

**EARLY ROMAN TOWNS
IN *HISPANIA*
*TARRACONENSIS***

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Labitolosa and other Roman towns on the south side of the Pyrenees

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The integration of the Pyrenean territories into the administrative structure of the Roman empire was accomplished relatively late and it differed according to the side of the mountain chain. While there were only a small number of towns on the French Pyrenees up until the Late Empire, there was a far more extensive network of territories on the Spanish side from the Augustan period, and their capitals, from Oiarso (Irun) to Emporiae (Empúries), were distributed regularly along the whole length of the mountains. However, only a few are adequately known, since most lie beneath built-up areas.

It is certain that at least 8 cities existed in the area between Aragón and the Segre (fig. 11.1). We know that three were situated near the high mountain embraced by their territory: Iacca to the west, Labitolosa in the centre, and Aeso (Isona) to the east. The other towns lay lower down, on the plateaux between the outer sierras and the Ebro, and near the main valleys: Cara, to the west and not far from Aragón; Tarraca (Los Bañales, Uncastillo?), Segia (Egea de los Caballeros) and Osca (Huesca) in the centre on both sides of the Gallego; and Ilerda (Lleida) to the east, on the Segre. The territories of these mountain towns extends from the foothills to the highest peaks in the chain. Iacca and Aeso are of interest to us by virtue of their proximity to Labitolosa and their probable similarity to it. The current research at Labitolosa (Cerro del Calvario, La Puebla de Castro, province of Huesca) makes it one of the best surviving examples of a Roman town in the Pyrenees region of *Hispania Citerior*, while our research into its territory suggests the existence of two other towns in the surrounding area, Barbotum and Boletum.

Iacca and Aeso, the well-identified neighbours of Labitolosa

Iacca (Jaca, province of Huesca)

The capital of the Iacetani lay in upper Aragón, at the foot of the Somport pass (the easiest passage through the central Pyrenees) and at the entrance to the Berdún canal. The town's territory was probably quite extensive since it extended from the high mountains, with the basins of the Ansò, Hecho, Aragués and the Tena, as far as the mountains of the Leyre and San Juan de la Peña, which formed part of the rich lands of the Canal de Berdún, where the principal known sites are to be found. Iacca was the principal *oppidum* of the Iacetani (Strabo 3.4.10). It was subdued by Rome during Cato's campaign of 195 B.C. (Livy 44.20.1). During the first half of the 1st c. B.C., the town struck the last Iberian *denarii* and participated in the Civil Wars, taking sides initially with Sertorius (Strabo 3.4.10), later with Caesar (Caes., *BCiv* 1.60). Iacca was a stipendiary town in the Augustan period (Plin., *NH* 3.4.24), and probably received Latin rights under the Flavians, though explicit proof is lacking (Rico 1997, 92-95 and 177-78; Navarro and Magallón 1999, 63; Andreu 2003, 175).

Comments by ancient authors provide the essence of our knowledge about Iacca, since the ancient town lies at the centre of the built-up area of modern Jaca where archaeological research has been very limited. In addition to several remains of Early Imperial date, the only excavated structures date to the 3rd and 4th c. A.D., notably the possible *macellum* and several modest houses (Ona *et al.* 1987).

Aeso (Isona, province of Lleida)

The town of Aeso was situated at the heart of the rich Conca de Tremp basin, although its territory extended well beyond, running from the axial chain to the outer mountains, particu-

larly the imposing Serra de Monsech. There is no doubt that it began as an Iberian settlement, dating to at least the 3rd c. B.C., although it was provided with a powerful wall only in the course of the first third of the 1st c. B.C., a time when the town also struck coins. J. Guitart's suggestion (1994, 208) that this coincided with a formal settlement of Italic colonists seems unlikely, because it was only a stipendiary community in the Augustan period (Plin., *NH* 3.2.34) and did not receive Latin rights until the Flavian period (Rico 1997, 180-83; Navarro and Magallón 1999, 83). The town is famous above all for its corpus of some 40 Latin inscriptions which have been the object of a major study (*IRC II*, 19-57). They show that Aeso was governed by a municipal bourgeoisie that was dominated by a small number of closely-knit family groups, within which women seem to have played an important rôle (Fabre 1990).

Aeso was a fairly modest agglomeration, its early walls enclosing an area of some 4 ha, but it witnessed extra-mural development, especially in the Early Imperial period (PRAMA 1990). We know almost nothing about most of the town apart from this enceinte, a short stretch of which has been brought to light, and several houses in the same S part of the site (Paya *et al.* 1994); the town lies, in effect, under the built-up area of modern Isona. It is likely that its forum lay beneath what is now the parish church, but the urban layout and monumental centre remain to be discovered.

Other cities of the central Pyrenees: questions about Barbotum, Boletum and Terranto

In addition to Aeso, Iacca and Labitolosa (see below), it is likely that there existed other Pyrenaean *civitates* between Aragón and the Segre. This much can be inferred from several inscriptions which cite a Boletanus and a Bar[b(otanus?)] and from a late-antique document that mentions a *terra boletana*, a *terra barbotana* and a *terra terrantona*, neighbours of the *terra Labeclosana*. These sources had not been the object of detailed study until our attempt to define the territory of Labitolosa (Navarro, Magallón and Sillières 2000; Chasseigne 2002), and recent research into the rural world of the High Middle Ages (Ariño and Díaz forthcoming).

The epigraphic sources: the inscriptions of Monte Cillas

Several inscribed pedestals and a few epitaphs were discovered by Mariano de Pano at the extensive site of Monte Cillas (Coscojuela de Fantova, province of Huesca). Their texts were published by F. Fita in the later 19th c. (Fita 1884) and again by E. Hübner (*CIL II* 5841-47); a recent re-examination was undertaken by Navarro (Navarro, Magallón and Sillières 2000, nos. 1-8). Two of the pedestals honoured a Roman citizen, Lucius Galerius Maternus, who was inscribed in the Galeria voting tribe and is identified as *Boletanus* (*CIL II* 4845, 4843), a title which suggests that he came from a city called Boletum. He died at Monte Cillas because the epitaph on his tombstone mentions the same *origo* (*CIL II* 4846). Another pedestal discovered at Monte Cillas and preserved at Barbastro (*CIL II* 4841) was erected in honour of Publius Aemilius Ductus, called *Bar[b(otanus?)]* (in the 19th c. the letter B was still visible after the R), showing that he originated at a town which could have been Barbotum. These inscriptions give legitimate evidence for the existence of two towns in the region, Boletum and Barbotum, one of them possibly located at Monte Cillas: both are absent from Pliny's list, as is Labitolosa, suggesting that they were *oppida stipendiaria* without political importance or a significant past.

An archival document: the charter of the donation of Deacon Vincentius

A precious mediaeval document seems to confirm the existence of the same two towns and to provide evidence for a third. The *Cartula donationis Vincentii Diaconii*, dated to A.D. 551 (Fita 1906; Campos 1970; Fortacín 1983) was a donation charter by the Deacon Vincentius to the monastery of Asán, an establishment traditionally situated at San Victorián, c.7 km north-east of L'Ainsa. For our purposes its main interest is Vincentius' distribution of property lying in *terrae* which almost certainly correspond to the territories of ancient towns, for it mentions the *terra caesaraugustana* and the *terra hilardensi*, i.e., the territories of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) and Ilerda (Lleida) (Lara 1974). The *terra labeclosana* must be a corruption of the name of

Labitolosa, and it is followed by the *terra boletana*, *terra barbotana*, and *terra terrantonensi*. While they do not allow the urban territories mentioned on the Monte Cillas inscriptions to be located precisely, the references to *terra boletana* and *terra barbotana* seem to suggest that the *ager boletanus* and *ager barbotanus* lay in the same region as Labitolosa, although we should remember that territories further away from the Cinca valley (Caesaraugusta, Ilerda) also appear in the document. The reference to the *terra terrantonensi* is harder to interpret since there is no ancient reference to such a name.

Hitherto, the locations of Barbotum and Boletum had been based upon place-name study. Since the time of Fita (1884), both were identified with the small towns of upper Aragón that have the similar names of Boltaña and Barbastro. Boltaña lies at the foot of the tall mountain in the Ara valley; its position was similar to that of Jaca, lying in a depression in the lower reaches of the Pyrenees. Barbastro, like Huesca, was situated lower down on the piedmont plateau. These identifications were accepted by Hübner (*CIL II suppl.* p. 939) and have been retained by subsequent investigators (Pita 1967, 162; Sancho Rocher 1980, 71-72). These locations do not stand up to scrutiny when one attempts to reconcile them with the archaeological evidence. We have attempted to revise them, benefitting from the results of surface survey carried out in the Cinca basin (Chasseigne 2000, 2001 and 2002).

The large site of Monte Cillas: Barbotum?

How is the ancient settlement of Monte Cillas to be interpreted, given that it yielded inscriptions mentioning a *Boletanus* and a *Barbotanus*? Since it covers c.8 hectares, is laid out like an *oppidum*, and has produced a rich epigraphic repertoire (particularly honorific statue pedestals), it is probable that it should be identified with a settlement, as Hübner suggested (*CIL II*, p. 939), and not a villa, as has sometimes been argued (Arco 1944, 55-56). The site has been known since the survey work of Mariano del Pano at the end of the 19th c. with the publication of the inscribed pedestals (Fita 1884), and several excavation campaigns undertaken by R. del Arco (Arco 1921 and 1922), which attested to the longevity of the occupation, ranging from the 1st c. B.C. to the 5th c. A.D., as well as revealing a Christian cemetery with several epitaphs on funerary mosaics (*ILERV* 254-56; Navarro, Magallón and Sillières 2000, nos. 10-13; Gómez Pallarés and Mayer 1996, 58-64). In the manner of Iberian *oppida*, the site lies on the summit and the S and SW flanks of the hill, covering c.8 ha (Chasseigne 2001, 180). Inspection of surface finds consistently reveals coins and large quantities of pottery, notably Black Gloss, and Italic, Gaulish, Hispanic, and N African sigillata.

The archaeological importance of Monte Cillas and its relative proximity to Barbastro (a dozen kilometers) suggests that it should be identified with Barbotum. This is supported by the observation that there are no ancient remains beneath the built-up area of Barbastro, as was noted by J. Lostal (1980, 35) and has become increasingly clear since 1989 with the proliferation of urban rescue excavations (Juste Arruga 1995, 59-87). Indeed, it now seems certain that Barbastro was originally a Muslim town. It was founded in the 9th c. by the governor Jalaf ibn Rasid and was endowed with a wall in A.D. 918. Furthermore, there is no evidence for another archaeological site close to Barbastro. Yet how can the similarity between the names Barbotum and Barbastro be explained? There could have been a displacement of the name at the time of the Arab conquest. A famous instance of this is known in Andalucía where Medina Elvira, a large Arab town 12 km from Illiberis (Granada), assumed the latter's name of Elvira (Levi-Provençal 1950, 343-44). A similar scenario may be envisaged for Barbastro. The Muslims founded a town 12 km from Barbotum, but its *kura* (its Arab administrative constituency) retained its ancient name under the Arabized form Barbitaniya (Granja 1967, 445-545; Sénac 1991, 56-60), while the Arab town itself was designated with the name of Barbustar, derived from the name of the Roman town, the principal settlement of the territory.

Consequently, Monte Cillas should be the site of ancient Barbotum. Only one individual from the site, Lucius Valerius Maternus, is called *Boletanus*. This *origo* is cited on all the texts concerning him (*CIL II* 5843 and 5845), including his epitaph (*CIL II* 5846), which suggests that

he had come to live in Barbotum with his wife and father-in-law but was still viewed as an alien up to the time of his death. All the other individuals mentioned on inscriptions, on the other hand, were native to the site: with the single exception of Ductus, none mentioned their *origo*.

And Boletum?

Uncertainties remain about the identification of Maternus' home town of Boletum. It cannot now be identified with Monte Cillas, as Hübner supposed (*CIL* II p. 939), followed by Tovar (1989, 383-85). Fita's suggestion (1884) of Boltaña seems more likely but must still remain hypothetical, since it is based upon the similarity of names alone. Archaeological work has largely failed to provide any clues. There is no doubt that there were several ancient settlements in the Ara valley, and one probably lay beneath modern Boltaña, with others in its vicinity and as far as the confluence with the Cinca and the Ainsa (Chasseigne 2000, vol. 3, sites 2, 7, 118-20). Remains sufficiently important to constitute the nucleus of the Hispano-Roman town have yet to be found beneath Boltaña or in its immediate vicinity. Yet this region, which is comparable to the territory of Iacca (Jaca), was suitable for a *civitas*. Taking the peripheral depression marked by the river Ara for an axis, it would have extended in a westerly direction parallel to the higher peaks of the Pyrenees. Boletum would lie directly north of Barbotum, thereby helping to explain matrimonial alliances between élites from the two cities; the ties may suggest complementary interests between mountain pastoralists and agriculturalists of the piedmont.

And Terranto?

This name (*terra terrantonensi*) has survived from the Charter of Vincentius alone. Some 20 km north of Labitlosa there is a small town called Tierrantona, which most identify with Terranto, following an hypothesis of F. Fita (1906, 152) which is accepted also by F. Lara Peinado (Lara 1974, 40-41). E. Ariño and P. Diaz (forthcoming) have made the more unlikely suggestion that it was a town without a built-up centre. These hypotheses remain to be verified for several reasons. First, unlike Barbotum and Boletum, the town is not mentioned in literary or epigraphic sources. Further, virtually no archaeological remains have been found in the district (Chasseigne 2002, vol. 3, 187). Doubt also exists over the transmission of the place-name *terrantonensi*; we have a manuscript that was edited only in the late 12th c., and it is possible that the copyist responsible for it (or his predecessors) made transcription errors similar to those noted for Labitulosana (corrupted into Labeclósano) or Ilerdense (as Hilar-densi). In brief, we consider the existence of a town called Terranto lying to the north of Labitlosa unlikely.¹

Thus, at least 5 small towns probably shared the S side of the central Pyrenees, each with a relatively small territory. Their size becomes even clearer when one considers the extent of the agricultural land. In this mountainous country, uncultivated plots of land predominate, which

1 In addition, the absence of estives amongst the property mentioned by Vincentius is surprising for a mountainous area, given that several appear in the *terra boletana* (*estiva Saldana ... alias estivolias*). One of us (P. Sillières) believes that other hypotheses ought to be explored. For example, it is possible that *terrantonensi* may be a corrupted spelling of such places as Tarraca (Los Bañales?) or Tarraco (Tarragona). Another possibility would be to look for similarities between place-names in the vicinity of these centres and those in the mediaeval document. But since this kind of research has never been done, the identification of Terranto with Tierrantona in Fueva has been accepted since the time of Fita. It is also possible that Vincentius possessed property at a distance from the mountain and the monastery of Asán. Like many other late-antique bishops, he was probably part of a large family in Hispania that had acquired property in different parts of the peninsula and beyond; they already owned land away from the Cinca valley in the territory of Ilerda and Caesaraugusta. It is thus not inconceivable that they could have held land near Tarraca (Los Bañales), or possibly even further afield at Tarraco where members of late imperial élites in Tarraconensis resided quite frequently.

are always quite small, except in the piedmont. Yet the case of Labitolosa (Chasseigne 2002, vol. 3) proves that villas were fairly common and that several families were able to gain sufficient wealth to offer their fellow citizens the monumental features of a Roman town.

The example of Labitolosa

Our excavations at the Cerro del Calvario (La Puebla de Castro, province of Huesca), site of the urban centre of the Labitolosani, and survey of its territory, have shed light on one of these Pyrenaean towns. They have shown that these *oppida*, often forgotten by the ancient sources, underwent an historical, economic and urban development comparable to that of other towns in *Hispania*. Until recently, nothing was known about Labitolosa apart from its name and location. It is not mentioned by any ancient source and does not appear in A. Tovar's study (1984) of the towns of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. Its existence was signalled only by an honorific statue pedestal (CIL II 3008=5837) discovered by chance in the 16th c. on the Cerro del Calvario (it is now in the Museo de Zaragoza). This important site (Magallón and Ferre Castán 1977) had never been the subject of excavations prior to the start of our work in 1991. Since then, with the uncovering of a part of the forum, two bath-buildings, several houses and, above all, the exceptional epigraphic discoveries made in 1994, Labitolosa has become one of the better-known Roman towns in the peninsula.

Its territory was defined by Aeso to the east, Ilerda to the south-east, Barbotum and (presumably) Boletum to the west, and Lugdunum Convenarum to the north. This area of c.4000m² took the form of an elongated rectangle, extending c.100 km from north to south, from the crests of the mountain chain as far as Tolous (Cerro de la Alegría, Monzón) and the *Via Augusta*, and 25-40 km east to west, between the Cinca and the Noguera Ribagorzana. The river Esera formed the axis of the territory. The urban nucleus of Labitolosa was located at the edge of the valley where the river crossed a last defile, the Congosto d'Olvena, before rejoining the Cinca. This excellent location ensured that the town was able to control all of its territory, both the southern plateau, which began immediately beyond the defile, and the whole of the mountain which ran up to this point and then dropped to the Esera and its tributaries. Labitolosa lies at the highest point of the Cerro del Calvario which dominates the river Esera. The settlement, which covered c.10 ha, developed on the S side of the hill; its main cemetery was located on the NW side of the site, on the flat lands of the La Puebla basin.

Surface collection, stratigraphic sondages and open-area excavation have provided the basis for understanding the chronology of the site. Some doubt still remains over the date of its foundation since there has been no systematic work in the upper town. The earliest traces of occupation discovered on the Cerro del Calvario consist of several sherds of Campanian ware, predominately the B ware and, more rarely, late A wares, similar to those recovered by the first surface collectors (Magallón and Ferre Castán 1977, 155). It suggests that, even though all the structures so far uncovered date to the Augustan period, the site was probably established earlier, possibly by as much as a century. The first settlers will have established themselves in the upper part of the Cerro during the first half of the 1st c. B.C.

The first well-defined phase of settlement dates to the Augustan period. Traces have been found throughout the excavated area, covering the greater part of the Cerro del Calvario. They are predominately domestic in character but include the remains of the first forum. In all places where it has been possible to excavate the full stratigraphic sequence, it is seen that the earliest levels were formed in the last quarter of the 1st c. B.C. These layers are always associated with *in situ* structures which comprise poorly-squared ashlar blocks resting directly on the ground. Exceptionally, monumental masonry was used, particularly for the walls which supported the first forum. Buildings seem to have been numerous: our sondages located them in 6 widely-spaced locations.

The monumentalization of Labitolosa occurred somewhat later. All the large public buildings discovered so far were erected after the demolition of the Augustan buildings. The urban



Fig. 11-2. The town of Labitlosa (as known by the end of 2002).

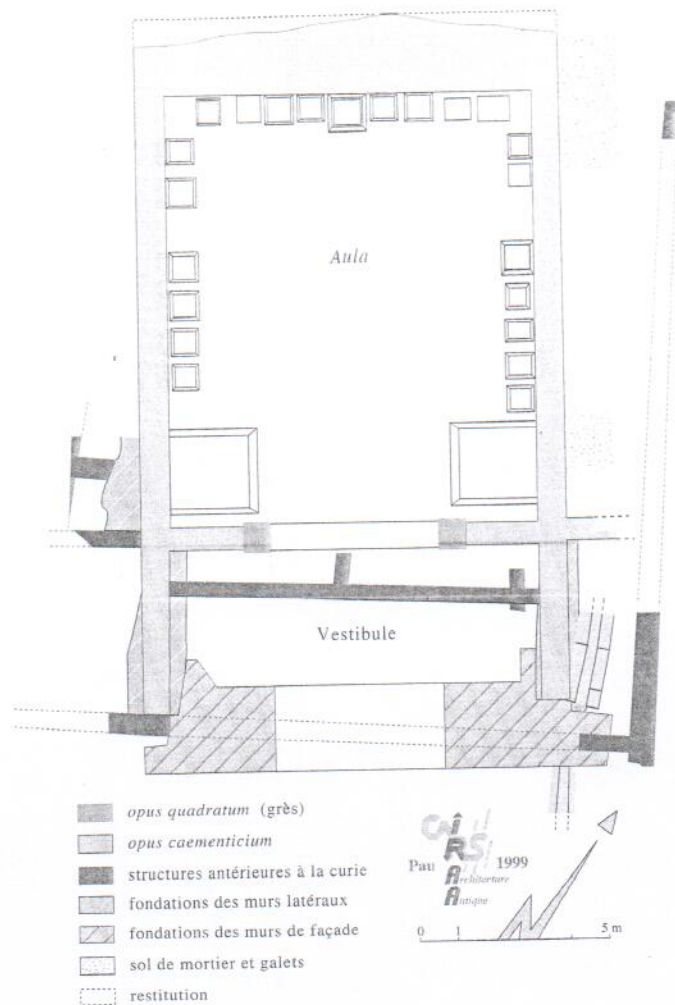


Fig. 11.3. Plan of the Curia at Labitolosa.

transformation is marked by the spread of the use of *opus caementicium* from around the middle of the 1st c. A.D. onwards. This is the date of one of the earliest large buildings to have been excavated, Baths I. Baths II were later by c.12-15 years. In the area of the forum, two public buildings have been completely excavated. The earliest, constructed towards the middle of the 1st c. A.D., is a large rectangular building, now badly damaged by agricultural terracing. The other is the Curia which has yielded up the important series of inscriptions (see below): it was marginally later in date, numerous sondages suggesting a date of the end of the 1st c. A.D. but it was abandoned at a relatively early date.

The surprising absence of Late Roman pottery was noted by the first surveyors and has been confirmed by all the excavations. The abandonment layer always yields the same material: occasional coins of the 2nd c. A.D., abundant pottery (mainly sigillata hispanica, sigillata Africana A, and N African cooking wares) but no sherds of sigillata hispanica tardia or Africana C or D, suggesting that the site was abandoned probably during the first half of the 3rd c.

The monumentalization of the built-up centre

In the 50 years between the middle and end of the 1st c. A.D. the town was transformed. The urban landscape was considerably modified by the construction of several public monuments, even if the position of the forum and overall layout of the town remained largely unchanged. On the N side of the forum piazza, two imposing buildings have been uncovered. The earlier, to the east, consists of a large rectangular (18.70 x 15.60 m) terrace oriented N-S. The side facing onto the forum consists of a blind monumental façade of *opus quadratum* sandstone blocks standing to a height of at least 3.50 m (fig. 11.2). It is still unclear if it had a cultic, political or administrative function. A peribolos, which was apparently entered from the W side, closed off the terrace; its floor in *opus spicatum* is partly conserved on the N side. Nothing is known

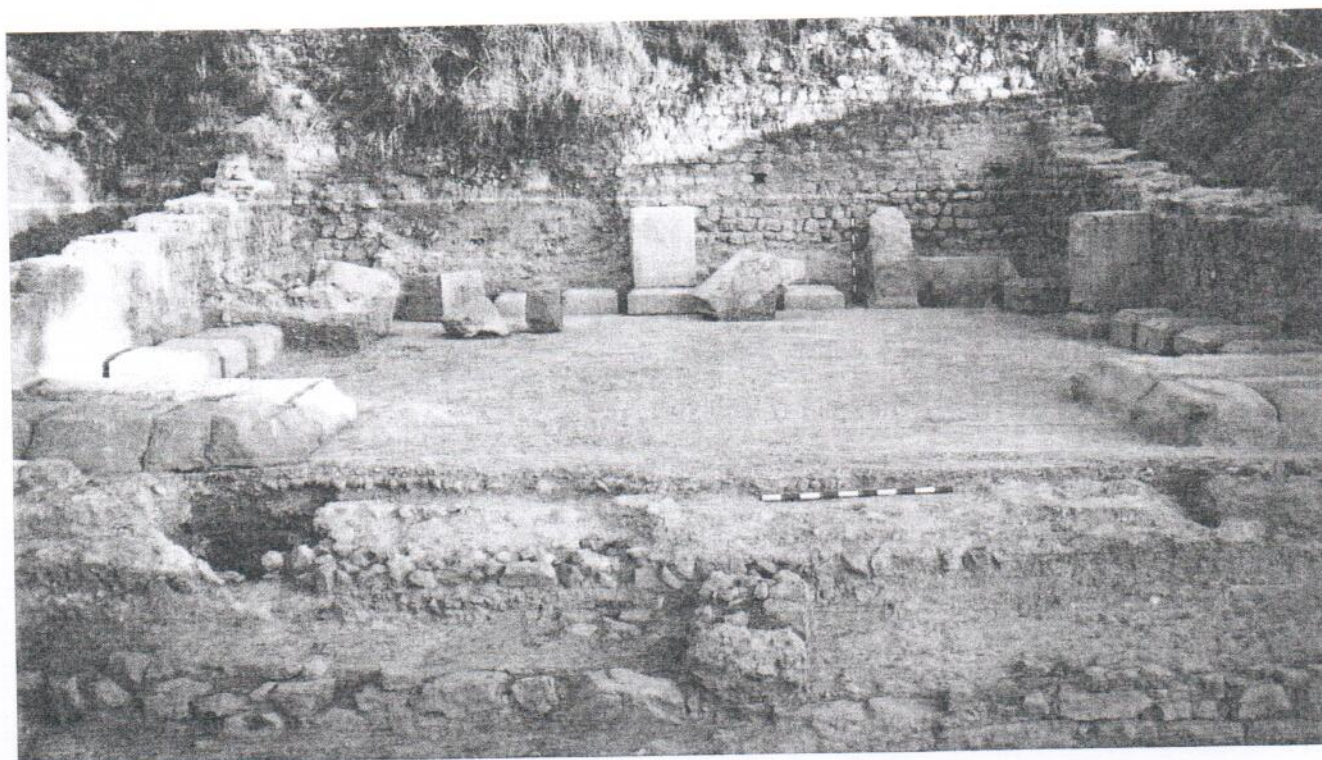


Fig. 11.4. The Curia with its bases and pedestals, seen from the south. In the foreground is the vestibule, its dry-stone walling of the Augustan structures appearing directly beneath the arable layer of the agricultural terrace. The large room beyond, which lay beneath a thicker layer, is completely preserved. Note that the bases and pedestals are *in situ*: in the centre against the rear wall (preserved to a height of 3 m) is the pedestal of the Genius, its upper surface bearing the impression for the attachment of the statue, which lies to one side; against the right wall is the pedestal of Flaccus.

about the arrangement of the interior, although at least part of it would have been open to the sky.

Close by to the west, on the N side of the forum piazza, the Curia is in a better state of conservation (especially its N half) (figs. 11.3-11.4). This large (18.30 x 11 m) rectangular building was composed of two rooms, a vestibule (4 x 9.60 m) and a large *aula* (11 x 9.60 m). This extraordinary building is unique in *Hispania* by virtue of the inscriptions that it contained. Along the E, W and N walls of the large room were arrayed the plinths of 23 statue pedestals as well as two large sandstone bases. More than 20 texts originally associated with the pedestals were found; four were complete and still attached to their bases, most notably the inscription of the Genius of the municipality (figs. 11.5-11.6); the rest were fragmentary. This array of *in situ* bases provides us with exceptional documentation for the layout and decoration of the *aula* of a Curia: it shows that the statues of local élites, and possibly of two emperors who were being commemorated, were arranged all around the room and on either side of the statue of the municipality's protective Genius.

The Baths I are situated below, towards the south-west. This well-preserved, elongated building (26 by 15 m) runs E-W. Its rooms are arranged axially, as is customary in this kind of relatively small building. The Baths II lie c.30 m further to the south and are oriented N-S. The building is only marginally larger (30 x 15 m), and is similarly organized in a row so that bathers circulated in a retrograde fashion, single file.

All these structures are different from the Augustan buildings in terms of their construction materials and the techniques used for their walls, floors and, sometimes, roofs. Large stone blocks with flush joints were nearly always replaced by *petit appareil* joined by lime mortar. With the exception of the lower stretch of the walls of Baths I, built of large sandstone blocks, all the structures were built using concrete. The vault makes its appearance in the warm rooms of the baths: Baths II are constructed with a succession of arches and air channels, the former from limestone blocks cut in the shape of bricks. New architectural forms from Italy prevailed everywhere, not only in public buildings but in private buildings, such as the *domus* in the SE



Fig. 11.5 (above). The pedestal of the Genius of the municipium of Labitolosa.



Fig. 11.6 (right). The dedication to M. Clodius Flaccus by the heirs of Cornelia Neilla.

part of the town (Magallón *et al.* 1995, 94). Transformed, the urban centre of the Labitolosani now had the appearance of a true Roman town, its inhabitants able to enjoy a Roman way of life. At the least, this monumentalization symbolizes the acculturation of the élite and their adoption of romanitas.

The *municipium* and its élite

The epigraphic corpus, consisting primarily of texts from the Curia, is important from two points of view: it definitively resolves the question of this small Pyrenaean town's status, and it introduces members of its élite in the 2nd c. A.D. It also allows comparisons to be drawn with the epigraphic record from Aeso.

The dedications to Flaccus, *duovir* and *flamen* of the town, one of which was made by the *cives* and the *incolae* of Labitolosa (CIL II 3008=5837), the other by its council of decurions (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 88 = HEp 5 (1995) 364 = HEp 6 (1996) 598 = AE 1995, 890), make it clear that the town had received Latin rights under the Flavians. Only the explicit attestation of municipal status is missing, but that lacuna is filled by the votive inscription of the *Genius municipii Labitulosani*, inscribed on the central pedestal in the Curia (fig. 11.5), the top of which bore the imprint of the feet of the statue of the Genius which it supported (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 97 = HEp 6 [1996] 600 = AE 1995, 892). Thus, even though our small Pyrenaean town is absent from Pliny and Ptolemy's lists, it had a forum from the Augustan period onwards and was very probably a *civitas stipendiaria* from then on. It was granted Latin rights by Vespasian, as was 'the whole of Hispania' (Plin., NH 3.4.30), and became a Latin *municipium*. Its monumental transformation, which had been achieved by the middle of the 1st c. A.D., gave it the appearance appropriate to a municipality.

Apart from M. Clodius Flaccus, a leading citizen, the only members of the élite who were raised above the municipal level (fig. 11.6) to enter the lower echelons of imperial administration (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 96-97) belong to the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D. Four individuals with entirely Latin names can be distinguished on inscriptions from the site: they are the two Mummii, Valens and Presses, whose names were recorded on the first statue base attested from the site (CIL II 5838), to whom can now be added G. Grattius Senilis and S. Iunius Silvinus (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 97 = HEP 4 [1994] 468 = AE 1991, 1064). However, the *cognomina* of two other individuals, L. Aemilius Attaeso (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 97 = HEP 6 [1996] 603 = AE 1995, 895) and Cornelia Neilla (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 97 = HEP 6 [1996] 602 = AE 1995, 896), hint at their indigenous origin. The latter also points to the rôle of women in the municipal élite here: Cornelia Neilla, who was surely related to urban magistrates (daughter, sister or wife, or possibly all three), was responsible for raising most of the statues in the Curia. A last inscription from the Curia, unfortunately fragmentary, mentions two *liberti*, Cornelius Philemon and Clodia (Sillières *et al.* 1995, 98-99 = HEP 6 [1996] 602 = AE 1995, 896), who belonged to the same social sphere since they were probably heirs of Neilla and had been bound by her to put up the statue pedestals in the Curia.

A diversified economy

These members of the local élite, of varying origins, who agreed to dispense part of their fortunes to embellish their town and benefit their fellow citizens, must have had significant sources of revenue. The surface surveys (Chasseigne 2000 and 2002) allow us to make a number of suggestions about its provenance. There is no doubt that agriculture was the principal activity in the basins of the piedmont. In the area between the Cinca, Esera and the Sierra de Torón, where the most intensive research has been undertaken, 12 rural settlements of late 1st-c. A.D. date and several important villae have been discovered. Apart from the indispensable cereals, viticulture and oleiculture were practised. Evidence for this comes in the form of press supports (*arbores*) from the villa of La Casilla at Olvena and, for the late period, from the donation charter of Vincentius.² There are also vast areas in the upper mountains and the sierras suited to transhumance, but we lack specific evidence since pastoral activities leave few traces: herds are left outside buildings, and shepherds made do with modest shelters that survey can detect only with difficulty. For the late-antique period, the *estivae* and *estivolae* are mentioned, together with herds of sheep, cows and mares.³

Epilogue

After a dozen years of research, Labitolosa has become one of the best-known Pyrenaean towns of *Hispania Citerior* with its historical evolution quite well established. The urban centre first arose on the Cerro Calvario in the Augustan period: it will have been chosen by Rome in preference to Tolous, the other agglomeration of the Ilergetes Tolosani (Asensio Estebán 1995, 117; Moret 1996, 17-20), which was too peripheral to the mountainous part of the territory. As the capital of a peregrine community, benefactors turned Labitolosa into a monumental centre during the 1st c. A.D. before it finally became a Latin *municipium* in the later 1st c. One suspects that Iacca, Aeso and Barbotum underwent a similar historical and urban development during the Early Empire. This could be verified at Barbotum since there are no modern structures on the site of Monte Cillas. An excavation there would also produce a slightly different urban history, since Barbotum was occupied down to the late-antique period, quite possibly to the Arab invasion, while Labitolosa was abandoned from the 3rd c. onwards.

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2 *Cartula donationis Vicentii* 60: ... *terris, vineis, oleis, ortis* ...

3 *Cartula donationis Vicentii* 60: *ovium vaccarum vel equarum*.

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EARLY ROMAN TOWNS IN HISPANIA TARRACONENSIS

EDITED BY L. ABAD CASAL, S. KEAY, AND S. RAMALLO ASENSIO. PP. 237, FIGS. 108, MAPS 2. PORTSMOUTH, RHODE ISLAND 2006. \$94.50. ISBN 978-1-887829-62-5.

The biennial Roman archaeology conferences organized since 1995 by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies have proved ideal occasions to take stock of recent archaeological work in a series of provinces of the Roman empire. The *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, which has helped sponsor these conferences, has published a number of useful volumes out of these sessions: *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica* (*JRA* Suppl. 29), edited by Keay, resulted from the inaugural conference; volumes on Roman Germany (Suppl. 32, J.D. Creighton and R.J.A. Wilson, eds.), Roman Dacia (Suppl. 56, W.S. Hanson and I.P. Haynes, eds.), and now Hispania Tarraconensis have since appeared. While such volumes cannot provide a complete overview of any given province, they have made available, in English, well-illustrated samples of much of the most important recent archaeological work. In Spain and Portugal, the results of excavation and field-survey projects often appear in local journals, monographs, or conference proceedings, making them difficult to access for all but specialists. This makes the second *JRA* supplement on Roman Spain particularly valuable.

Keay has collaborated with two leading Spanish archaeologists, Abad Casal of the University of Alicante and Ramallo Asensio of the University of Murcia, to produce a well-balanced and exceptionally well-illustrated collection of papers on Hispania Tarraconensis. Whereas the Baetican volume covered a broad range of themes (urbanism, local elites, the spread of the epigraphic habit, local civic coinage, the rural economy, the production and exchange of olive oil and metals, and the importance of Baetica in the Roman empire as a whole), the 16 case studies in the Tarraconensis volume

focus exclusively on urban development in the Late Republic and Early Empire. In addition to the clear summaries of recent work on towns such as Emporion/Emporiae (Empúries/Ampurias), Tarraco (Tarragona), Saguntum (Sagunto), Valentia (Valencia), Carthago Nova (Cartagena), Segobriga (Cerro de Cabeza del Griego, Saelices), and Bracara Augusta (Braga), the introductory and concluding chapters make the volume particularly effective. These place the various examples of urban development firmly within their historical context, taking account of both the indigenous cultural framework within which these towns were founded and the political changes engendered by the growth in Roman power that gave impetus to their development.

In the opening chapter, the three coeditors sketch the geographic and ethnic diversity of this, the largest province in the Roman empire (not "one of the largest" [9]), and then trace briefly the history of Rome's military interventions in the area and the administrative reorganization of the province from Augustus onward. The concluding chapter by Keay (223–37) then significantly enhances the value of the preceding essays by exploring how they contribute more broadly to our understanding of Rome's impact on provincial landscapes. Four themes are given particular prominence: the cultural context of urban foundations; the degree of Italic and Roman influence on the layout and character of towns; the role of local elites and Roman patrons in the development of towns; and the relationship of towns to their hinterlands. Of these themes, only the fourth receives relatively short shrift.

The sheer size of Hispania Tarraconensis creates a potential problem for any overarching

synthesis. How does one choose examples to represent the great diversity of local landscapes and cultural milieus to be found in a province covering some 350,000 km² and including such varied landscapes as the Mediterranean littoral, the foothills of the Pyrenees, the Ebro and Duero/Douro valleys, the dry central plateau of the southern Meseta (La Mancha), the mountainous uplands of the central sierras, and the damper Atlantic zones of Cantabria, Asturias, Galicia, and that part of Portugal north of the Douro? In general, the editors have made a good selection, and it is particularly gratifying to find alongside many fine contributions by Spanish colleagues a single paper by the Portuguese archaeologist Manuela Martins on the town of Bracara Augusta in northern Portugal (213–22). Most regions are represented, and there is a good balance between larger towns such as the provincial capital Tarraco or Carthago Nova and smaller communities such as Labitulosa in the foothills of the Pyrenees. The latter was a *civitas stipendiaria* not worthy of mention by Pliny in Book 3 of his *Natural History*, but the discovery in 1994 of a pedestal set up in the local senate house to honor the Genius of the *municipium Labitulosanum* (*L'Année Epigraphique* [AE] 1995, 892 = *Hispania Epigraphica* [HEp] 6, 600; here = fig. 11.5, 155) now proves that it was promoted to *municipium* probably in the Flavian period. One might have expected contributions on the important *conventus* center (i.e., juridical assize center) of Caesaraugusta (modern Zaragoza), a colony founded for veterans of Augustus' Cantabrian and Asturian wars ca. 25 B.C.E. (F. Beltrán Lloris, ed., *Zaragoza: Colonia Caesar Augusta* [Rome 2007]), or something on the colony of Barcino (Barcelona), where important archaeological work has taken place in the last 20 years in the heart of the modern city (J. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, ed., *De Barcino a Barcinona (siglos I–VII)* [Barcelona 2001]). But this is more than compensated by important new material presented here about towns such as Saguntum (63–74), Valentia (75–90), Lucentum (105–17), Ilici and Ilunum (118–32), and Segobriga (184–96), and various smaller communities in northern Catalunya (44–62), in the foothills of the Pyrenees (146–58), and in central Celtiberia (159–71).

The relationship between the military history of the province and its urban development is examined in contributions on Numantia (Jimeno [172–83]) and Asturica Augusta (Astorga) and Legio VII Gemina (León) (Morillo

[197–211]). The former, the proud center of Celtiberian resistance to Rome in the mid second century B.C.E., saw its urban development halted following its destruction by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 B.C.E. It continued to be an inhabited center throughout the Late Republic and Imperial period, but it never developed typically Roman urban features such as a central forum with temples and administrative buildings. Jimeno's brief discussion of Schulten's interpretation of the Roman camps and circumvallation relating to Scipio Aemilianus' siege needs now to be read alongside Luik, *Die Funde aus den römischen Lagern um Numantia im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum* (Mainz 2002); Dobson, *The Army of the Roman Republic: The Second Century B.C., Polybius and the Camps at Numantia, Spain* (Oxford 2008); and Morales Hernández and Dobson, *MM* 46 (2005) 104–11. Morillo's chapter summarizes the striking progress made during the last 15 years in clarifying the history of the Roman military occupation of northwest Spain. Asturica, which became one of the seven juridical *conventus* centers of the province, traced its origins to the presence here of an Augustan military camp, which became the base of the Legio X Gemina. León, long known as the camp of the Legio VII Gemina, which from the Flavian period onward was the sole Roman legion on the Iberian peninsula, had two earlier camps located on the same site, with decisive evidence that the Legio VI Victrix was based here from the Augustan period until its departure in 70 for Germania Inferior and its new base at Novaesium (Neuss).

Some contributions address the stated themes of the volume more closely than others; not surprisingly, a coeditor's chapter (by Ramallo) on Carthago Nova follows them to the letter, while others touch on them more tangentially. The chapter on Greek Emporion and its relationship to Roman Republican Emporiae, for instance (19–31), or that on the towns of the Balearic Islands, especially Pollentia (133–45). This unevenness, and the fact that the volume lacks an index, makes Key's masterly concluding synthesis even more important.

Some themes are central to our understanding of the history of Republican and Early Imperial Hispania. The collection makes it clear that the development of towns following the arrival of Roman armies in 218 B.C.E. was heavily affected by diverse preexisting cultural patterns in what eventually became the Roman

province of Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis. The many native hilltop settlements found across the entire region—some large, like the Celtiberian center Numantia or Iberian Azaila, but the vast majority much smaller and more localized in their horizons—need to be considered alongside the small number of coastal settlements established by immigrants from farther east (e.g., the Phocaeen Greek trading post at Emporion or Punic New Carthage) and those military and eventually civilian sites that owed their origin to the Roman military presence. An instance of the latter is the Roman military base at the highest point of Tarraco that overlooked an Iberian *oppidum* (perhaps Cissis/Kese, which issued silver and bronze coinage during the second and first centuries B.C.E.), located in what became the forum and theater of the Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco, as Ruiz de Arbulo shows in his “Iberian reading” of the eventual Roman provincial capital of Hispania Tarraconensis (33–43); for its later urban development, see Dupré Raventós, ed., *Tarragona: Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco* (Rome 2004). In his contribution on New Carthage (91–104), Ramallo argues for the continuing importance of its Punic foundation throughout the Republican period, not least since the town’s original Punic layout conditioned the later Roman plan.

Much urban development was due to the initiatives of local elites, who had most to gain politically and socially from establishing a clear and loyal relationship with Rome’s political leaders, illustrated most of all in the chapter on Segobriga (185–96), which continues to provide exciting new archaeological and epigraphic discoveries (J.M. Abascal et al., *Segobriga 2007* [Madrid 2008]; J.M. Abascal et al., *ZPE* 161 [2007] 47–60). But developments were distinctly piecemeal and localized; there was no global, unidirectional process of evolution. Competing pro- and anti-Roman loyalties stimulated varying responses at different moments of the conquest process. Violent revolt and resistance followed periods of accommodation. Contributions in this volume rightly emphasize local and contingent factors, arguing against any unilateral process of change. Nicholas Purcell has recently stressed the important role played in the provinces in the Late Republic by *conventus civium Romanorum* (formal associations of Roman citizens), not least for laying the foundations of subsequent urban developments (e.g., in K. Galinsky, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*

[Cambridge 2005] ch. 4). In the Ebro Valley, a mosaic inscription, dating to the last quarter of the second (or start of the first) century B.C.E., from a bath building at the small community of La Cabañeta (province of Teruel) shows that it was set up by freedmen *magistri* of a *conventus civium Romanorum* (*AE* 2001, 1237 = *HEp* 11, 621). Groups of immigrant Romans and Italians were crucial in shaping change at the local level in the late second and first centuries B.C.E.

The reign of Augustus rightly emerges as a significant watershed, when a major reorganization began, to define more clearly the territorial limits of each of the province’s communities (*civitates*), a process crucial to the effectiveness of Roman administration. This was not complete by the time of Augustus’ death, but the broad framework had already been established. In particular, it required the creation of new towns or the development of existing centers, equipped with monumental centers where local elites could demonstrate their loyalty to Rome by adopting Roman architectural styles, Roman practices of self-representation, and a Roman lifestyle, especially in those towns granted privileged status either as colonies of Roman citizens or as *municipia* with Latin rights of citizenship. Even though much developmental impetus came from local elites, this collection reminds us of the roles played by powerful Romans in concert with such local elites: M. Agrippa was patron of New Carthage and Emporiae; Cn. Domitius Calvinus, proconsul in Hispania from 39 to 36 B.C.E., was patron of Tarraco; T. Stilius Taurus, proconsul in Hispania Citerior in 29–28 B.C.E., was patron of Ilici (119–21, fig. 9.4 = *CIL* 2 3556). Recently discovered pedestals from the forum at Segobriga (191) reveal that Augustus’ personal scribe (*scriba*), M. Porcius M.f., and later M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, the father-in-law of Claudius’ daughter Antonia, were patrons at Segobriga. Such patrons often helped by providing financial assistance, skilled personnel, and/or materials for the construction and embellishment of developing urban centers.

Our knowledge of much of this is derived from epigraphy, and the volume rightly places considerable emphasis on inscriptions (both long known and recently discovered). Few regions of the empire have turned up so many valuable inscriptions in the last 25 years. Several from Tarraconensis are discussed here, and some are illustrated, although it is a shame that

references to standard epigraphic repertories such as *L'Année Épigraphique* and *Hispania Epigraphica* are lacking. Among recent discoveries, pride of place must go to the bronze plaque from Ilici (La Alcudia de Elche, province of Alicante) that records the distribution of centuriated land to 10 Roman settlers, possibly veterans, at the Colonia Iulia Ilici Augusta in the Augustan period (121, fig. 9.5 = *AE* 1999, 960 = *HEp* 9, 27). The origins of these colonists are of particular interest, with two drawn from Italy (Praeneste and Vibo), four from Baetica (Ullia, Malaca, Corduba, and Aurelia Carissa), one from the Balearics (if "Balearicus" is an ethnic rather than a more generic geographical cognomen), and three from Icosium in Mauretania, a community formally defined as "contributory"

to Ilici (Plin. *HN* 3.19). Much remains to be said about this important cadastral document (see the poster by O. Olesti and X. Espluga at the 13th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Oxford, September 2007), but it and the many other inscriptions noted in this volume help breathe life and restore some important human activity into the excavated townscapes of Hispania Tarraconensis.

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