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Hadrian:
Art, Politics and Economy

Edited by Thorsten Opper

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*Hadrian:
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Edited by Thorsten Oppen

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Front cover: detail of the interior of the Pantheon, Rome,
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Chapter 12

The Impact of Roman Spain's Transformation on Hadrian's Life and Policies¹

José Remesal Rodríguez

Hadrian's youth

There has been much debate surrounding Hadrian's birthplace. Some believe that he was born in Rome – the *Historia Augusta* states that Hadrian *natus est Romae*,² – while others defend the idea that he was born in the Spanish city of *Italica*. The claim in the *Historia Augusta* could be challenged by the words of Aulus Gellius who says: *quam de Italicensibus, unde ipse ortus fuit...* ('On behalf of the *Italicenses* from whom himself is').³ In addition to this, A.M. Canto has gathered a vast amount of further documentation which suggests that Hadrian was born in *Italica* (Pl. 1).⁴

Although this debate is not the centrepiece of my paper, it is my belief that Hadrian was born in *Italica* and that he spent most of his childhood and adolescence there. In addition to the data gathered by Canto and the findings presented here, I have been further convinced of this after reading the biography of Hadrian by Anthony Birley, who believes that Hadrian was born in Rome. Birley creates a psychological portrait of Hadrian's character by underlining two fragments of information that we know about Hadrian through the *Historia Augusta*: Hadrian's love of hunting and his poor command of Latin when he gave his first public speech.

A love of hunting and the process of learning how to hunt, which Birley insists was not a Roman activity but typical of Hadrian's province of origin, could not have been learnt during a short stay in the land of his ancestors. Hadrian boasts that his horse Boristenes never received an injury from a wild boar.⁵ To spear wild boars from a saddle without stirrup and with no injury to his mount, shows that Hadrian had learnt to ride and hunt among experts. This was not a skill that he could have learned in Rome or during short stays in his homeland. Hadrian's excessive passion for hunting, a hobby to which he obviously dedicated too much

Plate 1 Bust of Hadrian, found in *Italica* and now in the Archaeological Museum of Seville



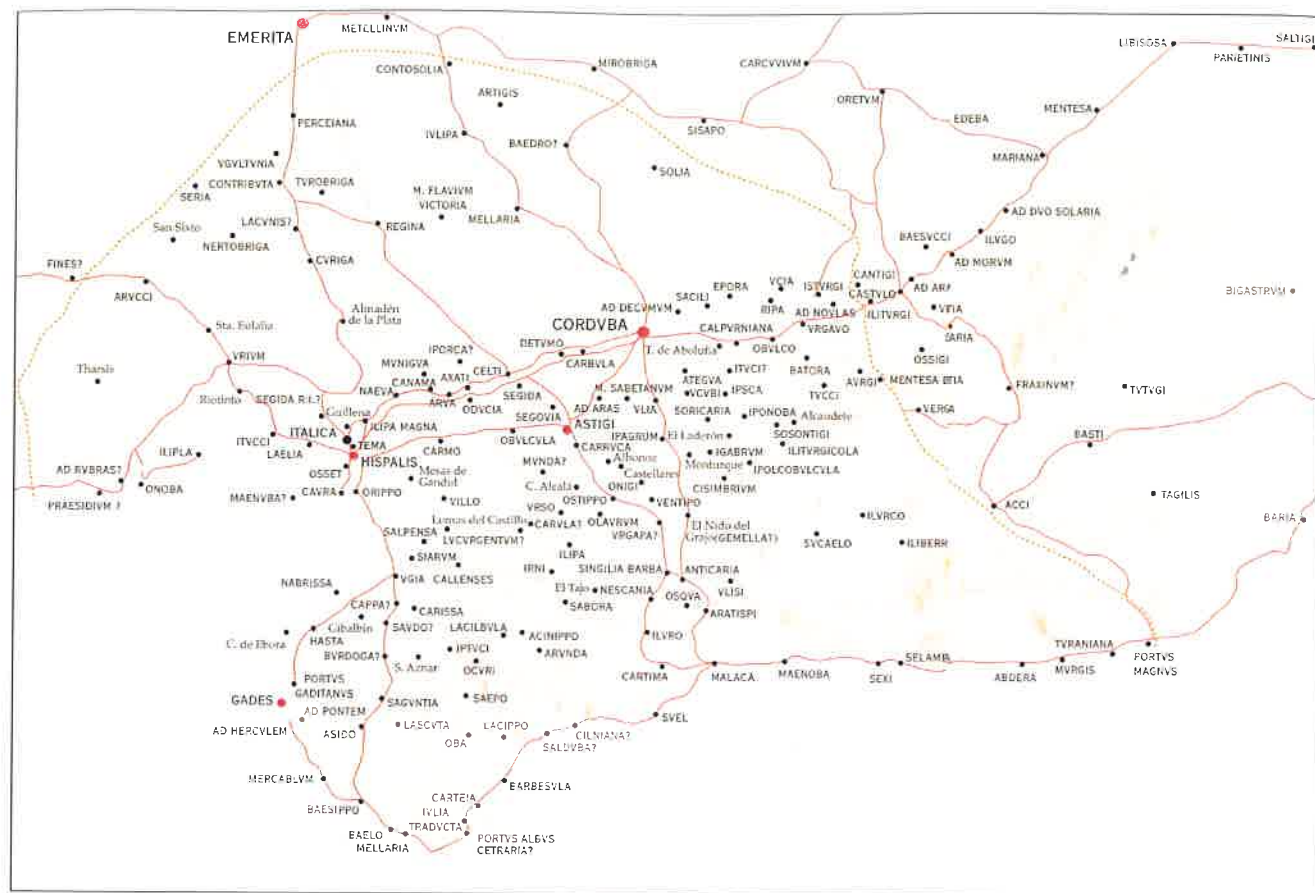


Plate 2 Map of Baetica. The high density of population can be observed along the Guadalquivir valley. Most of the inhabitants of the urban centres obtained the right of Roman citizenship

time, was a reason why one of his two guardians, Acilius Attianus, advised the other guardian, the future emperor Trajan, that the young man was spending more time enjoying himself than training for his future public life. It was at this point when Trajan decided that Hadrian should leave Italica for Rome.

We have no information about Attianus' career before this episode and only know that he would later become *praefectus praetorio* and accompany Trajan to the East.⁶ When Trajan died, it was Attianus, along with Plotina and Matidia, who brought Trajan's ashes to Rome, where he prepared for the arrival of Hadrian by eliminating those who might have contested Hadrian's succession as emperor. In my opinion, the career of Attianus began at the same time as Hadrian's. Acilius Attianus was an equestrian from Italica, a friend of Hadrian's father and of Trajan, who dedicated his life to accompanying Trajan and ensuring that their protégé became emperor. Hadrian's father entrusted the future of his son to his most influential and powerful relative, Trajan, but, at the same time, he made sure that a trusted friend would take care of Hadrian's everyday needs in his homeland of Italica. Attianus was a faithful guardian. Once he had discharged his role as a legal guardian, and Trajan had become emperor, he did everything to ensure that his former ward would become the emperor's heir apparent. Once Hadrian felt that his position as emperor was secure, he dismissed his former guardian in line with the well-known saying '*promoveatur ut removeatur*' (in essence, promote in order to remove) and promoted him to the *ordo senatorius*,

which forced him to abandon the office of *praefectus praetorio*. Once he had fulfilled his mission, the loyal Attianus vanished as discreetly as he had appeared. It is surprising that we do not have any information surrounding Attianus' *cursus honorum*, as in theory he must have held some of the equestrian offices, as well as some of the imperial procuratorial posts, from the inferior ones to one of the great prefectures, for example prefect of the *annona* or of Egypt. An *ex silentio* reason is obviously not enough, but I believe that Attianus was a close friend, who was a faithful guardian of the family's secrets and interests. Through Plotina's assistance, Attianus was only appointed to one office, that of *praefectus praetorio*, when Trajan was getting old or when he thought that he might lose his life during the campaigns against the Parthians. This was a post from which Attianus could make sure that his former ward would get the throne, as he eventually did.

Thanks to the *Historia Augusta* it is well known that in the year AD 101, Hadrian appeared in front of the Roman Senate as *quaestor* of the emperor to read a speech by Trajan. His Latin was so rudimentary that those who were listening could not help but laugh at him.⁷ Anthony Birley tends to favour the idea that his rough Latin was not the result of the nasal accent of his native Baetica, of a kind that had already been criticized by Cicero,⁸ but reflected the influence of the military language to which Hadrian was exposed during his long time in service.⁹ If Hadrian had been brought up in Rome, once he was back at home he would have recovered his accent and the tone in which he had been educated. If he

had spent his childhood in Rome, educated amongst the elite, he would have spoken as one of the Roman elite. The situation in AD 101 did not allow either fickleness or the use of military slang in a speech to the Senate. If senators laughed at him it was because his Latin did not sound right to the members of his world; it sounded as provincial as the accent Cicero had ridiculed. Before AD 100, Hadrian had not spent much time in the capital; hence he had not had the time to learn refined manners. It is possible that he did not even try to, believing that Trajan had deprived him of his pleasant life in Baetica. However, he was proud and his desire not to be despised obliged him to master the Latin language from this time onwards, as the *Historia Augusta* reports.

In Rome no member of the elite felt the need to show their knowledge of Greek because it was a virtually compulsory requirement for the social group to which Hadrian belonged. When Hadrian arrived in Rome, he was a provincial who wanted to show how refined his education had been in his home province, one that had already given important names to Latin literature despite the peculiar accent of Baetica. *Graeculus* or 'Greekling' was a well-suited nickname for a young and aspiring provincial who knew that his family's origins were in Hadria in the region of Picenum, and who had been brought up in the oldest Latin *municipium* of the Iberian Peninsula. It is slightly surprising that the *Historia Augusta* reminds us of the nickname that Hadrian had as a child. Perhaps *Graeculus* was a name used by his enemies amongst the Roman aristocracy. By presenting it as a nickname from childhood, the author of the *Historia Augusta* seems to play down the fact that it was probably intended as an insult.

Roman Baetica

When Hadrian was born on 24 January AD 76, the whole of Roman Spain was in transition.¹⁰ The Spanish provincials were ecstatic, as two years earlier Vespasian had granted them the *ius Latii minus*¹¹ and with it the means to transform the old centres of population into *municipia* in accordance with Latin law, which afforded these centres a much higher status (Pl. 2). The Baeticans, who had surrendered to the Romans after the battle of Ilipa in 206 BC, had obtained at the time of conquest very favourable treaties. This was because Rome did not have the means to impose its law firmly. Gades (modern day Cádiz),¹² the old Phoenician colony in the west, had changed sides in favour of Rome as its inhabitants most probably expected to obtain more benefits from Rome than Carthage. In Julius Caesar's time, the city was so integrated in the Roman system that numerous Roman knights lived there, such as L. Cornelius Balbus (Balbus the Elder), who helped Caesar financially. This help was acknowledged; Balbus the Elder became senator and held the office of consul while his nephew, L. Cornelius Balbus (Balbus the Younger), celebrated a triumph in Rome. With the rise of the Balbi, the doors of Rome opened to the Baetican elites.¹³ Many Italians, especially during Caesar's time, had come to colonize Baetica and over time many natives obtained Roman citizenship.¹⁴

According to Strabo, the inhabitants of Baetica, the *Turdetani*, already spoke Latin and dressed in a Roman style during the reign of Augustus.¹⁵ This deep level of

Romanization and the fact that Spain supported Galba's party, and later that of Vespasian, has made many people think that this was the reason why Vespasian granted the *ius Latii minus* to Spain.¹⁶ In other words, that it was in some way a reward and recognition of its deep Romanization. Nothing was further from the real intentions of Vespasian, an emperor who saw himself as a new Augustus, but who was obliged to rebuild an economically bankrupt empire.¹⁷

By granting the elites of the native areas Roman citizenship, Vespasian had allowed them to aspire to climbing the social ladder of the empire. From local offices they could progress to provincial ones, then to the *ordo equester* and even the senatorial order. The less ambitious citizen could, thanks to the *ius commercium*, defend their rights in any part of the empire not as a foreigner or *peregrinus*, but as a Roman citizen whose rights were above those of all others.

Fortunately we know, at least to a certain extent, some of the Flavian municipal laws of Baetica.¹⁸ The *lex Malaca* and the *lex Salpensa* have been known for a while.¹⁹ The more recently found *lex Imitana* is preserved almost completely and when compared to the fragments of the other laws, we have most of the general norms that framed the new life of those *municipia*. The process of municipalization was different in each native town.²⁰ Some, such as Sabora and Munigua, must have obtained their municipal constitution during Vespasian's reign, while others such as Irni (*Municipium Flavium Imitanum*) did not obtain it until the reign of Domitian. Many of these towns and cities competed to adopt the urbanism of the Roman cities. The citizens of Sabora, for example, asked permission from Vespasian to leave their old hill-town and move down to the valley where they could build a brand new city. Vespasian granted his permission, but an inscription reminds us of Vespasian's true intentions: they could build a new city but this would not save them from paying taxes or permit him to collect more.²¹

Munigua (*Municipium Flavium Muniguense*), a city in the north of the Guadalquivir and an area rich in iron, is probably the best example. Thanks to the excavations conducted by the German Institute in Madrid over many years, the topography of the city is well known to us.²² Munigua actually occupies a very small area. Its urban space is occupied by public buildings, overlooked by the majestic terraced temple dedicated to the imperial cult, with barely any space for private buildings (Pls 3-4).

The elite of Munigua undoubtedly strove to adjust themselves to the new status of *municipium*. Nevertheless the city was already experiencing difficulties during Titus's reign. There is a letter from Titus to the *Muniguenses* dated 7 September AD 79 in which he reproaches them for petitioning him to solve a problem on which the provincial governor had already ruled. The citizens of Munigua had complained about the *conductor vectigalium* because of the amount of the tax that they had to pay; on top of this tax, they also owed a sum for late payment. The emperor, in an act of pity rather than in response to the audacity of the *Muniguenses*, who dared to contest a ruling from the governor, reminded them that they had to pay the tax but he relieved them of the fine for late payment (Pl. 5).²³

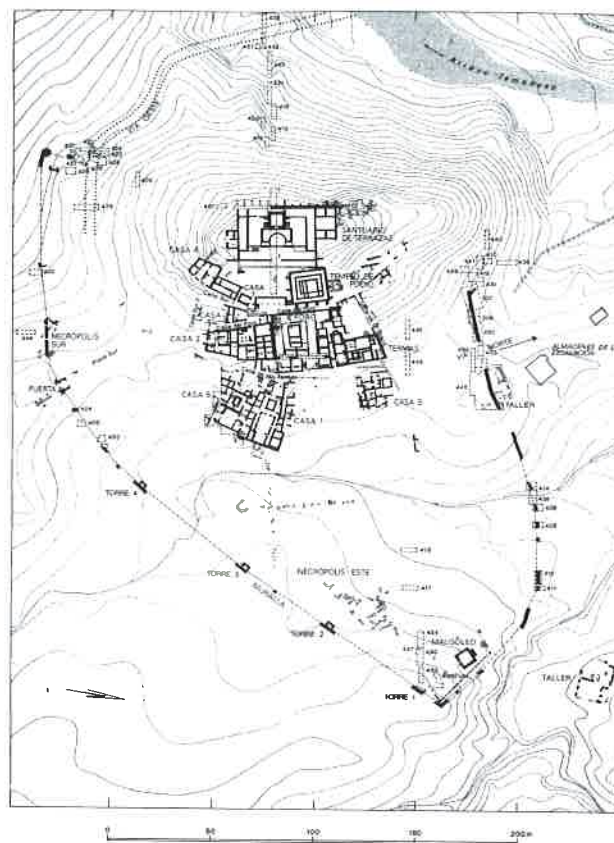


Plate 3 Map of the town of *Munigua* (*Municipium Flavium Muniguense*), the monumental buildings occupying most of the hill. The walls of the 3rd century AD included some funerary monuments, indicating that the perimeter of the town in the Flavian era was shorter

The situation in *Munigua* must have been quite common. These small centres were spending their resources on the rebuilding of their cities in the Roman style. The taxes that they had been paying comfortably were now burdensome. The fact is that they were not building cities, but monumental centres that would eventually become the administrative centres of the territory.²⁴ Most of the population must have lived outside these 'new' urban areas. As in the case of *Munigua*, most of the Flavian *municipia* of the *Baetica* had a very small urban area. One such example is *Arva* (*Municipium Flavium Arvense*) (present day El Castillejo, Alcolea del Río, Seville),²⁵ located about 15km from *Munigua* and *Baelo Claudia* on the Atlantic coast of *Baetica*, where the central areas are occupied mostly by public buildings (Pls 6–9).

In my opinion, the grant of the *ius Latii* was not simply a reward for the inhabitants of Spain. Vespasian had two aims in mind. The principal one was to rebuild the economy of the empire. Secondly, in the western provinces, Vespasian wanted to create a line of fortifications on the German frontier in order to fill the gap in the *agri decumates*, a border area located along the sources of the Rhine and the Danube. Spain was a province rich in men, animals, metals and agricultural produce, hence it could become the logistical base that supplied the north-west frontiers of the empire. The agricultural produce of *Baetica*, especially its olive oil, also played an important role in the supply of Rome. Ever astute, Vespasian knew how to make the Spanish provincials



Plate 4 The monumental group of buildings and the large temple of Terrazas, dedicated to the imperial cult (DAI Madrid)

follow his policy. Study of the imported amphorae found along the German and British *limites* shows that during the Julio-Claudian period, products arrived from all over the Mediterranean. However, from the Flavian period onwards, only amphorae from Spain and Gaul can be identified.²⁶ In my opinion, this shows the ultimate reason why Vespasian granted the *ius Latii* to the Spanish: Spain was earmarked to become the hinterland that ensured the food supply of the army stationed in the north-west of Europe.

I have argued elsewhere for the need to understand the Roman Empire as a system of interdependencies and study the role that Rome gave to each province.²⁷ Because of its natural resources, the province of *Baetica* benefited from the situation. *Baetica* was developed so that it could support the other provinces, mainly those in the north-west of the empire, as well as the capital itself. As a result of these privileges, those families of the Spanish elite established in Rome since the reign of Augustus found a way to reinforce their presence in Rome, both socially and economically.²⁸ At the same time, the emperor had found a way to make use of the resources of such a rich province.

As Aelius Aristides would later say in his *Roman Oration*, the Romans had discovered a political path that allowed the integration, or at least a vision of it, of most of the inhabitants of the empire into one unified entity. This system became the engine that sustained this large empire, which was formed of

Plate 5 Letter from Titus to the *Muniguenses*, found during the excavations in the monumental centre. It had been hidden behind a tile (DAI Madrid)

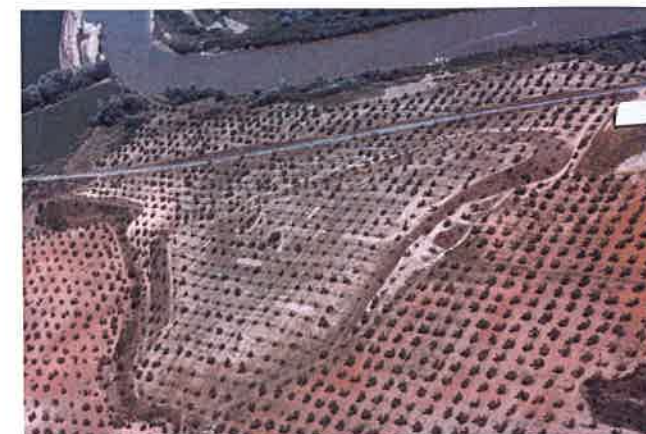


Plate 6 Aerial view of *Arva* (*Municipium Flavium Arvense*), the town occupying only the hill. Between this town and the Guadalquivir River were the pottery factories that produced the amphorae used to export oil to Rome and western Europe

all sorts of people, cultures and countries. Certainly the Spanish elites, and the Baetians in particular, obtained so many benefits that a generation later one of them, Trajan, would become emperor. For over a century, a period known as the golden century of the Roman Empire, power was in the hands of a native of *Baetica*. To understand the role of Spain we only have to remember that Trajan's rival, M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatus Maternus was also a Spanish provincial, from the city of *Edeta* in *Tarraconensis*.²⁹

Hadrian at *Tarraco*

After his trip to Germany and Britain at the beginning of the year AD 123, Hadrian summoned the Hispanic elite to a general meeting (*conventus*) in *Tarraco*, the capital of the empire's largest province, *Hispania citerior*. The idea that



Plate 7 The baths at *Arva* (present day Alcolea del Río, Seville), which have been partially excavated

Hadrian passed quickly through Spain on his way to Mauretania, with no proof that he visited his native city of *Italica*, is often repeated in academic literature.

Certainly our sources are scarce. The *Historia Augusta* only says that he spent the winter in *Tarraco* where, as noted, he called a provincial council at which he announced his wish of raising a new levy. The *Historia Augusta* goes on to report that the *Italici* openly made fun of the emperor's proposal while the rest of the Spanish elite complained strongly. The emperor acted cautiously in the face of this reaction. The *Historia Augusta* also says that one of his host's slaves tried to kill him. The emperor managed to subdue him and when informed that the man was mentally unstable, he sought medical attention for him. This is the end of any ancient references to Hadrian's visit to Spain.³⁰

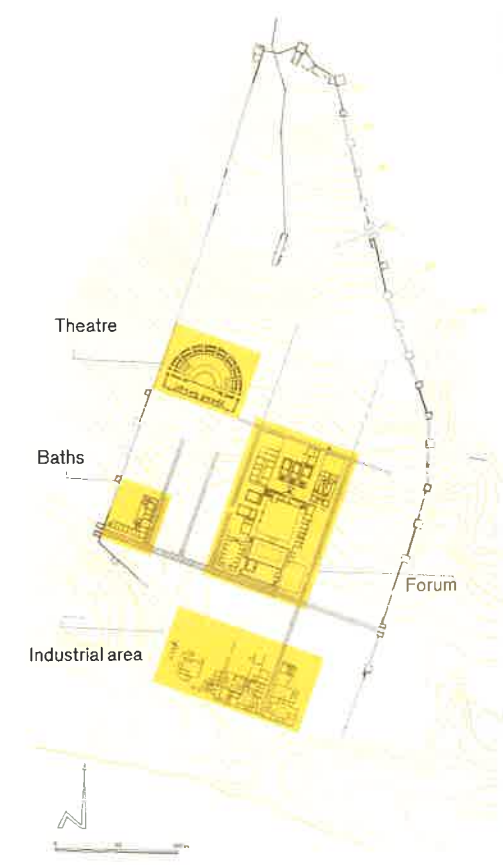


Plate 8 Plan of *Baelo Claudia* (present day Tarifa, Cádiz), indicating how public areas occupied a large part of the town

Plate 9 Aerial view of *Baelo Claudia*

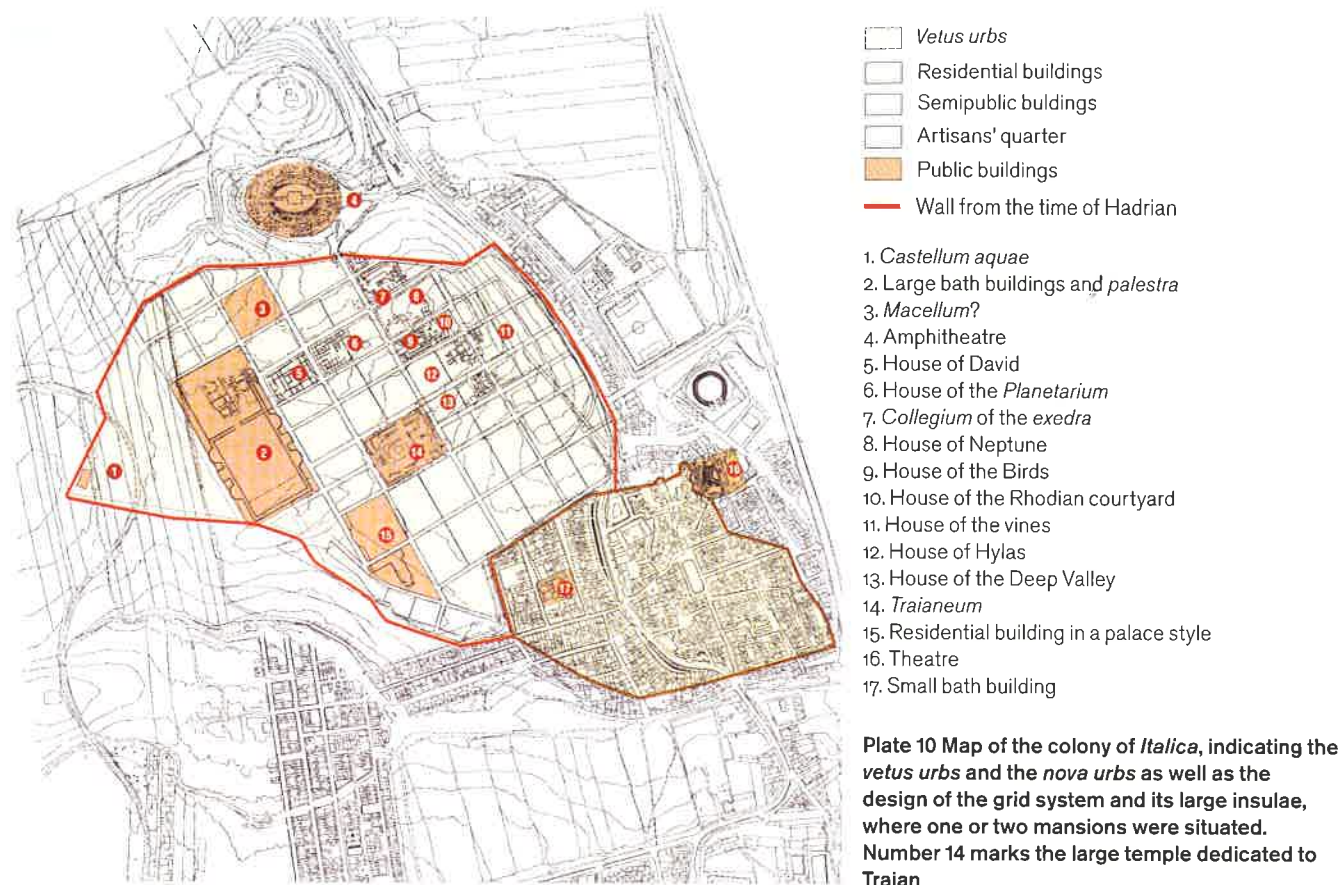


Plate 10 Map of the colony of Italica, indicating the *vetus urbs* and the *nova urbs* as well as the design of the grid system and its large *insulae*, where one or two mansions were situated. Number 14 marks the large temple dedicated to Trajan

The text of the *Historia Augusta* follows with details of the measures that Hadrian adopted with regard to the *limes* in general and the German *limes* in particular. He also suppressed the revolt of the Moors, which was recognized by the thanksgivings (*supplicationes*) of the Senate. The text continues with an account of Hadrian's war against the Parthians and of his journeys throughout the empire. There is no reliable ancient text that confirms the presence of Hadrian in Mauretania during this time. In fact the revolt could have easily been put down by his legates. The fact that Hadrian made do with the *supplicationes* instead of a triumph suggests that the whole operation was not very important and in my opinion the emperor might not have even been there.

It seems to me that when Hadrian got to *Tarraco*, he dealt with matters concerning other provinces, which was a common occurrence. From there he left for the East without travelling through Spain as has been previously suggested. Perhaps he was obliged to leave in order to solve the problems with the Parthians. Perhaps he did not like the tumultuous *conventus* at *Tarraco*, especially as a slave had tried to assassinate him.

No one has offered until now a plausible explanation for the complaints at this *conventus* of the Spanish provincials, divided by the text of the *Historia Augusta* into two groups: the '*Italici*' and 'the others'. In my opinion, the answer can be found in a fragment from the life of Marcus Aurelius where it is said that Spain had been exhausted by the '*Italica adlectio*' and that problems had started during Trajan's reign (*Hispanis exhaustis Italica adlectione contra Traiani quoque praecepta*).³¹ '*Italica adlectio*' can only refer to the *ius Latii* granted to those Spanish communities that had requested it.

The '*Italici*' then are the inhabitants of those cities that been transformed into *municipia* with Latin rights. The 'others' are those communities that had not obtained the *ius Latii*. The former would be integrated into those units that are defined as *cohortes Hispanorum* or *civium Romanorum*, the latter to those military units that had ethnic names such as *cohortes Vasconum*, *Gallaecorum*, and so forth. They were from areas in the north of the Iberian Peninsula where the *ius Latii* had not been requested to such an extent as in *Baetica*.

The *ius Latii* that the Spanish provincials, especially those from *Baetica*, accepted so willingly had proved to be a terrible trap. Following the conquest of Spain, Rome had not interfered in the internal organization of the defeated communities. The basic conditions of a *deditio* were not to enter into war without Rome's authorization, to lend soldiers to the auxiliary units of the Roman army and to pay the taxes requested by Rome. In private the provincials kept their social organization and their idiosyncrasies. Nevertheless, with the grant of the *ius Latii*, Rome had now entered their world by giving them a law that promoted social homogenization, that controlled them better and that obliged them to behave like Romans.

The same paragraph in the life of Marcus Aurelius says that difficulties were already showing in the reign of Trajan and that Marcus Aurelius tried to resolve them. The letter from Titus to the *Muniguenses* (Pl. 5) shows that the difficulties had started early. Spanish eagerness to monumentalize and Romanize towns had drained provincial resources. The relentless tribute payments were now burdensome for the community. To invest in building a city in the Roman style and to pay taxes at the same time was too much for the *Muniguenses* and no doubt also for many

other communities. This is why the '*Italici*', those who were Roman citizens like Hadrian, laughed under the emperor's nose at the *conventus* in *Tarraco*. The 'others' present on that occasion, those who did not have the right of citizenship, could only complain vehemently.

Vespasian's policy, which had allowed Spanish provincials almost to monopolize all the markets on the western frontiers of the Roman Empire, as well as part of the market of the imperial capital, at least with regards to olive oil, had enabled a select group to become rich. These people climbed to the highest levels of Roman society where they were influential in controlling the politics of the empire, even producing emperors of their own. *Baetica* reaped the advantages of this wealth. Many could live off the production and commercialization of the agricultural and fishing resources, but for those who could only live from the leftovers, the benefits of Romanization were burdensome.

Those who reached the highest levels of political and economical power in Rome rarely looked back towards their homeland. Examples of public benefactions by influential families who originated from Spain are scarce. In *Baetica* we only know the example of Fabia H[adrianil]la, who appears to have been the daughter, wife and mother of senators as well as the founder of the only known charity for children.³² The remaining evidence of philanthropy is by those who only reached positions of municipal or provincial power.³³

A short text by Cassius Dio says that Hadrian did not visit his native city, but did award it many gifts.³⁴ This fragment of text has made many people think that Hadrian did not feel any love for his homeland, especially those scholars who think that on his way to Mauretania Hadrian went to *Hispalis* but not to his home town, despite being so close by. In my opinion we should not read Cassius Dio in a negative way. His passage only corroborates the report that Hadrian did not visit *Italica*, which in my opinion supports the idea that Hadrian went straight from *Tarraco* to the East.

We do not have any direct evidence of Hadrian's feelings towards *Italica*.³⁵ Perhaps he had a romantic memory of his childhood and happy times hunting. Perhaps he felt unease remembering those provincials who did not teach him the correct form of Latin. It is possible that he felt both. The aforementioned Cassius Dio fragment, the archaeological evidence from *Italica* itself and the fact that Hadrian approved new five-yearly games in *Italica* demonstrates that the emperor did not forget his homeland. Before he became emperor, Hadrian would not only have considered himself a mere *civis Romanus* (as St Paul did), but *primus inter pares* among the senators of Rome and in the eyes of Trajan. Or at least this was the idea that he wanted to impose. He was *capax imperii*, even if in his heart he might have kept a fond memory of the land and people among whom he grew up.

Italica

A well-known text of Aulus Gellius makes reference to an intervention by Hadrian in the Senate where he discussed the request made by the *Italicenses*, in other words the inhabitants of *Italica*, to be elevated to the level of a Roman colony.³⁶ We do not know the terms of the request of the *Italicenses*, but we do know that the emperor explained with



Plate 11 Aerial view of Italica. In the centre of the photograph is the *nova urbs* built by Hadrian. The amphitheatre, which was one of the largest in the empire, is to the north. To the right, below the current town of Santiponce, are the ruins of the old pre-Hadrianic town

great erudition that this would be a regression for them. To remain a *municipium* would allow them to preserve some of their particularities and laws, but if they obtained the category of colony, then they would have to become an *altera Roma*. Unfortunately we cannot precisely date this request, whether it was when Hadrian succeeded to the imperial office or when he undertook his imperial visit to Spain. If it was after the *conventus* in *Tarraco*, it might have annoyed Hadrian. They laughed at him there and complained against the '*Italica adlectio*'; what did they know? It is probable though that the request was made after Hadrian accepted the office of (*duumvir*) *quinquennalis* in *Italica*.³⁷

It is likely that the people of *Italica* wanted to become something more than an honorary colony. In my opinion they expected Hadrian to become a proper *conditor coloniae*, anticipating him to build a city for them and distribute land accordingly. The excavations in *Italica* have shown that Hadrian did build a new city for them, with a magnificent amphitheatre and baths as well as an impressive temple dedicated to Trajan (Pls 10–11). The city also had an excellent sewage system and wide paved streets. Hadrian had instructed the technicians and soldiers of the *Legio VII Gemina* to build it, as the bricks and *tegulae* stamps of the legion show (Pl. 12).³⁸

It was not a city for 'all' the *Italicenses*. Big mansions were built in the *insulae* of the typical Roman grid system with a maximum of two per *insula*, resulting in only 70 houses in



Plate 12 Fragment of a *tegula* (tile) with a stamp of the *L(egio) VII G(emina) F(elix)*

total. It is unknown whether the emperor contributed to the building of these houses or whether they were funded by those who were allotted plots of land. If others received further types of benefits such as plots of land owned by the emperor, we do not know.

The social aspects related to the change of status of *Italica* into a colony have, as far as I know, not been studied or even considered. Who obtained a new *domus*? Who was chosen and on what basis? What were Hadrian's intentions in creating a new *urbis* for such a select group? Did he give benefits to other groups as well as the citizens of *Italica*? However, if the emperor was willing to grant *Italica* the title of colony, why did he make such a strong defence of the municipal system in front of the Senate? What were his intentions in praising the municipal regime on one hand and giving in somehow to the wishes of his fellow countrymen on the other?

The system that Vespasian had devised for Spain, and *Baetica* in particular, had borne fruit for Rome. With this system, Vespasian had established a region rich in metals, food resources and men who were willing to integrate into the empire. He had also managed to humanize the relationship between Rome and every local centre of the population, making it easier for Rome to control the region. The benefits of these measures had reached most of the population to a certain extent and especially the elite to which Hadrian himself belonged; but above all these measures had benefited the imperial system.

Augustus had created an empire with barely any administration. It is well known that Vespasian and Hadrian were two emperors whose interventions were decisive in the development and organization of the administrative system of the empire. The expansion of this administrative system meant better control of the empire on the one hand, but a rise in the cost of maintaining it on the other.

The Roman world was unable to create new systems of production which meant that greater expenditure was required to widen the base on which the economy was rooted, essentially agriculture. The province of Africa, rich in agricultural resources, would be the experimental field where Trajan and Hadrian would apply the municipal systems that had already been tested in *Baetica*. The experiment was a success again for both the empire and the province of Africa. It was so successful that the African elite

ended up displacing the Baetican elite and the new ruling dynasty was African. Septimius Severus was from Leptis Magna and his opponent, Clodius Albinus, was also an African, from *Hadrumentum*. The golden century of Rome, the century of Spain, was over.

Notes

- The research here is related to the project HAR2011-24593.
- HA Hadrian*, 1.3.
- Aulus Gellius 16.13.
- Canto 2003, 2004, 2006; Blázquez Martínez 2008.
- Birley 1997, 144; *CIL* XII 1122.
- Caballos Rufino 1990, 31–8, with a general bibliography.
- HA Hadrian*, 3.1.
- Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 26.
- Birley 1997, 46.
- Alföldy 1998.
- Pliny, *NH*, 3.30.
- Rodríguez Neila 1980.
- Rodríguez Neila 1992.
- Marín Díaz 1988; González Román 1990; Roldán Hervás and Wulff Alonso 2001; Amela Valverde 2002; Melchor Gil, Mellado Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neila 2005.
- Strabo 3.2.15. Keay 1988; Curchin 1991.
- Levick 1999.
- Suetonius, *Vesp.* 16.3.
- D'Ors 1986.
- D'Ors 1953; González Fernández 1990.
- Morales Rodríguez 2003.
- CIL* II 1423. D'Ors 1953, 61–3.
- Schattner 2003.
- González Fernández 1990, 169–70, no. 13; Martín González 1994.
- Ortiz de Urbina and Santos 1996.
- Remesal Rodríguez 1987; Remesal *et al.* 1997. Celti (Peñaflor) was the largest of the Flavian municipi in the area: Keay *et al.* 2000.
- Remesal Rodríguez 1986, 1997; Martín-Kilcher 1987, 1994a, 1994b; Funari 1996; Carreras Monfort and Funari 1989; Carreras Monfort 2000.
- Remesal Rodríguez 2002, 2008, 2011.
- Syme 1958; 1986; Rodríguez Neila and Navarro Santana 1999; Alföldy 2000; Navarro Caballero and Demougin 2005.
- Alföldy and Halfmann 1973a, 1973b.
- HA Hadrian* 12.3–5: [3] *post haec Hispanias petiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu suo aedem Augusti restituit. [4] omnibus Hispanis Tarraconem in conventum vocatis dilectumque ioculariter, ut verba ipsa ponit Marius Maximus, retractantibus Italicis, vehementissime ceteris prudenter et caute consuluit. [5] quo quidem tempore non sine gloria gravissimum periculum adiit apud Tarraconem spatians per viridiaria servo in se hospitibus cum gladio furiosus irruente. quem retentum ille ministris adcurrentibus tradidit et, ubi furiosum esse constitit, medicis curandum dedit in nullo omnino commotus.*
- HA Marc.* 11.7: *Hispanis exhaustis Italica adlectione contra Traiani quoque ... praecepta verecunde consuluit.* On Marcus Aurelius see Birley 2000.
- CIL* II 1174.
- Melchor Gil 1994.
- Dio 69.10.1.
- Boatwright 2003.
- Aulus Gellius 16.13.
- HA Hadrian* 19.1.
- García y Bellido 1979; Blázquez Martínez 1983; Caballos Rufino 1994; Caballos Rufino and León 1997.

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