

# Celtiberian Cities and Roman Rule

*Urbanization and Romanization in Celtiberia*



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**Universiteit Utrecht**

**Thesis presented: June 26<sup>th</sup> 2013**

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Cover image:

Left upper corner: *Numantia* 3D reconstruction (Artehistoria.net)

Left lower corner: *Numantia* aerial view today (Celtiberiahistorica.es)

Right upper corner: *Segobriga* 3D reconstruction (After Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2005) fig. 33A p. 43)

Right lower corner: *Segobriga* aerial view today (After Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2005) fig. 33B p. 42).

## Acknowledgement

Although an acknowledgement is not standard for a master thesis, I believe it is necessary. In the beginning, because the investigation would have been impossible without the two grants I got, to study and do research in Spain. The Erasmus Mundus programme allowed for the possibility to study at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM), where I met professor Almagro-Gorbea who pointed me to different scholars and institutions to visit. The foremost is the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Madrid, their extensive library and friendly personnel allowed for the accumulation of secondary sources on the subject of this research. I always appreciated the discussions with dr. Torres-Martínez in the archaeological laboratory of UCM, he had me to think on several different aspects of the Celtiberian culture and its relation to other peoples on the peninsula. The conversations with dr. Torres-Ortiz on the Phoenician presence at the south coast of the Iberian Peninsula were necessary to understand the relevance of the Phoenicians for urbanisation.

Secondly, the Philologisch Studiefonds Travel Grant allowed me to visit several sites in former Celtiberia and relevant museums in Spain. Without the ability to visit these sites and museums I would never be able to understand the significance of the landscape for urban development. Moreover, visiting archaeological sites answers questions that rise reading archaeological reports and it raises new questions leading to a better understanding of the complexity of the subject.

Finally, I want to thank the different people making this thesis possible, of course the two readers and tutors for the thesis, dr. Stevens at Utrecht University and prof. dr. Almagro-Gorbea at Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Without their guidance and editorial support this would not have been possible. Any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work are the responsibility of my own. Last but certainly not least, I want to express my gratitude to my fiancé. Without her help, guidance and her calmness I would already have stressed out from the very beginning of this research in Madrid.

## **Abstract**

On Celtiberian urbanism there are two discourses: on the one hand, the prehistorical discourse regarding pre-Roman Celtiberia an urban society. On the other, the historical discourse explaining how the Romans created the urban society of the Celtiberians, as the latter people Romanized. This master thesis focuses on this incongruence. Therefore, the main question is: What is the relation between Romanization and urbanization in Celtiberia?

Firstly, a short overview of the Romanization discourse is given to understand the different models proposed by Curchin (2004). Moreover, the relation between Romanization and urbanization is taken in account to understand the idea of the causal relation between these two '-zations'. Thereafter, the discourse on ancient urbanism is taken in account to understand what is regarded as urban. The urban theory of the consumer city, by Weber (1922) and Finley (1977), is taken in account. Moreover, the central place theory proposed by Christaller (1930) is combined with this consumer city model.

The urbanization of the Celtiberians is treated in four phases. The first three have been proposed by Almagro-Gorbea (1994) for the Celtic peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. This treats the rise of urban settlements from the very humble beginnings of the first permanent settlements to the large urban *oppida*. I have added a fourth phase to this urbanization as I believe this is the final phase. In this phase the Celtiberian urban society is reorganized by the Romans to fit the Roman Empire. It is this change that had the historians to believe that the Celtiberian city was a Roman construct. Each phase is treated taking in account its archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic and written sources in order to understand the social changes that led to the development Celtiberian urban society.

**Key-words: Romanization, urbanization, Celtiberia, oppida.**

## **Resumen**

Por lo que respecta al tema del urbanismo celtíbero, tenemos que diferenciar dos discursos. Por un lado, tenemos el discurso prehistórico considerando Celtiberia prerromana como una sociedad urbana. Por otro lado, tenemos el discurso histórico, explicando la manera en que los romanos habrían creado la sociedad urbana de los celtíberos, es decir la Romanización de los Celtíberos. Esta tesina de maestría se enfoque en esta incongruencia. Por lo tanto, la pregunta principal es: ¿Qué es la relación entre Romanización y urbanización en Celtiberia?

Primero, esta tesina presenta una reseña del discurso sobre el tema de Romanización, con el fin de entender los distintos modelos que introduce Curchin (2004). Además, este informe trata el tema de la relación entre Romanización y urbanización, para que se entienda la idea de la relación causal entre los dos '-zaciones'. A continuación, se discute el discurso del tema del urbanismo antiguo, para entender lo que se considera como 'urbano'. Además, este informe explica el modelo de la ciudad de consumo, de Weber (1922) y Finley (1977). Después, se conjuga este modelo con la teoría de los lugares centrales, introducido por Christaller (1930).

La urbanización de los celtíberos podemos dividir en cuatro fases. Almagro-Gorbea (1994) introdujo las tres primeras etapas para el pueblo céltico en la Península Ibérica. Esta división trata el desarrollo de los asentamientos urbanos desde el inicio humilde de los asentamientos permanentes hasta las grandes *oppida* urbanas. He añadido una cuarta fase al desarrollo de urbanización, ya que parto de la idea de que el discurso necesita una fase final. En esta fase, la sociedad urbana celtibérica está reorganizada por los romanos para adaptarse al Imperio Romano. Es este cambio por lo que los históricos parten de la idea de que la ciudad celtibérica era una construcción romana. La tesina discute cada fase considerando sus fuentes arqueológicas, epigráficas, numismáticas y escritas, para que se entienda los cambios sociales que habían llevado al surgimiento de la sociedad celtibérica urbana.

**Palabras claves: Romanización, Urbanización, Celtiberia, oppida.**

## **Index**

Abstract .....	1
Introduction .....	3
Romanization: To be or not to be Roman .....	14
The city as a central place .....	28
From Celtiberian <i>castros</i> in four steps to Roman cities .....	37
First phase: Proto- (IX-VII) & Early Celtiberian (VII-VI centuries BCE) .....	40
Second Phase: Full Celtiberian (V-IV centuries BCE) .....	44
Third Phase: Late Celtiberian (III-II centuries BCE) .....	49
Fourth Phase: Roman Celtiberia (I century BCE – I CE).....	66
Conclusions .....	88
Bibliography.....	93
Appendices .....	104
Appendix I: Timetable.....	104
Appendix II: Maps.....	105
Appendix III: Cities .....	107
Appendix IV: Botorrita Plaques .....	109

## Introduction

After the Second Punic war had raged on the Iberian Peninsula Rome had taken control.<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginians were defeated and Rome had the possibility to expand its territory and incorporate the peninsula. The local peoples resisted, especially the Celtiberians. The First Celtiberian war was fought and Rome was victorious. Agreements were made between the victorious Roman general Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and the cities of the Celtiberians, one of these agreements prohibited the cities to construct or modify their walls. However, the Celtiberians did not accept Roman rule and broke them not fearing the consequences. The city of *Segeda* started building a wall, something Rome had forbidden. This Segedan wall was the *casu belli* for the Second Celtiberian war starting in 153 BCE.

“στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Νωβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺν τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης· ὃν ἐπειδὴ σφίσι οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὐπω τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον εἰς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δ’ ὑποδέχονται τε καὶ Κάρων αὐτῶν Σεγηδαίων, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἰροῦνται στρατηγόν. ὃ δὲ τρίτη μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρα δισμυρίου πεζοὺς καὶ ἰππέας πεντακισχιλίους ἔς τινα λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως ἔκτεινεν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, ὡς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἰππῆς ἐπέδραμον καὶ Κάρων τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἔκτειναν καὶ ἑτέρους ἀμφ’ αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οἶδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦθ’, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν ἄρξειεν ἐξ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Because of the difficulty of the multiple defined term *Iberian*, possibly referring to different peoples over time and space, it will only be used to refer to the ancient peoples part of the linguistic and cultural group at the Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula (see appendix II). Next to this use it will be used in a composite: Iberian Peninsula. This will be used to avoid using the word Spain because of its modern connotation. Consequently, references to Spain and/or Portugal are related to political decisions by the governments or as reference to the research done in these countries.

In the case of the ancient sites, the name used for the site in research will be given, when the ancient name is known this will be used in italics. When the name of the ancient site is unknown the nearest modern settlement will be mentioned, these names will not be put in italics.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Iberike*. 45: *Accordingly the praetor Nobilior was sent against them with an army of nearly 30,000 men. When the Segedians learned of his coming, their wall not being yet finished, they fled with their wives and children to the Arevaci and begged that the latter would receive them. The Arevaci did so, and also chose a*

After this Second Celtiberian War, the Romans had to fight the Third Celtiberian War in order to conquer the Celtiberians. Conquering the research field of the Celtiberian peoples seems as difficult as conquering the peoples themselves. The problems of Celtiberian history cover several research fields: archaeology, history, linguistics, epigraphy and so on. All these fields try to answer the main questions regarding the Celtiberians: Who were these peoples? Where did they live? Obviously, the ancient history of the Iberian Peninsula has different debates on the Celtic origins of the Iberian Peninsula, which cover the period from the second millennium BCE to the third century BCE. Furthermore, the arrival and influences of the Romans after the third century BCE on the Peninsula and its inhabitants are part of the debate on the Celtiberians. What is more, this incursion of the Romans led to an artificial separation that splits the search for the complete historical narrative of the Celtiberians into pre-Roman and Roman.

On the one hand, the researchers of the prehistoric period occupy themselves by considering the problems of the origin of the different peoples. In this search, the field of linguistics has proven to be useful to assert this origin. By considering the origins of the languages it was possible to define the ethnicity of the language, thereby opening up the possibility of defining the ethnicity of the peoples using and writing this language (see appendix II). Most influential works on ethnicity by linguistics are those of Schulten, Tovar, Lejeune and most recently Untermann.<sup>3</sup> By analyzing the linguistics of the Iberian Peninsula a division could be made between the Iberian and the Celtic peoples (see fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> The Celtic people were linguistically linked to the Celts of central Europe. The expertise of Untermann led to the publication of the *Monumenta Linguarum Hispaniarum*, a major work on the Palaeohispanic inscriptions, of which the Celtiberian inscriptions are part.

In addition, the archaeologists and pre-historians could link the material cultures of the Central European Celts with the material culture of the Celts on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>5</sup> For instance their weaponry, the typical swords for the La Tène culture, was found in the

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*Segedian named Carus, whom they considered skilful in war, as their general. On the third day after his election he placed 20,000 foot and 500 horse in ambush in a dense forest and fell upon the Romans as they were passing through. The battle was for a long time doubtful, but in the end he gained a splendid victory, 6,000 Roman citizens being slain. So great a disaster befell the city on that day. But while he was engaged in a disorderly pursuit after the victory, the Roman horse, who were guarding the baggage, fell upon him and killed Carus himself, who was performing prodigies of valour, and not less than 6,000 others with him. Finally night put an end to the conflict. This disaster happened on the day on which the Romans are accustomed to celebrate the festival of Vulcan. For which reason, from that time on, no general will begin a battle on that day unless compelled to do so. (Loeb translation)*

<sup>3</sup> See the different entries in the bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Untermann (1961).

<sup>5</sup> Almagro-Gorbea & Ruiz-Zapatero (1993).



Celtiberian context as well.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, they were able to reconstruct the development of the Celtiberian culture, for instance on urbanism, from the Late Bronze Age into the period of the Roman Conquest, considering this Late Celtiberian period as urban.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, there is the Romanocentric history, incorporating the Iberian Peninsula from 218 BCE onward as the Romans entered the peninsula. The Second Punic War focuses the interest of historians towards the Iberian Peninsula, not to investigate the peoples of the Peninsula but to study the ‘civilized’ Romans and Carthaginians. If the historiographic focus is on the indigenous



Fig. 1 El último día de Numancia, Alejo Vera (1881)

peoples at all, it is focussed on the Roman influence on the local culture: Romanization.<sup>8</sup> An example of the Roman-centric vision of historians can be found in the publications focussing on the Roman provinces instead of the local ethnic or tribal groups.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the urban Celtiberian culture recognized by the pre-historians, historians sketch a backward violent people living in fortified villages, instead of cities.<sup>10</sup>

Although this boundary between prehistory and history seems hard to cross for scholars, the Celtiberians lived at both sides of this boundary. Especially the role of the Celtiberians in the ancient sources as mercenaries and fierce warriors resisting the Romans at their fortified settlements, call to our imagination. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this imagination led to research interest into these and other ancient tribes all over Europe, as a result of the romantic interest in the ancient history of the newly defined countries. For example, when Napoleon III ordered the excavation of *Alesia* to commemorate the heroic past of the newly stated Empire of France<sup>11</sup>, the Spanish government ordered the search for their own heroic ‘last stand’ against the Roman invader: *Numantia*.<sup>12</sup> Hereby they tried to revive their history and create a historical continuity between their Republic and ancient history. This search led to the belated discovery of *Numantia* in 1860 and its first excavations in 1906.

<sup>6</sup> Cunliffe (1997), 141.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter 4 for this development.

<sup>8</sup> For instance: Richardson (1986); MacMullen (2000); Bravo-Castañeda (2007); Cf. Keay (2001), 120.

<sup>9</sup> Keay (2001) *Romanization and the Hispaniae* & Woolf (1998) *Becoming Roman: The origin of provincial civilization in Gaul*.

<sup>10</sup> For instance: MacMullen (2000), 50; Curchin (2004), 26.

<sup>11</sup> Cunliffe (1997), 34.

<sup>12</sup> Jimeno Martínez & de la Torre Echávarri (2005).

With the search for *Numantia* the academic debate and reconstruction of the Celtiberian history started.

Undoubtedly, the biggest problem of Celtiberian history, as the archaeologist and prehistorian Burillo-Mozota states, is one of lacking sources for the period prior to the third century.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the archaeological excavations carried out in the nineteenth and early twentieth century on the key sites, that are the sites named in the ancient sources, clearly have not been done with the scientific methods we would use nowadays. In order to obtain new information Burillo has invited the investigators to research and open new archaeological sites, because research has focussed for years on big sites as *Numantia*, *Termes* and *Contrebia Belaisca* (known from the *Botorrita* plaques).<sup>14</sup> Regarding all the sources anew with the present day research methods should lead to new insights, according to Burillo.<sup>15</sup>

My thesis aims at investigating the development of urbanization of the Celtiberian lands from the sixth century BCE until the first century CE. Thereby the border between the pre-historical and historical period will be crossed and hopefully the research fields of these periods can be brought together. Obviously, in this research I will revisit the sources already used in former research, such as the ancient sources and their information on the tribes. Secondly, the archaeological excavation reports, old and new, will be asserted in order to understand the archaeological evidence used to support the rise of the city and changes in material culture. Last, the debates covering the rise of urban centres and Romanization will be regarded. The research will redefine the link between early urbanization of the Celtiberian peoples and Romanization.

The introduction of this research further along treats the main problems of the research into the Celtiberian people and culture. Thereby the different sources and their problems will be asserted. The geographical and chronological boundaries will be determined. In the second chapter the Romanization debate is treated. This debate is of significance for this research as the urbanization of the Western Roman Empire is often linked to the Roman presence and Romanization.<sup>16</sup> In this chapter five different models of Romanization introduced by Curchin will be treated. Moreover, some new insights will be added in order to create a complete picture of the debate and problems of the processes often regarded as Romanization. The third chapter defines the city by the debate on the Ancient City started by Fustel de Coulanges and

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<sup>13</sup> Burillo-Mozota (1991), 65.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 65-90.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 65.

<sup>16</sup> Millet (1990a): Woolf (1998): Hingley (2005): Curchin (2004): Laurence et alii (2011).

apparently defined by Finley.<sup>17</sup> The main chapter is the fourth, treating the development of the Celtiberian settlements in four phases. In this chapter case studies will prove the existence of pre-Roman urban settlements, using archaeological, ancient written and linguistic sources.

In most research on the development of large urban-like settlements in antiquity, the idea exists that the Roman urbanised culture and their on urban based governmental structure led to the rise of the urban centres in the newly conquered areas.<sup>18</sup> Obviously, all researchers agree on the fact that this idea is not valid in the case of the Eastern Mediterranean area, for the rise of urban centres in the east was well under way in these cultures while Rome was built up with huts and hovels.<sup>19</sup> In the case of the Western Mediterranean sphere, it is accepted almost without any problem that the Romans introduced the ‘uncivilised’ cultures to the urban style of living. Even though in some Western Mediterranean areas there is clear evidence for contact with already urbanised cultures before the Romans, the possible influence from the Greek and Phoenician colonies is left out of the equation. In this research, the focus will be on revisiting the sources in order to get a better picture of the development of the urban centres and the relation with the different Mediterranean cultures.

### *Sources*

Firstly, the ancient sources will be treated as our main sources for research on the Celtiberian tribes. We have to keep in mind that there are several problems within the ancient sources themselves as we need to take into account the elite point of view of the Roman historians. Unsurprisingly, the Romans are portrayed as the civilized conqueror conquering the uncivilized peoples of the Iberian Peninsula, even though the citation at the beginning of this chapter does not clearly seem to state the Romans as the civilised ones.<sup>20</sup> If we regard the text prior and after this citation this positive self-image vision becomes clear. Moreover, and maybe even a bigger problem, is that the classical sources do not agree, they do not agree on hardly anything regarding the Celtiberians. First, there is the problem of the area in which the tribes might have lived: Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy each give their account of the different tribes belonging to the Celtiberians, including different areas that were considered being part of the Celtiberian area.<sup>21</sup> Secondly there are the tribes themselves. According to Appian the

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<sup>17</sup> Fustel de Coulanges (1864): Finley (1977).

<sup>18</sup> E.g: Fentress (2000): Parkins (1997a).

<sup>19</sup> Rome is taken as the divider between the western and eastern sphere. The fact that urban centres, or better *poleis*, already had risen in the eastern sphere way before the Romans came.

<sup>20</sup> Appianus, *Iber.* 45.

<sup>21</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 15. See Olcoz & Medrano (2010) for an analysis of Livy’s idea of Celtiberia.

Celtiberian tribes even include the *Vaccaeii*<sup>22</sup> and Polybius includes the *Carpetani*<sup>23</sup>, two different ethnic groups with a different material culture (see fig. 3 and appendix II).<sup>24</sup> Finally, the location of the different settlements was long unsure. For instance, the location of *Segeda* was stated as being part of the Arevaci by Strabo, whereas Appian places it in the Belli region.<sup>25</sup> Nowadays, we believe several Celtiberian tribes moved and took over the cities of other tribes, hence the confusion between the ancient writers.<sup>26</sup>

The second source, the archaeological record, seemed promising because it was thought it had better means to control the objectivity of the results, as archaeological data was taken as secondary and a ‘passive’ product free of interpretation.<sup>27</sup> However, as we all know, objectivity is almost impossible, as the archaeological excavations of the nineteenth and early twentieth century prove. The focus was on the big sites, for example *Numantia*, the last stand of the Celtiberians in 133 BCE. Moreover, within these sites the research focused on the monumental buildings, as they speak to the mind, they seem to jump from the surface. As stated above on the inaccuracy of the ancient sources, the location of many sites was, or is, unsure. Luckily, some adventurous archaeologists went into the area regarded to be Celtiberia in order to find some of the sites, such as *Numantia*, *Segobriga* and *Termes*. Furthermore, as technology advances, the location of possible sites can be found by aerial survey nowadays. This way many sites have been located. Unfortunately, funds are lacking to excavate or even preserve these sites.<sup>28</sup> An example of this problem is the site of *Contrebia Carbica*, an *oppidum* situated very closely to the site of *Segobriga*. Because of economic reasons, the site cannot be preserved and farmers remove the archaeological remains, such as the stones of the city walls and gates in order to improve their sheds or make better use of their land. Such damage of archaeological sites calls for a response in order to save the remaining untouched sites, especially in the misery the Spanish economy suffers: there will be no money to maintain non-monumental sites.

The third source used to investigate the Celtiberians and their origin is linguistics. Initially, linguistics was used to draw the boundary between the Iberian cultures and the different Celtic cultures, as was done by Untermann.<sup>29</sup> In his work, he separated two linguistic

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<sup>22</sup> Appianus, *Iber.*

<sup>23</sup> Polybius XXXV 2.

<sup>24</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 65: (2005a), 418: Curchin (2004), 35 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo III 4: 13, Appian *Iberike* 44.

<sup>26</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 89.

<sup>27</sup> Keay (2001), 119.

<sup>28</sup> Curchin (2004), 70.

<sup>29</sup> Untermann (1961).

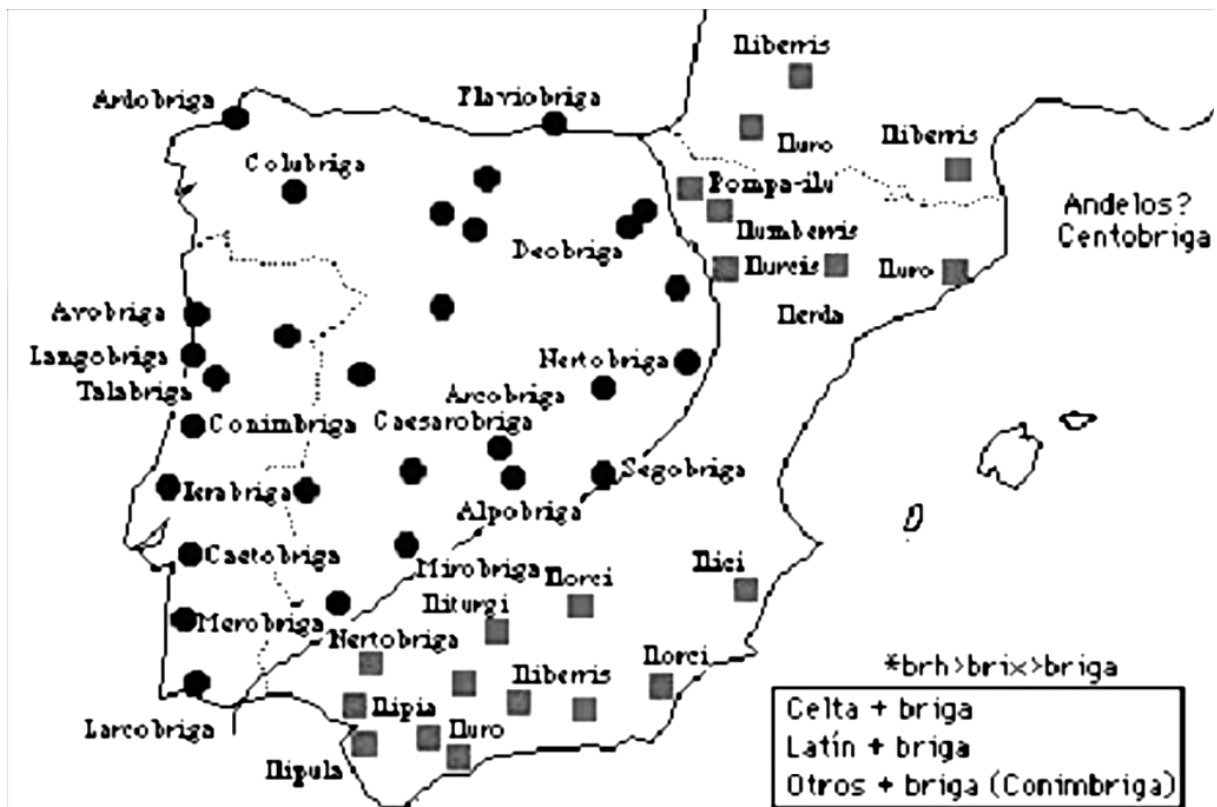


Fig. 2 -briga and -ili-/ilti- toponyms (after Untermann, 1961)

groups to determine the origin of the name and the former inhabitants. This was done by regarding toponyms, separating the use of the Celtic stem *-briga* from the use of Iberian *-ili-* and *-ilti-*. Based on his research he drew a map that shows interesting results (fig. 2). By dividing these toponyms, Untermann made the area of the Celtic and Iberian languages evident. In this map, we can clearly see the division by the line, with the Celtic *-briga* to the northwest whereas the Iberian *-ili-* or *-ilti-* is situated in the southeast. This division has been expanded by adding the *Seg-* to the Celtic equation.<sup>30</sup> This only enforced the existing division, for the *Seg-* is only found in the same area as the *-briga*, with a kind of accumulation in the border place, *Segobriga*.

Similarly, Tovar has determined the boundaries of the Celtiberian area.<sup>31</sup> His linguistic demarcation of the Celtiberian area is quite clear and accepted nowadays (see fig. 2). However, it brought up new problems: firstly, there were two new tribes included, the Lobetani and the Turboletae, never regarded Celtiberian in the ancient written sources, and secondly, the writing system varied in this area as a western and eastern script was recognised, dividing the already unclear area into two new parts.

<sup>30</sup> Almagro & Llorio (1987), 118, map 3.

<sup>31</sup> Tovar (1973), pp. 367-405.

Obviously, all the sources, named above, need to be regarded for their credibility. As already stated in the case of the ancient sources, they provide a coloured picture of the history seen from the Roman élite point of view. As stated in popular language, 'History is written by the victors'.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the archaeological sources, uncorrupted by the point of view of ancient people, as we find them in their context and as we try to be objective, subjectivity is unavoidable. Nowadays, the people funding the excavations, as they want museum worthy sites, mostly define the subjectivity of excavations. Despite all the problems of the ancient sources, archaeology and linguistics, they all agree upon the distinctiveness of the group justly called the Celtiberians. However, the living area of this group is still not fixed. But in the end, can we fix a people to one specific area?

### *Geographic and Chronological Boundaries*

I will try, nevertheless, to create a chronological and geographical framework in which I will focus my research. From a historio-geographical point of view, the Iberian Peninsula is a micro-European continent.<sup>33</sup> The prehistoric European continent as a whole is a mixture of different cultural areas; in the centre there is the La Tène

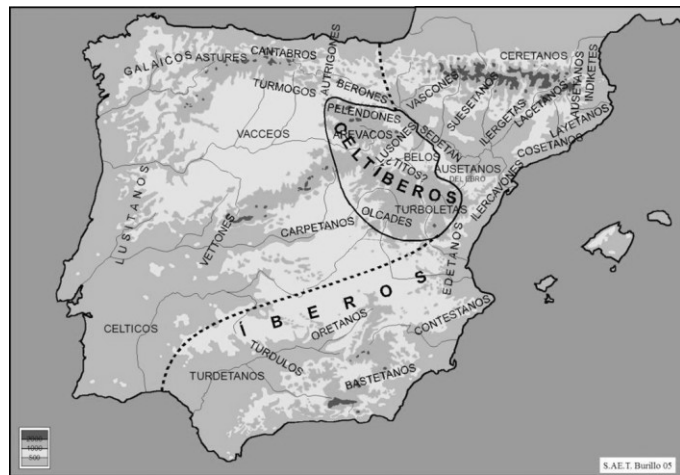


Fig. 3 Celtiberian area (after Burillo (2005a) fig. 1, p. 413

Culture, to the south there is the Mediterranean Culture, disrespectfully placing all under one name. In the west there is the Atlantic Celtic culture and to the east are the steppes bordered by the non-Indo-European peoples.<sup>34</sup> Regarding the Iberian Peninsula, with some imagination, there can be observed a similar division: in the centre there are the Celtic tribes. At the Atlantic coast in the northwest, the Celtic tribes are part of the Atlantic trade routes. In the south there are the Tartessian and Phoenician trading colonies, in the east on the Mediterranean coast the non-Indo-European Iberians and the Greek emporia and finally, in the north, the non-Indo-European *Vascones*, the modern-day Basks. Admittedly, there is no real scientific significance in this comparison between Europe and the Iberian Peninsula. However, it shows the complexity of the Iberian

<sup>32</sup> Quote of uncertain origins, commonly attributed to Winston Churchill.

<sup>33</sup> Díaz-Andreu & Keay (1997), 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem* (1997), 1: Cunliffe (2001), 336 ff.

Peninsula as a cultural melting pot. The diversity effects the relations between different peoples and the history of the entire Peninsula. The trade contacts on all sides of the peninsula have their effects on the range of different peoples living in this rather compact area. Linguistically and culturally, this peninsula is a multicultural mixture leading to different cultures. Consequently, this leads to difficulties for the ancient historian in order to determine the contacts, the possible processes of acculturation and to determine which culture each of the people have.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps it is not necessary to put everything in neat boxes, the dividing lines are not always that clear, rather much more permeable.

As already stated, this research focuses on the rise of urban centres on the Iberian Peninsula, more specifically, in the Celtiberian area. The discussion sketched above, on the different peoples and their origins, cultural influences and possible acculturation, is part of this research. In order to be able to research the development from non-urban and urban settlements and the relation to other peoples, the extent of the Celtiberian area has to be defined. This is quite difficult and consequently has been debated extensively from the very beginning. Even today there is no consensus on the precise location. However, the researchers do agree that the main area for these peoples was the Central Meseta, more specifically, the oriental mountain range known as, Sistema Ibérico.<sup>36</sup> Within this Meseta, there are different rivers, including the three biggest of the peninsula: *Durius* (Duero), *Tagus* (Tago) and *Hiberus* (Ebro) rivers next to many smaller ones. In this research, the area of study is the one as defined above (see fig. 3 and appendix II).

The chronological framework from the sixth century BCE to the first century CE has been chosen to take into account the development of the hill forts before the Roman conquest, from the Iberian Crisis in the sixth century BCE up till the moment cities got *ius Latii* thus becoming part of the 'Roman' society in the Flavian period.<sup>37</sup> The first part of this period, known as the Iberian Crisis<sup>38</sup>, had its influence on the definition of the Celtiberian peoples,

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<sup>35</sup> Woolf (1998), 14, explains shortly and clearly what the acculturation process and study is: "Studies of acculturation focus on interactions between different cultures, and seek to identify the mechanisms through which components of one culture of one culture are incorporated into another, directing attention to the personnel and institutions involved, the nature of the contacts the items transferred, factors which accelerate or retard the process and those features of cultures that make them particularly receptive or resistant to change." Models of acculturation will be treated in the chapter on Romanization.

<sup>36</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2006a), 415 : (2008b), 159 & Lorrio (1997). (Central) Meseta is the Spanish word for the table plateau on which the Celtiberian culture is situated. Next to the more specified Sistema Ibérico (Iberian System) as the English might be understood as a system of the Iberians instead of a mountain range I will refer to this mountain range by the Spanish name (the geography of the Iberian Peninsula can be found in appendix II).

<sup>37</sup> Bravo (2007), 171.

<sup>38</sup> The Iberian Crisis or Sixth Century Crisis is the period of rapid change on the Iberian Peninsula due to intensive contacts with the Phoenicians and Greeks at the coastal areas in the sixth century BCE. As the newly introduced ideas from the east were incorporated into the Iberian culture major sociological changes took place.

and will be treated in chapter four. Besides this important period for the formation of the Celtiberian culture and especially the urban development, the chronological limitation includes the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE) and the Iberian wars as well, which led to increasing Roman influence and the conquest of Iberia. At the end of these wars, the Roman hegemony had been realised and most of the settlements had been taken over.

### *Celtiberian Urban Development*

The ideas and debates on urbanization and Romanization theories will be put to the test in different case studies. In order to obtain a good view on the development of the Celtiberian towns and the effect of the Roman invasion, different settlements will be investigated. In order to create a coherent overall picture of the urban development, this will be divided in four phases.<sup>39</sup>

Firstly, the earliest development of permanent settlements in sixth century BCE Celtiberia and their layout will be treated. This is done in order to fully understand the development of the Celtiberian settlements. The case study of El Ceremeño is the focus of the investigation into the early development. Thereafter, the internal division and extensive fortifications of the second phase, the fifth and fourth century BCE, will be regarded, once more el Ceremeño will be the case study, complemented with the settlement of *Contrebia Belaisca*. Thirdly, the first urban settlements are treated, rising in the third century BCE. As pre-historians regard the settlements in this third phase as urban in contrast to many historians whom see heavily fortified settlements, this needs to be looked into. The question must be asked how and when the Celtiberian settlements became urban, using the definition of urban from the third chapter of this research. The urban centres which are the main focus of the third and fourth phase are *Bilbilis*, *Clunia*, *Segobriga* and *Termes*. These settlements have been chosen for their appearance in the historical sources and their well excavated and researched status. Moreover, these settlements were continued in the fourth phase, the Roman phase. In the Roman era indigenous settlements changed and became what we would refer to as Roman. The way this transformation took place is investigated in order to understand the relevance of urbanization for Romanization.

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<sup>39</sup> The first three phases after Almagro (1994) & Curchin (2004). The last phase is added in order to take the Roman influence on Celtiberian settlements in account.



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Julius Agricola a Roman Governor in Britain under the Emperor Domitian, introducing the Roman Arts & Sciences into ENGLAND, the Inhabitants of which are astonished, & soon become fond of the Arts & manners of their cruel Invaders.

### Romanization: To be or not to be Roman

The most cited passage referring to Romanization is Tacitus' *Agricola* 21, often interpreted as proof for the active Romanization of the barbarians in Britannia:

*“Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque inbella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuuare publice, uttempla fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnīs: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. [2] iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam [3] concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.”<sup>40</sup>*

This quote led to the artistic interpretation presented in Barnard's *New Complete History of England*. One of the many –zations used in the historical debate concerning the Celtiberians is ‘Romanization’. This thesis on the influence of the Romans on the urban development of the Celtiberians cannot be written without “–zations”. The Spanish discourse on Celtiberians is full of –zations, or in Spanish –zaciones: Celtización, Iberización, Helenización and of course Romanización.<sup>41</sup> What are they and why are they so important? They refer to processes leading to a change in a culture under influence of the culture named. The first two are used to explain the origin of the mixed culture of the Celtiberians, the reason why we use this composite name to refer to these peoples. These two –zaciones are part of the debate treated shortly in the introduction on the origin of the Celtiberians.<sup>42</sup> The third is problematic, not only because it refers to a process, but also because it refers to a period. Hellenization has a

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<sup>40</sup> Tac. Ag. 21: “The following winter passed without disturbance, and was employed in salutary measures. For, to accustom to rest and repose through the charms of luxury a population scattered and barbarous and therefore inclined to war, Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic, and reproving the indolent. Thus an honourable rivalry took the place of compulsion. He likewise provided a liberal education for the sons of the chiefs, and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence. Hence, too, a liking sprang up for our style of dress, and the "toga" became fashionable. Step by step they were led to things which dispose to vice, the lounge, the bath, the elegant banquet. All this in their ignorance, they called civilization, when it was but a part of their servitude.”

<sup>41</sup> Celtización: Burillo-Mozota (1988b), Iberización: Ruiz-Zapatero (1983), Almagro-Gorbea (1978), de Hoz (2005) Helenización: de Hoz (2005).

<sup>42</sup> For further reference: Burillo-Mozota (2008a), (1991), (1988): Llorio (1997).

clear connotation with the Hellenistic period, 330 – 30 BCE. However, in the context of the Celtiberians, it is used to refer to the changes on the Iberian Peninsula in the period of the Greek colonisations, between the seventh and the fifth century BCE.<sup>43</sup> The last term, Romanization, is the main focus of this chapter and the most relevant to the research. Therefore it will be the only one discussed in order to overcome the burdensome theoretical analysis of all different processes.

The concept of Romanization is a difficult one, treated in the seemingly never-ending Romanization debate. The Romanization debate started in the nineteenth century when Mommsen introduced the term in his work *The History of Rome*.<sup>44</sup> He used this term without any clear explanation, but after close reading, it becomes apparent that he refers to the changes initiated only by the presence of the more civilised Romans: “*In bewußter Weise entwickelte zuerst Gaius Gracchus den Gedanken die Provinzen des römischen Staats durch die italische Emigration zu kolonisieren, das heißt zu romanisieren, und legte Hand an die Ausführung desselben.*”<sup>45</sup> Or his reference how the economy worked: “*die Romanisierung der unterworfenen Länder hat in der Annahme der römischen Münze einen ihrer wichtigsten Hebel gefunden.*”<sup>46</sup>

The meaning of the word has been open for debate since then. The methods of becoming Roman are the focus of the Romanization discussion. Obviously, as most Iberian scientists focus on their own area and write in their own language, a Romanization debate fitting their ideas has risen. Therefore, since the last decade the Romanization of the Celtic Iberian peoples has been debated as a narrative on its own.<sup>47</sup> Obviously, this Iberian Romanization debate has its roots in the overall discourse of the European West, and I will therefore assert the general discourse. Clearly, the difficulties of the term Romanization and the different possible methods have been taken into account by the Spanish researchers.<sup>48</sup> Curchin holds a special position as he treads between the Iberian and the Western European discourse with his research on the Romanization of central Spain in a book with the same title.

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<sup>43</sup> Almagro (1994) & de Hoz (2005).

<sup>44</sup> Mommsen (1894), 554.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, Band II Buch IV.12 p. 409.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, Band II Buch IV.11 p. 401.

<sup>47</sup> E.g: Hernández-Guerra (2005), Blaquez (1989) and Curchin (2004). Keay (2001), 117; states that the Spanish Romanization debate is almost non existing, based on the assumption, by Spanish scholars, that the relation between Italia and Hispania came natural as part of a dialectical cultural relationship’ and does not need explanation. Keay argues that this is incorrect as there is enough evidence to support another thesis, one of a more active romanization by the Romans and the elite (p. 137).

<sup>48</sup> Curchin (2004), 10.

In his work, Curchin explains the most often used and proposed methods of Romanization and argues what difficulties and advantages each have. At the end of treatise of these methods, he states which method is the most logical according to his ideas.<sup>49</sup> Because his presentation of this difficult and ongoing discourse is put in a very clear and easy to understand schematic model, I will use his schema, without the bias of his preference, as a good guideline for the different ways to interpret the possibilities of Romanization. This model will also be used to place the history of the discourse in perspective. Curchin recognizes five different methods of Romanization, which he placed and presented in a simple schema:

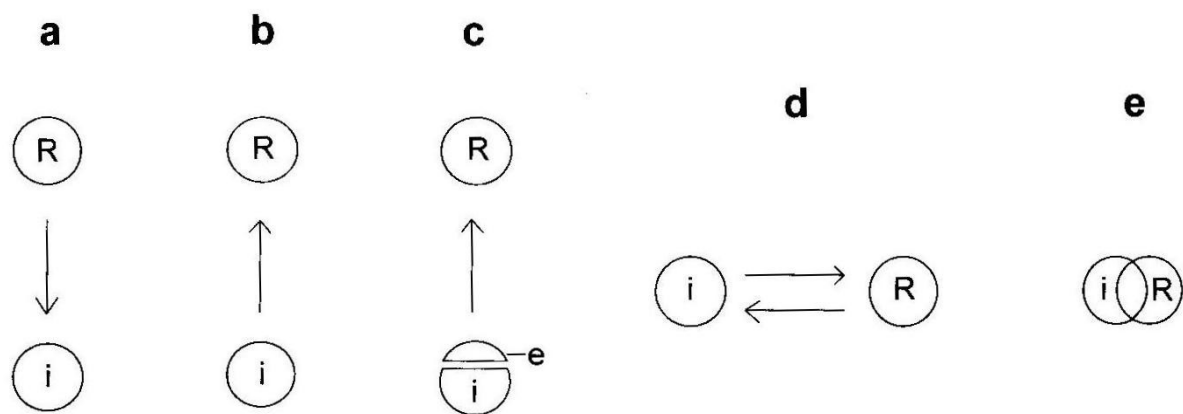


Fig. 4: Models of 'Romanization', showing the roles of the roles of the Roman (R) and indigenous (i) actors. Arrows indicate the direction of initiative. **a** dominance model; **b** self-'Romanization' model; **c** elite model (e=elite); **d** interaction model; **e** integration model (after: Curchin (2004), p 12. Fig 1.4)

The **dominance model (a)** is top-down and it was used and tried as part of the colonial debate and therefore it can be found in the work of Haverfield.<sup>50</sup> He shifted from Mommsen's idea of change due to Roman presence.<sup>51</sup> Haverfield was the first to claim an interaction between Romans and locals, by active domination policy of Rome.<sup>52</sup> In the end, the visions of Mommsen and Haverfield were part of the discourse in the colonial world and, without any regard to the status and culture of the indigenous peoples; the Romans and Romanization are described within a discourse based on the resemblance with the Colonial Empires of their own age. The natural cultural dominance of the Western culture was thought to have its origin in

<sup>49</sup> Curchin (2004), 12 ff. he gives a short interpretation of the model and its use in the current debate. The excellent pictorial presentation of the different models had me to present this unchanged in this thesis.

<sup>50</sup> Haverfield (1912), 5 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Haverfield (1912).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, 4.

the Roman culture.<sup>53</sup> However, some scholars still try to explain the process by this method, it seems to befit the Roman administration imposed on local communities. The expansion of the Roman Empire is of another order than the colonization of the British Empire in the Colonial Era. Overall, this dominance vision is discarded for its colonial connotation.<sup>54</sup>

Although the researchers after the postcolonial paradigm shift were aware of this idea of the Western Supremacy, they still had a dichotomous perspective as they portray the Romans as the dominant culture, whereas the indigenous peoples, obviously, are the dominated culture. For instance, in the 1970s and 1980s an acculturation theory was tried.<sup>55</sup> Within this research cultural aspects were used to measure the effect of ‘Romanization’. As different traits became adapted to the Roman system, the indigenous culture became Romanized.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, quantity methods were introduced to show the ways of interaction, for instance quantifying artefact dispersion.<sup>57</sup> The article by van der Leeuw tries to demonstrate this possibility of interaction by the example of fur trade along the Great Lakes in the early American Colonisation.<sup>58</sup> The idea behind these researches in the 1970s and 1980s was a more equal model: the **self-‘Romanization’ model (b)**. Van der Leeuw sees possibilities for a one-way process.<sup>59</sup> This self-Romanization model is also the bottom-up model as stated by Millet in his work. *The Romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation*.<sup>60</sup> This model accepts the indigenous peoples as actors in the process. However, this active role goes thus far that the Romans lost this position and are completely passive. It fits the initial meaning of Romanization by Mommsen; only the presence of the Romans is enough to have the locals accept the more civilised culture.<sup>61</sup> In my opinion, this cannot be the case. For example, the cities, as the following chapters show, were modelled after Roman example by Romans, and not because the locals start building after Roman model because it was the better way. Next to the passive role of the Romans, this model implies an acceptance of inferiority of culture by the indigenous peoples.<sup>62</sup> Innovative in this point of view was the position of the local elite as an active agent in the process: the

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<sup>53</sup> *Noch heutigestags stellt jenes Gebiet im wesentlichen den Inbegriff der romanischen Kultur dar, während dieses dagegen aus der europäischen Civilisation sich ausgeschieden hat.* Mommsen (1894), Band II Buch IV.11 p. 401.

<sup>54</sup> Curchin (2004), 13.

<sup>55</sup> Slofstra & Brand, (1983).

<sup>56</sup> Roymans, (1983).

<sup>57</sup> Leeuw (1983).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, 26.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, 29.

<sup>60</sup> Millet (1990a), 38.

<sup>61</sup> Mommsen, (1894), 554.

<sup>62</sup> Curchin (2004), 13.

Romans did not impose Romanization upon the locals, the local elite itself chose for identification with Roman culture by adapting to it and later adopting the culture as theirs.<sup>63</sup>

This brings us to the third model: the **elite-model (c)** with the trickle-down effect. This is an interesting model, which has followers since its proposal by Brunt.<sup>64</sup> The basis of this idea is an interaction between Romans and local elite: the Roman political structure allows the local elite the *cursus honorum* to rise peacefully without the old *potlatch* based power system.<sup>65</sup> This *potlatch* system, fuelled by the spoils of raids, was prohibited by the *Pax Romana*, which led to peace in the empire. With their customs to ensure power taken away the chieftains had no base for their power. However, different writers have opposed the elite point of view as Curchin shows.<sup>66</sup> The main argument to discard this model is the passive position of the lower class: they do not have an active role, but just follow automatically after the elite has been Romanized.

The above treated three methods are part of the unidirectional tradition of acculturation. Acculturation was a construct by Powell from 1880, by which he meant a mental process.<sup>67</sup> This process has always been regarded as quite simple and direct one; two different peoples or cultures in contact will lead to cultural changes in the 'subordinate' culture.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the idea was based on the assumption that the subordinate group automatically was assimilated completely in the dominant culture, of course after it had adapted to the dominant culture. This idea was based on a fairness principle; if the subordinate became part of the dominant group the subordinate had the same possibilities.<sup>69</sup> A big critique on this model is the impossibility of biculturalism, as one is completely assimilated into a foreign culture his own culture is lost. Despite of this theory ignoring biculturalism, it still is a much needed concept as it can be attested in modern day ethnic

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<sup>63</sup> Millet (1990a), 111.

<sup>64</sup> Brunt (1976) followers are: Millet (1990b), Woolf (1998), Roymans (1996).

<sup>65</sup> Cunliffe (1997), 88 on potlatch culture: 'Once the raid had become part of the status system, there was an inbuilt imperative to intensify. A successful raid with spoils to distribute provided enhanced status for the leader so that on the next occasion he would attract more followers and there would be increased expectations.' In the Celitic world this would be cattle raids. As a chieftain initiates a cattle raid, he has some men joining him. After a successful raid the spoils would be divided. The next raid more men join as there is a 'promise' of success, the downside is the fact that more cattle has to be raided. If the chieftain succeeds in raiding enough for the enlarged group his name and fame grows, as does the next raiding party.

In Roman times this would have shifted to a power and status based on the Roman protection by patronage. Cunliffe (1997), 217.

<sup>66</sup> Curchin (2004), 13.

<sup>67</sup> Rudmin (2009), 111.

<sup>68</sup> Rudmin (2006), 3, see also: Kang (2006), 670; Berry et alii (2006), 305. The subordinate culture is the culture overpowered by the dominant culture. This overpowerment can be in numbers, military or politically.

<sup>69</sup> Ngo (2008).

minorities (people calling themselves, Chinese Americans or Mexican Americans).<sup>70</sup> With the realisation that this theory is based on the superiority of the western culture and the prospect of extinction of all other cultures new theories had to be developed.

These new theories are somewhat difficult as they rely on a bidimensional interaction. The first of the bidimensional and the fourth of Curchin's models is: **the interaction model (d)**. This model proposes a two-way influential process. Furthermore, this model partly fits the ideas of acculturation, which occurs when people of different cultures, thus strangers, meet. Or as Plato put it: "*The intercourse of cities with one another is apt to create a confusion of manners; strangers are always suggesting novelties to strangers.*"<sup>71</sup> The interaction model is the first model accepting an equal relation between the indigenous and Roman culture, hence the position next to each other instead of the upper and lower culture. In theory, as the indigenous people accept aspects of the Roman culture, the Romans themselves incorporate parts of the local cultures in their culture as well. At first sight, this model might be a good explanation for what happens for instance in the Gallo-Roman religion, where we encounter a syncretised religion with gods such as Apollo-Grannus and Hercules-Magusanus revered in the Gallo-Roman temples.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, there are no examples of Celtiberian syncretic deities as the *interpretatio Romana* has led to the complete loss of these gods. The sources on the Celtiberian gods are scarce and seldomly mention the Celtiberian names.<sup>73</sup> References in Latin are always to Roman deities, although they might refer to Celtiberian gods, as the *interpretatio Romana* allows.<sup>74</sup> However, by 'double *interpretatio*' we can reconstruct which deities were mentioned, at first the Roman name is interpreted conform the Gallo-Roman interpretation to a Celtic god and then linked, linguistically, to one of the few known Celtiberian gods.<sup>75</sup> However, the model is based on two separate cultures influencing each other instead of the adaptation of two cultures into one,

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<sup>70</sup> Kang (2006), 670.

<sup>71</sup> Plato, *Laws*, p. 471

<sup>72</sup> Nouwen (2006), 82.

<sup>73</sup> Sopeña (2005), 347.

<sup>74</sup> *Interpretatio Romano* is the Roman custom to refer to alien gods by known names of gods. The term is used as such in Tacitus in 43.4: *apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesit sacerdos muliebriornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea visi numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.* (my own emphasis)

Loeb translation: *Among the Naharvali is shown a grove, the seat of a prehistoric ritual. A priest presides in female dress, but the gods commemorated there are, according to the interpretatio Romana, Castor and Pollux. That, at least, is the power manifested by the godhead, whose name is Alci. There are no images, no trace of any foreign superstition, but nevertheless, they worship these gods as brothers and young men.*

Another example of this *Interpretatio Romana* is found in Caesar *De Bello Gallico* book VI . XVII. For further reading: Ando, C. (2005).

<sup>75</sup> Sopeña (2005), 349.

which is the result of the last model.<sup>76</sup> The interaction model implies monolithic culture blocks changing because of contact. As the indigenous cultures are in contact with Rome, they will be a mix of the local and Roman. As this construct presents cultures as monolithic block it leaves out earlier influences, such as the Celtic and Iberian cultural merger the name Celtiberian itself implies. However, the Roman culture would become a mixture of all different cultures that are part of the Roman Empire. Similarly, Terrenato works with *bricolage*.<sup>77</sup> He proposes this model in order to generate an awareness of the multicultural aspect of the Romanization process. As I interpret and extrapolate this idea to the whole empire, he proposes neither an empire that is a homogenous Roman Empire nor a dichotomous Empire with only the Roman and the indigenous. In contrast, he proposes an empire in which the different cultures would have been mixed creating all sorts of local cultures as to be seen in the case of the Gallo-Roman culture and Hispano-Roman or the proposed Celtibero-Roman culture.<sup>78</sup>

If we regard culture not as a monolithic block and neither as a collection of cultures by *bricolage* but as a ‘cultural concept’, which is constantly changing and adapted to a new situation, this model becomes a possibility.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, this is tried by Versluys in his ‘cultural biography’ thesis; he has studied this within the Egyptian and Roman sphere.<sup>80</sup> The cultural biography is most easily understood by an example of a single object. For instance the concept of the villa: the idea of the villa rose in the Hellenistic world, this is the start of the cultural biography of the villa.<sup>81</sup> The Romans adapted this idea of the villa and changed it as they reinterpreted the use and added some new concepts, such as the division in the *pars rustica*, the part devoted to farming, and the *pars urbana*, the part for living and inviting friends. The ‘cultural biography’ of the villa has gotten a new layer. In the Celtiberian sphere the villa in La Caridad has lost its Roman meaning and gained a Celtiberian reinterpretation. This can be observed in the dispersion of tools related to stock raising throughout the entire villa. In the case of La Caridad this division in a *pars rustica* and *pars urbana* seems not to be

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<sup>76</sup> Curchin (2004), 14.

<sup>77</sup> Terrenato (1998), 24.

<sup>78</sup> Almagro-Gorbea & Lorrio (2007), 166.

<sup>79</sup> Versluys (2010), 8.

<sup>80</sup> This was presented as *Cultural Innovation in a Globalising Society: Egypt in the Roman World* as a seminar in the Utrecht University Seminars “Rond de Antieke Wereld” on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January 2013. And will be treated as a chapter in: M. Pitts, M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman world: perspectives and opportunities* (2013).

<sup>81</sup> Biers (1997), 295.



present at all.<sup>82</sup> Hereby ‘cultures’ had interaction with the concept of villa and both changed as the object, in this case the villa, has gained new phases in its ‘cultural biography’.

The interaction model is an integral part of the fifth: the **integration model (e)**. This model based on the principle of interaction, surpasses the idea of two separate cultures. Instead of two separate cultures, both changing bit by bit, there is to be seen a third and new ‘provincial’ culture.<sup>83</sup> Next to this provincial culture there is room for possible ‘purists’ and isolated individuals that do not accept the other culture or have not been in contact, as the, well-chosen, Venn-diagram shows. This threefold outcome can be recognised in the acculturation model. Unfortunately not part of Curchin’s schema, but well put in a model developed by Berry.<sup>84</sup>

The possible responses to cultural contact have been grouped by Berry into what is known as the ‘Berry-model’ creating four possibilities: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization, based on the answers to two question with Yes or No (fig. 2)

		Issue 1: Retain own cultural identity	
		YES	NO
Issue 2: value relationship with dominant society	YES	Integration: Maintains original culture and is part of the larger society.	Assimilation: Does not maintain original culture and seeks interaction with dominant society.
	NO	Separation: Values preserving original culture and avoids interaction with dominant society.	Marginalization: No interest in maintaining one’s culture and no interest in interacting with the dominant culture.

Fig. 5: Berry-Model (Berry, 1997).

These responses and Berry’s theories are part of the bidimensional acculturation tradition that proposes an active role for both groups in contact. With the ‘Berry-model’ the two groups had a way to respond to the new culture accepting it, or not, with losing their own culture, or not. Although the Berry-model seemed to be functioning, there were critiques and problems with the model. For example, the marginalization is no choice but rather a failure of entering the preferred group.<sup>85</sup> The choice for integration most likely leads to marginalization, because the incompatibility of cultural norms, which will lead to extreme stress or the

<sup>82</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 335.

<sup>83</sup> Curchin (2004), 14.

<sup>84</sup> Berry (1997).

<sup>85</sup> Rudmin (2006), 12.

perception by others as deceptive because of denouncing core cultural traits.<sup>86</sup> Thereby two opposed outcomes are strongly linked. The link even goes further: as no one chooses to marginalize himself or herself, the only possibility of becoming marginalized must be the result of a faulty integration.<sup>87</sup>

Another aspect taken in account by Rudmin in his lengthy article with comments on the fourfold model is the double-barrelled aspect, which suggests that the model links two outcomes, as seen in the integration/marginalization. This can be linked with the ipsative responses: one can only answer with yes or no. Obviously, the acculturation process is not as black and white as stated in this model, there are at least fifty shades of grey within the model Rudmin shows (fig. 3). In this figure the fourfold model is not composed by the two questions but by the attitude towards

the two cultures, placing individuals independently.<sup>88</sup> In order to obtain the position of an individual a Likert-scale questionnaire is to be used, as questionnaire with more than one question and more than two answers per question.<sup>89</sup> Clearly, this has no use to the historian trying to understand the processes in Ancient History; unfortunately there is no way to obtain the needed information to position individuals in this new improved model. However, it speaks to the mind and gives us matter to think about.

Another, relatively new, vision on Romanization proposed by several scholars, amongst others the above-mentioned Terrenato and Versluys, who put it in the title of their work, is the idea of approaching Romanization through globalization.<sup>90</sup> Apparently, globalization is so new to ancient history that it has eluded Curchin's models. This concept at first might seem completely ludicrous, using a concept that is constructed to understand our

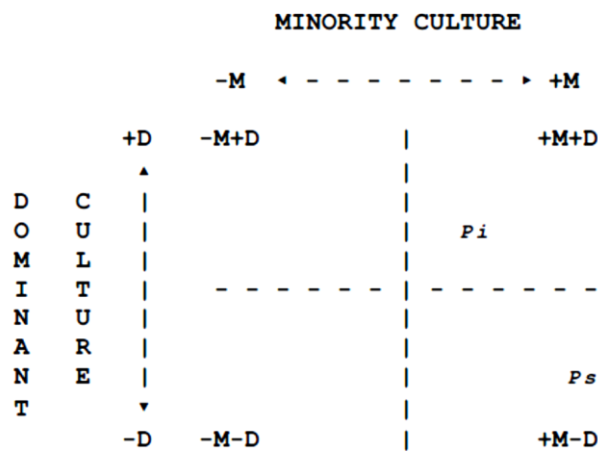


Fig. 6: Dimensional depiction of the fourfold acculturation construct based on positive or negative attitudes towards minority (M) and dominant (D) cultures: +M+D (biculturalism or integration), -M+D (assimilation), +M-D (separation) and -M-D ("marginalization" or multiculturalism). Hypothetical data show person *Pi* as an integrationist and person *Ps* as a separationist. by Rudmin (2006) p. 25 fig. 1.

<sup>86</sup> Rudmin (2006), 13.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, 21.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, 26.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*, 27.

<sup>90</sup> Versluys (2013); Pitts (2008); Hingley (2005); Terrenato (1998) albeit in Terrenato more in the idea of Global acculturation, an idea not completely treated in his short article.

own fast changing and connected world. However, processes of interaction and integration are part of our world and the ancient world, comparing both worlds might give new insights. Indeed caution is needed, as Pitts states in his work. The scale, the speed and the politics, are completely different from the Roman Empire and our own world.<sup>91</sup>

However, Hingley defends the use of the term globalization with the Roman idea of having conquered the globe, *orbs*. He even wants to go as far as stating the Roman Empire was the first “global” empire.<sup>92</sup> Notwithstanding this defence of the use of the term globalization, we still have to explain and defend the use of the concept. The interesting aspect of this theory is the ‘concept of connectivity’, as Pitts states. The worldwide social relations and compression of space and time are part of this concept.<sup>93</sup> This fits the Roman Empire for it did connect parts of the world that were not in contact until they became part of the empire. Moreover, the structure of roads might enable one to travel faster over longer distances and therefore the idea of a smaller world might have been present in this age as well. Thus, the Roman Empire brought different worlds in contact and made contact easier by providing a network to exchange. Not only contact became easier but connectivity was a demand of the imperial economy, as people had to produce a surplus which was spread by this network of trade and tax collection.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, the globalization theory provides us with a new seemingly neutral way to explain the interaction between the different peoples: networks. As we enter the domain of networks we have to step into the possibilities this holds. In my opinion, a good work on network theory and related to ancient history is the work by Malkin, based on the book by Barabási.<sup>95</sup> Although Malkin’s works main focus is on Greek networks, and thus mostly treats the pre-Roman day of the Iberian Peninsula, it holds relevant information on networks in Ancient times in general and some interesting ideas on how networks function. Malkin works with the three different networks recognized and pictured by Barabási (fig. 7).<sup>96</sup> The concept of the centralized network is based on an early hub creating its own net to all end stations.<sup>97</sup> This is a hierarchical network with one central place. In the decentralized network such a prominent central place can be discovered as well. This central hub connects to other hubs, less centrally positioned; nevertheless, central places connecting to their end stations. The last, the distributed, network, connects all places in an equal matter.

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<sup>91</sup> Pitts (2008), 494.

<sup>92</sup> Hingley (2005), 1.

<sup>93</sup> Pitts (2008), 494.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, 494.

<sup>95</sup> Malkin, (2011).

<sup>96</sup> Barabási (2003), 145.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, 144.

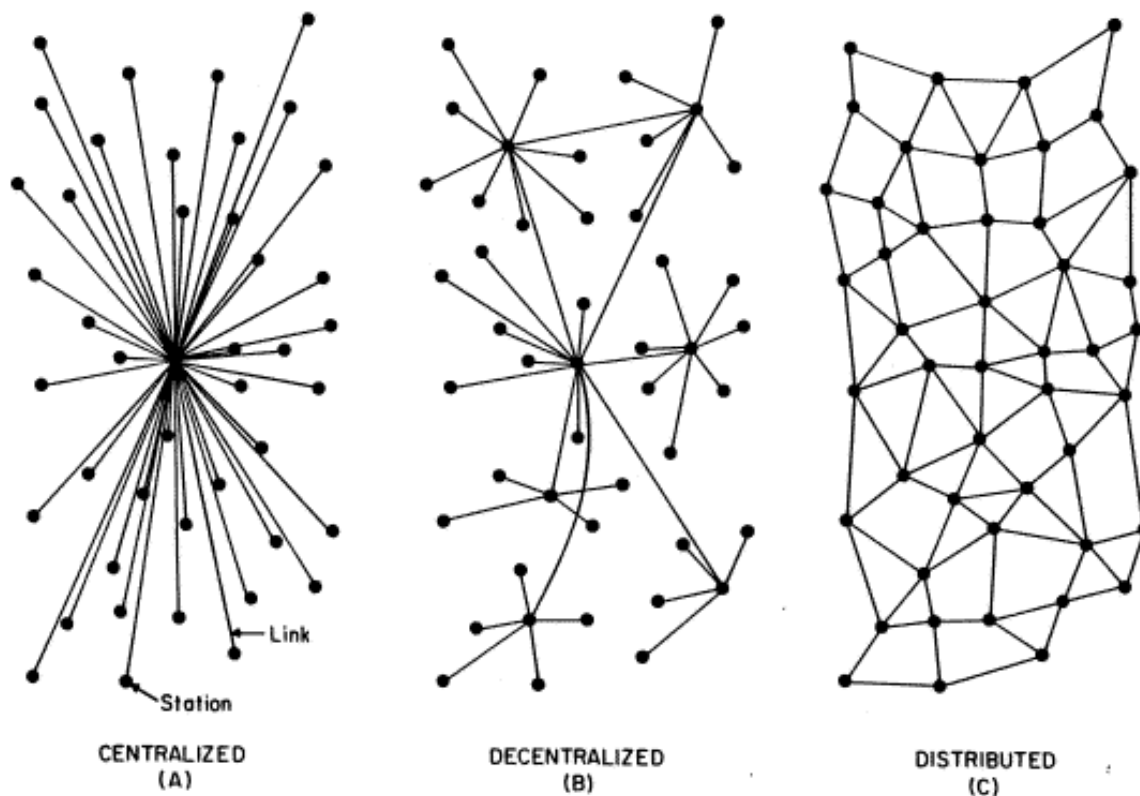


Fig. 7: Centralized, decentralized and distributed networks. (After Barabási (2003) fig. 11.1 p. 145).

Naturally, some scholars recognise Rome as the only urban centre of the Empire with the entire Empire as its hinterland, the centralized network is supported.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, Rome is the central place of the Empire. Nevertheless, I believe the Roman Empire should be seen as a decentralized network, Rome is the centre but the contacts of Rome are centres of their own. In the political construction of the Roman Empire we can see this decentralized network, especially in the three Iberian *provinciae* (see fig. 27, p. 67). Rome is the central hub, the capital of the Empire, the next hubs are the provincial capitals. At their turn they are connected to the *conventus* capitals, which are connected to the end stations, the different settlements. This distribution might explain the differences within the empire, as each hub separates a settlement further from Rome. As each hub the ideas of what is Rome is interpreted and redefined the concept of Rome is changed further along the network.

Unfortunately, similar to all other earlier proposed concepts, neither network theory nor globalization could lead to a widely accepted concept of Romanization.<sup>99</sup> However, with all these different models, Romanization can be used in different ways and is constructed with many methods. In this research, the models by Curchin will be revised conform the

<sup>98</sup> See Malkin (2011).

<sup>99</sup> Naerebout (2006).

anthropological methodology of acculturation, regarding the fact this has been tried earlier. The acculturation concept has been a part of the Romanization debate in the sixties and seventies, but with an emphasis on the acceptance of the Roman culture by the ‘lesser’ culture. In this project the acculturation will be viewed on a local scale, where the Romans had their obvious influence on the Celtiberians and vice versa. Additionally, the use of the fourfold model of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization, can lead to understanding Romanization better. Moreover, the connectivity expressed in the globalization and network theory gives a better understanding of processes prior to the Roman conquest. We can understand the Greek and even Roman influences in the fourth and third century BCE, by looking at the Mediterranean Network described by Malkin.

As the Romanization discourse, and the big problems the debate has brought, are clarified, the question remains, can we state that people were Romanized? Or, to simplify and apply to this thesis, the question should be: were the Celtiberians still Celtiberians after the Roman conquest or did they become Romans? This question is utterly difficult to answer. One does not just walk into *Numantia* or *Termes* and asks the citizen what he or she thinks. Nevertheless, we can visit these sites and search among the artefacts for clues that make it possible to unravel this identity mystery. Obviously, this has been tried often and answers have been found, models applied and methods invented. However, is being Roman or non-Roman that easy? Just add some Roman buildings to your town, such as the amphitheatre, circus and baths, and your town and people are Roman? Moreover, is the dichotomy Roman and non-Roman in order at all?

### **Methods of Romanization**

Next to these above mentioned models, the agency must be assessed in order to understand how the people were Romanized. The process of Romanization can use the above stated paths, but there needs to be an agent to convert indigenous culture. As Curchin states in his explanation of the last model, ‘*This model sees Roman and indigenous elements blended together through intensive contact [...].*’<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, the base of this contact is not given. Of course, there is the presence of Romans in the Roman Empire but might that be enough to have people change? In order to have people change, be it willingly or under pressure, there needs to be a reason for contact and change.

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<sup>100</sup> Curchin (2004), 14.

One of the proposed agents of Romanization is the Roman Legion. This method is partly based on the elite model. For instance, there is the work by Roymans, in which he states that the Romanization by the legions hands the local elite the possibility to make a career.<sup>101</sup> Young men who wish to gain status in pre-Roman times would join a raid or mercenary service in a region over sea.<sup>102</sup> However, as the *Pax Romana* forbade these raids, this mode of status enhancing was lost. Fortunately, the Roman legions provided the possibility to join a good fight as a ‘mercenary’ and gain status as part of auxiliaries.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, the continuous presence of Roman legions from 218 BCE until 19 BCE, as the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula lasted, led to a continuous influx of Roman legionaries from the Italic Peninsula estimated to be 2620 men annually.<sup>104</sup>

Another military agency can be found in the case of the veteran colonies, there might be possibility, albeit on a small scale, for the interaction model. As the Romans conquered parts of the Iberian Peninsula, veterans were rewarded for their service with land, an example is the city of *Gracchuris*.<sup>105</sup> This reward has a double purpose: at first there is the grateful veteran who, possibly, had nothing at all and now is a landowner: secondly, the Roman veterans, being Roman citizens - another reward given after service - stay bound to the newly acquired part of the Roman empire and possibly got local governance.

Another agent of Romanization is through administration. The Roman administration on the one hand has a dominance aspect as it made the conquered people subjects of the Roman Empire: they had to live by the rules. This hands the dominance model a good base to be used and might be the explanation of the persistence of this model. On the other hand, the elite model can be observed as well, the administration could not be in hands of Romans alone. The ever-expanding empire could not provide enough people, as they needed to be Roman citizens, to fulfil the positions. Therefore, the Roman senate granted citizenship to local élite in order to position them within the Roman administration. The new citizens wanted to keep their newly acquired position and lived the Roman life.

The last agent for Romanization is the city. Urban settlements or urbanization, as this process is often regarded as Roman, as agent can be understood with the different models proposed by Curchin. At first, the top-down model, this seems to be vivid enough to publish a

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<sup>101</sup> Roymans (1996).

<sup>102</sup> Cunliffe (1997), 89.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, 217.

<sup>104</sup> Brunt (1971), 663.

<sup>105</sup> Richardson (1986), 102.

book with this dominance model as base for urbanization.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, it seems the case if we regard the fabric of the Roman Empire, from Rome via the *provincia* capitals towards even the smallest settlement. Moreover, the deliberate foundation of *coloniae* gave control over territory. On the other hand, the élite model seems to be supported by the dedication of buildings; indigenous élite created the theatres and temples. As treated above, the élite got Roman citizenship to create more citizens. Is it possible that the lower class just followed the eagerly Romanizing elite? Alternatively, the integration model might fit: in *Numantia* we see a hybrid Celtiberian-Roman house an example of a new architectural innovation as a result of two cultures meeting.<sup>107</sup> Adding to the complexity of urban settlement as agent of Romanization, the Roman cities in Celtiberia had their own style adding to the credibility of a *bricolage* of different cities.<sup>108</sup> *Clunia* and *Termes* are two cities of complete different magnitude. Whereas *Clunia* seems to be a Roman city, with the largest theatre of the Iberian Peninsula constructed following Vitruvius' plans. *Termes* is a Roman city with clear Celtiberian aspects, such as the houses, partially cut into the rock face of the hill. In order to understand the role of urban settlements in the Romanization the concept urban needs to be understood, this is the subject of the next chapter.

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<sup>106</sup> See the different articles in Frentress (2000).

<sup>107</sup> See chapter 4, p. 37.

<sup>108</sup> Terrenato (1998), 24.

### The city as a central place

*“Urban man is exposed not only to the personal predicament, but to that of the social personality, of the society to which he belongs as a person.”*<sup>109</sup>

The importance of urban settlements for Roman history has become clear after a chapter on ‘Romanization’. Many works focus on the role of the urban centres in the Romanization process. Roman culture seems to be spread from urban centres to the newly conquered areas. Therefore, there is almost no work on Romanization without a chapter, or at least a part, on the importance of urbanism and cities for the Romanization process.<sup>110</sup> In order to investigate the relation between Romanization and urbanization, we need to define what is urban and understand the process of urbanization, or as Lomas stated: *“An understanding of urbanization is central to understanding mechanisms of Roman rule in Italy, and the processes of acculturation.”*<sup>111</sup> To my opinion, this fits the situation in the entire Roman Empire and as such the Iberian Peninsula as well. The concept of urbanization needs to be understood in order to understand the relation with Romanization. Moreover, and more importantly, the concept of an urban centre needs to be defined in order to understand the process towards urban society.

Urbanization is an interesting concept; it is a social process in which people end up living in complex communities: cities. The former simpler community changed from family ties and self-sustainability into a system of people living together in a complex society depending on the specialization of others. This complexity is to be found in the number of contacts needed and the dependency on these contacts: a potter needs contact with a farmer for food; on the other hand, the farmer needs pottery. These contacts are inside and outside urban society: the farmer might have interest in the new technology of iron ploughshares and becomes dependent on trades.<sup>112</sup> This chapter focuses on the importance of relations of the urban settlement with other settlements nearby and possibly far away. Obviously, dependence on nearby urban settlements might have different reasons: industry, protection, labour, trade

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<sup>109</sup> Rykwert (1976), 195.

<sup>110</sup> Millet (1990a), 65: The Maturity of the ‘Civitates’, Woolf (1998), 106: Urbanizing the Gauls, Hingley (2003), 77: Creating Urban space & Curchin (2004), 64: From hill fort to city. The work *The City in the Roman West* has the first chapter: The creation of an urban culture, implying an active role of the Romans in the urban culture in the west.

<sup>111</sup> Lomas (1997), 21.

<sup>112</sup> Cucó i Giner, J. (2008), 82.



and access to other urban settlements. Clearly, the relation and dependency is not a one-way interaction. The urban settlements need non-urban settlements as well. Moreover, the urban centre needs other urban centres: there are more people and places out there, which provide new entrances into the network of urban settlements. Ultimately, creating interconnected and hierarchically organized settlements.

This chapter will research the concept of urban centres. How was urban defined in the historical discourse? What is the use of these almost ancient definitions of the city? Lastly, how can we research the interconnectivity of different types of settlements? The problem of definition occurs already in the ancient sources: Appian uses the word *polis*<sup>113</sup> to refer to the Celtiberian settlements of importance; Ampelius calls *Contrebia* a *civitas*<sup>114</sup>; and Livy even used the word *urbs*<sup>115</sup> in this context, although referring to a Vaccean town. Unfortunately, the words used by the Celtiberians are unknown, but by linguistic reconstruction of place names the word *\*kortom* has been constructed by Untermann.<sup>116</sup> These problems of definition are not exclusively for ancient historians. Regarding the English language, used in this paper, there are different words for the urban construction: town, city, urban or metropolis. Often it depends on what one thinks fits the settlement described, based on ‘common sense’ or the function of the settlement.<sup>117</sup> To avoid the discussion of the English use of town, city, urban and metropolis, I will refer to the settlements as ‘urban settlement’ and ‘non-urban settlement’. However, in the discourse on Celtiberian settlements there is the differentiation between *castro*<sup>118</sup> and *oppidum*.<sup>119</sup> In this discourse an *oppidum* is what I consider the urban settlement and will be used in this way in the analysis of the Celtiberian settlements; the *castro* (derived from the Roman *castrum*) is a smaller enwalled settlement, which is not

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<sup>113</sup> Appian, *Hisp.* 53.

<sup>114</sup> Ampelius, *Lib. Mem.* 18.

<sup>115</sup> Livy, *Per.* 48.

<sup>116</sup> Untermann (1996), 120. The reconstruction is based on known place names and references on the tesserae hospitals.

<sup>117</sup> Laurens, Esmonde Cleary & Sears (2011), 1.

<sup>118</sup> *Castro* (pl: *castros*) are the smaller enwalled settlements in Iberia, not to be confused with the Latin *castrum* (pl: *castra*), the Roman fortified encampment. I choose to use the Spanish word *castro* instead of the English hill fort. This because I feel the English phrase does not cover the idea of a permanent settlement, but rather refers to a fort or fortification. For more information, see chapter 4.

<sup>119</sup> *Oppidum* is a word of Latin origin and is often used to refer to an enwalled settlement. There is no urban or non-urban ring to it. As Caesar once called a fortified wood an *oppidum* (Caes. Gal. 5.21.) and Varro once refers to Rome as an *oppidum* (Varro *Lingua Latina* 5 XXXIV): “*Praeterea intra muros video portas dici in Palatio Mucionis a mugitu, quod ea pecus in buceta tum ante antiquum oppidum exigebant; alteram Romanulam, ab Roma dictam, quae habet gradus in Nova Via ad Volupiae sacellum.*” Loeb translation: “*Besides, inside the walls, I see, there are gates on the Palatine: the Gate of Mucio, from mugitus ‘lowing’, because by it they drove the herds out into the cow-pastures which were then in front of the ancient town (antiquum oppidum); a second called the Romanula ‘Little Roman’, named from Rome, which has steps in the New Street at the Chapel of Volupia.*”

considered an urban settlement.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, in the case studies the different urban settlements will be called *oppida* and the settlements known as *castros* will thus be called.

### **Beyond Roman Urbanism**

The question remains, what is an urban centre? If we regard the latest UN-*Demographic Yearbook 2009-2010*, in which every state gives its definition of the city, we see many different definitions per country taking an array of things in account to form the ‘best’ definition of urban for their country.<sup>121</sup> Each country has its own definition and this is unchallenged and readily accepted in the UN-report, adding settlements to the research that are not considered a city by some countries. For example, on the Iberian Peninsula: Spain considers a settlement urban if it surmounts the threshold of 2,000 inhabitants, whereas these settlements are considered non-urban in Portugal as the threshold is 10,000 inhabitants. These different definitions rise from the differences in these countries. I believe we need to follow the United Nations regarding the definition of an urban centre for ancient history. We must not use Rome or Athens as the threshold for urban settlements in ancient history. Rome should be seen in its context, as should the Greek *poleis*. Of course, this should be applied to the ‘barbarian’ settlements as well. The problem to overcome is the fact that there is such big difference between the Greek *poleis* and Rome on one side and the barbarian settlements on the other, how to create a definition encompassing this range of settlements?

Generally, urbanization in the Western Roman Empire is often seen as a result of ‘Romanization’, and many books and articles have been written on this relation.<sup>122</sup> Surely, there is a relation between the developments of the cities, their monumentalization, their refoundation and the apparent ‘Roman look’ after the Roman conquest.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, the urban settlements after Roman conquest have changed and contain all one needs to live the Roman Life, as stated by Liebeschuetz.<sup>124</sup> But, does this automatically mean that these settlements were not urban before the Roman conquest? Should we consider nineteenth century New

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<sup>120</sup> The Spanish *castro* has nothing to do with the Roman *castrum*, other than the fact it is a derivative of this latin word. I choose to use the Spanish word *castro* (pl: *castros*) instead of the English hill fort in order to avoid confusion with the European discourse and to stay close to the Spanish discourse on the development of these settlements.

<sup>121</sup> UN-*Demographic Yearbook 2009-2010* (2011), 105 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Already from the beginning of the discourse with Mommsen: *Die Abschaffung der keltischen Gau- und die Einführung der italischen Stadtverfassung bahnte die Romanisierung des reichen und wichtigen Gebietes an; es war dies der erste Schritt zu der langen und folgenreichen Umgestaltung des gallischen Stammes, im Gegensatz zu dem und zu dessen Abwehr einstmals Italien sich zusammengefunden hatte, in Genossen ihrer italischen Herren*. Band II Buch IV.7 p. 240. Fentress, (2000) edited a complete work on this relation. See also: Laurence, Cleary, Sears, (2011), Woolf (1998).

<sup>123</sup> Zanker (2000), 36ff.

<sup>124</sup> Liebeschuetz (1992), 2.

York and London villages, as they have changed in the twentieth century in a new sort of urban centre, from industrial into the post-industrial cities? As an urban centre develops, its former status should not be reconsidered. We do not define Dickens' London as rural just because London has changed. No, we define it as urban because it fits the context of the nineteenth century. This way we should also regard the pre-Roman settlements. If the pre-Roman settlement pattern allows us to consider a 'barbarian' settlement urban, we should do so.

Can we recognise clear aspects of cities, as stated for instance in the work of Childe?<sup>125</sup> In order to research the settlements rising to urban settlements in antiquity, there needs to be a good definition or concept which can be applied. This way the urban settlements can be distinguished from other settlements, avoiding the problem of comparing urban and non-urban settlements. However, there are no all encompassing definitions for urban settlements. Each research field uses its own definitions. Moreover, each context needs its own definition, as already stated Ancient Rome cannot be compared with Post-Industrial London. Therefore, I will define what should be regarded a city in the case of the Celtiberians, prior and after the Roman conquest.

The problem of definition and context is based on the different discourses of historians and pre-historians. Whereas historians regard urban centres as a result of Romanization, pre-historians regard some of the pre-Roman or as they prefer, the Iron Age settlements, as urban.<sup>126</sup> According to Woolf this is only a discourse on different definitions.<sup>127</sup> To my opinion, this discourse goes further and has implications for our understanding of the way the Roman Empire worked. Urban settlements are a prerequisite for Romanization, instead of a result. As argued in the part on Romanization, the change the Romans brought concerns the network. As already quoted above, Finley sees the city as a 'pivotal institution'<sup>128</sup>, which I take as a hub in a network.<sup>129</sup> As will be shown in the case of the Celtiberian urban settlements, there was a network that had hubs or urban settlements. Still I have not given a good way to define which settlements are urban and which are not.

In the case of urbanism, there are two discourses relevant: the anthropological discourse treating urbanism in general, and the ancient-city discourse interrogating the definition of an urban centre in ancient history. As the anthropological discourse started in the

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<sup>125</sup> Childe (1950), 9ff. This is the work with the 10 aspects that can define a city as these 10 elements can be found in all cities of the Mayan, Indus, Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations.

<sup>126</sup> Woolf (1998), 106.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, 107.

<sup>128</sup> Finley (1977), 327.

<sup>129</sup> For network theory *supra* p. 23ff.

early 1930s considering the start of the urban centre with the Industrial Revolution, it is of little use for understanding the development of the ancient city.<sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, it becomes relevant in order to define the urban centre, as some interesting *definiencia* are given: Wirth defines the city as a permanent, dense, heterogeneous and widespread settlement.<sup>131</sup> His definition is partly based on what Aristotle stated that the increasing number of inhabitants influences the relations in a settlement. The city is born as a settlement grows and the number of inhabitants allows specialization.<sup>132</sup> Wirth's definition is not easy to use. We still have to define at what point a settlement has grown to the needed size. In addition, as Wirth states, size in inhabitant numbers alone is arbitrary as a *definiens*.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, it is often used in order to make a clear division between an urban centre and non-urban centres, this can be seen in most definitions in the UN-demographic, which are based on a minimum number of inhabitants.

Another size related *definiens* is size in hectares. In the case of ancient settlements, we often lack the sources to determine the number of inhabitants. Defining the size in hectares of a settlement is often much easier. Indeed, often references to settlements in hectares are given in order to add some persuasive power, as size is taken to be relevant for the definition of a city. For instance, in the case of the *oppida* in Celtic Hispania a study was done on the sizes of the *oppida*, although in the article was stated that size is of secondary relevance for the definition of an urban settlement.<sup>134</sup> The *oppida* treated in this study were chosen on their relevance as *oppida*, based on their territory, their contacts and social hierarchy.<sup>135</sup> Regarding the Celtiberian *oppida* in this study, we can see an enormous range in hectares. The largest settlement is supposedly *Segontia Lanca* (Langa de Duero), which is thought to have been 60 hectares, the largest settlement attested is *Numantia* over 32 hectares. These settlements are neither enormous nor large; they have the same size as Rome at its humble beginning at the Palatine hill and the Velia in the tenth century BCE.<sup>136</sup> In comparison to fourth century BCE Rome, roughly the same time as the rise of the *oppida*, these large *oppida* are small: Rome within the Servian wall was about 427 hectares.<sup>137</sup> As already stated, every settlement should be regarded within its own context.

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<sup>130</sup> Cucó i Giner (2008), 85; Wirth (1938), 3.

<sup>131</sup> Wirth (1938), 10 ff.

<sup>132</sup> Aristotle *Pol.* VII 1325b ff.

<sup>133</sup> Wirth (1938), 4.

<sup>134</sup> Almagro & Dávila (1995), 209ff.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, 210.

<sup>136</sup> Gros & Torelli (2007), 105.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibidem*, 105.

Clearly, size does not matter. It might provide us with an easy way to start the investigation, as large settlements often are urban centres. Nevertheless, whether we regard the size of the settlement itself or the area in control of the settlement, we find an unsatisfactory range of settlements. Another way of defining a settlement as urban is its relation with, or control over, other settlements as already seen in the *definiens* of *oppida* for the study of Almagro.<sup>138</sup> The definition of the ancient city as a settlement in control of an area with other settlements is as old as the discourse itself. In Xenophon's *Hellenica* the relation between Mantinea and the four villages in its area is mentioned.<sup>139</sup> As Mantinea falls into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, the population of the city is dispersed over the four villages. This relation between a city and the surrounding agrarian lands and villages can be found in Cicero. Here the beneficial relation between village and city is formulated: the village provides the needed food, whereas the city provides the place to collect the fruits and house the farmers.<sup>140</sup> Fustel de Coulanges was the first to recognise this relation between the city and the surrounding settlements. In the case of Athens he states: "*Dès lors l'unité athénienne fut fondée: religieusement, chaque canton conserva son ancien culte, mais tous adoptèrent un culte commun; politiquement, chacun conserva ses chefs, ses juges, son droit de s'assembler, mais au-dessus de ces gouvernements locaux il y eut le gouvernement central de la cité.*"<sup>141</sup> Indeed, the model of a city and controlling an area provides us with a rather acceptable *definiens* for the ancient city. This idea of a city controlling an area has never left the discourse and was taken up by several authors, such as Weber<sup>142</sup> and Finley.<sup>143</sup>

The question remains: what was the relation of the city with its *hinterland*? Fustel de Coulanges described the nature of the role of the ancient city in this hinterland as political.<sup>144</sup> In the twentieth century, the nature of the relation between city and hinterland has shifted towards economics.<sup>145</sup> Weber states that the city has a market function for the region; this fits the description above of Cicero, where the city stores the harvest of the hinterland.<sup>146</sup> Finley established the consumer city model, already proposed by Weber, where the city relies on the hinterland for its wealth.<sup>147</sup> Indeed, in the case of the Celtiberian settlements, the market

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<sup>138</sup> Almagro & Dávila (1996), 221.

<sup>139</sup> Xen. *Hel.* 5.2.7.

<sup>140</sup> Cic. *Agr.* II. 88.

<sup>141</sup> Fustel de Coulanges (1864), 162.

<sup>142</sup> Weber (1922): (1988).

<sup>143</sup> Finley (1977).

<sup>144</sup> Fustel de Coulanges (1864), 162.

<sup>145</sup> Weber (1922), 514.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibidem*, 514.

<sup>147</sup> Finley (1977), 326.

model seems to apply. Livy refers to the city of *Munda* in Celtiberia, as a city with a hinterland. Livy states that after the city of *Munda* fell, Gracchus assaulted the forts and burned the crops moving towards the next city, *Certima*.<sup>148</sup> In the case of one of the *Contrebiae*, which one is uncertain, Livy again draws a picture of a large city and its hinterland: “[8] *qui palati e fuga domum se recipiebant, alterum agmen venientium Celtiberorum deditionem Contrebiae et suam cladem narrando averterunt. extemplo in vicis castellaque sua omnes dilapsi. [9] Flaccus a Contrebia profectus per Celtiberiam populabundus ducit legiones multa castella expugnando, donec maxima pars Celtiberorum indeditionem venit.*”<sup>149</sup> The quotation pictures *Contrebia* as a city with an army partly drawn from surrounding villages and forts. These must have been depending on *Contrebia* for the protection of their territory, thus are part of *Contrebia*'s hinterland.

Archaeologically we can recreate part of the central places in Celtiberia. Burillo has based such a division on minting of coins.<sup>150</sup> The settlements with their own mint were considered central places. He reconstructed the outlay of several central places and their territory by dividing the territory according to the concept of the ideal division by a hexagonal lattice (see fig. 8).<sup>151</sup> Their regular distribution is interpreted as an organised pattern of

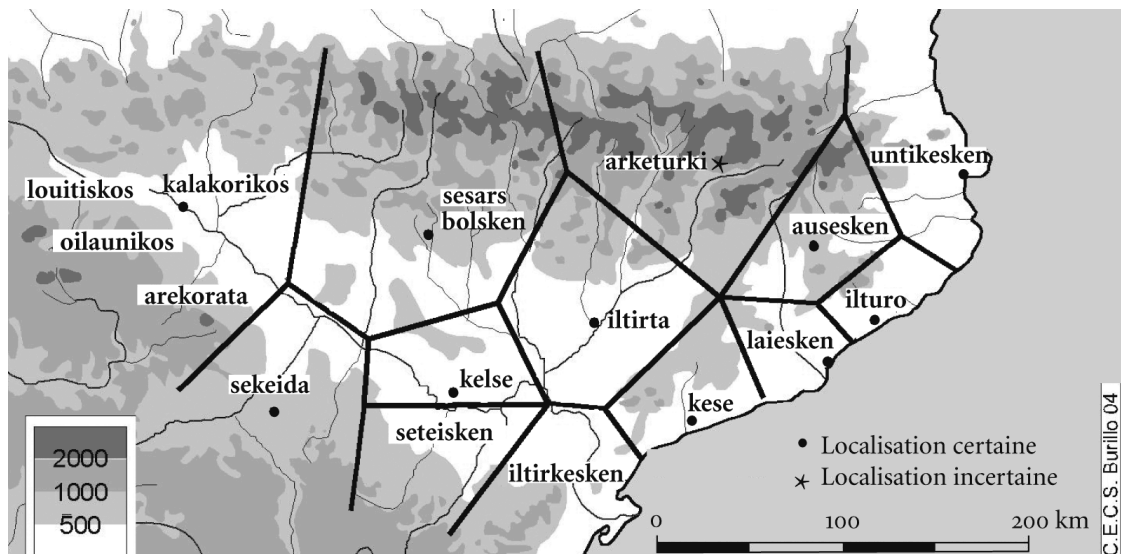


Fig. 8: Territories of minting cities After Burillo (2006b) fig.6 p. 91.

<sup>148</sup> Livy XL 47: “Mundam urbem primum vi cepit, nocte ex improvise adgressus. acceptis deinde obsidibus praesidioque imposito castella oppugnare, deinde agros urere, donec ad praevalidam aliam urbem — Certimam appellant Celtiberi — pervenit.” The Celtiberian city of Munda should not to be confused with Munda in Baetica the location of the final battle between Caesar and the Pompeians. Cassius Dio XLIII. 35.

<sup>149</sup> Livy, XL 8-9: “[8] The scattered fugitives made their way to their homes, and meeting another body of Celtiberi who were going to Contrebia, stopped them by informing them of the surrender of the place and of their own defeat. All promptly dispersed to their forts and villages. [9] Leaving *Contrebia* Flaccus led the legions through Celtiberia, ravaging the country as he marched and storming many of the forts until the greater part of the nation came in to make their surrender.” (Loeb Translation)

<sup>150</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2001), 102.

<sup>151</sup> King (1984), 33.

minting cities controlling their own hinterland.<sup>152</sup> Although Burillo had the possibility to reconstruct a part of the Celtiberian central places, the relation in other parts remains difficult.

In my opinion, these central places are cities, an urban concept created to explain the laws of urban hierarchy by Christaller and Lösch.<sup>153</sup> The main points of this theory are: First of all, virtually all urban settlements play a central role in the surrounding region in order to provide for goods and services. As such, the urban settlement is the central place for their surrounding land, or in the words of Weber, hinterland. Second, the urban hierarchy is not only found in rural areas, but also in the strongly urbanized centres. Obviously, in this case the dependent settlements are urban. Clearly, these dependent urban settlements have their own dependent hinterland of settlements. Finally, an urban society not based on central places eventually leads to the collapse of the society, as the hinterland is not able to provide for the urban centre.<sup>154</sup> The hierarchy of markets in the central place theory has the hierarchical lowest settlements to provide for common goods and services for a relatively small area, whereas the highest settlements provide for specialized and luxurious goods and services for a large area or hinterland containing other dependent settlements.<sup>155</sup>

What is more, the theory does not only provide three rules to which the urban centres have to obey, but also provides a schema by which we can understand the organization of urban centres in an urban hierarchy. There are three different principles by which the central place could be arranged: Firstly, the central place could base its position on marketing, thereby the focus would be solely on reaching the best market. According to Christaller this is the normal situation.<sup>156</sup> Another situation is the administrative arrangement; in this case the central place does not position itself at the most logical place to control the market, but at a position that allows it to control the surrounding settlements (see appendix III). This administrative function is of importance to this research as this is in my opinion the aspect of Celtiberian society that changed under Roman influence.

As might be clear, these *definiencia* regarding the hinterland and central place must be understood to recreate the urban structure. Obviously, one needs to assert which settlements

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<sup>152</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2006b), 162.

<sup>153</sup> King (1984), 7. In his work, King combines and explains the framework created by Christaller (1933) and Lösch (1940), as both works were written on a rather specific area and not conceptualized for application in other cases, such as historical. In order to avoid misinterpretations by translating the German cases into the Celtiberian and Roman world I will use the developed theory by King.

<sup>154</sup> King (1984), 91. The third point is based by King on evidence found in the rapidly urbanizing Third World where population focussed in one or two urban settlements, creating an almost barren hinterland.

<sup>155</sup> Morley (1997), 50.

<sup>156</sup> King (1984), 37. Hereby the note has to be made, that the idea of Christaller was formed in the 1930's and the market principle was held in high esteem.

are central places and which are situated in the hinterland, thus dependent on the central place. Archaeologically this urban hierarchy is difficult to assert and as there are no ancient sources providing us with the urban network of Celtiberia, for that matter most cultures, we must turn to another *definiens*.

As the central place is the higher in the settlement hierarchy, one expects the élite to be present. Fustel de Coulanges sees this hierarchical stratification in a settlement as the final *definiens* for a city.<sup>157</sup> Parkins and Lomas stress the importance of the élite in the city in the works in the bundle *Urbanism beyond the Consumer City*.<sup>158</sup> Parkins redefined the consumer city by regarding the investments done by the élite.<sup>159</sup> Thereby the urban centre and the élite are in a symbiotic relation, the city allows the élite to trade via its networks, whereas the élite keeps up the economic relevance of the city by using its network. Therefore, the city was not only a political arena for the elite, but an important source of income as well.<sup>160</sup> Parkins looks at Rome, as a case study, and more specifically the income generated by renting urban property.<sup>161</sup> Lomas refers not to the investments done by renting, but to the investments done to create the urban ideology.<sup>162</sup> As the élite musters in the urban centre, for the networks available, it is for their own good to create the ideology of a ‘civilised’ settlement. In order to create this picture of a magnificent relevant urban settlement, large scale public works are taken on.<sup>163</sup> The city is the gathering place of the élite and these improve the urban settlement. As the élite makes itself visible by monumentalizing the city, and in the necropoleis of the city, by luxurious grave goods, we can recognize these urban settlements in archaeology.

In conclusion, each settlement has a territory or hinterland. However, only urban settlements have other settlements in their territory, as urban settlements have an administrative and market role in their territory. In the case of pre-Roman Celtiberia *oppida* have *castros* in their territory, hence we should consider *oppida* cities. *Castros* have a territory of their own, but that would be only land they use or deem their own. Moreover, the earlier treated network theory combines well with this central place theory, I think. As the network provides us with the macrostructure of the Roman Empire and the way Rome stayed in control for a long time, the central place theory allows us to understand the micro- or local level of the cities themselves.

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<sup>157</sup> Fustel de Coulanges (1864), 162. Supra citation on p. 33.

<sup>158</sup> See Parkins (1997a): Parkins (1997b): Lomas (1997).

<sup>159</sup> Parkins (1997b), 86.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*, 90.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibidem*, 90.

<sup>162</sup> Lomas (1997), 24.

<sup>163</sup> Lomas (1997), 29; Parkins (1997), 87.



### From Celtiberian *castros* in four steps to Roman cities

This chapter discusses the development from non-urban to urban setting in the Celtiberian world in four subsequent phases. Almagro has proposed the first three phases for the development from *castros* to *oppida* for all ‘Celtic’ peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>164</sup> He stated that in the first phase only simple *castros* on hill tops can be observed, this is congruent with the Early Celtiberian phase. The second phase, which corresponds with the Full Celtiberian phase is characterized by more complex *castros*, called ‘Closed Settlements’ as their defensive structures completely enclose the settlement. The last phase described by Almagro is chronologically similar to the Late Celtiberian phase, when the settlements have become *oppida* with their own territories and settlements under control.<sup>165</sup> The fourth phase, which I added to unite the prehistorical and historical discourse, treats the changes in the city after Roman conquest. By combining the two discourses, a better understanding of the development of Celtiberian cities throughout history is possible. Similarly, knowing what was there before Roman times gives a better validation of the Roman influence on the Celtiberian settlements.

Obviously, the paper by Almagro treating the urbanization of all ‘Celtic’ peoples, the area of the Celtic language (see appendix II), can only sketch the big lines. Therefore, I will reassert the phases described by Almagro for the Celtic peoples, regarding only the Celtiberians. In theory, these phases provide a good framework to investigate the development of the Celtiberian settlements, one of those ‘Celtic’ peoples; I will use the phases and extend the Celtiberian data. In the fourth phase Celtiberian cities develop into Roman cities, this means the focus will be on ‘Roman’ facets of the cities and what led to these changes. Moreover, Almagro made a useful map to show the major differences in the chronology as the urbanization process on the Iberian Peninsula started at the south and east coast of the Iberian Peninsula and spread to the northwest (see fig. 9, p. 39).<sup>166</sup> This spread

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<sup>164</sup> Almagro (1994) & (1995b).

<sup>165</sup> There is discussion on the periodization of the phases, especially the proto-Celtiberian period, is open for discussion. Curchin (2004), 29. Almagro dates by centuries: IX-VII for the Formative period; VII-VI is the Early Celtiberian period; the centuries VI/V-IV are the Full Celtiberian and the final phase from III onwards. Almagro (1994), 20ff. On the other hand, Curchin dates the periods as follows: 800-600 Proto Celtiberian; 600-450 Early Celtiberian; 450-200 Full and lastly the Late Celtiberian period from 200 to 25 BCE. Curchin (2004), 29. Indeed, both periodizations consist of four periods instead of three. However, both scholars do not consider the Proto-Celtiberian or formative period as part of the Celtiberian era. Thus, this period is used as an introduction to the three phases. As the Formative and the Early Celtiberian period are of minor importance to this research these two will be treated as one

<sup>166</sup> Almagro & Dávila (1996), 215 & Burillo-Mozota (1996), 393.

from the south coast, already in contact with the urbanized Phoenicians from the tenth century BCE onwards<sup>167</sup>, gives a strong impression that this urban development has to do with the Phoenician contact. In order to understand this development in Celtiberia, we need to understand the contacts of the Celtiberians with other people. For instance, what contact was there with neighbouring tribes? Moreover, did the Celtiberians have direct contact with the Phoenicians?

A major difficulty in this investigation is the chronology of the different settlements. In the period from the sixth century BCE to the first century CE, settlements will rise and fall. War and other disasters had some settlements to go in decline before or during Roman conquest, not having them to develop into a Roman city. Moreover, some settlements have not been found yet, making research into their development impossible. Burillo defines four different 'chronological' categories of Celtiberian cities: first, cities that are only cited in ancient sources or by reference in sources, be it classical or numismatic/epigraphic, but never located (*Arecorata*).<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, there are localized settlements which are abandoned before the Imperial era (*Segeda*). Third, are the localized settlements with interrupted inhabitation (*Numantia*). Lastly, the most useful class, are the localized and continuous inhabited settlements, which were inhabited at least into the imperial age (*Termes*).<sup>169</sup> Because many settlements belong to one of the first three categories, and just a few cover all, we need to investigate different settlements in order to understand the urban development. The first two phases of development will be examined by regarding the *castro El Ceremeño I* and *II*, here and there complemented with examples of other settlements. The development between phase two and three will be done by examining the development of the settlements of *Contrebia Leucade*, *Contrebia Belaisca* and *Segeda*. The final two phases (III & IV) are the urban phases and relevant for the Romanization discussion. Here the rather famous settlements of *Numantia*, *Termes*, *Bilbilis* and *Clunia* will be regarded.

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<sup>167</sup> Zamora López / Gener Basallote / Navarro García / Pajuelo Sáez & Torres Ortiz (2010).

<sup>168</sup> Arecorata is known from a coin and two *tesserae*, its importance is derived from the two *tesserae*. One of which is the famous Luzaga tablet, treated subsequently.

<sup>169</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 258.

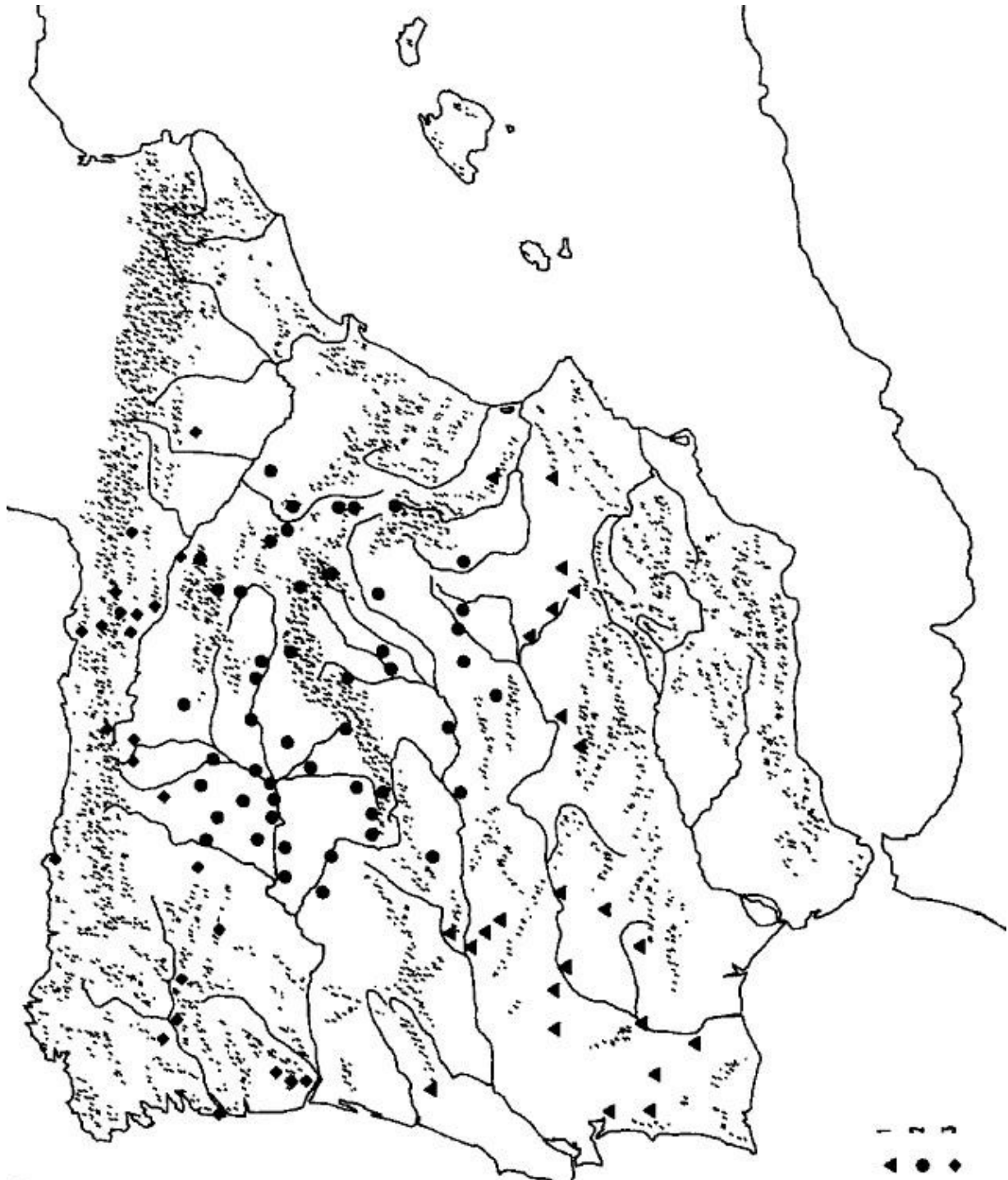


Fig. 9: *Oppida* differentiated after the chronological appearance: 1 during the IV c. BCE: 2 III & II c. BCE: 3 During the Roman Age. Almagro & Dávila (1995), fig. 2 p. 214.

## First phase: Proto- (IX-VII) & Early Celtiberian (VII-VI centuries BCE)

The first phase starts with the Proto-Celtiberian period, which is characterized by the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age. The transition from the Bronze Age to Iron Age was a period of turmoil for all cultures in Europe. For example, in Ancient Greece this period is also known as the Dark Age ( $\pm$ 1200-750), a period known for the fall of the Palace Cultures followed by a period of little archaeological and no written sources.<sup>170</sup> Later in history and less dramatic, the Urnfield Culture disappeared and the Hallstatt Culture rose (8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE) in Central Europe.<sup>171</sup> The rise of warrior burials and fortified hilltop settlements in this period of change are characteristic for the Hallstatt peoples. The transition in the Celtiberian area is similar to that of Central Europe. This period sees the rise of the first permanent settlements, the *castros*, instead of the semi-nomadic seasonal villages of the Bronze Age.<sup>172</sup> These first permanent settlements were often situated near iron rich mountains, possibly control the source for the newly introduced metal.<sup>173</sup>

Almagro defines this settlement type of this first phase as follows: “a settlement situated in an easily defensible place, reinforced with walls, externally closed by walls and/or natural features, defending inside a plurality of family-type homes and controlling a territory of its own, with a complex hierarchical social organization.”<sup>174</sup> Evidently, as the *castros* were defensive settlements, they were positioned at strategic and hard to access plateaus.<sup>175</sup> Their defence was based on the inaccessibility of the location, often sites with steep hillsides. Where the cliffs were absent, walls were erected to prevent entrance via that way. Another development that resulted from the fortified permanent settlements was territory. *Castros* based their territory on the idea that the surrounding land was under their control and that it belonged to them. The location and spatial distribution of the *castros* supports the idea that these settlements had their own territory. Locations were not chosen solely on basis of accessibility but on the possibility of control as well.<sup>176</sup> The spatial distribution of hill forts

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<sup>170</sup> Biers (1996), 97.

<sup>171</sup> The Urnfield Culture, (ES: Campo de Urnas) is thought to have influence on the Cogotas culture, the culture that gave rise to the Proto-Celtiberian peoples (Burillo-Mozota 1988b: Lorrio 1997, 257). The transition from Urnfield into Hallstatt is treated in Cunliffe (1996), 51.

<sup>172</sup> Lorrio (1997), 65. And Burillo-Mozota (2008b) for the seasonal villages.

<sup>173</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008b), 159.

<sup>174</sup> Almagro (1994), 15: “*castro* es un poblado situado en lugar de fácil defensa reforzada con murallas, muros externos cerrados y/o accidentes naturales, que defiende en su interior una pluralidad de viviendas de tipo familiar y que controla una unidad elemental de territorio, con una organización social escasamente compleja y jeraquizada.” Translation from Spanish to English of my own.

<sup>175</sup> Almagro (1994), 15: Lorrio (1997), 66.

<sup>176</sup> Almagro (1994), 15: Lorrio (1997), 65.

through the area is striking: *castros* are situated in a 5 to 10 km range from each other, giving them control over a vast area.<sup>177</sup>

An example of a Celtiberian *castro* is *El Ceremeño*. Two phases of habitation are discovered properly called *El Ceremeño I* for the oldest, and *El Ceremeño II* for the settlement constructed after the destruction of the first. *El Ceremeño I* fits the last part our first phase and, indeed, *El Ceremeño II* correspondents with our second phase.

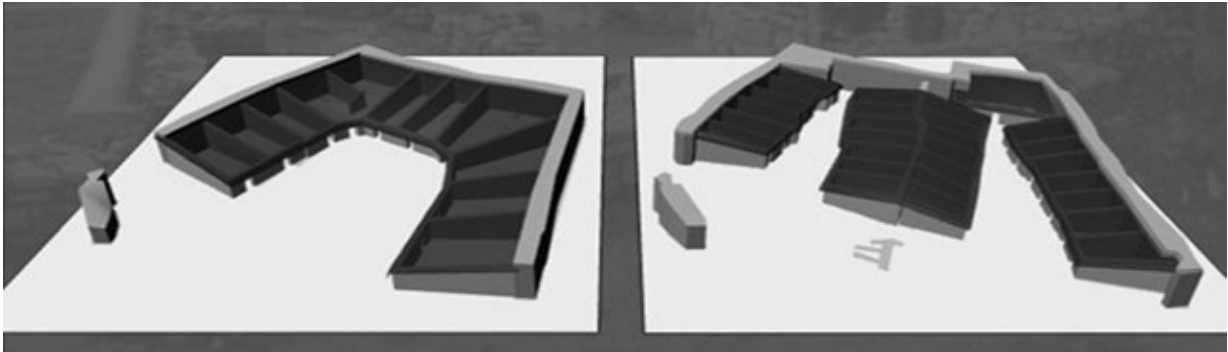


Fig. 10: To the left El Ceremeño I in the VI-V century and the phase II of the V-IV century. (Revives.es)

*El Ceremeño I* is a typical Celtiberian settlement. The houses are constructed in such a way that their rear walls are part of the defensive wall of the *castro*, which is the case for the closed settlement, of phase II, as well. As such, they add to the strength of the wall, as the houses functioned as buttresses. The entrances of the houses all opened up to the central space of the *castro*.<sup>178</sup> Most of the houses were constructed in a square form<sup>179</sup>, typical for the period of transition from the round houses of the first *castros* into the rectangular form of the ‘Closed settlement’.<sup>180</sup> Obviously, the use of round houses leads to a completely different and less organized *castro*, as rectangular houses permit for straight streets and positioning houses next to each other. This is the form prior to *El Ceremeño I* and can be found for instance in the case of the less well excavated *castros* *El Espino*, *Fuensauco* and *Zarranzano*.<sup>181</sup>



Fig. 11: An early *castro* with different types of housing.

<sup>177</sup> Almagro (1994), 16; Lorrio & Ruiz Zapatero (2005), 203.

<sup>178</sup> Cerdeño & Juez (2002), 35.

<sup>179</sup> Cerdeño, Pérez de Inestroza & Cananes (1995), 164.

<sup>180</sup> Almagro (1994), 23.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, 23.

*El Ceremeño* is an example of how difficult it is to define Iberian settlements by walls. One might define a city by its wall and public space as these constructions show deliberate planning of a settlement. However, in the case of these *castros* the total population is no more than a few dozen. In the case of *El Ceremeño I* the total population is calculated to 51 or 73 people.<sup>182</sup> Obviously, a settlement consisting of a meagre 73 people cannot be considered a city. It can hardly form a stable social hierarchy and control over other settlements is hard to believe.

The finds of wheel turned pottery in *El Ceremeño I* was interesting, as Celtiberian wheel turned pottery only appears in the end of the fifth century.<sup>183</sup> Clearly, *El Ceremeño I* was in contact with the Iberian Levantine coast as the wheel turned pottery of Iberian origin shows. In several *castros*, this Iberian pottery can be found. Next to this pottery, *El Ceremeño I* yields some Greek grey ware pottery.<sup>184</sup> As a result, we can state that the *castros* were in contact with the Iberian Levante and via Iberian trade with the Eastern Mediterranean peoples: Phoenicians and Greeks.

The presence of Eastern Mediterranean peoples at the coasts of the Peninsula is of importance for the urban development of the Iberian tribes. Having Greek *emporion* at the east coast, also known as the Iberian Levantine, provided the Iberian peoples with contacts within the Mediterranean network.<sup>185</sup> The Greek colonists, Phocaians, had a new market for their products, such as the above mentioned pottery. The beneficial relation of the emporia with the indigenous peoples is illustrated in the case of *Emporion*, the biggest trade post at the peninsula. The city consisted of two different parts, the Greek port and the indigenous district. The indigenous district provided agricultural products, which were traded with the Phocaians for their goods such as pottery.<sup>186</sup> The foundation of *Emporion*, among the other *emporion*, was the result of an active policy of the Phocaians as they wished to consolidate their trade link with the Iberian Peninsula to access the riches of the Pyrenees and to obtain control in the Gulf of Lion.<sup>187</sup> As a result, the Iberian coast became part of the network of Phociaian trade.<sup>188</sup> In the case of *Emporion*, this process of consolidation can be seen in the development

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<sup>182</sup> Cerdeño & Juez (2002), 58. One calculation leads to a total number of 112 for *El Ceremeño I* and 122 for *El Ceremeño II*, as the settlement is just over one tenth of a hectare Cerdeño & Juez believe this number to be excessive.

<sup>183</sup> Cerdeño, Pérez de Inestroza & Cananes (1995), 167.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibidem*, 168.

<sup>185</sup> Malkin (2011), 146.

<sup>186</sup> Livy 34.9.

<sup>187</sup> Malkin (2011), 154. The Gulf of Lion is the bay located between Marseille and the greek ports of Rhode and Emporion.

<sup>188</sup> Domínguez (2006), 442.

of the settlement itself. The Phocaians first founded *Palaiapolis* at an island, solely for trade purposes with the nearby Iberian Culture, the Indiketans.<sup>189</sup> Later on, the settlement became a *dipolis*, a city consisting of two cities, in this case the already mentioned indigenous and Greek city. As the indigenous peoples were accepted in the Greek polis, the contact with the indigenous settlements nearby must have been intensified.

The trade network of other culture groups is of relevance for the Celtiberians as they had contacts with these cultures, such as the Iberians in the east and the cultures in the south. The influence of these contacts is to be found in the changing pottery of the Celtiberians in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, leading to the fabrication of Celtiberian wheel turned pottery in the fifth century.<sup>190</sup> Moreover, the tombs of these people changes as well, in the sixth century the first warrior graves appear. These graves contain many Iron weapons, opposed to the earlier bronze graves.<sup>191</sup> Iron was already common for the Greek traders, most probably they introduced iron tools and iron working as they started trading up the Ebro River.

Moreover, the Iberian tribes that were in contact with the Eastern Mediterranean peoples changed into hierarchical societies<sup>192</sup>, the intensification of contact with the Iberian east coast led to a more dramatic change: it led to the ‘Iberization’ of the Celtiberians.<sup>193</sup> The introduction of new ideas and materials, such as iron, by the Eastern Mediterranean peoples in this period led to instability at the Iberian Peninsula. This period is called the Iberian or the Sixth Century Crisis.<sup>194</sup> This Crisis led to changes in the Proto-Celtiberian culture that would be formative for the urban settlements. Whether the ideas of urban settlement developed within Celtiberian culture as Burillo states<sup>195</sup>, or because the Celtiberian culture was susceptible to the ideas from the Mediterranean cultures, will be the focus of the next paragraph, discussing the second phase.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Strabo 3.4.8

<sup>190</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008b), 159.

<sup>191</sup> Almagro & Lorrio (2004), 84.

<sup>192</sup> Bendala Galán (2001), 20.

<sup>193</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008b), 160; Almagro (1994), 26.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibidem*, 160; (1990b) & Cunliffe (1995), 19.

<sup>195</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 260.

<sup>196</sup> Almagro (1994), 14.

## Second Phase: Full Celtiberian (V-IV centuries BCE)

The contacts of the Celtiberians with the Iberian, Greek and Punic peoples brought new ideas on social hierarchy and urban structures that deeply influenced the Celtiberian world. A change in the burial culture shows a more hierarchical society. The former warrior burials, mostly consisting of weaponry, are replaced by rich burials.<sup>197</sup> As the tombs of the local aristocracy display their elite status, these rich burials contain, next to the iron weaponry, luxury goods, such as fibulae, and ceremonial weapons, showing the high status of the deceased had as a warrior as well as part of aristocracy.<sup>198</sup> The shift from warrior burials to rich burials is a result of the growing influence of the trade posts on the coast. This allowed for the social shift that occurred, the old egalitarian warrior-based society lost was replaced by a society controlled by those in charge of the trade networks.<sup>199</sup>

Cunliffe has reconstructed the influence of the Roman trade at the *limes* in Germania.<sup>200</sup> He recognizes three different areas in the archaeological record departing from the *limes* or the trade posts positioned there. Adjacent to the *limes* is the market zone, an area of reasonable stability, tranquillity and where trade with the Romans was common, and thus Roman goods as well. The middle zone is the zone where rich burials were found. The people in this area were middle men for the Roman goods. They bought the Roman commodities in the market zone. Wealth is obtained as the people of the Rich burial zone sell the Roman commodities to the warrior elite of the next zone; they were willing to pay a lot for these rare goods in order to enhance their status.

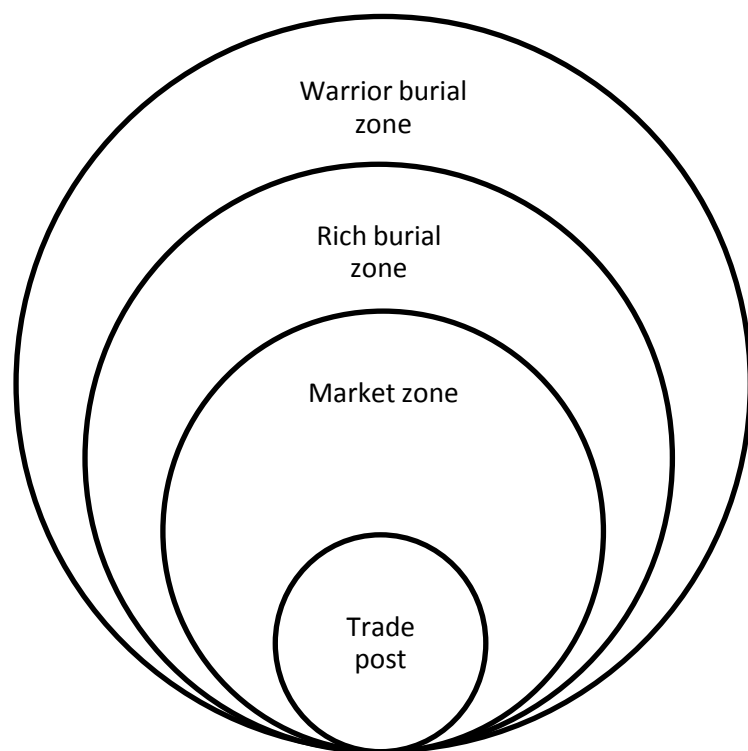


Fig.12: Zones of trade influence.  
Model constructed after Cunliffe (2001), p. 441.

<sup>197</sup> Almagro & Lorrio (2004), 86.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibidem*, 89.

<sup>199</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008b), 159.

<sup>200</sup> Cunliffe (2001), 443. The *limes* is the border of the Roman Empire. The border fortresses of the Romans and villages that were situated next to these fortresses traded with the Germanic tribes.



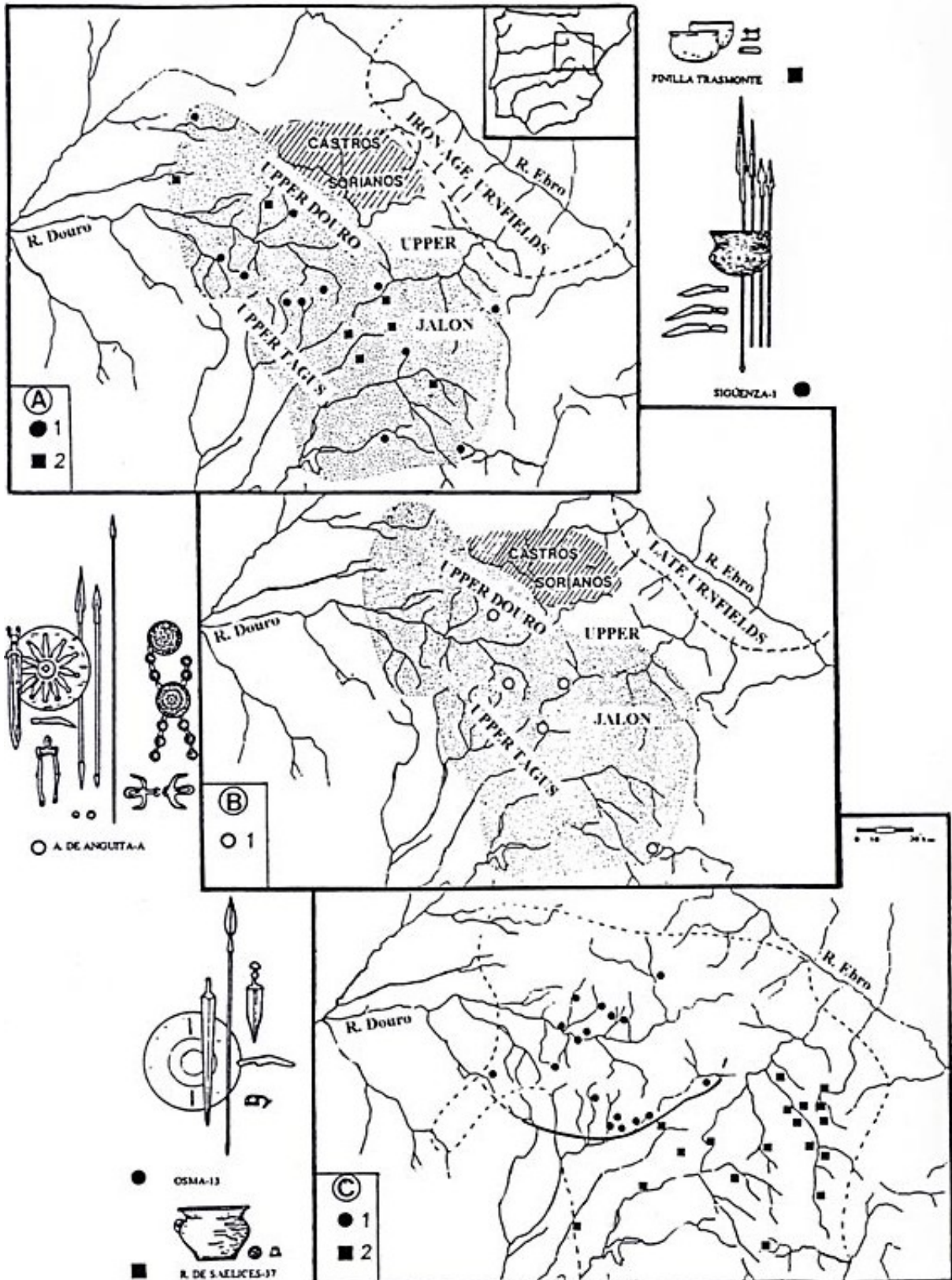


Fig. 13: Chronological sequence of Celtiberian graves:

- A) Early Celtiberian: 1 cemeteries with weapons, 2 cemeteries without weapons
- B) Middle Celtiberian: graves with aristocratic tombs
- C) Late Celtiberian: 1 emeteries with weapons, 2 cemeteries with out weapons.

The last phase (C) shows the two different regions from the Greek trade posts, to the ast we find the rich burials without weaponry to the west, further from the trade posts, the graves show weaponry, fitting the warrior burials of Cunliffe.

After Almagro-Gorbea & Lorrio (2004) fig. 5, p. 85.

Similar to Germania's spatial distribution of these zones from the *limes* and its trade markets, we can regard the Celtiberian development. Instead of trade reaching different regions beyond the *limes*, as the case in Germania, in the case of Celtiberia the trade, from the Iberian Levantine coast and its Greek ports, reached different ages of Celtiberia. Firstly, the Celtiberians were in the Warrior burial zone of the Greek trade posts, such as *Emporion*, whereas the Iberians sat in the Rich burial zone. As the Greek trade post enlarged its market zone, by extending its network into the Iberian area, the Celtiberians suddenly were in the position of easily acquiring the Greek goods, thus in the Rich Burial zone. This can be observed in the burial customs of the Celtiberians, further east the weaponry was replaced by luxury goods, such as ceramics, *fibulae* and torques, fitting the urban élite status rather than the warrior élite status (see fig. 13).<sup>201</sup> This way they had the opportunity to control the trade up the Ebro River and to obtain wealth. Another effect of the extension of the Greek market zone is the spread of Greek ideas and social constructions.

Until this time, the settlement development had been an indigenous one, as Burillo proposed. Nevertheless, in this phase, the Mediterranean contacts lead to a new form of settlement, the 'Closed Settlements' (ES: Poblados Cerrados). As we can see by looking at the dispersion of these 'closed settlements', there is a clear relation to the Iberian Levante, where a larger density of these settlements can be seen (fig. 14). This larger density at the Iberian Levante indicates that the concept of the 'Closed Settlements' started from the Levante. Initially it must have been an Iberian development, possibly started by the presence of Greek trade posts in their coastal area, based on the fact that most 'Closed Settlements' are situated within the Iberian area, the area of the -ili- or -ilti- toponyms (compare fig. 2). The dispersion towards Celtiberia must have followed the Ebro River, hence the larger density along the river. Ultimately we see several 'Closed Settlements' across the Celtiberian area.

The 'Closed Settlements' differed in several aspects from the earlier *castros*. For instance, we can observe the construction of rectangular houses with partition walls and rear walls incorporated into the defensive wall, ideally over a cliff or edge slope. The door would open into a central space in the simplest *castros*, which in more organized *castros* and the Closed Settlements would be a longitudinal road.<sup>202</sup> In the earliest phase, walls were only constructed to complete a natural defence. In the case of the 'Closed Settlements', the

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<sup>201</sup> Almagro & Lorrio (2004), 96: although there must be noted that in the case of Celtiberia the status of the élite horsemen was reconfirmed in the Punic war.

<sup>202</sup> Almagro (1994) 24: "poblado cerrado", que consiste en la construcción de casas rectangulares con medianiles comunes dispuestas con sus muros posteriores con función de muralla, a ser posible sobre un cantil o borde de pendiente, dando la puerta hacia un espacio central en los *castros* más simples, que se convierte en calle longitudinal en los más organizados. Translation from Spanish to English of my own.

defensive walls surrounded the entire settlement, whether there was a natural protection or not.<sup>203</sup>

A good case for this development is *El Ceremeño*. As already treated, the *castro* of *El Ceremeño I* was destroyed by a fire and reconstructed afterwards. This led to *El Ceremeño II*, a ‘closed settlement’ type with two different parallel streets leading to an internal division into two neighbourhoods (fig. 10). Moreover, the houses are rectangular, characteristic for the ‘closed settlement’, instead of circular or square.<sup>204</sup> The internal division of the house was attested in the case of *Numantia*, where the layout of these houses is considered the standard for Celtiberian houses (see fig. 15).<sup>205</sup> The rectangular houses had a basic plan consisting of three rooms: the first or entrance room opened to the street and had a cellar for food storage, furthermore it was used for domestic industries. The second room was the living area with a fireplace and benches to sleep on. The last room was used for food storage and the storage of tools as well. In the case of the construction of the house against the settlement wall, the rear wall of the house was part of the settlement wall (fig. 13).<sup>206</sup> As to be expected, the defensive structures developed as well. Berrocal stated that, the defensive works became more equipped

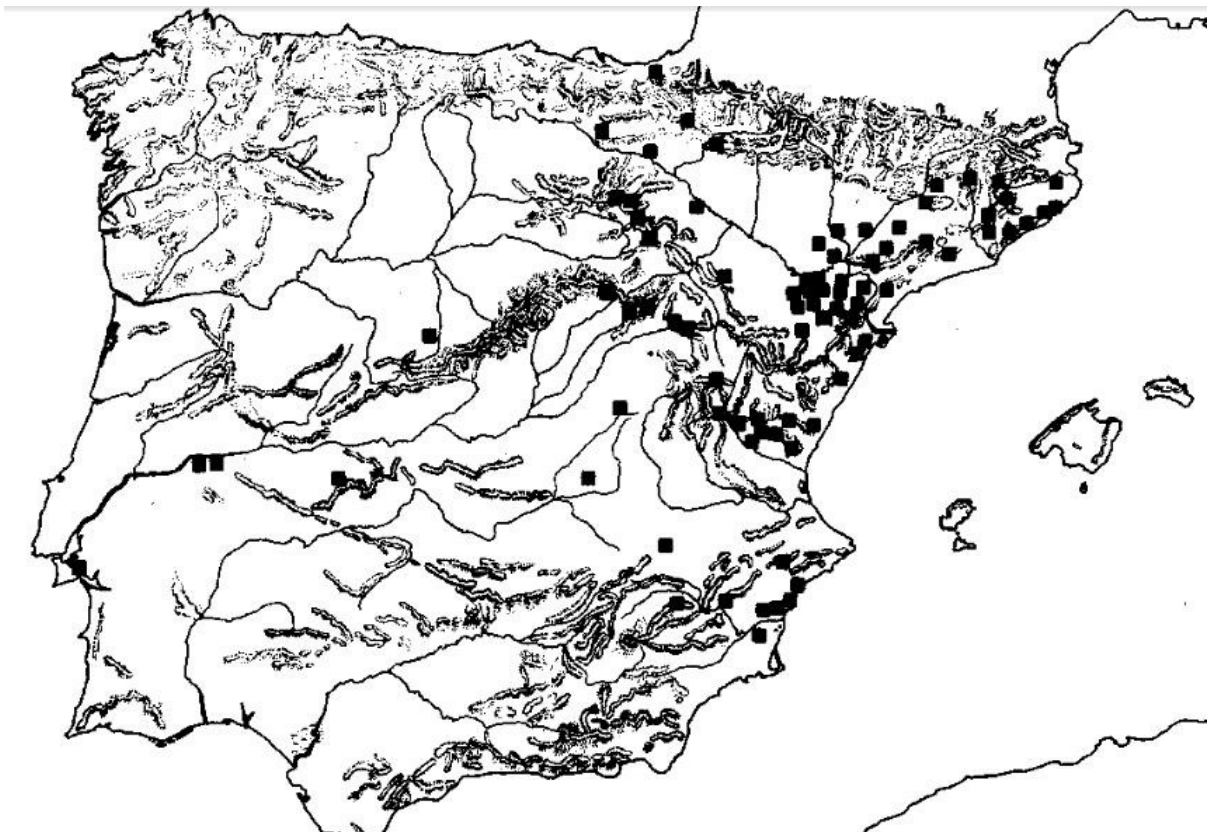


Fig. 14: Dispersion of the settlements of the ‘closed’ type. (Almagro (1994) fig. 8 p. 25).

<sup>203</sup> See Berrocal-Rangel & Peirre Moret (eds.) (2007) on the development of defensive structures on the Iberian Peninsula. Especially Berrocal-Rangel (2007), 18ff.

<sup>204</sup> Almagro (1994), 24.

<sup>205</sup> Jimeno (2006), 181.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibidem*, 175.

for visual control in the second phase.<sup>207</sup> In the case of *El Ceremeño II*, towers were added to the existing walls.<sup>208</sup> The archaeological remains of the site confirm the dating of the site to the fourth century.<sup>209</sup>

Another site of this date is *Contrebia Belaisca*. The layout and construction of the defensive wall allow it to be dated between the fifth and fourth century BCE.<sup>210</sup> Research at this site was done because newly discovered stratigraphic evidence indicated a pre-Roman layer.<sup>211</sup> Unfortunately, the wall and settlement have not been completely excavated. Therefore, the scale and size of the closed settlement of *Contrebia Belaisca* cannot be determined. As the archaeologists have not found structures of the Celtiberian type, such as the rectangular houses, Beltrán believes the settlement was destroyed completely.<sup>212</sup> As the site is situated on an easily accessible site in the middle of an industrial area, another major setback for the research were the many clandestine excavations.<sup>213</sup> Many artefacts were robbed from the site. Nevertheless, the date of the site in the second phase is of importance as this is a settlement that continued into the Roman Age. As such, it adds credibility to an urban development prior to the Roman conquest.

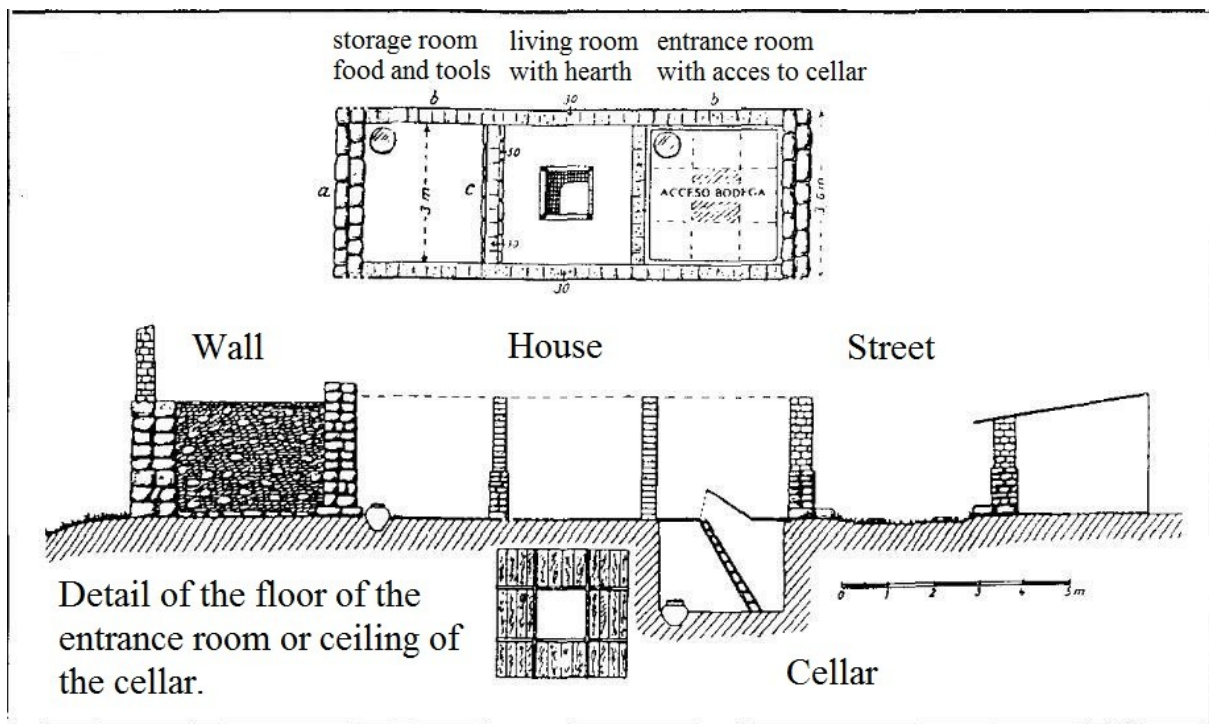


Fig. 15: Rectangular Celtiberian house in *Numantia*. Translated by author, after Lorrio (1997) fig. 37 p. 160.

<sup>207</sup> Berrocal (2004), 56.

<sup>208</sup> Cerdeño, Pérez de Inestroza & Cananes (1995), 164.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibidem*, 164.

<sup>210</sup> Diaz Sanz (1994), 88.

<sup>211</sup> Beltrán Martínez, Diaz Sanz & Medrano Marqués (1991a), 194.

<sup>212</sup> Beltrán Martínez (1992), 59.

<sup>213</sup> Beltrán & Tovar (1982), 13.

### Third Phase: Late Celtiberian (III-II centuries BCE)

The development into *oppida*, the first urban centres in Celtiberia characterizes the last pre-Roman phase. In this phase the settlements become central places and take control over the settlements in ‘their’ territory. Burillo put the development from the non-urban settlement in to a central place in a figure:



Fig. 16: Diachronic development of the settlement (Burillo 2008, fig. 65, p. 261).

This image shows the development of a non-urban settlement into urban. The first picture on the left depicts the initial phase. This is the situation of the first and second phase mentioned in the former two subchapters, the situation with *castros* and/or ‘Closed Settlements’ at key positions controlling their own territory. The second picture displays the rise of a city. A key feature portrayed in this picture is the concentration of people from the surrounding settlements in the urban centre. The white settlements with arrows towards the central place picture abandoned settlements and the move towards the central place. The abandoning of settlements in the third phase is attested by archaeology.<sup>214</sup> The final picture shows the centrality of the urban centre and the last phase of Almagro: that of the *oppidum*. *Oppida* are large settlements in control of their own territory and the settlements within their territory. As the urban centre has become the focal point of a hinterland, the city controls the hinterland and can relocate its people, shown by the arrows in the picture on the right. Curchin points out that there must have been an urban hierarchy, large settlements controlling smaller settlements in their territory.<sup>215</sup> This hierarchy can be observed by the settlement size<sup>216</sup>, the minting of coins and the emission of *tesserae*. Moreover, the territory of *oppida* is mentioned in the ancient sources. The fact that *oppida* had their own territory is mentioned twice in Appian. Firstly, in the case of *Complega*, there is the reference to the land of

<sup>214</sup> Burillo (2008a), 264; Lorrio (1997), 320.

<sup>215</sup> Curchin (2004), 75.

<sup>216</sup> Curchin (2004), 75; Almagro & Dávila (1995),

*Complega* being divided between the survivors after the Roman siege.<sup>217</sup> Another reference by Livy, already treated, mentions not only the land of the Celtiberian city of *Munda* (*urbs Mundam*), the *castros* (*castella*) that had to be destroyed by T. Sempronius Gracchus II on his way from *Munda* towards the next city, *Certima*, as well.<sup>218</sup> In the figure by Burillo this is shown as the large settlement in the centre which controls the other settlements in its territory. The dispersion of smaller settlements such as *El Ceremeño*, which did not become an *oppidum*, around the larger settlements supports this idea. Reconstructing the dominant or central places is quite difficult; it is unclear whether each tribe had one or more dominant centres.<sup>219</sup>

The distribution of Celtiberian *oppida* in central places is also supported by archaeology. In the archaeological record we see the enlargement of the *oppida*, for instance an extension of the enwalled area in the case of *Termes*.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, in this period some *castros* are abandoned, probably as the people left for the nearby *oppidum*, other *castros* are situated in the hinterland of the *oppidum*.<sup>221</sup> Defining the boundaries of a hinterland is difficult, Burillo has done this by regarding minting centres as central places.<sup>222</sup> The construction of the boundaries of the hinterland is estimated to be evenly distributed, thus the boundary is exactly in between the two cities (see fig. 8 and 16).

In addition, in the research of Almagro and Dávila into the surface of the different *oppida* and *castros*, an urban hierarchy can be discovered (see graph. 1).<sup>223</sup> An urban hierarchy exists in the case of settlements of different orders, such as in the case of a central place. As the size of the *oppidum* in hectares is put in a semi logarithmic graph, size is expressed on the y-axis and the x-axis is the number of settlements. For example, in Old *Latium* (*Latio Arcaico*) there is one settlement of enormous size: *Rome*. All other cities are of smaller size but larger in number. These smaller settlements are positioned in the hinterland of *Rome*, and lower in the urban hierarchy. According to Krugman an urban hierarchy shows a decline in size as the settlement numbers rises.<sup>224</sup> In graph 1 three accepted urban societies, *Latium*, *Magna Graecia* and Roman *Hispania* are shown next to that of the Celtiberians.

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<sup>217</sup> Appian, *Iber.* 43.

<sup>218</sup> Livy XL 47: 'Mundam urbem primum vi cepit, nocte ex improviso adgressus. acceptis deinde obsidibus praesidioque imposito castella oppugnare, deinde agros urere, donec ad praevalidam aliam urbem —Certimam appellat Celtiberi — pervenit'.

<sup>219</sup> Curchin (2004), 75.

<sup>220</sup> Argente Oliver (1999), 176.

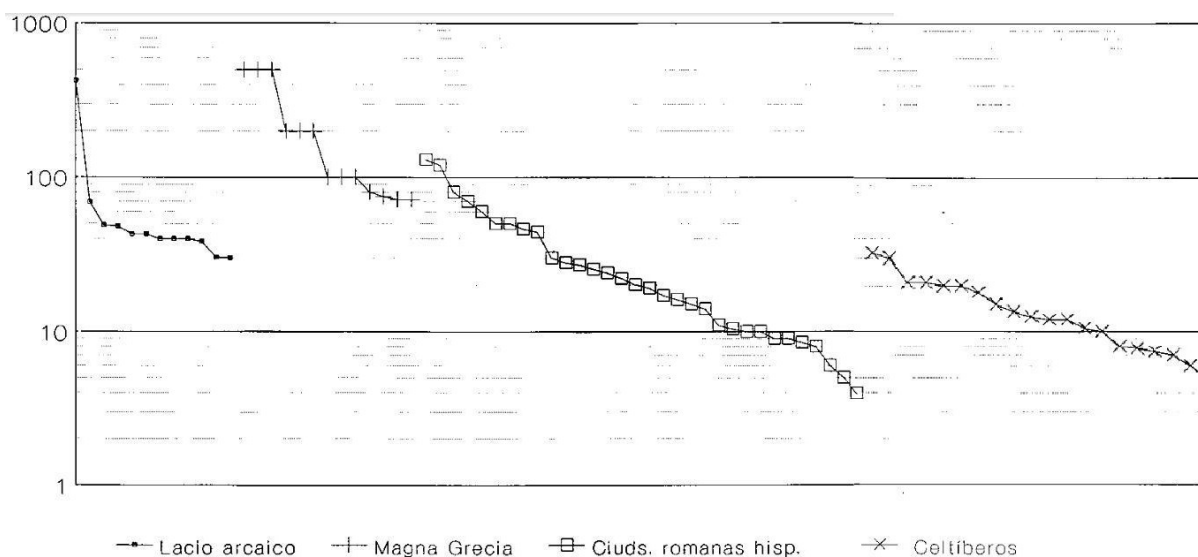
<sup>221</sup> Lorrio (1997), 320.

<sup>222</sup> Burillo (2006b), 91.

<sup>223</sup> Almagro & Dávila (1995), 224ff.

<sup>224</sup> Krugman (1996), 400.

Although the graph of Celtiberia does not resemble *Latium* with its large central place and dependent cities, a Celtiberian urban hierarchy can be observed. This means that the Celtiberian settlements had an order or hierarchy, fitting to the ideas of central place theory.



Graph 1: Semi logarithmic graph of the size of principal cities of Latium, Magna Graecia, Roman Hispania and Celtiberia. Modified after Almagro & Dávila (1995) fig. 6, p. 224 & fig. 9a, p. 226.

Moreover, the decline seems to be stepped, however, as the sizes of the Celtiberian cities do not differ as much as those in *Latium* or *Magna Graecia* the steps are not that clear. Still, a stepped decline is a result of clusters of size, such clusters might be expected in a urban hierarchy as found in the Central Place theory.<sup>225</sup> Following King's theoretical example (Appendix III), we have one *G*-place serving six smaller areas.<sup>226</sup> There are more settlements of the next rank in the hierarchy, the *B*-places, as these are served by one *G*-place. The *B*-places at their turn, similar to the *G*-place, serve the *K*-places about six in number. This goes for each next rank, as settlements cluster in size within these ranks. For example, in the article of Almagro and Dávila, the size in hectares was certain for 37 settlements.<sup>227</sup> Placing these in rank categories, instead of the actual sizes differentiated as in the graph, based on their size in hectares, we get the following distribution:

Size in hectares	>25	25-20	20-15	15-10	10-5	5<
Number of settlements	1	2	3	5	5	21

Unfortunately, not all settlements are present in this sample as the settlements of uncertain size have been left out. Most of these are in the upper ranks. Moreover, not all settlements have been discovered yet, as already noted. Nevertheless, the distribution of the settlements in

<sup>225</sup> King (1984), 33.

<sup>226</sup> King (1984), 35.

<sup>227</sup> Almagro & Dávila (1995), 212

different ranks shows a clear ranks size distribution, which is characteristic for an urban hierarchy, common for the central place theory.

A central place theory is based on the interconnectivity of settlements of different sizes. Central places connect to other lower ranking settlements, nevertheless, they connect to other high ranking settlements as well. In the case of Celtiberia, there is evidence that the different urban settlements were connected. Many agreements between settlements and individuals have been found. The most important of these are the *tesserae hospitalis*. They are agreements of *hospitium*, a custom of Indo-European origin and a cultural practice well known on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>228</sup>

Undoubtedly, the territorialization of the land led to new problems, as transhumance was an important part of the Celtiberian pastoral economy and social system.<sup>229</sup> Old transhumance routes led across different people's territory. The custom of hospitality expressed in the *Tesserae hospitalis*, small bronze amulets, possibly were the answer to the problem of trespassing. The interpretation of these bronze objects in the context of *hospitium* is based on the almost standard use of the phrase *caruo cortica*, alternatively abbreviated by



Fig. 17: Map presenting the distribution and relations of the *tesserae hospitalis*. After Lorrio (1997) fig. 133 p. 355 (1) figurative *tesserae* in Celtiberian language (2) idem in Latin (3) non figurative tabula in Celtiberian language (4) idem in Latin (5) abstract *tesserae* in Celtiberian language.

<sup>228</sup> Sanchez-Moreno (2001), 392.

<sup>229</sup> Almagro-Gorbea (1994), 20.



*kar*. This has been interpreted from Proto-Celtic as ‘friendship contract’. Based on the likeliness of *caruo* with *\*kar-* ‘to love’ or *\*karantiom* ‘friendship’<sup>230</sup>, and the relation with the Celtic root for contract with *cortica*.<sup>231</sup>

The *tesserae* were pacts between communities, possibly in order to allow for trespassing with cattle. This interpretation is based on the numerous animal shaped *tesserae*.<sup>232</sup> Moreover, the distance and direction covered by the friendship relations expressed in the *tesserae* (see fig. 17) is similar to the medieval drover roads.<sup>233</sup> In addition, the *hospitium* might have been a grant for safety as well. In a warrior-based society, the highly valued and important cattle would be attractive for capture.<sup>234</sup>

The *tesserae* are agreements between individuals and/or entire communities.<sup>235</sup> For example, the *tessera* of *Contrebia Belaisca* (fig. 18) expresses the relation between the *oppidum*



Fig. 18: A *tessera hospitalis* from *Contrebia Belaisca*, MLH IV, 539. K.0.2. After Almagro-Gorbea & Lorrio (2004), 94. The *tessera* reads: luPoš : aliso / Cum : aualo : Ce / ContePias / PelaišCas interpreted by Lejeune (1955), 67 as a pact between Lubos of Alisocum and *Contrebia Belaisca*. The meaning of *aualo* remains uncertain, it could be a magistrate or the location where the pact was made.

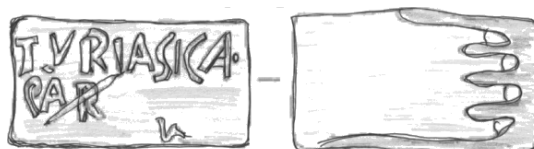


Fig. 19: *Tessera* of Monte Cildá. Peralta Labrador (1993), p. 226 Lám.1. Latin script reading: *Turiasica / car*.

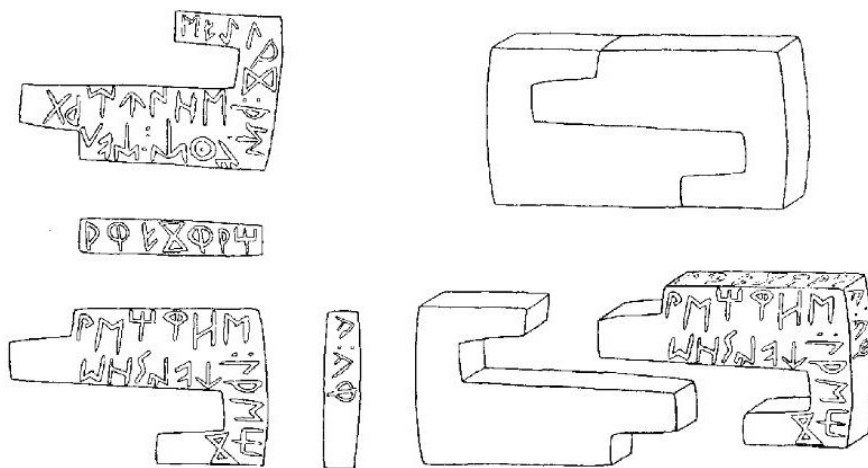


Fig. 20: The bronze *tessera* of Arekorata, MLH IV 554-555. K.0.11 and the reconstruction of the fitting part. After Lorrio (1997) fig. 136, p. 358. Transcription of inscriptions MLH IV 554-555 reads: arekorati // ka: kar // sekilako : amikum : melmunos / ata // bistiros : lastiko / ueizos Friendship of the town Aregorata with Secilaeus, of the Amici, son of Melmo (ata?) Bistiros, of the Lastici, witness. Translated by Jordán Cólera, C. (2007), 849.

<sup>230</sup> Meid (1994), 38.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibidem*, 39.

<sup>232</sup> Lorrio (1997), 359, fig. 137.

<sup>233</sup> Sanchez-Moreno (2001), 392.

<sup>234</sup> Sanchez (2001), 401.

<sup>235</sup> Salinas de Frías (1997), 288.

and a person Lubos of Alisocum.<sup>236</sup> Most probably, the *tesserae* were produced in pairs, one for each participant in the pact.<sup>237</sup> Interesting are the related *tesserae* that were made to fit as matching pair showing the pact that has been made (fig. 20), also the clasping hands of the *tessera* of Monte Cildá and the tessera of Paredes de Nava, seem to express a pact being made (fig. 19).<sup>238</sup> Although we have been able to read the script, we cannot understand the words.<sup>239</sup> Nevertheless, Celtic linguists are able to reconstruct parts of the texts.<sup>240</sup> The *tesserae* with their short inscriptions are most often reconstructed completely. Mostly it starts with the name of the person getting the hospitium, followed by the verb or expression of friendship with *kar*. The inscription most often ends with the settlement handing the *tessera*.

As the relations expressed in the *tesserae* seem to indicate transhumance routes, the significance of these routes for contact with other people becomes evident. The routes lead from the Celtiberian area to the southern part of the Sistema Ibérico and into Western Iberia (fig. 17). Moreover, from this southern part lead some other routes all the way into the Turdetani region where the Phoenicians and Carthaginians had a strong foothold. These long distance routes have mediated contacts between different peoples. Moreover, herdsmen could have traded their cattle in the settlements to the south, visiting these settlements and seeing the large cities influenced by the Phoenician or Greek contacts.

Other interesting bronze finds are the four bronze tablets of *Contrebia* and the bronze of Luzaga. These inscribed tablets have been interpreted as agreements between different settlements as well, adding to the credibility of an urban council deciding for the population. The bronze of Luzaga has been interpreted as a *tessera hospitalis*. Meid bases his interpretation on the use of the phrase *caruo cenei cortica* as ‘document of the pact of friendship’.<sup>241</sup> The two parties, the people of *Arecorata* (*arecoraticupos*) on the one hand and the gentes of *Belaiocians* and *Caricans* (*pelaiocumcuae ceniś caricocuae ceniś*) on the other hand, and finally the witness, are named.<sup>242</sup> The tablet is larger than the *tesserae* and bestows the *hospitium* to two gentes, instead of to one person, indicating there must have been an administration handing the *hospitium* of a city. It seems to me that a single person cannot bestow the hospitality of an urban settlement. Therefore, there must have been a body that controlled the distribution of the settlements *tesserae*.

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<sup>236</sup> Lejeune (1955), 67.

<sup>237</sup> Cornago (2008), 132.

<sup>238</sup> Lorrio (1997), 360.

<sup>239</sup> Meid (1994), 7.

<sup>240</sup> On the different interpretations of *tesserae* see Jordán (2004).

<sup>241</sup> Meid (1994), 41.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibidem*, 41.

In addition, four so called Botorrita plaques (Appendix IV), were found in *Contrebia Belaisca* (near modernday Botorrita) in and in the vicinity of the Columnar monument.<sup>243</sup> Three plaques are written in the Celtiberian language in Iberian script and one is written in Latin. Although, chronologically, the Latin plaque should be treated in the latter part, as it is dated to 87 BCE<sup>244</sup>, I will introduce it here, because it is the only way to understand the bronzes in Celtiberian language. The *Tabula Contrebiensis*, as the Latin bronze is called, enabled the interpretation of the other bronzes based on similarity in certain formulas. One of these formulas is the naming of witnesses. In the *Tabula Contrebiensis* we can read the names and functions of the witnesses in lines 16 to 18: *ud[ic]atas[t mag]is[t]ratus Contrebienses heisce fuerunt: Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f. praetor; Lesso Siriscum (17.) Lubbi f. [ma]gistratus; Babbus Bolgondiscum Ablonis f. magistratus; Segilus Annicum Lubi f. magistratus; (18.) [--]atu[---]julovicum Uxenti f. magistratus; Ablo Tindilicum Lubbi f. magistratus.*<sup>245</sup> Face B of the first plaque supports a similar reading as we find several personal names separated by a repetitive word, similar to the repetitive usage of *magistratus*.<sup>246</sup> In the case of the first Botorrita Bronze<sup>247</sup> we see several people named with the addition *bintis* to their names. *Bintis* has been interpreted as a magistrate based on the Indo-European stem *\*bhei(ə)-*, magistrate or priest.<sup>248</sup>

An example of the administrative power these magistrates had, is found in the Botorrita plaques, especially in the *Tabula Contrebiensis*. It treats the agreements made to solve the problems that occurred when a water canal was built across the land of other peoples. In this case the *Allavones* complained about the purchase of *Sosinestani* land by the *Salluienses*. The latter are the people of the city *Salduie* situated to the north of *Contrebia Belaisca*.<sup>249</sup> The *Allavonenses* are the peoples living near *Salduie* as mentioned by Ptolomy<sup>250</sup> and in the *Antonine Initiary*<sup>251</sup>. The existence of a city by this name is furthermore supported

<sup>243</sup> See appendix IV for the inscriptions of these plaques.

<sup>244</sup> Actum [C]ontrebiae Balaiscae eidibus Maieis, L. Cornelio Cn. Octavio consulibu[s]. This consular dating ends the *Tabula Contrebiensis* inscription.

<sup>245</sup> Professor Blok from Utrecht University pointed to the similarity between ending formula, the list with the magistrates, of the *Tabula Contrebiensis* and similar Greek texts. Although this is an important finding that could add to the credibility of a Greek influence in the formulae of the Botorrita plaques, there was no room to investigate this in such way that it could be presented here.

<sup>246</sup> For easy reading both words, *magistratus* and *bintis* have been made bold in the transcription in appendix IV.

<sup>247</sup> Eska (1989), 6: dates the First Botorrita Bronze circa 100 BCE ± 25 years, based on epigraphic grounds and the parallels with other legal texts of Roman Hispania.

<sup>248</sup> Tovar (1982), 77.

<sup>249</sup> Fatás (1980), 57.

<sup>250</sup> Ptolomy II 6. 67: *Alauona*

<sup>251</sup> Antonine Initiary 444.1: *Allobone* and 455.4 *Allantone*.

by a coin reading *Alaun*.<sup>252</sup> The *civitas Sosinestanos* is unknown to us. No other source refers to these people and even the other plaques do not mention this *civitas*. The fact that the conflict was between *Salduie* and the *Allavonenses*, both near *Contrebia Belaisca*, indicates that the *Sosinestanos* lived in the region of *Contrebia Belaisca*. The relevance of this plaque is the fact that the magistrates of *Contrebia*, presided by the praetor, denounced the complaint by the *Allavonenses* and confirmed the agreement between the people of the *civitas* of the *Sosinestanos* and the *Salluienses*.

Next to the magistrates named in the second bronze of Botorríta, we find the *senatus* of *Contrebia Belaisca*, made up of the *magistrati* and presided by the *praetor*.<sup>253</sup> The existence Celtiberian aristocracy is mentioned several times in ancient sources. Appian refers to them with different names. For example, in the case of the letters sent by Cato the Elder in 193 BCE to all ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων the elders of the city or, according to the Loeb translation, ‘the magistrates of all the towns’.<sup>254</sup> Another reference is to the πρεσβύτατοι, again a reference to elders speaking for the entire community, in this case to L. Licinius Lucullus consul in 151 BCE.<sup>255</sup> A specific reference to the noble men of *Numantia* during the siege of Q. Pompeius in 141 BCE, ἐγγενεῖς, can be found in Diodorus Siculus.<sup>256</sup> We have to keep in mind that all these sources were written well after the actual events. Nevertheless, all of these accounts state interaction with the Roman commanders by a body of high placed men speaking or acting for the entire settlement.

The political organisation of Celtiberia might have been rather difficult, following the ideas of Burillo, Medrano and Díaz. They point out that there are three different settlements named *Contrebia: Belaisca, Leucade* and *Carbica* (fig 21). The interesting theory by these three scholars poses these *Contrebiae* as capitals.<sup>257</sup> This idea can already be found in classical sources: Valerius Maximus mentions *Contrebia* as ‘*caput eius gentis*’ at the time of Q. Cecilius Metellus conquest in 142 BCE, interpreted as capital of Celtiberia.<sup>258</sup> Another argument to take the three *Contrebiae* as administrative or political centres is the linguistic similarity with the Irish *cantrev*.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Fatás (1980), 63.

<sup>253</sup> Fatás (1980), 101.

<sup>254</sup> Appian *Iber.* 41.

<sup>255</sup> Appian *Iber.* 52.

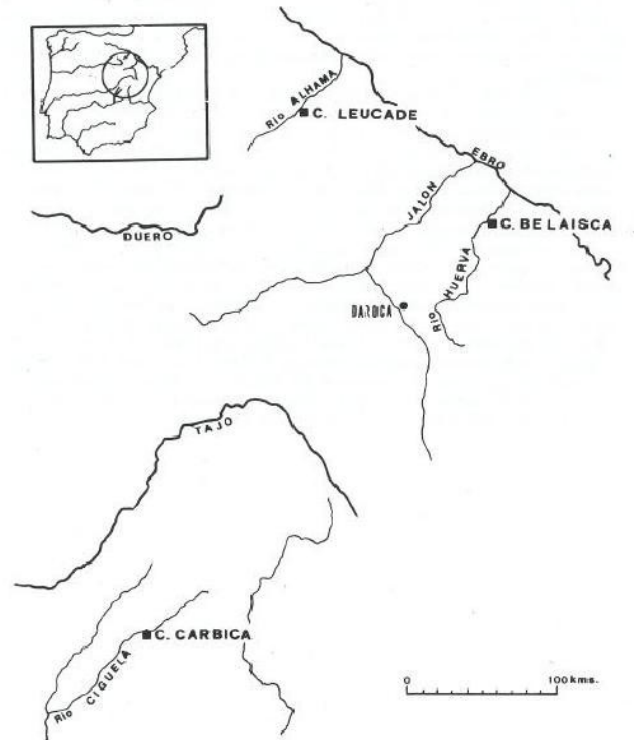
<sup>256</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* XXXIII 17.3.

<sup>257</sup> Medrano & Díaz (2000) argues that the *contrebiae* are juridical capitals: Burillo-Mozota (1986) poses the *Contrebiae* as capitals of three different tribes of Celtiberians; Belli, Titti and Lusoni.

<sup>258</sup> Val. Max. 7.4.5. According to Beltrán (1976), 386 this reference is to *Contrebia Leucade*.

<sup>259</sup> Medrano & Díaz (2000), 166.

A *cantrev* is used to indicate a conglomeration of hundred communities, hundred houses or hundred cultivated areas of land.<sup>260</sup> As *Contrebia* is derived from the same stem, this might be taken as a similar concept, placing the three *Contrebia* over an area consisting of hundred other units, such as communities. The most renowned is *Contrebia Belaisca*, as this yielded the four bronze plaques just mentioned, inscribed with administrative and juridical texts.



The idea that these cities might well have been the juridical capitals of the Celtiberians is partly based on the fact that one of the three emitted juridical texts.<sup>261</sup> Fig. 21: The three *Contrebiae*. After Burillo-Mozota (1986) fig. 1 p. 546.

Moreover, I will treat *Termes*, *Numantia* and *Segobriga* as these are of relevance for their continuation into the fourth phase. In addition, several clear Mediterranean influences will be pointed out, as these are indicators of pre-Roman contact with Mediterranean ideas.

This puts the administrative and political organisation of Celtiberia well beyond the idea of simple urban settlements before the Roman conquest. Not only were there cities, but an urban hierarchy as well, which offered possibilities to solve problems and arguments between different communities. But what were these apparent cities like? A rough picture of these cities will be drawn by regarding a few cities and their urban elements. I will look at *Contrebia Belaisca* and *Contrebia Leucade*, as these might have been juridical centres.<sup>262</sup> The *oppidum* of *Contrebia Belaisca* covers approximately 20 ha, which makes it one of the larger Celtiberian settlements.<sup>263</sup> Its name has been established as it minted its own

of the larger Celtiberian settlements.<sup>263</sup> Its name has been established as it minted its own

<sup>260</sup> Medrano & Díaz (2000), 166.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibidem*, 165.

<sup>262</sup> *Contrebia Carbica* is left out for two reasons. Firstly, almost no archaeological research has been done. The site has been located near *Segobriga* based on coins and the still visible walls. Gras et al. (1984) Secondly, it is considered to be of Carpetanian origin, The Carpetani are considered another ethnos. Almagro (1995), 212 & Curchin (2004), 35.

<sup>263</sup> Medrano Marqués, Díaz Sanz & Tramullas Saz (1991), 281. Contra: Beltrán (1976), 9, stating only 12,6 ha.

bronze coins with the legend *Contebacom Bel* and *Pelaiscom*.<sup>264</sup> Moreover, its name as a whole, *ContePias / PelaisCas*, is presented at the tessera treated above.<sup>265</sup> As it is positioned at the intersection of major roads, it was in close contact with the surrounding area and the Iberian coast, where the Greek trade posts were positioned. This position must have led to intensive contacts with traders and travellers, leading to a constant exchange of products and ideas. These contacts were confirmed by finds such as *kalathoi* and *pithoi*, clearly imports from the Greek-influenced coast. Moreover, it was in contact with the major settlements in its vicinity, such as *Belikiom*, *Nertobis*, *Bilbilis* and *Sekaisa*, and further away, *Arse* and *Ebusus*.<sup>266</sup> Based on the finds, Medrano and his team believe *Contrebia Belaisca* became an important urban centre by the end of the third and start of the second century BCE.<sup>267</sup> At this time its most renown and iconic building was constructed: The Columnar Monument.<sup>268</sup>

The Columnar Monument has been the focus of excavations as it draws the attention with its columns and multiple rooms. The building has, as already stated, five longitudinal rooms opening to the columnar facade. Its dimensions are approximately 225 m<sup>2</sup> (15 x 15). Although it is also known as the adobe monument (Es: *edificio de adobe*), the foundation and lower layers of the building were erected in large regular local limestone blocks. The highest wall still standing measures five metres.<sup>269</sup> Because of the height of this remaining wall and the remains of a second floor, the building must have had at least two storeys.<sup>270</sup>

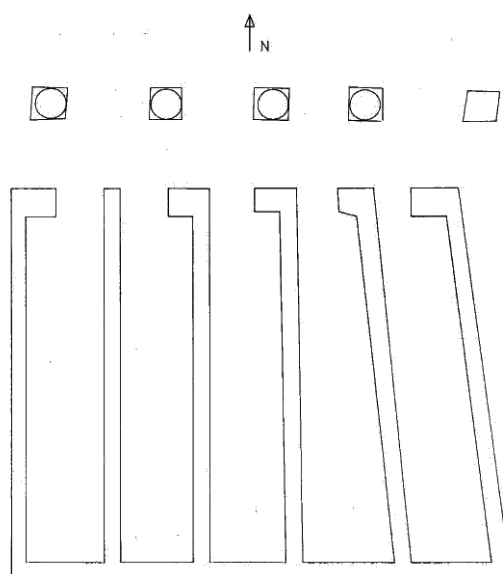


Fig. 22: plan of the Columnar Monument (Medrano et al. 1991) fig. 1 p. 284

Its function has been debated: It was seen as a temple, easy to understand as it seems to resemble the *Capitolium*, although we find five *cellae* here. Burillo refers to the building in

<sup>264</sup> *Contebacom Bel*; MLH A.75.1: *Pelaiscom*; MLH A.80.

<sup>265</sup> MLH IV, 539. K.0.2. See figure 18 on page 53.

<sup>266</sup> Beltrán, Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1986), 409 & Medrano Marqués, Díaz Sanz & Tramullas Saz (1991), 282.

<sup>267</sup> Medrano Marqués, Díaz Sanz & Tramullas Saz (1991), 281.

<sup>268</sup> Medrano Marqués, Díaz Sanz & Tramullas Saz (1991), 285.

<sup>269</sup> Medrano, Díaz Sanz, Tramullas (1991), 283.

<sup>270</sup> Medrano, Díaz Sanz, Tramullas (1991), 283.

one of his papers as a *horreum*.<sup>271</sup> Another interpretation proposes to consider the building as an administrative centre for the city or a larger area. This interpretation is based on the finds of the bronze plaques with inscriptions inside and near this building.<sup>272</sup> All these interpretations are based on a few of the range of artefacts found.<sup>273</sup> The interpretation as a *horreum* was based on the ceramics for holding and transporting, for instance, grain. A sculpture found inside the building, which of course led to the interpretation as temple, was ignored in the interpretation as a *horreum*. Medrano and his team consider it to be a market place built for the surrounding territory. This would explain the presence of storing pots, the amount of coins and the statue. Moreover, as it is a building where people, possibly from all over *Contrebia Belaisca*'s territory, gathered the elaborate and luxurious construction of the Columnar Monument can be interpreted as a display of power and wealth.

Ultimately, the city was destroyed in what appears to have been a siege. The walls were taken down deliberately. In the cities premises catapult projectiles were found and there is a clear burn layer.<sup>274</sup> Most likely, the settlement was destroyed in one of the civil wars fought on the Iberian Peninsula, the Sertorian War or the Civil War.<sup>275</sup>

The other *Contrebia* is Leucade, the hillside on which it is constructed has been carved out the create terraces and houses have been dug into the hard bedrock.<sup>276</sup> Sertorius captured it as part of his revolt against Sulla.<sup>277</sup> As Sertorius had to siege *Contrebia Leucade* in his revolt, the idea has risen that the city of *Contrebia Leucade* already had made a pact with Rome and stayed loyal.<sup>278</sup> Indeed, Valerius Maximus mentions the earlier capture of *Contrebia Leucade* by Q. Metellus in 142 BCE.<sup>279</sup> The impressive defensive walls of Leucade are mentioned: “*ergo nisi mentem suam dolos scrutari coegisset, ad ultimam ei senectutem apud moenia Contrebiae armato sedendem foret.*”<sup>280</sup> Keeping the Romans out for years would be a rather astonishing feat for a supposedly non-urban settlement. The seven to nine metres high walls itself are astonishing, as they were built from the bedrock that was excavated to

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<sup>271</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2005a), 433: although this claim is only placed in the caption of the monuments picture. Beltrán & Beltrán (1989) started the interpretation of this building as a *horreum*, Medrano Marqués et al. state that the effort put in adorning the building, for instance with the columns does not fit such a use.

<sup>272</sup> Díaz Sanz (1994), 90.

<sup>273</sup> Medrano, Díaz Sanz, Tramullas (1991), 285.

<sup>274</sup> Beltrán, Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1986), 410; Beltrán, Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1991b), 207.

<sup>275</sup> Beltrán (1992), 59.

<sup>276</sup> Hernandez Vera, J. (1978), 65.

<sup>277</sup> Livy, *Frag.* 91 & Plut. *Sertorius* 77.

<sup>278</sup> Curchin (2004), 48.

<sup>279</sup> Val. Max. 7.4.5. According to Beltrán (1976), 386 this reference is to *Contrebia Leucade*.

<sup>280</sup> Val. Max. 7.4.5: “*So if he had not forced his mind to examine trickery, he would have had to go on sitting in arms at the walls of Contrebia into ultimate old age.*” Loeb translation.

create the 672 metres long *fossa*.<sup>281</sup> The enormous fortifications of *Contrebia Leucade*, give the impression of an important settlement therefore some scholars consider it as such.<sup>282</sup>

The relevance of *Contrebia Leucade* as administrative centre is based on the similarity in name to *Contrebia Belaisca*.<sup>283</sup> Although, this might not be convincing in order to establish the settlement as important or as a city, there is other evidence. For instance, the artefacts contain imported Greek and Campanian wares,<sup>284</sup> presumably obtained by trade with other settlements, as *Contrebia Leucade* is positioned rather far to the northeast.<sup>285</sup> Eventually, the settlement was destroyed mid first century BCE, possibly as a result of the Sertorian War.<sup>286</sup>

*Termes* is an interesting Celtiberian city as it existed already in Neolithic times, albeit at the site of what would become the later cemetery of *Termes*, known as *Carratermes*.<sup>287</sup> The Celtiberian settlement of *Termes* is an interesting case as it is one of the few Celtiberian settlements with public buildings. Archaeologists have interpreted two pre-Roman buildings as public,



recognising a temple and the *comitium* or theatre.<sup>288</sup> The last interpretation is possibly the most interesting: At the southern outer wall of the city, next to the city gate, a stepped construction is carved out of the bedrock. This structure looks like a crude Greek theatre (fig. 22), although it is also recognised as a *comitium*.<sup>289</sup> Regardless of its exact function, it was a place where the people of the Celtiberian settlement could gather. A small cave near this structure has been recognised as a small sanctuary, as it yielded bone fragments of deer and bulls, moreover pre-Roman Celtiberian ceramics were found, adding evidence to the public nature of the structure.<sup>290</sup> Although the temple has no possible Greek background, it is still interesting as it is the third public building of pre-Roman *Termes*. The temple is situated at the highest point of the city,

Fig. 23: *Comitium Termes* (picture by author).

<sup>281</sup> Lorrio (1997), 90.

<sup>282</sup> Curchin (2004), 163; Hernandez Vera, J. (1978), 63.

<sup>283</sup> Burillo-Mozota (1986); Medrano & Diaz (2000). *Supra*.

<sup>284</sup> Curchin (2004), 163.

<sup>285</sup> Vera & Martinez (1994), 30.

<sup>286</sup> Curchin (2004), 79; Hernandez Vera, J. & Martínez Torrecilla, J. M. (1994), 28.

<sup>287</sup> Argente (1999), 173.

<sup>288</sup> Almagro (2011), 124.

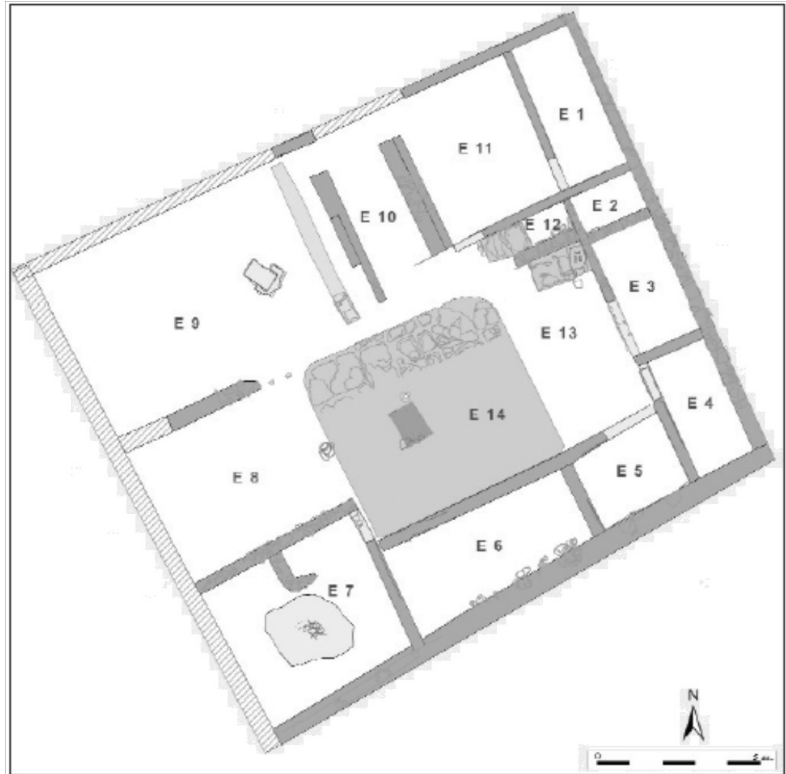
<sup>289</sup> *Ibidem* (2011), 124 & 157; Argente (1999), 176; Almagro (1994), 40.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibidem* (2011), 158: bone fragments of deer and bull were found in this cave next to ceramic of pre-Roman dating.



and knew two construction phases as temple.<sup>291</sup> The altar of the second temple is the threefold staircase cut out of the bedrock.<sup>292</sup> Almagro proposes to regard the temple dedicated to a poliad divinity, divinity related to the city, based on the position of the temple on the acropolis of the settlement, and therefore it is referred to as the poliad temple.<sup>293</sup>

In the city of *Segeda I*, an interesting house is found: Casa del Estrigilo.<sup>294</sup> The house occupies a 283 m<sup>2</sup> at the slope of the hill on which *Segeda I* was situated.<sup>295</sup> As treated above the Celtiberian city of *Segeda I* was destroyed in the second Celtiberian war in 153 BCE.<sup>296</sup> The dating is based on the location near the settlement of *Segeda I*, moreover a coin belonging to this settlement has been found in the house.



Moreover, the entire zone surrounding the house is abandoned at the same time, many of these houses provided additional evidence for a *terminus ante quem* 153 BCE.<sup>297</sup> The plan of the building follows the Greco-Roman layout<sup>298</sup>: There is a central portico of 35 m<sup>2</sup>, although it is not peristyle, with the surrounding rooms opening into the central portico. The floors were covered with stone slabs or clay, varying per room, for instance the kitchen room (E7), which was covered with clay allowing for the large fireplace. On the other hand, the floors of the dormitories (E

Fig. 24: Plan of Casa del Estrigilo (after Burillo et alii (2008), fig. 5, p. 10).

<sup>291</sup> Almagro (2011), 126; Martínez & Santos (2005), 689. There is a third phase: the Islamic tower after the Islamic conquest the site of *Termes* was used to construct this defensive structure as it could overlook and control a large plain.

<sup>292</sup> Almagro (2011), 126: a staircase altar is also observed in the Vettonian *oppidum* of Ulaca (see Simón (2005), 314).

<sup>293</sup> Almagro (2011), 136; Almagro bases his identification of the temple as the temple of the poliad divinity on the similarities in the Greco-Roman world where the gods of the polis often are worshipped on the acropolis.

<sup>294</sup> The use of the Spanish names is a choice made to hand the reader the possibility to find related articles.

<sup>295</sup> Burillo-Mozota et alii (2008), 6.

<sup>296</sup> Burillo-Mozota / Cano Díaz / López Romero & Saiz Carrasco (2008), 4.

<sup>297</sup> Burillo-Mozota et alii (2008), 18.

<sup>298</sup> Biers (1996), 295; Burillo-Mozota et alii (2008), 18.

3-5) were covered with gypsum.<sup>299</sup> The central courtyard (E14) has an *impluvium*, which was most probably connected to a cistern.<sup>300</sup> Although the cistern is not yet located, a filter has been found, believed to be part of the canal from the *impluvium* to the cistern.<sup>301</sup>

Casa del Estrigilo is named after the *strigilis* found in the third room (E3).<sup>302</sup> This is a unique find in a Celtiberian and Iberian archaeological context. On the Iberian Peninsula, there have been three other pre-Roman finds of *strigiles*, all of them in Roman army camps or Greek trade posts, thus related to Romans or Greeks.<sup>303</sup> The implication for this house might be that we deal with either a Greek or Roman individual living in *Segeda I*, or a Segedan citizen influenced by the Greco-Roman culture. In both cases the *strigilis* found in a house implies the use of the instrument in the domestic sphere, instead of the baths. This could be because there was no bathing complex in Segeda. In addition, in the later Roman influenced *villae*, the floors were covered in *opus signinum* imitating the Roman mosaic style.<sup>304</sup>

As the abandonment of the Casa del Estrigilo dates to 153 BCE, the construction must have been earlier, at least in the second century BCE. This is about the same time as the Roman villa type starts to appear in Pompey.<sup>305</sup> Thereby, the Casa del Estrigilo cannot be of Roman origin, but must be of Hellenistic origin, proving pre-Roman influences from other Mediterranean cultures.

By now it has become clear that the Celtiberian *oppida* had contacts with the Mediterranean prior to the Roman conquest. Their magistrates issued contracts in name of the entire community. In addition, they agreed upon legal matters and contracts between settlements. The settlements had public buildings such as the Columnar Monument in *Contrebia Belaisca* and the temple, *comitium* and *laconica* in *Termes*. The *oppida* show a deliberate internal planning and even the first Hippodamic plan in *Numantia*.<sup>306</sup> Moreover, the *oppida* controlled other settlements in their own territory; they were central places of relevance for the Romans in their conquest. As the Roman conquest of Celtiberia is of importance, I will treat this shortly. However, as its position in this debate on urbanism is rather difficult, should we consider it as a part of the Late Celtiberian phase? Or is it part of the Roman history of the Celtiberian region? It is this very problem that led to the separation

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<sup>299</sup> Burillo-Mozota et alii (2008), 8.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibidem* (2008), 11.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibidem* (2008), 11: see *idem*, 9 fig. 4 for a picture of the filter.

<sup>302</sup> A *strigilis* is a metal object, often bronze, used to clean the body from oil, sweat or water after sport or bathing. It has been connected, even in Roman times, to Greek culture.

<sup>303</sup> Burillo-Mozota et alii (2008), 12.

<sup>304</sup> See Casa Likinete infra p. 76 and the villa in *Contrebia Belaisca* (Beltrán Martínez 1991).

<sup>305</sup> Burillo-Mozota et alii (2008), 19.

<sup>306</sup> Almagro (2011), 293.

of the debates and the strange position of the conquest in this paper. We cannot deny the relevance of the Roman conquest for the Celtiberian culture as will be shown in the case of the Celtiberian equestrian élite.<sup>307</sup>

At the very beginning of the Roman conquest in 218 BCE, the impact of the Romans on Celtiberian culture was only small and mostly indirect. As the Carthaginians wanted to keep the Romans out, they sought for allies and mercenaries. The most frequently used mercenaries were the Celtiberians.<sup>308</sup> The ancient sources provide us with the information needed to understand that politics were involved. The Celtiberians shifted sides often enough. Appian claims that at least at two occasions, the Celtiberians deserted in order to defeat the Romans by trickery.<sup>309</sup> Still both sides hired the Celtiberians. This continuous shifting and rehiring seems proof for their superiority as warriors and mercenaries. The Celtiberian equestrians had a high status within their own community and probably in the different armies as well.<sup>310</sup>

These equestrian mercenaries were of relevance to the Romans as well. The Celtiberian mercenaries were horseback warriors.<sup>311</sup> The importance of these people cannot be stressed enough. Not only were they the élite, they were also in close contact with Greeks and Carthaginians, as they served in the



Fig. 25: Denarius of *Sekobirikes*. After Almagro (2005), fig. 16, p. 177.

<sup>307</sup> Note: The word used in Spanish to refer to this horseback élite is '*jinetes*' in the Anglo-Saxon discourse often translated with '*equites*' (e.g.: Almagro 1995a). As both words are unclear to this discourse, *jinete* for its unfamiliarity and *equites* for its similarity with the Roman order, I will use equestrian. I am well aware of the possibility one might link this word as well to the *equites*. However, when needed I will refer to the Roman order in Latin, thus *Ordo Equester* and *equites (eques)* to avoid confusion. The word knight has been proposed, however, I feel that this has a too clear connotation with the heavy armored medieval horsemen.

<sup>308</sup> Appian *Iber.* 24, 28 & 31; *Hann.* 4, 20-23, 30, 52, 53.

<sup>309</sup> Appian *Iber.* 30 after the Romans took control over the Celtiberian area the Celtiberians still joined the army of Mago, the Roman Lucius Marcius Septimius put several resilient Celtiberians to death for taking up their arms against Rome, the remainder of the Celtiberian men thereafter joined Mago again; *Hann.* 20-23: During the battle of Cannae 500 Celtiberian mercenaries appeared to be deserting the army of Hannibal and joined the Romans, Gnaeus Servilius Geminus disarmed them and put them unchained in the rear, during battle they suddenly turned at the Romans with their daggers they had not handed over to the Romans. Another account of Celtiberian mercenaries turning unsuspectingly at their former master is treated in *Hann.* 30: Roman generals hired Celtiberian horse as they were seen to be splendid fighters, in the midst of Hannibal's campaign in 215 the Celtiberian horse at Roman service mingled with those at Punic pay and won them over, thereby the Celtiberian horse left Hannibal's side.

<sup>310</sup> Almagro (2005), 164.

<sup>311</sup> Appian, *Han.* 30.

armies. This contact led to a fast acculturation of the Celtiberian élite to the Hellenized Carthaginians and Greeks.<sup>312</sup> These equestrians served several years as mercenaries in different armies: they became a separate class, the *equitatum Hispanum*.<sup>313</sup> Their high status and acquaintance with Carthaginian culture made them the best choice in the wars against the Carthaginians.<sup>314</sup> Celtiberian mercenaries served in the Roman army from the start of the Second Punic war.<sup>315</sup>



Fig. 26: Fibula depiction equestrian II c. BCE (Museo Numantino, 93/5/1409/C-32) Picture by author.

As such, the position of the Celtiberian equestrians was continued. The importance of the equestrians for the Celtiberian *oppida* is stressed in numismatics, as coins show the most important aspects of its minting culture.<sup>316</sup> The earliest coins already show equestrians on the reverse of the coin.<sup>317</sup> The image of the head on the obverse is supposed to be a god or the founding hero.<sup>318</sup> In the Celtiberian area almost all coins with a Celtiberian legend, and some with a Roman, show an equestrian on the reverse.<sup>319</sup> This relevance of the equestrians is also expressed in other Celtiberian art forms depicting the equestrians are the fibulae and funerary *stelae*.<sup>320</sup>

As prosperous as the Second Punic war might have been for the Celtiberian equestrian élite, changing sides and gaining respect and wealth as mercenaries, the effects afterwards were less nice. The impact of the Roman conquest on the Celtiberian tribes becomes clear when regarding the different and long fought wars. The First Celtiberian War was from 181-179 BCE between the Celtiberian tribes and the Roman Generals Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II.<sup>321</sup> The Romans subdued certain tribes and agreed that the destroyed walls were not to be rebuilt.

The *casu belli* for the Second Celtiberian War in the period 154-152 BCE under the Roman generals Q. Fulvius Nobilior and M. Claudius Marcellus against the Celtiberian tribes of the *Belli*, *Titti* and *Arevaci*, was the rebuilding of walls of *Segeda* and the acceptance of the Segedan asylum seekers in *Numantia*.<sup>322</sup> The outcome is surprising as the Romans destroyed

<sup>312</sup> Almagro (2005), 164.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibidem*, 164.

<sup>314</sup> Olcoz & Medrano (2010), 314.

<sup>315</sup> Livy 25.32.1 ff cf 24.49.7

<sup>316</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2001), 95.

<sup>317</sup> Abascal (2002), 10.

<sup>318</sup> Almagro (1995a), 240: Almagro & Lorrio (2012), 166.

<sup>319</sup> Almagro (2005), 170: Burillo-Mozota (2001), 94: Untermann (1975).

<sup>320</sup> Almagro & Lorrio (2004), 97.

<sup>321</sup> Appian *Iber.* 45.

<sup>322</sup> Appian *Iber.* 46.

*Segeda* but were unable to take *Numantia*. It is in this war that August 23<sup>rd</sup> became known as a *dies nefastus* for the Romans were utterly defeated by the Celtiberians at the gates of *Segeda*.<sup>323</sup> After this event, the *Segedans* took refuge in *Numantia*. Here the Romans were defeated again, *Nobilior* lost three elephants and many more men at the walls of *Numantia*. Eventually this war ended in 151 as *Lucius Licinius Lucillus* the Elder, with his lieutenant *Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus*, marched for the Celtiberian city of *Numantia*, *Marcellus* notified the Celtiberians of *Lucillus*' march and encamped at a distance from *Numantia*. The *Numantine* leader *Litenno* asked for peace before *Lucillus* arrived.<sup>324</sup>

The last Celtiberian war is known as the *Numantine* war. As the Romans fought the *Lusitanian* war in the west and were defeated by *Viriatus*, the rebel leader, the Celtiberians, especially those from *Termes* and *Numantia*, rose against the Romans once more.<sup>325</sup> The war ended in 133 BCE with the fall of *Numantia*, after a siege that lasted 13 months in spite of the *circumvallation* by seven *castra*.<sup>326</sup> In this period of wars, the Celtiberian Iron II settlements and the state structures had a difficult time. Cities were abandoned (*Segeda*), sacked and destroyed (*Numantia*). Nevertheless, as the Celtiberian peoples were resilient, their cities were as well. *Segeda* became a new important city in Roman times and *Numantia* was rebuilt. However, the *Sertorian* War was worse for the Celtiberians, as the Romans had no mercy for the traitors; they sacked and destroyed the settlements supporting *Sertorius*.<sup>327</sup> Thereby they ended the Celtiberian phase for many settlements and started an era of urban reorganization and Roman control.

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<sup>323</sup> Appian *Iber.* 45.

<sup>324</sup> Appian *Iber.* 49-50.

<sup>325</sup> Appian *Iber.* 76.

<sup>326</sup> Morales Hernández (2009), 71.

<sup>327</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2006b), 167.

#### Fourth Phase: Roman Celtiberia (I century BCE – I CE)

This final phase treats the transition from Celtiberia into part of the Roman *provincia Tarraconensis*.<sup>328</sup> In other publications treating the urbanisation of Celtiberia, this phase is taken as completely separate, or left to other research.<sup>329</sup> Nevertheless, I believe it is relevant to regard the Roman period as well. Although the urban development of the Celtiberians had reached its urban form before the Roman conquest, there is an important Roman influence on the urban settlements. For instance, the growth of some settlements, the internal planning in the Hippodamic grid and the clear administrative organisation in *provinciae* and *conventus* are of Roman origin. These changes probably led to the idea that the Celtiberian *oppida* were not urban; this based on the fact that the settlements in the region had to change to fit the Roman urban organisation.

This fourth phase starts after the Caesarean war and reaches its height after Tiberius as he granted many municipal charters in Celtiberia during his reign.<sup>330</sup> Moreover, he actively promoted the Imperial cult, and during his reign the monumentalization of *Clunia*, *Segobriga* and *Clunia* was well on its way.<sup>331</sup> As the ultimate delimitation of my thesis I use the rule of Vespasian as he granted the *Ius Latii*, through which the freemen in the *provincia Hispania* received the Latin right.<sup>332</sup> I do not want to state that this Romanized the people at once. The choice for this edict is merely arbitrary. The reason for ending the research at the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty is based on the major importance of this dynasty for the Romanization of the Celtiberians. It was Augustus who finished the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and Tiberius granted the status of *municipium* to many cities.

Obviously, the violent Roman conquest and subsequent civil wars might give the idea that many settlements were lost. Following this line of thought, Curchin states that settlements are either pre-Roman or Roman.<sup>333</sup> Thereby, he ignores the continuously inhabited settlements, such as *Termes* and *Segobriga*, and replaced settlements, such as *Clunia* and *Ercavica*. Indeed, in the case of the replaced settlements, they might be considered *ex novo* Roman foundations as they are not the same Late Celtiberian settlements.<sup>334</sup> However, the fact that these settlements were founded in the vicinity of the old settlements, keeping their own

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<sup>328</sup> The provincial reorganization of the Iberian Peninsula was part of Augustus agenda in 27 BCE. Cortés (2008).

<sup>329</sup> Curchin (2004) 29; the Celtiberian period ends in 25 BCE: Almagro (1994); his phases end in the second century BCE as the *oppidum* has become an urban centre, according to his argument.

<sup>330</sup> Blazquez (2008), 369.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibidem*, 370.

<sup>332</sup> López-Barja (2008), 406; Pliny *NH* III.30.

<sup>333</sup> Curchin (2004), 69.

<sup>334</sup> *Ex novo*: indicates a newly founded settlement without a prior occupation.

name and possibly population, is overlooked.<sup>335</sup> Another idea for treating the Roman settlements in Celtiberia is proposed by MacMullen, as he states that the peaceful times after Roman conquest allowed for less defensive settlements. And as a consequence, the settlements moved to the plains.<sup>336</sup> Indeed, the Roman conquest had a significant impact on the urban landscape in the Celtiberian area. However, the changes in the urban sphere of Celtiberia were not as groundbreaking as Curchin and MacMullen try to prove.<sup>337</sup> The Celtiberians already lived in an early form of city-states<sup>338</sup>, as I have argued in the preceding part. Moreover, several cities were continued, as were some Celtiberian practices. Nevertheless, the Romans changed the urban structure and even some urban centres completely.

One of these rather significant changes the Romans made was the creation of the *provincia Hispania* in 218 BCE. The theory behind the formation of a *provincia* is the possibility to send a magistrate with *imperium*.<sup>339</sup> As the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula made the *provincia* bigger, and the problems with local tribes were not solved, the need for a second person with *imperium* grew. This problem was solved with the division of Hispania in two provinces *Hispania Citerior* and *Uterior*.<sup>340</sup> After the conquest of Hispania in 19 BCE, the completely conquered and secured Iberian Peninsula needed to be controlled and governed. Augustus created a third province by dividing and renaming *Hispania Uterior* into *Lusitania* and *Baetica*. Moreover, parts of newly conquered territory were added to *Hispania Citerior*, now known as *Tarraconensis* after its capital *Tarragona*, and *Lusitania*. In order to govern the *provinciae* and collect the taxes of the Iberian Peninsula, they were divided into *conventus iuridici* (Appendix III).<sup>341</sup> The largest or centrally positioned cities in these *conventus* were appointed capitals, from where the *conventus* were governed.

By what means Augustus defined the boundaries is unknown, but surely old indigenous and tribal borders were ignored. For example, the *conventus* borders split the territory of Celtiberia into three different *conventus*.<sup>342</sup> Two of its former Celtiberian cities were appointed as capitals of a *conventus*: *Clunia* for the *Conventus Cluniensis* and *Salduie*, renamed *Caesaraugusta*, for the *Conventus Caesaraugustanus*, the third *conventus* was that of

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<sup>335</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 392.

<sup>336</sup> MacMullen (2000), 51.

<sup>337</sup> Curchin (2004), 85ff.

<sup>338</sup> The phrase 'city-state' is used here as it is the translation of the phrase used in the Spanish discourse, *ciudad-estado*. I believe it fits the idea of a city controlling its own territory with subordinate settlements.

<sup>339</sup> Salinas de Frías (1995), 26; Richardson (1996), 15.

<sup>340</sup> Salinas de Frías (1995), 37; Richardson (1996), 50.

<sup>341</sup> Mackie (1983), 8ff. Kulikowski (1994), 6.

<sup>342</sup> Cortés (2008), 330.

*Carthago Nova (Conventus Carthaginensis)*. The administrative, political and juridical power shifted from the former indigenous capitals towards cities appointed by the Romans.

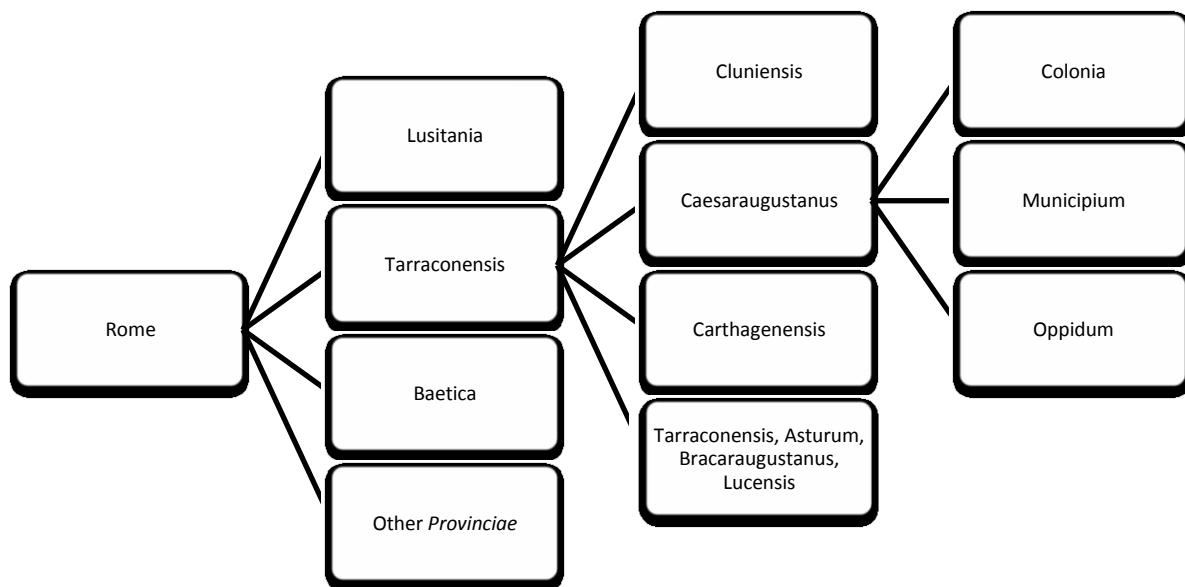


Fig. 27: Dendritic control system for the provincial. Remodelled after Curchin (2004) fig. 3.3, p. 54.

An example of this reorganisation can be found in the case of *Contrebia Belaisca*, as argued above, *Contrebia Belaisca* once might have been an important juridical centre for the Celtiberians, speaking justice for settlements, as is attested in the *Tabula Contrebiensis*.<sup>343</sup> After the destruction of *Contrebia Belaisca*, probably during the Sertorian War, the site was rebuilt. The Roman site of *Contrebia Belaisca* yields the remains of a *villa* and some related houses. However, it is not clear whether the Imperial site was an urban centre with a *villa*, or just the *villa* with a conglomeration of houses.<sup>344</sup> The archaeological artefacts contain *terra sigillata* from Gaul and Hispania, glass, glazed ceramics and as of Caligula, minted in *Caesaraugusta*, as well as older republican ware and coins, such as the asses of *Bilbilis*.<sup>345</sup> These artefacts date the building well into the Imperial age.<sup>346</sup> The street found is oriented east-west, planning similar to the Roman plan.<sup>347</sup> Although, it might well be a coincidence as there was only one street found. Inside the *villa* the use of *opus reticulatum* was found as well as mural paintings.<sup>348</sup> Imperial *Contrebia Belaisca* had close economic contacts with the Roman *colonia* of *Caesaraugusta*, seen in the number of coins from *Caesaraugusta* in respect

<sup>343</sup> Fatás (1979).

<sup>344</sup> Beltrán, Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1986), 412 assumed that there is only a *villa* in 1991 this assumption was corrected and an urban settlement opted (1991c), 214.

<sup>345</sup> Beltrán, Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1986), 410: (1991b), 210 : (1991c), 212.

<sup>346</sup> Beltrán & Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1986), 410.

<sup>347</sup> Rykwert (1976),

<sup>348</sup> Beltrán, Díaz Sanz & Medrano (1991b), 210: (1991c) 212.



to other coins.<sup>349</sup> Evidently, this is due to the fact that the *colonia* is situated only 20 km from *Contrebia Belaisca*. In addition, *Contrebia Belaisca* was situated along the Roman road connecting *Caesaraugusta* and *Toletum*.<sup>350</sup> The crude part is the fact that *Caesaraugusta* most probably is *Salduie* of the *Tabula Contrebiensis*. Unfortunately, little is known about the Celtiberian settlement of *Salduie*, as it is positioned not only underneath a Roman occupation layer but underneath modern Zaragoza as well.

Another rather significant change is that of the creation of *coloniae* and *municipia*. As there is some discussion on the exact number of these places, I will only discuss the probable relevance of these titles and the changes these cities underwent, because changes were made to the cities after their newly acquired status.<sup>351</sup> The exact difference between *municipia* and *colonia* is another ongoing discussion, although, scholars agree on the higher status of the *colonia* in respect to the *municipium*.<sup>352</sup> More importantly, the fact is that by these titles the cities became part of the Roman political organization and the inhabitants got *ius civum romanorum*, *ius civum latinorum* or *peregrinae*.<sup>353</sup> Although the first *coloniae* and *municipia* were already founded in the middle republic, the true municipalization in the *provinciae* of Hispania started at the time of Caesar and Augustus.<sup>354</sup>

The relation between the municipalisation and monumentalization of Celtiberian cities might be found in the link with Augustus. He gave municipal status to several Celtiberian cities, the need to monumentalize these new *municipia* might be linked to the phrase by Suetonius: Augustus found Rome in brick and left it in marble.<sup>355</sup> This might not only have been true for Rome, but for many other cities as well. As Rome became a city of marble, other cities quickly followed its exemplum.<sup>356</sup> In the Celtiberian area cities with a close link to Rome, *coloniae* and *municipia*, such as *Clunia*<sup>357</sup>, *Segobriga*<sup>358</sup> and *Bilbilis*<sup>359</sup> were fast to construct their public buildings in marble. According to White, the drive behind this monumentalization of the cities was the élite. They were communicating within their own

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<sup>349</sup> Beltrán, Diaz Sanz & Medrano (1986), 412: (1991c) 214.

<sup>350</sup> Beltrán (1992), 58.

<sup>351</sup> MacMullen (2000), 52-53 regards the following settlements as *coloniae*: *Caesaraugusta*, *Calagurris* and *Victrix Iulia Lepida Celsa*. The *municipia* are: *Bilbilis*, *Gracchuris (sic!)*, *Segobriga*, *Turiaso*, *Cascantum*. Whereas Galsterer (1971), 69ff. names the following *coloniae*: *Caesaraugusta*, *Celse Clunia* (Galba) and these *municipia*: *Bilbilis*, *Calagurris*, *Clunia* (Tiberius), *Ercavica*, *Gracchuris*, *Termes* (based on the IIIIviri).

<sup>352</sup> Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears (2011), 28; Bravo (2007), 159.

<sup>353</sup> Bravo (2007), 156.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibidem*, 162.

<sup>355</sup> Suetonius *Augustus* 28.3.

<sup>356</sup> MacMullen (2000), 64.

<sup>357</sup> Tuset et alii (2009), 20.

<sup>358</sup> Almagro & Lorrio (2007), 144.

<sup>359</sup> Beltrán & Martín (1982), 158.

understanding of the Roman world, as the élite of the cities of Roman importance wanted to show their part in *euergetism* and reconstructed their cities in marble as well. Moreover, several cities have legal status: *Clunia* has become the *conventus* capital; *Segobriga* and *Bilbilis* have become *municipia* and *Ercavica* obtained Latin right. In the 200 years of Roman contact, the Celtiberians were acquainted with some Roman customs and even added them to their own culture. Strabo even claims the Celtiberians have become *togata*, toga-wearers.<sup>360</sup> The 'Roman' cities of Celtiberia are often built following the words of Vitruvius, with the *forum* and *basilica* neatly placed as he suggested.<sup>361</sup>

According to Vitruvius' idea of the Augustan city and the modern idea of a foundation kit, or certain array of buildings needed, for a Roman city, containing a *forum*, *capitolium*, *basilica*, theatre, baths and a *macellum*, we should find these in the 'Roman' cities of Celtiberia.<sup>362</sup> I will not treat this kit as a bucket-list of Romanization, based on the idea the more boxes checked, the more 'Roman' a settlement is. The appearance of a number of different Roman buildings in a settlement cannot hand us information on the Romanness of the inhabitants. For example, *Numantia* had no public buildings, therefore we should regard it non-Roman. Looking at the domestic buildings we suddenly see Roman influences, for instance Tuscan columns.<sup>363</sup> This might be interpreted as In the case of *Termes* we find different Roman buildings such as the *forum*, baths and a temple, still the domestic buildings have not changed. Moreover, the public buildings might have been built by the Romans, imposing their architecture on the inhabitants. Nonetheless, the six buildings of the 'foundation kit' are new to the Celtiberian cities and common to the Roman cities all over the empire, hence they are the list of buildings befitting a Roman city.

## Forum

The Roman *forum* should be constructed according to a standard plan which Vitruvius gives.<sup>364</sup> He states that the ideal *forum* should be surrounded by a portico of columns, which covers a passage along where the *tabernae* were situated. In order to provide the shopkeepers a shelter against the cold there should be a basilica at the warmest place, which provides for warmth in the cold winter days. The lay-out of the *forum* should be oblong and its width should be two-thirds of its length.

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<sup>360</sup> Strabo, *Geo.* 3.4.20.

<sup>361</sup> Vitruvius *De Architectura XXX*: MacMullen (2000), 62.

<sup>362</sup> Salmon (1969), 27; Bispham (2006), 74; Lomas (1997), 25.

<sup>363</sup> Jimeno (2006), 182.

<sup>364</sup> Vitr. V.i



Fig.28: Forum of Clunia

In *Clunia*, we find the forum, with in its centre the podium temple possibly dedicated to Roma and Augustus or standard to the Capitoline triad.<sup>365</sup> Opposite to the temple at the other side of the *forum* to the north, the *basilica* is situated. Taking Vitruvius' account this might be a strange position, the north is not the most logical position for a *basilica* as it needs to be built at the warmest side, where not, that this is the city side of the *forum*. As the south side opens to the exterior of the city, the *basilica* would be exposed to the chilly winds at the south. The *forum* has columned porticos, with small *tabernae* behind the columns, at both sides. Near the forum of *Clunia* the *macellum* is situated. The presence of the *macellum* seems important for a 'Roman' city as it is attested in the charter of *Irni*.<sup>366</sup> A *macellum* was also found in the forum of *Termes*, surrounded by *tabernae*.<sup>367</sup>

An interesting forum is that of *Segobriga*, which was constructed on one of the terraces of the new Imperial settlement. *Segobriga* got the status of *municipium* in the year 15 BCE, this is interpreted as the starting point for the monumentalization of the city.<sup>368</sup> Because the *forum* is built at the slope of the hill the construction of a *cryptoporticus* was needed to support the *forum*.<sup>369</sup> This *cryptoporticus* was in use as *tabularium*. A *cryptoporticus* can also be found in the *fora* of *Termes* and *Bilbilis*.<sup>370</sup> The need for these semi subterraneous constructions emerges as the *fora* were built on the slope of the hill on which the settlement is constructed. These *cryptoportica* could be used for different goals, in the case of *Segobriga* it was recognized as a *tabularium*. In the case of *Termes* it provided space for even more *tabernae* surrounding the base of the *forum*. The forum of *Segobriga* was paved with marble,

<sup>365</sup> MacMullen (2000), 60.

<sup>366</sup> Lex Iritana cap. 19

<sup>367</sup> Argente (1999), 180.

<sup>368</sup> Almagro & Lorrio (2007), 168.

<sup>369</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 190.

<sup>370</sup> For *Termes*; Argente (1999), 180: for *Bilbilis*; Cancela Ramírez de Arellano & Martín-Bueno (2008), 238.

a large dedicatory inscription was found, stating that the pavement was paid by the dedicator.<sup>371</sup>

The most breathtaking forum can be found in *Bilbilis*.<sup>372</sup> As this *forum* was constructed on a small hilltop, in the slope on which *Bilbilis* was constructed, it rises above the settlement. Because of the uneven terrain there are large height differences in the *forum*. It has two levels separated by a monumental staircase of six metres height leading to the *capitolium*.



Fig. 29: Reconstruction of *Bilbilis* (artehistoria.es)

### *Templum*

The *capitolium* of *Bilbilis* is the focal point of the city, positioned at the top of the central hill in the settlement. The temple was dedicated to the Capitoline triad and most probably to the imperial cult as well.<sup>373</sup> The idea of an imperial cult in *Bilbilis* is based on the many statues of the Julio-Claudio family found in and around the *forum* and temple.<sup>374</sup> Its position allowed for a view from afar, as people travelled to the city they could already observe the magnificent temple of Roman style. A similar situation must have been the case in *Clunia*. The temple at *Clunia* was positioned at the south side of the *forum*, ending at the edge of the hill plateau. The temple is of Roman plan, placed upon a *podium* and possibly a hexastyle pseudo-peripteral temple, as well. The basis of the *podium* remained partially intact until today, giving an idea of the size of the temple. The dedication of the temple is thought to be to the Capitoline triad, as it was the main temple at the main centre in the region.<sup>375</sup> This idea of a Capitoline triad dedication seems to be supported in the account of Suetonius for *Clunia*,

<sup>371</sup> HEp 10, 2000, 210 = AE 2001, 1246: the inscription is treated later on more extensively.

<sup>372</sup> *Bilbilis* was the hometown of the 'Roman' poet Martial *Epigramata Liber XII. XVIII: Me multos repetita post Decembres Accepit mea rusticumque fecit Auro Bilbilis et superba ferro.*

'My own *Bilbilis*, revisited after many winters, has received me, and made me a country gentleman; *Bilbilis*, proud of its gold and its iron.' (translation by Bohn's Classical Library 1897)

<sup>373</sup> Beltrán Lloris & Martín Bueno (1982), 160

<sup>374</sup> Cancela Ramírez de Arellano & Martín-Bueno (2008), 237

<sup>375</sup> Palol (1990), 38.

*sacerdos Iovis Cluniae*.<sup>376</sup> The Capitoline triad seems to be supported by an inscription reading: *Min[ervae] / Aug(ustae) / [Va]lerius Vegeti[anus?] / flam(en) Romae et Aug[usti]*.<sup>377</sup>

The temple of *Segobriga* is positioned less visible, but built opposite to the *basilica* and *forum*, separated by the *cardo maximus*. The temple is dated to the reign of Vespasian. In *Termes* a temple is found on the *forum* as well. The temple has been dated to the time of Tiberius, which is also the moment that *Termes* became a *municipium*.<sup>378</sup> The *forum* temple is constructed on a completely different location than the poliad temple. Again there is an interesting discussion on the origin of the plan of the *forum* temple. Martínez and Santos point out that there are archaeologists proposing a *fanum* temple, a square temple of Celtic origin, at the central place of the forum.<sup>379</sup> This idea is based on the concept of a Celtic or indigenous element on the forum.<sup>380</sup> If the *cella* of the *Termes* temple is not rectangular but square, as proposed by Torrecilla, the Vitruvian plan was not upheld and it might well have been an expression of resistance to the Roman plan or of a link with Gaul.<sup>381</sup>

### *Theatrum*

The theatre is a quite important feature of Roman culture. As MacMullen states the theatres were: "so many classrooms where Roman leisure ways were taught."<sup>382</sup> The theatres, and the amphitheatres, were Roman buildings of leisure, where Roman plays and games were held. The immersion in these Roman customs introduced

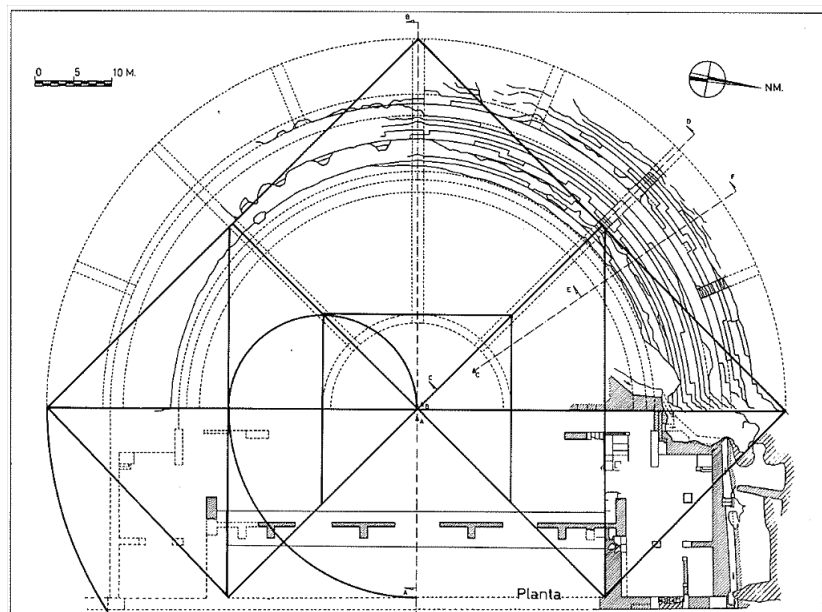


Fig. 30: Theatre of *Clunia* (Palol (1991), )

<sup>376</sup> Suet. *Galba* 9.2.

<sup>377</sup> Palol (1990), 39: ERClu 18

<sup>378</sup> Martínez & Santos (2005), 698: for the status of *municipium* see Argente (1999), 180.

<sup>379</sup> Martínez & Santos (2005), 698: a *fanum* is a temple of Gallo-Roman plan, a quadrate *cella* surrounded by a *ambulaterium* or peristyle walkway. I do agree with Martínez and Santos on the improbability of a Gallo-Roman temple, only found in northwest Gallia and southeast Britannia, in Central Hispania. Especially as this would be the only case on the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>380</sup> Martínez & Santos (2005), 698: referring to Torrecilla (1999).

<sup>381</sup> Vitr. IV.4.1.

<sup>382</sup> MacMullen (2000), 64.

the Celtiberians with Roman ideas. The theatre became an important facet of the Roman city, as can be observed in Vitruvius as he dedicates six chapters of his fifth book to this structure.<sup>383</sup>

Approaching *Clunia* from the northeast, or *Bilbilis* from the south, one not only sees the Roman style temples, but the magnificent theatres of these cities at the slope of the hill as well. Already when one approaches, the sight of the theatre leads to the idea of ‘Romanness’ of the city, in order to show its importance.<sup>384</sup> Consequently, it was reconstructed according to the ideas expressed in Vitruvius.<sup>385</sup> Not only the ‘Romanness’ might have been expressed, as *Clunia* holds the largest theatre on the Iberian Peninsula providing seats for up to 9,000 people, it well might have been a statement of grandeur.<sup>386</sup> In the case of *Clunia*, we are able to read the dedication of the reconstruction of the *scaena*.<sup>387</sup> This inscription will be treated later on as it refers to the agents of monumentalization.

In the case of *Segobriga* the theatre and amphitheatre are clearly built to impress as well. Its position next to one of the gates has travellers to admire it from afar, similar to the temples and theatres of *Clunia* and *Bilbilis*. The theatre of *Segobriga* can be dated by an inscription to the reign of Vespasian.<sup>388</sup> Although, both buildings were built to prove the greatness of *Segobriga*, both were partially built into the rock bed of the hill, delimiting the needed construction.<sup>389</sup> This use of the landscape can be observed in the theatres of *Clunia* and *Bilbilis* as well. The presence of an amphitheatre in *Segobriga* cannot be taken for granted, as the construction and upkeep of an amphitheatre meant an enormous effort.<sup>390</sup> The city had to build this enormous construction, moreover, the games needed to be held. The costs of an amphitheatre and the games held, might be the reason why there are so little of them in the provinces. The idea by Welch, that the amphitheatre was constructed for the veteran soldiers, as they wanted to see the games, has implications for *Segobriga* as an amphitheatre is found here.<sup>391</sup> The question arises: What the drive was to construct this amphitheatre in a city not known for its share of veterans? A possible explanation might be a

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<sup>383</sup> Vitruvius, liber V, 3-8

<sup>384</sup> Tuset et alii (2009), 19.

<sup>385</sup> For *Clunia* ; MacMullen (2000), 66; for *Bilbilis* Martín-Bueno & Núñez Marcén (1993), 123. Vitruvius account on the theatre: V.6.

<sup>386</sup> Tuset et alii (2009), 22.

<sup>387</sup> See infra p. 84.

<sup>388</sup> HEp-02, 00384a: [Imp(eratore) Caesare Vesp]asi[ano Aug(usto) 3] / [et T(ito) Caesare Augu]st(i) f(ilio) [Vespasiano].

<sup>389</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 189.

<sup>390</sup> Laurence et alii (2011), 266.

<sup>391</sup> Welch (2007).

faulty interpretation of the Roman custom, a member of the Segobrigan élite might have thought that the amphitheatre is a necessity in a ‘Roman’ municipium. Hereby following

### *Thermae*

Baths are often taken as a part of Roman culture, for example in the book by Laurence Esmonde and Sears a direct link is observed between ‘Romanness’ and bathing.<sup>392</sup> Laurence point out, that Agricola does not name the *thermae* as part of the Roman culture taught to the Britons, but as a part of Roman culture adapted later on as a luxurious way of living.

Bath complexes are found in all four settlements. *Bilbilis* had its own Roman baths constructed in the first century CE.<sup>393</sup> The baths of *Bilbilis* have a *vestibulum* where small niches provide room for clothes. The *vestibulum* is a construction which can be seen in *Segobriga* as well. Both cities have one bath complex.

*Clunia*, on the other hand, has two different bath complexes situated next to each other, *Arcos I* and *II*, both constructed prior to the Flavian dynasty.<sup>394</sup> The largest, *Arcos I* (see fig. 31), was constructed last and a large symmetric complex, in which all is doubled except for the *caldarium*. One would enter the complex via one of the two *palaestra* (P) followed by the *apoditerium* (A). The actual sequence of rooms would start with the *frigidarium* (F), followed by the *tepidarium* (T) and ending in the central *caldarium* (C).<sup>395</sup> Adjacent to the *caldarium* was situated a *laconicum*, the cylindrical room. The *natatio* (N?), swimming pool, has not been found yet. Possibly it was located between the two wings.<sup>396</sup>

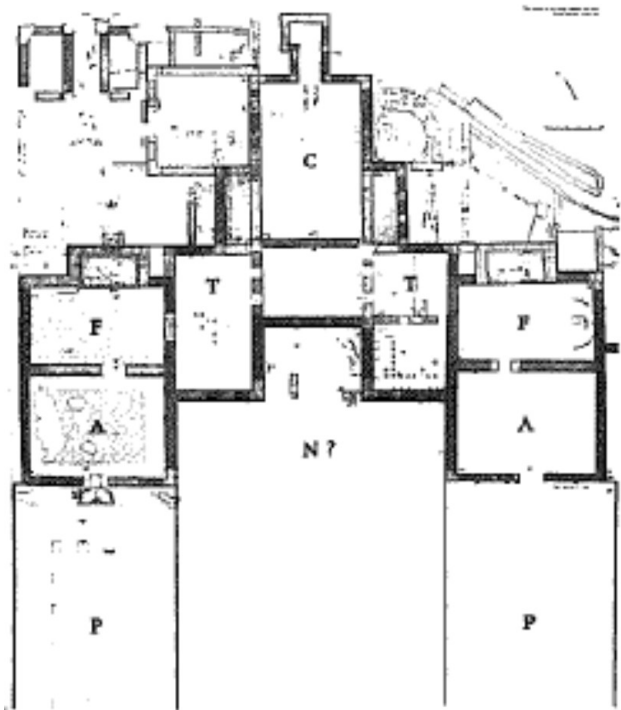


Fig. 31: plan of *Arcos I* bath complex in *Clunia*. (Palol (1991), fig. 12, p. 371.

<sup>392</sup> Laurence et alii (2011), 214.

<sup>393</sup> Martín-Bueno (1991), 200.

<sup>394</sup> Palol (1991), 369. Confusingly the bath complexes are called by their finding sequence instead of building, hence the oldest is called *Arcos II*.

<sup>395</sup> Palol (1991), 371. *Frigidarium*: cold room with a small ice cold bath in the upper corner. *Tepidarium* as the name implies, a tepid room. The *caldarium* is the hot room. A *laconicum* or sometimes called *suditorium* is a dry sauna.

<sup>396</sup> Palol (1991), 372.

Adjacent to the large *thermae* of *Clunia* we find the earlier constructed *Arcos II*, a much smaller bath complex without symmetry. The *palaestra* was absent or is not yet excavated. Entering the bath complex via the *apoditerium* led into an octagonal room with a black and white mosaic floor. The sequence of rooms is similar to *Arcos I*, a *frigidarium* with an ice bath, situated in the semicircular apsis of the room. Of course the *tepidarium* was followed by the *caldarium*, again with an apsis. The circular room ending the sequence is again a *laconicum*.

The fact that there were two bath complexes, of different sizes, situated next to each other led to the interpretation of two different building phases. This is supported by archaeological evidence, *Arcos II* was constructed in the first century CE, whereas *Arcos I* was built at the end of this century or at the start of the second century CE.<sup>397</sup> These two bath complexes supposedly were not sufficient for the people of *Clunia*, as a third bath complex has been found, associated with a house near the *forum*. The layout is again asymmetrical, nevertheless, it is a complete bath house, as it has the different rooms to bathe properly.<sup>398</sup>

*Termes* is an interesting case in respect to the baths, because its baths are not of Roman plan, although built in the first century CE.<sup>399</sup> The *laconicum*, as it is referred to in Spanish literature, is of Hellenistic plan rather than Roman.<sup>400</sup> The building consists of a central square room with a mosaic floor, flanked by two circular rooms.<sup>401</sup> The dating and origin of the *laconicum* is problematic; as it was constructed during the first century CE, the origin of the idea cannot be explained. Indeed, as Almagro argues, it might well be a sauna used as part of a *rite de passage*, a ceremony held at the time boys became men, part of the

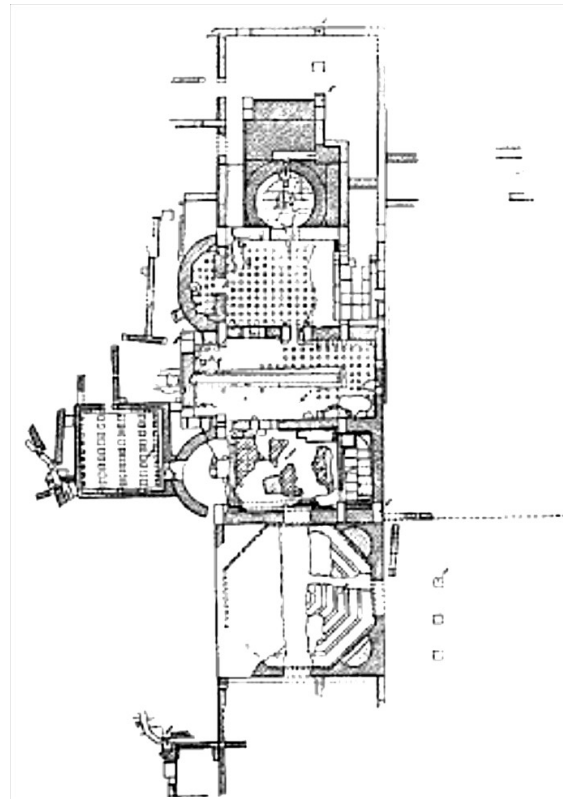


Fig.32: *Arcos II* bath complex (Palol (1991), fig. 13. P. 372).

<sup>397</sup> Palol (1991), 373.

<sup>398</sup> Palol (1991), 374.

<sup>399</sup> Martinez & Santos (2005), 690.

<sup>400</sup> Almagro (2011), 157; (1994), 40; Argente (1990), 89. Must be noted that Vitruvius mentions the laconicum as well in his *De Architectura* V.10.5: *Laconicum sudationesque sunt coniungendae tepidario*. The Laconicum and other sweating baths must adjoin the tepid room (Loeb translation).

<sup>401</sup> Martinez & Santos (2005), 690.



Celtic culture of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>402</sup> Especially in the Celtiberian area these circular *laconica* are found.<sup>403</sup> However, Martínez and Santos argue that we cannot be sure of this Celtiberian origin, as Romans knew the *laconicum*, or *suditorium* and therefore it might be a Roman introduction in *Termes*.<sup>404</sup> As treated above, the Romans introduced *thermae* in many Celtiberian cities. Nevertheless, the Hellenistic plan of the *laconicum* is unique for the Celtiberian area.<sup>405</sup> The Celtiberian interpretation of the Roman baths might have been based on their *rite-de-passage*. Thereby the *laconicum* might have become part of the Celtiberian rites, although it is constructed in the Roman way. Next to the *laconicum*, *Termes* had a proper Roman bath complex as well.

### *Houses*

All buildings above described are public and therefore might only resemble the highest class. Indeed, we can observe the elite living in Roman *villae*. Subsequently I will treat the *villa* built in the Celtiberian settlement of La Caridad de Caminreal: *Casa Likine*.<sup>406</sup> The construction and decoration of this *villa* is interesting for the Romanization process as these give us an idea of the Romanization of the élite in the private sphere. Furthermore, I will treat the houses of commoners at the sites of *Numantia* and *Termes* as we find a completely different form of Romanization. Instead of imitation, such as in the case of the *villae*, we see the adaptation of Roman ideas to Celtiberian houses. In the case of the houses we can observe the difference between the social layers of the Celtiberian peoples and their choices.

The Roman villa *Casa Likine* in the eastern Celtiberian settlement of La Caridad is 915 m<sup>2</sup> with a clear symmetric Roman plan consisting of a central porticus, and adjacent rooms decorated with *opus signinum* pavements.<sup>407</sup> The function of 22 rooms is established: dormitories, kitchen, granaries and rooms for living and working.<sup>408</sup> The largest room has given the name to the house as it has a geometric *opus signinum* mosaic with Iberian inscription reading: “*likinete ekiar usekerteku*”.<sup>409</sup> The translation of the text, although just three words, is difficult. *Likinete* is taken as a name similar to Latin Licinus or Celtic

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<sup>402</sup> Almagro & Alvarez (1993), 198.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibidem*, 201: *Segobriga, Bilbilis & Arcobriga*.

<sup>404</sup> Martínez & Santos (2005), 691.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibidem*, 690.

<sup>405</sup> Almagro (2011), 157.

<sup>406</sup> The ancient name of the settlements is unknown.

<sup>407</sup> Beltrán Lloris (2010), 243. Note the difference in size compared to the Casa del Estrigilo (283m<sup>2</sup>). *Opus signinum* is a Roman method of creating a mosaic with small stones and pottery. Pliny *NH*, XXXV, 46.

<sup>408</sup> Jimeno-Martínez (2011), 266.

<sup>409</sup> Beltrán Lloris (2010), 247.

Likinos.<sup>410</sup> The last word, *usekerteku*, has been interpreted as the place name Oscierda, based on the similarity with the mint of this settlement reading *usekerte / OSI*.<sup>411</sup> The difficulty of the inscription is in the word *ekiar*, it has been interpreted as chief or magistrate reads *Licinus*

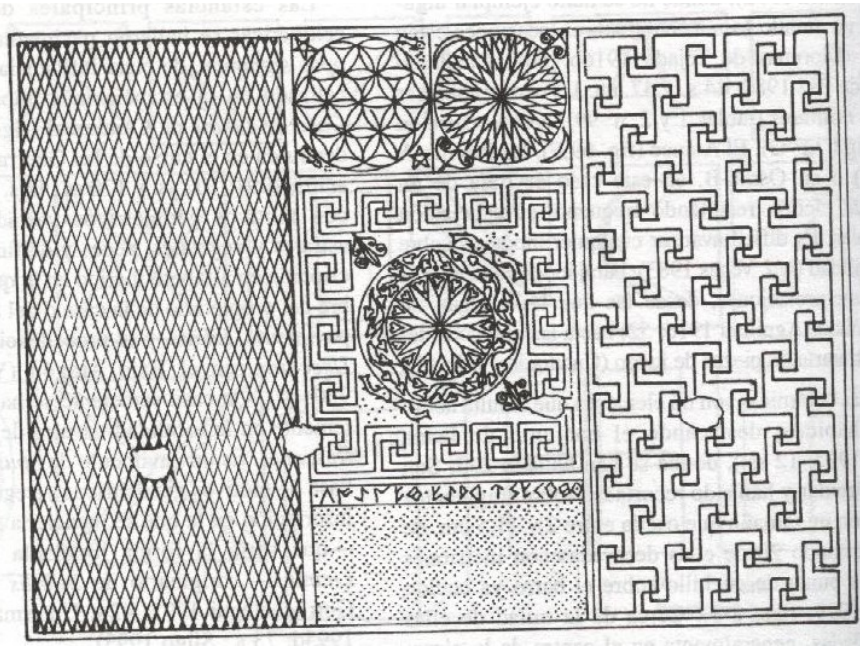


Fig. 33: Drawing of the mosaic with inscription in the main public room of Casa Likine. After Vicente et alii (1991).

*magistrate* from *Oscierda*.<sup>412</sup> Another

interpretation of *ekiar* regards it as the verb ‘to make’, leading to the reading *made by Licinus of Oscierda*. This interpretation, by Untermann, is based on a second inscription in the Vascon settlement of Andelo reading: *likine abuloraune ekien bilbiliars*. Untermann read this inscription with *ekien* as a plural: *Made by Licinus [from Oscierda] and Abuloraune from Bilbilis*.<sup>413</sup> The elaborate decoration of the floor of this room led to the interpretation of a public room, the *oecus*.<sup>414</sup>

The artefacts found in the house range from the standard domestic ceramics and iron tools for agriculture to weaponry such as *pila* and even a siege weapon: a *scorpio*.<sup>415</sup> The ceramics are of the imported Campanian B type and Italic amphorae from Brindisi, moreover, some local manufactured ceramics were found as well. However, it is impossible to determine the origin of the inhabitants by these finds. The ceramics found confirm what is already known, the Celtiberians were in contact with Rome at the time the house was abandoned or destroyed. The use of the Celtiberian language and Iberian script seems to indicate a Celtiberian élite person living in a Roman house, using Roman pottery. The interesting

<sup>410</sup> Beltrán Lloris (2010), 248.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibidem*, 248.

<sup>412</sup> Pérez Vilatela (1992), 351.

<sup>413</sup> Untermann (1993), 127.

<sup>414</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008<sup>a</sup>), 335.

<sup>415</sup> Beltrán Lloris (2010), 243.

artefacts, the weaponry, which one would not expect in a house, led to the interpretation of destruction in a war, based on the abundance of weaponry present at the site.<sup>416</sup>

The conclusion of Beltrán Lloris considering the settlement of la Caridad is interesting; as the excavated part, not only yields this Roman villa, but also different insulae, he believes the settlement to be reconstructed by the Romans.<sup>417</sup> The construction has been dated after 179 BCE, the time the first attested Roman foundations started at the northern part of the Peninsula.<sup>418</sup> Nevertheless, it would have been inhabited by the Celtiberian people, as the inscriptions found are all in Iberian script and Celtiberian language.<sup>419</sup> Still, the use of Campanian and Italic ceramics seems to prove an adaptation to the Roman way of living. The interesting contradiction is the fact that these people lived in Roman houses, decorated the floors similar to the floors of a Roman house, using Roman pottery, but chose to identify themselves linguistically with their own Celtiberian culture.

In the case of the *Casa de Likine*, another interesting find has not been treated yet. Next to the ceramics and weaponry, tools were found. The dispersion of these tools throughout the different rooms of the *villa*, even in the *oecus*, supports the idea that the use of different rooms was not as differentiated as thought to be common.<sup>420</sup> The many tools related to stock keeping (sickles, shovels, reeks and sheers) led to an interpretation of a wealthy stock keeper. Moreover, the large amount of tools supports the theory of the custom of slavery.<sup>421</sup> The use of this many tools by one farmer is unlikely, up to 20 sickles and 12 reeks have been found in the villa.<sup>422</sup>

In contrast to the wealthy *villae*, we find a different kind of Romanization of houses in *Numantia*. The former Celtiberian rectangular houses, which were characteristic for the second and third phase (see fig. 15), were replaced by Celtiberian-Roman houses in *Numantia*. Pre-Roman *Numantia* had the standard Celtiberian house with three different rooms.<sup>423</sup> Right after Roman conquest and the destruction of the settlement in 133 BCE, this Celtiberian rectangular house type was still used. Nevertheless, housing in *Numantia* changed

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<sup>416</sup> Vicente et alii (1991), 112.

<sup>417</sup> Beltrán Lloris (2010), 250.

<sup>418</sup> In 179 BCE T. Sempronius Gracchus II founded the colony of Gracchuris. Mommsen (1925), Band II Buch IV.12 p. 409.

<sup>419</sup> Beltrán Lloris (2010), 244 ff: a tessera was found naming *Metellineis*, possibly the Roman governor of Hispania in 79-71. Another tessera links an inhabitant of La Caridad with *Termes*, *lazuro kosokum / tarmestutez kar* interpreted as *Hospitality of Termes with Lazuro of the Cosocos*. Next to these tesserae different incised ceramics were found, the short texts could not be interpreted.

<sup>420</sup> Burillo-Mozota (2008a), 335; Curchin (2004), 99.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibidem*, 332.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibidem*, 335.

<sup>423</sup> Jimeno (2006), 181.

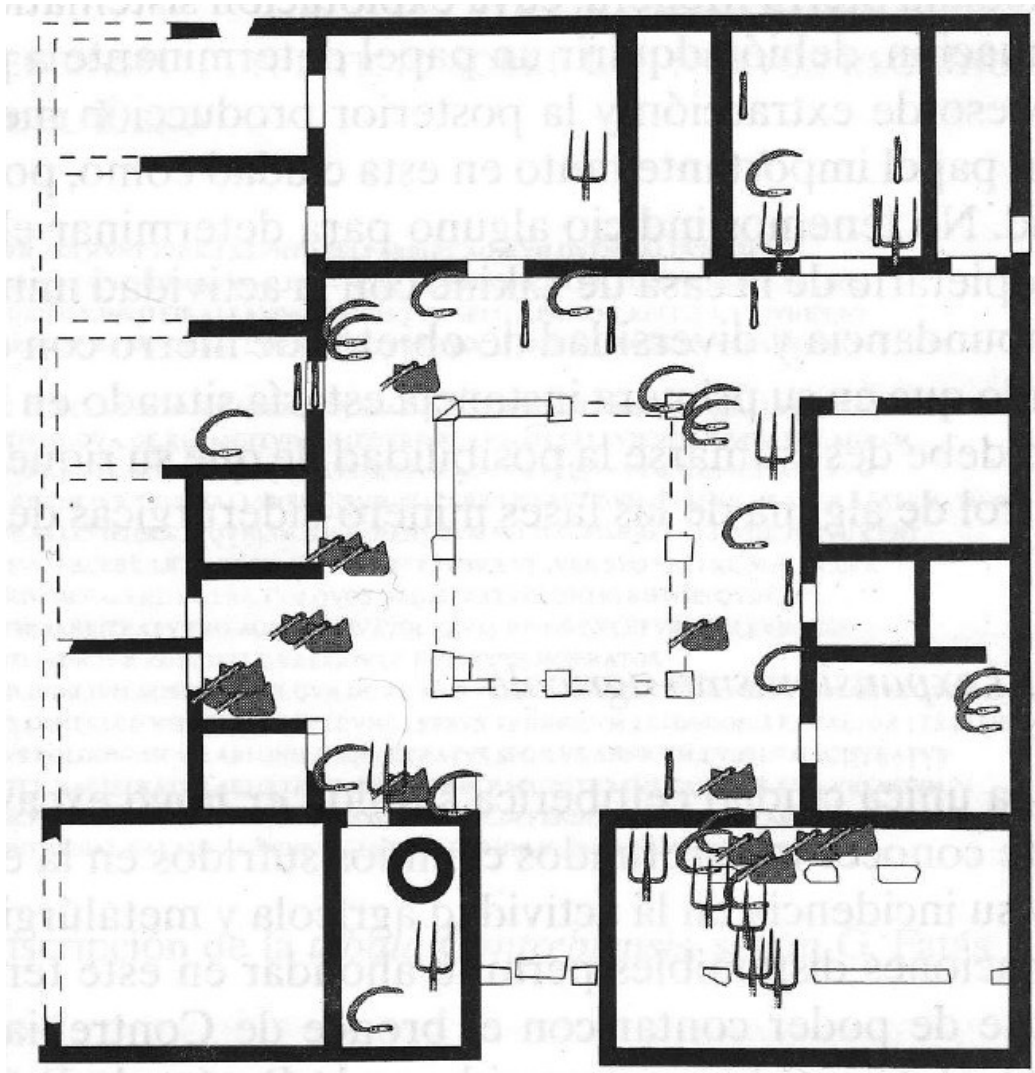


Fig.34: Casa Likine with locations of tools indicated. After Burillo (2008a) fig. 89, P. 335.

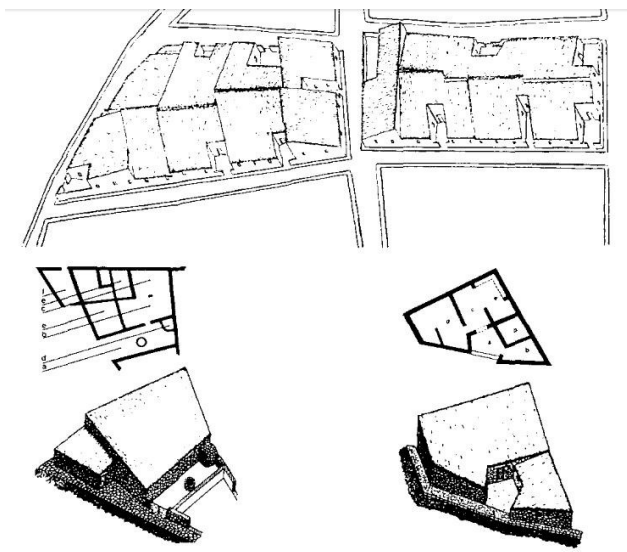


Fig. 35: Celtiberian houses in Roman Numancia (after Lorrio (1997) fig. 34, p. 101).



Fig.36: Romanized house with Tuscan columns in Numantia (picture by author).

in the Imperial period, Celtiberian houses got a more complex internal division; there were more rooms (fig. 34).<sup>424</sup> Moreover, some houses were built following a more ‘Roman’ style with Tuscan columns in a central portico (see fig. 35).<sup>425</sup> Nevertheless, *Numantia* never grew to heights; there were only some small baths and no other public buildings to be found in this settlement. The Romans destroyed the Celtiberian centre of resistance in 133 BCE with such force it never regained its old status.

The least Roman influence is probably found in the houses of *Termes*, especially the *Casas Rupestres* as they are named. These houses were cut into the rock-face of the hill, as customary in the Celtiberian age. Possibly the houses were constructed in pre-Roman times and adjusted in Roman times, by adding a second floor.<sup>426</sup> Dating these houses is

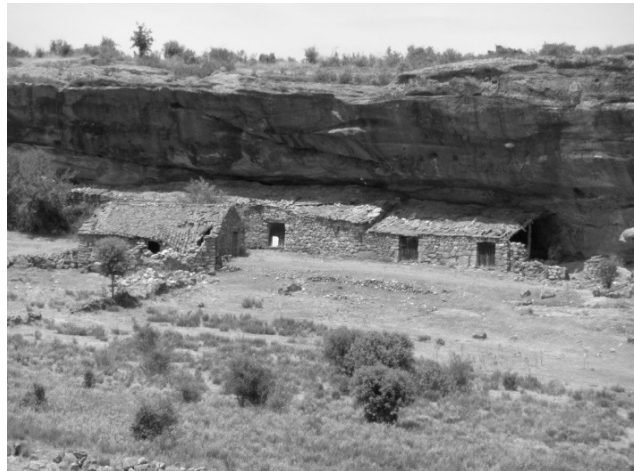


Fig. 37: modern stables constructed in a similar way as the Celtiberian houses of *Termes*, Montejo de *Termes* (picture by author).

difficult because of the fact that they were cut into the rock face; therefore dating becomes impossible if the context is disturbed.<sup>427</sup> These houses were never Romanized in a way we would recognize them as Roman. Nevertheless, a ‘Roman’ innovation allowed these houses to become two storeys high. We should keep in mind that Romanization does not mean it looks Roman, but it might mean an innovation.

After the different buildings have been treated the question arises: Why were these Roman structures constructed in the former Celtiberian cities? Moreover, who wanted these apparently Roman buildings to be constructed? These two questions are intertwined and shall be answered together. *Clunia* is the best example to start with, as its Roman appearance can be understood by its position in the Roman world. *Clunia* was the *conventus* capital of the largest *conventus* in the *provincia Tarraconensis*, making it a relevant centre for the Romans in order to control the Meseta.<sup>428</sup> Once *Clunia*, possibly, started out as a Roman *municipium*

<sup>424</sup> Jimeno (2006), 182; Lorrio (1997), 103.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibidem*, 182.

<sup>426</sup> Argente (1999), 178.

<sup>427</sup> Lorrio (1997), 103.

<sup>428</sup> Palol (1960), 85

and later became a *colonia* under the rule of Galba.<sup>429</sup> Because *Clunia* is a rather Roman city and the *conventus* capital, it is often regarded as an *ex novo* settlement in Roman custom.<sup>430</sup> This might be because of its name, resembling *colonia*, however the existence of an earlier Celtiberian town by the name *Kolounioku* is proven by ancient sources and coins.<sup>431</sup> Roman *Clunia* is positioned on a hilltop as well, although not upon the original Celtiberian settlement. Due to the position of Roman *Clunia*, one cannot claim a migration towards the plains, as one of the most important Roman settlements was refounded on a hilltop.<sup>432</sup> Despite this Celtiberian aspect, *Clunia* has the Roman feel. Travelling to *Clunia*, even today, you become awe inspired seeing the magnificent theatre, the largest on the entire peninsula.

*Segobriga* is another settlement with a clear Roman plan. In order to understand the development of *Segobriga* the history of the settlement becomes relevant. *Segobriga* was probably a rather insignificant *castro* in pre-Roman times, possibly in the hinterland of *Contrebia Carbica*.<sup>433</sup> After the destruction of *Contrebia Carbica* in the Sertorian War, *Segobriga* could develop into a central place. This relation between the fall of *Contrebia Carbica* and the rise of *Segobriga* is attested in the coins of these cities. The mint of *Contrebia Carbica* stopped in the same period as the mint in *Segobriga* started, Ripollès and Abascal would like to stretch this so far that they state the mint master of *Contrebia Carbica* went to *Segobriga*, based on the similarity of both issues.<sup>434</sup>

The rise of *Segobriga* from the Sertorian war is thought to have been linked to an anti-Sertorian agenda in *Segobriga*. In Imperial times, this city became a municipium in the year 15 BCE, at the same time it started with the production of *lapis specularis*, a mineral stone that allows light to pass through and is cut easily in sheets (fig. 37).<sup>435</sup> Because of these properties, it was used as window glass in Roman houses. The accessibility

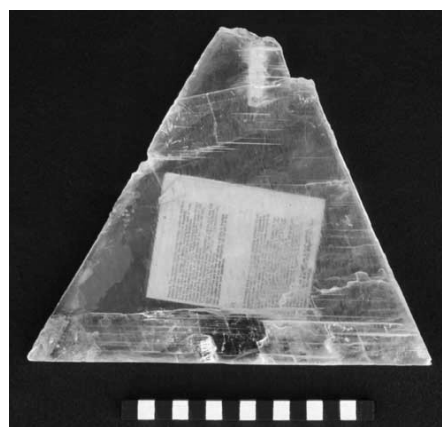


Fig. 38: *Lapis Specularis*. After Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2005), fig. 30, p. 39.

<sup>429</sup> Indeed *Clunia* is not a root of the Roman word for *colonia* but is derived after the Celtiberian name *Kolouniokou* as can be read on coin legends.

<sup>430</sup> Curchin (2004): MacMullen (2000).

<sup>431</sup> Palol (1960), 85: Florus (2, 10, 9) Cassius Dio (39, 54) & Salustius (Hist. 2, 93).

<sup>432</sup> MacMullen (2000), 51: Curchin (2004), 58.

<sup>433</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 185: the *oppidum* of *Contrebia Carbica* is positioned only seven kilometers from *Segobriga*, it was one of the largest *oppida* in the central Meseta, nevertheless, it is rather unknown as few excavation projects have been done to investigate the *oppidum*. It is thought to have been the main centre in its region until it was destroyed in the Sertorian war. Cf.: Almagro & Lorrio (2007).

<sup>434</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 187, Ripollès & Abascal (1996), 23.

<sup>435</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 188. At this time *Contrebia Carbica* and its hinterland became dependent on *Segobriga*. On *lapis specularis* Pliny, *NH*, 36. 160; Isid. *Etym* 31.16.4.37.

of mines yielding this stone in the region of *Segobriga*, must have been the reason for the Romans to focus their attention on this earlier *castro*. The production made *Segobriga* an important economic and production centre for the *lapis specularis* and drew economic and cultural attention to this city, making it a ‘Roman’ centre.

The Roman practice of making clients in indigenous settlements must have led to the rise of Latin names such as Valerius and Sempronius. These names are thought to refer to the relation between the elite and the Romans T. Sempronius Gracchus II and C. Valerius Flaccus.<sup>436</sup> The most common Latin name in *Segobriga*, Iulius, cannot be explained in this way as it is the most common name in many regions of the empire and could reflect the relation between the elite and the imperial family. In *Segobriga* many inscriptions seem to support this relation, for instance the dedications to the different patrons of *Segobriga*: *Marcus Porcius* the scribe of Augustus, *C. Calvisius Sabinus* and *M. Licinius Crassus*, who’s son married into the imperial family.<sup>437</sup> The patrons seem to be chosen among the close friend of the imperial family, thereby linking *Segobriga* to the family.

As it seems logical for a *conventus* capital to become ‘Roman’, for other cities it might seem less logical. Nevertheless, the monumentalized *Segobriga* and *Bilbilis* were cities with a clear ‘Roman’ feel as well. The aerial picture of *Segobriga* shows the theatre and amphitheatre, two key features of this city which make the city recognizable as Roman. Walking through the site, the forum and the temple to the Imperial cult only enhance the idea of a Roman city instead of that of a Celtiberian city.



Fig. 39: Aerial picture of Segobriga. (After Abascal/Almagro & Cebrián (2005) p. 34.)

The question remains, who decided to create these ‘Roman’ elements in these cities? As we can find dedications by Celtiberians as an act of *evergetism* we might presume

<sup>436</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 187.

<sup>437</sup> HEp 10, 2000, 301; M(arco) Porcio M(arci) f(ilio) / Pup(inia) / Caesaris Augusti / scribae / Segobrigenses / patrono:  
ZPE-143-261 = IR*Segobriga*-01, 00012 = HEp-10, 00296 = AE 2003, 00981; C(aio) Calvisio Sabino / co(n)s(uli) VIIvir(o) epulo(num) / leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / patrono ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum):  
ZPE-143-265 = IR*Segobriga*-01, 00013 = HEp-10, 00297 = AE 2003, 00982; M(arco) Licinio Crasso / Frugi pont(ifici) sodal(i) / Aug(ustali) co(n)s(uli) patrono / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum); his son married into the imperial family (Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 191).

adoption of the Roman culture by at least these elite persons. In order to answer this question we must investigate the dedications. In the case of *Clunia* there is the dedication of the theatre. The *aedile* of *Clunia* G. Tautius Semanus placed the dedication in the floor.<sup>438</sup> At first sight nothing strange, the *aedile* is responsible for the construction and upkeep of public buildings. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that in the city *Clunia* this is done as to be expected for a Roman city. Thus the Romanization of the urban administration was successful.

However, in *Segobriga* there is a dedicatory inscription on the forum. This inscription reads: [- - -? Proc?]ulus Spantamicus La[- - -]us forum sternundum d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) c(uravit-erunt).<sup>439</sup> The dedicator is taken to be a Celtiberian man, based on the name Spantamicus.<sup>440</sup> The lacuna from *La[* to *Jus* is supposed to be about 16/17 letters, which is the roughly size of another name. There are two possible scenarios for this inscription. Firstly, a magistrate (or magistrates) provided for the pavement of the forum as befitted his (or their) function, however, as the city was just new as *municipium peregrine magistrates* would be unlikely.<sup>441</sup> The second option, according to several scholars more likely, two members of the local elite expressed their *euergetism*, as befitted the Roman way, in order to obtain a high position in *Segobriga*.<sup>442</sup> Another, possible, dedication inscription from a Celtiberian elite man was found in the *apodyterium* of the *thermae*. In the *opus signum* a Celtiberian name, *Belcilesus*, was given in the position of *artifex* (constructor), but unfortunately this *opus signum* is lost.<sup>443</sup>

The drive behind this monumentalization and thereby Romanization of the cities was the élite, communicating within their own understanding of the Roman world. White describes the willingness of the local people to express or justify their own actions in terms of what they perceived to be the way of communication by the dominant cultural premises, in this case the Roman practice of *euergetism*.<sup>444</sup> *Euergetism* is a Roman practice in which a wealthy person in a city decides to invest his money in favour of his home town, he becomes the benefactor of the city. The idea of this practice is twofold, as the benefactor grows in appreciation and political power in his community as he shows his wealth and the city grows

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<sup>438</sup> Tuset, Iglesia & Elkin (2009), 25.

<sup>439</sup> HEp 10, 2000, 210 = AE 2001, 1246; J.M Abascal – G. Alföldy – R. Cebrián, «La inscripción con letras de bronce y otros documentos epigráficos del foro de Segobriga», AEspA 74, 2001, pp. 117-125 & 127.

<sup>440</sup> Abascal, Alföldy & Cebrián (2001), 119.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibidem*, 121.

<sup>442</sup> *Ibidem*, 121.

<sup>443</sup> Abascal, Almagro & Cebrián (2006), 190.

<sup>444</sup> White (1991), 52, more elaborately explained in White (2006), 9. On *euergetism*: Lopéz-Barja (2008), 416 & Keay (2001), 134



in its appreciation as it gains monumental buildings as well. Following White, the élite of the cities of Roman importance wanted to show their part in *euergetism* and reconstructed their cities in marble as well, following the example of Augustus<sup>445</sup>, or as MacMullen states, the local elite tried *to imitate the Roman*.<sup>446</sup> Keay places a critical note to this idea of using Roman cultural symbols in order to be accepted by the Romans, would it lead to a similar custom all over Hispania?<sup>447</sup> There must have been differences between the different peoples all over the Iberian Peninsula, due to the differences between the peoples regarding cultural ideas, wealth, status and connection to Rome. Indeed these differences can be found. Regarding the case of *Numantia*, a city in low appreciation by Rome, the use of Roman symbols is little as well. In the case of the *conventus* capital *Clunia* and the *municipium* *Segobriga*, the use of Roman symbols and references to their network with Rome are clearly displayed in the city. Of course, as White already stated, the use of symbols is by interpretation, leading to a new form of Roman, Hispano-Roman or Celtibero-romano, because the Celtiberians did not adopt all Roman practices and certainly did not discard their old habits.<sup>448</sup> Obviously, the Roman feel of the rock-cut city of *Termes* is completely different to that of *Clunia*, as Keay states. Nevertheless, their presentation as Roman is not that differently, as both cities chose to present themselves as Roman using the Roman city plan. And yes, the use of the forum might have been completely different in the Celtiberian cities in respect to the use in Rome.<sup>449</sup> Nevertheless, does this change the fact that the Celtiberians constructed buildings following a Roman plan? It is part of the Celtiberian interpretation and therefore part of the Celtiberian Roman culture.

### *Celtiberian Practices in Roman Times*

Interesting is the fact that this practice of communicating with the other culture by its own means was also used by the Romans. An example of this practice is the use of *hospitium*, which is taken to be a part of the Celtiberian identity<sup>450</sup>, which was adopted by the Romans. *Hospitium* possibly expresses a *patronus-cliens* relation, also known from the Romans and for the *tesserae* in Roman times.<sup>451</sup> The Romans adopted the custom of *tesserae* and used it as a political instrument to consolidate the Roman administration. These *tesserae* are mostly

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<sup>445</sup> MacMullen (2000), 70.

<sup>446</sup> *Ibidem*, 67.

<sup>447</sup> Keay (2001), 134.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibidem*, 135.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibidem*, 136.

<sup>450</sup> Diodorus Siculus 5.33; Almagro-Gorbea & Llorio (1987), 113.

<sup>451</sup> Nichols (1980), 549; Sanchez-Moreno (2001), 394.

referred to as *tabulae*, in order to differentiate between the small zoomorphic Celtiberian *tesserae* and the geometric shaped larger Roman counterparts. An example of one of these *tesserae* is the *Tabula of Clunia*, in which the people of *Clunia* celebrate the *hospitium* pact with Caius Terentius Basso, the *praefectus* of the *Ala Augusta*.<sup>452</sup>

Another interpretation of the meaning of these *tesserae* is found in the relation of mercenaries with certain cities in a war situation.<sup>453</sup>

One could imagine troops or bands of Celtiberian mercenaries travelling through the Celtiberian area to help where needed. The Celtiberian mercenaries helped tribes all over the Peninsula. In order not to be taken as an invasion force, they might have had these small bronze tablets to proof their good intentions with the city in question.<sup>454</sup> Another war related reference to at least *hospitium* can be found in Valerius Maximus.<sup>455</sup> He refers to the end of the

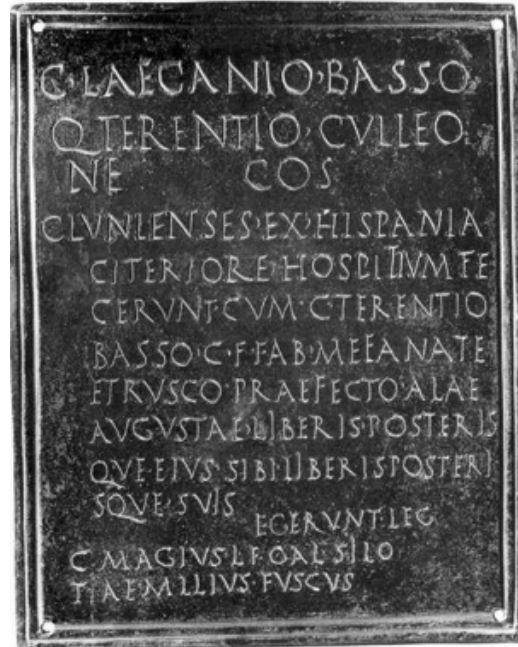


Fig. 40: Roman tabula considering the hospitium relation between *Clunia* and the family of C. Terentius Bassus

war between the Celtiberians and Romans by a pact according to the laws of *hospitium*, this was done after Q. Occius defeated the Celtiberian Pyresus in a heroic champion fight during Q. Caecilius Metellus' consulship in 143-142 BCE.

Another Celtiberian custom changed is already treated as exemplum in the case of the Botorrita plaques, the *Tabula Contrebiensis*. Interesting is the fact that this plaque is written

<sup>452</sup> CIL II 5792 = *Clunia* 00116 = D 06102 = ILS 6102

Transcription:

C(aio) Laecanio Basso / Q(uinto) Terentio Culleo/ne co(n)s(ulibus) / Clunienses ex Hispania / Citeriore hospitium fe/cerunt cum C(aio) Terentio / Basso C(aio) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Mefanate / Etrusco praefecto alae / Augustae liberis posteris/que eius sibi liberis posteri/sque suis / egerunt leg(ati) / C(aius) Magius L(uci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Silo / T(itus) Aemilius Fuscus

My translation:

In the consulship of Caius Laecanius Bassus and Quintus Terentius Culleo

The peoples of *Clunia* in Hispania Citerior celebrate the hospitium with Caius Terentius Bassus Mefanas Etrusco, son of Caius, of the Tribe of Fabia, Prefect of the ala Augusta: the contract applies as well to the children and their descendants of the citizens as well as the children and descendents of Terentius Bassus. Contract formalized by the legati, Caius Magius Silus son of Lucius of the tribe of Galeria and Titus Aemilius Fuscus.

The consulship of C. Laecanius Bassus and Q. Terentius Culleo places the pact in the year 40 CE.

The exact function of the legati is unclear. Nichols (1980) 545.

<sup>453</sup> Sanchez-Moreno (2001), 392.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibidem*, 392.

<sup>455</sup> Valerius Maximus, 3.2.21

in Latin while the other similar, although possibly somewhat earlier, plaques were written in Celtiberian language. Moreover, the emperor C. Valerius C. f. Flaccus has been asked as judge.<sup>456</sup> Clearly, *Contrebia Belaisca* was prepared to use the Roman legal system in order to empower their decisions in 87 BCE. Nevertheless, the legal system of the Celtiberian *Contrebiae* did not convince the Romans to keep it. The Romans decided to bring down the *Contrebiae* and impose their own legal system. Thereby, other and new settlements were chosen to function as juridical seats or *conventus* capitals. The *conventus* capital of *Contrebia Belaisca* was *Caesaraugusta*, former *Salduie*. The Romans did not create an urban society in Celtiberia, they changed the urban network. By reorganizing their *provinciae* in *conventus iuridici* without regard for the Celtiberian urban hierarchy, they changed the Celtiberian urban society. Indeed, Celtiberian cities changed the appearance and became Roman cities as they were monumentalized by construction Roman buildings such as *fora*, theatres, baths and *macella*. A former Celtiberian *castro* such as *Segobriga* or *oppidum* such as *Bilbilis*, became indistinguishable at first sight from the other Roman cities in the empire. However, looking closely to these cities one can find remains of the Celtiberian origin.

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<sup>456</sup> *Tabula Contrebiensis* Line 14, emperor is not the emperor in this case but the governor holding the *imperium* in Hispania at that time.

## Conclusions

In conclusion, the debates on urbanization and Romanization concerning Celtiberia were always connected, which in itself is a good thing. However, the causal relation between Romanization and the rise of the first cities is incorrect. Nevertheless, the Celtiberian cities changed after the Roman conquest. The early Celtiberian settlements, the *castros*, changed over time into urban settlements, this change went in four phases. The first two were non-urban phases, in which the settlements acquired a territory of their own and later on reorganised their interior. In the third phase some of the old settlements had taken control and changed society into an urban society. These changes were most probably initiated after contact with already urbanised cultures present at the peninsula. In the fourth phase the Celtiberian cities became part of the Roman Empire, the urban society was structured and cities were monumentalized.

The importance of early contact with other Mediterranean peoples, such as the Phoenians and Greek, is of importance to understand the Celtiberian urbanization. Celtiberian tribes had intensive contact with the Iberian Levantine coast and its trade posts. We can observe the changes initiated by these contacts in the grave culture of the Celtiberians. Following Curchin's model of market, rich burial and warrior burial zone, attested in *Germania* related to the limes and its trade posts, we can create a similar division in zones in Celtiberia. Because the Greek ports extended their relations into the peninsula, Celtiberia moved from the warrior burial zone into the rich burial zone. Because the contact between Celtiberia and the Greek trade posts intensified, the exchange of ideas was imminent. The Celtiberian people came in contact with the Greek *emporion*, where a hierarchical society was already established. In addition, there is evidence for contact with the urbanised southern part of the Iberian Peninsula and its Phoenician or Punic trade posts. This contact was found as the Celtiberians travelled distances as part of transhumance, the annual move from summer to winter pastures. Because the Celtiberian economy was largely based on the stock raising, they needed large pastures to graze their stock. This transhumance made the Celtiberian herdsmen travel over large distances and meet with other tribes. Most probably they came in contact with the southern tribes and exchanged ideas.

Another important aspect of the Celtiberian society was the warrior-élite. Especially, the Celtiberian equestrian warriors were renowned for the excellence in combat: therefore, different people hired them as mercenaries. They were in close contact with the Punic

generals, such as Hannibal; obviously the élite came in contact with ideas of the Punic. Moreover, at the time of the Roman conquest, the equestrian mercenaries were hired by the Romans as well. This way the Celtiberians came in close contact with Roman culture, well before the final conquest in 133 BCE and the last revolt as part of the Sertorian war in 79 BCE.

As has been shown, the Celtiberian urbanisation started already in the early third century BCE, well before the Roman conquest. The contacts with other peoples have given rise to the urbanisation in the third phase, in the fourth and third century BCE. In this third phase of Celtiberian urbanisation, the first *oppida* took control over the *castros* and their territory in the vicinity. Thereby, the *oppida* became central places, which can be attested archaeologically in the mints of the *oppida*. The division of minting cities over the Celtiberian territory supports the central place theory. Good examples are the mints of *Contrebia Carbica* and *Segobriga*. After *Carbica* lost its position, the mint of *Carbica* was lost as well. *Segobriga* started minting coins itself after this decline of *Carbica*. Another example of a central place taking control is *Contrebia Belaisca*, as its *Tabula Contrebiensis* shows that *Belaisca* had the power to settle disputes between three other settlements. An interesting theory presumes that the three *Contrebiae* were important juridical centres, as *Contrebia Belasica* gave judgement and *Contrebia Leukade* is named as capital of the Celtiberians in Valerius Maximus. Moreover, the stem of *Contrebia* might have been derived from the Celtic *cantrev*, which indicates that the settlement is placed above a conglomeration of hundred communities.

Proof of the central place hierarchy for pre-Roman Celtiberia can be found in the graph of settlement size made by Almagro & Dávila (1994) as well. The Celtiberian settlements differ in size, what is to be expected for a settlement distribution with a large central place and its depending lower ranking settlements. We can observe the division in a *G*-place followed by the *B*- and *K*-places, all of these being urban as they have the *A*- and *M*-places in their territory. The *M*- and *A*- places, or *castros*, do not have a territory with depending settlements.

At the time the Romans entered the stage, the Celtiberians had already formed an urban society. Nevertheless, the Roman conquest had its influence on the Celtiberian cities. The link between Romanization and urban is, in my opinion, correct. Therefore I added a fourth phase to the Celtiberian urban development. This fourth phase takes the changes in Roman times in account. Firstly, this phase combines two fields of research, which are often working side by side. The prehistorical debate on urbanization of the Celtiberians is combined

with the historical debate on the relation between Romanization and urbanization in Celtiberia. Secondly, this fourth phase takes in account the reorganization of the settlements to make them part of the Roman political and administrative organisation and the changes this meant for the Celtiberian urban society. For instance, some cities went in decline, such as *Contrebia Belaisca*, whereas former *castros* became cities, as was the case of *Segobriga*. This Roman reorganisation fits the top down model of Romanization.

Where an urban society was present the Romans were more than willingly to use the urban organization. In the case of *Hispania* and for that matter Celtiberia, Rome reorganised the urban structure after the complete conquest of the peninsula in 19 BCE by Augustus. As part of the Julio-Claudian political agenda, the urban fabric of Celtiberia was changed. *Hispania* was divided in three provinces, *Baetica*, *Lusitania* and *Tarraconensis*. These were divided in *conventus iuridici*, in order to have manageable juridical districts. This foundation of *conventus* and their capitals meant a large change in the Celtiberian world. The division in *conventus* was done without regard for former tribal relations. For instance, Celtiberia was divided over three different *conventus*. Because the *conventus* needed a seat, a capital was appointed. Some settlements were refounded for this purpose, such as *Clunia*. These *conventus* capitals formerly might have been depending on other settlements for juridical decisions. For example, in the case of *Caesaraugusta*, the old *Salduie*, and *Contrebia Belaisca*: in pre-Roman times *Salduie* went to *Contrebia Belaisca* for their problems, as attested in the *Tabula Contrebiensis*. After the *conventus* reorganization, *Contrebia* had to turn to *Caesaraugusta*.

Another change in the Roman urban society was the status of cities. An interesting concept; the Romans gave the status of *colonia* or *municipium* to settlements, hereby this city became intrinsic part of the Roman Empire as the inhabitants of the *colonia* and *municipia* got Roman or Latin right. An interesting result of the newly acquired status of cities, be it *conventus* capital, *colonia* or *municipium*, is the monumentalization of these cities. The cities started to built buildings befitted for a Roman city, right from the time they were acknowledged with the status making them part of the Roman empire. *Segobriga* is such an interesting example; at the time the city obtained the status of *municipia* in 15 BCE, it started to reconstruct the settlement. New buildings were added, such as the forum, the baths and the theatre, fitting the Roman status. Interesting in the case of *Segobriga* is the presence of an amphitheatre. This building has been linked to the presence of soldiers or veterans. *Segobriga* is not known for its military background, but of course there might have been a military presence unknown to us.

Another possibility is the wrong interpretation of what is to be considered ‘Roman’. White has pointed out that the people of different cultures communicate by the interpretation of each other’s culture. In the case of *Segobriga* it is possible that the people of *Segobriga* understood, from the example of Rome, that an amphitheatre was needed in a Roman city. A good example of a Celtiberian élite man using the Roman custom of *euergetism* is found in the dedicatory inscription at the *forum* of *Segobriga*. These ‘creative misunderstandings’ might have arisen already during the first contacts with the Romans. These interpretations of another culture were not only made by the Celtiberians, but by the Romans as well. The Romans used the concept of *tesserae*, the old *hospitium* of the Celtiberians, to create contracts with the conquered Celtiberians. Although the shape and language of the contracts had changed, the idea was still the same. The ‘creative misunderstandings’ support the élite-model, as the Celtiberian élite was more than willing to use the Roman culture in order to gain status. However, as the Romans used Celtiberian culture as well, the interaction model might have been at hand.

The use of models on Romanization is interesting to understand the process of the cultural interaction. Nevertheless, there is not one way or model to explain what happened. The interaction took place at so many levels and in so many different ways that all models apply. It seems, in this conclusion, that firstly the Romans used the top down model. However, looking closely at the Roman conquest and taking individual cases in account, we can see all models again. Indeed the conquest is a top down feature, taking control over other people, nevertheless, Romans made pacts with local tribes, mercenaries and cities. This supports the interaction model, again.

In the end the most important way of Romanization is the fact that the Romans realigned the old indigenous network to their wish and consolidated it by handing administrative functions, or key-positions. For instance, the *conventus* structure provided certain centres to become the *conventus* capital and thereby they became the hub in this network. The former Celtiberian area was divided in three different *conventus*: *Cluniensis*, *Caesaraugustanus* and *Carthaginensis*. The network of the Celtiberian settlements became completely different. For example, the former city of *Salduie* firstly was depending on *Contrebia Belaisca*, but after *Salduie* became the capital of the *conventus Caesaraugusta* the table was turned.

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations of the classical works can be found in the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

ANAS	(Museo Nacional de Arte Romana de Mérida)
BAH	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Hispania
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BSAA	Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología
EAE	Excavaciones Archeologicas en España
EPA	Escola Profissional de Arqueologia
ERClu	Epigrafía Romana de <i>Clunia</i>
IFC	Institución Fernando el Católico
IPPAR	Instituto Portugués do Património Arquitectónico
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
MLH	Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum
UNED	Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia
UP	University Press
PalHisp	Palaeohispanica
PSANA	Publicaciones del Seminario de Arqueología y Numismática Aragonesas
PUZ	Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia España
SAET	Seminario de Arqueología y Etnología Turolense
TRAC	Theoretical Roman Archaeological Conference
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik



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## Appendices

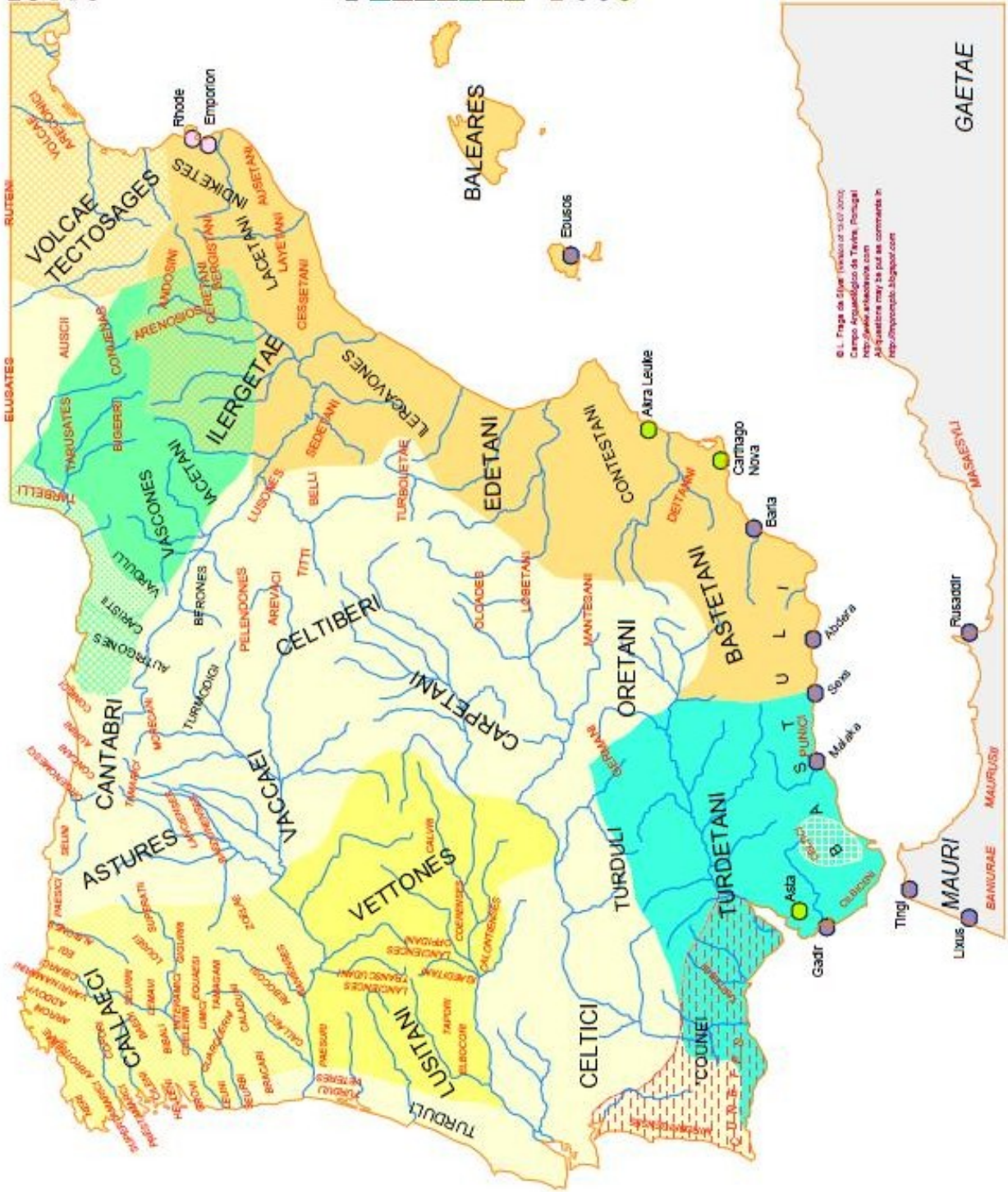
### Appendix I: Timetable<sup>457</sup>

Century	Phases	Events
X-VIII	First Phase	Phoenician colonies at the south coast. Appearance of first Greek pottery. Foundation of <i>Rhode</i>
VII	Proto Celtiberian &	Foundation of <i>Emporion</i> and other settlements at Iberian Levantine coast. Iron I in Celtiberia
VI	Early Celtiberian	509 treaty between Rome & Carthage
		First <i>castros</i>
V	Second Phase	Iron II in Celtiberia Closed Settlements and rectangular houses
IV	Full Celtiberian	
III	Third Phase	<i>Oppida</i> First mints
	Late Celtiberian	226 Ebro treaty Rome & Carthago 218-202 Second Punic War
II		181-179 First Celtiberian War Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus
		154-152 Second Celtiberian War Q. Fulvius Nobilior, M. Claudius Marcellus
		143-133 Numantine War Q. Caecilius Metellus, Q. Pompeius, M. Popillius Laenas, G. Hostilius Mancinus, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus
I BCE	Fourth Phase Roman Celtiberia	87 <i>Tabula Contrebiensis</i> 81-72 Sertorian War
	I CE	Julio-Claudian dynasty Reorganization in <i>conventus iuridici</i> granting the status of <i>colonia</i> and <i>municipia</i>

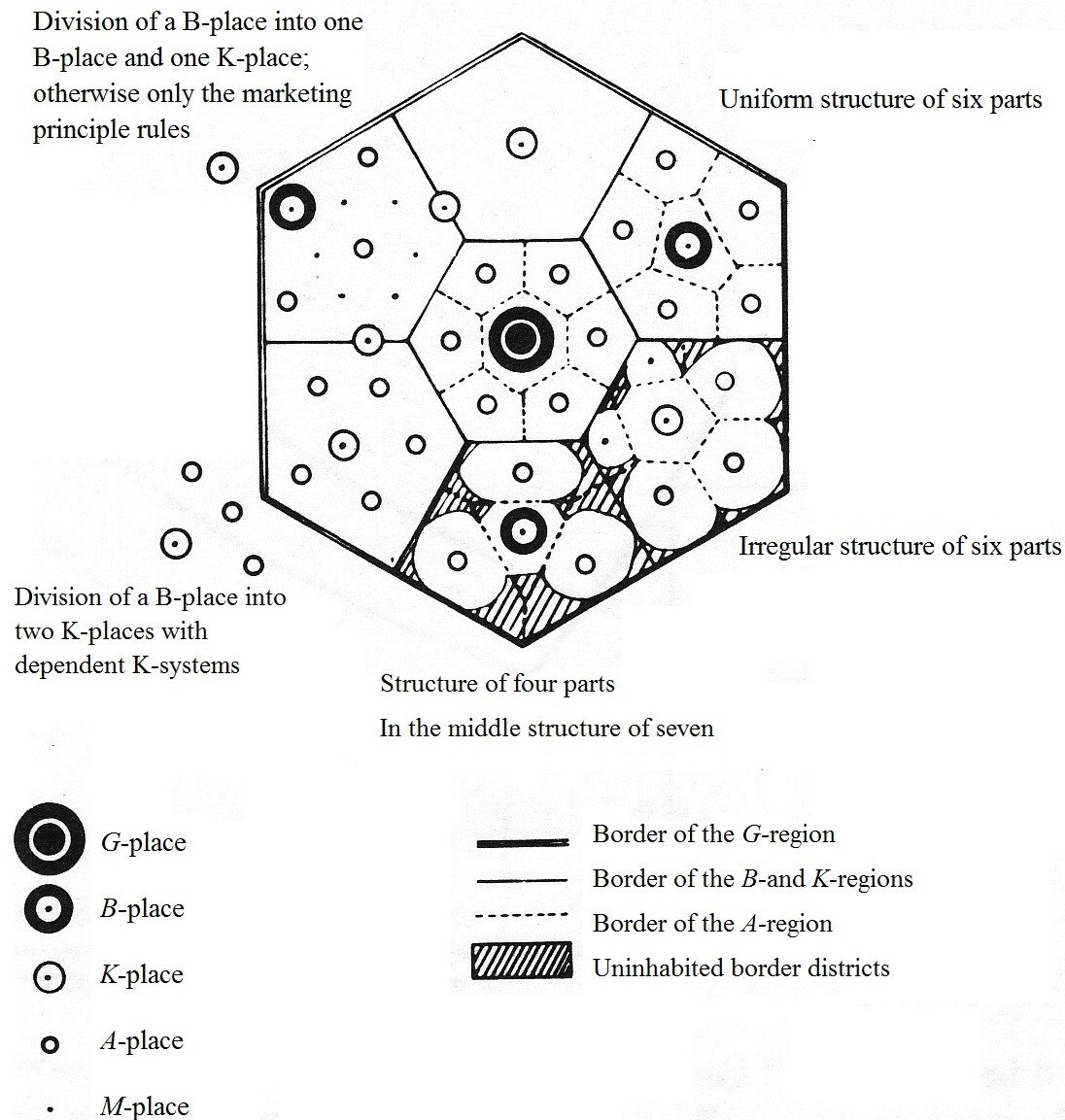
<sup>457</sup> After Curchin (2004) 26; Richardson (1986); Roldán Hervás (2001).



**Ethnic/Political identities in Graeco-Roman and Indigenous sources**  
 Larger or more generic POPULUS  
 Smaller or local GENES or CIVITAS  
 OPPIDUM or URBS



## Appendix III: Cities



A system of Central Places according to the Administrative Principle (after King (1984), fig. 3.5, p. 39).

**G-place** is the highest order of settlement and should be considered city as it has all other settlements as its subordinates. Pre-Roman Celtiberia had no *G*-place. In the case of Roman Celtiberia, Rome is considered a *G*-place.

**B-place** is the second highest settlement, this settlements has the position to control other settlements but is controlled by a *G*-place. In pre-Roman Celtiberia the *Contrebiae* might be considered *B*-places as juridical capitals, ruling over the other *oppida*. In the case of Roman Celtiberia we might consider the *conventus* capitals *B*-places.

**K-place** is the lowest urban settlement type, it is subordinate to a *G*- and/or *B*-place. However, as there are other settlements subordinated to the *K*-place, it is considered urban. For pre-Roman Celtiberia the *oppida* are the *K*-places. In the case of Roman Celtiberia we might consider the *municipia* and *civitates* *K*-places.

The **A- and M-places** are considered non-urban as these are subordinated to all other types. These places do not control other settlements. In pre-Roman and Roman Celtiberia these are the *castros*.

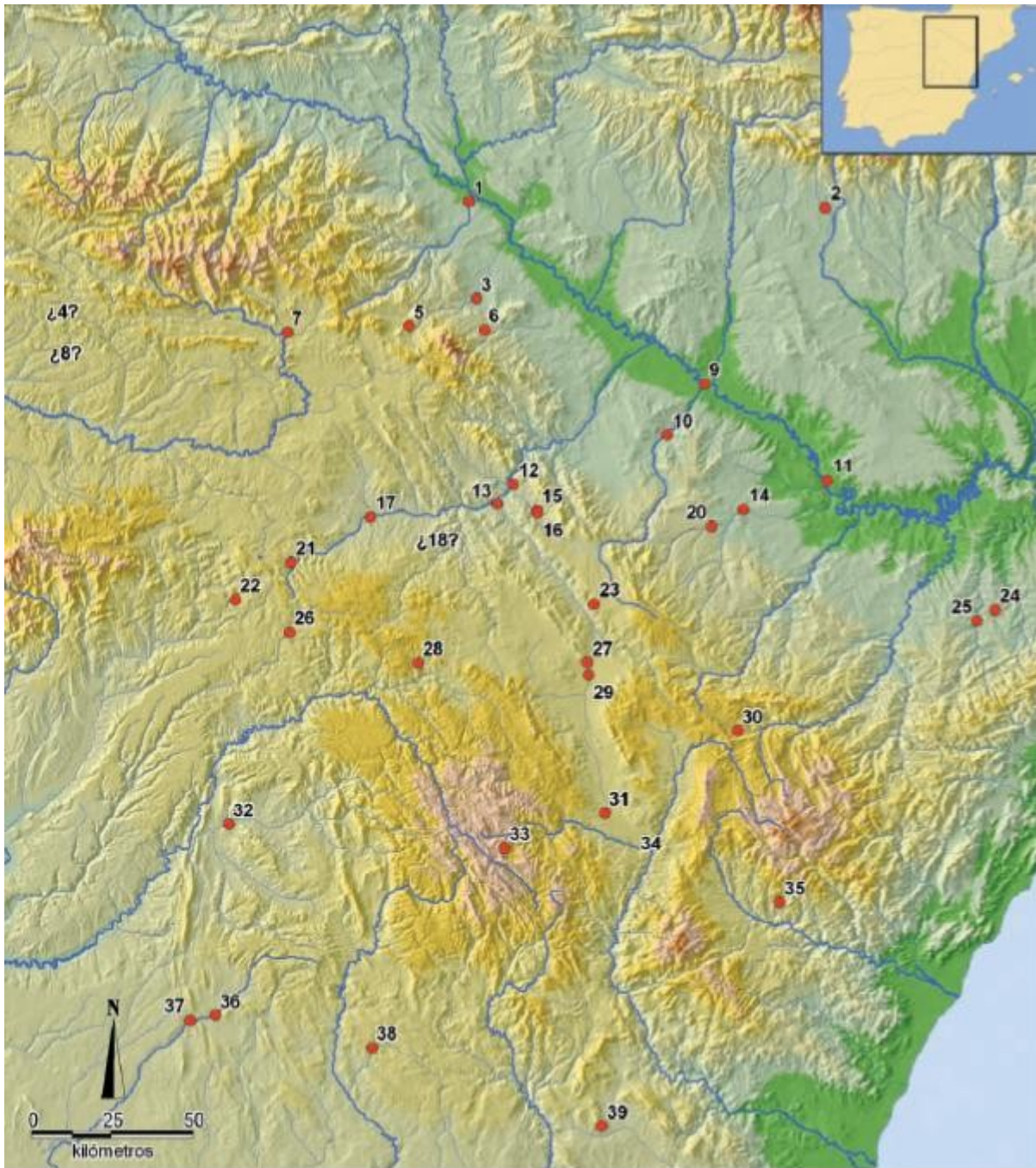


Fig. 2 1. *Gracurris*: Alfaro 2. *Osca*: 3. *Turiaso*: 4. *Sekobirikez*: 5. *Augustobriga*: 6. *Turiazu*: 7. ***Numancia***: 8. ***Kolounioku***: 9. *Salduvie*: 10. ***Contrebia Belaisca***: 11. *Lepida*: 12. ***Bilbilis Italica***: 13. ***Bilbilis Celtiberica***: 14. *Belia*: 15. ***Segeda***: 16. *Sekeida*: 17. *Arcobriga*: 18. *Cortona*: 19. ***Termes*** 20. *Belikiom*: 21. *Medinaceli*: 22. *Sekotiaz*, *Segontia*: 23. *Arquilay*: 24. *Umbries Ferreres*: 25. *Cabezo Montañas*: 26. *Lutia*: 27. *Leonica*: 28. ***Ceremeño***: 29. *Orosiz?*: 30. *Damaniu*: 31. *Cella*: 32. ***Ercavica***: 33. *Villar de Muelas*: 34. *Urbicua*: 35. *Rubielos de Mora*: 36. ***Kontebakom Kárbica***: 37. ***Segobriga***: 38. *Valeria*: 39. *Kevin*: 40. *Ikalesken*. (Burrilo (2008b) p. 160).



## Appendix IV: Botorrita Plaques

### Botorrita Bronze I<sup>458</sup>



Fig. 3 Botorrita Bronze I (MHLV IV, 567) side A upper image, side B lower image

- A.1. tirikantam bercunetacam tocoitoscue sarnicio cue sua combalcez nelitom
- A.2. necue [u]ertaunei litom necue taunei litom necue masnai tizaunei litom soz aucu
- A.3. arestaio tamai uta oscues stena uerzoniti silabur sleitom conscilitom cabizeti
- A.4. cantom sancilistara otanaum tocoitei eni: uta oscuez boustomue coruinomue
- A.5. macasiamue ailamue ambitiseti camanom usabitzuz ozas sues sailo custa bizetuz iom
- A.6. asecati ambitincounei stena es uertai entara tiris matus tinbituz neito tiricantam
- A.7. eni onsatzuz iomui listas titas zizonti somui iom arznas bionti iom custaicos
- A.8. arznas cuati ias ozias uertatosue temeiuue robiseti saum tecametinas tatuz somei
- A.9. enitouzei iste ancios iste esancios uze areitena sarnicieie acainacubos
- A.10. nebintor tocoitei ios ur antiomue auzeti aratimue tecametam tatuz iom tocoitoscue
- A.11. sarnicioeue aiuizas combalcores aleites iste icues ruzimuz abulu ubocum
- B.1. lubos counesicum melnunos **bintis** letontu litocum
- B.2. abulos **bintis** melmu barauzanco lesunos **bintis**
- B.3. letontu ubocum turo **bintis** lubinaz aiu bercanticum
- B.4. abulos **bintis** tirtu aiancum abulos **bintis** abulu louzocum
- B.5. uzeisunos **bintis** acainaz letontu uicanocum suostuno/s
- B.6. **bintis** tirtanos statulicum lesunos **bintis** nouantutaz
- B.7. letontu aiancum melmunos **bintis** useizu aiancum tauro **[bin]/tis**
- B.8. abulu aiancum tauro **bintis** letontu leticum abulos **bintis**
- B.9. [ ]ucontaz letontu esocum abulos **bintis**

<sup>458</sup> Beltrán & Tovar (1982).

SENATVS. CONTREBIENSIS. QVEI. TVM. ADERVNT. IVDICES. SVNTO. SEI. PARRET. AG)RVM. QVEM. SALLVIENSES  
 AB(.S)OSINESTANEIS. EMERVNT. RIVL. FACIENDI. AQVAIVE. DVCENDAE. CAVSA. QVA. DE. RE. AGITVR. SOSINESTANOS  
 IVRE. SVQ. SALLVIENSIBVS. VENDIDISSE. INVITEIS. ALLAVONENSIBVS. TVM. SELITA. PARRET. EI. I. IVDICES. IVDICENT  
 EVM. AGRVM. QVA. DE. RE. AGITVR. SOSINESTANOS. SALLVIENSIBVS. IVRE. SVO. (.)VENDIDISSE. (.)SEI. NON. PARRET. (ET. IVDICENT  
 IVRE. SVO. NON. VENDIDISSE  
 EIDEM. QVEL. SV. PRA. SCRIPTE. I. SVNT. IVDICES. SVNTO. SEI. SOSINE(ST)ANA. CEIVITAS. (.)ESSET. TVM. QVA. (.)SALLVIENSES  
 NOVISSVME. PVBLICE. DEPALA(R)IVNT. QVA. DE. RE. (.)AGITVR. SEI. (D)NTRA. EOS. PALOS. SALLVII. NSIS. RIVOM. PER. AGRVM  
 PVBLICVM. SOSINESTANORVM. IVRE. SVO. FACERE. LICERE(ET. AVT. SEI. PER. AGRVM. PREIVATVM. SOSINESTANORVM  
 QVA. RIVOM. FIERI. OPORTERET. RIVOM. IVRE. SVO. SALLVIENSIBVS. (.)FACERE. LICERET. DVM. QVANTI. (.)IS. AGER. AESTVMATY(S)  
 ESSET. QVA. (.)RIVOS. DVCERETVR. SALLVIENSES. PEQVNIAM. SOLVERENT. TVM. SELITA. (P)ARRET. EEL. IVDICES. IVDICENT  
 SALLVIENSIBVS. (.)RIVOM. IVRE. SVO. FACERE. LICERE(ET. SEI. NON. PARRET. IVDICENT. IVRE. SVO. FACERE. NON. LICERE  
 SEL. IVDICARENT. SALLVIENSIBVS. RIVOM. FACERE. LICERE. TVM. QVOS. MAGISTRATVS. CONTREBIENSIS. QVINQVE  
 EXSENATV. SVO. DEDERIT. EORVM. (.)ARBITRATV. PRO. AGRO. PREIVATO. (Q)V. (A. RIVOS. DVCETVR. (.)SALLVIENSES  
 PVBLICE. PEQVNIAM. (.)SOLVONTO. IVDICIVM. ADDEIXIT. C. VALERIVS. C. F. FLACCVS. IMPERATOR  
 SENTENTI. (A)M. (D)EIXERVNT. QVOD. IVDICIVM. NOSTRVM. EST. QVA. DE. RE. AGITVR. SECVNDVM. SALLVIENSES. IVDICAMVS. QVOM. EA. RES  
 IVDIC(A)I. A. ST. MAGI. ST. RATVS. CONTREBIENSES. HEISCE. FVERVNT. LVBBVS. VRDINOCVM. LFTONDONIS. F. PRAETOR. LESSO. SIRISCVM  
 LVBLI. F. (MA)GISTRATVS. BABPVVS. BOLOCONDISCVM. ABLONIS. F. MAGISTRATVS. SEGILVS. ANNICVM. LVBLI. F. MAGI. ST. RATVS  
 (-.)ATV. (-.)YLOVICVM. (.)VXENTI. I. F. MAGISTRATVS. ABLO. TINDILICVM. LVBLI. F. MAGISTRATVS. CAVSSAM. SALLVIENSIVM)  
 DEFE(ND)IT. (-.)ASSIVS. (-.)EIHAR. F. SALLVIENSIS. CAVSSAM. ALLAVONENSIVM. DEFENDIT. TVRIBAS. TEITABAS. F  
 (ALLAVO)N(EN)S(IS. )ACTVM. CONTREBIAE. BALAISCAE. EIDIBVS. MAIEIS. L. CORNELLIO. CN. OCTAVIO. CONSVLIBY(S)

325 G. Fatás, «El nuevo bronce latino de Contrebia», BRAH (1979), 421-438; AE 1979, 377; G. Fatás, *Contrebia Belaisca* II: Tabula Contrebiensis, Zaragoza, 1980; A. Dors, «Las fórmulas procesales del Bronce de Contrebia», Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español 50, 1980, 1-20; G. Fatás, «El bronce de *Contrebia Belaisca*», Cuadernos de trabajos de la escuela de Historia y Arqueología en Roma 15 (1981), 57-66; S. Mariner, «Il bronzo di Contrebia: studio linguistico», Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española en Roma 15 (1981), 67-94; G. Fatás, «The Tabula Contrebiensis», *Antiquity* 57 (1983), 12-18; J. S. Richardson, «The Tabula Contrebiensis: Roman law in Spain in the early first century», JRS 73 (1983), 33-41; A. Torrent, «Consideraciones jurídicas sobre el bronce de Contrebia», Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española en Roma 15 (1981), 95-104; AE 1983, 602; AE 1984, 586; Fatás, G., «Breve crónica de novedades de epigrafía jurídica romano-republicana de Hispania (1976-1986)», en: *Actas del Coloquio Internacional A.I.E.G.L. sobre Novedades de Epigrafía Jurídica Romana en el último decenio*, Pamplona, 1989, 229-242, n° 4; HEP 3, 1993, 415; M. Lejeune, «Notes de linguistique italique XLI. En marge de la *Sententia Contrebiensium*», REL 70 (1992), 43-55; Fernández Cacho, J., «Algunas consideraciones lingüísticas sobre el bronce latino de Contrebia», *Caesaraugusta* 69 (1992), 63-74; F. Beltrán Lloris, «Un nuevo antropónimo vasconico en la comarca de las Cinco Villas (Zaragoza)», *Homenaje a Miquel Tarradell*. Barcelona, 1993, 843-858, p. 843, nota 2; HEP 5, 1995, 914.

1. Senatus Contrebie[n]sis quei tum aderunt iudices sunt. Sei par[ret ag]rum quem Salluienses
2. [ab Sosinest]ane[is] emerunt rivi faciendi aquaive ducendae causa qua de re agitur Sosinestanos
3. [iure suo Sa]lluiensibus vendidisse inviteis Allavonensibus; tum sei ita [p]arret eei iudices iudicent
4. eum agrum qua de re agitur Sosinestanos Salluiensibus iure suo vendidisse; sei non parr[e]t iudicent
5. iur[e] suo non vendidi[sse.]
6. Eidem quei supra scriptei [sunt] iudices sunt. Sei Sosinestana ceivitas esset, tum, qua Salluiensis
7. novissime publice depalarunt qua de re agitur, sei [i]ntra eos palos Salluiensis rivom per agrum
8. publicum Sosinestanorum iure suo facere licere[t ] aut sei per agrum preivatum Sosinestanorum
9. qua rivom fieri oporteret rivom iure suo Salluie[n]sibus facere liceret dum quanti is a[ger] aestumatu[s]
10. esset, qua rivom duceretur, Salluienses pequniam solverent, tum, sei ita [p]arret, eei iudices iudicent
11. Salluiensibus rivom iure suo facere licer[e]; sei non parret iudicent iure suo facere non licere.
12. Sei iudicarent Salluiensibus rivom facere licere, tum quos magistratus Contrebiensis quinque
13. ex senatu suo dederit eorum arbitrato pro agro preivato q[u]a rivom ducetur Salluienses
14. publice pequniam solvonto. Iudicium addeixit C. Valerius C. f. Flaccus imperator.
15. Sentent[ia]m deixerunt: quod iudicium nostrum est qua de re agitur secundum Salluienses iudicamus. Quom ea res
16. ud[ic]atas[t mag]is[t]ratus Contrebienses heisce fuerunt: Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f. praetor; Lesso Siriscum
17. Lubbi f. **[ma]gistratus**; Babbus Bolgondiscum Ablonis f. **magistratus**; Segilus Annicum Lubi f. **magistratus**;
18. [--]atu[----]ulovicum Uxenti f. **magistratus**; Ablo Tindilicum Lubbi f. **magistratus**. Caussam Sallui[ensium]
19. defen[d]it ---]assius [-]eihar f. Salluiensis. Caussam Allavonensium defendit Turibas Teitabas f.
20. [Allavo]n[en]s[is]. Actum [C]ontrebiae Balaiscae eidibus Maieis, L. Cornelio Cn. Octavio consulibu[s].

Let those of the senate of *Contrebia* who shall be present at the time be the judges. If it appears, with regard to the land which the Salluienses purchased from the Sosinestani for the purpose of making a canal or channelling water, which matter is the subject of the action, that the Sosinestani were within their rights in selling to the Salluienses against the wishes of the Allavonenses; then, if it so appears, let those judges adjudge that the Sosinestani were within their rights in selling to the Salluienses that land which is the subject of this action; if it does not so appear, let them adjudge that they were not within their rights in selling. Let those same persons who are written above be the judges. On the assumption that they were the Sosinestan civitas, then, in the place where the Salluienses most recently and officially put in stakes, which matter is the subject of this action, if it would be permissible for the Salluienses within their rights to make a canal through the public land of the Sosinestani within those stakes; or if it would be permissible for the Salluienses within their rights to make a canal through the private land of the Sosinestani in the place where it would be proper for a canal to be made so long as the Salluienses paid the money which is the value which would have been placed on the land where the canal might be brought; then, if it so appears, let those judges adjudge that it is permissible for the Salluienses within their rights to make the canal; if it does not so appear, let them adjudge that it is not permissible for them to do so within their rights. If they should adjudge that it is permissible for the Salluienses to make the canal, then, on the arbitration of five men, whom a magistrate (or perhaps the magistracy) of *Contrebia* shall have assigned from his (or their) senate, let the Salluienses pay money from public funds for the private land where the canal shall be brought. C. Valerius C. f. Flaccus, imperator, conferred the right of judgment. They pronounced the opinion: 'Whereas the right of judgment is ours, in the matter which is the subject of this action we give judgment in favour of the Salluienses.' When this adjudication was made, these were the magistrates of *Contrebia*: Lubbus of the Urdini, son of Letondo, praetor; Lesso of the Sirisi, son of Lubbus, magistrate; Babbus of the Bolgondisi, son of Ablo, magistrate; Segilus of the Anni, son of Lubbus, magistrate; .... of the ... ulovi, son of Ux. us, magistrate; Ablo of the Tindili, son of Lubbus, magistrate. . . . assius, son of Eihar, the Salluiensian, presented the case for the Salluienses. Turibas, son of Teitabas, the Allavonensian, presented the case for the Allavonenses. Transacted at *Contrebia* Balaisca, on the Ides of May, L. Cornelius and Cn. Octavius being the consuls.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> Translation by Birks, Rodger & Richardson (1984).