

# THE ROMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NORTH-WEST SPAIN\*

By R. F. J. JONES

(Plates IV-VI)

## I. INTRODUCTION

The north-west corner of Spain was long neglected by Roman archaeologists, who have tended to concentrate on the more spectacular remains to be found in the south and east. However, recently more attention has been directed there by workers of several nationalities, who have now produced a quite extensive literature on the gold mines,<sup>1</sup> as well as on wider aspects, chiefly in connection with the activities of the legion VII Gemina.<sup>2</sup> Yet there has been little attempt in all this to examine why a substantial military force was maintained in the region for so long. This paper aims to review that problem to about the end of the second century A.D. The evidence available is almost entirely epigraphic, chiefly consisting of epitaphs and religious dedications. Building inscriptions are scarce. For convenience all the epigraphic material from the north-west of Spain that is relevant to the disposition of the army is collected in the appendix, and in the main text reference will be made to the numbers given there. In addition a few historical passages are of importance, but the archaeological site evidence is very slight. The nature of the evidence is such that most attention must be devoted to the units attested in the region and their deployment, with little to be said about their actual bases. Previous work on the subject has been dominated by the late Antonio García y Bellido in several masterly papers.<sup>3</sup> However it has tended to concentrate more on the history of the units themselves than on questions of topography and the reasons behind their presence.

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All epigraphic references are to *CIL* unless otherwise stated. The following abbreviations are used:

Alföldy 1965. G. Alföldy, *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 6 (1965), 105.

Blázquez 1962. J. M. Blázquez, 'Estado de la romanización de Hispania bajo César y Augusto,' *Emerita* 30 (1962), 71.

*CML* León. M. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de España: Provincia de León* (1925).

*CM* Zamora. M. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de España: Provincia de Zamora* (1927).

Cohen I<sup>2</sup>. H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*<sup>2</sup> (1930).

Diego Santos. F. Diego Santos, *Epigrafía Romana de Asturias* (1959).

Fita 1904. F. Fita, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 46 (1904), 80.

García y Bellido 1956. A. García y Bellido, 'Exploraciones arqueológicas en la provincia de Santander,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 29 (1956), 174.

García y Bellido 1959. Idem, 'Cohors I Gallica equitata civium Romanorum,' *Conimbriga* 1 (1959), 29.

García y Bellido 1960. Idem, 'L. Terentius, figlinarius de la Legio IV Macedonica,' *Homages à Léon Herrmann* (Brussels, 1960), 374.

García y Bellido 1961. Idem, 'El exercitus hispanicus desde Augusto a Vespasiano,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 34 (1961), 114.

García y Bellido 1966. Idem, 'Nuevos documentos militares de la Hispania romana,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 39 (1966), 24.

García y Bellido 1970. Idem, 'Estudios sobre la legio VII Gemina y su campamento en León,' *Legio VII Gemina*, 303.

García y Bellido 1971. Idem, 'Parerga de arqueología y epigrafía hispanorromanas (4),' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 44 (1971), 151.

*HAE*. *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica* 1-16 (1950-65).

*IRG*. *Inscripciones Romanas de Galicia* 1-4 (1949-68).

*Legio VII Gemina*. *Legio VII Gemina*. (Cátedra de San Isidoro, Instituto Leonés de Estudios Romano-Visigóticos. León, 1970).

de Palol 1969. P. de Palol, 'Una nueva inscripción de Clunia,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 42 (1969), 118.

Syme 1970. R. Syme, 'The conquest of north-west Spain,' *Legio VII Gemina*, 79.

<sup>1</sup> D. G. Bird, 'The Roman gold mines of north-west Spain,' *Bonner Jahrbücher* 172 (1972), 36; P. R. Lewis and G. D. B. Jones, 'Roman gold-mining in north-west Spain,' *JRS* 60 (1970), 169; R. F. J. Jones and D. G. Bird, 'Roman gold-mining in north-west Spain, II: workings on the Rio Duerna,' *JRS* 62 (1972), 59; F. de Almeida, 'Minas de Ouro na "Gallaecia" portuguesa,' *Legio VII Gemina*, 287; C. Domergue, 'Introduction à l'étude des mines d'or du nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité,' *Legio VII Gemina*, 253; idem, 'A propos de Plinie, *Naturalis Historia*, 33, 70-8, et pour illustrer sa description des mines d'or romaines d'Espagne,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45-7 (1972-4), 499.

<sup>2</sup> *Legio VII Gemina*, *passim*. See also G. Fabré, 'Le tissu urbain dans le nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique,' *Latomus* 29 (1970), 314; H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (Madridrer Forschungen 8, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Especially García y Bellido 1961. Other papers are cited below.

There can be no doubt now that the wars of conquest under Augustus were much more serious and extensive than the two campaigns with which he was personally associated, in 26 and 25 B.C.<sup>4</sup> In spite of what Augustan propaganda would have had us believe, there is evidence for some unspecified campaigning as early as 39 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> although there is nothing that need definitely have been in the north-west until 29, when M. Statilius Taurus was in action against the Cantabri, Vaccaei and Astures.<sup>6</sup> The next decade seems to have seen more or less continual fighting, including the intervention of Augustus. The record suggests that when he took personal command in 26 the Roman forces suffered gravely at the hands of the resisting tribes and their guerrilla tactics, and we may suspect that it was convenient that illness kept Augustus in Tarraco in 25, leaving the campaigns to his generals, chiefly Antistius.<sup>7</sup> After this Augustus proclaimed Spain thoroughly conquered, declared that peace reigned throughout the Roman world, and therefore closed the Temple of Janus at Rome.<sup>8</sup> Unaware of this, the Cantabri and Astures continued to resist their conquerors, with revolts specifically recorded in 24, 22 and 19, when Agrippa was sent to try to settle the problem finally.<sup>9</sup> He seems to have overcome not only the native tribes, but also some elements in his own army which were restless, presumably from having fought for so long.<sup>10</sup> Only one more disturbance is recorded thereafter, in 16 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

It had taken all of thirteen difficult years to win full control of the region. It was thus to be expected that subsequently a powerful force would be necessary to maintain that control, and indeed that even such a force could not hope to be successful at all times. Yet no history of persistent uprisings is recorded. Only two more disturbances are known, one under Nero and one under Commodus. The latter is merely based upon one sentence of Herodian which links Spain with the revolt of Maternus in Gaul in 187.<sup>12</sup> The other comes from an inscription from Ariminum in A.D. 66, giving the career of M. Vettius Valens.<sup>13</sup> A few years earlier, probably in the late fifties, he had been decorated with *torques*, *phalerae* et *armillae* while serving as *primus pilus* of VI Victrix in Spain, 'ob res prosper(e) gest(as) contra Astures.' The decorations awarded do not suggest that the fighting in which Vettius Valens distinguished himself was of too great seriousness.<sup>14</sup>

Thus there is little actual evidence for a turbulent history in the region, save for the presence of the army itself. Admittedly this is an argument *e silentio*, but the view tends to be confirmed by other material which suggests an area rapidly adapting to Roman customs. It was described in very unflattering terms by Strabo, who thought the inhabitants wild barbarians, lacking all the refinements of Mediterranean culture. Their 'rough and savage manners' were attributed not only to their warlike natures, but to their isolation too.<sup>15</sup> The latter complaint at least was soon rectified by the building of a road network which the itineraries and milestones, as well as the tracing of roads on the ground, suggest was very intensive.<sup>16</sup> Between the *conventus* capitals Bracara Augusta and Asturica Augusta no less

<sup>4</sup> General discussions of the conquest can be found in the following works: D. Magie, 'Augustus' war in Spain,' *Classical Philology* 15 (1920), 323; R. Syme, 'The Spanish war of Augustus,' *Am. Journ. Phil.* 55 (1934), 293; Syme 1970; A. Schulten, *Los Cantabros y Astures y su Guerra con Roma* (1942). For further references, see Syme 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Under Cn. Domitius Calvinus: Dio xlviii, 41, 7-42. His triumph in 36 B.C.: *Ins. Italiae* XIII, 1, p. 569.

<sup>6</sup> Dio li, 20, 5.

<sup>7</sup> The main sources are Orosius v, 21, 1-11; Florus ii, 33, 46-60; Dio liiii, 25, 5-26, 1. For a full collection of sources for the Astures, see J. M. Roldán Hervás, 'Fuentes antiguas sobre los Astures,' *Zephyrus* 21-2 (1970-1), 171-238.

<sup>8</sup> Dio liiii, 26, 5; Orosius vi, 21, 11.

<sup>9</sup> 24 B.C.: Dio lii, 29, 1-2. 22 B.C.: idem liv, 5, 1-3. 19 B.C.: idem liv, 11, 2-6.

<sup>10</sup> Dio liv, 11, 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> Dio liv, 20, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Herodian i, 10, 2. Cf. E. A. Thompson, 'Revolts in late Roman Gaul and Spain,' *Past and Present* 2 (1952), reprinted in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in*

*Ancient Society* (1974), 304; G. Alföldy, 'Bellum desertorum,' *Bonner Jahrbücher* 171 (1971), 367.

<sup>13</sup> *ILS* 2648 (= XI 395).

<sup>14</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Brian Dobson for this point.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo iii, 3, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Antonine Itinerary: 387,4-395,4; 422,2-425,5; 427,4-431,3; 439,5-443,2; 448,2-452,5; 453,4-456,6. Itinerario de Barro: Diego Santos, 246 f. (The authenticity of all the routes in this document, except the second from Lugo to Iria and Docioum, has now been rejected by J. M. Roldán Hervás, 'Las tablas de barro de Astorga, una falsificación moderna?', *Zephyrus* 23-4 (1972-3), 221-32. Milestones: II 4773, 4774, 4778, 4803, 6215, 6224, 6344; *EE* VIII 236 (= II 4838); *IRG* 1, 2 (= II 6234), II, 5; *CML* León, 87 f. Modern treatments: M. Estefanía Alvarez, 'Vías romanas de Galicia,' *Zephyrus* 11 (1960), 5, including further references to milestones; J. Rodríguez, 'Las vías militares romanas en la actual provincia de León,' *Legio VII Gemina*, 401; E. Loewinsohn, 'Una calzada y dos campamentos romanos del conventus Asturum,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 38 (1965), 26; J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Iter ab Emerita Asturicam: El Camino del Plata* (1971).

than four important routes are given.<sup>17</sup> The third pivot of the system was the *conventus* capital at Lucus Augusti. The earliest evidence for the dates of construction of these roads at present comes from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>18</sup> The towns linked by this network have revealed signs of early Romanization. The three *conventus* capitals were all linked by name with Augustus, suggesting an early foundation. Evidence of military origins comes in Florus' explicit statement that Augustus gave his camp to the Astures for their capital, presumably Asturica.<sup>19</sup> It clearly prospered quickly, for Pliny was able to describe it as 'urbs magnifica', no doubt from his own observations while he was procurator in Tarraconensis in about 70.<sup>20</sup> These towns have been little excavated within their walls, but Asturica has produced a sewer and a house with wall paintings in the first Pompeian style.<sup>21</sup> The main standing monuments of Asturica, Lucus Augusti and the legionary fortress at León are their walls, which probably date to the third century (Fig. 2; pls. V-VI).<sup>22</sup> Such undertakings show a high level of prosperity attained by then.

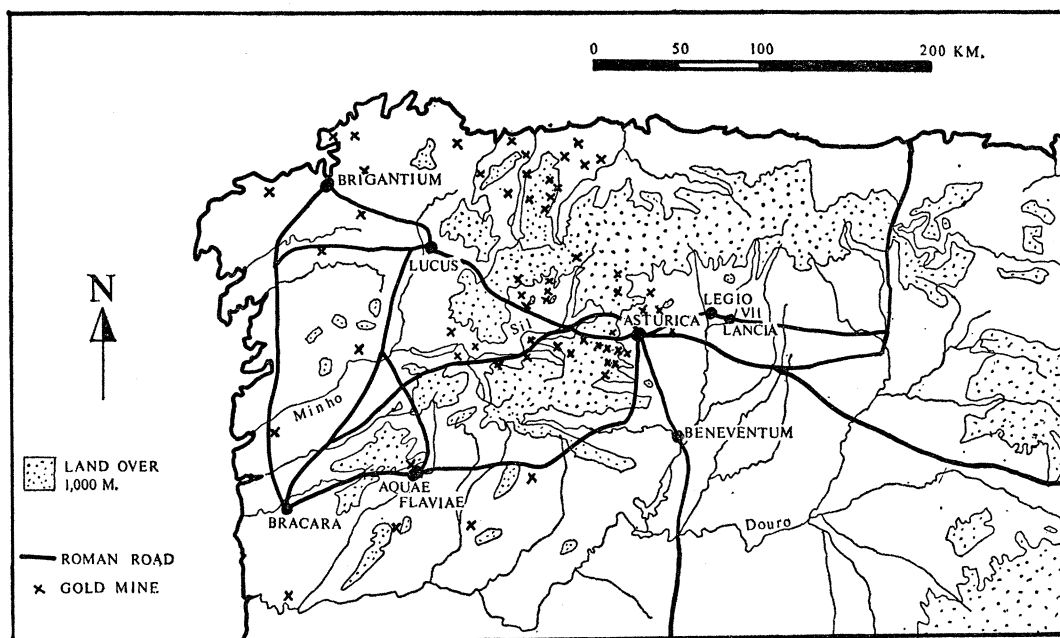


FIG. 1. GOLD MINES IN NORTH-WEST SPAIN

After D. G. Bird and F. de Almeida. Drawn by the author. Copyright reserved

At present little is known about the various settlements recorded on the itineraries, but this chiefly reflects lack of field work. Many of the place-names found in the itineraries have been located, although often at the sites of modern settlements which hinder much investigation. Nevertheless, these identifications seem to be generally reliable, since the modern routes are forced to follow very closely their ancient equivalents simply by the physical

<sup>17</sup> (i) Via Aquae Flaviae: *It. Ant.* 422,2-423,5; (ii) north-east from Bracara and through the Sil valley: *It. Ant.* 427,4-429,4; (iii) north from Bracara, to Lucus Augusti, and through the Sil valley: *It. Ant.* 429,5-431,3; (iv) north from Bracara, partly by sea, to Brigantium, thence to Lucus Augusti, the Sil valley and Asturica: *It. Ant.* 423,6-425,5 (cf. Fig. 1).

<sup>18</sup> Milestones from the route via Aquae Flaviae: *II* 4773-4, 4778, 6215.

<sup>19</sup> Florus ii, 33, 60.

<sup>20</sup> Pliny *NH* iii, 28. For Pliny in Tarraconensis, see R. Syme, 'Pliny the Procurator,' *HSCP* 73 (1969), 201.

<sup>21</sup> J. M. Luengo, 'Astorga romana,' *Noticario*

*Arqueológico Hispanico* 5 (1956-61), 152. For recent comments on the towns of north-west Spain, see A. Balil, *Casa y Urbanismo en la España Antigua II* (*Studia Archaeologica* 18; Seminario de Arqueología, Universidad, 1972), 61-2, and 'Sobre la investigación de las ciudades antiguas en la península ibérica. Aspectos generales y algunos "modelos"', *Atti V, Ce.S.D.I.R.* (1973-4), 81.

<sup>22</sup> I. A. Richmond, 'Five town walls in Hispania Citerior,' *JRS* 21 (1931), 98-9, (on the basis of re-used inscriptions in the walls); F. Arias Vilas, *Las murallas romanas de Lugo* (*Studia Archaeologica* 14; Seminario de Arqueología, Universidad, 1972).

structure of the region. Throughout, mountain masses and river crossings exercise a close control over anyone seeking to transport anything in bulk, whether people or goods. This was discovered in northern Spain by Roman generals, Peninsular War generals, and road or railway engineers of every period.<sup>23</sup> After the wars of conquest the small hill-top site at Coaña, near the north coast of Asturias, continued in occupation and indeed may have expanded.<sup>24</sup> Such a pattern seems likely at other less remote places, although as yet there is little evidence. It may now be accepted that a recognizable level of Mediterranean-style civilization was attained quite widely by the Flavian period.<sup>25</sup>

The fundamental cause of whatever prosperity there was in the north-west was the gold mines. They were the chief economic activity and certainly what Asturia and Callaecia became famous for in the Roman world.<sup>26</sup> Evidence of mining on a large scale has now been found throughout the region, though the most important areas seem to have been the south-eastern side of the Montes de León and the valley of the Rio Sil. Full accounts of the mines are now being published.<sup>27</sup> It appears that mining activity began very soon after the conquest, especially if Syme's arguments are accepted that the figures which Pliny gives for gold production date from the Augustan period.<sup>28</sup> Heavy production must have continued at least until the end of the second century, when a mining official, Aurelius Firmus, *Aug. lib. met.*, is recorded in 191 at Villalís (94).

In this area, which appears to have been prospering and developing economically, the military history falls conveniently into two parts, divided by the civil wars of 69-70. The first is made up of the movements and gradual reduction of the army of conquest, the second of the activities of the single legion, VII Gemina, and various auxiliary units.

## 2. THE CONQUEST AND LEGIONARY MOVEMENTS TO 69<sup>29</sup>

The army of conquest consisted of seven legions: I Augusta, V Alaudae, IX Hispana, II Augusta, IV Macedonica, X Gemina and VI Victrix. Of these, four seem to have been withdrawn relatively quickly, without leaving much trace.

*I Augusta.* A *legio I* was mentioned on a coin issue from Colonia Iulia Gemella Acci and an unspecified *legio Augusta* was punished in Spain by Agrippa in 19 B.C., at least by the loss of its title.<sup>30</sup> It seems likely that the two references were made to the same legion, I Augusta, which will have been removed from the peninsula in 19.

*V Alaudae.* V Alaudae was in Spain with Julius Caesar at the battle of Munda and later was recorded on Augustan coin issues from Emerita Augusta.<sup>31</sup> A veteran of both V Alaudae and X Gemina is commemorated at Hispalis in Baetica,<sup>32</sup> and an important inscription from Italy gives the career of a centurion, Sabidius, who served in V Alaudae as well as in X Gemina and VI Victrix, all in Spain.<sup>33</sup> V Alaudae had been withdrawn to Germany by A.D. 14, but it may well have left Spain as early as 18 or 19 B.C., perhaps at the same time as I Augusta.<sup>34</sup>

*IX Hispana.* The only links with Spain known for IX Hispana are its cognomen and the fact that tombstones from other provinces record soldiers of the legion who originally came from Spain. Stones from Aquileia suggest that the legion was there early.<sup>35</sup> It had certainly

<sup>23</sup> For Peninsular War campaigns, see C. Hibbert, *Corunna* (1961) and M. Glover, *Wellington's Peninsular Victories* (1963).

<sup>24</sup> A. García y Bellido, 'El castro de Coaña,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 15 (1942), 216.

<sup>25</sup> See Blázquez 1962.

<sup>26</sup> Josephus *Bj* ii, 16, 4; Florus ii, 33, 60; Diodorus v, 35-8.

<sup>27</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Pliny gives 20,000 pounds of gold a year from Asturia, Callaecia and Lusitania (*NH* xxxiii, 78). Syme has argued that these figures do not belong to Pliny's own procuratorship in Tarraconensis, but to the Augustan period, when Asturia and Callaecia formed a part of Lusitania (*HSCP* 73 (1969), 218).

<sup>29</sup> References to inscriptions from north-west Spain which give military information are made to the catalogue in the appendix below. Numbers in brackets refer to this list.

<sup>30</sup> Cohen I<sup>2</sup>, 152, 632-4; Dio liv, 11, 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Bellum Hispaniense*, 30, 7; A. Vives, *La Moneda Hispánica* (1926), iv, 63, 23 ff.; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946), 221.

<sup>32</sup> II 176.

<sup>33</sup> IX 4122 (= *ILS* 2644).

<sup>34</sup> cf. R. Syme, 'Some notes on the legions under Augustus,' *JRS* 23 (1933), 15, with the references given there.

<sup>35</sup> V 906, 911, 947.

reached Pannonia by A.D. 14.<sup>36</sup> The actual date of its departure from Spain is unknown, but the lack of evidence for its presence suggests that it was very early.<sup>37</sup>

*II Augusta.* II Augusta appeared early on the coinage of Acci, alongside what was probably I Augusta.<sup>38</sup> Its presence in the peninsula is attested by several inscriptions,<sup>39</sup> though only one links it with the north-west. A dedication found at Aquae Flaviae was set up by L. Aelius Flaccus, a *signifer* (5). It must have left Spain quite early for Germany, perhaps in A.D. 10 in the aftermath of the Varian disaster.<sup>40</sup>

None of these four legions has left any significant guide to where their bases might have been, if indeed they ever established anything recognizable as permanent fortresses. There is a lack of topographical precision in all discussions of the campaigns of conquest, arising from the conflicting and confusing accounts left us by Orosius, Florus and Dio.<sup>41</sup> Little new can be added to Syme's most recent treatment, where the various modern interpretations are considered.<sup>42</sup> Although we may suspect flaws even in Syme's theories on the basis of the present evidence, any further argument would still be conducted in the murky confusion of the historical accounts until new light can be brought by reliable archaeological evidence about the actual locations of campaign bases.<sup>43</sup> Still it is clear that within at most thirty-five years, and probably much sooner, the conquest army had been reduced from seven to three legions. This force was to remain stable for another thirty years. These legions also left rather fuller information.

*IV Macedonica.* IV Macedonica is perhaps the best documented of all the legions apart from VII Gemina, as the position of its base is at least approximately fixed. There is general evidence for its presence in Spain in the Tiberian coinage of Caesaraugusta and in inscriptions from other provinces.<sup>44</sup> The most useful material, however, comes from a series of stones defining the boundaries between its *prata legionis* and the lands of the neighbouring *civitates*, Segisama and Juliobriga (95-108).<sup>45</sup> Moreover at Herrera del Pisuerga several sherds of pottery have been found bearing the stamps of L. Terentius and *legio IV Macedonica*, presumably the products of a legionary workshop (35). The actual site of the fortress has not been precisely identified, although it has been suggested that it was at Aguilar de Campóo, north of Herrera in the valley of the Pisuerga. Yet recent excavations at Aguilar have only produced pottery in native styles, whilst at Herrera much Arretine and Julio-Claudian material has been found, in addition to the stamped sherds already noted.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 23; i, 30.

<sup>37</sup> Syme suggested 13 B.C. (*JRS* 23 (1933), 23); H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* 2 (1958), 268 preferred A.D. 6. García y Bellido proposed that it received its cognomen immediately after the Cantabrian wars and was then moved to Pannonia (1961, 125).

<sup>38</sup> Cohen I<sup>3</sup>, 152, 632-4.

<sup>39</sup> At Olisipo, near Lisbon (II 266), and at Burguillos, Baetica (II 985). A veteran recorded at Strasbourg came originally from Norba (modern Cáceres) (XIII 5975).

<sup>40</sup> *Ann.* i, 37.

<sup>41</sup> See works cited above, n. 4 and n. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Syme 1970.

<sup>43</sup> Syme concludes that the 'tria agmina' in which Augustus' armies set out from Segisama in 26 B.C., according to both Orosius (vi, 21, 3) and Florus (ii, 33, 48), could not have been intended to move against all the north-west, including Asturia and Callaecia, but must have been confined to Cantabria. This rests partly on the assumption that it was far too rash a strategy for Augustus, and partly on the identification of 'Bergida' in Florus, where a battle took place (ii, 33, 49), not as Bergidum Flavianum in the Sil valley, but as the 'Vellica' in Cantabria noted by Ptolemy (ii, 6, 50). This place is given as 'Attica' in Orosius (vi, 21, 5) and as 'Belgica' in another manuscript of Florus. Although by Syme's own admission (1970, 90) the *Codex Bambergensis*, which gives 'Bergida', is generally the most reliable manuscript, it is the reading 'Belgica' that he amends to read 'Vellica',

which he fixes in Cantabria. Schulten, op. cit. (n. 4), followed by A. Brancati, *Augusto e la Guerra di Spagna* (1963) and by W. Schmitthenner, *Historia* 11 (1962), 54-70, accepted 'Bergida' as Bergidum Flavianum and went on to posit a massive triple advance from Bracara, Asturica and Segisama. With hindsight, such a plan certainly seems too ambitious to work, as Syme rightly points out, but it is clear that Augustus' campaign of 26 was not at all a success (Dio liii, 25, 6-7).

Incidentally, the strategic importance of the site of Bergidum at the crossing of the Rio Cua was recognized in Moore's retreat to Coruña in 1808, when one of the few stands took place at Cacabelos, immediately below the site of Bergidum, a position well described in Orosius' phrase 'sub moenibus Bergidae' (ii, 33, 49). Cf. C. Oman, *A History of the Peninsular War* i (1902), 567-9; C. Hibbert, op. cit. (n. 23), 119 ff.

<sup>44</sup> C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Romans in Spain* (1939), Pl. IV, 9; III 399, XIII 5975, 6853, 6854, 6865, VI 3518, IX 3649, *AE* 1909, 58.

<sup>45</sup> García y Bellido 1956, 184 f. For a map of the stones' distribution see García y Bellido 1961, fig. 1, 118. For the base at Aguilar and illustrations of stamps of L. Terentius, *ibid.* 119-22.

<sup>46</sup> A. García y Bellido, A. Fernández de Avilés and M. A. García Guinea, *Excavaciones y Exploraciones Arqueológicas en Cantabria* (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología 4: Madrid, 1970), 3-24, 36-43, including more stamps of L. Terentius.

Thus the fortress of IV Macedonica should perhaps be sought at Herrera rather than Aguilar, although there could have been bases in both places. García y Bellido proposed further that the legionary base suggested by Orosius and Florus at Segisama (perhaps the modern Sasamón) was occupied by IV Macedonica before moving forward to Aguilar.<sup>47</sup> Once more only through extensive work in the field can these various possibilities be examined and the position clarified. Outside the region of the Pisuerga, the presence of at least a vexillation of the legion seems to be denoted by some stamped tiles found at a bath-house near Gijón on the north coast (34). The legion left Spain for the Rhine, replacing XIV Gemina at Mogontiacum, when that was taken to Britain in A.D. 43.<sup>48</sup>

*X Gemina*. Wherever IV Macedonica's fortress precisely was, it must be identified as that described by Strabo as set against the Cantabri.<sup>49</sup> The two other Spanish legions are given as both being disposed against the Astures and Callaeci under a single legate, perhaps suggesting a joint base. This idea may be reinforced by the career of the centurion Sabidius, who is expressly stated to have served simultaneously in VI Victrix and X Gemina: 'ita ut in [leg.] X primum pilum duceret eodem[que te]mpore princeps esset leg. VI'.<sup>50</sup> X Gemina is well attested in the area of Astorga (10, 12, 13, 14) and to the south (32, 70, 71), the most obvious strategic position to control both the Astures and the Callaeci, but there is little to associate VI Victrix with the region. Nevertheless, a double camp for both legions at some time must remain likely. Sabidius' service in V Alaudae in Spain suggests that the arrangement had an early origin, as might be expected from parallels elsewhere.<sup>51</sup>

X Gemina's stay in Spain is generally well documented. Early coins from the *coloniae* at Emerita and Caesaraugusta show it to have been there at the conquest.<sup>52</sup> The inscriptions mentioning it fall into the two broad geographical groups: at Caldas de Reyes near the west

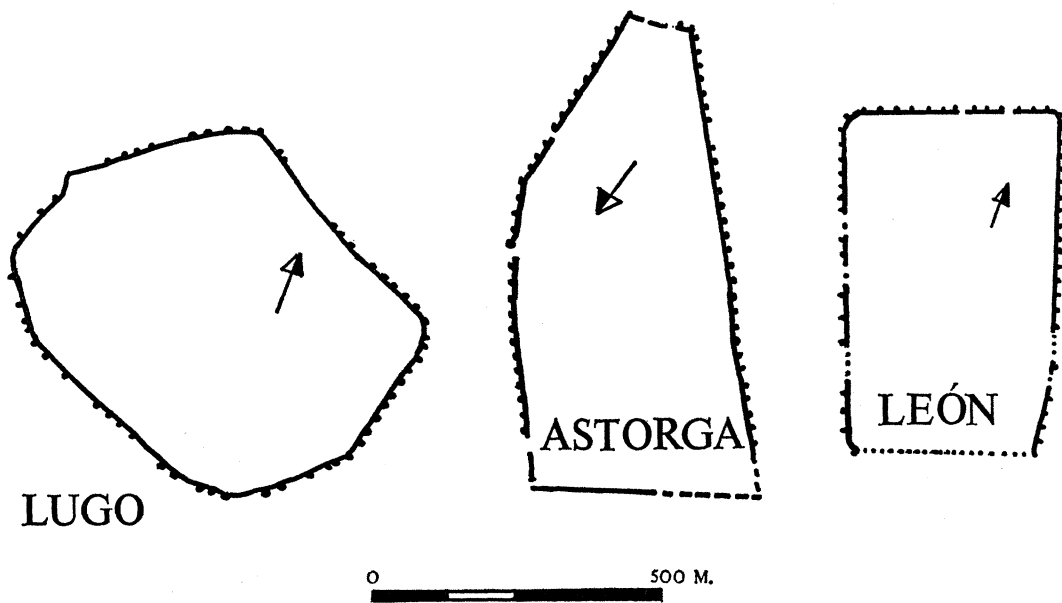


FIG. 2. PLANS OF WALLS  
After A. García y Bellido. Drawn by the author. Copyright reserved

coast (24, 25) and at Astorga (10, 12, 13, 14) and to the south at Fuente Encallada (32) and Rosinos de Vidriales (70, 71). This gives in all seven serving soldiers and a veteran. Elsewhere in the north there are single inscriptions from San Román de Cervantes (74) and from Clunia (29). Although this material is quite sparse, it is much superior to that for most of the

<sup>47</sup> 1961, 119. Roldán Hervás suggests a base even further north than Aguilar, at or near Castrillo del Haya, *Zephyrus* 23-4 (1972-3), 229.

<sup>48</sup> XIII 6853-4, 6856, 6858, 6865, 6869.

<sup>49</sup> Strabo iii, 3, 8.

<sup>50</sup> *ILS* 2644 (= IX 4122).

<sup>51</sup> Fortresses suitable for two legions in Germany before A.D. 9: Vetera I (Camp A/C), Neuss (Camp B), Mainz, Dangstetten. See H. Schönberger, 'The Roman frontier in Germany: an archaeological survey,' *JRS* 59 (1969), 145.

<sup>52</sup> Cohen I<sup>2</sup>, 150, 604-5.

Spanish units and permits the proposition of separate bases, one near Caldas de Reyes, one at Astorga, and one possibly to the south. Although Astorga seems the best candidate for the double camp with VI Victrix, neither there nor anywhere else is any site known large enough to house two legions. No site is known at Caldas de Reyes and that at Rosinos de Vidriales is far too small;<sup>53</sup> the surviving walls of Astorga enclose more than 20 hectares, enough for only a single legion. The shape of the circuit is irregular, though that need raise no obstacle to an Augustan-Tiberian base, and is probably dictated by the shape of the small plateau on which the town stands. The surviving walls apparently date to the third century,<sup>54</sup> but they could have preserved the lines of earlier defences (Fig. 2; pl. V). Finally we have Florus' record that Augustus gave his camp to the Astures for their capital, which can only apply to Astorga.<sup>55</sup> It certainly appears that Astorga had extended links with the army, which we can only partially understand at the moment. Perhaps the following sequence of occupation might be suggested very tentatively. In the first place there was at Astorga an Augustan base for one legion, the defences of which were maintained when the site was turned into a civil town. X Gemina was then transferred from a base near Caldas de Reyes to share a fortress with VI Victrix, which may perhaps also have come from Galicia at this time. This double fortress was established either near Astorga itself or to the south, at an unknown site. The double arrangement may have ended when IV Macedonica was removed from Cantabria about A.D. 43, with the possible movement of VI Victrix eastwards into Cantabria, where a *miles* is recorded at Calahorra (22). X Gemina itself was withdrawn to Carnuntum in Pannonia, replacing XV Apollinaris when that left for Corbulo's campaigns in the east in 63, although it was to return to Spain soon during the civil wars.<sup>56</sup>

*VI Victrix.* VI Victrix was the last survivor of the conquest legions in Spain.<sup>57</sup> It had appeared with IV Macedonica and X Gemina on the coinage of Caesaraugusta under Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius.<sup>58</sup> However, the only serving soldiers recorded in Spain are the *miles* at Calahorra (22), and another at Vila Nova de Familçao to the south of Braga (87). More information comes from two stones from Italy. One from Bracciano was set up by 'centuriones leg. VI ex Hispania' in 5 B.C.<sup>59</sup> The other is that from Ariminum in 66 giving the career of M. Vettius Valens, who had become that *colonia's* patron, but who had previously been *primus pilus* of VI Victrix in Spain.<sup>60</sup> There he had been decorated for successful operations against the Astures, probably in the late fifties, shortly before the legionary garrison was to be reduced again by the departure of X Gemina. There is no firm evidence about the bases of VI Victrix apart from what has been given above in association with X Gemina. However it seems unlikely that the strategic triangle of Astorga-Lancia-Benevente, which controlled routes both north-south and east-west, would have been abandoned when VI Victrix was the only legion in the province. It appears to have been consistently held throughout the occupation until that time, and was to be again when VII Gemina was installed at León. Its importance would presumably have been re-emphasized by the recent troubles with the Astures. García y Bellido did make the tentative suggestion that, as Astorga had by the sixties become a flourishing town, the last base of VI Victrix in Spain may have already been at León itself.<sup>61</sup> Indeed it could almost be taken further to wonder whether León might even have accommodated X Gemina before that. Unfortunately there is very little archaeological information about the earliest periods at León.

*The events of 68-9.* VI Victrix was instrumental in the beginning of the upheavals of the civil wars. In 68 it proclaimed Galba, the governor of Tarraconensis, as Emperor.<sup>62</sup> He promptly raised some auxiliary units and a new legion, VII, then titled Galbiana but later renamed Gemina, and marched with them to Rome.<sup>63</sup> VI Victrix did not remain alone for long. Galba returned X Gemina to Spain from Carnuntum, after an absence of no more

<sup>53</sup> 5 hectares, see below p. 57, and Fig. 4.

<sup>54</sup> I. A. Richmond, *op. cit.* (n. 22).

<sup>55</sup> Florus ii, 33, 60.

<sup>56</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 25, 5; III 1435<sup>813a</sup>, 1435<sup>818a</sup>, 1435<sup>823</sup>, 1435<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Josephus, *Bj* ii, 16, 4.

<sup>58</sup> A. Vives, *La Moneda Hispánica* (1926) iv, 71 f.; Hill, *Notes on the Ancient Coinage of Hispania Citerior*

(1931), 90 and 95; Gil Farrés, *Ampurias* 8 (1951), 65; Beltrán, *Numisma* 6 (1956), 9; A. García y Bellido, *Anuario de Historia Derecho de España* 29 (1959), 484.

<sup>59</sup> XI 3312.

<sup>60</sup> XI 395 (= *ILS* 2648).

<sup>61</sup> 1961, 125.

<sup>62</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* v, 16.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.* ii, 86; iii, 6, 10, 21.

than seven years, sending the new legion VII to the Danube in its place.<sup>64</sup> However, even two legions were not enough in Spain for Vitellius, who added I Adiutrix after the first battle of Bedriacum, where it had fought for Otho.<sup>65</sup> X Gemina was sent to southern Spain in case Otho's supporters should cross from Mauretania.<sup>66</sup> These moves seem to have been ill-considered by Vitellius, since once in Spain I Adiutrix declared for Vespasian and carried with it both VI Victrix and X Gemina.<sup>67</sup> In contrast to the apparent concern for Spanish security shown by Galba and Vitellius, the new Emperor, Vespasian, seems to have been quite content with the loyalty and peacefulness of the Spanish provinces, for he withdrew all three legions to help deal with the threats in Germany, where they next appear in the army of Cerialis.<sup>68</sup> None of them returned to Spain.

A surprising pattern may be seen in these movements. First the garrison in Spain was steadily reduced over many years. Then suddenly it received massive reinforcements, at times of crisis when presumably troops were in great demand; but shortly afterwards the whole army was removed, leaving Spain with no legions. After this it was not re-garrisoned for some years, for the earliest that VII Gemina could have arrived was 74, and it may not have come until 78 or 79. The posting of I Adiutrix to Spain by Vitellius could be seen as an attempt to keep a potentially subversive legion out of more sensitive areas, but such an idea cannot explain why Galba returned X Gemina there. It may have been because he now had an extra legion, his new legion VII, which had to be stationed somewhere after Galba had actually taken power, and so he chose to strengthen his own former province. No general anti-Roman unrest seems likely at this time, as it was possible so soon afterwards to remove all the legions. A positive reason should be sought to make Spain apparently so important at such a critical time. Although X Gemina was posted to the south to safeguard the strategic route from the African provinces, there is no reason to doubt that the other two legions remained in the military zone, the north. With little threat of a local uprising known, the only justification for the concentration in the north would seem to have been the need to ensure control of the gold mines. This massive source of wealth appears to have commanded a high priority with the various contenders of 69. Vespasian was forced to leave them without legionary guard when his greatest threat came from the north of the Empire, in Germany.

### 3. VII GEMINA AND THE AUXILIARY UNITS

*Legio VII Gemina.* The eventual arrival of VII Gemina in Spain cannot be precisely dated. During the civil wars it seems to have spent much of its time marching back and forth between Rome and Pannonia, finally fighting for Vespasian at the second battle of Bedriacum, before returning again to Pannonia.<sup>69</sup> It next appears in Germany in the period 72-4 in the campaigns of Clemens, probably gaining then the title of Felix.<sup>70</sup> At some time after that it moved to Spain, although the first definite record of it there is not until 79 (4). It was to maintain its permanent base there throughout the rest of the Roman period. As far as is known, its fortress was at León from the start. The delay in posting a legion to Spain suggests that, when it did finally happen, it was a deliberate act, not merely following an established traditional pattern. Vespasian undertook a thorough review of his legionary forces and raised two new legions, having disbanded four disloyal ones.<sup>71</sup> This surely shows that he had a clear picture of what strength he required. In the early seventies circumstances may have changed so that there were established rather more legions than were strictly necessary, in which case it could well have been convenient to station one in Spain again. It avoided disturbing the Imperial administrative system by having to make Tarraconensis a civil province. Furthermore, a legion there was well-placed to supply reinforcements when needed to the northern frontier or to Mauretania and Africa.

However, it would have been easy to decide that Hispania Tarraconensis could have been left without a legion, and we may look for a more positive role than that implied in a policy of profound caution and conservatism. What did VII Gemina actually do with its

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* ii, 11.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* ii, 67.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.* ii, 58.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* iii, 44.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.* iv, 68.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.* iii, 22; iv, 39.

<sup>70</sup> *ILS* 2729.

<sup>71</sup> Dio iv, 24, 3.



time in Spain? It certainly provided troops to act as an occasional urban police force and to work on the governor's staff in Tarraco.<sup>72</sup> Yet other provinces managed without a legion for such purposes. Vespasian accompanied the posting of the legion with the grant of *ius Latinum* to Spain.<sup>73</sup> As this was preceded by 'procellae' of unspecified form,<sup>74</sup> it may have been felt that a legion was required to keep any agitation in check, in case magnanimity failed. However, no more is heard of these disturbances and they may have been entirely civil in character; nor are any other troubles recorded. Such threats alone can hardly have justified the continued presence of VII Gemina in Spain even through all the strains on the Empire's military resources imposed by the northern wars of the second century. Again the answer may lie in the area's mineral wealth.

The concentration of material at León leaves no doubt that it was the legion's main base (37, 38, 39, 53, 55), and a special emphasis can be given to the large numbers of stamped

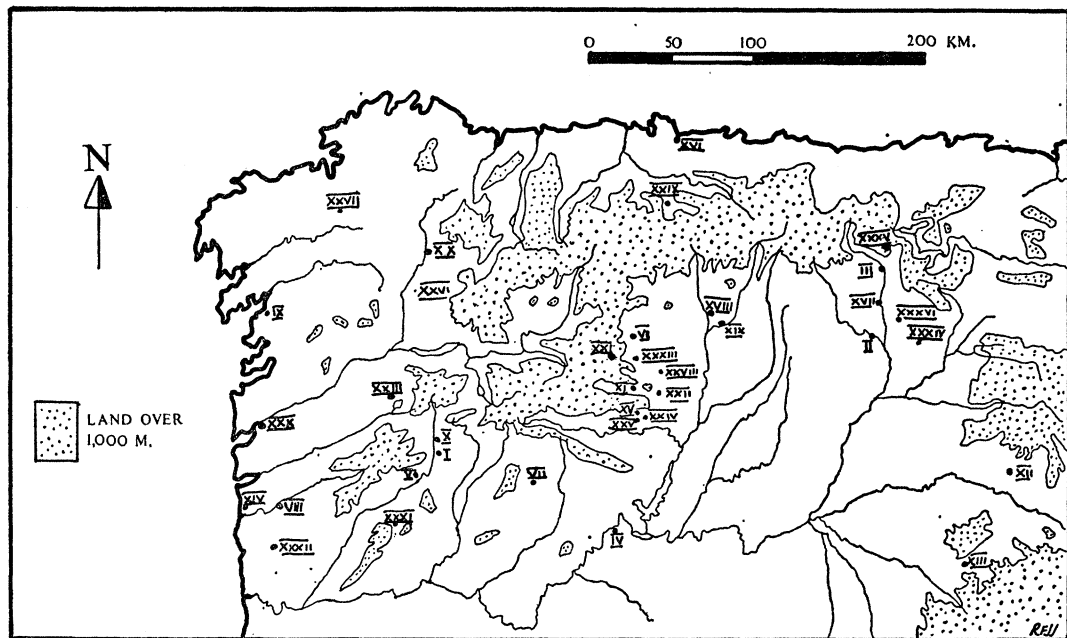


FIG. 3. NORTH-WEST SPAIN: THE DISTRIBUTION OF MILITARY EVIDENCE

KEY: I. Abedes (1); II. Abia de las Torres (2); III. Aguilar de Campóo; IV. Aldea Nova (3); V. *Aquae Flaviae* (4,5); VI. *Asturica* (6-18); VII. Babe (19); VIII. *Bracara* (20,21); IX. Caldas de Reyes (24-6); X. Castrelo del Valle (27); XI. Castroalbón (28); XII. Clunia (29); XIII. Duratón (30); XIV. Fardães (31); XV. Fuente Encallada (32-3); XVI. Gijón (34); XVII. Herrera del Pisuerga (35-6); XVIII. León (37-57); XIX. Near León (58); XX. *Lucus* (59-64); XXI. Luyego (65-7); XXII. Quintana del Marco (68); XXIII. Rairiz de Veiga (69); XXIV. Rosinos de Vidriales (70-2); XXV. San Pedro de la Viña (73); XXVI. San Román de Cervantes (74); XXVII. Sobrado; XXVIII. Soto de la Vega (75-82); XXIX. Ujo (83); XXX. Valença do Minho (84); XXXI. Vila Pouca d'Aguilar (85-6); XXXII. Vila Nova de Familiçao (87); XXXIII. Villalís (88-94); XXIV. Segisama; XXXV. Hormiguera (95); Henestrosas (96, 103); Cuenca (97-8); San Vitores (99); Las Quintanas (104); Las Quintanillas (105); Reinosilla (106); Castrillo del Haya (107); El Haya (108); XXXVI. Villasideiro (100).

tiles found there, giving the legion's various titles (40-52). It has also left evidence at many other sites in the north-west: Abedes (1), Braga (20), Caldas de Reyes (26), outside León (58), Lugo (59), Luyego (65, 66), Quintana del Marco (68), Ujo (83), Vila Pouca d'Aguilar (85) and Villalís (88, 89, 90, 93). Veterans are recorded at Astorga (8, 9, 11) and Lugo (63, 64). This wide distribution seems likely to reflect not so much purely military duties,

<sup>72</sup> II 4083, 4111, 4122, 4142-4, 4147, 4149-50, 4152-7, 4161-2, 4165, 4167-8, 4170-1, 6088.

<sup>73</sup> See now A. B. Bosworth, 'Vespasian and the

provinces: some problems of the early 70s A.D.', *Athenaeum* 51 (1973), 49, esp. 51-5.

<sup>74</sup> Pliny, *NH* iii, 30.

involving widespread garrisoning, as more general policing and administrative tasks. Detachments were also sent outside the province from time to time. Vexillations are recorded in the early second century in Britain, in Lambaesis at about the same time, and about 170 troops were sent to Italica in Baetica to guard against Moorish attack.<sup>75</sup>

*Auxilia.* By the time of the arrival of VII Gemina in Spain the auxiliary troops had begun to take on a much more important role, but our knowledge of their actual strength in Spain is far slighter than that of the legions. Suetonius noted that Galba had two *alae* and three cohorts in the province in 68, in addition to his legion, VI Victrix, and that he raised more auxiliary troops at the same time as the new seventh legion.<sup>76</sup> García y Bellido suggested that five or six units were involved here.<sup>77</sup> Other such general references are rare. A group of inscriptions from Noricum describing the career of T. Varius Clemens record that he was 'praefectus auxiliorum in Mauretanium Tingitanam ex Hispania missorum'.<sup>78</sup> A recently published inscription from Italy describes Sextus Flavius Quietus, perhaps from Britain, as 'missus cum exerc. in exp. Maur. ab Imp. Antonino Aug.'.<sup>79</sup> Both these must refer to armies sent against the rising in Mauretania between 145 and 150, but tell us no more about Spain than that there were auxiliaries stationed there at the time. Another stone, from Pisaurum, gives a 'praefectus cohortium civium Romanorum quattuor in Hispania', but its date is uncertain.<sup>80</sup> García y Bellido suggested the third century, but anyway it only gives a minimum figure for the Spanish provinces as a whole.<sup>81</sup> Rather beyond our main period, the *Notitia Dignitatum* records five cohorts: II Flavia Pacatiana, II Gallica, III Lucensium and Celtibera, all in Hispania Callaecia, with I Gallica in Tarraconensis.<sup>82</sup> As no discharge diplomas have yet been found in Spain, this material is all we have for the general composition of the auxiliary garrison, apart from the evidence of individual units on gravestones and dedications.

*Cohors IV Gallorum.* Although altogether eight *alae* and seven cohorts are attested, it is much more difficult to fit them into a chronological framework than it was for the legions. The earliest evidence is for *cohors IV Gallorum*. It has left a series of boundary stones, all dated to the time of Claudius. One from Castrocalbón, south-west of La Bañeza, marked the boundary between the cohort's territory and that of the *civitas* of Bedunia (28). The other eight stones were all found at Soto de la Vega, north of La Bañeza. Four of them give the boundary with Bedunia (75, 76, 80, 82), another two with the Luggones (77, 79), and the remaining two are only fragments (78, 81). Such a grouping of boundary markers can hardly represent their original location and strongly suggests their collection and abandonment before the unit's departure elsewhere, perhaps even before they were properly set up, as proposed by García y Bellido.<sup>83</sup> If so, the unit would have to have left by 54. The cohort's later history is confused, chiefly because there may have been three or even four different units all with the same title, but it does seem likely that the former Spanish unit was serving in Mauretania from some date later in the first century.<sup>84</sup> García y Bellido may have been correct in suggesting that it first moved elsewhere in Spain, but there is no evidence to confirm or deny this. However, their early fort must have been near the find-spots of the marker-stones, perhaps on the Rio Orbigo at La Bañeza or at Soto de la Vega itself.<sup>85</sup> This firm evidence for a defined territory for an auxiliary unit in the Claudian period has important implications for the understanding of the administration of the region.

<sup>75</sup> Britain: *ILS* 2726. Lambaesis: VIII 10474, 112; R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*<sup>2</sup> (1913), 112; A. García y Bellido, 'La legio VII Gemina Pia Felix y las orígenes de la ciudad de León,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 127 (1950), 463. Italica: II 1125-6. For various studies on aspects of the legion, see *Legio VII Gemina*, especially García y Bellido 1970, A. García y Bellido, 'Nacimiento de la legión VII Gemina,' G. Alföldy, 'Die senatorischen Kommandeure der Legio VII Gemina,' and H.-G. Pflaum, 'Les officiers équestres de la légion VII Gemina.'

<sup>76</sup> Suetonius, *Galba* 10.

<sup>77</sup> 1961, 134.

<sup>78</sup> III 5211-6. For T. Varius Clemens, see

G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (1974), 124 f., 274, 277; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain* I (1960), 368 f., no. 156.

<sup>79</sup> H. Comfort, *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960), 274.

<sup>80</sup> XI 6344.

<sup>81</sup> 1961, 147.

<sup>82</sup> *Not. Dig. Occ.* (ed. O. Seeck, 1876), 42, 27; 42, 28; 42, 29; 42, 30; 42, 32.

<sup>83</sup> 1961, 155.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.* 157; G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (1914), 174, n. 1. On a diploma of 88 from Mauretania Tingitana: *AE* 1953, 74.

<sup>85</sup> García y Bellido 1961, 158.

*Ala II Gallorum*. The only other auxiliary unit securely known to have been in Spain before the civil wars is *ala II Gallorum*. The link comes from a stone from Italy giving the career of Q. Atatinus Modestus, who, having served as *tribunus militum* of X Gemina in Spain for sixteen years, was made *praefectus* of *ala II Gallorum* 'in eadem provincia'.<sup>86</sup> His transfer must have come before the legion's withdrawal in the early sixties, or perhaps at that time. García y Bellido did suggest that the *ala* was actually attached to X Gemina, but not enough is known about the relationships between *auxilia* and legions for any degree of certainty, although the idea is attractive.<sup>87</sup> *Ala II Gallorum* is otherwise not known in Spain.

*Other Units*. Unfortunately most of the auxiliary units are undated. The following are briefly attested: *ala I Gigurrorum* at Castrelo del Valle (27); *ala Sabiniana* at Aldea Nova (3); *ala I Singularium* in Lusitania<sup>88</sup>; *ala Sulpicia* at Astorga (16); *ala Taurorum Victrix* at Calahorra (28); *ala II Thracum* in Asturias (110) and in Lusitania<sup>89</sup>; *cohors IV Thracum* at Astorga (17), with former *praefecti* at Tarraco and Malaga.<sup>90</sup> *Cohors III Lucensium* is recorded at Lugo and in the *Notitia* (60, 61), whilst *cohors II Gallica* is only mentioned in the *Notitia*.<sup>91</sup> It can safely be assumed that these two were in Spain late, but we have no indication of when they arrived or when they were raised. The *decurio* of *ala I Gigurrorum* has a patently native name and, as the Gigurri are known as a local tribe, it has been suggested that the *ala* was raised in the area and may only have served in Spain for a short time soon after the conquest.<sup>92</sup> Since many of these undated units are only recorded on single inscriptions, it is difficult to know whether these locations always represent where the unit was permanently stationed. The geographical range is wide, but it is hardly possible to construct any theory about a garrisoning system from this evidence alone.

*The Villalis and Luyego inscriptions*. By the second half of the second century there are many more securely attested and dated units. They appear chiefly on the important series of nine inscriptions from the Astorga region, from Luyego and from Villalis. All are dedications made to celebrate the *dies natalis* of a unit. Three units are so honoured: VII Gemina on 10 June, *cohors I Gallica* on 22 April, and *cohors I Celtiberorum* on 13 October. They also record other units and officials in the area at the time. Moreover only two of these stones cannot be dated to a specific year. Seven come from Villalis. One of 163 mentions a vexillation and *signifer* of legion VII and a *decurio* of *cohors I Celtiberorum* (88); one of 165 gives *cohors I Gallica* and a centurion, with the same *signifer* of legion VII (89); one of 167, *I Celtiberorum* and a *tesserarius*, the same centurion of I Gallica as in 165, and an *imaginiifer* of legion VII (90); one dated simply to the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, gives *cohors I Gallica* and *decurio* of *I Celtiberorum* (91); one of 175 gives *cohors I Gallica*, but with a new centurion (92); one of 184, a vexillation of legion VII and a *decurio* of *ala II Flavia* (93); one of 191, *cohors I Gallica*, with a different *decurio* of *ala II Flavia* (94). Both Luyego stones celebrate the *dies natalis* of VII Gemina. One was set up by a vexillation of it under a centurion and a *decurio*, in the reign of Antoninus Pius (65); the other was erected in 181 by M. Aurelius Eutyches, *Aug. lib. proc.*, a centurion of *cohors I Gallica*, and one Avitus Paternus of unknown rank (66). A gravestone of a *miles* of *cohors I Gallica* has also been found at Luyego (67).

The provenance of the Villalis stones has in the past been the source of some confusion. The five published by Hübner in *CIL* were first recorded by Muratori in the eighteenth century as coming from 'Castro S. Christophori in Gallaecia', and this was followed by Hübner. These stones were later lost, but four were rediscovered with two new ones of the series at Villalis by Gómez-Moreno, who published them with corrected readings in 1909 and 1926. Photographs of the surviving stones have recently been published, and the six Villalis stones are now in the Museo de San Isidoro at León, the two from Luyego in Astorga Museum. Despite these corrections, even in 1967 their provenance could be given as 'S. Critobal'.<sup>93</sup> The association with Villalis is confirmed by the fragment of another stone

<sup>86</sup> IX 3610.

<sup>87</sup> García y Bellido 1961, 134.

<sup>88</sup> At Idanha-a-Velha (NE. of Castrelo Branco): 'Les inscriptions latines inédites du Musée Leite de Vasconcelos,' *O Archeologo Portugues*, N.S. 3 (1960), 25, no. 5; F. de Almeida, *Egitânia* (1956), 155, no. 2.

<sup>89</sup> At Cáparra (N of Cáceres): II 812.

<sup>90</sup> II 4138, 4212, 1970.

<sup>91</sup> Somewhere in Galicia: *Not. Dig. Occ.* 42, 28.

<sup>92</sup> García y Bellido 1961, 142.

<sup>93</sup> R. Saxer, *Epigraphische Studien* 1 (1967), 63.

of the series now built into the wall of a house in the village (Pl. IV).<sup>94</sup> This is most probably the remains of the missing stone published as *CIL* II 2555 (91), but it may be a new one. Only the line giving the dedication to the Emperors now survives from the inscription. The provenance given in *CIL* for all these stones has now been widely rejected in favour of Villalís. No suitable site for 'Castro S. Christophori' has ever been identified, whereas the location at Villalís fits very well in an area of proven military and mining activity, especially with the parallels from nearby Luyego.

No full study of the whole series and its implications has yet been made, nor is this the place for that. They are important not only for naming several units operating closely together in the later second century, but also for the officials of the Imperial service who appear with them, often explicitly in command of them. An impressive assembly of Augustan freedmen and *beneficiarii* can be found, in addition to Aurelius Firmus, *Aug. lib. met.* (94). Although he only appears on the latest of the series, his title is probably the clue to what the other various non-military officials were doing here. It is paralleled elsewhere in the north-west by that of M. Ulpus Eutyches, *proc. metall. Alboc.*<sup>95</sup> Their task was specifically the administration of the mines; yet here Aurelius Firmus was recorded with troops under his authority. Of the units themselves, *cohors I Gallica* appears most frequently both at Villalís and Luyego. Legion VII is also represented at both places, but *cohors I Celtiberorum* only at Villalís. *Ala II Flavia* is well attested not only at Villalís but at Rosinos de Vidriales and San Pedro de la Viña to the south also. *Cohors I Gallica* and *ala II Flavia* have both recently received full treatments on the various evidence for their activities.<sup>96</sup>

*Cohors I Gallica. Cohors I Gallica equitata civium Romanorum* is clearly well attested in the Duerna valley at Villalís and Luyego, but good evidence for its presence in southern Callaecia is also to be found in the dedications by a *miles* at Vila Pouca d'Aguilar, 20 km north of Vila Real in northern Portugal, and by a *signifer* at Rairíz de Veiga, some 60 km to the north in Spain, south of Orense (86, 69). Unfortunately these inscriptions are undated and it is unclear when the cohort was here, although it is more probable that it was before its move to the Duerna. A *praefectus* of the cohort is also known from Herrera del Pisuerga in Cantabria (36).

*Ala II Flavia.* The unit's full title, *ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium Romanorum*, seems to suggest that it was founded after 70, and perhaps after the grant of *ius Latii* to Spain. Apart from Villalís (93, 94), Rosinos de Vidriales (72) and San Pedro de la Viña (73), it is known in the large centres at Astorga (15) and León (54), as well as from an unspecified site in Galicia (109). There is some more equivocal epigraphic evidence from Spain which may refer to it, and it is recorded in north Africa.<sup>97</sup> It was probably one of the units sent there in the 150s, but it must have returned to Spain by 184 at the latest. It probably corresponds to the 'cohors II Flavia Pacatiana' of the *Notitia*.<sup>98</sup>

*Cohors I Celtiberorum.* Apart from the Villalís evidence, this cohort is known in Spain only by the tombstone of a *praefectus* at Tarraco and by the *Notitia* reference to 'tribunus cohortis Celtiberae'.<sup>99</sup> The unit's name is included in diplomas of the earlier second century from Britain and from Mauretania, suggesting that it arrived in Spain in the middle of the century, unless again there was a duplication of title.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> A. García y Bellido, 'Parerga de arqueología y epigrafía hispanorromanas (2)', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 36 (1963), 205-6.

<sup>95</sup> II 2598. The mine mentioned is probably the gold mine in Callaecia, 'metallum Albucrenense,' noted by Pliny, *NH* xxxiii, 80. M. Ulpus Eutyches may be the same man whose epitaph comes from Narbonne (XII 4490), and who had the title 'Aug. lib. mesor', probably 'mensor', surveyor or engineer.

<sup>96</sup> García y Bellido 1959; M. Vigil, 'Ala II Flavia Hispanorum civium Romanorum,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 34 (1961), 104.

<sup>97</sup> From Spain: II 5610, 2637, 2551; *EE* IX 277. From Africa: *AE* 1935, 217, no. 35. From

Mauretania: VIII 21050 (= *EE* V 1004).

<sup>98</sup> *Not. Dig. Occ.* 42, 27. 'Cohors I Gallica' is also recorded, *ibid.* 42, 32.

<sup>99</sup> II 4141; *Not. Dig. Occ.* 42, 27.

<sup>100</sup> *Cohors I Celtiberorum* is attested at Caersŵs in Wales on tile-stamps (VII 1243 = *EE* IX 1285; cf. E. Birley, 'Roman garrisons in Wales,' *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 102 (1952-3), 14); on British diplomas in 105, 122, 146 (XVI 51, 69, 93); on diplomas from Mauretania Tingitana in 109 and 114-17 (XVI 162, 165). The discrepancy in the sequence of dates may indicate two units with the same name; otherwise a transfer from Britain between 105 and 109 must be postulated, with a return between 117 and 122.

*Site evidence.* Both Luyego and Villalís are very close to major gold mines in the Duerna valley. A few possible Roman settlements are known from surface traces near Luyego, but none have definitely military characteristics.<sup>101</sup> At Villalís no actual site is known either. Gómez-Moreno found some Roman material nearby at El Castrillon, and the road from Asturica to Bracara crosses the Duerna close by at Villamontán.<sup>102</sup> The Antonine Itinerary gives a place named Argentiolum somewhere here, which is presumably the same site as that which originally produced the Villalís stones.<sup>103</sup> Its precise location must be eagerly awaited. Site information in general is very poor. León of course stands securely as the legionary fortress, but little is known of the interior. The same is true to varying extents of the other walled towns.<sup>104</sup>

*Rosinos de Vidriales.* Only the site at Rosinos de Vidriales can be accepted as an auxiliary base. It has been recognized for some time: a plan was first published by Schulten and Lammerer in 1927 and later reproduced by García y Bellido.<sup>105</sup> Loewinsohn in 1966 claimed that this plan was inaccurate in detail and that his air photographs revealed that the fort was in fact 'un perfecto rectángulo'.<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately he failed to provide a corrected plan. That given here (Fig. 4) is based upon fresh observations made in the autumn of 1972.

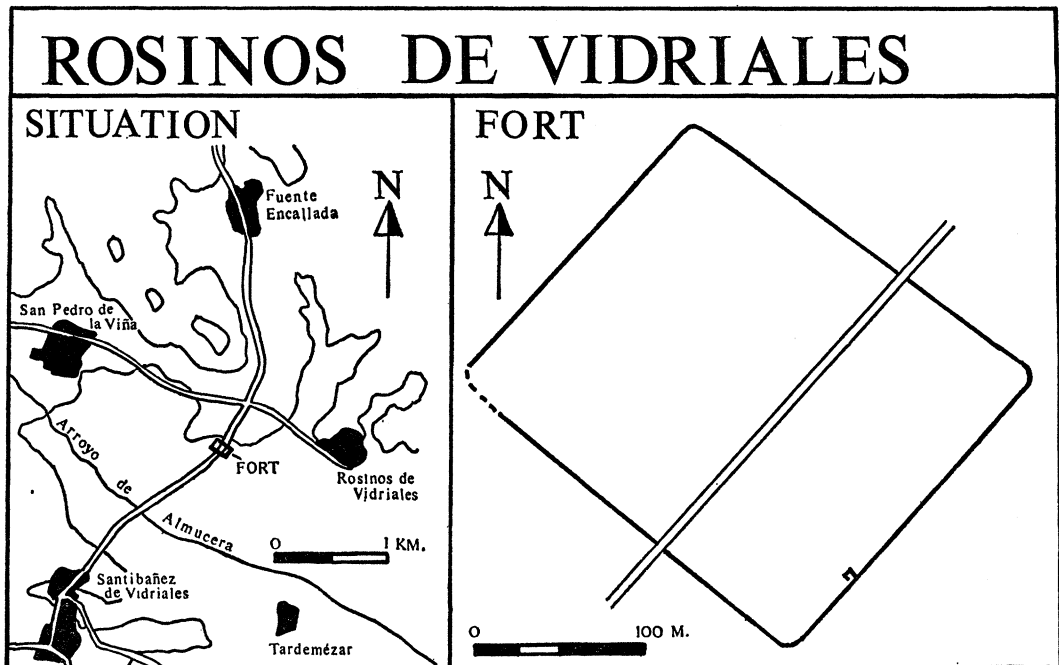


FIG. 4. ROSINOS DE VIDRIALES  
After A. García y Bellido. Drawn by the author. Copyright reserved

This gives a rather larger area than previously recorded, of approximately  $250 \times 200$  m.<sup>107</sup> It has hardly been remarked upon that the fort is enclosed by a substantial stone wall, nearly 2 m wide. The lower courses survive intact, except for a short stretch lost at the west corner. For the most part what remains is a rubble core, heavily mortared, but some facing blocks are still in position along the north-eastern side (Pl. IV). There is no sign of any earth rampart behind the wall, but on the south-eastern side is what may perhaps have been a

<sup>101</sup> R. F. J. Jones and D. G. Bird, *op. cit.* (n. 1), esp. 66 and fig. 3.

<sup>102</sup> *CMLéon* 69; E. Loewinsohn, *op. cit.* (n. 16), fig. 27.

<sup>103</sup> *It. Ant.* 422, 2.

<sup>104</sup> See n. 21.

<sup>105</sup> *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1927), 202, figs. 3 and

4; García y Bellido 1961, 137, figs. 12 and 13.

<sup>106</sup> *op. cit.* (n. 16), 29, n. 7.

<sup>107</sup> These figures are still based upon a rather inadequate survey, but were the best obtainable on my visit to the site in November 1972. A full-scale, accurate survey is required.

tower (Pl. V). Here the foundations and lowest courses of a rectangular structure about  $6 \times 5$  m are attached to the back of the fort wall. It is built of small stones set in thick mortar. On the visible evidence of the two rubble structures, it is not at all clear whether the wall and this building are contemporary or not. The walls of the subsidiary structure survive as about 50 cm thick. They can only be seen joining the main wall at one side, as the south-western wall stops about 1.50 m from the perimeter wall. This probably represents the space for a doorway rather than just robbing, as there is here a stone suitable for a door. What exactly was the function of this building must remain a matter for conjecture at present. Its walls are certainly much less substantial than the main wall and they seem rather too slight to carry the full weight of an interval tower; nor is there any sign of a similar structure elsewhere in the fort. It can hardly have been a gate tower, for the wall continues unbroken past it. The suggestion of a local villager was that it was a kitchen, and this may be as good as any, at least until excavation. No gates to the fort are now visible, but the modern road runs through the centre of the site and may well follow the line of an ancient predecessor; in which case the remains of two gates have probably been removed by the modern road and its ditches, although no signs of substantial masonry were visible in the sides of the ditches. Almost all the interior is under cultivation, where the plough has turned up large quantities of tile throughout. In itself this provides no proof of date, since modern local tile is virtually indistinguishable from Roman. However there is very little tile to be found on the ploughed fields outside the walls of the presumed fort. Amongst the tile there were also several small sherds of Roman pottery, much abraded, although there were rather fewer pieces than might have been expected in view of the profusion of tile. Unfortunately none of the sherds found was datable. The amount of occupation material and the strength of the walls leave little doubt that this was a permanent establishment, probably with quite a long life.

Its military character will not be proven until excavation, but the rounded corners are a powerful argument. It also lies in a strong position, dominating the valley. It is perhaps odd that no later settlement has taken over the site, but four villages cluster around it (Fig. 4). Three of these are credited with having produced military inscriptions: Rosinos itself two gravestones of *milites* of X Gemina and a dedication by the *praefectus* of *ala II Flavia* (70, 71, 72), San Pedro de la Viña another dedication by *ala II Flavia* (73), and Fuente Encallada another gravestone of a *miles* of legion X and that of a veteran of an unnamed unit (32, 33). It seems reasonable to assign all these provisionally to the known site, although the presence of the two units suggests a more complex history than the visible remains reveal. As it stands the base would have been far too small for a whole legion; so the more likely garrison for this fort must be *ala II Flavia*, even though the size would still be unusual for such a unit.<sup>108</sup>

*Castrocalbón*. Less than 15 km north of Rosinos de Vidriales lies the site called Castrocalbón by Loewinsohn (Fig. 5).<sup>109</sup> This is slightly misleading, since the actual site is some 3 km south-west of that village. The village lies on the Rio Eria, near where the Roman road from

<sup>108</sup> Vigil, op. cit. (n. 96), 111, claims that, as no mention is ever made of its being an *ala milliaria*, it must only have been an *ala quingenaria*. Nevertheless close parallels in Britain suggest that Rosinos was the right size for an *ala milliaria*, but rather too big for an *ala quingenaria*. The *ala quingenaria* fort at Brecon Gaer in Wales was 3.14 ha (7.8 acres), but the fort at Newstead in Scotland in the second century had an area of 5.4 ha (13.5 acres) and was definitely occupied by an *ala milliaria*. The fort at Leintwardine Village in Herefordshire of the same period was 4.55 ha (11.3 acres). It was either garrisoned by an *ala milliaria* or was a stores depot. The milliary *ala Petriana* held Stanwix near Carlisle, with an area of 3.72 ha (9.3 acres). These comparisons tend to show either that an *ala milliaria*, presumably *ala II Flavia*, occupied Rosinos as an orthodox fort, or that a large part of the site was used for such purposes as stores. (For Brecon Gaer and Leintwardine, see V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*<sup>2</sup>, ed. M. G.

Jarrett, (1969), 48–51, 94–5. Newstead: J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911), 29; I. A. Richmond, *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries of Scotland* 84 (1950), 1–38. Stanwix: excavation by F. G. Simpson and I. A. Richmond, *JRS* 31 (1941), 129–30, and pl. xii. Cf. E. Birley, 'Alae and cohortes milliariae', in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata* (= *Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich* v, 1966), 54–67). Another possibility is that the visible remains at Rosinos are of a later period, since another parallel is the fort at Piercebridge, Co. Durham, built about 300, at 4.35 ha (10.8 acres); cf. G. S. Keeney, *Trans. Durham and Northumberland Archit. and Arch. Soc.* 9 (1939) fig. 1.

<sup>109</sup> op. cit. (n. 16), 34 ff. The approximate dimensions of the three camps are: camp A, 250 × 170 m (4.25 ha = 10.6 acres); camp B, 150 × 115 m (1.73 ha = 4.3 acres); camp C, 125 × c. 200 m (2.5 ha = 6.25 acres).

Asturica crossed the river. It also fits conveniently into a pattern Asturica-Villalís-Castrocalbón-Rosinos de Vidriales. All these are about 15 km apart and the last three dominate valleys. However, the actual site known as Castrocalbón disrupts any such pattern of Roman occupation, as it lies too close to Rosinos de Vidriales and too far from Villalís. Nor is it situated in a river valley at all, but on the high land that separates the Eria itself from the Arroyo del Real, on a plateau below the Sierra de San Feliz, although still beside the Roman road from Asturica to Bracara. The sites found by Loewinsohn provide in themselves a remarkable contrast with Rosinos de Vidriales. None of the three noted shows any sign of having been occupied with any intensity or for any length of time. Their perimeters

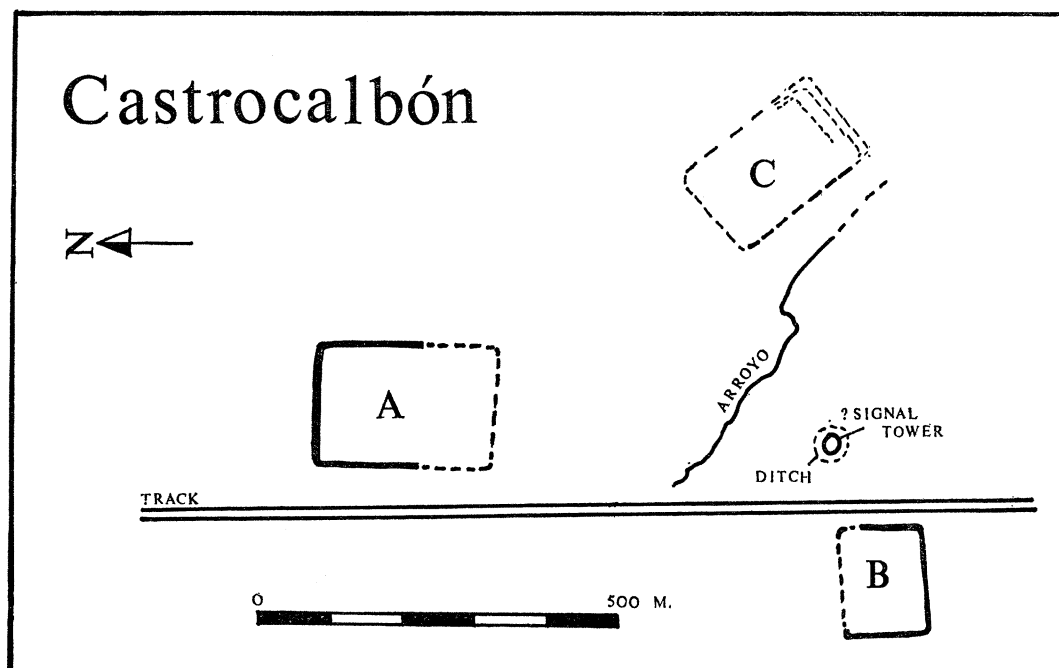


FIG. 5. CASTROCALBON  
After E. Loewinsohn. Drawn by the author. Copyright reserved

are only visible from the surface as low earth banks, whilst inside there is a complete absence of any occupation material. Although most of the area is now open grass with a few shrubs, there are some ploughed parts, which are just as barren as everywhere else. By far the clearest feature is Camp B, where the ramparts survive highest, even though it is where recent agricultural activity has been greatest. Yet no tile or pottery could be found on the surface here. All the evidence suggests that these enclosures were not permanent establishments at all, but are more likely to have been practice camps. This is reinforced by the lack of any epigraphic finds in the immediate area, apart from the boundary stone of *cohors IV Gallorum* (28). Even that does not support the idea of a Claudian fort at Castrocalbón itself, but at some other site, either between there and Soto de la Vega, where the rest of the stones were found, or near to Soto de la Vega itself. A later fort might have been situated actually in the Eria valley, controlling the river crossing, with the camps on the higher ground in a similar relation to it as those on Llandrindod Common in Wales were to the fort at Castell Collen.<sup>110</sup> Unfortunately the existence of such a fort remains speculative.

*Sobrado*. Another military site, of about 2 hectares, was noted by Schulten on a visit in 1930 at Sobrado, probably to the west of Lugo, near the source of the Rio Tambre in Galicia.

<sup>110</sup> The eighteen camps at Llandrindod lie 2.4 km south of the fort at Castell Collen, Nash-Williams, *op. cit.* (n. 108), 126-30. The fourteen surviving

camps have recently been surveyed: C. M. Daniels and G. D. B. Jones, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 118 (1969), 124-34.

However, he gave neither a plan nor any more precise location.<sup>111</sup> With no supporting epigraphy either, the site must remain questionable until more information can be found.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The unassailable minimum of definite evidence provides a picture that is by no means complete, but which can serve as a framework for discussion. The invasion army was quickly reduced, so that after half a century there remained a force of three legions, which was still formidable. This was in its turn reduced to one legion. The civil wars of 69 brought drastic reinforcement, their aftermath a complete legionary withdrawal. A little later VII Gemina was installed at León. The development of the *auxilia*'s strength is hardly known, and their overall disposition scarcely at all. What is known of their distribution does seem to relate quite closely to that of the gold mines (Figs. 1 and 3). The only important area of discrepancy is in the Sil valley, where no sign of military activity has been found. Otherwise both the army and mining are well attested in a general way in northern Portugal, near the north coast and to the south and west of Astorga. If it is now apparent that the mines became the most important activity in the north-west, the date when they were first exploited remains controversial. Syme's suggestion that the production figures quoted by Pliny were Augustan supports the idea, once summarily dismissed by him, that a strong motive for the original conquest was to win direct control of the mineral wealth.<sup>112</sup> If 20,000 pounds of gold a year was already coming from the mines in the Augustan period, workings must have begun very soon after the conquest and have had a high priority for the administrators of the newly-won region. As Blázquez noted, in the same period Rome conquered the Val d'Aosta, where there were mines richer than those of the Alps, and sent an expedition against the Sabaeans of Arabia Felix.<sup>113</sup> Considered together, these actions suggest that 'economic' factors were of some importance.

As it presumably was in the first phase after the conquest also, the army was heavily involved with the mines in the later second century. Yet much had changed in the region over that period. There was a good level of urbanization, and the road system provided efficient communication. The nature of the terrain forbids the movement of any substantial forces except by the limited number of unchanging routes through the mountains, which could be controlled by a few key sites. Any troubles were more likely to arise from brigandage than from open confrontation. What was the army doing after the first decades of occupation? At first a difficult area and warlike people would have demanded a strong controlling force, to be reduced as the natives were pacified. The withdrawal of legions was thus predictable, especially as the *auxilia* became more reliable, in spite of the military conservatism which only moved a legion when it was urgently needed elsewhere. The strategy of holding key points was obvious. An important element in such a system may have been the southern road from Asturica to Bracara, with its military sites and early date.<sup>114</sup> It certainly provided a clear link between various sites with military connections in the later period. Were a fort to be discovered near the village of Castroalbón, a fortified route with a series of regularly-spaced posts could be envisaged: Asturica-Villalís-Castroalbón-Rosinos. The rest of the road to Bracara could have been similarly garrisoned. A triangle completed by fortified routes to Lucus Augusti would have been an excellent way to hold the whole of Asturia-Callaecia, for it would have controlled the main channels of movement, without attempting to penetrate the mountain fastnesses which had tormented the conquering army.<sup>115</sup> In Cantabria, penetration seems to have followed the Rio Pisuerga, perhaps with the legionary base moving northwards up the valley from Herrera del Pisuerga to Aguilar de Campóo. In view of the apparently continuing process of Romanization, the sudden reinforcement of the single remaining legion in 69 by two more must have been something of a surprise, as it restored the strength of a quarter of a century earlier. Clearly the command of Spain was thought important by the rivals in the civil wars. The most evident

<sup>111</sup> A. Schulten, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 186.

<sup>112</sup> See n. 28, above. Cf. R. Syme, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 295.

<sup>113</sup> Blázquez 1962, 117 n. 4; S. Jameson, 'Chronology of the campaigns of Aelius Gallus and C. Petro-

nus,' *JRS* 58 (1968), 71.

<sup>114</sup> See nn. 17 and 18.

<sup>115</sup> Dio lii, 25 6; liv, 11, 5. Florus, ii, 33, 59. It might also have allowed some small-scale local brigandage in the hills.



reason for this was its wealth: the legions were to protect the revenues from the mines. The arrival of VII Gemina shortly afterwards raises many more questions, not only in that it was sent there at all, but in that it was kept there through all the wars and crises of the succeeding centuries.

Exactly how many troops altogether were in Spain can hardly be calculated. We know the legionary establishment, which must always have formed a major part of the force, at the various periods, but the number of supporting *auxilia* at any one time remains a conjecture. If their strength were still the same as that assigned to Galba in Spain a century earlier, more than half of the total auxiliary forces would have been mentioned on the Villalís stones; but such a high concentration of troops seems unlikely. More units may have to be assumed elsewhere. This may perhaps cast some doubt on the figures of two *alae* and three cohorts for the full strength of Galba's army of *auxilia*.<sup>116</sup> The alternative interpretation is that the greater part of the later-second-century army was serving in the area of Villalís and Luyego. It is also interesting to note the high proportion of mounted troops attested: eight *alae* to seven cohorts, of which *cohors I Gallica* was certainly part-mounted and *cohors I Celtiberorum* must have been also, as a *decurio* is attested serving in it (88, 91). This high proportion of cavalry was probably a response to the rough nature of the country, but it is worth remembering that the Astures themselves were famed as horsemen. It is probable that the units known from inscriptions represent only a part of the actual strength. Certainly this was the case in Britain. Excluding those units attested from discharge diplomas alone, none of which have been found in Spain, in Wales only six units are known from inscriptions but thirty-four bases from field-work.<sup>117</sup> In northern Spain there are at least fourteen units known, but only three bases at most. Clearly the parallel cannot be pressed too far, as many other factors may have been involved. The army's role may well have been different. Nevertheless this well illustrates the shortcomings in the record of field monuments in Spain, and the need for new information from surveys on the ground.

The administrative system of the north-west is not entirely clear. The evidence of the boundary stones of IV Macedonica and of *cohors IV Gallorum* in Cantabria and to the south of Astorga seems to suggest that there was no absolute, overall military control, at least in the first century, but that military *territoria* existed alongside the *civitates*. How widespread this pattern was, or how long it lasted, cannot be said, but it is worth noting that the *cohors IV Gallorum* stones do not come from a fringe of the military area, but from one of the main centres of activity.

An aid to understanding many problems may lie in the mineral wealth of northern Spain. Many of the mines must have been Imperial property. At Vipasca, near modern Aljustrel in southern Portugal, they were leased out to *conductores*. Procurators were the chief Imperial officials responsible for such operations, assisted by various others, *tabularii*, *commentarienses*, and *subprocuratores*.<sup>118</sup> The Villalís stones, which are probably the fullest documents on mining administration in Spain apart from the Aljustrel tables, mention several procurators, including Aurelius Firmus, *Aug. lib. met.* (94). It seems likely that the other procurators and *beneficiarii* mentioned at Villalís and Luyego were also mining officials like Firmus and M. Ulpius Eutyches, *proc. metall. Alboc.*, from Galicia. The Augustan freedmen procurators here were apparently in direct authority over both legionary and auxiliary detachments. It remains questionable how far back we may retroject this evidence from the later second century. It would be difficult to believe that this role in the mines was newly thrust upon the army at that time, although in Noricum property which had been let out to *conductores* was taken under direct Imperial control about then.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Suetonius, *Galba* 10.

<sup>117</sup> Nash-Williams, *op. cit.* (n. 108), 14-18, 45-122.

<sup>118</sup> Procurators controlling Sierra Morena mines in southern Spain: II 956, 1179; *Procurator aurariarum* in Dacia: III 1311-12; *tabularius aurariarum Daciarum*: III 1297, 1313; *commentariensis* in Dalmatian gold mines: III 1997; *subprocurator aurariarum* in Dacia: III 1088.

<sup>119</sup> G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (1974), 79, and 'Patrimonium regni Norici', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 170 (1970), 163. More procurators are now attested from Astorga (*AE* 1968, 227-34. Cf. Daniel Nony,

'À propos des nouveaux procureurs d'Astorga,' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 43 (1970), 195-201. It is worth noting that the ducenary procurator in Tarraconensis was responsible only for Asturia-Callaecia, probably again reflecting the importance of the mines. Normally only such procurators of high rank might be expected to command troops, but at Villalís detachments are stated explicitly to have been under various Imperial freedmen procurators. I am grateful to Professor Dr. Géza Alföldy for comments here.

Military links with mining are now quite well established from elsewhere in the Empire. In Britain a prime example is the fort now proven at Pumpsaint below the Dolau-cothi gold mine.<sup>120</sup> The Mendip lead, and perhaps silver, mines are known to have been in production by 49, within six years of the conquest, and there are other lead pigs bearing legionary stamps.<sup>121</sup> An unexcavated earthwork at the Charterhouse lead mine is likely to be a fort.<sup>122</sup> In the north of Britain there is explicit evidence linking the army and the mining industry.<sup>123</sup> Elsewhere Tacitus recorded legionaries involved in silver mining in Germany under Claudius,<sup>124</sup> whilst under Trajan a centurion of XV Apollinaris was in charge of quarrying at Mons Claudianus in Egypt.<sup>125</sup> Even at Vipasca, in the south of the Iberian peninsula, soldiers were sometimes present.<sup>126</sup> Troops would have been needed to control the slaves and convicts who made up the labour force, as well as to guard the products of the mines, even when the actual mining was in the hands of *conductores*.<sup>127</sup> Yet there must be a strong possibility that in the north-west, especially at the largest and most complex operations such as las Médulas, the mines were never leased out, but were worked directly by the Imperial administration.<sup>128</sup> The military would then have been called upon to provide skilled labour, not sheer muscle power, and in particular the high standards of engineering technique in surveying and construction required in the massive aqueduct systems.<sup>129</sup> It could be argued that minerals are often found in the mountainous regions which also provided a natural home for the rebellious tribes that commanded the army's first attention, and thus the minerals were always likely to be in an area under the army's control. It has also been argued that Spain had 'no hostile frontiers to be defended and so no permanent military zone'.<sup>130</sup> The paradox remains that a substantial garrison was maintained, where otherwise the impression given is of growing prosperity and stability. Would the army have been withdrawn, or more severely reduced, had it not been for the mines? Wherever security depended upon the army's presence, it was to be expected that their duties would have included control of the mines, or at least their supervision. However, if the local population gave no compelling reasons for keeping the army in the region, as appears to have been the case in Spain, a more direct link with the mines may be proposed. Such a policy may have had parallels elsewhere in the Empire; the army's relationship with mining may well repay further attention, both in Spain and in other provinces.

## APPENDIX: THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

NO.	PLACE	UNIT	RANK	DATE	REFERENCE
1	Abedes (SW of Verfn)	legio VII Gemina	Centurio	—	IRG IV 100 (= II 2522)
2	Abia de las Torres (N. of Palencia)	—	Miles immunis	—	EE IX 302
3	Aldea Nova (nr. Miranda do Douro)	ala Sabiniana	Signifer	—	EE VIII 128
4	Aquae Flaviae (Chaves)	legio VII Gemina	Legate	79	II 2477
5	„	legio II Augusta	Signifer	—	EE IV p. 16 (= II 2480)

<sup>120</sup> Excavated by G. D. B. Jones and J. H. Little. Noted with photograph in *Britannia* 4 (1973), 272 and pl. xxx, and again with plan, *Britannia* 5 (1974), 398-9.

<sup>121</sup> A.D. 49: VII 1202, cf. VII 1201 (Claudian); XIII 3491 (Neronian), stamped L II; *legio XX*: VIII 1209, 6, 1218; *legio VI*: perhaps XIII 2612a and b.

<sup>122</sup> Plan by G. D. B. Jones and P. R. Lewis, *Britannia* 2 (1971), 277.

<sup>123</sup> The best evidence comes from the fort at Brough-under-Stainmore, where lead seals link *cohors II Nerviorum*, stationed at Whitley Castle, with a mine, probably the lead mines at Alston (I. A. Richmond, 'Roman lead sealings from Brough-under-Stainmore,' *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Soc.* (2nd series) 36 (1936), 104-25, esp. 109). For a discussion of the evidence

from north Wales, see G. Webster, 'The lead-mining industry in north Wales in Roman times,' *Flintshire Hist. Soc. Publications* 13 (1952-3), 5-33.

<sup>124</sup> *Ann.* xi, 20.

<sup>125</sup> III 25.

<sup>126</sup> II 5181, line 23.

<sup>127</sup> Condemnation to the mines as a capital punishment, along with death, exile and deportation: Justinian, *Inst.* iv, 18, 1-2. For *conductores*, see *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> i 104; *Iura* 2 (1951), 127; II 5181.

<sup>128</sup> For las Médulas, see works cited n. 1: Lewis and Jones (1970), and Domergue, 'Introduction...'

<sup>129</sup> For aqueduct systems, see Bird, and Lewis and Jones, op. cit. (n. 1).

<sup>130</sup> A. L. F. Rivet, 'Social and economic aspects,' in A. L. F. Rivet (ed.), *The Roman Villa in Britain* (1969), 195.

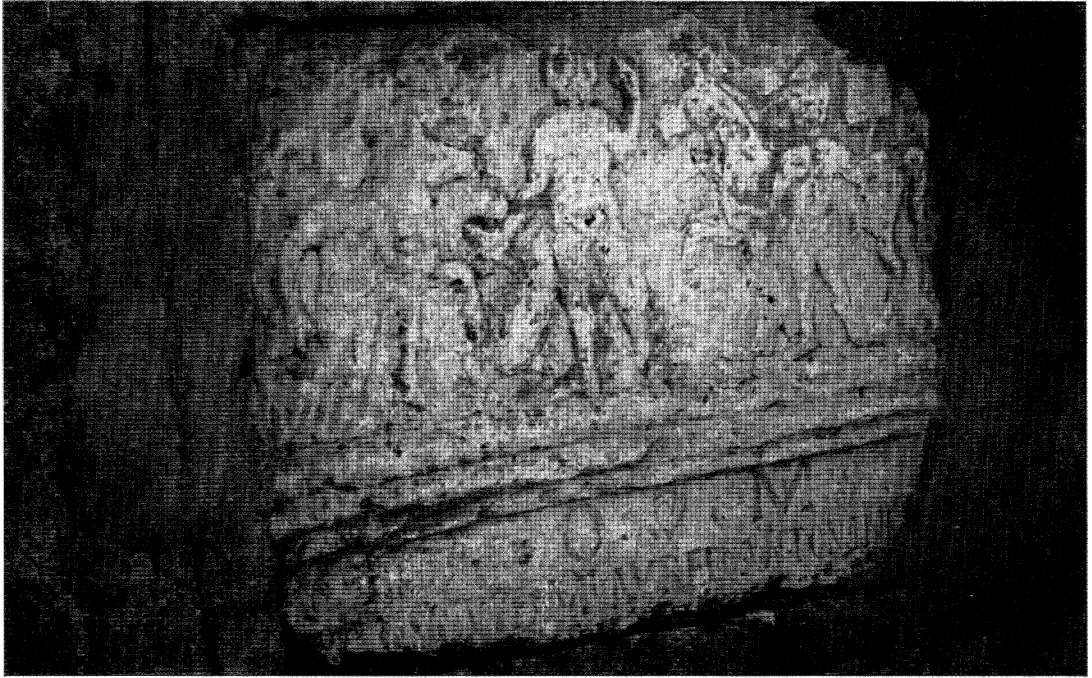
NO.	PLACE	UNIT	RANK	DATE	REFERENCE
6	Asturica Augusta (Astorga)	legio I Italica	Trib. mil. (Veteran)	—	II 2638
7	„	legio II Adiutrix	Veteran & Miles	—	II 2639
8	„	legio VII Gemina Alexandriana P.F.	Veteran	222-35	II 2640
9	„	? legio VII Gemina	Miles (Veteran)	—	II 2641
10	„	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 18, 7 (= <i>AE</i> 1928, 163)
11	„	legio VII Gemina P.F.	Veteran	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 20, 12 (= <i>AE</i> 1928, 166)
12	„	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 16, 1 (= <i>AE</i> 1904, 160)
13	„	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 17, 6
14	„	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 19, 8
15	„	ala II Flavia c.R.	Eques	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 19, 9 (= <i>AE</i> 1928, 164)
16	„	ala Sulpicia c.R.	Praefectus equitum	—	Alföldy 1965 (= II 2637)
17	„	cohors IV Thracum	Miles	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 20, 10 (= <i>AE</i> 1928, 165)
18	„	—	? Miles	—	<i>CMLeón</i> p. 20, 11
19	Babe (E. of Bragança)	ala II?	Miles	—	<i>EE IX</i> 277
20	Bracara Augusta (Braga)	legio VII Gemina F.	Miles	—	II 2425
21	„	ala ?	Eques	—	II 5610
22	Calahorra	legio VI Victrix	Miles	—	II 2983
23	„	ala Taurorum Victrix c.R.	Eques	—	II 2984
24	Caldas de Reyes (N. of Pontevedra)	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	II 2545
25	„	legio X Gemina	Centurio	—	<i>IRG III</i> 38
26	„	legio VII Gemina	—	—	<i>IRG III</i> 31
27	Castrelo del Valle (N. of Verín)	ala I Gigurrorum	Decurio	—	García y Bellido 1961, 139 (= <i>AE</i> 1963, 27)
28	Castrocalbón	cohors IV Gallorum	—	—	<i>EE VIII</i> 131; García y Bellido 1961, 147 f.
29	Clunia	legio X Gemina	Optio centuriae	—	de Palol 1969; García y Bellido 1971, 151 (= <i>AE</i> 1969/70, 274; <i>ILS</i> 9239)
30	Duratón (nr. Sepulveda)	legio II Adiutrix	Miles	—	II 2763
31	Faradaes (W. of Braga)	—	? Miles	—	<i>EE IX</i> 265
32	Fuente Encallada	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	II 2630
33	„	—	Veteran	—	II 2631
34	Gijón	legio IV Macedonica	—	—	García y Bellido 1961, 120; Fita 1904, 80 f.; Blázquez 1962, 120
35	Herrera del Pisuerga	legio IV Macedonica	—	—	García y Bellido 1961, figs. 3-8; idem 1960
36	„	cohors I Gallica equitata c.R.	Praefectus	—	II 2913
37	León	legio VII Gemina F.	Legatus	—	II 2660
38	„	legio VII Gemina Ant. P.F.	Actarius	216	II 2663
39	„	legio VII Gemina Sever. Alex P.F.	Miles	234	II 2664
40	„	legio VII Gemina	—	—	García y Bellido 1970, 589-91 (25 tile stamps) (= II 6252 g, h, k, l)

NO.	PLACE	UNIT	RANK	DATE	REFERENCE
41	León	legio VII Felix	—	—	ibid. 591 (1 tile stamp)
42	„	legio VII Gemina F.	—	—	ibid. 591-3 (26 tile stamps) (= II 6252 b, c, d, e)
43	„	legio VII Gemina P.	—	—	ibid. 593 (3 tile stamps)
44	„	legio VII Gemina P.F.	—	—	ibid. 593-4 (2 tile stamps) (= II 6252 a)
45	„	legio VII Gemina Antoniniana P. F.	—	—	ibid. 594 (7 tile stamps) (= II 6252 p)
46	„	legio VII Gemina Maximiniana P.F.	—	235-8	ibid. 595 (1 tile stamp) (= II 6252 r, s, t, u)
47	„	legio VII Gemina Gordiana P.F.	—	238-44	ibid. 595-6 (9 tile stamps) (= II 6252 v, w)
48	„	legio VII Gemina Philippiana P. F.	—	244-9	ibid. 596 (3 tile stamps) (= 6252 x)
49	„	legio VII Gemina Deciana Traiana	—	249-51	ibid. 596-7 (1 tile stamp) (= II 6252 y, z)
50	„	legio VII Cl(audiana?)	—	—	ibid. 597 (1 tile stamp)
51	„	legio VII Gemina Qui (ntilliana ?)	—	—	ibid. 597 (2 tile stamps)
52	„	legio VII Gemina F.	—	—	II 5676
53	„	legio ( ) Gemina F	Miles	—	II 5681
54	„	ala II Flavia	Optio	—	II 5682; <i>CMLéon</i> p. 31
55	„	legio VII Gemina	Miles	—	<i>CMLéon</i> p. 34 (= <i>AE</i> 1928, 168)
56	„	—	Custos armorum	—	II 2668
57	„	—	Miles	—	II 2669
58	Near León	legio VII Gemina F.	Imaginifer & Vexillatio	—	<i>HAE</i> 494
59	Lucus Augusti (Lugo)	legio VII Gemina	Miles	—	II 2583
60	„	cohors III Lucensium	? Miles	—	II 2584
61	„	cohors III Lucensium	—	—	<i>Not. Dig. Occ.</i> 42, 29
62	„	cohors ?	—	—	II 2585
63	„	legio VII Gemina	Veteran	—	II 2572
64	„	legio VII Gemina	Veteran	—	II 2582
65	„	legio VII Gemina	Vexillatio under centurio & decurio	138-61	García y Bellido 1966, 1 (= <i>AE</i> 1967, 229)
66	Luyego	(i) legio VII Gemina (ii) cohors I Gallica	— Centurio	10 June 181	García y Bellido 1966, 2 (= <i>AE</i> 1967, 230)
67	„	cohors I Gallica	Miles	—	García y Bellido 1961, 148 (= <i>AE</i> 1963, 28)
68	Quintana del Marco	legio VII Gemina	—	—	<i>EE</i> IX 422, 1a (1 tile stamp)
69	Rairíz de Veiga (S. of Orense)	cohors I Gallica	Signifer	—	García y Bellido 1959, 34, no. 9 (= <i>AE</i> 1960, 150)
70	Rosinos de Vidriales	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	<i>AE</i> 1928, 179; <i>CMZamora</i> p. 50
71	„	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	<i>AE</i> 1928, 180; <i>CMZamora</i> p. 51
72	„	ala II Flavia Hisp. c. R.	Praefectus equitum	—	Vigil 1961, p. 104, 1 (= <i>AE</i> 1963, 16)
73	San Pedro de la Viña	ala II Flavia c. R.	—	197	García y Bellido 1966, 4 (= <i>AE</i> 1967, 237)

NO.	PLACE	UNIT	RANK	DATE	REFERENCE
74	San Román de Cervantes (prov. de Lugo)	legio X Gemina	Miles	—	García y Bellido 1966, 3
75	Soto de la Vega (N. of la Bañeza)	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1035 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
76	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1036 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
77	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1037 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
78	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1038 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
79	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1039 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
80	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1040 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
81	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1041 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
82	„	cohors IV Gallorum	—	41-54	<i>HAE</i> 1042 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 345)
83	Ujo (nr. Mieres, S. of Oviedo)	legio VII Gemina	Miles	—	II 5733; <i>EE</i> III 29
84	Valença do Minho	legio VI Victrix	? Veteran	—	II 2465 add. 706
85	Vila Pouca d'Aguilar (N. of Vila Real)	legio VII Gemina	Miles	—	<i>EE</i> VIII 108 (= <i>AE</i> 1907, 150)
86	„	cohors I Gallica equitata c.R.	Miles	—	<i>EE</i> VIII 109 (= <i>AE</i> 1907, 151)
87	Near Vila Nova de Familçao	legio VI Victrix	Miles	—	II 2374 = 5551
88	Villalís	(i) legio VII Gemina (ii) cohors I Celtiberorum	Vexillatio under centurio, signifer Decurio	10 June 163	II 2552; <i>ILS</i> 9125; <i>CMLeón</i> p. 70; <i>AE</i> 1910, 3
89	„	(i) legio VII Gemina (ii) cohors I Gallica	Signifer Milites under centurio	22 April 165	II 2556; <i>ILS</i> 9129; <i>CMLeón</i> p. 71; <i>AE</i> 1910, 6
90	„	(i) legio VII Gemina (ii) cohors I Celtiberorum (iii) cohors I Gallica	Imaginifer Vexillatio and Tesserarius Centurio	15 October 167	II 2553; <i>ILS</i> 9127; <i>CMLeón</i> p. 72; <i>AE</i> 1910, 4
91	„	(i) cohors I Gallica (ii) cohors I Celtiberorum	Milites Decurio	22 April 161-9	II 2555; <i>ILS</i> 9128
92	„	cohors I Gallica	Milites & centurio	22 April 175	<i>ILS</i> 9130; <i>AE</i> 1910, 1; <i>CMLeón</i> p. 73
93	„	(i) legio VII Gemina (ii) ala II Flavia	Vexillatio Decurio	10 June 184	II 2554; <i>ILS</i> 9126; <i>AE</i> 1910, 5; <i>CMLeón</i> p. 74
94	„	(i) cohors I Gallica (ii) ala II Flavia	Milites Decurio	22 April 191	<i>ILS</i> 9131; <i>AE</i> 1910, 2; <i>CMLeón</i> p. 75
BOUNDARY STONES OF LEGIO IV MACEDONICA					
95	Hormiguera	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.-A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 1
96	Henestrosa de las Quintanas	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.-A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 2

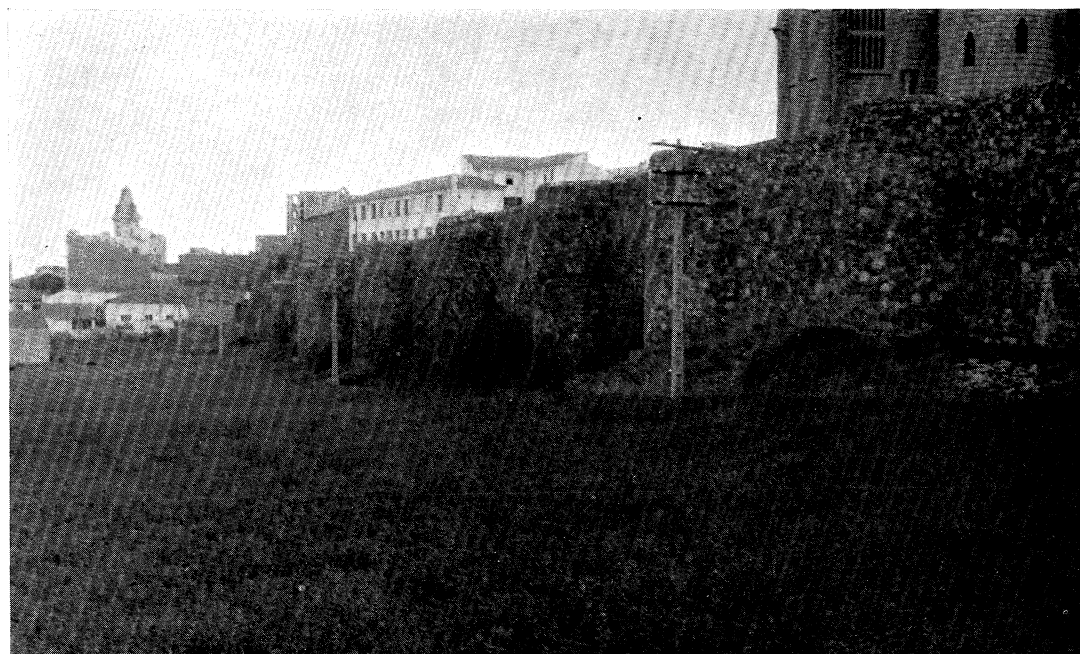
NO.	PLACE	UNIT	RANK	DATE	REFERENCE
97	Cuena	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 3
98	Cuena	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 4
99	San Vitores	legion IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 5
100	Villasidro	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 6
101	Unknown	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 7
102	Unknown	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 8
103	Henestrosa de las Quintanas	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 9 (now lost)
104	Las Quintanas	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 10 (= II 2916 c; now lost)
105	Las Quintanillas	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 11 (now lost)
106	Reinosilla	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 12 (now lost)
107	Castrillo del Haya	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 13 (now lost)
108	El Haya	legio IV Macedonica	—	23 B.C.— A.D. 14	García y Bellido 1956, 14 (now lost)
STONES NOT PRECISELY LOCATED					
109	Galicia	ala II Flavia Hisp. c.R.	Praefectus equitum	—	II 2600
110	Asturias	ala II Thracum	—	—	<i>HAE</i> 904 (= <i>AE</i> 1961, 338)
111	Eastern Asturias	. . . Asturum et Luggonum	—	—	Diego Santos, 163, no. 62 (= <i>AE</i> 1963, 27)

*The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham*



(1) VILLALÍS: FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIPTION, BUILT INTO A WALL (see pp. 55-6); (2) ROSINOS DE VIDRIALES: DETAIL OF THE DEFENSIVE WALL

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(1) ROSINOS DE VIDRIALES: THE BUILDING AGAINST THE DEFENSIVE WALL; (2) THE WALLS OF ASTORGA

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(1) THE WALLS OF LEÓN; (2) THE WALLS OF LUGO  
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