'Liquid spaces' in NE Hispania Citerior during the Mid-Republican period: Introducing a new reality∗

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Introduction

During the period between the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) and the outbreak of the Sertorian War (82 BC), the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula experienced the emergence of a new reality deriving from the contacts between the Roman occupation forces and the indigenous communities. After a period of war stress and rebellion, ultimately suppressed by Cato in north-east Iberia (195 BC) (Liv. 34.13.4-16.7; 35.9.6; App. *Hisp*. 39-40; Zon. 9.17), the new native elites emerging as a result of — or thanks to — the conflict chose to embrace the Roman cause. However, Rome's military conquest of the peninsula did not imply the imposition of a new cultural hegemony. Without a well-defined foreign policy, Rome showed no interest in directly undertaking the organisation and administration of the vanquished during the Mid-Republican period (e.g. Ñaco del Hoyo 2006: 81-103). On the contrary, it limited itself to currying the favour of the local elites in order to retain political control over the newly conquered territories through them. This lack of definition gave rise to 'liquid realities' and 'spaces', in which the ruling classes gradually became 'Romanised', but in which Iberian mores and customs not only survived but continued to predominate. An example of this can be seen through the continuation of the Iberian language and its epigraphic evolution (Sinner and Ferrer 2016: 201; Torra 2009: 21).[92]

In the context of the Second Punic War, these native elites (Indiketes, Laietani and Ilergetes), serving their own local and regional interests, backed and fought for one or other of the two Mediterranean superpowers, Rome and Carthage (García-Riaza 2011: 14; Riera and Principal 2015: 53-71). Once the conflict had been brought to a close, those

[92] The Iberian alphabet has been attested in the Roman towns of *Ilduro* (Sinner and Ferrer 2018: 214) and *Iesso* (Pera 2005: 327) during the first half of the first century BC. Furthermore, the rock inscriptions from *Oceja* are of great interest (Ferrer, Olesti and Velaza 2018: 169 – 195).

who were promoted by Rome were not actually assimilated, but participated actively in the creation of a new social order, a 'hybrid' reality that had nothing to do with the previous context nor with other realities emerging in the different areas of expansion of the Roman Republic (Cimadomo 2019: 5). All considered, we are of the opinion that the term 'Romanisation' does not do justice to the realities that were shaped throughout that period. Due to this, and after decades of questioning the concept, a debate that will not be reopened here, we contend that terms like 'liquid spaces' are more adequate in explaining the development of a hybrid society.[93]

Why 'liquid spaces'?

We propose the use of the term 'liquid spaces' to define the first centuries of the Roman conquest of Hispania. In such a volatile atmosphere, the confrontation between distinctive local polities and Rome resulted in their progressive transformation into new spaces and interconnected realities. Thus, space must be an object of study. During the first few centuries of the conquest of Hispania, changes took place in the exploitation and organisation of land and territory. There were changes in architecture, in urban development models, in customs (such as eating habits, Valenzuela and Albarella 2017: 402-409) and in language, etc. In short, a new space was produced and shaped, and gave rise to the birth of a new reality. However, this process did not take place unilaterally, but rather developed as a fluid dialogue in which all the parties (Romans and indigenous people) were involved in influencing the process. Consequently, we are not faced with the imposition of clear and well-defined structures (beyond the political authority of Rome) during this time, and changes in this context of tension were not predictable. There follows a process of continuous flow in which two civilisations interact at different rhythms, giving rise to the emergence of a new and different space. Fortunately, this emerging space left its mark by means of archaeological remains that can be studied today. In this way, we observe that from the second half of the 2nd century BC, there was an emergence of a new hybrid reality; a reality born from war, violence, diplomacy,

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[93] The term 'Romanisation' is a modern concept that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century in colonial contexts. It was then qualified throughout the second half of the twentieth century, detaching itself from the Eurocentric vision and contextualising the idea of civilisation (Woolf 1998: 5). In parallel, there are studies that have given more weight to native societies in this process of (ac)culturation, focusing more on the role of the local elites (Millet 1990: 35-41). In this connection, the research performed by Woolf has gained relevance (Woolf 1997: 339-345). See *Archaeological Dialogues: Romanization 2.0 and its alternatives* (2014).

conquest, trade and, undoubtedly, from the intersection of two different worlds in a context of poorly defined 'liquid spaces'.[94]

The concept of 'liquid' was coined by the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman at the beginning of the twenty-first century in his book *Liquid Times* (2007). According to Bauman, a liquid society makes the aspects of the life of an individual transitory and unstable, in contrast to the fixed structures of the past.[95] Although Bauman employed the concept of 'fluidity' from a temporal perspective, we have chosen to apply it in a spatial ambit, thus generating the new concept of 'liquid spaces'. In other words, they were spaces in which individuals with different cultural realities coexisted simultaneously and in which that coexistence gave rise to a process of cultural hybridism. By our reckoning, these concepts offer a much better definition of the dynamic reality of the cultural processes discussed here. Accordingly, between 218 and 82/72 BC, there was a prolonged process of interaction and adaptation, of fluidity, continuity and change in undefined spaces. To our mind, that 'fluidity', far removed from a policy of homogenisation, resulted in a reciprocal process in which, just as Iberian traditions and material culture influenced the Italic-Romans present in the region, so too did Italic culture leave its mark on the native societies, thus spawning a new identity.

Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to analyse the consequences of this ambiguous policy implemented by Republican Rome in the northeast of Hispania Citerior, specifically in the territories of the Indiketes and the Laietani in the period between 218 and 82/72 BC. In light of this complex scenario, and following in the footsteps of previous research that has seen an enormous impact on the area under study here (e.g. Burch *et al.* 2010: 90-110; Nolla *et al.* 2010; Olesti 2010: 11-59; Garcia-Roselló 2017), we have decided to divide the period between the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) and the Sertorian War (82 - 72 BC) into three major stages, of which we will examine the first two. Each stage is characterised by substantial changes that marked a turning point in the region. The first stage, corresponding to the Second Punic War and the native

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[94] Certainly, contacts in the area began in the previous centuries with the establishment of Greek colonies or even with the landing of Rome in the context of the Second Punic War. However, it is from the second half of the second century BC that these contacts widen. Space as an object of study finds its roots in academics such as Foucault and Lefebvre. The current paradigm claims space as a 'critical analytical tool for understanding the development and behaviour of societies.' We believe that it is a critical theoretical framework that allows us to study processes of the past in an innovative and critical way (Lefebvre 1974: 431-451). On ancient spaces it is vitally important to quote the work published by Fabre (1997) 'Organisation des Espaces Antiques'.

[4] 'The secession of the new elite (locally settled, but globally oriented and only loosely attached to its place of settlement) from its past engagement with the local populace, and the resulting spiritual/communication gap between the living/lived spaces of those who have seceded and those who have been left behind, are arguably the most seminal of the social, cultural and political departures associated with the passage from the "solid" to the "liquid" stage of modernity' (Bauman 2007: 78-79).

rebellion (218-195 BC), would have been characterised by 'war stress' (Ñaco del Hoyo 2003: 127-142; Ñaco del Hoyo 2006: 81-103). The second, much better known stage ran from 195 BC to the first third of the first century BC, a moment of 'hybridisation'. This was due to the fact that it coincided with the appearance of these new realities resulting from Rome's daily contact with the indigenous communities, following its decision to remain in the peninsula.
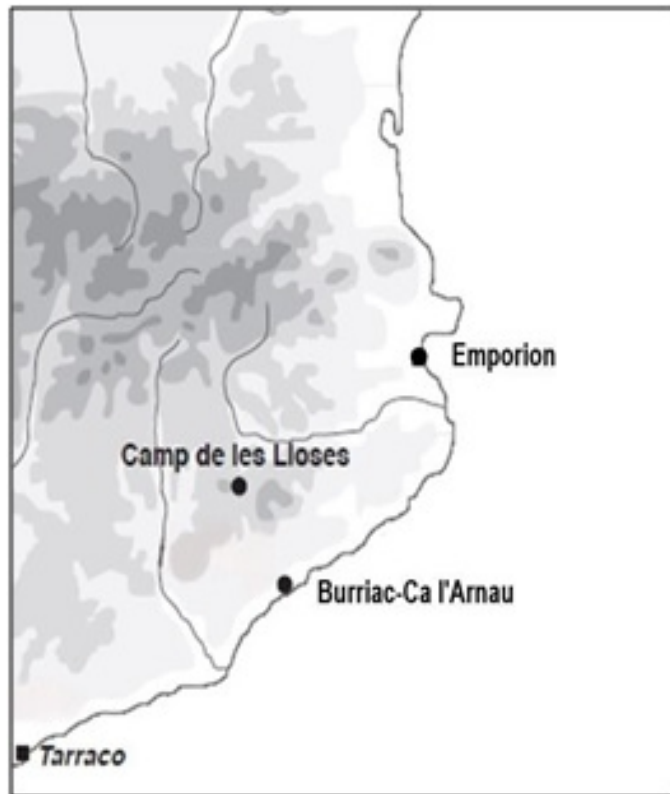
(Map showing site locations)

Specifically, for analysing this second stage on the basis of the archaeological record, we have selected three sites conforming the northeast of Hispania Citerior due to their coastal or inland location: Emporion, a trading port of Greek origin and the place where the Romans first disembarked; Burriac-Ca l'Arnau, a native settlement and sector of a much larger Roman Republican site with Italic characteristics located close to the coast; and Tona-Camp de les Lloses, an inland enclave connecting the north-eastern Mediterranean seaboard with the interior and the Pyrenees. Lastly, we are of the opinion that this (a)symmetrical relationship of hybridism between both cultures prevailed until the outbreak of the Sertorian War, after which Rome decided to introduce changes in the way it had hitherto organised and administered the Hispanic provinces, putting a greater effort into planning, which ultimately led to the palpable imposition of Roman mores and customs and to the founding of new cities.

First stage. On the brink of war (218-195 BC): connectivity and *stasis* in 'liquid spaces'

Since the publication of works such as P. Horden and N. Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000), M. Pitts and M. J. Versluys' (eds.) *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (2015) and, more recently, P. Horden and N. Purcell's *The Boundless Sea. Writing Mediterranean history* (2020), the ancient Mediterranean has been understood as a 'global' and interconnected space. In this respect, the accent has been placed on international relations theory, which has attempted to analyse the historical phenomena occurring in the ancient Mediterranean from different approaches, the theories of A. Eckstein (2006) and Paul Burton (2011) standing out among those posited by historians of antiquity. The former understands the Mediterranean as a holistic system comprising different states that acted according to a series of general maxims or principles. Thus, each state would have attempted to guarantee its survival by vying with the rest of the polities for hegemony. Qualifying the foregoing, Burton defends the hypothesis according to which those states were not abstract or uniform 'bodies' with their own decision-making power, but were formed by groups of individuals who influenced the political orientation of their respective communities. In short, these polities did not act according to fundamental laws, but on the strength of the decisions made by those comprising them. All of which introduces emotional and psychological factors into the analysis, given that they had a decisive impact on their attitudes and behaviours. This last point is of utmost importance, for it helps us to understand many of the policies implemented by the peninsula's indigenous communities before the Romans disembarked there.

With the arrival of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio in the Greek city of Emporion in the context of the Second Punic War (Polyb. 3.76.1-4; Liv. 21.60.2-4; 25.36.14; 28.39.3-4; Flor. 1.33.3-6; Zonar. 8.23), the conflict between Rome and Carthage became global, for it involved a group of minor polities that backed or fought for one or other of the two superpowers. For their part, merchants, slave traders, pirates and mercenaries, among others, acted as intermediaries, connecting these different centres in a context of war stress. It should be recalled that Rome encountered an amalgamation of territories formed by diverse groups; to wit, 'liquid spaces' in which the reactions of the different native communities, exacerbated by their political, social and ethnic idiosyncrasies, were never consistent. Furthermore, those who collaborated with Rome or, on the contrary, with Carthage, did so with their own local and regional interests in mind (García-Riaza 2011: 14; Riera and Principal 2015: 63-65). The Ilergetes are probably the most paradigmatic example of this policy during the Second Punic War in Iberia. Always depending on the group or faction wielding power in the community at a given moment, they remained in the orbit of the two warring superpowers. Consequently, the internal

political transformations in their society led to a tangible shift in their foreign policy. It should be noted, however, that the proximity of the Ilergetes one or other power did not necessarily have to do with a true desire to gain their friendship or to submit to their will. On the contrary, that policy was implemented by one or other faction with the aim of imposing its own power and will on the rest of the community (Riera and Principal 2015: 53-71). At the end of the war (202 BC), Rome decided to incorporate Iberia into its empire with the creation of two new provinces in 197 BC (Liv. 32.27.6). This, together with the demands deriving from the upkeep of the Roman armies deployed there, drove the native communities to take up arms against the invaders, which obliged the Republic to dispatch the consul Cato to the peninsula to suppress the rebellion in 195 BC (Liv. 34.8.4-7; 34.9.1-13.3; Plin. *NH*. 14.91; Front. 4.7.31; App. 6.39-41; Zon. 9.17).

Second stage. Nothing new under the sun? (195-82/72 BC)

With the defeat of the rebellious tribes in 195 BC and the consolidation of Roman power on the north-eastern seaboard of Hispania, a slow and fluctuating process of hybridisation got underway. As already noted, this did not signify the birth of a new world with well-defined spaces and frontiers. Quite to the contrary, it was a 'liquid space' in which disparate polities coexisted, with different legal statuses, which maintained economic, social and political relations of a diverse nature. During this initial stage, the Roman Republic was not tempted to subjugate the territory as a whole but made do with establishing its authority through bilateral relations based on the *deditiones* between the native elites and the ultimate Roman authorities *in situ*, whether they were (pro)consuls or (pro)praetors. All were given plenty of leeway when brokering agreements (Eckstein 1987; García-Riaza 2011: 39; Sánchez 2011: 97-105).

Although the testimonies describing this process are thin on the ground in the ancient sources, there is archaeological evidence pointing to a prolonged, fluctuating process (Roymans and Fernández-Götz 2019: 419). From an archaeological point of view, there is very little information with which to flesh out a description of the first stage (218-195 BC). However, as of 195 BC the archaeological record provides direct evidence of a stage characterised by the destruction and abandonment of Iberian settlements, the most paradigmatic case in the northeast of Hispania Citerior being the abandonment of the *oppidum* of Ullastret, close to Emporion.[96] We also observe the abandonment of

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[96] Because of its importance, the Ullastret site seems to have been the political and social core of the Indiketes. In the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, a solid example of this is the theoretically peaceful abandonment of the settlements of

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many *oppida* in the Laietan area, especially those situated in the interior zones, leaving the coastal *oppida* without the defenses protecting them from the interior (Garcia and Zamora 2006: 232-234).[97] Equally important is the destruction of the *oppidum* at Castellet de Banyoles (Tivissa), which dated back to the beginning of the 2nd century and, according to archaeologists, was destroyed in the context of a Roman siege (Noguera *et al.* 2011: 241). The problem lies in the difficulty to specify chronologically the moment of destruction and whether this was in the context of the Second Punic War or during the Campaign of Cato the Elder in 195 BC.

There is an important lack of archaeological data that dates from between 195 to c. 150 BC.[98] Be that as it may, the suppression of the native rebellion in 195 BC did not by any means signify the disappearance of Iberian settlements (Sanmartí and Santacana 2005: 183-194; Nolla *et al.* 2010: 31-34). Subsequently, during the last half of the second century BC, new characteristically Italic settlements and constructions gradually appeared, accompanied by a stage during which spaces were monumentalised. These included, for example, the building of a new Roman fortification to the south of the Neapolis of Emporion (Castanyer *et al.* 2015: 109-125), plus Italic-style temples and sanctuaries, such as the Italic temple built in the Iberian *oppidum* of Sant Julià de Ramis, close to Girona, in the 120s BC. In this last case, the pseudoperipteral building features a combination of Ionic entablature with columns of a Tuscan order, thus evincing a Greek influence and reinterpretation of the oriental forms adopted after Rome's conquests in the eastern Adriatic. The many extant granite blocks include one belonging to the floor of the *pronaos* and another from the entrance to the temple, plus a fragment of an architrave and of a frieze, and the tambour of a semi-column (Burch *et al.* 2006: 98-108).

In short, irrespective of the policy implemented by Rome, the truth is that Cato's campaign marked a turning point, owing to the fact that it led to the ultimate imposition of Roman hegemony over the north-eastern seaboard of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as its integration into the political structure of the Republic (Belarte and Principal 2019: 159-170). The new settlements bear witness to the continuity of indigenous traditions,

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Mas Castellar (Pontós, Girona), Puig d'en Rovira (Creueta, Girona), Castell Barri (Calonge, Girona), Puig Castellet (Lloret de Mar, Girona) and Montbarbat (Lloret de Mar, Girona).

[97] At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, in the interior area of Laietania, the abandonment of the following *oppida* was documented: Turó de Ca n'Oliver, Puig Castellar, Turó de les Maleses, *oppidum* de Castellruf, Sant Miquel de Vallromanes, jaciment de Cèllecs i del Turó del Vent (García and Zamora 2006: 233).

[98] It should be noted that sites with a certain continuity have begun to be found at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. This is the case, for example, for the site at Puig del Castell de Samalús-Lauro, in the Laietan area. At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, a new wall was built on top of the previous one, and the unused towers were reoccupied. It has also been possible to document the occupancy of the site's hill area at this same stage (Guàrdia 2019: 96-97).

such as their location in elevated areas and their adaptation to the lie of the land. For instance, the site of Turó Rodó (Lloret de Mar, Girona) was founded *ex novo* in keeping with the traditions of the Indiketes (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 32). In sum, from the point of view of urban planning and building, nothing akin to what could be called 'romanisation' occurred in the north-eastern reaches of the Iberian Peninsula. What indeed can be detected is a two-way process in which both cultures influenced and complemented each other to the same extent. Rather than the substitution of ancient traditions and building techniques, new Italic forms were introduced. This process of 'hybridisation' seems to have been endorsed by the local ruling elites. In other words, during the second century BC the Iberian urban planning model continued to predominate, as with the indigenous mores and customs (Belarte and Principal 2019: 159-170).[99] So as to gain a better understanding of that process we will now examine the three most paradigmatic sites in our area of study: Emporion, Burriac-Ca l'Arnau and Tona-Camp de les Lloses.

Emporion

The Greek city of Emporion (province of Girona) offers an example of a hybrid society formed by Greeks and natives. Thanks to its privileged location in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula and its links to the Phocaean city of Massalia, the city became the springboard for the Roman Republic's struggle against Carthage in Iberia during the Second Punic War and for the peninsula's subsequent conquest (Aquilué 2015: 93-104). Accordingly, the city and the port were transformed into a point of contact between Hispania and Rome, specifically linking the ports of Puteoli and Luna to the peninsula's eastern seaboard. Imports arrived from those ports, including goods, merchandise and men who would subsequently contribute to the growth of Emporion and, in the long run, to change the peninsula's societies once and for all (Belarte *et al.* 2010: 96-108).

After Cato's defeat of the rebellious tribes in 195 BC (Liv. 34.9), Emporion ceases to appear in the written sources until the time of Caesar. Nevertheless, the archaeological record provides interesting evidence of its evolution during the second century BC, up until the founding of the Roman city around c. 80 BC. The material remains attest to the construction of a (so-called) *praesidium* during the suppression of the rebellion, whose

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[99] Sinner and Carrera's recent article on the demography of NE Spain reinforces this statement. They argue that settlement patterns in the Roman period follow pre-Roman ones and that in NE Spain a significant increase in population from the pre-Roman to the Roman period did not take place, because a "decrease in population is visible in urban or proto-urban sites from the Iberian to Roman periods, though there is an increase in the rural densities" (Sinner and Carreras 2019: 302-321).

ultimate aim was to allow Rome to continue its advance southwards in order to pacify the rest of the native communities (Castanyer *et al.* 2015: 109-110). The supportive role that Emporium played for Rome served to consolidate its position as a key port during the second century BC, evidenced by its urban growth, including major renovation works and new constructions (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 36-39).

Nonetheless, the most relevant archaeological evidence is the existence of a stable camp. In this connection, a wall with a width of 2.8 m, running to the west to the point where the city would subsequently be established, has been excavated to the southeast of Neapolis—the Greek city. The material recuperated from the excavation of the wall, which mostly corresponds to local and Campanian A pottery, plus Italic imported amphora (Graeco-Italic and Dressel 1A), allows for dating the camp's construction to the mid-second century BC. This recently discovered wall section connects with the lower levels of the Roman city. As the walled enclosure, belonging to the (so-called) *praesidium*,[100] was located in the centre, it can be assumed that they functioned as one throughout the second century BC. On the north side, the wall ends in the south wall which would subsequently divide the city in two (Castanyer *et.al.* 2015: 118).[101]

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[100] The central space of this major military enclosure corresponds to the so-called *praesidium*, within which the cistern building was located. These pre-existing structures have always been interpreted as belonging to the *praesidium* (Castanyer *et al.* 2015: 119).

[101] Some historians and archaeologists have suggested that the city's division corresponded to that of the populace according to legal status (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 244-266).

(Aerial view of the archaeological site of Emporion with a superimposed plot showing the hypothetical surface area occupied by the 2nd century BC military camp[102]).

This discovery contextualises the Italic-style bath complex discovered outside the south wall of the Greek city and directly links it to the military camp. It can thus be regarded as corresponding to the first stage of the Roman occupation of Emporion, a period marked by its military presence in the vicinity and subsequent troop movements further inland to wage the Celtiberian wars. This doubtless marked the beginning of a new reality and gave rise to the aforementioned process of cultural 'hybridisation'. A unique necropolis, known as Les Corts (Almagro 1953: 251-255), should be associated with this military camp, which confirms and reinforces the hypothesis of a hybridisation process which began to take hold in the northeast of Hispania Citerior during the second century BC. It is a necropolis characterised by a large number of incinerations. More specifically, only one case of interment has been identified, out of c. 500-600 burials, which has been related to the remains of a Gaulish mercenary.

The presence of weapons in many of these individual burials is significant. Three Montefortino-type helmets, coming from Northern Italy, three swords, two shield bosses and catapult missiles have been documented, plus Italic pottery depicting female and animal images. In the collective tombs, for their part, the grave goods are intrinsically

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[102] Image from Tremoleda *et al.* 2016: 64.

Iberian, including the remains of pottery produced on the coast. Nonetheless, a significant increase in imported goods, like Campanian pottery, has been detected next to them. In sum, the necropolis of Les Corts would, in all likelihood, have been the cemetery associated with the *praesidium*. The many native elements point to the presence of Iberian auxiliary troops. While the presence of Italic troops in the same place demonstrates that 'the rituals and the relationship with death must have been so similar as to make it feasible to share the same burial ground' (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 128).

The tomb discovered at the archaeological site of 'Corral d'en Pi', in the vicinity of Emporion, is also worth mentioning. This fort, built close to the sea, is directly related to the port of Riells-La Clota, in turn closely linked to Emporion. The Greek port of Emporion, suitable for small vessels dedicated to coastal trade, had become obsolete since the arrival of Scipio (218 BC) and Cato (195 BC). This obliged the Romans to look for a safe refuge for their ships in the area of Riells-La Clota, beneath the present-day fishing harbour in the municipality of L'Escala. Neither could the port be enlarged to the north due to an area of marshland that offered no protection against storms, nor to the south where the mouth of the river Ter was located. Only the area of Riells-La Clota, some 3 km from the Roman city, was large enough and totally protected from the easterlies (i.e. the levant), as well as having, at least in the Modern Age, several freshwater springs. Its only shortcoming was the fact that it had a marshy hinterland, except for the headland of Corral d'en Pi (Nieto and Nolla 1985: 156).
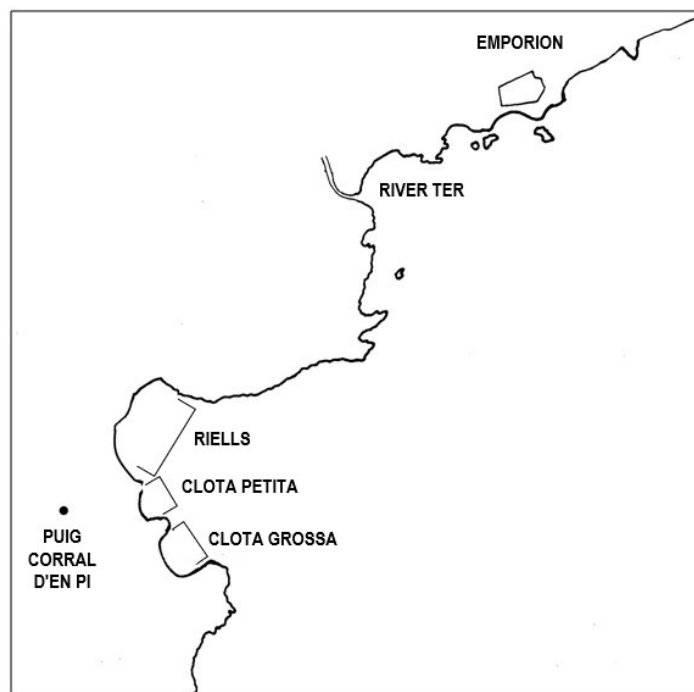
(Map with the location of the anchorage points near Emporion).

Due to Emporion's thriving commercial and economic activity, its port infrastructures were improved with the building of a pier in the old port, while work was simultaneously carried out on the fortified enclosure of Puig del Corral d'en Pi in the area of Riells. Without it, the area of Riells-La Clota, a fair distance from the city, was unprotected and thus prone to disorder and looting. It is important not to forget that the port not only needed a moorage area, but also infrastructures that allowed for a large variety of activities: granaries and warehouses for storing products, shipyards for repairing ships, manpower, such as guards (*custodes*), *tabulari* for registering goods, etc. (Nieto and Nolla 1985: 158).

The surveys performed to date have allowed us to confirm that it was an area with an intense sea and human traffic, to the point that it had its own necropolis. Only two tombs have survived, the rest disappearing probably during the area's urban development in the twentieth century. One of the internments, dated to first third of the first century BC, has been related to an Italic individual. The body was discovered accompanied by grave goods featuring local pottery and an iron strigil. The presence of strigils in a funerary context is frequent in the area of Valencia, in tombs associated with the Italic world, showing a strong Hellenisation and consolidation of the use of the *balneum*, that of Emporion being the first on the Iberian Peninsula. In the tomb, the Hellenic custom of burying the dead with a coin to pay Charon for passage has also been documented (Casas 1982: 157, 160, 162).

However, perhaps the greatest example of cultural interaction between different societies is through epigraphy.[103] As Javier Velaza's studies exemplify, throughout the 1st century BC we find numerous examples of Iberian, Greek and Latin epigraphy in the city of Emporion which all share space and importance. Although written in different languages, these epigraphic samples should be studied as a whole or, in the author's words, as a 'global cultural' fact (Velaza 2003: 186). For example, the fact that Iberian epigraphy is found in stone clearly demonstrates the Iberian adaptation to a typically Roman cultural practice, introduced in the northeast of the Peninsula in the 2nd and 1st century BC (Velaza 2018: 182). In short, the city of Emporion stands as a trilingual and heterogeneous space, which did not undergo a process of cultural homogenisation until the time of Augustus.

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[103] During pre-Roman times we can already find Greek commercial inscriptions with Iberian toponyms, demonstrating a close link between Greeks and Iberians and the latter's adaptation of the script (De Hoz 1998: 503-509; Sinner and Velaza 2018: 5).

Burriac-Ca l'Arnau

The archaeological sites of Burriac and Ca l'Arnau are two good examples of cultural contact and hybridism, given the high level of interaction between the local culture and foreign elements appearing as of the last half of the second century BC. Located in the area of the Laietani, in the present-day town of Cabrera de Mar (province of Barcelona), the *oppidum* of Burriac was the territory's power centre throughout the third century BC and, now under Roman control, during the following century up until its disappearance in the 80/70s BC, when the area was reorganised and restructured in the wake of the Sertorian War (García-Roselló 2017: 41).
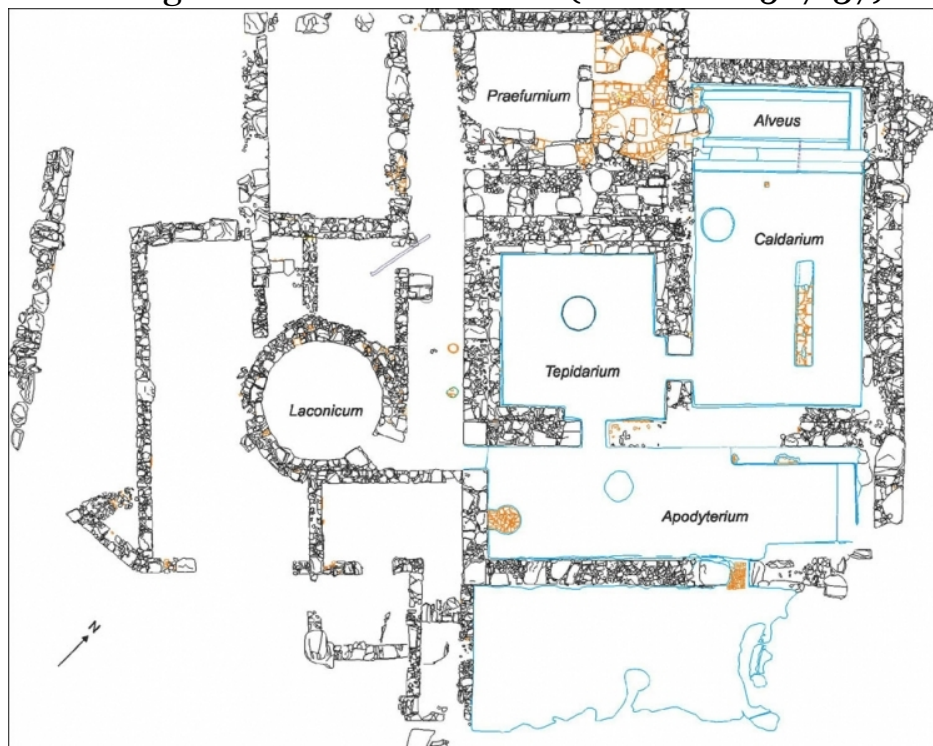

(Map of the Burriac-Ca l'Arnau site)[104]

Burriac's most notable aspect was its evolution during the second century BC, a moment coinciding with its demographic growth, owing in all likelihood to the resettling of the surrounding population in the *oppidum*, following Cato's suppression of the native rebellion. One way or the other, its notable urban development was characterised by the combination of exogenous elements with local building techniques. In this regard, the use of *tegulae* and *imbrices* in the construction of new roofs, plus *dolia* as a storage system supplementing the local silos, have been recorded. By the same token, an unprecedented emergence of both local and foreign material culture has also been documented, both quantitatively and qualitatively speaking, which evinces the site's importance as a distribution centre. To give just one example, in 200 BC imported

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[104] Image obtained from the archaeological heritage section of the state municipality website of Cabrera de Mar (https://www.cabrerademar.cat/el-municipi/patrimoni-arqueologic/ca-l-arnau).

materials accounted for 18 per cent of the total, while by the end of the second century BC this had risen to 70 per cent (Sinner 2015: 7-37).

More interestingly, the foregoing points to the foundation of a new settlement at the foot of the hill on which the *oppidum* of Burriac was located, some 870 m from the settlement. Known as Ca l'Arnau, its foundation is dated to the last half of the second century BC (Garcia-Roselló *et.al* 2000: 33-34), in parallel to the continuity and development of the *oppidum* of Burriac. For this reason, some authors have interpreted the two sites as having the same function, both forming a whole (Olesti 2010: 29). The reason behind its foundation is even more thought-provoking, insofar as it is a settlement with some Italic-type characteristics. Of all of the remains special mention should go to the excavation of a luxury *domus* (Can Benet) with eight rooms, six of which have *opus signinum* pavements, with a total surface area of 240 m² (García-Roselló 2017: 42-44). But the most important element is the building housing the baths, with a surface area of 450 m², including a *tepidarium*, a *caldarium*, an *apodyterium* and a *laconicum*, all in an excellent state of preservation. The magnitude of the remains, dated to between 150 and 90 BC, evinces a public character and the presence in the area of Italic groups and/or the local elites' high level of acculturation (Sinner 2015: 7-37).

(Map of the baths at the Burriac-Ca l'Arnau site)[105]

So, throughout the second century BC and during the first third of the following one, the autochthonous urban model continued to exist as new exogenous elements were introduced, which by themselves do not necessarily signify a shift in cultural hegemony. The Roman presence and the introduction of Italic cultural and material elements unquestionably brought about a change in the ideological framework and social behaviour of the native groups. However, the prospective studies of the sites of Burriac and Ca l'Arnau indicate that this was a more prolonged, two-way process, where both the local and foreign cultures influenced each other to the same degree, albeit with, politically speaking, Rome clearly in control. Thus, the four prenatal burials at the Italic site of Ca l'Arnau should be interpreted as an indicator of the continuity of Iberian rituals, now coexisting in Italic spaces.[106] Despite the fact that this practice was not uncommon in the Roman world (Plin. *HN*. 7. 72), we believe that it can be framed, as at the site of the Camp de les Lloses, in a markedly maternal and, by extension, indigenous context (Duran et al. 2015b: 304). So, this poses the question, as Sinner has done suggestively, of whether or not the native populations put these spaces to a different use (Sinner 2015: 19).

Another example is to be found in the Iberian inscriptions on imported materials, which demonstrate the predominance of the native script over its Latin counterpart and, consequently, that the Italic inhabitants must have been fewer in number than the natives. In fact, from a total of more than 80 inscriptions, all are written in Iberian and we do not find a single inscription in Latin (Sinner and Ferrer 2018: 203, 241-215). From these examples, perhaps one of the most interesting findings is the graffiti on the *tubulus* at the Ca l'Arnau baths, which probably refers to the Iberian producer of the *tubuli* (Sinner and Ferrer 2016: 201).[107] On the other hand, it would not be farfetched to contend that the local elites would have Latinised their names, as occurred in many other places (Sinner and Ferrer 2016: 219). Thanks to Rome's influence and the tighter control exerted by the local elites, Iberian epigraphy developed during the second and first centuries BC (Sinner and Velaza 2018: 5-6; Herrera-Rando 2019: 380).[108] However that may be, just as the greater presence of Iberian epigraphy and, as a result, of natives suggests their adaptation to the new Italic-style spaces, so too does the continued

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[106] Burials of this type were commonplace in the Western Mediterranean, as evidenced by the archaeological record (Armendáriz and Ibáñez 2006; Torres *et al.* 2012; Lorrio *et al.* 2010; Dasen 2011: 306; Carrol 2011: 111).

[107] It is interesting to compare the epigraphic samples from the Burriac and Ca l'Arnau sites with other sites in the Iberian area. For example, during the foundation of Valentia the results are the opposite. From a total of 25 documents presented in the study by Maria de Hoz, 18 are Latin, while only 7 present Iberian writing. This fact responds to the colonial character of the area´s creation, given that veterans of the Roman army were settled on the site. (De Hoz *et al.* 2013: 407-429).

[108] Although Iberian epigraphy had been known about since the 5th century BC, it developed and expanded in both the public and private spheres with the arrival of Rome. New techniques were also developed, as well as new supporting foundations (Sinner and Velaza 20118: 4-5).

existence of endogenous elements allow us to assume that there was no far-reaching cultural changes. Rather, the natives adapted those useful elements to their own cultural needs (Sinner 2015: 7-37). In this sense, the sites of Burriac and Ca l'Arnau are both illustrative examples of what we have called 'liquid spaces' and of a lengthy process of hybridisation, characterised by a symmetric relationship between endogenous and exogenous cultural elements, which suggests the adaptation to new realities, rather than their imposition.

In sum, this process of hybridism does not demonstrate that the local inhabitants were converted into 'Romans', but points to a new political, economic and social reality, which did not necessarily involve any decisive cultural changes, purposeful or planned. It was rather a lengthy, multilinear process in which there were many ways of becoming a 'Roman', with the local elites taking the lead (Sinner 2015: 37).

Tona-Camp de les Lloses (125-75 a.C.)

The site of the Camp de les Lloses (125-75 BC), currently located in the municipality of Tona (province of Barcelona), is a clear example of a settlement in an area of transit and interaction between two different cultures and, therefore, susceptible to becoming a 'liquid space' (Duran *et al.* 2017: 153). Its location on the Plain of Vic, between the water basins of the rivers Ter and Congost, made it a strategic control point connecting the coast with the interior and the Pyrenees (Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 160; Duran *et al.* 2015a: 294; Duran *et al.* 2017: 156). The importance of its location is evidenced by the roads converging on it: two north-south roads, the *Via Manius Sergius*, identified from the three milestones bearing the name of the proconsul who had ordered it to be built (Díaz-Ariño 2008: 90-91), and that of Congost, plus another running from east to west, the *Via Collsuspina*. All of these secondary branches of the so-called *Via Heraklea* (later the *Via Augusta*) traversed the region's interior during the Republican period. As to the *Via Collsuspina*, it served as a natural route inland, while the north-south roads connected the interior with the coast, their layout and chronology being their only differences. The road coming from Congost has been dated to the Augustan Age, while the construction of the *Via Manius Sergius* might be related to a camp or *castellum*, the road thus being of a conspicuously military nature and converting the Camp de les Lloses into a strategic communication and logistics hub in the context of the important campaigns being waged in the peninsula's interior (125-

75 BC) (Duran *et al.* 2017: 156-159; Álvarez *et al.* 2000: 279; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 172-174; Ñaco del Hoyo 2017: 19; Padrós 2016: 343, 370, 390).[109]

At the site, 10 buildings constructed around a public space have been excavated to date. They are terraced dwellings built on a north-south axis, whose design is inspired by the traditional Italic habitat with rooms distributed around a central patio. Up to 15 metal workshops, located within and without the dwellings, have been identified, which has led to the hypothesis that they were specialised buildings devoted exclusively to iron and, to a lesser extent, bronze working (Duran *et al.* 2017: 160, 162; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 160).[110] Despite the buildings' markedly Italic design, both the materials and techniques employed are inherently Iberian (Duran *et.al* 2017: 160). The 11 perinatal burials located inside them are also decidedly indigenous in character. As already observed, this practice was also fairly commonplace in the Roman world according to classical authors and we believe that these funerary rites are closely related to the women living in the settlement, for their most part natives (Duran *et al.* 2010: 102; Plin. *NH.* 7.72; *NH.* 11.166; Juv. 15.140; Fulg. *Expos.*7;[111] Duran *et al.* 2015b: 304, 306; Sánchez *et al.* 2015: 8).

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[109] Paleofauna studies performed at the site suggest that bovids and equids were two of the resources exploited by the members of the community. The discovery of the remains of ovicaprids and suidae, foreign to the Iberian livestock exploitation model, indicates that these domestic animals had been imported as part of a new exploitation strategy implemented in the Roman Age (Duran *et al.* 2017: 161).

[110] Due to the large amount of coinage recuperated, the intense commercial activity resulting from metal working and the enclave's links to Roman military logistics, it has been suggested that coins might have been struck in the Camp de les Lloses (Duran *et al.* 2017: 177).

[111] 'Priori tempore suggrundaria antiqui dicebant sepulchra infantium qui necdum quadraginta dies implessent, quia nec busta dici poterant, quia ossa quae conburerentur non erant, nec tanta inmanitas cadaueris quae locum tumisceret; unde et Rutilius Geminus in Astianactis tragoedia ait: 'Melius suggrundarium miser quereris quam sepulchrum' (Fulg. *Expos.* 7).

(Map of the site with the location of the metal workshops and children's burial sites)[112]

The remains, female in all cases, were discovered close to the walls in the rooms given over to domestic uses and in the metal workshops, alike.[113] Most of them were buried individually, with only two sharing the same room. The bodies were placed in small trenches without any funerary goods, except in the case of Burial 1, located in Area 13 of Building B, comprising a *dolabrum*, a small clasp and diverse hemispherical pieces. This burial is located in the dwelling with more evidence of Roman-Italic material culture (personal adornments, a coin hoard and a *lararium* accompanied by ritual elements), all indicating a high social status. This practice documented in the Iberian world has been related to the foundation or renovation of the dwellings, with the appearance or disappearance of the metal workshops, with the protection of the family group and,

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[112] Image from Duran *et al.* 2017: 20.
[113] The discovery of perinatal burials has also been documented repeatedly in the areas given over to production or handicrafts (Lorrio *et al.* 2010: 238; Dasen 2011: 306).

lastly, with the agrarian cult (Duran *et al.* 2017: 166, 180-181; Duran *et al.* 2015a: 296-297; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 163).

The material culture is also predominantly local. The pottery remains are mostly local or regional (oxidised, smooth and painted pottery, grey Emporion pottery and imitation Italic ceramics, Iberian amphora from the northeast coast, etc.), while the imported pottery is mainly Italic, featuring Italian black-gloss pottery and Dressel 1A amphorae, accounting for nearly 90 per cent of the imported ware. (Duran *et al.* 2015a: 295; Duran *et al.* 2017: 173-174; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 163).

The site is also noteworthy for the large number of coins that have been unearthed, including 208 Iberian coins, 15 Roman ones and three lead tokens. If the distribution of the Iberian finds are analysed by mints, those of the Ausetani — i.e. of local provenance —predominate (22 *Ausesken*, 6 *Eusti* and 2 *Ore*, accounting for 24.59 per cent of the total), followed by those of the Laietani (5 *Laiesken*, 14 *Lauro*, 1 *Baitolo* and 7 *Ilturo*, 22.13 per cent), that of *Iltirkesken* (17 exemplars, 13.93 per cent) and, to a lesser extent, that of *Untikesken* (2 coins, 1.64 per cent), that of *Kese* (5 coins, 4.10 per cent) — the north-eastern workshop where the largest amount of coinage was minted — that of *Iltirta* (3 coins, 2.46 per cent) and, finally, coinage coming from outside the northeast of Hispania Citerior (8.2 per cent) and illegible exemplars (28 per cent) (Duran *et al.* 2015a: 295; Duran *et al.* 2017: 179-180; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012:164). It has been proposed that such a large quantity of coinage might be directly related to the presence of troops in the settlement itself. This idea is supported by the discovery of the remains of a ritual deposit of an equid outside Building I and elements inherent to the Roman panoply, such as a *simpulum* discovered in the metal workshop and a *gladius hispaniensis* unearthed *in situ* in one of its rooms. Such finds have been understood as evidence that it was a place for billeting troops (Duran *et al.* 2017: 162).

All the evidence that has been presented in this case study indicates, to our mind, that the Camp de les Lloses was a hybrid settlement in which the Iberian and Roman realities coexisted. The archaeological and numismatic evidence shows how the Roman army effectively integrated *auxilia externa*, converting them into part of the war effort despite their foreign status. Notwithstanding their assimilation, these contingents did not dispense with their ancestral customs, but integrated them into the cultural dynamics that Rome afforded them, giving rise to a new cultural hybridism. The Camp de les Lloses should not be understood in an isolated manner, but as part of a network that stretched the length and breadth of the northeast of Hispania Citerior, allowing for the spread of Roman power and customs from the coast to the interior (Álvarez *et al.* 2000: 280; Duran et al. 2010: 103; Duran *et al.* 2015a: 295; Duran *et al.* 2017: 187; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 177; Ñaco del Hoyo 2017: 19, 27; Padrós 2016: 343-344, 416).

Conclusions

In light of the facts and the archaeological sites analysed in this paper, we believe that we have sufficient evidence supporting the division of the period stretching from the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) to the Sertorian War (82 BC) into two major stages. There is little archaeological evidence of the first stage (218-195 BC), but war stress certainly left its mark on the territory. So, it seems plausible to contend that, exploiting a situation of uncertainty, some of the local elites rose to power with Rome's help, thus allowing them to get the better of their internal adversaries in the context of factional fighting. These internal struggles were decisive in helping the Republican authorities to extend their political domination over them (Sánchez 2011: 98). In our view, the same happened as a result of the rebellion in 197 BC. The fact that some of the territory's *oppida* disappeared suggests that the Republic attempted to shatter the region's internal structures, fragmenting its cohesion, eliminating the old power centres and replacing the ancient aristocracies with those elites more amenable to Rome (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 29). This change did not involve the implementation of a planned Roman policy in the territory, given that the majority of the Iberian *oppida* continued to control their regions.

In a second stage, as of 195 BC, and above all in last half of the second century BC, a new reality began to emerge, but without the imposition of an exogenous cultural hegemony. It was now what could be called a 'liquid space' that changed over time according to the circumstances and context. The armed clashes shifted progressively inland, while the coastal areas became control, supply and distribution centres for men and resources (Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 172). Troops arriving in great numbers and the military structures accompanying them marked the beginning of the transformation of the existing pre-Roman societies and the emergence of more 'liquid' and hybrid realities, as evidenced by the sites analysed here (e.g. Cadiou 2008). But this process of hybridism was not immediate and by no means signified the abandonment of the local culture, but the initiation of a process of hybridism with its own heterogeneous characteristics, leading to the advent of an Iberian-Italic reality. The army as an integrating institution enlisted native troops, thus allowing them to partake in the Roman *modus operandi*, which in turn required the Republican authorities to gain a better understanding of the local culture with, for example, the incorporation of interpreters (Torregaray 2011: 328). Archaeology and numismatics offer indications of their enlistment, presumably as support personnel or *auxilia externa*, and of that rapprochement, as borne out by the coinage bearing Iberian script and graphic elements (Ñaco del Hoyo 2017: 19-20).

The examples described above — Emporion, Burriac-Ca l'Arnau and Tona-Camp de les Lloses — provide evidence that Iberian and Italic individuals coexisted and interacted with one another in ambivalent spaces. Italic spaces with very specific uses,

such as Roman-style dwellings or cemeteries associated with a *praesidium*, were focal points of Iberian funerary rites, as can be clearly seen from the remains discovered at the three sites. These examples, together with the evidence that we have presented here, point to the fact that the northeast of Hispania Citerior was a changing region in which local and foreign customs and identities converged and endured. Throughout this process, the local elites must have played a key role, given that they were the first to adapt to the new political structure and organisation imposed by Rome and to the dynamics deriving from its presence there. However, the Republic's lack of political planning vis-à-vis the territory allowed the native communities to preserve their ancient traditions, as the elites gradually adapted to the new exogenous realities.

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