Tarraco, the first capital

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Abstract

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

Keywords: Tarraco, Second Punic War, Hispania citerior, Augustus, imperial cult, concilium Prouinciae, Fructuosus, metropolitan

Historical research in Tarraco in recent years

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

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

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

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

THE ORIGINS AND THE REPUBLICAN CITY: THE
BIG QUESTIONS

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

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

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

Figure 1. Educational model of Tarraco in the 2nd century.
Re-creation of the suburbium and the port zone
(photo: J. M. Macias).
The wall shows two different construction techniques and a series of associated ceramological contexts which are not bereft of scientific controversy (Fig. 2). The most widespread theory holds that the first stretch of stone would correspond to a wall planned during the Second Punic War, which was later expanded between 150 and 125 BC.\textsuperscript{13} This opinion would enable us to understand the layout of the walls as structures built after victorious military episodes: the wars against Carthage and the end of the Numantine campaigns. At the same time, each of Rome’s advances on the Peninsula strengthened the city’s geostrategic role, yet as the “frontier” became further from the Mediterranean, the military role of Tarraco inevitably diminished. Despite these conclusions, we should note that there is no absolute certainty and that lately the stable existence of the praesidium and the encampment phase in this period has been questioned, while the chronology and phases of its cyclopic-based wall are also being debated.\textsuperscript{14} In any event, we should consider the shift that might separate the theoretical phase of the project from its material execution between the late 3rd century BC and the early decades of the 2nd century BC, when the archaeological materials begin to supply data on building activity. It should be borne in mind that not even in Italy are there remains this monumental in republican cities from the same period.

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

If we can indeed continue to speak about a second phase in the wall, it must have been built prior to the urban consolidation of the republican city, signalling a break with the previous urban plan in the lower part of the city and defining a model of city planning based on insulae measuring 1 by 2 acts and viae 6 m wide.\textsuperscript{16} The city was organised into cardines oriented at 31º with regard to the geographic north, as some segments of the wall were, and based on the identification of the auguraculum.\textsuperscript{17} It marked the point on which the cadastral organisation of the land was projected. We have included the outline of the large wastewater collector and the construction of the city forum in this period, and it has been demonstrated that Tarraco officially became an urbs at the end of the 2nd century BC.\textsuperscript{18} The archaeological materials begin to provide reliable information on this building activity, and the so-called “font dels Lleons” (Lions Fountain), excavated in the port zone, is an extraordinary example of a Hellenistic-style utilitarian construction from the late 2nd century BC.\textsuperscript{19} The republican forum with the large Capitoline temple also stands out.\textsuperscript{20}

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

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

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

Even the construction of the aedes Augusti in the new forum basilica (PAT-439) dovetails with the transversal
axis of the insulae. In the port zone, we have found signs of a republican roadway network under the Augustan theatre, and the prolongation of the city’s collector (PAT-832) shows the continuity of the cardo maximus as far as the same bay where the port is located. Finally, we can observe how the expansion of the Augustan theatre matches the two late-republican insulae and how the adjacent exedra of the nymph retains the longitudinal axis of another block (PAT-83). With these elements, the location of the porta marina has been considered in relation to the city’s cardo maximus, which was located in 1940 (PAT-351). This axis is assumed to be superimposed on the final stretch of the republican-era sewer (PAT-832, sheet 14) and became the axis separating the theatre compound from the city’s early imperial port baths (PAT-355, fig. 43).

With regard to the northern boundary of this residential project, the known archaeological remains do not enable us to reproduce the model of 1 by 2 actus as far as the upper part of the city. The modular projection of the insulae does not match, and the northernmost segment of the known cardo dates from the late 1st century BC (PAT-297). For this reason, two urban expansion phases inside the city have been hypothesised between the late 2nd century and late 1st century, the latter being when the legal evolution of Tarraco led to the end of residential occupation within the walls. For these reasons, we still do not have full knowledge of the physiognomy of the republican city, and with regard to the defensive perimeter, different walled premises have been hypothesised with different terrace walls based on poorly grounded archaeological signs from the 19th century.

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

Figure 2. Minerva Tower sector; detail of the relief and two building techniques (photo: J. M. Macias).
Tarraco, the first capital

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

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

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

**Tarraco: The mirror of Rome. Augustus in Tarraco**

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

![Figure 3. Archaeological Planimetry of Tarraco, theatre and public baths sector (Macías et al., 2007).](image)
From Tarragona, the governor ruled over a vast province that encompassed more than half of the Iberian Peninsula. It was known by the name of Hispania citerior, the Hispania that was closer to Rome, as it appears in the epigraphic sources; later it would be split and part of it would become the Tarracensis. During the early Empire, the adjective Tarracensis corresponded to the conventus, the administrative region of which Tarraco was the capital; its neighbours were Caesaraugustanus to the west and Carthaginensis to the south. The best guide for reconstructing the historical process is unquestionably the extraordinary collection of inscriptions, priceless documentation that sheds light on the actual message directly conveyed (CIL II/14). The honorific pedestals that filled the forums provide us with a large amount of information on the governing system and the magistrates that held the top posts in the provincial administration.

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

Setting aside anecdote and symbolism, we are unaware of the location and characteristics of the Augustan altar in Tarraco. Initially it was believed to be located near the forum coloniae, although lately it has been proposed that it was situated in the upper part of the city, precisely in the centre of what would later become the large administrative square in the Flavian period. A theoretical calculation of what the extensive reforms of the Flavian period might have cost has been set forth. Neither hypothesis has been confirmed archaeologically yet, but in the latter case the location of the Augustan altar in the upper part of the city poses numerous doubts which are difficult to resolve, making it an unlikely location, in our opinion. Instead, we still believe that the altar’s location around the colonial forum makes more sense. The altar must have been in operation during Augustus’ lifetime, and the urban development plans for the upper part of the city have always been established in architectural harmony with the subsequent Temple of Augustus, which we know was built later, during the reign of Tiberius. What is more, between the supposed location of this altar and the residential area, in the site where the circus was later built, there was a non-urbanised area where we are aware of the presence of a figlina (PAT-238). This does not seem like the ideal transitional area to enter the altar enclosure.

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

According to Pomponius Mela (De chorographia, 11, 5), Tarraco became an extraordinarily opulent city, and after a programme to develop the urban periphery it might have measured as much as 80 or 90 hectares in area. The number of inhabitants is unknown, although it could be pinpointed at between 15,000 and 20,000 bearing in mind its constant ties with the inhabitants of the region and the high demographic mobility stemming from its status as both port and capital. The area inside the city walls occupied around 55-60 hectares, 19 of which were in the upper part of the city, which presumably remained public property until the empire disappeared. This was joined by extensive port areas (10-15 hectares) and suburbs (10-15 hectares), primarily on the southwest side of the hill because of its proximity to water resources. In addition to its status as a capital, the activity of the portus Tarracensis was a prime urban and economic factor in the development of the city and its region. After Augustus, the exploitation of natural resources increased, as did the appearance of residential and productive settlements imitating Italic villages, along with the spread of vineyards. The grapevine production in these lands can be seen by studying the amphorae. In this respect, Martial claimed that the wines of Tarraco were better than those from Campania and as good as those from Tyrrhenia (Epigrammata, XIII, 18, VII, 56, 3).

While retaining the rank of colony during Caesar’s reign must have entailed a qualitative leap forward, it was not until the Augustan period that the city experienced...
an overall transformation as it entered the golden age of the Empire. Augustus’ stay in the city, its status as provincial capital and the local elites’ ability to climb the social ladder within the new legal framework were the causes behind an urban and economic upswing which continued into the subsequent reforms in the Flavian period. The Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods equipped Tarraco with the means befitting a large provincial city, and within this framework the monumentalisation around the figure of the emperor, which would later become the provincial imperial cult, entered its early phase. After Augustus, we can detect an intense reform of the periurban roadway network, new entrances and the urban development of the suburbs and the port zone. This may have been when one of the city’s aqueducts called the Pont del Diable (Devils’ Bridge) or the Ferreres aqueduct was built, and it might also have witnessed the completion of the urbanisation of the residential area inside the walls designed during the enlargement of the republican wall. A process of monumentalisation of the seafront got underway with the construction of the theatre, the nearby public baths and a forum adiectum next to the old republican forum. Domestic architecture also shows evolutionary features particularly based on mosaic decoration, and the official statuary shows the development of an iconographic programme from the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the local forum.

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

In the theatre zone, two other large structures were prominent and related to each other, namely the baths and the port, which were the main areas remodelled in the peripheral southwest zone at the beginning of the Empire. The public baths discovered on Apodaca Street are closer to the theatre from the early imperial era, and the Roman baths from the republican period have not yet been found in Tarragona. On the other hand, we know that Augustus benefitted from the healing powers of the thermal baths in Tarragona, following the instructions of his physician, Musa.

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

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

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

Immediately after the death of Augustus, a diplomatic mission of Tarraco residents travelled to Rome in AD 15 to ask the new leader for authorisation to build a large temple in honour of the first emperor and adoptive father of the current ruler. Tiberius willingly granted permission and, according to reports by the historian Tacitus (Annals, 1, 78), this was held up as an example for all the provinces in the empire, a phrase which has led many litres of ink to spill but, given the emphasis on the process, inclines us to think that the temple had to outstrip the category of the city to enter the spheres of province. However, we cannot yet talk about a well-organised imperial cult on this level given that we do not have information.57 Indeed, the Tarraco natives whose diplomatic mission had just returned from Rome decided to build a temple of exceptional proportions with an octastyle façade, that is, one with eight columns, similar to the temple to Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger) from the Augustan forum in Rome. This is an extraordinary building, since there are very few octastyle temples around the Roman Empire, and those that do exist are all singular constructions. Surely the construction of such a large area of worship took many years, but the Tarraco natives, diligent and wishing to build a striking project, made an effort to coin sestertii depicting Deo Augusto for the sake of greater clarity.58 These coins probably circulated for clearly propagandistic motives when construction on the temple had barely begun.

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

This, then, confirms a common feature of Mediterranean cities: the religious continuity of the most important areas in historical cities. The presence of the Roman temple under the mediaeval temple of Tarragona also forges a point of union with the construction of the Visigothic episcopium in this same spot.59 All of this scholarly activity is summarised in the identification of the Temple of Augustus, built during the reign of Tiberius, on the city’s upper platform right in the middle of a temenos that was dismantled during the course of the definitive remodelling of the acropolis in the Flavian period. The overall analysis of the first monumental project establishes the first adaptation of the site with little information and questions as to the degree to which it was completed, and with a series of indicators that point to the use of different urban development patterns than in the second phase.60 The current hypotheses assert that the first sacred Augustan area was part of an area defined by the golden ratio, dovetailing morphologically with the coeval Hispanic fora where this pattern of measurement has been identified more consistently. On the other hand, the hypotheses of a lower square next to the temple define an urban model whose main referent is the southern slope of the Palatine Hill, with the pattern of the aedes Apollinis and the portico of the Danaids. This composition is also reminiscent of the forum of the neighbouring Caesar Augusta, a city founded by Augustus in around 15 BC, and it falls within the same territorial organisation programme within which Barcino was founded.

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

However, we have to confess that right now we have no direct epigraphic proof of the provincial priesthoods prior to the Flavian period. After that period, the flamen provinciae Hispiae citerioris presided over the concilium Provinciae Hispiae citerioris, which was elected each year among those who had usually had a brilliant municipal career, and it thus opened the doors to the ordo equester, that is, to the ascent to the knightly order, meaning that once again the imperial cult is revealed to be an asset in favour of social and personal promotion. The number of personages from Tarraco who managed to enter this social order is truly impressive in a city character-
isled by being open compared to other cities like Sagunt, which were much more closed, and this obviously also benefitted the other classes in Tarraco’s society as well.62 We should also consider that the presence of notable figures in proto-imperial Tarragona, like Licinius Sura in the Augustan period and the homonymous ancestor of the close collaborator with the emperor Trajan who ordered the Berà Arch built over Via Augusta, must have unquestionably favoured this mobility.63

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

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

One of the first elements in the theatre must have been the large marble vessel from Turkey which we have mentioned above, with plant elements based on acanthus leaves which can be dated from the mid-1st century BC.70 Another very early feature is the marble altar from Luni-Carrara devoted to the numen or guardian spirit of the emperor, which might date from the proto-imperial period. Even though it does not come from the altar of Augustus mentioned in the sources and depicted on the coins, it is faithful testimony of the importance of religious homage to the emperor.71

**The end of the Julio-Claudian era and the Flavian era**

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

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

The circus, which was built during the reign of Domitian and spread alongside the republican wall, delimited the upper part of the city. Faced with a branch of Via Augusta, its urban planning purpose was to separate the urban zone from the area used for imperial administration. With its monumental façade boasting 55 arches, it was the perfect backdrop for those arriving in the city from Barcino. The monumentalisation of Tarraco was concluded in the first half of the 2nd century with the construction of a stable amphitheatre financed by the priest
of the imperial cult (CIL II 2/14, 1109). The building was decorated by Elagabalus in the year 221 (Fig. 6), as we know from the large inscription that crowned the podium and was brilliantly restored by G. Alföldy (CIL II 2/14, 921).

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

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

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

The end of the golden age

The second half of the 2nd century became a turning point in classical Tarraco, whose evolution is a faithful example of the economic, social and religious transformation experienced by the western cities of the Roman Empire. The pathway to late antiquity within the conventus Tarracensis shows that cities 90 hectares large were unsustainable, both economically and demographically. Even though Tarraco continued to be an active port, its possibilities within the new economic context made the old model of early imperial city unviable. There was a regress in the productive system based on the villae with surplus production, clearly associated with the decline in the local and provincial oligarchies which had been essen-
tial in sustaining the operating costs of the urban and free-time facilities. What is more, the spread of Christianity influenced a disaffection towards traditional free-time practices in Roman society and naturally towards everything surrounding the imperial cult as a sense of belonging to the Empire.

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

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

Archaeology also reveals the abandonment of the sewage system of the Roman theatre after the late 2nd century, although we are also aware of a *mimographus* during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (CIL II/14, 857). For this reason, we should wonder how long the *ludi scaenici* lasted during the final period of the theatre area. By the 4th cen-
tury, the city’s forum seems to have been abandoned, and some of its epigraphs began to be used on the funeral containers in the large suburban necropolis on the Francoli River, called the Tulcis in ancient times. The disappearance of the forum must be related to the crisis in the urban elites and shows how those who remained were no longer organised around the ancient curia or basilica. In this regard, the scarce epigraphic data point to the provincial governors’ contributions to financing the most important public works, and the continuation of the meetings of the concilium Provinciae is documented until the 3rd century at the latest (CIL II2/14, 993). In contrast, inscription CIL II2/14, 837 from the late 2nd or early 3rd century attests to the existence of a praetorium consulare as the physical site of the emerging power of the praeides provinciae, or provincial governors, most of whom had a military background and who acted as the increasingly supervisory representatives of the Empire.

With regard to the amphitheatre or circus, we do not know for certain until when their respective shows were held. The restoration of the amphitheatre by Elagabalus in 221 is an example of imperial euergetism in Tarraco, and therefore it indicates the local elites’ difficulties in maintaining such a prominent space. What is more, the decoration of the marble in the amphitheatre dovetailed in time with the elimination of the original service lift installed in the fossae. At that time, the commemorative pedestal in the podium was reused (CIL II2/14, 1014), and after the late 3rd century the votive offerings disappeared from the sanctuary of Nemesis located inside the sand pit. Perhaps the munera disappeared in the 4th century as the result of economic crisis, and especially because in 259 the building had become the site of the martyrdom of Bishop Fructuosus and his two deacons. Despite this, the amphitheatre remained intact until the mid-5th century, but we cannot distinguish whether it remained in use as an entertainment venue to host venationes or whether it was a site of Christian worship through a small memoria.

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

In 384 we have evidence from the Epistola I. Siricii papae ad Himerium episcopum Tarracensem. This document sheds light on the metropolitan role of the bishop of
Tarraco with regard to the other Hispanic churches. However, while we do have clear historical evidence of the first episcopacy in the city, mentioned in the correspondence between Saint Augustine and Consenclus in 419, we do not have any archaeological proof.87

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

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

This evidence, along with the remains of an ecclesiae inside the main axial hall of the tenenos, have led to the belief that a Visigothic temple was set up on the city’s upper platform.89 After the Temple of Augustus had been dismantled, the former tenenos kept its function as a prestigious referent in the Visigothic city. Centuries later, the construction of the mediaeval cathedral would affect this: the episcopacy would become the city’s main square, the backdrop of a new Visigothic religious and civil power. The portico around the perimeter of the Flavian tenenos was dismantled, but the wall of its peribolus was not and instead became a core feature of the new urban design. On the northeast corner of the square, an important complex has been documented consisting of at least three halls whose construction yielded a new entrance to the square. We believe that there is no clear archaeologically evidence leading to a precise identification – church halls or alternatively palatinum of the Visigothic comes – but its construction shows a skilfully planned overall temple-building programme, and the hypothesis of a second church area located a little over 30 metres away with a funerary area in the middle is highly likely.

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

Notes and references

[1] However, this does not discount the problems inherent in managing and preserving the heritage of a city with 145,000 inhabitants which is the capital of the second largest metropolitan area in Catalonia. Even today, this research and dissemination is conducted in the absence of a single coordinating unit. In this context, many institutions do their part and take an interest in this effort: the Regional Districts of the Generalitat de Catalunya, the Tarragona Town Hall, the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV), the archbishopric, the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona (MNAT) and the Institut Català d’Arqueologia Clàssica (ICAC) are the institutions that have traditionally shoulered this responsibility. However, since the 1990s new heritage agents have joined them and diversified the professional actions and the channels for disseminating the results, most of which are compiled in the Butlleti Arqueològic published since 1901 by the private organisation Reial Societat Arqueològic Tarragonense; the “Documents d’Arqueologia Clàssica” collection promoted since 1993 by the Universitat Rovira i Virgili; and the “Documenta” and “Hic et Nunc” series published by the Institut Català d’Arqueologia Clàssica since 2004, which include studies about
Tarragona. Josep M. Macias, “La musealización de Tarra- 
caco. De la realidad al posibilismo”. In: Rafael Hidalgo 
(ed.). La ciudad dentro de la ciudad. La tutela y conser-
vación del patrimonio arqueológico en el ámbito urbano. 

2 This is an area measuring approximately 4,400 km² 
where numerous studies have been conducted focusing 
on the architecture and historical evolution of rural set-
tlements, as well as the patterns of economic exploitation 
and territorial organisational based on the cadastral and 
roadway networks. In this sense, see the “Ager Tarracon-
ensis” collection compiled in the “Documenta” series, 16, 
published ICAC, supervised by Marta Prevosti and Josep 
Guitart.

3 In this process, we would like to highlight the work by Jo-
sep M. Macias, Ignacio Fiz, Lluís Piñol, Maria T. Miró 
and Josep Guitart. Planimetria Arqueológica de Tarra-
co. Institut Català d’Arqueologia Clàssica, Tarragona 
2007, “Documenta” series, 5 (PAT). This volume offers 
the first exhaustive compilation of the archaeological 
documentation on the city based on a geographic informa-
tion system (GIS), and it provides the scientific 
groundwork to update subsequent archaeological discov-
eries by inserting them into the current cadre. Hence-
forth, we shall cite from this compendium as PAT-file no. What is more, it provides the information needed to create the large reconstructed 
model of the city, a municipal project which recreates the Roman city from the early 2nd century AD on a scale of 1:500 (see Figure 1). A preliminary interpretative essay on 
the city’s architecture was later published based on pro-
posals of three-dimensional analysis and on the informa-
tion presented in the “Planimetria Arqueológica de Tar-
raco” project (Ricardo Mar, Joaquín Ruiz de Arbulu, 
David Vivó and José A. Beltrán-Caballero. Tarra-
co. Arquitectura y urbanismo de una capital provincial ro-
Joaquín Ruiz de Arbulu, David Vivó, José A. Beltrán-
Caballero. Tarraço. Arquitectura e urbanismo de unha 
capital provincial romana. Vol. II. URV-ICAC, Tarrag-
ona 2015, “Documentos de Arqueología Clásica” 6. We also 
wish to highlight the updating of the epigraphic corpus of 
the city and its territory, which is crucial to the social and 
historical analysis of Tarraco (Géza Alfsöldy. Corpus In-
scriptionum Latinarum. Vol. 2. Inscriptiones Hispaniae 
Latinae, Pars 14: Conventus Tarraconensis, fasciculus 2, 
fasciculus 3: Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarra-
co. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York 2011 and Berlin 
and Boston 2012, respectively.) Henceforth we shall cite 
these epigraphs as CIL II/14, epigraph no.

4 See note 14.

5 Cf. the status of this issue in Isabel Rodà. “Hispania en las 
provincias occidentales del Imperio durante la 
República y el Alto Imperio: una perspectiva arqueológi-
ca”. In: Javier Andreu, Javier Cabrero and Isabel Rodà 
(ed.). Hispaniae. Las provincias hispanas en el mundo ro-
 mano. ICAC, Tarragona 2009, “Documenta” series, 11, 
pp. 194-196; Isabel Rodà. “Hispania: From the Roman 
Republic to the Reign of Augustus”. In: Jane de R. Evans 
(ed.). A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Re-
Likewise the synthesis by Josep A. Remolà and Esther 
Ramón. “Tarraco, origine et évolution d’une ville”. In: 
Pilar Sada and Daniel Cazes (coord.). Tarraco. Capitale 
de l’Hispania Citerior. Musée Saint-Raymond. Toulouse 
2006, pp. 31-53.

6 François Cadieu. Hibera in terra miles. Les armées ro-
maines et la conquête de l’Hispanie sous la République 
29-33.

7 Lately questioned by Ramon Járrega. “Tarraco Scipio-
num Opus. ¿Escipión Emiliano fundador de Tarraco?”. 
Butlletí Arqueològic, no. 26 (2004), pp. 23-66. However, 
this hypothesis is still uncertain.

8 We are referring to the mythic *via Heraklea (via Egnatia) 
/ Ὠδος Ἡρακλεια mentioned by ancient geographers 
and historians: Timeus of Taormina (De mirub. acus., 
85), Polybius (11, 39) and Strabo (11, 4, 9).

9 With regard to the equation of Kesse with Tarrakan, see 
and 67-71. These authors estimate a city which occupied ten 
hectares, but this is based on isolated archaeological data 
located at different orographic levels which may corre-
spond to a port establishment more than reflect a specific 
part of the city. Cf. M. Isabel Panosa. De Kese a Tarra-
21-67.

10 Jaume Noguera, Eduard Bé and Pau Valdés. La Sego-
na Guerra Púnica al nord-est d’Ibèria: una revisió 
necessària. Societat Catalana d’Arqueologia, Barcelona 
2013, pp. 72-96. The hypothesis of the location of the 
battle of Cissa in the area of Valls has been put forth by 
Jordi López; see El Vallenc (20-12-2013) and Archeonova. 
Butlletí electrònic de l’ICAC, no. 33 (February 2014). Cf. 
M. Isabel Panosa, De Kese..., op. cit., p. 69. With regard 
to the latest Iberian finds, which reaffirm the value of this 
 enclave as a port, see Moisés Díaz. “Noves evidències de 
 l’urbanisme romà i ibèric a l’àrea portuària de la ciutat: 
les intervencions al solar número 18 del carrer Jaume I de 
Tarragona”. In: Tribuna d’Arqueologia 2007. Generalitat 

11 M. Isabel Panosa, De Kese..., op. cit., pp. 41-46 and 69.

12 In relation to the wall, see the latest contribution by its 
lead researcher, Theodor Hauschild. “Die römischen 
Tore des 2 Jhs. v. Chr. in der Stadmauer von Tarragona”. 
In: Thomas Schattner and Fernando Valdés (ed.). 
Stadttore Batyp und Kunstform / Puertas de ciudades. 
Tipo arquitectónico y forma artística. Mainz, Toledo 
2003, pp. 153-171. Regarding the historical evolution of 
the monument and its influence on the urban structure 
of the contemporary city, see Joan J. Menchon. La mu-
ralla de Tarragona. Una aproximació. Societat Catalana 
d’Arqueologia, Barcelona 2009. For the relief of Minerva,


[15] There have even been theories about the existence of an early residential area in the lower part of the city, where there is documentation of urban discordance with the great reform from the late 2nd century BC. Moisés Díaz, Josep M. Macias and Imma Teixell. “Intervencions al cardo Marítim de Tàrraco”. Butlletí Arqueològic, no. 27 (2005), pp. 47-103.


[22] We are referring to the structures in opus quadratum which do not show the usual megalithic foundation and are positioned in relation with the wall itself (cf. PAT-470 and 474; Ricardo Mar et al. Tarraco…, vol. I, op. cit., pp. 92-95 and Fig. 46). More problematic is the hypothesis of a porta marina just over the weak terraced structure, as they are made of small stones bonded by clay and laid out to compartmentalise the ravine’s filled embankment, as its excavators have revealed. What is more, the timeline of these walls is situated at around the year 100, much later than the final construction of the wall. Moisés Díaz, Josep M. Macias and Imma Teixell. “L’entorn urbà”. In: Josep M. Macias (ed.). Les termes públics…, op. cit., pp. 76-78; Moisés Díaz and Josep M. Puche, “El proceso de urbanización…”, op. cit., pp. 291-319. Ignacio Fiz and Josep M. Macias. “L’urbanisme”. In: Josep M. Macias et al. PAT, op. cit., pp. 25-40. On the other hand, the use of georeferencing on the historical map and its later superimposition on archaeological planime-
try enables us to document the continuity of the Roman roadway system, which was reconverted into a web of roads after the late ancient period. This technique has enabled us to identify the urban plots of land in the city’s port area: Ignacio Fiz and Josep M. Macias. “Forma Tarracensis: GIS...” op. cit., pp. 423-427.

[24] Few stratigraphic remains have been found here because of the transformations in the great Flavian project. This is an area that extends between 50 and 80 m over sea level and, depending on ancient information, possible walls of opus silicium similar to the base of the wall, functional terraces have been hypothesised (Joan J. Menchon. La maralla de Tarragona... op. cit., pp. 143-150; Ricardo Mar et al. Tarraco..., vol I, op. cit., fig. 91).


[30] Géza Alföldy. Fasti Hispanienses. Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 3-66. In the excavations in Ca la Garsa (Plaça dels Àngels / Plaça Rovellat) in Tarragona, the upper left corner of a pedestal was found, which can be attributed to the governor Rutilius Paedrus Crispinus whom until now we have only known through an inscription in Rome: CIL II1/14, 992a (Géza Alföldy, ibid, pp. 59-60).

[31] See note 40.


[38] With regard to the costs, cf. Ricardo Mar and Patrizio Pensabene. "Financiación de la edilicia pública y cálculo de los costos del material lapídeo: El caso del foro superior de Tarraco". In: Jordi López and Óscar Martín (ed.). Actes del Congrés... op. cit., pp. 345-413, fig. 18. Regarding the debateable location of the altar in front of the temple to Augustus, this was discussed for the first time in Patrizio Pensabene and Ricardo Mar. "Il tempio di Augusto a Tarraco. Gigantismo e marmo lunense nei luoghi di culto imperiale in Hispania e Gallia." Archeologia Classica, vol. 61, no. 11 (2010), pp. 243-308, fig. 27. Later the issue was revisited in Ricardo Mar and Patrizio Pensabene. "Financiación de la edilicia...", op. cit., fig. 18; Ricardo Mar et al. Tarraco..., vol. I, op. cit., pp. 345-348, especially fig. 225, p. 369.


[55] The only important action in the upper part of the city was the town square, where almost one-fourth of the land was for the circus arena (PAT-238). The findings so far include the decontextualised recovery of a set of terracotta reliefs and antefixes decorated with characteristic motifs from the Augustan era. Their quality enables us to hypothetically associate them with the princes’ residence in Tarraco (Jordi López and Lluís Piñol, Terracotes arquitectòniques romanes. Les troballes de la plaça de la Font (Tarragona). ICAC, Tarragona 2008, “Hic et Nunc” series, 4); Jordi López, Lluís Piñol and Víctor Revilla, “La producción tarracoense de lastras Campana”. In: Jordi López and Òscar Martín (eds.), Actes del Congrés..., op. cit., pp. 637-670.


[58] Andrew Burnett et al., Roman Provincial Coinage..., op. cit., pp. 104-105, no. 219, 222, 224 and 226; Pascal Capus, “Sesterce del atelier...”, op. cit., p. 90, no. 3.5.


[60] Josep M. Macias et al., “La construcción del recinto...”, op. cit.; Josep M. Puche, Josep M. Macias and Ignazio Fiz, “Proyecciones urbanísticas”. In: Josep M. Macias et al., PAT..., op. cit., pp. 40-46.

[61] Josep M. Macias et al., PAT, op. cit., p. 222 for the numerous references contained in the book on the square and...
space of worship of the concilium; Joaquín Ruiz de Arbulo et al. “Etapas y elementos...”, op. cit., pp. 142-143.


[66] Cf. notes 46 and 47.


[69] Cf. note 51.

[70] Cf. note 50.


[72] Later the emperor Hadrian restored the aedes Augusti (Sparianus, Hadrianus, 12, 3). After that, Septimius Severus wrote that he dreamed that “primo sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod iam labebatur, restitueret” (Sparianus, Septimius Severus, 3, 4-5).


[76] CIL II/14, 992; Patrick Le Roux, L’armée romaine..., op. cit., p. 151.


[80] Antonio García y Bellido. “Nacimiento de...”, op. cit., pp. 325-328, attributes some of them to Tarraco. In turn, in Carol Humphrey, Vivían Sutherland and Robert Andrew Glendinning Carson. The Roman Imperial Coinage I.2. London 1984, pp. 217-219 and 232-236, when examining the issue of Galba’s coins, they always leave the question of whether the mint was actually in Tarraco, as questioned by H. Mattingly in BMC I. We hope that the thesis on coins in Tarraco currently being written by I. Teixell will shed further light on this issue and help us to reach more definitive conclusions.


[83] Josep M. Macias, Jaume Morera, Oriol Olesi and Imma Teixell. “Crisi o invasió? Els francs i la destrucció parcial de Tàrraco al s. III”. In: Jordi Vidal and Borja Antelat (eds.). Mas allà de la batalla. La violencia contra la població en el Mundo Antiguo. Pòrtico. Zaragoza 2013, pp. 193-214. For the report closest to the deeds, see the chronicle by Eusebius, an early 4th century author whose works we can still read through a translation by Saint Jerome (Germanis Hispanias obtinentibus, Tarraco exugnata est, Breviarum, 8, 9, 2).
Financing of a public facility by a notable when they land a job which bears the name of the donor with the inscription "De sua pecunia fecit". CIL II/14, 921. Géza Alföldy. Las inscripciones monumentales del Anfiteatro de Tarraco. RSAT. "Tarraco Archaeologica" series, 2. Tarragona 2012.


Which mentions the existence of a church and a secretarium, in addition to a meeting hall with some sessions open to the public; they also mention the first monastic practices near the city. Josep Amengual. "Vestigis d’edilícia a les cartes de Consenci i Sever". In: III Reunió d’Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica (Maó 1988). Barcelona 1992, pp. 489-499.


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