

## *The phoenician civilization in Roman Spain*

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The year 218 B. C. saw the beginning of a two-century-long Roman conquest of Spain that ushered in a gradual Romanization of the country. For some time local civilizations continued to exist under the Roman ascendancy, as did, for example, the Hispano-Phoenician one.

Since 206 B. C. the Hispano-Phoenician towns passed under the dominance of the Romans, even the greatest of them all —Gades— gave in and acknowledged their supremacy (Liv., XXVIII, 37). But the surrender of Gades did not mean her becoming a «stipendium»; as is known, in the first century B. C. the Gaditans were a «federate», as stresses Cicero in his oration in defence of Balbus (VIII, 19). Undoubtedly, this is the opinion of the city residents who regarded themselves as a «federate» because the orator ascribes these words to the Gaditan accuser of Balbus. In the year 56 B. C. when Cicero's speech was delivered between Rome and Gades there was a formal treaty, but the conclusion of the treaty took place only in 78 B. C. in the consulship of M. Lepidus and Qu. Catulus. How then had the relations between the two communities been regulated prior to the year 78 B. C.? Had there been another treaty preceding the one of 78 B. C., as is the current belief<sup>1</sup>?

The treaty concluded by Gades with the Roman prefect L. Marcius who was authorized by Scipio to rule in the Baetis valley is reported only by Cicero (pro Balbo, XV, 34; XVII, 39) but his information is very vague. To begin with, the orator is reluctant to assert the existence of the treaty and, speaking about it, he prefers to use the impersonal «they say» («dicitur»): they say that L. Marcius had concluded a treaty with the Gaditans (XV, 34).

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\* Translated from the Russian by L. Chistonogova.

<sup>1</sup> A. V. Mishulin. *Ancient Spain*. M., 1952, pp. 331-332 (in Russian); E. Hübner. «Gades», *RE*, Hbd. 14, 1912, Sp. 445; R. Thouvenot, *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique*, Paris, 1940, p. 100; H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zur römische Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin, 1971, S. 17.

Whereas when relating the treaty of 78 B. C. he has his doubts as to whether the treaty was concluded or resumed (*ibid.*). Obviously Cicero is wrong about the date of the L. Marcius treaty: he refers it to the time when after the Scipio brothers' death L. Marcius had become a provisional head of the Roman army in Spain (*ibid.*), viz. to the years 212-211 B. C. Considering the situation of that period it seems absolutely impossible because it was exactly the time when the Carthaginians gained great success and the Romans could hardly retain their position in the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula. If the conclusion of the L. Marcius treaty had actually taken place it could have happened only in the year 206 B. C. when Gaditan renegades reached the Roman camp (Liv. XXVIII, 23, 6). Scipio was ill then, so that L. Marcius might have carried on the negotiations. According to Cicero himself (*pro Balbo*, XV, 34) the Senate passed its verdict on the treaty with Gades only in 78 B. C., consequently, even if the L. Marcius treaty did actually exist it was not confirmed by the Senate.

Let us study the only source providing us with a detailed account of the events under consideration — T. Livy—. He writes that in 206 B. C. when the outcome of the war became clear some Gaditan renegades came to the Romans with the promise to surrender the city and the Carthaginian garrison (XXVIII, 23, 6). This conspiracy was revealed, the plotters were sent to Carthage and the Roman attempt to seize the city with their assistance failed (XXVIII, 30, 4; 31). However, once the Carthaginian general Mago left Gades he could not come back there again — the city residents refused to let him in and he was compelled to camp in its vicinity, at Cimbii. On his departure from the place the Gaditans yielded to the Romans (XXVIII, 37). It must be noted that during the talks between Marcius and the Gades spokesmen the parties concerned exchanged the statements of loyalty and fidelity to each other: «*fide accepta dataque*» (XXVIII, 23, 8). In the year 199 B. C. the Gaditans sent their official envoys to Rome pleading with the Senate to send no prefect to Gades «*contrary to what had been agreed upon with L. Marcius Septimus when they (the Gaditans) had placed themselves under the protection of the Roman people*» (XXXII, 2, 5). The present passage is indicative only of the fact that it had been «*agreed on*» with Marcius («*convenisset*») for the Gaditans to accept the Roman protection. Not a single word is said about the treaty. From the periocha of book XXVIII we learn that an «*amicitia*» had been concluded with Gades, as well as with the Numidian king Masinissa. But from the contents of the book itself it follows that no official treaty had been signed with the latter; just as a result of their private and confidential talks Scipio and the Numidian king had stipulated some reciprocal services and exchanged the pledges of loyalty (XXVIII, 35). Here Livy uses the same phraseology as in the story of the Gaditan talks: «*fide accepta dataque*». Sallust also stresses the «*amicitia*» but not a formal treaty between Scipio and Masinissa (Iug. 5, 4-5). Incidentally, Appian (*Hisp.* 37) does not mention any treaty with Gades, he simply states that the Romans seized (*παρήλαβον*) the city.

Thus we must conclude that in 206 B. C. no official treaty was signed between the Roman government and the Gaditans; only the agreement on an «amicitia» between the Roman commander and the Gades residents was reached but this agreement was not ratified by the Roman Senate. An «amicitia» was one of the types of agreements between Rome and her «allies» and, as S. L. Utchenko maintains, the most general and least conventional at that<sup>2</sup>.

The question may arise —why did the Gaditans beg the Senate in 199 B. C. to send them no prefect? Was the sending of a prefect stipulated by the L. Marcius agreement or did the Romans violating the understanding resolve to exercise a more rigid and strict control over the Phoenician city?

Livy writes: «Gaditanis item pretendibus remissum, ne praefectus Gadis mitteretur adversus is quod iis in fidem populi Romani venientibus cum L. Marcio Septimo convenisset». Grammatically this passage admits of two variants of translating. It may be translated as follows: «At the Gaditans' request a concession was made to send no prefect to Gades although it had been agreed upon with L. Marcius Septimus for their transition under the patronage of the Roman people». The second translation is: «The Gaditans' request was met to send to Gades no prefect because the sending of a prefect was contrary to the agreement with L. Marcius Septimus...». Indirect arguments —the statement of the «amicitia» concluded and the general historical background of 206 B. C.— enable us to prefer the second variant. Besides, within the Carthaginian power Gades was formally equal in rights to the capital city<sup>3</sup>. Most probably, in the course of the talks with the Roman commander Gades' spokesmen strove to secure the similar standing with the Romans as well. Through the agreement with L. Marcius the Gaditans sought evidently only to change their patron while preserving the city's status and position intact.

From that time onwards for 128 years Gades was a community connected with Rome by the «amicitia». In the year 78 B. C. the official treaty («foedus») took shape, apparently at the Roman initiative because Cicero (pro Balbo, XV, 35) among other reasons why Rome held Gades in high esteem mentions the authority of the consul Catulus. That was the time when Spain was shaken by the revolt of Sertorius and all attempts to repress it proved unsuccessful, that was the time when Sulla passed away. In an unstable situation like that it was imperative for the Roman government to prevent such a wealthy and well-situated town from falling off. That is why a more definite and substantial «alliance» took the place of a vague and obscure «amicitia». Cicero (pro Balbo, XV, 34-35; XVI, 35) states the terms of the treaty and particularly specifies that it contained nothing else: there be a holy and everlasting peace and the majesty of the Roman people be in

<sup>2</sup> S. L. Utchenko, *Crisis and Fall of the Roman Republic*, M., 1965, p. 205 (in Russian). On the types of Rome's agreements with her allies see: *ibid.*, pp. 205-206, 209-210; J. Marquardt, *Römische Stadtverwaltung*, Bd. I, Leipzig, 1873, S. 44-46, 347-348.

<sup>3</sup> Ju. B. Tsirkin, *Phoenician Culture in Spain*, M., 1976, pp. 36-37 (in Russian).

comity conserved. The «foedus» of 78 B. C. was confirmed by the Senate and ratified by the popular assembly.

Here is, doubtless, an unequal treaty though its inequality is cloaked in the courteous wording «maiestatem populi Romani comiter conservanto»<sup>4</sup>. Cicero (pro Balbo, XVI, 36) refutes the Gaditan's more favourable interpretation of the text and decidedly affirms Rome's superiority: the word «conservanto» is fit for law rather than for treaty; its presence in the 78 B. C. treaty implies the fact that Rome is not asking but commanding to preserve her majesty; the word «comiter» must be interpreted as «in comity» but not «in common», for the people of Rome needed no Gaditans to help maintain their majesty.

For all the arrogant presumption of Rome's superiority the treaty terms somehow kept the Romans in check. Cicero himself admits (pro Balbo, XV, 34-35) that Marcius' agreement not publicly retified failed to restrain the Romans in any way, unlike the Catulus treaty. Apparently, the Gaditans preferred the latter because they would rather have their standing legalized in the Roman Republic by means of acknowledging the domination of Rome than feel themselves abandoned to abuse and tyranny unrestricted and unlimited by any contracts.

From the view-point of state and law the events of the year 78 B. C. signified transition to a new type of contractual relations —from «amicitia» to «foedus». Gades began to be a literal «civitas foederata».

Autonomous Gades continued to strike her former bronze and silver coins according to the old Greco-Punic system with the picture of Hercules-Melqart's head<sup>5</sup>.

Naturally, autonomy could not completely rescue Gades from the interference of Roman vicegerents in Hispania Ulterior. For instance, in 61-60 B. C. Caesar, the then propraetor of the province, prohibited at Gades the execution of «barbaric rites» (Cicero, pro Balbo, XIX, 43). Later in 49 B. C. Varro usurped all money and jewels from the Gaditan Herakleion, disposed the residents of their weapons and brought to the city six provincial cohorts (Caes., bel. civ. II, 20). These are but a few known facts and there is every reason to suppose that other similar acts were performed by Roman magistrates and promagistrates.

As regards the position of other Hispano-Phoenician towns, information is far more scanty and scarce. Pliny (n. h. III, 8) calls Malaca a «town of federates», consequently, at the period when the map of Agrippa whom Pliny quotes (ibid.) was being made, viz. under Augustus, Malaca was a «civitas foederata». The Sexi silver coins of the III-II centuries B. C. testify that here, as well as at Gades, they continued to mint coins after the old Greco-Punic standard<sup>6</sup>. It follows then that Sexi too preserved her self-government which was, perhaps, guaranteed by a treaty or agreement of «amicitia».

<sup>4</sup> J. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, S. 346-347.

<sup>5</sup> A. Vives, *La moneda hispánica*, t. I, Madrid, 1924, pp. 51-54.

These two cities are known to have taken part in the anti-Roman insurrection in Southern Spain under the leadership of the Turdetanian leaders Culhas and Luxinius (Liv. XXXIII, 21, 6). We have no evidence as to the fate of Malaca and Sexi after the revolt, but the following course of events seems quite feasible: like Gades, these Phoenician towns too submitted to the Romans and became «socii», but since there was no definite contract between Rome and Gades we presume that Malaca and Sexi had also to content themselves with an agreement on «amicitia» only. However, having consolidated (or, rather, believing they consolidated) their position in Spain, the Romans took advantage of the vagueness of the mutual commitments and interfered in the town's affairs by, evidently, sending there their prefects. As we remember, the Gaditans managed to dissuade the Senate from sending them a Roman official, but the Malacitans and Sexitans, in all probability, failed and had to side with the Turdetanian uprising. Perhaps, in the course of the revolt the Romans found it wise to make some concessions to the Phoenicians and to restore the autonomy of Malaca and Sexi as «civitates foederatae». This supposition, in our opinion, can account for both —the cities joining the insurrection, on the one hand, and their remaining Rome's «socii» on the other<sup>7</sup>.

Little, if anything at all, is known about the legal standing of Abdera within the Roman power. Pliny (n. h. III, 8) just mentions the town without specifying its status. Other authors likewise yield no information on this score. Strabo (III, 4, 3; 6) says only of its Phoenician origin. Several Abderite coins with Phoenician legends have come down to us but they are small copper ones similar to those minted in many Spanish towns<sup>8</sup> and on their slight evidence it is not safe to deduce Abdera's position. Of course, nothing prevents us from assuming that the status of this town was not unlike that of other Hispano-Phoenician towns but this supposition will be entirely devoid of any grounds.

Relating the events of Punic War II on the Iberian Peninsula the antique authors fail to record any storms of Hispano-Phoenician cities. Bearing in mind a detailed nature of these stories we should have thought that had such assaults actually taken place the chroniclers would have made much of them. Therefore we can infer that the Romans subdued these towns peacefully, which must have told on their standing within the Roman Republic. The only exception is the storm of New Carthage, the capital of the Barcids.

What position did New Carthage enjoy in the Roman state? No traces whatever of Phoenician law have been found at New Carthage. Town magistrates, «quattuorviri» (CIL, II, 3408) and «quinquennali»<sup>9</sup> that we

<sup>6</sup> C. Fernández Chicharro, «Noticiario arqueológico de Andalucía», *AEArq*, t. 28, 1955, p. 322.

<sup>7</sup> The hypothesis of Malaca and Sexi being «socii» is suggested by A. V. Mishulin (*op. cit.*, p. 335) but it is not proved or substantiated at all.

<sup>8</sup> A. Vives, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 16-17.

<sup>9</sup> K. C. Jenkins, Spang, «Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte», *Heft*, 11, 1961, p. 127.

know of, have nothing in common with official posts of Phoenician towns in Spain, for instance, of Gades. We know that as early as the mid-second century B. C. New-Carthaginian mines belonged to the Roman state (Strabo, III, 2, 10) and in the year 63 B. C. around the city there were Roman lands «conquered by the valour of the two Scipios» (Cic., *de leg. agr.*, I, 5; II, 51), i. e. they were not the city's property. Numerous inscriptions revealed at New Carthage<sup>10</sup> are indicative of a great influx into the city of the Italics, especially from Campania and the neighbouring regions. Therefore the probability is that New Carthage obtained the privileged standing after the mass immigration of the Italics. However, it must be noted that the Italic population appeared in this locality well before the Social War (CIL, II, 3433; 5927)<sup>11</sup> and it seems to us, the Roman authorities had no reasons to legitimate their privileged status. Certainly, it is far from improbable that after the Social War the Italic-Roman citizens formed the «*oppidum civium Romanorum*» inside the city community, the way it perhaps happened in other townships<sup>12</sup>. But to date there is no evidence in favour of this assertion (the very status of such «*oppida*» being still disputable).

Some scholars tend to believe New Carthage to be a privileged community on the testimony of «*Quattuorviri*» who are not recorded in Spanish tax-paying towns<sup>13</sup>. But it is necessary to take into account a considerable Campanian section in the city's population (see above). Campania is known to have had «*quattuorviri*» sent there and authorized by the Roman government to exercise control over a number of towns in this region (Fontes..., II, p. 25; Dio Cass., LIV, 26,7). The exact nature of this magistrature is moot yet<sup>14</sup>, but of significance is for us the very fact of *quattuorviri*'s presence in Campania both before and after the Social War. After the Social War the Italic communities that obtained the Roman citizenship were chiefly governed by *quattuorviri* as well<sup>15</sup>. Maybe, it is due to Italic influence that *quattuorviri* had appeared at New Carthage before the city became under Caesar a Roman colony. Some juridical act may have sealed the process but no information is available on this score. Besides, as far back as the second century B. C. in New Carthage there emerged an institution imported from the Apennine Peninsula —«*collegiae*» (CIL, II, 3433). All this almost of necessity implies that E. Hubner's supposition of the

<sup>10</sup> A. Beltrán, «Las lápidas religiosas y conmemorativas de Cartagena», *AEArq.*, t. 23, 1950, pp. 385-258; idem, «Las inscripciones funerarias en Cartagena», *ibid.*, pp. 385-433; C. Domergue, «Lingots de plomb romains», *AEArq.*, v. 39, 1966, pp. 41-72; J. Vives, *Inscripciones latinas de España Romana*, Barcelona, 1971.

<sup>11</sup> On the dates of these inscriptions see: J. Mangas Manjarres, *Esclavos y libertos de la España Romana*, Salamanca, 1971, pp. 117, 271.

<sup>12</sup> A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 344-350.

<sup>13</sup> H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin, 1971, S. 29.

<sup>14</sup> W. Enßlin, «*Praefectus*», *RE*, Hbd. 44, 1954, Sp. 1284-1285; H. Schaefer, «*Vigintiviri*», *RE*, Hbd. 16a, 1958, Sp. 2572-2573; E. Saechers, «*Praefectus iure dicundo*», *RE*, Hbd. 44, 1954, Sp. 2387-2390.

<sup>15</sup> A. N. Sherwin-White, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 71.

late 19th century that New Carthage was a tax-paying city<sup>16</sup>, despite all later objections, appears to be most convincing and plausible.

It must be noted though, that in New Carthage the Phoenician civilization left hardly any traces, except the dedicatory inscription to the Gaditan Hercules, i. e. the Phoenician Melqart, but the authors of this dedication are two libertines who judging by their names (Antiphon and Eclectus) may be of the East-Mediterranean descent (CIL, II, 3409). In all other respects this was an ordinary Romano-Italic city with an amphitheatre and streets decorated with porticoes<sup>17</sup>. Phoenician inhabitants here either rapidly disappeared or, more likely, under the impact of numerous immigrants fairly soon got Romanized.

Akra Leuke founded by Hamilkar did not long survive the fall of the Barcids —the town necropolis excavated at Albuferete manifests that it was deserted— at the latest —in the early second century B. C.<sup>18</sup>. The settlement at Baria continued to exist well into the Roman period. On a Greek vessel dug out in the town acropolis we find a Neo-Punic aleph, on its handle a Phoenician mark (het) which was very widely spread in Carthage<sup>19</sup>. It makes us presume that Roman Baria maintained trade with Carthage rather than that the Punic residents still lived there.

Ebusus, being a Carthaginian colony, could not refrain from participating in the warfare against Rome. Due to its geographically advantageous position —on «the bridge of islands» connecting Spain and Italy— it attracted the Romans' attention already in the second year of the hostilities but at that time they could not manage to capture it (Liv., XXIII, 20, 7-9). At the close of the war the Ebusus people, unlike the Gaditans, remained loyal to the Carthaginians and rendered Mago help (Liv., XXVIII, 37, 4). Under these conditions we should have expected the Romans, on conquering Spain, either to have banished the Carthaginians from the island or to have completely subdued the city. Yet Pliny (n. h. III, 76) calls Ebusus a «civitas foederata». The end of the 3d century B. C. saw no changes in the Ebusitan coinage, money continued to be minted according to the previous system with Phoenician legends. The system altered only under Augustus, the Phoenician legends and the effigy of Cabir (Bes) with hammer and snake remaining unchanged<sup>20</sup>. It leads us to hold that Ebusus joined the Roman Republic in the capacity of a «civitas foederata»<sup>21</sup>. Evidently at the close of the Second Punic War the Roman fleet was not powerful enough to subdue Ebusus unconditionally and then Rome preferred to come to some terms with her antagonist. But neither the clauses of the agreement nor its possible modifications have come down to us.

<sup>16</sup> E. Hübner, «Carthago Nova», *RE*, Hbd. 6, 1899, Sp. 1625.

<sup>17</sup> A. Balil, «Casa y urbanismo de la España Antigua», *BSAA*, t. 37, 1971, pp. 54-55.

<sup>18</sup> A. García y Bellido, «Colonización púnica», *HE*, t. I, v. 2, Madrid, 1952, p. 449.

<sup>19</sup> M. Astruc, *La necrópolis de Villaricos*, Madrid, 1951, pp. 12-13, 39, 186-187; J. M. Solá-Solé, «De epigrafía», *Sefarad*, an. 16, 1956, pp. 289-290.

<sup>20</sup> A. Vives, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 60-62; t. III, p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> J. Macabich, «Notas sobre Ibiza púnico-romana», *AEArq*, v. 20, 1947, p. 136.

Summing up, the former Tyrian colonies (for all our doubts concerning Abdera) and Ebusus became «civitates foederatae», they were not included into Roman provinces, they still preserved their autonomy, law and money.

At first under Rome's rule Hispano-Phoenician cities led their usual former life. This concerned not only the legal aspects of this life. Strabo (III, 4, 2) stresses that Malaca even looked like a Phoenician town. The geographer must have derived the information from Posidonius or Artemidorus or Asclepiades of Myrleia<sup>22</sup>; thus the evidence may be said to characterize the situation at the turn of the first century B. C. The coins struck by Hispano-Phoenician towns up to the end of the Roman Republic and the time of Augustus and his immediate successors bore Phoenician legends, which proves the preservation of the Phoenician language in these cities; at Gades and Malaca Phoenician inscriptions disappeared only on the cessation of the local coinage, even after the Roman standard had been accepted<sup>23</sup>.

The Phoenician towns to a considerable extent preserved their ancient cults and rites. Throughout the Roman world the Gades temple of Hercules-Melqart enjoyed great fame and renown. The apogee of its glory in the antique society falls on the first century B. C.<sup>24</sup>, but the temple survived till the end of paganism. It was attended by Polybius, Posidonius, Caesar and other famous Greeks and Romans<sup>25</sup>. And always the cult in this temple was performed in accordance with Phoenician rites, even at the time when all visitors to the sanctuary, perhaps, the Gaditans as well, called the god not Melqart but Hercules or Herakles (App., *Hisp.*, 2; Diod. V, 20, 2; Sil. I, t. III, 21-24; Arrian., *Alex.* II, 16, 4). The cult of this divinity existed in the Roman times also at Abdera and Sexi<sup>26</sup>.

There is historical evidence of some other Phoenician cults in Hispano-Phoenician towns. For instance, on the Malaca coins we see the picture of the bearded or beardless Chusor (later identified with Volcano) and tongs as his attribute<sup>27</sup>. On the Sexi and Gades coins was depicted the head or the full-length figure of a bellicose goddess, most probably, of Astarte<sup>28</sup>. The conservation of the Astarte sanctuary in Roman Gades is attested by Latin inscriptions in which the Venus slavegirls («*servae Veneris*») are mentioned<sup>29</sup>. The worship of Milqastart is betrayed by a Gaditan gold ring of the second century B. C. Strabo (III, 5, 3) speaks of the Gades Kronion, i. e. the temple of Ba al-Hammon. The coins of Malaca, Sexi and Ebusus also testify to the

<sup>22</sup> J. Morr, «Die Quellen von Strabons dritten Buch», *Philologus*. Spt. Bd. XVIII, Hft. 3, 1926, S. 49-52; J. M. Blázquez, «La Iberia de Estrabón», *Hispania antiqua*, an. I, 1971, pp. 10-11.

<sup>23</sup> A. Vives, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 60-62; t. III, pp. 8-9, 14, 16-20, 27-32; t. IV, pp. 12-14; A. M. de Guadan, «Gades como heredera de Tartessos», *AEArq.*, t. 34, 1961, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> J. Camón Aznar, *Las artes y los pueblos de la España primitiva*, Madrid, 1954, p. 646.

<sup>25</sup> A. García y Bellido, «Hercules Gaditanus», *AEArq.*, t. 35, 1963, pp. 150-151.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>27</sup> Idem, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romain*, Leiden, 1967, p. 10; F. Brommer, «Vulcanus in Spanien», *MM*, Bd. 12, 1971, S. 150.

<sup>28</sup> A. García y Bellido, *Les religions...*, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> J. Jiménez Cisneros, «Inscripciones funerarias gaditanas inéditas», *Emerita*, t. 30, f. 2, 1962, NN 30, 34 and p. 303.



cult of this deity; Ebusitan terra-cotta figurines of that epoch demonstrate that Bes was still an object of worship in that town<sup>30</sup>. The Pityussa inscription with the names of Tinnit and Hagad dates back to the year 180 B. C. (KAI, 72B).

We possess some data to the effect that in the Roman epoch the Gaditans made offerings of people as part of the Melqart or Ba al-Hammon cult. The burning of Fadius in 43 B. C. was apparently a sacrifice of this kind (Cic., ad fam., X, 32, 2). Obviously human sacrifices were those «barbaric» rites that Caesar banned in 60-61 B. C. (Cic., pro Balbo, XIX, 43).

The preservation of former rites is also proved by the excavations of the Gades and Ebusus necropoleis. At Gades the upper layer of the former cemetery has yielded graves from the Republican times with traditional inhumation. Near Gades is disclosed a triple hypogeum chamber of the Phoenician type but of the Roman time. The Ebusitan necropolis Puig d'Es Molins was still used after the city's subjection to Rome. People are buried here in the old Phoenician Style, a bright illustration of which is a grave where the archaeologists have undug the remains of a skeleton (a fact indicative of inhumation) and traditional Phoenician vases made of ostrich egg-shells, glass balzamaría and Roman vessels of the «sigillata» type<sup>31</sup>.

Economically, life in Hispano-Phoenician towns did not change much either. The same branches of art and handicraft were plied. Artisans still made bronze jugs with a handle adorned with palmette at its juncture with the body, although the only specimen of them dating from after 200 B. C. Displays decline in this type of toreutics<sup>32</sup>. In Ebusitan graves of this period are found terra-cotta statuettes of the Carthaginian group<sup>33</sup>. Hispano-Phoenician craftsmen also manufactured common vessels, amphorae among them; these latter, although already of a new shape, betray their conspicuous origin from the pre-Roman types. Now they begin to be more elongated, their body tends to resemble a cone truncated on both sides; sometimes, undoubtedly under Roman influence, emerges the stem, and the neck with a large rim becomes more marked<sup>34</sup>. In the South of the Peninsula they produced the ancient «red slip» ceramics up to the 2nd and even 1st century B. C. Still held their own such branches of the local economy as fishing, ship-building and garum production.

The texts by Mela (III, 125) and Diodorus (V, 16) allow us to claim that in the Roman epoch the Ebusitans developed cattle-breeding, viticulture and olive-growing. The things were quite different at Gades. Strabo (III, 5, 4)

<sup>30</sup> J. M. Solá-Solé, «La inscripción púnica», *Hispania*, 10, «Sefarad», an. 21, 1961, pp. 251-256; A. García y Bellido, *Les religions...*, pp. 5, 14.

<sup>31</sup> A. García y Bellido, «Fenicios y Cartagineses en España», *Sefarad*, an. 2, 1942, pp. 282-283; idem, *Colonización púnica*, pp. 432, 436.

<sup>32</sup> Idem, «Algunas novedades sobre arqueología púnico-tartessia», *AEArq.*, v. 43, 1970, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, «Colonización púnica y griega», *AH*, t. I, Madrid, 1947, p. 152.

<sup>34</sup> F. Benoit, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule*, Aix-en-Provence, 1965, pp. 76-78, 83.

underlines the scarcity of the Gades territory in the 1st century B. C.; the Gaditans are said to have lived in a small island and to have possessed a small segment of the mainland; so many people could live in the city in this respect it was second only to Rome) only because a considerable number of them were at sea or lived in the capital. Strabo holds that the new town came into being solely thanks to the efforts of Balbus the Junior. Gaditan necropoleis of that period were situated next to the city walls on the island proper, which means that the city area was very insignificant indeed. Evidently after the Carthaginian conquest the Gaditans had been ousted from Mogador, their interests infringed upon by the conqueror, whereas the Romans at first did nothing of the kind. That is why seems logical to assume that Gades lost her all or a considerable part of her territory on the mainland during the Carthaginian conquest so that the city residents had no opportunity to develop agriculture or cattle-breeding for lack of land. As for farming in other Hispano-Phoenician towns we have at present no information whatever.

But of trade, seafaring and links with other peoples the evidence is ample and sound. The Gaditans, according to Strabo (III, 5, 3), equipped large seagoing ships, from Gades seafarers went on voyages round Gallia and along the Mauretanian coasts (Plin., n. h. II, 167-168). As far as the river Lix came the fishing boats of rather poor citizens, and a Gaditan boat was once drifted far down south and, after having sailed around Africa, she went shipwrecked already on the eastern coast of Africa (Strabo, II, 3, 4). Pliny (n. h. II, 169), quoting Caelius Antipater, the Roman annalist of the second century B. C., states that in the previous years voyages had been made from Spain to Ethiopia for the purpose of trade<sup>35</sup>. True, the information defies verification and even Strabo himself doubts it, but it apparently reflects the impressions of the distant sea expeditions undertaken by Gades' merchants.

The Gaditans resumed their trade contacts with Mogador broken up about 500 B. C. —Gaditan coins appeared on the island<sup>36</sup>. How important Gades was for the Africans is eloquently testified by the Maurusian king Iuba II who, as narrates Avienus (or. mar. 280-284), regarded the title of Gades' duumvir as his principal one. Obviously, it is the aspiration of Roman merchants to abolish or curb the Gaditan predominance in the trade with the Atlantic coast of Africa that prompted Scipio Aemilianus to arrange during Punic War III the sea expedition of Polybius (Plin., n. h. V, 9-10). If that was the Romans' target they failed, however, to achieve it<sup>37</sup>. Not without reason did Eudoxus make Gades the starting base of his planned voyage round Africa (Strabo, II, 3, 4). Some links with the opposite coast of the

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps it is West Ethiopia, i. e. the western shore of Africa: A. García y Bellido, *La España del siglo I de nuestra era*, Buenos Aires-México, 1947, p. 205, note 10.

<sup>36</sup> A. Jodin, *Les établissements du roi Juba II aux Iles Purpuraires (Mogador)*, Tanger, 1967, pp. 239-240.

<sup>37</sup> Ju. B. Tsirkin, «Polybius's voyage along the Atlantic coast of Africa», *VDI*, 1975, N 4, 1975, pp. 111-114 (in Russian).

Mediterranean were also maintained by Malaca which was then, according to Strabo (III, 4, 2), an African nomads' factory.

Tingitan coins found in the South of the Iberian Peninsula also bear witness to the contacts with the opposite continent. From Mauretania the Gaditans and Malacitans exported the produce of agriculture in exchange for objects of luxury, pottery and other similar commodities<sup>38</sup>.

To a lesser degree were the Hispano-Phoenicians, Gaditans in particular, connected with the Mediterranean. Polybius (XVI, 29, 12) reports that the Pillars of Hercules Strait was seldom navigated and by few people on account of disunity with peoples living on the fringe of Libya (i. e. Africa) and Europe and because of ignorance of the Exterior Sea. This report manifestly precedes his own voyage, i. e. Punic War III. Such state of affairs might have resulted from many years of the Strait blockade established by the Carthaginians in the early 5th century B. C. and its aftermath must have been still felt after the liquidation of the Carthage dominance. Naturally it does not follow that the navigation through the Strait completely ceased, cutting off Hispano-Phoenicians from the East Mediterranean. Certain links did survive with the Orient, with Cyprus in particular. Strabo (II, 3, 4) relates that in 114 or 113 B. C. Eudoxus of Cyzicus managed to learn from Alexandrian shipowners the origin of a ship he took interest in and the ship turned out to be Gaditan. So we see that Alexandrians were familiar with Gaditan boats.

Trade with Hellenistic Egypt is attested by a find in Southern Spain of a bronze crater produced perhaps in Alexandria during the last decades of the Roman Republic<sup>39</sup>. But evidently at that time it was Alexandrians who visited Gades rather than the other way round: Alexandria's shipowners were able to tell Eudoxus not only about big merchant ships from Gades but also about small fishing boats that could not possibly have reached the Egyptian capital. To all appearance the route from Alexandria to Gades was the one Eudoxus followed in his voyage to this city —by way of Dicaiarcheia (Puteoli) and Massilia further on along the seashore. And yet even at the beginning of the first century B. C. the route was not mastered well enough; as runs Strabo's story (III, 2, 5) of Posidonius' expedition, the philosopher's boat went astray and only three months later did he manage to reach Italy after having visited the Balearic Islands, Sardinia and even Africa on the way.

The establishment of the Romans in the Iberian Peninsula never interrupted the Hispano-Phoenician relations with Spain proper. Moreover, some evidence enables us to speak even of their consolidation.

At that time the Carthaginians were being forced out from South and partly South-East Spain, whereas Rome neither economically nor culturally had the authority and influence she came to enjoy in later years, as follows from the fact that shipwreck leavings of the third-first centuries B. C., found

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<sup>38</sup> M. Ponsich, *Recherches archéologiques à Tanger et sa région*, Paris, 1970, p. 222.

<sup>39</sup> J. M. Blázquez, «Estructura económica de la Bética al final de la República romana y a comienzos del Imperio», *Hispania*, v. 27, 1967, p. 34.

near the southern shores of Spain, yielded some fragments of West-Phoenician amphorae and almost none at all of Italic ones<sup>40</sup>. All this caused the influence of the Hispano-Phoenician cities to grow. Especially high was the authority of Gades which Strabo (III, 4, 9) calls, along side Corduba, the largest trading centre in South Spain. From here started many overland roads, as, for example, the one leading to Corduba, Obulco and further on to the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula.

There existed also a water-way from Gades to Turdetania along the Atlantic coast and up the Baetis river, via Hasta with which Gades was apparently closely linked (Strabo, II, 2, 2). Perhaps it was by way of Gades that got to Rome the amphora whose splinters were unearthed at Monte Testaccio<sup>41</sup>. Since during the Sertorian War Gades' domain was very slight on the mainland, we can presume that the food-stuffs sent then by the Gaditans to Rome (Cic., pro Balbo, XVII, 40) the city could have obtained from Turdetania or Mauretania.

A track through the mountain passes connected the Baetis valley with Malaca<sup>42</sup>. Economic ties of the Hispano-Phoenician cities with the aborigines are also testified by the discovery in Gaditan graves of some coins from Castulo and even Tarraco and later from Emerita as well<sup>43</sup>.

The Phoenicians actually lived in many Turdetanian towns, as Strabo (III, 2, 13) plainly reports the fact. The geographer uses the adverb «now» (*vōv*) and the verb in the Present Infinitive. What is not clear, however, is whether his statement describes his own time, viz. the rule of Augustus, or the time of his sources. Strabo's description of Spain contains the traces of them both, yet the latter seems more probable, for at the beginning of chapter II, book III (the source of the information under study) Strabo states that among other things, Gades was famous for the «foedus» with the Romans (III, 2, I). This note refers to the period prior to the time when Gades became a Roman municipium, which took place in the office of Caesar or his successor. Therefore it seems quite likely that the statement about the Phoenicians living in Turdetanian towns implies the 2nd-1st centuries B. C.

All this could not but influence the culture of the Turdetanians and their neighbours. In some South Spanish towns Phoenician influence was so great that the local coins of the 2nd-1st centuries B. C. were minted with Phoenician legends, as was the case with Ituci, Olons and Urso<sup>44</sup>. This impact was marked in the local art as well. At Tajo Montero near ancient Astapa are discovered interesting tombstones with typical Punic iconography—horses and palmtrees. The Latin inscriptions bespeak the Roman time of

<sup>40</sup> R. Pascual Guach, «Arqueología submarina en Andalucía», *Amourias*, tomos 33-34, 1971-1972, p. 334.

<sup>41</sup> J. de Gall, *Le Tibre*, Paris, 1953, p. 239.

<sup>42</sup> A. Schulten, «Malaca», *RE*, Hbd. 27, 1928, Sp. 824.

<sup>43</sup> Memorias de la Junta Superior de excavaciones y antigüedades, 1917, p. 7; 1918, pp. 8-9; 1923, pp. 6-7; 1926, p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> A. Vives, *op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 34-37; J. M. Solá-Solé, «Miscelánea púnico-hispana III», *Sefarad*, an. 25, 1965, pp. 33-48.

their appearance<sup>45</sup>. The same is proved by the find at Santiago de la Espada of a treasure —trove buried between 105 and 80 B. C. Among Iberian and Celtic jewellery undug there are golden earrings decorated above with an Iberian type figure and beneath with granules in which golden grains are clustered into different figures. The use of granules has an indisputable Phoenician prototype<sup>46</sup>. The earrings are unmistakably made by a Spanish goldsmith who was influenced by Phoenician artists.

Phoenician cults were also gaining currency among the Spaniards. Some of them had been adopted by the indigenous population previously, but now they seem to be more numerous and deeply rooted. Above all, it concerns the worship of Melqart-Hercules. Between 113 and 82 B. C. on the coins from Carteia, Asido, Lascuta, Baelo, Carissa, Carmo, Caletus and Detuma there appeared the profile of the Gaditan god<sup>47</sup>. At Baelo and Asido the people practised the cult of Ba' al-Hammon, as well. On the coins of these towns, as well as on those of Sexi and Ebusus, he was represented in the image of a bull and the sun-disc with sunrays. Perhaps, the same god is depicted on the stelae of Tajo Montero<sup>48</sup>.

In some regions of South Spain we come across typically Phoenician names: Bodo at Lascuta and Arjonilla, Hanno at Ceste, Imilce at Castulo<sup>49</sup>. Whether these people were Phoenician residents of Spanish towns or aborigines is not yet known.

When placed on a map, all the above-mentioned towns will make a considerably significant design. They all are situated in the Baetis valley and a narrow South peninsula between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean. This area was populated by the Turdetanians, descendants of the Tartessians and almost entirely coincides with the «domain of Argantonios' grandsons» (Sil. It., III, 391-405), viz. with the remains of Tartessus which survived up to 216 B. C. Besides, the southern triangle with Baelo, Asido, Lascuta and Ituci was inhabited by Libyphoenicians and it struck coins with Libyphoenician legends. The long-standing ties between the Phoenician world and Tartessus are very well known. The Roman conquest did not interrupt them in the least.

Phoenician influence is registered also in some other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, exactly in those which had been since the olden times connected with Tartessos and through it with the Phoenicians. Salacia on the Atlantic shore provides a good illustration. Once there had been a road between Tartessos and Salacia (Av. or. mar., 178-180); the excavations in the town

<sup>45</sup> A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 1949, p. 301, NN 304-305; J. J. Sayas Abendochea, «Religiones místicas», *HE*, t. II, v. 2, Madrid, 1982, p. 393.

<sup>46</sup> J. Cabré Agiló, «El tesoro de orfebrería de Santiago de la Espada (Jaén)», *AEArq.*, t. 16, 1943, p. 359; K. Raddat, *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin, 1969, S. 118-119.

<sup>47</sup> A. García y Bellido, *Hercules Gaditanus*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>48</sup> Idem, *Les religions...*, pp. 5, 147; J. M. Blázquez, *Religiones prerromanas*, Madrid, 1983, p. 198.

<sup>49</sup> J. M. Solá-Solé, «Ensayo de antroponomía fenopúnica de Hispania antigua», *RSO*, t. 42, 1967, pp. 307-308, 312-313.

necropolis have yielded ostrich egg-shells, an Egyptian scarab with the name of Psammetik I and Greek vases of the 4th century B. C.<sup>50</sup>. No wonder then that in the Roman epoch Phoenician influence is also considerable here. From 84 B. C. onwards on Salacian coins began to appear the image of Hercules after the Gades pattern, figures of dolphins and tunny the way they were struck at Gades and Sexi. And their legends also, apparently, were Phoenician, only in Augustus' time did they begin to be Latin<sup>51</sup>.

The traces of Phoenician impact are also found in the area between the rivers Anas and Tagus, which had been connected with Tartessos in the previous years. In the Roman time here was erected a stele with a Latin inscription and the image of a Phoenician goddess; in some places Phoenician names are recorded<sup>52</sup>. From here the Phoenicians must have come farther up the river Tagus, as the Phoenician name Ammonicus registered at Toletum aptly indicates<sup>53</sup>.

There was another zone of Phoenician influence in Spain, viz. South-East and East Spain, and especially Ilici which was well known as one of the most flourishing centres of Iberian culture. Punic influence in Ilicitan vessel painting is not at all impossible<sup>54</sup>.

The evidence of Punic commerce is convincing and beyond doubt. During the excavation at Alcuia are unearthed fragments of Punic amphorae with stamped or painted-in-red marks of the potters from the 2nd century B. C.<sup>55</sup>. An ivory comb is also found here<sup>56</sup>. Phoenician objects are uncovered in the necropolis at Cabecico del Tesoro<sup>57</sup> and in the acropolis at Baria<sup>58</sup>. In this region are registered Phoenician names Amonus and Iacun, the latter in an Iberian inscription at that<sup>59</sup>.

To the North of Ilici on the Eastern coast of the Peninsula and in the neighbouring coastal areas archaeologists have dug out objects of Phoenician export —golden things and glass vessel at Barchena, a small amphora at Castelo, a Punic stamp on an amphora handle at Ullastret; numerous

<sup>50</sup> J. de Serra Rafols, «Alcaser do Sal», *RL*, Bd. I, 1924, S. 96; J. M. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, Salamanca, 1975, pp. 196, 396.

<sup>51</sup> A. Vives, *op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 24-25; A. García y Bellido, *Hercules Gaditanus*, p. 135.

<sup>52</sup> J. Lafuente Vidal, «Influencia de los cultos religiosos cartagineses en los motivos artísticos de los iberos del sureste español», *APL*, t. I, v. 3, 1952, p. 165; J. M. Solá-Solé, *Ensayo...*, p. 309.

<sup>53</sup> J. M. Solá-Solé, *Ensayo...*, p. 309.

<sup>54</sup> J. Lafuente Vidal, *op. cit.*, p. 172; J. Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, pp. 789-792; S. Nordström, *La céramique peinte ibérique de la province d'Albacete*, II, Stockholm, 1973, pp. 171-219; J. M. Blázquez, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I Abt., Lief. 10, S. 811. It should be noted, however, that in F. Benoit's opinion the representation of a winged goddess on Ilicitan vases must be traced to Greco-Italic, not Phoenician influence (*Chevaux du Levant Ibérique*, *APL*, t. II, v. 4, 1953, p. 216). Yet the recent researches by S. Nordström of the pottery from South-Eastern Spain testify in favour of the Punic impact.

<sup>55</sup> J. M. Solá-Solé, «De epigrafía», *Sefarad*, an. 20, 1960, pp. 283-285; idem, «Miscelánea púnico-hispana III», *ibid.*, an. 25, 1965, pp. 31-33.

<sup>56</sup> A. Ramos Folqués, «El nivel ibero-púnico de la Alcuia de Elche», *Omaggio a Fernand Benoit*, t. II, Bordighera, 1972, p. 368.

<sup>57</sup> L. Pericot, *Historia de España*, t. I, Barcelona, 1958, pp. 227-228.

<sup>58</sup> J. M. Solá-Solé, *De epigrafía*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>59</sup> Idem, *Ensayo...*, pp. 310, 311-312.

Phoenician artifacts —beads, glass vases, amulets, amphorae, etc.— are excavated at Emporion<sup>60</sup>. The Gallian shores still yield Ebusitan amphorae<sup>61</sup>.

As for the Punic settlements proper in the South-East of the Iberian Peninsula, they do not appear worthy of consideration. Some of them disappeared altogether as, for example, Akra Leuke, whereas the others ceased to be Punic, as did Baria and New Carthage.

Considering the manifold aspects and manifestations of the Phoenician civilization in Roman Spain we must distinguish between two main zones —the South together with Salacia and the area between the rivers Anas and Tagus, on the one hand, and the South-East and the East of the country, on the other. In the former the Hispano-Phoenician towns wholly preserved their look and their economic, cultural and partly their political significance. In this zone are found coins with Phoenician legends, here the native inhabitants adopted Phoenician religious practices, especially the cult of Melqart-Hercules; in South Spain the Phoenicians lived peacefully side by side with the Turdetanians. In the second zone all the towns, with the exception of insular Ebusus, lose their Phoenician character. Phoenician influence on the native population is less pronounced here. It is traced in some names, in vase painting and pottery forms and shapes, chiefly owing to the influence of Ebusus. It is also possible that Tinnit was worshipped here. With a fair degree of certainty we can claim the continuation of the former economic ties and further commerce with Carthage and Ebusus. The South was connected with Gades, the South-East and the East —with Farica and Pityussa. Likewise different were the realms of economic influence of the Western Phoenicians; Carthage and Ebusus retained Eastern Spain and Southern Gallia; Gades and Malaca (and, perhaps, other Tyrian colonies as well) kept the territory of former Tartessus and the neighbouring regions; besides, they also maintained and promoted trade with North-Western Africa and its Atlantic coast.

Thus in the Phoenician towns of Spain which began to be «socii» of the Roman people the ancient Phoenician civilization continued its existence and even developed further. And yet, being part and parcel of the Roman power these cities could not help being affected by the Roman impact. The process of Romanization, i. e. the incorporation of separate areas and peoples into the whole —the Mediterranean power with Rome at its head— was undeniably going on in the Hispano-Phoenician towns as well. Fr. Engels' words about the levelling plane of Roman world power, about all national languages giving way to a corrupt Latin, about the dissolution of all distinctions of nationality and all peoples becoming Romans<sup>62</sup> may be in all

<sup>60</sup> F. Benoit, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule*, Aix-en-Provence, 1965, pp. 76-77; A. García y Bellido, *Fenicios y Carthaginenses...*, p. 290.

<sup>61</sup> F. Benoit, *Recherches...*, p. 83.

<sup>62</sup> Fr. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 144-145.

fairness applied to the Hispano-Phoenicians too. Notwithstanding their ancient civilization that on the Spanish soil alone had been developing for at the least a thousand years they, on becoming a constituent part of the Roman state, also gradually but surely turned Roman.

Let us study the Romanization of the Hispano-Phoenician towns in its various aspects —economic, political and cultural.

The Hispano-Phoenician towns, above all Gades, were first and foremost trading settlements, so that their economic Romanization, i. e. the integration of their economy into the economic system of the Roman Mediterranean, manifested itself first of all in the establishing of close ties between these cities and different parts of the Roman world. Some of these ties were the legacy of the previous years, for instance, were inherited the relations between Gades and South Spain, between Ebusus and the East-Spanish and South-Gallian coasts. When all these areas became an integral part of the Roman Republic, the links with them came to a certain extent to mean the dawn of their economic Romanization. These ties have already been the subject of our investigation. Let us now take their connection with other sections of the Roman state.

In the first half of the second century B. C. the Eastern, i. e. Mediterranean ties of Gades were rather weak and they did not grow any stronger at the turn of the century, but already the first century B. C. witnessed the decided turn for the better. Strabo expressly states (III, 5, 3) that the Gaditans had at their disposal a great many merchant ships to navigate both the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Turdetania's commerce with Italy is maritime and is conducted through the strait (Strabo, III, 2, 5). The largest merchant ships come to Ostia and Dikaiarchia from Turdetania (Strabo, III, 2, 6). Strabo's words, as well as what has been stated above on Gades' links with Turdetania, leave us in no doubt that Turdetanian commodities found their way to Rome to a considerable extent on Gaditan boats. We well know that Dikaiarchia was a stopping place (and for the Italics, probably, a starting point) for seafarers on the way to Gades. Pliny (n. h. XIX, I, 4) also makes a mention of the route between Ostia and Gades. In the city of Rome are revealed some remnants of Gaditan amphorae<sup>63</sup>. According to Cicero (pro Balbo, XVII, 40), from Gades to Rome came the provisions during the Sertorian War. On the other hand, Gaditan necropoleis have yielded fragments of Arretian ceramics and in Baetica Gades is second only to Hispalis by the number of the samples of Arretian pottery preserved —ten out of the sixty six<sup>64</sup>. All this testifies to the establishment of close ties between Gades and Italy.

<sup>63</sup> J. Le Gall, *Le Tibre*, Paris, 1953, p. 239, 243. On amphorae manufactured in the region of Gades see: C. Pemán, «Alfares y embarcaderos romanos en la provincia de Cádiz», *AEArq.*, v. 32, 1959, pp. 169-173.

<sup>64</sup> *Corpus vasorum Arretinorum*, NN 81, 177, 54; 181, 97; 464; 477; 1307e; 2061, 64; 2195; 2210e; 2426c. At least some of the Arretian vessels excavated in the Baetis valley could have come here via Gades.



Malaca also came into contact with Italy. For instance, we know that in Rome there was a corporation of Malacitan merchants whose quinquennialus was a certain P. Clodius Antenio (CIL, VI, 9677). Among the fragments from Monte Testaccio was discovered a piece of a Malacitan amphora (CIL, XV, 4203). Another splinter belongs to an amphora that once contained fish condiment produced in this town (CIL, XV, 4737). Since Malaca and Sexi were remarkable for their fish flavourings, garum in particular (Strabo, III, 4, 2), the «Hesperian pickle» that Martialis describes (XIII, 40) must have come in the main from these quarters.

The Gaditans supplied Rome and Italy with the produce of the surrounding areas, founding their economy considerably on intermediary trade. The fact that the Gaditan amphorae unearthed in Rome and Ostia (with the sole exception to be discussed later) contained olive oil chiefly produced in the Baetis valley, speaks volumes<sup>65</sup>.

The situation was quite the opposite at Malaca and Sexi. The tradesmen of these cities brought to Italy wares and goods produced by their own fellow-citizens such as, for example, garum. It can hardly be an accident that the head of the Malacitan merchants' corporation was a dealer in pickles (CIL, VI, 9677). From Baetica, perhaps from one of Hispano-Phoenician towns came to Pompei an amphora with garum, the so-called «Garum sociorum» (CIL, VI, 5659)<sup>66</sup>.

The Hispano-Phoenicians established connections with other regions of the Roman state as well, first of all, with Gallia. With the coast of this country Ebusitan merchants had traded from time immemorial and so did the Gaditans since the first century B. C. On the Gallian beaches and in the shipwreck debris of the neighbouring waters have been found amphorae made at Gades and Carteia. The golden age of the Gades-Gallia commerce falls on the middle of the first century B. C. —the middle of the first century A. D.<sup>67</sup>.

With the development of the navigation through the Pillars of Hercules Strait the Hispano-Phoenician relations with the Orient must have grown still much stronger. The discovery at Hasta of a glass scent bottle with the mark of a certain Annius of Sidon from the first century B. C. is a sufficient proof of the trade between Syria and Phoenicia and Spain<sup>68</sup>. Oriental traders not only brought their wares to Spain but also lived there. We know that at Malaca in the first century B. C. there existed a community of Syrians and, maybe, of Asiatics, i. e. the inhabitants of the Roman province of Asia<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> R. Thouvenot, *Essai sur la province Romaine de Bétique*, Paris, 1940, p. 232; M. H. Callender, *Roman amphorae*, London, 1965, pp. XXV, 48.

<sup>66</sup> R. Etienne, «A propos du "garum sociorum"», *Latomus*, t. XXIX, 1970, p. 301.

<sup>67</sup> F. Benoit, *Recherches...*, p. 83; A. Tchernia, «Recherches archéologiques soes-marins», *Gallia*, t. 27, 1969, pp. 483-485.

<sup>68</sup> M. Esteve Guerrero, «Marco de fabricante de vidrios y otros hallazgos inéditos de Asta Regia», *AEArq.*, t. 34, 1961, p. 207.

<sup>69</sup> A. Schulten, «Malaca», *RE*, Hbd. 47, Sp. 824.

Thus we can clearly see that the Hispano-Phoenician towns establishing or broadening their links with Italy and Rome and other regions of the state become thereby involved in the economic system of the Roman state. They dealt with different parts of this power both in the capacity of middlemen and actually selling the products of their crafts, fishing and processing of fish. Numerous reports of Spanish garum date exactly from this period —the first century B. C. and the first century A. D.<sup>70</sup> It is by no means an accidental coincidence. Although garum had been produced already prior to this time (it was described by Greek authors as early as the first-fourth centuries B. C.) the incorporation into all-Roman economic system provided the Hispano-Phoenicians with new enormous markets, Rome among them, thus stimulating the further development of this branch of industry.

Rome's influence begins to be felt in Hispano-Phoenician crafts. Under Roman influence some amphorae of Gades and Ebusus acquire a noticeably conspicuous stem and a wide rim. The excavations in the Gades necropolis of the Roman time have yielded a burial inventory of the Roman type<sup>71</sup>, which is a sound proof of the Hispano-Phoenician cities' economic Romanization.

Economic Romanization went side by side with political Romanization. Eventually all Hispano-Phoenician towns obtained the Roman or Latin citizenship by becoming «municipia». Gades was the first to get this status; it was also the first non-Italic town to turn «municipium».

Some residents of Gades managed to secure the Roman citizenship before the others, as did, for example, the uncle and nephew Balbi. Cicero in his oration in defence of Balbus the Elder (XVIII, 50-51) relates of his two compatriots who became Roman citizens. In one of the Gades inscriptions (CIL, II, 1867) we read of the Pompeii whose ancestor must have become a citizen during the Sertorian War of shortly after it. Such cases were no exceptions in the Romans' practice.

What is basically and radically new about it is that now the Roman citizenship was granted to all residents of the city of Gades, in other words the city was honoured with the status of a «municipium».

Livy (per. CX) and Dio Cassius (XLI, 24, I) ascribe the deed to Caesar. In the letter of Asinius Pollio written in June 43 B. C. are mentioned Gaditan equestrians, the office of «quattuorvir» and two-day-long «comitia» (Cic. ad fam., X, 32, 2); it follows then that Gades' political structure was already modelled after the Roman original. On the other hand, Pliny (n. h. IV, 119) calls this municipium «Augustana Urbs Iulia Gaditana» whereas the inscription of the second century A. D. (CIL, II, 1313) cites its official name «Municipium Augustum Gaditanum».

Gades' coins of the time of Augustus bear the image of Agrippa with the legend «municipii parens» and the date of his third consulship<sup>72</sup>. The

<sup>70</sup> R. Etienne, *A propos...*, p. 300.

<sup>71</sup> A. Garcia y Bellido, *Fenicios y Cartagineses...*, p. 282.

<sup>72</sup> A. M. de Guadán, «Gades como heredera de Tartessos», *AEArq.*, t. 34, 1961, pp. 80, 83.

disparities in the city's names have brought about the disparities in the scholastic views<sup>73</sup>.

Considering the antique texts it must be noted that the corresponding book of Livy's work has not come down to us and the brief passage in its periocha gives us no opportunity to specify the nature of the citizenship. Dio Cassius is not so reticent; he uses the word *πολιτεία* which, according to H. Galsterer, the writer always resorts to in order to designate Roman, but not Latin citizenship<sup>74</sup>. The text by Dio Cassius contains a very significant detail—Caesar's deed was later (*ὑστερον*) confirmed by the Roman people.

As for Caesar's own book he fails to report the corresponding law though he carefully enumerates all the acts and laws he passed on his return from Spain (Caes. bel. civ., III, I). At the same time while describing the provincial assembly at Corduba (II, 21) he states that there were Roman citizens, Spaniards and Gaditans, so that it is possible to infer that at that time Gades was still a «*civitas foederata*» and the Gaditans differed legally from both—the Roman citizens and the provincials.

We seem to be able to advance a hypothesis for the settlement of the contradictions in the texts and the inscriptions.

Caesar might have issued the edict granting the Gaditans the Roman citizenship during his stay at Gades after Varro's capitulation in the year 49 B. C. (but after the assembly at Corduba) when he performed some other acts as well—he gave back to the Herakleion the money once usurped by Varro and appointed Qu. Cassius governor of the province (Caes. bel. civ., II, 21). But back in the capital he refused to have the law ratified by the «*comitia*» and that is why he makes no mention of it in his book. When in Spain, Caesar regarded Gades as a bulwark and stronghold against the Pompeians whereas at Rome under the circumstances of 49 B. C. with Pompey and his troops in the Balcan Peninsula and the Pompeians in control of Africa, he preferred to keep out of the harm's way and not to worsen his relations with

<sup>73</sup> Some historians are of the opinion that it was Caesar who granted the Gaditans the Roman citizenship while Augustus augmented the privileges and favours by adding the honorary cognomen (E. Hübner, CIL, II, Supplementum, p. 873; P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, Oxford, 1971, p. 602). A similar view was expressed by F. Vittinghoff (*Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Wiesbaden, 1952, S. 75). Other authors believe that as far back as 49 B. C. Gades became a municipium but they never mention the founder of the principate (S. L. Utchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 220; G. H. Stevenson, *The imperial administration*, CAH, t. X, 1934, p. 206; R. Thouvenot, *op. cit.*, p. 142; J. M. Blázquez, «Estado de romanización de Hispania bajo César y Augusto», *Emerita*, t. 30, 1962, p. 74). Finally, there is an opinion that under Caesar the city received the status of a Latin colony and only under Augustus did Gades become a Roman municipium (M. Henderson, «Julius Caesar and Roman Law in Spain», *VDI*, 1946, N 3, p. 66 (in Russian)).

<sup>74</sup> H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, S. 18, Bem. 14. Contrary to M. Henderson's view, Pliny calling Gades «*urbis*» but not «*municipium*» can hardly be considered a tenable argument in support of the city's Latin and not Roman status. As is known, Italica was a municipium from the time of Caesar and Augustus onwards, but in the inscriptions of the first century A. D. (CIL, II, 231) it is called «*Urbs Italica*» (A. García y Bellido, «La Italica de Hadriano», *Les empereurs Romains d'Espagne*, Paris, 1965, p. 8). «*Urbes*» were called also Salacia and Tarraco from which, however, we must not conclude that theirs was an imperfect citizenship (F. Vittinghoff, *op. cit.*, S. 76).

the Roman plebs. It is common knowledge how susceptible the plebs proved to be to the problem of citizenship.

As for the legalization of the Gaditans' Roman citizenship, it must have happened already under Augustus and the immediate initiator of it was, in all probability, Agrippa who thereby deserved the title «the father of the municipium» —«*parens municipii*»<sup>75</sup>.

We can date the event from the year 27 B. C., i. e. the year of Agrippa's third consulship, as is stated on the Gaditan coins. The date seems quite plausible because that very year the office of a princeps took shape and Augustus and Agrippa were compelled to attend to the Spanish affairs on account of the warfare raging in the north of the Iberian Peninsula.

But immediately on receiving the citizenship without waiting for the ratification of Caesar's *beneficium* by the Senate and the people the Gaditans adopted the Roman standards of administration. These alterations were accompanied by some disturbances resulting in the expulsion of some citizens who were welcomed back in the year 47 B. C. by Balbus the Junior (Cic. *ad fam.*, X, 32). Perhaps, in order to placate and soothe the conservative-minded residents Balbus performed the ancient rite of human sacrifice and ordered to burn a Pompeian soldier Fadius and to win the sympathies of the champions of the new order he sponsored luxurious games (Cic. *ad fam.*, X, 32, 2-31). When the status was taking its final form, though, the city's supreme magistrature might have been transformed from *quattuorviratus* into *duumviratus*<sup>76</sup>.

Summing up, as far back as 49-27 B. C. Gades turns a Roman municipium and thereby the city's residents become Roman citizens. The former Phoenician law gives way to the law of Rome.

There is insufficient evidence on the other Hispano-Phoenician settlements becoming Roman towns. Pliny (n. h. III, 8; 76) calls Malaca and Ebusus «*civitates foederatae*». Sexi is called (n. h. III, 8) by its full official name «*Sexi Firmum Julium*» which enable us to suppose that this town was a Roman municipium already at the outset of the 1st century A. D. A change in the town's status may have brought about a change in the Sexitan coinage system which now becomes Roman<sup>77</sup>. The date of the town's transformation is not yet known. The attribute «*Iulium*» makes it possible to ascribe the act to Caesar, the cognomen «*firmum*» may be reminiscent of the Sexitans keeping loyalty to Caesar during the wars against the Pompeians<sup>78</sup>. But since Caesar thought it not reasonable to legalize the new status of Gades who played first fiddle in South Spain it looks improbable that Sexi, incomparably

<sup>75</sup> Some scholars maintain that the word «*parens*» is used only to intensify the meaning of «*patronus*» and therefore they see no relation between Agrippa and Gades turning municipium (H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, S. 18; F. Vittinghoff, *op. cit.*, S. 75, Bem. 6).

<sup>76</sup> Comp. A. Degrassi, «*Quattuorviri in colonie romane e in municipi retti da duoviri*», *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. VIII, v. II, 1950, pp. 331-332.

<sup>77</sup> A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispánica*, t. III, pp. 19-20.

<sup>78</sup> E. Hübner, «*Sexi*», *RE*, Hbd. 4A, 1923, Sp. 2028; H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

less significant twon, could have become a Roman municipium under Caesar. Of course we cannot exclude a possibility that it was from Antony who acted on behalf of the late dictator that Sexi might have received its new position. An analogy can be drawn from the history of Urso that acquired the position of a Roman colony by Caesar's order and by Antony's law (CIL II, 1045, 104) and was designated by this law «Colonia Genetiva Iulia Ursonensis». However, the law could have been passed by Octavianus too.

Of other Hispano-Phoenician towns Malaca and Ebusus remained «socii» the longest. Extensive fragments of the Malaca municipal law (CIL, II, 1046b) have come down to us, from which we learn the town's official designation. «Municipium Flavium Malacitanum». Ebusus is also called «Municipium Flavium» (CIL, II, 3663). It all shows that Malaca and Ebusus became Roman or Latin civil communities under Vespasian. Their reception of a municipal status must have taken place at the time when this emperor conferred Latin rights on all Spaniards who had previously had no Roman or Latin citizenship (Plin. n. h., III, 30).

The most vague and moot is the case of Abdera. Pliny does not say anything about its legal position. The Abderitan coins that we know of, with both Phoenician and Latin legends belong already to the time of Augustus and Tiberius. They are struck according to the Roman pattern<sup>79</sup>. It follows then that if Abdera had once been «an allied town», at the time of Augustus and Tiberius it enjoyed a new status which we know nothing about. But in any case after Vespasian's reign Abdera is a «municipium».

Summing up, at the close of the Republic and during the first century of the Empire the Hispano-Phoenician towns one after another drop their Phoenician law and change into Roman (or Latin) «municipia», thus becoming not only economically but now also politically an integral component of the single Roman state.

The cultural life of the Hispano-Phoenician towns also underwent important changes. The process of cultural Romanization is amply illustrated by the Gades necropolis of the Roman time. Its tombs bear witness to the preservation of inhumation well after the year 206 B. C. But from the 2nd century B. C. onwards cremation began to spread and gradually gained ground. Ashes are gathered in urns and accompanied by a traditional inventory of the Roman interments of that period: clay and glass balzamaría, lamps of the Roman type, terra-cotta figurines. The burials of both the types (inhumation and incineration) are to be met with in one and the same stratum, often side by side with each other but the number of tombs with inhumation decreases and eventually at the end of the Republic it disappears altogether. This funeral ritual new among the Gaditans, is not conditioned by any changes in the ethnic composition of the city's population. The proof of incontestable validity is provided by the discovery in one of the burial urns of a gold ring of Phoenician make with the Phoenician inscription where

<sup>79</sup> A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispánica*, t. III, pp. 19-20.

Milkstart and his servants are mentioned<sup>80</sup>. Obviously the urn contained the ashes of one of the deity's priests who was doubtless a representative of Gades' elite.

On the other hand, graves with the traditional funeral ritual (contrary to the pre-Roman period) are but shallow holes where corpses are laid with almost no inventory at all, apart from clay balzamaría. These tombs are poorer than the contemporaneous ones with cremation so that the impression is that in them are buried poor people, freedmen and even slaves<sup>81</sup>. Doesn't it follow then that the lower strata of Gades' population remained more loyal to the old customs and rites? Even starting to perform cremation they may still have retained some of their ancient mortuary rites too. Such are the three graves with incineration yielding a very sparse inventory (one grave had no inventory whatever) of the Punic type but containing the ashes put either into an amphora or an urn of the Carthaginian shape<sup>82</sup>.

Romanization affected the sphere of cults too. Although at the Gades Herakleion the cult had always been performed on the Phoenician model even in this temple some innovations made themselves apparent as well. The outside of the sanctuary was altered to resemble a Hellenistic-Roman edifice. Evidently prior to Nero's time there emerges a stone altar with the scenes of Hercules' labours, during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian — a statue of the deity. Many gods whom the Phoenicians and their Spanish neighbours adored and worshipped assume now the Roman aspect. For instance, the Malacitans represent on the coins their ancient Husor in the aspect of Volcano, as Minerva is depicted Astarte on the coins of Sexi and Gades at the close of the Republic and in the time of Augustus<sup>83</sup>. Noteworthy are Phoenician legends on these coins. As we see, while preserving the mother-tongue the Spanish Phoenicians pictured their gods already in the Roman appearance. The very names of the gods become Roman. The Gaditan inscriptions in Latin no longer deal with Astarte but only with Venus<sup>84</sup>. Numerous Spanish inscriptions mention Hercules but not Melqart. Having become the Roman Hercules (although keeping his former nature) the Gades deity acquires in a number of cases Latin epithets, including the name of Augustus<sup>85</sup>. In the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the South and South-East, is gaining popularity the cult of the Heavenly Goddess — Dea Caelestis who was the Roman form of the old Punic Tinnit. However, although the descent of Dea Caelestis from Tinnit is an indisputable fact there are no Phoenician features left in her cult, she is wholly and entirely included into the Roman pantheon<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> A. Fernández de Avilez, «Anillo púnico con escarabeo procedente de Cádiz», *AEArq.*, t. XXVIII, 1955, pp. 274-279; J. M. Solá-Solé, *Miscelánea púnico-hispana*, IV, pp. 24-25, note 48.

<sup>81</sup> *Memorias de la Junta Superior...*, 1917, 1918, and other years; A. García y Bellido, *Fenicios y Cartagineses...*, pp. 281-282.

<sup>82</sup> *Memorias de la Junta Superior...*, 1925, p. 7.

<sup>83</sup> A. García y Bellido, *Les religions...*, pp. 10, 13.

<sup>84</sup> J. Jiménez Cisneros, *op. cit.*, NN 30, 34, y pp. 133-134.

<sup>85</sup> A. García y Bellido, *Hercules Gaditanus*, pp. 133-134.

<sup>86</sup> Idem, *Les religions...*, p. 8. 140-147.

As is testified by the coins' legends, the Phoenician language was long preserved in the Hispano-Phoenician towns. On the coins of Gades, Malaca and Ebusus inscriptions are made in Phoenician up to the cessation of the local coinage<sup>87</sup>. Some Spanish towns' names are also written in Phoenician, but the Latin language begins to be widespread too. Non-Phoenician Spanish towns were the first to abandon Phoenician legends —the impress of the victorious Latin culture proved to be stronger and by far more profound than the ties of old. Latin inscriptions find their way to the money of Abdera, Sexi and Ebusus as well<sup>88</sup>. At Gades the Latin language was used in the inscriptions on the memorial medals minted between the years 8 B. C. and 4 A. D. Of course, medals are not money in the proper sense of the word but still they suggest the Gaditans' acquaintance with the Latin language and its alphabet<sup>89</sup>. We can hold it beyond dispute that Balbus, the friend of Caesar and Pompey and Cicero, had a good command of this language. Undoubtedly Latin was spoken by a nameless Gaditan who was accusing Balbus in the Roman court of law. The spread of Latin at Gades is convincingly demonstrated by the archaeological material disclosed on the site of the city necropolis. The tombs where the interment is conducted according to the Roman ceremony pattern, often have Latin epitaphs. For example near one of such graves there was found a marble tombstone with an inscription mentioning Marcia Banndi, the daughter of Lucius<sup>90</sup>. A similar name —Bannon— is to be found in Africa and considered to be Semitic; the Hebrews had also similar names<sup>91</sup>. Consequently, we can safely surmise that here is the tomb of a Gaditan woman, already of a Roman citizen (the names «Lucius» and «Marcius» prompt this supposition). In the second half of the first century A. D. the Gaditans assimilated the Latin language so thoroughly and successfully that they were able to give Rome a poet of their own, Cannius Rufus, and the agriculturist Columella<sup>92</sup> who composed his works in Latin. Greek was also spoken at Gades (and, apparently, in other Hispano-Phoenician towns as well). Strabo (III, 4, 3) writes about a certain Asclepiades of Myrleia who taught grammar (as would be expected, Greek grammar) in Turdetania. It is not at all unlikely that he could have extended his educational activities to the Phoenician towns of South Spain too. The spread of the Greek language in these regions is attested by the Gaditan inscriptions (CIL, II, 1738) in which a mention is made of the «Greek» Orator Tivilus. Obviously in Greek wrote Balbus the Junior his «Interpretations», for Macrobius (Saturn., III, 6, 16) renders the title of this work in Greek —Ἐξηγητικά. To all appearance Greek was the language used by the Gaditan philosopherneo-Pythagorean Moderatus in his writings<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispánica*, t. III, pp. 9, 32; t. IV, pp. 13-14.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, t. III, pp. 24-25, 34-37; t. IV, pp. 12-14.

<sup>89</sup> A. M. de Guadan, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-89.

<sup>90</sup> *Memorias de la Junta Superior...*, 1920, pp. 4-5.

<sup>91</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, t. II, f. VIII, 1926, v. Banno, Banne.

<sup>92</sup> M. E. Sergeyenko, *The Learned Agriculturists of Ancient Italy*, L., 1970, p. 14 (in Russian).

<sup>93</sup> All the extant citations from Moderatus' work are in the Greek language. True, perhaps, it

Besides, the Hispano-Phoenician towns began to assimilate other aspects of the Roman way of life. A gladiator is reported at Gades (CIL, II, 1739). In the vicinity of this city the sea has yielded marble and bronze (one inlaid with silver) statues of the Roman type. Near the city has been found a marble portrait from the first century A. D., probably of L. Cornelius Pusio. As is known, an amphitheatre existed at Malaca<sup>94</sup>.

Thus as we see Romanized are becoming both the morals and manners of the residents and the appearance of the Hispano-Phoenician towns.

The incorporation of Hispano-Phoenician townships into the multinational Roman state brought forth an influx of many people there.

All these towns, and especially Gades, were wealthy settlements: according to Strabo (III, 5, 3) in Augustus' time Gades had 500 equestrians. It stands to reason that these cities attracted and drew various ethnics. In the Gades inscriptions, true, already of the Emperor's time, we come across the names of M. Reburrius Philippus (CIL, II, 1755) whose birthplace or that of his ancestor must be looked for on the opposite shore of the strait. The inscription of the second century A. D. gives the name of M. Antonius Syriacus (CIL, II, 1313). Since he belongs to the tribe of Galeria his ancestors must have come to Gades in the first century B. C. at the latest, in order to be able to receive together with other Gaditans the Roman citizenship from Caesar<sup>95</sup>. What role they played in the city under Caesar is not known but their descendant already held the post of «duumvir».

Greek names are not infrequent at Gades. Greeks and people from the Hellenistic Orient were here marmorarii, as P. Rutilius Syntrophus (CIL, II, 1724), medics as Albanus Artemidorus (CIL, II, 1737), orators or teachers of oratory, as Troilus (CIL, II, 1738). Many slaves and freedmen bore Greek names. But it is difficult to tell Greek names proper from fashionable slave nicknames after the Greek pattern such as, for example, Hedone (CIL, II, 1834) or Diadumenus (CIL, II, 1837). The fact that Greeks began to move to Gades during the Republic is sufficiently corroborated by the discovery in the cemetery of that epoch of a Greek inscription with the name «Iulia Mirina»<sup>96</sup>.

The inscription of Syrian and Asiatic tradesmen already mentioned previously bears witness to the representatives of the Hellenistic Orient living at Malaca.

The excavations of the Gaditan graves of the Republican period have produced the epitaphs of some representatives of the Valerii and the Licinii<sup>97</sup>. The appearance of these tombs precedes the conversion of Gades into a municipium. Therefore it does not seem improbable that these people are not

is because he was quoted by the Greek philosophers —Porphyry (vit. Pyth., 48-50) and Stobaios (I, 864).

<sup>94</sup> R. Thouvenot, *op. cit.*, p. 442, 601-602.

<sup>95</sup> By reckoning the Spaniards among the tribe of Galeria Caesar and Augustus made them Roman citizens: M. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 63, 65 and n. 8.

<sup>96</sup> *Memorias de la Junta superior...*, 1918, p. 5.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928, pp. 7-8.



Gaditans but Romans who had settled down at Gades. However their Roman names are too suspiciously Roman. Evidently they are but Romanized provincials with a citizenship<sup>98</sup> granted.

These are but a few instances, known to us, of the life in these cities, and first of all at Gades, of the immigrants from other parts of the Roman state. This important trade centre allured merchants and fortune-seekers from all sections of the Roman world<sup>99</sup>. Such mixed ethnic composition of the residents contributed greatly to a speedy disappearance of local traditions and wide spread of the state Roman culture.

The very city's territory expands and grows. At the beginning of the first century B. C. Gades was a small town and occupied but a patch on the mainland. When the city became a Roman municipium Balbus the Junior built for his fellow-citizens a new town on the mainland where in all probability the port was transferred since it is the new town that Strabo (III, 5, 3) calls a seaport town (*ἐπιναεῖον*). The double city, as reports the geographer (*ibid.*), was called Didyma, the twin city. But this Greek name was obviously unofficial and never became established as it is mentioned neither in inscriptions nor in other authors' writings.

The new town was in all likelihood the «Portus Gaditanus» mentioned by Mela (III, 4) and meant by the cognomen of a Gaditan Portensis<sup>100</sup>. Possibly it is in Balbus the Junior's time that Gades' mainland area spread beyond the borders of Didyma. The authority of the insular city over some part of the continent is evidenced by the base of the Commodus statue erected by the Gades community and found at modern Chiclana about 10 kilometers from modern Cadix<sup>101</sup>.

Not without reason does the earliest information on Gades' agriculture refer to the first century A. D. Columella (XI, 31) reports the cultivation of lettuce on Gaditan soil and considers his uncle, indisputably a Gaditan (he himself comes from this town) the most learned agriculturist of Baetica (V, 5), the uncle toiling in the vineyards. At Rome there is found an amphora (and this is the sole exception we have made previously when dealing with Gaditan amphorae) which contained most likely Gaditan wine of the year 37 A. D.'s harvest<sup>102</sup>.

Thus we see that the Hispano-Phoenician towns are rapidly and surely losing their former aspect. We can deduce the following scheme of their Romanization. Upon the subordination of South and South-East Spain to the Romans the Carthaginians deserted some of their colonies, and New Carthage, the then bulwark of Rome's power in Spain, within a short span of time shed her Phoenician character. But at Ebusus and in other Tyrian

<sup>98</sup> Comp., R. Syme, *Tacitus*, t. I, Oxford, 1958, p. 247, n. 17.

<sup>99</sup> A. García y Bellido, «El elemento forastero en Hispania romana», *Boletín de Real Academia de Historia*, t. CXLIV, cuad. II, 1959, pp. 135-136.

<sup>100</sup> J. Jiménez Cisneros, *op. cit.*, N 17.

<sup>101</sup> E. Hübner, *Gades*, Sp. 461.

<sup>102</sup> H. Dressel, *CIL*, XV, p. 663.

colonies the state of affairs was the very opposite. Here at first the former civilization still held its own. Politically and socially these towns became «socii» not included into the provinces (only the status of Abdera remains ambiguous). During the last two centuries of the Republic and the first century of the Empire, however, they are drawn and get involved into the economic system of the Roman power, their political connections grew consolidated, Roman manners and customs win wide popularity among their residents, the former cults adopt the Roman shape, their inhabitants begin to speak Latin, the very ethnic structure of the population changes and the towns acquire a common Roman provincial look. The time of Caesar and Augustus, the period of transition from the Republic to the Empire was the crucial point in the history of the Spanish Phoenicians. By that time their economy is already integrated into the state economic system, their ancient burial rites disappear and new Roman and Greek elements become discernible in their population. At the same time Gades, and a bit later, Sexi become «municipia». A century later comes the turn of Malaca and Ebusus to receive this status too.

It goes without saying that the vestiges of the ancient civilization could not possibly have vanished immediately after the events described. As we know, up to the very close of antiquity the service at the Gaditan Herakleion was conducted in the Oriental way. We can hardly say at present how long the Phoenician language survived in Spain. The cessation of the local coinage under Caligula<sup>103</sup> saw it still alive even in such commercial and somewhat cosmopolitan a town as Gades, to say nothing of a more secluded Malaca. But exactly how long after this the Spanish Phoenicians speak the language of their fathers is impossible to say. Scarcely for long, so that the Gaditan Columella when speaking of his ancestors meant not the Phoenicians, but Romans.

The Hispano-Phoenician civilization at large comes to its close having been absorbed and assimilated by the Roman one. Correspondingly ceases its influence on the neighbouring peoples of Spain who gradually grow Romanized as well as the Phoenicians themselves and eventually they all turn into Romans.

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<sup>103</sup> J.-B. Giard, «Pouvoir central et libertés locales», *Revue numismatique*, 6e série, t. XI, 1970, p. 42.