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Civitates Hispaniae : urbanisation on the Iberian peninsula during the High Empire

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CHAPTER III

SELF-GOVERNING *CIVITATES* IN THE HIGH EMPIRE

After these thou shalt be told, beloved Hispalis, name Iberian,
by whom glides a river like the sea, to whom all Spain subjects her magistrates.
Not Cordova, not Tarragona with its strong citadel contends with you,
nor wealthy Braga, lying proudly in her bay beside the sea.

Ausonius *Ordo urbium nobilium*, 11-14¹

3.1 Introduction

After a long period of conquest and unrest, Augustus redrew the provincial borders of Hispania.² Between 27 and 16 BCE he decided to divide *Hispania Ulterior* into two provinces: *Baetica* and *Lusitania*. Another division made in the early Empire is that into juridical districts, the *conventus*. The exact date of the introduction of the *conventus* is unclear, but it is accepted that it took place in the period between Augustus and Vespasian.³ The organization of the Hispanian provinces and the *conventus* depended on the formation of an administrative structure based on cities.⁴

As has already been explained, the pre-Roman landscape was not completely urbanised. In order to create a denser network of administrative centres, new cities were founded in three waves of concessions. First came the republican *coloniae Latinae*, such as Carteia (171 BCE). In the second period, that of Caesar and the Julio-Claudians, we find *coloniae civium Romanorum* such as Emerita Augusta (16 BCE) and many *municipia*.⁵ The final concession was the juridical upgrading of all the communities of the *provinciae Hispaniae* under Vespasian by the granting of *ius Latii* (after 74 CE).

¹ “Cara mihi post has memorabere, nomen Hiberum,
Hispalis, aequoreus quam praeterlabitur amnis, submittit cui tota suos
Hispania fasces. Corduba non, non arce potens tibi Tarraco
certat quaeque sinu pelagi iactat se Bracara dives.” (Loeb translation)

² Francisco Martín (1996): 92; Fabião (2014) ‘La creación de la provincia romana de Lusitania.’ In: Álvarez Martínez and Barrero Martín (eds.), *Augusto y Emerita*, 25-39: 27.

³ Ozcáriz Gil (2008) *Los Conventus de la Hispania Citerior*: 41ss.

⁴ Fabião (2014): 27.

⁵ There is an extensive discussion on the starting date for the creation of *municipia latina*: Galsterer (1971); Humberts (1976); Knapp (1977); Marín Díaz (1988); Canto (1991); Galsterer (1995); Canto (1999); Marín Díaz (2002); Alföldy (2002); Pena (2004); Caballos Rufino (2010a); Beltrán Lloris (2011); García Fernández (2014); Espinosa Espinosa (2014); Espinosa Espinosa (2015).

The following sections will look at the definition of the official cities for the three provinces in line with the methods explained in chapter one. The chapter will treat the three provinces separately by method and will distinguish between various types of sources.

3.2 Literary sources

3.2.1 Plinius' *Historia Naturalis*

The geographical survey by Pliny begins by naming all the places along the coast based on an existing periplus.⁶ The nature of these settlements is very unclear. Although Pliny calls several of them *oppida*, we cannot be certain that these were self-governing places or even urban agglomerations. Subsequently, Pliny mentions the different *civitates* by province and names several *oppida* with privileged statuses. These lists have been used by many scholars to provide evidence for the different privileges enjoyed by the communities, even though Pliny is often not very explicit.⁷ The *Naturalis Historia* is dated after 77 CE, based on the reference to the sixth consulship of Titus in the dedication of the book. The treatment of the Iberian Peninsula is rather extensive: from book III 6-30, 76-79 and IV 110-121. Of these 274 paragraphs on geography, 39 paragraphs (over 14%) are devoted to a rather detailed description of the settlement pattern of the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, we find many references to *Citerior* throughout the whole corpus. This slight focus on Hispania, especially *Citerior* – where the detail is even greater – can be explained by the fact that Pliny held the position of *procurator* in *Citerior* possibly from 72 to 74.⁸

For every province, the *conventus* are mentioned with the total number of communities and their statuses. First, he gives the numbers of *coloniae*, *oppida civium Romanorum*, *oppida* with old Latin rights, *civitates liberae*, *civitates foederatae* and *civitates stipendiariae*. However, he does not give the complete lists of these privileged communities. In addition, the exact nature of some of these statuses is unclear. For *Baetica* and *Lusitania*, he refers to *municipium civium Romanorum*, but in *Citerior* we only find *oppida civium Romanorum*. Similarly, he confuses the reader by mentioning the total number of *oppida* (175) for *Baetica*, in contrast with the use of *populi* (45) for *Lusitania* and, even more confusing, the total of *civitates* (293) for *Citerior* with a separate number of *oppida* (179). The use of these different designations has been discussed extensively.⁹ Although it would be comforting to find a structure in

⁶ Jones (1971) *The cities of the Eastern Roman provinces*: 503.

⁷ Alföldy (1987): 93; Canto (1996); García Fernández (2000) 'Plinio y los oppida stipendiaria. A propósito de un artículo de Alicia M.ª Canto.' *Gerión* Vol. 18, 571-91.

⁸ Syme (1969) 'Pliny the Procurator.' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 73, 201-36: 215 & 25.

⁹ For a more detailed bibliography on the subject see: Canto (1996): 219; Beltrán Lloris (1999) '*Municipium C. R.*, << *oppidum C.R.* >> y << *oppidum latinum* >> en la NH de Plinio: una revisión del problema desde la perspectiva Hispana.' In: González Fernández (ed.), *Ciudades Privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano*, 247-67: 247.

the use of the words and to derive a hierarchy from this, the use of the different terms seems to be a literary variation.

Baetica is the least confusing as *colonia*, *municipium* and *oppidum* are used consistently throughout the chapter, although we must point out that Pliny counts the *coloniae* and *municipia* as *oppida* when calculating the total number of *oppida* for the province. The total number given for *Lusitania* refers to *populi*, which comprise the *coloniae*, the sole *municipium* and the *oppida veteris Latii*.¹⁰ *Citerior* has the most confusing reference:

accedunt insulae, quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXIX, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV.¹¹

This passage can be read in two ways. According to the reading by Joachim Marquardt, we find 293 contributed *civitates*.¹² These were contributed to 179 *oppida* that were self-governing. Contrary to this reading, Detlefsen proposed taking the *oppida* as part of the 293 *civitates*.¹³ In this reading, the total number of contributed *civitates* is unknown. The difference between the 179 *oppida* and the total of 293 *civitates* relates to 114 places that are a *civitas* but without an *oppidum*. Detlefsen calls these *ländliche Gemeinden*. These will be treated more extensively later.¹⁴

The interpretation by Detlefsen is in line with the remainder of Pliny's chapter on *Hispania Citerior*. In book III, Pliny specifies the number of *populi* for each *conventus*, which amount to 293 *populi* in total.¹⁵ That these *populi* should not be seen as mere tribal organisations can be observed in several cases, such as the case of the 55 *populi* of the *conventus Caesaraugustanus*, where we find the *populus civium Romanorum Bilbilitanos*, obviously one of the earlier mentioned *oppida civium Romanorum*.¹⁶ In these cases, we can deduce indirectly that Pliny sometimes used the terms *populus*, *civitas* and *oppidum* to refer to the same community. In the case of *Iuliobriga*, we find

¹⁰ Plin. *NH* IV 117.

¹¹ Plin. *NH* III 18: "To these are to be added the islands, which will be described on another occasion. The province has 293 *civitates* besides those dependent on others; 179 towns, of these, twelve are colonies, thirteen, towns with the rights of Roman citizens, eighteen with the old Latin rights, one confederate, and 135 tributary."

¹² Marquardt (1851) *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*: 83.

¹³ Detlefsen (1873) 'Die geographie der tarraconensischen provinz bei Plinius (*NH*. III, 18-30, 76-79; IV, 110-112): *Philologus* Vol. XXXII, 600-68.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 604. See section 3.5 Dispersed *civitas*.

¹⁵ *Tarraconensis* 42, *Caesaraugustanus* 55, *Carthaginensis* 65, *Cluniensis* 69, *Asturum* 22, *Lucensis* 16, *Bracara* 24: 293 *populi*, *civitates* and *oppida*.

¹⁶ Plin. *NH* III 24.

directly that Pliny varies between *Cantabris haut procul oppido Iuliobrica*¹⁷, *Cantabris VII populis Iuliobriga*¹⁸ and *civitatum novem Cantabrorum [...] portus Victoriae Iuliobricensium*.¹⁹ In addition, *Bracara Augusta* is mentioned as a *civitas* and as an *oppidum*.²⁰ In the case of the *municipium civium Romanorum Olisipo*,²¹ Pliny specifically states that it is the only one in *Lusitania*, but he referred to this previously as *oppidum*.²² These examples show that Pliny's use of the terms *populus*, *civitas*, *oppidum*, *municipium* and *colonia* does not always correspond to differences in juridical status.²³

	Baetica	Citerior	Lusitania	Total
Colonia	9	12	5	26
Municipium	10	13	1	24
Latinum	27	18	3	48
Liberum	6			6
Foederatum	3	1		4
Stipendiarium	120	135	36	291
'Civitas'		114		114
Total	175	293	45	513

Table III.1 Number of communities and the privileges

On the grounds that Pliny states *Citerior* had 293 *civitates*, *Baetica* 175 *oppida* and *Lusitania* 45 *populi*, and all these communities were self-governing, we find that the three Hispaniae had 513 self-governing communities in the middle of the first century CE. The previous view held that there were 399 cities in Hispania.²⁴ This number is found when counting the *oppida* of *Citerior* and *Baetica* and accepting the *populi* of *Lusitania* as *oppida*, the 144 *civitates* without an *oppidum* in *Citerior* are then omitted. However, we must accept that we find not only urban centres in the Plinian lists. Following the reading by Detlefsen for the province of *Citerior*, we have to allow self-governing communities without an urban centre included by Pliny in the total of *civitates*.²⁵

¹⁷ Plin. *NH* III 21.

¹⁸ Plin. *NH* III 27.

¹⁹ Plin. *NH* IV 111, he mentions the northern coast line and as such the portus of *Iuliobriga*.

²⁰ Plin. *NH* III 28: "civitates [...] ipsos Bracaros; Plin. *NH* IV 112: Bracarum oppidum Augusta."

²¹ Plin. *NH* IV 117: "municipium civium Romanorum Olisippo Felicitas Iula cognominatum."

²² Plin. *NH* IV 113: "Olisipponense ab oppido."

²³ Jones (1971): 505.

²⁴ Mangas Manjarrés (1996) *Aldea y ciudad en la antigüedad hispana*: 51; Carreras Monfort (1996); Marzano (2011); Le Roux (2014c): 179. Whereas McElderry has counted up to 522, most probably by adding the nine Balearic locations, as they are mentioned elsewhere by Pliny. See: McElderry (1918): 77.

²⁵ On the problem of the dispersed *civitas*, see section 3.5. Also: Houten (2017) 'El papel de las aglomeraciones secundarias en las civitates dispersas.' In: Panzram (ed.), *Oppidum – civitas – urbs. Städteforschung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel zwischen Rom und al-Andalus*, 569-95.

Besides the difficulty of the terminology, we find that Pliny is not as complete as he might at first sight seem. He only mentions about 50% of the communities by name. In addition, he does not specify the juridical status of all the communities he mentions. As we can see for *Iuliobriga*, although this is mentioned three times, he never mentions its juridical status. Similarly, he mentions that *Baetica* has ten *municipia civium Romanorum*, but he only mentions two of them by name in relation to their status as *municipium*. Pliny seems to choose not to mention particular communities so as not to bore or bother the reader with unimportant or difficult names. In his own words: "The jurisdiction of Lucus contains 15 peoples, unimportant and bearing outlandish names, excepting the *Celtici* and *Lemavi*."²⁶

In addition to these problems, we have to bear in mind that Pliny has recorded the communities at a specific moment in time. There could well be more self-governing communities, since promotions were not unusual. For example, an inscription has been found in the *oppidum* of *Aritium Vetus* expressing its gratitude to Emperor Caligula.²⁷ Alarcão argues that this inscription should be seen as the result of a promotion of the *oppidum* to a *civitas* capital or even *municipium* by Caligula.²⁸ Since Pliny's list is based on Augustan sources, the absence of *Aritium* in the list of *oppida stipendiaria* is not surprising.

Despite these problems, Pliny is a good starting point for this research. The communities mentioned by him as having a juridical status are accepted at least as self-governing communities. Those mentioned that do not have a juridical status will be regarded as possible self-governing communities and will have to be investigated further. Mapping the located communities mentioned by Pliny and the status Pliny ascribes them, we observe two regions with a rather high density of privileged communities. On the one hand, we find many places within *Baetica* that are only referred to as *oppidum*. The self-governing nature of these communities needs to be established via other sources. This might be the result of the different accounts Pliny gives for this region. First, he mentions the province when describing the peninsula as a whole, and already mentions some *oppida*. Later on, he mentions the different *conventus* of *Baetica*, this time with the privileges of the *oppida*. Lastly, *Baetica* is referred to again to delimit *Lusitania*.

On the other hand, we find a rather large part of *Citerior* where the juridical statuses are not mentioned. For the three eastern *conventus* Pliny is quite clear: all the communities mentioned are referred to with their privileges. However, his description of the *conventus Cluniensis* is very confusing and privileges are not mentioned at all. For the north-western part, he even fails to mention all the places, although he

²⁶ Plin. *NH* III 28: "Lucensis conventus populorum est xv, praeter Celticos et Lemavos ignobilium ac barbarae appellationis."

²⁷ CIL II 172.

²⁸ Alarcão (2004) 'Notas de arqueologia, epigrafia e toponímia - II.' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 7, Nº 2, 193-216.

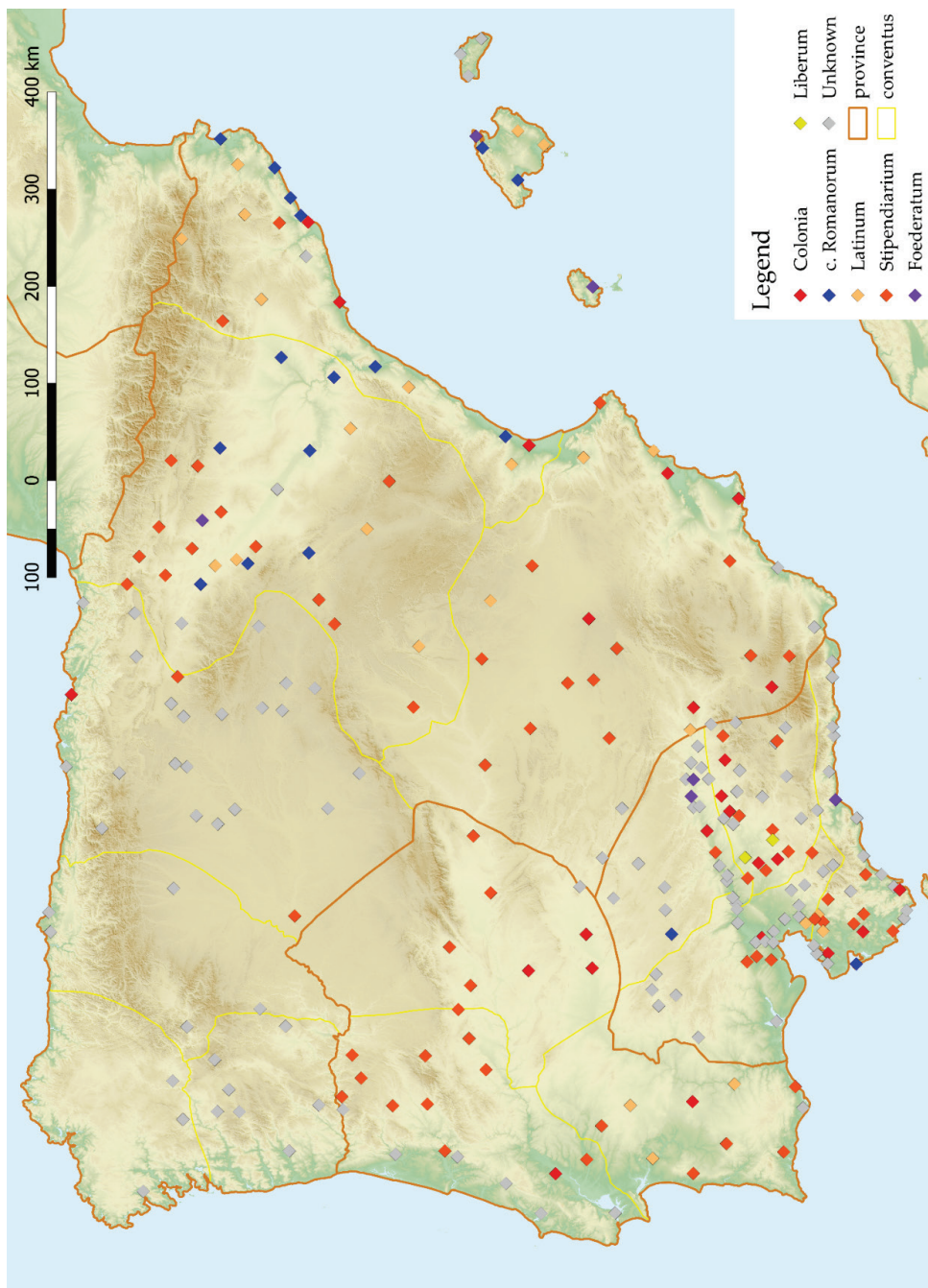


Fig. III.1 Communities referred to by Pliny

does indicate the total number of free people for the three north-western *conventus*.²⁹ Interestingly, the two regions, with and without a mention of their privileges, are roughly divided by the line of conquest at 133 BCE.

3.2.2 Ptolemaeus' *Geographica*

Our second ancient source for ancient cities is Ptolemy's *Geographica*, written in the second century CE.³⁰ In book II, Ptolemy gives the *poleis* of the provinces *Baetica*³¹, *Lusitania*³² and *Tarraconensis*³³, as he calls *Citerior*. In total, he mentions 432 *poleis* of which four are referred to as λιμήν.³⁴ Unfortunately, Ptolemy rarely mentions the juridical status of a place: as a general rule, all places are referred to as *polis*. In only two cases is the status as *colonia* mentioned³⁵, in addition he mentions two cities as *metropolis*.³⁶ The absence of the juridical statuses in Ptolemy makes it difficult to understand what he meant by *polis*.³⁷

Another problem is the corruption of the names. The translation of the Latin names to Greek has led to slight shifts in the formulation of the names.³⁸ On the one hand we find small adjustments, such as Ὀνοβα Αστουαρία for *Onoba Aestuaria*.³⁹ Another example is Οὐιρούεσκα that must be identical with *Virovesca* mentioned by Pliny.⁴⁰ We find some errors that could be a result of the translation from Latin to Greek or errors of the transcription in the manuscripts.⁴¹ Within this category we have to place Μενλαρία or Μενραλία for *Mellaria*.⁴² Many Ptolemean *poleis* cannot be linked with certainty to known places.

When looking closely at the differences per province, some interesting contrasts can be observed. Where Pliny states *Baetica* had 175 *oppida*, Ptolemy only refers to 88 *poleis*, suggesting that Ptolemy was very incomplete. Only 64 of these 88 Ptolemean *poleis* can be linked to one of the 128 Plinian *oppida* mentioned by name. When mapping the places located in order to observe possible relations between the Plinian and

²⁹ Plin *NH* III 28: "Asturum has 240,000 free inhabitants belonging to 22 *populi*; *Lucensis* 166,000 belonging to 15 *populi* and *Bracarum* has 24 *civitates* with 285,000 free people."

³⁰ A good edition of Ptolemy's *Geographica* is very hard to find. The only edition in English is the Ptolemaeus (1932) *Geographia*. This edition is a combination of the Greek and Latin manuscripts. For more information, see: Stevenson (1935) '[review] A. Diller, Geography of Claudius Ptolemy.' *Isis* Vol. 22, N° 2, 533-9. I have used the edition in Greek by Nobbe from 1843 and turned for analysis of the different entries to the book by García Alonso (2003).

³¹ Ptol. II 4.

³² Ptol. II 5.

³³ Ptol. II 6.

³⁴ Ptol. II 4-6: *Baetica* 90, *Lusitania* 55, *Tarraconensis* or *Citerior* 282.

³⁵ *Colonia*: Ptol. II 5.7 *Scallabis*; II 6.56 *Clunia*.

³⁶ *Metropolis*: Ptol. II 4.11 *Corduba*; II 4.14 *Hispalis*.

³⁷ For a more extensive discussion, see Jones (1937) *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*: 497ss.

³⁸ García Alonso (2003): 18; Jones (1937): 497.

³⁹ Ptol. II 4, 5; Plin. *NH* III 7.

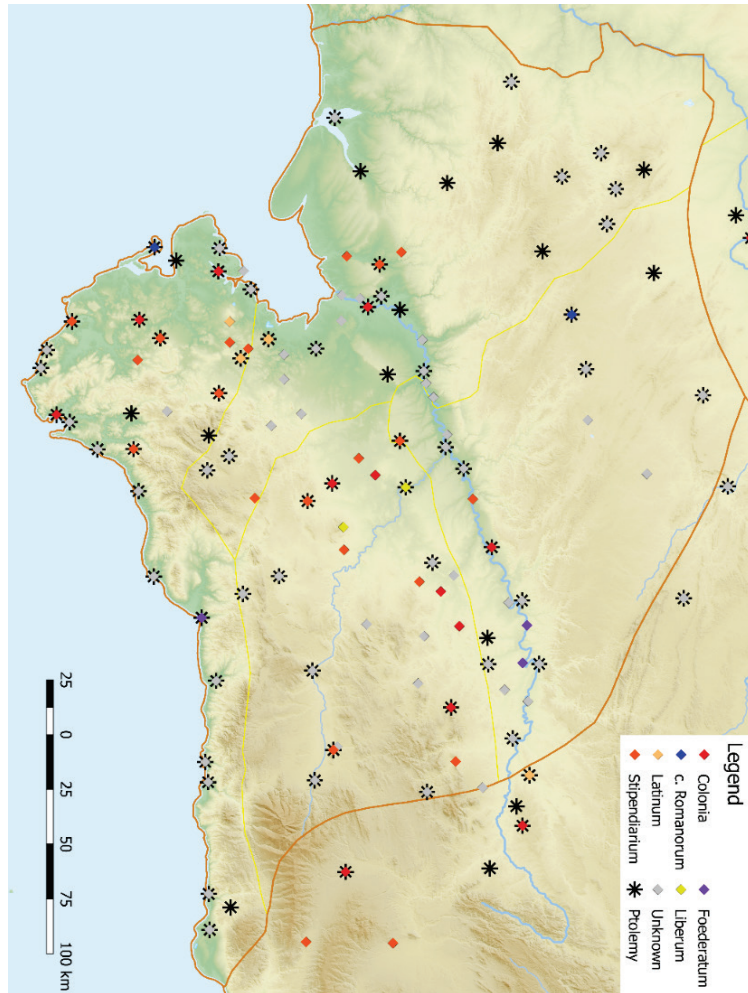
⁴⁰ Ptol. II 6, 52; Plin. *NH* III 27.

⁴¹ García Alonso (2003): 18.

⁴² See Ptol. II 4, 6; Ptol. II 6, 61. Compare to Plin. *NH* III 7.

Ptolemean accounts, no clear relation is found (see fig. III.2).⁴³ Ptolemy did not omit a *conventus* or region. The difference between the number of places mentioned between Pliny and Ptolemy remains a mystery. Of the Ptolemean places not mentioned by Pliny, nine are also found in other sources such as the itineraries, Strabo, Mela and inscriptions. The remaining 15 places are hapaxes. Many of these are coastal '*oppida*' that must have appeared in the periplus used by Pliny as his source for the coast.⁴⁴

Fig. III.2: Ptolemean and Plinian settlements in Baetica



⁴³ Tovar and Blázquez Martínez (1975) *Historia de la Hispania Romana: La Península Ibérica desde 218 a. C. hasta el siglo V*. A major drawback of the Ptolemean source is the so promising coordinate system that would allow for the location of many settlements and tribes. However, this coordinate system has many errors and leads to a rather oddly shaped Iberian Peninsula, which is impossible to orthorectify. Nonetheless, Tovar has made a recreation of the map of Ptolemy, using Ptolemy's coordinate system, with all places as they are located according to the coordinates following Ptolemy (See fig. III.3).

⁴⁴ Jones (1971): 503.

For *Lusitania*, Pliny mentions 45 *populi*, while Ptolemy lists 57 *poleis*.⁴⁵ Twenty-six Ptolemean *poleis* can be linked to one of the 37 Plinian *populi* mentioned by name, although in some cases the Ptolemean names are quite corrupted and the link is not certain. The existence of 14 additional *poleis* is supported by other sources, although many are only attested in the itineraries. The remaining 17 appear only in Ptolemy.

In the case of *Citerior*, or *Tarraconensis* as Ptolemy calls it, the differences between the numbers are relatively minor. Whereas we find according to Pliny 293 *civitates*, Ptolemy lists 282 *poleis*. However, a detailed comparison reveals some further discrepancies. Several of the Plinian names of *populi* or *civitates* occur as ethnonyms in Ptolemy with one or more places named with them. The ethnonym often refers to a *civitas*, as is the case for the *Luggoni*.⁴⁶ Passages in which Ptolemy refers to an ethnonym with *polis* are often interpreted as referring to a *civitas* and its 'civitas capital'.⁴⁷ However, in two cases we find two *poleis* linked to one ethnonym.⁴⁸ For example, *Iria Flavia* and *Lucus Augusta* belong to the *Copori*.⁴⁹ As one of the *conventus* capitals, *Lucus Augusta* is accepted as a city. *Iria Flavia* is only mentioned by the itineraries and might be a subordinated settlement, for instance the capital of a contributed *civitas*.⁵⁰

The fact that several of the Ptolemean *poleis* are hapaxes or only found in the itineraries and the fact that some *civitates* have multiple entries, indicates that not all communities can be taken as self-governing places. Another indicator of subordinate places being mentioned by Ptolemy is the inclusion of Ἰλλικιτανὸς λιμὴν, the port of the *colonia Ilici*.⁵¹

Nonetheless, it has been argued that the difference in places between Ptolemy and Pliny is the number of Flavian *municipia*.⁵² According to Abascal and Espinosa, there are at least 111 Flavian *municipia* found in Ptolemy, but this number could potentially be several hundreds.⁵³ When comparing Ptolemy to Pliny, we discover that 234 places are not mentioned in Pliny; obviously many of these could fall within the places not mentioned by name in Pliny. Indeed, we find nine *poleis* in the list by Ptolemy with *Flavi-* or *Flavium* in the name. Of these, only *Flaviobriga* is also mentioned by Pliny as a recently promoted *colonia*.⁵⁴ The absence of places with *Flavium* in the name clearly indicates that Pliny has not included the Flavian promotions in his work. In

⁴⁵ This excludes Οὐελλαδῆς as this might be a 'fantasma' based on the fact it only appears in secondary manuscripts, see García Alonso (2003): 108.

⁴⁶ See: IRPLe 310; IRPLe 311.

⁴⁷ In this case *Paelontium* would have been the capital of the *Luggoni*, although there is no other evidence supporting the existence of *Paelontium*. The *civitas* itself is attested several times and thus accepted as *civitas Luggoni*.

⁴⁸ Ptol. II 6, 23 for the Καπορών and Ptol. II 6, 27 for the Σεουρρών.

⁴⁹ Ptol. II 6, 23 Καπορών, see also Plin. NH IV 111 *Copori*.

⁵⁰ Ravenn. 321.7; It. Ant. 430.4.

⁵¹ Ptol. II 6, 14, see also Plin. NH III 19; Mela III 6.

⁵² Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 73; McElderry (1918): 77.

⁵³ Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 74.

⁵⁴ Plin. NH IV 110; Ptol. II 6, 7.

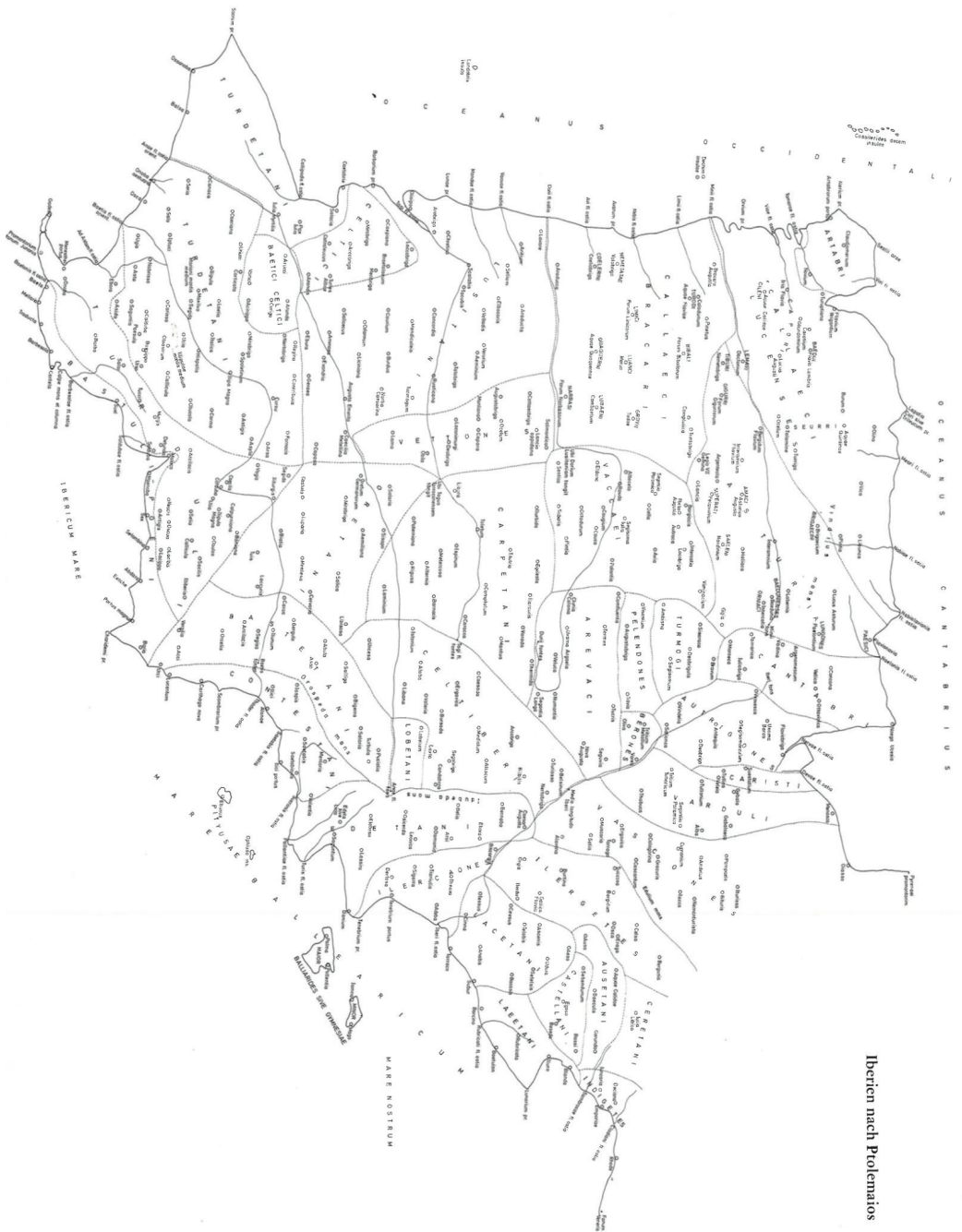


Fig. III.3: Map of Iberian Peninsula according to the Ptolemean coordinate system (Tovar (1976), 208.)

this light, the reading by Abascal and Espinosa could be plausible. However, not all settlements mentioned in Ptolemy were self-governing places since he clearly included some that can be considered subordinate to others. Nonetheless, the approach by Andreu Pintado, who regards all places mentioned by both Pliny and Ptolemy as probable self-governing communities needing further research is very useful.⁵⁵

3.2.3 Itineraries

A third type of source that can be used to trace self-governing cities on the Iberian Peninsula are the Itineraries.⁵⁶ Whilst most of the places in these itineraries are secondary places, some of them are also mentioned in Pliny and/or Ptolemy and may have been self-governing. Out of the 234 Ptolemean *poleis* not found in Pliny, 98 are mentioned by the itineraries. The hapaxes in the itineraries will not be taken into account for further analysis as they are most likely *mansiones* and *mutationes* without any urban characteristics.

For our purposes, the most important itinerary is the Antonine Itinerary, which is most probably a collection of several *tabellaria* found all over the empire and created in different periods. Hence the Antonine Itinerary is a multi-layered document combining different periods and regions.⁵⁷ It is generally impossible to differentiate between the different time layers of the itinerary, only a *terminus post quem* can be given. Based on the names present in the document, *Diocletianopolis*, *Maximianopolis* and *Constantinopolis*, the Antonine Itinerary must have been compiled somewhere in the fourth century CE.⁵⁸ This work has been copied several times, yielding the distances given to be very problematic; most distances vary over the different manuscripts.⁵⁹

In addition to the Antonine Itinerary we find the Ravenna Cosmography. This is an even later compilation of older sources, among them the Antonine Itinerary, composed in the seventh century.⁶⁰ The Ravenna gives some routes not found in the Antonine Itinerary or variations on already known routes and places.

An alternative route from *Rome* to *Gades*, partially deviating from the *Via Herculeae* or *Augusta*, is recorded in the Vicarello Goblets.⁶¹ However, their date is hotly disputed. The edited volume by Adams and Laurence gives two possible dates: Augustan and second century CE, but other specialists have suggested dates ranging

⁵⁵ Andreu Pintado (2004c): 2 & 127.

⁵⁶ For the itineraries the editions by Roldán Hervás in 1975 and 2014 will be used: Roldán Hervás (1975) *Itineraria Hispania: fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las Vías Romanas en la Península Ibérica*; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014).

⁵⁷ Salway (2001) 'Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*.' In: Adams and Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, 22-66: 58.

⁵⁸ Roldán Hervás (1975): 20.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 30.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 111.

⁶¹ CIL XI 3281-3284 Schmidt (2011) 'A *Gadibus Romam* myth and reality of an ancient route.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* Vol. 54, N° 2, 71-86.

from the Augustan period to the middle of the fourth century.⁶² Despite this discussion, the goblets are an important source as they give us an additional route from *Gades* to *Tarraco*, not mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary or the Ravenna Cosmography.

3.3 Epigraphy

The information provided by Pliny, Ptolemy and the itineraries is supplemented by epigraphy.⁶³ The urban landscape and epigraphic landscape are strongly intertwined.⁶⁴ Epigraphic clues pointing to self-governing status include the terms *colonia*, *coloni*, *municipium*, *municipes*, *civitas*, *cives* and *res publica*.⁶⁵ This rather straightforward approach is particularly useful to find the *municipia* promoted by the Flavian emperors, as many communities included their new status in dedications.

Another important clue is the evidence of magistrates. Within the urban landscape, several locations were the focus of an epigraphic habit, such as the *forum*, where local magistrates had to interact with the already rich epigraphic landscape erected by predecessors.⁶⁶ Similarly, we find inscriptions alluding to magistrates dedicating games. Based on the magistrates collected by Curchin in *The local magistrates of Roman Spain* and the later supplement, we can draw up a list of several self-governing cities.⁶⁷ The magistracies taken into account to define a settlement as self-governing are: *aedilis*; *duumvir*; *praefectus Caesaris*; *praefectus iure dicundo*; *quaestor*; *quattuorvir*; *quinquennalis*. In addition, we have to include the reference to *omnibus honoribus functus*.⁶⁸

⁶² Brodersen (2001) 'The presentation of geographical knowledge for travel and transport in the Roman world: *itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta*.' In: Adams and Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, 7-21: 14; Salway (2001): 55. Cf. Schmidt (2011): 82.

⁶³ On the Iberian Peninsula this is a vast source, which is still being disclosed and commented upon by the open source journal *Hispania Epigraphica* and the CIL II² volumes. In addition to these sources, several online epigraphic databases have been used. *Hispania Epigraphica*: www.eda-bea.es; *Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss – Shlaby*: <http://www.manfredclaus.de/>; *Epigraphic database Heidelberg*: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/>.

⁶⁴ Ruiz Gutiérrez (2013) 'El paisaje epigráfico de la ciudad romana: concepto y perspectivas de estudio.' In: Iglesias Gil and Ruiz Gutiérrez (eds.), *Paisajes epigráficos del Occidente romano: monumentos, contextos, topografías*, 13-27: 20.

⁶⁵ Alföldy (1987): 27ss; Dardaine (1993) 'Une image des cités de Bétique aux II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C.: l'emploi du terme *res publica* dans les inscriptions de la province.' In: Arce and Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania*, 47-58: 55.

⁶⁶ Ruiz Gutiérrez (2013): 22; Abascal Palazón (2009) 'Programas epigráficos en los foros Romanos de Hispania.' In: Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae: Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, 89-104: 96; Keppie (1991) *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*: 54.

⁶⁷ See in the appendices the list of cities as found in Curchin's work: (1990); (2015).

⁶⁸ Curchin (1990); Keppie (1991): 52; Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 111; Mackie (1983): 64.

3.3.1 Tribus

References to membership of one of the 35 Roman *tribus* may also point to their self-governing status. The inscription to a *tribus* is certainly an indicator for Roman citizenship.⁶⁹ With regard to communities, the *tribus* is seen as an indicator for the presence of a status, be it *colonia* or *municipium*.⁷⁰ Obviously, finding an inscription with a *tribus* is not indicative for a whole community; it could well be an *incola* with Roman citizenship. Nonetheless, several inscriptions from one place with the same *tribus* are an indication that this place may have had its inhabitants inscribed in this *tribus*.

Tribus	Associated Emperor
Sergia	Caesar
Galeria	Augustus, Tiberius or Claudius
Anienses	Augustus
Papiria	Augustus
Pupinia	Augustus
Quirina	Flavian

Table III.2 *Tribus* attested in Hispania

In addition, a specific *tribus* may indicate the period in which the community was promoted.⁷¹ In some rare cases, we see people in the same town enlisted in two tribes, for example the combination of *Sergia* and *Galeria* in *Corduba*, *Hispalis*, *Scallabis* and *Carthago Nova*. In this case, as González argues quite convincingly, we could have a double enfranchisement, one under Caesar and a second under Augustus.⁷² The *tribus Quirina* is specifically interesting as it is connected to the Flavian emperors.⁷³ Since the *tribus* is not only connected to the status of the citizens of a community, but also to the time of enfranchisement, it is a very useful tool to find possible *municipia Latinum* promoted after the grant of *ius Latii* by Vespasian or his sons.

3.3.2 Termini

Yet another way of tracing self-governing communities is to look at *termini* or *termini augustales*, demarcating the boundary.⁷⁴ *Termini* usually bear the name of the emperor, thus facilitating the dating process. One problem we might have to take into

⁶⁹ Andreu Pintado (2004b): 343; McElderry (1918): 68.

⁷⁰ Andreu Pintado (2004c); Andreu Pintado (2004b); Le Roux (2014d): 102; Galsterer-Kröll (1972) 'Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum.' *Epigraphische Studien* Vol. 9, 44-145; Curchin (2015): 20.

⁷¹ Curchin (2015): 20.

⁷² González (1989b): 137; Curchin (2015): 20.

⁷³ McElderry (1918): 68; Mangas Manjarrés (1989): 157; González (1989b): 137; Curchin (2015): 20. For a more extensive study of the role of the *tribus Quirina* in relation to Flavian *municipia*, see: Andreu Pintado (2004b); Andreu Pintado (2004c).

⁷⁴ Gómez-Pantoja (2011): 296; Le Roux (2014a): 133; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 216.

account is the possibility that contributed *civitates* might have had their own territories. Though the situation is unclear, there is no evidence to suggest that the territories of *civitates contributae* were demarcated by *termini augustales*.

In total, 51 *termini* have been found within the provinces of the Hispaniae. Slightly above half are between *prata* and *civitates*; the remainder indicate the border between two *civitates*, *municipia* or *coloniae*.⁷⁵ For the *prata* of the *Cohors IIII*, ten *termini* have been found, of which five refer to *Baedunia*. In addition, the boundary between the *prata legionis* of the *IIII Macedonica* and *Iuliobriga* has 18 inscriptions.

When looking at the distribution of the *termini* over the provinces, we notice that the majority – a total of 33 *termini* – are found in *Hispania Citerior*, in. Interestingly we find only four inscriptions in *Baetica*. Cortés Barcena ascribes the surprisingly low number of *termini* in the region to the early conquest, which meant that boundaries were established at an early date. This would have diminished the need for *termini*.⁷⁶ Indeed, when looking at the map of the dispersion of the *termini* we can observe a concentration in the region that has been conquered in later periods.

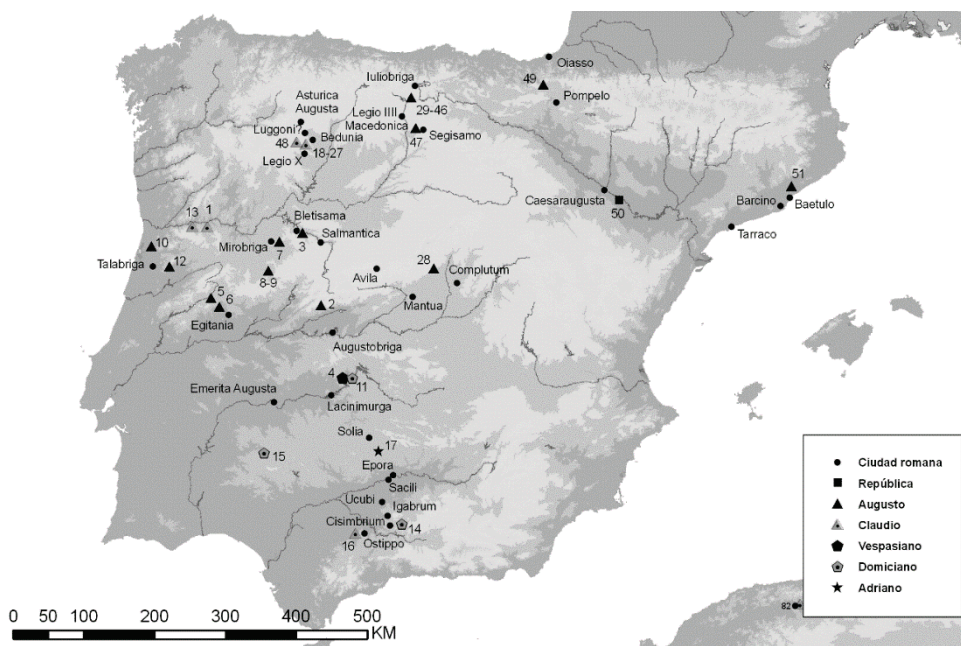


Fig. III.4 *Termini on the Iberian Peninsula* (Cortés (2013) Map. 1 p. 217, courtesy of the author).

⁷⁵ Cortés Bárcena (2013): 215.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

3.3.3 Numismatics

Since subordinate communities rarely struck coins, numismatic evidence can also be used to trace self-governing communities. For our purposes, only those coins minted under and after Augustus can be used as evidence. Clearly, coins bore his head as a 'powerful instrument of propaganda'.⁷⁷ Imperial coins were being spread all over the empire, showing the power of the emperor into the most distant corners. At the same time, the local mints created a relation between the minting city and Augustus, as both are often presented on the coins. The imperial permission to mint coins was only granted to *municipia* and *coloniae*.⁷⁸ Based on numismatics, we can identify 35 minting cities. For most of these it is only a confirmation of their known status.⁷⁹ Interestingly, most of these cities obtained privileged status at an early date.

Name	Privilege	Name	Privilege
Clunia	C	Turiaso	MCR
Carthago Nova	C	Ebusus	OF
Tarraco	C	Castulo	OLat
Hispalis	C	Ebora	OLat
Emerita Augusta	C	Ercavica	OLat
Corduba	C	Myrtilis	OLat
Pax Iulia	C	Cascantum	OLat
Acci	C	Osicerda	OLat
Gades	C/McR?	Segobriga	OS
Ilici	CInm	Laelia	OS
Caesaraugusta	CInm	Italica	
Celsa	MCR	Carteia	
Saguntum	MCR	Emporiae	
Dertosa	MCR	Osset	
Ilerda	MCR	Segovia Carpetania	
Bilbilis	MCR	Iulia Traducta	
Calagurris Iulia	MCR	Abdera	
Osca	MCR	Serippo	

Table III.3 Cities with coinage and their privilege according to ancient sources and epigraphy

⁷⁷ Ramage (1998): 437 referring to Grant (1946) 292.

⁷⁸ Burnett *et al.* (1992b): 2.

⁷⁹ Well attested places: Acci; Caesaraugusta; Celsa; Corduba; Pax Iulia and Saguntum.

It is not surprising that 26 of the 36 places with coinage appear in Pliny as privileged communities. A similar finding can be expected for the remaining ten cities. In the case of *Osset*, *Italica* and *Carteia*, we have direct evidence for their municipal status.⁸⁰ For *Emporiae* and *Segobriga* the numismatic evidence proves their self-governing nature and, moreover, adds to the credibility that these were privileged places, possibly promoted to *municipium*, under Augustus.⁸¹ More importantly, this inquiry proves that the settlements of *Abdera*, *Serippo* and *Iulia Traducta* mentioned in Pliny and Ptolemy without reference to a juridical status were indeed self-governing cities.

3.4 Civitates Hispaniae

The self-governing communities of the different provinces will be surveyed in the following sections, and some difficult cases will be brought forward. In order to illustrate the process and differences per province, several small case studies will highlight the challenges posed by the evidence for the self-governing nature of a community. Appendix III gives a complete list of the epigraphic evidence for the different cities.

3.4.1 Provincia Hispania Baetica

Baetica a flumine eam mediam secante cognominata cunctas provinciarum divite cultu et quodam fertili ac peculiari nitore praecedit. iuridici conventus ei IV, Gaditanus Cordubensis Astigitanus Hispalensis. Oppida omnia numero CLXXV, in iis coloniae IX, municipia c. R. X, Latio antiquitus donata XXVII, libertate VI, foedere III, stipendiaria CXX.⁸²

In line with Pliny, we start with *Baetica*; here we should find up to 175 possible self-governing places. Appendix III indicates the places and their status as mentioned by Pliny. In the case of *Baetica*, we immediately encounter a problem: there should be nine *coloniae*, however the list by Pliny mentions ten in total. If we look at the *coloniae* mentioned, we see that *Corduba* is the first of these.⁸³ Secondly, *Hispalis* is mentioned as a *colonia*.⁸⁴ Subsequently, the two colonies of *Hasta Regia* and *Asido Caesarina* are mentioned.⁸⁵ These are followed in the next passage by *Astigi* and the *coloniae* within

⁸⁰ See Appendix III.

⁸¹ Abascal Palazón *et al.* (2006) 'Segobriga: *Caput Celtiberiae* and Latin *municipium*.' In: Abad Casal, Keay and Ramallo Asensio (eds.), *Early Roman Towns in "Hispania Tarraconensis"*, 184-96; Almagro-Gorbea (1957) *Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones*.

⁸² Plin. *NH* III 7: "Baetica, named after the river Baetis which divides it in two, stands first among the whole of the provinces in the richness of its cultivation and in a peculiar kind of fertility and the brilliance of its vegetation. It comprises four jurisdictions, those of Cadiz, Cordova, Ecija and Seville. Its towns number in all 175, of which 9 are colonies, 10 municipalities of Roman citizens, 27 towns granted early Latin rights, 6 free towns, 3 bound by treaty to Rome and 120 paying tribute."

⁸³ Plin. *NH* III 10: "[...] Corduba colonia Patricia cognomine."

⁸⁴ Plin. *NH* III 11: "[...] et laeva Hispal colonia cognomine Romulensis."

⁸⁵ Plin. *NH* III 11: "[...] coloniae Hasta quae Regia dicitur et in mediterraneo Asido quae Caesarina."

its *conventus*: *Tucci*; *Iptuci*; *Ucubi*; *Urso* and *Munda*.⁸⁶ It is in this passage that we find the tenth *colonia*, *Munda*, which should not be classified as a *colonia*. Pliny already states that *Munda* has been abandoned – *inter quae fuit Munda*⁸⁷ – which therefore means that *Munda* cannot be regarded as one of the 175 cities of *Baetica* referred to by Pliny. Two further *colonia* can be added to the list compiled by Pliny: *Italica* and possibly *Onuba Aestuaria*.

The appearance of *Italica* as a *colonia* in epigraphy is easily explained. According to Appian, Scipio founded the settlement in 206 BCE to keep the peace and tend his wounded and sick; the settlement was called *Italica* after the Italic origin of his troops.⁸⁸ This settlement was not seen as an official *colonia*: Strabo is quite clear in referring to *Corduba* as the first *colonia* in the Turdetanian region.⁸⁹ The first evidence of a status for *Italica* is that of *municipium*, most probably *civium Romanorum*.⁹⁰ The exact date of the promotion of *Italica* to a *municipium civium Romanorum* is unclear, but was certainly part of the Caesarean-Augustan promotions.⁹¹ It was not until the reign of Hadrian that the citizens of *Italica* requested colonial rights.⁹²

Another possible *colonia* is *Onuba Aestuaria*. This place is not mentioned as a *colonia* by Pliny, but its epigraphy seems to support its colonial status.⁹³ This interpretation is, however, rejected by a number of scholars.⁹⁴ For example, Fear reads *Colonobensis* as one word and connects it to the place *Colobana* mentioned in Pliny.⁹⁵ Despite the multitude of interpretations, some scholars seem to agree on its colonial

⁸⁶ Plin. *NH* III 12: “[...] Astigitanam coloniam adluit cognomine Augustam Firmam [...]. huius conventus sunt reliquae coloniae immunes Tucci quae cognominatur Augusta Gemella, Iptuci quae Virtus Iulia, Ucubi quae Claritas Iulia, Urso quae Genitiva Urbanorum; inter quae fuit Munda cum Pompeio filio rapta.”

⁸⁷ We have to keep this in mind as this city seems to appear often in modern-day lists of Roman cities and is thus mentioned among the 175 cities of *Baetica*.

Carreras Monfort (1996); Carreras Monfort (2014); Stylow (1998) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum II.2: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*; Keay (1998b).

In addition, the location of the city is also uncertain, although multiple sources give sizes. Carreras (2014) gives Montillo, however, since the size given is the same as in Keay, and Keay based his location of *Munda* on Stylow (1997) the place of 43 ha should be at Cerro de Las Camorras (Keay/Stylow) rather than Montillo.

⁸⁸ App. *Iber.* 38.

⁸⁹ Str. III 2.1.

⁹⁰ VM 126 & 127:7; CILA II, 382.

⁹¹ Brunt argues contra Vittinghof that the promotion of *Italica* was a Caesarian promotion Brunt (1971): 602. He further alludes to the possibility that the reference in Caes. *B.Alex* 52,4 ([...] *minicipem suum, adiuvant: erant enim omnes Italicenses*) might be referring to a municipal status as early as 48 BCE. See also: Vittinghoff (1952): 72; Richardson (1996): 222; Le Roux (ed.) (2014f) *Espagne romaines: L'empire dans ses provinces* 627; Curchin (1990): 14.

There is also a possibility that the text of the *B.Alex.* has been written after the promotion of *Italica* and as such the people form *Italica* have been referred to as *municipes*.

⁹² Gellius *NA* XVI 13,4.

⁹³ Pecio Planier 4: IMP(eratoris) ANTONI(ni) / PRIMULI (et) SILONIS / CCXCVII / PRO(curator) COL(oniae) ONO/BENSIS

⁹⁴ Campos Carrasco *et al.* (2010) 'Acerca de la condición jurídica de Onoba Aestuaria.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 41, N° 1, 97-117: 103.

⁹⁵ Fear (1996): 121.

status, based not only on this inscription, but also on its history as a major port for the region and as an important fishing and mining centre in Roman times.⁹⁶

The city of *Asido* is an interesting case; according to Pliny this is a *colonia*, but this status is missing in the epigraphic evidence, which supports the status of *municipium*. Pliny is quite clear on the colonial status: "[...] *coloniae Hasta quae Regia dicitur et in mediterraneo Asido quae Caesarina*."⁹⁷ We can accept *Asido* as a *colonia*, although there are some problems with this classification.⁹⁸ An article by Padilla on the status of *Asido* addresses the three arguments by Hübner against colonial status: the original reading in Pliny might have been *colonia* instead of *coloniae*; there is another *colonia Caesarina* that could easily have been mixed up; and lastly, the epigraphic evidence clearly shows that *Asido* was a *municipium*.⁹⁹ By any view, *Asido* was certainly self-governing, even in pre-Roman times, as its coinage with Punic legend shows.¹⁰⁰ As noted above, there is indeed epigraphic evidence for its municipal status found in CIL II 1315: *municipes · Caesarini*.¹⁰¹ In addition, the identification of *Asido* with the *Caesarini* in this inscription is certain based on an inscription of Augustan date, which refers to the *Caesarini Asidonens(es)*.¹⁰² Hence we must accept that *Asido* was initially a *municipium* possibly promoted to this status between the Civil War and the Augustan period, possibly by Caesar or Octavianus based on the cognomen *Caesarina*.¹⁰³ *Asido* may well have been granted colonial status between the Augustan period and Pliny's publication. Possible epigraphic evidence for its colonial status can be found in CIL II 5407, which contains the abbreviation DD/CCAA. This has been transliterated as C(olonia) C(aesarina) A(ugusta) A(sido), although the reading could have been completely different and it is the only attestation of this CCAA in *Asido*.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, the colonial status of *Asido* seems widely accepted.¹⁰⁵ Lagóstena argues for a promotion under Augustus with a deduction of veterans from the Cantabrian Wars.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁶ Campos Carrasco (2012) 'Arqueología urbana en Huelva: La ciudad romana (Onoba Aestuaria)'. In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (eds.), *Hispaniae Urbes: Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, 527-59; Campos Carrasco *et al.* (2010).

⁹⁷ Plin. *NH* III 11.

⁹⁸ Lagóstena Barrios (2011) 'Asido Caesarina: La Antigüedad Romana de Medina Sidonia.' In: Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas (ed.), *Historia de Medina Sidonia desde los orígenes a la época Medieval*, 115-91: 161.

⁹⁹ Hübner (1869) *Inscriptiones Hispaniae latinae/consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae*: 176; Padilla Monge (1985) 'Asido Caesarina: consideraciones acerca de su "status"'. *Habis* Vol. 16, 307-27: 317.

¹⁰⁰ Villaronga (2004): 159 & 325; Padilla Monge (1985): 307.

¹⁰¹ Padilla Monge dates this inscription to Augustus or earlier as it refers to *Asido* as a *municipium*. Padilla Monge (1985): 312.

¹⁰² CIL A 1220; Lagóstena Barrios (2011): 162.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* Although we must take the argument by Galsterer-Kröll showing the problems of deducting and dating a municipal status based on cognomina into account: Galsterer-Kröll (1972): 57ff.

¹⁰⁴ Padilla Monge (1985): 307.

¹⁰⁵ Salmon (1969): 164; Thouvenot (1940) *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique*: 190; Bravo Castañeda (2007): 161.

¹⁰⁶ Lagóstena Barrios (2011): 162.

The other category of interest is that of the *municipia civium Romanorum*. In contrast to the list of *coloniae*, Pliny mentions only *Regina* as one of the ten *municipia civium Romanorum*. In another passage he refers to *Gades* as an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.¹⁰⁷ Should this be taken to mean that *Gades* was a *municipium civium Romanorum*? That *Gades* in Julio-Claudian times was a *municipium* is certain, due to an inscription erected by the *duumvir* M. Antonius Syriacus mentioning not only his status as *duumvir* but also *mun(icipii) Aug(usti) Gad(itani)*.¹⁰⁸ In addition, there is the numismatic evidence with the municipal status as the legend of its coins, not only proving that *Gades* was a *municipium*, but also supporting the claim that Pliny uses *oppidum civium Romanorum* as a way to refer to the *municipium civium Romanorum*.¹⁰⁹

A logical addition to the *municipia civium Romanorum* is *Italica*. As has already been noted, this city had municipal status at the time Pliny wrote the *Naturalis Historia*.¹¹⁰ Attempts to identify the remaining seven *municipia* remain inconclusive.¹¹¹ We have to keep in mind that the *municipia* mentioned in Pliny are the pre-Flavian *municipia civium Romanorum*.

As the aim of this chapter is to locate self-governing communities, rather than to differentiate between the *municipia civium Romanorum* and *Latinum*, we will continue without defining the difference between the *municipia*. The epigraphic evidence for the status of *municipium* ranges from the fragments of *Lex Flavia Municipalis* to the appearance of the term *M(unicipium)* on an inscription. We can add *Irni*¹¹², *Malaca*¹¹³, *Salpensa*¹¹⁴, *Ostippo*¹¹⁵ and *Villona*¹¹⁶ as *Municipia Flavia* based on fragments of the *Lex Municipalis Flavia* mentioning the name of the city. In addition to these undisputed *Municipia Flavia*, we can add 16 more for *Baetica* based on inscriptions mentioning the name in combination with *Municipium Flavium*, albeit sometimes in abbreviation M.F.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, we see that Pliny mentions 13 of the *municipia*. Three of these are referred to as having an alternative status: *Ostippo* as one

¹⁰⁷ Plin. *NH* IV 119.

¹⁰⁸ CIL II 1313 (p XLII, 845) = IRPCadiz 2.

¹⁰⁹ VM: 78.1-8.

¹¹⁰ Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 52.4; VM 126 & 127.7.

¹¹¹ Brunt has tried find the *municipia* based on their names and *tribus*: Brunt (1971): 584.

¹¹² González and Crawford (1986).

¹¹³ CIL II 64.

¹¹⁴ CIL II 1963.

¹¹⁵ CIL II 2/5, 959.

¹¹⁶ CILA II, 1206.

¹¹⁷ Places found are: *Municipium Flavium V(...)*: CIL II 2/7, 887; CIL II 2/7, 888; CIL II 2/7, 890; *Aurgi*: CIL II 2/5, 49; CIL II 2/5, 29; CIL II 2/5, 32; *Mellaria Cordubensis*: CIL II 2/7, 801; *Ilipa Magna*: CIL II 1192; *Cisimbrum*: CIL II 2/5, 302; *Oningi*: CIL II 2/5, 930; *Iponoba*: CIL II 2/5, 366; *Oducia*: CIL II 2/5, 1330; *Navea*: CILA II, 271; *Canana*: CIL II 1074; *Axati*: CIL II 1055; *Nescania*: CIL II 2/5, 841; *Arva*: CIL II 1064 (p 837); *Singilia Barba*: CIL II 5788; *Sosontigi*: CIL II 2/5, 232; *Munigua*: CILA II, 1055.

of the *libera*, *Oningi* as an *oppidum stipendiarium* and *Malaca* as an *oppidum foederatum*.¹¹⁸ If we expand our inquiries to include all inscriptions that use the term *municipium* for a specific community, we can add 70 *municipia*, of which 44 were already mentioned by Pliny.

Without explicit epigraphic evidence it is often difficult to place *municipia* on a map. A good example is the case of the *municipium* located at Castro del Río. This has been identified by Hispania Epigraphica as *Soricaria*. The location of *Soricaria* is known roughly from a battle site in the *Bellum Hispaniense*.¹¹⁹ However, there is no epigraphic evidence to support this identification. In TIR J-30 Horquera is put forward as another possibility, along with Castro del Río. The origin of the link between Horquera and *Soricaria* relies on a phonetic resemblance based on the medieval name: Horquera - Xorquera - *Soricaria*.¹²⁰ This phonetic linking of settlement names is quite common but also rather problematic.

Another problematic case is that of Arcos de la Frontera, which has been linked with *Caelia* by the Hispania Epigraphica database. However, according to Pleiades, *Caelia* is the same place as *Laelia*, which is identified as Albaida del Aljarafe. Hispania Epigraphica, regards *Laelia* as a separate place from *Caelia*, and links it with Sanlúcar la Mayor. As long as there is no evidence, direct or indirect, to link two places with certainty, the modern name will be used.

The final *municipium* without a definite link with an ancient name is Cumbres Mayores. The secondary literature seems to agree on the impossibility of linking this place with an ancient name.¹²¹

Besides those communities that appear as *municipia* or *coloniae*, we can add communities based on inscriptions mentioning them as a *civitas* or *res publica*, both indicating the self-governing nature of a community. In *Baetica* we find three communities mentioned as *civitas*, of which only *Aratispi* is a new place.¹²² Twenty-five places in *Baetica* are referred to as *res publica*, fifteen of these communities were *coloniae* (3); *municipia* (11) or *civitas* (1). Moreover, Pliny already mentioned 19 of the *res publicae*.

An interesting case of a *res publica* is that of *Curiga*. In Pliny we find: *Contributa Iulia Ugultuniae (cum qua et Curiga nunc est)*.¹²³ *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia* is an attested *municipium*¹²⁴, to which the settlement of *Curiga* is contributed. CIL II 1041

¹¹⁸ For *Ostippo* and *Oningi*: Plin. NH III 12 and *Malaca*: Plin. NH III 8.

¹¹⁹ Caes. Bell. Hisp. 24 and 27.

¹²⁰ Álvarez Martínez et al. (2001) TIR J-30: *Valencia, Corduba, Hispalis*: 306.

¹²¹ TIR J-29; Pleiades and Hispania epigraphica do not give an ancient name for this place. The municipal status of the archaeological site is certain: ERBC 55 = HEp 3, 1993, 210 = AE 1991, 998 = HEp 7, 1997, 347 L(ucius) · Rutilius T(iti?) · f(ilius) · D[- - et] / M(arcus) · Valerius · T(iti) [f(ilius) - -] / aed(iles) · M(unicipii) Fl(avi) [- -]

¹²² *Aratispi*: CIL II 2/5, 732. The other two *civitates* are *Cartima* and *Arruci*, both also attested as *municipia*.

¹²³ Plin. NH III 14,

¹²⁴ Based on CIL II 1025: M(unicipio) · C(ontributensi) · I(ulien)si, in combination with the magistrate mentioned in the sepulchral inscription CIL II 1029: Q(uintus) · Manlius · Avitus / Gal(eria) · Contributensis / II-vir · bis.

found in a church near *Contributa Iulia* mentions 'Iul[iensis?] mutatione oppidi'. This has been taken as evidence for the contribution and replacement of the community of *Curiga* to *Contributa Iulia*.¹²⁵ However, CIL II 1040, dated with certainty to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, refers to a *decretum decurionum* of the *res publica Curi-gensium*, indicating its self-governing nature.¹²⁶ In addition, Ptolemy mentions a place by the name Κούρσου, which has been identified as *Curiga*, separately from *Contributa*.¹²⁷ A safe interpretation would be that *Curiga* had been contributed to *Ugultunia* before 27 BCE; hence, the name of *Ugultunia* had changed to *Contributa Iulia Ugultunia*.¹²⁸ *Curiga* had been promoted somewhere between the time of Pliny and the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It has been proposed that this had already happened at the time of the Flavian grant of *ius Latii*, as the *tribus Quirina* has been attested in *Curiga*.¹²⁹ Despite the complex nature of the evidence, *Curiga* is accepted as a self-governing community for this research.

So far, we have encountered a multitude of places based on references to their self-governing nature as *colonia*, *municipium*, *civitas* or *res publica*. In order to be as complete as possible, places with indirect evidence have to be included. Several places that appear as *oppida* in Pliny warrant being considered as self-governing, because they had magistrates.¹³⁰ Based solely on magistrates, we can add three new *municipia* to our list.¹³¹

As has already been stated, the appearance of *tribus* is a rather difficult way to prove the self-governing nature of a place. In some cases, however, the *tribus* can be used to determine the period in which a particular community was promoted. In the case of the *oppidum ignotum* located near Teba, several funerary inscriptions demonstrate that the community was inscribed in the *tribus Galeria*.¹³² Similarly, we can add Alameda, which might be the ancient city *Urgapa*, based on the *tribus Quirina* and thus as such as a Flavian *municipium*.¹³³

The final clue that will be examined is the *termini*. Interestingly, *Baetica*, although in general rich in epigraphy, only has four *termini*, one of which belongs to the *prae-fectura of Augusta Emerita*.¹³⁴ Two of the Baetican *termini* are clearly the result of a border conflict that had to be resolved and was then formalised with the placement of the *terminus*. In the case of the *terminus augustalis* of *Cisimbrium*, the governor of

¹²⁵ CIL II 1041: ----- / Iul[iensis]? / mutatione / 3oppidi · muni/cipes · et · inco/lae · pagi · Tran[s]/iugani · et · pagi / Suburbani · For discussion cf. Hep 7, 1997, 138.

¹²⁶ CIL II 1040: [...] · ex decr/eto · decurion/um · res · p(ublica) Curi-gensium · [...]

¹²⁷ Ptol. II 4 13.

¹²⁸ Andreu Pintado (2004c): 185.

¹²⁹ CIL II 1042; ERBC 143. Cf. Hep 7, 1997, 138 and Andreu Pintado (2004b): 348.

¹³⁰ *Segida*; *Onuba Aestuaria*; *Lucurgentum*; *Celti*; *Segida Augutina*; *Ossigi*; *Ipagrum*.

¹³¹ *Batora* (CIL II 2/5, 60); *Sabetanum* (CIL II 2/5, 521); *Ituci* (CIL II 1258).

¹³² CIL II 2/5, 857, p. 239; CIL II 2/5, 854; CIL II 2/5, 856; CIL II 2/5, 858; CIL II 2/5, 859.

¹³³ CIL II 2/5, 913; CIL II 2/5, 914; CIL II 2/5, 915.

¹³⁴ HEp 2, 1990, 43 = HEp 5, 1995, 115.

the province intervened in 84 CE to solve a border conflict between the new *municipium Flavium Cisimbrium* and possibly *Ipolcobulcula*.¹³⁵ Similarly, we find the *terminus*, more precisely a *trifinium*, between *Epora*¹³⁶, *Sacili* and *Solia*.¹³⁷ In this specific case the idea of a conflict is supported by the reference to the *iudex* in the inscription. A conflict may have arisen between *Solia* and the older *municipia* *Epora* and *Sacili* after the promotion of *Solia* following the granting of *ius Latii*.¹³⁸

Based on the combined literary and epigraphic evidence, 164 self-governing communities can be identified in *Baetica*. In terms of communities of which their self-governing nature is certain, we have a list of 93 communities based on epigraphy. Pliny ascribed a status to 22 places although no direct evidence supporting Pliny's claim was found in the epigraphy. We may add nine probable self-governing cities to this list as the epigraphic record points to civic organisation. Forty places appear in multiple literary sources, including any combination of Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela or Strabo, but with no clear reference to their self-governing nature. These places will be regarded as possible self-governing cities.

3.4.2 Provincia Hispania Citerior

Nunc universa provincia divitur in conventus septem, Carthaginiensem Tarraconensem Caesaraugustanum Cluniensem Asturum Lucensem Bracarum. Accedunt insulae quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet oppida CLXXVIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV.¹³⁹

The second province treated by Pliny is *Hispania Citerior*, which he credits with 179 *oppida*. He specifies the juridical status of these *oppida*: 12 *coloniae*, 13 *municipia c.R.*, 18 have the old Latin rights, one is a *foederatum* and 135 are *stipendiaria*. In addition, we find 114 *civitates* without an *oppidum*. As in the case of *Baetica*, Pliny does not indicate the juridical status and/or the names of all *oppida*. Nonetheless, the juridical status of 81 *oppida* can be determined. The 10 Augustan *coloniae* are rather clear from the text; in addition, *Flaviobriga* is mentioned as a new Flavian *colonia*. Only *Clunia* has to be added: Brunt argues that is paleographically easy to insert *colonia* in the text concerning *Clunia*.¹⁴⁰ Regarding the *municipia*, we can identify ten with certainty,

¹³⁵ CIL II2/5, 302; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 75.

¹³⁶ *Epora* is one of the *Foederata* mentioned by Plinius NH III 10.

¹³⁷ CIL II 2349.

¹³⁸ Cortés Bárcena (2013): 84.

¹³⁹ Plin. NH III 18: "Today the whole province is divided into seven jurisdictions, namely those of Cartagena, Tarragon, Saragossa, Clunia, Astorga, Lugo, Braga. To these are to be added the islands, which will be described on another occasion, the province has 293 civitates besides those dependent on others; 179 towns, of these, twelve are colonies, thirteen, towns with the rights of Roman citizens, eighteen with the old Latin rights, one confederate, and 135 tributary."

¹⁴⁰ Brunt (1971): 584.

although, as Brunt argues, we can add *Emporiae* and *Blandae*.¹⁴¹ We also have to add "*Celsa ex colonia*" to the *oppida c. Romanorum*, and thus to the *municipia c. Romanorum*.¹⁴² Of the eighteen *oppida* with Latin rights, sixteen are mentioned.¹⁴³ The one *oppidum foederatum* is *Tarraga*.¹⁴⁴

In addition, there are the separately mentioned Balearic Islands. On the island of Majorca we find *Palma* and *Pollentia* as *oppida C.R.* and *Tuci* and *Guium* as *oppida* with old Latin rights.¹⁴⁵ In addition, Pliny mentions the *foederatum Bocchorum*, although it was already abandoned: [...] *et foederatum Bocchorum fuit*.¹⁴⁶ For Menorca, Pliny mentions *Iamo*, *Sanisera* and *Mago* as *civitates* without a particular status.¹⁴⁷ The island of *Ebusus* has only one *civitas* with the same name, and this was a *civitas foederata*.¹⁴⁸

As we have seen, the total number of *poleis* referred to by Ptolemy is very close to the number given by Pliny: 282. In some cases, we can link two entries based on the similarity of the names. One example of this is the case of the *Cerretani qui Iuliani cognominantur* in Pliny.¹⁴⁹ This *populus* is clearly identical with the Κερραιοί tribe as mentioned in Ptolemy, as their polis Ἰουλιὰ Λίβυκα is given. Hence we can relate *Iulia Libica* to the *oppida* with the Old Latin rights. Unfortunately, only 193 places can be placed on a map. The remaining 70 places are hapaxes and cannot be located. Ptolemy mentions *Clunia* as a *colonia*, which is also supported by epigraphy.¹⁵⁰

We can identify many more self-governing communities with the help of epigraphic evidence. In the case of *municipia* we have already found all the *municipia c.R.* Nonetheless, many *municipia* can be found that were promoted during the Flavian grant of *ius Latii*. We can add a further ten places, based on inscriptions referring to *municipia Flavia*.¹⁵¹ One interesting inscription is the sepulchral inscription for G. Sempronius Celer. In this inscription, the *ordo* of *Municipium Flavium Baesucci* grants all honours for the funeral of a citizen who was also honoured by the Flavian *municipia* of *Laminium*, *Tugia* and *Vivatia*.¹⁵²

¹⁴¹ *Saguntum*, *Baetulo*, *Iluro*, *Dertosa*, *Biscargis*, *Bilbilis*, *Calagurris Iulia*, *Ilerda*, *Osca* and *Turiaso*, cf. *Ibid.* 603.

¹⁴² Plin. *NH* III 24.

¹⁴³ Plin. *NH* III 20: *Lucentum*; III 23: *Auso*, *Baecula*, *Edeta*, *Gerunda*, *Iesso*, *Iulia Libica* and *Tiar Iulia* and; III 24: *Cascantum*, *Ercavica*, *Gracchuris*, *Leonica* and *Osicerda*; III 25: *Castulo*, *Saetabis* and *Valeria*.

¹⁴⁴ Plin. *NH* III 24.

¹⁴⁵ Plin. *NH* III 77.

¹⁴⁶ Plin. *NH* III 77.

¹⁴⁷ Plin. *NH* III 77.

¹⁴⁸ Plin. *NH* III 76.

¹⁴⁹ Plin. *NH* III 23.

¹⁵⁰ Ptol. II 6, 55; CIL II 2780.

¹⁵¹ *Baesucci*: CIL II 3251; *Ebusus*: CIL II 3663; *Egara*: CIL II 4494; *Iamo*: CIL II 4538; *Laminium*: CIL II 3251-3252; *Mago*: CIL II 3709; *Mirobriga Regina*: CIL II 2365-2366; *Segovia Carpetania*: CIL II p. 926; *Tugia*: CIL II 3251; *Vivatia*: CIL II 3251.

¹⁵² CIL II 3251; Morales Rodríguez (1998) 'Espacios funerarios: necrópolis urbanas y rurales en los municipios flavios de la provincia de Jaén.' *Florentia Iliberritana* Vol. 9, 237-62: 244.

In addition to inscriptions referring to Flavian *municipia*, a number of interesting inscriptions referring to *civitates* can be found in *Citerior*. In modern-day Chaves we find the Padrão dos Povos, an inscription dating from 79 CE mentioning ten *civitates* that aided the *Legio VII* with the construction of the bridge¹⁵³:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Ve[sp(asiano) Aug(usto) pont(ifici)] / max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [X imp(eratori) XX p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) IX] / Imp(eratori) Vesp(asiano) Caes(ari) Au[g(usti) f(ilio) pont(ifici) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / VIII imp(eratori) XIII co(n)s(uli) VII? / [[[Imp(eratori)? Domitiano? Caes(ari)? Aug(usti)? f(ilio)? ---]]] / [[[-----]]] / G(aio) Calpetano Ra[ntio Quirinali] / Val(erio) Festo leg(ato) A[ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] / D(ecimo) Cornelio Ma[eciano leg(ato) Aug(usti)] / L(ucio) Arruntio Max[imo proc(uratori) Aug(usti)] / leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) [fel(icis)] / civitates [X] / Aquiflavien[s(es) Aobrigenses] / Bibali Coel[erni Equaesii] / Interamic[i Limici Aebisoci?]/ Quarque[r]ni Ta[magani]

The original inscription is damaged, but its text has been preserved in a later copy, which was engraved in the bridge. Some of these *civitates* are known from ancient sources: *Aquae Flaviae*¹⁵⁴, *Bibali*¹⁵⁵, *Coelerni*¹⁵⁶, *Equasi*¹⁵⁷, *Limici*¹⁵⁸, *Aqua Querquernae*¹⁵⁹, and the *Aobrigenses*¹⁶⁰.

The *Tamagani* form a new *civitas* that, according to Pérez Losada, is located at the modern day city of Verín.¹⁶¹ The existence of the *Tamagani* is supported by several inscriptions.¹⁶² Moreover, their name has continued in the name of the river, the Tamega.¹⁶³

The *civitas* of the *Interamici* is possibly located at the Castro da Cibdá de Arméa.¹⁶⁴ The self-governing nature of this community is also supported by an inscription mentioning the *Res P(ublica) Int(eramicorum)*.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the inscription mentioning the *Interamici* yields the name of a subordinate *castellum*: *castellum Louciocelo*.

¹⁵³ CIL II 2477; CIL II 5616. Le Roux (1990): 42.

¹⁵⁴ Ptol. II 6, 40.

¹⁵⁵ Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 42.

¹⁵⁶ Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 41.

¹⁵⁷ Plin. *NH* III 28.

¹⁵⁸ Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 43.

¹⁵⁹ Plin. *NH* III 28; Ptol. II 6, 46.

¹⁶⁰ Plin. *NH* IV 112: *Abobrica*; CIL II 4247 (p 973) = RIT 307: *Avobriga*

¹⁶¹ Pérez Losada (2002): 237.

¹⁶² CIL II 5786; IRG IV 66; IRG IV 76.

¹⁶³ Pérez Losada (2002): 237.

¹⁶⁴ Martins da Fonte (2006) 'O "Padrão dos Povos" de Aquae Flaviae.' *Al-Madan adenda electronica* Vol. 14, VI.1-VI.7: VI-6.

¹⁶⁵ HEP 3, 1993, 277 = AE 1973, 317 = AE 1974, 394 = AE 1989, 435 = AFFE I n° 592: Q(uinto) Licinio Veget[o] / res p(ublica) Int(eramicorum) / super alia con/plura merita / pares cum fisco / rationes infati/gabili cura et / industria eius / consecuta.

The last *civitas* of the Padrão dos Povos is that of the *Aebisoci*. The name of this *civitas* has been emended to *Naebisoci* in some editions, in order to create an alphabetical order in the names.¹⁶⁶ However, because a variant of *Aebisoci* is attested in IRG IV 47: *Aeboso(ca)*, this correction must be wrong.¹⁶⁷

Several other inscriptions mention individual *civitates*. The *hospitium* agreements are an interesting group. For the province *Citerior* we have found several of these agreements mentioning different *civitates*: those of the *Lougei*, *Luggones*¹⁶⁸, *Maggavienses* and *Susarri*.

To the north-west, in the region of the *Astures*, we find two *civitates* with similar names: *civitas Lougeiorum* and *civitas Luggones*. It is tempting to conflate these two communities, but we have to keep in mind that Lug- and variants such as Luc- are common in Celtic.¹⁶⁹ In addition, the inscriptions referring to the *civitates* originate from different regions. The location of *civitas Luggonum* is quite certain since it has been attested in two boundary stones marking the *terminus pratorum cohortis* of the *Cohors III Gallica*.¹⁷⁰ This cohort was located at the *castrum* at Castrocalbón just over 15 kilometres from the places where the boundary stones were found.

The status of *civitas* for the *Lougeiorum* is attested in the *Tabula Lougeiorum*.¹⁷¹ The location of *Lougeiorum* is based on the location of the subordinate *castellum*¹⁷² *Toletum* is referred to in the *Tabula de El Caurel*, another *hospitium* agreement.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁶ Martins da Fonte (2006): VI-1.

¹⁶⁷ Balil Illana et al. (1991) *TIR K-29: Porto, Conimbriga, Bracara Augusta*: 20.

¹⁶⁸ Also written as *Luggoni*, see Fatás Cabeza et al. (1993) *TIR K-30: Madrid, Caesaraugustus, Clunia*: 143.

¹⁶⁹ Olivares Pedreño (2010/2) 'Los ástures del conventus Lucensis y el culto al dios Lug en el noroeste de Hispania.' *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* Vol. 36, N° 2, 117-36: 120.

¹⁷⁰ IRPLe 310 = AE 1961, 345: Ex auct/oritate / Ti(beri) Claud(i) Caesaris / Aug(usti) / Ger(man)i/ci Imp(eratoris) te/rminus / prator/um c(o)ho(rtis) / III Ga/llo(rum) / int(e)r c(o)ho(rtem) / III Ga/llo(rum) et inter / **civitate(m) / Luggo/num**; and IRPLe 311 = AE 1961, 345: Ex auc[toritate] / Ti(beri) Claudi Caesa[ri]/s Aug(usti) Germani/ci Imp(eratoris) terminus / pratorum coh(ortis) / [II]II Gal(lorum) inter coh(ortem) / [III]I Gal(lorum) et **civitate/m Luggonum**.

¹⁷¹ HÉp 1, 1989, 458; HÉp 3, 1993, 247; HÉp 7, 1997, 402; HÉp 4, 1994, 505; AE 1984, 553; AE 1987, 561; AE 1989, 431; AE 1997, 862; Zeidler, K. "Celto-Roman Contact Names in Galicia", en D. Kremer (ed.) *Onomástica Galega con especial consideración da situación prerromana* (Actas do primeiro Coloquio de Trier, 19 e 20 de maio de 2006), Verba 58, Santiago de Compostela, 2007, 41-56; Rodríguez Colmenero, A. 1997. "La Nueva Tabula Hospitalitatis de La Civitas Lougeiorum. Problemática Y Contexto Histórico." *ZPE* 117: 213-26.

C(aio) Caesare Aug(usto) f(ilio) L(ucio) Aemilio Paullo co(n)s(ulibus) / ex gente Asturum conventus Arae / August(a)e / **civitas Lougeiorum** hospitium fecit cum / C(aio) Asinio Gallo libereis postereisque eius / eumque liberos posterosque eius sibi libe(re)s postereisque suis patronum cooptarunt / isque eos in fidem clientelamque suam suo/rumque recepit / egerunt legati / Silvanus Clouti / Nobbius Andami.

¹⁷² The position of *castella* within the urban network is discussed in the next chapter on subordinate centres.

¹⁷³ Not to be confused with the city of Toletum (Toledo).

AE 1965; AE 1961, 96; AE 1973, 289: Appio Iunio Silano P. Silio Nerva cos Tillegus. Ambati. f. Susarrius). Aiobaiciaego.hospitium fecit. cum **Lougeis Castellanis Toletensibus**.sibi uxori.libe ris posterisque.suis.eum que uxorem liberosque. eius in fidem. clientelamque.sua m. suorumque. in perpetuo. Cas tellanei. Toletenses. receperunt egit. Tillegus. Ambati ipse mag. Latino. Ari. et. Aio Temari; Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.

Although the authenticity of this inscription has been debated, the consensus is that it is genuine. The existence of the *civitas Lougeiorum* can therefore be accepted.¹⁷⁴

Another *hospitium* agreement is the zoomorphic *tessera* found at Herrera de Pisurgra mentioning the *Civitas Maggaviensium*.¹⁷⁵ The *civitas* centre is probably located at Monte Cildá at Olleros de Pisurgra, 18 kilometres from the find spot.¹⁷⁶ Lastly, we find the renewal of a *hospitium* agreement between *Cauca* and *Amallobriga* attested by consular dating to 134 CE.¹⁷⁷ *Cauca* is a place already mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy.¹⁷⁸ However, *Amallobriga* is so far unknown. The fact that it signed a *hospitium* agreement with the *municipium Cauca* indicates that *Amallobriga* must have been a *civitas*.¹⁷⁹

The final piece of epigraphic evidence leading to the entry of a new *civitas* is the *Bronce de El Bierzo*¹⁸⁰, which gives us the *civitas* of the *Susarri*. The *civitas* centre is located according to Olivares Pedreño near Bembibre.¹⁸¹ Contra TIR K-29 locating it in the El Caurel Mountains, Pedreño argues that the hospitality agreement must

¹⁷³ HÉp 7, 1997, 402; Canto (1990) 'La tabula Lougeiorum: un documento a debate.' *CuPAUAM* Vol. 17, 267-75; Rodríguez Colmenero (1997) 'La nueva Tabula Hospitalitatis de la Civitas Lougeiorum. Problemática y contexto histórico.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 117, 213-26; Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.

¹⁷⁴ HÉp 7, 1997, 402; Canto (1990); Rodríguez Colmenero (1997); Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.

¹⁷⁵ HAE 2452; AE 1967, 239; HÉp 12, 2002, 363; AE 2002, 785.

Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(to) Appuleio co(n)s(ulibus) / k(alendis) Augustis / Caraegius et Abuanus et Caelio mag(istratus) et / senatus Maggavienses Amparamum / Nemaiecanum Cusaburensim / civitate honoraria donatus (?) libertos / posterosque ita vota omnia ei fecerunt / finibus Maggav(i)ensium que / civi<i>s Maggaviensiu(m) // Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(to) Appuleio / co(n)s(ulibus) Amparamus Nemaioq[um?] / [Cu]saburensis hospitium fecit cum / civitate Maggav(i)ensium sibi liberis liber/[t]isque posterisque suis (vacat) eumque liberos / libertos posterosq(ue) eius omnis Maggav(i)e(n)/ses in hospitium fidem clientelamque suam / suorumque receper(un)t eademq(ue) condicione / esset qua civi(s). Per mag(istratus) Caelione(m) / et Caraegium et Aburnum / actum.

¹⁷⁶ Farás Cabeza et al. (1993): 97.

¹⁷⁷ HÉp 1, 1989, 645 = HÉp 3, 1993, 412 = HÉp 4, 1994, 944 = HÉp 5, 1995, 866 = HÉp 6, 1996, 987 = AE 1985, 581 = AE 1987, 614 = AE 1988, 764 = AE 1991, 1047 = AE 1992, 1032 = AE 1993, 1037 = AE 1994, 1005 L(ucio) Iulio Urso Serviano III Publio / Vivio(!) Varo co(n)s(ulibus) V Nonas Octobres / Granus Silo et Aemilius Sapienus et / Iulius Proculus tesseram hospita/lem pro meritis Elaesi Ottae Aii / filii nomine cognationis Magi/lancum Amallobrigenses Cab/rumuria et Paligo renovarunt / cum senatu populoque Caucen/sium in perpetuum sibi liberis / posterisque omnibus eorum / per legatos / M(arcum) Valerium Lentulum Ilvirum / et Lucium Sempronium Quadratum.

¹⁷⁸ Plin. *NH* III 26; Ptol. II 6, 49.

¹⁷⁹ HÉp 4, 1994, 944 and HÉp 6, 1996, 987.

¹⁸⁰ HÉp 7, 1997, 378 = HÉp 8, 1998, 325 = HÉp 11, 2001, 286 = AE 1999, 915 = AE 2000, 760 = AE 2001, +01214. Imp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / VIII[1] et proco(n)s(ule) dicit / castellanos Paemeiobrigenses ex / gente Susarriorum descendentibus / ceteris permansisse in officio cog(novi) ex omnibus legatis meis qui / Transdurianae provinciae prae/fuerunt itaque eos universos im/munitate perpetua dono qosq(ue) agros et quibus finibus possede/runt Lucio Sestio Quirinale leg(ato) / meo eam provinciam optinente[m] / eos agros sine controversia possi/dere iubeo / castellanis Paemeiobrigensibus ex / gente **Susarriorum** quibus ante ea(m) / immunitatem omnium rerum dede/ram eorum loco restituo castellanos / Aiiobrigiacinos ex gente Gigurro/rum volente **ipsa civitate** eosque / castellanos Aiiobrigiacinos om(ni) munere fungi iubeo cum / Susarris / actum Narbone Martio / XVI et XV K(alendas) Martias / M(arco) Druso Li(bone) Lucio Calpurnio Pisone co(n)s(ulibus).

¹⁸¹ Olivares Pedreño (2010/2): 122.

be at the location of one of the agreeing parties. Since the other *castella* are located in the El Caurel mountains, the *Susarri* must be located at the location where the edict was found: Bembibre.¹⁸²

The inscriptions mentioning *res publica* prove the self-governing nature of five places mentioned by Ptolemy and add six new self-governing communities.¹⁸³ One of these is *Flaviaugusta*, a place only known because of an honorific inscription for one of its magistrates who became a provincial *flamen* in *Tarraco*. The location of *Flaviaugusta* is considered unknown, although Cerro del Milagro has been proposed based on the family names found in inscriptions there, which are similar to the name of the *flamen*.¹⁸⁴

A similar case is that of *Grallia*. This community was certainly self-governing and must have been located in the *conventus Caesaraugustanus*.¹⁸⁵ The evidence consists of an inscription erected in honour of a citizen of *Grallia* who had held all the magistracies (*omnibus honoribus functus*). We can be certain that *Grallia* held the *ius Latii*, as this particular citizen was a member of the *tribus Quirina*. After having served as a magistrate in the rather insignificant settlement of *Grallia*, the honorand went to *Caesaraugustanus* to be elected into the *ordo*. Ultimately, he became a provincial *flamen* at *Tarraco*, where the inscription was erected.

Based on epigraphic references to *tribus*, we can affirm several of the *poleis* mentioned in Ptolemy as self-governing. One such reference is an inscription found in modern-day Zamora, commonly related to *Ocelum Duri*.¹⁸⁶ The name *Ocelum* appears in Pliny and twice in Ptolemy. Unfortunately, these sources do not specify the location further than the *provincia Lusitania* and the area of the *Vettones* respectively.¹⁸⁷ The Ravenna, Antonine and Astorga itineraries mention *Ocelum Duri*, placing it along the route between *Brigaecum* and *Salmantica*, to the north of the *Durius* and supposedly in *Citerior*.¹⁸⁸ Andreu Pintado assumes there was only one place called *Ocelum* and identifies this with Zamora.¹⁸⁹ So far, most atlases show two dif-

¹⁸² Balil Illana *et al.* (1991): 99.

¹⁸³ *Begastri*: CIL II 5948; *Edeba*: HEP 14, 2005, 363; *Flaviaugusta*: CIL II 4196; *Segontia*: CIL II 4195; *Tagili*: IRAL 48; *Tutugi*: ILPG 25-27.

¹⁸⁴ Martino García (2004) *Las Ciudades Romana de la Meseta Norte de la Península Ibérica: identificación, estatuto jurídico y oligarquías* (ss. I-III d.C.): 272. Cf. Abásolo Álvarez and Albertos (1976) 'Acerca de unas inscripciones de Poza de la Sal' *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* Vol. 42, 393-407: 393ff.

¹⁸⁵ CIL II 4244: M(arco) Sempr(onio) M(arci) filio / Quir(in)a Capitoni / Gralliensi adlecto / in ordine Caesaraug(ustano) / omnib(us) honorib(us) / in utraq(ue) r(e) p(ublica) s(ua) f(uncto) / flam(ini) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris) / p(rovincia) H(ispania) c(iterior).

¹⁸⁶ CIL II 2628; Andreu Pintado (2004c): 165. Cf. Pleiades-id 236577; DARE-id 18364; Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993): 163; McElderry (1918): 76.

¹⁸⁷ Plin. *NH* IV 118; Ptol. II 5, 7.

¹⁸⁸ Ant. It. 434.6; 439.10; Ravenn. 319.4; Itin. Astorga 3.5.

¹⁸⁹ Andreu Pintado (2004c): 168.

ferent places: *Ocelum* is often located in Ferro (Covilhã) in the *conventus Emeritenses*¹⁹⁰, whereas *Ocelum Duri* is placed at Zamora, roughly 200 kilometres from the other *Ocelum*.¹⁹¹ Alarcão argues that there must have been two different places called *Ocelum*: he states that there was an *oppidum*, *vicus* or *castellum* called *Ocelum* at Ferro, which has nothing to do with the *Ocelum* located at Zamora.¹⁹² We accept *Ocelum Duri* as a self-governing community based on the reference to the *tribus Quirina* contained in the inscription from Zamora. The other *Ocelum* at Ferro is considered subordinate as there is no evidence for it being a self-governing settlement. A third *Ocelum* is located by Ptolemy among the *Callaeci Lucenses*, and is so far unlocated.¹⁹³

The inscriptions found at the Hermitage Socorro de Monte Cillas and Coscojuela de Fontova in El Grado (Huesca) contain two references to the *tribus Galeria* in combination with the *origo Boletanus*.¹⁹⁴ On this basis it has been accepted that *Boletum* was granted the status of *municipium* in the Julio-Claudian period. The location of the settlement is another problem. It is frequently located at Monte Cildá (Barbastro) where the inscriptions have been found.¹⁹⁵ However, nearby Boltaña has also been put forward based on the resemblance between the names and on the idea that people who lived in their place of birth are unlikely to have specified their *origo*.¹⁹⁶ In Barbastro, another place could have been located based on the similarity of the names: *Barbotum*. This place is very problematic. Its identification as a Roman *civitas* depends heavily on medieval sources.¹⁹⁷

Inscriptions referring to magistracies suggest the possible existence of two further self-governing communities. An inscription found in Rubielos de Mora, now lost, mentions C. Marius Gal. F. C. who had been *aedilis*, *flamen* and *duumvir*.¹⁹⁸ The inscription was found in the Convento de las Religiosas Agustinas near Rubielos de Mora¹⁹⁹, although its original location is unknown. Arasa locates *Otobesa* at the site

¹⁹⁰ Located at Ferro: Pleiades-id 236576; DARE-id 33673. Another unlocated *Ocelum* appears in Pleiades-id 240970.

¹⁹¹ Pleiades-id 236577; DARE-id 18364.

¹⁹² RAP 11 = HEP 10, 2000, 720; Alarcão (1988): 138, note 29.

¹⁹³ Ptol. II 6, 22. García Alonso (2003): 200.

¹⁹⁴ CIL II 5843: L(ucio) · Val(erio) · L(uci) · f(ilio) · Gal(eria tribu) / Materno / Bolet(ano) · h(eres, -ereds) ex t(estamento)

CIL II 5846: L(ucio) Val(erio) Gal(eria) / Materno / Boletano / M(arcus) Cor(nelius) Pompe(ianus) amico opti/[m]o ob merita / - - - - -.

¹⁹⁵ Pleiades-id 246253; DARE 18372.

¹⁹⁶ Tovar (1989) *Die Völker und Die Städte des Antiken Hispanien, Bd. III Tarraconensis*: C-446; Pina Polo and Alfayé Villa (2002) 'Propuesta de ubicación de los Volcianos en el área preperinaica.' *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 2, 201-11: 207.

¹⁹⁷ Navarro *et al.* (2000) 'Barb(otum?): una ciudad romana en el somontano pirenaico.' *Saldvie* Vol. I, 247-72.

¹⁹⁸ CIL II 3174 = ERTeruel 24.

¹⁹⁹ Juste Arruga (1990) *El poblamiento de la Edad del Bronce y primera Edad del Hierro en Mora de Rubielos (Teruel)*.

of Rubielos de Mora.²⁰⁰ In addition, we find an inscription in Archena mentioning a *duumvir* who had reconstructed an aqueduct in accordance with a *decretum decurionum*.²⁰¹ It is unclear whether the *duumvir* and *ordo* belong to Archena or to a nearby self-governing city.²⁰² The inscription has been dated to the early first century CE.²⁰³ The aqueduct mentioned in the inscription certainly belonged to the thermal baths and related bathhouse found in Archena. Based on this evidence, we treat Archena at least as an important secondary settlement with urban aspects.

There are 33 *termini* from *Hispania Citerior*. Of these, a staggering 29 belong to the *prata* of *Legio X Gemina* (1), *Legio IIII Macedonica* (18) and *cohors IIII Gallorum* (10). These *termini pratorum* give us no new places as they marked the boundaries between *Legio X Gemina* and *Baedunia*, *Legio IIII Macedonica* and *Iuliobriga*, *Legio IIII* and *Segisamo*, *cohors IIII Gallorum* and *Baedunia*, and the *cohors* and the *Lugones*.²⁰⁴

In addition to the *termini pratorum*, we find a number of *termini augustales*. Some of these boundary stones refer to self-governing communities known from other sources, such as that between *Arabriga* and the *Coilarni*.²⁰⁵ Two *termini* only read *ter(minus) aug(ustalis)*, but based on their location Cortés argues they would have been part of the boundary between *Mantua* and *Complutum*, and between *Oiasso* and *Pompelo*.²⁰⁶ *Pompelo* and *Complutum* appear as self-governing communities in other sources. In the case of *Oiasso*, however, *terminus augustalis* suggests that it was a self-governing community rather than a secondary port settlement. Similarly, *Mantua*, where we also find a reference to the *tribus Quirina*, might well have been a self-governing community, although we cannot be certain.

In total, 213 self-governing communities are attested for *Citerior*. The self-governing nature of 100 communities is proved by inscriptions. Pliny mentions an extra 41 privileged places whose self-governing nature is not confirmed by epigraphy. A further 36 probable self-governing cities may be added to this list as the epigraphic record regarding these cities points to civic organisation. Lastly, we add 36 places whose self-governing nature remains doubtful. These 36 places appear in multiple ancient sources without any clear reference to their self-governing nature.

²⁰⁰ Arasa i Gil (1987) *Lesera: la Moleta dels Frares, el Forcall: estudi sobre la romanització a la comarca dels Ports*: 215.

²⁰¹ CIL II 3541 (p 955); ILER 2043: C(aius) Cornelius Capito L(ucius) Heius Labeo / Ilvir(i) aquas ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) reficiendas / curarunt i(dem)q(ue) p(robarunt).

²⁰² One of the many possible locations for *Ilorci-Eliocroca* is Lorquí, only 6 kilometres from Archena. If not *Ilorci* than the *duumvir* must be sought a lot further away in *Begastri*, *Ilunum*, *Ilici* or even *Carthago Nova*.

²⁰³ González Fernández and Matilla Séiquer (2007) 'Dos nuevas estelas funerarias con mención de origo procedentes del balneario de Archena (Murcia)', *Faventia* Vol. 29, N° 2, 21-36: 23.

²⁰⁴ Cortés Bárcena (2013): numbers 29-48.

²⁰⁵ HEP 1, 1989, 694.

²⁰⁶ *Mantua-Complutum*: Cortés Bárcena (2013): no. 28.

Oiasso-Pompelo: Cortés Bárcena (2013): no. 49.

3.4.3 Provincia Hispania Lusitania

Universa provincia dividitur in conventus tres, Emeritensem, Pacensem, Scallabitanum, tota populorum XLV, in quibus Coloniae sunt quinque, municipium civium Romanorum, Lati antiqui III, stipendiaria XXXVI.²⁰⁷

In the case of *Lusitania*, Pliny is rather exhaustive. In his survey he identifies all five *coloniae* (*Augusta Emerita*, *Metellinum*, *Pax Iulia*, *Norba Caesarina* and *Scallabis*), the three *populi Latii antiqui* (*Ebora*, *Myrtilis* and *Salacia*) and the *municipium civium Romanorum* (*Olisipo*).²⁰⁸ Only nineteen of the 36 *civitates stipendiariae* appear in his list of Lusitanian *populi*, but elsewhere Pliny describes the *populi* to be found in *Lusitania* from the *Durius*: *Turduli Veteres*, *Paesuri*, *Talabrica*, *Aeminium*, *Coni-umbrica* (sic), *Colippo* and *Eburobrittium*.²⁰⁹ In total we have the names of 35 *populi* of *Lusitania*.

Ptolemy mentions 58 *poleis* for *Lusitania*. This can be interpreted in two ways: according to Abascal and Espinosa, between the work of Pliny and Ptolemy the number of privileged places might have risen from 45 to 58, an increase of 13 places.²¹⁰ However, since only 26 places appear in b in Pliny's and Ptolemy's accounts there are actually 31 new places in Ptolemy.²¹¹ As has already been stated, Ptolemy most likely included secondary agglomerations. One example might be Καϊτόβρις (*Caetobriga*), which is taken to be part of the territory of *Salacia*.²¹² Another part of the solution is that some of the new places mentioned by Ptolemy may have been the central places of *populi* mentioned by Pliny. As an example, there is the case of *Verurium* (Οὔερουρίον or Οὔερουρίον) mentioned by Ptolemy, which according to Alarcão belongs to the Plinian *Tapori*.²¹³

Another possible example is *Langobriga* that may have been the central place of the Plinian *Turduli Veteres*. The existence of the *Turduli Veteres* is proven by *hospitium* agreements found in Pedroso.²¹⁴ According to Alarcão and the Barrington Atlas, the

²⁰⁷ Plin. *NH* IV 117: "The whole province is divided into three associations, centred at Merida, Beja and Santarem. It consists of 45 peoples in all, among whom there are five colonies, one municipality of Roman citizens, three with the old Latin rights and 36 that pay tribute."

²⁰⁸ Plin. *NH* IV 117-118.

²⁰⁹ Plin. *NH* IV 118: *Augustobricensis*, *Aeminiensis*, *Aranditani*, *Axabricensis*, *Balsenses*, *Caesarobricenses*, *Caperenses*, *Cauriensis*, *Colarni*, *Cibilitani*, *Concordienses*, *Elbocori*, *Interamnienses*, *Lancienses*, *Mirobricenses*, *Celtici*, *Meidubricenses*, *Plumbari*, *Ocelenses*, *Turduli Bardili* and *Tapori*. Cf. Plin. *NH* IV 113.

²¹⁰ Abascal Palazón and Espinosa (1989): 73.

²¹¹ McElderry (1918): 77.

²¹² Soares and Tavares da Silva (2012) 'Caetobriga: uma cidade fabril na foz do Sado.' *Portugal Romano* Vol. 1, N° 2, 56-73: 57.

²¹³ Alarcão (2001) 'Novas perspectivas sobre os Lusitanos (e outros mundos).' *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* Vol. 4, N° 2, 293-349: 299. See Ptol. II 5.7 and Plin. *NH* IV 118.

²¹⁴ AE 1983, 476: Q(uinto) Caecilio Metello A(ulo) Licinio co(n)s(ulibus) / D(ecimus) Iulius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Cilo hospitium fecit / sibi liberis posterisque suis cum Nigro / et Rufo et Prisco Turdulis Veteribus / liberis posterisque eorum (7 CE)

city of *Langobriga* is located in the area of the *Turduli Veteres*.²¹⁵ However, the distance between the location where the *hospitium* agreements (Pedroso, Vila Nova de Gaia) were found and *castro* near Fiães, identified as *Langobriga*, is nine kilometres.²¹⁶

Obviously, we cannot calculate the number of self-governing communities in *Lusitania* by combining Pliny and Ptolemy. The nature of the *poleis* in Ptolemy is very uncertain and probably not all are urban. We therefore turn to epigraphic evidence to clarify the situation in *Lusitania*.

The most important inscription for *municipia* in *Lusitania* is the Alcántara bridge inscription (CIL II 760)²¹⁷:

Municipia / provinciae / Lusitaniae stipe / conlata quae opus / pontis perfecerunt
/ Igaeditani / Lancienses Oppidani / Talori / Interannienses / Colarni / Lancienses / Transcudani / Aravi / Meidubrigenses / Arabrigenses / Banienses / Paesures

The inscription dates to 105 CE, well after the granting of *ius Latii* by Vespasian. The inscription mentions all Lusitanian *municipia* that paid for the construction of the bridge crossing the Tagus at modern-day Alcántara. Among these *municipia* we can clearly recognise some *populi* mentioned by Pliny, such as the *Lancienses*, *Interannienses*, *Colarni* and *Meidubrigenses*.²¹⁸

Le Roux points out that in this region the link between tribal ethnonyms and the status of *municipium* or *civitas* is not particularly surprising. As noted above, the Padrão dos Povos from *Citerior* also has a number of ethnic groups involved in constructing a bridge.²¹⁹ Le Roux sees two possible explanations for the use of the term *municipia* in connection with ethnonyms: first, the accepted reading of the lost Alcántara inscription may be wrong. The original reading may have been *civitates*, which is known from the Padrão dos Povos.²²⁰ The second hypothesis focuses on the

AE 1983, 477: Q(uinto) · Sulpicio · Camerino · C(aio) · Poppaeo / Sabino · co(n)s(ulibus) / D(ecimus) · Iulius · M(arci) · f(ilius) · Gal(eria) · Cilo · hospitium · fecit / cum · Lugario · Septanii · f(ilio) · ex Turduleis / Veteribus · eumque · et · leiberos · posteros/que · eius · in fidem · clientelamque / suam · recepit · leiberorum · posterorum/que · suorum · egit / Lugarius · Sept-anii (9 CE)

²¹⁵ Alarcão (1988): 24; Talbert (2000) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* 24 C4. The existence of *Langobriga* is attested in the Antonine Itinerary 421.7.

²¹⁶ Alarcão (1988): 3/29; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014): 80.

²¹⁷ The inscription has been considered a falsification since the 15th century by Galsterer Galsterer (1971): 72. However, this has been successfully refuted by García Iglesias García Iglesias (1976) 'Autenticidad de la inscripción de municipios que sufragaron el puente de Alcántara.' *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* Vol. 32, N° 1, 8; García Iglesias (1979) 'Sobre los municipios Flavios de Lusitania.' *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* Vol. 118, 81-6.

²¹⁸ Plin. *NH* IV 118. In the case of the *Arabrigenses* and *Talori*, the text in Pliny may have been corrupted and these may be related respectively to the *Axabricenses* and the *Tapori*.

²¹⁹ Le Roux (1990): 42. CIL II 2477; CIL II 5616.

²²⁰ CIL II 2477; CIL II 5616: Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Ve[sp(asiano) Aug(usto) pont(ifici)] / max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [X imp(eratori) XX p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) IX] / Imp(eratori) Vesp(asiano) Caes(ari) Auf(g(usti) f(ilio) pont(ifici) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / VIII imp(eratori) XIII co(n)s(uli) VII?

fact that the inscription refers to *municipia* that were involved in the construction. He argues that these people obtained the status of *municipium* as a result of their 'industria'.²²¹ However, as has already been stated, the bridge was constructed in 105 CE, three decades after the granting of *ius Latii*. In my view, some of the communities listed in the Alcántara inscription may have belonged to the category of dispersed *civitates*, self-governing communities without an urban centre.²²² This reading is compatible with Le Roux's suggestion that some of these *populi* were *municipia*; *municipium* was therefore chosen as a generic term.²²³

The number of people enlisted in the *tribus Quirina* for the *Colarni* and the *Igaeditani* indicates an early date for their promotion.²²⁴ In the case of the *Igaeditani*, a dedication to the *genius municipii* from Idanha-a-Velha dated to the second half of the first century points in the same direction.²²⁵ The *civitas Igaeditanorum* was founded by Norbanus Flaccus in the 30s of the first century BCE.²²⁶ This early foundation by a Roman general, combined with the fact that the temple close to the bridge was erected by a native from *Igaeditana*, may indicate that it was this settlement that took the initiative.²²⁷

Based on inscriptions, we can add seven other Lusitanian *municipia*: *Ammaia*, *Capera*, *Caesarobriga*, *Conimbriga*, *Mirobriga Celtici*, *Sellium* and *Urunia*.²²⁸ Of these, *Capera*, *Conimbriga* and *Mirobriga Celtici* were Flavian *municipia* as can be read in their inscriptions. Moreover, the Ptolemean hapax *Ammaia* has now been confirmed as a self-governing community, indicating that not all places that appear only in Ptolemy were subordinate settlements.

A sepulchral inscription referring to the *civitas Mirietanorum* has been found in an excavation in 2011.²²⁹ The text refers to a *flaminica perpetua*.²³⁰ In addition, the

/ [[[Imp(eratori)? Domitiano? Caes(ari)? Aug(usti)? f(ilio)? ---]]] / [[[-----]]] / G(aio) Calpetano Ra[ntio Quirinali] / Val(erio) Festo leg(ato) A[ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] / D(ecimo) Cornelio Ma[eciano leg(ato) Aug(usti)] / L(ucio) Arruntio Max[imo proc(uratori) Aug(usti)] / leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) [fel(icis)] / civitates [X] / Aquilavien[ses Aobrigenses] / Bibali Coel[erni Equaesii] / Interamic[i Limici Aebisoci?]/ Quarque[r]ni Ta[magani].

²²¹ Le Roux (1990): 43.

²²² See next section on dispersed *civitates* and Houten (2017).

²²³ Le Roux (1990).

²²⁴ Ramos Ferreira (2004) *Epigrafia funerária romana da Beira Interior: inovação ou continuidade?* 43; Andreu Pintado (2004b): 349; Le Roux (1990): 361.

²²⁵ CIL II 401 = ILER 572; Ramos Ferreira (2004): 46 footnote 15.

²²⁶ Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2011): 205.

²²⁷ CIL II 7561.

²²⁸ *Ammaia*: CIL II 158; *Capera*: AE 1986, 307; *Caesarobriga*: CIL II 895; *Conimbriga*: RAP 211; *Mirobriga Celtici*: CIL II 25; *Sellium*: RAP 256 and *Urunia*: CIL II 863.

²²⁹ IRCP 229t.

²³⁰ Information on this *civitas* is rather difficult to obtain; the best sources are the entry at *Portugalromano.com* from 2011 in the excavations and the entry at the *Portal do Arqueólogo*.

Portugalromano.com <http://www.portugalromano.com/site/escavacoes-arqueologicas-em-sao-romao-alvito/> (accessed: 22 september 2015)

Portal do Arqueólogo

civitas Cobelcorum can be added, based on the altar dedicated to I.O.M found at what seems to be a *forum* at Almofala.²³¹ Epigraphic evidence for *res publica* has not led to any additions, although for *Ossonoba* and *Balsa* their self-governing nature now has been confirmed.

Numismatics confirm the self-governing nature of some places, but does not help us to identify new towns. Interestingly, we find the *permissu Caesaris Augusti* as a legend on the coins of *Ebora*.²³² Besides *Ebora*, coinage is also attested for *Salacia*.²³³ The two other cities minting coins are the *coloniae Pax Iulia* and *Augusta Emerita*.²³⁴

Lusitania has only 21 settlements where magistrates are recorded. Some Plinian *populi* are confirmed as self-governing communities. One of these is *Eburobritium*²³⁵, where a sepulchral inscription was erected for a *duumvir*. In addition, we find evidence for some of the Ptolemean *poleis*. Examples include *Aritium*, which had a *duumvir*, and *Salmantica*, which had an *ordo*.²³⁶

Of the 13 *termini augustales* that have been found in *Lusitania*, eight mention places or communities.²³⁷ This confirms the Ptolemean *poleis* of *Abila* and *Salman-tica* as self-governing communities, as are *Colarni*, *Lancienses Oppidani*, *Arabriga* and *Igaeditania*. Moreover, these *termini* allow us to add *Bletisama*, *Mirobriga Vettones* and *Poliba* to our list of self-governing communities.²³⁸

<http://arqueologia.patrimoniocultural.pt/?sid=sitios.resultados&subsidi=2182170&vt=2965464>
(accessed: 22 september 2015).

²³¹ Frade, H. "Ara a Júpiter Da Civitas Cobelcorum." Fichero Epigráfico 58 (1998): 266 = HEP 8, 1998, 601 = AE 1998, 700: Iovi Optumo / Maxumo / civitas / Cobelcorum.

²³² Ebora started minting coins in 12 BCE see Marques de Faria (1995) 'Moedas da época romana cunhadas em território actualmente Português.' *Anejos de AEspA* Vol. XIV, 143-53: 148.

²³³ *Ibid.* 146; Burnett *et al.* (1992a).

²³⁴ Burnett *et al.* (1992b).

²³⁵ AE 1936, 106: [D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / [- - -]olio / [- - -] Maximino / [II]vir(o) Eboro/[brit]t(iensium) ann(or)um LII.

²³⁶ *Aritium*: HEP 4, 1994, 1080: aedilis IIvir flamen prov(inciae) Lusitaniae; *Salmantica*: HEP 11, 2001, 395: Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aur(elio) Anto(nino) Aug(usto) / f(ilio) L(uci) Sep(timii) Seve(ri) ordo / salmanticen(sium).

²³⁷ See the Appendix I for the epigraphic sources.

²³⁸ CIL II 5033; CIL II 857-858; CIL II 859.

Polibedenses is generally considered to be the ethnonym for a place called *Poliba*. Moreover, Hernández Guerra states that the lost part of the inscription may have continued to mention *Salmantica* as well, making this a *trifinium*.

Cortés Bárcena (2013): 54; Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001) 'Nueva propuesta de distribución territorial en la provincia de Salamanca.' In: Hernández Guerra, Sagredo San Eustaquio and Solana Sáinz (eds.), *I Congreso Internacional de Historia Antigua "La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años"*, 255-61: 256; Hernández Guerra (2007) *El tejido urbano de época romana en la Meseta septentrional*: 185.

The *Val* and *Valut* found in two inscriptions seem to be related to at least two places, *Mirobriga* and *Bletisama* and possibly to *Salmantica* further complicate the situation. There are multiple interpretations of this addition to the names of *Bletisama* and *Mirobriga*. Since it appears as *Mirobriga Valut*, *Bletisama Val* and possibly *Salmantica Val*, it seems logical to follow the idea of a pre-Roman community that had lost its territory to these Roman *civitates*, see Cortés Bárcena (2013): 59.

Unfortunately, none of the *termini* were found *in situ*, complicating the identification of the exact location of the territories and the central places of the communities that are mentioned.²³⁹ One of the problematic places is Ciudad Rodrigo, usually considered to be the location for *Mirobriga Vettonum*. However, apart from the two inscriptions found here, the archaeology of this place is rather limited.²⁴⁰ Hernandez proposes that Yecla de Yeltes is *Mirobriga* and that *Poliba* is located further to the south, at Castro de Lerilla, a *castro* that was inhabited continuously from the Bronze Age to the Visigothic period.²⁴¹

Bletisama/Ledesma is the location of the Tabula de hospitalidad de El Picón, a *hospitium* agreement mentioning the senate and people of *Bletisama*.²⁴² This confirms that *Bletisama* was a self-governing place. Based on the consular dating of the inscription, the *terminus ante quem* of the self-governing status of *Bletisama* can be dated to 27 CE.²⁴³

Another *terminus* marks the boundary between *Ucubi* and the cities of *Lacini-murga* and *Augusta Emerita*. *Ucubi* was located in the *conventus Astigitanus* and the two other cities in the *conventus Emeritensis*. These *conventus* do not share border²⁴⁴, which is taken as evidence for a *praefectura*, an enclave of the territorium of one *civitas* within the territory of another.²⁴⁵ In the case of *Ucubi* there are two possible interpretations. The most common of these is the idea that for the *deductio* of the *colonia Ucubi*, land had to be distributed among the *coloni*. As there was not enough land in the vicinity, this may have prompted the creation of a *praefectura*.²⁴⁶ Another possibility is that *Ucubi* was compensated in another *conventus* for expropriation of land to settle colonists, as is also known for *Capua*. Cassius Dio states that *Capua* was compensated for the expropriation of land to settle colonists with the *Aqua Iulia* aqueduct and with a *praefectura* near *Knossos* on the island of Crete.²⁴⁷ However, other

²³⁹ Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001): 256; Cortés Bárcena (2013): no. 7-9.

²⁴⁰ Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2001): 257.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* 259.

²⁴² HEP-18, 00479; AE 2009, 00607:

[M(arco) Licinio Cr]asso Fr[ugi et] / [L(ucio) Calpurnio Pisone co(n)s(ulibus)] / [// hospitium 3 reno]/vavit cum s[enatu popul]/oq(ue) Bletisam[ensi 3 eum]/que senatus [populusque] / Bletisamen[sis liber]/os posterosq(u)e ei[us 3 in 3 am]/icitiamque su[am receperunt] / ita ut civem [3] / in perpetuo 3] / egit ipse A[3] / TONE[.

²⁴³ Sastre Prats *et al.* (2009) 'Nuevo pacto de hospitalidad procedente de Pino del Oro (Zamora).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 168, 287-92; López Barja de Quiroga (2010) '¿Quién hace qué con quién? La reconstrucción del texto.' In: Sastre Prats and Beltrán Ortega (eds.), *El Bronce de "El Picón" (Pino del Oro). Procesos de cambio en el occidente de Hispania.*, 61-5.

²⁴⁴ CIL II² 7,870 & CIL II² 7,871.

²⁴⁵ Cortés Bárcena (2013): 47.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Cf: Sáez Fernández (1993) 'Nuevas perspectivas en relación a la ordenación territorial del sur de la Lusitania española.' In: Gorges and Salinas de Frías (eds.), *Mesa Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana* 99-108: 107; Rodríguez Neila (1994) 'Organización territorial romana y administración municipal en la Bética.' In: AAVV (ed.), *Historia Antigua: actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Córdoba, 1991*, 201-48: 231.

²⁴⁷ Cass. Dio. XLIX 14.5, see also: Vell. Patr. II 81.2.

reasons for the prefecture have also been proposed, ranging from land used for transhumance to mining or defensive purposes.²⁴⁸ The dating of the two *termini*, both in Flavian times, seems to indicate that these boundaries were established or re-established with the granting of *ius Latii*.

Lusitania has evidence for 53 self-governing communities, with the self-governing status of 44 of these communities being proved by epigraphy. Pliny lists eight further self-governing communities. To this list we can add four probable places whose epigraphic record provides evidence of civic organisation. Finally, there are five places whose self-governing status remains doubtful. They are mentioned by the ancient sources without any clear reference to their self-governing nature.

3.5 Dispersed *civitas*

A problem touched upon and so far avoided is that of self-governing communities that did not have an urban centre. As has already been explained, Pliny's summary for *Citerior* provides evidence for *civitates* without an *oppidum*. These 114 *civitates* are referred to as *ländliche Gemeinden* by Detlefsen and as rural *civitates* by McElderry.²⁴⁹ According to Detlefsen, all the *civitates* or *populi* in the first four *conventus* (*Tarraconensis*, *Caesaraugustanus*, *Carthaginiensis* and *Cluniensis*) are recognisable as cities.²⁵⁰ In the other *conventus* he detects at least twenty-four *ländliche Gemeinden*: *Gigurri*, *Paesici*, *Zoelae* in the *conventus Asturum*; the *Celtici Neri*, *Celtici Supertamarci*, *Celtici Praestamarci*, *Lemavi*, *Cibarci*, *Egivarri Namarini*, *Iadovi*, *Arroni*, *Arrotrebae*, *Copori* and *Cileni* in the *conventus Lucensis*; and the *Biballi*, *Coilerni*, *Cal-laeci*, *Equaesi*, *Limici*, *Quaequerni*, *Helleni*, *Grovi*, *Leuni* and *Seurbi* in the *conventus Bracarum*. According to Detlefsen, these communities must have been *ländliche Gemeinden* because they appear as *populi* or *civitates* without reference to *oppida*.

To add to his interpretation of the *ländliche Gemeinden*, Detlefsen turns to Ptolemy. Here he points to *populi* and the relevant settlement:

Τουροδῶν	Ὑδατα Φλαουία	Γρουίων	Τοῦδαι
Κοιλερινῶν	Κοιλιόβριγα	Λουαγκῶν	Μερούα
Νεμετατῶν	Οὐολόβριγα	Κουακερνῶν	Ὑδατα Κουακερνῶν
Βιβαλῶν	Φόρος Βιβαλῶν	Λουβαινῶν	Κάμβαιτον
Λιμικῶν	Φόρος Λιμικῶν	Ναρβασῶν	Φόρος Ναρβασῶν

Among the ethnic names, which appear in the genitive, we can immediately recognise some of the communities just referred to: *Coilerni*, *Bibali*, *Limici*, *Grovi* and the *Quaequerni*. The names in the nominative we recognise as place names, such as

²⁴⁸ Cortés Bárcena (2013): 47.

²⁴⁹ Detlefsen (1873): 604; McElderry (1918): 73.

²⁵⁰ Detlefsen (1873): 607. McElderry locates all 144 *civitates* in "the four 'conventus' of the north-west, which contained 131 communities in all" (1918): 73.

Koliobriga. However, we also see names that seem to indicate a different kind of settlement, namely those starting with Ὑδατα or Φόρος, clearly corresponding to the Latin designations *Aquae* and *Forum*. Detlefsen proposes that these places were most probably not recognised as *oppida* by Pliny, but must be seen as places where people gathered, such as natural springs (*Heilquellen*) or market places.²⁵¹ Detlefsen also states that the *castellum Tyde* in Pliny, mentioned after the *Grovii*, is Τοῦδαῖ the settlement of the Γροῦιοι. Pliny's use of the term *castellum* implies that this was not a normal *oppidum*. The Padrão dos Povos found in Chaves seems to support Detlefsen.²⁵² Among the ten *civitates* mentioned, we find several of Pliny's *populi* whose *aquae* or *fora* are mentioned in Ptolemy.

The concept of the *ländliche Gemeinden* contradicts the standard idea of the *civitas* as an *urbs* with its territory.²⁵³ The problem of the 'civitas without a central town' has been addressed by Oller Guzmán in his work on the *civitas sine urbe*.²⁵⁴ However, since the Latin expression used by Oller Guzmán is not found in the ancient sources. I will use the term 'dispersed *civitas*' to refer to *civitates* without a central town.

Oller Guzmán provides four criteria by which a 'dispersed *civitas*' may be recognised:

1. a *civitas* situated in a geographical setting impeding the operation of the *urbs* + *territorium* model (e.g. too mountainous terrain);
2. a *civitas* controlled by a small settlement rather than a full-fledged city; these are often mining cities, such as Oller's case study on Caldes de Montbui;
3. a settlement in which public buildings are present but a proper residential area is lacking; an example of this is the *municipium Munigua*, interestingly again a mining city;
4. a concentration of honorific inscriptions mentioning magistrates without evidence of an urban settlement. The presence of multiple inscriptions mentioning magistrates indicates there is a Roman-based administrative organisation but no urban settlement.²⁵⁵

An obvious problem with these is that the absence of a central town might be an illusion created by a lack of proper archaeological research. Therefore, only the well-researched *civitates* can be included in these categories.

²⁵¹ Detlefsen (1873): 608.

²⁵² CIL II 2477: [...] **civitates** [X] / Aquiflavien[ses Aobrigenses] / Bibali Coel[erni Equaes] / Interamic[i Limici Aebisoci?]/ Quarque[r]ni Ta[magani].

²⁵³ *Contra*: Galsterer (1971): 1.

²⁵⁴ Oller Guzmán (2014) 'La civitas sine urbe y su función de vertebración en el territorio provincial Hispano: los casos de Egara y Caldes de Montbui.' *PYRENAE* Vol. 1, N° 45, 89-110; Oller Guzmán (2011).

²⁵⁵ Oller Guzmán (2014): 92-3.

The question arises of why this special category of *civitates* ever came into existence. In his work, Oller Guzmán points out that the *civitates* were a way of controlling the newly conquered areas, based on the principle of *urbs* and *territorium*. Hence, controlling the city also meant control over the territory. While this worked very well in most areas, it failed, for instance, in mountainous areas where the settlements and their territories are significantly rarer and smaller. In order to control these un-urbanised territories, a small settlement was made the focal point of the *civitas*.²⁵⁶ The argument is based on the fact that some of these centres of dispersed *municipia* have a large monumental public area but very few residential buildings.²⁵⁷ The idea is that the actual inhabitants of the *municipium* were the people living in the rural territory controlled by the 'centre', the latter only being the focal point for political and religious purposes.

3.5.1 Aquae

Aquae were spas or *Heilquellen*.²⁵⁸ Their natural mineral-medicinal waters led to a religious connotation and made them a focal point for people in their vicinity.²⁵⁹ Several inscriptions found at spas demonstrate that such places might draw visitors from far away. Moreover, inscriptions also show spas were locations for *euergetism*, showing the public nature of these places.²⁶⁰ As Detlefsen and González Soutelo state, such places could become the central places of *civitates*.²⁶¹

All known *aquae* of the Iberian Peninsula are located in the province of *Citerior*: *Aquae Bilbilitanorum* (unlocated), *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy), *Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae* (Caldas de Malavella), *Aquae Celenae* (Caldas de Reis), *Aquae Flaviae* (Chaves), *Aquae Originiae* (unlocated), *Aquae Quaequerna* (Baños de

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 91. This custom is attested for *Asia Minor* in the Ottoman period, see Faroqhi (1990) 'Towns, Agriculture and the State in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Anatolia.' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. XXXIII, 125-56: 141.

²⁵⁷ E.g: *Munigua* (4 ha): Schattner *et al.* (2008) 'Avances sobre el territorio de Munigua.' In: Mangas Manjarrés and Ángel Novillo (eds.), *El territorio de las ciudades romanas*, 129-54; Schattner *et al.* (2012) 'Munigua, ciudad y territorio.' In: Beltrán Fortes and Rodríguez de Guzmán Sánchez (eds.), *La arqueología romana de la provincia de Sevilla: actualidad y perspectivas*, 207-34; San Martín Montilla and Schattner (2006) *Munigua: la colina sagrada*.

Labitolosa (max 12 ha): Oller Guzmán (2014); Galve *et al.* (2005).

²⁵⁸ Detlefsen (1873): 608.

²⁵⁹ Andreu Pintado (2012b) 'Vbi aquae ibi salus: Verbindung zwischen Gesundheit und Religion in den Thermen des Römischen Hispanien.' In: Kreiner and Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen*, 18.-22. März 2009, 71-8: 71; González Soutelo (2012) 'Thermal Spas in the Roman Age: An approximation to the architectonic configuration of baths with mineral-medicinal water in Hispania.' In: Kreiner and Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen*, 18.-22. März 2009, 79-86: 80.

²⁶⁰ Andreu Pintado (2012b): 75; Matilla Séiquer *et al.* (2012) 'Roman baths in South-East Hispania: historical, architectonical, religious and social aspects.' In: Kreiner and Letzner (eds.), *SPA. Sanitas Per Aquam: Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik und Kulturgeschichte der antike. Thermen. Aachen*, 18.-22. März 2009, 253-8: 256; González Soutelo (2012): 256.

²⁶¹ Detlefsen (1873): 608; González Soutelo (2012): 79.

Bande).²⁶² In order to understand the role of these *Aquae* as central places within a *civitas*, we will consider two cases: *Aquae Calidae* (Caldes de Montbuy) and *Aquae Celenae* (Caldas de Reis).

Aquae Calidae

The settlement of *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy) was located in the same region as *Aquae Calidae vel Voconiae* (Caldas de Malavella) at 60 kilometres distance. The latter spa was a self-governing town that became a *municipium* in the Flavian period.²⁶³ Only the former *Aquae Calidae* will be the focus of this case study.

In the case of *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy) the actual *thermae* have been located. The importance of these *thermae* for people outside the *civitas* is shown by the inscriptions erected by people from *Tarraco*, *Barcino* and *Iluro*.²⁶⁴ All these cities had their own *thermae*, hence there must have been another reason to visit the *thermae* of Caldas de Montbuy. Most probably *Aquae Calidae* was a place where people came to improve their health, as is supported by inscriptions to different deities related to health, such as Apollo.²⁶⁵

In addition to the *thermae*, we find some evidence that suggests that this place was the centre of the *civitas*. First, there is an inscription referring to the presence of a *res publica*.²⁶⁶ Secondly, there is a very damaged but readable inscription referring to the *cursus* of L. Caecilius Serenus, who was *aedilis* and *duumvir*.²⁶⁷ Since this inscription does not mention the *origo* of the magistrate as different from that of *Aquae Calidae*, he probably originated from this community.

Based on the assumption that *Aquae Calidae* was a Flavian *municipium*, Mayer has tried to find an explanation for the fact that Serenus belonged to the *tribus Galeria*, which is not found in other Flavian *municipia*. Although this is based on secondary sources, he presents three possible scenarios: first, the magistrate did not originate from *Aquae Calidae* but he did represent the magistracies in *Aquae Calidae*. Secondly, his family obtained personal citizenship prior to the *municipium*. Lastly, *Aquae Calidae* was promoted prior to the Flavian grant.²⁶⁸ However, since there is no evidence for a Flavian promotion of *Aquae Calidae* (Caldas de Montbuy), the prob-

²⁶² In modern sources, the dative plural case is often used as this is how the places are found in the itineraries. However, I choose to use the plural nominative, as this is the most logical name for these places.

²⁶³ IRC III 8; IRC III 9: *L. Aemilius Quir(ina tribu) Pr(obus) Aquicald(ensis)*. See also: Andreu Pintado (2004b): 347; Mayer i Olivé (2010) 'El Problema de la Aquae Calidae del norte del Conventus Tarraconensis'. *Palaeohispanica* Vol. 10, 303-17: 307.

²⁶⁴ Oller Guzmán (2014): 102. *Tarraco*: CIL II 4488.

²⁶⁵ Mayer i Olivé (2010): 304.

²⁶⁶ CIL II 4491: *P(ublius) Licinius Phi/letus et Lici/nia Crassi lib(erta) / Peregrina Isidi / v(otum) s(ol-verunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) loc(o) ac(cepto) / p(ublice?) a re pub(lica)*.

Although we must keep in mind that the *res publica* could have belonged to *Ilerda*, which is at 18 kilometres the nearest known self-governing town.

²⁶⁷ AE 1984, 611.

²⁶⁸ Mayer i Olivé (2010): 307.

lem Mayer tried to solve may not exist. I agree with Mayer that a pre-Flavian promotion is possible based on the *tribus Galeria*. Nonetheless, the epigraphic evidence makes clear that this site was an important place with at least a territory controlled by the *res publica* and probably magistrates based on the statue base for Serenus.

In any event, the archaeological record near the *thermae* does not indicate the existence of a large monumentalised urban centre.²⁶⁹ The pre-Roman *oppidum* at Turó de la Torre Roja was abandoned and the territory was occupied by rural settlements and *villae*. *Aquae Calidae* can therefore be described as a dispersed *civitas* where the people lived mostly in the rural hinterland and gathered at a religious centre.

Aquae Celenae

In the western part of *Hispania Citerior*, we find *Aquae Celenae* (Caldas de Reis). The *populus* is mentioned by Pliny as the *Celeni* and in Ptolemy we find the *Cilinorum: Aquae Calidae*.²⁷⁰ In other sources the central place of the *Celeni* appears as *Aquae Celenae*.²⁷¹ The appearance of two names for the same settlement finds a parallel in the case of Caldas de Malavella, which appears as *Aquae Calidae* but also as *Aquae Voconiae*. Alternatively, they could well be two completely different places, as proposed in the TIR K-29 and by Pérez Losada.²⁷² To avoid confusion, I will use the designation *Aquae Celenae*, rather than the frequently found *Aquae Calidae*.²⁷³

To judge from the itineraries, *Aquae Celenae* must have been located at Caldas de Reis.²⁷⁴ The relevance of the *civitas* for late Antiquity is clear, as it is mentioned in several sources as a *municipium* with an episcopal seat.²⁷⁵ Pérez Losada has collected the data available in archaeological reports. His interpretation gives us a small linear settlement occupying at most 8 hectares, but more probably 4.5 hectares with minimal 'urban' characteristics.²⁷⁶ The settlement must have had some ceramic production as a kiln has been found.²⁷⁷ The most important feature is its thermal complex that gave the settlement its name. Similar to the case of *Aquae Calidae*, we find altars dedicated to a deity related to water, in the case of *Aquae Celenae* to *Edovius*.²⁷⁸ Three

²⁶⁹ Oller Guzmán (2014): 104.

²⁷⁰ Plin. *NH* IV 111; Ptol. II 6, 24.

²⁷¹ Ant.It. 423.8; 430.3; Ravenn. 308.2; 321.8 : *Aquis Celenis*.

²⁷² Balil Illana *et al.* (1991); Pérez Losada (2002): 142.

²⁷³ *Hispania Citerior*; Mauretania; Aquitania; Sicilia; Asia Minor; Dacia.

²⁷⁴ Pérez Losada (2002): 141; Roldán Hervás and Caballero Casado (2014): 107; Balil Illana *et al.* (1991): 22; González Soutelo (2005) 'Aproximación al estudio de las aguas minerodecinales en la Antigüedad. El caso concreto de Caldas de Reis (Pontevedra)'. *Gallaecia* Vol. 24, 99-125: 101.

²⁷⁵ Pérez Losada (2002): 141.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 150.

²⁷⁷ González Soutelo (2005): 107.

²⁷⁸ López Barja de Quiroga and Rúa Carril (2011) 'Vicarius en un nuevo altar a Edouius de Caldas de Reis (Pontevedra)'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Vol. 177, 298-302: 301.

ZPE 177: Edouio / Epagathu(s) / Deuteri · A- / prilis · Caes(aris) / dis(pensatoris) · ser(ui) · uic(arius) / uo(tum) s(oluit) l(ibens) a(nimo)

rural settlements and three small *castros* have been located within a two-kilometre radius of *Aquae Celenae*.²⁷⁹ The vicinity of these rural settlements and *castros* shows the dispersed settlement pattern within the *civitas* of the *Celeni*.

Aquae Querquernae

The settlement of *Aquae Querquernae* (Baños de Bande) appears in Pliny, in Ptolemy and in the itineraries as a *civitas*.²⁸⁰ Moreover, it features on the Padrão dos Povos.²⁸¹ *Aquae Querquernae* consisted of an auxiliary camp, which was located near a hot spring. The encampment probably belonged to the *cohors III* of the *Legio VII Gemina*. The auxiliary camp is located on the so-called *Via Nova* from *Bracara Augusta* to *Asturica Augusta*.²⁸² The camp follows the standard regular lay-out and clearly was created *ex novo*. Several buildings have been excavated or identified.²⁸³ Measuring 2.31 hectares, the camp is rather large for an auxiliary camp for a cohort.²⁸⁴

Following the standard pattern, the military camp has a civilian settlement in its direct vicinity. In the case of *Aquae Querquernae*, multiple settlements have been found, one of which was a *vicus* (Baños) measuring 4.4 hectares.²⁸⁵ This was the site of the *mansio* that is mentioned in the Ravenna and Antonine Itinerary and the location of the thermal springs and thermal-complex.²⁸⁶ Interestingly, the camp seems to have been located within the territory of the *populus* or *civitas* of the *Querquernae*.²⁸⁷

CIL II 2543: Edovio / Adalus Clo/utai v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

²⁷⁹ Pérez Losada (2002): 151 fig. 43.

²⁸⁰ Plin. *NH* III 28: *Querquerni*; Ptol. II 6, 46: Ὑδατα Κονακερνών; Itin. Ant. 428.2: *Aquis Querquennis*; Ravenn. 320.3: *Aquis Cercenis*.

²⁸¹ CIL II 2477.

²⁸² Vega Aveleira *et al.* (2009) 'Los principia del campamento romano de Aquae Querquennae (Portoquintela, Baños de Bande, prov. de Ourense, España).' In: Morillo Cerdán, Hanel and Martín (eds.), *LIMES XX Roman Frontier Studies. (Anejos de Gladius, 13)*, 465-80: 465.

²⁸³ Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998) 'El Complejo arqueológico romano de "Aquis Querquennis" Porto Quintela (Ourense).' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, II Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 891-910: 898; Rodríguez Colmenero (2002) 'El campamento auxiliar de Aquis Querquennis (Naños de Bande, Ourense).' In: Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, 227-4: 228; Vega Aveleira *et al.* (2009): 466.

Ferrer Sierra (2015) 'Actuaciones arqueológicas en Aquis Querquennis: 2010-2014.' *Larouco* Vol. 6, 149-54: 123. the standard defensive structures as well as: *horrea*; *valetudinarium*, several *contubernia* and the *principia*.

²⁸⁴ Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 898; Vega Aveleira *et al.* (2009): 466; Hanel (2005) 'Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence.' In: Erdkamp (ed.), *A companion to the Roman army* 375-416: 407.

²⁸⁵ Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 905; Rodríguez Colmenero (1991) '<<Aquis Querquennis>>: quince años a carón.' *Larouco* Vol. 1, 123-30: 127.

²⁸⁶ Ant.It. 428.2; Ravenn. 320.3; Palao Vicente (2009) 'Los asentamientos civiles en los campamentos hispanos durante el alto imperio.' In: Morillo Cerdán, Hanel and Martín (eds.), *LIMES XX Congreso International de estudios sobre la frontera romana*, 525-40: 529.

²⁸⁷ Plin. *NH* III 28; Rodríguez Colmenero (2002): 228.

Four kilometres to the north was the settlement of Castro de Rubiás.²⁸⁸ Honorific inscriptions have been found in this *castro*, indicating its importance.²⁸⁹ Colmenero argues that this *castro* was the so-called ‘*civitas* capital’, rather than a military settlement of *Aquae Querquernae*. Since the military camp, with the *mansio*, was located along the main route, Ptolemy and the itineraries referred to *Aquae Querquernae* as the ‘polis’ of the *Querquernae* without mentioning the *castro*.²⁹⁰ It is clear that the military settlement, due to the position along the road with a *mansio* and thermal springs, had taken the role of a central place within this *civitas*, although the administrative ‘capital’ kept its position for the local élite as is shown by the epigraphy.

3.5.2 Fora

The other group of settlements Detlefsen identified as possible centres of the *ländliche Gemeinden* is that of the *fora*.²⁹¹ In general, there seems to be a consensus on the origin of the *fora* as an administrative solution for rural areas without urban centres. Such *fora* were open, rural settlements with at least a market place.²⁹² The *fora* are located in the western provinces, mostly in areas that were conquered during the Republic, such as Italy, the Gaul, *Sardinia* and the *Hispaniae*.²⁹³ While many of them originated from simple market places or local fairs with a regional function, under Roman control they were promoted to be administrative centres. In some cases they developed into full-fledged cities, and some of them even became *coloniae*.²⁹⁴ An example of a promotion to *colonia* seems to be *Libisosa*. The full name of this city has been interpreted as bearing the evidence of its humble origin: *Colonia Libisosa Forum Augusta*.²⁹⁵ The history of *Forum Iulium Iliturgi* may have been similar.²⁹⁶ However, it seems that the *fora* in the north-western region of Hispania did not develop into recognisably urban places.

²⁸⁸ Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 905.

²⁸⁹ AFPE² no 591 & 608.

²⁹⁰ Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (1998): 908. Cf. chapter III the section on the dispersed *civitates*, also Houten (2017).

²⁹¹ In this case we refer to the concept of the *forum*, a market place or a place to gather, rather than the architectural *forum*. See also: Balil (1987) ‘Forum y fora en el noroeste peninsular.’ In: AAVV (ed.), *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 143-6: 143; Pérez Losada (2002): 35.

²⁹² Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 121; Pérez Losada (2002): 36; Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2004) ‘Aproximación al conjunto arqueológico y monumental de Libisosa (Cerro del Castillo, Lezuza, Albacete).’ In: Caballero Klink and Ruiz Rodríguez (eds.), *Investigaciones arqueológicas en Castilla-La Mancha, 1996-2002*, 181-91: 181; Poveda Navarro (2002) ‘Fora Hispana: la evidencia de Libisosa Forum Augustum (Lezuza, Albacete).’ *Conimbriga* Vol. XLI, 5-38: 12; Crespo Cabillo (2009) ‘Los “fora” de la época imperial: los ejemplos alpinos y sardos.’ *VELEIA* Vol. 26, 287-95: 289.

²⁹³ Balil (1987): 144; Pérez Losada (2002): 35.

²⁹⁴ Balil (1987): 144; Gros and Torelli (1994) *Storia dell’urbanistica: Il mondo romano*: 224; Ligt (1993) *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire*: 117.

²⁹⁵ Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2004): 181; Uroz Sáez *et al.* (2003) ‘Libisosa. La transformación de un *oppidum* en colonia romana.’ *Alebus* Vol. 13, 221-52: 225.

²⁹⁶ Fernández Ochoa *et al.* (2014): 121.

The *fora* found in Hispania, in addition to *Libisosa* and *Iliturgi*, are *Forum Bibalorum*²⁹⁷ (unlocated), *Forum Gallorum*²⁹⁸ (unlocated), *Forum Gigurrorum*²⁹⁹ (A Proba), *Forum Iriensum*³⁰⁰ (Padrón), *Forum Limicorum*³⁰¹ (Xinzo de Limia) and *Forum Narbasorum*³⁰² (unlocated). The *populi* of *Forum Bibalorum* and *Forum Limicorum* are mentioned on the Padrão dos Povos and thus are certainly to be seen as *civitates*.³⁰³ Two of these *fora* will be examined in closer detail in order to achieve a better understanding of this type of settlement.

Forum Limicorum

Among the *populi* mentioned for the *conventus Bracarum* in Pliny we encounter the *Limici*, corresponding to Ptolemy's Λιμικῶν with their central settlement Φόρος Λιμικῶν.³⁰⁴ The case for the *Limici* as a *civitas* is quite strong. In CIL II 2517, [*c*]ivitas *Limicorum* can be read clearly.³⁰⁵ Pérez Losada states that *Forum Limicorum* was either located at Xinzo de Limia or at Nocela da Pena.

He proposes that Xinzo de Limia is a known Roman settlement, already attested as such in the 18th and 19th century.³⁰⁶ Whilst archaeological remains dating to the first century CE have been found and some archaeological research has been done, the lay-out of the settlement continues to be unknown. Pérez Losada argues this was a roadside settlement, of approximately 5 hectares, located along a route from *Aquae Flaviae* to *Auriensis*, located at a crossing with a secondary road parallel to route XVIII of the Antonine Itinerary, as can be derived from milestones found in the region.³⁰⁷ This roadside settlement could well be the market place for the *civitas Limicorum*, as

²⁹⁷ Ptol. II 6, 42; CIL II 2477=5616.

²⁹⁸ Ant. It. 452.7.

²⁹⁹ Ptol. II 6, 37; Ant. It. 438,7; Ravenn. 320,8; HEp 7, 1997, 378.

³⁰⁰ CIL II 2540=5626; CIL II 5629.

³⁰¹ CIL II 2477=5616; CIL II 2516; CIL II 2517.

³⁰² Ptol. II 6, 49.

³⁰³ CIL II 2477=5616.

³⁰⁴ Plin NH III 28.

³⁰⁵ CIL II 2517.

³⁰⁶ Pérez Losada (2002): 215.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 219.

it was located at a road axis connecting it to *Bracara Augusta*, *Aquae Flaviae*, *Auriensis* and many other cities in the region.

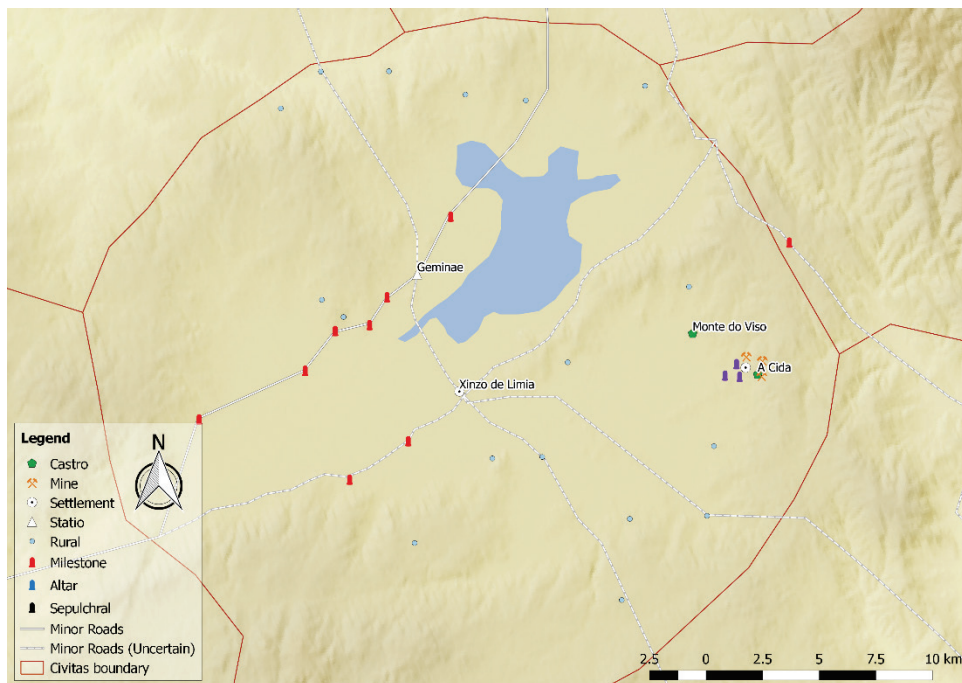


Fig.III.5: *Civitas Limicorum* with the two possible centres and the statio *Geminae* (*Itin. Ant* 428.3)

In the *civitas Limicorum*, we also find the *castro* 'A Cida' close to Nocelo da Pena. This is another known Roman settlement where two honorific inscriptions were found.³⁰⁸ The inscriptions honouring Hadrian³⁰⁹ and Antoninus Pius³¹⁰ both contain the term *civitas*, but only CIL II 2517 preserves the name of the *civitas Limicorum*. In addition, three altars have been found in the direct vicinity of the site.³¹¹ Some archaeological remains have been found, but so far none that clarifies the nature of the settlement. Interestingly, evidence of tin-mining activity in Roman times has been found in four nearby mines, as well as some washing basins.³¹² Moreover, an inscription referring to an *Ulpus procurator libertus Augusti* has been found. According to García Valdeiras, this must be a *procurator metallorum*.³¹³ García links the inscription to Ulpus Eutyches, a known *procurator metallorum* for tin mines in the region, although he also notes that the first line, reading Ulpus, is rather difficult to read.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 221.

³⁰⁹ CIL II 2516.

³¹⁰ CIL II 2517.

³¹¹ Pérez Losada (2002): 222; CIL II 5622; IRG IV 68 ; IRGV I.

³¹² Pérez Losada (2002): 222.

³¹³ García Valdeiras (2001) 'O Forum Limicorum.' *Minius* Vol. IX, 39-50: 44.

It would be logical to regard the settlement at the road junction, Xinzo de Limia, as the *forum* of the *civitas*, but the honorific inscriptions come from another settlement, A Cida, clearly related to the mining activity in the area. We may well be dealing with a *civitas* with two central places: A Cida for the administration of the mining activities and possibly also the administration of the *civitas*, and Xinzo de Limia as the market centre giving the name *Forum Limicorum* (fig. III.5).

Forum Gigurrorum

Another *forum* is that of the *Gigurri*, mentioned in Pliny as one of the twenty-two *populi* of the *conventus Asturum*.³¹⁴ In Ptolemy, the central place of this *populus* appears as Φόρος Γιγουρρών.³¹⁵ We also find *Forum Gigurrorum* in the Antonine Itinerary and the Ravenna Cosmography.³¹⁶ The exact location is discussed as no clear, full-fledged city has been found. Pérez Losada argues quite convincingly for A Proba as the 'capital' of the *civitas*.³¹⁷ However, other settlements put forward as possible 'capitals' include A Cigarrosa (A Rúa) and As Medorras (Petín).³¹⁸ At these two sites, large amounts of *terra sigillata*, mosaics, a bath complex and marble pieces belonging to columns have been found.³¹⁹ In addition, at A Cigarrosa a funerary inscription has been found mentioning a Roman veteran originating from *Calubriga*, one of the settlements of the *Gigurri*.³²⁰ It seems clear that the sites were at least *villae*, or roadside settlements.

At A Proba, Pérez Losada's candidate for the *forum* of the *Gigurri*, we find a larger settlement (7.5 hectares) along road XVIII of the Antonine Itinerary. Ceramics show that the site was active from the Claudian-Neronian period into the fourth, or even the fifth century, reaching its peak in the Flavian-Trajanic period.³²¹ The settlement had a *cloaca* system, a 9-metre-wide road and some perpendicular roads.³²² The settlement certainly had no walls and had an open lay-out. Based on this evidence, Pérez Losada argues that A Proba must have been the '*civitas* capital'.

Besides these sites, there were many *castros* and rural sites in the territory of the *Gigurri* (fig. III.6). Some of these *castros* are also attested in epigraphy. In addition to the already mentioned inscription referring to *Calubriga*, the *Edicto de Bierzo* mentions the *castellum Aiiobriga*. This *castellum* had belonged to the *Gigurri* but was given by Augustus to the *Susarri* as a punishment for the role the *Gigurri* had played

³¹⁴ Plin *NH* III 28.

³¹⁵ Ptol. II 6, 37.

³¹⁶ Ant. It 428,7 *Foro* due to its position between *Nemetobriga* and *Bergidum* the *Foro* must be the same as in Ravenn. 320, 8: *Foro Gigurnion*, the name is somewhat corrupted but still clearly related to the *Gigurri*.

³¹⁷ Pérez Losada (2002): 214.

³¹⁸ Balil Illana *et al.* (1991): 57.

³¹⁹ Acuña Castroviejo and Alles León (2001-2002) 'Nuevas aportaciones a los mosaicos romanos de Galicia.' *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología* Vol. 17-18, 365-74: 368; Pérez Losada (2002): 206.

³²⁰ CIL II 2610, *Calubriga* is also found in Ep I, 1989, 667

³²¹ Pérez Losada (2002): 203.

³²² Pérez Losada (2002): 202.

in the Cantabrian Wars. So far no inscriptions have been found in the supposed capital.

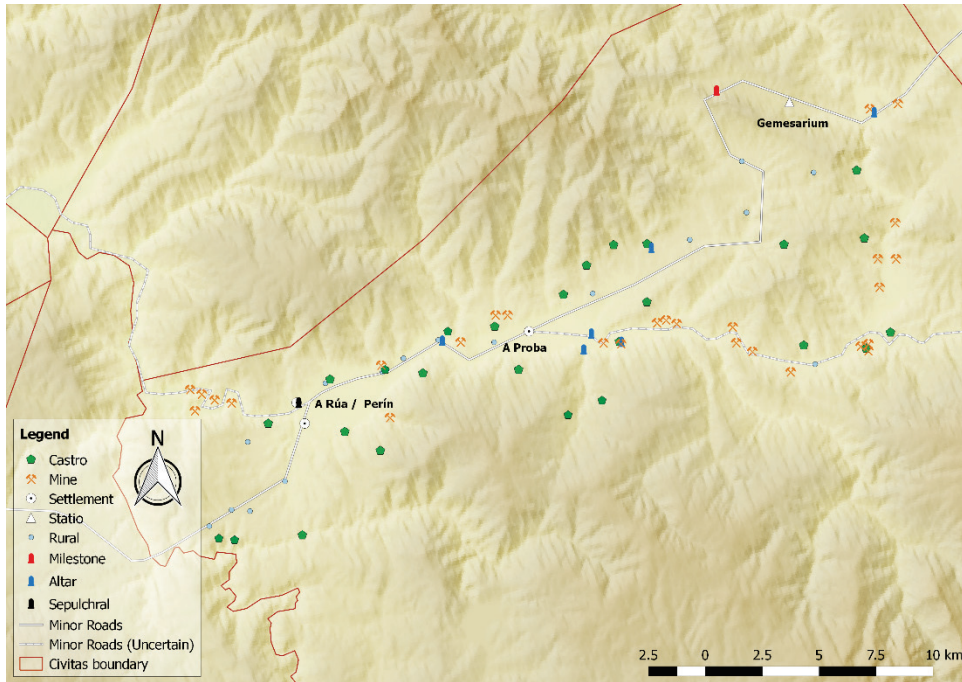


Fig. III.6 *Civitas Gigurrorum* with the two possible centres, the statio *Gemesarium* (Itin. Ant 429.1) and castros

These clues suggest that the *civitas* of the *Gigurri* was a dispersed *civitas*. Whilst *A Proba* is a very likely candidate for the *civitas* capital, the multitude of settlements and the dispersed epigraphic record point to a dispersed settlement pattern.

3.5.3 Other dispersed *civitates*

As pointed out by Oller Guzmán, dispersed *civitates* can only be identified if we have a clear picture of the archaeology. In this chapter we cannot investigate all the settlements to this degree. My discussion will therefore focus on a handful of cases that have been put forward as possible examples of dispersed *civitates*.

Egara

One of the cases discussed by Oller Guzmán is *Egara* (max 6 ha). Some residential buildings have been found at this site but monumentality is missing.³²³ Nevertheless,

³²³ Own measurement base don the hill top on which *Egara* is located.

inscriptions referring to the status of *Egara* and to a *duumvir* indicate an administrative focus.³²⁴ Here, an old Iberian *oppidum* developed into a Flavian *municipium*.³²⁵

The question remains of why this small settlement became a *municipium*. Oller Guzmán points out that these 'dispersed *civitates*' are often situated between larger cities. In the case of *Egara* we find the *colonia Barcino* at only 20 kilometres to the south-east and the *municipium civium Romanorum Iluro* at a similar distance to the north-east.³²⁶ Oller Guzmán argues that the *municipium* of *Egara* may have been created to establish control over the inland area. In line with the explanation given by Guitart i Duran for the small size of the *colonia* of *Barcino*, Guitart i Duran argues that the *colonia* was created to guarantee control over the road between *Emporiae* and *Tarraco*, the crossing of the Llobregat and the lands between the two aforementioned cities.³²⁷

Segontia Lanca

Another case where archaeology seems to indicate the existence of a *civitas* without a clear *urbs* is that of *Segontia Lanca*. Martínez Caballero argues that *Segontia Lanca* belonged to the type of the multipolar *civitas*, where we find more than one central place.³²⁸ The concept of a multipolar or polyfocal community has also been applied to Late Iron Age Britain and Gaul.³²⁹ Three different systems have been being recognised. First, large multipolar settlement systems where we find a conglomeration of settlements occupying an area of up to 25 km².³³⁰ Another idea is that of Nomadic urbanism. In this case the 'urban' centres only last for one or two generations, often as a result of political instability, leading to multiple urban centres in one territory.³³¹ Finally, Moore has drawn attention to the possibility that multiple centres may have operated in tandem to control the territory, in contrast to the old idea of a territory being controlled by only one *oppidum*.³³²

In the case of *Segontia Lanca*, Martínez Caballero has identified at least three centres within the *civitas* in the Imperial period: Castro Valdanzo, La Fernosa and

³²⁴ CIL II 4494; CIL II 4495.

³²⁵ CIL II 4494 mentions *municipium Flavium Egara*. Oller Guzmán (2009) 'El municipi Romà d'Egara: antecedents, constitució i evolució.' *TERME* Vol. 24, 189-208: 202; Oller Guzmán (2012) *El territori i poblament del Vallès en època antiga*: 501.

³²⁶ Oller Guzmán (2014): 97.

³²⁷ Guitart i Duran (2010): 26.

³²⁸ Martínez Caballero (2010) 'Segontia Lanca (Hispania Citerior): Propuesta para la identificación de la ciudad Celtibera y Romana.' *VELELA* Vol. 27, 141-72: 141.

³²⁹ Haselgrove (2000) 'The character of oppida in Iron Age Britain.' In: Guichard, Sievers and Urban (eds.), *Les processus d'urbanisation à l'âge du fer: actes du colloque Glux-en-Glenne, 8-11 juin 1998*, 103-10: 105; Poux (2014) 'Enlarging Oppida: Multipolar Town Patterns in Late Iron Age Gaul.' In: Fernández-Götz, Wendling and Winger (eds.), *Paths to Complexity: Centralization and Urbanization in Iron Age Europe*, 156-66: 163ss; Moore (2012) 'Beyond the Oppida: Polyfocal Complexes and Late Iron Age Societies in Southern Britain.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 31, N° 4, 391-417: 392ss.

³³⁰ Poux (2014): 163.

³³¹ *Ibid.* 160.

³³² Moore (2012): 392.

Cabecera del Vivero.³³³ Two different centres appear to have existed in the pre-Roman and Republican periods. The existence of three different urban systems in a period of 200 years points to Nomadic urbanism. In addition, we can state that in the Imperial period the settlement pattern became polyfocal, when three different centres can be recognised within the *civitas*.

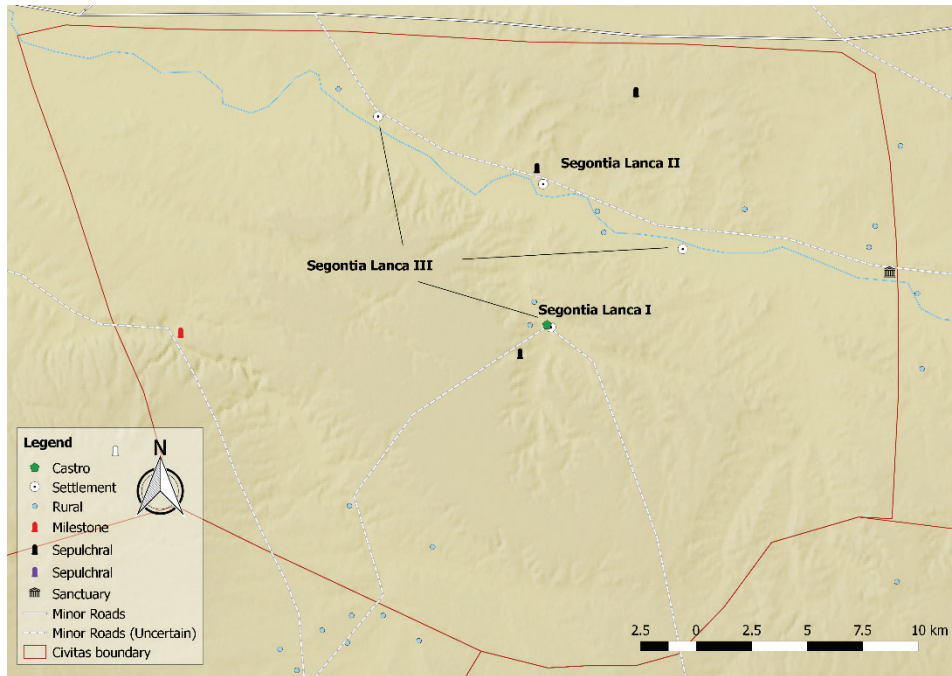


Fig. III.7 The settlements of Segontia Lanca in the three periods treated by Martínez Caballero (2010).

After the fall of *Numantia*, the old centre of the *Segontia Lanca* was moved from the hilltop settlement of Castro Valdanzo to the settlement along the Duero Las Quintanas-La Cuesta del Moro (*Segontia Lanca II*) sometime between 124 and 98 BCE.³³⁴ This settlement became the new centre, as can also be observed in the size of the settlement, which was about 60 hectares.³³⁵ The site of *Segontia Lanca II* minted coinage with the legend *ś.e.ko.ti.a.ka.s l.a.ka.s* (*sekotiaz lakaz*), showing the high level of organisation and centralisation of the centre in the second century BCE.³³⁶

³³³ Martínez Caballero (2010): 159.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* 146ff; Tabernero Galán *et al.* (2005) 'Segontia Lanka.' In: Galán and De la Torre Echávarri (eds.), *Celtiberos: tras la estela de Numancia*, 179-204: 202.

³³⁵ Fatás Cabeza *et al.* (1993): 208.

³³⁶ MLH A.77.

However, *Segontia Lanca* was abandoned in the Augustan-Tiberian period. It is unclear whether this happened gradually or abruptly, but the absence of *terra sigillata* shows that the settlement did not continue into the Imperial period.³³⁷

It is in this period at the beginning of the first century CE that three sites in the vicinity of *Segontia Lanca* II developed into larger settlements. First, a resurgence of activity at Castro Valdanzo has been observed, although it is likely that the 21-hectare walled area of the *castro* was not completely occupied. The settlement at La Fernosa grew to about 16.5 hectares and Cabecera del Vivero 19.2 hectares.³³⁸ The sizes of these settlements amount to 56.7 hectares, although it must be stated that the actual area used for occupation must have been smaller. Nonetheless, the expansion of these three settlements combined with the abandonment of Las Quintanas-La Cuesta del Moro, points to a dispersion of the people from the old centre (about 60 hectares) to three smaller settlements (together about 55 ha). Martínez Caballero sees this dispersion as a way of obtaining greater control over the territorium of the *civitas*.³³⁹ The positioning of the three settlements supports this thesis. Two settlements are positioned along the Duero, whilst the third is located to the south along a tributary of this river.

Martínez Caballero's interpretation of this pattern points towards a dispersed *civitas*. He states that there must have been one place for the administration of the *civitas*. From an administrative point of view, the two other settlements would have been subordinated to this place, but demographically and archaeologically no 'urbs' can be recognised. So far, no *forum*, *basilica*, *curia* or even temple has been located in any of the settlements. Pérez Losada refers to these *civitates* with multiple centres as *civitates* with 'dualidade (capital oficiosa/oficial)'.³⁴⁰ Another example given by Pérez Losada is that of the *civitas* of the *Tiburi*. The *Tiburi* are mentioned by Ptolemy with their capital *Nemetobriga*: Τειβοῦρων Νεμετόβριγα.³⁴¹ However, a concentration of honorific inscriptions for various emperors proposes the site at O Burgo, identified with the *Praesidio* along Route XVIII, as one of the most important places.³⁴²

As has already been stated, the so-called centres of the dispersed *civitates* cannot be seen as full-fledged cities. Functionally they are similar to the secondary agglomerations, which are found in the territories of 'real' cities. However, unlike such secondary agglomerations, minor settlements of the dispersed *civitates* did not belong to a hierarchy dominated by a full-fledged city.³⁴³

³³⁷ Tabernero Galán *et al.* (2005): 202.

³³⁸ Martínez Caballero (2010): 160.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ Pérez Losada (2002): 320.

³⁴¹ Ptol. II 6, 37.

³⁴² Orejas *et al.* (2012) 'Organización y regulación de la actividad minera hispana altoimperial.' In: Zarzalejos Prieto, Hevia Gómez and Mansilla Plaza (eds.), *Paisajes mineros antiguos en la Península Ibérica = Ancient Mining Landscapes in the Iberian Peninsula*, 31-46: 40; Pérez Losada (2002): 320.

³⁴³ Pérez Losada (2002): 338.

3.6 Garrison Settlements

The importance of garrison settlements when considering the development of the urban network has already been touched upon. However, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, knowledge of the military settlements is rather limited.³⁴⁴ The presence of the military on the Iberian Peninsula before and during the time of Augustus is self-evident. In the early empire, a military presence was still required in the newly conquered north-western area, not only to secure these regions but also as the structure for a sparsely urbanised region with many mineral riches.³⁴⁵ As was noted in the chapter on urban development, many camps or settlements with a military presence developed in later periods into important centres and cities, due to the administrative role of the military predecessor.

Since these garrison settlements controlled territories, they can be seen as substitutes for self-governing communities. In Hispania the *prata legionis* of the *Legio IIII Macedonica* are referred to in the inscriptions erected at the border with the city of *Iuliobriga* and *Segisamo*.³⁴⁶ Even *alae* and *cohortes* had their own territories, as is shown in the inscriptions referring to the boundary between the *cohors IIII Gallorum* and the *civitates Luggonum* and *Beduniensis*.³⁴⁷ But since both the military camps of such smaller units and the civilian settlement, which grew up in the vicinity, were much smaller than in the case of legionary camps, they will be dealt with in the chapter on secondary agglomerations.

Alongside the military camps, we also see the development of civilian settlements (military *vicus* or *canabae*).³⁴⁸ In this chapter the term 'garrison settlement' will be

³⁴⁴ Pérez González (1998) 'Pisoraca (Herrera de Pisuerga): Urbanismo militar y civil de época romana.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, 535-58: 548.

The knowledge on military encampments on the Iberian Peninsula is at the moment greatly improved by the Romanarmy.eu project (<http://romanarmy.eu/>). Unfortunately, the results of this project could not be included in this monograph.

³⁴⁵ Illarregui Gómez (2002) 'Acerca de los campamentos altoimperiales de Herrera de Pisuerga y su entorno.' In: Morillo Cerdán (ed.), *Arqueología militar romana en Hispania*, 155-65: 156. Morillo Cerdán and Salido Domínguez (2012) 'Military Vici in Roman Spain.' *Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, 519-30: 519.

³⁴⁶ Cortés Bárcena (2013): 103-30.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 85-100.

³⁴⁸ A whole discussion has arisen on the use of the word *vicus* in this context, see: Salway (1980) 'The Vici: urbanisation in the North.' In: Branigan (ed.), *Rome and the Brigantes: the impact of Rome on northern England*, 8-17: 9; Sommer (1984) *The military vici in Roman Britain: aspects of their origins, their location and layout, administration, function and end* 3; Poulter (1989) 'Gli insediamenti presso i campi militari: <<canabae>> e <<vici>>.' In: Wachter (ed.), *Il mondo di Roma imperial. Vita urbana e rurale*, 69-106: 69; Campbell (1994) *The Roman Army (31 BC - AD 337)*: 141ss; Vega Aveleira (1998) 'Las aglomeraciones civiles (vici y kanabae) de los campamentos romanos: Aspectos urbanísticos.' In: Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.) *Los Orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico*, II Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1265-89: 1266ss; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Domínguez (2012): 519.

The generally accepted definition seems to be that *canabae* is used in the case of a small civilian settlement close to the legionary forts and *vicus* is used for the settlement close to the auxiliary forts. Just to add to the confusion, the settlement located further away but related to the military settlement is called a *vicus* in both cases.

used to refer to military camps and their civilian settlements. The civilian settlement was composed of the camp followers (*lixae*), the family of the legionaries³⁴⁹, veterans, traders, artisans, prostitutes and other providers of services.³⁵⁰

Legio VI Victrix / VII Gemina

The legionary camp at León was established in the Augustan period by the *Legio VI Victrix* and in the Flavian period replaced by the *Legio VII Gemina*. The legionary camp has been well described and studied.³⁵¹ The first phase is known as León I, which is the Augustan military camp.³⁵² Already in the reign of Tiberius the camp was transformed into the León II camp, which lasted until the *Legio VI Victrix* had to leave in 68, when the camp was abandoned for a short period.³⁵³ The arrival of *Legio VII Gemina* in 74 marks the beginning of León III. This phase lasted until the 4th century.³⁵⁴

The legionary camp had several civilian settlements. The *canabae* is found located in the immediate vicinity of the legionary camp. Unfortunately, the exact nature of the *canabae* is difficult to establish as it is located underneath the modern city of León.³⁵⁵ The *canabae* is thought to have extended from the *porta principalis sinistra* (eastern gate), where a small bath complex

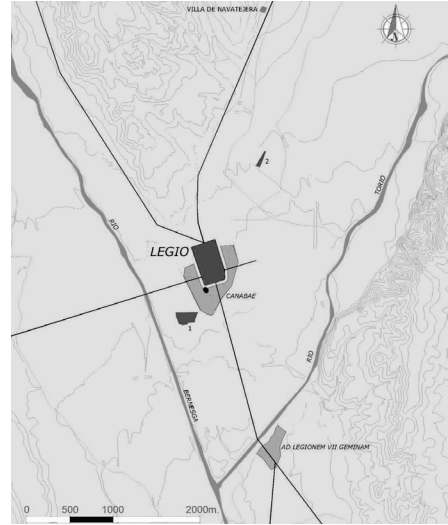


Fig. III.8 The legionary fortress of *Legio VII* (dark), the civilian settlements (light) with amphitheatre (black) and necropolises (1 & 2).

³⁴⁹ Although not being allowed to have a family during service this was customary.

³⁵⁰ Vega Aveleira (1998): 1270; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Domínguez (2012): 519; Campbell (1994): 141; Hanel (2005): 410.

³⁵¹ Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán (2003): 164; Morillo Cerdán (2003) 'Los campamentos romanos de Astorga y León.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua* Vol. 16, 83-110; Urueña Alonso (2008) 'Comunidades dobles en la Hispania Romana.' *Hispania antiqua* Vol. XXXII, 107-30: 126; Palao Vicente (2009); Bejega García *et al.* (2012) 'Análisis Arqueomalacológico de la cannaba de Ad Legionem VII Geminam (Puente Castro, León): Primeros resultados.' In: Honrado Castro, Brezmes Escribano, Tejeiro Pizarro and O. (eds.) *Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el valle del Duero: Del Neolítico a la Antigüedad Tardía. Actas de las segundas jornadas de jóvenes investigadores del valle del Duero.*, Glyphos; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Domínguez (2012): 523ss; Morillo Cerdán (2015) 'León, campamento romano.' In: Grau Lobo (ed.), *ArqueoLeón II: Historia de León a través de la Arqueología (noviembre 2013 / marzo 2014)*, 91-112.

³⁵² Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2006) 'Legio (León) introducción histórica y arqueológica.' *Gladius Anejos* Vol. 9, 225-303: 231.

³⁵³ Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009) 'The Roman camps at León (Spain): state of the research and new approaches.' *Gladius Anejos* Vol. 13, 389-405: 393.

³⁵⁴ Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2006): 235; Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009): 397.

³⁵⁵ Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2006): 240; Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009): 396.

has been found, to the south-west where a military amphitheatre has been located.³⁵⁶ A public square has been found underneath the Plaza Mayor, most probably belonging to the *canabae*.³⁵⁷

Further to the south, 2.5 kilometres from the legionary camp, the military *vicus Ad Legionem VII Geminam* was located on route I of the Antonine Itinerary.³⁵⁸ The military *vicus* occupied a strategic point where the road from *Tarraco* to *Asturica* crossed the Torío River and where viae I and XXXII of the Antonine Itinerary meet. The partial excavation of the settlement has revealed different types of buildings lining the main road. However, the organisation of the settlement was organic rather than planned.³⁵⁹

Pisoraca - Legio IIII Macedonica

An interesting case is the development of the self-governing settlement *Pisoraca* on the site of the legionary camp of *Legio IIII Macedonica*, which was created *ex novo* in 20 BCE at Herrera de Pisuerga.³⁶⁰ The military origin of the settlement is demonstrated by the number of artefacts relating to the military.³⁶¹ Originally, we find the *Legio IIII Macedonica* in this camp, but later on the *ala Parthorum* and *cohors I Gallica* also made use of the fort.³⁶²

The relationship between *Pisoraca* and the military camp is certain as *Pisoraca* is mentioned in the milestones leading to Herrera de Pisuerga, all erected either under Tiberius or Nero.³⁶³ Interestingly, the early imperial milestones refer to *Pisoraca* whilst the *termini* mention the *prata* of *Legio IIII*.³⁶⁴ Evidence for the continuation of the settlement after the departure of the army is found in the later sources.³⁶⁵ Most probably, the inhabitants of the *canabae*, which had developed in the vicinity and may have been called *Pisoraca*, moved into the location of the former camp. They thus used the walls and structures already available. However, civilian constructions dating to the second century have been found at the site of the camp.³⁶⁶

Based on the dispersion of finds, the legionary fortress is estimated to have been 550m by 420m (23.1 ha). When the legion left in 39 CE, the size of the camp was reduced to 6 hectares, as the *auxilia* stationed at the camp used a smaller area. Most probably, the civilian settlement, or *canabae*, related to the fortress, was located on

³⁵⁶ Morillo Cerdán and García Marcos (2009): 397.

³⁵⁷ Morillo Cerdán (2015): 103.

³⁵⁸ Ant. It. 395.4.

³⁵⁹ Morillo Cerdán (2015): 106.

³⁶⁰ Pérez González *et al.* (1999) *Papeles Hererenses II*: 28; Pérez González (1998): 546; Cortés Bárcena (2013): 107; Illarregui Gómez (2002): 158.

³⁶¹ Pérez González *et al.* (1992): 38; Pérez González *et al.* (1999): 13.

³⁶² Cortés Bárcena (2013): no.29-46; Pérez González (1998): 550; Illarregui Gómez (2002): 162.

³⁶³ Tiberian milestones: Lostal Pros (1992) N°. 39, 40. Neronian milestones: Lostal Pros (1992) N°. 54, 55.

³⁶⁴ Cortés Bárcena (2013): no.29-46.

³⁶⁵ Ptol. Geog. II 6.51: Σισάρακα; Ravenn. 318.13: Pistoraca; cf. Pérez González (1998): 537.

³⁶⁶ Pérez González (1998) 539ss. Such as the houses dated 117 *post quem* based on a coin of Traianus.

the right bank of the Burejo, to the south of the fort.³⁶⁷ Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about it because the earliest fort and contemporary *canabae* were constructed in wood.³⁶⁸ The archaeological remains can be divided into three construction phases. The first settlement is known mainly from a dumping site belonging to the Tiberian age. In the second phase, which started in the mid-first century, sandstone was used. The third phase is represented by constructions of the third and fourth century.³⁶⁹ Interestingly, the settlement continued even after the change of the military unit. Most probably it continued as a self-governing community as is indicated by its appearance on several milestones.³⁷⁰

The impact of the military camp on the settlement pattern in the region can be deduced from several indications. The erection of *termini pratorum* along the borders with *Iuliobriga* and *Segisamo* indicates that the division of land was of importance to the legionaries. Moreover, the vast distance between the location of the fort and the *termini*, about 40 kilometres for those marking the border with *Iuliobriga*, shows the vast extent of the territory administered by the legions. Admittedly, there is no evidence that this was a continuous territory; we could be dealing with a discontinuous territory with enclaves.³⁷¹ Nonetheless, the legions must have owned land as far as the boundaries with *Iuliobriga* and *Segisamo*. In addition, we find the connection between *Pisoraca* and *Portus Amanum* at Castro Urdiales as the former settlement is mentioned on the milestones found at the latter site.³⁷² These milestones indicate that a road ran from the port to the military camp. Even the promotion of *Portus Amanum* to the *colonia* of *Flaviobriga* is seen as a result of the relationship between the port and the military presence.³⁷³

It is obvious that the legionary forts had a profound impact on the urban structure, the camps of *Legio IIII Macedonica* (*Pisoraca*), *Legio X Gemina* (*Petavonium*) and in later times the *Legio VII Gemina* have all changed into important civil settlements with a central position within the urban network. The auxiliary camps may have a similar role to play. In an effort to understand the auxiliary camps, *Aquae Querquernae* located at Baños de Bande will be taken as a case study in the next chapter.

³⁶⁷ Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 521.

³⁶⁸ Palao Vicente (2009): 529.

³⁶⁹ Morillo Cerdán and Salido Dominguez (2012): 521.

³⁷⁰ CIL II 4883; 4884; 4888.

³⁷¹ Cortés Bárcena (2013): no.29-46.

³⁷² CIL II 4883; 4884; 4888.

³⁷³ Solana Sáinz (1998): 75; Le Roux (1998): 203.

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As has already been explained, Pliny uses the term *oppida* in his survey of *Baetica*, but *populi* in his discussions of *Citerior* and *Lusitania* (see fig. III.9). This difference between these provinces may have to do with the presence of dispersed *civitates* in the provinces of *Citerior* and *Lusitania*.³⁷⁴

Another way of analysing Pliny's list is to look at the geographical distribution of communities with a privileged status (*coloniae*, *oppida civium Romanorum*, and *oppida iuris Latini*, see fig. III.10).³⁷⁵ A look at figure III.10 shows that the Central System mountain range functions as a delimitation. This is the area conquered before 133 BCE. Apparently, the communities with important roles in the earlier phases of conquest received privileged statuses in later periods. A good example is provided by *Olisipo*. This city was reinforced by D. Iunius Brutus Callaecus in 138 BCE who left some of his troops behind to prevent the city from falling into the hands of the Lusitanians. The presence of the descendants of the Roman veterans may have been the reason for its later promotion to a *municipium c.R.* A similar situation can be recognised in *Emporiae*, which was the first community to support the Roman conquest by permitting the armies of the Scipio brothers to land in 218 BCE. In this context it is worth drawing attention to the Ascoli bronze (CIL I 709), which grants Roman citizenship to the *turma Salluitana* after the battle of *Asculum*.³⁷⁶ The Plinian reference to the *colonia Caesaraugusta* by its old name *oppidum Salduba* may possibly be interpreted as reflecting on the *turma Salluitana*.

If we count all certain, probable and possible self-governing communities, we arrive at a total of 430 communities. In comparison with the total of 513 mentioned by Pliny, this is just over 83%. As figure III.11 (*infra*) shows, *Baetica* has the highest number of self-governing communities. Of the 175 Baetican *oppida* listed by Pliny, 163 can be identified. In *Baetica* there was no need to establish new urban centres, but we do

³⁷⁴ See *supra* on dispersed *civitas* and Houten (2017); Houten (Forthcoming) 'The dispersed civitas in Lusitania.' In: Stek (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Portugal in its Western Mediterranean context*.

³⁷⁵ When comparing the two maps, we can clearly observe that some communities that were referred to as *populi* are also mentioned with their privilege, when looking at those with the *civium Romanorum* we find: *Dertosa*, *Ilerda*, *Biscargis*, *Osca*, *Bilbilis*, *Turiaso* and *Calagurris Iulia*. In two cases of these *populi* we find epigraphic evidence for a *res publica*. More importantly, *Bilbilis* is referred to as a *municipium* in an inscription. Interestingly all except *Biscargis*, had permission to mint their own coins, indicating that these were not merely communities with a *conventus* of Roman citizens but *civitates* recognised by the emperor. On the *conventus* of Roman citizens see Ozcáriz Gil (2008): 18; Dopico Caínzos (1986) 'Los conventus iuridici: origen y naturaleza histórica' *Gerión* Vol. 4, 265-83; 270. *Dertosa*: Plin. *NH* III 23; Also *res publica*: CIL II² 14.786; numismatic evidence: Burnett *et al.* (1992b): 101. *Ilerda*: Plin. *NH* III 24; Also *res publica*: IRC II 1; numismatic evidence: *ibid.* 109. *Biscargis*: Plin. *NH* III 23. *Osca*: Plin. *NH* III 24; numismatic evidence: VM 136-137. *Bilbilis*: Plin. *NH* III 24; also *municipium* HEP. 7, 2007 1093; numismatic evidence: VM 139. *Turiaso*: Plin. *NH* III 24; numismatic evidence: VM 156-157. *Calagurris Iulia*: Plin. *NH* III 24; numismatic evidence: VM 157-159.

³⁷⁶ Haynes (2013) *Blood of the provinces: the Roman auxilia and the making of provincial society from Augustus to the Severans*.

observe a concentration of communities with privileged juridical statuses mainly reflecting Caesar's policies.

Lusitania, whilst being the second largest province, has the lowest density of self-governing communities. Nonetheless, the number of self-governing communities, turned out to be higher than mentioned in Pliny. Whereas Pliny stated that there were 45 *populi* in *Lusitania*, we have identified 52 self-governing communities. The distribution of the self-governing communities in *Lusitania* is quite regular; there are no clear clusters, except for the area of the lower Duero at the border with *Citerior*. This regularity indicates that this settlement system is a result of a planned Roman urbanisation of the region. In the previously unurbanised parts of *Lusitania*, places were promoted or established to create the network needed for administrative control, such as *Pax Iulia*, *Scallabis* and *Augusta Emerita*. In addition, we find that the wars of conquest of this region and the later Sertorian War had a major impact on the urban system: the two *coloniae Metellinum* and *Norba Caesarina* are a direct result of the Roman military presence. As has already been stated, we may add *Olisipo* to this list, as well as the Augustan veteran settlement of *Augusta Emerita*.

When looking at the heat map of self-governing communities, we observe that *Citerior* has a slightly higher concentration of self-governing communities than *Lusitania* (fig. III.11, *infra*). The low density in *Citerior* is partially due to a lower number of identified self-governing communities. Of the total of 293 *civitates* mentioned by Pliny for *Citerior*, only some 213 have been found. Within *Citerior*, some areas with higher concentrations have been located. Interestingly, these concentrations follow the Ebro and the main roads towards the north-west; this northern east-west road was used by the military during the Cantabrian Wars as well as by the later mining operations in the region.

Due to its massive size, this province is geographically diverse. The eastern coastal areas and Ebro valley are relatively fertile areas and have access to the minerals of the Pyrenees and the Central System. Here we find early urbanism along the coast and 'tribal states' in the Ebro valley. These urban places and tribal states continue as *civitates*. In the inland regions, some of the central places, such as *Complutum*, *Toletum* and *Lancia* also continued. In the north-west, the Romans encountered tribes not focused on one central place but organised in heterarchical *castros*.³⁷⁷ It is clear that Augustus saw the need to construct urban centres to function as *conventus* capitals. However, within these *conventus* territories the standard *civitas* centred on an urban central place is lacking. Instead, we find a completely different form of self-governing community, that of the dispersed *civitas*.

Baetica was among the most densely urbanised provinces of the Roman Empire. This was the result of several factors: *Baetica* comprises the rich and fertile lands of the Guadalquivir basin and the mineral riches of the Sierra Nevada and Morena.

³⁷⁷ Pereira Menaut (1982): 255.

Moreover, the region was well connected to the Mediterranean. In addition, the region supported larger populations, resulting in its dense urban pattern. There was no need to establish new urban centres in *Baetica*, but we do observe a concentration of communities with privileged juridical statuses mainly reflecting Caesar's policies.

All in all, the central places of the self-governing communities of the Iberian Peninsula display much variation. They range from the provincial capitals controlling their massive centuriated territories to the town-like centres of the dispersed *civitates* working in tandem. The development of the Roman settlement system should be placed within the history of the Roman conquest. In those areas that were conquered in an earlier period, such as Catalonia, we find *ex novo* Roman foundations aimed at creating an urban system. In contrast to this, the Guadalquivir valley was already substantially urbanised and its system continued as such. It must, however, be emphasised that some 'urban' centres are incredibly small, such as *Munigua* which had a built-up area of 3 hectares. It seems that the idea of urbanism as a prerequisite for Roman control lost its importance at the end of the period of conquest. Although Augustus created three large centres as *conventus* capitals in the north-western region, the remainder of the region seems to have been controlled by the dispersed *civitates*. This was largely a continuation of the older tribal structures where multiple *castros* controlled the territory of tribes.

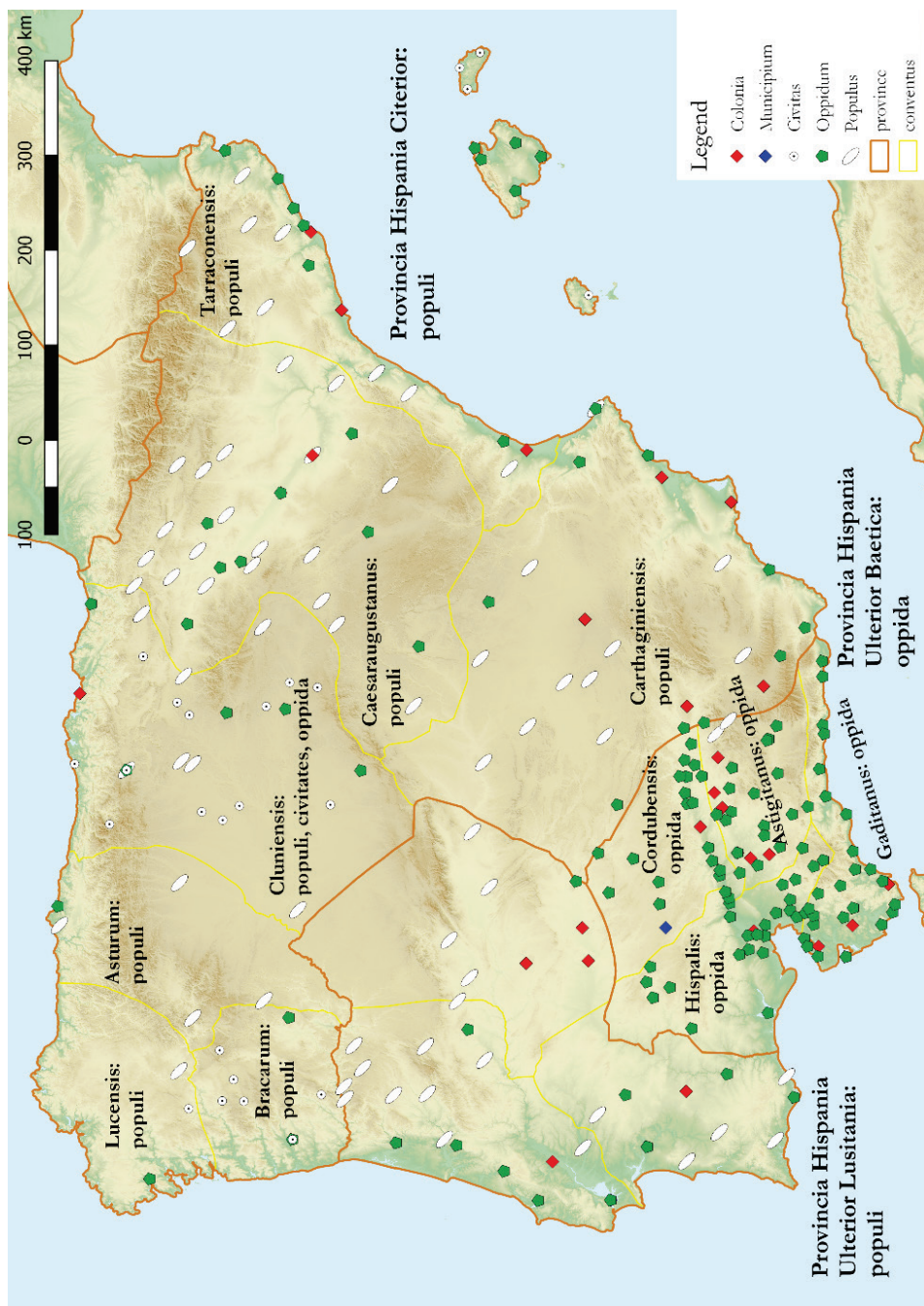


Fig. III.9 The use of *populi*, *civitates* and *oppida* as mentioned by Pliny

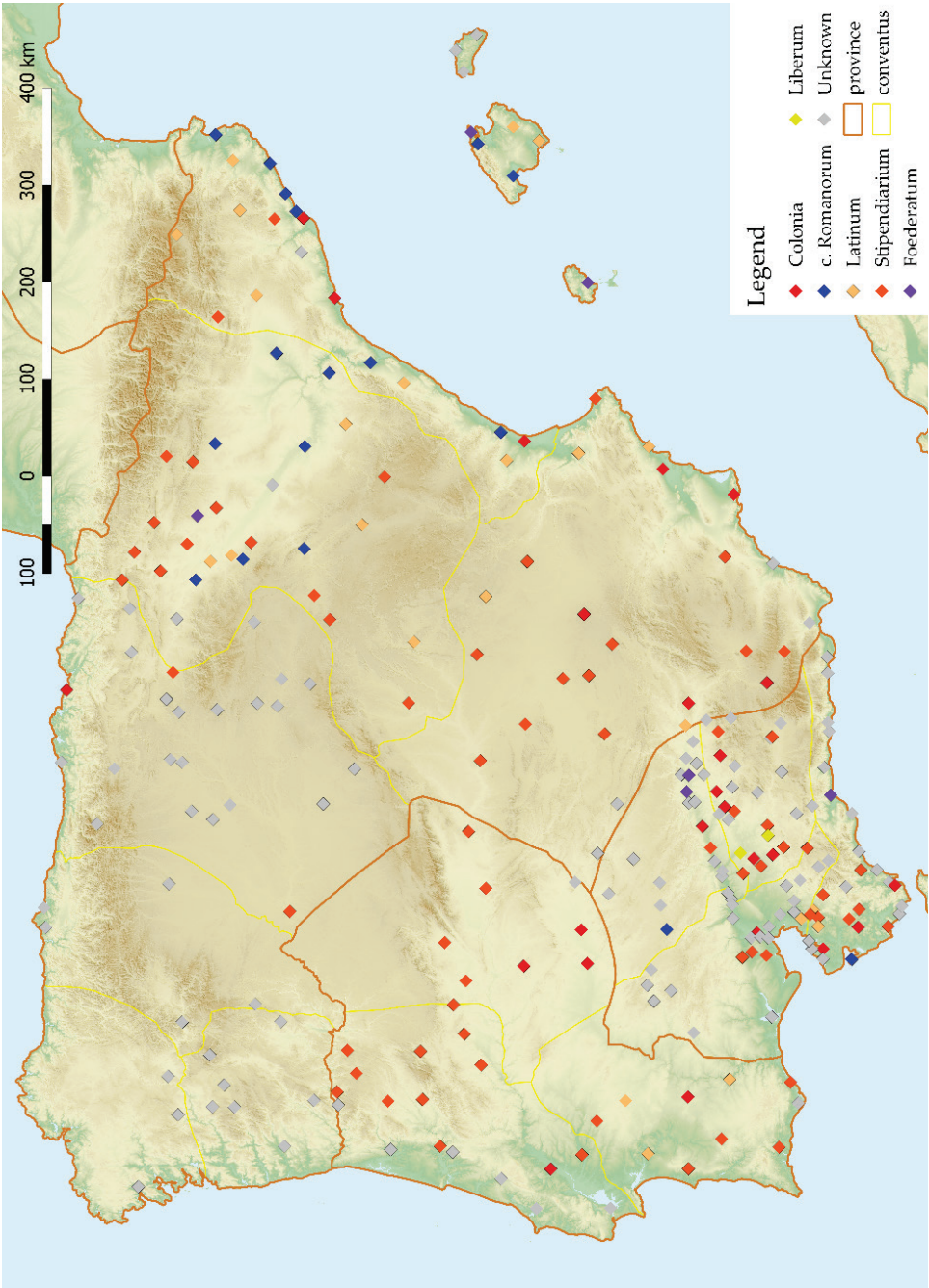


Fig. III.10: The privileges as mentioned by Pliny

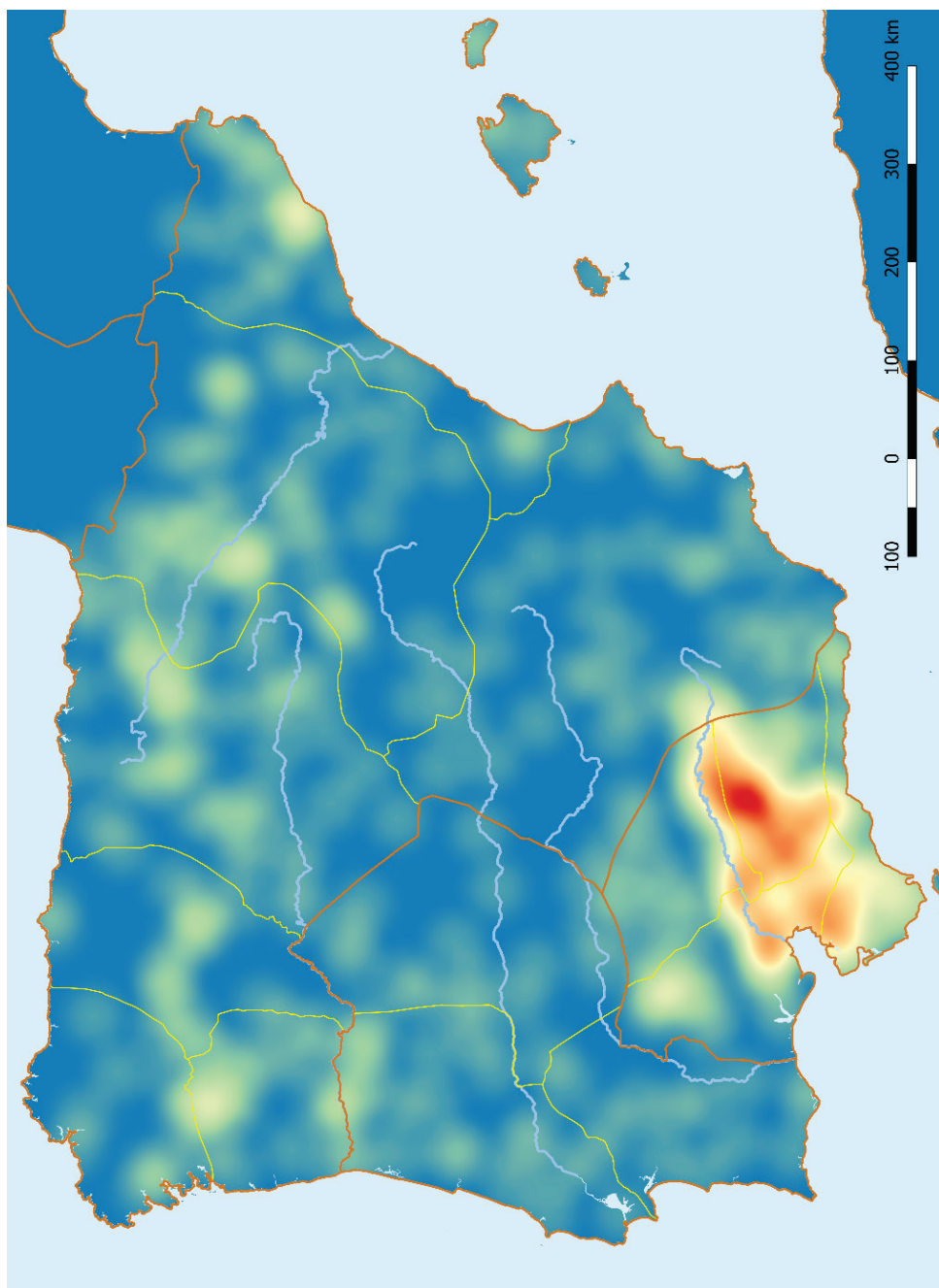


Fig. III.11 Heatmap based on the density of self-governing centres

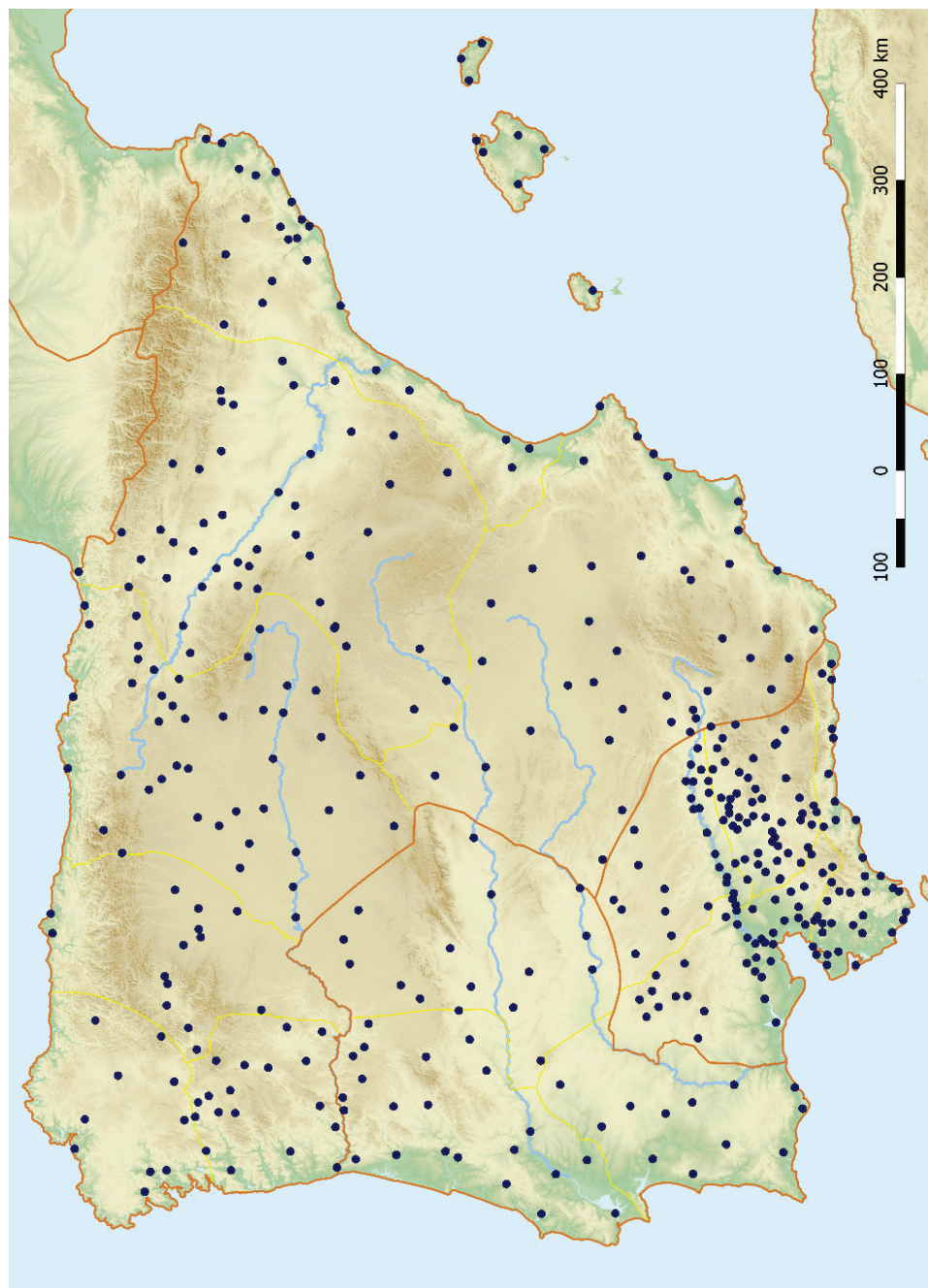


Fig. III.12: All located self-governing centres

