

**Romanization and Ancient Iberia: Religion and
Ideology**

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Many Historians have tried to both define and understand Romanization. Romanization has at times been defined as Romans forcing provincials to assimilate to Roman culture. Romanization was the introduction of Roman ideals to non-Romans in relation to the degree with which those ideals were accepted. By ideals I mean ways of life; religion, education and other representations of culture. The focus will be to understand the Romanization of Iberia (ancient Spain) emphasizing as part of that Romanization both religion and ideology. The introduction of Roman culture to Iberia was accepted with little hesitation. The Iberian people were not forced to become Roman; their culture metamorphosed as the world around them changed.

It will be important to discuss first the views other historians have taken on the Romanization of Roman provinces. Second the paper will look at the environment of Iberia, and the implications that has on how civilization manifested itself. Architecture is also a point of discussion, as well as methods by which culture became Romanized. A comparison of Gaul and Iberia, in that respect, will be made.

Historiography

Romanization of Italy's provinces has been studied by many historians. The idea of Romanization has gone through many transformations. Interpretation varies widely.

In Jane Websters article "Creolizing the Roman Provinces" she suggests that, Romanization is not an accurate label for the processes of acculturation that took place in Roman provinces. She calls the blending of society, "multicultural adjustment".¹

She argues against the idea of Francis Haverfield that Roman provinces were "given a civilization". From the 20's to the 60's Haverfield created a view of Romanization that Romanization was a process by which the provinces and Rome itself

¹Jane, Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archeology*, 105, 2001, pg 209.

lost their distinction. Haverfield however only focused on the elite in society leaving a large amount of the population un-addressed.²

Another person to look at Romanization was Collingwood; who suggested that it was not a situation of dominance but of fusion, a blending of two cultures. Webster agrees more with Collingwoods depiction than Haverfields. Collingwood however may not have a complete grasp of the strength of Roman presence and the outcome of that strength.³

Both Haverfield and Collingwood believed that native beliefs still remained and that their presence was not an indication of resistance. Webster tells of a historian Forcey who suggests to us that Romanization was merely a mask upon the continuing Celtic traditions of the provinces.⁴

Martin Millet provides for us an interesting idea with that of “native-led emulation”⁵ By his process of Romanization the elite became the example of society that would slowly affect culture throughout its hierarchy. A historian Zanker agrees that the appearance of Romanization was a result of the competing elites in the provinces.⁶

Woolf suggests many things one of which being that Romanization was a safe alternative to the onslaught of barbarism; he quotes Fustel de Coulanges who believed that provincials saw the opportunities offered by the Romans to enrich their lives⁷. Woolf supports the idea that the cultural changes brought on by Roman influences had as many variations as the communities they were found in.

² Ibid., p. 211.

³ Ibid., p. 212.

⁴ Ibid., p. 212.

⁵ Ibid., p.213.

⁶ Ibid., p. 213.

⁷ Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, United Kingdom, 1998, p. 8.

Sherwin White has proposed a definition in which the natives Romanized themselves. Other historians have agreed with this view yet it poses a problem in that the indigenous population was not likely to throw away their culture and replace it entirely with Rome's.

P.A. Brunt has suggests that the Romanizing of the provinces was an act of assimilation in which provincials were willing to participate. This is supported by Millet. Many historians also suggest that Romans and provincials were in a give and take relationship.⁸

According to Leanord A. Curchins model of Romanization the process by which people became more Roman was a slow one. Two cultures simply grew together because of contact with one another. Several factors took parts in creating the culture of provincial Rome. Those many factors working together, the trade, civilization, building programs, religious ties etc. of all the cultures would become like the "melting pot" of early America, where cultures came together in unique and varying ways.

This paper will analyze Romanization in order to achieve the proper definition. That definition is that the Romanization of the Iberians was a process in which many cultures were introduced, for the most part peaceably to one another, and how they through time blended together. Iberia in many cases took on Roman appearance, but its people did not entirely abandon their culture; they held their influence with the new Roman inhabitants.

⁸ Leonard A. Curchin, *the Romanization of Central Spain: Complexity, Diversity, and Change in a Provincial Hinterland*, London, 2004, p.13.

Iberian Environment

Iberia was a place where tradition varied from region to region. Research proposes some problems as there is no written record of ancient Iberian tradition. We may start by trying to understand the environment in which the Iberians live. Environment determines culture, Romans, Greeks, Barbarians and natives all live in different places based on geography and the needs of their community.

It is important to study the environment of Iberia for two reasons, one, it may have specific influences on Iberian culture, and two, we must understand all the aspects that made Spain desirable to the Romans. Why were the Romans drawn to Spain? Central Spain for example would be a hard climate in which to live; there are no major rivers, rainfall is sparse and temperatures are high. The summer is short and hot, and winters are long and cold, much like America's Midwest.⁹ There were therefore few crops that could be grown, we don't see as much Roman interest in the central region of Iberia. The valleys of Spain are more temperate and more welcoming to inhabitants just as the Mediterranean climate.

The study of Central Spain also allows us to understand that the process of Romanization. Introducing and encouraging Roman ways of life would be manifested differently in this area, especially if limited to a specific time period. The Iberians in central Spain would not be as accustomed to Roman Ideas as the Coast and the more inviting areas of the peninsula, where Roman presence had already been for quite some time. Roman settlement began with Italica in 206 BC. Romanization or the development of Roman traits therefore began. The view of Romanization has slowly metamorphosed

⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

from the idea of forced change to the more acceptable idea that a slow process of cultural blending was being played out in Iberia and other provinces.

Mining and trade were some of the qualities offered by the coastal and mountainous regions of Iberia. Silver was a commodity of Spain that could have brought wealth to the Empire. “The northwest was rich in minerals, including gold, silver, iron, and two kinds of lead and, indeed, there is considerable archaeological evidence of mining in the area.” We could also be lead to believe that the Romans were concerned with conquest itself, realizing the benefits of course but not making a certain resource the focus of their fight.

We must also understand what Romanization is, it is my belief that Romanization cannot have an exact definition; the process of Romanization varies according to region. For instance central Spain is a more isolated region, it has seen less contact than some coastal areas which would have already been established by their relation to a trade route. The silver trade brought Greek and Phoenician settlers to the peninsula, where, by the time of the Romans, they had already urbanized the coastline at, places like Cadiz, Toscanos, and Ampurias. Romanization would have different manifestations in the isolated regions. Because we are first trying to understand Iberian culture before Roman influence it the study of central Spain can be useful, it is there that we can gain an understanding of the Iberians ties to their cultural traditions. It is a place that was slower to feel Roman presence.

Native Iberian Religion and Culture

The ancient culture of Iberia is an entity we have little evidence for when compared to the carefully recorded history of the Roman Empire. There is no written

history of early Iberian inhabitants. We in effect must turn our studies to archaeological evidence. Most of this evidence of life is architectural; the remains of many buildings etc. have shed some insight on just who the early Iberians were. When documenting the remains of ancient culture it is important to first look at the simple things in the society, what did they eat, did they have industry, a trade system, hierarchical communities etc. Then when the general structure of daily life is determined we can begin to study the more interesting aspects of ancient society and ask questions like: what drove these people? What did they believe in? What did they devote their lives to? There are many answers to these questions, and many of them can be tied to the religious beliefs of the society.

Because as I already mentioned we do not have a written record of Iberian religion determining religious inclination is left to the results of archaeological study. This can be speculative; however there are very few issues throughout history upon which historians agree. The archaeology that can lead us to determine the religious nature of Iberia can be found in its cemeteries, sanctuaries and shrines. It is in these places that we find evidence for the belief in some supreme being. Much evidence suggests that Iberian religion encompassed many characteristics of Mediterranean religion. The symbols of suns moons and stars can be found in “solar and lunar cults in islands and on capes¹⁰”. Animal worship was also an important part of early Iberian religion. The Cult of the bull was found in Iberia in Balearic and Andalusian sanctuaries. There is also evidence of the worship of doves, which represented fertility as well as the worship of lions, monsters, sphinxes and other animals.

¹⁰ Antonio Arribas, *Ancient Peoples and Places: The Iberians*, New York, 1964, p. 131.

Maria Cruz Fernandez Castro stated in *Iberia in prehistory* that “the common religious beliefs, rites and forms of worship were amongst the fundamental characteristics of the most ‘cultivated’ and ‘urbane’ of the Iberians.¹¹” She claims that most archaeologists and historians agree on this point. I understand from this idea that religion and religious worship was an entity of upper class in society. There was a definite hierarchy to religion, many times it took on Mediterranean form, remaining native sites may have been a result of the elites trying to demonstrate their prestige through architecture or ritual. Certainly the wealthy of society would be the ones who could afford to construct sanctuaries and shrines and to make sacrifices in them; but the religion of the poor of society may not be recorded simply because the poor could not afford to erect shrines of a lasting nature. It is likely that most of Iberian religious belief is lost to us because we have no archaeological record of it. In addition many of the religious practices by their nature would leave no evidence, Iberians very often worshipped in natural sites making natural offerings like the pouring of libations.

Much of Iberian religion involved offerings to god, and we do have statues and engravings and other forms of art that give us detail in interpreting exactly what they believed. Different types of worship can be found in different areas of Iberia, it is not a place of uniformity. The sanctuaries devoted to some kinds of worship contained “the presence of votive offerings artistically distinct from the official sanctuary style¹²”. “The offerings were fruits of the earth: bread oil, hydromel, and especially votive representations by means of which the believer sought to perpetuate his image before the

¹¹ Maria Cruz Fernandez Castro, *Iberia in Prehistory, the Shrines of the Iberians*, United Kingdom, 1995, p. 278.

¹² Arribas, *Ancient Peoples and Places*, p. 135

god whose aid he solicited.¹³” we can gather from these offerings that the believers sought the blessing of health, and that nature might treat them well. These sanctuaries are found in areas that were believed suitable to be desirable to the gods by their natural environment. They would be found in beautiful places as well as well hidden places like caves. Water was important to the rituals performed at these places. One of the Archeological places we have documenting worship is that of Gorham’s cave in southern Spain. Offerings “such as pottery, bowls, personal adornments (beads of cornelian and enameled glass, bronze rings and scarab seals) amulets and glass *amphoriskoi* were used as offerings in the natural, large cavity of the sea cliff”¹⁴. Most of the southern sites were destroyed during Hannibal’s campaigns. In the sanctuary El Cigarralejo we see again the worship of animals. “a peculiar feature of this site is the almost exclusively equine nature of the votive offerings, implying the worship of a Goddess who was the protectress of horses.¹⁵”

The caves along the eastern coast held devotions to more human Gods and Goddesses. In these places sacrifices of “pottery bowls, vessels and personal offerings can be found”¹⁶. Though there is variance in how caves were used for worship, the fact that they were used by cultures with different beliefs is interesting. Perhaps the sacred feeling of caves came from the fact that it was a naturally provided chamber, the conditions of caves were so different from the rest of the terrain, and they dipped into the unknown. Caves have been used from the beginning of time; they can be seen as a place of safety and refuge; if your god was worshipped as a protector than a cave would be a

¹³ Ibid., p. 136.

¹⁴ Fernandez Castro, *Iberia in Prehistory*, p. 284

¹⁵ Arribas, *Ancient Peoples and Places*, p. 136

¹⁶ Fernandez Castro, *Iberia in Prehistory*, p. 285

good representation of that, the earth's natural protection to symbolize the role of Gods in your lives. Caves could also be seen as a representation of the womb of Mother Earth. "Beneath the Earth's surface the damp conditions occur which regenerate life and vital growth; and in cavities, the spirits of the dead rest at ease"¹⁷. Sanctuaries can also be found on the prominent and high points of the coast.

The pouring of libations took place on these high bluffs. The water for the libations in Hieron Akroterion, which translates to Sacred Cape, had to be carried up the hill, there was no water on top. This particular sight was so sacred that people were not allowed on it at night, it was believed high enough that the gods came down to that spot to "visit the earth at night"¹⁸. The rituals that were performed in this holy place required neither a temple nor sacrifices: the practice of turning over stones and pouring water over them as an offering to the gods was a particular indigenous characteristic.¹⁹ Water was used for worship in both caves and on these high places. In the caves however the natural element of fire was also utilized.

Sanctuaries can also be found on the mountains of Iberia, near the Sierra Morena mountain chain is found two sanctuaries, El Collado de los Jardines and Los Altos del Sotillo. These are otherwise known as Castellar and Despenaperros. These sites included natural shelters with little human disruption to the land. At Castellar the path may have been lined with stone and the roads leading up to the cave sanctuary were paved. Despenaperros was not only a sanctuary but a site for settlement, it was a defensible location; being located in the high Sierra Morena. These differences draw distinctions between the native cultures present in Iberia, supporting the idea of cultural variation. I

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 285

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 282.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 282.

do not mean to say the cultures were completely separate, the ex-votii of the Sierra Morena sites are similar to statuary found in several other locations. So sanctuaries could take on different appearances, but they still included some of the same forms of worship. “Outside the caves remnants of platforms and unidentified dwellings testify to a cult of uncertain character”²⁰, it is this site where figurines were offered into natural hollows or man made dugouts in the ground, at the sites thousands of bronze figurines have been found. The mountain sites display a closeness of the people who worshipped them; villages were situated around the sanctuaries like a Roman city around a forum; so perhaps the introduced layout of Roman towns would not be that challenging to already established ways of life. The Bronze sculptures can tell us a lot about beliefs and about the lives of those people. The dedication of bronze sculptures took place at this site was used for over 300 years²¹. Often men were displayed as warriors, and women were portrayed giving offerings. Women for example were popular at a site at Cerro de los Infantes. Men may have been represented this way as a form of devotion to be warriors of their god, and women provided sacrifices by which they were sustained. Animal figures were also seen at these sites. Warrior figures carry with them the connotation of power of life over death.

The mountain sanctuaries also have evidence to the importance of water in religion, “water was probably considered to be a part of the divine presence”²², it was hard to find a high location with plentiful water supply. Water was seen as a cure for sickness. It had healing power. Both eastern and Southern Iberians met at these places.

²⁰ Ibid., p.286.

²¹ Ibid., p. 287

²² Ibid., p. 287

There is one very good archaeological site that has given us many statues to study. Around 200 were found on the hill Cerro de los Santos. The statues exhibit the influence of Roman society wearing tunics. Most of the statues at the site are very similar; there are well dressed ladies as well as men. “The ladies carry a beaker with both hands, while the men bear a bowl in their right hands²³”. They were again probably offering the sacred liquid water. They were figurines of worship. This site had easy access to water; and different from most native sites we see the construction of a structure for worship. Most of the sanctuaries and shrines I have discussed have been located in natural hollows or high places. This building could possibly be the influence of Roman culture being seen in Iberia, lack of information leaves us without a specific date for the building.

Bulls and horses are found in coinage as well as being part of religious imagery before and after Roman contact. There were large sculptures of bulls and pigs found with tombs and in cemeteries sanctuaries and sacred places.²⁴ There seems to have been a cow deity as well which was linked to the fertility of the herds, this is in central Spain.²⁵

There is a site in Iberia that does not center so much on the pouring of libations, El Cigarralejo. It is the same site in which the horse statues were found. Could we believe that the society saw the horse as deity? or is it just the fact that at this time Iberians made profit from the magnificent animal, the horse was common in Spain. Horses are found in many sanctuaries other than El Cigarralejo. Horses would have been a valuable in worship; they are directly tied to nature, particularly the health of fields. Horse figurines can be found at many other sites throughout Iberia.

²³ Ibid., p. 291

²⁴ Curchin, *the Romanization of Central Spain*, p. 174

²⁵ Ibid., p. 177.

In addition to the typical natural sites, shrines have also been found at towns. The sanctuaries were rectangular and contained both male and female figurines. Most of the figurines found at these sites were made of terracotta. The statues found were very often given in offering. The town of La Serreta may have given to us a depiction of divinity. A goddess is portrayed breastfeeding two infants, the dove is also included and is a symbol of fertility. “She eloquently displays her devotion to life and all creation²⁶”. It seems from this description that the Goddess was kind and personal, which from my understanding varies from the intangible qualities and presence of Roman gods, who were in some cases bribed with offerings. This woman it seems was motherly and loving. Images like this have been found in cemeteries as well.

Most shrines and sanctuaries in Iberia show evidence that water was sacred, yet there were areas in which it was not quite so sacred. There is no doubt in my mind that Iberian religious culture is very complex. It is very evident that most articles of religious nature in Iberia have been lost through time; we only have evidence from large sites that were used over long periods of time.

The influences of other cultures also play a big role in the evolution of Iberian shrines and sanctuaries. This brings us to the focus of this paper, the Roman influence on Iberian peoples, Religion being a focus. It seems from my studies that the early Iberians worshipped nature, and their own deity. Whether man or animal, the gods were tied to those natural beliefs, and gradually with Greek and Roman influence Iberians began to incorporate gods and goddesses like Jupiter into their worship. The evidences of Roman religion are often large structures or sculptures. The fact that we see structures coming up in the archaeological record may lead us to believe that the culture was suddenly Roman

²⁶Fernandez Castro, *Iberia in Prehistory*, p. 291

at a certain point; I do not believe this to be true. It must be remembered that Iberian religious ritual did not include the strong stone structures that could withstand time. Perhaps Iberians viewed their relations to the Gods as more spiritually based and did not believe they had to build edifices devoted to those Gods. This is something that we can't really know; there would be no archeological evidence of it.

Most of the time the dead are buried in the way that is believed will get them most safely to the second life. The images we find in grave and burial sites can then tell us much about Iberian religion. How materialistic was it? Did Iberians believe you could take with you treasures into the afterlife?

There are archeological sites that show both cremation and body burial. Many times pottery was included in the burials. At the cemetery at La Joya there are seventeen grave sites which "have an exceptional oriental style burial offering and burial mounds, a main inhumation mound around which cremated ashes are distributed and covered by the mound itself²⁷"; so cremation, at least in part of Iberia, was a part of Iberian belief and differed from the Roman practice of burial.

In a cemetery at Setefilla, There are several Tumuli at the site. Tumulus A and B are much more rustic than Tumulus H. A and B take on a more rounded form, whereas H has a square structure; Tumulus H is an inhumation site and included many funerary goods including bronze and Ivory, and Phoenician imports. A and B had several cremation burials and there was a inhumation burial at A This is a site in which we can see both native and Mediterranean influence, as well as a hierarchical structure, as the

²⁷ Arturo Ruiz Rodriguez, 'the Iron Age Peoples of the Upper Guadalquivir Valley', in Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Simon Keay, eds, *the Archaeology of Iberia*, London; New York, 1997, p. 178

Inhumation chambers are surrounded by other , lesser burials. Of course, the elite burial is more preserved than the poorer cremations that surround it.²⁸

Baza is another location of importance; in a tomb there a figurine the “lady of Baza” was found. The tombs in the cemetery show a definite break up of society based on hierarchy. There are lavish tombs that hold “Greek kraters, chariots, bronze braziers and large cist tombs.²⁹” The tombs of the less wealthy surrounded the tombs of the more wealthy. The poor were subservient to the rich; it could also be perhaps that those buried around the lavish tombs were slaves still attending their master in death. The tombs sometimes held weapons and ceramics, which as earlier suggested gives us an idea that Iberians believed that they were warriors even after life, or that they yet had a battle to fight. These arrangements lead me to believe that perhaps the worship of those living was becoming more a part of Iberian culture; so when the imperial cult was introduced it too would not seem that foreign or unacceptable.

“The wide variety of funerary practices reflects the marked hierarchy of this Iberian society.”³⁰ There were funerary chambers which were built of stone and mud brick, the funerary chamber is an idea adopted from Punic colonies. In these chambers very often Ostrich eggs and pottery as well as Greek imports could be found. “Substantial amounts of attic pottery reached the Iberian settlements and were placed in graves as cremation urns or funerary offerings”. We know that pottery was used in some instances as offering, the Greek pottery was obviously treasured, which would incline the Iberians

²⁸ Castro, *Iberia in Prehistory*, p. 205

²⁹ Rodriguez, ‘the Iron Age Peoples of the Upper Guadalquivir Valley’, p. 183

³⁰ Teresa Chapman Brunet, ‘Models of Interaction Between Punic Colonies and Native Iberians: the Funerary Evidence’, in Miriam S. Balmuth and Lourdes P. Torreira and Antonio Gilman, eds, *Encounters and Transformations: The Archaeology of Iberia in Transition*, New York, 1997, p. 145

to trade with whoever could provide them with it, like the Romans. The ostrich egg was a symbol of new life as well as a decoration.

Another important detail of burial with religious connotations is that of the treatment of the body. The tradition Iberian burial was cremation, in:

“Villaricos, however, inhumation predominates, at least from the third century B.C. Corpses are generally put into wooden coffins and place inside collective burial chambers or individual trench graves. Ostrich eggs are an additive of Punic society and have not been found in Iberian burial sites, amphoras can exist”....Many Iberians, despite the punic influence continued to “practice their own rituals and maintained their own distinctive culture.”³¹

The Iberians were often buried with their weapons and statuary depicted men in battle, again suggesting that they had a battle yet to face. There was not as much information available on cemeteries; I did realize however that like the religion of Iberia there was much regional variance in the practices and the forms of burial.

The archaeology of Iberia has given us a lot of religious material by which we can make hypotheses about the religion of Iberia. The worship of nature can be seen in many of the native sites. Offerings took many forms from that of pottery and worship statuary to food and perhaps the most common, the use and worship of water as a cleansing agent. Water was poured for libations; it was a stem of life the culture of the Iberians slowly became more Roman; the statuary found in religious sites took on personages similar to the Roman Gods. Natural sanctuaries found in caves gave over to sacred buildings and temples where sometimes we saw the worship of both Roman and Iberian gods , the worship of the living could be seen there as well.

³¹ Brunet, ‘Models of Interaction Between Punic Colonies and Native Iberians’, p. 149.

Cemeteries carried on some of these traditions holding horse statuary, containing carvings of gods and goddesses. Whatever the case archaeological evidence is the only tangible means that we have of studying ancient Iberian culture before Romanization.

The Gods in Iberia are in many cases the same gods as in Gaul and Britain. Celtic gods were often worshipped in groups of three which was thought would be more effective than just worshipping one god. There were hundreds of Celtic Gods, many of which were local, and only found in a certain area. So adding the worship of a few more Roman gods would on the whole not be that unacceptable. There was limited sculpture in Iberia before the Romans. The Iberians lived according to a lunar calendar.

Roman Religion and its influence on Iberia

In order to understand Romanization in relation to religion we must understand Roman religion as well. What were the similarities and differences? What about Roman religion could be built upon to become appealing or at least acceptable to the Iberians?

Roman Religion like Iberian religion encompassed many gods and with them tradition, a relationship in which customs would find the favor of the gods. There was a basic set of tradition that could be manipulated in ritual and focus. Prayer and sacrifice were and important part of Roman religion.³² Prayers made a request to a particular god; they included the reasons for that prayer as well as reasons why the individual was worthy of what they wished for. Offerings were common practice in Roman religion as well, they were very often given to ensure that prayers would be answered. Sometimes offering was given in the form of a vow, a promise that would be fulfilled if the god

³² James Rives, 'Religion in the Roman World', in Janet Huskinson, ed, *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, New York, 2000, p. 247.

chose to favor the devotee. Augustus vowed to build the temple to Apollo if his prayers were answered with a victory over Sextus Pompey in battle.

Libations, like in Iberia, were also part of Roman religion. Animal sacrifice was also offered; animals were seen as valuable, which is something that would be found in common by the Iberians. Although there is no written record of animal sacrifice in Iberian religious practices, offerings of animal figurines were made. Animal figurines and depiction of animals on pottery have been found at many sites. These were most likely offered to animal gods, or offered to worship the animal.

Sacrifice, offering and prayer could be given by any part of Roman society, from the peasant to the emperor. It could have been a problem for the Iberians if by the laws of Roman religion some were barred from practice. Priests in the Roman church took on more of the form of Public officials.³³

Roman religion, again like Iberian was very complex. The religion I must stress was based on traditions that the Roman people believed worked, it was the tradition itself that was many times emphasized. The religion was more a set or rituals than beliefs³⁴ There was however a discussion of the nature and appearance of Gods. Romans were not original in their beliefs; they followed Greek tradition for instance in applying the involvement of the gods in the founding of Rome. Religious variance was the only thing that Romans knew, they were used to differences.

Behavior was not based on a set of religious beliefs; it was gifts and offerings that won the favor of the gods not the living of a chaste life. There was no uniform view of

³³ Ibid., p. 249

³⁴ Ibid., p. 251

life after death, so morals were not incorporated into a system that decided where one went after one died.

Whole communities made movements to win the favor of a certain god. The favor of that god would be rewarded with praise and ritual. Both sides had obligations and fulfilled them, for instance the Capitoline Triad, of Jupiter Juno and Minerva were the gods chosen by the group of people around the Capitoline hill. “A public cult involved three things: a cult place, regularly performed rituals, and public representatives to perform these rituals”.³⁵

Altars and temples, sometimes elaborate, were the places for worship. Worship varied from everyday visits to festivals, games could be dedicated to the gods as well. Several government officials were responsible for the management of ritual and religious honors. The senate was in charge of religion and its practice, it was normal in Roman practice for both politics and religion to be overseen by the same people.

Officials, as well as praying for the good of the people, could also be awarded blessings. Different gods had specific traits and qualities that could fulfill different desires; this may explain why different regions worshipped some gods more than others. We must also consider at this point that it is possible with the wide variety of traits possessed by Roman gods that it would be possible to link certain Roman gods with Iberian gods. Vows as mentioned before were an important part of the belief system and could be found “recorded in inscription”.³⁶

The public’s ideas of gods were not forced but shaped; shaped by public festival and ritual. There were very few occasions in which religion was controlled; like the

³⁵ Ibid., p.253

³⁶ Ibid., p. 255

banning of the cult of Bacchus in 186 BC. Sometimes the gods a town chose to represent became their identity; like the triad of the Capitoline hill. The elites would decide who was the focus of worship in their town.

The only way a religious belief would contradict Roman tolerance is if it provided some foreign method or requirement of its people. The loose requirements for Roman religion were part of its policy in its provinces. Societies did not trade their culture for another one, instead they added upon their own culture;³⁷ this is true in rural Italy and the provinces.

“Roman Authorities were more likely to want subject people to maintain their traditional cults.”³⁸ Roman officials even honored local gods at times. Just because Roman influence was not forced does not mean that it wasn't introduced to the people outside of Rome. Roman presence brought with it Roman religion, its art, and its architecture, those mediums alone would have at least some sphere of influence.

The Romans themselves were an influenced people who gained many of their belief systems from the Greeks. They like Provincials tied their native Gods to associations with Greek gods. Zeus became Jupiter in image and explanation. At Cadiz we see that the native god Melgart became Hercules. Philosophy was also adopted from the Greeks

The Imperial Cult is an important aspect of Roman religion to understand, especially since it became prominent in the provinces. The imperial Cult is based on the worship of public leaders, like Augustus. I already mentioned that in Iberia it was not out

³⁷ Ibid., p. 260

³⁸ Ibid., p. 260.

of the question to worship the living. The Imperial Cult like the rest of Roman religion centered on ritual..³⁹

Augustus is a good example of how godhood was achieved, he was famous for his propaganda in the provinces, and though he did not allow his worship within Rome he did not discourage it in the provinces. The worship of man was perhaps an explanation of how one man could become so powerful; he would have to be a god. So living men found within their lineage direct links to gods, Augustus linked himself to Venus through Aeneas. Earlier republican leaders had linked themselves to divinity like Sertorius with Diana, and Scipio Africanus with Neptune. Augustus took this a step further. Sometimes instead of the emperor himself it was more acceptable to worship aspects of the living, Augustus was worshipped in Rome and elsewhere for his genius.

The Beginning of Roman influence: Architecture and Romanization of Religion in Iberia

Romanization is more the process by which provincial peoples become accommodated to Roman ways of life. As has already been suggested Romanization is not a set of procedures it is unique to each environment to which it is applied. Iberian culture cannot be characterized; just like Italy it has very many cultures within its borders. Roman culture was also constantly changing, Rome itself was not a unique entity it borrowed cultural traditions and ideas from other civilizations. Most of the process of Romanization that is discussed in this paper has its focus from the Augustan period on. It is widely accepted that Rome and the empire experienced a “cultural

³⁹ Ibid., p. 266

revolution” under Augustus.⁴⁰ So at the same time changes were taking place in Iberia, Italy itself was being Romanized, or introduced to the set of traits that would define Rome. The empire was in “a constant state of change.”⁴¹

Trade influenced Iberian culture for a long time, Greek trade existed there strongly for several hundred years and there is evidence of the cultural connections. Emporiae was actually a producer of Greek pottery, evidence of wine trade can also be found there in amphorae.⁴² There was also Greek influence in the architecture of Iberia.

When Greek trade ended in Emporiae the absence of its influence that came into being helped allow for Rome to take over. Trade with Rome began because the native community depended on trade. This provided an opportunity for influence. Local production of pottery was replaced when trade routes were strengthened.⁴³

The form of Romanization that made it to Central Spain had already been manipulated in other regions of the empire. Roman Culture is “by no means pure”.⁴⁴

Iberia changed over a long period of time; the Iberians were not suddenly Roman after they were conquered. The process where Roman cultural practices entered Ancient Spain was slow.

Roman culture was not forced upon the Iberian people instead it was introduced and allowed time for adaptation. It allowed time for both Iberian and Roman cultures to blend, for each to influence each other, to recognize and strengthen similarities, to

⁴⁰ Curchin, *the Romanization of Central Spain*, p. 9

⁴¹ Simon Keay, ‘Romanization and the Hispaniae’, in S.J. Keay and Nicola Terrenato, *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, Oakville, 2001, p 180.

⁴² William E. Mierse, *Temples and towns in Roman Iberia: the social and architectural dynamics of sanctuary designs from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.*, Berkley, 1999, pp.33-36.

⁴³ Arturo Ruiz, *The archaeology of the Iberians*, New York, 1993, p. 294

⁴⁴ Webster, ‘Creolizing the Roman Provinces’, p. 211

integrate⁴⁵. “Romanization was not an admission that Roman culture was superior, but a conscious choice by individual provincials to borrow and adapt Roman traits for personal reasons.”⁴⁶ What were the benefits of becoming Romanized? Could the Iberians see any other way?

The process of adaptation between cultures of Iberia and Rome are not unique, they can be compared to what was termed the “melting pot” of America, where many cultures came together creating a diverse and unique society. Iberia on the whole did exhibit change, so Iberians co-operated, or at least were assimilated to some extent.

Another important area to address is citizenship. Did provincials become citizens? Yes, Rome was willing to extend citizenship to magistrates who would encourage urban development⁴⁷. Citizenship was not intimidating it did not determine religious opinion⁴⁸, it was welcomed. What rights did they gain as they became members of the empire society? Some have suggested that Roman culture was forced upon the Iberians but there are many things that indicate that was not true. Iberians like any culture did not believe their ways were inferior; it would not be easy to just drop them. Romanization has been understood in many different ways “Romanization was not a goal to be achieved; it was a phenomenon brought about by the fusion of two cultures”⁴⁹

Inscriptions at this time indicate that Iberian natives were adopting Roman names. This is a huge flag telling us that Romanization was not forced. The names changed but

⁴⁵ Francisco Beltran Lloris, ‘Writing Language and Society: Iberians Celts and Romans in Northeastern Spain in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC’, BICS-43, 1999, p. 132.

⁴⁶ Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, p. 10

⁴⁷ W. S. Hanson, ‘Forces of Change and Methods of Control’, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, *Journal of Archaeology*, 23, 1997, p. 77

⁴⁸ Lloris, ‘Writing, Language and Society’, p. 132

⁴⁹ Curchin, *the Romanization of Central Spain*, p. 14.

the traditions did not⁵⁰, like moving to another country you don't give up your culture, but you have to learn the language, and by default end up picking up a little culture on the way. Changing of names was not a denial of your old culture but a means of progressing in the new one. Names may have been adopted merely for business purposes.

Religion and Ideology is perhaps the most important part of Romanization. Religion is something that has been set as tradition. So we must remember what changed with regard to religion. I have already emphasized that the changes brought to the province were not forceful; Iberians began to adopt Roman gods. Iberians slowly and by their own choice adopted Roman ways. It was the representation of religion that exhibited the most change in its art and architecture.

Religion is something that has been set by tradition, betraying ones god would be unthinkable; so there must have been a means by which Iberians could adopt Roman Ideology and not offend their native beliefs. Roman beliefs also allowed for the adoption of some local gods like when "Epona was accepted as a goddess in imperial Rome."⁵¹ The combining of Roman and non-Roman sites developed Latin and non Latin features.

Roman religion was appealing, it was organized powerful and attractive, it involved mythology, which could also be found in Iberia, and it also had strong physical representation. It was fairly easy for Iberians to relate their gods to the gods of Rome and sort of blend the two together. The status and power of their gods could be elevated.

Mercury became a popular god in Gaul, Mars and Diana were easily linked to Celtic gods. The worship of Roman gods depended heavily on the civilization of an area; if there was little Roman influence, you wouldn't often see Roman gods. Mars, Diana and

⁵⁰ John Nichols, 'Indigenous Culture and the Process of Romanization in Iberian Gallacia', *American Journal of Philology*, 108, 1987, p. 139.

⁵¹ Curchin, *the Romanization of Central Spain*, p. 14

Hercules found relationships with the rural gods , whereas Minerva and Mercury were more popular in the cities; Jupiter is found in both rural and civilized areas.⁵²

Worship in the home, which was common in Rome did not find its way to popularity in Iberia, which may be an indication that Roman ideas were not adopted as wholeheartedly as thought. However the particular practice probably just varied naturally from region to region.

To worship Emperors in the Imperial cult was a true symbol of belief in Rome, and of the desire to become Roman. The Iberians I their own practice worshipped men with power that could easily be transferred to the Emperor. They could also worship the gods that Emperors associated themselves with. There are statues of several emperors throughout central Spain. The Imperial cult was celebrated in public areas; there is evidence in the forums and amphitheatres like the theatre at Segobriga⁵³

Emperors too recognized the importance of the compliance of the provincial people, so they appealed to them in many ways. There were priests of Roman religion who were indigenous Iberian natives.⁵⁴ This indicates a heightened amount of acceptance. Roman citizenship could be gained through holding religious office.

Worship in outdoor sanctuaries continued after the presence of Romans for a very long time; worship in caves may have continued. The introduction of the Roman religious structures came as part of the building of Roman cities.

In Iberia as in Rome festivals were also a part of tradition, they were usually held at night and associated with the “vegitaion cycle” and fertility. Dancing was a common way to celebrate in the Iberian and Celtic areas.

⁵² Ibid., p.178

⁵³ Ibid., p. 186

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.181

“By 206 b.c. The Roman senate found itself the owner of the Iberian peninsula”.⁵⁵

The peninsula was very rich in resources and therefore very desirable. Resources were the first thing to draw Romans to the province, and then it seemed a good place to live. I do not mean to imply at this point that Iberia was conquered merely for its resources.

It is at an earlier date and not at the time of conquest that Roman culture began to influence native culture. It was sort of a marriage between the two, slowly one came to be more like the other. The first Roman settlements were outposts for protection from the Carthaginians.

There may, as suggested by Mierse, have been a Roman temple in these early times. What would this say about Romanization? Well for one, it reminds us that its process was slow. Perhaps it also indicates that one of the first powers to motivate Romanization was merely the curiosity of native people. The point is that Romanization was not a shock, it was something that the Iberians were allowed to become acclimated to.

One temple was maintained at Italica for a long time and can be dated by the pottery found there.⁵⁶ “the town from its foundation represented an intentional blending of native and foreign cultures.”⁵⁷ Perhaps the Romans and Iberians recognized they would survive best in a give and take relationship. Because of the high native population in the area there was still a strong native influence, yet the temple took on a Roman structure. Temples were being built by natives; this most likely suggests that natives were seeking power and prominence in the eyes of the Romans. Trade itself had been a “Cultural

⁵⁵ Mierse, *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia*, p. 1

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6

exchange and Interaction”.⁵⁸ There is even evidence to suggest that the temple at Italica was built by natives.

I mentioned before that Iberians like to worship in threes, this explains why a three chambered temple would be acceptable to the natives. Perhaps the natives adopted Roman style for their worship, maybe in the more industrial atmosphere they needed a more easily accessible place to worship. In the fast paced new world it may not have been as easy to make it to one of the natural sites to make offerings.

Coinage was found depicting a three chambered temple at Gades; this demonstrates that the image of temple was well known. There is also an inscription that mentions the cult of Jupiter Juno and Minerva.⁵⁹ The site is about one hundred years younger than the site at Italica, but still dates before the discussed “Romanization” of Iberia.

There are also temples at Emporiae, which actually may be where the first temple was constructed, the temple of Artemis of Ephesos. There is a temple of Bacchus at the city of Kypsela. Native sanctuaries declined as temples began to appear.⁶⁰

In the southern regions of Neapolis we see the remains of the Temple of Serapis. There is an inscription that mentions Serapis , it is bi-lingual in Greek and Latin. The cult of Serapis had a presence in the Iberian Peninsula; this particular temple is the best recording of the cult. An earlier temple on the same site was dedicated to Artemis and Ephesus. The cult dates to about the first century b.c.⁶¹ it was introduced most likely by those trading in the area, or the Greeks and Romans that came with the army.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 7

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 7

⁶⁰ Ruiz, *The Archaeology of the Iberians*, p. 292

⁶¹ Mierse, *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia*, p. 13

Rome did not have an architectural standard by which temples were built when Iberia was first inhabited so it is difficult to tell the purpose of some buildings. Romanization occurred more quickly in southern Iberia, the language changed more quickly, and many lived there who were strongly tied to Rome itself.⁶² The Military brought Roman ways to all of Iberia; but it took longer for some areas to blend culturally.

Peace was a motivating theme of Romanization, leaders did not want to invite revolt. So under the careful regime the concerns of Iberians became the concerns of other Roman citizens or provincials. They fought for certain things within the empire, but not against the empire. Roman legal and city practices still allowed for natives to make local decisions, there was really no reason to fight against it. Architecture could also experience the blending and incorporating some Iberian ideas.

Many trade towns were turned into places of agriculture, probably to support the agricultural needs of the Empire. It is at this point that we begin to see temples, and city centers beginning to take on Roman appearance. The pre-Augustan building however would slow with civil war, which may have led to the belief that the Romanization process began under Augustus.

We can also see through inscription that Iberia was adopting a political way of acting like Rome, even having local senates.⁶³ “The preferred method of Roman administrative control was to utilize the indigenous population by establishing a formal self-governing structure”⁶⁴. According to Caesar Iberia took on the image of Italy. The temples took on attributes inspired by both cultures and heritages.

⁶² Ibid., p. 50.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 52

⁶⁴ Hanson, ‘Forces of Change and Methods of Control’, p. 75

Many factors went into the visual Romanization of the provinces under Augustus. “(1) Urban planning, (2) Stylistic options, (3) elite patronage, and (4) imperial iconography compromised the larger Augustan concern for creating visual homogeneity”.⁶⁵

The square plan was becoming common around the first century BC and continued to be the most common for quite some time, in fact the square plan may have spread from the Iberian Peninsula to Gaul instead of from Italy to Gaul. Evidence suggests that many of the temples were built by Romans working from a set of standard blueprints.

Older towns were probably rejuvenated under Augustus and his plans for Iberia. The towns could have also served as centers for the military presence there, as well as serving the needs of the emerging society.

Forums too began to be seen as city centers and provided a way by which those cities could be built. The Forum at Saguntum was updated and therefore is somewhat different than the traditional forms that can be seen.⁶⁶ The styles as I have stated before were very often influenced by the native population. Basilicas in Iberia were constructed to the side of the forum instead of opposite the Forum. In this way more emphasis was being placed on the temple, this, to me, demonstrates that religion was of more importance to the natives than politics.

There were areas of High civilization which may have had “architects or at least builders and workmen who were aware of building styles other than those emanating

⁶⁵ Mierse, *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia*, p. 91

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95

from Rome.”⁶⁷ Buildings have local traits, the models were changed to suit the geography of the particular town they were built in.

Several of the temples aren't dedicated so they can't be linked to any particular cult. They may have been a form of Augustan propaganda. Augustus himself as well as Agrippa had seen the peninsula first hand, and probably had a definite plan for the province.

The already more Roman parts of Iberia in the south with an elite population would help to spread the Roman lifestyle to the rest of the province. A temple at Saguntum was gifted by one of those elite families the Baebii, the temple was therefore probably built according to the Baebii sentiment and gives us an idea of native sentiment, it was dedicated to Apollo and Diana, two gods that can be linked to some of the attributes possessed by Celtic gods. Diana and Apollo replaced Artemis and Ephesus. Because the temple was built to Apollo it could serve doubly in sucking up to Augustus.

Imagery differs between Gaul and Iberia, many more depictions of victory can be found in Gaul. Pictures in Iberia aren't of conquest.

An altar was built to Augustus at Tarraco, we know this from an excerpt in Quintilian⁶⁸ it is also made known that Augustus knew of the altar. It is an important example of the imperial cult. The altar is also seen on coinage that was put out under Tiberius. Coins tell us a similar altar was erected at Augusta Emerita.

Some believe it was the mineral wealth that drew Augustus to the province. “Possibly Augustus's conquest of this area was compelled by the desire to exploit the

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 120

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 125

mineral wealth”⁶⁹ I do not believe this was the cause of campaigns in Iberia, it was however a benefit. Claudius, according to Seneca wanted “to see all the western provincials in the toga of citizenship”⁷⁰ This is a direct quote that assimilation wanted to be achieved, the Iberian people were already heavily Romanized by this time.

Building projects under Claudius mirrored building projects in Rome, the building projects were taking place all over the empire. The building in Iberia may have been part of a widespread plan to erect public monuments. The architecture was adapted to suit, or to be used for local religious practice.

I again restate that there was not an active movement to destroy the native Iberian religions, Natives were slowly Romanizing themselves. The process of Romanization can be seen as “ incidental...whereby the indigenous population was entirely responsible for Romanizing itself.”⁷¹ In Gaul it was different, under Claudius there was a desire to destroy the Druid Religion.⁷²

There are three temples at Tripolitania, each temple being a separate entity.⁷³ There are similarities at Belo, the two sites probably influenced each other. Belo is similar to the forum at Pompeii, tying Iberia directly to Italian design. The Belo set up with buildings that complemented each other like at Pompeii.

North Africa was also influenced by the Romanization, probably from Iberia to Africa, Belo, which was part of an African trade network specifically⁷⁴ The areas were all part of a trade network. Widespread building projects throughout the Empire were carried

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 196

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 196

⁷¹ Hanson, ‘Forces of change and Methods of Control’, p. 67

⁷² Mierse, *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia*, p. 197

⁷³ Ibid., p. 198.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 200

out from roughly 36 to 68 A.D.⁷⁵ Many towns in Iberia had gained some sort of status according to Rome, like Clunia, which retained many native holdings. Towns began to take on visual appearances more similar to Rome like building complexes instead of single structures.

Iberia and Gaul: Differing Versions of Romanization

It is important to have a point of comparison so that we can truly understand how the process of Romanization manifested itself in Iberia. The comparison I will make is between Iberia and Gaul. This will help us to understand that the development of Roman traits was not always the same but varied between the areas of the empire, Rome again was used to that variation.⁷⁶

in Gaul Romanization was a more invasive process, though this does not mean citizens of Gaul were not open to Romanization. There were religious practices by the Druids for example that did not seem acceptable to the Romans. However author Greg Woolf quotes Fustel de Coulanges saying “it was less Rome than civilization itself that won over the Gauls...Being Roman, for them, was not a matter of obeying a foreign master so much as sharing in the most cultivated and noble manners, arts studies, labours and pleasures known to humanity.”⁷⁷ The quote can also be applied to Iberia.

Gaul was eventually going to be overtaken so in this case it was a question of what was the better choice. It “was clear: there was nowhere to hide from the might of Rome”.⁷⁸ The Gauls were choosing between a fate of being overtaken by the Barbarians or the Romans. There again was no standard way of life in Rome to apply upon Gaul.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 201

⁷⁶ Lloris, ‘Writing Language and Society’, p. 131

⁷⁷ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, p. 4

⁷⁸ Hanson, ‘Forces of Change and Methods of Control’, p. 69

Rome was influenced by other cultures just as it influenced the cultures of the provinces. It too changed “ by absorbing and adapting influences from the provinces.”⁷⁹We need to understand the diversity of Rome and apply that to the idea of Romanization. It was not a complete cultural transformation, but an influence. Like in Iberia, Romanization was not a sudden transformation, it was slow. Italy however was not so tolerant of certain sects of Gaul’s religion, namely the Druids. Tiberius got rid of Druids, according to Pliny the Elder.⁸⁰ Seutonius also described Claudius and Augustus as looking down on and even banning the Druid religion.⁸¹ The Druid belief system included human sacrifice and conflicted with Roman law.

Both cultures shared commonalities even if it was only in their desire for progress. Trade had been an influence in Gaul as well. Gaul residents would easily adopt Roman ways that did not seem offensive to them, just as we would accept and even pick up cultural traits that seemed acceptable when visiting another country.

Roman presence does not require an extreme change to Italian life to be evident. Like in Iberia the worship of local deity in a Roman fashion and in Roman structures was becoming normal practice.⁸²

There were however rebellions by the Gauls in the middle of the first century A.D., the rebellions were of people who had already, at least somewhat , assimilated to the Roman way of life and to Roman politics. The rebellion was not against Roman

⁷⁹ Webster, ‘Creolizing the Roman Provinces’, p. 210

⁸⁰ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, p . 221

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 221

⁸² Ibid., p.20

culture⁸³ but situations within the province. Conflict started within the province and worked outward.⁸⁴

It was not conquest itself that took over Gaul, but typical parts of Roman society like education, money, and Roman law. Roman rule solved some public problems like economy, which would provide at least somewhat of a welcome by the province.⁸⁵ Many Gauls served in the military which would introduce them even further to Roman ways. I do not mean to imply force, but sort of a side effect. Different groups of the society were influenced by different things. “Western cultures were artifacts of Roman imperialism”.⁸⁶

Romanization in Gaul: Architecture

The colony at Arelate in France is a site that should be looked at. It dates to about twenty six or twenty five B.C. There came to be a focus on the forum at the site.⁸⁷ This spurred the construction of a Roman town.

The site began with just an altar, and probably included a victory plaque awarded by the emperor.⁸⁸ The Altar therefore may have been an altar to the genius of Augustus. When Augustus was still alive it was risky to promote his worship, but the worship of aspects of his personality, like genius, was widely accepted. By giving the victory plaque he made a victory part of every part of the empire, Victory wasn't just Rome's, it was Arelates, and Iberia's too.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 21

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 23

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 240

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 245.

⁸⁷ Simon Keay, 'Urban Transformation and Cultural Change', in Simon Keay and Margarita Diaz-Andreu, eds, *the Archaeology of Iberia: the Dynamics of Change*, London, New York, 1997, p. 197

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 197. A copy of the bronze shield awarded to Augustus in 27BC, probably awarded during Augustus's travels through Hispania.

The forum at Arelate had an addition between twenty and thirty A.D., a monumental complex to the west;⁸⁹ which most likely included a temple for the imperial cult. It is important to understand that the site went from an altar to a temple, so even the idea of Roman way of worship was introduced in a slow way allowing time for assimilation.

*A Broader look at Archaeology: Ideology and the
Development of Roman Towns*

As we have already come to understand, archaeology is necessary to the study of Iberia, it is in many cases the only link we have to Spain's ancient history. There is a separation between archaeology and history, (which relies on written Roman perspective) so new archaeological finds have had a hard time impacting already accepted historical thought.

Towns with Roman appearance are the greatest examples of the Roman influence on society. The buildings themselves required at least some change; they at least, now, had to be maintained. The change to Roman ways therefore does not become common until large building programs begin, like under Augustus.⁹⁰

Ideology varied from location to location based on what Rome believed needed to change. Iberians were used to a set of Gods that fulfilled their needs. Gods that had familiar attributes would be represented, as well as methods of trade that would seemed beneficial, and architecture that could be manipulated by local ideas. This was all introduced in a way that wouldn't intimidate but instead compliment local society.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 197

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 194

The Emperor and the local elite worked together to bring the images that could influence the native population. The changes must have seemed more acceptable when promoted by native born elite; it wasn't always Roman men coming and implanting ideas it was Iberian peoples who could demonstrate that a transition of lifestyle could be accomplished. By creating an ideology the elite could too promote themselves and perhaps like Augustus link themselves to deity, raising their status and their potential for economic success. Propaganda like art and architecture were a powerful means of cultural influence.⁹¹ So ideology brought a form of control that wasn't invasive, or outrightly offensive.

It was between the third and 1st centuries B.C. that Iberia changed enough to be open to the acceleration of Roman influence that the Augustan time period would introduce. The success of Augustus, and his link to divinity would be represented so he and the emperors after him would receive high degree of respect honor. During the time of Augustus even Rome was being "Romanized".

Two towns were discussed by the author Keay that can help us understand urban development. One is in Spain at Tarraco, and the other at Arelate. Small building projects early on, like the presence of one temple could forecast the building of entire towns built on the Roman model. It may also be important to take a look at Saguntum and La Encarnacion.

Ideology is an important means of understanding Romanization. Propaganda, like building programs etc. were used to promote the image of Rome upon towns. We can see this at Tarraco where there is much archaeological evidence.⁹² Tarraco was one of the

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 195

⁹² Ibid., p. 195

powerful cities of the time; therefore it will give us a good idea of the Roman influence of that time period. At Tarraco there was also and temple built during the time of Augustus. Tarraco was already well developed before the Romans of the Augustan time period, and already included both civil and military centers. Authors Ruiz and Molinos agree with Mierse that Roman town design was already present before the major movement of Romanization, and that temples were often based on an octagonal plan.⁹³

The lower town it seems went under a lot of change. When Augustus visited Spain 26 and 25 BC he stayed at Tarraco. This made Tarraco the urban center of the peninsula, at least for a while. Tarraco therefore has unique implications and would feel the effects of Roman influence more quickly. There was a council that met in honor of Augustus in twenty six BC and it seems that left a pattern for citizens to follow. An altar to Augustus also Appears in the year twenty six.⁹⁴

Our evidence for the altar is found on coins issued under Tiberius. ” The front face was decorated with a shield, an oak swag, bucrania and fillets”⁹⁵ These were symbols of Augustan propaganda. There was a palm tree that grew out of the top of the altar, which was linked to victory, though it was perhaps just a sign of disuse. The citizens however petitioned Augustus to recognize the palm tree as a miracle. An altar to Augustus was raised in the lower town. The Altar it seems was raised in a Forum that already existed and so in the case of Tarraco Romanization was a pre-Augustan phenomenon.

⁹³ Ruiz, *the Archaeology of the Iberians*, pp. 287-296

⁹⁴ Keay, ‘Urban Transformation and Cultural Change’, p. 198

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198

The center included statuary, columns and offices for merchants.⁹⁶ There was also it seems a temple to Augustus. Having the Imperial representation reminded people that they were locally governed as a part of the Roman Empire. The town also included a gallery of statues probably also including the promotion of Roman leaders.

The center also may have included a triumphal arch. The Roman conquest over the Barbarians was also represented in art and architecture. This reminded native people, that if the Romans hadn't intervened, they would have been overtaken by barbarians. There was also a capitolium on the site.

I will suggest that the altar to Augustus like in Arelate preceded the forum, more slowly introducing the Roman worship. The permission to build the temple was granted by Tiberius around fifteen AD which is documented by coins.⁹⁷

The forum at Tarraco is not the center of the town. Yet it probably still affected the town layout. The forum at Tarraco probably dates to the early Augustan time period. Roads lead away from the forum making it an easily accessed site if not the center. The town could easily then be built according to the forums orientation, including the theatre, the theatre was also used for imperial promotion.⁹⁸

There is also an upper section to Tarraco. This part of Tarraco did not see any major building projects until the Flavian period⁹⁹ when a building project created a center for the imperial cult and for administration. This building project came under Vespasian who put forth many building projects. The community created was terraced; there was a temple, a building for administration and a circus. It was built in concrete and marble.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 199

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 200

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 201

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 202

Depictions and inscriptions link it to the Imperial Cult.¹⁰⁰ It was under Vespasian that towns appeared in what used to be the countryside.¹⁰¹

Making the forum the center of a town would emphasize its importance and also the power of the men who built it. It demonstrated the relationship between Rome and the provinces, Rome being the center.

At Saguntum there are several site layers including a pre-Augustan republican layout. The temple, under Augustus was dedicated to Apollo and Diana just as the temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill. The forum was built by the Baebii family, and this is indicated in inscription.

The buildings became a daily representation of power to the Iberians. The buildings were dedicated as a form of honor to Rome, not imposed. The altar was sponsored by the native inhabitants. The buildings were an expression of loyalty. The elites exercised their loyalty through art and the depiction of Roman leaders.

There is an important sanctuary to take a look at at La Encarnacion de Caravacas here the presence of Roman structures is unexpected as native buildings etc. surround it. This suggests even more that building projects were used by the elites to make an impression on the people in their vicinity. The temple took on similar decoration as temples found in central Italy. The Roman structures were however laid out according to Iberian tradition. Though temples themselves would have been a foreign idea the purpose of the temples was not.

It was the rich and elite that had the possibility to shape the province in Roman ways. Public appearances would be made by the elite to demonstrate their place in

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 202

¹⁰¹ Ruiz, *the Archaeology of the Iberians*, p.294

society, and in so doing they re-enforced imperial power.¹⁰² The Grand structure of towns were a very tangible means of portraying power, and this would be demonstrated in a way that all walks of society could understand, from the elite to the illiterate.

Families saw buildings as the means by which they could maintain social dominance. Many of them had immigrated to Spain at an earlier time.

Conclusion

Symbolism has the power to spark change and it did in these provinces, with and after the building programs we see at the beginning of cultural transformation. This was a transformation that was accepted, it lasted for centuries. The question is was there a rapid social transformation. I have argued that it was not as fast as once thought. Inscriptions were used as a method of creating new histories for an area. This would ensure that Roman belief systems and a sense of honor would be passed on to the next generation. The Achievements of Augustus, for instance, which are greatly represented, made Augustan power and victory belong to everyone.

Archaeology and its studies are a necessary aspect of the study of Romanization. It must be remembered that archaeology however may not represent all walks of society. Poorer people's artifacts could not last because they were constructed with materials that could not survive. Many artifacts were destroyed as well because under that particular dig, they were not recognized as important. The interpretation of artifacts has also proposed some problems. Archaeologists are often not thinking from a long term historical perspective, but only dealing with exactly what they see then. Archaeology is not always the best way to understand culture, but for us, at least in this time period it is

¹⁰² Keay, 'Urban Transformation and Cultural Change', p.203.

the only way, as there is no written record of Iberian society. There are some inscriptions, but they too propose problems.

We can't just look blankly at architecture; we must also understand its symbolism and what it implied. The Iberians were not being changed, but instead were becoming part of a widespread change in the empire. This was spread even further by the desire for individuals to advance in the new communities that were being created.¹⁰³ "Material culture does not reflect cultural behavior, so much as transform it."¹⁰⁴

There were many factors that created the Romanized culture of Iberia. We cannot single out only one form of, or influence of change. Culture of all communities' involved, imperial propaganda and architecture, religious practice and geographical features all had an influence upon the "Romanization" of the peninsula.

No, the Iberians, nor the Gauls were forced into the Roman way of life. They became more Roman because the world around them was changing. They saw the adoption of Roman culture as a means of progression. They recognized the power and wealth associated with being a Roman citizen. Yes, there was a certain amount of manipulation; but manipulation to the Romans wasn't entirely bad. The outcome of that manipulation was an Empire of diversity, yet in diversity they came to see themselves as Roman.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 208

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 208

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