

neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum: Reflections on Iberian Urbanism

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TO A MODERN TRAVELLER from the countries of northern Europe, the cities of the Iberian Peninsula are objects of envy and fascination, and to one in any way interested in the history of western civilization that fascination is likely to reach levels which in other contexts might seem extreme. For an historian of the Graeco-Roman period, the material which is provided in modern Spain and Portugal is outstanding in its interest. Both in the cities which continue to flourish and those which have declined into relative obscurity or even in those which have left streets it needs an archaeologist to discover, there is a richness and a multiplicity of influences which is unequalled in western Europe and rarely exceeded even on a world-scale. To take one section of the peninsula as an illustration, the remains of Iberian and Celtiberian settlements at Ullastret or Bottorita or Azaila, and the Greek city at Empúries, each of them showing in very different ways the effects of the arrival first of the Greeks and then, at the end of the third century BC, of the armies of Rome and the traders and settlers which followed them, encapsulate the interrelationship of a series of peoples and traditions which do not so much succeed one another as combine together to form a new and (across the centuries) constantly shifting whole. This is all the more fascinating for being itself only a part of a development which begins much earlier with what might be called pre- or proto-urbanism, includes the coming of Celts and the important influences of Phoenician and Punic civilization, and proceeds beyond the Roman period with the Visigoths, the Arabs and the eventual re-establishment of Christian control. For an immediate and impressionistic indicator of this multi-layered urban civilization, I know of nothing better than the great tower of the Giralda in Sevilla, standing as it does as evidence of the greatness of the Arab civilization which built it and

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of the triumphalism of the Christian monarchs, under whom it became the ornament of the largest Gothic building in the world, supporting its image of Catholic faith, turning with the wind to face all corners of the globe, and yet including as the cornerstone of its foundations the famous inscription of the second century AD, which commemorates one Sex. Iulius Possessor, sometime prefect of the Roman corn supply (*CIL* 2.1180); or, for another example also from Andalucía, the north-western gate of the cathedral at Córdoba, which leads from the court of the oranges into the astounding forest of columns of the *mezquita*, with its strangely inappropriate implant of a Christian choir and sanctuary in its midst, and which is flanked on either side by Roman milestones from the *via Augusta*, which were erected, according to their accompanying inscriptions, one in the year of the nativity and one in the year of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Such instances provide vivid and immediate access to the complexity and interrelatedness of the urban civilization of the peninsula, and, particularly in the latter case, to the awareness by those who constructed them of the historical significance of that complexity.

Such impressionistic considerations may appear to savour more of the journalist or the tourist than the serious scholar; and it must be said that, especially in the case of travellers from the countries of northern Europe, many of those who first brought news of the ancient cities of Iberia to the attention of the reading public of their places of origin were writing as tourists rather than as scholars. For the British in particular, interest in Spain was during the eighteenth century much less than that in Italy and the other countries of the Grand Tour, which became so significant an element in the education of the upper classes of that period. In the 1720s, when the Duke of Richmond left to travel in Spain, Lord Townsend stated that he could not 'conceive what curiosity should lead his Grace so much out of the usual road of travellers.' (Hibbert 1987, 215). When in 1787, the wealthy and eccentric William Beckford of Fonthill travelled in Portugal and later in Spain, it was to provide distraction following the death of his wife the previous year and the pressures resulting from the allegations of a homosexual liaison, dating from 1784 (Alexander 1954, 12–14). Beckford was not impressed by the urban delights of Lisbon. He describes noise after dark as terrible, because the population

the whole night long, frisk and dance and tinkle their guitars from sunset to sunrise. The dogs, too, keep yelping and howling without intermission; and what with the bellowing of litanies by parochial processions, the whizzing of fireworks, which devotees are perpetually letting off in honour of some member or other of the celestial hierarchy, and the squabbles of bullying

rake-hells, who scour the streets in search of adventure, there is no getting a wink of sleep, even if the heat would allow it.

(W. Beckford, in Chapman 1928, 2.54-55)

The travellers of the early nineteenth century showed more interest in the antique, though complained that it was not cared for by its local inhabitants and largely ignored by the rest of the world. The *doyen* of British travellers in Spain, Richard Ford, wrote of Mérida as a 'clean, cheap and dull town, with a population of some 4,500', with two inns, one of which he recommended for its 'excellent red wine, which is something between claret and burgundy'; but he also stated that 'Merida is the Rome of Spain in respect of stupendous and well-preserved monuments of antiquity: at every step we tread on some vestige of the past.' (Ford 1845, 1.527). However, he complains that

it retains nothing but its name and the *ruins* of the past, and these are here considered as '*old stones and useless*', and that even by Ponzo (*Viaje* viii.115-167). They have been, as usual, made a quarry by the corporation. Philip II, in 1580, going to Portugal, had, however, the good taste to see their merit, and ordered the celebrated architect *Juan de Herrera* to take measurements and drawings of everything. These precious recollections were all burnt in the palace at Madrid in 1734. In vain, again, at the instance of the English ambassador at Lisbon, did Florida Blanca employ a Portuguese, one Manuel Villena, to excavate: the thing dropped, and nothing was done; for Charles III, although the excavator of Pompeii, when king of Spain, caught the apathetic influence of the climate; yet Merida is a museum above and below ground: 104 inscriptions have been copied, and are in the Academy of History at Madrid.

(Ford 1845, 1.528)

To be fair, Ford was no less critical of those who might not have been expected to be infected by the 'apathetic influence of the climate'. Again, writing of Mérida, he objects that

Merida has been strangely neglected by our artists, architects and authors, who too often only go over and over again the same beaten track; thus Beckford congratulates himself on 'his happiness in sleeping through this journey;' while Southey, who could devote pages of his letters to reiterated details of his bad eating and vermin, passes Merida by moonlight. 'Ne l'imitiez pas,' as Voltaire said to the Padre Periculoso; but Southey was then very young, very much in love with 'a milliner of Bath,' whom these letters were meant to *amuse*, so not a flea escaped him:¹ Baretti, also, when travelling in these parts, was so scarified by these tormentors, that he likened them to the gentle craft of *Reviewers*, a boldish comparison for an author to make, and which Heaven forfend that we should imitate.

(Ford 1845, 1.528)

I make no apology for introducing such a considerable quotation from Richard Ford, since not only is he a writer of charm and learning, but he reflects accurately the views of the Iberian Peninsula and its ancient cities to be found among the educated classes in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. What he writes also represents part of the new awareness of Spain and Portugal which followed the involvement of Britain in what is still known in these islands as 'the Peninsular War' of 1808 to 1814. Such interest remained, however, that of a tourist in a land regarded as strange and largely barbarous. When Henry John George Herbert, third Earl of Carnarvon, produced the third edition of his book on his travels in Portugal and Galicia in 1848, relating to his travels in Spain and Portugal some twenty years earlier, he referred to Ford in his preface as 'our great literary master' on all matters concerning Spain (Carnarvon 1848, viii), and certainly he is no match for Ford in learning or style. His experiences confirm, however, the picture which has just been outlined. Visiting the Alentejo in 1828, he entered Beja (which he regarded as having been the site of a peace treaty signed by Julius Caesar, and thence deriving its ancient name of *Julia Pax*) and was received there with a degree of suspicion.

The Mayor received me with great civility, but expressed the most unfeigned surprise at the arrival of an English Lor, as he emphatically called me, observing that the motives which could have induced me to visit Beja were quite unfathomable, and far exceeded his powers of divination. The greatest impediment to my researches invariably arose from the total insensibility of the natives to comprehend the feelings which prompt an Englishman to forsake the comforts of his native land, and prosecute a fatiguing and hazardous journey through a disturbed country. In the neighbourhood of the great Peninsular towns the people, accustomed to the visits of Englishmen, acknowledge the harmless nature of their investigations, and only wonder at the national infatuation. But my arrival created the utmost astonishment in those remote and secluded parts of southern Portugal, which had been rarely visited by a stranger: being engaged in no mercantile transactions, and having no ostensible business, I could not assign any of those reasons which influence other travellers, and render their motives explicable to the mind of a foreigner.

(Carnarvon 1848, 269)

If he was regarded as an oddity in Beja, his appearance shortly afterwards in Evora caused much more suspicion. The town was in the midst of violent political turmoil between Miguelist insurgents and supporters of the constitution set in place two years before by Pedro IV. Given the military support provided by the British for Pedro, it is hardly surprising that the Miguelists, then in control of the town, promptly imprisoned him for several days and only with difficulty prevented his being lynched by a

hostile mob. He was eventually released to an inn, on the intervention of the British ambassador in Lisbon. The national infatuation with tourism, however, had not deserted him.

On the following morning I went to the inn, and, desiring the muleteer to load the mules, employed the interval in taking a hasty view of the cathedral, which is Gothic, but has little claims to beauty; The altar is, however, in the Italian style, extremely rich, and decorated with various marbles. I also visited the ruins of a temple, supposed to have been dedicated to the goddess Diana, and which still boasts some noble columns, evidently raised during the best period of Roman architecture.

(Carnarvon 1848, 306)

The guide-book tone of voice is already clearly apparent. However, as the local population were by now beginning to turn hostile, he abandoned his sight-seeing, and left the town in some haste.

All this is far removed even from the scholarly interest shown in the ancient cities of Italy in the same period, and farther still from the scientific study of urbanism on a thorough-going archaeological and historical basis which is the theme of this symposium. It could not, of course, be otherwise. Urbanism, as such, is a very modern concept. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* of 1933 did not include the word, and, although it did have 'urbanist', this, it transpires, usually means 'a nun of a branch of the Poor Clares, following the rule as mitigated in 1264 by Pope Urban IV.' In fact, the *Shorter Oxford* was already out of date even as it was published. The earliest use in English of the word which I have been able to discover occurred in an article in the *Times* for 16 July 1929, when a correspondent from Paris, writing about the plans for the city following the recent municipal elections, recorded a discussion in the Municipal Council of Paris and the Council General of the Seine.

In all the opening speeches of the Prefect, the President, and the Councillors the newly coined word 'urbanism' was prominent. It denotes town-planning, but also something more, and contains the idea of transforming Paris from a haphazard agglomeration of wealthy quarters and slum suburbs into an organized modern city.

Before deciding, however, that urbanism (and especially urbanism in the ancient world) is so thoroughly modern a notion that it is not worth comparing it with other earlier ideas of what it is to be 'urban', it may be useful to consider the Latin usages, which will have meant something to those who inhabited most of the urban settlements of the Iberian Peninsula for more than half of the period we shall be considering.

The Latin words *urbanus* and *urbanitas* are interesting not least because they provide an index of Roman attitudes and especially Roman snobbery

to those whom they considered to be less than *urbani*. This brings me to the line of Latin verse which forms the title of this paper, *neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum*, which comes from Catullus, poem 39. The poet is describing an enemy of his, one Egnatius, who, as can be seen from Catullus 37, is one of the men with whom his lover, Lesbia, has been seen consorting in a 'low dive' near the temple of Castor and Pollux. Catullus' attack on Egnatius in this poem centres on his habit of smiling on all possible occasions (and no doubt especially when in the presence of Lesbia) and displaying a set of extremely white teeth. This, Catullus writes, is done to such excess as to constitute not just a habit but a disease, and one which the poet thinks to be neither elegant nor *urbanus*. Even if Egnatius had come from the city (*si urbanus esses*, line 10), or even if he had the pure waters of an Italian river to clean his teeth in, such constant grinning would be in bad taste. As it is, Egnatius is a Celtiberian, and in Celtiberia they use urine to clean their teeth, so that the whiter Egnatius' teeth are, the more urine he has drunk.

That Catullus says that Egnatius is a Celtiberian who cleans his teeth in urine does not, of course, mean that either statement is true. As Ronald Syme pointed out (Syme 1937, 133), the reference to Celtiberia need be no more than 'a libellous designation for a different and highly civilized region of Spain.' The slur that Egnatius is a wild Spaniard is also found at the end of poem 37, where he is called *cuniculosae Celtiberiae fili, / Egnati, opaca quem bonum facit barba / et dens Hibera defricatus urina* ('son of rabbit Celtiberia, whom only a heavy beard makes handsome and a set of teeth polished with Spanish urine'). Both the rabbits and the urine are mentioned by the Greek geographer Strabo in his account of the Iberian Peninsula: the whole of Iberia is said to be infested with rabbits, for the hunting of which Libyan ferrets are bred specially (Strabo 3.2.6); and the Cantabrians, the Iberians and the Celts are reported to keep urine in special cisterns, in which it is carefully aged before being used for bathing and for the cleaning of teeth (Strabo 3.4.16).

Strabo's comment upon this last practice reveals the point behind Catullus' gibe. He cites it as evidence that the Cantabrians in particular are living at an almost sub-human level, not concerning themselves with the way life should be lived but with their needs and desires, as though they were animals.² For Strabo the presence or absence of cities is one of the criteria which distinguish the civilized from the uncivilized. Turdetania is the most civilized area in the peninsula, and contains an enormous number of cities (Strabo 3.2.1); while the north, now that the emperor Tiberius has put it under the control of three Roman legions, might at last become not only peaceable but even city-dwelling (*πολιτικούς*) (Strabo 3.3.8). Part of what Catullus is saying about Egnatius is that he is appar-

ently a civilized city-dweller, but in reality is a barbarian. This connotation of elegance, wit and civilized behaviour underlies one of the main uses of the word *urbanus* in the Latin of the first centuries BC and AD. In Cicero the word denotes the indefinable sophistication which distinguishes an orator from Rome itself from those, however good their Latin might be, who come from outside, and lack metropolitan polish (Cicero, *Brutus* 46.170–171); and Quintilian also discusses *urbanitas* at some length when dealing with wit and humour in rhetoric, but he too, like Cicero, has to define it negatively, by reference to the cruder forms of humour which it is not (Quint. 6.3.96–112; cf. Fordyce 1961, 185–6). To return to English usage for a moment, it is interesting to observe that the earlier, though now rare, definition of the verb ‘urbanize’ given in the *Shorter Oxford* of 1933 is ‘to make urbane, or more refined or polished’, and that the first cited use of the meaning ‘to make of an urban character; to convert into a city’ occurs only in 1884 (*SOED* 1933, 2322).

But there is also a significant difference between Strabo’s notion of a πολιτικός and Catullus’ *urbanus*. Whereas to fill Strabo’s category, it is necessary merely to live in a city, to be an *urbanus* in Catullus’ sense, one has to be an inhabitant, and perhaps even a native, of Rome itself. This is clear enough from Catullus’ poem. When listing the many places in Italy from which pure water can be had for the cleaning of teeth, he begins

si urbanus esses aut Sabinus aut Tiburs

(if you came from the city or were a Sabine or came from Tibur) (line 10)

and goes on to give a list of other Italian towns and areas. However, as line 10 shows, living in anywhere other than in Rome itself would not qualify Egnatius for the designation *urbanus*, no matter how good the facilities for dental hygiene. The word, as the article on it in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* confirms, usually refers not to any city, but to *the* city, the city of Rome (*OLD* 1982, 1605).

It is of course true that the word *urbs* itself does not always invariably refer to Rome; and even though when it is used without further definition it often does carry that meaning, there are occasions on which it has a more general significance. Ulpian, writing in the early third century AD about the jurisdiction of local magistrates in cases of *damnum infectum*, discusses the example of a ‘vicinum urbi municipium’, where the *urbs* to which the *municipium* is close is the seat of the praetor or of the governor of a province (Ulpian *ad edictum*, D.39.2.4.9). Here *urbs* clearly means not just Rome, where the praetor might be found, but also those major cities of the empire which served as capitals of the provinces. However this expansion of meaning reveals the essential distinction in Roman thinking about cities: that they are not simply urban settlements in terms of

their material culture, but also in terms of the role they play in the political and juridical structure of their area. This of course does not only relate to those places which Ulpian might call *urbes*. The *municipia* which increase in number so considerably after the Flavian grant of the Latin right in the last quarter of the first century AD are perhaps the most striking instance of a development which brings together urban settlement and Roman status; but it is also important to note that these two elements within this development are not inseparable. In the case of the north-west of the peninsula, it appears that some at least of the functions which are elsewhere regarded as those of an urbanized *municipium* are served by the *castros*, which are not in the Roman sense of the word *municipia* at all, and are certainly not fully urbanized settlements. This appears from their use as indications of origin; and whether the correct interpretation of the reversed 'C' on the inscriptions in question is that these places are referred to as *castella*, as Pereira has argued (Pereira Menaut 1982), or some other nomenclature (as for instance Rodríguez Colmenero 1988), it appears that from the late first century AD the functional and the material elements of the urbanization of the north-west were in a different relationship from those elsewhere in the peninsula.

This observation that, so far as we can see at all what the Romans thought about the towns and cities of their empire, there were at least two distinct and in principle separable elements, is hardly novel; but it is worth noting again, not least because failure to remember it has in the past resulted in some curious conclusions being drawn. Thus for instance it has been argued not only that there was a Capitoline temple among the early buildings at Italica, but that this furnishes a strong reason to believe that when the settlement was first made by Scipio in 206 BC, it was a *colonia civium Romanorum* (Bendala 1982). It is hard, of course, to be sure just what this building was (and I am still inclined to follow Barton (1982, 266–7) in believing that there is no firm evidence for Capitolia in the provinces before the reign of Augustus); but whatever the answer to this question, the existence of a temple in an urban settlement, even if it could be identified as a Capitolium, cannot provide a secure basis for determining the status of the town. The status of *Emporiae* has also given rise to speculation because of discrepancies between the archaeological evidence of urban development and the lack of any indication of a place in the Roman political structure. It is clear that by the end of the second century BC there was, alongside and inland from the earlier Greek city on the coast, a complete Roman town, with forum, temples and other public buildings (Aquilué Abadias *et al.* 1984). This has led some scholars to the conclusion that *Emporiae* was by this stage a *colonia*, and probably a *colonia Latina*, and indeed it appeared at one point that there might be

epigraphic evidence for a Roman *patronus* of the town of this date (Aquilué Abadías *et al.* 1984, 136–8). It is now clear that the inscription in question is not from the late second century BC, but belongs to a series dating from the 30s BC (*IRCat* 3.29, in Fabre *et al.* 1991, 65–6). Despite its sophisticated material culture, there is no reason to believe that Emporiae achieved a place in the juridical and political structure until, as Livy records (Livy 34.9.3), Julius Caesar installed a *colonia* there after the defeat of the two sons of Pompey at Munda in 45 BC.

It is not surprising that the development of urban settlements in the peninsula during the Roman period displays, especially for the first few centuries, an irregularity that makes the assumption of any particular connection between material and politico-juridical developments unsound. When the Romans first arrived in the last decades of the third century BC, they found already not merely one tradition of urbanism but a series of them. Before the end of the war with Hannibal they had encountered Iberian and Greek cities in the north and east, and Punic cities, of which Gades and Nova Carthago were the most notable, in the south-east and south. What is more, both before they arrived and in the period immediately following, these traditions were intermingling with one another to produce the first versions of the multi-layered complexity which we have already noticed as a characteristic of the cities of Spain and Portugal in later ages. The walls erected by the Scipio brothers around the upper town at Tarraco in the early years of the Hannibalic war were built by Iberian masons, who left marks in their own alphabet on the blocks.³ This reveals the presence among the local population of people who were already skilled in such work. The stone walls of Ullastret, no doubt influenced by the proximity of the Greek city at Empúries, show the same. Before the second century had come to an end, that Greek city had a defensive wall of Roman construction, and contained houses which took their design from the atrium-style dwellings of southern Italy (Marcet and Sanmartí 1990, 111–13). In the south, although there is much less clear archaeological evidence, the settlement of wounded soldiers at Italica by Scipio in 206 (Appian, *Ib.* 38.153); the strangely named *colonia Latina libertinorumque*, placed at Carteia, looking across the bay to Gibraltar, in 171 BC (Livy 43.3.1–4); and the establishment at Córdoba in 152 BC of what was apparently a joint community of Romans and locals, even if probably not a *colonia civium Romanorum* (Strabo 3.2.1), must in a variety of ways have further added to the mix. By the end of the second and the beginning of the first century, Roman towns were appearing on the Catalan coast at Baetulo (Badalona) (Guitart 1976) and Iluro (Mataró), and in the dry hills on the southern side of the central Ebro valley, the Celtiberian town of Contrebia Belaisca possessed a curious building of mud-brick construction

with classicizing, pseudo-Greek columns in its façade (Beltrán and Tovar 1982, 21–33).⁴

It is clear in the accounts of the Sertorian wars, and even more so in the more detailed descriptions in the Caesarian corpus of the civil wars of the 40s BC, that there were a number of Romans in Spain in positions of importance, and a number of people with Roman names, but about whose citizen status we are quite uncertain. It is also clear that in the social and economic context within which these people lived and in the local (as opposed to Roman) political context, towns and cities were of central importance. In Livy's account of the campaigns of the Scipios during the Hannibalic war, it is the tribal groupings and their leaders or kings who decide to support the Romans or the Carthaginians. In the Caesarian writers, it is the towns which decide whether to back Caesar against the Pompeians or *vice versa*. Yet this change has taken place with remarkably little introduction of Roman urban status. Galsterer (1971, 7–16) reckoned that there were five Latin colonies set up during the second century, and in the following century none before the Caesarian foundations. There may even have been fewer.⁵ Under Caesar and Augustus, *coloniae* and *municipia* multiplied considerably, but even then it is notable that the rapid material development, especially under Augustus and his successors, considerably outstripped the distribution of status. The town of Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha, near Coimbra), for instance, had in the Augustan period a forum, complete with a basilica, a temple and a small curia, baths and an aqueduct, but it seems to have had no Roman status until the Flavian period (Alarcão 1988, 2.100). Similarly Baelo Claudia (Bolonía), which probably did not receive the recognition of a Roman status until the reign of Claudius, already appears to have had a forum and temples in the late republican period, and to have been substantially developed in the early empire (Pfanner 1990, 71–3).

All this suggests what might be called a twin-track approach to urbanism, at least as the concept might have been used by the Romans, had they had such a word. The building of a physical entity which bore at least some relationship to the *Urbs*, that is to Rome itself, may be connected to the development of a place which had that other crucial component of the *Urbs*, in that it was the place from which Roman citizens gained their Roman-ness, and in particular their Roman citizenship; but the connection is by no means a straightforward one. The complexity becomes even more evident, and therefore perhaps clearer, with the next major change, that of the grant of the *ius Latii* to the communities of the peninsula in the Flavian period. The immediate background to this was, of course, the civil wars which racked the Roman world from AD 68 to 70, following the suicide of the emperor Nero, from which Vespasian emerged as ruler of a

somewhat shaken empire. It was, in the long run, fortunate for the inhabitants of the peninsula that the first member of the Roman élite to challenge Nero's tenure of the imperial throne was Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who in 68 was *legatus Augusti*, governing the province of *Hispania citerior*, a post which he had held for eight years. According to the accounts provided by the ancient sources it was in Clunia, high on its flat-topped hill above the plains of the Duero basin, that he received the news that Nero was indeed dead and there he assumed the name of Caesar (Plutarch, *Galba* 6-7; Suetonius, *Galba* 11; Cassius Dio 63.29.6). If we are to believe Suetonius, he also had an almost mystical attachment to the town, and to an oracle which was founded by the priest of the cult there (described as that of Jupiter) which predicted the emergence from Spain of the ruler and lord of all things (*principem dominumque rerum*) (Suetonius, *Galba* 9.2). It seems likely that Clunia was at this time a *municipium*, and was given the rank of *colonia* by Galba (Galsterer 1971, 35). Coins from the brief reign of Galba carry the legend HISPANIA CLVNIA SVL SC (Mattingly, *BMC* 1.356), and an inscription from Hadrian's reign describes it as a colony (*CIL* 2.2780). We cannot, of course, know what Vespasian was thinking when, as Pliny the Elder wrote (*N.H.* 3.30), he bestowed *Latium* on the whole of *Hispania*; but the mysterious words which the text of Pliny includes in the middle of this sentence (*iactatum procellis rei publicae*, with no clear indication as to who or what had been shaken by the storms of the state) certainly suggests that the author connected the grant with the problems resulting from the 'year of the four emperors.' Given the way in which Caesar and Pompey had based their support in the peninsula on the cities and the relationship that Galba had had with at least one of them, it would be surprising if such a policy, which affected fundamentally just these cities was not connected in some way with the civil war which had just ended. What, then, might that connection have been? What does this have to do, if anything, with the growth of urbanism which we have seen; and if there is such a link, does it play any part in the relationship between the two elements of urbanism, the physical and the politico-juridical, which have just been described?

In terms of the physical aspect of the towns and cities, there can be no doubt that the Flavian period and the reigns of the Spanish emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, which immediately followed, were remarkable for the architectural adornment that they produced. Conimbriga, now a *municipium Flavium*, saw a rebuilding and extension of its forum; and apparently tiny and insignificant towns like Irni, on gaining the *ius Latii*, had available a public building large enough to display the ten tablets of the *lex Irnitana* (Fernández and Del Amo 1990). Chance epigraphic finds reveal that two other small communities in Baetica undertook major developments: Cisim-

brium (Cabra, near Córdoba) was given a forum, temple and five statues of the gods by a wealthy inhabitant (*CIL* 2.2098); and Sabora (Cañete La Real) was given Vespasian's specific permission to move its site, and to rebuild in the plain (*CIL* 2.1423). There were of course far more elaborate and magnificent buildings erected at Tarraco and Italica, but these, for the different reasons of provincial significance and imperial favour, are less notable as indications of a general trend.

If a new stage in the physical urbanization of those areas of the peninsula most intensively affected by the spread of the *ius Latii* as a result of Vespasian's grant (and I insert the geographical caveat because, with one possible exception, all the evidence of the existence of municipal charters on the model of the *lex Irnitana* comes at present from Baetica⁶) is clearly marked in the years which followed, the other side of identification with the *Urbs* is also present. It is, however, as we might by now have expected, more complex and less straightforward. The normal perception of *Latium* as it was used by the Romans in this period (as represented, for instance by Sherwin-White 1973, 251–63), is that it was employed in a systematic, almost mechanical way as a half-way stage between complete non-citizenship and the full *civitas Romana*. One obvious strength of this view is that, after all, that is what happened, taking the long view from, say, the early first century BC and the early second century AD. There are certain considerations, however, drawn from the actual process of implementation of this change which suggest that this standard view requires some modification.

First, a small but significant point about the dates of the original edict of Vespasian and the laws which (as in the case of the *lex Irnitana* and its congeners) seem to have worked through the consequences of that grant. It has long been noted that there was a gap between the date of Vespasian's edict (probably during his holding of the censorship with Titus in AD 75) and the municipal laws (Braunert 1966, 70), and this has given rise to considerable speculation as to the nature of these grants (discussed by Sherwin-White 1973, 360–79). The discovery of the *lex Irnitana*, with its addendum dated to AD 91, has shown that the gap might have been even longer than once supposed. Moreover a careful consideration of inscriptions from the Flavian *municipia* of Cisimbrium and Igabra, both in the vicinity of Córdoba, has indicated that the magistrates of those towns were already acting as though they were in a *municipium iuris Latini* before any law was passed establishing them as such (Stylov 1986, 290–303). What has already been seen of the complex connections between Roman and local notions of Roman-ness will explain why I consider it unwise to deduce what Vespasian was intending in issuing his edict from such evidence about the perceptions the Spanish élite had of themselves.

However it does show that, at least in the local context, it was important for the upper classes that they should be seen to be acting in what they perceived as a Roman fashion, whether or not they were at that stage properly entitled to do so. This seems to be a pattern not unlike that which has been seen in the case of the development of Roman-style buildings, but transferred to the administrative structure.

In this context of local expectations, it is perhaps worth considering again what the effects of the grant of *Latium* to the communities of *Hispania* were intended to be. If the intention had been to give the citizenship to everyone, then there is in principle no reason why Vespasian should not have done just that. After all, individual communities had previously received such a grant. Two inscriptions from Volubilis in Mauretania record a grant of citizenship and the right of intermarriage with peregrine women given to the whole community by Claudius (Smallwood 1967, nos. 407 a and b). The right of intermarriage was no doubt given in order to avoid the disruption of the normal patterns of life in Volubilis which might have resulted from the establishment of a privileged group within the locality which would otherwise not have been able to undertake legal marriages with members of the local populace who were not so privileged. The situation in the new Latin *municipia* in the Iberian Peninsula shows significant similarities and dissimilarities. Most obviously, only a small part of the population of the Flavian *municipia* received the citizenship; and even if, as some have reckoned, this would soon have included the whole of the ruling decurion class, it would still be a minority in the community. Under the Flavian programme, the intention appears to be to reward and to secure the goodwill of the ruling élite, by bringing them into the number of Roman citizens in the local towns and cities, which was already a notable group in the larger urban settlements at the time of the Caesarian wars at the end of the republic. The granting of Latin rights to the whole community, however, did more than this. It also made possible the continuation of the communal life of the new *municipium* by treating the remaining non-citizens as though they were citizens for all those purposes which would affect the everyday life of the community. Hence the careful definition in the *lex Irnitana* of guardianship (*tutela*) and patronage over freedmen and freedwomen (*lex Irnitana* chs. 29 and 97), in which everything is to be done as it would be done in Rome; and the setting up of courts and judges, and of postponement to a 'third day' (*lex Irnitana* chs. 89 and 91) which are covered by the same proviso. The private law section of the inscription indeed has been remarked upon by two commentators as providing what is virtually a fictive version of Roman private law (Johnston 1987, 63; Lamberti 1993, 139-47; see also the observations of Le Roux 1991). Most remarkable of all in this respect

is the catch-all clause (*lex Irnitana* ch. 93), which states that for all matters which the members of *municipium Flavium Irnitenum* shall go to law about and which are not included in the provisions of the law, they should proceed as though the process were being carried on under Roman law between Roman citizens.

The point about all this is, as Chastagnol (1987, 16) among others has remarked, that the majority of the inhabitants of Irni, who are Latins, are not Roman citizens: they are non-citizens (*peregrini*), and as such have no access to the law of the Romans, the *ius Quiritium*, by which their fellow *municipes* of Irni, who are Roman citizens, regulate their legal actions. Without giving them a specific reward (unless by some accident they should happen to gain a municipal magistracy and so join the ranks of the élite), the law makes it possible for them to live in the same community as those who do receive the reward of Roman citizenship. In this respect, many of the clauses of the *lex Irnitana* can be seen as having a similar function as the right of intermarriage with peregrine women in the Volubilis inscriptions. In the case of Irni, however, the concessions are the more important because the two categories of people on opposite sides of the divide between *cives* and *peregrini* are both members of the same community.

We may seem to have come a long way from Catullus' satirical observations on Egnatius' toothy grin. What I hope has become apparent *en route* is that, if we attempt to construct a Roman notion of urbanism, we are immediately faced with a complex of ideas, material, juridical, political and fashionable, whose one obvious characteristic is that they all relate to the notion of the *urbs*, that is Rome. Of course any latter-day Egnatius who riled any latter-day Catullus would still be derided as *neque elegans neque urbanus*, and coming from the upper-class of even so fine a place as Irni would not protect him. After all, in the early years of the second century AD Tacitus could be described as a *provincialis*, despite his excellent Latin and his senatorial career (Pliny, *Ep.* 9.23.2). The fact that you held the Roman citizenship and lived in a Romanized town would not entitle you to the accolade of an *urbanus*. You would have, however, a larger share of what in the Roman mind went to make up an *urbanus* than your Latin neighbour, and he in turn than a non-member of the *municipium*. By developing an awareness of the relationship between the various ideas which surrounded the city and its attributes we may hope to get closer to an understanding of what was going on as the multi-layered patterns of urbanism so characteristic of the Iberian Peninsula began to take shape.

NOTES

1 The poet, Robert Southey, visited the peninsula in between 1795 and 1797 immediately after his marriage, at the invitation of his uncle, the Revd Herbert Hill, then resident in Lisbon.

2 Strabo 3.4.16: τὸ μὴ πρὸς διαγωγὴν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ ὄρμην θηριώδη μετὰ ἔθους φαύλου ζῆν.

3 For a description, see Alföldy 1991, 24–5 and 28–9. Note that Balil (1983) believes these marks to have been made by Italian masons, and not Iberian.

4 For an account of the pattern of settlement in this area in the republican period, see Pina Polo 1993.

5 The only reason Galsterer (1971, 11) has for including Ilerda on the list of *coloniae Latinae* is the appearance of three *Ilerdenses* with Roman-style names on the decree of Pompeius Strabo of 89 BC (*ILS* 8888). On the weaknesses of this argument, see Richardson 1986, 161–2.

6 A fragment from the *meseta* was mentioned by Professor Julio Mangas at the conference on *Teoría y práctica del ordanamiento municipal in Hispania*, held in Vitoria in November 1993.

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neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum: reflections on Iberian urbanism

Modern travellers to the Iberian Peninsula are impressed by the cultural diversity of its cities. Early travellers from Britain were less interested in antiquity in these cities than those who went to Italy, and such interest as they had was distinctly touristic. Urbanism is a twentieth-century concept, and so it is proper, from an historian's viewpoint, to be careful in its application to the ancient world. In Latin *urbanus* meant 'of the *urbs*', where *urbs* essentially meant Rome. Being like Rome might mean being sophisticated in manner, but also being Roman in terms of citizenship and status. These two elements, though related, could be separated, and an examination of the archaeological evidence and the epigraphic evidence from sites in the peninsula, especially for the Flavian period, illustrates that often the inhabitants of the urban settlements imitated Roman styles of life before they possessed any Roman civil status. The Flavian grant of the *ius Latii* can be seen as an attempt to make it possible for citizens and non-citizens to live together in communities which were attempting to be homogeneous in terms of Roman life-style but were heterogeneous in terms of citizenship.

neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum: reflexiones sobre el urbanismo ibérico

Los viajeros modernos al visitar la península ibérica quedan sorprendidos por la diversidad cultural de sus ciudades. Los primeros viajeros británicos se interesaron menos en la antigüedad de sus ciudades, que aquellos que fueron a Italia, y su interés era propiamente turístico. Urbanismo es un concepto del siglo XX, y por lo tanto, desde el punto de vista del historiador, se debe ser precavido en su aplicación al mundo antiguo. In latín *urbanus* significaba 'de la *urbs*', en la que *urbs* se identificaba con Roma. El semejarse a Roma debía significar que se era sofisticada en forma, pero también que era romana en términos de ciudadanía y estatus. Estos dos elementos, aunque relacionados, podían estar separados, y un examen de la evidencia arqueológica y epigráfica de los asentamientos de la península, especialmente en el periodo flavio, ilustran que a menudo los habitantes de los asentamientos urbanos imitaban la forma de vida romana antes de poseer un estatuto civil romano. La concesión flavia del *ius Latii* debe entenderse como un intento de favorecer la vida en común de ciudadanos y no ciudadanos en comunidades que pretendían ser homogéneas en su estilo de vida romano, pero que eran aún heterogéneas en la ciudadanía de sus habitantes.