

SERIE MONOGRAFÍAS "LOS BAÑALES"

PARVA OPPIDA

**Imagen, patrones e ideología
del despegue monumental de las
ciudades en la Tarraconense hispana
(siglos I a. C.-I d. C.)**

Javier Andreu Pintado

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The concept of the Augustan city in *Hispania Citerior**

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University of Nottingham

Investigating the ancient Roman cities, we start out looking for the ideal type matching the predefined concept of the city. This ideal type is the result of a dialectic between Augustan sources, archaeological focus and nineteenth century concepts. The idea rose that the civic community is the self-governing community centred on a city in control of its hinterland, put simply; *civitas = urbs + territorium*. The *urbs* is a city following the Vitruvian model with a standard set of monuments needed in each city. Obviously a high standard to measure urbanism. The ideal type we are often looking for keeps us from understanding the many faces a Roman city could have had. Therefore, we should reiterate our discussion and try to redefine the Roman city so the discussion on urbanization can continue without old ideas of what it is supposed to be. This paper investigates the applicability of these combined concepts for the eastern part of province of *Hispania Citerior*.

1. The *civitas*-model

First, we have to consider the *civitas* model. The premise of this model is that non-urban settlements within the territory of the *civitas*, such as *vici*, *pagi* and other secondary agglomerations, are subjugated to the *civitas* capital or *urbs*. This subjugation is at least administrative, but often considered economic, following the idea of the consumer city¹. Within this model, a *civitas* capital always governs the *civitas*. Subsequently, we can reconstruct the Roman Empire as a pyramid: the

* This research has been conducted within the ERC-project LatinNow, ERC Grant Agreement no. 715626.

¹ FINLEY: 1977; MILLETT: 2010, 17.

lowest order being these secondary settlements ruled by the *civitas* capitals. The *civitas* capitals are in their turn ruled by either *conventus* capitals or provincial capitals and the apex is Rome: the *urbs* of the *civitas* that is the whole Roman Empire. The idea even goes further into the ideological. J. S. Reid goes as far as claiming that ‘The notion of the self-governing town community as the basis of their empire was deeply ingrained in the Roman consciousness’². Although M. Corbier recognises the existence of peripheral areas not subject to this town-territory organization, he continues that the town-territory model was the backbone of the empire. Because of this ideological positioning of the city within the centre of the organization of the Roman Empire, the idea has risen that the Roman Empire is one of cities³.

Even though the Anglophone debate has created the strong idea of an empire of cities, in the nineteenth century the German debate acknowledged the possibility of *civitates* without an urban centre. Th. Mommsen stated that non-urban sanctuaries or defensible sites were the focal points of *civitates*⁴. He continued stating that these places could develop into proper cities. Contrary to Th. Mommsen, D. Detlefsen argued for the *ländliche Gemeinde* as a reality of a non-urban *civitas* in mountainous regions⁵. Later M. Rostovtzeff tried to overturn the ideological conceptualization of the Roman Empire as an empire of cities by returning to the nineteenth century German scholars. M. Rostovtzeff stated that at least in Sicily the ‘*civitas* does not necessarily imply an urban organization; it may denote a complex of villages or the territory of a tribe’⁶.

Nonetheless, the notion of the *civitas* as a town-country unit is so deeply ingrained in the debate that *civitates* are studied as part of urban studies and by definition, we tend to oversee civic organization without a clear urban centre. This concept of the *civitas* being a planned urban and territorial unit has formed the image and expectations of Roman urbanism. Here we encounter the second problem of our *civitas* model: the definition of city.

² REID, J. S.: 1913, 154.

³ Amongst many others: CORBIER M.: 1991, 214; MORLEY, N.: 1997, 45; WOLF, J. G.: 2006, 432; GOODMAN, P.: 2007, 8; SCHEIDEL, W., *et alii*: 2007, 78; HANSON, J. W.: 2016, 3.

⁴ MOMMSEN, TH.: 1856, 36.

⁵ DETLEFSEN, D.: 1873, 604.

⁶ ROSTOVTZEFF, M.: 1957, 209.

A major challenge is created by the archaeological city. When thinking about the Roman city we picture the Vitruvian city⁷. A city with a street plan, *forum* with adjoined basilica, theatre with perfect measurements et cetera. He includes the perfect spread of temples for a city and the alignment of roads with respect to prevailing winds to provide a healthy environment. This ideal type developed in the republican period including Hellenistic urban ideas. However, P. Zanker sets the Roman city apart from the Greek city by turning to this basic fabric of the Greco-Roman city: the roads. Taking a closer look at the *coloniae maritimae* he establishes that (1) the *coloniae* are not only located at main roads, but that these are the major axis; moreover, (2) on this the main axis we find the Capitolium or main temple complex of the colonia; lastly, (3) the political centre, the forum, is adjacent/part of the temple complex⁸. Especially the spatial focus of religious and political power sets the Roman *coloniae* aside from the Greek city-state.

The early *coloniae maritimae* with the plantations of Roman citizens are part of the ideological background of our studies. E. T. Salmon's work into the *coloniae* created a teleological development of Roman colonies from the Republic up to the Augustan period. With as apotheosis Gellius' comment that they are *effigies parvae simulacraque Romae*⁹. The creation of the *coloniae maritimae* in the fourth and third century seems to indicate the start of the planned ideal city. Looking at the planning of the *coloniae maritimae*, we indeed observe the orthogonal plan where the major streets are slightly broader than the others, hereby creating the concept of a *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*. However, these *coloniae maritimae* are quite small settlements. As they were meant to settle three hundred *coloni* they measuring under five hectares¹⁰.

From this strictly planned small settlement developed the Roman *colonia*. One of the major challenges is to understand the development of this type. Especially due to the scarce sources for the Republican period in the provinces, it is difficult to understand the development and use of the Latin *colonia*. Nonetheless, we can be certain that the Latin *coloniae*

⁷ VITR. *De Arch.* 5. See also: TERT. *Apol.* 42, 2; TAC. *Agr.* 21; *Dig.* 50, 1, 17, 1 (Ulpian); 50, 1, 35 (Modestinus); FEAR, A.: 1996, 7; LOMAS, K.: 1997, 23; MACMULLEN, R.: 2000, 64; LAURENCE, R., *et alii*: 2011, 30.

⁸ ZANKER, P.: 2000, 27, see also RUIZ DE ARBULO, J.: 1991, 477.

⁹ GELL. *NA.* 16, 13, 9. See also SALMON, E. T.: 1969.

¹⁰ SEWELL, J.: 2010, 48.

would have followed a similar planning as the *coloniae maritimae*. However, as generals and the senate granted this status to existing communities, for example the existing cities of *Saguntum* and *Carthago Nova*¹¹, the planned ideal could not be followed. This touches a major discussion, accepting non-standard cities as cities allows to integrate pre-Roman urbanisation into the understanding of Roman urbanisation.

The concept of the planned city is the background for the urban planning in the Augustan period. Cassius Dio and Suetonius allude to the Augustan urban plans¹². In his *Res Gestae* Augustus confirmed his success on the urbanisation of the provinces¹³. Other contemporary writers have clearer views on urban life. The obvious example of Vitruvius' account has already been given. However, when looking at other contemporary writers we can observe a similar picture. Livy's title already shows the importance of The City. Finding the urban ideal in Vergil seems not obvious; however, as L. Revell points out, Aeneas is looking to found a new city, rather than creating a new rural life¹⁴. Moreover, the *Aeneid* shows different elements of the urban ideal, such as the *forum*, the walls and temples as major elements¹⁵. At the time of Augustus, the idea rose that the *coloniae* and *municipia* formed of the backbone of the empire.

Clearly, the Augustan reforms indicate an elaborate plan to uniform the republican haphazard granting of civic rights to communities. Turning to the Iberian Peninsula, we can observe that the urban system of the republic created a multitude of grants and rights¹⁶. For example, the communities with the old Latin rights, it seems that Augustus ended the Latin *coloniae* and promoted all of them to *municipia civium Romanorum*¹⁷. Most likely, these included communities that did not follow the urban ideal, as these were included earlier as Latin *coloniae* (*supra*). In addition to the promotion of older communities, we observe *ex novo* foundations of *municipia* and *coloniae civium Romanorum* following the planned urban form as described above, see also the chapter of V. Revilla in this volume.

¹¹ ESPINOSA ESPINOSA, D.: 2015, 228.

¹² CASS. DIO 23, 7 & 25, 1, Suet. *Aug.* 46-47.

¹³ RG. 28.

¹⁴ REVELL, L.: 2009, 45.

¹⁵ KONDRATIEFF, E. J.: 2014.

¹⁶ See the different provincial sections in PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 7; 3, 18; 4, 117.

¹⁷ HOUTEN. P.: 2021.

I would argue that the emperor and senate implemented the urban ideal where possible without too much resistance. Augustus did not force existing communities into a new urban ideal. However, the *ex novo coloniae* and *municipia* were reorganised following the urban ideal formulated by the Augustan ideal type. Newly integrated communities without municipal or colonial status could continue their organisation as they were. Although some famous examples, such as *Conimbriga*, choose to emulate the ideal at their acceptance as a *civitas* in the Augustan period¹⁸.

Nevertheless, should we place an urban ideal created by Augustus and effectively executed in major centres and newly planned cities, take as the model for all cities of the Roman Empire? It is logical so see the urban ideal in *ex novo* cities that were to become provincial and conventus capitals, such as *Augusta Emerita*, *Caesaraugusta*¹⁹. Nor is it unexpected to find the other *ex novo* settlements as planned cities befitting the urban ideal perfected to fit the Augustan ideology, such as *Barcino*. This focus on cities following the idea of the Augustan city gives a distorted and incomplete picture. Looking at one of the important works on cities in Roman Spain and Portugal, *Stadtbild und Ideologie*, we observe that only the well-studied monumentalised cities are treated²⁰. This is a far from complete picture of the situation. Some communities were less of interest to the emperor or senate and might have developed in their own manner. Especially those communities that were early incorporated or located far from the centre might have developed their own 'Roman' settlement pattern. Regarding these lower urbanized regions as 'slow learners'²¹ goes beyond the concept of the *civitas*.

So far we have been looking at the *urbs* of the equation *civitas = urbs + territorium*. It is clear that there would have been different types of urbanisation in the different regions of the Roman Empire²². Nonetheless, the presented equation is incomplete. One of the most important and logical elements misses: *cives*. The *civitas* is only possible when there is an active body of citizens participating in the civic life needed. This

¹⁸ LAURENCE, R., *et alii*: 2011, 55.

¹⁹ PFANNER, M.: 1990, 84.

²⁰ TRILLMICH, W., y ZANKER, P.: 1990.

²¹ MACMULLEN, R.: 2000, 66.

²² LIGT, L. DE & BINTLIFF, J. L.: 2020.

concept of the *populus* or the community being the backbone of the *civitas* is the origin of the whole concept. In republican times, it was the community, or even more correctly the *tribus*, that was the backbone of the empire. This concept of *tribus* contained a combination of territorial, legal and political demarcation²³. The chapter in this volume by L. Revell treats the role of the community as the backbone of the *civitas* more extensively.

Similarly, P. Zanker has pointed out that the earlier cited quote by Gellius should not to be taken a literal comparison with the physical city of Rome²⁴. Gellius compared the *coloniae* with the *amplitudo* and *maiestas* of Rome: we should consider its constitutions and citizens to be like a small Rome. The most obvious reason for taking it as figurative speech are the clear differences between the planned *coloniae* and the organically grown *synoikism* of Rome²⁵. However, when looking at the legal background of the *civitas*, that is *municipia* and *coloniae*, we observe it is composed of the *senatus* (or *ordo*) and *populus* as is laid down in its *leges*²⁶. It is here where we find that the *coloniae* seem to function as small Romae. The colonial *leges* seem to have been a rather strict corset; this strictness also explains Hadrian's surprise at the request of *Italica* and *Utica* to change their municipal status into colonial.

Turning to these *leges*, which have formed the Roman *civitates*, we can observe whether the law requires the city as a physical entity. Often scholars assume that the *leges* proof that a *municipium* needs a city in order to function. Especially chapter 95 of the *Lex Flavia municipalis* seems to support this idea as it dictates that the statute must be placed in a prominent place within the *municipium* so that it may properly be read from ground level. It seems no more than logical that this will be the place where the *ordo* assembles, the treasury and archives are kept, the voting and juridical trails take place: the *forum*²⁷. However, does the existence of a *forum* immediately constitute a city? Is it not possible that such a forum is a central place within the boundaries of the *municipium*

²³ NICOLET, C.: 1991, 190.

²⁴ ZANKER, P.: 2000, 41.

²⁵ SEWELL, J.: 2010, 73.

²⁶ HARRIES, J.: 2014, 64.

²⁷ The *forum* is mentioned as such in Ch. 64 and 91. Other chapters mention these elements without stating the existence of a building, but again it is logical that there is a treasury for the common funds (Ch 20 & 63), there must have been archives for the common records (Ch 63 / 66 & 73).

where people gather when needed?

One could continue that there are more buildings than only the *forum*. Indeed, chapter 19 on the powers of the *aediles* mentions some buildings: sacred buildings, the sacred and holy places, the *oppidum*, the *vias*, the *vici*, the *cloacae*, the *balnea* and the *macellum*. Later in chapter 81, we find the reference to the regulations for seating in a theatre seems to indicate the existence of a building. However, there is no necessity for a permanent building, theatrical plays, and for that matter gladiatorial games, are known to have been held in temporary constructions. Moreover, the *lex* refers to the *spectacula* not the theatre as a building.

The only problematic reference to a physical city in the *lex Flavia municipalis* is the reference to the *oppidum*. This appears to be a reference to the town as a requirement for the *municipium*. However, in comparison with the *lex coloniae Genitivae* the absence of the specific rules to the *oppidum* are striking. In the *lex coloniae Genitivae* the cutting of the *pomerium* (73: *fines oppidi colon(iae)ue, qua aratro circumductum erit*) and its sanctity is clearly mentioned. In the *Lex Flavia municipalis* this is omitted. Obviously, this could well be in the missing parts. However, the order of the chapters of the *lex Flavia municipalis* A. d' Ors and J. González have argued that the missing sections most probably treated other subjects²⁸. It is likely that the *coloniae* were to have the ritual *pomerium* indication the sanctity of the *urbs*, whereas the *municipia*, with their less strict *leges*, allowed for other forms of organization.

2. Dispersed *civitates*

Notwithstanding, most *municipia* would have been centred on a central place with urban features. Many of these central places would follow, at least partially, the planning as established by scholars long ago and proven in a multitude of publications. Therefore, it is understandable to focus on these clear cases of Roman urbanism to understand the majority. However, some *civitates* are not centred on one urban central place. Either these are centred on multiple places working in tandem providing the territory with the needed services, i.e. juridical,

²⁸ D'ORS, Á.: 1997.

administrative, religious and economic. Alternatively, there is no urban central place at all; in this case, we find a multitude of smaller settlements of which one yields a concentration of epigraphy (preferably honorific) indicating that this must have been the administrative central place. In some cases, we find a *forum* or temple with no clear residential area, apart from some elite housing.

These cases of non-urban organization I have called dispersed *civitates* in earlier publications²⁹. Although the name dispersed *civitates* is new, the concept of the *civitas* without a clear centre is not new. Th. Mommsen stated in 1856:

An einem festen örtlichen Mittelpunkt konnte es diesem Gau (*civitas*) so wenig fehlen wie der Geschlechts-genossenschaft; da indefs die Geschlechts-, d. h. die Gaugenossen in ihren Dörfern wohnten, so konnte der Mittelpunkt des Gaus nicht eine eigentliche Zusammensiedlung, eine Stadt, sondern nur eine gemeinde Versammlungsstätte sein [...] die aber übrigens regelmäßig nicht oder schwach bewont war³⁰.

Using Pliny and Ptolemy as sources D. Detlefsen proved the existence of non-urban *civitates* for the north-western part of *Hispania Citerior*³¹. His argument is based on the Plinian description of *Hispania Citerior*:

*Nunc universa provincia dividitur in conventus VII, Carthaginensem, Tarraconensem, Caesaraugustanum, Cluniensem, Asturum, Lucensem, Bracarum. accedunt insulae, quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXVIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV*³².

²⁹ HOUTEN, J.: forthcoming; HOUTEN, P.: 2017.

³⁰ MOMMSEN, TH.: 1856, 36.

³¹ DETLEFSEN, D.: 1873, 604: See also HOUTEN, P.: 2021.

³² PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 18: Today the whole province is divided into seven jurisdictions, namely those of Cartagena, Tarragon, Saragossa, *Clunia*, Astorga, Lugo, Braga. To these are to be added the islands, which will be described on another occasion, the province has 293 *civitates* besides those dependent on others; 179 towns, of these, twelve are colonies, thirteen, towns with the rights of Roman citizens, eighteen with the old Latin rights, one confederate, and 135 tributary.

This Plinian section has two interpretations. Most scholars seem to accept the one proposed by J. Marquardt³³. In this interpretation, we should find 293 contributed *civitates* and 179 *oppida* in *Hispania Citerior*. However, D. Detlefsen points out that the treatise of the seven *conventus* in the next sections add up to 293 *populi*. These *populi* are the *civitates* of the different *conventus*. Hence, there are 293 *civitates* with only 179 *oppida*; ergo there are 114 *civitates* without an *oppidum*³⁴.

D. Detlefsen then continues to Ptolemy's *Geographica* and points out that here we find communities with places mentioned as ὕδατα (*Aqua*) or φόρος (*Forum*) as their *poleis*. Examples include the *Plinian Bibali*, *Coilerni*, *Limici* and the *Quaequerni*³⁵. The building inscription, known as The Padrão dos Povos, commemorating the construction of the bridge at Chaves mentions these four *civitates*³⁶. D. Detlefsen concludes that these *civitates* were not centred on a city but on a religious or economic centre, as such they were, as he calls it, *ländliche Gemeinden*³⁷. Later, M. Rostovtzeff confirmed again that the “civitas does not necessarily imply an urban organization it may denote a complex of villages or the territory of a tribe”³⁸. Despite these attempts to dismantle the standard *civitas*-model, the standard approach is to define the urban centre of a *civitas* or reject the self-governing nature of a community.

Unaware of the above debate regarding non-urban *civitates*, J. Oller Guzmán developed a similar concept for *Hispania* and dubbed it *civitas sine urbe*³⁹. J. Oller's theoretical concept is the same as already treated above, in addition to a theoretical concept J. Oller Guzmán hands four criteria by which these *civitates* could be recognised⁴⁰: a) *civitas* situated in a geographical setting impeding the operation of the *urbs + territorium* model (e.g. too mountainous terrain); b) *civitas* controlled by a small settlement rather than a full-fledged city; these are often mining cities; c) settlement in which public buildings are present but a proper residential

³³ MARQUARDT, J.: 1851, 83.

³⁴ DETLEFSEN, D.: 1873, 603.

³⁵ Compare: PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 28 and PTOL. *Geog.* 2, 6, 42-47.

³⁶ *CIL* II, 2477.

³⁷ DETLEFSEN, J.: 1873, 604.

³⁸ ROSTOVITZEFF, M.: 1957, 209.

³⁹ OLLER GUZMÁN, J.: 2011 & 2014. I have decided to discard the term *civitas sine urbe* as the use of Latin might falsely lead us to believe it is a concept found in classical literature.

⁴⁰ OLLER GUZMÁN, J.: 2014, 92.

area is lacking; d) concentration of honorific inscriptions mentioning magistrates without evidence of an urban settlement. The presence of multiple inscriptions mentioning magistrates indicates there is a Roman-based administrative organisation but no urban settlement.

These four criteria have one major problem, by lack of archaeological evidence we might think one of these criteria is met and thus we are working with a '*civitas sine urbe*'. Therefore, only the well-researched settlements can be put with certainty in these categories. In the case we have no evidence, archaeological or written for the urban nature of a *civitates* it should be pointed out they deserve more attention and are temporarily categorized as a dispersed *civitas*.

For different regions of the Iberian Peninsula, the case can be made that the *civitates* are indeed not always centred on an urban settlement. Especially in the north-western region the geography and pre-Roman settlement system have led to a different civic organization than the standard *civitas*-model⁴¹. In the northern mountainous region of Lusitania, we find a similar settlement system⁴². It is clear from the examples that the Roman 'model' for control through *civitates* is not necessarily focussed on an *urbs*. However, it might be argued that the north-western and Lusitanian north are geographically and historically similar regions and as such resulted in the use of the dispersed *civitas*. As such I have turned to the north-eastern region of *Hispania Citerior*, where we can find both the standard *civitas* based on the Augustan planned city (see the contribution of V. Revilla in this publication) and the dispersed *civitas*, as I will show subsequently.

3. *Iulia Libica*

A region befitting the earlier mentioned mountainous region impeding the development of the standard *civitas* model is that of Cerdanya. It is here that we must locate the *Cerretani*, a community well attested in the classical sources⁴³. The past two decades this region has seen quite some research and as such, it can be considered a rather well studied and understood part of north-eastern *Hispania Citerior*. The

⁴¹ HOUTEN, P.: 2017.

⁴² HOUTEN, P.: Forthcoming.

⁴³ STR. 3, 4, 11; PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 23; AV. *Or. Mar.* 549-552; SIL. IT. *Pun.* 3, 357.

settlement system did not change much in the pre-Roman and republican period, several *oppida* of small size have been established which continued into the republican period. Two settlements are of the higher order: El Castellot de Bolvir (0.6 ha) and Puig del Castell de Llivia, although it remains uncertain which one was the primary settlement⁴⁴. Nonetheless, scholars seem to accept Llivia as the pre-Roman primary settlement based on the Augustan *forum*, thereby extending its later position into the Republican and pre-Roman period. However, we should not discount the possibility that the two *oppida* of Castellot and Llivia worked in tandem to control the area.

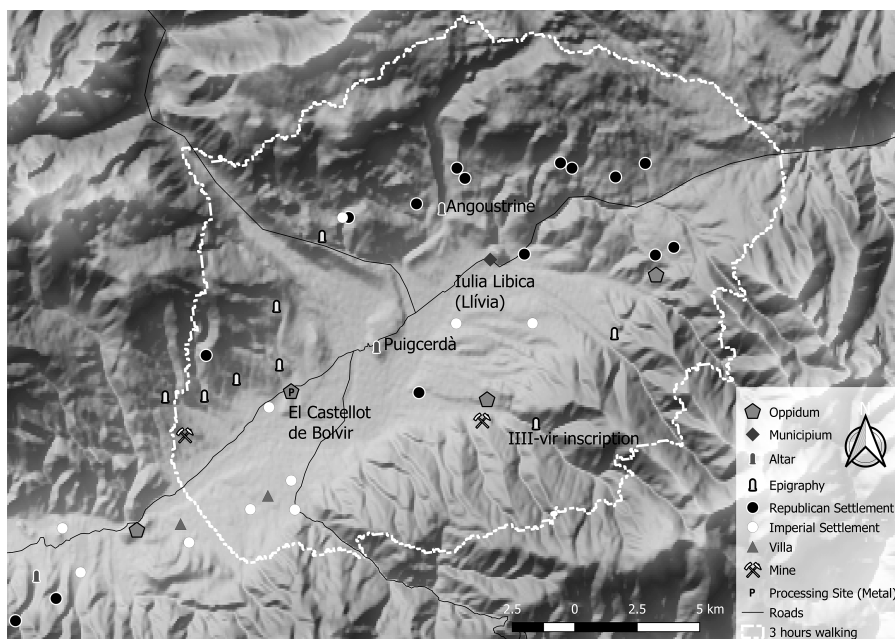


Fig. 1: The Republican and Imperial settlement system of Cerdanya with Llivia as *Iulia Libica*

In addition to the two higher order settlements, there are smaller settlements at strategic positions such as El Tossal de Baltarga, Lo Lladre and Pí del Castellar. Furthermore, there are several rural sites in the region. All these small settlements were constructed somewhere in the 4th to 3rd century BCE and continued into the Republican period.

⁴⁴ OLLER GUZMÁN, J., *et alii*: 2018, 196.

In the Roman period, starting in the second century BCE, the settlement system appears to change from a focus on hillside into the plain of the upper Segre basin (Fig. 1). C. Rico states that the armies of Sertorius and Pompey in 83 BCE and Pompey and Caesar in 49 BCE must have frequented the territory of the *Cerretani*⁴⁵. The *Cerretani Iuliani et Augustani* were clearly in contact with the Romans at this time as Pliny mentions them as one of the *populi* with the old Latin rights⁴⁶. It would be logical to expect that one of the above-mentioned generals has shown gratitude, for aiding his campaigns, by granting the Latin rights. Following the custom of Augustus regarding other communities with the old Latin rights, it is likely that the community was promoted to a *municipium civium Romanorum*⁴⁷. This would explain the dual cognomina of the *Cerretani* as *Iuliani et Augustani*, the Latin rights could have been given by Caesar and later they were promoted by Augustus. However, there is also a possibility that we are dealing with two separate communities both named *Cerretani*, the most logical capital for the *Cerretani Augustani* would be *Orgia*⁴⁸.

In the mountains surrounding Llivia, a multitude of Iberian and some Latin inscriptions are found. Most notably is one Latin inscription near Ocejá at less than 6 kilometres from *Iulia Libica* recording *quattuorviri* which is also studied by O. Olesti in the following pages:

*Bella · Gaisco · f(iilius) / Bella · Bastobles · f(iilius) / Adinildir · Betepe[- · f(iilius)] / Corneli · Erdoild[ir · f(iilius)] / scriptum · est · IIII · viratum*⁴⁹

The presence of *quattuorviri* establishes without a doubt that a self-governing community occupied the region around Llivia. The most logical conclusion is that these four men were the *quattuorviri* of the *Cerretani*. Three of the names are composed of an Iberian personal name and patronym, and one has a Latin name *Cornelius* with an Iberian patronym. J. Ferrer, O. Olesti and J. Velaza argue for a relation between *Iulia Libica* and the *Libenses* of the Ascoli bronze based on the similarity

⁴⁵ RICO, C.: 1997, 174.

⁴⁶ PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 23.

⁴⁷ See HOUTEN, P.: 2021 on the promotion of pre-Augustan Latin communities to *municipia c. Romanorum*.

⁴⁸ RICO, C.: 1997, 174.

⁴⁹ FERRER I JANÉ, J., *et alii*: 2018, 176

between the Iberian names; *Bastobles* – *Bastugitas* and *Adinildir* – *Adimels*. Especially the first correspondence might be significant as the *Basto/u* is an infrequent name element⁵⁰. This identification of *Iulia Libica* with the *Libenses* of the Ascoli Bronze would fit the early rise of the community to Latin rights⁵¹.

As already mentioned, scholars agree on Llívia as the urban centre of the *Cerretani* mentioned by Ptolemy as *Iulia Libica*⁵². Interestingly, this *civitas* capital measured only 2 to 3 hectares at its peak in the imperial period⁵³. The major feature of Roman Llívia is the *forum*, located at the archaeological site known as Colomines A. Based on the ceramic evidence the construction took place between the Augustan period, based on the oldest ceramics, or the reign of Claudius, the largest amount of material⁵⁴. The resemblance of the *forum* with those of *Labitulosa* and *Ruscino*, both dated to the Augustan period, seem to support the Augustan date. This date also fits the likely promotion of the community to a *municipium civium Romanorum* (supra). It is clear that this site would be the prominent place required by the municipal laws and the location for the treasury and archives. The temple associated with the *forum* could have made Llívia the religious centre for the region as well.

However, two other possible religious foci for Jupiter are located in the valley based on epigraphy. Angoustrine to the north of *Iulia Libica* yielded an inscription to Jupiter Optimus Maximus⁵⁵. Near Angoustrine, we find Villeneuve-les-Escalades where thermal springs are located. These springs were most likely known and used in antiquity; the modern name might have been derived from *Aquae Calidae*⁵⁶. For other thermal springs, such as *Aquae Querquernae* and *Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae*, I have shown that they played an important role in local settlement systems

⁵⁰ FERRER I JANÉ, J., *et alii*: 2018, 178; they add that the identification of the *Libenses* with the Celtiberian *Libia* is very unlikely as the Ascoli Bronze only records Iberian names for the *Libenses*.

⁵¹ This would not disqualify the proposed Caesarian promotion to Latin community as proposed by OLESTI, O., & MERCADAL, O.: 2010, 133, it is likely that the *Cerretani* were active in the *Bellum Sociale* and later promoted by Caesar as they were loyal to the Romans during the different republican wars.

⁵² PTOL. *Geog.* 2, 6, 68.

⁵³ CARRERAS MONFORT, C., *et alii*: 2019, 181.

⁵⁴ GUÀRDIA, J., *et alii*: 2017, 182.

⁵⁵ IRC III, 188; IRC V, 89; CIL XII, 5376: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) P(ompeius) Poli(bius) (!) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

⁵⁶ KOTARBA, J., *et alii*: 2007, 619 #229.

and often were the central place of self-governing communities. In addition to the altar of Angoustrine, another altar was found in Puigcerdà with an abbreviated inscription reading DFA. Obviously, the interpretation of such a short inscription is open for debate, but it is interpreted as *Deo Fulguri aram*⁵⁷. Both dedications to Jupiter in a rural context do not necessarily indicate dispersed veneration of Jupiter; they could be dedications to indigenous rural deities⁵⁸. Nonetheless, it is interesting in the context of *Iulia Libica* that the ‘urban’ centre so far yielded no epigraphy. Even the aforementioned *quattuorviri* inscription, related to the urban way of life, is located in a rural context far from the centre.

It seems that the *Cerretani* have chosen for the more centrally located Puig del Castell de Llivia to construct the *forum* of the *Cerretani*. However, they did not chose the location of the *oppidum* up on the hill, but constructed it at the foot of the hill to the southwest. This way the *forum* did oversee the valley of the Segre and faced the road leading up the valley from the south. Nonetheless, the new ‘urban’ focal point did not develop into a full-fledged city. The residential area is small, Colomines B yielded a *domus*, but evidence for a large residential area is lacking. The site has been interpreted as a grouping of villae rather than an urban centre⁵⁹.

The area of *Iulia Libica* fits the idea of a region possibly to mountainous to provide for an *urbs*. Indeed so far only the public *forum* has been found, the existence of a residential and industrial area needs to be proven. With a *forum* at *Iulia Libica*, it meets the minimum requirement in the *Lex Flavia municipalis*: there is a prominent place to put up the statute, have meetings and keep the common records and funds. However, the only evidence we have for magistrates in this *municipium* is from the rural inscriptions traditionally high up in the mountains far from the centre.

⁵⁷ IRC III, 199, IRC, V 89: *D(eo) F(ulguri) a(ram)*.

⁵⁸ OLIVARES PEDREÑO, J. C.: 2000.

⁵⁹ RICO, C.: 1997, 177 referring to PADRO I PARCERISA, J.: 1991, 57.

4. *Auso*

In the Osona region, we find the Plana de Vic the former territory of the pre-Roman tribe of the *Ausetani*⁶⁰. Their importance in pre-Roman times is evidenced by the coins with Iberian legend: *Ausesken*. The legend refers a *populus* with a mint, not a city such as *Illirta* (later Roman *Ilerda*). A. Tovar states it was common in the Hellenistic world to derive the name of the *populus* from the city name⁶¹. The Livian reference to the *urbs* of the *Ausetani* seems to support this idea⁶². Nonetheless, it is interesting that in the case of this *populus* the early mint referred to the people rather than the city, whereas a nearby urban community referred to itself with the name of the city.

Despite the possibility of a non-urban *populus*, researchers set out from the beginning to define the central place of the basin. Traditionally and historically, Vic is the known capital in later times. By extension, it is also considered the capital of the *civitas* of the *Ausetani*. However, it has no archaeological remains predating the Augustan period⁶³. Within the basin, several pre-Roman or Iberian settlements have been located. The spread of these fortified settlements at key points controlling the Plana de Vic, shows that in pre-Roman times these settlements together controlled the territory by controlling rivers and natural passage ways (Fig. 2). Despite the seemingly equal importance of the settlements to control the valley, L'Esquerda seems the most logical candidate to be the capital of the *Ausetani* in the pre-Roman period⁶⁴. This is based on the monumental fortifications and the possible mooring point at the river Ter.

In the southern part of the basin, three milestones were found referring to the proconsul *Manius Sergius*, allowing for a republican date. I. Rodà, A. Gutiérrez and I. Mestres interpret the presence of these milestones to indicate a road constructed by the Roman military in the post-Numantine war period⁶⁵. Even though the milestones indicate the *caput viae* to be near Vic, it has been proposed that the *caput viae* was

⁶⁰ LIV. 21, 23 & 61; PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 23; PTOL. *Geog.* 2, 6, 70; CAES. *BC.* 1, 60.

⁶¹ TOVAR, A.: 1989, C-19.

⁶² LIV. 21, 61.

⁶³ PÉREZ ALMOGUERA, J. A.: 1993, 200.

⁶⁴ ROCAFIGUERA ESPONA, M., & OLLICH I CASTANYER, I.: 2012.

⁶⁵ LOSTAL PROS, J.: 1992, 12; RODÀ, I., *et alii*: 2013, 145.

Parva oppida: imagen, patrones e ideología del despegue monumental...

located at the military camp near Tona⁶⁶. In the area of Tona, ceramics belonging to the republican period are found, indicating that the region was indeed of importance as early as the second century BCE.

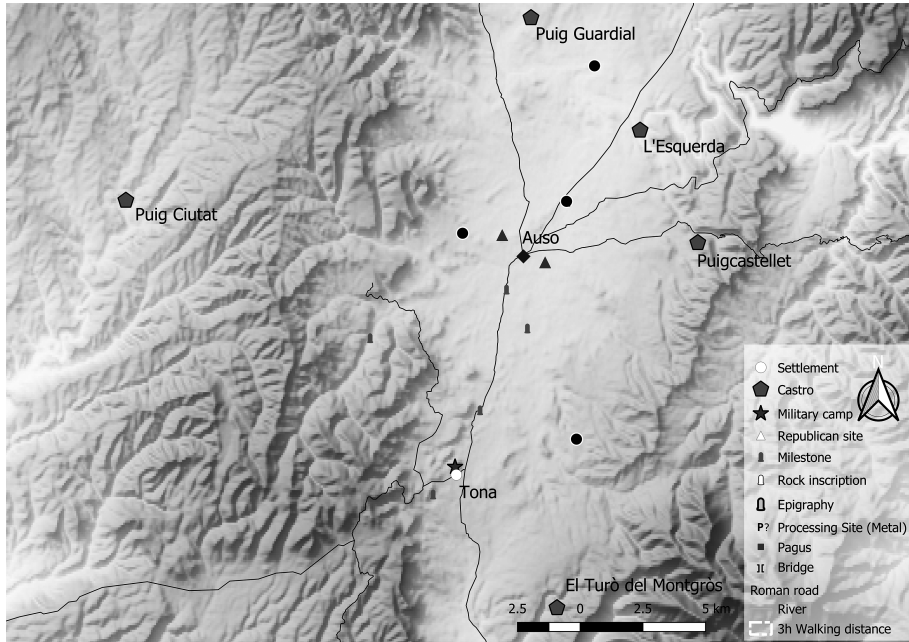


Fig. 2: The Republican and Imperial settlement system of the Plana de Vic

The existence of a self-governing community accepted by Rome is certain. Pliny refers to the *Ausetani* as a *populus Latinorum*, indicating that they were promoted to Latin rights before the blanket grant of *Ius Latii* by the Flavians⁶⁷. Epigraphic evidence for a *duumvir quinquennalis*, dated to the Augustan period, and the reference to the *ordo Ausetanorum* indicate that *Auso* became *municipium civium Romanorum*⁶⁸. The presence of the *tribus Galeria* in three inscriptions supports the Augustan date for the promotion to *municipium civium Romanorum*.

⁶⁶ PÉREZ ALMOGUERA, J. A.: 1993, 202.

⁶⁷ PLIN. *Nat.* 3, 23.

⁶⁸ ABASCAL, J. M., & ESPINOSA, U.: 1989, 67; RODÀ, I., et alii: 2013: [---]o M(arci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) / [---] aed(ili) Ii(ri)u(m) q(uinquennali) / [---] Cornelio / [---] Pr? P?udenti aed(ili) an(norum) X+; CIL II 4537: L(ucio) Licinio / Secundo / accenso patr(oni) suo L(ucio) Licinio Surae / prim(o) secund(o) / tert(io) consulatu eius / IIII(ri)u(m) Aug(ustali) col(oniae) / I(uliae) U(rbis) T(riumphalis) Tarrac(oni) et col(oniae) / F(aventiae) I(uliae) A(ugustae) P(aternae) Barcin(oni) / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / Ausetanor(um).

The most iconic and important element of the central place of *Auso* is the temple at Vic. Even though it has been preserved almost entirely it was only discovered in 1882 as it was incorporated into the Castell dels Montcada. The temple was dated to the turn of the first century CE⁶⁹. However, recent research has shown that it should be of earlier date, most probably Augustan or Tiberian⁷⁰. An altar found near the temple dedicated by an imperial *sevir* to Diana does not clarify the deity related to the temple with certainty⁷¹.

There is a possibility that Diana was related to the Imperial cult, as can be observed in other inscriptions from the Peninsula dedicated to Diana Augusta⁷². Still the question remains, was the temple for the imperial cult and as such the religious centre of the newly promoted *municipium*?

The city is reconstructed having an orthogonal plan, as seems fit for a Roman city⁷³. So far, the only evidence for such a plan is based on the fossilised orthogonal street plan found in the modern city. However, the area with the orthogonal plan has not yielded Roman findings. Moreover, the orthogonal area is well beyond other concentrations of Roman finds⁷⁴. In addition, the temple and its *temenos* do not align to the orthogonal plan proposed. It seems that the orthogonal plan of the city is therefore a result of the expected ideal type city, rather than the result of firm evidence.

The *Ausetani* are a well-established pre-Roman community continuing as an important player in the Republican period, which led to its promotion as a Latin community. In the Augustan period, the community was promoted to *municipium civium Romanorum*. However, contrary to the other Augustan *municipia* in the region, no planned Roman city was constructed to function as the central place of the *municipium*. At Vic, the most likely candidate to be Roman *Auso*, a new

⁶⁹ MOLAS I FONT, M. D., & OLLICH I CASTANYER, I.: 2008, 705.

⁷⁰ RODÀ, I., *et alii*: 2013, 147.

⁷¹ CIL II, 4618: *Dianae / ob honor(em) / seviratus / C(aius) Cornelius Grati lib(ertus) / Magnio / IIIIvir / idem aram et sed(ilia?)*.

⁷² See: AE 1957, 34; AE 1974, 384; CIL II, 5387; AE 1979, 348; AE 1995, 858.

⁷³ ROCAFIGUERA ESPONA, M.: 2018, 304.

⁷⁴ MOLAS I FONT, M. D., & OLLICH I CASTANYER, I.: 2008, 712; ROCAFIGUERA ESPONA, M.: 2018, 294.

temple following the Roman model was constructed in the Augustan or Tiberian period, possibly as the focal point of the *municipium*. Again, the residential area is small.

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the classical model of the *civitas*, the unity of *urbs* and *territorium*, omits the most important element of the *civitas*: the community. Due to this omission, research has focussed on the *urbs* and *territorium* unity; hereby we tend to forget that these elements were only secondary to the community forming the *civitas*: the *cives*. As a result, we have created the image that a viable self-governing community needed an urban *civitas*.

Furthermore, the image of the urban centre has been constructed using the ideal city from Augustan times, where a city has a monumentalised centre. Obviously, his ideal type of the Roman city is not what we expect to find in each city. Nonetheless, we expect to find at least parts of the ideal type within a settlement to consider it a city and a possible candidate to be the *urbs* of a *civitas*. This ideal model of city strengthens the idea of the *urbs* and leads us to discard 'lesser' central places as possible *civitas* capitals. Moreover, the ideal type of city has strengthened the position of the city as the backbone of the Roman Empire and the study of *civitates* in such way that these have become part of urban studies. Thereby the entanglement of city and *civitas* has led to a dogmatic approach in which the *civitas* has become the city.

However, looking at the evidence from classical sources and epigraphy we must allow for communities without a city or central settlement. We find that Pliny seems to refer to 114 non-urban *civitates* in the province of *Hispania Citerior*. In addition, the *Lex Flavia municipalis* does not require a city. Even though the *Lex municipalis* mentions *oppidum*, there is no description of the requirements, as is the case for the *Lex Genitivae*. The only requirement seemingly indicating the need for a central settlement is the prominent place to display the *leges*. Obviously, a place where *leges* are displayed for all to see does not have to be an urban settlement; it could well be a forum where people only gather for political and religious activities.

However, I do not aim to discard the *urbs* a part of the *civitas* as a whole. We do see that the classical sources do prefer urban communities to the barbaric peoples organised in non-urban communities. Moreover, it seems that the Roman world did prefer urban central places to control large territories. However, the pre-Roman organizations incorporated as self-governing *civitates* within the Roman Empire in some cases clearly did not entail urban organization. These communities did have central places for aspects of communal life, but we cannot recognise these central places as urban using the definition we created. In addition, there is the possibility of a dispersed functionality within the *civitas*: a dispersed *civitas* knows multiple central places within a *civitas* each having their own function (religious, administrative or economic). Moreover, none of these central places needs to be the ‘*urbs*’ or city of the *civitas*. It is even possible that none of the central places can be considered urban due to the dispersed nature of the community.

In the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula, the geographical and historical situation has led to the incorporation of tribal organization as *civitates*. For this region, it seems to be accepted that urbanism in the region is less developed and might have led to the incorporation of *civitates* not following the standard model. However, cities are not the backbone of the Roman; self-governing communities controlling their own territory form the Roman Empire. As such, we should expect dispersed *civitates* in so-called successful regions: the city is not a requirement for a *civitas*.

In the urban north-eastern part of *Hispania Citerior*, we find multiple clear urban settlements following the Augustan ideal. As a result, this is seen as one of the successful regions of the Iberian Peninsula where the Roman ideal had settled. However, when turning to a region similar to that of the north-west, the Pyrenees, we find at least a similar geographical situation. In the Pyrenean region of Cerdanya, we find the *Cerretani*. This community is well attested in the classical sources as self-governing *civitas*; in addition, the *quattuorviri* inscription supports the self-governing nature of the *civitas*. Its historical centre of *Iulia Libica* seems to be Llívia due to its central location and the Roman *forum*. However, when looking at the archaeological evidence we must accept the *Cerretani* as a possible non-urban or dispersed *civitas*. Despite the clear central place of *Iulia Libica* as the location of the *forum* for the

Cerretani, the 'urbs' has so far not yielded the needed epigraphy to ascertain its function as the administrative centre. The only epigraphic evidence for the self-governing nature of this *civitas* is found in the mountains along with most of the earlier Iberian epigraphy. It is possible that the small settlement of *Iulia Libica* functioned as the non-urban central place of a dispersed *civitas*.

Between the Pyrenees and the Catalan coast, we encounter the Osona region with the Plana de Vic. This area borders one of the most successful areas of the Julio-Claudian period on the Iberian Peninsula, with settlements as *Ilerda*, *Barcino*, *Gerunda* and *Iesso*. However, looking at the *Ausetani*, we find that we might deal with a non-urban community. The Pre-Roman tribe of the *Ausetani* minted coins and therefore is considered self-governing. Nonetheless, contrary to the neighbouring city *Iltirta* (Ilerda), the coin legend mentions *Ausesken* the people *Ausetani* rather than the city of *Auso*. Looking at the dispersed nature of the pre-Roman *oppida* it is likely that the *Ausetani* were organised without a clear central place. In the Republican period, milestones indicate the existence of a *caput viae* in the Plana de Vic, but this seems to be near Tona, where a Roman camp is found. Finally, in the Augustan period, at the time the community with old Latin rights was promoted to *municipium civium Romanorum*, the temple of Vic is constructed. Hereby we find the first evidence of activity in Vic, the so-called capital of the *Ausetani*. It is likely that the *Ausetani* were a non-urban community holding Latin rights due to their early contacts with the Romans. Augustus decided to promote the communities with old Latin rights to *municipia civium Romanorum* and as such promoted the *Ausetani*. It is likely that the scarcely urbanised *Ausetani* were promoted as part of the Augustan grant, without being part of the Augustan urbanization in the region. Even though it seems problematic to consider a clear *municipium civium Romanorum* without an urban centre, we cannot be sure what the requirements for the *municipia civium Romanorum* were. Admittedly, the evidence for *Auso* not being a completely urbanised centre is as thin as the evidence for it being an Augustan *urbs*. This community needs more and thorough research to understand its urban form.

I argue to reconsider our ideal types of *civitates* as a simple equation: *civitas* = *urbs* + *territorium*, in which the *urbs* is the ideal type we can

reconstruct using the Vitruvian ideal. Alternatively, we look at the *civitas* as a community, a *populus*, actively participating in what we have labelled ‘urban life’ within their own territory. The urban/rural divide can be found on multiple levels, within the *civitas* in the case of clear urban *civitates*, but also between *civitates* when we compare an urban *civitas* with a dispersed *civitas*.

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