

Tarraco, the first capital

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ABSTRACT

Without the shadow of a doubt, *Tarraco* was Rome's gateway to the Iberian Peninsula and a crucial city for understanding the historical and ideological evolution of our classical past. Even today, the modern city of Tarragona is a fount of knowledge that constantly provides new information and raises new scholarly questions. This document offers an overview of the current state of research, stressing the new discoveries and reflecting the opportunities afforded by the new technologies to shape a new body of archaeological research that spans humanistic knowledge and analytical experimentation.

KEYWORDS: *Tarraco*, Second Punic War, *Hispania citerior*, Augustus, imperial cult, *concilium Prouvinciae*, Fructuosus, metropolitan see

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN *TARRACO* IN RECENT YEARS

Archaeological research has recently provided a great deal of information about *Tarraco* which has helped us to understand the history and mechanisms of dissemination and socialisation of a past which in certain urban areas still reveals itself in the middle of the contemporary city of Tarragona. From the strictly academic standpoint, this is a positive process which benefitted from the intense urban development activity and territorial transformation that happened at the turn of the century,¹ as well as the dynamics generated by international recognition of the city's main monuments, which in 2000 were added to UNESCO's World Heritage List. The consolidation of the city's historical re-creation festival created in 1999, "Tarraco Viva", and the location of the Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica in Tarragona in 2002 have reinforced the tools needed to foster and stabilise research and dissemination of classical studies both locally and nationally and internationally.

Even though this document focuses exclusively on the urban nucleus, we cannot understand it without the context of its territory, the ancient *ager Tarraconensis*. There, another intense transformation has been undertaken, spurred by tourist and industrial activity, which has uncovered numerous archaeological remains, primarily *uillae*, which clearly reflect the economic wealth of the ancient Roman city.² On the other hand, although the name *Tarraco* identifies a Roman city, we have to be aware that we are always referring to an urban nucleus where social and economic realities converged which, from the standpoint of the urban layout and historical reality, define numerous cities that are conserved quite differently, despite the distance caused by any historical retrospective.

Finally, today's scholarly research is a debate in a context stymied by a lack of economic resources and ongoing institutional diversification with two endemic shortcomings: the difficulty of implementing the findings made by private enterprise in the field of research and institutional dissemination, and the absence of an overall research and dissemination strategy that is stable over time. Until now, the economic context has made it possible to have a rising number of separate resources and means, yet given today's reality and the future prospects, the research on *Tarraco* needs a coordinated model of action that brings together all the agents and links up scientific needs with management and dissemination needs. Another future challenge in the realm of raising increas-

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ingly difficult to secure, competitive funds is implementing local research within the framework of large European projects.

Despite the advances,³ there are still numerous unknowns that are not limited exclusively to strictly archaeological research but that also entail an interaction between the historical data and the urbanistic and material reality – artistic productions, epigraphy, *instrumentum...* – of the ancient capital of Hispania. This document focuses more on what we do not know yet, although its related bibliography suffices to capture the current state of knowledge about a Catalan city where the discovery of its classic past is a perpetually unfinished process (Fig. 1).

THE ORIGINS AND THE REPUBLICAN CITY: THE BIG QUESTIONS

We are largely aware of the geostrategic reasons behind the possible location of the Scipiones' *praesidium*⁴ within the context of the Second Punic War, ushering in the Romanisation of the ancient Iberia.⁵ The location of the hill that is now occupied by the upper part of Tarragona made it a veritable platform from which to fight against Carthaginian domination of the Iberian Peninsula throughout the Second Punic War.⁶ Indeed, after the disembarkation in *Emporion* in 218 BC, the Romans headed to the mouth of the Ebro River. This is fairly well established by reliable literary sources such as Polybius (III, 76) or Titus Livius (xxi, 60-61), and the archaeological remains have only corroborated the classical historians' texts. Rome saw Tarragona as a good base in relation to the celebrated declaration by Pliny that described it as *Scipionum opus* (III, 21).⁷

The favourable road conditions⁸ and orography – the availability of a coastal hill measuring 82 m at its peak – were compounded by the presence of a rich hydric subsoil and an extensive underground lake that made it even more feasible to set up a military port there. The new encampment was set up near an Iberian settlement which has yielded archaeological evidence since the 6th century BC, although it has not yet been precisely identified. In recent years, the trend has been to identify the *Tarrakon* mentioned in the distant work of Pliny the Elder (*NH*, III, 4-21) as the Iberian capital of the region of Cessetania, thus situating the mythical battle of *Cissa* around the military encampment of *Tarraco*.⁹ However, the most recent archaeological research conducted on the archaeology of the military settlements and the numerous findings around the territory tend to locate the capital of Cessetania in inland Catalonia thanks to the latest studies in Valls (El Vilar), which seem to be pinpointing the location of the battle of *Cissa*.¹⁰ This is a debate that has yet to be resolved, but it is clear that the archaeology of the city in recent years has not provided clear information on this point. Even the scant archaeological evidence found in the city leads us to believe that the geopolitical importance of Tarraco in the late Republican era has led to a historical overstatement of the role of the Iberian nucleus on the hill, which was subsequently occupied by the Romans. And in this context we could once again identify the remains of Iberian housing on the lower part of Tarragona as the *Tarrakon* from the written and numismatic sources.¹¹

The Roman wall of *Tarraco* is an enormous vestige from this period. It is the first wall that Rome built outside Italy, and its Minerva Tower harbours the oldest inscription and sculpture from the western provinces.¹²



FIGURE 1. Educational model of *Tarraco* in the 2nd century. Re-creation of the *suburbium* and the port zone (photo: J. M. Macias).

The wall shows two different construction techniques and a series of associated ceramological contexts which are not bereft of scientific controversy (Fig. 2). The most widespread theory holds that the first stretch of stone would correspond to a wall planned during the Second Punic War, which was later expanded between 150 and 125 BC.¹³ This opinion would enable us to understand the layout of the walls as structures built after victorious military episodes: the wars against Carthage and the end of the Numantine campaigns. At the same time, each of Rome's advances on the Peninsula strengthened the city's geostrategic role, yet as the "frontier" became further from the Mediterranean, the military role of *Tarraco* inevitably diminished. Despite these conclusions, we should note that there is no absolute certainty and that lately the stable existence of the *praesidium* and the encampment phase in this period has been questioned, while the chronology and phases of its cyclopic-based wall are also being debated.¹⁴ In any event, we should consider the shift that might separate the theoretical phase of the project from its material execution between the late 3rd century BC and the early decades of the 2nd century BC, when the archaeological materials begin to supply data on building activity. It should be borne in mind that not even in Italy are there remains this monumental in republican cities from the same period.

In addition to all of this, we should also bear in mind that while the studies by T. Hauschild have shed light on the constructive features of the walls, there are still many questions remaining about their layout. The evidence extracted from the Minerva Tower and the Santa Barbara bulwark sketch an initial hypothetical defensive area that was quite small, which poses doubts regarding its capacity to house the large number of troops that travelled through the city during the 2nd century BC. Nor are we aware of the internal structure of the *praesidium*, which must have hosted numerous assemblies of the allied peoples in the course of the Punic Wars, or the organisation of the port, the veritable leitmotif of *Tarraco* as the gateway for the military contingents in this process of conquest. In this regard, a segment of *cuniculus* has been identified which has been associated with the need to supply water to the Augusti port zone, along with a substantial amount of evidence showing how the ancient Iberian settlement launched a process of urban expansion while adopting Roman construction parameters.¹⁵

If we can indeed continue to speak about a second phase in the wall, it must have been built prior to the urban consolidation of the republican city, signalling a break with the previous urban plan in the lower part of the city and defining a model of city planning based on *insulae* measuring 1 by 2 *actus* and *viae* 6 m wide.¹⁶ The city was organised into *cardines* oriented at 31° with regard to the geographic north, as some segments of the wall were, and based on the identification of the *auguraculum*,¹⁷ it marked the point on which the cadastral organisation of the land was projected. We have included the outline of the large wastewater collector and the construc-

tion of the city forum in this period, and it has been demonstrated that *Tarraco* officially became an *urbs* at the end of the 2nd century BC.¹⁸ The archaeological materials begin to provide reliable information on this building activity, and the so-called "font dels Lleons" (Lions Fountain), excavated in the port zone, is an extraordinary example of a Hellenistic-style utilitarian construction from the late 2nd century BC.¹⁹ The republican forum with the large Capitoline temple also stands out.²⁰

Tarraco was yet another example of the incipient empire's process of urban consolidation, and there is a noteworthy chronological overlap with similar processes in Valencia, Narbonne, Palma and Empúries. This has been related to the text by Apiano (*lb.*, 99), which mentions the arrival of a ten-member senatorial commission to Hispania after the fall of Numantia to further the organisation of a land which was clearly on the route to permanent assimilation. Numerous questions still exist around this process regarding the legal organisation and the *forma* of the new city.

On the other hand, archaeology is seeking answers to the organisation of the southern sector of the city, which was heavily conditioned by the coastal orography and the transformations experienced by the city's port since the Augustan era. The interpretative doubts show the difficulty of interpreting an area that was urbanistically highly dynamic yet which at the same time has been heavily affected by the contemporary evolution of Tarragona. Today, there are still numerous doubts stemming from extensive "archaeological lacunae" and the pronounced orographic unevenness of the coastal promontories. We should contextualise the interpretations of the lower perimeter of the wall in the port area within this dynamic. The latest analyses of the layout have been conducted by following the Renaissance-era descriptions by Lluís Pons d'Icart, identifying possible remains and geo-referencing the historical cartography.²¹ There is no defensive segment in the lower part of the city with the same characteristics as the ones conserved in the city proper, and the segments that have been identified as a wall still pose many questions.²²

The other major question is the size of the new city designed as part of the expansion of the defensive quarters. The analysis²³ performed in the "Planimetria Arqueològica de *Tarraco*" project (PAT) shows the projection of a new topographic modulation from the forum area, in full concurrence with the second phase of the wall and with indications that lead us to believe that this "expansion" also extended to the port area, such that the size of the large public areas from the early imperial period was determined by the late republican *insulae* (Fig. 3). Thus, the location of the *auguraculum* (PAT-427) is coherent with the orthogonality of the adjacent *insulae*, and the size of the expanded municipal forum matches the sizes of the residential blocks that had previously been appropriated.

Even the construction of the *aedes Augusti* in the new forum basilica (PAT-439) dovetails with the transversal



FIGURE 2. Minerva Tower sector; detail of the relief and two building techniques (photo: J. M. Macias).

axis of the *insulae*. In the port zone, we have found signs of a republican roadway network under the Augustan theatre, and the prolongation of the city's collector (PAT-832) shows the continuity of the *cardo maximus* as far as the same bay where the port is located. Finally, we can observe how the expansion of the Augustan theatre matches the two late-republican *insulae* and how the adjacent exedra of the nymph retains the longitudinal axis of another block (PAT-83). With these elements, the location of the *porta marina* has been considered in relation to the city's *cardo maximus*, which was located in 1940 (PAT-351). This axis is assumed to be superimposed on the final stretch of the republican-era sewer (PAT-832, sheet 14) and became the axis separating the theatre compound from the city's early imperial port baths (PAT-355, fig. 43).

With regard to the northern boundary of this residential project, the known archaeological remains do not enable us to reproduce the model of 1 by 2 *actus* as far as the upper part of the city. The modular projection of the *insulae* does not match, and the northernmost segment of the known *cardo* dates from the late 1st century BC (PAT-297). For this reason, two urban expansion phases inside the city have been hypothesised between the late 2nd century and late 1st century, the latter being when the legal evolution of *Tarraco* led to the end of residential occupation within the walls. For these reasons, we still do

not have full knowledge of the physiognomy of the republican city, and with regard to the defensive perimeter, different walled premises have been hypothesised with different terrace walls based on poorly grounded archaeological signs from the 19th century.²⁴

In a complementary fashion, we should stress that the restoration of the urban layout proposed for the republican period, with the variations implicit in its orographic reality, defines a *centuria* measuring 15 by 15 *actus* which is also represented in its territory.²⁵ This is yet another argument leading us to consider the existence of an urban articulation as far as the coastline during the republican era, with a walled enclosure that has yet to be located. The landscape studies underway show the ritual relationship between the founding, urbanisation and modulation of the surrounding land. Thus, the republican city planning dovetails with the cadastral *Tarraco*-III module and the calculations of the topographic visuals between the *auguraculum* and the *centuria*-based layout of the land have also been established via GIS. Likewise, the unitary nature of the urban and territorial planning has been considered based upon the symbolic and topographic role of the *auguraculum*, and this has also been related to the Caesarean colonial *deductio*. In this regard, there are two questions that are currently unanswered: first, the city's road system is from the late 2nd century BC, while the *Tarraco*-III stretch dates from the Augus-

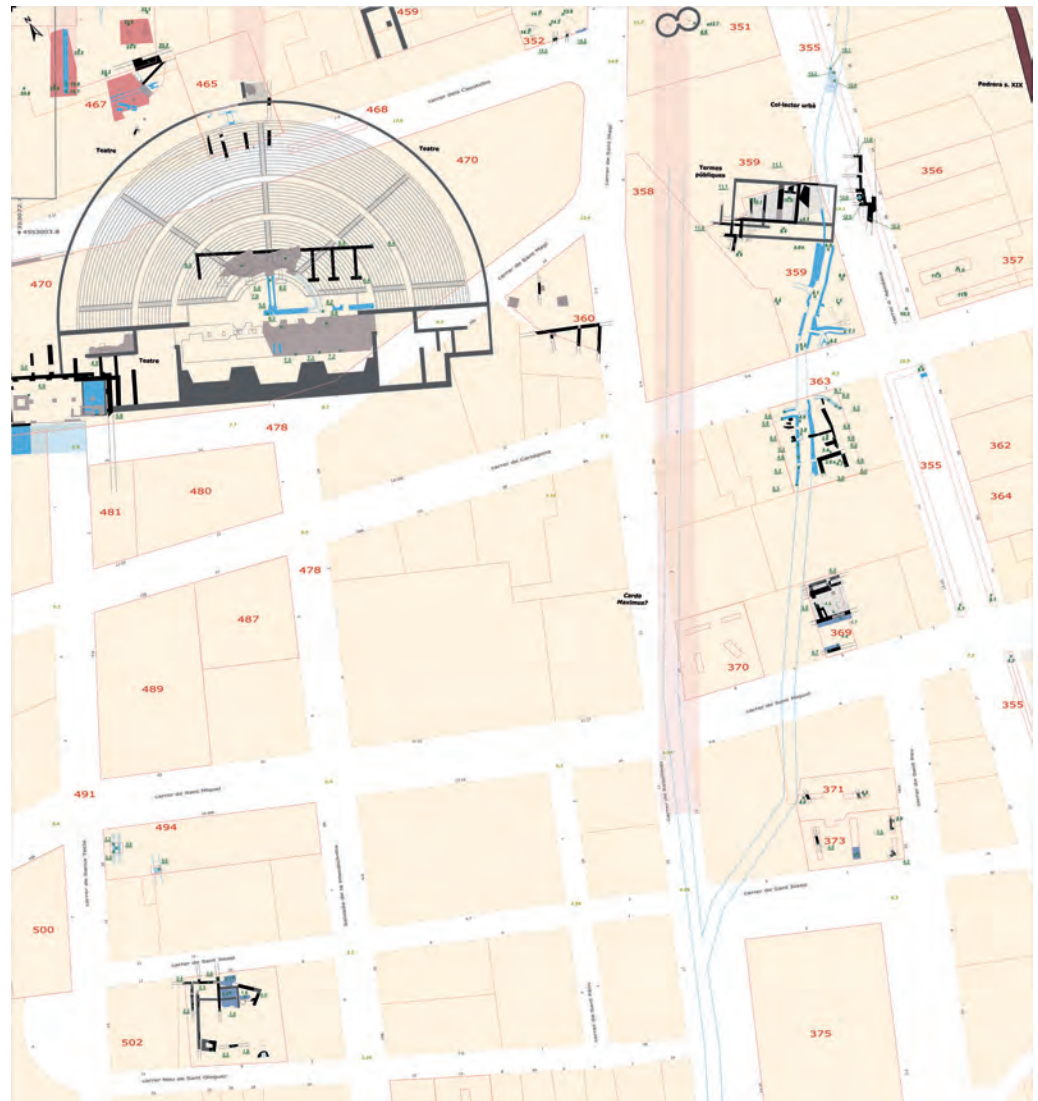


FIGURE 3. Archaeological Planimetry of Tarraco, theatre and public baths sector (Macias *et al.*, 2007).

tan period; secondly, just a few metres from the *auguraculum* is the 12-metre tall republican wall, which would hinder visibility and the capacity for topographical projection.

All of this activity reflects the importance of the city in the incipient Roman provincial organisation as a whole. *Tarraco* was not sheltered from the instability at the end of the republic, and we know that before 71 BC it dedicated an inscription to Pompeius Magnus which attests to the use and exploitation of the stone from Alcover in that period (Fig. 4).²⁶

However, the city was capable of changing sides as needed, as it leaned toward the Caesarean side, engraving a tribute to Mucius Scaevola on the back of the plaque to Pompeius and choosing as its patron the influential Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, a close collaborator of Julius Caesar who had also been chosen as the patron of *Emporiae*.²⁷ Thus, the two cities that had witnessed the landing of the Romans in 218 BC during the Second Punic War resumed a parallel history under Caesar. This seems to be when Caesar granted *Tarraco* the legal category of *colonia* whose *deductor* was Mucius Scaevola.²⁸

TARRACO: THE MIRROR OF ROME. AUGUSTUS IN TARRACO

With the new imperial regime there was an intense process of restructuring the Peninsula; the new administrative division turned the city into the capital of the largest province in the entire Roman Empire,²⁹ launching a period of splendour which was sustained until the late 2nd century AD. Based on the provincial division at the start of the Empire, *Tarraco* was the seat of the governor who bore the title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore prouvinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, who was assisted by several *legati iuridici*. Thanks to the epigraphic sources, we are familiar with around 50 of them.³⁰ The governor was assisted by a team of functionaries and soldiers. At the beginning of the empire, the soldiers came from the units that had put an end to the second phase of the Cantabrian Wars³¹ under the command of Agrippa in 19 BC. After the reign of Vespasian, the governor's soldiers were the members of the Hispanic legion par excellence, the *VII Gemina* (Seventh Twin Legion), the successor to the fleeting *legio VII Galbiana* (Seventh Galbian Legion).³²

From Tarragona, the governor ruled over a vast province that encompassed more than half of the Iberian Peninsula. It was known by the name of *Hispania citerior*, the Hispania that was closer to Rome, as it appears in the epigraphic sources; later it would be split and part of it would become the *Tarraconensis*. During the early Empire, the adjective *Tarraconensis* corresponded to the *conventus*, the administrative region of which *Tarraco* was the capital; its neighbours were *Caesaraugustanus* to the west and *Carthaginensis* to the south. The best guide for reconstructing the historical process is unquestionably the extraordinary collection of inscriptions, priceless documentation that sheds light on the actual message directly conveyed (CIL II²/14). The honorific pedestals that filled the forums provide us with a large amount of information on the governing system and the magistrates that held the top posts in the provincial administration.³³

The literary sources also reported on the importance of *Tarraco* in the early years of Augustus' empire, as the emperor himself lived in the city from 26-25 BC to monitor first-hand the events in the first part of the Cantabrian Wars, which were erroneously assumed concluded in 25 BC. During this time period, we can say that *Tarraco* was even the official capital of the empire, since Augustus lived there for two years; wherever the emperor was, the centre of the government's decision-making and power was. The written sources tell us of the diplomatic missions from many lands which he welcomed in *Tarraco*, just as the fragmentary inscription from Mytilene tells us about the delegation of citizens from this *polis* devoted to the figure of the emperor.³⁴ In *Tarraco* as well, Augustus embarked upon his eighth and ninth consulates.³⁵ Augustus liked being in Tarragona, where not only did he recover his health but he also may have enjoyed more popularity than the adulation befitting any prince. This can be seen in an anecdote reported by Quintilian (*Inst. orat.*, VI, 3, 77), although we are uncertain whether it happened when Augustus was in *Tarraco* or back in Rome: The *Tarraco* natives showed the emperor the altar dedicated to him on which a palm tree had "miraculously" grown; Augustus, with good humour and a refined sense of irony, responded that it was not a "miracle" but simply due to the fact that they did not use it much, otherwise the sacred fire would not have allowed this plant to be born. This altar is most likely the one that is depicted on the coins minted in the city.³⁶

Setting aside anecdote and symbolism, we are unaware of the location and characteristics of the Augustan altar in *Tarraco*. Initially it was believed to be located near the *forum coloniae*,³⁷ although lately it has been proposed that it was situated in the upper part of the city, precisely in the centre of what would later become the large administrative square in the Flavian period. A theoretical calculation of what the extensive reforms of the Flavian period might have cost has been set forth.³⁸ Neither hypothesis has been confirmed archaeologically yet, but in the latter case the location of the Augustan altar in the upper part of the city poses numerous doubts which are difficult to resolve,

making it an unlikely location, in our opinion. Instead, we still believe that the altar's location around the colonial forum makes more sense. The altar must have been in operation during Augustus' lifetime, and the urban development plans for the upper part of the city have always been established in architectural harmony with the subsequent Temple of Augustus, which we know was built later, during the reign of Tiberius. What is more, between the supposed location of this altar and the residential area, in the site where the circus was later built, there was a non-urbanised area where we are aware of the presence of a *figlina* (PAT-238). This does not seem like the ideal transitional area to enter the altar enclosure.

Augustus' second journey when he most likely stayed in *Tarraco* took place during the years 16-15 BC, when Cassius Dio (LIV, 23, 7 and 25, 1) said that he founded many cities in Hispania and the Narbonnensis. This is crucial to understanding the process of organising the Iberian Peninsula, since it continues to confirm that everything was far from being wrapped up by the "mythic" year of 27 BC. Indeed, the latest archaeological studies and surprising epigraphic discoveries, such as the Bierzo Edict from 15 BC, make it clear that it was actually after the end of the second phase of the Cantabrian Wars, in 19 BC, when the political map of Hispania was finally formed, with trials and rectifications, at a time when there were also quite a few changes in Gallia as well.³⁹ One man played a decisive role in this entire process: Agrippa.⁴⁰

According to Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia*, II, 5), *Tarraco* became an extraordinarily opulent city, and after a programme to develop the urban periphery it might have measured as much as 80 or 90 hectares in area. The number of inhabitants is unknown, although it could be pinpointed at between 15,000 and 20,000 bearing in mind its constant ties with the inhabitants of the region and the high demographic mobility stemming from its status as both port and capital. The area inside the city walls occupied around 55-60 hectares, 19 of which were in the upper part of the city, which presumably remained public property until the empire disappeared. This was joined by extensive port areas (10-15 hectares) and suburbs (10-15 hectares), primarily on the southwest side of the hill because of its proximity to water resources. In addition to its status as a capital, the activity of the *portus Tarraconis* was a prime urban and economic factor in the development of the city and its region. After Augustus, the exploitation of natural resources increased, as did the appearance of residential and productive settlements imitating Italic villages, along with the spread of vineyards. The grapevine production in these lands can be seen by studying the amphorae.⁴¹ In this respect, Martial claimed that the wines of *Tarraco* were better than those from Campania and as good as those from Tyrrenia (*Epigrammata*, XIII, 18; VII, 56, 3).

While attaining the rank of colony during Caesar's reign must have entailed a qualitative leap forward, it was not until the Augustan period that the city experienced

an overall transformation as it entered the golden age of the Empire. Augustus' stay in the city, its status as provincial capital and the local elites' ability to climb the social ladder within the new legal framework were the causes behind an urban and economic upswing which continued into the subsequent reforms in the Flavian period. The Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods equipped *Tarraco* with the means befitting a large provincial city, and within this framework the monumentalisation around the figure of the emperor, which would later become the provincial imperial cult, entered its early phase. After Augustus, we can detect an intense reform of the periurban roadway network, new entrances and the urban development of the suburbs and the port zone.⁴² This may have been when one of the city's aqueducts called the Pont del Diable (Devils' Bridge) or the Ferreres aqueduct was built, and it might also have witnessed the completion of the urbanisation of the residential area inside the walls designed during the enlargement of the republican wall. A process of monumentalisation of the seafront got underway with the construction of the theatre, the nearby public baths and a *forum adiectum* next to the old republican forum. Domestic architecture also shows evolutionary features particularly based on mosaic decoration, and the official statuary shows the development of an iconographic programme from the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the local forum.⁴³

Therefore, around the colony we also have constant proof of the monumentality of the public architecture near the forum.⁴⁴ The latest research seems to have identified the *capitolium* from the republican period, the oldest architecture in the zone, as mentioned above.⁴⁵ The basilica, which underwent a major refurbishment the age of Tiberius, dates from the proto-imperial period; likewise, the imperial cult hall⁴⁶ was opened there, and many epigraphic and sculptural remains have been found there.⁴⁷ What is more, elements of architectural decoration have been interpreted as belonging to an arch from the Augustan period and more recently have been related to the decoration of the façade of the basilica which faces the "Plaça de les Estàtues" (Square of the Statues).⁴⁸ The nearby theatre⁴⁹ can be situated in relation to this forum area with a circuit that connected both urban facilities, designating a route for the imperial cult processions. During the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period, the theatre had imposing sculptural decorations, the oldest element of which is the large marble vessel.⁵⁰ The *scaenae frons*, or background of the stage, must have been decorated with images of the emperor Augustus and his family, making it the first sculptural group, which was later expanded with the subsequent emperors.⁵¹

In the theatre zone, two other large structures were prominent and related to each other, namely the baths and the port, which were the main areas remodelled in the peripheral southwest zone at the beginning of the Empire. The public baths discovered on Apodaca Street are closer to the theatre from the early imperial era, and the Roman

baths from the republican period have not yet been found in Tarragona.⁵² On the other hand, we know that Augustus benefitted from the healing powers of the thermal baths in Tarragona, following the instructions of his physician, Musa.⁵³

We cannot lose sight of the importance of the port to the city's development, although its coastline was further inland than it is today. After the Augustan period there were major efforts to build new port premises and provide the city with a monumental seafront featuring the theatre and baths. We should particularly mention the excavations in the zone known as PERI 2, which have revealed a series of warehouses and a monumental Hellenistic-style republican fountain, one of the most unique elements from republican *Tarraco*, as mentioned above.⁵⁴

During this period, the main doubts revolve around the process of transformation of the upper part of the city. This is an area measuring around 19 hectares with a waning military function in republican times, where a transformational process took place prompted by *Tarraco*'s pioneering role in adopting the imperial cult and, of course, based on the management and representational needs of the capital of *prouincia Hispaniae citerioris*. The availability of public land without the need to expropriate existing *insulae*, the importance of the capital of an imperial-ranked province and its equestrian elites' desire for promotion can be regarded as the factors behind projects on par with those in Rome itself. In this way, during the entire 1st century AD, the city's acropolis experienced constant transformations with the aim of building a propagandistic front visible to the surrounding area and anyone arriving by sea.

In recent decades, the exceptionalism of this area's heritage has prioritised the research carried out in the city and attracted numerous international researchers because of the very synchronous relationship between the urban and ideological transformations of the ancient Roman capitals after the changes experienced in Augustus' Principate. This has been a slow research process, although it has begun to yield results more quickly in recent years. Despite this, many of the conclusions are grounded upon the epigraphic sources and fragments of architectural decoration still remaining today, since in our case the archaeological clues are not very plentiful and very few extensive excavations have been performed to date, for obvious reasons.⁵⁵ If we compare our research with what has been conducted at other provincial capitals of Hispania – Mérida and Córdoba – we can see that different spaces or sanctuaries of worship were revealed to be scattered around their respective urban areas.⁵⁶ In contrast, *Tarraco* is characterised by the attraction of the acropolis which, just like the cathedral today, acts as a visual referent with enormous geographic impact. Today's research claims that two monumentalisation projects were carried out which were so ambitious that they even signalled a change in the orographic profile of the hill of *Tarraco*.

THE IMPERIAL CULT

Immediately after the death of Augustus, a diplomatic mission of *Tarraco* residents travelled to Rome in AD 15 to ask the new leader for authorisation to build a large temple in honour of the first emperor and adoptive father of the current ruler. Tiberius willingly granted permission and, according to reports by the historian Tacitus (*Annals*, I, 78), this was held up as an example for all the provinces in the empire, a phrase which has led many litres of ink to spill but, given the emphasis on the process, inclines us to think that the temple had to outstrip the category of the city to enter the spheres of province. However, we cannot yet talk about a well-organised imperial cult on this level given that we do not have information.⁵⁷ Indeed, the *Tarraco* natives whose diplomatic mission had just returned from Rome decided to build a temple of exceptional proportions with an octastyle façade, that is, one with eight columns, similar to the temple to Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger) from the Augustan forum in Rome. This is an extraordinary building, since there are very few octastyle temples around the Roman Empire, and those that do exist are all singular constructions. Surely the construction of such a large area of worship took many years, but the *Tarraco* natives, diligent and wishing to build a striking project, made an effort to coin sestertii depicting the octastyle façade of the temple and the image of Augustus enthroned and deified, specifying *Deo Augusto* for the sake of greater clarity.⁵⁸ These coins probably circulated for clearly propagandistic motives when construction on the temple had barely begun.

For centuries, its location has been the topic of scholarly debate, and finally it was confirmed geophysically and archaeologically as being under the cathedral of Tarragona, thanks to the archaeological campaigns in 2007, 2010 and 2011. (Fig. 5).

This, then, confirms a common feature of Mediterranean cities: the religious continuity of the most important areas in historical cities. The presence of the Roman temple under the mediaeval temple of Tarragona also forges a point of union with the construction of the Visigothic *episcopium* in this same spot.⁵⁹ All of this scholarly activity is summarised in the identification of the Temple of Augustus, built during the reign of Tiberius, on the city's upper platform right in the middle of a *temenos* that was dismantled during the course of the definitive remodeling of the acropolis in the Flavian period. The overall analysis of the first monumental project establishes the first adaptation of the site with little information and questions as to the degree to which it was completed, and with a series of indicators that point to the use of different urban development patterns than in the second phase.⁶⁰ The current hypotheses assert that the first sacred Augustan area was part of an area defined by the golden ratio, dovetailing morphologically with the coeval Hispanic *fora* where this pattern of measurement has been identified more consistently. On the other hand, the hypotheses



FIGURE 4. Opisthographic inscription with double dedicatory (Pompeius Magnus and Mucius Scaevola), MNAT archive.

of a lower square next to the temple define an urban model whose main referent is the southern slope of the Palatine Hill, with the pattern of the *aedes Apollinis* and the portico of the Danaids. This composition is also reminiscent of the forum of the neighbouring *Caesar Augusta*, a city founded by Augustus in around 15 BC, and it falls within the same territorial organisation programme within which *Barcino* was founded.

The Emperor Augustus' stay in *Tarraco* two times in a row unquestionably prompted the deep rootedness of one of the governing institutions which showed its importance both organisationally and socially and propagandistically. The set-up around the figure of the emperor and his family was clearly a cornerstone of the Roman state, and its efficacy was constantly proven and repeated in the different dynasties in the early Empire throughout the extensive lands it encompassed. In Roman Tarragona, one key institution was the *concilium Prouvinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, which was headquartered in the upper city, corresponding to the provincial forum.⁶¹ This *concilium* brought together the delegations from the seven *conventus iuridici* of the *citerior* province. It has been assumed that this *concilium* had operated since at least AD 15, when *Tarraco* residents requested Tiberius' authorisation to build a temple in honour of the deified Augustus which, as mentioned above, presumably outstripped the colonial category.

However, we have to confess that right now we have no direct epigraphic proof of the provincial priesthoods prior to the Flavian period. After that period, the *flamen prouvinciae Hispaniae citerioris* presided over the *concilium Prouvinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, which was elected each year among those who had usually had a brilliant municipal career, and it thus opened the doors to the *ordo equester*, that is, to the ascent to the knightly order, meaning that once again the imperial cult is revealed to be an asset in favour of social and personal promotion. The number of personages from *Tarraco* who managed to enter this social order is truly impressive in a city character-

ised by being open compared to other cities like Sagunt, which were much more closed, and this obviously also benefitted the other classes in *Tarraco*'s society as well.⁶² We should also consider that the presence of notable figures in proto-imperial Tarragona, like Licinius Sura in the Augustan period and the homonymous ancestor of the close collaborator with the emperor Trajan who ordered the Berà Arch built over Via Augusta, must have unquestionably favoured this mobility.⁶³

One of the specificities of the epigraphy of *Tarraco* is the high number of pedestals which we know were built in honour of the provincial *flamines*,⁶⁴ whose standards were engraved in the reliefs that surrounded the imperial cult premises and are now partly visible on the walls of the cloister of the cathedral (PAT-18). The statues in their honour must have populated the public area, bearing witness to the royal power of the institution with a great deal of influence over the central government. Next to the provincial *flamen* was the *flaminica*, usually his wife, the only time the female estate was depicted.⁶⁵ What is more, a band of functionaries, subordinate staff and freedmen ensured stewardship of the cult as well as its dissemination and omnipresence.

On a municipal scale, too, the cult of the emperor was one of the engines of citizen life in both *Tarraco* and in other cities in the empire, especially the coastal areas and the zones which were more powerfully Romanised. The role of *flamen* was the peak in the career of the municipal magistrates, and the Augustal sevirate allowed individuals who had been born slaves and attained freedom to be promoted, thus ensuring their representation and opening up the door to posts within the *colonia* for their children and descendants. In Roman Tarragona specifically, the cult was organised around two fairly well-known public complexes: the civil basilica in the colonial forum in the lower part of the city, and the theatre, which is unfortunately in an abhorrent state of conservation. In the basilica, we have managed to locate a worship hall and a numerous series of statues and inscriptions in honour of the emperor and his family members, most of which can be dated from the Julio-Claudian period.⁶⁶ A route for cult processions joined this hall with the theatre, just as in other cities in the province,⁶⁷ and the bearer of the bronze bell with the inscription which we believe solved the intricacy must have participated in these celebrations.⁶⁸ The theatre, whose first phase can be dated from the Augustan era, boasted sumptuous decoration, part of which remains which is small but significant enough to attest to the gradual process of ornamentation during the first two centuries of the empire.⁶⁹

One of the first elements in the theatre must have been the large marble vessel from Turkey which we have mentioned above, with plant elements based on acanthus leaves which can be dated from the mid-1st century BC.⁷⁰ Another very early feature is the marble altar from Luni-Carrara devoted to the *numen* or guardian spirit of the emperor, which might date from the proto-imperial peri-

od. Even though it does not come from the altar of Augustus mentioned in the sources and depicted on the coins, it is faithful testimony of the importance of religious homage to the emperor.⁷¹

THE END OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN ERA AND THE FLAVIAN ERA

The first project to monumentalise the public spaces in the upper part of *Tarraco* was followed by the headquarters of the *concilium Prouvinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, which was made up of a sacred area and a large administrative and representative square, with the circus separating the imperial area from the residential city. Thus, during the Flavian dynasty a major imperial project 12 hectares large was defined which remained in use until the early 5th century, when Christianity and the new political context led to its dismantlement. The temple of Augustus remained standing⁷² within a second larger *temenos* – two hectares – whose upper end included a large axial hall which made the urban sanctuary resemble Rome's *forum Pacis*, but with a portico decorated following the iconographic pattern of the *forum Augustum*, featuring large *clipeus* rendered with heads of Jupiter-Ammon. This project was located after the work of Vespasian, who when he started governing rewarded the Roman cities of Hispania with the concession of Latin law (*ius Latii*) for Hispania's key role in what was called the "Year of the Four Emperors" which followed the death of Nero (AD 68), as we shall discuss further on.

The lower square encompassed around six hectares and contained a representative area which held most of the monuments in honour of the most illustrious figures. There we can find numerous pedestals of priests in charge of the imperial cult which show the vitality of this institution in *Tarraco* and its importance as one of the driving forces in the city's life, and as a means of personal and political promotion, as mentioned in the section above. Indeed, as Géza Alföldy accurately stated, such a high level of social mobility is documented in no other city as in *Tarraco*, with spectacular influence of the knightly order, the *ordo equester*. What is more, one of the *specus* of the aqueduct reached this square, and recently a large pond has been documented, which indicates how, just like the *forum Pacis*, this is a monumental space decorated with effigies, kraters, etc.⁷³

The circus, which was built during the reign of Domitian and spread alongside the republican wall, delimited the upper part of the city. Faced with a branch of Via Augusta, its urban planning purpose was to separate the urban zone from the area used for imperial administration. With its monumental façade boasting 55 arches, it was the perfect backdrop for those arriving in the city from *Barcino*. The monumentalisation of *Tarraco* was concluded in the first half of the 2nd century with the construction of a stable amphitheatre financed by the priest

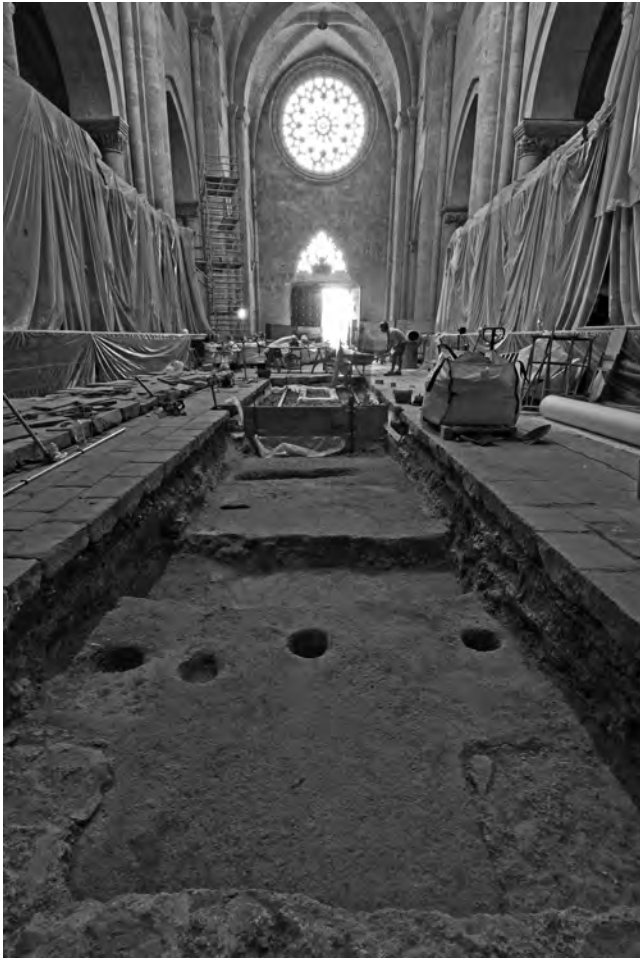


FIGURE 5. Close-up of the archaeological excavations in the cathedral of Tarragona, 2011 (photo: J. M. Macias).

of the imperial cult (CIL II²/14, 1109). The building was decorated by Elagabalus in the year 221 (Fig. 6), as we know from the large inscription that crowned the *podium* and was brilliantly restored by G. Alföldy (CIL II²/14, 921).

Hispania played a key role in what was known as the “Year of the Four Emperors”, AD 68, when upon Nero’s death Galba, Otho and Vitellius briefly occupied the imperial throne until Vespasian was definitely confirmed in AD 69.⁷⁴ And we know precisely who the governor of the province of *Hispania citerior* was under the reign of Nero: from AD 60 to 68, Galba ruled, the man who would be appointed emperor by the Senate as Nero’s successor.⁷⁵ A fragmentary epigraph found in the colonial forum shows this: it is the honorific pedestal of *Raecius Gallus, tribunus militum Galbae imperatoris*, the adoptive son of the *Tarraco* senator *M. Raecius Taurus*. The monument was built at the end of Vespasian’s rule (AD 79) after he had served as a praetor between AD 78 and 79, and it attests to Galba’s policy of supporting the notables of the province when choosing the commanders of the Seventh Galbian Legion.⁷⁶

In the late years of his government – or more accurately lack of government – Nero sent them around *tournee* in Greece, participating in a host of games and contests

which he naturally won. He was virtually unaware of the seriousness of the situation until the end of his days, which would lead him to a cowardly end.⁷⁷ Indeed, while Nero was living his bohemian life, in Gallia there was an uprising led by Julius Vindex, who sought an alliance with Sulpicius Galba in Hispania, where he was strong thanks to his lengthy stint as provincial governor of the *citerior* with the support of notable locals.⁷⁸ After a failed attack on his life, Galba revolted in April of AD 68 and the Senate declared him a public enemy and confiscated all his assets in Italy (Plutarch, *Galba*, v, 4-6). However, events took a 180-degree turn: in Clunia – *Colonia Clunia Sulpicia*, that is – in July of AD 68 Galba, aged 73, received word from the mouth of an *Icelus* that he had been proclaimed emperor, and the *Tarraco* residents took his side.⁷⁹

However, Suetonius reports on a deed that diminished the popularity of the new emperor. The *Tarraco* residents offered him a golden crown weighing 15 pounds from the temple of Jupiter, but Galba decided to melt it down, and even he complained about a few ounces he believed were missing (Suetonius, *Galba*, XII, 1). This gesture, which verged on sacrilege, gave him a reputation for greed. Before leaving Hispania, Galba eliminated Nero’s supporters and abolished certain taxes, a deed he commemorated by minting coins over which there have been debates as to whether they were issued in Tarragona, a question which is never more than conjecture and requires further study in the future.⁸⁰ For this reason, the title of the article by F. S. Kleiner is quite dangerous when he uses the image of aces engraved on the reverse of a coin to reach the conclusion that there used to be an arch of Galba Tarragona.⁸¹ Galba then went to Italy by land, accompanied by his faithful Seventh Galbian Legion and carrying a dagger hanging from his neck over his chest on top of his military garb (Suetonius, *Galba*, XI, 2). However, his reign was only to last seven months: in early AD 69 he was assassinated at the instigation of Otho, who was an even shorter-lived emperor than Galba, as was Vitellius. Stability came at the end of that same year when Vespasian became emperor.

THE END OF THE GOLDEN AGE

The second half of the 2nd century became a turning point in classical *Tarraco*, whose evolution is a faithful example of the economic, social and religious transformation experienced by the western cities of the Roman Empire.

The pathway to late antiquity within the *conventus Tarraconensis* shows that cities 90 hectares large were unsustainable, both economically and demographically. Even though *Tarraco* continued to be an active port, its possibilities within the new economic context made the old model of early imperial city unviable. There was a regress in the productive system based on the *villae* with surplus production, clearly associated with the decline in the local and provincial oligarchies which had been essen-



FIGURE 6. Aerial view of the amphitheatre of Tarragona with the two Christian basilicas. Desdedalt-ICAC-MHT archive.

tial in sustaining the operating costs of the urban and free-time facilities. What is more, the spread of Christianity influenced a disaffection towards traditional free-time practices in Roman society and naturally towards everything surrounding the imperial cult as a sense of belonging to the Empire.

The regress of the city after the 2nd century is well known,⁸² and the most recent archaeology has confirmed the veracity of the historical sources regarding the partial destruction of *Tarraco* by the Franks in the AD 260s.⁸³ The psychological impact of this episode must have been enormous and decisive within a regressive process which led to a point of no return in the wealthy early-imperial city. The archaeological research clearly defines this process in the residential and productive areas – the archaeology of everyday life – and captures it in the analysis of the processes of urban contraction and disuse of the roadway network, developed jointly with the waste elimination system and the potable water supply. They gradually evolved toward the dismantlement of the hippodamus city and the transformation of the urban rituals and sites.

In the new late-ancient city, the technological and productive crisis, the disappearance of the local elites and the

rising influence of Christianity sowed the seeds of the transition to the Middle Ages. This process is more difficult to date in relation to the archaeology of the public spaces, where evidence of architectural preservation does not necessarily imply continuity of the ancient pagan practices. The monumentality of the late-imperial public architecture would become an element of prestige in the exhausted Hispanic cities, and we are not entirely sure about their processes of functional substitution. In this sense, we should bear in mind the importance of *Tarraco* and the fact that by the 5th century, the city was the last capital under imperial control on the Peninsula. In this context, we should view the architectural transformations detected by archaeology as the last consequence of a process of evolution and functional substitution which, just like all processes of evolution and/or ideological transformation, underwent a phase of syncretism and eclecticism.

Archaeology also reveals the abandonment of the sewage system of the Roman theatre after the late 2nd century, although we are also aware of a *mimographus* during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (CIL II²/14, 857). For this reason, we should wonder how long the *ludi scaenici* lasted during the final period of the theatre area. By the 4th cen-

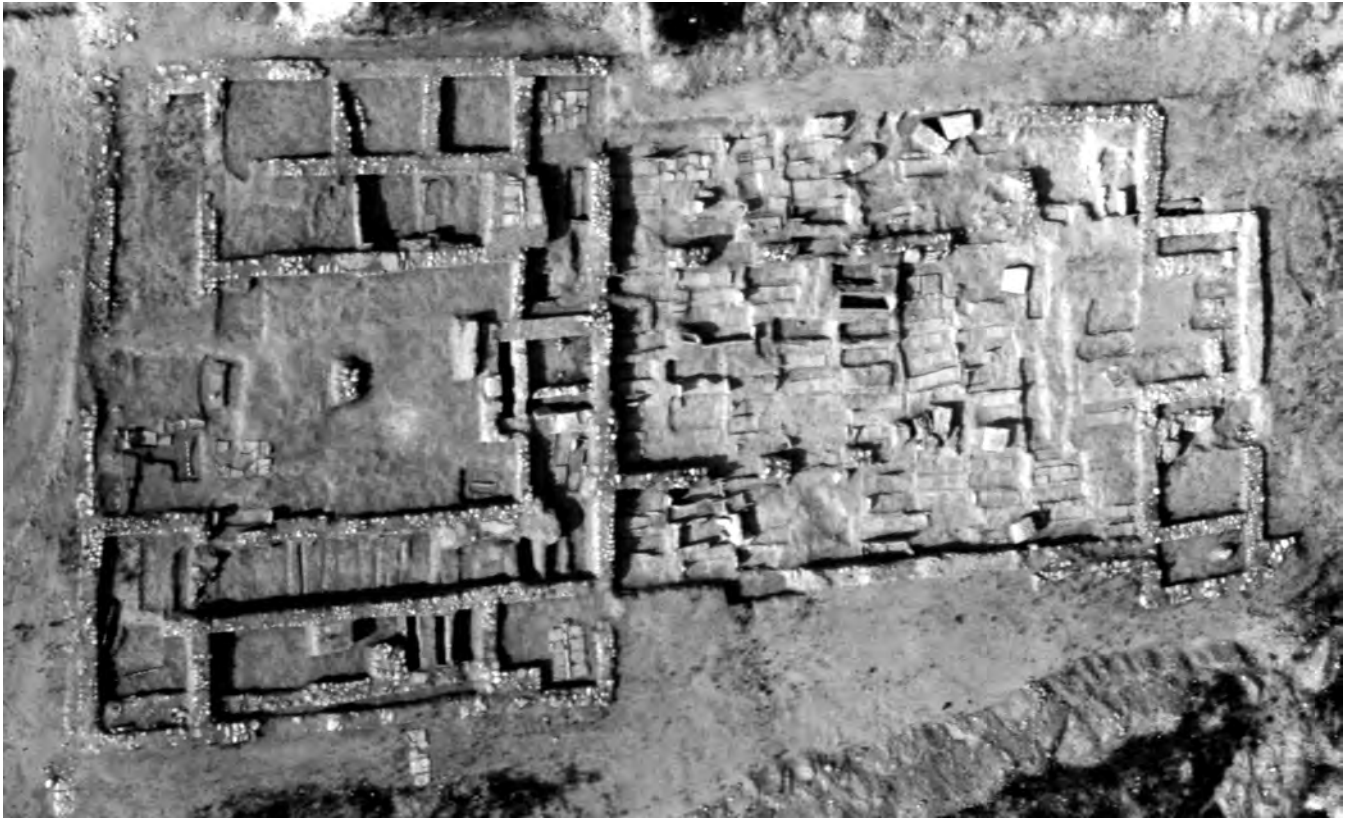


FIGURE 7. Aerial view of the northern funeral basilica in the suburb by the Francolí River (photo: Àngel Rifà).

tury, the city's forum seems to have been abandoned, and some of its epigraphs began to be used on the funeral containers in the large suburban necropolis on the Francolí River, called the *Tulcis* in ancient times. The disappearance of the forum must be related to the crisis in the urban elites and shows how those who remained were no longer organised around the ancient curia or basilica. In this regard, the scarce epigraphic data point to the provincial governors' contributions to financing the most important public works, and the continuation of the meetings of the *concilium Prouvinciae* is documented until the 3rd century at the latest (CIL II²/14, 993). In contrast, inscription CIL II²/14, 837 from the late 2nd or early 3rd century attests to the existence of a *praetorium consulare* as the physical site of the emerging power of the *praesides prouvinciae*, or provincial governors, most of whom had a military background and who acted as the increasingly supervisory representatives of the Empire.

With regard to the amphitheatre or circus, we do not know for certain until when their respective shows were held. The restoration of the amphitheatre by Elagabalus in 221 is an example of imperial euergetism⁸⁴ in *Tarraco*, and therefore it indicates the local elites' difficulties in maintaining such a prominent space. What is more, the decoration of the marble in the amphitheatre dovetailed in time with the elimination of the original service lift installed in the *fossae*. At that time, the commemorative pedestal in the podium was reused (CIL II²/14, 1014), and after the late 3rd century the votive offerings disappeared

from the sanctuary of Nemesis located inside the sand pit. Perhaps the *munera* disappeared in the 4th century as the result of economic crisis, and especially because in 259 the building had become the site of the martyrdom of Bishop Fructuosus and his two deacons. Despite this, the amphitheatre remained intact until the mid-5th century, but we cannot distinguish whether it remained in use as an entertainment venue to host *venationes* or whether it was a site of Christian worship through a small *memoria*.⁸⁵

These doubts are related to defining the degree of influence of Christianity in the city's urban planning. Although it is true that the funerary topography indicates a deep-seated transformation after the second half of the 3rd century, the earliest signs of Christian architecture come from the late 4th or early 5th century, only after Theodosius's Edict of Thessalonica. The first Hispanic bishop is documented in *Tarraco* in the *passio Fructuosi*, and this was fundamental in the formation of one of the most important *tumulaciones ad sanctos* in the western Mediterranean, in addition to the construction of a large Christian complex on the outskirts of town, of which today we are aware of two basilicas and numerous buildings with privileged, extraordinarily richly decorated tombs, such as those covered with mosaic and the series of important sarcophaguses (Fig. 7).⁸⁶

In 384 we have evidence from the *Epístola I. Siricii papae ad Himerium episcopum Tarraconensem*. This document sheds light on the metropolitan role of the bishop of

Tarraco with regard to the other Hispanic churches. However, while we do have clear historical evidence of the first episcopacy in the city, mentioned in the correspondence between Saint Augustine and Consencius in 419, we do not have any archaeological proof.⁸⁷

This document shows the influence of Christianity on the citizenry and explains the temporal complexity of the process of consolidating a faith which was already positioned with respect to the political power. By the 5th century, *Tarraco* was a fully Christian city and had consummated the transformation of the previous urban model. This twofold nature was consolidated by urbanistically absorbing its central part, while an extensive port sector remained active and the central area of the upper grounds, the former *concilium Prouvinciae*, was gradually privatised. That did not happen to the circus, which remained unaltered until the last quarter of the century, just after the city was occupied by the Visigoths. We have been unable to determine the fate of the Temple of Augustus and the entire two-hectare sacred enclosure during this period. Despite the fact that Theodosius' edict signalled the definitive disappearance of the imperial cult, the ancient temple remained standing throughout the entire 5th century, and it was quite possibly reused to house Christian worship. Within this context, a new architecture of power emerged that restricted the most important constructions to the new urban elites, and the disappearance of the municipality was offset by the emerging power of the Church, defining a new collective expressiveness that entailed the disappearance of the old squares or *fora* and the establishment of the *ecclesiae* as the ceremonial epicentres.

To conclude, the 6th century marked the definitive consolidation of the Christianisation of the city's topography. Once the Roman administration had vanished and the Church power had settled in, there were no limitations to an urban transformation that led to a visible hierarchy that has remained in place until today. The *temenos* of the imperial cult built during the Flavian period was deconsecrated in the second quarter of the 5th century, a time when numerous urban waste dumps have been documented, although no evidence of the destruction of the Temple of Augustus has been found. The main transformation took place, just like in the circus, at the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. The latest excavations performed inside the mediaeval cathedral⁸⁸ show how the temple of the imperial cult was totally demolished during this period at a date near the construction of a series of monumental halls nearby. Deposits of waste with a great deal of marble debris have been found near it, the outcome of the expert *officinae marmorariae* who dismantled the architectural decorations, revealing the permanent disappearance of Roman art in view of the Christianisation of society in the Visigothic era.

This evidence, along with the remains of an *ecclesia* inside the main axial hall of the *temenos*, have led to the belief that a Visigothic temple was set up on the city's upper platform.⁸⁹ After the Temple of Augustus had been

dismantled, the former *temenos* kept its function as a prestigious referent in the Visigothic city. Centuries later, the construction of the mediaeval cathedral would affect this: the episcopacy would become the city's main square, the backdrop of a new Visigothic religious and civil power. The portico around the perimeter of the Flavian *temenos* was dismantled, but the wall of its peribolus was not and instead became a core feature of the new urban design. On the northeast corner of the square, an important complex has been documented consisting of at least three halls whose construction yielded a new entrance to the square. We believe that there is no clear archaeological evidence leading to a precise identification – church halls or alternatively *palatium* of the Visigothic *comes* – but its construction shows a skilfully planned overall temple-building programme, and the hypothesis of a second church area located a little over 30 metres away with a funerary area in the middle is highly likely.

With the arrival of Islam, the city lost the scant geostrategic value it still had in the organisational model of Visigothic Hispania, whose epicentre was in Toledo. The surging importance of *Barcino* acted as a counterweight to the ancient Roman provincial capital, such that with the disappearance of the Visigothic organisation and that of its Church, *Tarraco* or *Tarracona* witnessed the end of the chances of survival of a common urban project. The centuries of the city's abandonment until the reconquest of the Catalan countships were the outcome of the historical context, yet also of the city's meagre vitality during the early Middle Ages.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] However, this does not discount the problems inherent in managing and preserving the heritage of a city with 145,000 inhabitants which is the capital of the second largest metropolitan area in Catalonia. Even today, this research and dissemination is conducted in the absence of a single coordinating unit. In this context, many institutions do their part and take an interest in this effort: the Regional Districts of the Generalitat de Catalunya, the Tarragona Town Hall, the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV), the archbishopric, the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona (MNAT) and the Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica (ICAC) are the institutions that have traditionally shouldered this responsibility. However, since the 1990s new heritage agents have joined them and diversified the professional actions and the channels for disseminating the results, most of which are compiled in the *Butlletí Arqueològic* published since 1901 by the private organisation Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense; the "Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica" collection promoted since 1993 by the Universitat Rovira i Virgili; and the "Documenta" and "Hic et Nunc" series published by the Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica since 2004, which include studies about

Tarragona. Josep M. MACIAS. "La musealización de Tarraco. De la realidad al posibilismo". In: Rafael HIDALGO (ed.). *La ciudad dentro de la ciudad. La tutela y conservación del patrimonio arqueológico en el ámbito urbano*. Seville 2010, pp. 205-230.

- [2] This is an area measuring approximately 4,400 km² where numerous studies have been conducted focusing on the architecture and historical evolution of rural settlements, as well as the patterns of economic exploitation and territorial organisational based on the cadastral and roadway networks. In this sense, see the "Ager Tarraconensis" collection compiled in the "Documenta" series, 16, published ICAC, supervised by Marta Prevosti and Josep Guitart.
- [3] In this process, we would like to highlight the work by Josep M. MACIAS, Ignacio FIZ, Lluís PIÑOL, Maria T. MIRÓ and Josep GUITART. *Planimetria Arqueològica de Tarraco*. Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, Tarragona 2007, "Documenta" series, 5 (PAT). This volume offers the first exhaustive compilation of the archaeological documentation on the city based on a geographic information system (GIS), and it provides the scientific groundwork to update subsequent archaeological discoveries by inserting them into the current cadastre. Henceforth, we shall cite the information from this compendium as PAT-file no. What is more, it provides the information needed to create the large reconstructed model of the city, a municipal project which recreates the Roman city from the early 2nd century AD on a scale of 1:500 (see Figure 1). A preliminary interpretative essay on the city's architecture was later published based on proposals of three-dimensional analysis and on the information presented in the "Planimetria Arqueològica de Tarraco" project (Ricardo MAR, Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, David VIVÓ and José A. BELTRÁN-CABALLERO. *Tarraco. Arquitectura y urbanismo de una capital provincial romana*. Vol. 1. URV-ICAC, Tarragona 2012, "Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica" 5). Recently Ricardo MAR, Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, David VIVÓ, José A. BELTRÁN-CABALLERO. *Tarraco. Arquitectura y urbanismo de una capital provincial romana*. Vol. II. URV-ICAC, Tarragona 2015, "Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica" 6. We also wish to highlight the updating of the epigraphic corpus of the city and its territory, which is crucial to the social and historical analysis of Tarraco (Géza ALFÖLDY. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Vol. 2. *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, Pars 14: Conventus Tarraconensis, fasciculus 2, fasciculus 3: Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York 2011 and Berlin and Boston 2012, respectively.) Henceforth we shall cite these epigraphs as CIL II²/14, epigraph no.
- [4] See note 14.
- [5] Cf. the status of this issue in Isabel RODÀ. "Hispania en las provincias occidentales del Imperio durante la República y el Alto Imperio: una perspectiva arqueológica". In: Javier ANDREU, Javier CABRERO and Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Hispaniae. Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano*. ICAC, Tarragona 2009, "Documenta" series, 11, pp. 194-196; Isabel RODÀ. "Hispania: From the Roman Republic to the Reign of Augustus". In: Jane de R. EVANS (ed.). *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, 2013, pp. 523-525. Likewise the synthesis by Josep A. REMOLÀ and Esther RAMON. "Tarraco, origine et évolution d'une ville". In: Pilar SADA and Daniel CAZES (coord.). *Tarraco. Capitale de l'Hispania Citerior*. Musée Saint-Raymond. Toulouse 2006, pp. 31-53.
- [6] François CADIOU. *Hibera in terra miles. Les armées romaines et la conquête de l'Hispanie sous la République (218-45 av. J.-C.)*. Casa de Velázquez, Madrid 2008, pp. 29-33.
- [7] Lately questioned by Ramon JÁRREGA. "Tarraco Scipionum Opus. ¿Escipión Emiliano fundador de Tarraco?". *Butlletí Arqueològic*, no. 26 (2004), pp. 23-66. However, this hypothesis is still uncertain.
- [8] We are referring to the mythic *via Heraklea (via Egnatia) / Ὀδοσ Ἡρακλεία* mentioned by ancient geographers and historians: Timeus of Taormina (*De mirab. acus.*, 85), Polybius (III, 39) and Strabo (III, 4, 9).
- [9] With regard to the equation of Kesse with Tarrakon, see Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-46 and 68-71. These authors estimate a city which occupied ten hectares, but this is based on isolated archaeological data located at different orographic levels which may correspond to a port establishment more than reflect a specific part of the city. Cf. M. Isabel PANOSA. *De Kesse a Tarraco*. Consell Comarcal del Tarragonès, Tarragona, 2009, pp. 21-67.
- [10] Jaume NOGUERA, Eduard BLE and Pau VALDÉS. *La Segona Guerra Púnica al nord-est d'Ibèria: una revisió necessària*. Societat Catalana d'Arqueologia, Barcelona 2013, pp. 72-96. The hypothesis of the location of the battle of Cissa in the area of Valls has been put forth by Jordi López; see *El Vallenc* (20-12-2013) and *Archeonea*. *Butlletí electrònic de l'ICAC*, no. 33 (February 2014). Cf. M. Isabel PANOSA, *De Kesse...*, *op. cit.*, p. 69. With regard to the latest Iberian finds, which reaffirm the value of this enclave as a port, see Moisés DÍAZ. "Noves evidències de l'urbanisme romà i ibèric a l'àrea portuària de la ciutat: les intervencions al solar número 18 del carrer Jaume I de Tarragona". In: *Tribuna d'Arqueologia 2007*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2008, pp. 169-194.
- [11] M. Isabel PANOSA, *De Kesse...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-46 and 69.
- [12] In relation to the wall, see the latest contribution by its lead researcher, Theodor HAUSCHILD. "Die römischen Tore des 2 Jhs. v. Chr. in der Stadmauer von Tarragona". In: Thomas SCHATTNER and Fernando VALDÉS (ed.). *Stadttore Batyp und Kunstform / Puertas de ciudades. Tipo arquitectónico y forma artística*. Mainz, Toledo 2003, pp. 153-171. Regarding the historical evolution of the monument and its influence on the urban structure of the contemporary city, see Joan J. MENCHON. *La muralla de Tarragona. Una aproximació*. Societat Catalana d'Arqueologia, Barcelona 2009. For the relief of Minerva,

- see: Wilhelm GRÜNHAGEN. "Bemerkungen zum Minerva-Relief in der Stadtmauer von Tarragona". *Madridider Mitteilungen*, no. 17 (1976), pp. 209-225; Francisco PINA. "Minerva, custos urbis de Roma y de Tarraco". *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, no. 76 (2003), pp. 111-119. For the inscription: CIL II²/14, 841: Géza ALFÖLDY. "Die älteste römische Inschrift der iberischen Halbinsel". *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, no. 43 (1981), pp. 1-12; Borja DÍAZ. *Epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania*. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2008, pp. 146-148, no. C58.
- [13] Xavier AQUILUÉ, Xavier DUPRÉ, Jaume MASSÓ and Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO. "La cronologia de les muralles de Tàrraco". *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 271-304.
- [14] François CADIOU. *Hibera in terra miles...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-344. David HOURCADE. "Praesidium ou urbs? Réflexions au sujet de la première phase de la muraille de Tarraco (Tarragone)". In: François CADIOU and Milagros NAVARRO (ed.). *La guerre et ses traces. Conflits et sociétés en Hispanie à l'époque de la conquête romaine (IIIe-1er s. A.C.)*. Ausonius, Bordeaux 2014, pp. 319-340, "Mémoires" collection, 36.
- [15] There have even been theories about the existence of an early residential area in the lower part of the city, where there is documentation of urban discordance with the great reform from the late 2nd century BC. Moisés DÍAZ, Josep M. MACIAS and Imma TEIXELL. "Intervencions al carrer Sevilla núms. 12-14. Noves dades per a l'evolució urbana del 'Casc Antic' de Tàrraco". *Butlletí Arqueològic*, no. 27 (2005), pp. 47-103.
- [16] Identified for the first time in Josep M. MACIAS. "L'urbanisme de Tàrraco a partir de les excavacions de l'entorn del Fòrum de la ciutat". In: Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO (ed.). *Tàrraco 99. Arqueologia d'una capital provincial romana*. Tarragona 2000, pp. 83-106, "Documents d'Arqueologia Clàssica" collection, 3. This urban planning process has been dated from the late 2nd century BC.
- [17] Cristòfor SALOM. "El *auguraculum* de la Colonia Tarraco". *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, no. 79 (2006), pp. 69-87.
- [18] See Moisés DÍAZ and Josep M. PUCHE. "El proceso de urbanización de la Tarraco republicana: los niveles constructivos del colector principal de la ciudad". *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent*, no. 11 (2003), pp. 291-319; Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 162-180. Josep M. PALET and Héctor ORENGO. "The centuriations of the Ager Tarraconensis: Spatial organisation and conceptualisation". In: *Ager Tarraconensis 1. Aspectes històrics i marc natural*. ICAC, Tarragona 2010, "Documenta" series, 16, pp. 121-154.
- [19] Josep A. REMOLÀ and César A. POCIÑA. "La font dels Lleons". In: Pilar SADA (dir.). *Tarraco i l'aigua*. Exhibition catalogue. MNAT, Tarragona 2004, pp. 53-66; Josep A. REMOLÀ and Esther RAMON. "Tarraco, origine...", *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; César A. POCIÑA. "La fuente monumental de la parcela 30 del PERI 2 de Tarragona". In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrés Internacional en homenatge a Th. Hauschild (Tarragona 2009)*. *Butlletí Arqueològic*, no. 32 (2010), pp. 619-638; PAT-588; Imma TEIXELL. *La font dels lleons: aproximació a la circulació monetària de Tàrraco (segona meitat del segle II dC - primer quart del v dC)*. Tarragona 2008, pp. 28-29.
- [20] Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, David VIVÓ and Ricardo MAR, "El capitolio de Tarraco. Identificación y primeras observaciones". In: Desiderio VAQUERIZO and Juan F. MURILLO (ed.). *El concepto de lo provincial en el mundo antiguo. Homenaje a Pilar León Alonso*. Vol. I, Córdoba 2006, pp. 391-417; PAT-434; Ricardo MAR, Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO and David VIVÓ. "Las tres fases constructivas del Capitolio de Tarragona". In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrés...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-540; Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-180.
- [21] Josep A. REMOLÀ. "Tarraco quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet". In: Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO (ed.). *Simulacra Romae, Roma y las capitales provinciales del Occidente Europeo*. *Estudios Arqueológicos*. Tarragona 2004, pp. 49-72. Ignacio FIZ and Josep M. MACIAS. "El port modern i la nova població de la Marina". In: Josep M. MACIAS (ed.). *Les termes públiques de l'àrea portuària de Tàrraco. Carrer de Sant Miquel de Tarragona*. ICAC, Tarragona 2004, "Documenta", series, 2, pp. 14-20. Ignacio FIZ and Josep M. MACIAS. "Forma Tarraconis? GIS use for urban archaeology". In: A. FIGUEIREDO and G. VELHO (ed.). *The World is in your Eyes. Proceedings of the XXXIII Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology Conference*. Tomar 2005, pp. 423-427. Ricardo MAR, Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO and David VIVÓ, "El capitolio de Tarraco". In: Ioan PISO and Rada VARGA (ed.), *Trajan und seine Städte*, Cluj-Napoca 2015, pp. 37-68.
- [22] We are referring to the structures in *opus quadratum* which do not show the usual megalithic foundation and are positioned in relation with the wall itself (cf. PAT-470 and 474; Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95 and Fig. 46). More problematic is the hypothesis of a *porta marina* just over the weak terraced structures of a ravine which housed the city's main sewer (Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-112). These walls are more than 4 metres deep and 60 cm wide; they are made of small stones bonded by clay and laid out to compartmentalise the ravine's filled embankment, as its excavators have revealed. What is more, the timeline of these walls is situated at around the year 100, much later than the final construction of the wall. Moisés DÍAZ, Josep M. MACIAS and Imma TEIXELL. "L'entorn urbà". In: Josep M. MACIAS (ed.). *Les termes públiques...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78; Moisés DÍAZ and Josep M. PUCHE, "El proceso de urbanización...", *op. cit.*, pp. 291-319.
- [23] Ignacio FIZ and Josep M. MACIAS. "L'urbanisme". In: Josep M. MACIAS *et al.* *PAT*, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-40. On the other hand, the use of georeferencing on the historical map and its later superimposition on archaeological planime-

- try enables us to document the continuity of the Roman roadway system, which was reconverted into a web of roads after the late ancient period. This technique has enabled us to identify the urban plots of land in the city's port area: Ignacio FIZ and Josep M. MACIAS. "Forma Tarraconis? GIS...", *op. cit.*, pp. 423-427.
- [24] Few stratigraphic remains have been found here because of the transformations in the great Flavian project. This is an area that extends between 50 and 80 m over sea level and, depending on ancient information, possible walls of *opus siliceum* similar to the base of the wall, functional terraces have been hypothesised (Joan J. MENCHON. *La muralla de Tarragona...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-150; RICARDO MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, fig. 91).
- [25] As reported by Enrique ARIÑO, Josep M. GURT and Josep M. PALET. *El pasado presente. Arqueología de los paisajes en la Hispania romana*. Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca 2004, pp. 172-173. A more recent analysis can be found in Josep M. PALET, Ignacio FIZ and Héctor ORENCO. "Modelación y conceptualización del paisaje romano en el *Ager Tarraconensis*: Tarraco y la centuriación del territorio". In: Cristina CORSI and Frank VERMAULEN (ed.). *Changing Landscapes. The Impact of Roman Towns in the Western Mediterranean. Proceedings of the International Colloquium*, Universidade de Évora, Évora 2010, pp. 167-184.
- [26] CIL II²/14, 988, 991; Jaume MASSÓ. "Inscripció opistògrafa, dedicada a Pompeu i a Escèvola". In: Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Tarraco porta de Roma*. Exhibition catalogue. Barcelona 2001, p. 73, no. 30; Jaume MASSÓ. "Plaque lapidarie d'un piédestal". In: Pilar SADA and Daniel CAZES (coord.) *Tarraco. Capitale...*, *op. cit.*, p. 86, no. 3.1; Borja DÍAZ, *Epigrafía latina...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149, no. C59.
- [27] We learn this from the brilliant restitution of the fragmentary inscription in *Tarraco* CIL II²/14, 977, made by Géza ALFÖLDY, "Wann wurde Tarraco römische Kolonie?". In: G. PACI (ed.). *Epigrafai. Miscelanea Epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*. Macerata 2000, pp. 3-22. Cf. Jaume MASSÓ. "Inscripció dedicada al patró de la colònia *Tarraco*". In: Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Tarraco, porta...*, *op. cit.*, p. 79, no. 39; Borja DÍAZ, *Epigrafía latina...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150, no. C60. Regarding the patrons of Empúries: Géza ALFÖLDY, "*Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus, patronus von Emporiae*". *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, no. 50-51 (1977-1978), pp. 47-54; Isabel RODÀ. "Els lloctinents de Juli Cèsar, primers patrons d'Empúries". *Empúries*, no. 48-50 (1986-1989), vol. II, pp. 246-249; Borja DÍAZ. *Epigrafía latina...* *op. cit.*, pp. 165-168, no. C80-82.
- [28] Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-220; Jordi LÓPEZ. "César contra Pompeyo. *Glandes inscriptae* de la batalla de Ilerda (49 aC)". *Chiron*, no. 43 (2013), pp. 431-457; Jordi LÓPEZ. "*Glandes inscriptae* a l'ager *Tarraconensis*". In: Jordi LÓPEZ (ed.). *Tarraco Biennial. Actes del 1er Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic. Govern i societat a la Hispània romana, novetats epigràfiques. Homenatge a Géza ALFÖLDY (Tarragona 2012)*. Tarragona 2013, pp. 175-184.
- [29] Géza ALFÖLDY. "Introducción histórica". In: Xavier DUPRÉ (ed.). *Las capitales provinciales de Hispania 3. Tarragona, colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*. Rome 2004 (Catalan translation, Tarragona 2008), p. 8; Isaías ARRAYÁS. *Morfología histórica del territorio de Tarraco (ss. III-I a.C.)*. Barcelona 2005, pp. 72-86. Cf. Géza ALFÖLDY. "Tàrraco, capital de la Hispània Citerior". *Kessse*, no. 28 (1999), pp. 7-12; Géza ALFÖLDY. "Tarraco, capital de la província més gran de l'Imperi romà". In: Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Tarraco, porta...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.
- [30] Géza ALFÖLDY. *Fasti Hispanienses*. Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 3-66. In the excavations in Ca la Garsa (Plaça dels Àngels / Plaça Rovellat) in Tarragona, the upper left corner of a pedestal was found, which can be attributed to the governor *Rutilius Pudens Crispinus* whom until now we have only known through an inscription in Rome: CIL II²/14, 992a (Géza ALFÖLDY, *ibid.*, pp. 59-60).
- [31] See note 40.
- [32] Antonio GARCÍA Y BELLIDO. "Nacimiento de la legión VI Gemina". In: *Legio VII Gemina (León 1968)*. León 1970, pp. 303-329; Albino GARZETTI. "Legio VII Hisp(ana)". In: *Legio VII...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-336; Patrick LE ROUX. *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409*. Paris 1982, pp. 132, 140, 151-152 and 314; Juan J. PALAO, *Legio VII Gemina (Pia) Felix. Estudios de una legión romana*. Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca 2006, pp. 44-51.
- [33] Géza ALFÖLDY. "Introducción històrica", *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO. "Tarraco. Escenografía del poder, administración y justicia en una capital provincial romana (s. II a.C. - II d.C.)". *Empúries*, no. 51 (1998), pp. 31-61.
- [34] Duncan FISHWICK. "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco". *Madriider Mitteilungen*, no. 23 (1982), p. 223; Isaías ARRAYÁS. "Tarraco, omphalós del món grecoromà. L'ambaixada de Mitilene a Tarraco". In: Marta PREVOSTI, Jordi LÓPEZ and Josep GUITART (ed.). *Ager Tarraconensis 5. Actes del Simposi Internacional (Tarragona 2010)*, ICAC, Tarragona 2013, "Documenta" series, 16, pp. 425-435.
- [35] Géza ALFÖLDY. *Tarraco...*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- [36] Andrew BURNETT, Michel AMANDRY and Pere Pau RIPOLLÈS. *Roman Provincial Coinage I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*. London and Paris 1992, pp. 104-105, no. 218, 221, 225 and 231; Pascal CAPUS. "Sesterce de l'atelier monétaire de Tarraco". In: Pilar SADA and Daniel CAZES (coord.). *Tarraco. Capitale...*, *op. cit.*, p. 91, no. 3.6; Duncan FISHWICK. "The Altar...", *op. cit.*; Duncan FISHWICK. *Precinct, Temple, Altar in Roman Spain. Studies in the Imperial Monuments of Mérida and Tarragona*. Abingdon 2013; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, Ricardo MAR, Javier DOMINGO and Ignacio FIZ. "Etapas y elementos de la decoración arquitectónica en el desarrollo monumental de la ciudad de Tarraco (s. II a.C. - I d.C.)". In: Sebastián F. RAMALLO (ed.). *La decoración arquitectónica en las ciudades romanas de Occidente (Cartagena 2003)*. Murcia 2004, pp. 123-126;

- Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO. “El altar y el templo de Augusto en la Colonia Tarraco. Estado de la cuestión”. In: José Miguel NOGUERA (ed.). *Fora Hispaniae. Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*. Murcia 2009, pp. 155-189, “Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Murcia” collection, 3.
- [37] Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO. “El altar y el templo...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-189.
- [38] With regard to the costs, cf. Ricardo MAR and Patrizio PENSABENE. “Financiación de la edilicia pública y cálculo de los costes del material lapídeo: El caso del foro superior de Tarraco”. In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrès...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-413, fig. 18. Regarding the debateable location of the altar in front of the temple to Augustus, this was discussed for the first time in Patrizio PENSABENE and Ricardo MAR. “Il tempio di Augusto a Tarraco. Gigantismo e marmo lunense nei luogui di culto imperiale in Hispania e Gallia”. *Archeologia Classica*, vol. 61, no. 11 (2010), pp. 243-308, fig. 27. Later the issue was revisited in Ricardo MAR and Patrizio PENSABENE. “Financiación de la edilicia...”, *op. cit.*, fig. 18; RICARDO MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-348, especially fig. 225, p. 369.
- [39] Jean-Pierre BOST, Manuel MARTÍN-BUENO and Jean-Michel RODDZ. “L’Aquitaine et le Nord de l’Hispanie sous les empereurs Julio-Claudiens”. In: *L’Aquitaine et l’Hispanie septentrionale à l’époque julio-claudienne. Organisation et exploitation des espaces provinciaux. IV^e Colloque Aquitania (Saintes 2003)*. Bordeaux 2005, pp. 17-50. On the 15th and 16th of November 2007 there was an interesting colloquium entitled “Hispania et Gallia: deux provinces de l’Occident Romain” at the Colegio de España in Paris. Cf. Isabel RODÀ. “Hispania en las provincias...”, *op. cit.*; Isabel RODÀ. “Hispania: From the Roman Republic...”, *op. cit.*
- [40] Isabel RODÀ. “El papel de Agripa en la trama urbana de la Hispania augustea”. In: Antonio RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO (coord.). *Los orígenes de la ciudad en el noroeste hispánico (Lugo 1996)*. Vol. I. Lugo 1998, pp. 275-293; Isabel RODÀ “La figura de Agripa en Hispania”. In: *Arqueología militar romana en Europa (Segovia 2001)*. Segovia 2005, pp. 319-331; Jean-Michel RODDZ. “Agripa y la Península Ibérica”. *Anas*, no. 6 (1993), pp. 111-126 (Spanish translation of the French paper published in *Il bimillenario di Agrippa*, Genova 1990, pp. 57-81). A good recent synthesis on this stage is by Joaquín L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA. “Hispania romana: de Escipión a los visigodos”. In: Eduardo SÁNCHEZ-MORENO (coord.). *Protohistoria y Antigüedad de la Península Ibérica*. Vol. II. *La Iberia prerromana y la Romanidad*. Madrid 2008, pp. 450-469.
- [41] Marta PREVOSTI and Antoni MARTÍN (ed.). *El vi tarraconense i laietà: ahir i avui*. ICAC, Tarragona 2009, “Documenta” series, 7.
- [42] Judit CIURANA and Josep M. MACIAS. “La ciudad extensa: usos y paisajes suburbanos de Tarraco”. In: Desiderio VAQUERIZO (ed.). *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica*. Córdoba 2010, pp. 309-334, “Monografías de arqueología cordobesa” collection, 18; Ricardo MAR *et al.* *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-326.
- [43] Ada CORTÉS. “L’arquitectura domèstica a Tarraco. Època tardorepublicana i altimperial”. In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrès...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 569-594.
- [44] Xavier AQUILUÉ. “Arquitectura official”. In: Xavier DUPRÉ (ed.). *Las capitales provinciales...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.
- [45] See note 20.
- [46] Ricardo MAR, Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO. “Tribunal/Aedes Augusti. Algunos ejemplos hispanos de la introducción del culto imperial en las basílicas forenses”. In: Julián GONZÁLEZ and Javier ARCE (ed.). *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis*. Madrid 1988, pp. 277-304, “Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología” collection, IX; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO *et al.*, “El Capitolio de Tarraco...”, *op. cit.*; PAT-439.
- [47] Eva María KOPPEL. *Die römischen Skulpturen von Tarraco*. Berlin 1985, pp. 32-51, no. 44-74; Eva María KOPPEL. “El foro municipal de Tarraco y su decoración escultórica”. In: *Actas del XVII CNA (Logroño 1983)*. Zaragoza 1985, pp. 841-857; Eva María KOPPEL. “Retratos de Tiberio y de Nero Caesar en Tarragona”. In: Pilar LEÓN and Trinidad NOGALES (ed.). *Actas de la III Reunión sobre escultura Romana en Hispania (Córdoba 1997)*. Madrid 2000, pp. 81-91; Eva María KOPPEL. “La escultura”. In: Xavier DUPRÉ (ed.). *Las capitales provinciales...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO *et al.*, “Etapas y elementos...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-138.
- [48] Eva María KOPPEL. “Relieves arquitectónicos de Tarragona”. In: Walter TRILLMICH and Paul ZANKER (ed.). *Stadt und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit (Madrid 1987)*. München 1990, pp. 327-340; Eva María KOPPEL. “La escultura”, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Xavier DUPRÉ. “Los arcos honoríficos de Tarraco”. In: *La ciudad en el mundo romano. Actas del XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica (Tarragona 1993)*. Vol. 2. Tarragona 1994, pp. 177-188; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO *et al.*, “Etapas y elementos...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 and 398, fig. 8; Marc LAMUÀ, David VIVÓ, Ricardo MAR and Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO. “La fachada oriental de la basílica forense de Tarraco. El monumento de los cautivos y el *chalcidicum* de culto imperial”. In: Trinidad NOGALES and Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Roma y las provincias: modelo y difusión. Actas del XI Coloquio Internacional de Arte Romano Provincial (Mérida 2009)*. Vol. II. Rome 2011, pp. 863-872; Ricardo MAR *et al.*, *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-278.
- [49] Xavier DUPRÉ. “Edificios de espectáculo”. In: Xavier DUPRÉ (ed.). *Las capitales provinciales...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-60; Josep M. MACIAS *et al.*, PAT, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-127; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, David VIVÓ and Ricardo MAR, “El capitolio de Tarraco...”, *op. cit.*, p. 392, fig. 1, and p. 410, fig. 16; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO *et al.*, “Etapas y elementos...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-132 and 145; Ricardo MAR *et al.*, *Tarraco...*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-317.

- [50] Eva María KOPPEL and Isabel RODÀ. "Escultura decorativa de la zona nororiental del *conventus Tarraconensis*". In: Jaume MASSÓ and Pilar SADA (ed.). *Actes de la II Reunió sobre Escultura Romana a Hispània (Tarragona 1995)*. Tarragona 1996, pp. 135-139, fig. 1-3; Jaume MASSÓ. "Fragments d'un vas monumental decorat". In: Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Tarraco, porta..., op. cit.*, p. 81, no. 41; Jaume MASSÓ. "Morceau, en deux fragments, de la partie supérieure d'un vase monumental décorée de motifs végétaux". In: Pilar SADA and Daniel CAZES (coord.) *Tarraco. Capitale..., op. cit.*, p. 101, no. 4.6.
- [51] Eva María KOPPEL. "Esculturas del teatro romano de Tarragona". In: *Actas del Simposio: El teatro en la Hispania romana*. Badajoz 1982, pp. 139-152; Eva María KOPPEL. *Die römischen Skulpturen..., op. cit.*, pp. 13-32, no. 1-43; Eva María KOPPEL. "La escultura". *op. cit.*, pp. 116-11; Ricardo MAR, Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, David VIVÓ, Javier DOMINGO and Marc LAMUÀ. "La *scaenae frons* del teatro de Tarraco. Una propuesta de restitución". In: Sebastián F. RAMALLO and Nicole RÖRING (ed.). *La 'scaenae frons' en la arquitectura teatral romana (Cartagena 2009)*. Murcia 2010, pp. 189-197; Ricardo MAR *et al.*, *Tarraco..., vol. I, op. cit.*, pp. 318-321.
- [52] Josep M. MACIAS. "Els banys termals a Tàrraco: *urbs otium*". In: Pilar SADA (dir.). *Tarraco i l'aigua, op. cit.*, pp. 69-80; Josep M. MACIAS. "L'arquitectura termal a Tarraco i el seu territori: reflexions sense resposta". In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrés..., op. cit.*, pp. 541-567; Moisés DÍAZ, Montse GARCÍA, Josep M. MACIAS and César A. POCIÑA. "Elementos arquitectónicos del área termal pública del puerto de Tarraco". In: Sebastián F. RAMALLO (ed.). *La decoración arquitectónica..., op. cit.*, pp. 447-449; Josep M. MACIAS *et al.* *PAT, op. cit.*, p. 223 for the references baths and p. 102, no. 355 for the baths on Carrer Apodaca.
- [53] SUETONIUS, *Augustus* 81; Enrique GOZALBES. "Los baños y la curación de Octavio Augusto en Tarraco". In: *Termalismo antiguo. I Congreso Peninsular (La Rioja 1996)*. Madrid 1997, pp. 241-246.
- [54] Maria ADSERIAS, César A. POCIÑA and Josep A. REMOLÀ. "L'hàbitat suburbà portuari de l'antiga Tàrraco. Excavacions al sector afectat pel PERI 2 (Jaume I-Tabacalera)". In: Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO (ed.). *Tarraco 99..., op. cit.*, pp. 137-154; Josep A. REMOLÀ and Albert VILASECA. "Intervencions arqueològiques al PERI-2, sector Tabacalera, de Tarragona". In: *Tribuna d'Arqueologia 1997-1998*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2000, pp. 77-95; César A. POCIÑA and Josep A. REMOLÀ. "Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento del puerto de Tarraco (*Hispania Tarraconensis*)". *Saguntum*, no. 33 (2001), pp. 85-96; Josep M. MACIAS *et al.* *PAT, op. cit.*, pp. 221-222 for the references to the port contained in the publication; Josep Anton REMOLÀ. "El suburbi portuari de Tarraco". In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrés..., op. cit.*, pp. 595-518. Cf. note 19 for the fountain.
- [55] The only important action in the upper part of the city was the town square, where almost one-fourth of the land was for the circus arena (PAT-238). The findings so far include the decontextualised recovery of a set of terracotta reliefs and antefixes decorated with characteristic motifs from the Augustan era. Their quality enables us to hypothetically associate them with the *princeps*' residence in Tarraco (Jordi LÓPEZ and Lluís PIÑOL. *Terracotes arquitectòniques romanes. Les troballes de la plaça de la Font (Tarragona)*. ICAC, Tarragona 2008, "Hic et Nunc" series, 4); Jordi LÓPEZ, Lluís PIÑOL and Víctor REVILLA. "La producción tarraconense de lastras Campana". In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.) *Actes del Congrés..., op. cit.*, pp. 637-670.
- [56] Rocío AYERBE, Teresa BARRIENTOS and Félix PALMA (ed.). *El foro de Augusta Emérita. Génesis y evolución de sus recintos monumentales*. Mérida 2009, "Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología" collection, LIII; Desiderio VAQUERIZO and Juan F. MURILLO. "Ciudad y suburbia en Corduba. Una visión diacrónica (siglos II a.C. - VII d.C.)". In: Desiderio VAQUERIZO (ed.). *Las áreas suburbanas..., op. cit.*, pp. 455-522.
- [57] Géza ALFÖLDY. "*In omnes provincias exemplum: Hispanien und das Imperium Romanum*", *Hispania Terra Omnibus Felicior (Cividale 2001)*. Pisa 2002, pp. 183-199; Duncan FISHWICK. "The Temple of Augustus at Tarraco". *Latomus*, no. 58 (1999), pp. 121-138; Duncan FISHWICK. *Precinct, Temple..., op. cit.*; Isabel RODÀ. "Documentos e imágenes de culto imperial en la Tarraconense septentrional". In: Trinidad NOGALES and Julián GONZÁLEZ (ed.). *Culto Imperial: política y poder (Mérida 2006)*. Rome 2007, pp. 743-748; Isabel RODÀ. "Espacios de representación en los foros de Hispania". In: José Miguel NOGUERA (ed.). *Fora Hispaniae..., op. cit.*, pp. 69-87.
- [58] Andrew BURNETT *et al.* *Roman Provincial Coinage..., op. cit.*, pp. 104-105, no. 219, 222, 224 and 226; Pascal CAPUS. "Sesterce de l'atelier...", *op. cit.*, p. 90, no. 3.5.
- [59] The most important archaeological and museological results of the actions performed under the central nave of the cathedral of Tarragona between 2007 and 2011 are compiled in: Josep M. MACIAS, Joan J. MENCHON, Andreu MUÑOZ and Imma TEIXELL. "La construcción del recinto imperial de Tarraco (*provincia Hispania Citerior*)". In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrés..., op. cit.*, pp. 423-479; Josep M. MACIAS, Andreu MUÑOZ, Antonio PEÑA, Míriam RAMON and Imma TEIXELL. *Praesidivm, Templvm et Ecclesia. Les intervencions arqueològiques a la Catedral de Tarragona (2010-2011). Memòria d'una exposició temporal*. Tarragona, 2012. Regarding the costs of crafting the marble materials, see Ricardo MAR and Patrizio PENSABENE. "Financiación de...", *op. cit.*, pp. 345-413.
- [60] Josep M. MACIAS *et al.* "La construcción del recinto...", *op. cit.*; Josep M. PUCHE, Josep M. MACIAS and Ignazio FIZ. "Proyecciones urbanísticas". In: Josep M. MACIAS *et al.*, *PAT..., op. cit.*, pp. 40-46.
- [61] Josep M. MACIAS *et al.* *PAT, op. cit.*, p. 222 for the numerous references contained in the book on the square and

- space of worship of the *concilium*; Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO *et al.* “Etapas y elementos...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.
- [62] Géza ALFÖLDY. “Drei städtische Eliten im römischen Hispanien”. *Gerión*, no. 2 (1984), pp. 193-238.
- [63] Xavier DUPRÉ. *L’arc romà de Berà (Hispania Citerior)*. Roma 1994, “Monografias de la EEHAR” collection, 20; Géza ALFÖLDY. “Der römische Bogen über der Via Augusta bei Tarraco (Arc de Berà) und seine Inschrift”. *Klio*, no. 78 (1996), pp. 158-170. CIL II²/14, 2332; Diana GOROSTIDI, *Ager Tarraconensis 3. Les inscripcions romanes*, Tarragona 2010. “Documenta” series, 16, p. 63; Isabel RODÀ, “Lucius Licinius Sura, hispanus”. In: Ioan PISO and Rada VARGA (ed.), *Trajan... op. cit.*, pp. 21-35.
- [64] Géza ALFÖLDY. *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris*. Madrid 1973, “Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología” collection, 6; CIL II²/14, 1109-1199. Isabel RODÀ. “La promoción de las elites en las ciudades del *conventus Tarraconensis*”. In: Francisco Javier NAVARRO (ed.), *Pluralidad e integración en el mundo romano*. Pamplona 2010, pp. 178-179.
- [65] Géza ALFÖLDY. *Flamines...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-97; CIL II²/14, 1176-1186.
- [66] Cf. notes 46 and 47.
- [67] The forum-theatre route has been skilfully reconstructed in works like *Bilbilis* (Calatayud); see Manuel MARTÍN-BUENO. “El Culto Imperial en el Valle del Ebro”. In: Trinidad NOGALES and Julián GONZÁLEZ (ed.), *Culto Imperial...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 731-734. See a more general overview in Pierre GROS, “Théâtre et culte imperial en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans la Péninsule Ibérique”. In: Walter TRILLMICH and Paul ZANKER (ed.), *Stadt und Ideologie...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-390.
- [68] Rosa COMES and Isabel RODÀ (ed.). *Scripta manent. La memòria escrita dels romans*. Exhibition catalogue. MAC, Barcelona 2002, p. 241; Isabel RODÀ. “Documentos e imágenes de culto imperial en la Tarraconense septentrional”. In: Trinidad NOGALES and Julián GONZÁLEZ (ed.), *Culto Imperial...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 745-748; Isabel RODÀ. “Espacios de representación en los foros de Hispania”. In: José Miguel NOGUERA (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-87; CIL II²/14, 1226.
- [69] Cf. note 51.
- [70] Cf. note 50.
- [71] CIL II²/14, 851; Carmen CASTILLO. “Un trienio de epigrafía latina en Hispania: logros y perspectivas”. In: *Unidad y pluralidad en el mundo antiguo. Actas del VI Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Sevilla 1981)*. Vol. I. Madrid 1983, pp. 101-124; Rosa COMES and Isabel RODÀ (ed.), *Scripta manent...*, *op. cit.*, p. 228, no. 66.
- [72] Later the emperor Hadrian restored the *aedes Augusti* (Spartianus, *Hadrianus*, 12, 3). After that, Septimius Severus wrote that he dreamed that “*primo sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod iam labebatur, restitueret*” (Spartianus, *Septimius Severus*, 3, 4-5).
- [73] Géza ALFÖLDY. “Desde el nacimiento hasta el apogeo de la cultura epigráfica de Tarraco”. In: *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua. La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años*. Valladolid 2002, pp. 61-74; Géza ALFÖLDY. “Sociedad y epigrafía en Tarraco”. In: Sabine ARMANI, Bénédicte HURLET-MARTINEAU and Armin STILOW (ed.), *Epigrafía y sociedad en Hispania durante el Alto Imperio*. Alcalá de Henares 2004, pp. 159-176, “Acta Antiqua Complutensia” collection, IV; Eva M. KOPPEL and Isabel RODÀ. “Escultura decorativa...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-147.
- [74] Joaquín L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA. *Hispania romana...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-449.
- [75] Géza ALFÖLDY. *Fasti Hispanienses*, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Isabel RODÀ, “La Tarragona de mitjan segle i dC”. In: Josep M. GAVALDÀ, Andreu MUÑOZ and Armand PUIG (eds.), *Pau, Fructuós i el cristianisme primitiu a Tarragona (segles I-VIII)*, Tarragona 2010, pp. 93-95.
- [76] CIL II²/14, 992; Patrick LE ROUX, *L’armée romaine...*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
- [77] Eugène CIZEK. *Néron*. Paris 1982, pp. 396-400.
- [78] Eugène CIZEK. *Néron*, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-395; Antonio GARCÍA Y BELLIDO. “Nacimiento de...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-318; Juan J. PALAO. *Legio VII Gemina...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52; Jacques SANCERY. *Galba ou l’armée face au pouvoir*. Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1983, pp. 47-56.
- [79] Cf. Joaquín L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA. *Hispania romana...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-449; Antonio GARCÍA Y BELLIDO. “Nacimiento de...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-321; Juan J. PALAO. *Legio VII Gemina...*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- [80] Antonio GARCÍA Y BELLIDO. “Nacimiento de...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-328, attributes some of them to *Tarraco*. In turn, in Carol HUMPHREY, Vivian SUTHERLAND and Robert Andrew Glendinning CARSON. *The Roman Imperial Coinage I.2*. London 1984, pp. 217-219 and 232-236, when examining the issue of Galba’s coins, they always leave the question of whether the mint was actually in *Tarraco*, as questioned by H. Mattingly in *BMC I*. We hope that the thesis on coins in *Tarraco* currently being written by I. Teixell will shed further light on this issue and help us to reach more definitive conclusions.
- [81] Fred S. KLEINER. “The Arch of Galba at Tarragona and Dynastic Portraiture on Roman Arches”. *Madridrer Mitteilungen*, no. 30 (1989), pp. 239-252. See, too, Xavier DUPRÉ. “Los arcos honoríficos...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-187.
- [82] Josep M. MACIAS. “La ciudad arqueológica en el área catalana ante la irrupción del Islam”. *Zona Arqueológica*, no. 15 (2011), pp. 103-117; Josep M. MACIAS. “La medievalización de la ciudad romana”. In: Josep M. MACIAS and Andreu MUÑOZ (ed.), *Tarraco christiana ciuitas*, ICAC, Tarragona 2013, “Documenta” series, 24, pp. 123-147.
- [83] Josep M. MACIAS, Jaume MORERA, Oriol OLESTI and Imma TEIXELL. “Crisi o invasió? Els francs i la destrucció parcial de Tàrraco al s. III”. In: Jordi VIDAL and Borja ANTELA (ed.), *Mas allà de la batalla. La violència contra la població en el Mundo Antiguo*. Pórtico. Zaragoza 2013, pp. 193-214. For the report closest to the deeds, see the chronicle by Eusebius, an early 4th century author whose works we can still read through a translation by Saint Jerome (*Germanis Hispanias obtinentibus, Tarracón expugnata est, Breviarium*, 8, 9, 2).

- [84] Financing of a public facility by a notable when they land a job which bears the name of the donor with the inscription “De sua pecunia fecit”. CIL II²/14, 921. Géza ALFÖLDY. *Las inscripciones monumentales del Anfiteatro de Tarraco*. RSAT. “Tarraco Archaeologica” series, 2. Tarragona 2012.
- [85] Judit CIURANA, Josep M. MACIAS, Andreu MUÑOZ, Imma TEIXELL and Josep M. TOLDRÀ. *Amphitheatrum, Memoria Martyrum et Ecclesiae. Les intervencions arqueològiques a l’Amfiteatre de Tarragona (2009-2012)*. ICAC, Tarragona 2013. Taller Escola d’Arqueologia de Tarragona. *L’amfiteatre romà de Tarragona, la basílica visigòtica i l’eglésia romànica*. “Memòries d’excavació” series, 3. Tarragona 1990.
- [86] Jordi LÓPEZ. *Les basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de Tàrraco. El temple septentrional i el complex martirial de Sant Fructuós*, “Documenta” series, 4, ICAC, Tarragona 2006. Judit CIURANA and Josep M. MACIAS. “La ciudad extensa: usos y paisajes suburbanos de Tarraco”. In: Desiderio VAQUERIZO (ed.). *Las áreas suburbanas...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-334; Josep M. MACIAS and Andreu MUÑOZ (ed.). *Tarraco christiana ciuitas, op. cit.*, pp. 191-197.
- [87] Which mentions the existence of a church and a *secretarium*, in addition to a meeting hall with some sessions open to the public; they also mention the first monastic practices near the city. Josep AMENGUAL. “Vestigis d’edificia a les cartes de Consenci i Sever”. In: *III Reunió d’Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica (Maó 1988)*. Barcelona 1992, pp. 489-499.
- [88] Josep M. MACIAS *et al.* “La construcció del recinto...”, *op. cit.*; Josep M. MACIAS, Andreu MUÑOZ and Imma TEIXELL. “Arqueologia a la nau central de la Catedral de Tarragona”. In: *Tribuna d’Arqueologia 2010-2011*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2012, pp. 151-173.
- [89] Theodor HAUSCHILD. “Algunas observaciones sobre la construcció de la sala-aula situada detrás de la Catedral de Tarragona”. In: Jordi LÓPEZ and Òscar MARTÍN (ed.). *Actes del Congrés...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-344.

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