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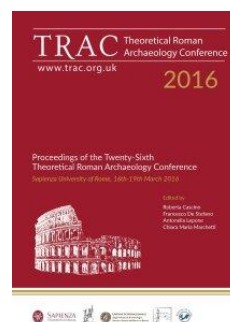www.trac.org.uk

Co–producing 'Place' and 'Identity' in the Upper Durius Valley

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Introduction

In response to the leading campaign slogan 'Londoners first' from the 2016 London Mayoral Elections, the BBC asked '[W]hat is a Londoner?' (Webber 2016). Their research drew heavily on the concepts of place and identity. One perception centred on experiential definitions and the notion of 'place of birth': '[U]nless you were born here, and raised here, and have seen the changes in London from the 1980s at least, then no, you're not a Londoner.' For this individual, being a 'Londoner' was likewise bound up phenomenologically with the memories evoked by moving through different parts of the city. Another relied on a 'sense of belonging': '[I]f I go away the idea of 'returning' always means returning to London… the town has become my base.' The article also emphasised the importance of knowing how the layout and appearance of London shapes and reflects the activities of its inhabitants. Shared attitudes were therefore perceived as an essential component of being a 'Londoner'.

Fundamentally, all responses connected individual identities with London's physical built environment. However, they extend beyond highlighting a simplistic connection between who the individuals consider themselves to be, and the space London occupies and embodies. Through the activities, shared experiences, memories and attitudes of its inhabitants, London has been transformed into a place imbued with connotative meaning. This meaning moves London from a mere physical setting to a populated or social entity; it becomes a membership group of people, meaning and location. When attachment to a specific place like this develops, individuals are able to draw simultaneously on both physical and social references to self–identify, and to calibrate their own experiences against those of their forbears who occupied the same landscape.

When observing the ancient world, community identity materialises in expressions of collective belonging to or shared identification with a group of individuals wider than the family or other social categories. This sort of social meaning and behaviour is both embedded in and revealed by features of the built environment including urban structures, the layout of buildings, and the objects within. Population centres including Clunia and Segontia Lanca in the Upper Durius Valley (the modern Duero) in Central Spain reveal some of the ways in which specific ancient communities chose to organise themselves for collective living. By examining data from these settlements from a place–identity perspective, we might witness the expression and continual renegotiation of place and identity within fundamentally voice-

less ancient communities. In particular, we can consider how far expressions of community identity and the meaning behind place were bound to precise locations in Central Spain from approximately the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. This then allows for some wider reflections on the relationship between identity and place.

Place–Identity

In 1983, the environmental and social psychologists Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff conceptualised the individual's incorporation of place into the concept of self. They argued that 'the development of self–identity is not restricted to making distinctions between oneself and significant others, but extends with no less importance to the very spaces and places in which they are found' (Proshansky *et al*. 1983: 57). For them, place–identity consisted of the 'memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and relating feelings' generated by routine experiences of physical spaces (Proshansky *et al*. 1983: 60). Most significantly, place was considered an important facet or sub–structure of all aspects of identity.

Place is often associated with a specific group of people and a certain lifestyle. Physical locations contain symbols – place features – that remind us of personal and social histories and memories (Hull *et al*. 1994), as we saw with the definitions of 'Londoner' above. As such, place can be defined as a social entity or 'membership group' that provides identity (Twigger–Ross *et al*. 2003). Ultimately, place and identity are notionally co–produced as individuals come to identify with the physical settings they inhabit. Both are likewise continually renegotiated across time as human activities are invariably shaped by the environment, and as humankind transform their environment, creating new histories and memories through daily activities.

Breakwell consequently theorised that unfamiliar spatial environments might affect identity (Twigger–Ross *et al*. 2003). Speller, Lyons and Twigger–Ross drew on Breakwell's theory to explore the relationship between spatial change and identity processes in the context of the relocation of a traditional English coal–mining community: Arkwright in Derbyshire (Speller *et al*. 2002). The study showed that a change of place can alter the relative importance of various elements of identity, and particularly those reinforced by the previous location. At Arkwright, the breakdown of the mining industry had already had both an attenuating and accentuating impact on local identities. Coupled with the relocation of the village, a powerful sense of dislocation and discontinuity emerged.

In the Upper Durius Valley there are similar examples of settlement relocations in the context of the major cultural shift represented by the establishment of Roman power in the region. Clunia and Segontia Lanca share with Arkwright the specific characteristic of a shift in location. Segontia was relocated twice, and yet elements of community identity persisted across the new sites, including the original toponym and certain urban features. Clunia underwent a similar relocation process, and its pre–Roman toponym was also upheld, albeit in a fully Latinised form. Material culture likewise demonstrates some preservation of pre–Roman modes of expression. However, substantial differences in the physical appearance of Clunia and the emergence of new forms of material culture suggest several aspects of identity were either lost or adapted. Crucially, the effect of a spatial change was different in each case, allowing for an exploration of contrasting case–studies.

The retention of a place–name despite the relocation of a settlement reflects a persistent ambiguity in the use of toponyms in the ancient world. Classical Greece, for instance, provides examples of individuals fervently arguing that communities, and thus their names, are in reality people, not physical places (Clarke Kosak 2000: 41–45). Famously, Thucydides (7.77.7) stated 'it is men who make the city, and not walls or ships with no men inside them.' Yet countless common usages suggest toponyms are in fact usually taken to apply to physical settlements. Exploring cases where settlements actually move and retain their toponyms affords further insight into this issue.

The Upper Durius Valley

The Upper Durius lies in the North–East of Spain's central plateau, the *Meseta*. The landscape and climate provided rich pastures suitable for livestock rearing, while cereal farming on river plains and the hunting of game in dense woodlands were equally important activities (Curchin 2004: 4–8; Burillo Mozota 2007: 281–300; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 224–225). By the second century B.C. several population centres and settlement systems had been established, ahead of any persistent Roman military presence. Often located on defensible hilltops, these nuclei are typically identified as developments of Iron Age hillforts or *castros* (Romero Carcinero 1991; Almagro–Gorbea 1995; Curchin 2004: 72–76).

Before the reorganisation of the peninsula into *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*, and associated changes to the Roman command structure in 197 B.C., the inhabitants of the Upper Durius were neither within Roman–occupied territory nor under any political obligations to Rome. From Cato's purported march to the headwaters of the Durius in 195 B.C., a sequence of commanders made inroads into the region, until Scipio Aemilianus destroyed the settlement of Numantia in 133 B.C. (Curchin 1991: 29–39; Richardson 1996: 52–82; Burillo Mozota 2007: 270–276, 280–282, 300–308). Uprisings followed in the late 100s and early 90s B.C. (Curchin 1991: 40–42). Local communities were likewise involved on both sides of the Sertorian War. Sertorius, whose generals were defeated beside the Durius at Segontia Lanca in 77 B.C., was besieged in Clunia in 76–5 B.C. before the latter capitulated in 72 B.C. (Richardson 1996: 95–104; Curchin 2004: 45–46).

The region remained a frontier zone until the late Augustan era when conquered territories were subsumed into the existing provinces. The *Hispaniae* were subdivided under either Augustus or Tiberius into *conventus*, administrative districts under the management of the provincial governor (Curchin 1991: 57–60; Curchin 2004: 54–57). By the Flavian era Clunia was well–established as the *conventus* capital of the Middle and Upper Durius. As such, Clunia held a leading regional economic, judicial and religious role through the provincial governor, their staff and the *conventus concilium*.

Case Study 1: Clunia

Clunia was originally situated near Peñalba de Castro, 15–20 km north of the Durius beside its tributary, the Arandilla. From the third century B.C., Clunia possessed the typical characteristics of a defensive hilltop settlement. Evidence of adobe structures, a settlement wall,

and pre–Roman ceramics are spread across the area (Palol 1969; Sacristán de Lama 2005; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 242). Fortifications declare the significance this location held for its inhabitants, that it was worth defending, and was intended to endure. Although fragmented, the remains are indicative of economic investment, high–level social organisation, and illustrate a burgeoning community identity group connected with a specific place.

Coins bearing the settlement toponym represent a significant expression of community identity and the meaning invested in Clunia's built environment. *Denarii* with CoLOUNIO-Cu/*kolounioku* in Celtiberian script from the late second to the mid–first century B.C. were found concentrated around Clunia (Álvarez Burgos 1987: 108). The local legend, 'of Clunia', ostensibly refers to the settlement, but also reflects some understanding of Clunia as a social entity, reflecting the general ambiguity of such toponyms in the ancient world. Given that vocabulary plainly referring to the people of Clunia (*Clunienses*) emerges later, the toponym's primary purpose was perhaps to refer to the physical place. Ultimately, this use of the toponym suggests a strong interest in raising the profile of the settlement, its people, and their collective identity. The inhabitants evidently had a name for their settlement and/or their community that they wished to be known and to which they felt a clear sense of belonging.

The coin images remind us to think of Clunia as a populated place. The obverse typically portrays a curly–haired male facing right, often wearing a metal torque. These items of personal adornment found throughout necropoleis in the region should be associated with expressions of wealth and prestige (Jimeno Martínez *et al.* 2002: 46; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 225). A horse rider facing right carrying a spear is also usually depicted on the reverse above the toponym. The widespread appearance of rider coinage had a long history alongside other equestrian iconography, which eventually came to idealise the identity of a prevalent equestrian elite class (Almagro–Gorbea 1998; Burillo Mozota 2007: 284). The images on the Clunia rider coins suggest the minting process was initiated by members of this identity group, who possessed the status and access to the necessary resources and expertise to commission a new medium for expressing a robust community identity. These individuals were likely intending to enhance their own prestige by enhancing that of their community.

The appearance of locally–minted coins compares well with Roman Republican coinage, suggesting local imitation of Roman emissions. The mounted rider is sometimes thought to be an imitation of Roman Dioscuri coinage (Curchin 2004: 151–153). Coins may have been intended to fund matters arising from war and confrontation, particularly in view of the fact that coinage appears in the Upper Durius precisely when the Romans were becoming a noticeable presence. The minting of *denarii* certainly highlights an awareness of Roman coinage systems. Yet, despite the historical context, we cannot be certain whether these coins were linked to Roman exactions, were planned as a symbol of resistance to Rome, or were intended to demonstrate the local, pre–Roman roots of the community. Freedom to mint in Celtiberian script is undoubtedly an important indication of local influence on the process. Nonetheless, there is an obvious paradox here since locals were potentially using Roman ideas (coins) and iconography (their designs) to express local community identity and sense of place. On balance, this coinage is undeniably one of the strongest mechanisms for expressing Clunia's community identity, high–level social organisation, and sense of place.

From the mid–first century B.C., Clunia minted *asses* according to Roman weight standards and bearing the same local toponym transliterated from Celtiberian to Roman script: CLOVNIOQ, 'of Clunia' (Álvarez Burgos 1987: 108; Burnett *et al.* 1992; Curchin 2004: 153–155). This seems like a demonstration of community identity in a way that would underline a particular affiliation to Rome, or at least facilitate exchange by more closely mirroring Roman coinage. This may have more to do with the status of the community, however, or the spread of Latin amongst its elite, indicating a new way of advertising and maintaining elite power and status, and, by extension, that of their community, through the ability to write in Latin. The evolving legend and weight may reflect changes to the community's identity after the upheaval of the Sertorian War, which led eventually to the decline of the settlement (Sacristán de Lama 2005: 183; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 242). Nevertheless, the persistence of the toponym perhaps reveals a decision to emphasise the persistence of the community's pre–Roman identity through a familiar sense of belonging to a particular place and membership group, despite being brought under Rome's political control.

The images similarly recall those of the earlier emissions, and the significance associated with them. Yet in this series the dolphin also appears. As with other images, the dolphin likely held some symbolic meaning for Clunia's community, but might be more directly linked to images of dolphins from Mediterranean iconography (Curchin 1994: 53). However, the dolphin, male head and mounted rider also appear on coins from Uxama and Arekorata, two neighbouring urban centres (Álvarez Burgos 1987: 33–35, 282). This is substantial evidence of an expression of shared identity and conceivably some sort of expression of place that extended beyond one physical location to unite several groups in a regional sense of community.

During the Augustan and/or Tiberian era, pre–Roman Clunia was superseded by a new, larger urban centre on a hilltop roughly 2 km away on the opposite side of the Arandilla. Despite a decline after the Sertorian War, it is likely that the local community largely remained intact and drove these changes. Clunia was doubtless soon established as a *municipium*, and certainly a *colonia* and *conventus* capital by Hadrian's reign (Curchin 2004: 71–72; Nuñez Hernández and Curchin 2007: 480). As such, Clunia held the highest status over both the most proximate secondary settlements and other regional urban centres, a position reinforced by its 130–hectare surface area (Palol 1991: 361–362). A change in legal status both allowed and required an increasingly monumental Roman–style appearance, a process made possible by the relocation to a larger, flatter hilltop. Clunia thus contrasts strikingly with other regional pre–Roman settlements which were merely adapted post–conquest to encompass new, broadly Roman architecture. Regardless of insufficient data for precise dating, evidence of settlement walls at 'new' Clunia are indicative of the economic and political standing associated with its status as *conventus* capital (Nuñez Hernández and Curchin 2007: 485). Walls undoubtedly helped to convey *urbanitas* and a community's privileged status in Roman eyes as monuments in their own right, serving a symbolic or ornamental rather than military or defensive purpose (Laurence *et al*. 2011: 141). Here, walls again communicate a clear message concerning the identity of the community they surrounded and the sense of place associated with 'new' Clunia.
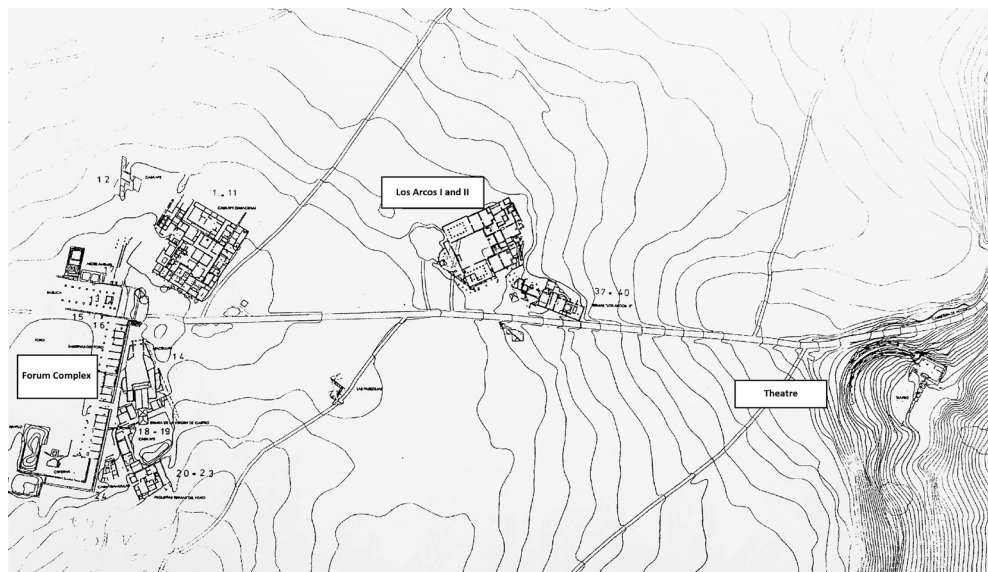
Figure 1: Plan of Clunia (after López Monteagudo et al. *1998, fig. 9).*

Several structures are especially indicative of changing activities at Clunia broadly associated with the Roman state that were now central to the community's identity. Fig. 1 shows a plan of Clunia, including the structures described forthwith. Firstly, Clunia housed the largest forum complex in the region. As the heart of the Roman urban model, the forum met Roman expectations of how urban communities function, providing central spaces for *negotium*, trade, local government, religious activities and social interaction (Laurence *et al*. 2011: 170–202). A temple to Jupiter dominated the complex, and a classically–arranged basilica stood opposite with a rear *curia*. *Tabernae* lined the square with two shrines likely dedicated to the imperial cult facing each other (Palol 1991; Nuñez Hernández and Curchin 2007: 481). The orientation and arrangement of houses beside the forum suggest its construction required the demolition of existing structures (Palol 1991: 170, 362; Palol and Guitart 2000: 234). Initial plans evidently did not include such a large complex, suggesting changing ideas about the appearance and layout of Clunia emerged within quite a short time–scale (a generation). Public architecture now held precedence over the domestic, and public activities were symbolically embedded at the heart of the settlement. Abundant marble and decorative architecture emphasised the significance of the area and expressed the wealth and status of the community (Palol 1991: 170, 387–389; Palol and Guitart 2000). Restructuring of this nature is important evidence of the embedding of new meaning in an existing location, demonstrating the continual renegotiation of place–identity at Clunia's core.

Importantly, there are strong similarities between Clunia's forum and structures in Rome (Gutiérrez Behemerid 2011), suggesting an experience of designing a complex that emulated Roman architecture. Roman–style public structures embedded centrally in Clunia's urban fabric, including imperial cult buildings, temples and municipal buildings associated

with the Roman state, should be conceptualised as place features connecting Clunia with imperial power and the Roman administration. In particular, the construction of imperial cult buildings might suggest that the religious and political ideology associated with the cult had acted as a catalyst for a demonstration of loyalty to the emperor by local officials and elites, who sought to associate the emperor with central public spaces. These structures brought Clunia's inhabitants into close contact with images of the imperial family, likely reminding them of their place within the Roman Empire.

The effect of juxtaposing religious and political structures at the heart of Clunia was surely intended to mirror Clunia's role as *conventus* capital, which established it as the regional administrative and religious centre. These structures doubtless affected the cognitive mapping of the urban landscape, and represented a shifting community identity and sense of place. The new legal status and place features in the forum certainly highlight the different, more significant regional meaning now associated with Clunia. Its inhabitants, through their daily activities around and within these public buildings and structures, were surely experiencing and reinforcing a particular manifestation of Roman urban ideology. As such, this central space is likely to have cemented the relationship between the lives and identities of local groups and the Roman administration. This undoubtedly had a stronger impact on elites involved in public activities associated with these place features. Indeed, Clunia was probably redeveloped as part of a programme connecting different emerging functional needs and local elite desire for the public promotion of Clunia to demonstrate their power and prestige. We might therefore see the elite as responsible for imposing their perception of Roman political ideologies on the wider community by restructuring the heart of the urban landscape. But we should not exclude members of other social categories from sharing the experiences of and contributing to the new meaning rooted in the forum.

Elsewhere, public baths not only signified Clunia's urban identity in Roman eyes, but also the adoption of changing practices across the community (Curchin 2004: 222–224; Laurence *et al*. 2011: 30, 203–204). The Los Arcos II baths were probably begun during the Tiberian period, and consisted of a *palaestra* or patio leading into an octagonal *apodyterium*, and then into hot and cold rooms. A larger, more monumental and richly–decorated complex, Los Arcos I, was erected nearby during the first–second centuries A.D., consisting of a pool and/or garden within a double, symmetrical complex (Palol 1991: 371–372; Nuñez Hernández and Curchin 2007: 484). *Thermae* of this scale and design constitute something quite different from small empire–wide *balnea*, which were often squeezed into any available plot (Laurence *et al*. 2011: 214–223). Clunia's *thermae* are far rarer and clearly demonstrate that members of the community had access to architects capable of building in a distinctly Roman style. For someone to have gone to these efforts suggests they were extremely keen to achieve the end result, and to outshine the previous complex. That may be a reflection of elites competing with previous generations to enhance status through civic euergetism. The doubling of facilities surely underlines the significance of bathing in the lives of Clunia's inhabitants, and emphasises the social meaning and behaviour embedded in and revealed by these structures.

Equally indicative of lifestyle changes are structures designed for broadly Roman forms of public entertainment, exemplified by Clunia's theatre. This is the largest and only securely

documented theatre in the Upper Durius, with a projected capacity of 9,000 (Palol 1991: 24–25, 325–339; Nuñez Hernández and Curchin 2007: 484). The theatre therefore stands as a greater signifier of the importance, or self–importance depending on the agency behind its construction, and distinctive status of Clunia than the more ubiquitous forum and baths.

Although Clunia did not move a substantial distance, its new status and physical appearance suggest significant changes to the community's identity which are perhaps mirrored by its evolving toponym. Despite recalling pre–Roman antecedents, the toponym now appears entirely Latinised. Furthermore, its broader range of uses and forms underscore both the meaning embedded in the new physical settlement and a strong sense of community identity. This is demonstrated by dedications to the *numen theatri* set up by *servus rei publicae Cluniensium*, and to the *Tutela Coloniae Cluniensium*, or guardian deity of the settlement and its people (Palol and Vilella 1987: nos. 21–22). The latter arguably personifies the *colonia* and projects an even sturdier and more significant sense of place associated with the new settlement, while *Clunienses* vocabulary denoting the people of Clunia promotes a more robust impression of community identity associated with its inhabitants. Clunia also produced Tiberian era coins with the fully Latinised 'CLVNIA' legend, ostensibly proclaiming a similar sense of place invested in the physical settlement as the legends on its pre–Roman coins (Álvarez Burgos 1987: 108–109; Palol 1991: 15; Burnett *et al*. 1992: 139). Countermarks of a bull, boar and boar's head found on large numbers of coins only at Clunia and pointedly absent from the pre–Roman coinage of the settlement again help to express the unique identity of this community in its current phase. Perhaps the economy was particularly based in livestock farming, or perhaps these animals served as symbols of strength and wealth. The coins similarly bear the names and titles of various city magistrates alongside the head of Tiberius, once more pointing to Clunia's new status and relationship with the central Roman administration.

The retained pre–Roman settlement toponym certainly in some way recalls the history and experiences of 'old' Clunia. However, the social entity and physical location that Clunia represents has changed. As I argued earlier, both place and identity are fluid concepts and represent dynamic processes. The spatial change, in combination with Clunia's new legal status, enabled these processes to develop. The community developed a fresh built environment embodying different activities and experiences, creating a new sense of place. Clearly, there is more to a community than its physical appearance and toponym. Yet even in terms of material culture, pre–Roman styles and traditions that were transferred to 'new' Clunia were effectively eclipsed by a burgeoning hybrid material culture which reflected a range of cultural influences, including, for instance, the decorative styles and visual motifs of the birds and hares pottery (Palol 1994: 131–133; Curchin 2004: 160–163).

On balance, the processes represented by this evidence endorses the observations from the Arkwright study. Aspects of community identity seem less likely to persist if location changes, particularly as new meaning and significance is embedded in a new spatial environment. Yet equally, at Clunia, evidence of aspects of identity or media for expressing identity reflecting pre–Roman traditions suggests some members of the community simultaneously sought ways of reinforcing facets of identification associated with the history of the settlement and its former location.

Case Study 2: Segontia Lanca

Segontia Lanca similarly underwent spatial changes that cast further light on the relationship between place, community identity and specific locations in this historic region. Until the late second century B.C., Segontia was located roughly 25 km from Clunia on a hill 4.5 km from the confluence of the Valdanzo and Durius rivers, overlooking the former. At approximately 21 hectares, it is typically described as a large, autonomous power centre (Martínez Caballero 2010: 149–153). The community began minting bronze and silver coins largely adhering to Roman weight standards in the second century B.C., before the Roman conquest. These emissions carried the Celtiberian toponym SEGoTiAS LAGaS/*sekotiaz–lakaz*, expressing the status, autonomy, sense of place and identity of the community, as with Clunia's coins (García–Bellido and Blázquez 2001: 30–31, 338–341; Martínez Caballero 2010: 144, 157–158). Again, the legend likely primarily referred to the physical settlement, but also implicitly to the people for whom the settlement was home. The coin images share similarities with the first series of emissions from Clunia and others from *Hispania Citerior*, once more suggesting some sense of a burgeoning regional identity, or at least connectivity between various communities, including the effectively neighbouring urban centres of Clunia and Segontia.

Material evidence and structural remains suggest that between 124 and 98 B.C. the original settlement was superseded by a new urban centre (Segontia Lanca II) approximately 6 km away on a hillock directly beside the Durius (Fig. 2) (Tabernero *et al.* 2005; Martínez Caballero 2010: 154–158; Martínez Caballero *et al.* 2012). The former site was either entirely idle or merely residually occupied throughout the first century B.C. (Martínez Caballero 2010: 152). Given its location, Segontia Lanca II was likely intended to form a new power base for exploiting the countryside of the Durius basin and controlling communication routes between the Upper and Middle valleys. Rome may have engineered the reorganisation to create a new *caput urbis* to manage the area, given the historical context of the period when the general Didius was active in quashing local rebellions (App. *Hisp.* 99.431–100.434; Martínez Caballero 2010: 154–156). Evidence of military equipment characteristic of both Roman and local forces advocates the creation of a heavily militarised town busy with joint contingents. Items related to Roman customs have also been found, including silver and Campanian wares, and wine amphorae in the basements of domestic structures, suggesting a local adoption of Roman practices (Tabernero *et al.* 2005: 203–204; Martínez Caballero 2010: 156; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 241).

This data recommends a vigorous Roman interference in the local settlement system. However, there is no guarantee that someone like Didius instigated the relocation, particularly given a recognised pattern in Central Spain of population centres transferring to the plains during the first century B.C. without direct Roman ordinances (Curchin 2004: 76–85). Nonetheless, this particular shift must have affected local identity in some way given the broadly Roman material recovered from Segontia Lanca II. In terms of its urban characteristics, however, this does not appear to be the case. The settlement contained domestic architecture strikingly similar to pre–Roman examples from elsewhere in the region, including houses adjoining the settlement wall, others cut into the rock, and some with underground storage basements (Tabernero *et al.* 2005; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 240–241). This is counter–intuitive

at a settlement where explicit Roman influence is in evidence, yet the character of the actual development does not match typical Roman models. The hilltop location likewise stands at odds with the phenomenon of relocating settlements to the plains, which generally reflects a change in priorities for post–conquest communities, ranking access to communications and agricultural land over the defensibility of elevated sites. Segontia Lanca II instead provides conclusive evidence of a new hilltop settlement with largely pre–Roman urban features, including a settlement wall indicating a clear sense of place, as we saw at 'old' Clunia.

Segontia Lanca II was also responsible for minting bronze and silver coins until the early first century B.C. These coins demonstrate a persistent, explicit expression of community identity that retained the SEGoTiAS LAGaS/*sekotiaz–lakaz* toponym and the imagery from the original pre–Roman emissions (Curchin 2004: 153–154; Martínez Caballero 2010: 157–158). The date and script of the final emissions suggest Segontia remained a largely autonomous centre before and after Didius' campaigns, retaining this expression of its local, pre–Roman identity through coinage minted to Roman weight standards, following the same trajectory as at Clunia. Yet on balance, in contrast to what occurred at Clunia, the identity of the community still seems to be largely reflective of that of its previous location, particularly through the retention of its pre–Roman urban characteristics. This is despite evidence of Roman military activity and broadly Roman material culture, which could as easily have belonged to Roman military contingents stationed there as to the local population.

A similar phenomenon was observed after the relocation of Arkwright in Derbyshire. Some residents attached a heightened sense of importance to the previous location, valuing aspects of identity which the former spatial environment had supported (Speller *et al*. 2002). New Arkwright's location was perceived as a threat to identity by some, whereas others saw the relocation and consequent breakdown of specific aspects of identity linked with Arkwright as an opportunity for individual distinctiveness and change. This is perhaps what was occurring at Segontia Lanca II in the context of Roman military activity in and around the settlement. The retention of pre–Roman aspects of identity suggests that identity and sense of place here was linked more with an understanding of the population as a social membership group partly represented by the toponym, rather than with a precise spatial location. The community generally seems to be purposefully recalling its previous sense of place and identity, while some seized the opportunity for change to explore new mechanisms for identity expression as the evidence of broadly Roman material culture suggests.

Segontia Lanca II was notionally either gradually or rapidly abandoned in the early first century A.D. in favour of three smaller nuclei, referred to collectively as Segontia Lanca III (Martínez Caballero 2010: 159–164). These three settlements, situated 7–15 km apart from one another, presided strategically over different vantage points. Two lay directly beside the Durius, enabling each to control important communication routes along the river, and presumably to oversee or simply to benefit from the exploitation of riverine resources (García Merino 1999; Heras Fernández 2000). *Terra sigillata* ceramics and Roman imperial period coins show that the third nucleus reoccupied the same site and followed the same scheme as Segontia Lanca I above the Valdanzo river (Tabernero *et al*. 2005: 204; Jimeno Martínez 2011: 241). This suggests the significance of the site had persisted despite the community's
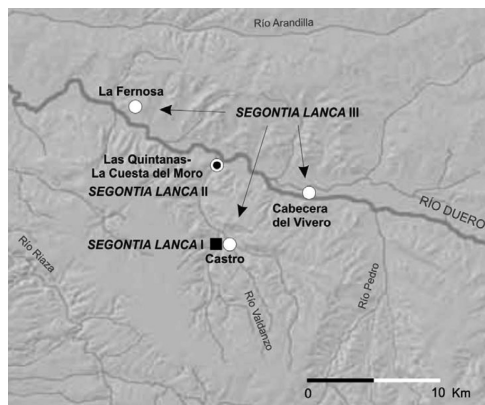
Figure 2: The locations of Segontia Lanca (after Martínez Caballero 2010, fig. 9).

relocation to Segontia Lanca II. Figure 2 shows the various locations of Segontia Lanca.

Comparable remains suggest these nuclei shared some sort of institutional relationship and/or community identity. The strategic function of Segontia Lanca III was enhanced by the location of smaller settlements positioned on roads along the Durius Valley (Martínez Caballero 2010: 161). Given the size of the three main nuclei (16–20 ha), their location relative to Clunia (25–30 km) and this road network, and the chronology of the restructuring which seems to fit in with initial urban developments at Clunia, we might perceive Segontia Lanca III as a *civitas* of secondary agglomerations serving Clunia and facilitating the *conventus* capital's access to crucial communication routes and resource management, now as a polynuclear settlement. The nuclei likewise presumably served as obvious waypoints for those travelling along the Durius to or from Clunia. There is no evidence to suggest these changes reflect a deliberate political division of the community at a specific moment into three smaller settlements by Rome to fracture a significant pre–Roman cultural centre. However, political and economic factors associated with the new regional hierarchy established by Rome likely drove settlement locations in this period.

Significantly, the pre–Roman toponym was once again preserved. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.27) in the Flavian era speaks of the *oppidum* of 'Secontia' in the *conventus Cluniensis*. In the second century A.D. Strabo likewise refers to a 'Serguntia' beside the Durius (3.4.12), while Ptolemy also mentions 'Segontia Lanka' in his *Geography* (2.6.55), a settlement he locates among the peoples of the Upper Durius. Although these are not local attestations, the knowledge of the community's toponym by broadly Roman authors underscores a high degree of continuity. A group of people accustomed to using a particular toponym to identify their settlement and community evidently continued to do so, despite further changes to their spatial location.

Conclusion

The data from Clunia and Segontia Lanca demonstrate some of the mechanisms by which ancient communities in this region came to identify with specific places. Expressions of belonging extended beyond a mere sense of attachment to a spatial location, as we saw with those self–identifying as Londoners. The activities and experiences of the inhabitants of both settlements, symbolised by place features from the domestic structures at Segontia Lanca II to the forum complex at Clunia, imbued different built environments with connotative meaning associated with particular lifestyles and memories shared by various members of the community, and specific to each community identity group.

Toponyms in particular helped these communities to express collective identities and a sense of belonging to both a physical space and a social entity or membership group. Ancient discourses show that this relationship was often considered an ambiguous one. On the one hand we are presented with explicit statements that communities and people are what count. Yet, on the other, common usages show that toponyms are usually taken to apply to physical settlements. Investigating cases where settlements relocated gives us another insight into this issue. With Clunia reappearing as a settlement with distinctly Roman urban features, and Segontia Lanca undergoing a complete restructuring, it is perhaps strange that their pre–Roman toponyms were retained. Changing a settlement name, however, requires a far greater removal of existing meaning associated with a community. These toponyms were clear signifiers of the places associated with a specific group of people and a certain lifestyle; the membership groups of the communities of Clunia and Segontia Lanca, a line in keeping with the Thucydidean notion that it is humankind who make the city, not ships or walls. Moreover, such toponyms and other elements of identity expression seem both to recall the shared memories and experiences of previous stages of these communities, and also to underline continually evolving identities and senses of place.

Exploring spatial change enables us to see the fluid, dynamic and interlinked processes of place and identity at work. As social processes, they are not strictly bound to specific locations, particularly once the experiences of a population are sufficient for it to be understand as a social entity above a simple geographical space. Both place and identity are likewise subject to evolution as a consequence of the continuing activities and experiences of a population. At New Arkwright, researchers were able to observe the effects of spatial change on identity and place processes two years after relocation. Although we have lack sufficient evidence for analysing the effects of spatial change in an equally short time period at Clunia or Segontia, similar experiences more than likely occurred in these settlements post–move. Some of the inhabitants of New Arkwright experienced a sense of discontinuity and endeavoured to re–negotiate their identities, leading to an evolving sense of place. Others showed a stronger desire to adhere to the old sense of place and to aspects of identity associated with it. The evidence pertaining to the communities at Clunia and Segontia allows us to glimpse, even minutely and over a lengthier period, these same experiences in the ancient Upper Durius.

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