

The veterans and the romanization of Spain

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SUMMARY.—The historians of today tend to overestimate the role the veterans played in the Romanization of Spain. Perhaps, only the period from 45 B.C. to 13 B.C. saw a considerable influx of veterans to Spain. At other times there were not so many veterans and, what is more, they primarily settled down in the already deeply Romanized zone. They increased the Roman element in the province but not play a decisive role in its formation or operation. They did not belong, as a rule, to the urban elite either.

In historical science there is a widespread belief that the army and its veterans who settled down on the Iberian Peninsula played the most significant, if not decisive role in the Romanization of Spain¹. Thus, according to P. A. Brunt who maintained that the majority of the immigrants came from the Italics, not the Romans proper, those Italics were primarily, even, perhaps, exclusively, former soldiers who in the course of many years of their service in the army got well accustomed to life in the province². A. Balil, P. Bosch Gimpera, and E. M. Staerman hold that the main agents of the Romanization were the Spaniards who were included into the Roman army and who returned to the home country³. This opinion was countered by G. Alföldy and J. M. Roldán Hervás. The latter devoted a special comprehensive study to the Roman army in Spain (and to the Spaniards serving in the Roman army outside the Iberian Peninsula)⁴. In his later work, however, J. M. Roldán Hervás has succumbed to the conventional viewpoint and stressed the great contribution of the army and the veterans to the process of Romanization⁵. But is it really so? Does this opinion hold water?

(*)Translated from the Russian by L. Chistonogova

1. I.E.g., Blázquez, J. M. *Causas de la romanización de Hispania*. «Hispania», T. 24, 1964, p. 23; Le Roux P. *Provincialisation et recrutement militaire dans le N. O. hispanique*. - «Gerion», T. 3, 1985, p. 299.

2. Brunt, P. A. *Italian Manpower 225 B. C. A. D.* 14. Oxford, 1971, p. 217-219.

3. Balil A. *Un factor difusor de la romanización: las tropas hispánicas al servicio de Roma*. «Emérita». T. 24, 1956, p. 108-134; Bosch Gimpera, P. *Les soldats ibériques, agents d'hellenisation et de romanisation*. Mélanges offerts à Jérôme Carcopino. P., 1966, p. 141-148; Staerman E.M. *The moral and religion at oppressed classes M.*, 1961, p. 235-236 (in Russian).

4. Roldán Hervás J. M. *Hispania y el ejército romano*. Salamanca, 1974, p. 258-262; Alföldy G. *Hispanien und römische Heer*. «Gerion». T. 3, 1985, S. 402-403.

5. Roldán Hervás, J. M. *La organización militar*. HE, T. II, 2, p. 40-114.

The first Roman settlement in Spain was undoubtedly a military one. This is the town of Italica founded in 206 B. C. by Scipio for his mutilated soldiers after the battle of Ilipa (App. Hisp. 38). As A. García y Bellido points out, the town grew to be a permanent hospital and at the same time a Roman outpost in the South of the Peninsula⁶. For years, it had no status of Roman or Latin town, being, evidently, a vicus, though there is no direct knowledge of it. As is known, the first Latin colony in Spain was Carteia founded for the Roman soldiers' children by Spain mothers (Liv. XLIII, 3, 1-3), but it cannot be, of course, regarded as a military colony.

Corduba was the first colony in the Baetis valley, deduced by M. Claudius Marcellus (Strabo III, 2, 1), as long ago as 152 or even 169 B. C.⁷ But we have no reference whatever to the veterans settling there. In this account of the foundation of the colony Strabo emphasizes that the original residents of the colony were «the elect» of the Romans and aborigines, so that the Roman presence in Corduba is to be taken for granted.

It seems quite probable though, that both Poseidonios, Strabo's most likely source, and Strabo himself (and the Spaniards too, for that matter) miscalled the Italics Romans, because there in the provinces they were never too careful to tell the ones from the others. The dual character of Corduba was for some time patently feeling the existence of two vici in the town —the vicus of the Spaniards and that of the foreigners⁸. But could the Romans of Corduba have been called foreigners? It is an established and generally accepted historical fact, that the Spanish vicus was the district of the aborigines. If Corduba had been populated by genuine Roman citizenship, and veterans at that, they would hardly have been called foreigners there. It looks more likely that those were after all not Romans, least of all veterans, but the Italics. Having come to live in a foreign country they must have felt out of their natural element, they were aliens and the local residents considered them as such. Therefore we must admit that the veterans were hardly residents of this vicus forensis.

The veterans are known to have lived in Valentia. Here they are always considered as one of the two elements in the town's citizenship —*veterani et veteres* (CIL II, 374I, 3733, 3736). One inscription mentions a «*uterque ordo Valentinarum*» (CIL II, 3745). It follows then that the veterans come to settle in Valentia some time after the original inhabitants who must be the Lusitanians whom D. Iunius Brutus located on the Mediterranean coast in the year 138 B. C. (Liv. per. 55). Perhaps at a certain period prior to 60 B. C. some people from Italy came to live in the town and later they began to be called *veteres* whereas the veterans did not find their way to

6. García y Bellido, A. *La Itálica de Adriano. Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, P., 1965, p. 7-8.

7. Galsterer H. *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*. B., 1971, S. 9; Knapp R. C. *Román Córdoba*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-L., 1983, p. 9-10.

8. Knapp, R. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 13-14.

this town until the second century or even the beginning of the third century A. D. Anyway, there seems no reason to think that the veterans established them selves in Valentia in the Republican time⁹.

Without providing any other data on the Romano-Italian colonization of Spain, we must definitely state that there is virtually no indubitable evidence for the military colonization on the Iberian Peninsula prior to Caesar's epoch except the above-mentioned foundation of Italica as a veterans' infirmary.

Let us approach the problem at issue from a different angle. There was no necessity to evict the Romans from Italy —either soldiers or peasants—practically until the Gracchs. Listing the colonies founded by the Romans, Velleus Paterculus enumerates only the ones deduced to the different countries of Italy plus Narbo in Galia (I, 14-15). As we know, Caius Gracchus failed in his attempt to found a colony on the site of devastated Carthage whereas the popularity of his opponent Livius was largely based on his alternative suggestion to deduce colonies to Italy. It was not until the reforms of Marius that the problem of settling the veterans first arose. Noteworthy is the telling utterance of Appianus (*bel. civ. II*, 120) that in antiquity the soldiers were allowed one by one to go back to their homelands when their service in the army was over and it was some time later that they began to be deduced in the mass to colonies and provided with somebody else's land and houses. Spanish territories were always excluded from the various agrarian laws and bills concerning the distribution of land among the veterans¹⁰. For example, the veterans of Marius received their plots of land in Africa in accordance with the first law of Saturninus (*De vir. ill.* 73,1); according to the second law —in Sicily, in Achaia, in Macedonia (*ibid.*, 73,5) and in Gallia (*App. bel. civ. I*, 29). Sulla is known to have bestowed lands on his veterans directly in Italy (*App. bel. civ. I*, 96) and to have deduced a single colony to Corsica (*Plin. n. h. III*, 80).

Ample evidence may be derived from the bill of Servilius Rullus which caused heated debates in 64-63 B. C. Here Spain is mentioned for the first time: the earth around Neu Carthage «won by the valour of both Scipios» must be sold out as well as other lands so that for money raised this way new lands could be bought in order to deduce colonies in Italy proper and Campania in particular (*Cic. de leg. agr. I*, 5; *II* 51). So we can see that in those days the Spanish lands were considered by the Roman politicians exclusively as possible sources of money and means, not as possible pla-

9. Galsterer H. *Op. cit.*, S. 53-54. Can the appearance of the future veteres have been caused by the uprising of Sertorius? It is common knowledge that Valentia among other cities supported this general and surrendered to Pompeius only after Sertorius' death (*Flor. II*, 20).

10. The review of the agrarian laws, those relating to the veterans included, may be found in: Utchenko L. S. *The Crisis and Fall of the Roman Republic*. Moscow, 1965, p. 179-183 (in Russian).

ces to deduce colonies to. Likewise, we shall note, both agrarian laws of Caesar—the consul passed in 59 B. C. also concerned Italy alone¹¹.

Thus we have no reasons to maintain that a mass settlement of veterans in Spain took place prior to the forties of the first century B. C.

Nonetheless, by the forties of the first century B. C. Spain had already quite a few immigrants from Italy. During the early stages of the Civil War between Caesar and the Pompeians several legions were recruited from among them. The year 49 B. C. marked the existence of the so-called «Indigenous» Legion (*Vernacula*) first under the leadership of Varro and later —of Caesar (*Caes. bel. civ. II, 20, 4*). In 48 B. C. Caesar's vicegerent Cassius recruited in Spain (in all likelihood, in the South, in the would-be Baetica) one more legion, to which he gave number V (*Bel. Alex. L, 3*). In 45 B. C. Pompeius the Junior had already two vernacular legions of the deserters from the Caesarians and one legion recruited in the colonies of the region (*Bel. Hisp. 7*)¹². All this implies that at that time in the South of Spain alone there lived about 100.000 people with Roman citizenship to their credit¹³ besides the Italics with no Roman citizenship. Taking into account also the immigrants to Hispania Citerior we may surmise that the sum total of immigrants to Spain exceeds the above cited figure. The majority of them are supposed to have reached Spain after the Social War and Sulla's repressions¹⁴. But as we have shown above, that was precisely the time when there was no deduction of the veterans to Spain. Therefore we deem it possible to assert that the overwhelming majority of Italic immigrants were by no means veterans; they are more likely to be peasants. Certainly, it cannot be excluded that some of those peasants had already fought previously on the Iberian Peninsula and got acquainted with local conditions, the more so as by then a substantial section of Roman army was enrolled from the Italics¹⁵ who, as distinct from the Romans proper, constituted the bulk of immigrants to Spain. But the settlements were not veterans strictly speaking.

The situation became different by the close of the Civil War when Caesar started to carry out —to quote S. L. Utchenko— the programme he had elaborated back in 47 B. C. (*App. bel. civ. II, 94*): «when the war is over I shall give all (soldiers - *Ju. Ts.*) land... I shall distribute among you land, public and my own, and if need be, I shall buy some more land»¹⁶. In his landowners and settled the robbed side by side with the robbers») and this logically presupposes the deduction of colonies precisely in the province.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 63-65.

12. Roldán Hervás J. M. *Hispania...*, p. 209-212.

13. Nony, D. *La Péninsule Iberique. Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen*. P., 1978, p. 666, 673.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Utchenko, S. L. *Op. cit.*, p. 177-178.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

Suetonius (Iul. 42, 1) says that Caesar settled 80.000 citizens in the overseas colonies and Plutarch (Caes. 57) specifies that Caesar founded those colonies specially for his soldiers to live in. True enough, Spain was not the only and even, perhaps, not the country where Caesar's colonies were deduced. That same Plutarch points out in this same passage that Carthage and Corinth were Caesar's best known colonies. And yet Spain also drew the dictator's attention.

In the extreme North-East of Spain Caesar settled his colonists in the vicinity of Emporion, a Greek colony founded at the beginning of the VIth century B. C. A wall separated Emporion from the native town of Indica. Now after the victorious war against the children of Pompeius Caesar founded a third settlement —that of Roman colonist (Liv. XXXIV, 9). But the great bulk of colonies were built by the dictator himself or by his order by his successors in South Spain, in the Baetis valley. The fact seems only too natural and self-explanatory. The majority of the communities of this region had taken the side of the Pompeians and Caesar punished them by dispossessing them of their land on which he deduced his colonies¹⁷. Besides, last but not least, the Baetis valley was the most fertile part of the Iberian Peninsula; the fertility of the soil was the immigrants' prime attraction to these quarters.

When speaking about Caesar's colonization (here we mean both his own colonies and those deduced by his order) two points of great significance should be stressed. First, Caesar's colonists were not only veterans, but also other strata of the population, the proletarians among them¹⁸. This generally recognized historical thesis holds true of Spain too. Thus, Caesar founded on the bank of the Baetis Hispalis, officially called Romula Iulia (Isidor, orig. 15, I, 71) or simply Romula (Plin, n. h. III, 11; CIL II, 1168). At the same time Strabo (III, 2, 1) mentions the town of Baetis that surpassed Hispalis in fame and honour due to Caesar's soldiers residing there. The very structure of Strabo's phrase underlines the difference between these two towns. It follows that Hispalis was not a veterans' settlement. Let us state in passing, that this township of Baetis was apparently a fairly insignificant one as the geographer pointedly speaks about its scanty population. The town was never again recorded either in literature or in epigraphy or in numismatics. Therefore it must be concluded that it either before long merged with Hispalis or it was but an insignificant community near this important centre¹⁹. Thus the only unquestionably veteran settlement of Caesar (if Strabo does not mean actually Augustus when using the name of Caesar, though) was rather negligible.

17. Vittinghoff, F. *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*. Wiesbaden, 1952. S. 75 - 77; Tsirkin Ju B. *The south of Spain in the Civil War of 46-45 B. C.* *AEArq.*, V. 54, 1981, p. 97.

18. Vittinghoff, F. *Op. cit.*, S. 53; Utchenko, S. L. *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

19. Galsterer, H. *Op. cit.*, S. 19.

Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the majority of the Caesarian colonies (even if we believe a considerable number of them to be veteran settlements) were situated in the Middle and Lower Baetis valley, i.e. in the part of Spain that was by that time already wholly or almost wholly Romanized so that the role of Caesar's veterans in the Romanization of this zone of the Peninsula is scarcely worth speaking.

The foundation of colonies went on well after Caesar's death. For instance, in 35-34 B. C. proconsul C. Norbanus Flaccus founded Norba Caesarina in the West of Spain²⁰. As he was very active in his struggle against the Lusitanians and even won a triumph for his victories we may with confidence maintain that he founded this town for the good of his veterans. Veterans were the most likely inhabitants of the colony Caelsa founded by Lepidus and officially entitled *Victrix Iulia Lepida* (however, later «*Lepida*» was removed from the city's name)²¹. The cognomen «*Victrix*» seems to testify to a military nature of the settlement.

Augustus did the same at the dawn of his rule. Of all the towns he founded in Spain two were undoubtedly military colonies: *Emerita Augusta* for the veterans of the V and X legions and *Caesaraugusta* for the former servicemen of the IV Macedonian, the VI *Victrix* and the X *Gemina* legions²². These legions had actively participated in the wars of the twenties of the first century B. C. which resulted in the complete subjugation of Spain. Evidently it was Augustus that some time previously had deduced the colony of *Acci* for the veterans of the I and II legions²³. Thus we see that these colonies were populated by the former soldiers of the military detachments in mass. It entirely corresponds to what Tacitus (*Ann.* XIV. 27) tells us about how veteran colonies were deduced: whole legions complete with their centurions and tribunes..., when each and every soldier together with his fellow-servicemen formed a community.

Tacitus contrasts this procedure to that of the later period when the retired soldiers just dispersed all over the provinces or foot-soldiers from different maniples settled together without authorized leaders. This practice was in all probability the consequence of the reforms of Augustus who replaced the deduction of colonies by payment of a certain sum of money

20. Callejo Serrano, C. *La arqueología de Norba Caesarina*. *AEArq.* v. 41, 1968, p. 121; Galsterer H. *Op. cit.*, S. 23-24; Roldán Hervás, J. M. *Hispania...*, p. 178.

21. Galsterer H. *Op. cit.*, S. 24-25.

22. *Ibid.*, S. 23, 27; Roldán Hervás, J. M. *Hispania...*, p. 181-182.

23. Galsterer H. *Op. cit.*, S. 69 (N. L.); Roldán Hervás, J. M. *Hispania...*, p. 181-182. There is a supposition that veterans settled down in Corduba too: Knapp, R. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 29. The hypothesis is supported by the fact that the coins struck in this city between 18 B. C. and 2 A. D. bear the representation of two standards and of the legion's eagle. But at the same time Knapp remarks that the connection between the type of the coin and a veteran settlement is not absolutely certain but very plausible.

that a veteran could dispose of as he saw fit²⁴. At any rate, there are no more new colonies founded in Spain after Augustus whereas the title of a colony began to be conferred on a town without deducing any colonist there. Sometimes, however, newcomers from among the veterans could increase the existing numbers of the colonist in a town. For instance, Otho performed another deduction of veterans to Emerica Augusta and Hispalis (Tac. hist. I, 78, 1) and at some time unknown to us a considerable group of veterans came to settle down in Valentia and formed there the second ordo of the citizens' community²⁵. Yet all these were nothing but exceptions. In the main exservicemen took their choice of place to live and formed no united communities.

The discharged warriors, at leasts many of them, preferred now to settle in the locality of their former service. This tendency was particularly manifest in those legions that were stationed for long spells of time in one and the same place. Such was the situation in Spain, especially after the year 70 A. D. Previously several legions were quartered here relieving now and again one another.

After the year 70 A. D. Spain had only one legion —the VII Gemina stationed in the West of Tarraconensis. Gradually more and more local lads became legionaries of their own volition so that there was no need for them to leave Spain²⁶. In the «Corpus of Military Inscriptions» of Spain compiled by J. M. Roldán Hervás²⁷ there are 75 inscriptions of soldiers (including centurions) of the legions quartered there on the Peninsula until 70 A. D. Among these inscriptions there are 66 tombstone epitaphs, 34 of them are discovered in Spain. In other words, the veterans (who were in the majority) stayed on in Spain and died there. The figures for the warriors and veterans of the VII Gemina legion seem more conspicuous: 147 inscriptions, 103 of these are epitaphs, 85 of them, i.e. over 80 per cent, are found in Spain.

But let us examine the geographical distribution of epigraphical evidence. Prior to the year 70 A. D. epitaphs of the soldiers and veterans were scattered up and down Spain whereas after 70 A. D. a substantial quantity of them was found in Tarraco: 51 out of 85 tombstone inscriptions of the veterans and soldiers of the VII legion (viz. 60 per cent) were disclosed there. Other towns, Legio VII among them, lag far behind Tarraco in this respect. This is not to be explained by sheer fortuity of epigraphic finds. Rather extensive digs were and still are carried out in modern Leon and Meri-

24. Utchenko, S. L. Op. cit., p. 185. Comp.: Maškin N. A. The Principate of Augustus. M. 1949, p. 511 (in Russian).

25. Galsterer H. Op. cit., S. 12, 13.

26. Roldán Hervás, J. M. Hispania..., p. 179-188, 238-258.

27. Ibid., p. 361-505 (abbrev. CIM, I-386).

da; the town of Munigua in Baetica has also been thoroughly excavated but in no other place so many veterans' inscriptions are to be undug as in Tarraco. This town in general attracted diverse people from all parts of Spain sometimes even from faraway regions²⁸. Veterans also willingly settled there —descendants from Spain, from other provinces and even from Italy proper alike. For instance, we find in Tarraco in the first century C. Iulius Reburus of the Spanish town of Segisana Brasaca (CIM, 584) and an Italic L. Valerius Secundus (CIM, 583).

The Tarraco of later periods likewise witnessed the presence of the retired warriors of the VII Gemine Legion, the natives of Nemaus and Narbo in Narbonensis Gallia, of Mevania in Italy or of Sicca Veneria in Africa (CIM, 598, 604, 602, 643). Even the Spaniards who served in this legion also often favoured staying in Tarraco over returning to their native places, see the example of a certain Cn. Pompeius Fructus of Toletum (CIM, 597) or Cn. Fulvius Capratinus of Italica (CIM, 659).

Unreliable and relative as any figures concerning antiquity may be, they still leave us margin to draw some conclusions. First and foremost it should be pointed out that the majority of retired soldiers, even though staying on in the province of their military service, preferred to leave the direct premises of the camp or even its vicinage. They mostly opted to go to Tarraco and, to a lesser degree, to some other towns in Eastern and Southern Spain. The choice of the veterans is easy to understand: after a tedious and arduous service they sought some haven to relax in —a fairly affluent quiet and comfortable place fit for easy life. Such places were thoroughly Romanized towns, especially Tarraco, the capital of the province of the same name, an important economic and particularly trading centre. Hence the second conclusion: the veterans had to make no efforts, however spontaneous, to Romanize these territories. They were smoothly engulfed by an already established socio-economic, political and cultural structure, not distinct from the Italic one.

Of special interest for historical science are those Spaniards who joined the Roman army and after leaving it became major agents of Romanization. Indeed, we often come across references to Spaniards who served in the Roman army not only in legions, including the VII Gemina Legion which has been considered above, but also in auxiliary garrisons. They took part in the Civil Wars of the end of the Republic too. For instance, the Celtiberians fought in Carbo's army against Sulla in Italy. Ac-

28. Blázquez, J. M. *La economía de la Hispania Romana*. HE, t. II, I, p. 466 and maps (fig. 272). P. Le Roux believes the considerable contingent of the VII Gemina Legion present in Tarraco to be the veteran's staff and the city itself to be the legion's administrative centre: *Le Roux P. A propos d'un inscription de Tarragone: la carriere de centurion Aurelius Iustus*. *AEArq.* v. 50-51, 1977-1978, p. 83. This opinion can be prompted only by the numerous inscriptions of the legion's veterans unearthed in Tarraco, but the explanation of this fact is to be sought elsewhere. The legion headquarters must have been, after all, in its camp.

According to Appianus (*bel. civ.*, I, 89), 270 soldiers deserted to Sulla and the rest were killed by Carbo; consequently, their total number was much greater. There were Spanish cohorts in Caesar's guard (*App. bel. civ.* II, 108). Sextus Pompeius had Spanish seamen in Sicily (*App. bel. civ.* IV, 85). Iberian and Lusitanian horsemen fought in the ranks of the army of Brutus and Cassius (*App. bel. civ.* IV, 88).

But we do not know on what terms and for how long those soldiers fought a long way from home for the cause of their commanders, what rewards they received for the services rendered. There is only one direct evidence at our disposal: the riders of the Spanish Salluvian *turma* were rewarded with Roman citizenship for their valour during the Social War by Cn. Pompeius Strabo (*ILS*, 8888). That was a reward precisely in return for their valour and courage, though, not for their service as such. Therefore we do not deem it wise to suppose that such was the lot of all or at least of many Spanish soldiers in the Roman army. As is generally known, civic policies were a mighty means in the hands of Rome's captains and politicians. Sertorius also seems to have resorted to this instrument more than once. The very fact that in Spain there were people Sertorius by name (*CIL* II, 254, 3744, 3786 and others) proves that Rome's authorities acknowledged Roman citizenship granted to their forefathers by this insurgent general. Even more people were called Caecilius and Pompeius. No doubt, some of their ancestors had fought under the standards of these military leaders. On no account, however, was the granting of Roman citizenship an ordinary practice.

The situation changed under the Empire. During this period soldiers of various *alae* and cohorts began to normally receive on retirement Roman citizenship (if they had none before) and in case they settled down on land they turned municipal landowners. In Spain there were a great many auxiliary military units of this kind: we know about twenty cavalry *alae* and over eighty infantry cohorts²⁹. Although not all of them were simultaneously under the standards yet it is not too much to say that no less than fifty thousand Spaniards manned at one time those *alae* and cohorts. If they had come back people of a new type they might indeed have constituted a powerful force. But did they come back at all?

Let us again study the statistic data. By the mid-seventies of the twentieth century there came to light 110 inscriptions of soldiers of the Spanish *alae* of the first- to the third centuries, 4 of them were found in Spain, out of 317 inscriptions of infantrymen of Spanish cohorts 11 inscriptions come from Spain, out of 12 inscriptions of Spaniards who fought in non-Spanish regiments two were found in Spain. Thus we may infer that the overwhelming majority of Spanish soldiers who served in those units and qualified for a retirement stayed on in the places of the service so that they

29. Roldán Hervás, J. M. *Hispania...*, p. 65-158.

could not spread any elements of antique society of Rome over the Peninsula. It goes without saying that some ex-servicemen did come back home as, for example, did a certain Toncius of Igeditanorum municipium who was buried in his native place (CIM, 391) but those were just exceptions.

A different lot befell the soldiers of those auxiliary detachments that were quartered in Spain proper. We know by now six *alae* of this type and seven or eight cohorts, i.e. about 8.500 soldiers all in all. They left behind 66 inscriptions, 58 of them —in Spain. True, those are in the main dedicatory or honorary inscriptions that bear witness to the presence of soldiers of a particular unit in this or that town, but they spell nothing about whether they went on living on retirement in Spain. There are several tombstone inscription too. Besides, it stands to reason that discharged soldiers of other units stationed in Spain also settled down to live in this country near their former camps, very much in the way the Spanish veterans did. And yet they were not too numerous and, being aliens, they could not exert any tangible influence on the local residents³⁰. Moreover, they also moved after their service to the more prosperous towns of the East and South of the Iberian Peninsula.

Finally we must consider one more issue of great consequence. In historical science there is an opinion which A. Balil had expressed with particular clearness that the veterans formed a city's oligarchy³¹. In order to prove and disprove it, let us again study the epigraphic data. The second volumen of the «*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*» contains some 180 inscriptions with references to *duumvirs* or less often *quattuorvirs*, and only twelve of them, i.e. slightly over 7 per cent, previously served in the army. There were discharged soldiers who held other town offices (for instance, those of an *aedile* and *decurion*) or provincial offices (more often than not, that of a *flamen* of a province). From his volume we come to know about fifty people of this sort. This is a fairly large number. But what about their military career? Can we regard them as real, genuine veterans?

Out of the fifty ex-servicemen, who held this or that urban or provincial office, there were two private soldiers (one *duumvir* and one *servir* of young men), five *centurions* (four were *duumvirs* and one *decurion*) (CIL, II, 115, 1404, 1681, 5438, 4463, 4514, 2853). It is not in the least surprising if we bear in mind the strata from both the legion and auxiliary units were manned. The overwhelming majority of these officials, though, were previously either *tribunes* of legions or *praefects* of cohorts or *praefects* of ar-

30. Alföldy, G. *Op. cit.*, S. 402-403.

31. Balil A. *Riqueza y sociedad en la España Romana*. «*Hispania*». T. 25, 1965, p. 355. P. Le Roux holds that Spanish soldiers were recruited from comparatively high strata of the Spanish society: *Le Roux P. Provincialisation...*, p. 305-306. It would no doubt have made it easier for the veterans to join the city oligarchy. G. Alföldy has proved, however, that the situation was rather opposite: soldiers came, most likely, from the lower layers of the indigenous population.

tisans, in other words, they belonged already to the highest estates of the Empire³². For many of them their military service was but one episode of a general career. Surely, they may be hardly regarded as veterans in the usual sense of the word. Besides, many of them occupied the office of a flamen of the province —an honorary rather than actual office.

Summing up, we have this to say. Although there is no denying the role the veterans played in the Romanization of Spain, the historians of today tend to overestimate it. Perhaps, only the period from 45 B. C. to 13 B. C. saw a considerable influx of veterans to Spain. At other times there were not so many veterans and, what is more, they primarily settled down in the already deeply Romanized zone. They increased the Roman element in the province but could not play a decisive role in its formation or operation. They did not belong, as a rule, to the urban élite either.

The major agents of the Romanization of the Iberian Peninsula are to be sought in other layers of the Italian population.

32. Maškin, N. A. *Op. cit.*, p. 509-510.

