ABSTRACT

This thesis treats three interconnected topics of Spanish history between 206 B.C. and Augustus: immigration from Italy, provincial and local government and the extension of civitas Romana and ius Latii to Spaniards. In different ways, these formed the framework of, and lent encouragement to, the Romanization of the Peninsula, the effects of which still endure.

Though not overlooked by English-speaking scholars, Spain has not attracted attention as consistent and extensive as that accorded other lands of the Roman empire. Moreover, apart from some research by Spaniards, investigation of the period generally has tended to be particularist - concerning itself with limited problems such as Caesarian and Augustan colonization, second-century-B.C. military policy and the economic state of the country at various moments; and often occurs as part of a broader survey of conditions over several provinces (if not of the whole empire), with some loss of depth. Concentration on Spain alone, of course, can suffer from a lack of breadth and analogy, especially as paucity of evidence permanently afflicts nearly every topic in Republican Spanish history save military affairs (where it is intermittent). Yet the risk is worth taking: the problems are important as well as interesting.

Thus with immigration (Chapters I-V). That a substantial number of Romans and Italians settled in Spain between 200 and 50 B.C. is clear from scattered remarks in ancient authors. In 46-5 several legions were raised among them. But their numbers, and the circumstances of the influx, are nowhere directly attested and must be pieced together with the help of conjecture and analogy. Moreover the inevitability of intermarriage - especially as it does not seem that families, or couples, formed the greater part of the immigration - must have meant that after a few generations few descendants of settlers can have been purely Italian, and therefore that variations in status between cives Romani, Latini and part-Ital-

ian peregrini must have occurred. The slave sons of Roman soldiers and Spanish slave-women (probably mostly captivae) are certainly attested as early as 171 B.C. In 45, the adult males in these categories may have been 48-50,000 over the two Spanish provinces.

The Roman authorities founded a number of towns there, often in recognition of the settler inflow. Carteia, the first Latin colonia overseas, was one (171 B.C.); so were Corduba (152/1), Palma in Majorca (123/2) and, probably in 72/1, Valentia and Metellinum. Caesar's broad scheme for planting City-dwellers abroad, and Augustus' veteran-settlement programmes, brought more than twenty Roman colonies to Spain: perhaps another 50,000 men (Chapters VI-VII).

For most of the period, Roman administration in Spain was more limited, in area and depth, than often realized (Chapters VIII-XII). Until probably the 30s B.C., firm and enduring control did not exist north of the Tagus or west of the upper Ebro. Periodic administrative settlements, normally after a period of warfare (for example after the fall of Numantia in 133), were made in the territories under Roman rule. Along with the final subjugation of the whole Peninsula by Augustus, the province of Ulterior was divided into two - Baetica and Lusitania - probably in 27 (with minor border-adjustments to both, in favour of Citerior-Tarraconensis, around 7/2 B.C.).

The regular Republican governors were praetors pro consule, though emergencies might merit the substitution of a consul for one or both. The governor's regular staff were few: a quaestor, some legates and prefects - and it is clear that no close control was kept over the provincial communities. Perhaps the chief administrative concern of the Roman authorities was the money and treasure extracted from Spain, mostly in tribute and mining proceeds. Most of the available statistics are given by Livy, and cover only the years 206-168 B.C. The money totals he records are probably as much fines, extraordinary levies, and perhaps plunder, as tribute, and so

cannot be taken as an indication of the latter's size; but it is very likely that his gold and silver figures, for the most part, represent (till 178) the State's proceeds from the provincial mines. These were probably farmed out to contractors bidding mostly at Rome from 179. Other duties and levies, such as portoria, will have added, if less substantially, to State revenue: which altogether must have been proportionately very sizeable, especially in the second century B.C. before many of the silver mines were alienated. Expenditure will have been limited to only a few heads, the army above all. The collection of taxes imposed by the Roman authorities was left to the ruling bodies in the Spanish communities, as were most other matters of local concern: jurisdiction in all but serious cases (which the governor or his delegates heard as they made the rounds of the judicial circumscriptions called conventus - which existed, if less precisely delimited than later, during the Republic), responsibility for fortifications, road maintenance, militia (if any) and local revenues. The towns themselves became increasingly modelled on Rome and Roman municipalities, with senatus populique regularly attested, and magistratus, often termed aediles, occasionally Xviri and (at one town at least) praetores.

As the Republic aged and the Empire replaced it, grants of citizenship and Latin right became increasingly common. With a few exceptions, such as the en-bloc Latinization of the existing inhabitants of Carteia, such grants were singillatim before Caesar (Chapter XIII). Pliny's statistics and lists for privileged Spanish communities - stemming from Augustan formulae provinciarum (which he only occasionally emended) and confirmed, in many cases, by inscriptions and coins, give over seventy that had been promoted to Roman or Latin right; there is no evidence for such promotions before Caesar, and the titles borne by several towns are further indication that they owed their status to the Dictator and his son (although Pliny does not specifically give the status of most of the privileged Baetican towns - and some geographical inaccuracies appear in his lists

- most of them can confidently be identified by combining the evidence on their titles with inscriptional material). There is also evidence that a number of communities were promoted after the Augustan formulae were compiled but probably before A.D. 14. Altogether it is clear that civitas and Latium were extended in Spain between Caesar's civil war and the death of Augustus on a quite unprecedented scale (Chapters XIV-XVI).

The prime reason for such grants was political: a town's 'merita erga populum Romanum', which in practice (after 49 B.C.) meant 'erga Caesarem' - 'Divum' or 'filium'. The first-century political and military struggles in the Republic, during which both provinces were repeatedly fought over (82-72, 49, 46-44) and Pompey and Caesar made strenuous efforts to win supporters and following there, was the background to such 'merita'. But it is not accidental that the grants were made mostly in the oldest-held and most Romanized regions, the south and east. The identity of the towns indicates that the most important places largely benefited - and that within their ranks it was mainly the principal centres (Gades, Saguntum, Olisipo and the like) that received citizenship. Such places would be the more prosperous, and had probably attracted relatively large numbers of settlers: it is not surprising that four of the greatest towns in Spain (Hispalis, Corduba, Tarraco and Carthago Nova) had not only received such settlers but were also colonized by Caesar or Augustus.

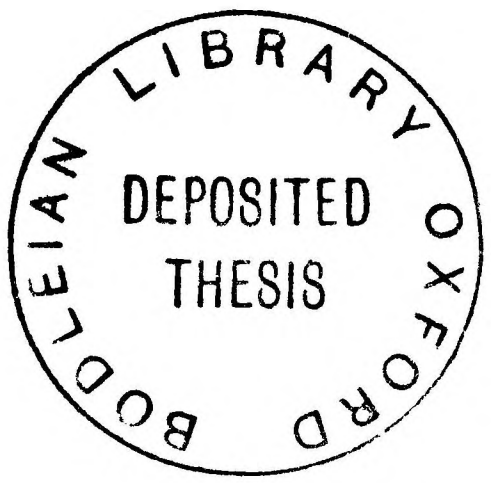
The settlers will have been the strongest influence for Romanizing the Spaniards among whom they lived. The Roman government can bear only a passive credit: its administration did maintain (by and large) a state of peace that allowed prosperity, and close economic relations with Italy, to develop. But it left the natives alone in day-to-day affairs and was generally uninnovative (at any rate until Caesar). There is no evidence that the Romans positively furthered cultural development, or even cared to do so: Sertorius' achievement - and ideas - have been overestimated. The adoption of Roman cultural forms (which had begun as early as 100 B.C.) must have

been largely due to Spanish initiative, even if settler communities furnished the models and mixed marriages some of the personnel. The grants of civitas and Latium under Caesar and Augustus seem to have been made chiefly to towns already well Romanized, and the distribution and number of such towns by A.D. 14 (including Roman colonies, they amounted to about a quarter of Spain's five hundred or so organized communities) reveal the acculturation, and indeed prosperity, of large areas of Spain, a picture confirmed by the testimony of Strabo.

THE ROMANIZATION OF SPAIN :
A STUDY OF SETTLEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION TO A.D. 14

by

B. D. HOYOS



D. Phil. Thesis :

Worcester College, Oxford

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PREFACE

THE Romanization of a country was a process embracing most or all human activities. The theme is thus broad - in a sense, open-ended. This study investigates the framework of Spain's cultural assimilation: the settlement of Italians in the Peninsula, the Roman administration (and the local self-government beneath it) in the two, later three, provinces, and the spread of citizenship and Latin right among the Spaniards. These problems are in many ways interconnected - the influx of settlers almost certainly gave locals their chief cultural models, and probably produced a usefully Romanized '*mestizo*' element (free, so far as can be judged, from any of the prejudice such a class often suffered in later ages); the provincial administration fostered - if passively - peaceful ways and thus the steady increase of Roman cultural influence, and was also responsible for a number of formal acts of settlement, notably under Caesar's and Augustus' colonial programmes, as well as for the extension of citizenship and Latinity to a large number of Romanized Spanish communities.

Investigating such topics is thus a complex and many-stranded exercise. Moreover they are not easy to discipline, for each of these Spanish questions has (or could have) wider implications, or raises a query about a related subject. Restraint has thus been

necessary. The economic development of Roman Spain, even in this period alone, is worth a study: but it is surveyed here only in concise form, where relevant to the above themes. A number of interesting and important legal problems over granting citizenship to provincials have had to be placed in an appendix or passed over. A connected military and political narrative could not, of course, be attempted. But another appendix has been consecrated to assessing the role of Roman Spain's most famous rebel leader, Sertorius, particularly in Romanization.

A few remarks on presentation may be helpful. As a rule, works cited only once are given with full bibliographical details in the appropriate footnote, and not listed in the bibliography. Cross-referencing is rather, perhaps too, frequent: but it seemed preferable to giving facts or arguments twice or thrice over. Books and journals often cited have been abbreviated throughout (as, for example, J R S); they are explained in the list on page ix. Over modern place-names I must confess inconsistency. In general they are given in their Spanish or Portuguese forms (including Córdoba). A few are Englished: Seville, Lisbon and Majorca, for instance. Rivers have proved particularly lawless. I give Ebro (and not Latin Iberus) but Baetis and Tagus (rather than Guadalquivir and Tajo/Tejo), and have preferred Spanish Duero to Portuguese Douro or ancient Durius. These are personal preferences only, but I trust that the places intended by them remain immediately recognizable.

I have the pleasant duty of acknowledging very gratefully

the help I have received from many persons and institutions in the course of four years' work. To the people of Barbados and the University of the West Indies I owe a special debt, for without their grant of scholarships my work could not have taken place. Mr A.N. Sherwin-White, of St John's College, Oxford, has been unfailingly ready to advise on (and criticize) my views of matters that fall within the field of Roman citizenship and Latin right. Prof. P.A. Brunt, when still in Cambridge, most generously allowed me to read the typescript of his book Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.-A.D. 14, and thus to fortify myself with (or sometimes against) his arguments on a wide range of questions; the perhaps puzzling lack of reference to this important work in the early part of the thesis was only because it was not published until after those chapters had been completed. To the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and the authorities of the Don Juan de Osma Studentship fund I owe particular thanks, as I was chosen to be the 1969/70 De Osma Student and to receive a grant that enabled me to visit Spain and survey the lands I was writing about: in this connexion I would also wish to record the kind and friendly assistance of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, in Madrid. Prof. Sir Ronald Syme discussed my plans for research with me when I arrived in Oxford, and helped set me on the course that led to this thesis. Professors C.H.V. Sutherland, of the Ashmolean Museum, and C. Hawkes, of the Institute of Archaeology, and Mr J. Richardson, of Exeter College, have all brought me guidance and stimulation.

A student's chief guide and influence must be his supervisor.

I have been specially fortunate to have, as mine, Mr M.W. Frederiksen, of my own College. His eminence in Roman history is known to all scholars: I take pleasure in acknowledging his acuteness and judgment, his criticism, tact and encouragement at all stages of my research. Without his keen eye I should have stumbled into many a pitfall and wandered off along many a distracting path. It is not his doing, or that of the other scholars I have mentioned, that this study is still imperfect: that responsibility is solely my own.

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viii / 1971

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ABBREVIATIONS

A E	L'Année Épigraphique
A E Arq	Archivo español de Arqueología
A J P	American Journal of Philology
BADIAN, F C	E. BADIAN, Foreign Clientelae
BAfr	Bellum Africum
BAlex	Bellum Alexandrinum
BHisp	Bellum Hispaniense
C A H	Cambridge Ancient History
C I L	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
E E	Ephemeris Epigraphica
E-J^2	EHRENBERG-JONES, Documents ... of Augustus and Tiberius: 2nd ed.
E S A R	T. FRANK (ed.), An Economic Survey of Rome
F H A	Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae
GRANT, F I T A	M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas
H A Ep	Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica
H. de E.	Historia de España
I L L R P	A. DEGRASSI, Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae
I L S	H. DESSAU, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
I R T D	W. KUBITSCHEK, Imperium Romanum Tributim Discriptum
J R S	Journal of Roman Studies
O C T	The Oxford Classical Dictionary
O R F^2	H. MALCOVATI, Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta: 2nd ed.
P B S R	Papers of the British School in Rome
P I R	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
R E	PAULY-WISSOWA, Realencyclopädie
SHERWIN-WHITE, R C	A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, The Roman Citizenship
T A P A	Transactions of the American Philological Association

PART ONE

SETTLEMENT BEFORE CAESAR

CHAPTER I

SETTLEMENT TO 90 B.C.

THE course of Roman and Italian settlement in Spain, before the age of Caesar as much as during and after it, has to be traced largely - if unsatisfactorily - through town-foundations. Ancient literary sources do not show great interest in the phenomenon of immigration: on the relatively few occasions that they do bring us face to face with provincial Romans, the encounters are bald, lack background and raise problems. A single author once mentions a 'crowd of Italians' coming to Spain: but the context is specialized and the phrase not to be pressed.[1] Inscriptions are an important supplement, though thanks to their largely Imperial date they cannot serve as the primary source for the development of immigration. Yet through a combination of these various strands of evidence, together with a certain amount of careful conjecture, the outlines of the process may be discerned.[2]

Scipio Africanus settled wounded and ill veterans of his army at Italica in 206 B.C.[3] The name, and the fact that Trajan and Had-

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[1] DIOD. 5.36.3 'πλῆθος Ἰταλῶν': see below, p. 19.

[2] Roman immigration into Spain in the Republican period is treated by A.J.N. WILSON, Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age ... (1966), 22-7, 29-42. The pattern is further complicated by the fact that before 90/89 persons coming to Spain from Italy might be of varying status: cives Romani, including presumably some sine suffragio in at any rate the earlier part of the second century B.C., also Latini and socii Italici. This is to be considered later: pp. 80-90.

[3] APP. Iber. 38.153. No mention in Livy, but the town existed by 146 when L. Mummius (Achaicus) made a dedication to it '[Co]rintho

rian - the first probably of Umbrian decsent, the other stemming from a family of Hadria in Picenum - had their origo there, show that Italian socii as well as Roman citizens must have been among the veterans: this is hardly surprising.[1] The town was on the north side of the River Baetis (Guadalquivir), where the present village of Santiponce now stands - about three miles from Seville. Italica almost certainly had no formal status when founded.[2]

It was followed by several other settlements made by Roman commanders - for native Spaniards as often as for Roman (and, no doubt, Italian) immigrants. Normal practice, as will appear, was to establish the new community at an already existing centre.[3] Often enough the newcomers would be numerous enough to create virtually a new town (or transform a village into one). Thus, in the year 179 as part of his measures for pacification, the elder Ti. Sempronius Gracchus established Gracchurris by placing settlers at the town of Ilurcis on the upper Ebro river and calling it after himself (with an Iberian termination).[4] The newcomers no doubt were mostly native

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capta' (ILS 21 d = CIL 1^2. 630 = 2. 1119).

[1] Trajan: see SYME, Tacitus, 2, Appendix 81 (pp. 785-6). Hadrian: SHA Hadr. 1.1 'Hadria ortos maiores suos apud Italicam Scipionum temporibus resedisse in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemorat.'

[2] Pp. 94, 346-8.

[3] This was chiefly because geographically suitable sites were as a rule already occupied.

[4] FESTUS, p. 86 L; LIVY Per. 41. The spelling used is favoured by A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Las Colonias romanas de Hispania (1959: offprint) 448-9.

Spaniards.[1] This is suggested by the 'ibericized' name Gracchus gave it: moreover Appian, who in relating Gracchus' measures does not mention this foundation, says 'τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνῴκισε καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει' and the context shows this ought to refer to the local population.[2] This fits the settlement at Gracchurris, even if other (viritane?) allocations were also made elsewhere in the province of Citerior.[3] The gentilicium Sempronius occurs several times in this region, presumably indicating Spaniards who, when given citizenship or ius Latii (not necessarily by Gracchus), adopted that memorable and popular name.[4] Gracchurris shows only ius Latii in Pliny the Elder's geographical survey, which (it will be argued) is based on a mid-Augustan source[5]: this status almost certainly was not conferred in 179 or for a long while after.[6]

Gracchus may have been partly responsible for another foundation too, this time in the province of Ulterior. An inscription of

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[1] For another possible, 'half-caste' element in the settlement, or among the recipients of viritane allotments elsewhere, see below, pp. 64-79.

[2] Iber. 43.179; cf. 42.171 (lack of land producing Spanish rebellion, in 181 B.C.).

[3] The Lusones, who were among the land-hungry rebels (n. 2), occupied the valleys of the Jalón and Jiloca rivers south-east of Gracchurris. They were subjugated before 179 (LIVY 40.33, with A. SCHULTEN, Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae 3. 212-3; cf. R E 13. 1899 on this tribe).

[4] GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Colonias, 448.

[5] PLINY, N H 3.24; see pp. 305-319.

[6] See below, 92-101.

the first century A.D. hails him as 'deductor' of Iliturgi[1], a town destroyed in 206 B.C. and presumably now restored.[2] Gracchus no doubt acted in cooperation with his colleague in Ulterior, Postumius[3]: the settlers, it may be supposed, were the remnants of the townsfolk and other Spaniards of the area. Since Iliturgi later bore a title which (it will be argued) connotes Latin right through Caesar[4], it can only have been a tributary town in the period after

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[1] 'Ti. Sempronio Graccho / deductori / populus Iliturgitanus' (found near Mengíbar, province of Jaén): A. BLANCO and C. LACHICA, 'De situ Iliturgis', Archivo esp. de Arqueol. 33 (1960) 193-6, according to whom it is Julio-Claudian at earliest. Compare C I L 2. 3836 (an Imperial inscription honouring Scipio Africanus 'ob restitutam Saguntum ex S.C.': see LIVY 28.39.17-18); also A E 1951 no. 81 (a similar dedication to Marius as 'conditor' of Thuburnica - cf. commentary ad loc.).

[2] LIVY 28.19.18 - 20.7. Compare the restoration of Saguntum (last note). A. SCHULTEN, 'Iliturgi', Hermes 63 (1928) 288-301, argues that another Iliturgi existed in Citerior and that Livy means that place at 34.10.1-2 (195 B.C.): this seems plausible (cf. 34.10.5 - the governor of Ulterior's victory there was 'in aliena provincia'). Identical or similar place-names are numerous in ancient Spanish toponymy: examples in SCHULTEN, art. cit., 288.

[3] They cooperated in the campaign of 180 (LIVY 40.47.1) and were politically friendly at this time (H.H. SCULLARD, Roman Politics [1951] 177 n.2, 185 n.3, 187 with n.2). Gracchus' greater share of credit for the successes in Spain may be reflected by his securing the consulate four years ahead of Postumius (177 and 173), certainly by his fame among Spaniards (e.g. PLUT. Ti. Gr. 5.3); and no doubt he fairly soon eclipsed any share Postumius had in restoring Iliturgi. There is no evidence that it had the same scope as Gracchurris - BLANCO and LACHICA's view, that Festus' Ilurci (the old name of Gracchurris) conceals Iliturgi, is not convincing.

[4] PLINY N H 3.10 (Forum Iulium); see pp.352-61 . The town was on or near the upper Baetis river (see C I L 2 Suppl., Map III at end, grid ref. O : k for Mengíbar).

179.

The circumstances of the sole attested Latin town in Spain before the age of Caesar and Augustus are interesting and important. For the moment they need only be given in brief. Livy reports, under the date 171[1], that a 'novi generis hominum ex Hispania legatio venit', to appeal to the Senate in the name of four thousand and more sons of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, 'cum quibus conubium non esset', for a town to be given them to live in. The Senate acceded to the petition, directing L. Canuleius, the praetor for Spain[2], to take the necessary steps to place them at Carteia, a town on the Bay of Gibraltar close to the present Algeciras.[3] This settlement was given the status of a Latin colony, and any of the existing inhabitants of Carteia who chose to remain would share in the measure.[4] This was pretty certainly the first formal act of colonization in Spain by the Romans. Implications arising from Livy's account will be discussed in a later chapter[5]: but the incident makes us wonder whether the loss of a detailed source after 167 B.C. may not conceal the Latin status of some other Roman creations - like Corduba.

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[1] C. SAUMAGNE, 'Une colonie latine d'affranchis, Carteia ... ', Rev. hist. de Droit fr. et étranger 40 (1962) 135-62, and Le Droit latin et les Cités romaines sous l'empire (1965) 60-71, dates it to 176, giving no reason.

[2] Canuleius was praetor for both provinces (the Third Macedonian War was being fought): 42.31.9.

[3] HÜBNER, C I L 2, p. 242.

[4] LIVY 43.3.1-4.

[5] Chap. IV § (ii).

Strabo states that Corduba was founded by Marcellus who placed 'selected Romans and locals' there.[1] M. Marcellus governed both Spains in 169-8, and Citerior in 152-1 when he also campaigned against the Lusitani, in concert with Atilius, praetor of Ulterior.[2] The name Corduba is Iberian[3], which, together with the advantages of the site[4], suggests some sort of town or village preceded Marcellus' foundation. The place is first mentioned in history as his winter quarters after the Lusitanian campaign, a function it continued to have: hence 152 is the preferable date for the settlement.[5]

The Romans involved will have been, at least chiefly, veterans (not excluding socii). Who were the 'locals'? It is a temptation to suppose that they, or some of them, were half-castes (who cannot have ceased to appear after 171)[6]: others might be picked auxiliaries.[7] If the praetor Atilius took part in the foundation, he was no longer remembered by Strabo's day - which would, incidentally, support the view taken above of Iliturgi. Strabo adds that 'πρώτην ἀποικίαν ταύτην εἰς τοὐσδε τοὺς

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[1] 'Μαρκέλλου κτίσμα ... ᾤκησάν τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι' (3.2.1 / C141).

[2] MRR 1. 453; SIMON, Roms Kriege in Spanien ... (1962) 34-5.

[3] SCHULTEN, FHA 6. 153.

[4] Cf. STR. loc. cit.: '... χώρας ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγέθει, προσλαμβάνοντος καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαίτιος μέγα μέρος.'

[5] POL. 35.2.1; APP. Iber. 65.278, 66.282; HÜBNER, RE 4. 1221.

[6] That is, half-castes who counted only as peregrini or servi (see below, pp. 64 - 79). After two or three generations, even cives Romani, and Latini, settled in Spain must often have had some

τόπους ἔσωσαν Ῥωμαῖοι. This is an error: Italica already existed as an urbs or vicus, Carteia as a colonia. But the report could indicate that Corduba, like Carteia, was made a Latina colonia.[1]

Another 'pacification' settlement of the Gracchurris type was made in 138, when D. Iunius Brutus - governor of Ulterior - 'eis qui sub Viriatho militaverant agros et oppidum dedit quod vocatum est Valentia'.[2] Brutus' Valentia raises problems. The normal (and correct) identification is with the well-known town close to the Mediterranean coast.[3] But as Brutus was governor of Ulterior, whereas Mediterrean Valentia belonged to Citerior, other candidates have been proposed: Valença do Minho in northern Portugal (Brutus operated in that direction after 138, acquiring the name Callaicus for his victories), or Valencia de Alcántara, south of the River Tagus and about thirty-five miles west of Cáceres.[4] But Brutus' foray into the far north did not establish Roman control, which for another century tended to stop

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Spanish blood: see pp. 74-8.

[7] Alternatively any (legally non-Roman) half-castes might have been counted among the 'Romans' because of their ancestry or because they were given Latin right, while the 'locals' might be drawn from the surrounding population as well as the auxilia. The latter point is quite possible, but the former does not seem so likely.

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[1] See further p. 93.

[2] LIVY, Per. 55. For the date, see below p. 10 note 2. For Brutus' praenomen (Appian calls him Σέξτος : Iber. 71.301), see MÜNZER, R E 10. 1022; M R R 1. 483.

[3] 'III m.p. a mari remota' (PLINY N H 3.20); cf. SCHULTEN, R E 7 A. 2148-9. The modern city is still three or four kilometres inland, though connected to its port (El Grao).

[4] Valença: F. MÜNZER, R E 10. 1022; SCHULTEN, F H A 4.139;

along the Anas or the Tagus - hence no guarantee that Viriatus' former followers would stay settled. Valencia de Alcántara would at best be on the fringes of Roman rule at this time. But the main objection to either is that they received their present names in the thirteenth century, as did other Valencias on the Spanish-Portuguese border (then a ticklish zone) and elsewhere.[1]

It is true that Mediterranean Valentia was not in Brutus' province, but there is no reason why - in a matter so important as pacification - he should not have been allowed to use the site he considered suitable. If his colleague in Citerior did not participate, that would be because the Numantine war was still being waged.[2]

Valentia is patently a Roman name, borne by the colony at Vibo in Italy which was founded in 192[3]; this and the remarkable scarcity of pre-Roman Iberian finds in the city[4] have led Fletcher Valls to suppose, not merely that the foundation took place at a previously almost unoccupied site (which is reasonable), but also that

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Valencia de Alcántara: e.g. H. SIMON, Roms Kriege in Spanien (1962), 138 n.71.

[1] C. TORRES, 'La fundación de Valencia', Ampurias 13 (1951), 113-21, on 116; D. FLETCHER VALLS, 'Consideraciones sobre la fundación de Valencia', Archivo de Prehist. levantina 10 (1963) 193-206, on 198-9.

[2] The governor of Citerior in 139-8 was Popillius Laenas, who did not enjoy success in his campaign against Numantia: see SIMON, Roms Kriege, 143-4 (and, for the course of the war in 138-6, including the clades Numantina: 145-59, 164-8).

[3] E.T. SALMON, Roman Colonization ... (1969), 99-100.

[4] FLETCHER VALLS, 202-5. Nor, despite the profusion of Iberian mints until well into the first century B.C., can any be identified with Valentia.

the settlers were in fact Roman veterans - explaining the report in the Livian epitome by interpreting 'sub Viriatho' as 'in the time of Viriatus'.[1] This makes the passage quoted read very oddly, however: nor can it be parallelled in Livy, who always uses sub with a name to mean 'under the orders (or direction) of'.[2] As a formal colonia was later settled at Valentia - after the destruction of the Brutan town - the absence of much Iberian material could be due, in part anyway, to these subsequent events[3]: moreover it is likely enough that a number of veterans from Brutus' forces w e r e mixed with the Spanish ex-insurgents as watchdogs.

Not all of Viriatus' followers need be thought of as wild Lusitanians. For some time he was supported by certain towns in the Roman province[4], and his three associates-turned-assassins were from Urso (modern Osuna) in the Baetis valley region.[5] D. Brutus, moreover, created another town - Brutobriga - in south Spain or Portugal: perhaps in the west of Ulterior, beyond the lower Anas river, where

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[1] Art. cit., 197-8. For Viriatus (not '-th-') as the correct spelling see H. GUNDEL, R E (s.v.) 9 A. 203 (= Caesaraugusta 31-2 [1968] 175-6 [Spanish translation of article in R E]).

[2] See D.W. PACKARD, A Concordance to Livy (1968) 4. 784-8: e.g. 1.52.2, 8.4.10, 25.3.4, 29.8.4, 40.6.7.

[3] Below, pp. 30-1.

[4] APP. Iber. 65.278 (loss of two towns, captured by the Romans: cf. GUNDEL, R E 9 A. 214); 68.290 (loss of Εἰσκαδία, Γέμελλα, Ὀβόλκολα : identified with Astigi, Tucci and Obulcola: SIMON, Roms Kriege, 120, cf. 117 n.26). The Roman consul also 'διήρπαζεν ἑτέρας(πόλεις) καὶ συνεγίνωσκεν ἄλλας', presumably also in Baetica, while in Baeturia (APP. Iber. 68.288; LIVY Per. 53) he sacked five towns allied with Viriatus - Baeturia lay north-west of the Baetis valley (R E 2. 2764). Cf. SIMON, 120; GUNDEL, R E 9 A. 216.

[5] DIOD. 33.21; cf. SIMON, 131-2; GUNDEL, 223.

- Strabo says - Lusitani were moved by the Romans, at an unspecified date.[1] Thus it is at least possible to imagine largely separate allocations for Lusitanian followers of Viriatus and for followers who came from the Roman province.[2]

Whether this was so or not, we need not suppose that land-

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[1] STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Βρουτοβρία (which as he correctly says means 'Βρουτόπολις': A. HOLDER, Alt-Celtischer Sprachsatz 1. 533 s.v. brĭg- and brĭgā). STRABO 3.1.6 / C139 (between Anas and Tagus). In the usual text of Stephanus, the town is placed 'μεταξὺ Βαίτιος ποταμοῦ καὶ Τουρδιτανῶν' : see e.g. MEINEKE's edition (Berlin 1849) 1. 187. This makes no sense. The Turdetani occupied both banks of the Baetis (SCHULTEN, R E 7 A. 1378-80, especially 1380). The MSS have Τουριτανῶν (MEINEKE, ibid.). Interestingly, Valentia stands on the river Turia, a name surviving from antiquity (see e.g. PLINY NH 3.20), and in pre-Roman times a town apparently existed at the river mouth, called Tyris (AVIENUS, Ora Marit. 482; R E 7 A. 1868). (A modern town Turís, as it happens, lies 30-35 km. west of Valencia: see (e.g.) The Times Atlas of the World, 4, plate 77, grid P : 2; or Nuevo Atlas de España (1961) 293, grid O : 27/28.) It would not be impossible to set Brutobriga on the plateaux between the Sierra Morena and the east coast.

All the same, as Tyris is not attested in classical times - nor a tribe of Turitani - Brutus' town is perhaps better sited in the west, in south Portugal: and near the coast, since coins of the late Republic or early Principate from the town show a ship and a tunny (A. VIVES Y ESCUDERO, La Moneda hispánica, 3. 112). Compare also PLINY 4.116 'ab Ana ad Sacrum (promunturium) Lusitani (sunt)'. The Sacrum Promunturium is Cape St Vincent. Stephanus' source may have meant to refer to the Turduli, elements of which tribe were to be found in western Baetica and in Lusitania (STR. 3.2.11 / C148, 3.2. 15 / C151; PLINY 3.8, 4.113; A. TOVAR, The Ancient Languages of Spain and Portugal [1961] 104).

[2] According to APP. Iber. 75.321 and DIOD. 33.1.4, it was Caepio, Brutus' predecessor in Ulterior, who assigned land (and, says Diodorus, a town) to those soldiers of Viriatus who fought on for a time after the great chieftain's murder, but then surrendered. Appian places the murder of Viriatus and then these measures a f t e r his account of Brutus' campaigns in Lusitania and Callaecia. The best explanation is that Brutus completed the pacification that Caepio began (so ASTIN, Scipio Aemilianus [1967] 146; SIMON, Roms Kriege, 138). This also accords with the date for Valentia given in LIVY Per. 55 (A.U.C. 616: 138 B.C.); cf. R E 10. 1022 (MÜNZER).

hunger and λῃστήρια ἐξ ἀπορίας [1] occurred only in Citerior and Lusitania, not in Roman Ulterior.[2] It will be suggested later that the petitioners in 171 who were settled at Carteia were mainly or all from Ulterior, and wanted land as well as a town to live in. Desire for improved holdings may well have actuated the settlers Metellus Balearicus found for Palma and Pollentia in 122.[3] A further point may arguably be adduced. The narrative of Appian on the war with Viriatus includes a curiosity: two λῃσταρχοι named Curius and Apuleius, at the head of ten thousand men.[4] These names cannot be satisfactorily assimilated to native Spanish forms, and as a rule Appian's Iberian nomenclature is authentic.[5] These two may well have

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[1] For this phrase compare (and combine) APP. Iber. 75.231 and 71.301.

[2] Citerior: above, p.3 ; Lusitania: see previous note and also Iber. 59.250.

[3] P p.14-15.

[4] Iber. 68.289 (141 B.C.).

[5] Consultation of M. ALVAR, A. BADÍA et al., Enciclopedia Linguïstica Hispánica (1960) 347-87; M. PALOMAR LAPESA, La Onomástica personal pre-Latina de la antigua Lusitania(1957), and A. TOVAR, The Ancient Languages of Spain and Portugal (1961), yields only Corai, Coria, Coutius (Onom. pers., 67-8), Cloutius and cosoiu (Encic. Ling. Hisp. 1. 358, 379) for comparison with Curius. For Apuleius: Apaia, Apanus, Aplondus, Ἀπλιούτας, Ἄππιος (Onom. pers., 36-7: last two mentioned by PHLEGON, F Gr Hist 2 B. 287, p. 1187). Hardly very close. Contrast Οὐριάθος (Enc. Ling. Hisp. 1. 366-67), Ἰνδίβιλις (Iber. 37.147: E L H 1. 370; TOVAR, Anc. Lang., 120), Κάρος (45.185: Onom. pers., 53), Καίσαρος (56.236: Onom. pers., 56), Καυκαίνος (57.239: Onom. pers., 62), Κόννοβας (68.291: for this name compare the Baetican town Conobaria - C I L 2. 1294; A E 1955 no. 42), Ταύταλος (75.320: E L H 1. 364), Ταγγῖνος (77.330: E L H 1. 362-3), Ῥητογενής (94.407: TOVAR, Anc. Lang., 81).

been renegade provincials, even half-castes (with or without citizenship): there is no positive reason to think not, unless we quite arbitrarily assume that no romanized or part-Roman inhabitant of a province would ever stoop to banditry. The case is not at all improbable, in fact, for war was raging up and down the Baetis valley from 147 on.[1] Other provincials, impelled by their economic straits, could have joined Viriatus. Governors like Caepio and Brutus, prepared to recognize and palliate the economic need that actuated Lusitanian restlessness, would hardly be blind to the desperation of provincials.[2]

Neither Valentia nor Brutobriga ranked formally as a colony at their foundation. Valentia later acquired colonial status, as will be shown. Strabo reports that Brutus, again, established Olisipo (modern Lisbon) as a fortified post to protect shipping on the Tagus[3]: the name and the convenience of the site suggest there was a native settlement already there, as usual, to which Brutus may have

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[1] For events see SIMON, Roms Kriege, 87 ff.

[2] This argument would be powerfully reinforced if the extant coins of Valentia, bearing Italic names of magistrates, were securely datable to the period ca. 130-80 B.C. (so VIVES, Mon. hisp., 4. 15, by implication; also F. MATEU Y LLOPIS, 'Las monedas romanas de "Valentia"', Numisma 3 (1953) No. 6, pp. 9-22). But the coins may belong to the Pompeian colony there and date to after 72. No Iberian coins of Valentia are known.

[3] 3.3.1 / C152 (ἐπετείχισε).

added occupants - veterans (not necessarily Roman or Italian), seamen or both.[1] Olisipo too had, so far as can be ascertained, no higher status than that of a peregrinum oppidum before Caesar's time.

After conquering the Balearic Islands in 123, Q. Metellus Balearicus established the towns of Palma and Pollentia in Majorca: the settlers were 'three thousand of the Romans from Spain' (in Strabo's words).[2] Metellus must have operated against the islands from Spain, probably from Citerior, the province to which they were afterwards allocated [3], and to which he was doubtless assigned as governor for the purpose. Possibly the majority of the settlers came from Citerior[4], but there is no reason for thinking that persons from Ulterior were left out. The function of the towns would be to hold the islands against future pirates (piracy being the reason for Metellus' expedition): possibly also the availability of land in the newly annexed territory encouraged the governor to provide opportunities for landless or dissatisfied settler Romans from Spain. The Baleares were fertile, and apparently not overcrowded.[5] Pre-

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[1] So too SCHULTEN, F H A 6. 198; on the name see TOVAR, Anc. Lang., 114-5; SCHULTEN, ibid.. The suffix '-ip(p)o' is very common in the ancient toponomy of south Spain (cf. the lists in PLINY N H 3.7-15; also Dipo in south Portugal, R E 5. 1159).

[2] 'ἐποίκους τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Ῥωμαίων' (3.5.1/C167-8).

[3] PLINY 3.18 for allocation; there was another commander in Transalpina at this period (M R R 1. 511, 515, 518 - C. Sextius Calvinus) and geography favours Citerior as a base of operations.

[4] So M.G. MORGAN, 'The Roman conquest of the Balearic Islands', Calif. Stud. in Class. Ant. 2 (1969) 217-31, on 226 n.43.

[5] STR. 3.5.1 / C167; LIVY 28.37.8; PLINY 18.67 (high quality of Balearic grain); DIOD. 5.17.2 gives a population of something

cisely what Strabo means by 'Romans' here is not as obvious as it seems: Italians must have settled in Spain as well as Roman citizens, hence the settlers at Palma and Pollentia probably enough included men from that group. There is no evidence that most of them were veterans of Metellus' army and fleet[1] - unless some of his regular forces had been raised in Spain, which may have been so though we have no evidence for the practice in the second century[2], or unless Romans in Spain counted among auxilia when recruited.[3] In any case there is no need to think that the two provinces could not supply three thousand settlers for the Baleares: there had been four thousand (and more) half-caste sons of Romans ready to petition the Senate forty years earlier, and the settler population should have grown since. In fact we might suppose, plausibly enough, that to be willing to join overseas settlements in newly subdued territory

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over 30,000, though his source is probably the much earlier Timaeus (on this see MORGAN, art. cit., 219-21). Much slaughter accompanied the Roman subjugation (HÜBNER, RE 2. 2827; MORGAN, 229-30).

[1] WILSON, Emigration, 10, suggests they 'may have been mainly veterans ... with only a sprinkling of civilian immigrants.'

[2] In LIVY and APPIAN, legionary reinforcements always come from Italy: e.g. LIVY 32.28.11 (197 B.C.), 39.20.3-4 (186), 40. 36.8-9 (180: and cf. ibid. 35.14, 36.2-3 for problems of warfare with a 'novus exercitus'); APP. Iber. 48.198 (152), 61.257 (147), 64.269 (146: cf. 63.268), etc. A full list down to 169 B.C. is given by A.J. TOYNBEE, Hannibal's Legacy (1965) 2. 61 n.2.

C. Marcius of Italica (APP. 66.282) cannot be used as strong evidence for immigrant recruitment - he was an officer. MORGAN, 226 n.43, takes the 3000 to be Spanish-Roman veterans of Metellus, without much discussion.

[3] Cf. below,

the colonists were from a less prosperous, or satisfied, element among settlers.[1] The status of the two Balearic towns will be discussed elsewhere.[2]

Certain other foundations occurred - as their names show - for purely military purposes. Who participated in them is not known: perhaps chiefly auxiliary veterans and not more than a few (if any) Romans or socii. Nothing suggests they were sizeable. Such places were, for example, Castra Servilia near Cáceres, Castra Liciniana in the same region and Castra Aelia on the River Ebro.[3] The first two recall the names of governors - Servilius Caepio who operated in Lusitania[4], P. Crassus who conducted similar campaigns in the 90s.[5] Similar emplacements were Castra Caecilia and probably also Caeciliana, founded by Metellus Pius around 72.[6]

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[1] This point would hold good even if all the colonists had formed part of Metellus' forces - which (as implied above) is doubtful.

[2] P p. 95-7.

[3] Servilia: PLINY 4.117 - probably identical with 'Caepiana' in PTOL. Geog. 2.5.6 (placed in south Lusitania); see R E 3. 1771 and 1279. Liciniana: PTOL. 2.5.8. Aelia: LIVY frg. Bk 91. 'Castra Postumiana' was a hill, not apparently occupied, near Ucubi in Ulterior: BHisp 8.6.

[4] Cf. APP. Iber. 70.300 ; LIVY Per. 54; Oxy. Pap. 54, 55; VAL. MAX. 9.6.4.

[5] See Acta Tr. (DEGRASSI, Inscr. Ital. 13/1) for 93 B.C.; CIC. Pis. 58; ASCON. p. 14 C; PLUT. Crass. 1.1, 4.1-2; Schol. Bob. p. 131 STANGL; cf. M R R 2, under 96 - 93 B.C.

[6] On these, see below, p. 27 . A short-lived town, explicitly for Spanish auxiliaries, was founded by M. Marius (governor of one of the provinces, probably Ulterior) about 102 for his Celtiberian troops (APP. Iber. 100.433) - apparently in Citerior. It was near

So much for the town-foundations of the second century. Other pieces of evidence may be adduced on the topic of settlement by Romans and Italians.

In this period at least, it seems likely that the principal source of settlers was the army. Military forces in the Peninsula were very often large. In the year 196, for example, there were over thirty-six thousand Roman and Allied troops there (on Toynbee's calculation), and at least two legions were regularly maintained in the country for a long period.[1] By 184 we find four legions there[2], and in 180 strong supplementa were sent out.[3] It is calculated, in fact, that between 187 and at least 168 Roman strength in either province was continuously two legions.[4]

Similarly in the second half of the century, when Appian gives

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another town, called Colenda - apparently in the bleak uplands near Termantia, south-west of the Ebro valley. Hence perhaps the poverty of the settlers, which drove them to banditry. Didius, governor between 98 and 93, annihilated them (after treating Termantia equally rigorously), only five years after the town's creation. It looks as though M. Marius, in giving them a town, had simply been eager to get rid of them: the episode is another illustration of a continuing social and economic theme in second-century (and probably also first-century) Spanish history.

[1] Hannibal's Legacy 2. 131. Cato took two more legions with socii, in 195, to Citerior (LIVY 33.43.3), but these were disbanded after his campaign (34.43.8).

[2] LIVY 39.38.11.

[3] 40.36.8-9: a full legion, plus 1000 Roman infantry, 7000 Italian socii, 350 Roman and Allied cavalry.

[4] See Table IV in TOYNBEE, 2. 652, based on A. ALFZELIUS, Die römische Kriegsmacht während der Auseinandersetzung mit den hellenistischen Grossmächten (Copenhagen 1944). P.A. BRUNT's view is that after 179 the provincial forces were again reduced to one legion each (Appendix 23 of his forthcoming book on Italian manpower).

a number of figures for army strength. In 153 an army led by a consul was sent to Spain, the first time in forty-two years that the highest magistrate went out.[1] Consular armies were often in the field in the two provinces between that date and the fall of Numantia: Citerior had them continuously after 143, Ulterior after 145.[2] For the period 197-169 alone, one calculation estimates the total number of troops from Italy sent to Spain at a quarter of a million.[3] Information for the years between 169 and 90 is sparser, but a similar figure is probably the least that should be estimated for a period that included the wars with Viriatus and Numantia, and the long campaigns in the 90s of T. Didius and P. Crassus.[4]

Now it is true that Scipio's mutinous troops (in 206) wanted to go home to Italy.[5] Similarly, we hear that in 180 the troops of the army in Spain were close to mutiny if they were not allowed to

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[1] H. SIMON, Roms Kriege, 18: against the Celtiberi. It was 20,000 strong excluding Spanish auxilia: SCHULTEN, Numantia 3 (München 1927) 39.

[2] Detailed figures in SCHULTEN, Numantia 3. 38-41.

[3] Of whom roughly a third were Roman citizens: see TOYNBEE, 2. 61 n.2 (on p. 62).

[4] See MRR 2. 7 and 10.

[5] LIVY 28.24.7.

return to Italy.[1] It should be noted, all the same, that Scipio left some veterans at Italica - men who must have been willing to stay. Similarly in later armies, there would be a few dozen or hundred soldiers who found it preferable to remain in the country. Service in Spain, especially in the first half of the second century, was long. Veterans might be released when supplementa, allowed by the Senate, were brought over - but only as many as there were new troops.[2] The average turnover of personnel seems to have been six or seven years, but could have been more.[3] By the end of such a period of time, not only would there be some willing settlers, but others might be impelled to stay even against their preference, by ill-health or by the prospect of hard living-conditions back in Italy.[4] What Spain, in its turn, had to offer settlers will be dis-

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[1] LIVY 40.35.7 'ita enim obstinatos esse milites, ut non ultra retineri posse in provincia viderentur, iniussuque abituri inde essent si non dimitterentur, aut in perniciosam, si quis inpense retineret, seditionem exarsuri'; ibid. 36.3-4. Compare a general's exhortation to his men during a battle with the Celtiberi: 'in illis spem omnem vincendi et retinendae Hispaniae esse: si illo loco cedant, neminem eius exercitus non modo Italiam sed ne Tagi quidem ulteriorem ripam umquam visurum' (39.31.5: 185 B.C.).

[2] LIVY 34.56.8 (cf. 35.2.3-5); 39.38.10-12; 40.36.10-11. On long service in Spain: E. CAVAIGNAC, 'Les six ans de service et la guerre d'Espagne', Revue de Philol. 25 (1951) 169-77; TOYNBEE, 2. 76-9.

[3] R.E. SMITH, Service in the Post-Marian Army (1958) 6; A. ASTIN, Scipio Aemilianus (1967) 169 n.3. LIVY (40.36.10) and APPIAN (Iber. 78.334) give instances of a six-year limit (for continuous service) being applied.

[4] On the latter see ASTIN, Scipio Aem., 161-7; A.H. McDONALD, 'The history of Rome and Italy in the Second Century B.C.', Camb. Hist. Journ. 6 (1939) 124-36; WILSON, Emigration, 2; TOYNBEE, Hann. Leg., 2. 100-6, 177-89, 498; cf. his chapters VII-VIII.

Note the telling description of the soldiery of a veteran (if later) legion: 'diuturnitate iam factus provincialis' (BAlex. 53.5).

cussed later.[1]

According to Diodorus, the Roman conquest of Spain was followed by 'a multitude of Italians' swarming to the mines to exploit them.[2] His source here is Posidonius who wrote around the beginning of the first century B.C.[3], but his reference to the Roman conquest should not be pressed to yield a specific second-century date.[4] From the evidence of the imperial mines at Vipasca in Lusitania (modern Aljustrel in south Portugal), it is clear that a large number of small contractors might carry on mining at second-century A.D. State holdings[5], and numerous small entrepreneurs may well have been drawn to Spanish mines in the second century B.C.[6] However, this conclusion is not to be pressed either: Diodorus goes on to say that the Italians used πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων to work their mines, which implies fairly affluent entrepreneurs who would have to be thought of in hundreds or a few thousands.[7] That both kinds of Italian exploiter existed,

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[1] Pp. 48-53.

[2] DIOD. 5.36.3 'πλῆθος Ἰταλῶν'.

[3] Compare DIOD. 5.35-8 with STR. 3.2.9 / C147 (explicitly from Posidonius), and see R E 22. 564-5.

[4] As does R. THOUVENOT, Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique (1940) 184, who proposes 133 and after. The administration of the mines is to be discussed elsewhere: pp. 227-50.

[5] I L S 6891 = BRUNS, Fontes[7], no. 113 = E.M. SMALLWOOD, Documents ... of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, no. 439.

[6] POLYBIUS, describing the great mines at Carthago Nova ca. 140, speaks of 'τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐργαζομένων' (34.9 = STR. 3.2.10 / C147-8). It is not necessary to consider them all as slaves, though this is assumed by T. FRANK, Econ. Sur. Anc. Rome 1. 155, and SCHULTEN, C A H 8. 323; cf. M. ROSTOVTZEFF, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire[2] 1. 341.

[7] Examples would be the societas at Sisapo (CIC. Phil. 2.48;

and that large Italian investors may have subcontracted some workings to Italian small entrepreneurs, seems quite possible.

An estimate might be ventured of the size of the settler population - Roman and Italian in origin - around the year 100. The few existing figures have already been cited. Their relatively modest scale - four thousand half-castes in 171, three thousand settlers for the Balearic Islands in 123 - and the absence of any hint of a large exodus from Italy (though there is evidence of Latins migrating to Rome and of a movement from the Italian countryside into towns[1]) does not suggest a strikingly large settler element even after a century of Roman domination. The attitude of the soldiers of early armies - even after allowance is made for exceptions - supports this. Further, during periods of time when the Roman provinces themselves (and not merely the tribes on and beyond their frontiers) were disturbed, as during the war with Viriatus, it is to be expected that few would elect to stay on if they could help it. Numbers would pick up when there was peace, on the other hand.

If there were four thousand illegitimate, indeed servile-born half-castes in 171, there were almost certainly some thousands of mixed parentage in a better condition.[2] The mention of intermarriage,

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C I L 10. 3964; cf. PLINY 33.118) and that at Ilucro (A E 1907, no. 135.

[1] H. LAST, C A H 9. 7-8; TOYNBEE, Hann. Leg. 2. 332-40.

[2] Pp. 74-8.

however, is a reminder to exercise caution. As a result of unions between immigrants and locals (and they must have been frequent), distinctions between the descendants of Romans or Italians and the Spanish population would, after a couple of generations, be blurred in many cases.[1] After a century, persons of part-Roman or Italian descent would exist, as Romanized as their relatives who had legal title to civitas or ius Latii, but themselves unentitled to the same status. Many might well succeed in having others believe them to be cives or Latini. The proportions of these various elements in the settler population cannot be known: hence only rough estimates of it are possible and advisable.

Supposing that one in every eight (which seems a high proportion) or ten was venturous or needy enough to join Metellus' Balearic foundations, we would arrive at a total - for adult males - of twenty-four to thirty thousand Spanish-Romans and Spanish-Italians in the last quarter of the century. The figure does not seem unreasonable: it may even be too conservative.[2]

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[1] Pp. 74-8; cf. 91.

[2] If for some reason only Spanish-Romans in a strict sense (i.e. persons who had, or could plausibly allege, civitas) were eligible, the total would probably have to be more than doubled, but such discrimination by Metellus is unlikely: what would be the reason for it? But if Strabo's report has any value, it should indicate that merely Romanized natives were not included. We must remember, moreover, that most settler-families in 100 would not stretch back more than three generations.

As the figure for adult males is itself more theoretical than proven, there seems no purpose in projecting from it a yet more hypothetical estimate of wives (many of them, no doubt, purely or largely Spanish) and children.

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT BETWEEN 90 AND 50 B.C.

It has been pointed out that, as the second century went on, conditions in Italy worsened for the returning soldier. Nor did matters improve in the first, when from 90 to 71 a tremendous series of wars shook Italy, and the displacement of peasant proprietors under economic pressures in many areas became even more marked.[1] Some of these must have reached the provinces of Spain, either through army service there or as civilians. The same would hold good for some of those who lost their land in Sulla's and in Second Triumvirate confiscations.[2] Some of the Samnites driven from Italy by the

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[1] K.D. WHITE, 'Latifundia', Bull. of the Inst. of Class. St. (London) 14 (1967) 62-79 argues, from thorough analysis of the evidence, that latifundia developed from the first century B.C. onwards, and shows that the scanty references to depopulation in Republican Italy are mainly first-century (77-8, 79 n.11, cf. n.15); so too D. EARL in J R S 60 (1970) 210.

[2] WILSON cites the 'flight' epode of HORACE (Ep. 16: see esp. lines 17-22) and VERGIL, Ecl. 1.64-6, as illustrations of the feelings that must have gripped some Italians (Emigration, 79-80, 54) during the later period. Neither piece, of course, is to be taken as solid evidence for any particular migration, as WILSON stresses (54): but not every dispossessed, or sold-up, farmer was a poet or found a patron to rescue him. As it happens, CICERO mentions one Q. Subernius (though obviously not a simple farmer) who went to Spain with M. Varro (i.e. around 50 B.C.) 'vitandi belli causa': only to find himself, afterwards, in the second round of civil war there (Fam. 9.13.1). The same thing befell M. Planius Heres, like Subernius from the town of Cales (ibid. 2).

implacable Sulla will have reached Spain too.[1]

Admittedly the Spanish provinces themselves were not precisely unruffled during the revolutionary age. But the frequent reports of fighting under governors there are not to be misconstrued: with the momentous exception of the Sertorian war, most of it went on outside the settled areas. Even during that struggle, Ulterior saw armies only occasionally.[2] To many a comer from Italy even the occasional risks of life in a distant province with armed tribesmen on the borders might be worth taking if he could hope for better fortune than he could foresee at home.[3]

Forty years after Palma and Pollentia comes the next mention of Italian settlers. Sertorius, arriving in Spain in 83, armed (we are told) 'the Romans of military age' living there.[4] Since he afterwards sent six thousand 'ὁπλίτας' to hold the Pyrenees against

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[1] STR. 5.4.11 / C249: Sulla exterminated or expelled 'πάντας τοὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Σαυνιτῶν' (though exaggerated). E.T. SALMON, Samnium and the Samnites (Cambridge 1967) 391-2, suggests that L. Decidius Saxa may have been 'a Samnite of the Sullan dispersion'; cf. SYME, Tacitus 2. 784 (App. 80). For more on Decidius, see below, p.89 note 2.

[2] Only two battles are recorded in the Baetis region (the later Baetica): the first cleared Sertorius the way to Lusitania (PLUT. Sert. 12.3; SCHULTEN, Sertorius [1926] 55-6) and in the second Metellus Pius crushed an invasion by Hirtuleius (LIVY Per. 91; OROS. 5.23.10; SCHULTEN, op. cit., 104-5). Metellus' wintering in northeast Citerior in 76/5 and in Transalpina in 75/4 (see SCHULTEN, 105, 125) may have been partly for strategic reasons. However Pompey's letter to the Senate (in which of course he was stressing his unfavourable position) did not mention Ulterior as a source of supplies at that time (SALL. Hist. 2.98.7-10 M).

[3] VARRO mentions the riskiness of farming on the borders of Lusitania (R R 1.16.2): the context, and the nature of his book, imply Roman - not native - farmers are envisaged.

[4] PLUT. Sert. 6.5 'Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐτόθι μετοικούντων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ

Sulla's expeditionary force, and when they were killed or routed he retired with three thousand to Carthago Nova[1], it might be concluded that he had assembled nine thousand settlers under arms[2] - and that here we have a close to maximum figure for adult male settlers in the year 81.[3]

Unfortunately this will not do. The events of Sertorius' first period in Spain (from late 83 to 81) are obscure, because our sources leave matters unexplained or even confuse events with his later career[4]: but a few relevant points can be made briefly. First, Sertorius probably brought some troops from Italy, in winter 83/2.[5] Second, in his first period he seems to have been governor of Citerior only,[6] and the fighting which expelled him in 81 was

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[1] SALL. Hist. 1.95-7 M; PLUT. Sert. 7.1-2.

[2] So SCHULTEN, Sertorius, 44.

[3] For the date, SCHULTEN, 45 n.231; E. GABBA, Appiani de Bello Civili Liber Primus (1958) 228.

[4] e.g. APP. BC 1.86.392, 108.505; GABBA (op. cit.) 227-8.

[5] EXSUP. 7 states that he raised 40 cohorts in Etruria - for the civil war effort, indeed, but before long he retired to his province. APP. BC 1.108.506 describes him as 'στράτον ἔχων ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς καί τινα ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας' (while mentioning the arrival of Perperna's troops at 508). The anecdote in PLUT. Sert. 6.2 implies that he had the power to force a passage over the Pyrenees.

[6] Stated only by EXSUP. 8, for whose reliance on SALLUST see G. WISSOWA, R E 6. 1095-6. APP. BC 1.89.409 reports a cavalry force sent to the Marians in Italy, sometime during 82, 'ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγῶν' . GABBA, App. BC I, 228, 236 argues that these were Sertorius' predecessors, but in Athenaeum 36 (1958) 272 accepts that one might be Sertorius himself. E. BADIAN, 'Notes on provincial governors from the Social War down to Sulla's victory,' Stud. in Greek and Roman History (1964) 71-104, on pp. 96 and 104 n.164, seems not

confined to that province, which would be unexpected if he had the rich and populous Baetis valley and south coast to fall back on; though the commander in Ulterior (who is unknown) seems to have been pro-Marian at least until 82[1], he might well have sat on the fence when Sulla's army appeared - or even changed sides.[2] Third, Sertorius may have found some existing Roman forces in the province[3] - though this must be uncertain.[4] Nor should it be assumed that he found it politic to arm all the settlers - quite apart from the troublesome inconvenience to their livelihoods, which would make for discontent[5], he could hardly count on every one sharing his factional

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to have noticed the statement of Exsuperantius. Though Appian and Plutarch merely say Sertorius was sent to 'Spain', they are often imprecise about these provinces: Appian says the same of Pompey, whose province was Citerior (BC 1.108.508; MRR 2. 94), and Caesar, who was praetor in Ulterior (Iber. 102.442; MRR 2. 180); Plutarch too gives merely 'Spain' as Caesar's province (Caes. 11.1). For other examples see APP. BC 2.43.174, 48.197; PLUT. Crass. 4.1.

[1] APP. BC 1.89.409, and see last note.

[2] As C. Valerius Flaccus seems to have done: BADIAN, Studies, 95-6.

[3] SMITH, Service in the Post-Marian Army, 21, suggests that long-service armies were held in Spain as elsewhere; evidence for them in the second century has been given above, p. 18 ; cf. also below, pp. 33-44.

[4] BADIAN, Studies, 88-96, suggests that C. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 93) held both Citerior, perhaps all Spain, and Transalpina between about 92 and 83/2, but after 85 he was in Transalpina with his army (CIC. Flacc. 63; Quinct. 28; MRR 2. 58-9, 60 n.3; BADIAN, 89).

[5] And Sertorius, for sound political reasons, was eager to allay this, at least among native Spaniards (PLUT. Sert. 6.4).

sympathies.[1]

Thus in 82-81 Sertorius may have had over 9000 troops[2], but not all of them settlers: and the settlers among them would be largely (though probably not entirely) from Citerior. When he returned to Spain from his wanderings, about a year later, he had twenty-six hundred troops 'whom he called Romans', as well as a few hundred Africans, four thousand Lusitanian infantry and seven hundred cavalry.[3] The so-called Romans no doubt again included Spanish-Italians: more about this later.[4] In 77 M. Perperna brought him fifty-three cohorts[5]: Gabba suggests that some of these troops were recruited in Spain.[6]

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[1] Saguntum had a pro-government element in the 70s (CIC. Balb. 50-1 speaks of rewards to Fabii there, who may have been of immigrant stock: p. 56 note 3). In Ulterior, Gades was similarly loyal (Balb. 34, 40, cf. 6), Corduba too had a pro-government element (SALL. Hist. 2.70 M; PLUT. Sert. 22.2; CIC. Arch. 26); and cf. SALL. Hist. 1.107 M (general panic in Baetica at Sertorius' return). In addition, the calculation of 9000 men reached by simple addition does not allow for possible desertions between the Pyrenees debacle and Carthago Nova.

[2] Not very many more - his preparations against the Sullan forces do not suggest a large army. If the commander in Ulterior had turned unfriendly, a detachment might be needed to keep an eye on him.

[3] PLUT. Sert. 12.2. Rumour in Ulterior credited him with 50,000 and more barbarians (SALL. Hist. 1.107 M) !

[4] Pp. 76-8, 80-90. There may also have been some native Spaniards (awarded civitas by him à la Marius?) among them.

[5] PLUT. Sert. 15.2.

[6] E. GABBA, 'Le origini della Guerra Sociale e la vita politica romana dopo l'89 a.C.', Athenaeum N.S. 32 (1954), on p. 308. See also below, p. 385.

The civil wars and proscriptions exiled a number of upper-class Romans to Spain: Sertorius, we are told, could form an 'anti-Senate' three hundred strong. Possibly some of its members came also from the settler population.[1]

Town-foundations accompanied the government's victory over him. The colonia Metellinum was set up by Metellus Pius on the middle Anas river - it is recalled in today's Medellín.[2] Some distance northwards lay Castra Caecilia and Caecilius Vicus, marking no doubt the line of Metellus' advance in 79[3] and probably that of a final campaign to pacify Lusitania after the end of the Sertorian resistance; also the fruit of such campaigns, probably, was the post Caeciliana, thirty miles southwest of Olisipo.[4] Metellinum must

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[1] PLUT. Sert. 22.3; APP. BC 1.108.507; Iber. 101.439; Mith. 68.286; GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 315; and especially his 'Senati in esilio', Bull. dell' Ist. del Dir. rom. 63 (1960) 221-32.

[2] The name must recall a Metellus: and all others of that family who served in the Peninsula were active in Citerior (see, conveniently, BADIAN, Foreign Clientelae, 312). The confused MSS versions of the name in PTOL. 2.5.6 - Μέλλινον, Γερέλλινον, Γερίλλινα &c. - do however include the element Καικίλια (vel. sim.). The reading Καικίλια Γερέλλινον ἢ Μετέλλινα by NOBBE is, reasonably, rejected by MÜLLER in his edn. (p. 141), who proposes Καικίλια Μετέλλινα. The otherwise unattested combination may be due to a semi-intrusion by Castra Caecilia, which Ptolemy does not mention though Itin. Ant. does (434. 1 - as also Caecilius Vicus). HÜBNER (C I L 2, pp. 81-2) takes the reference in Ptolemy to mean Castra Caecilia itself, but its position in the list makes this unlikely.

[3] SCHULTEN, Sertorius, 66-8 and 72 (who holds they were founded, as settlements, at this time).

[4] For the first two: PLINY 4.117; Itin. Ant. 434.1. Caeciliana: Itin. Ant. 417.2; SCHULTEN, 70. If all these places existed from 79/8, it is hard to see why government control does not appear more firmly established there afterwards. Hirtuleius in 76 got as

have been the principal Roman nucleus in the middle Guadiana region until the establishment of Norba and Emerita. At such a place, on a hill guarding a river crossing, the colonists would be wholly or mainly ex-soldiers, charged with guarding the route into Lusitania: this will be discussed shortly in greater detail.

Pompey, for his part, founded at least one town in Citerior, and probably two. Pompaelo (Pamplona) in the territory of the Vascones, covered the western foothills of the Spanish Pyrenees and the pass of Roncesvalles. Strabo explains the name as 'ὡς ἂν Πομπηιόπολις'.[1] This recalls the Pompeiopolis the same commander was to found in Paphlagonia some years later.[2] He may well have given civitas to some

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far as Italica before Metellus stopped him (SCHULTEN, 104-5). If Metellinum did exist then (see below, p. 97) it can only have been as a small post; nor does Caecilius Vicus suggest a military emplacement. All our sources are silent about Metellus' activity after 72. The last mention of him in Spain is by APPIAN: confident that Pompey could finish Perperna off after Sertorius' murder, 'ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ᾤχετο' (BC 1.115.534). The next known of him is his return to Italy and triumph with Pompey late in 71 (VELL. 2.30.2; EUTROP. 6.5.2; CIL 1^2, p. 178; cf. SALL. Hist. 4.49 M).

Whether Metellinum was a formal colony or not from the start is discussed below: p. 97 .

PTOL. 2.4.9 mentions a town, or village, near Corduba called Καίκιλα . MÜLLER (p. 116) suggests this is an error for Sacili - though Sacili is mentioned later (2.4.11) and with different latitude and longitude. But even if a Metellan foundation did exist there (it cannot in any case be certain that the name must refer to a Caecilius) it never had any importance.

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[1] 3.4.10 / C161.

[2] See R E 21/2. 2044.

of its people (one of the few inscriptions from Pamplona mentions two upper-class Pompeii[1]). The town was mainly or entirely a Spanish settlement, consisting (it may be) of loyalists whose original possessions had suffered in the war: it was a tributary community in the source-list Pliny the Elder followed.[2]

Pompey also established a number of Spaniards, who seem to have been former bandits - possibly Sertorian guerrillas - at Lugdunum Convenarum in Aquitania (modern St Bertrand-de-Comminges), at the foot of the Gallic Pyrenees.[3] If the settlers were former Sertorians, the measure accorded with his clement policy towards the beaten party[4]: if merely bandits (or tribesmen impartially hostile to either Roman side[5]), it shows a good deal of sense in removing them from the mountains, and again recalls his later treatment of the

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[1] C I L 2. 2958 (A.D. 57). 2960 has a Caecilius - recalling a grant by Metellus?

[2] N H 3.24.

[3] About 20 miles S-E of Tarbes. JEROME, Adv. Vigilant. 4 (= MIGNE, Patrol. Lat. vol. 23, col. 342), gives the colonists as Vectones (i.e. Vettones), Arevaci and Celtiberi; ISID. Etymol. 9.2. 107-8 mentions only Vascones, though his report otherwise simply reproduces the first part of Jerome's. The variety of origin of the settlers was implied in the name Convenae. CAES. BCiv 3.19.2 seems to refer to the peace terms accorded the bandits (or some of them) holding out in the Pyrenees. The name Lugdunum-of-the-Convenae comes from Strabo, who says they had Latin right (4.2.1 / C190): this they must have gained after Pliny's source was compiled (not mentioned in his reference to them: 4.108). On the history of the town till Augustus, see R. LIZOP, Les Convenae et les Consorani (1931) 5-31.

[4] CIC. 2 Verr. 5.58.153.

[5] Cf. those encountered by Sertorius in 83 (PLUT. Sert. 6.3).

pirates.

His chief foundation was (it is probable) the Roman colony at Valentia. That town had suffered severely in the war, perhaps even being destroyed.[1] Pliny's Augustan source[2], however, ranks it as colonia[3], while the absence of any title suggests this predates Caesar or Augustus. That it had not colonia status even by Sertorius' time is implied not only by the circumstances of its foundation by D. Brutus (already described) but by the references to it as 'oppidum' in the epitome of Livy and as 'urbs Valentia' by Sallust - the latter under the year 74.[4] An inscription found in Italy records a dedication to L. Afranius, consul in 60, by the 'conscripti et coloni coloniae Valentinae'.[5] Admittedly this is not definite proof that the Spanish colony was Pompey's: there was another Valentia - in Transalpina and untitled - which (E. Badian has argued) Afranius may have founded when the presumed governor of that province in 59.[6] But this identification is less convincing -

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[1] SALL. Hist. 2.98.6 M 'ducem hostium C. Herennium cum urbe Valentia et exercitu deletos' (Pompey's letter to the Senate). FLOR. 2.10.9 says Valentia was one of the last towns to surrender to the government in 72 - either an error, as no other source mentions it (STR. 3.4.10/C161 gives Tarraco and Hemeroscopeium/Dianium as the coast-towns longest loyal to Sertorius) or else Sertorius had recovered and garrisoned the remains.

[2] For which see pp. 311-19.

[3] N H 3.20.

[4] LIVY Per. 55; SALL. loc. cit. (note 1 above).

[5] 'L. Afr[a]nio A.f. cos. consc[r]ip. et c[ol.]col. Vale[nt.]' (C I L 9. 5275 = I L S 878 = I L L R P 385).

[6] BADIAN, F C, 311. For Afranius' possible governorship in Transalpina see MOMIGLIANO, J R S 1940 (review of SYME, Rom. Rev-

apart from the uncertainty over Gallic Valentia's own date, Broughton prefers to assign Afranius (if anywhere) to Cisalpina.[1] By contrast, Afranius is known as a legate of Pompey's in the Sertorian war.[2] Thus he could have participated in establishing the settlement, which is best dated to 71. Valentia's favourable position in the midst of a fertile region would recommend its early re-foundation, while its Sertorian sympathies probably encouraged the placing of Roman colonists there to counteract insurgent tendencies.[3]

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olution) 77.

[1] T A P A 79 (1948) 74, 76; M R R 2. 183, 190; cf. 130-1 for Afranius' triumph, possibly from Spain. On a later date for Gallic Valentia, see GOESSLER, R E 7 A. 2154.

[2] PLUT. Sert. 19.3; OROS. 5.23.14. The attribution to Spanish Valentia is accepted by DESSAU and DEGRASSI, ll. cit.; also F. VITTINGHOFF, Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik ... (1952) 73 n.2; SCHULTEN, R E 7 A. 2148-50; WILSON, Emigration, 41, cf. 40-2.

[3] According to VIVES, La Mon. hisp., 4. 15, the coins of Valentia resemble those struck by Q. Fabius Maximus, whom he implicitly dates to the mid-second century. Their reverse does resemble that of coins struck by the two moneyers of that name, whom SYDENHAM, Rom. Rep. Coinage, 55, 57 and 112-3, dates to 125/20 and ca. 85 B.C. respectively. The coins of the latter date would not be too early for imitations struck after 72 (though no Fabius is known in Spain at this period save Sertorius' officer L. Fabius Hispaniensis). A different explanation would connect with the possibility that at least some of the Valentian issues were struck by the Brutan town: cf. above, pp. 8-12.

Several inscriptions from the town refer to 'Valentini veterani et veteres' (C I L 2. 3733-7, 3739, 3741), all but one (3739) definitely datable to the third century A.D. (so that 3739 is also probably of that period). Another mentions 'uterque ordo Valentinorum' (3745), presumably meaning these same two groups' senates. Thus it is rather dubious that they should refer to the Brutan and Pompeian settlers (so TORRES, Ampurias 13 [1951] 120; FLETCHER VALLS, Archivo preh. lev. 10 [1963] 199-200; SCHULTEN, R E 7 A. 2149; WILSON,

The next glimpse of settlers (so it would seem) comes a decadle later. Caesar, arriving in Ulterior in 61 as governor, found twenty cohorts there and raised ten more 'in a few days'.[1] Such rapid mobilization was feasible probably because the extra troops were veterans living there: the number involved would be around five thousand.[2] Apart from settlers with civitas or Latin right, some recruits might be men granted civitas by Metellus Pius or Pompey, others might well be Roman- or Italian-Spaniards of peregrine status.

Emigration, 41-2), unless we assume that the 'double-community' division both endured until, and then for some reason began to be made much of during, the later Empire - though admittedly the term veterani does occur elsewhere to signify the descendants of the actual ex-soldiers: I L S 9400 (A.D. 206), cf. L. TEUTSCH in Rev. int. des droits de l'ant. 8 (1961) 299-301.

The attempt of MATEU Y LLOPIS in Numisma No. 6 (1953), 18-22, to show that 'veterani' and 'veteres' refers to the Brutan settlers of 138 and the pre-existing inhabitants at the town, is based on unacceptable arguments: for example, an inscription HÜBNER classes as false (C I L 2.*250).

E. KORNEMANN, R E 4. 516 (cf. 528) - followed by M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas (1946) 472,-takes Valentia to be a Latin colony, but - though this is possible for the Brutan town - there is no evidence for this.

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[1] PLUT. Caes. 12.1.

[2] SCHULTEN, F H A 5. 11. Less, if the cohorts were not up to full strength. L. HARMAND, L'Armée et le soldat à Rome de 107 à 50 ... (1967) 34, suggests these extra cohorts were auxilia. There is (as usual) no way of deciding the question firmly, but there is no strong reason for thinking the province of Ulterior could not supply ten, wholly or chiefly citizen, cohorts by this date.

CHAPTER III

SETTLERS IN THE CIVIL WARS
49 - 45 B.C.

THE opening of hostilities between Caesar and Pompey throws sudden and useful light on Spain for four or five years. The presence of Roman settlers enabled legionary forces to be recruited for campaigns there, to supplement (or replace) troops sent from Italy. Hence greater - though not easily elucidated - information about the settler population of the period.

After his victory at Ilerda, Caesar granted immediate discharge to those Pompeian soldiers 'qui habeant domicilium aut possessionem in Hispania' - about one-third of the whole army of five legions.[1] Domicilium must refer to troops already settled in the provinces there, possessio presumably to ones from Italy who had acquired property and meant to settle after discharge. The former would probably be the more numerous.

Now the strength of a freshly raised legion in the mid-first century was probably over four thousand.[2] Those of Afranius and

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[1] CAES. BCiv 1.86.3, 87.4.

[2] Full discussion in HARMAND, L'Armée et le soldat, 25-35, who suggests about 4000 for a Caesarian legion (p. 29) and 4-4500 for a Pompeian (29-30) on average. Cf. G. VEITH in J. KROMAYER-G. VEITH (et al.), Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer (1928) 387.

Petreius had done little actual fighting in the Ilerda campaign. When those two officers were sent to Spain in 55, it is true, they replaced a governor who had been unsuccessful against the Vaccaei.[1] The Pompeian troops had learned some novel tactics in fighting 'cum Lusitanis reliquisque barbaris'[2], and the two 'Varronian' legions in the south could be described a year after Ilerda as 'veteranas multisque proeliis expertas'.[3] All this implies that the years 55 to 49 had not been free of casualties. However, Varro in the south brought his legions up to full strength on the outbreak of war[4]; we are not told the other two legates did the same, though as they were the ones who had to encounter Caesar they may well have taken care to. The five legions they commanded may, therefore, be assessed at twenty thousand strong at the least. Then a third would be around seven thousand men.[5] A good proportion of the local troops may have come from Citerior, which Afranius had held with three legions.[6]

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[1] DIO 39.33.2 and 39.54.

[2] CAES. BCiv 1.44.1.

[3] BAlex 61.1, cf. 53.5 (every man in one of them 'diuturnitate iam factus provincialis').

[4] CAES. BCiv 2.18.1.

[5] Cf. J.J. van NOSTRAND, in Econ. Sur. Anc. Rome 3. 144 (estimating 7500); WILSON, Emigration, 10-11 (proposing 8000).

[6] CAES. BCiv 1.38.1, 39.1.

In the south, meanwhile, Varro had, as stated, brought his two legions up to strength. One of them is called, by Caesar and others, 'legio vernacula': it was to play a notable part in events in Ulterior over the next four years, but discussion of its disputed composition will be postponed for the moment. The other 'Varronian' formation had some provincially-raised recruits but must have been mostly Italian[1]: by analogy with the rest of the Pompeian forces, two-thirds or so. In that case the local recruits would number some fifteen hundred, possibly more.[2]

As some of the Pompeians discharged in Spain had property but not domicilium, the total of legionaries recruited from actual provincial sources may be put at five or six thousand. These troops counted as Romans. Their origins and status might not, in reality,

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[1] Implied by Caesar in his remarks to Afranius and Petreius: 'neque enim sex legiones alia de causa [sc. quam contra eum] missas in Hispaniam septimamque ibi conscriptam' (BCiv 1.85.6); also by BAlex 53.5 'diuturnitate iam factus provincialis'.

[2] Varro also raised 30 'cohortes alariae', which appear to have been - at any rate chiefly - composed of Spanish auxilia (CAES. BCiv 2.18.1): the phrase is applied to units under Afranius and Petreius (1.73.3 and 83.1) which pretty clearly are the same as the auxiliary cohorts they raised in Spain (1.39.1) - note also the 'alarii' of BGall 1.51.1. Cf. HARMAND, L'Armée et le soldat, 41-5, esp. 42; T. YOSHIMURA, 'Die Auxiliartruppen und die Provinzialklientel in der römischen Republik', Historia 10 (1961) 473-95, on 474 n.5.

be so clear-cut: some may well have been Latini from Carteia (if that town still kept Latin status) or elsewhere, several may have been of largely Italian stock yet lack the citizenship, whereas many again would - even technically - be cives Romani, among them no doubt Spaniards whose parents or who themselves had received enfranchisement from a Roman commander. Moreover a recruitment drive would do its best to obtain any recently arrived settlers of able body and Italian origin - particularly veterans. Four years later, one of the best-regarded Pompeian legions at Munda was 'facta ex coloniis quae fuerunt in his regionibus'.[1] Two 'cohortes colonicae', apparently support-units or militia composed of settlers and not attached to any legion, are mentioned in 49[2], while a year later the governor of Ulterior had a bodyguard of evocati.[3]

The unpopular Cassius, the governor in question, recruited a new legion, numbered 'quinta', in 48. This levy and the cost of the extra force added, we are told, to the hatred already felt for him.[4] As the prompt result was a plot by provincial Romans[5] to kill him,

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[1] BHisp 7.4. If the description of the soldiery in Varro's legio II as 'diuturnitate iam factus provincialis' is more than approximate, it would suggest that the local levies in it were drawn from a similar source (e.g. first-generation settlers).

[2] CAES. BCiv 2.19.3.

[3] BAlex 53.1. Admittedly these may not have been locally recruited, but may have been raised in Italy.

[4] BAlex 50.5.

[5] Cf. WILSON, Emigration, 35.

we have a hint about the composition of legio V. Before long, six cohorts of it joined the provincial movement against him.[1] Two of them were on garrison duty at Corduba - which recalls the two 'colonial' cohorts that helped the Roman conventus there transfer allegiance to Caesar the previous year. Cassius may have built up legio V around these cohorts.

He was replaced, after an interval of dissension, by C. Trebonius, but the troops finally turned against the Caesarian side generally, expelled him and welcomed Cn. Pompey the younger.[2] Dio does not report precisely what formations the troops who did so belonged to, though he then narrates how, when young Pompey landed to find Baetica in revolt and take over the mutineers, 'many of the enemy came over to him, and particularly those who had served with Afranius'.[3] But there is other evidence. The author of Bellum Hispaniense states that two legions had deserted Trebonius.[4] He also names them: but the text may be corrupt. 'Duae fuerant vernaculae' - so the manuscripts - 'quae a Trebonio transfugerant.' Since only one legio vernacula, explicitly so called, is known - Varro's - this has been emended to 'vernacula e<t II>'.[5] Is this justified?

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[1] BAlex 57.3 and 5.

[2] DIO 43.29 - 30.2; cf. BAfr 23.3; APP. BC 2.87.367.

[3] 43.30.4.

[4] BHisp 7.4.

[5] By MOMMSEN, Gesammelte Schriften 7 (1909) 64: accepted e.g. by KLOTZ (and SCHULTEN, who prints Klotz' text in FHA 5), and G. PASCUCCI (1965).

Certainly a candidate for the role of second legio vernacula exists: precisely Cassius' legio V. This latter interpretation convinced Rice Holmes.[1] But he then had to argue that the other 'Varronian' legion - legio II (as the author of Bellum Alexandrinum calls it) - must have re-deserted to Caesar sometime before the Munda campaign.[2] This is most unlikely: that formation had been nearly as ready as the Varronian vernacula to desert Cassius[3], and its deep-seated Pompeian sympathies are stressed by our principal source for the events of 48.[4] As the author of Bellum Hispaniense is explicit that two (not three) legions had deserted Trebonius, it might have to be supposed - if we wish to preserve the manuscript reading - that Trebonius had cashiered legio II for unreliability (which would not, of course, prevent young Pompey re-enlisting it). But to disband that formation and keep the vernacula, which had led the way in mutiny, would be peculiar. Mommsen's point in making the emendation should therefore be correct - whether the ancient author had written 'vernaculae' (by mistake or misinformation) or not.

What then became of legio V? Possibly this served with Caesar in 45. A legio V is reported among his forces[5]: Holmes had to

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[1] The Rom. Rep. 3. 355 n.3, 542.

[2] ibid. 542.

[3] BAlex 53.4, 54.3, 57.1-3.

[4] ibid. 58.2.

[5] BHisp 23.3, 30.7.

explain it as legio V Alaudae, the Gallic formation.[1] In view of the preceding arguments, this conclusion is not essential: Cassius' legio V wavered in its sympathies, it is true, but four of its cohorts had stood by him. Alternatively, Trebonius may have discharged it in a bid for provincial support, since the raising and maintenance of it had roused odium.[2] If this was done, then some of its effectives may afterwards have enlisted on the Pompeian side in the

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[1] Rom. Rep., 3. 355 n.3, 542.

[2] This would then clear the way for HOLMES' supposition of Alaudae. It is curious that, if Trebonius took over, and kept, all five legions in Ulterior (for them see CAES. BCiv 1.21.4; BAlex 50.5, 53.5), the desertion of two - even two veteran ones - should have turned him out in 46 (for the date: DIO 43.29.3 - after Thapsus). Apart from legio V, Cassius had had two (admittedly recently raised) Italian formations, XXI and XXX (BAlex 53.5). Trebonius must have been weakened during 47. Now Cassius, just before the trouble in Ulterior broke out, had been ordered by Caesar to attack Numidia (BAlex 51.1, cf. 56.5). Nothing more seems to have come of this project. But for his African campaign, begun in winter 47/6, Caesar had, among other legions, a XXX - according to the MSS of BAfr 60.1 (not noticed in OCT appar. crit.). Because it ought to be among his 'tirones' formations, the number is usually emended to XXV (so, e.g., OCT, Budé: see HOLMES, Rom. Rep. 3. 523, 534-6) - moreover legio XXX appears, as before, in Ulterior in 43 (POLLIO in CIC. Fam. 10.32.4). But Cassius' legio XXX, though raised in 49, had seen no fighting then or in 48 except for the slight skirmishing during the troubles over Cassius (it was not at Ilerda: see HOLMES, 3. 390, cf. 77). Therefore it could be considered militarily untried. (HOLMES, 3. 355 n.3, takes it to be, in fact, one of the legions for Africa; later, on p. 523, he seems to have changed his mind.) There is no difficulty in supposing that after the African campaign Caesar took it back to Spain with him.

legion 'facta ex coloniis'.[1]

Legio II, then, contained some provincial Romans, and the 'colonial' Pompeian legion consisted of more. Another formation 'fuit Afraniana ex Africa quam secum [the young Cn. Pompey] adduxerat'.[2] Its composition in turn repays investigation. Three or four points may be made. L. Afranius had joined Pompey in the East after the debacle of Ilerda: in the battle-line at Pharsalus he had a number of 'cohortes Hispanae', highly thought of by his chief.[3] Afranius later fought in the African campaign too, in which he perished.[4] Earlier in that struggle, young Cn. Pompey - after an abortive venture in Mauretania - had gone across to the Balearic Islands, with a force originally two thousand strong, consisting (says our source) of free men and slaves.[5] On landing in Spain he was joined (according to Dio, as we have seen) by former Afraniani.[6]

Thus it is to be concluded that Afranius' Spanish cohorts consisted

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[1] BHisp 7.4. It is a good deal less likely that legio V, as a unit, also deserted Trebonius along with the vernacula and II - that would require a contradiction both of the explicit figure 'duae' in BHisp and also of the implication (in this source's description of the 'colonial' legion) that it was a Pompeian, and relatively recent, creation.

[2] BHisp 7.4.

[3] CAES. BCiv 3.83.2, 88.2.

[4] BAfr 69.1, 95.3.

[5] BAfr 23.

[6] 43.30.4 - as well as by the 'Varronians' (29.1-3).

of soldiers of his earlier discharged in Spain, that young Pompey had taken with him some or all of the survivors - with perhaps others who had come across to Africa from Spain to re-enlist there[1], and that the recruitment of more when he reached the Peninsula produced a legion.[2]

So far, then, we may recognize among the Pompeian forces at Munda two legions of provincial Romans, and roughly a third of another formed from the same element. Legio vernacula remains. Many suppose, or argue, that native Spaniards composed its personnel, on the analogy of Caesar's famous Gallic Alaudae.[3] A passage already cited indeed seems to contrast it with the 'colonial' legion[4], the name means (roughly) 'domestic' or 'home-born', and slaves (it might seem) belonged to it - at any rate by 45 B.C.[5] On the other hand, some prefer to regard it as a legion raised from provincial

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[1] Note BAfr 64 for one such loyalist, unlucky enough to fall into the hands of the Caesarians.

[2] A somewhat similar opinion is held by J. CARCOPINO, Jules César[5] (1968) 458, who supposes that young Pompey brought a full legion from Africa. So does BHisp 7.4. It is not a severe discrepancy.

[3] MOMMSEN, 'Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit', Ges. Schr. 6. 20-117, on 31 (cf. ibid. n.3); DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, Dict. des Antiq. 3/2. 1057; HOLMES, Rom. Rep. 3. 76, 357, 542; A. von DOMASZEWSKI, 'Die Heere der Bürgerkriege in den Jahren 49 bis 42 vor Christus', Neue Heidelb. Jahrb. 4 (1894) 157-88, on 168 n.4; KROMAYER-VEITH, Heerwesen und Kriegführung, 386; HARMAND, L'Armée et le soldat, 34, 235-6; T. YOSHIMURA, 'The legio vernacula of Pompey', J. of Cl. Stud. (Kyoto) 8 (1960) 74-80 - I have been obliged to rely on the fairly full English résumé on 165-6.

[4] BHisp 7.4.

[5] BHisp 12.2, 20.5: a point adduced by YOSHIMURA, art. cit.

Romans.[1] They are probably right.

The evidence suggesting there were slaves in the legion in 45 - quite apart from throwing no light on its original composition - does not stand up.[2] On the contrary: Cn. Pompey's four best legions are contrasted with the rest, which 'ex fugitivis auxiliariisve consistebant'.[3] Like the other Varronian legion, vernacula was veteran by 48.[4] It must therefore have been raised between 55 and 52

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[1] SMITH, Service in the post-Marian Army, 55-6 (but his view, that the 'vernaculani' were all non-citizen half-castes like the petitioners of 171, is not followed in the argument below); WILSON, Emigration, 11, 34 (briefly; relying largely on BAlex 53.5).

[2] BHisp 12.1-2 reports that two soldiers of the vernacula, on capture, 'dixerunt se servos esse', then were recognized by troops 'qui antea cum Fabio et Pedio fuerant' and were executed. Fabius and Pedius were Caesar's legates in 46 (BHisp 2.2; DIO 43.31.1) and these troops of theirs must obviously have belonged earlier to Cassius' army - i.e. to legio XXI or V (cf. HOLMES, Rom. Rep. 3. 542, and above, 36 - 9). Clearly, when captured (by cavalrymen apparently on patrol; not in battle) the 'vernaculani' were n o t recognized: likely enough they tried to conceal their identity in fear of the consequences, a fear justified by the event.

Later, BHisp 20.5 speaks of the capture of four 'speculatores' - 'servi III et unus ex legione vernacula'. Contra YOSHIMURA, art. cit., this surely indicates the slaves were n o t in that formation.

[3] BHisp 7.5:'auxiliariisve' MOMMSEN; 'auxiliaribusque' KLOTZ et al.; 'auxiliares' MSS. According to APPIAN, the Pompeians in Spain raised a new army 'ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ θεραπόντων' (BC 2.87.366). This is not accurate, as their forces almost certainly included Varro's partly Italian legio II (as has been shown), probably a number of Afraniani recruited after Pompey's landing in the Peninsula, and also the 'colonial' legion; not to speak of the vernacula now under discussion. But more than twice as many legions consisted of Spaniards and (so we are told) slaves (BHisp loc. cit.): enough, with some Caesarian propagandizing, to brand the whole army as native and worse.

[4] BAlex 61.1.

- or even earlier.[1]

In a peace overture to Pompey, Caesar reminded his adversary 'illum ex Italia expulsum, amissa Sicilia et Sardinia duabusque Hispaniis et cohortibus in Italia atque Hispania civium Romanorum centum atque XXX.'[2] In the Italian 'blitzkrieg' of 49 Pompey had lost something over forty-two cohorts[3], while the seven legions of the Spanish army amounted to seventy more, to which the two 'colonicae' may also be added. If the vernacula was raised from peregrini, these must have received citizenship on enlistment.[4] But Caesar's Alaudae, the only sure example before 50 of a peregrine legion under a Roman general, did not obtain citizenship for some years.[5] Two conclusions can be drawn: the vernacula was composed of cives Romani and its personnel, 'in provincia natus', was levied among at least

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[1] YOSHIMURA (art. cit.) suggests between 55 and 52. But there is no evidence that the legion was necessarily raised by a Pompeian governor.

[2] CAES. BCiv 3.10.5.

[3] HOLMES, Rom. Rep. 3. 357: see BCiv 1.12.1-2, 12.3 - 13.4, 15.3, 15.5, 15.6, 24.3; POMPEY in CIC. Att. 8.12 A.1, 12 C.1; also HOLMES, 3. 368-72. DOMASZEWSKI (N. Heid. J. 1894), 164, by failing to take into account the evidence in CIC. ll. cit., supposes a loss of well over 60 cohorts.

[4] So MOMMSEN, Ges. Schr. 6. 31; HOLMES, 3. 357.

[5] SUET. Iul. 24.2. MOMMSEN (ibid.) suggests that Pompey's practice was different: but his proof depends on taking the Gallic and German cavalry, which were sent to Pompey in 48 from Alexandria where they had been stationed by Gabinius (CAES. BCiv 3.4.4), as the entire Gabinian force or at any rate the chief part of it, that Caesar later mentions (3.103.5 and 110.2); equally therefore it depends on assuming the cavalry returned to Alexandria after Pharsalus (doubted by HOLMES, 3. 432), also on supposing that the Gauls and Germans 'allem Anschein nach als Legionare dienten'.

second-generation settlers.

Thus the settler population in 46 was numerous enough to produce three legions and part of a fourth[1] - possibly even a fifth, if Cassius' legio V was in Caesar's army.[2] A general objection of principle might be made to this interpretation: in the exigencies of civil war, was any commander to be expected to observe the niceties of the law of recruitment and accept only cives? The answer is, of course not. The other nine Pompeian legions are evidence enough. But for two of the four analyzed above, the objection does not hold: the vernacula and the partially-settler legio II were raised before 49 and when there was no urgent need to make up as large a force as possible from purely local sources. As for the other two, one we are plainly told was 'ex coloniis', the second - 'Afraniana' - was, by all the evidence, not native either. The objection could be turned on itself: what if the nine allegedly inferior legions, 'ex fugitivis auxiliariisve', included in fact some proportion of settlers, with or without the civitas Romana?[3]

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[1] Vernacula, 'colonial', Afraniana, legio II.

[2] Where were recruits of Latin status assigned, if any? Probably to some of these four legions. The same perhaps with recruits of Italian descent but peregrine status (see pp. 76 - 8) who would often be in the position, to be discussed later, of 'plausible cives'; but some of them could well have been put into the other nine, maligned formations - see below.

[3] This was true of the Pompeian army in the Thapsus campaign: Labienus made levies 'ex h i b r i d i s, libertinis servisque' (BAfr 19.3) - for his cavalry at least, but his legions are also described as 'cuiusquemodi generis' (ibid.). BAfr 35.4 may imply that at least two of those legions consisted partly of cives and partly of peregrini ('propemodum omnes cives Romani qui sunt in legione IV et VI').

One qualification is to be made. As remarked earlier and as will be investigated in detail later, many part-Italian or part-Roman persons alive in 50 B.C. would lack citizenship, though culturally well Romanized. They would often pass for cives, and no doubt a recruiting officer was ready to accept this. We could speak, therefore, of a formation like the vernacula as composed of both cives and 'cives'.

The total manpower involved must originally have been over twelve thousand.[1] This should not be regarded as close to the total figure for male adult cives and 'cives' in Spain. The Pompeians are no more likely than Sertorius to have been able to recruit all, or most, of these. Admittedly, at first glance, pro-Caesarian support in Ulterior was small by 45: Dio says that Ulia alone remained loyal[2], and certainly it was the only place we hear of that held out.[3] But other places (we are told) had to be forcibly subdued by the Pompeians[4], a report borne out by instances of fierce internal faction-fighting at many towns of Ulterior[5] and by the ap-

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[1] At an average of 4000 per legion and taking 1000-1500 as the original strength of the locally-raised part of II.

[2] 'ἡ δὲ δὴ ἤπειρος ἡ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα πλὴν Οὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει (sc. τοῖς Πομπηιάνοις)': 43.31.4.

[3] BHisp 3.1-3. [4] 1.4.

[5] Ucubi (BHisp 20.2); Urso (or Bursavo: 22); Carteia (37.1). At Ategua the Pompeian troops massacred most of the Caesarian party (BHisp 15.6, cf. 16.4; VAL. MAX. 9.2.4). The equites Romani of Asta seem to have preferred Caesar also (BHisp 26.2: see A. KLOTZ, Kommentar zum Bellum Hispaniense (1927), 88-9; PASCUCCI, Bellum Hispaniense (crit. ed., 1965) 299).

pearance of Caesarian and Pompeian parties even at Corduba and Hispalis, the chief inland cities of the province.[1] The only indication of the sympathies of Italica in 45 is the presence of a Roman knight of that town in Caesar's army[2]; of Gades, that the Caesarian admiral Didius had his fleet there.[3] As soon as Caesar scored a notable success, several communities joined him.[4] In south Citerior, Carthago Nova resisted young Pompey too, though we do not know if successfully.[5] In view of all this, there is no reason to doubt the statement that the Pompeians put citizens to death and devastated fields.[6]

That faction, therefore, cannot have had more than a minority of the adult male settlers in Spain under arms.[7] Possibly, as shown earlier, Caesar's army too may have included a settler legion. Thus if one settler civis (genuine or plausible) out of every four in Spain served in his enemies' four best legions, that would probably

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[1] BHisp 2.1, 34.1 (Corduba); 35.1-2, cf. DIO 43.39.2 (Hispalis).

[2] BHisp 25.4.

[3] 37.2. Gades may have temporized earlier: Caesar, after Munda, seized the Temple of Hercules' treasure, which in 49 he had been careful to give back after Varro's confiscation (DIO 43.39.4; cf. CAES. BCiv 2.21.3). If so the town probably showed itself on Caesar's side at least as soon as Didius secured command of the sea (DIO 43.31.3).

[4] DIO 43.35.1.

[5] 43.30.1.

[6] BHisp 42.6 (alleged in a speech given to Caesar).

[7] It is a small point, but worth remarking, that we are not given any impression that Corduba (whose settler proportion must have been very large) or Carteia (where they were Latins) were emasculated through heavy enlistments - quite the opposite, to judge from the reports of internal dissension.

be a high proportion. The minimum total for such persons in Spain then works out as forty-eight to fifty thousand.[1] Probably it was higher, especially if there had already existed half so many around 120 B.C.

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[1] This, it must be stressed, will not have been the minimum for a l l adult males in the Spanish provinces of partly Roman-Italian descent. The latter figure is quite unreachable (though the suggestion, made earlier, is to be borne in mind, that many recruits in the other nine Pompeian legions belonged to this category). Similarly it would be fruitless to try to calculate a figure for women and children. But see below, p.58 note 1.

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLERS: HOW AND WHO

(i) Opportunities and origins

ON the first entry of the Romans, much of the territory that became the provinces of Hispania Citerior and Ulterior was already developing economically. Baetica and south Lusitania had a flourishing agriculture[1]; so did the east coast round Saguntum[2], and the Balearic Isles were fertile.[3] The northeast, and parts of the Ebro basin, also produced crops.[4] Along the coasts, fishing was naturally important. Salted fish from Gades was known at Athens in the fifth century[5], and the famous garum sauce antedated Roman rule.[6] A pre-Roman textile industry is indicated by remains of loom-weights and spindle wheels[7]; Scipio captured a quantity of

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[1] POL. 34.9.3 and 8.7 respectively; R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, ed., Hist. de España 1/2. 378-9; 1/3. 336-7; J. CARO BAROJA, 'Regímenes sociales y económicos en la España prerromana', Revista intern. de Sociol. 1 (1945) 149-90, on 180-7.

[2] LIVY 21.7.3.

[3] LIVY 28.37.8; DIOD. 5.17.1 (from Timaeus - HÜBNER, R E 2. 2823; SCHULTEN, F H A 2. 94, 100; cf. R. HARDER, R E 6 A. 1082-3).

[4] A. ARRIBAS, The Iberians, 120; MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, ed., H. de E. 1/3. 219; cf. LIVY 28.3.5, 34.9.12.

[5] EUPOL. frag. 186 (KOCK, Comicor. Attic. Fragm. 1. 310); also ARISTOPH. Frogs 474-5; ANTIPHANES frag. 77 (KOCK, 2. 43).

[6] H. de E. 1/2. 381; R E 7. 841.

[7] ARRIBAS, The Iberians, 124; cf. POL. 3.114.4, LIVY 22. 46.6 (linen-clad Spanish troops).

linen at Carthago Nova in 209, also a store of esparto, another early product.[1] Vine and olive cultivation also preceded the Romans.[2] Stockraising and sheepbreeding figured in legends of early south Spain[3] and would also predominate, naturally, in terrain too rough for agriculture, for example the slopes of the Pyrenees.[4] Spanish forests provided lumber.[5] Moreover Spain had mineral wealth: iron, lead, and above all silver and gold[6], exploited by the Carthaginians.[7]

The existence of some internal trade is revealed by Greek finds in many areas, even the far west and north - though of course

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[1] LIVY 26.47.9; H. de E. 1/3. 354-5.

[2] POL. 34.8.8; AVIEN. Ora marit. 495, 505 - based on a periplus of ca. 500 B.C.: see SCHULTEN, F H A 1² (1955) 12-16; J. CARO BAROJA, España primitiva y romana (1957) 74. Olives seem to have reached the Tagus valley by 150 B.C. (APP. Iber. 64.271 - probably only in certain localities).

[3] DIOD. 4.17.1, 18.2-3; STR. 3.5.4 / C169; JUSTIN 44.4.14-15; CARO BAROJA, 'Regímenes sociales ... ', 184.

[4] CARO BAROJA, 'Regímenes sociales ... ', 166-8. Similarly the upland plateau country of Celtiberia and central Lusitania (the Meseta): DIOD. 5.33.2, 34.2, 35.3 (cf. LIVY Per. 52, DIO frg. 73.1 B o i s s . , OROS. 5.4.1: Viriatus a pastor); CARO BAROJA, art. cit., 171-2; H. de E. 1/3. 167, 170, 337-8; P. BOSCH GIMPERA, El Poblamiento antiguo y la Formación de los Pueblos de España (1944) 136-7. But the Vaccaei of the middle Duero valley (in the areas now called Tierra de Pan and Tierra de Campos) were agricultural: DIOD. 5.34.3; CARO BAROJA, art. cit., 177-9.

[5] STR. 3.2.6 / C144 (Baetica); 3.4.11 / C161 (Pyrenees).

[6] PS.-ARISTOT. Mirab. Auscult. 46 and 153; POL. 3.57.3; DIOD. 5.35.4; cf. STR. 3.2.14 / C151 (story of how Hamilcar Barca found the Turdetani using household utensils of silver); H. de E. 1/3. 178-80, 355-60; ARRIBAS, The Iberians, 124-5, 179-89.

[7] DIOD. 5.38.2; PLINY N H 33.96-7. Gold dust in the Tagus and other western rivers: STR. 3.3.4 / C153; MELA 3.8; PLINY N H 4. 115.

concentrated along the Mediterranean coast and above all in the neighbourhood of Greek colonies[1], by evidence of Gaditane trade with the hinterland as far as the Duero.[2] Gades monopolized the tin trade with the north until the intervention of P. Crassus, probably the governor of Ulterior in the 90s, and provided wine, salt and bronze objects in exchange.[3]

Social conditions corresponded to this situation. In the south and east a proprietorial class, with wealth drawn from large estates and from mines, and supplemented by stockbreeders and coast-town merchants[4], dominated. Government was in the hands of chieftains or kings (*reguli*, *reges*) or, more often, magistrates and 'senates'; other classes included town-craftsmen, peasants and slaves.[5] In the less favoured central regions, a rustic population, under a

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[1] *H. de Esp.* 1/2. 636-41.

[2] A. BALIL, 'Riqueza y sociedad en la España romana (s. III-I a. d. J.C.)', *Hispania* 25 (1965) 325-66, on 332-3.

[3] STR. 3.5.11 / C175-6; O. DAVIES, *Roman Mines in Europe* (1935) 142, gives sound reasons for preferring this Crassus to Caesar's legate in Aquitania; so too F. HAVERFIELD, *R E* 10. 2330-1. On the 'Cassiterides': HAVERFIELD, *R E* 10. 2328-32; DAVIES, *Roman Mines*, 140-4, who holds that, though Crassus [or his agents?] may well have reached Cornwall, the Phoenicians probably traded with Galicia. See also E.S. HEDGES, *Tin in Social and Economic History* (London 1964) 7-9; E.H. WARMINGTON, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2nd ed., 1970) 211.

[4] Probably also riverine merchants, at any rate in the Baetis valley where the important trade towns Hispalis and Corduba developed early under Roman rule.

[5] CARO BAROJA, 'Regímenes sociales', 186-8; *España prim. y rom.*, 54-7, 61; ARRIBAS, *The Iberians*, 116-9; BALIL, 'Riqueza y sociedad' (cited in n.**2**), 328-9, 336.

dominant aristocracy possessing clientelae and slaves, practised roughly a subsistence standard of living through minimum or moderate exploitation of the areas' resources.[1] Internal commerce would be carried on mainly within the richer districts, whereas beyond them the contact between natives and merchants produced a decreasing cultural impress as distances lengthened: the coastal dwellers of the northwest were still using coracles in the later second century B.C.[2]

Within the Roman provinces, a settler from Italy would thus have varied opportunities. Those with some capital could afford to go into viticulture, olive-growing, sheep-raising or cattle-breeding. Others might practise trade and moneylending. The average comer would certainly be less affluent (though a veteran might have booty or might benefit from his commander's largesse). Artisans and other skilled, or semi-skilled, workers would often find occupations in the towns - so could grammatici.[3] But if peasants and seamen drifted across from Italy[4] they would often be

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[1] CARO BAROJA, España prim. y rom., 66; H. de E. 1/3. 145-54, 216-20. In the northwest, life was still barbaric, lacking much grain or cattle and failing to exploit the country's mineral riches (STR. 3.4.18 / C165, 3.3.5 / C154, 3.3.7-8 / C155-6; CARO BAROJA, op. cit., 70; SCHULTEN, Los Cántabros y astures y su guerra con Roma [1943], 38-52, 88-93).

[2] STR. 3.3.7 / C155 'ἕως ἐπὶ Βρούτου' (i.e. Callaicus, ca. 136).

[3] A goldsmith at Corduba, late second century B.C.: CIC. 2 Verr. 4.25.56, cf. MRR 1, under 112 B.C. Asclepiades of Myrlea taught in south Spain ca. 100: STR. 3.5.3 / C168-9. These examples serve to show the possibilities only - there is no evidence the goldsmith was not Spanish, nor was Asclepiades from Italy.

[4] A body of Gallic immigrants (including 6000 men) is reported by Caesar in 49 (BCiv 1.51.2-3): their careless disorganization,

penniless. The seaman could engage in fishing or in work aboard a trading vessel[1] - what of the peasant's prospects, unless a governor intervened?

The only ager publicus in Spain that finds mention was around Carthago Nova.[2] Even this is referred to only because Rullus' land bill proposed selling it, along with other tracts of State domain elsewhere in the provinces and Italy. Wars and rebellions must have produced various blocks of ager publicus in Spain - as a phrase of Cicero's elsewhere implies.[3] Caesar's confiscations after Munda are unlikely to have been the first.[4] As in Sicily, much or most

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he says, was due to 'superiorum temporum et itinerum licentia'. This sounds as though they were not the first such body. Italians too may have made such a journey after the Via Domitia was built across Transalpina: unfortunately (for us), not during a closely-recorded campaign.

[1] The opportunities for such activity must have been fairly widespread. Trade and fishing involved most of the population of Gades, says STRABO (3.5.3 / C168-9).

[2] CIC. Leg. agr. 1.5, 2.51.

[3] Balb. 41 'Hispanis agro stipendioque multatis'.

[4] DIO 43.39.4. In 133 Scipio Aemilianus gave Numantia's territory to neighbouring tribes (AFP. Iber. 98.427). No need to suppose this was always done. The many town-foundations of the second and first centuries imply that the Romans were prepared to acquire suitable land when necessary - or use already available ager publicus. Cf. also L. Paullus' grant (in 189) of freedom to the 'Hastensium servei in turri Lascutana', with permission to keep 'agrum oppidumqu(e) quod ea tempestate posedisent ... dum poplus senatusque Romanus vellet' (CIL 2. 5041 = ILS 15; A. D'ORS, Epigrafía jurídica de la España romana [1953] 349-52): an indication that henceforth the ager of Turris Lascutana was ultimately Roman property, even if left to its old occupants (cf. D'ORS, 352).

confiscated land might be restored to the owners' use, subject to censoria locatio[1], but, as the case of the Novocarthaginiensis ager suggests, not all. A certain amount of territory (even fertile territory), whether publicly owned or under the ownership of Spanish communities, might remain unoccupied or at least unworked. The Spanish provinces were extensive areas, and scarcely overpopulated. Newcomers could then squat. Veteran settlers at least might be less scrupulous: in Britain in the 50s A.D. a body of them, even though organized in a colonia, cheerfully expropriated natives and aggrandized themselves, while the regular troops turned a blind eye.[2] In second and first-century B.C. Spain, government control would if anything be even laxer, and not every Roman official - of whom there would be relatively few, in any case - might exert himself greatly to protect provincials.

To fit out his enterprise, the settler might need a loan, as also to tide him over a lean period. This was not impossible. Trading towns like Emporiae, Saguntum, Carthago Nova, Malaca and Gades existed before 206; Hispalis, Corduba and Olisipo developed

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[1] CIC. 2 Verr. 3.6.13.

[2] TAC. Ann. 14.31.3 (Camulodunum). Six years after the capture of Syracuse in 212, Scipio Africanus found that Italians - apparently civilians (cf. WILSON, Emigration, 19-20) - were in possession of Syracusan land which, 'eadem vi qua per bellum ceperant', they were holding on to in defiance of a Senate decree (LIVY 29.1. 16-7). Scipio had some trouble recovering the property for the Syracusans.

into important commercial centres during the Roman occupation. Among smaller places, Osca with its widespread coinage mostly of the second century B.C.[1], perhaps Dertosa at the mouth of the Ebro (the modern Huesca and Tortosa respectively), and Asta and Ilipa on the Baetis - all of them well sited for business - would also have money-lenders. It is striking that as early as 198 faeneratores were well established in Sardinia: the severe Cato threw them out.[2]

The position that Romans could acquire in subject lands is illuminated by Cicero. Gallia Transalpina (he declares) was 'plena civium Romanorum ... negotiatorum, colonorum, publicanorum, aratorum, pecuariorum', so that, he adds expansively, 'nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quicquam negoti gerit; nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur'.[3] This was half a century after the campaigns of Fabius Allobrogicus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, and at a time when the prosperous provinces of Spain had been in Rome's hands for more than a hundred years.

'Conventus civium Romanorum' appear in south Spain during the hectic days of 49 and 48. At Corduba one was well established, with

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[1] G.K. JENKINS, 'Notes on the Iberian denarii from the Cordova hoard', Am. Num. Soc. Mus. Notes 8 (1958) 57-70, on 61-3; R. MARTÍN VALLS, La Circulación monetaria ibérica (1967) 35-6, 105-6 (dating the coinage mostly to Sertorius' time), 133-6, 167 (map of distribution).

[2] LIVY 32.27.3-4.

[3] Font. 11-2. For an affluent example of c.R.: Quinct. 11 ff.

fine fields and farms[1]; the conventus at Hispalis showed a judiciously pro-Caesarian attitude after Ilerda.[2] That there were bodies of Roman citizens elsewhere appears from the contemporary account of the Munda campaign, which reports the desertion of three 'equites Romani Hastenses' to Caesar[3], and indicates that 'equites Romani', at least, were also to be found at Urso.[4] The cives Romani of Ulterior as a body were made to promise Varro, in 49, a large amount of money, silver bullion and grain for the war effort[5]: a range of items that reveals the settlers' involvement in commerce, mining and farms. The conventus at Corduba was the body which turned that town over to Caesar, while the plot to kill his governor Q. Cassius in 48 seems to have been largely an Italican venture[6] - both events revealing a

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[1] CAES. BCiv 2.19.3; BAlex 57.5, 58.4, 59.1, cf. 59.2 and 60.1 ('nobilissimae carissimaeque possessiones Cordubensium').

[2] CAES. BCiv 2.20.5.

[3] BHisp 26.2. That other equites R. of Asta were also in the Pompeian army appears from the same passage: they had all planned to desert but were apprehended apart from the lucky trio. For this interpretation see KLOTZ, Kommentar zum B.H., 88-9; PASCUCCI, Bellum Hisp., 299.

[4] Or Bursavo: BHisp 22.2 (on the name, see p. 60 note 3 (1)). No conventus is explicitly recorded at Gades, but that town's commercial standing must have attracted Roman businessmen. Some of the distinctive gentilicia attested there may hark back to them: e.g. Acutius (C I L 2. 1745), Asicius (1772), Calpius (1783), Canius (1784), Dasumius (1801), Granius (1819), Herennius (1820-3), Mittius (1726), Numisius (1856), Platorius (1861), Reburius (1876), Stlaccius (6285), Turius (1890-1), Vilius (1913), Vivius (E E 9. 237 b).

[5] CAES. BCiv 2.18.4: the money alone was HS 18 million.

[6] BAlex 52.4.

degree of political awareness and importance.

It is surprising that explicit references to Roman settlers in Citerior are few - Sertorius' levy in 83 has been discussed, so too the locally raised troops of Afranius and Petreius, in both of which groups a proportion of Citerior settlers should be accepted. Inscriptions of Carthago Nova dated to the Republic give a number of Italian gentilicia, some of them unusual.[1] At Saguntum, coins dated to the Republican period, again, show Latin names of magistrates and often call them 'aediles'[2]: Romanization was evidently well advanced, and a Roman citizen conventus may be presumed; but most of the magistrates' names probably reveal Spaniards.[3] Tarraco is

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[1] CIL 2. 3408 (Aefolanus [?], Baebius, Catius, Taurius); 3433 (Caeicius, Paquius, Pontilius, Tongilius, Veratius), 3434 (= 5927: Aledius, Cervius, Luucius, Prosius, Puupius, Saponius, Titinius, Vereius), 3439 (Roscius, tribu Maecia); cf. the names on lead ingots (early date?) in ESAR 3. 139-40 (Iuventius, Ponticienus, Turvilius); and C. DOMERGUE, 'Les Planii et leur activité industrielle en Espagne sous la République', Mél. de la Casa de Velázquez 1 (1965) 9-27. Some of the inscriptional names are borne by freedmen, but this presupposes a patron to whom they owed it.

[2] VIVES, Mon. hisp. 2. 20-1 (no. 8 has 'aed. cur.'); L. VILLARONGA GARRIGA, Las Monedas de Arse-Saguntum (1967) 73-83, 112-4.

[3] Aemilius, Calpurnius, Popillius, Sempronius, Valerius: all popular choices for Romanized provincials, some also the names of governors of Citerior (Aemilius Lepidus in 137, Popillius Laenas in 139-7, Sempronius Gracchus in 181-79). Three other names - Acilius, Baebius and Fabius - might be those of settlers or their descendants, some (but not all) of whom would be cives R.: cf. CIC. Balb. 50-1 for Saguntine Fabii made citizens by Pompey and Metellus, and ibid. 30 for citizens illegally accepting public posts in other States. It should be added that, as the dating of these Saguntine coins seems to depend on that of Valentia's (VILLARONGA GARRIGA, 108-9), the period 133-70 suggested for the former would have to be modified if some of Valentia's are dated to the years after 72 (see above, p. 31 note 3).

described as 'Scipionum opus' by Pliny the Elder[1], and in the early Empire was very populous[2] - but in his report of its coming over to his side in 49 Caesar does not speak of a conventus.[3] Generalization on the small amount of available evidence must be cautious, but in view of these points and of the outstanding productivity of Baetica, it is to be concluded that the further province received the greater part[4] of Italian settlers down to Caesar. This would also fit the high degree of Romanization of the Turdetani by the time of Augustus, so far advanced that their native language had expired in favour of Latin.[5]

Rough totals for settlers from Italy at given periods have been suggested earlier. It is equally useful to have some idea, even a sketchy one, of the scale of immigration. The arrival of Italians must have been on a small scale to start with, picking up momentum with time but fluctuating considerably, since extended times of war, as in the 140s and 70s, must

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[1] 3.21.

[2] STR. 3.4.7 / C159. Caesar's colony will, of course, have contributed to this.

[3] BCiv 1.60.2. Nor are cives R. mentioned in his report of the assembly there of 'totius fere citerioris provinciae legationes': ibid. 2.21.5, contrast 21.1.

[4] Possibly as many as two out of three?

[5] STR. 3.2.15 / C151: no doubt to be qualified in various ways, e.g. excluding a large proportion of rural dwellers.

have seen the number of arrivals drop. But in any case the rate of settlement need not have been particularly large on average.[1]

The theory has been proposed, on linguistic grounds, that Italian immigration in the northeast of Spain, especially the Ebro valley, consisted mainly of people from the Osco-Umbrian parts of Italy.[2] E. Gabba sees, in this, support for his view that Sertorius was backed to a great extent by non-Roman (indeed anti-Rome) Italic elements among the settler population as well as among the exiles who joined him: he further marshals evidence of nomenclature for the argument.[3] Although the politics of the settlers in the 80s

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[1] A theoretical model will illustrate this. If an average of 300 persons a year came from Italy between 200 and 50 B.C., and if enough of them married and had children so that each generation (taking this as 25 years in length) was ten per cent more numerous than the last, then a simple calculation by 25-year periods indicates that, by 50 B.C., there could be over 87,000 persons of at least partial Italian ancestry in the two provinces (as well as up to 15,-000 recent comers from Italy). These totals refer only to people born or arrived in Spain during the two generations 100-50 B.C.: naturally, even on this schematic level it would have to be supposed that not all such persons were still alive by 50. The totals include all ages and both sexes, and would involve more persons than the cives genuine or plausible mentioned earlier (p. 45), but they cannot be taken to clash with the ones previously arrived at (Chapter III), since the average annual rate of immigration has deliberately been set very (probably excessively) low.

[2] V. BERTOLDI, Colonizzazioni nell' antico Mediterraneo occidentale alla luce degli aspetti linguistici (1950) 197-212; R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Enciclopedia linguística hispánica 1. (1960) lix-lxviii, lxxxi-lxxxvi.

[3] 'Le origini della guerra sociale e la vita politica romana dopo l'89 a.C.', Athenaeum N.S. 32 (1954), Part Two, 293-345, on 298-317 (esp. 310-11), cf. also 326-30. Note also A. PIGANIOL, Histoire de Rome[5] (1962) 166.

and 70s cannot be dealt with here[1], the implications of this view of Roman-Italian immigration must be considered.

Gabba's own evidence demonstrates the frequent occurrence of probably Oscan and Etruscan names during the Republic in the south of Spain.[2] Other examples could be added: at Italica, Ulpius (the family of Trajan), at Carteia, Aecilius; at Corduba, Annaeus; in Ulterior, through the actual town of residence is not known, Vibius; at Carthago Nova, Aledius, Ponticienus, Caeicius, Cervius, Paquius, Vereius.[3] The Dasumii of Corduba may well have been established

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[1] See pp. 384-6.

[2] Art. cit., 303-5. Notably: Mercello and Vasius at Italica (BAlex. 52.4), Raius, Opsilius [or Opsius: coins have only 'Ops.'], Ninius, Arcius at Carteia (VIVES Mon.hisp. 4. 22-6, esp. 22-4), Egnatius - Samnite according to GABBA, 305 - and Decidius in Ulterior (respectively: CAT. 39. CIC. Phil. 11.12; 13.27). At Carthago Nova, Catius and Taurius (C I L 2. 3408). Turullius (VIVES, 4. 36), also cited by Gabba, is not admissible because the relevant coin is of the colonia founded by Caesar at Carthago Nova.

[3] The references for the Carthago Nova names are given above, 56 note 1. On the character of the names see as follows: Ulpius: SYME, Tacitus 2. 785-6 (App. 81); the name Traius (C I L 2. 1065, 5389) - attested also at Tuder, the original abode of the Ulpii according to VICTOR, Epit. de Caes. 13.1 - may well have been brought to Spain by Republican immigrants. Aecilius: VIVES, 4. 25; SCHULZE, Gesch. der Lat. Eigennamen, 116, 185 (Etruscan root); R. CONWAY, The Italic Dialects, 2. 557 (attested among the Volsci). Annaeus: SCHULZE, L E, 346 (Etruria), 32 (Illyrian); SYME, Tacitus, 2. 784 (App. 80) prefers the latter; Seneca the Elder was born around 54 B.C. (R E 1. 2237). Vibius: PLUT. Crass. 4.2; also at Carteia, VIVES, 4. 24-5; R E 8A. 1948 (Sabellian-Oscan), cf. 1949 and 1952 no. 13; BADIAN, F C, 308. Aledius: L E, 427 (central Italy); CONWAY, I D, 2. 558 (Marsi). Ponticienus: not in L E or I D but the termination is Etruscan (L E 104-6). Caeicius: L E 185 n.4 (Etruscan parallels). Cervius: I D 2. 564 (Central Italy and Latium). Paquius: L E 476; I D 2. 578 (Oscan). Vereius: L E 379, 426, cf. 434 (Etruscan, Latin). At Acinipo appears a Folce-(ius?) as 'aedile', comparable perhaps with the odd Folcozeo at Falerii (VIVES, 3. 85; L E, 169). It is clear that in many cases

there during the Republic, and the name is Illyrian.[1] Conversely, it is possible (as Gabba agrees) that the coins of Valentia in Citerior, with their Oscan and Etruscan names of magistrates, followed the foundation of the colony after the Sertorian war.[2] Again, the derivation of the town-name Osca from 'Osci', which Gabba is disposed to accept, is highly disputable (as he also admits)[3]: and without

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the wide diffusion in Italy of a name makes it unwise to draw conclusions - political or cultural - from its original etymology, or to locate its original home (cf. WILSON, Emigration 107-8): an objection applicable also to the Egnatius cited by GABBA, 305.

[1] SHA M. Aur. 1.6; SYME, Tacitus, 2. 603-4, 784-5 (App. 80). Cf. M.W. FREDERIKSEN, JRS 50 (1960) 286.

[2] GABBA, 304-5.

[3] Art. cit., 302; see BERTOLDI, Colonizzazioni, 201 n.2; E.T. SALMON, Samnium and the Samnites, 319 and n.2 (the former also inclined to accept the derivation, the latter against it). The derivation is strongly urged by MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Enc. ling. hisp., 1. lxii-lxvi, who rejects the view that Osca comes from BOLSCAN (the transliterated form of the Iberian name on coins identified with Osca's mint: see G.F. HILL, 'Notes on the ancient coinage of Hispania Citerior', Num. Notes and Monogr. 50 (1931) 135-8; R. MARTÍN VALLS, La Circul. mon. ibér., 35-6, 105-6; also VIVES, Mon. hisp., 2. 102-3. There was also a mint called Oscuncen in the north: MARTÍN VALLS, 58). The non-linguist must tread cautiously on such ground, but it must be said that Menéndez Pidal does not deal with various possible objections.

(1) The change from Iberian "Bolscan" to Latinized 'Osca' does not seem to exceed possibility (the variant spelling HOLSCAN, noted by Menéndez Pidal on a few, later, coins - see his p. lxiii and cf. HILL, loc. cit. - could represent a transition), since "Iltirda" or the like became 'Ilerda' (VIVES, 2. 53-9), "Caiscat" or "Caiscad" was Latinized to 'Cascantum' (VIVES, 2. 129). More striking are the coins with legends transliterated "Orsao" or "Orsav" and identified with Bursao near Calagurris Nassica (VIVES, 2. 130; LIVY frg. Bk. 91 fin.; PLINY N H 3.24) - here the Iberian version has, apparently, lost an initial retained by the Latinized form (cf. VIVES, 2. 107-8 for a series with "Brsones/Barsiones" - in one interpretation - or "Yrsones Knqd" in Hübner's).

(2) The name Osca seems to have been in use as early as

Osca as evidence, it is impossible to demonstrate that the Osco-Umbrian influence on northeast Spain was far advanced (or - to take an extreme line - had even begun) by the time of Sertorius or indeed of Caesar.

The evidence of language is not completely inapplicable to the Republican period of immigration. The Latin of Spain preserved many archaisms, indicative of its early arrival and establishment.[1] And, as already remarked, the general use of that language in the towns (at least) of Baetica by the early first century A.D. must have been due, in part, to pre-Caesarian immigration. Certainly it is likely that non-Romans outnumbered Roman citizens among settlers

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195, when LIVY first mentions the famous argentum Oscense (34.10.4). There is no need to reject the term as anachronistic (as do C. SELTMAN, 'Argentum Oscense and Bigati', Num.Chron.[6] 4 [1944] 77-82; J. AMORÓS, 'Argentum Oscense', Numario hisp. 6 [1957] 51-71, on 55, cf. 58): the "Bolscan" coinage is by far the most copious and widespread of Iberian issues and dates mostly to the second century (see above, p. 54): see also M.H. CRAWFORD, 'The financial organization of Republican Spain', Num. Chron.[7] 9 (1969) 70-93, esp. 82-3. But if so, the supposed Oscan settlers would have had to arrive in force very early indeed.

(3) There was another Osca in Ulterior, and not too far away a town called Oscua or (by PTOLEMY) Escua (PLINY N H 3.10; PTOL. 2. 4.9-10; cf. R E 28. 1536-7, 1579).

On the whole it seems better to conclude that Osca is the Latinized version of the Iberian name, rather like Gades for Phoenician Gadir and Carthago for Qart-hadašat (for which see J.M. SOLÁ SOLÉ in Enc. ling. hisp. 1. 495-7, cf. 495-9 passim).

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[1] See A. CARNOY, Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions (1906), esp. 2-10, 16-7, 22, 47; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, 'Dialectismos', Enc. ling. hisp. 1. 237-50, esp. 239-41, 250. E.g. 'luci' (abl.), 'aedis' (acc. pl.), 'civitatium' (gen. pl.), 'fidi' (= fidei), 'fax-int' (= faciant), 'olli' (= illi), 'Octuber'; cf. also S. MARINER BIGORRA, 'El latín de la Península Ibérica: Léxico', Enc. ling. hisp. 1. 199-236, on 204; cf. also S H A Hadr. 3.1 (amusement at young Hadrian 'agrestius pronuntians') and Cicero's joke about poets at Corduba in the 70s B.C. 'pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum' (Arch. 26).

from Italy. More *socii* were sent out than Romans during the second century.[1] After 90 B.C., many recruits for the legions will have come from former Allied districts of Italy.[2] A large number of Italian *negotiatores* before 90/89 would not be Roman citizens[3] (and it should not be supposed that trade with Ulterior was less important to, or engaged fewer of, them than trade with Citerior).

A fair number of settlers did achieve fortune and dignity in the provinces of Spain. Literary sources often refer to 'equites Romani': the iniquitous Q. Cassius Longinus, in 48, struck terror through them by holding a levy to raise cavalry - then roused hatred by charging heavily for exemptions.[4] Among the dead at Munda, on the losing side, were some three thousand 'equites Romani, partim ex urbe partim ex provincia'.[5] On the analogy of the Pompeian army in 49, and assuming a roughly similar proportion among the dead, the provincial *equites Romani* would number about a thousand.[6]

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[1] TOYNBEE, *Hannibal's Legacy* 2. 61 n.2 (on p. 62); SCHULTEN, *Numantia* 3. 38-41. VELLEIUS (2.15.2) thought that *socii* provided two-thirds of Roman armies down to 90 (cf. SALMON, *Samnium and the Samnites*, 306-7).

[2] Cf. P.A. BRUNT, 'The army and the land in the Roman revolution', *JRS* 52 (1962) 69-86, esp. 73-5, 85-6, on recruitment.

[3] Cf. WILSON, *Emigration*, 105-11, 152-5, on the provenance of Italians attested at Delos (mainly second-century) and in the eastern provinces: modifying J. HATZFELD's view that most were from S. Italy: *Les Trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (1919) 238-43. WILSON also shows the importance of Roman and Latin traders.

[4] *BAlex.* 56.4.

[5] *BHisp.* 31.9. Caesar's losses (cavalry and infantry): 31.10.

[6] For the Pompeian army in 49: pp. 33-6.

That the source means these were men of equestrian rank (not merely cavalrymen) is shown by the phrase itself, used elsewhere in the same sense.[1] A thousand equites Romani could hardly be more than one-quarter of the total number in the Spanish provinces at this time - Gades alone, a generation or two after enfranchisement, had five hundred[2]: an exceptionally large number, indeed, but Hispalis and Corduba, Carthago Nova and Tarraco must each have had a hundred or two hundred, while smaller towns too (as earlier shown) had their quota.

The wealth of some at least of the settler population is illustrated by the size of the levy Varro made in 49, and the reported bribes or fines taken from two guilty conspirators by Cassius the year after.[3] According to the author of Bellum Hispaniense,

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[1] BHisp 11.3, 22.2, 25.4, 26.2; cf. BAlex 56.4; DIO 43.29.3. Contrast (for 'cavalry' proper) BHisp 6.3-4, 7.5, 10.1-2, 11.1, 12.1, 13.1, 23.7, 25.1, 27.1, 31.5, 31.10, 32.6, etc.: 'equites R.' is not used for this purpose in BHisp (cf. the contrast in CAES. BGall 7.61.2). This view is also given, briefly, by T.P. WISEMAN, 'The definition of "Eques Romanus" in the late Republic and early Empire', Historia 19 (1970) 67-83, on 83: Addendum (1); contra C. NICOLET, L'Ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (1966) 206-9, who interprets the phrase (at 31.9) as simply 'cavalry'.

[2] STR. 3.5.3/C169; cf. 5.1.7/C213 (Patavium).

[3] BAlex 55.4. Text uncertain: the generally accepted readings are 'HS $\overline{LX}$' and '(HS) $\overline{L}$', i.e. 60,000 and 50,000. VAL. MAX. 9.4.2 gives 'sexagies' and 'quinquagies sestertium' (6 and 5 million) but to make the figures in BAlex fit this would, as ANDRIEU (Budé ed. [1954] 53 n.3) says, require 'une modification sérieuse du texte'.

the three 'equites Romani Hastenses' who deserted to Caesar were 'argento prope tecti': richly dressed at the least, if not indeed laden with their 'wertvolles Hausgerät'.[1] And Caesar placed at least two settler notables in the Senate.[2]

(ii) Slave half-castes

Other questions now arise. After two, three or (for some) six generations in Spain, precisely what should be inferred from the terms 'settler population' or (to cite the ancient distinction) 'Hispanienses', as opposed to 'Hispani'?[3] And what condition were they in, under law?

The petition of 171 that led to the Latin colony at Carteia is a useful starting point, which illuminates one element in the settler population. The report of Livy must be reproduced[4]:

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[1] BHisp 26.2; KLOTZ, Kommentar, 88. On the reading at this point see PASCUCCI, Bellum Hisp., 299.

[2] Titius, and Decidius Saxa: BAfr 28.2, and SYME, Rom. Rev., 80 n.2 (Titius); below, p. 89 note 2 (Decidius).

[3] VELL. 2.51.3 'non Hispaniensis natus, sed Hispanus' (OCT restoration of corrupt MSS), of Balbus; MART. 12 Praef. 'at Romam ... non Hispaniensem librum mittamus, sed Hispanum', of his own work; CHARISIUS in Grammat. Latini (ed. Keil: 1857) 1, p. 106 'nam cum dicimus Hispanos, nomen nationis ostendimus; cum autem Hispanienses, cognomen eorum qui provinciam Hispaniam incolunt, etsi non <sunt> Hispani'.

[4] 43.3.1-4.

> Et alia novi generis hominum ex Hispania legatio venit. Ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus, cum quibus conubium non esset, natos se memorantes supra quattuor milia hominum orabant ut sibi oppidum in quo habitarent daretur. Senatus decrevit uti nomina sua apud L. Canuleium profi<t>erentur eorumque si quos manumi<si>sse[n]t, eos Carteiam ad Oceanum deduci placere; qui Carteiensium domi manere vellent, potestatem <fieri>, uti numero colonorum essent, agro adsignato; Latinam eam coloniam <esse> libertinorumque appellari.[1]

The text itself poses problems: the manuscript gives 'manumissent', which its early editor Grynaeus (A.D. 1531) emended to 'manumisisset'; Madvig, however, preferred 'manumisissent'.[2] The question is important - in the first case the verb would have the praetor Canuleius for its subject; in the second, the petitioners. Madvig's solution is, at first glance, preferable: the loss of the two internal letters is easier to account for than the intrusion of a penultimate 'n'. But the Codex Vindobonensis is wayward in this passage and its vicinity.[3] A paragraph earlier, 'neve cogeret [sc. praetor] vicensimas vendere Hispanos, quanti ipse vellet' is Grynaeus' sensible restoration: the manuscript version of the latter part of the phrase is 'hispanonis quanti ipse vellent'.[4] Another pluralizing intrusion occurs a few sentences below the quoted extract, where

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[1] Not every textual correction of the MS. is here signalized.

[2] Emendationes Livianae[2] (1877) 664-5: followed by WEISSENBORN, and SCHLESINGER (Loeb).

[3] In the passage quoted, the MS. gives 'proficerentur' and 'potestatem fore': the one emended by Grynaeus, the other by Madvig. 'Esse' in the last phrase is Gronovius' replacement for MS. 'fuisse': see (e.g.) A.C. SCHLESINGER, Livy (Loeb ed., 1951) vol. 13, p. 10.

[4] 43.2.12.

'et si qua praeterea vellent imperarent' needed alteration to 'et si qua praeterea vellent imperare'.[1]

The question cannot be decided solely through palaeography. Madvig could see no reason why the petitioners should be manumitted (the sense imposed by Grynaeus' emendation) or be termed 'libertini': hence he kept the plural tense of the manuscript and explained that 'his quoque libertinis, incertae non minus, quam patroni erant, condicionis, consulendum erat'.[2] This interpretation is followed by Hübner, Kornemann and Wilson.[3] The inference results that, although the appeal of the four thousand hybridae was the mainspring of the Senate's action and though native Carteienses also had the option of remaining and joining the colony, the Senate chose to give the place a sobriquet (if not a title) commemorating the petitioners' freed slaves.

The reason for this is hard to see. Wilson, while accepting the inclusion of such freedmen, supposes that the petitioners themselves were libertini: their mothers 'had been originally slaves, and

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[1] 43.3.6 (by Grynaeus again).

[2] Emend. Livian.[2], 665. MOMMSEN proposed further emendation: 'si quos genuissent vel manumisissent' ('durch Schuld des Schriftstellers oder der Abschreiber ausgefallen': R.Staatsr. 3/1. xiii n. 1). But there is no textual warrant for this insertion, and the compression of Livy's report makes omission of any explicit reference to children unsurprising: cf. also HÜBNER, R E 'Carteia', 3. 1618).

[3] HÜBNER, loc. cit.; KORNEMANN, R E 4. 516 no. 37; WILSON, Emigration, 24-5, in conjunction however with the view that the petitioners too were libertini (see below).

had been freed, along with the children'.[1] This still yields no satisfactory reason why the freed slaves were included. Madvig's explanation is surely too vague, and there exists no other example of the freedmen of *coloni* joining these as a group in a colonial foundation. Certainly, unless Wilson's modification is accepted, the designation 'colonia libertinorum' would be a gratuitous insult to the presumably free, if peregrine, *hybridae* (not to speak of the old Carteienses, whose feelings do not appear to have been considered) which contrasts with the Senate's willingness to oblige them over and above their own request. Hübner, realizing this, proposes (in effect) an emendation of his own: 'die Colonie solle *colonia civium Latinorum et libertinorum* genannt werden'.[2] There is no warrant for introducing this into Livy's text, nor is this the obvious sense of Livy's own words.

In fact it is curious to find both a reference (of some kind) to manumission in connexion with the *hybridae*, and also the term 'libertinorum' applied to the *colonia* given to them. Seeing that the manuscript text has demonstrably been influenced, in at least two adjoining passages, into erroneous plural forms, the emendation of Grynaeus in the present case appears reasonable, since the entire incident becomes explicable without the need of further textual alteration or of unsatisfactory presumed third parties to the colonization of

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[1] *Emigration*, 25. SCHULTEN, *F H A* 3. 229, followed by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, *Col. rom.*, 450, supposes that the mothers were *peregrinae* and the sons therefore *servi*.

[2] *R E* 3. 1618.

Carteia.[1] Livy has omitted one extra circumstance, and the title 'colonia libertinorum' reveals it. Previously these half-castes had, in law, counted as slaves, as Wilson suggests. Hence their mothers also, for the issue of a union between a Roman and a free peregrina would have been free peregrini too, in the absence of conubium.[2] But with slaves there was no conubium.[3] The Second

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[1] The slightly odd phrasing ('e o r u m q u e si quos manumisisset, e o s Carteiam ... deduci' etc.) is explicable as an attempt to reproduce or invent, in Oratio Obliqua, the 'officialese' of the S C. For a rather similar Livian effort, cf. 26.34.6 'Campanos omnes ... extra quam qui eorum aut ipsi aut parentes eorum apud hostis essent'. Compare also the perfect infinitives in a genuine S C, e. g. 'neve post hac inter sed conioura[se nev]e comvovise neve conspondise neve conpromesise velet' (S C de Bacchanal., BRUNS[7], p. 165 lines 13-15); also C I L 2. 5041 (decree of L. Paullus) 'agrum oppidumque quod ea tempestate posedisent, item possidere habere iousit'. The pluperfect tense of 'manumisisset' is thus not a stumbling-block; it could be meant to represent a future perfect, say, in the original.

[2] GAIUS 1.78. This view of the mothers' status also in SAUMAGNE, 'Une colonie latine ... ', Rev. hist. dr. fr. et étr. 1962, 137-44; cf. Le Droit lat. et les cités rom. (1965) 64. However he is mainly concerned (in the former) with trying to show that the status of both Latini Iuniani and libertini dediticiorum numero in Augustan legislation were anticipated at Carteia, which is not convincing despite some resemblances: he has to suppose that the Carteienses too were servi as well as dediticii, and that on becoming Latin coloni they gained freedom (art. cit., 148-9) - yet he also argues that the petitioners, also servi, had to be freed so as to obtain Latin right (139). Moreover to propose that, even after acquiring Latin right, the Carteienses should be viewed as 'libertini d e d i t i c i i' (for the theory that previously they were dediticii, see below) - and to make this alleged status equivalent to the imperial age's 'libertini dediticiorum numero' - (p. 149) seems excessive. E. VOLTERRA, 'Sulla condizione dei figli dei peregrini cui veniva concessa la cittadinanza romana', Studi in onore di Antonio Cicu 2 (1951) 645-72, on 654, suggests the mothers were 'peregrinae dediticiae'. But by itself this would not be enough to lead to children of slave status, for dediticii as such were not slaves (see later in this section).

[3] See R. LEONHARD, R E 4. 1171 (with refs.).

Punic War, and the rebellions of the 190s, will have yielded women captives as well as men, and soldiers must often have formed liaisons with such women, who would in law be servae.[1] Others might have bought female Spanish slaves in the province, to be their concubines. Thus the parentage of the four thousand petitioners. They and their mothers may have been abandoned when the soldiers went home.[2] Though these could perhaps have legally freed their sons by their own act, 'manumisisset' would indicate that this had not happened, or was not recognized. But the petitioners probably were not slaves in practice. The circumstances of their legatio suggest an organized effort and imply they were free to seek a place to live. We hear of no protests from, or compensation for, owners, though the large number of petitioners would have involved owners in considerable loss if all or most of them had been liberated.[3]

In this way the sons would form an anomalous class of servi without (in practice) domini. Whether they realized it is not clear,

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[1] Capture in war meant one became a slave at once, under Roman law: W.W. BUCKLAND, The Roman Law of Slavery (1908) 291-2; cf. A. WATSON, Roman Private Law in 200 B.C. (1971) 43.

[2] Intentional abandonment of a slave (under the Empire at any rate) made him sine domino (BUCKLAND, 274-5). Possibly some fathers remained in Spain and reared their sons. That would give the sons an awareness of who they were and what, perhaps, they deserved. Why did these fathers not manumit their sons? They may have been unaware it could (or should) be done, or unable to locate a Roman official competent to authorize it; they may have attempted unofficial manumission which the Senate afterwards judged invalid.

[3] How many Canuleius did manumit is not stated, but the Senate's readiness to oblige the petitioners suggests he was meant to be liberal.

but their own straightforward request for 'a town to live in', and the Senate's more complicated measure in response - setting up a 'colonia Latina libertinorum' - suggests at least that the Roman government (presumably after studying the circumstances[1]) decided that their situation required some adjustment or definition. Instances of State manumission of slaves other than servi publici occur, before this date and after[2], so that the freeing of the technically servile half-castes would not appear unprecedented. What was unusual was the qualification placed on their new status: instead of becoming citizens, they were made Latins, at the express order of the Senate. The reasons for this will be discussed shortly. But even this limitation (it would seem) was not the first to occur over a manumission in the provinces: when L. Aemilius Paullus freed the 'Hastensium servei' of Turris Lascutana in 189, he did not make them anything more than free

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[1] Livy's report gives an impression of a short, decisive Senate hearing. This seems unlikely. The selection of Carteia must have resulted from a certain amount of discussion, with 'briefing' from senators familiar with Spain and (probably) from documents. It is also hard to suppose that the announcement of this 'novum genus hominum' was not followed by fairly careful discussion, presumably with questioning of the legatio.

[2] LIVY 22.33.2; 26.27.4; ibid. 9, cf. 6; 27.3.5; 32.26.14; 39.19.5; SALL. Cat. 30.6 (freedom offered); PLUT. Cato Minor 39.3; MACROB. 1.11.40. Note also LIVY 26.47.2: after capturing Carthago Nova, Scipio 'opifices ad duo milia hominum ... publicos fore populi Romani edixit, cum spe propinquae libertatis, si ad ministeria belli enixe operam navassent' (from POL. 10.17.9). See BUCKLAND, R. Law of Slav., 589-90.

peregrini.[1] The process of manumission was probably both to transform the hybridae into legally free men and Latins, and also to enable Canuleius to scrutinize the bona fides of each claimant.

According to the representatives of the petitioners, they were born 'ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus, cum quibus conubium non esset'. The phrase 'militibus Romanis' itself prompts speculation, for Italian socii (among them Latins) also served in Spain. If the petitioners were literally sons of citizen soldiers only, it could be asked what similarly placed sons of Italians and Spanish slave-women did in 171 (that they existed can be assumed). Possibly they were less aware of their identity - or less hopeful of help from the Roman Senate. On the other hand, the grant of Latin right rather than Roman citizenship makes quite good sense if some of the petitioners' fathers had not been citizens (and individual hybri-

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[1] CIL 2. 5041 'L. Aimilius L.f. inpeirator decreivit utei quei Hastensium servei in turri Lascutana habitarent liberei essent; agrum oppidumqu(e) quod ea tempestate posedisent, item possidere habereque iousit, dum poplus senatusque Romanus vellet ... '; on the date see HÜBNER ad loc. SAUMAGNE is not to be followed in his theory that these Lascutani were given Latin right ('Une colonie latine', 142-4; Le Droit lat., 67; he also suggests this of Italica in 206). There is no evidence at all for it - PLINY (N H 3.15) cites Lascuta, presumably the same place (cf. R E 12. 885), as stipendiary. — Though the phrase in the inscription is 'decreivit utei (etc.)', whereas in Livy the word used is 'manumisisset', the two acts are clearly the same. Cf. BHisp 34.2 'oppidanorum servi qui erant a Sex. Pompeio manumissi' (Sextus was in command at Corduba). For manumittere applied even to the magistrate before whom a slave was freed, see VARRO L. Lat. 6.30 'quod si tum imprudens id verbum emisit ac quem manumisit' (of a praetor using the ordinary formula on a dies nefastus); MACROB. 1.16.28 'et quod Trebatius in libro primo Religionum ait nundinis magistratum posse manumittere iudiciaque addicere'; CELSUS Dig. 1.18.17 'si forte praeses provinciae manumiserit vel tutorem dederit'.

dae might not always be sure what group their fathers belonged to). Moreover some magistrates' names on coins of Carteia are Italic rather than strictly Roman: Raius and Ninius, for example, also Falcidius, Arcius, Minius, Opsius.[1]

Latin status was not to be despised, even though the ex officio right of Latin magistrates to Roman citizenship did not exist in 171.[2] There were still Latins in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the citizens of Latin colonies could be regarded as virtually Roman.[3] Distance alone could make Latin status seem more suitable: there was dispute in 183 over whether the projected colony at Aquileia should be Latin or Roman, due (so Salmon suggests) to its distance; and in fact the colony finally was a Latin one.[4] The Senate was under no obligation to confer improved rights of any sort on the hybridae, and it was probably well aware that any response it made - even rejecting the ap-

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[1] On the names see SCHULZE, Lat. Eigenn., 217 (Raius), 311 n. 7, and 594 (Ninius), 272 (Falcidius), 126 and n.6 (Arcius), 575 and 467 (Minius), 355 and 522 n.7 (Opsius). Some of them, of course, could be due to later Italian settlement, but it would be gratuitous to assume this of all. See also GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 304. The name Canuleius has not appeared at Carteia, but the evidence is small and in any case, since the petitioners' very claim to consideration lay in their Roman paternity, it seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that they (so far as possible) kept their fathers' names.

[2] STEINWENTER, 'Ius Latii', R E 10. 1269; SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 105-6 . D.W.BRADEEN, 'Roman citizenship per magistratum', Cl. J. 54 (1958/9) 221-8, argues the right did not exist at all in the Republic: cf. H. MATTINGLY in J R S 60 (1970) 166-7.

[3] LIVY 27.9.10-11 (late third century).

[4] LIVY 40.34.2; SALMON, R. Coloniz. under the Rep., 106, 108; U. EWINS, 'The early colonization of Cisalpine Gaul', P B S R, 20 (1952) 54-71, on 59.

peal - would set a precedent. If it chose to be generous but not over-radical, that need not surprise.

We may notice that it was very free in its disposition of an inhabited town. Nor is any provision recorded for Carteienses who might not choose 'domi manere'. Quite likely the townsfolk were at this time dediticii, thanks no doubt to miscalculation in some past rebellion.[1] Those who did choose to stay received Latin right and the designation (fictitious, in their case) 'coloni' - but also that of libertini, even though dediticii were not in the status of servi.[2] But the Senate was probably not greatly exercised over the possible feelings of the Carteienses. There may well have been relatively few of them compared with several thousand hybridae: certainly the Romanized character of the town, to judge by its coinage, was later well established.[3]

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[1] Similarly DE SANCTIS, Storia di Roma 4/1 (1923) 485 n.225. On dediticii see GAIUS 1.14; A.H.M. JONES, 'Another interpretation of the "Constitutio Antoniniana"', JRS 26 (1936) 223-35, on 229-31 (= St. in R. Govt. and L., 130-1; also SCHULTEN, RE 4. 2359-63; A. HEUSS, Die Völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der röm. Aussenpolitik in rep. Zeit (1931) 60-76; BADIAN, FC, 4-7; W. DAHLHEIM, Struktur u. Entwicklung des röm. Völkerrechts (1968) 5-51. Carteia appears on the Roman side, or in Roman hands, late in the Hannibalic War (LIVY 28.30.3, 31.1).

[2] pace SAUMAGNE, 'Une colonie latine', 144-9, esp. 148.

[3] The coins of Carteia show a wide variety of Italian names for its magistrates: VIVES, Mon. hisp. 4. 18-26; above, n.1 prec. p.

SAUMAGNE for some reason dislikes the idea of so large a colony as would be formed from 4000 petitioners (with some families, as is likely) and an unknown number of townsfolk (Le Dr. latin, 69).

Livy does not name any towns as the petitioners' origo. Their request for one implies they came from different places (some may have been from Italica). Since they were able to act in concert and received a town on the extreme southern coast, it is equally likely most if not all of them lived in Ulterior.[1] This need not imply that no half-castes who were technically servi were to be found in Citerior, where large armies were just as liable to be sent. They must have been more scattered - while Ulterior by 171 cannot have included much more than the Baetis valley and the south coastal region, Citerior extended from Carthago Nova to the Pyrenees - and perhaps were fewer; possibly too the landless and impoverished for whom Gracchus provided in 179 included a number of servile half-Romans.[2]

While the four thousand petitioners' fathers probably included Italian socii, it must be asked whether there were other sons who did not join the appeal.[3] The petitioners counted as slaves and their appeal for a town doubtless implied they also wanted land (which was in fact assigned). Quite apart from half-caste sons of citizen fathers who had married 'conubio interveniente', so that their child-

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[1] Cf. WILSON, Emigration, 24-5.

[2] Above, 2 - 3.

[3] Nature presumably ensured that sons alone were not produced by so many hundreds or thousands of unions. Nothing, unfortunately, can be determined of the fate of the daughters: possibly some married half-caste men and thus went with them to Carteia.

ren in turn would be citizens, there must have been other hybridae whose mothers were peregrinae and who therefore were of that condition themselves.[1] Thus the number of petitioners cannot have been that of the whole half-caste element in the two Spains. This leads to a further question: did some Romans have conubium (now or later) with at least some Spaniards?

Although the phrase in Livy - '(Hispanae mulieres) cum quibus conubium non esset' - might have been meant as a reminder to the Senate[2] that Romans had no legal right of marriage with any Spaniard, the servile condition of the women in question (proposed above on other grounds) would alone justify it. The extent and frequency of conubium are disputed matters; but it could be specially granted for marriages with peregrines, notably to discharged imperial veterans and to the citizens of Volubilis.[3] In the Republic the grant could be made by the Senate[4] and no doubt by the People; a commander could

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[1] GAIUS 1.78 'cavetur ut, si peregrinam, cum qua ei conubium non sit, uxorem duxerit civis Romanus, peregrinus ex eo coitu nascatur' both under lex Minicia and ius gentium.

[2] The subjunctive shows that Livy intends the phrase as part of the petition.

[3] ULP. Frg. 5.4. Veterans: e.g. C I L 16. 12, 21, 35; cf. EHRENBERG-JONES, Documents², no. 302 (Octavian's edict de veteranis); I L S 9059 (Domitian's); LEONHARD, R E 4. 1171; VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 17, 26. Volubilis: A E 1916 no. 42 and 1924 no. 66 = Inscriptions lat. du Maroc (ed. L. CHATELAIN, 1942) nos. 116 and 56.

[4] LIVY 38.36.5-6 (restored to the Campani, 188); 39.19.5 (granted to the woman who revealed the Bacchanalia affair).

hardly confer it ex imperio, but he might well persuade Senate or People to give it to persons he designated. This is never mentioned in sources, but then it may not have been a difficult or momentous task. The readiness of governors to found mixed settlements, or to establish Romans in regions where intermarriage must obviously occur often, suggests that it was granted at least to formal and semi-formal foundations like Italica, Carteia, Corduba and colonia Valentia.[1]

Yet this does not remove complexity. Where conubium between partners existed, indeed, the son of a Roman father and Spanish mother was himself civis Romanus; and if his own marriage took place per conubium, his children would be cives in turn. His sister, by contrast, would bear children of peregrine status if she married a Spanish husband under conubium. And what of other Italians? By ius gentium the children of a Latin father and peregrine mother would be peregrine.[2] Under conubium the children invariably took the father's status.[3] There is no direct evidence that conubium could exist between Latins and peregrines. But it was not a right that existed solely between Romans and non-Romans: Latin towns had it inter se.[4]

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[1] Spaniards awarded citizenship probably also received it.

[2] GAIUS 1.78, 81 (a S C of Hadrian upheld ius gentium in the case of marriage between Latins and peregrines), cf. 82; ULP. 5.8; Dig. 1.5.24.

[3] GAIUS 1.80 '(c.) semper efficit ut qui nascitur patris condicioni accedat'.

[4] LIVY 8.4.10 (temporarily abolished between some prisci Latini in 338); SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 31-2.

The Romans denied it on at least one occasion to peregrine states: the four Macedonian republics set up in 167.[1] The concept of a right of lawful intermarriage was certainly not confined to Roman, or Italian, usage.[2] That it was granted, by Rome or on the spot by a Latin community like Carteia (which could pass its own laws), for unions between Latins and Spaniards - or that such unions were recognized as lawful in Italian eyes - is not beyond credibility.[3] It is equally possible that, if conubium was permitted between Roman citizens and stated Spanish communities, non-Roman Italians assumed a similar right applied to their own marriages with such Spaniards. In fact, Italian socii, themselves peregrini before 90 B.C.[4], may have had no legal difficulty in the first place.

At some date a law, the lex Minicia, was passed to ensure that, 'non interveniente conubio', the marriage of a Roman of either sex to a peregrine should confer only peregrine status on the children, though normally these would follow 'matris condicio'.[5] If this

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[1] LIVY 45.29.10.

[2] E. VOLTERRA, 'La nozione giuridica del conubium', Studi in memoria di E. Albertario 2 (1950) 347-84, on 369-84.

[3] GAIUS 1.81 (see n.2, prec. p.) might imply that in earlier times the children of Latin-peregrine unions sometimes followed the fathers' status.

[4] B. KÜBLER, R E 19. 639-40; SHERWIN-WHITE, O C D², 799 s.v. 'Peregrini'.

[5] ULP. 5.4; cf. Dig. 1.5.24; GAIUS 1.78.

measure dates to the Republic, it will have narrowed the transmission of citizenship to children of Roman fathers who took wives 'conubio interveniente' - and would thus almost certainly mean that the number of 'plausible cives' in Spain was considerably higher than that of genuine ones. But its date remains uncertain.[1] All the same, it is clear that there must have been a sizeable group of people in Spain who were quite closely related to settlers but could not legally call themselves Romans or Latins.

We hear no more about legally servile half-Romans. They can scarcely have ceased to appear. It is possible that Corduba, founded as a mixed settlement of 'selected Romans and locals' in 152, included some.[2] It must have been obvious to the Roman government that a new problem with such persons could arise every generation, and that

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[1] As a Republican, pre-90 B.C. law: (e.g.) E. WEISS, R E 12. 2399; O. KARLOWA, Röm. Rechtsgeschichte 2. 281; G. ROTONDI, Leges publicae Populi Romani, 338; KÜBLER, R E 19. 644; C. CASTELLO, 'La data della legge Minicia', Studi in on. di V. Arangio-Ruiz (Napoli, 1953) 3. 301-17. A. WATSON, The Law of Persons in the later Rom. Rep. (1967) 27 n.4, argues that it is more likely early imperial. GAIUS 1.79 says the law also affected Latins, 'sed ad alios Latinos pertinet qui proprios populos propriasque civitates habebant et erant peregrinorum numero'; CIC. Topica 4.20 states, without qualification, that without conubium 'qui nati sunt patrem non sequuntur'. Gaius could be referring to provincial Latin communities (though the imperfect tense would if so be odd) or Cicero may have overlooked the law's provision that children must follow the 'condicio deterior'.

[2] Above, 6 - 7.

giving them a town each time was a repetitive way of solving it. With Carteia as precedent, such hybridae may possibly have been entitled to Latin right once they could prove their paternity. Or at any rate to a legal manumission, becoming free peregrini. As immigration built up a stratum of Hispanienses, fathers of such half-castes who stayed in Spain may sometimes have performed the legal manumission themselves: in this case the sons would acquire their fathers' status. In any case the growth of a Spanish-Roman and Spanish-Italian element, many members of which must have counted as free peregrini despite their Roman or Latin cousins, would provide an increasingly varied society around servile hybridae. The growth of economic activity would provide increased opportunities: demand for produce and crafts would rise with prosperity and population, and land may have become available through punitive confiscations and through the extension of Roman control over wider areas of Spain (for example into southern Lusitania).[1] Such developments might lessen the need to seek special help from Rome: very likely they would lessen Rome's readiness to respond.

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[1] On the spread of Roman rule, see pp. 148-54 . A detailed history of the Spanish economy under the Republic cannot be established, but an overall growth of prosperity - despite probable downturns during disturbed periods like the Lusitanian wars and the struggle against Sertorius (affecting Ulterior and Citerior respectively) - seems a reasonable supposition.

(iii) Settlers and Roman citizenship

A tribune in the year 91, Q. Varius, bore the cognomen or nickname 'Hybrida'. It was given 'propter obscurum ius civitatis'[1], which may imply that half-castes were still at that time assumed to have no right to citizenship. Popular assumptions, however, are no safe guides to actual circumstances - though some hybridae would certainly not be citizens (as shown in the previous section), others very probably were.[2]

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[1] VAL. MAX. 8.6.4; he goes on to remark that Varius 'ante pestiferum tribunum plebis quam certum civem agit'.

[2] It has been suggested that Varius, in fact, was not a civis at all and that this, when discovered, enabled him to be condemned and executed (rather than exiled) under his own law (R.A. BAUMAN, The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate [Johannesburg 1967] 64-7). See however E.S. GRUEN, 'Lex Varia', JRS 55 (1965) 59-73, on 69; P. GARNSEY (rev. of BAUMAN), JRS 59 (1969) 283. Even if Varius did lack proper title to civitas (it should be added) this in no way proves he was simply a native Spaniard, or that his claim to it was based on an alleged grant by anyone (as, e.g. H. GUNDEL, RE 8A. 387 'er gehörte jedenfalls zu den Spaniern, die damals bereits das römische Bürgerrecht erlangt hatten').

Varius' proper name was Q. Varius Severus (VAL. MAX. 3.7.8); his origo was Sucro in southeast Citerior, as the extra name 'Sucronensis' shows (VAL. MAX. ibid.; QUINTIL. 5.12.10; de Vir. Ill. 72. 11); the adjective 'Hispanus' (ASCON. 22 C) may be a gloss replacing the less easily intelligible 'Sucronensis' (ASCON. is citing the same speech as VAL. MAX.): see GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 301 n.3.

Another settler (so it seems) who sought office at Rome around this time is known. A quaestor of the Sullan general sent against Sertorius in 81 was named L. Fabius Hispaniensis, as coins he struck show 'L. FAB. HISP.' and one of Sertorius' assassins in 72 bore this name: he had probably changed sides (SYDENHAM, R. Rep. Coin., 121; SALL. Hist. 3.83 M; GRUEBER, Coins of the R.Rep. in the B.M. 2. 352 n. 2; WILSON, Emigration, 26). As he already bore the cognomen in 81 he did not adopt it from his Spanish sojourn in that year: thus he probably was born in one of the two provinces. (Although Fabii of

Doubts may arise, however, about the legal right of even of descendants of citizens, in the male line and per conubium, to consider themselves cives Romani. It does not seem very likely that they were registered in the census. For this, personal attendance at Rome may have been necessary.[1] This is admittedly not certain; on at least one occasion, Latin colonies in Italy were ordered to send their census lists to Rome[2] and 'per provincias dimiserunt censores ut civium Romanorum in exercitibus quantus ubique esset referretur numerus'[3]; and some possibility of census- in- absence seems to have existed in the last century of the Republic.[4] The evidence suggests that it was not usual. Cicero shows anxiety lest Atticus be regis-

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the aristocratic Roman gens were frequently in Spain during the second century (see MRR 1, under dates 196, 188, 173, 144, 141, 123 and 110) they were surnamed Buteo, Labeo or Maximus and none bore the praenomen L.: Hispaniensis was also L.f. No known member of the noble gens bore a triumphal cognomen connected with Spain - nor does Hispaniensis sound like one.) One other Spanish-Roman with this cognomen is known: Atilius Hispaniensis, an informant of VARRO's (Re R. 2.4.11). See also p. 398.

The citizenship of Vibius Paciaecus (M. Crassus' helper) is uncertain (PLUT. Crass. 4.2; see MÜNZER, R E 18/2. 2061 on the probable form of the cognomen). The termination of his surname is Iberian (SCHULZE, Lat. Eig., 28) whereas the rest is good enough Italian (Vibius: SCHULZE, 102; Paccius: ibid. 204; see also BADIAN, F C, 308). The man's mixed origin seems clear. Clearly too he was not against announcing it in his nomenclature. For his son (?) L. Vibius Paciaecus, see CIC. Att. 12.2.1; Fam. 6.8.2; BHisp 3.4.

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[1] T. FRANK, 'Roman census statistics from 225 to 28 B.C.', Cl. Phil. 19 (1924) 329-41; T.P. WISEMAN, 'The census in the first century B.C.', J R S 59 (1969) 59-75, on 67-9, cf. 61.

[2] LIVY 29.15.9-10, cf. 37.7 (204 B.C.).

[3] 29.37.5.

[4] GELL. 5.19.16 (quoting Scipio Aemilianus); CIC. Att. 1.18.1.

tered in absence: there may have been penalties.[1] Even if troops were occasionally included by special arrangement, this is no indication that civilians would be: Archias the poet missed registration twice through being abroad.[2] Velleius states that 'maiores ... civis Romanos ad censendum ex provinciis in Italiam revocaverant', when discussing C. Gracchus' colony at Carthage.[3] This might possibly imply that after Iunonia an overseas Roman colony could forward a censorial list to Rome for inclusion in the citizen total, but this again is not at all certain - and even by 45 the Spanish provinces had few such towns.[4]

So few, if any, *cives* living in Spain would be registered. This should not be surprising. The purpose of the census was threefold: for levying *tributum*, for ascertaining the military sources of the State - at least until Marius opened the legions to *capite censi*[5] - and for arranging the Comitia. *Tributum* was not raised after 167, except on extraordinary occasions (as by the Triumvirs in 43[6]), whereas provincial Romans were liable to pay the provincial

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[1] WISEMAN, *J R S* 1969, 61. Octavian's permission to veterans and to Seleucus of Rhosos to be 'absentes censeri' looks like a privilege (*E-J*[2] no. 302 = BRUNS[7] pp. 239-40; *E-J*[2] no. 301 lines 24-8).

[2] CIC. *Arch.* 11. [3] 2.7.7.

[4] Valentia, Metellinum, Salaria, perhaps (but probably not) Asta Regia (on Asta see below, 109).

[5] See WISEMAN, *J R S* 1969, 61, 75.

[6] SCHWAHN, *R E* 7A. 8.

tribute unless awarded immunitas[1], so that being free from citizen-tributum was no great relief. Their numbers would not be so large during most of this period as to arouse concern at Rome that a useful manpower supply was being ignored. As for membership of the Comitia, that cannot have greatly exercised people who would seldom or never be able to exercise their suffrage.[2]

But 'census non ius civitatis confirmat ac tantum modo indicat eum, qui sit census, ita se iam tum gessisse pro cive'.[3] In other words it ratified, or recognized, a man's existing possession of citizenship.[4] Provincial Romans not registered were not, therefore, deprived thereby of citizen status. Given this assurance, they had even less incentive to seek registration. Certainly some form of proof of citizen status would be desirable, if a case came before the governor (or his representative) in which advantage might lie with the party who could claim it. But this could well be registration merely in local lists, at Carteia or Corduba for example (if

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[1] L. Agr. (BRUNS[7] no.11) 49-50, 66, 70, 77-8, 83 etc. (vectigalia); CIC. 2 Verr. 3.25.61 (decumae in Sicily); Att. 2.16.4 (portoria); SCHWAHN, R E 7A. 10; KORNEMANN, R E 16. 633; 4. 579.

[2] For this reason, the presence of cives sine suffragio among citizen immigrants has not been stressed (there is no evidence whatsoever to adduce). For the prevalent view that cives s. s. in Italy were raised to full citizenship during the second century B.C., see P.A. BRUNT, J R S 1965, 93; L.R. TAYLOR, Voting Districts of the R. Rep. (1960) 18.

[3] CIC. Arch. 11.

[4] KUBITSCHEK, R E 3. 1916; cf. WISEMAN's remarks on the 41-year gap between the censuses of 70 and 29 B.C. (J R S 1969, 69-70).

any such lists existed); or some other documentary evidence (wills, for instance) might serve.[1] Even by 50 B.C., the great majority of settler families will not have been in Spain longer than eighty to a hundred years. Particularly if Roman or Latin right offered attractions superior to ordinary peregrine status (which is of course more than probable), many settlers would keep track of their background, and over such a period - three or four generations - this would not be too difficult. Nor would solid proof of citizenship always be required, even by officials: a Roman name and knowledge of Latin, local repute, or simply wealth, could often secure a claim's acceptance.

Nor is the rule here applicable, under which a Roman citizen wishing to adopt the citizenship of another State and migrating thither could be naturalized there, forfeiting his Roman status.[2]

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[1] Formal *coloniae* and *municipia* had local census-lists and *censores*: e.g. LIVY 29.15.9-10, 37.7 (lists); DEGRASSI, *I L L R P* 111, 134, 528, 584-6, 611 (*censores*). Cf. *Tab. Heracl.* (BRUNS[7] no. 18) 142; CIC. *Arch.* 7. Thus such towns in Spain should similarly have had lists - note the legend CES (*censor?*) on coins of Carteia (VIVES, *Mon. hisp.* 4. 18-19, nos. 4 and 15; HUBNER, *R E* 3. 1619). Large *conventus c. R.* with some degree of formal organization (on these see pp. 283-5) might also keep some sort of list of Roman residents. Clearly, all the same, a very large proportion of the citizen-settler population would not be covered, even if local lists were kept at both types of communities: rural dwellers, for instance, would not be greatly represented.

[2] One of Cicero's examples is C. Cato who became a citizen of Tarraco, which shows that cities in the West were included in this practice. However the right of *postliminium* applied here, as it did to citizens captured in war: if the Roman came home he recovered his citizenship. See *Balb.* 27-8; cf. NEP. *V. Att.* 3.1 (Atticus' reluctance to accept Athenian citizenship - the passage is however deleted by some editors). According to Cicero, he knew some Romans who had in effect become citizens of Athens by accepting office there - 'cum

Romans who settled in Spain did not thus lose their citizenship: mere settlement was not enough, as Cicero stresses that 'iure enim nostro neque mutare civitatem quisquam invitus potest, neque si velit mutare non potest, modo adsciscatur ab ea civitate cuius esse se civitatis velit'.[1] To obtain another citizenship required legal naturalization into the community concerned, and mutual acceptance was the condition of naturalization. There is no evidence, and no reason for thinking, that Roman or Italian immigrants chose to become formal members of the Spanish community they lived in. There is instead some indication that Roman settlers preferred to keep their own civitas (which after all was valuable and coveted): the conventus at Hispalis and Corduba, and the equites Romani at Asta and Bursavo or Urso, have been mentioned earlier.[2]

Thus, despite the absence of census registration, at least some descendants of Roman settlers had a good claim to be regarded

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ignorarent, si illam civitatem essent adepti, hanc se perdidisse, nisi postliminio reciperent' (Balb. 30). Cf. also R. GARDNER, The Speeches of Cicero: Pro Caelio, De Provinciis Consularibus, Pro Balbo (Loeb Library: 1956) 663 note 'd'; on postliminium for prisoners of war see W. BUCKLAND, A Text-Book of Roman Law ... (1921) 67-9. Note also F. DE VISSCHER, 'La dualité des droits de cité et la "Mutatio civitatis"', Bull. de la Cl. des Lettres ... de l'Ac. r. de Belg. 40 (1954) 49-67, on 59.

[1] Balb. 27.

[2] See section (i) of this chapter. If Corduba had no formal status before Caesar made it a Roman colony, the conventus no doubt embraced (besides later comers) the citizen-descendants of the Romans settled there by Marcellus. If on the other hand it was a Latin town under the Republic, the conventus c.R. must have consisted of citizens who established themselves there later, if also of some Cordubenses granted citizenship by governors like Metellus. The point made in the text will stand in either case.

as legitimate cives.[1] Now before the Social War there must have been 'socii Italici' also, and the descendants of such, in the Peninsula. Their status is even obscurer. Like the Roman settlers, many of them probably retained awareness of their origins and cultural identity: at any rate Trajan and Hadrian were able to trace back their ancestry (how accurately cannot of course be defined) to Italian towns and - in Hadrian's case at least - to the first settlers at Italica.[2] Italian names, as shown earlier, are plentiful in ancient Spain, besides those more narrowly Roman.[3] But what form of status 'Italici' had there is not clear. Many must have counted in law as peregrini.[4] The Latins of Carteia and any other such towns possessed a status of higher value, if not as enviable as the citizenship of Rome. Socially, even 'peregrine' Italians no doubt often enjoyed higher regard than Spaniards (for instance in

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[1] This conclusion has some support from the grants of citizenship made to provincials, since many of these would not be expected to make a trip to Rome for registration. Again, the coloni attested in Africa in 111 (L. Agr. 59-61, 66 etc.) and those established there by Marius (L. TEUTSCH, Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika ... von C. Gracchus bis ... Augustus [1962] 9-27; WILSON, Emigration, 44-6; SALMON, R. Coloniz., 129, 192 nn.245-7), and their descendants, could not be expected to make such a trip either.

[2] See above, 1 - 2 The Dasumii of Corduba, who claimed descent from the hero Dasummus, king of Lupiae (S H A H.Aur. 1.6; above, 59-60), also seem to have maintained some genealogical tradition - if partly fictitious.

[3] See above, 58-61.

[4] See above, 76-8.

the eyes of many a Roman administrator).

The enfranchisement of Italy in 90/89 would have an impact on Spain: after it was completed, Italian immigrants would all be Roman citizens. Spanish-Italians already there probably did not share in the promotion, however. Although Cicero and Gellius might seem to imply that citizenship was given to Latins everywhere[1], the language of the lex Plautia Papiria shows the grant was confined to Italy.[2] Certainly this cannot prove no later provision was made for places like Carteia, Italica or Palma, and ways might even be visualized through which such communities obtained citizenship: petitions might be organized and sent, a Latin town might seek to become fundus over one of the enfranchising statutes[3], friendly governors might secure the privilege for their protégés.[4]

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[1] '(Lege) Iulia, qua lege civitas est sociis et Latinis data' (CIC. Balb. 21); 'civitas universo Latio lege Iulia data est' (GELL. 4.4.3).

[2] The clause cited by Cicero affected adscripti who 'in Italia domicilium habuissent', and is explained by Sherwin-White as closing a loophole in the lex Iulia (CIC. Arch. 7; SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 131-3).

[3] Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 131.

[4] Is this the explanation of Plutarch's rather odd reference to Sertorius' force of men in 81 'whom he called Romans' (above, pp. 23-4) - which he probably owes to his source, as he does not enlarge on it - ? But there is no report of Sertorius being given authority to confer citizenship: see also the Appendix, p. 389.

A fragment of POSIDONIUS records that, in the Mithridatic massacres, some people 'μεταφιεσάμενοι τετραγώνα ἱματία τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσι' (Frg. Gr. Hist. 2 A, p. 246 init.). WILSON, Emigration, 154-5, suggests that these were Italiote Greeks who, on hearing of the enfranchisement of Italy, 'assumed the toga, without

But the laws of 90-89 were in response to the military and political emergency in Italy, and it seems unlikely that any particular provision was made for overseas Italians. The lex Pompeia of 89, by awarding Latin status to towns in Transpadana, shows that no anomaly lay in the continuing existence of Latins in Spain. It would be hasty to imagine a passionate desire for citizenship necessarily existed among non-Roman Hispanienses, though no doubt some were eager enough for it if only because it conferred a more definitely privileged position in the provinces.[1] Again, while it is possible that some settlers benefited from grants made by Pompey and Metellus (who are expressly known as empowered to make these)[2], there is no evidence that such conferments amounted to thousands or even many hundreds. And even if Carteia, Palma and Pollentia all acquired Roman right before Caesar - a promotion for which the evidence is, at best, merely suggestive - other important places do not seem to have

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waiting to be officially enrolled as citizens', but who when facing massacre went back to Greek dress in an attempt to escape. If this were so, it would second the view that Italians abroad qualified for citizenship in 89. But all the passage need mean is that, in the past, such people had assumed the toga - badge of the dominant State - when overseas; with no necessary corollary in or before 89 of a legal claim to citizenship.

[1] In 68 there were rumours that the Transpadani, who had Latin right, wanted citizenship and were close to rebellion over the matter (SUET. Iul. 8). Although this shows that Latins continued to value Roman right more highly than their own, it also suggests that there was no similar urgency in Spain (which Caesar, suspected of abetting the Transpadani, had just left).

[2] See below, pp. 159, 300.

had similar success.[1]

Thus most descendants of Italians are not likely to have benefited from the enfranchisement that followed the Social War.[2] Even many persons of part-Roman descent and of Romanized habits must have lacked citizenship as late as Caesar's time. This should throw light on Caesar's (and Augustus') extensive grants of citizenship and Latin right.

The legal varieties among the Hispanienses in Caesar's day may be summarized. Besides cives Romani properly so called (new immigrants, some descendants of earlier immigrants and also several enfranchised Spaniards), there were the Latini of Carteia - as that town probably did not acquire citizenship after 89 - and any other towns of the same status; and in many places there were people of Italian ancestry - wholly or partially - who were legally to be classed as peregrini even if many of them might, in practice, pass for cives or Latini.[3] Few Hispanienses could suppose themselves absol-

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[1] On this see below, 92 - 101.

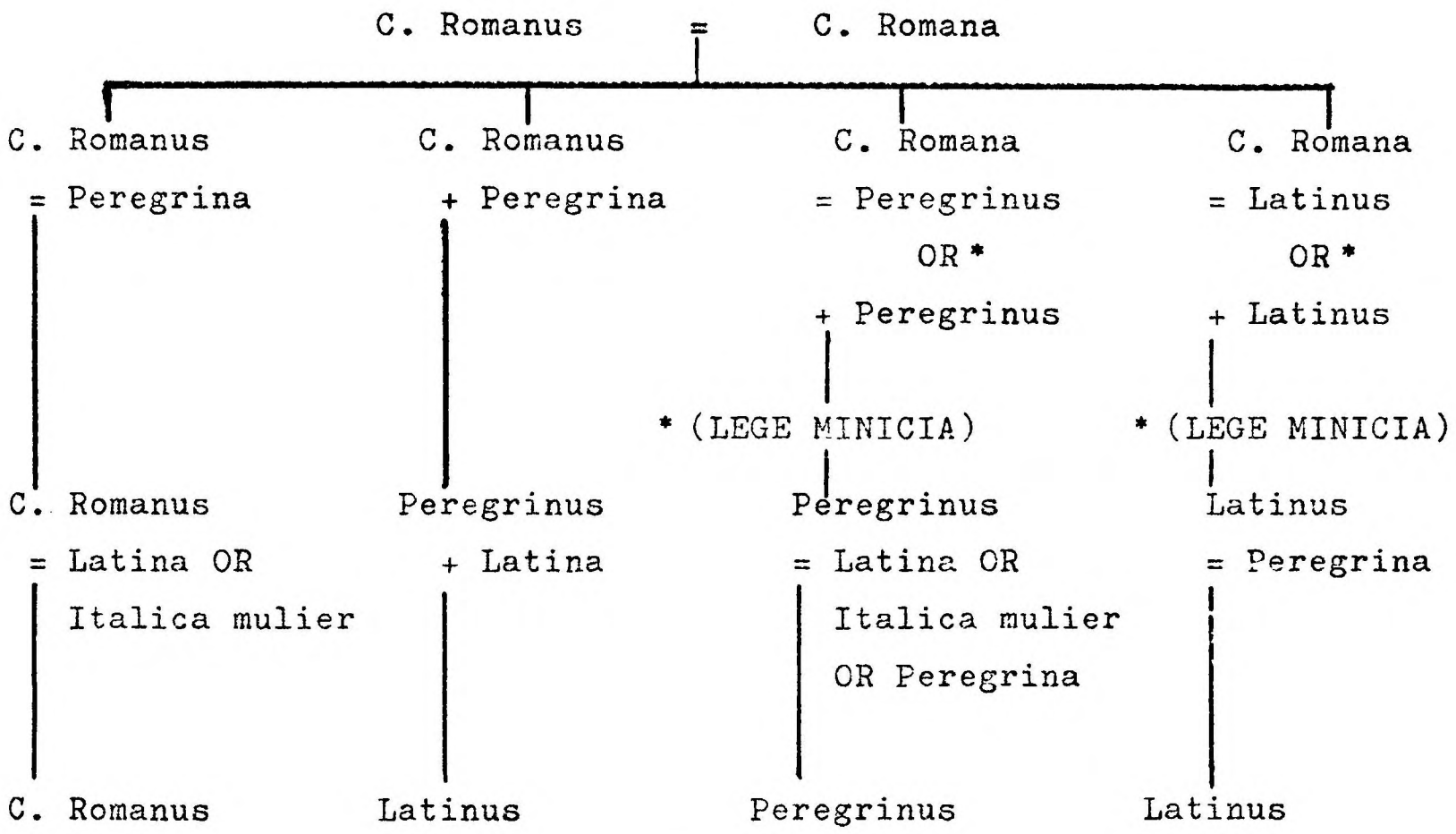
[2] L. Decidius Saxa, who served under Caesar in 49 and was tribune of the people in 44, was ridiculed by Cicero as a wild Celtiberian originally lacking citizenship (CAES. BCiv 1.66.3; CIC. Philippics 11.12, 13.27): he was probably of settler origin, if with some Spanish ancestry also (R. SYME, 'Who was Decidius Saxa?' JRS 27 (1937) 127-37, esp. 132-3, 136), and his lack of citizenship - unless Cicero completely invents it - might well be due to his family having settled in Spain before Roman right was given to their part of Italy (cf. SALMON, Samnium and the Samnites, 391-2).

[3] Compare the table at end of this chapter.

utely free of Spanish forebears. Similarly a number of Hispani will have had immigrants among theirs; and intermarriage between settler Romans and Italians would also occur. Clear-cut distinctions between these groups - culturally as well as legally - are thus inadvisable: a single family, after three or four generations, could easily include members of each.

INTERMARRIAGE AND LEGAL STATUS

Possibilities



(ETC.)

NOTES 1: Unions with conubium are shown by = ; without, by +

2: For the purpose of this table, the Lex Minicia is treated as dating to the Republic

CHAPTER V

SETTLERS' TOWNS: STATUS BEFORE CAESAR

SOMETHING further must be said on the status of the towns with (definitely or probably) Italian settlers, which were established in Spain before 50 B.C. In general a founder seems to have needed the Senate's approval, whether in advance or in retrospect: the colony at Carteia was so authorized, and it was 'τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης' that M. Marius placed his Celtiberian auxiliaries at a town of their own.[1]

The status of only one town before 100 is known - Carteia, a colonia Latina. It is a problem whether this place obtained Roman citizenship after the Social War: if some of its coins with IIIIviri could be dated to around 70 B.C., this would strongly suggest it, but the date is by no means certain.[2] It therefore remains preferable

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[1] APP. Iber. 100.433. Agrigentum received Sicilian settlers in 207 under a Senatus Consultum and a lex Scipionis carried out by the governor Manlius (CIC. 2 Verr. 2.123; HÜLSEN, R E 1. 1191).

[2] VIVES compares the types on some of these coins with denarii struck at Rome by L. and by M. Plaetorii Cestiani, dated by SYDENHAM to ca. 72 and ca. 68/6 respectively (VIVES, Mon. hisp. 4. 19 no.4, 20 no.16, 24 nos.29-30; SYDENHAM, R. Rep. Coin., 130 no. 792, 133 nos. 805-7); another type VIVES states is drawn from a denarius of Sulla [or shortly afterwards] (VIVES, 4. 20 no.17; SYDENHAM, 124 no. 763 and note; cf. his p. lv). For IIIIviri as the typical magistrates of Roman municipia at this time, see CIC. Att. 5.2.3, 9.13.1; A. DEGRASSI in Scritti vari di antichità 1. 168-71; SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 59, 141-2. - Also, by contrast to several coins that bear both the title IIIIvir and the phrase 'EX D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)', one of the above shows 'EX S C G C'. If the letter VIVES reads as G is ac-

to suppose Carteia remained a Latin colony at least until the time of Caesar.

The precedent for such a foundation (as earlier suggested) possibly inspired other Latin towns, for instance Corduba. The type of hybridae who appealed successfully in 171 cannot have ceased to be born: there were too many wars in Spain for that. The share that 'ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι' had in settling Corduba recalls that of the old Carteienses in the colony there: the phrase might even cover locally-raised hybridae (servile or free). It was also suggested earlier that Strabo's inaccurate description of Corduba as the first Roman ἀποικία in that region may imply Latin status at any rate.[1] Since we meet a conventus civium Romanorum there in 49-8 it cannot have obtained Roman right after the Social War.[2]

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tually C (his Plate CXXVIII. 1 allows suspicion but not certainty) or if G is here used for C (compare SYDENHAM, 207 no. 1326a, where 'G. DES.' apparently stands for 'c(onsul) des(ignatus)': cf. nos. 1326 and 1326b), the legend could read 'ex senatus consulto coloniae Carteiae' (note GRANT's suggestion that 'S C' at Toletum and Lascuta refers to the local senate: From Imperium to Auctoritas, 472, 473), and this might be a transition issue. Because of the possibly long time-lag between a type being struck at Rome and copied abroad, however, and because it cannot be definitely established that the Carteian types were taken from the Roman issues mentioned, the implications for the town's status remain unproven.

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[1] Pp. 6 - 7.

[2] For conventus c. R. as implying a place of non-Roman status, note CIC. Sest. 9; see SCHULTEN, De Conventibus Civium Romanorum (18-92) 1; KORNEMANN, R E 4. 1193-6 (esp. 1195 'die Existenz einer römischen Stadtgemeinde, sei es colonia oder municipium, schloss das Bestehen eines C. aus'); cf. WILSON, Emigration, 14-15, 38. Conventus c.R. at Latin towns, though not often attested, could exist: KORNEMANN, R E 4. 1196 (but the conventus at Bracara [C I L 2. 2423] dates

Italica is mentioned by Caesar, but no 'Italicensis conventus'[1] - the designation of the place was probably 'urbs'[2], and though a conventus is not thereby excluded, this term would hardly be used of Roman citizen Italicenses. The term 'municeps' (in the sense of 'fellow-townsman') is used of one Italicensis in 48[3], and the town's tribe seems to have been Sergia[4] - whereas Caesar and Augustus regularly assigned their municipia in Spain, both Roman and Latin, to Galeria[5]: but although these might be indications that by 50 B.C. Italica possessed Roman right (acquired if so at an unknown date), the special character of the town could well explain its allocation to a tribe Caesar used for one or more colonies in Spain, and not to the tribe which received ordinary, ex-peregrine Spanish municipia.[6]

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to the first half of the first century A.D., before that town had Latin right: see now G. ALFÖLDY, Fasti Hispanienses [1969] 67-70; Bracara a Flavian Latin town, see R. McELDERRY, JRS 1918, 75); SCHULTEN, De Conventibus, 19-22. - VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 72 and 73 n.1, thinks Corduba may have been a Roman colony before Caesar (cf. his p. 148), but the reference to the 'cohortes colonicae' he uses to show this (CAES. BCiv 2.19.3) does not prove it: these troops were not specifically Corduban, and were there 'casu'. - On the types of person (local or from elsewhere) covered by the term conventus c.R. at Corduba, see above, 85 note 2.

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1 BCiv 2.20.6.

2 In Mummius' dedication (CIL 2. 1119) MOMMSEN restored '<vico Ital>icensi'; but CIL 2. 213 (first century A.D.) and OROS. 5.23.10 (under date 76 B.C.) call it 'urbs', and cf. SALL. Hist. 2.98.6 'urbe Valentia' (under date 75).

3 BAlex 52.4.

4 CIL 3. 550 (Hadrian), 5. 932, 2. 1129; KUBITSCHEK, Imp. R. Trib. Discr., 177.

5 Pp. 317, 339.

6 The Caesarian colonies in tribus Sergia: Carthago Nova,

A similar problem arises over Palma and Pollentia in the Balearic Islands. The tribe of both towns, when they had Roman status, was Velina[1]: they were the only Spanish communities of that tribe, in fact.[2] If, as Miss Taylor has suggested, the tribe to which a Latin town's magistrates were assigned on acquiring citizenship afterwards remained the same in which the community as a whole was registered when (and if) promoted to Roman right, this could explain the circumstance: the two towns would have been *coloniae Latinae*, no doubt from foundation.[3] That would help to explain Mela's reference to them as 'coloniae', which (if taken as meaning Roman colonies in his time) clashes with Pliny the Elder's description 'oppida civium Romanorum' - a term he uses in Spain for *municipia*, not *coloniae*.[4]

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probably Hispalis and possibly Scallabis; Salaria too may have been (KUBITSCHEK, *I R T D*, 198-9); Augustus' colony Tucci also belonged to it.

[1] KUBITSCHEK, *I R T D*, 201-2.

[2] Cf. A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, *Las colonias rom. de Esp.*, 457. Indeed (it seems) the only extra-Italian communities at all: *I R T D*, 272.

[3] TAYLOR, *Vot. Dist.*, 107-11, esp. 109, and 123-31, esp. 126-9; cf. E.T. SALMON, 'Notes on the Social War', *T A P A* 89 (1958) 159-84, on 183-4; but this view is challenged, at least in its application to the pre-Social War Latin colonies of Italy, by P.A. BRUNT, 'Italian aims at the time of the Social War', *J R S* 55 (1965) 90-109, on 108.

[4] MELA 2.124; PLINY 3.77 and see below, 306-10. It may be noted that one function of the towns was obviously strategic - holding the conquered islands - and this fitted the role of Latin colonies very well. That Pliny does not include them among the 12 Roman colonies of Tarraconensis is plain from his phrasing (3.18): 'accedunt insulae *quarum mentione seposita* civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXVIIII (etc.)' (text of MAYHOFF: Teubner). Moreover he assigns Tarraconensis only one treaty town, and later names it - while the islands had two more (pp. 269-70 below). It will be argued later that Clunia

The alternatives are to suppose that the towns (or their non-citizen inhabitants) received Roman right before Caesar, that he or Augustus on conferring it placed them uniquely in Velina (for whatever reason) or that they were coloniae Romanae. But such a grant of citizenship during the Republic is hard to explain: places like Corduba and Italica, as shown, did not (it seems) obtain such a favour. Colonial status is unlikely for various reasons: not merely Pliny's terminology, but also the Senate's hostility to overseas colonization at precisely the period when Palma and Pollentia were founded.[1] An untypical

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and Flaviobriga must be included in Pliny's colonial total (3 2 3 – 4). The detailed breakdown of classes of towns in the Balearic Islands, given by PLINY 3.76-7, must come from an official or quasi-official source as in his other Spanish sections: hence his description of Palma and Pollentia cannot be put down to an imprecise periplus. Mela's 'coloniae' could be untechnical, erroneous, or Latin: though the latter would be anachronistic by his day, Verona is a 'colonia' in TAC. Hist. 3.8.1 despite having ceased to be a (Latin) one in 49 B.C. (G. RADKE, R E 8A. 2426, 2429; cf. U. EWINS in P B S R 23 [1955] 75 and 80). Mela also calls Tolosa in Transalpina a 'colonia': it was a titular Latin one (2.84; VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 65 n. 1).

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[1] SALMON, R. Coloniz., 119 (Iunonia), 122 (Narbo); BADIAN, F C, 163, 264-5. For other reasons still, see last note. No mention of the towns (though this alone would hardly be decisive) in VELLEIUS' list either (2.15, esp. 15.4-5). TAYLOR, Vot. Dist., 95 with n.49, thinks they were coloniae Romanae from the start (cf. her Index, s.vv.). A. DEGRASSI, Scr. vari di ant. 1. 137, supports the view that they were Latin; criticized by M.G. MORGAN in Calif. Stud. in Cl. Ant. 2 (1969) 230 n.63, but the theory does not depend on Aquae Sextiae also being Latin on foundation. The objection that 'it seems improbable that at this date Roman citizens would have been settled in Latin colonies'(MORGAN, ibid.) does not really hold: these settlers were from Spain, not Italy, and not all of them may have been cives Romani anyway.

allocation to tribus Velina by Dictator or Princeps is possible but must seem rather less likely than the explanation which involves assuming Latin status for the towns under the Republic.

Valentia, as shown earlier, was probably a colony from 71, while Metellinum must have been due to Pompey's colleague in the Sertorian war. It is unlikely that Metellus simply founded a settlement that later acquired colonial rank: its lack of title indicates a pre-Caesarian date[1], and furthermore the place (if elevated only later, without a further deductio colonorum) must then have been a 'titular colony' - a fictitious status, very unlikely to have been used before the first century A.D.[2]

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[1] When Caesar and Augustus established colonies at towns founded by earlier Romans they did confer distinctive titles - e.g. Corduba Patricia, Tarraco Urbs Triumphalis, colonia Paterna Narbo Martius, Forum Iulii colonia Pacensis (VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 100 with n.2), colonia Mariana Augusta Uchi Maius (TEUTSCH, R. Städtewes. in Nordafr., 23-5; WILSON, Emigration, 45 n.3).

[2] For a qualification to this statement, which does not affect the case of Metellinum, see below, 113 — 15 . VITTINGHOFF, 77, ascribes the town's colonial status to Caesar, and Mrs HENDERSON suggests that the variant 'Γεμέλλινον' in Ptolemy's reference to it recalls two stages - as vicus or castra, and later as colonia which she attributes to Augustus (JRS 32 [1942] 7 n.30). But for the explanation of the supposed epithet, see above, 27 note 2 . The neuter form of the name is actually attested only quite late (Itin. Ant. 416.2); although Pliny's 'colonia Metellinensis' (4.117) might imply it, he calls the colonies Pax and Norba 'Pacensis Norbensis' ibid. (cf. also 'Hispal colonia cognomine Romulensis': 3.11). For another late source, the colonia Ucubi in Baetica was a municipium (SHA M.Aur. 1.4, as emended; cf. A. BIRLEY, Marcus Aurelius [London 1965] 23, 24 n.1). If original, the neuter might simply indicate 'praesidium', either as a part (understood) of the name, or because Metellus in his earlier campaigns had set up a post to hold the Tagus crossing, establishing the colony there afterwards.

Another Roman colony that probably dates to pre-Caesarian times is Salaria (Úbeda la Vieja, on the upper Guadalquivir near Jaén[1]). Although its date is unknown, it had no title[2], hence does not seem to be one of Caesar's or Augustus'.[3] Its site was in Ulterior until the boundary change between 7 and 2 B.C. transferred it to Tarraconensis.[4] A fourth colony, Asta Regia, is chronologically uncertain but more likely Caesarian.[5]

The author of Bellum Alexandrinum reports that in 48 Cassius

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[1] CIL 2, p. 710: not the large town of Úbeda but near it (see Map III at end of CIL 2 Suppl.).

[2] 'Colonia Salariensis' (PLINY 3.25), 'colonia Sa[laria]' (not enough space for 'Salariensis': CIL 2. 3329). No Iberian precursor-town is known, but cf. the coastal Salauris, near Tarraco, in AVIEN. Ora mar. 513, and 'Salirin' or 'Salirun' on certain Iberian coins (accompanied by 'Iltrd' = Ilerda: VIVES, Mon. hisp. 2. 53).

In Pliny's citation, Salaria comes immediately after the colonies Acci and Libisosa, whose titles (and possession of ius Italicum) he gives: this confirms Salaria's lack of any.

[3] As VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 107, and GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 498-9, prefer - both suggesting Augustus. CIL 2. 5093 does mention C. Caesar as patron, but this proves nothing: Drusus Caesar was patron of Metellinum (CIL 2. 609) which was not Augustan - still less Tiberian.

[4] See below, 171-4, on this change.

[5] See below, 109.

PLINY refers to Munda misleadingly: 'huius conventus sunt reliquae coloniae immunes Tucci (etc.); inter quae fuit Munda cum Pompei filio rapta' (3.12). Hence D. DETLEFSEN, 'Die geographie der provinz Bätica bei Plinius ... ', Philologus 30 (1870) 265-310, on 270-1, thinks the place was also a colony. 'Quae' (not 'quas'), however, shows that 'oppida' is - clumsily indeed - understood; the past tense suggests that by Augustus' or at any rate Vespasian's day Munda was deserted (and it is not in Ptolemy) - perhaps after being sacked in 45 B.C. STRABO, who both mentions Munda's civil war role and implies it existed in his day (3.2.2/C141), may thus not have been aware of its fate.

the governor held a levy of equites Romani 'ex omnibus conventibus coloniisque'.[1] 'Colonisque' has sometimes been substituted, following three manuscripts out of eight.[2] Apart from being an uncomfortable coupling of collective and concrete nouns, this is not justified: Carteia was still (probably) a Latin colony, and Metellinum and Salaria very likely existed at the time; possibly Corduba too ranked as a colonia Latina.[3] Similarly, the phrase in Bellum Hispaniense describing a legion of the Pompeians ('facta ex coloniis quae fuerant in his regionibus'[4]) has been emended on the reading of a single manuscript.[5] Allowing for some looseness in the writer's phrasing or geographical knowledge, this is even less necessary, for in addition to recruits from colonies in Ulterior the young Pompey very probably obtained a number from Valentia.[6]

Until the close of the Republic, to summarize, Roman foundations in Spain were piecemeal, widely dispersed (if mainly in the

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[1] 56.4.

[2] So SCHULTEN, FHA 5. 85; J. ANDRIEU, BAlex, Budé ed., ad loc.

[3] KLOTZ, Kommentar zum B.H., concedes only one colony in Ulterior (clearly implying Roman colony) - Corduba (p. 58).

[4] 7.4.

[5] SCHULTEN, FHA 5. 106 (text of KLOTZ); KLOTZ, Kommentar, 58; PASCUCCI, Bellum Hisp., text ad loc.

[6] He landed on the east coast; many 'Afraniani' joined him; Valentia was probably colonized in 71 with veterans of Pompey and Afranius (see Chapters II and III).

southern half of the Peninsula), and inspired as a rule by the presence of veterans willing to settle or by strategic situations (including a need to settle Spaniards from time to time with land somewhere in order to pacify them). The number of formal colonies of either Roman or Latin rank was small: Carteia, Valentia, Metellinum and Salaria, possibly too Corduba, Palma and Pollentia. Other settler foundations would count only as 'vici' or 'fora'.[1]

The number and variety of towns founded, or developed, by Roman officials in the century and a half between Scipio Africanus and Julius Caesar testify to Roman interest and involvement in the Spanish provinces. Admittedly they are not proof of a conscious policy of urbanization: the reasons for establishing places, when known (as at Gracchurris, Carteia, Brutus' Valentia) are pragmatic and ad hoc, and similar ones can be inferred for others[2] - nor can about a dozen foundations over more than as many decades properly count as a policy. But two points are significant. To some extent

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[1] Note Caecilius V i c u s as the name of one settlement in Lusitania. Castra Servilia and C. Caecilia were 'contributi' to the colony Norba in Augustan times (PLINY 4.117). If LAFFI's interpretation of contributio, in its technical sense, is correct, the first two will have been vici civium R., at any rate by then ('contribuere serve a designare ... la fusione di due o più comunità autonome in un'unica comunità, che assomava e accentrava anche le funzioni amministrative e giurisdizionali delle comunità contributae': Adtributio e Contributio [1966] 159; cf. 133-4 on the places in question). As Pliny's report comes from an official or quasi-official source (pp. 305-6, 315-21), his term 'contributi' should be technical.

[2] Corduba, Palma and Pollentia, Pompaelo (and Lugdunum Convenarum in Aquitania), for example: a combination of strategic and social aims.

it could be said that in planting them Roman governors were transferring to Spain (formally or otherwise) the colonizing habit already well developed in Italy. Moreover the cases of Gracchurris, Corduba and Pompaelo - among others - show that the authorities at times would act on behalf of provincials also. To be sure, this happened only when the problems became pressing - at any rate in the instances we know of (Aemilius Paullus' action over Turris Lascutana suggests that remedial measures m i g h t occur at other times too[1]). Nevertheless such foundations often strengthened and extended Roman influence: Corduba and Tarraco were metropolises by the end of the first century B.C., and Olisipo, Valentia, Palma, Italica and Carteia ranked as important towns in their districts. The colonization programmes of Caesar and Augustus were, therefore, not an unprecedented phenomenon in Spain: as with their grants of citizenship and Latin right, the first steps had already been taken.

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[1] C I L 2. 5041.

PART TWO

THE COLONIES OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS

CHAPTER VI

CAESAR'S COLONIES

WE are told by Suetonius that Caesar assigned eighty thousand inhabitants of Rome to colonies overseas, draining the City.[1] If these were male adults only, and if those with families took them along, the numbers must certainly have been large. In addition, it is calculated that he had twenty or thirty thousand veterans to provide for.[2]

The detailed investigation both of his and of his successor's colonies is involved and vexatious. Only a few can be assigned for certain to one or the other (for example, Urso to Caesar, Emerita to Augustus). Nor, as has been shown earlier, is it obvious even whether some colonies were due to either or to the Republic.

The chief index to the probable period when a colony was established is its nomenclature, as attested in literary sources, on coins and on inscriptions: but this may hold traps. The full name

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[1] Iul. 42.1: Caesar forbade further emigration, 'octoginta autem civium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret'.

[2] F. ADCOCK, C A H 9. 706-7; GRANT, F I T A, 303.

is not always given in any one source, and sometimes (for all we know) may not be fully recoverable even by combining several. The dynastic 'Iulia' by itself recalls the Dictator, but may refer instead to Octavian before 27 B.C. 'Augusta', though it cannot refer to Divus Iulius, might be given to a town enfranchised or founded before 27, like Gades 'municipium Augustum' and colonia Raurica in Gaul.[1] In such cases it probably some additional and later benefit. Thus care in interpreting titles must be exercised; on the other hand, where explicit chronological evidence is lacking, the title can often decide the likely attribution.

A minimum of one colony was founded in Spain under Caesar's scheme: Urso, a clause of whose partly extant charter states that the land for the settlement was assigned 'iussu C. Caesaris dict(atoris) imp(eratoris) et lege Antonia senatusq(ue) c(onsultis) pl(ebei)que s(citis)'.[2] The town had been pro-Pompeian in 45 and was strategically sited[3], but surrendered or was captured after Munda. What happened to the townsfolk is not known. They may have been sold as slaves, expelled or possibly allowed to remain but with inferior

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[1] On Gades, see below, 344–5 ; on Raurica, VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 69 n.4.

[2] CIL 2. 5439 (= D'ORS, Epigrafía jur. de la Esp. rom., pp. 167-80; hereafter referred to as Lex Ursonensis or L.Urs.) § 104. On the date of the lex Antonia mentioned, see M.W. FREDERIKSEN, JRS 55 (1965) 195 (in or before April of 44 B.C.).

[3] BHisp 26.3, 28.2 (a civitas), 41.2-3 (site).

rights. Colonia Genetiva Iulia Urbanorum Urso[2] was, as the reference to a lex Antonia shows, established after Caesar's death.[3] The title or description 'Urbanorum' and the permission in its charter for freedmen to be decurions,[4] show that Urso was one of Caesar's 'proletarian' colonies.

Hispalis, on the authority of Isidore, is to be taken as another colony of his: 'Hispalim Caesar Iulius condidit, quam ex suo et Romae urbis vocabulo Iuliam Romulam nuncupavit'.[5] The title 'Iulia' is mentioned only here: it may be a mistaken inference from Caesar's practice at several other foundations. But 'Romula' is proved by inscriptions and coins, and given also by Pliny.[6] Hispalis, after going over to Caesar in 49, had returned to the Pompeian fold, and after Munda massacred Caesar's garrison.[7] His colony

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[2] L.Urs. 65 etc. 'colonia Genetiva Iulia'; PLINY 3.12 'Gen<eti>va Urbanorum'.

[3] Cf. L.Urs. 63 'IIviri qui primi ad pr(idie) k(alendas) Ianuar(ias) mag(istratum) habebunt'; 97 'eumque qui eam colon(iam) deduxerit' (future perf.): i.e. the colony did not yet formally exist when the law was drawn up.

[4] 'Urbanorum' only in PLINY - cf. Carteia's 'libertinorum', only in LIVY (43.3.4). Freedmen as decurions: L.Urs. 105.

[5] ISID. Etymol. 15.1.71 (= R. GROSSE, F H A 9. 271). The indigenous, or older, form of the name was apparently Hispal (HÜBNER, C I L 2, p. 152; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 464 n.1).

[6] C I L 2. 1178, 1180, 1184, 1188, 1190; E E 8, p. 522 no. 306; VIVES, Mon. hisp. 4. 123-4; PLINY 3.11 'Hispal colonia cognomine Romulensis'.

[7] CAES. BCiv 2.20.5; BHisp 35.1 - 36.4, 42.1; DIO 43.39. 2-3.

will not have been meant as an advantage to the Pompeian faction of the town: the measure was probably accompanied by expropriations and fines. Who the colonists were is not recorded: veterans were perhaps among them, but proletarii can also be presumed, given the commercial advantages Hispalis enjoyed.[1] Members of the Caesarian civil-war faction may also have participated, since there was no cause for victimizing them.[2] The colony shows copious evidence of two tribus, Sergia and Galeria, one of which - rather than indicating a second colonization by Augustus[3] - is probably due to incolae: if so,

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[1] Veterans: see n.3 below. Hispalis' fertile countryside and accessibility to some ocean traffic are stressed by STR. 3.2.3/C142. The town is, of course, the present Seville.

[2] On participation by local inhabitants in a colony, see below, 113-15.

[3] Evidence in KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 174-5. M.I. HENDERSON, 'Julius Caesar and Latium in Spain', J R S 32 (1942) 1-13, on 13 n.2, makes this suggestion because STRABO says that Hispalis was the third city in Baetica (after Corduba and Gades) and then adds 'νυνὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐμπόριον συμμένει, τῇ τιμῇ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐποικῆσαι νεωστὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος στρατιώτας ἡ †βαῖτις† ὑπερέχει, καίπερ οὐ συνοικούμενη λαμπρῶς' (3.2.1/C141). No such town 'Baetis' is known; Mrs Henderson thinks it refers to the suburb over the river, today called Triana. But this name would, if anything, recall a Latin form 'Traiana' (cf. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, La edad antigua [El Urbanismo en España: 1968] 63 and n.) - which, however, is not attested either. The River Baetis is mentioned a sentence later (3.2.2) which may have caused erroneous duplication: SCHULTEN in his edition of STRABO Book 3 emends MSS βαῖτις to Κορδύβη (F H A 6. 50 ad loc., cf. 154). But Corduba outshone Hispalis before Caesar (e.g. BHisp 3.1 'eius provinciae caput esse existimabatur'), nor is it clear why a colonial settlement at Corduba should rank higher - even if military - than a (civilian?) one at Hispalis. A dedication 'curatori civitatis Romulensium', made by 'scapharii Hispalenses' (C I L 2. 1180) cannot be taken as proof of a double colony or of separate ones (Hispalis and 'Romula') - or even as evidence that the veteran settlement was called Romula and was distinct from the existing town Hispalis. Other inscriptions show scapharii at 'Romula' (C I L 2. 1168-9, 1183),

that of the colony was probably Sergia, for Galeria was widespread in Spain.[1]

The other great city on the Baetis probably owed its colony to Caesar also. In imperial times the official name of Corduba was 'Colonia Patricia', but no evidence of a dynastic appellation (such as 'Iulia') exists.[2] As shown earlier, Corduba had a conventus civium Romanorum as late as 48. Its colonial settlement, or status, has been credited to the sons of Pompey, in 46 or 45[3], though the title might have come from Augustus.[4] Such a date is not

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and another refers to the '(ordo) Romulens(is) Hispalens(is)', or to 'Romulens(es) Hispalens(es)', clearly as one entity (E E 8, p. 522, no. 306: mid-second century A.D.). See HÜBNER, C I L 2, p. 152; VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 74 n.4; contra, KORNEMANN, R E 4. 527, no. 83. HÜBNER explains the report in Strabo as, in fact, contrasting the ἐμπόριον Gades (which with Corduba outdid Hispalis in ἐπιφανεία) with Hispalis (which outdid Gades [but not Corduba, also a colony] in τιμή): C I L 2, pp. 151-2. If so, it is worth adding, this is one of the earliest reports of a colonia enjoying higher repute than a municipium.

[1] Two examples of Quirina also occur (C I L 2. 1180, 1182). Compare the strong showing of Galeria at Carthago Nova (3425, 3467, 3520) which was in Sergia (KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 191) - Aniensis also appears (C IL 2. 3438, 3441 [?]). Tarraco was in Galeria (I R T D, 199) but Aniensis (C I L 2. 4206, 4235, 4238) and Arnensis (4120, 41-41) are found (also one instance each of Palatina [4231] and Sergia [4268]).

[2] PLINY 3.10; C I L 2. 2026, 2217, 3278 etc.; VIVES, Mon. hisp. 4. 117-8.

[3] KORNEMANN, R E 'Colonia' 4. 527, no. 82; HÜBNER, R E 'Corduba' 4. 1221-2 (as a Latin colony); GRANT, F I T A, 4; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 453. -- VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 72-3, 73 n.1, argues for colonial status even before 49, ignoring the later references to a conventus and taking the two 'colonicae cohortes' (CAES. BCiv 2. 19.3) as Corduban in origin, though Caesar does say of them 'cum eo (sc. Cordubae) c a s u venissent'.

[4] So (e.g.) VITTINGHOFF and GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, ll. cit.

convincing. That Caesar would have let a Pompeian *colonia* continue, after the stubborn resistance of the 'Pompeianae partes' in Corduba[1], seems improbable.[2] That the Pompeians had any *coloni* available to settle there is no less so[3]; nor is purely titular status likely for Roman colonies at this date. On the other hand, if Caesar placed *coloni* at Hispalis he had as good a reason, or better, for sending others to Corduba, to assure the loyalty of the principal town in the Baetis valley. The title 'Patricia', coming from a member of the *gens Iulia*, fits well[4], while the absence of a dynastic is closely parallelled by Hispalis again (since Isidore's testimony to 'Iulia' there may be erroneous). Although coins of Colonia Patricia were not struck until Augustus' time, the same is true of Colonia Romula:[5] the occasion was probably the emperor's visit to Spain in 15-14 B.C.[6]

Ucubi, not far from Corduba, bore the title 'colonia Claritas Iulia': since it was burned down (by the Pompeians) in the Munda campaign, it may have been re-established, with colonists, by Cae-

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[1] *BHisp* 33-4.

[2] If the Pompeians had established a colony there, the Caesarians did not recognize it: *BHisp* 34 speaks of 'oppidani' and 'oppidum'.

[3] Sextus Pompey was holding the place, after Munda, with two legions composed partly of fugitive troops and partly of 'oppidanorum servi ... a Pompeio Sexto manumissi' (34.2); cf. DIO 43.39.1.

[4] MÜNZER, *R E* 10. 106; on Caesar's pride in his patrician rank and solicitude for that order, see SYME, *Rom. Rev.*, 68.

[5] VIVES, 4. 117-8, 123-4 (the names 'Corduba' and 'Hispalis' are not added on these). A legionary eagle on some coins of Patricia (VIVES, 4. 124 no.2) may indicate an additional settlement of Augustan veterans (cf. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 452; VITTINGHOFF, 73 n.1; HÜBNER,

sar.[1] According to Pliny it enjoyed immunitas. The colonia Virtus Iulia Iptuci, also immunis, was in the later juridical conventus of Astigi, at an unknown site - Hübner suggests Baena, about thirty miles southeast of Córdoba.[2] Its title recalls that of Cirta in Africa, established by the pro-Caesarian P. Sittius.[3] Iptuci's location,

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R E 4. 1221-2; KORNEMANN, ib. 527 (but on the alleged coins referring to Legiones V and X, see GRANT, 220).

[6] See GRANT, F I T A , 220.

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[1] BHisp 27.4; PLINY 3.12; C I L 2. 656, 1404, 1572 (these refer to 'C(olonia) C(laritas) I(ulia)' - 656 adds 'Ucubitanorum'); D'ORS, Epig. jur., 371 no. 20 (see n.3). Modern Espejo, 21 miles S.E. of Córdoba (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 465 - 35 km.). S H A M.Aur. 1.4 incorrectly calls it a 'municipium'. VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 27 n.4, 74-5, thinks it may have been a 'titular' colony (followed by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 465), a view not accepted here.

[2] C I L 2, p. 213; PLINY 3.12.

[3] 'Colonia Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis': see below, **355 note 3.** The style of the titles Claritas and Virtus, like Felicitas and Liberalitas at the municipia Olisipo and Ebora (**324, 355**), also seems more a Caesarian usage than Augustan. Only Pola Pietas Iulia (founded, in fact, shortly after 44) corresponds to this (R E 21/1. 1219; 4.526 no. 72). Augustan titles, where known, are sparing of nouns, and abstract nouns in them are verbal (Faventia Barcino, Constantia Zilis, Valentia Banasa: Pax Iulia is a name, not a title). Contrast Caesar's Concordia Carthago and Apamea, Laus Corinthus and Copia Lugdunum. (For all these see, respectively, VITTINGHOFF, 107, 117, 78 n.2, 109, 81, 88, 86, 68 nn. 1 and 3; and for the Spanish ones - Barcino and Pax - below, Chapter VII). Note also VITTINGHOFF's discussion (78 n.2).

PLINY cites another Iptuci, in the conventus of Gades (3.15; C I L 2, Suppl., p. 874). To this one may be referred bilingual coins ('Liby-phoenician' legend and Latin 'IPTVCI': VIVES, 3. 50-1, cf. 41; 'Liby-phoenician' script is found mainly in the southern, maritime areas of Ulterior: O. GIL FARRÉS, Historia de la moneda española [1959] 69). An inscription referring to 'ordo Iptucitanorum' (C I L 2. 1923) and one recording a pact of hospitium between 'senatus populusque Iptuccitanorum' and 'coloni coloniae Claritatis Iuliae' (D'ORS, loc. cit. in n.1) treat of this non-colonial Iptuc(c)i.

like that of Urso and Ucubi, was in the chief area of operations in the Munda campaign (the central Baetis valley), and this may have meant there was land available through confiscations.[1]

The colony Asta Regia seems most likely a Caesarian creation too.[2] Mela supports Pliny over its status: the latter's citation is 'Hasta quae Regia dicitur'.[3] This title is attested only here and is hardly an overt reminder of the Dictator; but in 45 the town is described as a 'civitas' which, though a loose term, does not suggest Asta was then a colonia.[4] Caesar's grandmother, as it happens, was of the family of the Marcii Reges: he seems to have valued this connexion, and since a number of Baetican towns seem to bear titles reminiscent of his family and forebears (real or mythical), this may also be true of Asta Regia.[5]

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[1] Cf. DIO 43.39.4.

[2] The spelling 'Hasta', though common, is less etymologically justified (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 461). The town existed before being colonized: it was at war with Rome in the early second century (LIVY 39.21.3), and note also CIL 2. 5041 (Paullus' edict).

[3] MELA 3.4; PLINY 3.11.

[4] BHisp 36.4. VITTINGHOFF, 74, also thinks it Caesarian.

[5] Caesar's connexion with the Marcii: SUET. Iul. 6.1; M. GELZER, Caesar[6] (Eng. tr.: 1968) 19, 31; SYME, Rom. Rev., 68.

Carisa Aurelia seems to recall his mother, while Hispalis Romula, Nabrissa Veneria, Callenses Aeneanici, Ilipa Ilia(?) apparently refer to his mythical ancestry. Apart from Hispalis, these towns, it will be argued later, were Latin in status through grants by Caesar (Chapters XV - XVI). GARCÍA Y BELLIDO suggests that Pliny has omitted 'Iulia' from Asta's title, as Hispalis in the same paragraph does not bear one either (Col. rom., 477), but Isidore's report of the dynastic for Hispalis, it has been suggested earlier, may be wrong. Corduba too never shows it.

Like Urso, these three colonies were probably settled by civilian 'urbani': the Baetis valley was by now one of the richest and most civilized districts in the western empire. Moreover the explicitly attested 'proletarian' colonies of Caesar are too few to accommodate anything like the number of settlers Suetonius reports.[1]

In Lusitania, later a separate province, the colony Scallabis, 'quae Praesidium Iulium vocatur', was probably Caesarian.[2] At or near the present Santarém, this stood on the right bank of the Tagus, where the Vala de Azambuja becomes the more northerly Vala de Alpiarça and the hill or plateau terrain on either side of the river gives way to plains. A colony there would cover Olisipo and its fertile neighbourhood.[3] This protection seems to have been needed. Caesar's expedition in 61 was directed against the Mons Herminius (Sierra de la Estrella) to the north[4], and Cassius operated in the same area in 48.[5] The polymath Varro indicates that in his day the region still

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[1] Besides Urso we know only of Carthage in Africa (VITTINGHOFF, 81-2), Buthrotum and Corinth (ibid., 85-7), and probably Lampsacus (88 with n.1).

[2] PLINY N H 4. 117.

[3] Site: GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 497-8. Fertility of the area: STR. 3.3.3-4 / C152-3. On the importance of Olisipo: STR. 3.3.1 / C152; it was (probably through Caesar) Lusitania's one Roman municipium in Augustus' reign (PLINY 4. 117).

[4] DIO 37.52.3 - 53.1; SCHULTEN, R E 8. 834.

[5] BAlex 48.2; SCHULTEN, R E 15. 108. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 497, prefers an Augustan date for Scallabis. VITTINGHOFF, 77, and SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Spain, 122, prefer Caesar (though Vittinghoff also thinks a Caesarian fort, later made a colony by Octavian, is possible: 78 n.1).

suffered from bandits.[1] Settlers at Scallabis would be chiefly, if not entirely, veterans.

In Hispania Citerior, Tarraco can be taken as another Caesarian colony. Pliny cites it only as 'colonia Tarraco'[2] but an inscription has revealed its full and grandiose name: Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco.[3] This matches the title, only a degree less portentous, conferred on Carthago Nova: Colonia Urbs Iulia. The latter too was probably colonized by Caesar.[4] The juxtaposition of 'colonia urbs' is curious, but occurred also (it appears) in the colonial titulature of Baeterrae in Transalpina.[5] The usage may

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[1] Re R. 1.16.2. POLLIO in CIC. Fam. 10.33.3 says his legions were wintering in Lusitania (44/3 B.C.), perhaps as the result of campaigning.

[2] 3.21. His fulness on town-titles, colonial or not, is much less for Tarraconensis than for Baetica and Lusitania: see further 356-7.

[3] Or 'Tarraconensis': 'COL. IVLIA VRBS TRI. TARR.' (A E 1929, no. 235 - A.D. 217). Cf. HÜBNER, C I L 2, pp. 538-9, who proposed 'Triumphalis' from FLORUS, Vergil. orator an poeta 2.8 'Caesaris vexilla quae portat, triumphos unde nomen accepit', meaning colonia Tarraco, as is generally accepted (see P. JAL, Florus: oeuvres [Budé 1967] 2. 99 n.1, and 114); HÜBNER also adduced C I L 2. 4134 ' ... mphalis'. SCHULTEN, R E s.v., 4 A. 2399 thinks 'Triumphalis' came from Augustus in the Cantabrian War (i.e. ca. 25 B.C.) but there is no evidence.

[4] A. BELTRÁN, Las Monedas latinas de Cartagena (1949) 59, with 54 Figs. 37-8, gives coins with VR(bs); cf. GRANT, F I T A, 215. Previously both Carthago Nova and Tarraco were thought to be titled 'Victrix', as only the initial was known and as Celsa - for which see below - bore this epithet (initial V: C I L 2. 4071, 4537-8, etc.; VIVES, 4. 130-2, 28, 34-7; 'Victrix' still in VITTINGHOFF, 79, for Carthago Nova).

[5] C I L 12. 4230, 4241; VITTINGHOFF, 75 n.6 (on p. 76).

have been meant to recall that reported by Varro, who says early colonies had been termed 'urbes'.[1] Colonists were probably placed at both. Carthago Nova had had ager publicus in 63[2] and an inscription there, unfortunately incomplete, records 'coloni et incolae libertini'.[3] Coins of the colony show military standards, including vexilla.[4] A slight item of evidence, and the analogy with Carthago Nova, indicate that Tarraco also received colonists - though (in the absence of ccins with military types) hers may have been civilians.[5] That they were both titular, or fictitious, colonies, given the status honoris causa without an actual deductio[6], is not to be supposed.

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[1] Ling. L. 5.143. Some non-colonial titled towns also had the designation (Gades Urbs Iulia [PLINY 4.119], Salacia Urbs Imperatoria [PLINY 4.116], Osca Urbs Victrix [VIVES, 4. 50-2]) but no other noun is juxtaposed in their cases.

[2] CIC. Leg. agr. 1.5, 2.51; above, 52.

[3] C I L 2. 3419; 'colon(e)i' 3414, 3417 (Augustan era).

[4] VIVES, 4. 34-7 nos. 5, 7, 8, 10, 31, 35. A colony was established with settlers marching in under a vexillum (KORNEMANN, R E 4. 572-3; VITTINGHOFF, 43; SALMON, Rom. Coloniz., 24). Coins of Caesaraugusta, a later veteran colony, display vexilla: VIVES, 4. 76-81, nos. 9, 21, 23-4, 45.

[5] FLORUS' remark (quoted in n.3, previous p.) could imply a deductio (cf. last note). JAL interprets 'vexilla' there as referring to the military garrison kept at Tarraco in imperial times (Florus: oeuvres, 2. 119). But if so, 'Caesaris' would have to be very elastic, as it qualifies both 'vexilla' and 'triumphos', and at least in the second case is a historical reference.

[6] So VITTINGHOFF thinks possible ('Römische Stadtrechtsformen der Kaiserzeit', Zeitschr. der Sav.-Stift. f. Rechtsgesch.: Romanist. Abt. 68 [1951] 435-85, on 447 n.39; and R. Kol., 27 n.4; cf. KORNEMANN, R E 4. 527-8 no. 88; SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 128 'probably ... without any marked influx of Roman settlers'; so too GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 460, for Tarraco).

Apart from the positive evidence - particularly at Carthago Nova[1] - for new colonists, an honorary grant of colonial rank that was not extended to the one Spanish town, Gades, with which Caesar had always had the closest relations, through his friend Balbus, must be considered highly improbable.[2] Titular colonial rank is first attested nearly a century later, under Claudius and Nero.[3]

In one way this conclusion can be qualified. Because there is no record of separate 'veteres' or 'municipes' at either town, it seems that the existing Spanish communities and their conventus civium Romanorum were incorporated into the colonies. For the Spaniards this would mean citizenship; nor (it seems) can they and the members of the conventus have been called anything but 'coloni'. If so the designation, in their case, would be titular.[4] Citizenship

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[1] Accepted by VITTINGHOFF in R. Kol., 79, and by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 471.

[2] Caesar gave Gades citizenship in 49, but the town was never of colonial status: see 344-6.

[3] VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 28 n.1. Vienna and its 'solidum civitatis Romanae beneficium' may be the first instance (ibid., 29 n.1) - though DEGRASSI, Scritti vari 1. 130, takes the 'beneficium' to be ius Italicum, the whole point of Claudius' reference and context is lost unless citizenship is meant (ILS 212 col. II); cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 187-8. On alleged 'titular colonies' of Augustus in Gaul, see VITTINGHOFF, Zeitschr. S.-St. Rechtsg. 1951, 449-55 and 480-5; so too SHERWIN-WHITE, 'Latin status and the Celtic cantons' (so far unpublished: I am grateful to him for kindly allowing me to read it).

[4] For a conventus transformed into 'coloni decurionesque': CIC. Sest. 9 (Capua; note 'eidem homines, nomine commutato'). Comparable perhaps is Augustus' settlement of veterans at Patrae and grant of 'freedom' and 'the other privileges which the Romans accord to colonists' to the Greek inhabitants (veterans: STR. 8.7.5 / C387;

would be an appropriate reward for the Spaniards of two important cities which had shown commendably pro-Caesarian sympathies in the recent wars.[1] Dio records that, among other rewards to loyalists after Munda, Caesar granted 'πολιτείαν τέ τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀποίκοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζεσθαι'[2]: the second phrase could in fact refer to conferments of citizenship through inclusion in a colonia.[3] Nomenclature lends

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E. MEYER, R E 28/4. 2210-11. Privileges to Greeks: PAUSAN. 7.18.5; so too VITTINGHOFF, Zeits. S.-St. 1951, 473 n. 126, cf. 445 with n. 37; contra KORNEMANN, R E 4. 549-50, no. 248; MEYER, R E 28/4. 2212-3).

Such a practice would not be new for Caesar, who in 59 had enrolled 500 Greeks as titular (non-resident) coloni of Novum Comum (STR. 5.1.6 / C213; see U. EWINS, P B S R, 1955, 79-80, 85-6 with 86 n. 53; TAYLOR, Vot. Dist., 125 n. 23). — Nor for Spaniards, as the original Carteienses who joined the Latin colony in 171 had the same designation.

A passage in [SALL.] Ep. ad Caes. senem (2.5.7-8) is of interest. The author urges Caesar to create new citizens ('additis novis civibus') to revitalize the plebs, and continues 'hos ego censeo permixtos cum veteribus novos in coloniis constituas'; the inference is clear that they should be provincials - and numerous (cf. 2.6.1 and 3-4 [comparing the scheme to the younger M. Drusus'], 7.2; also K. VRETSKA, Sallust: Invektive und Epistein [1961] 2. 115-7). The point is noteworthy whether Sallust or a rhetorician of the Empire wrote the pamphlet (pro-Sallust: VRETSKA, 1. 38-48, cf. 48-73; contra Sallust, R. SYME, Sallust [1964] 318-51). In fact, if written after Caesar's lifetime the value of the passages as actual evidence would even improve. — Notice also HYGIN. GROM. in Corpus Agrimens. Rom., p. 142 T h u l i n: Augustus restored old cities that had suffered in the civil wars, 'dato iterum coloniae nomine numero civium ampliavit, quasdam et finibus' ([BOETHIUS] in Die Schriften der röm. Feldmesser, ed. BLUME et al., p. 396, attributes this to Caesar). But Hyginus is probably thinking mainly of Italian cities.

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[1] CAES. BCiv 1.60.2 (Tarraco); DIO 43.30.1 (Carthago Nova).

[2] 43.39.5. SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 176-7, suggests Dio means grants of citizenship and of Latin right, but this fits the report less well. Moreover no Latin towns in Spain after Caesar's day are known which style themselves coloniae.

[3] Even if Dio did not realize this when drawing on his source or sources. Loyalists at Corduba (BHisp 34.1) and Hispalis (cf. 35.1-2) may also have benefited.

support to this interpretation: gentilicia characteristic more of Spaniards than Roman settlers (such as Iulius, Valerius, Caecilius and Cornelius) are frequent at Tarraco especially.[1]

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[1] I have counted 143 gentilicia (treating Claudius/Clodius as one) at Tarraco. They make 391 separate appearances on inscriptions in C I L 2 and E E 8-9. (Different gentilicia on one inscription are counted separately, but more than one bearer of the same gentilicium on a single inscription are treated as one occurrence.) Of these, Iulius occurs 23 times, Valerius also 23, Caecilius 17, Claudius/Clodius 16, Cornelius 15, Pompeius 10. At Carthago Nova, 71 gentilicia make 116 appearances, but the most common - Valerius and Cornelius - occur only 4 times each: no Iulii occur. All that can be ventured on such relatively small statistics is to suggest that Carthago Nova had perhaps fewer (or fewer pro-Caesarian) Spanish inhabitants than Tarraco, before colonization.

The evidence of titulature (cf. Gades) indicate the two towns were colonized at the same time; their Caesarian politics and Florus' remark point to the Dictator as founder. GRANT, F I T A, 217, dates Carthago Nova to the late Triumviral period, relying on what he suggests is a foundation-issue of coins. As the phrase IIVIR. QVINQ. appears on this issue, he has to explain it by suggesting that the town was previously a colonia Latina (he also proposes this of Saguntum and Ilici: 161, 214). That the inaugural magistrates of a Roman colony should keep a title (quinquennales) relevant to the previous, now superseded town constitution is curious. But even the attribution of the coins to Carthago Nova rests on uncertain grounds (see GRANT, 216). — BELTRÁN, Mon. lat. de Cart., 11 and 26 (followed by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 470-1), dates the same colony to 42 and argues that the deductor was M. Lepidus, but his identification of a portrait (on a coin with CN. STATI. LIBO PRAEF.; on the reverse of one piece also appears QVINQ.: see ibid., 23 Fig. 12) with Lepidus is not obvious (compare ibid., 23 Figs. 11, 12 and 14, with Fig. 13. See also GRANT, 163 with n.3). G.K. JENKINS, 'Carthago Nova or Ilici?', Am. Num. Soc. Mus. Notes 8 (1958) 71-4, who also doubts this identification, would assign the issue to Ilici in any case; GRANT prefers Saguntum (158, 162-3: he does not read QVINQ. on any specimen he mentions). The presence of a praefectus quinquennalis should imply a local magistracy at least five years established (cf. GRANT, 280); moreover Carthago Nova's title, unlike Celsa's (below), has no reminiscence of Lepidus. BELTRÁN too suggests prior Latin right (12) but this depends on assigning an issue with IIviri quinquennales both to Carthago Nova and to 47 B.C. (16-20): neither are certain (for instance GRANT prefers Saguntum again: F I T A, 158-9).

Celsa, on the northern bank of the Ebro just below Salduba (Caesaraugusta) originally bore the title 'Victrix Iulia Lepida' when it received a Roman colony.[1] M. Lepidus governed Citerior in 48-7 and again in 44 and 43, this time with Transalpina.[2] Since it is unlikely that Caesar's colonization programme had got very far when Lepidus' first governorship ended[3], and since according to M. Grant the first coins of colonia Celsa are datable to the second governorship rather than the first (while Lepidus was a much more independent capoparte after Caesar's death), Celsa may be dated to the later period.[4] The epithet 'Iulia' indicates that the colony was part of Caesar's programme: its composition is not known.[5] This was the

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[1] This is shown by coins: G. HILL, 'Notes on the anc. coinage of Hisp. Cit.', Num. N. and Mon. 1931, 78-9; VIVES, 4. 102-5; PLINY 3.24 'Celsenses ex colonia'. The village of Gelsa seems to preserve the name: about 45 km. downriver from Zaragoza and 12 due north of the Iberian hill-town at Azaila (Nuevo Atlas de Esp., 265 T : 22). Celsa existed before colonization: coins are extant with <ΛSV, some also with CEL.: VIVES, 2. 150-3.

[2] M R R 2. 275 and 288, 326 and 341-2 (with a triumph 'ex Hispaniis' on 31 December, 43).

[3] Cf. M. GELZER, Caesar[6] (Eng. tr.) 287-8, 297; ADCOCK, C A H 8. 707-8. In 44 many 'οἰκισθησόμενοι' were gathered in Rome (APP. BC 2.139.580-140.581), including veterans awaiting despatch to their colonies after being divided into appropriate groups (119.501, 120.507). Urso's colony, as already shown, was authorized by a law of 44.

[4] F I T A, 211-2. Compare the epithet 'Munatia' given to Lugdunum by its deductor in 43, Munatius Plancus (GRANT, 206-7; VITTINGHOFF, 67-8, 68 nn. 1 and 3).

[5] The site was at a crossing over the Ebro (STR. 3.4.10 / C161 'Κέλσα κατοικία τις, ἔχουσα γεφύρας λιθίνης διάβασιν'), a strategic function that might have led to veterans forming part of the colonists; on the other hand, the Ebro valley was by then quite peaceful.

first Roman colony established in the valley of the Ebro. Like Metellinum by Emerita, it was later overshadowed by Caesaraugusta. Before that, a change occurred in its titulature: coins dropped the epithet 'Lepida' and style the colony simply 'Victrix Iulia'.[1] This was no doubt the result of Lepidus' fall from power in 36.[2]

As Urso and Celsa show, not all the colonies that can be ascribed to Caesar's programme were established before the Ides of March. The months he spent in Spain after Munda, dispensing punishments and rewards, were probably the time for selecting sites and initiating arrangements.[3] Some veterans may have been given their discharge from his forces in the Peninsula at this point, and colonization begun at various places with them.[4]

One non-colonial settlement also took place. Emporiae in the northeast, long a 'double city' of Greeks and Spaniards, received '(habitantium) tertium genus, Romani coloni, ab divo Caesare post devictos Pompei liberos adiecti'.[5] There is no evidence for a formal colony: the town became a Roman municipium a generation later,

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[1] VIVES, 4. 104-7.

[2] 'Munatia' also disappeared at Lugdunum, though Plancus remained in favour (GRANT, FITA, 206-7).

[3] DIO 43.39.4-5; NIC. DAMASC. Vita Aug. 10 (Καίσαρι δια-πεπολεμηκότι ἤδη τὸν σύμπαντα πόλεμον ἐν μησὶν ἕπτα). Cf. Emporiae (below).

[4] For example, Scallabis and the troops sent to Hispalis.

[5] LIVY 34.9.4. In 195 (so he reports) the Greeks and Spaniards were actually separated by a wall; during the next century and a half, however, the two communities substantially (though not perhaps formally) intermingled (STR. 3.4.8/C160): cf. next note.

with citizenship being extended to the locals by stages.[1] The Roman 'coloni' must originally have formed only a vicus (in a way reminiscent of Italica). They may have been veterans[2], but the favourable quality of Emporiae's district would suit civilians no less.[3]

Emporiae is a revealing case. In addition to his colonies, it shows, Caesar might place settlers without (apparently) formal title at other Spanish towns.[4] Roman governors had done this before him in different ways: at Italica (where the veterans were - so far as we know - the entire community), Valentia (if the arguments presented earlier are accepted), Corduba and the Balearic towns which may or may not have been Latin colonies, and Caecilius Vicus. It is reasonable to suppose that Emporiae, where only a passing mention by Livy preserves Caesar's measure, was not the sole town affected by 'colonizations' too small (probably) to warrant formal status. Some of

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[1] First to the Spaniards, then to the Greeks (LIVY, ib.): cf. n.3 below.

[2] Preferred without discussion by VITTINGHOFF, 80.

[3] On this see STR. 3.4.8-9/C159-60. The Roman town lay behind the Greek: its relationship to the Spanish is not clear, but was probably close, as Iberian levels have been found beneath the Roman (M. ALMAGRO, Ampurias [Eng. ed., 1956] 31, 33, 35, 92) and the Spanish town lay 'retractior a mari' (LIVY 34.10.3) like the Roman later. As the Spaniards were later enfranchised, they cannot have been expropriated in the colonists' favour, except perhaps for some pro-Pompeians; but perhaps population had declined, leaving room for newcomers. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, La Edad ant. (El Urban. en Esp.), 32, says the Spanish town lay south of both the Greek and the Roman, without giving reasons. For a plan of Emporiae: ALMAGRO, 29 Fig. 4, GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 42 Fig. 32.

[4] Cf. the 'familiarum adiectiones' sent in A.D. 69 to Hispalis and Emerita (TAC. Hist. 1.78.1).

the places that appear as 'oppida civium Romanorum' under Augustus may have received such settlements.[1]

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[1] For a comparison of Caesar's and Augustus' colonial policies in Spain, see pp. 137-42.

CHAPTER VII

AUGUSTUS' COLONIES

NOMENCLATURE is a surer guide to foundations by the Emperor Augustus, since many or most of them incorporate his majestic cognomen.[1] At the same time allowance must be made for places established before 27 B.C. One such was very probably colonia Norba Caesarina, the present Cáceres, in Lusitania, thirty-six miles due north of the later Emerita and on a steep hill dominating a plain.[2] That the name commemorates C. Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul of both Spains from 36 to 34 who triumphed 'ex Hispaniis' on 31 December, 34,[3] is convincingly argued by A. García y Bellido, who points out that it cannot be Iberian: moreover the distribution of the nomen Norbanus

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[1] How this was done is illustrated by DIO, who states that Paphos (not a colony) received the title 'Augusta' from the emperor 'by a decree' - presumably of the Senate, as he adduces this an example of how that body conferred such titles as an honour; 'and ... the inhabitants did not, as is usually done now, make out for themselves in each instance lists of names according to their own pleasure' (54.23.7-8: trans. E. CARY [Loeb]).

[2] '(Colonia) Norbensis Caesarina': PLINY 4.117; Νῶρβα Καισάρεια: PTOL. 2.5.6; SCHULTEN, R E 17. 925-6. The fine 'old town' of Cáceres, surrounded by Arab walls based on previous Roman work, holds the hill: the modern accretions are on the plain to west and south.

[3] C I L 1^2, p. 180 (F H A 5. 180-1).

in Spain, and to a lesser degree that of the cognomen Flaccus, is striking, with all attested Norbani in the region of Estremadura and its neighbourhood, increasing in density towards Norba, while about half the known Flacci fall in the same area.[1] The colony would thus represent a stage in the advance which took place during the 30s across central and western Spain.[2] Hence there is no need to attribute its genesis directly to Divus Iulius[3]: had he lived longer, he might indeed have decided to reinforce the Tagus line (and the strategic value of the Cáceres position is further illustrated by the location of Castra Caecilia, just outside the town[4]), but Norba belongs to the

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[1] 'Dictamen sobre la fecha fundacional de la colonia Norbensis ... ', Bol. de la R. Acad. de Hist. 159 (1966) 279-92 [résumé in A E 1967, p. 66], on 287-8, with 287 note 24 and 292 Figs. 1-2 (maps). An inscription found in 1930 shows the younger Balbus as patron of the colony ('[L.] Cornelio Balbo Imp. C(olonia) Norb(a) Caesa(rina) patrono': GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, art. cit., 280 n.1; A E 1962, no. 71 for a similar). Interestingly, he married his daughter to Norbanus' son and namesake, the consul of 24 B.C. (GROAG, R E 17. 933; P I R^2, C 1331).

[2] Caesarobriga, the two Augustobrigas, Nova Augusta and Emerita Augusta, all in the central regions of Spain, must belong to the same drive towards full pacification. Cf. below, 153-4.

[3] So GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, art. cit., 285-6, adducing not only Scallabis and Pax (the second of which is rather more likely Augustan) but also the Baetis valley colonies as a Caesarian cordon round unsubdued Lusitania. Apart from the fact that most of these were civilian, their distance from Lusitania (Urso, Ucubi, Iptuci and Asta lay south of the Baetis river) renders this difficult to accept. — VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 77, prefers to ascribe Norba to Caesar.

[4] GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, art. cit., 289 (2.5 km.).

policy of the Triumvirate. The colonists were probably discharged veterans and (it seems likely) some enfranchised auxiliaries - the latter would account for the many Norbani of the district.

Pax Iulia in south Lusitania (modern Beja, in uplands overlooking the Campo de Beja a few miles west of the lower Anas) may also be taken as an Octavianic or Augustan colony: Strabo (but Strabo alone) calls it Παξαυγούστα and couples it with Caesaraugusta and Emerita Augusta as 'νῦν συνοικισμένοι πόλεις'[1]; moreover the colony enjoyed ius Italicum, a right that appears only at Augustan and later foundations.[2] The suggestion that Caesar established it as a post with Latin right is not impossible, but lacks evidence - it is not enough that Forum Iulii, another 'colonia Pacensis', may have had that status first as well.[3]

There is no doubt about Emerita Augusta (Mérida), which was founded in 25 by P. Carisius, one of Augustus' legates in the Cantabrian war.[4] Coins minted at the new colony give the governor's name

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[1] 3.2.15 / C151. 'Iulia': VIVES, 4. 125; GRANT, F I T A, 221; C I L 2. 47 (second cent. A.D.); PTOL. 2.5.4. 'Colonia Pacensis': PLINY 4.117.

[2] PAULUS, Dig. 50.15.8; von PREMERSTEIN, R E 10. 1238-9; VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 109 n.4.

[3] As a Latin town of Caesar's: Mrs HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 13 n.1; GRANT, F I T A, 473 n.8; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 495-6. Forum Iulii: VITTINGHOFF, 100 with n.2.

[4] DIO 53.26.1 (πεμφθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου); cf. ISID. Etym. 15.1.69. Carisius in the Cantabrian war: DIO 53.25.8 (wrongly naming him Titus); FLOR. 2.33.55; OROS. 6.21.10.

while some also bear the name of the colony and show its gates.[1] Coins also display insignia of Legiones V and X, which must be the formations whose time-expired veterans (emeritis stipendiis) gave the new town its name.[2] Some Spaniards may also have participated: gentilicia typical of enfranchised provincials are frequent there, particularly Iulius.[3] This colony too had ius Italicum.[4] It had very extensive lands: according to an agrimensor, parcels of land allotted to the colonists amounted to four hundred iugera each.[5] Even so there was enough land left over to permit two later allocations, which in turn failed to exhaust all that was available.[6] One stretch

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[1] Augustus' name also appears: MATTINGLY and SYDENHAM, Rom. Imp. Coinage 1. 82-3; VIVES, 4. 61-2. Some, by referring to the emperor's tribunicia potestas without numeral, are datable to 23/2.

[2] VIVES, 4. 63; ISID. Etym. 15.1.69. Another legion, XXX, may also have provided settlers, if RITTERLING is correct (R E 12. 1215).

[3] Altogether 101 gentilicia occur at Emerita, mostly once or twice (e.g. Alfidius, C I L 2. 527, 5258; Cussius, E E 8. 25; Iuvinius, C I L 2. 495; Sexticius, 591; Viriacius, 601), but Iulius occurs 26 times, Valerius 11. For a convenient list of 'typical provincial' gentilicia: BADIAN, F C, 309-10 or SYME, Tacitus, 2. 783 (App. 78). For examples of tribus Papiria (Emerita's: KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 185), C I L 2. 566, E E 8. 46 (Iulius), C I L 2. 571-2 (Iunius), possibly 823 (Publicius).

[4] PAULUS, Dig. 50.15.8.

[5] HYG. GROM., Corpus Agrim. Rom., p. 135 T h u l i n.

[6] FRONTIN. Controvers., in Corpus Agrim. Rom., p. 9 T h u l i n; AGENN. URBIC. Controv. agror., p. 44 T h u l i n; cf. TAC. Hist. 1.78. 1 for 'adiectio familiarum' there.

of wooded ground, the 'lucus Feroniae', covered a thousand iugera.[1] A cippus announcing 'termin[u]s Aug(ustalis) pra(torum) Col(oniae) Aug(ustae) Emeritae'[2] was found at Montemolín, fifty miles south of Mérida, while another, from Valdecaballeros over sixty miles from Mérida up the River Anas, marks the boundary of an area, belonging to the Baetican colony Ucubi, that adjoined or was surrounded by lands of Emerita.[3] As Metellinum and other towns lay between Emerita and both these places[4], the new colony cannot have held all the intervening territory, but even so its domain was obviously very large. According to an agrimensor, Augustus 'propter magnitudinem enim agrorum veteranos circa extremum fere finem velut terminos disposuit, paucissimos circa coloniam et circa flumen Anam'.[5] All the same the town itself was large.[6]

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[1] FRONTIN. apud AGENN. URB., p. 38 Thulin; cf. pp. 37, 46 (other woods and pastures).

[2] GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 487.

[3] CIL 2. 656 'Augustalis terminus c(olonorum) c(oloniae) C(laritatis) Iul(iae) Ucubitanor(um) inter Aug(ustanos) Emer(itenses)'; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 487, following MOMMSEN, prefers 'in ter-(ritorio) Aug. Emer.' (cf. HÜBNER, CIL 2, ad loc.). Note also the reference to a praefectura Turgaliensis regionis (HYG. Constit. limit. p. 136 Thulin): Turgalium (modern Trujillo) is not far from Valdecaballeros (see CIL 2, p. 74, and Suppl. Map I at end; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 489).

[4] See CIL 2 Suppl., Map I at end.

[5] FRONTIN. apud AGENN., p. 44 Thulin.

[6] I.A. RICHMOND, 'The first years of Emerita Augusta', Arch. Journ. 87 (1930) 98-116, on 100-3; estimates of between 28 and 49 hectares (70-120 acres) - M. ALMAGRO, Mérida: guía de la ciudad ... (1957) 31 (= Guide of Mérida² [Eng. tr., 1965] 30).

This lavish scale of endowment would be made possible through the sparseness of the area's population, and necessary in order to reconcile the settlers to their out-of-the-way location.[1] An effort was deliberately being made to create an imposing centre of power and Romanization in west-central Spain: to the first generation of the colony date its sizeable amphitheatre, its theatre and the great bridge across the River Anas (utilizing the island in that stream which made the site a natural crossing).[2] Strabo testifies to its civilizing impact.[3]

The colony of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza), a short distance farther up the Ebro from Celsa, was founded at - and replaced - the Spanish town Salduba.[4] This suggests the latter was quite small and the settlement numerous. On numismatic evidence, Grant suggests it was established around 19 B.C., which accords with the final pacifica-

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[1] South of Mérida lies a fairly fertile region (Tierra de Barros) which, as will be seen (**361 note 4**), supported a number of communities in Roman times too; but most of them seem to have been sited along the slopes of the Sierra Morena up to forty miles away and most will have been small. Metellinum is twenty miles west and Norba 36 north (both by crow's flight). On the arid nature of parts of the Anas basin: STR. 32.3 fin. / C142. (Guadiana = Arab. 'Wadi Ana[s]'.)

[2] RICHMOND, art. cit. (n.6 prev. p.); ALMAGRO, Guide of Mérida², 53-74, 81-5. The amphitheatre dates to 8 and the theatre to 16 B.C., as inscriptions on site show, the one giving Augustus 'trib. pot. XVI', the other giving Agrippa 'trib. pot. III' (Agrippa: CIL 2. 474. Augustus: three fragmentary copies in situ permit restoration 'Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus Pontif. Max. Cos. XI Imp. XIIII Trib. Pot. XVI', [cf. RICHMOND, 111; ALMAGRO, 72-3).

[3] 3.2.15 / C151.

[4] PLINY 3.24; cf. VIVES, 2. 64 for coins of 'Salduie'; the 'turma Salluitana' (ILS 8888) may also draw its name from there. The old name completely vanishes from now on: 'C.C.A.' on coins shows that 'Caesaraugusta' qualifies 'Colonia'.

tion of Cantabria. Insignia of three legions - IV, VI and X - on its coins show it was another veteran settlement.[1] The Saldubenses may also have shared in the colonization (unless they were expelled): the names of some magistrates at the colony suggest natives.[2] It was immunis and became a conventus capital.[3]

Barcino (Barcelona) acquired a settlement, probably veteran, to become Colonia Faventia Iulia Augusta Patricia (or Paterna) Barcino, and immunis.[4] 'Faventia' could recall a demonstration of loyal-

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[1] GRANT, F I T A, 217; MATTINGLY-SYDENHAM, Rom. Imp. Coin. 1. 57, attribute the first coins similarly to the period 20-16. For the coins of Caesaraugusta: VIVES, 4. 72-86 (legionary standards: 72, 79, 81).

[2] Fabius, Valerius, Porcius (and another [?] named M. Cato), Caecilius (cognomen Lepidus) and one Scipio: VIVES, 4. 74-86 with list on 74-5.

[3] PLINY 3.24.

[4] PAULUS, Dig. 50.15.8; C I L 2. 4514 (immunis); PLINY 3.22 'colonia Barcino cognomine Faventia'; C I L 2. 4536 (= 6148)-4539, etc., give 'colonia F. I. A. P. Barcino'. An inscription of Caracalla's reign, found in 1955 and kept in the excavated Forum of the colony beneath the present Museo de la Historia de la Ciudad, refers to 'Col. Iul. F[...]/ Pat. Barç... '(published by S. MARINER BIGORRA, 'Nuevas inscripciones latinas de España', Archivo esp. de arq. 28 [1955] 219-20 with 217 Fig. 22; also GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 482-3, 483 n.10 and Fig. 7 at end - a good photograph). MARINER, in Emerita 25 (1957) 499 ff., followed by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, read 'Paterna', because Narbo and Arelate in Transalpina bore that epithet and because 'la abreviatura es PAT y no PATR, que parecería la más lógica de serlo Patricia' (G. Y B., 483 n.10); so too A. BALIL, Colonia Iulia Paterna Barcino (1964), esp. 43. Since Narbo and Arelate were Caesarian colonies (VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 66 with n.2, 67) the comparison is not exact until it can be demonstrated that Barcino also received its title from the Dictator. This is not impossible (cf. above) but so far is unprovable. MARINER, in A E A 1955, suggested 'Patricia', and contra GARCÍA Y BELLIDO the abbreviation PAT can regularly mean patricius (while PATR. normally = patronus): R. CAGNAT

ty to Augustus (for instance during the Cantabrian wars and his illness in 24)[1], or possibly to Caesar in the civil wars, for which - if so - his reward might have included Latin right.[2] The colony was quite small, about twenty-six acres (at an already occupied site, as the name and Iberian relics[3] reveal): the number of colonists will have been modest.[4]

Ilici, close to the present Elche which preserves the name[5], displays on its coins the legend 'C(olonia) Il(ici) A(ugusta)' and 'C(oloni) C(oloniae) Il(icis) A(ugustae)', with busts of the emperor.[6] On those with the longer legend appear an aquila and vexillum, probably denoting a veteran foundation. According to Dio, Augustus established many cities in Gaul and Spain in 15 B.C.: this may have been one.[7] It was immunis according to Pliny, but later is found

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Cours d'épigraphie latine[3] (1898) 421; J.E. SANDYS, Latin Epigraphy (rev. S.G. CAMPBELL, 1927) 305. 'Patricia' seems, therefore, slightly preferable.

[1] SUET. Aug. 81 (Spanish illness); CRINAGORAS, Anth. Pal. 9. 419; FHA 5. 187-8.

[2] As at other titled towns (so it will be proposed: see pp. 352-61).

[3] Now in the Museo de la Historia de la Ciudad, Barcelona: cf. F. UDINA MARTORELL, Guía del Museo (1969) 29-30.

[4] 10.36 hectares (BALIL, Col. Iul. Pat. Barcino, 90, who suggests 3500 inhabitants altogether). The site is the present Cathedral and the surrounding 'Barrio Gótico' (Gothic Quarter): map in GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, La Edad ant., 43 Fig. 33 (cf. 35, suggesting 12 ha.).

[5] Ilici itself is at La Alcudia (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 493).

[6] VIVES, 4. 41-2; GRANT, FITA, 215.

[Note 7 is on the next page

with ius Italicum.[1]

One other Augustan colony in Citerior was Libisosa - 'cognomine Foroaugustana' according to Pliny, and hence probably officially entitled Libisosa Forum Augustum.[2] Ius Italicum is attested[3], but

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[7] GRANT assigns the coins to the 'Patricia' style, struck after about 19 B.C. (FITA, 215, cf. 112 and 222 n.3; also MATTINGLY, Coins of the R.Emp. in the B.M. 1. cix-cx). Augustan foundations in Gaul and Spain, 15 B.C.: DIO 54.23.7. GRANT also assigns other coins to the colony (213-4), which he supposes was founded ca. 28 and re-founded afterwards (214-5). The place of issue, however, is not mentioned on the former group of coins, and they refer to IIviri quinquennales: the view that these stem from a presumed earlier Latin colony is very dubious, as argued above (115 note 1), while in any case VIVES, 4. 34-5 (nos. 7, 10-11) and BELTRÁN, Mon. lat. de Cart., 33-4, assign the issues in question to Carthago Nova. Grant's attribution to Ilici is fundamentally based on the fact that a C. Maecius is named on the coins and a C. Maecius Celer occurs at the town under Augustus (CIL 2. 3555), and that Statilius Taurus was patron of the place (ILS 853). But the presence of Maecii cannot prove the coins are of Ilici, or of the period 30-15; nor need Taurus have been deductor of the supposed colonia (L.Urs. 97, adduced by GRANT, 214, does not specify that only such a person could become patronus).

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[1] PLINY 3.19; PAULUS, Dig. 50.15.8 ('Licitani' in Citerior), respectively. To Ilici was 'contributed' a community called the Icositani (PLINY ib.), generally taken to be the people of Icosium in Mauretania (so e.g. LAFFI, Adtrib. e Contrib., 119-22). However if contributio meant an association of towns of equal status for mutual benefit (LAFFI, 159), Icosium - at such a distance and Latin only from Vespasian's reign (PLINY 5.20) - is not a likely identification (see also SHERWIN-WHITE, reviewing LAFFI, JRS 1968, 271). The colony Zilis, 'iura in Baeticam petere iussa' (5.2) is not a comparable case: as a citizen town in (before Claudius) a foreign kingdom, exemption from the local authorities was understandable. Either Pliny misunderstood his source, which seems to happen often in his African account (pp. 308, 349), or Icosium was in some subordinate relationship to Ilici (adtributio?).

[2] 3.25: cf. his frequent adjectival presentation of names and titles (e.g. 3.11, 4.117) - most notably 'Augustani urbe Iulia Gaditana' for the people of Gades, otherwise called 'municipium Augustum' (4.119; CIL 2. 1313).

[3] PLINY l. c.

the scarcity of other evidence suggests it was small and remained obscure. Its site is Lezuza, a village forty kilometres west of Albacete edging the plain of La Mancha. The position suggests a strategic purpose, between the open plateau of New Castile and the northern foothills of the western Sierra Morena. The colonists were probably veterans.

In Baetica four colonies of Augustus may be counted.[1] Asido (Medina Sidonia) is best taken as dating to his reign. Hübner argued that it was not a colony at all, emending Pliny to suit, because an early inscription, found at Medina Sidonia, records a dedication to a IIIIvir by 'municipes Caesarini' while a stone from Jérez nearby mentions both a IIIIvir and a 'populus M. C.'[2] On another inscription, the 'Caesarini Asidonenses' appear to be classed as a municipium.[3]

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[1] Asido, Acci, Astigi and Tucci. Iulia Traducta cannot have been a colony: see 348-51.

[2] PLINY 3.11 'coloniae Hasta quae Regia dicitur et in mediterraneo Asido quae Caesarina' (for the site of Asido: GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 477): HÜBNER emends to 'colonia' (C I L 2, p. 176 - adding that, since colonia Norba bore the same cognomen, Asido could not be a colony too: this is questionable), adducing C I L 2. 1315 ('Q. Fabio Cn.f. Gal. Senicae IIIIvir(o) municipes Caesarini': considered 'aevi fere Augusti') and 1305 ('L. Fabio L.f. Gal. Cordo IIIIviro populus M. C. ob XX paria gladiatorum data').

[3] E E 8, p. 522 no. 306 'D. M. / Luciae P.f. Avirciae / (etc.). Huic ordo Italicens. et / Romulens. Hispalens. et / Caesarini Asidonens. et / Fortunales Siarens. et / Aeneanici Callenses/decreverunt impensam funeris / (etc.)' (HÜBNER dates it to the mid-second century A.D.). Italica became a colony under Hadrian (KORNEMANN, R E 4. 540-1; HÜBNER-SCHULTEN, R E 9. 2284).

Yet, at Medina Sidonia again, a stone was found inscribed 'D. D. C. G. A. A.'[1] - but the G may be another C, and Kornemann and García y Bellido interpret 'Colonia Caesarina Augusta Asido' or 'Coloni Coloniae Augustae Asidonis'.[2] A IIvir is also attested.[3] Now two certain Spanish colonies, Ilici and Norba, also show IIIIviri[4], though their chief magistrates were IIviri.[5] Their IIIIviri are thus probably aedilicia potestate.[6] Various instances also occur of IIviri and aediles being grouped together under the term quattuorviri as at

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[1] CIL 2. 5407.

[2] Cf. HÜBNER, CIL 2, ad loc.; KORNEMANN, R E 4. 540 no. 175; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 476. 'D. D.' must be 'dedit (-erunt) donavit (-erunt)', or 'decreto decurionum' ('coloniae/colonorum' etc. in this case).

[3] CIL 2. 1314 'M. Acilius M.' f. Gal. Silo IIvir, praef. cohort., h(ic) s(itus) e(st)': 'abbastanza antica' according to A. DEGRASSI, Scritti vari di antichità, 1. 124, following HÜBNER ad loc.

[4] CIL 2. 5950, 724: in the latter at least, there is no room for supplying a supposedly lost 'aed. potest.' vel sim. It must be added that 'IIIIvir(o)' in 724 is HÜBNER's correction for the 'VIIIvir.' of the tradition, and that 5950 survived only in an antiquarian's copy.

[5] Ilici: 3557; VIVES, 4. 41-2. Norba: 693, 695, 6337 (cf. ibid., p. 1150).

[6] DEGRASSI, Scr. vari, 1. 125. For other examples, at Italian colonies, ibid., 106 (Nola), 110 (Asculum); at municipia, 153-7 (Italy), 160 (Ilipula Minor in Baetica: see CIL 2. 1470 and p. 702), 162 (Aeso in Citerior: CIL 2. 4466, cf. 4464, 4468).

Sabora in Baetica[1] and at Capua.[2] Hence it is possible that the magistrates of the same title at Asido was either an ædile or a member of a joint group of IIviri and aediles. It is also possible that the town received Latin right first, adopting IIIIviri as its magistrates like the Latin towns of Narbonensis[3], then acquired colonia status with IIviri.[4] (In the latter case a deductio colonorum will presumably have occurred.) The presence of 'municipes' can be explained either as occurring during Asido's Latin period or as meaning 'fellow-townsmen' at the colony.[5] Similarly the inscription with

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[1] CIL 2. 1423 = ILS 6092; cf. DEGRASSI, Scr. vari, 1. 162.

[2] DEGRASSI, 1. 102-4; cf. 107 with n.49 (Pompeii); 111 (Falerio). At Capua moreover the inscriptional evidence refers to individual IIIIviri, not to a group (CIL 10. 3921, 1572-3, 3871).

[3] For these see VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 65 n.1.

[4] So Mrs HENDERSON, JRS 1942, 13 n.1; VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 104 n.8.

[5] For this usage cf. CATULL. 17.8 (the poet's home town Verona, which is possibly also the 'colonia' of the poem, was a titular Latin colony from 89 to 49: G. RADKE, RE 8 A. 2426, 2429; C.J. FORDYCE, Catullus: a commentary [1961] 140, seems puzzled, perhaps because he assumes 'colonia' must mean a Roman one); SENECA RHET. Suas. 6.27 (of a fellow-Cordubensian); SENECA PHILOS. Apocol. 6.1 (of Claudius, born at Lugdunum); PLINY MIN. Epist. 1.19.1 (of a fellow-Comensian). DEGRASSI, who states that 'nessun autore o inscrizione che attesi l'uso di municeps invece di colonus è anteriore al II secolo' (1. 124), does not refer to these passages. Though municipes and coloni are distinct in inscriptions from Interamna and in the Tab. Heracl. (resp.: CIL 1^2. 1903-4 = ILLRP 617-8; ILS 6085 line 145), the municipium and colonia were separate at Interamna, at the time (CIL 1^2. 1903; DEGRASSI, 1. 104; suggesting the same of Arretium, Nola and Clusium, 104-5; cf. SALMON, R. Colon., 131; CIC. Sulla 60-2 shows coloni and oppidani had separate identities at Pompeii), and in the Tab. Heracl. the two groups are obviously thought of as belonging respectively to municipia and coloniae. Neither disproves a possible semi-informal use of 'municeps' = 'fellow-colonist'.

'populus M. C.' - not found at Medina Sidonia - could either refer to such a period as a Latin town (if it is be read as 'municipes Caesarini') or in fact concern some other municipium in the neighbourhood of Jérez.[1] Hence there is no need to reject Pliny's report. The colonizer of Asido was probably Octavian-Augustus, as the enigmatic initials mentioned above may attest; the use of the Julian cognomen, in colonial titles at least, is Augustan rather than the Dictator's.[2]

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[1] Conobaria is attested as a municipium in the early Empire: A E 1955, no. 42.

The inscriptional reference to 'Caesarini Asidonenses' cannot by itself disprove Pliny. (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 476, would in fact date it to the close of the first century B.C.) The contrast between the ordo of Italica and Hispalis and the populi of the rest could simply imply that the dedication was made by the ordo of the first two and by vote of the citizen-body at the others. Or, since 'ordo' in the inscription is singular, the plural form may extend to 'Romulens(es?) Hispalens(es?)' - though this is not a point that need be pressed.

Pliny's list of Baetican colonies, it should be added, corresponds to the total of nine that he gives (3.7 - taking into account that it reflects the border shift under Augustus which placed Salaria and Acci in Tarraconensis). Without Asido, improbable candidates would have to pressed into service, like Munda (on which see above, **98 note 5**), Carteia or Traducta (see **348-51**). Baelo (suggested as a post-Augustan colony, not in this connexion, by ALBERTINI, Divis. adm. de l'Esp. rom. [1923] 61-2, entirely on the strength of the epithet 'Claudia' in Itin. Ant. 407.3) was never colonized (HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 1; SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 176, 245 n.31; nor included by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom.).

[2] Although KORNEMANN applies the title 'Caesarea' to two Eastern colonies which he gives as Caesar's - Sinope and Pisidian Antioch (R E 4. 531, nos. 111, 114) - he brackets it in the first case and VITTINGHOFF does not give it (R. Kol., 88; so too RUGE, R E 3 A. 254; T.R.S. BROUGHTON in O C D[2], 992-3 s.v.), while Antioch was in fact Augustan (VITTINGHOFF, 132; B.M. LEVICK, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor [1967] 34, 37-8, and cf. her Index, p. 242 s.v.). By contrast, Norba Caesarina and Caesaraugusta were both, probably or certainly, Augustus'. Admittedly two non-colonial towns of Ulterior, Castulo Caesarinum Iuvenale (later transferred to Citerior) and Urgia Caesaris Salutariensis, which may have acquired Latin right from the Dictator (**354-8, 360-1**), would not obey this rule if so: but they cannot out-

Acci (Accis on some inscriptions) bore the title Colonia Iulia Gemella and possessed ius Italicum. Coins bear the legend 'C. I. G. ACCI', with signa of Legiones I and II.[1] Its ius Italicum and the participation of two legions in the deductio are indications of Octavianic origin.[2] With the shift in boundaries, Acci later became part of Tarraconensis, in the conventus of Carthago Nova.[3] Its name is preserved, through Arabic, in Guadix[4]: the town lies at the junction of three valleys, in a well-cultivated area not far east of Granada.[5] The colony was thus at an important centre for communications - and banditry in the surrounding uplands may have been a

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weigh the colonial evidence.

[1] PLINY 3.25 'colonia Accitana Gemellensis' and 'ius Italiae'; PTOL. 2.6.61; Itin. Ant. 402.7 and 404.6; CIL 2. 3391, 3393-4 (the latter pair give the name as Accis: terminal -s was often added to Spanish place-names ending in -i - HÜBNER, RE 1. 140; cf. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 474). GRANT, FITA, 220, calls the colony 'Gemina' and attributes it to Caesar, presuambly because the title does not include 'Augusta': but this can be explained by an Octavianic, pre-27 date (cf. VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol., 76 n.8).

[2] No Caesarian colony is known at which veterans of two legions were settled, or at any rate none bore the title 'Gemella / Gemina', whereas many of Augustus' do (see VITTINGHOFF, 88 n.1; cf. GRANT, 247-8; HENDERSON, JRS 1953, 141, on Lampsacus). - Mrs HENDERSON suggests the colony had ius Latii from Caesar (JRS 1942, 13 n.1): not impossible, but no evidence.

[3] PLINY 3.25.

[4] GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 475: Arab. 'Wadi Acci[s]'.

[5] Sierras Nevada and offshoots (Harana to the north of Granada, de Baza east of Guadix), and rivers (Fordes and Guadix) form these valleys.

particular reason for the foundation.[1]

Astigi bore the appellation 'Augusta Firma' and was capital of the juridical conventus of central-southern Baetica: its name too is preserved through Arabic as Écija, on the River Singilis (Genil), an important tributary of the Baetis.[2] The river was navigable from there on, so that the colony may have functioned as a port: its epithet Firma suggests a veteran settlement.[3] The oppidum liberum Astigi Vetus, in the same conventus, must have been the Spanish town from which the colony took its name - but from which it must have been physically separate. The foundation may date to 15, when Augustus (Dio reports) founded several towns in Gaul and Spain, completing his reorganization of Spain the year after.[4] Astigi may have been immunis - after citing the colony Pliny proceeds, 'huius conventus sunt reliquae coloniae immunes Tucci (etc.)'.

Colonia Tucci Augusta Gemella, perhaps also founded in 15,

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[1] The frequent barbarian raids on the lowlands south of the Baetis, mentioned by BHisp 8.3, probably came from the Nevada mountains (at least in part). The Sierra Morena had bandits in 43 (POLLIO in CIC. Fam. 10.31.1) and at the same period Lusitania did so too (VARRO Re R. 1.16.2).

[2] PLINY 3.12 'Astigitana colonia cognomine Augusta Firma'; Arab. 'Estidza' (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 480).

[3] Though some civilian colonies of Augustus are attested in other provinces (Macedonia, Crete, Sardinia, perhaps Illyricum: see VITTINGHOFF, 99, 123, 124 n.4, 128-9, 131, 136), none are known in Spain, or after 27 B.C.

[4] 54.23.7, 25.1.

stood on the edge of the high terrain (the Sistema Bético) fringing the Baetis valley on the south: it is identified with Martos, a dozen miles southwest of Jaén.[1] The name indicates a veteran settlement once more. Since Pliny attests a Tucci Vetus in the same conventus[2] (a third Tucci lay west of Italica[3]), the colony, like Astigi, seems to have been separate in every way from the Spanish community.

Besides colonies, Augustus founded a number of towns in the

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[1] PLINY 3.12 (with title); CIL 2. 1674, 1676, 1680, 1686, 3278. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 501 (24 km.).

[2] 3.10: the towns in the first half of this section, including Tucci Vetus, are not explicitly assigned to a conventus. Immediately following the list, the text if not punctuated reads 'omnia Bastetaniae vergentis ad mare conventus vero Cordubensis circa flumen ipsum Ossigi quod cognominatur Latonium [etc. - a further list]'. HÜBNER, following the predominant MSS tradition, interpreted 'conventus vero Cordubensis' as applying to the first half of 10; and as Corduba itself occurs in the second list, both groups would thus belong to that conventus (CIL 2 Suppl., p. 833; see Maps at end of both Vol. 2 and Suppl.). But geography requires that, if so, the conventus Cordubensis would be in two parts - separated by the c. Astigitanus (see Maps in CIL 2). By placing a full stop after 'vergentis ad mare' the difficulty is removed; the towns in the first half of 3.10 topographically suit the c. Astigitanus, thus complementing the list (explicitly assigned to that conventus) in 12: so DETLEFSEN, Philol. 1870, 281-3; full discussion, in favour of this view, by ALBERTINI, Div. adm., 87-9; also textually accepted by C. MAYHOFF (Teubner, 1906) and H. RACKHAM (Loeb, 1947). On Pliny's geographical arrangement, see below, **311-17**.

[3] Itin. Ant. 432.2; Itin. Rav. 317.13. No adjectival qualification.

newly subjugated regions of Spain. Bracara Augusta, Lucus Augusti and Asturica Augusta became capitals of conventus in the extreme northwest.[1] Iuliobriga (close to modern Reinosa in the province of Santander) held the eastern end of the Cantabrian mountains with - apparently - Portus Victoriae (now Santander) as a coastal outlet.[2] In the interior lay the towns Nova Augusta, two Augustobrigas and Caesarobriga - the fruit probably of campaigns in the 30s to subjugate central Spain once for all.[3] In the Pyrenees, the Cerretanian town Iulia Libica may be Octavianic.[4]

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[1] PLINY 3.18 and 28, 4.111-2; CIL 2. 2421 (of Bracara) 'conditum sub [divo ex iussu] Imp. Caesaris [Augusti divi f.] patris patri[ae pont. max.]'.

[2] PLINY 3.21, 27; cf. 4.111 'Portus Victoriae Iuliobricensium'. A few miles away, it appears, was a place called Octaviolca (PTOL. 2.6.50 Ὀκταουιόλκα; see SCHULTEN, RE 17. 1800-1) - named, if so, after Octavian?

[3] Nova Augusta, a town of the Arevaci: PLINY 3.27; PTOL. 2.6.55; SCHULTEN, RE 17. 1123. - Augustobriga, in Vettonia on the Tagus near modern Talavera la Reina: CIL 2. 941; PLINY 4.118; PTOL. 2.5.7 (misplaced); Itin. Ant. 438.6; HÜBNER, CIL 2, p. 113; and RE 2. 2367. - Another Augustobriga, among the Pelendones between Numantia and Turiaso: PTOL. 2.6.53; Itin. Ant. 442.3; HÜBNER, CIL 2, p. 390; and RE 2. 2367-8. - Caesarobriga, probably modern Talavera la Reina itself: PLINY 4.118; CIL 2. 896 and pp. 111-2 (as Caesar is not known to have operated in this area, while Triumviral commanders did, this town too should be ascribed to Divi filius).

[4] PTOL. 2.6.68 mentions it (Pliny does not); it is not the same as Libia of the Berones (PLINY 3.24; PTOL. 2.6.54 Ὀλίβα; ILS 8888 'Libenses'; CIL 2. 439 'Libiensis'; SCHULTEN, RE 13. 111 and WICKERT, ibid. 112-3) - cf. HÜBNER, RE 10. 8, who suggests Caesar the Dictator founded it. But as the Cerretani were subdued by Domitius Calvinus in 38 and later had Latin right with the appellation 'Augustani' (DIO 48.42.1-3 for Domitius' campaign; PLINY 3.23 for the Cerretani Augustani, on whom see also below, **326 with note 1**), Libica is better ascribed to Octavian.

None of these towns had Roman citizenship. The tribe of Bracara was Quirina, attesting no doubt Latin right from Vespasian[1], so too Iuliobriga[2] and perhaps Asturica.[3] Lucus Augusti, which shows evidence of Galeria, must have received Latin status from Augustus or (possibly) Tiberius.[4] The rest were stipendiariae. Being foundations in conquered territory and centres for Romanization[5], these towns may well have included some Roman settlers (probably veterans), but the majority of their inhabitants will have been natives, brought down from the mountains, or in from scattered settlements, to learn the arts of peace under supervision.[6]

These details of Caesar's and Augustus' colonization in Spain might prompt an easy generalization - the one founded mainly

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[1] KUBITSCHEK, IRTD, 189; R. K. McELDERRY, 'Vespasian's reconstruction of Spain', JRS 8 (1918) 53-102, on 75.

[2] IRTD, 196; McELDERRY, 76.

[3] IRTD, 188 is dubious, but EE 8, p. 330 no. 111 reinforces CIL 2. 2637, 5124 (for Quirina), cf. JRS 1918, 75.

[4] CIL 8. 3226, cf. 3268; IRTD, 197; JRS 1918, 74 n.3.

[5] Cf. PLINY 3.28 'Asturica urbe magnifica'; STR. 3.3.8 / C 156 - Augustus' and Tiberius' legionary garrisons in the N.-W. made some of the peoples there 'οὐ μέσους εἰρηνικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἤδη'.

[6] FLORUS expressly says so of Asturica: 'certa mox fides et aeterna pax, cum ipsorum ingenio in pacis artes promptiore, tum consilio Caesaris, qui fiduciam montium timens, in quos se recipiebant, castra sua, quia in plano erant, habitare et incolere iussit; ibi gentes esse concilium, illud observari caput' (2.33.59-60; cf. SCHULTEN, Los cánt. y ast. y su guerra con R., 176). Cf. the genesis of Augusta Praetoria: STR. 4.6.7 / C206.

civilian, 'proletarian' colonies, the other mainly military ones. Hence claims of wide cultural purpose for Caesar and limited strategic ends for his son.[1] These need to be considered in their Spanish context.

Apart from some eighty thousand civilian émigrés, Caesar is thought to have had as many as thirty thousand veterans to provide for.[2] Not all of these will have been sent overseas[3]: perhaps a third, or a half. The number of Caesar's colonies in Vittinghoff's list is thirty-one (in the provinces)[3a], and, although his Spanish attributions are not identical with those made above[4], an average of some three thousand coloni a settlement seems reasonable.[5] In the previous chapter, ten colonies were proposed as Caesar's: this would mean that some thirty thousand Romans - apart from dependents - came at his behest into Spain.

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[1] So esp. GRANT, FITA, 302-7.

[2] F. ADCOCK, CAH, 9. 706.

[3] GRANT, 303, appears to take it that all veterans were: but cf. SUET. Iul. 38.1 (by implication), 81.1 (Capua).

[3a] R. Kol. 148 and 150.

[4] Where Metellinum is viewed as Republican, Norba as Octavianic, and Corduba conversely as Caesar's.

[5] The size will obviously have varied from place to place. Scallabis may not have had as many as 3000, whereas Hispalis, Carthago Nova and other big towns may well have received more. Moreover Emporiae and possibly other places also received settlers, so that the total influx proposed should be quite reasonable.

Augustus' Spanish colonies numbered eleven.[1] He tells us that he settled in colonies, or sent back to their municipia, three hundred thousand veterans altogether: and a hundred and twenty thousand were in colonies by 29 B.C.[2] Vittinghoff lists seventy-two overseas colonies as Augustan, while there were twenty-eight in Italy.[3] The Augustan colonial average is thus to be placed around two thousand. This would give roughly twenty-two thousand Roman coloni for Spain.[4] Some veterans (in both Caesar's and Augustus' settlements) may not have been new to the country - it had provided legionary recruits for forces serving there before 45 and probably continued to do so.

Caesar's programme of colonization was bound up with social, political and economic problems in Italy.[5] The sending of colonists from the City abroad must be related to his reducing the numbers of persons eligible for corn-distribution from three hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty thousand.[6] A civilian population would require

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[1] A list of colonies is appended to this chapter.

[2] Res Gestae 3.3, 15.3.

[3] R. Kol., 148-50 (of his Spanish ones, Traducta is not accepted above, and Salaria is preferably taken as Republican, however); AUG. R G 28.2. One of these was presumably 'colonia civica' Brixia (for which see KORNEMANN, R E 4. 536 no. 134) which cannot have been military, and some Augustan colonies overseas were also civilian (see above, 134 note 3); on the other hand many veterans must have gone back to their own municipia. 200,000 colonists altogether thus should be roughly right.

[4] Enfranchised Spanish participants (as perhaps at Emerita) are not included in this estimate.

[5] Cf. Mrs HENDERSON, J R S 43 (1953) 139-41 (reviewing VITTINGHOFF, R. Kol.).

[6] SUET. Iul. 41.3; cf. VITTINGHOFF, 56-7.

economic occupation and opportunities - hence the concentration of settlements in areas like the Baetis valley and coastal districts.[1] But for his murder, Caesar's colonization would not have stopped with civilians. Had he returned successful from his Eastern expedition, he would have had to provide for the survivors of the troops under arms in 44.[2] The duty fell to his successors. Hence the contrast between Caesarian and Augustan colonization was, in part, circumstantial.

Octavian had to supply his troops (and his adversaries') with land after Actium.[3] Discharged legionaries, in later years, similarly had to be provided for - though a cash bounty might replace an estate.[4] But veterans, even after discharge, could still be put to use, as garrisons in wild country.

Caesar placed most of his colonists in areas almost certainly well Romanized already: the great entrepôts of Carthago Nova and Tar-

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[1] E.g. in the latter case, Tarraco, Carthago Nova, Narbo and African Carthage. The colonial charter of Urso set restrictions on building and on tile-production (no crematorium to be within half a mile of the town, no demolition without corresponding reconstruction, a daily maximum of 300 tiles per factory: L.Urs. 84-6). The latter limit at least may have been intended to prevent a monopoly or oligopoly in the trade.

[2] Thirty-five legions, according to ADCOCK, C A H 8. 899; SCULLARD, Gracchi to Nero[3], 150; thirty-nine according to CARCOPINO, Jules César[5], 542.

[3] HYG. GROM. in C. Agr. Rom., p. 142 T h u l i n: 'aeque divus Augustus, [in] adsignata orbi terrarum pace, exercitus qui aut sub Antonio aut Lepido militaverant pariter et suarum legionum milites colonos fecit, alios in Italia, alios in provinciis'. Cf. W.C.G. SCHMITTHENNER, The Armies of the Triumviral Period (D.Phil. thesis: 1958) 144-5.

[4] Res G. 3.3; DIO 54.25.5-6.

raco, the middle Ebro valley at Celsa, and the middle and lower plain of the Baetis. It would be sensible to place civilians where fairly peaceful and civilized conditions already existed.[1] Thus suitable environment, rather than civilizing purpose, was most likely his main guide. Certainly Romanization will have been furthered by the influx, which must have been a substantial contribution to the Hispaniensis-population. Grants of immunitas would allow some foundations a chance to prosper, whereas the rich and thriving centres of Hispalis and Corduba, Tarraco and Carthago Nova hardly needed encouragement.

Most of Augustus' colonies had military functions.[2] Ius Italicum, a privilege superior to immunitas, might reconcile veterans sent to lonely or rough regions.[3] But certain foundations also helped to foster the ways of peace and Roman usages: Strabo claims this of Pax, Emerita and Caesaraugusta, and towns in the northwest - Asturica, Lucus, Bracara - brought urban habits to the latest acquisitions.[4]

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[1] BHisp 8.3 (barbarian incursions) and L.Urs. 103 (colonial militia) do not disprove this.

[2] Cf. [BOETH.] in Die Schr. der r. Feldm., p. 396: they were often fortified, and in 'loca aspera'.

[3] VITTINGHOFF, Zeits. Sav.-St. 1951, 465-70.

[4] STR. 3.2.15 / C151; on Asturica, cf. FLOR. 2.33.59-60; note too STR. 3.3.5 / C154 (pacification of northern Lusitania and improvement of some of the towns there by the Romans [συνοικίζοντες βέλτιον']). Caesar's and Augustus' Baetis-valley settlements must have contributed to the thorough Romanization of the Turdetani (STR. 3.2.15), but this had begun much earlier. In Artemidorus' day (ca. 100 B.C.) the coastal Spaniards, at any rate, were using Roman script (apud STEPH. BYZ. s. v. Ἰβηρία : ed. MEINEKE, p. 324): 'γραμματικῇ δὲ χρῶνται τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν οἱ παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες τῶν Ἰβήρων'.

But Augustus' colonial programme was mainly (in Spain, so far as is known, wholly) military. He did not follow his adoptive father in large-scale despatch of civilians overseas. In both types of colonization, Caesar was the innovator. Provincial colonies, military and civilian, had been founded under the Republic; in Spain it was not unusual for Roman governors to establish towns (even colonies); but Caesar's broad and single scheme, involving both soldiers and proletarii (and more of either than ever before), was a new thing. So too was its accompanying system of citizen and Latin grants to provincials - again preceded by Republican instances and yet unprecedented in number or (very probably) in intention.[1] Augustus' measures in all these fields can thus be considered derivative. His colonies, reverting largely to the old strategic form, seem to have made less impact on Roman opinion than Caesar's: certainly his conferments of citizenship and Latin right - extensive as they were - could not eradicate an impression that he was against granting citizenship widely.[2] Yet his contribution was as valuable as his father's: Caesar added to the settler element in the old territories of Roman Spain and started the enfranchisement or Latinization of Hispani; Augustus carried on the latter, and with his new towns (only some of them colonies) began the cultural assimilation of the wilder parts of Spain and thus the transformation of that entire land into one of the most peaceful of the Roman Empire.

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[1] See Chapter XVI.

[2] SUET. Aug. 40.3; DIO 56.33.3. On Caesar's and Augustus' colonial policy see also A. MOMIGLIANO, JRS 1942, 162; VITTINGHOFF,

ROMAN COLONIES IN SPAIN TO A.D. 14[1]

I: Republic	II: Caesar	III: Augustus

TARRACONENSIS

I: Valentia (ca. 71): tribu Galeria?[2] Later ius Ital.[3]

Salaria (date unknown):[4] tr. Sergia?[5]

II: Tarraco Urbs Iulia Triumphalis (45/4): Galeria

Carthago Nova Urbs Iulia (45/4): Sergia

Celsa Victrix Iulia [Lepida] (44/3): tribu ignota

III: Acci Iulia Gemella (30/29): Pupinia?[6] Ius Ital.

Caesaraugusta (20/19): Aniensis: immunis

Ilici Augusta (29 or 15): tr. ign.: immunis, later ius Ital.

Barcino Faventia Iulia Augusta Patricia(?) (15 ?): Galeria: immunis

Libisosa Forum Augustum (15 ?): Galeria: ius Ital.

R. Kol., 135-9; HENDERSON, J R S 1953, 139-40.

[1] Tribes normally according to KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 167-203.

[2] Cf. E E 9, p. 136, no. 363.

[3] PAULUS, Dig. 50.15.8 (sole mention). The privilege is probably of the imperial period (cf. Ilici) - has it any connexion with the 'veterani et veteres' at third-century A.D. Valentia?

[4] Originally in Ulterior/Baetica.

[5] KUBITSCHEK, 198-9.

[6] KUBITSHCEK, 188. Acci, like Salaria, was originally (if founded at the suggested date, or before 7 B.C.) in Ulterior.

BAETICA

II: Asta Regia (45/4): tr. ign.

Corduba Patricia (45/4 ?): Sergia

Hispalis Romula (45/4): probably Sergia

Iptuci Virtus Iulia (45/4): Galeria: immunis

Ucubi Claritas Iulia (45/4): tr. ign.: immunis

Urso Genetiva Iulia Urbanorum (44): Galeria?[1] Immunis

III: Asido Augusta(?) Caesarina (15 ?): Galeria

Astigi Augusta Firma (15 ?): Papiria: immunis

Tucci Augusta Gemella (15 ?): Sergia: immunis

LUSITANIA

I: Metellinum (ca. 71): tr. ign.

II: Scallabis Praesidium Iulium (45/4 ?): Sergia

III: Norba Caesarina (35/4): Sergia

Pax Iulia (before 27): Galeria: ius Ital.

Emerita Augusta (25): Papiria: ius Ital.

TOTALS:[2] Tarraconensis - 10

Baetica - - - - 9

Lusitania - - - 5

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[1] KUBITSCHEK, 182-3.

[2] Pliny's colonial totals for Baetica and Lusitania are the same (3.7, 4.117), but for Tarraconensis he gives 12 (3.18). This is explicable without assuming that Palma and Pollentia were colonies, by taking Flaviobriga as one included in his list and Clunia Sulpicia as the other: on these see pp. 323 - 4.

PART THREE

ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER VIII

PROVINCES

SOME sort of territorial division of occupied Spain can be discerned from the close of the Second Punic War. In 206 B.C. Scipio was instructed by the Senate to set Spanish affairs in order.[1] From 206 also, as Appian reports, 'στρατηγοὺς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἔπεμπον'[2], the first pair being L. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus. Appian wrongly implies that the governors changed yearly from the start: Lentulus and Manlius held their posts till 200 and 199 respectively, for example.[3] But their imperium was renewed annually.[4]

Under the year 204 Livy states that 'omnes tribus eosdem L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum pro consulibus sicut priore anno tenuissent obtinere eas provincias iusserant'.[5] Later he tells

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[1] POL. 11.33.8 'Πόπλιος δὲ συνεπελείαν ἐπιτεθεικὼς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἔργοις παρῆν εἰς τὸν Ταρράκωνα' ; ZONAR. 9.10.1 (Boissevain, Dio 1, p. 249) ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μέχρις ἂν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καταστήσῃ ἄρχειν τῶν ἔκει προσεπάχθη' ; BADIAN, F C, 119; P. SPRANGER, 'Die Namengebung der römischen Provinz Hispania', Madrider Mitteil. 1 (1960) 128.

[2] Iber. 38.152.

[3] LIVY 31.20.1, 50.10.

[4] 29.13.7, 30.2.7, 30.41.4.

[5] 29.13.7.

us that their successors pro consule, C. Cornelius Blasio and L. Stertinius, held Hispania Citerior and Ulterior respectively.[1] Even if the terms used are slightly anachronistic (which is not necessarily so) these remarks suggest that a territorial division already existed.[2] This would not be surprising, considering the length of the Roman territory, from the Pyrenees to around Gades, though obviously the generals would combine forces when necessary.[3]

The first mention of a formal boundary comes in the year 197, when the new praetors for Spain 'terminare iussi qua ulterior citeriorve provincia servaretur'.[4] The implication is that hitherto the boundaries had been flexible, no doubt according to convenience or necessity[5]: the measure marks, therefore, the definitive division of the two Spains.[6] The names Citerior and Ulterior appear for the first time in the triumphal Fasti for 196 and 107 respectively.[7]

The boundary between the two provinces lay along the Saltus

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[1] 33.27.2.

[2] Probably for strategic purposes; evidence for one may even appear in earlier years: SPRANGER, Madr. Mitt. 1960, 129, citing 27.22.7 'et P. Scipioni et M. Silano suae Hispaniae suique exercitus in annum decreti'.

[3] E.g. 29.2.1-2 (205 B.C.).

[4] 32.28.11.

[5] Cf. HÜBNER, C I L 2 Suppl., p. lxxxv 'neque vero credendum est fines illos inde ab initio certos fuisse'.

[6] So SCHULTEN, F H A 3. 174; SPRANGER, 130.

[7] DEGRASSI, Inscr. It. 13/1. 79 and 85 = C I L 1^2, pp. 48-9.

Castulonensis (eastern Sierra Morena) and passed from there to the Mediterranean below Carthago Nova.[1] This corresponded to the centre of balance of Rome's Peninsular possessions once the Carthaginians had been expelled and internal Spanish affairs became the principal administrative and military concern.[2]

The northern frontier of Citerior was the Pyrenees, while in Artemidorus' time, about 100 B.C., Ulterior extended 'μέχρι Γαδείρων καὶ Λουσιτανίας'.[3] The first mention of Olisipo, however, dates to the proconsulate of D. Brutus in 138/6; and if (as is likely) it became a Roman municipium under Caesar[4], implying a suitable degree of Romanization, Roman control in the late second century probably extended up the Atlantic coast to the estuary of the Tagus. Polybius' account of Lusitanian agriculture implies a generally settled life, at any rate on the coastal lowlands of south and central Portugal[5];

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[1] E. ALBERTINI, Les Divisions admin. de l'Espagne rom. (1923) 13-15. A senator was exiled in 180 'ultra Novam Carthaginem litteraeque ei datae sunt a consule ad P. Manlium in Hispaniam ulteriorem deferendae' (LIVY 40.41.10). Artemidorus of Ephesus gave the limits of Citerior as 'μέχρι τῆς Καινῆς Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Βαίτιος πηγῶν (STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἰβηρία , p. 324 ed. Meineke [1849] ; SCHULTEN, FHA 2. 159), a loose description. The sources of the Baetis were thought, in Republican times, to be in the Sierra Morena (ALBERTINI, 14-15); the true locality, the Saltus Tugiensis (Sa. de Cazorla, east of Corduba and Castulo), not till PLINY NH 3.9. The coastal border was between Carthago Nova and Baria, probably at the mouth of the R. Almanzora (cf. Map I at end of CIL 2 Suppl.): Baria was in Ulterior until Augustus shifted the border further south (PLINY 3.19).

[2] SPRANGER, 134-5, thinks it reveals a conscious resolve to conquer the whole Peninsula, but see below against this.

[3] STEPH. BYZ. Ἰβηρία ; FHA 2. 159.

[4] P. 355.

[5] 34.8: quotation of prices indicates some economic development, perhaps under Roman influence.

it is noteworthy that the Cunei or Cynetes, who occupied the Algarve in south-west Portugal, 'Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι' by 153.[1] Internally the situation was different, as the late first-century colonies Scallabis and Pax show (the second of which, Strabo says, exercised much civilizing influence).[2] But Artemidorus' Λυσιτανία perhaps included the coastal region up to Olisipo.

The internal borders were established some distance back from the coastlands of the Mediterranean fairly soon: the process probably started once the great rebellion of 197 was put down, over the next few years. Cato's campaigns brought him into contact with the Celtiberi - he attacked Segontia (Sigüenza) south of Numantia.[3] In 193-2 the governor of Ulterior was operating around Toletum (Toledo)[4], and until 180 military operations, often by both governors in concert, were centred on the eastern and southern Meseta.[5] By 180 Rome had

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[1] APP. Iber. 57.239, cf. 58.246 (151/0 B.C.), 68.289 (141 B.C.). On this tribe and its location see HÜBNER, R E 4. 1906-8.

[2] 3.2.15 / C151.

[3] LIVY 34.19.10; SCHULTEN, F H A 3. 187, 189.

[4] 35.7.6-8, 22.5-8.

[5] 39.21.8 (Calagurris, upper Ebro: 186 B.C.), 39.30-31 (Toletum: 185), 39.42.3-4 (both governors triumph 'de Lusitanis Celtiberisque': 184), 40.16.8-9 (capture of Urbiaca, on the S.E. edge of the Meseta, or N.W. of Saguntum: see SCHULTEN, F H A 3. 210; H. de Esp. 2². 74, and map facing 48: 182 B.C.), 40.30.3, 32.5, 33 (operations round Aebura [near Talavera la Reina, W. of Toledo? - C I L 2, pp. 111-12; SCHULTEN, F H A 3. 212; H. de Esp. 2². 75] and Contrebia [R. Jiloca valley: HÜBNER, R E 4. 1163; SCHULTEN, ibid.] the latter a town of the Lusones, cf. APP. Iber. 42.171-4; SCHULTEN, Numantia 1 [1914] 136-7, 327: 181 B.C.).

received the eastern reaches of Celtiberia 'in deditionem'.[1] In the south and west, Baeturia (the country north of the Baetis valley) was apparently under Roman dominance as early as 197[2], and despite raids into the Meseta beyond, the Sierra Morena or the River Anas - or rather the uncertain ground between them - remained the frontier, in practice, for the next century and a half.[3]

Roman control after 179 thus settled down over the east and south coasts, the valleys of the Ebro and Baetis, and stretches of interior (between these heartlands) which cannot properly be described as reduced to provincial subjection and where the Spaniards probably regarded themselves as 'allies' proper.[4] Appian refers to the Lusitani of 154 B.C. as 'μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων'[5], and Numantia lay only about forty miles (across the massif of the Iberian Mountains, admittedly) from the middle course of the Ebro. The subjection of that town and the other Celtiberian tribes advanced Roman influence to the upper Duero and perhaps to the edge of Vaccaean territory, but the Vaccaei remained, in fact, autonomous at the least - and so did

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[1] LIVY 40.33.9 'maxima pars Celtiberiae'; contrast 40.39.1 'ulteriorem Celtiberiae agrum, unde ad deditionem non venerant'; SCHULTEN, Numantia 1. 328.

[2] 33.21.8 (joined in the great rebellion).

[3] Cf. SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 64-73, esp. 71-3.

[4] See pp. 272-3 ; map in H. de Esp. 2², opposite p. 48; another in C A H 8, opp. p. 324 (both leave Baeturia out of Ulterior).

[5] Iber. 56.234.

the Lusitani even after Viriatus: even if, like the Belli and Titthi earlier, they may sometimes (after 133, for instance, and again after 72) have been constrained to a foedus iniquum and a form of tribute.[1] In Polybius' day the principal road from the south Atlantic coast to Gaul was still that once followed by Hannibal - along the coast.[2]

In the interior, around 100 B.C. a probably notional border reached as far north-west as Salmantica (Salamanca) and Albocola, forty-two miles apart.[3] The number of times Roman historians announce the subjection of the Lusitani by successive commanders will indicate that lack of real control did not deter the Romans from claiming it. A demarcation would be useful in any case, during peaceful intervals, for assigning relations with independent tribes to one governor or the other. Such a demarcation was probably established after the mid-second century wars when a greater measure of influence was (conceivably) obtained over the interior. The line passed along the Iuga

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[1] Belli and Titthi: APP. Iber. 44.182-3. In 80 the Lusitani, or some of them, appealed to Sertorius to lead them - we are told - in resisting Rome (PLUT. Sert. 10.1). The report does not show that they were planning a revolt from subjection: on the contrary, it might even imply that the Sullan governor in Ulterior was planning to campaign against them (ἄρχοντος ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος δεόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων φόβον).

[2] 3.39.4-8.

[3] Ἀρβουκάλη πόλις μεγίστη τῶν ἐντὸς Ἴβηρος ποταμοῦ (i.e. Citerior); Ἑλμαντικὴ πόλις Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἐκτὸς Ἴβηρος ποταμοῦ (Ulterior): STEPH. BYZ. s. vv. ALBERTINI, 19, and SPRANGER, 133, consider the source here to be Artemidorus (which seems reasonable but is not certain). On Ἀρβουκάλη = Albocola: HÜBNER on CIL 2. 880. Map of suggested boundaries 197 to 27: H. de Esp. 2². 373.

Oretana (Sierra de Almadén, north of Córdoba), turned north at the Anas and crossed the Tagus near its middle course, then passed between Salmantica and (to the north-east) Albocola.[1]

Roman generals won triumphs for raids across the length of the Peninsula - Brutus penetrated Callaecia in the 130s, P. Crassus in the 90s (who also investigated the Cassiterides); Caesar forayed up the Atlantic coast in 61. These campaigns may well have brought temporary control over the tribes they affected. As suggested above, peoples along the edge of actual Roman-ruled territory must have been induced to some degree of amenability. Yet as late as 55 the proconsul of Citerior, Metellus Nepos, was fighting the Vaccaei, like so many of his predecessors.[2] The Romans considered this a revolt[3], but

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[1] See Map at end of ALBERTINI, Div. adm. ....

[2] L. Postumius in 180 (LIVY 40.47.1, despite 50.6-7 - see MÜNZER, cited below - ; 41.7.2; DEGRASSI, In. It. 13/1. 81 under 178; MÜNZER, R E 22/1. 914, 917; SCHULTEN, R E 7A. 2034-5). L. Lucullus in 151 (APP. Iber. 51.215 - 55.232). M. Lepidus in 137 (ibid. 80.349 - 82. 357). Q. Piso in 135 and Scipio in 134 (83.362, 87.380 - 89.386). Perhaps T. Didius in the 90s (99.431: MSS οὐαρκαίων v. sim.; SCHULTEN, R E 7 A. 2035 interprets 'Vaccaei', but Ἀρουακῶν is probably correct, as in T e u b n e r text, ed. V i e r e c k and R o o s , rev. G a b b a [1962] - i.e. Arevaci, close to Numantia). Pompey in 74 attacked a town of theirs, Pallantia (APP. BC 1.112.523: they were allied with Sertorius - LIVY frg. Bk. 91 fin.). Nepos' unsuccessful campaign: DIO 39.54. CICERO's remark 'an ego possum huic esse inimicus cuius litteris fama nuntiis celebrantur aures cotidie meae novis nominibus gentium nationum locorum' (Prov. cons. 22), though it follows a mention of his reconciliation with Nepos, should refer (contra SCHULTEN, F H A 5. 16) to Caesar (as H.E. BUTLER and M. CARY take it, in their ed. and comm. [Oxford 1924] 62) - the description of new discoveries does not suit a well-campaigned-over area like the N.W. Meseta.

[3] cf. DIO, ibid. 'ἐπαναστησάντες γάρ τινες καὶ Οὐακκαίους προστησάμενοι'.

their control over the tribe can have been slight at best.[1] The indomitable Vaccaei were again in arms as late as 29, allied with the Cantabri and Astures, against Statilius Taurus, but this was their last struggle[2]: in 27 they are pacified, and attacks on them by their erstwhile allies are a pretext for Augustus' war against the northwest.[3]

It is unlikely that Roman rule, as distinct from influence, extended north of the Tagus under the Republic. As already remarked, Scallabis held that line above Olisipo in the late 40s. Norba, established a decade later, lay south of the river and supervised the northern Estremadura plateau: it must have exercised control or at least influence as far northward as (at any rate) Caecilius Vicus[4] but not much farther, and it is noteworthy that the Roman road from the middle course of the Anas to Norba and beyond followed the foundation of Emerita Augusta.[5]

The territory under Roman rule in the late Republic, on the outbreak of civil war in 49 B.C., and the extent of Roman influence beyond it, illustrate the situation. The disposition of the Pompeian

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[1] Pompey perhaps crushed them (see prev. p., note 2), more likely compelled or induced them to peace: no evidence they were then provincialized.

[2] DIO 51.20.5.

[3] FLOR. 2.33.47; ORCS. 6.21.3.

[4] Surveying the western end of the lofty Sa. de Gredos (cf. HÜBNER, R E 3. 1236).

[5] RICHMOND, Arch. J. 1930, 104.

commands was as follows:

> unus Hispaniam citeriorem <tribus legionibus, alter ulteriorem> a saltu Castulonensi ad Anam duabus legionibus, tertius ab Ana Vettonum agrum Lusitaniamque pari numero legionum optinebat.[1]

The territory implied is a great curve, roughly parallelling the coasts; the forces in the ager Vettonum and part, at least, of Lusitania were probably or certainly an army of occupation, as a consequence of Nepos' warfare which Pompey's legates had inherited[2], so that the area cannot be thought of as a long-standing Roman possession - or even as one that continued to be governed after 49. Afranius and Petreius were, at the same time, able to draw auxilia from Lusitani and Celtiberi, and also from 'Cantabris barbarisque omnibus qui ad Oceanum pertinent' - though these last groups were not conquered until Augustus' reign.[3] There is much truth in Velleius' remark that, before Augustus, Spain was 'varie possessa et saepe amissa partibus'.[4] A fixed determination to conquer the entire Peninsula is certainly not discernible throughout the Republican period.

Rule beyond the Tagus (perhaps even beyond the Anas) can have been lastingly imposed only by the proconsuls of the 30s.[5] Very lit-

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[1] CAES. BCiv 1.39.1: the insertion is necessary for the sense.

[2] Their troops had been fighting 'cum Lusitanis ceterisque barbaris' (BCiv 1.44.1-2) - cf. BAlex 61.1. The Vettones lay roughly between the middle Anas and middle Duero (mainly toward the latter); among their towns were Salmantica and Ocelum (Zamora area): see SCHULTEN-GROSSE, R E 8 A. 1873-4.

[3] CAES. BCiv 1.38.3. [4] 2.38.4.

[5] Domitius Calvinus triumphed 'ex Hispania' in 36, Norbanus Flaccus in 34, Marcius Philippus in 33, Ap. Claudius in 32, Statilius Taurus in 28 and Sex. Appuleius in 26: DEGRASSI, In. It. 13/1. 87.

tle is known of their activities, and there is no need to assume that every one achieved military success deserving of the triumph he in fact achieved - they were all important Caesarians. But we are told that Calvinus crushed the Pyrenean Cerretani; his base may have been Osca, coins of which commemorate him.[1] Norba, it was argued (following García y Bellido) in an earlier chapter, was founded about 35 by Norbanus Flaccus, who if so must have been acting against the Vettones and Lusitani; while, as just observed, in 29 Statilius Taurus was fighting the Vaccaei, Astures and Cantabri who 'ἦσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι' - a phrase that may be significant of a lengthy war.[2] The map of Roman Spain shows a number of towns in the interior that must date to the early Principate: Augustobriga and Caesarobriga on the Tagus, west of Norba, another Augustobriga west of Numantia and Nova Augusta north of Segovia.[3]

Under the Republic there were two provinces, usually governed separately though occasionally united.[4] In 49 a triple division occurred temporarily, as noted above.[5] In fact it amounted to a div-

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[1] DIO 48.41.7 - 42. Denarii in the Ashmolean Museum Coin Dept. show OSCA / DOM. COS. ITER. IMP.; see also GRUEBER, B.M. Coin Cat., R. Rep. 2. 373.

[2] DIO 51.20.5.

[3] H. KIEPERT, Forma Orbis Antiqui XXVII (Hispania) shows all these; the maps in C I L 2 Suppl. show all but Nova Augusta, on which see R E 17. 1123. On Caesarobriga see also C I L 2, p. 112. Cf. perhaps DIO 54.23.7 (many towns - not necessarily only colonies - founded by Augustus in Spain and Gaul, 15 B.C.).

[4] **Pp. 175 - 6, 179.**

[5] CAES. BCiv 1.38.1.

ision of Ulterior, with the Anas as the line of partition. This arrangement did not go back to Pompey's acquisition of the two provinces in 55: only Afranius and Petreius were then sent out as legati, while Varro is attested only in 49 and may have arrived in 50.[1] The purpose of the division was clearly strategic, to allow Petreius to join Afranius in the northeast and to build up munitions and reserves in the south[2], thus implied no permanent or formal division. In fact, once Petreius had joined Afranius Varro's task was 'uti ... cum iis, quas habebat, legionibus o m n e m ulteriorem Hispaniam tueretur',[3] and Caesar recognizes only two provinces in his narrative.[4] Between 49 and 39 (or 40) B.C. either province had a single governor as before, after which they were united for twelve years under a succession of single proconsuls, with subordinate legates.[5] The military division of 49, designed for the needs of a great war in the north, is nevertheless significant in the light of the later Augustan triple partition and its disputed date.

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[1] Afranius and Petreius in 55: VELL. 2.48.1 (the former, as 'consularis' whereas Petreius was 'praetorius', possibly enjoyed some seniority of status). Varro in 49: CAES. BCiv 1.38.1, 2.17–21; LIVY Per. 110; CIC. Att. 5.11.3, cf. SHACKLETON BAILEY's ed., 3. 207, shows him still at Rome in 51; Fam. 9.13.1 (Q. Subernius: see p. 22 note 2); M R R 2, under 50 and 49 B.C.

[2] BCiv 1.38.2, 2.18.

[3] 1.38.2.

[4] Loc. cit.; also 39.1, 2.17.1, 18.7.

[5] See Chapter IX.

The internal boundaries, and other relationships, will have been among the questions dealt with in periodic provincial reorganizations such as followed the sack of Numantia or the establishment of the Principate. These two are in fact the only large reorganizations attested.[1] Others, perhaps of smaller compass, can be inferred from cryptic source-remarks. Scipio, as earlier shown, set Spanish affairs in order in 206[2]: this was natural, for the removal of the Carthaginians and their replacement by Rome called for some definition of the peacetime position. It seems unlikely that he interfered much in internal Spanish concerns: Livy later has him boast 'regulos se acceptos in fidem in Hispania reges reliquisse'.[3] The Roman position at this time was probably (in practice) one of general suzerainty over the Spanish communities within the provinciae; and this relationship altered only slowly towards increasing direct control. It

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[1] APP. Iber. 99.428 'the Romans, according to custom (ὡς ἔθος), sent ten men from the Senate to the annexed areas to organize for peacetime (ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἔπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ εἰς εἰρήνην) what Scipio had taken and Brutus before Scipio had acquired or subdued (ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε κτλ.)'; DIO 54.25.1 (Augustus 'πάντα τά τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλατίαις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ' Ἰβηρίαις' spending and receiving large sums, giving or taking away freedom and citizenship, in 14 B.C.; cf. 23.7 for new towns in 15); also 53.22.5 (27 B.C.) - from Gaul the emperor 'ἐς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην'.

[2] POL. 11.33.8; ZONAR. 9.10.1 (Boissev., Dio 1, p. 249).

[3] LIVY 37.25.9; POL. 21.11.3-8, esp. 7-8 (citing Indibilis [Citerior] and Culchas [Ulterior]).

is to be shown in a later chapter that a large amount of practical autonomy continued, in fact, to be normal throughout the Republican period.

The establishment of two new praetorships for the Spanish provinces, in 197, was accompanied by an order to the first holders (as we have seen) to demarcate their mutual boundary. Other administrative matters may have been dealt with - until interrupted by the great rebellion which, perhaps, the praetors' attempt at organization helped to cause.[1] Cato, two years later, 'pacata provincia vectigalia magna instituit ex ferrariis argentariisque, quibus tum institutis locupletior in dies provincia fuit';[2] and, as the Senate voted 'μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν μηδὲ κινεῖν τῶν διῳκημένων ὑπὸ Κάτωνος'[3], the mines may not have been the only object of his attention.[4] The treaties Gracchus made in 179 regulated affairs on the then frontiers of northwest Citerior for a generation.[5] Metellus Balearicus no doubt set up at least a basic administration for the islands he annexed, with control or supervision being exercised from the towns he created there.

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[1] Cf. LIVY 34.18.1-2 Cato 'eo maiorem habebat difficultatem in subigendis hostibus, quam qui primi venerant in Hispaniam, quod ad illos taedio imperii Carthaginiensium Hispani deficiebant, huic ex usurpata libertate in servitutem velut adserendi erant'. See also the Additional Note at end of Chapter XI § i.

[2] 34.21.7; cf. GELL. 2.22.28 (quoting Cato) '"sed in his regionibus ferrareae, argentifodinae pulcherrimae ... "' (north of the Ebro).

[3] PLUT. Cato mai. 11.4.

[4] P. BOSCH GIMPERA and P. AGUADO BLEYE, H. de Esp. 2^2. 63, 85 n.48, think that Cato carried out the first organization of Citerior; so too BADIAN, F C, 121.

[5] APP. Iber. 43.179 - 44.183.

About the year 102, a diplomatic commission of ten was sent to Citerior and remained there several years, but it may not have intervened in administration.[1]

A settlement of affairs definitely followed the victory of Pompey and Metellus in 72/1. They founded towns (as shown earlier), Pompey punished guilty communities and rewarded others in Citerior[2]

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[1] APP. 99.430 - 100.434. The purpose was to try to compose peace with the Celtiberi, but they sanctioned Didius' attack on M. Marius' ex-mercenaries.

[2] CAES. BCiv 1.29.3, 61.3; PLUT. Pomp. 21 (a generalized statement that P. stayed on long enough to settle the most outstanding problems, connected - it is implied by the context - with the war).

Of the five communities in Citerior that joined Caesar's side at a critical moment in his campaign in 49 (BCiv 1.60.1-2, cf. 5), Osca, Tarraco and the Ilercavones had definitely been allied with Sertorius (respectively: PLUT. Sert. 14.3, STR. 3.4.10/C161; STR. ibid.; LIVY frg. Bk. 91 med.); the loyalties of the Iacetani and Ausetani in the earlier war are unknown. The Calagurritani, of whom Caesar says 'cum Oscensibus contributi' (so MSS and O.C.T.; tum emend. K i n d s c h e r; del. C h a c o n, K l o t z [Teubner] et al.), were probably not of the famous pro-Sertorian town Calagurris Nassica (for whose loyalty see LIVY frg. Bk. 91 fin.; STR. 3.4.10/C161; OROS. 5.23.14) which is much too far away (mod. Calahorra, 100 km. west of Huesca) but of the community subtitled Fibularenses, thought to be modern Loharre about 27 km. N.W. of Huesca - roughly halfway between Osca and the capital of the Iacetani, Iaca (modern Jaca): see PLINY 3.24; HÜBNER, R E 3. 1327; SCHULTEN, F H A 5. 47-8; BOSCH GIMPERA, AGUADO BLEYE, H. de Esp. 2². 250; LAFFI, Adtr. e Contr., 117-9. Calagurris Fibularenses was later a separate tributary town (PLINY 3. 24). Caesar's report thus does not prove that the two main Sertorian towns were amalgamated by Pompey (MOMMSEN, R. Staatsr. 3. 768 n.1; DE RUGGIERO, Diz. epig. 2/1. 17; L. PARETI, Storia di Roma 3. 686), still less that Osca had municipal status by 49 (PARETI, ibid.; C. JULLIAN, H. de la Gaule 3. 115; J. VAN OOTEGHEM, Pompée le Grand [1954] 132).

BOSCH GIMPERA, AGUADO BLEYE, H. de Esp. 2². 242 n. 43, suggest that LIVY frg. Bk. 91 fin. shows that Calagurris Nassica was a Celtiberian town in Sertorius' day: Sertorius marches past three (hostile) Celtiberian towns, then stops at friendly Calagurris Nassica,

and in Ulterior Metellus imposed unpopular and presumably additional taxes which were not withdrawn till 61.[1] Both also granted citizenship under a specific enabling law.[2] Caesar not only founded colonies and conferred citizenship (and probably Latin right) in 45, but also confiscated land and increased tribute, or bestowed contrasting benefits, according to the political stand of the various Baetican communities.[3]

Augustus' measures in 14 B.C., to judge from Dio's references to spending and receiving large amounts of money, and granting or removing freedom and citizenship, must have involved adjustments in the tribute burden and likely enough took into account the pacification of the entire country. He may have made arrangements, new or additional, for the exploitation of the Asturian gold mines. The status of a number of communities was altered. Among the towns founded the previous year[4] were probably several colonies and perhaps all or some

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then continues 'per Vasconum agros' to camp 'in confinio Beronum'. By the early Empire it is definitely a Vasconian town (STR. 3.4.10 / C161; PTOL. 2.6.66; HÜBNER, R E 3. 1328), and thus they deduce that Pompey gave the place to the Vascones as a reward for (presumed) services. But Livy's text makes no such implication. If anything the reverse, for Sertorius' march from Calagurris is reported simply as 'profectus per Vasconum agros'. And Strabo's description of the place as 'Οὐασκώνων πόλις' occurs precisely in a reference to Sertorius' final stand.

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[1] BHisp 42.2 (Caesar) 'insequente praetura ... vectigalia quae Metellus inposuisset a senatu petisse et eius pecuniae provinciam liberasse'.

[2] CIC. Balb. 6, 19, 32-3, 50-1; cf. Arch. 26.

[3] DIO 43.39.4-5.

[4] DIO 54.23.7.

of the new northwestern towns. Rewards and punishments to provincial communities might well entail alterations in their territory and investigation of their general condition: there is no need to doubt that the visit included Baetica, where coins apparently of this period bear the legend 'permissu Caesaris Augusti'[1] or otherwise commemorate emperor[2], and where the grant of certain vectigalia to the peregrine community of Sabora may have occurred at this time.[3] Maius imperium legally, and auctoritas morally, validated such intervention.

Clearly these various settlements of Spanish affairs varied in extent and durability. It may be significant, for example, that in 171 all the ex-governors accused of maladministration by the provincials had held office later than the general pacification of 179.[4] Although this does not necessarily mean that Gracchus and his colleague Postumius were the first to set up a system of administration[5], it does suggest, both that, with greater tranquillity in the two prov-

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[1] Italica, Hispalis, Corduba, Traducta (GRANT, FITA, 173, 220-1).

[2] Gades, Acci (GRANT, 171-3, 220).

[3] CIL 2. 1423 'vectigalia quae ab divo Aug. accepisse dicitis' (Vespasian, A.D. 77).

[4] LIVY 43.2, esp. 2.6-9: M. Titinius, governor of Citerior 178-6 (41.9.3, 15.5), P. Furius, Citerior 174-3 (41.21.3, 42.4.2-3), M. Matienus, Ulterior 173 (42.1.5).

[5] No measures except the refoundation of Iliturgi (Chapter I) are known in Ulterior, which in fact had been at peace for some time before 179 - cf. LIVY 39.42.1, 56.2; 40.16.10, 34.1 (where the 'secunda aliquot proelia cum Lusitanis' do not sound very consequential and may have been fought in the borderlands), 47.1 (Postumius' planned foray against the distant Vaccaei: cf. above, 151 note 2).

inces, the Romans were able to apply their administrative arrangements more effectively[1], and that the Spaniards were by 171 self-conscious and articulate enough to make a protest against they felt was oppression.[2] Equally noticeable is that all the complaints were financial: the Spaniards, so far at any rate, had nothing to say of Roman juridical usage or interference in local government, probably because these rarely affected them.[3]

If the nature of the various gubernatorial constituta must be guessed at, it could be supposed that Scipio's laid down the extent of tribal and community territoria, confirmed or instituted rulers, asserted the suzerainty of the Roman People and the obligations of the Spanish communities to Rome (for example, providing auxilia[4]), and perhaps fixed a tribute of some kind on formerly pro-Carthaginian

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[1] For the suggestion that the form of tribute was altered, see Chapter XI § i.

[2] To judge by the Senate's instructions to future governors, the measures complained of were ones typical of war conditions or tightening controls - or both: 'in futurum tamen consultum ab senatu Hispanis, quod impetrarunt, ne frumenti aestimationem magistratus Romanus haberet, neve cogeret vicesimas vendere Hispanos, quanti ipse vellet, et ne praefecti in oppida sua ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur' (LIVY 43.2.12). MADVIG prefers 'nisi quanti ipsi vellent' (MS 'hispanonis quanti ipse vellent') but see WEISSENBORN-MÜLLER ad loc. [1880 ed., p. 6].

[3] On this topic see Chapter XII.

[4] Cf. POL. 10.38.5: Indibilis' treaty with Scipio in 208 chiefly bound him 'ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτων παραγγελλομένοις'.

peoples; that in 197/4 a closer control was asserted, for example formally making chieftains and senates accountable to the governor, extending the tribute and declaring most mines (or most precious-ore mines) to be ultimately the property of the Roman People[1]; and that Gracchus' arrangements in Citerior in 179 - apart from stabilizing relations with partly or wholly independent frontier peoples - further defined this control. Gracchus, however, may have dealt with only some aspects of provincial rule.[2]

The commission sent out in 133 was, it may be presumed, more thorough. The amount of tribute, the rights, duties and territories of allied and subject communities, the forms of jurisdiction and the relationship of local judicial authorities to the governor and his deputies, must all have been adjusted if not (in some cases) laid down for the first time. But all that is known of the post-Numantine settlement of affairs is that Scipio - before or after the commissioners arrived - gave Numantia's land to the town's neighbours and

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[1] One of the rebel leaders in 197, Culchas, had ruled 28 towns in 206 but only (apparently) 17 nine years later (LIVY 28.13.3, 33.21.8). That this showed he suffered from Roman rule is argued by, e.g., SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 61, 65; SCHULTEN, C A H 8. 308; H. de Esp. 2². 56. BADIAN, F C, 122, suggests that synoecism was responsible for the deminution in numbers (cf. SUTHERLAND, 61) and there is no proof Culchas' realm was reduced. As it lay on the upper Baetis, in a silver-mining area, Culchas - whether diminished after 206 or not - would be affronted by any Roman attempts to assert sovereignty over mines (A. BALIL, 'Riqueza y sociedad en la Esp. rom.', 337): that this occurred from 197 is suggested by BADIAN too. On Cato's mining instituta see above and also Chap. XI § ii.

[2] For example the precious-metal mines: see p. 242.

imposed fines or reprimands on any of 'the other towns' he suspected.[1]

No special 'lex provinciae' is attested for either Citerior or Ulterior - no 'lex Cornelia', 'Sempronia' or 'Pompeia Caecilia' - and, in the light of the sketch given above, this is not surprising. What Strabo implies is more accurate: the Romans suited their forms of rule to the changing situation.[2] That there was a single all-embracing 'constitution' for either province before 133 is not attested.[3] On the available evidence it would seem that the fullest previous systematization occurred in 197/4 (building on Scipio's instituta), which may have been modified in 179. But clearly the constant wars of most of the Republican period must have interfered with the smooth working of any provincial system: if fighting did not actually take place in the Roman territories, these were nonetheless the armies' bases, and in practice a regime similar to martial law will often have been imposed as a result, involving arbitrary levies and inter-

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[1] APP. Iber. 98.427 'καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καί εἴ τι ἦν ὕποπτον, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ ζημιώσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ' οἴκου' ; commissioners, 99.428.

[2] 3.4.19 / C166 (speaking of the division into provinces) 'ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλως διαιροῦσι, πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς πολιτευόμενοι'.

[3] Perhaps similarly, the first general 'lex provinciae' known for Sicily is Rupilius' of 132 (CIC. 2 Verr. 2.13.32, 15.37 - 16.39, 37.90; 3.40.92). Early proconsuls had made various arrangements (LIVY 25.40.1 and 4; PLUT. Marc. 23.7; LIVY 26.40.15-16, 27.5.3-5, 27.8.18), a governor early in the second century gave laws to Agrigentum (CIC. 2 Verr. 2.50.123; M.I. FINLEY, Ancient Sicily [London 1960] 127, cf. 130) and the old Syracusan tithe system was extended to the rest of the island (2 Verr. 2.13.32, 26.63, and esp. 3.6.14-15). See V.M. SCRAMUZZA, 'Roman Sicily', ESAR, 3. 233-5, 237-8.

ferences in local government.[1]

In 27 B.C. Octavian Augustus accepted, in effect, three proconsular provinciae: roughly Spain, Gaul and Syria.[2] Dio's report on Spain is: 'καὶ ἐνομίσθη ... Βαιτικὴ τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἥ τε λοιπὴ Ἰβηρία ἥ τε περὶ Ταρρακῶνα καὶ ἡ Λυσιτανία'.[3] There is doubt and controversy over this. Albertini, after exhaustively reviewing modern arguments, supported Dio's date. Syme again rejected it, and others have agreed. Mrs Henderson preferred Dio and Albertini, and in any case considered the question unimportant.[4]

Mommsen argued that a reference to 'utraque Hispania' in Augustus' Res Gestae proved that the triple division occurred after A.D. 14, or else (his later opinion) followed the foundation of colonies there.[5] Later an inscription from Rome showed that a separate Bae-

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[1] Note Varro's actions in 49: a praefectus and garrison at Gades, praesidia at other suspected places too, also 'graviora onera', forced levies of grain and specie even from Roman citizens (BCiv 2.18. 2, 4-5).

[2] DIO 53.12.4-7. [3] 53.12.5.

[4] ALBERTINI, Div. adm., 26-31; SYME, 'The Spanish war of Augustus (26-25 B.C.)', AJP 55 (1934) 300; Rom. Rev., 326, 395 n.1; 'The conquest of North-west Spain' in Legio VII Gemina (1970) 86; F. VITTINGHOFF, Röm. Kol. u. Bürgerr., 77 n.2; A. BALIL, 'Los procónsules de la Bética', Zephyrus 13 (1962) 76; E.T. SALMON, 'The evolution of Augustus' principate', Historia 5 (1956) 467; G. ALFÖLDY, Fasti Hispan., 223-4 with 223 n.2 and 224 n.9; M.I. HENDERSON, rev. of VITTINGHOFF, JRS 1953, 141. R. THOUVENOT, Essai sur ... Bétique, 163, also concurs with Dio.

[5] Res G. 28.1 'colonias in Africa Sicilia [M]acedonia utraque Hispania Achaia (etc.) militum deduxi'; MOMMSEN, Res G. divi Aug.[2] (1883) 119-20, and (later opinion), Additamenta, p. 222.

tica existed from sometime between 2 B.C. and A.D. 14[1], prompting Dessau to conclude that the division did not occur before the year Augustus became 'pater patriae'.[2] E. Kornemann, accepting Mommsen's revised view, and pointing to Dio's report of town-foundations in Spain and elsewhere in 15 B.C.[3], as well as to the fact that Emerita (the capital of the new province Lusitania) was not founded until 25, suggested 14, 10 or 8 B.C. as the likeliest year.[4] Syme suggested that 14, when Augustus settled Spanish affairs, was the year of change.[5] Another argument against 27 is that Transalpina was definitely included in Augustus' Gallic provincia until 22[6]: if therefore he had all Gaul in 27, it is reasoned, why not all Spain - especially as he was about to launch a war under his personal command there?

Probability, though not perhaps certainty, remains with Dio. Transalpina was affected by certain factors that did not touch Baetica. In 38 and again in 28 there was fighting against the Aquitani[7],

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[1] ILS 103 'imp. Caesari Augusto p.p. Hispania Ulterior Baetica quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est' (= EHRENB.-JONES, Documents², no. 42). Augustus became 'pater patriae' in 2 B.C. (Res G. 35.1).

[2] DESSAU ad loc.

[3] 54.23.7.

[4] 'Die Entstehung der Prov. Lusitanien', Festschr. O. Hirschfeld (1923) 221-33, esp. 224-8.

[5] DIO 54.25.1.

[6] 53.12.5-7, 54.4.1.

[7] APP. BC 5.92.386 (Agrippa in 38); CIL 1², pp. 50, 180 = EHR.-J.², p. 35 (Messalla triumphed 'ex Gallia' in 27); JULLIAN, H. de

who lived next to Transalpina and were most conveniently attacked from there.[1] In the past they had joined the northern Spaniards at times in fighting Rome - not surprisingly, as they were related to the Iberians.[2] In the Cantabrian campaigns the Romans were supplied with grain from recently-subdued Aquitania.[3] Strategically, therefore, Transalpina may have remained necessary to Augustus. It was restored in 22 to the Senate probably in the belief that the Cantabrian war was over.[4] Augustus himself went to Narbo in 27 to begin a census of all Gaul[5]: there may be point in Salmon's suggestion that Transalpina-Narbonensis was therefore included in his Gallic province to make sure that he held valid imperium there.[6] Since he was in fact consul, this might be thought unnecessary[7], but the 'novus status' had only just started, and explicit control would avoid possible embarrassment.[8]

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la G. 4. 64.

[1] As by P. Crassus in 56: CAES. BGall 3.20.2.

[2] BGall 3.20.1, 23.5, cf. 26.6; STR. 4.1.1, 4.2.1 / C176, 186, cf. 3.4.19 / C166; H. de Esp. 1/3. 309.

[3] STR. 3.4.18 / C165.

[4] DIO 54.5.3; cf. ALBERTINI, 29.

[5] LIVY Per. 134; DIO 53.22.5.

[6] H. of the Rom. World, 30 B.C.-A.D. 138[4] (1963) 339-41; cf. Historia 1956, 467 (he thinks Baetica was also included in Augustus' sphere).

[7] See JONES, Stud. in R. Govt. and Law, 6, citing CIC. Att. 8.15.3 on the consul's right to 'approach' a province; also MOMMSEN, RStaatsr. 1. 25. But see SALMON, Historia 1956, 463-4, for practical doubts on this.

[Note 8 is on the following page

Baetica was a different case. There is no evidence that Augustus went, or planned to go, there in 26-5. No Spanish census occurred at that time, though one may have been taken a decade later during the general settlement of affairs.[1] Augustus' war was in the north, with headquarters at Tarraco and Segisamo.[2] It is likely enough that Baetica supplied the army in Asturia and Callaecia with some at least of its munitions, but it now lay far from the scene of actual fighting, in this unlike southern Gaul.[3] A governor there would only have to concern himself with supplies - like Varro in 49. The organization of Spain under the Triumviral proconsuls is unknown, but it seems they had legati as subordinates, and - to judge from the arrangements in 49 - it is at any rate possible that even before 27 the Peninsula was effectively administered in three sections. Under Augustus and Tiberius the single but huge province of Citerior-Tarraconensis was subdivided.[4] It must not, in other words, be assumed that the triple partition of 27 was

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[8] SALMON also remarks that DIO 53.11 suggests it was not expected in 27 that Augustus would go on being consul for years: direct control of Narbonensis would (in 27) forestall any legal problem arising if his consulate lapsed while he was there (maius imperium was conferred on him only in 23: see SYME, Rom. Rev., 336).

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[1] Note also Agrippa's survey, often cited by PLINY (3.8, 17, etc.) and probably carried out after he put down the last Cantabrian rising in 19. STRABO found statistics about Gades 'ἐν μίᾳ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τιμήσεων' (3.5.3 / C169).

[2] DIO 53.25.7; FLOR. 2.33.48; OROS. 6.21.3 and 19.

[3] Strabo says the Romans in Cantabria drew supplies from Aquitania; he may or may not mean to include Asturia in the name, but geography would make it difficult for the western forces, operating from the Meseta, to draw supplies in similar quantity from Gaul.

[4] See Chapter X.

necessarily a sudden change.

Syme's suggestion of 14 B.C., though at first sight plausible, is thus not essential. Augustus did not take the opportunity to alter the provincial boundaries during his visit: the changes are best dated after 7 B.C. (see below). Kornemann's dating depends on Mommsen's argument from Augustus' phraseology in Res Gestae, but that argument is over-rigid. Albertini suggested that 'utraque Hispania' signified the imperial and senatorial partition; rather it may simply be the old, traditional formula retained.[1] The term 'Ulterior' was often added to, or substituted for, the word 'Baetica' during the early Empire.[2] 'Citerior' similarly modified or replaced 'Tarraconensis'.[3] If Augustus' phrase was meant to be rigorously technical, and if the partition had occurred after the establishment of colonies in Baetica but before his death, it is curious that even in the final version of his memoir, drawn up in A.D. 13[4], he failed to modify his wording. Nor does the foundation of Emer-

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[1] ALBERTINI, 27, following Marquardt; as the traditional formula, SPRANGER, Madr. Mitt. 1960, 138.

[2] I L S 103 'Hispania Ulterior Baetica', 1016 'provinciae Hispaniae Ulterioris Baeticae', 1047, 1341; C I L 2. 1266, possibly (so HÜBNER) 3838; PLINY N H 3.6, 35.171; TAC. Ann. 4.13.2.

[3] I L S 1016, 1365; C I L 2, p. 1146 s.v. 'Hispania Citerior' (numerous examples); PLINY 3.6, 19.4, 19.10, 19.26, 22.120, 30.54 etc. (see DETLEFSEN, Plinii ... Index [1882] 205); TAC. Ann. 4.45.1; PLINY MIN. Ep. 2.13.4; SPRANGER, 137-9.

[4] Res G. 35 'cum scripsi haec, annum agebam septuagensu[mum sextum]' (Greek version 'ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἕκτον'); cf. J. GAGÉ, Res G. divi Aug. (1935) 149; P.A. BRUNT and J.M. MOORE, R. G. d. A. (1967) 6.

ita necessarily mean that the province of Lusitania cannot have existed earlier - Lugdunum, capital of Tres Galliae, was founded only in 43, for example.[1] If Lusitania had to have a formal capital before 25, Scallabis (later the centre of a judicial conventus) or Olisipo (probably or certainly a municipium Romanum by 27) might serve.[2] Besides, as Albertini remarks, it is not entirely convincing to rely on Dio's dates for the town-foundations in 15 and the provincial settlement of 14, after rejecting (without explicit evidence to the contrary) his date for the partition.[3]

In defence of Dio, it can be pointed out that he definitely refers to the inclusion of Narbonensis and Cyprus in Augustus' area of control in the same passage where he reports the handover of Baetica to the Senate. Further, he records the handover of the first two in 22 (a date no one has found reason to dispute).[4] He is careful to mention the transfer of Sardinia (one of the 'public' provinces from 27 B.C.) to the emperor in A.D. 6 because of disturbances there.[5] That Baetica, in the later part of his reign, acknowledg-

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[1] CAH 10. 18.

[2] The possibility of a consular legate in Lusitania about 20 B.C. (see below, 172 note 2) cannot show that Ulterior was as yet undivided, on the ground that Lusitania was properly a praetorian province. The hierarchy was not yet rigid: between 22 and 19 Tarraconensis had a praetorian, C. Furnius (ALFÖLDY, Fasti hisp., 6-7).

[3] Div. admn., 28-9.

[4] 53.12.4-7, 54.41.1.

[5] 55.28.1, cf. 53.12.4.

ed 'beneficio eius et perpetua cura' need only remind that brigandage could be a problem[1], and that Augustus not only had maius imperium but also controlled the regular troops in the Peninsula. Considering the position of colonies like Tucci and Acci, it seems quite likely that they contributed to the pacification too. F. Millar has criticized the idea that the division of 27 imposed a clear-cut separation of 'senatorial' and 'imperial' provinces - and his extensive array of contrary examples does show not only that the emperor could intervene in, or issue regulations for, the Senate's possessions but also that the Senate's decrees could affect imperial as well as public provinces.[2] The effects of the transfer of Baetica are not to be overstressed. From Augustus' point of view, the surrender was more apparent than real. The gesture may have meant more to the Senate, which otherwise would have had no possession in Europe until Augustus gave Narbonensis up five years later.

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[1] POLLIO in CIC. Fam. 10.31.1; DIO 56.43.3 (Spanish bandit, Corocotta, in Augustus' lifetime); ALBERTINI, 36 (in the Sa. Morena in the eighteenth century).

[2] 'The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces', JRS 56 (1966) 156-66, esp. 160 for the latter point, 165-6 for conclusions ('both the Emperor and the Senate, predominantly of course the former, made regulations (sometimes jointly) affecting all the provinces. ... There was not even a constitutional principle by which the Senate kept to "its" half of the Empire': 165). Note the phrase 'perpetua cura' in ILS 103. On Augustus' power of intervention beyond his own provinciae see also GRANT, FITA, 173-4; E.S. STAVELEY, 'The Fasces and Imperium Maius', Historia 12 (1963) 458-84, on 483-4; for later, direct imperial interventions, CIL 2. 1453 (Vespasian's epistula ad Saborenses); AE, 1962, no. 288 (Titus' letter to Munigua).

In the middle Augustan era areas both of Lusitania (in the extreme northwest) and of Baetica (in the southeast) were transferred to Tarraconensis. The latter change must have occurred before 2 B.C., since milestones set up in that year reckon distances from the new frontier, at a crossing over the Baetis where a shrine to Janus marked the limit.[1] Agrippa's map and survey, on the other hand, gave the old boundary: left unfinished at his death in 12, they were completed by Augustus and published about 7 B.C.[2] Baetica now began where the Baetis entered the territory of Ossigi[3]; Castulo and Acci were thus placed in Tarraconensis, like Baria on the coast (which however remained 'adscriptum Baeticae'); on the Mediterranean, Baetica now began with Murgi (near the modern Almería).[4]

In the northwest, Lusitania had, after the conquest of Callaecia and Asturia, extended to the Bay of Biscay.[5] Now it stopped at

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[1] ILS 102 = CIL 2. 4701 'imp. Caesar divi f. Augustus cos. XIII trib. potest. XXI pontif. max. a Baete et Iano August. ad Oceanum LXIII', also 4702. These stones now grace the entrance to the Cathedral (Mezquita) in Córdoba. 4271 (A.D. 90) refers to 'ab arcu unde incipit Baetica'. See HÜBNER, CIL 2, p. 627, and Map III in CIL 2 Suppl., Ref. Grid. O:k for the spot.

[2] They were made 'cum termini Carthaginem usque procederent' (PLINY N H 3.16; Augustus' publication, 3.17). See M. REINHOLD, Marcus Agrippa (1933) 142-6; J.O. THOMSON, History of Ancient Geography (1948) 332-3.

[3] PLINY 3.9-10.

[4] 3.19 (Baria), 8 and 17 (Murgi). MELA 2.94 gives Urci, just E. of Murgi, as a Baetican town, but PLINY 3.19 as the first town (moving up the coast) in Tarraconensis. Either Mela is wrong over Urci's position (which seems possible enough) or his source was Republican or early Augustan, perhaps Agrippa (on his sources see P. GISINGER, R E 21/2. 2398-2405).

[5] PLINY 4.117 'Lusitania cum Asturia et Gallaecia patere

the Duero.[1] Agrippa's survey showed the old borders here also, so that the change is to be dated after 7 B.C. A terminus ante quem is more of a problem. A dedication was made by the people of Bracara to Paullus Fabius Maximus, 'legatus pro praetore', in 3/2 B.C: as he had been consul in 11, he was probably governor of Tarraconensis, since the provincial hierarchy must have been developing by this time.[2]

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longitudine DXL, latitudine DXXXVI Agrippa prodidit'; cf. STR. 3.4.20 '... τὴν πέραν τοῦ Δουρίου πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους, ἣν οἱ μὲν πρότερον Λυσιτανοὺς ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ νῦν Καλλαϊκοὺς καλοῦσι.'

[1] PLINY 4.113; ALBERTINI, 34.

[2] E E 8, p. 504, no. 280 'imp. Caesari divi f. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXI sacrum Bracaraugustani Paulli Fabi Maxsimi leg. pro pr. natali dedicata est'; C I L 2. 2581 (Lucus Augusti) also mentions him, without date. Consulate in 11: EHR.-J.^{2}, p. 37. Governor of Tarraconensis: ALBERTINI, 35; M. MARCHETTI, Diz. ep. 3. 939; SYME, Rom. Rev., 401 n.3; ALFÖLDY, Fasti Hisp., 9-11, cf. 207. This is not certain, all the same. Early in the Principate consulars might be sent to provinces later praetorian, and vice versa: thus C. Furnius in Tarraconensis in 22 (DIO 54.5.1; he was not consul till 17 B.C., P I R^2 F 591), and possibly L. Sestius, cos. 23, in Lusitania soon after 19. Sestius is suggested by SYME because of the 'arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae' on a peninsula in the northwestern conventus of Lucus (PLINY 4.111; MELA 3.13; PTOL. 2.6.3; HÜBNER, R E 'Ara (5)' 2. 340-1; SYME, A J P 1934, 316-17; ALFÖLDY, 133): Sestius is the best candidate, and if so he must have followed P. Carisius, who was still there in 22 (DIO 54.5.1-2). There remains some doubt, for if the arae were dedicated to Augustus (so Mela seems to imply) rather than to his genius, this could hardly have been done before A.D. 15 (cf. TAC. Ann. 1.78.1 ; 4.37.1). Galatia, later praetorian, had the consular Quirinius ca. 12/7 for the Homanadensian war (SYME, Rom. Rev., 399 and n.2; R. SHERK, The Legates of Galatia [Baltimore 1951] 21-4). The Spanish provinces, however, had as far as we know been peaceful since 19 B.C. The balance of probabilities therefore favours Tarraconensis as Paullus' province, but certainty is not possible.

This would place the transfer of the three conventus of Bracara, Lucus and Asturica from Lusitania to Tarraconensis in the same period as the southeastern boundary shift.[1]

The reason for both changes must have been strategic and administrative. They brought the eastern Sierra Morena and the Lusitanian half of the newly conquered northwest (an area requiring two garrison legions in Strabo's time[2]) under the single superintendence of Tarraconensis. It is likely enough that they occurred together.[3] Another reason for the southeastern change (Albertini suggests) was to bring the Castulo mines under imperial control: Baria was perhaps

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[1] Another but weaker piece of evidence may be added. In his list of Lusitanian stipendiarii PLINY mentions the 'Lancienses' (4.118). By 2 B.C. there may have been two separate communities of this name: an inscription of probably that date refers to 'Lancienses Oppidani' who also appear on the Trajanic inscription of the Alcántara bridge, along with the separate municipium of 'Lancienses Transcudani' (CIL 2. 460, where a variant reading would however give A.D. 5/6; 760; cf. 5261 for a Lanciensis Transcudanus at Emerita, no date). PLINY mentions two or three other 'divided' populi in Spain (3.25 'Mentesani qui et Oretani, M. qui et Bastuli, Oretani qui et Germani cognominantur'; 4.113, 118 'Turduli veteres', 'T. qui Bardili'); the Lancienses of Asturia (3.28) are too far north to be one of the two in question; and the latter's appellations are not particularly barbarous or unfitted 'Latino sermone dictu', the reasons Pliny gives for omitting some names (3.28, 3.7; cf. 4.118 'stipendiariorum quos nominare pigeat'); thus, it is argued, the division of the Lancienses cannot have been shown in his source, and so this must predate 2 B.C. (or at any rate A.D. 5): F. BRAUN, Die Entwicklung der span. Provinzialgrenzen in röm. Zeit (1909) 106; KORNEMANN, Festschr. ... Hirschfeld, 225-6. Pliny does give the appellations of other stipendiarii in his list, and an increase in the number of Lusitanian communities did occur under the Empire: but not enough is known of the conditions in early imperial Lusitania for the evidence on the Lancienses to be certain.

[2] 3.4.20 / C166.

[3] Not believed by SYME, 'The Conquest of North-west Spain', Leg. VII Gem., 104. But the S.E. shift was not merely 'a small rec-

left to Baetica to diminish the loss, as it had some mines of its own.[1] Close connexions, mainly religious, continued in Imperial times between Baetica and some other towns, like Castulo and Acci, formerly in the senatorial province.[2]

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tification' - the area lost by Baetica was a good 60-70 miles wide and 120 or more long (see, e.g., the map at end of ALBERTINI, Div. adm.), and contained the Castulo mines (above).

[1] ALBERTINI, 37.

[2] Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNORS AND SUBORDINATES

IN 210 P. Scipio the younger was sent to Spain with *imperium pro consule*.[1] The commanders who followed him, between 205 and 197, were also *privati* who held consular *imperium*.[2] Livy records the grant to them, and later prorogations, either as voted by the People or decreed by the Senate.[3] It is not hard to see what happened in fact. Conferring *imperium* on a new pair of governors was the right of the People; proroguing it was the Senate's, ordinarily.[4] But in 204 and (it seems) 201 the People also prorogued. This happened because the question was put before it 'quos in eam provinciam duos pro consulibus mitti placeret', and instead of a new pair being selected the old was kept, with prolonged command.

From 197, 'crescentibus iam provinciis et latius patescente

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[1] LIVY 26.18.4 and 9. This was not the first grant of such *imperium* to a private citizen (though none so junior as Scipio): see W.F. JASHEMSKI, *Hist. of the Procons. and Propraet. Imp. to 27 B.C.* (1950) 20 ff.

[2] 29.13.7, 31.20.1, 31.50.10; JASHEMSKI, 30-1.

[3] People: 29.13.7 (204 B.C.), 30.41.4 (201), 31.50.10 (199). Senate: 30.2.7 (203), 30.27.9 (202: by implication).

[4] Which had prorogued that of Scipio and his colleague M. Silanus indefinitely in 209 (27.7.17).

imperio', the number of praetors were raised to six, so that two could be sent to govern the Spanish provinces.[1] The Romans, often slow in getting round to new regular arrangements, thus at last gave up the essentially emergency practice of *privati cum imperio*.[2]

It has been something of a controversy whether these magistrates held ordinary praetorian, or in fact consular, *imperium*: Mommsen affirmed the second, D. Wilsdorf the first.[3] Mrs Jashemski showed it was probable or certain that Mommsen was right.[4] In sources of every kind, from Livy to milestones, the governors of Spain are often called simply proconsuls: thus Q. Fabius Labeo and M'. Sergius on milestones from the northeast, probably of the late second century[5] and (explicitly) six praetorian triumphators in the *Fasti Triumphales*, the first as early as 195 - while 'pro cos.' can reason-

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[1] LIVY 32.27.7, 28.2.

[2] F.B. MARSH, 'Some phases of the problem of provincial administration under the Roman Republic', *Ann. Report of the Amer. Hist. Ass'n* (1913) 1. 111-25, emphasizes (and perhaps overstresses) the formally constitutional problems, and political effects, every increase in magistrates' numbers created at Rome.

[3] MOMMSEN, *RStaatsr* 2. 647 and n.2, 652 and n.4; D. WILSDORF, *Fasti provinciarum Hispaniarum* (1878) 68-9.

[4] *Imperium*, 40-7.

[5] *C I L* 2. 4924 = *I L S* 5813 'Q. Fabius Q.f. Labeo procos. - XCII'; also 2. 4925. 2. 4956 = *I L S* 5812 'M'. Sergi. M'.f. procos. - XXI'. On the date see DESSAU *ad loc.*; *M R R* 1. 543-4. Neither of these held the consulate (*M R R ibid.*, also 2. 464-5).

ably be restored for the four other Spanish praetors in that list.[1] Sulla's governor in 81, C. Annius, is entitled proconsul on coins.[2] As for literary sources, Plutarch remarks on the twelve fasces Aemilius Paullus had as governor of Ulterior, when he was praetor (191-89)[3], and Livy very frequently uses the term 'proconsul' of governors whom elsewhere he calls praetors.[4]

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[1] Explicitly 'pro cos.': 195 B.C.: Inscr. It. 13/1. 338, 552 (M. Helvius - Ulterior). 191: ibid. 79, 553 (M. Fulvius Nobilior - Ult.). 175: ibid. 339, 555 (M. Titinius Curvus - Citerior). 174: ibid. 339, 556 (Ap. Claudius Centho - Cit.). 98: ibid. 85, 562 (L. Cornelius Dolabella - Ult.). 45: ibid. 87, 567 (Q. Pedius - Cit.). The other four are: Q. Minucius Thermus, 195 (ib. 79, 552-3 - Citerior or possibly Ulterior [see DEGRASSI, 552-3]); Ti. Gracchus and L. Postumius Albinus, 178 (ib. 81, 555 - Cit. and Ult.); and Q. Caepio, 107 (ib. 85, - Ult.).

[2] SYDENHAM, R. Rep. Coin., 121-2; M R R 2. 77; never consul. Annius' case may not be firm evidence for the situation before Sulla; between Sulla and Pompey's provincial law of 52, many or all praetorian governors were styled pro cos.: P. WILLEMS, Le Sénat de la rép. rom. 2 (Paris 1885) 571 n.5; SCULLARD (rev. of JASHEMSKI, Imperium), Cl. Rev. 1952, 102; BALSDON, J R S 1962, 135 n.10; BADIAN, J R S 1965, 111.

[3] Aem. P. 4.1 'οὐχ ἓξ ἔχων πελέκεις ... ἀλλὰ προσλαβὼν ἑτέρους τοσούτους, ὥστε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπατικὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα'. WILSDORF, Fasti, 69, argues that Plutarch mentions this 'ut insolitam rem', but, in view of the evidence from the Fasti, this is not likely; cf. JASHEMSKI, 46 n.5.

[4] E.g. 32.27.7 (praetors) / 33.25.9 (proconsul); 36.21.10 (praetor) / 35.22.6 (proconsul); 40.35.9 (praetor) / Per. 41 (proconsul). Full list of occurrences of 'proconsul' applied to praetorian governors in JASHEMSKI, 42. A. KLOTZ, 'Zu den Quellen der vierten u. fünften Dekade des Livius', Hermes 50 (1915) 481-536, on 484-520, uses the differing terminology as evidence of different sources in Livy (rejected by JASHEMSKI, 44 n.4; but cf. SCULLARD, Cl. Rev., 1952, 102). A.H. McDONALD, reviewing M R R in J R S 1953, 143-4, repeats the suggestion, but agrees with the view that the praetors for Spain were pro consule. DIOD. 33.2, who calls C. Plautius (governor of Ulterior in 146) 'ὁ ἐξαπέλεκυς στρατηγός', does not disprove this, as the phrase clearly means 'praetorian' - and Plautius' governorship was not prorogued for a second year: M R R 1. 465 n.1, 466.

The important question remains: why should they be given consular imperium, since their office already possessed imperium of its own? In the Second Punic War, consular and praetorian imperium was delegated to private citizens, even ones who had not earlier been consuls or praetors. From the instances cited by Mrs Jashemski, it would seem that, generally, consular imperium was granted in the war to ex-consuls (like M. Marcellus), and praetorian imperium to praetorii viri; but this was not a fixed rule.[1] One argument for denying consular imperium to Spanish praetors is that often each had only one legion, whereas a consular commander had to have at least two.[2] Jashemski, however, shows that holders of consular imperium in Spain during the Punic War did not always command more than one. Between 205 and 198 only two legions were in the Peninsula, and in 201 it was even proposed to reduce this to one.[3] Between 184 and about 178 there were four legions in the two Spains, although after Cato

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[1] JASHEMSKI, 21-8, 29-36. L. Manlius Acidinus, praetor in 211, held an unspecified imperium in Umbria in 207, and consular imperium in Spain from 205 to 200 (JASHEMSKI, 26-7). The quality of Scipio's colleague Silanus is not clear, but he was an ex-praetor (ibid., 25-6). Varro, consul in 216, held praetorian imperium in Etruria in 207 (ibid., 25). The grant of consular imperium to Marcellus in 215, suggests Jashemski, may have set the precedent for conferments on ex-praetors: he had been consul in 222, though had again held the praetorship in 216 (ibid., 21-2).

[2] WILSDORF, Fasti, 69.

[3] JASHEMSKI, 46; TOYNBEE, Hannibal's Legacy 2. 651 (Table III), 652 (Table IV). Proposed reduction in 201: LIVY 30.41.2. DE SANCTIS, whom JASHEMSKI follows, takes the reduction as accomplished, but see TOYNBEE, 2. 50 n.1, 62.

in 195 the next consul sent out was Fulvius Nobilior in 153.[1]

The chief reason for conferring imperium pro consule must have been to assure the commander of supreme authority in his provincia. The Spanish possessions were distant and, more often than not, disturbed by wars against wholly or partly independent peoples. A governor might be required to open hostilities or conclude a peace, alter fundamental administrative instituta (such as the level of tribute), delegate extensive military authority[2] and carry on relations with foederatae civitates like Gades. For all these duties consular authority was probably considered more fitting, or adequate, than praetorian.[3] Perhaps the same kind of considerations caused the wartime usage of private citizens consulari imperio to be kept for the Peninsula between 205 and the creation of two new praetorships, even though the war with Carthage ended in 201.

During the Third Macedonian War, the two provinces were combined under a single praetor, so as to free the other for command of the fleet - another example of adapting the existing machinery rather than innovate. This sort of combination was not repeated, however, for over a century.[4]

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[1] SIMON, Roms Kriege, 18.

[2] An example is the entire command in Ulterior being given over to C. Marcius of Italica, presumably as legatus, in 146 (APP. Iber. 66.282).

[3] Cf. MOMMSEN, RStaats 2. 95-100, 649.

[4] LIVY 42.31.6 and 9; JASHEMSKI, 47, 124. For the argument that Sertorius in 83 was sent to Citerior alone, see above, p. 24 with note 6.

When a serious crisis threatened, or a severe war was in progress, a consul was generally sent out. The first was M. Cato, as mentioned. Livy's report (shortened, but not impaired) is: 'quoniam in Hispania tantum gliscerat bellum ut iam consulari et duce et exercitu opus esset, ... Cato Hispaniam ... est sortitus. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti, ... Ap. Claudius Nero Hispaniam ulteriorem ... ; P. Manlius in Hispaniam citeriorem adiutor consuli est datus'.[1] Possibly it is significant that these governors are among the few to whom Livy at no time refers as proconsuls[2] - but only possibly: neither in fact is much mentioned, as Cato occupied the limelight. With a consul as well as both praetors going out to the Peninsula, there might have seemed no need to give the praetors, in this instance, consular imperium: all the same this not likely. A consul outranked any other magistrate save his colleague, through his office or through auctoritas.[3] Manlius was understood (perhaps by senatus consultum) to be Cato's lieutenant. Whether the other praetor, Claudius, was similarly subordinated is not clear, but Livy's narrative does not suggest he was explicitly so placed; no doubt, on the other hand, it was understood that if Cato commanded he would obey.

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[1] 33.43.2-6.

[2] See the table in JASHEMSKI, Imperium, 42.

[3] Cf. MOMMSEN, RStaatsr 1. 25. The argument that a consul could outdo a proconsul in auctoritas, but not imperium, has been made by E.S. STAVELEY, 'The fasces and imperium maius', Historia 12 (1963) 458-84, on 472-8.

This was the only occasion when two ordinary governors and a consul were simultaneously in Spain. The new system of praetorian governorships was only two years old, so that the Senate may have been reluctant tc abrogate it; possibly it was felt that if either praetor remained at Rome there would be nothing for him to do. This soon changed: exigencies of war elsewhere caused the governorship of many praetors to be prorogued for a second year. This first occurred in 192, when the governors of the previous year were both kept on, while the two praetors who would have replaced them were assigned 'classis et Macedonia' and 'Bruttium' instead. At least until 167, when we lose Livy's detailed account, a two-year tenure was in practice usual.[1]

The despatch of consuls to one or both provinces was frequent during the great wars of the later second century: between 153 and 133 fifteen went out.[2] In 123-2 another consul, Q. Metellus, subdued the Balearic Islands, in the period 98-3 T. Didius operated in Celtiberia and in 97-3 P. Crassus in Ulterior, and they were followed (so

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[1] LIVY 35.20.8-10 (192 B.C.); JASHEMSKI, Table IV on pp. 123-5, gives a convenient list. A lex Baebia of uncertain date provided that six praetors should alternate year by year with four (40.44.2) - perhaps because of the 'incertezze e ... difficoltà suscitate all' inizio dall' amministrazione delle provincie iberiche' (GABBA, rev. of JASHEMSKI, Gnomon 24 [1952] 287-9, on 289). But it cannot have been long in force: see G. DE SANCTIS, Storia di Roma 4/1. 504-5; SCULLARD, OCD^2 s.v. 'Lex (2), Leges', p. 601.

[2] See the list in JASHEMSKI's Table IV, on pp. 124-5.

it seems) by C. Valerius Flaccus, consul in 93.[1] In 79 Q. Metellus Pius, who had been consul the previous year, took command in Ulterior against Sertorius; his relative Q. Metellus Nepos (consul in 57) governed Citerior and warred with the Vaccaei in 56 and 55.[2] In most cases the campaigning involved was grave enough. The Balearic operations coincided with consular campaigns from about 125 to protect Massilia. Massilia was a commercial city; the Balearic Islands harboured pirates, who no doubt also affected Roman trade and communications with Spain.[3] Twenty years later the expulsion of the Cimbri by the Celtiberi, without Roman help, probably encouraged the Spaniards to try another round with the imperial power: the seriousness of the situation is obscured in the sources, but the diplomatic commission of ten, the long tenure of Didius and Crassus and the

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[1] MRR 2. 4, 6, 7, 10, 11-2, 13, 15 (Didius and Crassus); 14, 18, 58-9, 61, 64, 70, 77-8 (Flaccus). The date of Flaccus' Spanish command is uncertain. APPIAN's account implies the late 90s (Iber. 100.436 - 101.438; BROUGHTON, MRR 2. 19 n.7) but, as Flaccus triumphed over Celtiberia and Gaul in 81 and is attested in Transalpina in 83 (MRR 2. 64), MÜNZER once suggested the two commands occurred together (De Gente Valeria [Berlin 1891] 42; see too JASHEMSKI, 126, 141), though later he accepted the earlier dating for the command in Citerior (RE 8A. 8). BADIAN suggests that Flaccus - till 82 or so a reliable Marian supporter - held Citerior, perhaps also Ulterior, conjointly with Transalpina from about 85 (Studies in Gk. and R. Hist., 88-96, esp. 89-90, 95-6). This is possible (though he must have delegated a good deal to subordinates); GABBA however expresses doubts (Athenaeum 36 [1958] 272: briefly). BRUNT, Italian Manpower ... (1971) 664, 665 n.1, suggests that P. Servilius Vatia, who triumphed in 88 pro praetore, was governor of Citerior after Flaccus, without meeting BROUGHTON's objection (sustained by BADIAN, 82-4) that if he had governed a Spanish province Servilius should have been pro cos. (as shown above): MRR 2. 30 n.5.

[2] CIC. Prov. cons. 22-3; PLUT. Caes. 21.2; DIO 39.54.

[3] See now M. GWYN MORGAN, Calif. Stud. in Cl. Ant. 2 (1969) 217-31, esp. 223-9.

'frightfulness' recorded of the former are all significant - just as it was probably Didius' savagery that made the Celtiberi rebel again after his departure.[1] Metellus Pius' commission against Sertorius was in response to a clear and serious menace. That of Nepos, by contrast, was probably due to politics more than military necessity: he was a supporter of Pompey and, with his colleague in the consulate, Lentulus Spinther, had secured imperium pro consule for the great man over the grain supply[2]; Lentulus was given Cilicia afterwards.[3] The consuls of the previous year, Piso and Gabinius - both supporters of the triumvirate - had similarly received important commands[4], and Caesar was winning laurels in Gaul: Metellus Nepos, as member of a leading noble house, must have wanted his opportunity for glory, and the unrest in Citerior - a province governed in the past by two other Metelli[5], and campaigned over by a third, Pius, not many years before - would provide the reason.

As the Republic neared its end irregularities occurred increasingly often in the Spanish governorships. Cn. Pompey, still an eques,

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[1] LIVY Per. 67 'Cimbri ... in Hispaniam transgressi ibique multa loca populati a Celtiberis fugati sunt'; APP. Iber. 99.431-100.436; R E 'Didius' 5. 409; 'Licinius (Crassus)' 13. 286-9; M R R 2. 14, 18, 19 n.7.

[2] MÜNZER, R E 3. 1216-18; M R R 2. 199-200, 203-4.

[3] M R R 2. 210.

[4] M R R 2. 193-4, 196, 202-3 (Macedonia and Syria): through P. Clodius, with unlimited imperium.

[5] Macedonicus (144-3: M R R 1. 471-2, 475) and Balearicus.

received *imperium pro consule* and the province of Citerior in 77 to join Metellus Pius in the war against Sertorius.[1] A few years after the struggle was over, in 65, Cn. Calpurnius Piso was sent to Citerior (where he was assassinated) as *quaestor* - the magistracy he then held - *pro praetore*.[2] His mission may have been due to a shortage of praetorian governors at the time.[3] Two years earlier, when Pompey was given the Mediterranean command against the pirates, two of his *legati* were in charge of Spanish waters.[4] Pompey's *imperium* for this operation was valid for fifty miles inland and consular[5]: the limitation, and the clash between his *legati* and the proconsul Metellus in Crete, suggest he could not overrule other holders of consular *imperium*.[6]

Pompey received both Spains by the *lex Trebonia* of 55 for a five-year term[7], but remained at Rome, administering them through

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[1] CIC. *Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 62, cf. 30; LIVY *Per.* 91; PLUT. *Pomp.* 17.3-4; APP. *BC* 1.108.508; VAL. MAX. 8.15.8; *M R R* 2. 90, 94.

[2] *I L S* 875 = *I L L R P* 1^2. 378 'Cn. Calpurnius Cn.f. Piso quaestor pro pr. ex S.C. provinciam Hispaniam citeriorem obtinuit'; SALL. *Cat.* 19.1.

[3] J.P.V.D. BALSDON, 'Roman History, 65-50 B.C.: Five Problems', *J R S* 52 (1962) 134-41, on 135; R. SEAGER, 'The first Catilinarian conspiracy', *Historia* 13 (1964) 338-47, on 346.

[4] FLOR. 1.41.9 'Torquatus Baleariçum, Ti. Nero Gaditanum fretum (obsedit)'; APP. *Mithr.* 95; *M R R* 2. 148-9.

[5] VELL. 2.31.2-4.

[6] *M R R* 2. 145; STAVELEY, *Historia* 1963, 479-81.

[7] LIVY *Per.* 105; *M R R* 2. 217.

legates, as shown earlier. The new civil wars brought further irregularity to the Spanish fasti. The Caesarian governors who replaced Pompey's differed in rank. Ulterior was entrusted to Q. Cassius Longinus (who in 49 was a plebeian tribune) as pro praetore.[1] Caesar perhaps thought consular imperium unsuitable for a man who had not been praetor.[2] The governor of Citerior is not known. Possibly it was combined with Gaul (as it was to be later, under Lepidus) under D. Brutus who was legatus pro praetore[3]; more likely it was placed under its own legate (the title Cassius in Ulterior probably also held, technically), for whom the most plausible candidate would be C. Fabius, an energetic officer in the Ilerda campaign who is not heard of afterwards.[4] On returning to Rome, however, Caesar appointed M. Lepidus, praetor in 49 and also his magister equitum, to Citerior as pro consule, a post he took up (Dio shows) early in 48.[5] Lepidus' rank was of course the normal one for a Spanish province; perhaps he was superior to Cassius, for his actions

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[1] BAlex 48.1 'pro praetore'; LIVY Per. 111 'praetor'; MRR 2. 259, 261.

[2] Cf. Cornificius, quaestor pro pr. in Illyricum (BAlex 42. 2; MRR 2. 276).

[3] MRR 2. 281.

[4] CAES. BCiv 1.37, 40, 48.2; MRR 2. 267 (last mention).

[5] APP. BC 2.48.197 'ἐς Ἰβηρίαν'; DIO 43.1.1 'παραχρῆμά τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν στρατίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιαιτέραν ἔστειλε'; BAlex 59.2.

as mediator between the southern governor and the rebel faction suggest higher standing - on the other hand, he was a more important Caesarian.

After Munda, Caesar left the provinces under governors of unknown status, who may again have been legates: the identity of only one is known, C. Carrinas in Ulterior.[1] Citerior was next combined with Transalpina, in 44-3, under the proconsulate of Lepidus again, while Ulterior was governed by C. Asinius Pollio, probably also as proconsul.[2] On the establishment of the Second Triumvirate late in 43, Spain was accorded to Lepidus[3]; in 42 Octavian took it over.[4] Actual control of Citerior at least, however, lay until 40 with Antony's man in Transalpina, Fufius Calenus, who barred the way thither to Octavian's nominee, Salvidienus Rufus.[5] The Triumvirs governed through subordinates whose status and identity are obscure between 43 and 40: in Spain they seem to have been legates as often as promagistrates.[6]

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[1] APP. BC 4.83.351 - 84.352; MRR 2. 308 as '? Promagistrate'.

[2] MRR 2. 326, 327. Pollio was consul in 40.

[3] APP. BC 4.2.7; DIO 46.55.4 'Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν'.

[4] MRR 2. 358. [5] Ibid. 374.

[6] T. Manlius Sergianus(?) in 42 (GRANT, FITA, 381; MRR 2. 365); (?)Livius and Peducaeus in 40 (MRR 2. 384-5 - on Livius as a correction of APP. BC 5.54.229 'Λεύκιος', see GRANT, 379-81, who adduces a coin of Vesci in Baetica with the name [VIVES, Mon. hisp. 3. 46]) may have been legates. Carrinas and Calenus in 41, and L. Cornelius Balbus(?) in 40 may have been promagistrates: BROUGHTON (contra GRUEBER and now SYDENHAM [R. Rep. Coin., 206], who prefer Gaul) assigns coins with 'BALBVS PRO PR.' to Citerior, noting

A new arrangement opened in 39 with the appointment of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, consul for the second time in 40, to the whole of Spain.[1] Until 27 the two provinces were thus administered by single governors who had held the consulate and are entitled proconsuls in the Fasti Triumphales.[2] As subordinates they seem to have had legates in the usual way.[3] Their legal relationship to their own superiors, the Triumvirs, is not clear: it depends on the quality of the latter's imperium. Since the Three could divide up provinces between them[4], a measure which will have been covered in the enabling legislation they had had passed, it seems likely that their imperium was expressly declared superior to that of proconsuls: Appian describes it as 'ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις', adding significantly 'ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι'.[5] In practice

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Appian's reference just cited (MRR 2. 381; Carrinas and Calenus, 373). Possibly, but Grant's explanation seems more convincing.

[1] It may even have begun in 40, with the despatch of L. Antonius, cos. 41 (the loser at Perusia), by Octavian to govern all Spain: the two governors already there were to become his subordinates (APP. BC 5.54.229; L. GANTER, Die Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn (1892) 14-15, 52; MRR 2. 381, and Index, p. 531).

[2] GANTER, Provinzialverw., 13, 51. Gaul was similarly united from 40 to 27 (GANTER, 8, 51).

[3] DIO 48.42.1 mentions a ὑποστρατήγος of Calvinus; GANTER, 51-2; cf. n. 1 above.

[4] APP. BC 4.2.7, 5.3.12; DIO 46.55.4, 47.2.1, 48.1.3 - 2.1.

[5] BC 4.2.6, 4.7.27; MOMMSEN, RStaatsr 2. 707. GRANT (FITA, 414) and F. DE MARTINO (Storia della Costit. rom. 4 [Napoli 1962] 120-3, cf. 116-20) argue that this was equivalent to maius imperium. Brutus and Cassius had this in 43: STAVELEY, Historia 1963, 481-4. However, consular authority itself extended in theory to the provinces (JONES, Studies, 6; cf. SALMON, Historia 1956, 463-

and probably in law, therefore, the proconsuls in a territory like Spain were their subordinates: thus there is no need to suppose such governors were actually styled legati.[1] When Octavian's triumviral powers formally lapsed after 33[2], the proconsuls were not (we may be sure) liberated suddenly from control: he was still 'Führer'.[3] Italy and the western provinces swore him an oath of loyalty in 32: it is improbable that any governors abstained.[4]

One reason for the unification of the two provinces will have been political. In the disturbed conditions of the time, it was essential to have a sure partisan in wide control. Hence Salvidienus over all Gaul in 40, and safe men in all the territories of the West for the Bellum Actiense.[5] It is noteworthy that most

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4, for practical limits to this): theory may have been legislated into fact by the lex Titia. Note Augustus' remark that after 27 '[... a]uctoritate [omnibus praestiti, potes]tatis au[tem n]ihilo ampliu[s habu]i quam ce[teri, qui m]ihi quoque in ma[gis]tra[t]u conlegae f[uerunt]' (Res G. 34.3), and VELLEIUS' suggestive statement about the same era: 'imperium magistratuum ad pristinum redactum modum' (2.89.3); cf. DIO 53.13.6 'τό τε [ὄνομα] τοῦ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε'.

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[1] MRR 2. 369 n.1 (BROUGHTON leaves the question open). GANTER shows that several triumviral governors or commanders, and a quaestor, are called pro cos. during their term of office, mainly on coins, so that Mommsen's hypothesis of a one-day grant of consular imperium to enable legates to triumph is unnecessary (46-55, esp. 50-1). DIO almost explicitly dates the regular usage of legati pro pr. as governors in imperial provinces from 27 B.C. (53.13.5).

[2] On the date: SYME, Rom. Rev., 277-8 with 277 n.6; cf. 309.

[3] Notice the episode of M. Crassus, cos. 30, whose subsequent victories in Thrace were counted as obtained under Octavian's auspicia (DIO 51.24.4, 25.2; CAH 10. 125; SYME, Rom. Rev., 308-9).

[4] Res G. 25.2.

[5] SYME, Rom. Rev., 213, 292.

or all of the triumviral accumulations were in Octavian's sphere: Gaul, Spain, Africa.[1] Warfare was another reason. The governors of Gaul had to campaign often, and some won triumphs.[2] So did the proconsuls of Africa.[3] Each of the Spanish proconsuls triumphed, between 36 and 28.[4] It was suggested in an earlier chapter that the final subjugation of all but Asturia and Cantabria occurred in the triumviral age.[5] The reason for this military activity in the West is not hard to find. Not only were there real problems, like unrest in Gaul and the power vacuum in central and western Spain. Martial exploits made useful Caesarian propaganda at a time when Antony and his lieutenants were waging great campaigns in the East.[6] The systematic advances to natural frontiers in Europe that Augustus undertook after his constitutional settlement continued a policy begun in Spain in the 30s, which (after twenty years) brought Roman

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[1] In Antony's territory, Syria was combined (it is true) with Cilicia - but most of Cilicia had been given away (GANTER, 40, 51; SYME, Rom. Rev., 260, 271); Macedonia included Greece (GANTER, 31), but then it always had (CAH 8. 305; SCULLARD, Hist. of the Rom. World, 753 - 146 B.C. [1935] 305), and Illyricum was usually added as well (CAH 8. 277; RE 9. 1087; 14. 764).

[2] Summary in GANTER, 11-13.

[3] GANTER, 23-4.

[4] E-J², pp. 34-5; cf. next note.

[5] Pp. 153-4.

[6] Cf. SYME, Rom. Rev., 303. Admittedly there is no literary reflection (for instance in contemporary poets) of such propaganda (though cf. VERG. Georg. 3.408 'inpactos ... Hiberos'). But the triumphs themselves, and monuments like Domitius Calvinus' Regia (DIO 48.42.4-5; cf. SUET. Aug. 29.4), must have advertised the successes claimed.

power to the coasts everywhere in the Peninsula.

After 27 B.C., when Spain was divided between emperor and Senate, legati pro praetore (as shown in the last chapter) governed Tarraconensis and Lusitania, proconsuls Baetica. Augustus himself, like Pompey before him, was proconsul of the two imperial territories: technically the proconsul of Baetica outranked the legates to north and west. In practice these matched him in importance, and the legate of Tarraconensis, with legions under his command and a province (after the changes in boundaries) larger than the others combined, was regularly - from the middle of Augustus' reign - a consular while his fellow-governors were as a rule only praetorians. Above them all presided Augustus.

Under the Republic, the duties of the governors in Spain were mainly military, but also financial and judicial. Apart from the actual conduct of operations, the governor could levy local auxilia, impose contributions in cash or kind on communities, and billet troops on them (a highly unpopular measure, in Spain as elsewhere).[1] In the second century governors are found negotiating with Spanish

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[1] Auxilia: LIVY 39.30.7, 40.30.2; APP. Iber. 44.182, 58.246, 90.393, cf. 92.403; SIMON, Roms Kriege, 178-9; CAES. BCiv 1.38.3. (On levies of cives Romani, see Chapters II-III.) - Money and supplies: LIVY 29.3.5, 43.2.12; CAES. BCiv 2.18.4; cf. CIC. Pis. 88, Flac. 27, 2 Verr. 4.67.150, 5.17.42; BAfr 36. - Billeting: PLUT. Sert. 3.4, 6.4; CAES. BCiv 2.18.5; cf. BGall 5.27.11; CIC. Pis. 86, Prov. cons. 4, Att. 5.21.7 (a bribe of 200 talents to avoid billeting), Imp. Cn. Pomp. 13.

peoples, though any agreements had to be ratified by the Senate to be binding. Less is heard about peace moves in the first century. Increasing dominance may have made the Romans less interested in acknowledging peace on equal or near-equal terms, especially if they considered even the Spaniards on the borders (such as the Vaccaei and Cantabri) to be really, even if not in practice, subjects.

The governor's civilian responsibilities included - probably most importantly, from the Roman point of view - collecting the tribute; which (we may conjecture) in rougher parts of the province might resemble a military operation.[1] Administering justice was his third duty. According to Appian, it was of least significance to Caesar too, when he was praetor in Ulterior.[2] This may be the accusation of Caesar's adversaries (but a governor could get through his assizes quickly and still feel he had not neglected them[3]), but many governors must have preferred, or been obliged, to skimp such activity because of warfare.

The governor spent on his assizes (for which the term was

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[1] LIVY 43.2.12 (governors forbidden 'ne praefecti in oppida ... ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur'); cf. TAC. Ann. 4.45 (murder of a legatus investigating theft of public money in the uplands of central Citerior, A.D. 25); 4.72 (Frisian revolt, A.D. 28); ILS 2705 ('praef. equit., exact(ori) tribut. civitat. Gall.'); SCHWAHN, RE 7 A. 67. On the finances of Roman Spain, see Chapter XI.

[2] B C 2.8

[3] See pp. 197-8, 200-1.

conventum, or forum, agere) much of the time he was free from campaigns. Caesar used to return from Tres Galliae nearly every winter to hold conventus in Cisalpina and Illyricum.[1] Q. Cassius, governor in 49-8 of Ulterior, is found doing the same after summer fighting in Lusitania.[2] Winter need not be the only time for acting: Cicero's judicial conventus occurred (in 51) between 31 July and 23 August, those in the following year from 1 February to 1 May. The earlier sessions were cramped by the need to get to his army.[3] L. Piso, governor of Ulterior in 112, whom we meet (in an anecdote of Cicero's) on his tribunal at Corduba, was afterwards killed in battle.[4] A governor could take the opportunity of his conventus to enact other measures, as a boast of Cicero's shows[5] and also Q. Cassius' financial exactions during his wintering at Corduba.[6]

Since the conventus occurred when the governor was free from cam-

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[1] BGall 1.54.3, 5.1.5, 6.44.3; cf. 3.7.1; SUET. Iul. 30.1.

[2] BAlex 49.1.

[3] Att. 5.20.1, 21.9, 6.2.4.

[4] 2 Verr. 4.56; APP. Iber. 99.429.

[5] 'Hoc foro quod egi ... Laodiceae ... omnium dioecesium omni aere alieno liberatae, multae valde levatae sunt, omnes suis legibus et iudiciis usae αὐτονομίαν adeptae revixerunt' (Att. 6.2.4, also 5).

[6] BAlex 49.1-2 'ad ius dicendum Cordubae se recepit ... pecuniae locupletibus imperabantur ... neque ullum genus quaestus ... praetermittebatur quo domus et tribunal imperatoris vacaret'. At a conventus, which however does not seem to have been judicial, at Castra Aelia (in 77) Sertorius shared out the burden of munitions on 'sociae civitates' and thanked 'omnium populorum legationes et civitatium' for their services (LIVY frg. Bk 91).

paigning, at important or geographically convenient towns[1], and attracted no doubt a large number of provincials - not merely those with cases to plead but also ones wishing to consult, or curry favour with, him - this is understandable.[2]

Next in rank was the quaestor, with particular responsibility for finance: paying the troops, collecting the tribute and keeping accounts.[3] The governor could delegate judicial functions to him as well, as Antistius Vetus in Ulterior did to his quaestor Caesar in 69.[4] Pollio's quaestor in the same province, twenty-six years later, Balbus the younger, put to death even Roman citizens, according to his superior - whose disgust does not, all the same, induce him to call it illegal.[5] The close relationship desirable between governor and quaestor[6] was disrupted at least once and probably twice in Spain: when M. Marcellus led the rising against Cassius in 48[7], and when L. Fabius Hispaniensis, quaestor to the Sullan procon-

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[1] See Chapter X § i.

[2] The Salaminian envoys came to Cicero at Ephesus (Att. 6. 2.9) and again at Tarsus (5.21.11); he was not, apparently, holding an assize at Tarsus then, but his predecessor recently had (5. 16.4).

[3] MOMMSEN, RStaatsr 2. 564; J. MARQUARDT, RStaatsverw. 1. 529-30; cf. CIC. 2 Verr. 1.14.36.

[4] SUET. Iul. 7; MARQUARDT, ibid., 530.

[5] POLLIO to CIC. Fam. 10.32.3 (43 B.C.).

[6] On this see L.A. THOMPSON in Historia 11 (1962) 339-55.

[7] BAlex 57.3 ff.; DIO 42.15 - 16.2; etc.

sul Annius in 81, deserted (as it would seem) to Sertorius.[1] The quaestor might be delegated to command some or all of the troops.[2] If his superior left the province before a successor arrived, the quaestor normally took charge, with rank enhanced to pro praetore.[3] Caesar left Ulterior 'ante tempus' both when quaestor and later when praetor.[4]

The governor's legati ranked after the quaestor. Nearly all those known in Spain under the Republic were military.[4] A legate might represent an absent governor, however, as P. Rutilius acted for Q. Scaevola in Asia after the latter went home.[5] The first examples attested in Spain belong to the 40s: it was suggested earlier that Q. Cassius Longinus and his presumed colleague in Citerior

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[1] See above, 80 note 2 ; also SCHULTEN, FHA 4. 163; BROUGHTON, MRR 2. 77, 120. On the other quaestor, C. Tarquitius, see MRR 2. 79 n.4.

[2] E.g. Q. Fabius Maximus in 134-3 (APP. Iber. 84.366, calling him Buteo; MRR 1. 491); L. Hirtuleius under Sertorius (LIVY Per. 90-1; PLUT. Sert. 12.3; not recognized at Rome, of course, but the title is noteworthy). Cf. APP. Iber. 63.268 for a quaestor taking command after his superior's death in battle.

[3] CIC. Att. 6.6.3; cf. Fam. 2.15.4; BALSDON, JRS 1962, 134-5. Cf. ' ...]nus q(uaestor) pro pr.' on a late Republican (so HÜBNER) inscription at Nova Carthago (CIL 2. 3421).

[4] C. Marcius of Italica, who took over the army of the praetor Quinctius in winter 142/1, may have been one (APP. 66.282; not in MRR).

[5] BADIAN, Athenaeum 1956, 105 n.2. The legate probably ranked pro praetore: CIC. Att. 6.4.1, 3.1 (one qualification to be a legate was to be a vir praetorius); BALSDON, JRS 1962, 134.

were of this standing, as may otners after Munda.[1] The governor also had with him comites of no official rank, who might be relatives or friends (and might use their position for profit). Young C. Octavius, then seventeen, was no doubt comes of his uncle in Spain in the spring of 45.[2] Lucilius and Polybius accompanied Scipio Aemilianus to Spain in 134-3.[3]

Praefecti might also be used for administrative ends. The first mention of a praefectus in provincial Spain occurs under the date 199: Livy reports, 'Gaditanis item petentibus remissum ne praefectus Gades mitteretur adversus id quod iis in fidem populi Romani venientibus cum L. Marcio Septimo convenisset'.[4] As E. Badian has argued, this means that the treaty with Gades in 206 stipulated a Roman officer there, presumably with troops: this is the natural sense of the Latin.[5] In 171, one result of the complaints

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[1] Above, 185.

[2] SUET. Aug. 8.1; DIO 43.41.3.

[3] SCHULTEN, FHA 4. 60-1.

[4] 32.2.5.

[5] 'The prefect at Gades', Cl. Phil. 49 (1954) 250-2; so too G. TIBILETTI, 'Governatori romani in città provinciali', Rend. del Ist. Lomb. 86 (1953) 64-100, on 68-9; the latest text (A.H. McDONALD, T. Livi ... XXXI-XXXV [O.C.T., 1965]) accepts this view, placing a comma after 'mitteretur'. For the older view, that the prefect had been imposed contrary to the terms of the treaty, see e.g. SCHULTEN, FHA 3. 173. Gades had apparently undergone deditio in 206 (LIVY 28.37.10; APP. Iber. 37.152), followed by a foedus presumably iniquum, and the favourable terms CICERO stresses (Balb. 34, cf. 41) were very likely exaggerated in later memory - as would happen especially if the original terms were soon relaxed. Cicero himself shows that the treaty as he knew it was iniquum (Balb. 35-7).

against the 'avaritia superbiaque' of Roman magistrates in Spain was a prohibition 'ne praefecti in oppida sua [sc. Hispanorum] ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur'.[1] Cato the Elder prided himself on the fact that 'numquam praefectos per sociorum vestrorum oppida imposivi, qui eorum bona, liberos diriperent', no doubt referring inter alia to his famous proconsulate in Spain.[2] It is a graphic hint of some Roman methods of administration.[3] Placing prefects in control at provincial towns, for military or financial purposes, was not at all uncommon[4]: in 49 Varro appointed one C. Gallonius over Gades with six cohorts (the man thus pressed into service had gone to Gades 'procurandae hereditatis causa' on behalf of Domitius Ahenobarbus).[5] Balbus the elder Gaditane was Caesar's praefectus fabrum during the latter's praetorship and consulate.[6]

Jurisdiction possibly could be delegated to prefects too.

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[1] LIVY 43.2.12.

[2] MALCOVATI, ORF², p. 71.

[3] On Roman attitudes to barbarian westerners, cf. BADIAN, Roman Imperialism in the late Republic (Oxford 1968) 7-10.

[4] TIBILETTI, Rend. Ist. Lomb. 1953, 75-9, gives over twenty examples down to 42 B.C. (but see next note).

[5] CAES. BCiv 2.18.2. Two other Spanish instances offered by TIBILETTI are unlikely, however: Sex. Pompey (Corduba, 45 B.C.) was probably his brother's legate (BHisp 3.1; MRR 2. 312), and P. Caucilius was with Cnaeus heading for Carteia, not in the town (BH 32.7; cf. MRR ibid.).

[6] CIC. Balb. 63.

Q. Volusius, whom Cicero sent to Cyprus to hear cases involving Romans, was neither quaestor nor legate.[1] In the late Republic if not indeed earlier, it was not hard for interested parties to obtain a prefecture (as Scaptius in Cyprus did) to pursue entirely private ends.[2]

These officials - quaestors, legates, prefects - and the governor's own attendants were the only representatives of the central government in the province, apart from the publicly financed but privately occupied senator on a libera legatio, who cannot be considered an assistance.[3] This alone makes it clear that what they could deal with (or wished to deal with) was limited. Cicero's assizes in 50 lasted on average two weeks each[4]; when he had to compress them, the year before, they had lasted only two to five

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[1] Att. 5.21.6; SHACKLETON BAILEY, 3. 235 ad loc.; JONES, Studies, 120; cf. Lex Rubria (BRUNS, Fontes⁷, 97-101) § 20 'neive quis magistratus prove magistratu, neive quis pro quo imperio potestateve erit'.

[2] Att. 5.21.10 ff., 6.1.5 (and 4?) ff. Cicero elsewhere implies a negotiator could get one if he had some influence with the governor (6.3.5).

[3] R.O. JOLLIFFE, Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration ... (1919) 77-90.

[4] A.J. MARSHALL, 'Governors on the move', Phoenix 1966, 231-46.

days each.[1] We may wonder how much of the legal business of an extensive or developed province (or one that was both) a single governor could get through, even if only the more serious cases were referred to him.[2]

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[1] Att. 5.20.1.

[2] In the younger Pliny's letters we find, for instance, one day per case before Trajan (Ep. 6.31.1 ff.); a big Senate trial might last days (e.g. 2.11, 4.9).

CHAPTER X

CONVENTUS AND ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΕΙΣ

(i) Conventus

UNDER the Principate, Spain was divided into a number of geographical conventus areas for juridical purposes.[1] As the date of Pliny's source for the Spanish provinces' administration is Augustan[2], these carefully delimited areas of jurisdiction must also have been laid out before A.D. 14. Whether they existed under the Republic is another question. Livy speaks of juridical conventus in Sicily in 200, and by 70 B.C. there were fixed towns there where the governor held assizes.[3] In Cicero's time again, there were twelve conventus in the province of Asia.[4] His Cilician letters provide important information for the system in that part of the East. Three 'dioeceses' of Asia were at the time attached to Cilicia: those of Laodicea, Apamea and Synnada (all in the interior).

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[1] PLINY NH 3.7 - 28, 4.117; ALBERTINI, Div. adm., 83-104.

[2] See pp. 311-21.

[3] 31.29.9 'praetor Romanus conventus agit; eo imperio evocati conveniunt' (§ 8 implies that Syracuse, Messana and Lilybaeum were among the assize-towns); CIC. 2 Verr. 5.11.28 'oppidis in quibus consistere praetores et conventum agere soleant'.

[4] MARSHALL, Phoenix 1966, 233-6.

Cilicia was also divided into such districts[1]; as they also had 'magistri scripturae et portus' they must have been clearly demarcated.[2] The towns selected as assize centres were on the main routes of the province, easy for the governor to get to[3], and whether they were otherwise important might not matter.[4] Given this system, it is clear that the territorial extent of the various conventus must have developed early: the other communities of a province had to know where to take their cases (when they should do so was announced in advance by the governor[5]). For his own convenience a governor might hold assizes for several districts at one town, as Cicero did.[6]

The Spanish evidence is scanty. Cicero tells an anecdote about an honest proconsul, L. Piso, which shows him holding an assize at Corduba, in 112.[7] Going by Cicero's own example, it is likely

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[1] SHACKLETON BAILEY, 3. 189; CIC. Att. 5.21.7 and 9, 6.2.4; MARSHALL, Phoenix 1966, 233 (not local divisions but introduced by the Romans).

[2] Att. 5.15.3.

[3] MARSHALL, 236.

[4] Laodicea was a smaller town than Cibyra, but convenience made it the capital of the conventus Cibyraticus (SHACKLETON BAILEY, 3. 235, on Att. 5.21.9).

[5] Att. 5.21.9.

[6] ibid., and 6.2.4.

[7] 2 Verr. 4.25.56 'in forum ad sellam Cordubae'; for the date, see MRR 1, under 112 B.C.

that many governors, pressed for time, summoned everyone to Corduba or, in Citerior, Tarraco or Carthago Nova. Q. Cassius' would-be assassins made their attempt on his life under guise of a legal petition in Corduba: they were from Italica, just across the River Baetis from Hispalis which was, at any rate by Augustus' day, an assize town itself.[1] Whether there were other such towns during the Republic is not certain, but very probable. Suetonius begins a story about Caesar as quaestor by placing it 'cum mandatu praetoris iure dicundo conventus circumiret Gadisque venisset':[2] there is no need to suspect an anachronism in the reference to conventus, and although Caesar's stopover at Gades might not be associated with his judicial duties (the town was foederata - like Messana which protested when Pompey set up his tribunal there[3]), the prestige and business brought by being an assize centre - for other communities at least - suggest that the commerce-conscious Gaditanes would have no objection to being one.[4] Under the Principate the town (by then a municipium Romanum) certainly was a conventus capital.[5] By 49

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[1] BAlex 49.1 'legionibus in hiberna dispositis ad ius dicendum Cordubae se recepit'; 52 (the attempt).

[2] Iul. 7.

[3] PLUT. Pomp. 10.2.

[4] Cf. F.F. ABBOTT and A.C. JOHNSON, Munic. Admin. in the Rom. Emp. (1926) 43 n.7; MARSHALL, Phoenix 1966, 238.

[5] PLINY 3.7, 4.119. Under the Republic, governors might hold assizes in civitates liberae at any rate (MARQUARDT, RStaatsvw. 1. 80, with examples in n.3).

B.C. Hispalis, also an imperial conventus capital, may have been another centre, even if sometimes bypassed by a governor in a hurry.[1] In Citerior, besides the two principal cities which (again as under the Empire) must have been juridical centres, Osca - Sertorius' headquarters and an important town[2] - may have been one until the new colony Caesaraugusta (or possibly the earlier one Celsa) not far to the south was made capital of the Ebro valley. Olisipo may have served a similar purpose until colonies were established at Scallabis, Pax and Emerita.[3] An unchanging system should not be imagined: Roman rule, when it began after the Second Punic War, affected much less of Spain than it did by 28 B.C. Before 133, if indeed not 28, Clunia (for instance), one of the Augustan conventus capitals, must have lain in independent or semi-independent territory.[4]

The precise extent of conventus was determined by population and geography. A glance at the map shows, for example, how the four

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[1] At any rate it had a forum then (CAES. BCiv 2.20.4).

[2] PLUT. Sert. 14 πόλιν μεγάλην.

[3] Notice the tendency, in Tarraconensis and Lusitania under the Empire, to hold assizes in colonial or quasi-colonial foundations (all three in Lusitania; and Caesaraugusta, Asturica, Lucus Augusti and Bracara in Tarraconensis): probably because most of these were not only well situated geographically but also were ready-Romanized centres and, in outlying areas, were themselves important urban centres.

[4] The Romans were attacking it as late as 55 B.C. (DIO 39. 54.2).

imperial conventus towns in Baetica were within rapid reach of each other: Corduba and Hispalis on the Baetis, Astigi nearby on a tributary (the Singilis [Genil]), and Gades near the mouth of the Baetis. They headed conventus that were distinct geographical regions: Gades the south coast, Hispalis the lower Baetis valley and the country on either side, Astigi the valley of the Singilis and the northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada[1], Corduba the valley of the upper Baetis and the territory northward.[2] In Lusitania, the three districts covered the east (Emerita), north (Scallabis) and south (Pax) - the last two roughly sharing the area of modern Portugal with Emeritensis embracing modern Estremadura.[3] Those of Tarraconensis also extended over fairly distinct areas, as will appear in the next section. The precise size and layout of conventus depended on geography and population. In western Asia Minor many assize towns were on the coast and close together, a testimony to the region's heavy population.[4] For the same reason, Baetica had more conventus than Lusitania, and their areas were small compared with nearly all those in the rest of the Peninsula.

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[1] On the extent of Astigitanus, see above, 135 note 2.

[2] See map at end of ALBERTINI, Div. adm.

[3] Except for its southernmost quarter, between the Anas and the western Sierra Morena.

[4] MARSHALL, Phoenix 1966, 237.

(ii) Strabo's διοικήσεις

Strabo describes the organization of Tarraconensis, in his day, as follows.[1] The provincial governor had three legions (τάγματα) and three legates (πρεσβευταί), one of whom had two of the legions and supervised (παραφρουρεῖ)

> 'the entire territory beyond the Durius to the north ... now called the Callaeci [ἣν ... οἱ δὲ νῦν Καλλαϊκοὺς καλοῦσι]; joined to these are the northern mountains [συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις τὰ προσάρκτια ὄρη] with the Astures and the Cantabri. The river Melsus flows through the Astures [sic], and a little beyond is a town Noega, and nearby an estuary formed by the ocean, dividing the Astures from the Cantabri. The region beyond, at the foot of the mountains [τὴν δ' ἐξῆς παρόρειον], μέχρι Πυρήνης, the second of the legates supervises with the remaining legion; the third oversees the interior [τὴν μεσόγαιαν], and controls the country of those already called togati [for their civilized ways] ... These are the Celtiberi and the inhabitants of either side of the Iberus nearby, up to the districts towards the sea [μέχρι τῶν πρὸς θαλάττῃ μερῶν]. The governor himself spends the winter in the coastal districts and particularly at Carthago [Nova] and Tarraco holding assizes, while in summer he travels about, supervising regularly matters that need rectification.'

In other words, four 'διοικήσεις'. The limits of these districts (to take them first) are disputed. Kornemann restricted the westernmost to Callaecia (Galicia) alone, and assigned both As-

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[1] 3.4.20 / C166-7.

turia and Cantabria to its neighbour on the east.[1] This would place two legions in the first - and only one among the most recently conquered peoples of Spain.[2] More likely the first 'διοίκησις' included Asturia as well as Callaecia, as Strabo's description implies, while the second consisted of Cantabria. This second district extended 'μέχρι Πυρήνης', which Albertini identifies with the Mediterranean extremity of the Pyrenees chain, Cap Cerbère or Cap Béar.[3] This cape, however, is normally called 'Pyrenaeum promunturium' in Latin[4], and Strabo himself elsewhere calls it 'τὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρον' and 'τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον' (from a temple on it).[5] Elsewhere in Strabo again, the name Πυρήνη definitely means the Pyrenees themselves, though almost always with the definite article.[6] If

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[1] R E 5. 719.

[2] As ALBERTINI points out (Div. adm., 46).

[3] Div. adm., 45 and n.1.

[4] R. GROSSE, R E 24. 12-13.

[5] 4.1.6 / C181, and 3 / C 178.

[6] Cf. Index in C. MÜLLER's ed., 2. 895 s.v. For a comparable omission of the definite article, cf. the description of Corduba: '...καὶ πρώτην ἀποικίαν ταύτην εἰς τοσόνδε τοὺς τόπους ἔστειλαν Ῥωμαῖοι' (also 'διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμαχίας', of Gades, just above: both at 3.2.1 / C141). The same interpretation is put forward by R.K. McELDERRY, J R S 1919, 87 n.3, and 1922, 293-4 (who states in the latter place that there is a variant παραλίαν for παρόριον - but this is a correction by the early nineteenth-century editor A. Coray: see G. KRAMER's ed. of Strabo, 1 [Berlin 1844] 259 ad loc.). In early times a town called Pyrene existed on the N.E. coast, perhaps the same as the later Rhode (at modern Rosas) - see GROSSE, R E 24. 13-14. But the name is not attested after the fifth century B.C. and Strabo never mentions the place, unless here.

μέχρι here implies 'up to but not including' (as it must in the phrase 'μέχρι τῶν πρὸς θαλάττῃ μερῶν'), this would give the second legate more or less the Biscay coast of Spain, from the Callaecian border of Asturia to the boundary with Aquitania. This would make more military sense than crowding two legions into Asturia and Callaecia, and then requiring a single other to survey a five-hundred-mile line. It might be objected that the Cerretani by the Pyrenees had fought the Romans in 39 B.C. and so might need further watching.[1] But that tribe appears in Pliny's mid-Augustan list as Latini, which does not suggest continuing Roman suspicion.[2] The Roman legionary camps in the later part of Augustus' reign were near Juliobriga (legio VI Macedonica) and in Asturia perhaps near Asturica Augusta (legiones VI and X)[3]: this suits the arrangement proposed above but not one that embraces the entire Pyrenees line as well.

The third, 'interior' legate and the governor shared the rest of the province: more on these below.

Pliny, by contrast, describes seven conventus in Tarraconensis and no 'διοικήσεις'; and his conventus, which must date to the same epoch as Strabo's districts, do not appear to share the same boundaries - except in the northwest.[4] Mrs Henderson proposed a

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[1] DIO 48.41.7 - 42.

[2] NH 3.23.

[3] McELDERRY, JRS 1919, 87; SCHULTEN, Los Cánt. y Ast. y su guerra con R., 178-82; SYME, Leg. VII Gem., 105.

[4] To avoid the discrepancy, ALBERTINI would date the conventus to Claudius' reign (Div., 62-6) but Mrs Henderson shows that the Tarraconensian list too must be Augustan (JRS 1942, 1-4). Strabo's work was begun before 19 B.C. (cf. G. BOWERSOCK, Augustus and the

straightforward solution: the legates were military subordinates and their districts had nothing to do with assize areas; only the governor dispensed justice, on the coast in winter, in summer over the rest of Tarraconensis.[1] This overlooks Strabo's explicit statement that one legate had no legion and administered a peaceful area.[2] It is hard to see what occupied him if he had no military duties and left all judicial work to his superior, and why, if so, it was necessary to give him a 'διοίκησις' at all.

As it happens, we can recognize a couple of early subordinate legates to whom the later designation iuridici may be applied. L. Piso 'praetor provinciae', whom Tacitus reports as assassinated by a native of Termes (in Celtiberia) in A.D. 25, was, as Syme plausibly argues, a subordinate legate in reality.[3] The area of his activity was farther Celtiberia, which points him out as the peace-

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Greek World [Oxford 1965] 133); most was completed by 7 B.C. (E. HONIGMAN, R E 4 A. 90); for revision later, cf. 3.3.8 / C156 (a reference to Tiberius as emperor).

[1] J R S 1942, 4.

[2] 'τὰ τῶν τογάτων ἤδη λεγομένων ὡς ἂν εἰρηνικῶν' etc.

[3] TAC. Ann. 4.45; SYME, 'Some Pisones in Tacitus', J R S 46 (1956) 17-21, on 20-1; also Tacitus 1. 442 n.5; ALFÖLDY, Fasti Hisp., 67 (as a iuridicus). The actual governor, L. Arruntius, held the post ten years but was never allowed to leave Rome (TAC. Ann. 6.27.3 [A.D. 33] 'decimum iam annum'; cf. DIO 58.8.3 [A.D. 31]). SUET. Tib. 63 says that such 'honorary' governors had to act 'per legatos et adiutores suos'. See also ALFÖLDY, 13-15.

ful' legate.[1] In the same reign (G. Alföldy argues) functioned C. Caetronius Miccio as 'legatus Augusti Hispaniae citerioris', whom a poorly preserved inscription from Bracara commemorates.[2]

The discrepancy between 'διοικήσεις' and conventus is removable. Given that the first Strabonian district includes Asturia as well as Callaecia, it would thus embrace three Plinian conventus: Bracara, Lucus and Asturica. It is worth noticing that this area not only provides steady evidence over the next two centuries for subordinate legati, but in fact became - if briefly - a province in its own right under Caracalla.[3]

For the second district in Strabo, the view taken above is that it stopped at the Biscay end of the Pyrenees. Now nearly all the Biscay coast belonged to the conventus Cluniensis, as Albertini shows: only Oeasso or Oiarso (Oyarzún), at the very foot of the range, lay in Caesaraugustanus.[4] Thus the territory of Strabo's second legate, the piedmont from the Callaecian border of Asturia as far as the Pyrenees, corresponds to the coastal area of Cluniensis.

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[1] Termes in the conventus of Clunia: SCHULTEN, R E 5 A. 762. Cf. Tacitus' remark of Piso, 'pace incuriosum'.

[2] Fasti Hisp., 67-70. McELDERRY's view, that the legati iuridici were first created by Vespasian (J R S 1919, 87, cf. 86-9 generally), is thus unnecessary. For the Spanish iuridicatus under the Empire: ALFÖLDY, 236-46, cf. next note.

[3] Convenient list of subordinate legates in Asturia-et-Callaecia: ALFÖLDY, 237-40; discussion of iuridici: 241-3. On the shortlived Caracallan province: ALBERTINI, 77-9; ALFÖLDY, 208-9.

[4] ALBERTINI, 101.

sis. To turn for convenience to Strabo's imperial governor, we see him dispensing justice at Tarraco and Carthago Nova: two more conventus centres.

The territory of the 'interior', or 'peaceful' legate covered (we are told) Celtiberia and also the valley of the Ebro 'up to the coastal regions'. The second of these areas would describe, though not fully, the conventus of Caesaraugusta. Most of Celtiberia, meanwhile, including the towns of Numantia, Segovia, Cauca, Pallantia and Intercatia (in other words its heartland and that of the Vaccaei) lay in Cluniensis.[1] What of the apparent clash between the Strabonian legate in the north of Cluniensis and his colleague to the south? It may be imaginary. The 'peaceful' legate, presiding at Caesaraugusta and Clunia, would hear cases in those capitals from all over the two conventus; the legate in the north would be purely military. The legate in Asturia-Callaecia combined both functions, just as his successors definitely did in the second century A.D. over precisely the same district.[2]

In northern Cluniensis, supervising the Cantabri could well be reckoned a full-time responsibility. It would not be simply one of patrols: there were roads to build, towns to foster. Possibly

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[1] See map in ALBERTINI, or H. KIEPERT, Forma Orbis Antiqui: XXVII: Hispania (still the best overall map).

[2] See too ALFÖLDY, 241. As the two legions under this legate shared a double camp or at any rate were very close together (SYME, Leg. VII Gem., 105), Alföldy reasonably supposes he commanded both (Fasti Hisp., 235, 241).

the military legate was empowered to exercise some local jurisdiction, even if serious cases were to be referred to Clunia: Strabo has the strong impression that the 'interior' legate was principally taken up with the togati in the south and east.

To summarize: there was probably only one purely military subordinate legate among Strabo's three, and three conventus were supervised by the officer in the northwest, two by the 'interior' legate and two (most immediately) by the imperial governor. It is likely that the subordinates reserved certain cases (perhaps capital charges, and ones involving Roman citizens)[1] for him to deal with when he toured their districts in summertime; and naturally he had final authority always.[2]

When this system was established and how long it lasted cannot be determined. In the Cantabrian wars there were six or seven legions in Spain[3]; between 19 B.C. and A.D. 9 these were reduced to three.[4] But the διοικήσεις need not have been created only when

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[1] Cf. the anecdote in SUET. Galba 9 for both points together: though by then the Strabonian arrangement may have lapsed (below).

[2] Note the inscription at Bracara honouring Paullus Fabius Maximus (p. 172). Galba, governor of Tarraconensis, learned of Vindex' revolt when holding assizes at Carthago Nova (SUET. Galba 9), and was later at Clunia (PLUT. Galba 6).

[3] SYME, 'Some notes on the legions under Augustus', JRS 1933, 22-3; Leg. VII Gem., 104; SCHULTEN, Los Cánt. y Ast., 171-4.

[4] SYME, JRS 1933, 23 and 33; Leg. VII Gem., 106; A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, 'El "Exercitus Hispanicus" desde Augusto a Vespasiano', AEArq 33 (1960) 114-60, on 130.

the forces in Spain were reduced to that size. Similarly the arrangement may not have been completely abolished when further reductions took place: as remarked already, there is continual evidence at least of a subordinate legate in Asturia-et-Callaecia.[1] Similarly a subordinate legatus iuridicus provinciae Tarraconensis appears at times.[2] Doubtless, in so vast a province, subdivision was useful or indeed unavoidable. The departure of legio IV Macedonica from Juliobriga, on the other hand, presumably put an end to the military district of the Cantabrian piedmont.[3] As Strabo says, the Romans adapted their administrative divisions 'πρὸς τοὺς καιροούς'.[4]

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[1] By 69 there was only one legion in the Peninsula, and this continued to be so after the civil war of that year (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, A E Arq 1960, 131-2; 'Nacimiento de la Legio VII Gemina', Leg. VII Gem., 303-29, esp. 321-5; ALFÖLDY, 256).

[2] ALFÖLDY, 236-46, cf. 67-114 for prosopography of both offices.

[3] In A.D. 39: GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, A E Arq 1960, 120.

[4] 3.4.19 / C166. It may be wondered what Latin term his διοίκησις represents: obviously not conventus, though he and Cicero use this Greek word for such circumscriptions in Asia (13.4.12 and 17; CIC. Att. 6.2.4 [already quoted: 192 note 5]). Here it is probably non-technical, signifying 'district of supervision'. The Roman term might be regio.

CHAPTER XI

FINANCE

(i) Tribute

HOW much the tribute and other receipts from Spain amounted to is nowhere stated in our sources. An almost equal silence covers Roman expenditure on the two provinces. Conjecture, however, is possible on either count - though this calls for lengthy and very rough calculations.

It has been suggested that the coined money which Livy reports as brought back by some governors in the early second century represents the stipendium or tribute paid by Spain at the time.[1] Now Livy reports seventeen deliveries of gold and silver bullion between 200 and 168, but only six of coined money[2] - and these between 196 and 180. The sums vary from 34,500 'signati denarium' in 196 to Cato's massive haul of 123,000 'bigati' and 540,000 'nummi Oscenses'. It is true that variations might occur as Roman control

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[1] SCHULTEN, C A H 8. 309-10; SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 54-7; THOUVENOT, Bétique, 228; J.J. VAN NOSTRAND, 'Roman Spain', E S A R, 3. 128-9; cf. M.H. CRAWFORD, Num. Chron.7 1969, 82-3. Of course there is no proof these figures are trustworthy. But comparison with other figures (especially the much larger ones reported from Eastern campaigns) in Livy (see T. FRANK, E S A R 1.127 -38) and with figures elsewhere attested (as by Polybius), and the variations in the ones at present in question, suggest they are at least roughly accurate. P.A. BRUNT defends the value of Livy's military figures for the same period: Ital. Manp., 645-60.

[2] See the accompanying Table.

LIVY'S GOLD, SILVER AND MONEY STATISTICS:

SPAIN 200 - 168 B.C.[1]

YR.	REF.	PROV.	GOLD (lb)	SILVER (lb.)	BIGATI	OSCENSES
206	28.38.5	(BOTH)		14,342	'magnus numerus'[2]	
200	31.20.7	CIT.	2450	43,000		
199	32.7.4	ULT.	30	1200		
196	33.27.2	CIT.	1515	20,000		34,500[3]
"	"	ULT.		50,000		
195	34.10.4[4]	ULT.		14,732	17,023	119,439
"	34.10.7	CIT. ?[5]		34,800	73,000	278,000

[1] References to LIVY unless otherwise stated.

[2] Neither bigati nor Oscenses are mentioned, and the coined money was probably largely Punic or Punic-imitated: the general was Scipio.

[3] 'Signati denarium (milia)'.

[4] M. Helvius, governor in 197-6.

[5] Q. Minucius (196-5). L. firmly assigns him to Citerior (33.26.2, 43.8), yet calls him successor to Helvius (34.10.5-6). Minucius won a battle at 'Turda' (33.44.4), thought by some to be in Turdetania: thus DE SANCTIS (St. di R. 4/1. 446 n.135) and DEGRASSI (I. I. 13/1. 552-3) argue he was governor in Ulterior. MÜNZER, however, suggests Turda was in Citerior (there is no strong evidence either way) and plausibly suggests that the death of Helvius' colleague Tuditanus on campaign forced him to look after both provinces: hence the impression that Minucius was his successor (APP. Iber. 39.159 has M. succeed both of them!): R E 15. 1967-8. LIVY's explicit assignment to Citerior is also accepted by M. MARCHETTI, Diz. Epig. 3. 791; P. FRACCARO, 'Le fonti per il consolato di M. Porcio Catone', Opuscula 1 (Pavia 1956) 177-226, on 224 n.15; BROUGHTON, M R R 1. 335, 341.

YR.	REF.	PROV.	GOLD (lb.)	SILVER (lb.)	BIGATI	OSCENSES
194	34.46.2	(BOTH)?[1]	1400	25,000	123,000	540,000[2]
191	36.26.11 = 36.39.1	ULT.	127	12,000	130,000	
189	POL. 32.8.3; PLUT. Aem.P. 4.3; LIVY Per. 46	ULT.	(large amount)[3]			
185	39.26.6-7	CIT.	212 + 52 coronae	26,300		
184	39.42.3-4	CIT.	83 coronae	12,000		
"	39.42.3	ULT.	83 coronae	12,000		
182	40.16.11	CIT.	82 + 67 coronae	9320		
180	40.43.6	CIT.	31 + 124 coronae	[20,000][4]		173,200[5]
178	41.7.2	CIT.		40,000		
"	"	ULT.		20,000		

[1] 'Ex Hispania' (LIVY). This was Cato. Probably all or most came from Citerior: in Ulterior he virtually bought off the enemy's mercenaries (see LIVY 34.19.1-11).

[2] VAN NOSTRAND, ESAR 3. 129, gives the figure as 5040!

[3] 'Largest amount brought back in his (Aemilius Paullus') time' (POL.). In the Teubner edition the reference is 31.22.3.

[4] VAN NOSTRAND suggests this figure; lacuna in LIVY.

[5] VAN NOSTRAND (ibid.) lists as bigati, wrongly.

YR.	REF.	PROV.	GOLD (lb.)	SILVER (lb.)	BIGATI	OSCENSES
174	41.28.6	CIT.	[50 ?][1]	10,000		
168	45.4.1	(BOTH)	10	3125[2]		

Text continued from page 212]

fluctuated over some areas, but the fact is noteworthy that the biggest deliveries of money (bullion is another matter) were made by governors who fought against the rebellious provincials in 197-5.[3] The governor who triumphed in 180 had campaigned against provincial rebels in Citerior as well as against the Celtiberi[4]; he had, moreover, collected money from the provincials to pay for the fulfilment of a campaign vow, though we are not told whether this sum forms part of the amount reported.[5] Furthermore, the average size of these six

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[1] MS 'quinque milia', a surprisingly large amount (all the other gold figures total only 5857 lb.): FRANK proposes to correct to 'quinquaginta' (E S A R 1. 137; VAN NOSTRAND, 3. 129).

[2] VAN NOSTRAND gives the silver figure as 250,000 bigati, but Livy merely says the silver was t o t h e v a l u e of one million HS. The governor was M. Marcellus, in charge of both provinces.

[3] Helvius and Minicius, who governed Ulterior in 197-6 and Citerior in 196-5 respectively (see above, 213 note 5), brought back a total of 90,023 bigati and 397,439 Oscenses between them; Cato even more (see Table).

[4] APP. Iber. 42.171-2; cf. LIVY 40.1.2 'et citeriorem in armis esse et cum Celtiberis bellari sciebant'.

[5] 40.44.8-9 (cf. 12).

sums is about 370,000 denarii, rather a small sum for the two provinces together to be paying - if their tribute was entirely in money.[1] Certainly some of the reported amounts of money may have come from taxation, since in the more developed areas of Spain (Baetica and the south and east coasts), tributary communities that lived by fishing or trade could hardly pay solely in kind. Poorer people too possibly paid a poll-tax, if they had no land or very little (but certainty on this question cannot be reached: no epoch of Roman Spain furnishes firm evidence of tributum capitis).[2] But much of the recorded sums probably came from fines and plunder, mainly taken from rebellious (or unlucky) provincials - it would seem: though partly perhaps from Celtiberian communities outside the province.[3] The infrequency of these sums, however, as well as their

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[1] Macedonia from 167 paid 100 talents (600,000 denarii) in annual tribute: though divided, she was not annexed, and the Romans meant the burden to be moderate (LIVY 45.18.7 and 29.4; PLUT. Aem. P. 28.3; cf. FRANK, E S A R 1. 229 and 323).

[2] Cf. SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 248 n.3; SEECK, R E 3. 1521. PLINY tells us that the kermes insect, which produces a scarlet dye and was thought to be a berry, 'pensionem alteram tributi pauperibus Hispaniae donat' (N H 16.32). This cryptic remark sounds like a reference to tributum capitis, but need not be. Baetica was exporting the dye in large quantities by Augustus' reign (STR. 3.2.6 / C144) and possibly earlier, but deduction from this to conditions in the early second century is impracticable.

[3] In 152 the envoys of the Arevaci at Rome said that, if the tribe had done wrong, it was prepared to pay a 'ἑητὸν πρόστιμον' (POL 35.2.15): this may imply such fines were practised. LIVY records that Ti. Gracchus in 179 fined a single Celtiberian town 2,400,000 HS (40.47.10) - equivalent to 7500 lb. silver at 320 HS (80 den.) to the pound (E S A R 3. 128) or 100 talents (at 6000 den. to the talent: MATTINGLY, Roman Coins[2], 95 n.3). This sum, which would be almost as large as the whole of Cato's coin delivery in 194, is not mentioned in the report of Gracchus' own delivery in 178, unless it formed

chronology, does not suggest they consisted chiefly of regular tribute.[1]

A good deal of the tribute, at any rate in the earliest period of Roman rule, may have been taken in kind.[2] This would be a natural development out of the military requisitioning of the Second

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part of the 40,000 lb. of bullion he brought back (41.7.2). But for a single Celtiberian town to have this much money or silver (equal to Macedonia's tribute after 167) is surprising and indeed improbable (cf. § ii below). Exaggeration may be suspected, or a scribal error - replacing 'HS XXIV' with 'HS XXIV' or 'HS [XXIV]' would multiply the figure a hundredfold (see LEWIS and SHORT, Lat. Dict., 1686, s.v. 'sestertius' I B c (γ); SANDYS, Lat. Epigr.², 311, also 54 ff.; J.M. REYNOLDS, OCD², 742, s.v. 'Numbers, Roman').

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[1] The single delivery of coined money recorded outside the 190s - from Citerior in 180 - was brought back (it should be mentioned) by a governor who repressed an internal rebellion by, among others, the Lusones, a tribe of the Jalón (a tributary of the Ebro) and Jiloca (tributary of the Jalón) valleys in modern Aragon (APP. Iber. 42.171-2 'πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν . . . ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες'; LIVY 40.1.2, already quoted, 215 note 4). Their towns included Bilbilis (P. BOSCH GIMPERA, Two Celtic Waves in Spain [London 1939] 88; cf. M. DOLÇ, Hispania y Marcial, 107, 169-70, 172). According to DAVIES (Rom. Mines in Eur., 106-7), by the beginning of the second century B.C. Spanish iron was gaining ground over Elban at Rome: Bilbilis was certainly an important steelmaking town later, as also Platea in the same region (PLINY 34.144; MART. 4.55.11-13; 12. 18.9; DAVIES, ib.), and the district also produced horses (MART. 1. 49.3-4). Despite agrarian unrest, therefore, the development of trade in Citerior may well have made for availability of money in some quantity.

[2] The 'stipendium eius anni duplex' levied on rebels in Citerior in 205 (LIVY 29.3.5) was not tribute but a punitive doubling of an earlier levy for military purposes ('pecunia tantummodo imperata ex qua stipendium militi praestari posset': 28.34.11); note that the other requirements in 205 were 'frumentum sex mensium ... sagaque et togae exercitui'.

Punic War. The glut of Spanish grain on the Roman market in 203 may have come from such tribute.[1] No other deliveries to the City are recorded, but the presence of large armies in the Peninsula in the first quarter of the second century would help to account for that. When heavy warfare died down after 179, it may be that the grain tribute was replaced, probably over a period, by one in money. The complaints of the provincials eight years later (notably that against prefects sent to their towns 'ad pecunias cogendas') were directed against governors who had held office in the interval.[2]

The amount of tribute levied originally was probably quite small. As suggested earlier, the Romans after 205 may have contented themselves with only a general overlordship, leaving the Spaniards largely to their own devices. Widespread and determined rebellion against the new rulers did not break out until 197: firmer control, perhaps with increased tribute, very likely was being attempted, especially with the creation of two new praetorships to govern the Spains from 198.[3]

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[1] LIVY 30.26.5, cf. 30.3.2. W. SCHWAHN, R E 'Tributum und Tributus', 7 A. 41, dates the start of money tribute to 215 on the strength of 23.48.4-5 (where the brothers Scipio, however, state only that they will try to raise their troops' pay from the Spaniards if the government at Rome cannot supply it) and adds 'Getreidelieferungen kamen nicht in Frage': this is too sweeping.

[2] LIVY 43.2.

[3] See above, 175-6.

How the money stipendium was decided, in the case of communities largely agricultural, can only be surmised. Cicero tells us that, like many other provinces, Spain paid a fixed tribute.[1] The sum was perhaps arrived at by calculating a percentage of the average annual harvest.[2] Cicero's rhetoric can hardly be pressed. Sardinia had once been a Carthaginian possession too, but she paid decumae down to Cicero's own day, as part at least of her tribute.[3] The tribute on land and persons in Africa, if it consisted of both tributum capitis and soli from the start, must have fluctuated with population if nothing else.[4]

If Macedonia was paying 600,000 denarii from 167 (a sum which Frank thinks may have risen to two million by 80[5]), it seems reasonable to suppose that, after 133 at any rate, the two Spains

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[1] 2 Verr. 3.6.12 'vectigal est certum, quod stipendiarium dicitur, ut Hispanis et plerisque Poenorum quasi victoriae praemium ac poena belli'; Balb. 41 'quodsi Afris, si Sardis, si Hispanis agris stipendioque multatis'.

[2] A possible indication of this occurs in Appian's narrative of the war with Viriatus: after defeating Plautius, in 146, τὸ Οὐριάθιος τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιὼν ἤτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ καὶ παρ' ὧν μὴ λάβοι, διέφθειρεν' (Iber. 64.272), i.e. relating the amount of blackmail to the value of the crops.

[3] E.g. LIVY 41.17.2 'stipendiariis veteribus duplex vectigal imperatum exactumque, ceteri frumentum contulerunt'; 42.31.8 ('alternae decumae'); BAfr 98.2; R E 7 A. 41 for other references.

[4] APP. Lib. 135.641 'φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως' ; SCHWAHN, R E 7 A. 11.

[5] E S A R 1. 323, cf. 229.

were paying one to two million in annual tribute. There is no ground for supposing that any flat sum, once fixed, endured forever: it would be adjusted occasionally to take economic progress (possibly even regress) into considcration, as well no doubt as the needs of the State. Sertorius remitted taxes[1], and Metellus Pius certainly imposed extra ones on Ulterior, which Caesar when praetor in 61 succeeded in having removed.[2] Possibly these imposts were part of the additional taxation levied by Sulla (according to Appian) even on civitates foederatae and immunes, as well as on all the provinces.[3] After Munda it was Caesar's turn to impose extra taxes on hostile communities.[4]

Caesar levied ten million denarii a year from conquered Gaul, perhaps a moderate tribute.[5] It is hard to see why Spain should be paying substantially less by 50 B.C., at any rate when the revenue from mines, portoria and perhaps scriptura is added to the proceeds of stipendium. After Asia, the Peninsula was probably the wealthiest Roman possession in 63, when according to Plutarch the

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[1] PLUT. Sert. 6.4.

[2] BHisp 42.2. That they were removed shows they were extra.

[3] BC 1.102.475.

[4] DIO 43.39.4. Varro had done the same sort of thing in 49 (CAES. BCiv 2.18.5).

[5] SUET. Iul. 25; EUTR. 6.17.3; JULLIAN, H. de la G. 3. 571; C. HIGNETT, C A H 9. 572.

income of the State was fifty million denarii: that does not prove it necessarily provided a surplus of revenue over expenditure, but if, all told, it contributed one fifth towards the total Plutarch gives, the proportion seems reasonable.[1] Forty years earlier, on the other hand, commerce was not as developed and the areas under Roman control (and perhaps even under cultivation) not as extensive; the alienation of silver mines moreover had probably begun[2]. Thus the overall revenue yield would be smaller.[3] Augustus, by contrast, who conquered all the Peninsula and may have increased the tribute, brought perhaps ten million denarii a year into the treasury from that source alone.

It remains to estimate the way the tribute was apportioned and collected. How it was apportioned is not known. The simplest method would be for every community to be marked down to pay a cer-

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[1] PLUT. Pomp. 45.3 gives the total revenue before Pompey's Eastern conquests, as well as the increases he brought. FRANK's estimate for the two Spains is much lower: 5.8 million den. (ESAR 1. 228-9, 324), about the same sum he proposes for Transalpina. Compared with Tres Galliae's 10 million some years later, the figure is reasonable for Transalpina, but Ulterior alone probably paid as much (especially as Metellus' vectigalia were still in force): it was scarcely any less rich or developed than Transalpina. Frank's estimates for some other provinces' tribute must then be reduced; or the Sicilian and Sardinian decumae, paid in kind, are not to be included in Plutarch's money total.

[2] See § ii [B].

[3] Cf. FRANK, 1. 229, who estimates that between 90 and 63 the revenues of the State doubled. Spain's contribution, based on long-exploited mines and agriculture for the most part, would not have risen so dramatically. A table of suggested approximate figures for income and expenditure follows this Chapter.

tain amount, and allowed to raise it according to their own methods.[1] Local authorities, especially in smaller communities, may often have carried out the collection of the sums due from members of their community, but tax farmers must also have been involved at many places: Cicero, describing Verres' machinations over farming the Sicilian decumae, asserts that publicani were active 'omnibus in aliis vectigalibus, Asiae Macedoniae Hispaniae Galliae Africae Sardiniae, ipsius Italiae quae vectigalia sunt'.[1a] Italian publicani may have arrived quite early on to participate.[2] Roman officials might sometimes be used to collect taxes: Cato the Elder claimed never to have placed prefects 'per sociorum vestrorum oppida, qui eorum bona, liberos diriperent', and as already shown the imposition of prefects on Spanish towns 'ad pecunias cogendas' was forbidden by the Senate in 171.[3] The intention must have been to let the Spaniards do their

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[1] Cf. Varro's 'graviora onera' (CAES. BCiv 2.18.5).

[1a] 2 Verr. 3.11.27. The context shows that 'vectigalia' must refer to others besides portoria.

[2] Notice Cato's dismissal of a similar breed of businessman in 194: 'redemptoribus vetitis frumentum parare ac Romam dimissis "bellum" inquit "se ipsum alet" ' (LIVY 34.9.12). Also his expulsion of 'faeneratores' from Sardinia in 198 (32.27.4) - who presumably were not natives of that island.

[3] MALCOVATI, ORF^2, p. 71; LIVY 43.2.12. Cato's words rather suggest punitive exactions and not regular tribute-collecting; but he was attacking the maladministration of another commander and, presumably, was implying that the defendant's subordinates had exceeded their duties - which may in fact have included tax collection.

own collecting or farm it out , though we need not imagine the practice of using State officials was permanently ended by the senatus consultum. Where the tribute was collected by the locals, the quaestor may have made the rounds to receive their payment; perhaps some communities had to send theirs to an administrative centre such as Corduba or Tarraco.[1] Possibly, where a conventus civium Romanorum gathered, local tax-collecting may have been farmed to members.

The growth of urbanization and municipalization made greater accuracy and control possible, no doubt: local magistrates could furnish lists and figures for deciding how tribute was to be apportioned. When a proper census was finally made (perhaps not before Augustus' reign), the State would be better able than ever to estimate how, and how much, tribute should be assigned to the Spanish provinces.[2]

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The problems connected with the chronology of Spain's indigenous coinages remain largely bound up with those of numismatics, and thus cannot profitably be investigated in detail here. When the theory that the denarius was first introduced in 187 B.C. held the field, the earliest period of the Iberian denarii naturally had to be placed later: thus HILL (Notes on the anc. Coinage of Hisp.

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[1] The tribute imposed on semi-independent peoples, like the Belli and Titthi after 179, must have been left entirely to them to raise and, perhaps, to deliver.

[2] SCHWAHN, R E 7 A. 63-5; cf. STR. 3.5.3 / C169 (Gaditane census statistics on the number of equites at the town); DIO 59. 22.3 (Gallic census lists).

Cit., 138-40: 175/150 B.C.), followed by SELTMAN ('Argentum Oscense and Bigati', Num. Chr.[6] 4 [1944] 77-82), AMORÓS ('Argentum Oscense', Numario Hisp. 6 [1957] 51-71, on 54-62), FARRÉS (Hist. de la Mon. esp. [1959] 59-60; La Moneda hisp. en la edad ant. [1966] 103, 105) and MARTÍN VALLS (La Circulación monet. ibér. [1967] 9-10). (Cf. also JENKINS, Amer. Num. Soc. Mus. Notes [1958] 58-9.) The accompanying bronze coinages were of course similarly dated.

So late a date is no longer necessary. R. THOMSEN, accepted by M.H. CRAWFORD and H. MATTINGLY, has placed the appearance of the Roman denarius during the Second Punic War (THOMSEN, Early Roman Coinage 2. 98-242; M.H. CRAWFORD, R. Rep. Coin Hoards [1969] 4-5; H.B. MATTINGLY, J R S 1970 [rev. of CRAWFORD] 232), so that, although a time-lag must be supposed before the monetary standard of the new rulers was adopted in Spain, the first decade of the second century B.C. should not be too early for local denarii to appear - as LIVY attests (33.27.2: 196 B.C. - see Table). That this is supported by the comparably worn condition of both the Roman denarii (which are of ca. 200 B.C.) and the Iberian ones in the Córdoba hoard (discovered in 1916) is argued by CRAWFORD (Num. Chr.[7] 9 [1969] 80-2), who concludes that argentum Oscense in Livy refers precisely to Iberian denarii (83). The 'Bolscan' mint, localized at Osca, is by far the most copious in Spain (45.7% of all Iberian denarii, according to MARTÍN VALLS, 118-9: cf. 'Turiasu' 35.14 %, 'Segobirices' 11.28, 'Barscunes' 4.38, others 3.49) and its apogee is placed by JENKINS in the mid-second century, dwindling - or even (for a time) stopping - after about 133, until a smaller resurgence ca. 100 - 70 (A. N. S. Mus. N. 1958, 61-3, esp. 63).

What then were Livy's bigati (see Table)? Before the Romans arrived, the Spaniards had imitated coastal coins such as Emporion's (HILL, 8-9, 17-18; GIL FARRÉS, Mon. hisp. en ed. ant., 96-102 and 105). Thomsen, accepting Amorós' view that argentum Oscense was

Spanish imitation drachmae, argues that the bigati were imitations of Roman denarii (2. 184-97, esp. 191-5; AMORÓS, 54). But if, instead, argentum Oscense itself was the imitation denarii, another explanation must be found. It is noteworthy that, according to Gil Farrés, the oldest drachmae of Arsgitar (Saguntum) are just half the weight of the Roman quadrigatus: 3.40 gr. vs 6.80 (Mon. hisp. en ed. ant., 59-60; on the weight of the quadrigatus, see also THOMSEN, 2. 272). The quadrigatus itself, which antedated the denarius, was often cut in half for convenience (THOMSEN, 2. 263-77, 329). Several silver Punic coins from Spain, which on the basis of finds Gil Farrés ascribes to the Barca period, are on the shekel standard (7.50 gr.), with a frequent half-shekel piece at 3.75 gr. (op. cit., 46-52, cf. 63 and 66-7). Rome's connexion with Saguntum may well have introduced her to the half-quadrigatus-sized drachma coinage there before the similarly weighted Spanish-Carthaginian government pieces became familiar - but even this sequence is not essential to the possibility that 'bigati' (which, according to Thomsen, is an annalistic anachronism for denarii) was in fact the Roman description of such Punic coinage. It would be curious if such coinage (or imitations) had gone out of circulation so completely within ten years of the Roman victory over the Carthaginians that it never figured among the coined money acquired by governors.

Crawford suggests that the denarius standard was established by the new praetors of 197 as part of their organization of the provinces, that the money was for paying tribute and that this caused the great rebellion in that year (Num. Chr. 1969, 82-3). The first and third points seem likely enough. But if the new system was introduced in 197 - and moreover if it helped produce rebellion - it is surprising that so much was struck in the brief and tumultuous course of the next two years as to enable governors to take home over 1,140,000 Oscenses denarii (Livy's 34,500 'signati denarium' in 196 [33.27.2] are probably Oscenses - cf. above - and so are included in this total). It may be better to suppose a largely spontaneous - if officially encouraged - adoption of the Roman standard by the

Spaniards. Native tribute coins, whatever their standard, could be melted down or overstruck at Rome (so SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 57). Whether they were used to pay the troops is not certain: the few references we have to military stipendium imply it was normally sent from Rome (see § iv below). That the Roman coins found at the Numantia camps and at Castra Caecilia are decades older than the dates of those works (CRAWFORD, Num. Chr. 1969, 79-80) does not disprove this unless it be assumed a fresh minting was always made to pay the Spanish armies (for longevity of coins in circulation see H. MATTINGLY, Roman Coins², 179).

When the Iberian silver coinage ended is another problem. Specimens occur in hoards of ca. 72 (JENKINS, Jahrb. f. Num. u. Geldgesch. 11 [1961] 82, and 135 no. 241 – 136 no. 243: Castra Caecilia need not be dated to 79, see above, 27 note 4 ; L. VILLARONGA, 'Notas a un hallazgo de denarios en Maluenda (Zaragoza)', Ampurias 26/27 [1964/65] 165-73, esp. 171-2), and the suppression of further issues may have followed the Sertorian war (JENKINS, A. N. S. Mus. N. 1958, 61, cf. 67; CRAWFORD, Num. Chr. 1969, 84) - unless the Azaila hoard (cf. CRAWFORD, R. Rep. Coin Hoards, no. 220) dates to 49 B.C. as P. Beltrán prefers (see JENKINS, Jahrb. f. Num. u. Geldg. 1961, 104 no. 90; cf. his p. 82). Specimens also occur in a hoard from Los Almadenes (prov. of Córdoba) together with coins of Sex. Pompey, which date the collection to about 45 or 44 (GIL FARRÉS, Mon. hisp. en ed. ant., 170, 172); on the other hand, that is no proof the Iberian ones were struck after the 70s. On stylistic grounds M. GRANT would date the latest Iberian bronze issues to the 30s B.C. (FITA, 472-3, also 379-81). Since by the end of the Sertorian war Roman coinage was circulating plentifully in Spain (see CRAWFORD, Hoards, nos. 220, 259, 282, 307, 314, 334) - and might even be struck there (as by C. Annius in 81: SYDENHAM, 121 - 2) - the abolition of the native equivalent was feasible, at any rate.

(ii) Mines

[A] Livy's figures for gold and silver

As the table given above shows, Livy reports eighteen deliveries of gold and silver bullion between 200 and 168 B.C.[1] T. Frank suggested that the produce of the mines in Spain was reported as part of their booty by governors, and used the figures down to 178 to argue for an annual production (on average) of not over one million denarii in the first decades of the second century; after 178 the mines were let out to publicani at Rome, and this accounts for the drop in figures and deliveries by governors given by Livy.[2]

Frank's interpretation is disputed by P.A. Brunt, who argues that the sums vary too much, and are too irregular, to represent proper mining revenues, and that the drop in known amounts after 178 is more likely due to a lessening of warfare and to the incompleteness or loss of Livy's record; adding, 'almost as large sums are reported from Farther as from Hither Spain, though at this time mines were worked only in the latter province'.[3]

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[1] A similar table (not specifying provinces) is given by VAN NOSTRAND, ESAR 3. 129, but contains errors: e.g. assigning the coined silver of LIVY 40.43.6 to the bigati column (L. says 'Oscensis'), and giving the 'Oscensis quingenta quadraginta (sc. milia)' of 34.46.2 as 5040. He also averages 1 corona aurea as equivalent to 1 lb. auri pondo, but this cannot be certain.

[2] ESAR 1. 138, 154-5.

[3] 'The Equites in the late Republic', 2ème Conférence int. d'Hist. écon. (1962) 1. 117-49, on 139.

But various considerations suggest that Frank's view is preferable. That all or most of the deliveries were actual booty is difficult to sustain. Most Roman operations down to 168 (as well as after) were in central Spain, against the Celtiberi and Lusitani: that is, mainly in areas where gold and silver were not available (except perhaps in very small amounts). North of the middle Ebro valley, it is true, lay silver and iron workings, but they were under Roman control from 195 at latest.[1] Farther west, for instance at Albocola and in León, occur the beginnings of the gold-bearing northwest, but Roman forces seldom penetrated so far before the second half of the second century.[2] Still more remote (especially in the early decades) were the gold- and tin-bearing regions of the lower Tagus and northern Portugal.[3] In fact the figures for gold drop remarkably after 194: between 200 and that year, Livy reports 5395 pounds, and between 191 (the next delivery) and 168 he records 2321 altogether. Admittedly this does not include the large amounts brought back by Aemilius Paullus in 189[4] - who perhaps did reach the

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[1] CATO ap. GELL. 2.22.9; LIVY 34.12.7; DAVIES, R. Mines in Eur., 97. Silver and other mines in Navarre were not exploited until the mid-first century B.C. (DAVIES, 96).

[2] Only in 179: LIVY 40.47 - 50.

[3] See DAVIES, 103-6, and Maps IIIa and b at end there.

[4] POL. 32.8.3 (31.22.3 Teubner) πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας χρυσὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετενηνοχώς; cf. LIVY Per. 46; PLUT. Aem. P. 4.3; DIOD. 31.26.1.

lower Tagus in his Lusitanian campaigns, or in whose governorship a brief gold bonanza possibly occurred, for example through the discovery of some new lode.[1] The individual amounts of gold Livy does report are small, as the table shows.[2]

The greatest part of most deliveries consisted of silver bullion, in any case. This metal does not (and there is no evidence that in ancient times it did) occur in central Spain. The silver-bearing territories, not only those north of the Ebro but also the ones around Cartagena, in the Sierra Morena north of Córdoba, around Huelva on the coast by the Portuguese border, and in the Sierra Nevada around Granada, were all under Roman control. The last three areas also produced some gold.[3]

Even commanders whose opportunities for plunder were restricted made handsome deliveries: the terms of Cornelius Blasio and C. Stertinius (governors in 199-8) preceded - though possibly helped to provoke - the general uprising of 197, and while Blasio got an ovation, his colleague, 'ne temptata quidem triumphi spe', merely made his delivery to the aerarium.[4] Their successors, Helvius in Ulterior (197-6) and Minucius in Citerior (196-5), who also faced the rebellion

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[1] This could happen: see below, 231-2.

[2] On the 'quinque milia' reported for 174, see the note to the Table, ad loc.

[3] On these areas: DAVIES, 110-14.

[4] 33.27.1-4. Livy reports little from Spain, and no warfare, under them: 31.50.10, 32.2.5, cf. 32.7.4.

and failed (despite a few successes) to put it down, also made very large deliveries, as the table shows.[1] Some of their store may indeed have been plunder or fines, part again forced levies: but most or all of it must have been acquired in the two provinces.

As argued earlier, the coin deliveries recorded by Livy must have come chiefly from provincial sources - that is, from developed areas under Roman control. If by contrast the bullion was booty, it is curious that booty from wilder, poorer regions should so enormously outweigh the money in value: the total value of the gold and silver may be put at well over thirty million denarii, as will appear. What of the coronae aureae? They were gifts made to departing governors by towns in their province[2], hence would hardly count as booty from enemies (even if we suppose governors at times went to some trouble to make sure that crowns were offered them).

Brunt's remark that mines in Ulterior were not being exploited (even if he only means by the Romans or for them) is against all probability. The wealth of that part of Spain was famous long before the conquest, as the legends of Tarshish-Tartessos, and other stories, illustrate.[3] The Carthaginians certainly exploited mines in the

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[1] For their doings: LIVY 33.44.4, 34.10.

[2] FESTUS 504 L; GELL. 5.6.5-7; R E 2. 2552-3.

[3] Cf. EZEK. 27.12; 1 KINGS 10.22; HEROD. 1.163 (king Arganthonius), 4.152 (Colaeus' voyage); STESICH. Frg. 5 (BERGK, Fragm. Lyric. Gr.) = 54 in D.L. PAGE (Lyrica Gr. Sel.); PS.-ARIST. De Mirab. Auscul. 46 and 135; PS.-SCYMNUS Perip. 166 (ed. C. MÜLLER, Geogr. Gr. Min., 1. 201); POL. 3.57.3; DIOD. 5.35.4; DAVIES, 94-5, 107-8, 111. STRABO has a story that the Carthaginians with Hamilcar Barca found the Turdetani using silver feeding-troughs and winejars (3.2.14 / C151).

south: a silver mine at Baebelo (either in the Sierra Morena or near Carthago Nova) 'CCC pondo Hannibali submini stravit in dies' - an annual rate (assuming this yield was maintained over such a period) of more than one hundred thousand pounds.[1] Baebelo is not otherwise known, and its productivity may well have decreased later; but Hannibal, or at any rate the Carthaginians, opened several other diggings that remained in use after the Roman conquest.[2] Besides, if the bullion reported from Ulterior is taken as booty (as Brunt's view requires), it is paradoxical that the Lusitani from whom it must have been acquired should be so active in mining their own metal deposits while the Romans, with much vaster reserves within the province, were neglecting theirs.

The key difficulty in regarding Livy's figures as mainly mining revenues is their own irregularity. Now it is quite possible that yield did fluctuate considerably.[3] What archaeological evidence there is suggests that early Roman mining (like pre-Roman) was undeveloped, particularly at smaller workings[4] (and it may well be, as I shall suggest, that much of the mining in the early second century was not even done by Romans or Italians). Thus instead of a

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[1] PLINY N H 33.97.

[2] ibid. 96; cf. DIOD. 5.38.2. How productive they were is unknown: Baebelo, the only one to be mentioned, may have been the most outstanding.

[3] Thus too SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 58.

[4] DAVIES, 16, 34, 97, 125, 131-2, 134. Pre-Roman extraction was unskilled and limited to surface or near-surface deposits (DIOD. 5.36.2), and left back a high proportion of precious ore in the slag (A. BLANCO FREIJEIRO, J.M. LUZÓN NOGUÉ, 'Mineros antiguos españoles', A E Arq 39 [1966] 73-88, on 76).

simultaneous working of all or most available sources of ore by a large army of labourers, we might envisage a fairly limited (and itself to some extent fluctuating) manpower - hired as well as slave[1] - tackling one set of deposits after another, some of which might yield a large quantity for a while and then diminish; on occasion, military operations might disrupt production. Modern mining production in Spain, though on a far vaster scale, has varied remarkably, even from year to year.[2] It is no objection, therefore, that Livy's remark on the effects of Cato's mine regulations ('locupletior in dies provincia fuit') would literally imply a constantly rising output[3]: the phrase need merely indicate that, as time went by, productivity (and profits to everybody concerned) grew overall - and in

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[1] Cf. above, 19 note 6 ; SUTHERLAND, 58-9.

[2] Examples (all figures are metric tons):

	IRON	LEAD	TIN	MERCURY
1904	7,985,000	156,000	299	27,000
1905	9,077,000	161,000	209	26,000
1911	8,774,000	322,000	34	20,000
1913	9,862,000	303,000	6626	20,000
1914	6,820,000	264,000	877	18,000
1920	4,768,000	186,000	144	17,000
1921	2,602,000	168,000	13	16,000
1954	3,846,739	83,753	1079	47,928
1955	4,801,537	97,202	894	53,110
1956	5,790,397	94,391	558	68,098

(Nuevo Atlas de España, 74). The metals listed are selected because they were also mined in antiquity. Gold and silver are no longer produced.

[3] 34.12.7.

iron mines, for which we have no figures, as well as silver.

The irregularities in time may be due to a failure by Livy, or his sources, to mention other deliveries: thus Livy does not report the fact, much less the figures, of L. Aemilius Paullus' delivery in 189, at any rate in his extant books.[1] Again, the irregularities (it is conceivable) were sometimes due to administrative arrangements - for instance, to a lack of enough ships or troops for convoying the valuables. On one occasion that is attested, the governor's quaestor brought part of the bullion afterwards, and Livy gives the two totals separately[2]: other such cases may have escaped mention by annalists, leaving incomplete totals to stand in Livy's account.

As already suggested, part of the reported figures may certainly have been plunder or forced levies - that is, not acquired directly from mines, but from communities (part of Helvius', Minucius' and Cato's deliveries, for example). Some of the coined money was also of this provenance, I have earlier proposed. The probability is supported by the bonuses awarded the troops at some triumphs, and the mention of a commander's manubiae.[3] Yet, for his games and temple to Fortune in 179, Q. Fulvius Flaccus used 'money collected

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[1] He mentioned the fact in his obituary on Paullus: 'cum ex Hispania et ex Macedonia immensas opes rettulisset' (Per. 46).

[2] 39.29.6-7: they are combined in the Table (185 B.C.).

[3] Bonuses: 31.20.7, 34.46.3, 40.43.7, 41.7.3; list in BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 394 (Table IX). Manubiae: 33.27.4. Cato gave his troops 270 asses apiece, and 810 to each cavalryman, 'ex praeda' (34.46.3): PLUT. Cato mai. 10.4 says they all got 1 lb. silver each, but this fits only the sum allowed the cavalry.

from the Spaniards', not manubiae[1]; and the other cases tell us nothing of the areas where such booty was collected.

Posidonius, according to Strabo, recorded that Marcellus (no doubt the consul of 152) took a φόρος of 600 talents from Celtiberia: this would be equivalent to 45,000 lb. silver.[2] Marcellus certainly did exact money as part of the price of peace in 151.[3] Schulten, pointing out that the country cannot have produced so much silver of its own, suggests the Celtiberi had gained it by plundering the Roman province.[4] This is possible but it cannot be the whole story: the war Marcellus ended had lasted only two years, hardly long enough for many raids by the Celtiberi, and had been preceded by twenty-five years' comparative peace. Some of the Celtiberians' supply may have been acquired through peaceful exchange. Posidonius' term φόρος is noteworthy: whatever the origins of the money, it was not apparently regarded as booty but as an indemnity, perhaps even as a regular institution. As Marcellus seems to have made peace with the Celtiberi on the same sort of terms as Gracchus,[5]

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[1] 40.44.9.

[2] 3.4.13 / C162.

[3] APP. Iber. 50.214; cf. 48.199 (Ocilis fined 30 talents of silver, 152 B.C.).

[4] F H A 6. 251.

[5] See p. 273.

who had specified a tribute of some kind, this would be reasonable. But the size of the amount remains surprising: Marcellus' operations were confined to the eastern districts of Celtiberia, not an area noted for wealth, as already shown.[1] It is quite possible that Posidonius, either by applying the term 'Celtiberia' improperly to the regions north of the Ebro as well, or (more likely) by misunderstanding or misleadingly reproducing the original report, was in fact referring to the revenue from at least northern Citerior as well as to money taken from enemy tribes.

Lucullus, a year after Marcellus, made the town of Cauca, in the territory of the Vaccaei (the present Coca), pay him a hundred talents of silver.[2] That agricultural people had only once before (179 been attacked by the Romans.[3] The sum may thus have been available, even if it meant stripping the town of all the silver it possessed. But another Vaccaean town, Intercatia, had no precious metals.[4] Again, Numantia in the winter of 140-39 could pay the thirty talents' indemnity Q. Pompeius demanded only by instalments.[5] When the city was

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[1] Even though APPIAN reports a fine of 30 talents on one town (note 3 prec. page). Cf. on Gracchus' fining of Cartima, above, 216 note 3.

[2] APP. Iber. 52.218. On the site: HÜBNER, C I L 2, p. 378.

[3] F. WATTENBERG, La Región vaccea (1959) 32-3 holds that they did not actually penetrate that far, in 179.

[4] APP. 54.230.

[5] 79.341-2.

captured six years later by Scipio Aemilianus, no gold or silver was found in it and he could pay his troops only seven denarii each as bonus.[1] All this makes it more unlikely still that the same areas, fifty and sixty years before, had regularly produced thousands of pounds' weight of precious metals in booty.

The figures Livy gives for silver between 200 and 168 total 332,477 lb.[2] As one has dropped out (in the report for 180) this may be rounded conservatively up to 340,000.[3] For gold his figures amount to over ten thousand pounds, but the 'quinque milia' reported for 174 is so very high that it may be suspected: the easiest correction would be 'quinquaginta'.[4] This brings the gold total to 5907 lb. In addition, there were 409 golden crowns, which in weight may often have been under a pound.[5] The total value may then be put at 27,200,000 denarii for the silver and (say) 6,200,000 for the gold.[6]

If we allow for some of the reported amounts of either metal being booty, and balance against this the probability that some other

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[1] FLOR. 1.34.17; OROS. 5.7.18; PLINY 33.141.

[2] I exclude the figures for 206 as much or most must have been Carthaginian spoils.

[3] VAN NOSTRAND suggests the missing figure was 20,000.

[4] FRANK, E S A R 1. 137; VAN NOSTRAND, E S A R 3. 129.

[5] Despite FRANK, E S A R 1. 138, whom VAN NOSTRAND follows. The Iberian gold diadem in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid, from the La Aliseda hoard, weighs 60 gr. (F. ALVÁREZ-OSSORIO Y FARFAN DE LOS GODOS, Tesoros esp. ant. en el Mus. Arq. Nac. [1954] 13; illustrated in H. de Esp. 1/2. 633-4, Figs. 553-4).

[6] Allowing the crowns a value of roughly 300,000.

deliveries have not been recorded by Livy, the average yearly revenue to the Roman People from the gold and silver mines may be very roughly calculated at one million denarii between 200 and 168. Down to 178 only, the total for gold is 5847 lb. and the same number of crowns, for silver 319,352 lb., amounting to some 31,800,000 denarii: making the same allowances as before, we may suppose about 1,350,000 a year on average was revenue from the mines. This last figure is rather higher than Frank's for the same period. Between 178 and 168 the attested figures drop sharply: 60 lb. gold and 13,125 silver - a value of 1,110,000 denarii over ten years.

The averages given here (it should be noted) concern gold and silver only. Rents and taxes from other mines - it will be argued below - will have brought in further, but now unknown, revenue.

[B] Exploitation

Roman law permitted private ownership of mines, but any that had belonged to the state which Rome supplanted (for example Carthage, in the case of Spanish mines) became public.[1] That the silver and gold mines in Spain had once been treated as public property is implied by Strabo's remark that, by his own day, the silver ones had passed into private hands (whereas most of the gold remained public).[2]

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[1] ORTH, R E 'Bergbau', Suppl. 4. 152; DAVIES, 2-3 (who suggests that Rome may also have taken over all the known mines in a new province).

[2] 3.2.10 / C148 ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ ἀργυρεῖα, οὐ μέντοι δημόσια, οὔτε ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, ἀλλ' εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς μετέστασαν κτήσεις· τὰ δὲ χρυσεῖα δημοσιεύεται τὰ πλείω.

The ownership of other mines is not certain. The important cinnabar mine at Sisapo (Almadén, north of Córdoba) was publicly owned in the Elder Pliny's day, and may have been so earlier.[1] Privately owned mines in any case would be liable to taxation[2] - as Cato's vectigalia on not only silver but also iron mines north of the Ebro imply.

As for the gold and silver mines, Frank suggests State working till 179; Brunt that publicani were at work from 195.[3] It is true that in 167 the Senate (according to Livy) knew of only one system of exploiting state mines - through contractors[4]; also that in 195 Cato 'vectigalia magna instituit ex ferrariis argentariisque, quibus tum institutis locupletior in dies provincia fuit'.[5] Diodorus, whose evidence is largely drawn from Posidonius' description of the Carthago Nova mines[6], says that before the Roman conquest, 'unskilled labourers, whoever might come, carried on the working of the mines'[7]: he contrasts this with the large-scale slave-manned

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[1] PLINY 33.118; cf. CIC. Phil. 2.48; C I L 2.3964 (referring to a 'socioru(m) Sisapo[n]es[i]u[m] vilico').

[2] ORTH, R E Suppl. 4. 152.

[3] BRUNT, 2e Cong. int. d'H. éc., 139; so too E. SCHÖNBAUER, Beiträge z. Gesch. des Bergbaurechts (1929) 134-5 (but he suggests that 'die Publikanen bald darauf die Aufhebung der Verfügungen erwirkten').

[4] 45.18.4 'neque sine publicano exerceri posse ... '.

[5] 34.12.7; cf. CATO ap. GELL. 2.22.9 'sed in his regionibus (sc. citra Hiberum) ferrareae, argentifodinae pulcherrimae'.

[6] Compare DIOD. 5.35-8 with STR. 3.2.9/C147 (explicitly from Posidonius); E. SCHWARTZ, R E 5. 678; SCHULTEN, F H A 2. 162-3.

[7] 5.36.2 (L o e b trans.).

enterprises of Italian speculators and certainly, as remarked earlier, pre-Roman workings were comparatively small-scale. Such a system (or lack of one) may well have prevailed also, before the arrival of Italians, in other mining regions of Spain, under (it can be supposed) the general supervision of the Spanish town or tribe in whose territory the mine occurred. Just how the sovereignty of the Roman people was asserted over the precious-metal mines - whether existing exploiters (who must often have regarded themselves as owners and have been local magnates) were expropriated, charged rent or made to face competitive bidding - cannot be discovered. It cannot be assumed that even all precious-metal mines became State property: a civitas foederata that owned any before the Romans arrived presumably retained them. Possibly so did civitates liberae.[1] Moreover the large output of local Spanish coinage suggests that some silver-lead[2] as well as copper mines remained in the possession of at least the principal coiners (such as Osca and Turiaso).[3] We have no means of knowing what financial attitude the Romans took towards such mines. Perhaps a Spanish community, unless foederata or libera et immunis, had to give up a proportion of the yield as tribute. But the number

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[1] Cf. SUET. Tib. 49.2 'plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et ius metallorum et vectigalium adempta'.

[2] Silver was obtained, as was lead, from working lead galena deposits (R.J. FORBES in History of Technology 2 [Oxford 1956] 43; T.A. RICKARD, 'The mining of the Romans in Spain', JRS 18 [1928] 129-43, on 135-6).

[3] Cf. H. de Esp. 2. 338; below, 274–5.

of gold and silver mines at least that were still in Spanish hands by the late Republic cannot have been large. After the general revolt of 197, for example, there may have been confiscations: the rebels under Culchas, who ruled in the upper Baetis and Sierra Morena area, are thought to have represented discontented local mining interests.[1] Roman suspicion that local working of mines could produce funds for rebellion is given as one reason for closing the Macedonian mines in 167.[2] Strabo's statement about silver mines passing into private ownership by his day could also hold good for workings previously owned by Spanish communities.

The earliest Roman method of profiting from the mines, therefore, would probably be not to exploit them through Roman personnel (slaves and hired labourers might do the manual toil, but the State had no employees to run the enterprises[3]) but to leave them in the hands of their existing operators, and make periodic, perhaps annual,

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[1] A. BALIL, 'Riqueza y sociedad ... ', Hispania 1965, 337; cf. SCHULTEN, F H A 3. 139-40 (Culchas' realm); A. ARRIBAS, The Iberians, 116-7.

[2] DIOD. 31.8.7 (D i n d o r f - L o e b).

[3] TOYNBEE suggests that originally the State had been 'operating through its own agents' (Hann. Leg. 2. 360; cf. SCHÖNBAUER, Bergbaur., 134-5 'staatliche E i g e n r e g i e und Verwendung von Staatssklaven'). Who can these have been? He himself elsewhere stresses the Republic's lack of a bureaucracy, even at home (1. 302-4, 448, 2. 241, 291). It is possible to visualize a prefect or centurion with a few troops in charge of a gang of labourers. But in 167 the Romans, as remarked above, knew of only one way of running mines: through publicani. Livian anachronism, perhaps. Yet even in the much more centralized Empire, state mines were often contracted out, as the Vipasca documents show (SMALLWOOD, Documents ... of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, nos. 439-40; DAVIES, 11-13; VAN NOSTRAND, E S A R 3. 167, 173) and also Cod. Theod. 10.19.3.

levies on their product. Until the system was rationalized still further, such levies might be counted as praeda (and possibly even be regarded as such by the governor). Quite possibly too, the amount at first levied was not fixed, either as a flat rate or as a percentage, and each governor took what seemed to him to be the rightful due of the Roman people. Perhaps significantly, three of the four largest silver totals that we have, and the three largest in gold, occur before Cato's instituta can have been applied: these, in improving the administration of mines, may have given local entrepreneurs a fairer deal.[1]

Cato's regulations may have specified, for instance, which mines were state-owned[2], the proportion of their yield due to Rome and the amount of tax on other mines, the dates for collecting either, the ways mine exploiters should register their workings and any new ones they opened, and so on. It may have been at this time that state mines were opened to competitive bidding, and the governor or his quaestor may have been empowered to accept (and terminate) contracts. Bidders may have been required to appear before them to

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[1] Cato's instituta of course dealt only with the mines of the Ebro region (according to Livy), but if they were good other governors would copy from them. He remained popular with the Spaniards, who chose him as one of their patrons in the complaint case in 171 (LIVY 43.2.5).

[2] In the south, where many had been run by the Carthaginians, this might be in less doubt.

make tenders. If this was the case, contractors would have to be in the province, or come there, to make their bids - a situation that may have prolonged Spanish concessionaires' predominance, thus leaving it to the governor as before to transport the State's share to Italy. Even Italian contractors, faced with competition from local interests, would not care to add to their liabilities, if they could avoid it, by undertaking to transport the State's bullion to Italy as well as their own.

According to Livy, the censors of 179, among other activities, 'portoria quoque et vectigalia ... multa instituerunt'.[1] As Frank points out, the reports of gold and silver deliveries from Spain drop sharply after 178. This is not overwhelming evidence, but it seems likely enough that from then on publicani at Rome were allowed to bid there for Spanish mining contracts - although there is no reason to suppose they were able to gain control of all the mines at once (if indeed ever). But, operating from Rome, they would be in a better position to arrange transport (and provide security) for all the bullion they mined, the State's share as well as their own: hence the amounts the governor brought back would diminish.

According to Strabo, most of the silver mines in Spain 'οὐ μέντοι δημόσια ... ἀλλ' εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς μετέστασαν κτήσεις· τὰ δὲ χρυσεῖα δημοσιεύεται τὰ πλείω'.[2] The contrast he makes between silver and

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[1] 40.51.8; cf. ESAR 1. 154-5.

[2] 3.2.10/C148. Cf. FORBES, in H. of Techn. 2. 43.

gold mines suggests that legal, not merely de facto, ownership is meant. So does the contrast with his preceding report of how the Roman people benefited from the silver mines in Polybius' day: the point of Strabo's remark can only be that the State had ceased to benefit so directly since then. This is supported by the case of Sex. Marius, 'Hispaniarum ditissimus', on whose execution in A.D. 33 his gold and copper (or silver) mines, 'quamquam publicarentur', were seized by Tiberius for himself: 'sibimet Tiberius seposuit'.[1]

Laxity by the authorities, both at home and in the provinces, over asserting public claims to new workings[2], or in allowing leases to be renewed indefinitely by the same contractor or societas[3], would contribute to this (gold mines, less numerous and more valuable than silver, would probably be more closely supervised). The civil wars, when factions needed to raise ready cash urgently and also to assure the loyalty of important adherents, may also have helped.[4]

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[1] TAC. Ann. 6.19.1: MSS simply 'aurariasque eius', suggesting a word has fallen out; 'aerarias' would be an easy loss (so Ritter et al., including Fisher's O.C.T.); Weissenborn (followed by M. Ihm: Teubner) proposed 'argentarias'. — Marius' gold mines will have been among the privately owned minority.

[2] FRANK, ESAR 1. 257.

[3] ESAR 1. 156.

[4] FRANK's suggestion that Sulla was chiefly responsible (ibid. 257-8) is not essential: for one thing Sertorius controlled much of Spain between 82 and 72 (except for 81-80), and though this may not have inhibited Sulla from offering to sell mines, it may have inhibited buyers - though M. Crassus perhaps was among the longsighted (cf. PLUT. Crass. 2.5; FRANK, ibid.). — Similar reasons, and also political weakness, might similarly cause Spanish communities to alienate any mines they still owned.

The loss of actual proprietorship by the state may have been less serious if it retained the right to pre-empt a certain proportion of yield for purposes of coining.[1] Furthermore, private owners may well have had to pay over part of the yield as tax. Certainly a letter of Pollio, when governor of Ulterior, to Cicero shows that in 43 B.C. the state was still receiving silver bullion as well as gold, and money, in revenue.[2]

[C] Mines under *publicani*

There are other uncertain aspects of Republican mine-exploitation. The *lex metalli Vipascensis* of Hadrian's reign provides that a concessionaire must buy the state's half-ownership of a working before he can begin smelting, and that half the produce of his silver workings should be reserved to the *fiscus*.[3] Two hundred years later the state claimed, in the first instance, half the produce of gold mines.[4] Davis suggests that this quota system was new to the sec-

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[1] In the fourth century A.D. the government could pre-empt the miner's 50% of gold workings (*Cod. Theod.* 10.19.3; cf. below). This evidence can only be used as a hint about possible practice four hundred years earlier, but in view of Spain's importance as a silver source it is difficult to imagine that there was no kind of first-refusal provision when many or most silver mines were sold. C. DOMERGUE, 'Les *Planii* et leur activité industrielle en Espagne sous la République', *Mél. de la Casa de Velázquez* 1 (1965) 9-27, on 19-20, suggests that the produce of the mines, but not the mines themselves, were sold by the state to entrepreneurs.

[2] 'Balbus quaestor magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere auri, maiore argenti coacto de publicis exactionibus, ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito duxit se a Gadibus' (*Fam.* 10.32.1).

[3] SMALLWOOD, no. 439 (= BRUNS', no. 113) lines 3 (cf. 6) and 12.

[4] *Cod. Th.* 10.19.3.

ond century A.D., replacing a fixed rent.[1] Certainly we know that at least two copper mines in Spain were let at a flat rate,[2] and no other examples of terms of lease survive. Frank on the other hand thinks that the fifty per cent quota was followed even in the Republic, at any rate for gold and silver output.[3]

Such evidence as there is slightly favours a percentage system for precious metals. As shown earlier, Pliny mentions a daily output of 300 lb. at a silver mine in Hannibal's day.[4] Polybius says that the Carthago Nova mines in his time produced silver worth 25,000 drachmae daily 'τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων'.[5] A daily rate is less suggestive of a flat rent (which would have been settled on a yearly standard) than of a percentage share. Even if a flat rent was in fact levied, it would be to the interest of both the state (if production was rising) and contractors (if it was falling) to arrange new charges periodically. This will no doubt have been the governor's concern.

Polybius' figure is the only other surviving statistic for

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[1] DAVIES, 12, citing PLINY 9.37.[3.]

[2] PLINY 34.165 (see below).

[3] But that the contractor had to meet some of his annual expenses out of his own share (E S A R 1. 155-6, 257).

[4] 33.97.

[5] 34.9 = STR. 3.2.10 / C148. Polybius went to Spain probably in 134 with Scipio Aemilianus (see K. ZIEGLER, R E 21/2. 1459-60).

Spanish silver output. The phrase quoted suggests that it was the state's share of the yield - not total output.[1] If Polybius' drachmae are equivalent, as those in later writers are, to denarii[2], this corresponds to an annual rate of 9,125,000 denarii. G.R. Watson, on the other hand, has argued that the Polybian drachma was meant as a loose equivalent of the quadrigatus of 15 asses, and thus worth 1½ denarii.[3] If so, and as there is no indication that Strabo, in citing Polybius' report, has adjusted his figure, the daily yield to the aerarium will have been worth some 37,000, and the yearly proceeds no less than 13,500,000, denarii - ten times the annual average suggested for the period 200 to 178.[4] And there were other silver mines in Roman Spain besides those at Carthago Nova. It is not surprising

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[1] So too DAVIES, 5; cf. FRANK, E S A R 1. 155; RICKARD, J R S 1928, 135, takes the opposite view (cf. note 4 below).

[2] E.g. PLUT. Sulla 1.4 (by implication); DIO 57.4.2 (cf. TAC. Ann. 1.17.5); ZON. 8.7.2.

[3] 'The pay of the Roman army: the Republic', Historia 7 (1958) 113-20, on 113-5; The Roman Soldier (1969) 89.

[4] 25,000 drachmae is obviously a conveniently round figure; and Polybius' drachma, on Watson's view, is itself used as only approximately equivalent to 1½ denarii. Hence a sum of 36-38,000 denarii could without misgiving be transposed to Polybius' drachmae figure.

If this interpretation is correct, a t o t a l daily output of 25,000 such drachmae would (it may be remarked) still afford the state - assuming it had a 50% share - a sizeable income. The 40,000 labourers (POL. l.c.) at the mines are not stated to have been all slaves: but if they were and if Spanish slaves around 133 cost as little as did Cato's in Italy (2 HS a day on FRANK's calculation: E S A R 1. 188), their upkeep would be 20,000 den. a day; the residue would be 8500 apiece to the state and to the concessionaires (neglecting other costs of mining, which are not known). 8500 x 365 yields 3,102,500 den. annually. On the other hand, if Polybius' drachma = 1 denarius, the state and contractors would have a mere 5000 den. a day between them, after deducting the labourers' upkeep: as Rickard points out, this is hardly an economic proposition.

that, to an Oriental, Rome's purpose in conquering Spain was to obtain its mineral wealth.[1]

As Frank points out, this remarkably high level of output is not likely to have lasted many years. Nor do we know what volume of production had been reached by other mining areas - the iron and silver workings north of the Ebro, for example, and the rich deposits in the Sierras Morena and Nevada, and in southern Lusitania. It may be that the profits to be got at Carthago Nova concentrated second-century-B.C. activity there, leaving other districts to carry on at comparatively low levels, with their development occurring later. Examination of ancient slag has shown that the mines of southeast Spain generally had their bonanza in the period between (roughly) 100 B.C. and A.D. 100, whereas those of the southwest (Río Tinto region) and Portugal were most productive by far in the second century A.D., as well as producing a far greater quantity of ore than those in the southeast.[2]

There are no large-scale figures on mining output from the last century of the Republic. Pliny reports that two lead mines in Baetica were previously leased at a rent of 200,000 denarii a year

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[1] 1 Maccabees 8.1-4 'καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἰούδας τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ ἰσχύϊ . . . καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησαν ἐν χώρᾳ Σπανίας, τοῦ κατακρατῆσαι τῶν μετάλλων τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου τοῦ ἐκεῖ. καὶ κατεκράτησαν τοῦ τόπου παντὸς τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἦν μακρὰν ἀπέχων ἀπ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα.'

[2] BLANCO FREIJEIRO-LUZÓN NOGUÉ, A E Arq 1966, 74-5; cf. chart on their p. 76.

each: as they were afterwards closed and later reopened, this rent must have been during a period some time before his own.[1] In 49 B. C. Varro in Ulterior demanded, besides grain, 20,000 lb. silver and eighteen million sesterces from the province's Roman citizens.[2] The money cannot be adduced as evidence on this question, but the bullion may certainly have represented a substantial proportion of the total amount readily available to Roman citizens in Ulterior at that time. Apart from the silver and iron workings north of the Ebro, which probably attracted a share of speculators, the south was now the principal field for Roman mining enterprise, as archaeological and literary evidence shows.[3]

Overall mining productivity must have remained high in the first century B.C. The mines of Carthago Nova may have fallen from their Polybian abundance, but they do not seem to have given out[4],

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[1] N H 34.165.

[2] CAES. BCiv 2.18.4.

[3] Lead pigs of pre-Sullan date found in the Sierra Morena (VAN NOSTRAND, E S A R 3. 139-40; DAVIES, 9, 108-9); a lead ingot from the district of Carthago Nova stamped SOCIET(as) MONT(is) ARGENT-(arii?) ILVCRO(nensis) (A E 1907, no. 135); another from the Sierra Morena of late Republican date (DAVIES, 115 and note 6); 'SC', 'SS' and 'SCC' on buckets, seals and ingots (DAVIES, 9 note 7); an August-an coin with 'SC' on obverse and reverse, perhaps signifying 'S(enat-us) C(onsulto)' and 'S(ocietas) C(astulonensis)' (GRANT, 134-5). STRABO's account of Spain stresses the mineral wealth of the south and northwest (3.2.8-10 / C146-8; 3.3.4 / C153); cf. PLINY N H 3.7.

[4] Cf. DAVIES, 108-9 (including a find of a coin of Honorius).

and (as remarked above) Ulterior was very rewarding. Strabo's reference to 'New' and 'Old' Sisapo in the Sierra Morena mining region suggests the development there of more recent mines, probably since the conquest and perhaps after 133.[1] In his triumph after Munda, Caesar characterized Spain as primarily the land of silver.[2]

How much of this output came to the state (unless bought or requisitioned) cannot be decided. As suggested earlier, taxes were probably levied on it. But it hardly seems likely that revenues at all as large as those of Polybius' day were still accruing, even if the actual amount of precious metals beirg mined in Spain continued to increase overall.

The conquest of the northwest enabled the Romans tc exploit the precious metals of Asturia and Callaecia. Silver, iron and tin were extracted from the northwest[3], but gold was the great lure. According to Pliny, the goldfields of Asturia, Callaecia and Lusitania were reported as yielding 20,000 lb. a year of that metal.[4] This

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[1] 3.2.3 / C142. DIODORUS' statement that all the mines in use in Spain dated back to the Carthaginians (5.38.2) is probably taken from Posidonius too - i.e., refers to the period ca. 95 (R E 22. 564-5) and even then may no longer have been wholly accurate. In any case, it is clear that the Romans dug deeper and more extensively at any given mine than all previous exploiters.

[2] VELL. 2.56.2 '(triumphi) Gallici apparatus ex citro, Ponti-ci ex acantho, Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis argento rasili constitit'.

[3] PLINY 33.80, 34.156 and 158, 34.149; STR. 3.2.9 / C147.

[4] 33.78: the figure is defended on technical grounds by DAVIES, 101. Roman gold-mining in the northwest is treated by F.R. LEWIS and G.D.B. JONES, J R S 60 (1970) 169-85.

would be a value of some twenty million denarii. Though it cannot be assumed that this output was reached immediately, or even that it was regular in Pliny's own day[1], the new workings obviously increased total mining production in Spain very greatly. The state must have received at least half this output.[2]

(iii) Other sources of revenue

Revenue presumably came also from customs duties (portoria) levied at seaports, and probably elsewhere, but for Republican Spain no evidence of any kind exists.[3] Under the Empire, the three provinces formed one district, with its land-border at the Pyrenees, where stationes levied the quadragesima Galliarum: a 2½ % duty. Seven Spanish stationes are known, and an eighth at Ostia which levied the duty on goods to and from the Peninsula.[4] The seven were at Ilipa, Iliberri, Astigi, Corduba, Hispalis, Malaca and Portus (Gaditanus?)[5]: the first three were centres of road networks, while Ilipa

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[1] He says rather cautiously 'quidam prodiderunt', though he had been an imperial procurator in Tarraconensis himself. SYME, in Harv. St. in C. Ph. 1969, 218, suggests the figure is Augustan because Lusitanian production is included.

[2] Pp. 244-5.

[3] S.J. DE LAET, Portorium (1949) 65 n.1.

[4] CIL 14. 4708.

[5] DE LAET, 286-91; A.M. de GUADAN, 'El primer caso de franquicia aduanera en la Hispania romana', VII Congr. nac. de Arq. - Barcelona 1960 (1962) 412-25, on 415-16.

and the remaining four were river- or sea-ports, like Ostia. No customs posts outside Baetica are attested, but very probably Carthago Nova, Olisipo, Emporiae and, perhaps, Dertosa and Tarraco had them[1], as well as the border with Gaul.[2]

Portoria were usually levied ad valorem; sometimes a charge was laid on specific items.[3] In the Republic they were contracted out to publicani, and evidence from Cicero shows that a governor could impose extra duties and set up new customs posts.[4] The level of the Spanish duty is not clear. A second-century A.D. inscription from Iliberri gives it as 'quinquagesima' (two per cent).[5] But another of the same century speaks of the 'quadragesima Galliarum et Hispaniarum' (two and a half per cent).[6] Frank, who at first argued for

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[1] Tarraco was 'ἀλίμενος' (STR. 3.4.7/C159; its modern harbour is artificial) and hence may not have been a big commercial entrepot, unlike Carthago Nova ('μεῖζον ἐμπορεῖον': ibid. 6/C158); Emporiae was another good port (ibid. 8/C159) and the geographer emphasizes the river traffic on the Tagus and the importance of Olisipo (3.3.1/C152). Dertosa stood at the head of the Ebro delta (as Tortosa still does), 'amnis navigabili commercio dives' (PLINY 3.21) and coins struck under the early Principate show a ship (VIVES 4.17-18).

[2] GUADAN, VII Con. nac. de Arq., 418-19; cf. DE LAET, 286.

[3] DE LAET, 107.

[4] Font. 19-20 (Transalpina); Pis. 87 (Macedonia); DE LAET, 79-80. The attack on Fonteius was for allegedly imposing portoria for personal profit and for levying them on Italian wines; not for setting up new stationes or portoria themselves (DE LAET, 79-81).

[5] CIL 2. 5064.

[6] CIL 14. 4708.

2½% throughout, later proposed that 2% was originally levied and raised afterwards: this conclusion has been generally accepted.[1]

The Spanish revenues of the Republic would also include proceeds from the sale of plunder and prisoners. What plunder might fetch is unknown. The numbers of Spaniards enslaved can be better illustrated than estimated. The figures given by Livy for prisoners in the earlier part of the second century are not remarkably large[2], but successive hauls would produce high final totals. In 140 Fabius Servilianus sold 10,000 town-dwellers.[3] Scipio Aemilianus sold the survivors of Numantia, about 4000.[4] Later wars yield few figures. Some of the 40,000 labourers in the Carthago Nova mines in Polybius' time would be slaves: Diodorus' description, in which slave miners - and their ill-treatment by their Italian masters - are mentioned, probably comes from Posidonius, who visited Spain around 95 B.C.[5] Though some generals may have embezzled the proceeds of slave sales as well as other funds[6], the state must have realized a substantial

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[1] FRANK, 'The export tax of Spanish harbours', AJP 57 (1936) 87-90; ESAR 5. 49; DE LAET, 292-4; R. ÉTIENNE, 'Quadragesima ou quinquagesima Hispaniarum?', R. Ét. an. 53 (1951) 62-70; A. BALIL ILLANA, 'La tasa del "portorium" en Hispania', A E Arq 26 (1953) 185-7; GUADAN, VII Cong. nac. de Arq., 416.

[2] E.g. 2300 (37.57.6), over 5000 (40.33.7), about 4000 (40.40.11).

[3] APP. Iber. 68.291.

[4] ib. 98.424; LIVY Per. 55; FLOR. 1.34.2; SIMON, Roms Kr., 186.

[5] Above, 249 note 1.

[6] Caesar in 61, who cleared himself of debt by governing Spain, may have been one such (PLUT. Caes. 11.1, 12).

sum of money on occasion from captives, in an age when an ablebodied slave might sell for 400 denarii (in Italy).[1]

Apart from mines, the Roman people owned landed property in the provinces. Some ager publicus was restored to the original owners ('stipendiariis redditus') who paid tribute on it and presumably counted as occupiers but not owners.[2] In 63, Rullus' bill proposed to raise money by selling some public land, including a tract around Carthago Nova.[3] During the 70s, M. Fonteius carried out confiscations in Narbonensis[4], and a remark of Cicero's suggests that Spanish lands had also been seized in the past.[5] That would not be surprising, considering the two provinces' tumultuous history. Caesar too carried out confiscations after Munda.[6] But he gave some to friendly communities, while much of the rest probably provided allotments for his colonists.

Public land could be leased by the censors, apparently for a

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[1] FRANK, ESAR 1. 100-1, 384.

[2] L. Agr. §§ 74-6 (BRUNS[7], p. 85); CIC. 2 Verr. 3.6.13; DE RUGGIERO, Diz. ep. 1. 358-9; SCHWAHN, RE 7 A. 5.

[3] CIC. Leg. agr. 1.5, 2.51. The area is still called the Campo de Cartagena, and is fertile.

[4] APP. BC 1.29; CIC. Font. 12, 14 ('ex Cn. Pompei decreto'); BADIAN, 'Notes on provincia Gallia in the late Republic', Mél. Piganiol (1966) 901-18, on 909.

[5] Balb. 41. Africa (apart from the free towns) and Sardinia, which Cicero also cites, were almost entirely ager publicus (SCHWAHN, RE 7 A. 10).

[6] DIO 43.39.4.

rent of ten per cent on produce.[1] It could be sold, or assigned to individuals or communities.[2] To judge from the later special grants of immunitas or ius Italicum,[3] such land in the provinces remained liable to tribute, so that income from ager publicus cannot be calculated as outside the returns from stipendium.[4]

(iv) Special levies

Regular revenue was supplemented by extraordinary requisitions when necessary. The Senate's instructions to governors in Spain in 171 were: 'ne frumenti aestimationem magistratus Romanus haberet neve cogeret vicesimas vendere Hispanos quanti ipse vellet, et ne praefecti in oppida sua ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur'.[5] Since no fuller information is provided about these forms of maladministration,

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[1] CIC. 2 Verr. 3.6.13, 39.89; CIL 2. 1438 (a Spanish inscription of A.D. 49); DE RUGGIERO, Diz. ep. 1. 359.

[2] L. Agr. §§ 3, 15-6, 31-2; DE RUGGIERO, 1. 357-8.

[3] KORNEMANN, R E 'Coloniae', 4. 579-81; 'Municipium', 16. 633-4.

[4] Scriptura (revenue from leasing pastureland) is not attested in Spain, but the country's high quantity of livestock (ESAR 3. 132-3, 180-1) makes its existence likely. Since it was farmed out to publicani (B. KÜBLER, R E 2 A. 904-5) its proceeds may not have been counted as part of the tribute.

[5] LIVY 43.2.12. Cato attacked one of the defendants, P. Furius, 'propter iniquissimam aestimationem frumenti' (PS.-ASCON. on CIC. Div. in Caec. 66 = p. 203 S t a n g l; CHARIS. Gram. Lat. 2. 224 K e i l).

their precise nature is not certain. The collections of money praefecti were sent to make may have included stipendium in cash, but probably also included - in practice - extra (and perhaps illegal) exactions. Aestimatio is known from Cicero's prosecution of Verres. A governor was empowered by the Senate to purchase a certain amount of grain from his provincials for his own and his staff's use (frumentum in cellam), at a rate laid down by the Senate, and was provided with public funds for this; but if a provincial community had already sold its grain, or hoped to get a higher price for it on the open market, and feared the expense of delivering it to wherever the governor ordered, it might ask him 'ut aestimaret' - that is, to lay a certain value on each measure of the produce due him. They would then pay him the difference between the Senate rate (the money for which he retained) and his aestimatio; he would either live on his own or his predecessor's surplus from the year before, or buy cheaper grain from elsewhere.[1] As long as his aestimatio did not rise above the market price available to the community concerned, this arrangement was fair, but abuse developed if a governor insisted on fixing a much higher rate than the going one.[2]

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[1] CIC. 2 Verr. 3.188-225, esp. 188-90, 192, 196-7, 214; J. CARCOPINO, La Loi d'Hiéron et les Romains (1914) 192-204, esp. 198-201.

[2] Verres, for example, kept to a rate of 12 HS (laid down by a predecessor when the market rate had been 20) when the market price was under 3 HS per modius of grain: CIC. ib. 194, 196-7, 201, cf. 214-15. Moreover, though barley was half the price of grain and he had been given public funds in proportion to buy it, he fixed the same rate for it as for grain (188); and he called for five times as much grain as he was legally allowed (225).

As the provincials in 171 complained - it seems - about the aestimatio generally and not simply of its abuse, and as the Senate certainly banned the practice altogether, it must have been highly unpopular in Spain. Perhaps aestimatio frumenti in the early second century was not always the same as the Ciceronian. For instance, if part of the tribute was still, in the 170s, being paid normally in kind, a governor might be induced to commute this, in a year when he had a surplus or the provincials a shortage, for a money payment (estimated by himself). Again, he might find he had a surplus from the previous year of frumentum in cellam, and thus forego his current year's supply in favour of cash (once more at a rate fixed by himself). That it was these presumed forms of aestimatio - benefiting the governor rather than the provincial - that aroused protest and led to the Senate's ban, is supported by Cicero's emphasis that the type he describes 'nata est initio ... non ex praetorum aut consulum, sed ex civitatum et aratorum commodo' - and, moreover, that it was also practised in Spain:[1] since he also implies that both Scipios and also Cato the Elder had practised this benign version[2], it may be that only the abusive forms were banned in 171 (but Livy does not say so) or else that the Ciceronian form, at least, soon revived in Spain.

As for the vicesimae, mentioned only in the passage quoted,

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[1] 2 Verr. 3.189, 192 (stressing how, in a large province, the cost of transporting the grain and also the varying costs of it from place to place made 'ista ratio aestimandi' preferable: cf. 191).

[2] 209.

it has been thought that they were in fact the stipendium[1] or that the latter was paid through farming out a five per cent tax on grain.[2] It is more straightforward to suppose that, as the governor fixed the price (until the Senate stopped him), he bought the twentieth (no doubt of corn and barley, if not of other produce besides). The word recalls the decumae paid by both Sicily and Sardinia[3], and we know that in wartime these two provinces could be instructed to sell a second tithe ('alternae decumae') to the government for supplying Roman armies abroad.[4] Spain's vicesimae will then have been the proportion of grain pre-empted by the governors to supplement, and perhaps sometimes replace, the supply sent out from Italy.[5]

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[1] T. FRANK, Roman Imperialism (1914) 129; cf. VAN NOSTRAND, ESAR 3. 127).

[2] SCHWAHN, RE 7 A. 41. SUTHERLAND's explanation (Rom. in Sp., 57, 226 n.32), that it was a method by which Spaniards had to buy twentieths of their harvest (back?) at slump-prices, is inadequate (note Livy's 'vendere', not 'emere').

[3] SCRAMUZZA, ESAR 3. 237; FRANK, ESAR 1. 140; SCHWAHN, RE 7A. 16 and 41.

[4] LIVY 36.2.12, 37.2.12 and 50.9, 42.31.8.

[5] It is possible that the redemptores who followed Cato's army in 195 (34.9.12) had meant 'frumentum parare' by purchasing it in Spain. G. DE SANCTIS, St. di R. 4/1. 574, explains vicesimae similarly, but thinks armies elsewhere also benefited ('pel vettovagliamento degli eserciti in Spagna e fuori') - presumably because of LIVY 30.3.2, but that occurred during a lull in Spanish warfare (203 B.C.) and cannot have been repeated often. Supplies (full or supplementary) seem to have been sent from Italy more or less regularly: after a successful campaign a governor informed the Senate, at the beginning of the consular year 180, 'nec stipendio quod mitti soleret nec frumento portato ad exercitum in eum annum opus esse' (because, as the rest of his report shows, he proposed to bring his army home: 40.35. 4, cf. 3, and 5-7). But this does not show that 'local grain sup-

Certainly the armies in Spain are never mentioned among the recipients of 'alternae decumae'. That they often drew supplies from the area of operations is clear: Cato (who had to face a rebellious province) did so in 195, Lucullus - uncomfortably - in 151; Scipio Aemilianus added to his by raiding the Vaccaei in 134.[1] Pompey's letter to the Senate, in 74, implied that Citerior had been furnishing supplies till devastated.[2] Sertorius' forces were locally supplied too.[3] Obviously areas outside the field of campaign could also contribute, as Gades did to the government side during the Sertorian war - money as well as grain.[4] Afranius and Petreius drew substantial munitions from the Spanish communities in 49[5], and Caesar received similar help in the nick of time.[6] In the south meanwhile, Varro had amassed grain to send not only to his colleagues but also to Massilia.[7]

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plies for the army ... were the exception' (VAN NOSTRAND, ESAR 3. 130). Caesar had supplies sent from Gaul and Italy in 49 (BCiv 1. 48.1, 51.1) - but they were not enough (52).

[1] Cato: LIVY 34.9.12. Lucullus: APP. Iber. 54.227. Scipio: ibid. 87.380.

[2] SALL. Hist. 2.98.9 M.

[3] Cf. LIVY frg. Bk 91 (lines 70-2 Weiss.-Müll.) 'M. Marium quaestorem in Arvacos et Cerindones misit ad conscribendos ex iis gentibus milites frumentumque' (cf. also lines 58-9).

[4] CIC. Balb. 40.

[5] CAES. BCiv 1.48.5, 49.1 ('multum erat frumentum provisum et convectum superioribus temporibus, multum ex omni provincia comportabatur').

[6] 60.3 and 5.

[7] 2.18.1, cf. 4.

Other levies in kind are known - the saga and togae required of rebels in the northeast in 205[1], the 'σάγους μυρίους καὶ θρεμμάτων πλῆθος' Lucullus extorted from Intercatia in 151[2] and the 9000 saga, 3000 hides and 800 horses Q. Pompeius Rufus required both of Termantia and of Numantia as part of the price of peace in 140.[3] When such practical demands were made on surrendered enemies, it is to be supposed others were laid on subjects and allies. Sertorius, naturally, drew military stores of every kind from his.[4] Varro ordered the Gaditanes to build him ten warships and had others made at Hispalis.[5] We may suspect that Roman adoption of the Spanish sword, from the Second Punic War onward, was accompanied by frequent requisitioning, as well as purchase, of the weapon from local manufacturing communities.[6]

Money was also taken. Lucullus took 100 talents from Cauca[7] and Q. Pompeius, according to Appian, thirty from Numantia.[8] The 600 M. Marcellus is said to have received from Celtiberia has been

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[1] LIVY 29.3.5.

[2] APP. Iber. 54.229.

[3] DIOD. 33.16.1; SIMON, Roms Kriege, 114-15.

[4] LIVY frg. Bk 91, lines 18-28 Weiss.-Müll.

[5] CAES. BCiv 2.18.1.

[6] POL. 6.23.6-7; frg. 22; HARMAND, L'Armée et le soldat, 64-6.

[7] APP. 52.218.

[8] 79.341-2.

discussed already.[1] These sums were exacted as the price of peace and should therefore be viewed more as indemnities (in Marcellus' case much of it may have been ordinary stipendium), even if these indemnities were arbitrarily imposed. The same may be true of whatever sum Ti. Gracchus senior required of Certima.[2] Varro had the Romans in Ulterior promise him not only grain but also silver bullion and money, large amounts in every case.[3] He also robbed Gades' temple of Hercules of its treasure.[4] Caesar restored these confiscations and levies, but after Munda carried out many of his own, including Hercules' treasure once more.[5] Levies and requisitions were not limited to Spain, naturally: Cicero accuses a governor of Macedonia, for instance, of investing at Rome the large supply of public funds voted him, and maintaining himself on levies of money and grain from the provincials.[6]

A governor might impose contributions on the locals to enable him to fulfil a personal vow through games and offerings[7] — or to pay his debts.[8] That the provincials were expected to contribute

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1 Pp. 234-5.

2 P. 216 note 3.

3 P. 248.

4 CAES. BCiv 2.18.2.

5 DIO 43.39.4.

6 Pis. 88, 90.

7 LIVY 40.44.8-9.

8 SUET. Iul. 54.1.

towards his personal upkeep may appear from Livy's remark that, when governor of Sardinia, Cato slashed or abolished these 'sumptus'.[1]

This sort of thing cannot be considered part of the regular revenue from a province: but obviously requisitions and contribution that were not paid for would reduce the state's own expenditure on provincial matters. It is not possible to judge how much the governing of the empire depended on arbitrary levies like these, but that they formed an important element seems clear.

Aurum coronarium may also be mentioned. Reports of golden crowns brought back by governors occur several times in Livy, as shown earlier: in those cases the crowns were given to the treasury, but that governors later took to appropriating them is shown by the provision in Rullus' bill in 63 ordering them to hand in their aurum coronarium[2] and by Domitius Calvinus' use of his Spanish gold to pay for his triumphal festivities and for rebuilding the Regia at Rome.[3] Of course, governors might exact the offering even if undeserved. Caesar's lex de repetundis in 59 forbade offering or accepting crown-gold 'nisi decreto triumpho'.[4]

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[1] 32.27.4 'sumptus quos in cultum praetorum socii facere soliti erant circumcisi aut sublati'. No wonder faeneratores were active (ib.).

[2] CIC. Leg. agr. 1.12, 2.59.

[3] DIO 48.42.4. He accepted it 'ἐκ μόνων τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν (πόλεων),' presumably not from the Roman colonies (at least) in Spain. Cf. SUET. Aug. 29.

[4] CIC. Pis. 90.

(v) Expenditure

In the Republic, expenditure on a province was limited to a few items: maintaining the troops (and a fleet when necessary), as also the governor and his staff; building roads and a few other public works, and fortifications[1]; and occasionally some share in founding a town. The money needed would obviously vary a good deal with circumstances.

Cicero, speaking in 66 B.C., declared that, except for Asia, all provinces' 'vectigalia ... tanta sunt ut eis ad ipsas provincias tuendas vix contenti esse possimus'.[2] He was of course concerned to stress the value of Asia to support his argument that Pompey should be sent out to protect it. Yet he would hardly make the statement if his audience were aware of a consistently large surplus from places like Spain at that period. As he also implies, the bulk of expenditure on the provinces was for military purposes.

On Frank's estimate, a third-century legion cost about half a million *denarii* a year in pay, plus the cost of wheat for allied troops, of the soldiers' baggage-train and of materials used by the legion.[3] For 200-150 B.C. he suggests a cost of 600,000, and for 150 to 80 perhaps 800,000.[4] The rate of pay per soldier suggested

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[1] Cf. p. 290.

[2] *Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 14.

[3] *ESAR* 1. 76-8.

[4] 141-2, 224-6, 327.

by G. Watson for the period before 122 (180 *denarii* a year) would make the cost of annual pay in the first half of the second century no less than 900,000 *denarii* per legion - at full strength.[1] Frank's figure for the half-century down to Sulla, if correct, will not have risen much over the next generation or so.[2]

Thus a praetorian army of one legion with Spanish *auxilia* may have cost around 700,000 *denarii* (if not more) in the early second century - especially if some provisions had to be purchased for auxiliaries as well as Italian *socii*. In 133 a military establishment of four legions would require perhaps four million *denarii* annually. In the later 50s Pompey, with seven legions in Spain, was given one thousand talents (six million *denarii*) a year for administering the two provinces (see below).

Naval operations, such as those against the Balearic Islands, were another expense. Moreover until the later second century B.C. troops were taken by sea to the Peninsula. For the period 200 to 150, Frank estimates this service at three-quarters the cost of the Roman navy of the day.[3] On his calculations, the combined cost of

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[1] *Historia* 1958, 116-7. Pay dropped to 112½ after 122, he suggests: BRUNT, *Ital. Manp.*, 411 n.2 does not accept this. As the figure is close to the 120 supported by Frank, Brunt and others, I have not signalized the difference in the text.

[2] He suggests it rose to one million (*E S A R* 1. 327). But Pompey's legions in Spain by 49 numbered not six - the figure Frank uses - but seven (CAES. *BCiv* 1.85.6, cf. 2.18.1). BRUNT, 714, argues that six legions should cost only 3,600,000 in pay even if at full strength, and therefore that Pompey was allotted much more money than he needed; but funds were also necessary (and Frank allows for this) to cover materials, baggage-train, etc.

[3] *E S A R* 1. 143-4.

navy and transportation at that time would be roughly one-seventh of the total cost of the armies.[1] The Via Domitia may have replaced some sea transport with that by land, but this would also incur costs, and a similar ratio may be kept for those wars in which both military arms operated.

To some extent, expenditure on the armies could be offset by requisitioning or punitive levies, whether in cash or kind, as shown earlier. The costs of roadmaking, fortification and public works (when initiated by the Roman government) were probably decreased by using soldiers, slaves or requisitioned labour - and perhaps materials - though not eliminated.[2] Billeting troops for winter, when practised, would also save money, though the behaviour of ill-disciplined troops would alienate the provincials.[3] Some sizeable expenses must have been incurred by the colonization programmes of Caesar and Augustus, which involved providing houses and public amenities, as well as transport (for settlers from Italy). Augustus, at any rate, paid for the land he needed, although the possible use of ager publicus would reduce this expense.[4] Possibly too the colonies in sparsely inhabited areas (Norba, Emerita, Pax, Libisosa) did not re-

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[1] 58.5 million denarii vs 414 million (ESAR 1. 141-4).

[2] Cf. CIC. Font. 17-18; LIVY 39.2.6; L. Urs. 98; ESAR 1. 227.

[3] PLUT. Sert. 6.4 (Sertorius won popularity by abolishing the practice); CIC. Pis. 86; Prov. Cons. 6; STR. 3.5.9/C175 (citing a Posidonian reference to soldiers [stationed] at Ilipa); PLUT. Sert. 3.3-4 (an anecdote involving Spanish reaction to undisciplined billets).

[4] Res G. 16.1.

quire land purchase - they too may have been sited in ager publicus.

A partial, though patchy, picture of the costs of administration may be gained from what is known of the funds allotted to some governors. It is clear that a governor was not, as a rule, supposed to appropriate directly the money he collected in tribute. In the early second century he brought home the bullion from mines, and the military stipendium was normally sent from Rome to pay the troops.[1] Governors were allowed a vasarium to meet expenses: Scipio Africanus received 400 talents in 209[2], L. Piso on his departure for Macedonia in 57 eighteen million sesterces.[3] Pompey, proconsul of both Spains from 55, was given a thousand talents a year.[4] Verres, when quaestor to the consul Carbo in 84, received precisely 2,235,417 HS[5], in Sicily a decade later, he was allowed almost 3,700,000 HS a year for special purchases of corn.[6] Domitius Ahenobarbus, sent to Gaul with a legion in 49, had one and a half million denarii with him.[7]

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[1] Some of the wealth Q. Cassius was carrying home in 48 may not, therefore, have been ill-gotten (BAlex 64.2).

[2] POL. 10.19.2.

[3] CIC. Pis. 86.

[4] PLUT. Pomp. 55.7; Caes. 28.8.

[5] CIC. 2 Verr. 1.14.36. He saved 600,000.

[6] ibid. 3.70.163.

[7] FRANK, E S A R 1. 327. In more settled times and areas, a governor might be given a bill to cash on his arrival in his province, as was Cicero (Fam. 3.5.4; J.M. COBBAN, Senate and Provinces, 78-49 B.C. [1935] 156).

As quaestor Verres spent less than three-quarters of his funds, and Cicero saved 2,200,000 HS of his Cilician appropriation, a sum Frank estimates at about a quarter of the original.[1] It is likely that, at least when income from Spain had risen through more developed exploitation of its resources, revenue in a peaceful (or relatively peaceful) year was larger than expenditure; but the reverse must often have occurred in periods of warfare. The cost of the Spanish provinces must have been particularly high in the Sertorian war, and again between 46 and 19 B.C. when civil wars were followed by internal conquest; even afterwards, the legionary garrisons stationed in the north required maintenance. The division of the country into three imposed the new expense of an extra governor and staff, and administrative costs generally must have gone up once regular salaries began to be paid to officials.

A note is appended on suggested Spanish revenue and costs to A.D. 14. The figures are naturally approximate, or based on surmise.

INCOME[2]

ca. 200-180	(i) Stipendium: partly (largely?) in kind
	(ii) Mines: 1,800,000 ?[3]

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[1] CIC. Fam. 5.20.9; ESAR 1. 327.

[2] All figures are denarii.

[3] Including rent, or taxation, for copper, cinnabar, iron (etc.) mines.

ca. 180-120	(i) Stipendium: between 500,000 and (after 133) 2,000,000 ?
	(ii) Mines: between 10 and 12 million (around 150/130)
ca. 120 - 80	(i) Stipendium: over 2,000,000
	(ii) Mines: lower owing to alienation - 4-5,-000,000 ?
ca. 80-20	(i) Stipendium: 6,000,000
	(ii) Mines: 2,000,000[1]
ca. 20 B.C.- A.D. 14	(i) Stipendium: 10,000,000
	(ii) Mines: 8,000,000[2]

Portoria proceeds cannot be estimated from one period to the next. If trade to the total value of 25,000,000 a year was subject to the 2% tax (almost certainly too low a figure, for Strabo's day at least), that would yield 500,000. Sale of slaves would bring in considerable but fluctuating revenue (4000 male slaves at even 250 denarii each would realize 1 million).

EXPENDITURE

With between two and four legions in the Peninsula, occasional town foundations, and roadbuilding, annual outlay in the second century must have been around 2-4 million, and in the first century somewhat more. During the Sertorian war, costs must have soared and revenue diminished: if Metellus and Pompey, by 74, had altogether 11 to 14 legions[3], direct outlay on them alone may have amounted to 10 million

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[1] Both of these figures were probably at least halved in the Sertorian war.

[2] Including 10,000 talents (six million denarii) from the N.W. gold mines.

[3] BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 471.

or so. Pompey's annual 6 million grant for Spain has been mentioned. Perhaps a round 5 million may be assumed for the three provinces in the middle of Augustus' reign, when the number of legions had been reduced but there were three salaried governors and staffs.

CHAPTER XII

LOCAL AUTONOMY

IT was suggested earlier that Roman officials in Spain, thoughout the Republic, were too few to intervene directly or regularly in all administrative matters. They did not attempt this even in Italy.[1] By contrast there is plenty of evidence that in most things the Spaniards governed themselves.

In a special class were *civitates foederatae* and *civitates liberae et immunes*. In the mid-Augustan era, there were three *foederatae* in Baetica, another in mainland Tarraconensis and two in the islands.[2] The most famous treaty town of all had been Gades, but this had Roman citizenship after 49 B.C. Malaca and Epora, and an unspecified third, were the Baetican[3]; a town called Tarraca in the Caesaraugustan *conventus*, Ebusus in the Pityussae Islands (modern Ib-

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[1] SHERWIN-WHITE, *R C*, 36-90, esp. 70-2; see also TOYNBEE, *Hann. Leg.* 1. 178-249 for a thorough discussion of *coloniae civium R.*, *municipia*, *praefecturae*; also BRUNT, *Ital. Manp.*, 524-35, on Italian autonomy before 90 B.C.

[2] PLINY 3.7, 18, 76-7.

[3] 3.8, 10. THOUVENOT, *Bétique*, 192-3, suggests Ripa was the third (PLINY 3.10 - describing the course of the Baetis - 'mox Ripa, Epora foederatorum ... ').

iza) and Bocchoris in the Balearics were the rest.[1] Free towns numbered six, all in Baetica: Pliny names only two, Astigi Vetus and Ostippo.[2] Singilia Barba, near Anticaria (Antequera), was perhaps a third.[3] Such towns were allowed full formal freedom to run their own affairs. The treaty towns were technically independent states in their own right and, during the Republic, were not subject to taxes, though free states could be made to pay them[4] and 'libera Macedonia' paid tribute to the Roman people from 167.[5]

Not surprisingly, the system of government at Gades (and probably elsewhere) was oligarchic.[6] That great port was a city of merchant princes. The younger Balbus was wealthy enough to build it a suburb.[7] The local magistrates were sufetes (Gades being a Punic town).[8]

As for the ordinary Spanish provincial communities, study of the amount of autonomy allowed them requires, first of all, that their

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[1] Tarraca: PLINY 3.24; R E 4 A. 2403. Ebusus: 3.76. Bocchoris: 3.77; cf. C I L 2. 3695 (A.D. 6).

[2] 3.12.

[3] See p. 336 note 2.

[4] SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 154-6; R.G.M. NISBET, Ciceronis in Pisonem (Oxford 1961) 173.

[5] LIVY 45.29.4.

[6] Cf. CAES. BCiv 2.20.2 'Gaditanos principes'.

[7] STR. 3.5.3 / C169 (on the same island).

[8] Sufetes occur on many African inscriptions: C I L 8. 7; Inscr. rom. de Tripolit., nos. 319, 321-2, etc.

native political organizations be considered. The basic unit was not the tribe but the town (oppidum) and fort (castellum).[1] Celt-iberian towns were usually under 20 hectares (about 49.4 acres) in area.[2] Ullastret and San Juliá de Ramis, Iberian settlements near Emporiae, measured four and seven hectares respectively - 9.88 and 17.29 acres.[3] Even after its revival in early imperial times, Numantia covered only some 24 hectares.[4] It is fairly clear that such sites would normally house only part of the population, serving as a centre of refuge in a crisis, and as a gathering-place for other purposes. Even in the more developed south, the site was usually on a defensible hill.[5]

The Spanish tribe was a federation of such communities - the larger the looser. In the far west and north, where oppida were scarce, the unit between tribe and tribesman was the gentilitas or clan, which survived well into imperial times.[6]

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[1] SCHULTEN, R E 8. 2021 = Hispania (1920) 95. It may be noted that virtually all local Spanish coins bear the names not of tribes (such as Arevaci, Turdetani) but of town communities - unless the two coincide (Unticescen, i.e. Indicetes, next door to the Emporitan Greeks, for instance). See below in this chapter.

[2] J. MALUQUER DE MOTES in H. de E. 1/3. 235.

[3] ARRIBAS, The Iberians, 101-2.

[4] GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, La Edad ant., 11-15.

[5] CAES. BCiv 2.19.4 (Carmo); BHisp 8.2-5. On Iberian towns see E. PHILIPON, Les Ibères (1909) 234-8; ARRIBAS, 97-115.

[6] Cf. C I L 2 Suppl., p. 1161; map in H. de E. 1/3. 149 (very few in Asturia and Callaecia). On the social organization of the northwest in antiquity, see now J. CARO BAROJA in Legio VII Gemina, 9-62.

Populi on the fringe of Roman power sometimes appear as acting more or less independently. Gracchus' treaties enjoined that the Celtiberi should be 'friends of the Romans' and provide tribute and auxilia. These latter stipulations were later remitted. The agreements also bound the Spaniards not to build new towns (which of course would be strongholds).[1] This provision itself shows that the Celtiberi, though the inferior parties in the treaty, were neither provincialized nor under constant supervision. When the Belli and Titthi co-operated in 153 in fortifying Segeda (an existing town), the matter was referred to the Senate, presumably by the governor of Citerior. The Senate sent envoys to protest the alleged violation of the treaties.[2] It is clear that the deditio of Celtiberia in 180-79 had not stripped the Spaniards of their independence - or, more precisely, it had been restored to them in the peacemaking that followed.[3] The Romans knew they had no reasonable means of holding down Celtiberia by force. As earlier shown, Appian describes the Lusitani in 154 B.C. as 'αὐτόνομοι', which suggests that previous defeats had not impaired their self-sovereignty either.[4]

Peace negotiations over the next twenty years also indicate

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[1] APP. Iber. 43.179 - 44.183.

[2] 44.182; DIOD. 31.39.

[3] LIVY 40.33.9; Per. 41, for the deditio. Whether the Celtiberi took any such complicated view of their position may be doubted. They perhaps did regard themselves as vassals, in some sense, of the Romans: cf. the Arevaci's offer to pay a fine if adjudged in the wrong (POL. 35.2.15). But this could equally have been viewed simply as compensation from one state to another, after an impartial arbitration.

[4] APP. 56.234.

that the Lusitani and Celtiberi were not subject to direct or lasting Roman domination. In 141 peace was ratified with Viriatus by the Roman people - to save an army from annihilation - which made territorial concessions and granted Viriatus the title amicus populi Romani.[1] In Citerior, Marcellus' peace in 151 with the Celtiberi was apparently on the lines of Gracchus' a generation earlier[2]; and Mancinus' enforced treaty of 137 was 'ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις'.[3]

Numantia of course was destroyed, and Viriatus assassinated. Yet the Celtiberi and Lusitani were continually at war with Rome in succeeding generations: it is clear that the Romans had no power to disarm them, and that not even patrols were maintained over their territory. When the Cimbri invaded the north late in the second century, the Celtiberi expelled them without help from Rome.[4] When war threatened with the Spaniards soon after, an embassy was sent from Rome in default of troops.[5] In 77 at a 'conventus sociarum civitatum' in Citerior, Sertorius instructed each town to provide a quota

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[1] APP. Iber. 69.294; LIVY Per. 54 'pace cum Viriatho aequis condicionibus facta'; DIOD. 33.1.3-4; ASTIN, Scipio Aemilianus, 126, 142; SIMON, Roms Kriege, 122-3.

[2] APP. 48.205 (the Celtiberi ask for peace on the lines of Gracchus'), 50.214 ('ὁμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ᾔτησε καὶ ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρους'); SIMON, 45; ASTIN, 40, 42.

[3] APP. 80.347.

[4] LIVY Per. 67 (quoted above, 183 note 1).

[5] APP. 99.430.

of new armaments and thanked 'omnium populorum legationibus et civitatum' for what they had already furnished.[1] Even in wartime, therefore, the communities arranged much of their own affairs. The appearance of a town of 'contributi' in 49 - whatever the precise circumstances were - also points to autonomy at local level.[2]

So does the Iberian coinage itself. O. Gil Farrés argues that the uniformity of the 'horseman' series in Citerior (in both silver and bronze), despite the variety of communities named, proves the coins originated from a single centre or, at least, that dies with identical designs were circulated from that centre to individual communities for the actual minting: the centre, he thinks, was first Emporiae, then (after 100 B.C. or thereabouts) Tarraco.[3] It seems equally possible that the 'horseman' type, and the beardless head in profile that is always found on the obverse, was adopted by the earliest and dominant local mint (Osca?) and copied thereafter; also that smaller issuing communities had their pieces struck for them by the larger. In either case the commemoration of so many Spanish communities on silver and bronze pieces is an argument for autonomy; the uniformity of the series hardly points to strict Roman control[4]: the many issues by towns in Ulterior are by contrast extremely varied

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[1] LIVY frg. Bk. 91 med.

[2] CAES. BCiv 1.60.1; see p. 158 note 2.

[3] Mon. hisp. edad ant., 129-30, 160 and 164; cf. Hist. de la mon. esp., 63.

[4] So SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 56-7.

in every way,[1] but there is no evidence that standards of control differed from one province to the other - and if they had, they might be expected to be firmer in the more peaceful and civilized south.

Whether there were at any time Spaniards (except perhaps when in the temporary condition of dediticii) who altogether lacked autonomy cannot be said, but seems unlikely: the Roman authorities would then have had to administer them at every level, a job there was neither personnel nor inclination for. It might be more important to determine when a Spanish populus or civitas passed from independence or semi-independence (vassallage, we could term it) to mere local self-government under Roman domination. One way - probably the most noticeable - of marking the change would be to require that serious judicial cases should be referred to the governor or his delegate at assizes. Whereas Caesar improved Gades' iura at that town's request[2], it is likely that governors often intervened of their own accord to

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[1] See VIVES, Mon. hisp. 3, passim.

The terminations -cen (or -ken), -cos and -com/-con of many coin-legends in Citerior seem to be a genitive plural: thus Ausescen = 'people of Ausa', Unticescen = 'of Undica' (or Indica - the native half of the double-city at Emporiae: STR. 3.4.8/C160; R E 9. 1368), Iltircescen = 'of Iltirda' (Ilerda), Calacoricos = 'of Calagurris', Titiacos (possibly Appian's Titthi, who should have had a town of some sort: cf. VIVES, 2. 140-1, citing H e i s s' and D e l g a d o ' s localization at Atienza, in northern Guadalajara [but this is surely too far south]); see GIL FARRÉS, Mon. hisp., 190, 192. SUTHERLAND, 56, views them as 'tribal names, and not town names', but the implied clash does not exist in fact. 'Arevaci' or 'Vascones' (tribal names covering more than one town), by contrast, never appears on coins.

[2] CIC. Balb. 43.

impose Roman usages (including legal forms) on subject communities, replacing native ones.[1]

The political organization of these civitates varied. In Citerior, there are references to 'senatus' or 'πρεσβεύτεροι'[2]; but important decisions may have been referred to an assembly of warriors, at any rate in the wilder parts of the country, as for example the πλῆθος that voted to carry on fortifying Segeda in 153.[3] The Arevaci assembled in arms that year to elect war-leaders.[4] Among a warlike people the custom of devotio, a pledge to defend and not survive a chieftain, prevailed[5]: that and the customs of mutual hospitium and clientela, which survived into Roman times[6], must have provided some social bonds between prominent and humble members of a community, as also between different communities. In some places,

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[1] Cf. the veto on human sacrifice among the Bletonenses, if these really are a Spanish tribe (PLUT. Q. Rom. 83): so C. CICHORIUS, Röm. Studien (1922) 7-10, identifying them with Bletisa in northern Lusitania (CIL 2. 858-9) and adducing STR. 3.3.6/C154 (on human sacrifice among the Lusitani). If so, the veto must have occurred (as he points out) during P. Crassus' campaigns in the 90s, and it is not likely that the Romans remained able to enforce the ban for long.

[2] LIVY 34.17.7 'senatores omnium civitatum (cis Hiberum)'; DIOD. 31.39; APP. Iber. 100.434 'τοῖς ἐπιφάνεσιν', 437 (βουλή of Belgida). See also J. CARO BAROJA, 'Regímenes sociales y económicos', Revista int. de Sociología 1943, 173.

[3] DIOD. ib. The δῆμος of Belgida was so eager to revolt (ca. 93) that it massacred the reluctant βουλή (APP. 100.437).

[4] APP. 45.185, 46.188; DIOD. 39.42 'τὸ πλῆθος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν'.

[5] SCHULTEN, RE 8. 2016 = Hispania, 87; ARRIBAS, 119; R. ETIENNE, Le Culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique (Paris 1958) 75-80.

[6] CIL 2. 1343, 5763; D'ORS, Ep. jur., 367-80; see below.

especially the south and east, petty monarchies appear: thus the regulus Culchas, already mentioned, in Ulterior[1], and Thurrus two decades later in Celtiberia.[2] Scipio Africanus later boasted 'regulos se acceptos in fidem in Hispania reges reliquisse'.[3] Other reported princes, especially later on, may only have been war-leaders, as the 'rex nomine Indo' who appears momentarily in 45, at the head of a body of cavalry.[4]

As time passed, oligarchies seem to have largely replaced kings, partly perhaps under Roman influence but also no doubt as economic development produced a rich upper class.[5] In 49 Caesar, on entering Ulterior, 'edictum ... praemittit, ad quam diem magistratus principesque omnium civitatum sibi esse praesto Cordubae vellet ... nulla fuit civitas quin ad id tempus partem senatus Cordubam mitteret'.[6] That gathering included both cives Romani and also ordinary Hispani.[7]

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[1] LIVY 28.18.3, 33.21.8.

[2] 40.49.5.

[3] 37.25.9; POL. 21.11.3-8. He put the town of Castax under the rule of one of its leading citizens, in 206 (APP. Iber. 32.131).

[4] BHisp 10.3; cf. MALUQUER DE MOTES et al., H. de E. 1/3. 319, 321-2.

[5] Cf. pp. 366-7.

[6] BCiv 2.19.1-2.

[7] 21.1.

Spanish coins of Republican times sometimes bear (or seem to bear) the names of local magistrates and occasionally a reference to the local senate. This is Grant's explanation of the formula 'EX S.C.' on pieces of Toletum and (possibly) Lascuta.[1] On issues, usually bilingual, of several other towns (excluding Valentia and Carteia) in both provinces, if mostly in Ulterior, appear magistrates' names (Latin and native) or initials, often with the abbreviation 'AED.' or 'AID.', spelt out as 'AEDILE' at Acinipo.[2] Although some of the towns had Roman or Latin right under the Empire, there is no evidence that these coins date to that era - Saguntum, for instance, struck a different series as a municipium,[3] and none of the issues

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[1] FITA, 472-3; VIVES, 4. 45, where 'C. Viccius C.f.' is presumably a magistrate and a variant (no. 5) has EX ƨ COI (Toletum); 3. 48-9, with SCVIC (no. 2), ISCO (?: no. 10). Grant also suggests that 'Bodo', an appellation of both magistrates on another Lascutan issue, is the title of their office (FITA, 473; VIVES, 3. 48 no. 1 'P. Terent. Bodo', 'L. Numit. Bodo'), but it may be their surname - compare 'M. Horatius M.f. Gal. Bodon[...?]', a IIvir at Iluro or Urgao (CIL 2. 2114). Again, 'P. Terent. et Colp.' at Onuba (VIVES 3. 73) may not refer to a magistracy but be of the same import (with misspelling?) as 'M. An. Ant. et Conl(ega/ae)' at Esuri or Baesuris (GRANT, ibid.; VIVES, 3. 81), or may be the (Spanish?) name of P. Terent(ius)'s colleague. See also p. 398.

[2] Saguntum: VIVES, 2. 19-22 (no. 8 with AED. CVR.). Castulo: 2. 168-74, from no. 37 onward. Possibly Salacia: 3. 25-6 (no. 4 has 'Conil. Siscr. F.'). Bailo: 3. 45 (no. 3 with AID). Vesci: 3. 46 (no. 5 with 'C. Livius' - see above, 186 note 6). Obulco: 3. 56-60 (nos. 25-9 with AID.). Onuba: 3. 72-3 (see prev. note). Acinipo: 3. 82 no. 1 ('L. Folce. Aedile'). Myrtilis: 3. 91. Osset: 3. 95. Urso: 3. 97; GRANT, 24 (presumably pre-colonial; GRANT, 24-5, thinks the Urso, Bailo and Myrtilis issues - all with the same official, L. Ap. Dec. Q. [L. Apuleius Decianus, Quaestor?] - are Pompeian, ca. 45). Sacili: VIVES, 3. 100 ('Ola. F.'). Iulipa(?) Halos: 3. 107 ('Val. Ter.').

[3] VIVES, 4. 11-12, naming 'IIviri'.

involved mentions municipal status or town-titles, as do most definitely Imperial ones from such towns.[1] As other issuing towns are not known as anything more than ordinary stipendiaria until Vespasian's block-Latinization, and as Latin and various Spanish letterings and names are intermingled on most such coins, the magistrates can be taken as local ones, and the typical designation aedilis will have been imitated from Rome and (probably more directly) from colonies like Carteia and Valentia.

Inscriptions too illuminate the institutions of local government. In 16 B.C. a Roman citizen, apparently of Emerita, made a gift to the Igaeditani, whose town stood at the modern Idanha a Velha north of the middle Tagus[2], through their local magistrates, four in all.[3] The Igaeditani (so 'ignobiles', in name at any rate, that they are not listed by Pliny)[4] later show tribus Quirina, and thus under Augustus will have been ordinary peregrini[5], living in a relatively recently

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[1] Salacia's title 'Imperatoria' appears on only three of its 11 types (VIVES, 3. 26, nos. 9-11).

[2] HÜBNER, C I L 2, p. 49.

[3] A E 1967, no. 144 'Q. Iallius Sex.f. Papi(ria) / Augu(rinus?) orarium donavit / Igaeditanis, l(ibens) a(nimo) f(ecit) per mag(isterium?) Toutoni Arci f., / Malgeini Manli f., / Celti Arantoni f., / Ammini Ati f., / L. Domitio Ahenobarbo, P. Cornelio Scipione co[ss.]'. The orarium may have been a sundial ('un cadran solaire plutôt qu'une horloge à eau'); Iallius' tribe suggests Emerita.

[4] N H 4.113-7.

[5] KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 185; cf. C I L 2. 760 (Alcántara bridge: Trajanic) where they are a municipium.

provincialized countryside at that, northwest of Norba: but their magistracy seems to be modelled on quattuorviri, or more likely on the two colleges of IIviri and aediles that colonies like Norba and Emerita would have; and the officials' names are presented with filiation in Roman style.

At Aritium, on the Tagus above Scallabis, the population took an oath of loyalty to the emperor Gaius in A.D. 37, under the supervision of two obviously local magistratus.[1] In 2 B.C., meanwhile, a pact of hospitium between a man of Intercatia and the 'civitas Palantina' (both Vaccaean towns[2]) was done 'per magistratum Flaisicum'[3]; and one of A.D. 27 between two gentilitates of the Zoelae (an Asturian gens) was done 'per Abienum Pentili (sc. filius) magistratum Zoelarum'.[4] Two magistrates of the Lougei Castellani Toletani are nam-

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[1] CIL 2. 172 (bronze) gives the document complete: it ends 'mag(istratibus) / Vegeto Tallici, [...]ibio Aioni'.

[2] Palantia survives as Palencia, capital of a province.

[3] CIL 2. 5763 = D'ORS, Ep. jur., 369 no. 16-bis 'IIII Non. Mart. / Imp. Caesare XIII cos. Acces Licir/ni Intercatiensis tesseram hospitalem fecit cum ci/vitate Palantina sibi / et filiis suis posterisque. / Aneni Ammedi per mag(istratum) / Flaisicum hospitio Ammi / Caenecaeni / ... ' Another reading could be 'Elaisicum' and it is not clear whether the name is personal (and so acc. sing.) or ethnic (and if so, gen. pl.), but as D'Ors comments 'en todo caso ... es evidente que interviene un magistrado'.

[4] CIL 2. 2633 = D'ORS, 374-5 no. 24. The actual document dates to 152 (line 14 'Glabrione et Homulo cos.') but records an earlier renewal of the (already old) relationship, in A.D. 27. The whole inscription is too lengthy to reproduce, but note 'gentilitas Desoncorum ex gente Zoelarum / et gentilitas Tridiavorum ex gente idem Zoelarum hospitium vetustum antiquom / renovaverunt eique omnes aliis alium in fi/dem clientelamque suam suorumque libero/rum posterorumque receperunt. Egerunt Arausa Blecaeni [and six others] / per Abienum Pentili magistratum Zoelarum, / actum Curunda'. The Zoelae are mentioned by PLINY (3.28) as one of the 'Asturum XXII populi'.

ed on a third such document, from Callaecia, carrying out a pact of mutual hospitium with a man of the gens Aiobaiciaeorum in A.D. 28.[1] Another tessera, datable before A.D. 40, reveals a 'senatus populusque Muniguensis' and a magistratus with a Roman name[2]: Munigua, not far north of Hispalis, on the uplands above the middle Baetis, acquired Latin right from Vespasian.[3]

The 'senate and people' of peregrine communities is often, in fact, mentioned. One noteworthy inscription on bronze, found recently at Herrera de Pisuerga (north of Palencia), and dated to 1 August A.D. 13, records the conferment of civitas honoraria, as well as hospitium clientelaque, on Amparamus Nemaiecanus, a 'Consaburensis', by the 'mag(istratus) et senatus Maggavienses'.[4] Amparamus' home

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[1] A E 1961, no. 96 'Tillegus Ambati f. Susarrus / ↄ Aiobaiciaeo(rum) hospitium / fecit cum Lougeis Castellanis / Toletensibus' etc.; 'egit Tillegus Ambati ipse / mag. Iatinoari et Aiotemari'. The Toletenses involved can hardly be those of the well-known town, which is not known to have had any cognomina; they seem to be the inhabitants of a castellum.

[2] H. NESSELHAUF, 'Zwei Bronzeurkunden aus Munigua', Madr. Mitteil. 1 (1960) 142-54, on 142-8; A E 1962, no. 287: 'Sex. Curvius Silvinus q. pro / pr. hospitium fecit cum senatu / populoque Muniguensi Hispaniae / Ulterioris' etc.; ' / egerunt / L. Lucceius L.f. mag., / leg. / L. Octavius M.f. Silvanus'. The officials of the town could be enfranchised Spaniards, or indeed Hispanienses (it is also possible they had simply adopted Roman names).

[3] C I L 2. 1378 ('municipium Flavium'); HÜBNER, ibid. (p. 136); Map of Baetica at end.

[4] A E 1967, no. 239 (found in 1965). Side A reads 'Sex. Pompeio Sex. Appuleio cos. / K(alendis) Augustis / Caraegius et Abua(?)-nus et Caelio mag. et/senatus Maggavienses Amparamum Nemaiecanum Cusaburensim / civitate honoraria donata li[be]rtos / posterosque ita vota omnia ei fecerunt / finibus Maggavensium quae / civi Maggavensi {u}'. W. SESTON (A E 1962, p. 79) proposes to emend ll. 6-7 to 'civitate honoraria donarunt <liberos> li[be]rtos / posterosque ita vota omnia

town may correspond to Consegra in the province of Toledo[1], but the Maggavienses were previously unknown: the find-spot of the bronze may indicate they belonged to the northwest. Their pact is a curious medley of Spanish customs and Roman usages, particularly the rare instance of civitas honoraria bestowed on Amparamus.[2]

A pact of hospitium is attested on a probably Augustan inscription, involving the senate and people of Augustobriga in Lusitania.[3] Another striking adoption of Roman forms occurs in a Balearic tabula patronatus of the final decade of the first century B.C.: the constituent bodies of Bocchoris, a civitas foederata, are 'senatus populusque' again, while the magistrates - who have Roman names, Q. Caecilius Quinctus and C. Valerius Icesta - are entitled 'praetores'.[4] At two Baetican towns, Cartima and Ostippo, inscriptions of the first century A.D. (but prior to their Latinization under Vespasian) attest Xviri - in

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ei <rata> facerent'. Side B repeats the information slightly differently, notably 'Amparamus Nemaioq[um]/ [Cu]saburensis hospitium fecit cum/ civitate Maggavensium sibi liberis liber/[ti]sque' etc.; 'eumque liberos/ libertos posterosq(ue) eius omnis Maggaves/es in hospitium fidem clientelamque suam/ suorumque receper(un)t eademque condicione/ esset qua civi<s>. Per mag. Caelionem et Caraegium et Aburnum actum'.

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[1] A E 1967 ib., after GARCÍA Y BELLIDO in Bol. de la Real Acad. de H. 158 (1966) 149-63.

[2] For other examples (after Vespasian's Latinization) cf the same honour, see D'ORS, 375-6 nos. 25-6.

[3] C I L 2. 5346 'C. Iulius C.f. Gla[ber] senatui popu[loque] Augustobri[gensi] hospes d[onum] dat': HÜBNER dates it to the first century and adds 'aetatis puto Augustae'. Augustobriga was given Latin right under the Flavians (McELDERRY, J R S 1918, 73).

[4] C I L 2. 3695; cf. PLINY 3.77.

fact, at Ostippo a 'Xv(ir) maximus'.[1] Other tesserae reveal that the Baetican towns Lacilbula (later a Flavian municipium) in A.D. 5, and peregrine Iptuci in A.D. 31, both had their 'senatus populusque' too.[2] The local senate is possibly again mentioned on an inscription dated to A.D. 46 at Ipsca, later another Flavian municipium.[3]

This evidence reveals a steady tendency for local Spanish administration to dress itself in Roman forms, or at least terminology.[4] For the Romans, autonomy was after all a convenient way of handling their subjects. In itself it hardly mattered what form of tax a particular community devised for raising tribute - so long as the tribute was paid; or under what legal (or customary) code a native offender was punished for theft or a property-sale between natives was conducted, so long as order was maintained domestically.

Some degree of internal organization may have existed in larger conventus civium Romanorum at any rate. Those of Corduba and Hispalis are found, in 49, 48 and 45, acting in a very concerted manner.[5] Admittedly at Corduba the term seems to include not only Roman residents

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[1] CIL 2. 1953 (A.D. 53/4: Vestinus Rustici f.) and 5048 (A.D. 15/20: Q. Larius L.f. Niger) respectively; cf. KUBITSCHEK, IRTD, 172, 180 (both towns tribu Quirina).

[2] D'ORS, 369-70 no. 17 (= CIL 2. 1343), 371-2 no. 20. Lacilbula, after receiving Latin right, had an ordo (CIL 2. 1342). On Iptuci see above, 108 note 3.

[3] CIL 2. 1569; McELDERRY, JRS 1918, 72.

[4] For a final example, see HAEp 6/7. 1051 'TIISIIRA / CAVRIIISIS / MACISTRATV / TVRI' (found close to Lumbrales on the Portuguese border, due west of Salamanca): 'Tesera Cauriensis Magistratu(s) Turi ... ' From the single s in 'tesera' TOVAR (Anc. Lang. Sp. and Port., 87 n.7, cf. 85) thinks it is of Republican date. Caurium (mod. Coria) a Lusitanian town: HÜBNER, RE 3. 1808.

[Note 5 is on foll. page

born elsewhere but also the Italian part (or some of it, perhaps those with Roman citizenship) of the town's own population[1], and at Hispalis a similar mixture possibly obtained: but the report of events suggests that the action by the two conventus did not involve the normal magistrates of either town. An inscription of Republican times at Carthago Nova records four men with Italic names who 'genio opidi pompam ludosq(ue) coiraverunt': they need have been nothing more than ad hoc officers in charge of the festival, but the event itself suggests that the resident Italians (who again may have formed a sizeable proportion of the populace) had community activities.[2] A. Wilson and G. Alföldy state that the two magistri and two quaestores (one of either pair being a freedman) attested in Republican times at Narona (in Dalmatia) were officials of the conventus[3]; though it is equally possible that they were officials of the town itself. A relatively numerous body of Roman residents could - at a small town es-

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[5] CAES. BCiv 2.19.3, 20.6, etc.; BAlex 57.5, 58.4; BHisp 2.1, 35.1; cf. DIO 43.39.2.

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[1] Cf. p. 85 note 2.

[2] CIL 2. 3408 (L. Baebius M.f., M. Catius M.f., L. Taurius L. f., Ser. Aefolanus [?]), cf. HÜBNER ad loc. and RE 3. 1625. BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 592, suggests they were IIIIviri of the town. The Genius oppidi is not an Iberian concept as such, though naturally it might be applied to local deities: see THOUVENOT, Bétique, 289; H. de E. 1/3. 154 (cf. 189-91 for list of known deities).

[3] ILS 7166 'Q. Safinius Q.f., Sex. Marius L.l., mag. Naro., Q. Marcius Q.f., P. Annaeus Q.l. Epic., q., tur. fac. coir.' (cf. Jahrb. f. Altertumskunde 2 [1908] 87-8 'L. Caicil[...] muru[...] et tur[...]'); WILSON, Emigration, 15; G. ALFÖLDY, Bevölk. und Gesellsch. der r. Prov. Dalmatien (1965) 134; also BRUNT, 220; cf. KORNEMANN, RE 4. 1190.

pecially - become the dominant body: Caesar handed over Lissus, also in Dalmatia, to its conventus sometime before 48[1]; despite the loss of citizenship, of which many would be unaware, such residents might often take on local office.[2] In Spain at least, therefore, any internal organization by a conventus civium R. will very likely have been not merely unofficial, but quite informal. A town like Italica would naturally be a different case. Regular magistrates can be presumed there, though we have no evidence for them before the town became a municipium.[3]

The local communities had their own income. In his letter to the Saborenses, Vespasian says 'vectigalia quae a divo Augusto accepisse dicitis custodio', then adds 'si qua nova adicere voltis, de his proconsulem adire debebitis; ego enim nullo respondente constituere nil possum'.[4] The terms of his statement, and the impoverishment of the town ('cum multis difficultatibus infirmitatem vestram premi indicetis'), suggest that the vectigalia were local taxes, not

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[1] BCiv 3.29.1 'conventus civium Romanorum qui Lissum obtinebant, quod oppidum eis antea Caesar attribuerat muniendumque curaverat'.

[2] See CIC. Balb. 30.

[3] Possibly the place (and others like it) would count as a pro colonia: the phrase in L. Agr. 31 (BRUNS, p. 79) 'seive quae pro moinicipeis colo[nieisve sunt civium Rom(anorum)] nominisve Latini' may refer to 'purely Roman communities [in Italy] which had grown up in communities of viritane assignations' (BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 527), and although Italica was not 'purely Roman' its quasi-colonial character can hardly be denied: the phrase in the lex might in fact include Latini among the dwellers at such pro-colonies. The term 'municeps' applied to an Italicensis informally by BAlex 52.4 (48 B. C.) possibly indicates that the writer considered the town an organized community on Roman style.

[4] CIL 2. 1423 = ILS 6092.

provincial. This is supported by the similar evidence from Munigua, in a letter to whose authorities Titus mentions 'reditus vectigaliorum vestrorum' (which were farmed out): there is no ground for supposing that Munigua acquired these revenues only when it became a Latin town.[1] It is noteworthy too that an adverse court verdict requiring the town to pay, it would seem, fifty thousand sesterces to the other party (Munigua's former tax-farmer) was a blow it could not support - Titus, while rebuking its effrontery in making an unjustified appeal to him, nevertheless remits the sum 'tenuitati publicae, quae praetexitis'. As might be expected, small Spanish communities had income to match.

What was autonomy like in a Spanish peregrine town? One important activity must have been jurisdiction, probably carried out under local law or custom - in Strabo's day, the Turdetani (Romanized as they were) still boasted of their 'νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν (or ἐπῶν)'[2] - though with increasing borrowings from Roman usage.[3] The civil cases a municipal magistrate in Cisalpina could hear, under the Lex Rubria (49 B.C.?), involved sums up to fifteen thousand sesterces; the Fragmentum Atestinum limits such jurisdiction to ten

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[1] NESSELHAUF, M. Mitt. 1960, 148-54; A E 1962, no. 288.

[2] STR. 3.1.6 / C139.

[3] At Gades, Caesar in 61 'iura ipsorum permissu statuerat, inveteratam quandam barbariam ex Gaditanorum moribus disciplinaque delevit' (CIC. Balb. 43). His improvements must have been on Roman lines.

thousand.[1] At Urso, the duovir could impose fines of between one and twenty thousand sesterces, according to the offence - except that a violation of the rules for selecting a patron for the colony (an act that could have political overtones) incurred a penalty of one hundred thousand.[2] In criminal cases the limits on such magistrates' jurisdiction is unknown: perhaps capital sentences, and those involving loss of freedom, had to be referred to the governor or his delegate.[3] The scope of peregrine provincial magistrates' judicial powers was

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[1] L. Rubr. (BRUNS[7], pp. 97-101) §§ 21-2; Fr. Atest. = BRUNS[7], pp. 101-2).

[2] A senator or his son could only be selected by a three-fourths vote of (all?) the decurions and only if the man, 'cum e(a) r(es) a-(getur), in Italia sine imperio privatus erit'(L.Urs. 130). Under § 97 a majority vote of at least 50 decurions alone could adopt as patron anyone save the commissioner who allotted lands to the colonists, but the fine is only 5000 HS. The heavier penalty was obviously designed to stop governors and other officials acquiring a clientela through abuse of their position: it may have been enacted by Augustus, as DIO records a ban of this sort by him (56.25.2; D'ORS, Ep. jur., 271-2; M.W. FREDERIKSEN, J R S 1965, 194-5, who also adduces other examples of later additions or emendations to the text of L. Urs.). The fine in L. Mal. 61, for adopting any patron without a two-thirds vote, is 10,-000 HS.

Burying or cremating a body within the town-limits incurred a penalty of 5000 at Urso (L. Urs. 73), failing to provide a substitute if unable to accept nomination as the colony's delegate 10,000 (92), accepting gifts or favours after election to office 20,000 (93), blocking the limites decumani or fossae limitales (public roads and ditches between private plots) 1000 (104). The fines to be exacted for such violations of the law as failing to replace a demolished building would be proportional to the value of the property (§ 75, cf. 76 on which see D'ORS, 202-3); this is also enacted by L. Mal. 62.

[3] The L. Rubr. allowed for appeal to Rome by citizens (§§ 21-2).

probably not as carefully defined, under the Republic at any rate. But it does not seem likely that Roman provincial authorities habitually intervened in local cases, which must have been far too numerous and unimportant. The incoming governor's edict may have announced what sort of cases he and his representatives would deal with, or accept appeals on. Local peregrine officials probably could not handle cases (unless very minor ones) involving Roman citizens: Cicero's deputy to Cyprus had this duty.[1]

Analogy and conjecture may also indicate other responsibilities for local government. As suggested earlier, the incidence of stipendium was perhaps left to the communities to determine.[2] Local authorities no doubt assisted in the levying of auxilia for Rome.[3] Day-to-day duties would take up much of their time - supervising watercourses, markets and sales, and attending to religious matters.

The maintenance of public works such as fortifications, roads and harbours was probably left to local authorities as a rule. These facilities were well developed by the end of the Republic. In Polybius' day, the coast road from the Pyrenees to Gades was partly or wholly marked out with milestones.[4] A branch of it diverged between

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[1] Att. 5.21.6; cf. ABBOTT & JOHNSON, Munic. Adm., 84.

[2] Pp. 221-3.

[3] Cf. APP. Iber. 90.393: Scipio Aemilianus wrote to Spanish communities for auxilia. Also LIVY Frg. Bk 91 med. (above, pp. 273-4).

[4] POL. 3.39.2; SCHULTEN, CAH 8. 325; SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 109.

Saguntum and Carthago Nova to cross over to Castulo and Obulco and down into the Baetis valley: the precise line of this road had been changed some time before Strabo wrote, to provide an easier journey.[1] A road from Corduba to Carteia can be divined from the report in Bellum Hispaniense that the distance was 'milia passuum CLXX' and that in his flight from Corduba Cn. Pompey reached the 'octavum miliarium' from Carteia.[2] Two second-century B.C. milestones near Ilerda, and a Republican one from north of Barcelona, show early communications were developed in northeastern Citerior.[3] Celsa had a stone bridge in Strabo's day and probably earlier; another is mentioned at Ilerda in 49 B.C.[4]; a third bridge (material unknown) connected Corduba with the south bank of the Baetis, very possibly at the site of the later Roman bridge, the foundations of which form part of the existing one.[5] The 'tower of Caepio' lighthouse at the mouth of the Baetis, preserved in the modern village-name Chipiona[6], may have been built by one of the two Caepiones who governed Spain, both in the

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[1] 3.4.9 / C160.

[2] 32.6-7.

[3] CIL 2. 4924-5 with MRR 1. 544, SUTHERLAND Rom. in Sp. 109; CIL 2. 4956, SUTHERLAND ibid. (Caldas de Mombuy, about 15 miles outside Barcelona: a road to the Puigcerdá passage through the Pyrenees? HÜBNER, ad loc., suggests 'fortasse via a Barcinone procedentis versus Ilerdam'.

[4] STR. 3.4.10 / C161; CAES. BCiv 1.40.4, 43.2, 49.2; LUCAN 4.15 'saxeus ... pons'; SCHULTEN, FHA 5. 37; HOLMES, Rom. Rep 3. 53.

[5] Cf. THOUVENOT, Bétique, 500; H. de E. 2^2. 574-5 with Fig. 330.

[6] STR. 3.1.9 / C140; MELA 3.4; H. de E. 2^2. 586.

second century B.C.[1] Augustus greatly added to the road network, particularly in Tarraconensis.[2]

Both the initiative and responsibility for public works would vary. Main roads, the means of military communication and of transporting mining produce, were built no doubt on the decision of the Roman authorities, but often they must have been built on existing (if inferior) routes, and quite possibly lesser connecting roads were left to local communities to establish or - if antedating Roman rule - to maintain. Fortifications, bridges, lighthouses and the like would be set up by either the local communities or the provincial authorities, or of course by the two in concert.[3]

The extent of local responsibility should not be underestimated. The magistrates at Narona in Dalmatia, already mentioned, repaired the fortifications; those at *colonia* Carthago Nova and *municipium* Saguntum are attested doing the same.[4] What appears to be a

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[1] *M R R* 1. 479 and 482 (140-39 B.C.), 546 (109-7); cf. HÜBNER, *R E* s.v. 'Caepionis monumentum', 3. 1280.

[2] *C I L* 2. 4775-6 (Braga-Chaves road), 4868 (near Bracara: A.D. 11/12), 6344 (Caesaraugusta-Iuliobriga road: A.D. 13), 4920-3 (Celsa-Ilerda road: 8/7 B.C.), 4936-8 (near Carthago Nova: Acci-Castulo road, according to HÜBNER, *C I L* 2, p. 654: 7 B.C.), 4946 (near Carthago N.), 4931 (south of Castulo: Iliberri-Augi road: 8/7 B.C.). — Baetica: 4701-11 (Via Augusta, the repaired version of the Republican Castulo-Gades road: 4701 dates to 2 B.C.), 4686 (near Nertobriga [Frejenal]: road from coast to Emerita?: A.D. 8). The road northwards from Emerita, to Norba and beyond, dates to the early years of the former (RICHMOND, *Arch. J.* 1930, 104). Cf. *A E* 1967, no. 185, for a milestone (of this road?) of A.D. 5/14, at Idanha.

[3] A forum and colonnade at Hispalis (in 49) and a basilica at Corduba (in 48) may be mentioned: CAES. *BCiv* 2.20.4; *BAlex* 52. 2.

[4] *C I L* 2. 3425-6 and 6021 respectively.

societas of private contractors is found doing some sort of construction work, possibly public, at Carthago Nova during the Republic.[1] The Lex Ursonensis provided that 'si quis vias fossas cloacas IIvir aedilisve publice facere inmittere commutare aedificare munire intra eos fines, qui coloniae Iuliae erunt, volet, quot eius sine iniuria privatorum fiet, it is facere liceto'.[2] A quorum of two-thirds of all decurions could authorize measures for the public water-supply.[3] If in Trajan's day the Lusitanian communities round the central Tagus could club together to build the Alcántara bridge[4], we might expect the towns of the Mediterranean coasts and the richer river-valleys to have shown some similar enterprise in their own interest, a century and a half - or more - earlier.

Rich private citizens might contribute. Balbus the younger built a Νέα πόλις for Gades.[5] Agrippa presented Emerita with its theatre in 16 B.C.[6] Later acts of generosity, often in quite small

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[1] CIL 2. 3434 ' ... pilas II et [...a] fundamento caement(icia) faci[und(a) co]eraver[unt]'.

[2] L. Urs. 77. [3] 99.

[4] CIL 2. 760.

[5] STR. 3.5.3 / C169. Of course it is possible that Balbus headed a consortium of building patrons (or speculators) but clearly private enterprise was involved. One suspects there were profits to be made in sales and rents.

[6] CIL 2. 474 (still in situ); RICHMOND, Arch. J. 1930, 110-11, 115-6.

communities, show how much individuals might provide.[1] Civic generosity was perhaps less active in the tumultuous generations before the Pax Augusta, but Balbus was probably not the first publicly liberal Gaditane, or Spaniard.

Once built, public works of every kind seem to have been left to the local authority to maintain. The examples of such work at Carthago Nova and Saguntum have been mentioned. The Urso charter obliged the colonists and other residents to perform up to five days' labour a year each on public works (with up to three days a year from draught animals): only persons under fourteen and over sixty were exempt.[2] One duty of the governor, according to Ulpian, was to inspect the towns' 'aedes sacras et opera publica' and make sure they were kept in repair[3], but the actual upkeep he no doubt left to the towns' officials.

Building and maintenance of such works must have accounted for much of a town's expenditure. The provision made at Urso for compulsory labour suggests this was a common practice, and it would not require paying wages (though possibly labour beyond the compulsory five days was paid for). But contractors too may have been employed at

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[1] E.g. CIL 2. 1087 (portae and fornices at Ilipa - contributed by 'Urchail Atitta f. Chilasurgun[...?]'), 1956 (porticus at Cartima), 1979 (basilica at Abdera), 4112 (repairs to thermae at Tarraco), 5061 (aqueduct at Dianium), 6145 (bath and porticus at Barcino).

[2] L. Urs. 98.

[3] Dig. 1.16.7.1, cf. 1.18.7, and also the chapter 'De officio proconsulis' (Dig. 50.10).

times. At small towns, which might be afflicted with 'difficultates' and 'tenuitas' more often than a large community, the Roman authorities might have to take on some of the maintenance; similarly (especially with roadbuilding) in the less developed parts of the Peninsula. In these parts, where the inhabitants could provide labour if nothing else, the corvée was probably much more frequent than at Urso.

Finally, militia. Warfare and banditry were common in Republican Spain, even in parts of Baetica. On the borders of Lusitania, brigands made farming unsafe as late as Varro's day.[1] Pollio, governor of Ulterior in 43, attests them in the Sierra Morena, endangering the Castulo road.[2] The author of Bellum Hispaniense remarks on the frequent raids of the barbarians on the settled parts of the south.[3] The many regular wars were another trouble, and they can only have aggravated the brigandage.[4] Thus it is not surprising to find the Lex Ursonensis empowering the IIvir to lead out the inhabitants of the town under arms 'coloniae finium tuendorum causa', with rank equivalent

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[1] Re R. 1.16.2.

[2] CIC. Fam. 10.31.1 'frequentibus latrociniis infestior'.

[3] BHisp 8.3. As he is speaking of the country to the south of the middle Baetis, these incursions probably came from the rugged Sierra Nevada, to the south again, rather than from the lower and much more distant Sierra Morena (north of Corduba and Hispalis).

[4] This point is developed particularly by GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Bandas y guerrillas en las luchas con Roma (1945), esp. 16-17, 30-6, cf. 40-63 (on 66, G. Y B. prefers the Sa. Morena as the origin of the banditry discussed in note 3 above).

to a tribunus militum populi R.[1] This is the only mention of a militia in Spain, but there are hints of other such forces elsewhere. The author of Bellum Hispaniense seems to imply that southern Spaniards lived close to arms at all times.[2] This may be exaggerated (from early days the Romans despised the Turdetani as 'imbelles'[3]) but in the civil war of 49, 'Carmonenses ... deductis tribus in arcem oppidi cohortibus a Varrone praesidio, p e r s e cohortes eiecit portasque praeclusit'[4] - a feat probably achieved thanks to some degree of military organization. As suggested in earlier chapters, the settler population too was very likely mobilizable.[5] Clearly not even the most pacified areas had not lost all acquaintance with weapons.

The clause in the Urso charter suggests that the militia was composed of the entire adult male population of the town, though no doubt a magistrate could call out fewer if he so decided. This would be a characteristic also of native towns and tribes. Within the Roman provinces, the military training of such forces must have been fairly elementary as a rule, though there might on the other hand be

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[1] L. Urs. 103.

[2] 8.3-4 'propter barbarorum crebras excursiones ... oppidorum magna pars eius provinciae montibus fere munita et natura excellentibus locis est constituta', and furthermore 'omnia loca quae sunt ab oppidis remota turribus et munitionibus retinentur'.

[3] LIVY 34.17.2.

[4] CAES. BCiv 2.19.4.

[5] Pp. 23-6 (Sertorius' levy), 36 (cohortes colonicae in 49).

at a least a few inhabitants who had seen army service (legionary or auxiliary) and could thus stiffen the local ranks.

Under the Empire, there is evidence for certain organized corps which do not seem to form part of the regular army in Spain and may be regarded as a form of militia. Castulo had a *cohors Servia Iuvenalis*, which recalls the town's municipal title 'Caesarinum Iuvenale'[1]: its duty may well have been to patrol the Sierra Morena against bandits. Other cohorts appear at Corduba and Tarraco, under prefects sometimes styled *orae maritimae*; other prefects with this title are attested on other inscriptions, without reference to cohorts.[2] Such units perhaps acted as coast guards against pirates (and smugglers?), in co-operation maybe with navy patrols.[3] There is no evidence that they existed before the Empire, and it does not seem likely. Any

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[1] *C I L* 2. 3272, cf. PLINY 3.25.

[2] Corduba: *C I L* 2. 2224. Tarraco: 4264 and 4266 (*c. maritimae*), 4224 (*c. nova tironum orae maritimae* - also 4138), 4240 (*c. pilatorum*). Prefects also styled *orae marit.*: 4138, 4264, 4266. *Praefecti orae marit.* without mention of cohorts are found in *C I L* 11. 623 ('praefectus orae maritimae Hispaniae citerioris bello Actiense'), 2. 4217, 4226 ('praefectus orae maritimae Laeetaniae' - i.e. around Tarraco). On these cohorts see M. MARCHETTI,'Hispania', *Diz. Ep.* 3. 828-9, 894; on the prefects, G. BARBIERI, 'Il "praefectus orae maritimae"', *Riv. di Filol.* N.S. 19 (1941) 268-80. The *cohors voluntaria* of *C I L* 2. 4258 perhaps ranked as a unit of the regular army, though not in a legion (so MARCHETTI, 829, following HÜBNER, *C I L* 2 Suppl., p. xci).

[3] The presence of one at Corduba, far up the Baetis, suggests a connexion with *portoria*.

coastal defence, apart from occasional big drives like Pompey's pirate campaign, must have been left to local towns and (if they had any) their militia.

Local self-government could of course be interfered with at will (or whim) by Roman officials. Prefects were often sent to Spanish communities for various purposes, as shown earlier, and continued to be employed throughout the Republic, not only in Spain.[1] By 49, even the privileges of an important treaty town yielded to military security: Varro set a Roman prefect over Gades, with six cohorts, and instructed the town to build him ten warships (which Caesar kept), as well as appropriating the treasure of its temple of Hercules.[2] It is not strange that even to Gades and, much later, Malaca the attractions of citizenship or Latin right outweighed the theoretically certain, but in practice precarious benefits of their independent status. At the same time, the de facto autonomy of the subject Spaniards (which allowed the Romans to think of them too as socii[3]) and the stea-

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[1] Cf. TIBILETTI, Rendic. del Ist. lomb. 1953, 64-100.

[2] CAES. BCiv 2.18.1-2, 21.3-4. Formally, of course, he may have asked the Gaditanes to accept the garrison and build his ships (and 'lend' their treasure?). That would not alter the realities.

[3] The term was by no means limited to Spanish foederati, or even necessarily to providers of auxilia. E.g. LIVY 39.7.7 'cognitum est Celtiberos Lusitanosque in armis esse et sociorum agros populari'; 43.2.2 (the Spanish envoys in 171) 'nixi genibus ab senatu petierunt ne socios foedius spoliari vexarique quam hostes patiantur'; CATO in ORF², p. 71 (quoted above, p. 196); SUET. Iul. 18 (Caesar in 61 left Rome early for Spain, partly 'quo maturius sociis implorantibus subveniret').

dy adoption, over generations, of Roman forms of it, made the more formal autonomy of Roman and Latin right no sudden liberation: institutionally no less than socially and economically, the Spaniards were ready - and, perhaps, impatient - for promotion.

PART FOUR

ENFRANCHISEMENT

CHAPTER XIII

ENFRANCHISEMENT BEFORE CAESAR

THE first Spaniard known to receive citizenship from Rome was Moericus, who helped Marcellus capture Syracuse in 212 and was rewarded not only with that but also with Sicilian land.[1] Down to the last years of the second century at least, the enfranchisement of Spaniards all the same remained individual and rare.[2] Any such grants would be *virtutis causa* and through the influence of governors: it is not easy to trace them. On Latin right, we know that the Spaniards of Carteia were offered it, and some no doubt accepted the offer, in 171; if Corduba was given Latin status on its establishment, the native half must have benefited there too, and at Palma and Pollentia in the Balearic Islands a number of Caecilii are found, usually with the *praenomen* Quintus and native surnames - the descendants, it may be, of Spaniards (possibly including some local Balears) allowed to join Metellus' settlements which, it was suggested earlier, may also have been Latin colonies.[3]

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[1] LIVY 26.21.11.

[2] Cf. BADIAN, *F C*, 259-62; C.E. GOODFELLOW, *Roman Citizenship ... to the Death of Augustus* (1935) 32; BRUNT, *Ital. Manp.*, 204-5.

[3] Caecilii: Q. Aetara (*C I L* 2. 3676), [Q.?] Isaptu (3677), Q. Isapto (3678), Q. Paditu (C. VENY, *Corpus de las inscripciones baleáricas* [1965] no. 81), Q. Samaius (3679), Q. Catullus (3696), Montanus (VENY, no. 81); Caecilia (5988), Quinta Caecilia Porisi f. (3680),

On 17 November, 89, in camp before Asculum, Cn. Pompeius Strabo conferred citizenship 'virtutis caussa ... e lege Iulia' on thirty Spanish cavalrymen of the 'turma Salluitana' (an auxiliary squadron), as the extant bronze diploma records.[1] Such an event may have occurred elsewhere at this time, and possibly at other times. The name of the squadron seems to give its area of origin: Iberian coins exist with the legend 'Salluvie' or 'Saldubie', taken to mean Salduba on the Ebro, afterwards the colony Caesaraugusta.[2] Three of its members are designated 'Ilerdenses', and other tribal names mentioned can be shown to occur in the middle Ebro region too.[3]

Caecilia A[...]badi f. (VENY, no. 93). Cf. also Q. Caecilius Quinctus, a praetor of Bocchoris the treaty town (3695 - A.D. 6), Q. Philistio at Nago (Mahón) in Minorca (3715, etc.). The surname Isaptu/o seems to be unique to the Baleares (VENY, p. 90). STRABO stresses that the majority of the islanders did not practise the piracy that brought Metellus down on them (3.5.1 / C167), so that including some with the 3000 mainland settlers is not improbable. (Cf. MORGAN, Cal. St. Cl. Ant. 1969, 223-9.) [See also p. 398.]

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[1] CIL 1^2. 709 = ILS 8888 = ILLRP 515. On the date, DESSAU ad l., nn. 5 and 33; G.H. STEVENSON, 'Cn. Pompeius Strabo and the franchise question', JRS 9 (1919) 95-101, on 95-6; C. CICHORIUS, 'Das Offiziercorps eines römischen Heeres aus dem Bundesgenossenkrieg', R. Stud., 130-87, on 130-1; DEGRASSI, ILLRP 2, p. 28 n.1. On the 'bronze of Ascoli' see also E. PAIS, 'Il decreto di Gn. Pompeio Strabone sulla cittadinanza romana dei cavalieri ispani', Dalle Guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto (Roma 1918-20) 1. 169-226; M. GÓMEZ MORENO, 'Sobre los iberos: el bronce de Ascoli', Miscelánéas (1949) 233-56; R. ETIENNE, Le Culte impérial, 109-10.

[2] VIVES, 2. 64-5; PAIS, 1. 199; GÓMEZ MORENO, 246.

[3] Segienses, Libienses, Iursenses: see PLINY 3.24; DESSAU, ad l., nn. 14 and 25; GÓMEZ MORENO, 246-7. The Ilerdenses already bear Roman names though their fathers' are Iberian. PAIS suggested Ilerda had recently acquired Latin right (1. 200-3). But the nomina of the Ilerdenses are borne also by members of Strabo's consilium, listed in the same document (Otacilius, Cornelius, Fabius), and the Spaniards had probably anticipated their coming enfranchisement in this way, no more (STEVENSON, 100; BADIAN, F C, 256-7, for a slightly different explanation).

Optimate leaders too made grants to Spaniards: Sulla gave citizenship to one or more Gaditanes[1], and Pompey to another, one Hasdrubal, in his African campaign of 81.[2] The Marian Sertorius possibly conferred it on a few of his supporters.[3] The war to crush him called forth the first known statute specifically authorizing the enfranchisement of provincials: the consular lex Gellia Cornelia of 72, which sanctioned 'ut cives Romani sint ii quos Cn. Pompeius de consili sententia singillatim civitate donavit'.[4] Metellus Pius, though not referred to in this passage by Cicero, must similarly have been empowered: 'civitate multos donavit', says the same orator elsewhere (though these were not necessarily from Spain alone); one of his beneficiaries was Q. Fabius of Saguntum, otherwise unknown.[5] Other Saguntine Fabii obtained the award from Pompey.[6]

Thus grants were becoming more frequent as the first century progressed. The rise of the political imperator from Marius onward was an important cause. Pompey demonstrated the value of a strong

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[1] CIC. Balb. 50 (text corrupt).

[2] Ibid. 51.

[3] See p. 388.

[4] CIC. Balb. 19, cf. 33.

[5] Arch. 26 (quoted); Balb. 50 (Fabius).

[6] Balb. 51. Balbus' accuser in 56 was another enfranchised Gaditane: Cicero twits him with having given up his old citizenship and then losing his Roman right through a reverse in the courts (32, cf. 25). No other details are known, not even his name. Balbus' entire family seems to have benefited too, not only the millionaire: his nephew and namesake, who must have been very young, was also enfranchised (PLINY N H 5.36); his father and Balbus' father also seem to have been (GROAG, R E 4. 1269; MÜNZER, ibid., 1261).

clientela when he raised legions in Picenum for Sulla. The upheavals of the 80s revealed that the provinces could be used in a similar way: not merely as places of refuge, as Africa was to Marius in 88[1], but as bases for opposing, or influencing, the government at Rome. M. Crassus' exploit in raising a small force in Ulterior, crossing to Africa and eventually linking up with Metellus Pius in 86-5[2], Metellus' own recruitment of an army in Africa at the same time,[3] and the stand made there and in Sicily by the Marians in 82-1[4], all relied partly on local support. They foreshadowed, perhaps inspired, Sertorius' grand design. It is not accidental that a large distribution of citizenship occurred in Spain after 72: this was one way to conciliate a country that had demonstrated its military power, must be prevented, or seduced, from revolting again, and moreover was obviously an invaluable accession to the following of a military politician, if he could get it. Pompey succeeded. For twenty years he was the dominant patron in Citerior at least. Caesar in turn tried to acquire a following in Ulterior during the 60s[5] - as afterwards in Gaul.

But what were the advantages for the Spaniard? Though they could be considerable, this would be so mainly in a community already

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[1] LIVY Per. 77; PLUT. Mar. 40; etc.

[2] PLUT. Crass. 4 - 6.2.

[3] 6.2.

[4] CAH 9. 278-9.

[5] BHisp 42.

adapting to Roman ways and fairly closely connected with metropolitan interests. To a Spaniard before 133 - even one well-off and consequential - citizenship can ordinarily have meant little, except for its titular prestige. His chances of appearing before the Roman governor or his deputy in a legal case were probably low. Roman influence on his education, thought and style of living must have been limited still. Though growing, the settler population would be small.

All this had begun to change by 100 B.C. The scholar Asclepiades of Myrlea was teaching in Baetica in the earlier half the first century.[1] The use of Italian letters (reported Artemidorus the geographer) was prevalent on the Mediterranean coasts of Spain; probably (we might surmise) in the Baetis valley also, thoroughly Romanized by Strabo's age and already producing poets of a sort in Metellus Pius'.[2] The population of Hispanienses was increasing steadily, and there was no doubt a good deal of intermarriage with Hispani. The more Romanized towns were, likely enough, starting to copy Roman usages in their organization - perhaps assisted by their Roman citizen conventus, and encouraged by the Roman authorities in the province.[3]

Just as Italians had helped to win Rome's empire, so in the

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[1] STR. 3.4.3 / C157; SCHWARTZ, R E 2. 1628-31. As he taught 'τὰ γραμματικά', according to Strabo, and as all his known works were in Greek, Latin can hardly have been his sole, or even principal, concern.

[2] STEPH. BYZ. Ἰβηρία , ed. Meineke, p. 324; STR. 3.2.15 / C151; CIC. Arch. 26 (poets at Corduba).

[3] Notice Caesar's overhaul of Gades' 'iura' in 61.

the crisis of the Social War provincial contingents helped Rome keep her supremacy in Italy.[1] The use of Spanish auxilia of course dated to her earliest involvement in the Peninsula[2], but in the first century the Republic began to use them for frequent service elsewhere. Carbo in 83 was sent Celtiberian cavalry[3]; some of Caesar's cavalry in 48 was Spanish, as again in 46 in Africa[4]; Brutus and Cassius had a large body of Spanish and Gallic horse in the Philippi operations, Antony in his Parthian campaign.[5] Cavalrymen must often have been comparatively well-to-do, in Spain as elsewhere[6] - of the social level, in other words, that the Romans needed and liked to conciliate for smooth administration. The experience and contacts built up by such auxiliaries, and their social impact on returning home, must have improved many communities' chances of enfranchisement or Latinization.[7]

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[1] LIVY Per. 72 'auxilia deinde Latini nominis et exterarum gentium missa populo Romano' - the turma Salluitana was only one such unit. Cf. T. YOSHIMURA, 'Die Auxiliartruppen und die Provinzialklientel in der römischen Republik', Historia 10 (1961) 473-95, on 474.

[2] POL. 3.76.1; LIVY 21.60.4.

[3] APP. BC 1.89.409.

[4] CAES. BCiv 3.22.3; BAfr 39.2.

[5] APP. BC 4.88; PLUT. Ant. 37.3.

[6] The social condition of cavalrymen in Spain is not attested, and there is no need to suppose all were affluent. But the analogy with other early societies - Rome's equites, Greek [illegible], and Gaul's equestrian class, with its military clientes (CAES. BGall 6.13.3, 15.1-2) - suggests that some at any rate must have been better off than the ordinary Spaniard, and at least a few would be local aristocrats.

[7] On Spanish auxilia see C. SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ in Anales de Hist. ant. y med. ... de la U. de B. Aires (1949), 10-11, 18-19, 22-3; and

In this developing situation, such grants (and not merely awards of *immunitas* or *libertas*) made sense and had particular effect. The number of citizen *Hispani* in 50 B.C. cannot be determined: even if a fairly generous average of fifty grants were ascribed to every governor in the preceding century and a half, the total would not reach more than a few thousand. On the other hand, it is not by chance that most of the enfranchised individuals known under the Republic (and not in Spain alone) clearly or probably belonged to the comfortable level at least of society[1], or that - as just suggested - many Spanish cavalry auxiliaries did. These were the people who counted locally: *boni*, if not always (by metropolitan standards at least) *locupletes*, the men Roman officials abroad would normally associate with, the men who would subsequently form the ruling element in *municipia* as they no doubt already did in peregrine towns. Thus the conferments of citizenship 'singillatim' under the Republic, besides their import for political relations at Rome and as political resources for Roman leaders, further indicate the growing complexity of Romanization in Spain.

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especially A. BALIL, 'Un factor difusor de la romanización: las tropas hispánicas al servicio de Roma ... ', *Emerita* 24 (1956) 108-34 (mainly collections of the evidence); on the role of *auxilia* in imperial defence under the Republic, see YOSHIMURA, *art. cit.*

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[1] Balbus was a millionaire, Archias the poet a friend of Lucullus, Caecilius Niger (Verres' would-be accuser) a client of the Metelli who became quaestor, etc.: cf. BADIAN's list, *F C*, 304-8. If the MSS. of CIC. *Balb.* 50 be emended to read 'servos novem Gaditanos' (enfranchised by Sulla), these would be an exception, but this is not definite - a Punic name may be concealed.

CHAPTER XIV

PLINY ON SPAIN: SOURCES AND ARRANGEMENT

THE slow process of individual enfranchisement was overlaid by block grants of citizenship and Latin right under Caesar and Augustus, which were extensive enough to be something of a revolution in Rome's attitude to empire. The main authority for the resulting status of Spanish towns - and thus to the details of such grants - is Pliny the Elder's geographical sections on Spain.[1] The character of his survey therefore requires attention.

Pliny gives the status of the more important communities in each province according to various categories: Roman colonies, 'oppida civium Romanorum'[2] and oppida of Latins[3], oppida foederata, libera and stipendiaria, and in Tarraconensis 'civitates contributas aliis'. These details and the accompanying statistics date, it has generally been thought, to the Augustan age and were drawn from Augustan formulae provinciarum: official lists of provincial communities (and of judicial conventus, where existing) normally set out

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[1] 3.6-30, 76-8, 4.110-20.

[2] This expression will be discussed below: pp. 391—6.

[3] Who are termed 'veteres' or 'antiqui', etc. - to distinguish them from the general Latinization carried out by Vespasian (3.30).

according to status and alphabetically.[1]

This view has been undermined by L. Teutsch, who argues that Pliny's account of Africa must partly draw on sources earlier than 46 B.C.[2]: the chief lists in Pliny (he contends) were drawn from a single source, compiled before 46 because one of the *oppida libera* Pliny gives, Vaga, is to be identified with a town destroyed in that year and never heard of again.[3] Moreover Curubis, certainly a colony of Caesar's, and Clupea, probably another, are also *oppida libera* to Pliny,[4] and several other non-colonial Plinian *oppida* are attested epigraphically as *coloniae Iuliae*[5] - which should mean they were

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[1] This was convincingly established by D. DETLEFSEN, *Die Geographie Afrikas bei Plinius u. Mela ...* (Qu. u. Forsch. zur alten Gesch. u. Geog., 14: 1908) 63-104, esp. 63-9; *Die Anordnung der geog. Bücher des Pl. u. ihre Quellen* (Q. u. F., 18: 1909) 26-34. So too ALBERTINI, *Div. adm.*, 55-67; HENDERSON, *J R S* 1942, 1-5; W. KROLL, *R E* 'Plinius (5)' 21/2. 304-5; BRUNT, *Ital. Manp.*, 584-8. But that Pliny may, however, have used these lists, not directly but through intermediaries, will be suggested below.

[2] *Röm. Städtewesen in Nordafrika ... bis ... Augustus* (1962), 27-52, 92-4.

[3] PLINY 5.29-30; TEUTSCH, 35-7 (Vaga), 37 and 47-8 (adjectival presentation and alphabetical order of either list show a single source for both). He postulates a second source, of *ca.* 46, for 5.22 and a third, perhaps prior to 59, for 5.24 (42, 43, 88, 90 n. 243, 93).

[4] 5.24; respectively, TEUTSCH, 107-11 (*I L S* 5320 attests a freedman *IIvir* at Curubis in 45), 112 (*I L S* 1945 gives one - *IIvir bis* - at Clupea *ca.* 40); also BRUNT, *Ital. Manp.*, 581, 593-4 nos. 38-9).

[5] Hippo Diarrhytus (5.23 a peregrine *oppidum*), Carpi and Neapolis (24 *libera*): TEUTSCH, 112-3; BRUNT, 594 nos. 40-2.

founded at any rate before 27 B.C.[1]; three or four of his *oppida civium Romanorum*, too, are known as *coloniae Iuliae* or *Augustae*.[2] It also seems that two other *oppida c. R.* in Pliny were, under the Empire, peregrine towns.[3] This formidable catalogue of errors leads Teutsch to conclude that Pliny's phrase 'oppidum/a civium Romanorum' cannot mean 'municipium/a civium Romanorum' in Africa, but merely 'conventus c. R.' - and to wonder whether Pliny's references to such *oppida* in other provinces should take on a similar sense.[3a]

This explanation is not necessarily compelling even in Africa, however. Other *conventus c. R.* there are known in (and must therefore have sprung up before) 46 B.C. at towns which Pliny does not list as *oppida c. R.*[4] - in fact, it is unlikely that *conventus* failed to grow up at coastal towns where trading would occur as actively as (or more so than) in the interior, yet Pliny refers to only two such places as *oppida c. R.* (Thabraca and Utica).[5] Similarly,

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[1] Cf. VITTINGHOFF, *RKol*, 82 n.5 (on 82-4), 84 n.1.

[2] 5.29: Simitthus (Iulia Augusta Numidica: *I L S* 6283), Thuburnica (Augusta: shown to be a colony through the presence of a *IIvir* under Augustus, *I L S* 2249), Assuras (Iulia: *A E* 1913, no. 40), perhaps *oppidum* Thibidrumense (TEUTSCH, 33-4, 170). See TEUTSCH, 170-2, 175; BRUNT, 594 nos. 46-9.

[3] Chiniava and Uchi Maius: see resp. TEUTSCH, 32; VITTINGHOFF, *R. Kol.*, 115 n.7.

[3a] 'Das Problem, ob Plinius ... generell den staatsrechtlichen Terminus „*conventus civium Romanorum*" mit „*oppidum civium Romanorum*" in seiner *naturalis historia* umschreibt, müsste noch bewiesen werden' (49).

[4] Thysdrus (*BAfr* 36.2), Thapsus and Hadrumetum (*BAfr* 97.2): all *opp. lib.* in P. (Thysdrus: 5.30 'Tusdritanum' - see TEUTSCH, 56 and 84; Thapsus and Hadrumetum: 5.25). See WILSON, *Emigration*,

it is hard to imagine that an important town like Zama Regia would have no conventus[1], but the only Zama Pliny lists is an oppidum liberum.[2] F. Vittinghoff points out[3] that the alphabetical form of the two main lists need be due only to convenience in handling towns of the interior, 'für die sich bei der grossen Zahl kein so bequemes Aufreihungsprinzip wie etwa bei den Küstenstädten anbot'[4], and that the identification of 'oppidum liberum Vagense aliud' with the town sacked in 46, and the argument that the town never recovered, are both debatable.[5] This is not the place to attempt a detailed investigation of African enigmas. But it does seem possible that Pliny confused the information from two or more sources (perhaps through a poor arrangement of his notes or excerpts): this probably explains his misstatements about Tingi earlier in Book Five.[6]

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18 n.1. TEUTSCH also suggests a conventus at Leptis, which is liberum in Pliny (60-2).

5 5.22, 24. Utica was given citizenship in 36 (DIO 39.16.1).

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1 One may be implied at BAfr 97.1.

2 TEUTSCH (86-7) does not identify this Zama with Zama Regia, either.

3 Corolla E. Swoboda (1966) 225-33; cf. his review of TEUTSCH, Gnomon 1968, 586-92.

4 Cor. Swoboda, 230.

5 ibid., 231-2; so too BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 581-2, who thinks the Vaga sacked in 46 is the one Pliny lists.

6 5.2 (see below, 349). For a possible error over Icosium, see p. 128 note 1 above. On Pliny's working methods see PLINY MIN. Ep. 3.5.7-19; that much of his research involved excerpta is clear (esp. §§ 10 'liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. Nihil enim legit quod non excerperet'; 17 'electorumque commentarios centum sexaginta mihi reliquit'), cf. N H Praef. 17; SHERWIN-

In any case it remains to be asked whether such confusions appear in, and whether such an early date is to be adduced for, his other lists. In fact these are generally accurate. His other provincial oppida civium Romanorum usually can be proved to have Roman status in the Augustan age, as Vittinghoff points out, or at any rate this is not disproved by other evidence.[1] There is no evidence either to disprove his attributions of Latin status[2]: yet the existence

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WHITE, The Letters of Pliny, 224-5.

A different but more uncertain explanation might account for the discrepancies. Lepidus the Triumvir is the only Aemilius, apart from M. Macer Saturninus (Numidia A.D. 172/4) and a fourth-century A. D. proconsul, to have governed in Africa, though M. Scaurus had been envoy to Jugurtha in 111 B.C. (BADIAN, F C, 311; B.E. THOMASSON, Die Statthalter der röm. Prov. Nordafrikas von Aug. bis Diocletianus [1960] 185-6, cf. Indices 313, 324-9; DE RUGGIERO, Diz. Ep. 1. 329, cf. 334-5). But the Index to C I L 8 lists over 400 Aemilii, compared with some 2000 Iulii. In 37/6 Thabraca, later a colonia Iulia, had an ordo decurionum which honoured Lepidus as patron (A E 1959, no. 77; TEUTSCH, 42-3, 162-3; BRUNT, 594 no. 43). Could it be that the Triumvir, hoping to build a local following, and perhaps working from plans originally devised by Caesar, distributed civitas and Latium to African communities and that, in the years after 36, Octavian confirmed or removed such privileges by way of rewards and punishments (and in some cases raised Latini to citizenship)? If Pliny's source was drawn up before 30 B.C., as the absence of many, possibly Octavianic coloniae Iuliae might suggest, it would reflect such a situation.

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[1] Cor. Swoboda, 226. O.c.R. in Tarraconensis: below, 324-5. Sardinia: PLINY 3.85; see VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 123-4 with 123 n.4. Sicily: 3.88; R Kol, 70-1, 118-21. Lipara Is.: 3.93; R Kol, 121. Dalmatia: 3.141, 144; R Kol, 124-6; with Issa: 3. 152; R Kol, 124 n.3, 125. Macedonia: 3.145, 4.34; R Kol, 126, 128 n.4; R E 4 A. 49 s.v. 'Stobi'. Mauretania: 5.19; R Kol, 116. On Lusitania and Baetica see 324, 344-51.

[2] His Narbonensian opp. Latina particularly (3.36-7) are shown by inscriptions to differ from the known Roman towns: they had IIIIviri, enrolled on enfranchisement in tribus Voltinia, and they were called coloniae (i.e. Latinae) - see VITTINGHOFF, 64-7 with 65 n.1; cf. A E 1957, no. 4 ('Geni[o]/[c]oloni[ae]/[Co]nven.': Lugdunum Convenarum, just over the boundary in Aquitania - not a Latin town in PLINY (4.108) but so stated in STR. 4.2.2/C191; Κολωνία in

of so many Latin towns under the Republic (outside Transpadana) seems more than unlikely. Though it could be argued that Pliny relied on a list of Republican conventus c. R. in each province for his so-called oppida c. R. - and corrected individual entries where necessary to oppida Latina (for it seems scarcely possible that none of Pliny's Latin towns, often centres of some economic distinction, had had citizen conventus in the Republic[1]) from, presumably, a later list of provincial Latin communities - this is unconvincing. If Caesarian or Augustan lists of provincial Latin towns were available, why not ones of the more prestigious citizen towns too? Moreover the equation of Pliny's oppida c. R. with Republican conventus c. R. does not explain why he fails to give as oppida c. R. any of the fifty otherwise attested Republican conventus in Greece and the East.[2]

PTOL. 2.7.13). SHERWIN-WHITE ('Latin rights and municipal status': as yet unpublished) points out that the first two characteristics disprove Degrassi's view that these coloniae were ex-Latin towns later become Roman colonies (DEGRASSI, Scritti vari 1. 127-43). Degrassi himself admits that Alba, another of Pliny's Narbonensian Latins, had IIIIviri though unattested anywhere as colonia (C I L 12. 2675-6; DEGRASSI, 1. 136). Vienna, first Latin and later Roman, changed from IIII- to IIviri (VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 65 n.1, on 66). The title colonia and the IIIIviri may have been due to the influence of Cisalpina where the towns Latinized in 89 were titular colonies (ASCON. Pisonian. 3 C) and, when given Roman citizenship in 49, adopted IIIIviri (CIC. Att. 5.2.3, cf. 10.13.1).

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[1] His Narbonensian lists contain only Roman colonies and Latin oppida - yet Cicero attests the large number of Roman citizens there in the first half of the first century B.C. (Font. 11-12).

[2] See KORNEMANN, R E 'Conventus' 4. 1184-6 (not counting Alexandria in Egypt); VITTINGHOFF, Cor. Swoboda, 226-7. Note also Halaesa, Lilybaeum and Agrigentum in Sicily: conventus c. R. during the Republic (R E 4. 1183), not oppida c. R. in PLINY (3.89-91).

We must now consider Plinian Spain.

In these sections Pliny refers to several authorities: Turranius Gracilis, a Spaniard, Livy, Nepos, Agrippa, Varro and Augustus[1] - but only on matters of physical geography, which leaves open the question whether he used them (or some of them) also for towns, tribes and administrative divisions.[2] None of them can have been the authority for his reference to the colony Flaviobriga[3], but he may have been his own authority here.[4] He may well have used other early Imperial sources for Spain, but whether they provided information for the geographical survey cannot be ascertained.[5]

Pliny's detailed treatment of the three provinces follows a regular pattern. For Baetica and Tarraconensis, the total statistics for communities of all statuses are followed by a detailed account, first of the coastlands of the south and east.[6] The Biscay and At-

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[1] 3.3 (Turranius), see KROLL, R E 7 A. 1442-3; P I R[1] T 298; 3.4 (Livy and Nepos); 3.8, 16-17, 4.118 (Agrippa); 3.8, 4.115 (Varro); 3.17 (Augustus). Cf. also N H 1, Index to Bks 3-4. Several Greek writers are cited for geographical or antiquarian details in 4.119-20 (Polybius, Ephorus, Philistides, Timaeus, Silenus).

[2] Mela is mentioned in the Indices, but not in Pliny's text.

[3] 4.110.

[4] He was procurator in Tarraconensis under Vespasian - note the census figures for the three northwestern conventus (3.28): cf. R. SYME, 'Pliny the Procurator', Harv. St. in Cl. Phil. 73 (1969) 201-36, on 215-18 and 225-6.

[5] SYME, 219-24, lists several persons who are cited elsewhere in N H and apparently came from Spain.

[6] 3.7-8, 18-22. The coastal survey of Tarraconensis is embellished three times by geographical digressions inland: 19 (tribes along the Baetican and Lusitanian borders), 21 (the Ebro), 22 (tribes along the Pyrenees). Tribes and towns mentioned in these are repeat-

lantic coasts of Tarraconensis are treated later[1], and the islands that belonged to either province receive separate discussion too.[2] The interior of either province then follows[3], and each description ends with a section on the province's dimensions.[4] Lusitania is arranged only slightly otherwise: first the coasts (following on from the coastal description of Atlantic Tarraconensis), then the administrative divisions, statistics and names, finally the dimensions.[5]

Such treatment of the coasts suggests that Pliny combined a periplus with his source for towns' status. Detlefsen proposes Varro as the author of the former.[6] The account of the islands may be a similar combination.[7] As in Africa, once Pliny leaves the coasts

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ed later (in 23-7); the digressions probably occurred in the periplus (see below).

[1] 4.110-12.

[2] 3.76-8 (Pityussae, Baleares), 4.119-20 (Cassiterides, Fortunatae, Gades).

[3] 3.9-15, 23 ('nunc per singulos conventus reddentur insignia praeter supra dictos', meaning the communities named along the coast) - 28.

[4] 3.16-17, 29. Note the general remarks on Spain's natural riches and Vespasian's grant of Latium: 3.30.

[5] 4.113-6, 117-8, 118 respectively.

[6] Pliny refers to him in such contexts (3.8, 4.115); DETLEFSEN, Anordnung, 39-41, 70-3, 150-3.

[7] At 4.119-20 the information is drawn from several sources, explicitly.

he follows a different order of presentation. In Tarraconensis, the communities are reported according to their judicial conventus: in the first three (Tarraconensis, Caesaraugustanus and Carthaginiensis), a fairly regular alphabetical order is observed in each category: oppida c. R., Latinorum and stipendiariorum, named moreover in adjectival (or ethnic) form.[1] The other four conventus are mentioned in westward order (Clunia, Asturica, Lucus, Bracara) but the arrangement of communities seems to owe more to a map than to an alphabetically organized document, and the names of tribes are given, some with their constituent towns[2]; the survey of the three northwestern conventus is comparatively brief because their region is more extensively treated in the later survey of the north and west coasts.

In Baetica the interiors are less rigidly organized. Pliny's account is in seven principal sections: two of them arranged in the order of towns moving downstream[3], the other five giving Roman

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[1] 3.23-5: e.g. 'Dertosani, Bisgargitani'. It should be noted that Pliny's alphabetical arrangement is confined to initials only: thus e.g. 'Bursaonenses, Conplutenses, Carenses, Cincienses, Cortonenses, Damanitanos' (24). In 25, the coloniae have a separate category, but in 24 colonia Celsa is included among the oppida c. R. list (a point worth noting in connexion with the discussion on pp. 306-10). The Loeb translation of 'Celsenses ex colonia' as 'the Celsenses (once a colony)' is unwarranted.

[2] 3.26-8. The tribes of Bracara's conventus are alphabetically listed.

[3] (i) Riverside towns of Cordubensis - 3.10 fin.; (ii) those of Hispalensis - 11. See also note 1 on following page for slight exceptions to this layout.

colonies and titled towns first, then (in alphabetical order) untitled towns. For nearly all these regions, he specifies which conventus they belonged to, but the arrangement itself is topographical - and one or two potentially misleading insertions or cross-references occur as a result.[1] Only for Gades' conventus does he explicitly say which towns were Roman and which Latin.

After his coastal description of Lusitania, he gives an account of its administrative organization, but without specifying the extent of the conventus. He does, however, name the colonies, the sole 'municipium c. R.', the three Latin towns and nineteen of the province's thirty-six stipendiarii populi according to their categories, and gives the last two groups in alphabetical order and the stipendiarii adjectivally also.

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[1] (iii) Bastetanian towns - 3.10 init. (part of Astigitanus: see above, p. 135 note 2); (iv) rest of Astigitanus - 12; (v) Baeturia Celticorum, in Hispalensis - 13; (vi) Baeturia Turdulorum, in Cordubensis - 14; (vii) Gaditanus - 15 (Gades itself is described elsewhere: 4.119). The main difficulty with conventus-allocations is over (iii), discussed earlier as indicated. Within these topographical regions, however, are two other obscurities: the conventus to which Nabrissa and other towns (3.11 fin.) belonged, and that of the towns along the R. Maenuba (3.12 fin.). In the former case, DETLEFSEN (Philol. 1870, 279) and ALBERTINI (Div. adm., 94) convincingly argue that the conventus was Gaditanus: Pliny's introductory phrase ('at inter aestuaria Baetis') probably marks a contrast with the Hispalensis list he has just given; and STR. 3.2.2/C141 attests a close relationship - of what kind, is not clear - between Asta, one of the towns involved, and Gades ('... ἡ Ἄστα, εἰς ἣν οἱ τὸ νῦν Γαδιτανοὶ συνίασι μάλιστα'). In the second case, Pliny has previously ascribed the Maenuba to Hispalensis (3.11), so that, although the passage in question follows an account of Astigitanus, it cannot be included in that conventus - besides, geography is against it, for the Maenuba under discussion (different from the one near Malaca: 3.8) lay w e s t of the Baetis (3.11 'Baeti et ipse a dextro latere infusus'; DETLEFSEN, 278-9).

Thus, although Pliny's treatment of the Spanish provinces follows a regular scheme along the coasts, the presentation of the interiors varies in details. It is noticeable also that, in Baetica, few communities are cited adjectivally[1], in Lusitania most of the Roman colonies (as well as all the stipendiarii) are given in this form, and among the coastal colonies of Tarraconensis Barcino is the only one for which Pliny mentions even a single epithet.[2] Except in the survey of Lusitania, where a number of repetitions occur, a town mentioned in the coastal descriptions is not referred to later - a practice he recognizes in one passage.[3] Three conclusions can be drawn.

First, Pliny for the Tarraconensian coasts combined at least one periplus source with an 'official' source giving communities' status (or, possibly, used an authority which had made the combination).[4]

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[1] Only two, the Siarenses Fortunales and Callenses Aeneanici (3.14). Siarum is earlier given topographically (11). Titles are sometimes given the plural form, however, even when applied to a town name: thus Iliberri Florentini, Artigi Iulienses, Sacili Martialium (10).

[2] 3.22 'Faventia'. Those of Tarraco, Carthago Nova, Ilici and (inland) Celsa are omitted (19, 21, 24) - contrast Acci and Libisosa, inland colonies in Carthaginiensis (25).

[3] 3.23 (quoted, p. 312 note 3). But he does repeat communities mentioned in the inland digressions (p. 311 note 6).

[4] Towns mentioned in the coastal sections are given with their status (Dertosa, omitted in these sections, appears in 3.23; probably it was too far from the sea, though at 3.21 P. notes 'regio Ilergaonum'). In Lusitania, Olisipo, Salacia with its titles, and Myrtilis are mentioned simply as oppida at 4.116; at 4.118 they are listed according to status - this time Olisipo's titles are given, Salacia's left out. Pliny's coastal survey of Baetica mentions the status only of Malaca (3.8 'foederatorum'): Gades (4.119) is a special exception.

Second, Pliny had an official, or officially derived, source for each province separately (at least), and they differed from one another in their presentation; moreover, as the main Tarraconensis description is itself discernibly in two parts, he perhaps used a different source for each, or else qualified his Augustan material with new Flavian data.[1] The description of the islands dependent on Tarraconensis, placed amid the treatment of all the western Mediterranean islands, is also partly drawn from a periplus and partly to an official list - as the precise specification of oppida c. R., Latina and foederata shows.[2]

Third, the failure to specify which towns in Baetica were civium Romanorum and which Latin (except in the Gaditane conventus) and the analphabetical ordering of colonies and titled towns in the Baetican lists,[3] suggests that Pliny himself, for this province at any rate, used a source that was not the official survey, though it incorporated much of the latter's information. This same source perhaps was responsible for the topographical rather than conventual presentation of Baetica, or else Pliny here again combined it with a geographical survey: at any rate, traces of a combination of two sets of

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[1] Cf. p. 311, with note 4.

[2] The other towns mentioned, by implication, were stipendiaria. See also p. 95 note 4, above.

[3] E.g. 3.10 lists Segida Augurina, Ulia Fidentia, Urgao Alba, Ebura Cerealis, Iliberri Florentini, Ilipula Laus and Artigi Iulienses in that order; 12 lists the colonies of Astigitanus as Astigi, Tucci, Iptuci, Ucubi and Urso - nor do their titles form an alphabetic series; cf. also 14-15.

information - one an official list and the other a topography - can be discerned in his account (whether he made the combination or merely transcribed it), in the geographical misplacing of a few towns of the conventus of Hispalis and Corduba.[1]

What of the date of the formulae of the Spanish provinces? R.K. McElderry showed that up to seventeen other towns in Tarraconensis besides those named by Pliny must have obtained Latin (if not Roman) status, as their magistrates' tribus Galeria indicates, before the accession of Claudius and probably in fact before A.D. 14 - since Tiberius is not likely to have been responsible.[2] Though Pliny does not individually name as many Roman and Latin oppida as he gives statistical totals for, the number of extra towns inscriptionally known not only exceeds the numerical difference between these named by him and the overall totals he gives, but moreover some of them are cited

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[1] See on this **319 note 3; 332 note 1.**

[2] R.K. McELDERRY, JRS 1918, 74 n.3. These towns will be given below. On Augustus' use of Galeria for new Spanish citizens: KUBITSCHEK, De Romanarum Tribuum Origine (1882) 188; IRTD, 167-8, cf. 169 (other tribes only at colonies). There is no evidence at all (as Mrs Henderson remarks) that Tiberius 'ever municipalised a Spanish community or enfranchised a Spaniard'(JRS 1942, 2; also J. VAN NOSTRAND, The Reorganization of Spain by Augustus [1916] 142). Some grants singillatim by him may in fact have occurred (cf. TAC. Ann. 6.37.3; SUET. Aug. 40.3), but the twenty-five Ti. Claudii listed in CIL 2 and EE 8-9 Indices are probably not reminiscent of any, as Tiberius became a Iulius when adopted by Augustus in A.D. 4 (PIR¹, Iulius 150); the same lists show only 4 Ti. Iulii (surnamed Stabilis, CIL 2. 1498; Philoponus, 2189; Maternus, 4322; Vegetus, EE 9, no. 292 g). G. ALFÖLDY proposes Tiberius as the founder of certain Dalmatian municipia (Bev. u. Ges. der r. Prov. Dal., 69-72, 181, 200-1) which all the same are in tribus Claudia (ibid., also 82) but elsewhere in the empire there is no record of any such progress (SHERWIN-WHITE, RC, 181; ALFÖLDY, 200).

by him as peregrine (whether treaty, free or tributary). Mrs Henderson shows further that Albertini's arguments for a Claudian date for the Tarraconensis *formula* do not hold[1] and that McElderry's evidence instead suggests a *terminus ante quem* of A.D. 14: while a *terminus post quem* of between 7 and 2 B.C. is indicated by the references to the boundary-changes in the northwest and southeast.[2]

M. Grant has argued that, as three Plinian Latin towns - Osicerda, Cascantum and Gracchurris - show only Tiberian coinage (with the legend 'MVN.' or 'MVNICIP.'), their Latin right dates to that emperor.[3] But if Pliny could list three post-Augustan, or post-*formula*, Latin towns, what about the seventeen he does not? Ercavica, which also shows such coinage and is a Latin town in his survey, also struck Augustan issues: it could be that Augustan ones by the other three have not turned up.[4]

For Baetica, Albertini proposed a *formula* dating between the boundary shift of 7/2 B.C. and the reign of Claudius, but his view that Baelo, on the straits of Gibraltar, must have been a Claudian

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[1] *J R S* 1942, 2-3; ALBERTINI, 62-7 (arguing that Dertosa and Bilbilis were colonies, the latter from Claudius' reign).

[2] *J R S* 1942, 4 (see above, pp. 171-4). Albertini also had difficulty over Pliny's *conventus* vs Strabo's διοικήσεις (*Div. adm.*, 51-4): see above, Chapter X § (ii).

[3] 'Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius', *Num. Notes and Monogr.* 116 (1950) 153; for these coins: VIVES, 4.101, 108, 113.

[4] Ercavica: VIVES, 4.109-10 (also Caligulan issues). It is curious that only these four, out of the many Latin towns of Tarraconensis, should coin. There is room for suspicion (no more) that the issues in fact mark their promotion to citizenship.

colony is unfounded[1]; and as Pliny lists Epora, on the middle Baetis, as 'foederatorum' and does not attest the title 'Martia' for any town called Ugia - whereas these towns are among seven that definitely or possibly show magistrates with tribus Galeria on inscriptions (that is, had Latin right probably by A.D. 14), and Ugia Martia existed as such by A.D. 6 - the Baetican formula should date to the middle years of Augustus' principate.[2]

The Lusitanian formula cannot be securely assigned to the same period, despite Albertini's ingenious attempt: but as it too recognized the boundary change with Tarraconensis it must date to after 7 B.C., and all its Roman colonies are Caesarian and Augustan, while all the Roman and Latin towns (as will appear) bore the title Iulia. A similar date to that of the other two Spanish lists is likely.[3]

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[1] Div. adm., 61-2; refuted by HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 1; cf. VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 110 n.2; above, p. 132 note 1.

[2] Epora: 3.10. Ugia: D'ORS, Ep. jur., 370 no. 18. See more fully below, 343-4.

[3] ALBERTINI, Div. rom., 56-9 (accepted by Mrs HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 1), tries to establish a dating between 7 B.C. and A.D. 6 as follows. PLINY, apart from naming the 9 Roman and Latin towns in Lusitania, says there were 36 stipendiaria (4.117). He names 19 of these alphabetically and adjectivally (4.118), as well as implying ('praeter iam dictos in Baeticae cognominibus' or 'in Baetica cognomines' - MSS faulty) that there were 7 others with the same names as certain towns in N.W. Baetica which he has already listed (3.13, with the same implication). This would give a total of 26 named stipendiaria. In his coastal survey meanwhile (4.113-16), P. names altogether 13 'populi' and 'oppida': four of these definitely recur in his status lists (Olisipo, Salacia, Myrtilis, Balsa), two more probably do (Aeminium [113] and Merobrica [116] are probably the towns of the 'Aeminienses' and the 'Mirobrigenses Celtici' in 118) and 1 is doubtful (the 'Turduli veteres' [113] must be the same as the 'Celtici Turduli' [116]; but they may differ from the 'Turduli Bardili' in

118: the first tribe - P. shows - lived on the north Lusitanian coast, while STR. 3.2.15/C151 places Emerita too among Turduli). Thus at least six communities in the coast list are to be viewed as reproduced in 117-18; this leaves 7 others, none of them Roman or Latin, who would bring the number of named stipendiaria to 33. If so only three others are left unnamed by P. Albertini then pointed to termini of the mid-Augustan epoch attesting the existence of six other communities in Lusitania (CIL 2. 460 [2 B.C. or A.D. 5/6], 857-9 [A.D. 6]), one of them the Lancienses Oppidani discussed earlier (460: see p. 173 note 1). Thus (he concludes) there must have been at least 39 stipendiaria in Lusitania by A.D. 6.

This deduction sounds plausible. The Lusitanian lists in Pliny, however, are not entirely satisfactory about details. If he could repeat at least 3 coastal stipendiary names in the status lists, why not the rest, if they too were ranked as separate stipendiaries? Possibly the three are given again because in their case repetition 'non pigeat' (P.'s stated reason [118] for omitting some stipendiaries), whereas for the rest he may have felt that once was enough. But we should be suspicious of the seven alleged Lusitanian communities with homonyms in Baetica. Only two of them are possibly traceable. One of the Baetican towns is Lacimurga (= 'Lacunis' in Itin. Rav. 314. 15?): PTOL. 2.5.8 cites a Λακονίμουργι in Lusitania, probably confirmed by CIL 2. 5068 = 5550, despite HÜBNER, followed by SCHULTEN, RE 12. 345, who identify the Lacimurga of that stone with Pliny's Baetican town (the Plinian codices, it must be added, incline to the reading 'Laconimurgi' as in PTOLEMY, and the correction comes from the stone cited). Another such town is Seria, and PTOL. 2.5.6 attests a Lusitanian Σέλιον, confirmed by Itin. Ant. 421.3 'Sellium'; PTOL. 2.4.10 also confirms the Baetican town.

But there is no trace of a Lusitanian Nertobriga, Segida, Ugultunia, Siarum or Callet, the other alleged homonyms. The last pair, in PLINY's Baetican group (3.13), is actually attested not in the N.W. of the province at all, but south and east of the Baetis river, as will be argued later (332 note 1). PLINY (3.13) moreover avers that these 7 Baetican towns were named after Celtiberian ones in Lusitania: as HUBNER (CIL 2, p. 125) points out, there were no Celtiberi in that part of Spain, but a Segeda and a Nertobriga are found precisely in Celtiberia - in Tarraconensis.

The reason for the Baetican towns' titles is almost certainly not to distinguish them from their Lusitanian homonyms, as Pliny has it: see pp. 336-8. If Lacimurga/Λακονίμουργι and Σέλιον are authentic Lusitanian towns, it may be that Pliny (helped by vagaries of spelling, which often occur over Spanish names) obtusely supposed at 3.13 that the titles of the two northwestern Baetican towns Seria and Lacimurga were merely for purposes of distinction, and thus that other titled towns of the area also had Lusitanian counterparts. He compounded this mistake by misplacing Siarum and Callet (as well as some stipendiary towns from southern Hispalensis) in the area.

This would mean that, in the stipendiary list at 4.118, only

Finally (as already shown) there is no evidence from the naturalist's use of the term oppida civium Romanorum in Spain to suggest that they derive from a pre-Augustan source. Nor in fact is there any evidence that they or the Latin towns he lists obtained their status from Claudius or later emperors: their tribe (except for Italica's Sergia) is Galeria, characteristic of Augustus and - it will be suggested - of Caesar.[1] The official sources behind Pliny's account of Spain, therefore, are all datable to the middle or later years of Augustus' principate.

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two towns (at most) - Lusitanian Seria and Lacimurga - are to be added.

If these doubts are justified, the total number of trustworthy Lusitanian stipendiaria in Pliny's lists falls below 33, and this in turn invalidates Albertini's calculations.

This is not the only question over which the Siarenses Fortunales and Callenses Aeneanici give trouble (especially the latter): see 332 note 1.

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[1] See below, pp. 325 - 51. Claudius, Nero and the Flavians used tribus Quirina for new citizens, Galba the Pomptina (KUBITSCHEK, Rom. Trib. Orig., 188).

CHAPTER XV

THE ROMAN AND LATIN TOWNS

DIO states that Caesar gave citizenship to some Spaniards in 45.[1] This and Latin right - or the hope of them - would also be among the 'praemia', 'honores' and 'bona spes' he distributed in 49.[2] According to Suetonius, Augustus conferred Latin right or citizenship on some communities in the empire for their 'merita erga populum Romanum'.[3] Dio reports grants of the latter to Gauls and Spaniards in 14 B.C.[4]

Pliny's Spanish provincial statistics are as follows:

> B a e t i c a : 'oppida omnia numero CLXXV, in iis coloniae VIIII, municipia c. R. X, Latio antiquitus donata XXVII, libertate VI, foedere III, stipendiaria CXX'[5];
>
> T a r r a c o n e n s i s : 'accedunt insulae, quarum mentione seposita [n. b.] civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXVIIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV'[6];
>
> I n s u l a e (Tarraconenses): two <u>oppida c. R.</u>, two <u>Latina</u>,

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[1] 43.39.5.

[2] CAES. <u>BCiv</u> 2.21.3 and 5.

[3] <u>Aug.</u> 47.

[4] 54.25.1 (and cancellations).

[5] 3.7 (text MAYHOFF: Teubner).

[6] 3.18. <u>V. l.</u> ' ... seposita praeter civitates contributas aliis CCXCIII [<u>v. l.</u> CCXCIIII] provincia ipsa continet oppida CLXXVIIII, in iis' (etc.): H. BARBARI, A.D. 1492-3.

two foederata and three others, by implication stipendiaria.[1]

> Lusitania: 'tota (provincia) populorum XLV, in quibus oniae sunt quinque, municipium civium Romanorum [i.e. unum], Latii antiqui III, stipendiaria XXXVI'.[2]

As shown in two earlier chapters, all the Baetican and Lusitanian colonies are attributable to the Republic, Caesar or Augustus, and so are ten of Tarraconensis' twelve.[3] The other two in Pliny's total, it is likely, were Flaviobriga and Clunia, and thus he will have adjusted the Tarraconensian totals out of his own knowledge.[4] The difficulty is that he does not give Clunia as a colony when he

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[1] 3.76-8. The phrase in 18, and the fact that a mainland foederatum is mentioned at 24, as well as two others here, prove that the figures given in 18 cannot include the islands.

[2] 4.117. The passage is not carefully phrased, a point that will be referred to later.

[3] Chapters VI-VII.

[4] Flaviobriga is mentioned at 4.110 ('Amanum portus, ubi nunc Flaviobriga colonia'). Although the city is not therefore cited in P.'s main Tarraconensis survey, compare the Baetican statistics: the ten municipia c. R. must include Gades, which is mentioned only much later (3.7, 4.119; contrast 3.15). Clunia may well have been made a colonia by Galba, for on coins struck by him in 69 it is given the title SVL(picia), and by Hadrian's reign at latest it was a colony: see MATTINGLY-SYDENHAM, 1.215, no. 151; H. JUCKER, 'Hispania Clunia Sulpicia ... ', Schweiz. Münzbl. 15 (1965) 94-111, on 94, 96; CIL 2. 2780; cf. PTOL. 2.6.55 Κλουνία κολωνία'). Galba is mentioned, perhaps as patron (so HÜBNER), perhaps indeed as founder of the colony, on another fragmentary stone (2779). It was from Clunia that he supposedly received favourable augury for his venture in 68, and at the town, it seems, that he learned of Nero's fall (SUET. Galba 9.2; PLUT. Galba 6.4-7.1). Cf. MRS HENDERSON, JRS 1942, 3; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Colonias romanas de Esp., 503-4.

A smaller example of Pliny adjusting his source is his speaking of the opp. foederatum Bocchoris as 'fuit' (3.77). This place still existed in A.D. 6 (CIL 2. 3695), i.e. probably after the formula was compiled; whether he means it later ceased to be foederatum (e.g. by being Latinized) or that it later ceased to exist is unclear - subsequent evidence is lacking.

lists it.[1] But whereas he clearly supplements his Augustan material with Flavian information (which he may have helped to gather) for the northwest and could thus attest the existence of Flaviobriga, he probably does no more than transcribe that material for the rest of the province.[2] No other colonies had been founded in Spain during the first century A.D., so that his figures for those in Baetica and Lusitania match the mid-Augustan totals.

The Roman and Latin oppida, however, pose considerable problems, except in Lusitania, where the single Roman municipium was Olisipo and the three 'oppida veteris Latii' Ebora, Salacia and Myrtilis. He gives titles to three: Felicitas Iulia to Olisipo, Liberalitas Iulia to Ebora and Urbs Imperatoria to Salacia. Ptolemy cites the fourth as Myrtilis Iulia.[3]

In Tarraconensis, Pliny's named Roman towns are Saguntum[4], Baetulo, Iluro[5], Dertosa, Biscargis[6], Bilbilis, Calagurris Nassica, Ilerda, Osca, Turiasso[7]; that he means Blandae and Emporiae to be taken as having the same status is possible, since we know from

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[1] 3.27 'Clunia, Celtiberiae finis' only.

[2] Pliny does not bring all northwestern particulars up to date either. Lucus' tribus Galeria (see below) indicates it was Latinized before the Flavians, probably before A.D. 14: no word of this in his survey.

[3] 2.5.4.

[4] 3.20. [5] 3.22.

[6] 3.23. The site of Biscargis is unknown.

[7] 3.24.

Livy (corroborated by coins) that Emporiae acquired citizenship in Augustus' day.[1] In that case we would have twelve towns out of thirteen. The thirteenth may have been Rhode, modern Rosas near Ampurias, a Greek town closely connected with, perhaps governed by, Emporiae.[2] In the Balearic Islands, Palma and Pollentia were two more Roman towns.

Of the eighteen Latin towns in mainland Tarraconensis, Pliny names fifteen: Lucentum[3], the Ausetani Iuliani and the Cerretani Aug-

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[1] 3.22 'in ora autem colonia Barcino cognomine Faventia, oppida c. R. Baetulo, Iluro, flumen Arnum, Blandae, flumen Alba, Emporiae, geminum hoc [sc. oppidum] veterum incolarum et Graecorum'; LIVY 34.9.3. An issue of Emporitan coinage bears the legend MVNICIP or MNNA , seemingly municipium in mixed Iberian and Roman script (HILL, 'Notes on the anc. coinage of Hisp. Cit.', 36; SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 113; HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 9 n.53). This suggests the enfranchisement of the Spanish half of the town was accompanied by formal municipalization. GRANT, F I T A , 154-5, dates the issue to 45/4, but Livy's account implies that some time went by before even the Spanish element gained citizenship (cf. pp. 117-18 above): so too BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 604. If Livy published his work in pentads, less than two years apart on average, and published Books 26-30 ca. 19 B.C. (P. WALSH, Livy: his Historical Aims and Methods [Cambridge 1961] 8, cf. 5) then Book 34 - i.e. the pentad of 31-5 - would not date to later than the Tarraconensis formula on which Pliny's survey is based. VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 80 and n.2, accepts Emporiae as a Plinian oppidum c. R. but does not mention Blandae.

[2] STR. 3.4.8 / C160 πολίχνιον Ἐμπορειτῶν ; R E 1 A. 954; not mentioned by Pliny anywhere in his Spanish survey. Small size need not be a bar to citizen status: a few towns (Biscargis, Blandae[?], Regina in Baetica) had this though otherwise - to us - undistinguished. Conceivably, if a smaller component of Emporiae's territory (Strabo's phrase does not necessarily imply subjection), it may have qualified for citizenship when the bigger town got this.

[3] 3.20. Modern Alicante, up the coast not far from Cartagena.

ustani[1], Edetani, Gerundenses, Iessonienses, Teari Iulienses[2], Cascantenses, Ergavicenses, Gracchurritani, Leonicenses, Osicerdenses,[3] Castulonenses Caesarini Iuvenales, Saetabitani Augustani and Valerienses.[4] Several of these show tribus Galeria on inscriptions, and none show any other tribe.[5] It is clear that these adjectival names represent town communities (notably Gerunda, Ergavica or Ercavica, Gracchurris, Osicerda, Saetabi). Gerunda was also a town of the Ause-

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[1] 3.23. P.'s reference to these two is '(populorum) Latinorum Ausetani Cerretani qui Iuliani cognominantur et qui Augustani'. This has been interpreted, in the apparently natural way, as revealing two groups of Cerretani (J. HARDUIN [ed.] ... Plinii ... Naturalis Historia ... [Paris 1685] 301; HÜBNER, R E 3. 1965; MARCHETTI, 'Hispania', Diz. Ep. 3. 851; HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 9; J R S 1953, 141; etc.). The only historical mention of the Cerretani is their subjection by Domitius Calvinus in 38 (DIO 48.42.1-3). PTOL. 2.6.68 gives their only town as Ἰουλία Λίβικα : it was probably Octavianic (p. 136 note 4).

The Ausetani had joined Caesar at a critical moment in the Ilerda campaign (BCiv 1.60.2). A reward from him is thus not improbable, and Latin status with the epithet 'Iuliani' would suit this. As a result, it is reasonable to view the two titles Pliny gives as referring to Ausetani and Cerretani respectively. His style is not so smooth as to rule this out, and this solution removes any need to suppose (a) that Caesar chose to Latinize only part of the Cerretani, (b) and that when Dio reports the revolt of the tribe he means only the non-Latin part - or else that, even though both groups rebelled, the Latins afterwards kept title and status; or else (c) that the Cerretani 'Iuliani' were Latinized by Octavian before 27 B.C., whereas the Augustani had to wait till later on for their promotion.

[2] 3.23.

[3] 3.24.

[4] 3.25. For Castulo's title see also C I L 2. 3272 ('... lonens. et chortis [sic] Serviae Iuvenalis' [cf. p. 295 above]), which helps emend the MSS reading of Pliny ('Caesarivenales'): cf. MOMMSEN ap. 3272. A E 1958, no. 5, confirms this by giving the initials C. I. ('... ab decurionibus / C.I. Castulonensium / ...'). MAYHOFF, et al., following MOMMSEN, print 'Caesarii Iuvenales' - 'Caesarini' is better, cf. the title of Norba and Asido (even though coloniae), and is just as liable to textual corruption (CAESARINIIVVENALES).

[5] Galeria shown by Ausetani, Edetani, Gerundenses, Iessonienses, Castulonenses, Saetabitani, Valerienses: KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 189-200

tani, and so Pliny's earlier reference to the tribe must in fact mean its chief town Ausa; similarly the Edetani must mean the community of Edeta, as Leonica and Osicerda were also towns of the same tribe.[1] Iesso was a town of the Lacetani.[2] Teari seems to be the ethnic of Tiar or Thiar, called Τίαρ Ἰουλία by Ptolemy, who sites it among the Ilercavones near Dertosa.[3]

The other three Latini cannot be discovered, but they may lurk among the seventeen places whose citizens in tribus Galeria indicate Latin right probably by A.D. 14. These were:

Avobriga
Boletum
Clunia
Damnium
Dianium
Ilugo
Labitolosa
Lucus Augusti
Mentesa Bastetanorum
Pompaelo
Segobriga
Sigarra
Termes
Uxama Argaela[4]

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[1] See R E 2. 2557-8 (Ausa, Ausetani), 3. 1985 (Cerretani), 5. 1938-9 (Edetani), 7. 1284-5 (Gerunda), 3. 1634 (Cascantum), 6. 397-8 (Ercavica), 7. 1687 (Gracchurris), 12. 2014 (Leonica), 18. 1585 (Osicerda), 3. 1778-9 (Castulo), 1 A. 1727 (Saetabi), 7 A. Valeria).

[2] Not of the Iaccetani: G. BARBIERI, 'Iaccetani, Lacetani e Laeetani', Athenaeum 21 (1943) 113-21 (showing that PTOL. 2.6.71 is wrong to attribute the area to the Iaccetani: cf. his map, 114).

[3] 2.6.63. The ethnic from Tear (one might expect) would be Tearitani, Tearenses vel sim. - but Ptolemy shows the town-name was taken as feminine (and cf. Itin. Ant. below), whereas Spanish names ending -i are always treated by Pliny as neuter: on this question see below, 359. — Itin. Ant. 401.4 attests a Thiar 25 m.p. from Carthago Nova: cf. SCHULTEN, R E 5 A. 99-100.

[4] Probably this Uxama rather than U. Barca (C I L 2. 2403 and p. 387). In Roman times it shifted from the top of a hill to the foot (GROSSE, R E 9 A. 1306-7).

- and perhaps three others, whose ancient names are unknown, at or near Albarracín, Mancha Real and Gandía.[1] Pliny lists 'the Damanitani', Dianium, Mentesa, Pompaelo and Segobriga as tributary.[2] Clunia may have been one of his three unnamed Latin towns: IIIIviri iure dicundo are attested there, an office unusual in Imperial Spain, as the chief magistrates of nearly all Roman and Latin towns in the Peninsula were IIviri - Gades changed from the one to the other, as will be shown, in the Augustan period.[3]

Pliny gives titles to five Latin towns in Tarraconensis, but none to oppida c. R. Ptolemy confirms that of Tear, inscriptions those of Saetabi and Castulo.[4] Other sources than Pliny, however, also accord titles to four Tarraconensian oppida c. R.: Calagurris Iulia[5], Dertosa Hibera Iulia Ilercavonia[6], Bilbilis Augusta - possibly

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[1] McELDERRY, JRS 1918, 74 n.3; KUBITSCHEK, IRTD, 187, 192-203, where most are cited, with tribus Galeria.

[2] 3.24-5.

[3] Clunia's IVvirs: VIVES, 4. 111-12, nos. 3-6 (reign of Tiberius); CIL 2. 2781 '... Caelio Clouti [f.]/ IIIIvir. i[ure dic.]' (so HÜBNER). The father of Caelius was obviously a peregrine, which suggests the son was an early magistrate. Two Caelii are named on the coins (VIVES, 4. 111, lists them, but omits their college in the catalogue on 112; they are confirmed by HÜBNER, CIL 2, ad l.); two others on CIL 2. 820-1. Carteia and Carmo, possibly early municipia too, also show supreme IIIIviri (pp. 92 note 2; 343-4). Pliny's failure to give Clunia's Latin status could be explained as due to his using, for this part of Spain, a main source that was geographical rather than formulary (pp. 313, 316).

[4] Saetabi: CIL 2. 3262, 3265, (?)4277, cf. 3782. On Castulo see note 4 on p. 326.

[5] VIVES, 4. 96-100; HILL, 'Coinage of Hisp. Cit.', 10-11; Itin. Rav. 4.43 (309.8). 'Nassica' is not a title, or at any rate not a Latin one: the town already bore it in Sertorius' day (LIVY

also 'Italica'[1] - and Osca Urbs Victrix.[2]

B a e t i c a is a still more complex problem. From lack of information, or oversight, Pliny fails to name more than two *oppida c. R.* and three, or (as will be suggested) four[3], *Latina*. D. Detlefsen, a century ago, pointed out that nevertheless most of the others are recognizable in those to which Pliny attaches Latin *cognomina*, many of them reminiscent of the *gens* Iulia.[4] This view is acceptable.[5]

These towns with *cognomina* are (in Pliny's order):

Sexi Firmum Iulium[6]

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frg. Bk 91).

[6] VIVES 4. 17-18; GRANT, 158. It is to be noted that two of these appellations are descriptive: Dertosa stood (and, as Tortosa, still does) on the Ebro, and its tribe was the Ilercavones.

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[1] MART. 10.103.1; VIVES, 4. 55-6. Rather than commemorating some form of link with Baetican Italica, the second epithet might (as GRANT, 170 n.8, suggests) refer to a possible grant of *ius Italicum*. But no source (not even *Dig.* 50.15) records this privilege, and no other instances of such a grant leading to such a title exist: HÜBNER, *C I L* 2, p. 410, criticized both explanations. Moreover 'Italica' does not occur on the later coins, which call the town 'municipium Augusta' [*sic*]. Perhaps Bilbilis, like Emporiae, received a draft of Caesarian *coloni* who were responsible for the epithet. Emporiae, it is true, displays none, but the *coloni* at Bilbilis could have been proportionately more numerous.

[2] VIVES, 4. 50-2. The epithet 'Silbis' on some coins of Turiasso (VIVES, 4. 92) does not occur on those with 'MVN. TVRIASO' (92-3) and must be taken as an Iberian name or sobriquet, not as a munipal title: cf. Calagurris Nassica (note 5 on prev. page).

[3] Pp. 334-5.

[4] *Philologus* 30 (1870) 273-6.

[5] And is in fact accepted by SUTHERLAND, 126-7 (with reservations); SHERWIN-WHITE, *R C*, 176-7; THOUVENOT, 191-6.

[6] 3.8.

Segida Augurina
Ulia Fidentia[1]
Urgao Alba
Ebora Cerealis
Iliberri Florentini[2]
Ilipula Laus
Artigi Iulienses[3]
Vesci Faventia[4]
Ossigi Latonium
Iliturgi Forum Iulium
Isturgi Triumphales[5]
Obulco Pontificense
Sacili Martialium[6]

Ilipa 'cognomine †Ilpa†': probably a dittographical error has removed the real title, but this is recoverable from an inscription that mentions 'Ilienses Ilipenses' (no town called Ilia/um/us is known in Spain) - a title Ilia could easily suffer corruption, especially as the next word in Pliny's

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[1] MSS 'Iulia', but the emendation is easy and virtually inevitable. HÜBNER, CIL 2, pp. 206-7, still has doubts but the arguments he himself assembles for the change are convincing.

[2] MSS 'Liberini' but the proper title in CIL 2. 1572, 2069-70 etc. MAYHOFF, following DETLEFSEN, prints 'Florentini', accepted by HENDERSON, JRS 1942, 6. The plural must refer to the inhabitants, cf. 'mun. Florent(inum) Iliberritanum' (1572, 2070), 'Florentini Iliberritani' (2074). The town itself will have been designated, very probably, 'Florentia': cf. Ulia Fidentia, Vesci Faventia.

[3] Here again Pliny applies the title to the townsfolk: the town was probably called 'Iulium'. Cf. 'Teari Iulienses' from Tear Iulia in Tarraconensis, above.

[4] Segida to Vesci: 3.10, first half.

[5] I.e. properly 'Triumphale' with the town-name (see notes 2-3 above).

[6] Ossigi to Sacili: 3.10, second half.

text is 'Italica'.[1]

Osset Iulia Constantia

Lucurgentum Iuli Genius

Nabrissa Veneria[2]

Seria Fama Iulia[3]

Nertobriga Concordia Iulia

Segida Restituta Iulia

Contributa Iulia Ugultunia 'cum qua et Curiga nunc est'.[4]

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[1] MSS vary: 'ilpa' (most), 'illpa', 'ilpia', 'illa' (see MAYHOFF, ad l.), if anything reinforcing the solution proposed above, drawn from CIL 2. 1475. HÜBNER and MOMMSEN decline to take this view (ad l.), but cf. moreover the other mythological epithets - Callenses Aeneanici, Ossigi Latonium, Hispalis Romula. SCHULTEN, R E 9. 1066 proposes to emend to 'Magna', following PTOL. 2.4.10 Ἰλλίπα μεγάλη but there is no evidence that Ptolemy is giving a formal cognomen (he gives none of the others, except for Contributa which superseded Ugultunia [note 4 below]): he probably means to differentiate Ilipa from the Ἰλλίπουλα he lists in the same section. Nor is 'Magna' as easy to corrupt as 'Ilia'. — A Baetican coin with 'ILVIP HALOS' (VIVES, 3. 107) probably refers not to Ilipa, which coined as 'ILIPENSE' (3. 87-8) but to Iulipa in northern Cordubensis (known otherwise only from C I L 2. 2352).

[2] Ilipa to Nabrissa: 3.11. Mrs HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 6, presumably reading 'oppidum' (with two MSS) before 'Nabrissa' (as in the L o e b text), adds 'Colobana' as another title. MAYHOFF's reading 'oppida' is confirmed by inscriptions proving Pliny's 'Colobana' was a separate town, actually named Conobaria: C I L 2. 1294 ('Conob.'); A E 1955, no. 42 ('Conobaria'). The question is discussed by A. BALIL, 'Conobaria, un problema de la topografía de la Bética', Emerita 26 (1958) 129-30 and 355.

[3] This and the next six are the towns Pliny assigns to Celtic Baetica (N.W. Hispalensis): 3.13.

[4] Rather a problem. MSS 'Contributa Iulia Ugultuniacum quae et Curiga nunc est', but this breaks the arrangement of Pliny's sentence - and in this instance his poor style is no excuse. MAYHOFF's emendation, following M ü l l e r , is certainly required: 'Contributa Iulia [sc. cognomen adicitur] Ugultuniae cum qua' etc. Though in the other six entries of the list the arrangement is reversed ('Seriae adicitur Fama Iulia, Nertobrigae Concordia Iulia' etc.), the exception here is obviously made in order to place the town-name directly before its relative clause. HÜBNER emended to 'Ugultuniaco quae' (which does fit the structure of the sentence) but this is rather less palaeograph-

Lacimurga Constantia Iulia

Siarenses Fortunales

Callenses Aeneanici[1]

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ically likely, and (more important) does not account for the feminine form of the titles, which are not substantives here. On his view that the place was a Flavian municipium, see p. 340 note 4.

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[1] Pliny assigns the Siarenses and Callenses to Hispalensis but misplaces them north of the Baetis. Proof of this is as follows. At 3.11 he attests a town Siarum in the lower Baetis valley, and this is confirmed by CIL 2. 1276-7 which puts the town east of the river and south of Hispalis (cf. HÜBNER, ad l.). 1372 (A.D. 250) attests a 'res publica Callensis' near El Coronil close to Siarum: and EE 8, p. 522 no. 306, found nearby, records two communities, precisely Siarenses Fortunales and Callenses Aeneanici, along with those of Hispalis, Italica and Asido: quoted above, p. 129 note 3. Though HÜBNER (CIL 2, p. 186) had doubted the identification of the 'res p. Callensis' with Pliny's Aeneanici, the latter's misplacement of these two communities can no longer be doubted. As will appear below, they are not the only sufferers - and Pliny is not the only misplacer. The MSS of Pliny also mangled the Siarensibus into 'steresibi' and 'teresibus'; DETLEFSEN proposed to read the latter, MAYHOFF to read 'Steresibus'; as HÜBNER recognizes (EE 8, p. 522), the town was in fact Siarum and the inscription gives the correct ethnic.

Thus these two communities lay in S. Hispalensis, not N. But at 3.12 Pliny lists, among the 'stipendiaria' of Astigitanus, a town 'Callet', and gives another among those of Gaditanus (3.15). In the former list, this name is followed by a 'Callicula'. PTOLEMY does not mention any Callet at all, but gives Καλλίκουλα (2.4.10) - according to his editor and commentator MÜLLER (1. 125), at the same distance from Hispalis as is El Coronil: 30 milia pass. Thus the Callenses Aeneanici and Callicula were close together if not identical.

The probable solution to the puzzle is that Pliny or his predecessor, in combining a topographical description of Baetica with a formula, mistakenly listed Callet twice: at 3.12 and (with title, but misplaced northwards) at 3.14. The difficulty over conventus is explicable by the nearness of Callet to Siarum - which would appear in a topographical account - and the existence of a town Calecula near Iliberri, in southern Astigitanus (CIL 2. 5500; PTOL. 2.4.9 Καλήκουλα vel. sim.). Pliny does not mention this place: perhaps the entries 'Callet, Callicula' have replaced it. Callet Aeneanicum, therefore, probably did lie in Hispalensis - otherwise Pliny's attribution not only to that conventus but also to the northern sector of it (Astigitanus lay wholly south of the R. Baetis) seems impossible to account for. The inclusion of the town among stipendiaria is thus not likely to be correct. If the Aeneanici were stipendiaries,

Laepia [Iulia ?][1]

Carisa Aurelia

Urgia Castrum Iulium - to which Pliny adds cryptically, 'item

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they would be a unique instance: all other evidence suggests that a Latin cognomen attests higher status (in Baetica), as will be shown.

As for the Callet in Gaditanus, it is possible that more than one town of the same name existed even in the same province (cf. the two Segidas in the list above), but nothing is known of it.

Siarum and Callet are not the only towns Pliny misplaces. In the same paragraph (3.13-14) and in the same way, he names among the towns of N.W. Baetica, (i) in Hispalensis: Acinipo, Arunda and Salpensa, all of them attested in fact south of the Baetis, though certainly in Hispalensis (CIL 2, pp. 181, 184, 171 respectively); (ii) and in Cordubensis, among the Baetican Turduli, a town Sosintigi which was probably again south of that river, though Pliny is once more correct about its conventus (HÜBNER, RE 3 A. 1166; cf. CIL 2. 1721). 'Saepone' in this second group may possibly be a doublet of Usaepo in Gaditanus (3.15; HÜBNER, CIL 2, p. 180; cf. SCHULTEN, RE 2 A. 1153).

PTOL. 2.4.11 makes exactly the same mistake over Arunda and Acinipo, placing them in the same region (Βαιτικῶν Κελτικῶν) and list as Arucci, Curiga and Vama, towns known to belong in N.W. Baetica (see MÜLLER, 1. 127). He does not mention the others, not even Siarum and Callet, at all.

Although like-named towns are frequent enough in ancient Spain, this cannot be the explanation here. There is no evidence at all for towns of these names in the northwest of Baetica. By contrast, each name is securely attested (in the appropriate conventus) to the south. It looks as though a topographical source common to both Pliny and Ptolemy made heavy weather of combining a list of towns given according to their conventus (i.e. the formula?), with a geographical survey by regions. Possibly the origin of the confusion lay in the existence of a town C e r e t in the north of Hispalensis (as CIL 2. 986 shows; VIVES, 3. 78, gives a coin with 'CERIT') and possibly of a S e a r o in the same area (E E 8, p. 379 no. 79 a and p. 500, attests a '(?)SEA[rensis]'; cf. VIVES, 3. 84 'SEARO'). It is not convincing to suppose instead, with MÜLLER and ALBERTINI, that Celtic Baeturia (N. Hispalensis) extended, not only to the Baetis, but also well beyond it into the south (MÜLLER, 1. 127; ALBERTINI, 91-2): there is no evidence for this and it would not in any case explain Pliny's mistake with Sosintigi and (perhaps) Saepo.

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[1] My proposal for MSS 'Lepiarelia', obviously corrupted from Carisa's title just after. G e l e n i u s (1557) had emended 'Laepia Ulia'; MÜLLER, 1. 123, and MAYHOFF (ad l.) propose 'Laepia Regia'. The town is not otherwise attested. A title may not in fact be in-

'Caesaris Salutariensis'.[1]

Gades: 'oppidum civium Romanorum qui appellantur Augustani urbe Iulia Gaditana'.[2] This rather roundabout citation, assisted by an inscription calling the town 'municipium Augustum'[3], shows that Gades' title was more simply Urbs Iulia Augusta - and thus that before 27 B.C. it can at most have been Urbs Iulia.

This gives twenty-nine towns with titles.[4] It is likely that there were actually thirty. The curious double ration accorded Urgia is not satisfactorily explained by R. Thouvenot's suggestion that the town got a second set 'en cessant d'être simple poste'.[5] But Pliny often uses 'item' instead of repeating a word or phrase in lists.[6] Ptolemy, as it happens, does attest both an Οὐργία and an Οὐκία in the same area, near Nabrissa, Asta and Carisa: Müller thought he was repeating the same one.[7] The occurrence of the same

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volved: Pliny's phrasing '(oppida) Latinorum †Lepiarelia†, Carisa cognomine Aurelia, Urgia cognominata Castrum Iulium' etc. could imply that the first did not have a cognomen.

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[1] Laepia, Carisa, Urgia: 315 (specifically Latin - see last note).

[2] 4.119.

[3] CIL 2. 1313. There is enough varied evidence that a town and its titles could be (and were) presented in differing ways at different times.

[4] Excluding Castulo, till 7 B.C. or so part of Baetica.

[5] Bétique, 193. Mrs HENDERSON obscures the oddity (and prejudges the case) by substituting sive for item (JRS 1942, 7).

[6] E.g. 1.13.48-51 'arbores et frutices in mari nostro; item in Rubro; item in Indico' etc.; 1.21.63 '(spicatae) ab summo florentes, item ab imo'; 3.8 'dein litore oppida Barbesula cum fluvio, item Salduba'; 5.20 'Ruzasus colonia Augusti, Saldae colonia eiusdem, item Igilgili'.

[7] 2.4.10; MÜLLER, 1. 123.

name more than once, still less that of two closely similar ones, in the same general region need not surprise. Pliny mentions a town Ucia on the upper Baetis, which Ptolemy confirms - as Οὐώγια .[1] He gives two towns in Bastetania, Osca and Oscua, side by side in the same list.[2]

However another titled town, Ossonoba or rather Onoba Aestuaria[3], probably does not qualify as its cognomen should be due merely to its geographical position.[4]

But the evidence that the towns listed had Roman or Latin right is strong. The four Roman and Latin towns of Lusitania also bore titles, as Pliny shows, and they are of similar type. At least three known Latin towns and one Roman in Baetica - the last four in the above list - bear titles.[5] Castulo, part of the province till the mid-Augustan period, had two cognomina. Whenever such towns occur in Pliny's Baetican lists they are grouped together, and anal-

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[1] 3.10 (cf. DETLEFSEN, Philol. 1870, 292); PTOL. 2.4.9; Itin. Ant. 403.7 'Uciense'; CIL 11, p. 496 col. 2 'Uciese'.

[2] 3.10; PTOL. 2.4.9 (MSS Ἔσκουα) and 10; cf. CIL 2, p. 275.

[3] The correct name is probably Onoba (3.7 gives the other form), as with one MS: Lusitania had an Ossonoba on the same coast (4.116) and PTOL. 2.4.5 calls the present one Ὄνοβα Αἰστουάρια , so too MARCIANUS HERACL. (Geog. Gr. Min., ed. MÜLLER, p. 546.4); cf. MELA 3.7; Itin. Ant. 431.12; CIL 2, p. 121; SCHULTEN, FHA 6. 162-3; RE 18. 529 and 1608-9.

[4] Cf. the Astures Transmontani in Tarraconensis (3.28); also HENDERSON, 7. (But an inscription possibly from there shows tribus Galeria: CIL 2. 951.)

[5] Laepia (?)Iulia is, however, a borderline case (note 1, p. 333).

phabetically, whereas in four places a series of untitled towns are alphabetically ordered - and in two such lists are explicitly termed stipendiaria.[1] Moreover, one list of eight titled towns is followed by the untitled Singili, after which thirteen more places - similarly without titles - follow, in an alphabetical beginning with 'Agla Minor': Singili was probably a liberum oppidum until the Flavian era, thus will have been catalogued separately in an official list.[2]

It is true that, when treating of the titled towns in Baetican Celtica (north of Hispalis), Pliny remarks that their Celtiberian provenance from Lusitania is shown, among other traits, by 'oppidorum vocabulis, quae cognominibus in Baetica distinguntur', and in his Lusitanian survey repeats the implication that stipendiary

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[1] 3.10, 12, 14 (two separate lists), 15. The stipendiaria are so referred to in 12 (where admittedly one name, Sacrana, is out of alphabetical order: it may have strayed from its place next to Sabora lower down, be an appellation of the town preceding - unlikely - or be a textual error: it is not attested but an Olaura in the area is, to give an example [CIL 2, p. 196]; cf. DETLEFSEN, Philol. 1870, 298) and 15 (where P. also specifies the Roman and Latin towns).

[2] 3.10. Singili calls itself 'm(unicipium) l(iberum)' on inscriptions (CIL 2. 2016-21, 2025), for which the explanation is probably the one given in the text: DETLEFSEN, 271-2; THOUVENOT, 193. Other towns in the Empire apparently kept epithets reminiscent of past status: Hippo Diarrhytus in Africa ('libera' on coins: TEUTSCH, Städtew. Nordafr., 93 n.254, 113 n.369), Aventicum and Tyre (both coloniae 'foederatae': CIL 13. 5089 '[colonia Pia Flavi]a Constans Emerita / [Helvetiorum] Foederata' (missing words preserved in sixteenth-century transcription); see F. STÄHELIN, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (Basel 1948) 222-3, cf. 83-4; CIL 10. 1061 'Tyros m[etropolis] / foede[rata]'; on both, see SCHÖNBAUER, Anz. öst. Akad. Wiss. 1954, 29-30; LAFFI, Adtr. e Contr., 127 n. 280).

towns existed in the province with the same names but no titles.[1] But quite apart from the oddity of supposing there were Celtiberi in Lusitania, it is not easy to find any trace of these alleged Lusitanian namesakes.[2] It is also clear that, although the first five in Pliny's group are correctly situated, the last two - Siarenses Fortunales and Callenses Aeneanici - are misplaced from southern Hispalensis, where they are epigraphically attested.[3]

This is not all. One of the correctly located towns, Nertobriga Concordia Iulia, bears a title of which one element reappears as the name of a Lusitanian stipendiary community, the Concordienses, in Pliny's own account.[4] To be sure, nothing is known of these people, though they apparently lay in the northern half of the province: he may not have considered them 'Celtiberi'.[5] But together with the improbabilities and inaccuracies of his paragraph, this lends no strength to his theory. It seems clear that he did not know of a definite reason for the towns' titles, and hazarded a guess, encouraged (it may be) by the resemblance between a couple town-names in north-

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[1] 3.13-14, 4.118.

[2] Only two are possible, at most: see p. 320 (note 3 from p. 319).

[3] Above, p. 332 note 1.

[4] 4.118; PTOL. 2.5.6 Κονκορδία ; cf. MÜLLER, 1. 137 ad l.

[5] Between Scallabis and Talabriga: HÜBNER, R E 4. 831. But Σέλιον lay in the same area (PTOL. 2.5.6; Itin. Ant. 421.3), and if the Turduli 'veteres' are the same as the Turduli Celtici (above, p. 319 note 3; cf. STRABO's story of a Celtic, and apparently Turdulan, settlement in that area, 3.3.5/ C153) they lived just north of Talabriga (4.112).

west Baetica and a couple in Lusitania.

By contrast, plenty other towns in Baetica, the names of which do not recur in Lusitania, also bear titles in Pliny[1]; and conversely we may note that within Baetica itself a name could be repeated at different places without any more qualification than 'Minor' or 'Vetus', often with none;[2] and that Tarraconensis and Baetica each had (or once had) an Osca, a Salduba, perhaps too a Bursavo/Urso[3], while Pliny cites Lancienses in both Tarraconensis and Lusitania[4] - none with titles. The use of ornate cognomina such as the

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[1] E.g. - not to go beyond Hispalensis and Cordubensis, the conventus bordering Lusitania - Ilipa, Osset, Lucurgentum (3.11), Ossigi, Obulco, Sacili (3.10).

[2] Thus 'Ilipula' is securely attested in three places - two without titles (CIL 2, p. 122); Mellaria in two (PLINY 3.3 and 7; and 3.14; SCHULTEN, R E 15. 557); and apart from the titled colonies of Tucci and Iptuci, three peregrine towns betray a fine confusion between either name (PLINY 3.10 Tucci Vetus - clearly meant to distinguish it from the Roman colony, not its fellows, cf. Astigi Vetus; 3.15 Iptucci or, in the MSS, Itucci; PTOL. 2.4.10 [illegible] and Itin. Ant. 432.2 Tucci are probably the same place; see HÜBNER, R E 'Iptuci' 9. 2031-2; SCHULTEN, R E 'Itucci' 9. 2377; 'Tucci' 7 A. 765). Meanwhile Oleastrum in MELA 3.4 may not be the same as the Oleastrum in PLINY 3.15, PTOL. 2.4.10, with Itin. Rav. 317: MÜLLER, 1. 121-2 and 125. Noteworthy also are the two Reginas (PLINY 3.14-15), one of them admittedly a Roman town (15) but neither distinguished by titles so far as is known. If titles were given merely to differentiate homonyms, it is hard to see how the various Tucci/I(p)tuc(c)is in particular did not qualify.

[3] Oscas: 3.24 and 10 (Osca in the north did acquire a title, as shown earlier, but it can hardly have been meant to distinguish it from its extremely obscure Baetican namesake); Saldubas: 3.24 (later Caesaraugusta), 8, cf. MELA 2.94, PTOL. 2.4.9; Bursavo/Urso: 3.24; BHisp 22.1; PASCUCCI, Bell. Hisp. 266-7; above, p. 60 note 3 (1). Each province also had a Segovia: KEUNE, R E 2 A. 1089-92.

[4] 3.28, 4.118 (the latter do admittedly appear later in two bodies, Oppidani and Transcudani: see p. 173 note 1). Cf. PLINY's remark on Segontia and Uxama in Tarraconensis, 'quae nomina crebro aliis in locis usurpantur' (3.27).

Baetican towns in question display cannot, therefore, have been meant simply for purposes of geographical differentiation.[1]

But distinction of another sort is likely. The Julian epithet borne by many suggests _beneficia_ conferred by Caesar or Octavian; others that lack it have titles reminiscent of Caesar or the family's mythology.[2] More solidly, nine towns show duovirs or citizens of _tribus Galeria_: the only other tribe traceable is Quirina, at one town - and the trace is probably misleading.[3] Two others -

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[1] Such purposes were served, if at all, by descriptive epithets: thus Onoba Aestuaria (PLINY 3.7) may have been so called to distinguish it from an inland Onoba near the Baetis (3.10).

[2] Carisa Aurelia may recall his mother (on whom, _R E_ 2. 2543); Callenses Aeneanici the Trojan hero, son of Venus the ancestress of the Iulii (SUET. _Iul._ 6.1); Nabrissa Veneria the goddess herself; Ilipa Ilia (if this is the correct title) both the poetic name for Troy and one name for Romulus' mother (Hispalis Romula was not far away either), see _R E_ 9. 999-1000.

[3] Urgao (_C I L_ 2. 2105, 2115), Iliberri (2081; cf. 2063, 2073 - not magistrates, but _origo_ expressly given), Isturgi (2121), Obulco (2126, 2129-30, 2132), Sacili (2188), Ulia (1536-7), Ilipa (no _IIvir_, but two citizens: 1090, 5363), Ugultunia (1029, cf. 1030), Nertobriga (no _IIvir_, but _C I L_ 2. 972 attests a man of the town as _Gal._; so too, probably, the soldiers in 13. 6853-4, 6865, 7506: cf. KUBITSCHEK, _I R T D_, 178; G. FORNI, _Il Reclutamento delle Legioni da Augusto a Vespasiano_ [Milano-Roma 1953] 173; SCHULTEN, _R E_ 17. 54 assigns them to Nertobriga in Celtiberia, however). See HENDERSON, _J R S_ 1942, 8 nn.34-42. — A third-century A.D. inscription found at Cortijo del Río near Antequera (W. of Granada) attests an 'Obulcenens[i]s' in Quirina (_C I L_ 2. 5496; Map III at end, ref. grid Q : i). As HÜBNER suggests, the man may have changed his tribe with his abode. Alternatively, as he was a _libertus_, he may have been born at Obulco, but freed at a town in Quirina (Ulisi seems to have been the ancient town at Cortijo: see 5497, 5499). See also p. 398.

VITTINGHOFF argues that Osset later appears as a Flavian _municipium_ (_R Kol_, 74 n.6). In fact neither Osset nor any other of the titled towns do so, and his supporting references (_C I L_ 2. 4192, 42-43) are wrong. Nor need a fragmentary inscription at Hispalis refer to Ilipa ('...] Mun. F(lavium) [..]ipense': _CIL_ 2. 1192; so KUB-

Seria and Lacimurga in the northwest - may also attest Galeria.[1] It is noteworthy that Castulo belonged to this tribe as well.[2] Gades was a municipium under Augustus and Ulia was one before Claudius' reign: an aedile and duovir is known there who was also 'praefectus C. Caesaris'.[3] Ugultunia cannot be shown (as Hübner thought) to be a Flavian municipium.[4]

ITSCHEK, I R T D, 175, and HÜBNER, C I L 2 Suppl., Index p. 1147 - both doubtfully). There seems room for five or six letters, and Basilipo or Basilipa, 21 m. p. S.W. of Hispalis (Itin. Ant. 410.4; Rav. 316. 3; HÜBNER, p. 187) could, for instance, be a candidate (though HÜBNER restores 'Basilip[onensis]' in 1373).

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[1] Seria: E E 8, p. 521 no. 303 (found at Jérez de los Caballeros) attests a 'Ser[iensis?] in Gal.; Lacimurga: E E 9, no. 140, found at Encinasola on the Portuguese border S.W. of Jérez de los Caballeros, attests 'M. Baebius / M.f. Gal. / Optatus Lac. / an. l.h.s. e[ida?]' - the interpretation 'Lac[ipea]', by Hübner's Spanish contemporary F. F i t a on the strength of the dubious reading in the following line, seems highly improbable. Though Lacipea did exist, it lay 20 m. p. northeast of Emerita on the road to Toletum and Caesaraugusta (Itin. Ant. 438.4; Rav. 312.16; E E 8, pp. 364-5, no. 23 - found at Mérida). Lusitanian Lacimurga lay well to the east of Emerita. Thus if the word 'Lac.' is an ethnic, it is better referred to Baetican Lacimurga, probably in this area.

[2] KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 191-2; A E 1958, nos. 5-7.

[3] C I L 2. 1534. This must be the emperor, as Divus Augustus is also mentioned. - 1256 records a IIvir (without tribe) and municipes, and seems of early date (e.g. the spelling 'duomviratu'; cf. HÜBNER, ad l.; HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 8). But though Hübner places it in his chapter on Osset, and Mrs Henderson takes it to belong to that town (ib.), it was in fact found in Seville and the town it concerns is not known - it could be of Hispalis itself (on the possible use of municipes at colonies, see p. 131 note 5), pace Hübner and Mommsen.

[4] He argued that 'M F V' on C I L 2. 1028 = 5543 means 'M(unicipium) F(lavium) V(gultuniacum)', and thus that the town was not of Latin right till Vespasian (C I L 2, p. 131). Later he supposed that F was an error for I (i.e. 'Iulium': Suppl., p. 889). Galeria is well attested at Ugultunia (C I L 2. 1029 - a IIvir bis; 1030), and at Azagua, near the areas where Ugultunia's and Curiga's inscriptions were found, two stones give 'D(ecreto) D(ecurionum) M(unicipii) I(ulii) V.' (2339 = 5544; 5549). Thus there is no reason to doubt that

On occasion the cognomen replaces the native name in official usage: thus 'municipium Florentinorum' at Iliberri[1], 'municipium Triumphale' at Isturgi[2] and 'Pontificiense' at Obulco[3], 'pleps Latoniensis' at Ossigi[4] and 'Contributensis' (tout court) at Ugultunia.[5] This again shows that the titles were official. Another municipium of the Augustan era clearly connects its promotion with its new cognomen - a tessera hospitalis speaks of 'decuriones et municipes Martienses qui antea Ugienses fuerunt'.[6]

Ugultunia was a Roman or Latin town under Augustus; if 1028 does refer to it. the inscription could recall some further benefit from a Flavian emperor, for example the association of Curiga with the place, a measure which Pliny seems to date to his own time ('nunc'). But 1028 could refer to Vama, mentioned in this area by PTOL. 2.4.15 and on another inscription (989; cf. 5412). Ugultunia's epithet 'Contributa' may well be Augustan or pre-Augustan, as 'Iulia' must be: PTOLEMY gives both places, Ugultunia - as Κονταβούστα - and Curiga, separately (2.4.10-11; see MÜLLER, 1. 124, 127), and so do Itin. Ant. 432.5-6; Rav. 314.14 and 16. Thus it need not refer to the association with Curiga: cf. Ipsca (nr. Ucubi) 'municipium Contributum' nude dictum (CIL 2. 1572, 1597). [That Ipsca might be the 'Contributa Iulia' of Pliny (KUBITSCHEK, IRTD, 176; cf. DETLEFSEN, Philol. 1870, 300) is hardly likely: it was a Flavian municipium (McELDERRY, JRS 1918, 72, 80), and lay south of the Baetis, whereas the cognomen Contributa is epigraphically attested where PLINY says it is (CIL 2. 1029-30); also by PTOL. 2.4.10, Itin. Ant. and Rav., ll. c. above.] CIL 2. 1041, '...Iuli[enses] mutatione oppidi municipes et incolae pagi Translucani et pagi Suburbani', could refer to Curiga's association with Ugultunia (HÜBNER states the lettering to be Vespasianic); 1042, from the same place, attests tribus Quirina. The arrangement did not last more than some decades (unless it was very loose): Curiga later appears separately again (THOUVENOT, Bétique, 201).

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[1] CIL 2. 2069. Accompanied by the native name: e.g. 1572, 2070, 2074; see CIL 2 Suppl., Index p. 1146.

[2] 2121; 'res publica Isturgitanorum' 2124.

[3] 2126, 2129, 2132, 2135; cf. a 'Pontificiensis' 5055, and a 'duovir Patriciensis [i.e. at Corduba colony] et Pontificiensis' 2133 (PLINY spells it 'Pontificense'). The native name added: 'ordo Pon-

[The notes are completed on the foll. page

Titles of this sort were a new thing in Spain, and we may wonder just how they came about - and why later privileged towns (as will appear) bear titles of any sort in only a very few cases.[1] Their ornate style might be taken as mere Andalusian bombast and not as evidence of status[2], except that the evidence for the latter is independently powerful - and Olisipo, Ebora and Salacia cannot be considered Andalusian towns. But titles, which could be placed on coins and inscriptions, were valuable propaganda, proclaiming at a glance the beneficia won by those towns which had signalized their loyalty and services to Rome - and to C. Caesar and Caesar filius.

To the thirty titled towns should be added Regina in Gaditanus, untitled but vouched for by Pliny,[3] Italica (whose Augustan coins declare it a municipium[4]) and Carteia, whether Roman by now or still

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tificiensis Obulconensis' 2131.

[4] 3351. [5] 1029; cf. 'patria Contributense' (1030).

[6] D'ORS, Ep. jur., 370 no. 18.

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[1] Fifteen of the titled towns in Baetica and Lusitania confirm their Plinian cognomina, fully or partially, elsewhere: Gades (13-13), Ugultunia (1029-30), Ulia very possibly (one 'Flaccus Fidentinus' is recorded at Ipagrum not far away: 1516), Iliberri (1572, 2069-70, 2074, 2079 etc.), Urgao (2105, 2111-12), Isturgi (2121), Obulco (2126, 2129, 2131-3 etc.), Sacili (2186), Ossigi (3351), Nertobriga (EE 8, p. 382 no. 82; CIL 14. 2613), Callenses and Siarenses (EE 8, p. 522 no. 306), Olisipo (CIL 2. 176, 185-8, 190, 4493; AE 1953 no. 268), Salacia (VIVES, 3. 26 'IMP.'), Ebora (VIVES, 4. 119). On later towns see pp. 357-8.

[2] Cf. CIC. Arch. 26 on Corduban poets 'pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum'!

[3] 3.15. [4] VIVES, 4. 125-7.

Latin, to bring the total of Roman and Latin towns to thirty-three. Iulia Traducta, not a colony and probably a Roman municipium (as will be argued), makes it thirty-four. Carmo, of which Pliny makes no mention, was just possibly the thirty-fifth: its magistrates were a board of IIIIviri, which suggests early promotion since by Augustus' reign (or earlier in Italy) the normal supreme office was the duovirate.[1]

In addition, at least six other towns may reasonably be supposed to have joined them by A.D. 14: Acinipo, Epora and Illiturgicola, perhaps Ugia/Ucia on the upper Baetis, and - more uncertainly - Iulipa and Arsa in northern Cordubensis, all of which attest tribus Galeria.[2] Carmo was certainly a municipium by A.D. 41, for (like

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[1] CIL 2. 5120 (p. xlii), 1379-80; SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 142 (dating the change, in Italy, to ca. 50 B.C.); DEGRASSI, 'Sul duovirato nei municipi italici', Omagiu lui C. Daicoviciu (1960) 141-5. Very few IIIIviri are attested in Spain: those at Ilipula (CIL 2. 1470) and Aeso (4466), as well as two of those at Sabora (1423) were fairly certainly aediles (DEGRASSI, Scr. vari 1. 160, 162); on those at Ilici and Norba see p. 130. IIIIviri as supreme magistrates are known (apart from pre-Augustan Gades: CIC. Fam. 10.32.2) only at Carteia, Clunia (pp. 92 note 2, 328) and Carmo, as those at Asido may be aediles (pp. 129-31), as also the IIIIvir of the '...nisienses' in Baetica (CIL 2. 1271). Significantly, Carteia, Clunia and Carmo all share the possibility of early municipalization. Pliny fails to cite Carmo anywhere, but CAESAR (BCiv 2.19.4) stresses its importance ('longe firmissima totius provinciae civitas') and it received his special thanks in 49 for joining him (21.1, by implication); on the other hand it may have miscalculated the situation later.

[2] Acinipo: CIL 2, p. 701 (a IIvir: corrected version of 1347. 'Quir.' in 1348 is a dubious reading, cf. Mrs HENDERSON, JRS 1942, 2 n.6). Epora: ('foederatorum' PLINY 3.10): 2169 (a flamen Augusti), cf. 1736 (a man in Galeria is 'E[por]en[sis]' - HÜBNER suggests). Illiturgicola: 1648 (IIvir). Iulipa: 2362 gives Galeria, but the man is not a magistrate and the stone comes from a site some distance away (see HÜBNER, CIL 2, p. 326). Arsa: AE 1928,

Ulia) a praefectus C. Caesaris is attested, and this one was also '[pontif(ex)] sacrorum publicorum municipalium' as well as a former IIIIvir.[1] Ugia not only bore a title, Martia, but had decuriones and municipes by A.D. 6.[2] Pliny lists Epora as foederata, places Acinipo and Arsa in alphabetical lists, and attests no Ugia Martia, though he does mention the Ucia on the Baetis.

Pliny's statistics report ten municipia civium Romanorum in Baetica. Five may be identified: Gades, Regina, Carteia, Italica and Iulia Traducta.

Pliny himself vouches for Gades and Regina.[3] The former declares itself a municipium as early as Augustus' reign, on coins saluting M. Agrippa as 'municipi patrons' and 'municipi parens', a few also entitling him cos. III.[4] He had held this office in 27;

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no. 179 (a soldier of X Gemina is in Galeria, and 'Ars[ensis?]' - but it could be a cognomen: found at Ciudadeja, prov. of Zamora; clearly a very uncertain indication, despite THOUVENOT's confidence, Bétique, 196). Ugia: see note 2 on this page. — Barbesula attests a duovir in Quirina and one in Galeria (CIL 2. 1940-1), and in the latter case 'm(unicipes) m(unicipii) Barbesulani' are mentioned; PLINY 3.15 gives it as stipendiarium. McELDERRY, JRS 1918, 71, suggests the magistrate in 1941 had gained citizenship in an older municipium (the inscription appears to be Trajanic: see HÜBNER, ad loc. and on 1939).

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[1] CIL 2. 5120 (p. xlii).

[2] D'ORS, Ep. jur. 370, no. 18. It cannot be certain that this was in fact a Baetican town. The document is a tessera hospitalis marking a pact with Emerita and found there. But the only available town known is Ucia (so PLINY 3.10) on the upper Baetis: PTOL. 2.4.9 gives the name as Οὐσγια . It would be fanciful to suppose that 'Castrum Iulium', the title of a southern Urgia/Ugia, might be equally interpreted 'Martia' because of its warlike connotations, and on an official document at that. AE 1928, 180 gives another soldier, Gal., as 'domo Ugia' - but which, is not stated.

[3] 4.119, 3.15.

[4] VIVES, 3. 10-12.

in 19 he was legate of Tarraconensis; the issues may be dated therefore around this year.[1] An inscription terms the town 'municipium Augustum'.[2]

Now Caesar had given all Gaditanes citizenship in 49.[3] Pollio, writing from Corduba in 43 when governor of Ulterior, shows that his quaestor, Balbus the younger, had assumed the 'quattuorviratum' at Gades and used it to manipulate the 'comitia'.[4] As Degrassi points out, this must mean that the chief magistracy was entitled IIIIviratus.[5] The municipal constitution may have been modified

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[1] E-J^2, p. 35; DIO 54.11.3; GRANT, F I T A, 171-2.

[2] C I L 2. 1313.

[3] DIO 41.24.1; LIVY Per. 110.

[4] POLLIO to CIC. Fam. 10.32.2 'quattuorviratum sibi prorogavit, comitia bienni biduo habuit, hoc est renuntiavit quos ei visum est'. No ground for supposing Pollio was merely Latinizing the Punic office sufes (Gades' chief magistracy, at any rate in 206: LIVY 28.37.2). The IIIIvirate was the normal magistracy at Roman towns in the late Republic (DEGRASSI, Scr. vari 1. 136, cf. n.292).

[5] Scr. vari 1. 160 'Balbo, como presidente dei comizi elettorali, non poteva esser investito che della magistratura suprema e sarebbe anche inconcepibile che un questore romano assumesse a Gades una carica municipale di minor importanza'. Balbus also executed, at Gades, 'Fadium quendam, militem Pompeianum' (whom he 'defodit in ludo et vivum combussit'; cf. SCHULTEN, F H A 5. 173): POLLIO § 3. This may have been an exercise of his quattuorviral powers or of his jurisdiction as quaestor (he slaughtered other cives R. at Hispalis). It is curious that Pollio, after describing the cruelties and injustices of his absconded quaestor, concludes simply 'cum huiuscemodi portento res mihi fuit' (ib.). There may well have been a hunt on for supporters of Sex. Pompey, recently active in the province (see below, 353, 361).

by Agrippa: under the Empire Gades had IIviri at its head.[1] The same Balbus added a Νέα πόλις to the town, seemingly after his triumph in 19[2]; the two events may have been connected. But in any case the change of titulature was hardly a major event, and there is no evidence for more fundamental alterations.[3]

Regina is not known apart from Pliny's citation and perhaps from coins with 'TVRIRICINA' and a 'Libyphoenician' legend.[4] Mrs Henderson conjectured that it was a settlement like Italica, but if the coins do refer to it that is not likely.[5]

Carteia, the oldest Latin town in Spain, was probably not a Roman town before Caesar's time[6], but a change in constitution and probably status may (as argued earlier) be detected on its coins, which by Augustus' reign announce IIIIviri.[7]

Italica calls itself a municipium on Augustan coins, and a speech of Hadrian, summarized by Aulus Gellius, proves that its

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[1] CIL 2. 1313, 1731; AVIEN. Ora mar. 277-83 (cf. 265-76), esp. 282 f (Juba of Mauretania) 'inlustriorem semet urbis istius / duumviratu crederet'; DEGRASSI, 1. 160-1. Juba also held the IIvirate at Carthago Nova (CIL 2. 3417).

[2] STR. 3.5.3 / C169 (calling him 'ὁ Θριαμβεύσας'); PIR² C 1331.

[3] See also p. 394.

[4] VIVES, 3. 51-2; SCHULTEN, RE 7 A. 1449. On 'Libyphoenician' script: above, p. 108 note 3.

[5] JRS 1942, 8.

[6] See pp. 87-8, 92-3.

[7] P. 92 note 2; VIVES, 4. 21-2, 24-6.

status was Roman.[1] It is not possible to determine when the town became a formal municipium - nor, indeed, how. It declared for Caesar in 49[2]; we do not know if the community as a whole was compromised by the attempt of several Italicenses to murder the governor in 48[3], nor if the pro-Caesarian loyalty of one known 'eques Romanus Italicensis', Q. Pompeius Niger, represents the town's sympathies in 45.[4] Very likely Caesar rewarded Italica in 49 at least, but what form would this take, when many Italicenses were Roman citizens by birth already? Perhaps he enfranchised the rest and allowed the town to call itself a municipium.[5] As the town probably enough had a quasi-municipal organization anyway[6], this would be no great concession.

The Augustan coins with 'MVNIC.' (Grant suggests) commemorate the inauguration of a formal municipal constitution.[7] In fact this need not be so. Hispalis' issues are also Augustan, but His-

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[1] VIVES, 4. 126-7 nos. 1-2 'PER(missu) AVG. MVNIC. ITALIC.'; cf. nos. 3-6, 9, 12; GELL. 16.13.4-5.

[2] BCiv 2.20.6.

[3] BAlex 52, etc.; so WILSON, Emigration, 38 n.9.

[4] BHisp 25.4.

[5] The term 'municeps' used of an Italicensis of 48 (BAlex 52.4) cannot however prove municipal status by then, as it is probably used informally; cf. CIL 2, p. 146. But it does suggest that the author regarded Italica as an organized community.

[6] Above, p. 285.

[7] FITA, 173-4.

palis was a colony of Caesar's; so too, probably, was Corduba, which like the other Baetis colony attests its title (and hence status) only under Augustus; Gades' municipal coinage has just been discussed to similar effect; and Traducta's will also be seen to lend the theory little support. In his speech already mentioned, Hadrian classed Italica with Utica as one of the oldest provincial municipia, and Utica was enfranchised in 36 B.C.[1] The town was in tribus Sergia, whereas that of the titled Baetican and Lusitanian towns, and the Roman and Latin towns of Tarraconensis, wherever known, was Galeria.[2] As two or three Roman colonies in Spain also belonged to Sergia (Carthago Nova, Tucci and possibly Scallabis[3]), it is quite possible that Italica, as a largely Italian community, was treated as a different case from an enfranchised native town. But by itself this does not help determine the date of its municipalization.

The fifth Roman town was almost certainly Iulia Traducta. This must be the same place described by Strabo:

> There used to be a city of Zelis, also, a neighbour of Tingis, but the Romans transplanted it to the opposite coast of Iberia, taking along some of the inhabitants of Tingis; and they also sent some of their own people thither as colonists (ἐποίκους) and named the city Iulia Ioza.[4]

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[1] DIO 39.16.1; VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 114.

[2] KUBITSCHEK, I R T D, 177.

[3] ib., 191, 181, 187, cf. 169.

[4] 3.1.8 / C140: Loeb trans.

The name Traducta, attested on Augustan coins, and the site of the town, given by Ptolemy and the Itineraria as on the south coast near Baelo, suit Strabo's account.[1] Ioza is taken as Semitic for traducta.[2] Pliny is not much help: he applies 'Iulia Traducta' as a title to a colony which he says Claudius founded at Tingi.[3]

Vittinghoff plausibly suggests that, when Octavian wanted to place veterans at Zulil/Zilis (the name is variously spelt) in Mauretania, and perhaps at Tingi also, the townsfolk of the former and some of those at the latter were transferred to Baetica to afford room at the African towns.[4] This would date the establishment of Traducta to between 33 and 25 B.C.[5] Though at first sight this seems a curious way to settle veterans, the colonization of Zilis may have been intended partly for military purposes:[6] thus it will not have done to send them to Spain. That it was the original population of

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[1] 'IVLIA TRAD.' and the like: VIVES, 4. 115; GRANT, 220-1. PTOL. 2.4.6 Τρανσδούκτα ; Itin. Rav. 305.12, 344.6; MARCIANUS HERACL. 2.9. Probably not MELA's Tingentera (2.96): SCHULTEN, R E 6 A. 1892-3.

[2] THOUVENOT, Bétique, 191; SCHULTEN, R E 6 A. 1892; F H A 6. 146, who compares Hebrew 'jēṣesā'. But note J.M. SOLÁ SOLÉ, 'Toponimio fenicio-púnica', Encic. ling. hisp. 1. 409 'se ha pensado (Dietrich) en la raiz YS', "salir", opinión difícilmente aceptable (Millás)': referring to A. DIETRICH, in Abhandlung für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 21/2 (1936) 1-36, and J.M. MILLÁS, in Sefarad 1 (Madrid 1941) 313-26. I am unable to tell whether SOLÁ SOLÉ is referring to the same root-word as SCHULTEN.

[3] 5.2; VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 117 n.2; WINDBERG, R E 6 A. 2517-8.

[4] 117 n.2.

[5] ib., cf. 116; BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 591.

[6] TEUTSCH, Städtewesen, 210, thinks so.

Zilis, rather than the Roman colonists there, who were traducti to Baetica is implied by the name Strabo gives the settlement: Roman settlers would hardly use a Phoenician or Mauretanian word (whether a version of 'Traducta' or not).[1]

Traducta cannot have been a colonia.[2] There is no ancient evidence for it: even its coins do not claim colonial status, by contrast with the contemporary issues of eight coloniae.[3] Moreover it would raise the Baetican total to ten, one more than the number Pliny attests, even though not only Vittinghoff's theory but also the absence of 'Augusta' in the name would indicate that Traducta existed when the formula was compiled - as well as the nine colonies Pliny names.[4] As some of the settlers were from Tingi, a citizen

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[1] Contra TEUTSCH, 210 (suggested). Admittedly there were Romans among the settlers. But if they formed the majority, it is hard to see how the foreign name would gain enough currency to appear unexplained in Strabo. That part of the Spanish coast was itself partly settled by Punic-speakers, but Ioza is not likely to have been a local name for the site: whether or not its root is traceable, Strabo plainly implies that the name followed the new foundation (needless to say there is no evidence for the name, or town, before this period). Zilis itself was apparently a Punic foundation: W. SMITH (ed.), Dict. of Anc. Geog. [London: 2 vols., 1878, 1873] 2. 1338 s.v. 'Zilia'; P. ROMANELLI, Storia delle Provincie romane dell' Africa [Roma 1959] 201.

[2] Contra SCHULTEN, R E 6 A. 1892; F H A 6. 146; GRANT, 220-1; H. de E. 2². 296, 299; VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 105; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, Col. rom., 493-4.

[3] Hispalis, Corduba, Ilici, Acci, Carthago Nova, Tarraco, Emerita, Caesaraugusta. It is suggested only by PLINY's erroneous report: but not only does he call Tingi Traducta - Tingi itself also acquired colonial status later (WEINBERG, R E 6 A. 2518; VITTINGHOFF, 117 n.2).

[4] A point BRUNT (591) makes: he, however, thinks the Roman ἔποικοι may have been sent out later in Augustus' reign and colonial status then given to Traducta.

town from 38[1], and others were (apparently Italian) cives Romani too, it seems probable that Iulia Traducta formed a municipium Romanum.[2] If so there is no evidence to suppose that the transported people of Zilis were denied citizenship too.[3]

The other five municipia Romana are unknown. Ulia Fidentia seems very probable: its loyalty to Caesar, stressed by the Bellum Hispaniense and by Dio and commemorated in its title, may well have won it citizenship, like Gades.[4] Ilipa, an important town[5], might be a seventh. But Regina is a reminder that not only recognizably important towns could acquire citizenship. So to try to guess the other three would be unprofitable.[6]

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[1] DIO 48.45.1; VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 116-17. TEUTSCH's view that Tingi was only Latin (Städtewesen, 207) is not valid: see VITTINGHOFF, Gnomon 1968, 589-90; BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 596.

[2] THOUVENOT too views Traducta as a municipium (Bétique, 192). The feminine form of the name (if it is feminine - MARCIAN. HERAC. takes it as neuter plural) does not show it was a colony: it could qualify urbs understood, for example.

[3] BRUNT, 591, thinks this unlikely as the Mauretanians would not be expected to live harmoniously with the Roman colonists (supposing these were sent to Traducta simultaneously) and suggests that the Africans 'formed a mere pagus in Traducta', or else that the colonists arrived later (note 4, prev. page). But it is at least as likely that the Mauretanians were reconciled to the transfer through an offer of citizenship. Carteia in 171 is perhaps comparable.

[4] BHisp 3.1-2 (besieged for several months by early 45), 3 'eam civitatem omni tempore optime de populo Romano meritam esse' (sc. 'Caesar sciebat'); DIO 43.31.4.

[5] STR. 3.2.2 and 3/C141 and 142.

[6] THOUVENOT, 192, suggests Segida Augurina and Urgao Alba, following Detlefsen, because in PLINY 3.10 [not 3.5 as he gives it] these towns and Ulia seem to form one alphabetical sequence, while five more titled towns allegedly then form another, after which Singili, probably an oppidum liberum in the early Empire (p. 336 note

2) follows them in turn. But as the second group is arranged Ebora / Iliberri / Ilipula / A r t i g i / Vesci, this theory has little force. Cf. Mrs HENDERSON, J R S 1942, 8 n.47. Thouvenot also suggests Iulipa, 'municipium Iulipense' on an inscription (2362: in Galeria), but this can neither be assigned for certain to the period before the Baetican formula was compiled nor can definitely be considered Roman rather than Latin.

VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 105, proposes Sexi and Obulco as Roman municipia, but there is no evidence for this save the form of their titles: on which see below, 358-9.

CHAPTER XVI

CAESARIAN OR AUGUSTAN ?

HOW many of these Roman and Latin towns in Pliny's Spain owed their rank to Caesar and how many to Augustus is an important, and difficult, question, since there is firm evidence for only one promotion by either - Gades and Emporiae. Nomenclature is not as straightforwardly indicative as might be expected: Gades municipium Augustum was, after all, not enfranchised after 27 B.C.

Mrs M. Henderson tries to use the evidence of nomenclature in a subtler way. Pointing to the considerably larger number of towns in Tarraconensis, as against Baetica, which from inscriptions may be taken to be (at least) Latin towns promoted after the formula was compiled, she also draws attention to the ornate cognomina, often incorporating the dynastic epithet, that distinguish the Lusitanian and - as argued in the last chapter - most of the Baetican municipia. Augustus, she argues, was more active with grants in Tarraconensis, and this because the Baetican and Lusitanian nomenclature reveals that Caesar had already spread Latin right there widely, whereas the strength of pro-Pompeian sentiment in the north (stressed by him) inhibited similar rewards there. The feminine character of most of the titles (she thinks) confirms that the southern towns were classed as coloniae Latinae and thus must antedate the Augustan era,

when - as Pliny's terminology shows - they were 're-catalogued' as municipia Latina and some raised to citizenship, measures perhaps traceable in the neuter forms of some titles, such as Firmum Iulium at Sexi.[1]

Valid objections have been made to this theory. As Vittinghoff points out, the name Iulius can refer to Octavian too.[2] P.A. Brunt makes the important historical point (ignored by Mrs Henderson) that, after the widespread falling-away in 46-5, Caesar would hardly broadcast Latin right there; moreover Pliny does not mention the known cognomina of some Tarraconensian municipia - though he gives their status.[3] It must also be mentioned that, after Munda, Sex. Pompey (Magnus' surviving son) maintained himself in Spain for over a year as a guerrilla captain - much of it in Ulterior where he captured Carteia and Baria, both on the southern coast, beat Pollio the governor, and according to Appian 'πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ἤρει βραχυτέρας καὶ μείζους'.[4]

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[1] JRS 32 (1942) 5-12, esp. 9-11: citing CAES. BCiv 1.61, 2.18 (cf. also 1.29); PLINY 3.7, 4.117. She also notes that there were only three Caesarian colonies in Tarraconensis, compared with six in Baetica and Lusitania (12).

[2] R Kol, 76 n.8. His two other objections, however, do not hold - that Mrs H. forgets 'dass in den überlieferten Beinamen nicht nur die der Latinerstädte, sondern auch römische Municipien stecken müssen' (as she does allow for some promotions), and that Osset was Flavian (refuted above: p. 339 note 3).

[3] E.g. Osca Urbs Victrix; see Ital. Manp., 584-8 (App. 14).

[4] CIC. Att. 16.4.2; STR. 3.4.10 / C161; VELL. 2.73.2; FLOR. 2.13.87; APP. BC 4.83.348—84.353; DIO 45.10; SCHULTEN, FHA 5. 166-72, assembles all references; M. HADAS, Sextus Pompey (New York 1930) 52-5, 58 (cf. 52-65 pass.).

These criticisms can be answered up to a point, but they do weaken the theory. A more formidable blow is struck by two pieces of evidence on the titles of towns themselves. A denarius issued at Osca by the proconsul Domitius Calvinus (governor 39-36) names the town without title; another, which (like Domitius' issue but unlike the other Latin coinages of Osca) makes no reference to Augustus, seems to call the place a municipium, again with no title; 'Urbs Victrix' appears only on the remaining, Augustan, issues.[1] And the document from Emerita that reveals the existence of a municipium Ugia also shows it had a title - or, according to the Ugienses, a new name - 'Martia'. Pliny, as shown above, probably lists the town but not the title, which was acquired, at all events, by A.D. 6.[2] Thus it appears that official cognomina of some pretentiousness might at times be given to municipia even in Augustus' time.

Nevertheless several of those in Baetica and Lusitania recall Caesar's affairs rather than Augustus'. Ulia's title, Fidentia, suits her fides to Caesar in 46-5. Isturgi Triumphale, Ilipula Laus

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[1] VIVES, 4. 50 nos. 1 (obv. 'OSCA'; rev. 'DOM. COS. ITER. IMP.'), 2 (obv. 'MVN.'?; rev. 'OSCA'), 3 (obv. head of Augustus, 'VRB. VICT.'; rev. 'OSCA') etc. Municipium is not mentioned on the Augustan issues, but some (nos. 6-10) name IIviri.

[2] The phrase 'Martienses qui antea Ugienses fuerunt' logically implies that the old name was dropped, but its sense is probably more elastic - connecting the epithet with municipal status (cf. p. 341). It appears nowhere else, and forms of 'Ugia' are attested for the town in Baetica several times afterwards: see p. 335 note 1.

SCHULTEN and R. GROSSE are unreliable over Baetica's Ugias/Urgias: they identify PLINY's Ucia on the Baetis near Isturgi and Obulco (3.10) with PTOLEMY's Οὐκία (2.4.10) near Nabrissa (R E 8 A. 1910), while SCHULTEN (8 A. 551), treating Ucia on the Baetis (given by C I L 11, p. 496), fails to adduce Pliny's mention (which this inscription confirms).

and Nertobriga Concordia Iulia recall the cognomina of three Caesarian colonies: Tarraco Urbs Triumphalis, Corinth Laus Iulia, Carthage Concordia Iulia.[1] Obulco Pontificiense was Caesar's base in 45.[2] Urgia Castrum Iulium, Seria Fama Iulia, Callet Aeneanicum and Ilipa Ilia match, in the import of their titles, the colonies Scallabis Praesidium Iulium (and perhaps Iptuci Virtus Iulia), Ucubi Claritas Iulia and Hispalis Romula. One of Castulo Caesarinum Iuvenale's epithets is reproduced at Cirta, a colony established by the Caesarian P. Sittius.[3] Olisipo Felicitas Iulia recalls Caesar's watchword at Thapsus and a temple he built at Rome.[4] The title Iuli Genius at Lucurgentum has a Caesarian ring too.[5] As for Salacia Urbs Imperatoria, that title is hardly a reminiscence of the Pompeians (as Grant holds): such a reference would scarcely be tolerated after 36 B.C.

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[1] On the two Spanish colonies, see Chapter VI; on the other two, VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 86, 81. Cf. also Apamea Concordia Iulia (ib., 88).

[2] STR. 3.4.9 / C160.

[3] Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis (I L S 6857); TEUTSCH, 68 (coins of Sittius with Honos and Virtus). That Iuvenalis must conversely be due to Octavian is not proved by the absence of the motif on Sittius' coinage, as Teutsch would have it, or by the fact that Augustus later 'die Jugendpflege besonders propagierte'; nor by an assumption that it 'geht auf die Jungcolonisten zurück' (178-9). The titles of neighbouring towns - Veneria Rusicade, Sarnia Milev, Minervia Chullu - also go back to Sittius (68, 165-6, 182).

[4] BAfr 83.1; DIO 44.5.2 (τὸν Εὐτυχίας); VITTINGHOFF, 77, 78 n.2; CARCOPINO, César[5], 524.

[5] CARCOPINO, César, 557, 565. So may Siarum Fortunale: see GELZER, Caesar[6] (Eng. tr.), 326-8, on Caesar's belief in Fortuna /Τύχη.

(compare Celsa's abandonment of 'Lepida') and there is no real evidence that the sons of Pompey were active in Lusitania.[1] By contrast, Caesar was (in 61) - and was acclaimed *imperator*[2]: perhaps (but not necessarily) at Salacia.[3]

Although Pliny is noticeably sparing in his mentions of Tarraconensian *cognomina*[4], this does not warrant supposing that most *municipia* there, of either status, had titles. Those of four Roman *oppida* are known. They all occur on coins: now four others coined too under the early Principate, but do not attest titles.[5] Clunia

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[1] GRANT, *F I T A*, 23 and n.1, interpreting 'SAL.' on Sextus' imperatorial coins as 'Salacia'. But the interpretation could also be 'Salutatus' (so, e.g. H. GRUEBER, *Coins of the R. Rep. in the Br. Mus.* 2. 370-1). If a town in Ulterior is referred to - as Grant plausibly argues - Salduba on the south coast (PLINY 3.8) could qualify, or *colonia* Salaria (probably already existing: p. 98). It is not clear how widely Sextus' activity in 44 ranged, but he is mentioned only in connexion with Baetica and the south and southeast coasts (p. 353).

[2] PLUT. *Caes.* 12.2; GELZER, *Caesar*[6], 62.

[3] If not Caesar, his governor of Ulterior in 49-8 Q. Cassius Longinus, who campaigned in Lusitania in later 49 and was acclaimed *imperator* (*BAlex* 48.2), may have inspired it.

[4] He does not give those of Osca, Bilbilis, Calagurris, Dertosa (*oppida c. R.*), Tarraco, Carthago Nova or Celsa; and only one - Faventia - of Barcino's.

[5] Emporiae (VIVES, 4. 8-9), Saguntum (11-12), Ilerda (43), Turiasso (92-3). On Calagurris Nassica and Turiasso Silbis see pp. 328 note 5, 329 note 2. Singilia Barba in Baetica is best explained by viewing the first name as, in fact, a geographical epithet - the town stood on the R. Singilis (Genil). (PLINY 3.10 cites it only as 'Singili': see HÜBNER's discussion, *R E* 'Singilis' 3 A. 235-6; cf. *C I L* 2, p. 272.) Cf. Onoba Aestuaria.

and Segobriga, probably Latin by A.D. 14, also display no titles on their issues.[1] In the two southern provinces, Pliny's titles are, arguably, pretty complete: admittedly 'Iulia' has to be supplied from other sources for three towns (Urso, Pax and Myrtilis)[2], but he often repeats it for individual towns even in the same paragraph.[3] Except for the three towns mentioned, none of his cognomina can be added to from other sources, though several are confirmed. Thus it is not likely that a tell-tale 'Augusta/um' has dropped from the historical record at some places. This itself suggests that most of the titled towns in Ulterior received their cognomina and status before 27 B.C. at any rate.

The Augustan era, as far as can be judged, was more sparing both in ornate titles and, indeed, in any formal epithets: in Baetica only Ugia Martia, of the perhaps seven post-formula promoted towns, shows one. In Tarraconensis, only nine out of thirty Roman and Latin towns (including Castulo) are known to have been titled - three of them simply 'Augustani'[4] - and over twice as many communi-

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[1] VIVES, 4. 112, and 47-8. 'SVL(picia)' at Clunia is post-Augustan, probably connected with Clunia's rise to colonial status, and is on an imperial issue of Galba's.

[2] For Urso the dynastic may have fallen out of the MSS, which read 'Genua Urbanorum' - emended from the Lex Urs. to 'Gen<eti>va U.' More might have been lost than those three letters. On Hispalis' title see p. 104.

[3] 3.10-12, 14.

[4] Bilbilitani, Ausetani, Saetabitani.

ties as in Baetica appear promoted to at least Latin right after the formulae were compiled, none showing titles. A majority of all promotions there may thus be dated to the Augustan era.[1] Dertosa Iulia of the Ilercavones (and perhaps Tear Iulia too, assigned by Ptolemy to that people), and the Ausetani Iuliani, may have been rewarded by Caesar for the help they provided at a crisis in 49; possibly Osca also was, but - as its status and title are more likely Triumviral - Sertorius' former headquarters may have received praemia of a different sort, if not indeed merely bona spes.[2]

Mrs Hendersons other standard for distinguishing Caesarian Latin towns in Ulterior - the feminine, supposedly 'colonial' form of many titles - cannot, however, be accepted.[3] These titles, where adjectival, occur only at towns whose names are themselves pretty

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[1] Or to the Republic, which is very improbable indeed. M. GRANT's theory that Saguntum had Latin right from Caesar (FITA, 158-162) is based on the same arguments that he applies to Carthago Nova, criticized above, p. 115 note 1.

[2] CAES. BCiv 1.60.1-2, 2.21.5. GRANT, 158, 165, 167, argues for a municipalization ca. 30 B.C., or later, at Dertosa, Calagurris and Osca. But the cases of Gades, Hispalis and Traducta show that coins need not always have been struck on promotion (cf. BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 603 nos. 12, 15); cf. also p. 318, on Osicerda, Cascantum and Gracchurris. — The Iaccetani, who had also joined Caesar in 49 but rank as mere stipendiarii in Pliny, may have lost favour by supporting Sex. Pompey (PLINY 3.23; STR. 3.4.10/C161 implies this support; DIO 45.10.1 says Sextus fled to the Lacetani, but the objections of SCHULTEN, FHA 5. 167, and BARBIERI, Athenaeum 1943, 119, seem unnecessary: Dio has Sextus hide among the Lacetani, while Strabo says he 'ἐπολέμει' against the Caesarian commanders among the Iaccetani; the nature of his warfare is stated by APPIAN: 'ληστεύων' [BC 4.83.348]).

[3] JRS 1942, 7 and 10. VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 105, supposes that Obulco Pontificiense and Sexi Firmum Iulium were probably Roman municipia.

clearly feminine (for example, Segida Augurina, Ugultunia Contributa, Carisa Aurelia, Myrtilis Iulia), in Latin at least. Other titles include feminine abstract nouns: Felicitas, Concordia, Laus. It is improbable that these were chosen to chime with the gender of colonia: if they were, it is hard to explain Urgia Castrum Iulium and Iliturgi Forum Iulium, and impossible to account for Lucurgentum Iuli Genius.

Obviously the formal status of the town was irrelevant to its title. The Roman colony Scallabis was designated Praesidium Iulium, and Libisosa was called Forum Augustum. Conversely the municipia Osca and Bilbilis, for instance, were titled Urbs Victrix and Augusta: the latter underlines this by placing the legend 'MVN. AVGVSTA BILBILIS' on its coins. The gender of Spanish names in -i was taken as neuter, to judge from Pliny[1]; those in -o (not only in Spain) were variable, so that coins from Africa can read 'HIPPONE LIBERA' whereas the towns of that name are usually called Diarrhytus and Regius[2]; the two Thuburbos, on the other hand, were Maius and Minus[3], and Pliny reports 'Obulco quod Pontificense'.[4]

No evidence of any kind indicates that the Latin towns of

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[1] 'Iliberri quod Florentini' - immediately followed by 'Ilipula quae Laus' (3.10); 'Vesci quod Faventia' (ib.); 'Isturgi quod Triumphales' (ib.).

[2] GRANT, 224; VITTINGHOFF, 82 and n.5 (on 83), 115.

[3] VITTINGHOFF, 111.

[4] 3.10.

Spain were called *coloniae*. On the contrary: several term themselves *municipia*, as Gracchurris and others do on their Augustan and Tiberian coins[1], and several others on inscriptions.[2] Thus it is doubtful whether they were called *coloniae* even for a short time between Caesar and Augustus. That the title *praetor* occurs at some Narbonensian Latin towns as the designation of the chief magistrates[3] further indicates that those communities, for whatever reason, preserved antique terms in their constitutional phraseology; but *praetor* too does not occur at *municipia* or *coloniae* in Spain.[4]

In an earlier chapter it was argued that the amount of hostility to Caesar's cause in 46-5 was not as extensive as often supposed.[5] And there is no real need to restrict Caesar's readiness to make grants of various kinds to the aftermath of Munda. Caesar says

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[1] See p. 318.

[2] *C I L* 2. 15 (Myrtilis), 32 (Salacia), 1572, 2069-70, 2081, 5505 (Iliberri), 2105, 2111-12 (Urgao), 2126, 2129, 2132, 2135 (Obulco), 2156 (Epora*), 2186 (Sacili), 2352 (Iulipa*), 2641, 3278 (Castulo: cf. *A E* 1958, no. 5), 3239 (Ilugo*), 3580 (Dianium*), 4277 (? Saetabi), 4479 (Sigarra*), 5958 (Lucentum), *E E* 8, p. 357 no. 6 (Ebora), *ib.* p. 382 no. 82 (Nertobriga); cf. *ib.* p. 522 no. 306 (Siarum, Callet). (* = post-*formula*.)

[3] DEGRASSI, *Scr. vari* 1. 140-2.

[4] Only at Bocchoris, when *foederata* (3695).

Mrs Henderson also used Dio's remark that Caesar not only gave citizenship to some Spaniards but also allowed 'others to be called colonists of the Romans' (43.39.5) as support for her view that Caesar's Latin grants created *coloniae* (*J R S* 1942, 5, 10; cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, *R C*, 176-7). But see pp. 113-15 for a different explanation.

[5] Chapter III.

he dispensed rewards and promises in both Ulterior and Citerior in 49; Livy and Dio record the enfranchisement of Gades.[1] After Munda, therefore, it may have been as much a question of who were to keep and who to lose benefits accorded earlier, as of new grants for recent services. Who thereafter supported Sex. Pompey in 44 is not known; in the absence of detailed reports, it may be supposed that most (if not all) had been sufferers of punishment in 45. Carteia (though pro-Pompeian, rather than anything else, before Munda[2]) and Baria resisted him - and Carteia was a (probably Roman) town in Augustus' time whose chief magistracy Germanicus and Drusus were willing to adorn[3], while Augustus exempted Baria from the transfer of south-east Baetica to Tarraconensis.[4]

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[1] BCiv 2.21.3 and 5; LIVY Per. 110; DIO 41.24.1.

[2] BHisp 34.6, 36.1, cf. 37.1.

[3] VIVES, 4. 21, 25-6; DEGRASSI, 1. 126.

[4] See pp. 171, 173-4.

A noticeable 'bunching' affects several of Baetica's titled towns. Six lay along the upper Baetis, above Corduba: Sacili, Obulco, Urgao, Isturgi, Ossigi, Castulo. Segida Augurina cannot be located, but it comes first in PLINY's list (3.10) which then cites Ulia and Urgao: thus it may belong in this area. The treaty town Epora (ib.) also lay on the upper Baetis. Caesar found his army at Obulco in 45 (STR. 3.4.9/C160) and the campaign moved westward, away from this area, at once. Five towns lay in Celtic Baetica - Nertobriga, Seria, Ugultunia, Segida Restituta, Lacimurga - well to the north not only of all the other titled towns in the province, but also of the fighting in 45. Sexi and the treaty town Malaca lay on the south coast, Nabrissa (Lébrija) on the lower Baetis (navigable for ocean-going ships: STR. 3.2.3) with at least one of the Urgias nearby (THOUVENOT, Bétique, 369-70, cf. his end-map); Carisa (Bornos) on the Guadalete directly east of Gades; Laepia and Regina lay in Gaditanus, Regina at least probably near the coast (p. 346 with note 4). Again in 45, the Caesarian fleet early won control of the sea (DIO 43.31.3) and was based at Gades (BHisp 37.2).

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The definitely attested and probably identifiable Roman and Latin towns of Augustan Spain include some obscure places - Tear and Valeria in Tarraconensis, Regina, Laepia and at least one of the Urgias in Baetica, for example - but on the whole it seems clear that the more important communities had been promoted. Saetabi, in Tarraconensis, was a linen-making centre, for instance, and so was Emporiae[1]; Bilbilis and Turiasso were iron producers[2]; the trading vigour of at least some Ebro towns is implied by Pliny's comment 'amnis navigabili commercio dives' (it was navigable as far as Vareia, above Calagurris Nassica)[3] and the ship and dolphin on coins of Dertosa[4]; Osca was a 'large city' in Sertorius' time, and Caesar classed it, the Ilercavones and the Ausetani as 'magnae civitates' in 49.[5] At this period Saguntum was still an important commercial town[6] (as

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That such places may or must, therefore, have been under Caesarian control is of course no argument by itself for bestowing privileges on them: and there were other towns in the same regions that do not afterwards display titles and tribus Galeria. But it is at any rate possible that a number of titled towns in Ulterior had benefited from displaying a certain amount of enthusiasm for the victorious cause - as some titles themselves might suggest (Fidentia, two Constantias, Firmum, Castrum Iulium, possibly too Concordia).

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[1] CATULLUS 12.14, 25.7; STR. 3.4.9/C160; SCHULTEN, FHA 6. 239.

[2] PLINY 34.144; MART. 1.49.12, 4.55.11-13, 12.18.9; DAVIES, Rom. Mines, 106-7.

[3] 3.21.

[4] VIVES, 4. 17-18.

[5] PLUT. Sert. 14.2; CAES. BCiv 1.60-1.

[6] L.C. WEST, Imperial Roman Spain: the Objects of Trade (Oxford 1929) 4, 7; also RE 1 A. 1755-6.

well as a byword for fides[1]); Gracchurris had been founded by Ti. Gracchus in, no doubt, a fertile location. Most of the Tarraconensian municipia Romana and Latina lay along the coast, in or near the Ebro valley or in the northeast between that river and the Pyrenees: the areas longest under Roman control.

In Lusitania, Olisipo was a commercial centre, and Salacia produced fine woollens[2]; less is known of Ebora and Myrtilis, but the one stands, with virtually the same name (Évora) in the fertile Alto Alemtejo and the other (modern Mértola) on the lower Guadiana - which must have made it accessible to shipping - in the similarly productive Baixo Alemtejo southwest of Beja. Mela thought them all worthy of mention[3], and Ebora, at any rate, was probably a notable agricultural centre.[4] The populousness of Baetica, and lack of detailed regional information, make evaluation harder; moreover some unevenness in the geographical distribution of its titled towns has just been noted. Even so, colonies apart, most places of consequence do seem to figure as Roman or Latin: Ilipa (a river port) for example, Iliberri (a customs post, later on anyway), Sexi on the coast (a fish-salting centre[5]) and Italica, in addition to Gades the trade emporium.

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[1] MELA 2.92; PLINY 3.20.

[2] PLINY 8.191; STR. 3.2.6/C144 (as emended).

[3] 3.4-8.

[4] In Visigothic times it was the seat of a bishop (H. de E. 3. 279), and several kings struck coins there (FHA 9. 192, 223, 229, 233, 237-8, 253-4 etc.).

[5] STR. 3.4.2/C156; MART. 7.78.

Castulo, the mining community, may be mentioned here too, as it was part of Ulterior-Baetica until the last years of the first century B.C. Economic importance was not (so far as is known) a decisive cause of promotion. The Romans themselves gave other reasons for such measures, as will be mentioned. But a prosperous and consequential town would nurture a similar upper class at least, able as well as willing to adopt Roman culture and demonstrate a tangible enthusiasm for Roman rule and for the government at Rome.

Towns probably promoted after the formulae were compiled show, in Tarraconensis, both a filling of gaps and a widening spread. In the first category were Sigarra (northwest of Barcino), Boletum[1] and Labitolosa (northwest of Ilerda), Damania (west of Dertosa and south of Celsa)[2], Pompaelo, and Dianium (with perhaps another town at the present Gandía) on the coast south of Valentia.[3] Further afield meanwhile were Mentesa Bastetanorum and Ilugo in the south-central district of the province - north of Castulo; Segobriga and perhaps a community at Albarracín - in the region of Ercavica and Valeria; Uxama Argaela and Termes by the upper Duero, west of Numantia; Clunia rather more westward, Lucus Augusti and Avobriga in Callaecia. There may have been others again, for which evidence is lacking. In Baetica, Carmo twenty miles from Hispalis, Acinipo in southern Hispalensis (east of Carisa, Siarum and Nabrissa), Illiturgicola and southern Cordubensis, and Epora and Ugia on the upper

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[1] R E 3. 674.

[2] R E 4. 2029.

[3] See also p. 398.

Baetis were additions to areas well municipalized; Iulipa, if promoted at this time, and Arsa (another uncertain candidate) would represent a new area, northern Cordubensis on the far side of the central Sierra Morena.

Why should at least fourteen towns in Tarraconensis have been promoted in the later part of Augustus' reign, compared with only seven[1] in Baetica, a province equally if not more populous despite its smaller size? If not simply due to the irregularities of epigraphical discovery, the explanation may be that Baetica from 27 B.C. was a public province. Cicero, well disposed in general to the Sicilians, nevertheless deplored Caesar's grant of Latin right to them (and was outraged by Antony's enfranchisement)[2]; and the continuing conservatism of senators over this is confirmed by the opposition Claudius found to the entry of provincial citizens to the Curia.[3]

Between them, Caesar and Augustus established the Roman or Latin status of nearly all the one hundred and twenty-three (at least) such towns existing in Spain by A.D. 14. This is a considerable achievement for the sixty or so years of their rule, partic-

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[1] As only 34 out of Pliny's total of thirty-seven can be accounted for (p. 343), the minimum to correspond to that of Tarraconensis is in fact 4.

[2] Att. 14.12.1.

[3] TAC. Ann. 11.23; ILS 212 (by implication).

ularly if compared with the sparse performance of the previous century and a half.[1] The policy of the Republic had been laissez-faire: grants of citizenship to individuals virtutis causa, establishment of Roman colonies and Latin towns only in particular and occasional circumstances. Policy liberalized with Caesar. Balbus the Elder became consul in 40; Spaniards became citizens en bloc; many more acquired Latin status.

Caesar's and Augustus' grants of citizenship and Latinity are thus an index of the Romanizing of the Peninsula. They were concentrated in the areas longest ruled by Rome, and therefore in those most economically developed. They reveal, in fact, the advance of prosperity. Municipal status required a basically stable and prosperous local society, urbanized and with an affluent class to hold offices, sit in the ordo and spend money on local affairs. How deep this prosperity went is not known: what is known of wage levels does not suggest that the bulk of the population enjoyed substantially high benefits[2], though the general pacification provided

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[1] At most, three Roman colonies and four Latin towns: Valentia, Metellinum, Salaria; Carteia, Corduba, Palma, Pollentia.

[2] Tritium, in the upper Ebro region, paid a Latin grammaticus of 25 years' standing 1151 HS a year (CIL 2. 2892); of course he may have had private pupils too, and J. SZILÁGYI ('Prices and wages in the western provinces of the Roman Empire', Acta Ant. Ac. Sc. Hung. 11 [1963] 325-89, on 329) hazards an average teacher-income in the first century A.D. at 3650 HS p. a. But such an average, based largely on more metropolitan evidence, need not hold good for a small upland town. — At Urso, about 44 B.C., municipal salaries ranged from 300 HS for a praeco or librarius to 1200 for a duovir's scriba (who, Frank suggests, was the only fulltime employee: L. Urs. 62; ESAR 5. 94-5). The average day-wage of a Palestine labourer under Tiberius was a denarius (MATT. 20.2; SZILÁGYI, 329): i.e., given steady employment, 12-1300 HS a year. The closeness of these three

the passive advantage of security - and the prosperity of the rich might occasionally provide the rest of the community with a largesse or a bequest.[1]

That grants of Roman and Latin right were intended to promote cultural assimilation may be doubted. There is no trace of this in the political thinking of the Republic, and Caesar's award to Gades was clearly for its loyalty to him; rewards, including citizenship, that he dispensed in 45 were made on the same principle, according to Dio.[2] Augustus too (Suetonius says) judged the fitness of recipient communities by their 'merita erga populum Romanum' - a phrase with a political, rather than cultural, ring.[3] The evidence given in an earlier chapter[4] suggests that, if there was any additional criterion, it may have been the degree of assimilation al-

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sums may be coincidental. But their level (or even that of a teacher on 3650 HS a year) is in sharp contrast with the income Naevolus dreamed of for a secure old age: 'viginti milia faenus / pigneribus positis' (JUV. 9. 140-1) - i.e. the minimum qualification of an eques, at 5% interest; and with the level of income implied by the requirement at Urso which obliged a duovir or aedile to contribute 2000 HS out of his own purse to a public entertainment (L. Urs. 70-1).

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[1] A testator at Ebusus (Ibiza) left 96,000 HS to pay the town's annual tribute 'ne cives iniquo tempore tributa pendere cogerentur' and to provide yearly games (CIL 2. 3663); a woman of Hispalis established a fund of 50,000 to pay alimenta to poor boys and girls (1174); a second-century A.D. Barcinonensian left 7500 denarii at 6% to provide a boxing contest and oil to the public baths every June 10 (4514). Other examples in VAN NOSTRAND, ESAR 3. 148.

[2] 43.39.5.

[3] Aug. 47.

[4] Chapter XII.

ready achieved by the beneficiaries - which was high enough in Baetica, the oldest districts of Tarraconensis and even (so Strabo assures us) Celtiberia.[1] The presence of Roman settlers and (probably) of an element of mixed Roman-Spanish descent at many places would be an interlinked factor, for these will have promoted Romanization.[2] Rather similarly, the establishment of several thousand coloni in Spain by Caesar and Augustus might well - as Mrs Henderson suggests - make it politic to confer at least Latin right on their more consequential native neighbours: in this way, the already well Romanized upper elements in such areas would rise to citizenship themselves, and friction would be avoided.[3]

It is not immediately clear even so why some towns were given citizenship instead of Latin right - for the latter would enfranchise the ruling class anyway (in time). But, even though among the known Roman municipia there are a few small or obscure places (notably Regina in Baetica, and Biscargis and - probably - Blandae in Tarraconensis), most were distinguished, historic and often larger than most other towns except colonies. No known Latin town was as prominent as Gades or Italica, Olisipo, Saguntum, Osca, Em-

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[1] 3.4.20.

[2] Cf. BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 244-6; and below, 375-6.

[3] Cf. Mrs HENDERSON, JRS 1953, 140; note the 'duovir Patriciensis et Pontificiensis' of CIL 2. 2133. Like Emporiae, some other Roman towns may have received coloni and owed their promotion partly to these. But there is of course no strong reason for thinking that if Emporiae - a town with a very old 'special relationship' with Rome - had not had 'colonists' settled it would have remained peregrine.

poriae or Palma, for instance - though the men of Castulo, Gracchurris, Pompaelo or Clunia might justifiably rate their communities nearly as highly. Such qualities had a sharper point too: where the local governing class were particularly influential or numerous (or both), the slow circulation of citizenship through Latin magistracies might well be unsatisfactory.

After Augustus, a period of conservatism set in over such grants. The next large extension of citizenship and Latinity in Spain did not occur till Vespasian's reign, when the latter, and with it civitas per magistratum, were conferred on the rest of the country. Augustus certainly cautioned his successor against spreading citizenship much more widely.[1] The Julio-Claudians may have felt that enough of Spain, at least, had been promoted for their time: of Pliny's 522 civitates there, 'praeter contributas aliis', nearly a quarter were now Roman or Latin, and these were on the whole the more important, and thus, no doubt, the more populous.

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[1] DIO 56.33.3 '...ἵνα πολὺ τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς [the Romans] πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ᾖ'.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSIONS

BY Augustus' death, the result of two centuries of Roman rule in Spain was a country pacified from one end to the other, prosperous in its wealthier and oldest-occupied areas and nourishing a solid class of culturally assimilated natives, many of them now citizens or Latins, as well as an important (if proportionately small) element of Italian immigrant descent. The future character of Spanish civilization - and of much Roman history - had thus begun to shape itself.

Spain had already played a large part in Republican history, if often in matters outside the scope of this study. Thus the long and arduous wars of the mid-second century, poor in booty and unhelpful to military reputations, exacerbated the problems of military service by both citizens and Italian socii.[1] The lesson of those wars, that resistance in Spain could keep even large Roman armies wearisomely occupied for years on end, was repeated in the 90s and, most memorably of all, by Sertorius in the 70s whose exploits conjured up the spectre of Hannibal in Roman minds.

The Peninsula was always a valuable and important possession.

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[1] On this see ASTIN, Scipio Aemilianus, 137-74, esp. 158-60, 163-4, 167-70; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, 'El impacto de la conquista de Hispania en Roma (154-83 a. de J.C.)', Klio 41 (1963) 168-86, esp. 184-6.

In the earlier half of the second century, indeed, the Roman empire consisted largely of Italy's island satellites and - across a stretch of Mediterranean - the eastern and southern third of Spain. Once this area was secured, conquest by itself ceased to be a Roman aim. Forays beyond the Tagus and Duero could be useful to a general's military repute. But the gold of Asturia was not known until Augustus - again mainly for gloria - subdued that region; and all the wealth of Spain previously known lay in the lands occupied by 180 B.C. These were certainly valuable property, with their high yield of gold and silver to the state and to individuals. If the Romans entered Spain to drive the Carthaginians out, they were soon staying principally to benefit from its mines, though no doubt the strategic motive continued to influence them for some time. It was their concentration on Spain's precious metals that impressed the writer of the book of Maccabees, a contemporary of Posidonius.[1] In the late second century, not long after Polybius wrote his account of the rich Carthago Nova workings, Rome established enough control over southern Gaul to allow a land route (the Via Domitia) to connect the two peninsulas of Italy and Spain:[2] another indication of the importance they attached to their provinces Citerior and Ulterior. In the last decades of the Republic, these became politically important too as a source of clientelae for prominent Romans - most notably

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[1] 1 Macc. 8.1-4 (quoted, p. 247 note 1): written ca. 100 B.C. (I. HEINEMANN, R E 14. 792).

[2] Cf. BADIAN, Mélanges Piganiol, 901-18.

Pompey, emulated and finally outshone by Caesar. The civil wars of the 40s, though mercifully briefer, proved again that Spain could be vigorously and almost independently militant. Perhaps Octavian put this vigour to use in completing the Roman conquest between 39 and 19 B.C.: little is known of the armies involved, but a proportion of Spanish recruits seems reasonable.

In treasure, and in political and military kudos, Spain thus contributed much to Rome and to Romans. Under the Empire, Spaniards - settler and native together - would embellish the public and literary life of Rome, in a long line from Balbus and Seneca the rhetor to Theodosius and Orosius. In return, Rome and Italy provided their culture, language and forms of citizenship. But the Romanization of Spain, even so, was (as elsewhere) largely the result of local effort and interest. Certainly the Republic displayed little enthusiasm for, or concept of, assimilating the provincials to an Italian model. Nor could grants of civitas and Latium, at which the first two Caesars excelled, be in themselves instruments for spreading Roman ways. Founding a colony was a better method for such a purpose: created by central government decision, it gave the natives a functioning exemplar.[1] Under the Empire, indeed, more than narrowly legal efforts might be made: Agricola, who busied himself with civilizing the British in practical ways, will not have been the only Roman official in the provinces so to apply himself.

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[1] Cf. TAC. Ann. 12.32.3 'subsidium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum' (Camulodunum).

But even Agricola had to restrict his measures to the season when he was not campaigning; and there is no evidence that the Republic concerned itself with such questions, though it might build roads (for military purposes as much as any other) and occasionally a lighthouse, or some similar contribution to the infrastructure of acculturation.

Control was largely passive and undynamic. Not only was its economic watchword laissez-faire, its politics were on the whole similar. As long as the provincials remained peaceable, paid tribute and obeyed any requirements the governor might make of them, they were free to run their own affairs - or, in practice, to have their local magnates run their affairs, but of this the Romans approved.[1] Even under the Principate, direct Roman rule seldom touched the ordinary Spaniard, who would not be important or moneyed enough to have any case of his judged by the governor or his representative, and whose other contacts with Roman authority must normally have been through his own local magistrate or patron.

There is, moreover, not much trace of imagination in the Republic's government of the two Spains. In its relations with the semi-barbaric tribes on the provincial fringes, it seems to have been content with, at best, a loose hegemony which in practice was eclipsed, perhaps half the time, by open war. This situation persisted to the end of the Republic. When aggravated or frustrated,

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[1] CIC. Q.Fr. 1.1.25 'constare inter omnes video ... provideri abs te ut civitates optimatium consiliis administrentur'; cf. BALIL, Hispania 1965, 336-7.

Roman generals resorted to treachery and 'frightfulness', with the Senate itself, on at least one occasion - over Mancinus' enforced treaty in 137 with the Numantines - taking to deception.

Within the provinces, it is not easy to discern continuous or constructive policy in any field.[1] Administrators reacted to a situation when it grew too pressing to be ignored.[2] Thus the elder Ti. Gracchus distributed land and founded Gracchurris to relieve impoverishment - after a rebellion. So too D. Brutus in 138. Caesar took steps to scale down the serious debt problem in Ulterior in 61, after his predecessors, to all appearances, had allowed it to grow critical.[3] His settlement of 'controversiae' and enactment of a revised law-code at Gades also suggest intervention only at a crucial moment - nor was it entirely successful, for a few years later the city suffered an outbreak in which its senate was massacred or expelled.[4] The Roman Senate's response, in 171, to the petition of the hybridae did not contain (at least as Livy reports it) any ruling on such a class of persons in general. Presumably any later case was to be dealt with on its merits. Citizenship was very sparingly conferred on Spaniards till the first century B.C.

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[1] On Sertorius' policies, see Appendix I.

[2] The circumstances of Aemilius Paullus' liberation of the Lascutans (C I L 2. 5041) are not known, but it is probably to be regarded not as part of any long-term policy (of, say, abolishing serfdom) but as a reward for some service in his campaigns.

[3] PLUT. Caes. 12.2.

[4] CIC. Balb. 43; POLLIO to CIC. Fam. 10.32.2 (the outbreak occurred during the proconsulate of Sex. Varus in 56-?55: cf. M R R 2, sub ann. 57 and 56 B.C.).

(hardly surprising in view of the Romans' reluctance before 90 to extend it even in Italy) and even then was conferred for the commendable, but political, virtue of service to the Roman people.

Yet a high level of Romanization was achieved by the reign of Augustus. This was, up to a point, inevitable in the absence of any competitor to Rome. The growth of Italian financial and purchasing power had a natural impact on Spain: by Strabo's time virtually all the overseas trade of Baetica (nearly as large as that from Africa) was with Ostia and Puteoli[1], and a similar domination by Italy may be supposed over the exports of Tarraconensis and Lusitania, though their volume is not known. The influx of settlers, who - though not relatively very numerous - often attained important social and economic status, must also have encouraged the locals to adopt Roman ways. The settlers may, in fact, have been the most influential element in this process. The state's officials, after all, were few. Traders will often have been transient and their activity specialized (unless they established themselves more or less permanently, thus metamorphosing into virtual settlers). The army, in its contacts with the civilian population, probably antagonized as many as it influenced, and again could influence only along specialized lines. The settlers were permanent, often affluent and thus influential[2]; their towns, Italica, Carteia, Corduba, Palma,

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[1] 3.2.6 / C145.

[2] Cf. Annius Scapula (48 B.C.), 'maximae dignitatis et gratiae provincialem hominem sibique [Cassius the governor] ... familiarem' (BAlex 55.2).

Valentia, offered models of the Roman way of life.

The Spaniards certainly showed themselves ready to respond. They adopted Roman terminology for their local institutions and Roman metrology for their coins. Italian script was in use on the coasts about 100 B.C. and Latin itself widespread in Baetica and, no doubt, Celtiberia where the inhabitants were nicknamed (says Strabo) togati.[1] Two generations earlier, Sertorius had delighted the Spanish nobility by offering their sons a Roman education and the prospect of citizenship.[2]

What Sertorius promised, a later age began to perform. The elder Balbus, consul in 40 B.C., signified the arrival of the provincial aristocracy to participation in metropolitan power. The elder Seneca, born at Corduba a few years earlier, was the first of a great line of Spanish writers. Baetica and parts of Tarraconensis by this time, must have deserved the epithet, 'Italia verius quam provincia', no less than Narbonensis.[3] By planting more settlers, often in the heart of the oldest Roman territories, and by widely conferring Roman and Latin right on natives, Caesar and Augustus recognized and encouraged the Romanization of the country. This was a revolution compared with the chary days of the Republic, even

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[1] Italian script: above, pp. 141 note 4 and 302. Baetica: STR. 3.2.15. Celtiberia: 3.4.20.

[2] See Appendix I.

[3] PLINY N H 3.31.

though they were merely allowing to subject lands (and limitedly at that - unlike Vespasian later) what had been granted to Italy and Transpadana in 90 and 89, and though Pompey and Metellus had shown the way on a smaller scale. In doing so, they must have satisfied the ambitions of Spain's prosperous, Romanized - and often, it may be, part-Italian - upper element, the men who filled the magistracies and curiae of the new municipia, and probably shared in filling those of several coloniae. At the same time, Rome was in effect giving its government the chance to draw on fresh men from wider areas to take part in imperial administration. Despite the pause that followed A.D. 14, Caesar and Augustus thus gave the original impetus to the 'Roman commonwealth' or 'greater Rome' that Aelius Aristides was to laud and the Constitutio Antoniniana theoretically to complete. Is it too much to suppose they had digested the lesson of the Social War?

APPENDIX I

SERTORIUS

THE political gifts and promise of Q. Sertorius have received high praise, notably but not solely from Mommsen.[1] His severest critic does not deny that he contributed to Romanizing Spain[2]: other estimates are even more favourable.[3] This is a point of view, even so, that may be questioned.

Sertorius' work in Spain cannot of course be considered apart from his political aims. What these were are nowhere expressly stated. But it is fairly clear that his countrymen, then and later, believed he meant to regain power at Rome by force for the Marian faction.[4] This is probably too simplified a view, though correct in its tendency. At the height of his successes, the op-

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[1] T. MOMMSEN, H. of Rome (Eng. tr. 1894) 4. 302-3; SCHULTEN, Sertorius, 140-65, and passim; R E 2 A. 1746-53, esp. 1751-2; W. SCHUR, Sallust als Historiker (1934) 222-56; V. EHRENBERG, Ost und West (1935) 177-201; P. BOSCH GIMPERA & P. AGUADO BLEYE, H. de E. 2². 239-40. P. TREVES, 'Sertorio', Athenaeum N.S. 10 (1932) 127-47, keeps to a middle course between praise and blame.

[2] H. BERVE, 'Sertorius', Hermes 64 (1929) 199-227, on 226: 'es nicht geleugnet ist, dass seine Erscheinung und sein Wirken faktisch der Romanisierung Spaniens gedient hat'.

[3] Notably SCHULTEN, Sertorius, 153-8; also SCHUR, Sall. als Hist., 244-50; EHRENBERG, O. und W., 189-92; SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ, 'Proceso de romanización ... ', Anales de H. ... de la U. de B.A. 1949, 17-20; SUTHERLAND, Rom. in Sp., 94-6.

[4] SALL. H. 2.98.10 M, cf. 4 (Pompey's letter to the Senate); PLUT. Sert. 22.6, cf. 24.1; Pomp. 20.4; APP. BC 1.108.508; Iber. 101.439; cf. DIO 53.13.2 (Sertorius among the Republic's 'τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμήσαντες').

portunity may certainly have seemed near for a Hannibal-style descent into Italy; Appian says it was to prevent this that Pompey was sent to cooperate with Metellus Pius. But this feat can hardly have seemed more than a distant possibility, one of many, when Sertorius returned to Spain in 80 to lead the Lusitani against the Sullan governors - and it must have disappeared from hope once Pompey and Metellus got the upper hand in 74.[1]

Sertorius could have left Spain only in exceptionally favourable circumstances: the bulk of his forces (if not necessarily the best) was Celtiberian and Lusitanian, and, while he might perhaps leave them to pin down a beaten and demoralized enemy, it would surely have been military uncertain to draw them off in large numbers on an Italian expedition.[2] It would not be an unalloyed political benefit either to owe his restoration in large measure to a barbarian army.

More likely, at the start and in the later stages of his venture, Sertorius aimed more realistically at forcing, or inducing, the Roman government to some sort of accommodation, using as a bargaining counter his control of large parts of Spain (still the biggest provincial possession in the West, as well as one of Rome's richest). What his terms would have been can scarcely be guessed at, save that they would of course have to include an amnestied return for himself and his fellow-exiles.[3]

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[1] Upper hand: SCHULTEN, Sertorius, 126 ff.; T. RICE HOLMES, Rom. Rep. 1. 151-2.

[2] Cf. EHRENBERG, 198-9, who briefly makes a similar point.

[3] Plutarch does tell us that even 'ἐν ταῖς νίκαις' Sertorius would send word to Metellus and Pompey expressing readiness to lay down arms and retire into private life if he were allowed to go home (PLUT. Sert. 22.5). This is not reported in the briefer and hostile account of Appian or in Plutarch's life of Pompey. Apart from its biased context in Plutarch's narrative (see BERVE, 216-17), it is obviously improbable that Sertorius could make purely personal peace advances to the government side. But there could be a kernel of fact at the bottom of the story.

That he did view himself as a Roman party leader is clear.[1] The Romans themselves were convinced of it, as shown already. Marian exiles flocked to him, especially after Lepidus' defeat in 77. His correspondence with discontented circles at Rome was so compromising that Pompey destroyed it.[2] He set up a 'Senate' of 300, including Marian senators from Rome and also other followers of his, and asserted that it was the true Senate.[3] According to Plutarch he also appointed ἱαμίας τε καὶ στρατηγοὺς from its ranks.[4] In modern terms, he created a government-in-exile. To treat this as proof of his betrayal of Roman ways is curious, to say the least.[5] We are also told that he put only Romans, not Spaniards, in high command - a point borne out by such details as we have.[6] To the Romans he was, at worst, a rebel, but not a renegade. Pompey and Metellus were viewed as having ended a civil war, and Pompey was praised for not mentioning the defeated leader's name in his triumph 'ex Hispaniis'.[7] On the negative side, there is no evidence of any

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[1] EHRENBERG, 200, argues that he wished to become more than a party chief - 'er war Politiker aus dem Willen zum Reich'. There is no evidence for this.

[2] PLUT. Sert. 27.3; Pomp. 20.4; cf. APP. BC 1.115.537.

[3] APP. BC 1.108.507 βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ φίλων τριακοσίους, καὶ τήνδε ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν, καὶ ... συγκλητὸν ἐκάλει'; Iber. 101.439; PLUT. Sert. 22.3; see esp. E. GABBA, 'Senati in esilio', Bull. del Ist. del Dir. R. 63 (1960) 221-32; also Athenaeum 1954, 315. According to both PLUT. and APP., he put Mithridates' proposals before it (Sert. 23.5; Mithr. 68.288), which shows that, at the least, the body met for deliberations (D. MAGIE, Rom. Rule in Asia Min. 1. 322-3, supposes it overruled him to cede Asia).

[4] Sert. 22.4.

[5] So BERVE, 215-16.

[6] PLUT. ibid.; GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 312-13; see below.

[7] FLOR. 2.10.1 and 9; PLINY N H 7.96; cf. EXSUP. 7 (Sertorius 'qui tum Romanis armis quassabat imperium': for Sallust as his source, see above, p. 24 note 6).

sort that he ever 'turned native', aimed at establishing a Spanish independent state or otherwise rejected his origins. The administrative concessions to Spanish communities, the school at Osca for nobles' sons and other measures were clearly designed - as will be argued in more detail below - to hold Spanish support: they prove, or even suggest, nothing more. The educational fare at Osca was Latin - and Greek. In a speech to an assembly of his native allies he was careful to stress 'quantum Hispaniae provinciae interesset, suas partes superiores esse': the language of a Roman politician.[1]

So much, then, is clear. Less so is the question whether Sertorius was willing to give up the province of Asia in return for aid from Mithridates of Pontus - but the probabilities are that he was not.[2] Gabba, however, argues that after Lepidus' failure Ser-

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[1] LIVY frg. Bk 91 med. If we suppose Livy invented the speech, it does still show what that historian thought of Sertorius. For S.'s Roman ideology - rather varyingly interpreted - see GELZER, Philol. Wochenschr. 52 (1932) 1133; TREVES, 136, 138-41, 147; SCHUR, 238-51; EHRENBERG, 183-98; GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 295-7, 315-17, and esp. 328-35; cf. Bull. del Ist. del Dir. R. 1960, 224, 231-2.

BERVE's attempt to show that S.'s creation of the 'senate in exile' and of Roman-style magistrates, his school at Osca, his administrative concessions, etc., prove his un-Roman leanings (Hermes 1929, 214-16, 219 'dem römische Staatsempfinden widerstrebende Neigung'; followed by L. WICKERT, 'Sertorius', in Rastloses Schaffen: Festschr. für F. Lammert [1954] 97-106, on 99) can hardly be sustained.

[2] The famous question whether or not Sertorius agreed to surrender Asia to Mithridates cannot be dealt with in detail here. But a few points may be noted. (i) As S. had no actual control over Asia, any surrender by him would be purely nominal, and any refusal important mainly for propaganda. (ii) If Mithridates chose to attack Asia, S. could not stop him. (iii) Mithridates was also sounding Pompey, on terms that are not known (CIC. Imp. Cn. P. 46), and S. may well have known this.

On balance, S. probably did refuse, as Plutarch says, to 'cede' Asia (Sert. 23 - 24.3; contra, APP. Mithr. 68.288) - the Marians no less than the Optimates had refused to acquiesce in its loss in 88 (a point stressed by GELZER, 1133), and, as S. aimed at victory over, or at least accommodation with, the Roman government, the pro-

torius' political stand was hopeless - the Populares were turning to the political generals, especially Pompey, and Sertorius, based on the Marian party of the 80s, out of touch with all but uninfluential sideline figures at Rome, was fighting on foredoomedly, in a sense 'solo per forza d'inerzia'.[1]

But that Popularis support was veering to Pompey need not imply that Sertorius' correspondents at Rome were a fringe minority[2]: even adherents of the military Wunderkind Pompey would play safe by keeping a line open to the rebel. The Populares, it is true, were 'in opposition' during the 70s - a further incentive to maintain contact with the government's military opponent who, if victorious by arms or successful through a peace, could restore them to a share of power. If Sertorius had returned victorious to Rome he would have been, as much as Pompey, a military politician; and doubtless ready, as he always was, to use whatever means were available for his pur-

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paganda blow of a surrender of Rome's wealthiest possession would be serious. His sending M. Marius to the king 'firmandi foederis causa' (OROS. 6.2.12) may have aimed at making these two points as clear as possible. And Mithridates may well have agreed, though it is a different question whether he would have kept his agreement had he gained another 88-style success (and S. no doubt knew this too). After all, the king could not be sure that a repeat of his onslaught of 88 would not unite S. and the Senate against him. Certainly when his attack came it was directed against Bithynia ('ceded' by Sertorius, as both Plutarch and Appian state); only after he had occupied all of that country did he enter Asia to assault Cyzicus (on the opening events of the Third Mithridatic War, see, e.g., MAGIE, R.R. A.M. 1. 323-31). The territories to which S. recognized Mithridates' claims were not at that time Roman provinces but client states (Bithynia and Cappadocia, and - according to Appian - Paphlagonia and Galatia too); Pontus had to have a quid pro quo for its subsidies. If with these S. could bring his struggle to a successful end, aggression on Asia by the king could then be dealt with.

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[1] GABBA, 330-1.

[2] Contradicted by PLUT. Sert. 27.2; Pomp. 20.4; cf. APP. BC 1.115.536-7.

poses.[1] Already in Spain he governed as a military ruler, and his readiness to bend, or stretch traditional forms - no less than his care to keep up an appearance of Roman legalities - is shown in his counter-Senate and counter-magistrates. None of this is a guide to what ends he would have followed had he returned to Rome: but it does not really suggest that, if he had returned, Sertorius would have added no more than an extra footnote to Roman history.

His politics are one problem. What of his support in Spain? Gabba argues that analysis of the areas that backed him, and of his lieutenants' backgrounds, shows that he was followed largely by Italic, and often anti-Roman, elements both from Italy and among the settlers in Spain.[2] Several of his officers were Etruscan (notably Perperna) and likely enough others came from Campania or central Italy.[3] But it is not clear why Etruscans and Campanians[4], and indeed former Marians - either in his following or in Mithridates' - should be viewed as hostile to Rome rather than simply to the Sullan regime. Marius had fought against the Italians in the Social War. Etruria had remained largely loyal and so had Campania.[5] Perperna had followed the consul Lepidus, who had not aimed at overthrowing Roman power. Several officers had served with Pompeius Strabo.[6]

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[1] Cf. his unauthorized seizure of Suessa in the civil war (APP. BC 1.85.385), his readiness to ally with, and break with, the pirates as suited him (PLUT. Sert. 7.3, 9.1, 21.5) and to use the Lusitanian invitation as the means of renewing the fight against the Optimates, and his pact with Pontus to obtain munitions.

[2] Athenaeum 1954, 298-317, esp. 310-11; cf. 326-30; also, briefly, in A. PIGANIOL, Histoire de Rome[5] (1962) 166.

[3] GABBA, 311-15.

[4] The Insteii brothers may have been Campanian, and Mithridates' envoy Magius probably of Capua (GABBA, 312-13, 314-15).

[5] C A H 9. 186, 194, 197; 186, 193, 198-9.

[6] Tarquitius Priscus, the Hirtuleii, L. Insteius (I L S 8888; GABBA, 312).

Nor was Sertorius surrounded by a mainly non-Roman (whether or not anti-Rome) staff: eight of the seventeen whose names are recorded were - Gabba agrees - Romans, and at least three of these were senators.[1] So were some of the others, for example Perperna and Fabius Hispaniensis. Sertorius' staff thus displays a strong Marian and anti-Optimate (which is hardly a surprise) but little or no hint of any radical anti-Rome wing.

What of the allegiance of the settlers in Spain? Gabba's view is linked to his theory of the distribution of Oscan-Italian immigrants, which has been criticized in Chapter IV § i. His own analysis shows plenty of Etruscan and other Italic elements at Carthago Nova and in Ulterior, places either pro-government or at least government-controlled.[2] At best, settler support was probably more dependent on local, or immediate, factors than Gabba allows for. Sertorius, for example, had served with distinction in Citerior under T. Didius, in the 90s.[3] Political questions, and allegiances, that led to Social and civil warfare in Italy might not exercise settlers to anything like the same extent. In any case the part these played in the war should not be exaggerated. Admittedly Sertorius, on arriving in 83, armed 'the Roman settlers of military age', and on

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[1] Livius Salinator, M. Marius, C. Herennius. The others: L. Cinna (another senator?), M. Antonius (a fifth?), Octavius Graecinus, Aufidius, Manlius (GABBA, 311-12, 312 n.5, 313 n.9; he also suggests that Mithridates' other envoy Fannius was related to a Marian aedile: 315). The non-Romans: Perperna, the two Hirtuleii, the two Insteii, Maecenas, Versius, L. Fabius Hispaniensis (312-13). See also the criticisms of SHERWIN-WHITE, J R S 45 (1955) 170.

[2] GABBA, 303-5. Carthago Nova was held against a Sertorian attack (CIC. Balb. 4-5; cf. SALL. H. 2.56-7 M). On Ulterior see above, p. 23 note 2; cf. 26 note 1.

[3] PLUT. Sert. 3.3-5. On the Καστλῶν there mentioned, see A. BALIL, 'En torno a la palabra "Castu" de algunas monedas de Turiaso', Numisma 3 (1956) no. 6, 23-7, who argues that it was not the well-known Castulo in the south but must have been a homonym near Turiasso(citing coins, and a medieval document that preserves a name Cazlona near Tarazona), and emends MSS γυριστοινῶν vel sim. to Τ[ου]ριστοινῶν = 'Turiassonenses'.

rcturning to Spain in 80 he had a force partly composed of men 'whom he called Romans', while one of his officers, Fabius Hispaniensis, may well have been a settler Roman.[1] A promising beginning, perhaps. But the firm evidence stops here. Likely enough, Sertorius' senate contained some Hispanienses[2], and Perperna's army a proportion of settler recruits[3]; Tarraco, one of the most loyal Sertorian towns, probably had a citizen conventus, as also other large towns including Osca his capital; the resentment at his close relations with native Spaniards could be felt by settlers as well as by Romans and Italians from the mother country.[4] Yet all these possibilities put together do not add up to a strenuous contribution by settlers to his cause. Certainly all our sources are aware only of two elements in his following: the Roman exiles and the native Spaniards.

The Livian fragment that gives a detailed glimpse of a short period in the war agrees in this with the briefer accounts of Appian and Plutarch. Sertorius receives delegates from, and issues instructions about supplies and recruitment to, 'sociae civitates', as well as to his Italian officers; but there is no word of help (or recruits) from citizen conventus or the like. One of the towns

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[1] PLUT. Sert. 6.5, 12.2; p. 80 note 2 for Fabius.

[2] GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 315; B. I. D. R. 1960, 221.

[3] GABBA, Athenaeum 1954, 308. But the possibility must not be disccunted that other Lepidani from Italy joined Perperna after his arrival, with his original army, in Spain - thus beefing up its numbers (some time passed between his arrival and his linking up with Sertorius: PLUT. Sert. 15.1; GABBA, ib., who does not however entertain this idea). Another, and not irreconcilable, possibility is that Perperna's final total of 53 cohorts was nowhere near full strength.

[4] Resentment: PLUT. Sert. 25.2 (Perperna and friends); APP. BC 1.112.520-1 (rank and file).

whose territory Sertorius ravages is Gracchurris. It is of course true that the settler population did not make much impact on literary records at any time - except in the memorable years 49 to 45. This itself is some indication of political quietism, or apathy. In any case, as just shown, Plutarch does know of the settlers' participation in 83-1 - and only then. But Sertorius' largely settler army[1] melted pretty rapidly at Annius' onslaught in 81.[2] His resistance effort only took on real strength when the Lusitani and then the Celtiberi adopted it, followed by exiles from Italy. Rather similarly, we observe little enthusiasm in the cives Romani of Ulterior to take sides in 49 or to go to war in 48.[3]

Of course there would be exceptions to this generalization. But it seems probable that the settler population - and indeed a sizeable part of the native one too - were ready to pay the levies and carry out the duties demanded of them, and to obey the officers sent on these assignments by the dominant military power in their area, without particular commitment to any cause. Apart from an inevitable minority of activists (who cannot be assigned to any clearly defined racial or national grouping) and perhaps a certain proportion of ablebodied men looking for occupation and thus ready to enlist, the settlers' complaisance - we may suspect - was merely a bending before the wind.

As observed earlier, Sertorius has also been lauded for furthering Roman culture in Spain. This is based almost entirely on one chapter of Plutarch's biography.[4] Sertorius (we learn) introduced Roman weapons, formations and signals to his Spanish troops

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[1] On its composition see pp. 23-6.

[2] SALL. H. 1.95-7 M; PLUT. Sert. 7.1-2; above, pp. 23-4.

[3] CAES. BCiv 2.18.4; BAlex 50.3, 56.4. Notice too the panic (according to Plutarch) that kept anyone - not only settlers - from offering the fugitive Crassus help, in 86, save Paciaecus: who did it stealthily (Crass. 4.2-7).

[4] Sert. 14.

and thus made them into a disciplined army.[1] More important still, he educated the native boys of highest birth in Greek and Latin studies at Osca, allowing them togas and bullae and awarding prizes to the best pupils, 'ὡς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολιτείας τε μεταδώσων καὶ ἀρχῆς'.[2] This measure delighted their fathers. Sertorius also won the loyalty of his Spanish following by indulging their passion for personal adornment; thousands 'devoted' their lives to him in the Spanish manner.

This is not much to go on. Even if it is conceded that training men to be efficient soldiers is one way of civilizing them (a very indirect way), this effect is best achieved in peacetime. In a period of violent, not to say savage warfare, the cultural 'fall-out' from Roman army drill was bound to be marginal. Certain chieftains, perhaps Spaniards, were in demand, it is true, two decades later in Aquitania for the military science they had learned under Sertorius.[3] The fact is double-edged. These pupils of Sertorius readily afforded their services to Gauls at war with Rome. The Romans will hardly have applauded this fruit of his teaching.

The school at Osca was certainly a potential instrument of Romanization, even though Plutarch remarks that Sertorius' real aim was to keep hostages without the parents realizing it.[4] A hostage is useless unless his own people know he is one: so this cannot

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[1] 14.1 'Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ὁπλισμοῖς καὶ τάξεσι καὶ συνθήμασιν'.

[2] 14.3. BERVE, 225, followed by EHRENBERG, 190, interprets πολιτεία as civitas and ἀρχή as ius honorum. This is surely taking ἀρχή too technically, though if the scheme had ever been put into practice the 'rule' would no doubt have been exercised through magistracies (and the Senate).

[3] CAES. BGall 3.23.3-6 (56 B.C.); DIO 39.46.3.

[4] Education in Greek and Latin studies was one of Agricola's methods: TAC. Agr. 21.2. Cf. Ann. 3.43.1 (liberal arts students in Augustodunum, A.D. 21); JUV. 15.112.

have been Sertorius' only purpose (once he had them in his power) in setting up the school. It had the positive effect of encouraging the enthusiastic loyalty of the Spanish nobles. That makes it an important sign of their readiness to adopt Roman cultural forms. But the nobles did not 'share in citizenship and government' - that was only a promise for their young sons. Plutarch emphasizes that the Roman hero restricted actual high position to his fellow-countrymen.[1] And in the end Sertorius himself destroyed any hopes for the future by breaking up the school, killing some of the pupils and enslaving the rest when their fathers deserted him.[2] Even if some of the survivors regained freedom afterwards[3], their Romanization (it must be supposed) - and, still more, their attitude to Rome - will have been seriously impaired. Even if, too, Sertorius spared the sons of any Spaniards still loyal, the contribution of his shortlived school to Romanization can, in the end, only have been small.

Tacitus lists the activities and objects that he thought constituted the 'Roman way of life': temples, *fora*, houses, liberal studies, the use of Latin, wearing the toga, colonnades, baths and banquets (the last three counting as vices).[4] Sertorius' movement may have contributed to the spread of camp Latin; but the fate of those he encouraged in its more developed use, as in liberal arts and toga-wearing, has been demonstrated. Of temples and other construc-

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[1] Above, p. 379.

[2] PLUT. *Sert.* 25.4. As hostages, therefore, the pupils ultimately failed anyway. The necessarily long-term character of the school, as a Romanizing force, is conceded by SCHUR, 250, for one.

[3] Perperna restored hostages of Sertorius to their peoples (APP. *BC* 1.114.532). But there seem to have been hostages, pure and simple, in Sertorius' power too: LIVY frg. Bk 91 *init.* reports some being exacted from Contrebia on its surrender ('obsidibus acceptis').

[4] *Agr.* 21. Cf. Babyl. Talmud, *Sabbath* 33b (M. LEWIS-N. REINHOLD, *Rom. Civ.*[rev. ed. 1966] 2. 414) 'Rabbi Judah began and said: "How excellent are the deeds of this nation. They have instituted market places, they have instituted bridges, they have instituted baths"'.

tions nothing is known, though we may assume a certain number of fortifications. Sertorius definitely founded no towns.

Tacitus does not mention grants of citizenship, which by his and his father-in-law's day were at the discretion of the emperor rather than the governor. Such grants, as argued earlier, might encourage (or recognize) Romanization.[1] But in Sertorius' day they were not made for this purpose.[2] Nor is there any real evidence that he had power to enfranchise - though he might follow Marius' example of not hearing the voice of law amid the clash of battle,[3] and though the Q. Sertorii on inscriptions possibly recall grants of his that were afterwards allowed to stand.[4] Yet the most favourable source for his activities stresses that he did not make grants - only promises. The main word on the topic can be left to statistics. In the indices of the Spanish volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, the nomen Sertorius is borne by eight persons. Of Pompeii and Caecilii, two columns each.[5]

Fostering the ways of civilization requires peace. The Romans were quite aware of this.[6] But the years of Sertorius' activity

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[1] Pp. 367-8.

[2] P. 366; cf. 298-304.

[3] CIC. Balb. 46; PLUT. Mar. 28.2.

[4] Cf. also p. 87 note 4.

[5] Respectively: C I L 2 Suppl., pp. 1072, 1069-70, 1057. BADIAN, F C, 309-10, using also the indices of E E 8 and 9, shows 12, 132 (+ 9 incerti) and 142 (+ 5 inc.) respectively.

[6] Proof should be unnecessary, but notice the implication in Tacitus' assessment of Agricola's aims in Romanization: 'ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles q u i e t i et o t i o per voluptates adsuescerent' (Agr. 21.1). Strabo often points out how peace and civilization cooperated to develop the wilder parts of Spain (3.2.15 / C151, 3.5 / C154, 3.8 / C156, 4.20 / C167). Cf. DIO 46.55.5 about Narbonensis.

in Spain - even his first spell, as governor of Citerior - were not peaceful at all. Battles were fought from Italica to the Pyrenees (and beyond)[1], cities were attacked and captured, sometimes after desperate resistance, and some were sacked.[2] Territory was devastated by both sides, funds and munitions exacted from local communities.[3] It must be questioned how far even a conscious programme of cultural development can have got in such an agitated time.[4] And what areas would have been affected? Ulterior was held by the government; the central east coast and the Ebro basin were hotly contested.

It must also be questioned whether Sertorius had any such conscious programme at all. He was perceptive enough to see how highly the Spanish nobility regarded Roman civilization, and skilful enough to put their regard to use. If the settler population was as apolitical as suggestive above, he needed even more urgently to keep native support by every method available. Quite probably too his own views were liberal enough to accept the (by his time) obviously growing cultural assimilation of Spaniards - at any rate

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[1] Italica was the scene of Hirtuleius' defeat (LIVY Per. 91; OROS. 5.23.10; SCHULTEN, Sertorius, 104-5). Pyrenees: PLUT. Sert. 7.1-2. Transalpina: CIC. Imp. Cn. Pomp. 30; SALL. H. 2.98. 4-5 M; SCHULTEN, 98. Other battles included Segovia (FRONT. Strat. 2.1.2, 3.5; SALL. H. 2.58-9 M) and the operations round Lauro and Valentia (SCHULTEN, 99-103, 111-17).

[2] E.g. Lauro (PLUT. Sert. 18.3-6), Valentia (SALL. H. 2.98. 6 M), Calagurris and other last-ditch strongholds (OROS. 5.23.14).

[3] SALL. (H. 2.98.9) has Pompey tell the Senate in 75/4 'Hispaniam citeriorem, quod non ab hostibus tenetur, nos aut Sertorius ad internicionem vastavimus praeter maritimas civitates ... '. PLUT. (Sert. 25.3) reports that in the last years heavy exactions on loyal communities were engineered by treacherous Sertorian officers to turn the Spaniards against their leader. But as his position worsened, a heavier-handed administration was in any case virtually inevitable.

[4] SCHULTEN himself (138) stresses the damage suffered by the 'unglückliches Land'. He does not let it affect his judgment of the hero.

aristocratic Spaniards. But his treatment of the schoolboys at Osca shows that the main aim of that measure had been to bind the native nobility to him as closely as possible. No Spaniard commanded his armies; none is known to have belonged to his Senate.[1] The benefits he actually offered the Spaniards were administrative: lower taxes and no more winter billeting, and likely enough others of a similar sort.[2] Of course we do not know what the Spaniards expected of him. But it is very unlikely that he made them any wider promises. Even the most hostile tradition does not suggest he was leading the Spaniards against Rome in a 'war of liberation' (as some moderns do). If the Spaniards thought so they would have been due for a shock had he won. But there is no ground for supposing that Sertorius beguiled them with such ideas. His bearing towards them (the sources are unanimous) was that of a Roman governor - admittedly a governor of unprecedented popularity and trust. He promised the next generation of the Spanish nobility a share in the affairs of the imperial Republic, not independence from it.

Sertorius was, in other words, an intelligent liberal imperialist. In quieter times he might have done for Spain what Agricola did for Britain. But on the evidence of well-disposed, no less than of unfavourable, sources, it must be concluded that his ideas on Romanization were few and his contribution to it ultimately marginal.

The significance of his career lies elsewhere. For the first time, a Roman leader succeeded in mounting a large-scale, long-

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[1] BERVE, 215, puts the former omission down to Spanish inexperience in the Roman art of war. But if the rank and file could learn their side of it, Spanish leaders could learn methods of generalship. CAESAR stresses the experienced ability of the Sertorian-trained leaders of the Aquitanian resistance (BGall 3.23.5-6).

[2] PLUT. Sert. 6.4; cf. EXSUP. 8; SALL. H. 1.94 M.

term military and political effort by using only provincial resources and, to a great extent, provincial manpower. The effort was the more remarkable since he securely controlled only parts of the Mediterranean coast and the uplands and plateau country of central and western Spain. Spaniards in either province had made a name in such resistance before him - Viriatus in Lusitania, Numantia in Celtiberia. But Sertorius' struggle united these efforts. Equally strikingly, Spaniards for the first time enthusiastically followed a Roman as their own chieftain. His movement revealed the strength Spain was capable of by itself, under intelligent and popular leadership. It also showed how Roman culture impressed and attracted Spaniards. His pragmatic liberalism towards provincials at least set an example to later administrators - and may have given many Spaniards higher aspirations of their own. He had a passive impact too on Roman history: his successes brought to Pompey his greatest military command so far, and propelled that general still further towards predominance in the Roman state.

APPENDIX II
OPPIDA / MUNICIPIA

ANOTHER problem in terminology - which does not help to distinguish between Caesarian and Augustan grants of citizenship or Latinity to Spanish towns - needs some discussion: Pliny's description of towns of Roman right in Baetica and Lusitania as *municipia* and of those in every other province as *oppida*. The latter term he also applies to Latin towns even in Ulterior, it should be noticed: in *N H* 3.7 (quoted on p. 322) the phrase 'Latio antiquitus donata XXVII', though immediately preceded by 'municipia c. R. X', must imply 'oppida' (understood from the beginning of the sentence) as it is followed by 'libertate VI, foedere III, stipendiaria CXX'. In 4.117 the construction is even odder: its structure is '[populi] XLV, coloniae ... quinque, municipium [*sc.* unum] c. R., Latii antiqui III,

stipendiaria XXXVI', and it is clear that, by the time he got to the final category, Pliny had forgotten he was writing of *populi* and not of *oppida*. Either word can also qualify the penultimate category - it is no clumsier than having to turn 'municipium' into a plural-by-implication.

Sherwin-White, following Kornemann, suggests that *oppidum* denotes a town whose assimilation to full municipal form was not complete and that Ulterior's promoted towns had reached municipal status sooner because it was 'the oldest of the greater provinces of the Empire'.[1] But Citerior was as old a province - older, in a sense, for the Romans had come into Spain from the north - and it is hard to imagine that Olisipo, first mentioned in connexion with D. Brutus in the 130s, was more Romanized by Augustus' day than Saguntum or Emporiae, towns closely associated with Rome since the days of Hannibal and Cato. Elsewhere, moreover, Pliny calls Olisipo an *oppidum* and Gades an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.[2] Again, the Emporitans were all citizens when Livy wrote his thirty-fourth book and (probably) when the Augustan *formula* was drawn up; the Spanish half preceded the Greek in acquiring citizenship, and it and the Caesarian *coloni* then styled themselves (as it would appear) a *municipium* (see p. 325 note 1). Osca also seems to call itself one, before 27 B.C. (p. 354).

H. Braunert argues that municipal forms were distinct from Roman or Latin status (which he calls a 'Personalrecht') and followed enfranchisement or Latinization, sometimes after several years.[3] The lapse of time between Vespasian's edict, by which he 'universae

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[1] *R C* 171; KORNEMANN, *R E* 16. 597.

[2] 4.116, 119; cf. DEGRASSI, *Scr. vari* 1. 160 n.490.

[3] '*Ius Latii* in den Stadtrechten von Salpensa und Malaca', *Corolla Swoboda*, 66-83, esp. 75, 78-83 ('die Einrichtung einer sogenannten „latinischen Gemeinde" durch Erteilung des Stadtrechts ... ebenfalls nicht notwendig gleichzeitig mit der Verleihung der Latinität erfolgte': 78).

Hispaniae ... Latium tribuit' (PLINY 3.30), and the date of the leges Salpensana and Malacitana certainly needs an explanation, and Braunert also points to Gades, enfranchised by Caesar yet a municipium Augustum.[1] It may be doubted whether the solution is to suppose distinct 'Personal-' and 'Gemeinderechte'. Gades had supreme IVviri six years after enfranchisement, as earlier shown; and though its title 'Urbs Iulia' probably came from Caesar, Osca when a municipium was similarly called 'Urbs Victrix'. At Igabrum in Baetica, municipes are mentioned on an inscription of A.D. 75 (C I L 2. 1610). Sabora had IIviri (and aediles) and decuriones by A.D. 77,[2] while by 80 Munigua was a municipium with the same officials.[3] The very fact that Vespasian's edict provided for citizenship for magistrates ex officio implies that these had an organized communal body of Latins below them.

As shown in Chapter XII, autonomy had always been the norm in Spain, and a large number of communities - especially in the oldest provincial areas - had adopted Roman forms and terminology before obtaining Roman or Latin right. Braunert is probably ccrrect to stress that municipal forms did not n e c e s s a r i l y accompany Latin status (municipia did not appear in areas like the western Alps for more than a century after Claudius' and Nero's grants, for example[4]) but, where organized communities - often with quasi-Italian institutions - existed, the two must have coincided. Certainly adjustments might have to be made: magistratus would have to metamorphose into duovirs and aediles; the senatus became the ordo and

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[1] Cor. Swoboda, 79; cf. SCHÖNBAUER, Anz. öst. Akad. Wiss. 1954, 42, who makes the same argument.

[2] 1423 (HÜBNER gives A.D. 78) = D'ORS, Ep. jur., 61-3 (no. 4); DEGRASSI, Scr. vari 1. 162.

[3] C I L 2. 1049-50; A E 1962, no. 288.

[4] SHERWIN-WHITE, 'Latin rights and municipal status' (as yet unpublished).

(most important perhaps) a new census might be required in order to establish the qualifications of decurions and candidates for office.

Stressing that the only reference in the Spanish charters to the edicts of Vespasian and his sons concerns the acquisition of Roman citizenship by local magistrates, Braunert argues that 'der Inhalt dieser Edikte beschränkte sich deshalb auch mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit auf die Festlegung personenrechtlicher Normen'.[1] It is equally reasonable, and less complicated, to suppose that the edict announced the grant of Latin right and various general conditions for its acceptance, for example the creation of duovirs and aediles - rather as Cicero summed up Caesar's rumoured grant of citizenship to the Transpadani as 'eos iussos IIIIviros creare' (Att. 5.2.3).[2] Mention of the imperial edicts was necessary because they were the legal ground by which the previous Latin officials of Salpensa (in whose charter the reference occurs) - and their families - had obtained citizenship per magistratum, whereas the charters themselves defined procedure, functions and rights in the towns in detail. Not only are the edicts unlikely to have done so, but their actual provisions (as the section itself on citizenship shows) were incorporated into the charter, which now became the reference-point for all future activity.[3]

Possibly Pliny's use of municipium was due to his sources: the formulae were drawn up for each province individually (pp. 311-19) and usage may have varied. Or the term may be due to Pliny himself, correcting (we must then suppose) the thoroughgoing 'oppida'

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[1] Cor. Swoboda, 75, adding 'das würde aber zugleich bedeuten, dass das ius Latii in der Zeit der flavischen Kaiser einem latinischen Personalrecht entsprach'.

[2] 'Tribuit' in Pliny's report (3.30) can hardly mean 'imposed': cf. LEWIS & SHORT, Lat. Dict., 1897 s.v.

[3] Salp. 22 'qui quae{q}ve ex h(ac) l(ege) exve {ex} edicto imp. ... Vespasiani [etc.] civitatem Roman. consecutus consecuta erit'.

of even the Baetican and Lusitanian surveys - after which, through oversight or diminished enthusiasm, he merely reproduced the latter word for his other entries. This is supported by his terming Gades - placed among the insulae off Spain in his account, a separation from its Baetican context that the formulae would hardly make - an oppidum c. R. Oppidum was (it is clear) used merely as a neutral word for 'inhabited centre' in the formulae: the sum total of all provincial towns of every category, including Roman colonies, in Baetica and Tarraconensis, is given under this term (3.7 and 18), and the colony Celsa is ranged under the oppida c. R. of Caesaraugustanus (3.24). Pliny uses the word of towns in Italy too (other than colonies).[1] The Spanish charters, it may be noted, speak of 'oppidum coloniae' and 'oppidum municipii' to distinguish the town proper from its territorium.[2]

It is a different, and possibly more interesting, question why Spanish towns of Latin right should call themselves municipia, a term historically valid only for towns with Roman citizenship,[3]

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[1] 3.95-132; but at 134 and 138 he refers to Alpine tribes being 'adtributi municipiis' lege Pompeia.

[2] L. Urs. 75-6; L. Mal. 62; cf. Lex Tarent. 32 'in oppido quod eius municipi e[r]it'; see esp. SCHÖNBAUER, Anz. öst. Akad. Wiss. 1954, 17-20; also BRUNT, Ital. Manp., 583.

[3] SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 36-72, 141-8, cf. 110 on the 'Latin municeps'; SCHÖNBAUER, 'Municipium: Worterklärung und rechtliche Bedeuturg', Anz. öst. Akad. Wiss. 86 (1949) 541-63. C. SAUMAGNE's theory that municipium in the provinces always refers to L a t i n towns (Le Droit latin et les cités rom. ..., passim) ignores this fact. See SHERWIN-WHITE's review, J R S 1968, 269-70; also now J. GASCOU, 'Municipia civium Romanorum', Latomus 30 (1971) 133-41 (analyzing Pliny's apparent use of municipia to cover Latin towns in Ulterior - and reaching the same conclusions as above - and refuting Saumagne's view that Volubilis was given Latin right by Claudius). LIVY terms only Roman towns municipia (e.g. 8.14.2, 23.31.10, 26.8.10, 34.7.2) and speaks only once of 'sociorum Latini nominis urbes' and once of 'oppida Latina' (26.16.6, 8.13.12; cf. 1.35.7, 8.13.9).

when the Latins of Narbonensis occupied coloniae.[1] There is no obvious answer. Hadrian stated that the status of municipium had been more honorific than that of colonia, among towns of Roman citizens (GELL. 16.13.4-5). Although the lex Pompeia of 89 made the Transpadani titular coloniarii Latini,[2] by the end of the Republic the organization of Latin towns and Roman municipia closely resembled each other (especially when the latter began to change over to IIviri instead of IIIIviri iure dicundo) and both were created by grants of Latin or Roman right to the existing inhabitants - unlike Roman colonies. The Transalpine towns, when Latinized, did adopt the designation coloniae held until 49 by the Transpadanes - but Pliny calls these latter municipia, even though referring to Pompeius Strabo's law concerning them (N H 3. 134, 138): presumably anachronistically. Because of resemblance and perhaps prestige, therefore, the Latin towns of Spain may have taken to terming themselves the same. A short period (between Caesar and the early part of Augustus' principate) possibly intervened during which they were merely termed oppida, but it would be wrong to see them during that time as legally nothing but collections of individual cives Romani or Latini.

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[1] VITTINGHOFF, R Kol, 65 with n.1. Icosium in Mauretania, given Latin status by Vespasian (PLINY 5.20), calls itself a colonia too, on a thanksgiving inscription (C I L 8. 20853: probably A.D. 74/6). A lead ingot found at Marseilles mentions a colonia Onobensis (A E 1963, no. 109 'MP (= Metallum Publicum) nomi[ne] / Primuli [et] Silonis / CCXCVII [weight of ingot] / pro(curator) col. Ono/bensis'), considered to be Onoba in Spain, where the W. Baetican (Río Tinto) mining area. Nothing definite is known of Onoba's status (cf. p. 335) but it must have been Latin, at least, from Vespasian's reign if not before. A titular grant of colonial status sometime during the Empire may be suspected, rather than a unique designation as colonia Latina.

[2] ASCON. 3 C; SHERWIN-WHITE, R C, 105.

ADDENDA

To p. 80 note 2: DIOD. 34(35).33.1 says the Scipiones took a triumphal name from Spain - but it was 'Hispanus' or 'Hispalus'.

To p. 278 note 1: A E 1965, no. 90 (improved reading of C I L 2. 2114) gives 'Bodoniliu'.

To p. 299 [note continued from p. 298]: A E 1957, no. 317 attests a C. Caecilius T.f., a legatus of Bocchoris (10 B.C.).

To p. 339 note 2: A E 1965, no. 101 attests tribus Galeria for an Iliturgitanus.

To p. 364, at note 3: An ancient town at Mancha Real (see p. 328) will also have lain just inside Tarraconensis (after 7 B.C.), east of Tucci: see the Maps in C I L 2, and ALBERTINI, Div. adm., 37 n.3.

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For abbreviations, see p. ix.

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