

TARRACO

B I E N N A L



ACTES

1^{ER} CONGRÉS INTERNACIONAL D'ARQUEOLOGIA I MÓN ANTIC

GOVERN I SOCIETAT A LA HISPÀNIA ROMANA
NOVETATS EPIGRÀFIQUES
HOMENATGE A GÉZA ALFÖLDY

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JORDI LÓPEZ VILAR

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ROADS AND TOWNS ALONG THE BORDER OF HISPANIA CITERIOR

Manfred G. Schmidt, *Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities*

Historical cartography, especially the graphical representation of historical and political frontiers, reaches its limits of scientific accuracy when it comes to detailed discussion of the fragmentary source material.

Depending on how close the viewer tries to zoom into the details of a map – the clear boundary becomes more and more uncertain. That has nothing to do with the so-called “fuzzy borders”¹ in ancient times. It is rather owed to the fragmented or problematic evidence of our sources. The literary tradition, especially Pliny the Elder, and the itineraries give a general outline and orientation, within which archeological finds and especially the epigraphic material should allow a more precise localization of places, towns, streets and boundaries².

Inscriptions providing topographical or geographical information like the mention of the *ordo decurionum* of a town, or the allusion to constitutional municipalities such as *res publica Castulonensium* or *populus Iliturgitanus*, have been often carried off later in time and hence were not preserved *in situ*, or they are of dubious tradition³. In the case discussed below there is the particularly

disappointing fact that an inscription containing such topographic information is incriminated either as a modern forgery or at least as a forgery from the first century, that pretends to date from Republican times⁴.

And only in the case that we can be sure of the original placement of such an epigraphic find, we may also be able to locate the topographical site mentioned in the inscription. On the other hand, *origo* indications on inscriptions like *Patriciensis*, *Ossigitanus*⁵ or *Castulonensis* sometimes point to an epigraphic dedication of people outside of their *patria*; unless they occur frequently in a clearly defined area, they are certainly no reliable witnesses when it comes to the location of cities and communities. Despite this unfortunate source situation, we can assume with certainty that at least in Augustan times administrative units such as territories of cities or provinces possessed clearly marked out boundary lines – if only to define the administrative district of a governor or the assignment of customs districts or court parishes (*conventus*)⁶; and of course, these boundaries were established by *agrimensores* with meticulous accuracy.

1. See F. FLESS – ST. ESDERS, “Fuzzy Borders”, *eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies*, Special Vol. 1, 2011: <http://journal.topoi.org/index.php/etopoi/article/view/4>.

2. Antonio Tovar in an introductory note to his *Iberische Landeskunde* sees himself as a researcher who wants to achieve the most accurate geographical approach to Hispania and expresses in this respect a wish: “Möge dieses Buch ein erster Raster sein, der von kommenden Generationen immer mehr verfeinert wird”. A. TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde. Zweiter Teil: Die Völker und die Städte des antiken Hispanien*, Bd. I *Baetica*, Baden-Baden 1974, 8 (= TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II.1).

3. See for instance an inscription from manuscript tradition mentioning *Illiturgitani (!)*, which was consequently rejected by A. U. Stylow as a forgery in his comment on CIL II²/7, 130 (= II 190*).

4. It is the much discussed dedication of the *populus Iliturgitanus* to the fictitious founder Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, the so-called *deductor* of the colonia, CIL I² 2927 = II²/7, 32. On the inscription, see especially TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II.1, 110 sq.; R. WIEGELS, “Iliturgi und der deductor Ti. Sempronius Gracchus”, *MM* 23, 1982 (= WIEGELS, *Iliturgi*), 152 sq.; C. GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN; A. U. STYLOW ad CIL II²/7, 32; P. CORRALES AGUILAR – B. MORA SERRANO, in: *Tabula Imperii Romani* J-30, Madrid 2001 (= *TIR* J-30), 202 sq. s. v. *Iliturgi*; detailed discussion of all aspects up to now by A. M. POVEDA NAVARRO – L. BENEDETTI, *L'iscrizione di Ti. Sempronio Gracco da Iliturgi* (CIL II²/7, 32): *Aggiornamento archeologico-epigrafico*, *Epigraphica* 69, 2007, 65–85; vide infra 7 s.

5. For instance, the localization of *Ossigi* was first owed to the single find of an inscription with this ethnonim, found on the Cerro Maquiz, cf. CIL II 2101 and TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II.1, 111; nowadays, another inscription “en Mancha Real ... que no puede ser traído de muy lejos” (CIL II²/7, 5 = II 3351 cf. p. 885) is regarded as evidence for its ancient localization.

6. On this topic see the still fundamental study of E. ALBERTINI, *Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*, Paris 1923 (= ALBERTINI, *Divisions*); on the *conventus* of the provinces of Hispania Citerior see the summarizing study of P. OZCÁRIZ GIL, *Los conventus de la Hispania citerior*, Madrid 2006, esp. 110 sq. (“Delimitación de los conventus”). The ancient system of supervising the Iberian territory by *regiones* in the time before 133 BC.: R. C. KNAPP, *Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia*, 206–100 BC., Vitoria 1977, 67 sq., esp. 78 sq.

Today we are denied in general to track the boundary lines to the last detail – and yet we are looking for a graphic, reliable presentation on a map, that will give us a satisfactory view on the frontiers in the ancient world⁷.

First and foremost, natural spatial conditions give orientation in the constitution of a province border: A peninsula with its coastline gives herself even the clearest limitation, but also the course of a river or the ridge of mountains often give the structure to the historical and political spaces in the interior. When considering the *provincia Hispania Citerior*, such physiographical determinants are of course the Pyrenees, which separate the *Citerior* from the *Galliae* provinces (Plin. nat. 3,30)⁸, and on the other hand the running of the *Durius* between *Calaecia* and *Lusitania* (cf. Strabo 3,4,20) – both geographical boundaries, which have maintained their historical and political significance to this day.

The *iuga Oretana* offer themselves as an inland boundary between two provinces, *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis* (Plin. nat. 3,6)⁹. However, large sections of the further course of this border can be defined only by the accurate comparison of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.

Longitudo Citerioris Hispaniae est ad finem Castulonis a Pyrenaeo DCVII m. p. et ora paulo amplius (Plin. nat. 3, 29)¹⁰.

With amazing accuracy Pliny describes the extent of the *Citerior* along a diagonal that runs from the northeast to the southwest of the province. From the Pyrenees pass to the city limits of *Castulo*, which at least since the time of Augustus also constituted the border against *Baetica*, there are 607 miles – though not as the crow flies, because the hodological survey data passed on by the *itineraria* to Late Antiquity clearly served as a basis of the calculation:

The Vicarello goblets from the 4th Century AD (CIL XI 3281–3284) and a riddle epigram of Metrodorus from Late Antiquity confirm exactly this distance, if one takes the trouble to add up the mileage data of the Vicarello goblets from station to station, or if you make a stop at the Pyrenees in solving the riddle of Metrodorus (Anth. Pal. IV 121) (fig. 1).

From another perspective, Strabo indicates the expansion of *Iberia* from the Pillars of Hercules, i. e. from *Gades* to the Pyrenees with an approximate length of slightly more than 4000 stadia (Strabo, 3,4,1 [156]).

Like Pliny he gives us a longer measurement of the coastline, namely around 2000 stadia. Here too, *Kastulo* is a crucial place in the territorial division of the provinces, because “... the borderline (scil. of the *Baetica*) has been drawn towards East near *Kastulo*” (Strabo 3,4,20 [166]); and Pliny gives the length of the province of *Baetica* “from the city limits of *Castulo* to *Gades*” (Plin. nat. 3, 17): *Baeticae longitudo nunc a Castulonis oppidi fine Gadis CCL ...* It is interesting to see, that the Vicarello goblets show the exact distance of 250 Miles from *Gades* to *Castulo*, as the route calculator of Google maps indicates a distance of 250 Miles from Cádiz to Linares (the so-called Autovía A-4).

Two landmarks thus result for the large-scale mapping of ancient Hispania in general and especially of the *Citerior* – the *tropaem Pompei* from the year 72 BC¹¹, i. e. the crossing of the Pyrenees at Le Perthus (Strabo 3,4,1 [156] and 9 [160]; cf. 4,1,3 [178]), and *Castulo* which is also described as located at the old road (Strabo 3,4,9 [160]). This old road, in my opinion the legendary *Via Herculis*, led on the Iberian Peninsula from *Gades* to the Pyrenees¹².

But unlike the Augustan route this *via* did not turn east to *Carthago Nova* and thence proceeded along the coast to the Pyrenees (Polyb. 3,39,8f.),

7. A concise overview of the research on cartography gives R. J. A. TALBERT, “Mapping the Classical World: Major Atlases and Map Series 1872-1990”, *JRA* 5, 1992, 5 sq.; see also G. PAPAY, “Kartographie”, in: K. SACHS-HOMBACH (ed.), *Bildwissenschaft. Disziplinen, Themen, Methoden*, Frankfurt 2005, 281 sq.; some problems of cartography are discussed in a review written by M. SEHLMAYER: A.-M. WITTKÉ - E. OLSHAUSEN - R. SZYDLAK, *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart 2007, in: *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 26.03.2008, <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2008-1-231>>.

8. ALBERTINI, *Divisions* 23 adn. 1: “La frontière de l’Espagne du côté de la Gaule était imposée par la nature”.

9. ALBERTINI, *Divisions* 19; A. CEPAS PALANCA - F. SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA, in: *TIR* J-30, Madrid 2001, 257 s. v. *Oretana Iuga* (Sierra Morena).

10. “La longueur de l’Espagne Citerieure, des Pyrenées à la frontière de Castulo, est de 607 milles, et d’un peu plus en suivant la côte” (translation by the editor H. ZEHACKER, *Pline l’Ancien, Histoire naturelle, Livre III. Texte établi, traduit et commenté*, Paris 20042); looking for Pliny’s source, it is interesting to see that the Vicarello goblets and Metrodorus give the same distance, see *infra*.

11. G. CASTELLVÍ, “Données archéologiques nouvelles sur la frontière orientale des Pyrenées à l’époque romaine (IIe s. avant J.-C. - IVe s. après J.-C.). Région du Perthus, Panissars, Les Cluses”, *Études Roussillonnaises* 9, 1989, 11-20; G. CASTELLVÍ - J. M. NOLLA - I. RODÀ, “Les excavacions arqueològiques a Santa Maria de Panissars, Portús (Vallespir)/La Jonquera (Alt Empordà). Estat de la qüestió”, in: *Tribuna d’Arqueologia* 1990/91, Barcelona 1992, 63-71.

12. M. G. SCHMIDT, *A Gadibus Romam. Myth and Reality of an Ancient Route*, *BICS* 54.2, 2011, 71-86.



Figure 1. Vicarello goblet no. 1 (CIL XI 3281)
Photo by M. G. Schmidt (2011).

but crossed the *mediterraneum*, the inner part of the Iberian Peninsula. It was therefore almost the “direttissima”.

Also from an epigraphical point of view *Castulo* (located about 5 km south of Linares) is a landmark of demarcation between the provinces *Baetica* and *Citerior*: *a Baete et Iano Augusto ad Oceanum* count the Baetic *miliaria* of the year 2/1 BC (e. g. CIL II 4701–4711) – six years after the finishing work of the long Tarraconensian road had been concluded; *ab Iano Augusto qui est ad Baetim*

usque ad Oceanum (CIL II 4715, 35/36 AD) reads an inscription on a milestone of Tiberius, and once again the original propagandistic Augustan formula on a *miliarium* of Caligula *a Baete et Iano Augusto ad Oceanum* (CIL II 4716, 39 AD). Finally, under Domitian only the *arcus* is mentioned, with an important addition, though: *ab arcu, unde incipit Baetica* (CIL II 4721, 89/90 AD).

A case can be made that this *Ianus*, which is lost since long, should be located north of Mengibar (Province Jaén) and east of the Estación de Espeluy, in the sweep of the Guadalquivir or *Baetis*, as Pierre Sillières suggests. Because with a *Calle de los romanos* that leads directly from the West to the river Guadalquivir/*Baetis*, the street name still has preserved the memory of the Roman road layout; and the field name *Venta del Arco* of an estate nearby seems to point to this very Roman arch¹³ (fig. 2).

Here, at the upper reaches of the *Baetis*, on one side of the *Ianus*, the province of *Baetica* ended and on the other side – a key indication – with the *provincia Hispania Citerior* obviously ended also the territory of *Castulo* (Pliny, Strabo). Municipal and provincial boundaries were therefore one.

On the Mediterranean coastline Pliny determines the border of *Baetica* and *Citerior* or *Tarraconensis* between two places, *Urci* and *Murgi*, Plin. nat. 3, 6. 19: *Oppida – scil. Citerioris – orae proxima Urci. Murgi* therefore is situated on the side of *Baetica*, whose territory border was the provincial border to the *Citerior* at the same time: *Dein ... Sexi cognomine Firmum Iulium, Sel, Abdara, Murgi, Baeticae finis* (Plin. nat. 3,8)¹⁴. *Urci*, however, belonged to the territory of the *provincia Citerior* or *Tarraconensis*, after which *Baetica* began¹⁵.

The natural spatial structure of this region shows that a river valley, the valley of the Río Andarax, determines the limit¹⁶, which clears the way up to Guadix/Acci past the Sierra de Gador and the Sierra de Baza. Here we encounter the Augustan road (which by the way is not the *Via Augusta!*), that connected *Carthago nova* with the West.

In modern terms, we thus follow the course of the A-92, and after an uncertain section in direction to Iznalloz continue to Linares or *Castulo* on the A-44, the “Autovía de Granada”.

13. See already F. BRAUN, *Die Entwicklung der spanischen Provinzialgrenzen in römischer Zeit*, Berlin 1909 (= BRAUN, *Provinzialgrenzen*), 113 sq. (following Patsch); R. THOUVENOT, *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique*, Paris 1940 (=THOUVENOT, *Bétique*), 483; SILLIÈRES, *Voies* 300 and pl. VII 1.

14. TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II.1, 84 s. v. Murgi; P. CORRALES AGUILAR, in: *TIR* J-30, Madrid 2001, 247 s. v. Murgi.

15. Marcian. Heracl., *Peripl.* II 18: *μεθ' Οὔρκων ἐκδέχεται ἡ Βαϊτικὴ ἐπαρχία*. On the whole question see ALBERTINI, *Divisions* 34.

16. THOUVENOT, *Bétique* 164; P. CORRALES AGUILAR, “La provincia romana de la Baetica: Notas para el establecimiento de su límite oriental y su compartimentación conventual”, *Baetica* 19.1, 1997, 419.



Figure 2. Aerial view of the sweep of the *Baetis* near Mengibar (Google Maps).

This Augustan road was built in 8/7 BC ensuring widespread development of *Hispania Citerior*, about 6 years before a similar building program began in the province of *Baetica*; its course leading from *Carthago Nova* to *Acci* is documented by a large number of milestones from Augustan times thru Late Antiquity¹⁷. Some longer sections of the Roman road which have remained without mo-

dern urban development or intensive agricultural cultivation, can still be traced in the landscape by means of the aerial photography of "Google Maps"¹⁸.

Proof of this road is not easy to be found in the Penibetic mountain range north of the Sierra Nevada¹⁹, although the difficult terrain provides by itself only few possibilities of road alignment. From

17. The last Augustan milestone was recently found near Lorca, see <http://elnuevomiliario.blogspot.de/2013/02/un-nuevomiliario-en-lorca.html>.

18. This is especially the case of the route between *Carthago nova* and Lorca, where you still can see the traces of the old Roman road on "Google Maps" for about 30 miles, most clearly north of La Pinilla and then westbound until Hinojar south of Lorca, where a still unpublished Augustan milestone has been found (CIL XVII/1, n. 76). It would be worthwhile to have an archeological survey in this area.

19. See the detailed discussion of this route by BRAUN, *Provinzialgrenzen* 110 sq.; SILLIÈRES, *Voies* 281; A. U. STYLOW, "Die *Accitani veteres* und die Kolonie *Iulia Gemella Acci*", *Chiron* 30, 2000, 788 sq.

Guadix/Acci the road led first to Iznalloz, probably the ancient *Agatucci*, a place which Hübner puts rightly in the *Tarraconensis*: For the customs station of Güevéjar, which can be assumed by a dedicatorial inscription of the *socii quinquagesimae* (CIL II2/5, 654), would have been definitely right on the border between *Baetica* and *Citerior* and gives us thus an orientation in this difficult landscape. It may have been situated on the pass road at Puerto de la Mora, as Armin Stylow points out (ad CIL II2/5, 654). In any case, this find situates quite clearly the area of Iznalloz in the *Citerior*. Obviously the Sierra Nevada constituted a natural border between these provinces, which left Iznalloz on the side of the *Tarraconensis*.

The next checkpoint for this northbound road results from the localization of *Vergilia* near Arbuniel de Cambil²⁰, which clearly belonged to the *conventus Carthaginiensis* and thus to the *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis* (Plin. nat. 3,25); it was situated not far from the road coming from *Carthago nova* via Acci²¹.

Necessarily then, the road continued through the narrows at La Guardia, that is *Mentesa Bastitana*, which by the unanimous testimony of the ancient authors belonged to the province of *Hispania Citerior* (Plin. nat. 3,9: *in Tarraconensis provinciae ... Mentesa oppido*; cf. *ibid.* 3,25)²². Even in Late Antiquity, the bishop of *Mentesa* still had his metropolitan see in *Carthago Nova*²³.

Here, in the valley of the Guadalbullón, near Pegalajar on the right river bank and opposite to *Mentesa*, a spectacular discovery has brought to light a whole nest of milestones²⁴. This find impressively underlines the strategic importance of this narrow pass for commerce and trade.

With one last Augustan milestone from La Guardia/ *Mentesa*²⁵, erected about 8/7 BC, and therefore

obviously belonging to this Tarraconensian road, and two Claudian *miliaria*²⁶, the documentation of this road by milestones ends – indeed 1 mile before reaching its *caput viae Castulo*²⁷.

In view of the provincial border between *Baetica* and *Citerior* the road leading from Acci to *Castulo* turned out to have been running more or less in parallel to the provincial border; it took a relatively straight line to the last section, following the river Guadalbullón way up north in direction to the traffic junction at the *Ianus*, where at least two routes from the *Baetica* met the Tarraconensian road system (see Vicarello Goblets, *Intin. Ant.*). Probably at an earlier stage, some miles before reaching the site of the modern city of Mengíbar, the road led eastwards directly to *Castulo*²⁸. From this section we know the milestone mentioned above, with the indication *a Castulone milia passuum VIII*, and another of clearly the same workshop counting *a Castulone m. p. I*, which belongs to the same building period and hence to the same road.

According to these figures I and VIII, the milestones should be located at the banks of the river Guadalimar, west of *Castulo*, the first 1000 passus away from this city and the other, almost found in situ near Cerro Maquiz, another seven miles in western direction below the ridge of Jabalquinto, where today the railroad is leading towards the station of Linares-Baeza, the railway tracks in Spain being always a first hand indicator in the search of the old Roman roads.

Also in the itinerary of Antonine (402.1 sq.) all stations along the road coming from Guadix/Acci are located on the ground of the *provincia Citerior Tarraconensis*: Acci is followed by *Acatucci* (Iznalloz)²⁹, *Viniolae* (Albuniel)³⁰, *Mentesa Bastitana* (La

20. A. TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* III 151; P. CORRALES AGUILAR, in: *TIR* J-30, Madrid 2001, 337 s. v. *Vergilia*, *Virgilia*.

21. F. FITA, *BRAH* 65, 1914, 577 sq.; WIEGELS, *Iliturgi* 215.

22. See ALBERTINI, *Divisions* 38.

23. J. ORLANDIS, *El cristianismo y la iglesia*, in: *Historia de España* III. *España visigoda*, rev. ed. Madrid 1991, 470 sq.

24. P. SILLIÈRES, *Un grupo de cuatro miliarios en la Cerradura (Pegalajar, Jaén)*, *Bol. del Inst. de Est. Giennenses* 90, 1976, 57 sq.

25. CIL II 4931 = SILLIÈRES, *Voies* 84 n. 19 = CIL XVII/1, n. 91.

26. LOSTAL, *Miliarios* 57 sq. n. 52 = CIL XVII/1, n. 98 (*a Castulone m. p. VIII*) and CIL II 4932 cf. p. 998 = GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN - MANGAS, *Inscripciones de Jaén* II n. 620 = CIL XVII/1, n. 99 (*a Castulone m. p. I*); a comparison of both inscriptions show an absolute similarity, which can only be explained as two works of the same stonemason.

27. *Castulo* is situated near Linares, Cortijo de Santa Eufemia, see MA. P. GARCÍA GELABERT - P. CORRALES AGUILAR - B. MORA SERRANO, *TIR* J-30, Madrid 2001, 140 sq. with further bibliography.

28. Approaches for the stretch *Mentesa - Castulo*, "... borrados por el tiempo los vestigios de la vía", are given by M. JIMÉNEZ COBO, "Comunicaciones entre el Alto Guadalquivir y el Mediterráneo en la época romana", in: *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, ser. II. vol. 6, 1993, 349 sq. esp. 357 sq.

29. Different locations of this *mansio* are listed by P. CORRALES AGUILAR, in: *TIR* J-30, Madrid 2001, 70 f. s. v. *Agatucci*. - A. U. STYLOW, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 786 ff. offers a new solution of the problem: *Periate*, where the famous bronze statue of a *togatus* was recently found, should be equated with *Acci vetus = Acatucci*. - However, Iznalloz has always been regarded as an important station at the *via publica* leading north from *Acci* to *Castulo*, see for instance F. FITA, "Vergilia, ciudad bastetana en Albuñiel de Cambil", *BRAH* 65, 1914, 58.

30. *Viniolae* was probably the *mansio* of the ancient town *Vergilia*, see Sillières, *Voies* 282 f.; further discussion presented by P. CORRALES AGUILAR, in: *TIR* J-30, Madrid 2001, 345 s. v. *Viniolis*.

Guardia, see above) and finally *Castulo*. It seems obvious that the building activities of the year 8/7 BC are tracing the provincial reorganization³¹ of Hispania established by Augustus at the same time. This road section is quite close to the continuous line of the modern traffic route from Almería way up to Linares presented before. It followed largely the specific natural space conditions of this area and thus give us a first orientation in finding the layout of the ancient road.

Archaeological and epigraphic research of the last decades tried to demonstrate that two *oppida*, which are registered by Pliny as Baetic cities (i. e. belonging to the *conventus Cordubensis*), should be localized in the area east of the river Guadalbullón: *Iliturgi* on the “Cerro Maquiz” near Mengíbar and *Ossigi* on the “Cerro Alcalá” further east in the *mediterraneum*³².

Such a view has important consequences for our concept of demarcation of the boundary between the provinces of *Hispania Ulterior (Baetica)* and *Citerior (Tarraconensis)* – with a huge bulge of the Baetic territory in this area³³. And that is exactly what the editors of the second edition of the CIL II show on their map: the borderline of the *Conventus Cordubensis* had been considerably extended to the East³⁴ (fig. 3).

This is really surprising, especially when you face the plain and no-frills Roman practice of setting boundaries, following practical common sense, with an eastern exclave of the province *Baetica*, that lacks any rational justification.

By this manipulation, the western boundary road, which in my opinion should be considered in the context of the Augustan reorganization of the provincial borders, thereby crosses the *Baetica* on the territory of *Iliturgi* before getting back on Tarraconensian ground on the territory of *Castulo*. But hard facts for localizing this city are almost missing: After a thorough treatment of all related questions and after discussing its problematic “foundation inscription” that is crucial for a localization of *Iliturgi* on the Cerro Maquiz, Rainer Wiegels could only offer the sobering conclusion (*Iliturgi* 221):

“Die bisherigen, zufälligen Funde aus Maquiz sowie die historische Tragweite einer Klärung der Ortsgeschichte von Iliturgi lassen es wünschenswert, wenn nicht gar dringlich erscheinen, durch Grabungen die anstehenden Fragen einer Beantwortung zumindest näherzubringen...”

These excavations have not yet been carried out, so that the interpretation must remain to a “non liquet”.

In my opinion, the inscription naming Ti. Sempronius Grachus (fig. 4) as the founder of the colony of *Iliturgi* – in analogy to his foundation of *Graccuris* (App. *Iber.* 43) – is a modern forgery³⁵: This taciturn “honorary inscription” is executed on a block of local sandstone (32 x 59 x 70) – which cannot easily be integrated into a statue’s base³⁶. But this is surely the easiest way to produce a fake inscription, thus avoiding the use of a genuine Roman monument like the base of a statue, an altar or the like. The lettering does not correspond to

31. See already F. BRAUN, *Die Entwicklung der spanischen Provinzialgrenzen in römischer Zeit*, Berlin 1909, esp. 104, summarizing his analysis: “So muß die augusteische Provinzialeinteilung Spaniens in die Jahre 7–2 v. Chr. fallen” Compare ALBERTINI, *Divisions* 25ff.

32. The earlier research is summarized by TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II.1, 110; see the discussion on the inscription for Ti. Sempronius Grachus, below.

33. “Eine solche Auffassung hat erhebliche Konsequenzen für unsere Vorstellung vom Verlauf der Grenze zwischen den beiden Provinzen Hispania ulterior (Baetica) und citerior (Tarraconensis) ... Da *Mentesa Bastitanorum* (La Guardia) bei Plinius als tarraconensische Stadt geführt wird, ergibt sich eine nicht unbeträchtliche Ausbuchtung des baetischen Territoriums in diesem Gebiet” (WIEGELS, *Iliturgi* 221).

34. Consequently, also the maps of TIR J-30 and R. Knapp’s detailed map in the *Barrington Atlas* convolute show the same course. The opinio communis had been thus fixed.

35. “A todas luces falsa” already A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, “Las colonias romanas de Hispania”, *AHDE* 29, 1959, 449 n. 6. - The earlier research is summarized by TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II.1, 110; evidence concerning *Iliturgi* in general and especially its localization are presented by P. CORRALES AGUILAR - B. MORA SERRANO, in: TIR J-30, Madrid 2001, 202 sq., where *Iliturgi* “a la luz de los hallazgos epigráficos se sitúa” on the Cerro Maquiz, though she rightly drew the borderline between *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis* along the river Guadalbullón some years before: P. CORRALES AGUILAR, *Baetica* 19.1, 1997, 428 lám. 2. - The whole discussion renewed in A. M. POVEDA NAVARRO - L. BENEDETTI, *Epigraphica* 69, 2007, esp. 72 sq. - Unfortunately, the time and the place of this find is not described exactly, nor do we know the name of the informant; the *editio prima* only gives second hand information, see A. BLANCO - G. LACHICA, *De situ Iliturgis*, *AEA* 33, 1960, 193: “Desde hace algunos años se conserva en Mengíbar una inscripción romana ... Fue hallada en el lugar conocido por Las Torres, en el cortijo de Maquiz (a 5 kilómetros de Mengíbar)”.

36. First, it had been considered as a part of a building, cf. the discussion in CIL I² 2927. See now the reconstruction drawing of a statue’s base by L. BENEDETTI and the discussion of the typology of the monument, *Epigraphica* 69, 2007, 78 sqq.: “Sembra più verosimile, considerate proprio le dimensioni del supporto, immaginare, piuttosto, un monumento costituito da un basamento ottenuto probabilmente mediante l’unione di più blocchi sovrapposti, messi alternativamente di testa e di taglio, uniti da giunti sfalsati e raccordati, forse, dai cornici modanate...”.

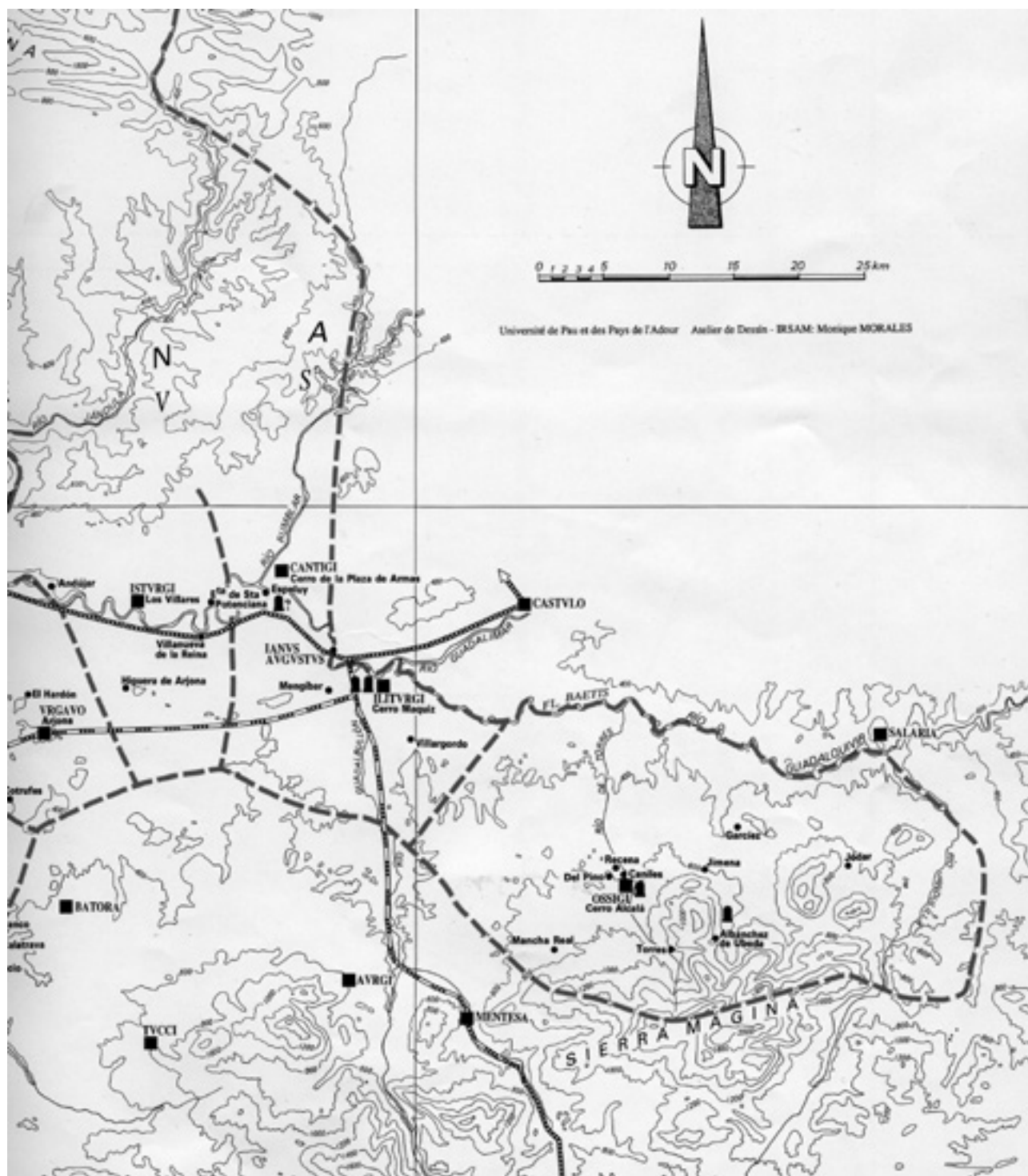


Figure 3. Map from CIL II²/7, tabula geographica III (detail).

Republican practise (or even to a consistent Roman practise in general), with the extremely short vertical bar of the letter G, the short transverse bar of the letter T, the transverse bar of the letter A po-

sitioned way too deep and the letter O bent into a perfect circle³⁷. Not even the punctuation marks had been carried out in a proper way, which are executed as flat triangles that are directed downwards.

37. E. HÜBNER, *Exempla scripturae epigraphicae Latinae*, Berlin 1885, LIII: "In A monumentali propria linea transversa recta et continua aetate optima mediam litterae altitudinem secat, inferiore solet paullo altius posita esse". LVII: "G. In scriptura vetustiore monumentali linea illa recta est, ex pede C litterae angulo recto sursum surgens... longior in titulis vetustioribus". LXVI: "T littera ... aetate vetustiore linea transversa non nimis brevis est...".



Figure 4. Inscription in honor of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, CIL I² 2927 = II²/7, 32. Photo by M. G. Schmidt (1911).

And what is most disturbing, is the use of *deductor* – a word that does not exist in Latin epigraphy³⁸. A Roman official like Ti. Sempronius Gracchus³⁹ would always be addressed by his title, *pro co(n)s(ule)*, and would not be characterized by a verbal noun explaining his official act.

But *Iliturgi* is not the big problem; it is *Ossigi*, which is situated east of that town and which modern research had located on the Cerro Alcalá somewhere in the hinterland. I hereinafter focus exclusively on *Ossigi* and ask the simple question of whether the location of this town and its territory is consistent with the report of Pliny, to whom we owe the basic orientation in this landscape. Chapters 9 and 10 of the 3rd book are of special importance:

*Baeticae primum ab Ossigitania infusus (scil. Baetis), amoeno blandus alveo, crebris dextra laevaque accolitur oppidis (Plin. nat. 3,9)*⁴⁰.

*Conventus vero Cordubensis circa flumen ipsum Ossigi quod cognominatur Latonium, Iliturgi quod Forum Iulium, Ipra, Isturgi quod Triumphales, Vcia et XIII p. remotum in mediterraneo Obulco quod Pontificiense appellatur, mox Ripa, Epora foederatorum, Sacili Martialium eqs. (Plin. nat. 3,10)*⁴¹.

Both passages do not apply for the Cerro Alcalá as the center of this landscape *Ossigitania*, since the *Baetis* does not pour or gush into the *Baetica* from this area, which before the influx of Guadalimar and Guadalbullón is still a faint rivulet⁴², and the “Cerro” itself being in a beeline 14 kilometers away

38. *TbLL* V.1, col. 283 sq. s. v. (i. q. *comes*). – Still valid are Wiegels’ arguments in: WIEGELS, *Iliturgi* 152 sq.; however, compare the discussion in A. M. POVEDA NAVARRO - L. BENEDETTI, *Epigraphica* 69, 2007, 74 sq. – By the way, Degrassi’s argument is none: “un falsario, a prescindere della perizia dimostrata nell’incidere le lettere (sic!), difficilmente avrebbe usato una parola nuova del linguaggio epigrafico” (A. DEGRASSI, *Scritti vari di Antiquità* III, Venezia - Trieste 1967, 129 sq.).

39. See T. R. S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, III Suppl., Atlanta 1986, 188 sq. s. v. n. 52-53.

40. “Quand il (le Bétis) entre en Bétique au pays d’Ossigi, ses flots tranquilles suivent un parcours plaisant et de nombreuses villes le bordent à droite et à gauche”. (H. Zehnacker). Literally, though: “Sobald er (der Baetis) in die Baetica aus dem Gebiet von Ossigi her eingedrungen ist”. G. WINKLER (ed.), *C. Plinius Secundus d. Ä. Naturkunde, lat. - dt., Bücher III/IV. Geographie: Europa*, München 2nd ed. 2002, p. 19. Cf. Mela 3,5: *Baetis ex Tarraconensi regione demissus...*

41. “Mais à la jurisdiction de Cordoue, autour du fleuve lui-même, appartiennent Ossigi surnommé Latonium, Iliturgi surnommé Forum Iulium etc” (H. ZEHACKER).

42. Plin. nat. 3, 9: *modicus primo, sed multorum fluminum capax, quibus ipse famam aquasque aufert.*

from the river. *Ossigi* on the Cerro Alcalá can therefore by no means be characterized as *circa flumen ipsum situm*. And further more: in this area no cities are reported left and right of the river.

The puzzle pieces, derived from the reading of Pliny, reveal a consistent picture of this border zone that the former *procurator* of *Hispania Citerior* certainly had by his own knowledge⁴³.

At the borderline, that is after the territorial limits of *Castulo*, right at the narrows between the hills of Mengibar and Jabalquinto, where the *Ianus Augustus* once stood, the *Baetis*, previously amplified by the influx of Guadalimar and Guadalbullón, gushes forth in the province of *Baetica* (*infusus* Plin., *ex Tarraconensi regione demissus* Mela), and then in a lovely course flows through this province - Pliny says it in almost poetic words: *amoeno blandus alveo* (Plin. nat. 3,9) (fig. 5). From here on the *Baetis* is skirted by numerous cities left and right, *crebris dextra laevaue accolitur oppidis*, which Pliny later calls by name: *Ossigi, Iliturgi, Ipra, Isturgi, Vcia* and so on (Plin. nat. 3,10).

This localization of *Ossigitania* at the *Baetis* immediately before passing the *Ianus Augustus* is in perfect harmony with the geographical description of Pliny and Mela, the testimony of the milestones from *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis* and the details in the itineraries. It leaves as much space for the Augustan road on Tarraconensian ground, as to the important city *Castulo* and its territory, that extended on the Jabalquinto hills unto the *Ianus Augustus*, where its *finis* constituted the western boundary of the province.

If you equate Mela's description of the *Baetis ex Tarraconensi regione demissus* with Pliny's *Baeticae primum ab Ossigitania infusus* (scil. *Baetis*), it is quite clear that the landscape that bears the name of the town *Ossigi* is situated right in the border zone between *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis*. On the other hand, we cannot define the exact localization of *Ossigi*, which is ascribed by Pliny to the *conventus Cordubensis*; but the landscape *Ossigitania* should not be too far away from the town itself, which was perhaps situated on the Cerro Maquiz, where previous research had it already located⁴⁴.



Figure 5. Between *Ianus Augustus* and *Castulo* (based on Google Maps).

43. He was *procurator* of the *Tarraconensis* in 73 AD, see R. SYME, *Pliny the Procurator*, in: *Roman Papers*, ed. by E. BADIAN, Oxford 1979, II 742 sq., esp. 754 sq.; cf. *PIR2* P 493.

44. E. HÜBNER on *Ossigi*, cf. *CIL* II p. 293; cf. also BRAUN, *Provinzialgrenzen* 113; A. SCHULTEN, *RE* XVIII.2, 1942, col. 1598 s. v.

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