

*Romanization of Spain: socio-political aspect (II)*  
*Romanization in the period*  
*of the Republic*

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**SUMMARY.**—The Romanization of Spain in the period of the Republic falls into three stages —from the outset of the Roman conquest of Spain to Sertorius, from Sertorius's movement to the activities of Caesar and, lastly, the activities of Caesar's successors. The Romanisation itself spread along the two axes— a) the Hiberus valley and b) the Baetis valley. So that by the end of the Republic Spain could be divided into three zones. The first zone embraced the larger part of the Peninsula. In this enormous area no vestiges of Romanization are to be found. The second zone embraced the Middle and the Lower Baetis valley and also some cities of the Mediterranean coast; it was entirely Romanized. The third zone was represented by the mountainous regions of the Upper Baetis, the mountains encircling the valley, the coasts of Baetica and Hispania Citerior, the Middle and Lower Hiberus valley. This is a mixed zone. The major driving forces of the appearance of these three zones are a) the immigration of the Romano-Italic peasants; b) the amount of these immigrants and c) the similarity or dissimilarity of the economic and social position of the immigrants and the natives.

The first impetus to the Romanization of Spain was given by the Roman conquest<sup>1</sup>. The trend of the developments, their tempo and results largely depended on the level of the local population's progress and the force of the Romano-Italic society's impact alike. At first the relations between the two worlds —Romans and Hispanics— were characterized primarily by confrontation, for all fairly long at time spells of their peaceful coexis-

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<sup>1</sup> A. MONTENEGRO DUQUE, «La conquista de Hispania por Roma, in: *Historia de España*, t. II, v.1. Madrid, 1982, p. 5-192

tence. The contradictions between the Romans and the provincials who strove to be free, marked, among other contradictions, the impending crisis of the Republican system of Rome and eventually led to its fall.

With the successful march of Romanization the indigenous society got more and more blended with the Roman one. The crust of the local society penetrated into the ruling layer of the state, whereas the lower layers united and mixed with its lower strata. At last in Hispania, as well as in some other provinces, the confrontation between the Romans and the aborigines gave way to a social and political struggle, which was a salient feature of the Roman society at large.

Two conspicuous items may be pointed out in this process: a) the migration of the Romans and Italics who brought along their familiar norms and forms of life, production and management on the one hand, and b) the transformation of the corresponding structures of the locals on the other. All these were superimposed by the Roman provincial system with all its inherent institutions —from the omnipotent vicegerent to the emperors' cult, with the presence of the Roman legions and the recruitment of the aborigines into Roman army. Shortly after the wars broke out the principal, if not the only source of the Romans' revenue in Spain was military spoils and contributions but before very long they passed over to a regular extraction of profits<sup>2</sup>. Gradually the economy of the Spanish provinces began to be integrated into the united state economy, becoming its integral part. At the same time a socio-political Romanization was under way. This process, all-embracing in the period of the Empire, germinated as early as the Republic involving not only the indigenes but also the Greek and Phoenician residents of Spain.

The foremost Greek colony in Spain was by that time Emporion. It was here that in 218 B.C. Cn. Cornelius Scipio landed and thereby ushered in a two-century-long era of the Roman conquest of Spain. At the early years of the conquest Emporion was the Romans' principal base in the Northeast of the Iberian Peninsula. It served last in this capacity in 195 B.C. during the campaign of M. Porcius Cato (Liv. XXXIV,8; App. *Hisp.* 39)<sup>3</sup>. After Cato's capture of the surrounding territory and the transference of the hostilities outside the immediate region the city lost its strategic significance.

Emporion's pro-Roman position was hardly accidental. This important trade centre was very suspicious of the Carthaginians who sought to establish their domination over the whole basin of the western Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, «La economía de Hispania romana», in: *Historia de España*, t.II, v.1. Madrid, 1982, p. 295-363.

<sup>3</sup> During the Second Punic War and up to the year 195 B.C. Emporion must have issued money to finance the Roman warfare in Spain: P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE, *La circulación monetaria en la Tarraconense Mediterránea*. Valencia, 1982, p. 234, 335.

Hannibal's subordination of the tribes between the Hiberus and the Pyrenees threatened to leave the residents of Emporion without their native contractors. Under such conditions the emergence of the Romans must have seemed to them a lesser evil. The tense relationships with neighbouring Indicetes also favoured Emporion's pro-Roman orientation: the city must have seen in the Romans their protectors from the Indicetes' menace too.

The Emporites' calculations proved to be correct. Their support of the Roman efforts turned out to be, at least initially, a blessing in disguise, even in terms of their territory. It is known that in 195 B.C. the city had no rural area and was, in fact, pressed to the sea (Liv. XXXIV,9). It was only some time later that the Emporites got in their possession Iuncarian plain and a segment of the Pyrenees as far as Pompey's Trophy (Strabo III,4,9). Is it possible, however approximately, to date these territorial acquisitions?

Ptolemy (II,6,72) mentions the town of Iuncaria among the Indicetes' towns inside the country. Could it possibly mean that the Romans took the valley from the Emporites and gave it to the Indicetes or, on the contrary, the Indicetes' lands began to be the Emporites' possession? Let us examine the events in the year 195 B.C. When Cato first came to Hispania his original base was the Greek city of Emporion. But the Hispanic Emporites opposed the Romans. Livy (XXXIV,8-16) does not give the native name of the city — Indica, but says about the division of the city into two parts. It is clear that the Hispanic Emporites are none other than the Indicetes<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, Indica became the centre where Rome's other enemies rallied, but Cato delivered his opponents a mighty blow, made the Hispanic Emporites surrender, the other communities' soldiers rallying at Emporion, following suit. Since then the Indicetes have never been mentioned in the sources as Rome's foes, besides their possible participation in Sertorius' movement. Absolutely nothing is known about the Greek Emporites' opposition and warfare with the Romans. Therefore it is possible to suppose that it was the result of the campaign of 195 B.C. when the Greek Emporites supplied the Roman troops with shelter and the Hispanic Emporites, i.e. Indicetes, stood out against them, that a part of the Indicetes' lands could be given to Greeks as a reward and taken from the Spaniards in punishment.

As concerns the territory in the Pyrenees, the time of its annexation to Emporion is even harder to tell. Pompey's Trophy was erected after the victory over Sertorius (Plin. III,8; VII,96). It looks tempting to associate the erection of this monument with the time when the surrounding lands were given over to Emporion. In his letter to the Senate Pompey claimed to have conquered the Pyrenees, Lacetania and the Indicetes (*FHA* IV, 223). It is plain that these regions must have supported Sertorius whereas the Greek Emporion had again taken the side of the general who came back from

<sup>4</sup> A. SCHULTEN, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae*, f.III. Barcelona, 1935, p. 184.

Italy<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps such conduct of the Greek city as opposed to that of the surrounding Iberians must have made Pompey give it upon his victory part of the territory in the Pyrenees. However, all these are but suppositions uncorroborated by the available source.

In any case the acquisition of an agricultural area could not but alter Emporion's economy. Previously, as Cato-Livy stated, the Greeks had gained the «fruits of the fields» exclusively from the neighbouring Spaniards. The primary occupation of the townsfolk was commerce and crafts. In this respect the Phocaeen town can be equalled to Naucratis but unlike the latter the former was not governed by the local lords. After the Emporites had come to own Iuncarian plain part of which was, according to Strabo (III,4,9) arable, they may have started to till the land too. A most significant question may arise here. Strabo writes that the Emporites «possessed» (Εἰσοῦσι) the valley but he did not specify of the actually lived there. The fact that Iuncaria, as has been stated previously, belonged to the Indicetes may also mean that the aborigines still lived there. How these two factors—the local inhabitants and the Hellenes possessing the valley—correlate we cannot yet tell.

Emporion held its own as a trading centre well into the Roman times. The excavations have shown that it had established links with Italy some time before the Romans' advent to Spain<sup>6</sup>. Some time later the citizens of Emporion began to imitate Italian vessels, the then most fashionable and widespread in the western part of the Roman Mediterranean<sup>7</sup>. Emporion had preserved its links with the Aegean Sea region too<sup>8</sup>, though the amount of Greek finds at Emporion is less than that of Italian ones. The people of Emporion exported esparto used for making ship ropes, wine and oil<sup>9</sup>. Some of these products they could have got from the surrounding Iberians. They made bricks in the city too<sup>10</sup>. Strabo (III,4,9) contends that the residents of Emporion were very good at making linen fabrics. The possibility though is that the source meant ship sails rather than clothes.

And yet the significance of Emporion eclipsed. Previously Emporion had been an important landmark in sea and land journeys in this part of Spain. It has been mentioned by the Pseudo-Scylax (2) and the Pseudo-Scymnos (204) and Polyby (III,39,5-8) who have listed among the main legs

<sup>5</sup> A. MONTENEGRO DUQUE. *Op. cit.*, p. 141-142.

<sup>6</sup> M. VEGAS, «Dos vasos megáricos de Ampurias», *Ampurias*, p. 15-16 (1953), 355; J.M. NOLLA BRUFAU, «Las ánforas romanas de Ampurias», *Ampurias*, p. 36-37 (1974-1975), 184-188; M. ALMAGRO, N. LAMBOGLIA, «La estratigrafía del decumano A de Ampurias», *Ampurias*, 21 (1959), p. 19-24; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 337-339.

<sup>7</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 359, n. 84; E. SANMARTÍ, «Nota acerca de una imitación de la sigillata aretina detectada en Emporion», *Ampurias*, p. 36-37 (1974-1975), 261.

<sup>8</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324, fig. 193.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343.

of the route from Gades to Italy the stretches from the Pillars to Carthago Nova, from Carthago Nova to the Hiberus,

from the Hiberus to Emporion, from Emporion to the ford across the Rhodan and then as far as the Alps. Emporion seemed a more important landmark than the passes in the Pyrenees. Strabo (III,4,9) though describing the situation in the Ist century B.C. considered as the main route in Eastern Spain the road from Pompey' Trophy to Tarraco, from that place across the Hiberus to Saguntum. This is via Domitia that came into being already in the Roman times <sup>11</sup>. Somewhat earlier (III,4,7) the geographer writes that Pompey' Trophy is immediately followed on the route by Tarraco; thus leaving Emporion aside from the basic track.

The people of Emporion took pains to master that route as is clear from Strabo's information (III,4,9) that some of the Emporitae had settled on the Pyrenees' heights as far as Pompey' Trophy. The attempt though proved to be abortive. Certainly the city did not become impoverished, it did not lose its trading significance altogether: judging from the necropoleis' inventory all this did not take place until the time of the Empire. At this period the necropoleis bespoke Emporion's relative affluence still <sup>12</sup>. But Tarraco was already irresistably coming into the fore.

The diminishing role of Emporion in the Hispano-Italian commerce drove the residents to seek closer contacts with the locals. The confrontation Cato had witnessed and Livy described in his wake, had become a thing of the past. The archaeological excavations have revealed a relatively homogeneous material in the two parts of the double city <sup>13</sup>. In the first half of the second century B.C. the Greek city had ceased minting, as it seems, its silver drachmas but instead it began to strike bronze and copper coins, outwardly resembling Greek coins but after the Roman standard and with the Iberian legend «undikesken», that is «of the Indicetes» <sup>14</sup>; besides these, Emporion also struck the coins of other communities of this region <sup>15</sup>, which, incidentally, bears witness to Emporion's authority among the neighbouring Iberians.

After 72 B.C. the situation changed. By way of punishment for the participation in Sertorius's movement many Spanish communities were deprived of the right to mint their own coinage <sup>16</sup>. The Indicetes ceased to strike their own money too. It was probably the time when Emporion re-

<sup>11</sup> M. GOLOBARDES, «Las vías romanas en el Ampurdán», *Ampurias*, p. 9-10 (1947-1948), p. 36; A. ARRIBAS, «La Arqueología romana en Cataluña», in: *Problemas de la Prehistoria y de la Arqueología Catalanas*. Barcelona, 1963, p. 193-194.

<sup>12</sup> R. GROSSE, «Emporion», *RE*, SptBd. 9, 1962, Sp. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Cf: J.M. NOLLA BRUFAU. *Op. cit.*, p. 184-190; M. ALMAGRO, N. LAMBOGLIA. *Op. cit.*, p. 19-24.

<sup>14</sup> J. UNTERMANN, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*. Bd. I. Wiesbaden, 1975, S. 165-169; P.O. RIPOLLÉS PALAU. *Op. cit.*, p. 336-342.

<sup>15</sup> J. UNTERMANN. *Op. cit.*, S. 172-174; J.M. BLAZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

<sup>16</sup> M.H. CRAWFORD, «The Financial Organization of Republican Spain», *Numismatical Chronicles*, 9 (1969), p. 84.

sumed to issue its own money. From that time on coins with the Emporite legend resumed their circulation in both the cities<sup>17</sup>. This is another illustration of the differing stand the Greek and Indicete cities took in the time of Sertorius' war.

We can scarcely know what was judicial or legal position of Emporion after the Roman conquest. Livy (XXXIV,9) writes that the Greeks lived under the protection of the Romans' friendship. The contexts indicate that the description of the friendship refers to the initial stage of the Roman presence: the Romans' protection increased the city's security in the face of the Spaniards. When Cato had pacified this region in 195 B.C. there was scarcely any menace to the Greeks' security on the part of their indigenous neighbours. In all probability this «friendship» between the mighty Rome and little Emporion might have emerged at the start of the Second Punic War when the Romans had badly needed a convenient bridge-head for the military operations. Judging by the vague wording of Livy it is more likely than not that no official treaty between the «friends» had ever been achieved. The term *amicitia* in Roman law was rather vague and indefinite. On the one hand, it spelled the relations of practical subordination of a weaker community, on the other, it admitted all sorts of interpretation of this subordination depending on the concrete circumstances<sup>18</sup>. It essentially allowed to preserve total internal autonomy with no initiative in foreign affairs.

Livy compares the inhabitants of Emporion with the residents of Massalia: though weaker than the latter, the former displayed the same loyalty. Cicero (*De rep.* I,43) puts into Scipio Aemilianus' mouth the assertion that the Massaliots were Rome's clients, and he goes on saying about the Massaliots' own system of management which did not copy the Roman one in the least<sup>19</sup>. It looks quite possible that the Emporites could have preserved their ancient polytical system too. This supposition may be corroborated by Strabo (III,4,8) who holds that upon the emergence of a united state system of the Greek and Indicetian communities, the management system combined Hellenic and barbarian norms. Consequently, prior to this period the Greeks had Hellenic norms.

As for the Indicetes they were most probably «the subjects» (*peregrini dedititii*). They must have fallen into this state after their surrender to Cato (Liv. XXXIV,16,3). There has been advanced an idea that about 100 B.C. the Indicetes received Latin citizenship<sup>20</sup>, but we lack any evidence to confirm this supposition.

<sup>17</sup> P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE. *Op. cit.*, p. 342-345.

<sup>18</sup> S.L. UTCHENKO, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Republic*. Moscow, 1965, p. 205 (in Russian).

<sup>19</sup> On the position of Massalia under Rome's sway see: M. CLAVEL-LEVEQUE, *Marseille grecque*. Marseille, 1977, p. 136-137.

<sup>20</sup> E. RIPOLL PERELLÓ, «Notas acerca los orígenes de la ciudad romana de Ampurias», *Ampurias*, 32-34 (1971-1972), p. 374.

Strabo (III,4,5) states that with time the Greeks and the Iberians accepted a common state establishment, but he did not give the exact date of the event. Evidently the event could not have taken place prior to 72 B.C. because both cities took, as it seems, different sides during the war of Sertorius and consequently there was no place for the mixture of state systems. Livy (XXXIV,9) testifies to the presence in Emporion of Roman colonists who joined the original population of the city after Caesar had defeated Pompey's children in 45 B.C. Strabo, however, makes no mention of the Roman colonists. Therefore it is possible to conclude that Strabo's narration throws light on the events between the years 72 and 45 B.C.

The common mixed laws, though, failed to obliterate the dissimilarity of the two cities. The selfsame geographer maintains that Emporion persisted as a «double city» (dípolic) divided by a wall into Hellenic and Indicetes parts. As we shall see later, the legal status of the two cities in the face of Roman power was also different.

A Roman settlement sprang into existence at the walls of Emporion. In 195 B.C. Cato pitched his camp near the city. This camp gradually turned into a permanent post. The recent digs have proven that it was this outpost of the first quarter of the second century B.C. that formed the basis of the Roman town<sup>21</sup>. Around 100 B.C. on the site of the outpost a town emerged. Some time past a temple was reared there, probably, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus that architecturally resembled Italian temples especially those of Latium and Campania<sup>22</sup>. Evidently, that was the time of an emigration from Italy of a section of the population. A fragment was found that bore the name of a consul and proconsul M. Iunius. Some researchers believe that it is an honorary inscription to commemorate M. Iunius Silanus, a consul in the year 109 and a proconsul in 108 B.C.<sup>23</sup>. It is quite possible that Silanus who previously back in 113 or 112 B.C. had held some office in Spain, had promoted the immigration of a certain group of Italics to the Peninsula. The legal status of this settlement is unknown.

The year 45 B.C. saw some changes when Caesar settled here his colonists (Lv. XXXIV,9). It is considered to be the colony deduced by Caesar<sup>24</sup>. Yet there is an opinion that at that time a municipium was created<sup>25</sup>, but the term *coloni* used by the Roman author speaks in favour of a colony. Livy asserts that Caesar «added» (*coloni...adiecti*) colonists to the Iberians and Greeks. It looks that the colonists found their homes in the double city

<sup>21</sup> J. AQUILUÉ, J.M. NOLLA, E. SANMARTÍ, «Das römische Forum von Ampurias», *Madri-der Mitteilungen*, 27 (1986), S. 227, 232.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 232.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 233, Taf. 27b.

<sup>24</sup> R. GROSSE, *Op. cit.*, Sp. 35.

<sup>25</sup> H. GALSTERER, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Berlin, 1971, S. 26, Anm. 99; E. RIPOLL PERELLÓ. *Op. cit.*, p. 374; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios sobre la Romanización*. Madrid, 1989, p. 36.

long since existing on the site. This process was accompanied by some changes at Indica. At least in one part of the Hispanic city old houses had been demolished and in their stead and place new streets were made in accordance with Roman city-building principles, particularly *cardo* and *decumanus* <sup>26</sup>.

The reasons why the Roman colony came into being here of all places, are not known. However, it is known that the deduction of the colony and the dispossession of the former residents of part or even of the whole of the settlement at that time was conditioned and prompted by the hostile stand the community had taken in the course of the war between Caesar and Pompey or his children, whereas by way of rewarding for their support and loyalty Caesar granted the natives Roman citizenship <sup>27</sup>. That is why we deem it quite sound to infer that the Emporites had taken the Pompeians' side <sup>28</sup>. True, there is no evidence to this effect in the *Commentarii de bello civili* or in the *Bellum Hispaniense* but Livy's account and the archaeological data alike do not contradict this supposition.

If this supposition is correct and grounded, it follows that the aborigines patently received no Roman rights. On the other hand Livy's account makes it clear that the Spaniards had got Roman citizenship before the Greeks. In all probability it occurred in that troubled period of Roman history which followed Caesar's death. The war of 46-45 B.C. was by far not the last one on Iberian soil. In 39 B.C. proconsul Cn. Domitius Calvinus fought against the Ceretanians comparatively near Emporion (Dio Cass. XLIII,41). Some time later he became the first, as far as we know at present, patron of Emporion. There were other patrons of Emporion in later periods <sup>29</sup>. It seems so tempting to ascribe the Emporites' Roman citizenship to Calvinus.

Though Livy stresses that the Greeks received Roman citizenship after the Spaniards had, it is clear that by the time Livy wrote the XXXIV Book the Greeks of Emporion had already been Roman citizens. It has been established that Livy wrote the third decade of his work prior to the year 14 B.C. <sup>30</sup>. Consequently Book XXXIV could not have been completed until 10 B.C. It follows then that the two communities had already emerged into one whole by 10 B.C. if our argument concerning the Spaniards getting Roman citizenship in the thirties hold water it must be deduced that the Hellenes acquired Roman citizenship between the twenties and the tens of

<sup>26</sup> M. ALMAGRO, N. LAMBOGLIA. *Op. cit.*, p. 19-21.

<sup>27</sup> F. VITTINGHOFF, *Römische Kolonisation —und Bürgerrechts— politik unter Caesar und Augustus*. Wiesbaden, 1952, S. 75-77.

<sup>28</sup> M. ALMAGRO, *Ampurias*. Barcelona, 1951, p. 44-45.

<sup>29</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, «Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus, Patronus von Emporiae». *AEArq.*, S. 50-51 (1977-1958), 47-54.

<sup>30</sup> *History of Roman Literature*, I. Moscow, 1959, p. 475 (in Russian).



the first century B.C. It permits us to side with those historians who have dated the creation of the Roman municipium to Augustus' time <sup>31</sup>.

The best suited period for the act seems to be the years 26-25 B.C. when Augustus himself had lived in Spain and simultaneously with the warfare he had been engaged in the reorganization of the Spanish provinces <sup>32</sup>. The granting of Roman citizenship to Greek Emporion may be interpreted as a sign of gratitude to the first of Spanish cities that received the Romans at the outset of the war against Carthaginians. Such a gesture, especially at the close of military operations on the Peninsula could have been quite natural and normal in Augustus' policies of official conservatism.

As the result of these acts the three sections of the Emporion population had come to occupy an equal privileged position, following these events there were no reasons or grounds to have two separate communities and thus, as Livy put it, they «merged into a whole body». This united city got the status of a municipium judging from the inscription on the Emporion coin. Interestingly in this legend there are both Latin and Iberian letters used side by side <sup>33</sup>. This looks a graphic illustration of a mixed nature of the brand new municipium. The coins, the Emporites began to strike now, reproduced the ancient Greek model with Pegasus Chrysaor and Athens but the new legend is already Latin, not Greek <sup>34</sup>.

The official name of the municipium was *Res Publica Emporitanorum* <sup>35</sup>, but the current name Emporiae was widespread. As we can see, the basic name was Greek but used in the Latin plural form, which is highly indicative of the dual character of the city despite their blending in one municipium. The same is confirmed by Pliny (III,22) who called the city *geminum*. The general look of the city, though, becomes at that time more homogeneous, which is especially well corroborated by the coins undug recently which had become absolutely alike in the two parts of the city <sup>36</sup>.

The name of the city derived from the Greek town and the preservation of the ancient images on the coins speak much about the desire of both the Greeks, and the Spaniards, and the Italian immigrants, to emphasize the connection between the new municipium and the old Phocaeen colony. Even much later amongst the floor mosaics in the Emporion houses one could come across Greek inscription <sup>37</sup>. Yet the coin legend is in Latin, the name of the city is also used in the Latin form. As has been stated earlier,

<sup>31</sup> H. GALSTERER, *Op. cit.*, S. 26; A. BALIL, «Algunos aspectos del proceso de la romanización de Cataluña», *Ampurias*, 17-18 (1955-1956), p. 53.

<sup>32</sup> A. MONTENEGRO DUQUE, *Op. cit.*, p. 178-184.

<sup>33</sup> J. UNTERMANN. *Op. cit.*, S. 167.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 165.

<sup>35</sup> A. D'ORS, «Una nueva inscripción ampuritana», *Ampurias* 29 (1967), p. 293-295.

<sup>36</sup> P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE. *Op. cit.*, p. 345-348.

<sup>37</sup> A. BLANCO FREINEIRO, «Artes de la Hispania Romana», *Historia de España*, II.2. Madrid, 1982, p. 590.

the foremost contractors of Emporion's trade were the inhabitants of Italy rather than the Greeks of Aegaeis. N. Lamboglia drawing upon the toponymical research of P. Aebincher, points out a great deal of Romano-Italian colonists in the region of Emporion<sup>38</sup>. The concentration of a lot of toponyms-derivative of the former estates' names (and the latter were derived from their first owners' names) on a comparatively small area betrays a relatively small size of those estates.

The Greek town occupied an insignificant territory and was by far smaller in size than the Spanish town so that only their firm discipline and incessant vigilance could keep the Hellenes well protected. Under the Romans' sway, however, there was no necessity to protect the Greeks any longer, the more so that the interests of both the towns were growing more and more alike. Under these conditions, given the ever more close contacts with Italy, the Greek city failed to preserve its original Greek character.

The legal status of the new municipium was determined by a special municipal law. A small fragment of this law of Augustus' epoch recently excavated shows that the Emporion law was made by the general standard and was not different from any other acts of such nature<sup>39</sup>.

The organization of the municipium brought about some alterations in the Romano-Indicete town. They re-built the forum, they erected new temples and so on<sup>40</sup>. The new municipium strove to pass for a small Rome.

The municipium was sure to have had an agricultural region. It goes without saying that its territory engulfed also those lands of Emporion that the town had received after the Roman conquest. The finding of three lead tablets bearing the curses and damnations voiced by the tribe of the Olositans and hurled at the Roman authorities and the Indicetes alike permits us to hold that the territory of Emporiae included also the lands of the Olositans who lived west of the Indicetes<sup>41</sup>. N. Lamboglia tends to believe that the Olositans managed to preserve some autonomy, limited as it might be<sup>42</sup>. Incidentally, the fact that the Indicetes preserved their name well after the municipium was declared, may bear witness to a supposition that part of this tribe too retained its name and its autonomy or that perhaps not all the Indicetes were included in *Res Publica Emporitanorum*<sup>43</sup>.

Thus it was so that the socio-political Romanization of the seat of Greek civilization on the Iberian Peninsula occurred.

<sup>38</sup> N. LAMBOGLIA, «La formación del municipio de Emporiae», *RSL* 39 (1973), p. 30-31, mapa.

<sup>39</sup> A. D'ORS. *Op. cit.*, p. 295. The Survey of Hispanic Municipal Laws: F.J. FERNÁNDEZ NIETO, «El derecho en la España Romana», *Historia de España*, II,2, p. 168-192.

<sup>40</sup> J. AQUILUE, J.M. NOLLA, E. SANMARTI. *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>41</sup> N. LAMBOGLIA, «Una nuova popolazione pirenaica: gli Olositani», *RSL*, 25 (1959), p. 148.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155-158; *idem*, «la formazione...», p. 29-34.

<sup>43</sup> H. Galsterer. *Op. cit.*, S. 27.

The most important Phoenician colony in Spain was Gades. The process of its political Romanization and its integration with the Roman Power may be said to consist of three stages. The first stage is represented by the agreement with Marcius (206 B.C.) when between Gades and Rome some very vague and indefinite relations of *amicitia* were established. The second stage is the treaty of 78 B.C. which heralded a new type of agreements providing for a closer link with Rome. And the third stage is when Gades turned into a Roman municipium; the final stage seems to have taken a long time—from 49 B.C. to 27 B.C.—In the year 49 B.C. Caesar who stayed at the time in Spain issued an edict on granting the Gaditans Roman citizenship but when he returned to Rome he failed to see to it passing the *comitia*; the Gaditans' Roman citizenship was ratified only in 27 B.C. during the third consulship of Agrippa who was rewarded by the grateful citizens with the honorary title «the father of the municipium». The evolution of Gades' politico-administrative role within the Roman State corresponded exactly with the progress of social, and economic, and cultural Romanization of this city. Judging by the official name of Sexi—Sexi Firmum Iulium—this Phoenician town also got a civil status either under Caesar himself or shortly after his death, but by the dictator's last will<sup>44</sup>.

Carthago Nova, founded by Hasdrubal, turned under the republic into one of the largest and most important cities of Hispania Citerior. The geographical position of the city and the wealth of its environs attracted the Romans and Italics immediately after its seizure, as has been testified by the findings of Campanian vessels dating back to 250-180 B.C.<sup>45</sup> The Italics were also drawn by the richest mines especially when they ceased to be state mines (Strabo III,2,10). Among other things, it is to be seen from the stamps on the lead ingots from Carthago Nova's pits. To the Republican times belong the ingots with the names of father and son Aquini, C. Fiducius, S. Lucretius, C. Mesius, P. Nona, L. Planius, C. Utius, Cn. Atelius. Their Italian origin has been established<sup>46</sup>.

Some owners of pits went on living in Italy and sent to Spain their agents, primarily libertines. Other pit-owners lived at Carthago Nova. They occupied there a position of rank and authority. For instance, we know about Atelius who occupied the office of *quinquennalis* of Carthago Nova in 57 B.C. In 42 B.C. in this office was Aquinus Mela<sup>47</sup>. Of the first six *quinquennales* of this city whom we know of and whose names are confirmed

<sup>44</sup> For details on the topic see: Ju.B. TSIRKIN, «The Phoenician civilization in Roman Spain», *Gerión* 3 (1985), p. 245-270.

<sup>45</sup> C. DOMERGUE, «Céramique de Calés dans les antiques mines d'argent de Cartagène», *AEArq.* 42 (1969), p. 159-165.

<sup>46</sup> *Idem.*, «Lingots de plomb romains», *AEArq.*, 38 (1966), p. 60-67; cf. P. CASTREN, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*. Roma, 1975, p. 136-139; J.M. BLAZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 312-313.

<sup>47</sup> K.G. JENKINS, «Spain», *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 11 (1961). 127.

by coins, five (Fabricius, Atellius, Cedius, Popilius and Pollio) <sup>48</sup> undeniably come from Italy, Campania in particular.

Far from all the immigrants succeeded in making their way up into the city's nobility. Two inscriptions have come down to us; the first is dated from about 100 B.C. (CIL II,3433) and the other (CIL II,5927) dates from a somewhat later time <sup>49</sup>. They contain the names of the magisters of collegiae that united freeborn citizens (unquestionably representatives of the lower strata) as well as freedmen and slaves. The analysis of their names plainly suggests the fact that many of those people came to Carthago Nova from Italy. Perhaps, the same may be said about the freedmen's patrons and the slaves' owners; most of the Italian immigrants are somehow connected with Campania (see, for instance, L. Cervius, M. Cecius, L. Paquius, Qu. Veratius, Ticinius). Many names are not to be found anywhere on the Iberian Peninsular Talepius, Poquius, Veratius, Prosius. It is only here that they used such ancient forms as Poplicius (in place of Publicius), Puupius (instead of Pupius), Luucius (instead of Lucius). These names also testify to the non-Hispanic roots of such people and suggest a comparatively early immigration of Italics to Carthago Nova, prior to their mass influx to other regions of Spain. In the inscriptions of a later period one can also come across such «common» names and forms as Clodius and Plotius in place of Claudius and Plautius <sup>50</sup>, which, it seems, can throw some light on the social structure of the immigrants.

So we can conclude that as early as the second century B.C. a great many Italian immigrants flocked to Spain. Comparison of Carthago Nova's names with the data in the spread of the same names on the Italian Peninsula shows that the new settlers came first and foremost from Campania, Southern Latinus and the inner regions of Italy adjacent with them —Sabines, Samnites and others. The port of their departure was Campanian Puteolae where names similar to those at Carthago Nova were recorded in abundance. This town served as one of the centres of liaison between Italy and Spain (Strabo II,3,4; III,2,6). Another, a lesser group of the settlers, included Etruscans, Latins, Roman proper, who departed, most likely, not from Puteolae, but from Ostia, also closely linked with Spain (Strabo III,2,6), particularly, with Carthago Nova <sup>51</sup>.

Side by side with the main, Italian stream of immigration to this city there was another. Among the names in the inscriptions of Carthago Nova there are to be met such names as Aemilius, Claudius, Fabius, Octavius and

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> J. Mangas Manjarres, *Esclavos y libertos en la España Romana*. Salamanca 1971, p. 117 y 271.

<sup>50</sup> A. BELTRÁN, «Las lápidas latinas religiosas y conmemorativas de Cartago», *AEaq.* 33 (1950), p. 274; *idem.* «Inscripciones funerarias en Cartagena», *AEsp.* 33 (1950), p. 398 and 418.

<sup>51</sup> J. LE GALLE, *Tibre, fleuve de Rome dans l'antiquité*. Paris, 1953, p. 239.

some such likes. As has been shown by R. Syme, these «fine» Roman names belonged primarily to the native residents, not Italian immigrants<sup>52</sup>. Therefore one may presume that these names belonged to the Spaniards. Amongst the Spaniards we can single out some who without doubt had come to settle here from other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. For instance, one of the most ancient inscriptions mentioned in the present paper earlier, had the name «Tongilius». It was extremely rare at Rome, but several times it was recorded in the Celtic regions of Spain<sup>53</sup>. The Celtic origin of this man seems highly probable. The same holds true about the quinquennialis of the Republican epoch Albinus by name. His name is found in Spain not only as the cognomen of a Roman or Latin citizen but also as the personal name (without a *gentilicium*) of Spaniards who had as yet no Roman citizenship and who largely lived in the Celtic regions (Vives, 64, 655, 3670, 5355, 5361 and others). Thus we can see that Carthago Nova was peopled since early years both by the Italics and indigenous Hispanics who must have immigrated from the innermost parts of the Peninsula.

Rather early so many immigrants settled at Carthago Nova that they more likely than not outnumbered the native townfolk. Already in the Republican times Carthago Nova acquired the outward appearance of a typical Romano-Italian town with streets decorated with porticoes, and an amphitheatre<sup>54</sup>. Undoubtedly, the descendants from Italy constituted the bulk of the city residents already at that time, they were mostly city magistrates and owners (or leaseholders) of the pits in its environs.

The process of migration must have been rather spontaneous. Until the forties of the first century B.C. not a single legal act regulating the position of Carthago Nova and the immigration process has come down to us. In this respect there arises the question of the legal status of this city. It was E. Hübner who first advanced a supposition that prior to the period of Caesar or Augustus Carthago Nova had been a poll-tax paying city<sup>55</sup> but lately another supposition has been put forward that as early as pre-Caesarian times the city had been a privileged community<sup>56</sup>. In the first part of the present paper, however, we have already demonstrated that under the Barquidae Carthago Nova had enjoyed no privileges and practically no self-government. Ancient Phoenician and Punic towns had persisted in their ancient legal status they had had before merging with the Roman Power long after the Roman conquest. Therefore there seems to be little

<sup>52</sup> R. SYME, *Tacitus*. II. Oxford, 1958, p. 247, n. 17.

<sup>53</sup> J. UNTERMANN, *Elementos de un Atlaso antroponímico de la Hispania antigua*. Madrid, 1965, p. 173-174. There is a Celtic town of Tongobriga and the deity Tonge in Hispania (*ibid.* 174).

<sup>54</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 44-47; A. BALIL, «Casa y urbanismo de la España antigua», *BSAA* 36 (1970), p. 54-55.

<sup>55</sup> E. HÜBNER, «Carthago Nova», *RE* 6 (1899), Sp. 1625.

<sup>56</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 29.

ground for the hypothesis to the effect that the Romans gave this centre of the Carthaginians' authority in Spain that what had been denied by the Carthaginian generals. True, no traces of Phoenician law have been uncovered at Carthago Nova. Its *quattuorviri* and *quinquennales* have nothing similar to the familiar magistrates of Phoenician cities. But could it mean that the city had acquired a privileged position besides?

It is well known that as early as the mid-second century B.C. the pits belonged to the state (Strabo III,2,10) and that in 63 B.C. there were near the city lands «conquered by the valour of the two Scipiones» (Cic. *de leg. agr.* I,5; II,51) and, consequently, not the city's property. Is it possible that Carthago Nova became a privileged community after the mass immigration of Italics there? It must be borne in mind, though, that the first Italic settlers had appeared here manifestly within the second century B.C., that is, prior to the Social War, so that there had been no need for the Roman authorities to legalize their privileged position that had already existed *de facto*. It must not be excluded that after the Social War the Italo-Roman settlers formed an *oppidum civium Romanorum* within the framework of the city community, as was perhaps the case in other places in Spain, Africa or Dalmatia<sup>57</sup>. Yet there is no written evidence of that.

The presence at Carthago Nova of *quattuorviri*, who are not to be found in other stipendiary Spanish towns, has been viewed as the main proof of its privileged position. We must bear in mind, though, that the bulk of the Carthago Nova population was constituted by Italic immigrants, above all, those from Campania. Campania is known to have had *quattuorviri* who were sent by the Roman authorities to Capua, Cumae, Puteolae and other towns. The true nature of this magistrate defies specification so far<sup>58</sup> but the fact of the existence of *quattuorviri* at Campania both before the Social War and after it, is in itself very important. After the Social war the Italian communities that received Roman civil rights also came to be governed largely by *quattuorviri*<sup>59</sup>. It looks quite probable that Italian influence, felt here under the Republic more conspicuously than in any other Spanish town, resulted in the emergence of the institution of Roman law. This might have been legalized through some judicial act but there is no information to prove it. It should be noted that already in the second century B.C. Carthago Nova had another social institution, namely, *collegiae* (magistrates of the *collegiae* were those people who around 100 B.C. had made one of the most ancient inscription (CIL II,3433). Therefore we do not think that such Italian institutions as *quattuorviri* and *collegiae* in themselves bespoke the

<sup>57</sup> A. SHERWIN-WITE, *The Roman Citizenship*. Oxford, 1973, p. 344-350.

<sup>58</sup> W. ENBLIN, «Praefectus», *RE* 44 (1954), Sp. 1284-1285; H. SAEFER, «Vigintiviri», *RE* 16A (1958), Sp. 2572-2573; E. SACHERS, «Praefectus iure dicundo», *RE* 40 (1954), Sp. 2387-2390.

<sup>59</sup> A. SHERWIN-WITE, *Op. cit.*, p. 63, 71.

city's privileged status. More likely than not, Carthago Nova remained a stipendiary town.

The look of things became different in the period of the Empire. It one of the inscriptions (CIL II,3419) are mentioned *coloni et libertini*, in another (CIL II,3414) —the colony's patron. It is absolutely plain that Carthago Nova had become by then a colony. In the process *quattuorviri* had disappeared, *quinquennales* who minted the city's small coins had persisted and there appeared *duumviri* (i.g. CIL II,3429) and *aediles* (CIL II,3435). It was under Augustus that the city acquired the status of a colony because the colony's patron was the vicegerent of Hispania Citerior P. Silius, one of Augustus's legates (Vel.Pat. II,90,4), who is often identified with the consul in 20 B.C.<sup>60</sup>

On the coins of Carthago Nova one can read the legend VINK or CVIN. The letter V has become nowadays interpreted as *Urbs*<sup>61</sup>, which seems very probable, as many towns of Roman Spain upon receiving the Roman status added the word «*urbs*» to their official name. The letter I was always deciphered as *Julia*<sup>62</sup>. A name like this permits us to date the appearance of the colony to the time before the year 27 B.C.<sup>63</sup> A more exact date has been long debated in the historical science: either 45 B.C. (and then the initiator is Caesar, no doubt), or 42 B.C. (then the founder is Lepidus)<sup>64</sup>.

Now let us dwell upon the events of the forties of the first century B.C. In 47 B.C. at Carthago Nova the Pompeian party came to power if it was this city that had struck the coin bearing the names of Sabinus and evidently of Cn. Magnus *imperator*, besides the *quinquennales'* names<sup>65</sup>. When in the following year, though, Cn. Pompey the Junior initiated a warfare against Spain and many towns joined in to aid him, Carthago Nova refused to take the Pompeians' side and was besieged by them (Dio Cass. XLIII,30,1). Considering the significance of this city as the major link between the Iberian Peninsula and Italy, it is easy to assess how important its position must have been for Caesar. No wonder that it was Carthago Nova where Caesar decided many matters of governing the province in 45 B.C.; it is not surprising that Carthago Nova accorded young Octavius such a hearty welcome (Nic.Dam. *Vita Aug.* 11-12). When after Caesar's departure from Spain and especially after his assassination, many towns and military units took the side of Sextus Pompey, the vicegerent of Hispania Ulterior Asinius Pollio took pains striving to hold first and foremost Carthago Nova although it was situated in Hispania Citerior governed by Lepidus. Pollio's attempt

<sup>60</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 29, Anm. 129.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 29.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 29, Anm. 129; E. HÜBNER. *Op. cit.*, Sp. 1625.

<sup>63</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 29.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* E. HÜBNER. *Op. cit.*, Sp. 1624; P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14*. Oxford, 1971, p. 236, 250; A. MONTENEGRO DUQUE. *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>65</sup> K.G. JENKINS. *Op. cit.*, p. 126; J.M. BLAZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios.....*, p. 44.

turned out abortive, he was beaten by Sextus and Carthago Nova fell in Pompey's hands who stationed there one of his legions (Dio Cass. XLIV,10.1-4; Cice. *ad Att.* XVI,4,2). Cicero writes about the joy and the jubulations reigning on the seizure of this city, and about the change in the Spaniards' mood thereupon. Though Sextus was not here long, it was perhaps not until his departure to Galia that Lepidus succeeded in establishing his sway over the city.

There are reasons to suppose that Caesar was justly grateful to the residents of Carthago Nova whereas Lepidus had no grounds to feel thankful to them.

The analysis of the Carthago Nova names of the period of the Empire has shown that on the border line between the Republic and the Empire no changes had taken place in the structure of the city's population. Among its residents we can again find the Italics (many names are again associated with Campania or its environs), the Spaniards' both Iberians and Celts. A slight numerical increase of Spaniards' names in inscriptions may be explained either by accidental nature of the finds or by the fact that upon the appeasement of the whole of the Iberian Peninsula the migration inside Spain grew more extensive and Carthago Nova experienced an influx of new settlers from other regions of the country. What is important is the fact that practically no changes were to be observed in the ruling circle of the city. For instance, among the quattuorviri of the pre-colonial epoch we can see L. Bebius, and the name of the quinquennalis Bebius Pollio appeared on the colony's coins <sup>66</sup>. His colleague was Aquinus Mela, and the Aquinus family had started to work the Carthago Nova pits long before this time. To the pre-colonial time belong the ingots with Cn. Atellius' stamp, another Cn. Atellius was a quinquennalis in 9 A.D. and still another Atellius occupied the same office 66 years before <sup>67</sup>. It follows that the formation of the colony was in no way connected with either the new settlers or the new ruling layer. Thus we can insist that the creation of the colony was by no means a penalty.

Rome had the so-called titular colonies that received this status without deducing there colonists. This practice was particularly widespread at the times of Traianus and Hadrianus but actually it had always existed <sup>68</sup>. Caesar also resorted to the practice during his last campaign in Spain. Dio Cassius (XLIII,39,5) states that the dictator gave the communities, that supported him, lands and freedom from taxes; to some he gave citizenship (evidently, a municipal status), to others he gave the right to consider themselves Roman colonists. All this allows us to proclaim Caesar the founder of the Roman colony of Carthago Nova, the most likely date of the colony's

<sup>66</sup> K.G. JENKINS. *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> F. VITTINGHOFF. *Op. cit.*, S. 27.



birth seems to be 45 B.C. when Caesar came to this city after his victory over the Pompeians (Nic. Dam. *Vita Aug.* 11-12). By that time the city had been inhabited by a great deal of immigrants from Italy who had occupied the ruling posts there. That is perhaps the reason why, unlike Gades, Cartago Nova became a colony, not a municipium, Caesar's action, as it were, ratified the process of colonization which had started at least a century previously.

So, the socio-political Romanization of the Greek and Phoenician regions of Spain had been in the main completed by the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. The bulk of the Spanish population, i.e. the native ethnics of the Iberian Peninsula had also begun to feel a comparatively powerful Roman impact in the Republican epoch. The Spanish Romanization in the period of the Republic falls into three stages or phases—from the outset of the Roman conquest of Spain to Sertorius, from Sertorius' movement to the activities of Caesar, and lastly, the activities of Caesar and his successors.

One of the axes of Romanization at that time was the Hiberus valley. Along this river lay the major trade routes connecting the North-Eastern part of the Peninsula with Italy. In the Upper Hiberus valley as early as 179 B.C. the Romans had founded the town of Grachurris (Liv. *per.* XLI; *FHA* III, 223-224). An important centre of this area was Contrebia Belesca. At least at the current level of archaeological investigations this town has yielded the greatest amount of the fragments of Roman and Italian amphorae of the late-Republican period<sup>69</sup>. The Roman conquest totally destroyed that relative isolation in which the indigenous inhabitants had hitherto lived. In this area from among the Celtiberians and Iberians alike soldiers were recruited for the Roman auxiliary detachments. The equestrians of the Salluvitana turma earned in 89 B.C. the Roman citizenship for their bravery and courage<sup>70</sup>. It is not known if this decree of Cn. Pompey Strabo was a unique affair (as regards the Spaniards) or if similar gifts of Roman citizenship to the valiant Iberian and Celtiberian warriors have just not come down to us. But in each case a reward was meant; it did not seem to be an established practice. That epoch did not see yet a mass civil status of the Spaniards.

An impressive indicator of the advanced Romanization of the Middle Hiberus valley at the time prior to the Sertorius campaign is the Tabula Contrebiensis found not long ago and dated to May 17, 87 B.C., that is two years after Strabo's decree. The tabula contains the result of the court

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<sup>69</sup> M. BELTRÁN LLORIS, *El comercio de aceite en el valle del Ebro a finales de la República Romana y comienzos del Imperio, en Producción y comercio del aceite en la antigüedad*. Madrid, 1980, p. 196-204; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos Estudios...*, p. 36.

<sup>70</sup> *FHA* IV, p. 154-157; A. MONTENEGRO DUQUE. *Op. cit.*, p. 128-129, J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 39-40.

of arbitration at Contrebia Belesca concerning the dispute between the neighbouring Iberian and Vasconian communities<sup>71</sup>. The Sossinestani sold the Sallioenses some land in order to dig a canal but the Allavonenses did not like it. There exists an hypothesis that this affair is indicative of the Allavonenses' sovereignty over the Sossinestani<sup>72</sup>. But if that had been so, the former could have just forbidden to carry out this transaction or if it had already taken place, they could have resorted to force to annul it. Instead the matter had been taken to court to be tried by the Roman vicegerent. The residents of Contrebia who had been vested with the authority of arbitration by the Roman vicegerent, decided the case in favour of Sallvia, not Alavon. Since the two were neighbours<sup>73</sup> they could not but know the true state of things. Therefore we find more reasonable and plausible the opinion of J.S. Richardson that under the conditions of arid climate of the Hiberus valley, the sale of a plot of land to the Sallvienses to build a canal there, was sure to do some harm and damage to the water-supply of Alavon<sup>74</sup>. It cannot be ruled out either that the bone of contention between Alavon and Sossinestani was a certain plot of land and this plot —of all others— the Sossinestani preferred to sell to another community. Anyhow, the Roman vicegerent C. Valerius Flaccus was obliged to see to the matter but he limited himself to the juridical technicalities of the case<sup>75</sup> whereas the decision of the case as such was entrusted by him to the Senators' court of arbitration of the neighbouring neutral community and the Senators tried undeniably according to the local, not Roman law<sup>76</sup>.

It ought to be pointed out that the three communities (to say nothing, for the time being, of Contrebia) embarked upon immediate and various relations between themselves and between themselves and Roman authority. One may get an impression that there were no larger politico-administrative or ethnico-administrative bodies of any kind. Yet it is a well-known fact that Allavon was the town of the Vasconi (Ptol. II,6,66) and Sallvia belonged to the Sedetani (Plin. III,24; Ptol. II,6,62). It has not yet been established to what ethnic Sosinessa belonged but since at that time there were no other ethnics living between the Sedetani and Vasconi, the inhabitants of Sosinessa must have belonged to one of the two. Judging by

<sup>71</sup> G. FATAS, «The Tabula Contrebiensis», *Antiquity* 57, 29 (1983), p. 13.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17; *idem.*, «El bronce de Contrebia», in: *Bajo Aragón, Prehistoria II*. Zaragoza, 1980, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> J.S. RICHARDSON, «The Tabula Contrebiensis: Roman Law in Spain in the Early First century B.C.», *JRS* 73 (1983), p. 39.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38. Before Flaccus became a vicegerent in Spain he had been a praetor urbanus: F. Münzer, «Valerius», *RE* 15A (1955), Sp. 7-9.

<sup>76</sup> J.S. RICHARDSON. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

the inscription the Sedetani and Vasconi of this region had already dissolved into separate communities.

This idea can be corroborated by Strabo's decree. The warriors, who had been granted the Roman citizenship, were grouped according to their communities, without mentioning their ethnicon. The very *turma* was named after the city, that was one of the contenders in the dispute resolved by the Contrebian —after Sallvia<sup>77</sup>. Unlike this *turma*, all auxiliary units that we know about in Spain and that were manned in the inner, northern and north-western regions of the Peninsula, were called not after the communities but the tribes —of the Asturians, Celtiberians, Cantabri and others. The known exceptions are telling ones indeed: five cohorts of Bracaraugustani, for instance, were named either after the *conventum* or after the city but it was already a Roman city, no doubt having no links with any local ethnic. True enough, all these troops belonged to a much later epoch, following Augustus' reforms but the principle of naming, most probably, remained the same<sup>78</sup>.

When Caesar later related the events of his campaign of 49 B.C. he mentioned only *civitates* (*bel. cil.* 48), whereas detailing his adherents who took his side he mentioned the town-dwellers alone (*bel. civ.* 60). In his description of Caesaraugustan *conventum*, a later period altogether, Pliny (III,24) mentioned only cities, although in some cases we can find the name of the ethnic too, to which the city belonged. The legends on the coins also confirm this speculation. The Iberian coins first issued early in the second century B.C. and last minted shortly before 44 B.C. when Iberian legends had been entirely ousted by Latin ones, bear the names of primarily towns though one can also meet some tribe names, as, for example, the names of the Vasconi and the Sedetani<sup>79</sup>. In all likelihood, tribal and city coins coexisted for some time, and the fact can mean that alongside the communities emancipated from «the people», there existed, a part of the selfsame people who went on living their previous life. The pointer is also the mention of the cohorts of Spaniards Vasconi during the Empire<sup>80</sup>.

Evidently it is possible to maintain that the ancient tribal unions were disintegrating, that certain communities, at least the most significant ones, had already shaken off the tribal fetters, begun to strike their own money, entered into relations with each other, on the one hand, and with the Roman authorities on the other, without reckoning with the tribe in any way.

<sup>77</sup> *FHA* IV, p. 156. The finding of the Contrebia tablet with the town of Sallvia mentioned there confirms the traditional opinion.

<sup>78</sup> J.M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el ejército Romano*. Salamanca, 1974, p. 65-158.

<sup>79</sup> J. CARO BAROJA, «La escritura de la España prerromana», in: *Historia de España*, t.I, v.3. Madrid, 1963, p. 731-734; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...*, p. 343-347; A. BELTRÁN, «Problemática general de la iberización en el valle del Ebro», *Ampurias* 38-40 (1976-1978), p. 202-203; P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE. *Op. cit., passim*.

<sup>80</sup> J.M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS. *Op. cit.*, p. 530.

As we remember, at the beginning of the Roman conquest, the situation was different: the basic unit of the region was the tribe<sup>81</sup>. The emergence of separate city communities must be interpreted as an important result of the Romanization.

Things were different in Contrebia. Its second name —Belesca— hints at the tribe the Contrebianians belonged to. In Spain there were at least three towns of the same name «Contrebia»<sup>82</sup> so that the second name was meant to specify what exactly town one had in mind. But that was not the only function of the second name. This city minted coins with the legend «be-laiscom»<sup>83</sup>. The flexion «com» —the flexion of the Celtic, *Genitivus Pluralis*— indicates that the name is an ethnic unit<sup>84</sup>. Thus Contrebia seems to be the Belesci centre. Irrespective of the fact if the Belesci had other towns or not, Contrebia regarded itself as the tribal capital and issued money on behalf of the tribe. Obviously it was a community within the Celtiberian tribal union of the Lusoni.

We know very little about the inner structure of Allavon and Sallvia. The residents of Sallvia drove in the stakes at public expense (*publice*), in other words they marked out the course of a future canal. So we see a whole collective, a community which embraced, besides the townsfolk, also villagers or town-dwellers who were engaged in farming too, for it was the farmers who badly needed the canal. In this respect Sallvia is not unlike all other communities not only in Spain but in the whole ancient world. The same applies to the Allavonenses who joined in the argument over the plot of land.

As for Sosinessa the inscription mentions in plain words Sosinestana civitas. *Civitas* is not just a town. For instance, Livy (XXXIV,16,3) makes a mention of seven castles of the Bergesitanian *civitas*. We do not know the size of the Sosinestanian

territory. The economic significance of Sosinessa was in all possibility not large<sup>85</sup>. But without the shadow of a doubt its territory lay beyond the city walls. Here there was both private land (*ager privatus*) and public land (*ager publicus*). In the inscription it is specifically stated that the town-dwellers of Sosinessa would consider legitimate the construction of a canal through private lands only if and when the Sallvienses paid (obviously in addition to the sum they would have to pay the whole community for the purchase of the land) as much money as the neutral disinterested judges would say.

No narrative sources testify to the existence of private lands in this region in the epoch of the conquest. Certainly it cannot mean that they did

<sup>81</sup> See our previous paper on the topic.

<sup>82</sup> G. FATAS, «The Tabula Contrebienses», p. 12.

<sup>83</sup> J. CARO BAROJA. *Op. cit.*, p. 733; P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE. *Op. cit.*, p. 102. 117, 441.

<sup>84</sup> J. CARO BAROJA. *Op. cit.*, p. 742.

<sup>85</sup> G. FATAS, «The Tabula Contrebiensis», p. 13.

not exist. It can only mean that neither the generals nor the authors paid any attention to such things. After the conquest, though, the authors lost interest in this region. According to the archaeological material, it is impossible to single out prior to the Romans' advent richer houses or tombs in the settlements and in the necropoleis alike<sup>86</sup>. In all likelihood there was no discrimination of the people according to their property, not at that time. This fact may obliquely bear out the absence of private property. It seems safe to presume that *ager privatus* stemmed in the Iberian soil from Romanization.

Perhaps, another fruit of the Romanization was the structure of the names of those persons who defended the cause of the Sallvienses and Allavonenses: the personal name, the patronymic, the place of one's birth (for example, Turibas, son of Teitabas Allavonensis, —assius, son of Eicharus, Sallviensis). Neither clan, nor tribe of the person is mentioned. It means that in these communities the territorial and family principle replaced the clan principle.

The community of Contrebia was of a different nature. Contrebia Belesca, as has been stated in our first article, was the centre of the settlement of several *gentilitates*. The clan union played a rather important part: the Contrebianians are called not only by their personal names and their fathers' names but also by their *gentilitates*, that was used in *Genitivus Pluralis* and nested between the personal name and the patronymic<sup>87</sup>. Consequently, Contrebia Belesca preserved the ancient character to a greater extent than its non Indo-European neighbours.

The names mentioned in the inscription are native names, only in one case it may be supposed, though with very slight ground indeed, that the Roman name Cassius was restored<sup>88</sup>. But even this name does not betray his owner's status of a citizen. In Strabo's decree three Ilerdenenses had Roman names (though indigenous patronymics) but they were given the Roman citizenship only by this decree. So that one may conclude that all the participants of the case in question were not citizens.

The language of the Tabula Contrebiensis is Latin, and it is a good language, without grammatical mistakes. The spelling of the words was current at that time, for instance, «ei» is regularly used to denote long and sometimes short «i», «ai» is used instead of «ae», in place of the conjunction «cum» «quom» is used. It bespeaks a good command of the language in both the authors of the inscription and the contending parties concerned. At the same time the language of another large inscription from Contrebia Belesca

<sup>86</sup> A. BELTRÁN, *Problemática general...* 199-201.

<sup>87</sup> It fully corresponds to the rules of Celtic and Celtiberian onomastic system: cf. M. FAUST, «Tradición lingüística y estructura social», *Actas del II coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas*. Salamanca, 1979, p. 447-451.

<sup>88</sup> G. FATAS, *El bronce de Contrebia*, p. 59

designed for the home use, is Celtiberian<sup>89</sup>; the legends on the coins of this city as well as of the neighbouring communities, Sallvia and Alavon, among them, are made with Iberian letters in the vernacular<sup>90</sup>. One can infer that in the second-first centuries B.C. these were still living languages, people spoke them; besides one must bear in mind the fact that these languages belonged to different language groups. The Sallvienses were the *Sedetani*, i.e. the Iberians. Allavon was inhabited by the Vasconi. The problem of the relationships between the Iberian and pre-Basque languages still awaits its final solution but one thing is absolutely certain and plain—they are not Indo-European languages. The names of the Sallviensis and Allavonensis from the Tablet of Contrebia are not Indo-European. The Belesci were Celtiberians whose language belonged to the Celtic ones, i.e. Indo-European. All these people, to adequately communicate with each other, wanted a tongue of inter-ethnic communication. The role of such common tongue in the first century B.C. was played by Latin, the conquerors' tongue. Inside the communities local native languages were still much spoken.

To sum up, by the eighties of the first century B.C. at least some Sedetani and Vasconi had experienced the substitution of tribal unity for urban territorial community that included the town proper and its agricultural area. Family and local ties replaced tribal ones. The Celtiberian clan tribal system resisted the Roman orders and practices with greater stubbornness. Their *gentilitates* had persisted as real cells of social activities. The structure of the Celtiberian name convincingly proves how important was a man's oneness with such a cell. Evidently their representatives occupied the office of magistrates and were Senators.

Under the mighty impact of the Romans the communal practices began to radically change. From the public common land of the Sossinestani called after Latin fashion *ager publicus*, private land (*ager privatus*) began to be discriminated; thus the social composition of the local native community began to be like the Roman one, in which the distinctions between public and private lands were of great consequence.

The Latin language, the only official language of the western part of the Roman Power, had already been adopted by the ethnics who used it in their official (with the Roman authorities) and inter-ethnic communication.

Yet a considerable quantity of local elements had still held their own. The communities themselves had neither Roman nor Latin law although some individuals such as the equestrians of Sallvitanian *turma* could have already got citizenship. Inside the communities and perhaps in inter-communal relations the native common law had survived. Within the communities their inhabitants kept on speaking in vernacular.

<sup>89</sup> M. LEJEUNE, «La grande inscription celtibère de Botorrita (Saragosse)». *CRAI*, 1973, p. 622-647; J.M. HOZ y L. MICHELENA, *La inscripción celtibérica de Botorrita*. Salamanca, 1974.

<sup>90</sup> J. CARO BAROJA. *Op. cit.*, p. 732-733; M. LEJEUNE. *Op. cit.*, p. 622-647.

The second axis of the Romanization was the Baetis valley, the richest and therefore the most attractive region in Spain. The Romans and the Italics began to make it their home from time out of mind. As early as the war against the Carthaginians Scipio founded there Italica (App. *His.* 38) and later Gracchus founded Iliturgi<sup>91</sup>. For a long time both these cities had neither Roman nor Latin law but already in the second century B.C. here emerged the first Latin colony —Carteia (Liv. XLIII,3,1) and then —Corduba (Strabo III,2,1). Incidentally, as we shall see further on, the settlers from Rome and Italy came to live in Baetica not only in these cities but in the native ones and in the rural areas too.

The Romans subjected Turdetania to their rule at an early period. The rebellions of Culchas and Luxinius must have resulted in the ruin of their kingdoms. After their defeat we have no evidence about the Turdetanians' monarchies. It was not until the time of the struggle of Caesar against Pompey's sons that we come to hear about the kinglet Indo (*Bel. Hisp.* 10) but we do not know where he reigned and what authority he was vested with. In place of former kingdoms we have now towns to deal with. As early as 195 B.C. Cato had connections with the town of Turta (*FHA* III, p. 189). Early in the second century B.C. Carmo was under the king Luxinius' sway (Liv. XXXIII,21,6), and in 151 B.C. Galba beaten by the Lusitanians fled for his rescue to this town (App. *Hisp.* 58). Carmo's links with any larger commune have not been evidenced. As Appian reports, Carmo was directly subordinate to the Roman vicegerent. In his narrations about Viriatus's raids to Turdetania and Baeturia he mentions only separate towns (App. *Hisp.* 62, 65, 70). In the second century B.C. the towns in South Spain started their own coinage, first with native and then with Latin legends too. It was these cities who were the «owners» of the coin<sup>92</sup>. The appearance of Latin legends suggests the spread of the Latin language in the country. The nasal twang of the Corduba poets who glorified Metellus' heroic feats, the accent, that disgusted Cicero and provoked his sneers and jibes (*Arch.* 10,26), indicates that these poets were none others than native residents who had some command of Latin.

Shortly after that the first citizens appeared on the historical stage in the South of Spain too, e. g. the Gaditans mentioned by Cicero (*Balb.* XVIII,50-51). In the era of the Empire in Baetica were widely known Lucii Aemilii<sup>93</sup>, whose ancestor could have got the Roman citizenship from the praetor of Hispania Ulterior L. Aemilius Paullus (Liv. XXXVI,2,6). Calpurnius Piso, the vicegerent of this province in 154 B.C., or another Calpurnius Piso who took the office in 112 B.C. must have begot the numerous Calpurnii of Baetica<sup>94</sup>. In the year 82 B.C. Sulla delegated C. An-

<sup>91</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>92</sup> A. VIVES, *La moneda Hispánica*. t.III. Madrid, 1924, *passim*.

<sup>93</sup> C. CASTILLO, *Prosopografía Baetica*. Pamplona, 1965, p. 11-13, 383.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.

nus to be vicegerent of the province instead of Sertorius (Plut. *Sert.* 6) and C. Annius drove Sertorius out of Spain. It looks probable that the new vicegerent, eager to gain in Spain a stronger foothold in his fight with the Marians, took extra pains to win over the aborigines by giving them citizenship. This, maybe, was the way the Annili came to power and authority in Spain. True, if we ought to believe Plutarch, C. Annius held his office in Hispania Citerior but a wide spread of this family name in Baetica bears witness also to a wide spread of the civic *status* over the inhabitants of South Spain <sup>95</sup>. Nevertheless, for all the expansion of the Roman citizenship, every similar case was here, as well as in the Hiberus valley, but a single act, there was no Roman citizenship en mass among the indigenes of this region. Outside the few colonies and other forms of citizens' unions, the native law and native political and social relations were unquestionably dominant here.

The next phase of the Romanization of Spain was connected with the movement of Sertorius and its aftermath. During his campaign against the Sulla government Sertorius made ample use of both the Roman emigrants, who fled to Spain, and their army as well as of the non-Romanized or scarcely Romanized locals of Spain. The dual nature of his supporters determined also the dual character of the power, Sertorius managed to create. In the first place, it was a legal, in his opinion, Roman power in Spain, in the second, the union of the Spanish communities with the general himself who was tied with many allies by patron-clients bonds.

The figure of Sertorius was essentially the only link between the two camps fighting against the Roman governmental troops. With the death of the commander this link was no more; that eventually resulted in the rebels' defeat. Actually Sertorius built under extraordinary circumstances a state of a new type, which in many respects anticipated a later bureaucratization of Rome's state apparatus. Under Sertorius there came into existence in Spain an alliance of communities embracing almost the whole of the non-Romanized zone of the Peninsula. Through their participation in wars under the command of Sertorius the Spaniards got involved in Rome's political life. In Sertorius' army they were organized and armed in the Roman fashion. Despite the tragic outcome of the experiment with a school at Osca, the very fact of the integration of the Spanish aristocrats in the Roman way of life was of high significance and later it was repeated. In some cases Sertorius gave the locals the Roman citizenship and the latter was recognized by the Roman government. Upon the defeat of the insurgents the Spaniards came to pay their taxes primarily in Roman money, which promoted the process of integrating the aborigines into the all-Roman economic system <sup>96</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18-23, 384.

<sup>96</sup> For details see: Ju.B. TSIRKIN, *The Movement of Sertorius* (in the press).



The pivotal point in the history of the Romanization of Spain proved to be the activities of Caesar and his successors. Caesar's deeds in the capacity of a quaestor and propraetor of Hispania Ulterior did not differ much from those of other Roman magistrates and promagistrates. Thanks to his activities for the good of the provincials he managed to win a substantial clientele; in any case Caesar himself claimed, if the author of the *Spanish War* (42) ought to be believed, that he had taken the province under his patronage and protected and promoted its interest in every way possible in the Roman Senate. But even those deeds were nothing out of the ordinary. Things took a different turn during the campaign against the Pompeians. In 49 B.C. after the surrender of Varro he summoned to the rally at Corduba not only Roman citizens residing in the province but also the Spaniards, *i. e.* provincials without a citizenship, and the Gaditans who were at the time federates (Caes. *bel.civ.* II,21). Obviously in the same year 49 B.C. but somewhat later, after the Corduba rally Caesar bestowed the *status* of a *municipium* upon Gades. More likely than not it occurred during the dictator's stay in this town. True, the municipal *status* of Gades was not ratified, evidently, until 27 B.C. This step of Caesar's was essentially innovative: it was the first time that not individual Spaniards but a whole city was granted the Roman citizenship<sup>97</sup>. Previously Spain had witnessed the Roman foundation of colonies where came to settle immigrants from Italy<sup>98</sup>; now all citizens of a provincial town became Roman citizens.

From that time on the number of *municipia* in Spain began to grow. Already Caesar himself (or some one of his successors but by his order) made another Hispano-Phoenician town — Sexi — a *municipium*. As has been stated earlier, in 45 B.C. the title «titular colony» was given by Caesar to Carthago Nova. Possibly it was already Caesar who made 27 towns of this region Latin *municipia*<sup>99</sup>, which paved the way for their native noblemen to become eventually Roman citizens. If we consider the Roman Republic to be a state of the polis of Rome that stood at the head of an immense power, and the Roman Empire to be an All-Mediterranean state with the capital city of Rome, then we may presume that Spain embarked upon the road to the Empire precisely under Caesar. It was under Caesar too that the emigrants from Spain began to penetrate into the «upper crust» of the Roman society. Who is meant is an equestrian from Gades, L. Cornelius Balbus, who had got a citizenship many long years before and then had become one of Caesar's closest associates and, one time in the dictator's absence, performed in concert with Oppius the duties of a plenipotentiary regent

<sup>97</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, *Römische Städtewesen auf der neukastilische Hochebene*. Heidelberg, 1987, S. 104; Ju.B. TSIRKIN, «The Phoenician civilization in Roman Spain», *Gerión* 3 (1985), p. 262-264.

<sup>98</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 7-16.

<sup>99</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 15.

(though he had no official post, which fact was also a salient feature of the on-coming imperial period) <sup>100</sup>.

In 45 B.C. during the warfare with Pompey's children and shortly after it Caesar, anxious to punish the treacherous towns that had taken the side of his enemies, deduced a number of colonies into them and dispossessed the former residents of at least part of their houses and arable lands. All these colonies, except Emporion, were situated in the South of the Peninsula. This not only increased still more the Romano-Italian element in the population of the would-be province of Baetica but also created there a qualitatively new situation of the immigrants' dominion, if not numerically, then in their actual political weight. Prior to Caesar, in the future Baetica there had been probably only two official colonies—Carteia and Corduba—<sup>101</sup>, whereas in Caesar's epoch at least as many as four colonies were deduced <sup>102</sup>. Prior to Caesar, immigration from Italy had been mostly unofficial, under Caesar it acquired a perfectly official character.

The cause of the assassinated dictator lived on in his successors' deeds. They deduced new colonies. For instance, Lepidus created as a colony the town of Celsa and, maybe, Ilici; Norbanus made the colony of Norba Caesarina. Some time earlier, Antonius, by Caesar's will, deduced the colony of Urso (*CIL* II, 5439, 104) <sup>103</sup>. Simultaneously they went on conquering the not-yet-vanquished regions of the Iberian Peninsula. In some cases military operations against the aborigines blended with the elements of a civil war. Such was a campaign against Sextus Pompey until he left Spain. By the time of Augustus' autocracy the whole of the Peninsula, except the North-West and the North, had been subordinated to Rome.

In terms of Romanization the whole vast territory maybe divided at that time into three zones. The first zone embraced the larger part of the Peninsula: the inner and western regions of Hispania Citerior and Lusitania. In this enormous territory no vestiges of Romanization are to be discerned. Here in some places Roman legions were stationed, in other places Romans appeared every now and then. In later epochs the stationing of the troops and their numerous and diverse links with the natives proved to be one of the basic means and ways of Romanization. Things were a bit different in the time of the Republic and at the beginning of the Empire. At this time the legions' areas were separated from the local surroundings and isolated from them <sup>104</sup>. At first the Romans used to amass a huge military loot from

<sup>100</sup> Ju. B. TSIRKIN, *Phoenician Culture in Spain*. Moscow, 1976, p. 206-215 (in Russian).

<sup>101</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 7-10.

<sup>102</sup> J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 15.

<sup>103</sup> H. Galsterer. *Op. cit.*, S. 23-26.

<sup>104</sup> A. MOSCY, «Zu den prata legionis», in: *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher* 19 (1967), S. 211.

this region and then —taxes<sup>105</sup>, but we lack information on their working the mines in the inner and western parts of Spain<sup>106</sup>. The traces of Roman import are also hard to come by here.

In this vast area the ancient tribal structure had survived, its remainders still conspicuous and much in evidence well into the imperial period<sup>107</sup>. Here reigned local law<sup>108</sup>, even if it was not recognized officially by the Roman authorities. The people spoke their mother tongues judging from the epigraphic inscription in Celtic with the Iberian and less frequently Latin script, and also from coin legends<sup>109</sup>. In this region in the Republican times there was not a single town (except, perhaps, the colonies made after Caesar's death) of Roman or Latin law. It is possible to say that the whole zone persisted as a totally native one, subordinate to Rome only through purely political means.

The second zone was the very opposite to the first, being entirely or almost entirely Romanized. First and foremost it is the middle and lower Baetis valley. Strabo, whose sources on the whole can be traced back to the late republican time<sup>110</sup>, maintains that the Turdetanians adopted not only the Latin language but also the Roman way of life to the oblivion of their native tongue, and became as good as Romans (III,2,15). Indeed, the provincials understood Latin, as is clear from the fact that Caesar twice addressed them with his orations (Caes. *bel.civ.* II,21; *bel.Hisp.* 42)<sup>111</sup>. The signs of cultural Romanization or rather Latinization are the coins which bore more and more Latin legends side by side with the local ones until the time when the Latin legends eventually superseded the local ones. Many coins in Baetica had a bilingual inscription that after 45 B.C. completely disappeared, having been ousted by Latin legends<sup>112</sup>.

Here Turdetanian names are very scanty<sup>113</sup> and local religion is scarcely

<sup>105</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, «Roma y explotación económica de la Península Ibérica», in: *Raíces de España*. Madrid, 1967, *idem.*, *La economía...*, p. 301-305; C. GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN, «Economía e imperialismo», *Memorias de Historia Antigua* 4 (1980), p. 139-148.

<sup>106</sup> Cf.: D. NONY, «La Péninsule Ibérique», in: *Rome et la conquête du Monde méditerranéen*. Paris, 1978, p. 667.

<sup>107</sup> M.L. ALBERTOS FIRMAT, «Organizaciones suprafamiliares en la Hispania antigua», *BSAA* 40-41 (1975), p. 9-31; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, «El legado indoeuropeo en la Hispania Romana», in: *I Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular*. Pamplona, 1960, p. 343-345; J.M. MALUQUER DE MOTES, «Pueblos celtas», in: *Historia de España*, t.I, v.3, p. 145-148.

<sup>108</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *El legado...*, p. 345; *idem.*, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 54-56, 67-68.

<sup>109</sup> A. TOVAR «Lenguas indoeuropeas», in: *Enciclopedia lingüística hispana*, t.I. Madrid, 1960, p. 16; J. CARO BAROJA. *Op. cit.*, p. 761-764; M. LEJEUNE, *Celtibérica*. Salamanca, 1955, p. 71-74.

<sup>110</sup> *History of Greek Literature*, v.3. Moscow, 1960, p. 171 (in Russian).

<sup>111</sup> A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, «Die Latinisierung Hispanians», *ANRW*, Bd. I. Berlín-Nueva York, 1972, S. 471.

<sup>112</sup> A. VIVES. *Op. cit.*, t. III, *passim.*; A. TOVAR, J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Historia de la Hispania Romana*. Madrid, 1975, p. 236.

<sup>113</sup> M.L. ALBERTOS FIRMAT, «Onomastique indigène de la Péninsule Ibérique», *ANRW*, Bd. 2,29,2. Berlín-Nueva York, 1983, p. 880-881.

evidenced. As Cicero (*Arch.* XXVI) relates in the seventies of the first century B.C. Baetica had aboriginal poets. There existed here also schools arranged after the Roman model; in one of those studied Seneca the Elder, who, on account of the Civil War, could not go to Rome and get educated there <sup>114</sup>.

There are no grounds to assert a deep restructuring of the economy of this region, since, as in the former times, the people here were engaged in grain agriculture, olive growing and mining, and on the coast, in fishing, all those time-tested occupations of the natives <sup>115</sup>. What must be stressed, though, is the fact that since the second century B.C. close links with Italy began to be established. True, the agriculture of Baetica of this period had not yet achieved the important role it began to play from the close of the first century B.C. onwards but already during the first century B.C. the greatest ships came to Puteolae from Spain (Strabo III,2,6). By far more goods were imported from Italy to Baetica. Archaeological data have proved that the Baetis valley was literally inundated with Italian pottery, particularly with wine amphorae <sup>116</sup>. It is believed that the abundance of imported vessels brought about the cessation of the manufacture of local pottery at the turn of the first century B.C. or even in the mid-second century B.C. <sup>117</sup>.

The significant outcome of the Romanization was a reorganization of the socio-political structures. In the course of the conquest vanished the local petty kingdoms that had sprung into existence on the ruins of Tartessus. Strabo more than once mentions the Spanish ethnics of Southern Spain: Turdetanians, Turduli, Bastetani and others, but he meant the inhabitants of these parts rather than actual politico-administrative units. The same tradition persisted in the geography of a much later period. The same ethnics were mentioned by Ptolemy (II, 4, 4-11) in the second century A.D. when, no doubt, he could not have meant any tribal leagues in the South of Spain. But Pliny, whose data can be traced back to the close of the Republic <sup>118</sup>, describes only the towns of Baetica. The majority of the towns were stipendiary, they had neither Roman nor Latin citizenship, but they were towns all the same. The town had become by then the principal politico-administrative cell in the South of the Iberian Peninsula, which exactly corresponded to the Roman system.

An important constituent of Romanization was a spread of slavery <sup>119</sup>. There were so many slaves in this region that Sextus Pompey liberated them,

<sup>114</sup> J.F. RODRÍGUEZ NEILA, *Historia de Córdoba*, t.I. Córdoba, 1988, p. 279.

<sup>115</sup> A. TOVAR, J.M. BLÁZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 215-218, 221-224.

<sup>116</sup> *Corpus Vasorum Aretinorum*, *passim*.

<sup>117</sup> J. MALUQUER DE MOTES, «Pueblos ibéricos», in: *Historia de España*, t.I,3, p. 672.

<sup>118</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 18; J.J. TIERNEY, «The Map of Agrippa», in: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, v.63, section C, New York, 1963, p. 155.

<sup>119</sup> J. MANGAS MANJARRÉS, *Esclavos y libertos de la Hispania Romana*. Salamanca, 1971, p. 76, 499.

gave them arms and attempted to defend Corduba from Caesar's legions with their help (*bel. Hisp.* 34; Dio Cass. XLIII,39,1). A rich slave-owner was Scapula, a resident of Corduba, the owner of a ramified slave family (*bel. Hisp.* 33)<sup>120</sup>, and so was Vibius Pacianus, the owner of a large estate where Crassus found refuge in 80 B.C. (Plut. *Crass.* 4).

Thus, the middle and lower Baetis valley appears to have been deeply Romanized; to become wholly and entirely Romanized, it needed only the Roman citizenship for all its inhabitants (the minority had already received it, especially in Caesar's time).

To the same zone belonged also some towns of the Mediterranean coast of Hispania Citerior. Such was Carthago Nova, already studied previously. A purely Roman, or, to be more exact, Romano-Italian town was Tarraco founded by the Romans. Apparently Caesar turned it, upon his military triumphs, into a colony. Tarraco's chief function seems to have been to trade with Italy: it was no pure accident that in the Republican times the city concentrated its business life around the harbour and it was much later that it spread over the neighbouring hills (the upper town). In this town they minted coins (although with the name of an Iberian place or tribe —*Kesse*—). In this town they have undug 18 inscriptions of the Republican epoch (the sum total of the inscriptions is 1000, *i. e.* ten per cent of all Roman inscriptions in the Peninsula), not one of them bore a native name, though the analysis of the names plainly indicates Iberian origin of some of these people<sup>121</sup>.

On the Mediterranean coast there were other Roman or deeply Romanized towns, as, for example, Valentia<sup>122</sup> and, maybe, Barcino and Baetulo (Plin. III,22).

The third zone was represented by the mountainous regions of the Upper Baetis, the mountains embracing the valley, the Atlantic and Mediterranean coast of Baetica and the Mediterranean coast of Hispania Citerior (excluding the towns just dwelt upon), the middle and lower Hiberus valley. This zone occupied the intermediate position between the first two. On the one hand this territory betrayed patent symptoms of being Romanized. Above all, it was the economic exploitation by Romans and Italics of mineral resources of Baetica that yielded fabulous profits. For instance, according to Strabo (III,2,9), a quarter of the copper of Baetica was fine copper, the owner of the silver pits extracted every day an Eubean talent, *i. e.* 26 Kg. of pure silver. Pliny (XXXIV,165) narrated about two Baetica pits, one of which yielded 40.000 and the other —20.000 pounds of metals a year. These riches were mainly exported to Italy and precisely from the ports of the southern coast; among them Gades stood out (Strabo III,5,3).

<sup>120</sup> K. W. WELWEI, *Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst*, Bd. 3. Stuttgart, 1988, S. 143-144.

<sup>121</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, «Tarraco», *RE*, SpTBd. 15 (1978), Sp. 572-594, 625, 637.

<sup>122</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 12.

The towns of the Baetica coast played the role of the intermediary centres connecting South Spain with Italy and Africa (for instance, Strabo III,4,2)<sup>123</sup>. Noticeable traces of the ties with Italy may be also observed in the eastern part of Hispania Citerior whence Lacetanian wine went to Italy; the presence of Italian ceramics suggests its imports<sup>124</sup>. A pointer to the reorganization of the economic system is the spread of the coin struck by the Roman standard<sup>125</sup>.

Pliny (III,19-28) enumerates a considerable number of towns in this zone, which speaks much about the development of a town system. Coins were often struck with Latin or bilingual inscriptions<sup>126</sup>. The pits were mined mostly by slaves (*i. g.* Strabo II,2,10), though free people were also exploited there<sup>127</sup>.

Side by side with these manifest symptoms of Romanization, ancient institutions proved to be viable too. The selfsame Pliny, enumerating the towns of the eastern part of Hispania Citerior names also «populi», among them some large ones such as Edetani, Ceretani, Bastetani, etc. On the outskirts of Baetica, *i. e.* also in the intermediate zone, the Roman encyclopaedist finds some «populi» (III,8; 13). Consequently, despite its wide current spread, the urban system was not yet the only and single system there unlike the Romanized zone. In the mining zone a considerable portion of the labourers were free people. These were the indigenes who preserved their old culture<sup>128</sup>. In Greek and Phoenician towns the local vernacular was widely spoken. In a number of places there were in evidence the vestiges of native cults, such as Neto's cult. The bowl of Tivisa dating back to the first century B.C. was ornamented with mythological scenes and it testifies to the tenacity of Iberian mythology<sup>129</sup>. Mythological scenes were also executed on Iberian vases, the principal centre of whose manufacture was south-eastern Spain<sup>130</sup>.

Talking about pottery it must be noted that in some areas of East Spain

<sup>123</sup> F. LÓPEZ PARDO, «Mauritania Tingitana: tendencias en las relaciones interprovinciales», in: *España y el Norte de Africa*. Granada, 1984, p. 185-186; P. RODRIGUEZ OLIVA, «Contactos entre las tierras malacitanas y el Norte de Africa en época clásica», in: *ibid.*, p. 195-196.

<sup>124</sup> M. BELTRÁN LLORIS, «El comercio de aceite en el Valle del Ebro a finales de la República y comienzos del Imperio Romano», in: *Producción y comercio del aceite en la Antigüedad*. Madrid, 1980, p. 144-219; J. BARBARÁ, «El impacto comercial itálico», in: *Problemas de la prehistoria y de la Arqueología Catalanas*. Barcelona, 1963, p. 165-171; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...*, p. 332-339.

<sup>125</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...*, p. 343-347; P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE. *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>126</sup> J. CARO BAROJA. *Op. cit.*, p. 703-778; A. VIVES. *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>127</sup> T.A. RICKARD, «The Mining of the Roman Spain», *JRS* 18 (1928), p. 132; *Historia económica y social de España*, v.I. Madrid, 1975; J. MANGAS MANJARRÉS. *Op. cit.*, p. 79-80.

<sup>128</sup> J. MANGAS MANJARRÉS, *ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Religiones prerromanas*. Madrid, 1983, p. 189-191, 305.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179-213; D. FLETCHER VALLS, *Problemas de la cultura ibérica*. Valencia, 1960, p. 84

local and imported vessels co-existed. In general, the first century B.C. is justly regarded as the heyday of Iberian sculpture and vase painting<sup>131</sup>. All this bears witness to the conclusion that in this zone, for all its deep Romanization, the native civilization still held its own.

Why are the three zones of Romanization to be singled out?. Certainly, to begin with, we must consider the time of the Roman conquest and, correspondingly, how long this or that area found itself under the Romans' sway. The subjected people were willy-nilly obliged to get into daily contact with the Roman authorities and assimilate at least some survival Latin, which was becoming at the time a tongue of interethnic communication in Spain<sup>132</sup>. The Roman gods managed to assert their authority and to oust the local deities, thus the cults of the Roman gods began to establish themselves and spread. Although the native communities preserved their old law<sup>133</sup>, the Roman vicegerents resorted in their activities to the Roman juridical norms so that the aborigines had to reckon with them and assimilate them to some extent. The maintenance of the occupation army and then the necessity to pay the taxes led to the emergence and a wide spread of a monetary system (particularly in the East and South of the Peninsula)<sup>134</sup>, which could not but influence the Spaniards' economic and social life. In the course of the occupation and conquest some natives became slaves and, much against their will, they were involved in the Roman social relations<sup>135</sup>. Certain socio-political structures were destroyed in case of their active resistance. All these gave birth to some elements of Romanization in Spain. However, taken as such, these elements did not fall into a single whole. Some factors were to be there too, above all, the readiness of the local societies to transform themselves, into antique ones. Another mighty factor here was the interaction of the indigenous and the Roman worlds. The former factor was unthinkable without the latter. Without the influence of the Roman world the transformation of the native world was unthinkable.

The Second Punic War saw the start of the Romano-Italian immigration to the Iberian Peninsula. Already the first Roman generals were the founders of the towns, that turned out to be the seats of Romanization. Pliny (III,21) attributes the foundation of Tarraco to the Scipio brothers. The future conqueror of Hannibal became the founder of Italica meant as a hospital for his wounded warriors (App. *Hisp.* 38). In the Republican times came to settle in Spain such famous in the future families as the Aelii, the Aponii, the Dasumii, the Ulpii and others<sup>136</sup>. Quite a number of settlers

<sup>131</sup> A. ARRIBAS, *The Iberians*. London, 1963, p. 169-174.

<sup>132</sup> A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, «Die Latinisierung...», S. 468-469.

<sup>133</sup> F.J. FERNÁNDEZ NIETO, «El derecho en la España Romana», in: *Historia de España*, t.II,2, p. 160-162.

<sup>134</sup> A. VIVES. *Op. cit.*, *passim*; J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...*, p. 343-347.

<sup>135</sup> J. MANGAS MANJARRÉS. *Op. cit.*, p. 41-47.

<sup>136</sup> C. CASTILLO, *Prosopografía Baetica*, t.II. Pamplona, 1965, p. 413; *eadem*. «Städte und

had already lived in Spain by the time when the war between Caesar and Pompey broke out, and they became still more numerous owing to the purposeful policies of Caesar and his successors.

The studies of the Romano-Italian immigration pose a number of problems; to begin with, the problem of the immigrants' origin. The analysis of the linguistic and onomastic evidence leads to an unambiguous conclusion that Rome itself was a most insignificant source of immigration. The major stream of immigrants came from Campania and the nearby areas with the predominantly Oscan language. The second, by far a lesser stream of immigrants was probably from Etruria<sup>137</sup>. This conclusion is at present generally recognized; as to the colonists' social origin, it is still disputed. The basic source of the Italo-Roman population in Spain is currently believed to be the veterans who had served a long time in the Peninsula, got used to the conditions and customs of the country and willingly settled there when their service came to its end<sup>138</sup>. However, a closer study of all sorts of data pertaining to the settlement of the Romans and Italics in Spain makes us question this opinion. Besides it must be noted that prior to Marius' military reform there was no necessity to settle the veterans in special places in provinces at all. It goes without saying that the veterans' role should not be ignored altogether but it must be borne in mind that their role was not the leading one, at least during the greater part of the period under consideration<sup>139</sup>.

It looks as if the Italian «businessmen» were very instrumental in this process. The focus of their interests were the mines. Diodorus (V,36) reports that masses of Italics flocked to the Spanish pits. The analysis of Cartago Nova's signatures, in particular, indicates, as has already been shown, that the bulk of such publicans came from Campania and that at least some of them belonged to the same famous families of Campania who carried

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Personen der Baetica», *ANRW*, t.11,3 (1975), S.649; R. SYME, «The Testamentum Dasumii: Some Novelties», *Chiron* 15 (1985), p. 43. It must be pointed out that according to the linguists' data, Spanish Latin reflected both a rather archaic state of this language and the fact that the Italian immigrants to Spain had themselves a poor command of Latin — they had learned it but recently and still retained many elements of their old tongue: M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, «El latín de la Península Ibérica: Rasgos lingüísticos», in: *ELH*, t.I. Madrid, 1960, p. 154; V. PISANI, «Italian Dialects in their Historical Aspect», in: *Voprosi yazikoznania*, 1973, N° 6, p. 5 (in Russian).

<sup>137</sup> R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, «Dos problemas iniciales relativos a los Romances hispánicos», in: *ELH*, t.I, CXXXIII-CXXV; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, «El latín de la Península Ibérica: Dialectalismos», in: *ibid.*, p. 243, 246; D. ALFONSO, «La fragmentación fonética peninsular», in: *ibid.*, p. 141-142; V. VALERI, «Presenza campana nella toponomastica dell'Hispania», in: *Lineamenti di storia linguistica della Campania antica*. Napoli, 1986, p. 81-82; R. SYME, *Tacitus*, t.II. Oxford, 1958, p. 784-785.

<sup>138</sup> P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-14 A.D.*. Oxford, 1971, p. 217-219.

<sup>139</sup> Ju.B. TSIRKIN, «The Veterans and the Romanization of Spain», *Gerión* 7 (1989), p. 137-142, 147.



brisk trade operations in the whole of the Mediterranean, Delos inclusive. Such people were, to name but a few, Ticinius and Veranius.

The marked ingots found in many parts of Spain show that many Italics became leaseholders or (when some of the pits became private property) owners of the pits or separate shafts. Sometimes they formed companies and together they exploited the country's mineral riches, for instance, the Company of the Silver Mountain at Ilurco<sup>140</sup>. However it does not at all mean that all these people had necessarily to move to live in Spain. Naturally, there were some pitowners who settled in Spain, as has been shown above on the evidence of Carthago Nova. Most mineowners, though, undeniably remained in Italy and delegated their agents (as a rule, from among the libertines) to supervise the work in the mines<sup>141</sup>. Diodorus (V,36) describes how great numbers of Italics streamed to Spain, specifically pointing out their avarice. He testifies that these people bought lots of slaves whom they later sold to the superintendents and the latter discovered new gold and silver veins in different areas. So it seems that the role of the Italian «businessmen» in the colonization of Spain should not be overestimated.

The role of peasants appears to be quite different. The second century B.C. was the time when the Roman peasants began to increasingly lose their land. Appian (*bel.cil.* I,7-9) records the process of the supplanting of Italian peasants by slaveowning farms; in this connection the Romans were even anxious that Italy should no longer provide them with allies. The general development of Rome and Italy brought forth the expansion of a relatively large senatorial and equestrian landownership to the detriment of a small peasant one. This was the reason of the Gracchus brothers' uprising. One of the items of Caius Gracchus' agrarian program was the deduction of colonies. However, the Roman plebs hated to leave Italy and the idea of Gracchus' rival Livius to deduce twelve colonies to Italy is known to have enhanced his popularity at the expense of the former, who intended to deduce a colony to the site of former Carthago (Plut. *C. Grac.* 9-11). The case was quite different with the Italics. In their homeland many Italics not only suffered dire poverty but they were also second-rate people: they fought side by side with Romans but did not enjoy the privileges of the Roman citizens and on the whole they were despised. At the same time in provinces they were regarded as representatives of the ruling people and, irrespective of absence or presence of Roman or Latin citizenship, were treated by the authorities as their support<sup>142</sup>. It may be recalled apropos that Sertorius had initially intended to make the colonists his chief support in the war with Sulla (Plut. *Sert.* 6).

<sup>140</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...* p. 312-315.

<sup>141</sup> G. FABRE, «*Libertas*». *Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranché a la fin de la République Romaine*. Lille, 1982, t.I, p. 593-608.

<sup>142</sup> I.L. MAYAK, *The Relationship of Rome and the Italians in the Third and Second Centuries B.C.* Moscow, 1971, p. 108 (in Russian).

The economic position of the Italian peasants was rather complicated. The second century B.C. saw the continuation of confiscations of Italian lands and deduction of Roman and Latin colonies in Italy. The process was conditioned both by political aims (the «divide and rule» policy that promoted and ensured the Romans' sway in Italy) and by the desire to solve the acute agrarian crisis at the Italics' expense<sup>143</sup>. These policies excited the Roman plebs' sympathy and the Italian peasants' apprehension and discontent. Noteworthy is the Italics' reaction to Tiberius Gracchus' agrarian law and the Italics' address in the face of it to Scipio the younger (App. *bel.civ.* I,19). Even when Livius Drusus striving to win over his allies offered to give to Italics civil rights but simultaneously began to deduce colonies in Italy and in Sicily, the Italics grew suspicious of him lest they should lose their own lands in favour of the colonists (App. *bel.civ.* I,35-36).

The economic developments and the subjected position of the Italians in their home country alike resulted in the aggravated life of the Italian peasants. Campania, Latium and Samnium proved to be the areas where as early as the first half of the second century B.C. flourished slaveowners' villas of medium size. At the end of the Republic they were the seat of the majority of the Roman noblemen<sup>144</sup>. Such estates at those times were the most profitable and that was perhaps the reason why such estates ousted the petty peasant farms<sup>145</sup>. Small wonder that it was Campania and the neighbouring territories that became the main sources of the Italian emigration, to Spain among other places. In their new home country the Italian peasants acquired lands and public respect.

The immigrants brought along with them their old forms of organization. Artisans formed *collegia* and we have already described the Carthago Nova *collegia* dating to around 100 B.C. Peasants formed *pagi*. Since the evidence of Spanish *pagi* refers to the emperor's time, we shall dwell on them in the next article. Here we must only stress that the earliest evidence of Spanish *pagi*'s existence dates from Augustus' time (*CIL* II, 5042) (a juridical formula is meant), and we appear justified in supposing that a *pagus* had become by that time a familiar institution in the Baetis mouth. In Italy the bulk of known *pagi* were situated in Middle Italy and Campania<sup>146</sup> and this fact may attest to the immigration of people from these parts of Italy to Spain.

The Social War and Sulla's subsequent repressions and confiscations enhanced and promoted the Italian emigration. According to Appian (*bel.civ.* I,96), the victorious dictator destroyed many towns, levied on them

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112-117; E. GABBA, «Rome and Italy in the second century B.C.», *CAH* 8 (1989), p. 197-207.

<sup>144</sup> V.I. KUZISCHIN, *Genesis of Slaveowning Latifundia in Italy*. Moscow, 1976, p. 39-43, 96 (in Russian); E. GABBA. *Op. cit.*, p. 202, 234-236.

<sup>145</sup> V.I. Kuzischin, *Roman Slaveowning Estate*. Moscow, 1973, 130, 248-249 (in Russian).

<sup>146</sup> H. VOLKMANN, «Pagus», *Kleine Pauly* 4 (1979), Sp. 405.

finances and heavy requisitions and sent colonists to the towns and gave them the town-dwellers' land in order to create his support in the whole of Italy. If we take Strabo at his word (Strabo V,4,11), Samnium became a deserted region as the result of Sulla's repressions. It is a known fact that many Etruscans moved at this time to Africa, with which the Etruscans had maintained close links from time out of mind<sup>147</sup>. Taking into account the already existent ties between Campania, Latium and Samnium and Spain, we may presume that the peasants from these regions partly came to settle in Spain. What was the social composition of this wave of immigrants is difficult to say. Appian holds, though, that Sulla not only brought down repressions on the Italian towns but also dispossessed them of their land for the sake of his veterans. Caesar posing himself as Sulla's opposite, also emphasized the fact that the latter had robbed the landowners of their lands in order to give them to his soldiers (App. *bel.civ.* II,94). In all fairness, we may state that Sulla's basic victims were landowners and, consequently, it was they who had to move to the provinces.

Thus we deem it safe to claim that the social structure of the Romano-Italian immigrants was rather mixed, but the majority of them were most probably Italian peasants.

The first Romano-Italian towns were built either on the sites of the local ones already existing there or next to them. The first settlement founded by the Romans in South Spain was, as we know, Italica. Appian (*Hisp.* 38) says that Scipio settled (sun\_\_kise) his wounded warriors in a town he called Italica. The verb sunoikxw does not mean that a town was founded (though it may have such meaning too). The archaeological digs have thrown some light on this rather ambiguous text and it is plain now that the Roman settlement had been preceded by a Turdetanian one of the fourth or, more probably, of the second half of the fifth century B.C. It was situated on the same hill but previously it had been on the neighbouring hill<sup>148</sup>. The first Latin colony was deduced by the Romans to Carteia which had existed at least from the third century B.C.<sup>149</sup>. Corduba was founded on a hill, next to the one where the native town was situated. It seems possible that both the settlements, the Roman and the native one, were immediately regarded as parts of one dual city or, anyway, the two pretty soon merged, though their initial separateness was reflected in the existence of two vici—the vicus of the Spaniards, and the vicus of the foreigners, under whom the immigrants were meant<sup>150</sup>.

<sup>147</sup> J. HEURGON, «Inscriptions étrusque de Tunisie», *CRAI* 1969, p. 547-549.

<sup>148</sup> A.M. CANTO, «Die vetus urbs von Italica», *MM* 26 (1985), p. 138; M.C. DOMÍNGUEZ DE LA CONCHA, P. CABRERA BONET, E.J. FERNÁNDEZ JURADO, «Cerro de la Cabeza (Santiponce, Sevilla)», *Noticario Arqueológico Hispánico* 30 (1988), p. 186.

<sup>149</sup> D.E. WOODS, «Carteia and Tartessos», in: *Tartessos*. Barcelona, 1969, p. 252-256.

<sup>150</sup> J.F. RODRÍGUEZ NEILA. *Op. cit.*, p. 216-220.

The position of Tarraco is more debatable. Pliny (III,21) calls this town *opus Scipiorum*. The archaeological excavations have shown that the town walls were indeed erected around 218-211 B.C.<sup>151</sup>. On the other hand, the problem of the coins with legends «*kesse*» and «*Tarraconsalir*» is open to question yet<sup>152</sup>, and the very name of the town is evidently Iberian<sup>153</sup>. Now it is possible to maintain that a small pre-Roman settlement at the bay had existed since the fifth century B.C.<sup>154</sup>. Certainly there were townships made by the Romans themselves, as, for instance, Valentia, but it must be pointed out that Valentia was a special settlement built after the war against Viriatus and meant for the local inhabitants rather than for the Italian immigrants<sup>155</sup>.

Another important, although not universal, feature of the Romano-Italian colonization is that a number of towns founded by the Romans were rather long in getting a colonial status. Tarraco seems to be the first town of this kind in Spain. It did not take Tarraco long to become a significant economic centre, as has been amply evidenced by the pottery finds dating from the most ancient times of the existence of a Roman town<sup>156</sup>. Already as early as the Republic, Tarraco left behind Greek Emporion in its development and authority (cf. Strabo III,4,7;9). Hitherwards came to settle the people of Italy, and other Italians, staying perhaps back in the homeland, sent here their slaves and freedmen who had also imbibed already some of Italian spirit. Here Roman temples were erected, for example, the temple of Jupiter<sup>157</sup>. Statues of Roman type were erected in the city<sup>158</sup>. Yet for a long period of time the city had no Roman civic status. At the head of the community that consisted of «allies» and «citizens», most likely two magisters stood. The corrupted inscription of the late-Republican time, amplified by G. Alföldy, testifies that one of them was a libertine<sup>159</sup>. Such a case was scarcely possible in a regular Roman colony. Tarraco is generally believed to have gained a colonial status either at the end of Caesar's reign or already following his death but prior to the year 27 B.C., as it follows

<sup>151</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, «Tarraco», Sp. 581; T. HAUSCHILD, «Ausgrabungen in der römischen Stadtmauer von Tarragona», *MM* 26 (1985), S. 75-77; J. SÁNCHEZ REAL, «La exploración de la muralla de Tarragona», *ibid.*, p. 91-120.

<sup>152</sup> P.P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE. *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

<sup>153</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, «Tarraco», Sp. 581.

<sup>154</sup> «El pas de la Via Augusta per el mansió de Tàrraco», *Butlletí arqueològic* 10 i 11 (1988-1989), p. 123.

<sup>155</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 12.

<sup>156</sup> J. SÁNCHEZ REAL. *Op. cit.*, p. 109, 117-119; M. VEGAS, «Auswahl aus der Keramikfunden der Stadtmauer von Tarragona», *MM* 26 (1985), S. 127-130.

<sup>157</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, «Tarraco» Sp. 588-591.

<sup>158</sup> A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, «Esculturas hispano-romanas de época republicana» in: *Mélanges offertes à Gêrôme Carcopino*, Paris, 1966, p. 424; E.M. KOPPEL, *Die römische Skulpturen von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1985, S. 143.

<sup>159</sup> G. Alföldy, «Tarraco», Sp. 590.

from the city's official name «*Colonia Iulia Triumphalis Tarraco*»<sup>160</sup>. Obviously as well as in the case of Carthago Nova, the unmistakably Romano-Italian outward look of Tarraco called forth the granting to the town not of the municipal but of the colonial status, although no deduction had ever taken place.

The legal status of Italica, a greater part of its existence during the Republican period, is not known. The opinion that Italica was the Roman citizens' *vicus* is based on the supplement to the inscription of the Republican era (CIL II, 1119) and is at present doubted<sup>161</sup>. The supposition of the existence of the Latin colony<sup>162</sup> is altogether ungrounded. It must be taken into consideration that Livy (the corresponding books are in a fair state of preservation), who is usually very particular about the details of new colonies' deduction, does not say a word about Italica. If we believe his account, the first Latin colony in Spain was Carteia (XLIII,3,1-4). Appian (*Hisp.* 38) writes that Scipio collected the wounded in a town called Italica. We are in no position to say precisely if these wounded were the soldiers of the Roman legions or their Italian allies. The name chosen by the general, plainly speaks in favour of the second option<sup>163</sup>. It is impossible to define the composition of Italica's population, the more so in the initial phase. It is a known fact that since the time of Scipio the town was inhabited by the Aelii's descendants from the Picenean town of Hadria (SHA, *Hadr.* 1). Hadria was a colony from the eighties of the third century B.C. onwards (*Liv. per.* XI)<sup>164</sup>. But it is beyond us to say if the Aelii belonged to Roman colonists or to Picenean settlers. In Italica lived also the Ulpri who came from the Umbrian town of Tuder that did not become a Roman town until the time of Marius<sup>165</sup>. An Italic by birth was L. Racilius<sup>166</sup>, a patron of Minucius Silo from Italica (*bel. Alex.* 52, 3; 55, 2), a participant of the events of the year 47 B.C. Of Italian descent was also Vasius, a fellow-in-arms of Minucius (*ibid.*). In a word, the Italics' names betray not the Roman proper, but Italian roots of the immigrants, whose status prior to the immigration is not known but in most cases it appears to be non-citizen.

Undeniably, there lived in Italica aborigines too, for instance, a certain Marcus who is reported to have been active in 162 B.C. (*App. Hisp.* 66)<sup>167</sup>. We cannot say how these two elements of Italica's population correlated. However the archaeological excavations have indicated that the town had

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, Sp. 593-594.

<sup>161</sup> E. HÜBNER-A. SCHULTEN, «Italica», *RE*, Hbd. 18 (1916), Sp. 2284; A. MONTENEGRO DUQUE, *Op. cit.*, 39; cf. H. GALSTERER, *Op. cit.*, S. 12, Bem. 46.

<sup>162</sup> A.M. CANTO, *Op. cit.* p. 144

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138-139.

<sup>164</sup> I.L. MAYAK, *Op. cit.*, p. 67; G. RADKE, «Hadria», *Kleine Pauly* 2 (1979), Sp. 905.

<sup>165</sup> G. RADKE, «Tuder», *Kleine Pauly* 5 (1979), Sp. 905; cf. R. SYME, *Tacitus*, t.II, p. 786.

<sup>166</sup> H.G. GUNDEL, «Racilius», *Kleine Pauly* 4 (1979), Sp. 1329.

<sup>167</sup> Cf.: C. CASTILLO, *Prosopographia Baetica*, p. 123.

in the Republican time a conspicuously indigenous character<sup>168</sup>; that permits us to acknowledge a considerable impact of the native people and their role in Italica's life. For this reason it does not seem an extraordinarily audacious supposition that Italica was on the whole a peregrine town.

Some time later it must have become a municipium. *The Alexandrian War* gives the first mention of the Italica municipals of 47 B.C. (52). Caesar mentions Italica in passing in his descriptions of the 49 B.C. events (*bel.civ.* II,20). The fact that the municipal status of the town is not mentioned here, does not imply its absence. Caesar (*bel.civ.* II,21) narrates that after Varro's surrender he convened at Corduba a rally of the province's representatives, at which he extended his thanks separately to the Roman citizens who had succeeded in keeping the town in their hands, separately to the Spaniards who had driven out Varro's garrisons, and separately to the Gaditans who had repulsed the enemy's attacks and regained their freedom. The actual basis of Caesar's gratitude to the Roman citizens may have been only the stand of Corduba where the conventus, *i. e.* the Roman citizens' community, had closed the city gates in Varro's face and placed the sentries on the walls and towers (Caes. *bel.civ.* II,19). Italica could not have won Caesar's gratitude because Varro had never attempted to storm Italica: his companions-in-arms had persuaded him that the town would never let him in (Caes. *bel.civ.* II,20). Therefore we can contend that in 49 B.C. the residents of Italica were not yet Roman citizens. If this is the case, the status of a municipium must surely have been given to Italica in 49-47 B.C. The year 49 B.C. appears a more likely date because Caesar, after his victory started to see to the Spanish matters. The indigenous nature of the town, dwelt upon above, explains why Italica became a municipium, not a colony.

The towns founded by the Roman commanders in the second and first centuries B.C. gradually, one by one, rose to a privileged position. The foundation of Graccuris in 179 (or 178) B.C. is ascribed to T. Sempronius Gracchus to commemorate his victories over the Celtiberians (*Liv. per.* XLI). It was built on the site of the native town of Ilurcis (Fest. p. 97M). Its status is unknown but the probability is that many years after, it became a Latin municipium<sup>169</sup>. But incidentally, the town was one of the centres of Romanization in this region<sup>170</sup> and it was peopled at least to a considerable extent, by the Romans (perhaps, to be more exact, by the Italics), as becomes manifest from its conduct during the Sertorian War when, unlike the Celtiberians, the residents of Graccuris had opposed Sertorius because he had devastated their lands (*Liv.* XCI). It took Pompaelo, founded by Pompey, over a century to obtain a privileged position<sup>171</sup>. The town, built without

<sup>168</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...*, p. 358, n.70.

<sup>169</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 13.

<sup>170</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *Nuevos estudios...*, p. 230-231.

<sup>171</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 14.

doubt during the Sertorian War, was listed by Pliny (III, 24) among stipendiary communities. Obviously it became a municipium well after the year 57 A.D.

As would be expected, not all Romano-Italian settlements had to suffer a phase of a non-privileged community. There were some towns of a higher rank that became colonies right from their birth. Before Caesar, such were undeniably Latin colonies, the first ever among them —Carteia (Liv. XLIII,3,1-4)<sup>172</sup>. True, it was hardly a colony in its proper sense. It was built not for the Italian colonists but for the offspring of Roman soldiers and local women. The first authentic colony, in the true meaning of the term, was, evidently, Corduba (Strabo III,2,1)<sup>173</sup>. Though Strabo describes Corduba as a Roman colony, the researches have shown that it had the status of a Latin colony and it did not become a Roman colony until Caesar's time or, perhaps, even Augustus' time when it received the name Patricia (Plin. III,10)<sup>174</sup>.

It looks that all pre-Caesar colonies in Spain enjoyed the Latin status. The colonies of Roman citizens must have appeared not until Caesar's time.

The population of the Romano-Italian towns was mixed. As we have shown above, they were chiefly meant for Italian settlers, some of whom had most probably no Roman citizenship. Apropos, there lived in them, even in Latin colonies, some Roman citizens too. In Italy the Romans sometimes settled their compatriots in Latin colonies making up for the lesser status by increasing their plots of land<sup>175</sup>. It must not be ruled out that a similar thing was practised in Spain as well. A portion of the Roman citizens had plainly retained their privileged status: within a Latin colony or a peregrine town they lived in their own community, as, for example, at Corduba. According to Caesar (*bel.civ.* II,19), the Roman citizens' conventus of Corduba played there an extremely important part: it was its stand that conditioned the stand of the whole city in 49 B.C. And then during the rebellion against Cassius, the treason of the conventus made Corduba one of the centres of the anti-Caesar (initially, anti-Cassius) opposition (*bel. Alex.* 57-58).

Spaniards too lived in these towns. We know of a Spanish vicus at Corduba<sup>176</sup>. In other cases the local inhabitants did not apparently form a separate district. Some of them could have reached a high position in the town through getting a Roman citizenship. For instance, we have already got ac-

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 6.

<sup>173</sup> J.F. RODRÍGUEZ NEILA. *Op. cit.*, p. 209-214.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214-216, 297-304; H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.* S. 9-10; R.C. KNAPP, «The coinage of Corduba, Colonia Patricia», *Annali* 29 (1982), p. 183-186, 202.

<sup>175</sup> I.L. MAYAK. *Op. cit.*, p. 117-118, 123-124.

<sup>176</sup> J.F. RODRÍGUEZ NEILA. *Op. cit.*, p. 216-220.

quainted with the quinquennalis of Carthago Nova, Albinus, probably, a Spanish Celt. Among the monetary magistrates of Carteia we can discern a descendant of Italian immigrants Vibius and a native Marcus<sup>177</sup>. An important inscription has been undug recently near Corduba. It is dated by 49 B.C. and contains the propraetor's name Qu. Cassius Longinus. What is of interest for us about the find is that it has the names of the highest decemvir and aedilis of the community. The aedilis had a purely Italic name — Marcus Coranus, son to Acrinus, whereas the highest decemvir, on the contrary, had a purely indigenous name — Binsnes, son of Vercello<sup>178</sup>. Here we have a graphic sample of including into the ruling élite descendants of both-settlers and natives.

And yet, in all likelihood, the Romano-Italian element was predominant in the colonies. In any case, in the town élite the immigrants and their descendants outnumbered the aborigenes. It is perfectly clear from the inscriptions and coins of Carthago Nova as well as from Carteia's coins.

Colonies were officially deduced by the Roman government or founded by the Roman generals. Parallel to this official colonization went on an unofficial one. Spain attracted many Italics who of their own accord longed to live in this country remarkable for its wealth. Artisans, businessmen and their agents flocked to comparatively large economic centres and to the mining regions, whereas peasants settled in the most fertile areas. Especially fabulously rich and fertile was the Baetis Valley<sup>179</sup>. The immigrants, even those with Roman or Latin citizenships, were in no hurry to settle in the Latin or Roman colonies (the more so that, as has been stated above, prior to Caesar there were no Roman colonies on the Peninsula). They chose also to live in unprivileged towns and in rural districts forming conventi or oppida civium Romanorum<sup>180</sup>, and the Roman authorities had to reckon with them too. It is not known what became of those Italics who had settled in Spain prior to the Social War and had not been citizens. Evidently they did not receive this status upon the end of this war. Judging by the extant data, the first years after the Social War did not see a large increase in the number of Roman citizens<sup>181</sup>; the insignificant growth of the Roman citizens could have been due entirely to the population of the Italian Peninsula, expressly not the Italic living outside the Peninsula. So that in juridical terms, the descendants of the Italians who had immigrated to Spain

<sup>177</sup> C. CASTILLO, *Prosopographia Baetica*, p. 189-202.

<sup>178</sup> P.J. LACORT NAVARRO, R. PORTILLO, A.H. STYLO, «Nuevas Inscripciones latinas de Córdoba y su provincia», *Faventia* 81 (1986), p. 69-74.

<sup>179</sup> J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, *La economía...*, p. 295-352.

<sup>180</sup> A. TOVAR, J.M. BLÁZQUEZ. *Op. cit.*, p. 62; A.N. SHERWIN-WITE, *The Roman Citizenship*. Oxford, 1974, p. 344-350.

<sup>181</sup> Ja.Ju. ZABOROVSKI, *Essays on the History of the Agrarian Relations in the Roman Republic*. Lvov, 1985, p. 54-55 (in Russian). According to that data, in 85 B.C. there were 463.000 Roman citizens, 68.664 citizens more than in 115 B.C. (*ibid.*, 61).



before 88 B.C., did not differ from the natives, though in practice, of course, the differences were very noticeable. And yet, the absence of a juridical abyss between the two made contacts of the immigrants with the indigenes easy. Perhaps that can also account for a strong influence of the old immigrants from Italy on the locals.

The demographic factor must not be underestimated either, for all the precarious figures of antiquity. The population of Spain is believed to be five or six million people and about half of them lived in the two relatively Romanized zones. On the other hand, according to some calculations, in the future province of Baetica there lived by the forties about 100 thousand Roman citizens. Anyhow, in 49 B.C. Varro managed to man from among them two legions of warriors-citizens<sup>182</sup>. Taking into account Latin citizens, Italics without a citizenship, and also the immigrants in Hispania Citerior, we may state that by that time the immigrants and their descendants constituted not less than one tenth of the whole population in the South and East of Spain. Bearing in mind the economic, political and cultural role of this tenth, it is necessary to acknowledge its considerable impact and effect on the natives.

This influence varied depending on the immigrants' position. In Baetica they settled in towns and in rural districts alike, so that their economic position was surely very much like that of the Turdetanians. This promoted mutual links. The study of the Baetica onomastics shows that approximately 52 per cent of names of the people who occupied any conspicuous rank in society, were Italian<sup>183</sup>. This can indicate not only a comparatively widespread Italian colonization of South Spain, but it can probably suggest the fact that the indigenous residents accepted and adopted their Italian neighbours' names. The same may be evidently the case in such large littoral cities as Tarraco and Carthago Nova, where both the city nobility and the rank and file stratum were made up of the immigrants and the natives alike.

The other regions of South and East Spain were different in this respect. Fewer settlers lived there, it seems. But what is more, the position of the immigrants and the indigenes was different too. The citizens of such colonies as Valentia had few contacts with the surrounding people. They could not have influenced the natives much because originally, more likely than not, they were Lusitanians, who had come to live on the coast, they themselves were scarcely Romanized<sup>184</sup>. In other places, where contacts were common and numerous, the immigrants found themselves in a better position. Thus, in the mining areas the two ethnic elements opposed each other as masters or leaseholders of the mines versus their manpower (cf. Stra-

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<sup>182</sup> D. NONY. *Op. cit.*, p. 666, 673.

<sup>183</sup> These names are collected; in C. CASTILLO, *Prosopographia Baetica, passim*.

<sup>184</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 12.

bo III,2,10)<sup>185</sup>, in other regions they were also opposite —exploiters (however indirect) and their exploitees. Under such conditions the immigrants' influence was also present but it was less pronounced and marked than in those parts of the country where the two groups of the inhabitants enjoyed more or less equal positions.

Geographically, the colonies and Italian immigrants' settlements were densely clustered in the Baetis valley and the nearby areas, they were fewer in number on the Mediterranean coast and in the Hiberus valley. Outside these regions, colonies came into being sporadically and only after Caesar's death<sup>186</sup>. Therefore we can be justified in inferring that it was the immigrants' activity that proved to be the major source and impetus of these lands' Romanization. It goes without saying, that a conducive factor turned out to be a greater readiness of the local population to assimilate and imbibe antique civilization, as has been demonstrated by the analysis of the Spanish social structure in our previous article. But the foremost factor of the Romanization during the Republic was the number of the immigrants, the similarity or difference of the economic and social position of the immigrants and natives.

Things began to change under the Empire. During one century of the principate Romanization made vaster progress than during the three centuries of the Republic, but the way for this progress was paved by and during the Republican period.

Translated from the Russian by L. Chistonogova.

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<sup>185</sup> T. A. RICCKARD. *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>186</sup> H. GALSTERER. *Op. cit.*, S. 65-72 and the map.