The Development and Integration of Baetica into the Roman Empire, 206 BC - AD 68

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INTRODUCTION

Status Quaestionis

Roman expansion in the Mediterranean began in the mid-3rd century BC but, as Polybius noted,[1] it was the following century Rome took over the Mediterranean. It was in this period that Rome gained control over Spain, founding some of their very first provinces in the Peninsula. Control over Baetica (modern-day Andalucía) began in 206 BC, and this area would continue to be part of the Roman empire until the 5th century AD. Strabo, writing in the late 1st century BC or the very beginning of the 1st century AD, famously stated that, by his own time:

> "[t]he Turdetanians,[2] however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis,[3] have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language anymore. And most of them have become Latins, and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans".[4]

In other words, Roman presence in the region in the span of two centuries had brought about a profound cultural transformation in Baetica, seeing its inhabitants become legally Latin and culturally Roman. This quote, although seems to uniquely refer to Baetica, poses a broader question that this thesis will aim to answer, namely how the Romans invented the way they *did empire*. In this section, I will be offering a brief overview of the historiography and will aim to show that the scholarship has missed or neglected a great opportunity to use the history of Baetica to study processes of empire-formation and the development of provinces under Rome during the Republic and early empire.

Recent work on early Roman expansion has either been exceedingly Italocentric, or too focused on top-down perspectives. The importance of Italy is key and has received considerable attention. On this region, Terrenato's *The Early Roman Expansion into Italy*[5] is the most recent, comprehensive, work on the topic, but despite his approach on familial politics and elite negotiations, the historiography has mostly focused on colonization. In this discussion, the main debate has for long been the question of the simulacrum model of Roman colonies, which has effectively been disproven by Pelgrom, Stek, Bispham, and others for the period of the early to mid-Republic.[6] This debate, however is, deep down, a debate on the ways in which Rome *did empire* within Italy, and the focus on colonization is justified by the importance given to it.[7] However, Roman expansion

[1] Polyb. 1.1-2.
[2] The indigenous peoples of Baetica.
[3] The Guadalquivir River.
[4] Str. 3.2.15. Loeb trans.
[5] Terrenato (2019). Another recent work which has taken the importance of Italy for the early Roman empire is Hölkeskamp, Karatas, & Roth (2019).
[6] The main works on the topic are: Zanker (2000); Bispham (2006); Pelgrom (2008), (2014); Sewell (2014); Torelli (2014); Stek (2017). *Contra* Salmon (1969); Brown (1980).
[7] Stek (2017), pp. 269-270. To note, as well, the title of his chapter, focusing on early Roman expansion.

outside of Italy from the middle of the third century BC onwards changed things dramatically. Geographic limitations, local contexts, as well as the way the first few provinces came under Roman control posed questions to the Roman elite as to how to manage their newly acquired Mediterranean holdings. In this regard, Cadiou put it best when he said that "[o]ne well-known feature of the western Mediterranean is that it was the cradle of the Roman provincial experience",[8] calling the earliest western provinces a 'provincial laboratory' for an imperial framework. However, outside of the work on Roman Italy, the studies on this early Roman expansion and imperial development have been too broadly concerned with wider regions such (e.g. 'the Greek East', 'Western Mediterranean').[9] This has left much of the localised contexts neglected, and it rings of earlier top-down perspectives that dominated the study of Roman imperialism.[10] Richardson's 1986 book,[11] for instance, on the development of Roman imperialism in Spain, does not suffer the former issue,[12] but it does have a strong top-down focus, with very little consideration for the importance of the local.[13] All in all, the foci of the scholarship have left a glaring hole that this thesis wishes to fill, of how the Romans acted in that 'provincial laboratory' they found themselves in in Baetica. Thus, I will consider both top-down aspects of Roman administration and colonization, but also inside factors such as economy and demography, which will give a better overall picture of the 'provincial laboratory' Cadiou speaks of.

But, why Baetica? To begin with, Richardson put it succinctly when he said that, for an investigation on the development of Roman imperialism, "the *provinciae* in Spain yield essential evidence. There the continuity of a Roman military presence allows scope for a comparison of the ways in which Roman aims and methods developed [and] the process whereby such an area became part of the Roman empire".[14] If one wishes to consider the processes of the formation of the Roman empire, its development, and its characteristics before the era of imperial rule, one would be hard-pressed to give a better potential case-study than Spain. And, if one wishes to consider the long-lasting effects of Roman rule in enforcing cultural, material, and ideological change into a state of 'Romanization',[15] then Baetica[16] is not only one of the most promising areas, but arguably the most suitable given its breadth of material evidence and its historical context.

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[8] Cadiou (2022), p. 4.
[9] E.g. Gruen (1986); Harris (1989); Kallet-Marx (1996); Eckstein (2008); Rosenstein (2012); García Riaza & Sanz (2019); Ñaco del Hoyo, Principal, & Dobson (2022).
[10] Most notably, perhaps, Harris (1985) [1979]; Eckstein (2006).
[11] Richardson (1986).
[12] Even if it considers the *Hispaniae* in general, rather than a specific province.
[13] Bradley (2019), pp. 169-170.
[14] Richardson (1986), p. 3.
[15] I will not be delving into the debates on the concept of 'Romanization', but its nuances and problems should be noted, which is why I use quotation marks here. I will not, for readability purposes, use quotation marks from now on.
[16] Note that despite the reorganization of the Spanish provinces to include a region called 'Baetica' not being enacted until the time of Augustus, with the area being previously called, simply, *Hispania Ulterior*, I will refer to it throughout this text as 'Baetica'. The reason being that I will be

Thus, the breakout of the Second Punic War propelled the beginning of Roman presence in the Iberian Peninsula. The importance of Spain for the Roman senate in 219 BC was clear: that was where Hannibal was.[17] They cannot be blamed for believing that the bulk of fighting would be taking place in the Iberian Peninsula, as Polybius notes: "[the Romans] never thought, however, that the war would be in Italy, but supposed they would fight in Spain with Saguntum for a base."[18] Fighting ensued in Spain between Carthaginians and Romans for the next twelve years. Finally, 206 BC marked the end of the campaign with the retreat of the Carthaginians from Spain. By then "[Scipio] had also laid the foundations for a continuing Roman control at least of the eastern coastal strip and the valuable Baetis valley"[19], marking the rough territory which would eventually become the provinces of Citerior and Ulterior.

Given the great scholarly debates on the cultural effects of Roman presence in conquered territories, Strabo's quote has brought much attention to the area. Due to the date of his writing, imperial-era Baetica from the time of Augustus has received considerable levels of scholarly attention[20] which seeks to unveil the different aspects of this seemingly 'Romanized' region. Some attention has also been given to earlier periods, both pre-Roman and Roman.[21] However, this is notably less common than the works on post-Augustan Baetica. This might be explained from the available evidence, which is less satisfactory. Still, only more recent work (mostly Spanish) has begun to consider the pre-imperial and pre-Roman situation seriously and more systematically in the region.[22] Despite this, a problem remains: how do we reconcile/connect these two periods? If, rather than looking at Strabo's comment from a position of trying to understand *what is happening* in Baetica from this time where the Turdetanians have 'become Romans', we look at it from the position of seeking to unveil *how did we get here* in the three centuries from conquest until the early Empire, we stand to make big strides in our understanding of this province specifically, and Roman history in general. My aim is to tackle what seems to be the main intellectual issue that arises when considering the seemingly great cultural shift 'suffered' by the peoples inhabiting Baetica in a comparatively short period of time, and to attempt to understand the developments of the region which eventually became an immensely rich, 'Romanized', province. To put it simply, I wish to focus on offering a bridge between the two periods of study of Baetica to unveil how and why this province came from being a newly conquered territory in 206 BC to becoming both scandalously wealthy and Romanized. This will, undoubtedly, give us a better

considering the development of the region that would eventually come to be known by that name, and in order to avoid confusion I will be using 'Baetica'.

[17] Richardson (1986), p. 31.

[18] Pol. 3.15.13. Loeb trans.

[19] Richardson (1986), p. 61.

[20] Notably, Haley (2003) on the economic development of Baetica from the time of Augustus. Other important works on Baetica include: González Fernández (1986); Fear (1996); Rodríguez Neila (2003); Keay & Earl (2011); Melchor Gil (2011a).

[21] Notable contributions include: Keay (1998); Cruz Andreotti (2019); Machuca Prieto (2019). See also next note.

[22] For instance: Wulff Alonso & Álvarez Martí-Aguilar (2009); García Vargas (2019); Celestino Pérez & López-Ruiz (2020); Pina Polo (2023).

understanding of the invention and development of Roman imperial framework at the provincial, rather than regional, level.

Approach

I will be dividing the thesis chronologically into three chapters, and each chapter will follow the same thematic inner-structure. The periods have been selected following the demands of the evidence and the general historical trends of Baetica. The chapters will be as follows:

- **Chapter 1: Baetica from the Mid to Late Republic (206 – 82 BC)** – This chapter will encompass the largest chronological period, which is why it will also be the longest. However, the material evidence here is scant, which is why the longer period makes sense to be able to fully contend with the changes from conquest until the Sertorian War.
- **Chapter 2**: **Baetica in the Later Republic (82 – 27 BC)** – The second chapter will focus on the developments of the province during the latest stages of the Roman Republic. Here, I will discuss the increasing centrality of Baetica to the Roman Empire and how it became progressively integrated.
- **Chapter 3: Baetica in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian Period (27 BC – AD 68)** – In the final chapter I will analyse the period of Baetica under the first imperial dynasty. In this period, Baetica became a senatorial province, and immensely wealthy. The integration of the province into the Roman Empire was completed at this time, as evidenced by its growing importance in the economy, but it was also growingly Romanized at the local level.

The themes offer the best chance at understanding how and why Baetica went from conquest to being fully integrated, but also how the Roman elite had to negotiate and invent their imperial frameworks. Therefore, the themes are focused on several elements that mix both the view from the top, as well as the localized contexts.

Administrative development

The first theme will be the province-wide changes in Roman administration of the region. This analysis will possess a strong Romano-centric component insofar as it will be dealing with the changes that the centre of Roman imperial power enacted on the organization of the province. From 206 BC to the Flavian period, Baetica underwent many organizational changes that responded to the dynamic variations of Roman imperialism and Roman attitudes towards their subjects, as well as to the pragmatic requirements of provincial administration.[23] So, in the broadest of terms, this theme will give an account of the

[23] On this topic for the period in question (up to 82 BC), more generally for the whole of the *Hispaniae*, Richardson (1986) remains the seminal work. On the later period, from AD 14 – 212, see Mackie (1983).

change of the *provincia* under Scipio into, first, *Hispania Ulterior* in 197 BC and then into *Hispania Ulterior Baetica* in the time of Augustus. Yet, further discussion will be offered. For one, especially for the earlier times, some considerations of the other Spanish province, *Hispania Citerior*, will also be warranted. Furthermore, the creation of the juridical *conventus* is an interesting issue that has seldom received the attention it deserves, and once again, comparison with the other Spanish provinces might prove fruitful.[24] Another aspect that will require considerable attention will be the changes suffered by the province during conflicta such as the Lusitanian or Sertorian wars and their aftermaths. The fact that Baetica became the only senatorial province during imperial times is a significant fact that will require explanation, and through this discussion I hope to be able to show some of the reasons behind it. All in all, this theme will provide the broadest framework that will also influence the following sections.

Urbanization and colonization

The second theme that this thesis will explore delves deeper into the more localized contexts of Baetica, albeit with a focus on Roman influence. At the moment, surveys on the topic of colonization and Latinization of Baetica in this period are scant,[25] as the influence of the Flavian municipal charters has attracted most scholarly attention to the period immediately following the one in this thesis.[26] However, we do find several instances of colonial and municipal foundations throughout the Republican period such as Italica (206 BC), Carteia (171 BC), Corduba (152/1 BC), and Urso (44 BC). These foundations offer an opportunity to assess the impact of Roman colonization for the local communities, but also for our understanding of Roman practices of colonization and municipalization. The reason why this theme will also be looking at urbanization is due to the close relationship between colonial foundations and the debate on the replica model and monumentalization. Gellius famously asserted that Roman colonies were small copies of Rome,[27] but modern scholarship has disproven this fact for the early to mid-Republic.[28] Despite this, given that our focus is on the mid-Republic to the early Empire, this notion might still yield some insights, and in so doing, we will be able to analyse the influence of urbanization for Baetica. The monumentalization of Baetican towns was also significantly heightened under Augustus, with, for instance, a *Forum Augustum* being built in Corduba, or a great harbour in Gades. As Griffiths put it: "[i]t should be noted that Augustan monumentalization, particularly within urban centres, was often a precursor to greater developments under the Julio-Claudians".[29]

[24] Some of the key works on this are: Sancho Rocher (1978); Caballos Rufino (2021); Carreras & De Soto (2022).
[25] González Fernández (2005) is probably the best overview.
[26] For instance: Fear (1996); Caballos Rufino (2001); González Fernández (2001); Pintado (2004).
[27] Gell., *NA* 16.13.9.
[28] Bispham (2006); Pelgrom (2008); Sewell (2014).
[29] Griffiths (2013), p. 147.

Economic change

Evan Haley's *Baetica Felix* stands as one of the most influential works on the economy of the province.[30] In this work, Haley discussed the ways in which Baetica became scandalously wealthy in the period between Caesar and the Severans and the effects of this wealth-boom for the different social groups of Baetica. Despite the importance and relevance of Haley's work, his focus rests strongly on the Flavian period, and most importantly, it says nothing of the situation preceding Caesar. Given that this thesis seeks to unveil changes and developments in Baetica up to the Flavian period, this chapter stands to make a significant contribution to our understanding of how this province evolved before then. In this regard, it might be said that the aim here is to explore the background of *Baetica Felix*. This will require discussion of agricultural production[31] as well as of trade,[32] and of the mines which attracted the first Italians/Romans to the region.[33] This latter element will feature prominently in the earlier periods. In the case of Baetica, the importance of its economic change is exceptionally great insofar as the province became particularly rich in the imperial period, and so the question remains as to whether the changes seen during the preceding period had a strong, weak, or indeed any impact on the boom under the early Empire, and what the impact was. In the end, I hope to be able to add to the efforts of Haley and others but for a thus far much neglected period.

Demography and Society

The final theme will aim to approach the situation within the province at the local level. However, this section will still consider outside factors that had an impact on the province, as is the case for demographic changes in Baetica. Diodorus famously stated that "after the Romans had made themselves masters of Iberia, a multitude of Italians have swarmed to the mines and taken great wealth away with them",[34] signalling the beginning of migration into the area of Baetica. At the earliest times of the province, in 206 BC, we already have an indication of the presence of Italians in the region when the colony of Italica was founded of which, as García Vargas has noted, "the name itself points at the geographical origin of its settlers"[35]. The opportunities afforded by the new provincial possession, therefore, saw immigration *to* the province, but also mobility within it.[36] This intra-provincial mobility has been subject of recent studies with special attention to the local elites.[37] As Curchin said, "geographic mobility has implication not only for

[30] More widely on the economy of Roman Spain, a great work of reference is still Blázquez Martínez (1978).
[31] Cf. for instance: Ponsich (1998); Remesal Rodríguez (1998).
[32] Domergue (1998).
[33] Haley (2003), pp. 27-31. On the importance of the mines for Republican-era southern Spain, see Marín Díaz (1986); García Vargas (2019), pp. 166-175.
[34] Diod. 5.36.
[35] García Vargas (2019), p. 165.
[36] See Holleran (2016) on the case for mine labour mobility.
[37] Curchin (1990); Rodríguez Neila (2003); Melchor Gil (2011a).

demography but for the romanization of Spain".[38] Due to the increasingly Roman-style local elite competition, desire for self-promotion motivated some individuals to pursue political careers in other cities than their own, giving way to the emergence of a supra-local elite.[39] And, while this is mostly the case for the Flavian period onwards, this section will illustrate the processes by which this was made possible.

The Evidence

In this section, I will be providing a state of the evidence by type and a rough understanding of what periods it pertains to. It will be clear that the evidence is not neatly distributed, and this will surely pose a challenge, but I hope to show that there is enough to tackle the different themes this thesis hopes to analyse.

Literary sources

Livy's narration of the Second Punic War takes us to the Iberian Peninsula and pieces from books 23 to 43 contain sections on the campaigns in Spain and the later development of Roman presence, including their creation of the *provinciae* in the region in 197 BC.[40] Unfortunately, Livy's account becomes rather incomplete following the 180s and the information contained in his books for the period until 155 BC is less satisfactory. Despite this, Richardson[41] has already shown the potential of Livy's account in analysing this precise period in Spain. For the later periods, the wars that raged on from 155 BC to 133 BC are narrated in Appian's *Iberike*, where a significant portion of the narration focuses on Ulterior. Other literary sources give us fragmentary information on these wars, such as Diodorus, albeit with less detail than Appian. Furthermore, the importance that these wars would prove to have in Rome itself through the participation of men such as Ti. Gracchus and Scipio Aemilianus, sufficed to have it briefly mentioned in other sources such as Polybius (35.1) or Cicero (*de Off.* 1.35). However, as Richardson put it "[a]fter the departure of Scipio Aemilianus from Citerior in 133, and of Brutus from Ulterior […] there is no interest in Spanish affairs either in the sources, or, so far as can be told, by the Romans of the time".[42] In the time of Sertorius, Plutarch's biography will be key in analysing its effects on the region. Later, Caesar's involvement in the region as quaestor, and then pro-praetor will also allow us to look at works on his life during this period for further analysis of the development of Ulterior in the 60s BC. Pompey's naming as proconsul of the Hispaniae during the late 50s BC, and the Civil War campaign in Spain have also left literary sources for the period (e.g. Caes. *Bell. Hisp.*). Finally, Augustus' campaigns in the north of Spain might also be interesting if anything as informative on

[38] Curchin (1990), p. 125.
[39] Melchor Gil (2011a), pp. 147-148.
[40] Liv. 32.28.2.
[41] Richardson (1986).
[42] Richardson (1986), p. 157.

the wider development close to Baetica, despite it not being in the region (Dio 53.25). Finally, the early imperial period also boasts some literary sources, Pliny and Strabo.

Inscriptions

The epigraphic sources are especially skewed chronologically speaking. In fact, out of the ca. 350 inscriptions from the period 206 BC to AD 70, 338 are dated to the period between 27 BC to AD 70. Of the extant inscriptions from the earlier periods, some comments are worthwhile, given their rarity. From the earliest period, two inscriptions are extant. One, from 168 BC dedicated to Lucius Aemilius Paullus, conqueror of Zakynthos, set up in Italica, and another one from 189 BC, an *edictum* by (another) Lucius Aemilius Paullus freeing the slaves from Turri Lascutana. It is only later that the epigraphic sources begin to pick up slightly. The most significant of these is, undoubtedly, the *Lex Ursonensis*, the charter of Urso (modern Osuna), founded by Caesar ca. 45/44 BC. This charter reveals the ways in which Romans organized their colonial foundations, which would prove very influential in the later municipal charters of the Flavian period. The early imperial inscriptions show a great rise of a local, Romanized, elite.[43] The study of these inscriptions offers an opportunity to discern the changes in local political administration in the light of the beginning of the imperial period, without rushing to the Flavian municipalization. Despite the wildly unequal distribution of the inscriptions, this does not take away from their importance. In fact, this also reveals trends of development of the epigraphic tradition.

Archaeological sources

The archaeological work on Baetica is far from negligible. It is true that for the earliest periods there is far less material evidence than the later ones, but the extant sources are not to be underestimated. Keay's edited volume on the archaeology of early Roman Baetica is the most important work on the topic,[44] and it offers a great overview of the findings from the rural to the urban, as well as the numismatic and epigraphic. Also, the colonial foundations by the Romans have offered scholars great opportunities for excavations, with the notable examples of Italica,[45] or Corduba.[46] Furthermore, following the Lusitanian wars, "[m]aterial evidence for the presence of individuals of Italian origin in the mining areas of Hispania Ulterior for the period 124–92 BCE […] comprises hoards of coins and other silver objects".[47] In other words, archaeological findings, focusing on the mining regions and the economic developments offer the most potential for the

[43] Curchin (1990). Herrera Rando (2023) on the increase of epigraphic practice in the period more generally.
[44] Keay (1998).
[45] Caballos Rufino, Marín Fatuarte & Rodríguez Hidalgo (1999) offers a great overview of the main works done on the city.
[46] Murillo (2010).
[47] García Vargas (2019), p. 166; Chaves Tristán (1996).

analysis of the region before 80 BC.[48] In later periods the archaeological evidence is even better. The investigation into sites such as Urso[49] or other colonial foundations allow discussion on the issues of urbanization and creation of institutions of Roman tradition, such as Capitolia.[50] Finally, for the Julio-Claudian period, the development of economic power in the region further fed into the exportation of olive oil, wine, and other foodstuffs, with the amphorae featuring prominently.[51] The urbanization of Baetica,[52] with the archaeological potential to go with it, saw a great increase in this period, which seems to accompany the rise of local elites. Rural settlements and villas started to emerge in this period, too, although they would not truly proliferate until the Flavian period and after.[53]

Coinage

The coinage of Baetica is of surprising quality. The very earliest periods of Roman conquest already reveal coins, with the interesting factor that they are not only minted in Latin, but also with legends in Iberian scripts or even Punic, which reveal underlying cultural contexts under Roman domination.[54] There are hoards of coins as well for later periods in the areas of Córdoba and Jaén,[55] and the minting of coins in southern Spain has received considerable attention from Spanish scholars.[56] The slow overtaking of Latin as the language of power is revealed in the coins of the area, but the use of other scripts also shows that the independence of these settlements was also highly respected. As Chaves Tristán points out: "[o]ne can infer from the acceptance of this place-name and of the Latin spelling of their [Obulco] coins that these cities were not indifferent to the Roman presence, even early on, although this does not mean that their ability to manage their own affairs or retain their indigenous cultural traditions was compromised".[57] In the later periods, the coinage continues to feature in the material evidence, with considerable scholarly attention,[58] but it is notable that from the time of the Late Republic, Latin becomes the only language found in the coins.[59] These facts clearly evidence the importance of the study of coinage for the development of Baetica.

[48] García Vargas (2019), pp. 167 ff.
[49] Pachón Romero (2011).
[50] Bendala Galán (1990).
[51] Funari (1994).
[52] Fear (1996).
[53] Haley (1996).
[54] Chaves Tristán (1998), p. 147.
[55] García Vargas (2019), p. 166; Chaves Tristán (1996).
[56] Villaronga (1984); García-Bellido & Sobral Centeno (1995);
[57] Chaves Tristán (1998), p. 151.
[58] E.g. Mora Serrano & Cruz Andreotti (2012); Mora Serrano (2019).
[59] García Vargas (2019), p. 175.

CHAPTER 1: BAETICA FROM THE MID TO LATE REPUBLIC (206 – 82 BC)

The beginning of Roman presence in Baetica was marked by the fighting in the Second Punic War. Once the Carthaginians were defeated in 206 BC and expelled from the area, Rome slowly settled down in the area, and established provinces in 197 BC. In this chapter, I will be discussing the changes that the Romans enacted in their new territorial holding from the onset of their hegemony until the early 1st century BC. Despite the fragmented nature of our sources for this period, the historical questions here are as urgent as for the following periods, if not even more, and so a brief overview of the sources is warranted. In terms of the literary, Livy offers a great deal of source material up to ca. 170 BC, but not further. We can accompany his account with some fragments of Diodorus, Plutarch, Strabo, and Appian. Coinage also features prominently in this period. Archaeological findings are also important, especially in terms of urban settlements, but their dating, as will be discussed in the 'Urbanization and Colonization' section below, is rather difficult. Finally, epigraphy is of little use, seeing as only two inscriptions survive, one being a dedication to L. Aemilius Paullus set up in Italica in 168 BC, and the other an earlier *edictum* of 189 BC set up by (a different) L. Aemilius Paullus, which is discussed below.

Administrative development

When considering the administration of Baetica in the very beginning of Roman involvement, one can seldom separate it from the considerations of the wider Iberian Peninsula. Given that the region was part of the theatre of war against Carthage, and that the division into two provinces was not established until 197 BC, this section will consider the administrative changes more broadly than just Baetica, especially there where comparison or wider developments might serve better.

From the outset of Roman presence in the Iberian Peninsula in 218 BC, the main concern of administration was provisioning the army. In 215 BC the generals in charge of the Spanish campaign, the brothers Publius and Gnaeus Scipio sent a letter to the senate in Rome warning of the importance of men, money, and food if they were to be able to continue their presence in the peninsula.[60] However, there are no other instances, after the letter of 215 BC, where the generals in Spain request aid from the senate in Rome. Instead, it was not long before the Romans became self-sufficient in Spain.[61] The wars waged on local tribes, as well as the sack of New Carthage that allowed the younger Scipio to raise

[60] Liv. 23.48.4-5: "[…] a dispatch arrived from Publius and Gnaeus Scipio reporting how important and successful the campaigns in Spain had been, but adding that cash was needed for pay, clothing, and grain for the army, and that the naval crews were completely unprovisioned. In the matter of pay, they said, they would find some way of extracting it from the Spaniards if the treasury were depleted; but everything else must be sent from Rome—retaining either the army or the province was otherwise impossible." Loeb trans.

[61] Richardson (1986), pp. 57-58.

enough money for the *stipendium*[62], were key moments in the beginnings of Roman self-sufficiency, but most significantly, once the Romans were able to extract food and clothing too from the Spaniards, it was clear that there was enough stability for long-term presence.[63]

Once the Carthaginians had been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, there rose the question of the involvement of the Romans in Spain. Clearly, the reasoning for their intervention in the region had been a matter of fighting the Barcids, but with that conflict over, there were those who clamoured for a retreat from the peninsula. This, we are told, was the case of some of the soldiers in the armies left in the now 'pacified' Spain.[64] Furthermore, inner fighting among the Celtiberians, especially between those loyal and those inimical to the Romans, began to intensify at the same time.[65] However, the Roman senate did not show any inclination towards a retreat from Spain, and in fact they sent new commanders to take over from Scipio quite soon after his departure.[66] Thus, Rome quite literally happened upon its new holdings by an accident of war.

After Scipio, the situation of the commanders in Spain remained unclear in constitutional terms. In 204 BC, the governors were voted by the *comitia tributa*[67] to continue their command over Spain *pro consulibus*.[68] This process seems highly irregular, especially when considered against the backdrop of later provincial assignments. We ought to remember, however, that this was a rather new experience for the Romans and that "[w]hatever happened over the appointment of these men, the whole matter shows the strains placed on the normal constitutional process by the maintenance of two independent commands at a great distance from Rome over a long period".[69] Furthermore, we must have in mind the fact that this was a situation in which the Romans had to improvise their 'norms' of empire. In this sense, it was a new experience which not even Sicily or Sardinia had prepared them for, due to the geographic constraints. Therefore, the seeming 'irregularity' of this process is simply the result of the fact that the Romans were, in truth, inventing that very process which would become 'regularized' only in the following centuries with the experience gained from this Iberian endeavour. Additionally, there is the question of the double command. The division of Spain into two provinces would not be established until 197 BC, but we see two commanders being sent *pro consulibus* to the region before this. However, the language of Livy when Lentulus and Acidinus were handed over the command complicates this issue because it is stated that they were handed over the *provincia*, in singular.[70] The interpretation of a singular provincial assignment with two commanders seems likely, as it is evidenced further by

[62] Ibid.
[63] Idem, p. 58.
[64] Liv. 28.24.7-8.
[65] Liv. 28.24.3-4 tells us how some Celtiberian chieftains pushed for local revolts.
[66] Liv. 28.38.1 for L. Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus; Pol. 11.33.8 for Junius Silanus and L. Marcius.
[67] On the question of which assembly voted on this, see Richardson (1986), pp. 65-66.
[68] Liv. 28.13.7.
[69] Richardson (1986), p. 66.
[70] Liv. 28.38.1.

the collaboration of both men in their struggle against local, rebellious, tribes.[71] Still, the irregularity of the assignments in Spain during this time seems to respond to the local needs in the region, as well as the broader Roman context at the end of the Second Punic War, rather than to a formal policy by the senate.[72] Furthermore, the complexities of the language used regarding the *provincia/provinciae* at this time also reveals that this situation was a new one, and the Romans were forced to adapt to a novel experience. In short, the administrative matters and the senatorial attitudes towards Roman presence in Spain in the decade after the departure of Scipio were dominated by the question of whether to remain in Spain or not. It seems that this decision was quickly taken in the positive, and the policy "a continuation of the *ad hoc* methods employed by the three Scipios".[73]

The situation, and therefore the attitudes and policies regarding the *Hispaniae*, required a more permanent solution. This came around in 198/7 BC with the official establishment of the Spanish provinces. The importance of this decision is evidenced by the constitutional changes that Rome made in order to respond to the new needs this demanded: two extra praetors were appointed that would bring the total to six annually rather than four in order to send them to the new *provinciae*.[74] Clearly, the Roman elite saw the creation of new provinces as sufficiently important to warrant constitutional change, which should also give us an indication of its momentousness. These praetors were each assigned *Hispania Citerior*, or nearer Spain, and *Hispania Ulterior*, or further Spain. These names already reveal Roman thinking of the new *provinciae* in that *Ulterior* was at this time seen as a significantly distant province; it was, after all, at the limits of the known world. With these new appointments, the praetors in charge were "instructed to define the administrative boundary between the farther and hither province."[75] The *imperium* with which the new governors of the Spanish provinces would be invested is a matter of scholarly debate to this day. While Aemilius Paullus (as praetor) was given 12 lictors "so that his office had a consular dignity",[76] clearly indicating that his *imperium* was *pro consule*, Livy speaks of the governors of Spain in the following decades "inconsistently as praetors, propraetors or proconsuls".[77] The inconsistency of our sources in this regard should not give us too much pause, given that the *Fasti Triumphales* refer to these governors as holding *imperium pro consule.*[78] This fact is also consistent with the importance given to the region, especially at the time where its stability was far from guaranteed; thus the sending of M. Porcius Cato to Citerior with a consular army.[79]

[71] Liv. 29.1.19-3.5; App. *Ib.* 6.38.
[72] Cf. Richardson (1986), pp. 66-68.
[73] Idem, p. 74.
[74] On the addition of two more praetors for Spain, Liv. 32.27.6; 32.28.2.
[75] Liv. 32.28.11.
[76] Plut. *Aem.* 4.2. Loeb trans.
[77] Richardson (1986), p. 76.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Liv. 33.43.1-5.

Figure 1. Map of Spanish Provinces ca. 197 BC. Wikimedia Commons, Hispa.

After his successful campaign against the tribes in north-eastern Spain, Cato is described as having travelled south to combat, alongside the governor of Ulterior, the Turdetani, the name for the peoples that inhabited the Guadalquivir valley.[80] This seeming disregard for provincial borders at this time was, most probably, the result of not yet firmly established territorial divisions in practice, whatever the official maps might show. This would only become an issue once the commanders requested triumphs or *ovationes* having fought under someone else's province.[81] However, an even more important aspect of Cato's presence in the Iberian Peninsula was his establishment of taxes and regulations on the exploitation of mines in the region.[82] This represents the first moment where the Romans began systematically extracting the wealth from the Spanish provinces. Despite this, we should not take it as a formalization of the taxation system in Spain, and this was most an *ad hoc* arrangement that would serve as the steppingstone towards future local exploitation.[83]

It would only be in the period following Cato's departure that provincial administration began to take shape. For one, the decree of 189 BC in which Aemilius Paullus freed the serfs/slaves of Turri Lascutana in Hasta (Alcalá de los Gazules) and gifted them lands[84] shows how Roman provincial administration intervened in the social and territorial articulation of the conquered areas in order to ensure their own domination over them;

[80] Liv. 34.19.
[81] Liv. 34.10.1-5.
[82] Liv. 34.21.7; cf. Curchin (1991), p. 31.
[83] Richardson (1986), pp. 91-93.
[84] *CIL* 2, 5.041.

cooperation with Rome guaranteed benefits at the expense of those who resisted.[85] It is important to note that, despite Cato's claims to have pacified Spain, fighting continued with little respite until 178 BC. It is no wonder, then, that most of the developments in administrative matters arose from military measures taken during the several decades of almost uninterrupted warfare. It is in 178 BC that, after several decades of strong military presence in the Iberian Peninsula, the strength of Roman arms was reduced to a single legion per province,[86] and there was a significant decline, after this time, in the number of promagistrates who were awarded a triumph or an *ovatio* upon returning from the *Hispaniae*.[87] The most influential developments in relation to Roman administration of Hispania are the result of Ti. Gracchus' treaties in 179/8 BC,[88] especially in the formalization of taxation. Before him, the *stipendium* extracted from the Spaniards was a means to pay for the armies' maintenance. However, with military presence decreased significantly, there began to be a fixed tax (*vectigal certum*) imposed on the Spaniards,[89] which raises the question of when this had been established. We know that Q. Fulvius Flacchus boasted that he had no need of collecting the *stipendium* in 180 BC, clearly evidencing that, at this time, it was still an informal context-dependent demand.[90] Therefore, from this we could conclude, as Richardson does, that the establishment of the *vectigal certum* was most probably the result of the Gracchan treaties mentioned in Appian.[91]

These events had all been happening in Citerior. However, it has already been established that the distinction between the two provinces was blurred, and the happenings in one province very quickly affected those in the other. In fact, in 171 BC we are aware of L. Canuleius holding *both* Spanish provinces at the same time, at a time when the first judicial case was brought in Rome to treat an accusation of extortion.[92] This accusation reveals that the Roman elite became aware of the difficulty of controlling the governors when they were away in their province, and so policy could not be dictated from Rome. Therefore, they found that they could, instead, utilize the judicial system and accusations of extortion, as well as the rewards of *ovationes* and triumphs as a way in which to regain some control over the tidings of the proconsuls sent to the far away provinces, a further indication of Rome's creation of imperial frameworks. Furthermore, these abuses of the taxation system presuppose its existence, and in this case, it does for both the Citerior, but also the Ulterior.

After Ti. Gracchus, the Iberian Peninsula was reduced to a state of relative tranquility, until the wars between 155 and 133 BC.[93] The importance of this conflict for the

[85] Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), pp. 122-123.
[86] Brunt (1971), pp. 661-663.
[87] Richardson (1986), p. 105.
[88] App. *Ib.* 8.43 is our only ancient source which speaks on the matter and it is not very helpful. However, later contexts will help us in determining some of the specifics.
[89] Cic. *Verr.* II.3.6.12.
[90] Liv. 40.35.4. Cf. Richardson (1986), p. 116.
[91] Richardson (1986), pp. 115-116.
[92] Gruen (1968), p. 10; Liv. 43.2.1-11.
[93] For a detailed analysis of the wars see, for instance, the recent work by Varga (2015).

provinces, but also for Rome itself, cannot be understated. Firstly, it is notable that the urgency of the wars and the need for generals to be dispatched quickly to the provinces motivated a constitutional change for 153 BC. Before, the consuls, alongside other magistrates, would be inaugurated on the Ides of March,[94] but the need to send generals to Spain earlier for campaigning meant it was moved to the Kalends of January instead;[95] "the early entry-date was not merely desirable if the consuls were to fight in Spain, but was absolutely essential."[96] This reveals another key change of policy: the shift from praetorian governors to consular ones. In the period between 197 BC and the beginning of 150s BC, only one consular had been sent to the Iberian Peninsula, the rest being praetors.[97] However, from the outbreak of hostilities, this situation was quickly changed, and "[i]n both provinces there is a marked increase in the use of consuls as governors."[98] The reason for this change was the need for larger mobilization and campaigns, entrusted to consuls, as had been the case with Cato in 195 BC.[99] However, Richardson has also argued that the lack of available campaigns following the defeat of Perseus in 168 BC had left the consuls without good opportunities for military glory. Spain, thus, became a suitable solution for these once hostilities started out again.[100] In other words, the Spanish provinces were, at least at first during the 150s, the only area to campaign.[101]

Finally, senatorial attempts at controlling the governors of the Iberian Peninsula began to become more serious. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, it was in 149 BC that the first permanent court was set up in Rome, the *quaestio de rebus repetundis*.[102] This court was set up in order to deal with "the mistreatment of provincials, foreigners, or subjects by Roman officers abroad",[103] a problem which had become ever more evident in the past decades,[104] but that came to a head in Ulterior in 150 BC.[105] Galba (*pr.* 151 BC) behaved dishonourably in the defeat of the Lusitanians in 150 BC.[106] Once back in Rome, he was to be prosecuted for his actions, but through bribery and histrionics, he managed to avoid

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[94] Liv. 31.5.2.
[95] Liv. *Per.* 47; *Fasti Praenestini* CIL I^2, p. 231.
[96] Richardson (1986), p. 129.
[97] The exception was Cato in 195-194 BC.
[98] Richardson (1986), p. 128. However, it must be noted that all the consuls sent to Ulterior were so at the time when Viriathus was causing the most trouble in the mid-140s BC.
[99] Liv. 33.43.2.
[100] Note that the last *ovatio* granted to a governor of Spain before the outbreak of the Lusitanian and Celtiberian wars had been in 174 BC.
[101] This might also explain the willingness of Roman generals to find a war to fight, as is the case of Lucullus (App. *Ib.* 9.50-53).
[102] Broughton (1951), p. 459.
[103] Gruen (1968), p. 9.
[104] Idem, pp. 9-12 on the unseemly conduct of Roman governors in the 25 years prior to the passing of the *lex Calpurnia*.
[105] Richardson (1987) disagrees that the *quaestio de rebus repetundis* was set up as a response to the situation in Ulterior, *contra* Gruen (1968). However, more recent surveys, such as Betts & Marshall (2013) have corroborated Gruen's arguments.
[106] App. *Ib.* 10.59-60. Galba made promises to the Lusitanians if they were to surrender, but after they did, he slew and enslaved many of them. Furthermore, he kept the booty for himself, depriving his soldiers of their share.

going to court.[107] The failure to even prosecute Galba seemingly was the motivating factor in creating a permanent court, to be manned by senators as jurors, but we ought not to confuse this for sympathy for provincials. The fact that this court was to be composed of jurors taken from the senatorial order indicates that it was meant to be a new stage for political struggle, whereby governors could be controlled by the threat of prosecution and, therefore, senatorial policy could manage provincial oversight to an extent that had not been possible before.[108] The ratification of treaties also became key: "the senate's role in these questions is in itself a development from their apparent lack of concern about arrangements in Spain earlier in the century."[109] Indeed, the senatorial refusal to ratify most of the treaties that the governors of the Spanish provinces made in this period is telling. There was not a clear policy for treaty conditions, since Rome explicitly demanded a *deditio* from the Celtiberians,[110] but did not with the Lusitanians in Ulterior.[111] It seems, therefore, that the reason for the senate's refusal to ratify some of the treaties was an attempt to gain further control over provincial governors.[112] It was through these senatorial measures to control the region and its commanders that the Spanish holdings started to become more integrated into the empire as provinces that truly belonged to the Roman state. This also shows how Iberia became the theatre for the creation of key imperial-framework norms. Unfortunately, for the period following 133 BC up until 80 BC there are barely any sources that reveal anything regarding the administrative developments in Spain, let alone in Ulterior specifically. However, the disinterest of our sources on the matters of the Iberian Peninsula might reveal that the trends established at the end of the Lusitanian and Celtiberian wars, namely the new and stronger efforts of the senate to delimit and control the governors and provinces, continued. Indeed, Richardson notes this disinterest of our sources, but claims that Sulla's legislation of the provincial administration in his *lex de maiestate* evidences the crystallization of these senatorial efforts to establish a policy over provincial government.[113] In his words: "it would appear that Sulla's law […] concerned entirely with the activities of holders of *imperium* in the provinces".[114]

All in all, this section has revealed that the administrative developments in this period followed two trends separated chronologically. In the first period, change emanated from military necessities slowly converted into civilian institutions once the provinces were stabilized under Ti. Gracchus in 178 BC. The influence of these treaties would reverberate into the following period, and it seems that there were no further significant changes until

[107] Gruen (1968), pp. 12-13.
[108] Idem, p. 14.
[109] Richardson (1986), p. 141.
[110] Idem, pp. 142-146.
[111] Idem, p. 147. Richardson here argues that the nomadic nature of the Lusitanian tribes made it so settlement and land grants were enough to pacify those tribes, as evidenced by their treaty following Viriathus' death in 139 BC (App. *Ib.* 12.75).
[112] Richardson (1986), pp. 149-155 also analyses the further attempts at senatorial control over provincial governors in Spain through the criticisms of illegal warfare in the region, further evidencing the senate's newfound interest in controlling them.
[113] Richardson (1986), pp. 169-170.
[114] Idem, p. 170.

the conflicts of that time required them. The Romans found themselves holding new territories almost by accident of war against Carthage, and so improvisation was the leading factor in the first decades of the provinces. However, that improvisation, mostly directed by the commanders sent to the provinces, was reigned in later by the Roman senate once they saw the dangers that illegal warfare and extorsion could bring. Therefore, the era of improvisation slowly led the way into a gradual development of stronger control and provincial policy directed by the state. The result of this was the integration of these provinces into the Roman empire which had formerly been seen as faraway lands with little connection to Rome. In this way, the administrative developments are the revealing factors of Roman attitudes towards their new Spanish provinces who went from being the 'fiefs' of their governors to the responsibility of the state.

Urbanization and colonization

The time period in question offers us 3 distinct foundations that would prove particularly significant for the region of Baetica: Italica, Carteia, and Corduba. These three foundations are notoriously important for different reasons. Italica was the first Roman settlement in the region (in modern-day Sevilla), founded by Scipio in order to leave his wounded soldiers at the site following the battle of Ilipa in 206 BC.[115] This at the time surely seemingly unimportant action would have great consequences, as Italica would become one of the most important sites in Baetica and the birthplace of future emperors Trajan and Hadrian. However, at the time of its foundation, Italica was little more than a small, honestly quite insignificant settlement. Marín Díaz quite clearly established that the city lacked any sort of privileged juridical status during its earlier stages, and it was only later on, probably in the mid to late 1st century BC that it gained municipal status.[116] Due to this, I will not be delving too deeply into this settlement outside of mentioning its importance (despite the fact that it would need several centuries to flourish). Corduba was founded by M. Claudius Marcellus (*cos.* 166, 155, 152 BC) either in 169/168 BC when he was praetor in Hispania, or in 152/151 BC as consul sent to Hispania Citerior.[117] Its status upon its foundation is unclear, as some have argued that it was founded as a Latin colony by Marcellus,[118] while others have defended the thesis that it was not until the 40s BC that it obtained its colonial status.[119] Despite this, I believe it makes sense to discuss the importance of Corduba here for two reasons: firstly, it was to be the provincial capital of Ulterior/Baetica, and its importance merits discussion; secondly, Italica's status is more clearly not colonial at this time, whereas the difficulty in ascertaining Corduba's status in our period merits its discussion when discussing the period in which it was founded. Carteia, on the other hand, leaves little doubt as to its status and its importance for the

[115] App. *Ib.* 6.38.
[116] Marín Díaz (1988), pp. 120 ff. See also the discussion in González Fernández (2005), n. 18.
[117] The only source available on this issue is Str. 3.2.1 which does nothing to clarify this issue.
[118] E.g. Knapp (1983), p. 11; Murillo (2010), p. 73.
[119] E.g. García Bellido (1959), p. 452; Marín Díaz (1988), pp. 132 ff.

time period we are concerned with here. Therefore, I will be offering an analysis of its importance.

Figure 2. Map location of Italica, Google Maps.

Carteia

The colony of Carteia boasts the reputation of being the first *colonia latina* founded outside of Italy. An embassy of Spaniards, seemingly children of Roman soldiers presumably settled in the region and local women, appeared before the senate in order to request that they might be given a town in which to live. The senate was reportedly more than willing to grant them their wish and instructed them to give the praetor in charge of the province a list of their names and of their freed slaves and to found a city in modern-day Algeciras, which they would then call the freedmen's colony, and which was set to have *ius latii*.[120] In receiving this status, Carteia established the first step in a process which would culminate where this thesis does, with the municipalization of the whole of Spain through the universal grant of *ius latii* by Vespasian.

The city that stood where the new *colonia libertinorum carteia* would be set up was an old Punic town of minute size.[121] There, in 171 BC through means of a *deductio,* the senate turned it officially into a colonial settlement and added its inhabitants (now Latin citizens) into the Galerian tribe.[122] The archaeological findings in the city that date to the

[120] Liv. 43.3.
[121] Bravo Jiménez (2015), p. 79.
[122] Idem, p. 80.

Roman period, although not numerous, are still of interest. Especially for our period here we must consider the Temple of Carteia, as this building is the only building excavated in the city which has been typologically identified and has been dated conclusively to the Republican period. The temple stands on a platform overseeing the forum, which itself is a later, Augustan or more likely early imperial, creation.[123] Due to that positioning in the city, it had been argued that it might be a Capitolium temple, but this has been rejected in more recent scholarship, as its architecture differs too much from that type.[124] Furthermore, the dating of the temple to the late 2nd century BC has been pointed out as an indication of the city's prosperity, but also as an effort in reaffirming its citizenship and status as a Latin colony.[125]

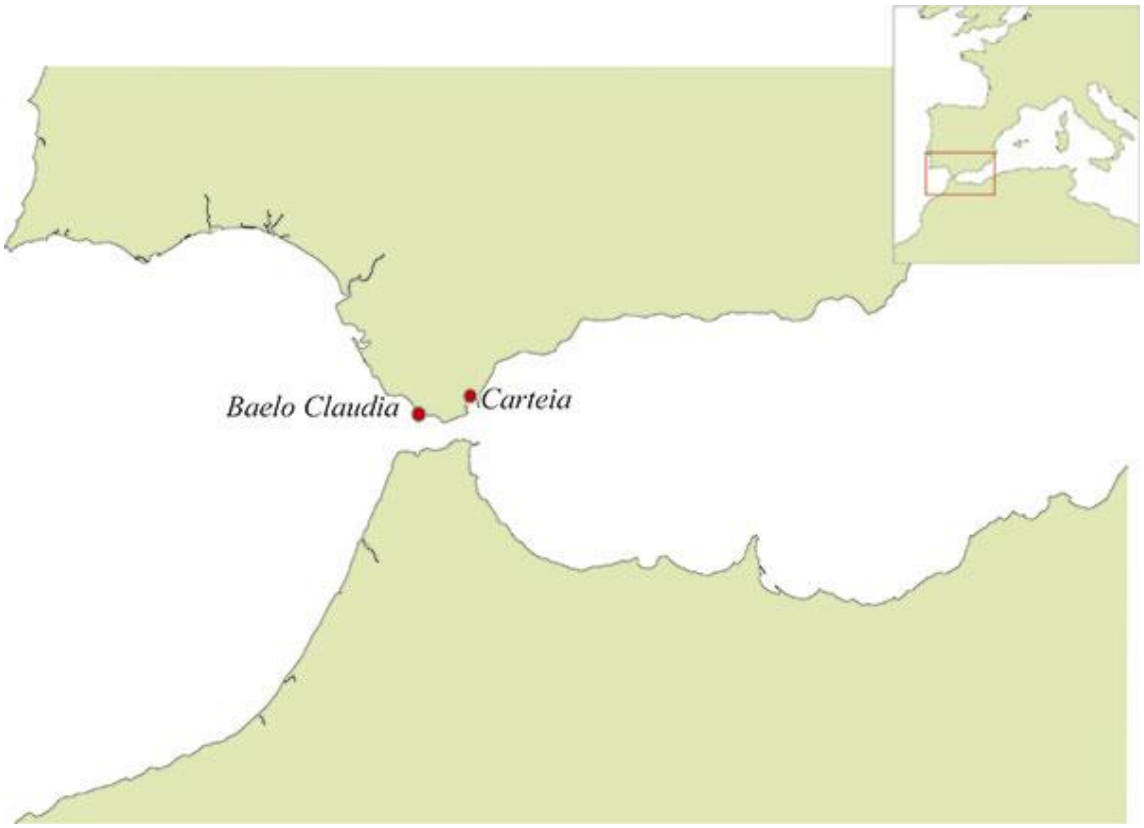

Figure 3. Map location of Carteia, Roldán Gómez & Bustamante Álvarez (2016).

Corduba

The area of Corduba had been settled for centuries before the foundation of the Roman city. It was a Turdetanian/Tartessian settlement with a strong strategic position near the Guadalquivir river, a position with a potential which the Romans understood as providing a vantage point for the control of communications and the prevention of Lusitanian raids to the region, but also as a point of control over the mining region that lay next to the

[123] Roldán Gómez et al. (2006), p. 543.
[124] Bendala Galán et al. (1994), p. 98.
[125] Roldán Gómez et al. (2006), p. 542.

city's position in Ulterior.[126] However, the Roman settlement moved the original place where pre-Roman Corduba was established by around 750 meters, creating a sort of dipolis that would coexist with each other until the 1st century BC, time by which the pre-Roman settlement was abandoned in favour of the new colony.[127] A strong native component was part of the original settlers of the city,[128] to which other indigenous peoples form the near-by settlement would be added with time. It seems, however, from the evidence available, that the Romano-Italian part and the indigenous part of the city were separated in the beginning, and it would only be with the passing of time that these ethnic differences would smooth over, evidencing distinct social classes in the city.[129]

As stated above, the date of the foundation of Corduba is still a matter of scholarly debate.[130] We know that it was M. Claudius Marcellus who founded the city due to Strabo's comment on the important cities of there region where he states: "Corduba, which was founded by Marcellus",[131] which does little in ways of helping us establish a date. However, we do know that Marcellus, during his time in Spain as consul, wintered in Corduba following a campaign against the Lusitanians, offering us a plausible moment for the foundation of the Roman city.[132] Whatever date we take, a more important issue is the status of the settlement upon foundation. We certainly know that it could not have been a *colonia civium Romanorum* due to the comment by Velleius Paterculus in which he clearly states that the colony of Carthage, founded in 122 BC, was the first citizen colony outside of Italy.[133] This leaves the possibility of it having been founded as a *colonia latina*. Carteia had been the first instance of a Latin colony outside of Italy, as discussed above, and so whether we take one foundation date or the other for Corduba, it is plausible that it might have been founded with that same status. Strabo's contention that it was the first colony in the area has been taken to mean that it must have been founded with such a status and, according to Knapp, Carteia's earlier foundation does not defeat this argument since the latter colony was quite far away for it to be considered the same area.[134] This argument certainly seems convincing, and the importance of Corduba as provincial capital from the 2nd century BC already also supports this argument.[135]

The topographical development of Corduba was rather quick, revealing once again its importance in the region as a *de facto* capital. The plan of the city shows a typical Roman outline with a *cardus* and *decumanus* and a layout that is reminiscent of other Italic-style colonies.[136] Its Latin status and Roman influence are clear, and as much is exhibited by

[126] Murillo (2010), p. 73.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Str. 3.2.1; Knapp (1983), pp. 12-13.
[129] Knapp (1983), p. 14; see also the discussion above on demographic changes.
[130] Note that, despite the debate on this issue, it still falls within our period of discussion here whether we take one date or the other.
[131] Str. 3.2.1. Loeb trans.
[132] Pol. 35.2.
[133] Vel. Pat. 2.7.8.
[134] Knapp (1983), p. 11.
[135] Murillo (2010), pp. 72-73.
[136] Idem, p. 74.

its infrastructure. Its forum is already attested as early as 113/112 BC when L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (*pr.* 113 BC) was governor of Ulterior and had a golden ring presented to him at the forum of Corduba,[137] and archaeological surveys have dated it as early as the mid-2nd century BC, right around the city's foundation date.[138] However, the main urbanization and monumentalization of the city would not begin to take place until the first half of the 1st century BC, with the abandonment of the pre-Roman settlement, and the establishment of the governor's quarters in the city.[139] This process, however, saw chiefly the building of houses still in Turdetanian style, and the creation, as already stated, of the main infrastructures of a Roman colony (forum, sewage system, roads, etc.).[140] It would not be until the late Republic and early Augustan periods that the city would blossom (as is the case with many of these Roman colonies) into a bigger urban center. This notwithstanding, however, the city was still massively important in our period, as is made evident by its quick development.

Figure 4. Map location of Corduba, Wikimedia Commons, Alcides Pinto.

As a brief conclusion, it seems important to note that these three settlements represent three different areas of urban settlement in Baetica: Carteia in the Mediterranean coast; Italica in the coastal zone of Baetica's lower Guadalquivir; and Corduba is inland via the Guadalquivir closer to the mining regions. These settlements are clearly in relation to the pre-Roman urban network, with Italica being the civic centre alongside the pre-Roman, Punic, commercial town of Hispalis,[141] Carteia having been founded on top of a pre-existing Punic settlement, and Corduba having been founded itself right beside a Tartessian/Turdetanian town. The Romans are, therefore, coming in and modifying the

[137] Cic. *Verr.* II.4.56.
[138] Carrasco (2001).
[139] Murillo (2010), p. 76.
[140] Idem, pp. 75-76.
[141] Cf.: González-Muñoz (2018).

urban landscape by establishing new networks that will become increasingly important with the agricultural boom.

Economic change

The information regarding the development of the economy of Baetica in this period is not only scant, but it has to be extrapolated from the information we can obtain from the Citerior, at least in what refers to the first decades. As we have already discussed, the division between Citerior and Ulterior at this time was not as rigid as it would later come to be, and so the extrapolation is warranted. On the other hand, we do possess some interesting finds in terms of coin hoards that shed some light on these issues for Baetica specifically, as well as archaeological finds in the mines that will further reveal economic developments. As will become evident very early on, the developments in economic matters in this period followed the administrative changes very closely due to the influence that Roman conquest and settlement had on the demands for taxes or tribute, and the needs for standardization of coin weights according to Roman conventions. Finally, it must be noted that, in this period the agricultural exploitation of Baetica was scant and focused on subsistence farming.

As some scholars have pointed out, one of the motivating factors for Carthaginian interest in the Iberian Peninsula was, undoubtedly, the metals from the mines.[142] So, long before the Romans were involved in the Iberian Peninsula, the mining potential of the region was well-known and sought after. The Carthaginians, so soon as they had established a foothold in the Iberian Peninsula, began exploiting the mines in the area, from which, according to Diodorus Siculus, they extracted the wealth they needed for continued growth, but also for their recovery after the defeat in the First Punic War.[143] Not only do we know of the Carthaginians' exploitation of Iberian mines through literary sources, however. As Vázquez has recently shown, the Punic coin hoards found in the area of the Turdetania, that had traditionally been dated to the Second Punic War, are earlier mints which evidence the mining efforts of the Carthaginians in the southern area of the peninsula.[144] The reason why knowledge of Punic exploitation of southern Iberian mines is important is because the sources for early Roman times in this same sense are scant and focused on the Citerior. Our knowledge of the fact that these mines were in use before will make it easier for us to conclude that they would most probably also be used by the Romans at the time when the ones in Citerior began to be exploited.

As we saw in the first section on administrative development, the Romans were quick to demand tribute from the locals to meet their needs, and from Ti. Gracchus' reforms, these taxes became formalized, demanding a constant stream of silver/other goods from the provinces. The need to meet these demands would then spark the beginning of systematic exploitation of resources in the Iberian Peninsula. As Peter Bang argued, predation on the

[142] Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), p. 403.
[143] Diod. 5.38.2.
[144] Vázquez (2019), pp. 94-98.

part of the Roman state unlocked "the economic potential of the Mediterranean world to a degree which markets left on their own were as yet unable to do".[145] It is true that Bang is referring to the Mediterranean more generally, but the principle applies to our situation, too, since it was Rome's constant need for tribute that would force the local economy to produce at higher rates. Polybius described the situation in the mines of New Carthage during the mid-second century BC, where 40,000 men were continuously working to extract, each day, a sum of 25,000 drachmae (which was equivalent to the denarius)[146] just from this site.[147] This would mean that, each year, the mines in New Carthage yielded over 9 million denarii, or roughly 10,800 pounds of silver. As Richardson has pointed out, this is a substantial amount, especially when compared to the 16,300 pounds of silver brought back to Rome in 185 BC as the two-year surplus from Citerior.[148] We have no knowledge of what the other mines in the peninsula, let alone in Ulterior, were yielding, but it would be nonsensical to argue that these would not have begun to be exploited, too, especially considering the fact that Carthage had done so before. In this sense, we can say that Roman taxation and predation were the determining factors in stimulating the exploitation of Iberian mines from very early on.

Stemming from the extraction of silver and the beginning of taxation, we also begin to see the development of/shift towards, Roman coinage. From the beginning of Roman presence,[149] coin legends in Baetica began to take Latinized forms, such as the city names (e.g. Ibolka/Obulco) which appeared in the coins, where the Latin, rather than the indigenous, or even the transliterated terms – although some bilingual or transliterated instances are also present – appear.[150] The fact that this was not a result of a Roman takeover of the minting process is evidenced, at least in these early periods, by the fact that there are many inaccuracies and mistakes in the Latin used in these legends, clearly indicating that it was the work of non-Latin speakers, or of people who spoke it without fluency.[151] Chaves Tristán explains the development of Latinized coinage in terms of voluntary Romanization by the locals, who saw the benefits of using Latin and Roman typologies in that it would meet their needs of exchanging with the Italian migrants or Roman settlers in the region.[152] However, while it is true that nothing reveals a strong Roman influence on the mints outside of the voluntary shifts towards Latininzation, another significant motive might be found by looking at the shift towards Roman weight standards.[153] If Rome had begun to demand the payment of taxes and tribute from the local allied communities, these would have strong motives to mint their coins in the weight standard of the Romans in order to pay those taxes. Roman pay to the army was

[145] Bang (2012), p. 203.
[146] Walbank (1957), p. 176.
[147] Pol. 34.9.8.
[148] Liv. 39.29.6-7; Richardson (1986), p. 120.
[149] Villaronga (1984), pp. 206 ff. on the high chronology for the Obulco coins.
[150] Untermann (1995), pp. 312-313; Chaves Tristán (1998), pp. 151-152. For instance, *CNH* 347/41 shows both the Latin legend 'Obulco' and the Iberian 'Ibolka'.
[151] Untermann (1995), p. 313; Chaves Tristán (1998), p. 151.
[152] Chaves Tristán (1998), p. 168.
[153] On the change to Roman weight standards: Richardson (1986), p. 121, n. 128.

done in bronze coins down to the mid-second century BC, and in silver thereafter. This same chronology is followed by the local minting of coins, where bronze issues can be dated to the early 2nd century BC,[154] and after that we begin to find silver coins which we can date to the last decade of the same century, but which show considerable wear, evidencing their earlier mint.[155] The coincidences in chronology should not be ignored, and they are strong indicators that the development of coinage in Roman standards were the result not only of voluntary Romanization, but also of the need to pay the taxes imposed by Rome.

Figure 5. Obulco/Ibolka coin, CNH 347/41.

Following the end of the Lusitanian wars, the stabilization of the region allowed for a renewed mining and minting effort which has left its trace in the archaeology near Sierra Morena; in fact, from the late 2nd to early 1st centuries BC, the quantity and the quality of the silver of the mines in the region even surpassed those of New Carthage in Citerior[156] which, as seen above, were massively important. The western area of Ulterior in this period provides archaeological evidence of an intensification of mining compatible with the renewed stability which afforded opportunities for economic endeavours. At Riotinto, evidence of mining dates all the way back to the Tartessian period, and stretches until the Antonine era, but the first indications of Roman presence and exploitation dates precisely to the second half of the 2nd century BC.[157] From the beginning of Roman presence at the site, we find that "they developed processes and dramatically increased output, as documented by much more extensive slag heaps remaining from silver and copper

[154] Chaves Tristán (1998), pp. 151-155.
[155] Crawford (1985), pp. 90-91.
[156] García Vargas (2019), p. 166.
[157] The best survey of this mine is, perhaps still, Blanco Freijeiro & Rothenberg (1981).

production"[158] on site. Indeed, the archaeological evidence indicates that the Roman operations here were much more intensive than had been the case before,[159] an intensification which helps explain the increase in Italian and Roman interest in the mines and their management.[160] The rise in the importance and productivity of the mines after the Lusitanian wars is also further evidenced by the construction of fortifications around these mining complexes that would ensure their safety and continued production of a highly profitable enterprise.[161] The effects of these mining developments were to be felt widely in the region of the Guadalquivir during this period. Perhaps one of our clearest examples of the effects mining had on the economy of Ulterior is the gradual romanization of Hispalis (Sevilla), which lay smack-dab along the route that the metals from Sierra Morena would take to be traded and/or treated. The ceramic evidence from Hispalis shows a development towards Italian types from the mid-second century BC, although they would not become conspicuous until Augustan times.[162] In these instances we see how Roman-driven economic exploitation also became a driver of cultural change that further integrated Baetica into the wider network of empire, as evidenced by the Italian imports of ceramics in Hispalis.

In conclusion, the economic changes that Baetica underwent during this time are, fundamentally: the increased and systematic exploitation of the mines, which had already been in use under Carthaginian presence; and the development of Latinized coinage which would eventually also follow Roman weight standards as a result of the need to pay the Roman-imposed tribute. These two are closely related in that they were undertaken to meet the demands for wealth that Rome created, showing that predation was the motivator in unlocking the economic potential of the region, at least in what refers to the exploitation of metals. Furthermore, the importance of these processes lay not only in the part they played in 'activating' the economic potential of the region, but also in that they were key factors in the beginning of integration of Baetica into the wider network of empire through the importation of Italian goods, but also in the Romanization of the region. As will become evident in the following section, this economic transformation worked in tandem with demographic changes, and one cannot possibly be understood without the other. In this respect, economic development attracted migration, but migration drove exploitation further and connected it with the rest of the Roman empire.

Demography and Society

Unfortunately for the period we are concerned here, there is little information regarding the demographic changes in Baetica. Of course, the prevalence of military conflicts for much of the beginning stages of conquest presumably made it unappealing for many to

[158] Craddock et al. (1985), p. 199.
[159] García Vargas (2019), p. 168.
[160] Idem, pp. 166-167.
[161] Idem, pp. 169-171. These fortifications and their eventual development into mining settlements will be further analysed in the following section.
[162] See García Vargas & García Fernández (2009).

travel and settle there, but the stabilization of the region after the early 170s changed the situation and saw the start to Italian immigration. The renewal of hostilities during the Lusitanian wars would once again act as a deterrent, but the pacification of Ulterior following that period, as well as the economic developments discussed above (especially the mines being exploited to an increased degree and the significant wealth these extractions would entail) once more made it ever more appealing for Italians to settle in the region, as will be shown.

It is Diodorus Siculus who, having noted the potential of the mines, which even the locals realized, stated that:

> "after the Romans had made themselves masters of Iberia, a multitude of Italians have swarmed to the mines and taken great wealth away with them, such was their greed. For they purchase a multitude of slaves whom they turn over to the overseers of the working of the mines; and these men, opening shafts in a number of places and digging deep into the ground, seek out the seams of earth which are rich in silver and gold […] in this manner bringing up from the depths the ore which gives them the profit they are seeking."[163]

Clearly, thus, there quickly turned out to be an economic incentive for Italians to migrate to the areas close to the mines in Spain to benefit from them, and considerable numbers of Italians seemingly did so. This, as has been shown above, is also evidenced in the Latinization of the coinage of Baetica, which early on began to be minted with the Latin names of cities, apparently in an effort to appeal to Roman/Italian citizens settled among the locals.[164] However, what is most significant here is that, what Diodorus is revealing is not simply a tendency in migration, but rather he is betraying a trend of social movements that was sparked by the coming of the Romans/Italians to the province and which would, in this period, provoke a shift in the social hierarchies and class structures of Baetica in the mining regions.

Further investigation on the archaeological finds at the mines of Baetica offers glimpses of the social structures associated with demographic changes, migratory trends, and mobility. In this regard, perhaps the case of the mining village of La Loba evidences this most clearly. The advantage that this mine complex offers, in particular, is the fact that it was abandoned by the Romans right around 80 BC, and so the finds there give us a clear insight into the situation of the mine in this period.[165] The ceramic finds on this site reveal a strong Italic component, which has lead scholars to believe that there would have been a managerial class of Italian settlers.[166] Additionally, this point is driven further by the analysis of the house styles, such as House C, which possesses an atrium and a peristyle, evidencing Italian presence.[167] These, in conjunction with Diodorus' comments indicate that there was a class of managerial Italians who exploited the mines through the

[163] Diod. Sic. 5.36.3-4.
[164] Chaves Tristán (1998), p. 151.
[165] Blázquez (1988), p. 118.
[166] Idem, p. 128; García Vargas, p. 167.
[167] Edmonson (2006), p. 564.

exploitation of local labour-power, with the former possessing the means of production and turning into a new economic ruling class around the mining regions. The Italian control of the mines slowly developed, too, with the creation of small military buildings around the mining routes which were established in order to protect the mining complexes, places where, once again, Italian-type amphorae reveal the presence of Italian migrants.[168] It is important to note, however, that the archaeological and material finds at these mines also reveal, as is expected, the presence of indigenous and local peoples, who would have coexisted with the Italians and "who were probably more numerous, although not part of the managing staff".[169] These mining settlements, where Italians and their descendants coexisted with locals, would in many cases evolve into larger fortified towns whose aim was to protect and exploit the mines around which they were built.[170] This Italian mobility was accompanied by inner-mobility within the Iberian Peninsula. Coins minted in the Celtiberian and Iberian areas of the northern parts of Citerior are also found in the mines of Ulterior, at a significant distance from where they were minted; such a phenomenon reveals that a great deal of peoples from the northern areas of Spain migrated to Ulterior in search of work in these mining regions.[171] As García Bellido argues, this would be the beginning of a trend in migrating patterns from the Celtiberian areas towards the Baetica that would come to be pointed out by Pliny centuries later.[172] All in all, we can see both that Italian migration to the mines in this period is well attested, but also that it sparked a social shift in that these Italians became the ruling economic and managerial class in the settlements near the mining regions of Baetica. However, outside of these areas, the same cannot be said: "immigrants from Italy […] constituted a small minority in Hispania during the Republic; furthermore, in pre-Caesarian times these individuals would have been concentrated in a handful of places, especially in the towns that were hubs of economic activity".[173] Despite the evident influence that these migrants had on the mining region, in this time period there is no evidence to suggest that Italian presence extended beyond these. In other words, Italians did not meaningfully integrate into the region outside of the mining sector in this period.

[168] García Vargas (2019), pp. 169-171.
[169] Idem, p. 168.
[170] Idem, pp. 172-173, these were also present in north-eastern Spain, where once again Italian presence as managerial staff is attested.
[171] García Bellido (1986), p. 38.
[172] Ibid; Plin. *NH* 3.3.
[173] Pina Polo (2023), p. 86.

Figure 6. Map mining regions of Hispania, Sinner et al. (2020), fig. 1 [Cropped].

Another avenue of migration that deserves a brief mention during this time was through the settlement of veterans. There are not very many sources to discuss this phenomenon during this period, but the information we do have on two of the most important settlements created at this time – Italica and Carteia – offer us enough information that we might offer some conclusions. Firstly, the name of Italica "points at the geographical origin of its settlers",[174] as García Vargas noted. This town, founded in 206 BC was meant to house the wounded soldiers as well as some of the veterans of the campaigns.[175] Furthermore, the story of the foundation of the colony of Carteia also speaks of Roman settlers. As it goes, it was the children of Roman veterans (with local women) which had settled among the locals that requested the senate of Rome to give them a city in which to live, and the Latin rights so that they might have legal privileges.[176] This means that, a generation before 171 BC, there had been enough Roman settlers (seemingly veterans) that their kin were numerous enough to create a new settlement. It is true that we have very little information outside of this story relayed by Livy, but it is notable enough that the migration of Italians to the region had begun so early on. Furthermore, the creation of

[174] García Vargas (2019), p. 165.
[175] App. *Ib.* 6.38.
[176] Liv. 43.3.

a Latin colony already in 171 BC means that the number of Latin citizens in Baetica would begin to rise steadily through marriages and procreation, presumably becoming, too, a more appealing place for further immigrants to settle.

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, it's essential to highlight the profound changes the Roman presence instigated in the region. After the 2nd Punic War, the Iberian Peninsula's eastern and southeastern areas remained under Roman control. Initially, Rome had no intention of establishing a permanent presence in Spain, but post-conflict circumstances led to their continued occupation. A plausible explanation is the persistent threat of Carthage, as their resurgence after the 1st Punic War was fueled by resources from southern Iberia. The Romans likely viewed their occupation as a defensive measure to prevent Carthaginian resurgence. The absence of a pre-existing strategy meant Rome found itself unexpectedly governing new territories, leading to early administrative improvisations and decentralized control, which gradually evolved into more structured policies, including regular taxation and heightened oversight of governors. Economically, Roman taxation policies catalyzed the exploitation of Iberian mines, attracting Italian migrants and prompting local mints to adopt Roman standards for tribute payments. These economic opportunities led to significant migration to mining hubs, especially in the Guadalquivir, creating new social hierarchies with Italians as the dominant class over indigenous workers and slaves. However, such demographic changes were largely confined to these economic centers, with minimal Italian influence or integration observed elsewhere. In these hubs, the Roman presence profoundly impacted local social structures and initiated the Latinization process. Urbanization and colonization during this period were limited, but notable where they occurred, often over pre-existing settlements, marking the first Roman colonies outside Italy. This was particularly evident in Corduba, where Roman infrastructure laid the groundwork for future development. Overall, the initial Roman integration of Baetica was minimal. There was little migration or economic integration until after the stabilization efforts following Gracchus' tax reforms and the Lusitanian wars. Early Roman efforts focused on pacification and provided opportunities for consuls and praetors seeking military glory. However, the post-war era saw rapid changes, especially in economic hubs where Italian settlers settled and where trade connected this region with Italy especially. This limited but crucial integration set the stage for Baetica's eventual rise in importance within the Roman Empire, particularly in its economic network.

CHAPTER 2 – BAETICA IN THE LATER REPUBLIC (82 – 27 BC)

Following the stabilization of the Spanish provinces after the Celtiberian and Lusitanian Wars, the Peninsula saw a period of relative tranquility for around five decades. However, the years this chapter contends with were dominated, at Rome, by the progressive deterioration of Republican institutions and the collapse of the Republic itself. These developments were to be felt, too, in Baetica as it came to be the fighting ground of intra-aristocratic civil wars in different occasions. It was, however, also a period of immense growth for the area, and a time where it eventually became increasingly integrated into the network of empire, following a long period of little integration, as seen in the previous chapter. Here, I will aim to show how these developments deeply affected the province of Baetica in different aspects and prepared it for the final boom which was yet to be felt in the region. Furthermore, it is here that the increasing effects of 'Romanization' in the form of the creation of local 'Romanized' elites as the result of imperial administrative decisions will begin to be evidenced. Finally, further attention will be given to the agricultural developments in this period, as well as the beginning of a trend of colonization and increasing urbanization.

Administrative development

The present period will show that macro-level developments were less significant than before. That is not to say that there is nothing of note to analyse but that I will be focused on how the developments in the wider Roman world, especially those of the collapse of the Republican system, affected Roman attitudes towards the province of Baetica as it became increasingly central in many of these conflicts. This centrality reveals the also increasing familiarity of the aristocracy with this region; but also, the increasing importance of Baetica (and the Iberian Peninsula) towards the rest of the empire. Thus, I am not simply retelling political history in this section, but rather showing what it means for Baetica in that the elites became more and more concerned with the local contexts within the provinces, further evidencing their importance in relation to administrative decisions. Therefore, it is in this period where one finds the first chance to consider the administrative developments at the 'micro' level, with the charter of Urso providing one of the most significant pieces of evidence for this whole period. This charter is incredibly telling, for it is our first clear indication of the center of empire becoming involved with the day-to-day administration of specific, local, communities, a trend which would prove to be central to the province's development for the next centuries. All in all, it will become increasingly evident that, before Augustus, the period after the Lusitanian wars saw a stabilization in terms of wide administrative policies, only to be affected significantly through the wars that raged in the final decades of the Republic, and the beginning of Roman municipal charters in Baetica.

Quintus Sertorius, seeing the failure of other anti-Sullan generals to decidedly fight their enemy, having fallen out with his former allies, and seeing that the advance of Sulla

seemed unstoppable, decided to flee Italy in 82 BC and continue his resistance in Spain.[177] The reason for his choosing the Iberian Peninsula is clear. He had served as military tribune of Hispania Ulterior in 97 BC under Didius,[178] gaining recognition against the Oritanians, where he saved the lives of many of his compatriots.[179] His period there, therefore, gave him a good notion of the political, economic, and military situation of the region, making it a familiar area in which he could establish his headquarters.[180] Furthermore, it seems plausible that Sertorius had been elected as praetor around this time, and been given one of the Spanish provinces to govern.[181] In any case, Sertorius assembled his troops and made for Spain.

When Sertorius arrived, his position was precarious because Sulla had sent troops to wrest control of Spain away from him. Despite Sertorius having ingratiated himself with the Celtiberian tribes of Citerior through personal charisma and tax cuts,[182] the Sullan advance in the north forced him to retreat further south and, eventually, to leave Spain for North Africa.[183] His exploits in North Africa[184] gave him an increase in popularity among the people of Lusitania and Ulterior; furthermore, he continued to exercise a policy of winning over the locals, as he had done in Hispania, now in Mauritania.[185] His reputation preceded him, and in 80 BC, he received a delegation of Lusitanians who asked him to lead them in their efforts against the Sullan armies that controlled Spain, and whom they were suffering against.[186] It is thus evident that Sertorius' strategy had been, time and time again, to use the local discontent against Rome in order to rally troops to himself, as well as maintain popularity among the tribe chieftains of the region. In this manner, the administrative strategy of Sertorius was to undermine Roman (Sullan) control through the exploitation of local malcontent.

Sertorius, however, was not to be successful forever. He was eventually betrayed and killed in 73 BC, and his troops defeated by the combined effort of Metellus Pius and Pompey, and the so-called Sertorian War was over in 72 BC. Following the submission of the Sertorian troops, Pompey enacted a series of policies that were meant to restore Rome's control over the area, but also to gain their favour. There was not to be massive reprisals towards the local tribes that had fought against Rome, and some scholars have rightly characterized Pompey's actions as humane.[187] To his allies he gave the deserved spoils of war, as well as generous grants of citizenship to several communities and individuals (e.g. the Balbii),[188] following on typical Roman imperial behaviour. Further,

[177] Plut. *Sert.* 6.1-2; Matyszak (2013), pp. 32-33.
[178] Plut. *Sert.* 3.3.
[179] Idem, 3.3-4.1.
[180] Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), p. 194.
[181] Matyszak (2013), pp. 33-34, 52; App. *Ib.* 16.101.
[182] Plut. *Sert.* 6.4; Matyszak (2013), pp. 53-57.
[183] Plut. *Sert.* 7.
[184] Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), p. 195; Matyszak (2013), pp. 60-61.
[185] Hispania: Plut. *Sert.* 6.4; Mauritania: Plut. *Sert.* 9.5.
[186] Plut. *Sert.* 10.1.
[187] Scullard (1959), p. 92.
[188] Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), p. 207.

these actions turned him personally into the main patron of the Spanish provinces.[189] Both Sertorius and Pompey had, therefore, brought a significant change into the relationship between Rome (and its governors) and Spain in that they had given a much stronger effort into establishing personal connections between themselves and the region. The previous mode of governorship had focused little on the local communities and tribes and what they could offer, but the Sertorian War and its aftermath had shown the potential of establishing personal patron-client ties with these communities.

Following in the footsteps of those two, Caesar also drove the processes of Romanization of the area through his administrative decisions throughout his different stages in the Iberian Peninsula. During his quaestorship in Ulterior, he was strongly focused on judicial matters, frequenting the most important cities of the region to settle legal disputes and helping spread Roman law throughout this region.[190] In 61 BC as governor of Ulterior, Caesar's focus was, firstly, on military glory, which he achieved by warring against the unpacified Lusitanians north of the Tajus river and to the west of the Peninsula, reaching all the way up to modern-day Galicia.[191] Following his campaigns, he returned to Ulterior and spent the remainder of his governorship preoccupied with the administrative elements of the region, once again following the footsteps laid by Pompey and Sertorius in trying to find popularity among the locals. He ruled on the matters of debt repayments in the region,[192] and apparently left the province with a strong reputation among the Spaniards.[193]

When the Caesarian civil war broke out, Spain was under Pompeian control, and Caesar had to wrest that control back in 49 BC. Later, however, by the intervention of the now-defunct Pompey's sons and allies, Spain fell away from Caesar's control in 46 BC, and he was forced to campaign there once again in 45 BC, culminating at Munda in Ulterior. With his victory, Caesar then would handsomely repay those who had remained loyal to his cause, continuing Roman practice, and he severely punished those who had opposed him so that he may repay his allies with the lands and money he obtained from them.[194] He also granted citizenship to those who had remained by his side, and founded colonies where the lands of his enemies would be divided and given to loyalists.[195] It is not generally surprising that Caesar took these decisions, as it was a longstanding Roman policy to handsomely reward allies, and strongly punish enemies so that it may serve as a deterrent. However, in the matter of the foundation of colonies, the first piece of evidence of Roman interest in the administration of local communities in Spain is to be found.

It was clearly established in the previous chapter that, previously, Roman interests in administrative matters were exclusively concerned with the macro level. However, with

[189] Idem, p. 208.
[190] Idem, p. 211.
[191] Plut. *Caes*. 12.1,
[192] Plut. *Caes.* 12.1-2.
[193] Plut. *Caes.* 12.2.
[194] Dio 43.39.
[195] Dio 43.39.5.

Caesar's intervention in the foundation of colonies in this period (see below), and especially their management, the beginning of a trend can be discerned that would increase in Augustan times and come to a head in the Flavian period with the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*, which falls out of the scope of this thesis. Still, the *Lex Ursonensis*, which was the charter for a *colonia civium Romanorum* founded by Caesar in 45/44 BC,[196] is the first piece of evidence detailing Roman instructions at the local level. Previous analyses of the charter, and the political system it set up in the colony, have been tied to the replica model argument by stating that it was an emulation of the system of early Republican Rome. Hardy, in his discussion of the Spanish charters stated that "[t]he ordinary magistracies, limited to three, duoviri, aediles, and quaestors, no doubt owe their origin to the time when at Rome too the ordinary magistrates were consuls, curule aediles, and quaestors".[197] This assessment, however, has not convinced more recent scholars, some of which argue that there is no evidence to sustain the assertion that the early Roman political system inspired the colonial one.[198] Still, Curchin for instance admits the possibility of other judicial magistracies in the early Roman system, such as that of duovir itself, inspiring the colonial ones, but the evidence does not warrant a strong affirmation either way.[199] In any case, the charter established magistracies, their duties,[200] their numbers, as well as the senate and their functions.[201] All in all, it presents an image of a Roman state explicitly preoccupied with the ways in which their subject colonies are to be managed, an aspect of provincial administration not seen before in Hispania. It is clear then, that some influence (to a lesser or greater degree) is to be expected from the Roman system into the local one;[202] but this is a sign that Rome was now more invested in the dealings of the region because it was becoming an increasingly important and integrated part of the empire.

In conclusion, this section has revealed that, while this period did not see any significant changes in terms of wide-ranging administrative policies, the Sertorian War revealed the importance of local compliance and support for Roman control. This fact was taken advantage of by Pompey, who became one of the main benefactors of the local Spanish communities, as well as by Caesar. Their concern for the ties with the indigenous peoples and communities is best evidenced by the increasing importance given by the Romans to the control over the governance of their colonial foundations. There where the Romans had previously only been concerned with a macro level presence, now their influence was felt even at the community level. In this respect, the *Lex Ursonensis* attests to this development as an example of Roman intervention in the political systems of colonies in Baetica.

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[196] Plin. *NH* 3.3.2.
[197] Hardy (1912), p. 69.
[198] Curchin (1990), pp. 5-6.
[199] Idem, p. 6.
[200] *Urs*. 61, 77, 100.
[201] *Urs*. 129 on the decurions and the local council/senate.
[202] Cf. Sánchez Moreno (2013), p. 4038.

Urbanization and Colonization

Up until now, the colonizing efforts of the Romans have been sporadic, resulting from very specific necessities and which had little impact on Baetica in the years following their foundations. However, in this period the situation changed, and with it, the consequences of colonization. For this reason, I will not be offering a series of case-studies, as I did in the previous chapter, but rather, I will discuss the importance, both for this period and for what was to come, of the colonizing efforts of this era; and only thereafter offer some analysis of Urso. My focus here will mainly be on the importance of colonization towards the integration of the province, but some space will be reserved to consider, too, the urbanization of this period, also of great importance.

The aftermath of the Battle of Munda in 45 BC brought with it the typical Roman practice of rewarding the allies and punishing foes; and Caesar's dealings in Baetica were focused on the dispossession of lands from his enemies in order to found colonies to give to his allies, and granting Roman citizenship to many of the new settlers.[203] These actions brought on a revolutionary series of changes in the province,[204] with colonization at the forefront of it all. Those cities which had been loyal to Caesar in the civil war saw their loyalty rewarded with special legal privileges in terms of colonial o municipal grants, which would be accompanied by the Latin or the Roman citizenship, whereas the Pompeians did not.[205] Hence the city of Ulia (in the modern-day province of Córdoba), which received the appellative of *Fidentia* for their continued Caesarian support throughout the Civil Wars, and presumably was granted municipal status (and perhaps Roman citizenship) by Caesar as a reward for their loyalty.[206] Although it is quite difficult to date and distinguish Caesarian and Augustan colonies,[207] the surely Caesarian colonies are the following: Hasta Regia, Hispalis, Iptuci, Ucubi, and Urso.[208] The urban landscape of Baetica, thus, was beginning to change profoundly. Where before few colonies could be found, and those which could were scattered, now there began to emerge larger and more numerous centers of Roman and/or Latin citizens, despite their indigenous (or veteran) origins.[209]

Speaking on the impact of the Caesarian (and later Augustan)[210] colonial foundations, Simon Keay stated:

> "The *coloniae* must have had a major social, political and economic impact upon the regions where they were founded. Each colonia represented the physical settlement of

[203] Dio 43.39.4-5.
[204] Caballos Rufino (2005), p. 414.
[205] Hoyos (1979), p. 467.
[206] Amela Valverde (2016), p. 94. Note his discussion on the development of the city's status from Caesar to Augustus.
[207] González Fernández (2005), p. 49.
[208] Idem, p. 51, n. 50-54 establishes Caesarian foundation for these colonies; Plin. *NH* 3.1.7-12.
[209] Please note that the demographic/social consequences of this phenomenon has not been fully discussed in the previous section. This is because those effects were not to be truly felt until the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, and so the analysis has been reserved for the next chapter.
[210] The quote still applies to the Caesarian colonies but, usually, most surveys of this phenomenon box these two periods together.

substantial communities of Roman citizens and their families in what had been almost exclusively a native milieu."[211]

Indeed, it seems most of these colonies were founded next to previously existing native settlements which were, slowly but surely, abandoned in favour of the new Roman towns, evidencing the importance of the latter, but also of the imposition of Roman-style centers.[212] The effect of these processes, brought on by the colonial foundations, was a gradual 'Romanization' of the native towns in Baetica, as well as of the peoples living in them.[213] In this context, it might do well to consider, too, the importance of urbanization in these settlements, especially for that which they might tell us about the emergence of Roman-style infrastructure. To do this, let us consider a specific example. The reason for only considering one colony here is due to the nature of our evidence. The *Lex Ursonensis* provides the best and most comprehensive piece which allows us to consider Caesarian colonial foundations. This must be taken as an exemplary colony which can be extrapolated to other foundations of this period.

Urso

The topography of the colony of Urso presents some interesting elements which will aid in this discussion. It has been suggested that this town might have been one among others which could have had a Capitolium temple.[214] The evidence for this assertion rests not on archaeological surveys on the site, given that little attention has been given, archaeologically speaking, to this city and therefore scarce evidence can be gathered that way, as some scholars have mentioned.[215] Nonetheless, the *Lex Ursonensis* presents key epigraphic evidence for much of what can be said about Urso's infrastructure and topography. In the case of the Capitolium, the charter gives specific instructions to the duumvirs,[216] as well as the aediles,[217] to celebrate gladiatorial shows or dramatic spectacles in honour of the Capitoline Triad of gods: Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This has been enough for some scholars to argue that there must have been a Capitolium Temple, but others are not as easily convinced. Even Cagiano de Azevedo stated: "essa, pur non essendo da sola sufficente a dimostrare l'esistenza di un Capitolium, costituisce tuttavia un indizio".[218] Still, the cult of the Capitoline Triad is more than clearly attested in the *Lex*, and as Torelli has argued, there are different ways in which this cult might be expressed, even in non-traditional forms.[219] One might plausibly argue that, even if there was not a typical Capitoline Temple, the cult is well attested, and so there must have been a place of worship which would serve the same purpose.

[211] Keay (1992), p. 298.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Idem, pp. 300-301.
[214] Bendala Galán (1990), p. 12 on the bibliography for the debate.
[215] Pachón Romero (2011), pp. 187-188.
[216] *Urs*. 70.
[217] *Urs*. 71.
[218] Cagiano de Azevedo (1940), p. 37.
[219] Torelli (2014).

Other infrastructures can be decisively attested in Urso evidencing Roman-style urbanization practices. The *comitium* at Urso is mentioned in two chapters of the *Lex Ursonensis*. In *Urs.* 101 and *Urs.* 105, instructions are laid out for the city's magistrates of who, according to their past conduct, they should allow to enter the *comitium* or to put forth their candidacy for election to any one magistracy. The existence of elections and the mentions of the political life of the city evidence that the *comitium* must have existed at the colony, leaving little doubt of it. Similarly, this argument can also be made for the *curia* or the Senate chamber. As a meeting place for the local council[220] of *decurions*, it is also mentioned in the charter in chapters *Urs.* 64, 81, 92, 103, and little doubt can truly be shed over its existence. A *comitium-curia* complex, being as it was the center of political life,[221] shows strong ties to the Roman political system, and reveals an urbanizing effort which follows Roman practices. Finally, another building which serves to drive this argument of a 'Romanizing' urbanization is the Forum of the city. This can also be attested through the charter, where it is mentioned more than once.[222] The forum has been described as "the administrative centre of a Roman city",[223] and so it is especially significant that it might be found at Urso since it further reveals the ties of this colony to Rome itself.

Figure 7. Map location of Urso, Google Maps.

As a brief conclusion, I have shown here that, due to the increasing interest of the Roman elite with the local dealings of Baetica, colonial foundation numbers multiplied in this period under Caesarian colonization practices. These colonies are important because not

[220] *Brill's New Pauly, s.v. Curia*.
[221] Sewell (2014), p. 126.
[222] *Urs.* 71, 81.
[223] Brill's *New Pauly*, s.v. *Forum*.

only have they provided, as is the case of Urso, with a charter which reveals the imperial center becoming involved with local communities' inner-workings, but also because they deeply affected the urban landscape by both creating new centers of Roman/Latin citizens, but also urban spaces where Roman-style architecture began to flourish. The effects of these phenomena were to be felt especially in the coming decades and centuries with further colonization and the emergence of local, Romanized, elites, which will be shown in the next chapter. Consequently, colonizing practices were also profoundly changed, and its effects widely felt.

Economic changes

Previously I showed how economic developments in Baetica during the period 206 BC to 82 BC were of great significance in two aspects: mining and the rise of Roman-type coinage. In the present period, however, I will begin to show the development of another series of economic aspects that would prove to be even more significant as setting the groundwork for the wealth boom that would come in the early imperial period. That is not to say, however, that the mines ceased being exploited, for they still were and mining has been described as "[t]he most notable economic activity in the province during the late Republican and early triumviral periods", but there was not much further development on mining in this period other than the continuing exponential intensification of its practice. Similarly, coinage began to be minted in the Roman-types, and I will devote a brief section to discuss one of the more interesting developments seen in the coinage of this period. However, the main concern of this section of the chapter will be on the emergence of different economic practices, much more significant in the centuries to come, especially those of agriculture, and the beginning of massive exportation of foodstuffs from Baetica to the rest of the Roman world. It must be noted that, as will become evident below, most of our sources for these phenomena are literary, rather than archaeological. This might be because the main intensified practices were grain-growing, which required little infrastructure.

Though few, of those coin hoards that are present, an interesting development can be discerned. I showed that the legends of the coins in the mid to late Republican Baetica evidenced both Latin but also Iberian or even Punic languages, but approximately from the 80s BC onwards, Latin comes to dominate the legends of the coins minted in the area, and slowly but surely, this language became the only one in use.[224] This phenomenon ties in with the accompanying development by which one can see the dedicators of these coins being mostly magistrates (quaestors and aediles in their majority) of the local towns where mints were located.[225] Seeing as I discussed the increasing concern of the Roman elite to control and manage the political systems of their conquered territories, this fact is easily explained. In this manner, one might say that the Latinization of the coinage responds to the increasing Roman style pollical systems and magistracies implemented in the cities

[224] García Vargas (2019), pp. 175-176.
[225] Chaves Tristán (1998), pp. 159-160 with examples.

and colonies across Baetica. Furthermore, the increase in attestation of magistrates in charge of the mints further drives this point. Unfortunately, and as has been mentioned above, the evidence regarding coin hoards from this period is scant, so it is not possible to fully consider these developments outside of seeing a general trend towards Latinization from the previous period, and seeing as there are no coins minted in the region showing legends in a language different from Latin (also for the next period), it is possible to argue that the development took place at this time.

Turning to the production of Baetica, here one can find evidence of a great boom in economic growth on different levels. As García Vargas notes: "[i]n Baelo (Tarifa, Cádiz), evidence points to a significant growth of the fish-salting industry, which became, from this period onwards, one of the economic powerhouses of the city,"[226] and while it is true that these workshops can be dated as early as the mid-second century BC,[227] it is in this period that they truly become important elements in the economic development of the region. This is evidenced by the material findings of further fish-sauce manufacturing infrastructure (both in amphorae and workshops)[228] in the region that dates to the mid-first century BC, which at that time had grown to an "impressive scale" all around the Bay of Cádiz.[229] Not unreasonably, then, did Strabo state that the coastal areas of southern Baetica were lucrative due to the products of the sea.[230] And here the massification of the

[226] García Vargas (2019), p. 177. See also Sillières (1997).
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ponsich (1998), p. 178.
[229] Haley (2003), pp. 26-27.
[230] Str. 3.2.7.

production of amphorae is evident (with a mix between Punic and Roman styles), which shows the importance of these industries.[231]

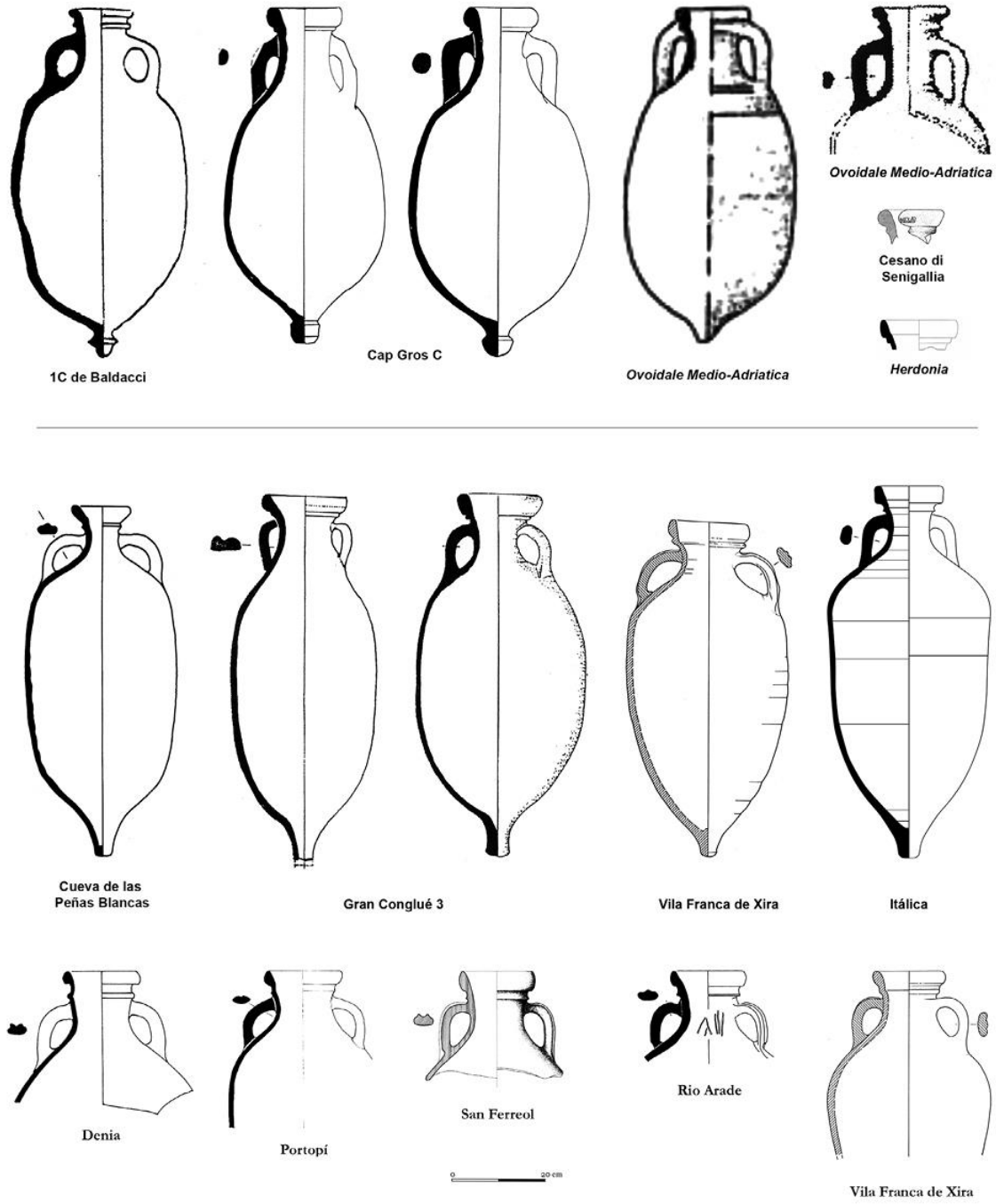

Figure 8. Guadalquivir ovoid amphorae examples, García Vargas et al. (2011), fig. 13.

It is once we turn to the agricultural productive landscape of Baetica and its significance that the most important development in economic matters during this period is seen. The productive potential of the Baetican soil, especially around the Guadalquivir valley, was

[231] García Vargas (2019), p. 178.

remarkable. However, the production of agricultural foodstuffs had been the subject of subsistence farming and very localized trade when surplus allowed. In this period, nonetheless, agricultural production in Baetica saw a great surge in three main aspects: grain, olive oil, and wine. The first of these was, of course, the most crucial and intense, being as it was the necessary ingredient for bread. During the Caesarian civil war, the productivity of Ulterior/Baetica was well-known by the generals. Thus, in the Spanish campaign of 49 BC, Varro, legate of Pompey, is said to have collected a great amount of grain from this province so that he might send it not only to his colleagues Afranius and Petreius, but also to the Massilians;[232] but also, he was yet able to order the inhabitants of Ulterior to give him, additionally, another 120,000 *modii* (almost 800,000 kilograms) of grain for his own troops' sustenance.[233] As for Caesar, he was also motivated to move to the Ulterior in search of grain, as was the case with his taking of the town of Ategua, where Dio tells us there was an abundance of grain stored.[234] The sheer amount of grain attested in Ulterior during this period (and its importance) has led scholars to consider the question of whether agricultural production of wheat was intensified in this period. Haley, for one, argues that the sheer number of silos to store grain which archaeological surveys have discovered from this period should lead us to conclude that, indeed, production had intensified.[235] In the previous chapter I argued that the increase in mining and Roman type coinage could be explained by pointing towards Roman demands for tribute; here, I posit the same argument in that Roman demands for grain led the locals to intensify their production, but also to store the surplus in case the Romans were to require it from them.[236] It would also have served, undoubtedly, as a way in which to avoid later hunger when harvests inevitably failed as they often did in antiquity.[237] In any case, it can be clearly argued that grain production was intensified during this period in Baetica, thanks to its fertile soil.

On the matter of olive oil and wine, the situation is different. These are non-essential, albeit highly sought after, goods, unlike grain. For these, there is less evidence than for the production of wheat, and yet, it is possible to attest that their production was increasing and becoming important in the context of the economic development of Baetica. Strabo's comment that from Turdetania the grain, wine and olive oil of the best quality were exported cannot clearly be argued for this period,[238] and yet the fact that this was most definitely the case for the early Principate indicates that the production of these products had to be significant even before. Haley himself, although doubting that exports of these products happened before Augustan times,[239] admits that there were significant

[232] Caes. *B. Civ.* 2.18.1-3.
[233] Caes. *B. Civ.* 2.18.4.
[234] Dio 43.33.2.
[235] Haley (2003), pp. 23-25.
[236] A similar argument is presented by Haley (2003), pp. 24-25, although he gives more prevalence to the argument that it might have been for the prevention of famines after bad harvests.
[237] See previous note.
[238] Str. 3.2.6, seeing as Strabo was writing in the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD, the period of the final chapter.
[239] Haley (2003), p. 25 ff.; see, in contrast García Vargas (2019), p. 181.

olive groves, as well as vineyards in Baetica during the Late Republic and triumviral periods. Furthermore, the amphorae evidence this point even further. The 'Guadalquivir Ovoid Amphorae', used exclusively for the export of olive oil and wine represent a repertoire of Roman style amphorae found around the Guadalquivir River which begin in the late Republic and which evidence the intensification of the production of these products.[240] The existence of these amphorae show that, despite the relatively low levels of production of these products (as shown by the small number of finds),[241] their demand was increasing. However, given that olive oil production requires generational investment due to the time required to grow the olive tree, and later produce oil from the olive itself, it must have been during the later stages of this period that the groundwork was established for the incredible intensification of olive oil exports that will be seen in the next chapter.

In conclusion, economic developments in Baetica during this period were concentrated in, although not limited to, the agricultural sphere. Mining continued during this period, and remained the main economic activity of the province, and coinage continued to be minted, albeit becoming fully Latinized. However, the mining sector was slowly ceding its space as the main factor of economic growth to the agricultural sector which was showing its incredible potential. The fertile soil of Baetica allowed for remarkably large amounts of grain to be produced, and both the oil and wine were of notable quality, all of which began to bring the attention of Roman buyers and investors. Despite this, it must still be stated that, before the imperial period, the production of agricultural foodstuffs in Baetica were, in their immense majority, aimed at local consumption and trade, and it would not be until later that exports became a significant factor in this production; and yet, it was here that the groundwork for a *Baetica Felix* was truly established.

Demography and Society

The discussion on demographic and societal changes in Baetica has, thus far, concentrated on those brought on by the economic developments and the inflow of Italians into the economic hubs close to the mining areas. In the later Republic, the mining sector was still strong, and evidence of further Italo-Roman immigration and management of these areas is attested. However, in the present section, I want to focus the attention on other developments in this period. To do so, I will analyse how the newly booming economic sectors (fisheries, oil production, wine, and grain) saw demographic developments by means of the immigration of Romans, just as the mining sector had before; but also, I wish to discuss another element of social development, tied to the changes in administration discussed previously, in the creation of local Romanized elites and their impact on the province of Baetica.

[240] García Vargas, González Cesteros & Roberto de Almeida (2019).
[241] García Vargas (2019), p. 181.

In the Bay of Gibraltar, in this period, it is possible to see the beginning of the production of amphorae of Italo-Roman types.[242] The fishing and oil industries required these amphorae in order to transport the foodstuffs, and the fact that there is an emergence of these Roman types, rather than the Punic style which was more common before, has led some scholars to conclude that these must have been made by, precisely, Romans and Italians who had immigrated to the region following the money. Indeed, it might be possible to conclude that a Roman presence was growing in places such as the proximity of Carteia and other towns in the Bay of Gibraltar, as the inscriptions in Latin in the amphorae evidence,[243] but in other areas, such as the Bay of Cádiz, where a stronger Punic enclave was situated, the amphorae show both Latin and Neo-Punic types, as well as nomenclature, an indication that the people in charge of their making were, most probably, Punics themselves copying and adapting different styles that were more in fashion at the time.[244] It must be noted that, here too like in the mines, it seems to have been the case that the Romans were established mostly as managerial staff, rather than toilers. On the other hand, there is evidence for the presence of Italians and Romans in the rural countryside, especially in the context of small farmlands close to the mining regions[245] which were meant to provide supply the mining companies.[246] In short, the amphorae in the new economic hubs of Baetica, as well as the archaeological evidence show that there was a growing Roman presence, most probably attracted to the region for the very same reasons they had been to the mines before: the potential to make money. However, this presence was still limited to specific areas, the main of which was near Carteia, a Latin colony founded a century before. In the areas where Punic enclaves were still strong, the Roman presence does not appear to be so noticeable despite the potential of the region. Despite this patched Roman migration and presence, it is notable that, contrary to the previous period, the Romans were now beginning to show their interest in moving towards non-mining regions due to the perceived potential gains to be had from the economic activity in the Guadalquivir valley and the Bays of Cádiz and Gibraltar.

Now turning away from the economic motive, I would like to consider one of the consequences of the Roman administrative developments for Baetica in regards to its effects on the social structures of the local communities, and the Romanization process of the province as a whole. As Curchin succinctly put it:

> "The role of local magistrates in provincial romanization has been long and undeservedly neglected. Spain provides the logical starting-point for a reassessment of the importance of local elites throughout the Empire."[247]

[242] Étienne & Mayet (1994); Funari (1994).
[243] The original excavation analyses were made by Sotomayor Muro (1969), with more recent works such as Bernal Casasola & Jiménez-Camino Álvarez (2004).
[244] García Vargas (2019), pp. 177-179.
[245] Remember, the mines were still the main economic activity of Baetica in this period.
[246] In the región of Murcia: Ramallo Asensio & Arana Castillo (1985), pp. 60-61; in the region of Jaén: Barba Colmenero et al. (2016).
[247] Curchin (1990), p. 126.

While at the very beginning of Roman presence in Spain the locals were permitted to keep their own forms of government,[248] eventually the Roman system was slowly imposed through charters such as the *Lex Ursonensis*, "effectively [eliminating] the reguli, principes, duces, and other anomalous leaders and replaced them with local magistrates on the Roman model".[249] This process began, and was especially felt, in Baetica. The local elites were re-organized and re-shaped into a more Romano-Italic model, with the internal government now located in the *ordo decurionum* or local senate and the leaders of the towns were no longer 'chieftains' but rather magistrates. The members of the local elite could now compete for municipal honours in the 'Roman' way, through a mixture of elite co-optation and elections which required campaigning.[250] Election to one of the magistracies brought with it not only honour and prestige, but also (in the municipial towns) the coveted Roman citizenship. Not only were the local elites now reorganized to resemble a Roman-style aristocracy, but there is evidence of Roman-style legal customs now being imposed on these cities as well.[251] While it is true that the colony at Urso was a colony of Roman citizens, it revealed the beginning of the process by which, in the coming century, the Roman state would offer the local elites newfound ways to insert themselves into a system which rewarded 'Romanization'.

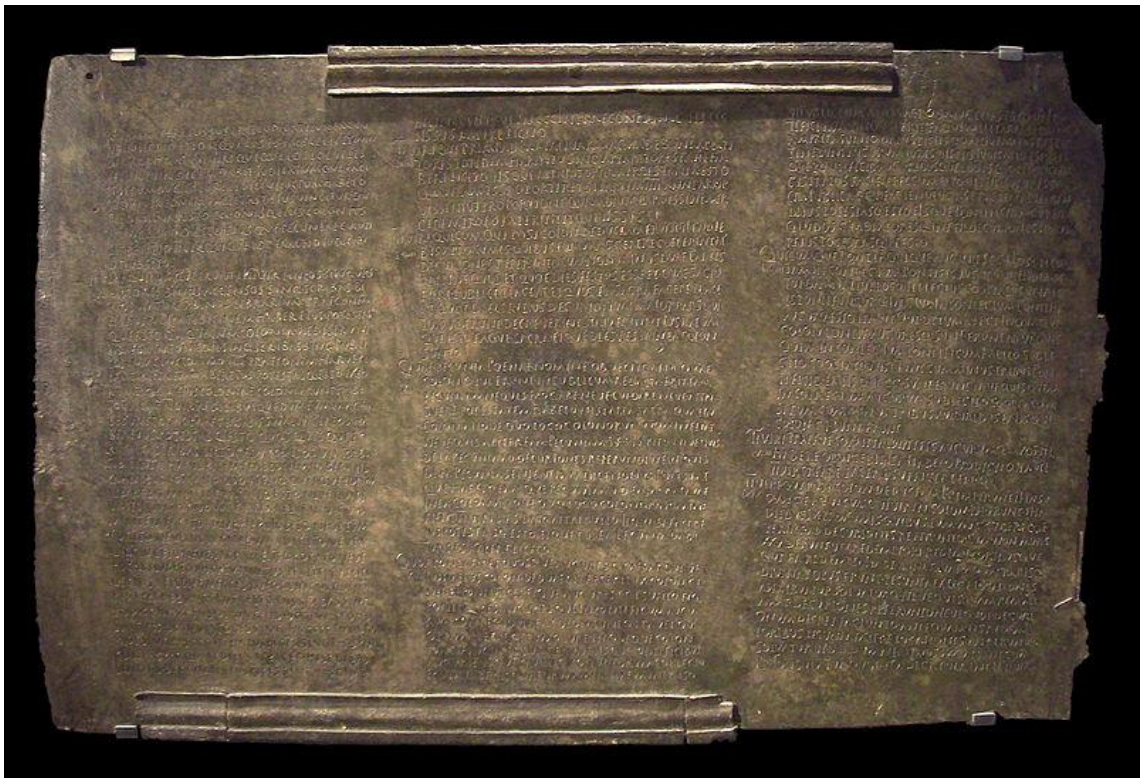

Figure 9. Table 1 of the *Lex Ursonensis*, Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, no. 16736.

[248] Idem, p. 5.
[249] Idem, p. 7.
[250] Rodríguez Neila (2003), p. 79.
[251] *Urs*. 62.

In conclusion, the analysis has shown that there were two main changes that happened during this period, and which responded to developments elsewhere, namely in administrative matters and economy. On the one hand, the economic boom that was beginning to be felt in Baetica attracted Roman and Italian migrants to the regions where the potential for making money was highest. Just like had been the case with the mining sector in the previous period, the Roman and Italian settlers were quick to see the potential of investing in these industries and with their intervention the production of these foodstuffs was greatly enhanced. New rural settlements arose near the mines where Roman and Italian presence is attested and where grain was farmed to supply the mines, while in the lower Guadalquivir and near the Bay of Gibraltar the amphorae show increased Roman investment. On the other hand, these migratory movements were still quite localized, albeit more diversified than in the previous chapter. The other development worthy of mention was the emergence of Romanized local elites due to the administrative changes brought on by Caesar's colonization efforts. The *Lex Ursonensis* reveals that the Romans began to be much more concerned with how their colonies were run, and they modelled them after Romano-Italian style systems, rewarding Romanizing practices. The effects of both developments were still not to be seen in full until the Julio-Claudian and Flavian period, however, it was here that the groundwork was established for the great municipalization efforts undertaken by the early Roman emperors, as well as for the Romanization of the area outside of the purely economic centers.

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, I wish to offer some final thoughts on what this discussion has shown. In terms of the administrative developments, although there were no significant policy changes during this period, the Sertorian War underscored the critical role of local support for Roman control in the region. This realization was capitalized on by Pompey and Caesar, who fostered ties with local Spanish communities. The Romans' growing emphasis on controlling local governance is evident, marking a shift from a broad to a community-focused influence. The *Lex Ursonensis* exemplifies Roman intervention in the political systems of colonies in Baetica, reflecting their increased engagement at the local level. However, it must be noted that this charter is not only a source, but rather a product of historical development in itself. Consequently, colonizing practices were also profoundly changed, and its effects widely felt. The number of colonial foundations greatly grew under Caesar, and these colonies, such as Urso, demonstrate that the imperial center was increasingly involved in local affairs and significantly altered the urban landscape. They established new communities of Roman/Latin citizens and introduced Roman-style architecture, leading to profound long-term impacts. This urban and cultural transformation laid the groundwork for the emergence of Romanized local elites, a trend that would continue in the following decades and centuries, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Finally, economic developments in Baetica during this period were mainly in agriculture, though mining remained the province's primary activity. Coinage continued but became fully Latinized. However, agriculture began to overshadow mining

in economic importance, due to Baetica's intensification of grain production, and high-quality oil and wine, attracting Roman interest. Despite this, before the imperial period, most agricultural produce was aimed at local consumption and trade. Exports became significant later, laying the foundation for *Baetica Felix*, a period of prosperity rooted in its rich agricultural output.

CHAPTER 3 – BAETICA IN THE AUGUSTAN AND JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD (27 BC – AD 68)

The present period, from the beginning of Augustus' reign to the fall of Nero, presents a fresh challenge for the study of Baetica, for this is the era in which the wider political system of the Roman world changed drastically from Republic to Principate. This fact did not happen in a vacuum, nor did it leave the provinces indifferent. Changes to provincial administration practices under the principate were to profoundly affect the inner-workings of the territories under Roman control, and in the case of Baetica, these developments, as will be shown, led to the intensification of the integration of Baetica both in material, but also in ideological terms. The evidence for this period is enormous; epigraphy saw a boom in the region during the period, but also the beginning of the exports of olive oil and metals from Baetica to the rest of the empire has left plenty of evidence. In this chapter, my aim will be to show how the developments that in the previous two chapters have led up to the situation in which Baetica became ripe for its economic boom and its intensified Romanization. Hopefully, this will offer a stronger groundwork for our understanding of how Baetica truly became *Felix*.

Administrative development

In Augustus' time, the most comprehensive of the provincial-level administrative changes in the Hispaniae were undertaken, and the last one for this thesis' period, since the formation of the provinces in 197 BC. These administrative changes would (re-)shape the Spanish provinces into the state in which they would continue, virtually unchanged, until the era of the tetrarchy. Furthermore, additional administrative changes were enacted within the provinces in the Augustan period, creating new sub-divisions which reveal the growing concern of the imperial centre in ensuring their control over the provincial possessions. In the present section, I will be discussing the most important elements of these changes, and as will become evident quickly, these were mostly (if not wholly) concentrated in the Augustan period. As ever, the subject matter of this section will focus on the macro level, but as the second section will show, it cannot be properly understood in a vacuum, and the section on colonization and urbanization presents, in this period especially, a tandem piece to this segment.

In 27 BC, the first *prínceps* was named, and his powers and responsibilities established, subject to later re-negotiation. Amid the matters discussed in the Senate in Rome was that of the control over the empire's provinces and armies, which had been shown to be the key to power in Rome in the last decades. Therefore, the decisions on these affairs were of great importance to the organizational structure of the provinces, but also to the division of powers, as well as being quite revealing on the state of the provinces themselves. As Dio tells it:

> "[Augustus] declared he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war"[252]

In this way, Augustus made a distinction between senatorial, to be governed by the Senate, and imperial provinces under his own power to be governed by him through *legati*. This differentiation followed the logic that Augustus would thus retain those provinces where armies were stationed, and that the Senate would be given those stable enough not to require strong military presence, giving us an insight into how Rome saw the state of their own provinces.

As Strabo notes, the Spanish provinces were thus divided up according to this new provincial distinction: while Baetica was given to the Senate to administrate, the rest of the Iberian Peninsula remained under the control of Augustus.[253] Before I delve into the actual re-organization of the provinces, it is important to discuss the fact that it was Baetica which was named a senatorial province while the rest of Spain was not. As I have already said, the senatorial provinces were meant to be those which had already been stabilized and did not require a strong military presence. It is telling, then, that only Baetica among the Spanish provinces was viewed in such a light in 27 BC. While there was enough reason for the emperor to see Tarraconensis and Lusitania[254] as provincial holdings that required his own *legati*, Baetica would receive a praetor named by the senate with proconsular powers to govern it alongside a quaestor and a legate.[255] Most importantly, there was to be no military presence in Baetica, as all the legions in Spain would be stationed in the provinces under the control of the emperor,[256] further evidencing the view that this province was fully pacified and assimilated, an absolutely crucial distinction which shows the singular situation of this province.

Turning now to the wider-level administrative changes in Spain, a significant re-structuring of the provinces was undertaken during the time of Augustus. Just as in 197 BC the conquered areas were divided into Citerior and Ulterior, now they were re-organized, re-named, and a new province created. There is quite a bit of debate as to the date of these Augustan reforms, with the more common dates being either 27 BC itself, or around 15/13 BC following the end of the conquest of northern Spain. It does seem more plausible to argue that the majority of the reforms would have taken place once the whole of Spain had been pacified with the Augustan campaigns in the north of the Peninsula, so I will be taking the latter date as most probable. [257] However, full analysis falls outside the scope of this thesis, as my concern here is with the effects and motivations

[252] Dio 53.12.2. Loeb trans.
[253] Str. 3.4.20.
[254] These names are the provincial names which will be discussed below.
[255] Str. 3.4.20.
[256] Ibid.
[257] A good summary of the debate can be found in Bravo Bosch (2008), pp. 123 ff. It is notable that the author argues that these divisions would be subject to later re-organization ca. 7-2 BC (p. 132), evidencing a process that was dynamic.

of these changes. Furthermore, it has been noted both by the ancients[258] and the modern scholars[259] that these provinces would still see small border changes, a phenomenon with which, here, I am not too concerned, since they are not of enough significance towards the subject matter under scrutiny in this thesis. Still, it is important to note this fact, and keep in mind that the exact chronology and the exact changes are quite impossible to determine precisely, and so one ought to consider these in more general terms.

So, what was this re-structuration like? Firstly, two provinces were turned into three.[260] Citerior was re-named *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis*, evidencing the importance of its capital city in Tarraco (modern-day Tarragona) and, as I have said, was under the control of the emperor. Ulterior, however, was divided into two: *Hispania Ulterior Lusitania* (henceforth Lusitainia), with capital in *Emerita Augusta* (Mérida) and *Hispania Ulterior Baetica*, with capital in Corduba. Briefly, some attention must be put on the new official name of the province. The Baetis River (Guadalquivir) I have already noted as being the key area in which the most significant economic and Romanizing developments were taking place. The fact that the province was now named after this river[261] is not a coincidence, and reveals the fact that, just as Tarraco for Tarraconensis, the Baetis was seen as the heart of the province in more ways than one. The territories of these provinces also underwent changes with the reorganization of the provinces. Given the focus here, which is on Baetica, I will only consider the changes that affected this province. To the north-west, Baetica was officially separated from the province of Lusitania by the river Anas (the Guadiana), which acted as a natural border between the two provinces.[262] To the north, Baetica (and Lusitania) bordered Tarraconensis at Sierra Morena,[263] as had always been the case; however, the territorial borders further to the east were, at this time, changed. At the very beginning of the imperial period, before the re-organization of the provinces, Baetica stretched eastwards all the way up to New Carthage,[264] however, by the time of Pliny, this province did not go past Murgi (El Ejido, Almería),[265] losing a significant portion of territory to Tarraconensis, possibly as a result of Baetica being a

[258] Str. 3.4.19; Plin, *NH*, 3.3.16.
[259] Abascal Palazón (2015), p. 132.
[260] In 1999 an Augustan edict dating to around 15 BC was found in El Bierzo where there is reference to a *'Provincia Transduriana'* (see Balboa de Paz (1999) for first publication on the text, and Richardson (2002), p. 411 for the text and translation). This text has brought much discussion on the fact that there might have been a fourth Spanish province for a few years, before it was eventually fused with the Tarraconensis (opinion held by, among others, López Barja de Quiroga (2010)). However, I tend to agree more with the scholars who believe it more plausible to think of this '*provincia*' in traditional Republican notions of the term as a military mission, or perhaps as a sub-division used in the context of the Cabtabrian wars (see especially: Richardson (2002); Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), p. 224; Bravo Bosch (2008), pp. 131-132). In any case, given the short span of life of this *provincia* and the fact that it was well outside of the area of Baetica, I will not delve into the issue here.
[261] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.7.
[262] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.6.
[263] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.7.
[264] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.16.
[265] Plin. *NH*. 3.2.17; Abascal Palazón (2015), p. 131. Strabo (3.4.20) gives Castulo as the frontier city for these two provinces, further to the north. This fits well with Plinian narrative and allows for a better understanding of the border.

senatorial province, and the *Princeps* wishing for broader control near the mining regions of that area.[266] Furthermore, Tarraconensis was also "by far the most important [province] so far as the Roman government was concerned"[267] and where the only legions were stationed.

Figure 10. Map of Augustan provincial re-organization with conventus, Wikimedia Commons, NACLE.

Finally for this section, it is important to note a somewhat mysterious change in the administration within the province and its governance. One of the most discussed developments in the administration of the province was the creation of *conventus iuridici*. There were four in Baetica, according to Pliny:[268] the *conventus* Hispalensis, Cordubensis, Gaditanus, and Astigitanus. The function of these *conventus* is not at all clear, since the sources we have for their existence are scant, and for their purpose almost non-existent.[269] Due to the lack of information, the most scholars have been able to argue is that these *conventus* must have been a type of intra-provincial administrative division

[266] Abascal Palazón (2015), pp. 131-132 expresses some doubts as to the reasons for this change, and argues that the difficulty in dating these changes make it quite impossible to clearly solve this problem.
[267] Mackie (1983), p. 8.
[268] Plin. 3.1.7.
[269] In fact, only in Tarraconensis do we find epigraphic evidence of any function, specifically a religious function. Cf. CIL II 4072, 4073, 4074.

which might have served the purpose of aiding in organization and, perhaps, fiscal matters.[270] Another function which has been argued for the *conventus iuridici* has been the purpose of serving as centres from which justice might be served by the governor or provincial magistrates.[271] What seems most clear to us, having seen the development of administration throughout the previous chapters, is that these administrative divisions, seemingly enacted in order to aid the governors and imperial magistrates, respond to the evolution of Roman concerns with Baetica (and Spain more generally[272]); that is, Rome had gone from an almost total disregard for the dealings of the provincial governors in Spain in the mid-Republic, to now being fully committed to enacting a comprehensive and complex provincial policy with divisions and sub-divisions which would aid in the administration of justice. This is, as well, an indication of the growing professionalization of the provincial administration under the Roman Empire.[273]

All in all, these developments in the Augustan period represent the culmination of the developments in administrative matters this work has shown. Now the whole of the Peninsula was fully under control of the Roman Empire, and the provinces at a state in which they would remain for 3 centuries. The concern with internal sub-divisions and the establishment of infrastructure that would allow for the better administration of justice reveals that Rome saw these provinces as being completely integrated into the empire. Especially for Baetica, too, the fact that it was turned into the only senatorial province of Spain shows that the imperial centre saw it as stable and strongly assimilated.

Urbanization and Colonization

As has been noted above, the section on administrative developments of this period, especially focused on the Augustan reforms, cannot be properly understood without discussing the colonization, Latinization, and urbanization processes. In these, Augustus was continuing a process that Caesar himself had begun and did so not only by founding some colonies, but also by promoting the process of urbanization. As is evident, then, this section will also be strongly focused on the Augustan period, although it should be noted that, in terms of urbanization, the developments would, expectedly, take several decades to cement. Therefore, in this section I will be focusing on the one hand, on the colonial/municipal foundations and their effects, but also on the rapid boom of urbanization and monumentalization seen in the Julio-Claudian period.

It is once again Pliny's work which offers the clearest evidence for colonial towns in Baetica, which Fear has argued "seem[s] an accurate account of the *coloniae* to be found in Baetica in the Augustan period".[274] The colonial foundations are 9 according to

[270] Sancho Rocher (1978), pp. 193-194;
[271] Mackie (1983), p. 8
[272] Note that *conventus* are also attested elsewhere in Asia (Plin. *NH*. 5.27) and Illyricum (Plin. *NH*. 3.21); Cf. Sancho Rocher (1978), pp. 171-172.
[273] Barceló & Ferrer Maestro (2007), p. 251.
[274] Fear (1996), p. 70.

Pliny[275]: Corduba, Hispalis, Hasta Regia, Asido, Astigi, Tucci, Iptuci, Ucubi, and Urso;[276] to these we must add a tenth colony that Pliny did not list: Traducta.[277] These were accompanied by 10 *municipia civium Romanorum*, 27 Latin towns, 6 free towns, 3 bound by a *foedus* treaty, and 120 stipendiary towns.[278] Of the colonial foundations, it is above all suspicion that Astigi and Tucci were Augustan foundations due to their names; *Astigi Augusta Firma* and *Tucci Augusta Gemella*.[279] The others usually ascribed to Augustus are: Asido and Traducta.[280] In the previous chapter's section on Caesarian colonization, I already discussed the difficulty in dating the colonial foundations and their adscription to either Caesar or Augustus as their founders. For this precise reason, I will opt to focus on the two clearly Augustan colonies for analysis. These should be seen as providing an image of what one should imagine Augustan colonies to look like, so they serve an exemplary sample of these colonial foundations. Thus, these are not simply case-studies, but rather illustrative instances of colonies under the early Empire.

Tucci

The *Colonia Tucci Augusta Gemella* was founded by Augustus[281] in the site of modern-day Martos, Jaén. There is evidence of a pre-Roman Iberian settlement in this location, as attested by Pliny[282] (who mentions an 'Old Tucci'), as well as by what other scholars have been able to identify from other ancient authors.[283] Furthermore, there is ample archaeological evidence of pre-Roman, Iberian, settlement in Tucci.[284] This settlement does not seem to have been very important before the late 1st century BC, when, in the context of the civil wars, it sided with Caesar against the Pompeians. This is evidenced by the fact that, as Serrano Delgado has succinctly shown, it received a privileged juridical status (presumably that of *municipium*) by Caesar, a fact revealed by the prominence of the Sergian tribe in the city, a feature of Caesarian rewards in his civil war.[285] Later on, Augustus founded the colony probably around the years 15-14 BC,[286] in the same location (or just beside) the older town,[287] as was the norm with these sorts of

[275] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.7; Note that there were another 2 later colonies in Baetica: Italica, who received colonial status from Hadrian (Gell. *NA*. 16.13.4), and Iliturgis (CIL II, 190).
[276] Corduba: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.10; Hispalis: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.11; Hasta Regia: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.11; Asido: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.11; Astigi: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.12; Tucci: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.12; Iptuci: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.12; Ucubi: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.12; and, Urso: Plin. *NH*. 3.1.12.
[277] González Fernández (2005), pp. 52-53, n. 57 on the bibliography for this colony.
[278] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.7.
[279] González Fernández (2017), p. 255.
[280] González Fernández (2005), p. 52.
[281] Not only does the name indicate Augustan foundation, but also the adscription to the Gallerian tribe of its inhabitants further drives this point: cf. CIL II, 1700: *C(aio) Cornelio / L(uci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Roman[no] / [*.
[282] Plin. *NH*. 3.1.10.
[283] Alonso (2008), pp. 108-110.
[284] Older surveys such as Recio (1960) already demonstrated the existence of an Iberian town. A more recent work is Robles Moreno (2021).
[285] Serrano Delgado (1981), p. 211.
[286] Idem, p. 213; Alonso (2008), pp. 110-111.
[287] Alonso (2008), p. 111.

foundations.[288] The colonists, it would seem, were in origin veterans of two legions[289]: the *Legio IV Macedonica,*[290] and the *Legio X Gemina*[291]. Furthermore, the epigraphic evidence also allows us to see that inhabitants of this town would then serve in these same legions elsewhere, further evidencing their ties to these.[292] Not much can be said of the archaeological finds in Tucci, as the existence of a modern city obstructs much of the archaeological work. Therefore, I will reserve archaeological analysis for later in this section, in order to analyse broader elements of Baetican development in this period.

Figure 11. Map of Roman cities in Baetica, Tucci highlighted in purple by author, Alayón et al. (2021), fig. 1.

Astigi

Astigi quickly became a city of great importance as evidenced by its status as the capital of the *conventus* which bore its name. Just like Tucci, a pre-Roman town can be attested thanks to Pliny, who makes reference to an 'Old Astigi' as an *oppidum liberum*,[293] and Strabo[294] and Ptolemy[295] mention it as a Turdetanian settlement, but which cannot have been very important in its pre-Roman state.[296] This city was located in modern-day Écija, as is shown by archaeological and epigraphic evidence.[297] The chronology of its colonial

[288] See the discussion on Corduba in chapter 1.
[289] Serrano Delgado (1981), p. 213.
[290] As evidenced by the inscription CIL II, 1681.
[291] CIL II, 1691.
[292] CIL XIII, 6856 shows that in Mogontiacum, modern Mainz, a soldier *domo Tucci* served in the *Legio IIII Macedonica*; whereas *AE* 1929, 189 in Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior, another soldier from Tucci served in the *Legio X Gemina*.
[293] Plin. *NH.* 3.1.12.
[294] Str. 3.2.2.
[295] Ptol. *Geog.* 2.3.
[296] Ordóñez (1988), p. 42.
[297] González Fernández (1995), p. 282.

foundation has been convincingly established by González Fernández in 25 BC by arguing that its adscription to the Papirian tribe[298] should lead us to date it at the same time as the other Augustan colony ascribed to this tribe, *Emerita Augusta* (modern-day Mérida), which was, indeed, founded in 25 BC.[299] The importance of this city resided in its location as a key node of communications through the *Via Augusta*,[300] as well as its chief participation as an exporter of olive oil. As for the archaeological elements of the town, a forum has been clearly attested in this colony,[301] as well as an Augustan temple,[302] a Basilica,[303] and baths.[304]

Figure 12. Map conventus astigitanus, Wikimedia Commons, NACLE.

Moving on from the specific colonial foundations, urbanization and monumentalization were also prominent features of this period, and ought to be analyzed. As Griffiths put it, "the Augustan age may […] be described as a watershed for the monumentalisation of Spain", since "Augustan monumentalisation, particularly within urban centres, was often a precursor to greater developments under the Julio-Claudians".[305] In this regard, then, this period before the Flavians saw both the beginning and the rise of a strong tendency

[298] Cf., for instance: CIL II/5, 1196: *Sex(tus) Bullius / Sex(ti) f(ilius) Pap(iria)*.
[299] González Fernández (1995), pp. 283-288.
[300] Felipe Colodrero & Márquez Moreno (2014), p. 157.
[301] Felipe Colodrero & Márquez Moreno (2014), p. 158 with bibliography.
[302] García-Dils de la Vega, Ordóñez Agulla, & Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2007).
[303] Sáez et al. (2005), p. 97.
[304] Romo (2002).
[305] Griffiths (2013), p. 147.

of monumentalization and urban changes in Baetica. Given the massive amount of evidence for this period, I will select the most important of these developments. Firstly, the provincial capital, Corduba, saw the erection of an impressive copy of the *Forum Augustum*[306] in a clear attempt at establishing ties with the metropolis, and in an effort which would have seen the city become much more monumentalized (seeing as the forum was the political heart of the city). An aqueduct was also built in the time of Augustus, which was the first building of its type in this city.[307] Elsewhere, in Gades, the younger Balbus sponsored the creation of a new harbour which Strabo mentions in his own work.[308] Additionally, Keay has rightly noted that "[t]he Augustan period saw the deliberate cultivation of an imperial ideology for the first time in Roman history", and that patronage and evergetism would have immense importance in "gradually transforming the topography of towns in Hispaniae from Augustus onwards".[309] This argument should, of course, make us think of the forum at Corduba, but also of the increasing number of imperial portraits which began to appear in the coinage of Baetican mints.[310] Finally, it must be briefly noted that the rise in epigraphic tradition in Baetica during this period was significant. We go from 20 inscriptions in the previous period, to a number totaling 341 inscriptions between 27 BC and AD 70. Herrera Rando has argued

[306] Idem, p. 146.
[307] Murillo (2010), p. 78.
[308] Str. 3.5.3.
[309] Keay (1995).
[310] For instance: Italica: *RPC* 62/17 & *RPC* 65/186; Corduba: *RPC* 129/187 & *RPC* 129/188.

that the result of this increase in epigraphic activity was the creation of an 'epigraphic landscape' which reinforced the imperial ideology in Baetica.[311]

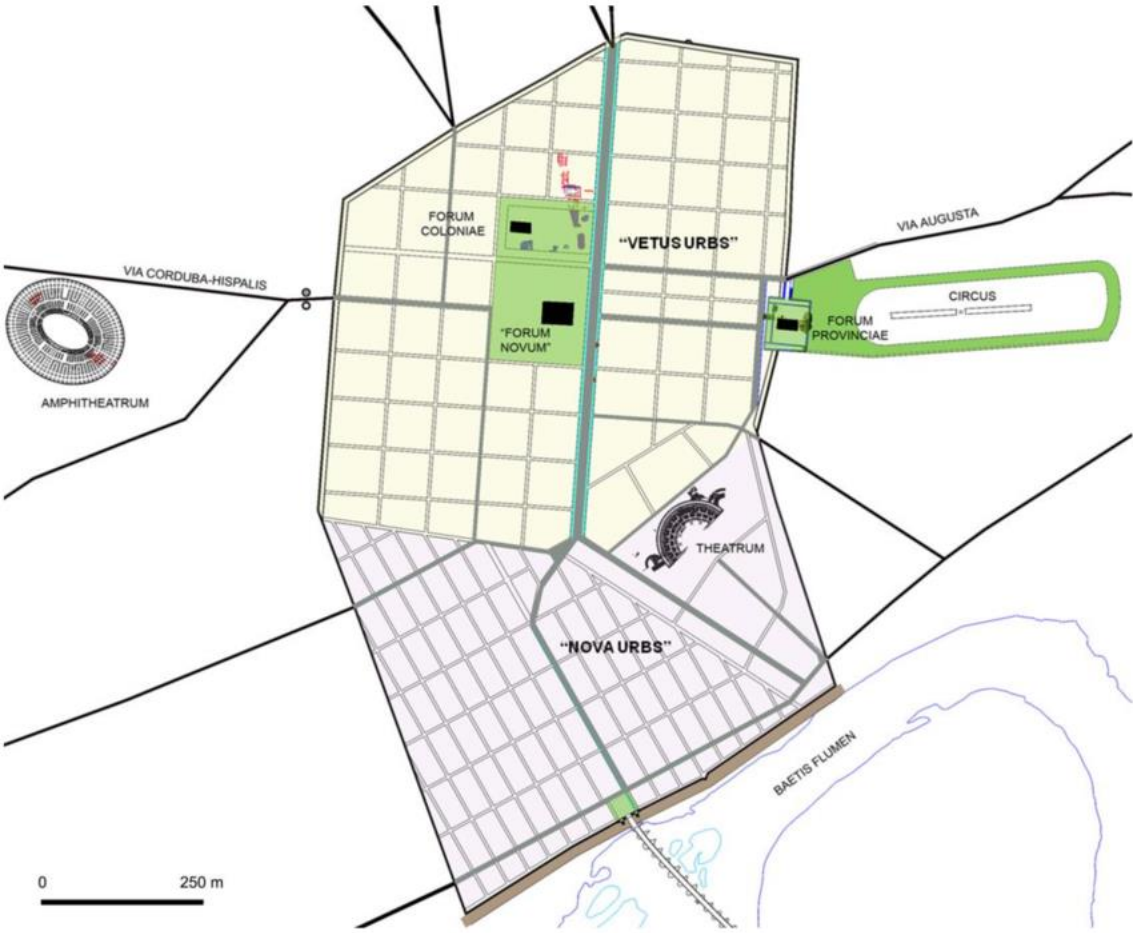

Figure 13. Corduba city plan, with fora highlighted, Murillo (2010), fig. 4.

All in all, this section has demonstrated that, with Augustus, the process of creating Roman colonies in Baetica continued and came to a peak. With it, the development of urbanization, epigraphic activity, but also of the Roman settlement patters reached a new high that was tightly intertwined with the administrative changes brought on by the first *Princeps*. In the following sub-sections, the effects of these changes will be highlighted even further, especially in relation to the rise of local (and supra-local) elites.

Economic changes

It is during this chapter's period that the basis and the beginning of *Baetica Felix* were established, and this is what will be examined here. As is the case with most aspects of this period, the sources are copious, and although this is an advantage, it will also mean that I will be selective in what I can analyse due to space constraints. Despite this, I have

[311] Herrera Rando (2023). Fuller discussion on specific inscriptions to follow below.

attempted to show in this section those elements that are the most important and significant, but also those that reveal a continuation and a logical follow-up from what the previous chapters have shown. For these reasons, my focus here will be on the following aspects: the proliferation of rural settlements and *villae*, the boom of foodstuff production and exports (especially olive oil), and some comments on the mining sector.

Evan Haley put it best when he said that "[t]he Caesarian, triumviral, and Augustan establishment of *coloniae* and *municipia* throughout the province, but principally in the lowlands of the Guadalquivir valley, nevertheless produced widespread rural settlement in the form of isolated farmsteads".[312] What I have been showing in terms of colonial and municipal foundations had tremendous consequences on the rural landscape of Baetica and, in turn, their effects on the economy were also of great significance. These new foundations would not have been, simply, urban centres. Rather, Roman *coloniae* "[were] accompanied by a redistribution of native landholdings amongst the colonists",[313] and this land was also usually centuriated. However, the evidence for centuriation in Baetica is extremely scarce, with the only semblance of centuriation being near Astigi.[314] Despite this, there is plenty of evidence for farmsteads popping up during the early/mid 1st century AD.[315] These farms were mainly in the area around the Guadalquivir and the *Singilis*[316] (Genil), where the urban centres were also located, and in the time of Strabo, he stated that "the land along the [Baetis/Guadalquivir], and the little islands in the river, are exceedingly well cultivated".[317] It is also with the beginning of the imperial period that we see the emergence of Roman *villae* in Baetica,[318] a phenomenon that became widespread in the province. All in all, these rural settlement developments are most important when considered against the backdrop of the developments discussed below, as they would be the heart of the boom in production and export of foodstuffs from Baetica (and, especially, olive oil). It is notable that, in terms of land in Baetica during this period, both archaeological and literary sources concur on its importance. This truly goes to highlight its significance.

In terms of the productive and exportation changes during this period, "[a]ll the documentary and archaeological evidence points to an increase in Spanish and Baetican exports to Rome, Italy, and the army during the reign of Augustus".[319] This follows the developments my analysis unveiled in the previous chapter. Increased predation and exports being sent out to the Roman legions might have been motivated by the professionalization of the army during Augustus' reign, but also due to the increased grain imports to Rome due to the conquest of Egypt, leaving more budget for the acquisition of olive oil from Baetica. Beginning with cereals, in Augustus' reign, the *praefectus annonae*

[312] Haley (2003), p. 37.
[313] Keay (1992), p. 304.
[314] López Ontiveros (1974).
[315] Keay (1992), p. 304.
[316] Ponsich (1998), pp. 173-175.
[317] Str. 3.2.3. Loeb trans.
[318] The key work on this phenomenon is, undoubtedly, the two volumes by Hidalgo Prieto (2016).
[319] Haley (2003), p. 38.

office was established in order to obtain grain for the grain dole back in Rome, who would be in charge of organizing the purchase of cereals in Baetica (and in other provinces) in order to ship them back to Rome. This new, formalized, demand of grain has been argued as part of the reason why exports from this province started quickening in the reign of Augustus.[320] This might be tied, with some nuances, to the fact that Roman predation tended to unlock the economic potential of its new overseas holdings,[321] and in terms of cereal, the great importance of this import for Rome surely aided in Rome's interest in its provinces having strong production where possible. Baetican archaeology reveals that there were increasing areas dedicated to grain cultivation.[322]

I, however, want to focus on one type of foodstuff particularly: olive oil. The production and exportation of this commodity is extremely well-known thanks to the available amphora evidence.[323] The most important of these amphorae is, undoubtedly, the Dressel 20, but recent works have brought attention to previous types that were also of great importance to Baetican exports during Augustan and Tiberian times.[324] These pre-Dressel 20 amphorae from Baetica have been found in many areas around the northern *limes* of the Roman empire during the time of Augustus,[325] showing that the exportation of olive oil from Baetica was a key part of the feeding of the Roman army from an early date, but also throughout the Julio-Claudian period. However, it is later, from Tiberius onwards, and with the emergence of the Dressel 20 amphora, that we begin to see truly remarkable evidence of increased production and trade of olive oil from Baetica. Monte Testaccio, at the foot of the Aventine Hill, is where olive oil amphorae were deposited, and of all these amphorae, ca. 80% come from Baetica alone.[326] Not only is this figure extremely telling, but the calculations that Remesal Rodríguez made, are baffling. It has been suggested that there are almost 25 million amphorae at Testaccio, which would add up to 1,732,500,000 kilograms of olive oil, which according to Remesal Rodríguez, means that, per year, the amphorae dumped at Testaccio would have contained around 7 million kilograms of olive oil coming from Baetica, which would be enough for 1 million people for 7 months.[327] This, it must be taken into account, would not be all of the olive oil from Baetica that would arrive into Rome every year, which just makes the figure even larger (although calculating that would be quite impossible), plus one would have to add the oil sent to the armies, too. All of this goes to show that the export of olive oil from Baetica in the early imperial period (and beyond) was of a massive scale.

In Baetica itself, there is further evidence of olive oil production for consumption and trade. González Tobar has pointed out the sheer scale of amphora production (meant for

[320] Idem, p. 43.
[321] Bang (2012), p. 203.
[322] One of the key areas was that around Corduba, as shown by Lacort Navarro (1985).
[323] Remesal Rodríguez (1998), p. 184 offers an overview of the history of the literature on Baetican amphorae.
[324] González Cesteros et al. (2024).
[325] González Cesteros (2014), pp. 368-372 for Germania Inferior; González Cesteros & Roberto de Almeida (2017) for Nijmegen; González Cesteros (2019) more generally for north-western Europe.
[326] Remesal Rodríguez (1998), p. 194.
[327] Idem, p. 197.

olive oil) all throughout the Baetican region, with around 23 workshops identified.[328] These, however, are difficult to date, although it is clear from what has been stated above that there was a significant industry already in the Julio-Claudian period. But, outside the amphorae, there is other evidence of the production of olive oil, namely oil presses and oileries. Just in the region known as "Subbética Cordobesa", in the southern areas of Corduba, there have been identified eighteen olive presses found in fifteen sites, all of which were in use during the Julio-Claudian period.[329] Other instances of oileries have been found, for example, in Iponoba (Cerro Minguillar)[330] and El Callumbar.[331] Finally, it is significant that the regions in which the olive oil production was most important (around the Guadalquivir and Genil), were precisely where the most important cities were (Corduba, Hispalis, Astigi). These acted as hubs of production but also of control over the production and movement of the olive oil down the rivers and towards the harbours where the amphorae workshops were usually located.[332] All in all, this analysis of the olive oil has shown how, in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period, it quickly became the most important element of economic activity and did so at a tremendous scale.

Mining, although superseded by agriculture, remained an important part of the economic life of the province, and Haley has shown that the state was increasingly interested in controlling the mines, going so far as to confiscate large mine complexes from individuals.[333] These state-owned mines would be exploited and administered by *societates* such as the *societas Sisaponensis*, for which we have epigraphic evidence from Corduba.[334] On the other hand, we also have evidence of trade of metals from Baetica during the first century AD especially in lead ingots,[335] but a phenomenon that was nowhere near the scale of the olive oil trade. However, as I mentioned in the previous section, it is unclear whether the main mining sections of Baetica remained under the control of this province or whether they were put under the supervision of the emperor as

[328] González Tobar (2022), pp. 451-453.
[329] Carrillo Díaz-Pines (1995).
[330] Morena López & Serrano Carrillo (1991), p. 123.
[331] Romero Pérez (1987).
[332] Keay (1992), p. 306; Remesal Rodríguez (1998), p. 188.
[333] Haley (2003), p. 143.
[334] CIL II/7, 699a: [Hi]c viae / servitus / imposita / est ab(!) soc(ietate) / sisap(onensi) susum / ad montes / s(ocietatis) S(sisaponensis) lat(a) ped(es) XIV.
[335] Domergue (1998). See fig. 3 for a map of the mining regions and places where they could enter into the rivers for transport.

part of the Tarraconensis. It is, thus, unclear the degree of economic importance these mines had for Baetica outside of becoming secondary to agriculture in this period.

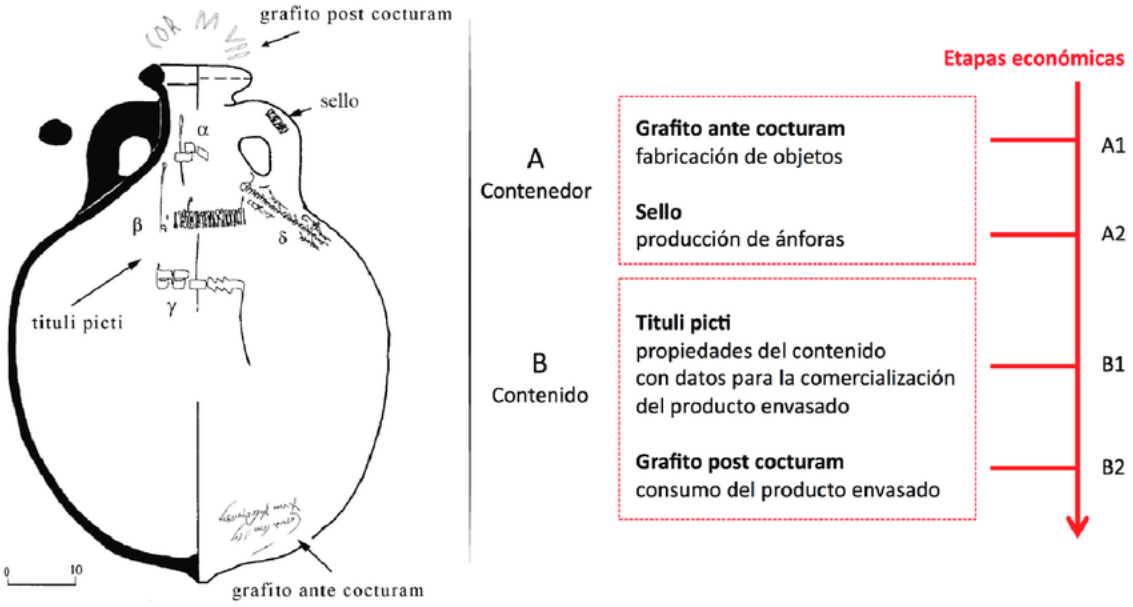

Figure 14. Dressel 20 Baetican amphora with *tituli picti* and inscriptions, González Tobar & Estévez de la Mata (2021), fig. 1.

In conclusion, this section on the economic changes of Baetica during the early imperial period has shown that the developments of the previous chapter finally came to a head in a boom of unprecedented dimensions. The sheer scale of the trade and production of olive oil especially baffles the mind, and the name of *Baetica Felix* that is usually given to the Flavian era and onwards truly finds it groundwork in this period. It is true that the following era would see an even greater development in economic matters, but it responded to what this period had seen. The mining sector continued to produce metals in great quantities, but Baetican agriculture, especially of olive oil completely superseded any other economic activity in the region. These developments were sparked by the colonial and municipal policies of Caesar and, especially Augustus, showing that it was the administrative and colonial changes that acted as a catalyst to the economic boom of Baetica.

Demography and Society

On the previous chapter we saw some evidence for local, 'Romanized' elites in Baetica. However, that evidence was scarce, and comprised solely the *Lex Ursonensis*. And, as helpful as it is, it offers a very limited view, and it is in this period that we truly begin to see a rise in local elites before the boom under the Flavians. In this section, therefore, I will be focusing on what can be said about this emergence in the evidence of the local elites, and the rise in their number. Much has been said in secondary literature on this phenomenon (albeit focused on the Flavian period), but my aim here is to analyse it with

my focus set on what this tells us about Baetican integration, assimilation, and Romanization. Finally, there will be some comments, too, on the rise of (supra)local elite mobility, too, a fact that would become increasingly important in Baetica as a result of the homogenization of the political landscape of the local communities.

Firstly, I briefly commented on the *Lex Ursonensis*, and the new political systems found in Roman colonies (and *municipia*). However, I have reserved much of the actual discussion of how this system worked for this period. The charter of Urso would, eventually, serve of inspiration for the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*, of which we have several tablets, and although these are later developments which followed the grants of *ius latii* to the Spanish provinces, they might reveal, too, how the local political systems worked under Roman contexts. It is, however, extremely important that we understand how this local elite system worked, for it reveals how, through municipal charters, the vocabulary of Roman society penetrated into Baetica, and how pervasive it quickly became. Furthermore, it is during this period that this phenomenon of local elites begins to become visible in the epigraphic record.

The *ordo decurionum* was the equivalent of the senatorial order in Rome, and formed the ruling elite of the local communities in Baetica.[336] Access to the *ordo* was zealously guarded by local elites, and was ensured both by a series of entry requirements (age, property, citizenship to local community, free birth, and good moral standing),[337] and by the fact that membership could be revoked. Furthermore, in order to join the *ordo*, one could only do so through election (*creatio*) or co-optation (*adlectio*).[338] However, in order to stand for a magistracy, membership to the *ordo* was required, which ensured that the municipal honours could be safely guarded and shared within the local aristocracies.[339] Furthermore, periodical checks on the lists of members ensured that no undesirable people joined or stayed within their ranks.[340] However, membership to the *ordo* was but the first step in the municipal *honores* local aristocrats could aspire to. They would also stand for elections for political magistracies of which the main three were: quaestors, aediles, and duovirs.[341] Some scholars have maintained that these magistracies conformed a fixed *cursus* where an aspiring aristocrat would begin by standing for the quaestorship, then move on to the aedileship, to then cap off his career as a duovir, the highest magistracy. Despite the persistence of this opinion, it contradicts our sources. From what we do know, the duovirate was, indeed, the highest magistracy with a higher *potestas* than the other two,[342] and would be the culmination of the standard political *cursus*. As for the other two magistracies, the quaestorship was either seldom held, or it when it was, it did not have to be at the beginning of one's political career. On the other hand, the aedileship

[336] According to the Epigraphik Datenbank, 14 inscriptions are attested with explicit mention to the *ordo* in this period.
[337] Curchin (1990), pp. 24-26.
[338] Idem, p. 26.
[339] Rodríguez Neila (2003), p. 58.
[340] Ibid.
[341] Note that there are, according to the Epigraphik Datenbank, at least 20 inscriptions from this period which make mention of a duovirate.
[342] *Mal.* 54; Curchin (1990), p. 32.

was usually the previous step to the duovirate, acting as a stepping stone for the decurions.[343] However, it has also been argued that not even an aedileship was necessary before the duovirate, and that other avenues could be pursued, such as a religious office, or even the quaestorship itself.[344] What this shows is that the *cursus* was not rigid, but rather, the Roman administration seems to have left quite a lot of leeway for local aristocracies to conduct their business as they saw fit, so long as they kept within the bounds of Roman law.[345]

The status and standing magistracies and membership to the *ordo* brought were not minor. Local aristocrats would invest greatly in evergetism[346] and donations in order to join the *ordo,*[347] but also to ensure that their families and descendants would gain access to it too.[348] Membership to the local aristocracy was not hereditary, but given that the *ordo* had the prerogative to add or remove members, it was very important for local elites to ensure their descendant's inclusion in order to enhance their own *dignitas*, which in turn made both elite membership and magistracies semi-hereditary.[349] Another aspect that was tied to magistracies was the *civitas per honorem*. This motivation ensured that the locals would be interested themselves in playing along with Roman customs, for it offered an opportunity of social elevation, as well as legal benefits for them and their families[350] through the holding of a local magistracy.[351] These facts have pushed scholars to argue that the Romanization of the peoples of Iberia was motivated by a local interest in acculturating themselves, or in other words, Romanization was voluntary and enthusiastic: "it was the local elite – the town magistrates – who exerted a continuing influence on their communities [and who] were the leaders and models of the romanizing process at the local level. […] Romanization was sanctioned by Roman policy but it was achieved by local co-operation and, more precisely, by the willingness of individuals to become romanized".[352]

A final aspect which deserves mention is that of elite mobility. As Curchin said, "geographic mobility has implication not only for demography but for the romanization of Spain".[353] Due to politico-economic reasons, as well as desire of self-promotion,

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[343] Idem, p. 31.
[344] Ibid. The religious offices seemed to have been even higher than the duovirate in many cases, and served to decorate an illustrious career. Cf. p. 40.
[345] Curchin (1990), p. 49; Rodríguez Neila (2003), pp. 70-71.
[346] See, more generally on the use of honorific statues as a form of elite self-promotion, Stylow (2001).
[347] Rodríguez Neila (2003), pp. 33-48. See for instance, the dedication made by a duovir at Arjona to the emperor Augustus in AD 11/12: CIL II/7, 69: Imp(eratori) Caesari Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) XXXIIII co(n)s(uli) XIII / patri patriae Victoriae sacr(um) / L(ucius) Aemilius L(uci) f(ilius) Nigellus aed(ilis) IIvir d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit). Also a portico dedicated by a duovir from Italica under Augustus: *AE* 1983, 522.
[348] Curchin (1990), p. 76; Rodríguez Neila (2003), pp. 48-51.
[349] Curchin (1990), pp. 76-78.
[350] Idem, p. 86.
[351] *Salp.* 21.
[352] Curchin (1990), p. 123.
[353] Idem, p. 125.

certain families or individuals in Baetica managed to surpass the strictly local character of political and social life, and went on to actively participate in the political, religious, and economic life of other towns and cities.[354] In this period there is not much evidence for this phenomenon, especially in comparison to the following period after Flavian municipalization, but an inscription from Corduba[355] reveals that a certain Marcus Marcius Proculus had been able to move from his native Sucaelo to Corduba and been elected duovir. Proculus, like any other local elite member, would have to be added to the new local *ordo* by means of *adlectio*, which would grant them local citizenship and enable them to conduct a political career in their new residence.[356] The importance of this phenomenon, and for this period, its emergence, is that it reveals a significant homogenization of the political rules across Baetica, and an increase in the possibility for individuals to move from one town to another with the expectation of being able to participate in politics. This phenomenon, which has been tied to Romanization,[357] has led scholars to conclude that there began to emerge a supra-local elite in Baetica[358] formed by those exceptional individuals who managed to somehow overcome the local sphere. This fact of supra-local elites is extremely telling, but the issue here is that it is not yet as evident from our sources as will be the case in the later Flavian period. Still, it is under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians that the groundwork was laid for this phenomenon to take place, and its importance to Romanization and the spread of Roman political-style culture cannot be understated.

[354] Melchor Gil (2011a), pp. 147-148.
[355] CIL II/5, 257: M(arcia) M(arci) f(ilia) Procula / Patriciensis an(norum) III s(emis) / M(arcus) Marcius Gal(eria) / Proculus Patricien/sis domo Sucaleoni / IIvir c(olonorum) c(oloniae) P(atriciae).
[356] Melchor Gil (2011a), pp. 148-149.
[357] Curchin (1990), pp. 100-101.
[358] Melchor Gil (2011b).

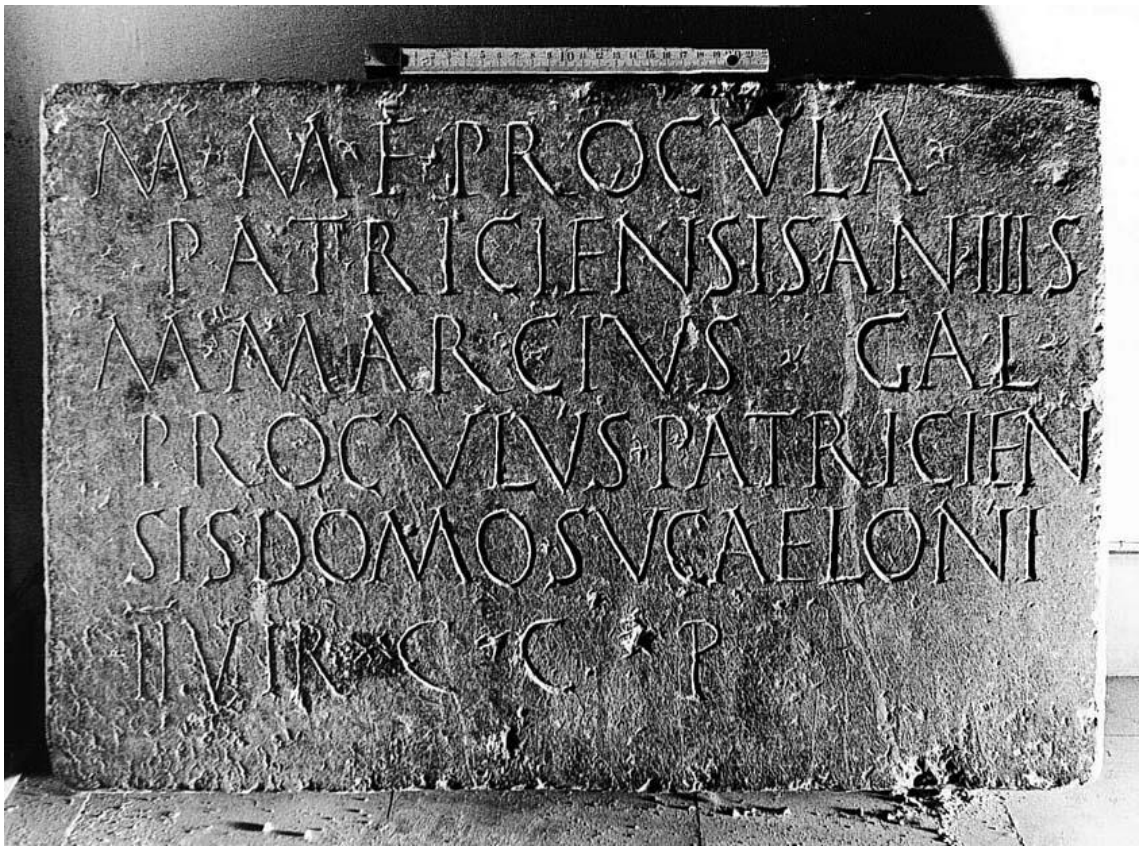

Figure 15. Proculus' inscription, CIL II/5, 257, Universidad de Alcalá.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I believe that this chapter has shown that, under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, Baetica became fully integrated into the material network of the Roman Empire, but also ideologically tied to it. The administrative developments already reveal that this province was viewed as stable enough to leave to the supervision of the senate, rather than the emperor. The colonizing process came to a head in this period, and its effects were deeply felt in the increased monumentalization of the Roman towns, especially at Corduba and other conventual capitals. Similarly, the economy finally became firmly rooted in agricultural production, rather than mining, and especially in the exportation of olive oil. It is this production that truly made Baetica *Felix*, but one cannot pretend to understand Baetica's integration by looking only at the macro level and the economic developments. The discussion of the local elites reveals that the levels of assimilation of Roman culture and political systems became deeply entrenched, and this even allowed for the slow emergence of a supra-local elite which was slowly able to transcend the local level and aspire for *honores* outside of their own communities. This, as Curchin said, is a key indication of Romanization. All in all, this chapter could be summarized by saying that it is the period in which Baetica 'became Roman'.

CONCLUSION

In the present work, I have undertaken an analysis of the province of Baetica with the intention of yielding new insights into the processes of Roman integration, development, and empire formation. As I alluded to in the introduction, studies on the early Roman expansion have focused too Italocentric, and in that effort, the analyses have tended to be too top-down. Indeed, the bulk of the discussion has concentrated on elements such as Italian colonization and the replica model, a debate with has only recently challenged the previous orthodoxy by the hand of Pelgrom, Stek, or Bispham. Still, these discussions, interesting they may be, have neglected to consider, in contending with how Rome 'did empire', the importance of extra-Italian conquests in the development of Roman imperial frameworks. The geographic strains posed outside of Italy, but also local contexts, posed serious questions to the Romans as to how to administer their provinces once they came under their control. Cadiou said it best when he called these first few provinces in the western Mediterranean a 'provincial laboratory', of which Baetica was one of the very first. The reason for studying Baetica in an attempt to understand how Rome 'did empire' stems not only from chronological reasoning, but also from the fact that it was a province that, in the span of two-and-something centuries, according to Strabo, was almost wholly 'Romanized', but which has received little attention outside of the Flavian period onwards; and finally because previous works on regional imperialism have been too widely focused to account for the importance of local contexts. In this thesis, I have attempted to show how Rome adapted to th imperial circumstances it found itself in in 206 BC and onwards, but also how Baetica was integrated into the Roman Empire and how it was Romanized.

The first chapter has focused on the first 124 years of Roman hegemony, from 206 BC until the dawn of the Sertorian War in 82 BC. The first aspect which this has revealed is the fact that Rome quite literally happened upon the Spanish provinces almost by an accident of war and had to consider whether to continue their presence after the 2nd Punic War ended, and how to do so. The previous Carthaginian revival, stimulated by resources from southern Iberia after the 1st Punic War probably motivated Roman occupation as a strategic defense to thwart any Carthaginian resurgence. Thus, Ulterior and Citerior were established as provinces in 197 BC. However, due to the lack of a prior strategy, Rome found itself unexpectedly administering new territories, leading to early administrative improvisations and un-supervised governance. Over time, this evolved into more structured policies, including regular taxation and increased oversight of governors. In the economic sphere, Roman taxation stimulated the exploitation of local mines, which attracted Italian migrants and led to the progressive adoption of Roman standards for tribute payments. The economic opportunities motivated the creation of mining hubs, particularly in the Guadalquivir region, with Italians established as the managerial higher class over local workers and slaves, profoundly (but geographically limited) changing the social structures. Urbanization and colonization were limited during this period, but where they did occur, they were often over pre-existing settlements, such as the

establishment of the first *Colonia Latina* outside of Italy in Carteia, or Corduba, where Roman infrastructure laid the foundation for future development. All in all, there was markedly little integration at this stage, and it was only in the latter half of this period that the province saw stabilization; the overarching Roman reaction was one of improvisation at this stage, where they were still adapting to the contexts of imperial expansion.

The second chapter covered a shorter but highly influential period from the Sertorian Wars until the end of the Republic (82 BC – 27 BC). In this period, there were no major administrative changes, however, Roman attitudes towards Baetica did change. The Sertorian War revealed the importance of local compliance and support in maintaining control. This fact drove the Romans to be much more active in the local community governance of the region, as evidenced by the *Lex Ursonensis*, a charter which reveals the imperial center's expanding involvement in local affairs. Furthermore, under Caesar there was a great expansion in the colonial foundations of Baetica, deeply affecting the urban landscape of the region. These new communities of Roman/Latin citizens, with Roman-style architecture, had lasting impacts, laying the groundwork for the rise of Romanized local elites. It was also during this period that Baetica began to see an intensification of agricultural production, although mining remained the primary economic activity. Grain was produced at higher quantities which increasingly attracted Roman interest. Despite this, prior to the imperial period, most agricultural output was aimed at local consumption and trade. Importantly, as well, coinage became fully Latinized during this period, whereas before there had been different scripts, which also highlights the increased integration of this province. In short, this period saw a great increase in Roman involvement in the region, but also in intensification of production due to Roman predation, as well as the local urban communities and colonies beginning to show signs of being Romanized.

The final chapter contended with the period under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. This last section is perhaps the most evidence-rich and reveals an incredible boom in Baetica in terms of its economy. First, however, the province was re-structured, alongside the rest of Spain under Augustus. Baetica was finally named Baetica, revealing the importance of the river which crossed it, but most significantly, it was the single Spanish province which was senatorial rather than imperial. This, I argued, was primarily because it was already highly Romanized in comparison to the rest of the Peninsula. Furthermore, in terms of colonization, Augustus continued the Caesarian trend and founded more colonies, as well as *municipia*, thus transforming the urban landscape even more into a densely urbanized region. This also notably led to increased monumentalization of Roman towns, particularly in Corduba and other conventual capitals. In economic matters, Baetica enjoyed an enormous boom which saw its agriculture, especially olive oil, become one of the most important in the empire. The professionalization of the Roman army and increasing demands from Rome served to stimulate this production for which the region is known to this day. It was this agricultural output that truly earned it the epithet *Felix*. However, to fully understand Baetica's integration into the Roman Empire, one must look beyond the macro to the local level, where the assimilation of Roman culture and political systems became deeply embedded. This integration facilitated the emergence of a supra-

local elite, of which we only begin to see very briefly in this period, who began to transcend their local origins and aspire to political honors beyond their own communities, a key indicator of Romanization. All these indicators truly resonate with Strabo's quote of Turdetania having been 'Romanized', but in a process which was far from easy or pre-planned.

In Baetica, Rome not only saw the need and the creation of its 'imperial wheel', but also the eventual creation of one of the most Romanized and integrated provinces of its empire. In this regard, the region is clearly fertile ground for further analysis on the topics of empire-formation and integration, perhaps through different thematic lenses which might offer different insights into how these processes took place.

FIGURES

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Abbreviations

AE = L'Année Épigraphique.

CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

CNH = Corpus nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti aetatem.

RPC = Roman Provincial Coinage.

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