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Οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι: the disappearance of indigenous languages in Republican Iberia

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Abstract

Strabo writes that the Turdetani had become so imbued with Roman ways as to forget their own language (3.2.15), a process he attributes to their receipt of Latin status and the arrival of Roman immigrants. This paper explores the mechanisms by which the use of the Latin language was adopted and the role of the Roman state in promoting its use. The paper focuses on three decrees issued by the Roman governors that date to the second and early first centuries BC: the decree of L. Aemilius Paulus dating to 190 or 189 BC and granting freedom to the inhabitants of *turris Lascutana*; the *deditio* of the community of the Seano[ ] to the *imperator* L. Caesius in 104 BC; and the adjudication by the governor C. Valerius Flaccus on 5 May 87 BC in a dispute between the Allavonenses and the Sosinestani. Rather than focusing on the symbolic value of these inscriptions, this paper suggests that they represent a far larger corpus of written communication between the Roman government and the provincial communities. The need of the provincial leadership to engage with the Roman legal system led to their co-optation into bringing about the Latinisation of the Peninsula and the disappearance of indigenous languages[1].

Key Words – Epigraphy; Latin language; *togati*; Romanization

Οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι: the disappearance of indigenous languages in Republican Iberia

By the early Imperial period the indigenous languages of the Peninsula had disappeared from public use. The reasons for this remain the matter of considerable debate: according to Strabo the disappearance of the Turdetanian language was due to the Turdetanians' adoption of a Roman lifestyle and their receipt of Latin status and Roman immigrants (3.2.15). Further factors may have fostered this process: the Turdetanians were the most civilized of the inhabitants of the Peninsula with as many as 200 cities (3.2.1) and sustained commercial ties with Rome (3.2.5; 3.2.15). The Roman conquest brought with it linguistic consequences: the replacement of a plethora of regional languages with a single common language of government – Latin – and the adaptation of pre-Roman epigraphic practices to serve the needs of this new language and government: developing epigraphy as a medium of public communication and for the dissemination of propaganda. It is not clear, however, if there was an official policy of Latinisation – in fact the last two centuries BC are the apogee of indigenous epigraphy in the Peninsula[2].

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[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Borja Díaz Ariño, Bruno Rochette, Phillip Myers and the anonymous reviewers for their comments and assistance.

[2] It is not clear if the Romans employed a deliberate strategy of encouraging use of Latin, DUBUISSON 1982. The desire to encourage the use of Latin language and practice may have lain behind Sertorius'

How extensive the use of Latin was is unclear, nor is it clear how much the extant epigraphic material provides an accurate picture of the process of Latinisation: not only does the extant epigraphic material represent only part of a more diverse range of written material, but it is not clear if the written record accurately reflects the oral language.

Although nowhere explicitly stated it seems probable that Roman officials employed Latin in their exchanges with the indigenous population (GARCÍA RIAZA 2005: 638)[3]. According to Cicero (*De Divinatione* 2.64.131) the Carthaginians and the Spaniards could only address the Senate through an interpreter: «*tanquam si Poeni aut Hispani in senato nostro loquerentur sine interprete*». Ennius' *Annales* (fr. 358W) records an exchange between an indigene and the Elder Cato in which the indigene rebukes the Consul reminding him that he speaks an indigenous language not Latin: *Hispane, non Romane memoretis loqui me.*

In contrast to the scarcity of inscriptions issued by Republican magistrates elsewhere in the west, several are known from the Spanish provinces that enable us to explore the use of Latin as a language of government and its diffusion amongst the indigenous population. These inscriptions, however, represent only a portion of a larger corpus of communications between governors and provincials that does not survive in the archaeological record. For example, according to Appian (*Iberika* 41) Cato wrote to the towns of the Ebro valley instructing them to demolish their fortifications[4]. No trace of the letters survive and were presumably written on perishable material.

The earliest example of an official decree was a bronze plaque discovered at Alcalá de las Gazules (Cádiz) in 1867-1868 (CIL II 5041; ILS 15; CIL I^2 614; IRPCádiz 520; ILLRP 514; HEp 15, 2006: 105; ELRH U1). The inscription records a decree issued by the praetor L. Aemilius Paulus on 19 January 190 or 189 BC granting freedom to the inhabitants of *turris Lascutana* from the jurisdiction of the town of Hasta Regia. The relationship between the two parties has been the matter of considerable debate: the inhabitants of *turris Lascutana* were initially thought to be the slaves of the Hastienses: «*utei qui Hastensium servei in turri Lascutana habitarent*». Mommsen suggested that they represented a non-free population similar to the helots in Laconia (MOMMSEN 1869: 265-266). According to Charles Saumagne they were rural public slaves (SAUMAGNE

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establishment of a school at Osca to educate the children of the Spanish elite (Plutarch, *Sertorius* 14.1). An oft-cited passage of Tacitus' *Agricola* (21) records that the governor encouraged the Britons to adopt the trappings of a Roman lifestyle and taught the sons of British chieftains – «*iam vero principium filios liberalibus artibus erudire*».

[3] Whether or not interpreters were used is difficult to determine as they feature only exceptionally in the literary sources (MAIRS 2011: 66). Although unattested in the Iberian Provinces, Caesar names several of his interpreters in Gaul: C. Valerius Troucillus conducted negotiations with the Aeduan chief, Diviciacus (*De Bello Gallico* 1.19) and is perhaps the same as the C. Valerius Procillus who – together with M. Mettius – attempted to negotiate with Ariovistus before being accused of spying (*De Bello Gallico* 1.47). In 54 BC Caesar's legate, Q. Titurius Sabinus dispatched his interpreter, Cn. Pompeius, to treat with Ambiorix in an effort to save his forces from being attacked by the Eburones (*De Bello Gallico* 5.36). Only in the case of Procillus do we learn something of his background: he was the son of C. Valerius Caburus – who received his citizenship from C. Valerius Flaccus who governed Transalpine Gaul in the 80s BC. Caesar refers to another of Caburus' sons – C. Valerius Donnotaurus – as the *princeps civitatis* of the Helvii (*De Bello Gallico* 7.65). Southern Gaul was quick to Romanize with the Elder Pliny describing it as more like Italy than a province – *Italia verius quam provincia* (*Naturalis Historia* 3.4.31). The province saw an influx of Italian settlers: by the second half of the first century BC five colonies had been established – at Arles, Béziers, Fréjus, Narbonne and Orange. As well as immigrants, Cicero singles out the presence of Roman merchants: *referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum* (*Pro Fonteio* 5).

[4] Cfr. also Livy 34.17.7-10; Frontinus 1.1.1; Plutarch *Cato Maior* 10.3.

1965: 65-66). Luis García Moreno suggests that they were part of a wider enslavement of the indigenous population by the Carthaginians to provide a labour force to exploit the agricultural resources of Andalucía (GARCÍA MORENO 1986: 216-217). Although the individual participants are not identified the decree reflects a willingness on the part of the Roman governor to intervene in the affairs of an indigenous community, and to do so in a way that prioritizes Roman interests. The inhabitants of *turris Lascutana* are not being manumitted but the territory of Hasta Regia is being reorganized in favour of Rome and her allies (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008: 193; HIDALGO DE LA VEGA 1989: 63-64). The undermining of the Hastienses may have contributed to their revolt three years later and defeat at the hands of the governor Caius Atinius (Livy 39.21.2-3).

An inscription from Villavieja de la Orden (Alcántara, Cáceres) records the surrender of the community of the *Seano[* to the previously unknown *imperator* L. Caesius in 104 BC (AE 1984: 495; HEp 1, 1989: 151; ELRH U2). After consulting his *consilium* Caesius restored their freedom and returned to them their land and buildings: «*Agros et aedificia leges cete[ra omnia / quae sua fuissent pridie quam se dedid[erunt quae tum / extarent eis redidit dum populus[senatusque / Roomanus* [sic] *vellet»*. The community of *Seano[* is otherwise unknown. The initial suggestion of the editors was that it refers to the inhabitants of the area extending between Villa del Rey and the rivers Sever and Tajo with the *oppidum* at Villavieja serving as a capital (LÓPEZ MELERO et al. 1984: 273-275). They are represented by two individuals with indigenous names: Cren[ ] and Arcus Cantoni f. Both are identified as *legates* presumably an error for the Latin *legati* (SALINAS DE FRÍAS 2013: 27). Cren[ ] is otherwise unattested: the name may be Celtic in origin, for example, the Arvernian toponym Crennum (LÓPEZ MELERO et al. 1984: 279). Crene is named on a tombstone of her freedwoman Valeria from Osuna (Sevilla) (CIL II$^{2/5}$ 1074; CILA II 657; HEp 11, 2001: 461; HERNÁNDEZ PÉREZ 2001: 61; FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ 2007: 95-97).

Despite his use of the Latin filiation, Arcus Cantoni is indigenous: *Arc-* occurs in several Lusitanian anthroponyms: Arc(i)us, Arc(c)o, Arcoles, Arconica, Arconius, Arcoturus (PÉREZ VILATELA 2000: 79; LÓPEZ MELERO et al. 1984: 280-282; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994: 284; VALLEJO RUIZ 2005: 178-180; ALBERTOS FIRMAT 1966: 32; PALOMAR LAPRESA 1957: 38-39). Cantoni is a Celtic anthroponym derived from the root *cant-* (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008: 196; LÓPEZ MELERO et al. 1984: 282-283; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994: 316; PALOMAR LAPRESA 1957: 59; VALLEJO RUIZ 2005: 258-259; ALBERTOS FIRMAT 1966: 76). Tureus the son of Can[t]onis is named on an epitaph from Coria (Cáceres) (HAE 2213; ILC 81 n. 67; HEp 8, 1998: 79). Despite their indigenous names their filiation is denoted with the Latin *filius.* Pisocia Cantoni filia dedicated an epitaph to Boutia the daughter of Tanginus and Vitalis the son of Fronto from Casillas de Coria (Cáceres) (CIL II 798; ILC 39 n. 25).

The *Tabula Contrebiensis* records an adjudication by the governor C. Valerius Flaccus on May 5, 87 BC in a dispute between the Allavonenses and the Sosinestani over the sale of land to the Salluienses for the construction of an aqueduct (CIL I^3 2951a; HEp 3, 415; AE 1979 377; AE 1983: 602; ELRH C9). The dispute centres upon two questions: the right of the Sosinestani to sell the land to the Salluienses, and whether the Salluienses can build the aqueduct on land other than that purchased from the Sosinestani. Although the dispute only affects indigenous communities the decree is striking for its use of Roman legal terminology and the distinction made between *ager publicus* and *ager privatus* when considering the land that can be used for the construction of the aqueduct (RICHARDSON 1986: 36-37; BIRKS et al. 1984: 60-61).

The compensation was to be fixed by five magistrates chosen from the senate of Contrebia Belaisca all of whom bear indigenous names employing the Celtiberian patronymic followed by the name of the father identified with the Latin *f(ilius)*: *Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f., Lesso Siriscum Lubbi f., Babbus Bolgondiscum Ablonis f., Segilus Annicum Lubbi f., [-]atu[---]ulovicum Uxenti f., Ablo Tindilicum Lubbi f.*. Only the spokesman of the Salluienses – *[-]assius [-]eihar f(ilius)* – employs a Latin *nomen* (LOWE 2014: 133).

Particularly problematic is the question of who was actually capable of reading these inscriptions. The choice of language was not necessarily determined by a practical necessity for the decree to be understood by the local population but by the agenda of the magistrate responsible reflecting the type of document and its legal function. In fact the precise legal connotations of each of the inscriptions – and in particular the complex legalese of the *Tabula Contrebia* – will have limited their accessibility even further to a small number of specialists (GARCÍA RIAZA 2005: 638-639)[5]. The use of Latin at such an early date offered a potent symbol of Roman power (BELTRÁN LLORIS 1997: 26).

Access to the Latin language will have varied according to geography and social status, thus Strabo's Turdetani have more readily adopted Latin than the more isolated communities of the NW, but even within the communities themselves individuals will have had differing relationships with Rome and its agents. The decree of L. Aemilius Paulus comes from a region that fell within the Roman orbit from an early date: as early as 206 BC shortly after the departure of the last Carthaginian forces the inhabitants of Cádiz signed a treaty with the Roman commander, L. Marcius Septimius, perhaps a *deditio* although no details of the treaty survive (Livy 28.37.10; Appian, *Iberica* 38; Zonaras 9.10.8). It was at Itálica (Santiponce) in 206 BC that Scipio Africanus settled his wounded veterans (Appian, *Iberica* 38). In 171 BC a *colonia latina libertinorum* was established at Carteia in response to an appeal by 4,000 men who were the offspring of Roman soldiers and indigenous women (Livy 43.3.1-4). Little trace survives of any of these towns with which to ascertain their character and demographic make-up.

The impact of settlers should not be overstated: many were not Romans but Italians and even included provincials: Emerita Augusta (Mérida) was settled by veterans of V Alaudae and X Gemina – the first of whom, at least, was recruited from Gauls (Dio 53.26.1). In 1996 a bronze inscription was uncovered during excavations at La Alcudia, Elche. The inscription records the division of land – the *sortitio* – to a group of Roman citizens during the foundation of the colony in 43-42 BC (HEp 9, 1999: 27; AE 1999: 960; ELRH C1). Of the ten individuals named two come from Italy: from Praeneste and Vibo Valentia; five come from elsewhere in the Peninsula: from Ulia (Montemayor), Malaca (Málaga), Córdoba, Aurelia Carissa (Espera-Bornos) and one from the Balearics. Their membership of tribes that are rare in the Peninsula at this time – *Horatia, Quirina, Veturia, Falerna* and *Maecia* – suggests that were members of families of immigrants. Three come from the town of Icosi the location of which is disputed but is probably to be included amongst the *contributi* from the hinterland of the colony (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008: 87-88; OLESTI I VILÀ and MAYER I OLIVÉ 2001: 113-115). Thus, whilst it is reasonable to doubt whether such settlers were symptoms of a deliberate policy of Romanisation, this does not preclude them indirectly encouraging the spread of *Romanitas* through the mingling of Roman and native populations (FEAR 1996: 83). Strabo is explicit that both Romans and natives were included in the settlement of Córdoba (3.2.1). The survival of a distinction between immigrants and indigenous inhabitants is reflected in two

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[5] On the illegibility of bronze legal inscriptions more generally, cfr. WILLIAMSON 1987: 162-165.

dedications early in the first century AD to L. Axius Naso that were erected by two districts of the town – the *vicus Forensis* and the *vicus Hispanus* – the neighborhood of the forum and the neighborhood occupied by the Spaniards (CIL II[2/7] 273; AE 1981: 495a; CIL II[2/7] 272; AE 1981: 495b)[6]. Similarly, there is little in the earliest levels of Itálica to indicate a substantial Roman element in the town with a lack of Roman architecture and the continued use of indigenous pottery until the Imperial period (MIERSE 1999: 6). Hadrian's reference to the unique laws and traditions of the town – *cum suis moribus legibusque uti possent* (Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 12.13.4) – may reflect the survival of its mixed heritage. Strabo describes the populations of Pax Iulia (Beja), Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) and Emerita as being composed of both Romans and natives (3.2.15)[7]. That indigenes were routinely included in colonial foundations may be indicated by an inscription from Augusta Praetoria (Aosta). Erected in 23 BC the inscription records a dedication to the emperor Augustus by the *Salassi incolae* – the indigenous Salassi resident in the colony (ILS 6753; InscIt 11.1.6). In subsequent dedications (c. 1 BC/AD and 6-1 BC) (CIL V 6834-6835) the Salassi are no longer distinct and have been subsumed into the wider population of the colony (HAEUSSLER 2013: 183-184). According to the *Digest* (50.16.239.2) an *incola* is a man who resides somewhere other than his place of birth – *incola est qui in aliquam regionem domicilium suum contulit*. The establishment of the *colonia* entailed the destruction of any preceding communities whose inhabitants would thus lose their *origo* and become *incolae* in the new colony (FEAR 1996: 94). That the *incolae* fell under the legal jurisdiction of the duoviri is clear from the Lex Ursonensis (103) empowering the magistrates to draft colonists, *incolae* and *contributi* to defend the town (CIL II 5439; CIL II[2/5] 1022; CILA II 611; ILS 6087).

Roman colonization could have a profound impact on the surrounding area with colonies exercising control over extensive territories: an inscription from Valdecaballeros (Badajoz) marks the limit of the territories of Emerita and Ucubi: *te/rminus c(olonorum) c(oloniae) C(laritatis) Iul(iae) Ucubitanor(um) / inter Aug(ustanos) Emer(itenses)* (CIL II 656; ILS 5972; CIL II[2/7] 871; CMBa 1590) – lying 120 km. to the east of Emerita and 270 km. northwest of Ucubi. A further *terminus* has been found at Valencia del Ventoso (Badajoz) (ERBC 153; HEp 2, 1990: 43; HEp 5, 1995: 115; AE 1993: 917b; IMBA 53) defining the extent of Emerita's territory 80 km. to the south. Such an extensive *territorium* was probably not continuous due to the presence of intervening settlements – perhaps the *praefecturae* described by Hyginus (*Constitutio* 40-44). Three *praefectura* are known from the territory of Emerita: Turgaliensis (Trujillo), Mullicensis and the name of the third is unknown. This definition of the territory of the *colonia* and the neighbouring *praefecturae*, together with the legal jurisdiction of the *colonia* will in turn have encouraged an awareness of Roman legal process and documentation (FEAR 1996: 76-78)[8].

The decree of L. Caesius, on the other hand, comes from a region lacking in Roman settlement. The decree comes from the *oppidum* of Villavieja de la Orden situated on an outcrop 290 m. above sea level overlooking the río Jartín, a tributary of the río Tajo. The site is enclosed by a monumental defensive wall reinforcing the natural defences (LÓPEZ

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[6] On the date of the inscriptions, KNAPP 1981: 136-137.

[7] Contra SAQUETE CHAMIZO 1997: 54-55.

[8] On the extent of the *territorium* of Emerita, Agennius Urbicus *De Controversiis Agrorum* 28-35; Hyginus *Constitutio* 36-45. What is meant by the *praefecturae* included within the territory is problematic, GURT ESPARRAGUERA et al. 1992-1993: 46-48, 51-58; CANTO 1989: 177-183; LE ROUX 1999: 274-276.

MELERO et al. 1984: 288-295). Although only limited excavations have taken place occupation dates to the third and second centuries BC (LÓPEZ MELERO et al. 1984: 315-316; ONGIL VALENTÍN 1988: 107). It was not until the later first century BC that the region saw an intensive Roman urbanisation with the establishment of Norba Caesarina (Cáceres), Turgalium (Trujillo) and Emerita. There was, however, an earlier military presence with the construction of a Roman encampment at Cáceres el Viejo by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius during the Sertorian War (ABÁSOLO ÁLVAREZ et al. 2008: 130). The region may also have enjoyed commercial contact: Roman coinage dating to the end of the third century BC has been found at Villasviejas del Tamuja and El Camocha (CALDERÓN FRAILE et al. 2000: 63), as well as Campanian B pottery at Villavieja de la Orden (ONGIL VALENTÍN 1988: 107). Although these need reflect no more than the survival of pre-existing trade routes.

Commercial contacts were particularly strong in the South and along the East Coast. Diodorus Siculus singles out the multitude of Italians who exploited the silver mines in the Sierra de Cartagena (5.36.3). According to Polybius the mines extended over 400 stadia in size and employed 40,000 workmen (Strabo 3.2.10). Several *collegia* of Italians are known from the vicinity of Cartago Nova and the surrounding hinterland. An inscription from Loma de los Herrerías (Mazarrón) records the construction of a pavement by two *magistri* Seleucus and Caelius: [- - - paviment]um fac(iendum) | heisce mag(istris) cur(averunt) Sele[ucus] | [- - -] Caeli[us] (HEp 1, 1989: 487; ELRH C52) – perhaps the *curales* or *curatores* of a *collegium argentarii* based in the vicinity (RAMALLO ASENSIO and RUIZ VALDERAS 1994: 114-115). The site is located near to the port of Mazarrón and the mines of San Cristóbal and Los Perules (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008: 141; 2004: 467). An inscription discovered at Cabo de Palos in 1736 records an unspecified dedication by nine *magistri* (CIL II 3433; ILLRP 777; HEp 4, 1994: 565). A further ten *magistri* are listed in an inscription from the Castillo de la Concepción recording the construction of *pilas III et | fundament(a) ex | caement(o)* (CIL II 3434; CIL I^2 2271; ILLRP 778; ILER 2073-2074; HEp 5, 1995: 587; ELRH C10).

Italian merchants also penetrated the interior via the Ebro valley which was linked to the coastal Via Heraclea by the governor Q. Fabius Labeo between 118-114 BC (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008: 93-94). An influx of Italian merchants may explain the presence of a possible *collegium* at La Cabañeta (El Burgo del Ebro) (BELTRÁN LLORIS 2011: 144; FERRERUELA GONZALVO et al. 2003: 226; FERRERUELA GONZALVO and MÍNGUEZ MORALES 2006: 332; DÍAZ ARIÑO 2004: 465-466). The site was founded in the second half of the second century BC with a bath complex and porticoed *palaestra*. At the entrance to a *horreum* was found a mosaic inscription recording a dedication by two of the *magistri*: L. (Sca? or Fu?)ndilius Licinus and P. Manlius (HEp 11, 621; AE 2001: 1237; ELRH C105). The presence of Italians is supported by the lack of indigenous pottery from the site (only 2.3%) together with the comparative frequency of Italian graffiti (22 examples or 44% of the graffiti from the site) (FERRERUELA GONZALVO and MÍNGUEZ MORALES 2003: 260).

Knowledge of Latin could also be gained through service in the Roman army. Block recruitment could occur, for example, 5,000 Belli and Titthi were recruited to fight Viriathus (Appian *Iberika* 63), however, the situation was exceptional following the defeat and death of the praetor, C. Vetilius at Tribola. Better attested is the recruitment of members of the indigenous elite to serve as cavalry: in 179 BC Tib. Sempronius Gracchus demanded 40 nobles from the Celtiberian town of Certima to serve as cavalry (Livy 40.47.10); Cauca provided cavalry to the army of L. Licinius Lucullus (Appian *Iberika* 52). More sustained contact with the Latin language and Roman epigraphic

culture will have come from service overseas. The Bronze of Ascoli (CIL I 709) – a bronze inscription discovered in Rome in 1908 – records a grant of citizen to a unit of Spanish cavalry, the *Turma Salluitana*, serving in the army of the consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo in 89 BC.

The original context of the three inscriptions is unclear: the *Tabula Contrebiensis* was discovered in clandestine excavations at Cabezo de las Minas, just outside the village of Botorrita. The original setting is unknown but was perhaps the large porticoed building (225 m^2 in size) that may also have housed the Celtiberian bronze inscriptions that have also been found here (BELTRÁN LLORIS 2005: 38-39). The building consists of five rooms arranged along a portico with four columns. Its function is unclear: when originally excavated it was thought to have served a political or religious function, more recently however it has been suggested that it was a monumental granary or market building (MEDRANO MARQUÉS et al. 1991: 282-285). The presence of four public inscriptions – the *Tabula Contrebiensis* in Latin, as well as three Celtiberian inscriptions (Botorrita 1, 3 and 4) – is particularly striking and are the only Celtiberian public inscriptions known to date. It is possible that further inscriptions existed at Villavieja de la Orden. Pascual Madoz in his *Diccionario histórico geográfico de Extremadura* of 1846 reported the finding of several inscriptions on the site (LÓPEZ MELERO et al. 1984: 288) although no trace of the inscriptions survives.

Rarely does the purpose of an inscription get included in the text, most notably in the case of the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* that was issued in 186 BC. The decree survives in the form of a letter from the consuls announcing the decision of the Senate to various towns in Italy. The extant copy was discovered in Tiriolo in Calabria in 1640. At the end of the letter the consuls give instructions for its dissemination advising that it should be engraved on a bronze tablet and be affixed so that the content could be 'known' «(*gnoscier*) - *atque utei / hoce in tabolam ahenam inceideretis, ita senatus aiquom censuir, / uteique eam figier ioubeatis, ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit*» (CIL 1^2 581; ILS 18; ILLRP 511)[9]. The erection of a bronze inscription immortalized the contents and rendered them inviolate (WILLIAMSON 1987: 165, 174-178): a statute of the first century AD records the penalties for removing or changing a bronze tablet containing a statute or land survey – «*qui tabulam aeream legis formamve agrorum aut quid aliud continentem refixerit vel quid inde immutaverit, lege Iulia peculatus tenetur*» (*Digest* 48.13.10).

The erection of a bronze inscription thus provided a permanent record that could be referred back to as required. The ability of the Segedans to negotiate with the Senatorial commissioners in 154 BC and to refer back to their treaty with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus twenty-five years earlier (Diodorus Siculus 31.39; Appian *Iberika* 44) indicates that they were not only conversant with the treaty and its content, but also that they had access to a copy of the text. Indeed the Numantines were able to produce a copy of the treaty they had signed with C. Hostilius Mancinus in 137 BC and present it as evidence (Appian *Iberika* 83). Each of these agreements allowed engagement not only

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[9] WILLIAMSON (1987: 172, n. 49) argues that the phrase «*ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit*» denotes merely that the tablet should be displayed, rather than specifically referring to either "knowing" or "getting knowledge of" the content. *Gnoscier* is the present passive infinitive of *gnosco, gnovi, gnotum*, the archaic form of *nosco, novi, notum*, meaning "to get a knowledge of" or "become acquainted with" or "come to know", cfr. Lactantius 5.19.15: «*res gestas de libris novisse*» "to have learned from books". The parodies of the Lex Cornelia Baebia in the prologue of the *Amphitruo* would have only been effective if the audience was aware of the substance of the decree. The frequency with which such parodies occurred indicates familiarity with style and language (MEYER 2010: 66).

with local Roman officials, but also the dispatch of envoys to the Senate in Rome – visits which will have further adumbrated the indigenous envoys of the advantages of using Latin. In 171 BC representatives of Spanish communities were able to appeal to the Senate for the prosecution of the governors M. Titinius, P. Furius Philus and M. Matienus (Livy 43.2.1-11). Titinius was acquitted but both Furius and Matienus went into exile. In 151 BC M. Claudius Marcellus dispatched representatives of the Arevaci, Belli and Titthi to argue their case before the Senate (Appian *Iberika* 49; Polybius 35.2-3). M. Popillius Laenas dispatched representatives of the Numantines to argue their case in the Senate against his predecessor, Q. Pompeius (Appian *Iberika* 79).

These inscriptions indicate not only a knowledge of the Latin language on the part of indigenes, but also an awareness of Roman legal process and terminology. There is nothing to suggest that any of the decrees were exceptional and indeed the Senate – with the governor as intermediary – may have exercised routine oversight over the activities of municipal authorities (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2011: 157). A similar reorganization to that of L. Aemilius Paulus may have taken place at Complega where Appian records that Tib. Sempronius Gracchus carried out a redistribution of land to the poor and imposed treaties on all the inhabitants (*Iberika* 43).

Choice of language could indicate not only acceptance but also rejection: in AD 25 Tacitus records that a Spaniard from Tiermes – *agresti nationis Termestinae* – accused of murdering the governor of Tarraconensis L. Calpurnius Piso responded to his accusers with a gesture of defiance using his native tongue – «*voce magna sermone patrio frusta se interrogari clamitavit*» (4.45). The dichotomy between the conspirator's use of his native tongue and the status of his home town is striking. Tiermes was granted the status of a *municipium* in the early first century AD and constructed a monumental forum and temple to the imperial cult early in the reign of Tiberius (MANGAS MANJARRÉS et al. 2004: 295). Despite the Roman status of the town indigenous elements survived with sections of the populace choosing to preserve their identity through their use of indigenous *nomina* and *gentilitates* for example *Stenionte Docilio(n)* and *Cougio Viscico(n)* (MLH IV K.11.1-2). A funerary inscription from the walls of Avila erected by a Domitius from Tiermes. He identifies himself by the Celtiberian patronymic Cutariq(um): *Domitio | Cutarioq(um) | Statuti fil(io) | Termestin(o) | ann(orum) LVII s(it)t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* (CIL II 5864; ERPSoria 157; ERAvila 12; HEp 4, 91; AEp 2009: 542)[10].

The fostering of relationships with the indigenous elite created divisions that could be exploited by the Romans. In 207 BC inhabitants of Castax loyal to Rome overcame those who remained loyal to Carthage and handed the town over to Scipio Africanus (Appian *Iberika* 32). The older men of Lutia supported Rome whilst the young men supported the Numantines (Appian *Iberika* 94) and in Belgeda divisions over attitudes to Rome were so strong that the populace who favoured revolt even set fire to the councillors and the council-house for their continued loyalty (Appian *Iberika* 100). In 133 BC the Numantines would murder their leader Avarus and five ambassadors for having negotiated with Scipio Aemilianus (Appian *Iberika* 95). The divisions seem to have been along the lines of age and status with the elite favouring a rapprochement thanks to their closer ties with Rome. Although it is not clear how envoys were selected to represent the indigenous communities their elite status seems clear: the representatives of *Seano[* are both identified as legates, and those of Contrebia Belaisca are magistrates: *Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f.* is described as *praetor* and the remaining five are listed as

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[10] In 1886 two silver handles were found bearing the Celtic *nomen* Carvicius (EE IX 431).

magistratus. Rome's strategy of rewarding loyalty and punishing betrayal is explicit in the edict of Augustus dating to 14-15 February 15 BC that was discovered at El Bierzo (León) in 1999. The edict grants perpetual immunity to the *Castellani Paemeiobrigenses ex gente Susarrorum* in gratitude for their loyalty when others had reneged. Their duties are to be taken up by the *Aiiobrigiaecini ex gente Gigurrorum* – presumably as a punishment for their disloyalty (HEp 7, 1997: 378; HEp 8, 1998: 325; HEp 11, 2001: 286; AE 1999: 915; AE 2000: 760; AE 2001: 01214).

Languages remain in use as long as it is beneficial for the language to be employed. Choice of language is not merely determined by expedience, however, but can symbolise the relationship of the speaker to the political forces behind the languages in question: thus one's adherence to or rejection of the influence of Rome. By creating an environment in which the Roman government communicated with the provincial communities through the medium of the Latin language they ensured the gradual marginalisation of the indigenous languages of the Iberian Peninsula.

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