

AUGUSTUS AND THE ROMAN PROVINCES OF IBERIA

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David Griffiths

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To my parents.

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Abstract

Augustus and the Roman provinces of Iberia

David Griffiths

This thesis explores two key themes: (1) the social, cultural and economic changes in the Roman provinces of Spain during the last half of the first century BC and the early first century AD, and the direct effect that Augustus had in driving these developments; (2) the significance that the provinces of Spain had for Augustus and Rome.

Initially we assess the exploitation of the Cantabrian War for the military image of Augustus, suggesting that the conflict played a crucial role in bolstering the position of the *princeps* following the Civil Wars and the constitutional arrangements reached with the senate up to 27. From here in turn we consider the manner in which Augustan action within Iberia impacted upon the literary and visual depictions of the peninsula. The thesis also highlights the fiscal imperatives that acted as a driving force behind the growth in urbanisation, the widespread promotion of privileged status and the provincial reorganisations of Augustus. Following this, the surge in monumentalisation across Hispania's towns and cities is treated, placing a renewed emphasis on the role of the Augustan regime in encouraging, if indirectly, these processes.

An assessment of the impact of Augustan rule on the upward mobility of the Spanish elites follows, highlighting patronage and wealth as the twin pillars of Spanish advancement and suggesting that the first *princeps* is instrumental in laying the groundwork for the expanding promotion of Spaniards during the reigns of his immediate successors. Finally, the thesis concludes with an overview of the nascent imperial cult in Spain, suggesting in the first instance that the imposition of the cult in the north-west aided the suppression of the recalcitrant tribes and may very well have impacted upon Augustan policies in similarly unstable areas such as Germany and Gaul; and secondly, that whilst direct compulsion cannot be countenanced, Augustus' dissemination of civic organisation created a framework within which elite competition ensured the rapid proliferation of the imperial cult throughout the towns and cities of Spain and the western provinces.

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Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to examine the significance of developments in the provinces of Roman Spain under the early Principate. Two main themes are pursued. In the first instance, it explores the social, cultural and economic changes in the Roman provinces of Spain during the last half of the first century BC and the early first century AD, and the direct effect that Augustus had in driving these developments, and asks whether the reign of Augustus should be seen as a watershed in these regards? And to what extent did the actions of Augustus transform the image of Spain and Spaniards?

Secondly, the thesis will consider the importance of Spain for Augustus and the influence of events there upon his reign. How did the *princeps* exploit his Spanish conquests in order to consolidate his political and military position as ruler of the Roman Empire? To what extent did this help shape the character and ideology of imperial rule? Can we observe the consequences of the political settlements that established the imperial system from developments in Spain? And indeed, is it possible to see his strategies here, particularly his spread of civic organisation and institution of imperial cults, as a microcosm of his strategy in the provinces of the Empire as a whole?

There has been comparatively little research conducted on Roman Spain in English, and I hope that my thesis can expand on this corpus of work. Simon Keay, Andy Fear, John Richardson, Leonard Curchin and Jonathan Edmondson in particular have all made notable contributions to the field. However, these scholars tend to focus on Romanisation and urbanisation or have produced studies that have taken in a longer period of time. Whilst these issues are pertinent, and have a crucial place in my own research, the specific impact of Augustus on the Spanish provinces has not been explored in depth, a fact somewhat surprising given Iberia's importance for the Empire. Indeed, there seems to be a general lack of focused studies on the influence that Augustus had on specific areas of the Empire.

Meanwhile recent years have seen the publication of a number of excellent general works concerning the rise of the *princeps*, the maintenance of his rule and the impact of this at Rome, notably by Eck (2007), Richardson (2012), Galinsky (2012), and Levick (2010), and a fourth edition by Kienast (2009). Yet the significance of Spain for Augustus and the perpetuation of his rule has not been fully investigated, particularly in studies of Augustan imagery found in the monuments and literature produced during his lifetime. Here I place an

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increased emphasis on the peninsula's impact on the *princeps* himself, rather than merely the other way around. Throughout I have pursued a holistic approach, using literary, numismatic, epigraphical and archaeological material. Whilst my central focus must remain Spain, I hope my research can contribute to general discussions concerning Augustus' impact on the Empire as a whole, and enable the policies of the first emperor, and especially the crucial formative years of his Principate, to be seen in a fresh light. This seems all the more pertinent as we approach the bimillennium of Augustus' death, and the renewed interest in the foundation of his Principate such a landmark has inevitably generated.

The first chapter examines the Cantabrian War and its consequence for the military image of Augustus. Though an in-depth account of the conflict is beyond the parameters of this study a general summary of the course of the war shall be outlined, along with its controversies. The key focus is not so much on the conflict itself as the presence of Augustus on campaign and his motives for this. The short term political exploitation of the war, its vital importance during the early years of the Principate and its relation to the ending of the awarding of triumphs for all except members of the imperial family will also be considered. But special focus will be placed upon the presentation of Augustus in light of his 'achievements' in Hispania, which shall lead into a discussion of the place of the Cantabrian War within the last book of Augustus' autobiography. In particular, I shall question the manner in which the conflict may have served to remedy the stains of Antonian propaganda from the Civil War period, fundamentally allowing Octavian to complete his transition to Augustus.

Chapter 2 continues with a focus on image, though now concerning the literary representation of the Spanish provinces in contemporary literature. Two contrasting, and yet complementary, images of Hispania are offered. We will first examine the limited and stereotypical representations of the Augustan poets and Livy, and the extent to which these stress messages emanating from the regime, as discussed in Chapter 1. Special focus shall be placed on the conception of Augustus' cosmocratic rule and the use of a genealogy of conquest to implicitly reflect glory from the conquerors of Rome's Republican past in Spain onto the *princeps* in the present. But the main focus is Strabo; since he offers simply the best account of contemporary Iberia that we have, an analysis of his work must be central. Here the main concern, based around the discussion of the structure of Strabo's account around a series of oppositions between civilization and barbarity, is to highlight the concept of the

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spread of civilization, peace, and prosperity in Hispania, and the role of Augustus as the agent of these things - the *pax Augusta*. Questions will be asked concerning the extent to which Strabo both follows Hellenistic tradition concerning Iberia whilst simultaneously responding to Augustan action in the peninsula, and the different conceptions, and indeed similarities, of Iberia in the work of contemporary writers employing the same sources. Fundamentally, whether dealing with Strabo, the poets or Livy, this chapter is concerned with examining continuity and change in Hispania's image in the light of Augustan action.

Chapter 3 expounds upon similar themes, tracing the development of the visual depiction of the Spanish provinces during the Augustan era, and their use within the iconography of the imperial regime. Discussions focus in turn upon the various coin issues of the period and the personifications of Hispania at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, on the Boscoreale cups, the *Gemma Augustea* and the Augustus from Prima Porta. Possible allusions to the Spanish provinces upon the *Ara Pacis* shall also be treated, in addition to monuments now lost. The focus within this chapter remains largely Italic, drawing on imagery utilised either beyond the borders of Spain or, as with the coin issues from Emerita, explicitly originating with Roman officials within the peninsula. Fundamentally my concern is to trace continuity and change in the imagery used, both with the preceding Republican period, which is treated in detail for this purpose, and across the breadth of the Augustan era. The aim, as with the literary depictions of Hispania, is to examine the visual response within iconography to Augustan developments in Iberia, and the manner in which such imagery is harnessed for the purposes of the imperial regime.

The thesis then moves away somewhat from questions of image, and Chapter 4 returns our focus to direct developments within Spain by examining the provincial reforms and legal promotions of status pursued by Augustus. These unequivocally changed the landscape of vast areas of Hispania, particularly the urbanisation process, which took place on an unprecedented scale. Various motives for this, both at the local and imperial level, could be discussed with equal validity, but here I have chosen to focus particularly on the fiscal imperative of the spreading of such reforms. In doing so I have sought to highlight the changes within Hispania in comparison to organisational reform elsewhere in the Empire to establish the extent to which Augustus is pursuing common policies across various provinces; if this is indeed the case, then Augustan Spain may be seen as an excellent microcosm for processes taking place across the contemporary Roman world. Additionally, I have

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considered the socio-political implications of the various processes that accompanied the Augustan reorganisations, the manner in which legal status, magisterial systems, cadastration and taxation were harnessed to build collaborative aristocracies and thus perpetuate Roman rule. Fundamentally this chapter is concerned with the integration, politically, socially and economically, of the Spanish provinces into the imperial system of control.

Following on from the urbanisation outlined in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 will focus on the monumentalisation of the Spanish landscape that accompanied the spread of civic organisation. The chapter explores the growing role of patronage and euergetism within Iberia's communities, as expressed through the monumentalisation process, both generated from outside by members of the imperial family and the foremost men of Rome, but also increasingly by members of the Spanish elite themselves. The Augustan period witnesses the emergence of a 'Roman' visual culture grounded in an imperial iconography that implicitly and overtly glorified the cosmocratic and semi-divine rule of the *princeps*. Initiated at Rome through the building work of the Emperor himself and his foremost lieutenants, this was soon disseminated to the provinces, however intentionally. Here I wish to outline the manner that this was perpetuated throughout Iberia's communities, and the central role monumentalisation comes to play in elite prestige and career development, and hence the definition of status. As with the administrative and fiscal reforms discussed in Chapter 4, I have attempted to examine the socio-political and economic implications of the monumentalisation processes and the consequences for identity and elite integration. The central issue is whether the surge in monumentalisation can be perceived as a product of internal actions from the Spanish elite themselves or whether such developments are generated from without by the direct intervention of the Augustan regime. I certainly do not countenance compulsion on the part of Augustus, but I shall argue, against the influence of MacMullen, that Augustan policy had a greater role in shaping the process through his administrative reforms.

Central to both Chapters 4 and 5 are the administrative and organisational reforms of Augustus and the growth of urban life within Iberia. In Chapter 6 I examine the extent to which such policies and processes affected the upward mobility of the Spanish elites and in particular their advance to careers at Rome. Spaniards first attained high office at Rome under the Republic and it is important to establish the foundations of their success, both in attracting the patronage of notable Roman figures and exploiting such links to forge careers at

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Rome. Furthermore, there appears to be both continuity and change in the factors driving upward mobility under the Republic and Empire. For this reason the era immediately preceding the Augustan age is treated in detail, to place developments under the early Empire in their proper historical context. Furthermore, it is necessary to establish the manner in which Spaniards were received at Rome, and the extent to which a distinction was made between Italians of Spanish birth and those of indigenous descent. From here the chapter traces the effect of Augustan policies concerning the senatorial and equestrian orders in both limiting Spanish opportunities on the one hand and opening new avenues for advancement on the other, as well as highlighting the subsequent significant legacy of Augustus' legal promotion of communities in the post-Augustan period. Finally, the chapter will treat the burgeoning Spanish cultural scene at Rome, with a particular focus on its most prominent figures, the Annaei, and discuss the extent to which their writings may inform us concerning the self-conception of members of the Hispano-Roman elite at Rome.

Finally, the thesis concludes with a brief assessment of the imperial cult in Hispania. There is a vast amount of evidence concerning the cult in Spain, yet its greatest developments lie in the post-Augustan period. For this reason a full treatment would be inappropriate. Nonetheless, the cult is initiated under Augustus as an elite response to his rule, and provides a convenient opportunity to draw together the various strands discussed within the thesis. Thus by way of the Epilogue I have included a more limited account, examining, in correlation with themes discussed elsewhere in the thesis, the beginnings of the cult, its general development whilst the *princeps* lived and the geographical variability of both its character and uptake. The central questions, perhaps most important for our purposes, are similar to those which confront us concerning the monumentalisation process; in particular, to what extent is Augustus directly involved in the institution of the cult in Spain? Certainly with regards the cult in the north-west, the central regime must be seen to be driving its development and this leads us to further, fundamental questions concerning imperial policy in Spain influencing Augustan action elsewhere. The authors of the municipal cults of urbanised Spain, however, as we shall see, are less clear.

By pursuing such a holistic approach, both in subject matter and source material, the aim is to provide fuller appreciation of the magnitude of Augustus' legacy in Spain whilst at the same time recognising the central role of the peninsula and its peoples in the consolidation of the Augustan Principate.

Chapter 1: Militarism and the *princeps*: The Cantabrian War and its meaning for Augustus

In the story of the consolidation of the power of Augustus certain events loom large; Philippi, Actium and Alexandria, the ‘restoration’ of the Republic and the return of the Parthian standards. However, the importance of the Cantabrian War (26-16)¹ is frequently overlooked, in scholarship published in English at least; between the works of Syme (1970) and Rich (2009b) and Morillo Cerdán (2009) the conflict has received only passing treatment in general publications concerning Roman Spain, its occupation and Romanization.² This is to be regretted, not least because this conflict marked the completion of the conquest of Spain. But I also believe it played an important role in reinforcing Augustus’ image and position both in the aftermath of the Civil Wars and the constitutional arrangements that followed them, a part all too often overlooked when we consider the *princeps* from his supreme position in 14 AD, and Octavian and Augustus almost as separate individuals. But the Augustus who found himself in the mountains of Spain in 26 was not yet the emperor of the *RG*. Rather this was a military dynast, not yet 40, still wrestling with the aftermath of decades of civil war and a fractured and resentful aristocracy. There was an ideological necessity here, a need to stress a military success that was actually all too far from the reality on the ground in Spain. This chapter intends to restore the Cantabrian War, and with it Spain, to their central place in the formative years of the Principate. We begin with a discussion of the campaigns.

1.1 The campaigns

Augustus travelled west in 27. Having thrown open the doors of Ianus before leaving, denoting that Rome was at war, he had declared his intention to pacify the provinces recently placed under his command (Cass. Dio, 53.12.4-13.1; Oros., 6.21.1). Tarrying in Gaul to conduct a census, Dio refers to speculation that Augustus intended to invade Britain (Cass.

¹ From this point all dates are BC unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations for classical authors and their works usually follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Rev. 3rd edn.). For those referring to epigraphical and numismatic material, see the abbreviations section of the bibliography.

² For e.g. Jones, 1976:46-51, esp. 46; Keay, 1988:44-6; Curchin, 1991:52-3; Richardson, 1996:133-4. For more detailed treatments, see Magie, 1920; Syme, 1934; Schulten, 1943; Horrent, 1953; Schmitthener, 1962; Forni, 1970; Diego Santos, 1975; Rodríguez Colmenero, 1979; Tranoy, 1981:132-44; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:52-69; Santos Yanguas, 1982; González Echegaray, 1999; Solana Sainz, 2004; Vicente González, 2011.

Dio, 53.22.5; 25.2), yet if such rumours did circulate they were soon confounded when the *princeps* turned south, to Iberia. The Cantabrians, Asturians and Callaecians occupied the area of north-west Spain that today, in addition to León, encompasses the provinces named for them. They had already appeared as protagonists in Rome's previous wars in Iberia. As early as 137 D.Iunius Brutus Callaicus had campaigned as far as the River Minho against the Callaecians (Str., 3.3.4; Livy, *Per.*, 56; Plut., *TG.*, 21.2; Eutr., 4.19; *Fast. Cap.*, 138; Ov., *Fast.*, 6.461; Vell. Pat., 2.5.1; Pliny, *HN*, 36.26), whilst in 61 Caesar had raided their lands as far as Brigantium (La Coruña) (Cass. Dio, 37.52-53; Suet., *Iul.*, 18; Plut., *Caes.*, 12; Livy, *Epit.*, 103; Vell. Pat., 2.43.4; App., *Hisp.*, 102), though neither campaign brought permanent annexation. Meanwhile, the Cantabrians had acted as Pompeian mercenaries during the Ilerda campaign (Caes., *B Civ.*, 1.38), and along with the Asturians apparently fought against Octavian's lieutenants shortly after Actium (Cass. Dio, 51.20.5). By 27 these tribes occupied the only part of Iberia outside of Roman control, and the war launched against them was to be unique in the history of the conquest as being from the beginning part of a planned, concerted strategy, with all the resources of an empire brought to bear. Seven legions, seventy thousand men, with additional auxiliary units and a fleet were concentrated for the task.³

Tracing the course of the conflict in which these forces were engaged is a formidable task; much concerning the chronology of events, their location, the identity of the participants and the military strategy pursued is difficult to deduce, owing in no small part to the literary sources. Horace, Strabo, Pompeius Trogus and Velleius Paterculus all comment on the conflict. However, the mainstays are Orosius (6.21.1-11), Florus (2.33.46-59) and Dio (53.25.2-26.1; 29.1-2; 54.5.1-3; 11.2-6; 20.3). Livy's near contemporary account of the war is lost, leaving in its place the 'Livian' tradition of Florus and Orosius; yet this tradition has been corrupted, the events described apparently compressed and disjointed, and reporting nothing after 25. Dio is crucial, reporting events in the years following Augustus' departure, and seemingly using different source to Orosius and Florus. Yet it is suggested he also compresses events of the two years Augustus was present into one, and so must also be used cautiously.⁴

³ For the legions involved, see Syme, 1933:15;22-3; 1970:104; Schulten, 1943:202; Jones, 1976:48-51; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:59-65, esp. 61; Pitillas Salañer, 2007; Santos Yanguas, 1982:26-41; 2007. The latter joins Morillo Cerdán (2003:67; 80-1) in suggesting the possible involvement of an eighth legion. On the auxiliary units deployed in the north-west, including during the occupation that followed, see Roldán Hervás, 1974; Santos Yanguas, 1982:41-5; 2007:81-6. On the military occupation of the north-west in general, see especially Forni, 1970; Jones, 1976; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983.

⁴ Syme, 1970:84; 99; Santos Yanguas, 1982:16-7; Rich, 2009b:148.

What is certain is that initial campaigning began in the season of 26 with an advance into the central Cantabrian valleys, and that Augustus established his headquarters at a place called Segisama (Oros., 6.21.3; Flor., 2.33.48).⁵ Further bases were sited at Asturica Augusta (Astorga), Portus Blendium (Suances) and Portus Victoriae.⁶ The conflict seems to echo Rome's previous experiences in Iberia; bitter and protracted warfare against a determined guerrilla enemy, fought in harsh conditions and an intractable landscape. Strabo (3.4.18) describes the difficulty the Roman supply trains experienced negotiating the rough mountain tracks and how the legionary camps were rife with pests and plague. Through such difficulties Augustus at first led the legions personally, but is reported to have been taken ill by the beginning of the campaign season of 25. Dio proclaimed that this was a consequence of stress brought on by the inability of the *princeps* to bring the tribes to battle (Cass. Dio, 53.25.7; Flor., 2.33.51). Jones suggests that the story of his illness may have been a face saving exercise given the notable lack of success whilst Augustus was in command, but this may be too cynical.⁷ Augustus suffered with fragile health throughout his life, with repeated bouts of illness documented, notably coming close to death in 23 (Cass. Dio, 53.30.1-3; Suet., *Aug.*, 81).⁸

Regardless, thereafter Augustus withdrew to the eastern coastal city of Tarraco (Tarragona), some 350 miles away from the warzone. Consequently, most of the hard fighting of the campaigns even whilst he was present in Iberia was conducted by his subordinates, C. Antistius Vetus, legate of Citerior (27-25/4), and P. Carisius, legate of Ulterior (27-22). The Legions drove on, taking the Cantabrian strongholds of Aracillum (Aradillos) and Bergidum (Villafranca del Bierzo), with the survivors taking refuge in the fortress of Mons Vindius (location unknown), to be starved into submission. Antistius also captured Lucus (Lugo), whilst Carisius took the war to the Asturians, capturing Lancia (Villasabariego), though Syme believed this was attacked prior to the initial start of the campaign of 26, to clear the plains and protect the left flank of the invasion.⁹ The sources report an apparent indigenous attempt to ambush all three Roman columns simultaneously, a

⁵ Traditionally associated with Sasamón (Segisamo), Syme (1970:89) viewed this favourably, but more recently disputed based on topography and primary sources (see Keay, 1988:45; Curchin, 2004:64). See especially Ramírez Sádaba (1999) for an examination of places mentioned in the primary sources.

⁶ Keay, 1988:45. See Morillo Cerdán (2009) for an overview of archaeological developments in the identification of camps/bases from the wars and the occupation period. See also Peralta Labrador, 1999.

⁷ Jones, 1976:46.

⁸ For other instances of illness, see Vell. Pat., 2.70.1; Plut., *Brut.*, 38.2; *Ant.*, 22.4; 23.1; Cass. Dio, 47.37.2-3; 41.3; 45.2; 48.3.1; App., *B Civ.*, 4.106; 5.57; Suet., *Aug.*, 91.1; *CIL* XIV 2240.

⁹ Syme, 1970:100-101.

ruse catastrophically defeated when their plans were betrayed to Carisius by members of one of their own tribes, the Brigaecini (Oros., 6.21.9-10; Flor., 2.33.54-56).¹⁰ The next year Carisius and Antistius advanced into Asturias proper and neighbouring Callaecia, sweeping aside all resistance. A final cataclysmic siege is reported at Mons Medullius. Orosius (6.21.7) places this on the River Minho, though its location remains unknown. Here the Romans reportedly threw up works eighteen miles long surrounding the stronghold, yet its defiant defenders preferred mass suicide to surrender (Oros., 6.21.7-8; Flor., 2.33.50).¹¹

Following the campaign of 25 Augustus apparently found the conquest completed to his satisfaction. Departing Iberia, he reached Rome by the end of the year, closed the doors of Ianus and commissioned the building of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans (the Thunderer) in commemoration of a near miss whilst on campaign (Cass. Dio, 53.27.1; 54.4.2; Oros, 6.21.11; Suet., *Aug.*, 29.1). Yet native resistance continued. 24 saw L.Aelius Lamia, successor of Antistius in Citerior (24-22), moving to quash an uprising amongst the supposedly pacified tribes (Cass. Dio, 53.29.1-2).¹² Further rebellion arose in 22 in reaction to the brutality of Carisius. Still legate in Ulterior, he had advanced through the Pajores and Manzanal passes to seize gold mining areas.¹³ Revolt was only extinguished with the help of C.Furnius, the new legate in Citerior (22-19), many of the rebels either committing suicide or being enslaved (Cass. Dio, 54.5.1-3).¹⁴

Furnius was succeeded by P.Silius Nerva (19-16) and Carisius by L.Sestius Quirinalis (22-19), yet the tribes remained unbowed, rising again in 19.¹⁵ This was serious enough to warrant the dispatch of Agrippa. He found a demoralised army left mutinous by the inhospitable conditions and the hostility of the natives, and was only able to reassert control after stern measures, including depriving *I Augusta* of its honoured name (Cass. Dio, 54.11.5).¹⁶ Sedition within the legions overcome, he crushed resistance after a bitter

¹⁰ The Edict of Bierzo suggests dissention among the tribes during the wars, the Asturian *Paemeiobrigense* clearly favouring Rome. Alföldy (2000:183-6) provides a note on the historical context. For further discussion of this edict, see Chapter 4.

¹¹ Syme, 1970:101; Rich, 2009b:151. See Santos Yanguas (1982:23-6) concerning the location of Mons Medullius.

¹² On the presence of L.Aelius, *AE* 1948, 93; *PIR*², A199.

¹³ Keay, 1988:46.

¹⁴ Florus (2.33.56) and Orosius (6.21.10) incorrectly imply that Furnius served alongside Antistius.

¹⁵ Syme, 1970:86-7. The position and status of Sestius has been questioned, particularly in light of the Edict of Bierzo. See Chapter 4 on the controversy surrounding this document and a full discussion of the status of Sestius. For Nerva, see Vell. Pat., 2.90.4; *CIL* II 3414.

¹⁶ Syme, 1933:15-7; 1970; Diego Santos, 1975:538-9; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:68-9; Santos Yanguas, 1982:27-9; 2007:57; Roddaz, 1984:40-4. On Strabo's reports concerning the ferocity and fanaticism of the Cantabrians, perhaps references to the war, see Chapter 2.

campaign, slaughtering the tribesmen of fighting age and resettling the survivors in the lowlands (Cass. Dio, 54.11.2-6; Hor., *Epist.*, 1.12.25-6).¹⁷ Another brief revolt was quickly stamped out in 16 (Cass. Dio, 54.20.3) before the stubborn tribes were finally subdued, a full decade after fighting began.

Traditionally Augustus' role in the Cantabrian War has been judged ineffective, given his withdrawal to Tarraco and Dio's notification of further revolts. Syme certainly thought so. But Rich has recently challenged this.¹⁸ He believes the sources make a clear distinction between Augustus' actions and the later acts of his legates; whilst the *princeps* was in command there were significant victories, and these are the decisive steps in the subjugation.¹⁹ He accepts that the area was predominantly pacified by the time Augustus left Spain, fully justifying his closing of the doors of Ianus; the *princeps* could not have claimed pacification if a major war was clearly still underway.²⁰ Dio's evidence concerning the failure of Augustus is misleading, since the historian depreciates the military career of the *princeps* in order to portray him as non-expansionist (Cass. Dio, 53.25.7-8).²¹ Even so, Dio's language in describing the resistance in 24, 22 and 19 makes clear that these were rebellions, suggesting that the initial campaigns of Augustus had successfully established some form of control (Cass. Dio, 53.29.1-2; 54.5.1-3; 11.2-6.). Ultimately, the subjugation of tribes who had eluded Rome for two hundred years in six was a considerable achievement.²²

I believe there are major flaws in Rich's viewpoint. Firstly, Augustus' overall command, as in previous conquests, does not mean that he made the tactical decisions in individual actions.²³ Furthermore, Dio is explicit that the legions only met success after Augustus had withdrawn. Even then, the campaigns of 26/25 cannot be seen as decisive if the tribes were strong enough to immediately rebel after the *princeps* had left Iberia. This does not suggest a definitive defeat. The tribes were not broken, despite the vast forces arrayed against them and the encirclement of their homelands.

Furthermore, we should not necessarily infer from Dio's description of the post-25 battles as 'rebellions' that some form of uncontested control over the tribes had previously

¹⁷ Note that Florus (2.33.59) reported that Augustus had ordered the resettlement of the tribes in the plains.

¹⁸ Rich, 2009b. See Syme, 1970.

¹⁹ Rich, 2009b:150-1.

²⁰ Rich, 2009b:151; 154.

²¹ Rich, 2009b:151.

²² Rich, 2009b:155.

²³ Campbell, 1984:63.

been established. Controlling the lowlands and major settlements is irrelevant in a conflict defined by guerrilla war in a mountainous landscape.²⁴ Meanwhile, one must note the words of Florus (2.33.47); the initial conflict was caused when the Cantabrians rebelled against Rome. To Roman minds any independent power opposing their *imperium* was in rebellion. Describing resistance in this language should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Augustus had fully pacified the region prior to further revolts.²⁵ It was also perfectly possible for Augustus to claim the pacification of Spain as war raged. Note Dio's (53.19.3) description of the difficulties in acquiring accurate news from the provinces due both to the distances involved and the secrecy of the government, not to mention Suetonius' (*Aug.*, 36.1) report that Octavian suppressed the publication of the *acta senatus*.²⁶

We find similar claims of pacification elsewhere that certainly do not match reality. For example, Augustus claimed to have obliged the Dacians to submit (*RG*, 30.2) when, as Rich himself reminds us, little had been achieved against them beyond the defeat of a raiding party and the mounting of a punitive expedition.²⁷ Similarly, Octavian made much of his Illyrian War in 34, yet the area remained unpacified until further campaigns decades later (see below). Isauria is also illustrative; claims of pacification were made as early as the campaigns of P.Servilius Vatia in 78-74.²⁸ Yet conflict continued, with campaigns under Augustus supposedly leading to their subjugation (Cass. Dio, 55.28.3). In reality actual control, exercised first by client kings and later by Rome itself, remained minimal for the empire's duration. Interestingly there is a tendency to describe the stridently independent warlords of the area as brigands and bandits, reminiscent of the Cantabrian 'brigand' Corocotta, cited by Dio (56.43.3, cf. 55.28.3). Perhaps in reality a guerilla fighting the Roman occupation of his homeland?²⁹ Then we have the greatest fiction of all; a supplicant Parthia, bowing before Augustus. Thus was the diplomatic agreement in the east in 20 which

²⁴ Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:65.

²⁵ On Roman concepts of imperialism, including universal suzerainty, see Harris, 1979; Lintott, 1981; Brunt, 1990:96-109; 289-322; 433-80; Champion, 2004; Rich, 2009a.

²⁶ See Levick (2010:132-6) on the 'Augustan voice'.

²⁷ Rich, 2009a:146. See also Syme, 1971:26-39; *EJ* 43a. In contrast, Cooley (2009:248-9) describes the reference to the Dacians within the *RG* as cautious, without an implication of proper subjugation. See also Scheid, 2007:78-9.

²⁸ On Vatia, see *MRR* II:87; 90-1; 94; 99; 105.

²⁹ Isauria and its warlords, see Minor, 1979; Hopkins, 1983; Shaw, 1990a; 1990b; Syme, 1991; Mitchell, 1993a:73-9; 1993b:152. Levick, 1967:203-6; Swan, 2004:190. Lenski (1999) hypothesises a greater amount of control over Isauria, though not until the mid-first century AD. On the Roman conceptualisation of 'brigands', see Shaw, 1984; Grünwald, 2004. On Corocotta, see Braund, 1980:13-4; Shaw, 1984:44; Diego Santos, 1975:547; Swan, 2004:347-8; Grünwald, 2004:112. See Chapter 2 for Strabo's references to the brigandage of the north-west tribes.

returned the Parthian standards presented to the people of Rome, akin to a military victory.³⁰ Indeed, the news of this great ‘victory’ would have overshadowed any negative news from the western fringes of the empire, drawing attention from the failure of Augustus there.³¹

The pacified tribes were still clearly in a position to put up substantial resistance after 25, certainly enough to require the presence of Agrippa. Indeed, Dio reported defeats inflicted upon demoralised legions (Cass. Dio, 54.11.2-4). By contrast, the Livian sources do not treat the conflict after the departure of Augustus, apart from a solitary mention of the name of Agrippa in Velleius (2.90.1). It seems unsound to question the evidence of Dio but not apparently that of Florus and Orosius, who are both steeped in Augustan rhetoric. Dio is certainly not the only writer, however unintentional, to dent Augustus’ military image, as we shall see. This may reflect partisan traditions but we are given few reasons to believe Augustus had any particular martial ability.³² Rich is correct to highlight the shortcomings of Dio’s attempts elsewhere to portray Augustus as non-expansionist throughout his reign, a reflection of the writer’s concerns for the empire of his present (e.g. 53.10.4; 54.9.1; 56.33.5-6; 41.7).³³ Tiberius may have presented, perhaps accurately, advice left by his deceased predecessor urging an end to expansion (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.11.4; Cass. Dio, 56.33.3-6),³⁴ but this was AD 14. It was certainly not a non-expansionist Augustus whose armies marched into Germany, nor the Augustus who found himself in the Cantabrian mountains in 26/5. But none of this seems relevant to Dio’s discussion of the Cantabrian War; he characterised the conflict as a response to native hostility, not imperial expansion (Cass. Dio, 53.11.2), and excuses are found for the failure of Augustus; the success of Antistius was only due to the tribes changing tactics and unwisely engaging the legions in open battle (Cass. Dio, 53.25.7-8). One must take issue with the fundamental point that Rich advances here; I fail to see how portraying Augustus as a military incompetent would lend weight to the emperor’s supposed belief in non-expansionism.

³⁰Primary sources for the return of the Parthian standards, see *RG*, 29.2; Suet., *Aug.*, 21.3; Cass. Dio, 54.33.1-2; 8.1; Hor., *Epist.*, 1.12.28; *RIC* 1, 287-289; 304-305; 314-315. Perhaps the most famous depiction of the return of the standards is the design of the Prima Porta statue. For this and other visual depictions see Zanker, 1988:186-192; Galinsky, 1996:107; 155-164. On the misrepresentation of the Parthian settlement, see Gruen, 1990; Rich, 2009a:143-146, with additional references.

³¹ Barnes, 1974:21; Rich, 2009a:145.

³² On Dio’s treatment of Augustus, see Reinhold and Swan, 1990.

³³ Rich, 1990:17; 183; 2009a:141-2. See also Brunt, 1990:106; 462-8. On Augustan expansion, see Gruen, 1985; 1990; 1996.

³⁴ Ober (1982) thought Tiberius behind this advice rather than Augustus. Rich (2009a:142) disagrees.

Finally, the conquest was carried out over a decade, not six years, and Rich should perhaps be careful of referring to the tribes as having ‘eluded’ Rome for two centuries. To my mind this implies previous unsuccessful attempts to subjugate them rather than their geographical isolation placing them furthest of the Iberian tribes from Roman control. This may seem pedantic, but Rich here is in danger of echoing a frequently invoked Augustan rhetorical slogan, one that homogenizes the diverse identities of the disparate tribes of Iberia and greatly exaggerates the achievements of the *princeps*.

1.2 The Motives for the Campaigns

The contemporary justification for the conflict recorded within the sources was Cantabrian and Asturian aggression against their neighbours; both Florus (2.33.47) and Orosius (6.21.3) have them raiding tribes already under Roman control, the Turmogi, the Autrigones and the Vaccaei. Strabo (3.3.8) may also echo such a justification in his report of the former transgressions of the Cantabrian Coniacans and Plentuisans, later employed as auxiliaries by Rome.³⁵ If such reports are true then it is but one more violent episode in a line of conflicts fought in Hispania during the late Republic and early Principate. Even as Roman legions faced one another in Civil War era Spain punitive expeditions had been launched against raiding Lusitanians (*B Alex.*, 51), whilst the correspondence of Cicero (*Fam.*, 10.31) complains regarding the rampant banditry in the *Saltus Castulonensis*. Even after the battle of Munda in 45 Sex. Pompeius had conducted a guerrilla war in the south until bribed to leave in the autumn of 44 (App., *B Civ.*, 2.105; 3.4; 4.83-4; Cass. Dio, 45.10; Cic., *Att.*, 15.20; 16.4). Then the coastal regions of the south-east fell victim to Moorish raids in the late 40’s/early 30’s, possibly with the connivance of the Antonian faction.³⁶ Curchin certainly cites caveats in the foundation laws of the Caesarian colony of Urso in Baetica facilitating the arming of the citizenry in the event of attack, possibly suggesting unrest around the time of Augustus’s accession (*Lex Urs.*, 103).³⁷

³⁵ Santos Yanguas, 1982:5-6.

³⁶ There is a dating confusion; Appian (*B Civ.*, 5.26) states that the raids occurred whilst C. Carrinas governed in 41, Dio (48.45.1-3) whilst Cn. Domitius Calvinus campaigned against the Cerretani in 37.

³⁷ Curchin, 1991:79. He also refers to a base inscription from a statue of Augustus thanking him for the restoration of peace in the region, possibly after the Cantabrian insurrection of 19 (*Ibid.*, 178-9; *ILS*, 103).

But the area of greatest unrest appears to have been in the north-west, which witnessed a series of campaigns from 37 onwards. Our knowledge of these is limited, though they yielded six triumphs for leading figures, all with close connections to Octavian/Augustus.³⁸ The first triumph was held in 36 by Cn.Domitius Calvinus, who was also hailed *imperator*, for his success against the Cerretani, a Northern tribe situated in the vicinity of the Pyrenees.³⁹ Calvinus, consul in both 53 and 40, was a close acolyte of Octavian and apparently seized enough gold in his campaign to rebuild the Regia in the *Forum Romanum*.⁴⁰ C.Norbanus Flaccus, consul of 38 and Caesarian veteran of Philippi, followed with a triumph in 34, as did both L.Marcus Philippus and Ap.Claudius Pulcher in 33.⁴¹ Philippus, suffect consul in 38, was the step brother of Octavian.⁴² Pulcher was the consular colleague of Flaccus in the same year, fought alongside Octavian in Sicily in 36 and was also proclaimed *imperator* in Spain.⁴³

Two further triumphs would be won in this period; C.Calvisius Sabinus in 28 and Sex.Appuleius in 26.⁴⁴ Sabinus was consul in 39 and an esteemed Caesarian; on the Ides of March, alongside Statilius Taurus (for whom, see below), he had attempted to defend the dictator from his assassins. Prior to his Spanish post he had held the governorship of Africa in 45 and commanded a fleet in 38 against Sex.Pompeius.⁴⁵ Appuleius meanwhile, consul of 29 and the last general in Roman history to hold a triumph for campaigns in Spain, was the nephew of the *princeps* and would later hold commands in Asia and Illyricum.⁴⁶ Further campaigns were waged by T.Statilius Taurus in 29/28. By this time the suffect consul of 37,

³⁸ On the campaigns between 37-27, see Diego Santos, 1975:524-30; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:52-5; Santos Yanguas, 1982:16; Amela Valverde, 2006.

³⁹ For his campaign, see Cass. Dio, 48.42.1-6; *CIL* II 6186a (p 1054) = *CIL* I 767a (p 947) = *CIL* X 6314a (p 998) = *CIL* X 8043, 001a = *IRC* III, 27 = *IRC* V, p 084 = *HEp* 4, 1994, 401 = *AE* 1977, 469a; *CIL* II 6186b (p 1054) = *CIL* I 767b = *CIL* X 6314b = *CIL* X 8043, 001b = *IRC* III, 28 = *IRC* V, p 084 = *AE* 1977, 469b = *AE* 1990, 657 = *ILLRP* 1173b. On his triumph and imperial salutation, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 87, 343, 569; *BMCRR* II 373.

⁴⁰ The dedication of the spoils of Calvinus, *CIL* VI 1301 = *ILS* 42; Cass. Dio, 48.42.4-6. On his career, see *MRR* II, 227-8; 301; 378; 397; 402; *PIR*² 3.42, n.139.

⁴¹ On the triumph of C.Norbannus Flaccus, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 569; Joseph., *AJ.* 19.123. On Flaccus, see *MRR* II, 390; 402; 408; 412; *PIR* 2.415, n.135. On the triumph of L.Marcus Philippus, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 569. On that of Ap.Claudius Pulcher, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 570; *CIL* X 1423, 1424 = *ILS* 890.

⁴² Philippus repaired the temple of Hercules and the Muses in Rome on the urging of Augustus (Suet., *Aug.*, 29.5; Ov., *Fast.*, 6.801; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.72). See also *MRR* II, 390; 412; 416; *PIR* 2.338, n.173.

⁴³ On Pulcher's imperial salutation, see *CIL* X 1423; 1424 = *ILS* 890. See also *MRR* II, 390; 412; 416; 419; *PIR*² 2.237, n.982.

⁴⁴ The triumph of Sabinus, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 570. For that of Sex.Appuleius, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 87. See *PIR*² 1.186, n.961.

⁴⁵ Connection with Taurus, Cic., *Fam.*, 12.25.1. Defence of Caesar, Nic. Dam., 26. See *MRR* II, 308; 386; 397; 401; 407; 421; *PIR*² 2.83, n.352. In Africa, Cic., *Phil.*, 3.26; *Fam.*, 12.30.7. Service in Sicily, App., *B Civ.*, 5.80-92; 96; Cass. Dio, 48.46-9; 54.7; Livy, *Per.*, 128; Oros., 6.18.21; 25. *CIL* X 6895; 6897; 6899; 6900; 6901 = *ILS* 889.

⁴⁶ *ILS* 8783; *AE* 1966, 425; Cassiod., *Chron.*, 2.135.

and later consul in 26, was already a *vir triumphalis* for his service in Africa in 35, and perhaps only second to Agrippa amongst Octavian's generals.⁴⁷ He held commands in Sicily in 36, Dalmatia in 34-33 and during the Actian War prior to his Spanish service.⁴⁸ Dio (51.20.5) and Plutarch (*Mor.*, 322C) report that his enemies were the Vaccaeii, Cantabrians and Asturians, against whom he won a third imperatorial salutation.⁴⁹

We know the identity of Rome's opponents only in the case of Taurus and Calvinus, yet it is likely that the other five campaigns referenced were also waged across the north of the peninsula. Taken as a whole, the Spanish experience from the Civil Wars through the Triumvirate and the early years of the Principate was one of turbulence and conflict. Certainly Dio (51.20.5) unequivocally describes the tribes as quelled by Taurus in 29, that no important consequences resulted from this conflict and that the Romans did not consider themselves at war in this period.⁵⁰ The campaigns of 37-27 may even have been mounted in preparation for the invasion of Augustus in 26, and we have noted the prominence of those involved. In the long run Spain became more peaceful partly due to the conquests of the north-west, allowing four of the seven legions to be withdrawn between 19-15.⁵¹ Settled conditions were always preferable, and from a security point of view the conquest was desirable, even necessary.⁵²

Economic arguments in favour of occupation were also persuasive; the sheer wealth of the north-west must have proved alluring. The Elder Pliny, a procurator in Citerior between AD 72 and 74, provided a list of the precious minerals and metals Rome gained through the conquest; iron (*HN*, 34.149) and black lead (*HN*, 34.158), *Metellum Albucrarenses* (*HN*, 33.80), magnetic minerals (*HN*, 34.148), white lead (*HN*, 34.156) and gemstones (*HN*,

⁴⁷ On his triumph, won as proconsul in Africa, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 569. See also App., *B Civ.*, 5.129; Cass. Dio, 49.14.6; 51.23.1; Vell. Pat., 2.127.5; Suet., *Aug.*, 29.5; *Nero.*, 35.1; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.72. See also *MRR* II, 395; 403; 409; 413; 416; 419; 422; *PIR* 3.263, n.615. On his triumph, won as proconsul in Africa, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 569. See also App., *B Civ.*, 5.129; Cass. Dio, 49.14.6; 51.23.1; Vell. Pat., 2.127.5; Suet., *Aug.*, 29.5; *Nero.*, 35.1; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.72.

⁴⁸ Taurus in Sicily in 36, App., *B Civ.*, 5.98-111; 118; Cass. Dio, 49.5; Oros., 6.18.27-8; 32. In Dalmatia, App., *Illyr.*, 27-8; Cass. Dio, 49.38.4. See also *CIL* V 409; 878. The Actian War, Vell. Pat., 2.85.3; Plut., *Ant.*, 65.3; Cass. Dio, 50.13.5; Zonar., 10.29. Syme proposed that he may have been governor of Macedonia (1989:274). On his triumph, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 569. See also App., *B Civ.*, 5.129; Cass. Dio, 49.14.6; 51.23.1; Vell. Pat., 2.127.5; Suet., *Aug.*, 29.5; *Nero.*, 35.1; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.72.

⁴⁹ Imperatorial salutation, *CIL* II 3556 = *ILS* 893; *ILS* 893a.

⁵⁰ Cass. Dio, 51.20.5

⁵¹ Strabo (3.3.8) highlights the distribution of the three remaining legions. See Syme, 1970:104-5; Roldán, 1974:183; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:98; Morillo Cerdán, 2009:244. Sutherland (1939:133) was convinced the war was motivated by security rather economic factors.

⁵² Schmitthenner (1962:49-50) suggested Augustus may have been responding to an emergency in Spain. This seems unlikely given the success of Rome immediately prior to the conflict. Morillo Cerdán (2009) sees the occupation of the north-west as part of a larger strategy to secure the empire's borders.

37.163).⁵³ He also provides a figure of 20,000 lbs of gold apparently garnered each year from the mines of Asturias, Callaecia and Lusitania (*HN*, 33.78). This may be crucial; Syme argued the figure belonged to Augustan sources, and was a reflection of the exploitation of the mines in the conquest's immediate aftermath.⁵⁴ Florus (2.33.60) certainly suggested that Augustus gave orders for the exploitation of Asturian gold resources once fighting ceased. A movement was seemingly made to take advantage of the new resources under Rome's control very quickly after the pacification, fitting well with contemporary Augustan expansion elsewhere, with Alpine mining areas seized and the abortive advance into Arabia Felix.⁵⁵ By contrast, Strabo (4.5.3) rejects proposed British conquests on the grounds that occupation costs would outweigh any profit. In the case of the north-west the paramount importance of the mines, and thus the economic imperative of the occupation, seems to be reflected in post-war legionary dispositions.⁵⁶ The exploitation of the north-west's metal resources would aid the new monetary policy of Augustus, with the introduction of a new *aureus*, and his demobilisation of legions following the end of the Civil Wars.⁵⁷

Not that provocation and economic benefit were strictly necessary for expansion. The fact that the Cantabrians and Asturians remained free was ample justification for Rome, the mere existence of independent powers perceived as menacing, especially if their freedom acted as encouragement for the subdued to rebel.⁵⁸ Indeed, we have explicit reference to such causation justifying the conquest in the words of Orosius, who states that Augustan annexation was partly motivated by the fact that the Spanish tribes remained under their own laws (6.21.1). Augustus himself claimed that he never waged an unjust war (*RG*, 26.3; Suet., *Aug.*, 21); this is certainly true, from the Roman perspective, of his Spanish War. The subjugation of new areas to Rome was perfectly legitimate and in accordance with Roman Republican tradition. A desire for *gloria*, both for the individual and the state, was enough in itself to justify expansion.⁵⁹ This was felt both amongst the upper classes and the plebs, as evidenced by the bombastic speech of Cicero in favour of the Manilian law, invoking a

⁵³ For the Elder Pliny's procuratorship, see Syme, 1969b.

⁵⁴ Syme, 1969b:218; Jones, 1976:48 with n28.

⁵⁵ Blázquez Martínez, 1962:117; Jones, 1976:48; 60; Santos Yanguas, 1982. On the Alpine mines, see for e.g. Str., 4.6.7; 12. On Arabia Felix, see e.g., Str., 16.4.22; *RG*, 26-7; Jameson, 1968.80.

⁵⁶ Jones, 1976:60.

⁵⁷ González Echegaray, 1999:156; Morillo Cerdán, 2009:240; Vicente González, 2011. See also García Bellido, 2002:24.

⁵⁸ Brunt, 1990:300; 439.

⁵⁹ On *gloria*, see for e.g. Harris, 1979; Brunt, 1990:esp. 288-323; 433-480; McDonnell, 2006.

supposed stain on the glory of the Roman people (*Leg. Man.*, 6-11; 53).⁶⁰ Indeed, Cicero is a pertinent example; this champion of the Republic, a man who died in opposition to military dynasts, shines a stark light on the importance of military glory to Roman minds, whether for the individual or the state (e.g. Cic., *Rep.* 5.9; *Arch.*, 21; 23; 30; *Mur.*, 21; *Phil.*, 13.14.). Witness also the old prayer of the censors, ‘*quo di immortales ut populi Romani res meliores amplioresque facerent rogabantur*’ (Val. Max., 4.1.10).⁶¹ The climate of the Principate was similarly driven by such concepts, with Livy’s *belli gloria* ‘a pervasive theme’ throughout his work, as Brunt puts it.⁶² One is reminded of the words of Augustus himself, in addition to the lists of his conquests, that ‘*omnium provinciarum populi Romani, quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro, fines auxi*’ (*RG*, 26.1).⁶³ The Cantabrian campaigns would certainly gratify public desire for expansion, aspirations observed in the prophesied conquests of the Augustan poets.⁶⁴

Certainly in this sense, Spain provided perfect precedents for expansion. From the Second Punic War down to the campaigns waged in the period immediately prior to Augustus’ Cantabrian war the Roman experience in Iberia is one of ad hoc ambition driven conquest.⁶⁵ Much of the warfare was characterised by punitive expeditions and raids for booty by individual generals, leaving little developed administration across large areas of ‘conquered’ Iberia. These contrast sharply with the pre-planned and well organised Cantabrian campaigns of the *princeps*, followed swiftly with the integration of the conquered areas into Roman administrative systems (see below). Yet however much such conflicts differed in execution and organisation, or the spirit of their intent, the ultimate result was the same; the inexorable advance of Rome ever north-westwards. With large scale resistance in the northern Meseta vanquished and the civil wars concluded, with the militaristic and expansionist ideology of the Principate firmly to the fore and with the economic benefits that followed in the wake of annexation, the conquest of the north-west was inevitable. Augustus’ presence, however, requires greater explanation.

⁶⁰ Brunt, 1990:291. Plutarch (*Crass.*, 14.5-6) describes Crassus as being driven into Parthia by a desire for glory.

⁶¹ ‘...by which the immortal gods were asked to make the possessions of the Roman people better and more extensive.’ With translation, see Harris, 1979:105-130, esp. 118.

⁶² Brunt, 1990:165.

⁶³ ‘I extended the boundaries of all the provinces which were bordered by races not yet subject to our empire.’ With the *RG* I follow the translation of Cooley (2009) throughout.

⁶⁴ See Rich (2009a:143-4; 2009b:146), who highlights the pronouncements of the poets in the early years of Augustus’ sole rule, for e.g. Hor., *Carm.*, 3.5.1-4; Virg., *Aen.*, 1.277; 3.32-33; 4.61; 7.603-606; Prop., 2.10.13-18.

⁶⁵ See Knapp (1977) and Richardson (1986) who combined offer an overview of Roman expansion in Spain down to 82.

1.3 The political context of the war

Valerius Maximus (2.8.1) reported that to properly qualify for a triumph a general must have killed five thousand enemies in a single battle, though it is to be doubted this was ever an official law, the rules remaining vague and shifting.⁶⁶ The late Republic and Triumvirate periods witnessed a massive increase in such awards, often on apparently spurious grounds.⁶⁷ However, even with the exaggeration of battles by generals eager to win honour it would seem that the 37-27 Spanish campaigns were waged with at least a modicum of success, driving Roman legions from the eastern Pyrenees under Calvinus to a new frontier in the north-west under Taurus. Furthermore, indigenous resistance may have proved ferocious, dragging on for a decade after 26, but the warlike tribes posed little threat outside of their mountain homelands; they were unable to disrupt Roman logistics in the same way the Alpine tribes did, or threaten the wider western provinces in the manner that the Parthians could in the east.⁶⁸ There were no strategic or tactical reasons, no great crisis of Roman arms, in 27 requiring the presence of Augustus. We must consider his leadership in the Cantabrian War as a result of political and ideological considerations, a viewpoint reinforced by the presence of both Augustus' stepson, Tiberius, and nephew, Marcellus, amongst the armies (Suet, *Tib.*, 9.2).⁶⁹

The immediate political context of the conflict is the Settlement of January 27, an attempt to resolve the ambiguity of Octavian's position in the state following Actium in 31. Outwardly at least the culmination of a number of conciliatory actions on Octavian's part to restore the constitutional procedures of the state, governance was formally returned to the Senate and elected magistrates (*RG*, 34; Cass. Dio, 53.3-21; Ov., *Fast.*, 1.589; Str., 17.3.25).⁷⁰ Octavian was granted a large *provincia* consisting of Gaul, Syria and Iberia. The public justification for this was that the frontier provinces were insecure and dangerous,

⁶⁶ See Beard, 2007:16; 52-3; 55-6; 196; 202-12; 297-9, with references; Goldbeck and Mittag, 2008.

⁶⁷ For e.g. Cicero (*Att.*, 5.20.3, 5.21.2; *Fam.*, 3.8.10; 8.10.2) suspected C.Cassius Longinus had fabricated accounts of successes against the Parthians in 51 to claim a triumph.

⁶⁸ The Alps were pacified through the campaigns of Terentius Varro in 24 (Cass. Dio, 53.25.2-5; Str., 4.6.7) and those of P.Silius Nerva (Cass. Dio, 54.20.1) and later Tiberius and Drusus between 17-14 (Cass. Dio, 54.22.1-4; 24.3; Flor., 2.22; Vell. Pat., 2.95.1-2; Str., 4.6.9; Suet., *Aug.*, 21; *Tib.*, 9; Livy, *Per.*, 138). Part of the conquered territory formed the domain of the Roman client Cottius (Str., 4.6.9; *ILS* 94). The Parthian/Sassanid threat remained until Islam swept it away in AD 629. Note the Parthian invasion of 40, which seized Syria and parts of Judea and Anatolia before being defeated by P.Ventidius Bassus (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 86, 568; App., *B Civ.*, 6.65; Cass. Dio, 48.39.2; 39-41; Plut., *Ant.*, 33.1; 4; Livy, *Per.*, 127-8; Gell., 15.4.3-4; Joseph., *AJ.*, 14.392-419; *BJ*, 1.288-302; Flor., 2.19.5; Iust., *Epit.*, 42.4.7; Eutr., 7.5; Oros., 6.18.23).

⁶⁹ Lacey, 1974:183.

⁷⁰ Turpin, 1994; Lacey, 1996; Birley, 2000:724-9; Ferrary, 2001:108-15; Cotton and Yakobson, 2002:204; 208-9; Gruen, 2005:34-5; Scheid, 2007:82-92; Cooley, 2009:256-72.

though Dio (53.12.3; cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 47.1) proclaims that Octavian's real motive was to retain control of the armies and disarm the senate.⁷¹ In addition to further honours Octavian received a new name, becoming Augustus (Vell. Pat., 2.91.1; Suet., *Aug.*, 7.2; Flor., 2.34.66; Cass. Dio, 53.16.6-8; Ov., *Fast.*, 1589-90).⁷²

Augustus then proclaimed his aim to pacify the provinces he had been allotted (Cass. Dio, 53.13.1). His absence from Rome in the immediate aftermath of the settlement was perhaps desirable, avoiding his 'oppressive presence' in the supposedly reinvigorated Senate.⁷³ But more than this, his energetic pursuit of conquests and the successful pacification of Spain would legitimize his continuing preeminence in the state, justify his control of the army, and vindicate the terms of the recent settlement.⁷⁴

Rich proposes that the theme of pacification is at the forefront of Augustan provincial policy after 27 and central to his consolidation of power, at least in the earlier part of his reign. It was essential to appear to act on the perceived external pressures that had led to the entrustment of the powerful border provinces to Augustus, otherwise the settlement, and the continuing dominance this granted Augustus, would appear hollow. In Rich's view the overwhelming importance of the Cantabrian war is as an initiation of the pacification strategy, the first phase that establishes the major character of the programme.⁷⁵ And certainly the theme of *Pax Augusta* runs throughout key Augustan victory monuments in the period, from La Turbie to the *Ara Pacis*.⁷⁶

Indeed, the opening of the doors of Ianus is illuminating. The doors being shut did not preclude warfare, the Balkan campaigns of Crassus in 29 (see below) and those in Iberia immediately before that of Augustus not receiving such divine recognition.⁷⁷ This is entirely concerned with the requirements of the Augustan regime. The act of opening the doors symbolically launched a crusade. Opening them announced Augustus' purpose to wage a

⁷¹ Note Pérez Villatela (1990), who identifies the Cantabrian War as an attempt to justify Augustus' control of Spain.

⁷² See Cooley, 2009:261-2 with references.

⁷³ Rich, 2009:146.

⁷⁴ Pompeius had similarly cemented his power with a Spanish command in 55, alongside that of Crassus in Syria and the renewal of Caesar's in Gaul. See *MRR* I.215; 217 for sources.

⁷⁵ Rich, 2009a:155-64, esp. 155-6; 2009b:155. Similarly, see Richardson, 1996:134-5; Eck, 2007:127.

⁷⁶ For an assessment of the conception of the *pax Augusta* see Weinstock, 1960; Gruen, 1985; Rich, 2009a, with essential bibliography. For La Turbie, Ward-Perkins, 1981:171; 476 with n.20; Bedon, Chevallier and Pinon, 1988:174-78; Pliny, *HN*, 3.20.136-8 = *EJ*, 40. For the *Ara Pacis* see Chapter 3.

⁷⁷ Syme, 1979b:190.

war of pacification, closing them advertised his accomplishment in that endeavour; peace through victory, '*parta victoriis pax*' (RG. 13).⁷⁸

The sources highlight that this was only the fourth occasion in history that the doors had been shut, yet the second time in five years, Augustus having closed them in 29 marking the end of the Civil War, a feat repeated at an undisclosed point later during his reign (Cass. Dio, 51.20.4; 53.26.5; 54.36.2; Oros., 6.21.2; 22.1; Suet., *Aug.*, 22; Livy, 1.19.3; RG, 13). The ritual apparently began under the second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius. In 235 they were shut again by C.Atilius and T.Manlius, yet reopened the same year (Varro, *Ling.*, 5.165; Livy 1.19.3-4; Plut., *Num.*, 20; *De Fort. Rom.* 9 = *Mor.*, 322B; 3.3; Oros, 4.12.4; *Schol.Veron.*, on Virg., *Aen.*, 7.607).⁷⁹ Rich has suggested that the attribution of the practice to Numa probably arose in 235, before Varro had brought it to the attention of his contemporaries.⁸⁰ Yet crucially it has been suggested the tradition itself might be 'spurious religious revivalism'.⁸¹ It may go too far to suggest that Augustus entirely invented the tradition, but as Sumi points out, the ceremony had not been seen in Rome for centuries; unless instructions survived then the ceremonial procedure, if not the tradition, was invented.⁸² This revival of supposed antiquarian practice fits into a larger policy by which Octavian/Augustus sought to root his regime within the religious traditions of the Republic, harnessing largely forgotten, arcane rituals. Similar motives appear at work behind the revival, or outright invention, of the Fetiales ceremony performed in 32 to provide divine propriety to the declaration of the Actian War (Cass. Dio, 50.4.5; Livy, 1.32.5-14; Serv., 9.52; Gell., *NA*, 16.4.1; Ov., *Fast.*, 6.205-8).⁸³ Ultimately then, the closing of the doors of Ianus is an exercise in self-publicity, designed to highlight Augustus' achievements and validate his position. This is especially clear if, as Virgil's (*Aen.*, 7.601-16) description suggests, it was the consuls dressed as augurs who performed the ceremony.⁸⁴ Augustus was the consul of 27, and so central to the performance.

Rich's arguments on these matters have much to commend them. Augustus could, and did, portray events in Spain as the real embodiment of his proclaimed rhetoric of

⁷⁸ Gruen, 1996:164. See also Fears, 1981b:806; Rich, 2009a:140-1; Cooley, 2009:157-161, esp. 158.

⁷⁹ See *MRR* II, 223.

⁸⁰ Rich, 2009a:139-40.

⁸¹ Cooley, 2009:157-161.

⁸² Sumi, 2005:214

⁸³ Sumi (2005:207-18) provides an excellent overview of this, along with other controversies surrounding antiquarian ceremonies revived by Augustus. See also Kearsley, 2009. Suetonius explicitly refers to the revival of ancient rites under the *princeps* (*Aug.*, 31.4).

⁸⁴ Sumi, 2005:214.

pacification. But this is not the only political programme the conflict served. We must now discuss not Augustus' use of ancient ritual, but his denial of this to his rivals, and its consequences: the monopoly of military prestige.

The Roman Republic fell because of the rise of the military dynasts; a system that could give rise to a Caesar and a Pompeius, an Antonius and an Octavian, was innately unstable. Competition for military glory was inherent amongst the upper classes of Rome (see above). The most profound challenge Augustus faced was satisfying the expectations of the aristocracy whilst maintaining control. He must succeed in war, for this would justify his preeminent position in the state, but could afford no rival.⁸⁵ He must have complete monopoly over military prestige and embody the ultimate *triumphator*, without equal. The Cantabrian war was central to this.

Between 44-27 there was a proliferation of triumphs, many undeserved (Cass. Dio, 54.12.1-2). It suited the Triumvirs to allow this, satisfying the aristocracy and rewarding loyalty, whilst also serving a political purpose; the dynasts were able to show their success in strengthening the empire through their lieutenants' victories, implicitly justifying their continuing control. From 36-25 Octavian oversaw twelve triumphs for his men, Antonius but one, to Sosius in 34.⁸⁶ However, following the declared 'restoration' of the Republic in 27 the situation changed dramatically, with a considerable drop in the number of triumphs awarded, and no more celebrated by legates of Augustus after this date. Ostensibly this was because they were fighting under the auspices of Augustus, though this may merely have served as a technicality (e.g. Vell. Pat., 2.115.2-3; *RG*, 4.2). Legates had held triumphs under the Triumvirate, as we have seen in Spain, though it is uncertain this occurred prior to 45. Wardle has suggested Augustus may have sought to return to Republican precedents to bolster his constitutional image.⁸⁷ Yet only two more pro-consuls from outside the imperial family, certainly holding *imperium* in their own right, were granted triumphs; L. Sempronius Atratinus in 21 and L. Cornelius Balbus in 19 (Pliny, *HN*, 5.36).⁸⁸ Indeed, the inscriptions bearing the *Fasti Triumphales* in the *Forum Romanum* were clearly designed in such a way

⁸⁵ See Fears (1981b) on the theology of victory and its importance for Augustus' position.

⁸⁶ Brunt, 1990:447. Suetonius (*Aug.*, 38.1) refers to Octavian allowing over thirty of his generals to triumph.

⁸⁷ Wardle, 1994:60.

⁸⁸ *Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1, 87

that Balbus' would be the last name inscribed.⁸⁹ Conversely, later Germanicus, fighting under the auspices of Tiberius, was granted a triumph (Tac., *Ann.*, 2.41).

Ultimately the rules seem to have remained vague, and manipulated for the political purposes of Augustus.⁹⁰ The motives behind the effective disbaring of the wider aristocracy from holding triumphs are easily discerned. The triumph was the institutional expression of *gloria*, of Rome's military ideal, and competition was fierce.⁹¹ Cicero as ever is illuminating; observe his desperation to be voted a triumph for innocuous campaigning whilst governor of Cilicia, before he finally accepted in 47 on the eve of the Civil War that the priorities of the Senate lay elsewhere (Cic., *Att.*, 6.8.5; 7.1.5, 7; 7.2.6; 7.3.2; 7.4.1; 7.7.3-4; *Fam.*, 2.12.3; 15.5.2; Plut., *Cic.*, 37).⁹² The triumph was a monumental distinction for the *triumphator*, when the 'charismatic forces of warfare and victory [were] concentrated through his person'; he became the ultimate symbol of victory.⁹³ The visual effect of such a colourful and extravagant spectacle must have been extremely powerful. It is no surprise that Augustus found the continuation of such ceremonies dangerous.

The affair in 29 of M.Licinius Crassus, governor of Macedonia, may have provided an impetus. Campaigning against the Bastarnae, he had personally killed their king in the process (Cass. Dio, 51.23-27, esp. 51.25.2; Livy, *Per.*, 134; 135; *ILS* 8810). This gave him the right to dedicate his dead opponent's arms, the *spolia opima*, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. This had only occurred three times in Roman history; firstly by Romulus, who then founded the aforementioned temple, to be followed by A.Cornelius Cossus in 437 or 426 and M.Claudius Marcellus in 222 (Livy, 1.10; 5.20; 32; *Per.*, 20).⁹⁴ This then was without precedent in recent times, and hugely prestigious. Octavian had committed no feat of arms greater than this, and would not welcome the associations Crassus would garner with Romulus.⁹⁵ Crassus was not permitted to carry out the dedication. Livy's (4.20.5-11) report of the earlier dedication by Cossus raises suspicion. He tells us that all evidence suggested Cossus was not consul at the time of his feat of valour, yet Octavian had found an inscription

⁸⁹ Beard, 2007:61-69; 72-5.

⁹⁰ As emphasised by Beard, 2007:298-9.

⁹¹ Brunt, 1990:293.

⁹² See especially Beard, 2007:190-6.

⁹³ Fears, 1981b:781. See also Versnel, 1970:201-303; Künzl, 1988; Rüpke, 2008; Ostenberg, 2009; Zon., *Epit.*, 7.21. On the effects of the triumph, both at Rome and those who sought to emulate it, see especially Beard, 2009:42-71.

⁹⁴ On the *spolia opima*, see Harrison, 1989; Rich, 1996; 1999; Flower, 2000; Sailor, 2006; Beard, 2007:292-4; 305-6; Kearsley, 2009; McPherson, 2009; Levick, 2010:79.

⁹⁵ McPherson, 2009:26.

on a linen corselet belonging to Cossus testifying to the contrary. On these grounds Octavian apparently blocked the dedication, claiming that Crassus had not fought under his own auspices.⁹⁶ Yet Varro (Festus, *Lindsay*, 202; 204) states that any soldier could win such an honour, whilst the fact that Crassus both celebrated a triumph for his campaign in 27 and was hailed *imperator* indicates that he did indeed fight under his own auspices.⁹⁷ Syme believed that Octavian had openly opposed the award, Rich and McPherson that he merely used private influence to ensure Crassus decided against seeking it.⁹⁸ Whatever the status of Crassus and Cossus, and whether Octavian acted publicly or not, it simply could not be allowed to stand in the dangerous period from 31-27. Especially given the former allegiance of Crassus to both Sex.Pompeius and Antonius (Cass. Dio, 51.4.3).⁹⁹

In due course Octavian/Augustus appropriated the imagery of the *spolia opima* for himself. Having rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius between 31-30 (see Nep., *Att.* 20.3, *RG*, 19, Livy 4.20.7, Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2.34.4), the return of the standards allowed him to go even further; the Senate decreed a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline to receive the standards, in imitation of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (Cass. Dio, 54.8.2-3), an act that explicitly associated Augustus and his trophies (the standards) with Romulus and his *spolia opima*. In like fashion the temple was to receive future spoils. Subsequently the *princeps* chose to place his temple in the *Forum Augustum*, a structure built from the spoils of war, one of the most prominent features of which was a statue of Romulus carrying the *spolia opima*. Further emphasis was placed on the *spolia opima* within the work of the poets celebratory of Augustus (e.g. Prop., 4.10; Virg., *Aen.* 6.779-90; 855-9; 10.462-3; 449-50).¹⁰⁰ In the ensuing years Drusus would aspire to gain the honour, by now fully part of the propaganda of the ‘iconography and self-definition of the new ruling family.’¹⁰¹ It is unlikely that the affair influenced the announced ‘restoration’ of the Republic in 27, which would have been planned

⁹⁶ On the pro-Praetorian and Quaestorian rank of Augustan *legati*, see Cass. Dio 53.15.1.

⁹⁷ Cooley, 2009:189; McPherson, 2009:24. See *Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1 87; *ILS* 8810. Note Kearsley (2009) who focussed on the *augurium salutis* as ensuring the greater *imperium* of Octavian. On *imperium*, see Richardson, 1991.

⁹⁸ Syme, 1939:310; 1959:44-6; Rich, 1996:86; 107; McPherson, 2009:28. Sailor (2006) and Flower (2000) are undecided as to whether Octavian actively opposed Crassus.

⁹⁹ See Kearsley, (2009:148) who considers Crassus a potential rival for Octavian. McPherson (2009:22; 31) suggests a lack of attention paid to Crassus’ campaigns in the sources as an indication of the implications of displeasing Octavian, though she also highlights the continuing success of his family, suggesting he was not blacklisted.

¹⁰⁰ See Harrison 1989:409; 414; Rich, 1998; 1999; Flower, 2000:48; 53-58; Ingleheart, 2007; McPherson, 2009:29-30.

¹⁰¹ Flower, 2000:58. See also McPherson, 2009:30-1; Rich, 1999.

a considerable time in advance, but it perhaps would have brought into sharp focus the need for change.¹⁰²

Hickson is surely correct to state that the awarding of the frontier provinces as the *provincia* of Augustus in 27 was the most significant factor in the end of the triumph; once the majority of the armies were under his control Augustus could claim their victories as falling under his auspices.¹⁰³ However the Cantabrian War played an important role, allowing Augustus to draw a line under a period when triumphs had been awarded in unprecedented numbers. Augustus was voted a triumph on his return from Spain in 25, unsurprising given the manner in which the campaigns were portrayed, but this was declined (Cass. Dio, 53.26.5; Flor., 2.33.53; *RG*, 4). This refusal to triumph is crucial and, given the fate of Caesar, prudent. It was important for Augustus to act within the conquering tradition of Caesar, yet he also had to operate in the shadow of his assassination. Octavian celebrated a triple triumph in August 29, for Illyria, Actium and Alexandria (*RG*, 4.1; Cass. Dio, 51.21.5-7; Livy, *Per.*, 133; Virg., *Aen.*, 8.714). If three triumphs were enough for Romulus, with whom Augustus would be only too happy to draw a connection with, then it was enough for him.¹⁰⁴ Any more risked unwelcome associations with past dictators, associations at odds with the constitutional Republican image Augustus was seeking to portray.¹⁰⁵ Besides, further triumphs would overshadow the brilliance of his triple triumph, and as Lacey suggests, even present opportunities for embarrassment when his *imperium* would have to be laid down and later restored.¹⁰⁶ As Beard says, much better to monumentalize the ritual than act it out in reality in the streets.¹⁰⁷ Subsequently, the emperor may have rejected a further triumph in 19 for his Parthian ‘victory’, and in the following years would even go to the trouble of entering cities by night to avoid a welcome that could in any way resemble a triumphal procession (Cass. Dio, 54.25.4; Suet., *Aug.*, 53.2).¹⁰⁸

But beyond concerns for his constitutional image, by denying himself honours for Spain that the weight of rhetoric suggested he deserved he provided a pretext to deny it to

¹⁰² Syme (1939:309; 1986a:275) believed the Crassus ‘crisis’ contributed to the timing of the settlement. In contrast, see Flower, 2000:50; McPherson, 2009:29.

¹⁰³ Hickson, 1991:128.

¹⁰⁴ Hickson, 1991:137. For the triumphs of Romulus, see *Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1, 64, 534.

¹⁰⁵ Dictators celebrating more than three triumphs: M. Furius Camillus with four (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1, 68), M. Valerius Corvus with four (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1, 68, 72) and Caesar with five (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1, 567).

¹⁰⁶ Lacey, 1996:72.

¹⁰⁷ Beard, 2007:301. See also Itgenshorst, 2004. For the representation of the triumph in a provincial setting, see Theisen (2008).

¹⁰⁸ On the supposition of a Parthian triumph, see Sumi (2010:91) citing Cassiod., *Chron.*, 385. Dio’s (54.8.3; 10.4) mention of an *ovatio* if true must also have been refused.

others. This was reinforced by Agrippa, who also declined to celebrate a triumph voted by the Senate for his Spanish campaign in 19, as he had in 37 for Gaul, and would do again in 14 for Pontus (Cass. Dio, 54.11.6; 48.49.4; 54.24.7). Syme thought Agrippa only concerned with ‘the facts of power, not the show and pageantry’, yet whilst consistently declining triumphal honours he did receive distinctive honorary symbols, such as the naval crown, the mural crown, the blue banner. As Boyce states, he stands apart in his own tradition, receiving distinction and honour without the need for a triumph.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps Agrippa did not wish to embarrass Augustus, triumphing for a province he had claimed ‘pacified’ six years earlier - certainly his refusal to triumph in 37 was seen as a desire not to embarrass Octavian, who was struggling in Sicily (Cass. Dio, 48.49.4). And yet there appears to be more. Simpson argued Agrippa’s refusal was a calculated snub of the Senate, who having voted a triumph for the Gaditanian Balbus needed to be urged by Augustus to offer the honour to Agrippa. Furthermore, Agrippa passed his dispatches from his campaign to Augustus rather than the Senate, as would have been proper.¹¹⁰ Sumi also notes the latter point, indicative perhaps of the loss of Senatorial authority. In contrast, Wardle states that since Augustus was proconsul in Spain it was proper for Agrippa to report to him, and for him in turn to report to the Senate and request a triumph for his subordinate.¹¹¹ Regardless, there is no evidence that the triumph was granted grudgingly, and Augustus surely knew what the outcome would be. This is politics. However Agrippa was accommodated if the two most powerful men in the state, with more military victories to their names than any possible rival, and with outstanding, unassailable *auctoritas* were refusing honours, how could anybody else accept them, even be offered them? For his part Dio (54.24.7-8) certainly believed Agrippa’s refusal to triumph was the reason for its denial to others.¹¹²

For his Cantabrian victory Augustus instead accepted his eighth acclamation as *imperator* and the honour of the right to wear triumphal dress, the *ornamenta triumphalia*, on the first day of each new year (Cass. Dio, 53.26.5).¹¹³ That the forgoing of a triumph was later seen in a positive light, an act of modesty, is some achievement for Augustus and Agrippa. As Beard observes, the ritual was a cohesive force amongst the elite, who had taken

¹⁰⁹ Syme, 1979c:309; Boyce, 1942:141. On the awards to Agrippa, see Cass. Dio, 49.14.3-4; Livy, *Per.*, 129; Virg. *Aen.*, 8.683; Ov., *Ars Am.*, 3.392; Vell. Pat., 2.81.3; Suet., *Aug.*, 25.3.

¹¹⁰ Simpson, 1991.

¹¹¹ Sumi, 2011:91; Wardle, 1994:59-60.

¹¹² Roddaz, 1984:44; 2002:303-5; Hickson, 1991; Itgenhorst, 2004:450-1; Sumi, 2011:91. See also Künzl, 1988:119-133; Itgenhorst, 2008.

¹¹³ Dio (53.26.4) incorrectly states that the eighth imperatorial acclamation was for M. Vinicius’s victory in Gaul. See Barnes, 1974:21.

a disdainful view in the past when previous awards had been turned down; witness Cicero's (*Pis.*, 53-64) attack on L.Calpurnius Piso, an Epicurean, for his refusal to triumph.¹¹⁴

Military commanders would still be eligible for the *ornamenta triumphalia* after 14, when Agrippa refused a triumph for the third time (Cass. Dio, 51.24.7). Imperial acclamations too, and ovations, were occasionally permitted.¹¹⁵ But there would be no more triumphs for those outside the imperial family, and their *imperium* would always be deemed inferior to that of Augustus. Any such honours that were received would invariably be shared with Augustus himself; a further thirteen imperial acclamations followed after 25 (*RG*, 4.1-2).¹¹⁶ In this way any military honour won by others contributed to the magnification of his own, prestige was channelled in his direction. In the years that followed ad hoc decisions were made, princes granted triumphs, regardless of their command status, and the wider elite denied, regardless of theirs. Excuses and technicalities were advanced, yet ultimately, as Beard observes, it was simply 'not in the interests of the new autocracy to share with the rest of the elite the fame and prominence that a full triumphal ceremony might bring.'¹¹⁷ The triumph became a dynastic event, a chance for the imperial princes to be given public recognition.¹¹⁸ The Cantabrian War is central to all of this; by allowing Augustus the opportunity to reject the prestigious award, and thus ensuring it was denied to others, the War significantly contributed to his monopolisation of military prestige.

The Cantabrian War then, or rather Augustus' refusal of honours for that conflict, served an essential purpose in a long political game stretching from 25 to 19. But beyond this, and the political programme of pacification, I also believe that the Cantabrian war, with the physical presence of Augustus on campaign in Iberia and the portrayal of his role in that war, served a more short term requirement by burnishing the emperor with much needed military prestige. To illustrate why this was necessary we shall now discuss the treatment of the campaigns in contemporary literature.

¹¹⁴ Beard, 2007:218.

¹¹⁵ On *ornamenta triumphalia*, see Boyce, 1942; Sumi, 2011:esp. 96-9. On ovations, see Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 5.47.2-4; Livy, 39.29.6; Plut., *Marc.* 22.40; Pliny, *HN*, 15.19; 125; Gell., 5.6.20-3; 27; Versnel, 1970:165-9; Sumi, 2011:93-5.

¹¹⁶ For a list, see Cooley, 2009:122. See also Barnes, 1974; Syme, 1979a; Rich, 1999:547. For the place of the triumph in Augustan poetry and its connection with the image of the *princeps* here, see Binder, 2008; Petrovic, 2008; Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 2008; Pausch, 2008; Krasser, 2008; Schäfer-Schmitt, 2008

¹¹⁷ Beard, 2007:70.

¹¹⁸ Beard, 2007:295-6.

1.4 The contemporary literary treatment of the War

Raised on his death in AD 14, the *RG* provides the definitive insight into the self-representation of Augustus and the events and actions he wished posterity to remember him for.¹¹⁹ The Cantabrian War is mentioned twice, alongside the pacification of Gaul and Germany and the recovery of standards (*RG*, 26.2; 29.1). These form part of the geographical framework of Augustan achievements, a claim to world conquest implicit from the very first line of the inscription; ‘*orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit*’ (*RG*, *Pref.*, 1).¹²⁰ Nonetheless, as one might expect from this type of document, they are delivered with little hyperbole. This contrasts with the exultant manner in which other contemporary literary sources report the outcome of the war. Witness Velleius, writing under Tiberius, for example:

‘Hispaniae nunc ipsius praesentia, nunc Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat, multo varioque Marte pacatae...Has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentis, tam feras ad eam pacem abhinc annos ferme quinquaginta perduxit Caesar Augustus, ut quae maximis bellis numquam vacaverant, eae sub C. Antistio ac deinde P. Silio legato ceterisque postea etiam latrociniis vacarent.’

‘The provinces of Spain were pacified after heavy campaigns conducted with varied success now by Caesar in person, now by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the emperor had raised to a third consulship and soon afterwards to a share in the emperor's tribunician power...These, then, were the provinces, so extensive, so populous, and so warlike, which Caesar Augustus, about fifty years ago, brought to such a condition of peace, that whereas they had never before been free from serious wars, they were now, under the governorship of Gaius Antistius and then of Publius Silius and of their successors, exempt even from brigandage.’¹²¹

(Vell. Pat., 2.90.2-4)

¹¹⁹ For the *RG*, see Brunt and Moore, 1968; Scheid, 2007; Cooley, 2009; Levick, 2010:221-239. On Spain within the *RG*, see Torregaray Pagola, 2004.

¹²⁰ Cooley, 2009:103-4. On *RG* and world conquest, see Nicolet, 1991:esp. 15-27; 29-30.

¹²¹ Here and throughout, see the Loeb translation, Shipley, 1924.

Velleius depicts the War as a dazzling success for Augustus - leaving Spain even exempt from brigandage.¹²² I have shortened the central section of this passage for the sake of clarity, yet here Velleius goes further. Comparisons are invoked between the Cantabrian War and the major Republican conflagrations waged in Iberia: the Second Punic (218-202), Lusitanian (154-139), Numantine (143-133), and Sertorian Wars (83-73). The effect is to place the Augustan campaigns in the lineage of those fought by the great Republican heroes. The conquering Augustus succeeds where all others have failed, ending two centuries of external threat to Rome's existence from Spain just as he ended all internal threats.¹²³ This is disingenuous. Even if Augustus had won an effective victory, which is doubtful, the Numantine War was the last conflict against a Spanish enemy that could have posed a significant risk to Rome's Iberian possessions.¹²⁴ As for brigandage, we may note the aforementioned reference by Dio (56.43.3) to Corocotta, brigand or resistance leader, who surrendered almost a decade after Augustus's victory declaration. Yet regardless of the reality, Velleius reflects messages conveyed by the regime that repeatedly reoccur in contemporary literature.¹²⁵

For Strabo and Pompeius Trogus, the latter's *Historiae Philippicae* surviving through the *epitome* of Iustin, Augustus' actions in Spain are at the centre of their conceptions of Iberia (see Chapter 2).¹²⁶ Augustus brought civilization to the barbarous north-west for Strabo (3.3.8; 3.4.5); Agrippa goes unmentioned, personal glory handed to the *princeps* alone.¹²⁷ Trogus (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.5.8), meanwhile, ended his entire history with the Augustan Spanish campaigns. Again, only with Augustus is Spain finally subdued, an event that completes the conquest of the world.

Horace is our nearest contemporary literary source.¹²⁸ Having risked his life in Spain, Augustus appears as Hercules:

¹²² Woodman, 1983:262-7.

¹²³ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:306.

¹²⁴ On the Celtiberian Wars in general, see Salinas de Frías, 1985.

¹²⁵ On Velleius conveying Augustan rhetoric on Spain, see Jodry, 1951; Hellegouarc'h, 1976:240-1; Hellegouarc'h and Jodry, 1980:803-816; Syme, 1978; Torregaray Pagola, 2004:esp. 304-310. Bosworth (1982) reflects on Velleius' favourable portrayal of Octavian elsewhere, and his use of the autobiography of Augustus.

¹²⁶ The geographical and ethnographical information on the north-west within Strabo, and also Pliny the Elder, is likely derived from the recent war, displaying the important impact of the conflict on knowledge (cf. González Echegaray, 1999:150-1). See Chapter 2.

¹²⁷ Engels, 1999:339.

¹²⁸ Only an epigram of Crinagoras (*Anth. Pal.* 6.161 = Gow-Page, 1:204 no. 10) predates Horace. The first three books of the Odes are generally dated to 23; for dating see Nisbet and Hubbard, 1970; 1978; Nisbet and Rudd, 2004. For references to the Spanish campaigns in Horace, see *Carm.*, 2.11.1-4; 2.12.1-2; 3.8.21-4; 3.14;

*‘Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte uenalem petiisse laurum,
Caesar Hispana repetit penatis
victor ab ora.’*

‘O citizens, conquering Caesar is home
from the Spanish shores, who, like Hercules, now
was said to be seeking that laurel, that’s bought
at the price of death.’¹²⁹

(*Carm.*, 3.14.1-4)

The War is directly compared to a Herculean labour, Hercules having travelled west to seize the cattle of Geryon.¹³⁰ Hercules, the great benefactor of mankind, defeated monsters on the peripheries of the *Oikoumene*. Augustus now did the same to the monstrous tribes on the periphery of Rome’s ecumenical empire.¹³¹ Nisbet & Rudd have also highlighted the juxtaposition of ‘*Caesar*’ and ‘*Hispana*’ as analogues to the triumphal *fasti*, and the use of ‘*victor*’, a phrase often employed in the titular titles of Hercules.¹³² Elsewhere Horace (*Carm.*, 2.12.1-2) invokes the infamous Numantine War, perhaps an analogy with the

4.5.25-8; 4.14.41-44; *Epist.*, 1.12.25-9; 1.18.54-6. On Spain within the Augustan poets, see especially Karamalengou, 2004. See Chapter 2.

¹²⁹ Online translation, Kline, 2003 (<http://www.poetryintranslation.com>).

¹³⁰ For Geryon in Horace, *Carm.*, 2.14.8. Further comparisons between Augustus and Hercules in Horace, see *Carm.*, 3.3.9-12; 4.5.36. References to Hercules and Geryon, perhaps with associations with Augustus, in the work of other Augustan poets, see Virg., *Aen.*, 6.801; 7.663; 8.102-305; Ov., *Met.*, 7.324; 9.184; *Fast.*, 6.519; Prop., 4.9. For Heracles within Strabo’s treatment of Spain, see e.g. 3.1.4; 3.1.7; 3.2.11; 3.2.13; 3.4.3-4; 3.4.6; 3.5.2-3; 3.5.4-6). Nisbet (1984:106) comments that Maximian was later compared to Hercules for his western victories. See *Pan. Lat.*, 10 (2), 2.1. For Hercules and Augustus, see esp. Bayet, 1926; Schilling, 1942; Galinsky, 1972; Zarker, 1972; 1990; Karamalengou, 2004.

¹³¹ Williams, 1969:92-3; Scholz, 1971; West, 2002:125-131; Karamalengou, 2004.

¹³² Both *Victor* and *Invictus*, Nisbet and Rudd, 2004:183.

present conflict. The north-western tribes acted as descendants of the redoubtable Celtiberians, and Augustus as a new Scipio, enshrining him alongside the great Republican conquerors, as in Velleius.¹³³ Meanwhile, Horace (*Epist.*, 1.12.25-9) does acknowledge the role of Agrippa, though this comes in the form of a list of concurrent victories won in the east, reinforcing the message of Augustan success on every front.¹³⁴ The ferocity of the Spaniards and the threat they posed pervades the work of Horace.¹³⁵

Finally, we have Livy. Florus and Orosius indicate the tone of his lost account. However, Livy also notifies the reader of the conflict elsewhere:

‘Itaque ergo prima Romanis inita prouinciarum, quae quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est.’

‘In consequence, though the first of the provinces, at least of those on the mainland, to be entered by Romans, it has been the last of all to be completely conquered, and not until our own times under the command and auspices of Augustus Caesar.’¹³⁶

(Livy, 28.12.12)

Again, the repetition of a consistent theme; only the Augustan intervention has subdued Spain after two centuries. The context of this remark is important, arising immediately prior to the account of the 206 battle of Ilipa, where Scipio broke the back of the Carthaginian armies in Iberia. Throughout Livy’s history we are not only presented with the past, but the present. For Livy contemporary Rome had sunk into moral decay (*praef.*, 4). His history was a remedy for this, a presentation of a series of exempla from which contemporary Rome could draw inspiration (*praef.*, 10). To this end he overlays different

¹³³ Nisbet and Hubbard, 1978:184; West, 1998:80-1; Karamalengou, 2004:145.

¹³⁴ Roddaz, 2002:203.

¹³⁵ González Echegaray, 1999:151.

¹³⁶ Here and throughout, Loeb translation, Gardner Moore, 1949.

historical periods to show how by observing the past one can approach the problems of the present - as Kraus and Woodman rather eloquently put it, 'history is effective only when it becomes the present'.¹³⁷ Thus, whilst the historian recounts the deeds of the third and second centuries the context of the work itself is in the light of contemporary Augustan conquest; Livy looks forward to this completed conquest throughout his account of Scipio's campaigns.¹³⁸ The wider consequences of this for the literary image of Spain shall be discussed in Chapter 2, but here we may reflect on the connections drawn between the earlier Roman leaders and Augustus.

Augustus likely sought to establish links between his own Spanish conquests and those of Scipio, a connection with the Republic's saviour adding legitimacy to his own claims of its restoration. Augustus was also keen to stress his military credentials; campaigning in Spain implicitly associated him with, and made him a descendant of, those who began the conquest.¹³⁹ This seems to be reflected in Livy's account of the Hannibalic War in Spain.¹⁴⁰ For example, Livy (27.19.4) has Scipio declared *imperator* whilst in Spain, the first such acclamation in Roman history, and one absent from the Polybian account (10.40.6). Regardless of the veracity of this, contemporary readers would undoubtedly associate this great *imperator* of the past with the great *imperator* of their present (e.g. Cass. Dio, 52.41.3).¹⁴¹ Furthermore, we have reflected on the political programme of 'pacification'. Perhaps it is not entirely incidental that this phrase, this key theme of the Principate, emphasised both in the *RG* and by Velleius, reoccurs in Livy's account of Spain (e.g. 34.21.1; 40.36.2. cf. *RG*, 26.2; Vell. Pat., 2.90.4).¹⁴² Santoro L'Hoir has also suggested that Livy's (25.37-9) description of the character and actions of Marcius, the officer who rallied the legions following the deaths of Scipio's father and uncle, may also bear comparison to Augustus, particularly in light of the contemporary Spanish campaigns.¹⁴³ None of this need be entirely intentional. The traditionalist Livy sought to raise high examples of *virtus*, *pietas*,

¹³⁷ Kraus and Woodman, 1997:53-6; 71. See also Williams, 1978; Jaeger, 1997; Kraus, 1998; esp. Chaplin, 2000. As Walsh (1961:39) states, history as a medium of moral instruction was imbedded in Hellenistic thought. Similar views are expressed by Polybius (e.g. 1.1; 9.1) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.65). See Fontan, 1983.

¹³⁸ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:304. This is clearly *Hispania capta*; so for example, Livy (26.41.17) has Scipio declare that Spain 'is ours', clearly looking towards the fully conquered Iberia of his own day (See Chapter 2).

¹³⁹ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:305.

¹⁴⁰ The Spanish theatre of the war is treated by Livy across books 21-8. Further references to conflicts in Spain, its resources or Spaniards abroad occur in books 29-30, 33-5 and 40-1. See Chapter 2.

¹⁴¹ Aymard, 1954:124.

¹⁴² On the presentation of *Hispania Pacata*, see Torregaray Pagola (2004:esp. 306-11) with references.

¹⁴³ Santoro L'Hoir, 1990:233-4. See also Jaeger, 1997:107-131.

modestia and *temperantia*, and these were the very ideals Augustus sought to embody.¹⁴⁴ But Augustan propaganda concerning the ‘genealogy of conquest’ in Spain is clear within the aforementioned sources, and it would be surprising if Livy was not similarly influenced.¹⁴⁵ Even without Augustan rhetoric such connections would be difficult to avoid, since the actions of these ‘*duces fatales*’ must bookend Livy’s account of Spain’s conquest.¹⁴⁶

All of the sources quoted are emphatic in proclaiming a major victory in Spain, and largely ascribe sole responsibility to Augustus. When others are mentioned it is clear the real source of success is the emperor. It is apparent that messages that emanated from the imperial regime are being conveyed, portraying Augustus as a conqueror bringing peace to the provinces after centuries of war.¹⁴⁷ Connections with the conquerors of the past are also clearly being stressed. Livy’s ultimate source for the Cantabrian War was Augustus’ own autobiography. This is now lost, but Suetonius (*Aug.*, 85.1) states that the War occupied its final chapter.¹⁴⁸ Through the Livian tradition we clearly observe the autobiography exaggerating and glorifying Augustus’ achievements in Cantabria. With Rome an ardently militaristic state where *gloria* was a dynamic force in politics it is unsurprising to find the emperor stressing his martial abilities; to be a successful politician one ought to be a successful general, or at least successful in forging a military reputation. Yet more than this, by ending his autobiography in Spain Augustus has singled out the Cantabrian War as the pinnacle of his military career. It obviously served a purpose for his image, his status and his position at the point of publication. This seems at odds with its less forceful treatment within the *RG* at the end of Augustus’ reign. Why is this?

Before there was the invincible Augustus, under whose auspices more campaigns had been successfully waged than under any other individual in Roman history, there was Octavian. The sources suggest he had a somewhat different reputation. His consolidation of power rested on his ability to project an image of superior martial ability, indeed, to complete

¹⁴⁴ Walsh, 1966:121; Torregaray Pagola, 2004:305-7. Scholars have often looked to equate other Livian characters with the *princeps*. Miles (1988:207), for example, sees Augustus in Camillus, a figure often associated with the *princeps*. Morello (2002) highlights the Alexander digression, arguing that it is subtle criticism of Augustus. Further on the Alexander theme within Roman literature, see esp. Spencer, 2002; 2009. Santoro L’Hoir (1990) highlights the use of heroic epithets for various characters to raise consistent themes. Peterson (1961) raises more comparisons, both positive and negative. Walsh, in contrast, rejects such comparisons (1961:16-7). See also Syme, 1959.

¹⁴⁵ On the genealogy of conquest, see Torregaray Pagola, 1993; 1998; 2002; esp. 2004. See also Martínez Gázquez, 1974.

¹⁴⁶ Livy (22.53.6) explicitly refers to Scipio as a ‘*dux fatalis*’. See Walsh, 1961:91; Scullard, 1970:27; Seguin, 1974:20; Santoro L’Hoir, 1990:233-4; Zecchini, 2002.

¹⁴⁷ Gruen, 1996:164.

¹⁴⁸ See now Smith and Powell, 2009.

the transition from Octavian to Augustus.¹⁴⁹ I believe that the Cantabrian War finally made this possible, and that its presence in the last chapter of the autobiography has a greater significance than is often acknowledged. To understand this we must place the Spanish campaigns in the context of the civil wars it followed, Octavian's rise to power and his propaganda battle with Antonius. I believe this reveals one of the primary motives for the presence of Augustus on campaign in 26/5.

1.5 The Ghost of Antonius

Between 44 and 31 the relationship between Octavian and Antonius lurched between armed opposition to uneasy co-operation and back again. Even during the periods of alliance hostility lurked barely beneath the surface, and a stream of invective emanated back and forth, disseminated in various ways. Tacitus (*Ann.*, 4.34.8) mentions the abusive letters Antonius directed at Octavian, whilst the Elder Pliny (*HN*, 14.148.2) refers to the former's pamphlet, *De Sua Ebrietate*, written to defend himself against the allegations of drunkenness levelled by his opponents.¹⁵⁰ Scott speculated that the two thousand prophetic writings Suetonius (*Aug.*, 31.1) reports destroyed by Augustus when he became Pontifex Maximus in 12 may have reflected Antonian propaganda of a religious nature.¹⁵¹ Indeed, Appian (*B Civ.*, 5.132) and Dio (52.42.8) both state that Octavian later destroyed documents relating to the Civil War, including part of the personal correspondence of Antonius, suggesting that these writings may also have proved damaging.

The focus of Antonian propaganda can be discerned. There were aspersions made concerning ancestry and piety, accusations of adultery, decadence, cruelty, perfidy, and most damaging of all for Octavian, of cowardice.¹⁵² So at Forum Gallorum in 43 Octavian was accused of fleeing battle, only reappearing the next day without his horse or commanders cloak (Suet., *Aug.*, 10.4). At Philippi Octavian's camp was overrun by Brutus. An ill Octavian was not present. The Elder Pliny (*HN*, 7.148.1) states that he spent three days

¹⁴⁹ Eder (1990; 2005) on the challenges facing Augustus in this regard. See also Zanker (1988), on the rival visual representation of the triumvirs and the post-Actium change of course by Octavian.

¹⁵⁰ On the *De Sua Ebrietate* and propaganda used against Antonius, see Harsh, 1954; Geiger, 1980; Huzar, 1982; Edwards, 1993:191-2.

¹⁵¹ Scott, 1929:135.

¹⁵² On the propaganda of Antonius and Octavian, Scott, 1929; 1933; Charlesworth, 1933; Harsh, 1954; Yavetz, 1984; Eder, 1990; 2005; De Wet, 1990; Beacham, 2005; Powell, 2009; Welch, 2009; Levick, 2010.

hiding in marshes, in contrast to the glory earned by Antonius at the battle.¹⁵³ The autobiography apparently attributed his absence to a cautioning dream (App., *B Civ.*, 4.110; Plut., *Ant.*, 22; *Brut.*, 41; Suet., *Aug.*, 91; Cass. Dio, 47.41.3; 46.2), displaying steps taken to explain incidences construed as cowardice or incompetence. And his performance against Sex.Pompeius in Sicily was also questioned, Antonius chiding him for being asleep whilst Agrippa vanquished the enemy at Naulochus in 36 (Suet., *Aug.*, 16.2).

The legacy of this propaganda was powerful and long lasting, as is clear from its presence in post-Augustan sources; the accusations of Antonius survived his defeat, through the ‘golden age’ of Augustus and the latter’s deification. One wonders how much more powerful it would have been to a contemporary audience, one with the militaristic sensibilities of Roman society. Sumi, for instance, cites the popularity of the statue of Neptune at the *Ludi Plebii* in November 40, on the grounds that it represented Sex.Pompeius, who claimed affinity with the god, as an indication of the successful effect the political propaganda of the military dynasts had on public opinion (Cass. Dio 48.31.5; 48.48.5; Suet., *Aug.*, 16.2; App., *B Civ.*, 5.100).¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, quite apart from propaganda, in a real sense Augustus’ position with the armies and people had often been insecure. In 40, the armies of Antonius and Octavian refused to fight, forcing compromise (Cass. Dio, 48.20.2-1; App., *B Civ.*, 5.64). After the defeat of Sex.Pompeius in 36 Octavian’s legions had mutinied and demanded discharge, assuming the Civil Wars were over (App., *B Civ.*, 5.128-9; Cass. Dio 49.34.3-5), whilst riots occurred in Rome on the eve of the Actian War against exactions made to fund that conflict (Cass. Dio, 50.10.4-5). After Actium, Octavian faced sedition in the ranks with further calls for discharge and land (Cass. Dio, 51.4.2), as well as continuing political controversies, from senatorial expulsions (Cass. Dio, 52.41.1-5) to the *spolia opima* affair and the fall from grace of Gallus, Prefect of Egypt (Suet., *Aug.*, 66.1; Cass. Dio, 53.23.5-24.3). Indeed, when observing Augustus in the knowledge of his long reign it is easy to consider the all conquering *princeps* of the *RG*. This is to be resisted, as it neglects the reality for Octavian/Augustus in the first decade of sole rule after Actium. During the formative years of the Principate his position was still insecure, his reputation still tainted.¹⁵⁵ So then, a

¹⁵³ Phillipi was Antonius’s victory, and Appian (*B Civ.*, 5.58) tells of the invincible reputation he acquired there, a fact he doubtless exploited politically (Campbell, 1984:61).

¹⁵⁴ Sumi, 2005:197.

¹⁵⁵ See Levick (2010:esp. 23-114; 164-201), with references, on Octavian/Augustus’ rise to power and first decade of sole rule. See also Schmithenner (1962), who explicitly links the war to the political instability of the

regime whose grip on power was not yet absolute and a *princeps* dogged by poisonous allegations. The reality of the allegations was not important, perception was; as a politician and commander, Augustus needed to strengthen the moral and military aspects of his image in the aftermath of these attacks. It would appear he did so by presenting his own account of events in a work concluding with his Cantabrian War.

1.6 The Autobiography

The autobiography was probably published in its entirety or in instalments, in or by the late 20's and intended to influence negative contemporary opinion.¹⁵⁶ Attempts have been made to reconstruct the autobiography based on its presence in other works, sometimes attested, often not.¹⁵⁷ It is apparent that the theme of military activity would have 'permeated the entire work'.¹⁵⁸ After a brief outline of Augustus' ancestry and youth the chronology of his campaigns probably provided the structure, culminating with his Cantabrian victory. Throughout he would answer his detractors, stress his eagerness to see battle, his closeness to Caesar, his *clementia*, courage and competence. Where this was impossible he would advance excuses or play down failure; and the focus would be unremittingly on him rather than his commanders. Hazards would be stressed, achievements inflated.¹⁵⁹ Examples include his mother and Caesar preventing him from fighting at Thapsus (Nic. Dam., 4); how he rushed to join Caesar on campaign in Spain through danger and adventure, and though arriving too late for Munda was dearly welcomed by Caesar (Nic. Dam., 10-12; Suet., *Aug.*, 8.1; Vell. Pat., 2.59.3); at Caesar's death he was undergoing military training at Apollonia, where he was popular with the army, in preparation for Balkan and Parthian wars (App., *B Civ.*, 3.9.30; Suet. *Aug.*, 8.2; Nic. Dam., 16-17); At Mutina he fought bravely, and the battle was his victory (Suet., *Aug.*, 10.4; Vell. Pat. 2.61.4). On the day of a military mutiny he put a

regime, and Kearsley (2009), who offers a very useful account of the years 30-27. Eder (1990:72), highlights how the events of Octavian's life between Philippi and Actium are largely absent from the *RG*. For a good general account of the events from 44-31, see Rawson, 1994; Pelling, 1996.

¹⁵⁶ Lewis, 1993:687; Yavetz, 1984:5; Powell, 2009. On the hypothesis of instalments, see Rich, 2009b:161. On the development of autobiography and its influence on Augustus, see Smith and Powell (2009), with additional references.

¹⁵⁷ For the fragments, see Smith, 2009. Suetonius, Plutarch, Appian, and Dio amongst others drew on the work. In particular, Nicolaus of Damascus, who wrote a life of Augustus, is also considered to be heavily indebted. For the latter, see Gabba, 1984:61-3; Toher, 1985; 2009, with references.

¹⁵⁸ Lewis, 1993:682.

¹⁵⁹ Lewis, 1993:682-3; 689; Powell, 2009; Toher, 2009; Smith, 2009.

shoe on the wrong foot, suggesting the mutiny was not attached to military matters, i.e. Octavian's competence or divine disfavour (Pliny, *HN*, 2.24).¹⁶⁰

We can certainly detect the tone of the Augustan account of the Cantabrian War but we are left wading through the Livian tradition to discern what was actually written. However, Augustus' only other foreign adventure, his Illyrian war of 35-33, serves as an illuminating insight. This conflict has better extant sources, apparently primarily based on the autobiography, allowing an observation of consistent themes presented to Augustus' audience.¹⁶¹

The parallels between the conflicts and their presentation are palpable. As with the Cantabrian War, native hostility is identified as the cause (Cass. Dio, 49.34.1-2; App., *Ill.*, 16), yet the war in Illyria was fought at least in part for political purposes. Dio (49.36.1) explicitly states that the War was begun by Octavian to bolster his image, whilst Appian (*Ill.*, 16) refers to the contrast between Octavian's success and Antonius's 'slothfulness', almost certainly the former's intent; Antonius had yet to retake the Parthian standards, whilst in Illyria Octavian recaptured those lost by Gabinius in 47 (App., *Ill.*, 25-28; *RG*, 29.1). Velleius (2.78.2) refers to the expedition as preparation for the coming war with Antonius, and just as the legions in Cantabria underwent stern measures, here too harsh discipline was necessary (App., *Ill.*, 26; Cass. Dio, 49.38.4).

Ultimately the conflict was primarily concerned with reinforcing Octavian's position against Antonius, just as the Spanish War would solidify Augustus' position within the newly 'restored' Republic after 27. Meanwhile, Illyria acted to counter Antonius' accusations by displaying the courageous acts of Octavian, who apparently received several battle wounds (App., *Ill.*, 20; 27; Suet., *Aug.*, 20; Cass. Dio, 49.35.2-4; 38.4; Flor., 2.23.7). And as with Cantabria, the focus was almost entirely on Octavian's role, with little attention paid to subordinates.¹⁶² Indeed, the Illyrian victory was seemingly exaggerated for the benefit of the military prestige of Octavian; the impressive list of conquered foes (App., *Ill.*, 16), the recovery of Gabinius' standards and the award of a triumph (Virg., *Aen.*, 8.714; Livy, *Per.*,

¹⁶⁰ Powell, 2009:184.

¹⁶¹ For the Illyrian War, see Vulić, 1934; Mócsy, 1962; Wilkes, 1969:49-57; Roddaz, 1984:140-5; Gruen, 1996:171-5; Šašel Kos, 1997; 2005; Dzino, 2010:99-116. On the Illyrian War in the primary sources, see App., *B Civ.*, 5.146; *Ill.*, 12-28; Cass. Dio, 49.34-38.4; 43.8; 51.25.2; *RG*, 19; 29; Livy, *Per.*, 131-5; Str., 4.6.10; 7.5.2; 4; Vell. Pat., 2.78.2; Pliny, *HN*, 7.148; Suet., *Aug.*, 20.1; 22; Flor., 2.23-4.12; Oros., 6.19.3; Zonar., 10.26; *ILS* 77.

¹⁶² Lewis, 1993:685.

133; Suet., *Aug.*, 22; Cass. Dio, 51.21.5) were all stressed, conflating the importance of the victory. In reality achievements were solid but modest, the real pacification waiting until 13-9.¹⁶³ Indeed, Gurval highlights the reference in the sources to the triumph as ‘*ex Illyrico*’ (Livy, *Per.*, 133) or ‘*Delmaticum*’ (Suet., *Aug.*, 22). The *Fasti triumphales barberiniani* perhaps shows the official line - ‘*De dalmatis triumphavit*’. This again illustrates concern for Octavian’s image, the Dalmatians a more impressive sounding enemy, having defeated Gabinius and seized his standards in 47, which in turn inflated the importance of the victory.¹⁶⁴ Crucially, Šašel Kos has also suggested that Appian’s account, closely following the autobiography, overlooks partial defeats and setbacks for Octavian and successes for his subordinates that are present in Dio.¹⁶⁵ The concern for image, the conflation of mediocre results and the focus on his own achievements to the detriment of his subordinates, all reappeared in his account of the Cantabrian War. The Illyrian war also drew attention away from Octavian’s role in civil strife against Sex. Pompeius, just as in 26/25 he sought to banish the memory of Actium by conquests in Iberia. Finally, once it had served its purpose for contemporary public consumption the Illyrian war was rarely mentioned and largely forgotten after the return of the standards from Parthia in 20, as would the Cantabrian War.¹⁶⁶

For all of this, the Cantabrian War may seem a strange place to conclude the work. Lewis describes the ending as abrupt, and Rich states that the conflict was not one of Augustus’ ‘most notable achievements’ compared to the other events of his reign.¹⁶⁷ We are left to ask why Augustus chose this as the grand achievement to end the story of his life? Schmitthenner had suggested perhaps Augustus’ near death illness in 23 had induced him to highlight his work for the Republic, the shutting of the doors of Ianus providing a fitting place for this.¹⁶⁸ Lewis hypothesised that the autobiography was published to coincide with the marriage of Marcellus in 25, and his grant to stand for the consulship ten years early, the life of Augustus reminding contemporaries of another young man who rose to prominence.¹⁶⁹ For Yavetz the work concluded in the mid 20’s because further justification of Augustus’ actions during the Civil War years would be unhelpful, serving to highlight the rumours that he hoped the work, and especially the Cantabrian War, to counter.¹⁷⁰ Contrary to this, Rich

¹⁶³ Wilkes, 1969:56-7; Gruen, 1996:173.

¹⁶⁴ Gurval, 1995:27.

¹⁶⁵ Šašel Kos, 1997; 2005:esp. 396.

¹⁶⁶ Wilkes, 1969:57.

¹⁶⁷ Lewis, 1993:687; Rich, 2009b:157.

¹⁶⁸ Schmitthenner, 1962:64-5.

¹⁶⁹ Lewis, 1993:688-9.

¹⁷⁰ Yavetz, 1984:4.

asked why the Cantabrian War would need to be included in a work of this apologetic nature, to be justified, but not his subsequent actions. For him the ‘Cantabrian closure’ was an appropriate place to finish since it marked the achievement of the declared pacification programme. More importantly Augustus publishes the work at this point because subsequent wars were not fought under his direct command, and it would be inappropriate to include them in an account of his life.¹⁷¹

Augustus certainly never commanded armies on campaign again. Yet shortly after the publication of the autobiography, in 20, Augustus reclaimed the Parthian standards. If it is a question of personal responsibility for campaigns, or a lack of appropriate subject matter after the late 20’s, why not write about this - an event presented as a military victory under Augustus’ direct leadership, which brought massive prestige and is constantly stressed in literature and monuments after this date? Furthermore, stating that the Cantabrian War is unremarkable considering the entirety of the achievements of Augustus ignores the actual context of the conflict and the autobiography which described it. The war was fought in the mid-20’s, the autobiography likely published later in that decade. This is before the return of Parthian standards and after Actium; the Civil War masqueraded as a clash between Rome and Egypt in Augustan propaganda, but doubtless many recognised that only in Illyria had Augustus fought against a foreign rather than a fraternal enemy.

In a period of continuing tension between Augustus and his opponents the Cantabrian War presented his armies crushing a notoriously savage foreign enemy. Spain made a psychological impact; Hannibal’s Celtiberians descending on Italy, the War of Fire, the tragic Numantines, the brilliance of Sertorius - a lineage of heroes and villains exploited to bolster Augustus’ image. And crucially for the man Antonius accused of owing everything to his name (Cic., *Phil.*, 13.11.24-25), it would be unequivocally his victory; Agrippa, the real victor of so many battles, would not join him in Spain.¹⁷² Consequently contemporary literary sources treated the war as a landmark victory, despite the reality of personal failure for Augustus.

Not enough weight is placed on the conflict and its presence in the final chapter of the autobiography in my view. Questions are asked as to why one would finish here, but the

¹⁷¹ Rich, 2009b:157, 159.

¹⁷² Dio has Antonius claim that Octavian relied on others to win his battles (50.18.2-3). As above, he also credited Agrippa with Octavian’s Sicilian victories (Suet., *Aug.*, 16.2).

answers do not engage properly with how the war would actually have served the emperor's reputation. It is no mere accident of Augustus' career progression that this event is chosen to end the work. The conflict had real ideological meaning and consequences for the image of Augustus beyond his pacification policy. It is a culmination of the life's work of an individual whose character and martial ability had been questioned. The war was not an act that needed to be justified in the autobiography *but rather an act that in itself was a justification* - if the goal is *apologia*, providing excuses for dubious military episodes and youthful excesses during the Civil War then the presentation of the miraculous success of the esteemed *princeps* in Cantabria is the ultimate vindication of Octavian's valour. Certainly, Horace (*Epist.*, 1.18.54-6) suggests that the war potentially transformed Augustus' image, with veterans of the brutal campaigns carrying a mark of distinction, not least Augustus himself.¹⁷³

The autobiography's apologetic nature is generally accepted but the potential for the Cantabrian war to bring a definitive closure to the Civil War years is not fully recognised, even if Yavetz acknowledges its worth in countering negative propaganda.¹⁷⁴ The senate may have given the *princeps* a new name in 27, but it would be the Cantabrian War, and his account of it, that would help complete his transition from Octavian to Augustus - drawing a line between the past and present and definitively rebutting malicious rumour. In a sense, it was indeed the last chapter of *Octavian's* life, and so perhaps a thoroughly apt conclusion for his autobiography.

This may explain Augustus' reluctance to place too great an emphasis on the Cantabrian War after 20. The war which was the vindication of Octavian's courage was perhaps too closely associated with the revisionist programme of the twenties that had given rise to the autobiography in the first place. Once the autobiography had confronted the lingering rumours further justification would perhaps be unnecessary, indeed, undesirable.¹⁷⁵ Cantabria could be quietly side-lined by the unsullied theme of the Parthian success. This is not to say that the Cantabrian war vanishes completely from Augustus' self-representation. The conflict takes its place alongside his other 'minor victories' in the visual depictions of his conquests, as we shall see. But it is never again treated in such an exultant manner.

¹⁷³ Rabanal, 1949:172. See also Karamalengou (2004:154), who believes that the *virtus* of Augustus is expressed throughout by Horace because of the emperor's direct participation.

¹⁷⁴ Yavetz, 1984:3-4; Lewis, 1993:679; Rich, 2009b:158; Levick, 2009:220; Powell, 2009:174.

¹⁷⁵ Yavetz, 1984:4.

Chapter 2: Spain in Augustan Literature

In the course of this chapter two portrayals of Iberia and its peoples shall emerge that are at once contrasting and complementary. The first viewpoint, provided by the Augustan poets and Livy, though certainly primarily intended for the elite, nevertheless was imbibed by a greater audience and unreservedly followed existing negative stereotypes. Then we find an emerging nuanced view of the Peninsula, represented by Strabo. Old stereotypes remain, yet now we receive a vision of change and transformation alongside continuity, a demonstration of both extreme barbarity and civility. Both visions promote and legitimise the *pax Augusta* in their own way, presentations of continuity and change; the actions of Augustus in Spain have clearly effected the diverse literary perceptions of Spain in this period.

2.1 *Hispania Capta*: The Spain of the Poets and Livy

i) The Poets

Virgil, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, and Horace all refer to Spain at points in their work.¹ Whilst such references are few they provide an interesting introduction to themes treated in greater depth by the prose writers outlined below. For instance, whilst the brevity of the poets cannot match the comprehensive treatment of Strabo, we do find passing mentions of Spanish products; metal work (Hor., *Carm.*, 1.29.14-6; cf. Polyb., fr. 179; Diod. Sic., 5.33.30-4), rope-making grass (Hor., *Epod.*, 4.3-4. cf. Varro., *Rust.*, 1.23.6; Livy, 21.47.7; Iust., *Epit.*, 44.1.6; Pliny, *HN*, 19.26; 30),² dyes (Virg., *Aen.*, 9.582; Prop., 2.3.11; cf. Cic. *Phil.*, 2.48; Iust., *Epit.*, 44.3.4; Str., 3.2.3; Catull., 64.227), wine (Ov., *Ars Am.*, 3.646 cf. Polyb., 34.8; Str., 3.2.6) and fish sauce (Hor., *Sat.*, 2.8.46; cf. Str., 3.4.6; Varro., *Ling.*, 9.66; Eup., fr. 6.186). The familiar topos of wealth also emerges, with Ovid citing the gold-rich Tagus (Ov., *Am.*, 1.15.34; *Met.*, 2.251; cf. Catull., 29).³

¹ For surveys of Spain and the Augustan poets, see Pastor Muñoz, 1981; Curchin, 2002-3; Karamalengou, 2004. On ethnography in the poets, see Thomas, 1982.

² Mankin (1995:99-108) suggests that the freedman referred to here was perhaps an ex-galley slave, the '*Hibericis...funibus*' referring to the esparto used to make the ships rigging or perhaps the whips of the slave drivers.

³ Mckeown (1989:412-3) highlights that this was wealth to be rejected in favour of the life of a poet, similar to the wealth of the Lydian kings and the Pactolus, the Tagus often being used in such a fashion (cf. Sen., *Thy.*, 354; Juv., 3.55; 14.299).

Iberians, meanwhile, are largely characterised as barbaric, with no hint of civility or the diversity of Spanish society and culture. Almost every reference to them is imbued with an overtly negative value; warlike, animalistic and feral, they are the culmination of Horace's lists of vanquished barbarians (*Carm.*, 4.5.25-9; cf. 2.6.1-4; 2.11.2; 3.8.22; 4.5.27-8; Tib., 3.7.138);⁴ drinkers of horse blood (Hor., *Carm.*, 3.4.33-6. cf. Ptol., *Geog.*, 2.6.50; Sil. Ital., *Pun.*, 3.360-1);⁵ brigands (Virg., *Georg.*, 3.408. cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 10.31.1; Varro, *Rust.*, 1.16.1-2; Sall., *Hist.*, 2.88-96; Str., 3.3.5); unsavoury and promiscuous (Hor., *Carm.*, 3.6.31).⁶ Such views follow the negative depictions offered by their Republican predecessors, Catullus' Celtiberian Egnatius, who had an unfortunate use for urine, providing a convenient precedent (Catull., 39.19).⁷ And whilst Bonamente proposed that Virgil's allusion to Spanish banditry may have been inspired by the on-going Iberian unrest during the early Principate, I would suggest that the entirety of Rome's Iberian experience in the preceding two centuries could equally have proved inspirational in this regard.⁸ Yet the Cantabrian War clearly impacted upon the Augustan poets' depiction of Spaniards, if nothing else articulating the predominant contemporary Roman public view concerning the Peninsula and the Cantabrian War. Only in a single instance (Hor., *Carm.*, 2.20.20), where Horace suggests that learned Spaniards will hear his words, is a more cultured landscape hinted at, albeit in a light-hearted manner.⁹

But perhaps most interesting is the use of Iberian geography. The Peninsula is a byword for remoteness. Thus Gades is cited in a manner similar to Timbuktu, a place far beyond the possible realms of travel (Hor., *Carm.*, 2.6.1 cf. 1.36.4; 2.2.9-12; 3.14.4 cf. Cic., *Dom.*, 30).¹⁰ Elsewhere, as above, Horace imagines his soul travelling to the strange lands of the far west (Gaul and Iberia) (*Carm.*, 2.20.20). And the northern coasts, the location of the Augustan campaigns, are described as 'ora', or the 'edge', an extremity on distant and savage shores (*Carm.*, 3.14.4; 3.8.21 cf. 2.6.1; *Epist.*, 1.3.1).¹¹ There is a vagueness and imprecision to this conceptual Hispania even as Agrippa's map and *Commentari* disseminated more precise information concerning the west to a wider audience. The poets give us a harsh and fabled land of myth, where Hercules performed his labours and the sun plunged into the

⁴ Rabanal, 1949:171.

⁵ Curchin, 2002-3; Nisbet and Rudd, 2004:67; Karamalengou, 2004:141.

⁶ Recio, 1996:158. Nisbet and Rudd, 2004:109.

⁷ On Celtiberia in Greco-Latin literature, see Gómez Fraile, 1996.

⁸ Bonamente, 1991:888. Note the discussions of banditry in Chapter 1 and below.

⁹ West, 1998:146.

¹⁰ Nisbet and Hubbard, 1978:96; 347; Quinn, 1980:208; Curchin, 2002-3:120; Karamalengou, 2004.

¹¹ Nisbet and Rudd, 2004:131;183. See also Williams, 1969:92-3; Scholz, 1971; Karamalengou, 2004.

western oceans (Hor., *Carm.*, 3.14.1-4; 4.14.49-50; Virg., *Aen.*, 11.913-4).¹² This myth-geography is particularly well illustrated when the name *Hesperia* and its variants are employed to denote Iberia and the west in general, a poetical device used in a similar fashion to ‘Albion’, (e.g. Hor., *Carm.*, 2.17.20; 4.15.13-6; Ov., *Am.*, 1.15.29; *Ars Am.*, 3.646; *Her.*, 9.91).¹³

Whether intentional or not the use of such phraseology and the conjuring of such imagery glorifies Empire and the emerging universalism of the age, not to mention the ‘*Pater Orbis*’ (Ov., *Fast.*, 2.130) who was busy making these things possible; they are celebrations of Roman expansion to the ends of the Earth, ‘...*per quas Latinum nomen et Italiae creuere uires famaue et imperi porrecta maiestas ad ortus solis ab Hesperio cubili*’ (Hor., *Carm.*, 4.15.14-6).¹⁴ This is even more explicit when direct reference is made to recalcitrant Spaniards, who are aligned alongside other quarrelsome frontier peoples, from Dacians and Germans to Scythians and Medes; these are united both in their defeat by Augustus and their appearance as geographical markers denoting the breadth of his conquests (Hor., *Carm.*, 2.11.1-4; 3.8.21-4; 4.5.25-8).¹⁵ Just like the *pomerium* of Rome itself, the markers of her military camps or the proper division of her provinces, and the civic and tribal boundaries within them, the poets are concerned here with *fines*; Augustan Rome now encompasses even the savage periphery, each nation granted a defined space within her domain.¹⁶ Such language foreshadows the prose writers discussed below, but also, importantly, the *RG*. This inscription, after all, glorified the *princeps* by showing the induction of the entire *oikoumene* into a new world order, guaranteed by Augustus. An ardently political geographical text, not for nothing is it described by Nicolet as a ‘lesson in political and military geography’.¹⁷ This was achieved in a similar manner to the poetical works described above. In particular, as with the poets, we find references to exotic periphery locations, such as Gades (*RG* 26.2-4),

¹² On the notion of the fantastical on the peripheries of the World, see Evans, 1999.

¹³ Karamalengou, 2004:142. *Hesperia* was often used to denote the west in general, and could even be used to refer to Italy (e.g. Virg., *Aen.*, 1.527-60).

¹⁴ ‘...by which the name of Rome and Italian power grew great, and the fame and majesty of our empire were spread from the sun’s lair in the west to the regions where it rises at dawn’ (see online translation, Kline, 2003 (<http://www.poetryintranslation.com>)). See Rabanal, 1949:175; Recio, 1996:154. Note Galinsky (2005b:341-4) in particular, who comments on universalism within the poets.

¹⁵ See Williams, 1969:73; Nisbet and Hubbard, 1978:169; Syme, 1979a:49-51; Recio, 1996:150. As Barchiesi (2007:154-5) states concerning Horace’s Odes and *Carmen Saeculare*, war is now banished to the periphery, now a professional rather than a civic concern with the end of the Civil Wars.

¹⁶ Oliensis, 1998:107-8. See also Fowler, 1995:256-7.

¹⁷ Nicolet, 1988:20. Note also Cooley, 2009:103-4.

to create an image of the distant ends of the Earth under Rome's control and the sheer breadth of Augustan conquest.¹⁸

Much ink has been spilt debating the closeness of the poets of his age to Augustus. Currently, academia largely views the poets as much reflective of the opinions of Roman society in general as they were of any pressure from the *princeps*.¹⁹ It is certainly unlikely, that Augustus lies *directly* behind the design of the poetical works referring to Iberia; any partisanship found there emanates from the poets themselves.²⁰ Yet tales of the savage fighting in Spain would doubtless have been widespread in Rome at the time, and after two hundred years of intermittent warfare claims made by the *princeps* to a final conquest of the turbulent west would have drawn enthusiastic praise from a population too distant from the front to realise the shallowness of Augustan claims. The poets would reflect this opinion, and always welcome Roman expansion.²¹ Thus the traditional literary topoi were reinforced and reemployed to laud the present Augustan conquest, which in turn, as in Horace, were juxtaposed with the prosperity brought in their wake (e.g. *Carm.*, 3.14; 4.5.1-2; 25-8). Again, echoing the *RG* (12.2), we are presented with the fruits of peace achieved through War: the *pax Augusta*.²²

ii) Livy

Barbarity, remoteness, the ecumenical rule of Rome, and the dominant role of a fated general in achieving this can also be found at the forefront of the Livian depiction of Hispania. Livy's work is didactic, influencing the treatment of Spain and its peoples and extending its usefulness for our purposes beyond the first 50 years of the conquest that the surviving books cover. His intention was to present Rome's rise to greatness through its

¹⁸ Nicolet, 1988:17-25. Note Scheid (2007:69-72), who follows the view that describing Augustan conquests in such a way disguised the Varian disaster, and Cooley (2009:223-4), who suggests that Augustus is implicitly claiming here to have surpassed the conquests of Alexander.

¹⁹ Syme (1939:459-475), of course, was instrumental in seeing the poets as part of the regime's 'organisation of opinion'. See also Little, 1982:287; Karamalengou, 2004:149. Such views have been challenged, notably by White, 1993:110-155; Gruen, 1996; Nisbet and Rudd, 2004:xxi-xxii; Levick, 2010:259-61. For further discussion on this issue see Fraenkel 1957; Doblhofer, 1966; Nisbet, 1969; Brink, 1982:523-5; Griffin, 1984; Wallace-Hadrill, 1987; Zanker, 1988:158;169;176; Putnam, 1990; Kennedy, 1992; Lefevre, 1993:164; Seager, 1993; Vidal, 1994; Lyne, 1995; Santirocco, 1995; Fowler, 1995; Farrell, 2004; Lowrie, 2007.

²⁰ White, 1993:155.

²¹ See Adler, 2003:193-216; Lowrie, 1997:261-2; Little, 1982:270-1 on the theme of the necessity of Rome's world Empire in *the Aenied*. For the importance of the theme of Roman, and indeed, Augustan conquest throughout the poets, see Gruen, 1996.

²² Lyne, 1995:170-1; Karamalengou, 2004:152. See also Kienast, 1971.

commitment to *virtutes* (Livy, *Praef.* 9. cf. Polyb., 1.1.5).²³ The Hannibalic War represented almost a re-founding of the city in Rome's collective memory,²⁴ a legacy of Cato and Polybius. The former characterised the struggle as a *bellum iustum*, won with traditional *virtus* and fought between morally upright Romans and perfidious Carthaginians, in contrast to the later morally debilitating eastern conquests.²⁵ Polybius (e.g. 1.3.6) saw the War as the beginning of Rome's world domination, emboldening her to further conquests. This is the ideological background within which Livy functions. Spain, intrinsically linked to the national myth of the Hannibalic War, is central to such a framework; if the foundation of Roman power was her success in this conflict then it was with Scipio's Iberian victories that the Empire had truly been born.²⁶ Consequently Spain is far more prominent for Livy than for the poets. Yet for all the importance of Spanish events in the narrative the focus remains unremittingly on Roman actions, and the moral implications of these for the state, leaving Iberia and Iberians treated with little depth.

There are few direct allusions to Spain's fecundity. Reference is made to the wealth yielded by the exploitation of mines (Livy, 34.21.6-8), and Livy states that Spain was the best nation from which to renew war on account of its inhabitants and the nature of its country - presumably a reference to its resources (Livy, 28.12.11). One notable inference of Spanish resources is the frequent notifications of the vast booty brought back to Rome by her generals. For instance, note the report of the 1,550 lbs of gold, 20,000 lbs of silver and 34,500 silver *denarii* brought back from Citerior by Cn.Cornelius Blasio and the 50,000 lbs of silver, in addition to various monuments erected *ex manubiis*, by L.Sertinius from Ulterior, both in 197-196 (Livy, 33.27.1-4).²⁷ There is no doubt of Spain's value for Rome here.

As for the land and its people, Livy follows Greek theories of climatic determinism (see below)²⁸ whereby a people's landscape affects their character.²⁹ Examples include the fourth post-167 Macedonian Republic, its peoples' character matching the cold climate and rugged landscape, their fierceness increased by proximity to neighbouring barbarians (Livy,

²³ Chassignet, 1998:62.

²⁴ See Chassignet, 1998; Torregaray Pagola, 2004.

²⁵ Chassignet, 1998:58-9. See also Lind, 1972.

²⁶ Note that Livy (21.1.1) describes the Hannibalic war as the most memorable in history; '*...bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum*'.

²⁷ See *MRR* I: 334; 336.

²⁸ Note the similar beliefs of Cicero (e.g. *De leg. Agr.*, 2.95).

²⁹ See especially Girod, 1982:1222.

45.30.7). Elsewhere Samnites are rough mountaineers, Campanians soft like their environment (Livy, 9.13.7).³⁰ There is no such direct correspondence between the character of the Spaniards and their environment, but we do find references to Iberia's inhospitable landscape from which one familiar with Livy's philosophical ideas could infer a connection with the mentality of the people; Spain is a land of rough roads, narrow passes, and heavily wooded mountains (Livy, 28.1.6; cf. 21.43.8). The fertility of its soil, so prominent in Greek conceptions of Iberia, is apparently absent.

Meanwhile, the mysterious periphery exercises a similar influence here as in the poets; the Ocean and the Pillars of Heracles appear as Earth's limits (Livy, 27.20.4), whilst so distant are western Iberians that Carthage hopes sheer ignorance of Rome's existence will ensure loyalty (Livy, 27.20.4). This notion of the fabled edges of the *oikoumene*, and the extension of Roman power to this almost impossibly distant boundary is heavily repeated (e.g. Livy, 28.12.10-11; 39.14; 43.15). It marks a geographical boundary, as in the poets, glorifying Scipio's conquests - and perhaps also those of Augustus. Indeed, echoing the *RG* (31), Livy doubtless lies behind Orosius' (6.21.19-20; cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 21.3) reports of Indian ambassadors received by Augustus at Tarraco in 26-25, mimicking those western envoys who had been received by Alexander at Babylon in 323 (Diod. Sic., 17.113.1-4; Iust., *Epit.*, 12.13.1-2; Arr., *Anab.*, 7.15.4-6).³¹ This unreservedly highlighted the universal nature of Augustan rule, with ambassadors from the World's most easterly margins travelling in homage to the furthest west.

Important as such geographical boundaries were, and the ideology invested in them, Livy's grasp of geography is poor and his topographical outlines often generic;³² note his imprecision in locating Saguntum (Livy, 21.7.2) and his hopeless description of the Olcades, Vaccae and Carpetani as its neighbours (21.5.4); the battle of Ilipa's dubious location, conflicting with the authoritative Polybius (28.13.6; Polyb., 11.20);³³ and his anachronistic treatment of Hannibal's march from Spain to Italy, in effect a report of the contemporary route of the legions (Livy, 21.22.5-24.5; 21.26.6-38.1).³⁴ Such inaccuracies belie the work's

³⁰ See Luce, 1977:280-1.

³¹ Cooley, 2009:36-7; 222.

³² Walsh, 1961:156-7; Girod, 1982:1191; 1199. The latter states that Livy's sense of geography may have improved in the later lost books, though admits it unlikely that Livy would have changed his writing style (*Ibid.*, 1193-4). On the 'Ocean' and Augustan imperialism, see esp. Roman, 1983.

³³ See Walsh, 1961:154; 1966:132-3.

³⁴ Walsh, 1961:156.

Romano-centric nature. Ultimately geography and landscape appear only in the context of the march of the legions, remaining inconsequentially in the background.³⁵

Similarly, Livy has little interest in ethnography, his references to the various identities of the distinct Iberian peoples replete with mistakes and homogenization. For instance, he refers to the Tartesians (23.26.5-6; 23.27.1), Turdetanians (28.15.15; 39.7-8; 34.17.2) and Turduli (34.17.4), yet seems unaware that the Tartesians and Turdetanians are the same people, whilst the Turdetanians and Turduli at this date were not (cf. Str., 3.1.6; 3.2.1; Polyb., 34.9.1).³⁶ Further, the ‘Turdetani/Turduli’ act as the initial instigators of the Carthaginian-Saguntum confrontation (Livy, 21.6.1; 12.5), contrasting with Polybius (3.15.8), who identifies the Torboletae. Unless Livy here cites a lesser known tribe of north-eastern Spain, as Foster suggested, then he has erroneously identified a southern people geographically distant from Saguntum, through design or folly.³⁷ Perhaps the former, since Livy (29.2.5) explicitly states that he has avoided naming barbarians who would not return to the historical stage regularly, suggesting he wilfully substituted less well known tribes for those better known.³⁸

Meanwhile, stereotypes abound. Levene argues that these are conventions of Latin literature, not necessarily carrying negative connotations, and that Livy’s use of stereotypes that society generally believed to be true is intended to establish the verisimilitude of the work (cf. Quint., *Inst.*, 5.10.23-27).³⁹ This may be true, but it is difficult to reconcile Levene’s argument for a more nuanced treatment of stereotypes by Livy with the generic treatment of entire peoples within the text; nymphomaniac Numidians (Livy., 29.23.4; 30.12.18); cruel and perfidious Carthaginians (16.17.6; 21.4.9; 22.6.12); barbarous Gauls (5.44.6; 7.24.5; 8.14.9; 10.10.12); untrustworthy Greeks (29.12.4; 31.41.7; 37.1.4). Spaniards are no different. As we shall see, a more balanced view was possible by the early Principate; yet Livy, like the poets, does not reflect this. Repeated generalising references are made to their wild character and warlike manners (e.g. 21.5.12; 28.12.11; 34.9.6; 17.6). Livy’s disgust at Spanish behaviour is frequently palpable, as with the horrifying self-

³⁵ Girod, 1982:1199.

³⁶ García Fernández, 2004:92.

³⁷ Walbank, 1957:323. See the translator notes of Foster, *Loeb* v.V.

³⁸ Moret, 1997:149.

³⁹ Levene, 2010:217; 247-8.

immolation of Astapa's citizenry, condemned as barbarous (28.22.5; cf. 28.22.8-11; 28.23.2-5).⁴⁰

Iberian perfidiousness is also pronounced, with the two most prominent Spaniards in the work, Indibilis and Mardonius, becoming bywords for treachery. Mere 'bandit chiefs' (28.32.9),⁴¹ they are largely an artistic construct, given significantly greater prominence here than by Polybius.⁴² Livy disregards the personal nature of alliance in the peninsula which ensured the shifting loyalties of Spanish tribes.⁴³ Indibilis and Mardonius rebelled repeatedly against Rome (e.g. 28.25.11; 28.34.3-11), yet their initial desertion of Carthage illustrates well how Livy's preconceptions shape the narrative; whilst Polybius (9.11.3-4) cites the remote breakdown in the alliance between Indibilis and the Carthaginians in 208 as a result of the dishonour shown towards the Iberian by Hasdrubal in 211, an action that invalidated their personal allegiance, Livy merely treats the event as evidence of the innate fickleness of barbarians.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, what little information we receive concerning Iberian mores and material culture are related to combat (eg. Livy, 23.26.9; 28.21.2-10; 31.34.4). He respects the Spanish fighting ability, of course; battle-hardened, they performed numerous brave feats and instilled fear in their enemies (e.g. 21.27.5; 47.4; 23.26.11; 27.48.6; 28.2.4; 29.2.14-15; 30.8.9; 41.15.9).⁴⁵ But under their own leaders at least, they are ill disciplined and disorganised (28.1.8).

Martínez Gázquez, citing Pliny the Younger's (*Ep.*, 2.3.8) anecdote describing a Gaditanian who travelled to Rome to see Livy only to return straight home after but laying eyes on him, believes that Livy treated the Iberians sympathetically, consequently enjoying a good reputation in Spain. Whilst the early books depict Spaniards as barbarians perhaps later in the work this image improved.⁴⁶ Yet Pliny's anecdote should surely not be used to support such a hypothesis; one would not expect a Phoenician Gaditanian to find offence in derogatory remarks aimed at Iberians, Lusitanians and Celtiberians. Linguistically, culturally

⁴⁰ Note the similar act perpetrated at Abydos, (Livy, 31.17; cf. Polyb., 16.31). See below for the similar episode at Saguntum.

⁴¹ *'latronumque duces'*

⁴² See Moret (1997:147;159), on the conscious decision to stress their role as sign of recognition at the beginning of each chapter, choosing clarity and literary simplicity over historical accuracy. See also Moret, 2002-2003.

⁴³ Adrados Rodríguez, 1946. This was as much the case with the Scipios as with the Barcids before them, Foulon, 1992:12. See Roddaz, 1998 for the similarity between the position of the Barcids and Spain and that of the Scipio family.

⁴⁴ Moret, 1997:152; 160. See also the great betrayal of the Scipios in 211 (Livy, 25.33). Polybius' depiction of Spaniards was more nuanced; both treacherous (Polyb., 3.98.3; 10.6.2; 10.7.1-2) and faithful (9.11.3-4).

⁴⁵ García Moreno, 1988:83.

⁴⁶ Martínez Gázquez, 2004:187.

and ethnically these were different peoples, and one must question the extent to which the urban elites of the south and east would identify with the Spanish tribes presented by Livy anyway. Certainly, most of the surviving text narrates a period when the south was in general uprising, a context hardly likely to inspire warmth from Livy.⁴⁷ Yet, as noted, Livy's Spanish past is entirely entwined with its present, and a positive depiction in the manner Martínez Gázquez suggests is at odds with his work's conventions. Frankly his deeply unsympathetic treatment of Spaniards in the early books was unlikely to change; Torregaray Pagola highlights a fragment of Livy (Val. Max., 9.1.5) describing Iberia as '*horrida*' and '*bellicosa provincia*' as late as the Sertorian War (80-72), whilst his treatment of Augustus' campaigns, described above, was unlikely to soften this image.⁴⁸ We find little nuance, no distinction between 'civilized' and 'barbaric' Iberia that we shall soon observe in Strabo, nor any appreciation of Turdetania's ancient civilization.

Iberians are essentially characterised by their confrontations with the legions. Indeed, their most prominent role within Livy's work is their persistent appearance as battle casualties (e.g. Livy, 40.32.6: 23,000 killed; 40.33.7: 12,000; 40.40.11: 17,000; 40.48.7: 9000; 51.26.5: 35,000). Doubtless such figures are influenced by triumph hunting reports (see Livy's criticism, 40.50.6-7) and the use of particular sources, such as Valerius Antias, but the mass of wild tribesmen vanquished in repetitive battle accounts makes a deep impression,⁴⁹ powerfully characterising the natives as unceasingly defeated and subjugated, whilst extolling Rome's martial prowess, a primary goal of Livy.

The Saguntines are the only native Iberians dealt with sympathetically. Loyalty to Rome, even to their undoing (Livy, 21.7.3), replaces perfidy. Even then Livy (21.7.2-3 cf. Str., 3.159; Pliny, *HN*, 16.216; App., *Hisp.*, 7) strains to provide a composite Greek-Italian origin for these authentically Iberian people,⁵⁰ a falsehood perhaps designed to maintain the overtly negative representation of all Spaniards. Furthermore, Saguntum and its senate mirrors Rome; a civilized ally with similar governance, and hence similar values, to Rome (Livy, 28.39.13-4; 21.14.1).⁵¹ The contrasting treatment of Saguntine and Iberian is implicit in the disparities between Livy's report of the respective self-immolations here and at Astapa; Livy considered the latter utterly barbarous (28.22.8-11; 28.23.2-5). At Saguntum, though

⁴⁷ García Fernández, 2004:94.

⁴⁸ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:306.

⁴⁹ Walsh, 1961:144; Brunt, 1971:694-5; Luce, 1977:286; Erdkamp, 2007; Pelikan Pittenger, 2008:104-114.

⁵⁰ Walbank, 1957:319; Levene, 2010:217n135, citing Mineo, 2006:27.

⁵¹ Sancho Dominguez, 1994:284.

extreme (see Abydus imitating the '*Saguntinam rabiem*' (31.17.4-5)), the self-destruction of the citizenry is intended to engender sympathy (21.14.1).

Rome's Spanish conquests, whether against Carthaginians or Iberians, are always *bella iusta*.⁵² She makes war only to defend allies or in response to native aggression (e.g. 28.29.2; 39.7.6-7),⁵³ fallacies determinedly pursued by Livy to the point of outright historical distortion, most obviously seen with the siege of Saguntum: unrelated Carthaginian campaigns are misrepresented as aggression towards the city (21.5.2-17); the chronology is altered to account for Roman inaction (21.6.5; 7.1);⁵⁴ and a fabricated Roman guarantee of Saguntine independence introduced, a pretext for war (21.2.7; cf. Polyb., 3.12.7; App., *Hisp.*, 7).⁵⁵ The righteousness of the Roman domination arising from Livy's *belli iusti* is never questioned. Indeed, Roman expansion is marked by episodes of *virtus*, mercy and righteousness providing moral force to Roman deeds (eg. see Scipio at New Carthage, Livy, 26.49-50.).⁵⁶ Not that Rome owed the conquered any obligation; Livy is indifferent to those wronged by Rome, more concerned with the effect such misdeeds will have on the moral character of the Romans themselves.⁵⁷ He is, however, deeply imbued with a sense of Rome's right to possess Spain, preconditioned as he is by the knowledge of progressive expansion here over two hundred years.⁵⁸

This is important. In Livy, from the very beginning, the image of Iberia and its people is of *Hispania capta*. This leads to an anachronistic depiction of third and second century Iberia, a reflection of the reality of the Roman provinces of his present.⁵⁹ Simply put, Spain and its population belong to Rome by right of conquest; the justice of her dominance, its morally upstanding character, and the guilt (frequently self-recognised) of the Spaniards who reject the righteousness of this subjugation are implicit in his descriptions of repeated

⁵² See García Moreno, 1987:212.

⁵³ Though Livy (39.56.2) at one point candidly asserts that the Lusitanians were inactive because they had not been provoked (Briscoe, 2008:184).

⁵⁴ See Walsh, 1961:118.

⁵⁵ Polybius (3.21.6) erroneously states that Carthage broke the treaty by attacking Saguntum but appears confused, as he does when he seems to suggest that the city lay north of the Ebro (3.15.5 and 3.30.3). A close analysis of his account indicates that Saguntum was not protected by the treaty. See Walsh, 1966:132-3; Scullard, 1989:32-43. See also Astin, 1967; Walbank, 1957:167-172; 319-324; 332-358; Romeo Marugan and Garay Toboso, 1995.

⁵⁶ Burck, 1982:1151-5.

⁵⁷ Luce, 1977:286, commenting that even in books 42 and 43, where Roman behaviour in Spain, Italy and Greece is condemned, there is little sympathy for the victims.

⁵⁸ García Moreno, 1987:213.

⁵⁹ Livy's work is replete with anachronisms, often reflective of post-133 BC discord. See Syme, 1959:28; Wiseman, 1979:43-5; Grant, 1991:66; 84; Chaplin 2000:98-101.

revolts, their causes and Roman reactions (Eg. 22.17.13; 25.36.16; 28.19.1; 6; 22.4-5; 34.18.2).⁶⁰

Livy's depiction of the power and motives of Rome's most prominent Hannibalic War era enemies, the Ilergetes and Carthage, is interesting in this regard. Indibilis and Mardonius's revolt in 206 is characterised as an attempt to seize all of Iberia, to create a '*regnum Hispaniae*' (28.24.3). The dramatic effect of such a claim is clear, as is its absurdity. In his focus on the global struggle Livy has failed to appreciate the local nature of the conflict for the Ilergetes,⁶¹ whilst massively inflating their threat. The knowledge of Rome's ultimate occupation of the entire Peninsula is clearly distorting Livy's depiction of such events. This is even more apparent with Carthaginian Spain. It is doubtful, despite the Ebro treaty (Polyb., 2.12.3-7; Livy, 21.2.7), that by Hannibal's rise to command in 220 Punic rule extended beyond the Cabo de la Nao on the bay of Valencia.⁶² His campaigns before and during the siege of Saguntum drove into central Spain (Livy, 21.4.6; Polyb., 3.13.5-10), imposing tribute on the Carpetani and Oretani (Polyb., 3.13.7 cf. Livy, 21.11.13).⁶³ This extended Carthaginian hegemony, not direct territorial control. And yet Livy offers us a patently absurd image of Carthaginian Iberia in 218 that embraced everything south of the Ebro, barring Saguntum, extending even to Lusitania (Livy, 21.5.17; 21.43.8).⁶⁴

The terminology used by Livy to describe the areas under Roman control during and after the Second Punic war, and the struggles with their Iberian enemies, demands similar attention. As early as 209 his Africanus lays claim to the entire peninsula, despite Rome's limited control at that date (26.42.19). And upon the expulsion of Carthage from Iberia the 'recovery' of Spain (28.17.1-2)⁶⁵ is announced, and Scipio described as the 'conqueror of all Spain' (28.19.15);⁶⁶ Rome's possessions at this point more realistically comprised a small strip running along the eastern and southern coast of Iberia. A similar state of affairs has been suggested with the work's presentation of Iberian ambassadors. Throughout these are

⁶⁰ '*...huic ex usurpata libertate in servitutem velut adserendi errant...*'. The notes of Sage's Loeb translation (V.IX) points out that the term *In servitutem adserere* was the technical legal phrase used in a court to establish that one is the owner of a slave.

⁶¹ Moret, 1997:160.

⁶² Scullard, 1989:31. For further discussion on the limits of early Carthaginian imperialism in Iberia see Chic García, 1978; Whittaker, 1979; Wagner, 1989; Pérez Vilatela, 2003.

⁶³ Walbank, 1957:316-7.

⁶⁴ Polybius at times exaggerates Carthaginian control (eg. Polyb., 3.13.2; 3.39.4), though knowledge of northern Spain beyond Roman control remained unclear in his day, whilst his conception of Carthaginian power was seemingly tributary rather than territorial. He certainly regarded the population south of the Ebro as overawed (3.14.9), but perhaps not utterly subjected.

⁶⁵ '*receptae Hispaniae*', '*receptas Hispanias*'.

⁶⁶ '*domitor ille totius Hispaniae*'.

invariably characterised as supplicants,⁶⁷ even the Saguntines, allies rather than subjugated foes (21.9-10; 28.39.1-22). Witness also the Spanish deputation granted an audience with the Senate in 171 (43.2),⁶⁸ before whom they promptly kneel - perhaps a projection from Livy's own day, an implicit recognition of Roman rule in Iberia, and an acceptance of the justice of this.⁶⁹

So then, Livy's description of third and second century Spain and Spaniards is more akin to his own day than Scipio's. Even accounting for a lack of knowledge or interest in geographical matters, a rhetoric of justification runs throughout the presentation, designed to provide the validity of Roman rule in the whole of Iberia, initially won by right of victory against the Carthaginians and the Iberians of the Levantine regions, and definitively enforced by the *princeps* in Livy's present. The presence of Augustus is inescapable. The descriptions of the early campaigns implicitly, and at times explicitly (e.g. Livy, 28.12.12 (see above)), look forward to the completion of the conquest between 27-16, and do so in a way impossible for Polybius in the middle of the second century BC.⁷⁰ The actions of Scipio, the recalcitrance, perfidy and wildness of the Spaniards he faced, the (heavily exaggerated) threat posed to Rome and the inherent justice of Roman rule provides the precedent for the *pax Augusta* enjoyed by contemporary Iberia. The *princeps* would have approved.

Livy and the poets then present a representation of *Hispania capta*⁷¹ that is fully in line, as we shall see in the next chapter, with contemporary visual representations of Hispania. Yet an alternative depiction was possible, one equally complimentary of the *pax Augusta* whilst providing a more nuanced treatment.

⁶⁷ Canali de Rossi 2001:493-500; Piccirilli 2002:15; García Riaza, 2002:89-96; Torregaray Pagola, 2004:301.

⁶⁸ Munez Coello, 1981; Torregaray Pagola, 2004:301.

⁶⁹ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:300-303. Though note the similarly servile and sycophantic behaviour of Prusias of Bithynia before the Senate in 167 within Polybius (30.18-19).

⁷⁰ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:304.

⁷¹ See the excellent Torregaray Pagola, 2004:300-1.

2.2 A land of contrast: The Iberia of Strabo

Strabo's Iberia is primarily found in the third book of his *Geography*, with brief references elsewhere. Fundamentally, Strabo uses a *periplous* structure, beginning with Turdetania (Str., 3.1.4-3.2.15) before treating Lusitania (3.3.1-8), Iberia (3.4.1-20) and the islands (3.5.1-11).⁷² He first ascertains the position and distance of a coastline before moving on to describe the interior, often using waterways to establish the location of certain points or the dimensions of the various territories.⁷³ The topographical information is followed by that concerning ethnology and socio-political organisation.⁷⁴ Within this basic framework are variations in the subjects of information that Strabo provides, depending on the area he is describing.

The fundamental difference in focus between northern Iberia and Lusitania (dominated by ethnographical information) and his description of Turdetania (overwhelmingly concerned with commercial and economic aspects) is striking. Strabo never visited Spain, and in one sense this may reflect his sources and a varying depth in knowledge between the familiar south and the newly conquered north. But it is also likely a conscious decision on the writer's part to convey particular images of the different areas of the country for ideological purposes. This is clear from the outset when Strabo is at pains to emphasise the general concept of a north-south division of Iberia, two regions poles apart from one another: the north is cold, rugged and oceanic, ensuring its people are inhospitable and isolated. Whilst yielding masses of minerals and metals (3.2.9), the land is waterless, sterile and overrun with plague carrying rodents (3.1.2; 3.4.16; 18).⁷⁵ The whole of the south is fertile, Turdetania's incredible fecundity and the quality of its produce (3.1.2; 6; 3.2.3; 3.2.6; 7), not to mention its unimaginable metal wealth (3.2.3; 3.2.8; 9), being stressed repeatedly.⁷⁶

Between the north and south lies a central transitional zone. The Mediterranean coast exhibits similar characteristics to the south. Though the praise is less extensive and only the coastal cities are covered,⁷⁷ its land is fertile, its industry vibrant and the New Carthage mines are excellent (3.4.8; 3.4.9; 3.4.10; 3.4.16). Meanwhile southern Lusitania is relatively

⁷² For good overviews of book three's structure, Alonso Núñez, 1999:109; Castro Páez, 2004a; 2004b; Dueck, 2000; 2010. Blázquez Martínez 2006:238 n.2 for recent bibliography. On Strabo's *periplous*, Van der Vliet, 1977:139; Dueck, 2000:41.

⁷³ Thus he introduces his discussion on Turdetania with the Sacred Promontory (Str., 3.1.4).

⁷⁴ Dueck, 2000:45.

⁷⁵ See Alonso Núñez (1992a) for an overview of the treatment of the north-west.

⁷⁶ See Fear (1992) concerning the renowned Baetican wool. See also Arce, 1989; Cruz Andreotti, 2007a.

⁷⁷ García Quintela, 2007a:102.

bountiful, especially the estuary of the Tagus (3.3.1; 3.3.4). These zones are not merely expressions of bland topographical differentiation, but have real ideological meaning related to the theories of climatic determinism, corresponding to notions of barbarity, civility and semi-civility.⁷⁸ Thus Strabo conveys contrasting images of a barbarous north and civilized south, further developed through the description of the lifestyles of the Iberian peoples; drawing attention to the unusual aspects of northern customs compared to the Greco-Roman ideal allegedly prevalent in the south, offers an immediate and obvious indication of their barbarity. Certain northern traits are familiar, echoing Greek and Egyptian practice (3.3.7). But other aspects are in complete opposition to ‘civility’.

In particular, Strabo contrasts practices marking the northerners as lacking in self-control. The Cantabrians represent the pinnacle of barbarism, so despicable that the writer shrinks from giving the names of most tribes (3.3.7). Their base, animalistic nature is marked out by their customs of bathing and brushing their teeth in urine, subordinating reason to their physical desires (3.4.16 cf. Catullus’ Celtiberian, 39.19). Likewise, whereas the Turdetanians adopted Roman dress, northerners remain attached to their coarse black cloaks, their men grow their hair long and the women wear hideous and excessive hair adornments (Str., 3.3.7; 3.4.17). The contrast between the reasoned, civilized southerner and the immodest, irrational northerner is clear. Food similarly acts as a cultural indicator; the southerner consumes the eminently Greco-Roman wine and olive oil, even exporting them; the northerner partakes beer and butter (3.3.7 cf. 3.4.16).⁷⁹

Gender roles are also important, with the tendency of ancient ethnography to use the social position of women as a diagnostic indicator of the respective civility or barbarity of a culture.⁸⁰ Thus, Strabo remarks that the prominent role of women in the north is not a characteristic of civilization (3.4.8) and there is an inherent negativity in his reports of native customs inverting gender roles in comparison to the Greco-Roman norm; the *couvade*, marriage and inheritance customs and the hardiness of the northern women in the fields

⁷⁸ Alonso Núñez, 1999:109-110.

⁷⁹ Blázquez Martínez, 1971a:38; Gómez Espelosín, 1999:74. Woolf (2011:32-33) highlights the use of diet as a distinguishing feature in ethnography as early as Homer, with his bread eating mortals, cannibalistic Cyclops and lotus eaters. See also Dougherty, 2001; Skinner, 2012.

⁸⁰ McCoskey, 2005:61. See also Gallego Franco, 1999.

(3.4.17-18; cf. Iust., *Epit.*, 44.3.7; Sil. Ital., *Pun.*, 3.349-353; Tac., *Germ.*, 15; 18). These implicitly mark northern society as alien and barbaric.⁸¹

The brutal behaviour of both men and women during the Cantabrian War reinforces this; witness mothers killing their own children before committing suicide, and the men, who habitually carry poison should the need for suicide arise, singing their hymn of victory even as they are crucified (Str., 3.4.17-8). The suicide of Iberian men in defeat is a recurring topos in literature concerning Spain. It is unsurprising to find it here also, notably in reports of the siege at Numantia (3.4.13).⁸² Suicide in these circumstances is deeply distasteful to Strabo, the refusal of the subjugated to accept civilization, a hall mark of their barbarity and total insensitivity to external influences.⁸³

Devotio Iberica is another recurring literary motif Strabo highlights (3.4.18; cf. Val. Max., 2.6.11; 7.8; Plut., *Sert.*, 14).⁸⁴ The importance of the leader in northern Iberia's tribal systems is emphasized again by Strabo (3.3.5) when he notes the scattering of the Celts around the Limaeas River after their leader's death.⁸⁵ The general suggestion is of the warlike nature of northerners, which to an extent appears innate even if other factors impacted upon this (see below); note Strabo's (3.4.16) anecdote concerning the Vettones, who, perplexed by Roman officers partaking of a stroll for its own sake, believed that if a man was not sitting he should be fighting! It is no coincidence that the description of the Lusitanians and the northern peoples focus on their military customs, with a notable absence of such information concerning the south.

There is an element of truth in all this. Dominguez Monedero suggests that Strabo reflects the social consequences of the Indo-European migratory period, when tribal raiding was essential in a semi-nomadic warrior society.⁸⁶ But Strabo's characterisation is inherently negative. He may appear complimentary concerning Iberian fighting ability (Str., 3.3.3; 3.3.5; 3.4.15), yet that they fight like brigands (4.4.2) is an important distinction between them and Rome's armies; brigands fight without just cause or moderation. A real army is the

⁸¹ See Gallego Franco, 1999.

⁸² See also McCoskey, 2005:61. Similar incidents of Iberian suicide are recorded during the campaigns of Hasdrubal (Plut., *De mul. vir.*, 248), Brutus (App., *Hisp.*, 73-74), Scipio Africanus and Cato (Livy, 28.22.8-11; 23.2-5; 31.17; 34.17.6).

⁸³ Van der Vliet, 1984:63.

⁸⁴ Also note Tacitus' (*Germ.*, 14) German tribesmen, devoted to their leaders to the death.

⁸⁵ Dominguez Monedero, 1984:212.

⁸⁶ Dominguez Monedero, 1984:202-3; García Quintela, 2007a:99-100; 2007b:118. See also Gómez Espelosín (2004) concerning the image of the Celts in Greco-Roman literature.

expression of an organised, civilized state with high cultural status.⁸⁷ The northerners are disorganised and ill-disciplined.⁸⁸ Their choice of brigandage over agriculture is equally damning, brigands occupying the lowest level on Strabo's hierarchy of lifestyles.⁸⁹ We can imagine then Strabo's consideration of the Cantabrians, who had maintained their brigand ways (3.3.8). Even his admiration for their valour is double edged; this is reckless and futile, inspired by their wildness and bestiality. Indeed, this flaw is shared with other barbarians, like Scythians and Celts (3.4.16-17; 3.4.17; 4.5.4).

Political organisation provides the most compelling contrast. This is important, since lifestyle affected political organisation; a balanced social and political organisation can only occur with high culture.⁹⁰ The north is a tribal society, as indicated by Strabo's (3.3.7) remarks on banquets arranged along lines of rank and age; it is also a land of villages.⁹¹ The south, meanwhile, is a rich tapestry of cities, some major, like Gades. This city and its neighbours are the definition of civility, and clearly act as the focal point for Greco-Roman culture.⁹² The Romans have furthered this by founding new colonies which continue to have the desired effect. There is a clear distinction between urbanism and village life; without the synoecism of villages into a city one does not have a civilization (3.2.15).⁹³ Language is related to this. Turdetanians had linguistic unity stretching back to Tartessos, and now all spoke Latin, symbolic of their civility and Romanisation; in contrast the other Iberians remain linguistically diverse, and thus backward (3.1.6; 3.2.1; 3.2.15).⁹⁴ Where people have taken on Roman ways their past customs prior to their 'civilizing' are useful in showing the positive effect of Roman intervention.⁹⁵

The spread of Latin and Roman clothing were seen as examples of Romanisation. But this term should always be used with caution; in reality 'Romanisation' is usually

⁸⁷ Van der Vliet, 1977:258-9; 1984:67-9. See also bibliography concerning brigandage in Chapter 1. González Rodríguez and De La Cruz (2005:153-5) notes the similar sensibilities of Polybius, who cites the tactics of the Iberian and Celtic cavalry at Cannae (Polyb., 3.115.2).

⁸⁸ Blázquez Martínez, 1971a:52.

⁸⁹ Van der Vliet, 1977:285; Montero Barrientos, 1995-6:326-8. See also Tac., *Germ.*, 14.

⁹⁰ Van der Vliet, 1977:285. Lomas (1996) highlights the similarities between Strabonic thought and that of Cicero on such matters.

⁹¹ Though Strabo contradicts himself on occasion: e.g. the 'cities' (πόλεις) of the Lusitani (Str., 3.3.5). Elsewhere Strabo (3.4.13) joins Posidonius ridiculing Polybius for claiming that Gracchus had destroyed three hundred Celtiberian cities, a level of urbanisation the poor land could not have supported.

⁹² Regarding urbanisation and Romanisation, and indeed, concerns regarding the use of the latter term, see Chapters 4 and 5.

⁹³ Alonso Núñez, 1999:113-114. On Strabo's notification of Spanish cities and their importance, see Castro Páez, 2004b.

⁹⁴ On language as an indication of civility, see Adams, 2003; Ripat, 2006:319-20.

⁹⁵ Sayas Abengochea, 1999:127.

synonymous with ‘urbanization’ (See below). Strabo describes the uptake of Roman ways in the south but gives little information regarding the continuation of Phoenician culture here, beyond remarking on their continuing presence (3.2.13). Similar neglect is shown to the Greek colonies, beyond his statements on the mixed laws of Emporion (3.4.8).⁹⁶ Greek and Punic religion are a little more prominent, unsurprising given the presence in Greek thought of the Pillars of Heracles. But it is indigenous religion that receives greater focus, though in the context of highlighting alien and unsophisticated beliefs; human sacrifices to Ares, or for the purpose of Lusitanian divination (3.3.6; 7); strange Celtiberian lunar goddesses; and the suggested Callaecian atheism (3.4.16), doubtless equally perplexing to mainstream Greco-Roman beliefs.⁹⁷

To an extent Strabo’s oppositional model reflects reality. The north and west were indeed comparatively remote, their customs less affected by outside influence. However, whilst Turdetania was urbanised and influenced by Greco-Roman culture to a greater degree, Strabo exaggerates this; alongside impressive cities many southern areas remained places of Celtic culture and hill forts.⁹⁸ Clearly an ideological bent has been inserted into Strabo’s characterisations. Particularly useful in this regard is the contemporary work of Pompeius Trogus.⁹⁹ Here we find much overlap with Strabo; the same fertility and abundant resources (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.1.5-6; Str., 3.2.6; 3.2.17; 3.3.1; 3.3.4; 3.4.9; 3.4.16); incredible wealth (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.1.5-6; 44.3.4-6; 44.3.8-9; Str., 3.2.8; 3.2.3; 3.2.9; 3.3.5); the famed swift horses (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.1.5; 44.3.1; Str., 3.3.7.; 3.4.15); and a strong focus on hydrology (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.1.7; Str., 3.2.4-5).¹⁰⁰ Especially striking is Trogus’ echoing of Strabo’s statement that Iberia’s fecundity was so great that it provided both for itself and all of Rome and Italy (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.1.4; Str., 3.2.5; 3.2.6).¹⁰¹ Meanwhile both writers’ ethnographic descriptions parallel one another. Trogus’ Iberians are hardy and frugal (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.2.1); women run domestic affairs and cultivate the land, the men concern themselves only with war and spoils (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.3.7; Str., 3.4.18; 3.4.8); Spaniards are bellicose and contemptuous of death, loving honour more than life (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.2-3; 44.2.5; Str., 3.3.5; 3.4.13; 3.4.18); as Strabo’s crucified Cantabrian sings his song of victory, Trogus’ avenging Iberian slave

⁹⁶ Dominguez Monedero, 1984:212.

⁹⁷ See Bermejo, 1994:11-5; Sayas Abengochea, 1999:202-7.

⁹⁸ Fear, 1996:32-5; 46-7. Note the Elder Pliny (*HN*, 3.1.13) refers to the Celtic peoples of Baeturia.

⁹⁹ For Trogus on Spain, see esp. Alonso Núñez, 1992b. For the date of the epitome, see Steele, 1917:24-5; Seel, 1972; Alonso Núñez, 1987a; Syme, 1988b:esp. 361-5; Yardley and Develin, 1994:10-13; Yardley, 2003:5.

¹⁰⁰ Blázquez Martínez, 2006:248.

¹⁰¹ Blázquez Martínez, 2006:248.

laughs through torture (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.2.4; Str., 3.4.18 cf. Livy, 21.2.6; Val. Max., 3.3); the Spaniards of both accounts lack unity (Iust., *Epit.*, 44.2.2; Str., 3.4.5).

Such overlap is unsurprising. Both seemingly drew on many of the same sources, such as Timaeus, Ephorus and especially Posidonius.¹⁰² The latter in particular would lie behind much of the hydrological and mineralogical information, and certainly the extensive list of Iberian produce.¹⁰³ Despite this and, as we shall see, the implicit zeal of both for the *pax Augusta*, Strabo and Trogus construct very different visions of Iberia. There is no sense within Trogus of an opposition between a rich, utopian south and a poor, sterile north, between civility and barbarity. Trogus (Iust., *Epit.*, 41.1.10) instead provides geographical and climatic uniformity; Iberia's conditions are generally excellent, with no hint that its fecundity is restricted to the south, as in Strabo. Meanwhile, Trogus' portrayal of Iberians as 'noble savages' is generally more sympathetic (he has been described as '*philobarbarian*'),¹⁰⁴ offering no great distinction between different peoples lifestyles and customs (e.g. Iust., *Epit.*, 44.2.1-6).¹⁰⁵

The ideological shift from the source material may belong to Trogus rather than Strabo, of course. Certainly Strabo's Iberia seems closer to reality, though we must account for Justin's clumsy epitomising and predilection for the fantastical. Trogus perhaps intended to produce a *Laus Hispaniae*, reacting to Virgil's *Laus Italiae*, with the consequential manipulation of his sources (cf. Virg., *Georg.*, 2.136; Polyb., 2.17.3; Livy, 5.33; Varro, *Rust.*, 1.2; Cass. Dio, 1.36-8).¹⁰⁶ Yet it seems likely that both writers have departed from their sources, inserting their own rhetoric to construct their respective views of Iberia. Thus Strabo's construction of an opposition between civility and barbarity was not an inevitable consequence of his sources. This is even more obvious if one highlights Strabo's construction of Narbonensis within book 4 as set in opposition to the rest of Gaul; an urbanised and culturally rich south with early Greco-Roman connections and an infertile, non-urbanised and isolated northern interior.¹⁰⁷ Thus, anchored in the Hellenistic scholarly

¹⁰² Castro Sánchez, 1995:28; Alonso Núñez, 1995. On the scholarly tradition concerning Spain, see Tovar, 1971; Domínguez Monedero, 1983; Cruz Andreotti, 2002; Prontera, 2006; 2007.

¹⁰³ Alonso Núñez, 1978:644; 1988b:123; 129; 1992b:94; 1999:107; Blázquez Martínez, 1991; Castro Sánchez, 1995:28. For Trogus' sources in general, see Forni and Angeli Bertinelli, 1982. Note a similar overlap between Strabo and Diodorus Siculus as a result of the mutual use of Posidonius (Diod. Sic., 5.33-38; Alonso Núñez, 1979:640; De Hoz, 2000). See also Muñoz Martín, 1976; Blázquez Martínez, 2006:243.

¹⁰⁴ Malaspina, 1976

¹⁰⁵ On the 'noble savage', see for e.g. Tac., *Ger.*, 5; 7; Woolf, 2011:29. See also Alonso Núñez, 1987a:66.

¹⁰⁶ See Goodyear, 1982; Alonso Núñez, 1988b:123.

¹⁰⁷ See Woolf, 1998:51-3.

tradition as Strabo was he has still interjected heavily with his own interpretations and rhetoric.

2.3 The structure of the civilization versus barbarism opposition

So, then, Strabo describes a north-south opposition that is not present, despite the same sources being used, in Trogus' contemporary treatment. Theoretically this is underpinned by Strabo's adherence to the Hellenistic tradition that saw a relationship between human behaviour and society in correlation with the natural environment, climate and latitude. Variations of such views can be traced as far back as the dawn of historical writing, certainly being present in Hecataeus and Herodotus. The latter's geographical conceptions, for instance, were based around concentric circles; Greece at the centre, with intervening zones of semi-barbarity till one reaches the outmost, containing the wildest peoples (e.g. Hdt., 1.142; 9.122).¹⁰⁸

These concepts of geographical determinism were especially influential in Hippocratic medical texts, such as *On airs, waters and places*; this attempted to explain the body's humoral composition in relation to climate and natural environment, corresponding to the idea that environmental bias could explain peoples' customs.¹⁰⁹ The second part of this text (12-24) compared the differences between Europe and Asia, a lost portion dealing with the Libyans and Egyptians and Scythian ethnography. Here the focus is on the different mental qualities and physiques of different peoples, invoking such things as the extent of difference between seasons, latitude, elevation and the quality of soil and water.¹¹⁰ Such beliefs continued to develop through the classical and Hellenistic age, notably within Plato and the pseudo-Aristotelian texts such as *Problems*, where the inhabitants of extreme environments were beastlike, excesses of heat or cold distorting the mind and body (Arist., *Problems* 14.1.909a; *Pol.* 1327b; *Pl.*, *Resp.*, 435c; *Ti.*, 24 c, *Leg.* 747d, *Epin.*, 987 b-e).¹¹¹ Later Megasthenes asserted superior intelligence for Indians as a consequence of pure water and clean atmosphere (*FHG* ii.402).

¹⁰⁸ Clarke, 1999a:89; García Quintela, 2007a:91.

¹⁰⁹ García Quintela, 2007a:69-70. See esp. Borca, 2003.

¹¹⁰ Woolf, 2011:44.

¹¹¹ Walbank, 2002:50. See Dihle (1962) on the development of climatic determinism in Hellenistic thought. See also Montero Barrientos, 1995-6; Clarke, 1999a; Borca, 2003; Woolf, 2011. For a notable post-Strabonic scholar utilising such theories in his work, see e.g. Tac., *Germ.*, 2.

However, Strabo's most important and immediate antecedents here are Polybius (c.200-118) and Posidonius (c.135-51). We cannot be certain, but it seems likely that Polybius commented on the Spanish climate and its effects on Iberians in his history's geographical book 34.¹¹² Following the Hippocratic texts, Polybius saw climatic factors as the cause of national differences in character and physique (e.g. the Capuans and Cynaethans, Polyb., 4.21; 7.1.1).¹¹³ However, though climate and geography were important they were not the only deciding factors in establishing character. As with Arcadians, whose practice of music counters the harsh climate, education in its various forms mitigates negative factors. Numidia was fertile, yet before Masinissa's rule the people remained nomads; agriculture transformed their country (Polyb., 36.16.7; cf. Str., 17.3.15).¹¹⁴ Meanwhile the pugnaciousness of the Cisalpine Gauls did not match their excellent land. But habitat is crucial, Gallic city dwellers naturally more inclined to civility than those who live in scattered villages (Polyb., 2.14.3; 3.34.2; 12.4.8).¹¹⁵ Perhaps influenced by Polybius, Strabo expounds similar ideas.

However, Posidonius is perhaps Strabo's greatest influence. He expounded the link between natural conditions and levels of culture; the appreciation of levels of culture alongside the opportunities provided by natural conditions; the taking into account of enduring lifestyles and customs; the different types of lifestyles, and their hierarchical nature.¹¹⁶ His approach to climatic determinism was less flexible than Polybius.¹¹⁷ Human nature, behaviour and physique were influenced by climate and geographical environment, which was the dominant determinant.¹¹⁸ Strabo's Turdetanian account is clearly dominated by Posidonian ideas concerning the relationship between the goodness of the earth and the qualities of a people.¹¹⁹ Similarly Plutarch's (*Pomp.*, 28.4) report of Pompey's treatment of the pirates is derived from Posidonius; in place of the savage habitat of the sea the pirates are resettled in cities and introduced to agriculture, taming their barbarous nature.¹²⁰

¹¹² García Moreno (2003:341-342) suggests the 34th book may have focussed particularly on Spain. On the geography of Polybius, see Walbank, 1948. On Polybius' concern for economic matters, see Davies, 2013.

¹¹³ Clarke, 2003:76; Baldry, 1965:174.

¹¹⁴ Gonzalez Rodriguez, 2003:168. Similarly, education in part softened the barbarity of Tacitus' Britons (*Agr.*, 21). See similar views in Cicero, Lomas, 1996.

¹¹⁵ Gonzalez Rodriguez, 2003:171.

¹¹⁶ Van der Vliet, 1977:150.

¹¹⁷ Posidonius even claimed that Spanish horses and crows changed colour when exported abroad, such effect did climate have on their natural constitution (Str., 3.4.15; Dihle, 1962:230).

¹¹⁸ Alonso Núñez, 1994:105; Baldry, 1965:186.

¹¹⁹ Alonso Núñez, 1979:644.

¹²⁰ Strasburger, 1965:50.

However, whilst important, for Strabo climate is but one factor in determining a people's character. He also identified other determining elements, and criticised Posidonius for not recognising them (Str., 2.3.7).¹²¹ Thollard proves influential here. He attempted to clarify Strabo's system for classifying different peoples as barbaric or civilized.¹²² His theory - the 'system of opposition' - hypothesised that for Strabo barbarity and civility were not fixed concepts, but dynamic, occupying extreme poles on an axis, between which lay a sliding scale of different levels of semi-civility and semi-barbarity. Every nation sat somewhere on the axis. Where depended on different factors (geographical conditions, economic resources, lifestyle, social life, manners and character), which left a people to a more or lesser degree barbarised or civilized.¹²³ Following this, Dueck commented that the line between barbarity and civility is similar to that of the *periploi* - taking each region Strabo works his way from the most civilized to the most barbarous, as from points along the shore into the interior.¹²⁴ Thus where the north was remote, rugged, cold and sterile, the south was accessible, lowland, temperate and fertile. The north endured warfare and banditry; the south had peace and agriculture. Village-dwelling northerners led lawless, isolated lives and spoke their own languages. Urbanised southerners had had laws and literature for six thousand years, spoke Latin and had forgotten their own language. Northerners were naturally bellicose, cruel and irrational, southerners peaceful and learned. It is through establishing such a series of oppositions that Thollard believed Strabo defined people as barbarian or not, and this, with the geographical west-east axis, structured his work.¹²⁵

Indeed, Strabo used 'barbarian' as a designator of lower cultural status rather than a judgement. He did occasionally use the term in the traditional sense; there is an element of innate wildness in the barbarian, as with northern Spaniards, but this could change.¹²⁶ Culture was the key factor, ensuring that barbarity was not fully determined, but could change according to action and reaction in the face of geographical, economic and social factors. Continuous war resulted in cruelty and wildness, a difficult landscape in a lack of communication, and hence a rougher people. Further, a people could be locked into a series

¹²¹ Montero Barriantos (1995-6:313) in particular is critical of the notion that Strabo merely follows Posidonius.

¹²² Thollard, 1987.

¹²³ Thollard, 1987:6-7.

¹²⁴ Dueck, 2000:79. See also Montero Barriantos, 1995-6.

¹²⁵ Thollard, 1987:6-12.

¹²⁶ Strabo (1.4.9) criticised Eratosthenes' advice to Alexander to divide men on moral grounds rather than between Greek and barbarian, stating that some peoples were naturally law abiding and predisposed to proper political organisation and education, whilst others were not (Thollard, 1987:27-8; 38-9). See also Almagor, 2005.

of ‘vicious circles’. Lusitanians around the Tagus had fertile land and precious metals, but their mountaineer neighbours did not, subsisting on brigandage. This in turn led the Lusitanians to neglect agriculture and to take up arms in self-defence. The end result was their semi-barbarisation (3.3.5-6; 3.3.8).¹²⁷ This was ‘infiltration’.

Countering infiltration was the ‘force of example’; a strong civilization could act to spread its ways amongst others; thus Romans had settled amongst the Turdetanians (Str., 3.2.1-3). Consequently most Turdetanians took up Roman ways, received Latin rights, and forgot their own language (3.2.15); indeed, Strabo describes them as almost Roman. Turdetanian civility in turn permeated amongst their Celtic neighbours, though these remained village-dwelling, and hence only semi-civilized. Meanwhile, the Celtiberians had abandoned savagery to don the toga (3.4.20), whilst Roman action ended the Lusitanian brigandage (3.3.3). Again, the founding of mixed colonies amongst these peoples sped up such processes. Even the Cantabrians had fallen under the civilizing influence of the legions, with some entering Roman service (3.3.8).¹²⁸ Ultimately, the two most important elements were a favourable natural environment and an innate genius. The combination of both resulted in the most civilized, i.e. Turdetanians. In turn, the lack of both resulted in the most barbaric, i.e. the Cantabrians (3.1.6; 3.2.15; 3.4.16).¹²⁹

Thollard’s hypothesis is well argued, though we should be cautious. Clarke, while recognising the importance of the system of opposition, warns against applying this as the standard measurement of barbarism throughout the entire work.¹³⁰ But the notion of a gradual gradation from the civilized centre, Rome and the Mediterranean, to the utterly barbaric north-west seems convincing.¹³¹ As Clarke states, using transitional zones rather than clear-cut boundaries, such as rivers, accommodated those in the process of civilizing under Rome’s guidance.¹³² Real evidence of the south’s changing cultural landscape is found with the Turdetanians and Turdulians, described as separate by Polybius yet united without distinction by Strabo’s era (3.1.6; 3.2.1; Polyb., 34.9.1).

¹²⁷ Thollard, 1987:12-3. See also Sherwin White, 1967:5.

¹²⁸ See also Thollard, 1987:19; 21; Montero Barrientos, 1995-6:326-8. Note Strabo’s similar statements concerning Gaul, where Massiliote Greeks had brought civilization and Rome had ended native conflict, bringing peace (Str., 4.1.2; 5; 12; Woolf, 1998:52-3; Sherwin White, 1967:12).

¹²⁹ Thollard, 1987:17; Clarke, 1999a:298.

¹³⁰ Clarke, 1999a:213.

¹³¹ Clarke, 1999a:215.

¹³² Clarke, 1999a:214-5.

Central to Strabo's conception of the barbarity or civility of the Spanish peoples for Van der Vliet are two issues: cultivation and accessibility. We have seen the focus on the fertility or sterility of regions; the quality of vegetation and the levels of cultivation are used as criteria to assess a country's value.¹³³ Whilst Turdetania produces everything, in great quantity and quality (Str., 3.1.6; 3.2.4; 3.2.6),¹³⁴ and the Levant is also productive, the north's coasts produce nothing. Cereal, grape and olive production is important, indicating a region's Hellenization/Romanisation, and consequently its level of civility and fulfilment of potential.¹³⁵ Thus, Strabo's produce lists for each country have real ideological value.

Further, observing the connection between quality of culture and quality of the land, though Strabo asserts both the fertility and high culture of Turdetania in the same sentence he does so without causation (3.2.15).¹³⁶ Only with Cordoba does Strabo establish a definite link between natural conditions and a thriving population, and here, according to Van der Vliet, it is the Roman influence that is decisive, as at Gades.¹³⁷ On the other hand, there are examples where the natural conditions have a negative impact on culture, most strikingly with mountainous landscapes (3.3.5).¹³⁸ Mountaineers are invariably warlike and prone to brigandage. But the key issue is not so much the natural rapacity of individual tribes, nor a country's ruggedness, but the potential for cultivation. The Turdetanians have favourable natural conditions yet they are truly elevated by how they take advantage of this. Thus, Van der Vliet sees agriculture, or rather the extent to which natives take advantage of the available opportunities, as one of the key definers of character.¹³⁹

That a people's geographical accessibility is crucial to Strabo's concepts, as asserted by Van der Vliet,¹⁴⁰ is uncontroversial. Strabo repeatedly states that isolation leads to loss of sociability and humanity, and an inability to communicate with others.¹⁴¹ This is explicitly asserted in the north-west (3.3.8). Likewise, Celtiberia was incapable of hosting two hundred cities in part due to its remoteness (3.4.13). Furthermore, it was the inability of the Iberians to communicate and co-operate that ultimately led to their defeat by successive invaders

¹³³ Van der Vliet, 1977:169.

¹³⁴ Van der Vliet (1977:62) detects Posidonian exaggeration here.

¹³⁵ Van der Vliet, 1977:167-170; Woolf, 1998:54-5.

¹³⁶ Van der Vliet, 1977:171-2.

¹³⁷ Van der Vliet, 1977:172.

¹³⁸ Van der Vliet, 1977:173.

¹³⁹ Van der Vliet, 1977:177-8.

¹⁴⁰ Van der Vliet, 1977:174. See also Clarke, 1999a:183.

¹⁴¹ Note Woolf (1998:63), who highlights the concept that such a lack of communication denied 'barbarians' access to client-patron relationships, and hence the patrimonial structures upon which the empire depended.

(3.1.2; 3.8; 4.5 cf. Tac., *Agr.*, 62; *Germ.*, 33). Accessibility and communication gave the opposite effect. Hence the particular focus on the hydrology of Turdetania, whether rivers, estuaries or man-made canals (e.g. Str., 3.2.4-5).¹⁴² This interest is partly motivated by the Hellenistic scientific tradition, particularly in Strabo's use of Posidonius (e.g. his discussion of the Gaditanian tides, Str., 3.5.7-9)), and the works' *periplous* structure. But the waterways are also communication conduits between Turdetania's different cities and the outside world. Similar processes are seen on the Mediterranean coast and in southern Lusitania. Greeks and Carthaginians settled along the Mediterranean shoreline in the face of disunited tribes, whose natural inclination was knavery and insincerity; yet here major cities such as New Carthage, Tarraco, Saguntum and Emporion thrived (3.4.5). The sense here again is of a civilized coastal region whose ways are spreading into the interior. Meanwhile, southern Lusitania is easily accessed via its river plains, something that presumably will lead to the softening of barbarity here (3.3.1; 3.3.4). Accessibility has implicitly aided civilization developing in these regions, a clear juxtaposition with the north. And in line with Thollard's 'force of example', civilization is spreading.¹⁴³

In Clarke's view Rome's centrality overwhelmingly dictates the structure of the work. The closer to civilization a people are, the closer to the Mediterranean and Rome, the less barbaric they become. The Celtiberians were being civilized by their proximity to Romanized areas, especially with the creation of the Roman colonies, whilst the north-west was being opened up and civilized by the legions. For Clarke this is more than a consequence of occupation, but is working on an atomic level; as in nature itself, the forces of fate and history are working with the laws of atoms in physics to draw everything inexorably to the centre of the world, to Rome, both temporally and spatially (Str., 2.3.2; 17.1.36).¹⁴⁴ We see this in the magnetic pull of the Emperor, and particularly in the dominance of Italy in swallowing up Spain's resources (3.2.5-6; 3.2.9; 3.4.9).¹⁴⁵ Rome leads Spain's entire economy in respect of every product, she is the sole channel for Iberia's economic contact with the rest of the world;¹⁴⁶ a powerful statement of Spain's dependence on the Empire and the centrality of Rome. This is related to Strabo's concepts of climatic zones, influenced by Posidonius and Polybius and originating with Hippocratic thought, with the north as

¹⁴² See Castro Páez (2004b) on the importance of rivers for Turdetanian prosperity and communication.

¹⁴³ Similarly, for Tacitus (*Agr.*, 21) the bellicosity of the Britons is caused in part by their isolation and inability to communicate.

¹⁴⁴ Clarke, 1999a:214-6. See also Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:77-81.

¹⁴⁵ Clarke, 1999a:282. There are clear parallels with Strabo's fellow stoic Trogus here, as above.

¹⁴⁶ Dominguez Monedero, 1984:208.

inevitably cold and less conducive to habitation, the centre as temperate and fertile (2.5.33).¹⁴⁷ This is all very Stoic, indeed Posidonion, concentric circles emanating out from the capital, the centre of the world (17.3.24).¹⁴⁸ The centre will always be superior to the periphery,¹⁴⁹ both the land and the people.

It is clear that the key civilizing force in Iberia is Rome, as it is that one's status as a barbarian is not absolute, even if an element of innate wildness to a people's character can exist. For Romans, and apparently Strabo, 'barbarian' denoted an inferior condition, not an inferior nature. Under favourable circumstances a barbarian was capable of assimilation into the Greco-Roman world.¹⁵⁰ Viewing the barbarian condition in this way rationalised imperial expansion,¹⁵¹ and therein lays the centrality of Augustus and his actions in Spain for Strabo's depiction of the peninsula.

2.4 The power of Rome, the *pax Augusta* and the *oikoumene*

Strabo was adamant that his *Geography* had a practical application (e.g. 1.1.16; 1.1.19). This has led some to identify a utilitarian aspect to the work, its potential usefulness for military and commercial navigation providing a kind of field manual intended to influence policy makers and aid governors, in addition to appealing to the elite in general (e.g. Strabo comments on the use of geography for hunting, 1.1.17).¹⁵² However, Clarke, correctly in my view, questioned such a utilitarian interpretation; she recounts that Syme had found Strabo's strategic detail wanting, whilst the inclusion of ethnographic and geographical descriptions alongside military and strategic information in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* confounds assumptions about what would interest Roman commanders and officials.¹⁵³ Rather, the intent was to show the world how it was now, to educate the ruling Roman elite on the subjects they now ruled.¹⁵⁴ This necessitated a general picture rather than a governor's field

¹⁴⁷ Clarke, 1999a:295; Dueck, 2000:50.

¹⁴⁸ Clarke, 1999a:168-9. Note of course that this also echoes Herodotus (see above).

¹⁴⁹ Clarke, 1999a:217. See also Dueck, 2000:44.

¹⁵⁰ Sherwin White, 1967:5; 12; 33; Montero Barrientos, 1995-6:314; Saavedra, 1999:60.

¹⁵¹ McCoskey, 2005:61.

¹⁵² Van der Vliet, 1977:104-5; 108-9; Dueck, 2000:48;162;171. The latter emphasises that Strabo was influenced by both Polybius and Stoicism in attesting a practical use for geography. On military geography in Spain, see Cadiou, 2006. See also Sherk, 1974; Syme, 1988a.

¹⁵³ Clarke, 1999a:202-3.

¹⁵⁴ Clarke, 1999a:203-4. Montero Barrientos (1995-6:317-8) also rejects the usefulness of the work for commerce.

manual. So then, we have a selected, learned Roman readership. Yet Strabo would also aspire to serve a wider Hellenic audience, to demonstrate the new *oikoumene* that Rome had created, finally rendering obsolete the distinction between Greek and barbarian.¹⁵⁵

Indeed, Roman power fundamentally permeates the entire *Geography*, not least its third book. The centrality of Rome, coupled with the universalism of Augustan rule, dominates; it could be argued that the entire *raison d'être* of the *Geography* was the rise of Rome. Perhaps a Roman citizen,¹⁵⁶ Strabo's pro-Roman convictions are unsurprising given his immersion in the Greco-Roman elite of Augustan Rome and his association with many of its leading figures. Indeed, Strabo had already produced a universal history from 146 to Actium, Alonso Núñez contending that such an ending, coinciding with the last Hellenistic monarch, was intended indirectly to glorify Augustus.¹⁵⁷

It may be unfair to label the *Geography* as Stoicism in 'the service of the Roman Empire', as Alonso Núñez does,¹⁵⁸ given Strabo's contradictory views of Roman power in Asia Minor (e.g. Str., 12.3.39).¹⁵⁹ Certainly Strabo's Stoicism meshed well with the union of the world under a single peace-bringing Empire.¹⁶⁰ Yet in many ways Strabo's ecumenicalism follows firmly in a tradition reaching back almost to the beginnings of prose writing.¹⁶¹ Both Hecataeus and Herodotus presented visions of an integrated Mediterranean, from the centre to the periphery.¹⁶² One should not term Herodotus' history as universal, but his primary focus, the Persian wars, with its clash of civilizations and the importance of fate, would inevitably produce a work with universal tendencies.¹⁶³ And the recent Hellenistic tradition was formulated in response to Roman expansion. Polybius had written a universal history to explain Rome's rise to dominance, a development still in motion when he died.¹⁶⁴ It would be imprudent to describe Polybius as a Stoic when the influence of his sojourn in Rome seems more prominent than an inclination towards Stoicism.¹⁶⁵ However, there are

¹⁵⁵ Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:27. Similarly Montero Barrientos (1995-6:323-4), who sees both a general audience but also an intent to educate Roman governors.

¹⁵⁶ Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:25.

¹⁵⁷ Alonso Núñez, 1999:104-5.

¹⁵⁸ Alonso Núñez, 1999:104. Similarly Engels, 1999:371. Further, Clavel Lévêque (1974:75-93), Van der Vliet (1984:30; 63), García Blanco (1991:47-8) and Woolf (1998:50) on the notion the work justifies the subjugation of the barbarians.

¹⁵⁹ Lasserre, 1982:892; Montero Barrientos, 1995-6:328-9.

¹⁶⁰ Dueck, 2000:64.

¹⁶¹ Prontera, 1999; Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:24; Engels, 2009:158-9. See also Momigliano, 1974.

¹⁶² Cruz Andreotti, 1995:49.

¹⁶³ Clarke, 1999a:126; 1999b; Alonso Núñez, 1988a; 2003:150. See also Prontera, 1999.

¹⁶⁴ Polyb., 1.4; 2.37.4; 3.3.9; Dueck, 2000:48. See also Momigliano, 1973.

¹⁶⁵ Strasburger, 1965:45.

similarities between this and his ideas about universal history, his awareness of the interlacing of world events and its growing unity under Roman domination. So Iberia is introduced by Polybius initially as a stage for the contest between Rome and Carthage, before later transitioning into an object of conquest itself (e.g. Polyb., 35.2.1-3.6).¹⁶⁶ Posidonius also stressed the unity of mankind, something being achieved in his own lifetime under Rome. Imperial power sat at the centre of his historical narrative; as in the animal world, the strong ruled the weak - there would be no questioning of Rome's right to rule here.¹⁶⁷ As with his predecessors, Strabo must deal with the geo-political realities of his age. The ideals he encountered at Rome may have proven inspirational, but if Strabo was to explain the world around him a Romano-centric focus was essential and unavoidable.¹⁶⁸

As it was Turdetania was a familiar, albeit highly idealized, area for Greco-Roman writers; legends of gods, heroes and monsters, and tales of impossible fecundity and longevity abounded (e.g. Hom., *Il.*, 14.200-204; *Od.*, 4.205; Hes., *Theog.*, 287-294).¹⁶⁹ Vague western connections in time gave way to more direct allusions between Iberia and myth during the sixth-fifth centuries, and though strange phenomena remained, evidence of real and growing connections between Spain and the Greek world during the age of colonisation are discerned.¹⁷⁰ Polybius proved to be a watershed, offering the first account founded on autopsy.¹⁷¹ His work was continued by Artemidorus (c. mid-late second century BC), where we find the first appearance of 'Hispania', and Posidonius, both of whom visited Iberia.¹⁷² The Augustan poets show that old tales still held currency, at least in poetry, under the Principate. Yet Strabo definitively removes the veil of mystery, rationalising legend and

¹⁶⁶ Alonso Núñez, 1985:262. See also Clarke, 2003; Torregaray Pagola, 2003; Erskine, 2005; Crawley Quinn, 2013.

¹⁶⁷ Gabba, 1974:638; 640; Momigliano, 1973; 1990:36. See also Desideri, 1972. For the concept of the unity of mankind, see Baldry, 1965.

¹⁶⁸ See Thollard, 1987:40-1.

¹⁶⁹ For the west in ancient myth, see García Iglesias, 1979; Bendala Galán, 1979; Jourdain Annequin, 1989; Plácido Suarez, 1989; Cruz Andreotti, 1995; Plácido Suárez, 1995-6; Gómez Espelosín, 1999; 2005; Moret, 2006; Malkin, 1998; Giovannelli Jouanna, 2004; Prontera, 2004; Ramos Jurado, 2004, with bibliography.

¹⁷⁰ For e.g. Stesichorus, see *PMGF* pl54 (= 7 *SLG*) = Str., 3.2.11; Page, 1973; Lloyd-Jones, 1980. For Pindar, *Nem.* 3.19-25; 4.69-72; *Isthm.* 4.11-13; Str., 3. 5. 5; 6. For Herodotus, 1.163 ; 1.165.2 ; 2. 33.3 ; 4.8.1-2 ; 4.49.3 ; 4.152.1-4 ; 4.192.3; 7.165-166; Alonso Núñez, 1987b; Gómez Espelosín, 1993.

¹⁷¹ Polybius as the first Greek writer to treat Spain from autopsy (Polyb., 3.59.3-8; cf. 3.4.13-5.1; Cic., *Fam.* 5.12.2). See Vallejo, 1954; Walbank, 1979:633-7; 2002:31-52=1948:155-82; Alonso Núñez, 1985; Clarke, 2003:71-4; Santos Yanguas and Torregaray Pagola, 2003 (various papers); Marcotte, 2006; Cruz Andreotti, 2006.

¹⁷² Gangutía Elícegui, 2006:249; 252, describing Art., *Fr.* 21. Further on Artemidorus, see Str., 3.1.4-5; 3.2.11; 3.4.3; 3.4.6; 3.4.17; 3.5.5; 3.5.7 cf. Pliny, *HN*, 2.242.6; Agathemerus, 5.20; Pédech, 1976; Alonso Núñez, 1980:259; Gangutía Elícegui, 2006; Kramer, 2006:98, with references. On Posidonius and Iberia, see Str., 2.3.4; 2.5.14; 3.1.5; 3.2.5; 3.2.9; 3.5.9; 13.1.67; 17.3.4; Laffranque, 1957:17-25; Mueller, 1972:310-47; Pédech, 1976:141-9; Alonso Núñez, 1979; 1994; Edelstein and Kidd, 1989; Kidd, 1998; 1999.

extraordinary natural phenomenon, from accounting for the size of fish (Str., 3.2.7), to astronomical explanations for the tides (3.5.8) and the dismissal of the notion of the sun's plunge into the Ocean (3.1.5).¹⁷³ Though shades of fable remain - heroic voyages, the utopian climate, massive wealth - Turdetania is now the fully integrated Roman *Baetica*.¹⁷⁴ The north had always been far less known; Eratosthenes (c. 285-194) apparently knew little of the west (Str., 3.2.11);¹⁷⁵ Polybius refused to comment on peoples beyond Celtiberia, judging them to have achieved nothing (Polyb., 3.37.9. cf. Tacitus, *Germ.*, 43);¹⁷⁶ Artemidorus never covered these regions, and Posidonius's *On the Ocean* was not a geographical chart as such.¹⁷⁷ What little was known of the north was a consequence of Roman victories. Book 3 then, in many ways, is a direct consequence of Rome's expansion, either from the consolidation and integration of the once mythical south, or recent conquest in the mysterious north.

It is unsurprising then that, to a degree, it should reflect this origin. Indeed Strabo justified his work because in his own time Roman conquests had led to huge expansions of geographical knowledge (Str., 1.2.1; 2.5.12; 3.4.19; cf. Polyb., 3.5.9). Such knowledge was loaded with symbolism for this very reason; knowledge comes from conquest, therefore the presentation of that knowledge is symbolic of the conquest, is even a glorification of the conquest (cf. Tac., *Agr.*, 33; *Germ.*, 1).¹⁷⁸ Further, as Thollard stated, whatever Strabo's intention, surely seeking to explain the causes of Rome's rise will ultimately lead to the justification of its superiority?¹⁷⁹

Even if Strabo is at the mercy of his sources, it is only of those he has chosen to use. His depiction of Iberia, particularly Turdetania, is frequently from a long date range, drawn from Polybius, Posidonius, or even earlier authors, interspersed with more recent facts from Roman sources, both written and oral.¹⁸⁰ Strabo is acting subjectively, utilising particular

¹⁷³ Gómez Espelosín, 1999:62-6; 77.

¹⁷⁴ Gómez Espelosín, 1999:65-6.

¹⁷⁵ See Alonso Núñez, 1989-1990.

¹⁷⁶ Note that García Moreno (2005:353; 355) proposes Polybius as Strabo's source on the mountaineers of the north-west (Str., 3.3.4-5; 3.3.6-7). This seems flawed given the limited Roman advances here during Polybius' lifetime compared with the obvious advances contemporary to Strabo.

¹⁷⁷ Cruz Andreotti, 2007b:63-4.

¹⁷⁸ See esp. Nicolet (1988:73-4).

¹⁷⁹ Thollard, 1987:42-3.

¹⁸⁰ His latest date for Spanish events reported in the third book is around AD 18, with Tiberius setting the three legions over the north-west (Str., 3.3.8; Domínguez Monedero, 1984:202; Alonso Núñez, 1999:106-7). On Strabo's Roman sources, see Aly, 1957:109-14; Blázquez Martínez, 1971a:12-3; Lasserre, 1982:880-1; Dueck, 2000:128-9; 182; Horst Roseman, 2005:34; Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:39. On the importance of the oral tradition for Strabo, see Str., 1.3.2; Alonso Núñez, 1992b:92; 1999:102-3; Blázquez Martínez, 2006:238.

sources to construct his preferred image of Iberia and discarding those which do not support this. For instance, in the latter half of the fourth century the merchant Pytheas passed through the Pillars and sailed to north-west Europe. The account of his incredible journey was used by both Eratosthenes and Timaeus.¹⁸¹ Yet Strabo, following Polybius, dismissed him as a charlatan, scornful of the Massilian's claims to have found societies flourishing as far north as Thule, something Strabo's climatic theories refused to countenance (e.g. Str., 2.1.40-1; 3.2.11; 3.4.4; 3.5.5).¹⁸² Indeed, one need only view the aforementioned Trogus, a contemporary writer using the same sources and highlighting the same information yet deriving contrasting concepts, to see the heavy presence of Strabo's own ideas within book three. Even Posidonius was revised, with Trotta hypothesising that Strabo abandoned the philosopher at key points to interject with ideological content designed to reaffirm the positive effects of Empire.¹⁸³

Strabo is steeped in the ideals of the Principate. Throughout the *Geography* the overwhelming vision is the progress, peace and prosperity that Rome and Augustus have brought.¹⁸⁴ As Lasserre remarks, even if Strabo writes under the influence of pro-Augustan sources he still endorses their views and without disclaiming responsibility by naming them.¹⁸⁵ When Alonso Núñez describes the *Geography* as a geo-political text 'in its fullest sense,' therefore, he is entirely correct.¹⁸⁶ Strabo wrote when Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean was all but complete, and his was a universalistic geography, encompassing the entire *oikoumene*.¹⁸⁷ Consequently we may draw comparisons with the aforementioned poets and Livy, and especially the *RG*, with the same focus on the exotic periphery. Noticeably Strabo (3.5.3-10) treats Gades particularly extensively. Indeed, Engels and Dueck suggest Strabo may have drawn inspiration from the *RG* directly, having lauded the

¹⁸¹ For an accessible treatment of Pytheas' journey, see Roller, 2006. See also Cunliffe, 2002; Georgelin and Arzano, 1997; Hawkes, 1977.

¹⁸² Clarke, 1999a:295; 2.5.33. Horst Roseman, 2005:34-5; Dominguez Monedero, 1984:213; Clarke, 1999a:143; Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:34; 37. On Polybius' disdain for the evidence of the merchant class, see for e.g., Str., 2.4.2; 4.2.1; Polyb., 34.5.7; 34.10.6-7; Pédech, 1956; Gabba, 1974:625-6; Walbank, 2002:35=1948:160.

¹⁸³ Trotta, 1999:92, 95.

¹⁸⁴ Note Castro Páez, 2004b:173-4.

¹⁸⁵ Lasserre, 1982:880-1; 888. Here Lasserre proposes Strabo's use of Nicolaus of Damascus or perhaps a panegyrist of Tiberius, the latter supposed by Gómez Espelosín (2007a:39). García Quintela disagrees strongly with the notion that Strabo used such a source at all, seeing the opinions and ideological slant as all of Strabo's making (2007a:79).

¹⁸⁶ Alonso Núñez, 1999:117.

¹⁸⁷ Dueck, 2000:48. See Castro Páez (2004b:181) concerning the importance of the Sacred Promontory as the *Semeion* (Str., 3.1.4).

Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome (Str., 5.3.8) and being present in Asia Minor.¹⁸⁸ There is certainly a convergence of themes and slogans between the two texts, particularly concerning Iberia; in addition to the depiction of Gades on the western edge of the *oikoumene*, there is also the emphasis on expansion and pacification in the north-west (RG, 26.2; Str., 3.3.8), Augustus' foundation of colonies (RG, 28.1; Str., 3.2.15) and his provincial reorganization (RG, 12.2; Str., 3.4.20).¹⁸⁹

Many also compare the *Geography* with the Map/commentaries of Agrippa, Engels remarking that though drawn from different traditions both propagate an image of the Augustan Empire as '*imperium sine fine*'.¹⁹⁰ Strabo's *oikoumene* is practically confined within the framework of the Empire, a human community united, interacting with its natural environments.¹⁹¹ It is this ecumenical Empire that gave rise to Strabo's historical and geographic conceptions, his writings coinciding with unification under Augustus.¹⁹²

In book three Rome's position as the dominant agent is ever present, and always positive. For instance, the people of the Gymensian islands, overrun with pests, appealed to Rome. Her intervention restored the islands to fertility (Str., 3.2.6; 3.5.2). The most frequent references, however, relate to the conquest and the administrative organisation that followed. Rome's Spanish wars contrasted starkly with the warfare practised by the Iberians, who were naturally bellicose and engaged in banditry as a lifestyle. Roman warfare, meanwhile, is associated with pacification, war waged with the higher purpose of ending conflict and breaking the vicious cycles that lead to barbarism (e.g. 3.3.5).¹⁹³ Rome's campaigns are thus police actions, bringing peace and order in place of violence and chaos, and allowing Iberians to reach their economic and moral potential.¹⁹⁴ The barbarity and the innate violence of Iberian societies in turn justify Roman aggression.¹⁹⁵ This perhaps echoes Posidonius, who seemingly considered the barbarians as damaging their own economic prospects with constant warmongering, brigandage and piracy, with Rome the bringer of civilization, order

¹⁸⁸ Engels, 1999:353; Dueck, 2000:95.

¹⁸⁹ Engels, 1999:353-8. See Montero Barrientos (1995-6:319-20) concerning Augustan themes shared with the RG. See also Cooley, 2009:103-4; 220-222; 239.

¹⁹⁰ Engels, 1999:376-7; Alonso Núñez, 1999:117; Clarke, 1999a:312; Dueck, 2000:95. Indeed, the latter suggests Agrippa as a source for Strabo (*Ibid.*, 128-9). See also Tierney, 1965; Moynihan, 1985.

¹⁹¹ Van der Vliet, 1977:121.

¹⁹² Van der Vliet, 1977:122.

¹⁹³ Thollard, 1987:44. See also Engels (1999:358), who states that Strabo places great emphasis on peace through war. See also Lasserre, 1982:881; Montero Barrientos, 1995-6:326-8.

¹⁹⁴ Sayas Abengochea, 1999:153; García Quintela, 2007a:97. See also Woolf, 1998:53-5.

¹⁹⁵ Plácido Suárez, 1987:253; Montero Barrientos, 1995-6:326-8.

and peace (e.g. Str., 3.2.5; 3.3.5; 3.4.1; 3.4.13 ; 14.3.3; 14.5.1).¹⁹⁶ The northern campaigns also project the all-embracing control over Iberia that Rome enjoys, even in marginal areas. The south is civilized and consequentially enjoys polite forms of interaction with the rest of the *oikoumene*. But Rome is capable of interaction with the north also, albeit a more direct form of intervention. This is literally changing the ethnic makeup of areas in the case of the forced Lusitanian migration between the Tagus and Anus (3.1.6).¹⁹⁷

There is an inherent justification here incredibly reminiscent of the ideology of the *pax Augusta*. Augustus is central.¹⁹⁸ Strabo's overview of the historical rise of Rome to his present ends in eulogy to Augustus and Tiberius; the Romans turned their leadership of the world over to one man, with peace and plenty the result (6.4.1-2). Gómez-Espelosin sees Strabo as a sincere believer in Augustus, the distinction in his writings now between the civilized living under Rome and the marginalised barbarians on the outside.¹⁹⁹ In Spain in particular it was Augustus who finally brought the north-west into the Empire, opening up the area's tribes to civilization, work continued under Tiberius (3.3.8; 3.4.5). Indeed, as above, Augustan rhetoric seems to seep into Strabo's allusions to the Cantabrian War. It was claimed that the tribes had been raiding Rome's allies (Oros., 6.21.3; Florus, 2.33.47). Now Strabo explicitly described their transformation following Augustus' imposition of order. His direct involvement ended inter-tribal strife and brought the tribes into the Roman armies (Str., 3.3.8). Meanwhile, Augustus' role as an administrator is stressed; the garrison he set over the north-west was retained by Tiberius (3.3.8; 3.4.20); he founded cities amongst previously non-urbanised peoples, bulwarks of civilization (3.2.15); and he divided Spain's component provinces (3.4.20). Indeed, Turdetania's senatorial status was testament to its peace and civility, things guaranteed by the universal rule of Augustus.²⁰⁰

Augustan Rome's rule in Iberia is taken for granted as providential, the result of the innate genius of the Roman people (3.4.5).²⁰¹ This is similar to Polybian conceptions that saw the imperialistic determination of Rome allied with the hidden workings of *Tyche* that

¹⁹⁶ See Strasburger, 1965:46, who in turn cites Capelle, 1932:103. See also Montero Barrientos (1995-6:329-30) stressing the strong pro-Roman convictions of figures such as Posidonius and Theophanes of Mytilene.

¹⁹⁷ Plácido Suárez, 1987:253.

¹⁹⁸ See Lasserre, 1982:887, stating that Strabo reduces the Empire to the relationship between the Emperor and the recently conquered provinces. See also Engels (1999), to be read alongside the cautionary reviews of Clarke (2001) and Van der Vliet (2003a).

¹⁹⁹ Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:28.

²⁰⁰ Alonso Núñez, 1999:117; Engels, 1999:340.

²⁰¹ Thollard, 1987:44-5.

fated her dominance.²⁰² And beyond such echoes of the Hellenistic tradition, Strabo's embrace of Augustan rhetoric is deeply reminiscent of his contemporary Trogus. Trogus' history ends of course with the assertion that only Augustan intervention finally subdued Spain, an act that completed Rome's conquest of the world (*Iust., Epit.*, 44.5.8).²⁰³ We also find the theme of Augustus as the civilizer of Iberia, bringing law and provincial administration; the *pax Augusta*.²⁰⁴ This is strikingly similar to Strabo, both writers echoing the *RG* (*Str.*, 3.3.8; *RG*, 29; cf. *Livy*, 28.12.12). It is apparent then that Strabo's depiction of Iberia, like Trogus', was influenced by the official rhetoric of the Augustan regime.

However, Strabo sees the excellent rule that Augustus has brought to Iberia as but the final stage of a long process. Geography and history are not separate concepts within his work, but overlapping disciplines, a geography of historical space.²⁰⁵ Though reports of historical information are not given chronologically the work is certainly diachronic in tone.²⁰⁶ In this way Strabo's account of the progress of Iberia from antiquity to the present is entrenched in his ecumenical vision. The civilized Turdetania converges with both the geographical and historical space of ancient Tartessus - a mythic 'golden age' of incredible wealth and legendary kings, with laws and literacy stretching back six thousand years (*Str.*, 3.1.6; 3.2.11-12; 3.2.14).²⁰⁷ Additionally, we find Heracles and the cattle of Geryon, the wanderings of Trojan War heroes (e.g. 3.2.13; 3.4.3; 3.5.4), the arrival of Greek colonists and the Phoenician conquest of the south (3.2.4; 3.2.13; 3.4.5).

If Strabo was to provide a fulsome account of Iberia he needed to engage with its myth-history. Meanwhile, as a Stoic Strabo hoped to rehabilitate Homer as a genuine source of information, in opposition to the Alexandrian school scholars like Eratosthenes who had challenged the use of the poet in this way (*Str.*, 1.1.10; 1.2.3; 1.2.15; 1.2.17; 3.4.4).²⁰⁸

²⁰² On Tyche, see Gabba, 1974:625-6; Brouwer, 2011 with references. The point is well illustrated by Polybius' assessment of Zama, portrayed as a contest to decide who would rule the world (*Polyb.*, 15.9.2; 5.33.4; 8.1.3). On Polybius' justification of Roman rule, Gabba, 1974:625-6; Momigliano, 1990:28. For the importance of individuals in Polybius' conception of the Roman conquest, see Torregaray Pagola, 2003:252-3.

²⁰³ We are also reminded of the shield of Aeneas, where the triple triumph of Augustus is seen as the culmination of Roman history (*Virg., Aen.*, 8.678).

²⁰⁴ Augustus here perhaps the successor of the Greeks, who civilised Trogus' own homeland, *Iust., Epit.*, 43.4.1. See Urban, 1982a:1438.

²⁰⁵ See Clarke, 1999a:esp. 280-2. Note that Polybius (12.25) stressed the importance of geography for history; the study of physical landscape is part of the tripartite structure of political history. See also Counillon, 2007.

²⁰⁶ Ciprés, 1999:128.

²⁰⁷ García Fernández, 2004:88-9. For the development of Greco-Roman thought concerning Tartessus and Turdetania in general, and the development of identity in southern Spain, see the excellent summaries of García Fernández (2004; 2007).

²⁰⁸ Prontera, 1999:23; Walbank, 2002:43; Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:17; Kim, 2007:esp. 374-81; Roller, 2010:21.

Indeed, the earliest concepts surrounding Iberia had concerned Heracles rather than Homer. The dawning of the Hellenistic age witnessed a great expansion in geographical knowledge, a powerful stimulus to geographical and ethnographical studies.²⁰⁹ Alongside this the rise of the *Diadochi* added an impetus to historiography, with new regimes keen to stress continuity with the dynasties of the past in order to legitimise their rule in the present.²¹⁰ Meanwhile, the city-states strove to reinvigorate the heroic traditions of their historical foundations and freedoms, a contrast to their contemporary lack of independence and a mark of differentiation in the ethnically heterogeneous states that had submerged them.²¹¹ Rome's rise brought further politicisation of Homer, with cities acquiring new zeal to stress their Trojan connections.²¹² Such factors, along with Homer's rejection by the Alexandrian scientific school, caused a reaction amongst more orthodox elements, particularly among Stoics, for whom poetry was a form of philosophy (Str., 1.1.10). Strabo joined luminaries such as Polybius, Asclepiades (first century BC), Artemidorus and Posidonius in stressing the value of Homer's work,²¹³ albeit in a rationalised form, a valued framework for the understanding of the geographical and historical space in Iberia (e.g. 1.2.3; 1.1.10; 1.1.4-5; 1.2.27; 3.2.12; 3.2.13; 3.5.5).²¹⁴ Thus the poet's work was imbued with a core truth, Homer being inspired by genuine descriptions of places like Tartessus to place the Elysian Fields and the Isles of the Blessed beyond the Pillars.

Consequently Strabo's description is littered with traces of the Homeric heroes (e.g. 3.4.3),²¹⁵ rationalized and used as real evidence in a historical context of events in what is now a well surveyed, integral part of the *oikoumene*. The Iberian expeditions of Heracles and the voyages of the Greek heroes are now piratical or military expeditions (e.g. 1.3.2; 3.2.13;

²⁰⁹ See Yarrow (2006:124-5), highlighting the tendency in Hellenistic culture to interlink relationships between near and distant peoples through mutual narratives of myth. See also Bickerman, 1952.

²¹⁰ Gabba (1974:628) notes the examples of Manetho and Berossus.

²¹¹ Gabba, 1974:629.

²¹² Gabba, 1974:632. See for e.g., Agathocles of Cyzicus. Concerning Troy and Rome, see Erskine, 2001.

²¹³ Strabo on Homer, for example Str., 1.1.1; 1.1.7; 1.1.10; Kahles, 1976; Biraschi, 2005:75. See esp. Kim, 2007. See also Gómez Espelosín, 2007a:17; Prontera, 1999:23; Woolf, 2011:26-7. Polybius on Homer, see Polyb., 34.2-4; 11.12-20. Walbank, 2002:42; Kim, 2007:esp. 368-74; 381-4. See also Pédech (1956), who outlines the defence of Homer in his attempt to reconstruct book 34. Nevertheless, Polybius scorned the use of other poets as sources (Polyb., 4.40.2; Clarke, 1999a:95). Strabo is also explicit in his reference to Asclepiades as the source for the presence of Laconians and of Odysseus in Iberia (Str., 3.4.3). Asclepiades may also be the source for the comparison of native sacrificial and marital customs with those of the Greeks (Str., 3.3.7). See Alonso Núñez, 1978:182; Polito, 1999; García Fernández, 2004:91. Woolf (2011:25-8) highlights the role the natives themselves may have had in forging such connections, to place themselves within the wider Mediterranean world, confirming the authority of Homer in the eyes of scholars like Polybius and Posidonius. Note Wardman, 1960.

²¹⁴ Prontera, 1999:19; Kim, 2007.

²¹⁵ Biraschi, 2005:75.

3.4.5;3.5.5).²¹⁶ As Biraschi comments, Strabo does not differentiate between what is Homeric and what is part of the localisation of Homeric sites; it is the current traditions connected with these places that in his view confirms the veracity of the heroes' travels (e.g. Str., 1.2.14; 1.2.18).²¹⁷

Furthermore, the use of such material serves an ideological purpose not too dissimilar from their origins, the integration process during the Greek colonisation period. It places the Roman conquest in its providential context; successive colonisers give way to one another, serving as precedents of external civilizing agents, until we reach the ultimate conclusion that is the provincialisation and Romanisation of Iberia, and thus the peninsula's definitive inclusion in the Augustan *oikoumene* (3.2.12-14; 3.4.5).²¹⁸ Golden Tartessus (3.1.6; 3.2.11-12; 3.2.14),²¹⁹ the historicized travels of Heracles and Homeric heroes (e.g. 3.2.13; 3.4.3; 3.5.4), and the later arrivals of Greek and Phoenician colonists (3.2.4; 3.2.13; 3.4.5), all link in with contemporary Turdetania/Baetica. They provide a precedent of both native civilisation and external civilising agents on which Roman Baetica is built; Rome, with the associated benefits of her rule, is the apex of a pyramid, her rule in Iberia built on the foundations of preceding civilisations.²²⁰ Thus the ancient prosperity of Tartessus sets a precedent for that of Turdetania, a prosperity revitalized and guaranteed by Augustus. Trogus employs a similar use of myth, though its prevalence may be exaggerated by Iustin.²²¹ Here too there is the striking interaction between geography and history, the association of a particular space with distant events to identify a country with particular mythic heroes. Yet such heroes are thoroughly rationalised (e.g. Iust., *Epit.*, 44.4.16), a tool to be used, as in Strabo, to integrate Iberian history into that of the Greco-Roman world and to provide a precedent for native civilisation whose ultimate conclusion shall be Roman Hispania.²²² Strabo then is again both in step with the Hellenistic tradition and the spirit of his Principate contemporaries. But as we have seen, the account of Strabo is essentially built around a geographical opposition, something Trogus decisively lacks. The rationalising of myth, the

²¹⁶ Prontera, 1999:25.

²¹⁷ Biraschi, 2005:77. See also Kim, 2007.

²¹⁸ A similar process occurs in Diodorus Siculus and Dionysus of Halicarnassus (Cruz Andreotti, 1995:63-49; Prontera, 1999:19-20; 25).

²¹⁹ García Fernandez, 2004:88-9. For the development of Greco-Roman thought concerning Tartessus and Turdetania, and the development of identity in southern Spain, see the excellent summaries of García Fernandez (2004 and 2007).

²²⁰ Cruz Andreotti, 1994:71-2. See Woolf, 2011:27.

²²¹ Similar instances of myth-history occur elsewhere Trogus' work, as with the founder of Armenia, the Argonaut Aretnus (Iust., *Epit.*, 42.2.6-3.9). See Clarke, 1999a:96-7; 319-20.

²²² Clarke, 1999a:96-7.

treatment of the Tartessus-Turdetania-Baetica progression is essential in serving this opposition between the golden south and the barbaric north, between civilisation and barbarity.

The decisiveness of Roman intervention can be seen with Corduba; with its excellent location and extensive territory, its first inhabitants were Roman colonists with selected natives, becoming the south's foremost city (Str., 3.2.1).²²³ Turdetania itself will take its place as the area of Hispania 'best assembled in the body politic of the Roman Empire.'²²⁴ In doing so it represents the triumph of civilization over barbarism,²²⁵ a barbarism that is still being overcome in the north. Gades in particular is illuminating in this regard. Cruz Andreotti highlights Strabo's use of the city to exemplify the benefits Rome will bring to the entire peninsula. Lauded for the excellence of its pastures, richness of its milk, the vitality and intrepidity of its trade and merchants and the growth of its Equestrian class, Strabo explicitly states that Gades' fame is in part due to its alliance with Rome, as he does for Corduba, the city seen as prosperous as a result (3.5.3-4). One may also say the same of Strabo's (3.5.3) highlighting of the Younger Balbus; no other individual from the Iberian provinces is emphasized in this way. He epitomises the positive relationship between Rome and these provinces.²²⁶ Indeed, his description of the new city constructed by Balbus embodies the continuing development of Gades under Rome. Much of the information Strabo uses here is contemporary, in contrast to many of his sources for the rest of Iberia, and they frame the description in the context of an Augustan prosperity that complements Gades' existing natural advantages.²²⁷ But the city also plays a central role as a place touched by Phoenician, Greek and Punic dominion, stretching back to the heroic age, before becoming a model of progress within the contemporary Empire - a past and present intrinsically connected.²²⁸

On the other hand, the north's historical narrative is a consequence of conquest; indeed, the north *had no history* before the conquest. Far from the colonial space of the south,²²⁹ every historical notice given is in the context of Roman expansion or action; Viriathus, Sertorius, the siege of Numantia, the Callaecian campaign of Brutus, Caesar,

²²³ Gómez Espelosín, 1999:73.

²²⁴ Cruz Andreotti, 1994:79-80; Alonso Núñez, 1999:117; García Fernández, 2004:88-9.

²²⁵ García Fernández, 2004:89.

²²⁶ Cruz Andreotti, 1994:71; 86; 1995. On the Balbi, see Chapter 6.

²²⁷ Trotta, 1999:93-4.

²²⁸ Cruz Andreotti, 1994:77.

²²⁹ Cruz Andreotti, 2007b:64.

Pompey and his sons or the wars of Strabo's own day against the fierce Cantabrians. Indeed, Cruz-Andreotti suggests that the entire structure of the description of the north may be based upon the three stages of Roman conquest - Lusitania/Callaecia, the northern Meseta and finally the north-west.²³⁰ Regardless, whilst constructing the history of the northern tribes, he is removing the aura that had existed around them, giving their names, their lands, and integrating them into the *oikoumene* of the Empire. Ultimately, whether for the north or the south, both the spatial and temporal aspects of the third book point to the Augustan present.²³¹

Thus we see both continuity and evolution in the literary depictions of Spain in this period, and a definite impact of Augustan policy on such treatments. We shall now discuss whether similar processes can be detected in visual representations of the Peninsula and its peoples.

²³⁰ Cruz Andreotti, 2007b:65.

²³¹ Gómez Espelosín, 1999:76; Clarke, 1999a:331.

Chapter 3: Spain and the iconography of the Augustan regime

The initial inspiration behind this thesis was the notion that not enough attention had been paid by modern academics to the Cantabrian War and its exploitation by Augustus. Both Chapters 1 and 2 have set out to address this, focussing on the importance of Spain for the position of the *princeps* under the early Principate and the exploitation of Augustus' Spanish campaigns in literature. There is every bit as much need for a reappraisal of the place of Spain and the Cantabrian War in the visual arts. For when Zanker, the author of the *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, perhaps the most influential work on Augustan art, can write that the Cantabrian War is not celebrated anywhere in the visual arts there is clearly cause for concern.¹ Pacification is the result of victory. Therefore celebrations of the pacification of Spain are celebrations of military victories in Spain, and they played their part, just as the rest of Augustus' conquests, in feeding into the iconography of his regime. The image of Hispania and her people will develop in the visual arts in a similar manner as to the literature, and in response to the actions of Augustus in the peninsula. The roots of such depictions, however, do not lie in the Augustan age, and follow processes already established prior to the Principate. It seems worthwhile to highlight such concepts first of all.

3.1 Republican precedents

i) Greek precedents and the ideological basis for personification

The personification of abstract concepts such as *provincia*, whether through the idealised female or the captive male, was not a native practice at Rome. Indeed, the key catalyst for its uptake perhaps came only with the widespread institution of cults dedicated to Roma throughout the east from the beginning of the second century BC, transforming Roma from a mere geographical term into a personified deification of the collective Roman people.² Subsequently Romans became enthusiastic purveyors of this form of expression, providing as it did a useful means of depicting the subjugated.³ Its origins, however, lay with the Greeks, who had embraced such concepts in both literature and the visual arts as early as the Archaic

¹ Zanker, 1988:185; 187.

² Concerning Roma, see esp. Mellor, 1981.

³ Note Ostrowski (1990a:566), who states that we should view personifications as 'peoples', as the Romans did, *Simulacra Gentium* or *Nationes*, rather than provinces. See also Ostenberg, 2009:229-230.

period.⁴ Fundamentally, personifications offered a medium with which to forge new and cohesive political identities,⁵ something perhaps to be remembered when considering its use for *provincia*. This being the case the rise of democracy at Athens and the years of her glory during the fifth century BC added impetus to the practice, with an increasing use of allegory to depict developing civic concepts and collective bodies, like *Demokratia* and the *Demos*,⁶ and of course, places and their populations. Subsequently, Athens' ultimate defeat in the Peloponnesian War spread the practice further amongst her victorious enemies.⁷ Personifications initially remained largely indistinct, identification often dependent on the context of the scene or its explicit labelling, but such images became less ambiguous during the Hellenistic period, and with the arrival of Rome.⁸

It is crucial to remember that for the Greeks the female personification had a real religious aspect, its origins ultimately lying in the depiction of gods and heroes. A small number of abstract concepts ultimately came to enjoy their own cults, though this was very rare. Yet every personification, from aspects of political thought to sovereign states, was thought to encapsulate the spirit of the concept that was depicted, investing such images with a quasi-religious quality and genuine emotional potency.⁹ Furthermore, when using such practices to depict peoples or communities the Greeks were as likely to use such imagery in a positive sense as they were in a negative, as expressions of friendship, alliance or the spirit of one's own city as well as, conversely, conquest and subservience.¹⁰ The transition of the practice to Roman culture, however, brought a change in tone. Rome, unlike most Greek states, to quote Kuttner, was not and had never been a member 'of a body of equals'; Rome '*dominated* a corporate body' comprised of her clients, most of which she had conquered by force of arms.¹¹ Perhaps as a consequence Romans generally favoured a more realistic style of depiction than the idealized females offered by the Greeks,¹² one which was initially at

⁴ Concerning the Greek practice of personification and its development from the archaic period onwards, see esp. Pollitt, 1987; Shapiro, 1977; 1993; Lawton, 1995; Smith, 1997; 2011; Stafford, 2000; Glowacki, 2003. Examples of Greek personifications from Classical Athens include that of Messana and Salamis upon Attic treaty reliefs (see Lawton, 1995:59 with nos. 66; 120). Meanwhile, Pausanias (10.10.6; 13.6; 15.6; 18.7) describes various examples of such personifications raised at Delphi. See further examples reported by Athenios (201 C).

⁵ Hölscher, 1998:157.

⁶ See Pollitt, 1987; Lawton, 1995:55-9; Smith, 1997; 2011:esp. 11-26; 29-39; 91-107; Hölscher, 1998:156-7.

⁷ Hölscher, 1998:174.

⁸ Stafford, 2000:14.

⁹ Pollitt, 1987; Smith, 1993:134; 187; Stafford, 2000:25-6.

¹⁰ See Arce Martínez (1980:77), citing Gardner (1888); Kuttner, 1995:73-4.

¹¹ Kuttner, 1995:78.

¹² Arce Martínez, 1980:78. On the developing depiction of the 'barbarian' at Rome in general, see Demougeot, 1984.

least usually negative, a symbol of savagery on the part of the personified peoples or of their conquest by Rome, tied to the Roman conception of *devictae gentes*. As time passed the personifications associated with particular peoples and places could become largely favourable, celebrating loyalty to Rome as much as harsh domination. Yet no province, no foreign city or people, would ever be portrayed as an equal of their Roman mistress.

Such depictions were not without their Greek precedents.¹³ Yet in the Roman context they are irrevocably related to the triumph; a ritual of immense importance for the manner in which Rome viewed herself and the ‘other’, the triumph was likely the occasion prompting the first, and subsequently most common, appearances of personifications in the Republican and early imperial periods. The figure of Hispania, or personifications of her constituent parts or models of her towns, undoubtedly appeared in such a context long before they feature in the surviving record.¹⁴ Perhaps anachronistically, Silius Italicus (*Pun.*, 17.636-42) imagined the triumph of Scipio Africanus as having contained images of Spanish cities, whilst we are perchance on safer ground with reports that Tiberius Gracchus in 179 (Str., 3.4.13) and Q.Fabius Maximus and Q.Pedius in 45 (Cass. Dio, 43.42.2; Quint., *Inst.*, 6.3.61) made use of such personifications during theirs. Iberian captives would have marched alongside Hispania or her constituent parts on such occasions, spectacles that doubtless created a certain prejudice in the mind of the viewer concerning external peoples and their juxtaposition with Rome, which in turn would have fed into subsequent personifications; as Arce Martínez states, the ‘*humanitas* of Rome’ versus the ‘*ferocitas*’ or ‘*inhumanitas*’ of her enemies, and the submission and faithfulness of the latter to the military and political power of the former.¹⁵ Personifications, even when apparently positive, would never lose these triumphalistic overtones. The triumphal procession would also witness piles of weapons belonging to the vanquished enemy, a powerful symbol of their defeat and of Roman expansion that was carried over into the visual arts.¹⁶

Furthermore, great efforts were made to ensure that during triumphal processions the ethnic attributes of the various barbarians and their personifications/objectifications were

¹³ Arce Martínez (1980:78) notes the major influence of the Pergamene school, with its Dying Gauls, for which see Marszal, 2000. Note Boube (1996:41-2), highlighting the Pergamene influence on the Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges trophy in particular.

¹⁴ On further notifications of the inclusion of personifications of peoples or models of towns in the triumph in ancient literature, see Toynbee, 1934:11; Arce Martínez, 1980:79; Holliday, 2002:104; 112; Edwards, 2003:65; Beard, 2007:147-8; Ostenberg, 2009:200-1; 219.

¹⁵ Arce Martínez, 1980:80; Ostenberg, 2009:276.

¹⁶ Beard, 2007:150-1.

correct and this translated into monumental art.¹⁷ This is not mere ethnographical pedantry, but rather central to the wider ideological themes and a key part of the entire iconographical purpose of personifications like Hispania.¹⁸ In the first place, appearance was important in establishing the relative civility or barbarity of a people. We have already highlighted Strabo's (3.3.7; 3.4.17) focus on the long hair and ridiculous (as he saw them) hair ornaments of the northern Spaniards, whilst Livy (38.17.2-4; cf. Tac., *Germ.*, 31.1) explicitly equates the long hair of captives marching in triumphal processions with their wildness and barbarity.¹⁹ Meanwhile, variations between the appearance, dress and weaponry of different peoples spoke of the length and breadth of Roman power. Indeed, it was a mark of distinction to display a multiplicity of ethnicities among one's defeated foes, challenging the claims of cosmocracy amongst previous triumph holders.²⁰ Prior to the Principate the Asian triumph of Pompeius represented perhaps the most pertinent example (Plut., *Pomp.*, 45.2; Pliny, *HN*, 7.26.98; App., *Mith.*, 116-117; Diod. Sic., 40.4), and it is in this context that one should consider Virgil's (*Aen.*, 8.715-31) description of Octavian's grand triple triumph upon the Shield of Aeneas, with its exotic captives from distant lands; the *oikoumene* marched in procession before the *triumphator* Octavian, the ultimate cosmocrat without rival, living or dead.²¹ The same concerns applied to his monuments, which translated the temporal influence garnered from conquest into long term power and prestige.²²

The use of personification and objectification in this way set Augustan victories in an easily understandable geographical framework, allowing conflicts in distant places like Iberia to be transmitted to audiences throughout the Roman world; like the triumphs in which they were often carried, they are a physical manifestation of Roman expansion.²³ Cicero (*Font.*, 12) articulated this well when he stated that the Gauls had been made known to the people of Rome by way of triumphs and monuments.²⁴ One is reminded of the literature discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Just as Livy, Strabo and the poets had invoked the exotic periphery to exalt Augustan conquest so the *RG*, but also the *Sebasteion*, the *Forum Augustum* and the *Porticus ad Nationes*, to name but a few, as we shall see, gloried in the extension of Rome's

¹⁷ Arce Martínez, 1980:80; Kuttner, 1995:78-9; Ferris, 2000:23.

¹⁸ Indeed, often, as on the coins of Carisius (see below), they were the central focus of the images themselves.

¹⁹ Ostenberg, 2009:155.

²⁰ Beard, 2007:122-3; 160; 175.

²¹ Hardie, 1986:355; Ostenberg, 2009:147. On the cosmocratic pretensions of Pompeius, see esp. Nicolet, 1991:31-8. Further, on his triumph, see Beard, 2007:7-41.

²² Hölscher, 2006:27.

²³ Beard, 2007:133.

²⁴ Hölscher, 2006:35-6.

boundaries by displaying personifications of the distant edges of the empire - not least in Spain. Thus the personifications discussed in this chapter are triumphal monuments, reminiscent of the *praefatio* of the triumph processions, and testament to the worldwide reach of the *princeps*.²⁵ Indeed, in this context it is fitting to recall the funeral of Augustus, where personifications of the empire he had conquered were carried in procession, witnesses to his achievements in the service of Rome (Cass. Dio, 54.28.5; Tac., *Ann.*, 1.8.4).²⁶

Thus the representations of the provinces and their people held real ideological meaning. Note, for instance, Ovid's (*Tr.*, 4.2.43-8) hope for a future triumphal procession for a defeated Germania; enchained with loose hair, overcome with grief and fear, she is the living embodiment of her subdued people. Later Suetonius (*Ner.*, 46) powerfully evokes the personified provinces surrounding the terrified Nero in the emperor's dreams, an allegorical manifestation of very real rebellion gripping his empire. We are not dealing with mere inanimate objects.²⁷ As with their Greek forerunners, there is a quasi-religious value to these depictions, originating as they did with cultic personifications, or in the case of the male captive, with battlefield trophies raised in thanksgiving to the gods; to capture the conquered in stone was to capture them in reality, and in perpetuity.²⁸ So the captive male tribesman, reminiscent of those defeated foes compelled to march in the triumph, and often set before a trophy bearing his seized weaponry, remains inactive and unable to resist in a state of eternal impotence.²⁹ The female personifications, meanwhile, offer the use of a woman's body as an analogy for conquered territory, particularly potent when appearing bare breasted (as at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, below); dishonoured in defeat, they are dominated by the victor,³⁰ and as above, captured in stone their shame would be eternal. Furthermore, personifications

²⁵ Carey, 2003:55; Kuttner, 1995:80.

²⁶ Note that Dio claims Augustus organised Agrippa's funeral as he did his own; were the nations conquered by Agrippa thus included at his funeral, including a constituent of Hispania? See Kuttner, 1995:81. Certainly a similar procession occurred during the funeral of Pertinax in AD 193 (Cass. Dio, 74.4.5).

²⁷ Edwards, 2003:48-9; Ostenberg, 2009:225-7.

²⁸ Edwards, 2003:68; Hölscher, 2006:43; Ostenberg, 2009:219-220. Note Appian's (*Mith.*, 117) description of the personifications carried in Pompeius' triumph as 'barbarian gods'. On the development of trophies, see Picard, 1957; Pritchett, 1974:246-76; 1979:277-96; Rabe, 2008.

²⁹ Ferris, 2000:40; Beard, 2007:175-6. Ostrowski (1990b:567) goes so far as to state that it is conceivable that each representation of the barbarian in official state art who isn't in a multifigural scene, but is isolated before the emperor, a victory or a trophy is a personification of a conquered nation. See also Calo Levi, 1952. Bradley (2004) examines such scenes, though his concern is to find evidence for the physical capture of prisoners of war rather than the ideological repercussions of their depiction. On the Greek practice of dedicating arms, see Pritchett, 1979:277-296.

³⁰ Rodgers, 2003:82. Picard (1957:273) offers an alternative, seeing the exposure of the breast not as a sign of domination by the victor but, like Roma, an allusion to the nourishing role of the national goddess. Certainly we must allow for a plurality of meanings, yet the individual contexts of personifications seem crucial; one would perhaps expect the bare breasted Hispania from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, for example, to convey a different message to that suggested by Roma.

of both women and children effects a strong symbolism, since their removal from a people produces consequential effects on their reproductive abilities, and can represent the sterility of a tribe, their impotence in the face of Roman power.³¹

In time, as triumphs became rarer after 19 and the provinces increasingly integrated, the negative portrayal of the peoples of the empire would decline. Personifications would stress inclusion rather than barbarity, the realistic Roman depiction of *provincia capta* and *devicta* giving way to a Hellenised and idealised *provincia pia*.³² But we cannot impose too rigid a chronological division, as will become apparent. Crucially the visual imagery of Spain, like the literary portrayals, was intrinsically entwined with the geo-political conditions in Iberia. This is true in every period, and was certainly established prior to the Principate. Republican precedents will provide a useful frame to assess that which follows under the first *princeps*.

ii) The *denarii* of A.Postumius Albinus

As above, images of the personified Hispania, or her constituent parts, almost certainly appeared during early Spanish triumphs. Yet the oldest *surviving* representation, indeed the oldest for any province, appears in 81 on the *denarii* of A.Postumius Albinus (Fig.1, *RRC* 372-2; *BMCR* II 352, 2839-2843).³³ Africa and Sicily would soon follow, the development of the imagery of the western provinces corresponding with that of Roman historiography, particularly concerning the Punic wars³⁴ and perhaps also the long and brutal first century BC conflicts in Spain. As it was Albinus sought to commemorate his ancestor, L.Postumius Albinus, who celebrated a triumph from Ulterior in 178.³⁵ Albinus was an acolyte of Sulla, aligned against Sertorius and his forces in Spain, many of whom were drawn from the very tribes overcome



Fig.1

³¹ Kellum, 1996:171-2; Ferris, 2000:40; 166. Note that Suetonius (*Aug.*, 21.2) reports that Augustus sometimes bound tribes to their oaths by demanding female hostages.

³² Arce Martínez, 1980:78-9; Ostenberg, 2009:224.

³³ Salcedo, 1994:183. Personified Africa and Sicily follow ten years later (*RRC* 401; 402).

³⁴ Torregaray Pagola, 2004:299.

³⁵ See *MRR* I:395.

by his ancestor. His Hispania appears loose haired and resolutely barbarous in nature.³⁶ By invoking ancestral victories over Spanish ‘barbarians’ Albinus thus implicitly casts similar aspersions upon Sulla’s current Iberian enemies.³⁷ This is highly significant, since from the outset there is a direct correlation between the contemporary political situation and the portrayal of the Spanish provinces in visual media. A precedent was set.³⁸

iii) The *denarii* of M.Poblicius and M.Minatius Sabinus

Subsequently Hispania would grace the coins of both sides during the Civil War, her portrayal changing with the fortunes of that conflict. The Iberian provinces were a Pompeian stronghold and this is reflected in a number of Iberian *denarii* issued in this period. Thus in 46-45 a *denarius* of M.Poblicius (Fig. 2) displayed on its reverse a woman, likely Hispania,³⁹



Fig.2

welcoming Cn.Pompeius to Spain.⁴⁰ She wears a long chiton, with neat hair, and carries a *caetra* (a small shield) and two spears (*RRC* 469, 1a-d, e; *BMCRR* II, 364-5, 72; 74-76; Toynbee, 1934: pl. 15, 5; Sear, *HCRI* 48). These were the weapons of the Celtiberians (e.g. Diod. Sic., 5.34), the use of which in iconography by now had apparently expanded to denote a generic ‘Spanish’ identity. Hispania is now a civilized ally of the Republic. Civil War politics has necessitated a change of imagery. This is further reinforced in a series of four denarii issued by M.Minatius Sabinus (*RRC* 470, 1a-d).⁴¹ The first (1a (Fig. 3)) features an armed female personification, bearing the *corona muralis* amidst a heap of arms, greeting a Pompeian soldier.



Fig.3

The same image, with slight variations, is essentially offered on the remaining three coins (1b-d (Figs. 4-6)), with the addition of a second female personification. The identity of these women has been debated but all are agreed that they represent personifications, either of civic or provincial status, the most likely candidates being

³⁶ Though Toynbee (1934:98), whilst acknowledging that the loose, unbound hair denoted the wild tribes of the north-west, believed that an element of civility was denoted by the idealised features of the female personification.

³⁷ Salcedo, 1994:182-3.

³⁸ See Alföldi, 1956:94-5; Salcedo, 1994:183.

³⁹ See Arce Martínez (1980:82) for a full description on the varying opinions up to his publication date. See also Toynbee, 1934:98; Salcedo, 1994:183-4; Chaves Tristán, 2005:229. Note that Sear (1998:35) believes that Hispania Ulterior is depicted. On Poblicius, see *MRR* II:302. García Bellido (1997:344-5) hypothesises that the female figure is a local deity fused with Roma-Bellona, though this has seemingly not found wide acceptance.

⁴⁰ Salcedo, 1994:184.

⁴¹ For clarity’s sake I follow Arce Martínez in using Crawford’s numbering here, though see also *BMCRR* II, 366, 77-79; 366-7, 80-83; Toynbee, p98, pl. XV, 6, 7-8; Sear, *HCRI* 49-52. On Sabinus, see *MRR* II:309.

combinations of Hispania, Hispania Ulterior, Corduba and New Carthage.⁴² Clearly, just as the Sullan regime moulded Spain's image to reflect contemporary politics during the Sertorian War, so the Pompeians, mindful of Spanish support, presented an alternative, positive depiction.⁴³ Nonetheless, Hispania was still subordinate to the *auctoritas* of Rome and her magistrates. Noble she may have been, but she still paid homage to Rome.



Fig.4



Fig.5



Fig.6

iv) Caesarian *denarii*

Caesar vanquished Cn.Pompeius at Munda in 46, an event celebrated on two



Fig.7

Iberian *denarii* (RRC 468, 1-2; BMCRR II, 368-9, 86-92; Sear, *HCRI* 58-9 (Figs. 7-8)). The reverse of these coins both display a central military trophy, decorated with an oblong shield and carnyx. Either side sits a captive Gaul, hands bound in typical pose, and an idealised woman. She sits in long robes, clutching her head in despair. Whilst devoid of particular distinguishing attributes, she is generally

identified as Hispania,⁴⁴ her presence alongside Gaul, as we shall see, becoming a recurring theme under Augustus, from the trophies at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, to the Boscoreale cups and the *RG* (12.2, 25.2, 26.2, 29.1).⁴⁵ Hispania is dejected and subjugated but perhaps not entirely barbarous; Salcedo sees perhaps an acknowledgement of the civility of southern and eastern Spain and



Fig.8

⁴² Arce Martínez, 1980:83-4; Salcedo, 1994:184; Chaves Tristán, 2005:229. Note the views of Grueber, Toynbee, Crawford and Sear in their respective catalogues (see refs above).

⁴³ Chaves Tristán (2005:223-4) notes similarly positive contemporary allusions elsewhere to Africa, a further shelter for Pompeians.

⁴⁴ Toynbee, 1934:99; Arce Martínez, 1980:84; Salcedo, 1994:186-7. Though Crawford identified her as Gallic, linking the issue to another series that features similar trophies decked with Gallic shields and the carnyx, RRC 452, 1-5; BMCRR I, 3953; 3955; 3959; 3961.

⁴⁵ Kuttner, 1995:71.

the possibility of her rehabilitation now she is back in the Caesarian fold.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, Hispania's pained appearance expresses her sorrow for her former Pompeian allegiance,⁴⁷ the central trophy representing her subordination to Caesar. This is *Hispania capta*, *Hispania devicta*, and the iconography this establishes will remain, and be expanded, under Augustus.⁴⁸ Thus we have witnessed the image of Hispania swing back and forth between barbarity and fidelity and back again. The central iconography has been established and precedents set. An iconographic frame has been established around which the Augustan Hispania, or rather *Hispaniae*, can be built.

3.2 The Augustan image of *Hispania Capta*

i) The coins of Carisius



Fig.9

In line with Republican precedent then one would expect a barbarous element to re-emerge in iconography concerning Spain during the turbulent early years of the Principate, and it does, almost immediately, albeit in a more generic form. Between 24-22



Fig.10

the legate of Ulterior and general of the Cantabrian War P. Carisius issued a series of coins at the new veterans' colony of Emerita. The reverse of these coins features perhaps the most clear cut and contemporary visual references to the Cantabrian War that survive, though the



Fig.11

personified Hispania does not feature. Perhaps an effort was made to refrain from depicting Hispania in a negative light within Iberia. In her place a number of other images appear, from the generic naked and bound captive, a mainstay of



Fig.12

Roman iconography,⁴⁹ kneeling before a trophy (*BMCRE* I, 53, 287; *RIC* 1, 226 (Fig.9)), to extensive depictions of characteristically Iberian weaponry, as above, denoting a general

⁴⁶ Salcedo, 1994:186-7.

⁴⁷ Salcedo, 1994:186.

⁴⁸ Arce Martínez, 1980:84.

⁴⁹ Note, for example, the similarity with earlier coins of Caesar, *RPC* 453, 4-5; *BMCR* I, 3959.

‘Spanish’ identity. In some cases these are heaped at the foot of and affixed to military trophies, often with *carnyx* (*BMCRE* I, 52-3, 283-286 (Fig.10)). Elsewhere weaponry alone appears, with the aforementioned *caetras* joined by *machairas* (curved swords), daggers and spears (*BMCRE* I, 51-2, 277-282; *RPC* 1-4; *RIC* 1, 222-223; 227-228 (Fig.11-2)). These are similar to the Celtiberian weaponry depicted in previous Republican iconography, but also bear resemblance to the Lusitanian arms described by Strabo (3.3.6). Since the Cantabrians and Asturians were neither Celtiberian nor Lusitanian, this perhaps reflects the established genericisms of iconography concerning Spaniards, though doubtless neighbouring Iberian peoples did indeed use similar weaponry.⁵⁰ Meanwhile Carisius also issued a *quinarius* featuring Victory crowning a military trophy with a wreath (*BMCRE* I, 53, 288-292; *RIC* 1, 221 (Figs.13-4)).⁵¹



Fig.13

These coins, issued in the immediate aftermath of the initial Cantabrian ‘victory’ are extremely interesting. To begin with they are reminiscent of an issue by Marius in celebration of his Cimbric victory (*BMCRR* I, 233, 1696; *RRC* 326/2).⁵² Marius may have established a model for those who followed, thus exercising influence over the coins of Carisius, whilst we may witness an Augustan attempt to emulate a great Republican victor over a dangerous barbarian foe. García Bellido, meanwhile, thinks that the weapons that appeared on the coins represented offerings to the local gods upon whose land Emerita was built.⁵³ But perhaps the most convincing explanation is that which brings Augustan ideology to the fore. These coins are overtly triumphalistic, offering realistic depictions of the consequences of Roman victory; the bedraggled barbarous Cantabrian, a counterpart to the savages of Horace (see above),⁵⁴ eternally defeated, his distinctive weapons piled high as booty for the victors. Victory herself salutes the achievements of Augustus. Carisius followed these coins with an issue depicting the foundation of Emerita, a new colony that would become the capital of Lusitania (*BMCRE* I,



Fig.14

⁵⁰ García Bellido (1997:343, citing Quesada Sanz, 1992:115) reflected on the generic use of Lusitanian arms here to refer to Cantabrians. Note that an apparent barbarian figure armed with ‘Lusitanian’ weaponry appears upon a tomb beside the *Via Flaminia* at Rome; Blanco Freijeiro (1971:229-32) made the intriguing proposal that this may have belonged to a Cantabrian War veteran, though his suggestion that the Iberian weaponry, both here and on Carisius’ coins, expressed gratitude for Lusitanian auxiliaries seems very much wide of the mark.

⁵¹ Contemporary coins from New Carthage and another unidentified mint show similar themes (*RPC* 162; *BMCRE* I, 64).

⁵² Trillmich, 2009:428-30.

⁵³ García Bellido, 1997:343; 345; 350-1.

⁵⁴ Toynbee, 1934:99.

54, 293-297); this is the work of the peace that followed the victory in war displayed on the earlier coins.⁵⁵ Indeed, Trillmich sees a tripartite sequence, reminiscent of earlier issues celebrating Actium, whereby those coins displaying weaponry represent war, those with trophies victory in that war, and those representing the foundation of Emerita the peace that follows victory.⁵⁶ The Cantabrian wars of the early years of the Principate credited Augustus with a western victory to complement the Actian success in the east. In this way iconographical references to the Cantabrian Wars in Carisius' coinage reinforce a claim to Augustan world-wide pacification, a reoccurring theme.

ii) The Saint-Bertrand-De-Comminges trophy

Carisius refrained from employing a negative personified Hispania within Iberia but this need not apply in neighbouring provinces. Thus at Lugdunum Convenarum, modern Saint-Bertrand-De-Comminges, she was an integral part of a trophy raised in honour of Augustus. Built of the finest Saint-B  white marble, its remains are fragmented, causing debate around its reconstruction, the two most influential of which have been advanced by Picard (Fig. 15) and Boube (Fig. 16).⁵⁷ Comprising three trophies, much of the controversy has focussed on the central structure. Thankfully we can largely dispense with such debates.

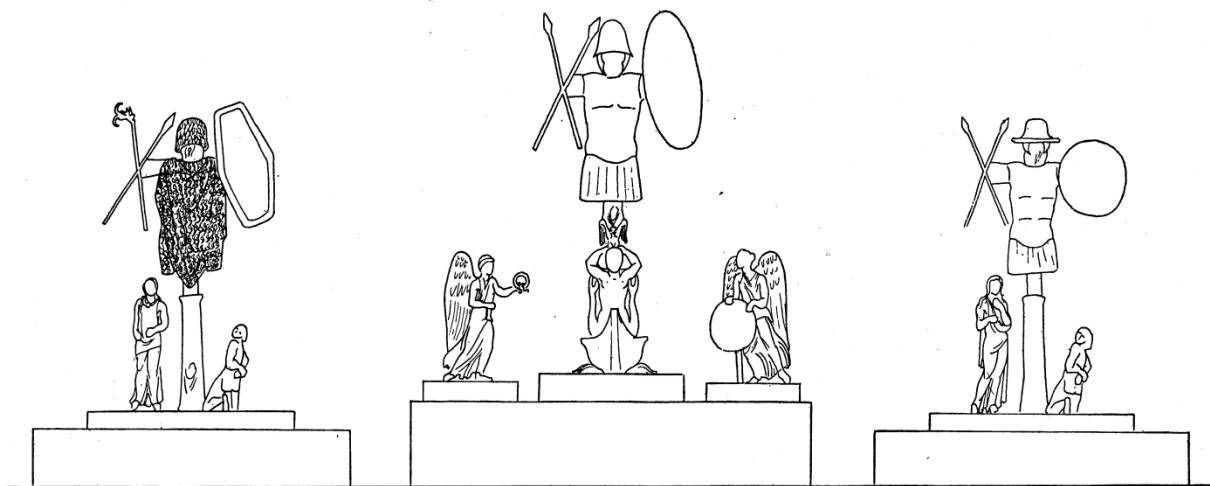


Fig.15

⁵⁵ Trillmich, 2009:431.

⁵⁶ Trillmich, 2009:428-31. The Actium coins display the same triumvirate of themes, represented on issues displaying successively Mars, Diana and Apollo - war, victory and peace (see *Ibid.*, 431-2).

⁵⁷ Picard, 1957:257-273; Boube, 1997.

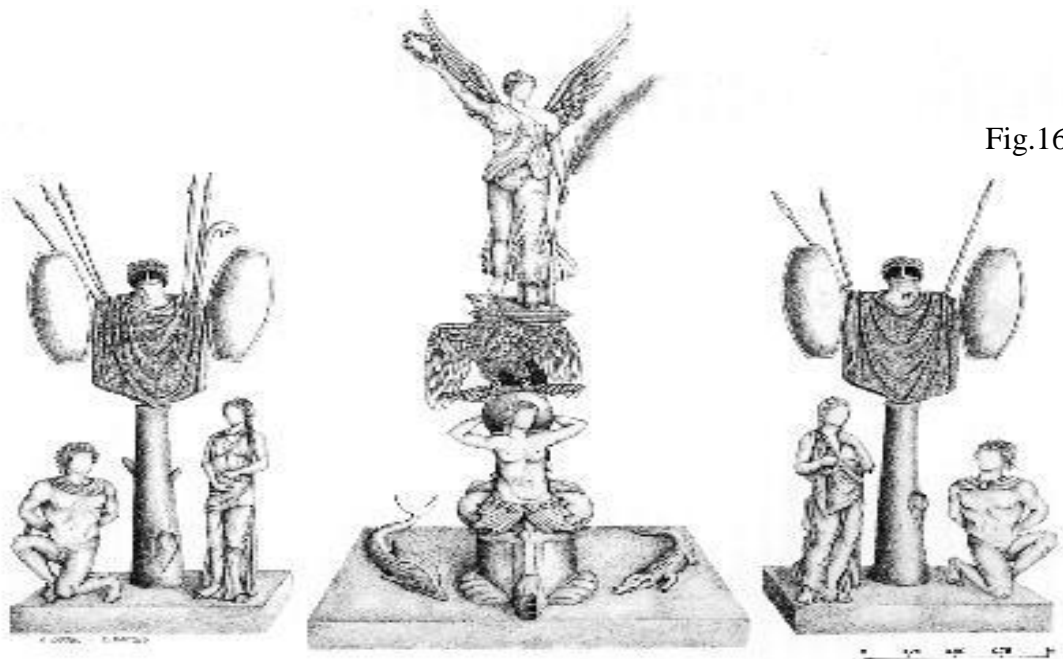


Fig.16

It is perhaps enough to stress that all reconstructions of the central trophy feature a ship's prow, tritonesse, a victory or victories in some form, and a globe supplanted by an eagle clutching a thunderbolt. Alternative additions are offered by different scholars, all mainstays of Augustan iconography, and much focus placed on the identity of the surmounting statue (a palm-bearing Victory? Augustus? A dummy affixed with weaponry, helmet and cuirass?),⁵⁸ but all amount essentially to a structure that primarily focussed on Actium, echoing the Nicopolis monument.⁵⁹ The accompanying side trophies, seemingly of matching style, are of more concern. Though fragmented there is general agreement, with slight variations,⁶⁰ on the form these took. Essentially we have two trophies similar to that portrayed on the coins of Carisius,⁶¹ comprising dummies bedecked with indigenous weaponry. Crucially, both dummies are flanked by a pair of figures; a bound, naked and kneeling captive⁶² and a female figure, the personified Gallia and Hispania.⁶³

⁵⁸ On discussions around the form of the structures, see Picard, 1957:257-273; Silberberg Peirce, 1986:313; Ramage, 1997:126; Boube, 1997:27-29.

⁵⁹ Picard, 1957:260; Boube, 1997:31.

⁶⁰ Thus Boube (1997:31-33; 36) prefers greater symmetry and more generic weaponry compared to Picard's (1957:272) greater ethnically distinctive accessories.

⁶¹ Directly compared by Picard, 1957:273.

⁶² Captives accompanying military trophies are a common feature of Roman monuments, particularly in southern Gaul; for example, see the arch at Carpentras and the coupling of male and female barbarians on the arches at Glanum and Aurasio.

⁶³ Kleiner, 1985:44-6; McGowen, 2010:18-23; 79-81. The messages conveyed at St-Bertrand-de-Comminges, such as cosmocracy and *felicitas* are central to Augustan monuments elsewhere also, both at the aforementioned arches at Glanum, Aurasio and Carpentras, and at La Turbie; though different in form, this monument featured amongst its iconography similar themes, such as kneeling captives, winged victories references to Actium, and an eagle of Jupiter (Ramage, 1997:126). See also Boube (1997) for further themes linking this monument with those aforementioned.

Its date is questioned, with Boube suggesting a dedication date of c.10, linking the monument's foundation to the reorganisation of both Spain and southern Gaul between 16-13, when Lugdunum Convenarum passed from Narbonensis to Aquitania, and the Senate voting for the *Ara Pacis* on 4th July 13 to celebrate Augustus' return from the west.⁶⁴ By contrast, Picard preferred a date of c.25, in the presence perhaps of Augustus himself in the immediate aftermath of his campaigns, citing the inclusion of the *clipeus virtutis* and lack of Parthian allusion (as he saw it), and the role of Augustus in pacifying the area to the south of the city.⁶⁵ Similarly Silberberg Peirce considers the monument concurrent with the closing of the doors of Ianus in 25, to be dedicated in time for Agrippa's Spanish victory in 19.⁶⁶ Boube's date is the current standard, and it is an attractive one, given the events of these years. Nonetheless, I wonder whether the downtrodden captives and dishevelled *provincia* are not more appropriate for the immediate aftermath of Augustus' campaigns, presented emphatically by the emperor as a definitive victory over a barbarous enemy in 25, as we have seen.

Regardless of the date, the main thrust of the monument is to present three Augustan victories, Gaul, Actium and Spain. Within this basic framework there are layers of different symbolism, particularly on the central trophy, referring to the emerging imperial ideology. But the dominant message is of the cosmocratic rule of the emperor, and his victories on land and sea, from east to west. Picard emphasised the dominance of the Actian trophy, the flanking structures subordinate to this great victory which was the ultimate manifestation of the cosmocrat's divinely inspired *felicitas*, the ultimate source of his subsequent success.⁶⁷ Yet Hispania still fulfils an obvious and crucial role as the manifestation of his Cantabrian victory.⁶⁸ As Boube states, this is the visual embodiment of the *RG*'s (26.2) claims that Augustus pacified Gaul, Spain and Germany and all the land from Gades to the Elbe.⁶⁹ And

⁶⁴ Boube, 1997:43-4.

⁶⁵ Picard, 1957:271; 273. See also MacKendrick, 1971:96.

⁶⁶ Silberberg Peirce, 1986:314. See also Mierse, 1990:320.

⁶⁷ Picard, 1957:268.

⁶⁸ Note that the eagle on the central trophy may refer as much to those legionary standards recaptured in the west and Dalmatia (*RG*, 29.1), including those from Spain, as those returned by the Parthians (Boube, 1997:44). Cleary (2008:32) notes that the recovery of the standards from Gaul and Spain was commemorated with a coin issue c. 12, though unfortunately he provides no catalogue numbers, or the mint where they originated from. See Scheid (2007:76-8) Cooley (2009:241-5) for reports of the returning of standards within the *RG*.

⁶⁹ Boube, 1997:30, 44.

as in the coins of Caesar and the *RG* (12.2; 26.2), we see a clear association between Gaul and Spain, the west united by their pacification by Augustus.⁷⁰

The captive Gaul and Gallia herself retain characteristically Gallic features, such as the latter's torque and the figure eight chain pattern binding the captive's hands.⁷¹ The Spanish captive, in contrast, barely survives. We are thus unable to detect distinguishing features, though the contemporary coins of Carisius clearly show that the Cantabrians and Astures were depicted in this manner. Hispania, meanwhile, is well preserved, though again, without distinguishing features. She wears a long chiton, her hair is unbound and her left breast is exposed. Barbarity has re-emerged in her depiction, a full return to the iconography pioneered by Albinus.⁷² The unkempt Hispania is humiliated in defeat, and now accompanied by a captive member of her barbarous tribes. The two combine to convey messages of *provincia devicta* and *provincia capta*, reinforced all the more by her bare breast.⁷³ It is clear that the nature of the Augustan conflicts in the north-west have provided a catalyst for an entirely predictable change in the iconographical representation of the Iberian provinces here, just as under the Republic. Here Hispania's single purpose is to glorify the emperor.

Is Augustus responsible for this monument, or should we look to the local elite? Whoever was responsible drew on the finest artisans, familiar with the latest techniques and Augustan iconography.⁷⁴ We shall soon find that native elites of the western provinces were perfectly able to acquire such services. Furthermore, this was a long Romanised region which had provided auxiliaries for Rome during both the Gallic conquests of Caesar and the Cantabrian War.⁷⁵ There is every possibility then that an indigenous hand is at work here. However, there is also a strong case for official involvement. In the first place is its location; the Augustan monument here sits astride the route through the central Pyrenees in the same manner that Pompeius' monument at Col de Perthus watched over the east and that at Urkula the west; not only was such a monument a fitting tribute to Augustus' victory but it also

⁷⁰ As above, Kuttner, 1995:71.

⁷¹ Cleary, 2008:32. Silberberg Peirce (1986:313), somewhat surprisingly, considers the bound and naked captive as representing local Roman allies.

⁷² Arce Martínez, 1980:88; Salcedo, 1994:187. The latter places significant focus on the captive. In contrast, Ostrowski (1990a:168) viewed this personification as entirely idealised, despite her unbound hair.

⁷³ Arce Martínez, 1980:92.

⁷⁴ Cleary, 2008:33; 53.

⁷⁵ Silberberg Peirce, 1986:311; 313.

implicitly suggested that his achievements matched those of Pompeius.⁷⁶ It also marked the western frontier of Narbonensis in the manner that La Turbie did in the east, symbols of secure borders.⁷⁷ We must also consider the likely association with the nascent imperial cult (though this need not place the responsibility solely with the imperial regime).⁷⁸ As we have stated, as far back as its Greek origins the setting up of trophy monuments or the creation of personifications were by their very nature religious acts, and it is certainly interesting to note that almost every Augustan monument or image referred to in this chapter have at the very least a quasi-religious aspect. Indeed, in this context the location of the crucial imperial cult centre at Lyon almost directly between Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and La Turbie may be of further relevance.⁷⁹ Certainty is impossible then, but even if the native elite were the authors of this monument they still responded to messages disseminated by the regime.

iii) The Prima Porta Augustus

The monument at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges is not the only occurrence of Augustan Hispania as *provincia capta*. The statue of Augustus from Prima Porta is a marble copy of a bronze original, the iconography displayed on its breastplate, if not the statue itself, dating to shortly after the return of the standards from Parthia in 20.⁸⁰ This event dominates the central scene, whilst various deities look on approvingly (Fig.17, illustration Fig.18).⁸¹ But what interests us most, as at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, are the two flanking figures to the



Fig.17

⁷⁶ Ramage, 1997:126n49; Cleary, 2008:33. For Col de Perthus, see Castellvi *et al*, 1995. For Urkula, see Fabre, 1994:179.

⁷⁷ Silberberg Peirce, 1986:311.

⁷⁸ On the association with an altar to Augustus, see Badie *et al*, 1994:29-32. On the contrasting notion that the monument was connected with a full temple of the imperial cult, see Cleary, 2008:33. Silberberg Peirce (1986:312) suggests similar associations for La Turbie.

⁷⁹ Ferris, 2000:44.

⁸⁰ Pollini (1978:39-40) thought c.17. The statue was located at the villa of Livia at Prima Porta, in the northern suburbs of Rome. For the villa, see Calci and Messineo, 1984; Carrara, 2005; Messineo, 2004; Forte, 2007; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 15.136; Suet., *Galb.*, 1; Cass. Dio 48.12.52.

⁸¹ The bibliography for the Prima Porta Augustus is large. For good general overviews, see Simon, 1957; 1986a:53-57, 237-8; Pollini, 1978; 14-47; Hannestad, 1986:55-6; Zanker, 1988:188-92; Elsner, 1995:162-4; Kuttner, 1995:255n102-3; Galinsky, 1996:155-64.

immediate left and right; to the right a cloaked woman sits disconsolate and unarmed, bearing a dragon trumpet with a military standard of a boar at her feet. On the left sits an equally solemn female figure, wearing a short chiton and cloak. She holds her head in one hand and a sword in the other, behind her a victory trophy.

The identity of these flanking figures is contentious.⁸² Both are hard to define by virtue of clothes, weaponry or other attributes. Yet Hispania and Gallia (Figs.19-20), on the left and right respectively, seem the most attractive identifications for a number of reasons. This offers the recurring iconographical convention of partnering Gaul with Spain, as we have seen.⁸³ The likely date, shortly after the return of the standards and Agrippa's western campaigns, adds further chronological support for such an assertion. Indeed, the breastplate presents us with a visual counterpart to Horace's (*Epist.*, 1.12.26-8) near contemporary lines: '*Cantaber Agrippae, Claudii uirtute Neronis Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Prahates Caesaris accepit genibus minor*'.⁸⁴ Additionally, Augustus' imperium over Gaul, Spain and

Syria, held since 27, was renewed in 17, the celebration of which could be one of the functions of the breastplate.⁸⁵ A further connection between these three provinces was their presentation as enemies from whom sacred standards had been recovered. Indeed, in this regard Pollini suggests that the military trophy behind Hispania may represent Dalmatia, from where a fourth eagle had been recovered. The *RG* (29.1-2) refers to all four in this manner.⁸⁶

Hispania's appearance is fairly indistinct. She wears a chiton,⁸⁷ as in earlier incarnations, though this alone gives little

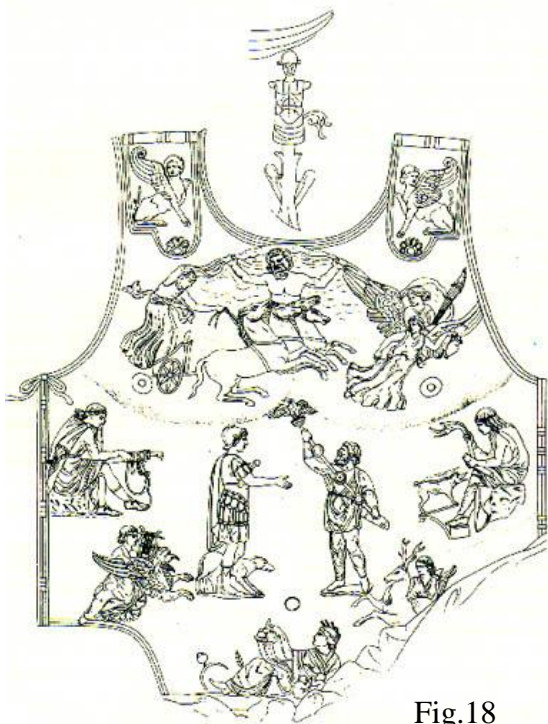


Fig.18

⁸² Kuttner (1995:84nn102-103) provides an excellent and brief overview of the various arguments.

⁸³ Kuttner (1995:84n102) is emphatic; if the right hand figure is Gallia then the left hand must be Hispania. See also Rose, 2005:27.

⁸⁴ 'The *virtus* of Agrippa has brought Cantaber to his knees, that of Claudius Nero the Armenian. On his knees did Phraates accept the right and rule of Caesar.' See Galinsky, 1996:158. Note that Pollini (1978:38) emphasised that the flanking figures would have referred to specific victories, as the centre scene did.

⁸⁵ Simon, 1986a:52-7; 238; Galinsky, 1996:158.

⁸⁶ Pollini, 1978:38-9 with nn.114a, 115. See also Gergel, 2001:195-6. Note that Kleiner (1992:65) saw the trophy as a symbol of the Spanish victory.

⁸⁷ Pollini also recognises a fringed Celtiberian cloak (1978:69n114).

individuality. But whilst she lacks Celtiberian weaponry her warlike appearance is perhaps reminiscent of her earlier Pompeian self. Indeed, that she carries a sword has been galvanised in support of different identifications, such as Germania, Dalmatia, a composite of the east or a client state.⁸⁸ These should not be accepted. Dalmatia does not appear as an official concept till the Flavians,⁸⁹ whilst a celebration of the recent pacification of Gaul and Spain seems more pertinent than Germany, given the chronological context.⁹⁰ Further, it seems inconceivable that a client state would be represented in such a state of despair rather than at ease with the justice of Rome's domination.

Whilst we cannot identify the sword itself, as some have done, as the *gladius hispaniensis*,⁹¹ the manner in which the personification bears this weapon is crucial as an indicator of identity; pommel outwards, the point facing inwards and down, and held halfway down the blade. She is not ready to strike out with this sword, but holds it as if in surrender. Taken with the solemn demeanour, this is a recently defeated warlike nation. This is *Hispania capta*, joined by Gallia, as at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. The



Fig.19



Fig.20

recently vanquished of the west join the gods and sphinxes, representing his Actium victory, in bearing witness to Augustus extending his dominion over the east in the central scene. This is a powerful statement of cosmocracy; east and west, heaven and earth united under the ultimate *triumphator*.

Thus during the first decade of the Principate, a period of brutal conflict in Iberia and an emerging cosmocratic imperial ideology, Spain has been depicted as a wild and barbarous land, her personified form warlike or war-wearied, and eternally defeated. Such a depiction matched

⁸⁸ Zanker (1988:189) sees her as either a client state or Germania, with the opposite figure representing both Gaul and Hispania. This echoes Fittschen (1976:205-208) and Meyer (1983:136), who again see the right hand figure representing a composite west, and the figure on the left as representative of the east. Arce Martínez (1980:90) thought it equally likely that Hispania, Pannonia or Germania was intended. Galinsky (1996:158) is generally supportive of considering her Hispania, but if not then a client state like Armenia or Judea.

⁸⁹ Pollini, 1978:114.

⁹⁰ Ostrowski, 1990a:169.

⁹¹ Arce Martínez (1980:90) argues persuasively against this. Pollini (1978:38n.114) and Ostrowski (1990a:168) refer to the perceived ethnographic implications of the sword.

the literary treatment provided by Livy and the poets in these years, as highlighted in Chapter 2.⁹² Yet with the final subjugation of the north-west in 16 and Iberia's increasing integration with the rest of the empire, a progression outlined by Strabo, this image could not be sustained.⁹³ An alternative view emerges, or perhaps re-emerges: the loyal province.

3.3 The Augustan image of *Hispania Pia*

i) The *Gemma Augustea*

The *Gemma Augustea* (Fig.21) is a large onyx cameo bearing impressively carved scenes separated into two horizontal fields.⁹⁴ In the top field sits a Jupiter-like Augustus accompanied by various deities, personifications and imperial princes. The bottom field displays the aftermath of Roman victory, with a military trophy raised before stock barbarian captives. Its date remains imprecise, though the general consensus suggests the last decade of the Augustan Principate.⁹⁵ Of most interest for our purposes are the figures on the right of the bottom scene. Here barbarians are dragged towards the trophy by two soldiers, one of whom is apparently female and turns her back to us (Fig.22). She wears a chiton, military boots, and a cuirass, carrying two spears in her left hand and has bound hair. From their attire

Fig.21

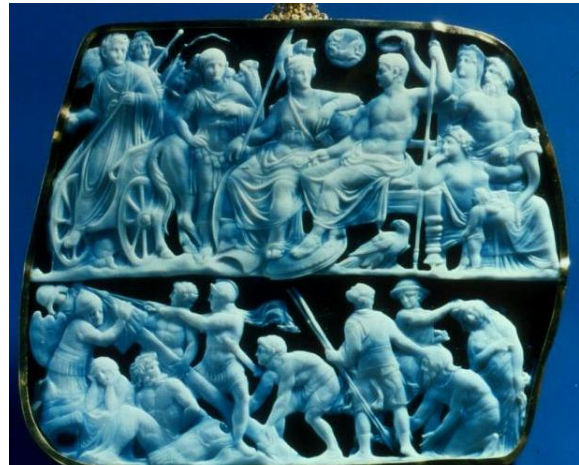


Fig.22

⁹² Torregaray Pagola (2004) emphasises throughout the complementary nature of the literary and visual depiction of Hispania.

⁹³ For the political and economic development of the Spanish provinces in these years, see Chapters 4-6.

⁹⁴ Again, the bibliography is large for the *Gemma Augustea*. In general, see Pollini, 1978:175-220; 1993:258-98; Simon, 1986a:156-61; 1986b; Hannestad, 1986:78-82; Zanker, 1988:230-8; Galinsky, 1996:53, 120-1.

⁹⁵ Pollini offers a *terminus post quem* of AD 9 as he sees the *adventus* of Tiberius to Rome in that year as the event primarily commemorated in the top field (1978:175, 200-202; 1993:269), as does Kahler (1963:76-7) and Zanker (1988:230), since I believe that the date of 10 which he gives is erroneous and should read AD 10. Hannestad, on the contrary, preferred a *terminus post quem* of AD 12 (1986:79 with n.132).

it is clear that neither she nor her accompanying comrade is a Roman soldier. The identity of these soldiers is controversial, perhaps even more so than those on the Prima Porta statue. Mere Thracian auxiliaries⁹⁶ or various divine identities have been proposed,⁹⁷ with perhaps the most compelling being the Thracian goddess Bendis and the Greek hero Neoptolemos, symbolic of Rome's Greek and Thracian auxiliaries.⁹⁸ Certainly Bendis' attributes often included two javelins, high boots and chiton (Fig.23).⁹⁹



Fig.23 *Augustea*.¹⁰² Yet *Hispania pia*,

armed in support of Rome, predates the Principate, as we have seen. Ultimately the *Gemma Augustea*'s Hispania is both an echo of her Pompeian past and a forerunner of her future first century AD portrayal. The theme is consistent between all three; they celebrate the military and logistical support the Iberian provinces provided for their masters,



Fig.24

⁹⁶ For e.g. Kahler (1963:74); Kleiner (1992:71). Furthermore, Hannestad (1986:80) saw here the troops of King Rhoimetalkes, who supported the Romans in Pannonia (Cass. Dio, 55.30.6; Vell. Pat., 2.112.4).

⁹⁷ Will (1954:598-600) and Simon (1986a:188-9) suggested Diana as the female figure, the latter also adding composite references to Luna and Bendis, whilst judging her colleague to be Mercury.

⁹⁸ Jeppesen, 1994:344-6. Interestingly Jeppesen argues that the captive women are personified provinces themselves, that on the left Pannonia accompanied with the Pannonian leader Pinnes, that on the right *Dalmatia* with its leader and Bato (1994:345).

⁹⁹ See 'Bendis' in *LIMC* 78, 95-7 (Goceva and Popov, 1981).

¹⁰⁰ Zanker, 1988:232; Pollini, 1993:270.

¹⁰¹ Note this figure's native headgear, which both Pollini (1993:271) and Jeppesen (1994:344) describe as a '*petasos*', whilst the latter also suggests perhaps the Macedonian '*kausia*'.

¹⁰² Pollini, 1993:271.

whether Cn.Pompeius, Augustus or future usurpers. In the cameo she probably serves primarily to commemorate the contribution of previously Spanish based Legions transferred to the German front following the AD 9 Varian disaster, and the native Spanish auxiliaries who accompanied them.¹⁰³

But greater symbolism is at work. Augustus here after all assumes the guise of Jupiter, restoring order and saving civilization in the face of the chaos threatened by barbarian forces (whether Pannonian or German) in the lower field.¹⁰⁴ Hispania no longer appears as an acolyte of disorder, but as a member of the civilized world once again, an ally aligned with Rome. She had once joined Gallia and Parthia in an east-west motif of domination on the cuirass of the Prima Porta statue, provinces united in defeat. And here too an east-west motif appears again. But now this conveys a clear message of a Roman world united, with auxiliaries drawn from east (Thrace) and west (Hispania) joining the legions to defeat the barbarian enemy.¹⁰⁵ The change in tone from the Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges monument or the Prima Porta cuirass is stark, but reflective of the stability and peace, and increasing integration of Iberia in the later Augustan Principate. Conquered Hispania will now be a partner in empire. As Zanker states, in the Roman forum the provinces were still treated as the objects of Roman conquest, but for the first time here we see the personified provinces having an active share in imperial victories ascribed to them.¹⁰⁶



Fig.25

ii) The Boscoreale cups

An integrated Hispania may also be seen on the Boscoreale cups.¹⁰⁷ Named for the locale near Naples in which they were found, these silver cups celebrate Augustus both as the ultimate *imperator* and the divine creator, and maintainer, of order (*BR* 1), with Tiberius his successor (*BR* 2). Thus *BR* 1: 1 (Fig.26) sees an enthroned Augustus surrounded by various deities and personifications, amongst them Roma bestriding a pile of captured weapons, Venus and the Genius of the Roman people, cornucopia in hand, placing a statue of victory

¹⁰³ On the Spanish contribution see Parker, 1961:86-7; Webster, 1969:56 with n3; Pollini, 1978:208 with n130-131.

¹⁰⁴ Pollini, 1993:265. Concerning gigantomachy, see Innes, 1979; Hardie, 1986; Whitaker, 2005.

¹⁰⁵ Pollini, 1993:272.

¹⁰⁶ Zanker, 1988:232.

¹⁰⁷ In general, see Kuttner (1995), with a comprehensive bibliography.

on a globe held by the *princeps*. Meanwhile Mars leads a procession of personified provinces in attendance of Augustus. Hispania stands amongst them, the outmost of the back row, behind her steadfast companion Gallia. Armed now with lance and sword, she wears a wreath of olive leaves. Her hair is unbound and head bowed.¹⁰⁸ Yet this is no recalcitrant and uncivilized province. More akin to the *Gemma Augustea* in tone than the Prima Porta statue, she bows in deference to Mars and Augustus, her just and proper master, not in humiliation or grief for her defeat.¹⁰⁹ Crucially for the first time we see the introduction into the visual depiction of Hispania of attributes referring to her produce. The fecundity, of the south and east at least, already dominated certain literary examinations of Iberia, as we have seen in the previous chapter. With the appearance of olive leaves accompanying *BR 1: 1*'s Hispania we see the visual counterpart to Strabo's literary Iberia, obedient and fecund. Indeed, the fertility of Spain, with its vast yield of olives and wheat, subsequently became a mainstay of her depiction, notably upon the Neronian civil war era coins referenced above and especially under Hadrian (e.g. *RIC* 2, 326a, C 1270a (e.g. Fig.25)).¹¹⁰ *BR 1: 1* shows the beginning of this transition.



Fig.26



Fig.27

¹⁰⁸ Kuttner (1995:71) refers to the similarity of this with the image from the coins of Albinus, but believes that the picture overall is not one of barbarity.

¹⁰⁹ Kuttner, 1995:16.

¹¹⁰ In later periods Spain was seen as unrivalled for olive production. See Pliny, *HN*, 17.31; Statius, *Silv.*, 2.7.28-29; Claud., *Stil.*, 2.218ff. One may also observe the olive wreathed personification from the square of guilds at Ostia (see Toynbee, 1934:103; Becatti, 1961:46-7; Henig, 1983:122 with n52; Connolly, 1998:129). For further discussion on both the literary and visual depiction of Hispania after Augustus, see Torregaray Pagola, 2004:312.

This is bound up inextricably with the theme of the *pax Augusta* that pervades *BR I*, not to mention so much Augustan art and literature in general. The cosmocratic rule of Augustus has brought peace and prosperity to the entire empire. Hispania's representation, in conjunction with those of the other provinces and the globe within the *princeps*' hand, clearly reflects this. Strong, bountiful and absolutely loyal to the *princeps* and Rome, she remains dominated. But this domination is the very thing that has resulted in her prosperity, a truth which she recognises and so pays loyal homage to the *princeps*. This is bound up with the other imagery present on the cup, with Roma demonstrating the peace her efforts have won by standing upon the weapons of the warlike vanquished, as she does on the *Ara Pacis* (see below), whilst the cornucopia of the Genius of the Roman people bursts forth with the resultant fertility. This interplays with the scene envisioned on *BR I*: 2 (Fig.27), where the peace brought through victory is expressed through the depiction of Augustus accepting the capitulation and child hostages of a northern barbarian tribe, a demonstration of loyalty to the bringer of *pax*. Kuttner suggests that this scene is devoid of triumphalism, instead expressing benevolent imperialism.¹¹¹ This is doubtful; as noted above, and as shall be expanded below, the representation of child hostages in Roman art in this way was overtly triumphalistic, however much Augustus is displayed with an air of *clementia*.¹¹² But I do recognise the scenes of *BR I*: 2 as providing perhaps a realistic representation of the actual *pax Augusta* in action that is alluded to in allegorical form on *BR I*: 1; the vanquished are defeated and dominated and peace is the result.

Regardless, Hispania is being employed as part of wider images designed to convey messages concerning the consequences of the Augustan Principate for the empire. If, as many believe, these scenes are not just private art (which in itself would be interesting enough) but actually drew inspiration from a public monument then potentially we observe in *BR I* a representation of Hispania that may have been present in physical form at Rome in the latter part of the reign of Augustus. Kuttner, believing the hostage scene a depiction of the *Primores Galliarum* of 13, suggests *BR I* recalls a monument constructed around c.8-7, most likely within the Forum of Caesar.¹¹³ Zanker, meanwhile, sees in *BR I* a visit to the northern frontier by Augustus c.15-8, and a monument subsequently raised c.AD 12 to commemorate Tiberius' second triumph.¹¹⁴ Pollini, and especially Kleiner, were rather more sceptical of the

¹¹¹ Kuttner, 1995:80, 91-2, 99-101.

¹¹² Galinsky, 1996:66.

¹¹³ Kuttner, 1995:31; 100; 195-7.

¹¹⁴ Zanker, 1988:228-9.

notion of any monument.¹¹⁵ In the absence of physical evidence of such a monument, certainty escapes us. The depiction of an olive leaf wreathed Hispania, however, whether public or private, is still a striking example of the evolving iconography of Spain under Augustus and its connection with contemporary developments. Yet if such a monument did exist at Rome it would not have been alone.

3.4 Representations of Spain and the *Ara Pacis*

BR 1 has raised the question of monuments in Augustan Rome that may have featured Hispania, or alluded to the Spanish provinces in other ways. We began this chapter by noting Zanker's erroneous assertion that the Cantabrian War was not referenced anywhere in the visual arts. Certainly Zanker was correct to emphasise that the conventions of Augustan art were not to show war itself but rather the peace that resulted from conflict.¹¹⁶ Yet leaving aside the issue of lost monuments, which will be discussed below, it must be reiterated that the celebration of peace resulting from war is itself a celebration of military victory. In this sense, leaving aside the monuments we have already discussed, the Spanish campaigns of Augustus and the settlement that followed it are directly featured on perhaps the greatest piece of surviving Roman art of all, the *Ara Pacis*. Heavy with a multiplicity of overlapping themes and symbols, it is at once a

Fig.28



Fig.29

¹¹⁵ Though Pollini (1978:291 with n132) was sceptical he admitted that *BR I* may have drawn inspiration from various public reliefs. Kleiner (1997:377-80) rejected outright the existence of any monument.

¹¹⁶ Note the exceptions highlighted by Kleiner, 1992:84-6; 112-3.

celebration of dynasty and the mythology and values of the ‘reborn’ Republic.¹¹⁷

Yet it is also a triumphal monument of the first order, its creation voted in 13 as a celebration of Augustus’ successful return from finalising the reorganisation of the western provinces (*RG*, 12.2), awarded in lieu of a triumph the *princeps* refused to celebrate.¹¹⁸ Indeed, Hispania featured among the procession of provinces gracing the inner altar. The fragmentary state of these friezes ensures comment on her appearance is difficult, though the tone of the *Ara Pacis* would perhaps suggest parallels with *BR* 1.1.¹¹⁹ Yet direct allusions to the Spanish provinces and events there can be observed throughout the monument. Peace, abundance and prosperity is persistently juxtaposed with victory in war, the former the consequence of the latter, most notably in the interplay between the mythological scenes that adorn the external friezes of the shorter east and west walls of the monument. Thus on the eastern walls Roma, bestriding a pile of weapons and possibly flanked by *Honos* and *Virtus* (Fig.28),¹²⁰ contrasts with a Tellus-like deity who sits opposite, surrounded by the opulent products of peace (Fig.29).¹²¹ Meanwhile, the western walls depict the war god Mars with Romulus and Remus, suckled by the wolf (Fig.30), counter posed with the peaceful elder Aeneas arriving in Italy and sacrificing to the Penates (Fig.31).¹²² Note the analogue between the arrival of Aeneas in Italy from Troy after much adventure and that of Augustus from

¹¹⁷ On the *Ara Pacis* in general, see Ryberg, 1949; Weinstock, 1960; Toynbee, 1961; Simon, 1968; Zanker, 1988:122-3, 172-83; Rose, 1990; Kleiner, 1992:90-115; 2005:esp. 218-222; Kellum, 1994; Castriota, 1995; Torelli, 1996; Galinsky, 1996:141-55; Clarke, 2003:19-28.

¹¹⁸ Torelli, 1982:48; Hannestad, 1986:68. In contrast, see Kleiner, 1992:12. On the *Ara Pacis* within the *RG* see Scheid, 2007:47; Cooley, 2009:154-7.

¹¹⁹ On the personifications see Kahler, 1954; De Angelis Bertolotti, 1985; Smith 1988:72-3; Liverani, 1995:220-1.

¹²⁰ See below.

¹²¹ On the identity of this deity and her accompanying figures and iconography, and the multilayers of symbolism here, see Simon, 1968:28-30; Pollini, 1978:130-1; Torelli, 1982:39;41-2; Zanker, 1988:172-5; De Grummond, 1990; Kleiner, 1992:93;96; Galinsky, 1996:148-9; Clarke, 2003:25.

¹²² Galinsky, 1996:164.

Spain; certainly Horace (*Carm.*, 3.14.3-4) had drawn an explicit connection between the two, ‘...*Caesar hispana repetit penatis*...’.¹²³ As the promise of the Tellus panel is due to the *adventus* of Aeneas, the *reditus* of Augustus from pacified Spain and Gaul will lead to the new founding of the *gens* (the Aeneas panel), of the *urbs* (the *lupercal* panel), and ultimately culminate in the triumph of Rome (the Roma panel).¹²⁴

Meanwhile, images of fertility and bountifulness adorn the inner and lower friezes of the outer walls, symbols of the new golden age, interplaying with the remaining threat of war in the form of snakes and scorpions lurking in the foliage (Figs.32-3).¹²⁵ *Pax Augusta* runs through all of this, but it is also joined by *Victoria* and *Felicitas*, without which *pax* has no identity.¹²⁶ Even the location of the monument suggests such juxtaposition; one mile from the sacred *pomerium*, the demarcation between the domestic and military *imperium* of magistrates, that is, between peace and war.¹²⁷

Fig.30



Fig.31

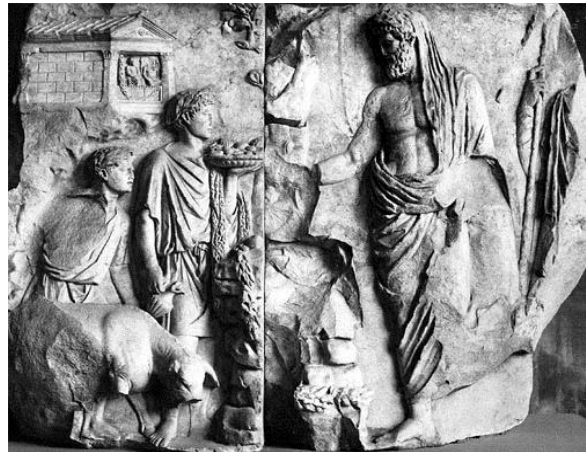


Fig.32 (above)

Fig.33 (Right)



¹²³ Kleiner, 1992:93; Galinsky, 1996:142.

¹²⁴ Torelli, 1982:42; 43.

¹²⁵ Galinsky, 1996:152. For analysis of the scenes of abundance contained in the friezes, see Castriota, 1995.

¹²⁶ Fears, 1981b:804-8; Ramage, 1997:137.

¹²⁷ Torelli, 1982:29-30; Galinsky, 1996:142.

But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the *Ara Pacis* for our purposes is featured on the upper tiers of the long northern and southern walls. Here, amidst a solemn procession of the Senatorial aristocracy, we find a number of children. Of particular interest is a pair of boys, one on the northern wall (N-34 (Fig.34)) and one on the south (S-30 (Fig.35)).¹²⁸ N-34 is a half-naked toddler and wears a torque. S-30 is older, dressed in eastern attire and is accompanied by a woman, presumably his mother. Some identify these children as Gaius and Lucius (or at least one of them as such), dressed for participation in the Trojan games, as described by Virgil (*Aen.*, 5.556).¹²⁹ In contrast others view these children as barbarian princes, perhaps a far more persuasive proposition.¹³⁰ The bare backside of N-34 is hardly befitting the son of a patrician, whilst neither he nor S-30 wears a bulla, which no Roman child would go without during participation in the dangerous Trojan games.¹³¹ Furthermore, Kleiner and Buxton highlight that Agrippa's sons had not yet emerged as major figures at Rome.¹³² Rather, one should see S-30 as an eastern prince, N-34 a Gallic one.¹³³ If such identifications are true then this is another east-west motif expressing Augustus' universal pacification.¹³⁴ N-34 would thus represent the pacification of both Gaul and Spain. Yet

¹²⁸ I follow Pollini (1987:22) in referring to the children as S-30 and N-34. For a discussion of the wider portraiture of the *Ara Pacis*, see Bender, 1985.

¹²⁹ Toynbee, 1953:84; 88; Torelli, 1982:48 with n72; Zanker, 1988:217-8; Holliday, 1990:548. Kleiner (1992:93) concurs, though allows for the possibility that these children could be those of foreign kings mentioned in *RG*, 4.3. See Ostenberg (2009:141) on the exhibition of family members in the triumphal procession.

¹³⁰ Simon, 1968:18; Rose, 1990; 2005:36-44; Kuttner, 1995:102. Note Pollini, who initially saw Gaius and Lucius (1978:106) but later came to believe these were barbarian princes (1986:453n3; 1987:27). Ferris (2000:31) does not commit to an opinion on the identity of the pair on the *Ara Pacis* but is very useful concerning the ideological consequences of the depiction of barbarian children.

¹³¹ Kuttner, 1995:101-2.

¹³² Kleiner and Buxton, 2008:59. On the portraiture of Gaius and Lucius, see Pollini, 1987.

¹³³ See Kuttner (1995:100-1; 104), who suggests that S-30 may be Antiochus III of Commagene, whilst N-34 is perhaps the same child featured in *BR* 1.2. Further, see Pollini (1987:27) concerning a connection between *BR* 1.2 and the child from the *Ara Pacis*, as well as coins featuring similar iconography (e.g. from 8, *BMCRE* I, 84-5, 492-95). See also Kleiner and Buxton, 2008:74.

¹³⁴ Note Pollini, 1987:27. That these children serve the same purpose on the monument, and have the same status, Kuttner (1995:100) states, is indicated by their presence at the same point either side of it. Kleiner and Buxton (2008:83-4) go further, identifying N-37 as an African prince, elaborating on the east-west motif to create a triumvirate of Augustan dominance over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Kuttner, as with *BR* 1.2, sees the utilisation of N-34 and S-30 in this way as unequivocally positive. This echoes Simon, who affirmed the principle that the depiction of foreigners on the *Ara Pacis* represented pledges of friendship linking with the interior representations of provincial personifications.¹³⁵ What this amounts to is certainly global empire but more than mere dominance. As the hostage child in *BR* 1.2 appears happy rather than dishonoured by the act, sponsored by caring Roman officers, so here also they represent benevolent imperialism, *pax* for all.¹³⁶

Fig.34



I cannot agree with such a benign interpretation of the depiction of these children. Sure enough, the altar celebrates the universal peace brought by Augustus, and this was as pertinent for the provinces as it was for Rome. Barbarian princes could certainly contribute to such a sense of harmony, whilst we note the extension of the iconography of fertility and abundance on the *Ara Pacis* to the monuments of the provinces.¹³⁷ Yet this is a triumphal monument, and there are darker shades to the presence of N-34 and S-30, inextricably bound up with domination and subjugation. However much Kuttner may refer to benevolent imperialism hostage taking was an overt act of compulsion, intended to ensure acquiescence with the imperial power; one can well imagine the overarching threat to these children if this was not forthcoming. At the very least their presence here, as in triumphal processions, hinted at the obligations their people owed Rome.¹³⁸ But more than this, to control a people's children in essence represented the oppression of the autonomy of those people over their progeny, and thus by association of their



Fig.35

¹³⁵ Simon, 1968:18. Similarly, see Kleiner and Buxton, 2008.

¹³⁶ Kuttner, 1995:91-2; Kleiner and Buxton, 2008:esp. 59-60; 77. See also Currie (1996) concerning depictions of 'paternalistic' conquest.

¹³⁷ See Zanker, 1988:179; Ramage, 1997; 1998.

¹³⁸ Ostenberg, 2009:167.

tribal and cultural history.¹³⁹ As above, their bondage in effect would lead to the consequential sterility of their respective royal families that would contrast sharply with the images of fecundity and bountifulness displayed in the friezes of the *Ara Pacis*.¹⁴⁰

The ideological implications of all this are clear from the fact that the captured children of enemies were often led as trophies in triumph, a point to be emphasised: the children were *trophies* to the pacification of the east, Gaul and Spain, to the domination of the east, Gaul and Spain. Whether they are held in honour or not does not change the fact that their presence on the *Ara Pacis* is as a consequence of the *princeps*' victory in war, of which the contemporary viewer would be only too aware.¹⁴¹ The *Ara Pacis* is literally a triumphal monument: as we have stated, it was given in lieu of a triumph for Spain and Gaul Augustus had refused to hold; it marks the road to Rome from the north (and thus from the west) as the *Ara Fortuna Redux*, both constituted and dedicated in 19 and also in lieu of a triumph, marked his return on the southern approach (and thus from the east);¹⁴² it forms part of a larger complex on the *Campus Martius* celebrating his victories elsewhere, notably connected with the *horologium* and its crowning globe, a symbol of universal rule;¹⁴³ note the victor's wreath upon Augustus' head;¹⁴⁴ whilst Roma may have been flanked by *Honos* and *Virtus*, the twin aspects of military valour, associated with the triumphs of returning generals.¹⁴⁵

Such a function complements the *pax Augusta*, which denotes pacification of the enemy, and is utterly dependent on victory in war, the victories of the *princeps*.¹⁴⁶ We should note well the comments of Augustus himself; immediately following his description of the Senate's vote concerning the *Ara Pacis* in the *RG* (13.1) he refers to the '*parta victoriis pax*' that led to the closing of the gates of Ianus three times during his reign,¹⁴⁷ whilst there are

¹³⁹ Ferris, 2000:32. Further, see Ostenberg (2009:165-167) concerning the presence of an enemy's family members in the triumphal procession as symbolic of the domination of the enemy elite and control of the domestic sphere.

¹⁴⁰ Ferris, 2000:33.

¹⁴¹ See Ferris, 2000:32-33. Zanker's (1988:217-8) suggestion that such high profile places on the *Ara Pacis* would not be handed to mere barbarian children seems to ignore one of the primary roles of the altar as a triumphal monument celebrating the pacification of the empire.

¹⁴² Torelli, 1982:27-9.

¹⁴³ This complex was raised to commemorate the Actian victory, and its purpose, and the exact nature of its relationship with the *Ara Pacis*, has been debated. See Buchner, 1982; Schütz, 1990; Barton, 1995:44-6; Heslin, 2007; Cooley, 2009:156.

¹⁴⁴ Hannestad, 1986:68.

¹⁴⁵ Torelli, 1982:38, with numismatic examples. See also Hannestad, 1986:73.

¹⁴⁶ See Fears (1981b:804-8), Gruen (1985), Ramage (1997:137) and Galinsky (1996:107), the latter stressing that the idyll of the *Ara Pacis* should not be seen in a vacuum but in the hard won battles of the *princeps*.

¹⁴⁷ Note that Ryberg actually suggested the gates of Ianus may have been shut in 13 in conjunction with the voting of the *Ara Pacis* (1949:93n101).

another three occasions where the verb *paco* is used to describe the pacification of the Mediterranean, Gaul, Spain and the Alps (25.1, 26.2-3).¹⁴⁸ Indeed, the relation with Ianus¹⁴⁹ is pertinent since here there is yet another clear link to the concept that peace is achieved by military victory.¹⁵⁰ This balance is not unusual on triumphal monuments, and would become customary on imperial arches in due course.¹⁵¹

In Chapter 1 we discussed the ideological rather than strategic necessity of Augustus' presence in Spain on campaign and the Cantabrian War's role in sustaining his position. The *Ara Pacis*, raised when Spain was definitively pacified, is central to such concerns. Its entire iconography is geared to support the ruling regime and its collaborators; it is, as Lamp states, a 'visual justification' of the actions, campaigns and governance of Octavian/Augustus, and one in which the viewer would have been an active participant.¹⁵² The altar served at least in part as an advertisement of the final pacification of Gaul and Spain, as closing the gates of Ianus following the Cantabrian War had promoted the *princeps*' 'victory' in that conflict, as we have seen in Chapter 1. The altar and its friezes would ensure the conquests in the west would be remembered into the future, hopefully eternally, and would transmit the glory earned in far flung Spain and Gaul to a citizen body which would have little experience of the conflicts in those places or even a geographical knowledge of them.¹⁵³ In this sense it is similar in ideology, if not in form, to the personifications of the provinces we have previously discussed, to the *Forum Augustum* and the rest of the *Campus Martius*. By here focussing on the *adventus* of the *princeps* from the Spanish provinces it involved the viewer of the friezes in the outcome of the war, even if they had not witnessed the actual battles, and hence prolonged and sustained the *princeps*' Spanish victory.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ This language is echoed in that of inscriptions found in Baetica celebrating Augustus' '*Pax Perpetua*' and '*Concordia Augusta*' (*ILS* 3786). See also the dedication raised by Baeticans describing their province as '*pacata*' (*CIL* VI 31267(cf. p 3778) = *ILS* 103 = *AE* 1889, 60 = *EJ*, 1976:42), the statue accompanying which will be discussed below. See Gruen, 1985:60; Ramage, 1997:137; Scheid, 2007:69-71; Cooley, 2009:158; 222.

¹⁴⁹ For the links between *pax* and Ianus, see Ryberg, 1949:93; Simon, 1968:15; Torelli, 1982:31-5 with references; Galinsky, 1996:146. See also Chapter 1.

¹⁵⁰ The notion of abundance as a consequence of victory is very important to the pictorial programme of the entire complex and is observed on earlier coins that appeared in Spain between 17-15 that feature a horn of plenty, Capricorn and globe. See Galinsky (1996:146 with fig. 53), though he does not provide the coin's catalogue number.

¹⁵¹ Torelli, 1982:44.

¹⁵² Lamp, 2009:13.

¹⁵³ Note Hölscher (2006) concerning the purpose of triumphal monumentalisation and the power and lasting effect of visual imagery.

¹⁵⁴ Hölscher, 2006:37.

3.5 Lost representations

Thus far we have focussed on images of Spain that have physically survived, but this in a sense is prejudicial. Beyond the magnificent examples already highlighted there is a number of monuments which may have contained allusions to the Cantabrian campaigns and to other aspects of Augustan Spain that have simply not withstood the passage of time. They survive only in the words of their fragmented base inscriptions or in the fleeting references of ancient writers, and the form of what must have been impressive artistic works we are left only to imagine. After 20 Parthia predominates within the artistic landscape of the Augustan empire, as prior to this it was Actium. As with the lost books of Livy and the autobiography of Augustus, we are left to ponder how different our view of Augustan Spain in the monumental cityscape of Rome may have been if more of the following works had survived.

i) ‘Geographical’ monuments and the *Forum Augustum*

To begin with, though not primarily created to celebrate Spanish conquests, nor including iconography that directly referenced Spain, general ‘geographical’ works such as the Map of Agrippa, the *Milliarum Aureum* (cf. Cass. Dio, 54.8.4; Plut., *Galb.*, 24.4; Pliny, *HN*, 3.66; Tac., *Hist.*, 1.27; Suet., *Otho*, 6), a monumental milestone raised in the *Forum Romanum* in 20 indicating the distance between Rome and the great cities of the empire, and not least the *RG*, of course, played their part in glorifying the *princeps* and reinforcing certain stereotypes concerning Iberia.¹⁵⁵ Their very existence after all was a consequence of conquest, and reinforced claims of Augustan cosmocracy, the extremities of the western provinces and exotic distant cities like Gades now measured, defined and presented to the Roman people (see Chapters 1 and 2).

More direct references to Hispania may be proposed. Whilst there is little evidence to suggest that the pacification of Spain was marked with anything like as impressive a monument in the *Forum Augustum* as the Parthian Arch it was perhaps celebrated in different ways.¹⁵⁶ A passing comment by Velleius (2.39.2) may be crucial: ‘...*Hispanias aliasque*

¹⁵⁵ On the map of Agrippa, see esp. Tierney, 1962; Moynihan, 1985; Nicolet, 1991:98-114. On the *Milliarum Aureum*, see Richardson, 1992:254; France, 1993:922.

¹⁵⁶ It has recently been suggested that a fragment of sculpture, apparently a spear, found in the *Forum Augustum* was drawn from a monument to the Cantabrian War, but this must remain conjecture. See Polito, 2012 with references. For overviews of the celebration of the Parthian ‘victory’, see for e.g. Zanker, 1988:183-192; Rose, 2005. For general overviews of the *Forum Augustum* see the works of Zanker (1970; 1988).

*gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet...*¹⁵⁷ Velleius is apparently referring to *tituli*, the sentence forming part of an introduction to his description of the conquered provinces. Is Velleius here referring to a specific monument, or perhaps a series of monuments, dedicated to the victories of Augustus, Spain amongst them? There has been much debate. Some have proposed a connection between the *tituli* and the *quadriga*, a chariot group carrying Augustus and Victoria which acted as the centrepiece of the forum (cf. *RG*, 35), perhaps in the form of inscribed columns recounting Augustan victories, Spain among them, in a similar manner to Octavian's lists of defeated Alpine foes upon the La Turbie monument.¹⁵⁸ However, others have discredited this, questioning any connection between the *tituli* and the *quadriga*, given the necessary size any inscriptions recounting Augustus' victories would need to be, particularly considering the magnitude of the relevant *RG* passages and the La Turbie monument.¹⁵⁹ This is a point further reinforced by the fact that the *RG* mentions only that the *quadriga* featured a dedication to Augustus's proclamation as *Pater Patriae*. Surely a mammoth compilation of the conquests of Augustus would have warranted a mention, not just here, but in other sources?

Alternatives have been offered, often focussing on Velleius' use of the plural, and hence the suggestion that *tituli* may refer to a number of inscriptions or monuments within the forum referring to various Augustan victories rather than a single consolidated inscription; thus as Alföldy states, Velleius refers not to the provinces whose *names* adorned the forum, but to provinces whose *monuments* decorated the forum as a whole.¹⁶⁰ Another interesting hypothesis is the suggestion that Velleius here envisages a series of images or statues representing provinces and conquered peoples related to the Caryatids and the *clipei* that decorated the second level of the portico.¹⁶¹ The *clipei* may have borne different manifestations of Jupiter Ammon in order to represent the various Augustan victories, Rose proposing in particular another motif of east-west conquest, with Gaul and Egypt depicted, whilst Ferris suggests the depiction of decapitated barbarians.¹⁶² The *tituli* would then refer

¹⁵⁷ '...besides Spain and other countries whose names adorn his forum...'

¹⁵⁸ Notably Bracessi (1973:25-40; 1981:11-38), who proposed that the *tituli* were based on Augustus' recount of his conquests in *RG*, 25-33.

¹⁵⁹ Zanker, 1970:30n44; Ramage, 1987:141; Alföldy, 1992:67; 69-70; 72-75; Scheid, 2007:92-3; Cooley, 2009:275-6.

¹⁶⁰ Alföldy, 1992:69. See also Ramage, 1987:141.

¹⁶¹ Whatever the concepts behind their Greek origins, Caryatids to Roman minds at least were a manifestation of the domination of the defeated (c.f. Vitruvius, 1.1.5). See Nicolet, 1991:43; Kellum, 1996:171. Meanwhile, the *clipei* certainly alluded to conquest, reminiscent as they were to the shields hung upon the Parthenon by Alexander following the Granicus (Kuttner, 1995:82).

¹⁶² Rose, 1990:461; Ferris, 2000:34. See also Ganzert and Kockel, 1988:192; Nicolet, 1991:43.

to the inscriptions accompanying the *clipei*, reporting the victories of the emperor.¹⁶³ Smith, meanwhile, believes that *tituli* most likely refers to inscribed bases, perhaps forming a kind of official list of conquest.¹⁶⁴ Certainly, Kuttner notes that the use of *tituli* to denote assemblages of images with important titles was common under both the Republic and empire (e.g. cf. Juv., 1.129; 5.110; 8.69, 242; 10.143; 11.86); if it is this to which Velleius refers then the personifications of the *Sebasteion* (see below) may very well have been inspired by the images found in the *Forum Augustum*.¹⁶⁵

Given this proposal for a series of images or statues, which would undoubtedly have included representations of the Spanish provinces, the discovery in the forum of what appears to be an inscribed statue base featuring a dedication to Augustus from the people of Baetica could be very important.¹⁶⁶ We cannot be sure which statue occupied the base,¹⁶⁷ but if it was indeed, as Alföldy suggests, a personified Baetica then we have an Iberian province, accompanying a series of other provincial statues, present in the *Forum Augustum*, installed by the provincials themselves, probably in celebration of Augustus's appointment as *Pater Patriae* in 2.¹⁶⁸ Kuttner hypothesises that the sculpture was perhaps similar to the Pompeian coins of Sabinus (see above), with a central statue of Augustus attended by two personifications, presumably representing Baetica and her cities.¹⁶⁹ However, perhaps we may imagine Baetica as more akin to the Hispania of *BR* 1.1, accompanied by the produce of her land, with ears of wheat, or perhaps vine leaves.

Regardless, any statue erected by the Spaniards themselves was unlikely to be overly triumphal in tone, rather stressing loyalty and prosperity. But we must bear in mind the wider contexts of the *Forum Augustum*. This is a space dedicated to the celebration of Augustus' military prowess, its very existence testament to his conquests, including those in Spain. Built *ex manubiis*, the wealth of the north-west would have contributed to the funds for the building work just as the weapons of its tribes would have adorned the doors of the temple of Mars Ultor (cf. Ov., *Fast.*, 5.545; 561).¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the Spanish victories of the past would be visually depicted both in the *elogia* of the *summi viri* that lined the forum and in the

¹⁶³ Nicolet, 1991:43.

¹⁶⁴ Smith, 1988:73-4

¹⁶⁵ Nicolet, 1991:46-7; Kuttner, 1995:81-2.

¹⁶⁶ As above, *CIL* VI 31267.

¹⁶⁷ For his part Curchin (1991:178-9) sees a statue of Augustus.

¹⁶⁸ Alföldy, 1992:70-4 with n32; Liverani, 1995:221; Kuttner, 1995:76.

¹⁶⁹ Kuttner, 1995:76. This would echo a similar monument raised by the provincials of Ulterior in the *Largo Argentina* in dedication to L.Aelius Lamia (*cos.* 22). See *Ibid.*, 42; 73. See also Eck, 1984:146; 148.

¹⁷⁰ Richardson, 1992:160.

triumphal reports inscribed upon the *Fasti Triumphales*.¹⁷¹ These are the visual equivalent of the literary constructs highlighted in chapter 1 that fostered the genealogy of conquest; the Spanish victories of the past point to those of Augustus in the present, with the Cantabrian War depicted by the regime as the culmination of a two hundred year old conflict in which the greatest names of the Republic had laid the foundations for ultimate Augustan victory. Such monuments simplify history, filtering it through an easily understandable medium that both commemorates events in a manner that glorified Augustus whilst also allowing inconvenient truths to be quietly passed over,¹⁷² from Octavian's full and enthusiastic participation in fraternal strife to the weakness of Augustan claims to victory in Spain.

It is ironic that the iconography of conquest that filled every available space of the *Forum Augustum* was destined to be replicated throughout the empire, not least with particular enthusiasm in Spain, the provincial elite competing to outdo one another in the grandeur of their munificence, resplendent with the very symbols of their own domination. However provincials conceptualised such symbols, at Rome the loyal intentions of those who raised Baetica would be irrelevant to the lay inhabitants of the city who would surely consider their monuments in the iconographical context of the rest of the Forum; that is to say, as statements of the dominance of Augustus over the Iberian Peninsula.

ii) The *Porticus ad Nationes*, Pompeius' *Nationes*, the *Hadrianeum* and the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias

Another enigmatic monument now lost is the *Porticus ad Nationes*, a collection of personified peoples conquered by Augustus, perhaps located in the *Campus Martius*.¹⁷³ In the *Aeneid* (8.720-723) Virgil refers to the shield of Aeneas as depicting Augustus sitting before the temple of Apollo, receiving the gifts of nations and fixing them to posts.¹⁷⁴ This is an expression of conquest, an expression of expansion. Perhaps this says much about the tone of the monument, since the commentary of Servius (8.721; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 36.39) chooses this moment to inform us that '*porticum enim Augustus fecerat in qua simulacra omnium*

¹⁷¹ On the *Summi Viri*, see esp. Sage, 1979; Zanker, 1988:210-215; Geiger, 2008; Shaya, 2013. On the *Fasti Triumphales*, see esp. Beard, 2007:61-7 with references.

¹⁷² Shaya, 2013:83-4.

¹⁷³ Eck, 1972:463-73; Richardson, 1992:316-7; Cancik, 1997; Coarelli, 1999:138-9; Favro, 2005:244. Note that Moterroso (2009) proposed the *Forum Augustum* as the location of this monument.

¹⁷⁴ '*...dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis postibus.*'

*gentium conlocaverat: quae porticus appellabatur 'ad nationes.'*¹⁷⁵ Thus the personifications of the Portico celebrated the ecumenical conquests of Augustus, laying out yet again that constant theme of cosmocratic domination. Indeed, the very name under which Servius chooses to describe the Portico may be illuminating; Arce Martínez proposes that the terms used to designate the peoples of the empire, and thus their representations, may have been loaded, *nationes*, and *gentes*, used in a military context to denote savagery, *populi*, *populus* and *civitas* to characterise people with more recognisable features of civility.¹⁷⁶ This being the case, we may well imagine the manner in which Hispania, or her constituent parts, would have appeared. On the other hand, Liverani suggested that the *Porticus ad Nationes* actually referred to the monument of Pompeius (see below), with Servius highlighting nearby artworks raised by the provinces in dedication to Augustus. These statues would celebrate the peaceful dedication of the empire's peoples to Augustus rather than their oppression, in the manner of the *Demos* personifications of the Greeks rather than the triumphalistic statues of Pompeius.¹⁷⁷

Literary references shed little light on the form of the monument and its set of personifications; they may have been free standing statues, or a series of images, or perhaps caryatid like figures. Certainly Moterroso recently suggested a series of reliefs flanking the forum, set beneath the caryatids. Similar monuments may offer indications. For instance, the influence of Pompeius' fourteen sculptures, each a nation or people conquered in his campaigns and set up in his theatre, is clearly present (cf. Suet., *Ner.*, 46.1; Pliny, *HN*, 36.41). These statues would have been inherently triumphal in tone, accompanied in the same complex by a heroic-nude *imperator* statue of Pompeius armed with a sword and holding a globe.¹⁷⁸ The monument of Augustus probably struck a similarly triumphant mood, and, as above, acted to challenge the cosmocratic credentials of Pompeius in favour of the greater achievements of Augustus. Indeed, Josephus (*AJ*, 15.272-3) describes a comparable monument raised by Herod in his own theatre, here to celebrate the conquests of Augustus.¹⁷⁹

A later monument was the *Hadrianeum*. A temple in the *Campus Martius* dedicated to Hadrian by his successor Antoninus Pius in AD 145, it featured twenty personified

¹⁷⁵ 'Augustus had made a portico in which he had placed images of all the peoples, this portico was called *ad nationes*.' See Smith, 1988:72, with translation.

¹⁷⁶ Arce Martínez, 1980:80.

¹⁷⁷ Liverani, 1995:243-6.

¹⁷⁸ Nicolet, 1991:38; Favro, 1996:59; Cancik, 1997:130-1.

¹⁷⁹ Moterroso, 2009:188.



Fig.36

provinces raised in a decorated attic (Fig.36).¹⁸⁰ The tone of the monument has prompted debate. On the one hand there are those who view the *Hadrianeum* as mirroring Hadrian's provincial series of coins, and thus raised in the context of his policies of consolidation and peaceful coexistence within the empire, in a later period of greater integration.¹⁸¹ An idealized Hispania would perhaps appear then in the manner of her first century AD self, carrying ears of wheat, with olive branches replacing spears.¹⁸² On the other hand there are those who view the *Hadrianeum* as independent of the provincial series, and more triumphalist, as befitting a monument accessed through the *Campus Martius* and whose precinct was entered through a triumphal arch.¹⁸³ Here again we find *gentes* rather than provinces, some with crossed arms in the manner of captives, and apparently armed, interspersed between images of weaponry and military trophies; in other words, they are conquered and surrounded by the spoils garnered from their defeat. Not that the female personifications are bedraggled and shamed, as with Hispania from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. Yet they are nevertheless dominated.¹⁸⁴ Ultimately, whether one considers the tone of the personifications of the *Hadrianeum* as benevolent or triumphalistic they are manifestations of the power of Rome and the emperor over the peoples of the empire.¹⁸⁵

Similarly, and perhaps even more pertinently, we have the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias. A temple complex raised as a focus for the worship of Aphrodite Prometor and the imperial cult,¹⁸⁶ amongst its many sculptures (emperors, imperial family members, personifications of the Ocean, the Earth, day and night, etc) are images of standing draped women, rendered in high relief on inscribed bases, designed to look like a line of statues in a colonnade (e.g.

¹⁸⁰ Toynbee (1934) is still essential. See also Liverani, 1995:229-230; Kuttner, 1995:51-52; Cancik, 1997:136-42; Carey, 2003:67; Hughes, 2009, with references.

¹⁸¹ Toynbee, 1934:3; Hinks, 1939:74; De Hoz, 2007:133.

¹⁸² Toynbee, 1934:102-3. It is perhaps best to observe the provincial coin series of Hadrian, issued between AD 134 and 138, rather than the figures of the *Hadrianeum* since the identification of many of the personifications found here remains controversial. Thus see *BMCRE* III, 340; 351-352; 522-523; 787; 491-492; 883-890, 1645-1648, 1814-1822.

¹⁸³ Hughes, 2009:19 with n22.

¹⁸⁴ Cancik, 1997; 136-7; Hughes, 2009:7.

¹⁸⁵ Indeed, Hughes (2009:16) suggests a further purpose of illustrating the stratification of society at Rome, demonstrating the disenfranchisement of the viewer from any real knowledge or control of the empire.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, 1990:89.

‘Krete’, Fig.37). These represented the *ethne*, different peoples and nations differentiated by their diverse garments, attributes and poses.¹⁸⁷ There are sixteen surviving named bases, featuring peoples from all over the empire, with several more without inscriptions and five relief panels, though perhaps as many as forty-five *ethne* may have originally been present; crucially the Callaeci is amongst those whose name has survived to confirm its presence here¹⁸⁸.

The initial stages of the *Sebasteion* began under Tiberius, running up to Nero’s reign.¹⁸⁹ Yet the emphasis here is seemingly on the empire of Augustus, the intention to glorify the conquest of the by now divine *princeps* and his extension of the frontiers. The focus is resolutely on the outermost provinces and, indeed, on peoples not even in the empire, from the Callaeci in the west to the Arabs in the east; Rome’s, and Augustus’, rule over the entire *oikoumene* (cf. *RG*, 26).¹⁹⁰ What we see here may very well be inspired by the *Porticus ad Nationes*; doubtless many of the names

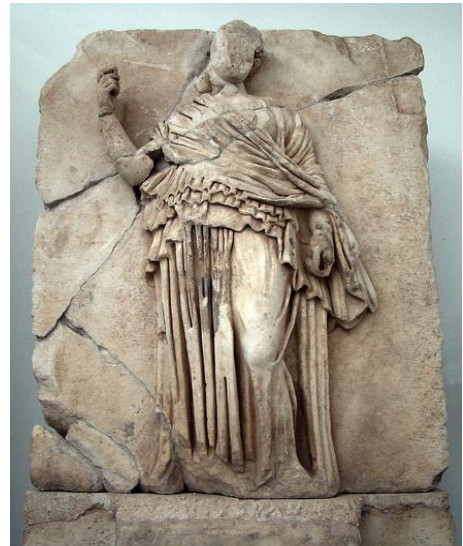


Fig.37

of the nations featured would have been entirely alien to the people of Aphrodisias, yet the assertion of the universal rule of the emperor would have been central in a complex concerned with his worship.¹⁹¹ This being the case, it is unfortunate that only the base of the Callaeci survives. Yet some of those *ethne* reliefs that do survive are represented with arms crossed, as if captives led in triumphal procession.¹⁹² Given the triumphal tone of the

¹⁸⁷ Smith, 1988:53; 1990:92. See also Smith, 1987.

¹⁸⁸ The other names that survive show the presence of the following: three islands, Cyprus, Crete and Sicily and twelve *ethne*, the Egyptians, Judaeans, Arabs, Bosporans, Bessi, Dacians, Dardanians, Iapodes, Andizeti, Pirousti, Raeti, Trumpilini (Smith, 1987:96).

¹⁸⁹ Smith, 1990:89.

¹⁹⁰ Smith, 1990:92; Edwards, 2003:66. De Hoz, 2007:134. Reynolds (1981:326-27; 1986:115) believed a common feature of all the peoples whose presence we can confirm was their conquest by Augustus and his generals. Note that the inclusion of peoples beyond the border of the empire echoes the practice of the triumphal procession, as during the Dalmatian triumph of Octavian, for example, when captive Morini and Suebi were displayed, despite not being the object of the procession (Ostenberg, 2009:147).

¹⁹¹ Cancik, 1997:133-5, esp. 135. See also Coarelli, 1981:27-28; Schneider, 1986:115, n785; Smith, 1988:59, 72; 1990:92. Edwards also alludes to the possibility that the *Sebasteion* drew inspiration from the *Porticus ad Nationes* but also suggests a possible relationship with the decorative scheme of the *Forum Augustum* (2003:66). As noted above, Kuttner (1995:81-82) believes that the *Sebasteion* is actually evidence of a sequence of images that decorated the *Forum Augustum* showing the conquered up to 2.

¹⁹² Smith, 1990:94.

*Sebasteion*¹⁹³ and the bitterness of the conflict in north-west Spain it is more than likely that the Callaeci, both here and in the *Porticus ad Nationes*, would have been depicted in a similarly dominated manner at Rome.

In this context it is interesting to note Dio's report of the funeral of Augustus, where personifications of those peoples added to the empire by the first *princeps* were carried in procession (Cass. Dio, 56.34.2. cf. Tac., *Ann.*, 1.8.4). Smith has suggested that the images carried may have been those from the *Porticus ad Nationes*.¹⁹⁴ The words of Dio suggest that they were carried in a kind of triumphal procession, and this surely sounds appropriate if the relation between the *Sebasteion* and the *Porticus ad Nationes* is as suggested; the Callaeci and the other representations in the Roman monument would have been portrayed in an equally defeated manner as at Aphrodisias, conveying the traditional Roman domination of the foreigner and the ideology of imperial victory that was constantly emphasised by the Augustan regime. They spoke, in the words of Smith, the 'language of conquest'.¹⁹⁵

Thus, as in our literary sources, the image of Spain played a full part in the cosmocratic messages conveyed by the Augustan regime across the visual arts, its iconography changing and developing in line with Roman intervention. By the end of the reign of the first *princeps* we have seen the beginnings of a new iconographical theme for the personified Hispania, focussing on her fertility and vital exports. This came in the wake of extensive Augustan reorganisation and the increasing integration of Spaniards into the Roman world. We must now move on to examine Augustan policy in Spain more closely.

¹⁹³ Note, for instance, the sculptural group comprising Claudius striking down *Britannia* (see Erim, 1982:279-80).

¹⁹⁴ Smith, 1988:74-5. Note, however, that Alföldy (1992:72-3) suggested a possible relationship between the provincial dedications in the *Forum Augustum* that he identified with the aforementioned *CIL VI 31267* and the images carried in the funeral procession.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, 1990:19.

Chapter 4: Augustus and the Spanish provinces: urbanisation and fiscality

The early Augustan principate was a transformative period for Spain. Provincial borders were redrawn and new political divisions created. Meanwhile, civic organisation, with all its socio-political implications, was spread with state sponsorship across Iberia. New concepts of land organisation, ownership and identity followed in the wake of such reforms, leaving vast areas, previously barely pacified, integrated fully into the Roman world for the first time.

Such reforms are not unique to Iberia, but are pursued by the Augustan regime almost everywhere, as will become clear. Yet without hyperbole the Augustan age was a watershed in the history of Roman Spain, and such is the transformation here that it provides an excellent microcosm through which to explore empire wide processes. At the heart of such processes lay fiscal imperatives and the maintenance of Roman rule following ruinous civil wars, and these are the focus of this chapter. The *princeps*' first task in Spain was provincial reform.

4.1 An overview of provincial reorganisation and urbanisation

The year 27 witnessed Augustus' first major administrative change in Iberia when the commands of Citerior and Ulterior, united since 39,¹ were separated and each was assigned a *legatus* (*legati Augusti pro praetor*). Following this Ulterior was split in two along the River Anas (Guardiana), creating Lusitania in the west, with its capital at Emerita Augusta, and Baetica in the east, with its capital at Corduba. Citerior, its capital now confirmed as Tarraco, continued as before. Augustus retained control of Citerior and Lusitania whilst Baetica reverted to the Senate. Subsequently boundary changes would occur, with the transferral of the north-west from Lusitania to Citerior during or shortly after the split,² and alterations to the border between the latter province and Baetica.³ Such boundary changes were likely in

¹ Syme, 1970:85; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:56; Salinas de Frías, 1995:111; Alföldy, 1996a:449; López Barja, 2000:34.

² On the transfer of the north-west to Citerior in 15-13, Diego Santos, 1975; Curchin, 1991:57; Rodríguez Colmenero, 2000:41; Alföldy, 2000a:184. Contrast with López Barja, who prefers a date range of 7-2 (2000:36; 38). For a later date range see also Mackie, 1983a:8; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:324.

³ On the implications of, and controversies surrounding, the *Transduriana provincia* highlighted in the 'Bronze of Bembibre' (edict of Bierzo), see the various papers in Sánchez Palencia and Mangas, 2000 and Grau Lobo and Hoyas, 2001. See also Balboa de Paz, 1999; Alföldy, 2000a; 2000b; Rodríguez Colmenero, 2000;

part motivated by Augustus' desire to exert greater control over the mining regions of Asturia-Callaecia and the *saltus Castulonensis* (the eastern Sierra Morena).⁴ Whatever his motivations, Augustus had created a tripartite division of Spain that endured until the third century AD.

The date of these changes has been debated; certainly the first *confirmed* proconsul in Baetica was Aulus Cottia in the late Augustan/early Tiberian principate, while the *RG* (28.1) mentions colonies '*in utraque Hispania*'.⁵ Yet scholarly opinion overwhelmingly favours 16/15-13,⁶ when the *RG* (12.2) describes Augustus settling Spanish and Gallic affairs; certainly in Gaul this involved a rationalisation and systematic overhaul of Roman rule, with more formal administrative structures instituted.⁷ Similar policies were likely enacted in Spain concurrently.

Provincial level reorganisation was accompanied by civic expansion. Prior to the Civil Wars official Roman and Italic settlement in Iberia remained limited and was pursued unsystematically.⁸ Post-Civil War Spain, however, witnessed profound and fundamental change. Perhaps the greatest legacy of both Caesar and Augustus in Iberia is the spread of urbanism and its consequences. Caesar's settlement is unprecedented; even if Suetonius (*Iul.*, 42.1) exaggerates the numbers dispatched to the provinces (80,000) they were clearly momentous, with a significant proportion settled in Spain.⁹ Augustan developments surpassed Caesar's; 'in no period of the Roman empire was the policy of founding new cities pursued with such vigour than under Augustus.'¹⁰ The *princeps* founded new colonies and

Rodgers, 2000; Le Roux, 2001; López Melero, 2002; Richardson, 2002; Keay, 2003:166; Castillo García, 2009; López Barja, 2010.

⁴ As above, Ozcáriz Gil (2009:324) sees these changes as contemporary, taking place prior to 2; this is based on inscriptions mentioning the governor of Citerior, Paullus Fabius Q.f. Maximus, in the north-west (*CIL* II 2518 = Alföldy 1969, 9; *HAE* 1726 = Alföldy, 1969:8; *EE*, 8.280 = *ILS* 8895 = Alföldy, 1969:9). Additionally, several milestones from around Castulo reflect the territorial change (*CIL* II 4701-11).

⁵ *CIL* VI 1396 = *ILS* 8343; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:55-6; Richardson, 1996:136; Haley, 2003:35. P.Petronius appearing on the Conobraria oath of 5-3 has been cited as a possible proconsul (Gonzalez 1988; Haley, 2003:35, who cites Castillo García, 1994).

⁶ Syme, 1969a:126; 1970:105; Alföldy, 1969:224n9; 1996:451; Roldán Hervás, 1974; Tranoy, 1981:146; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:74-80; Curchin, 1991:53; 73; Étienne, 1992:355-62; Richardson, 1996:124; 135; López Barja, 2000:36; Orejas *et al.*, 2000:71; Haley, 2003:33-4. In contrast, Albertini (1923:25-32) and Sutherland (1939:138) followed Dio (53.12.4-5), who described Baetica's transfer to the Senate in 27. Mackie (1983b:353-4), meanwhile, suggested 25.

⁷ Woolf, 1998:38.

⁸ Richardson, 1986:176.

⁹ Richardson (1996:120) provides a useful list of Caesarian foundations. See also Caballos Rufino, 2005; González Fernández, 2005a; 2005b.

¹⁰ Eck, 2007:111 The Elder Pliny (*HN*, 3.7; 8; 77-8; 4.117) is the key witness for the Spanish urban landscape under Augustus, providing figures for the various *coloniae*, *municipia* and other communities with *ius Latii* -

upgraded the status of existing native towns to *municipia*, granting citizenship or Latin rights to the inhabitants. Only a very few Augustan foundations, such as Emerita, Astigi and Caesaraugusta, which were certainly established around 25, can be dated without complication. But most Augustan settlements probably date to between 16 and 13, when Dio (54.23.7; 54.25.1) explicitly states that the *princeps* colonized various Spanish and Gallic cities.¹¹ The period 16-13 is thus a landmark for the social and legal integration of Spanish communities.¹²

Indeed, it should be remembered that alongside the great Augustan *coloniae* and *municipia* lay a large substratum of peregrine communities of varying status, *civitates stipendiariae* (tribute paying), *civitates federatae* (allied communities), and *civitates liberae* (autonomous but tax paying), undergoing similar processes as their privileged neighbours.¹³ Their expansion and its effects are as indicative of Augustus' Iberian policies as is the splendour of Emerita. Various processes and motivations, both local and imperial, contributed to Spanish urbanisation. But perhaps one of the most pertinent issues is the exertion of fiscal control, and its repercussions for Spanish society and Roman rule. For urbanisation took place against the background of wider reforms that revitalized provincial governance, frequently defining vast territories and their administrative organisation with firm boundaries and legal status for the first time. Such actions captured provincial financial resources with greater efficiency and this, I suggest, is one of the central driving forces behind Augustan provincial policy.

though some communities promoted later in the Augustan period are not acknowledged. See Brunt, 1971:235-236; Hoyos, 1979; Alföldy, 1996a:455-6; Nony, 1998:134-6; García Fernández, 2000b.

¹¹ González Fernández, 2011:276-7. For example, Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay (1995:399) hypothesise a date of 15-14 for Italica receiving municipal status, likewise Abascal Palazón *et al* (2006:188) for Segobriga. Note that many Iberian towns founded or promoted under Caesar or earlier in Augustus' reign probably received a second deduction in this period. See Jacques and Scheid, 1990:241; González Fernández, 2011:277; Ordóñez Agulla and Gonzalez Acuña, 2011:55-6. 16-13 saw the creation of major Gallic colonies like Béziers, Orange and Fréjus (Goudineau, 1996:473; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 3.31-7; Cass. Dio, 54.24.7) and expansion at existing settlements such as Lyon (Cass. Dio, 46.50.5; MacMullen, 2000:92-6).

¹² See Abascal Palazón, 2006; Ordóñez Agulla and Gonzalez Acuña, 2011:55. Mackie (1983:7) suggests general disinterest in the status of Iberian communities after Augustus, excepting Vespasian's *ius Latii* grants.

¹³ Curchin, 1991:104. For an assessment of the different types of peregrine communities that existed in the empire, see Jacques and Scheid (1990:225-6). On the organisation and status of Spanish communities under the Republic and early empire, see Bernhardt, 1975; Marín Díaz, 1988:esp. 27-38; Guichard, 1990:52-3; García Fernández, 2000b; González Román, 2002; Bravo Bosch and Fernández de Buján, 2008:84-5.

4.2 Financial structures, tax and Augustan reform

Octavian was confronted with formidable problems at the beginning of his principate. At the forefront were the State's perilous finances, drained by ruinous civil wars and facing new expenditures.¹⁴ Financial reform and an improvement in the efficiency of revenue collection beckoned. Yet it was politically wise, and ideologically useful, to maintain the principle that a citizen (i.e. Italy, provincial colonies, some *municipia civium Romanorum* and communities with *ius Italicum*) and his land would not be subject to direct taxation; exemption from taxation was a potent symbol of the continuing superiority of the citizen (cf. Gai., *Inst.*, 2.7; 2.27; 2.31; 2.46).¹⁵

Thus the burden of taxation would have to fall predominantly on Rome's provincial subjects, primarily the *civitates stipendariae* and others unequivocally owing obligations (cf. Agenius Urbicus (*Th.*, 23)).¹⁶ Rome ruled over such communities by right of conquest; legally speaking such land had passed to the Roman state prior to its return to the defeated, giving Rome the right to extract revenue, the material expression of her domination (cf. Gai., *Inst.*, 2.7).¹⁷ Since the finances of the state depended on its revenue the *princeps* had to set the provincial revenues on a firm footing.¹⁸ Where possible Republican Rome had largely continued the fiscal systems she inherited from former powers when new territories were acquired, making for geographically diverse arrangements across the empire.¹⁹ Similar diversity continued under Augustus, with no harmonised tax regime for the entire empire.²⁰ Yet we do find the systematic definition of provincial jurisdictions and the emergence of such concepts as *ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus*.²¹ In addition, a central and

¹⁴ On the financial challenges facing Augustus see Neeson, 1980:13-6; Brunt, 1990:156-7; Rathbone, 1996:309-12.

¹⁵ On the opposition between provincial land and Italian reinforced by Augustus, see Orejas and Sastre, 1999:159-164, citing Grelle, 1963:72; Bleicken, 1974. See also Brunt, 1990:325-46; Giliberti, 1996. On the Augustan and Caesarian colonies enjoying *ius Italicum*, see Jones, 1971:537-8. To those enjoying Roman citizenship we may add citizens of Latin colonies and allied states, *civitates foederatae* and *civitates liberae*, perhaps exempt from taxation and other obligations, though this was not always the case. See Scibona, 1971:3; Lintott, 1981:64; Mackie, 1983:60; cf. Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.32-3; 3.12 ff.; 5.49-50.

¹⁶ Márín Díaz, 1988:34-8.

¹⁷ On tax as a mark of subjection, and the ideology of tax practices, see Orejas and Sastre, 1999:161; Lo Cascio, 2000:36-43; 177-203; Orejas *et al.*, 2000:74, who cites Grelle, 1990:174n15-16; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:153-4.

¹⁸ Jones, 1971; Neeson, 1980:19-23; Rathbone, 1996:312.

¹⁹ Richardson (1994) provides a general overview of provincial taxation under the Republic.

²⁰ On the continuing lack of tax uniformity, see Neeson, 1980:24; 29; Brunt, 1990:386; Duncan-Jones, 1990:188-90; 198; Rathbone, 1996:312-3.

²¹ Orejas and Sastre, 1999:163.

unifying theme amidst the diversity was the creation of the most appropriate administrative units to fit the purpose of revenue collection.

Financial reform certainly took place at the centre, notably with the reorganisation of the treasury and the creation of the *fiscus* and *aerarium militare*, not to mention additional administration to manage the *heritagenum caesaris*, the emperor's personal property.²² Meanwhile the awarding of an extensive *provincia* to Augustus in 27 altered the administrative structures of those provinces under his command, assigning financial matters from the *legati* to the largely independent *procuratores provinciae*; in Iberia, of course, this applied to Citerior and Lusitania (cf. Str., 3.4.20).²³ And while finances in those provinces like Baetica outside of Augustus' *provincia* continued to reside with the quaestors, imperial procurators now managed the emperor's property here.²⁴

Further changes to financial administration followed the introduction of *conventus* centres, both in Spain and elsewhere.²⁵ Based on informal Republican bodies of Roman citizens (cf. Caes., *B Civ.*, 2.19.2; 20.5; *B Alex.*, 57.5; Suet., *Iul.*, 7.1),²⁶ they primarily served as judicial districts centred on a *conventus* 'capital'.²⁷ These were often drawn up in an apparently arbitrary fashion, without thought for ethnic lines or ease of access for the different communities. So the Celtiberi were divided between three different *conventus* centres, whilst Coplutum alone among the Carpetani cities was assigned to Caesaraugustus, its compatriots falling under Carthagineiensis.²⁸

²² Millar, 1963; Muñiz Coello, 1986; Brunt, 1990:134-162; Lo Cascio, 2000:97-149.

²³ On the absence of quaestors in 'Imperial provinces', see Mackie, 1983:10; Curchin, 1991:58; Eck, 2009. Q.Octavius Sagitta (*CIL* IX 3311) is the single Augustan example surviving in the epigraphic record of a procurator in Citerior. On the role and independence of the procurator, see Hirt, 2010:357. See also Brunt 1983:52; 1990:165; Burton 1993:16; Rathbone, 1996:313; Eck 1997a:135; 142; Eck 1997c:198; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:327 citing Remesal Rodríguez, 1990:59-65.

²⁴ Alföldy, 1996a:452; Nony, 1998:121; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:329; Eck, 2009:232-3. Dio (53.15.3-5; *contra.*, Str., 17.3.25) incorrectly claims procurators were assigned to every province. On provincial procurators charged with administering imperial property, and the *patrimonium*, see Lo Cascio, 2000:31; 97-149; 163-174.

²⁵ The *conventus* districts were likely introduced to Spain by Augustus, as indicated by the *tabula Lougeiorum*, a *tabula patronatus* from AD 1 (*AE* 1984, 553). See Dopico Caínzos, 1986: esp. 269-70; Le Roux and Étienne, 1993:238-9; Alföldy, 1996a:453; Curchin, 2004:55; Goffaux, 2011:449. Note Nicolaus of Damascus' (12) reference to New Carthage as a judicial centre; perhaps in other words, a *conventus* capital. *Conventus* centres are attested elsewhere; in Asia, see Robert, 1949:206-38; Levick, 1996:649; Mitchell, 2008:193-4; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:333, citing Haensch, 1997; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 5.109; *Mon. Eph.*, II.89-91.39; *I.Didyma*, 140.

²⁶ Keay, 1990:127; Curchin, 1991:57-8; Fear, 1996:44-5; Ordóñez Agulla and Gonzalez Acuña, 2011:51-2.

²⁷ The Elder Pliny lists the *conventus* capitals for Baetica (*HN*, 3.7.3), Lusitania (4.113; 117-8), and Citerior, (3.18.5-6).

²⁸ Mackie, 1983:8; Curchin, 2004:56. Ozcáriz Gil (2009:333, citing Cortijo Cerezo, 2007) proposes criteria for the division of *conventus* districts. Compare with the Augustan division of Italy into eleven regions for the

Beyond their judicial utility, *conventus* centres also served a variety of other purposes, with roles in political administration, the imperial cult and crucially, the organisation of the census and revenue collection. Certainly we find epigraphical references to the position of *conventus censor* *Caesaraugustani* under the Flavians, whilst the Elder Pliny's report of the population of the north-west's three *conventus* districts further indicate a censorial role for such divisions (*HN*, 3.28).²⁹ Similar indications come from Asia, where inscriptions suggest that the *conventus* centres played a central role in revenue collection at least by the Flavian period.³⁰ The *conventus* centres were also the probable basis for the administration of the *vicesima hereditarium*.³¹ However, since the numbers of citizens in Spain, despite increases, likely remained small under Augustus this tax remained of minor importance here during his reign.³² The *conventus* centres perhaps bear a greater importance in relation to the administration and levying of the *portorium*, the custom dues, exercising fiscal control over products departing and arriving within each area. Certainly in Asia the *Monumentum Ephesenum* from 17 is suggestive of this. In Spain Ozcáriz Gil has identified the place names stamped upon Dressel 20 amphorae from Monte Testaccio as referring to Spanish *conventus* centres (e.g. Corduba, Hispalis, Astigi, etc.).³³

Indeed, the *portorium* was an important tax, both financially and ideologically; a 'highly intrusive act of economic imperialism', the *portorium* was essentially a levy on interdependence, which traders expected to pay multiple times on any journey.³⁴ Like other forms of taxation, Rome wielded exemptions or qualifications for such tolls to empower or disempower as she saw fit, and Cicero (*Flac.*, 19) noted the festering discontent caused by

purpose of administration, cutting across existing ethnic and cultural boundaries (Salmon, 1982:153; Nicolet, 1991:174; Crawford, 1996:430-31; Laurence, 1999:162-176).

²⁹ *CIL* VIII 7070; 19428; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:334. See also *CIL* VI 1453; Devijver, 1977:946; Sayas Abengochea, 1989; Muñiz Coello, 1986:316.

³⁰ *I v E*, 13; Habicht, 1975:64; Corbier, 1991:634-7.

³¹ On this tax, see Neeson, 1980:135-140; Lo Cascio, 2000:41-2. The aforementioned Italian regions may similarly have served the collection of the inheritance tax (cf. Cass. Dio, 55.13.4; 55.25.5; Salmon, 1982:152-3; Nicolet, 1984:110).

³² Muñiz Coello, 1986:330-2; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:331. See for e.g., *CIL* VI 1633 = *ILS*, 1426. See also Mackie, 1983:10-11; 188. Guichard (1990:62) provides a useful list of the appearance of the tax in testamentary inscriptions found in Hispania.

³³ *Mon. Eph.*, II.89-91.39; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:334, citing Remesal Rodríguez, 1979. See below for references to amphorae inscriptions.

³⁴ Mitchell, 2008:201. See also Purcell, 2005a:216-7. On the *Monumentum Ephesenum* and custom tolls, see Cottier, 2008. See also Engelmann *et al*, 1989; Gordon *et al*, 1993:134; Lo Cascio, 2000:85-7. Duncan Jones (1990:194) notes the Elder Pliny's (*HN*, 6.101) comment that eastern products increased in price a hundred fold en route to Rome, implying high tolls. Cicero (*Font.*, 19) also highlighted the repeated tolls exacted upon wine at internal boundaries between Rome and Narbonensis (De Laet, 1949:299 n.4).

their imposition in the east.³⁵ Meanwhile, Plutarch (*Mor.*, 518E) and Strabo (4.5.3) commented on the importance of tolls and their profits for Rome. It is noteworthy Caesar, after tolls in Italy had been abolished during the period of his alliance with Pompeius and Crassus, reinstated such charges following the Civil War to refill his depleted coffers (cf. Cic., *Att.*, 2.16.1; *Q Fr.*, 1.1.33; Cass. Dio, 37.51.3; Suet., *Iul.*, 43).³⁶ In this context it is important to note Hispania's massive economic surge under Augustus, with accompanying increases in its exports. Strabo's aforementioned assessment of Baetica and the eastern coast's vigorous trade suggest such developments, the testimony being reinforced by the multitude of archaeological data, both of economic activity within Hispania itself and also the significant and growing presence of its produce in Italy. We may not dwell in detail on the progression of this trade, yet it is clear that Augustan policy was driving such growth; the implementation of peace facilitated trade, while, as we shall see, the spread of urbanization and the delineation of territory, accompanied as it was with a more efficient tax system, led to more productive land exploitation and hence greater agricultural surplus. This was accompanied by a greater demand for Spanish produce, whether grain for the *annona*, olive oil for lamp lights, or wine and *garum* for the dining table.³⁷

Greater exports equalled greater profits arising from Spanish custom tolls; the *portorium* must have formed an important source of Iberian revenue for Rome, which Augustus consolidated further. Thus we observe the creation of several custom districts covering different areas of the empire. These included the *Publicum Portorii Illyrici*, the *Quattuor Africae Publica*, the *Quadragesima Portuum Asiae*, *Quadragesima Galliarum*, and most pertinently, the *Quinquagesima Hispaniarum*, which covered Iberia in its entirety.³⁸ These were important interventions, standardising tariffs and regulations within their operating areas and securing revenue for Rome.³⁹ Monies generated passed directly into the *fiscus* rather than the *aerarium*, though administration of the *portorium* remained with the

³⁵ Purcell, 2005a:216-7; 225-7. See also Duncan-Jones, 1990:194-5. On exemption/qualification as a weapon of dominance, see Purcell, 2005a:216; 227.

³⁶ De Laet, 1949:57-61; Duncan-Jones, 1990:195.

³⁷ On economic growth and production under Augustus, with accompanying archaeological and epigraphical sources, see Lowe, 2009:esp. 87-115. Broughton, 1974; Chic García, 1981. For the role of the state in the economy, see Lo Cascio, 2007.

³⁸ See Cottier (2010) on developments in the custom laws of Egypt. The *Monumentum Ephesenum* also demonstrates Augustan intervention in Asia's tax system to confirm the custom dues, location of custom houses, etc., in the wake of Galatia's provincialisation. See Mitchell, 2008:194.

³⁹ De Laet, 1949:119.

publicani, even as state involvement steadily grew.⁴⁰ Traditionally Augustus was seen as the most likely founder of the custom districts, certainly for the *Quadragesima Galliarum*. De Laet questioned this, seeing it as part of widespread fiscal reforms implemented by Tiberius. France in turn has firmly rejected the association with Tiberius and instead identified Augustus and Agrippa behind the *Quadragesima Galliarum*, as part of wider tax reforms instituted under the first *princeps*.⁴¹ Indeed, the Vicarello cups, likely dating between 24 and 2, may offer an insight, since the itinerary features a *statio Quadragesima*.⁴² If Augustus was at work in this way in Gaul it is likely he also instituted the *Quinquagesima Hispaniarum*.⁴³ The name indicates that custom duty on Spanish exports was levied at 2 %, increased to 2.5 % at a later second century AD date (*Quadragesima Hispaniarum*).⁴⁴

The collection of the Spanish *portorium* is well attested, both from local inscriptions and, as above, from amphorae at Monte Testaccio, though the majority of the evidence is post-Augustan. The administration of the *portorium* was centred in the *conventus* capitals and tolls were levied from the great ports to the minor harbours.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, a levy on goods passing through internal boundaries may also have been charged.⁴⁶ A system of *stationes*, or custom houses, covered the entire peninsula.⁴⁷ We may also note the potential general importance of the spread of civic organisation both in Spain and across the empire under Augustus for the effective administration of the *portorium*; note the *Monumentum*

⁴⁰ France, 1993:910. De Laet (1949:111) hypothesised that increased centralization occurred under the influence of Hellenistic practice.

⁴¹ De Laet, 1949:119; 120; 125; 363-4; cf. 234-5; 254; France, 1993:895-908; 917; 2001:273-303; Smadja, 2002; Cottier, 2003.

⁴² *CIL* XI 3281-4; France, 1993:919-2; 924-6. See Heurgon, 1952:39-50. On the archaeological context of the cups, see Gasperini, 2008.

⁴³ De Laet, 1949:286-94; Haley, 2003:37.

⁴⁴ E.g. from Iliberris, *CIL* II 2/5.654; *CIL* II 5064; *ILS* 1462; *ILPGr* 80; *CIL* IV 57. See De Laet, 1949:291-4; Étienne, 1951:62-3; Duncan-Jones, 1990:194-5. Frank (1936) hypothesised that the 2% levy continued for certain products. Certainly items are charged at different rates elsewhere, for e.g. 5% levy on Murex in Asia (*Mon. Eph.*, II.20.7. See Engelmann *et al.*, 1989; Cottier, 2010:142n6. For the *Quadragesima Hispaniarum* at Ostia, *AE* 1924, 110 = *CIL* XIV 4708.

⁴⁵ For e.g. from Ilipa, *CIL* II 1085 = *ILS* 1406; Astigi, *CIL* XIV 3806, 4097, 4098; Corduba, *CIL* XV 3749, 4110, 4181; Hispalis, *CIL* XV 4007, 4233, 4366, 4399; Portus (probably Gades), *CIL* XV II 3976; 4151; 4206. See De Laet, 1949:286-291; Mackie, 1983:10-11; 152; 187n37; 191n.8; 198-200, nn 34-44.

⁴⁶ For example, see the aforementioned inscription from Iliberris (n44) citing the *socii quinquagesimae*. De Laet, 1949:286n3; Mackie, 1983:187. This may contrast with the practice elsewhere, Nicolet (1993) suggesting that the Asian *portorium* was only levied at the border of the province and its ports.

⁴⁷ Guichard (1990:49-50 with n17) provides references for post-Augustan *stationes* in the north-west. We also find reference to officials such as the *procurator ad ripam Baetis* (*CIL* II 1180=*ILS* 1403=*AE* 1965, 237 = *AE* 1971, 171 = *AE* 1991, 993 = *CIL* II 23; *CIL* II 2/7 214 = *CIL* II 2189; *CIL* II 1177 = *CIL* II 21). De Laet (1949:294n.2) suggested an indirect *portorium* role for this official protecting the custom houses, while Ozcáriz Gil (2009:331) thought the procurator maintained the waterways. See Muniz Coello (1986:334) concerning *stationes* along the Bétis, with further information on officials (post-Augustan). See also Balil, 1953.

Ephesenum directing that if no custom office lay near the trader's point of entry then he was to report to the nearest city's chief magistrate.⁴⁸

We have noted provincial boundary changes facilitating imperial control of Spanish mining zones, and it is apparent that the mines steadily passed into imperial control almost everywhere, to be administered by procuratorial officials.⁴⁹ In particular, we likely see the formation of mining districts for the purpose of efficient exploitation, with administrative units such as *vicus*, *metallum* and *territoria metallorum*.⁵⁰ Responsibility for the ore extraction here differed as a consequence of geological, and not least socio-political, contexts. In areas where the rock allowed comparatively easy exploitation smaller companies would have run extraction operations, with profits split with the State and collected through the quaestor.⁵¹ In part this arrangement arises from observations of the arrangements at the Vipasca mines under Hadrian. Here mine operators purchased exploitation rights from the *procurator metallorum*, an imperial freedman with full jurisdiction over the mining areas, before passing half the ore extracted or its equivalent in cash to the *fiscus*.⁵² Where more labour intensive techniques were required the larger *publicani* companies may have operated the mines - *societas* involvement, such as the *Societas Sisaponensis* and the *Societas Castulonensis*, certainly continued under the principate.⁵³

Further fiscal reform came in the introduction of new direct taxes across much of the empire, though not universally.⁵⁴ The most important of these was the *tributum capitis*, the poll tax (cf. Ulp., *Dig.*, 50.15.8.7; App., *Pun.*, 135; Cass. Dio, 52.3.2-3), and the *tributum*

⁴⁸ *Mon. Eph.*, II.35-6.13.

⁴⁹ Crawford, 1976; Mackie, 1983:185; 187; Brunt, 1990:396-7; Domergue, 1990; Rathbone, 1996:315-6; Bowman, 1996:365; Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002; Hirt, 2010:82; 105. On state confiscation of mines, see those taken from Marius under Tiberius (Tac., *Ann.*, 6.19.1 cf. Pliny, *HN*, 34.4). On the continued limited ownership of mines and quarries by private individuals or local communities, see Hirt, 2010:85-90. Evidence for the various mining officials is all post-Augustan. However, note Titus Flavius Polychrysus, imperial freedman and procurator *montis mariani*, administering a mining area confiscated from Marius in AD 33 (*CIL* II 25). For further evidence, see Hirt, 2010:119-125. On the possible involvement of Agrippa in mining at New Carthage, see Lowe, 2009:109 with references.

⁵⁰ The Vipasca tablets are illustrative to this degree, the *lex meteallis dicta* (*LMD*) and *lex metalli Vipascensis* (*LMV*) containing repeated references suggesting the territoriality of the district and its sub-units: e.g. *LMD* I. 27; II. 27-8; II. 29; II. 32-5; II. 40-1; *LMV* I.2; II. 1-9; II.59-61; II. 37-8; II.47-57 (Hirt, 2010:48-51; 106; 226-8). For evidence concerning the extent of Spanish mining areas administered in this way, see *Ibid.*, 76-9.

⁵¹ Richardson (1976:140-47; Domergue, 1983:151-166, esp. 158; Millar, 1977:175-89; Hirt, 2010:228; 261-4.

⁵² *FIRA* I², 104 and 105. See Broughton, 1974:14; Muñoz Coello, 1986:332; Edmondson, 1987:244-54; Lowe, 2009:107. On the social status of the mining procurators, see Hirt, 2010:147-8.

⁵³ Pliny, *HN*, 33.118-9; cf. Vitruv., 7.9.4; Cic. *Phil.*, 2.48; *CIL* II²/7 415a; X 3964; *AE* 1995, 846 = *CIL* II²/7 699a; *ILS* 8708. For evidence of *societates* in Spain, see Broughton, 1974:13; Domergue, 1990:257; 259-63; 270; Lowe, 2009:106-7 with references; Hirt, 2010:277-8, with references.

⁵⁴ Neeson (1980:25) notes the three types of tax: direct, indirect and extraordinary payments. On indirect tax, see also Duncan-Jones, 1990:195; Corbier, 1991:653; France, 1993:917; Rathbone, 1996:314-5; Ojeda, 1999:152-4.

solī, the land tax (cf. App., *B Civ.*, 5.4). The poll tax was first introduced in Egypt, its origins perhaps an amalgamation of Ptolemaic capitation taxes,⁵⁵ soon after the kingdom's annexation; early tax receipts from Thebes date to 24-23, 22-21 and 21-20.⁵⁶ Before long this was extended to many of Rome's other provinces in place of the stipendium. However, the levying of the poll tax in Spain is controversial. Neeson certainly believed that the tax was employed here but evidence is scant, amounting to a single inscription, from Ebuses, by his publication date.⁵⁷ Indeed, the poll tax was usually applied in economically undeveloped regions, which as Guichard stated, Ebuses certainly was not, and its use in Hispania has been emphatically denied by some.⁵⁸ However, there is reason to believe that the less urbanised regions of Iberia may have seen a poll tax levied, with Guichard citing the census records of Lusitania, referencing names, property and ages as suggestive of this.⁵⁹

Whatever the form of direct taxation introduced in Spain their collection was left to the individual communities. This is crucial. When one speaks of quaestors and procurators, or the continuing involvement/respective exclusion of the *publicani*, we focus on the middle echelons of the tax system. In truth the principate did not witness a sharp break from Republican fiscal practices in these regards.⁶⁰ Rather the most important changes in financial administration occurred at the top and the bottom. Thus the permanent presence of a single dominant figure at the pinnacle of the administrative pyramid, driving the supervision of financial affairs through the exercise of *imperium maius*, is significant.⁶¹ And fundamentally, at the local level we see the encouragement of the organisation of territories focussed on a central community, municipalisation, the formation of *civitates*, and the spread of civic bodies. In other words, to greater and lesser degrees, urbanisation.⁶²

⁵⁵ Capponi 2005:139-141; 154. See also Rathbone, 1993:94-5; 97-9.

⁵⁶ *O. Bodl.* II 407; *O. Stras.* 38; *O. Ashm.* 6. A further receipt from Arsinoite, dated to 28, may also relate to the poll tax (*P.Fay.* 43). See Bowman and Rathbone, 1992:113; Rathbone, 1993:88; Capponi, 2005:84; 155.

⁵⁷ Neeson (1980:120), in support of Duncan-Jones (1964:201-3), based his assertion on *CIL* II 3664 = *ILS* 5960.

⁵⁸ Guichard, 1990:68. Muñiz Coello (1986:324) denies the levying of *tributum capitis* in Spain, seeing only the *tributum soli*. See also Mackie, 1983:43; 154; 157; Nicolet, 1991:134-5.

⁵⁹ Knox McElderry (1918:93n1) and Guichard (1990:68-9) cite Phlegon of Tralles (*De longaevis*, *FHG* iii.608) concerning Lusitanian centenarians, suggesting that census records here referencing names, property and ages may indicate the poll tax. Note the passing reference of the Elder Pliny (*HN*, 16.32.4) to the tribute paid by the '*pauperibus Hispaniae*', probably the Lusitanians. See Mackie, 1983:43; 154; 157; 160-1 with nn 9-13.

⁶⁰ Eck, 2009:232-5. See also Nicolet, 1984:101-3; Brunt, 1990:356; 377; 385-6; 393). In contrast, see Jones (1971:540) and Duncan-Jones (1990:197) suggested greater remodelling of fiscal structures by Augustus. See also Edmund, 1986; Capponi, 2005:124.

⁶¹ See Brunt, 1990:330, who cites the census carried out by the procurator in Narbonensis under the special authority of Tiberius (*ILS* 950).

⁶² Bowman, 1996:355.

4.5 Tools of conquest: civic organisation, the census and cadastration

Augustan urbanisation was based on well-established precedents. After all, the municipal model employed in the provinces was in large part transposed from the great wave of Italian municipalisation following the Social War.⁶³ And Pompeius had shown the way in 63 by dividing Pontus-Bithynia into 11 contiguous territories, ensuring the entire area fell into the effective authority of a civic centre.⁶⁴ It is the scale with which such pre-existing models and strategies were employed that sets the Augustan programme apart; a blanket of civic organisation laid across the provinces, a network of autonomous communities with oligarchic governments, Roman style magisterial systems, and governing structures based on property qualification, a new concept in determining status in many areas of the empire.⁶⁵ Augustan urbanisation in Spain thus formed part of an empire wide process. Note the complementary expansion of the role and responsibilities of the Egyptian *metropoleis* as administrative centres, amounting in many ways to municipalisation.⁶⁶ Asia Minor witnessed an increasing organisation of contiguous territories as the basic unit of administration, with a central community providing the political and fiscal hub of each area and smaller settlements reduced to *komai*;⁶⁷ of particular importance is non-urbanised northern Galatia, which Augustus divided between three newly created civic communities - Pessinus, Ancyra and Tavium.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the same process was underway across Gaul; most notably with the

⁶³ On municipalisation in Italy, see Humbert, 1978; Salmon, 1982; Gabba, 1994; Dench, 1995; Crawford, 1996; Patterson, 2006; Bispham, 2007; Perez Zurita, 2011.

⁶⁴ Mitchell, 1993a:31-2; Woolf, 1997:3; Le Teuff, 2010:203-6.

⁶⁵ Burton (2004) assesses the fiscal autonomy of provincial cities, whilst noting its constraints. On the city and its territory as the basic administrative unit, see Corbier, 1991:634; Santos Yanguas, 1998:12; 14; Keay and Earl, 2011:267. On the internal structure of *municipia*, their use of Roman law and the requirements of office, see Mackie, 1983; Curchin, 1990; 2004:94; Duncan-Jones, 1990:160-2; Gardner, 1993:188-9; Crawford, 1995; Roldán Hervás, 1998; Rodríguez Neila, 1999:25; 2009; García Riaza, 2005; 2007; Perez Zurita, 2011; cf. *Lex Urs.*, 66; 70; 71. On the Urso laws, see *CIL* II2/5, 1022; *CIL* II 5439 (p 1038); *CIL* II 5439a; *CIL* I 594 (p 724, 833, 916); *CILA* II 611; *ILS* 6087; Bispham, 2007:205-46; González Román, 2002:83-109; Pachón Ramero, 2011.

⁶⁶ Though continuing to lack certain essential civic institutions (Bowman, 1996:684-6; Woolf, 1997:3; Capponi, 2005:65-6; 137). Bowman and Rathbone (1992) suggests a deliberate policy of municipalisation in Egypt under Augustus.

⁶⁷ Corbier, 1991:638-42; Mitchell, 1993a:178-9; Rizakis, 1996; 1997:17; 22-3; Capponi, 2005:65. Note, Hanson (2011:245; 265) who emphasises the high proportion of Asia controlled by urban centres, particularly in the west. Dio Chrysostom (40.10) noted the inferiority of villages grouped around the central *polis*.

⁶⁸ Mitchell, 1993a:88. See also Le Teuff, 2010:203-6.

24 *oppida* which lose their autonomy and were attached to Nîmes in a tributary relationship (Pliny, *HN*, 3.37; Str., 4.1.12).⁶⁹

Indeed, the idea of a cellular empire, with the provinces divided into sets of territories each with a central *polis*, and in turn the provinces forming the *chora* of the central capital at Rome, was central to the Roman conception of their dominion (cf. Ael. Aristid., *In Praise of Rome*, 61; Cass. Dio, 52.19.6; Men. Rhet., 3.360).⁷⁰ The central administration may have based its accounts on individual provinces, or groups of provinces - such supra-provincial districts as custom districts. Yet beyond these 'broader constituencies' lay the basic unit of the city, its *tributum* assigned *en bloc* at the provincial level.⁷¹

The necessity for this proliferation of autonomous civic units lay in Rome's lack of adequate bureaucracy to control directly the internal administrative affairs of provincial communities, fiscal or otherwise. The coalescing of smaller settlements around administrative centres, a focus for the local aristocracy, provided a remedy for this; the central regime devolved the burden of revenue collection to the individual 'cells', whose leaders were liable to make up short falls in the fixed sum allocated to them.⁷² Increasing the efficiency of tax systems, this also built collaborative relationships between the provincial aristocracy and Rome, the former's status reinforced through partnership with the ruling power.⁷³

Fiscal autonomy does not mean fiscal independence. Autonomy in tax collection enjoyed by the Augustan empire's civic communities was geared towards exacting revenues for Rome rather than the communities themselves. The powers of the latter, framed by the charters with which Rome endowed them, were restricted by central government. Governors and the emperor retained the right to intervene in financial organisation, and permission was required for any act (raising public buildings, increasing the size of *ordo*, etc...) that may affect the community's ability to pay its allocated taxes to Rome.⁷⁴ But the evolution of forms

⁶⁹ Goudineau, 1996:474-5.

⁷⁰ Corbier, 1991:629. Indeed, Prieto Arciniega (2002:144-6) suggests that the notion of boundaries and the superior central *oppidum* protecting and dominating its territory are implicit in Heracleian myth.

⁷¹ Corbier (1991:634-7), citing the aforementioned marble (p116) found at Ephesus bearing lists of people and cities grouped by *conventus* districts, with ethnic names, manner of tax collection and the rate at which tax was assigned to each (*I v E*, 13; Habicht, 1975:esp.63).

⁷² Rathbone, 1996:313; Bowman, 1996:362-3; Burton, 2004:313. Indeed, as Bowman (1996:358) states concerning Egypt, the connection between smaller settlements and administrative centres could be tenuous but for taxation. See also *IG* 5.1.1432 (6, 10-11), detailing the division of tax among the populace of Messene.

⁷³ Prieto Arciniega (2002:146) notes the basic objective of the Roman city as ensuring maximum benefits to the group leader/s. Note the comments of Capponi (2005:136-7) and Monson (2012:245) concerning the collaboration of the local elite in Egypt.

⁷⁴ Jones, 1971:542; Duncan-Jones, 1990:176; Burton, 2004.

of regular direct taxation, and the means to devolve its collection, established a firm basis for state revenue.

Thus Augustus divided Iberia into a set of contiguous territories, each with a central point for fiscal and political administration, though the forms and effects of urbanisation policies were not geographically uniform. Baetica and the eastern seaboard were already heavily urbanised by the end of the Republic. As noted, Augustus, following Caesar, added to this. Colonies were founded, whether *ex novo* or through promotion and extensive grants of municipal status made, either with Roman citizenship or *ius Latini*. Interestingly, if such promotions were made without the addition of tax immunity, *ius Italicum*, the newly created Roman and Latin citizens would be liable to a number of levies that were highly lucrative for Rome, notably the aforementioned *vicesima hereditatum* and the *vicesima libertatis*.⁷⁵ Indeed, such revenues may lie behind later Flavian promotions.⁷⁶ However, this is not significant under Augustus; many of the communities promoted were indeed granted immunity, besides which the vast majority of settlements remained unprivileged, liable to pay tax. Of the 399 Iberian towns referenced by the Elder Pliny (*HN*, 3.7; 18; 4.117), for example, 291 of them were *civitates stipendiariae*, unequivocally tribute paying, whilst only 16% of all communities were exempt from taxation under Augustus, the majority of which were Baetican.⁷⁷

Regardless, throughout Iberia smaller settlements were drawn into relationships of dependency with a civic centre. Many such settlements remained without precise legal definition of status, and were thus assigned as *contributae civitates* to neighbouring communities for most administrative aspects, revenue collection, etc... The Elder Pliny (*HN*, 4.117.6-7; cf. 3.19; 25; Ptol., *Geog.*, 2.5.8), for example, reports such a relationship between the Castra Servilia and Castra Caecilia and the colony of Norba Caesarina.⁷⁸ More often dependency took the form of the introduction of *pagi*, semi-autonomous subdivisions used to administer rural populations within a community's territory, especially for censorial and

⁷⁵ On the *vicesima libertatis*, see Muñiz Coello, 1986:332. See also *CIL* II 4186 = *RIT* 235 = *ILS* 1868; *CIL* II 4187 (p 972) = *ILS* 1869 = *RIT* 238; Mackie, 1983:10-11; 138; Neeson, 1980:140-1.

⁷⁶ Esp. Guichard, 1990. See also Montenegro, 1975; Muniz Coello, 1980:137.

⁷⁷ Bowman, 1996:358. Muñiz Coello (1986:esp. 311-3), provides more comprehensive figures for the proportion of higher status communities in Spain, whilst noting disparities between the three provinces in this regard. See also Mackie, 1983:154.

⁷⁸ Muñiz Coello, 1986:317-8. See also Marín Díaz, 1988:84

taxation purposes.⁷⁹ Indeed, the name of every known Baetican *pagus* is Roman or heavily Romanized, and often bears the name *Augusta*, illustrating both the invasive implantation of the Roman model and the key role of Augustus in driving this development.⁸⁰ We also find satellite villages designated as *vici*, though this is rare in Baetica and the east of Spain.⁸¹ As in other provinces, fundamentally these were tax units, indicating hierarchical structures without any sense of legal or administrative independence for the constituent settlements.⁸² Both the *pagi* and *vici* often had their origins in pre-Roman indigenous systems, harnessed with new meanings after the conquest to facilitate Roman control, providing important links between the civic magistrates and the provincial administrators.⁸³ Further, as in Italy, *praefecturae* is used to designate land attached to cities in remote regions, sometimes even within the territory of neighbouring cities.⁸⁴

Such developments realigned settlement patterns and the socio-economic focus of the Spanish provinces. Existing hierarchies were disrupted in some places, with many settlements relocating to the lowlands to exploit better links with emerging centres. Elsewhere some communities disappeared wholesale, unable to compete with the new economic and administrative power of the Roman/Italian/privileged communities;⁸⁵ Hill forts within Barcino's hinterland, for example, were abandoned after its establishment

⁷⁹ Mackie, 1983:24; 28; 176; Curchin, 1985; 1991:124-5; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:249; MacMullen, 2000:54; Haley, 2003:37. *Pagi* were ancient units, originally denoting either ethnic or territorial constituencies, but used exclusively in Spain in the latter sense (Cortuo Cerezo, 1991).

⁸⁰ Mackie (1983:24 with n.14) and Curchin (1985) provide lists of epigraphical material referring to Hispanic *pagi*, including reference to *pagi Augusti* at Emerita (AE 1915, 95) and Corduba (CIL II2/7, 231 = CIL II 2194 = CIL II2/5 p 771) respectively. Le Roux (2009) explores the introduction of the *pagi* to Iberia, and the relationship between the *pagus* and the city, by reference to the Bronze of Agon, a legal document dealing with irrigation disputes in the mid Ebro valley. See also Cortuo Cerezo, 1991:110; Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:41-2. Note the status of African *pagi*, which could be configured similarly to those in Spain (i.e. attached to a central community) or independent (Whittaker, 1996:602-3; 606-7; Cortuo Cerezo, 1991:105-7). *Pagi* also referred to communities of Roman citizens attached, but not within the territory of, major African cities (MacMullen, 2000:30).

⁸¹ Rodríguez Neila, 1976; Mackie, 1983:24; Curchin, 1985; 1991:124; 2004:97-8; Marín Díaz, 1988:82-3; Edmondson, 1992-3:20; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:249. Most communities only acquire the term *vici* in imperial times, though Republican examples are attested.

⁸² Leveau 1984:459-71; Rizakis, 1997:33. *Vici* were crucial in relatively non-urbanised Tres Galliae, where many were new foundations (Goudineau, 1996:488; 497; Woolf, 1997:esp. 107-112). Both *vici* and *pagi* are found in Italy, often formerly independent settlements drawn into a subordinate relationship with larger communities for administrative purposes (Salmon, 1982:135; Crawford, 1996:421; 427, citing Frederiksen, 1976). On *pagi*, *vici*, and the other sub-municipal units, see Bispham, 2007:12; 80-91.

⁸³ Bowman, 1996:353; Bispham, 2007:80-2. On the ancient definition of both the *vicus* and the *pagus*, see Festus (Festus, Lindsay, 502; 508) and Isidorus of Seville (*Etym.*, 15.2.11-12).

⁸⁴ Prieto Arciniega, 2002:142-3. On a *praefectura* of Emerita forming an enclave within Lacimurga's territory, see Le Roux, 1999:265-70. See also Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:144. Note Hyg., *Th.*, 136, 1-10.

⁸⁵ Keay, 1996:164. This even occurred in heavily urbanised Baetica to a degree - see Pachón Romero (2011:205-6) concerning Urso's effect on the surrounding territory. See Morley (2011) on the manner in which urbanisation alters economic demand.

sometime between 15 and 13.⁸⁶ Augustus' provincial policies created new hierarchies of towns, at the apex of which were the provincial capitals, followed by *conventus* centres and those communities favoured with colonial/municipal status. It was on these communities that the road networks converged, sustaining their privileged positions.⁸⁷ This was further reinforced by the increasing focus of the elite in these new centres of power, habitation in which further legitimised their continuing high status.

Parallels abound from across the empire; Augustus' Sicilian colonies brought an economic boom to their hinterlands, yet stagnation to the central hill towns.⁸⁸ Many Gallic *oppida* declined with powerful Augustan colonies founded in their midst,⁸⁹ whilst Nîmes, once just another Arecomican town, was transformed into the local administrative centre, in which was concentrated the local aristocracy.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, the aforementioned division of northern Galatia loaded Ancyra with additional land, ensuring its dominance of local settlement hierarchies.⁹¹ Whilst the wholesale decline of existing indigenous settlements in such cases may be unintentional it is clear that Augustus deliberately implanted new hierarchies, or manipulated existing ones, to further Roman control.

Meanwhile, the census and cadastre deeply affected Spain, as they did elsewhere. The provincial census was largely a development of the Augustan era,⁹² though Republican and Greek precedents certainly existed.⁹³ However, again, even following such precedents Augustus did so on an unprecedented scale, in addition to introducing censorial systems into western provinces where they were previously absent or exceptionally rare, and certainly

⁸⁶ Keay, 1990:133; 135-8; 142; 1995:294; 1996:163-4.

⁸⁷ Keay, 1990:135-6; 138-9; MacMullen, 2000:57. See also Nolla Brufau, 2006. Note Woolf (1998:133-5) on the importance of the road system in Gaul for fostering settlements.

⁸⁸ Wilson, 1996:438-40.

⁸⁹ Goudineau, 1996:481; 484; MacMullen, 2000:93.

⁹⁰ See Goudineau (1996:475), highlighting the favour shown towards Nîmes by Augustus (cf. *CIL* XII 3151). See also MacMullen, 2000:96.

⁹¹ On the general organisation of central Anatolia, see Mitchell, 1993a:78-91. See also Levick, 1996:659-663; Woolf, 1997:esp. 9.

⁹² On the census in general, see Jones, 1971:540; Neeson, 1980:33-4; Brunt, 1990:330; 1990:113-4; 345; Muñiz Coello, 1986; Nicolet, 1991:123-147; Guichard, 1990; Bowman, 1996:364-5; Lo Cascio, 1994; 2000:38-41; 205-219; Ando, 2000.

⁹³ Rodríguez Neila (1986:esp. 71; 81-3; 89), drawing on the *Tabula Heracleensis* suggested that Caesar instituted censuses in *municipia* for tax purposes. See also Neeson, 1980; Brunt, 1990:345-6; Nicolet, 1991:134-5. Note Athens assessed liability for tax on citizen registers since at least the fourth century BC (cf. Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 7; *Pol.*, 5, 8, 10. On the war tax, see Polyb., 2.62; Isoc., 17.49; Dem., *Aphob.*, 9-11. Republican Rome harmonised Sicilian censorial procedures probably originating in the *Lex Hieronica* (Le Teuff, 2010:200-3; cf. Cic., *Verr.*, 2.2.131; 133; 136; 137; 138-9; 3.13; 5.20). The *lex Pompeia* instituted a census in Bithynia (cf. Pliny, *Ep.*, 10.70; 80; 112; 114; 115; Str., 12.3.1; Cass. Dio, 37.20.2. Finally, Sulla likely used the census lists of the Asian cities to levy his war indemnity in 84 (Le Teuff, 2010:209-10; cf. Cassiod., *Chron.*, 670; Cic., *Flac.*, 14.32; *Q. Fr.*, I.1.33).

unsystematic. The purpose of such counts was unreservedly linked to efficient revenue collection, providing its essential infrastructure.⁹⁴ Indeed, taxation is a direct consequence of the census.⁹⁵

Civic organisation, providing a central focus point for administration, was essential to the process, since the taxpayer's censorial declaration was made in the tax district's chief town (cf. Ulp., *Dig.*, 50.15.4.2).⁹⁶ Contrary to Luke (2.2-4; Acts, 5.37; cf. Joseph., *AJ.*, 17.355), the census was never held across the empire simultaneously, nor, outside of Egypt and perhaps Syria, at regular intervals but rather as and when required.⁹⁷ Indeed, it seems to occur particularly following annexation;⁹⁸ perhaps most famously in Syria and Judaea (Joseph., *AJ.*, 17.355; 18.2-4; 26; *ILS* 2653; Luke 2.1-3), though further important instances occurred in Gaul in 27 (Livy, *Per.*, 134; Cass. Dio, 53.22.5), 12 (Livy, *Per.*, 138-9; *ILS* 212) and AD 14 (Tac., *Ann.*, I.31, 33).⁹⁹ We have observed literary and epigraphic evidence related to *conventus* centres that indicate the carrying out of the census in Spain. The Iberian provinces may have undergone a provincial census as early as 27, though some have identified the reorganisation between 16 and 13 as a more likely date.¹⁰⁰ Certainly one would expect a census to follow the Cantabrian War,¹⁰¹ and there is definite evidence of such a count in Augustan Lusitania, with the equestrian official dispatched *pro censore* to conduct it.¹⁰²

The essential role of the census was to provide Augustus with a detailed map of provincial fiscal resources, aiding in the delineation of boundaries and *ager publicus*, and perhaps identifying bases of potential native political influence, to be empowered or

⁹⁴ Le Teuff, 2010:197; 203.

⁹⁵ An association explicitly drawn in the *de censibus* treatises of Ulpian and Paul (Brunt, 1990:330). See also Neeson, 1980:48. Claudius further linked the census with public resources in the Table of Lyon (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212, 1.38-40). In Egypt the tax and census were so synonymous that the poll tax bore the same name as the register of tax-payers, *laographia* (Capponi, 2005:84-5). Similarly, in Judaea *kensos* was used as an equivalent to *phoros* (Matt., 22.17; Mark, 12.14; Luke 20.22) (Brunt 1990:330).

⁹⁶ Isaac, 1994:259-60. See also tax declarations surviving notably from Egypt, such as the Augustan (AD 5/6) *Pap. Med.*, 1.3 = Montevicchi, pl. 37; Méléze, *Symposium* 1982, 266. See Nicolet, 1991:135-6.

⁹⁷ Neeson, 1980:39-40; Brunt, 1990:330; Duncan-Jones, 1990:187; Bagnall, 1991; Capponi, 2005:88.

⁹⁸ Nicolet, 1991:136-7; Brunt, 1990:330; 345; Mattern, 1999:157; Capponi, 2005:88-90.

⁹⁹ For further examples and discussion of the dates of provincial censuses, see Brunt, 1990:345-6; Nicolet, 1991:132-4.

¹⁰⁰ For 27, see Brunt, 1990:329-331. For 16-13, see Ando, 2000:352; Alföldy, 1996a:454-5; cf. Cass. Dio, 53.22.5. Evidence for later censuses in Iberia, see *CIL* II 4121 (p 78) = *CIL* V 1005 = *ILS* 1145 = *RIT* 139; *AE* 1939, 60; Brunt, 1990:330-1.

¹⁰¹ López Barja, 1999:253.

¹⁰² *CIL* X 680. See Muñoz Coello, 1986:310; 314-5; Edmondson, 1990:160-2; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:331. For further epigraphical evidence of censorial officials in Spain, see for e.g. the aforementioned *adiutor ad census*, *AE* 1939, 60; *censitor conuentus Caesaraugustani* *CIL* VIII 7070.

discarded as interests demanded.¹⁰³ The latter point is important. Tax is a tool, exerting the superiority of tax-exempt Italy over the provinces. It also exerted the superiority of those provincial communities enjoying *ius Italicum* or lower rates of taxation over those paying standard *tributum*; and it reflected the superiority of the *polis* over its territory. Indeed, tax and its distribution amongst the community accentuate inequality, further cementing Roman control.¹⁰⁴ The defence offered by the Augustan procurator of Gaul, Licinius, is illuminating in this context; he answered charges of administrative abuse by claiming that he had heavily taxed native leaders to inhibit their ability to revolt (cf. Cass. Dio, 54.21.8).¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Caesar's legate in Ulterior, Cassius Longinus, was accused of peculation by some sources but we may speculate that his impositions confiscated wealth from potential Pompeian enemies (cf. *B Alex.*, 49-64). Regardless, the census and the tax that followed were undoubtedly seen by provincials as ideological symbols of Roman domination.¹⁰⁶ Unsurprisingly revolt frequently followed their institution, particularly following reorganisations intended to make revenue collection more efficient, and thus more oppressive.¹⁰⁷

The Augustan regime was particularly concerned with building imperial inventories of the empire's dimensions and resources. Indeed, a clear purpose of assessment and successive censuses of the entire resources of the empire after 27 has been suggested, of which Spain would have formed a key part.¹⁰⁸ Knowledge of space, after all, is the first step in its exploitation, and extends the control of the Roman state.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it was as an attempt to control more effectively provincial resources that one should regard Agrippa's *commentarii*, listing the provinces and cities, their various statuses, and the empire's geographical and administrative boundaries - not least in Iberia (cf. Pliny, *HN*, 3.17.4).¹¹⁰ We

¹⁰³ Guichard (1990:46-7), with supporting ancient sources, highlights the importance of the census in delineating *ager publicus* and preventing its illegal usurpation.

¹⁰⁴ Corbier, 1991:633; 658-9. See also Ando, 2000:353; González Román, 2002:53.

¹⁰⁵ Dyson, 1975:155.

¹⁰⁶ Bowman and Rathbone, 1992:113; Rathbone, 1993:86. On the ideological implications of the census, see Ando, 2000:350-9.

¹⁰⁷ Dyson, 1975:154-7. The revolt in 39-38 against the reforms of Octavian (Cass. Dio, 38.49.2; Eutr., 7.5; App, *B Civ.* 5.92); the removal of tax exemptions by Tiberius and the rebellion that followed in Gaul in AD 21 led by those impoverished (Suet., *Tib.*, 49.2; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.40); Tacfarinas' African rebellion in AD 15-24 following the land tax imposed by Tiberius (Tac., *Ann.*, 3.73); that in Batavia under Nero (Tac., *Hist.*, 4.14); tax and the Vindex rebellion of 68 (Cass. Dio, 63.22.2); see also the motivation behind Caledonian resistance in AD 83; the Numidian revolt against Domitian (Cass. Dio, 67.4.6). See Whittaker, 1996:593; Dyson, 1975.

¹⁰⁸ Orejas *et al*, 2000:70.

¹⁰⁹ Prieto Arciniega, 2002:147-8. See also Nicolet, 1991:esp. 123-169; Le Roux, 1994:46-7; La Teuff, 2010:197-200.

¹¹⁰ France, 1993:912; Orejas *et al*, 2000:88. Muñiz Coello (1986:305-6) highlights the Elder Pliny's use of Augustus and Agrippa. Note Rodà de Llanza's (2006) emphasise on the role of Agrippa in Spain's reorganisation.

may also see the *breviarium*, a record of state revenues and finances handed to the Senate on Augustus' death that may have existed in earlier forms, updated with each provincial census (cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 101.4; Tac., *Ann.*, 1.11; Cass. Dio, 56.33.2).¹¹¹ There was an implicit ideology of imperialism inherent in acquiring such information; Josephus (*BJ*, 2.365-387, esp. 2.385) highlights Agrippa dissuading the Jews from rebellion with an account of Rome's knowledge of geography and the resources of the empire gained through the various provincial censuses and doubtless contained in the *breviarium*.¹¹²

Such inventories were doubtless formed from census information, custom declarations and tax audits drawn from Hispania and the rest of the empire and archived in the *tabularium* at Rome, a neglected Republican institution reinvigorated by Augustus.¹¹³ The *Lex Irnitana* from Baetica, Flavian in date but late Republican/Augustan in content, certainly seems to suggest that information from a localised census was known both to the local authorities and to the provincial governor, and thus by Rome.¹¹⁴ Elsewhere Augustus himself apparently directly utilised such information in the Cyrene edict of 7/6 to appoint provincial judges through property qualifications.¹¹⁵ France suggested such records perhaps formed part of sophisticated accounts kept of provincial populations, the status of their communities, and the various incomes and expenditures garnered by Rome.¹¹⁶ Indeed, Velleius (e.g. 2.39), the Elder Pliny (e.g. *HN*, 3.28) and particularly Strabo may have drawn on such lists; the latter's description of the empire and its resources, not least in Spain, captured the Augustan preoccupation for imperial inventory perfectly.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ The documents Augustus handed to Piso in 23 (cf. Cass. Dio, 53.30.2) may have constituted an early *breviarium*. See France, 1993:912-5; Nicolet, 1991:178-183; 194. Josephus (*BJ*, 2.16) observed such documents under the Flavians. See also Corbier, 1991:632.

¹¹² Ando, 2000:359.

¹¹³ Nicolet, 1991:123-4. See Corbier (2008:214; 224-227) on Augustus' concern for public accounts, revealed by the customs law of Asia. Note the law's requirement for the archive of custom declarations (*Mon. Eph.* I.4.13; Van Niff, 2008:290). See also Rowe, 2008. Further, see the custom receipts from the Egyptian desert (e.g. Sijpesteijn 1987:147, no.137) and the amphorae of Monte Testaccio (Remesal Rodríguez, 2004 127-148; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009) with their attestations of the tax audits carried out on Rome bound products. Note the *Tabula Heracleensis* (*CIL* XII 593 = *ILS* 6085, cf. *FIRA* I², 13) for the stipulation that information gathered by officials should be sent to Rome.

¹¹⁴ *Lex Irn.*, 86. On the dispatch of records to Rome, see Muñiz Coello, 1986:316-7; Nicolet, 1991:127-134; López Barja, 1999:351; Le Teuff, 2010:200. Financial reports would also have been provided by equestrian mining officials (Hirt, 2010:356, with references).

¹¹⁵ *Ed. Cyr.*, 1.1.4-6. See Nicolet, 1991:132.

¹¹⁶ France, 1993:915-6.

¹¹⁷ See Nicolet (1991:181-3), who highlights Strabo's inclusion of information concerning the dispositions of the Spanish legions (*Str.*, 3.4.20) and the income from custom stations in Britain (2.5.8). See also France, 1993:914 with n76; Orejas and Sastre, 1999:181-3; Orejas *et al.*, 2000:88. Le Roux (1994:44) comments that the Elder Pliny's provinces appear mainly in the form of lists of cities, suggesting archived documents cataloguing provincial communities, probably including specific boundaries and cadastral information.

Among the tools for gathering information for such imperial inventories cadastration played a principal role. The Augustan surge in urbanisation ensured land surveying practices were extremely important under the early principate, with vast areas organised and surveyed, whether in the lines of centuriation crisscrossing around the great colonies or the boundary stones delineating the land of the rural *civitates*. Indeed, it is under Augustus that the rules and regulations for cadastration seem to have been thoroughly laid down, practices and procedures that formed the basis of such operations for centuries. Augustus personally directed such legislation, if it is correct to see works published by him concerning land distribution and the measurement of *limites*. He was certainly central to land surveying manuals, mentioned on 11 separate occasions in the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, and giving his name to boundary stones (*termini Augustales*). Interestingly Augustus' work in Spain comes under especial focus, apparently used as a paradigm by the *gromatici* writers.¹¹⁸ This reflected Augustus' role in the discipline's foundations and further indicates his emphasis on the efficiency of revenue collection and the role cadastration played as an economic stimulus, encouraging the expansion of agriculture.¹¹⁹ It also, of course, adds weight to the importance of Augustan policy in Spain for practices elsewhere in the empire.

Augustan cadastration has left an indelible mark on the Iberian landscape. Whilst centuriation had undoubtedly taken place under the Republic, and particularly around Caesarian colonies, the scale of Augustan expansion of both the urban network and the road system that connected it is unprecedented. Along with his drive to ensure greater efficiency in revenue collection, for which cadastration was central, it fuelled the first major wave of land surveying in Spain.¹²⁰ Some important Iberian colonies had extensive territories; traces of Corduba's centuriation, for example, ran north-west for 125 km, and 65km to the south,

¹¹⁸ Campbell, 1996:94 with references. See also Nicolet, 1991:171-4; Le Roux, 1994; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:149. Note coins depicting Augustus carrying a measuring stick (Campbell, 2000:iv). On the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* in particular, see Dilke, 1992; Nicolet, 1991:152-8; Le Roux, 1994; Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004, citing Chouquer and Favory, 1991; 1992; 2001; López Paz, 1994; Castillo Pascual, 1996. Note also Sánchez Palencia *et al* (2001:98) concerning Frontinus' emphasis on Augustus, and his use of the Augustan cadastration at Salmantica and Pallantia in Citerior as paradigms of the practice (Frontin., *De Agr. qual.*, 4). See also Perez Vilatella, 2001:180-1.

¹¹⁹ Dilke, 1992:37-8; Nicolet, 1991:157; Campbell, 1996:94-8. See Orejas *et al* (2000:76) on the centrality of the work of the land surveyors to Augustan policy in the provinces and its importance for tax purposes. On Augustan ideology within the work of the *gromatici*, see Ratti, 1996.

¹²⁰ Ariño Gil *et al* (2004:43-84) offer an overview of imperial cadastration and centuriation, with notable references to Ampurias, Ilici, Emerita and Barcino, amongst other settlements. See also Nicolet, 1991:149; Edmondson, 1992-3; Olesti Vila and Plana Mallart, 1993; Ariño Gil and Gurt Esparraguera, 1993; Fear, 1996:73-6; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:143; 152-6; 163-6; Palet and Orengo, 2011 with bibliography. On the likely use of cadastration and centuriation in Republican Spain, with literary sources, see Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:18-20; Barrandon, 2011:71-4.

whilst Emerita's territory extended 70 km to the region of Turgalium.¹²¹ Indeed, native communities came to employ the same process in their own territories, prompted by the actions of neighbours of higher status, often to avoid encroachment.¹²² Once boundaries, both internal and external, had been established such communities were responsible for maintaining cadastral records, information passed to the central authorities at Rome. Indeed, we find explicit reference to the inspection of plots by local magistrates in Spanish colonial charters, albeit from a later period.¹²³ Certainly the existence of colonial enclaves within the territory of neighbouring cities, as at Emerita, suggests the maintenance of thorough local archives.¹²⁴

Clearly centuriation left an invasive presence on the land, a monument to Roman imperialism and domination, as with the new roads, scarring the landscape, shaping the terrain and disrupting pre-existing socio-political patterns.¹²⁵ Roads were essential to Augustus' spread of civic organisation, and hence economic development - and control. Not only did they provide a useful axis from which to structure centuriation, but they also replaced shifting routes, focussing communication and trade on certain points as a premeditated matter of policy.¹²⁶ Road building frequently went hand in hand with the foundation of urban sites, often carried out simultaneously, providing immediate infrastructure to sustain new foundations and transforming the local landscape.¹²⁷ As we

¹²¹ Curchin, 1991:128; 2004:97-8; MacMullen, 2000:54; Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:142. Agenius Urbicus (*Th.*, 44) and Hyginus Gromaticus (*Th.*, 135-136) both refer to the dimensions of the territory of Emerita. See also Frontin., *De contr.*, 9; 37; 44.5; 46.16).

¹²² For the example of Ostippo and Basti, see *CIL* II 1438; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 3.1.12; Fear, 1996:74-6; MacMullen, 2000:54-5; Curchin, 2004:97-8. Woolf (1998:143) refers to similar instances in Gaul. Note Salinas de Frías (1999:148-9), who states that stipendiary communities may display centuriation as a result of confiscations made by Caesar from Pompeians.

¹²³ For e.g., the Flavian era *Lex Irnitana* (76) compelled municipal officials to undertake annual inspections of the *finēs* of the municipal territory and the plots of land within to maintain the archives and ensure proper revenue collection. For a translation of the *Lex Irnitana*, see González Fernández, 1986.

¹²⁴ Le Roux, 1994:38; 44-6; 1999. See also Muñiz Coello, 1986:316-7; Corbier, 1991:221; Keay and Earl, 2011:206.

¹²⁵ Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:234 with references; Arrayás Morales, 2007. Further treatment of the ideological implications of centuriation, see Nicolet, 1991:149; Curchin, 2004:109-110. On the invasive economic infiltration brought by Roman roads and their role as arteries encroaching on the territory of indigenous communities, see Hermon, 2010:23-4; Clavel Lévêque, 1991.

¹²⁶ See Ariño Gil *et al* (2004:117-8; 139-140) concerning Emerita. The latter cited Alvarez Martínez (1981), who emphasised Emerita's position as a convergence point for communication lines. Similarly, see Hanson (2011:242-5; 266) for the effects of Roman infrastructure in the east.

¹²⁷ Ariño Gil *et al* (2004:117-138) focus on the *Via de Italia* (Milan to León, *Antonine Itinerary* (387.4 TO = TO 395.4)), which transformed the landscape of northern Spain, notably around the Augustan foundation of Barcino. Milestones here indicate the Barcino section was constructed c.8-6 (See esp. Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:134-8 for the *Via de Italia* milestones). Keay and Earl (2011:283) similarly emphasise the *Via Augusta*. Note Bispham (2007:68-71) concerning the effect of Roman roads in Italy.

have noted, the roles of the new colonies and *municipia* as hubs for the road system sustained their privileged position.¹²⁸

The majority of Caesarian and Augustan Iberian foundations were built close by or on the location of pre-existing indigenous settlements.¹²⁹ Whilst Augustus occasionally bought land, conferral of colonial status was usually accompanied by confiscations.¹³⁰ The natives would largely find themselves ranked as resident aliens, *incolae*.¹³¹ Such a rank was inherently unequal, carrying the same duties and obligations of the colonists, with the added burden of tribute, but lacking citizenship. So at Urso authorisation was given for the levying of the population in times of crisis - on both the citizen-colonists (*attributi*) and the *incolae contributi*.¹³² Such inequality persisted for a long time, given that Urso's laws were inscribed a century after its foundation.¹³³ The indigenous population were further marginalised by the allocation of the poorest land within the colonial territory - both a mark of inferiority and, alongside the imposition of efficient taxation systems, a spur to the economy, and thus revenues for Rome, with previously unused land being brought into the production system.¹³⁴ Parallels may be drawn with southern Gaul, particularly Orange. Here the cadastration map, raised under Vespasian, shows the best land being passed to veteran-colonists, the next best being rented by the colony, and the poorest (cadastre B) recorded as 'TRIC RED', *Tricastinis reddita*; returned to the non-citizen native Tricastini.¹³⁵

Favoured natives may be included among the citizen body, joining the most eminent colonists in forming, by virtue of their privileged access to the best land, the local

¹²⁸ Keay, 1990:135-6; 138-9; MacMullen, 2000:57. Woolf (1998:133) describes a similar hierarchy of settlements created by the elevation of sites to provincial and religious capitals in Gaul.

¹²⁹ Fear, 1996:73; MacMullen, 2000:51; Saquete Chamizo, 2011:168; García Dils de la Vega, 2011:101.

¹³⁰ On Corduba's fate following Caesar's siege, see Vaquerizo Gil *et al*, 2011:19. Elsewhere, many colonies in Narbonensis, for example, utilised land confiscated from Pompeian supporting Massilia (Goudineau, 1996:477). See also MacMullen, 2000:98; 132.

¹³¹ See Saquete Chamizo (2011:168) citing Ucubi, and Ordóñez Agulla and Gonzalez Acuña (2011:53), concerning Hispalis. On *incolae*, see Jacques and Scheid, 1990:247; Mackie, 1983:40. Corbier (1991) and Rizakis (1997:25) similarly note the inferiority of the native inhabitants of eastern colonies, though the latter (1996:269; 1997:17; 20) states that Augustus avoided the brutality of previous exactions, with the *RG* (16) vaguely suggesting that he paid/compensated for land used (cf. Cass. Dio, 51.4; Hyg., *Th.*, 142).

¹³² *Lex Urs.* 105; Richardson, 1996:122-123.

¹³³ Cf. *Lex Urs.*, 103; cf. 48; Brunt, 1971:250.

¹³⁴ MacMullen (2000:55-6), highlights the utilisation of previously swampy land in north-east Spain. Prieto Arciniega (2002:168) notes the changes brought by the Caesarian confiscations, with economic development, new forms of rural production and organisation of land. See also Salinas de Frías, 1999:148-9. Similarly, see Clavel Lévêque (1991:81-3) concerning Narbonensis.

¹³⁵ Dilke, 1992:161; 168; Goudineau, 1996:477-8. Indeed, Hermon highlights the appearance of cadastres in Gaul as early as Marius (2010:25). See also Clavel Lévêque, 1991; Assénat, 1994. On the map from Orange with references, see Piganiol, 1962; Campbell, 2000:vii; MacMullen, 2000:34; 128 with n10; Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:36-7, citing Chouquer, 1983a; 1983b; 1994; Leveau, 1999:101-102. On *forma*, see Nicolet, 1991:esp. 151-162.

aristocracy.¹³⁶ Since Spanish town charters, as in Gaul and Italy, demanded a property qualification to hold office or sit in the *ordo*, Rome actively created a stratified social hierarchy where inequality was institutionalised and sustained.¹³⁷ Tax was inescapably connected with this. The level of one's tax exemption or obligation partly defined one's station in society, distinguishing those ruling in collaboration with Rome and those subjected to that rule.¹³⁸ The goal was always to set up an aristocratic intermediary between the imperial regime and the masses, in the process facilitating Roman rule and revenues.¹³⁹

Centuriation in turn imposed Roman measurements and ideas concerning property and taxation on Iberian communities, as it did elsewhere,¹⁴⁰ often where cadastral systems had been completely absent prior to the new foundations. After all, Roman law dictated that the sale/inheritance of land required it to be located on a centuriated plain. Indeed, such Roman concepts of property, *ager publicus* and *ager privatus* appeared early in Spain, with the *Tabula Contrebiensis* displaying the use of Roman law in a boundary dispute as early as 87.¹⁴¹ The status and power of the ruled and ruler, in conjunction with the town charter, were defined by the division of the foundation's assets and the relation of these to tax.¹⁴² There is an inevitable link with the conquest here. Rome dictated land distribution, property rights and tax obligation or exemption. The process defined what belonged to Rome, what would be given back, who it would be given back to, and what the status of the land owner would be.¹⁴³

Cadastration therefore has a dual purpose; the practical management of a community's territory, ensuring efficient tax assessment and collection,¹⁴⁴ and social control,

¹³⁶ On the integration of some and exclusion of others through the process of cadastration see Prieto Arciniega (2002:158-160) and González Román (2002:55-6). Note that Dio reports Caesar similarly spreading status and tax exemptions in the aftermath of his campaign in Spain (43.39.4-5; cf. Str., 3.2.15). See Marín Díaz, 1988:200; Barrandon, 2011:246.

¹³⁷ On restriction of magisterial and *ordo* positions to the rich, see Mackie, 1983:42; 54-7; 177.

¹³⁸ Parallels with other provinces abound. Egypt provides a useful example; Alexandrians, Greeks and the more privileged members of the *metropoleis* were juxtaposed with the mass of Aigyptioi whose inferiority was in large part defined by their tax status (Nelson, 1979; Lewis, 1983:18-9; Bowman and Rathbone, 1992:115-6; 119-120; Bagnall and Frier, 1994:28-30; Capponi, 2005:87).

¹³⁹ Note MacMullen (2000:100-101) and Corbier (1991, esp. 638-41) concerning Gaul.

¹⁴⁰ For e.g. concerning Gaul, see Vittinghoff, 1952:126-30; Bowersock, 1965:65; Clavel Lévêque *et al*, 1980:34; Clavel Leveque, 1983:251; Rizakis, 1996:261; 1997:17; 26-8; MacMullen, 2000:17-9.

¹⁴¹ See Richardson, 1983; Birks *et al*, 1984.

¹⁴² See Gabba (1994:135-8) concerning Italy, but with relevance for Iberia. See also Ordóñez Agulla and Gonzalez Acuña (2011:53-4; 57) concerning Hispalis specifically. Also Nicolet, 1991:149-50.

¹⁴³ Nicolet, 1991:149. See Orejas and Sánchez Palencia (2002) for ideological parallels in the ownership of mining land around New Carthage and the north-west.

¹⁴⁴ Neeson, 1980:44; Campbell, 2000:xi. See Prieto Arciniega (2002:147-8) on the rearrangement of the rural landscape for the benefit of its exploitation by Rome.

both literally, by physically passing the best land to those of higher status, but also ideologically. It became a powerful symbol of Rome's ability to alter the landscape, both on the ground and within society itself, and to construct space; in other words, a bold symbol of her domination and that of the elites who facilitated her control.¹⁴⁵ And as at Orange, such a land allocation was often presented within Spanish communities on raised *forma*, in equal parts administrative tools and monuments of domination;¹⁴⁶ Spanish examples are known from Hispalis, Lacimurga and Ilici.¹⁴⁷

Thus urbanisation and the land divisions that accompanied the process, whether through official settlement or indigenous imitation, had a dramatic effect on local social hierarchies as well as revenue collection. The pre-existing provincial landscape - in socio-economic, and even linguistic terms - was broken and a new habitat created, with new forms of dependence and integration.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, it is perhaps unsurprising that, like the implementation of the census, such cadastral processes often caused resentment and revolt in the provinces.¹⁴⁹ Yet thus far we have largely referred to 'urban' Hispania. We must now move further north.

4.6 The north-west: continuity and innovation

The less developed Iberian regions, particularly the newly conquered north-west, underwent somewhat different processes. Augustus certainly founded new *conventus* capitals at Lucus Augusti, Bracara Augusta and Asturica Augusta, the region's first urban

¹⁴⁵ On cadastration and centuriation as tools of conquest and symbols of Roman dominance, with examples, see Clavel Lévêque, 1983 :240; 257; 1988; 1991:74; Nicolet, 1991:149-169; Assénat, 1994; Woolf, 1997:42-3; Campbell, 1996:81; 2000:XI; MacMullen, 2000:17-9; 100-1; 127, citing Clavel, 1970:207; 209; Clavel and Lévêque, 1971:12; Clavel Lévêque and Smejda, 1980:34; López Paz, 1994:354; 366; 380.

¹⁴⁶ Purcell, 1990:180-1; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:153.

¹⁴⁷ For Hispalis, see MacMullen, 2000:54, citing López Paz, 1994:28. For Lacimurga, see Sáez Fernández, 1990; Gorges, 1993; Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:34. For Ilici, see Chao *et al*, 1999; Corell Vicent, 1999:63-7. Ariño Gil *et al* (2004:39-41) also highlight the role of non-*forma* inscriptions in indicating the boundary of territories, not least *termini augustales* and milestones.

¹⁴⁸ Prieto Arciniega, 2002:esp. 148-150. See also Nicolet, 1991:149-169, esp. 149-150; 189.

¹⁴⁹ We have no extant evidence for this in Iberia, but certainly Tacfarinas' revolt reacted at least in part against the cadastration of southern Tunisia, which disrupted the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the natives (Dyson, 1975:esp. 162; MacMullen, 2000:34-5). Meanwhile, Clavel Lévêque (1988:177) suggested that cadastration around the Gallic colonies perhaps partly fuelled the revolts here under Augustus.

foundations, and a number of *municipia* perhaps added to the urban fabric.¹⁵⁰ Yet this remained a predominantly non-urbanised tribal region undergoing the same processes as in the neighbouring Three Gauls, with an expansion of the *civitates* system beneath which were the subdivisions of the *castella* and *vici*.¹⁵¹ Indeed, if the Bronze of Bembibre (see above) is authentic then we can observe the organisation of the north-west in this fashion almost immediately after its conquest. The appearance of *castella* (present in Africa, Gaul and Italy) is interesting; the impression is of settlements with significant autonomy, able to respond, for instance, independently to Rome's approach, yet linked nonetheless to larger communities owing to their small size.¹⁵² This fits well with the characterisation of the loyal *Paemeiobrigenses* from the Bronze of Bembibre, who chose an alternative course to their rebellious compatriots (see below). Essentially Rome appears to have utilised existing ethnic and tribal boundaries, providing them with an institutional character in order to integrate and legally bind them to her rule.¹⁵³ So the traditionally self-sufficient *castros*, the pre-Roman hill forts, were manipulated to form *castella* subdivisions within the *civitates*.¹⁵⁴

As in post-Social War Italy, Rome was loath to acknowledge the larger tribal confederations, considering them a greater threat, preferring to deal with smaller sub tribes.¹⁵⁵ The landscape was physically demarked with the raising of boundary stones, milestones and road construction. In time broad tribal groups were created, without account for social or

¹⁵⁰ Richardson, 1996:145; García Marcos and Vidal Encinas, 1995:374. On the limited spread of *municipia* by AD 14 in the north-west and Lusitania, see Mackie, 1983a:6; Edmondson, 1990:165-70.

¹⁵¹ On Lusitanian *civitates* and the organisation of space here, see Edmondson, 1992-3:18; Clément, 1999. On the north-west, see Orejas and Sanchez Palencia, 2002:590-592; Sayas Abengochea, 1996:137-8. See also Mackie, 1983:6; 21. On *castella*, see Orejas *et al*, 2000:78. On the Tres Galliae, see Goudineau, 1996:488; 497; Woolf, 1997:esp. 107-112.

¹⁵² Note Isidorus of Seville (*Etym.*, 15.2.11-12), who asserted that *civitas* were called *coloniae*, *municipia* or *vici*, *castella* or *pagi*, but that the latter three lacked urban beautification, were inhabited by simple men and due to their size were ascribed to larger *civitates*. Concerning autonomy, we find the 28 *castella* of the Transpadanean *oppida* of Comum in 196 which defected following its fall to Claudius Marcellus (Livy, 33.36). Note the reference to the Ligurian *castella* subordinate to Genoa in a document of 117 (López Melero, 2001:31 n21-2). Elsewhere, the *Lex Rubia de Gallia* of 49 refers to *castella* at the end of a list of *oppidum*, *municipia*, *colonia*, *praefectura*, *forum*, *vicus*, and *conciliaborum* (*Ibid.*, 31 n20). Meanwhile the *gromatic* writers refer to *castellum per Italiam*. In Spain, the *Tabula de El Caurel* from Galicia records a *hospitia* agreement of AD 28 between a *castellum* and a *civitas*. See *Ibid.*, 30-2; *IRPL* 55.

¹⁵³ Clément, 1999:115. See also Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:182-3.

¹⁵⁴ López Melero (2001) hypothesised that Augustan action here follows a pattern of synoecism already underway in central and north-western Spain in the immediate pre-Roman period, albeit one that had yet to be strongly felt in the north-west, accounting for the seemingly greater level of autonomy amongst the *castros* here. See also Tranoy, 1981:72-122; Sánchez Palencia *et al*, 2001:98; Sánchez Palencia *et al*, 2006:128-131; Santos Yanguas, 1998:22-4; 2006-7:42; 46.

¹⁵⁵ Mackie, 1983:22-3. On the breaking up of Tribal states in Italy, Salmon, 1982:135.

ethnic complexity of the north-western peoples.¹⁵⁶ This, along with the compulsion of the defeated to define for Rome the limits of their territory, forcing the natives to consider precisely their contexts, produced a new cognitive map.¹⁵⁷ Through his provincial and political reorganisations Augustus thus ordered the previously fragmented landscape, and produced a new, broader identity. Imposed on the conquered, they would come to identify with their new ethnic designations, with their *civitates*, *coloniae* or *municipia*, and ultimately with the *conventus* districts and provinces carved out between 16 and 13.¹⁵⁸

At first glance the systems imposed here, and in northern Lusitania, may seem at odds with those pursued elsewhere in Spain. Yet, even if they do not represent true urban foundations as constructed elsewhere, Augustus still sought to cast a blanket of organised autonomous territories across the landscape with the purpose of reinforcing the elite, pacifying the recalcitrant and ensuring the most secure and efficient revenue collection. An area without colonies, we find no trace of centuriation, and the land managed according to local custom; tax was allocated by Rome *en bloc* to the various *civitates* who distributed the burden amongst the people as they saw fit.¹⁵⁹ Yet the landscape was still one manufactured by Rome.

Just as elsewhere, the land of the conquered was measured and assessed with boundaries marked by the erection of stones. The *civitates* may have been based on pre-existing arrangements, yet these were now formally measured and delineated.¹⁶⁰ Land taken in war is returned (*ager redditus*) to communities, the latter having legally been ‘refounded’. The land now had the peregrine status of *ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus*, carrying tax obligations to Rome, a mark of subjection it never lost. Such organisation of the land was born through conquest, and it is this that defined its tax status and the community’s

¹⁵⁶ Orejas and Sastre, 1999:171-2; Orejas *et al*, 2000:80-1. See also Edmondson (1990:26-7), who highlights the Greco-Roman attitude to such matters implicit in the likes of Strabo (e.g. 3.3.7), who refused to list the various tribal names of the north-west as they were too ‘barbaric’.

¹⁵⁷ Edmondson, 1992-3:26-7.

¹⁵⁸ See Edmondson’s (1992-3:esp. 26-8) account of this process in Lusitania. See also Santos Yanguas, 1986-7:46. In parallel, see Gaul (Goudineau, 1996:468-9; Ando, 2000:353). Note Tranoy (1981:150-64) concerning the north-west’s *conventus* districts.

¹⁵⁹ Orejas and Sastre, 1999:164; Sánchez Palencia *et al*, 2001:97-8; Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:177-8.

¹⁶⁰ Frontinus (*De Agr. qual.*, 7-9) attests the surveyors at work within the territory of the Asturian *civitates* (Orejas and Sastre, 1999:168), whilst boundary markers attest the Augustan effort to delineate and establish the territories of the stipendiary communities of northern Lusitania between AD 4 and 6 - an effort intended to properly assess their tax burden where previously fixed amounts with no relation to the land occupied had been levied. Ariño Gil *et al*, 2004:145-6; 149; 177-8. See also Orejas and Sastre, 1999:168; Ariño Gil and Díaz Martínez, 1999:168-171; Ruiz del Arbol and Sanchez-Palencia 1999; Orejas *et al*, 2000:76-7. Le Roux (1994:44-5) similarly refers to an Augustan surge to systematically delineate and allocate territories, as reflected in the appearance of boundary markers across Iberia.

relationship with Rome after conflict ended. It was a direct consequence and manifestation of Roman domination.¹⁶¹ New ideas of land ownership and property were imposed, with new ideas of dependency within the tribal societies. The *civitates* became units for taxation, under which the *castella* functioned as administrative divisions (cf. Pliny, *HN*, 3.28), within a hierarchy of settlements, and a collaborationist governing class.¹⁶² Meanwhile, as in the colonies and *municipia*, the delineation of land and the allocation of tax that accompanied it acted as an economic stimulus, introducing a tribute driven socio-economic system intended to produce a surplus in the place of previous organisational forms geared towards self-sufficiency.¹⁶³

Such processes are clear in Augustus' treatment of the indigenous peoples following the Cantabrian War and his intervention to manipulate the settlement landscape. The mines, which by the beginning of Tiberius' reign had become the most important in the empire, defined the north-west. Florus (2.33.60) stated that the mines of Asturia remained unexploited till Rome's arrival, and archaeology seemingly sustains such a belief, in terms of large scale works.¹⁶⁴ Mining dominated the territorial organisation of the region and deeply affected socio-economic relationships within its communities, and indeed their relationship with Rome.¹⁶⁵ The geological context of the mines required labour intensive techniques and often the large scale use of water power.¹⁶⁶ However, there is no evidence of the publican *societates* found elsewhere in Iberia, the mines here being run directly by the state.¹⁶⁷ Evidence for the Roman officials who oversaw the mines, meanwhile, is scant and largely post-Augustan. Certainly the offices of *praefectus Asturiae* and *praefectus Callaeciae*, likely

¹⁶¹ The connection of the status of land in the eyes of law and the conquest which has transformed it is implicit in work of Siculus Flaccus (*De cond. agr. Th.*, 98-99; 119) (Orejas *et al*, 2000:71; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:158). Prieto Arciniega (*Ibid.*) further describes how the Bronze of Bembibre may illustrate the legal process by which Rome returns the conquered land. See also Orejas *et al*, 2000:73-6; Mangas Manjarrés, 2000:53; Sánchez Palencia *et al*, 2001:97-8; Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002:590. On *ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus* in Spain, see Salinas de Frías, 1999:149-50; Orejas and Sastre, 1999:164-172; 177; Sánchez Palencia *et al*, 2001:esp. 98-100; García Bellido, 2006:135.

¹⁶² López Barja, 1999:351; Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002:590-1. Orejas *et al* (2000:esp. 78-9; 82) highlight the role of the *castellum* in taxation, based on the edict of Augustus from Bembibre, while also noting the use of legal language similar to that in the colonies and *municipia*. See also García Fernández, 2000a.

¹⁶³ Sánchez Palencia *et al*, 2001:98-100.

¹⁶⁴ Lowe (2009:102) with references. See Hirt's (2010:228-232) brief overview of the initiation of Roman mining here.

¹⁶⁵ Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002:589 with references. Note the comments of the Elder Pliny (*HN*, 33.78; cf. 33.66), concerning gold revenue from Asturia, Callaecia and Lusitania.

¹⁶⁶ The Elder Pliny (*HN*, 33.67-78; 84) described the mining and refining techniques employed. On the use of water power, see Hirt, 2010:228 with references. Lowe (2009:102-109) provides an excellent overview with references of sites of Augustan mining exploitation.

¹⁶⁷ On absence of *publicani*, see Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002:589-95. See also Hirt, 2010:228-232 on the inception of the administration of the mines in the north-west.

connected with the mines, are documented later; perhaps an accident of survival ensures evidence for the former does not extend as far back as Augustus.¹⁶⁸ Again, the institution of the *procurator Asturiae et Callaeciae* under the first *princeps* has also been hypothesised, though the earliest known procurator is L. Arruntius Maximus (AD 79).¹⁶⁹

Mining labour, however, was supplied by the local communities as part of the tribute imposed by Rome, creating new forms of dependence. To meet these labour requirements the settlement pattern of the north-west was dramatically altered, with the resettlement of the different tribes either to exploit the mines directly, to maintain supporting infrastructure (e.g. canals, reservoirs), or to work the land to support the labour force. Alongside such change came a far greater density of settlement. In the mines west of Asturica, for example, the average distance between settlements dropped from 8 km in the pre-conquest period to 2 km under Rome.¹⁷⁰ Such developments are reflective of situations elsewhere, where communities rise up in particular locations to exploit particular commodities. This is often as much through indigenous agency as through Roman, yet the literary sources suggest the direct intervention of the conqueror here, with Florus (2.33.59-60; cf. Cass. Dio, 54.11.5) reporting forced relocations to the lowlands and labour. Indeed, Augustan actions here may constitute a common policy pursued in newly annexed areas, given that Florus (2.25.12) provides similar accounts of locals put to work in the Dalmatian gold mines under the first *princeps*. Hirt certainly suggests a similar strategy may have been employed in German lead mines between 8 BC and AD 9.¹⁷¹ There is also circumstantial evidence that such practices also occurred in Britain during its conquest (cf. Tac., *Agr.*, 32.4).¹⁷²

The tribute would be collected by the native aristocracy who had co-operated following the conquest and relocation; they would be granted preferential access to the land,

¹⁶⁸ Hirt, 2010:359 with n10. On the *praefectus Asturiae*, see *CIL* II 4616 = *IRC* 1.101 = *IRC* 5 p. 23 = *ILS* 6948. On the *praefectus Callaeciae*, *CIL* II 3271 = *CILA* III 92. See also Zwicky 1944:20; Brunt 1983:55; Domergue 1990:291; Ozcáriz Gil, 2009:331.

¹⁶⁹ Ojeda, 1999:158-9. On Arruntius, see *CIL* II 2477 = *ILS* 254; *PIR*² A 1145. Further evidence of this position, *CIL* II 2477; 5616 = *ILS* 254; Santos Yanguas 1983:97; Alföldy, 2000a:63-7, citing Haensch 1997:174 f.; 488. See also Hirt, 2010:121.

¹⁷⁰ A large amount of bibliography pertains to resettlement in the north-west for the exploitation of the mines. See the following with additional bibliography: Orejas 1994; Santos Yanguas, 1986-7:39-40; 1998:20-1; Orejas and Sastre, 1999:171-83; Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:156; García Bellido, 2006:134-7; Morillo Cerdán, 2009:246; Lowe, 2009:105-6; Hirt, 2010:229-231. Note parallels with New Carthage, where settlement density also increased around the mines under Augustus (Burnett *et al.*, 1992:90-7; esp. Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002:586-8 with additional bibliography).

¹⁷¹ Hirt, 2010:334-5.

¹⁷² cf. Lassandro, 1995. On lead ingots bearing ethnic designations from British mines, see *RIB* 2.2404.31-6. 61; Jones and Mattingly 1990:66-77; Birley 2004; Hirt, 2010:334.

and their collection of gold on behalf of Rome, and their role as intermediaries between the conqueror and their people, consolidated their position.¹⁷³ There is a clear intent, illustrated well by covenants of hospitality forged amongst the upper classes, to encourage the consolidation both of the resettlement and the rule of aristocratic groups, to ensure the channelling of resources to Rome. This is unequivocally linked to the organisation and definition of the *civitates* themselves with inbuilt, inherent inequalities.¹⁷⁴ The census perhaps played a crucial role here. Whilst defining tax status from the assessment of property elsewhere, in the north-west it is suggested that the census perhaps also assessed available labour, and was carried out more frequently, to quantify the tribute owed by each community in the form of manpower for the mines.¹⁷⁵ As everywhere, the census has a dual function of controlling the population through the determination of status and the harnessing of resources.¹⁷⁶

A further important aspect was the imposition of the norms of Roman civic organisation on the tribes, integrating them into cadastral systems, and hence the new socio-political and fiscal power structures imposed on the landscape by Rome.¹⁷⁷ Prieto Arciniega makes an interesting connection between this and the assessment of the north-western peoples by writers such as Strabo. The tribes were characterised as barbarians living in villages and surviving through banditry - the antithesis of the socio-political Greco-Roman norm. The cause of this condition was the undeveloped and barren landscape which they inhabited. The solution was to integrate those peoples through cadastration into the organised and developed landscape of Roman administered Hispania - in other words, Strabo provided a justification for the conquest and the transformation of the landscape that followed. Cadastration then was a tool of integration. Yet it was also a mechanism of control. Dictated and determined by Rome, land was being taken, reorganised, and returned, with new tributary

¹⁷³ Orejas and Sastre, 1999:171-2; López Barja, 1999; Orejas *et al*, 2000:82; Costabile and Licandro, 2000; Orejas and Sánchez Palencia, 2002:589; 593-4 with additional bibliography.

¹⁷⁴ Kierdorf 1967:1234; Le Roux, 1995b:90-2; Orejas and Sastre, 1999:171-2; 179; Orejas *et al*, 2000:84-5 and Hirt, 2010:230-1, both with additional bibliography. On tablets, see for e.g. the aforementioned *tabula Lougeiorum*, cf. Dopico Caínzos, 1988; *tabula Zoelarum*, cf. *CIL* II 2633 (p 911, 1049); *IRPL* 318; *ILS* 6101; El Caurel tablet, cf. *IRPL* 55; López Melero, 2001:30-2; Castromao tablet, cf. *AE* 1973, 295 = *AE* 1972, 282.

¹⁷⁵ Orejas and Sastre, 1999:172-3; 180; López Barja, 1999:348.

¹⁷⁶ Orejas *et al*, 2000:89.

¹⁷⁷ Arrayas Morales (2004) on resettlement from the hills to the plains. Note Le Roux (1996), who comments on the slow but steady diffusion of civic ideology in the north-west.

obligations - a society and landscape remade on Roman terms, designed for Roman financial exploitation and with a relationship with the land imposed by Rome.¹⁷⁸

The Bronze of Bembibre, if genuine, is extremely useful, offering both an insight into Augustus' activities in the immediate post-conquest period and displaying the *princeps* intervening directly in the area's fiscal administration.¹⁷⁹ It depicts the first stages of Roman administration being implanted in an area where it was previously unknown, and where the concept of regular taxation and the systems to implement this were utterly alien. As such the edict clearly shows the legal transformation of the land here. This is a pact of *deditio* - seized by right of war; Augustus returned the land to the subjugated as possessors, but not owners.¹⁸⁰ Their lands were assessed, defined and tax implemented, and thus become *ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus*.¹⁸¹

However, here too Rome was developing a collaborator aristocracy; the tax exemptions granted to the *Paemeiobrigenses* for demonstrating loyalty during the Cantabrian conflict produced an inequality, a hierarchy of settlements within the same *civitas*.¹⁸² It was clearly intended that the privileged *castellum* put pressure on its neighbours for the benefit of Roman rule.¹⁸³ Indeed, parallels may be drawn with the aforementioned Nîmes and its 24 subordinate and tributary neighbours (Str., 4.1.12; Pliny, *HN*, 3.37), in relation to the *civitates contributae* referenced by the Elder Pliny (*HN*, 3.18.1); perhaps these were lesser *civitates* temporarily attached to larger settlements.¹⁸⁴ At the same time, Augustus had clearly taken

¹⁷⁸ García Bellido, 1986; Clément, 1999:115; Prieto Arciniega, 2002:159-162, citing Clavel Lévêque, 1993. Prieto Arciniega (2002:161-2) highlights the cadastration process and its justification, with literary sources, in Rome's dealings with the Celtiberians earlier in Republican Spain.

¹⁷⁹ See Orejas *et al.*, (2000:74-5), who highlight contemporary Augustan actions carried out through *legati* elsewhere; the *Arae Sestianae* (Pomp. Mela, 3.13; Pliny, *HN*, 4.111; Ptol., *Geog.*, 2.6); the inscriptions reported from an arch in the Alps (Pliny, *HN*, 3.136-7; Formigé, 1955); the language of Augustus himself in the *RG* (e.g. 4), echoed in later authors such as Hyginus Gromaticus (Ratti 1996).

¹⁸⁰ Mangas Manjarres, 2000:53-4; Perez Vilatella, 2001:173-4.

¹⁸¹ Perez Vilatella (2001:180-1), cites the further examples of *Salmantica* in Lusitania and *Pallantia* in Citerior, whose lands Frontinus also describes as holding such a status, being defined and delineated and handed back *en masse* to the two communities (Frontin., *De Agr. qual.*, 4). See also Sánchez Palencia *et al.*, 2001:98.

¹⁸² García Fernández (2000a:115-6) refers to the tax exemption received by the *Paemeiobrigense* as *omnium rerum immunitas*, referring to property rather than *munera* - thus they are exempt from tax owed to Rome but not from their obligations to their own *civitas*. Contrast with Hirt (2010:334), who sees the exemption as referring both to tax and the liability for labour. See Orejas and Sastre (1999:172-3) in brief concerning the main taxes on the *civitates*. On the fostering of inequality inherent in the edict, see also Sánchez Palencia *et al.*, 2001:98-100.

¹⁸³ Mangas Manjarres, 2000:54; Orejas *et al.*, 2000:78-83. The latter highlight the similar example of Caesar utilising tax exemptions to manipulate local politics (Caes., *B Gall.*, 7.76). See also Balboa de Paz, 2001:51.

¹⁸⁴ Mangas Manjarres, 2000:57-8. López Barja (1999:353-4) refers to Strabo's (3.3.5) comments concerning the reduction of Lusitanian '*poleis*' to '*komai*', stating this must have been achieved through the census. Intriguing as this theory is I am unconvinced we can be certain of this interpretation. See also López Melero, 2001:35. For Nîmes, see above, p124; 127.

steps with the edict to compensate the *Susarros civitas* for the loss of the share of tribute assigned en bloc by transferring the obligations of the *Paemeiobrigense* to the neighbouring *castellum* of the *Allobrigiaecinos*, implying their subordination under the *civitas*.¹⁸⁵

So then, the Augustan age brought great change to the administration of Hispania: provincial boundaries were altered, supra and sub-provincial financial and political governance reformed, and civic forms of organisation spread out across the peninsula. Meanwhile, new taxes and new ways of assessing their distribution were introduced. Such changes formed part of empire-wide processes, a consistent Augustan policy, both within the different regions of Spain and across the empire, to spread forms of civic organisation, facilitating revenue collection and building collaborative aristocracies. The role of Augustus in this is unequivocal and dominant, and perhaps his greatest legacy in Iberia. Yet we must now discuss transformative processes in which the role of the *princeps* is far from straightforward.

¹⁸⁵ García Fernández, 2000a:116; Orejas *et al*, 2000:84-5. López Melero (2001), citing Pharr *et al* (1961:124-127, n. 148), highlights the comparison with the third *Edictum ad Cyrenenses*, which also witnesses Augustus seeking to redress financial imbalance caused by the granting of privileges to part of the provincial community, though in a different manner. For other examples, see Pérez Vilatela, 2001:176.

Chapter 5: Monumentalisation in Iberia: the Augustan transformation of the Spanish landscape

The evolution of Spanish communities under Augustus is extraordinary and rapid, with a growth in urbanisation and the widespread promotion of privileged status. Yet beyond a multiplication of civic communities such processes were accompanied by a surge in monumentalisation. Undoubtedly this was subject to both geographical and chronological variability. Nonetheless, it is indisputable that Hispania underwent a fundamental and dynamic change far beyond the mere aesthetic improvement of the Spanish urban environment.

Monumentalisation was a manifestation of complementary processes. On the one hand, we witness the growth of elite patronage and euergetism. This was entirely in line with Republican, and indeed Hellenistic tradition.¹ The fostering of social and political contact with Iberia under the Republic, as we will explore in the next chapter, had seen many of Rome's leading figures acting as patrons of its communities. Caesar and Pompeius are two such notable examples (cf. Suet., *Iul.*, 28.1; Caes., *B Civ.*, 2.18; *B Hisp.*, 42). The Augustan age witnessed the continuation of these developments, but with a significantly increased role for the indigenous elite, and with new and dominant ideological themes concerned with the imperial regime. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the reorganisation of the Iberian landscape through cadastration and centuriation, as described in Chapter 4, fundamentally altered land ownership in many areas of Hispania, stimulating the very wealth that facilitated the surge in monumentalisation.

The effects of such processes were witnessed both in the urban and rural context, and held real social, political and economic implications for Iberian communities and their populations. Indeed, it will be stressed that monumentalisation played a potentially dynamic role in changing conceptions of provincial identity and elite integration within wider Greco-Roman society.

¹ MacMullen (2000:68-9 citing Riccobono *et al*, 1968-72:1.169 ch. 5; Johnson *et al*, 1961:64) highlights the ethic within Roman Republican society that it was proper for the elite to endow 'their' towns with urban monuments and amenities. He cites the charter given to Tarentum between the 70's and 40's, which provided magistrates with the authority to construct or refurbish, from their own pocket, roads, sewers, or ditches for the public welfare. This is in addition to Caesar's description of T. Labienus and his endowment of public buildings on the settlement he founded at Cingulum (*B Civ.*, 1.15.2). See also Veyne, 1990.

The fundamental issue is the extent to which Augustus can be seen driving this process. The idea that the central regime took a direct role in propagating monumentalisation has fallen out of favour in recent years, particularly under the influence of the work of MacMullen, who rather placed provincial imitation at the forefront of developments.² Certainly, the dominant role of the elite is clear, and will be emphasised further below. However, a role for Augustus and the ideology propagated by his regime cannot be entirely discounted when they so utterly dominated the iconography employed within Spanish cities. Furthermore, it shall be argued that Augustus unequivocally drove the legal and political changes to land ownership and community status that acted as stimuli to monumentalisation. We begin with a general overview of Spanish monumentalisation.

5.1 The Iberian monumentalisation process

Contact between Italian newcomers and the indigenous population had begun to influence Spanish architectural forms from the late second century BC onwards, particularly in those towns hosting a *conventus*. For instance, Roman style *fora*, with the requisite buildings, at Corduba (Cic., *Verr.*, 2.4.56; *B Alex.*, 53.2) and Hispalis (Caes., *B Civ.*, 2.20) were apparently present by the time of the Civil War.³ Even earlier Saguntum had acquired a new monumentality under Roman influence following the Hannibalic War.⁴ By c.100 the Roman quarter at Emporion had become the first community in Iberia to be subjected to Roman urban planning, soon to be followed by Roman style public architecture.⁵ Elsewhere individual elements of Italian public architectural forms and concepts were adopted, from temple design to baths.⁶ Roman artistic tastes also impacted upon domestic architecture and décor within towns,⁷ to which we can add the appearance of villas, notably in north-east

² MacMullen, 2000.

³ We must account, of course, for the interpretations of Roman writers (Fear, 1996:171). For Corduba in particular, see Knapp, 1983:56; Fear, 1996:43; Márquez Moreno, 1998; 2004; MacMullen, 2000:59; Murillo Redondo, 2004.

⁴ See Aranegui Gascó, 2006.

⁵ Keay, 1990:130; 134; Aquilué *et al*, 2006:25; Ruiz de Arbulo, 2006:39-41. See also Sanmartí *et al*, 1990. Similarly, Valentia was resolutely Roman in character prior to its destruction in 75 (see Ribera Lacomba, 2006; Escrivá Chover, 2004).

⁶ See Keay, 1995:292-301; Fear, 1996:41-5; Burillo Mozota, 2006.

⁷ For Roman influenced domestic architecture at Ilici, La Caridad (MacMullen, 2000:80; Ellis 2003:38, with references) and Celsa (Ellis, 2003:37-8). For aristocratic houses in the Ebro valley, see Sillières, 2001, with references.

Citerior, from the second half of the second century onwards.⁸ Nonetheless, such examples were limited and Iberian architecture, public and private, overwhelmingly retained native characteristics.⁹ Even booming Corduba and New Carthage, cities enjoying regular contact with Italians, continued to favour indigenous building techniques.¹⁰ Roman material culture itself remained too indistinct, Italic colonisation too limited, for the large scale transformation in Spanish tastes and aesthetics, and for all the acculturation that took place under Republican Rome diversity remained the hallmark of Iberian architecture before the Principate.¹¹

The Augustan age witnessed a genuine and unprecedented transformation, a shift in intensity that sets it apart from Republican era Spain. The three provincial capitals are illustrative of this fact. Emerita was the new capital for Lusitania, laid out on a traditional Roman grid pattern and accompanied by a vast centuriated territory.¹² This was an entirely new foundation in an area previously devoid of urban settlement, complete with public and recreational buildings to enhance the colony's proper socio-political structures and lifestyle.¹³ Indeed, many of the city's most notable buildings were at least begun during the foundation era;¹⁴ thus Agrippa's theatre;¹⁵ the amphitheatre, donated by Augustus;¹⁶ the temple of Diana, in actuality likely connected with the imperial cult (see the Epilogue); and the impressive copy of the *Forum Augustum*.¹⁷ These were perhaps joined by a triumphal

⁸ Curchin, 2004:99. See also Gorges, 1979:254; Keay, 1990:130-5; Miret, 1991:51-2; Des Boscs Plateaux 2004:307-8; Aquilué *et al*, 2006:25.

⁹ Keay (2006:226-7) highlights the piecemeal nature of the Romanisation of architectural and artistic forms under the Republic. Similarly, Barrandon (2011:27-9; 97-165) notes continuing Greek and Punic influences during the second and first centuries BC.

¹⁰ On Corduba, Fear, 1996:43; Vaquerizo Gil, 2004:81. On New Carthage, Keay, 1995:296; Marín Díaz, 1988.

¹¹ Note Mierse (1999:1-33) on temple design. See also Rodà de Llanza, 2009.

¹² Note Trillmich (2009:448), with references and catalogue numbers, remarking on the change of titulature on the city's coinage, with the addition of *Augusta* reflecting the new importance of the city under Augustus and Tiberius.

¹³ Similarly, see García Dils de la Vega (2011:107) concerning the Augustan military colony of Astigi, hypothesising that the ambitious architectural programme here, and sites with similar origins such as Emerita, was perhaps made possible by a large number of skilled labour drawn from the veteran settlers, slaves, masons, auxiliary troops, etc.

¹⁴ Trillmich (2009:438; 465), with references, believes the walls, gates, and bridge date to the foundation period, though this is contested. Concerning Emerita in general, see Curchin, 1991:106; De la Barrera, 2000; Panzram, 2002:227-312; Dupré Raventós and Alba Calzado, 2004; Fishwick, 2004:41-69. See also Trillmich (2009), with the important *addendum*.

¹⁵ *CIL* II 474 = *ILS* 130 = *AE* 1911, 3; *ERAE* 44b; *CIIAE* 3; Trillmich, 2009:438-9; 465. See also Richardson, 1996:140-1, with references. Note other dedications to Augustus raised by Agrippa at Emerita, *CIL* II 472; *CIIAE* 23; *ERAE* 89.

¹⁶ Menendez Pidal y Alvarez, 1957:205-17; Richardson, 1996:141; Fishwick, 2004:64; Trillmich, 2009:439; 465.

¹⁷ Trillmich (2009:448; 450-467, with additional references), who further comments on the work of the sculptors here. See also Richardson, 1996:140-3; Étienne, 1996:153-7; Mierse, 1999:66; 74-7.

monument celebrating the Cantabrian victory, though its fragmented state of preservation makes certainty impossible.¹⁸

Corduba and Tarraco developed along similar lines. Large sections of Corduba were entirely redeveloped and the city was extended southwards by a further 20 ha.¹⁹ Alongside other impressive works a close imitation of the *Forum Augustum* was installed here also,²⁰ as was a complex likely dedicated to the imperial cult atop the Santa Ana Heights.²¹ Meanwhile, Tarraco was remodelled and an enclosure comprising its forum, a basilica, a reconstructed temple, and a theatre gradually developed.²² As at Emerita, commemorations of the Cantabrian victory may have been erected, with a possible dedication to *Victoria Augusta* raised,²³ in addition to the more substantial triumphal arch bearing reliefs of defeated barbarians built beside the basilica.²⁴

Considerable construction was repeated across Iberia's various colonies; to give but three examples, New Carthage underwent a remarkable transformation, including a theatre described by Keay as architecturally unrivalled within Iberia,²⁵ whilst the Younger Balbus added a harbour and mainland suburb at Gades (cf. Str., 3.5.3).²⁶ At Barcino a readymade administrative centre was laid out along a regular street grid, served by a detour from the *Via Augusta*.²⁷ Crucially, many indigenous towns, even in northern Lusitania, also initiated large redevelopments.²⁸ This is perhaps expected at major settlements like Saguntum, which continued the impressive Republican monumentalisation with magnificent Augustan additions.²⁹ Yet under Augustus we even find great new developments at relatively

¹⁸ See Trillmich, 1997; Arce Martínez, 2004:8.

¹⁹ Vaquerizo Gil *et al*, 2011:21-2.

²⁰ Stylow, 1990:272; Von Hesberg, 1990:283; Keay, 1995:311-2; 2003:173; Trillmich, 1996; Fear, 1996:171-2; Márquez Moreno, 1998; 2004; Mierse, 1999:64-78; Fishwick, 2000; 2004:71-104; Nogales Basarrate, 2001; Ventura Villanueva, 2004; León Alonso, 2004; Vaquerizo Gil *et al*, 2011.

²¹ León Alonso, 1999:46; Márquez Moreno, 1998; 2004.

²² Roca, 1982-3; Mar Medina and Ruiz de Arbulo, 1986; Keay, 1990; 137-140; 1995:308; 2003:175-6; Curchin, 1991:112-114; Aquilué *et al*, 1992:46-52; Mar Medina *et al*, 1993; Dupré Raventós, 1995:358-61; Richardson, 1996:142-3; Fishwick, 2004:5-40.

²³ *RIT* 58 = *AE* 1955, 243 = *AE* 1957, 310; Étienne, 1958:329; Alföldy, 1975:31; Ramage, 1998:462; Panzram, 2002:38. Similar dedications to *Victoria Augusta* are attested at New Carthage and Urgavo (Blázquez Martínez, 1962:114; Ramage, 1998:462). Note that under the Republic the victories of Pompeius in Spain were similarly proclaimed by a dedicatory inscription at Tarraco, *CIL* I² 2964a = *HAE* 487 = *RIT* 1. See Amela Valverde, 2003:184-5.

²⁴ Keay, 1995:308. See also Koppel, 1990:327-340; Dupré Raventós, 1995:359; Liverani, 1995:222-3; Ramage, 1998:461; Panzram, 2002:39; Torregaray Pagola, 2004:300.

²⁵ Keay, 1995:310; 2003:173; 2006:229-230. See also Ramallo Asensio, 1992; 2006.

²⁶ Fear, 1996:39-40.

²⁷ Keay, 1990:138; Mierse, 1999:78-85, citing Granados, 1987:66; Gutiérrez Behemerid, 1992:65; 1993:78.

²⁸ Edmondson, 1990:167-73.

²⁹ Aranegui Gascó, 1990; 2006; Mierse, 1999:59-64.

unimportant towns, such as Conimbriga and Ercavica.³⁰ Many of these new developments were linked to the imperial cult, which shall be discussed further in the Epilogue. It is perhaps enough to state here that following Tarraco's initiation of its municipal cult in 26 altars, whether within temples, basilicas or theatres, would be raised across Iberia.

It should be noted that Augustan monumentalisation, particularly within urban centres, was often a precursor to greater developments under the Julio-Claudians. A lesser site, for example, Labitolosa, in north-east Citerior, saw its Augustan monuments swept away by grander developments within two generations.³¹ And the grandest monuments of all at the three provincial capitals belonged to the post-Augustan period, with a lag between the styles employed at Rome and their uptake in the Iberian provinces seemingly common. Yet such monuments were dominated by iconography and accompanying ideological themes established and entrenched under Augustus,³² and often likely formed part of grand schemes planned and initiated under his rule.³³ Thus the Augustan age may again be described as a watershed for the monumentalisation of Spain.

The form and grandeur of development, particularly in the urban setting, varied.³⁴ New foundations, such as Emerita, were easily laid out along traditional Roman grid patterns and offered greater freedom to integrate systematically ideological symbolism.³⁵ Redevelopment could also provide the opportunity for realignment; Hispalis, for instance, witnessed considerable demolition of its pre-Roman forms of occupation to make way for a new monumental urban typology.³⁶ Yet with the majority of *coloniae* and *municipia* occupying existing sites reorientation and wholesale urban redevelopment were often impractical. For instance, the Augustan colony of Ilici's territory underwent centuriation, yet its street grid and domestic architecture remained 'Iberian'.³⁷ Indeed, even with the addition of Roman style buildings, grid pattern layouts were frequently adopted in the redeveloped

³⁰ Conimbriga, see Alarcão, 1988a:38-9; 1988b:98-101; Edmondson, 1990:167-73; Richardson, 1996:143; Mierse, 1999:85-91 with additional references. Ercavica, see Keay, 1995:317-8. On developments at native towns in this period, see also *Ibid.*, 317-320.

³¹ Chasseigne *et al*, 2006.

³² Theisen (2008) makes such a point concerning the largely Claudian forum at Corduba, which he suggests sought to draw comparison between Claudius' British conquests and those planned by Augustus.

³³ For example, Murillo Redondo (2004:49-51) highlights developments at Corduba as seemingly part of a unitary plan running over many generations.

³⁴ Keay, 2006:229.

³⁵ Keay, 1995:312.

³⁶ Ordóñez Agulla and González Acuña, 2011.

³⁷ Fear, 1996:91; 217, citing Ramos Fernández, 1975:163-4; 1991:44-64.

centres of communities alone, and in many places not at all.³⁸ Citerior's interior towns in particular were often little more than *castros* with monumentalised centres.³⁹

Nor were such architectural developments geographically uniform. Certainly, little urban monumentalisation occurred in the north-west, even at the three Augustan *conventus* capitals; Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta barely advanced from their origins as Roman military camps.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Asturica, the Elder Pliny's (*HN*, 3.28.2) '*urbs magnifica*', lacked impressive public architecture and epigraphy in comparison to more heavily urbanised areas, a consequence of the continuing dominance of the *castros*.⁴¹ There, are, however, references to some notable examples of non-urban monumentalisation, particularly the *Turris Augusti*. Placed by Pomponius Mela (3.11) within the vicinity of Lucus Augusti, its location has not been firmly identified, although, based on epigraphic evidence, a site at the entrance of the Bay of Gijón has been suggested. Whatever its location, the propagandistic purpose of the monument seems likely,⁴² serving both as a lighthouse and a monument to the Cantabrian victory.⁴³ This is perhaps joined by a further Augustan monument at Aquae Flaviae (Chaves).⁴⁴ Both monuments may have partly served as *foci* for the imperial cult.⁴⁵ But perhaps the best known monuments, despite the continuing mysteries surrounding their location and form, were the *Arae Sestinae*, three altars raised to the emperor perhaps as early as 19 (cf. Ptol., *Geog.*, 2.6.3; Pliny, *HN*, 4.111; Pompon. Mela, 3.13).⁴⁶ Indeed, the imperial cult was perhaps the driving force behind what little urban monumentalisation occurred in the north-west, with dedications to Augustus accounting for some of the earliest Latin epigraphy found in the area.⁴⁷

³⁸ Fear, 1996:217-8; MacMullen, 2000.

³⁹ Keay, 2006:230.

⁴⁰ On Bracara, see Martins, 2006 with references.

⁴¹ Tranoy, 1981:191-3; Curchin, 1991:114-6; García Marcos and Vidal Encinas, 1995; Orejas and Sanchez Palencia, 2002:594; Keay, 2003:181; Morillo Cerdán, 2006.

⁴² For the epigraphical evidence, see *CIL* II 2703 (p 919); *AE* 1962, 175; *AE* 1971, 197; *HEp* 14, 2005, 20; *AE* 2005, 851, referring to Cn.Calpurnius Piso. See Syme, 1969a; Diego Santos, 1975:555-6; Tranoy, 1981:329; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:75-7; Fishwick, 1987:147; 2002a:7; Ramage, 1998:449; 462; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009:432.

⁴³ Fernández Ochoa *et al*, 2005.

⁴⁴ *EE* IX 102; Diego Santos, 1975:555; Ramage, 1998:462.

⁴⁵ Fernández Ochoa *et al*, 2005. See the Epilogue.

⁴⁶ Étienne, 1958:380-4; Diego Santos, 1975:555; Mellor, 1981:989; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:75-7; Fishwick, 1987:141-4; 2002a:6-9; Keay, 1995:316; Ramage, 1998:486. Though note Salinas de Frías (2001:140), who prefers a date of 12.

⁴⁷ For e.g., *CIL* II 2581 from Lucus Augusti, dedicated c. 3/2 by P.Fabius Maximus, governor of Citerior; *EE* VIII 280, 504 = *ILS* 8895, a further dedication by Fabius, this time from Bracara. See also Diego Santos, 1975:555; Le Roux, 1996:366; 369; Ramage, 1998:489; Roddaz, 2002:212-3. See also below, n140.

Perhaps more surprisingly, Baetica stands somewhat apart. Retaining strong native cultural traditions,⁴⁸ widespread urban monumentalisation here only began during the late Augustan/early Tiberian Principate.⁴⁹ Indeed, most *fora* and bath house developments date to the Flavian age, and as was noted, even the greatest works at Corduba are post-Augustan.⁵⁰ Such Augustan development as did take place often retained strong native influences, whether Turdetanian or Punic.⁵¹ Indeed, within Baetica there was strong geographical variability; classical sculpture and Latin epigraphy remained rare within the hinterland of Gades, as did public buildings in the remote areas of the northern Sierra Morena and the Andalucian Corderilla's uplands. In comparison far greater Roman influence can be observed along the valley of the Baetis and its tributaries, the focus of Italic settlement.⁵² Indeed, even dual communities, with new settlements constructed alongside existing native sites, often display disparities; the new foundations frequently encapsulating Roman style architecture, layout and orientation, the older existing towns continuing to be dominated by indigenous forms.⁵³ Meanwhile, despite the quasi-religious nature of Augustan urban monumentalisation and altars or temples found at the likes of Corduba and Italica,⁵⁴ most indigenous Baetican towns would only start to develop *aedes augusti* with their municipal cults under Tiberius.⁵⁵

But it is domestic architecture that perhaps displays the greatest contrast across Iberia.⁵⁶ Here there is a great deal of continuity with the preceding Republican period. As one would expect, new foundations such as Emerita certainly presented an abundance of

⁴⁸ Fear (1996:170-226) provides an overview of monumental developments in Baetica between 50 BC and AD 150, discussing both the appearance of Romanised forms and the persisting presence of native aesthetics. See also Léon Alonso, 1990.

⁴⁹ For e.g. the largely post-Augustan developments at Celti, Baelo and Carmo (Pelletier *et al*, 1987; Keay, 1992:292-3; 1993:189; 1995:322; Fear, 1996:173-6).

⁵⁰ Fear, 1996:180.

⁵¹ On Malacca (cf. Str., 3.4.2), Abdera and Sexi, the forum at Baelo, and temples at Carteia and Gades, see Fear, 1996:173-6; 179; 193; 248. On continuing Punic cultural traits in Spain, see López Castro, 2007.

⁵² Fear, 1996:218-9; 249; 262-3.

⁵³ Fear, 1996:212.

⁵⁴ Note the aforementioned proposed *Augusteion* at Corduba (above, n.21), while coins from Italica under Tiberius display a dedicatory altar (*RPC* 64-5; Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay, 1995:402). Furthermore, we find epigraphical references to offices apparently connected with the cult, for e.g. *CIL* II 1133; *CILA* II 385; *ILS* 3623; Étienne, 1958:282; Ramage, 1998:487.

⁵⁵ Keay (1995:322) cites the example of Lacipo, where a complex dedicated to *divus Augustus* appears in the Tiberian period. Note, however the possibility that Urgavo (Étienne (1958:388) citing *CIL* II2/7 69 = *CIL* II 2106 (p 885) = *CILA* III 559; Ramage, 1998:486) and Corduba (Ramage (1998:486), citing *CIL* II2/7, 253 = *CIL* II 2197 as evidence, though this is not highlighted by others) potentially hosted altars to the *princeps*.

⁵⁶ Archaeological evidence for domestic architecture remains poor, both for elite and lower class housing. See Fear concerning Baetica (1996:208-9) and Vaquerizo Gil (2004) with references concerning Corduba. On Emerita, see Alba Calzado (2004) with references. Also Beltrán Lloris and Mostalac Carillo (2007) concerning Caesaraugusta.

‘Romanised’ forms of domestic architecture, with peristyle housing carefully laid out along a grid pattern.⁵⁷ Elsewhere, whilst there is a noticeable increase in characteristically Roman features, such as *opus signinum*, in southern Tarraconensis and Baetica,⁵⁸ indigenous forms remained predominate. Iberian and Roman styles coexisted, both in upper and lower class households, in construction materials, layout and décor.⁵⁹ There simply does not appear to have been the same urge to adopt Roman domestic architectural forms as there seemingly was for public architecture, and the two frequently diverged. Baelo provides a particularly pleasing example, with its post-Augustan surge in public monumentalisation accompanied by contemporary housing developments entirely indigenous in character.⁶⁰ Ancient concepts surrounding the urban lifestyle simply placed little store in domestic architecture. It was public buildings, and the implications of these for a community’s socio-political, religious and economic life, that were judged to be essential, as we shall see.⁶¹

The evidence of villas is perhaps more illuminating. The ultimate expression of ‘Roman’ agriculture, even accounting for difficulties in differentiating types of rural sites from one another and the long date ranges for much of the evidence there appears to have been a marked surge in construction and development under Augustus, coinciding with a large scale economic expansion.⁶² Clearly a new socio-economic organisation of the systems of production is in operation, with a particular focus on viticulture and oleiculture.⁶³ Indeed, whilst the greatest growth is found in Baetica and eastern Citerior, villa development even penetrated into the Meseta and Extremadura in large numbers for the first time.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Alba Calzado, 2004.

⁵⁸ Ellis, 2003:38. For e.g. see the peristyle house at Italica containing a mosaic displaying the name of M. Trahius (Fear, 1996:207). On further appearances of this individual, a possible ancestor of Trajan, see below, p164 n.150; 197 n.175; 201 n.203. Note also *opus signinum* floors at Baetulo and Iluro (Keay, 1990:140).

⁵⁹ See MacMullen, 2000:80-1 with notes and references. See also Curchin (2004:122; 136) who highlights the continuing indigenous design of houses in central Spain, but with the gradual addition of Roman stylistic features, such as columns, mosaics, frescoes, etc...

⁶⁰ Fear, 1996:210-1; 225. Note Varro’s (*Ling.*, 5.162) remarks concerning the conservative tastes of Iberian housing.

⁶¹ Fear, 1996:206-12.

⁶² On Augustan villas, see Gorges, 1979:23-37; Edmondson, 1992-3:19; Chic García, 1985:284; Fear, 1996:49; Keay, 1998a:19-21; MacMullen, 2000:55-6; Des Bosc Plateaux, 2004:307-9; Curchin, 2004:98; Lowe, 2009:100-1. Note, however, the heyday of Spanish *villae* was the second-fourth centuries AD (Ellis, 2003:41-5, with examples and bibliography).

⁶³ Lowe (2009:116) provides an overview of the considerable evidence for the growth in kilns across eastern and southern Iberia, a consequence of the massive expansion in Spanish exports. Further, for an assessment of evidence for economic activity associated with villas, see *Ibid.*, 87-102.

⁶⁴ For e.g., see the villa at La Cocosa (Aguilar Sáenz and Guichard, 1995:19; Curchin, 2004:100).

Nevertheless, smaller traditional cereal producing farmsteads continued much as before, revealing that despite radical changes the rural scene remained as diverse as the urban.⁶⁵

We may also mention roads and roadside monuments, though we may not dwell on such matters. Roads may not compare with urban architecture in the immediacy of their ideological significance, but their impact was immense nonetheless and they reshaped the landscape in a way that affected the widespread population of the provinces. The Augustan era witnessed dramatic expansion of the Iberian road network, particularly between 16 and 13; as much as 2000 km of additional road may have been laid.⁶⁶ This took place across Hispania, but was particularly important in the north-west, where military encampments, mines and settlements were linked by four new roads.⁶⁷ To facilitate such roads new bridges, sometimes impressive feats of engineering, were constructed.⁶⁸ Additionally, other structures, such as triumphal arches were raised, both by the imperial regime and the local aristocracy; perhaps the most celebrated example is the Arch of Bera, sited north-east of Tarraco on the *Via Augusta*. Raised by the Licinni of Celsa, it was probably dedicated to Augustus.⁶⁹ Other such structures were raised by the Augustan regime itself, to commemorate imperial achievements like road construction⁷⁰ or to mark provincial boundaries, as with the *Ianus Augustus*, built on the border between Baetica and Citerior.⁷¹

We have provided a general outline of monumentalisation developments in Iberia under the first *princeps*. To be sure there is variation and diversity, but it is also clear that dramatic changes have taken place, in both the urban and rural setting. Throughout Iberia large scale urban building programmes were enacted, the consequences of which shall be discussed below. But dynamic monumentalising changes were not always manifested in such forms. Villa expansion, road construction and centuriation are also important monumentalising forms that have been considered, often occurring in areas where urban monumentalisation was largely absent or subject to continuing Iberian characteristics. Ultimately what motives and processes lie behind such developments?

⁶⁵ Curchin, 1991:126-7.

⁶⁶ Ramage, 1998:450 with n91 and references. On the road system of Hispania in general, Roldán Hervás 1975.

⁶⁷ Jones, 1976:46-7. For roads in the north-west see Morillo Cerdán, 2009:246, with additional references.

⁶⁸ Keay, 2003:169; Alföldy, 1996a:454-5; Ramage, 1998:469.

⁶⁹ See below, p.197.

⁷⁰ See Kleiner (1989:241-5) with examples and references.

⁷¹ Bendala Galán, 1990:38n65; Ramage, 1998:450; MacMullen, 2000:57; Haley, 2003:34-5; Talbert, 2004:30.

5.2 Motives for Monumentalisation

The monumental architecture of Augustus' new *coloniae* and *municipia* certainly offered a political statement, particularly in areas of comparatively recent conquest; the presence of Rome, victorious in the recent Cantabrian conflict, was permanent, and Hispania would henceforth move to the civilian pursuits of the civilized Greco-Roman cities. This is perhaps best encapsulated by Emerita. Located in the pre-war frontier zone, built for the veterans of the conflict and resplendent with fine architecture and engineering, it was the embodiment of the *pax Augusta* and all that this promised.⁷² The cosmocracy of Augustan rule was implicit, with Emerita providing a western counterpart to Actium-Nikopolis, stressing the emperor's role as both conqueror and peace-bringer.⁷³ This is crucial; monumentalisation here went further than merely advertising Rome's presence. It did the same for the imperial regime itself, demonstrating that the Principate was as central to provincial life as it was to Roman.

The Augustan age witnessed profound developments in Roman visual culture; previously indistinct, provincials now had archetypal 'Roman' artistic and architectural forms to emulate, a standardised and state sponsored visual language dedicated to the promotion of the Augustan regime.⁷⁴ Ideologically charged building programmes at Rome conveyed consistent messages of the *pax Augusta*, transforming the cityscape as they did so. Such processes, however, were not confined to Rome, being soon manifested in the extension of artistic and architectural forms imbued with imperial iconography to the provinces. Developments here consistently mirrored those at Rome in layout and materials, but also aesthetically and ideologically, perhaps best represented in Spain at Emerita.⁷⁵ This represented a developing universal iconographical language that was just as effective in, say, the various Spanish imitations of the *Forum Augustum* as it was in the Roman original.⁷⁶ The latter was joined by further frequently referenced sources of inspiration for provincial

⁷² Indeed, Trillmich (2009:437) remarks that the bridge and buttressed river bank at Emerita were designed to show that even the Anas had been brought under the domination of Rome.

⁷³ Trillmich, 2009:esp. 432.

⁷⁴ Keay, 1995:299-301; 305; 2006:229-230; Roddaz, 2002:209-10; Navarro Santana, 2001:44. Note Vitruvius (1. *praef.* 3), who proclaims that architecture should match the greatness of the emperor's achievements.

⁷⁵ Edmondson, 1990:169. See also MacMullen (2000:esp. 58-67) with references, concerning the provincial replication of Roman monuments. On the use of marble in Augustan building programmes, see Cisneros Cunchillos, 1988; Clayton Fant, 1993; Dodge and Ward Perkins, 1992:153-9; Pensabene, 1993; Keay, 1995:307-8; MacMullen, 2000:63-4; Gutiérrez Deza, 2004.

⁷⁶ Zanker, 1988:311-2; Keay, 1995:305.

builders, such as the Augustan *Aurea templa*,⁷⁷ the *Ara Pacis*, the *corona civica* and the *clipeus virtutis*.⁷⁸ Imitation of such monuments in the major Spanish cities in turn influenced their lesser neighbours, disseminating further the images and iconography of Augustan Rome even throughout Iberia's minor towns.⁷⁹

Roman mythology and history were central to such Augustan iconography, and were transferred wholesale to the provincial setting, where its key figures and events became abstract symbols of power.⁸⁰ Indeed, such symbols were adopted by provincial communities, providing them with a 'Roman', and indeed an 'Augustan' history, thereby reinforcing an imperial regime which had forged intimate links with Rome's past.⁸¹ Ultimately, as at Rome, such didactic images setting out the ideological programme of the regime were displayed in areas where they had the greatest impact on provincial audiences.⁸² There is a clear parallel then between Augustus' dominance of public space at Rome and the public building programmes pursued in Spain and the other provinces, with a standardisation of imperial iconography, a consistent repetition of ideologically charged themes, and artistic and archetypal forms which were both quasi-religious and dynastic in character.⁸³ And in a few places, as we have noted, the imperial regime *was* certainly directly involved in the urban monumentalisation process, the *princeps* and his family employing visual language geared to perpetuating his rule at the heart of communities. Indeed, imperial involvement is unequivocal if one considers urban communities and their rural hinterlands as a whole.

Roads are a case in point; the centre was the driving force behind their construction. As we have noted in the previous chapter, roads are replete with socio-political, economic and ideological meanings. They replace shifting routes, focussing communications and trade,

⁷⁷ Zanker, 1988:311.

⁷⁸ See Blázquez Martínez, 1962:105; Trillmich, 1986:298; Fishwick, 1982:223; 226; 2004:63-4; Ramage, 1998:462; MacMullen, 2000:79.

⁷⁹ Edmondson (1990:168), with references, notes the influence of Emerita, for example, throughout Lusitania. Cicero (*Font.*, 13) commented on Roman colonies acting as *exempla* in this way in reference to Narbo.

⁸⁰ Fishwick, 2004:16.

⁸¹ Revell (2009:106-7), highlighted the appearance of Romulus and Remus in imagery in Spain. As elsewhere in Iberia, Emerita's forum apparently placed an Aeneas group at its centre (see above for bibliography on Emerita, p.145 nn.14-17). Note the Augustan period Saguntine dedication to Scipio Africanus (*CIL* II 2/14 327 = *CIL* II 3836 (p 967) = *ILS* 066), commemorating the city's liberation and restoration during the Hannibalic War; a firmly 'Roman' historical memory for the city that may also have drew allusions with the 'restoration' theme central to Augustan ideology. Similarly, note the Augustan dedication to T.Sempronius Gracchus as *deductor* at Iliturgi (*CIL* II2/7, 32; *CIL* I 2927; *CILA* III, 225; *AE* 1982, 545).

⁸² Fishwick, 2004:219.

⁸³ See Keay, 1995:305; Eck, 2007:146-7. Note Price (1984) on the incredible standardization of images of Augustus across the empire. For comparison for the spread of Augustan iconography in Gaul, see esp. Ramage, 1997; MacMullen, 2000:85-123; McGowen, 2010:15-23; 79-82; 110-117.

open up newly conquered areas and knit communities together in ways that were previously impossible. Indeed, as Laurence has remarked concerning Roman Britain, they are as essential to the processes of integration as urban monumentalisation, since they promote mobility and connectivity, both of people and capital.⁸⁴ To roads we may add the accompanying milestones and pillars set up at intervals, bearing the emperor's name, thus acting as powerful symbols of his hand in the provinces, and roadside monuments.⁸⁵ Indeed, the latter, whether set up by the state or local notables like Sura, functioned to glorify Augustus' ecumenical rule; as Pompeius had raised trophies to mark the bounds of his Spanish conquests (see Chapter 3),⁸⁶ so Augustus helped delineate the empire's western boundaries with the aforementioned *Ianus*. In doing so he implicitly glorified the cosmocratic conquests which forged those boundaries. This is given extra weight if one observes the appearance of milestones in January-February 2 declaring the various distances between the *Ianus Augustus* and the ocean at Gades coinciding with the erection of an altar to Augustus on the Elbe and the consecration of the *Forum Augustum* at Rome; in other words, these advertised Augustus' universal domination.⁸⁷

Further, the Augustan land reforms highlighted in the previous chapter in many areas fundamentally realigned land ownership, transforming the local landscape. Villa expansion, for example, and the accompanying oleiculture and viticulture, underscored these reforms, a key strand of the Augustan economic surge that powered euergetism in the major cities and helped propel our Spaniards in Chapter 6 to prominence. And perhaps even more important, the lines of centuriation carved into the ground are as potent monuments of Roman domination as any triumphal arches raised in Spanish *fora*, again attesting the radical transformation of Iberian land ownership and the empowerment of social elites. For this reason the aforementioned example of Ilici is especially pertinent; a community that largely retained its Iberian character, as many others did in southern Spain, its rural hinterland was nonetheless 'monumentalised' and transformed by the centuriation of its territory by the

⁸⁴ Laurence, 1999; 2001.

⁸⁵ See Ramage (1998:450-1) on the propagandistic qualities of Augustan milestones in Spain.

⁸⁶ See Amela Valverde, 2003:188-196, with bibliography; cf. Pliny, *HN*, 3.18; 7.96; Sall., *Hist.*, 3.89; Str., 3.4.1; 3.4.7; 3.4.9; 4.1.3. Further, on Alexander's eastern trophies, see for e.g. Sil. Ital., *Pun.*, 444-473; Arr., *Anab.*, 5.29.1; Diod. Sic., 17.95.1. Note also Cicero's (*Inv. Rhet.*, 1.69) refection on such practices.

⁸⁷ Baetican milestones, for e.g. see *CIL* II 4701 = *CIL* II 2/7, p 65 n 04 = *ILS* 102. See Haley (2003:34-6) with further epigraphical references. On the Elbe altar, see Wells, 1972:70; Cass. Dio, 55.10a.2; Tac., *Ann.* 4.44.3. Talbert (2004:30 with n40) also highlights *CIL* II 4697 = *ILS* 5867 = *ILER* 2018 = *CILA* III 619 = *CIL* II 2/5 1280.

imperial regime. Ultimately roads, roadside monuments, milestones and centuriation - all proclaimed the new Augustan order to those who passed by.⁸⁸

The provincial elite, whatever the involvement of the centre in the monumentalisation process, are full participants in such developments. The creation of monuments celebrating the imperial regime was an overt demonstration of *pietas* to the emperor and the perpetuation of his rule. Communities, both major and minor, as well as individuals, were eager to advertise connections with the emperor and his household, which naturally brought prestige. Dedications honouring notable Roman figures are not unknown in Republican Spain, yet are exceptionally rare.⁸⁹ In contrast, the Augustan age produced a myriad of examples; see, for instance, the cities of Baetica acting in unison to honour Augustus in the *Forum Augustum*, as mentioned.⁹⁰ Drusus and Germanicus were both hailed by the aediles at Segobriga, Augustus and Lucius by the decurions at Urgavo.⁹¹ And especially pleasing are fine inscriptions hailing Augustus, Agrippa, Tiberius and Gaius from Gades and Ulia.⁹² And quite apart from cities and their magistrates, we also find private individuals honouring the imperial family.⁹³ Indeed, even in the north-west, where urban monumentalisation barely evolved, dedications to the imperial family are observed, often in connection with the nascent imperial cult, as for example with the Callaecian elite dedicating to Gaius at Bracara.⁹⁴

Importantly, beyond expressing loyalty, by such dedications the elite express membership of the wider Roman world.⁹⁵ We may expect this from Italian colonists, who now occupied Iberian *coloniae* in sufficient numbers to influence local tastes, in addition to

⁸⁸ Woolf, 1998:48-9.

⁸⁹ For e.g. the Tarrocan inscription honouring Pompeius, *AE* 1957 309 = *CIL* I² 2964a = *HAE* 487 = *RIT* 1. See Amela Valverde, 2003:184-5.

⁹⁰ *CIL* VI 31267 (cf. p 3778) = *ILS* 103 = *AE* 1889, 60 = *EJ*, 1976:42. See above p104 n.148; 107 n.166; 112 n.194.

⁹¹ Segobrigan dedication to Drusus, *CIL* II 3103; to Germanicus, *CIL* II 3104. Augustus at Urgavo, *CIL* II2/7 88 = II 2104 (p 885) = *CILA* III 557 = *HEp* 5, 1995, 373 = *AE* 1994, 926; *CIL* II 2/7 69 = II 2106 (p 885) = *CILA* III 559; *CIL* II 2/7 70 = II 2107 = *ILS* 96 = *CILA* III 560. Lucius at Urgavo, *CIL* II2/7, 71 = *CIL* II 2109 (p LXXIX, 885) = *CILA* III 562.

⁹² Ulia, *CIL* II 2/5, 486 = II 1525; *CIL* II 2/5, 487 = II 1526 = *HEp* 3, 1993, 168,2 = *AE* 1986, 374; *CIL* II 2/5, 488 = II 1527; *CIL* II2/5, 489 = II 1528 = *ILS* 141; *CIL* II2/5, 490 = II 1529. Similarly, many *coloniae* and *municipiae* chose to mark their connections with the *princeps* upon their coinage. See Keay, 1995:305; Richardson, 1996:145.

⁹³ For e.g., L.Licinius Carnutus's dedication to Lucius Caesar at Arva, *CIL* II 1063 = *CILA* II 242 = *HEp* 7, 1997, 774; M.Racilius Firmus at Mellaria, *CIL* II 2/7, 790 = II 2347 (p 705) = *HEp* 1, 1989, 260 = *AE* 1986, 355.

⁹⁴ *CIL* II 2422 = *ILS* 6922.

⁹⁵ Richardson, 1996:144. Mackie (1983:118-120; 123; 1990:188) also suggested that the monuments represent a pursuit of *Romanitas*. See also Keay, 1995:309-310. Note Shaya (2013:95), who emphasises the desire of the elite Spaniards responsible for copies of the *Forum Augustum* to forge a place for themselves in the contemporary Roman world, to integrate, as much as to express loyalty to Augustan ideology.

being receptive to the latest artistic and architectural trends emanating from their homeland.⁹⁶ These colonies enjoyed close personal links with the imperial regime, transformed their local landscape (see Chapter 4), and acted as a fulcrum for the new ideology of empire.⁹⁷ Yet the indigenous elite are also heavily represented amongst the building programmes described, even at non-privileged towns.⁹⁸ Their artisans frequently failed to capture 'Roman' aesthetics accurately, iconography from different source monuments is often mixed and motifs are sometimes simplified - a consequence perhaps of inexperienced craftsmen and unfamiliar materials.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, we see genuine attempts to imitate Roman ways and Augustan iconography, even if not always successfully.¹⁰⁰

But what is Roman culture for Spaniards? 'Romanisation' was not a uniform process, with consistent or uniform results, even within individual provinces. Rather it is a marriage of Roman/Italic and indigenous that in Spain created a hybrid Hispano-Roman culture.¹⁰¹ To be sure Romanisation involved radical transformation of native socio-political systems, and encouraged commonalities across the supra-provincial imperial aristocracy; particularly the concepts of *humanitas* and *urbanitas* in opposition to barbarism,¹⁰² but also the entrenchment of imperial patronage systems, headed by the emperor, Latin as a common language (in the west at least), and indeed the identification of oneself as 'Roman'. 'Romanness' consequently differed from place to place, acting as an umbrella term incorporating different aspects of Roman culture into the existing values of an indigenous society whilst rejecting others - 'what is shared is a set of associations or conventions, not rules, and individuals are free to conform, ignore or even change these conventions.'¹⁰³

Monumentalisation is one such convention, the concepts behind which are relatively consistent across the provinces. We have noted the lingering presence of indigenous Spanish influence and iconography, both in public and private architecture. Yet when an indigenous

⁹⁶ Keay, 1995:301.

⁹⁷ Keay, 1995:313-4.

⁹⁸ Richardson, 1995:348; 1996:145.

⁹⁹ See Zanker (1988:311), who highlights the *ad hoc* nature of many of the construction projects in the west.

¹⁰⁰ Zanker, 1988:17; León Alonso, 1990:368; MacMullen, 2000:66.

¹⁰¹ Woolf (1998) describes the same process in Gaul. See also Barrett, 1997. Webster (2003) describes 'Romanization' as 'creolization', which may be preferable, though I remain sceptical concerning the suggestion that continuing indigenous traits denote 'resistance'.

¹⁰² Woolf, 1998:16.

¹⁰³ Woolf, 1998:12. On the fragmented nature of Roman identity, see Revell, 2009:78; 150-1; 189-90. See also Curchin, 2004:120-3 in relation to central Spain. For Britain, see Mattingly, 2004. See also Fear (1996:27-8), who comments that the fusion of cultures produced an amalgam of '...not only what classical civilization thought was necessary for urban life, but what the local population thought the classical world thought was necessary for urban life.'

town was remodelled by the imposition of what was at least *thought* to be characteristically Roman, we are witnessing an adaptation to new ideological parameters.¹⁰⁴ Public buildings and amenities are essential in making these communities ‘Roman’, or at least, ‘Romanised’. Indeed, monumentalisation held a central role in Greco-Roman concepts of civilisation, implicit in both Strabo’s *Geography* (4.1.11) and Virgil’s description of Carthage’s foundation in the *Aeneid* (1.421-63), both contemporary to the developments in Spain we are describing; here monumentalisation sits alongside the creation of laws and constitutions and the development of human sensibilities.¹⁰⁵ Urbanism was quite simply concerned with the correct way to live; it was the locating of daily activities in an urban environment so that urbanism became part of the ‘unquestioned mental map of the people dwelling there.’¹⁰⁶ We may refer to Fear, who describes the classical city as consisting of three distinct, yet interrelated spheres: the possession of substantial buildings, especially public ones; an independent political life; and a communal life, including common religious cults and leisure.¹⁰⁷ The latter two spheres of course depend in many ways on the first.

In this respect we may note Urso’s transition to *Colonia Genetiva Iulia*. Contrary to Urso’s pre-Roman Turdetanian settlement pattern, the late Republican/Augustan period witnessed new and extended developments in an ordered grid pattern, with public buildings, each assigned a designated function, whether administrative, commercial, religious or recreational. Even the afterlife was reordered, with precise regulations laid down for the location of *necropoleis*. Note too Emporion; already transformed under the Republic with the addition of a grid patterned Roman quarter, Augustan alterations saw the Roman, Greek and Iberian quarters amalgamated into a single *municipium*. Subsequently, the centre was radically converted from silo pits into a monumental forum, the socio-political and economic heart of the new community,¹⁰⁸ its Roman raised public buildings usurping the role of those

¹⁰⁴ For e.g., see Turdetanian Hispalis’ adaptation (Ordóñez Agulla and González Acuña, 2011). Note, of course, that in places, such as at Astigi, we are dealing with new colonies built alongside existing towns rather than over them (Fear, 1996:73).

¹⁰⁵ Woolf, 1998:125-6. Public buildings as an essential part of civilized life, see also Tac., *Agr.*, 21; Tert., *Apol.*, 42.2. See also passing references to a town’s amenities in the *Digest* (e.g. Ulp., 50.1.27; Modest., 50.1.35; Arc. Char., 50.4.18.6). See also Laurence, 1994:20.

¹⁰⁶ Revell, 2009:43. See also Keay, 1997:203-4; Navarro Santana, 2001:40.

¹⁰⁷ Fear, 1996:6-7.

¹⁰⁸ On Urso, with references, see now Pachón Romero, 2011. On Emporion, see Aquilué *et al.*, 2006:25-9. On the importance of the forum, see Mierse, 1999:95.

in the Greek and Iberian quarters and shifting power structures within the city away from those districts.¹⁰⁹ Such processes are replayed across Iberia.

These are radical changes, imposed at Urso, as elsewhere, by the town charter. This affected the way people lived their lives within the urban environment, and thus potentially changed indigenous concepts about urban life itself.¹¹⁰ This is of course dialectic - the process was not merely 'imposed' on Spaniards. Roman authorities could build cities, providing references by donating fine architecture, whilst town charters provided a frame for socio-political activities, like euergetism. But duality came with the active participation of the provincials, their reproduction of the ideology of urbanism through their daily lives. For the elite this meant their community's monumentalisation, providing a suitable setting for their urban lifestyle.¹¹¹ For the rural populations or urban lower classes, this was perhaps manifested in the internalisation of the messages implicit in the urban environment's monuments, and their incorporation into their conceptual landscape.¹¹²

Latin epigraphy provides a convenient example; though its heyday lies in the future, it increases dramatically in Augustan Spain in comparison to its relative rarity previously.¹¹³ Veteran colonists account for much of the surge, whilst new men and freedmen, hungry for status and highly influenced by the practices of the aristocracy, are also heavily represented.¹¹⁴ Indeed, women too also exert themselves through monumentalisation; denied a role in the power structures governing their communities, they perpetuate their own name and that of their families through epigraphy, as well as art and architecture.¹¹⁵ Ultimately then epigraphy may help advance our understanding of aristocratic motivation, self-representation and identity. Caution is required; inscriptions were not necessarily seen as loaded with such symbolism by their authors, and the adoption of Roman practice is not inevitably the same as the acceptance of Roman identity.¹¹⁶ Yet in the west epigraphy was

¹⁰⁹ See Laurence (1994:22-7) on Pompeii, where Greek public buildings were side-lined by those raised by Roman colonists.

¹¹⁰ Urso's laws implicitly imply the presence of public buildings for political, commercial and economic functions through references to their maintenance by magistrates and priests, and the conferral of responsibility for games and religious festivals. See Fear (1996:7-13) for an assessment of this and other material.

¹¹¹ Revell, 2009:49-56; 77.

¹¹² Revell, 2009:55-6.

¹¹³ Note that Latin epigraphy is also practically unknown prior to the Augustan age in Gaul (Woolf, 1998:97).

¹¹⁴ Woolf, 1998:99-100.

¹¹⁵ With examples, see Melchor Gil, 1999; 2001; 2009; Rodríguez Neila and Melchor Gil, 2001; Navarro Caballero, 2001.

¹¹⁶ MacMullen, 1982; Woolf, 1998:78-9. We note the occurrence of bronze *tesserae hospitalis* in the north-west, which indicate a fusion of Celtic practice with a Roman medium, and in Latin. See Nicol, 1987:134-9.

not a native practice, but one largely introduced by Rome.¹¹⁷ When an inscription was raised stressing Roman nomenclature, citizenship and magistracies held by the individual it made a very public statement about identification with the need at least to operate within, and engage with, the ruling power's culture. Indeed, inscriptions join the acts of euergetism they adorn in signifying an acceptance, willingly or otherwise, of Roman concepts on society, politics and civic pride, a pursuit by the aristocracy of prestige and a demand for superior status and position in a characteristically Roman form.¹¹⁸ Statuary provides similar evidence; the *domi nobiles* strove to appear patrician-like and togate, their political activity within Roman style magisterial systems central to their self-identification.¹¹⁹ Meanwhile their female relatives were represented as chaste, mirroring the dignified Roman aristocracy and their *princeps* upon the *Ara Pacis*.¹²⁰ Such statues and dedicatory inscriptions interacted with the surrounding imperial imagery, increasing further the prestige by association for those honoured.¹²¹

In theory at least, such acts functioned to commemorate and make permanent ephemeral positions, especially annual offices, sustaining both individual and familial status within provincial society.¹²² As Mackie stated, a common attribute of almost every elite inscription accompanying monuments is the notion that the donor expected something in return. That is, they expected both to be remembered after death and to receive *honor* in life, whether the esteem of their contemporaries or indeed actual office and position within their

See also Barrandon, 2011:esp. 167-190. Further, note Encarnação (2011) concerning the symbiosis of Lusitanian identity and Roman practice in epigraphy.

¹¹⁷ Barrandon (2011:162-212), whilst acknowledging the fundamental role of Rome also highlights the pre-Roman Greek influence which spread limited epigraphic practices immediately prior to the conquest.

¹¹⁸ MacMullen, 1982:238; Woolf, 1998:78-81; Andreu Pintado, 1999:453; Mierse, 1999:122-3; Melchor Gil, 1999; 2001; 2009; Rodríguez Neila and Melchor Gil, 2001; Curchin, 2004:123; Revell, 2009:179-80. See also Frere, 1985; Richardson, 1996:144; León Alonso, 2004:125; Laurence, 2007:20.

¹¹⁹ León Alonso (2004:120) comments that the huge increase in togate statues at Cordoba signalled the integration of the elite there into the new socio-political structure brought by Rome.

¹²⁰ Zanker, 1988:322-1. See Revell (2009:155-61), who refers to the togate statue of a local aristocrat found in Munigua. See also De Palol (1991a:29; 1991b:327) on similar statues found at Clunia and Coruna de Conde.

¹²¹ See Clarke (2003:131-3), concerning in particular dedicatory inscriptions raised upon theatres. See also Stylow, 2001.

¹²² Revell (2009:179-186) on epigraphy, though I would suggest that this applies equally to monumentalisation in general. See also Barrett, 1993; Melchor Gil, 1992-3:esp. 140-6; 1999; 2001; 2009; Rodríguez Neila and Melchor Gil, 2001.

communities.¹²³ Indeed, Duncan Jones argued that in some places *summae honorariae*, payments for office, was probably the foremost revenue source.¹²⁴

Thus monumentalisation was linked to emerging concepts of elite identity in the Augustan age, which was itself intrinsically entwined with social status. In this respect monumentalisation joined the widespread institution of municipal magisterial systems under Augustus, from which in urbanised Spain it was inseparable. Both expressed social rank and helped exert the provincial elites' socio-political control over their communities.¹²⁵ This in turn inevitably acted as a powerful mechanism of Roman control; fundamentally this contributed to the creation of loyal elites by channelling competition for prestige through socio-political systems put in place by Rome and inverted to perpetuate her rule.¹²⁶ The effectiveness of this is demonstrated by the monumentalisation even of non-privileged towns.¹²⁷

As we have noted, epigraphy and statuary both demonstrated and demanded social status. This was further manifested in architecture, which acted as an expression of the socio-political structures constructed by Rome. Monumentalisation stimulated bonds of patronage both internally within communities, between the leading members of different cities, and between the provinces and Rome (see below for patronage).¹²⁸ Indeed, the connection between monumentalisation and the advancement strategies of particular individuals and families may account for the surge in building at minor towns, and the short-lived nature of some of these developments.¹²⁹ As it is, the presence of particular buildings, their layout, internal structure and even purpose, presupposes the acceptance of certain ideas. The theatre

¹²³ Mackie (1990:187-8) and Frere (1985).

¹²⁴ Duncan-Jones (1982:86 with n.2; 1985:29), citing the example of Lanuvium in Latium, which used funds drawn from *summae honorariae* to build baths under Septimius Severus (*ILS* 5686). See also Curchin, 1983:esp. 235-237; MacMullen, 2000:59, with notes and references.

¹²⁵ Revell (2009:esp. 61) emphasises euergetism as a vehicle for re-enacting on the urban stage the power and influence exercised by the elite in political office. León Alonso (2004), meanwhile, explicitly linked the rise of togate statuary at Corduba with the need to commemorate the numerous public offices now held by the elite. See also Jacques and Scheid, 1990:324-7; Keay, 1995:305-9; 2006:231-2; Melchor Gil, 1999; 2001; 2009; Rodríguez Neila and Melchor Gil, 2001; Navarro Santana, 2001; Curchin, 2004:92; Des Bosc's Plateaux, 2005a:140-144.

¹²⁶ See Keay (1990:137-8 with references; 1995:309-310), who cites Emporion as an example: the city underwent significant building developments in the late first century BC/early first century AD, fuelled in part by the competition for prestige. See also McGowen (2010:12-3), who cites Tacitus (*Hist.*, 1.65) concerning the great rivalry of Vienne and Lyon, stating that this was perhaps manifested by competition to raise the grandest monuments.

¹²⁷ Richardson, 1996:145. Woolf (1998:134) notes that the monumentalisation of native sites can indicate the continuing vitality of the indigenous aristocracy.

¹²⁸ As emphasised by MacMullen (2000:67-73).

¹²⁹ Keay, 2006:233. See also Woolf, 1998:134.

and amphitheatre complexes, a common feature in the building programmes of both the provincial elite and those sponsored by the imperial family, illustrate this well. Firstly, these hosted games and plays, a consequence of elite sponsorship or magisterial *munera*, the latter statutory requirements outlined in the town charters, and thus of Roman imposed socio-political systems. In this sense the theatres and amphitheatres are themselves in part a product of the same systems.¹³⁰ They also played a central role in cementing the imperial cult within provincial communities. Some theatres were apparently inspired architecturally by major temples,¹³¹ whilst the construction of others in due course would be funded by priests of the newly created imperial cult, yielding obvious ideological consequences.¹³² Moreover, theatrical performances in origin were intrinsically linked with *ludi*, quasi-religious overtones that provided the perfect space for altars of the imperial cult and invested accompanying imperial statuary with increased sacrosanctity.¹³³

And quite apart from their fine architecture, statues and imperial iconography, the entrenched hierarchies, those dividing lines drawn across provincial society to maintain Roman rule, are emphatically replicated in the layout of the theatres and amphitheatres; local magistrates and priests, distinctively dressed, at the forefront, though subordinate to the theatre's imperial statues, and the plebs occupying inferior positions behind the equestrian class.¹³⁴ Augustan action may be seen driving this, the *princeps* having passed laws stipulating seating arrangements in order of status at Rome. Evidence is sparse, yet architectural remains suggests the likelihood of similar practices in Spain; the entranceways of Italica's amphitheatre, for example, apparently divided those of different status, providing easier access and superior seats to the wealthy, whilst its theatre shows signs of internal

¹³⁰ Revell, 2009:167-8. See also Ventura Villanueva, 2004:64. Urso's laws required the magistrates to organise games using both public and private monies (*Lex Urs.*, 70-1).

¹³¹ Note the theatre at Corduba, seemingly inspired by the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome (Márquez Moreno, 1998:126; 132; MacMullen, 2000:63).

¹³² Note the Tiberian theatre at Italica (Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay, 1995:402 with references). Melchor Gil, (2001:167-8) highlights both the frequent expenditure on religious buildings by the elite and the major involvement of priests in acts of euergetism.

¹³³ For theatres and their importance in the diffusion of imperial ideology and cult, see Gros, 1990; Jiménez Salvador, 1993; Ramage, 1998:484-5.

¹³⁴ Zanker, 1988:325-6. See also Gros, 1990; Clarke, 2003:131-3; Ventura Villanueva, 2004:64.

divisions in the seating areas.¹³⁵ Indeed, municipal and colonial charters apparently granted preferential seating to decurions and *imperium* holders.¹³⁶

The same is true of Spanish *fora*. Dominated by symbols, images and statues of the imperial family and buildings dedicated in celebration of Augustus' rule by the local elite, these were manifestations of the emperor's authority, vividly illustrating the power structures in Spanish society and the viewer's place in its hierarchies.¹³⁷ Indeed, as Keay states, given the traditional veneration of the leader throughout Iberia, the statuary here may have been invested with even greater politico-religious significance.¹³⁸ Note also the curia raised in every colony and municipality, whose very existence was determined by the implementation of Roman municipal systems. Only the most influential in society, its magistrates and decurions, could gain entry.¹³⁹ Buildings then, and the privilege of access to them, or the allocation of space within them, allowed the reproduction of entrenched social inequalities. This in turn interplayed with the presentation of the ideology underlying these inequalities within the iconography that graced the décor of such structures.¹⁴⁰ The respective viewer's place in society in relation to the power of others, of the elite and emperor, and indeed the gods, was displayed for all to see.¹⁴¹

In sum, art and architecture were harnessed, similarly to magisterial systems and centuriation, to help engender, solidify and legitimise social hierarchies imposed on provincial society by Rome.¹⁴² The status of the elite was confirmed and they were given a stake in their communities' governance, and it is through them that Rome perpetuated her power; therefore, by accepting the Roman socio-political ideologies inherent within the monumentalisation programmes described and by engaging in Roman patronage networks the

¹³⁵ In general see Revell, 2009:167-72 and also Rawson, 1987; Laurence, 1994:137; Keay, 1995:305-6. On the Hadrianic amphitheatre entrance at Italica, see Roldán Gómez, 1994:218-23. On the internal divisions in the theatre at Italica, see Corzo Sánchez, 1993; Rodríguez Gutiérrez, 2004; *CIL* II 5102-16. Similarly, note the theatre at Bilbilis, see Martín Bueno, 1982:80.

¹³⁶ *Lex Urs.*, 25; 27.

¹³⁷ Zanker, 1988:328; Revell, 2009:82; 86.

¹³⁸ Keay, 1995:316. See also Zanker, 1988:326; MacMullen, 2000:78-9. Ramage (1998:452-4) further highlights the propagandistic qualities of imperial statuary, in addition to providing a useful list of examples found in Spanish cities.

¹³⁹ Revell, 2009:156.

¹⁴⁰ Revell, 2009:172. Further, see Martins (2006:214), highlighting the early presence of dedicatory inscriptions honouring P.Fabius Maximus as patron at Bracara, in addition to instances citing Gaius and Lucius Caesar and Agrippa Postumus; perhaps providing evidence of the expression of Romanic civic and ideological ideas and the acceptance of the nascent imperial cult and Augustan dynastic policies in the early stages of the Roman occupation (*CIL* II 2422). See also above, nn.47; 94.

¹⁴¹ As Laurence (1994:20; 137) remarks concerning Pompeii. See Lefebvre (1991:220-2) on the 'recognition' effect of monumentality.

¹⁴² Revell, 2009:179-186. See also Keay, 1995.

elite implicitly accepted Roman control. Such practices, internalised over generations from the late Republic onwards, surging under Augustus, could not fail to have sincere consequences for Spanish aristocratic identity and adherence to the imperial system under the early empire. A similar point may be made for villa expansion. Initially perhaps these were merely a way to flaunt wealth rather than a concrete sign of the acceptance of Roman social conventions and ideologies.¹⁴³ However, the owner of rural villas would, consciously or not, lead a peculiarly 'Roman' lifestyle, that in time could not help but affect one's identity.¹⁴⁴

Additionally, perhaps the financial organisation of local government had a hand in the Augustan surge in Spanish euergetism. Direct taxation was largely reserved for the state, whilst the revenue collected by communities from public land and property was precarious and unreliable. Cities could use servile or *corvée* labour on building developments, though the latter, when used on a large scale at least, was often a sign of financial strain.¹⁴⁵ In this context, *munera*, compulsory public expenditure required by certain magisterial positions, was important;¹⁴⁶ Urso's Caesarian charter certainly invested magistrates with the powers to construct roads, sewers and ditches from their own resources, and, assuming that the community would wish to fund projects to provide such amenities, articulated the means by which magistrates could acquire land for such purposes.¹⁴⁷ Pobjoy has questioned the extent to which the role of magistrates in raising inscriptions on such public monuments raised as part of legal obligations attached to their positions can genuinely be described as euergetistic, but emphasises that these still served to advertise the virtues of the individuals and their integrity in carrying out their magisterial duties.¹⁴⁸

A further important source of revenue for public works depended on private contributions from wealthy individuals without official obligations.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, a mixture of finance methods was perhaps frequently found; as at Italica, where a temple of Apollo was

¹⁴³ Note Woolf (1998:148-57) concerning Gallo-Roman villas.

¹⁴⁴ Curchin, 2004:99.

¹⁴⁵ Urso's laws required citizens to potentially donate five days per year to maintain/extend the walls when necessary (*Lex Urs.*, 98). Similarly, see *Lex Irn.*, 83. Concerning municipal imitative in the monumentalisation process, see Melchor Gil, 1992-3:135-40.

¹⁴⁶ Frere, 1985:34. Note Pobjoy (2000) in particular, who argues strongly for a heavy role of legal obligations attached to magisterial positions in driving the spread of epigraphy and the wider surge in monumentalisation.

¹⁴⁷ *Lex Urs.*, 77; 99.

¹⁴⁸ Pobjoy, 2000:esp. 90.

¹⁴⁹ Mackie, 1990:188. See also Duncan-Jones, 1985:28-9.

bankrolled both by public subscription and personal contributions from the local praetor M.Trahius.¹⁵⁰

Indeed, we may go further, and assert that a community's legal status was also often entangled with its monumentalisation process, with promotion acting as a stimulus; whether implicitly, when structures are raised to thank directly the emperor for promotion,¹⁵¹ or as a general spur to create a grander setting to match a higher status.¹⁵² The initiative for such acts could come from the state itself but more often was organised locally. The finest examples hail from Emerita, Corduba and Tarraco, whose monumentalisation was doubtless given extra impetus by their promotion to provincial capitals.¹⁵³ Similarly, Keay has stated that the award of colonial status to New Carthage undoubtedly acted as a catalyst of monumentalisation here also.¹⁵⁴ We even see the beginnings of an incredible transformation of Conimbriga coinciding with its Augustan elevation to the relatively humble status of *civitas stipendiaria*.¹⁵⁵ And Segobriga offers particularly pleasing examples of monumentalisation following in the wake of its promotion to *municipium*; in 15 the community raised a pedestal memorialising a *decretum decurionum*, a decision of the local *ordo* - the oldest *decretum decurionum* found in Spain. This joined another pedestal hailing M.Porcus M.f. Pup., a *Caesaris Augusti scriba* who had brought the city news of its promotion, as patron.¹⁵⁶ The pedestals and their inscriptions are doubly pleasing since they show both instances of monumentalisation that unequivocally display a direct reaction to a city's promotion, as well as revealing the beginnings of the community's new socio-political structure, as the local senate begins its activities.

Beyond concerns for a community's urban topography to match its dignity on promotion, Mackie also asserted a role for the legalistic process by which such promotions occurred in fuelling euergetism. That is to say that municipalisation brought a legal definition of the powers of the town councils enshrined in their new charters. Whilst Mackie referred chiefly to the legacy of Vespasian's grant of Latin status we may draw lessons for the Augustan period's more limited promotions. In this case, the granting of town charters

¹⁵⁰ As above n.58, Trahius may be the grandfather of Trajan. See Caballos Rufino, 1987-8; Amores Carredano and Rodríguez Hidalgo, 1987:384; Melchor Gil, 1992-3:147-9. See also Chapter 6, n.175.

¹⁵¹ McGowen, 2010:12.

¹⁵² For e.g. Melchor Gil, 1992-3:129-30.

¹⁵³ For e.g. Dupré Raventós (1995:361) on Tarraco.

¹⁵⁴ Keay, 2006:229-230.

¹⁵⁵ Edmondson, 1990:169-73; Richardson, 1995:348. On the town's status, see Plin, *HN*, 4.113.3.

¹⁵⁶ Cebrián Fernández *et al*, 2003a:271-74, no.10; Abascal Palazón *et al*, 2006:188.

permitted the local councils the power to confer honours on individuals in return for donations, to accept and manage benefactions, etc..., so acting as a stimulus; an encouragement for the Spanish elite to seek the prestige their cities were now permitted to award.¹⁵⁷ And of course, the production of entertainment for the local citizenry, and hence the requirement for the requisite buildings to host such events, was often statutory.¹⁵⁸ And note, as above, that Augustan land reforms had radically altered land ownership in many areas, empowering the elite, both socially and economically, enabling them to engage in such acts of euergetism.

As with the institution of magisterial systems, in this sense monumentalisation was a product of the collaboration between local aristocracies and Rome. Such a hypothesis accounts in part for the apparent lack of euergetism in Spanish communities prior to the first waves of municipalisation in the mid-first century BC, and perhaps the land reorganisation that accompanied them.

5.3 The role of patronage

Patronage, as everywhere else in the empire, was central to Spanish monumentalisation,¹⁵⁹ hardly surprising given the tenuous nature of local government finances. Associations with the powerful always brought prestige, and real material gain often resulted from establishing such links; wealthy patrons often brought communities both funding for capital projects *and* access to the best architects and artisans, etc.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the great monumentalisation programmes vividly illustrate provincial cities and their citizens operating within imperial power structures, the dedicatory buildings, statues and inscriptions

¹⁵⁷ Mackie (1990:189-190), who elaborated elsewhere on the role of the charters in overseeing public benefactions (see Mackie, 1983:ch.7; 8). See also Fear, 1996:222-3; Melchor Gil, 1992-3; 2001; 2009. Corduba provides an excellent example of Flavian development (Márquez Moreno, 2004 for a general overview).

¹⁵⁸ Ventura Villanueva, 2004:64-5.

¹⁵⁹ Curchin (1983) assessed personal wealth through the monuments of the Spanish elite and thus is useful for assessing the general cost of private benefactions. See also Andreu Pintado, 1999.

¹⁶⁰ Keay (1995:304; 310) cites as examples Caesarian Emporion and Augustan Tarraco. MacMullen (2000:66-7) notes the well-proportioned *fora* and major monuments expertly measured out - indicating, perhaps, the hands of Italic surveyors and artisans. Arce Martínez (2004:11, with references) highlights the probable presence of Italian artisans and architects at Emerita. On further evidence of Italian craftsmen in Spain, see also Kienast, 1982:352; Balil, 1983:232; Dupré Raventós, 1995:356; Márquez Moreno, 1998:119f. MacMullen cites the similar use of Italian artisans in the east (2000:20-1). Note Duncan-Jones (1990:59-76) attempts to outline the peaks and troughs of (post-Augustan) monumentalisation across the Empire in relation to socio-economic factors.

providing permanent testimony to the network of influence and obligation that literally bound the empire together.¹⁶¹ Certainly, Spain's bitter involvement in the Civil Wars demonstrates its full immersion in the Republican patronage systems. Yet under Augustus, with the explosion of monumentalisation, for the first time we gain a complete picture of the extent of the patronage web.

Augustus and his key lieutenants headed such networks.¹⁶² Patronage of this kind could amount to little more than supportive words, yet on rare occasions was manifested by imperial family members holding local magistracies and funding buildings.¹⁶³ For instance, an abiding personal connection with Augustus cemented Tarraco at the forefront of the Spanish communities,¹⁶⁴ whilst Emerita's theatre and amphitheatre were donated by the emperor and Agrippa respectively.¹⁶⁵ The latter also benefited Gades.¹⁶⁶ Other notable instances include key buildings or features at Corduba,¹⁶⁷ Pax Iulia,¹⁶⁸ Emporion,¹⁶⁹ and New Carthage, to name but a few.¹⁷⁰ Further central government involvement in urban monumentalisation may be suggested by the apparent naming of imperial officials on *tegulae*, with Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay hypothesising a *legatus augusti* and *conductor operarum* at Italica to coordinate state sponsored building.¹⁷¹ The imperial regime was strengthened by such contributions, whether financial or moral, by allowing the extension of patronage even to individual subjects, and forging relationships of dependence between the provincial centres of power and the *princeps*.¹⁷² And of course the imperial regime was glorified in practically every building programme raised by the provincials, in Hispania and beyond, as we have noted. Such acts of euergetism, whether dedicated to the imperial family or donated by them, all utilise public space in the same way; to legitimise imperial power.¹⁷³

¹⁶¹ Revell, 2009:61-2.

¹⁶² MacMullen (2000:67-8) provides a brief overview.

¹⁶³ See Melchor Gil (1992-3:130-5) concerning imperial initiative in monumentalisation.

¹⁶⁴ See Keay, 1995:310.

¹⁶⁵ Agrippa was long remembered as the key figure from the colony's formative years. See Arce Martínez, 2004:11; Trillmich, 2009:149. See also Roddaz (1984:ch.2) concerning Agrippa's patronage in Spain.

¹⁶⁶ Fear, 1996:109. For coins hailing Agrippa as patron, see *RPC* 77-84.

¹⁶⁷ Ventura Villanueva, 2004:65.

¹⁶⁸ Melchor Gil, 2001; *AE* 1989, 368 = *HEp* 2, 1990, 744.

¹⁶⁹ *AE* 1990, 662 = *EE* 9 400; *AE* 1990, 663; Bonneville, 1986; Mar Medina and Ruiz de Arbulo, 1990:151-4; Keay, 1995:310; Ramage, 1998:477; MacMullen, 2000:67-8.

¹⁷⁰ For e.g. see Tiberius, Gaius and Agrippa, *CIL* II 1113; 3417 = *ILS* 840; 5093; 5930 = *ILS* 144. On Agrippa's relationship with New Carthage in particular, see especially Koch, 1979.

¹⁷¹ Rodríguez Hidalgo and Keay, 1995:400.

¹⁷² Revell, 2009:101. See also Saller, 1982; 1989.

¹⁷³ Revell, 2009:87-9.

Roman officials also enhanced their own prestige through benefactions.¹⁷⁴ Thus, in addition to the aforementioned Porcius, Segobriga hosted dedications as *patroni* to L.Livius L.f. Ocella, quaestor of Citerior at some point between 50 and 27.¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile, M.Acilius Rufus, a *procurator Caesarum* under either Augustus or Tiberius, dedicated at Saguntum, in addition to himself being honoured by the decurions there.¹⁷⁶ And P.Silius Nerva, Ulterior's *legatus pro praetore*, appears at New Carthage in a dedicatory inscription between 19-16.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, even as early as 24 Aelius Lamia, governor of Citerior, was honoured in the north-west as patron by the Carietes and Vennenses, neighbours of the Cantabri.¹⁷⁸

Finally, we must acknowledge the provincial elites themselves. Indeed, the local Spanish aristocracy was responsible for the overwhelming majority of Augustan monumentalisation, particularly in the urban setting.¹⁷⁹ The Civil Wars shattered the Roman aristocracy. Vast amounts of money and estates changed hands amidst the squalid business of fraternal strife and proscriptions, and the Italian municipal aristocracy and later those of the provinces began rising to prominence. Despite the disdain of the distinguished yet declining Roman nobility such men possessed great advantages;¹⁸⁰ links to the military dynasts, wealth driven in part by Augustan reforms of land ownership, provincial clientele, and an environment of upward mobility as seismic shifts seized hold of Roman politics and society. As we shall see, most were content with local position and prestige within their own communities. Others hoped to advance beyond this, to the major cities of their province or even Rome itself. They wished for acceptance into the wider imperial aristocracy, and thus sought to emulate the manners of the dominant powers. The provision of urban monuments, particularly public buildings, through euergetism, the use of wealth in a characteristically Roman manner, demonstrated for the provincials by the emperor himself and other important Roman patrons, was one way to achieve this.¹⁸¹ Members of the rich aristocratic Baebii house of Saguntum, sponsors of the city's forum,¹⁸² illustrate the effects of such euergetism,

¹⁷⁴ See for e.g. *CIL* II 2820; 3414; 3556 = *ILS* 893; *AE* 1957, 317. See also Bonneville, 1986:181-200; Curchin, 1991:90; MacMullen, 2000:68.

¹⁷⁵ *CIL* VI 8/3 1446a; Keay, 2006:188.

¹⁷⁶ *CIL* II 2/14, 333 = *CIL* II 3840 (p LXXX, 967) = *ILS* 1376. See also *CIL* II 2/14 334.

¹⁷⁷ *CIL* II 3414.

¹⁷⁸ *AE* 1948, 93.

¹⁷⁹ Melchor Gil (1992-3:149) emphasises the crucial role of provincial elite euergetism in advancing Iberian monumentalisation.

¹⁸⁰ MacMullen, 2000:68.

¹⁸¹ The figures being spent in Spain may be illustrated by the estimated cost of Conimbriga's forum, half a million sesterces (Alarcão and Étienne, 1979:259, cited by MacMullen, 2000:67).

¹⁸² Beltrán Lloris, 1980:no. 64; Alföldy, 1977:7-13; 24; 1996a:459. See, for e.g. *CIL* II 2/14 374 = *CIL* II 3869 (p 967) = *CIL* II 3870 = *CIL* II 6022 = *CIL* II 6049 = *AE* 1977, 465 = *HEp* 12, 2002, 477; *HAE* 732.

the recorded appearance of their endowments in their home city matching their rise to the aristocracy of Rome itself.¹⁸³ Their political use of euergetism is well illustrated by the actions of Cn.Baebius Geminus, who raised a dedication to Tiberius in the immediate aftermath of Augustus' death, but prior to the latter's deification. The family clearly wasted no time in reaffirming their allegiance to the imperial house.¹⁸⁴

We also find Spaniards engaging in euergetism from outside of the favoured community. These could be citizens who had moved on to greater things, or their descendants, acting as patrons of their *patria*. Perhaps the most spectacular example is the Younger Balbus, who enlarged and remodelled Gades dramatically (see above). The Emeritan citizen Q.Tallius is another excellent example, having donated a sundial to the town of Civitas Igaeditanorum (Idanha-a-Valha) in 16.¹⁸⁵ And sometimes we find donors born elsewhere, endowing their adopted cities in order to gain office or simple acceptance within local society. All would hope for secular or priestly honours, and undoubtedly to be remembered by posterity as patrons, perhaps with a dedication or statue.

In sum, the principle that lay behind the Augustan surge in Spanish euergetism is not particularly revolutionary in itself. As we have noted from the beginning, whether sponsored by the emperor and the Roman elite or the Spanish aristocracy who sought to emulate them, such patronage follows Republican and Hellenistic traditions. Under the Principate the Roman aristocracy still sought to build Iberian client bases, striving to be seen to sponsor monuments and to celebrate the imperial regime, whilst the emperor and his acolytes also intervened directly, albeit rarely, in a few places to provide urban amenities.¹⁸⁶ Rome's remarkable Augustan transformation was the obvious model. Beyond the *princeps* himself, this had been led by distinguished figures such as Agrippa and the imperial heirs, the very individuals whose interventions in Spain set such a powerful example for the increasingly important provincial elite. What perhaps sets the Augustan age apart is the manner in which the latter group came firmly to the fore, fully immersed in empire wide patronage networks and engaging in widespread acts of euergetism within communities across Spain.

¹⁸³ Alföldy, 1977:15-23; Mierse, 1999:121-2.

¹⁸⁴ *CIL* II 2/14 307. The Baebii appear repeatedly in the epigraphical record of Saguntum, both in the position of those making dedications and as the objects of dedications themselves (e.g. *CIL* II 2/14 352 = *CIL* II 3854; *CIL* II 2/14 353 = *CIL* II 3855). Note Boschung, (1990) concerning the politics surrounding the erection of portraiture of the imperial family.

¹⁸⁵ *AE* 1967, 144 = *ILER* 2082.

¹⁸⁶ See Mackie, 1983:134n4; 143n4; Alföldy, 1996a:451.

5.4 A role for Augustus and his ideology?

It is clear that the direct compulsion of the elite did not underpin Iberian urban monumentalisation, nor did Augustus embark upon a ‘civilizing mission.’¹⁸⁷ Ultimately the elite accepted Roman cultural forms because they believed there was an advantage to be gained in doing so. But this only occurred initially to any great degree in areas with heavy colonial populations or strong economic links with Rome, such as the cities of the eastern coast and the valleys of the Baetis and Sigilis. The continuing presence of Iberian characteristics elsewhere, from the forums of the great towns to rich and poor houses alike, argues against the notion that the elite felt directly compelled to conform.¹⁸⁸

Nonetheless, encouragement from the *princeps* cannot be entirely discounted from developments. Both Augustus and Agrippa were present in Iberia during important transformative phases in provincial, civic and fiscal organisation, not to mention the birth of the imperial cult (see Chapter 4 and the Epilogue). Perhaps then it is unsurprising that their presence further coincided with a surge in monumentalisation, given the intrinsic connection between all of these processes. We have noted the direct and dominant role of the regime in road construction and centuriation, developments that literally ‘monumentalised’ the rural hinterlands of communities even in places where little urban monumentalisation took place.

And certainly the emperor and his circle made a number of important interventions in the monumentalisation process at various communities, particularly in the three provincial capitals.¹⁸⁹ Though few in numbers, these provided a blueprint for the Spanish elites to follow, acting, consciously or not, as an impetus to further building.¹⁹⁰ And the sculptured image of the emperor was subject to such standardisation across the empire it seems certain

¹⁸⁷ Fear, 1996:13-30. See also Navarro Santana, 2001. Laurence (1994:27-8; 36-7) makes similar points concerning Pompeii; here public monumentalisation was not dictated from the centre, as at Rome.

¹⁸⁸ Fear (1996:249; 250; 253; 263; 268; 269; 274) argues for ‘Transculturation’ rather than ‘Romanisation’.

¹⁸⁹ Keay (2006) suggested a greater involvement by Augustus in the communities of Tarraconensis and Lusitania, where he was proconsul, than in Baetica. Keay (1995:313) further noted elsewhere the abiding close associations between Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba and the imperial regime, making them obvious choices for provincial capitals.

¹⁹⁰ Mierse (1999:54-5) suggests Agrippa initially sponsored the manipulation of visual forms in Spain.

there was some form of official central interest in sanctioning them, though the provincials themselves must bear ultimate responsibility for disseminating them.¹⁹¹

This is particularly interesting, since it is clear that in many places periods of intense monumentalisation also coincided with a surge in epigraphical evidence demonstrating close ties between the communities in question and the imperial house.¹⁹² This brings to the foreground the context in which monumentalisation in Augustan Spain takes place: a new political system in which ultimate power rests in the hands of one man – Augustus - who now sat at the pinnacle of a dense patronage network. Meanwhile, he had enacted urbanisation policies and widely spread higher status to existing Spanish communities. As we have noted, this was done for pragmatic reasons. Yet once Roman socio-political forms were extended to Hispania and status and competition were framed by the same systems and values as those of the Italian aristocracy it was surely inevitable that the Iberian elite would respond to Augustan rule in like manner as their Italian counterparts?

After all, the ultimate goal of the majority of the elite must have been to obtain or sustain a position within society and politics, whether locally or at Rome itself. They therefore bound themselves to certain, but not all, ‘Roman’ principles.¹⁹³ However intentionally, Augustus’ administrative policies then directly encouraged the monumental transformation of Spain. He created the socio-political conditions that provided the spur to monumentalisation with the introduction of municipal systems, stimulating competition amongst the elite and, indeed, between communities. He also implemented the cadastration processes and accompanying reform of land ownership that empowered the local elite, contributing to an economic surge that provided the aristocracy with the means to engage in widespread euergetism. Once such policies were enacted intrusive interventions by the *princeps*, forms of compulsion, would be unnecessary. This is especially pertinent at the provincial capitals, a focus of the elite, though even towns elevated to stipendiary status display such processes.¹⁹⁴ In this sense to abrogate responsibility from Augustus for Spanish

¹⁹¹ Price, 1984:172-4. Roddaz (2002:211) highlights the role of the emperor’s lieutenants in disseminating his image.

¹⁹² Keay, 2006:232.

¹⁹³ Woolf (1998:239) refers to a ‘strategic use of Roman culture’ to gain status. See also Curchin, 2004:135. Fishwick (1987:217) argues for an initial impetus from the centre before competition for status naturally took over to encourage monumentalisation.

¹⁹⁴ Curchin (2004:92) describes the elite competition that was inherent in the socio-political forms spread by Augustus in Spain as a ‘powerful incentive’ to the urbanisation and monumentalisation processes. Fishwick (1987:1204-9) and Mierse (1999:122) both state that Augustus need not push imperial ideology heavy handedly

monumentalisation when his policies have acted as a direct catalyst for this seems illogical. If nothing else, the elite's consensual immersion in imperial iconography certainly reflects the stress of the imperial regime on consensus under Augustan rule.¹⁹⁵

Meanwhile, MacMullen is correct to state that Augustus followed Republican and Hellenistic traditions of self-promotion in constructing monuments, and that these differ ideologically from the propagandistic monuments of modern despots. Likewise, the Roman and indigenous patrons who pursued monumentalisation in Spain indeed did so as a form of self-aggrandisement, as we have noted.¹⁹⁶ Yet can we really say, as MacMullen, that such monuments do not amount to the promotion of an ideology, however unconscious this may be?¹⁹⁷ Fashion and taste, of course, must be acknowledged; beyond architecture, the adoption of Roman culture extended to everything from hairstyles to home furnishings, and one can hardly imagine Augustus cared about such things.¹⁹⁸ Yet we can go further. Under Augustus Roman cultural forms expanded across the west as never before, from architecture, to civic organisation and cult. This could not be a mere reaction to conquest; by the beginning of the Principate Rome had controlled parts of Iberia for almost two centuries.¹⁹⁹ Rather, it seems more likely that, as above, Roman culture itself had until now lacked homogenization and strong distinguishing features.²⁰⁰ It was Augustus' ascendancy and the political requirements of his regime to sustain his rule that fundamentally changed this. We find a harnessing of tradition, with the adoption of both Hellenistic and Republican Roman practices of self-representation inverted to focus glory entirely onto a single individual and his line.

It is impossible to underplay the dominant emphasis within the monumental developments at Spanish communities in this era on the quasi-divine and providential rule of Augustus, and its cosmocratic nature. That the building programmes and the values that inspired them were steeped in tradition need not negate an ideological framework when said ideology explicitly drew on the precedents of the past. And whilst fashion must have played a crucial role, a simple taste for the contemporary art forms of Rome amongst the provincial elite, such inspirational art forms overwhelmingly conveyed messages concerning the rule of

in urbanised Hispania, since the elite themselves were only too willing to immerse themselves in such power structures.

¹⁹⁵ Laurence, 1994:27-8.

¹⁹⁶ Josephus, (*AJ.*, 15.8.1; 15.9.5; 16.5.3) for example, described Herod's monuments as designed to show his prestige and to flatter the imperial family. The Balbi may provide a convenient Spanish comparison.

¹⁹⁷ MacMullen, 2000:23; 68-70. See also Veyne, 1990:259.

¹⁹⁸ MacMullen, 2000:113-4.

¹⁹⁹ Woolf (1998:97-8) makes just such a point for Narbonensis.

²⁰⁰ Woolf, 1998:97-8. See also Ward Perkins, 1970; Millett 1990:40; Woolf 1995.

Augustus.²⁰¹ This was not an occasional bow ‘from time to time’ by the elite, as MacMullen claimed, to the man who had confirmed their social positions.²⁰² The presence of Augustus dominated Spanish monumental architecture from at least the middle years of his reign; it was utterly pervasive, and inseparable from the burgeoning imperial cult that rapidly expanded across the peninsula, as we shall see.²⁰³ The acceptance of such ‘fashions’ by the elite was an acceptance of Augustus and his regime itself.

As with other forms of euergetism, the provincial elite may have aimed for nothing more than the traditional pursuit of prestige by embracing monumental forms glorifying the *princeps*.²⁰⁴ Yet from the very foundation of the Principate such prestige was only obtained by way of association with this central focus on the emperor, as Zanker states, through a visual language ‘based almost entirely on forms paying homage to the imperial house.’²⁰⁵ This seems to me to be crucial. Pompeius and Caesar may have toyed with cosmocratic imagery, and monarchical and divine pretensions. But the consistent and emphatic portrayal of the imperial family alone upon these monuments as the guarantors of peace, glory and the favour of the gods, the sheer scale and number of the building programmes stressing such themes, the homogenization of their forms and the uniformity of the messages they conveyed, both across Spain and across the empire, all of these things were striking compared to anything that had come before. There was now an inescapable and unassailable hierarchy of status. Despite continuing diversity and native artistic tastes, the foremost position of the *princeps* was to be declared in every forum, in towns and cities of every status, with the local aristocracy in a resolutely secondary role.²⁰⁶ Given such inescapable links then with the position of the *princeps*, both secular and divine, and the elite acceptance of this through their artistic choices, we can indeed refer to what must fairly be called an imperial ideology imbued within the monumentalisation process.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ Note Fishwick (2004:219), who states that the very existence of such visual imagery underscores the intention of the centre to glorify the state.

²⁰² MacMullen, 2000:70.

²⁰³ Note Keay (1995:309) on Tarraco, a city whose first distinguishable phase of Roman influence is linked to the emergence of imperial ideology, which in turn was articulated in the context of the nascent municipal cult to Augustus.

²⁰⁴ Though Zanker (1988:306) maintains there is every reason to believe the sincerity of monuments embracing Augustus, given the peace he instituted following ruinous civil wars.

²⁰⁵ See Zanker (1988:330), who further highlights the manner in which competition was directed through dedications to the emperor, with only secondary thought given to what the communities actually needed (*Ibid.*, 306).

²⁰⁶ Zanker, 1988:327. See Revell (2009) on the uniformity of ideology in the empire.

²⁰⁷ See Zanker, 1988:297-333.

Thus monumentalisation may be seen as a natural progression from the urbanisation policies, reform of land ownership and promotion of legal status described in Chapter 4. The transformation of land ownership and the economic stimulus this created allowed the accruing of disposable wealth by the aristocracy that could be employed in acts of euergetism. Meanwhile, Augustan policy directly ensured that elite competition was now framed by Roman style magisterial systems and an immersion in patronage networks, both local and imperial, at the head of which sat the emperor himself. Within this, monumentalisation formed an essential tool of advancement, with the crucial point of reference for such euergetism the distinct, and pervasive visual language of Augustan imperial iconography, now transposed to the provinces. We must now discuss the upwardly mobile Spanish elite whose participation in such processes helped them advance through Spanish society all the way to Rome itself.

Chapter 6: The integration of Spaniards at Rome under Augustus

Iberian born figures had begun to make their mark at Rome decades before the final conflict which had given rise to Augustus, and in very different political and social conditions than the settled years of the Principate. Augustus brought drastic changes. His policies were at once progressive and conservative, seeking to anchor Rome's governance in a firmly Italian based aristocracy, yet pursuing policies in Spain that acted as a stimulus for the Hispano-Roman elite. This being the case, it is vital to outline the manner by which Spanish interests were advanced at Rome in this period even as their numbers in the highest political positions decreased. Particular focus must be placed on the increasing prominence of Spanish cultural figures and men of letters. The works of the Annaei provide an invaluable insight both into the physical presence of this growing Spanish community at Rome, but also the self-conception and identity of such elite figures, as shall be illustrated below. However, we begin with an assessment of the initial admission of Spaniards into Rome's governing classes under the Republic and the processes that placed them there, the precedents on which Augustan era Spaniards were able to build upon.

6.1 The emergence of Hispano-Roman elites

Pre-Caesar Italian immigration into Iberia was comparatively limited, but exercised an important impact. An Italian émigré community formed soon after the first conquests, initially around the legions, camp followers and gubernatorial staff. These were joined increasingly by traders and businessmen, those fleeing Italy's political turmoil and indeed the children of mixed unions between Italians and natives (e.g. Livy, 43.3.1-4).¹ By the Civil War a third of Pompeius' Ilerda legions were resident or owned property in Spain (Caes., *B Civ.*, 1.86.3; 1.87.4) and his Vernacular legion likely comprised Spanish-based non-citizen Italians (cf. Caes., *B Civ.*, 2.18; 19; 20; *B Alex.*, 50.3; 53.5; 54.3; 57.1; 57.3; *B Hisp.*, 7.4-5;

¹ The bibliography for such matters is large. See Syme, 1958:585-7; 1977; García Bellido, 1966; Wilson, 1966; Blázquez Martínez, 1970; Brunt, 1971; esp. 159-165; 204-260; Marín Díaz, 1986-7; 1988; Le Roux, 1995a; Hernández Fernández, 1998; Amela Valverde, 2003:144; Des Bosc's Plateaux, 2005b:26-31, citing Villanueva Acuña, 1995; Caballos Rufino, 2006; Navarro Caballero, 2006; Castillo García, 2006:88; González Román, 1987:75; Barrandon, 2011:87-91. Des Bosc's Plateaux (2005b:74-5) highlights the presence of gentile names (e.g. *Messius* and *Roscius*) on lead ingots from the Republican mines around New Carthage (cf. Diod. Sic., 5.36). See also Domergue, 1990:esp. 321-322; Blázquez Martínez, 1996. Concerning Carteia and the issue of intermarriage between citizen and non-citizen, see Weinrib, 1968:4; Griffin, 1972:3; Cherry, 1990:esp. 248.

10.3; 12; 20.2).² Ultimately Caesar fundamentally altered the demographics in many areas (Suet., *Iul.*, 42.1), setting the scene for Augustus' own settlement programme that followed. The immigrants, the *Hispanienses*, were quickly entrenched within the local elite, those emigrating post-Social War holding automatic citizenship,³ and those communities with an Italic core ultimately receiving favoured promotion from Caesar and Augustus.⁴ However, the newcomers coalesced with, rather than replaced, the indigenous aristocracy, the *Hispani*, whose statuses were consolidated by Rome (see Chapter 4).⁵ Soon this provincial aristocracy, part Italian, part Latinized native, was drawn into Rome's internal politics, their advance built on the twin pillars of wealth and patronage.⁶

The conquest brought economic development, with an increasing focus on commerce (cf. Str., 3.1.6; 3.2.3-8).⁷ Indeed, the reported strength of the equestrian order, the minimum qualification for which was 400,000 sesterces,⁸ in Iberian cities under the late Republic/early empire is illustrative of this prosperity (cf. Str. 3.5.3).⁹ Wealth brought such individuals prominence, and Spanish equestrians, both of Italian and native descent, would play a conspicuous role in the key Iberian episodes of the Civil War (e.g. Caes., *B Civ.*, 2.19; *B Alex.*, 52.3-4; *B Hisp.*, 19.4; 31.9; Cass. Dio, 43.33.3; Val. Max., 9.2.4).¹⁰

² The Ilerda legions, see Weinrib, 1968:4-5; Amela Valverde, 2003:98. For Varro's legions, especially the Vernacular, see Brunt, 1971:231; Fear, 1991; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:26-7; González Román, 1987:65. See also Barrandon, 2011:258.

³ Des Boscs Plateaux (2005b:85) comments that there is no evidence Italians present in Hispania prior to the Social war automatically received citizenship with the end of that conflict.

⁴ Sherwin White, 1973:225; 328-35; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:87-8. See also Brunt, 1976; Castillo García, 2006b.

⁵ Concerning Rome's maintenance of existing hierarchies, see Demougin, 1983:281-2; Hopkins, 1983:186; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:338; Amela Valverde, 2003:142; Hingley, 2005:54-5; 70; Foraboschi, 2006:353-5; Castillo García, 2006:89-90. For a parallel, see Woolf (1998:33-6) and Dondin Payre (2004) concerning Gaul.

⁶ Curchin, 1990:48-9; 86; 1991:78; Amela Valverde, 2003:140; Castillo García, 2006:87; 92-3; Caballos Rufino, 2006; González Román, 1987:74. Variation continued in the composition of the elite in places; see below concerning Saguntum. Meanwhile, the cities of the Bétis were a particular focus of Italian immigration (Alföldy, 1984; Curchin, 1990:78; 1991:82; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:74-6; Padilla Monge, 2006). Similar processes occurred in Italy. See Cébeillac Gervasoni, 1978.

⁷ Amela Valverde, 2003:140.

⁸ Nicolet, 1984:143-174; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:305; Amela Valverde, 2003:143. The wealth of some of these individuals may be glimpsed from the ransoms paid by failed plotters against Cassius Longinus. See Val. Max. 9.4.2; Amela Valverde, 2003:145; González Román, 1987:69.

⁹ See also the *dilectus equitum* of 48 (Caes., *B Alex.*, 56.3). Balil (1965:349) estimated up to 5000 Spanish equestrians during this period. See also Weinrib, 1968:5; Amela Valverde, 2003:144-5.

¹⁰ See Griffin, 1972:2; Caballos Rufino, 1989:265-6; 1999a:465; Amela Valverde, 2003:144-5; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:28; 32; González Román, 1987; 2005; Castillo García, 2006:90.

Meanwhile, Rome's leaders busily expanded their influence in Spain, with prominent provincials becoming the clients of visiting magistrates.¹¹ Provincial clients brought the patron prestige and power, providing refuge and reinforcements during the Civil Wars.¹² Consequently, with Spain rich in both resources and manpower, and with indigenous traditions (both *devotio iberica*, exaggerated though this was (see the Epilogue), and guest friendship customs) that complemented Roman ideals of patronage and obligation, it was eminently worth cultivating a client base here.¹³ But the patron-client relationship was, ideologically speaking, reciprocal. Patronage exerted both social control and integration, with Rome's aristocracy sitting astride the lines of communication between the provincial elites and the centre of state power and its resources, controlling their access.¹⁴ Whether indigenous or immigrant, patronage would always be essential, socially and politically, for upward mobility. The grounding of Roman rule in such personal relationships ensured the Civil Wars in Spain would largely be fought by rival clients, whilst paradoxically cementing provincial loyalty even as Rome's rulers destroyed one another;¹⁵ the Spanish elite were no longer the conquered, but clients,¹⁶ sharing a community of interests with Rome's aristocracy.

The client bases built by Pompeius and Caesar within Iberia were extensive and have been well treated. Yet the connection established between their triumviral colleague M.Licinius Crassus and the Paciaeci, a Carteia based family of likely Oscan descent and leading protagonists in Baetica's violent politics,¹⁷ is wonderfully illustrative of the worth and reciprocal nature of such client-patron relationships. Having served in Hispania with his father (consul of 97), in 87 Crassus sheltered from the Cinnan proscriptions on Vibius Paciaecus' estates (Plut., *Crass.*, 4.1; 6.2; 4.2) before raising a small army of 2500 men, likely with his host's assistance (cf. Plut., *Crass.*, 6.1).¹⁸ Subsequently Crassus' influence

¹¹ Weinrib, 1968:8. Badian (1958:156) cites Cicero (*Off.*, 1.35) on the custom of a Roman commander becoming the patron of the defeated. See also Amela Valverde (2003:98) and Barrandon (2011:218-29) concerning the development of clientship in Republican Spain, and especially Pompeian policy in this regard.

¹² Badian, 1958:162-3.

¹³ Wilson, 1966:29-31; Griffin, 1972:3; González Román, 1987:74-5; MacMullen, 2000:71-2.

¹⁴ Wallace Hadrill, 1989a:72-6. See also Jacques and Scheid, 1990:323.

¹⁵ Badian, 1958:261-2; Wallace Hadrill, 1989a:74; Amela Valverde, 2003:94; Pina Polo, 2011:338. See also Braund, 1989.

¹⁶ Barrandon, 2011:252.

¹⁷ Castillo García (2006:90) cites the Vibii amongst the magistrates at Capua in the late second century BC. See also González Román and Marín Díaz, 1994:311; González Román, 1987:74. Concerning their murderous feud with a local tyrant, Val. Max., 5.4.ext.3.

¹⁸ Weinrib, 1968:21-32; 49; Caballos Rufino, 1989:259; Hernández Fernández, 1998:166; Barrandon, 2011:256. The Paciaeci are also attested at Cordoba (*CIL* II² 7372; 7438). See Hernández Fernández, 1998;

may have raised Paciaecus to the Senate,¹⁹ and ensured he received the command against Sertorius in Mauretania, whilst the Spaniard's son was made a staff officer for the Parthian campaign, faithful yet ultimately fatal acts of patronage; Paciaecus fell in Mauretania and his son is last attested being dragged through Seleucia's streets in humiliation (Plut., *Sert.*, 9.3; *Crass.*, 32.2).²⁰

The greatest prize a patron could bestow upon non-citizen provincials was the franchise, which became a tool to exert influence.²¹ Initially such grants were rare, the Senate, a mere abstract concept compared to magistrates on the ground, perhaps wary new citizens would commit their loyalty to their benefactors rather than itself.²² Yet crisis is always a catalyst for change.²³ The rise of the military dynasts, eager to increase their clients,²⁴ and the Social War (91-88), a conflict caused by the demand for enfranchisement and settled when this was granted, proved landmarks. Once the *socii* received the franchise it was but a short leap before the provincials would receive similar treatment, particularly those of Italian descent or the Romanised native.²⁵ In Spain the Sertorian and Civil Wars were transformative, with widespread concessions of citizenship (e.g. Cic., *Arch.*, 26; *Balb.*, 6; 11; 19; 32-3; 50-51).²⁶ This was ultimately followed by Caesar's colonial and municipal foundations, including the enfranchisement of Gades and Emporiae (Livy, 34.9.3; *Epit.*, 110; Cass. Dio, 41.24.1). Citizenship was a considerable promotion, legally and socially, granting the bearer a special status locally.²⁷ After all, provincial clients, men like Paciaecus and the Balbi, were themselves leading patrons within their own communities, their enfranchisement deepening their commitment to Rome and further integrating local power structures into her governing systems.²⁸ Increasingly centralised within the burgeoning urbanised landscape and imbued with Roman culture and language (e.g. Str., 3.2.15),²⁹ traditional elite status and

Castillo García, 2006:92. For other contemporary examples of political exiles in Hispania, see App., *B Civ.*, 1.107-8; Plut., *Sert.*, 6.9; 15.1.

¹⁹ Caballos Rufino, 1989:247-250.

²⁰ Weinrib, 1968:24-5.

²¹ See Amela Valverde (2003:142-4) on the attraction of the Roman citizenship.

²² Amela Valverde, 2003:157.

²³ On social struggle and war as a catalyst for change with regards Roman citizenship, see Sherwin White, 1973:294; Tsirkin 1989:145; Amela Valverde, 2003:160, citing Mancinetti Santamaria, 1983:133.

²⁴ E.g. Marius during the Cimbric Wars (Cic., *Balb.*, 46; Plut., *Mar.*, 28.3; Val. Max., 5.2.8). See Badian, 1958:254; 259; Amela Valverde, 2003:159-60.

²⁵ Badian, 1958:261; Caballos Rufino, 1989:245; Pérez Zurita, 2011:111-114.

²⁶ Amela Valverde, 2003:160; 164; 150.

²⁷ Amela Valverde, 2003:91; 159. Purcell (2005b:90-1) expresses perceptively the valued distinction that citizenship brought the enfranchised in comparison to their fellow provincials.

²⁸ Caballos Rufino, 1998:123-4; Amela Valverde, 2003:88; 143.

²⁹ Note Caesar's denunciation in Latin post-Munda of those who had abandoned his cause (Caes., *B Hisp.*, 42.4). See Gonzalez Roman, 1986-1987:74; Rodríguez Neila, 1998:106; Amela Valverde, 2003:140.

competition was maintained within the new frameworks of municipal systems and monumentalisation.³⁰ Thus citizenship combined with urbanisation offered the elite the opportunity to take an active part in the political administration of their cities, provinces, and even Rome itself.³¹

Hispanienses first entered Rome's governing classes during the early and mid-first century BC, as instability provided opportunities for advancement. Collaboration with Sertorius perhaps set back their cause a generation,³² yet Caesar and his Triumviral successors brought wider access to Rome's governing hierarchies (cf. Cass. Dio, 43.47.3; 52.42.1; Suet., *Aug.*, 35.1) as the curia expanded to as many as 1000 members (cf. Cic., *Phil.*, 2.98; Cass. Dio, 48.43.2).³³ Most new Senators were Italian,³⁴ and other provinces, such as Gaul, were also represented. However, the huge influence of particular Spaniards at Rome would belie their limited numbers.

6.2 Spaniards at Rome during the late Republic

Sources are poor, but we find twelve individuals under the late Republic for whom Spanish birth and direct involvement in Roman politics can be confirmed or at least hypothesised (see Table 1, Appendices).³⁵ It is immediately noticeable that beyond the Gaditanian Balbi all of our Republican Spaniards are of Italian descent.³⁶ Having inherited or won citizenship they were provincial in a geographical sense alone. No legal impediment prevented them from holding Rome's magistracies if the qualifications were met.³⁷ Certainly, such men were greeted with aspersions against their origins,³⁸ and some have

³⁰ Amela Valverde, 2003:141-2. Revell (2009:52-3; 61; 150-1) outlines how participation in such systems affected concepts of identity and status.

³¹ Roldán Hervás, 1978:121; 1986:129-30; Amela Valverde, 2003:140; 160, citing Rodríguez Neila, 1981:24.

³² Though Weinrib (1968:20-1) notes the paucity of evidence. On the senate of Sertorius, see Plut., *Sert.*, 22.3; App., *Mith.*, 68.

³³ Caballos Rufino, 1989:238-9; Chastagnol, 1992:18-21. See also *CIL* XIV 2611 = *ILS* 6204.

³⁴ See Cébeillac Gervasoni (1978:239) for Italians taking advantage of the Civil War to advance.

³⁵ Contrastingly, Wiseman (1971:19-20) asserts but ten provincial senators between 46 and 30, including four Spaniards (the Balbi and the Saxae).

³⁶ Caballos Rufino, 1989:239; 1994:151-3; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:30; 74.

³⁷ Syme, 1958:588; 1999:39; Weinrib, 1968:6; Wiseman, 1971:21; Chastagnol, 1974:163; Caballos Rufino, 1989:245. Note also Sherwin White (1973:233-6), the latter citing Cicero (*Sull.*, 24), who, discussing '*cives peregrini*', makes clear that reactionary senators have no choice but to put up with new men '*ex tota Italia delecti*'.

³⁸ Note the treatment of Varius and his unflattering nickname '*Hybrida*' (Asc., 22 C; Quint., *Inst.*, 5.12.10; *De Vir. Ill.*, 72.11; cf. Val. Max. 3.7.8; 8.6.4; Cic., *De Or.*, 2.257; Syme, 1958:785; 1999:18-9; Weinrib, 1968:11-2; Sherwin White, 1973:179n6; González Román, 1987:74; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:69-70). Titius' *cognomen*

spoken of a strong suspicion for non-Italians.³⁹ For example, Cicero (*Phil.*, 8.9; 8.26; 10.22; 11.12; 11.37; 12.20; 13.28; 14.10) transformed Saxa from an Italic aristocrat into a low-born Celtiberian.⁴⁰ But this is an oratorical construct targeting the Spaniard's patron Antonius.⁴¹ Indeed, we should note Cicero's (*Phil.*, 3.13; *Pis.*, fr.2 = *Asc.*, 4) contradictory treatment of Cisalpine Gaul, to be ridiculed or praised as politics demanded,⁴² and his bonds of *amicitia* with Balbus,⁴³ despite understandable distrust and occasional mocking references to his origins (*Cic.*, *Att.*, 7.3.11; 8.9a.2; 8.11.5; 8.15.3; *Fam.*, 9.19).⁴⁴ Ultimately we find little evidence suggesting general discrimination against provincials at Republican Rome. Not that they were well received, or that differences between them and Rome's elite, or even between *Hispanienses* and *Hispani*, were not acknowledged. Rome's aristocracy was always suspicious of outsiders. But (perceived) ethnicity was not the main focus of disdain. Class and politics mattered far more.⁴⁵

Thus Cicero recast not just Saxa's ethnicity but his station in society, the provincial aristocrat becoming a mere common soldier (*Cic.*, *Phil.*, 11.12; 11.37; 12.20; 14.10).⁴⁶ Barring the possibility of the Younger Paciaecus, all of our Spaniards are new men with connections to the *populares*; indeed, Balbus was even later blamed for Caesar's monarchical pretensions (*Plut.*, *Caes.*, 60; *Suet.*, *Iul.*, 78).⁴⁷ Regardless of birthplace, such men's advancement would always displease the conservative nobility, who were equally disdainful of those originating in the Italian municipalities (e.g. *Sall.*, *Catull.*, 31.7; 34.3; *Cic.*, *Sull.*, 22-

may have been pejorative, and Syme (1955:71) stated it cannot firmly indicate ethnicity, though see Wiseman (1971:22n46). Cicero (*Balb.*, 52) alleged that Balbus' Gaditanian birth was a factor in his prosecution. Note the treatment of Caesar's Gallic senators (*Suet.*, *Iul.*, 76.3 cf. 80.2; *Cic.*, *Fam.*, 2).

³⁹ Rodríguez Neila, 2006b:150.

⁴⁰ Syme, 1937:132-3; 1958:784; 1999:24; Weinrib, 1968:63; Wiseman, 1971:21. See also Caballos Rufino (1989:239; 257) who accepts a humble, if Italian, origin for Saxa. *Contra* Amela Valverde (2003:144), who follows Cicero.

⁴¹ Syme, 1937:132-3. As below, elsewhere Catullus (39) defamed one Egnatius as a Celtiberian.

⁴² D'Arms, 1984:442. Vasaly (1993) outlines Cicero's treatment of peoples and places. Note how Tacitus' account of Claudius' adlection of Gauls uses tribal appellations for doubtless respectable men from the colonies and *municipia* (*Ann.*, 11.23-25). See Syme, 1999:41; Foraboschi, 2006:357.

⁴³ On the warm correspondence between Cicero and Balbus and acts of assistance each rendered to the other, see with examples Rodríguez Neila, 2006a:121-2 with n31; 2006b:143. See also Des Bosc's Plateaux, 1994:27.

⁴⁴ Rodríguez Neila, 1992:26-7; 2006a:127; 2006b:151. See also Pina Polo, 2011:341-3. On the peculiarities of Baetican Latin, a possible focus of ridicule for Balbus, see *Cic.*, *Arch.*, 10.26; SHA, *Hadr.*, 3.1.

⁴⁵ Syme, 1999:41; 74-5.

⁴⁶ Weinrib (1968:57) comments that Caesar's admission of freedmen and former soldiers most outraged the *optimates*. See Cass. Dio, 43.47.3; *Suet.*, *Iul.*, 76.5; 80.2; 80.3; *Macrob.*, *Sat.*, 2.3.11; Chastagnol, 1992:19. Note Sallust exaggerated accusations that Sulla filled the Senate with common soldiery (*Sall.*, *Catull.*, 37.6; Syme, 1937:128; 1999:25).

⁴⁷ Mascontonio, 1967:134; Caballos Rufino, 1989:238-9; Rodríguez Neila, 1992:203-4; 2006b:171. On Caesar's promotion of equestrians, see Nicolet, 1966; 1984.

3; *Att.*, 1.16.10; *Phil.*, 3.15; *App.*, *B Civ.*, 2.2; *Suet.*, *Aug.*, 1-2).⁴⁸ Additionally, wealth, not all acquired particularly honourably, and a meteoric rise brought jealousy. Cicero (*Balb.*, 18-9; 56-8) certainly implied such motivations behind Balbus' prosecution.

We have no reason to assume that *Hispanienses* - often born citizens, veterans of Rome's wars, Roman senators and magistrates - saw themselves as anything other than Roman. Yet the most prominent Republican Spaniards, the Balbi, are non-Italian; note Velleius' (2.51.3 cf. Pliny, *HN*, 7.136) amazement at the Elder Balbus' rise to the consulship, though he was '*non hispaniensis natus sed hispanus*.'⁴⁹ Indeed, the careers of both Balbi are landmarks. As the uncle became the first foreign-born consul, so the nephew was the first non-Italian *triumphator* and pontiff. Des Boscs Plateaux has commented that Velleius' distinction between *Hispanus* and *Hispaniensis* demonstrates a continuing difference between the two in Roman thought under the early empire.⁵⁰ This is questionable, yet if true need not be seen in a particularly negative light; social status and connections remained more important than ethnicity. And the Balbi certainly acted like Roman nobility, establishing connections through marriage alliances,⁵¹ cultivating client relationships and engaging in patronage of their own within Spain, Italy and at Rome.⁵² Furthermore, the Balbi immersed themselves in Greco-Roman culture and literature. So the Elder Balbus corresponded with Cicero (*Cic.*, *Att.*, 13.19.2; 13.21a.1; 13.22.3; *Fam.*, 7.16) about the latter's work and philosophy, and both Balbi authored books concerning history, philosophy, literature, tragedy and religion.⁵³

Fundamentally, what enabled these Spaniards in particular to advance to Rome? To begin with, wealth must be a factor. We have already noted the importance of this in the rise of provincials within their provinces and the establishment of patronage. So it must have been with those who reached Rome, all of whom were likely able to meet the financial

⁴⁸ Naturally most new senators, both Italian and provincial, were new men (cf. Cass. Dio, 54.14.2-3; Gruen, 1974:508-32; Chastagnol, 1992:18). On prejudice against those from the Italian municipalities, see esp. D'Arms, 1984.

⁴⁹ Note that Velleius confuses the careers of the Elder and Younger Balbi in the wider passage.

⁵⁰ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:67.

⁵¹ Rodríguez Neila, 1992:280; 314-5; 2006a:122-3; 2006b:157; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:128-9; Dardaine, 2001:34.

⁵² Masiantonio, 1967:134; Rodríguez Neila, 1992:289; 299; 2006a:119; 123;124; MacMullen, 2000:70-1; Alföldy, 2001:72. For e.g. the theatre of Balbus (Pliny, *HN*, 36.60; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.72.1; *Suet.*, *Aug.*, 29.5; Vell. Pat., 2.89.4; Cass. Dio, 54.25.2).

⁵³ The Elder Balbus, Sid. Apoll., *Epist.*, 9. 14.7; Hirt., *B Gall.*, 81; SHA, *Max.*, 7.3; Masciantonio, 1967:137; Castillo García, 2001:117; Rodríguez Neila, 2006a:124 with n56; 136; 2006b:162-3. The Younger Balbus, Macrobi., *Sat.*, 3.6.16; Serv., 4.127; Cic., *Fam.*, 10.32.2-3; Rodríguez Neila, 1992:261; 308-11; 2006a:124-5; Castillo García, 2001:117.

qualification for equestrian status. Wealth brought social status, and the ability to promote it. The resources of the Balbi were certainly central to their advancement, building their prestige through image bolstering euergetism and acts of *amicitia*, but also wielding their riches to gain political leverage for themselves and Caesar (e.g. Cic., *Att.*, 7.6; 12.12.1; 16.3.5; Cass. Dio, 48.32.2).⁵⁴

Additionally, it is also apparent that a similarity between Rome's political organisation and that of one's *patria* was also important. This in part explains the dominance of Italics amongst our Republican Spaniards, products of settlements like Italica and Carteia with their Roman style magistracies and politics of mutual obligation.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Gades' prominence as the only 'Iberian' settlement represented is unsurprising.⁵⁶ Her loyalty to Rome, Caesar and Octavian was unswerving, ensuring the dynamic mercantile city peace, new markets and new opportunities. Her elite enthusiastically allied themselves to the guarantors of such prosperity (cf. Str., 3.1.8; 3.5.3).⁵⁷ Meanwhile, they were receptive to Roman cultural influence. This should not be overestimated, yet the likely spread of Latin (cf. Str., 3.2.15) and Greco-Roman cultural practices amongst the aristocracy at least suggests an increasing awareness of Gades as part of the wider Roman world.⁵⁸ Indeed, a core of the city's equestrians were perhaps Italian,⁵⁹ and crucially in 61-60 a Roman style constitution was instituted, a prelude to the grant of municipal status in 49 (cf. Cic., *Balb.*, 43; *Fam.*, 10.32.1; Caes., *B Civ.*, 2.21; Cass. Dio, 41.24.1-2; Livy, *Per.*, 110-111).⁶⁰ Indeed, many of the elite likely possessed the citizenship even pre-49, legacies of Sulla and Pompeius (Cic., *Balb.*, 50).⁶¹ Fidelity, prosperity, learning, Romanised political organisation and unrivalled

⁵⁴ On the resources of the Balbi and their involvement in finance, with further ancient sources, see Masciantonio, 1967:134-6; Shatzman, 1975:329; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:15-6; 26; Rodríguez Neila, 1992:319; 2006a:119; 123; 126; 2006b:137; 157-8; 169. On the euergetism of the Balbi, Shatzman, 1975:329; Viriouvét, 1997; MacMullen, 2000:70-1; Alföldy, 2001:72; Rodríguez Neila, 2006a:123.

⁵⁵ Wiseman, 1971:25; Syme, 1999:73. Indeed, Eck (1997b:211) comments that the Spanish provinces were a century ahead of other provinces in their 'Romanisation'.

⁵⁶ Gades was of course a Phoenician city.

⁵⁷ For the economy of Gades see Chic García, 1985:287-293; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:11-2. On the collaboration of the Balbi, see Caballos Rufino, 1989:241; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:15.

⁵⁸ Hingley (2005:60) notes that education, such as the learning of Latin, was a tool through which an identity could be built and harnessed.

⁵⁹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:14.

⁶⁰ Masciantonio, 1967:134; Weinrib, 1968:65-6; Caballos Rufino, 1989:255; Rodríguez Neila, 1980:44; 59; 2006:118; 2006b:132-3; López Castro, 1995:243. See Revell (2009:49-52), who comments concerning the manner in which the introduction of Roman style urban organisation implicitly affected self-conception and identity.

⁶¹ López Castro, 1995:213; Rodríguez Neila, 2006a:118; 2006b:134.

connections with the centre thus made Gades capable of generating provincial families of enough substance to make an impact at Rome even under the Republic.⁶²

Ultimately Roman politics was built on patronage networks and the reciprocal bonds of *amicitia*. No *legal* distinction may have existed between an Iberian Roman citizen and one born at Rome but *in practice* this may have been the case, not because of ethnicity, but because the former would lack the requisite political contacts to establish a political career.⁶³ Certainly we find the aforementioned spread of provincial clientship during the second and early first centuries BC. Yet however prestigious these connections, in the normal conditions of the early/mid Republic such limited contacts could not have firmly established a provincial in Roman politics. The crucial catalysts that enabled our Spaniards to progress was a series of crises that marked the Republic's death throes,⁶⁴ a period when Caballos Rufino has described the 'legality' of the advances of new families as defined by the political interests of the warring factions.⁶⁵ The Civil Wars increased the importance of the provincial aristocracies whilst simultaneously devastating Rome's senatorial class.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, patronage remained essential,⁶⁷ and powerful patrons, have been surmised for each of our Republican Spaniards.

Romanised wealthy aristocrats of local influence, with careers based on service rendered to military dynasts during civil war, the Balbi seem to epitomise the rise of both equestrians and the integrated provincial at Rome.⁶⁸ Indeed, Tacitus' (*Ann.*, 11.24.3) Claudius invokes their name in just such a fashion. Yet neither Balbi were 'typical' provincials. Few combined the listed advantages with such talent, ambition and networking skills. Generations passed before another Spaniard reached the consulship,⁶⁹ few provincials overall built political careers at Republican Rome and there was no ideological drive to bolster their numbers. The vast majority, whether of indigenous or Italian stock, settled for local position in Iberia.⁷⁰ Indeed, P.Balbus, brother and father of the uncle and nephew respectively, was one such man.⁷¹ However, by the Principate precedents had been set⁷² and

⁶² Rubio Alija, 1949; Caballos Rufino, 1989:240; 1998:141; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:8; 16.

⁶³ Syme, 1958:588; 1999:39; Wallace Hadrill, 1989a:75.

⁶⁴ Caballos Rufino, 1989:236; 240; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:22.

⁶⁵ Caballos Rufino, 1989:255; Chastagnol, 1992:18-21.

⁶⁶ Caballos Rufino, 1989:238.

⁶⁷ Weinrib, 1968:7.

⁶⁸ Rodríguez Neila, 1992:319; 331-3; 2006b:163; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:16.

⁶⁹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:17-8; 33.

⁷⁰ Rodríguez Neila, 2006a:122.

⁷¹ Curchin, 1990:42; Rodríguez Neila, 2006b:137.

a strong Iberian aristocracy formed, galvanised by immigration, prosperity and war. Spaniards had arrived in Rome and made an impact. How did Augustus affect their prospects?

6.3 Spaniards and the Principate: the political context

Though remaining comparatively small, the size of the Iberian contingent in the senate apparently underwent a sharp increase immediately prior to the Principate. Yet it is clear that Augustus' reign heralded a regression in the numbers of provincial senators, indeed of senators wholesale.⁷³ This was a very different political context to the Republic.⁷⁴ The Balbi and Saxae were products of chaotic civil war - indeed, if one highlights the Elder Balbus, he played a decisive role at Rome without any official position prior to the Triumvirate. By contrast, the Principate offered peace and stability - the quick 'slippery avenues to power' were closed.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the nature of qualification for the senate itself was changing. The term *ordo senatorius* had occasionally been used during the Republic to refer to the sitting assembly (e.g. Cic., *Clu.*, 104; 136; 145; 152; *Rosc. Am.*, 44; *Sull.*, 72), when in effect the only qualifications for membership were those which attended the quaestorship, the magistracy that brought automatic entry.⁷⁶ In due course, however, the senate became a closed hereditary order embracing both senators and their sons, legally distinct from the equestrian order (cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 38.3; Cass. Dio, 59.9.5).⁷⁷ The quaestorship was restricted to the sons of senators and entry to the order from outside would require *adlectio* by the emperor himself.⁷⁸

Such changes were not fully realised under Augustus, when a connection between the senatorial and the equestrian orders was maintained, but the groundwork was certainly laid during his reign and those of his immediate successors.⁷⁹ As noted, the senate had swollen to

⁷² Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:33.

⁷³ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:175. It is to be stressed that provincial representation within the senate declines across the board, and is not unique to Spain (De Laet, 1941:310-1; Chastagnol:1992:43-5; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:13-4).

⁷⁴ Caballos Rufino, 1989:242.

⁷⁵ Weinrib, 1968:181-2. Note Des Boscs Plateaux (2001:4; 2005b:78-9), commenting that Spaniards always advanced in periods of instability, before seeing their numbers receding or stabilizing when situations settled.

⁷⁶ Nicolet, 1976:33, citing Chastagnol, 1973.

⁷⁷ Nicolet, 1976:34; Talbert, 1984:10-1; 38; Caballos Rufino, 1989:242.

⁷⁸ Nicolet, 1976:34. See also Chastagnol (1992:41-2) on the *ius honorum*.

⁷⁹ Chastagnol, 1992:40; Caballos Rufino, 1994:156.

almost 1000 members with politically motivated appointments by the end of the Republic, provincials among them, though the majority were Italian. Octavian attempted to reduce this number to the traditional 300 in 29-28 but was forced to settle for more modest reductions (Cass. Dio, 54.14.1).⁸⁰ Augustus returned to the issue again in 18 and 13,⁸¹ yet before long faced a recruitment crisis, perhaps a consequence of increasing property qualifications (see below). Indeed, this perhaps encouraged movements to create the hereditary senatorial order.⁸² Meanwhile the equestrian order was reinvigorated to become a cornerstone of the imperial system, expanding across the provinces and acquiring a greater burden in administration.⁸³ Ever more distinct, archaic ceremonies were restored and its ranks reinforced with senators' sons destined for the higher order (Suet., *Aug.*, 38.3-39; *Vesp.*, 2.2; Cass. Dio, 59.9.5).⁸⁴ The expansion of the equestrian order is one of the fundamental developments of the early empire.

It is unlikely that all provincials were purged from the senate, but the Augustan reforms doubtless removed the majority.⁸⁵ Furthermore, with only twenty quaestorships available each year, and these destined for the sons of Italian senators, few provincial candidates were likely to gain promotion.⁸⁶ The senate was becoming a primarily Italian body, incorporating equestrians from the municipalities, the richer plebeians and now citizens as far as the Po; Chastagnol points to pleas for the senate's Italian character that Tacitus places in the mouths of the opposition to Claudian expansion in AD 48 as a dogma formed under the first *princeps*.⁸⁷ Claudius' response is proclaimed in the Tablet of Lyon; Augustus and Tiberius desired 'the flower of the colonies and of the municipal towns, that is to say, all those that contain men of breeding and wealth' to be admitted to the senate.⁸⁸ Indeed they did, yet it was the Italian colonies and municipalities that were favoured rather than those of

⁸⁰ Nicolet, 1976:30.

⁸¹ Nicolet, 1976:30.

⁸² Nicolet, 1976:30; 34. Indeed, Augustus compelled young noblemen to enter the senate (Cass. Dio, 54.26.5).

⁸³ On the equestrian order and its importance for the Principate system, see the various articles in Demougin, Devijver and Raepsaet Charlier, 1999, esp. Christol, 1999.

⁸⁴ Sherwin White, 1973:236; Nicolet, 1976:36; Demougin, 1983:282; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:305.

⁸⁵ Syme, 1958:589; 1999:114-5.

⁸⁶ Chastagnol, 1974:164-5; 1992:40-1.

⁸⁷ Sherwin White, 1973:236; Chastagnol, 1974:167-8; 1992:40-2; Cébeillac Gervasoni, 1978; Demougin, 1983:279; Gabba, 1994.

⁸⁸ '*omnem florem ubique coloniarum ac municipiorum, bonorum scilicet virorum et locupletium.*' See *FIRA* I², 43, col. II lines 1-4; *CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212.

Gaul and Hispania.⁸⁹ This may appear conservative, yet the acceptance of new Italian families on a wider scale was itself not altogether traditional.

Additionally we see an end to the wide scale grants of citizenship to individuals and families offered under the Republic.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the possibility of the institution of a bar on new citizens holding office at Rome has also been suggested, with Chastagnol hypothesising that citizenship was frequently offered without *ius hominum*, citizens in Baetica not receiving this right till AD 14. Such a suggestion had been rejected by Sherwin White, who cited a lack of evidence and the more likely check of social factors in reducing opportunity for office, though Des Boscs Plateaux more recently has reaffirmed Chastagnol's views.⁹¹ What is certain is that Augustus distinguished the citizenship from exemption of obligations and duties to a citizen's home community, which had previously damaged the tax bases of the latter, ensuring that the links between the new citizen and their *patria* remained unbroken.⁹² Meanwhile a senator's property qualification was raised between 18 and 13 to 1 million sesterces, further restricting senatorial membership (cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 41; Cass. Dio, 54.17.3).⁹³ Senators were henceforth required to own a residence at Rome and barred from travelling outside of Italy and Sicily without the emperor's permission, ensuring the curia's continuing Italian-centric nature (Cass. Dio, 52.42.6-7; Tac., *Ann.*, 12.23.1).⁹⁴

All in all then, for those Spaniards with ambitions of embarking on a senatorial career in Augustan Rome opportunities were extremely limited. Can we discern evidence for such figures?

6.4 Spanish senators under the empire

Inevitably we are at the mercy of our sources, of course; some names may go unrecorded, as perhaps do the Spanish births of known individuals.⁹⁵ As we have noted, authors are usually more concerned with class than origins, whilst provincial senators would

⁸⁹ Talbert, 1984:31.

⁹⁰ See Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:87-8.

⁹¹ Sherwin White, 1973:234-6; Chastagnol, 1992:81-2; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:287-8. See also Jacques and Scheid, 1990:211-4.

⁹² Jacques and Scheid, 1990:211-2. See also Sherwin White, 1973:291-301; Gauthier, 1981; Deniaux, 1983.

⁹³ For debate concerning the various stages of this increase, see Chastagnol, 1974:164; 1992:47; Nicolet, 1976:31-2; Talbert, 1984:10; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:304; 312.

⁹⁴ Jacques and Scheid, 1990:360; Brunt, 1990:274; Chastagnol, 1992:47; Navarro Santana, 1999:175-6.

⁹⁵ On the scarcity and randomness of the surviving evidence, see Caballos Rufino, 1989:233.

invariably identify themselves as Roman, rarely stressing provincial origins in inscriptions. Intercity and interprovincial migration has further obscured our view.⁹⁶ Certainly no Spaniard occupied the consulship for generations after Augustus, and whilst we can well believe that lower ranking Spanish senators occupied junior magistracies the sources do not report them.⁹⁷ Meanwhile dating is problematic, with senators overlapping eras, and it is difficult to identify which emperor granted them such status.

Ultimately the authoritative Des Boscs Plateaux has identified 70 known Spanish senators and 126 equestrians from across the Roman period, adding another 68 senators and 10 equestrians on the basis of epigraphic and numismatic sources, the holding of municipal magistracies or priesthoods or possession of a particular *nomen* or *cognomen*. Finally she hypothesises a further 23 individuals for our lists based on kinship and association.⁹⁸ Tables 2-4 (see appendices) are reproductions of those created by Des Boscs Plateaux to illustrate the number of provincial senators under the respective emperors of the early empire.⁹⁹

Des Boscs Plateaux records only those senators for whom the sources, both literary and archaeological, provide reliable confirmation. However, it is apparent that after a small increase under Tiberius (Table 2) provincial senators rise more rapidly following his reign, perhaps coinciding with the decline of traditional senatorial families.¹⁰⁰ Claudius emerges as an important figure in opening up the senate to Spaniards, a role perhaps obscured by the increasing prominence of provincials under Nero.¹⁰¹ Numbers peak under the Flavians and the ‘Spanish emperors’ who followed (Tables 3-4),¹⁰² provincials called upon once again to bolster the shattered Roman aristocracy following repression and Civil War - as under the Republic, crisis again provided an impetus for Spanish promotion.¹⁰³ The Spanish emperors

⁹⁶ Caballos Rufino, 1986:16; 1990:13; 17. See Crespo Ortiz de Zarate (2007) concerning intercity/interprovincial Spanish migration.

⁹⁷ Syme, 1999:38.

⁹⁸ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:5-8. See also Castillo García, 1982; Syme, 1999:36.

⁹⁹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:13-8. De Laet (1941:310-1) provides alternative figures: eight for Augustus, eleven for Tiberius, fifteen for Caligula and Claudius and forty two for Nero. See also Castillo García, 1984; Navarro Santana, 2006b:145-9.

¹⁰⁰ Talbert, 1984:29-31. Concerning provincial senators post-Augustus, see Hammond, 1957; Etienne, 1965; Hopkins, 1965; Le Roux, 1982; Castillo García, 1982; Hopkins, 1983; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:358; Eck, 1991:73-118; Chastagnol, 1992:160-1; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2001; 2005b; Saquete Chamizo, 2006; Navarro Santana, 2006a. Caballos Rufino comments that Tiberius’ (1994:156) role, and indeed that of Sex. Pompeius, in advancing the Spanish elites may be undervalued.

¹⁰¹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:14.

¹⁰² Talbert, 1984:31. See also Navarro Santana, 2006a.

¹⁰³ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:14; 83.

also show a preference for their homeland - doubtless a consequence of patronage links and *amicitia* among Hispano-Roman families rather than sentimental motivations.

Yet this lay in the future. For the Augustan age we can confirm a single fully Spanish senator with an additional individual cited in the literary sources, and both were promoted under the Republic;¹⁰⁴ Balbus the Younger, of course, who continued his sublime rise; and likely Aelius Marrullinus, though the emperor's purges perhaps removed him from the curia.¹⁰⁵ Other suggestions have been raised but these must remain hypotheses. Thus C.Arrenus C.f. Galeria Gallus, a senator named on the *Senatus Consultum de Cn.Pisone Patre*, discovered in Baetica and dated c. AD 20, was perhaps Spanish,¹⁰⁶ given his membership of the *Galeria* tribe - which, along with the *Sergia* tribe, 85% of all Iberian citizens belonged to - and reference to one C.Arrenus upon Baetican amphorae.¹⁰⁷ The Elder Seneca's friend L.Iunius Gallio is another senator of interest. Though his origins go uncommented a Baetican birth is often assumed. He sat in the Tiberian senate prior to exile and arrest in AD 32, though he may have entered during the latter years of Augustus (cf. Tac., *Ann.*, 6.3; Cass. Dio, 58.18.3).¹⁰⁸ And finally we find the brothers C.Norbanus Flaccus and L.Balbus Norbanus, children of both an ancient Roman line on their father's side and a dynamic Gaditanian family on their mother's.¹⁰⁹

We may be led to conclude on the basis of the figures above that Augustus' reign marked a regression for the upper classes of Hispania at Rome, but this is too simplistic. The groundwork for the great increases of Claudius, Nero and beyond lay under Augustus and Tiberius. For while the enlargement of the equestrian order was mostly achieved through the elevation of the Italian municipal aristocracy, the early Principate also witnessed significant expansion for provincial equestrians, including those from the Spanish provinces. It is to these that we must now turn.

¹⁰⁴ Chastagnol, 1974:168-9; 1992:43-5; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2001; 2005b:13-8.

¹⁰⁵ Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:129.

¹⁰⁶ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:176. On this inscription, see Griffin, 1997; Cooley, 1998, citing Eck *et al*, 1996; Potter and Damon, 1999.

¹⁰⁷ Caballos Rufino, 1986:18. Eck (1997b:211 with n62-3) suggests Arrenus hailed from an Italic family granted citizenship under Augustus or Tiberius.

¹⁰⁸ Syme, 1958:589; Griffin, 1972:11-2; Birley in Syme, 1999:120, n. 96; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:176; Echavarren, 2007:167-9 no.156.

¹⁰⁹ Rodríguez Neila, 1992:282; 2006a:122-3.

6.5 Spanish equestrians

Italian knights continued to occupy the vast majority of equestrian posts.¹¹⁰ Yet for the first time the Augustan era witnessed Spanish equestrians, hitherto largely confined to Spain's municipalities and colonies, making their mark at Rome. Numbers remained small, but important precedents were set. And whilst *ad hoc* grants of citizenship decreased, paradoxically there was an increase in grants through service in magistracies at towns with Roman style constitutions and collective enfranchisement within the newly established Augustan colonies and municipalities.¹¹¹ 80 % of elite Spanish families gained citizenship under Caesar or Augustus with the legal promotion of their cities; thus, with an average of 2 to 3 generations for a family to move from citizenship to equestrian status, and another three at least for the few who would continue their advance to the senate, it is clear that Augustus was fundamental in laying the foundations for the Spanish surge under his successors.¹¹²

Des Boscs Plateaux identified thirty-six Spanish equestrians with certainty under the Julio-Claudians, ten of whom have been located in Augustus' reign and a further eleven under Tiberius, numbers second only to Narbonensis.¹¹³ A small figure, but the success of Spanish equestrians in this period may be partly masked; they are less likely to appear in the sources, both literary and archaeological; their families are harder to trace, since equestrian status was not hereditary, as the senatorial order became; they were also less likely to travel from Hispania to Rome, whether for personal travel or as part of their official duties - note, for instance, T.Mercello Persinus Marius, *procurator Augusti* under Augustus at Corduba.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, as Edwards and Woolf have reasoned, whilst equestrian numbers remain somewhat obscured, the increases in provincial senators across the breadth of the Julio-Claudian period is surely grounded in rises in provincial equestrians.¹¹⁵ Even allowing for exaggeration concerning Gades on the part of Strabo, equestrian numbers were clearly significant in Iberia. Indeed, the number of recorded knights actually drops after initially

¹¹⁰ Devijver, 1989; Sablayrolles, 1999:378-9; Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:9.

¹¹¹ See Brunt, 1971:244; Mackie, 1983:201-14; Keay, 1988:73; Curchin, 1991:66; 2004:89; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:87-8. Woolf (1998:40; 67) notes similar trends in contemporary Gaul. Ricci (1992:129-30) emphasises the role of urbanisation in driving social promotion.

¹¹² Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:46-8; 88; 313. See also Mayer and Roda, 1998; Devijver, 1999.

¹¹³ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:9-10. See also Pflaum, 1965; Demougin, 1988:531; 1992; Caballos Rufino, 1998:135-6; Navarro Santana, 2006b.

¹¹⁴ Caballos Rufino, 1999b:127; 132-3; 136; Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:9. On T.Mercello Persinus, see Haley, 2003:143; *CIL* II² 7342; *HEp* 2, 1990, 108 no.345.

¹¹⁵ Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:9.

rising under the first two emperors, before resurging under Nero and his Spanish minister.¹¹⁶ Every Spanish equestrian known under Augustus and Tiberius hails from the south and east, apparently matching the general geographical distribution of senators, though in time their origins would diversify.¹¹⁷

The foremost Spanish equestrian under Augustus was C.Turranius Gracilis of Gades. *Praefectus Aegypti* (7-4) before serving as *praefectus annonae* for over fifty years (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.7; 11.31; Sen., *Brev. Vitae.*, 20.3),¹¹⁸ Turranius held real power and was trusted by successive emperors. Indeed, the distinguished *praefectus* may be reconciled with the Gaditanian ‘C.Turranius’ cited by Pliny the Elder (*HN*, 3.3; 9.11; 18.75; 18.94; 18.114; 18.139; cf. *Ov.*, *Pont.*, 4.16.29) as an authority concerning Baetica, though some reject this.¹¹⁹ Though less influential than Turranius, L.Aponius is another prominent Baetican equestrian; a *comes* of Drusus, he fought against the Germans and Dalmatians (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.29).¹²⁰ Aponius and Gracilis held esteemed positions, but they are two of only a handful of Spaniards, either equestrian or senator, to do so under Augustus.¹²¹ Yet one Spanish family must dominate any discussion concerning Spanish equestrians, indeed Spaniards in general, under the Principate.

6.6 The Annaei and their associates

As the Balbi define the Spaniards’ rise at Republican Rome, so the Annaei embody their growth under the Principate. And as with the Balbi, we should avoid treating them as ‘typical’ provincials - their meteoric rise and catastrophic fall in such a short period was anything but typical. Indeed, Weinrib warned of the potential distortion that could arise from reconstructing the history of Spaniards at Rome based on the information provided by such a small group whose activities bulk large. And yet the Annaei had more in common with their contemporary compatriots than the Balbi had with theirs, and gained power through less irregular means. Crucially they provide an insight into Rome’s Spanish ‘community’ and its

¹¹⁶ Caballos Rufino, 1999b:139; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:12.

¹¹⁷ On the origins of Spanish equestrians, see Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:37-65.

¹¹⁸ *IGRom*, 1.1109; 1295.

¹¹⁹ Concerning Turranius and his identification with Pliny’s source, see Castillo García, 1965:no.308; Pflaum, 1981:88; Ricci, 1992:107; Eck, 1997b:212; Syme, 1999:30-1; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:175; 178; 217; 275; 622-3. Weinrib (1968:183) and Demougin (1992:no.451) treated Turranius’ Gaditanian birth more cautiously.

¹²⁰ Syme, 1958:785; Castillo García, 1965:no.48; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:218; 275; 620-2.

¹²¹ See Des Boscs Plateaux (2005b:213-18) on Spaniards within imperial administration.

interaction with Roman society, their status and self-identification, that lists of names and numbers, as above, never could.¹²²

The Annaei of Corduba are usually considered to be of pre-Social war Italian descent.¹²³ However, Des Boscs Plateaux and Caballos Rufino have challenged this; observing the frequency of ‘Annaei’ in southern Spain and its correspondence with the area of operations of the Praetor C. Annius T.f.T.n. Luscus in 81, they suggest an Iberian family receiving the citizenship from this individual during the Sertorian War. This is an interesting hypothesis but does not prove native origins, since the family could still be of pre-Social War Italian descent and receive the citizenship from this officer, with his *nomen*.¹²⁴ What is certain is that the Elder Seneca was born into a wealthy equestrian family around 54 and first travelled to Rome around the mid 30’s after completing his initial education at a Corduban *grammaticus*. His arrival had been delayed by Civil War, but the greater part of the rest of his life would be spent here (cf. Sen., *Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 11).¹²⁵ At Rome he studied rhetoric alongside life-long friend Porcius Latro under one Marullus (cf. Sen., *Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 22; 2.2.7; 2.4.7),¹²⁶ and Arellius Fuscus (cf. Sen., *Suas.*, 2.10). Indeed, education was central in drawing sons of the provinces to Rome.¹²⁷ Seneca was immersed in the Augustan literary scene, to which he contributed several works himself. Crucial amongst these the *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*, written in old age, provide vivid portrayals of the major contemporary literary characters, both Italian and provincial, the foremost literary evidence for Spaniards in Augustan Rome.¹²⁸ Though an early involvement in administration cannot be discounted a teaching career can, and the Elder Seneca apparently lived off his estates’ income.¹²⁹ He remained politically inactive and retained his equestrian status (Sen.,

¹²² Weinrib (1968:77) expressed caution, but recognised the prosopographical worth of the combined works of the Annaei.

¹²³ Syme, 1958:784; Griffin, 1972:4; Sussman, 1978:19-20.

¹²⁴ Caballos Rufino, 1990:no.30; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:68; 72. Weinrib suggested the male line at least may have been of Iberian ancestry. On Annii, see Plut., *Sert.*, 7; *BMCRR*, 2.352-356; *MRR*, II:77 (81). On the distribution of Republican magistrates’ names in Iberia, see Dyson, 1980-1981.

¹²⁵ Griffin, 1972:6; Fairweather, 1981:4-5.

¹²⁶ Seneca (*Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 22) is not explicit concerning the location of Marullus’ school, and Fairweather (1981:5) has suggested it may actually have been located in Corduba (cf. Suet., *Gramm.*, 3.6), though this was rejected by Farland (1991).

¹²⁷ Bowersock, 2005:2-3.

¹²⁸ Castillo García, 2001:120. See esp. Echavarren, 2007.

¹²⁹ Sussman (1978:25-6) does not discount an early career in administration, but Fairweather (1981:9) asserts there is no evidence Seneca was involved in business or financial administration. Weinrib simply states that we cannot know (1968:77).

Controv., 1. *praef.* 22; 2. *praef.* 3; 2.2.7; 2.4.7; Sen., *Helv.*, 14.3; Tac., *Ann.*, 14.53; 16.17) throughout his long life before his death around AD 39-40.¹³⁰

The Elder Seneca had three sons. The eldest, L. Annaeus Novatus, was adopted by his father's close friend L. Iunius Gallio, so becoming Iunius Gallio Annaeanus (Cass. Dio, 61.35.2).¹³¹ His successful senatorial career culminated with the suffect consulship in 55 or 56, though ultimately ended in forced suicide following Seneca the Younger's fall.¹³² The youngest son, Annaeus Mela, chose to remain an equestrian and held a series of imperial procuratorships. Along with his renowned son, M. Annaeus Lucanus, Lucan, following the Pisonian conspiracy he too was compelled to commit suicide in AD 65 (Sen., *Controv.*, 2. *praef.* 3-4; Sen., *Helv.*, 18.2; Tac., *Ann.*, 16.17).¹³³ And of course, there was the middle son, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Seneca the Younger. Born in Baetica between 4 BC and AD 1, he joined his father in Augustan Rome whilst still a child (Sen., *Helv.*, 19.2). Noted philosopher, orator and writer, following his quaestorship in AD 33-4 or 34-5, won with his aunt's help, he embarked on a successful political career. Surviving brushes with both Caligula and Claudius, he became praetor and tutor to Nero in AD 49. The latter rose to the throne in AD 54, and for the following eight years, during which Spanish fortunes surged at Rome, Seneca guided Neronian policy. Seneca had progressed through the normal *cursus honorum*, yet like the Elder Balbus under Caesar exercised his influence through an ill-defined and irregular position at the heart of the state.¹³⁴ Though suffect consul in AD 55 or 56 his loss of influence over Nero ultimately led to the loss of his life, compelled to suicide, in AD 65 (Tac., *Ann.*, 15.62-4). Nonetheless, his writings add to the picture of the burgeoning integration of the Spanish elite at Rome under the early Principate.

The vast majority of the Hispano-Roman elite chose to remain in Iberia, enjoying local prestige without the unforgivingly mercurial politics at Rome. Indeed, many were content with equestrian status, itself a significant promotion, without seeking further advancement.¹³⁵ Equestrian status brought no legal requirement to forsake Hispania, as

¹³⁰ Griffin, 1972:4; Sussman, 1978:23-4.

¹³¹ Castillo García, 2001:126; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:115; 140; 2005b:82-3; Echavarren, 2007:59 no.25.

¹³² Acts 18:12; *SIG*³ 2. 801.

¹³³ Echavarren, 2007:58 no.24.

¹³⁴ Devijver (1999) notes the strict *cursus honorum* which equestrians progressed through during the Principate as opposed to the chaotic advances of the Republic. On Seneca the Younger, see also Echavarren, 2007:59-60 no.26.

¹³⁵ Demougin, 1983:281; Curchin, 1990:40-3; 1991:80; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:336-7; 343-4; Caballos Rufino, 1998:124-5; Keay, 2002:582; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:199-202; 313-5; Navarro Santana, 2006b:142; Pérez Zurita, 2011:409. See also Alföldy (1984) for case studies examining elite careers at Tarraco, Saguntum

senatorial promotion did, and most equestrian administrative posts held by Spaniards were served in Iberia.¹³⁶ Nonetheless, the works of the Annaei reveal an increasing number of Spaniards being drawn to the *metropole*, particularly Spanish writers and intellectuals.¹³⁷ Such men had first appeared under the Republic. Note Catullus' aforementioned unfortunate 'Celtiberian' Egnatius (Catull., 37; 39) likely a poet, whilst his friend Fabullus was perhaps also Spanish (*Ibid.*, 12.14).¹³⁸ Meanwhile Metellus may have returned to Rome with some of the Corduban poets who had glorified the general in heavily accented Latin (Cic., *Arch.*, 26). Yet it is apparent that the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius witnessed an increasing cultural exchange taking place, with writers of various genres accompanying their political and trade orientated fellow countrymen to Rome, with its magnificent libraries.¹³⁹ Indeed, this cultural exchange was perhaps important in enabling Spaniards to establish themselves amongst Rome's upper classes before moving into political affairs.¹⁴⁰

Such Spaniards include the aforementioned Latro and Marullus, perhaps both Cordubans.¹⁴¹ Latro was the leading post-Ciceronian declaimer and prominent among Augustan Rome's literary circles prior to his suicide in 4. Ovid was notably devoted (Sen., *Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 13-20; 2.2.8; 2.4.12-3; 9. *praef.* 3; Pliny, *HN*, 20.160).¹⁴² Marullus, meanwhile, though found elsewhere is a very common name in Spain, and is usually considered to be Spanish.¹⁴³ The Annaei remained close to Marullus, the Younger Seneca (*Ep.*, 99.1) consoling the old teacher on the death of his son. The aforementioned L. Iunius Gallio is another Spanish friend of the Annaei, and of Ovid (Sen., *Controv.*, 10. *praef.* 2; 13; 2.1.33; 2.5.11; 2.5.13; *Suas.*, 3.6-7; cf. Stat., *Silv.*, 2.7; Ov., *Pont.*, 4.11).¹⁴⁴ A distinguished declaimer and senator, he fell with Sejanus in AD 32 (Tac., *Ann.*, 6.3; Cass. Dio, 58.18.3).

and Barcino in particular. Similarly, many Italians also chose to settle for local prestige in their home towns. See Cébeillac Gervasoni, 1978.

¹³⁶ Caballos Rufino, 1998:124-5; 1999b:127. Des Boscs Plateaux (2005b:206-8) has produced tables highlighting the presence of Spaniards in equestrian posts under the empire, showing that the majority served in Iberia or the western provinces. On the career paths of Spanish equestrians, see Rodríguez Neila (1999).

¹³⁷ Weinrib, 1968:166. See also Castillo García (2001) and Alföldy (2001), the latter using literature and monuments as a source for Spaniards at Rome.

¹³⁸ Weinrib, 1968:81-3.

¹³⁹ Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:14. Note the Younger Seneca (*Helv.*, 6.2-3) concerning the motivations of foreigners to settle at Rome (Bowersock, 2005:3).

¹⁴⁰ Weinrib, 1968:180.

¹⁴¹ Wienrib (1968:96) suggested Latro may have come from Iberian stock..

¹⁴² Weinrib, 1968:84; 96-7; 101; Griffin, 1972:7; Sussman, 1978:26; Fairweather, 1981:5; Castillo García, 2001:128-9; André, 2004a; Echavarren, 2007:221-6 no.232.

¹⁴³ See *CIL* II 1995; 2144; 2150; 3265; 4332. The name of the aforementioned Aelius Marullinus is a variant of Marullus. The latter can also be found amongst the magistrates at Osca. See Grant, 1946:167-8; Weinrib, 1968:99; Griffin, 1972:6 with n71; 7; Sussman, 1978:20-1; Castillo García, 2001:130; André, 2004a; Echavarren, 2007:183-5 no.178; 355.

¹⁴⁴ Weinrib, 1968:100-1; Castillo García, 2001:126.

We also find Papirius Fabianus, a philosopher and declaimer esteemed by both the Elder and Younger Seneca (Sen., *Controv.*, 2. *praef.* 1; 4-5). In Rome by 10, he may very well be Spanish - more Papirii are recorded in Hispania's epigraphy than any other province, whilst Fabius, from which Fabianus derives, is more common here also.¹⁴⁵ Lesser figures include the Corduban poet Sextilis Ena, reciting elegies concerning the proscriptions for M.Valerius Messalla Corvinus (Sen., *Controv.*, 2.3.13; 4.6.3; *Suas.*, 6.27).¹⁴⁶ Statorius Victor (Sen., *Suas.*, 2.18), a Corduban rhetorician, Fulvius Sparsus of Calgurris (Sen., *Controv.*, 1.7.15; 10. *praef.* 11; 10.5.26) and an ancestor of Quintilian (Sen., *Controv.*, 10. *praef.* 2) all appear.¹⁴⁷ Notice is given of Seneca Grandio (Sen., *Suas.*, 2.17), an eccentric declaimer, of one 'Broccus' (Sen., *Controv.*, 2.1.23) and Cornelius Hispanus, all of whom perhaps hailed from Iberia.¹⁴⁸ Finally, Pompeius Silo and Abronius Silo (Sen., *Suas.*, 2.19), possibly related, may also be Spanish, though little is known of either.¹⁴⁹

Indispensable as the Annaei are for prosopographical material, other contemporary Spaniards may be discerned who go unmentioned within their works.

6.7 Other Spaniards

C.Iulius Hyginus, Augustus' freedman and head of the Palatine library, is one such individual, though his Spanish origins remain unconfirmed (cf. Suet., *De Gramm.*, 20).¹⁵⁰ Similarly, Baetican births have been suggested for the Augustan poet Grattius and the Tiberian historians Fenestella and Valerius Maximus, the latter both born under the first *princeps*.¹⁵¹ Fenestella in particular, bearer of an obscure Etruscan name, is well informed concerning Crassus and the Paciaeci, and claimed to have spoken to slave girls who

¹⁴⁵ Griffin, 1972:16; Echavarren, 2007:206-7 no.206. On Papirii found in Spain, see Badian, 1958:309; 314; 318; *AE* 1965, 59; 60.

¹⁴⁶ Griffin, 1972:5; Castillo García, 2001:129; Echavarren, 2007:245-6 no.257.

¹⁴⁷ Griffin has Statorius descended from Etruscans (1972:4). See also Weinrib, 1968:106; Echavarren, 2007:249 no.262. Concerning Sparsus, see Echavarren, 2007:135-7 no.115; 355. On Quintilian's ancestor, see *PIR*² F 57.

¹⁴⁸ Grandio's name suggests Spanish origins (Griffin, 1972:12). 'Brocc(h)us' may be Iberian, and certainly appears on Spanish inscriptions there (*CIL* II 3203; II 99; 5726), but this name also appears in Sabine country (Bornecque, 1932:156, cited by Griffin, 1972:12) and Syme (1964) was unconvinced. Suggested origins for Hispanus is based entirely on his name, though we cannot assume this to be confirmation (see *PIR*² C 1371; Griffin, 1972:12 with n143; Weinrib, 1968:107).

¹⁴⁹ Pompeius Silo, see *PIR*¹ P 494; Weinrib, 1968:107-8; Echavarren, 2007:217-8 no.224. Concerning Abronius Silo, see *Ibid.*, 31-2 nos.1-2.

¹⁵⁰ Weinrib, 1968:102; Ricci, 1992:106; Noy, 2000:206.

¹⁵¹ Birley, 1998:237.

witnessed Spanish events (Plut., *Crass.*, 5). He may be identified with a duovir at Augustan Turiaso (La Oruna).¹⁵² Meanwhile the enigmatic Pomponius Mela of Tingencetra worked in this period (Pomp. Mela, 2.6.96),¹⁵³ and the jurist Fabius Mela - the latter's name perhaps suggestive of Spanish origins, which would make Mela the first provincial *jurisconsult*.¹⁵⁴

Our predominant concern here has been Spanish integration into Roman society and politics and their participation in imperial government. As a result of this and social bias within our evidence it has been necessary to focus on the elite, and more specifically, those who took up residence at Rome. Yet we also find Spaniards whose presence was more transient, such as ambassadors. These are attested from the very beginnings of Roman Spain, and certainly visited Rome under Augustus, often dedicating monuments. Indeed, they may have had their own *stationes*, akin to the eastern provincials.¹⁵⁵

We also find Spaniards of humbler backgrounds. Doubtless some of those enslaved during the wars of conquest found themselves at Rome.¹⁵⁶ Others joined her army;¹⁵⁷ few are attested at Rome under Augustus but the emperor retained a troop of Iberian bodyguards (Suet., *Iul.*, 86; *Aug.*, 49).¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile Spanish tradesmen, both equestrian *negotiatores* and freedmen *mercatores*,¹⁵⁹ as well as *diffusores*, hawked their wares at Ostia, Rome and the other great Italian towns (cf. Str., 3.5.3), though few can be firmly identified.¹⁶⁰ Finally, Spanish entertainers undoubtedly visited Rome; one notes the various references to the famed Gaditanian dancers in post-Augustan sources (Mart., 1.41.12; 3.63.5; 5.78.26-8; 6.71.2; 14.203; Juv., *Sat.*, 11.162; Stat., *Silv.*, 1.6.70; Pliny, *Ep.*, 1.15.3). It seems likely Augustan Rome also witnessed such spectacles.¹⁶¹

We have commented then on the key Iberian individuals and groups who advanced to Rome under the early Principate. What was the foundation of their progress?

¹⁵² Weinrib, 1968:168-9. For coins bearing this name at Turiaso, see Grant, 1946:169.

¹⁵³ Weinrib, 1968:167.

¹⁵⁴ Weinrib, 1968:167-8.

¹⁵⁵ Ricci, 1992:108; 125-6; Noy, 2000:207. Note the aforementioned statue dedicated to Augustus by the Baetican cities (*CIL* VI 31267 – see p104 n.148; 107 n.166; 112 n.194 and 155 n.90), likely attended by Spanish ambassadors.

¹⁵⁶ Noy, 2000:206; Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:12. See also Coulston, 2000.

¹⁵⁷ On Spaniards in the Roman army, see Balil, 1956; Rubio Alija, 1959; Bosch Gimpera, 1966; Weinrib, 1968; Blázquez Martínez, 1970; Roldán Hervás, 1974; 1993; Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:299; 323-330; Curchin, 1991:100-1; Encarnação, 2006.

¹⁵⁸ Ricci, 1992:105; Noy, 2000:206.

¹⁵⁹ Étienne and Mayet, 2001:91. See also Deniaux, 1983.

¹⁶⁰ Noy, 2000:208; Haley, 2003:88. See also Étienne and Mayet (2001), providing a series of examples of tradesmen attested at Ostia and Rome, though most are from the post-Augustan period.

¹⁶¹ Noy, 2000:209.

6.8 The engines of advancement

The lives and writings of the Annaei demonstrate that the rules of advancement for the Spanish elite remained fundamentally the same under the early empire as under the Republic - only the political context had changed. Wealth and patronage remained essential and inextricably linked, whilst area of origin was also crucial. The late-Republic had been a period of economic vitality for Spain, yet the Augustan age, attended by peace and stability, witnessed Hispania's economic potential fully realised.¹⁶² The establishment of the *annona*, the Augustan foundation of colonies and municipalities, and the consequential reorganisation of land are all contributory factors.¹⁶³ There is a vast amount of evidence attesting to such economic expansion. For instance, Pascual 1 ceramics from Citerior's wine shipments and the Haltern 70 of Baetican olive oil increasingly appear in Augustan Italy, revealing a reverse in trade flows between Spain and Rome.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile the aforementioned villa expansion (see Chapter 5) transformed systems of production across the south and east. Such evidence provides physical manifestations of Strabo's vivid descriptions (see Chapter 2) of Baetican wealth and produce and its booming trade with Augustan Italy.

Such economic expansion inevitably affected the relationship between Spanish elites and Rome. As under the Republic, Spanish wealth added impetus to the 'Romanisation' processes, providing a catalyst to draw Spaniards further into Roman society, and ultimately government. Indeed, there seems a strong chronological link between Iberia's economic affirmation and the increasing appearance of Spanish senators and equestrians at Rome. Numbers remained small under Augustus yet the economic expansion under his reign is one of the primary catalysts for the later rise in representation of Spanish provincials at the capital in succeeding generations.¹⁶⁵ As with the Italian aristocracy, the basis of this wealth

¹⁶² Caballos Rufino, 1989:242; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:11; 2005b:191-2; Keay, 1998:19-21. See also Pascual Guash, 1980.

¹⁶³ Lowe, 2009:88; 114. Remesal Rodríguez (2005) has emphasised the importance of the *annona* and the need to guarantee its shipments to Rome in the importance of the Spanish elite. See also Blázquez Martínez, 1970; 1971b; Keay, 1998; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2004; Chic García, 2006.

¹⁶⁴ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:106-7, citing Tchernia, 1971 and Blázquez Martínez and Remesal Rodríguez, 1983.

¹⁶⁵ Caballos Rufino, 1986:16; 1990:12-3; Haley, 2003:135-6; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2004:313; 2005a; 2005b:112-4;191.

was largely agricultural,¹⁶⁶ with viticulture and oleiculture, as noted, increasingly joining garum and precious metals as the main exports. The Elder Seneca, for instance, seemingly subsisted on income from his estates, and references from the Younger Seneca (*Helv.*, 14.3.66) suggest concerns in Baetican vineyards and olive farms. The Younger Seneca later invested in Italian vineyards, suggesting an abiding interest in viticulture.¹⁶⁷ Such interests were repeated across the Spanish elite, as is clear from the names appearing on amphora stamps. For example, one such name appearing at Mount Testaccio is the aforementioned ‘Marullus’.¹⁶⁸ Whether such names refer to the olive oil producers or the exporters, if these were different, or indeed the kiln owner, we cannot say. But it attests the involvement of Spanish senators and equestrians in trade, despite the supposed distaste for commerce amongst the aristocracy.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, such stamps suggest at least 5% of known Baetican senators from Tiberius onwards were involved in the olive oil trade, numbers increasingly steadily as time progressed.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, Italian senators also seemingly held Iberian estates; for example, under Augustus L.Cornelius Lentulus Augur may perhaps be found on Spanish amphorae.¹⁷¹

Further interests included mining (cf. Pliny, *HN*, 34.95; 144; 164; Str., 3.2.5);¹⁷² the most famous Principate mining magnate was Sextus Marius of Baetica. Reported under Tiberius, his family were likely established by Augustus’ reign. Des Boscs Plateaux warns against ascribing an equestrian rank to Marius without explicit attestation in the sources, yet he certainly demonstrates the immense wealth at the disposal of the Spanish aristocracy at Rome under the Principate. Marius’ wealth was his undoing - Tiberius, eager to seize his silver mines in the Sierra Morena, had him executed on trumped up charges of incest levelled

¹⁶⁶ On Roman senatorial wealth see Shatzman, 1975; Melchor Gil, 1993:115; Andreau, 1999; Keay, 2002:583; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:116-139. On the importance of wealth for the careers of notables from Italian towns, see Cébeillac Gervasoni, 1978:237. On personal wealth in Spain, see Curchin, 1983.

¹⁶⁷ Griffin, 1972:6; 9; Sussman, 1978:26; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:116-7.

¹⁶⁸ *LAELMAR.OL* (*CIL* XV 2684). On the olive oil trade and stamps appearing on amphorae, see Blázquez Martínez, 1980; Remesal Rodríguez, 1998; Haley, 2003:141-2; Castillo García, 2001:118-9; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005a; 2005b:108-9; 115; 122-129; Chic García, 2006; Lowe, 2009:96-101. On garum amphorae stamps, see Lowe, 2009:96-7. Note García Vargas and Martínez Maganto (2009), who trace social promotion of Baetican traders partly through amphorae.

¹⁶⁹ Pavis D’Ecurac, 1977 with references; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:314.

¹⁷⁰ Caballos Rufino, 2001:69-87; Remesal Rodríguez, 1998:190; Keay, 2002:583.

¹⁷¹ Lowe, 2009:98.

¹⁷² Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:13-4; 2005a:168; 2005b:132-4; Lowe, 2009:102. Lead ingots also bear names, indicating the involvement of certain groups in the metal trade. See Colls *et al*, 1986. Further concerning names appearing on ingots, see Hirt, 2010:282-4.

by fellow Spaniard Calpurnius Salvianus (Tac., *Ann.*, 6.19.1; Cass. Dio, 58.22.2; Pliny, *HN*, 34.4).¹⁷³

Promotion increased wealth further.¹⁷⁴ Many provincial families destined for glory at Rome can be traced in the magisterial lists of Spanish communities under the late Republic and early empire, establishing a connection between such posts and social promotion. Trajan's family provide a pertinent example. His aforementioned ancestor M. Trahianus is found amongst Italica's magistrates under the late Republic and Augustus, the family establishing links that eventually brought them to Rome and ultimate power within a few generations.¹⁷⁵ The Licinii are another example; magistrates at Celsa during the late Republic, responsible for an arch dedicated at Bera under Augustus, their rise culminated with L. Licinius Sura, thrice consul under Trajan.¹⁷⁶

As ever, local prestige brought important contacts at Rome, whose leaders remained committed to extending patronage to the most influential provincials. The Annaei's wealth and connections allowed the Elder Seneca to complete his education at Rome.¹⁷⁷ Along with other Cordubans, this introduction to Roman society perhaps came through an acquaintance with Asinius Pollio (Sen., *Controv.*, 2.3.13; 4. *praef.* 2-6; *Suas.*, 6.25), noted Caesarian soldier and writer, who in 43 sheltered in Corduba from resurgent Pompeian forces (Cic., *Fam.*, 10.31-3).¹⁷⁸ If so then contrary to those who hypothesise Pompeian leanings the family may have held Caesarian allegiance. Along with an early commitment to Octavian this may partly explain their rapid rise.¹⁷⁹ If Pollio did bring Seneca to Rome then he soon extended his links to the highest literary and political circles, amongst who were M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, Maecenas, Ovid, Tiberius, Agrippa and Augustus himself.¹⁸⁰ Not that Seneca

¹⁷³ Weinrib, 1968:187; Eck, 1991; Dardaine, 2001:25; Haley, 2003:143; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:8; 191-2; 627-8.

¹⁷⁴ As highlighted by Caballos Rufino, 2001.

¹⁷⁵ Caballos Rufino (1987-8:esp. 301-6; 1994:156) identifies Trahianus as perhaps the city praetor or prefect. See also Curchin, 1990:no.975; 1991:80; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:115-8. For an overview of the emergence of elite families from Saguntum, Tarraco, Barcino and Emerita, see Alföldy, 1984; 2001b. See also Ramírez Sadaba, 2001.

¹⁷⁶ Le Roux, 1982:445; Curchin, 1990:no.609; 622; Dupré Raventos, 1994; Castillo García, 2006:92.

¹⁷⁷ Sussman, 1978:26.

¹⁷⁸ Weintib, 1968:109-113; 117; Sussman, 1978:20; Fairweather, 1981:7-8; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:176; Echavarren, 2007:79-81 no.45; 356-7.

¹⁷⁹ Sussman, 1978:20. André (2004a:3) believes the Annaei sided with the Caesarians to protect their properties from proscription.

¹⁸⁰ Weinrib, 1968:110-114; Griffin, 1972:7; Sussman, 1978:26; Echavarren, 2007:104-5 no.68; 161 no.148; 159-60 no.145; 203-5 no.203; 260-1 no.277; 273-4 no.291, all with references.

enjoyed close relations and the patronage of all of these figures, but he was certainly known to them.¹⁸¹

Indeed, we can deduce the patronage links for many of the aforementioned Spaniards. Latro and Gallio shared the same contacts as Seneca. Latro certainly declaimed before Augustus and Agrippa in 17, though given his subject matter - Augustus having adopted Agrippa's sons, Latro declaimed concerning adoption - this perhaps stalled his advance rather than aided it (Sen., *Controv.*, 2.4.12; cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 89)!¹⁸² Gallio accompanied the Elder Seneca to the house of Messalla, and forged links with Maecenas and Tiberius, contacts that doubtless led him to the curia (Sen., *Suas.*, 3.6; *Controv.*, 10. *praef.* 8).¹⁸³ Gallio may also have associated with Sejanus, whose Praetorian Guard career began under Augustus (Tac., *Ann.*, 6.3.2). Indeed, a link with Sejanus has been suggested for the Annaei, though others have dismissed this.¹⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Valerius Messalla also sponsored Sextilius Ena (Sen., *Controv.*, 2.4.8; *Suas.*, 6.27), whilst C.Iulius Hyginus was supported by the historian Clodius Licinius, and presumably enjoyed Augustus' favour.¹⁸⁵

The geographical spread of our Spaniards is pertinent. As under the Republic, a core of Roman citizens, Italian or native, amongst the governing and commercial elites was highly advantageous. The respective fortunes of the aristocracies of Tarraco, Barcino and Saguntum are illustrative. Saguntum's closed aristocracy was largely indigenous, and far less likely to progress to positions at Rome. In comparison, Tarraco and Barcino's aristocracies had strong Italian elements, providing far more senators and senior Roman magistrates.¹⁸⁶ Quite simply citizens of communities organised along Roman lines and sharing aspects of Roman culture were more likely to gain advancement within politics and society at Rome itself. In consequence the communities of the south and east remained at the forefront, whilst largely non-urbanised Lusitania will remain minutely represented at Rome in every period. Later Citerior provided the greater number of Spaniards at Rome, yet under Augustus and Tiberius Baetica was pre-eminent.¹⁸⁷ And within Baetica, sophisticated and highly Romanised Corduba predominated, accounting for half of all Julio-Claudian Baetican senators and the

¹⁸¹ Weinrib, 1968:109-116.

¹⁸² Weinrib, 1968:84; 97; Sussman, 1978:22; Fairweather, 1981:6.

¹⁸³ Weinrib, 1968:100.

¹⁸⁴ In support, Stewart, 1953:70; Sussman, 1978:30-1. *Contra* Weinrib, 1968:130-6.

¹⁸⁵ Weinrib, 1968:102.

¹⁸⁶ Alföldy, 1984; esp. 218-224; Curchin, 1990:43; 1991:82.

¹⁸⁷ Keay (1998:11-15) emphasises Baetica's distinctiveness within Iberia. Alföldy, 1984:193. See Des Bosc's Plateaux (2005b:23-4) for Citerior's emergence.

majority of its equestrians.¹⁸⁸ Initially enjoying the *ius Latii* (cf. Str., 3.2.15), and with a probable core of citizens amongst its influential elites (such as the Annaei), it received colonial status under Caesar or Augustus.¹⁸⁹ The nurturing of Roman culture at the city was perhaps even more important under Augustus when Spanish intellectuals are emerging from Corduba and other places even as the murky short cuts to political power were being closed off. Ultimately the will to assimilate aspects of Roman culture and adherence to Rome's socio-political structures and imperial ideology proved essential to promotion.¹⁹⁰

Augustus' provincial reforms were another crucial factor (see Chapter 4). These exercised a major effect on patronage networks, confirming Corduba's dominance within Baetica while laying the foundations for Tarraco's later emergence, and to a lesser extent Emerita's, as each became the capital of their provinces.¹⁹¹ Previously the main factor in the distribution of patronage among Spanish families had been magistrates serving in Spain. Such patronage continued to drive advancement under the empire, though in a more limited political context - certainly the involvement of officials in the monumentalisation processes at Iberian communities seems to bear this out, as do those monuments raised in the provinces and at Rome by provincials themselves honouring their patrons (see Chapter 5).¹⁹² However, quite apart from its economic and cultural advantages Augustan Corduba, both provincial and *conventus* capital, contained the governor and his staff. With unrivalled opportunities for patronage presented by such influential Roman officials within this centralised administration it is unsurprising that Cordubans were so successful under the early empire.¹⁹³

The patronage of Roman magistrates remained important then, an aristocrat's prestige increasingly based on his ability to influence advancement in the limited politics of the period, as power was progressively concentrated with the emperor.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, whilst access to the quaestorship and thus the senate was extremely limited, service in more junior magisterial or army positions, either at Rome or in the provinces, continued to offer useful opportunities for advancement. The military tribuneship, often offering access to the

¹⁸⁸ Sussman, 1978:28; Caballos Rufino, 1998:136-7; Navarro Santana, 2006b:140. See also Castillo García, 1975:631-48.

¹⁸⁹ See Keay, 1998b:63.

¹⁹⁰ Caballos Rufino, 1994: 155; 1998:129.

¹⁹¹ On Tarraco, see Alföldy, 1984.

¹⁹² Saller, 1982:120; 130-4; 150; Caballos Rufino, 1998:126; Navarro Santana, 1999:177; Alföldy, 2005:58; Revell, 2009:62.

¹⁹³ Caballos Rufino, 1998:134; 140; Dardaine, 2001:34; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:95. See also Melchor Gil, 2006.

¹⁹⁴ For the Roman aristocrat as the agent of promotion and prestige under the early empire, see Navarro Santana, 1999:169-170.

equestrian order, and the prefecture of the cohort were particularly popular routes for ambitious provincials, and many of our aforementioned Spaniards held such positions.¹⁹⁵ Though only 6.3 % of all known Julio-Claudian military officers hailed from Spain, compared to 70 % from Italy, 56 % of all known Spanish equestrians from the same period served in the military.¹⁹⁶ Flourishing under Tiberius, though born under Augustus, the Gaditanian agricultural writer L.Junius Moderatus Columella is a convenient example; he served as military tribune with the 4th Legion, remaining close to his commander M.Trebellius, who doubtless aided his former subordinate's career (Colum., *Rust.*, 5.1.2; Tac., *Ann.*, 6.41).¹⁹⁷

Links of patronage and *amicitia* between families could be created, or existing links cemented and exploited, by marriage.¹⁹⁸ The majority of Spanish marriages display geographical endogamy, with unions predominantly between families from the same town or province, and a smaller number across Iberian provinces.¹⁹⁹ Such local connections strengthened family power bases in their home regions and can often be observed in the initial generations of provincial families destined to hold equestrian or senatorial stations at Rome. Following this 'une diversification des horizons matrimoniaux' could take place for a very small number of families,²⁰⁰ with connections being forged with other provinces, especially Narbonensis, with which Iberian families had an enduring relationship, and to those of higher social status.²⁰¹ As Weinrib asserts, nationality was not important, wealth and status were.²⁰² The ultimate prize was a connection with a powerful family in Italy or at Rome itself.

We have already seen one such example: Cornelia, daughter of Balbus the Younger, whose marriage linked the Balbi with a distinguished Roman *gens*. Another family involved in such arrangements were the Ulpii, who were destined to rise from local influence at Italica

¹⁹⁵ Weinrib, 1968:169; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:95; 202-5; Navarro Santana, 2006b:137-8; 142; Pérez Zurita, 2011:432-51. See also L.Blatius Ventinus (*CIL* II 1176), a military tribune from Hispalis (Le Roux and Étienne, 1983:304-5). Cébeillac Gervasoni (1978:238) and Demougin (1983:287-9) comment on the military tribuneship as springboards in the careers of those from the Italian municipalities.

¹⁹⁶ Caballos Rufino, 1998:134-5; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:204-5. See also Devijver, 1987.

¹⁹⁷ *ILS* 2923; Weinrib, 1968:174.

¹⁹⁸ Caballos Rufino, 1990:15; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995; 2005b:145-69; Castillo García, 2006b. For marriage in the context of Roman and Italian families, see Castillo García, 1982; Cébeillac Gervasoni, 1978:236-7. See also Syme, 1986b.

¹⁹⁹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:120; 153-4.

²⁰⁰ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:192.

²⁰¹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:115; 153-4; 2005b:153-4; 167-9; 192. On the relationship between Spanish families and Narbonensis, see Syme, 1977; Castillo García, 1982; Bonsangue, 2006; Chic García, 2006.

²⁰² Weinrib, 1968:92.

to the imperial throne. The aforementioned fragments attesting to the name of M.C.Trahius C.f. amongst the list of magistrates at Italica during the late Republic-early Augustan period suggest a union between the Ulpia and Trahi families. A child of such a marriage was born around AD 25, the father of Ulpia Traiana. His sister would marry a son of the Aelia, another powerful family of Italica, whilst Ulpia Traiana herself would extend the family's links to Rome's senatorial families, marrying Marcia, daughter of Q.Marcus Barea Sura.²⁰³

The Annaei also provide excellent examples. Firstly we have the Elder Seneca and his wife Helvia (Sen., *Helv.*, 16.3; cf. 2.4).²⁰⁴ Her origin has inspired debate. Griffin suggested a Spanish upbringing, though she is unsure whether her father was a *Hispanus* or *Hispaniensis*; 'Helvia' is a common name across Hispania as well as Italy, and a Baetican inscription has been found bearing the name *Helvia Novati*, which may explain the cognomen of the Elder Seneca's eldest son.²⁰⁵ Des Boscs Plateaux identified Helvia as hailing from Urgavo near Corduba, a possible relation of the Helvia Agrippae of Hispalis and able to trace her name perhaps back to M.Helvia, praetor of 197 and proconsul in Ulterior in 195.²⁰⁶ Weinrib preferred to see a Latin origin for Helvia, from a rich family of Atina, wealthy from amphora production. His arguments are persuasive, citing connections between the Dillia of Corduba and the Helvia of Atina in the following generations as evidence of the patronage of Seneca the Younger, and hence a connection between the Annaei and the Italian family; the circumstances of the marriage of his aunt; and literary references in the philosopher's works that may suggest an Italian homeland for his mother.²⁰⁷ The limitations of the evidence make it impossible to provide a definitive conclusion, but it seems certain that the Elder Seneca was matched with the daughter of a distinguished municipal family, regardless of whether her hometown was Spanish or Italian, and it was a union that brought advantageous political links.

Annaeus Mela, meanwhile, married a Corduban woman, solidifying the family's local foundations.²⁰⁸ His son Lucan later wed Argentaria Polla, an eastern provincial, thus extending the families' links to the opposite end of the Mediterranean.²⁰⁹ The Younger

²⁰³ Caballos Rufino, 1987-8; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:115-8.

²⁰⁴ On the marriage alliances of the Annaei in general see Sussman, 1978:28 with n62.

²⁰⁵ *CIL* II 999a (p 1031); *ERBC* 87, n° 71 (*HEp* 7, 1997, 55); *CIL* II 999b; *ERBC* 86, n° 70 (*HEp* 7, 1997, 54); Griffin, 1972:7-8 with n83.

²⁰⁶ Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:81; 114.

²⁰⁷ Weinrib, 1968:153-8. See also Sussman, 1978:21.

²⁰⁸ Weinrib, 1968:89-90; Griffin, 1972:15; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:115.

²⁰⁹ Weinrib, 1968:90-1.

Seneca, meanwhile, forged connections with Narbonensis with his second marriage to Pompeia Paulina of Arles (Tac., *Ann.*, 15.63-4);²¹⁰ related to senators and senior equestrians, her father had been *praefectus annonae*, her brother consul and legate of Upper Germany.²¹¹ But perhaps the Annaei's most influential marriage was that between the half-sister of Helvia and C. Galerius. Hailing from a prominent equestrian family from Ariminum, Galerius was prefect of Egypt for sixteen years from AD 18 and brought a considerable weight of patronage to the career progression of his nephews. The Younger Seneca's entrance to the senate via his election as quaestor in AD 33-4 or 34-5 is explicitly credited by the philosopher to the support of his aunt and her husband's political contacts (*Helv.*, 19.1-6).²¹²

Adoption was also employed, displaying both the further acceptance of Roman practice and the drive of Spanish families in seeking social advancement. Unfortunately they also often complicate matters for the researcher; whilst as with marriages we see a geographical preference for their home cities and provinces amongst Spanish adoption arrangements it was perfectly possible for a Spaniard to be adopted into non-Spanish families, thus obscuring the origins of individuals even further.²¹³ Yet a number of definite instances of such arrangements can be discerned. To give but two examples, the Elder Balbus of course was adopted by Pompeius' client Theophanes of Mytilene,²¹⁴ an arrangement that brought the Gaditanian prestige and wealth (Cic., *Att.*, 7.7.6; 9.13a; *Arch.*, 24; Tac., *Ann.*, 12.60). Additionally, we find the aforementioned example of Iunius Gallio Annaeanus' adoption by Iunius Gallio.

Once sufficiently established at Rome provincial families themselves could dispense patronage.²¹⁵ This is crucial given the provincials' comparatively minor political presence at Augustan and Tiberian Rome. As noted, this was partly a consequence of Augustan policies. But as under the pre-Civil War Republic, provincial newcomers also lacked contacts within the city's social and political structures. Peace did not end patronage, but opportunities were more limited, and those Spaniards who did arrive in Augustan Rome were too few and isolated, comparatively speaking, to collectively influence policy or advancement to a great

²¹⁰ Weinrib, 1968:89; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:esp. 115.

²¹¹ Weinrib, 1968:89.

²¹² Weinrib, 1968:130; 153; Griffin, 1972:7-8; Sussman, 1978:28; Saller, 1982:134; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:115; 2005b:177. On the role of women in advancing Spanish families, see Navarro Caballero, 2001.

²¹³ Caballos Rufino, 1990:15-6; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1995:155.

²¹⁴ Mascontonio, 1967:134; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994:17.

²¹⁵ Pliny (*Ep.*, 1.19; 2.13; 4.29; 4.15) provides excellent insights into the workings of patronage. See also Saller, 1982:131-4; Jacques and Scheid, 1990:319-20; Caballos Rufino, 1998:130.

degree.²¹⁶ However, with the success of Spanish cultural figures within Rome's political circles and the increasing prosperity of the provincial elite, the rise of small numbers of provincials to influential positions ultimately proved the catalyst for change.

The Annaei, with their widespread connections across the political and cultural world, are certainly crucial in the promotion of Spaniards.²¹⁷ The son of Clodius Turrinus was raised at Rome within the Elder Seneca's household (Sen., *Controv.*, 10. *praef.* 14). The latter, along with his sons, likely patronised Columella (Colum., *Rust.*, 3.3.3; 9.16.2) and Martial would also benefit from the Annaei (cf. Mart., 4.40.2; 12.36.8).²¹⁸ Meanwhile, the Balbi perhaps sponsored the aforementioned Praefectus C. Turranius Gracilis.²¹⁹

Ultimately, however, under Augustus or the early years of Tiberius only Gallio made the transition from the cultural to the political sphere. The great growth in Spanish representation amongst Rome's governing classes belongs to the following generations with Claudius' legislation and the ministry of Seneca the Younger.²²⁰ Yet the foundations for this were laid during the end of the Republic and Augustus' reign, when men like the Elder Seneca advanced into the socio-political heart of Rome. The consul of AD 62 Q. Iunius Marullus is illustrative. Likely a beneficiary of the Younger Seneca, his rise was merely an echo of the *amicitia* shared between the latter's father and his old teacher Marullus, their relationship enduring down from Augustus' reign through the generations, the basis of the patronage links that followed.²²¹

The Spaniards discussed here need not have forsaken their homeland completely. The Elder Seneca certainly returned to Baetica for long periods, and was notably present at Corduba when his two oldest sons were born (Sen., *Helv.*, 19.2).²²² It is not unlikely that the Younger Seneca visited his estates there.²²³ The trip between Hispania and Rome was after all not particularly testing by ancient standards - Pliny attests a journey between Ostia and Gades as seven days under sail, weather permitting (*HN*, 19.4), whilst Helvia or her messenger managed Rome to Corduba in around twenty (Sen., *Helv.*, 2.5; cf. 15.2).²²⁴ At the

²¹⁶ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:288.

²¹⁷ Weinrib, 1968:158; 187; Castillo García, 2001:126.

²¹⁸ Weinrib, 1968:160; 163; Echavarren, 2007:110 no 77; 356-7.

²¹⁹ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:622-3.

²²⁰ Weinrib, 1968:158-160; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:179-80; 190-1; 289.

²²¹ Syme, 1958:785; Weinrib, 1968:99; *PIR*²1.769.

²²² Griffin, 1972:7; Sussman, 1978:22.

²²³ Griffin, 1972:15.

²²⁴ Griffin, 1972:8; Fairweather, 1981:9.

least contacts were maintained between the few privileged individuals and families who relocated to Rome and their associates - friends, family, business partners, tenants, patrons and clients - who formed their support base. We know, for example, that the Elder Seneca kept in close contact with his Corduban friends and took an interest in Hispania based orators; men such as Clodius Turrinus and Gavius Silo, the latter the noted Spanish declaimer who appeared before Augustus during his residence at Tarraco (cf. Sen., *Controv.*, 10. *praef.* 13-16). Neither scholar ever relocated to Rome.²²⁵

Navarro Santana has suggested that Spaniards who established themselves at Rome soon broke ties with Spain, a consequence of the *Hispanienses* having few emotional ties with Iberia, and the early and thorough Romanisation of the *Hispani* elite.²²⁶ Of course a disconnection is entirely believable, and likely, for Spaniards of lower status who found themselves at Rome.²²⁷ But can the same be said of the aristocracy? Navarro Santana admits the continuing efforts of Rome based Spanish aristocrats to maintain Iberian clients, and the efforts of Spanish communities to gain the patronage of those of Iberian heritage at Rome.²²⁸ This being the case it seems unlikely, realistically, that there was a strong disconnect between elite Spaniards and Spain.

Beyond patron-client relationships, there are a myriad of different connections that suggest continued and intentionally maintained links; landholdings; family alliances; acts of euergetism; retirement from Rome to one's *patria*; the choice to be buried or to raise a funerary monument in one's ancestral home.²²⁹ This applies as much to senators, despite the legal requirement for their residence in Rome, as equestrians, though the latter could of course maintain more direct contacts; only in the most prestigious careers would an equestrian official find himself at Rome on a near permanent basis. Even then there was no reason why links could not continue.²³⁰ The maintenance of such connections far from diluting an overarching 'Roman' identity actually served to strengthen the bond between the

²²⁵ *RIP2* II. C 1188; Weinrib, 1968:84; 104; Griffin, 1972:13; Fairweather, 1981:9; Castillo García, 2001:129; Echavarren, 2007:109-10 no 76; 141-2 no 122.

²²⁶ Navarro Santana, 1999:185; 193.

²²⁷ Ricci, 1992:132.

²²⁸ Navarro Santana, 1999:177-9.

²²⁹ Sussman, 1978:28; Eck, 1980:283; 1997b:74-77; Castillo García, 1982:475; Hopkins, 1983, 120-200; Millar, 1993; Navarro Santana, 1999:178-9; Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:11; Alföldy, 2005:53-5; Des Bosc Plateaux, 2005a:167-8; 2005b:118-9; 142-3; 192. Le Roux (1982:446-8) actually considers senatorial acts of euergetism as a sign of dislocation from one's *patria*.

²³⁰ Eck, 1997d:76-77; Caballos Rufino, 1998:142-5.

provinces and Rome. Indeed, the notion of continuing links with Spain raises questions concerning the identity and self-conception of our Spanish aristocrats.

6.9 Spanish identity

The Annaei can perhaps provide an insight into matters of Hispano-Roman elite identity. As noted, the Elder Seneca took great interest in his fellow Spanish intellectuals, and Echavarren observes an abiding affection for Spain in his writings.²³¹ He certainly felt pride in his origins and acknowledged regional traits; note his admiration for Latro's rustic nature and '*Hispanae consuetudinis*' (*Controv.*, 1. *praef.* I6-I7).²³² Yet the context here is the traditional lament for contemporary Rome's decadence (*Sen.*, *Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 9). Indeed, Seneca is a Roman patriot (*Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 6; 11; 10.5.28; *Suas.*, 2.12; 7.10). His conception of history is chiefly concerned with the Civil Wars. When the bloody struggle for Spain does appear, at Numantia, the passing of Iberian freedom goes unremarked. Rather, as André asserts, it is merely assimilated to national dangers - *Roman* national dangers (*Sen.*, *Controv.*, 1.8.12). The writer resolutely identifies with Rome.²³³

Similarly, the Younger Seneca largely characterises Spain as a stage for Rome's internal strife, even those struggles between the natives and the legions (e.g. *Sen.*, *Ep.*, 94.64).²³⁴ Numantia appeared here also, but alongside Carthage as a paradigm of the inevitability of decline (*Sen.*, *Cons. Pol.*, 1.2; *Constant.*, 6.8; *Ira.*, 1.2.7 cf. *Ep.*, 66.13).²³⁵ Above all else, Seneca's history is a shared Roman one, overriding local diversities, and intrinsically Augustan in tone, in keeping with the universal tendencies of contemporary historical works.²³⁶ This apparent ambivalence towards a Spanish identity is not confined to the Annaei. Martial may have expressed pride in his Celtiberian roots (e.g. *Mart.*, 10.20; 65; 78; 96)²³⁷ but such sentiments are not repeated amongst the main body of Spanish

²³¹ Echavarren, 2007:355-6.

²³² Griffin, 1972:13; André, 2004a:6.

²³³ Note Woolf (1998:1-4) concerning Eumenius of the Aedui in the third century, whose historical conceptions of his own people is entirely identified with those of Rome. See Edwards and Woolf (2003b:16) on the identity of local elites as filtered through the central Roman perspective. See also Revell, 2009:104-7.

²³⁴ André, 2004a:9.

²³⁵ André, 2004a:9.

²³⁶ Hingley, 2005:60. For a discussion of issues around the possible 'Spanish' character of Seneca's tragedies, see Dangel, 2004.

²³⁷ Griffin, 1972:12; D'Arms, 1984:453; Chambert, 2004.

intellectuals, whatever their ethnic background.²³⁸ Columella, for instance, likely a *Hispanus*, held no attachment to Baetican agricultural practices (Colum., *Rust.*, 2.2.22; 3.2.19; 4.14.2; 8.16.9; 10.185),²³⁹ and lamented the dependency of Italy on imports, unconcerned that much of these originated in Baetica (Colum., *Rust.*, 1. *praef.* 20).²⁴⁰

Pride in provincial origins was not absent, and the ongoing and strong links between Spaniards at Rome and their homeland have been noted. Yet this need not imply a strong ‘Spanish’ identity independent of an overriding Roman one. Spain was after all a patchwork of diverse peoples, united only through Roman conquest. And such provincial pride as there was invariably arose from the belief that in the provinces, as in the Italian municipalities, traditional Roman mores remained as decadence reigned at Rome itself (e.g. Sen., *Controv.*, 1. *praef.* 7-10; 16-7; 1.2.21; *Suas.*, 2.12; Sen., *Mat.*, *fr.* 88; cf. Tac. *Ag.*, 4.2; *Ann.*, 3.55.3; 13.2.1).²⁴¹ ‘Spanishness’ then is framed and defined by ‘Romanness’. Understandably Spaniards levitated towards one another at Rome whilst seeking to maintain and develop the foundations of their status in the power structures of their native region.²⁴² But none of this would override their overarching identity as Romans, even if what constituted such an identity varied from province to province.²⁴³

The stoic spirit of the Augustan peace, with the world united under Rome and its guardian, and with culture, not ethnicity, as the defining characteristic of the civilized was seemingly as influential with the Annaei as it was with Strabo (e.g. Sen., *Controv.*, 1.1.22; 1.8.12; 2.1.5; 3.9; 4.6; 5.7; 9.2.13; Sen., *Brev. Vit.*, 4.5; *Ben.*, 5.15.6; *Ira.*, 2.34).²⁴⁴ Indeed, Caballos Rufino has argued for a Spanish influence in developing the centralization of power in the hands of the *princeps*, Spaniards not hailing from the traditional Roman aristocratic background and occupying positions guaranteed by the emperor,²⁴⁵ though this perhaps goes too far; quite apart from the Elder Seneca’s reported admiration for the liberators (Lactant.,

²³⁸ Certainly not for his contemporary Lucan, whose Spain echoed that of the Augustan poets. See Chambert, 2004.

²³⁹ Griffin, 1972:17.

²⁴⁰ Griffin, 1972:17.

²⁴¹ Griffin, 1972:13; Sussman, 1978:26-7; Syme, 1999:45; MacMullen, 2000:75-6. Seneca the Younger (*Helv.*, 16.3; 17.3) commented on his father’s old fashioned sternness and morals.

²⁴² Note Syme’s (1982-3) observation of a particular concentration of Spanish families at Tivoli in a later period. See also Caballos Rufino, 1986:19; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:7; 140.

²⁴³ See Curchin, 1986:273-4; Barratt, 1997; Woolf, 1998:esp. 238; Purcell, 2005b; Revell, 2009:esp. 150; 189-90.

²⁴⁴ André (2004a:5; 9; 13), who notes the Roman patriotism encouraged through the dense network of rhetorical schools that developed in urbanized Baetica. On Seneca’s admiration for Augustus, see Sen., *Controv.*, 2.4.12-13; 2.5.20; 4. *praef.* 5; 10. *praef.* 14; 10.5.21-22; Weinrib, 1968:114; André, 2004a:2.

²⁴⁵ Caballos Rufino, 1990:12-3.

Div. Inst., 7.15.14),²⁴⁶ this overstates Spanish influence under Augustus, when few occupied positions of authority; in the meantime Italian senators were only too enthusiastic in subordinating themselves to monarchy.

The Spaniards seemingly made little differentiation between themselves and Italians, and between *Hispani* and *Hispanienses*. The Elder Seneca's friends and acquaintances included both indigenous and Italic; he offered no distinction between the two - indeed, his two closest friends, Latro and Gallio, were seemingly *Hispani*.²⁴⁷ These individuals seemingly considered themselves Roman, and like their Republican predecessors, acted in a manner they considered to be Roman. They spoke Latin (*Str.*, 3.2.15; cf. *Sen.*, *Controv.*, 10.4.23; cf. 1. *praef.* 6; 10.5.28),²⁴⁸ sought out patronage and dispensed their own, involved themselves in euergetism, and immersed themselves in Roman society, education and practice.²⁴⁹ One is reminded of the image of the Elder Seneca as the concerned *paterfamilias*, discussing the political ambition of his two eldest sons and its absence in his youngest (*Sen.*, *Controv.*, 2. *praef.* 3-4; *Sen.*, *Ep.*, 108.22).²⁵⁰

Inevitably snobbery towards foreigners continued (cf. *Hor.*, *Sat.*, 1.6.27-44; *Tac.*, *Ann.*, 14.46); newcomers are always likely to suffer in a corporate body where one's birth traditionally commanded respect.²⁵¹ Yet, again, the declining traditional aristocracy were just as disdainful concerning Italians.²⁵² Later Juvenal's third satire scathingly targeted the foreign, albeit mainly Greek, presence in Rome.²⁵³ Yet elsewhere (*Juv.*, *Sat.*, 8.44-6; cf. *Sen.*, *Controv.*, 4.30.1; *Pliny*, *Pan.*, 69.4-6) he parodied the pompous Roman nobility and their obsession with birth.²⁵⁴ There is little evidence indicating particular derision for provincials, Syme suggesting that whilst this may be a consequence of the provincial origins of all the Silver age authors it is more likely that it simply did not matter.²⁵⁵ Tacitus (e.g. *Ann.*, 14.53.5), for example, focusses far more on *novus homo* status than on provincial origins.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁶ Weinrib, 1968:136-8.

²⁴⁷ Griffin, 1972:15.

²⁴⁸ Griffin (1972:13) cites the Hadrianic rhetorician Antonius Julianus, a *Hispanus*, defending '*Hispano ore*' Latin, his '*patria lingua*', and its early poetry (*Gell.*, *NA.*, 19.9). This perhaps cautions against citing the Elder Seneca's Italian ancestry as an explanation for his patriotism and enthusiasm for Latin.

²⁴⁹ Talbert, 1984:37; MacMullen, 2000:70.

²⁵⁰ Sussman, 1978:27.

²⁵¹ Talbert, 1984:33-4.

²⁵² Syme, 1999:24-5; 49.

²⁵³ *Juv.*, *Sat.*, 3. See Edwards and Woolf, 2003b:9; 12; Edwards, 1996:110-133; Chevallier, 1988:25. See also Noy (2000:34-5) for negative comments about foreigners/immigrants in literature.

²⁵⁴ Talbert, 1984:34.

²⁵⁵ Syme, 1999:43-4. See also Hopkins, 1965:24; Talbert, 1984:35; D'Arms, 1984:466-7.

²⁵⁶ Syme, 1999:42; 74-5; cf. 1958:624.

As ever, class and politics remained more important than ethnicity.²⁵⁷ Origins made a difference - note the aforementioned advantages of Cordubans and Gaditanians - but only in so much as this affected wealth, connections, and culture.

We have seen, of course, traditional Spanish stereotypes - bellicosity, savagery, etc... - continuing in Augustan literature, and doubtless the aspersions cast upon Egnatius and Saxa remained in general parlance. The Italian origins of the future Spanish emperors and the foreignness of unpopular rulers were later stressed in the *Historia Augusta* (SHA, *Hadr.*, 1.2; *Marc.*, 1.6; Aur. Vic., *Caes.*, 9.13), whilst Pliny the Younger reported the mocking of provincial origins by rivals for election (Pliny, *Ep.*, 3.20.6; 3.14.1; Tac., *Ann.*, 11.21).²⁵⁸ Such is politics, such are literary conventions; Pliny merely echoes Cicero, and we have noted his inconsistency on such matters. Attitudes towards provincials should not be judged by political smears or the invective of historians, many provincial themselves.²⁵⁹ Indeed, in contrast to the authors of the *Historia Augusta*, their contemporary Pacatus chose to stress the Spanish origins of Theodosius the Great and his illustrious predecessors like Trajan (Pacatus, *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).4).

Ultimately, the Spaniards entering Rome's governing classes under the early empire hailed from impressive cities organised along Roman lines. These were a cultivated equestrian elite, steeped in Rome's culture and often promoted in her service.²⁶⁰ And certainly from a legalistic point of view Roman identity was not determined by ethnicity, nation nor linguistic group, but the possession of citizenship, a status that was inherited, achieved or awarded.²⁶¹ This in itself fostered unity between the Italian and Spanish upper classes, and indeed those of the empire in general.

Indeed, Strabo is perhaps a better indication of the treatment of the Spanish aristocrat by the educated Greco-Roman elite than Livy's stereotypes.²⁶² As we have seen, he shows a clear understanding that by the Augustan age, with the impetus of the first *princeps'* universal rule, the south and east of Iberia at least were fully integrated in the wider Greco-Roman

²⁵⁷ Noy (2000:35) notes that xenophobia within imperial Greco-Roman literature was often associated with class prejudice.

²⁵⁸ Talbert, 1984:34; Noy, 2000:32; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:67-8.

²⁵⁹ D'Arms, 1984:442.

²⁶⁰ Syme, 1977; 1999:74-5.

²⁶¹ Laurence and Berry, 1998:2; Woolf, 1998:59; Hingley, 2005:56.

²⁶² Woolf, 1998:49-59.

world, its people possessive of *humanitas* akin to that of Rome itself.²⁶³ It was the recognition of the possession of this mutual quality, of this culture, nurtured by education, which bound the provincial aristocracy to that of Rome and ultimately ensured the unification of the imperial upper classes.²⁶⁴

Velleius' (2.51.3) wonder at the success of the Balbi has given rise to suggestions that a strong distinction existed between *Hispani* and *Hispanienses* under the early empire.²⁶⁵ This is questionable - Velleius comments on events 75 years previously and is understandably impressed that a foreigner rose so high at such a date. Even if distinctions were acknowledged they need not have been negative. Certainly Spanish equestrians of Italian background appear disproportionately numerous under Augustus, when there was a sharp increase in the number of *Hispanienses* entering the lower aristocratic order. Post-Augustus a definitive shift occurred and *Hispani* equestrians subsequently outnumbered *Hispanienses* in every period.²⁶⁶ Yet even if senatorial opportunities were extremely limited a number of native Spaniards prospered at Rome without hindrance, as highlighted. Ultimately little differentiated the high born and educated equestrian *Hispanus* even from the Italian-born aristocracy, let alone from a *Hispaniensis*; all formed a united imperial aristocracy.²⁶⁷

Whether through the increase in Spanish equestrian numbers under Augustus or because of the subsequent rise of Spanish senators anchored in the socio-economic developments of his Principate, the Augustan age was crucial for the integration of the Spanish aristocracy within Rome's governing classes. But we should not imagine that this constitutes radical social policy.²⁶⁸ Few progressed to careers at Rome, and those who did already possessed eminent social positions within their communities.²⁶⁹ There is a very narrow geographical focus of promotion, concentrated in administrative and commercial centres and areas of early Roman penetration. Few cities at this date yield senators or even equestrians, and those aristocrats who do advance, both native and Italian, represent something of a closed group; following Augustus' reign Baetica produced hundreds of

²⁶³ Woolf, 1998:55.

²⁶⁴ On the importance of *humanitas* for Greco-Roman thinking and its role as unifying factor across the upper classes, see Woolf (1998:16) and Hingley (2005:57-63). See also Chapter 5, n102.

²⁶⁵ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:67.

²⁶⁶ Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:77-9.

²⁶⁷ Weinrib, 1968:214; 284; Hopkins, 1983:188; Syme, 1999:26-9; 53.

²⁶⁸ See esp. Caballos Rufino, 1998.

²⁶⁹ Hopkins, 1965:24; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:90.

senators, yet just thirty *gentes* are represented, drawn from but five colonies and municipalities.²⁷⁰ And few progressed from the equestrian order to the senate.²⁷¹ Though opportunities remained limited, Citerior's aristocracy enjoyed greater upward mobility. Whilst Corduba in itself had unrivalled patronage opportunities, Baetica's senatorial governor's served annually. In contrast, Citerior's imperial governors served longer terms. Perhaps as a consequence they established stronger patronage links with the local aristocracies, and families from Citerior were ultimately much more likely to gain position through *adlectio*.²⁷²

Thus, Augustan policy made a definite break from the practices of the late Republic, with the immediate effect that Spanish political representation within Rome's governing classes declined, along with that of the provinces in general. And yet the *princeps* implemented policies in Spain itself that laid the foundation for Spanish political achievement under his successors, whilst creating the conditions in which Iberian cultural figures increasingly thrived at Rome. The cultural connections established by such figures were soon manifested in political patronage for their sons, further contributing to the post-Augustan Spanish surge. Augustus' reign then is every bit as important for the political development of Spaniards at Rome as those of Claudius, Nero or the Spanish emperors.

²⁷⁰ Hopkins, 1965:24; Castillo García, 1982:465; 470; Curchin, 1991:79-80; Des Boscs Plateaux, 2005b:esp. 37.

²⁷¹ Navarro Santana (2006b:136) highlights the greater social mobility in Asia Minor as a comparison, where the progression of equestrian families to eventual senatorial status occurred more frequently.

²⁷² Caballos Rufino, 1994:154.

Epilogue: Augustus and the Imperial cult in Spain

Though the formidable size of the topic and the post-Augustan date of its greatest developments militate against a full assessment, it seems fitting, before offering a summary of the conclusions of this thesis, to conclude with the imperial cult. Its existence unequivocally began under Augustus, in direct response to his rule and is a further visible and lasting legacy of the *princeps* in Spain. Moreover, a study of the cult encounters a coalescence of all the disparate strands found within this thesis; the response of both the native aristocracy and Augustus to the Cantabrian War and its legacy; the exultation of Augustus as the sole guarantor of victory and the celebration of his cosmocratic and quasi-divine rule; a foremost role for the urbanised centres and *conventus* capitals, founded or favoured by Augustus, as focal points for religious worship; a close affinity between cult and the Augustan monumentalisation process, with the use of imperial iconography implicitly imbued with sacrosanctity; and, of course, the role of the cult as a vehicle for provincial social advancement in the post-Augustan period.

Fully fledged provincial cults arrived only with Augustus' death and deification, beginning in AD 15 when Citerior received permission to build a temple, wherein crucially Augustus was styled '*deus*' ('god') rather than '*divus*' ('godlike') (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.78).¹ A departure from convention, henceforth the cult vastly increased in extent and importance. By AD 25 even Baetica, previously conservative in its adoption of imperial cult, was offering the living Tiberius a temple (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.37-8).² Indeed, such is the enthusiastic uptake of the cult alongside the Capitoline gods in central and eastern Citerior that dedications to native deities are almost unknown in the first century AD.³ This is the state of affairs at the end of Augustus' Principate and beyond. How did we get to this point, and are the processes involved in the spread of the imperial cult reflected in some of the other contemporary developments discussed above?

Displays of ruler worship were common in the Greek east,⁴ whilst individuals or facets of their character had been subject to religious veneration at Rome (e.g. Plut., *GG.*, 18;

¹ *NAH* (1979), figs. 1050-1; Étienne, 1958:405-9; Mellor, 1981:990-992; Fishwick, 1987:150-4; 1996; 2004:5-40; Curchin, 1991:162; Dupré Raventós, 1995:359.

² Mellor, 1981:994; Keay, 1995:320-2; esp. González Fernández, 2007. Concerning Lusitania and Citerior's provincial imperial cults in the immediate post-Augustan period, see Fishwick, 1987:154-8; 2002b:43-54.

³ Alföldy, 1993 cited by Keay, 1995:317-20, esp. 319.

⁴ On Hellenistic ruler worship and the veneration of Augustus and leading Romans in the east, see Bowersock, 1965; Price, 1984; Fishwick, 1987:55; Zanker, 1988:297; 330-1. Fears (1981b) traces the related theology of

Val. Max., 8.15.7). Yet such acts were never part of Rome's state religion,⁵ and the appearance of officially sanctioned and organised public cults was a significant and influential departure; ultimately the cult's development, partnering Augustus with the personified Roma as the embodiment of the state, naturalised and sustained the Principate's political and social systems, cementing the *princeps*' monarchical and dynastic position.⁶

Hispania, and Augustus' impact there, occupies a fundamental place within such developments. For here, at Tarraco in 26, with Augustus in residence, the first western altar of the imperial cult was dedicated.⁷ In 30/29 the Asian Greeks had received permission to worship Augustus alongside Roma, and various divine honours had been awarded by Mytilene in 27.⁸ Mytilene set up a series of inscriptions across the empire's major cities advertising its actions, including at Tarraco. It was this act that likely provided the catalyst for Tarraco's altar (cf. Oros., 6.21.19; Iust., *Epit.*, 42.5.6).⁹ Here too Augustus was likely worshipped alongside Roma¹⁰ in a cult that was municipal in character - Citerior's impressive provincial cult temple lay in the post-Augustan future, as likely did the *conventus* cults.¹¹

Tarraco's example proved decisive. Competition for imperial favour ensured that imperial cult altars sprang up across Iberia and the west.¹² To name but three further examples, Emerita's aforementioned misnamed temple of Diana apparently served an imperial cult from around 15, whilst Segobriga dedicated an altar between 5th February 2 BC

victory from Hellenistic roots through to Augustus. See also Chapter 3, n.2 concerning the eastern cults of Roma.

⁵ Hopkins, 1978:201-2; Fishwick, 1987:51-55. Note Romulus' apotheosis, whilst Caesar, of course, was voted divine honours prior to his assassination; Octavian certainly later emphasised his divinity (Fishwick, 1987:56-72).

⁶ Fishwick, 1987:127-130. Concerning the foundations of western imperial cults and Augustus' role as mediator between Rome and the gods, see Fishwick, 1987:76-90; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009. On the role of Roma in imperial policy, see also Mellor, 1981:1008-1017. Gradel (2002:102) comments that the cult in Italy rendered Augustus' dominance less threatening to the elite by placing him apart from the company of the rest of the Italian aristocracy.

⁷ See Fishwick, (1982:222-7; 1987:146; 171-179), who prefers a date c.26 yet does not discount c.16-13. See also Étienne, 1958:367-70; Zanker, 1988:302; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009:esp. 426, with further references.

⁸ Bowersock, 1965:116.

⁹ See *IG* 12.44 = *IGRom.*, 4.39; Étienne, 1958:365-7; Mellor, 1981:1002; Fishwick, 1982:222-4; 1987:146; 171-4; 1996:173; Price, 1984:557; Ramage, 1998:481; Mierse, 1999:123; 125.

¹⁰ Étienne, 1958:374; Fishwick, 1978:1206-7; 1982:227-9; 1987:146; 176-7; Mellor, 1981:989. *Contra* Ramage, 1998:487-8.

¹¹ *Conventus* cults, Étienne, 1958:178-95; Goffaux, 2011. Note that the latter comments that Citerior appears unique in the connection between its *conventus* centres and cult (*Ibid.*, 445-6).

¹² Étienne, 1958:197-250, esp. 219-222; Hopkins, 1978:208; Zanker, 1988:304-6; Ramage, 1998:484-5. See also the various papers in Nogales Basarrate and González Fernández, 2007. Note Garriguet Mata's (1997) useful comparison of the development of the cult at Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba.

and 19th August AD 14.¹³ And beyond Hispania, Narbonne raised an altar dedicated to Augustus' divine spirit in AD 11.¹⁴ Indeed, in places veneration was apparently extended to other members of the imperial family, displaying the cult's dynastic character; note the imperial princes Lucius and Gaius Caesar, for example, receiving divine honours following their respective deaths in AD 2 and 4 respectively.¹⁵ Baetican communities, as with the monumentalisation process, remained conservative, and whilst certainly acknowledging likely developments at Corduba,¹⁶ indigenous towns here only begin developing municipal cults under Tiberius.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the communities of Citerior and Lusitania enthusiastically embraced such veneration.

Such developments are an intrinsic part of the monumentalisation processes. Quite apart from cultic buildings directly associated with the imperial cult, many of the aforementioned dedications to the imperial family have cultic contexts,¹⁸ whilst we see a proliferation of monuments implicitly imbued with quasi-religious overtones. For example, the *fora* that sprang up across Iberia witnessed Augustus and his heirs aligned alongside the mythic heroes of the Republic and the Capitoline gods, blurring the lines between the human heroes of the Principate and the divine. Indeed, even before the presence of altars Iberian communities were primed by the introduction of new imperial iconography stressing the special relationship between the gods and the *princeps*, themes that conditioned subsequent urban developments.¹⁹ The widespread monumentalisation process thus nurtured the nascent municipal imperial cults, with altars and temples to Roma and Augustus vying with temples

¹³ For Emerita, see Fishwick, 1982:229; Keay, 1995:312; Étienne, 1996:151-5; Mierse, 1999:69-72; Saquete Chamizo and Álvarez Martínez, 2007; Trillmich, 2007; 2009 (1990):441-8; 465 with references. For Segobriga, see Abascal Palazón *et al*, 2006:191; Abascal Palazón *et al*, 2007.

¹⁴ *CIL* XII 4333 = *ILS* 112 = *FIRA* III p. 227 n. 73.

¹⁵ See Mar Medina and Ruiz de Arbulo (1990:151-54) and Ramage (1998:482) concerning the possible temple dedicated to the princes at Emporion. On the dynastic quality of the cults and the extension of worship to other members of the imperial family, see Étienne, 1958:394-400; González Fernández, 2007:esp. 184-6.

¹⁶ An altar and *Augusteion* have been proposed for Corduba (Ramage, 1998:486; León Alonso, 1999:46; Márquez Moreno, 1998; 2004).

¹⁷ Keay, 1995:322. *Contra* Étienne (1958:388) and Ramage (1998:486) concerning Urgavo and *CIL* II2/7, 69 = *CIL* II 2106 (p 885) = *CILA* III, 559. See also Castillo García, 1975:610-4; 624-31.

¹⁸ For instance, see González Fernández (2007) tracing the cult in Baetica through epigraphy.

¹⁹ Note Keay (1995:308) concerning the charged political and religious messages of Tarraco's forum that appeared even before its altar. Ramage (1998:481-2, with references) provides an outline of the various deities persistently linked with Augustus on Iberian coinage and munificence, and the various priestly positions held by the imperial family. See also Nogales Basarrate, 2007; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009.

to the Capitoline gods from the middle of Augustus' reign as the central focus of the new *fora* rising up across Iberia,²⁰ even at indigenous towns initially lacking privileged status.²¹

Meanwhile, contemporaneous to this proliferation of municipal cults and the monumentalisation process within these communities, in the north-west strident steps were being taken towards the implementation of the imperial cult even with the conquest barely complete. As noted, the three *Arae Sestinae* may have been raised as early as 19 by Sestius Quirinalis in honour of the emperor, likely in anticipation of the region's division into three *conventus* districts. These are but three examples of what must have been a series of altars across the region. Certainly Augustus' three new centres of Asturica, Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta were undoubtedly *foci* for the cult, as reflected in early dedications to the *princeps*, whilst the aforementioned *Turris Augusti* and monument at Aquae Flaviae perhaps served cultic purposes.²²

Crucially the cult goes to the heart of the Spanish response to Augustan rule, and thus the lasting legacy of the *princeps*' impact on the relationship between the Spanish elite and imperial power. Central is the question of responsibility for the institution of emperor worship. Certainly, the cult provided a focus of loyalty for the imperial regime, legitimising both Augustus' reign and that of his successors.²³ Through the rituals of worship provincials implicitly reproduced imperial ideology, accepting Augustus as the intermediary between the gods and the people, a manifestation of the reality of the empire.²⁴ Like the urbanisation and monumentalisation processes discussed above, provincials are not bystanders to such developments but the agents of change. The *princeps* may have blessed Tarraco's altar, yet the initiative rested with the city's elite, inspired by the actions of Mytilene's leading citizens; a local response to outside Hellenistic stimulus rather than an imposition by the imperial regime.²⁵ As long as Augustus lived such cults remained rooted at the municipal level and

²⁰ Keay, 1995:306; 309; MacMullen, 2000:60, with notes and references. Melchor Gil, (2001:167-8) highlights elite expenditure on religious buildings and priestly involvement in acts of euergetism.

²¹ E.g. Ercavica, a native town with unequivocally dynastic and cultic Augustan developments, including an *aedes augusti* and bronze friezes depicting imperial cult rituals. See Keay, 1995:317-8, with references. See also Chapter 5, n.30.

²² For the *Arae Sestinae*, the *Turris Augusti*, the monument at Aquae Flaviae and early dedications to the imperial cult in the north-west, see above, p.148 nn. 42-47.

²³ Price, 1984:58.

²⁴ Price, 1984:248, citing Bourdieu, 1977; Revell, 2009:99. Fishwick (1982:230-2) attempts to reconstruct the liturgy. Elsewhere the same author outlines the rites, regalia, festivals, games and calendars of the cults (Fishwick, 2004:223-349).

²⁵ Mierse, 1999:125. Similarly, Gradel (2002:98-9) describes the advance of Italian municipal cults to Augustus as an initiative directed from below rather than by the regime. See also Hopkins, 1978:209.

were instituted in diverse forms without imposed uniformity;²⁶ Augustus was neither asked nor seemingly dictated the form of worship or the honours awarded, and no prohibitions are known to have been placed on municipal cults.²⁷ Indeed, the emperor's divinity was the product of provincial deference to a visibly all powerful ruler rather than a response to specific imperial policy.²⁸

Certainly the early development of municipal cults must partly be explained by genuine spontaneous expressions of loyalty, an opportunity for the faithful to participate in the restoration of the state and its morals, as manifested by Augustus.²⁹ Indeed, Étienne suggested that Tarraco's altar was likely raised amidst an emotive atmosphere, the city's people devoted to Augustus as the bringer of peace and fearful of reports of illness in 26/25.³⁰ This was perhaps reinforced by the sight of ambassadors from distant India and Scythia paying homage.³¹ Meanwhile, González Fernández emphasises the very real gratitude that likely resulted from Augustus' legal promotion of communities.³² And as Price notes, a cult that celebrated the emperor's authority was deeply advantageous to those whose own eminent position was guaranteed by that authority, i.e. the elite.³³ An anecdote concerning Tarraco's altar perhaps illustrates this well. A palm tree was reported to have sprung miraculously from the altar, in due course being depicted on the city's coinage (Quint., *Inst.*, 6.33.77).³⁴ The palm tree is a symbol of victory and Apollo, both of which were implicitly connected with Augustus.³⁵ This was a legitimisation of Augustan authority and rule, the palm-bearing coinage perhaps coinciding with celebratory issues, and celebrated events, elsewhere stressing similar themes.³⁶ The elite of Tarraco thus apparently deliberately used a theme of victory in sympathy with Augustus, displaying a willingness to buy into contemporary imperial slogans and initiatives.³⁷ This was the case from the very beginnings of the altar,

²⁶ Fishwick, 1987:44; Revell, 2009:96. Concerning the worship of the emperor's virtues, see Fears, 1981a; Étienne, 1958:305-17; 319-49; 392.

²⁷ Gradel (2002:98-9; 112) concerning Italy. See also Fishwick, 1987:208; 210; Mellor, 1981:1004; Ramage, 1998:486.

²⁸ Hopkins, 1978:213.

²⁹ Mellor, 1981:1004; Zanker, 1988:330-1; Keay, 1995:307-8; Ramage, 1998:489; Fishwick, 2002b:213-4.

³⁰ Étienne, 1958:362.

³¹ Ramage, 1998:481.

³² González Fernández, 2007:esp. 177-9.

³³ Price, 1984:59.

³⁴ *AH* (1979), figs. 1048, 1074. On precedents for the palm incident, see Caes., *B Civ.*, 3.105; Val. Max., 1.6.12; Pliny, *NH.*, 17.244.

³⁵ On Augustus and Apollo, see Fishwick, 1987:80-2; 113-7; Miller, 2009.

³⁶ Lugdunum issue, *BMCRE* I, 79, 459-462; 82-84, 478-491. See Fishwick, 1982:227 n.40; 1987:111-118.

³⁷ Fishwick, 1982:226-7; 1987:175-6. Étienne (1958:376-7), preferring an early date for the palm incident, saw a possible allusion to the coming victory in the Cantabrian war.

which was after all decorated with a local rendering of the *clipeus virtutis* and civic crown awarded to Augustus by the Senate in 27.³⁸

Meanwhile elite competition again played a decisive role in the cult's rapid spread across Hispania, its temples and altars being primarily raised through elite euergetism. Freedmen in particular seized the opportunity presented for those of wealth but questionable status to gain public honour, both in raising monuments and serving as *augustales*.³⁹ The involvement of the freeborn elite was even greater, again, both in funding building work and acting as priests at the colonial or municipal and ultimately *conventus* and provincial level. And since, unlike the east, no distinction was made between citizen and non-citizen, the cult functioned as a mode of integration.⁴⁰ Such positions joined secular magisterial offices, with which they shared similar qualifications, in reinforcing and expressing social hierarchies, further sustaining and legitimizing elite status.⁴¹

As we have seen, the western imperial cults were inspired by those of the east, altars appealing to Hellenistic fashions.⁴² And yet some have suggested a role for pre-Roman Iberian traditions of leader veneration, the famed *devotio iberica*, making the native peoples deeply receptive to emperor worship. In a land where tradition saw loyalty attached to an individual rather than a state, Rome and the emperor, as with the political and religious aspects of the latter's position, were indivisible.⁴³ Certainly acts of loyalty and religious devotion to Augustus cannot be easily dismissed as mere politics. Yet a significant connection between *devotio iberica* and the nascent imperial cult is unlikely; quite apart from the exaggerated topoi and distorted moral exempla offered by Greco-Roman sources and the corrosive effect of more modern nationalistic historiography, the leader veneration as present

³⁸ See Étienne, 1958:371-2; Fishwick, 1978:1205; 1982:225-6; 1987:174-5; Keay, 1988:155.

³⁹ Zanker, 1988:316-9; Revell, 2009:165. Concerning freedmen priesthoods in Iberia, see Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro (2009:429) with references. Note that Ramage (1998:488-9 with examples) highlights the wide ranging personal involvement of all elements of provincial society.

⁴⁰ Dopico Caínzos, 1986:275; Fishwick, 1987:178; Revell, 2009:94; Mellor, 1981:998. Concerning priesthoods of the imperial cult, see Etienne, 1958:121-75; 197-218; 223-31; 238-46; 251-283; Duthoy, 1978; Tranoy, 1981:329-331; Castillo García, 1999; Fishwick, 2002b:73-140; 215-47; González Herrero, 2009; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009.

⁴¹ Mellor, 1981:998-9; Price, 1984:248; Keay, 1995:317; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009:430-1; Goffaux, 2011:447-8. Revell (2009:162-4) notes that the colonial charter from Urso (*Lex Urs.*, 26-7) empowers the priests to choose their successors, they themselves having been chosen by the founder of the colony. Thus the priestly positions were restricted to certain groups in society. Note Gordon (1990:194), who, citing Bourdieu (1977:192), outlines the 'symbolic capital' garnered from holding Roman priesthoods, in the form of 'obligation, gratitude, prestige, personal loyalty.'

⁴² Fishwick, 1978:1205.

⁴³ Etienne, 1958:75-9; Curchin, 1991:162; 1996:144; Keay, 1995:317; Revell, 2009:89-90. See also Prieto Arciniega, 1978; Greenland, 2006; Mangas Manjarréz, 2007. For instance, Scipio Africanus was a notable recipient of such leader veneration (Polyb., 10.38.3; 40.2).

within Iberian warrior societies was fundamentally different, ideologically and practically, to both the urbanised municipal imperial cults and those officially sponsored in the north-west.⁴⁴ For Rome the cult was a logical consequence of the regime's need to preserve its power. For the provincial elite the cult offered further integration into imperial power structures and the reinforcement of social status. We do not need to find a connection with native practices that were manifested in different forms and sustained by different ideology.

The municipal cults then were primarily driven by the provincials themselves. However, the scale and speed of developments under the early Principate suggests an element of subtle government encouragement; early dedications were made by the *princeps*' own lieutenants, whilst provision was made for altars in theatres raised by Agrippa.⁴⁵ And in conservative Baetica the advent of cultic buildings accords with the appearance of monumental copies of *senatus consulta* recording events and decisions with ideological repercussions for the imperial regime within *municipia* and native settlements which at this date seemingly lacked indications of cultural Romanisation. The suggestion is that these documents represent an attempt by the centre to encourage the spread of the iconography seen elsewhere in Spain already under Augustus, and the wider uptake of the imperial cult as a focus of loyalty.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Augustus certainly accepted dedications to both himself *and* Roma, and must have been aware that once official recognition was given for such a cult in one city a multitude of others was sure to follow; elite competition, both within individual communities and between cities, would do the rest – after all, quite apart from Tarraco's response to Mytilene's honouring of Augustus, Baetica's request to worship Tiberius was in reaction to similar actions in Asia (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.37).⁴⁷ This is perhaps crucial. As with monumentalisation, the municipal cults were undoubtedly useful for Augustus. But whatever his intent, it was his policies encouraging civic organisation that proved decisive, providing the framework within which the stimuli of elite competition operated. With such systems in

⁴⁴ See Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro (2009:esp. 429-30) with references. See also Greenland, 2006.

⁴⁵ Ramage, 1998:489. Revell (2009:90) proposes the promotion of the imperial elite from the centre, beginning with the deification of Caesar.

⁴⁶ See Keay (1995:322) with notes and references. Certainly when we have spoken of a lack of compulsion with regards the imperial cult the focus has been specifically on the Augustan period. In following years, and especially under the Flavians, the approach to the spread of the cult was not so *laissez faire* (Price, 1984:74; Fishwick, 1987:149; 214-5). See also Saquete Chamizo (2005), who proposes that the Tiberian governor of Lusitania L.Fulcinus Trio also encouraged imperial cultic practices in his province.

⁴⁷ Augustus was apparently aware of the ideological impact of imperial cult worship; note his restrictions imposed upon the conferring of honours, particularly those with shades of sacrosanctity, on governors by provincial communities, and his attendance at Neapolitan sacred games established in his honour in AD 14 (Cass. Dio, 56.29.2-3; Bowersock, 1965:119; Hopkins, 1978:208).

place, as Gradel remarks concerning Italian cults, any direct promotional action by Augustus was superfluous, since passivity proved more than sufficient.⁴⁸

However, the Augustan regime did unequivocally drive cult development in the north-west. There is a propagandistic element to this. We have reflected on the consequences of the Cantabrian Wars for Augustus' military image, and it seems certain that cultic monuments raised in the north-west acted as potent symbols of Augustan victory on the distant boundaries of the World.⁴⁹ Indeed, we have already noted the cultic connections of the victory monument at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (see Chapter 3), not to mention the emphatic general response of literary and visual depictions of Hispania to conceptions of victory on the empire's western boundaries. Yet the practical considerations of Roman rule were also crucial. The north-west was recalcitrant yet wealthy, and the cult was immensely useful in securing the acquiescence of the local elite to Roman control. Yet the socio-economic systems (magistracies, etc...) and urban setting that drove and sustained the municipal cults simply did not exist here.⁵⁰ Consequently direct action was taken by the regime to initiate the imperial cult in this area, forging powerful links between the emperor and the local elite.

The north-west is not unique in such regards, and if we compare developments here with the three Gauls and Germania, both of which were similarly largely non-urbanised and conquered comparably recently,⁵¹ then patterns emerge. Thus the altar of the Three Gauls instituted at Lugdunum on 1st August 12 appears in the context of a Gallic revolt (Cass. Dio, 54.32.1; Livy, *Per.*, 139; Suet., *Claud.*, 2.1).⁵² Likewise the *Ara Ubiorum* founded at Cologne in perhaps 8-7 BC or AD 5 was intended to act as a religious hub for the newly conquered German province before the AD 9 Varian disaster rendered its cult redundant (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.39.1).⁵³ If the *Arae Sestinae* date to 19 then Augustan policy in Callaecia may have informed strategies employed in these provinces. 19 witnessed bitter conflict in the north-west, and the cult clearly aided the suppression of the tribes, a lesson perhaps learnt for the

⁴⁸ Gradel, 2002:112. Note too Goffaux (2011:459-60), who remarks concerning the later *conventus* cults that wherever the initiative lay the cults emerged through negotiation within an administrative framework imposed by Rome.

⁴⁹ Tranoy, 1981:327-329; Le Roux and Étienne, 1982:77; Dopico Caínzos, 1986:281; Fernández Nieto, 2003; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009:431.

⁵⁰ Étienne, 1958:235-6; Keay, 1995:316; Lozano Gómez and Alvar Ezquerro, 2009:430-1; Goffaux, 2011:460.

⁵¹ Zanker, 1988:302. Fishwick (2002a:5) emphasises the instability of the regions where the cult was directly imposed as the driving force behind the institution.

⁵² Fishwick, 1978:1204; 1987:97-137; 2002b:9-19; Claus, 1999:396-399. On further possible imperial cults centred at altars on the Elbe, amongst the Lingones and at Lugdunum Convenarum, see Fishwick, 2002b:22-39.

⁵³ Fishwick, 1978:1208; 1987:137-9; 2002a:20-1; Claus, 1999:399.

future nullification of Gallic and German resistance. If, on the other hand, a date of 16-13 is preferred for the *Arae Sestinae* then perhaps these joined the Gallic altar's contemporary institution as part of a concerted policy of western pacification. Parallels abound; such a date coincides with Augustus' second visit to both Spain and Gaul; to provincial reform in both areas, with the tripartite division of Gallia Comata and the Iberian provinces respectively, including the north-west's transfer from Ulterior to Citerior; and both areas were recently in rebellion.⁵⁴ However, if the Bronze of Bembibre (issued 14-15th February 15 at Narbo) is genuine then the earlier date may be preferred, given Sestius is referenced.⁵⁵ His altars are the only examples named after a Roman commander, and the only case of multiple altars. This perhaps indicates that at this stage the cult was still experimental,⁵⁶ adding weight to the hypothesis that north-west Spain acted as a testing ground for later developments in Gaul and Germany. If true then Augustan policy here assumes even greater significance, both in dealing with the Cantabrian conflict's bitter legacy and in fundamentally shaping Roman action elsewhere.

Nonetheless, despite the direct involvement of the regime such cults still relied utterly upon local support. For example, Drusus may have established the Gallic altar, yet it could not have functioned as an institution without genuine religious sentiment or a belief that this could be harnessed.⁵⁷ Indeed, it is even possible that Rome based the new religious foundations on sites sacred to the indigenous peoples, combining Augustan virtues with traditional native belief systems; for instance, the cult at *Lucus Augusti* may have used a sacred grove.⁵⁸ And as with municipal cults and magistracies, the elite would welcome the annual opportunities of prestige offered by its priesthoods; ultimately, as in the south and east, the cults helped sustain and justify the indigenous elites' socio-political dominance even after the conquest.⁵⁹ In addition, as with *conventus* capital status and municipal or colonial promotion, the cult added weight to particular privileged centres, contributing to the

⁵⁴ See Fishwick, 1987:142. Salinas de Frías (2001:140) prefers a date of 13-12.

⁵⁵ Fishwick, 2002b:7-8.

⁵⁶ Fishwick, 2002b:8.

⁵⁷ Hopkins, 1978:210. We emphasise, however, as Fishwick (2002b:12) states, that there is no question that the cult was a spontaneous act inaugurated by the provincials themselves (for such an idea, see Price, 1984:74).

⁵⁸ Etienne, 1958:384; Fishwick, 1987:147-8; Ramage, 1998:486. Similarly the altar of the Three Gauls perhaps exploited a native site and festival (Fishwick, 1987:99-102).

⁵⁹ Hopkins, 1978:210; Price, 1984:74-5. See Fishwick (1987:135-7) concerning the manner in which the priesthood of the Three Gauls was restricted to the Gallic oligarchy.

construction of hierarchies of settlement, and hence the creation of collaborative aristocracies.⁶⁰

The cult then, whether in the north-west or south-east, is essentially a response to Augustan rule in Spain, showing the elites coming to terms with the presence of a single dominant figure in the aftermath of devastating conflicts. There are variations in the extent of official intervention, from acceptance of indigenous initiatives and subtle encouragement to direct imperial action. Yet the development of both the municipal cults and those of the north-west are always framed by the socio-political systems imposed in Spain by the *princeps* and his reinforcement of social stratification, in like manner to the urbanisation and monumentalisation processes. And in so much as worship is grounded in Augustan virtues and his role as sole arbiter of victory, the cult thematically echoes the literary and visual depictions of Hispania in the Augustan age.



Affixed in AD 14 upon his mausoleum at Rome (Cass. Dio, 56.33.1; Suet., *Aug.*, 101.4), the *RG* offers a retrospect of the career and achievements of Augustus. Fundamentally this is the authorised version of events, set out for posterity, and perhaps even a call for apotheosis.⁶¹ Indeed, this last point is pertinent, for all three surviving copies are, or are likely to have been, located at sites connected with the imperial cult in Galatia.⁶² The words of the *RG* after all bear testimony to Augustus' divinely inspired achievements, and hence justified the existence of his cult.

And yet despite the rapid rise of the imperial cult in Iberia no reproductions of the *RG* have been uncovered here. Indeed, given that all three of the *confirmed* copies hail from a single province, and though some advocate a role for the central government in the raising of these inscriptions,⁶³ it seems more likely responsibility lay with the individual governor or provincial council of Galatia.⁶⁴ This being the case it is perhaps unlikely that Spain ever

⁶⁰ Le Roux, 1996:369.

⁶¹ Cooley, 2009:41.

⁶² Cooley, 2009:7-18. A further copy may have been raised at Sardis if Thonemann (2012:288) is correct to report a fragment from here, again, likely from a cultic context.

⁶³ Eck, 2007:1-2; Scheid, 2007:xvii.

⁶⁴ Cooley, 2009:18-21.

witnessed the *RG* raised in a monumental capacity within its cities.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, if one were to imagine such a scene, what image of Spain would have confronted the faithful Spanish worshipper within the *RG*, what role does Augustus ascribe within the inscription to his actions in Spain? As we have reflected in Chapters 1 and 2, the answer is a resolutely minor one. To be sure the Spanish campaigns and the founding of colonies in Iberia play their part within the text, functioning as part of the extensive geography of conquest implicitly glorifying the *princeps*. Yet the *RG*, as with Augustus' actions in other provinces, barely scratches the surface. One does not find, and cannot expect to find, an adequate assessment of Augustus' impact in Spain. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate just how vital that impact was, for both the peninsula and the *princeps*.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the dawn of the Augustan age witnessed a conflict that was unique in the history of Roman Spain as a planned and fully organised campaign with the entire resources of the empire brought to bear. In the course of the conflict the tribes were subdued, completing Iberia's conquest after two centuries. And yet, contrary to the recent views of Rich, Augustus did not achieve a definitive victory in 26-25. Rather, it was the actions of Agrippa in 19 that proved decisive. Nonetheless, the portrayal of the conflict and Augustus' role in contemporary sources were emphatic in proclaiming success. His presence on campaign is clearly dictated by political and ideological considerations, serving to justify both the constitutional settlements reached with the senate up to 27, which confirmed his continuing pre-eminence, and his declared programme of pacification. Furthermore, the conflict proved decisive in establishing his monopoly of military prestige, the refusal of both the *princeps* and Agrippa to triumph for what were presented as miraculous victories acting as a pretext to deny honour to others. Henceforth all triumphal prestige would be focussed on the person of the *princeps* and his dynasty.

Indeed, whilst later events would supersede the conflict the campaigns were, and were judged to be, significant events at the time, and were exploited to influence contemporary public opinion. This much seems clear from the surviving literary sources and the conflict's presentation as the culmination of Octavian's military career within the last book of his autobiography. The military prestige that the *princeps* garnered from his 'victory' in Cantabria was employed to counter the lingering propaganda of Antonius. Hence the autobiography would have celebrated Octavian's martial ability, emphasised successes and

⁶⁵ Cooley (2009:20) notes the extreme rarity of the empire-wide publication of inscriptions.

played down failures - clear themes that would have run through the account of the Cantabrian War. In this way the conflict played an essential role in solidifying the position of Augustus during the early, uncertain years of his Principate. Ultimately his Spanish War marked the success of the emperor's transition from Octavian to Augustus, a thoroughly apt place to end the former's autobiography. In due course Augustus would progress to greater things, his position unassailable after the return of the Parthian standards. The Cantabrian War, though taking its place alongside the emperor's other victories, joined Octavian's Illyrian War in fading somewhat into the background, along with any unwanted associations with the Civil War years. But events in Spain had played a fundamental role in shaping the early Principate.

And Augustan action in Spain unequivocally influenced the literary portrayal of Iberia and its peoples, as described in Chapter 2. Two alternative views emerge, that are both contrasting and complementary, each in their own way exalting Augustus and his effect on Spain. In the first place the poets and Livy present what may perhaps be characterised as a 'popular' viewpoint. The poets provide precious few references to Hispania, but are important nonetheless. The old stereotypes remain; wealth, war, barbarity and an exotic semi-mythical periphery, now joined by clear allusions to the contemporary Cantabrian Wars. Hispania, occupying its traditional place on the semi-mythical edges of the known world, now feeds into the celebration of Augustan universal conquest, and the peace through victory with which the *princeps* had blessed Rome. Livy offers the same fecundity, remoteness and barbarity with his portrayal, yet Spain is placed at the heart of his narrative. Linked to the national myth of the Hannibalic War, and birthplace of the empire, third and second century Hispania, and the heroes who conquered it, implicitly looks forward to the Hispania of Augustus. The past is irrevocably entwined with the present, the genealogy of conquest ensuring that the eternally defeated Spanish foes of Scipio correspond with the contemporary vanquished tribes of the north-west. Such a view is overwhelmingly anachronistic, presenting Spain from the very beginning as *Hispania capta*, indeed, *Hispania Augusta*. Ultimately the presence of Augustus hangs heavy throughout Livy's account, largely unspoken but inescapable, as the precedential ecumenical conquests of Scipio reflect on the *pax Augusta* of the writer's present.

Yet alternative, more nuanced treatments were possible, and Strabo has provided an incomparable assessment of Spain under the early empire, one perhaps more reflective of the

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views of the learned Greco-Roman elite. His Hispania is constructed around a series of oppositions between a fecund, civilized south and sterile, barbarous north - and this is undoubtedly a construct, utilising the same sources as contemporary writers yet with alternative conclusions. Fundamentally, Strabo's Spain is grounded in Classical and Hellenistic tradition, in terms of the theoretical basis of his assertions, his ethnographical focus and his universalism, his rationalisation of myth and his character determiners, whether climatic or otherwise. Yet this tradition is harnessed in the service of Augustan ideology. Indeed, as with Livy and the poets, we witness a convergence with the *RG*; we find the same focus on the peripheries, a geography of conquest, with the knowledge presented and the conditions described a product of Roman, and Augustan, expansion. Augustus and Rome occupy the central roles as the primary agents of civilization in Iberia. Historically, culturally, politically and economically Rome dictates Hispania's contact with the outside world, her force of example rescuing Spaniards from barbarity and integrating them into the wider *oikoumene*.

Rather like Livy, the presence of Augustus pervades the Iberian past; in the south, sophisticated civilizations give way to one another from Tartessus through the Greeks and Phoenicians, with Heracles and Homeric heroes passing along the way, all precedents for the fated destination of contemporary Roman Baetica - prosperous, integrated, fully measured and defined, its peace guaranteed by Augustus. Meanwhile the north's history is utterly defined by Roman intervention, which culminates with the definitive conquests of Augustus. We are left in little doubt that here too, with the passing of time, the actions of the *princeps* and his successors will similarly transform the tribal landscape. Strabo's assessment of Hispania and its peoples is for the most part emphatically positive in comparison to the contemporary Livy and the poets; the south is utopia-like, its people imbued with an ancient learned civilization. Even the barbarous northerners can be redeemed. Yet the ecumenicalism of Augustan rule continues to take centre stage, with direct allusions to his campaigns, his foundation of colonies, his provincial reforms and the *pax Augusta* he has enforced. It seems clear that in his own lifetime the effect of Augustan action in Spain was already recognised.

Chapter 3 showed how the visual depiction of the Spanish provinces and its peoples were similarly affected. The personification, and objectification, of peoples within the Roman tradition stressed the empire's subjects as *devictae gentes*, whether the female

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provincia capta, the living embodiment of her conquered people, the eternally defeated bound male captive, or the piled weapons of the vanquished, the spoils of victory. In time *provincia capta* became *provincia pia*; Hispania, for instance, would fight for Rome's *libertas* in the Neronian civil war, and it is her produce, the olives and wheat, that were established as her main attribute by Hadrian. This followed a trend within Roman artistic representation of the increasingly important provinces, stressing inclusion over servility. Yet this lies in the future. Under Augustus certainly we witness the beginnings of iconography later cemented, and there is a general shift from the negative depictions of the Principate's early years to the more positive imagery emphasised by its end. Yet the chronological separation of these alternative treatments is often not clear cut, nor always mutually exclusive. However, it is clear that contemporary events both within Hispania and beyond always affected her portrayal, under the Principate as under the Republic.

Thus the imagery of *Hispania capta* dominated the Cantabrian War period and its immediate aftermath, when a bedraggled Hispania and her vanquished tribesman were aligned alongside Gallia and Dalmatia, Parthia and Egypt, monuments of Augustan conquest. Yet such images contrasted sharply with those of *Hispania pia* that emerged as Spain settled down to years of peace and prosperity as the Principate progressed. Hispania now paid homage to the justice of Augustus' rule, began to display the olive leaves that were the symbol of her prosperity and took up arms to defend the empire. In a matter of decades her portrayal travelled from an object of conquest to an ally in conquest, clearly influenced by Iberia's Augustan growth and increasing interaction with the rest of the empire. Note, however, that Rome and Augustus were ever dominant; Hispania and her people may take on the mantle of civilization and become willing participants of empire, but they remained eternally unequal within imperial iconography.

But Augustan art was often multi-layered and contradictory, and our catalogue is doubtless not complete. Thus the tranquil scenes of the *Ara Pacis* reinforced the peace and plenty brought to both Rome and the provinces by Augustan victory, Hispania's people in part referenced through the Gallic child, placed harmoniously on the processional friezes. But the altar remained a triumphal monument, testimony to the victory bitterly won over the western tribes. Thus the child is as much a statement of control, and of the impotence of Spain's people in the face of Augustan domination, as it is of harmony. Meanwhile, Hispania and her constituents would have adorned various triumphal monuments now lost, such as the

Forum Augustum and the *Porticus ad Nationes*. We are not certain of the nature of Hispania's representation within these monuments, yet the surviving personifications of the *Sebasteion*, some of which are chained, and evidence for the inclusion of Callaecia here, perhaps caution against the notion that *Hispania capta* was dispensed with entirely.

One thing that we can say for certain, despite the various inconsistencies in the Augustan age's portrayal of Spain is that the imagery of Hispania was always used towards the same purpose, even if it varied in form. That is the glorification of Augustus and the reinforcement of imperial ideology. The *pax Augusta* is inherent in each of the Augustan images discussed in Chapter 3. War is rarely shown in Roman art of the era; it is rather the consequence of war that is depicted, both for Rome and her empire. Victory brought prosperity to Rome, restored her favour with the gods, and allowed Augustus to present his triumphs over the 'other'. At the same time Hispania came to recognise the benefits of her defeat, the prosperity that resulted from this and the justice of the *princeps*' rule. Peace for Rome and her dominions was the ultimate consequence, but it was a peace dependent on the victories of the *princeps*.

Thus Augustus' campaigns in Spain impacted upon the peninsula's depiction in both the literary and visual arts, but in Chapter 4 we have seen that his administrative and economic policies were equally influential. Indeed, perhaps Augustus' greatest legacy in Spain was the spread of civic forms of governance. It is to be emphasised that various motivations lay behind such developments, at both the local and imperial level. Yet here we have hypothesised fiscal factors as a particularly significant stimulus. Augustus sought to respond to the perilous condition of state finances, ill-defined territorial boundaries and ineffective revenue collection systems. Throughout the tax immunity of citizens was maintained, the burden continuing to fall on those provincial communities without high status, which is to say in Iberia, the vast majority of them.

A determined drive to define provincial jurisdictions systematically, with the emergence of such concepts as *per ager extremitatem mensura comprehensus*, took place both in Spain and across the empire. Indeed, whilst a diversity of political organisation continued, with the maintenance of whatever systems provided the most efficient revenue collection for Rome, there is a general tendency to use urban centres, either pre-existing or new foundations, as a firm basis for financial, as well as political, administration. Smaller settlements, such as *vici* and *pagi*, coalesced around a central urban core. In this way

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hierarchies of settlement were formed, with the smaller settlements subordinate to the larger urban centres, the foremost citizens of which could be relied upon to organise the collection of the *tributum*. Such processes are observed across the empire under Augustus, from Egypt to the Balkans, Asia and Galatia to Gaul, and most pertinently, in the Spanish provinces. Such a strategy is perfectly in keeping with established practice but the actions of Augustus are set apart and are truly revolutionary in their sheer scale; no one before or after matched the urbanisation programme of the first *princeps* in Spain and beyond.

Meanwhile, we see an evolution of organisation at both the supra- and sub-provincial levels in Hispania. Thus *conventus* capitals were established, which in addition to judicial and cultic purposes were clearly intended in part to serve fiscal administration. The *Quinquagesima Hispaniarum* custom district also likely appeared under Augustus, whilst reform affected Iberia's mining districts. These apparently fell under imperial control during the early Principate, in the north-west, but also in the areas of southern Spain transferred from senatorial Baetica to imperial Citerior.

An evolution in provincial administration was followed by the introduction of new taxes, and an increasing focus of the state to capture and control information. A great drive took place to measure and delineate land and to create inventories of the resources of the provinces using the census and cadastration. Indeed, so important were Augustan actions in Spain in the latter regard that they became exempla in grammatical textbooks. Fundamentally these were tools of taxation, and thus had an ideological aspect; cadastres, censuses and taxes were used by Rome to structure Spanish society. Dictated and determined by Rome, land was taken from the natives, reorganised, and returned, with new tributary obligations - a society and landscape remade on Roman terms, designed for Roman financial exploitation and with a relationship with the land dictated by Rome. In turn, tax and its distribution within Spain's various communities accentuated inequality, with firm lines of privilege, exemption and obligation drawn to encourage the collaboration of the influential and the disempowerment of the rest. This saw Rome often harnessing native social systems, bolstering the elite and creating new ways of determining status, to further her own rule. From north-west Spain, where the Bronze of Bembibre, if real, provides a powerful witness, to the *Metropoleis* of Egypt, Augustus and his fiscal policies drove such processes forward.

Quite simply, in parts of Spain, as in areas of Gaul, Dalmatia and Galatia, it was Augustus who for the first time implemented the basic facilities for tax collection and

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assessment as the very foundation of fiscal administration; whether with the demarcation of *civitates* and city territories, the registering of their population and property, the issuing of charters governing their internal judicial and financial administration, their internal hierarchy, status, exemptions or obligations. As we have said, such things were perhaps the most important legacy of Augustus in Spain.

Urbanisation came hand in hand with the monumentalisation process, as outlined in Chapter 5. Monumentalisation witnessed unprecedented growth in Hispania under Augustus, from the most prestigious colonies to the lowlier non-privileged native towns. Indigenous tendencies would continue to assert themselves in places and notable delays in architectural development occurred in regions with only minor Italic influences, as in areas of Baetica and the north-west. Meanwhile, Roman style architecture was often employed in the centre of communities alone, with pre-existing indigenous street grids retained. Nonetheless, taken as a whole, the transformation of Iberia's urban and rural landscape was significant, and in many places wholly different from what preceded it. Certainly many of the earliest Augustan developments were overshadowed by later grandiose Julio-Claudian building programmes, and a discernible lag between the styles employed at Rome and their uptake in Iberia may be observed. Yet invariably such monuments drew on the artistic and ideological themes first established and conveyed by the Augustan regime. Indeed, Augustus and his acolytes initiated the building process in a number of places, providing impetus and models for others to follow, and the *princeps* must justly be seen, as in so many other ways, as the key figure in Iberia's monumentalisation. The Augustan age witnessed for the first time the emergence of characteristically 'Roman' artistic and architectural forms, fundamentally geared to perpetuating the continuing rule of the *princeps* and that of his dynasty. Thus we find the constant repetition of ideologically charged iconography centred on Augustan victories and the *pax* that these brought, the cosmocratic rule of the emperor and the permanence of his role at the head of the state and as an intermediary between the people and the gods.

Certainly the provincial aristocracy were at the forefront of such developments, enthusiastically immersing themselves in the Greco-Roman practices of euergetism. Their pursuit of monumentalisation provided a suitable setting for the urban lifestyle, and involved a reproduction of the ideology of urbanism. Indeed, the architecture and iconography of buildings, the privilege of access and the allocation of space within them, and the identity of the builders, allowed the reproduction of the social inequalities entrenched within society. In

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such ways did monumentalisation act as a vehicle for perpetuating both the power of the elite within provincial society and that of the emperor, in a similar fashion to civic organisation and the developing imperial cult; ultimately the primary focus of all of these things was the creation of a collaborationist aristocracy and its integration into the power structures of the empire.

Augustus is central to these processes. We must account for the simple role of fashion in the spread of homogenised, standardized imperial iconography. But to ascribe to this the primary role seems misguided. Augustus utterly dominated as the primary focus of iconography. We surely must acknowledge a subtle encouragement from the centre, even if this amounted to little but passivity on the part of an emperor so aware of his public image. To be sure direct compulsion cannot be countenanced, and the vast majority of the building work within Iberia was not the responsibility of Augustus or anybody else at Rome, though members of the imperial family did make some pointed contributions. Nor, fundamentally, was this a ‘civilizing’ programme - something utterly unnecessary in eastern Citerior and Baetica. Yet at the very least the celebration of his regime implicit in the monuments observed was a response to Augustus’ unrivalled power. And most crucially of all Augustus had no need to compel the elite to indulge in ideologically charged monumentalisation. They had to work within the framework of the civic and provincial systems created by the *princeps* in Iberia, and the power structures of the wider Principate system. They responded in the same manner as the aristocracy at Rome. Overt, direct and compulsory action on the part of the emperor was superfluous when aristocratic competition for prestige made the monumentalisation process self-perpetuating. Thus, intentionally or not, Augustus was indeed driving Spanish monumentalisation.

Monumentalisation was chiefly conceptualized around ideas about power, the structure of society and identity. Just as Spain was transformed socially, politically, and economically, responses to the Augustan Principate even wrought change upon her architecture. Ultimately this all fed into the legitimisation and perpetuation of Augustan power, both in Hispania and Rome.

In Chapter 6 we examined the implications of Augustan rule for the Spaniards themselves. The wealthy and influential Spanish elite, composed of both *Hispani* and *Hispanienses*, had first been drawn into the politics of Rome by the patronage of her leading men during the late Republic; these dual pillars of advancement, wealth and patronage,

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remained constant, both under the Republic and Principate. Economic development and crisis had furthered their cause, and a very few had even taken up station at Rome. Though the majority of these Spaniards were of Italian stock this was a consequence of superior patronage links and familiarity with Roman political systems as much as ethnicity. The Balbi seem to epitomise the rise of Spaniards, and indeed provincials in general, yet they were not typical. The vast majority of the Spanish nobility, in every era, remained in Spain.

The Augustan age inevitably witnessed a sharp decrease in Iberian political figures at Rome; the crisis had passed and the routes taken to power by the likes of the Balbi were now closed, in addition to the more limited politics of the period, with its reduced Senate and beginnings of a closed Senatorial order. Yet such regression of Spaniards within the senatorial classes at Rome was tempered by an expansion of the equestrian order as a direct matter of Augustan policy. Indeed, whilst individual and arbitrary grants of citizenship on a large scale were curtailed there was significant enfranchisement both of Italic Spaniards and natives through the creation of colonies and *municipia* in Iberia. Moreover the economic boom in Hispania in the wake of the stable environment that prevailed after the Civil War and successful completion of the Cantabrian campaigns further galvanised the Spanish elites - it is clear that many Spanish senators and equestrians of the Julio-Claudian period were heavily involved in commerce, mining and agriculture in their home provinces. Such developments laid the foundations for the empowered Iberian elite who came to the fore in the reign of Augustus' successors - as we have seen, up to 80 % of all known elite families received the citizenship under Augustus. Even accounting for the continuing narrowness of social promotion amongst Spanish families such figures show the impressive impact of Augustus' reign on the prospects of Spaniards, even if the full effects were only witnessed after his death.

Though the numbers of Spaniards relocating to Rome is comparatively small, in every period the south and east of Hispania dominated; these were the areas of the greatest and earliest Roman penetration and the most economically developed zones. Corduba and Gades in particular were overrepresented amongst the elite at Rome during the early empire, a consequence of excellent locations; vital and burgeoning trade; wealth and dynamic upper classes; and strong and early connections with Rome and its most powerful families. The provincial reforms of Augustus confirmed this dominance, particularly in the case of

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Corduba, which became the headquarters of the Roman administration in southern Spain, both a provincial and a *conventus* capital.

The works of the Annaei reveal the burgeoning Spanish cultural presence at Augustan Rome, engaged within the highest circles. But they also offer an insight into the self-conception of these upper class Spanish expatriates. The Elder Seneca and his son lived in a crucial period when the empire was reaching its definitive form in place of the chaotically organised and *ad hoc* series of commands that made up the provinces of the Republic. High born and wealthy, and most importantly, possessing a shared culture with their Italian born counterparts, they were the living reflection of Strabo's spirit of integration, devoted to Rome and her universal rule.

Finally, the Epilogue highlighted the imperial cult as a further lasting legacy of Augustus' impact in Iberia, joining monumentalisation and magisterial systems as a vehicle for prestige and social advancement. In the north-west the cult emerged as a matter of high policy, directly implanted to bind the elite to Rome in the aftermath of bitter war, and may even have informed Augustan strategy in Gaul and Germany. If this was the case then the *Arae Sestinae* assume even greater importance. Elsewhere, in urbanised Hispania, the cult was driven by the elite themselves, and remained municipal in character for the duration of Augustus' rule. As with monumentalisation and the spread of imperial iconography, with which it was intrinsically linked, once the stimulus had been provided to initial developments by outside influences, namely the actions of Mytilene, the desire for prestige, the workings of aristocratic competition and the bonds of patronage ensured that the cult became self-perpetuating. In this sense the altar at Tarraco acted as a powerful precedent, not just within Spain but across the western empire. Direct compulsion by the regime was not forthcoming here then. And yet an indirect role for the *princeps* cannot be easily discarded. The cult developed and was sustained by the workings of the civic organisation spread by Augustus' urbanisation policies. This was perhaps completely unintentional, yet immensely influential. With such systems in place further official action was superfluous. Once established, Augustus was perfectly content to allow diversity in the forms of worship and would undoubtedly have welcomed the consequences: the strengthening of the bonds between himself, his dynasty and the elite of the most important western provinces.

Thus, Augustus' impact on the Iberian provinces is incalculable, ideologically, legally, politically, socially, economically; without fear of either exaggeration or cliché the

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Augustan age truly was a watershed period in the history of Spain and its relationship with Rome.

Appendices

Table 1: Spaniards at Republican Rome

<i>Name</i>	<i>Origins/Spanish base</i>	<i>Patronage source</i>	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Career</i>
Q.Varius Severus Hybrida ¹	Italian/Sucro valley, Citerior.	The Equestrian order; Marius?	As., 22; 73; 79 C; Quint., <i>Inst.</i> , 5.12.10; Isid., <i>De Vir. Ill.</i> , 72.11; cf. Val. Max. 3.7.8; 8.6.4; 9.2.2; App., <i>B Civ.</i> , 1.37.165; Cic., <i>Brut.</i> , 305; <i>Nat. D.</i> , 3.81.	Tribune in 91. Condemned and executed 89.
L.Fabius Hispaniensis ²	Italian/Citerior?	The Aemilii Lepidii?	Sall., <i>Hist.</i> , 3.63; 83-4 M; Plut., <i>Sert.</i> , 7; 26-7; <i>BMCRR</i> II, 352-356; <i>RRC</i> 121.	Quaestor in 81, fought in Spain against Sertorius. Defected and proscribed, it is presumed he died in battle/was executed post-73 assassination of Sertorius and the defeat of his revolt.
Vibius Paciaecus? ³	Italian/Carteia, Ulterior (Baetica)	M.Licinius Crassus (Triumvir)	See above.	Possible Senator under Sulla. See above.
L.Decidius Saxa ⁴	Italian/Citerior?	Caesar; Antonius	Caes., <i>B Civ.</i> , 1.66.3; App., <i>B Civ.</i> , 4.87; <i>Syr.</i> , 51; Cass. Dio, 47.35.2 48.24.3; 25.3; Cic., <i>Phil.</i> , 13.28; Sen., <i>Suas.</i> , 7.3.	Caesarian soldier, veteran of Ilerda and Philippi. Tribune in 44. Governor of Syria in 40, perished during Parthian invasion.
Decidius Saxa ⁵	Italian/Citerior?	Antonius	(see L.Decidius Saxa)	Brother of above, quaestor in 40.

¹ Syme, 1958:785; 1999:18-9; Carney, 1959:81;1961:23 n125;1962:326 n83; Wilson, 1966:24-7; Weinrib, 1968:8-12. Sherwin-White, 1973:179 n6 (-CHECK this-he says 179n6, must refer to the first ed-check 2nd); Caballos-Rufino, 1989:236; 242-6; Des Boscs-Plateaux, 2005b:69-70; González-Roman, 1987:74.

² Weinrib, 1968:13-19; Caballos-Rufino, 1989:239; 246-9; Syme, 1999:19.

³ Caballos-Rufino, 1989:249.

⁴ Syme, 1937; 1999:23-4; Weinrib, 1968:58-9; Griffin, 1972:11; Caballos Rufino, 1989:238;239; 256-258.

⁵ Caballos Rufino, 1989:239; 258.

L.Titius Hispanus ⁶	Italian/Citerior?	Caesar	<i>B Afr.</i> , 28.2; cf <i>B Alex.</i> , 57.1; <i>Cic., Fam.</i> , 5.16.	Adlected to Senate pre-46. Sons were Caesarian military tribunes, both captured and executed by Metellus Scipio.
Mela? ⁷	?	Caesar; Antonius	<i>Cic., Phil.</i> , 13.3.	Caesarian. Later supported Antonius.
Caelius? ⁸	?	Caesar	<i>Cic., Phil.</i> , 13.3.	Caesarian Tribune.
L.Vibius Paciaecus ⁹	Italian/Carteia	Caesar	<i>B Hisp.</i> , 3.4; <i>Cic., Att.</i> , 12.2.1; <i>Fam.</i> , 6.18.2.	Son of the elder Paciaecus, lieutenant of Caesar in Iberia, possibly raised to Senate.
Aelius Marullinus ¹⁰	Italian/Italica, Ulterior (Baetica)	Caesar?	SHA, <i>Hadr.</i> , 1.1; 1.2.	Ancestor of Hadrian, perhaps adlected to Senate under Caesar/Triumvirate. Origins in Picenum.
L.Cornelius Balbus the Elder ¹¹	Phoenician/Gades, Ulterior (Baetica)	Pompeius; L.Cornelius Lentulus; Crassus; Caesar; Octavian/Augustus	Evidence for Balbus is vast. See for e.g. <i>Cic., Balb.</i> ; <i>Att.</i> , 2.3.3; 7.3.11; 7.7.6; 8.15.2; 9.7.2; 21.3.8; 14.10; 15.5; 15.8; 15.9; 16.3; 16.11; 16.12; <i>Fam.</i> , 6.12.2; 7.5; 7.7; 7.16; 8.15a; 9.17a; 9.7b; <i>Arch.</i> , 24; <i>Tac., Ann.</i> , 12.60; <i>Cass. Dio</i> , 48.32.2; <i>Vell. Pat.</i> , 2.51.2; <i>CIL</i> I ² 158.	Fought with Pompeius during Sertorian War. Balbi enfranchised as result in 72. Caesar's <i>praefactus fabrum</i> in Ulterior in 61 and during Gallic conquests. Negotiated alliance between Caesarian, Pompeius and Crassus in 60. Unsuccessfully prosecuted for usurpation of citizenship in 56, defended by Cicero. Helped administer Rome during Caesar's absence 49-45. Supported Octavian, adlected to Senate and suffect

⁶ Syme, 1937:131; 1955:71; 1999:22; Weinrib, 1968:59; Griffin, 1972:11; Caballos Rufino, 1989:238; 239; 259; González Roman, 1987:72-3; Castillo García, 1982:nos.90-92.

⁷ Weinrib (1968:60) suggests a possible Spanish birth on the basis that his name' is associated with Iberian characters.

⁸ Wiseman (1971:22) suggests a possible Spanish or Sicilian birth for Caelius.

⁹ Weinrib, 1968:25-7; 59; Wiseman, 1971:22; Caballos Rufino, 1989:238; 260-2; Hernández Fernández, 1998:165; Castillo García, 2006:90-1.

¹⁰ Weinrib, 1968:59; Griffin, 1972:11; Castillo García, 1982 ; Caballos Rufino, 1989:238-9; 250-252.

¹¹ Rubio Alija, 1949; Beltrán, 1952; Masciantonio, 1967; Weinrib, 1968; Castillo García, 1982:no.36; Caballos Rufino, 1989:252-4; López Castro, 1991; Rodríguez Neila, 1992; 2006; 2006b; Des Boscs-Plateaux, 1994.

				consul in 40. Died post-32.
L.Cornelius Balbus the Younger ¹²	Phoenician/Gades, Ulterior (Baetica)	Caesar; Octavian/Augustus	Cic., <i>Att.</i> , 8.9a.2; 8.11.5; 11.12.1; 12.38.2; 15.13.4; <i>Fam.</i> , 10.32.1-3; 5; Vell. Pat., 2.51.3; Caes., <i>B Civ.</i> , 3.19; Plin., <i>HN.</i> , 5.36-8; <i>Inscr. Ital.</i> , 13.1, 571. A.	Nephew of the above, served with Caesar during Civil War. Held the quattuovir at Gades 44-43. Quaestor in 42, Octavian's legate in Ulterior from 41-38. Possibly suffect consul in 32, certainly pro consul in Africa in 21-20. Celebrated a triumph in 19. Later a pontiff.

¹² Rubio Alija, 1949; Beltrán, 1952; Weinrib, 1968; Castillo García, 1982: no.37; Broughton, 1986: 63; Caballos Rufino, 1989: 242; 254-6; Rodríguez Neila, 1992; 2006a; 2006b; Des Boscs Plateaux, 1994; Syme, 1999.

Table 2: Provincial senators under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians

	Aug.	Tib.	37-54	Nero
Narbonne	1	6	7	11
Three Gauls	-	-	1	1
Spains	2	4	9	23
Eastern Provinces	1	-	3	5
TOTAL	4	10	20	40

Table 3: Provincial senators under the Flavians

	Vesp. & Titus	DOM.
Narbonne	7	10
Rhaetia	-	1
Sicily	-	1
Spains	33	37
Africa (Proconsular and Numidia)	2	3
Eastern provinces	15	21
TOTAL	57	73

Table 4: Provincial senators under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian

	Nerva-Traj.	Had.
Narbonne	10	5
Dalmatia	-	1
Noricum	-	1
Sicily	1	-
Spains	35	32
Africa (Proconsular and Numidia)	6	13
Eastern provinces	30	23
TOTAL	81	75

Bibliography

List of Abbreviations

<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>AEA</i>	<i>Archivo Español de Arqueología</i>
<i>AH</i>	<i>Art History</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>AW</i>	<i>Ancient World</i>
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i>
<i>BMCRR</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge ancient history</i>
<i>CAR</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana</i>
<i>CCGG</i>	<i>Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz</i>
<i>CEG</i>	<i>Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>
<i>CIAE</i>	<i>Catálogo de las Inscripciones imperiales de Augusta Emerita</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
<i>CILA</i>	<i>Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía</i>
<i>ClassAnt</i>	<i>Classical antiquity</i>
<i>ClassV</i>	<i>Classical Views</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CuPAUAM</i>	<i>Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología.</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>DAH</i>	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
<i>Ed. Cyr.</i>	<i>Edictum ad Cyrenenses</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
<i>EJ</i>	<i>Ehrenberg and Jones, Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i>

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<i>ERAE</i>	<i>Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emérita</i>
<i>Fast.Cap</i>	<i>Fasti Capitoloni</i>
<i>FHR</i>	<i>Fragmenta historicorum graecorum</i>
<i>FIRA</i>	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusianiani</i>
<i>FlorIlib</i>	<i>Florentia Iliberritana</i>
<i>GR</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HA</i>	<i>Hispania Antiqua</i>
<i>HAE</i>	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i>
<i>HCRI</i>	<i>The history and coinage of the Roman emperors 49-27 BC</i>
<i>Hep</i>	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i>
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones latinae liberae rei publicae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae (1892–1916)</i>
<i>Inscr.Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>
<i>IRPL</i>	<i>Inscriptions Romaines de la Province de Lugo</i>
<i>IRPLe</i>	<i>Inscripciones romanas de la provincial de León</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>Lex Irn.</i>	<i>Lex Irnitana</i>
<i>Lex Urs.</i>	<i>Lex Ursonensis</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MCV</i>	<i>Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez</i>
<i>MDARA</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome.Antiquité</i>
<i>MEP</i>	<i>Minima epigraphica et papyrologica</i>
<i>MHA</i>	<i>Memorias de historia antigua</i>

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<i>MM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Madrider</i>
<i>Mon. Eph</i>	<i>Monumentum Ephesenum</i>
<i>MRR</i>	<i>Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i>
<i>NAC</i>	<i>Numismatica e Antichità Classiche</i>
<i>NAH</i>	<i>Numismatica Antigua de Hispania</i>
<i>O. Ashm</i>	<i>Shelton, Greek Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>P.Fay</i>	<i>Fayum Towns and their Papyri</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia imperii romani</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>RÉL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines</i>
<i>RIB</i>	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i>
<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>RIT</i>	<i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i>
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Romna provincial coinage</i>
<i>RRC</i>	<i>Roman Republican Coinage</i>
<i>SHHA</i>	<i>Studia historica. Historia antiqua,</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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