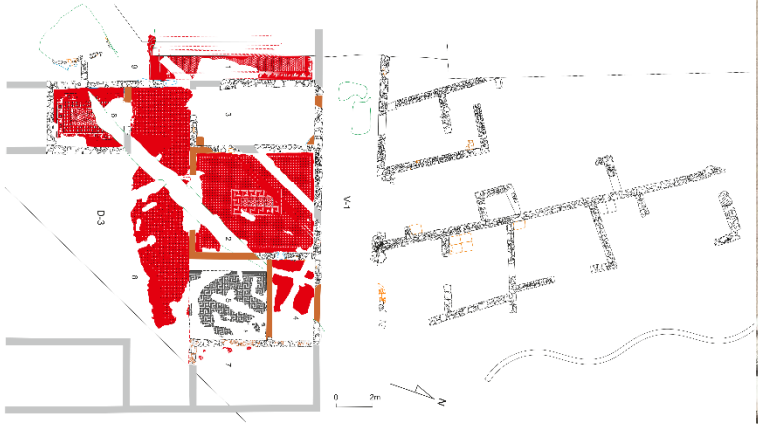
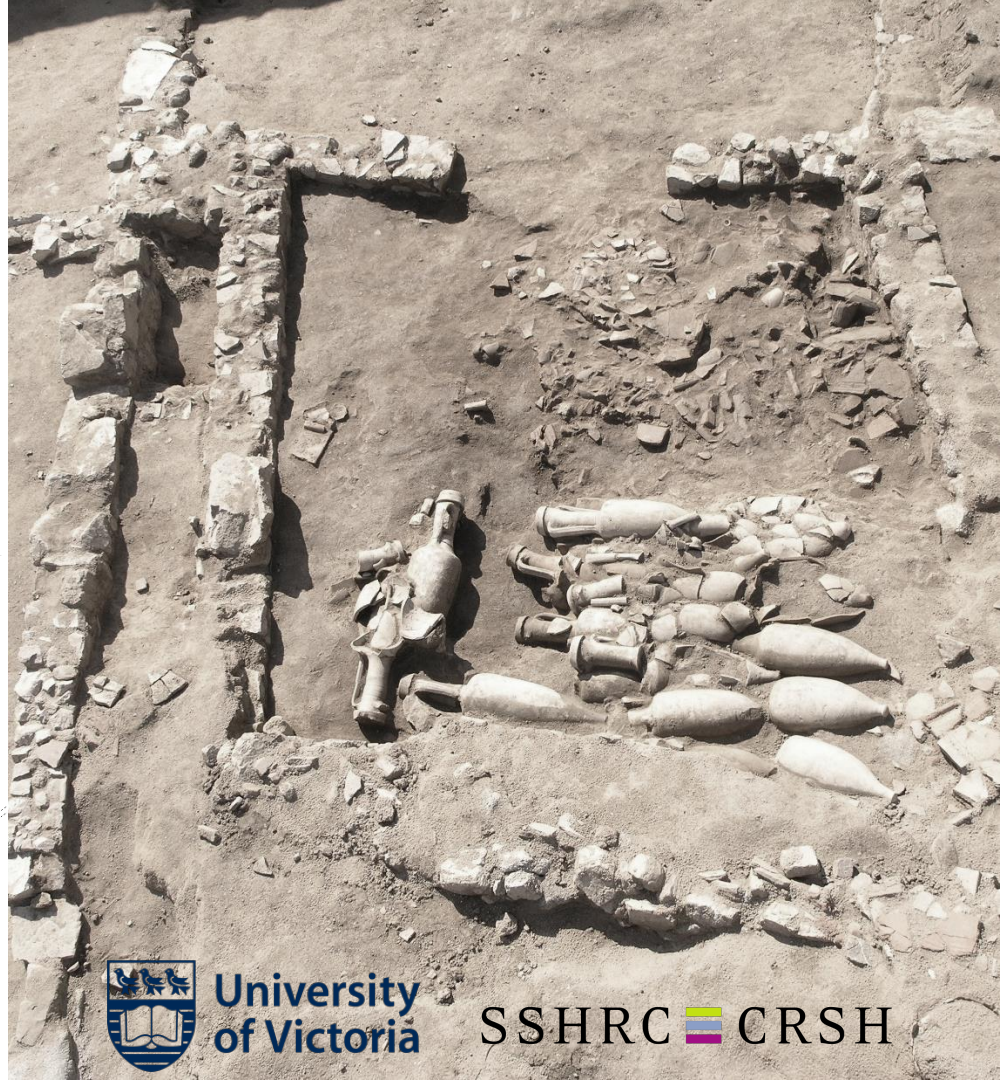
Beyond foundations: social complexity, transformations and diversity in NE Spain during the late Republic



Alejandro G. Sinner
Assistant Professor (University of Victoria)

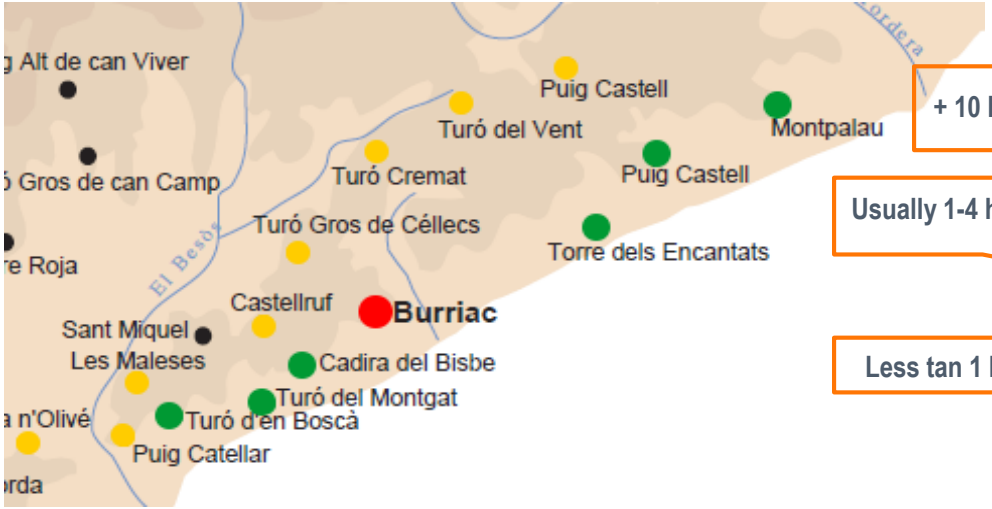


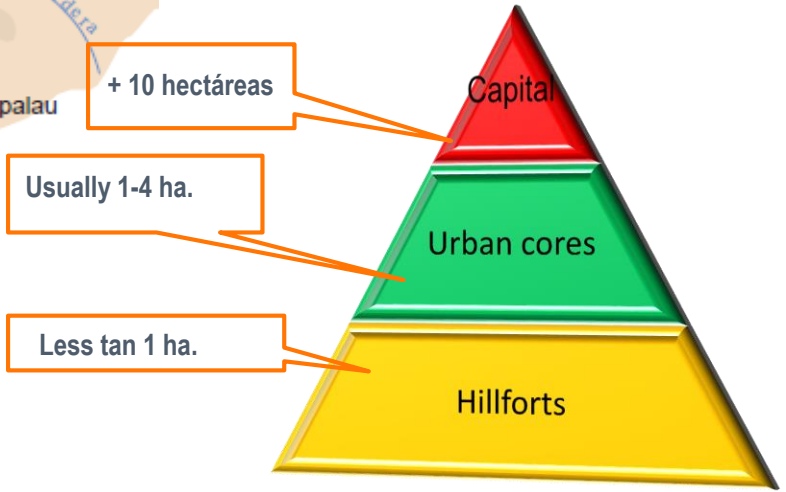
University of Victoria

SSHRC CRSH

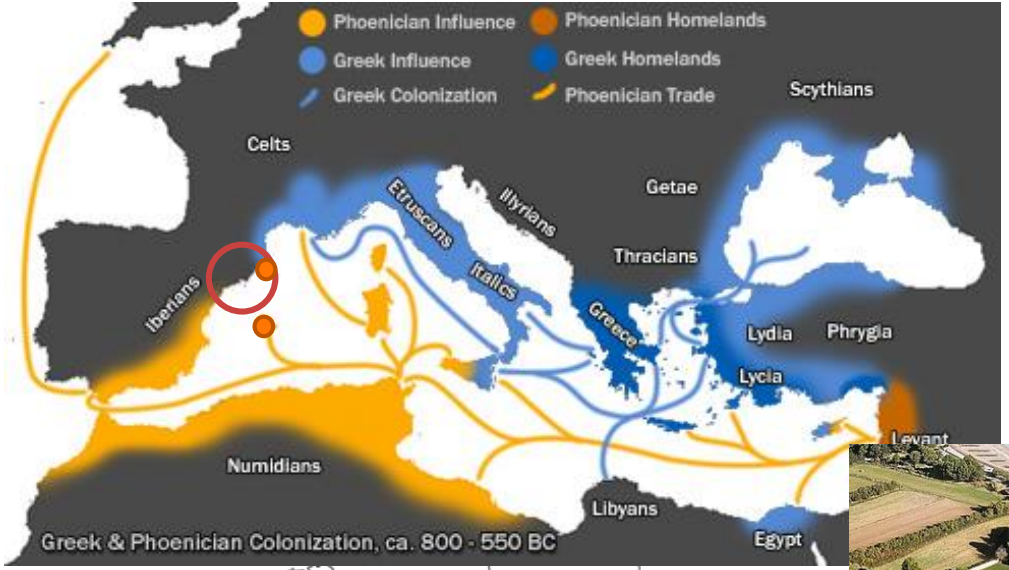
The Iberians (4th-3rd c. BCE)

THE IBERIANS (4TH-3RD C. BCE)





THE IBERIANS (4TH-3RD C. BCE)



SECOND PUNIC WAR

218 – 201 BC

Roman victory

THE CONQUEST

- After the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Iberia (206 BC), and the creation of the Roman provinces of Hispania Citerior and Ulterior (197 BC), **the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula lasted 200 years.**

- During this time, 218 BC – 19 BC, a process of interaction between foreign and natives took place which **slowly ended with what traditionally has been seen as the adoption of the Roman culture by the local populations.**

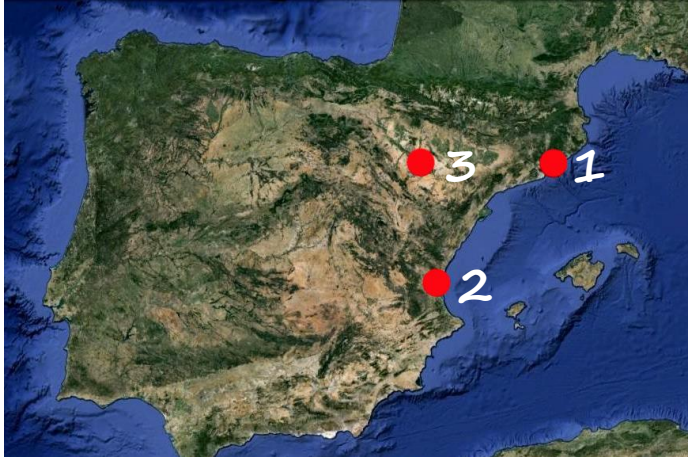
- For a long time this process has been known as **ROMANIZATION**

  One thing in common: **the need of one grand narrative** that explains the aforementioned process of cultural change

  or acculturation
  or hybridization
  or creolization
  or colonization
  and so on…

THE PROBLEM

- The encounter is understood in terms of a **confrontation between social and cultural totalities (Iberian-Roman).**
- **Simplified notion of social complexity and diverse identities as homogeneous entities.**



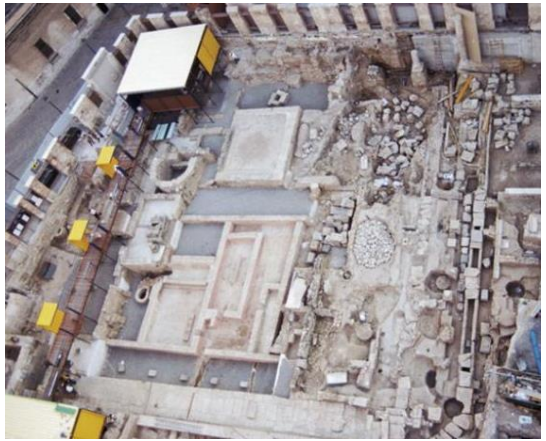
1. Ilduro (Cabrera de Mar)

2. *Valentia* (Valencia)

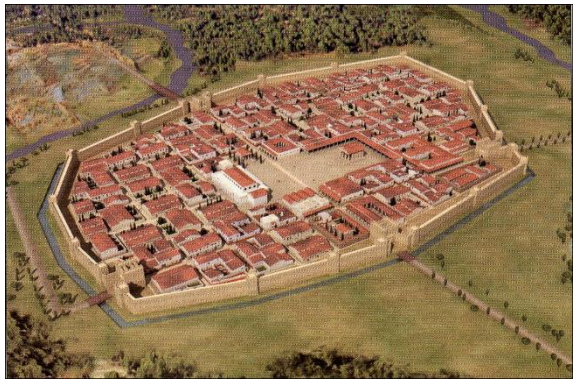
3. La Cabañeta / *Castra Aelia* (El Burgo de Ebro)

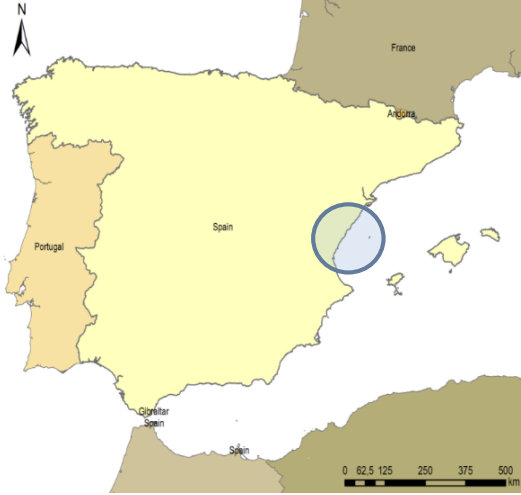
VALENTIA

- **Founded on 138 BCE was destroyed during the Sertorian Wars in the year 75 BCE.**
- **During its first period of existence, *Valentia* was a Latin colony?**
- **Few remains of Republican Valentia have been documented. The baths and the *horreum* are the best preserved ones.**



Reconstruction of the town of Valentia
© SIAM Ajuntament de Valencia

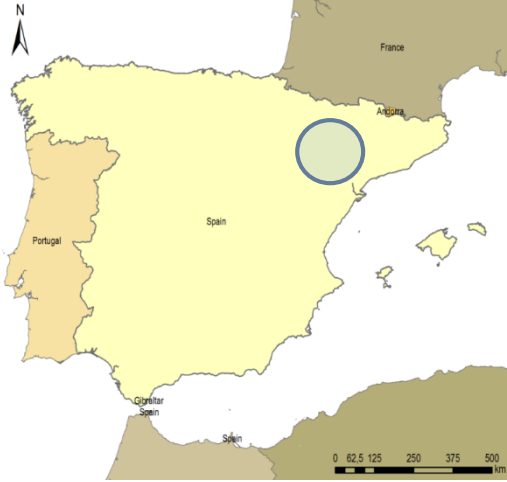




- *Iunius Brutus cos. in Hispania iis qui sub Viriatho militaverant agros et **oppidum dedit, quod vocatum est Valentia.***
  Livy, *Periochae* 55.4
- In Hispania, **consul Junius Brutus gave land and a town, called Valentia, to those who had fought under Viriathus.**

La Cabañeta

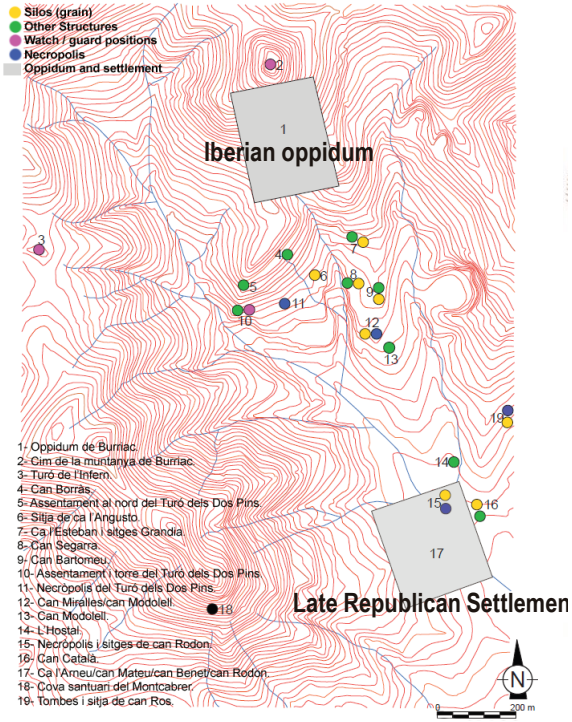
- Founded in the mid 2nd c. BCE was destroyed during the Sertorian Wars.
- It has been suggested that it could be the *oppidum* of *Castra Aelia* cited by Livy (91.3).
- Its urban plan seems to have been orthogonal (grid) and to follow Italic models.
- Excavations have documented baths, residential and industrial areas an *horreum.*

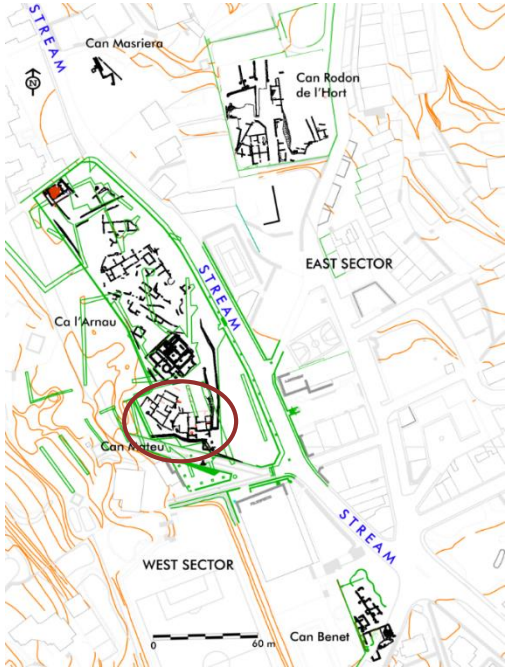


- *Cum magna iactura militum quattuor et quadraginta diebus Contrebia expugnata, relictoque ibi L. Insteio cum valido praesidio, ipse ad Hiberum flumen copias adduxit. Ibi hibernaculis secundum* ***oppidum quod Castra Aelia*** *vocatur aedificatis ipse in castris manebat; interdiu conventum sociarum civitatium in oppido agebat.*
- Contrebia was reduced after forty-four days with a large loss of soldiers. Sertorius left Lucius Insteius in the town with a strong garrison, and led his own force to the Ebro River. **There he constructed winter quarters by the town called Camp Aelia, and remained there with his forces;** by day he held a conference in the town of the cities allied with him.

Ilduro

- Political center of the Iberian territory of the Laietani (NE Spain).
- Iberian *oppidum* occupied from the 6th c. BCE to the first half of the 1st c. BCE.
- A late Republican settlement **with marked Italic characteristics** was built at the foot of the Iberian settlement of Burriac during the **second half of the 2nd c. BCE.**
- Both, *oppidum* and Republican settlement were **abandoned in 90/80-70 BCE** once *Iluro* (modern Mataró) was founded *ex novo.*
- **The ancient sources never mentioned Ilduro.**





Late Republican Settlement plan

ILDURO: INTERPRETATION

"…hay suficientes evidencias que permiten relacionar la construcción de este complejo urbanístico con la presencia de gentes provenientes de la Península Itálica, algunas de origen campano. Por el contexto histórico, cabe suponer que alguno de estos personajes, que debían sustentar la autoridad y la representación del poder romano, fueran altos cargos funcionariales de la administración romana, con la misión de organizar y tutelar el proceso de romanización, así como de administrar el territorio y fiscalizarlo."

"…There are enough pieces of evidence to relate the construction of this urban complex with the presence of peoples from the Italian Peninsula, some of whom originated in Campania. From the historical context, we can suppose that some of these individuals, who had to sustain the authority and the representation of Roman power, held high positions within the Roman administration and had as their mission oversight of the process of Romanization, as well as administrating and taxing the territory."

García et. al. (2000: 52).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

- LANGUAGE
- RELIGION AND FUNERARY PRACTICES
- COINAGE
- POTTERY
- URBAN PLANNING
- NEW CONSTRUCTIVE TECHNIQUES AND STYLES

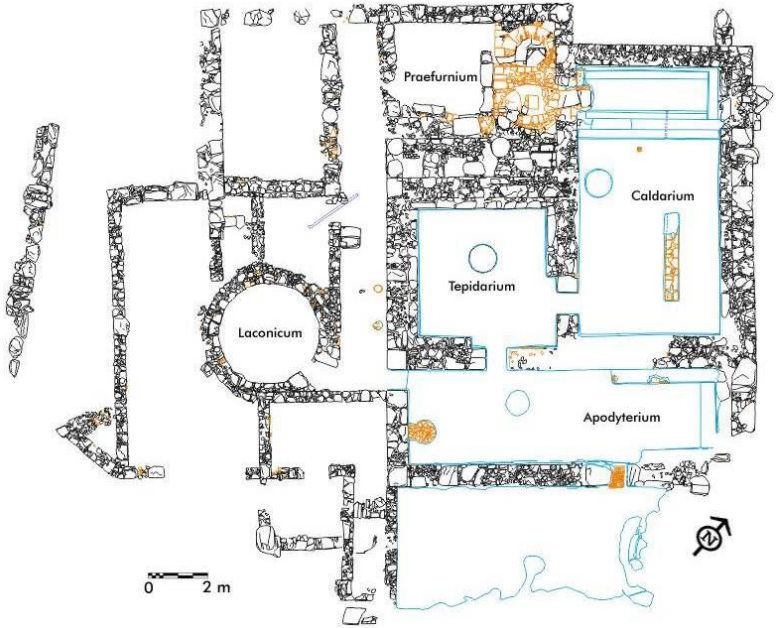
ARCHITECTURE: THE BATHS OF CA L'ARNAU

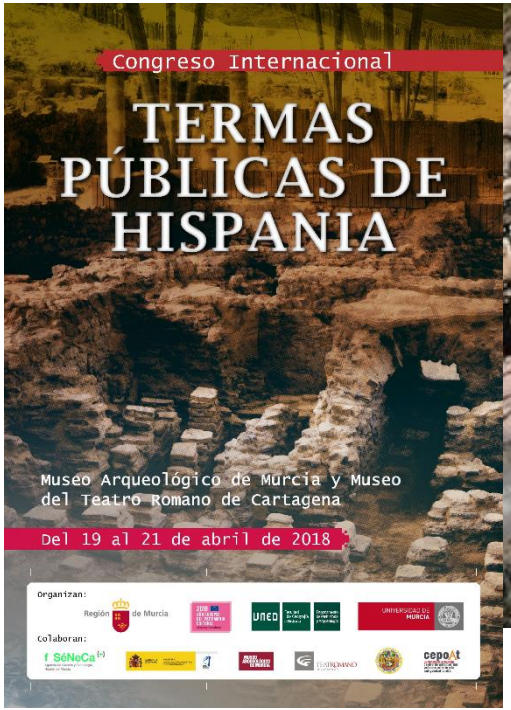
- This complex consisted of **four main rooms: *apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium*** and ***laconicum.***

- **Other rooms with a service function, or related to heating the complex (furnaces, water storage, etc.).**

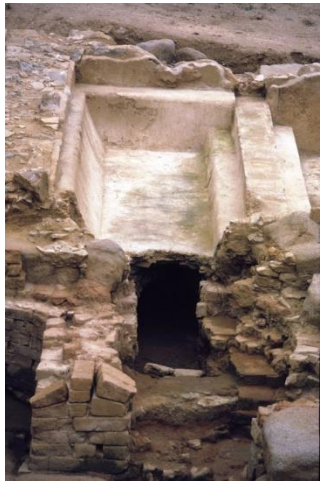
- Especially complex is the construction of the roof of the *caldarium* and the *tepidarium*, which seems to have been **made of tapered *tubuli*, coated inside and outside with lime mortar, and strengthened with a framework of iron rods.**

ARCHITECTURE: THE BATHS OF CA L'ARNAU





Architecture: The Baths of Ca l'Arnau



Baths of *Valentia* (left)
(Images from SIAM)

Baths of Cabrera de Mar
(right)

Same hands?

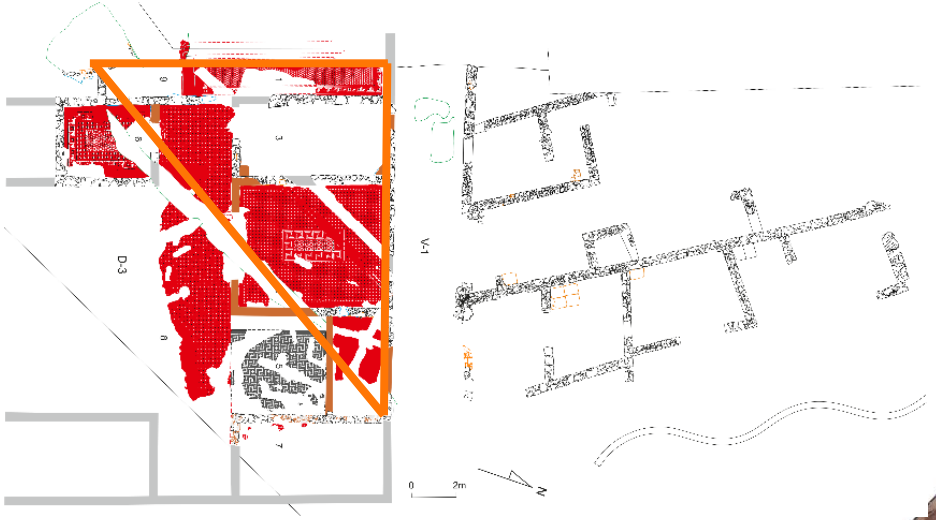
Architecture: The Baths of Ca l'Arnau

North Baths at Morgantina (left), baths of Cabrera de Mar (right)
Similar constructive and technological solutions?

ARCHITECTURE: THE CAN BENET *DOMUS*

- The house has up to **8 rooms totaling more than 200 m2 of built-up surface.**
- **Six of these are paved with *opus signinum*, that incorporate black and white tiles as an ornament.**
- **The scale and complexity of the *domus*, as well as the materials and techniques used in its construction, indicate once again Italic influences.**

ARCHITECTURE: THE CAN BENET *DOMUS*



The Can Benet *domus* plan (A. Martin)

POTTERY: AMPHORAE

Origin	Fragments	%
Italic	5,538	68.58
Punic (total)	1,939	24.01
Ebusan	708	8.77
North African	1,231	15.25
Other imported	598	7.41
Total	8,075	100.00

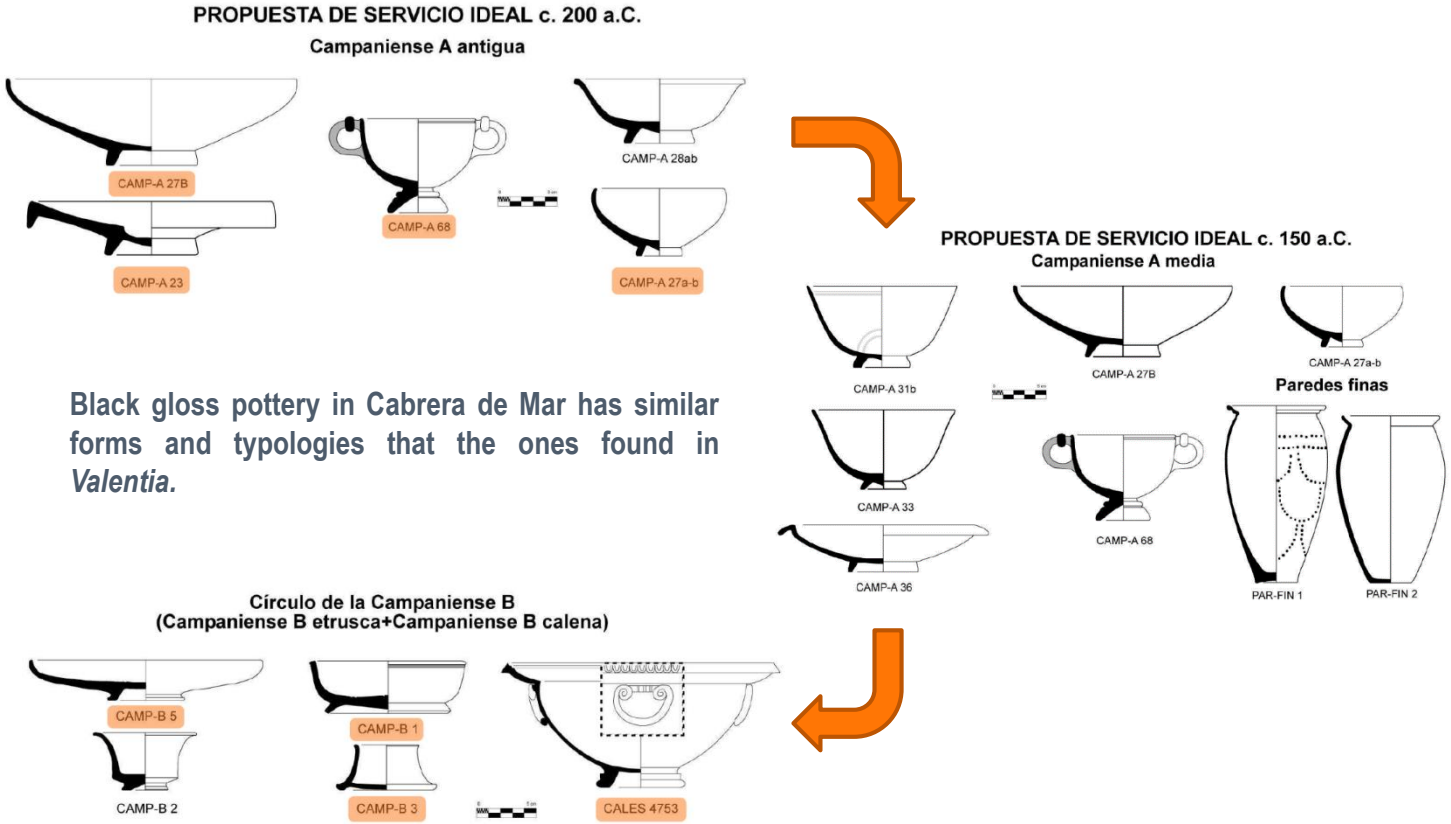
Imported amphorae in the Late Republican settlement during the 150-90/80 BC.

Most amphorae are coming from **the area of Pompeii** (no. 1). Clay no.3 is almost certainly **Campanian** (perhaps from Baia di Napoli); Clay no.2 may be from the area of ***Minturnae***.

1 2 3

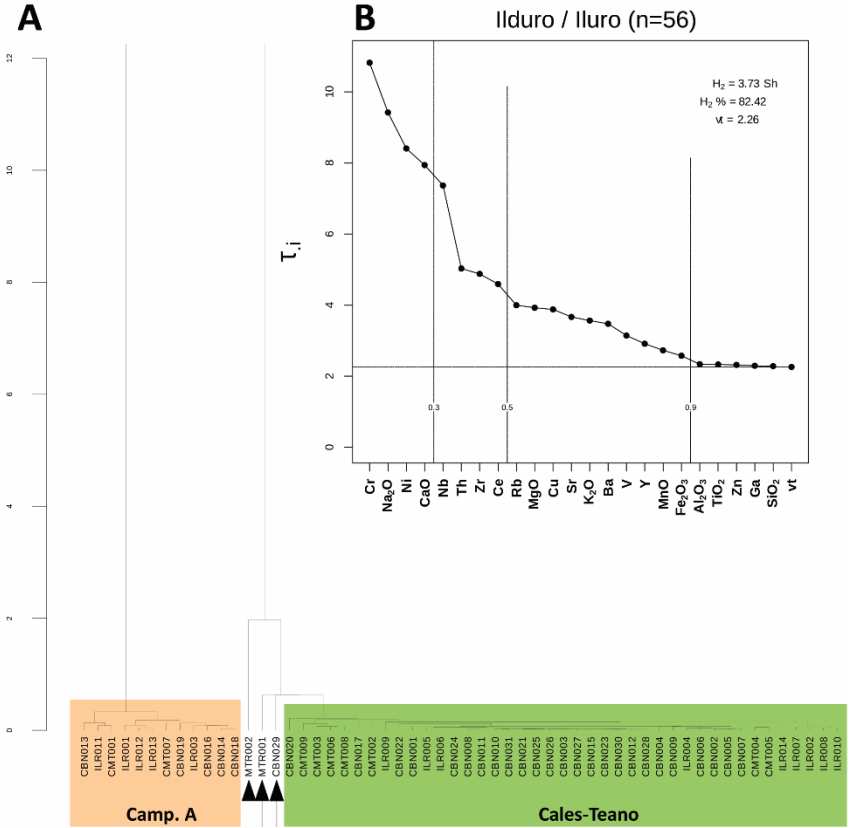
Most usual clays in Cabrera de Mar

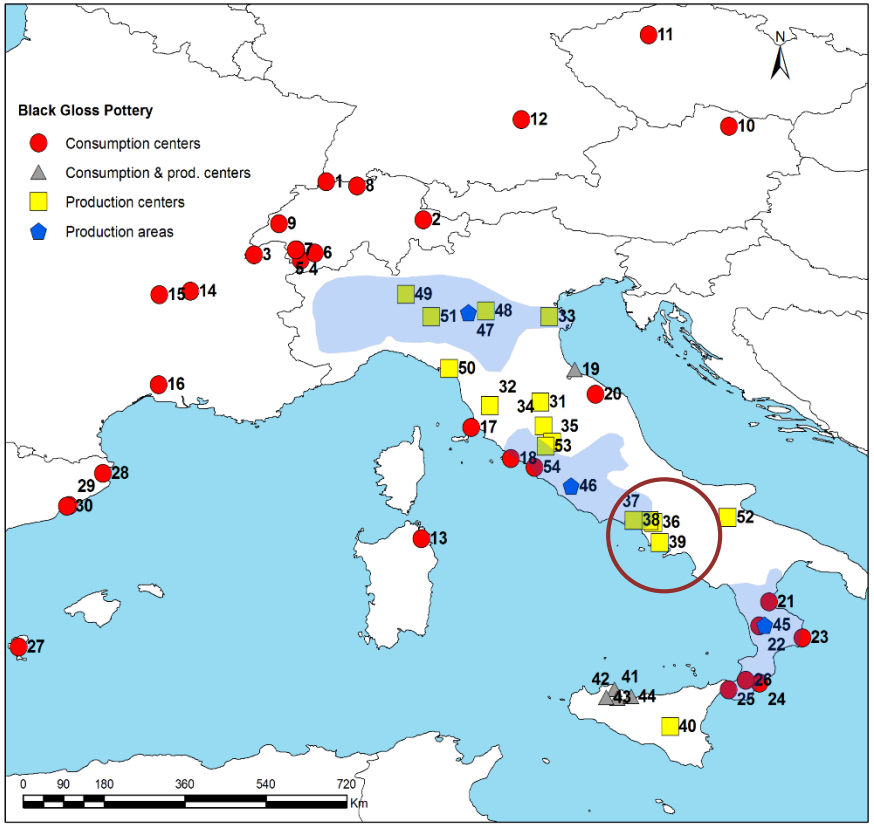
POTTERY: BLACK GLOSS



Black gloss pottery in Cabrera de Mar has similar forms and typologies that the ones found in *Valentia.*

POTTERY: BLACK GLOSS





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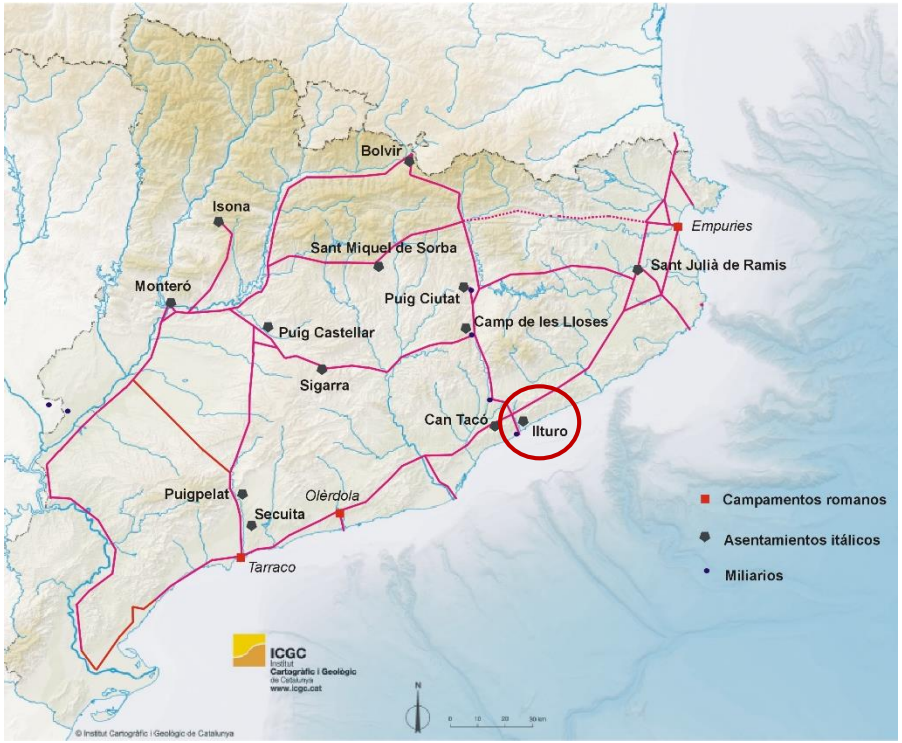
Ilduro is not Alone

- **Ilduro shows an intense phase of cultural and commercial contacts** that took place from at least the second half of the 2nd c. BCE until the sequence of abandonments in the 90s-80s BCE.

- **Connectivity between Ilduro and Italy is a fact.**
  - Should we assume **that mobility is also part of the equation?**

- **Artifacts and architectural styles can easily be incorporated into existing ways of life long before local culture and population changes.**



COINAGE: MINTING

- **Same metal, weight and size but:**
- **Valentia uses Latin, Ilduro Iberian script.**
- **Valentia uses Roman iconography** (head of Roma right / a cornucopia upon a thunderbolt). Inspired by the Roman denarius of Q. Fabius Maximus (RRC 265/1).
- Valentia includes on the obverse of its coins the **name of the magistrates (T. Ahius & L. Trinius) Q(uaestores). Ilduro only the name of the city.**

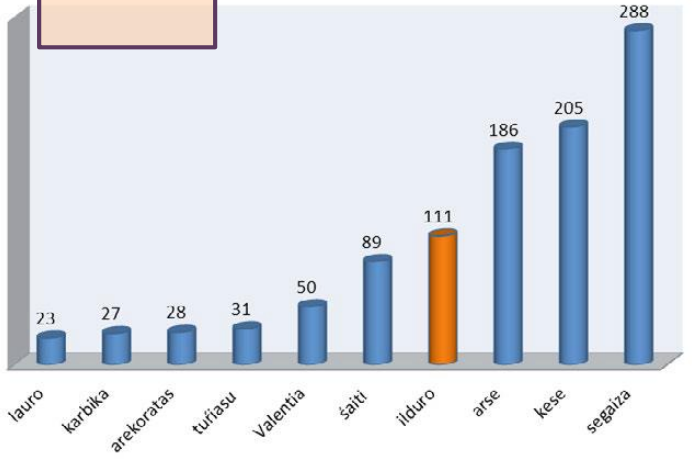
COINAGE: CIRCULATION

Ilduro

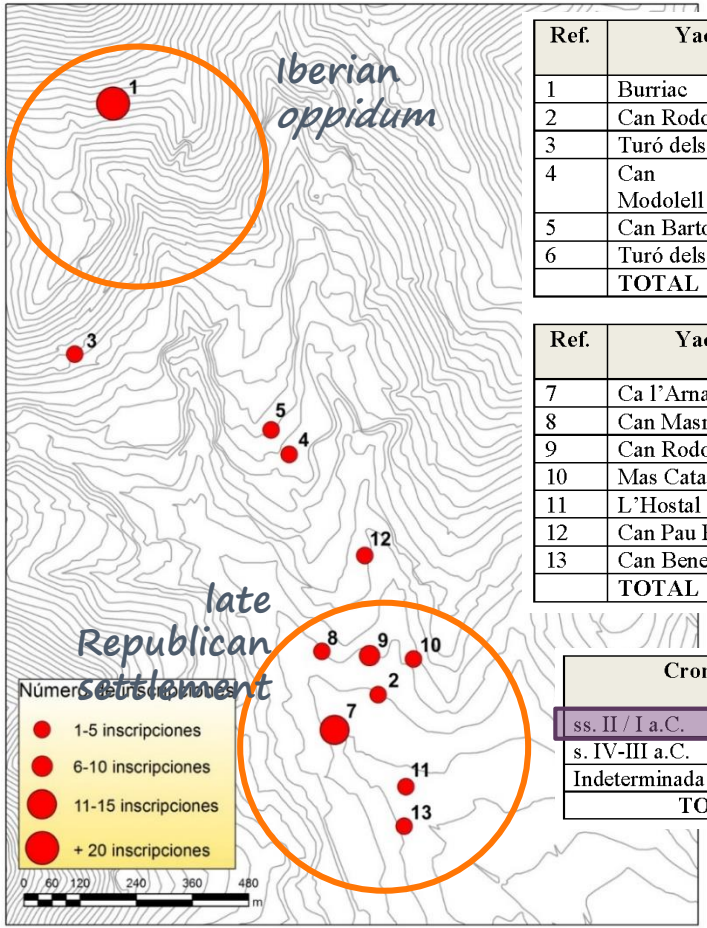
	Denarius	Half Victoriat	As Unit	Trishekel Semis Half	Triens Third	Quadrans Quarter	Uncia Twelfths	TOTALS	
1. Rome	8	1	2		1			12	3.83.%
2. Carthage			1					1	0.32%
3. Gadir			1			1		2	0.64%
4. Ebusus				5		6		11	3.52%
5. Massalia						9		9	2.87%
6. Catalauni						1		1	0.32%
7. neronken			3					3	0.96%
8. baetarrae			2					2	0.64%
9. undikesken			7	1				8	2.56%
10. kese			22	8		8	1	39	12.46%
11. ildiŕda	1		4	2		1		8	2.56%
12. ildiŕgesken			13	9				22	7.03%
13. auśesken			32	2				34	10.86%
14. euśti			2	1				3	0.96%
15. ore			6					6	1.92%
16. laieśken			11	1				12	3.84%
17. ilduro			64	3	8	10		85	27.16%
18. lauro			8	3				11	3.52%
19. baitolo			6			1	1	8	2.56%
20. ieśo			1					1	0.32%
21. abaŕildur							1	1	0.32%
22. kelse			2					2	0.64%
23. sedeisken			1					1	0.32%
24. bolśken	4		6		1			11	3.52%
25. belikiom			1					1	0.32%
26. kaiskata			1					1	0.32%
27. k. Karbika			1					1	0.32%
28. segeiza			1					1	0.32%
29. arse / Saguntum			3			5		8	2.56%
30. Valentia				1				1	0.32%
31. ikalensken			2					2	0.64%
32. Castulo				1				1	0.32%
33. Corduba						1		1	0.32%
34. Carteia					1			1	0.32%
Andalusian imitative semis				1				1	0.32%
35. Dionysus /panther						1		1	0.32%
TOTALS	13	1	203	38	11	44	3	313	
	4.15%	0.32%	64.85%	12.14 %	3.51%	14.06%	0.96%		

Valentia

	denario	as/unidad	semis	triens	cuadrante	octavo	sext.	uncia	ae	total	%
Roma	4	20		4	5	6		1	1	41	27,89
Roma (imit.)				1						1	0,68
Ausesken		1								1	0,68
Kese		2		2						4	2,72
Arse		1				40	21			62	42,17
Valentia		9		4						13	8,84
Saiti		6				2				8	5,44
Ikalesken		1								1	0,68
Lakine		2								2	1,36
Kelse		1								1	0,68
Ilturo		1								1	0,68
Iltirta		1								1	0,68
Sesars		1								1	0,68
Bolskan	1									1	0,68
Sekaisa		1								1	0,68



LANGUAGE: INSCRIPTIONS

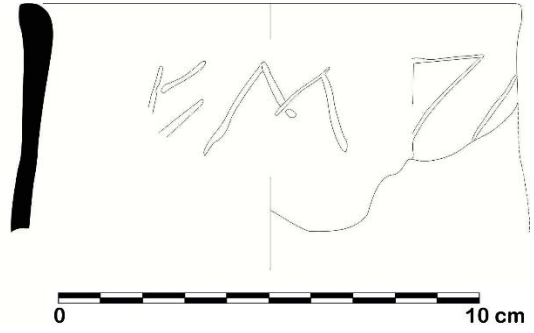


Ref.	Yacimiento	nº Inscr.	>1 signo	1 signo	Marcas Ind.
1	Burriac	22	13	9	
2	Can Rodon (necròpoli)	4	3	1	
3	Turó dels dos Pins	2	2	0	
4	Can Miralles-Can Modolell	2	1	0	1
5	Can Bartomeu	3	3	0	
6	Turó dels Oriols	1	1	0	
	TOTAL	**34**	**23**	**10**	**1**

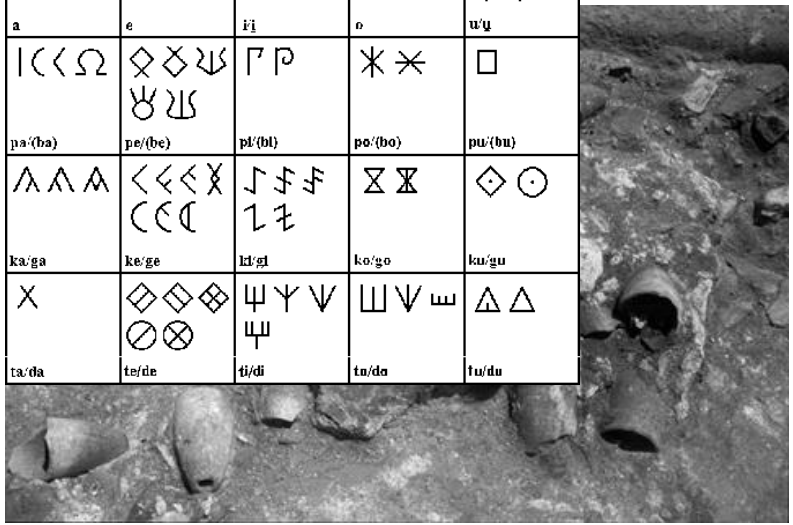
Ref.	Yacimiento	nº Inscr.	>1 signo	1 signo	Marcas Ind.
7	Ca l'Arnau-Can Mateu	11	6	4	1
8	Can Masriera	3	1	2	
9	Can Rodon	9	4	5	
10	Mas Català	3	2	1	
11	L'Hostal	4	2	2	
12	Can Pau Ferrer	1	1	0	
13	Can Benet	1	0	1	
	TOTAL	**32**	**16**	**15**	**1**

Cronología	nº Inscr.	>1 signo	1 signo	Marcas Ind.
ss. II / I a.C.	54	31	22	1
s. IV-III a.C.	6	5	1	
Indeterminada	6	3	2	1
TOTAL	**66**	**39**	**25**	**2**

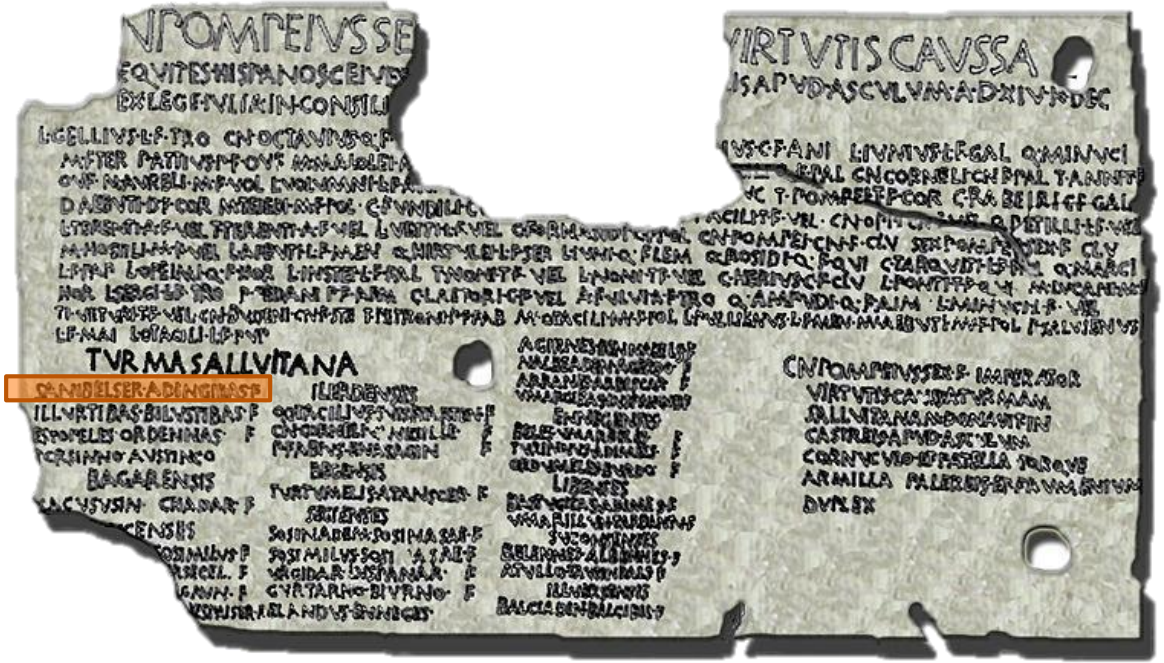
LANGUAGE: INSCRIPTIONS



The Northeast Iberian Script				
		l	m	m̄
n	r	ŕ	s	ś
a	e	i/į	o	u/ų
pa/(ba)	pe/(be)	pl/(bl)	po/(bo)	pu/(bu)
ka/ga	ke/ge	kl/gl	ko/go	ku/gu
ta/da	te/de	ti/di	to/do	tu/du



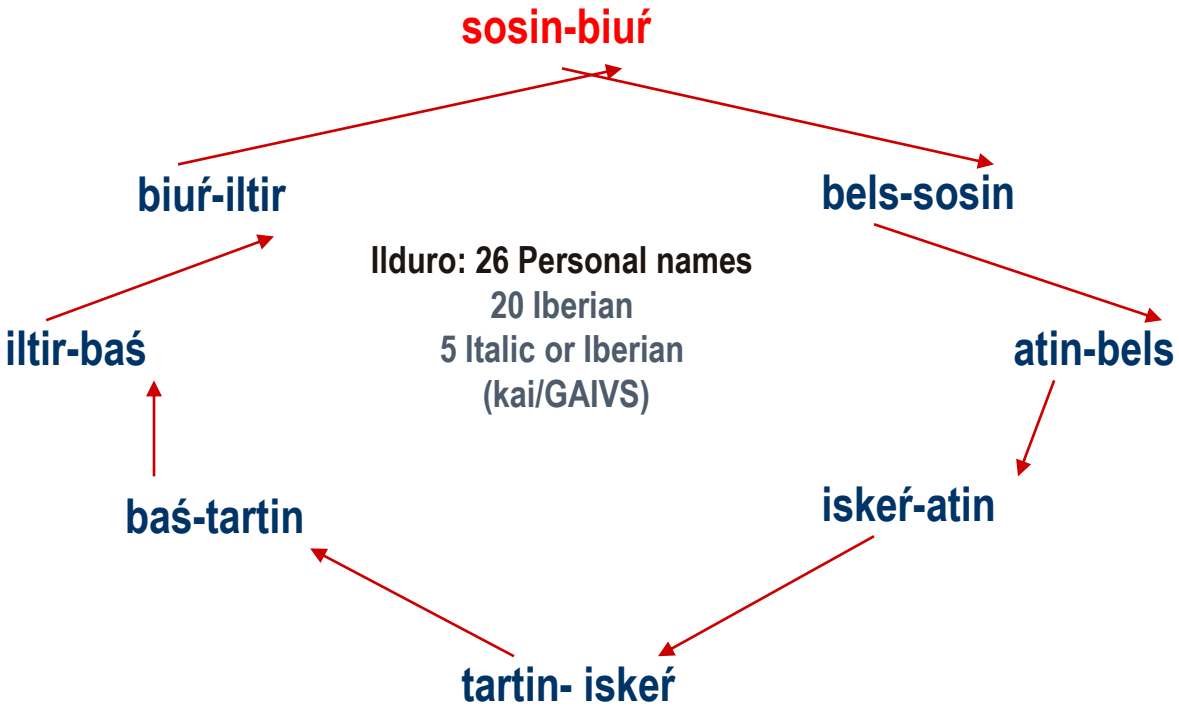
LANGUAGE: ONOMASTICS



1. Sanibelser Adingibas f(ilius)
2. Balciadin Balcibil f(ilius)

1. Sani-belser
2. balci-adin / adin-gibas

LANGUAGE: ONOMASTICS



abaŕ, aibe, ailur, ain, aiun, aker, albe, aloŕ, an, anaŕ, aŕbi, aŕkis, aŕs, asai, aste, atan, atin, atun, auŕ, austin, baise, balaŕ, balke, bartaś, baś, bas, bastok, bei, bekon, belauŕ, beleś, bels, bene, beŕi, beron, betaŕ, betin, bikir, bilos, bin, bir, bitu, biuŕ, bolai, boton, ekes, eler, ena, esto, eten, iur, iar, iaun, ibeis, ike, ikoŕ, iltiŕ, iltur, inte, isker, istan, kaisur, kakeŕ, kaltuŕ, kani, kaŕko, keŕe, keŕtu, kibas, kine, kitaŕ, kon, koŕś, koro, kuleś, kurtar, lakeŕ, lako, lauŕ, leis, lor, lusban, nalbe, neitin, neŕse, nes, niś, nios, oŕtin, sakaŕ, sakin, saltu, śani, seken, selki, sike, sili, sine, sir, soket, sor, sosin, suise, taker, talsku, tan, tanek, taneś, taŕ, tarban, taŕtin…

LANGUAGE: INSCRIPTIONS

Valentia

Iberian	Latin	Greek	Indet.	TOTAL
7	18	3? (1 sure)	6	34

C(aius) LVCIENVS - C(aius) MVNIVS
T(itus) AHI(us) T(iti) F(ilius) - L(ucius) TRINI(us) L(ucii) F(ilius)
L(ucius) CORANI(us) - C(aius) NVMI(us)

→ **Local elite in Valentia from Italy, probably Samnites.**

La Cabañeta

Ibéricos	Latinos	Griegos	Signos	Indeterminados	TOTAL
14 19,6%	22 44%	2 4%	8 16%	4 8%	50 %

TERMAS	Ibéricos	Latinos	Griegos	Signos	Indeterminados	TOTAL
	4 36,3%	3 27,3%	0 0%	2 18,2%	2 18,2%	11 %
E. CONST.	**Ibéricos**	**Latinos**	**Griegos**	**Signos**	**Indeterminados**	**TOTAL**
	8 32%	10 40%	2 8%	4 16%	1 4%	25 %
HORREA	**Ibéricos**	**Latinos**	**Griegos**	**Signos**	**Indeterminados**	**TOTAL**
	1 14,3%	5 71,4%	0 0%	1 14,3%	0 0%	11 %

LANGUAGE: INSCRIPTIONS

AE 2001, 1237

Lectura propuesta

[....]ṇḌILIVS·L·L·ḶICINVS·P·MANILIVS·C·L·[---]
[---]I Ṛ[.]VS·MAGISṬREIS·ARAM·PAVIMEN[.]V
Ç[...]A[.]PERE·TECTORIO·FACIENDV·CURA[.]+Ẹ
4 uac. + +

[L(ucius)? Sca?]ṇḍilius L(uci) ḷ(ibertus) Licinus,
P(ublius) Manilius C(ai) l(ibertus) [---]
[---]i ṛ[.]us, magistṛeis, aram, pauimeṇ[t]u(m)
ç[ell?]a, [o]pere tectori o faciendu(m) cura [u]ẹ-
4 uac ṛẹ?.

***Traducción**: Los «maestres» [Lucio? Esca?]ndilio Licino, liberto de Lucius y Publio Manilio [---] r[.]o, liberto de **Cay**o se encargaron de que fueran erigidos el ara, el pavimento en la cella?, junto con el enlucido.*

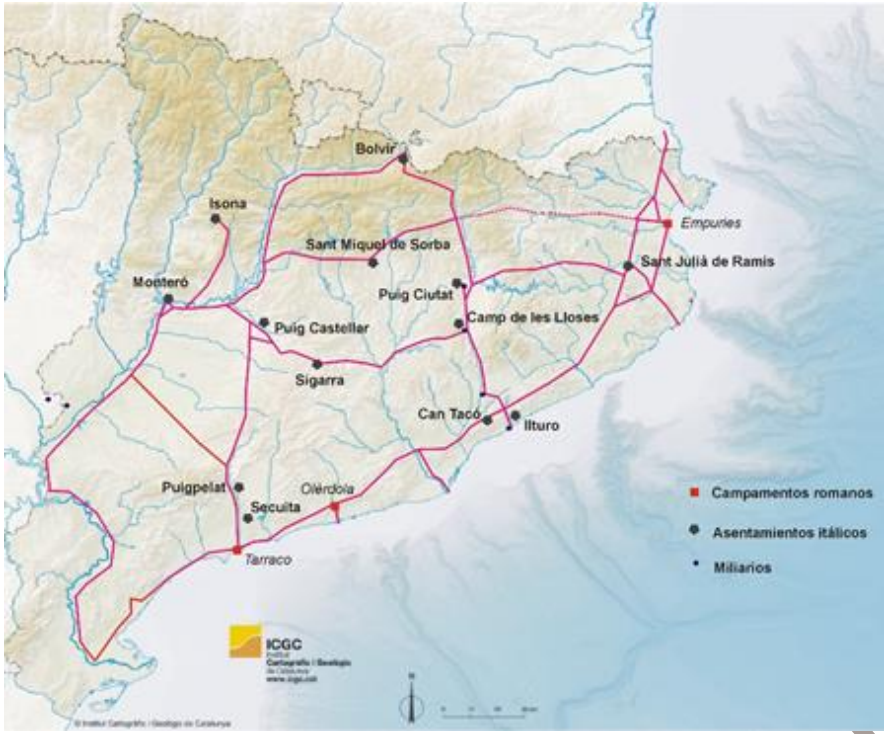
Ferreruela et. al. (2003: 222)

Final Remarks

- Our three case studies have **different social realities.**

- **Ilduro and la Cabañeta, however,** have been defined as **'Italic settlements'.**
    - **As many others...**

- Are we sure that **each household in Ilduro (or in any of these 'Italic' settlements) responds to the same social and cultural reality?**
    - **Certainly not in la Cabañeta or Valentia.**



University of Victoria

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