

Romanisation of Spain: Socio-Political Aspect

Part III

Romanisation during the Early Empire

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SUMMARY

The socio-political Romanization of Spain under Augustus was characterized by a greater conservatism of the princeps' policies and the veteran nature of Romanization. The close of the Augustian period is not the emperor's demise, but the year 13 B.C. when supposedly the last Spanish colony was made and the Iberian Peninsula was relegated to the background of the Roman Empire's interest. The second important stage of the process was ushered in by the Civil War of 68-69, in the course of which were swept away the two major social forces hampering the integration of the provinces into the united Mediterranean state: the Senate nobility and the Roman plebs were no more. The war results confirmed and sealed the Flavian's reforms. Vespasian gave all the Spanish provinces Latin citizenship whereas Domitian spread the municipal law to the Senate's Baetica. Following these events, the Romanization of Spain, in juridical terms, was over but the real situation in the country was more complex.

During the republic, especially toward its end, the Romanization of Spain scored considerable success which grew ever more impressive in the period of the empire. It was the time when Spain as well as other provinces had become an integral part of the Roman state, which is quite natural since the Roman empire was a kind of state vastly different from the Roman republic. The latter had been a conglomerate of provinces under the polis of Rome, whereas the empire grew to become a unified Mediterranean state with the capital city of Rome. The «upper» strata of the provincial society were included into the ruling elite while the life of the «lower» walks of the entire state became more or less levelled.

The economic network increasingly pierced the state through and through thus cementing the power and facilitating the introduction of some elements of the regional division of labor. In the western and the Danube

areas the Latin Language virtually ousted the vernacular both in official intercourse and in every day communication. The local cults were pushed into the background, into the fore moved the Romans' religion bringing in its wake several oriental cults too. Even the throne appeared to be sometimes occupied by the provincials. It stands to reason, this state of things did not emerge overnight following Augustus' victory; it was the result of a prolonged process that started as early as the final years of the republic and culminated in the year 212 in Caracalla's edict¹, at the outset of a formidable crisis which put an end to the early empire.

The Spanish provinces found themselves among the first regions subjected to an intensive and comprehensive Romanization. No wonder, they were the first to become incorporated in the entire power. However, even within Spain proper the rate and outcomes of the Romanization, in its socio-political aspect too, proved dissimilar in different zones. It was the first princeps who initiated and made certain efforts to Romanize Spain.

In terms of Romanization the epochs of Caesar and Augustus' actions in Spain have often been united into one Caesar-Augustian period². We have already covered the active and determined activities of Caesar in Spain in our previous article. The dictator's assassination arrested his far-reaching plans and their realisation, but they were picked up and furthered by, this successors. For instance, shortly after the March ides was deduced the colony of Urso (Genitiva Iulia) «by the order of C. Caesar, emperor, dictator and according to Antony's law» (CIL II, 5439). It was perhaps the time of the deduction by Lepidus of the colony of Victrix Iulia Lepida (Celsa)³; ten years after G. Norbanus Flaccus founded Norba Caesarina⁴. As has been shown in our previous paper, in the thirties of the first century B.C. Roman citizenship was given to the Spanish Emporites, i.e. Indicetes.

During the first division of the western part of the Republic carried out by the triumvires in 43 B.C., Spain was presented to M. Aemilius Lepidus (App. *bel. civ.* IV, 2, 3), he was obliged to govern the province from Rome through his legates, but before long Spain fell under Octavian's authority. It took place after the end of the Perusine War and was officially sealed by the treaty of 40 B.C. between Octavian and Antony when the West of the state, except Africa, bequeathed to Lepidus, was recognized as Octavian's property (App. *bel. civ.* V, 51; 65). But it was not until the establishment of the empire

¹ H. Bengtson, *Römische Geschichte*, München, 1985, 325-326; W. Seyfarth, *Römische Geschichte, Keiserzeit*, Berlin, 1975, 255-256.

² See, for ex.: H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin, 1971, 17-30; J.M Blázquez, *Nuevos estudios sobre la Romanización*, Madrid, 1989, 11-47; F. Vittinshoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Wiesbaden, 1952.

³ M. Beltrán Lloris, «La colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida-Celsa», *RSL* 45 (1979), 189-190.

⁴ C. Callejo Cerrano, «La arqueología de Norba Caesarina», *AEArq* 41 (1968), 121; H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 23-24.

that he and his generals devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the Spanish affairs.

The consolidation of the *Pax Romana* after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra signified not only the establishment of political stability within the state but also the defence of its frontiers against the «barbarians'»infringements. The importance of the provinces' natural and manpower resources for Rome and Italy grew considerably ⁵. That is the reason why shortly after the creation of the principate Augustus completed the subjugation of the Iberian Peninsula and he had to come to Spain in person in 27-25 B.C. ⁶. That was the end of the «outside» wars in Spain, a long spell of peaceful life was in store for the provinces when the political development of the country was channelled within the Roman administrative system ⁷.

Augustus continued to carry out the policies of Caesar and the generals who had waged wars in Spain in the forties and thirties. For the benefit of the veterans of those legions that had fought in this country, some colonies were deduced, such as Emerita Augusta, Caesaraugusta, Augusta Gemela Tucci and others. A number of towns, Bilbilis among them, received the status of a *minicipium* ⁸. Most probably it was under Augustus that Gades had become a fully-fledged *municipium* and Agrippa seems to have been the most likely initiator of this, as well as of other Spanish acts of the princeps ⁹. Augustus also gave Latin law to an entire tribe of Cerretani ¹⁰. In the newly acquired province Augustus built the towns of Asturica Augusta, Bracaraugusta, Lucus Augusti. Later they became, as well as Caesaraugusta and Emerita, the centres of *conventus*. Whether they received the privileged status shortly after their foundation is unknown. The mention in the midfirst century A.D. of some Roman citizens engaged in business (*negotiantur*) in Bracara Augusta (*CIL* II, 2493) speaks rather in favour of the supposition that the rest of Bracaraugustians were not yet Roman citizens.

Augustus found himself faced with exactly the same problems as the late dictator and he had of necessity to pursue the policy of Caesar. The army had to be appeased by giving the veterans plots of land which necessitated the acquisition of additional land not only in Italy but in the provinces too. Besides it was not possible to establish one's power in the provinces by brute force only; some political measures were expedient as well, military-strategic consi-

⁵ C. Genčeva, «La politique de Rome dans les territoires du Bas-Danube à l'époque de Auguste», *Etudes Balcaniques*, 1991, 92-94.

⁶ A. Montenegro Duque, «La conquista de Hispania por Roma», in: *Historia de España*, t. II.1, Madrid, 1982, 172-189.

⁷ J. J. Van Nostrand, «The Reorganisation of Spain by Augustus», in *University of California Publication in History*, 1916, v. 4, 83.

⁸ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 20-30, 65-72; M. Martín Bueno, «Bilbilis», in *Stadtbild und Ideologie*, München, 1990, 220.

⁹ Ju. B. Tsirkin, «The Phoenician civilization in Roman Spain», *Gerión* 3 (1985), 263-264.

¹⁰ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 30.

derations being of small consequence, at least in Spain. Meeting the ardent desire of the veterans to have land of their own, Augustus as a rule settled them in more peaceful quarters of the country. In the recently conquered districts of the North-West the towns, built more likely than not on the former legions' camping sites (cfr. Flor. II, 33, 59), hardly received a civic status. Augustus, following Caesar's example, included his new citizens into the tribe of Galeria¹¹. The mention of this tribe may serve as a proof and illustration of how Roman citizenship spread in Spain during the Caesar-Augustus period. Placing these mentions on the map we can see that Galeria was most often (except Gades, Tarraco, Carthago Nova) come across in the Baetis valley, not quite so often but still often enough in the north-east of the Peninsula, also in the Hiberus valley, in the Upper Duris valley, along the Tader and the Anas, in the Lower Tagus valley, in the southern part of Lusitania and only twice in the newly subjugated North-West¹². It is clearly seen that the towns which housed the tribe of Galeria are situated in the most economically important zones, as well as along the most heavily travelled routes¹³ (though not in the strategically important regions). Augustus undoubtedly strove not to establish himself in the new territories he had just captured but to increase and enhance his authority in the already pacified and tamed regions of Spain.

To illustrate the above statement, let us study Caesaraugusta founded on the site of the indigenous town of Salduba (Plin. *n.h.* III, 24). The first aim of Augustus was unquestionably to settle the retired soldiers of the IVth Legion Macedonica, the VIth Victrix Legion and the Xth Gemina Legion¹⁴. But there was another target the emperor was after. The new colony had in no time eclipsed the nearby Celsa, which, as has been stated, was founded by Lepidus. Augustus deleted from its official name the former triumvir's name and replaced it by its ancient title of the native town so that the colony got the name *Victrix Iulia Celsa*¹⁵. That was, however, not the end of his innovations. Augustus was wary of the disgraced Lepidus even when the latter had no authority whatever. Suetonius related (*Aug.* 54) that when the senators by the emperor's order reviewed and revised the Senate's lists and had to vote for each other, one of the senators fell into disgrace as he voted for the banished Lepidus. In Spain too Augustus never trusted Lepidus' colonists and he tried to do his utmost to eclipse their significance and to raise that of his own ones.

And yet, while investigating the Caesar-Augustus period, one will be wise not to overlook the differences in the two statesmen's policies. The object of

¹¹ M. L. Genderson, «Julius Caesar and Latium in Spain», *VDI* 4 (1946), 58, 63, 65, n. 8; F. Vittinghoff, *op. cit.*, 105.

¹² R. Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften der Römischen Hispaniens*, Berlin, 1985, 164-166; cfr. C. Castillo, «La tribu Galeria: ciudad y ciudadanos», in *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis*, Madrid, 1988, 234-235.

¹³ Cfr. J. J. Van Nostrand, *op. cit.*, 106-107.

¹⁴ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25, 70; M. Beltrán Lloris, *op. cit.*, 193.

Caesar's colonization measures were not only veterans but also proletarians¹⁶. The only indisputably veterans' settlement in Spain to Caesar's credit was the town of Baetis, emphatically contrasted by Strabo to the neighbouring town of Hispalis (III, 2, 1). Consequently, the latter was not inhabited by veterans. No doubt Baetis was an insignificant settlement, for it is never more mentioned in written records. It looks quite plausible that by creating proletarian colonies Caesar sought to appease the Roman plebs under the conditions when grain distribution was diminishing and the dictator was pursuing the antidemocratic policy. It must also be borne in mind that Caesar had just no time to carry out a mass demobilisation of the army: it is well known that at the time of Caesar's assassination both in Italy and Rome there gathered quite a number of retired soldiers ready to be despatched to the colonies (*App. bel. civ. II*, 120).

Augustus' colonization, though, was exceptionally that of the veterans. At least there are neither direct nor oblique proofs testifying to the princeps' deduction of rural or urban plebs to the provinces, to those in Spain in particular. Augustus himself mentions only the colonies of those soldiers whom he had deduced himself to the provinces and Italy (R.g. 3, 3; 28, 1-2). In Spain colonies were founded in order to house whole military regiments that had participated in the latest campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula¹⁷.

The change in the nature of the colonization may be accounted for by the situation in Italy proper too. In our second article it was stated that the bulk of the colonists came from the peasantry of the Middle and partially Northern Italy. Italian peasants streamed to the provinces in the hope to avoid bankruptcy and to gain a social status that in their homeland they were deprived of because they were but allies, not citizens. Following the Social War, though, the latter could be obtained in Italy too. Under Augustus the process of equalizing in rights *de iure* of Italians and Romans must have come to its end. It is common knowledge that after the Social War the problems of allotting new citizens to the tribes became one of the most urgent of the current political struggle. Eventually even Sulla, who had at first harboured plain animosity against the Italics had to confirm the new citizens' equality. Unfortunately the distance between the proclaimed equality and actual one *de facto* turned out to be rather large. The censuses of the years following 88 B.C. did not reveal any sharp increase in the number of citizens. It was only in 27 B.C. that their amount grew sharply and reached the record figure 4063 thousand (R.g. 8) as compared with 1500 thousand in 46-45. The growth in twenty years' time of the number of citizens – 170 thousand more (*ibid.*) – may be directly associated with the reigning peace and economic

¹⁶ F. Vittinghoff, *op. cit.*, 53; P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.-A.D. 14*, Oxford, 1971, 154.

¹⁷ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 69; J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Hispania y el ejército romano*, Salamanca, 1974, 181-182.

thriving ¹⁸. Thus under Augustus the Italics became de iure equal to Romans.

During the seventies to thirties of the first century B.C. the ethnic and social structure of some regions of Italy changed noticeably. Sulla subjected the Italics who had mostly supported the Marians, to the unspeakable repressions, he confiscated their lands and distributed them among his veterans. Strabo (V, 4, 11) writes about Samnium's desolation resultant from Sulla's reprisals. Following those events Samnium practically saw the last of its vernacular ¹⁹. The Etruscan civilization was slowly but surely vanishing too, and the last Etruscan inscription was dated to the year 10 B.C., though the Etruscan tongue as a «sacred» one lived to see the epoch of Claudius ²⁰.

The similar measures were employed by the triumvirs, too, especially, by Octavianus. Appian (*bel.civ.* V, 12-13) gives a vivid description of soldiers who impudently and insolently plundered picking the best and even more than they were authorized, and at the same time he describes the desperate complaints of people coming to Rome from all over Italy that they were being driven off their hearths and land as if they lived in a hostile country. After Actium the distribution of lands in Italy to the veterans went on (and not only to Augustus' veterans but also to the former soldiers of Antony and Lepidus) ²¹. True, this time the emperor paid for the confiscated plots (R.g. 16), but it is immaterial in this case since the re-allotment of land did take place after all. It is consequently possible to assume that a middle peasantry began to revive, particularly in the Padus valley, in the central region of Italy; villas of medium size predominated in South Etruria. Latium and Campania ²². Small homesteads of his time were often mentioned by Horace who himself became a small landowner when he got back his father's estate confiscated previously. Specifically, in the second epode the poet describes an ideal estate including a field, a vineyard, a pasture, an apiary which were worked by the master himself, his wife and household slaves (*vernae*).

The owners of such estates were for a large part different from those of the pre-Sullan time. They were, it seems, the veterans of Sulla, triumvirs and partly of Caesar or their descendants. A number of the former land-owners must have emigrated and, if our conclusions are right, the last impressive wave of the Italian peasants' colonization fell on Sulla's dictatorship period, which might have exhausted the available human potential of emigration.

¹⁸ A. B. Egorov, *Rome on the Border-Line of Epochs*, Leningrad, 1985, 114 (in Russian); Ja.Ju. Zaborovski, *Essays on the History of Agrarian Relations in the Roman Republic*, Lvov, 1985, 54-58, 62-63, 194-195 (in Russian).

¹⁹ E. C. Polomé, «The Linguistic situation in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire», *ANRWII*, 29, 2 (1983), 521.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 520; A. Ratier, *The Etruscans*, Rome, 1989, 19-20 (in Russian).

²¹ E. Ritterling, «Legio», *RE*, Hbd. 23 (1924), 1213; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1926, 498, n. 32.

²² J. Colendo, «L'Italia romana: campagna e centri rurali», *Storia della società italiana*, 1.2, Milano, 1983, 182; P. A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, 345-357.

Another section of these landholders, especially during the second triumvirate and Augustus, could have left for cities. It was particularly lucrative to settle in Rome where the authorities took extra care of them. Augustus regarded it as his priority to favour the *plebs urbana* (R.g. 5; 15), and the richmen of other towns followed his example²³. The law of Julius (either Caesar or Augustus) stipulated fines for grain speculations. Thus, even poor people could easily make some sort of living without leaving Italy.

All this provided, most likely, the foundation of the affluence of Italy which the students of the Augustus period point out²⁴. This affluence proved but shortlived and already under Tiberius a crisis was breaking out²⁵, since economic laws appear implacable. However, this crisis was a fact of another epoch, it operated under different political conditions and did not result in an increasing Italian emigration, to Spain in particular.

Another salient feature of Augustus' policies, unlike those of Caesar, was their greater conservatism. Suetonius (*Aug.* 40.3) stresses the conservative nature of both his policies and the princeps himself: the man would not yield to the pleas of his nearest and dearest to give this or that man a Roman citizenship. According to Suetonius, Augustus preferred to pay off rather than grant Roman citizenship and in this way to dilute Roman blood. It can be clearly seen from the comparison of privileged towns founded by Augustus in Spain. The number of municipia seems here more significant than that of colonies, for it is precisely the number of municipia that determines the extent of the Romanization of the native population, in other words, how far the indigenes got incorporated into the Roman administrative, political and social systems. Unfortunately it is not always possible to state the town's status exactly, as well as the general amount of such towns. Assuming as a basis the date of H. Galsterer and taking only those towns whose status of a municipium has been more or less reliably corroborated, we get 19 Caesarian municipia and only 10 Augustian ones²⁶.

It is difficult to establish the exact date of the deduction of many colonies, likewise to date the municipium status of this or that Spanish town. The last approximately dated colony in the Peninsula—Caesaraugusta—was deduced by Augustus at the latest in 12 B.C.²⁷. In the year 13 B.C. according to Dio

²³ P. A. Brunt, «Schiavi e classi subalterne nella comunità romano-italico», *Storia della società italiana*, 96 n. 3; A. J. B. Sirks, «The Size of the Grain Distribution in Imperial Rome and Constantinople», *Atheneum* 79 (1991), 219-236.

²⁴ A. B. Egorov, *op. cit.*, 113-114; N. A. Mashkin, *The Principate of Augustus*, Moscow, 1949, 457-468 (in Russian); M. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 59.

²⁵ E. Lepore, «La società italiana della *pax Augusta* alla fine dei Giulio-Claudii», *Storia della società italiana*, 292.

²⁶ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 17-30, 5-72. Cfr.: J. N. Bonville, R. Etienne, P. Sillières, P. Rouillard, A. Tranoy, «Les villes romaines de la Péninsule Ibérique», in *Les villes dans le monde ibérique*, Paris, 1982, 14-15.

²⁷ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 27, in J. M. Blázquez's opinion, Caesaraugusta was founded around 19 B.C. (*op. cit.*, 37). M. Beltrán Lloris believes that the foundation of Caesaraugusta dated to

Cassius (LIV, 25,1), Augustus founded some towns in Gaul and Spain. In his «Testament» Augustus wrote that he had settled his retired soldiers not only in colonies but also in municipia, not only in Italy but also in the provinces, emphasising that he had paid for the confiscated land (R.g. 16.1). The emperor did not specify what provinces he meant but the Spanish provinces should not be ruled out, given the significance and duration of the last Spanish campaigns. Augustus carried out these operations twice: in 30 and 14 B.C. Following the latter date, the municipia mentioned could be considered native places for the soldiers.

Augustus' veteran colonization in Spain was brought to its end²⁸ by the state of affairs in Spain and in the entire empire alike. To begin with, there was a reorganization of the Spanish provinces underway. It is generally believed that in 27 B.C. when all provinces were divided into imperial and senate ones, Further Spain was divided into Lusitania and Baetica, and the former became imperial and the latter —of the Senate²⁹. Dio Cassius is plainly unambiguous in his statement (LIII, 12,4-5) that Baetica was given to the people and the Senate, while Lusitania and Tarraconensis were to be found among Caesar' provinces. Among the «provinces of the people» Strabo (XVII, 3,25) lists that part of Further Spain that is situated near the rivers Baetis and Anas. The geographer had always asserted (III, 4,20) that Baetica belonged to the people whereas the rest of Iberia- to Caesar.

However, the validity of this statement begins to seem rather doubtful if we examine «The Acts of Divine Augustus». In his «Testament» Augustus maintains that he had deduced colonies «into both Spains» (*in... utraque Hispania*) (R.g. 28.1). But it is well known that Augustus deduced colonies not only into Tarraconensis (former Near Spain) and Lusitania, that would justify his assumption about «both Spains», but also into the senate's Baetica. It is a known fact that in Baetica there appeared the colonies Astigi Augusta Firma or Augusta Gemella Tucci (Plin. *n. h.* III, 12). The epithet «Augusta» unquestionably dates the foundation of these colonies to the time after 27 B.C.³⁰

The style of Augustus' *Res gestae* is clear, precise and unambiguous, but not so his selection of facts, their presentation and interpretation³¹. It should be borne in mind, though, that the deduction of colonies into both Spains as

14 B.C.: «El valle medio del Ebro y su monumentalización en época republicana y augustea», in *Stadtbild und Ideologie*, München, 1990, 196.

²⁸ Evidently, the creation of new municipia also came to its end. P. A. Brunt contends that after the year 14 B.C. Augustus did not bother to make municipia at all: P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower...*, 243.

²⁹ E. g., A. H. M. Jones, *Augustus*, London, 1970, 46; A. Schulten, «Hispania», *RE*, Bd. 8 (1913), 2037.

³⁰ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 65, 68; P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower...*, 591; J.M. Blázquez, *op. cit.*, 16.

³¹ E. L. Ramge, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' «Res gestae»*, Stuttgart, 1987, 34-36; J. Burian, «Die Errichtung des Prinzipats und der Tatenbericht des Augustus», *Klio* 73.2 (1991), 423.

well as into other provinces was not at all a disgraceful deed, Augustus had nothing to be ashamed of. On the contrary, to his mind, it was a feather in his cap and he did not have to distort the historical facts in order to secure any political gains or favours. Moreover, it is also commonly known that Augustus' «Testament» is rather a reliable source, especially in those cases when the events described by him there, are in his favour or to his credit³². Augustus is reported to have been very particular about juridical nuances of his authority, it is hard to suppose that he could have made a mistake in calculating his Spanish provinces, one of which was given over to the Senate and the people. It follows then quite logically that at the time when Augustus was deducing his colonies to Spain there were two provinces there, not three, contrary to Dio Cassius' allegation.

Dio Cassius was a rather late historian. True, he took great pains to collect sources relating the previous times, including the period of the dawn of the principate whose staunch and loyal adherent he was. The historian was quite correct to think that the act of the year 27 B.C. was a decisive factor in the establishment of a political system he held so dear³³. On the other hand, though, it has long since been established that Dio Cassius regarded these events from his historical distance, from afar. No wonder he sometimes erred; for instance, he described the provinces and their names in the shape they had in his time, not in the time of the events under consideration³⁴. In his description of the pre-Augustian period he does not use the name «Further Spain» but resorts to the names Baetica and Lusitania despite the fact that at that time there were surely no provinces under such names (XXX, 52,1; XLIII, 29,3; XLV, 10,2). So it is not at all improbable that Dio Cassius uses an anachronism while listing Baetica among the Senate's provinces as early as 27 B.C.

As for Strabo, political geography seems the least of his concerns. He devoted himself mostly to physical geography and ethnography, which is clearly seen on the Spanish material. Describing Lusitania Strabo accurately points out that this is a country situated to the north of the Tagus (which does not coincide with the emperor's province including the land both north and south of this river), then he describes the country, the territory that stretched as far as the present —day Bay of Biscay (III, 3,3-5); by the time the *Geography* was completed³⁵, these regions had already become part of Tarraco-

³² P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, London, 1967, 8.

³³ F. A. Millar, *Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford, 1964, 99-101; V. Fadinger, *Die Begründung des Prinzipats*, Berlin, 1969, 27, 333.

³⁴ E. Ritterling, *op. cit.*, Sp. 1218; A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *op. cit.*, 8; V. Fadinger, *op. cit.*, 26-27.

³⁵ That is, 18 A.D.: J. O. Tomson, *The History of Ancient Geography*, Moscow, 1953, 320 (in Russian); F. N. Arsky, *Strabo*, Moscow, 1974, 58 (in Russian); F. Lasserre, «Strabon», in *Kleine Pauly*, Bd. 5, 1979, 383. At least, the third and fourth books were finished exactly that year or some time earlier.

nensis. Dealing with Baetica, the geographer specifies that this country was called so after the river, but after its residents it had a different name – Turdetania; however, the border-lines Strabo indicates, do not coincide with those of the province: for example, the geographer includes into the territory of Baetica the coast only from the Anas estuary to the Pillars (III, 1,6). When speaking about Turdetania in the second chapter of his third book, Strabo omits its Roman name altogether. It is only in the last pages of his description of the Iberian Peninsula (III, 4,20) that Strabo remembers to dwell on the administrative and political factors. The same holds good of the general survey and division of the provinces that constitute the end of Strabo's work (XVII, 3,25). To sum up, Strabo's *Geography* makes it plain that in Spain there were three provinces, one of them belonged to the Senate at the time when the work on the book was completed, that is, at the beginning of Tiberius' time³⁶. But the geographer throws no light whatever on the time of the three provinces' appearance and the administrative borders between them.

As is known, the most important though not the only consideration in the division of the provinces was the presence or absence of the troops in the province, which was conditioned by a threat of wars, hostile invasions or inner unrest, in short by some danger, menace or insecurity for the Roman authorities (Suet. *Aug.* 47). By Caesar's death and in the successive years South Spain had been one of the most armed regions of the state³⁷. When Sextus Pompey left Spain, the menace for this most Romanized zone of the Peninsula sharply decreased. And yet the unconquered and untamed tribes in the north and north-west of Spain were still a formidable menace looming over the whole country, the more so that Spain was traditionally feared as a rather dangerous region from a military view-point. Therefore we are inclined to think that in 27 B.C., as the Roman government saw it, there existed no conditions for the disarmament of South Spain.

Augustus is known to have twice travelled to Spain. His first visit took place in 27 to 25 B.C. and it was connected with the warfare raging in the north and north-west³⁸. Augustus took particular pride in the fact that he had managed to suppress and pacify the Gallian and Spanish provinces, and Germany too, which were washed by the Ocean from Gades up to the Albis estuary (R.g. 26.2). In another place Augustus writes: «When in the consulship of Tib. Nero and P. Quintilius I came from Spain and Gallia, having successfully done my duty in these provinces, the Senate –to commemorate my return– decreed that the altar of Augustus' peace be consecrated in the Mars field» (R.g. 12.2). The above mentioned consulship dates to the year 13 B.C. and, consequently, the visit to Spain and Gaul that Augustus had in mind, took place much time later than the first. The cause of the departure to Spain

³⁶ F. Lassere, *op. cit.*, 384.

³⁷ J. Harmand, «Les origines de l'armée imperiale», *ANRW*, Bd. II.1 (1974), 282.

³⁸ A. Montenegro Duque, *op. cit.*, 178-184.

could have been the uprising in 16 B.C. in the north (Caes. Dio LIV, 20,2). But the uprising does not seem to be so powerful or widespread as to necessitate the presence of the emperor himself, in person, on the battlefield. It follows that Augustus' successes in Spain and Gaul had nothing to do with the solution of some internal problems in the already subject country.

The first problem was to take some preventive measures in order to nip the ghost of an unrest in the bud in the future. Florus (II, 59-60) records several sagacious orders Augustus gave following the ultimate subjugation of Spain: he demanded that many Asturs should come down from the mountains to the valleys, to the sites where the legions' camps used to be, that they should till land and extract minerals³⁹. It is self-evident that the emperor could hardly have done this during his first stay in Spain since the war was still in full swing at that time. It undeniably occurred during Augustus' second visit to the country. Florus emphatically stresses that these measures rendered the northern tribes safe.

This fact enabled Augustus to reduce the army quartered in Spain. After the North had been completely pacified and subjected, there was no need to deploy a huge army in Spain, and Augustus was able to reduce it first from seven legions to four, and later to three legions⁴⁰. The emperor distributed these legions over Near Spain, each legion having its own duty and own goal to obtain (Strabo III, 4,20), but the principal objective remained the same: they all had to defend –just in case– the northern frontier.

Now that the northern menace had all but disappeared, it became possible not to worry about the fate of the southernmost region of Spain where the majority of Italian colonists and Romanized natives concentrated. Therefore from the province of Further Spain was deduced the wealthiest and most Romanized region which received the name «Baetica», whereas the rest of the province was called Lusitania after the name of its most significant part. Lusitania, like Baetica, had no regular army, but its proximity to the recently conquered Gallaecia, Asturia and Cantabria made it imperative to keep it still under the emperor's sway. Near Spain remained intact but as the residence of the legate of the proconsul rank was in Tarraco⁴¹, it gradually acquired the name *Tarraconensis*. All these considerations and speculations make us agree with those scholars who refer the

³⁹ Supposedly at the same time Augustus spread this practice over the long since subordinated territories as well. For instance, the mountaineers in the Dianium area were driven to the littoral and from that time on fishing and wine-making began to come to the fore in the economy of this and neighbouring regions: R. Enguix Alemany y C. Aranegui Gascó, *Taller de ánforas romanas de Oliva (Valencia)*, Valencia, 1977, 43-44.

⁴⁰ J. M. Roldán Hervás, «La organización militar de la Hispania Romana», in *Historia de España*, t. II.2, 148.

⁴¹ It is believed that Tarraco became the province's capital in 26-25 B.C. («El pas de la vía Augusta per el mansio de Tarraco», *Butlletí arqueològic*, Ayns 1988-1989, n 10 i 11, 124), in other words, during the first stay of Augustus in Spain when this town was his basic residence.

creation of the three Spanish provinces to about 13 B.C. rather than to 27 B.C.⁴²

If we accept this opinion, we must conclude that prior to 13 B.C. the whole of Spain must have belonged to the emperor. The legate of Further Spain took an active part in the war campaign against Gallaics⁴³, thus that province must have been well armed, as was the custom in all the emperor's provinces. Augustus, as is known, did not leave the division of 27 B.C. unaltered. The same Dio Cassius (LIII, 12,5) states that some time after, Cyprus and Narbonnensis were given over to people. Then it is not surprising or out of the ordinary that Baetica became also singled out of the emperor's province and made a property of the Senate.

Finally, as has been stated above, Dio Cassius ascribes to Augustus the foundations of towns during this visit to Spain and Gaul. Apparently, this is the time to which the deduction of the last Spanish colonies must be dated.

After 13 B.C. there was no Italo-Roman colonization of Spain worth speaking of—either the veteran or any other. Only Otho deduced in 69 A.D. into the already existing Emerita Augusta and Hispalis new portions of his veterans (Tac. *Hist.* I, 78,1) and at some indefinite time appeared a new corps of veterans in Valentia⁴⁴. About a century after Otho's act Marcus Aurelius settled a certain number of Italics into Spain (*SHA. Marc.* XI, 7), owing to, probably, an epidemic⁴⁵. But all these were only isolated, rare facts. Naturally, immigrants from Italy continued to trickle into Spain. We have already dwelt on the Roman citizens negotiating at Bracara. In other places the Romans and Italics could be met too, but the bulk of them resided in the camp of the VIIth Gemina Legion that had been stationed in Spain after 70 A.D., and even more immigrants came to settle in Tarraco⁴⁶. Those were soldiers and veterans, natives from Rome and Italy, merchants, functionaries and artisans. These migrations were quite common and usual, absolutely unavoidable in so huge a state as the Roman Empire had grown to be. As for massive migrations of peasantry, they were no more.

Upon his return to Rome in 13 B.C. Augustus lost his interest in Spain, he focussed his attention and energy on his military reform, he could not be bothered with the veterans' well-being, the more so that the veran colonization now shifted to the newly conquered areas. The Danube frontier and es-

⁴² For example, R. Syme, «The Northern Frontiers under Augustus», in *CAH* 10 (1934), 345.

⁴³ A. Montenegro Duque, *op. cit.*, 176-189.

⁴⁴ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 53-54; J. M. Blázquez (*op. cit.*, 16-17) maintains that the veterans of two legions were accomodated at Corduba by Augustus well after 13 B.C.. But so far this evidence (Augustus' bust represented on the city's coins) seems to us very slight. A. U. Stylow refers the veterans' deduction to Corduba to 15-14 B.C.: A. U. Stylow, «Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba Romana», in *Stadtbild und Ideologie*, 263.

⁴⁵ J. M. Blázquez, «La economía de la Hispania Romana», in *Historia de España*, t. II.1, 462.

⁴⁶ A. García y Bellido, «El elemento forastero en Hispania Romana», *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 144.2 (1959), 126.

pecially the Rhine frontier became the emperor's top priorities both in his domestic and foreign policies, the totally subjected and obedient Spain ceased to be his headache. The Spanish provinces now occupied but the periphery of the imperial government's attention. Correspondingly, the Roman society shifted their interests and concerns to other territories, too. There are scarcely any mentions of Spain in the current Roman historiography. Unlike the history of the republic where, beginning with the Second Punic War, Spain was practically mentioned in every page, Tacitus' *Annals* almost kept silent about Spain⁴⁷. Thus we may surmise that approximately 27 years prior to Augustus' death, terminated the Caesar-Augustus period of the Romanization of Spain. Its new period starts, in the course of which those factors that proved to have been so instrumental in the Italo-Roman colonization, ceased to operate. The internal factors operating within the Hispano-Roman society itself, became the decisive driving-force now. Certainly, the outside factors are still important too, but they became different in nature, they are connected with the Spanish links with the rest of the Roman world at large and with the policies of the imperial government.

Insignificant as Spain might have grown politically for the Roman government, however, the emperors could ill afford to ignore it entirely. The Spanish economic weight permanently grew in the imperial economic system; its natural wealth and its manpower played a great role; former residents of Spain began to occupy very conspicuous posts in the political and cultural spheres in Rome.

The provincial policies of the Julio-Claudians were on the whole very inconsistent. On the one hand, the objective development led to the consolidation of the interdependence of various parts of the empire, to the growing significance of the provinces so that the emperors could not help taking these factors into account. Besides the princepses strove to attract the provincial nobility, to win their sympathies by making their representatives senators and even consuls because the Roman rulers sought to somehow neutralize the influence of the ancient republican aristocracy and to render the Senate and the Senate apparatus more obedient and manageable. On the other hand, the emperors themselves hindered and impeded the integration of the provinces into the all-imperial structure.

To a certain extent, this inconsistency may be explained by the ruler's personal qualities. Tiberius was rather a conservative man and, accordingly, he carried out a conservative policy. He tended to consider provinces to be a mere source of revenues but precisely for that reason, a good administrator as he was, he took pains not to go too far and to make the provincials pay not too exorbitant taxes. If we can take Suetonius at his word (*Tib.* 32), Tiberius instructed his vicegerents in this way: a good shepherd shears his sheep without skinning them. Under this emperor the process of Romanization and ur-

⁴⁷ R. Syme, *Ten Studies in Tacitus*, Oxford, 1970, 20.

banization sharply slowed down⁴⁸. Even so the sphere of Roman and Latin citizenship in Spain expanded. In all likelihood it was under him that Clunia became a municipium and Dertosa, maybe, turned a colony⁴⁹. The appearance in Spain of the Tiberii Iulii, for all their small number, testifies to a personal granting of the citizenship at Times⁵⁰. In the reign of Tiberius some former provincials not only made their way up to the Senate (there were some senators, natives of the provinces, under Augustus too, although 98% of senators were then Romans or Italics) but one of them, a certain Valerius Asiaticus from Gallic Vienna, became in the year 35 a consul-suffecte⁵¹. The time for the Spaniards to make such a spectacular career came some time after.

Tiberius's successors were different people of different nature but they all had one feature in common —they longed to enlarge the basis of their personal domination at the expense of the provincials, especially Claudius who, actually, did very little in Spain but indirectly facilitated the consolidation of Spain's contacts with the rest of the empire. For instance, the annexation of Mauritania made Baetica's ties with this country stronger and closer⁵². In the time of Claudius new communities received the privileged status⁵³. The number of senators, descendants from the provinces, Spain in particular, considerably grew, and L. Pedanius Secundus of Barcino became a consul-suffecte in 43⁵⁴. Already under Caligula began to shine the star of Seneca who withstood the ravages of time and remained an influential politician, writer and philosopher during three principses' terms; his successful career reached its zenith in the first years of Nero's reign⁵⁵. It should be noted, though, that Seneca's remarkable career did not reflect the political role of Spain in the empire. On the whole, his main attention Nero paid to the eastern provinces, specifically to Achaëa, and, perhaps, that caused the displeasure and discontent of the Western provincial aristocracy, which was manifested in the events of the 68-69 Civil War⁵⁶.

⁴⁸ G. Alföldy, «La politique provinciale de Tibère», *Latomus* 34.4 (1965), 834-844.

⁴⁹ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 31-32, 35-36; F. J. Fernández Nieto, «El derecho en la España Romana», in *Historia de España*, t. II.2, 184.

⁵⁰ G. Alföldy, *op. cit.*, 837.

⁵¹ R. Hanslik, «Valerius. Kaiserzeit I», in *Kleine Pauly* 5 (1979), Sp. 1111; cfr. Weyand, «Valerius 106», in *RE*, Hbd. 14A (1948), Sp. 2342.

⁵² C. Alonso Villalobos, «Aproximación al estudio de las relaciones entre Bética y Mauritania Tingitana durante el reinado de Claudio», in *España y el Norte de África*, Granada, 1984, 208.

⁵³ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 32-36. It looks quite probable that the town of Claudionerium was founded by Claudius: M. P. Charlesworth, «Gaius and Claudius», in *CAH* 10 (1934), 676.

⁵⁴ R. Syme, *Tacitus*, t. II, Oxford, 1958, 786; H. Groag, «Pedanius 9», in *RE*, Hbd. 36 (1937), 24.

⁵⁵ F. J. Presedo Velo, «Los escritores hispanos paganos», in *Historia de España*, t. II.2, 490-500. In general, the literature on Seneca is immense.

⁵⁶ M. A. Levi, *L'imperio romano*, Torino, 1971, 154-155, 166.

The state of affairs in Rome must have shaped the emperors' inconsistent provincial policy even to a greater extent than their characters, or their weaknesses, and partialities. The senators and the noble equestrians, their supporters, took a sharply conservative stance. In the past under the circumstances of civil wars and repressions, particularly during the second triumvirate, the bottom had been knocked out from under the aristocracy's feet, many aristocrats had just been killed. But, having stabilized his power, Augustus tried not only to make it up with the ancient nobility, but also to raise their social status. The ruling dynasty belonged to the upper crust of society and drew the other aristocratic families, trying to become friendly with those who occupied the highest offices, that of the consul inclusive⁵⁷. Under the Augustian successors the relations between the princeps and the senators grew very complicated, but the senators were able to hold their commanding position in the Roman society⁵⁸.

«The golden time», the heyday of the Roman aristocracy was the republic and many senators professed the old Roman ethical values⁵⁹, one of which was an awareness of their superiority over the provincials, their ardent ambition to get the upper hand and to show the provincials their place⁶⁰. Even when the emperors «diluted» the Senate with the representatives of the Italian municipia and provinces, the Senate successfully assimilated these people as it had previously done it with *novi homini* during the republic. The senator Seneca, himself a provincial from Spain, derided and jeered at the late Claudius that the latter had made all provincials –Greeks, and Gauls, and Spaniards, and Britons alike– wear a toga (*Apoc.* 3.3). For all its servility, the Senate sometimes mustered all the strength to oppose the princeps's attempts to widen the sphere of citizenship and enlarge the number of senators from among the new citizens. The most striking and bestknown illustration of this is Claudius's failure to replenish the Senate with representatives of the aristocracy of the whole of *Gallia Comata*: having met with the Senate's stubborn resistance, the emperor was compelled to compromise and as a result, only Aedui were allowed to become senators (*Tac. Ann.* XI, 23-25).

The plebs too were opposed to the expansion of citizenship. The plebeians did not play the political role they used to play in the late republic, but so far they were still powerful enough to interfere with the course of events, as it happened at the time when Caligula's individual rule was instituted (*Suet. Cal.* 14.1). The emperors had always taken great pains to feed the plebs and their primary concern had always been –to supply Rome with adequate foodstuffs. That is why the plebeians did not favour the increase of those who

⁵⁷ R. Syme, *The Augustian Aristocracy*, Oxford, 1986, II, 56, 95, 97.

⁵⁸ J. Gag , *Les classes sociales dans l'Empire Romaine*, Paris, 1964, 84-85; G. Alf ldy, *The Social History of Rome*, Routledge, 1988, 115-116.

⁵⁹ G. S. Knabe, *Cornelius Tacitus*, Moscow, 1981, 16-17, 21-29 (in Russian).

⁶⁰ G. Alf ldy, *The Social History...*, 113.

would consume the provisions at the emperor's cost. The plebeians were even more prejudiced against non-Romans than the enlightened senators ⁶¹.

The attitude of the equestrians to the emperors' provincial policy was not uniform. The top horsemen usually sided with the senators; some equestrians had already been involved into the imperial administration and, as would be expected, they were obliged to implement the government's policies (for ex. Tac. *Ann.* XII, 60). The considerable part of the horsemen, though, were still engaged in farming, collecting taxes and duties (Tac. *Ann.* VI, 6; XV, 50-51), in mining and other lucrative businesses. Their attitude to the growth of the provincials' rights was probably contradictory. On the one hand, the dignity of the Roman citizens facilitated their business transactions in the provinces and mitigated the threat of local competition and rivalry; but on the other, their common links and common interests must have drawn them into the local affairs and promoted their intimacy with the provincials. It must be lastly stressed that the equestrian estate included several provincials who had become Roman citizens and had the required qualification. For instance, according to Strabo (III, 5,3), there were 500 horsemen in Gades. Their presence largely influenced the estate's sentiments ⁶².

Despite their despotic inclinations the emperors could not fail to reckon with the apportionment of forces in Rome, which, naturally enough, modified their provincial policy and restricted the provincials' integration into the Roman power. Certainly, different provinces experienced this process differently. Some of them as early as the latter part of the first century were for all that fairly Romanized. They are first and foremost Baetica and east (particularly north-east) Tarraconensis.

An important and far-reaching stage in the Romanization of Spain was the 68-69 Civil War and the ensuing reign of the Flavians.

The Civil War broke out in March 68 when G. Julius Vindex, the vicegerent of Lugdunensis rose in arms against Nero's tyranny. The researchers of today have refuted the interpretation of this revolt as Gaul's national or separatist movement to liberate Gaul from Rome's yoke ⁶³. In actual fact, though, the aim of this revolt was not to oppose Rome as such but to oppose the ruling emperor, to check his arbitrary and excessive practices ⁶⁴. It can be best seen in Vindex's appeal to Galba with the offer to lead this movement in order to inject strength into a body in search of the head and thus to become the liberator and chief of humankind (Plut. *Galba* 4; Suet. *Galba* 9.2). And Galba, upon some hesitations and vacillations, accepted the offer.

The appeal to Galba was no mere accident. He was from the noble clan

⁶¹ Cfr. M. E. Sergeyenko, *The Artisans of Ancient Rome*, Leningrad, 1968, 75 (in Russian).

⁶² G. Alföldy, *The Social History...*, 125.

⁶³ R. Syme, *Tacitus*, 463-464.

⁶⁴ P. A. Brunt, «The Revolt of Vindex and the Fall of Nero», *Latomus* 18.3 (1959), 531-534, 543-559; M. A. Levi, *op. cit.*, 154; P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *The Year of the Four Emperors*, New York, 1975, 6-7.

of the Sulpicii; on his mother's side he was a kinsman of the Mummii and the Lutatii Catuli, and besides he was a distant relative of the Augustian family. His stepmother Livia Ocellina was related to Livia Augusta and in his childhood Galba used to visit Augustus' court and was Livia's favourite, later he managed to win the favours of the Augustian successors, which then ensured his spectacular career. He was a praetor, a consul, a vicegerent of a number of provinces. His wealth was enormous⁶⁵. All this gave Galba a moral right to occupy the post of the princeps. Nero had taken the uprising of Vindex very light-heartedly but when he heard that Galba had undertaken generalship, he got overwhelmed with despair saying that all was over (Suet. *Nero* 42.1). And this when Galba had a limited contingent at his disposal⁶⁶. His military potential did not noticeably increase when Otho and Baetica's questor Caecina joined him in the revolt, since neither Lusitania nor Baetica had any regular troops.

Galba received the proposal to join the anti-Nero movement at Carthago Nova; then and there he agreed to accept the proposal without proclaiming himself emperor, though; he just called himself the legate of the Senate and the people (Suet. *Galba* 10.1; Plut. *Galba* 5). At this stage he would not miss an opportunity to point out Nero's cruelty and ruthlessness, his injustice and abuses; he posed as an avenger for innocent victims, acting very much in the spirit of the republican generals. His coinage fully corresponded to this programme. On the coins minted by Galba in Spain were represented many figures such as Mars, Liberty, Concord, and Victory and the legends MART, VICTORI, LIBERTAS P.R., VICTORIA P.R., GENIO P.R. The token of the union with the insurgent Gaul was a coin where Spain and Gaul were depicted and the legend read as follows: CONCORDIA HISPANIARVM ET GALLIARVM. The horn of plenty represented behind the figures of Spain promised the forthcoming era of happiness and abundance following the tyrant's death⁶⁷. Suetonius tells (*Galba* 10.1) that Galba when proclaiming himself legate of the Senate and the people had by his side a noble aristocratic boy whom Nero had exiled to the Balearic Islands and Galba had specifically delivered to Carthago Nova. Incidentally, that shows how painstakingly Galba and his headquarters had prepared and arranged the ceremony⁶⁸. With expressly the same purpose in view did Galba initially reject the emperor's title. He either sought to create the impression of his personal disinterestedness in the struggle against the tyranny or, perhaps, he honestly meant to restore the republic⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ Fluss, «Sulpicius 63», in *RE*, Hbd. 17A (1931), Sp. 772-779; R. Syme, *The Augustian Aristocracy*, 75, 435.

⁶⁶ G. H. Stevenson, «The Year of Four Emperors», *CAH*10 (1934), 811.

⁶⁷ E. Many Smallwood, *Documentis illustrating the principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, Cambridge, 1967, 38-39, n. 72.

⁶⁸ Cfr. P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *op. cit.*, 7.

⁶⁹ K. Wellesley, *The long year A.D. 69*, Bristol, 1989, 5. The official propaganda to the ef-

All these slogans and gestures were undeniably meant to impress the Romans and Romanized provincials. But some details of Galba's conduct (as well as the previous events in Gaul) indicate that the reality was much more complex. Shortly after the Carthago Nova episode Galba received an oracle from a local aristocratic girl (and the oracle was confirmed by Jupiter's priest at Clunia) that from Spain the ruler of the world would come (Suet. *Galba* 9). It is quite possible that the ancient oracle originally concerned Scipio Aemilianus (Suetonius gives the time of the first voicing of the oracle –200 years prior to Galba, which exactly corresponds to the year 133 B.C.). The native temples could have acted as centres of the native anti-governmental opposition and their role in the events of the Civil War was considerable ⁷⁰. For instance, some time later Vespasian made the most of the temples' authority (Tac. *Hist.* II, 1-4, II, 81; IV, 82). The rise of Clunia in this situation is noteworthy. The town was situated in the not-yet-Romanized zone with strong indigenous institutions and way of life. It was here, to Clunia that Galba fled for refuge after the defeat of Vindex. Here, to Clunia came Icelus with the news that Nero had died and Galba had been acknowledged by Rome as emperor. It was here, in Clunia, that the new princeps took the title in the presence of the crowd in front of his house (Suet. *Galba* 11; Plut. *Galba* 6-7). The additional proof of Clunia's weight in Galba's epopee lies in the fact that, when already the emperor, Galba struck the coin with the legend *Hispaniae Clunia Sul.* Evidently in reward the city was conferred by Galba the dignity of a Roman colony and received the cognomen Sulpicia ⁷¹.

Getting ready to march against Nero Galba raised his army in Spain. To defend the littoral of Tarraconensis and of Narbonensis he created the prefecture of the sea-coast in these provinces ⁷². For the march against Rome Galba created the VIIth Galbiana (later Gemina) legion with M. Antonius Primus as its commander ⁷³. Primus, native of Tolosa, a former senator banished by Nero from the Senate, living ever since in his native town, was the most suitable head of the legion meant as the shock troops of the Galbian campaign. In all likelihood, in Spain proper people of the senator's rank (or former senators, for that matter, for in this case it was of very little consequence, since the expulsion from the Senate under those conditions was tantamount to a political persecution) were either hard to come by or Galba did

fact that Galba was waging the war not for his sake but for the good of the state, never ended in the years to come. For instance, the inscription of Q. Pomponius Rufus read thus: *bello quod imperator Galba pro re publica gessit* (A.é., 1948, 3).

⁷⁰ G. W. Bowersock, «The Mechanics of Subversion in the Roman Provinces», in *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 33 (1986), 304, 315, 318.

⁷¹ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 35; H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romaine*, t. I. Paris-London, 1859, 232, n. 130.

⁷² D. B. Saddington, «*Praefecti classis, orae maritimae and ripae* of the second Triumvirate and the Early Empire», in *Jahrbuch RGZM* 35 (1988), 304, 310.

⁷³ G. Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte*, Amsterdam, 1987, 415.

not trust them. Suetonius (*Galba* 10.2) writes that the legions (in actual fact, a legion) were recruited by Galba from the province's plebs (*e plebe quidem provinciae*). Were these recruits all Roman citizens who were at the time quite numerous in Spain? Or did Galba raise, as the Pompeians had done during the war against Caesar, an «indigenous» legion giving his soldiers the Roman citizenship? ⁷⁴ Tacitus (*Hist.* III, 25) records a story about a certain Julius Mansuetus who fell at the hand of his own son in the battle of Cremona. The father had become some time previously a soldier of the legion Rapax that took the side of Vitellius whereas the son was mobilized by Galba into the VIIth legion. The fact that Julius Mansuetus became a legioner in a normal quiet time, as well as his gentilivus «Julius» testify to his status of a citizen whereas his proper name betrays him as a Romanized aboriginal. Consequently, his son was also a Roman citizen of local Spanish extraction. The name «Mansuetus» (Mansueta) is to be met in Spain and localized usually in Saguntum, Italica and in the Barcino area (Vives 5135, 3901, 4200), that is in the more Romanized zones, inhabited by Iberians.

On the other hand, it is possible to produce oblique evidence to the contrary. It is a known fact that the VIIth legion played a most significant part in the Civil War, specifically in the battle of Cremona, and that its legate Antonius Primus, by his energy and resolution, as good as sealed the fate of the war. In order to thank them adequately for the services rendered, Vespasian gave all the Spaniards the Latin citizenship. Evidently, Galba's legion was among those lucky natives. If our supposition is correct, the bulk of the legion were non-citizens. Another indirect proof of the assumption is that among the new legion's tribunes were people from the Quirina tribe ⁷⁵ —the very tribe to which Vespasian attached those people whom he wanted to give a citizenship. The VII Gemina legion was manned mainly from the Spaniards even in the future, and the majority of the recruits came from the three conventus in the north-west of Tarracensis ⁷⁶. What if it is the continuation of the tradition inaugurated by Galba? Of course that did not rule out recruiting conscripts from other regions as well.

The legion was officially formed on June 10. 68 ⁷⁷, that is, before Galba got the word about his promotion to the rank of emperor, so that the formation of the legion may be regarded as an extraordinary fact. It was this legion that Galba marched against Rome with, having left behind in Spain the VIth Victrix legion, previously under his command. Evidently the emperor trusted the newly recruited legion more than the old one, where there were rather many Italics ⁷⁸. Besides Galba formed auxiliary regiments from among the provincials (Suet. *Galba*

⁷⁴ Cfr. A. T. Fear, «The Vernacular Legion of Hispania Ulterior», *Latomus* 50.4 (1991), 820.

⁷⁵ E. Ritterling, «Legio», Sp. 1631.

⁷⁶ J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Hispania y el ejército...*, 246-248.

⁷⁷ E. Ritterling, «Legio», Sp. 1029; G. Alföldy, «Hispanien und das römische Heer», *Gerión* 3 (1985), 394.

⁷⁸ J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Hispania y el ejército...*, 200, 242.

10.2). One of those was the cohort of the Vasconi (Tac. *Hist.* IV, 33). Actually, auxiliary troops were normally raised from the inhabitants of the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula.

All the steps and measures undertaken by the claimant upon the throne, such as his belief in the Celtiberians' religious cults and practices, his likely conscriptions primarily among the people of the least Romanized territories of Spain, his preference of Clunia as the chief residence of his campaign against Rome, the city where he received the emperor's title and where he first stationed his new legion and last but not least, his march on Rome with this new legion, —all this spoke volumes about Galba's confidence in the support of this zone. It goes without saying that Galba made a good use of the Roman citizens too. He made several equestrians his bodyguards (Suet. *Galba* 10.3). According to Suetonius (*Galba* 10.2) Galba created sort of a senate (*velut instar senatus*) made up of noblemen of age and wisdom. For all his desire to secure the support of the less Romanized section of the Spanish population, Galba, famous for his conservatism, could scarcely have recruited his so-called senate from among noncitizens. Even Sertorius had in his time formed his senate of Roman emigrants rather than of indigenous aristocracy. A century and a half later, the situation in Spain was quite different, the country had already quite a few Roman citizens. Apparently Galba's senate consisted of people who belonged to the municipal and colonial élite of Tarraconensis. It looks possible that some members of this provisional organ were people from Galba's immediate circle, as, for instance, Titus Vinius, the one who had put an end to Galba's hesitations (Plut. *Galba* 4).

Tacitus records that Galba's march to Rome was long and bloody (*Hist.* I, 6). Suetonius testifies too (*Galba* 12.1) that those towns that did not immediately join Galba, suffered severe punishments at the emperor's hand who went even as far as to raze the walls and to execute the local authorities complete with their families. The biographer does not specify what towns he meant, he just mentions the accident with a wreath at Tarraco (12.1) and Plutarch describes Galba's meeting near Narbo with the Senate's messengers (*Galba* 11). All this allows us to unmistakably define Galba's route. From Clunia he must plainly have moved along the road called *per Cantabriam* leading from Asturica Augusta via Clunia and Caesar Augusta to Tarraco and there joining the Augustian road, the then most usually used and the shortest land route from Spain to Italy. The latter road crossed the eastern part of Tarraconensis and Narbonensis, that is, it traversed across the most Romanized areas of the empire's western provinces⁷⁹. From all this it may be assumed that in contrast to the least Romanized zone with its largely extant local institutions, the stronghold of Galba, the more Romanized zones which were under a considerable influence of the colonists and maintained closer ties with Italy and Rome, regarded Galba in a different light.

⁷⁹ J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana*, Granada, 1975, 45-48, 89.

It is also substantiated by the Gaul material. Vindex's adherents were the mighty tribes of Three Gauls, particularly Aedui, Sequani and their allies (Tac. *Hist* I, 51). As for Narbonensis, the town of Vienna took the side of Vindex and joined in the insurgence (Tac. *Hist* I, 65) but the province on the whole was rather pro-Nero, Valens, for instance, attempted in 69 to reverse the march of the war by landing his troops in Narbonensis (Tac. *Hist* III, 41) and it is well known how deeply and markedly Vitellius revered the memory of Nero (Suet. *Vit* 11.2). At the same time, Vindex was opposed by the Rhine tribes of Lingoni and Treveri (Tac. *Hist* I, 51, 57). The social evolution of these tribes was somewhat retarded, there was no marked stratification of the tribes, the tribal elite could not be so easily distinguished there⁸⁰, and, besides, these tribes were rather tightly united with the legions stationed there and at the moment loyal to Nero (cfr. Tac. *Hist* I, 57).

The social development of the Aedui, Sequani, Allobrogi (whose capital was Vienna) and also of the other tribes in this region of Gaul had already gone a long way in the pre-Roman times⁸¹. But, on the other hand, they had preserved some pre-Roman institutions, largely based on the original tribes, now civitates, whereas in Narbonensis the municipal system was already in full swing⁸². Vindex was actively supported by those Gaul aristocrats who had been involved in the empire's affairs and even penetrated into the state's ruling echelon but at the same time retained the former levers of influence in their tribal communities. It was at the meeting of the Gaul nobility that Vindex publicly and resolutely voiced his opposition to Nero (Dio Cass. LXIII, 22) and those nobles rose in arms with him against Nero (Ios. *Bel.Iud.* IV, 8,1). According to Plutarch (*Galba* 4), Vindex had 100.000 soldiers at his disposal. Considering the fact that the Roman legions quartered on the Rhine were opposed to him and there were no other regular troops in Gaul, those soldiers could have been only the army of the Gaul magnates, recruited from their clients.

In all likelihood, the same pattern of forces was in evidence in Spain too. True, we do not know anything about the stance of the more backward tribes in the north; it is quite possible that they were keeping aloof in the conflict (the Vasconi conscripted by Galba, at least those who lived in the valley, were somewhat more advanced⁸³). As for the rest of Spain the situation there was to an extent the same as it had been during the Sertorian War when the more or less Romanized regions of the country had risen against the mutinous general and the little Romanized areas had given him a whole-hearted

⁸⁰ A. G. Bokshanin, *The Social Crisis in the Roman Empire in the 1st Century A.D.*, Moscow, 1954, 212 (in Russian).

⁸¹ N. S. Shirokova, *Ancient Celts at the Turn of the New Era*, Leningrad, 1989, 111-215 (in Russian).

⁸² G. Alföldy, *The social History...*, 105; A. Pelletier, «La société urbaine en Gaule Narbonnaise à l'époque d'Auguste», *Latomus* 50.3 (1991), 645-647.

⁸³ J. M. Blázquez, *Nuevos estudios...*, 233.

support. Galba's actions at large resembled those of Sertorius but his issues turned out to be much more advantageous.

The provinces must have little suffered from Nero's mad atrocities⁸⁴. Tacitus related (*Ann.* XVI, 5) that the municipals and provincials coming to Rome were amazed at the life and happenings in the capital; evidently back at home, a long way from the state's centre they had seen nothing of this kind and little did they care about the capital. But they highly valued their social position in their society and did not feel like running a risk by taking part in the civil war. Besides, in the provinces Nero enjoyed a tangible popularity. It is known as a fact that in the year 58 he had put forward an initiative to abolish duties (*vectigalia*), customs duties (*portoria*) among them, but the Senate's opposition prevented him from translating this project into life (*Tac. Ann.* XIII, 50). Yet the emperor had succeeded in adopting a number of measures aimed at checking the tax-farmers' abuse in collecting the oblique duties. Thus he abolished the 1/40 and 1/50 levy from any bargain concluded, he made public all the hitherto secret regulations for the tax-farmers; he ordered the provincial vicegerents to consider top-priority cases against the tax-farmers (*Tac. Ann.* 13.51)⁸⁵. All these proved effective exactly here, in the most Romanized zone with its more active economic, commercial inclusive, life and with its closer trade ties with Italy. So that the inhabitants of the most Romanized areas of Spain and Gaul saw no special reason to actively support the advocate and to a certain extent the protegee of the «evil» Senate that rose against the «good» emperor.

But what seems to be even of greater consequence is an objective opposition to the less Romanized territories with a different way of life and its different organization. The colonists are known to have come chiefly from Italy, not from Rome, and to have kept their bonds with Italy. In Italy the state of affairs, as will be shown later, turned out to be different, but the similar situation had been very much in evidence during Sertorius and it may be accounted for by the specific conditions of the co-existence in the provinces of the Italo-Roman and indigenous worlds, which necessitated the unification and consolidation of the former (unlike Italy, where for a long time the opposition of the Roman and Italian worlds had been felt). Probably here lies the explanation of a more loyal attitude to Nero on the part of the Romanized regions of the provincial west.

Galba's victory was the victory of the Senate's aristocracy, that is, of the republican elements of the principate⁸⁶. Perhaps, that is also the reason of Galba's attitude to the army, to the praetorians in particular, in whom he

⁸⁴ J. Muñiz Coello, «La política municipal de los Flavios en Hispania», *SHHA* 2-3 (1984-1985), 151.

⁸⁵ S. J. De Laet, *Portorium*, Brugge, 1949, 120-121.

⁸⁶ A. B. Egorov, *op. cit.*, 192, 203; M. A. Levi, «I Flavi», *ANRW* 11.2, 180, 183. Cfr.: F. S. Kleiner, «The Arch of Galba at Tarragona and Dynastic Portraiture on Roman Arches», *MM* 30 (1989), 251-252.

justly saw the material base of the monarchy. He made efforts to restore the ancient republican attitude to the soldiers, whom he said he was «recruiting» but not «buying» (Tac. *Hist.* I, 5). However, despite his conservatism the new emperor could not help understanding the significance of the provinces, the more so that the revolt in them had made him emperor. Actually, Galba revived the former practice of the era of civil strifes at the end of the republic when the provincials' support was paid for by various privileges, including a citizenship. He gave the citizenship to those Gaul communities that took sides with Vindex; he also reduced taxes and increased these communities' lands (Tac. *Hist.* I, 8).

Spain was not exempt from his benevolence either. Spain got her taxes reduced too, and then Vespasian, in spite of his avarice and stinginess, confirmed this act of Galba. In all probability, what was meant is the customs duties which diminished from 25 per cent to 2 per cent⁸⁷. Clunia—the town that had proclaimed him emperor and that had rendered him support at the decisive moment—, was raised by Galba to the rank of a Roman colony and given the cognomen «Sulpicia»⁸⁸. This act was most likely passed well after Galba's arrival in Rome. The coin legend with the mention of Clunia Sulpicia contains also the mention of the Senate's decision (S.C.)⁸⁹. It is most unlikely that such a decision could have been made in the emperor's absence. In Baetica Galba created the municipium of Anticaria taking into account the strategic position of the town towering over the road from Corduba to the Mediterranean ports, especially to Malaca⁹⁰. The latter was closely tied with the African littoral (Strabo III, 4,2) and Galba could not afford to ignore the events on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The Africa vicegerent Clodius Macer was doubtlessly trying to play his own game, which eventually led to his assassination by Galba's order (Tac. *Hist.* I, 7).

Galba's murder meant the defeat of the Senate and the old Roman aristocracy's faction. His successor Otho leaned primarily upon the praetorians and some of his loyal troops for support. Though his reign was exceedingly short, just for three odd months, from 15 January to 17 April 69 A.D., and one of the three months was spent by him in the campaigns under his personal generalship, the new emperor did not fail to take good care of the provinces, those in Spain too. Before he had joined in the anti-Nero movement, Ot-

⁸⁷ J. M. Blázquez, *La economía...*, 422; R. Etienne, «*Quadragesima ou quinquagesima Hispaniarum?*», *REA* 53 (1951), 62-70; A. Balil, «El Imperio Romano hasta la crisis del siglo III», in *Historia económica y social de España* I. Madrid, 1973, 274-284; F. S. Kleiner, *op. cit.*, 241. This act of Galba may be illustrated and confirmed by the coin bearing the legend REMISSA, which, in De Laet's opinion, amply testifies to the reduction of the customs duties: *op. cit.*, 171. F. Vittinghoff holds, though, that such a legend could only signify a complete abolition of duties: F. Vittinghoff, «Portorium», in *RE*, Hbd. 43 (1953), Sp. 379.

⁸⁸ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 35.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 35, Anm. 50.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

ho had been Lusitania's vicegerent and he only too well realized the importance of Spain in his struggle for power. He initiated a fresh deduction to Emerita (Tac. *Hist.* I, 78) and the new colonists' strips were not inferior to the earlier ones⁹¹. The deduction of new colonists to this town was nothing out of the ordinary, since it had been Otho's residence. But it was not enough for Otho. He made up his mind to draw to his side the Senate's Baetica too. With this aim in view, new colonists were also deduced to Hispalis and some towns in Mauretania were annexed to the province (Tac. *Hist.* I, 78), which was apparently to increase Baetica's income. By these measures Otho no doubt intended to strengthen his position in this most important both economically and strategically, country during the war against Vitellius⁹². The greater must have been Otho's disappointment when Spain sided with Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* I, 76).

Vitellius's principate was a short but spectacular episode in the Roman history. Vitellius sought to rally different estates but was actively supported only by the urban plebs (to say nothing, of course, of the German army). According to Tacitus (I, 4), many plebeians had at one time bemoaned Nero. The latter's feasts, his construction activities carried out on a large scale, thus giving many a plebeians chance to earn good money, attracted people, even the absence of Senate's gravitas appealed to many people⁹³. Galba's bundling management, unrest accompanying Otho's overthrow, the hardships of the civil war daily growing more and more palpable and painful (cfr. Tac. *Hist.* I, 89), —all this multiplied the number of those nostalgic for Nero's times. Therefore Vitellius arrived at a certain conclusion— he markedly and publicly emphasized his respect for Nero's memory, he committed in the Mars field memorable offerings in honour of the late emperor (Suet. *Vit.* 11.2). Thus he paved his way to the hearts of many plebeians.

The towns-people had once proved vastly instrumental in the establishment of Caligula's individual rule by rushing into the curiam (Suet. *Cal.* 14.1). Similarly the Roman plebs rose at the crucial moment to defend Vitellius. After the defeat near Cremona the people demanded arms (Tac. *Hist.* I, 58). When Vitellius lost his head on account of his persistent defeats and treasons and decided to lay down his authority, the plebs gathered and resolutely demanded that he should come back to the Palatine Hill. And when the rumors of his abdication seemed, however, to have been confirmed, not only his soldiers but also the vulgar (*vulgus*) rose in opposition to the Flavians (Tac. *Hist.* III, 68-69). The relatively insignificant victory of Vitellius's soldiers over Petelius Cerialis's cavalry so inspired the people (*studia populi*

⁹¹ *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, Berlin, 1948, 51-52.

⁹² Tacitus stressed in plain terms that those and other similar measures of Otho (e.g. giving a citizenship to the Lingoni and the introduction of new laws at Cappadocia and in Africa) pursued only one and sole aim for the emperor to win his subjects' popularity.

⁹³ Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, Oxford, 1969, 126-129.

aucta) that even the urban mob took to arms (Tac. *Hist.* III, 80). True, the inexperienced volunteers soon found themselves scattered by the attacking horsemen (Tac. *Hist.* III, 80) but what matters here is their enthusiasm and readiness to fight even a losing fight, their loyalty to Vitellius even under hopeless and desperate circumstances. Certainly, the popular support should not be exaggerated. The bulk of the population in Rome belonged to that «silent majority» that even at the most crucial and key moments went on with their daily chores and cares, as can be seen from Tacitus' story (*Hist.* III, 83) about the conduct of many Romans during the street fighting in the capital; moreover, another part of the residents went so far as to pledge their loyalty to the new government and outraged the deposed princeps (Tac. *Hist.* III, 85). Yet the active section of the plebs turned out to be a staunch adherent of Vitellius.

This conduct of the Roman plebs seems at first sight baffling. One might have thought that the excesses committed by the soldiers who treated Rome as a war city, should have averted the Romans from the commander-in-chief of this demoralized and corrupted army. But, perhaps, the majority of the people did not have to suffer so much from these outrages since they had so very little for the marauders to take away from them?. Besides, the Romans might have anticipated the distribution of grain from the military camps; of course, they feared Vespasian who had resolved to starve the city to death⁹⁴. The plebs might have been pleased by the fact that Vitellius adopted the name «Germanicus» in honour of the popular idol the memory of whom was still alive even fifty, years after his death.

But the main thing is, in our opinion, as follows. Tacitus (*Hist.* II, 91) writes that Vitellius during *comitia consulum* with his candidates sought, as befits a citizen, to secure the plebs' approval. To strive to ensure the plebs' approval of his candidates would have been senseless if the consuls had been elected, as in previous times, at least formally, by the Senate. It follows that Vitellius had abrogated Tiberius' reform that had deprived the people of the right to choose the magistrates (Tac. *Ann.* I, 15). When he made an attempt to lay down his power, he, perhaps, imitating Sulla, convened a popular meeting (*contio*) to explain the reasons of his abdication (Tac. *Hist.* III, 68). It testifies to a sharp increase of the plebs' political weight. The common people could well remember the events of the last century of the republic when different political figures had tried to curry favour with the plebs. The other jestures and steps of Vitellius had the same target in view: he attended theatrical performances as a common spectator, he applauded in the circus, he took the people's opinion into account. Tacitus (*Hist.* II, 91) points out that such a behaviour of the emperor could have become popular and won him gratitude but for the memory of his former dishonourable and base way of life. Let us

⁹⁴ *Idem.*, «Vitellius and the *Fickleness of the Mob*», *Historia* 18.4 (1969), 557-569; R. F. Newbold, «Vitellius and the Roman plebs», *Historia* 21.2 (1972), 308-319.

leave the reservations on the historian's conscience. The facts show that after all Vitellius' populist actions had won him political dividends. Even at the moment of his abortive abdication he was offering the populace his child, beseeching them to defend the infant's life, which, no doubt, appealed to the crowd too. It was this crowd that stood by their own emperor.

The defeat and murder of Vitellius signified the defeat of Rome's urban plebs, likewise the defeat of Galba was Senate's defeat. Thus were beaten the two principal conservative forces impeding the practical formation of a more or less unified Mediterranean empire. One thing more seems to be noteworthy. On the last leg of the civil war when the war theatre shifted to Middle Italy and Rome was in the main on Vitellius' side, Italy gave preference to Vespasian. The uprising of the Misenian fleet put the municipia and colonies into motion (Tac. *Hist.* II, 57). Vespasian's supporters became Samniti, Peligni and Marsi (Tac. *Hist.* II, 59), that is, that part of Italy which a century and a half ago had initiated and actively participated in the Social War (App. *bel.civ.* I, 39). In Campania, Capua where, under Nero, a veteran colony was deduced (Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 31), remained faithful to Vitellius, unlike its rival Puteolae, that sided with the Flavians (Tac. *Hist.* III, 57). We should remember that Puteolae were one of the major Italian ports, particularly in its links with the western provinces (Strabo V, 4,6; cfr. II, 3,4; III, 2,6). The support of Middle Italy, even if not the decisive factor, contributed enough to the success of the Flavians. The latter's victory was the decisive defeat of Rome —the polis. Vespasian's reforms sealed the results of the Civil War.

According to Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.2), the new emperor «had purified and replenished the higher estates, exhausted by numerous murders and disgraced by previous negligence». Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 9.9) holds that as the result of the tyrants' cruelty, that is, the cruelty of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, there were by that time only two hundred senators. Probably, this number is exceedingly understated⁹⁵, but in any case the reduction of the number of senators seems indisputable, and the process went at the sacrifice of more ancient and distinguished families, the principle victims of the Julio-Claudians, and besides, the senators' families seem to have had few or no children⁹⁶. Making the most of the ancient censorship (*censu more veterum exercito*), Vespasian increased the number of the senators up to one thousand people, recruiting for that purpose the best people from all parts of the empire (*undique*) (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9.9). Suetonius specifies, that he included both into senators and equestrians the worthiest and the most honest of the Italics and provincials, discarding the ignoble and the dishonest ones (Suet. *Vesp.* 9.2). All this led to an abrupt change in the correlation of forces in the upper strata in the empire. In the past times the senators had

⁹⁵ H. Bengtson, *Die Flavier*, München, 1979, 90.

⁹⁶ M. Hammond, «Composition of the Senate, A.D. 68-235», *JRS* 47 (1957), 75-76; G. Alföldy, *The Social History...*, 118.

more or less successfully assimilated the *homines novi* from the municipia and provinces; now the representatives of the old Roman aristocracy became literally dissolved in the newcomers. The ruling class of the empire had undergone dramatic changes too ⁹⁷.

Apparently it is possible to state the completion of a whole long epoch heralded by the Social War. Then a decisive and principal blow had been delivered against Rome the polis. The process of giving the Italics the civil rights had actually come to its end, to all appearances, under Augustus, as has been shown previously in the paper, but their representatives must have played an immaterial role and, when integrated into bodies of power, they became assimilated and absorbed by the Roman nobility. Now they began to come into the fore, though.

And it had a far reaching consequence for the whole of Rome's history. In the historical perspective the barrier between Rome and Italy was by far more important than that between Italy and provinces. The eventual collapse of this barrier transformed Rome from the polis standing at the head of an enormous empire into the capital of a territorial state. Privileged in this state were for the times being the Italics who constituted the bulk of the ruling estates (among the senators with the identified background, 83.2 per cent were, under Vespasian, Italians and Romans ⁹⁸). But the road to a more active inclusion of the provincial élite into the state governmental institutions was open and the share of the provincials in the Senate steadily grew. The provinces were slowly but surely becoming part and parcel of the territorial state.

It is precisely in this light that one must consider the *Latium* given by Vespasian to all the Spaniards who had hitherto had neither Roman nor Latin citizenship. This fact is reported by Pliny (*n.h.* III, 30). There are two opinions concerning the date of this act of Vespasian. Most scholars tend to date this act to 73-74, that is, to the censorship of Vespasian and Titus ⁹⁹; whereas others refer it to 70-71, that is, to the period immediately following the civil war ¹⁰⁰. It is facilitated by the variants of the word's spelling: *iactatum* (-us, -ae) in some manuscripts of the *Natural History* and the adoption of this or that variant of the spelling determines the interpretation of the text and the dating of the event. Leaving aside all the historical and linguistic arguments of the champions of this or that date, let us carefully examine Pliny's text.

At the beginning of Book III (6-30) Pliny presents a political geography

⁹⁷ H. Bengtson, *Die Flavier*, 88-92, 113-120.

⁹⁸ M. Hammond, *op. cit.*, 77.

⁹⁹ R. K. McEldery, «Vespasian's Reconstruction of Spain», *JRS* 8 (1918); H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 37; H. Bengtson, *Die Flavier*, 129; J. Gage, *op. cit.*, 186; Weynand, «Flavius 206», *RE*, Hbd. 12 (1909), Sp. 2659-2660; R. Wiegels, «Datum der Verleihung der *ius Latii* an die Hispaniaen», *Hermes* 106.1 (1978), 213; N. Mackie, *Local Administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14-212*. Oxford, 1983, 215-216.

¹⁰⁰ J. Muñiz Coello, *op. cit.*, 154-155; A. Montenegro Duque, «Hispania durante el Imperio», in *Historia de España*, t. II.1, 209.

of Baetica and a great part of Tarraconensis in order to come back in Book IV to Spain describing now the Ocean's littoral of Tarraconensis and Lusitania (110-120). And there at the very end of the first «Spanish passage» before mentioning Pyrenees separating Spain from Gaul did the author report Vespasian's deed. This information seems alien in this text, somewhat out of place, as a reference nested at the very last moment into the well arranged text¹⁰¹. It has been universally recognized that Pliny made use of Agrippa's map and of some other documents of the Augustian epoch to describe Spain. Pliny must have introduced into these texts some necessary alterations and corrections to mirror the events and practices of the post-Augustian time. For instance, as territorial subdivisions of the provinces he pointed out the *conventus*, within the framework of which he enumerated towns and communities. *Conventus* shaped up as territorial subdivisions of the Spanish provinces, most likely, in the reign of Claudius¹⁰². And yet, there were not so many changes in the political geography of Spain, for the contribution of the Julio-Claudian dynasty into it was practically immaterial.

On the other hand, Pliny was well familiar with Spain. He himself had lived in the country in the capacity of the procurator (Plin. Min. *Ep.* III, 5,17). As he had been procurator simultaneously with Larcus Licinius, who died at Carthago Nova in the course of his vicegerentship (Plin. XIX, 35) the historians believe that the author of the *Natural History* occupied this office in Tarraconensis in 73¹⁰³. No wonder that Pliny does not just enumerate the Spanish towns and ethnics as he did describing most of the other countries and provinces (except the African provinces – V. 29), but he also provides a statistical survey of the legal status of various Spanish communities. Incidentally, this division into colonies, *municipia*, Latin towns and primarily stipendiary towns was to become invalid after Vespasian's reform¹⁰⁴. It goes without saying that the status of some separate communities did not change overnight. Pliny can be expected to have taken into consideration the reforms' aftermath, even if they did not make themselves manifest during his stay in the country, and, consequently, this could have been mirrored in the description of Spain. Alas, it was not so. It follows then that as early as 73 the procurator Pliny had no knowledge of Vespasian's act. Pliny completed this book in 77, and he gave it to Titus in the same year during his sixth consulship (Plin.

¹⁰¹ T. A. Lapina, «Some Source-Book Problems of Pliny the Elder's Books on Geography», *VDI4* (1987), 137 (in Russian); R. Wiegels, *op. cit.*, 209.

¹⁰² J.M. Roldán Hervás, «La organización político-administrativa y judicial de la Hispania Romana», in *Historia de España*, t. II.2, 104; cfr. however, G. Pereira Menaut, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 191 (1991), 810.

¹⁰³ W. Kroll, «Plinius, 5)», *RE*, Hbd. 41 (1951), Sp. 276; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carriers procuratoriennes equestres sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1960, t. I, 110. Pliny's close familiarity with the Spanish life is amply evidenced by his detailed description of the pits that, as the recent researches have shown, exactly corresponds to the real facts: J. Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society*, Odense, 1991, 65.

¹⁰⁴ T. A. Lapina, *op. cit.*, 137.

praef. 3). It looks quite probable that by this time author the had come back to Rome after having lived in different provinces¹⁰⁵, only to learn about Vespasian's reform, which made him introduce the information of the reform into his practically completed book.

Vespasian's censorship, that he had adopted in conjunction with Titus, was a remarkable landmark in his rule¹⁰⁶. He had undoubtedly prepared himself in advance to be able to accept and fulfil this office, judging from frequent mentions of him as *ensor designatus*¹⁰⁷. It was at that time, as has been stated previously, that he had carried out his radical alterations in the composition of the Senate. In the capacity of the censor Vespasian rearranged the territory of Rome itself and Pliny in his recording of this event (III, 66) gives the exact date –A.D. 74 and regards it as the second landmark in the city's history after the foundation by Romulus. All this enables us to join those scholars who date Vespasian's reform in Spain to the time of the censorship of Vespasian and Titus, to the year 74, to be precise, that is, to the period when Pliny had already left Spain¹⁰⁸.

Spain must have entered the sphere of the imperial attention even earlier than that. Pliny (IV, 100) lists among the cities of the Tarraco Bay littoral, that is, the Spanish coast of the modern Bay of Biscay, the port of Amanum, where at Pliny's time there was the colony of Flaviobriga. This mention of the colony seems absolutely natural in the text of Pliny's story and does not strike as an additional reference introduced at the last moment, unlike the mention of the Vespasian reform. Flaviobriga was one of the twelve colonies of Tarraconensis Pliny described a bit earlier in his book (III, 18)¹⁰⁹. The mention of the port which was not at all widely known may bear witness to its recent promotion to the rank of a colony, perhaps, even during the procuratorship of Pliny himself. It is not known if Flaviobriga was a «titular» colony or the formation of the colony was accompanied by a deduction¹¹⁰. Pliny is silent on the deduction but it is no ground to deny it. In our view, it is noteworthy

¹⁰⁵ W. Kroll, *op. cit.*, 277; K. Sallmann, «Plinius 1)», in *Kleine Pauly* 4 (1979); H.-G. Pflaum, *op. cit.*, 109-110.

¹⁰⁶ Weyand, *op. cit.*, Sp. 2655; A. Torrent, «Para una interpretación de la *potestas censoria* de los emperadores Flavios», *Emerita* 36 (1968), 225-226; M. A. Levi, *L'imperio romano*, 187-188; H. Bengtson, *Die Flavier*, 89.

¹⁰⁷ A. Torrent, *op. cit.*, 222.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr. H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 48. No matter how you may interpret Pliny's phrase *lactatum* (-us, -ae) *procellis rei publicae Latium tribuit*, there is no denying the connection between this deed of Vespasian and the unrest in the state, i. e. the Civil War of 68-69. It does not imply a chronological affinity of the Civil War and Vespasian's reform, though. One of the remedies to cure these disturbances was undeniably the change in the composition of the Senate, but, as we have already seen, it took place during and as the result of the censorship of Vespasian and Titus. Perhaps, the new emperor's hectic activities in Rome were meant to eliminate the aftermath of street fighting in December 69, but even these events, as we have already seen, Pliny refers to the activities of Vespasian the censor.

¹⁰⁹ E. Hübner, «Flaviobriga», in *RE*, Hbd. 12 (1909), Sp. 2515.

¹¹⁰ Cfr. H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 48, especially Bem. 87; R. K. McEldery, *op. cit.*, 99.

that the very name of the colony «Flaviobriga» is built with the local stem «briga», very common in the Celtic region of Spain. However, if on the site of the indigenous Amanum a new town with a new population (Italians, among other ethnics) had been built, it would have been logical to give it a Latin name, as was the case with Caesaraugusta built on the place of Salduba (Plin. III, 24). Therefore we deem it more plausible to maintain that the town's status was raised and no new residents were deduced there. Now the town received the name of the emperor Flavius but in the native habitual form.

The grounds of Vespasian's choice of this very town are not clear. Possibly, in this way he sought to reinforce his control over the nearby pits ¹¹¹ or over the harbour, so suitable for the communication with the Atlantic coast of Europe ¹¹². Anyway, Vespasian's interest in this as-yet-very-little-Romanized zone speaks volumes.

Evidently already in the first years of his reign Vespasian confirmed Galba's reduction of customs taxes for Spain from 2.5 per cent to 2 per cent ¹¹³. First Vespasian also kept the mint at Tarraco that had resumed its work under Galba. It was not until 73 that the Tarraco coinage ceased ¹¹⁴.

After Galba's departure Spain found itself far removed from the battlefield. It is no accident that the 1st legion of the marines was dispatched for rest and rehabilitation to Spain (Tac. *Hist.* II, 67). And though the Spanish legions recognized Vitellius and even took pains to prevent the hostile forces from Mauretania from landing (Tac. *Hist.* II, 58), on the whole they remained neutral during the Civil War (Tac. *Hist.* II, 97). After the battle of Cremona the troops stationed in the Iberian Peninsula recognized Vespasian, though (Tac. *Hist.* II, 44). Shortly after his victory, the new emperor, in order to reinforce his army in Gaul, then in the grip of Civilis's raging insurgence, or, maybe, wary of another upheaval in this remote, but so important land, withdrew from Spain all legions quartered there ¹¹⁵. By cajoling Spain, on the one hand and depriving it of its military forces on the other, Vespasian fortified his positions in the empire's extreme west.

All these measures were on the whole within the framework of the previous Roman policies. In 73 and 74 after his decisive triumph in the Judean War and the suppression of Civilis's uprising, Vespasian undertook some steps to dramatically reorganize his state and thus he carried out some absolutely new measures as regards Spain. To begin with, he sent back to Spain

¹¹¹ A. Montenegro Duque, «Hispania durante el Imperio», 215; R. K. McEldery, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹¹² E. Hübner, *op. cit.*, Sp. 2515.

¹¹³ J. M. Blázquez, *La economía...*, 422; A. Balil, *op. cit.*, 274; S. J. De Laet, *op. cit.*, 122, 293. We shall point out that Vespasian repealed Galba's analogous act concerning Gaul: S. J. De Laet, *op. cit.*, 171-173. However, F. Vittinghoff doubts the existence of quinquagesima Hispaniarum: F. Vittinghoff, «Portorium», Sp. 371.

¹¹⁴ H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, v. II, London, 1930, p. LIV.

¹¹⁵ J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Hispania y el ejército romano...*, 187.

the VIIth legion raised by Galba. The movement of the troops as such was not unusual in the Roman Empire, but it must be borne in mind that this legion was originally raised in Spain and though now it was manned not only by Spaniards, the coincidence of the place of origin and the place of billeting of the legion created a new situation, much more conducive to the collaboration of the military and the lay inhabitants. Besides it is important that Spain at that time was rather far from the imperial frontiers and the legion had police, rather than military duties to perform in order to provide law and order in the vitally important imperial regions. The legion was billeted, most interestingly, in the north-west of the peninsula so that it could control above all the region's rich pits ¹¹⁶.

Vespasian granted the Spanish peregrines the Latin citizenship, for he was compelled to reckon with the significance of Spain in the imperial economy ¹¹⁷. And, secondly, he strove to integrate the Spanish elite into the ruling stratum of the empire. Vespasian himself had never had anything to do with this country. He participated in the conquest of Britain, was the viceroy in Africa, the commander-in chief in Judea, but Spain had never stood on his way. The sagacious emperor could appreciate the advantages of the Spaniards' contribution to the empire's affairs. It should be stressed, though, that in this respect Spain was not so very different from other countries of the western part of the Roman power. South and East Spain were rather Romanized, but so was also South Gaul (true, it had by then received the Latin and Roman citizenship). The inland and especially northwest territories of Spain were by far less Romanized, and in this, Spain was like Gaul. To effectively exploit the internal mineral and manpower resources of this country it was not so imperative to give its inhabitants the citizenship.

It seems it was the conduct of the VIIth legion that compelled Vespasian to take this decision in this matter. As has already been said, Galba had particularly trusted this legion, he had taken this legion to march against Rome. The legion had been very active in the battle of Bedriacum and after it had been sent to camp at Panonia (Tac. *Hist.* II, 67; 86). On the news of Vespasian being proclaimed emperor, the legion promptly sided with him. The decisive role in the comeover of the whole of Moesian, Pannonian and Dalmatian armies to the side of Vespasian was played by the VIIth Galban legion legate Antonius Primus, and this took place contrary to the will of the corresponding provinces' vicegerents (Tac. *Hist.* II, 66). When the generals of the Flavian army were undecided, bided their time and many commanders were prepared to choose the variant of a more protracted campaign (and Vespasian too was inclined to do so), Primus managed to persuade his colleagues to immediately invade Italy, and in this intention he enjoyed absolute support of his soldiers and centurions (Tac. *Hist.* II, 2-3). The legion was among the

¹¹⁶ R. K. McEldery, *op. cit.*, 59-61.

¹¹⁷ J. Muñiz Coello, *op. cit.*, 151-154.

first to break into Italy and ensured the success of the war in the north of the country. Likewise during the battle of Cremona, as stresses Tacitus (*Hist.* II, 29), the VIIth Legion alongside the IIIrd Legion bore the brunt, competing in bravery and courage. Certainly, some other legions took part in the war on the side of the Flavians, but this one stood out, occupying a place all its own: not only was it raised less than a year and a half ago, but it was also raised in the province. This, as would be expected, could not fail to win the corresponding province (or, to be more precise, provinces) the grateful victor's favours and special attitude. No doubt, this special feeling of a choice between various countries for the reorganization and consolidation of the state, an incentive like this might prove a decisive factor in the choice itself.

One more factor is worth mentioning. Spain, and especially, as we see it, its less Romanized region, was originally the base of Galba's anti-Nero movement, whereas Vespasian and his adherents made a point to emphasize their marked respect for the late emperor's memory. So, when Primus came to Italy, he ordered that the images of Galba should be restored everywhere and, according to Tacitus (*Hist.* III, 7), he did that expressly to render aid to the Flavians and to convince the people to revive Galba's cause. And Galba proved to be the only emperor of the Civil War period, mentioned in the Irnitian Law (XIX, 20; XX, 35; VA, 13).

The reform of Vespasian was shaped by the emperor's special edict, but to be able to implement it, he had to take the census. With this purpose in view, L. Iunius Qu. Vibius Crispus was delegated to Tarraconensis. He was appointed legate of the *propraetor* rank and deputy of the province's vicegerent exactly in order to take the census (*adiutor in censibus accipiendis Hispaniae citerioris*). The choice of this man of all people was far from accidental. A notable orator and informer of the Nero time, he managed not only to keep «afloat» under Vespasian, but also to enter the immediate entourage of the new emperor (Tac. *Or.* 8). Being a consul for the first time back during Nero's rule, at the dawn of Vespasian's reign, Crispus became the *proconsul* of Africa; from March to May 74 he again became a consul, Titus being his colleague ¹¹⁸. The last-mentioned fact leaves no margin for a doubt how far and deeply the new government confided in Crispus. This plainly testifies to the great store Vespasian set by the reorganization of Spain.

Big and small fragments of the municipal laws have come down to us from which we learn about the system of governing new *municipia* created in the wake of Vespasian's actions. And it is for over a hundred years now that the historians have been trying to answer the question: why is there a ten-year gap between the time of the creation of these laws and Vespasian's edict?. Some scholars maintain that Vespasian had given the Spaniards the personal right alone, whereas the municipal right was created as late as Do-

¹¹⁸ R. Hanslik, «Vibius, 28)», in *RE*, Hbd. 8A (1958), Sp. 1968-1970; W. Eck, «Vibius, 28)», in *RE*, SptBd. 14 (1974), Sp. 852; H. Bengtson, *Die Flavier*, 257-258.

mitian¹¹⁹. Other researchers claim that the complex mosaic of political and social relations in Spain had required a lengthy and tedious work of special committees which had to take into account in the process of working out the native municipal law all the peculiarities of a concrete community¹²⁰. Still others contend that a certain exaggeration had crept into Pliny's account of the Latin citizenship given to all Spaniards; they believe that in actual fact vast areas of the country, particularly in the west and northwest, happened to be left beyond the jurisdiction of Vespasian's edict¹²¹.

But the arguments of the champions of these statements don't seem particularly well-founded. In point of fact we have no other instances at our disposal of the people of a whole country (or three provinces) having received the personal Latin right while the communities remained at the same time peregrine. On the contrary: the available precedents rather bear witness to the very opposite. For instance, Nero granted Maritime Alps the Latin right (Tac. *Ann.* XV, 32), and what was meant was precisely the Latin citizenship for the whole province. The extant texts of the municipal laws display their relative uniformity and monotony, they undeniably followed the same pattern, which means that there was no special need to correlate the laws with local conditions¹²². It is hard to share the opinion that Pliny exaggerated the effects of Vespasian's act. The vestiges of his activities can be found not only in the south and east of Spain, but also in other regions, northwest inclusive. For example, on the northern coast there were towns of Flaviolambris (Ptol. II, 6,26), Flavionavia (Ptol. II, 6,5) and Flavium Brigantium (Ptol. 2.6.4). On the site of the first-mentioned town, Mela (III, 10) pointed out, there was about the year 43 the town of Lambriaca¹²³. On becoming a Flavian municipium of the Latin law the town retained the indigenous toponym as the second element of its new name.

Irrespective of the volume of the Latin law granted by Vespasian, on receiving it, the municipal elite received the Roman citizenship too. Under Vespasian, such people were included into the Quirina tribe. Judging from the material systematized by R. Wiegels, this tribe was to be found in Baetica, mostly in the mountainous regions, not yet affected by the politico-administrative measures of the previous rulers, in Lusitania, on the Balearic Islands and in the inland and northwestern areas of Tarraconensis¹²⁴. What with the relative fortuity of epigraphic finds it is possible to assume that the latter fact

¹¹⁹ H. Braunert, «Ius Latii in den Stadtrechten von Salpensa und Malaca», in *Corolla maritima Erich Swoboda dedicata*, Graz-Köln, 1966, 75-81.

¹²⁰ J. Muñoz Coello, *op. cit.*, 157-158; H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 50.

¹²¹ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 38-50.

¹²² M. Zahmt, «Ein hadrianische Munizipium in der Hispania Tarraconensis?», *ZPE* 79 (1989), 174.

¹²³ E. Hübner, «Flaviolambris», in *RE*, Hbd. 12 (1909), Sp. 2515; *idem*, «Flavionavia», *ibid.*, Sp. 2515-2516.

¹²⁴ R. Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften...*, 166-167.

corroborates the opinion that the Latin law was given to the whole of Spain. Let us advance another hypothesis.

Pliny's phrase *Hispaniae universae* unambiguously implies that the Latin right was given to the country at large, not to its individual residents. This imperial edict must have established the fact of giving the right as such, but it was evidently a sufficient basis for turning the communities into municipia of the Latin law. And, contrary to the common opinion ¹²⁵, it was not at all obligatory to take the Flavian cognomen. In his letter to the townsfolk of Sabora (*CIL* II, 1423) Vespasian –as a special favour– allowed them to call their town after him. At the same time the town authorities of Sabora were already termed *quattuorviri* and *decuriones* which signifies that Sabora had already had the status of a municipium well before it received the emperor's letter ¹²⁶. *Quattuorviri* have been found to exist in a number of municipia, for ex. in Munigua which received a letter from Titus in the year 81 (A.é 1962, 288). On the other hand, though, the highest magistrates of the same towns were later called *duumviri*, as well as in the town laws of Salpensa, Malaca and Irni. It looks probable that under *quattuorviri*, the amalgamation of *duumviri* and *aediles* was meant ¹²⁷, but it mustn't be ruled out that some transitory period ¹²⁸ is meant when in the absence of a law specifying the details of the urban structure of new municipia, the residents created a magistrate system all their own as they saw fit and consequently they elected magistrates.

From the laws of Salpensa and Irni it becomes apparent that the mention of the emperor's edict concerns the powers of the magistrates (aediles and questors –*Lex Irr. XIX, XX*, but, presumably, *duumviri*, too, in the lost part of the law) or the granting the Latin municipals of the Roman citizenship (*Lex Salp. XXII, XXIII*; *Lex Irr. XXII, XXIII*). True enough, far from complete texts of the municipia's laws have come down to us; even the best preserved text of the Irni law contains about 80 per cent of the original text ¹²⁹. That is why we can hardly be confident what the first chapters of the laws comprised but until more complete and better preserved texts (or documents complementing the known ones) are found, it seems safe to presume that the edicts of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian under consideration proceeded from the fait accompli: all the Spaniards had received the Latin citizenship.

The census taken after this act by Crispus and his colleagues had to divide the new Latin citizens according to their estates and single out those who in accordance with their property could become decurions and magistrates and, probably, also to find out which native communities were legible to re-

¹²⁵ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 46; R. K. McEldery, *op. cit.*, 68.

¹²⁶ Cfr. H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 42.

¹²⁷ F. J. Fernández Nieto, «El derecho en la España Romana», in *Historia de España*, t. II.2, 185.

¹²⁸ Cfr. R. K. McEldery, *op. cit.*, 79.

¹²⁹ J. Muñoz Coello, *op. cit.*, 166.

ceive the status of a municipium. A municipium, as is known, had to possess some territory and during the census some insignificant townlets could have been annexed to more important and larger towns. For example, Carbula was listed by Pliny (III, 10) among separate oppida, but in the year 74, that is, in the course of the census, it was already a pagus (*CIL* II, 2322) and its inhabitants are plainly thankful to the emperor for the Latin citizenship¹³⁰. On the other hand, however, it is quite possible that the settlement (now called San Esteban de Gormos) became part of the Uxama territory when Uxama got the status of a municipium under Tiberius, but under the Flavians, owing to the patronage of Qu. Calvius Sabinus, it turned into a municipium¹³¹.

It stands to reason that the administrative and political map of Spain could not remain unchanged after the Flavian reform. For some reason or other, sometimes due to the increased significance of this or that town, the town's status could be altered. It is known that Hadrian gave his native Italica the status of a colony¹³². Ilurgo might have become a municipium under the very same Hadrian. Before that time Ilurgo had been an insignificant town. At any rate Pliny did not as much as mention it, whereas the reconstructed inscription from this town allegedly calls Hadrian the founder of this municipium¹³³.

Both in the *Lex Salpensana* and in the *Lex Irnitana* in the description of the edicts of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, the first two names are joined with the help of the postpositive conjunction —«ve»; whereas the third name is admixed to the two by the conjunction «aut» (*Lex Irn.* XIX-XX, XXII, XXIII; *Lex Salp.* XXII, XXIII)¹³⁴. It is incredible that the different conjunctions should have been used just for the sake of stylistic colouring. No doubt, stylistic nuances were the least of the law-givers' concerns anyway several identical conjunctions are to be come across in the legal texts in order to connect the homogeneous members standing next to each other (for example, *Lex Irn.* XX, 34-35; XXVII, 53 etc.). The law-givers (or the model law's author) had possibly had in mind two groups of edicts: those by Vespasian and Titus on the one hand, and of Domitian on the other.

As A. d'Ors has observed, in all the available small and big fragments of the municipia's laws (*Leges Irnitana*, *Malacitana*, *Salpensana*, *Basiliponensis*, *Italicensis*) a relatively small area of Baetica and a short span of time are dealt with. The scholar tends to account for the fact by a certain fashion current at the time and by the municipia's rivalry¹³⁵. However, a different explanation seems feasible too.

¹³⁰ H. Galsterer, *op. cit.*, 40.

¹³¹ J. M. Abascal Palazón, «Q. Calvinus Sabinus y un posible Municipio Flavio en San Esteban de Gormos (Soria)», *SHHA* 2-3 (1984-1985), 141-149.

¹³² J. M. Blázquez, *Nuevos estudios...*, 321.

¹³³ M. Zahmt, *op. cit.*, 175-176.

¹³⁴ J. González, «The *Lex Irnitana*», *JRS* 76 (1986), 201.

¹³⁵ A. d'Ors, «La ley municipal de Basilipo», *Emerita* 53 (1983), 39-40.

Vespasian's edict envisaged the Latin law for the whole of Spain in most vague and general terms. After the census had been taken, perhaps Vespasian himself or, maybe, Titus extended the government and internal life of the newly-fledged municipia by some new edicts. Probably, Titus divided the original quattuorvirate into duumvirate and aedilship and initiated a questorship. Anyway, while Titus as well as his father addressed on the seventh of September 79 the quattuorviri and decurions, in the towns' laws of the Domitian epoch there are no mentions of quattuorviri, only mentioned are duumviri, aediles and questors alone; the laws made references to the edicts of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian when outlining the plenary powers of the towns' magistrates. And, anxious to keep good relations with the reformed Senate, Vespasian and Titus contained themselves with the restructuring of those towns and provinces that from the time of Augustus onwards had been governed by the princes, that is, of Tarraconensis and Lusitania.

As for Domitian, though at the time of his ascension to the throne he reaffirmed all the privileges guaranteed by his father and brother (among the privileges were, possibly, the edicts as regards Spain), his policies in general were opposite to those of the elder Flavians. It is not by chance that as early as the dawn of his reign he did his utmost to prevent the law on the inadmissibility of the senators' execution from being passed¹³⁶. By adopting the titles of master and god Domitian began to pursue a course of creating an absolute monarchy after the Hellenistic pattern¹³⁷.

On the other hand, Domitian tried to regulate the administration of the provinces (Suet. *Dom.* 8.2). Under such circumstances it is only too natural to attempt at a more active interference into the affairs of the senatorial provinces. In all likelihood, it was under Domitian, not under Vespasian, as was the common belief previously, that a provincial cult of the emperor appeared in the senate's provinces in the west: Narbonnensis, Africa and Baetica¹³⁸. Then in the light of these events it becomes easy to explain how and why this emperor—at the outset of his rule—established the municipal government and the rules of the internal life of the Baetica Latin municipia. It cannot be ruled out either, that a special law—*lex Flavia*—was created, that adapted to the new times and new conditions the old law of Julius on the municipia in Italy: perhaps the extant fragments are none other than the copies of this law of Flavius¹³⁹. More likely than not, these circumstances urged the old Roman colonies to emphasize their superiority over the new, Latin citizens. This may be considered the reason why the old law of Antony was copied and exhibited at Urso¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁶ Weynand, «Flavius, 77», in *RE*, Hbd. 12 (1909), Sp. 2552, 2581.

¹³⁷ H. Bengtson points out that this little exactly corresponds to the titularity of the last Ptolemies: H. Bengtson, *Die Flavii*, 185.

¹³⁸ J.-M. Paillet, «Domitianien, la loi des Narbonnais et le culte imperial dans les provinces sénatoriales d'Occident», *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 22 (1989), 171-189.

¹³⁹ A. d'Ors, *op. cit.*, 33.

¹⁴⁰ The found copy of the law belongs to the Flavian times: R. K. EcEldery, *op. cit.*, 81.

After the Flavians the situation in Spain underwent radical changes. While earlier there existed Roman, Latin, free and stipendiary communities, now there were only the first two categories left. All the people of the country, apart from, naturally enough, migrants from other provinces, became either Roman or Latin citizens. The reception of the latter paved the way to the former and, thus, gave an opportunity for the native elite to enter the governing elite of the empire. The official elimination of the local political structures at the level of towns and «populi» signified, from purely judicial viewpoint, the completion of the country's Romanization. But in actual fact the situation was more complex than that.

Translated from the Russian by L. Chistonogova.

