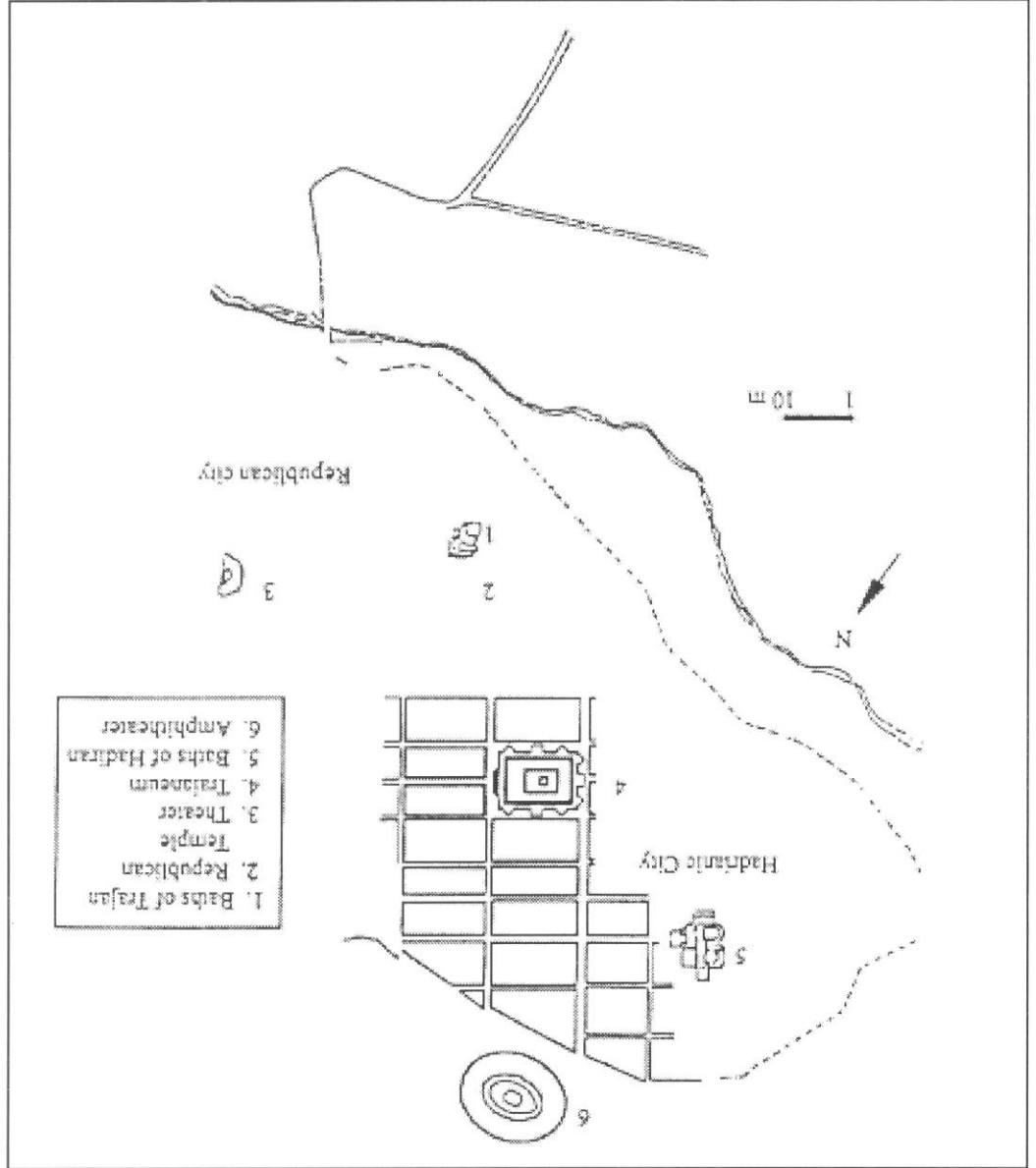


Fig. 2 - Map of the Iberian Peninsula with sites discussed in text marked.

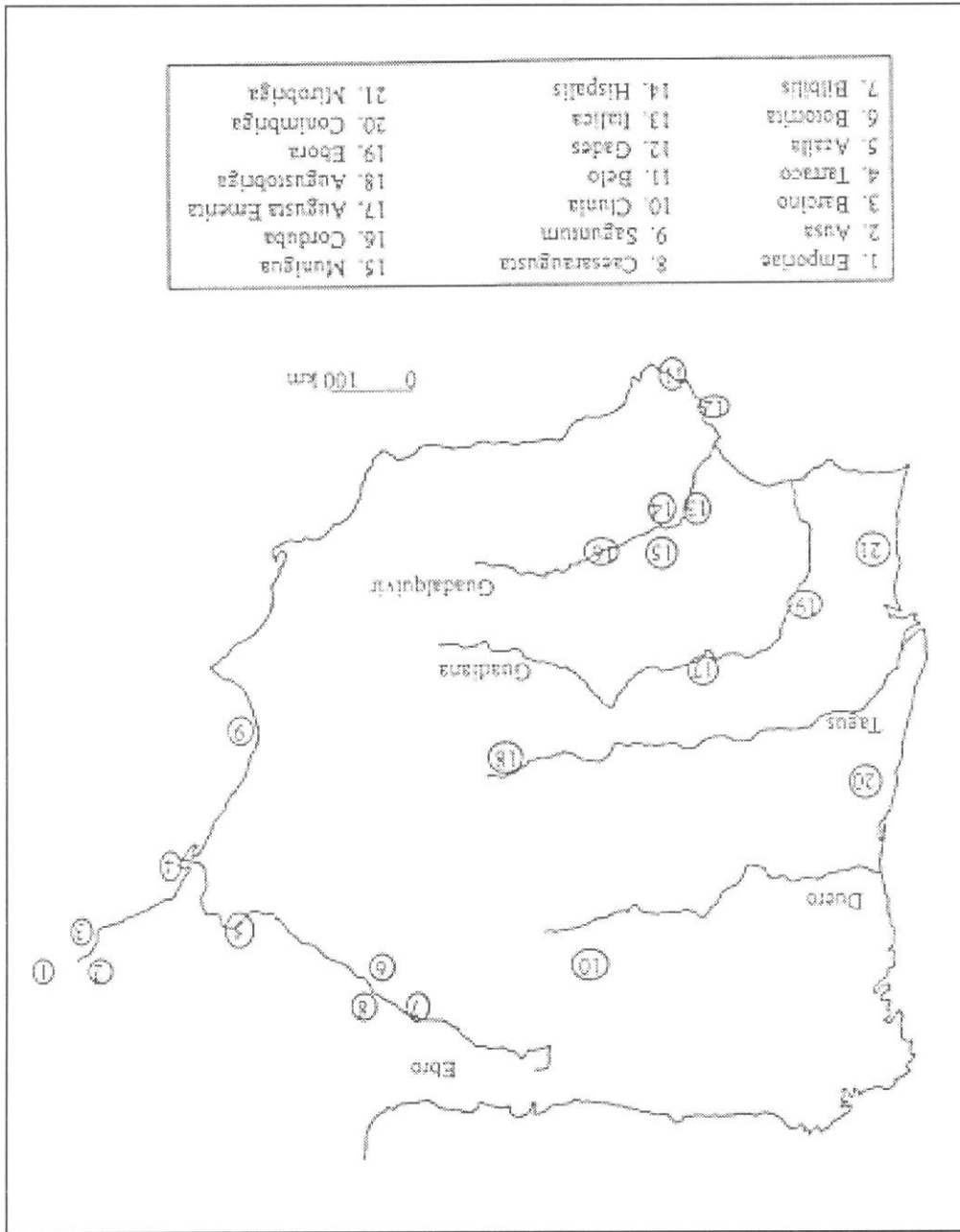


Fig. 3 - Plan of the site of Emporiae.

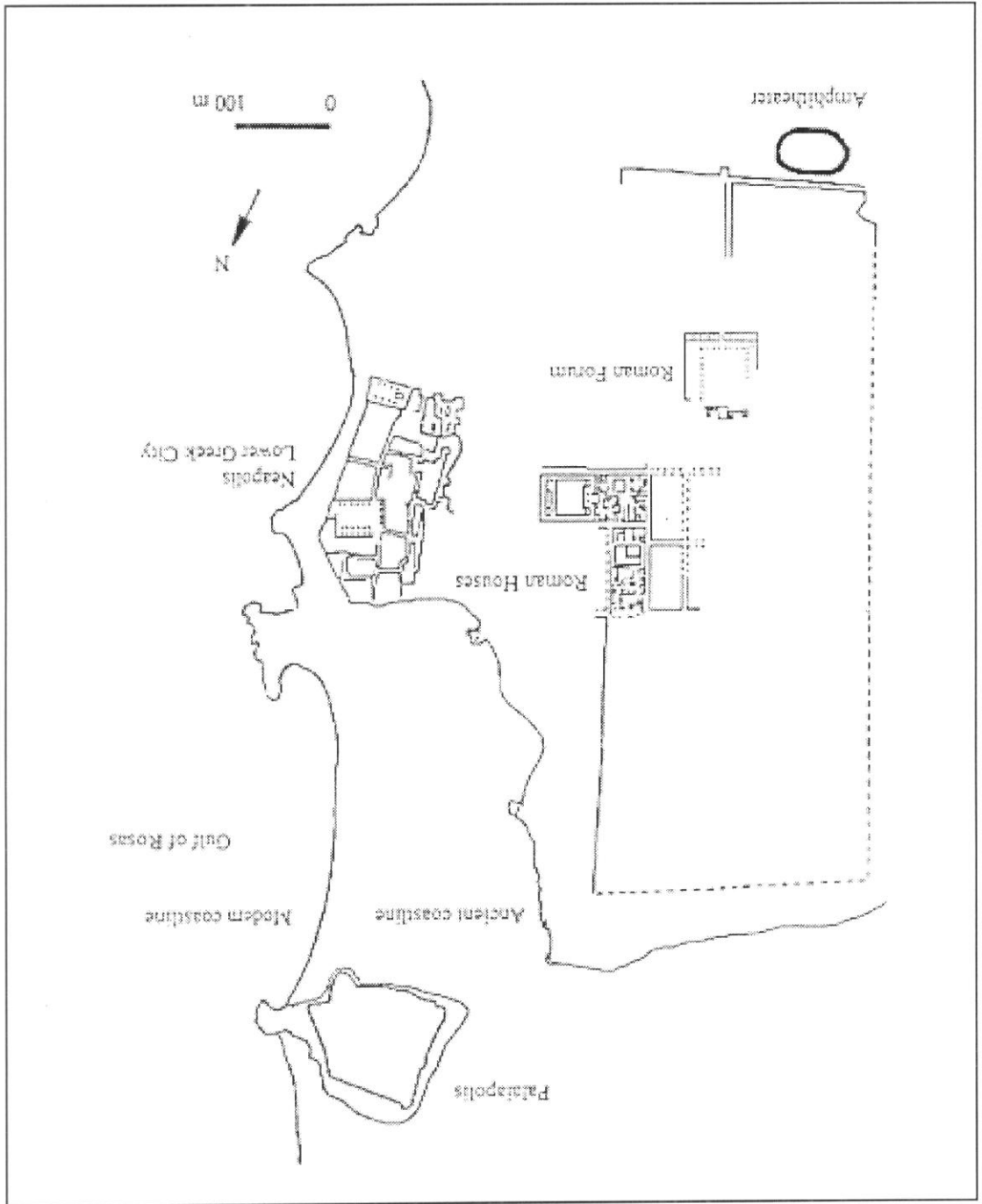


Fig. 5 - Plan of the remains of the Republican temple at Ialica.

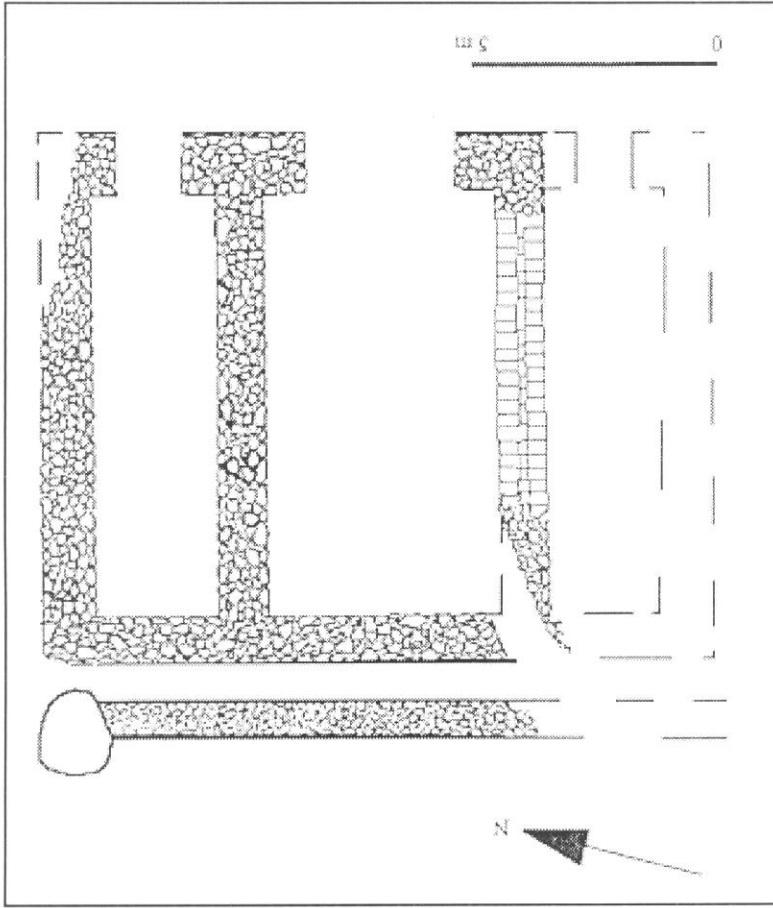


Fig. 4 - Front of the Republican temple at Azaila.

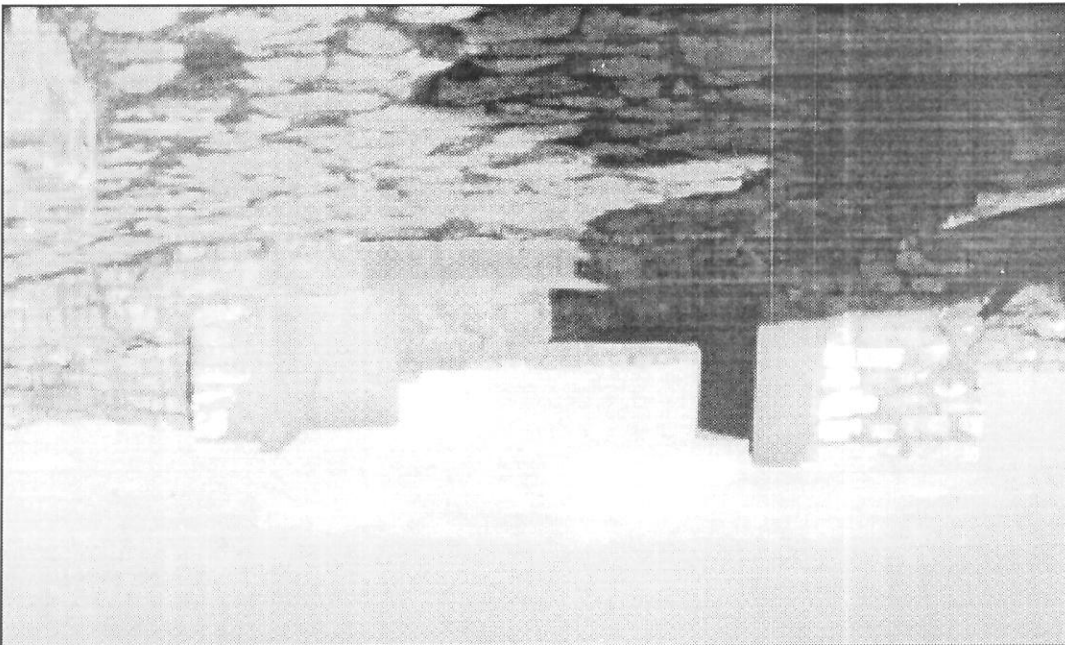


Fig. 7 - Plan of the forum at Emporiae.

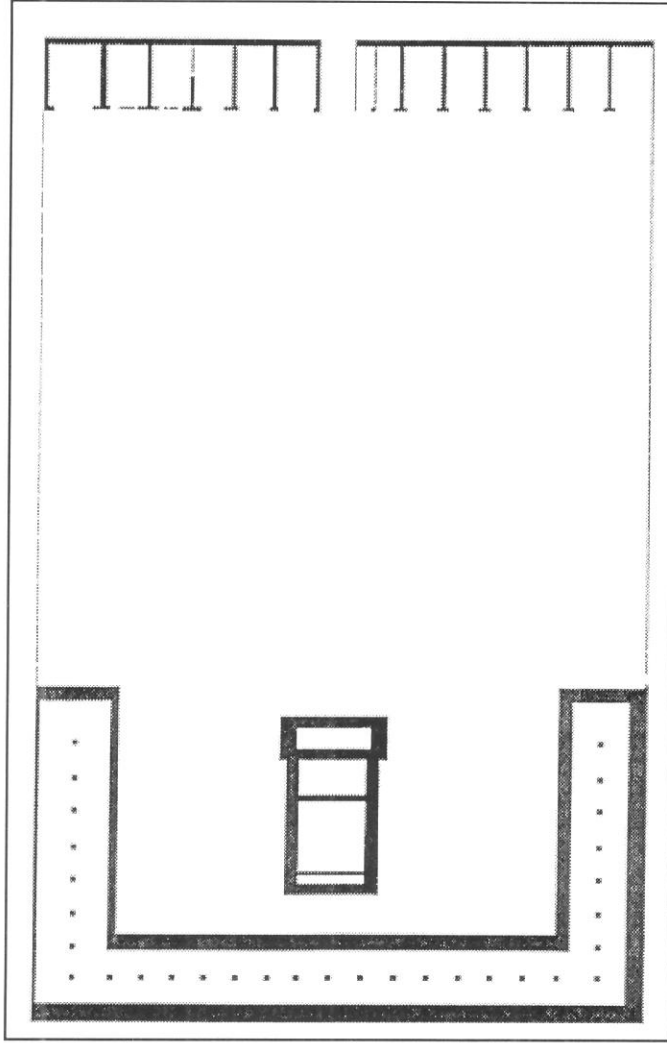


Fig. 6 - Plan of the Republican temple at Sagunto.

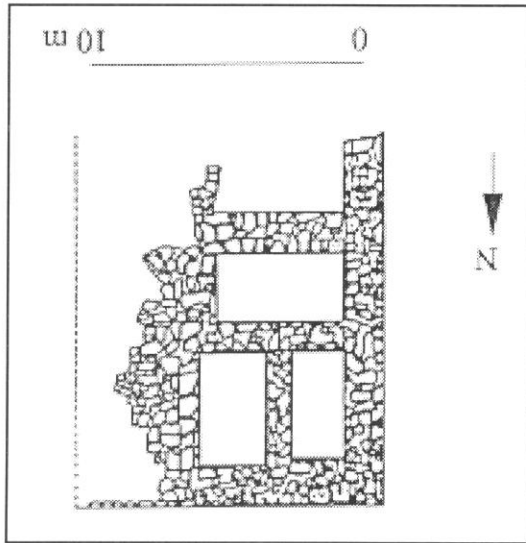


Fig. 8 - Plan of the new urban form of Neapolis.

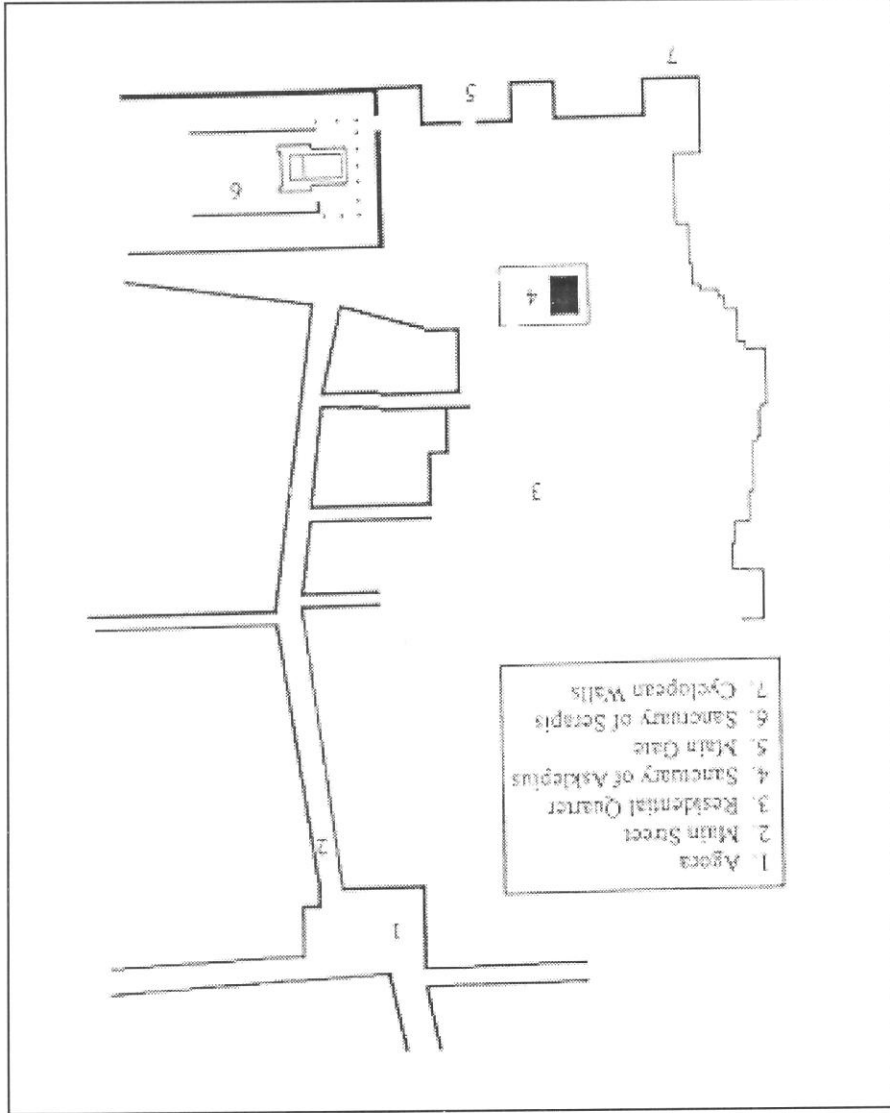




Fig. 9 - Plan of Augusta Emerita.

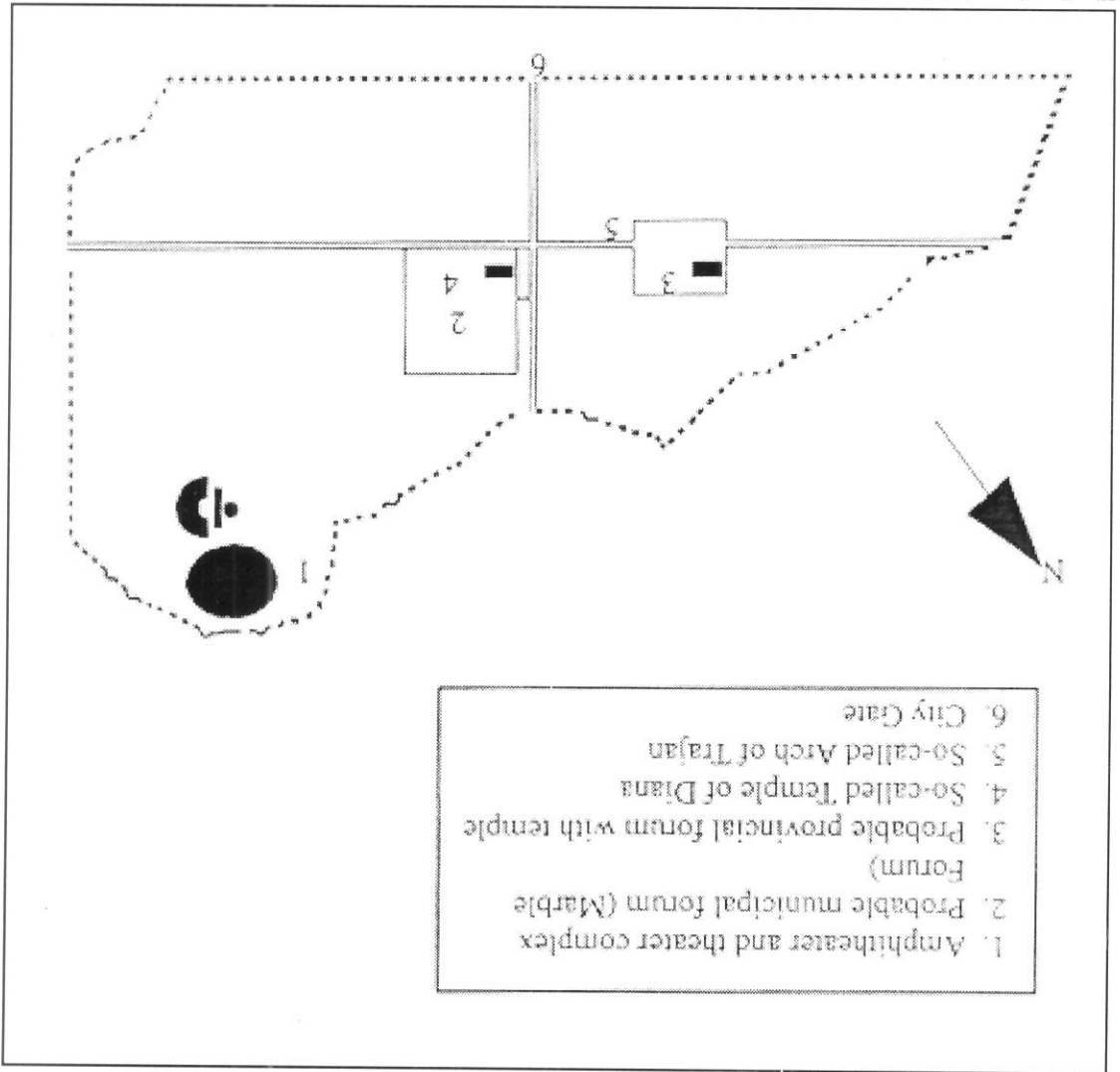


Fig. 11 - Plan of Augustan Conimbriga.

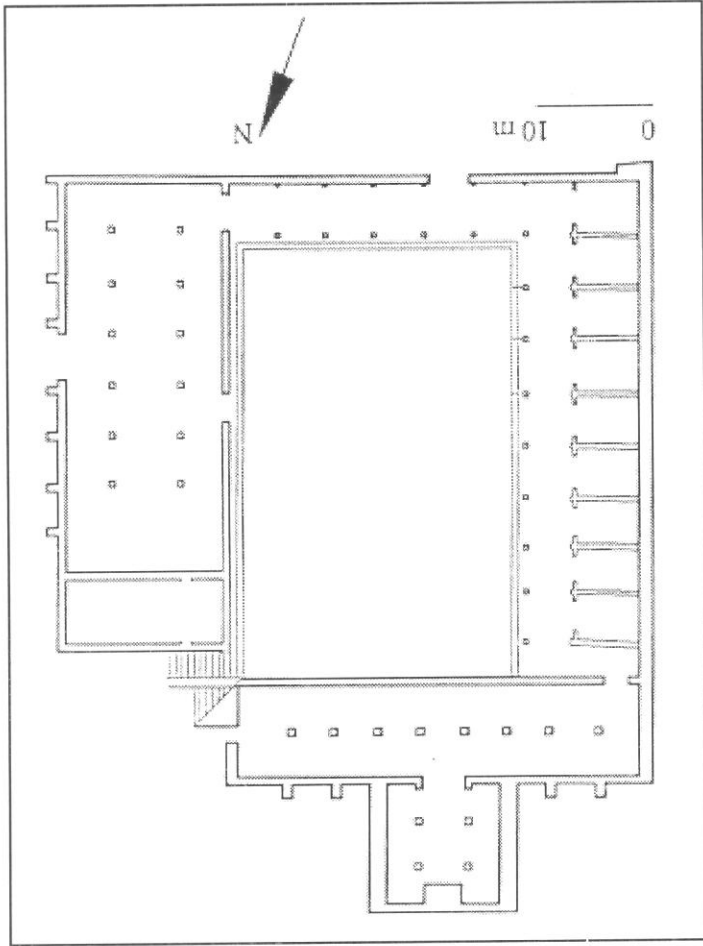


Fig. 10: Gridiron plan of Barcino.

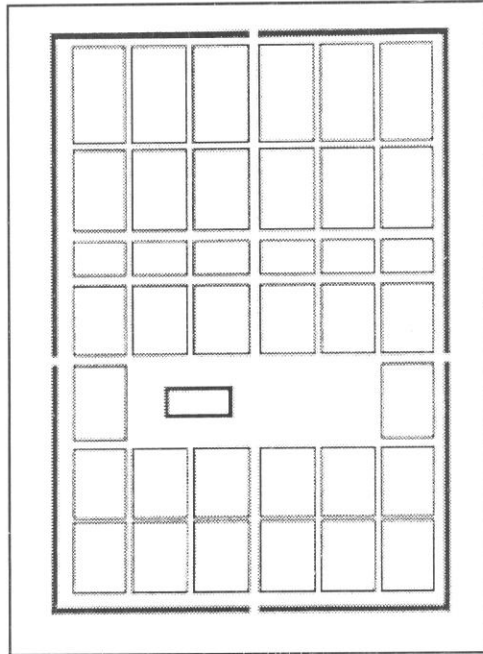


Fig. 12 - Plan of Augustian Sagunto.

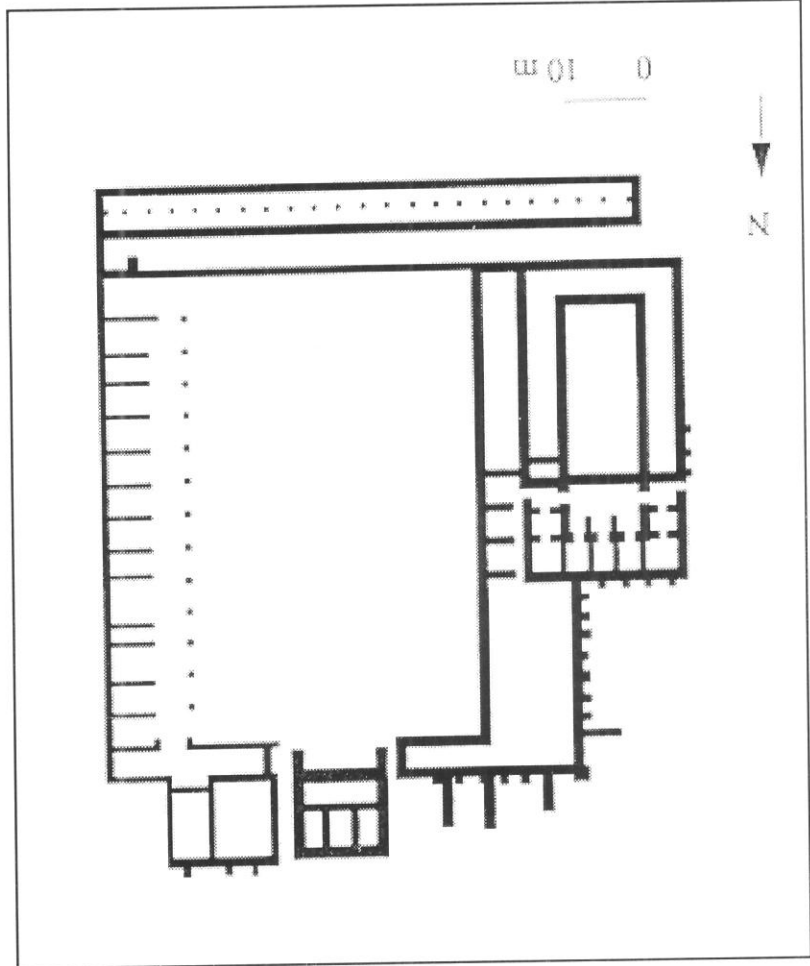


Fig. 13 - Plan of the forum at Clunia.

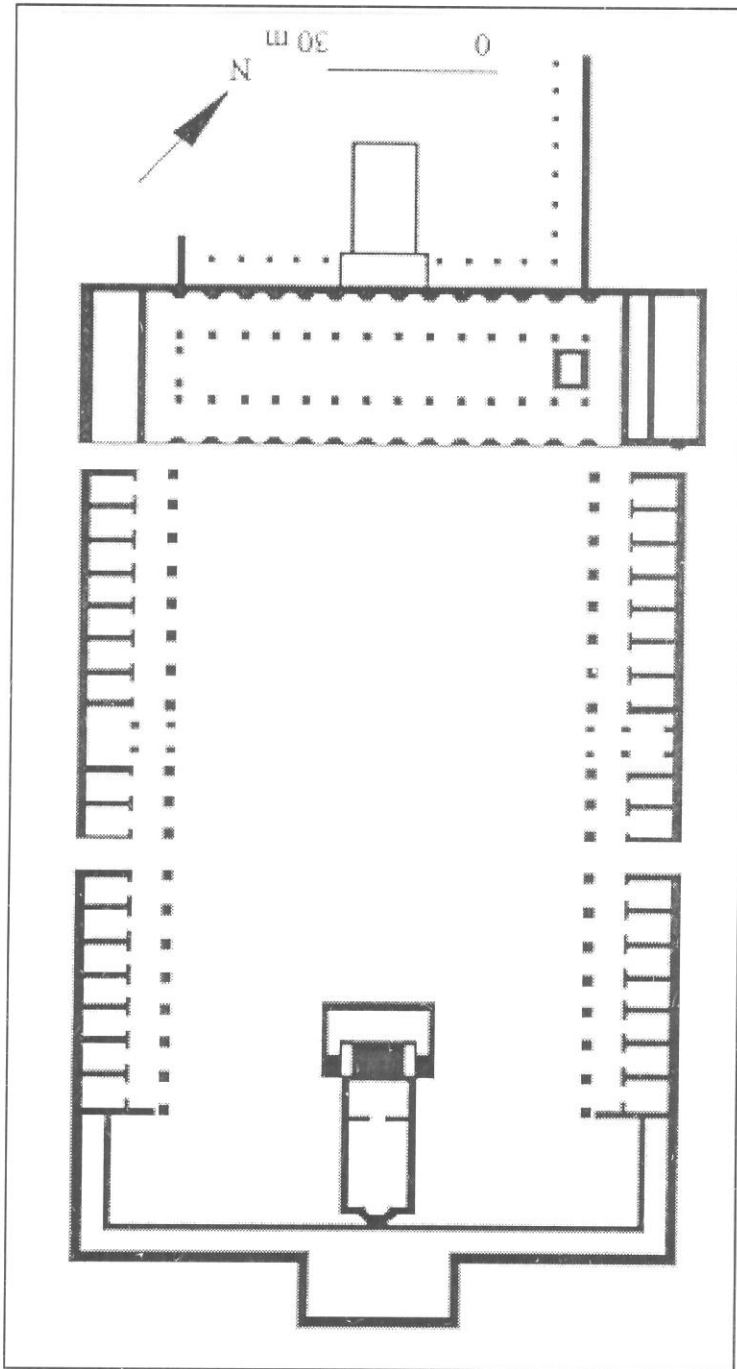


Fig. 15 - Plan of the basilica from the lower forum at Tarraco.

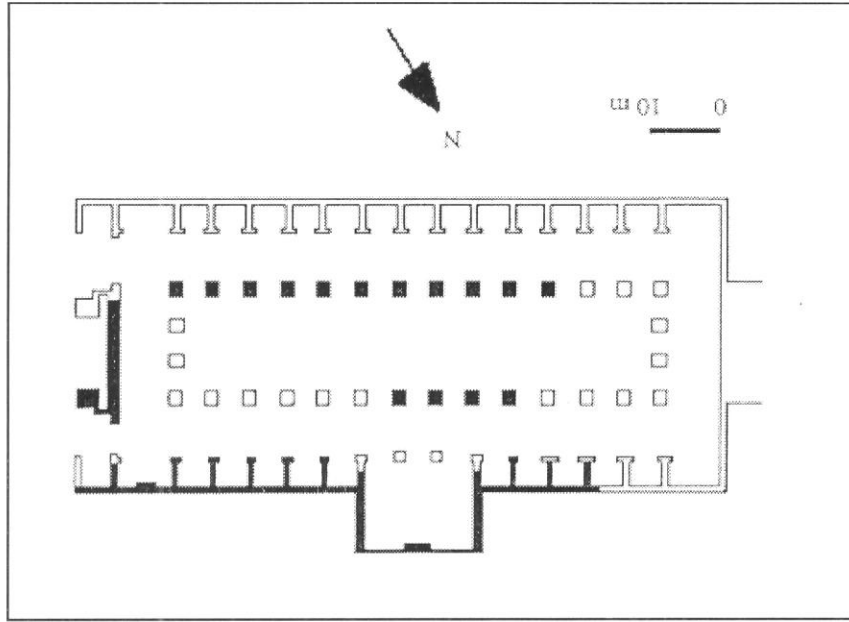


Fig. 14 - Tibetan coin reverse image of the altar from Tarraco.

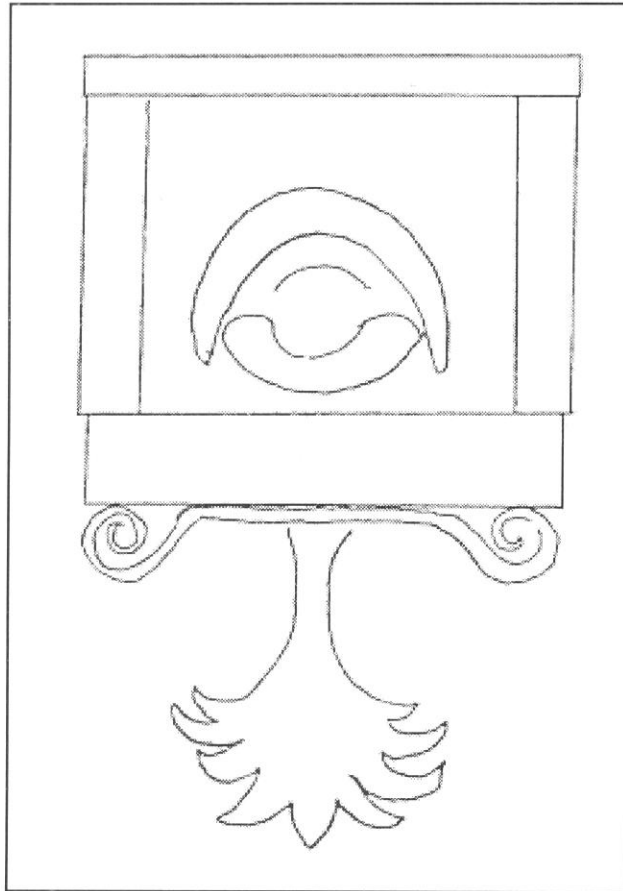


Fig. 19 - Coin reverse image of a temple from Augusta Ementia.

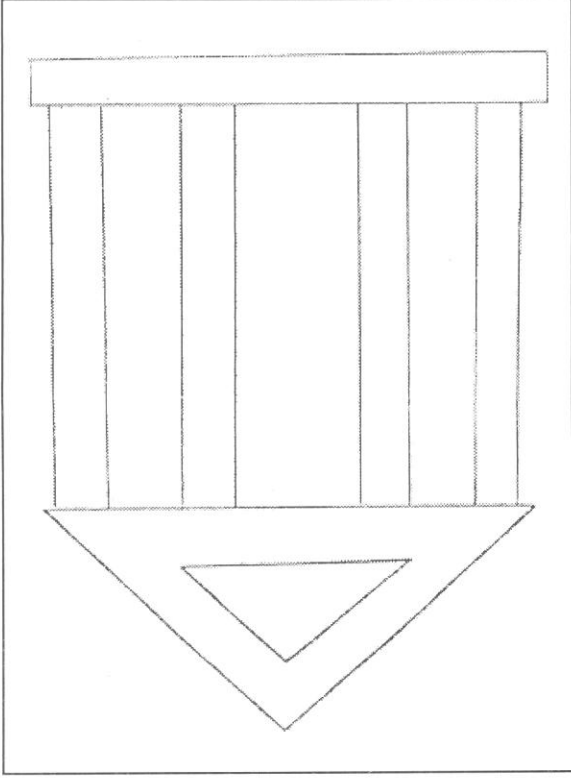


Fig. 18 - Coin reverse image of a temple on low podium from Tarraco.

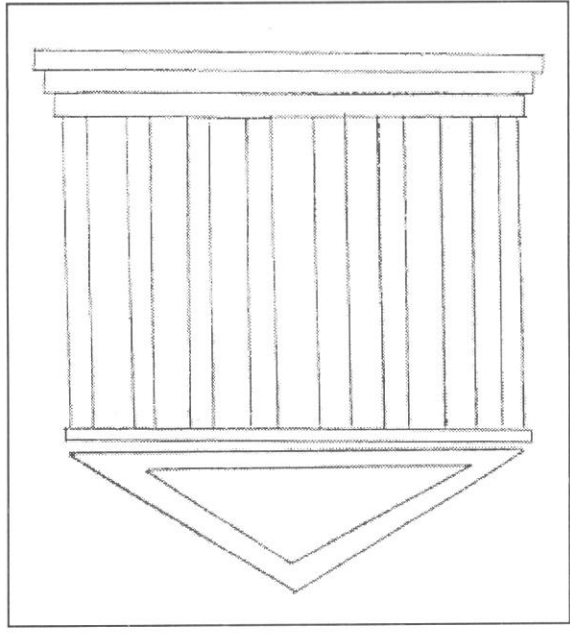


Fig. 17 - Coin reverse image of na Italian style temple on high podium from Tarraco.

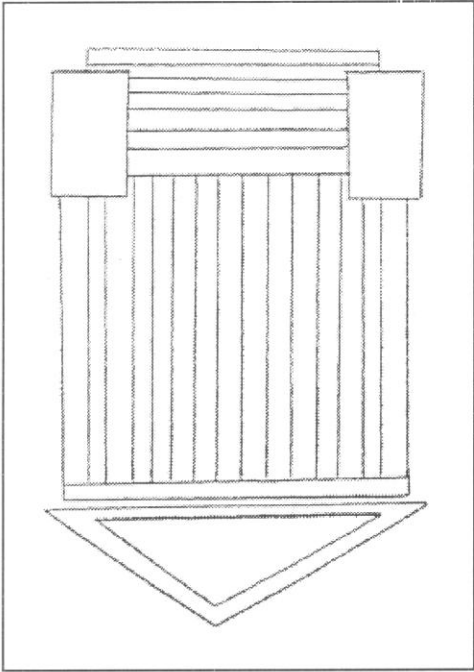


Fig. 16 - Coin reverse image of the altar from Augusta Ementia.

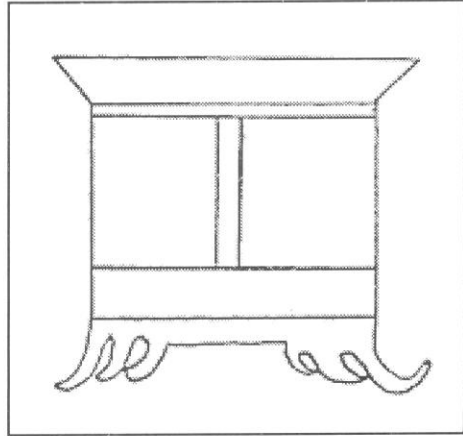


Fig. 21 - Plan of Billiis.

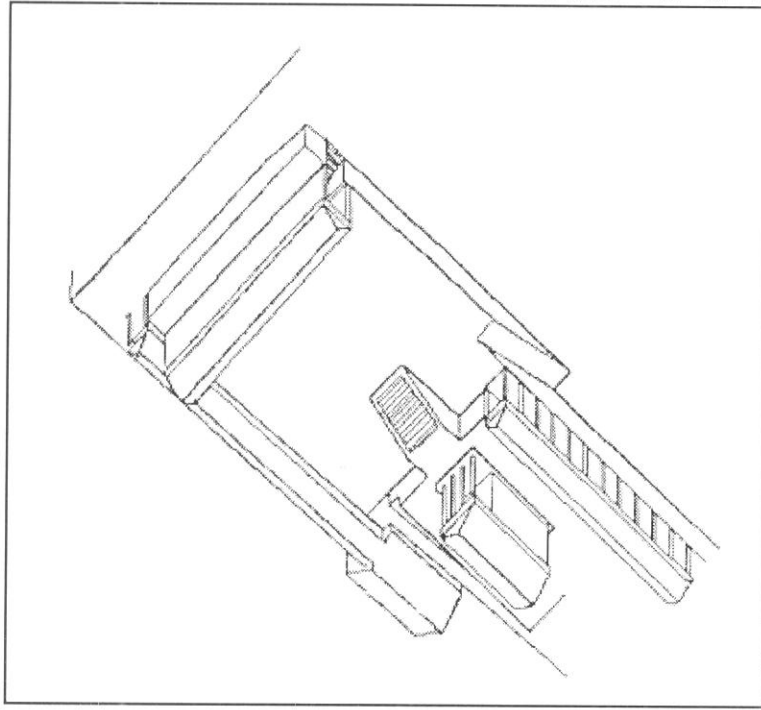


Fig. 20 - Reconstruction of the attic from the forum at Augusta Emerita.

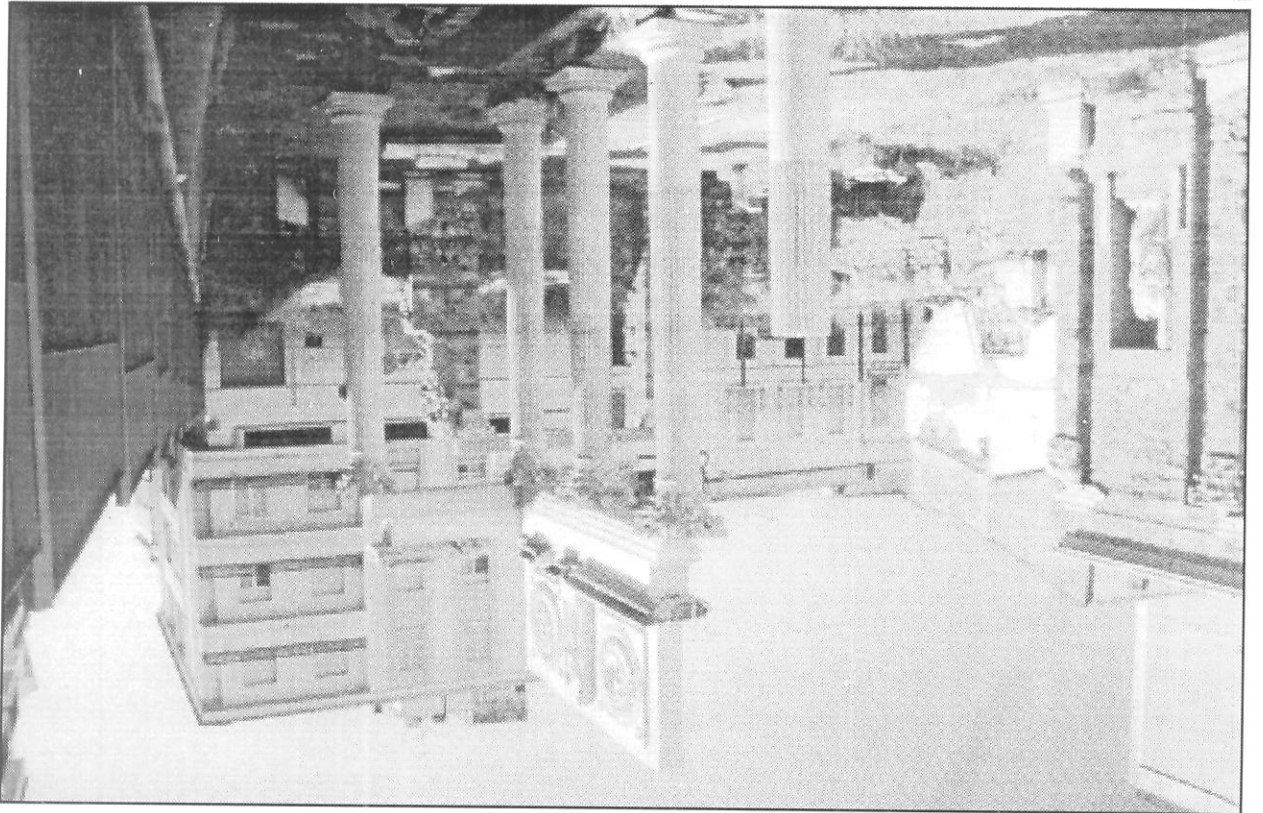


Fig. 22 - Plan of the Flavian forum at Comimbrija.

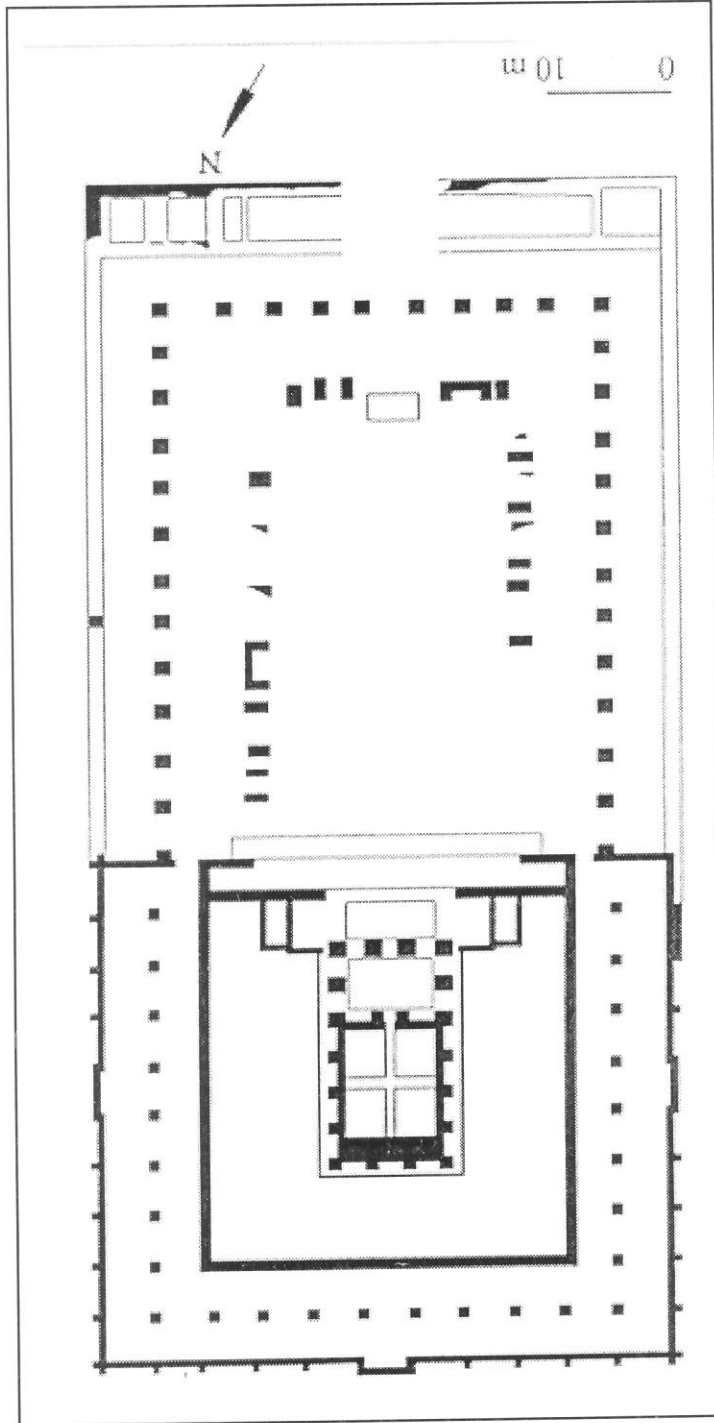




Fig. 23 - Plan of the terraces at Tarraco.

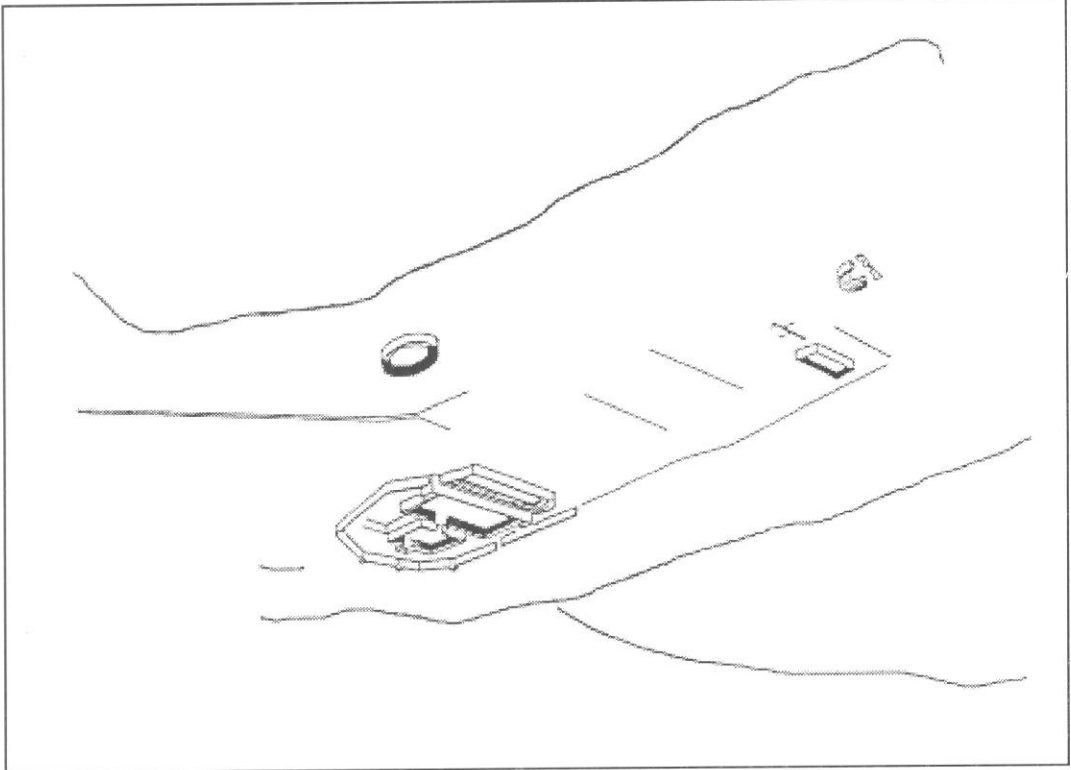


Fig. 24 - Plan of the temple of Trajan at Iudica.

