THE TARRAGONA VORTEX

CONQUEST AND RECONQUEST, LIBERATION AND RESTORATION OF CHRISTENDOM IN THE FRONTIERS OF ARAGÓ-CATALUNYA



TARRACO
THE ANCIENT HERITAGE:
ROMAN HISPANIA IN CULTURAL MEMORY,
2ND C. BC - 3RD C. AD

LAWRENCE J. MCCRANK

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THE TARRAGONA VORTEX

Conquest and Reconquest, Liberation and Restoration of Christendom in the Frontiers of Aragó-Catalunya

Volume 2
Tarraco, the Ancient Heritage:
Roman Hispania in Cultural Memory,
2nd c. BC - 3rd c. AD



Lawrence J. McCrank
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Mediterranean Studies in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

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VOLUME 2

TARRACO, THE ANCIENT HERITAGE:
Roman Hispania in Cultural Memory,
2nd c. BC - 3rd c. AD

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PREFACE

This study originated thirty years ago, to answer questions left unanswered in my 1974 dissertation under Prof. Charles J. Bishko about Reconquest and Restoration: namely if medieval people thought of the rebuilding of Tarragona after the Reconquest, what as it they thought they were restoring? From the start, therefore, the supposition is different from modern historians studying Ancient History for its ow sake. The concern is with precedents for what happened later, long after the demise of the Roman Empire, with a major interregnum between this Ancient History and Medieval History. The following discussion is conditioned, therefore, by the question of how restorers thought about the ancient city of Tarraco, the capital of the Tarraconensis, before Christianity was established there, more than what historians now make of this ancient Roman city's history. A contemporary reminder of this basic question is how Tarragonans think of their hometown's history today, with re-enactment by Roman soldiers, citizen actors all, marching through its streets on major festivals, serving as honor guards for religious floats, and standing guard in churches as if these were still Roman *templa* of the Roman Catholic Church. As the promotional saying in Tarragona goes, 'History Lives.'

My original intent was to provide foundational chapters for the projected book that was my revised dissertation, following suit of so many historians with pressures in job searches and for promotion to have monographs instead of just articles coming from one's initial research, when decisions about hiring were made by prospective colleagues who knew little about one's major field of study and less about their chosen topics. I had ventured into the topic of Tarragona's history through monastic studies, the Cistercians of Poblet, as an MA thesis at the University of Kansas under Prof. Lynn Nelson, who encouraged me to further my studies under Prof. Charles Julian Bishko at the University of Virginia. Both are gone now, but I suspect are smiling down about the current production.

I came out of UVA during the Reagan years of budget cutbacks, rifts, and a terrible job market for young historians, and the need to identify jobs for dual professional careers for my wife and myself having started a family. Fortunately, we had choices different from our original majors and plans, by going into the burgeoning information profession. With her background in Music and Children's Literature, she became a school librarian; and I joined the new College of Library and Information Studies (CLIS, now its I-School) at the University of Maryland to found its award-winning HILS joint-degree program (MA in History-and MLS) and to design a specialized program in Archival Science, and to develop my own interest in research methodology, documentation, archives and records management, faceted classification and linguistics, and early computing in the Social Sciences and Humanities when everything was in COBOL still geared for Business. The federal government provided ample opportunities for the transition between research and analytics and research methodologies, new technologies, and my historical interests in cultural heritage studies: records and archives, library special collections, and museums. I moved further away from my concentration in Medieval History, not so much abandonment as a broadening of interests and having to develop expertise in other fields. I explain this now because some of these are evident in this study, its enlargement of scope from my original dissertation with more of a socio-economic and ethnological slant than the traditional political history, and to explain also the time-lapse between my original inquiries relating to this study and the delayed appearance of this monograph. It is set into a multi-volume series for consideration of the same arena in different times over a full millennium – like the tell in James Michener's *The Source* (1965) telling the stories of human experience in the same place over a long time.

Meanwhile since my inaugural venture into Medieval History and these studies, I have kept busy, but the Tarragona project was put on the back burner -- not turned off but slower with interruptions, competing interests, and yet several trips to Spain and back into its libraries, archives, and historical sites. However, executive administration in today's academic milieu, deaning and building new libraries, new program design and implementation, faculty development, adjusting to new technologies and networking, the digital age, and revamping everything, etc., are not conducive to historical research and scholarship. In the meantime, the field of study I entered exploded in the post-Franco years, archaeology outpacing all previous exploration, and an invigorated History as explained in Vol. I. Today one can barely keep up, and my delay required tremendous catch-up, but now with the advantage of greater scope, insight, and appreciation of the contributions of so many field-hands and such great talent in our History endeavor. Anyway, this is my excuse for why this study promised so long ago has come to fruition only after my retirement from a nearly 40-year stint as a professor, dean, archivist and university librarian.

I began this present volume in 1995 as a false start because of the above distractions from it, and decided to place an extensive introspective, philosophical, and bibliographical volume in front of it, Vol. 1 (2022), before this study of Roman foundations to the Medieval History coming afterward (Vols. III-V, 1923-). I revisited Tarragona a number of times to see things first-hand in the city with MHT's Lluis Piñol Masgoret and the late RSAT president Jordi Rovira Soriano [d. 2014] as guides, while eventually visiting nearly 400 historical sites in Aragón and Catalunya, including returns to two dozen archives and libraries in Spain before returning to my own library of several thousand volumes, 40 linear feet of photocopied publications and now a digital library too, and over 6000 microfilmed archival records. Even for a work longer than most, like film editing of an overly long production, so much has been cut-out from gleanings over the years and a growing bibliography of 6000+ publications. Yet, there is more to say. In short, the current book is a condensation!

Rafael Gabriel Costa, then president of RSAT, and others including my colleague Eloy Hernández Fernández at RSAT, long ago solicited a single volume, a more popular history of medieval Tarragona to replace the shorter attempts by Josep Iglésies *et al.*, but I thought it better to concentrate my efforts on the more thorough study presented now, and perhaps later to do an abridgement. I offered a single volume to RSAT but then President Jordi Rovira Soriano did not act on it, probably because it was not ready to go in Catalan or Spanish. I also discovered in this era of the shrinking book that it would be difficult to buck the trend in academic publishing toward smaller monographs, yet I knew a few (eg., Chris Wickham [2005], Susan Wood [2006] and Christopher Tyerman [2006]) had done so for single large books, but some time ago. Times have changed; costs have escalated; and sustained reading has declined. So, the issue was to identify an appropriate outlet for a lifetime work—an *opus*.

Although I had acceptance for a 2-volume publication before this university press ran into financial difficulty, and several others were interested in a single-volume publication, this still meant breaking up the intended series. I wanted this study to appear first in English for the Anglophone world because nothing competed with it in that market and readership, and I was reluctant to parcel this work out to several publishers so readers would have to put it together for themselves for a sustained inquiry. That is what my friend Robert I. Burns S.J., had done and advised me to do, and Princeton University Press became "his" publisher after Harvard University Press had published his dissertation on Valencia in two slender volumes. Yet I followed his example by writing each volume so it could be a stand-alone book, just in case and so readers had this choice. Based on my experience as a senior editor for a major press, I kept searching for an interested publisher for the whole multi-volume work as a series of individual volumes by time-period or a set for specialists and libraries. The result after an historiographic introduction, is four period-pieces, each a volume like this one to be read individually or serially, about Tarraco, Tarracona, *Tarrakūnah*, and Tarrachona to emergent Tarragona.

It was serendipity that I was referred by my colleague Jonathan Wilson in Lisbon to Trivent Publishing, which was developing a strong line in relevant subject matter, well-done, and had just arranged for a new series, *Mediterranean Studies in Late-Antiquity and the Middle Ages* edited by

medievalist Damian Kempf of the University of Liverpool where Wilson had completed his Ph.D.. A proposal was sent to Teodora C. Artimon, head of Trivent Medieval, who had completed her Ph.D. in Medieval History at the European Free University where she studied under Prof. Gerhard Jaritz, a cultural historian whom I knew as a colleague from Krems when we shared interests in History computing and things Cistercian. So, my quest benefited from a network-emergent solution. The publisher has been supportive and intelligent about a complicated and challenging project, generous with illustration of images supporting the text and with formatting and design and working out a mutually acceptable publication schedule. Even so, this work is a long-time coming. I benefitted also from Patrick Jones, cartographer from the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, Dept. of Geography's Cartographic Lab for original mapwork to compliment others from the public domain. All copied images are noted in proper credits just as in footnoted references. The author is indebted to those whose work helps this study become clearer and more real than text alone.

Of course, Medieval History as a field of study has expanded significantly and relevant publications seem to pour out in contrast to when I entered academia and concentrated in peninsular European Medieval History, especially when reading in any or all languages. As noted in the previous volume, the field has exploded since the Franco era, and this is true for Archaeology as well. The relevant scholarship is second to none in Spain and western Europe, and now an established field in North America as well. Tarragona itself has a cadre of excellent scholars at the Universitat Rovira Virgili (URV) in Medieval History, History of Art and Architecture, and Archaeology working interdisciplinarily with archeologists at the Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology (ICAC), and specialists in Tarragona's museums: the Museu Diocesà (MDT), National Archeological Museum (MNAT), and city Museum of History (MHT), plus a network of regional historians, archivists and curators throughout Catalunya and Aragón.

Given that the first drafts of this study were done some time ago, in the 1990s, and revised for publication in 2018, and is just now appearing after submission in 2021, I have been confronted with the quandary of continuous revision. It was decided that biographic coverage before 2015 would be as complete as any in History given the problems of access to everything important in Catalan, but no matter what the language. The Bibliotheca Balmes, library of the Barcelona CSIC, and Bibliotheca Nacional de Catalunya, and digital postings of the diocesan archives have been so helpful. Research articles online in *Academia.edu* has helped too, plus the BNE *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Dialnet*, and the suggestive *Parallel Histories: Spain, the United States and the American Frontier* collaborative project, etc.. These all helped my reliance on interlibrary loan services of the Charlotte Public Library and trips to the NC Research Triangle.

There are important contributions in the interim which I have had to consider after my own text was written and submitted, so any revision in my own presentation for anything absolutely necessary had to be kept a minimum, i.e., only some additional notes and references to these recent works.

Here I might mention a few of the most important such contributions beginning in the US. with Michael Kulikowski's *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (2004), an admirable work more deserving than as too critically reviewed by Sabine Panzram (2009), but our viewpoints differ. It was read thoroughly and much appreciated, and every reference to Tarraco was inspected since he read many of the same archaeological reports as I. Other than this, two productions from Tarragona scholars should be noted, also read after my text was completed, but with references added to my notes herein. Another was by the well-published and highly respected Professor Joaquim Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona of URV *(Dialnet* lists 66 articles, 52 collaborations, 8 books in addition to his dissertation, etc., all on Tarraco), mainly his collaborative *Herederos de Tarraco* (Arola, 2018). He graciously gave me permission to use digital images from such recent work by the investigation group SETOPANT and their digital modeling. Jose Maria Macias Solé and Ricardo Mar Medina have kept me well informed about archaeological work in Tarragona. Similarly, I am indebted to Joan Menchon i Bes of the MHT for the draft in 2020 of his forthcoming dissertation (Universitat de Barcelona, 2023) on Tarragona's late-antique and medieval past and their archaeology, with permission to use selected digital images from MHT photographic archives and his own work. Much appreciated, everyone.

Read their works for more detail than this study of Roman Tarraco since coverage here is to provide foundations for the Reconquest and Restoration of Tarragona and the Tarraconensis as told hereafter.

Yet in reviewing such works and continuous reading, I found that this text written earlier and reviewed in 2018-2021 has required little revision based on them, so my interpretation has been left from my own reading of reports, primary sources, and lay of the land, but these provided a local up-close look at archaeological evidence and greater detail. They consequently often share perspectives from local histories and that can be a limitation. My own perspectives and interpretations might differ significantly from them here-and-there and may prompt a critical response and continued dialogue – both welcome. Since my publications thus far have been appreciated by respected scholars here and abroad, and are often cited by them, they seem to have stood the test of time. I hope this volume does as well. It is foundational for what the medieval Restoration meant to restore and for the rest of this study.

Lawrence J. McCrank, Ph.D.
Dean and Professor Emeritus
June 2023

INTRODUCTION

The ancient past was known imperfectly in the Middle Ages, simply because of the intercession of time, enough trauma to cause a certain mental amnesia, insufficient communications technology and institutional support for a coherent historical or archival enterprise, and the loss of information and inconsistency in the various sources that did survive. There is also a dearth of narrative sources. In the reconstruction of a usable past through formal History, both ideology and relevance played their roles. Then as today what seems most relevant and gains most attention in History tends to be closer in time and place to the author and audience, so that a certain relativism is always at work. That is not the case here with a look far back in time and far away from America. Expediency involves what one is capable of knowing because of knowledge of the context and availability of sources. Part of choices made of where to spend the resources of History -- time being one of the most important -- is preconceived in the form of an inherited mental framework and mindset, the culture surrounding, historical reconstruction, and the strength of tradition. Unlike today where there are many professional historians, a formal discipline, and an institutional apparatus for the generation of History and its consumption in an elaborate education system, Medieval History was more what was remembered collectively than what was formally reconstructed by historians as such and written in books. The means of communication were the family and whoever was the keeper of memory in it; the Church which often saw History as the unfolding of salvation or man's flaws along the way but which sustained some means of remembering history because Christianity was historical in its selective recall of singularly important events and a most important story; and the State which often wanted its own story told better and remembered longer than any other national history. Personal reflection, Salvation History and Political History often disagree. But for all three, placement mattered; and travel to places that evoked cultural memory was important in stirring curiosity, raising questions, and trying to remember. Historical places all had a certain museological mission and enterprise; archives and libraries developed where there were none before; and more and more to be educated one had to have a sense of History beyond personal experience and the local environment. Otherwise even when standing amid ruins from the past, the viewer can get an impression but not make sense of what is seen unless imagination is used. Images are important, of oneself and surroundings.

Calamities often interrupted tradition and destroyed History, but also stimulated recall and salvage efforts to reconstruct what was lost. Lost history could destroy identity, so sometimes under the most adverse of circumstances ironically historical enterprises flourished. But in each rendition what was remembered could be highly selective, what survived in writing was often by chance, and many places of memory were changed forever. Sometimes alternative histories existed, as in the case of how Muslims and Christians approached the question of History itself. Reconstruction and re-interpretation formed new traditions in some cases, translation between languages and cultures created differences, and in some cases, histories survived in foreign circumstances as in the cases of migration and refugee movement. All such influences can be discerned in what survived to become embedded in medieval sources. Ancient history as modern historians have reconstructed it from the prodigious work of classicism through the ages, is substantially different from how medieval people recalled it -- fuller, more sources recovered, a great critical tradition, and intervals of purges, confirmation and revisionism. Accuracy was an objective, but not impartiality. Today, instead of one master narrative, there are many. But in the Middle Ages there were regional and periodic formations of consensus about the past, especially as the idea of education rooted its precepts in the ancient heritage. There was also a prioritization of peoples being more interested in their own history than someone else's, so Christians searched harder to reconstruct their ancient and late-antique history in the Tarraconensis, than Islamic history there. The exception was all things Roman, and that has been true of the modern era as well.

In studying Iberian history with some attempt not to make it simply into the histories of Spain and Portugal, there are peculiar problems in that the historiographic perspective has been so very peninsular and parochial, outside the mainstream of European history. It has been traditionally very classical and philological in its orientation, with a profound sense of its Roman heritage so that this is often idealized as heroic history. That can be done because of surviving monumental ruins and without rebuttal from written sources because there are so few. No major Roman historian bothered to write a history of Tarraco, with the exception of Livy whose real subject was Rome itself, but he acknowledges the deep connection between these cities. Until recently Luso-Hispanic History has been impervious to the influences of Comparative History, Ethnology, and Sociology, and has often treated Religion as a separate subject.

The transmission of the ancient heritage through the Middle Ages has often been seen as problematic, as a corruption of sources and lamented losses, which has produced a hypercritical temperament in treating what is left, to cherish or despise it. The preponderant influence of the Church in education and the interpretation of Hispanic History has created an erudite, source-based episodic History that is essentially a literary genre in itself. And the study of peninsular Medieval History has been profoundly influenced by the nationalism of the Franco era and imports from France like the classic notion of Feudalism. By the turn of the past century to the 21st c. Hispanic History became unleashed, and unbridled and prolific it is difficult to reduce it to a personal command; much is highly interdisciplinary, multi-lingual, and difficult to control bibliographically simply because of its diversity, creativity, and high volume of scholarly output. It took some time for automated information systems (LIS) in Spain to catch-up, network and make on-line searching what it is today. In starting this research, it was not unheard of to rely on hand-written ficheros from a century ago. As this historiography moves in these currents the historian today has to discern between what is thought about ancient, classical and late-antique history today and how much of what is known today could have been known in earlier times. There is the History that has been and is fairly well- known; a developmental interpretation, including mistakes that should be unlearned; rediscovery and re-interpretation; and whatever synthesis can be discerned when past master narratives all seem to have been debunked one way or another. Then there are all those new questions not answered before because they were not asked. This issue of currency is a pertinent question when considering any phenomena with the 're- "attached to the movement, as if recapturing something, redoing it, recreation, and restoration.

The following treatments of Roman and Visigothic Hispania laid the foundations for what came afterward and for subsequent sections of this generational study. As such they attempt to lay a foundation for the whole study leading to the Reconquest and Restoration and the closing of the frontier, but not to lay out a complete or definitive picture of the Roman era and its aftermath in Late-Antiquity because that has never been known and still is not. Yet the Roman legacy was so great that subsequent History is impossible without the Roman foundation, and in this case, the frontier was not a vast empty land but was strewn with Roman remnants. Everyone coming into it knew people had been there before, had developed a high culture there, and that between then and their re-entry so much had changed. More is discussed in this study than medieval savants could have known, partially to include modern scholarship and tell a story that would have made sense to medieval interrogators if they had been able in their time to ask the array of questions contemplated here, and to help make sense of how they acted in the name of the past they thought they knew. History that was, history thought to have been, and historical hindsight now are so very different.

One key question about Restoration is what people thought they were restoring. Was it the Roman Empire? Christendom as this came to be from latter Roman times, that is Late-Antiquity? Or was it simply regime-change, to replace Islamic governance with their own, as they saw fit? All of these? If so, one much grapple with the Roman past for what it was, what medieval people knew about it, and if this were a foundation in historical modeling to build a new society. The very term *restauratio* suggests that History was a guide. Then why do we have so little of it well-documented? Did restorers know something we do not? What notions of the past did they entertain as relevant guidance? Let's see.

CHAPTER 1

EMERGENT HISPANIA CITERIOR: BORN OF WAR AND STRIFE. 5th -1st c. BC

> Scipio arrived [during 206 BC] at Tarraco in high spirits, bringing with him everything needed for his brilliant triumph and a glorious victory for his country… Being anxious to return to Rome, … he arranged for the government of Iberia, …
>
> Polybius (1st c. BC), *Histories,* 11. 34

> There was not a single place throughout the entire world that thereafter [the fall of Numantia] was untouched by Roman arms… as if one great war spread everywhere at once… Hispania never had the determination to rise as one body against Rome; it [Celtiberia] never thought of gathering its strength or exerting the effort for its own empire, or uniting in the defense of its liberty… It was set upon by the Romans before it knew itself.
>
> Florus (2nd c. AD), *Epitome*, I, 33: 17

> I, Cnaeus Domitius Marcus, son of Calvinus, and twice pontifex and consul with imperial authority, am a patron of the Imperial Colony, the [Capital] City of the Tarraconensis.
>
> Self-proclamation, NMAT inscription, 36 AD[1]

LASTING IMPRINT IN STONE AND LEGEND: HISTORY LOST AND RECREATED

Throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages Tarraconensians remembered that there was a Roman heritage and Empire that ruled the world as then known around the Mediterranean. If the Iberian past were remembered, it was in Roman terms; that is, the Romans came and conquered to improve the Iberian lot and bring them the full benefits of Greco-Roman culture and even Roman citizenship. The mission of Rome was to civilize mankind, even if that meant the death of them and their indigenous culture. They thought of themselves as Romans but with differences to their homelands and the creation of the Roman provinces of Hispania, hence Hispano-Romans. Even this identity was perhaps too broad for most people then, who would still think of themselves as coming from some place, and therefore that their homeland was this or that city and its territory, so that the identification tag in the case of ancient Tarraco would have to become longer as Tarracon Hispano-Romans, and then in typical Roman fashion, adding a rubric like 'citizens of the world." After all, cosmopolitanism meant the city-state in the cosmos, representing it and partaking of its munificence. This self-confidence and righteousness were part of Roman character. It is one reason why even after the Empire failed, Hispani thought they were still Romans, and held onto their Latin even if it was changing into Romance; and barbarians wanted to become Roman.

It is impossible in this study of conquests and reconquests, restorations, and failings, where the questions of continuity vs. discontinuity are everywhere at play, to ignore the fact that people even if illiterate lived with this heritage in folk memory, their known history and religion, and the

material evidence all around them. Roman ruins were as much a part of their surrounding landscape as were mountains and forests, meadows and valleys. It was in their speech for everything official and in text, and for everyday occurrence with root words for utterings in Romance. These were what have been called *memoria rerum aedificandum* / "memorials by things built," which the Romans did so massively and extensively, and which lasted for medieval people to wonder about and admire.[2] So, such a study must take into account the survival of the past and its reality in the present of peoples who descended from those who defined and first articulated Roman culture, and for who subsequently exuded wherever they went. Even those like the Jews, Goths or Germans whose forbearers nurtured a different, non-Roman culture adopted it, became bicultural, and passed it along with the same comfort as wearing two gloves. *Germanitas* has been touted as a rival of *Romanitas* and co-equal in this process of acculturation, but it was not. Even the transcendence of Arabic and *Islam* in *al-Andalus* was co-opted by the Roman import in the Iberian peninsula. As natural as the clothes they wore, the languages they spoke and letters they wrote, and the geographies they related to, people in the Empire even while it crumbled as a political entity all around them, held tenaciously onto an identity with things Roman, Latin for the literate, naming conventions, and law governing their behaviors as Roman law was laid over customal law.

So, it is incumbent upon any student of Medieval History to come to grips with what occurred before, imperfectly known and artificially reconstructed today, but felt more closely and profoundly by people living closer to Roman times. In this story one of the most amazing things that happened, as that the very Roman city of Tarraco was recalled as such for generations even by peoples living elsewhere when the city had fallen into ruin. The memory of Tarraco was a phenomenal inspiration. And so, it must be explored. After all, in Tarragona it is still celebrated today.

Such exploration can be carried forth only by Archaeology today because our documentation and textual sources are so fragmentary that the surviving corpus is really quite slight. For all of the praise heaped upon the Romans by classicists, the Romans did not achieve a remarkable record in the preservation of their writings, records, or indebtedness to the Greeks. Medieval men built less but actually kept more records about their business and over-all more literature. What they did not match in quantity and quality until the Gothic era in architecture was the Roman enterprise in building, not just the Empire as a political entity, but cities, fortifications, ports, and technological wonders. History is not cast in stone or cement, so historians like to say; but in Rome and Tarraco too, it was. The Celts and Iberians built more in wood, palisades, thatched roofs, and hide-hinges; nothing that lasted. The foundations of Rome were rebuilt everywhere solidly, meant to last and they did. Indeed, the ruins of their monumental work at Tarraco, in imitation of Rome, outlasted the Empire and medieval overbuilding and repurposing, and despite Renaissance antiquarian interests, subsequent neglect and decay, and then even after the natural elements took their toll, the ravages of modern enterprise and rebirth of Tarragona as a major city today.

Much has changed since this historian first explored the history of Tarragona and its ancient and medieval province, undertaken initially at the end of the Franco era when so many of the historical sites in northeastern Spain had been long neglected. Thankfully the city is trying to preserve its ancient and medieval heritage and make such preservation work with the demands of business, urban growth, and modern consumption. In 1966, 10 March precisely, the city committed itself to preserving the Pars Alta as an historical district. Spain made it a Cultural Heritage site, a Bé Cultural d'Interès Nacional under the Lei del Patrimoni Cultural Català of 1993 and under the 1986 Derecho del Patrimonio Histórico de España. And on 39 November 2000 UNESCO declared it to be on the exclusive list of the Cultural Patrimonies of the World.[3] In 1991 the Ayuntament and the Direcció General d'Arquitectura i Habitatge began paving and repair projects for sanitation and to make the uptown more habitable with remodeled apartments and flats as one means of keeping the historic district occupied, and with offices and restaurants, for tourist attraction. That would pave the way for the restoration of the medieval cathedral, enlargement of its Museo Diocesà de Tarragona (MDT), and reconditioning of historic remains for visitors, and with several major archaeological exploration. That is an inspiring story too, ongoing off and on since the 1920s (indeed since the late 1800s), but

historic preservation was primarily concerned with Tarragona's ancient past as Tarraco, and classically trained archaeologists held some disdain for the medieval and early-modern overbuilding, run-down as much of it had become. That too has changed with an appreciation for the city as a living organism with phases in its development from ancient to modern. This renaissance, although slowed by the economic recession, unsure future with the successionist movement, and the Covid pandemic, nevertheless now constitutes a new *Restauratio* which provides some shared motivation behind this exploration of the ancient city as foundational before proceeding to its Conquest and Reconquest, and its medieval Liberation and Restoration

INTRODUCING A HAUNTING PAST

History is often recalled like a haunting past, a moody specter, rather than a bright spotlight, roadmap, or anything like clear vision. It is, after all, past – never totally known not even by those having been there. While something that once existed can be remembered as glorious, inspiring, and cherished, it is nevertheless disturbing because what is recalled has passed. Life and death are always paired, like a picture framed to have limits, and seen in rather static fashion rather than the moving image we understand life to be and to have been. Imagination allows a view to step into the picture and look around, but bringing clarity to what may be seen is a difficult task, and being there is both a listening and viewing, and when visiting an historical site all tactile senses are required to enliven the past, including touch and smell, and even taste of food and drink prepared as tradition dictates – and those aged regional wines! One should have appreciation for what might be repeated often enough to be a shared experience such as feeling the sea breeze, lingering shade and temporary shadow, or glow and warmth of the Mediterranean sun, its rising and setting, and the time of day and awakening of the senses at night under glistening stars, or hearing lapping waves from the balcony beyond the ramblas. And when the site is so monumental, and the experience so immersive as a visit to Tarragona, it seems possible to be transported back in time. Then comes the overwhelming curiosity: how did this all come about? Ah, the lure of the distant past induced by its remnants... History is better known to be frequented not as last resort but as a matter of classical education. Tarragona thus becomes a History lesson, like Rome itself, about greatness lost. A haunt indeed.

Medieval men and women knew that Tarraco was an important ancient city, more than just a very old place, and revered it as such. It was pre-Roman -- indeed, Iberian, co-existing with Mother Earth herself. Local traditions have always attributed its origins to eons before history, but as time went on, legend became more fanciful harkening to when mythological creatures roamed the planet. These are still repeated, as in the attribution to an unknown Tubal ca. 2407 BC (*Genesis*, 10, the grandson of Noah) or to the Nubian pharaoh Taharka (690-664) of the 25th dynasty, as Mametho's *Tarakos* or Strabo's *Tearcon* who is said to have explored parts West in the 7th c. BC.. Early linguistic interests from Biblical studies and Philology, e.g., Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) linked its etymology via Greek to the Phoenicians, as did Sir William Smith (1813-1893) in his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1842). There are old mythologies and new. Then there is more enlightened 20th c. Archaeology as followed here. The problem is that Archaeology often follows History and *vice versa*, like the proverbial blind leading the blind. Both have been wrong about so many things, and yet right when taken together, discussed and reconsidered, revised and rewritten, retold, and remembered. This study is part of that unending process.

In many ways, medieval people were more fanciful than their early-modern successors who, despite living in and through the Renaissance, were even more imaginative in attributing the city's great walls to a race of muscle-bound cyclops because only it would have had the strength to lift its huge lintel stones into place; or in assigning ancient monuments to works of the devil as in the case of Tarragona's aqueduct becoming the Punte de Diablo / the Devil's Bridge -- as either rampant superstition or perverse fun.[4] In the opposite vein, everything was christened with a Biblical or hagiographic sobriquet, if the pagan were to be played down but not extinguished. Medieval people

were as likely to call what they found from earliest times as something *Romano* or Romanesque, "Roman-like," and "del Moro" -- belonging to the Moors, or Morisco, i.e., Moorish. Otherwise, things were simply very old, indeed ancient. They did not often refer to things as *Ibero*, that is Iberian, and never Celt except on the central plateau, but used *Hispani* to denote native ancestors of the ancient *patria* or fatherland. But all knew that the Romans came from Rome, long before the Moors; they made history and theirs was a History worth remembering and reliving as the real glory days of Hispania -- Spain, with all of the connotations of Empire resurrected in the Golden Age and the Luso-Hispanic seaborne empire when the peninsula under the Spanish Hapsburgs ruled Europe, the western Mediterranean, and the greater part of the Atlantic. They also knew the Punic nemesis of Rome was African, as was the enemy of Christendom in African *Islam*. All of this was resurrected in modern nationalism, wherein a nativist period preceded Roman colonies, and in the Empire's reclamation during the Middle Ages lay the origins of the modern nation-state. Castilians more than Catalans may have thought this way, but the latter were no less proud of their own heritage and that in their lands lay the greatest provincial city of the western Roman Empire, second only to Rome herself -- Tarraco.

In such hindsight, the past was indeed prologue. It still is. Origins are important and history creates identity. If unknown they are invented. Historical modeling is not new: indeed, it underlies the very notion of Restoration.

This central fact pervaded historical thought throughout the ages, and still does, when a Tarragonan can still tout this city's history in the face of mighty Barcelona and all but ignore upstart Madrid -- try as one might. Capitals were not always so, and alas, once built did not remain so, yet once a certain glory is achieved it endures beyond its time, if not in actual memory, then myth and make-believe. Tarraco survived as it was transmogrified into Tarragona, restored yet changed, with a living history inside what became an open-air museum with plenty of reminders of the ancient past. It is still a place where the past is ever present, as demonstrated by re-enactments to celebrate the city's commemorations – marches, battles, trials, burials, trials, etc.-- when Roman soldiers and toga-clad aristocrats still re-appear on Tarragona's streets and in its chambers. This memorialization was true in the Middle Ages as well, when the present accommodated the past in the notion of restoration, if not physically, then in spirit. That resulted in its rebuilding as if it were Roman and would strive to be Roman-like, i.e., Romanesque, but not just replication. This was more of an ideal, an ethos, and respect for a pervasive sensitivity to the remains of ancient Tarraco encasing medieval Tarragona, than real historical knowledge. Nor was it blind imitation or artifact preservation: it was, and still is, a living tradition. It is re-creation.

Then and now Tarragonans revel in the glory of Rome they claim as their own. The problem is that despite the monumental remains of Roman Tarraco, we actually know comparatively little about the city-state's history. A picture of the elite of the city has been painstakingly put together from epigraphical evidence, with no narrative to help with the exception of Livy. There is no reason to think that after the loss of direct experience and demise of familial and oral tradition at the end of the ancient world, much more was known in the Middle Ages. Probably much less. Ancient texts which referenced Tarraco survived, but not a single source in the medieval Restoration period collates these to form any coherent history or historical model. What existed was more on the order of myth, transcending history. It is always easier to invent a glorious history for a place or entire region, person or people, and for a whole era, when no real history exists except in lists of the names of great men, scattered literary extracts from authors whose attention was usually focused elsewhere, and local epigraphical fragments too terse to be really informative. It was only in the late Renaissance with its antiquarianism that the rich legacy of Tarracon epigraphy was collected. Some extant inscriptions on the surface may have been read, but most were buried in ruins, and if read, they simply provided names of great men long dead, but no real history. Indeed, now, even with the collation of every monument, inscription, and text, the history of imperial Tarraco is but an outline, and even with the contributions of modern Archaeology, we have more of a description of things, tangible remains, than of happenings, people, or their lives. We can study the remnants of Roman Culture there, more than that culture itself. We know more about what happened around Tarraco

than in it, and for the daily social culture and life-style we, like others before us, can only imagine. If the art of the Middle Ages is any indication, medieval people thought of Roman Tarracons as like themselves in physiology, dress, activities, and essential character. But the ancients were more; they were Romans. The reason for the affinity between them, despite the lapse of half a millennium, is that one imitated the other, and in history, this emulation was necessarily a one-way process. The past was haunting, like an imprint on subsequent history.

Classicists then and now have idealized this culture of great edifices, oratory, law, military prowess, and Stoic ethics; and heroic literature like Greek mythology has always made Rome's champions the object of adulation. But modern historians of the ancient world have taken a more mundane perspective -- a new realism in their view influenced by modern archeological finds allowing reconstruction of Roman engineering feats, glimpses of bloodlust in theatrics and "the games," and wall-painted pornography that reveals the promiscuity of Roman baths and whorehouses. The tacky side of Roman life is now juxtaposed to its pre-established nobility so long lauded by Classicism in imitation of Roman self-praise. This trend toward realism is carried further by modern filmography attempting a more earthy, materialistic, and heathenistic rendition.[5] If Tarraco reflected Rome's glory, it most likely shared its faults. Medieval men viewing the monumental Roman ruins in their lands might have suspected such antithesis, but respect for the past won their day and Roman Tarraco was revered as the lost glory days of old, something remembered not as debased, but as inspirational. It was not idealized as in modern Classicism, but it was respected. Ancient Tarraco by any measure had been a marvel, a great accomplishment to be emulated.

If Tarragona *qua* Tarraco were to be restored, the very idea of Restoration begs the previously suggested question: 'Restore what?' What physical manifestation and literary tradition inspired the idealized model imprinted upon medieval culture? What was the original, this ancient Tarraco? And whence did it come? We now know more than the restorers knew, or so we think; perhaps we just know things differently. Ours is an academic exercise, one of reflection; theirs was up close and personal, confronting them as they lived and made their decisions -- a model before them, in physical ruins. How much they actually knew about the Roman past is a mystery; indeed, much of that history is still unknown. The meta-history is equally obscure. Here is an overview of what could have been seen and is known now. Each artifact and view combine to create an image that stirs one's imagination where the past is conjured-up for the present and influences the future. That is true still today, as it was when the ancient city in ruins was brought back to life and its defunct province was reconstituted as a Christian territorial state – Neo-Roman and Roman Catholic in a post-Roman medieval milieu where the past was recalled and recreated as it was thought it should be at present.

The Romans created the City of Tarraco and the province of the Tarraconensis, and indeed all of Hispania, in an all-out war with Carthage, indeed in three Punic Wars. It involved the entire Western Mediterranean, and in its aftermath the whole of this ecumene or known world, for which these were World Wars. They were not framed as Africa vs, Europe because these continental terms did not yet have the meaning they had after the Roman's enlarged Hellenistic Geography; but they are framed that way in this study, as a premonition of what was to come for Hispania after the fall of the Roman Empire in a second clash with Africa which the Roman successor state, the Kingdom of Toletum, would be destroyed, i.e., the last political entity of the Roman state in the peninsula. Classicists with their Euro-centric concentration on the north got it wrong in teaching that the Empire was destroyed by the barbarian invasions from there, when the Visigoths did destroy much but were co-opted by the Hispano-Romans, converted, and assimilated to a great degree. Their successor state did not survive the onslaught from North Africa by a new wave of barbarians as they were called by the Arabs, the Berbers, instead of the Carthaginians. Not Phoenician in origin, but with a seat of power in *Dimāsq* not so far away from ancient Tyre, the new force came from the south directly north, through the peninsula, and again into Gaul with an aim at Italia. This time the East did overcome the West, and the Muslim Conquest played-out across Hispania as the Carthaginians would have wanted, including the aim of destroying Rome itself.

So much of this latter Medieval History seemed mapped-out in the Punic Wars, including the birth of ancient Tarraco that underscored the Restoration of medieval Tarragona. Certainly, the re-organization of the peninsula, the creation of the Tarraconensis, and the lasting imprint of this ancient history on historical memory, were critical for the Reconquest and Restoration. The Reconquest may have aimed at undoing the Islamic Conquest, inspired partially by the success of Rome against the Carthaginians and with the same intention of driving the southern invaders and their foreign regime out of the peninsula, but the Restoration was to restore Christendom, but in Roman terms and with the Roman model in mind. In so many ways the Reconquest and Restoration cannot be understood without a sense of what was to be reconquered and restored. That is the intent of this survey, not to tell the whole story of the rise of Rome, its Empire, and fall as an ancient or Roman historian might, but as a medievalist exploring the Roman model, the experience remembered, with a selection of facts, figures, and places that mattered to historically minded people then, with some elaboration from what we know now. In that sense this is presentist History, using what is known from classical sources more than medieval schoolboys were taught, and from Archaeology which now explores remnants of history that for medieval people resettling Tarragona was more underfoot, apparent, and understood as a matter of fact in their daily lives inside the shell of Roman ruins. What they called home was a visual cityscape, and rural landscape too, closer to what the Hispano-Romans left for students of classical times today. More than a Latin text or two, some memorized snippets, History mattered to them because it was all around.

1. ANCIENT *CISSIS*: UNHERALDED IBERIAN FOUNDATIONS

While Tarragona's prestige was based on its Roman inheritance, this rested on tradition as much as recorded history, but neither went back beyond the Roman Republic. The ancient city of Tarraco was indeed a Roman foundation, but with ample precedents and a pre-Roman past. The Romans there never paid much attention to this fact. As conquerors themselves, they built a capital that was theirs, owing little or nothing to predecessors in their own version of history, even though some natives had succored their needed toe-hold in the peninsula, others had resisted vigorously. Locals received about the same credit as Native Americans would after helping the English in the New World. Whatever nativism persisted, this was construed as rebellion and the enemies of Rome were not to be remembered, and certainly not imitated. Yet, the indigenous population long resisted Romanization, or at least Roman dominance, for nearly a century. That context of a Roman foundation in any hostile territory would leave an indelible imprint on the Roman city as a foreign implant and therefore it had to be first and foremost a fortress.

Medieval savants assumed that the Romans named the place after the Greek *Ταρρχών* / *Tarrakon* meaning *terra firma*, that is high and solid ground secured as Roman, so they used the Romance 'Terrachona' instead of the Greek derivative, like Terracina, Italy. Solid rock! That is what Isidore of Sevilla thought the term meant,[6] and the orthography of *Terra-* rather than *Tarra-* appears as well in the *Gallic Chronicles*, so that is how medieval restorers would refer to the ancient city in their Neo-Roman language. The etymology is rather more complicated than Isidore surmised. Even those who understood the Roman name to be Tarraco disputed its origins and meaning, with some classicist-biased authors like Ausonius not wanting to credit the name to the Greeks, but romantically to the Etruscans, to place its earliest appearance in connection with Rome and yet make it pre-Roman and thus endow it with great antiquity at the same time. This was a matter of honor in classical thought. Scholars now see the *Tar-* as distinct from *terra*, and note its use around the Mediterranean, as at Tarsus in Asia Minor. But the most significant part of the Greek term is the root *-kone* (ironically like *konya* the modern name for Ikonion in Asia Minor which has some significance for Tarragona) better related to *oikoumene, (οἰκουμένη)*, i.e., the inhabited earth as used contemporarily by Eratosthenes in his *Geographia*,[7] for its management and a control point, as in rule, government and

order. The connotation was that this purview was civilized, versus the barbarian world of disorder, in keeping with the Roman assumption that authority radiated from a center. As in *ikon*, i.e., image, the meaning is what can be seen. The *Tar-* may refer to the purview, or outlook, as in looking across an expanse, that is to the west. In *tarso* it means a flat surface, but physiologically it also related to the eyes, particularly the eye lid (eg., tarsal cartilage) in this same connection to a vista or outlook. Together the components *Tar-eukonia* suggest power and authority extending outward from a command center into the known world. Think of outlook, and like a man on the lookout shielding his eyes from glare for a clear view.

That certainly fits the Roman situation but also the Greek usage at this particular site, referring to the outlook over *Cissis* and *Kesse*,[8] but going beyond the Tulcissis region to the entirety of Iberia.[9] Both notions were appropriate for how the Romans saw themselves in this place, so they kept the name, Latinized it, and used it to subordinate other all other places, linguistically and militarily, e.g., both Cossetania and Iberia, and then most of the peninsula, i.e., the Tarraconensis. The term resounded with meaning for a headquarters, a future capital, and the intended takeover. Taken from whom? was never a vexing question for the Romans, as forethought or afterward. Local tribal history and folklore in northeastern Hispania Citerior that gave Celtic or Iberian names to their regions upon Roman occupation, did not prevail along the coast where the ancient Laietan and Cossetan peoples further south were the first to fall to Roman might. Their relations, the more local Cessetani, are even less known.[10] Their ancestors do not even have a name except as preserved in Greek and Latin centuries after their arrival, when their own identity was obscured by conquest. Punic remnants were expunged, of course, but even Greek influence disappeared as a separate contribution.

All that remained for medieval memory was in Latin apart from Polybius, one-sided, and so very Roman. Yet how the Romans managed their conquest and subordinated peoples had repercussions throughout Antiquity into the Middle Ages, and history, no matter how cleansed by Roman historians, was violent and in retrospect damming. But violence was the norm, and still is in engaged storytelling.

1.1. PRE-HISTORY: GENERATIONS FORGOTTEN

The earliest humanoid occupation in the Tarragonan region goes back to the Pleistocene era (ca. 850,000 years ago),[11] as evidenced along the Barranç de la Boella near La Canoja, but archeologists today push man's arrival (or his immediate predecessor) in the peninsula (Atapuerca and Orce) even earlier, 1.2 million years ago.[12] More came later: at La Riba in the old Tulcis gorge above the Alt Camp some 450,000 years ago, and closer to the coast at Els Vinyets and at Catllar; and later (100,000-40,000 BC) at Bovila Sugranyes and Vinyes Grans where their fire pits have been found. Genuine *homo sapiens* were present at Cativera (Catllar), Picamoixons, Mollí del Salt (between Vimbodí and Poblet), and the Cap Salou, in the Paleolithic era. Signs of more advanced technology and pictorial art showed up in the Neolithic era at the aforesaid salt mines, at Cavet (Cambrils), Valls, Bobila Casals (Riudecols) and a burial site of Bugar at Reus, and three other locations in the Baix Camp as migrants began settling down. Cave dwellers, for example in the Cova Josefina in the Escornal region, Cova Fonda at Salomó near the lower Gayá, and in the Vall de Cerves in the Penedès, existed since Neolithic times.[13]

Many other sites have been identified. Bronze Age[14] proto-urban communities of ten to twenty houses are well attested, which formed hamlets as found at El Quart near the Reus airport. Urn-field cemeteries appear in the northeast peninsula, 1100-650 BC, associated with migrating peoples, new settlement, and intensification of agriculture. Migrations in passing from the Bronze to Iron Age by 600 BC originated above the Pyrenees, in the Mailhac region on the Aude River, and came along the coast to Empuries, with the first iron objects appearing in the coastal plans, then in the Tarraco area, and south around Dertosa.[15] When highland peoples began trading with river-bank settlers who had contacts with the coast, more stable village life appeared, ending the nomadic years.

Round burial-mounds in the Gandesan plains, as at Coll del Moro, or the finds further away from the Iber in the Matarranyan highlands (Terol), indicate considerable river trade between inland villagers and the coast in the 7-6th c. A.D. -- ceramics, iron objects, urns, black pottery, etc..[16] One find, at Moleta del Remei near Alcanar above the coast suggests Etruscan connections. Nineteen sites have been identified in the highlands west of the Iber, four of which (Mas de Mussols near La Palma, Mianes and La Oriola at Amposta, and Camarles) link the river valley with eastern (Greek) grey pottery at the Timba de Castellot, Riudoms, at Valls, and the Mas de Codoll near Tarragona. Both Tarraco itself and El Vilar, "the *villa*" on the plains, were major locales which produced their own wares but also imported Greek pottery.[17] It has been suggested that Vilar was as important for Cossetania as Cissis.[18] The Cossetan fortified mound settlement there grew into a major center, perhaps as large as Cissis and the coastal settlements.[19] Remnants survive, but not the settlements in areas overbuilt, but more remote sites give better indications of the villages themselves. Small nuclear settlements formed at El Mola and Coll Alt (Tivissa), La Mussara, etc. which were walled enclosures with small stone and mudbrick houses in them, dating between 925-825 BC.

Following the lead of Dr. Salvador Vilaseca who pointed the way with important work before and after the Civil War,[20] but such exploration slowed until well after the recovery after World War II and the continued shortage of funding in the Franco era interrupted continual progress; these sites were thoroughly explored only in 1976-77. Numerous pottery fragments have been found under debris and in caves, showing excellent craftsmanship; as well as the remains of housing which allow a re-imaging of what these settlements were like. Such ruins existed on the rocky surface in several sites, preserved only because of their remoteness but in highland areas reoccupied by Berber settlers in the 10th c. (around La Mussara, for instance) and traversed in the military campaigns of the Reconquest during the 12th c. some might have been damaged with reuse or even destroyed, but several were left undisturbed. The late-comers probably thought these were all late-antique or early medieval remains, without a clue about the age of what they were looking at. The quality and way of life, and its simplicity, or primitive technology and reliance on whatever materials were at hand, and the pole-framed stone construction of shelters in such rural areas, etc., did not change all that much in the millennia before the modern era, and the impact of Roman ingenuity and building prowess did not spread everywhere in the backcountry.

Attempts to relate later Iberian settlement patterns to earlier Bronze Age migrations and settlement are inconclusive. The latter, judging from the paucity of evidence, was limited. But the Neolithic settlement was denser. Pottery remains become frequent only in the 5th c. BC, then fall off again, but with enough evidence of continued exploitation leading into the early Roman period. These finds attest a pre-history which is very spotty, but many lay underground and were not exposed to medieval travelers who, in any case, would have made little sense of their age or location except as ancient predecessors to later foundations. Using Biblical chronology, they might have tried to place their finds in relation to ancient Jerusalem, at least to recognize these grounds as very old, a land of the ancients and pre-Roman.[21] The earliest cultural exchanges across the Mediterranean which began to change land-based economies and societies came with Phoenician traders, as evidenced by ceramic finds near Sant Jaume (Alcanar in Montsià). Other ceramic finds (plates, jars), stone mortars, ampoules and jewelry, indicate contact with Semitic peoples in Africa perhaps via Phoenician traders.[22] In time, similar finds were located all along the coast from below the Iber to *Empuries*. All of this suggested changed being ushered in from maritime trade, and routes being developed for more than hunting and herding.

Iberianization is commonly associated with post-6th c. migrations and this early Phoenician and then Greek influence after the 5th c. (from *Empurion*?), identified by wheel-turned pottery, nucleated settlements, and rudimentary script.[23] The Phocaeans had by 575 BC created the colony of *Ἐμπόριον* at *Empurion*, literally meaning "drop-off point" whose history would be linked inextricably with Tarraco. It was also influential through trade with the northeastern Iberian tribes, but in other ways (eg., religion) not entirely known. Tribal complexes under chieftains are known from when Greeks and Romans had first contact with indigenous peoples. A loose system of hill-top settlements around the center, as at Sant Antoni de Calaceit, was perhaps typical. The medieval

castle of Catllar, where it was discovered, sat next to a prehistorical settlement above the Gayá River; the medieval site (l'Era del Castell del Catllar) just moved uphill after the old settlement was abandoned. Other transitional sites have been found at Alorda Park (Calafell), the Masies de Sant Miquel, a necropolis at Can Canís, at Banyeres (Penedès), Olèrdola, the tower of the Font de la Canya (Avinyonet), Mas Castellar (Vilafranca), and Mas d'en Boixos (Pacs del Penedès) -- all sites of periodic occupation through the Middle Ages, settled and abandoned, resettled, overbuilt, and expanded. Most of these are now identified as Cossetan villages, at least in their last rendition at the dawn of history. Some go back to pre-Iberian times, before the Celt-Iberian migrations. The earliest indictions of settlement around ancient Tarraco are in the Oliva highlands, Neolithic, and then in the Tulcis estuary or port district.[24] Another site, *Oleum* better known by the Roman *Oleastrum* yielded fragments from a religious site which some think was a trade center and beach port in the 5th c. Sagunt.[25] Remnants saved in the Centre d'Estudis and the Ayuntament de l'Hospitalet, sorted but not yet yielding the patterns and chronologies one might like, are enough to mark that point as an important rendezvous for land and sea traders from the Greek islands. It may have been intertribal since it is just above the Coll de Balaguer which from ancient times through the Middle Ages was a demarcation between peoples from the Camp de Tarragona and the coastal strip descending toward the Iber.

Regional homogeneity in the south of Catalunya is identified with the Ilaraugates, distinct from the northern Misgetes, and the Esdetes also, but these tribal groupings are still rather vague, often based on small differences, when similarities point to a common stock or mixing of peoples who arrived at different times. Interestingly some finds of high-status burials as at Can Canyís show early signs of settlement in the 6th c. continuing to the 2nd c. BC, and in the latter phase foreign objects obtained through a far-flung trade across the Mediterranean. In other cases, as at Alorda Park the newer, more compact walled-in settlement was predated by much earlier habitation also going back to the 6th c.. Shifting through rocks and pebbles for tiny fragments always creates problems when layering is not stratified enough for a chronology. In other cases, the evidence is more telling. Olèrdola, it seems, was inhabited very early from the 8th c. BC onward. As time went on village life became more complex and change accelerated from more diverse contacts with continued migrations, traders, and inter-tribal warfare, so the tribal identities of occupants are not always clear. Ancient peoples were not all stationary as one might like for precise mapping, and mapmakers have always tried to fix spatial relations and differentiation rather than depict movement and blending. Intermixing is always more difficult to discern, for any period or place.

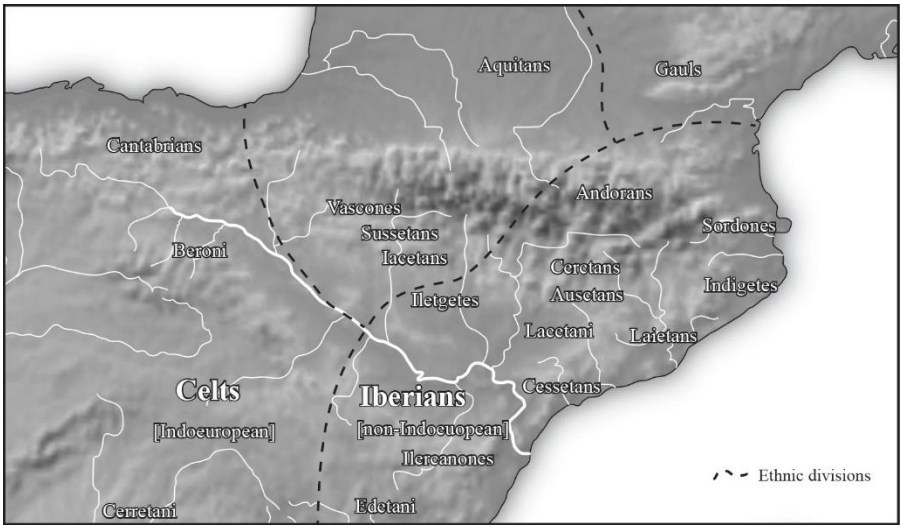
Many sites were destroyed in the "crisis" of the late 4th c. after the Ibero-Carthaginian treaty of 348 BC. It is thought that tribes then became more distinct in a fragmentation of the overall culture, so that early 2nd c. classical authors speak of separate Cossetani or Cessetani and the Ilergaones and Ilergetes as well as the Laetani in the broad area under study. The nomenclature depends on Roman sources centuries after the Iberian settlement period, based on a kind of oral history when locales had adopted some Greek and then had to adjust to Latin. Informants were often non-natives who stayed from initial trade contacts and used whatever passed for a barter language before *konoi* Greek was introduced. If a place-name survived, that gave the nomenclature more credence and provided some basis to infer tribal territoriality more than this or that clan. In some cases, clans became whole tribes, and in others, tribes were reduced to clans; ancestral homes sometimes disappeared, while new villages appeared from trade associations. Attempts to classify settlements have resulted only in the most general categories: principal cities, secondary cities, ciutadelles or towns, and fortified aldeas or villages.[26] It is understandable from such confusion, therefore, that scholars have debated the degree of homogeneity and cohesion among people that came to be called Iberian from their proximity to the Iber basin, and those Iberians who were in smaller watersheds of northeastern Iberia. More recently rather than to over-define tribal boundaries as if they were firmer than can be verified, general areas of cultural identity have been shown by Thiessen polygons that simply try to relate one tribal settlement area with another, i.e., who were neighbors.[27] Ethnicities are difficult to define; they are even harder to map.[28]

From Archaeology today, the general ascription of the Celts generally and the Iberians particularly as the native people of Iberia,[29] is now segregated into tribal affinities and their native

territories perhaps more so than would have been identified by native peoples themselves. It is how Romans saw them, made sense of Iberian social geography, and thought of tribal territories as reserves -- indeed, reservations. The common assessment treats the Iberians as either later-day Celts or new immigrants, a second wave, from above the Pyrenees. The division of lands as one or the other, Celtic or Iberian, is a little misleading, since the Iberians were an overlay and inter-mixing occurred, rather than a forced migration of former inhabitants by newcomers. There was plenty of land for the sparse population of these movements. The real issue is that the archeology of the Celt occupation is less exact than the later Iberian, and the latter is supplemented by some descriptions in Latin sources about the earliest Roman contact. As in Gaul, the Romans did not always distinguish between Celts and latter arrivals, and in recognition of the native intermingling the compounded term Celtiberian is fitting, especially in the interior. To right a wrong in the common succession of peoples in the Tarraconensis that begins with the Romans, the treatment here at least recognized other contributors. Moreover, this makes more sense of the idea of a Roman conquest, and given Rome's wars against natives and relocation policies, helps explain the distinctiveness between highland and lowland peoples that persisted into the Middle Ages. Romanization did not occur as a homogenous blanket but was strongest in the lowlands. Even then, as often conceived, Romanization may be a misnomer if substitution occurred, new immigrants replacing former occupants, instead of all Celtiberians becoming Romans. The history of the Iberian Wars clearly indicates new mixtures under the pressure of Roman campaigns and policies, and differences between those who stayed in place and those who left.

Indeed, the highlands would not have been so well populated had it not been for the Roman conquest and lowland occupation. It would be the Islamic Conquest that stirred up the settlement patterns by forcing lowland Romano-Hispani and Visigoths into the highlands where they mixed with the natives who in their relative isolation had retained more connections with their Celtiberian past than in places like Tarragona. Visigothic chieftains may have led the reconquest raids, but their foot-soldiers were mixed-breed mountain-men whose ancestry in part predates Roman history. As in America the tribal settlement patterns left an indelible imprint on the political and cultural geography of the northeast, especially in the names of regional capitals; after all, the peninsula is still called *Iberia* as a whole and the western Tarraconensis is defined by the Iber basin.[30] Hispania was a Roman designation, and the Hispani were Romanized, but not everybody was, and certainly not equally.

This mapping of Celt-Iberia into two totally distinct habitation zones clarifies references in early Roman history that recounted the Punic Wars, and especially the Second Punic War which brought massive Roman forces to the peninsula and resulted in Iberia's permanent re-occupation. One by one the tribes of northeastern Iberia fell under Roman authority, despite periodic revolts, while more remote Celtic areas remained uncontrolled for centuries. Iberian 3rd c. tribal territories were fairly stable at the advent of Roman intervention. The great Iberian migrations had ceased. They are now identified as follows, from the Pyrenees south toward the *Flumen Iber*: along the coast were the Indigets, Laietans, Cossetans, and south of the Iber's mouth, the Ilercavons; on the other side of the literal highlands, in uplands were the Sordonis to the north from the coast inland to where highland Ceretans (hence Cerdanya) lived and the Andosins were further north in the mountain valleys that left their name in Andorra; below them were the Bergusins around Berga, the Ausetans to the east in Ausona, and across the *Flumen Rubricatus* (the Llobregat River today), the Lacetans to the west; and in the great depression the Ilergets (around Ilirta / Roman Ilerta [Lleida in Romance]), with the Sedetans across the river; and in the borderlands between the Iberians and the northern Cantabrians and Vascons, were the Suessetans who gave their name to Osca / Huesca.[31] It is the coastal strip where Greco-Roman forms replaced Celtiberian nomenclature, where indeed Roman land grants replaced the natives' homesteads in resounding numbers.[32]



Map 1. Celtic and Iberian tribal lands in the peninsular northeast, 3rd c.[33] The peninsular north- and southeastern settlement areas by Iberians were different peoples than the Celts in central lands, and the highlands of the Cantabrians and Vascons were not overrun by the Iberians. The Iberian tribes that settled in what came to be the Tarraconensis included: Indigets (Ampurias –Girona); Laietans (Barcelona); Cossetans (Tarragona); and Ilercavons (Tortosa) along the coast; and inland the Ausetans (Vic); Ceretans (Cerdagne); Bergusens (Berga); Lacetans; and further west the Ilergets (Llieda) and to the Sussetans (Huesca). Along the outskirts the Editans occupied the southern Iberican ranges; and to the north the Andosins (Andorra);the Sordins bordered the Volcae; and Tectosages were in the Narbonensis. The upper Iber valley was Celtic with later Iberian immigration under Roman pressure, but most Iberian highlands had Celt mixtures from earlier times (pre-5th c.). Credit: P. Jones, UNCC Cartographic Lab.

The Laietans, the most studied and remembered in the naming of the Via Laietana in Barcelona, settled at least nine sites in the territory of Barcino before the 3rd BC, but not this site itself; their closest village was the fortified promontory of what would become known as Jews Mountain (Montjuic), and most of their villages lay to the northeast, up the Ríu Besós.[34] It must be remembered that the coastline then extended way inland from Montjuic to the narrows of the Rubricatus -- the Llobregat of today is nearly a mile longer than in ancient times and the ancient estuary is entirely filled in, including the extension of land into the sea for the airport of Els Prats. The coast below the river's mouth, today near Sant Antoní, known now for its beaches and resort towns like Casteldefells, was all under water. Three main sites have been excavated south of the river: at Can Farjó in the Valles, Penya del Moro whose name obviously gives away that Muslins reoccupied this ancient site, and named so that it gave away the opposite position, the Puig Castellar –all on high ground. In all, by the 1st c. BC, 33 villages are attested in Roman sources and archaeological remains.[35] This numeration would make the Laietans three times more populous than the Cossetans, although only their town of Burriac reached a similar size as the Cossetan capital of *Cissis* and judging from extant coinage, it was wealthier than the latter. Issues from Burriac were the most plentiful in all archeological sites and the most widespread. Burriac coins in Cossetan hordes suggest intensive trade between these native tribes, apart from Greco-Roman connections.

It was not only the Romans who sent Iberian villagers into motion, seeking new homes sometimes under Roman protection, and initiating a new era of wall building. The Cimbris, late-comers in 104 BC, were a Germanic people who came through Gaul and over the Pyrenees, and down the Llobregat via Balsareny, entering the plains of Barcino near Sarrià. The Iberian settlement

of Sidamon was destroyed, and places like Baetulo and Burriac hurriedly erected walls to protect themselves. Indeed, their arrival in the coastal littoral could have prompted the fortification of Tarraco to protect *Cissis*. If the refuge fort were constructed like that at Olèrdola, a singular straight wall would have cut-off the triangular summit, leaving the rugged sides to be enough of a natural defense. The threat from the northern hills could have caused a change in plans, with either an attempt to encircle the summit or to move the southern-facing wall to the north side, where indeed the most primitive sections of Tarragona's walls remain. Some of the oldest stone could have been used twice, first in an initial south wall which the Romans had removed long before leveling the summit, which might have looked like the lowest expanse of the Olèrdola walls which were also re-engineered by the Romans. In both cases nature provided for the main defense on all but one side. Such a hypothesis would explain some of the stone marks and irregularity of base and lintel stones, and the very primitive nature of the small gateways which hardly seem becoming for anything the Roman's built. Blocks cut later, under Roman direction, were far more precise and uniformly laid. But the availability of the older stones from the Iberian wall on the summit would have enabled a quick turn-around if warranted to ward-off immigrant tribes before the 2nd c. By that time the Romans were in any case re-engineering the refugee fort for their own purposes.

The coastal plain of Barcino had not been well-populated by Iberians, and if the place-name indeed refers to Carthaginian Barcid influence, a Punic outpost may have stimulated growth in this area at the same time Punic forces, mostly Iberian allies, took the lookout at *Rhodes* and threatened *Empurion* below. A grotesque mask found at Mas d'en Gual near Vendrell illustrates Punic influence along the coast above Tarraco, as do funerary objects, jewelry, ceramics and a type of peculiarly shaped amphorae at Darró further up the coast. Over a six-century period from 600 to 50 BC, Iberian occupation of the area now identified with medieval Barcelona (the coastal plain and the inland valleys) grew from a sparse settlement of ten to fifteen villages and another five to ten rural agricultural areas (*assentaments rurals*), to double and triple that number after 400 BC to their height by 300 BC. Then as Roman rule solidified, Iberian autonomy decreased. Celt-Iberian villages both contracted and disappeared and were transformed into Roman colonies as populations shifted under the pressure of incessant wars and new immigration.

The Romans did not invade Iberia against natives, but pursued its war with its older rival Carthage (Rome's senior, *Qart-ḥadašt* [Tyre's Newtown] founded in 814 BC?) in a life-and-death struggle in which Celtiberians were in the way – especially the Iberians. They were used as pawns by both sides, and the losing side lost countless lives and all, allies like enemies, forsook their old tribal independence. The Laietan coastal shelf above Barcino was the most densely populated by Iberians, mostly loyal to Rome, and subsumed. The lands from Ausetan Gerunda to the Empuries and between the Fluvia and Ter rivers had more spread-out settlements. The Indiketes moved inland, away from the coastal Greeks at *Rhodes* and *Empuries*. Less densely settled were the Rubricatus gorge and valley above the littoral north of Barcino, where thirteen sites have been found; six sites doted the Tulcis valley north of Tarraco; and the most isolated sites were the lands of the Ilervaconi, in and around the Iber valley and to its south.[36] The early Tarracon plain was sparsely populated, for even then it marked the transition to a drier climate and lacked the rich river valleys that attracted migrating peoples.

A slow decline of autonomous Celtiberian life set-in with Roman occupation, until their little settlements or "*poblats*" as Catalan archeologists call them, dwindled and were absorbed into Roman city-building and the Empire's defense system.[37] This phenomenon also resulted in their dispersion to the countryside so that in the late Iberian period, after 150 BC when the number of *poblats* returned to the original number some six centuries earlier, rural agricultural resettlement by the Iberian populace can be traced to only eight localities. No settlements were in proximity to the Ilergets and the closest to the Cossetans at the puig of Castellar above the Anuas / Noyà was probably a defensive lookout or trading post rather than full-blown settlement.



Fig. 1. Vilars fortress in the round on the plains (775-325 BC) near Arbeca, Las Garrigas, in the Corb River basin, was an Ilergete foundation neighboring Cossetania. Shown here are the layout (a) and section of long townhouses (b) for ca. 100 inhabitants surrounding a center courtyard and cistern, comprising a very regularized formation of housing for a circular (actually an oval) fortification with outer 4 ft.-deep moat and walls 5 m. wide and equally as high that had 12 semi-circular towers and 2 gates. There were extramural outbuildings, eg., barns and corrals, woodsheds, etc., but the whole circumference was strewn with embedded stones to prevent mounted attacks and cattle rustling. Credit: CRPU Mascançà (2012), in *Wikimedia* and *Creative Commons*.



Fig. 2. Calafell ciutadella stonework was excavated in 1980 by Joan Santacana and Joan Sanmartí, Universitat de Barcelona and the site was reconstructed to protect the remains and layout. This stop, operated by the Fundació Castell de Calafell, starts the Catalan Ruta dels Ibers. Credit: Jatenas, open license CC-BY-3 in *Wikimedia*.

Ilerget communities were the most numerous, more than concentrations of the Laietans to their east along the coast, and more than the Ilercavons in the piedmont along lower Iber valley. Iltirta was one of many *tossals* or mounds settled and fortified. It was the largest mound of these caked mud remnants from an inland sea from eons ago. The earliest finds at La Pedrera, La Valleta, Tossal del Moliniet, and Els Vilars (Arbeca) date to the 6th c. BC, but the build-up seems to post-date 200 BC through trade contact with the larger Mediterranean world. The greatest accumulation of settlements existed within a 40 kms. radius of Iltirta, but outliers spread beyond, to the limits of the great depression up the Rio Sió and Corb routes, and overland to the salt deposits around Vinaixa from where the Camp de Tarragona was within reach. Other Iber sites are located on the upper Tulcis just kilometers away, which may be either Ilerget or Cossetan, perhaps both, before the Roman overlay. Lacetan sites to the northeast are unknown so there is no discernible connection between the Ilergets across the highland cutover east developed by the Romans to the lands of the Bergusins and Ausetans. In all more than sixty Ilerget sites have been found, some existing with an Iberian character through the Roman period to ca. 425 AD.

1.2. COSSETANIA: A TRIBAL FEDERATION

Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historiae* (III, 4, 21) referred to the *regio Cessetania* as an identifiable region, but thereby creating some confusion about the difference between the Cossetans and Cessetans, which has been clarified by seeing Cossetan as the larger grouping separate from the Ilercavibi to the southwest, and the Cessetans as a subgroup localized around the site of *Cissis* in the Tulcissis area, i.e., around the river Tulcis. The reference is supported also by Claudius Ptolemaeus, later (100-170 AD) and further away (*Geog*., II, 6, 17), but with a different nomenclature; the river becomes the Subi and settlement Subur. Rather than two names for the same place, these may be taken as termini, with the latter sometimes identified now with Sitges, but Pliny in his *Natural History* (3.21), definitely makes it the same as the Tulcis: *Regio Cessetania, flumen Subi. Colonia Tarracon, Scipionum opus sicut Carthago [Nova] poenorum.* In either case, the tribal entity, the region of Cessetania, was well enough known in Roman times to have some significance, identity, and placement. The Cossetans[38] settled in what came to be identified as the Penedès region down to the Camp de Tarragona, or along the coast from Garraf to the Coll de Balaguer if one preferred to look for encirclement by highlands. Olèrdola was pre-Cossetan but became their northern-most fortified village (8-7th c. BC); the name is post-Roman. Another site on the coast north of the Río Foix mouth existed at Adarró (Vilanova i Geltrù).[39] Large-scale settlements on the Camp occurred at El Vilar (Valls), Santa Ana de Castellvell, and around Tarraco; and up the coastline at Alorda Park (Calafell).[40]

In the Penedès native sites from the Iberian period were gradually abandoned after the 2nd c. BC, and many were replaced by Roman settlements. It is speculated that the same happened in the Camp, with denser rural population in the more fertile Baix Camp.[41] Two sites have been uncovered between them and the Gainus / Gayà river, at Les Toixoneres on the coast near Calafell, and inland at Argilera with a nearby necropolis at Can Canyis. That at Les Toixoneres was founded after the 6th c. and built-up primarily in the 3rd c. BC on a 17 m.-high promontory extending into the sea between the Foix and Gayá rivers.[42] It was quite impressive. Consisting of several long houses for extended families enclosed in solid stone walls, it had several towers facing the land side and a single gate leading down to the beach.[43] Nothing yet has been recovered along the Gayà itself except along the canyon's edge just adjacent to the medieval castle of Catllar, but the Francolí watershed has three upriver sites at el Pla de Santa Barberà in the Conca, at Vilar and an associated site around a warm spring at Fontscaldes near Valls where amphora and decorated plates were produced, and it is often speculated that the Coll de Lillet may have been an ancient Iberian site. Between the two rivers on the Alt Camp was an Iberian settlement at Vila-rodona which Romans also resettled.[44] It seems to have been a pastoral community, and the site was not particularly defensible in itself, but perhaps relied on its isolation for security

Model of Iberian 'ciutadella' Toixoneres in the Alorda Park archaeological region, Calafell near Vendrell, Baix Penedès, showing a fortified point into the Mediterranean and village of about 40 Cossetan dwellings (4th c. BC, until abandoned in the 2nd Punic War) of the type presumably built on Mt. *Tarrakon* where two major sections of their primitive walls remain, but overlook the imagined height and crenulated front walls in both cases. Credit: Dept. de Cultura, Generalitat de Catalunuya.

These compact towns as shown in the image for reconstructed Calafell, built bousing in clusters sharing mutual walls, which were accessible by mere alleyways.

The typical pattern was for a dominant site to exact tribute in goods from satellite camps, thereby establishing trade clusters and larger political entities through local monopolies. The Cossetani or Cessetani named after the chief village of *Cissis*, or *Kissa* (ca. 330 BC-) as its name was also transliterated from Iberican characters on inscriptions, established such a cluster on the plains on either side of the Tulcis river, but the main settlement was on the north side. The variant Cessetan may be considered a regional faction of the Cossetans in the Tulcissis district, and that term itself may connote a pan-Cossetan alliance of several villages, of which three are known only by their Greek names. The whole area may be thought of as the increasingly Hellenized Tulcissis multi-site complex around the mouth and estuary of the ancient Flumen Tulcis which enjoyed a flow much greater than the modern Francolí. It was better watered than today with a freshwater lake, streams from the mountains and overflow from the spring floods, and marshlands giving way to meadows and pine forests. The rolling grasslands were further off, and the riverbed itself would have been surrounded by willow and ash groves. These may have been thinned or cleared closer to the settlements, since roofing timbers and firewood were always needed, but also because not all of Iberian construction was stonework. Since foreigners would not have been invited into the protected enclave, which may be considered *Cissis* proper, *Kesse* may have referred to the Greek trading post on the outskirts. If not adjacent, the Greeks may have been a little closer to the shore where they beached their ships.[45] The Cossetans welcomed Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek traders in depots south of the river, in the back of the Salou peninsula and cape. One such trade depot developed below the slopes north of the Tulcissis estuary. The Phoenician and Carthaginian traders there may have invited trouble from the Romans when the Punic Wars split the natives into opposing factions. The Cessetans may have been trusted, but not their trade partners further south.

Pre-Roman history of the most ancient site, *Cissis* Latinized from the Greek *Kissa*, or *Kesse* as Livy would have it, is reconstructed based on recent comparative archeology and dated from coins unearthed there and up the coast in modern times. In the excavations at Burriac some distance away, closer to Barcino, the 3rd c. *oppidum* preserved hordes of coins, some silver but mostly bronze and copper, minted in twenty-one sites: coins from *Cissis* / *Kesse* were the second most prevalent, but less than half those found from the closer site, Illuro. That dispersion may reflect geographic proximity rather than any indication of the importance of these sites in their own locales. The find certainly attests the vitality of *Cissis* at the time, on the eve of the Roman conquest.[46] It is thought that like other hilltop settlements, the Cossetans had fortified the very pinnacle of the promontory on which the *Tarrakon* acropolis was later developed, some 80 m. (260 ft.) immediately above sea level.[47] They at least used it as a look-out, and probably assigned it some religious role as well, but its main purpose was a refuge. Their habitat was downhill closer to the Tulcis, which meandered around an inland fresh-water lake to a marshy estuary and into the sea nearly a half-mile above its modern mouth.[48] This would have given them a fresh water supply and the inlet provided a safe haven and a beachhead for their fishing boats. Its orientation faced south toward the other villages.

1.2.1. The Tulcissis Cluster of Settlements: A Trade Network

Tarragona's earliest archeologists from Hernández Sanahuja onward had always known there were pre-Roman antecedents to Tarraco from Latin sources such as Livy and Polybius.[49] Most assumed that the pre-Roman foundations were behind the walls in the back of the city, given their primitive nature and local traditions, and because the Romans denoted the fortified place with the typical term *oppidum* used for a strongly walled fortress. No other choices had survived, so the location was

considered obvious by pundits like Puig i Cadalfalch, and Bosh Gimpera like others were looking for a hilltop fortress which was thought to be the norm for the Iberians. Yet nothing other than the walls came to light on the summit, whereas there were signs of primitive construction in the lower city Many were thrown by the aforementioned speculation of Ausonius who wanted all precedents to be connected to the motherland, so he poetically inferred that the Etruscans had earlier settled across the sea so as to upstage the arrival of the Greeks on the Iberian coast and deny early indigenous construction of such stature. He called it the *arce potens Tarraco* to emphasize its power, while Mela was impressed with its wealth.[50] The two went together in the Roman world, just as today.

There were those classically trained who would not countenance too great an accomplishment by the Iberians, and who certainly did not want to acknowledge a Carthaginian presence around Cissis even as a trading post, much less a real colony. Mons. Joan Serra Vilaró knew better from his work at Solsona, and in 1951 he began to dig around the lower forum to discover its antecedents, and he identified scattered foundations that suggested the earliest settlement was not on the mount but just above the river plain and old shoreline away from the altered edge of fill for the modern port. He noted that Pons d'Icart had mentioned remnants of a wall in those parts that existed in the 16th c. but was no more. So that idea of an Iberian *oppidum* for a flat-land settlement was grounded in some remains and old observations, but it was still considered a hypothesis because of the intransient conviction that the Iberians selected only highland sites as at Olérdola and that the furthest the Punic sphere of influence came was up to ancient Saguntum, where Hannibal started the Second Punic War. Serra Vilaró set out to prove his case and directed several explorations whenever a tear-down or building project provided an opportunity, around the Corsini Plaça and up and down the Gasòmetric and Lliedan streets. He was convinced of his thesis that digging to the lower levels produced no Roman ceramics, but only fragments that were clearly Iberian. The decoration was unequivocally native. What he found was not ancient Tarraco, but something else, pre-Roman and contemporary with Roman development of the upper city before it was terraced. Of course, such Roman engineering and earthworks would have removed any sign of Iberian housing there not attached to the walls and towers which the remodeling rebuilt and preserved. Roman terracing had destroyed all else from pre-Roman times. Growth of the modern city had likewise leveled many remaining pre-Roman settlements in the lower city, and the earlier descriptions from the Renaissance and landscape sketches of survivals into the 18th c. were partial, stylized and showed how much the hillside had been eroded and the lower areas silted over. These were before the dynamiting and bulldozing for the port and rechanneling of the Francolí river, so all that could be hoped for were building foundations, remains used in the fill. And a modern city had been built over the spot, so there was no great hope for an extensive find. What saved Iberian foundations along a gentle slope was debris from the late-antique city, endless blowing and shifting sands, and the untenable nature of the place for medieval agriculture when it was used primarily for grazing, so that over the centuries a protective layer of soil had built-up over the rubble.

Excavations begun in 1978 revealed this ancient nucleus, which had spread to 8-9 ha., all within walls, plus an extramural fishing village near the shore.[51] What lay between them is not fully known. This second phase of systematic exploration, not ending until 1985 after more than a half-dozen excavations had been undertaken, and these resumed after the turn of the 21st c. with reports in 2006. It was presumed that a single Iberian site predated Tarraco, so everything identified even if separated from other excavations have always been assumed to be part of the same site, i.e., *Cissis,* even though the name came from the mountain top where the primitive settlement was not to be found -- only a fortified refuge. The three beach buildings lay in a recess of 5 m., and another two are on the shelf, just below a 20 m. elevation that comes down to a point closest to the water, with a 5 m. high shelf on either side, to the Tulcis and to the sea. To the north at 15 m. lay another 8-10 buildings whose foundations have been found, and then another 3-4 at the 25 m. level at the point that the highest ground descends toward the beach. This section has the gentlest slope up the hillside, whereas to the east, seaside above the coastal self, the rises are fairly steep, 5 m. in succession, quickly reaching 15 m. The spread of the two clusters of buildings at the 20-25 m levels is ca. 300 m. apart, the northern one being the main settlement, and the eastern one somewhat separate. Ebussan Punic

pottery pieces and Greco-styled amphora were found, with local production, all from a wide range of dating, 6th-2nd c. AD. The eight clusters of building foundations found thus far, mostly set back from the old shoreline, suggest a core settlement amplified by extramural housing and storage chambers, built in stages with the last being more commercial in nature, different from single-family housing or fisherman dwellings along the cove.[52] Even so, the excavations completed to date suggest a core, that is, an enclosed town; suburbs; and an adjacent fishing village if there were more shacks than the stone foundations remaining. Four phases have been postulated: (1) a hypothesized pre-settlement before the 5th c. which is not yet evident; (2) the initial 5th c. town along Caputxins and Pere Martell streets, based on local pottery fragments mixed with Punic and Ebussan ware and Carthaginian cookware plus later debris to the Roman phase; (3) the 2nd c. urban reform period accelerated by Roman contact, along Carrers Pere Martell, Lleida, and Jaume I, with structures showing some transition from the older Iberian construction to Roman-style remodeling, foundations for a tower and some wall segments; (4) the 1st c. AD integration of the Iberian town into Roman Tarraco. No necropolis has been found and it may have been further uphill, obliterated by later Roman earth moving. One site along Carrers Pere Martell and Eivissa is remarkably well-preserved, even with a fire pit intact. Overbuilding between the finds may have destroyed what was there, so it is really not possible to discern if they were all enclosed or connected in some way. Only wall sections remain, and Iberian construction often used the exterior walls of houses as the outer wall for the village, opening inward to a core common space. So, the shape of the entire complex is still quite conjectural.

It has been assumed by successive archeology teams that they were examining one settlement despite such scattered finds, but the idea of two related adjacent sites may be suggested by the trend from uniformly Iberian finds to the west becoming more varied and mixed with foreign fragments as archeologists moved east. Was the activity nearer the landing the same settlement, or something a little different? The great mixture suggests a more international settlement and may be differentiated as later *Kesse* from former *Cissis*.[53] The last intervention in 2005 nearer the port revealed the damning of water in a ravine and channeling it to a cistern, storage chambers, and various ceramics from throughout the western Mediterranean (down the coast to Gibraltar, and across the sea from the Balearics [Punic *Ebussus*] to Sicilia and Italia) from the 6th to the 2nd c., indicating that the Cossetans had long used the port area precisely for this purpose more than just fishing. Breakage over time has left a remarkable record of the imports, and it has been assumed that the refuse was left by Cossetani from *Cissis*, and that the proto-port was their landing. That may not be true for fishermen from the same tribe,[54] using wares they were accustomed to; it indicates others and a different use of the landing than tying up fishing boats, such as the loading and unloading of goods manufactured elsewhere, warehouses, and trade colony which traded with the Cessetans but was not Iberian; it was probably Phocaean, with their far-flung trade network. The international character of the enterprise is suggested by some of the broken wares, including those of Punic origin. This extramural trade-colony of *Kesse* may be considered adjacent and connected to *Cissis*, yet as said, decidedly distinct. It was unwalled itself, and was oriented toward nearby *Cissis*, but also up the slope from the beachhead, where a second trail followed a ravine toward the summit and another seaside under the escarpment to coastal points north such as coastal settlements at Toixoneres and Alorda Park. The region above Alorda Park has supplied Iron Age finds from seven sites: Timba de Sta. Barbara, the Can Canyis necropolis, Hort de Grimau, Mas Castella, the Mas de Boixos, and the Turo at Font de la Canya. The northeast trail went overland toward Catlar (the Era del Castell site), which formed a crossing between the two just below the summit, where the old ramblas is today, with an extension around the hilltop to where the Roman road would be laid. Pack lanes rather than wagon trains would have traveled these routes at first, before these trails became real roads. The rather sparse remains for the 6th c. filled in considerably in the following centuries, with 52 archaeological sites in all, and while most were around older Cossetan settlements northeast of Cessetan subsequent resettlement, the latter area of the Tulcissis and surrounding lands around Tarraco (below the Gaià) has revealed 21 sites, some only wells or cisterns, 8 villages, and one fortified habitation indicating an Iberian pre-Greek presence at Salauris. The kind of structures indicated by finds in the Comarc

of Tarragona and around its periphery suggests a more rural region, without the same kind of urbanization as further up the coast, apart from *Cissis* itself. No evidence survives of pavers on these Iberian trails, but the pathways were all torn up in subsequent development; the only paved segment that has been found is the connection of *Cissis* with the Tulcis crossing, presumably forming an avenue of sorts to the main entrance and past it to *Kesse*.

The simple composite identification of everything there as *Kesse* / *Tarrakon* may be misleading, given that some of these remains date to the earliest Iberian period, 5th c. or perhaps even earlier, the *oppidum* wall later, some construction by the Carrer Sevilla 3rd-2nd c.,[55] parts later still under the Roman forum excavated earlier,[56] cisterns or wells[57] seemingly ageless, and port warehouses and *horrea* or granaries[58] -- a half-millennium spread. More than was ever expected to be found when a pre-history foundation was suspected but undiscovered, but these finds are not many for the lifetime of a culture. Anything worthwhile or reusable was scrounged if seen; archaeologists are often left with, well, leftovers – what was buried and unseen.

Since the earliest foundations in the 6th c. BC, the Iberian development seems to have been both concentrated in a traditional fortified oblong encirclement with scattered building on the outskirts and beyond, with elaboration in the 3rd c. when some developments may have been Hellenic, or at least indigenous sprawl was prompted by trade contacts and expansion beyond Iberian natives who were specifically Cossetani. There could have been a Celtic underlayer, and a pan-tribal mixture resulting from a trade federation beyond the core Cossetan settlement. As noted before, therefore, the Romans would have been late-comers to a co-habitation process that had been ongoing for a century before their arrival, augmenting settlement of the area that started some three centuries earlier. Their implant away from the Cossetan settlement suggests a different contact than mere trade but underscores the military nature of the Roman adventure there. Aloof and in command, they set themselves apart from the Punic and Greek trade colonization that had been occurring previously. Attention to this obvious fact too often overlooked, should underscore the nature of Romanization as a military takeover and the nature of Tarraco as a fortress that set its orientation, and formed its character and reputation for centuries to come. The very earliest conquest there was accomplished, it seems, not by the war against the Cessetans so much as by a show of force, overwhelming might and absorption. The animosity was directed toward the Carthaginians and their allies. If the Cossetan chief at *Cissis* had any pro-Punic ties, they would have been quickly underplayed and hidden with the unloading of so many Roman troops, mounts, and supplies on the beaches behind the escarpment. The natives would never have seen before such a gigantic flotilla or massive invasion. What remains unexplained in the Latin sources is that the Punic taking of Saguntum was the reason for the deployment at Tarraco, but this suggests then that Carthaginian forces had a plant at one of the Tulcissis settlements and meant to take *Kesse*, which was presumably a Phocaean ally of Rome as was *Saguntum*. That raises the question about the neutrality of *Cissis*, or if it would have abetted a Punic takeover of all the seaboard Phocaean trading colonies -- *Saguntum*, *Kesse* and the *Tarrakon* fort, and *Empurion* with its nearby fortification at *Rhodes* / Roda-- had it not been for the decisive advance of the Romans down the coast.

Cissis was for some time co-existent with an up-hill Roman presence, and a Greek trading post adjacent or nearby, *Kesse*, with another only a little further away at *Salauris*.[59] It may have been an extension of *Kesse* or *vice versa*, but then one wonders where the Punic outpost was. Gallipolis on the other side of the Tulcis above the wetlands, was also Greek, named after the same as the city in Thrace on the Bosphorus from where its founders presumably came. Can one assume a joint Greco-Punic venture in the same area before the Carthaginians became so imperial in their ambition? At Vilafortuny, with its overlaid Latin name and no remembrance of its prior foundation? Although usually considered singular sites, these trading colonies were perhaps all bifurcated at least as barrios or ethnic neighborhoods near each other. It is doubtful that Greek colonists were admitted to settle inside a walled Cessetan town; their trading post would have been extramural, adjacent, and between *Cissis* and the beachhead. Peoples of different ethnicities and language did not cohabitate next-door but were commonly grouped together by their similarities. Indigenous inhabitants and foreign seafarers would have had their differences. Indeed, if the lower forum were over an actual trading

post that had existed previously, it too would have been extramural, adjacent but separate from the Cessetan residential enclave. The Phocaean posts below the Tulcis may have lost their Greek settlers when the Punic War broke out, leading to the greater internationalization of *Kesse* and the growth of the lower Greek colony. These middlemen may have taken over if such a consolidation around the landing superseded the Iberian agricultural community. When the Romans occupied the *Tarrakon* mount, they would have relied on *Kesse* more directly than *Cissis* for supplies and trade, but not for labor, farm produce or even fresh fish. The Latin sources do not mention the Phocaean navy as being particularly important, but it may have been taken over with the control of *Massalia* and therefore was considered Roman; the ships at *Empurion* were. An interesting sidelight already noted is that as the new *socii*, the Cessetan fishing fleet became important also for running supplies from Roman freighters to the shore before completion of the Tarracon port, and when the Romans later sailed south to engage the Punic fleet at Carthago Nova, they credit[60] Cessetan fishermen as running supplies directly to the Roman ships which did not therefore have to anchor offshore or in shallow waters where they would have been vulnerable to Punic attack.

If the Romans thought of *Cissis* as a foederate, therefore, the semi-autonomy of Cessetans was perhaps guaranteed upon the condition of neutrality and then alliance, with some control over *Kesse* and responsibility for it, as suggested by monetary issues sending a mixed message by keeping some Iberian characters but adopting the Greek alphabet, suggesting that Greek were used as a *lingua franca* for trade and communications with the Romans. Latin came later. It is not really possible to differentiate Cessetan coinage between the two sites, although archaeologists like to think the inhabitants of *Cissis* were sophisticated enough to mint coins on their own. If so, moving from trade in kind and subsistence living to international trade and a monetary economy illustrates early Hellenization with trade and commerce, and the need to find some other method of exchange than produce or livestock. This points to an accumulation of surplus, and perhaps a trade network that stretched inland. What products were sold from the interior is not known, but it is probable that Greek pottery and metal-ware were in demand by the Iberians, in return for their foodstuffs, iron work, and leather products. Iberians had begun producing swords of high quality, as the Romans would discover. That was the case when the foreigners wanted supplies for their ships and armies. Punic traders were there as well, before the Romans, but there is no clear indication of earlier transmarine trade with Italia, that is with the Etruscans or Latium. One can imagine the multi-lingual bartering in the markets, made easier with the standardization of local coinage. Cossetania became better known by the 4th c. BC as a coastal emporium, but the very trade that made it flourish also spelled its doom as an independent Iberian development.

Romanization may be seen as the third phase of influence east to west across the Mediterranean, often seen as finishing what Hellenization had begun. The model of a smooth transition from initial Hellenic influence from Greece and Greco-Asia Minor to a more pervasive seaborne Hellenism, often seems to downplay the violent and coercive nature of Romanization, in that dealing with the Romans and then becoming Roman in many ways in order to survive, was not the same as the more benign interplay between Iberians and Phocaean Greeks. The Romans were not simply later-day Greeks. Yet, they took full advantage of the Hellenization that had been ongoing for a century before the arrival of the Romans in any numbers. The difference in the nature of the first contact between Iberians and Greeks and then with Romans cannot be ignored; the Greek contact grew gradually from intermittent landings to more contact and the establishment of trade colonies, leaving the indigenous settlement pattern to evolve naturally but influenced by an improved economy. The Roman arrival was sudden and in mass, with the intent to control the locals and take charge of anything that might have been an avenue for Punic influence. Even the western Greek colonies that were allies of Rome fell under its sway. Not just precursors, however, Greeks remained in Tarraco for centuries, participated in its trade and influenced its culture. The Greek quarter was a kind of third estate, separate from the Cossetan and Roman sections, even though the traditional view from Tarragona's archeology has been to see the city developing only as the high and lower part, bifurcated between the official and residential, as if the trade colony aspect of the initial contact simply faded into the Roman once and for all, quickly and resolutely. This does not comport with

developments elsewhere, as in *Empurion* where the Greek and Roman quarters remained separate, side by side; or in other coastal enclaves where differences in language, custom, extended family and heritage, etc., all kept Romans and Greeks distinct, and both of them separate from Iberians as well. Their initial contact with the natives might have been benign, but the Greeks soon became Rome's enablers in regard to what happened to the coastal Iberians, and in particular the Cossetani who may not have been always as pacifist as portrayed or always neutral in the Roman-Punic conflict. If their stance toward Rome were guarded, that might explain the Roman occupation of the *Tarrakon* heights rather than the river plain. Yet surviving inscriptions would suggest that the latter's extended fortification was a collaboration.

If so, then it is likely too that the Greek and Iberian relationship was also collaborative, and the Punic involvement was as well before the Roman intervention. If the Greeks would trade with anyone regardless of international politics, this could have invited Roman control over their activities and their use as emissaries. The continuing Greek role in Tarraco's socio-economic development should be reconsidered because it is obvious from surviving artwork that Hellenic cultural influence was lasting. It was the Phocaeans from Ionia in Asia Minor who were the middlemen and who introduced the East to Iberia as an alternative to Punic influence from Africa and Phoenicia. Greek-Punic rivalry in the Mediterranean created opportunities, but also difficulties. Founded from Athens in the 9th c. BC, Phocaea grew to be one of the largest ancient cities of the eastern Mediterranean, enriched by its maritime trade as the legendary wealth of King Croessus suggests. Herodotus[61] records that Phocaean ships traded with King Arganthonos of Tartessus of southern Iberia (near Huelva), meaning that their long-range voyages had gone through the Pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic. As were the Phoenicians, they were undoubtedly tapping the ancient oceanic tin trade going up the west coast, its fisheries, as well as inland trade with the Celts, and the rich produce of the southern Baetican river valleys. There, as in northeastern Iberia, Greek exploration proceeded Roman contacts and did not result in conquest. The Roman-Punic wars changed all of that.

The northern Phocaean arch in the western Mediterranean had a southern counterpart, and the circle was completed by Rome to the East and eventually Tarraco to the east. In 397 BC the Phoenician colony of Lotya on Sicily was overtaken by the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius. Non-Greeks then founded nearby Lilybalion, which is notably where the First Punic War began in 265; and it was conquered, becoming the Roman Lilybaeum, so liked for its splendid rebuilding when Cicero served as *quaestor* there (75-76 BC). But the point is that this tip of Sicilia, facing Libya as its name indicates, formed a Greco-Roman bridge across the Mediterranean that during the Punic Wars limited transmarine Phoenician influence, but created a Hellenic trade network in the Western Mediterranean that included the coastal Iberians. As noted, its northern base was Phocaean *Massalia* / modern Marseille. An ancient site, inhabited in Neolithic times, it was once home to a Phoenician trade colony from Tyre, but was resettled by Ligurians, before the arrival of Phocaean Greeks ca. 600 BC, just before Cossetania was settled by the Iberians. For a time *Massalia* was threatened by the Celtiberian alliance with Carthage, so it turned to the Roman Republic for protection. By 500 BC it was the trade link between Rome and Gaul. It maintained its independence even through the Second Punic War by remaining a Roman ally but made the wrong choice in the Roman Civil war by choosing Pompey over Caesar. Already partially Romanized, he made it politically Roman.

But the point here is how a commercial circuit formed in the Western Mediterranean from Sicilia to Rome and Liguria, to *Massalia*, over to the Greek base at *Empurion* and down to *Cissis*, down the Levant and back again to Lilybaleum and Sicilia which were annexed by Rome after the First Punic War. Although under Punic pressure for a time, *Empurion* remained Hellenic and an ally of Rome, but when it opted for Pompey in the Roman Civil War, it became Roman Ampuriae (two towns, Roman and Greek *Empuries*) which when so incorporated would ironically be surpassed by Tarraco. The development of long-distance maritime sailing straight across the western Mediterranean rather than port-hopping along the shoreline, made Ampurias less relevant; and Barcino's foundation finalized its decline. But in its heyday, it was the middle link between *Massalia* and *Kesse*, before Tarraco was anything more than a hilltop fort. These connections, so early in the

making, would become historic, through Late-Antiquity and the Middle Ages – indeed, to modern times.

The older picture of the Cossetan, Phocaean, and Roman settlements confused all three as one triangular complex, with the Iberians at their old *oppidum* thought to be the same as the village of *Cissis* and that this was simply called *Kesse* by the Greeks. It has been suggested here that the two were adjacent but separate ethnic settlements, the one being Iberian and the other a later trading post just outside the Cossetan enclosure. The first Roman civilians very likely built housing adjacent to the other settlements, uphill, where later *insulae* or apartments and attached-houses were built. When the Romans extended the walls to encompass the lower city, they did so top-down, from the *Tarrakon* refuge fort on the mount, to enclose these urban developments. The assumption that the augury would have been on the highest spot meant that the military headquarters was in the fortification of the mount, meaning that the Romans were some distance from the Iberian-Greek bifurcated but neighboring communities. That probably still holds true in so much as the Romans took over the fortress for the high-ground advantage, but not necessarily that the first civilian settlement was also there and that later Roman housing came downhill to join the older downtown. That interpretation comports with the excavation findings of Juan Serra Vilaró in the 1960s, but the slope would not have invited the first civilians to build there. He and his colleagues also conflated *Cissis* and *Kesse* as the same town, and Catalan archaeologists have not given-up on this. But further excavations in 2003 have shed more light on subsequent developments in the earliest Empire.[62]

The positioning of these three settlements in relation to each other is important in suggesting the chronology of these early developments and relations between these different peoples. Was one on top of the other as in phases of development for the same entity, or were there three different entities, ethnically situated nearby but separate? Further excavations in 2003 reveal a massive Roman overlay of a forum and then two of them in the early imperial age, indeed during the reign of Tiberius, and the interpretation has been one of overbuilding in the same area, but that the Iberian *oppidum* had originally been further west and was not included in the circummural development; in fact, the extension of the walls went between the ancient Iberian mound fort and where *Cissis* was thought to have laid, where the later downtown forum and basilica were built by the Romans. The assumption today by Catalan archeologists is still that these were all situations together, and that in the process of overbuilding *Cissis* / *Kesse* became Tarraco.

Tarraco was clearly named for the Mount *Tarrakon* refuge fort, as known in Greek and not a Cessetan designation; the Roman installation was military rather than for trade, but the Phocaean colony was a trading post; and despite compatibility between trading partners, living together was not normative. So, for these reasons, it has been suggested here that the Cossetan village shifted toward the sea along the coastal shelf, and the Phocaean trading post of *Kesse*, as the Greeks called *Cissis*, was established adjacent to the Iberian village -- both closer to the beachhead used as a port. When the Romans came and took over the defense of the locale and began to develop the Mt. *Tarrakon* fort as a Roman fortress, Tarraco, the former Iberian *oppidum* was abandoned, and the trade center was incorporated into the walled-off slope. The question is if the old *oppidum* was dismantled as a matter of Roman policy in the aftermath of the Punic Wars, when the whole complex was refortified rather than just a refuge on the summit. The very fact that the Iberians had a refuge on higher ground is an indication that the usual round-fort of Iberians facing the back walls of their houses outward to create a circular enclosure, was insufficient given the escalation of hostilities between Carthage and Rome. But as shall be discussed, the Romans did not develop the high ground as a civilian settlement, but as a military fort, and their urban settlement was near the Cossetan and Phocaean prior foundations but not initially in them. That was true also in Empuries, where the Greek and Roman settlements sit side by side. After the Punic Wars, the Romans not only took these former centers over in the case of Tarraco, but they overbuilt them with a large complex of two forums and a temple square, and a basilica which replaced the old open-air market or moved it into the plaza at the front of this complex. The extramural Iberian oppidum was eventually replaced by warehousing and business development. On the surface of such urban development, there were little survivals of the earlier settlements of the Cossetans and Phocaeans, but the latter left a residue in a

Greektown or foreign quarter for traders in relation to the port and its commercial development, the location of the theater, and a cosmopolitan mix distinct from the Latin residential midtown. The unanswered question is if the inhabitants of *Cissis* simply were absorbed into the new Hellenistic amalgam, or they were forced out, resettling in surrounding Cossetan villages in their league. There is no evidence that the Romans thought they had colluded with the enemy, but their fortifications seem to have been dismantled as Roman 'protection' was established, and in other cases as at Olèrdola, its *oppidum* became a Roman fortress too. So, there is some reason to think of displacement before the Roman replacement of prior autonomous settlements and the more thorough Romanization of the Iberian coast.

Of course, the key element to remember is that all the colonies in the Phocaean western league became Roman allies, and that this Greco-initiation to the Hellenic world preceded and then overlapped with Romanization at Tarraco. Looking ahead as well, this Greek influence along the coastal Tarraconensis and at Tarraco in particular was to last into Late-Antiquity, through the Visigothic period with the import of Greek clergy and survival of Greek letters. Moreover, the Tarraconan connection was with Phocaea on the Turkish coast down to Tarsus and over to Alexandria, more than with Greece proper. That would seem to forecast Tarraco's lasting connection with Hellenic Asia more than Greece, the Visigothic period into the medieval crusading era as well. The continuity of thought, an historical affinity, and a reminiscence of Hellenic influence in restored Tarragona is subtle but traceable, through the survival of some Greek learning at Vic d'Ausona and Ripoll after Tarracona's destruction, the city's bishops coming from and returning to Asian Minor for inspiration, and a hagiographic reconnection in the cult of St. Thekla.

In all three, possibly four, Greek trading posts operated in the Tulcissis region. In addition to *Kesse*, a second coastal site has been examined at medieval Vilafortuny, and others existed in a cluster of trade colonies south of the Flumen Tulcis, opposite the site of *Cissis*. One may have been a Greek colony related to *Kesse*, i.e., the *oppidum* of *Salauris* which lay inland from the beaches and peninsula of medieval Salou that might have once sported a lighthouse as well as its lookout tower. A trade colony near the point, however, would have been very exposed. It has been suggested that the town of La Punta de la Sella near Salou, whatever its name if not actually Salauris itself, could have been far more important than commonly recognized. Because much of it was destroyed by a quarry, little is known about it, but speculation that it was really *Cissis* is unfounded other than to think of any of these Cossetan settlements being called "Cesseton' by the foreigners.[63] The Hellenistic Greeks from *Massalia*, *Rhodes*, and *Empuries* followed the old trade routes opened earlier by Phoenicians, even going up the Iber where they sparked the growth of a trading post with the Ilervacones that became Roman Dertosa and at Saldouie, the trade center that became Caesaraugusta or Zaragoza.[64] Four Greek toponyms give rise to speculation about which underlies this later Roman site: Hilactes, Hystra, Sarna, and Tyrichae. Ampolla is thought to have been ancient Lebedonicia, founded directly by Greek traders from Asia Minor rather than *Massalia*.[65] Otherwise, Greek traders also came north from *Hemeroskopeion* / Denia, connected with Sicilian colonies. Such Greek influence was to increase after the 5th c., only to be overtaken by Roman colonialism.[66]

Another colony in the area could have been North African, but initially other than Punic in origin, but yet an offshoot of the Phoenician trade system around the Mediterranean which promoted others to take to the sea. It is speculated from the *Historia Augusta* that people identified by the Romans as the ancient *Mauri* between 138 and 192 A.D. traded there when Antoninus Pius was governor. As noted, the medieval Spanish would later give their name, Moors, to all North African peoples inheriting a Hellenized culture and eastern religion, as if homogenized under *Islàm*. It is unknown how far back such contact occurred with Greeks and Phoenicians on the African coast.[67] They may have tried to capitalize on the Phoenicians pulling out, leaving their Punic (i.e., Carthaginian) colonies. Phoenician, Greek, and Punic wares have been found in Celtiberian mound burials in the Matarrana Valley, considerably far inland. Trade goods may have traveled further than traders themselves, and riverbank trading posts were assuredly not all trade colonies. These were mainly coastal. We have only oblique references by Polybius[68] and Livy[69] to ancient place-names mentioned not because they were of special interest as pre-Roman sites, but because they were supply

depots on itineraries for troop movements during the Punic Wars. The main stops on what came to be the Via Augusta have been reconstructed from later sources, but most were pre-Roman.

A search for ancient *Kallipolis*, named after either Calliopea (the muse of epic poetry) or as said, Gallipolis in Thrace, meaning 'beautiful city,' has centered on this coastal area, which one source collocates with ancient *Salauris*, positioning it above the Iber but below Barcino.[70] One can locate it better in the Tulcissis complex, on the top-side of the wetlands immediately west of the Tulcis estuary, above the fresh-water "Pine Lake" or Pineda as it was later called, referring to the neighboring pine forests that also stretches down to Salauris. It could have been a combination trade colony, Greeks from the East with Phoenicians before the Punic Wars and Sicilian Greeks and Tyreaneans active with the *Mauri* and other North African traders. Although it is difficult to tell which of four or five Callipolis sites in the Greek world from the Hellespont to Calabria are talked about in the few sources extant, it seems best described by Dionysius Periegetes in his poetic hexameters describing the ancient world in the 2nd c. A.D., who in turn based his descriptions on Eratosthenes of Cyrene[71] in the 3rd c. BC contemporary with the Roman colonization of the Hispanic coastline. It was easy to confuse which 'beautiful city' one was talking about, and indeed in oral tradition they all fused into one stereotype of whitewashed buildings, sun-drenched patios, clean cobbled streets, shops around a market, and prosperous people. It is unlikely that the trade colonies along the Iberian coastline were any of these but were closer to the Iberian settlements with some Greek improvements for their merchant quarter. Kallipolis may have been another Greek name for S*alauris*, just as *Tarrakon* might have been another setting and counterpart to *Kesse*, thought of as together even though they were a little apart. Neither were exactly on the main coastal road, a thoroughfare even in those days, requiring a business side-route; *Salauris* was above the little peninsular beach-head and Kallipolis was on the spur-road that went around the wetlands connecting the coastal road with the one that went north along the Tulcis ridge. That would be the best-guess from the local topography, but the scant sources are unclear. The generic idealizations about Callipoli were used by an early plotter of 6th c. trade-routes and gleaner of Greek tidbits about ancient geography, Rufus Festus Avienius of Bolsena, as one of many savants taking an interest in the ancient Mediterranean world but sometimes it seems, more as a tourist than a real geographer.

All such references in turn were popularized in the 12th c. by Eustathius, Abp. of Thessalonica because of his interest in the Norman conquests in Greece, so their depiction of the ancient Mediterranean coast was known in the Middle Ages and presumably in Norman Tarragona, as pre-Roman made Roman, as if Hellenic and Hellenistic ancient history were but a prelude to the Roman Empire. Medieval map-making incorporated the historic with the fanciful in depictions of the western Mediterranean. More importantly, he attests that Normans in their medieval sea-quests relied on these ancient sources. This means that restorers were not entirely ignorant about ancient foundations in the region just because Romans paid so little attention to them; the Greeks were more discerning about their trade partners, and since they were not their exterminators, they had nothing to hide. Later arrivals might have thought these outlying villages and forts had always been dependencies on Tarraco rather than the other way around, so they would have simply accommodated them in their reconceptualization of the old *territorium* of Tarraco and their resettlement would have seemed naturally part of the restoration of greater Tarragona, i.e., the Tarragonès.

Avienius in his *Ora Maritima* (530 BC), often seen as a continuation of Dionysius Periegetes' epic description of the Mediterranean world, in verses 514-519 describes *Callipolis* briefly as an ancient Greek trade-colony which thrived in the vicinity of ancient Tarraco, indeed very near the fortress: *inde Tarraco oppidum*.[72] Verses continue to no. 522 which describe *Salauris* also. In making the *Tarrakon* mount into an *oppidum*, he may have been thinking of an administrative unit for Roman governance more than its original meaning of *ob-pedum* or enclosed pedestrian space, or like Julius Caesar used the term *oppida* for defensible Celtic sites in Gaul that developed into walled towns. So, it is unclear if such a reference was to the refuge fort on the hilltop or the lower town of *Cissis*, mistakenly called Tarraco from later association applied anachronistically to the Iberian settlement. The term came to mean something other than just hill-top forts, and more than clusters of undefended farmsteads, as

applied to fortified towns from the 2nd c. onward. The typology that developed in Classical Archaeology attempts to impose a greater definition on a term used more ambiguously in primary sources for early examples, and most types in modern classification are based on larger continental and insular rather than peninsular sites.[73] Avienius was writing in the 4th c. A.D., so long after the Hellenic phase of this Iberian coastal exploration that his perspective would have been imperial, that one wonders if he saw anything from the first-contact period as anything but Roman. If, as inferred, the initial embarkation were below the *Tarrakon* promontory near the Greek trading post, and this were already called Tarraco because of the rocky slope from the promontory and escarpment along the sea, one might think that the Romans had landed just above the Tulcis, at the fishing village outside *Kesse* as the polis *Kíσσα* identified by Polybius.[74] When for the amphibious debarkation the Romans probably used the Miraculum beach under cover of the escarpment, keeping their operation out of sight from where Punic scouts were located.

In any case, their immediate adoption of the *Tarrakon* name as their own suggests little immediate interaction with *Cissis*. Nor does it seem that the Romans had any settlement south of the estuary, although later they would use the *Salauris* harbor. Enough visited the southern settlements, however, for a lasting impression. *Callipolis* was an agreeable place near beaches suitable for bathing, which some have always thought must be the Mediterranean coastline, but a Roman bathhouse could have been stationed on the fresh-water Pine Lake, also a good fishing lake judging from the 3rd c. AD fish mosaic now in the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona from the Vila-seca district, assigned by MNAT curators to the villa of Callipolis itself.[75] where a great space had been enclosed by high walls to which merlins or thrush-like blackbirds flocked.[76] Its *moenia* were more than walls, but real ramparts. Ramparts were either wall and towers for a surrounding defense, but also connoted mound forts, which conjures up the same kind of hilltop forts built by the Iberians, except the wind-swept beaches and grasslands south of Salou are devoid of such geographic markers, but the Tulcis ridge supplied layered sandstone. In any case, one might assume these ramparts were more artificial. The Greeks had not built such extensive fortresses elsewhere when they colonized but had used nearby summits for refuges such as *Rhodes* for *Empurion* and *Tarrakon* for *Kesse*.

So, one wonders if these mound-forts were imitating Iberian hilltop forts. Or were they initially Punic bases with Greek colonies around them? Their walls are described as more formidable than those surrounding *Cissis*, which is why *Kesse* may be thought of as an extension of the better-established Greek colonies on the other side of the river. But *Cissis-Kesse* would grow at the expense of *Callipolis* and *Salauris* after the Punic War broke out, since it was closer to Roman protection from the *Tarrakon* summit, but initially the beaches and coastal strip in the lower Tulcissis were more inviting to the Greeks. The fresh-water lake and Tulcis stream made this district inviting, somewhat inland and initially better protected than settlements on the coast itself. Just as outside *Cissis* on the beaches, fishing huts and moorings most likely extended up and down the estuary. This is why searchers have always looked for this "lost city" below La Pineda and marshlands behind the elevation of Salou point. The lowland around the estuary may have been prone to flooding, which is why the Vila along this stretch of dryland was so named: Vila-seca. These ancient landmarks survived through the Middle Ages into the early-modern era, but not much afterward. The wonderland Disney-like theme park south of modern Tarragona sits close to if not on such ancient wonders, never found in its construction, and yet all around judging from these ancient sources. That would be understandable if much of the housing were log cabins using the local pines. One might have guessed the strip was like the modern tourist designation without much of a real city, but tenements and houses along a coastal road, and market squares, were it not for the designation of an *oppidum* there, perhaps two, with ramparts. These may have been refugee centers like that on the Tarrakon mount, not permanent towns at all, but reprieves from danger.

The problem, as with the confusion in other parts of this tour of the shoreline around the Mediterranean, is the vague chronological referent to the much earlier site, i.e., as if these sites all existed separately from Tarraco, even in the 4th c. when these are unattested by previous collaborating sources as distinctive sites. Yet obviously the references confirm much earlier pre-Tarracon foundations. Avienius also relates the location of the fresh or "sweet" water lake which existed into

the Middle Ages in the La Pineda area, obviously as it came to be called, as said, well-known for its pine trees. Remnants of some settlement pre-existed a Roman *villa* in the area, the ruins of which also survived into the Middle Ages.[77] Given this lack of physical clarity, it was thought that *Kesse* and *Callipolis* were the same Greek site, called something different in Roman sources than as named on coins minted there. This is clearly not the case in the description of Avienius: they are simply located near each other, i.e., on either side of the ancient Flumen Tulcis. Since the author clearly identifies this *oppidum* as something other than Tarraco itself, and *Cissis* / *Kesse* by then being incorporated into Tarraco, *Callipolis* was assuredly a different, nearby still-fortified site better associated with *Salauris*. That is plausible both as a Greek colony and a Roman fort, but Avienius compares its fortifications with both Tarraco and Barcino as if it too were a fortress-- or had once been so.[78] The reason for their mystery locations may be that they were destroyed by the Romans, demolished after repelling the Punic assault on *Cissis*, especially if used as a base of operations by the Carthaginians. Leveling the enemy's citadels after defeat by the Romans would not be the only time such vengeance was taken. Not surprisingly as Roman presence intensified, the Iberian settlement of the northern Ileraconi at Castellet de Banyoles above the Iber was abandoned, but less explainable is that the Cessetans seem to have also vacated El Vilar, unless this was because of the drainage of manpower to Tarraco.[79] In other places, Cossetan and Roman settlements co-existed through the Republican era. In other cases, the Cossetan population was so severely reduced that native sites simply constricted and disappeared; some were refounded, but others were not. Ironically, those not rebuilt left posterity the most complete archeological sites.

The Romans seem to have dismantled other major Iberian forts in their subjugation of the tribes, so one might well wonder at their leaving such a major fort intact, so close to Tarraco, as Salauris or Callipolis. Or did the Romans rebuild these forts and towers and use them for their own purposes until the Tarracon fortress was built-up and the populations shifted north to the other side of the estuary? If they remained, this would raise further speculation about a system of smaller forts around Tarraco which fell into disuse after the wars, but which created a precedent for how the medieval city would be protected by a ring of outlying castles. But in the early settlement, it is more likely that traders formed separate colonies across the Tulcis river to trade with the Cessetans and their kinfolk, the Cossetans to their north. They may have even formed a conjoined international Greco-Roman colony, which may have been a Greek exchange also with Carthage before the Punic Wars. That could justify speculation about the Punic encampment in this area, among old friends, before attacking the Romans at *Cissis*. That would explain why the Romans in their subjugation of the Iberians maintained garrisoned forts in the area, if the former enemy were just across the river.

The provocation for the Roman confrontation with the Carthaginians is always seen as the Punic siege and brutal takeover of Saguntum, but the threat posed by such an overt hostility against a Roman ally could not have been lost upon other Greeks in the Tulcissis region. In any case, the description of an *oppidum* by Avienius attests the need to have lived behind walls in both places, whether because of periodic tension in relations between the trade partners, or because both also needed protection against marauders from the sea. If the Cessetans of *Cissis* dominated the landscape except for these colonies of foreign merchants, it is from this Greek enclave of *Kesse* that the Romans would have had first contact. The move to the *Tarrakon* summit may have been to separate themselves from both the Iberians and Greeks given that intermittently around the Punic Wars Rome conducted wars as well against the Greek city-states and also took over *Massalia* as Marsalla in the West. Separate entities by ethnicity or language usage, but in proximity to each other, would have been typical, just as inside larger cities merchant communities and immigrants from one area tended to form their own neighborhoods. But the move uphill, to lord it over the Tulcis sites, in hindsight seems providential.

Ancient *Salauris* was generally more easily located later since its name survived through the Middle Ages into modern times as Salou, and its cape and harbor are so identifiable. It was the center for ship building in the Middle Ages, perhaps both a Muslim and Christian industry in the region that had developed much earlier in the Hellenistic period. *Salauris* was also better known than Callipolis because it was on the coast: sailors would mention ports, map the coastline, and seafarers need not

bother traveling inland. In all the ancient maps that have survived, maritime interests prevail, and the most accurate enumerations are coastal havens. *Salauris* is mentioned by Aulus Celsus and Titus Livy, who in relating information from Hispania about the Roman wars leading to the fall of Numantia, seem to think that *Salauris* was the Iberian fortress taken over by the Romans, which later under Hadrian the historian Lucius Anneaus Florus (ca. 74-130 AD) in his *Epitome* called *Salondicus*.[80] Its etymology, apart from its Romance derivative being misconstrued as Salou from *ipsa allod* referring to it as a freehold, has long been thought to be Greek referring to wind blowing-up waves -- befitting the scene from a cape. Avienius, as said, is the source for a brief description in his *Ora Maritima*, telling about the long stretches of beaches in the area which came up to the ancient fortification of *Salauris*, which like *Callipolis* he calls an *oppidum*.[81] Remnants of early Greco-Roman sculpture have been found in the area, such as a white marble male torso of athletic build, which some think depicts Hercules.[82] *Salauris* may also be documented in Greek coins from the Hellenistic era, which also mention Iltirta. The huge square tower of Salou, rebuilt as medieval, sits on Roman building blocks, which perhaps like the walls of Tarraco, have earlier foundations. But the exact location of the ancient town remains a mystery.

Other Iberian forts are identified in name only, Greek of course, then transliterated, such as *Lebedonica*, thought to have existed in the same region. *Saluvie* has been associated with Alfachs, and other possible sites of Celtiberian settlements, all small, have been suggested for along the barranç (a seasonal wash or gulley) of Barenys or later sites known for rebuilding as at Mas Calvó. *Silicernius* could be an antecedent to any one of the later Roman stops along the Via Augusta. Towers no longer extant are mentioned in various late medieval documents from the area (eg., as late as 1424), all unidentifiable now, thought to be under new construction or related to earlier developments at Vila-seca, Vinyols, Mas Ricart, and la Canonja that overbuilt ancient sites. Pons de Icart in his *Libro de las Grandezas de Tarragona* relying on Antonio de Nebrija's (Nebrisse) enumeration in 1499 of Spain's ancient mountains, rivers, and cities, records a certain *Barea* as another *oppidum* from Iberian times that became a Roman settlement.[83] Some speculate that this was the origins of the place-name Bara north of Tarraco, famous for its Roman triumphal arch, but the earliest 11th c. documentation for this site is Bera, not Bara; and Nebrija's enumeration of archaeological sites suggests that it lay to the south.[84] So it may relate to the beach named Barenys in the Middle Ages (Mas d'en Gran?). Regardless of the inexactitude in the identification of these Celt-Iberian sites, they were plentiful enough to suggest a considerable indigenous population south of Tarraco along the Via Augusta as it led down to Oleastrum, Tria Capita, and Dertosa.[85]

Few Iberian sites have been found in the highland passes between the Tarraconan plains and Ilerdan depression, where the Ilergets had settled twenty-four villages including the acropolis of Iltirda -- nearly as populous as the Laietans-- all the way to Osca where they intermingled with the Suessetans.[86] In the lower Iber valley the Ilercavons settled a dozen sites, perhaps also Iberia along the great river, but not Dertosa itself, but Ibericum closer to the river's mouth. Between Camarales and la Moleta del Remei sites, three necropoli have been found. Mid-river sites include La Serra de l'Espasa, el Coll de Moro, and Castellet de Banyoles near Tivissa. Five villages have been examined in the upland river valleys west of the Ebro, including Calaceite. El Castellet de Banyoles overlooking the Iber was so named because it appeared so well fortified. The need for such defense attests inter-tribal warfare and perhaps resistance to the Roman takeover of the inland territories. The so-called "treasure" of Tivissa, consisting of 3rd c. copperware, ornaments, and utensils, indicates the high standard of living achieved by people participating in trade between the Cessetans and Ilercavones while seeking the refuge of a remote site rather than on the coastal shelf or in a river valley. Such finds, and those further north, suggest a more advanced culture than previously known, and a progressive one snuffed-out by the Roman conquest. Wall construction and housing foundations in stonework reveal solid craftsmanship at such places as Indiketen Ullastret above Girona,[87] which suggest that an important site like *Cissis / Kesse* may have been much more developed before Roman contact than was ever conjectured before recent advances in Iberian archeology. Such finds as iron shovels, scythes, saws, axes, spears and fishhooks provide glimpses into a rural lifestyle that exploited nature more thoroughly and accounted for produce and trade goods more sophisticated than once

thought to be the case.[88] Remains of Iberian enclosures, gates, and housing complexes also reveal a level or workmanship with stone that suggests the labor for the initial building of Tarraco might have been Iberian conscripts, not Roman soldiers. The Roman contribution was not in muscle, but in engineering, support apparati, and transport, resulting in more massive construction.

The Iberian sites excavated thus far vary tremendously in size and configuration, and layouts conform to the natural geography, usually a defensible outcropping of some kind. More than a hundred sites have been uncovered, from garbage pits and isolated graves to treasury deposits and burial mounds, from primitive defenses to extensive fortifications and formidable walls, and from simple huts to sophisticated housing and nucleated villages.[89] Those built-over are less telling of the original inhabitants, and those abandoned are the most extant-- as if trapped in time. This means ironically that some of the most revealing evidence of their physical existence comes from their less successful or enduring sites. Successful sites and continued use destroy earlier evidence and overlays it with the more recent, including Roman over Iberian, both over Bronze Age remains, and so on, until all traces disappear. Only recently has the larger picture emerged of entwining defensive systems, more formidable for resisting the Romans than previously understood.[90]

One of the best preserved is Remolat del Remei, an Ilervacon hilltop site on an extension of the Serra de Montsía above the Rio Senía in the Dertosan borderlands with Valentina. Its shape conforms to the rocky hilltop, from which one can view a long stretch of the Mediterranean coastline from modern Alcanar toward Vinaròs. The layout is generally circular, with public space in the middle, and two main gates, one to approach from the highlands and the other for the downhill trail. This particular site had stone foundations with timber roofing and consisted of twenty to thirty modest one-room dwellings each with a fire pit, and doorway to an inner road going around the inner circumference of the village. In the center was a public space, a commons, giving rise to the traditional plaza or city square. Some were quarried down to produce a flatter floor, but most retain the natural contour of the surface rock with the removal of whatever earth there was. Earth may have been carried or swept into a small communal garden in the center of the village and outside on the ridge. The exterior walls of the housing formed the outer wall of the entire enclosure, which would have been built-up above the roof line so that defenders could get on their rooftops and take cover behind the upper walls, perhaps accessed with pole ladders from within their houses through sky-holes or staircases from the street. There may have been wooden shelters or guardhouses on the upper stories. Most stones were modest in size, with the largest boulders on the bottom, then blocks, and mere rockwork above -- similar except for scale to the different levels of the early walls at Tarraco. Quarried cut-blocks were Punic and Roman, not Iberian, so their appearance indicates external influence. What the Romans would retain was the Iberian use of natural defenses, trade centers, and their trailways.

Subsistence gardening, goat herding, fishing, and hunting sustained a simple way of life for an extended Iberian family or more forming tribal associations under a headman. These were small villages, ca. 50-150 people, which could have fielded a band of 20-50 warriors armed with skin shields, iron swords and metal-tipped spears.[91] Trade and lingual affinities combined groups of villages into regional alliances. Although primitive in socio-political evolution, they were exposed to Greek and Punic traders before the Romans and were changing rapidly under Hellenistic influence. The uphill location for security suggests the constant danger endured since other situations would have been far more easily accessible and closer to water and meadowland for grazing.

The abandonment of some sites may have been induced by the Roman occupation, especially in the forceful subjugation of anti-Roman alliances and rebellions, and in other cases by a peaceful migration as the Romans implemented a resettlement policy. The Tulcissis settlements were treated differently, it seems, in that they survived, were described by Roman sources as natural habitats from old times which existed still, and without much distinction between Cossetan or Cessetan origins and Greek trade colonies which were extensions from them, adjacent implants, and trading partners to mutual advantage. They, like the Phocaean Greeks themselves, would form a mixed populace that blended into an ever-growing homogeneity as these peoples became Romanized. Yet, such inclusion took two centuries. Tarraco in its earliest days was segregated by

gender and ethnicity: first it was a military foundation, and when women joined the settlement they would have lived outside the compound, which gave start to residential Tarraco in the area between the ramblas. Like the upstairs/downstairs syndrome of Beacon Hill, Downton Abbey, or any other aristocratic establishment, the ethnic integration would have been for domestic help, not full membership in the Roman family. Given militarism, the only ethnic component to be completely ostracized was Punic unless included in the slave and servile classes. Carthaginians were forced out during the Second Punic War, and their contributions unrecognized – indeed, unspoken in Latin sources. Afterward there were prisoners of war, Punic and Iberian allies, and the *Tarrakon* summit would have had a prison colony for forced labor. Called Roman after who was in charge, but those mighty walls were very likely built by conscripted and enslaved labor of Celt-Iberians just like their Iberian foundations. The kind of intramural housing for these labor camps would not have been kept; and military barracks, if they were of the type on the upper *limites*, were more substantial long houses, and they could have provided some reusable building stone and rubble for the extension of the walls. The fate of Mauri traders is likewise unknown. They might have found accommodations among the Greeks and formed part of the international community. The local native tribesmen did not depart, apparently, but survived first a foederates and then blended in as plebeians the Latin elements overtook them and citizenship was extended. They would disappear, nevertheless.



Fig. 3. The Ilercavon Moleta del Remei: An aerial shot of an Iberian hilltop fortified poblat / habitation (7th - 2nd c. BC) south of the Iber, isolated enough to be preserved without overbuilding in the Sierra de Montsia overlooking Alcañar and the Mediterranean 3.8 kms. away. It is a primary example of survivals of remote Iberian poblats that existed since the Iron Age. This crowed village contained 300-400 Iberians, and had outlying agricultural plots, springs, and buildings all around the settlement. Row-houses formed a semi-circle around a communal courtyard. The backsides of houses arranged in a circle formed the outer defense wall, with the roofs served as platforms for defenders; it had a main guarded gate, a secondary one for an escape route, and the mount itself provided protection like an *oppidum*. It served as a refuge for the coastal settlement, and would have had features resembling those of Iberian poblats elsewhere, e.g., *Cissis*. The archaeological site is now a tourist attraction with a rebuilt free-standing model (below) of a typical Iberian house based on these ruins. Alcañar today holds an annual Tyrika Festival Iber with costumed re-enactments, arts and crafts, and storytelling. The site was opened to visiters in 1998 and has become iconic for Iberian culture. Credit: Grup de Recerca en Arqueología Protohistòrica (GRAP, 1980s-) at the Universitat de Barcelona with photos on its webage, and the Generalitat de Catalunya Dept. de Cultura, etc., *Creative Comons* and *Wikimedia*.

Thus a hypothesis may be projected: a quadruple resettlement pattern would have emerged, eventually blending into a bifurcated city, upper and lower; but before the terracing and redesign of Tarraco, these distinct sections would have been (1) the military compound on the *Tarrakon* summit; (2) a Roman residential district below, where the slope leveled to form a shelf that would be demarcated later by the two ramblas over the two earlier east-west roadways to the cliffs; below the

outermost road was a gentle slope, sparsely occupied along the upward trails (3) the lower west city, with old *Cissis* as its oblong core, kept separate as a Cessetan federated entity, laid out west to east from farms to the trade district; and (4) the lower east city of *Kesse* adjacent to *Cissis*, from the landing to the embankment, and up the more aggressive slope that was likewise sparsely occupied in the early years until overtaken by tenements, which would comprise an international district with Greeks the main stakeholders.

The traditional upper vs. lower city dichotomy of Tarraco in its heyday may be treated separately in its early years, Roman and non-Roman, by first considering the pre- and long-time non-Roman lower settlements. Those signs of distinctly Roman elements in the lower section may be taken as indications of ever stronger Romanization after the 2nd c., with Greco-Roman transitional suggestions beforehand, and the eventual disappearance of anything particularly Iberian by the end of the Republic. The late Republic building program not only remodeled the urban landscape, but it also created a new socio-economic hybrid that became imperial Tarraco by the time Rome had its first emperors.

1.2.2. Cissis and Kesse: Trading Partners

Consider first the Iberian settlement of *Cissis* / *Κίσσαν* and its transformation under Hellenic influence from adjacent *Kesse*, a Phocaean Greek foundation and international trade colony. *Cissis*, presumably just a fishing and farm village at first merely wood huts, was founded as early as the late 6th c. BC a little way up from its flood-prone Tulcis river and marshy estuary, and discreetly away from the accident-prone beachhead. The actual size of the enclosed town is conjectural since only part of the site has been exposed by Archaeology, and its surviving footprint would be later, from the 5th c., extended in the 4th c. and solidified in the 3rd c. It could have been larger than fortified hilltop villages which were more confined by their natural setting, with growth before it became known to history ca. 330 BC Its location on flatter land allowed for more sprawl, possibly with outliers along the main east-west route inland. As its coastal trade developed, it became more prosperous and larger than most Celtiberian settlements. It probably had an internal social space as did most settlements, and the outer ring of stone houses formed the formidable walls, with the upper story serving both as outdoor living space under wood-frame reed-covered canopies and a raised defense platform. Inner houses could have had A-frame thatched marsh-grass roofs over sleeping lofts, and each family would have had an outdoor cooking pit and seating area past their front door. As the village grew into a town, uninhibited by the limited space of a mounting-top position, the place might have been enlarged by adding outer rings, although its layout was not so circular as determined by hilltop sites. The town faced the beach. Sprawl could have been along the main road parallel to the river. Even so, its population would have been no more than 500-1000 people -- a large village for Iberian standards, but nothing on the scale of Roman cities. Suburban growth could have been largely non-Cessetan, and it is the non-Iberian adjacency that may be seen as *Kesse* -- same name which may be thought of as a new town, different language, and presumably different, non-Iberian peoples: Carthaginians, Mauri, and Greeks, perhaps Gauls, but not Romans.

Early coinage contains the legend *TIKOSE*, combining the Iberic "*Ti*" with "*Kose*" for a Cossetan settlement.[92] Most think that refers to ancient *Cissis*, with a variant orthography as the audio was transposed through Greek to Latin letters. That is the same identification convention as in the "*T*" before *Cissis* in naming their river, and the resulting "*Tul-* "may have referred to the crossing. It could also be a tribal referent, hence territorial, rather than to the trade center and chieftain's headquarters. Others have Iberic syllabic inscriptions with less influence from Greek letters. The prowess of Cossetan warriors is depicted on some surviving coins, one of which shows a mounted warrior wearing no armor but a head-dress, leggings, and ankle-tied sandals, carrying a bow; on a spirited but harnessed horse controlled by knotted reigns whose curled tail is partially wrapped and tied-up and out and his mane is braided.[93] In other cases showing more Hellenized Cossetans, they appear as the Romans perceived them as allies in the Punic Wars.

The Cessetan town's location has been verified by excavations after 1979 of Iberian houses from the 2nd c. BC along the Carrer Caputxins west of the Roman forum that presumably developed in the former's business district.[94] The district was explored from then through 1985 under the streets of Mallorca, Gasòmetre, Sevilla, Eivissa, Caputxins, Zamenhoff, Pere Martell, and Soler, and along that of Jaume I, which allowed estimation of a presumably enclosed core site 8-9 ha.; but very likely larger with extramural buildings along the landing. These sites explored in 2005 seem to be different, more commercial than residential, and suggest an international habitation more than the concentrated and distinctively Cossetan town close by. The exact tracery of the circumscribing town wall is unknown, but it is unlikely that it extended around the trading post and Greek colony to the east. A wall segment separating the two would be the clearest indication of the difference between *Cissis* and *Kesse.* Parts survived into the 16th c., but Pons d'Icart did not understand the significance of the remnant, nor piece together whatever could be seen because he thought they were much later and Roman constructions from some rural enclosure. In his day the Roman walls that would have enclosed the lower city were no longer extant, but they might have reused material from the Iberian walls. The ancient walls protecting the backside of the *Tarrakon* heights had yet to be extended downward, and they too might have reused wall materials from an enclosure as around *Cissis* for the hilltop fort; the southern flank could have been opened up when the two arms were elongated by the Romans to take in the whole summit. There is no indication that Cessetan walls extended upward along the slopes or incorporated *Kesse* to the east.

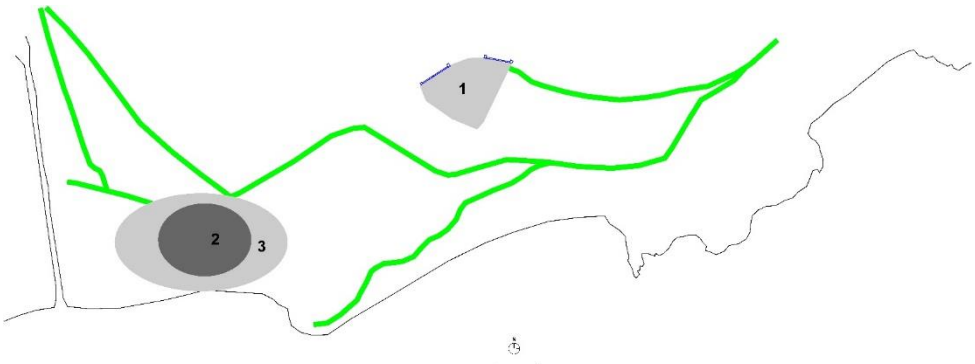
So, it appears as if three distinct areas developed by the outbreak of the Second Punic War: the walled Cessetan town, an extramural Hellenic trading post, and the *oppidum* or hilltop fort taken over by the Romans.[95] Then there were another three fortified settlements on the other side of the river, possibly four. The Greco-Iberian Tulcissis would have been a well-fortified, impressive district when the Romans intervened. The combined layout provides ample reason why Rome choose it for its stand against Carthage. It would have seemed as if Tarraco were already the capital of Iberia; no other district had such a cluster of *oppida*. When the Romans discovered that the Iberians had no such cohesion but constituted only a loose tribal federation, they would make Tarraco what they thought it should have been for the Iberians had they been as politically astute as they. Rome's own ancient history doubtlessly pointed the way. It were as if the seven hills of pre-unification Rome in Italia needed unification in Iberia, at Tarraco -- surely providential setting for a new Rome.[96] History then could be made to repeat itself too.



Fig. 4. Iberian falcates or corroded iron short swords in the Museu de Prehistòria of Valencia. Credit: Dorieo (2008) in "Iberians" histo.cat and Wikipedia



Fig. 5. Roman-Iberian Assarius (right, 2nd c. BC), descendant of the *aes rude* replacing Greek currency, in the same stamping as later drachmas dating before the standarization of the denarius, from *Kesse* with an Iberian chieftain portrayed on the front with his Roman-styled haircut. On the reverse he is mounted on his horse carrying a palm branch as a sign of peace instead of the usual spear, riding bareback with reigns worn off but showing a bridled horse. The inscription *CSI* is for *Cissis*. This coin was for sale in 2019 at 125E / $155 and *Kesse* coins appear regularly on eBay. Credit. Jesús Vico S.A.(Madrid) online Sales Catalog. The second image (left) also shows an **Iberian warrior** dismounting with spear in hand in pottery discovered at La Serreta in Alcoy, Alicante province, at contestania.com and in *Wikipedia Commons*. These underscore the importance of horse breeding for Iberian chieftains as also depicted in the relief "Lord of the Horses" from Villaricos (Almeria) in the NMAC Barcelona.



Map 2. *Cissis* and *Kesse* inside lower Tarraco (3-2 c. BC). *Cissis* lay in the Tulcissis cradleland (2), between the Tulcis river and the inland *Tarrakon* slope on a small river plain and Phocaean Greek *Kesse* (3) adjacent on the seaside south of the escarpment, both along a coastal rise ca. 20-25 m. above sea-level. The main river road used later by the Romans and which has sections extant, paralleled the beachline which ran considerably inland from the modern port, to a ford and around the marshland to the settlements on the other side.

An inland trail ran uphill past the refuge to Catllar and other settlements in the Cossetan territory (the Penedès region). The Phocaean trading-post and colony would have been an extramural suburb connected to the top by a trail up one ravine, with a coastal trail under the cliffs leading to the beachhead under the fort. The *Tarrakon* refuge walls (1) curved around the upper elevation above a wash to the northeast, protecting the complex from rear-attacks from the hills in the hinterland. See maps by : P. Jones, UNCC Cartographic Lab. Credit: MHT / J. Menchon (2020), fig. 26c.

Different kinds of construction at different times have allowed archeologists to date the earliest construction to the 5th c. BC, and black-textured ceramic finds have been dated to the 4th c.. It was then that traces appear of cultural fusion between Hellenic and native elements. Amphora pieces, for example, show a transition to different storage devices and imports. A few fragments seem to be Punic in origin. Such mixture continues into the 3rd c. when its growth was most prolific with its increased maritime trade The picture is incomplete and is blurred by cross-cultural development in the later period, recall in Latin sources from much later when it was assumed to have been Hellenized and then Romanized, and then the absorption of *Cissis* and *Kesse* into lower Tarraco, overbuilding, and then disappearance of any separate Cossetan entity. The Roman viewpoint, as in Livy, is retrospective, without much understanding of indigenous culture without Hellenic influence; and mentions of it are incidental to other observations, without much real intrinsic interest in Iberian culture. By the time these passing references were written *Cissis* had been a Roman ally for nearly two centuries, and it had no recorded history to pass along. The only serial record apart from the frugal archeological remains, are its coinage issues, presumably its own, but showing progressive Hellenic influence.[97]

Of course, the whole site has not been recovered, since so much lays under buildings – not just modern, but Roman overbuilding too. Moreover, remnants of the ancient walls show its one-time limits, but other extramural finds in 2004-05 indicate expansion beyond the walls such as a separate fishing village along Vapor street where the housing resembles huts in irregular fashion. There is no evidence of abandonment but rather absorption into the new Roman entity which built around it, perhaps adding onto *Kesse* as the Phocaean Greeks did.[98] The Cessetan enclave would have had defensive walls like other Iberian sites, but its gates were open to traders during daytime while at peace, and hence it would have been subjected to more intensive Hellenistic influence than more remote sites. No Roman source mentions hostilities there against the locales, only from invading Carthaginians; nor any rebellion by *Cissis* against the new Roman authority. The situation was different in the hinterland.

Little differentiation has been detected before the late 2nd c. BC when Tarraco continued to grow and the other sites did not. But such urban growth was not simply one site growing at the expense of the others, but an incorporation of villages under the umbrella of an ascendant military order. Tarraco from the Greek *Tarrakon* first referred to the hilltop fort of the Cessetans, which was not really a settlement as such. This came to be applied to the conglomerate of villages below: *Cissis* and adjacent *Kesse* where the Greek trading post was; and possibly two fishing villages on the beaches north and south of the escarpment that reaches the sea. These may have been occupied only seasonally. Their wood structures have left no trace, but can be inferred from the fishing activities, the sheltered beaches along an otherwise rocky shoreline, and traffic patterns along trails suggested by the terrain. Other lean-to structures might have been scattered along the embankments above the Tulcis, or above any of the deep ravines, any barranç of the many that ran down to the river. But the outskirts remain hypothetical.

Tarraco emerged as an upper Roman fortress and a lower residential town that became increasingly mixed in population, perhaps as ethnic neighborhoods, but not necessarily with a Latin presence in the Greco-Cossetan district. The Roman business forum that replaced the trade centers below the fortress was late in construction, so does not indicate that the Romans themselves mixed with the indigenous population or Phocaean Greeks. This might have been because of former Punic interaction at the trading post. Nor was there immediate Roman colonization in the Greco-Punic-

Iberian complex south of the Tulcis. The earliest Roman presence around Tarraco did not result in a large Italic settlement of the Camp, but strong continuity there with earlier habitation until the imperial period, i.e., no evidence or major dislocation. Roman trading may have been handled by their Phocaean Greek allies, and if Romans were present in the trading post, until there was military intervention the locales probably did not know the difference between them.

The ethnic segregation would continue after the Punic intervention at *Cissis* when the complex's population probably underwent a resettlement process. Very likely a Roman guard was stationed at *Kesse* after rebuff of the Punic intervention, and when Cossetan fortifications were modified in a Roman takeover -- a dismantling of some defenses and repurposing of them as Roman watchtowers and guard stations. This would have resulted from Roman mistrust of lingering influence among the Iberians of the Punic federation, the need to protect commercial interests as those of *Massalia* became increasingly Greco-Roman, and the beachhead was used for an increasing mass of Roman supplies with attendant warehousing, transportation and livery development, and other demands that outstripped Cossetan capacity to supply major military campaigns from the local farms. Then Italic colonization would have increased, with the parallel development of the Roman city and its *territorium* stretching into the Camp as evidenced by extensive surface archeology in 1995. Native and Romanized farmsteads existed together from the 2nd c. onward, with an estimated 3,300 individual habitations overall in the city's enlarged *territorium*.[99] By the 1st c. the total population would perhaps have crested slightly above 50,000, natives and immigrants combined, i.e., Hispano-Romans all. This sprawl covered the Cossetan habitat. Even if the town were once a federate and recognized as such and therefore a separate entity, it would be surrounded and incorporated into Tarraco.

The temporary separate status of *Cissis* may be suggested indirectly in the case of Cato's exile from Rome, when he took up residence in Tarraco or its environs. If he were officially exiled, he may not have been able to be in Tarraco proper but could have resided in the lower city if it were considered separate from the Roman city as such. Even then, however, it would have been like a barrio, where the old Iberian heritage was recognized along with some privileges of semi-autonomy. Its walls came down, Roman walls went up, and the whole place became part of Tarraco. *Cissis* was no more. Nor did the sub-Tulcis *oppida* remain as other than monuments of a pre-Roman past. Traders and tradesmen moved into the lower city of Tarraco, and the coastal strip below reverted back to summer houses, *villae* and fishing villages. Garrisoned guardhouses and lookouts remained, but nothing of the old ramparts. By Late-Antiquity, Roman Salauris was already turning into medieval Salou.

The settlement patters north and south of Tulcis river differ, in that *Cissis* was laid out in an oblong enclosure and extramural extensions east to west, from the landing above the estuary, to where the river could be crossed on its rocky bottom. The ford would later be converted to a Roman bridge, upstream from the Cossetan settlement. Its orientation toward the river suggests its inland connections. Moreover, the site was set-off from the other Tulcissis settlements, none of which were the more typical fortified hill-top locations. These were more settled, agrarian habitations with outlying fishing villages, and hence more of a complex than a single enclosure. The settlements on the other side of the Tulcis were strung-out along the coastline, set inland rather than the beaches themselves where fishing villages would also have remained close to the sea. In both cases, the more permanent sites away from the beaches were more stable and elaborate stone constructions than the fisherman huts traceable only outside *Cissis*. The coastal trail from the Tulcis crossing probably extended all the way down, but it is thought Cossetan territorial dominion ran only so far, to the same limits that would set the boundaries for Tarraco north of the Coll de Balaguer. Some mountain sites like Tivissa further south and up the ravines to high country, were different from the Cossetan beach settlements, and the relationships between them remain unclear.

The trail north from *Cissis* to the coast had to bypass the *Tarrakon* promontory and escarpment, and the rocky crags that jutted to the sea probably left no room for a single-file foot-trail around this barrier. This might have connected fishing villages along the Tulcis estuary with the Miraculum cove, but the terrain was forever altered by dynamiting an earth-filled platform for the railway around the escarpment to the port district. The *Tarrakon* refuge and fort would have protected