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The Rise of Latin in Hispania Ulterior, Third Century BCE–Second Century CE

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3.1. From Hispania Ulterior to Baetica and Lusitania

In 197 BCE Rome divided the lands under its control in Hispania into two provinces: Citerior and Ulterior. Ulterior initially comprised the territories of modern Andalusia, although during the following two centuries it would end up occupying all of the area located to the west of an imaginary line stretching from the Cape of Gata to Astorga. It was, then, a territory whose limits were constantly changing throughout the Republican period and as large as it was diverse, something that poses a challenge when trying to describe the process of Latinization. We shall analyse the province's earliest epigraphic evidence, both that produced by Romano-Italians and by indigenous people, which provides an invaluable indicator not just of the introduction of Latin, but also of the differential longevity of vernacular languages. As we shall see, probably the most characteristic feature of this process in Ulterior is the difference between the south and the west of the province, already seen from the Republican period, which continued in the imperial period when these regions formed the provinces of Baetica and Lusitania respectively. Using the epigraphic record, we shall highlight the factors we consider to be the most important for language change in the territory and we will conclude with some comments on the possible existence of local varieties of Latin.[1]

[1] The analysis of writing equipment could contribute to a greater understanding of Latinization (see Chapters 1–2; Willi 2021) in Ulterior, especially in those areas that did not write before the arrival of Rome, such as Lusitania (especially the area of Emerita Augusta; see Alonso, Jerez, and Sabio 2014). Such studies have recently appeared in Citerior, where the use of writing equipment has been shown in clearly indigenous contexts, and therefore not necessarily linked to the process of linguistic change (Simón 2021b; Olesti 2021). The lack of a tradition of studying writing materials in Spanish

Two large areas of Ulterior can be distinguished from a very early date. The first is the region of Andalusia, whose geography is marked by the river Guadalquivir (Baetis), which forms the backbone of the region. The favourable natural conditions supported high urban density, both in the central area of the Guadalquivir and on the coast (an area in which Phoenician colonies were established from at least the eighth century BCE). This, combined with the abundance of minerals in the Sierra Morena (silver, iron, copper, and mercury) favoured early integration into the Mediterranean trade routes. The second region comprises the territories to the north of the river Guadiana (Ana), which includes modern-day Portugal and the Spanish regions of Extremadura, western Castilla y León, and, for a short period, Galicia. Given the harsher geography, which is less suitable for intensive agriculture, the few cities in the pre-Roman period were located on the coast and around the estuaries of large rivers (Olissipo or Salacia, for example); going inland, its population was progressively more dispersed, with a pastoral economy.

The difference between the two regions was noticeable throughout the entire Republican period and was finally established with the Augustan division of Hispania Ulterior into two provinces: Baetica, senatorial, and Lusitania, imperial. There were some later tweaks to the territories: around 17 BCE, Lusitania lost its northern part, Gallaecia, in the Astur–Cantabrian Wars and, at some time before 7 BCE, the eastern part of Baetica, which included the mining districts of Castulo and Sisapo, went over to the administration of Hispania Citerior. The provincial limits of Baetica and Lusitania remained stable during the rest of Antiquity.[2] It is clear, therefore, that Baetica and Lusitania refer to the *provinciae* of the Augustan Age, the administrative units that will help us here to construct our discussion (Fig. 3.1).

The difference between the province's two large territories is also seen in the linguistic–epigraphic record (see Fig. 2.2). While the Lusitanian area shows a near-total absence of writing until well into the Roman conquest, the region of Baetica is characterized early on by the diversity of its languages and writing systems. Introduced through the coastal colonies, the Phoenicio-Punic language and its writing system (with Phoenician, Punic, and Neo-Punic variations) are attested on the Mediterranean coast of Andalusia and the hinterland of Cádiz (with sporadic discoveries inland) from the eighth century BCE until well into the first century CE. Its written record is characterized by the prevalence of graffiti on pottery and *ostraka*, with just two cases of inscriptions on stone: two funerary stelae, one found in Lisbon dating to the seventh century BCE, and another in

archaeology, which in general has not shown interest in them, no doubt explains the lack of evidence published until a few years ago and the anomalous absence from the record in the case of areas such as Baetica.

[2] For the differences in the Roman period, see Salinas (2012); for the configuration of the limits of the two provinces, Cordero (2020); España (2021).

Fig. 3.1 Map of pre-Augustan and Augustan provinces, with capitals.

Villaricos, Almería, from the fourth century BCE.[3] Although much smaller than the collections of stamps from Carthago or Selinunte, the five pottery *cretulae* found in Cádiz also stand out. Their interest lies as much in their iconography and material, which indicate an imported origin, specifically from Egypt, as well as the early date provided by their archaeological context, the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, indicating the use of writing since the earliest phase of the Phoenician colony.[4]

The adaptation of the consonant-based Phoenician alphabet for the characteristics of the indigenous languages, which probably occurred in the region of the bay of Cádiz in the seventh century BCE, gave rise to the first of the Palaeohispanic scripts, known as the 'South-Western script', which extended throughout western Andalusia, Extremadura, and southern Portugal between the seventh and fifth centuries BCE. In the regions of Alentejo and the Algarve, the South-Western script was used for the inscribed stelae of southern Portugal, which are much less common in Andalusia and Extremadura, where there are, however, a small number of pottery graffiti. In western Andalusia there are some peculiar onomastic features, known through the epigraphic record of the Roman period, which are absent from other places and lead us to think of a different linguistic situation from that of southern Portugal, which is referred to as Turdetanian. In the fourth century BCE, the South-Western script had ceased to be used, although there is no evidence that this abandonment accompanied linguistic change.[5]

From the fifth century BCE, in the modern province of Jaén and its surrounding area in the west of Andalusia, another writing system can be seen: the Southern or South-Eastern variation of the Iberian script. The Southern semi-syllabary, which shares a large part of its graphic values with the South-Western script, extended throughout the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula, including the provinces of Murcia, Alicante, and Ciudad Real. From the second century BCE, its use is limited to the area around Castulo, with a fairly small yet relatively varied epigraphic record until the late first century BCE. At a linguistic level, both the majority of the inscriptions and their onomastic features indicate that the eastern part of Ulterior formed part of the same continuum of the Iberian language, stretching the length of the Mediterranean coast and into Languedoc in France (Chapters 2, 5). However, the presence of some anthroponyms with no clear linguistic adscription and a certain number of particular inscriptions mean that the possibility of the presence of speakers of other languages in the same region cannot be ruled out.[6] Recently, Joan Ferrer i Jané has identified some distinctive palaeographic features in a small group of these Southern Palaeohispanic texts and has

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[3] Belmonte (2010); Zamora (2019).   [4] Gener et al. (2012).
[5] de Hoz (2010); Correa and Guerra (2019); de Hoz (2019).
[6] Correa (2009); de Hoz (2011a; 2015).

proposed the existence of a specific script linked to the Turdetanians. Despite the limited evidence, it constitutes a promising line of research.[7]

The cultural and linguistic adscription of the inhabitants of what would become Lusitania in the imperial period is difficult to identify, given the paucity of pre-Roman and Republican inscriptions, as well as the diversity of the territory. There were three main groups: Hispano-Celts in the north, Lusitanians in the central region, and possible descendants of the Tartessians (the Cynetes of the sources) in the south. Of these, the best known are the Lusitanians, after whom the Augustan province was named, owing to their bellicose relations with Rome. Although the moment of maximum intensity (and therefore of interest to the Graeco-Roman writers) was the Lusitanian Wars in the middle of the second century BCE, the territory would not be completely pacified until 43 BCE, the date of the last Lusitanian rebellion.[8]

3.2. The Diffusion of Latin as a Colonial and Urban Phenomenon

3.2.1 Baetica

The earliest Latin inscription from Hispania Ulterior that can be dated with precision is the so-called Lascuta bronze, a *tabula aenea* written on the nineteenth of January 190 or 189 BCE, which records a decree made by Lucius Aemilius Paullus, the future victor of the Battle of Pydna and at that time praetor in Ulterior, freeing the inhabitants of *turris Lascutana* (Alcalá de los Gazules, Cádiz) from the 'servitude' of Hasta (Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz).[9] As well as revealing some of the internal workings of Roman imperialism, this legal text shows features of the epigraphy of Ulterior that are worth commenting on. First, the rapid positioning of Latin as the language of power. Barely a decade after the conquest and still at a time of sporadic violent encounters, the display of a text like this on bronze would have had a more symbolic, rather than communicative value, being understood (at best) only by the indigenous elites who dealt directly with the Romans. And, second, the peculiar development of the epigraphic habit in the province, since there are no more displayed inscriptions, whether in Latin or in vernacular languages, until the end of the second century BCE in urbanized areas of intense Roman presence. It is not a coincidence that the next displayed inscription that is securely datable is another Roman decree on bronze, the *tabula Alcantarensis*, from 104 BCE from Alcántara, Cáceres, in the 'Lusitanian' part of Ulterior.[10]

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[7] Ferrer i Jané (2021).
[8] Strab. 3.3.3; Var. *Res.* 1.16.2. On pre-imperial Lusitania, see Martín Bravo (1999); Alarcão (2019).
[9] *ELRH* U.1 (= *CIL* I² 614; *CIL* II 5041).
[10] *ELRH* U.2 (= *AE* 1984, 495). For the role of the Roman provincial authorities at the beginning of the epigraphy of Hispania, see Díaz Ariño (2011).

Cities, therefore, are key for the appearance of the Latin epigraphic record in Ulterior and constitute a differentiating feature between the areas of Baetica and Lusitania. Before the Roman conquest, the Andalusian coast and the Guadalquivir Valley already had a sizeable urban network, which organized the territory and was crucial for the process of Latinization. This network was enriched after the Second Punic War by the Roman foundations of Italica, Carteia, and Corduba. Although not part of any pre-established plan, these three foundations were built on pre-existing indigenous settlements at strategic points that were key for the province's communications.[11]

According to Appian, Italica (Santiponce, Sevilla) was established in 206 BCE to receive soldiers wounded in the battle of Ilipa.[12] The city lies in the heart of the Guadalquivir Valley, on a navigable stretch of the river that allowed easy access to the ports of the Lacus Ligustinus. The earliest known person from Italica is Gaius Marinus, an 'Iberian from the city of Italica', according to Appian.[13] As well as having a Latin name, in 143 BCE he was in command of contingents of Roman troops who fought Viriathus, which makes it unlikely that he was an indigenous person who had Latinized his name, but rather a descendant of some of the city's first settlers. The Republican epigraphy of Italica has also provided interesting onomastic data. A praetor M. Trahius C. f. mentioned in an inscription on an *opus signinum* floor has been linked to a relative of the Emperor Trajan, which would indicate the notable success and continuity of this local elite family from Italica from the Republican period.[14] On funerary stelae from the first century BCE, individuals appear with Italic onomastics: L. Ferronius L. l. Calue and Volferna[15] and perhaps Q. Herius A. l.[16] A fourth individual, C. Vettius Aegantus, combines a Latin nomen and a cognomen that has parallels in central Hispania.[17] The presence of Italic anthroponyms in Italica (also in Carteia, as shall be seen) is of great interest, since it allows the identification of clear migration from Italy, ruling out the possibility that these were provincials who had Latinized their names. Although their mother tongue is not known, it can be relatively safely assumed that these incomers used Latin for their everyday activities in the context of colonial foundations in the provinces.

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[11] Houten (2021), 32–6.

[12] App. *Hisp*. 38. On the foundation of the city, see Caballos Rufino (2012); Rodríguez and García (2015). The legal status of both Italica and Corduba in the Republican period is unknown.

[13] App. *Hisp*. 66.   [14] *ELRH* U.23; Caballos Rufino (2003); *HEpOnl* 4874.

[15] *ELRH* U.24, U.25. Calue (and other names formed with Cal-), appears in Etruscan (Meiser 2014, 407), while Volferna appears only as a masculine *cognomen* in a Roman funerary inscription at the beginning of the imperial period (*CIL* VI 29.465).

[16] *ELRH* U.26. Outside Italy, Herius is documented only in Santiponce (*CILA* II 382, from the Augustan period).

[17] *ELRH* U.27. There is an Aegandus in Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (*AE* 1969/70, 252) and an Aecandus in Albuquerque, Badajoz (*ILER* 1451). As B. Díaz Ariño notes in *ELRH*, the absence of filiation means we cannot know whether this is a freedman or an indigenous person who has recently Latinized his name.

The case of Carteia exemplifies the capacity of Roman imperialism to resolve problems (often created by itself), as well as being indirect evidence of the relations and interactions that the conquerors and the conquered progressively established. In 171 BCE, because of the dilemma posed by illegitimate sons born as a result of relations between Roman soldiers and indigenous women, the Senate decided to create a colony for them with Latin rights, Carteia (San Roque, Cádiz), on the Strait of Gibraltar, which also provided Rome with a strategic base. The new colony was founded on a pre-existing settlement, probably Phoenicio-Punic in origin, whose inhabitants were allowed to integrate into the new community and share in the allocations of land.[18] The city issued a large amount of coinage with Latin legends from the last third of the second century BCE until 15 CE. These coins contain the names of around thirty magistrates, including some Oscan ones: Q. Curvius, *C. Ninius*, Q. Opsilius, and L. Raius.[19] These names were probably the result of Italic emigration to Carteia, it being much less likely that they were descendants of Italic auxiliary troops integrated into the colony.[20] There are no public inscriptions before the Augustan age, and the onomastics recorded after this date are entirely Latin.

The third Republican foundation is Corduba (Córdoba), which would become the capital of the province of Baetica. According to Strabo, the city was founded by M. Claudius Marcellus (with two possible dates, 169/168 or 152/151 BCE), integrating Romans and select indigenous people.[21] The city was destroyed in the *Bellum Hispaniense* and refounded as Colonia Patricia with Roman citizens.[22] Based on what the sources say and the material culture discovered, Republican Corduba must have had a diverse population that included Roman citizens but also a large number of indigenous and Italic people, although, again, the onomastic record is very limited.[23] In the second half of the second century BCE, the city minted coins containing Latin names. The epigraphy found from the Republican period is very scarce and does not provide any relevant linguistic information.[24]

[18] Liv. 43.3.1–4. For the foundation of Carteia and some of the legal problems, see Pena (2014) with additional bibliography.

[19] *Q. Curvi.* (*DCPH*, no. 7), *C. Nini.* (no. 10), *Q. Opsil.* (no. 16), and *L. Rai.* (no. 22). See Estarán Tolosa (2019b), 410–12.

[20] Livy explicitly mentions the sons *ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus*. The sons of Italian auxiliary soldiers did not constitute a legal problem for Rome, and, given the political dynamics at that time, it seems very unlikely that they participated generally in the colonial deduction, which involved the receiving of land, as well as Latin citizenship.

[21] Strab. 3.2.1.

[22] On Republican and late-Republican Corduba, Rodríguez, Melchor, and Mellado (2005); Vaquerizo, Murillo, and Garriguet (2011); Jiménez (2011).

[23] Jiménez (2011), 55–8.

[24] A series of *defixiones* (*ELRH* U.33–7) contain Latin and Greek anthroponyms, with just one case (*Munnitia* in U.35 = *CIL* II² 252) that has a common element in the Lustianian area, probably a freedwoman. The only Latin graffito on Campanian ware does not provide any important linguistic information (*ELRH* U.32).

In the second half of the first century BCE, in the region of Andalusia, many cities that had supported Caesar in the Civil Wars received promotion to municipal status (Latin or Roman), and the deduction of new colonies occurred that involved the settling of veterans and also the integration of at least part of the former population: Asido Caesarina, Hasta Regia, Hispalis Romula, Urso Genetiva, Astigi Augusta Firma, Corduba Patricia, Ucubi Claritas Iulia, Ituci Virtus Iulia, and Tucci Augusta Gemella (Fig. 3.2).[25] These colonies quickly became centres of epigraphy, with Latin completely dominant.[26]

3.2.2 Lusitania

As has been pointed out, the population of pre-Roman Lusitania was much more rural and dispersed than in Baetica, with the exception of a few coastal settlements. It was a region with notably fewer, and much smaller, urban centres in the Republican period: apart from Emerita Augusta, none was larger than 40 ha.[27] The distribution of settlements in the west of the Iberian Peninsula was traditionally dispersed: the literary evidence speaks of organized entities that, in many cases and especially in Lusitania, did not have a capital. This dispersion continued into the imperial period thanks to the proliferation of rural villas. It was difficult to implement an urban network in a region where one had not previously existed, unlike in Baetica, something that resulted in a longer period for the implantation of Roman power and Latinization.[28]

It was not until the reign of Augustus that Rome began to found cities in this region located in the extreme west of its dominion with the aim of improving its control. The capital of Lusitania was the colony of Emerita Augusta (Mérida), founded in 25 BCE, accompanied by another four deductions: Metellinum, Norba Caesarina, Scallabis Praesidium Iulium, and Pax Iulia, the latter two being future capitals of *conventus*.[29] A general view of all the available evidence suggests that Mérida eclipsed the other foundations, whose role as focal points for the spread of Roman culture and language was limited until the Flavian period or, at least, noticeably less than that of some other cities of indigenous origin that were promoted to *municipia*, such as Conimbriga, Capera, or Caurium.[30]

Pliny the Elder offers an interesting comparison of the urban differences between Baetica and Lusitania at the beginning of the imperial period. According to his account, in Lusitania there were 45 cities, of which only one-sixth had a

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[25] See González and Saquete (2011); Ortiz (2021), with ample bibliography.
[26] Herrera (2020).   [27] Houten (2021).   [28] Redentor and Carvalho (2017).
[29] Dio 53.26.1. There is still no consensus on the date of its foundations: Salinas de Frías (2016), 135.
[30] For example, in terms of the contribution of priests of the imperial cult and the minting of coins. See D'Encarnação (1984), 739, 760; Étienne (1990); Salinas de Frías (2016), 155.
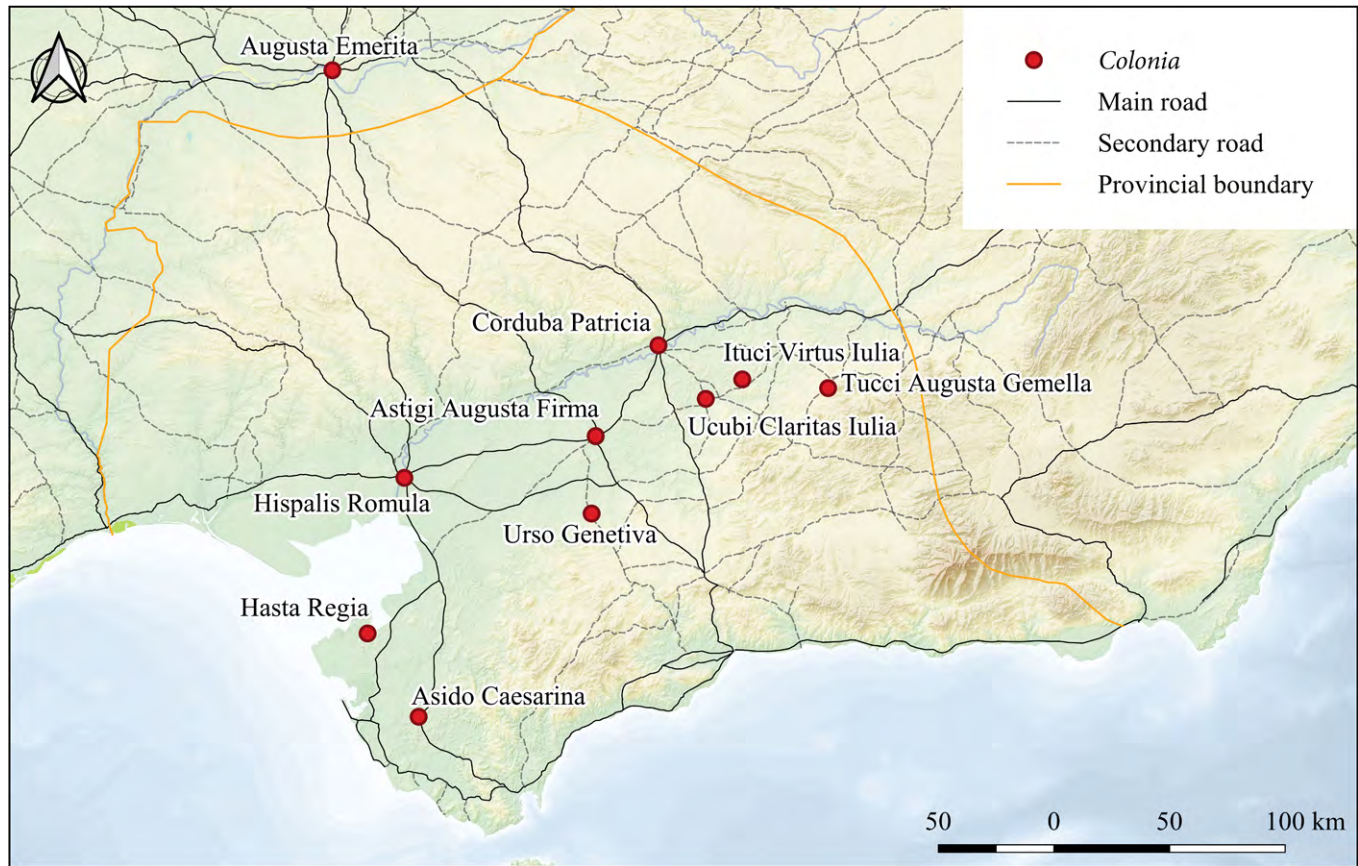
Fig. 3.2 Map of Baetica showing *coloniae*, and main and secondary roads.

'Roman' organization: the 5 colonies already mentioned, as well as 4 *municipia*, 3 of them '*Lati antiqui*' (Ebora, Myrtilis, and Salacia) and 1 with Roman citizens (Olisipo). In contrast, for Baetica, he says that, of the 175 cities (almost 4 times that of Lusitania), 9 were colonies, 10 Roman *municipia*, 27 had Latin rights, 6 were free, 3 *foederatae*, and another 120 stipendiaries.[31] The contrast between Pliny's information and that of Ptolemy is interesting, since the latter mentions 58 *poleis* in Lusitania, possibly because he takes into account the secondary settlements, some of which may not have even had an urban character.[32]

Furthermore, the road network in Lusitania (Fig. 3.3), although dense, was concentrated around the capital, Emerita Augusta, which was located in an odd off-centre position within the province. It seems difficult not to think of the area of Lusitania far from Emerita as a weakly Romanized region, even in the first centuries CE, judging by the absence of colonies to the north of the Tagus and the main roads between the coast and what was later known as the *Vía de la Plata* ('Silver Route'). Indeed, Strabo highlights the existence of different peoples in the interior of Lusitania who lived outside the processes of Romanization in the middle of the first century CE.[33]

The density (or lack) of an urban network emerges as a factor that more notably affects the process of Latinization. In order to analyse the diffusion of Latin and the abandonment of the indigenous languages of Lusitania under these interpretative parameters, it is crucial to take into account the lack of centres that could act as a driving force for linguistic change.[34] The Latinization of naming practices, for example, shows differing rates of change in different areas within the region, it being faster where the urban network was denser. In the northern third, personal names and theonyms found in Latin epigraphy are mainly indigenous, while, in the inscriptions in the region of Mérida and its immediate rural surroundings, Roman influence is much clearer. This is reflected not only in the onomastic repertoire of divinities and dedicants, but also in that their personal onomastic formula is adapted to Italic models. Norba and its surrounding area occupy a position midway. Here, individuals seem to have relatively Romanized names, while the names of divinities are decidedly local.[35] This evidence dates in its entirety to the imperial period. The documents written in Latin datable to the Republican period number around fifteen examples; the collection is made up of the *tabula Alcantarensis*, two *tesserae hospitales*, and property marks on Campanian ware.[36] Furthermore, and

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[31] Plin. *HN* 3.7, 4.22.   [32] Ptol. 2.5.7: Houten (2021), 104–5; (2022b).

[33] Strab. 3.3.3. There is an interesting collection of *termini Augustales*, which have been interpreted as an element of the representation of imperial power, precisely, perhaps, owing to its poor traction among local indigenous societies. Salinas de Frías and Rodríguez Cortés (2007), 587; Redentor and Carvalho (2017), 420.

[34] See Houten (2022a) on cities as a focus for Latinization in the *conventus Pacensis*.

[35] Esteban (2000), 255–67.

[36] *ELRH* U.2, U.8, U.9, U.10, U.20. Graffiti U.11–U19 are of one, two, or three letters.

Fig. 3.3 Map showing main and secondary roads in Lusitania.

perhaps more importantly in terms of Latinization, where their full names can be read, their authors are mainly from the Italian Peninsula, not Hispania.[37]

3.3. The Other Side of the Coin: Indigenous People Adopting Latin

3.3.1 Baetica

As for the earliest evidence of the adoption of Latin by indigenous peoples, the region of the future Baetica again shows earlier development compared to Lusitania. In particular, in the first half-century from the arrival of Rome in the south, there are coin legends that use Latin. In the east of the province, where epigraphy in the Southern Iberian script is concentrated, a number of mints issued coins with bilingual legends almost immediately after the Roman conquest: Obulco/**ipolka** (Porcuna, Jaén), Castulo/**kaśtilo** (Linares, Jaén), and Abra (possibly Torredonjimeno, Jaén). In these examples it is interesting to note the early presence of bilingualism and the abundance of names of magistrates.[38] As shall be seen, mining in the area constituted a focal point for the foreign population and was a key factor for the introduction of not only Latin in the area, but also other aspects of the Roman epigraphic habit. The only inscriptions on stone of any substantial length in Ulterior that use vernacular languages and scripts come from precisely this area: two funerary stelae with Iberian texts and a tombstone with an inscription transliterated into Latin, all three heavily reliant on contemporary Roman models.[39]

Even more important for an analysis of the Latinization of the south of the peninsula are the legends in the Latin alphabet on bronze coins mainly from the Guadalquivir Valley. Although their legends are very short and are often limited to the toponym of the city in the nominative case, it constitutes an important group comprised of around 100 mints which functioned between the second century BCE and the first half of the following century.[40] The interpretation of this early linguistic choice of Latin (or of the Latin alphabet) by the indigenous mints

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[37] Except on tessera U.8, with a probable indigenous anthroponym *Elando Rian[—]*.

[38] Other southern Iberian mints that do not issue bilingual coinage are Iliberis/**ilturiŕ** (Granada), which in the first century BCE Latinized its legends, as well as **iltiŕaka** and **urkesken**, whose exact location is unknown, and which used only Palaeohispanic scripts. On bilingualism in these mints, see Estarán Tolosa (2016), 312–28.

[39] *Hesperia* J.09.01, J.03.01, J.03.03. See also Simón (2014), 244–6; Herrera (2020), 145–50.

[40] The exceptions are several coin issues with neuter adjectives designating the ethnonym of the city: *Ilipense* (*DCPH*, no. 1–8); *Oripense* (*DCPH*, nos 1–2), *Celtitan* (*DCPH*, no. 1), and *Ilditugense* (*DCPH*, no. 3). See Herrera (2020), 132–43, with additional bibliography.

and their elites to project an image of the city in the course of the circulation of these pieces and accompanied by indigenous iconography invites two hypotheses. First, that these groups of local leaders were conscious of the importance of writing in Latin from very early on, something that has many similarities with other historical processes of imperialism.[41] Second, that they lacked their own system of writing. Based on the surviving epigraphic record, this absence can be assumed as a working hypothesis, at least in the area of greatest concentration of these coin issues (Fig. 3.4) that *grosso modo* covers the central area of Turdetania, in which, as has been indicated, there is a marked absence of indigenous epigraphy.

The picture changes if we move to the ancient Phoenician colonies of Gadir, Malaka, Abdera, and Seks, whose mints functioned earlier on and which in Roman times continued to use Punic or Neo-Punic writing. Despite the conservatism of these cities in terms of their coin legends and iconography, some later emissions (first century BCE) introduce additional letters to the toponyms, which have been interpreted as an attempt to adapt them to the Latin pronunciation: **hgdr** for Gades and **mwlk'** for Malaca, instead of the usual forms **'gdr** and **mlk'**, respectively.[42] The importance of Punic language and writing in the south of Ulterior, which continued to have vitality in the Roman period, manifests itself in the way that other cities also adopted Punic writing without having an a priori Phoenician or Punic origin. This is the case for Urso (Osuna, Sevilla), Nabrissa (Lebrija, Sevilla), Olontigi (Aznalcázar, Sevilla), and Ituci (Escacena, Huelva), which alternate between Neo-Punic and Latin on their coin issues.[43] Also, the so-called Libyo-Phoenician mints issued apparently bilingual coinage with legends in Latin and a kind of 'unusual' Neo-Punic, whose degree of deformation in the legends increases according to the distance from the coast, to the point that those in the south of Extremadura are considered practically illegible.[44]

This evidence supports the theory that, with the advent of Latinization, we probably witness the substitution of one vehicular language and writing for another. The use of the Phoenicio-Punic alphabet in non-Hispano-Phoenician communities is one of the main arguments advanced in favour of the Phoenicio-Punic language having a vehicular role in large areas of southern Hispania. This role is rooted in the commercial strength of Gadir and the other Phoenician colonies, implying the physical presence of Punic speakers in the interior of the territory with knowledge of their writing system.[45] This possibility (and the lack of

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[41] See, e.g., Hamel (2006).   [42] Gadir: *DCPH*, nos 44, 52, 54, 58; Malaka: *DCPH*, nos 21–9.

[43] Machuca (2019), 287–90; Herrera (2020), 170–3.

[44] The interpretation of the 'Libyo-Phoenician' legends has been the subject of much debate in the Spanish historiography. Currently there is a consensus to consider them as Neo-Punic with a high level of deformation, although their origin continues to be controversial. On this, see Estarán Tolosa (2016), 389–429; Herrera (2020), 180–94, both with additional bibliography.

[45] An example of this penetration is the small slate plaque with annotations relating to accounting in Punic cursive script, found in Alcalá del Río and dated to the first half of the second century BCE: Zamora et al. (2004).
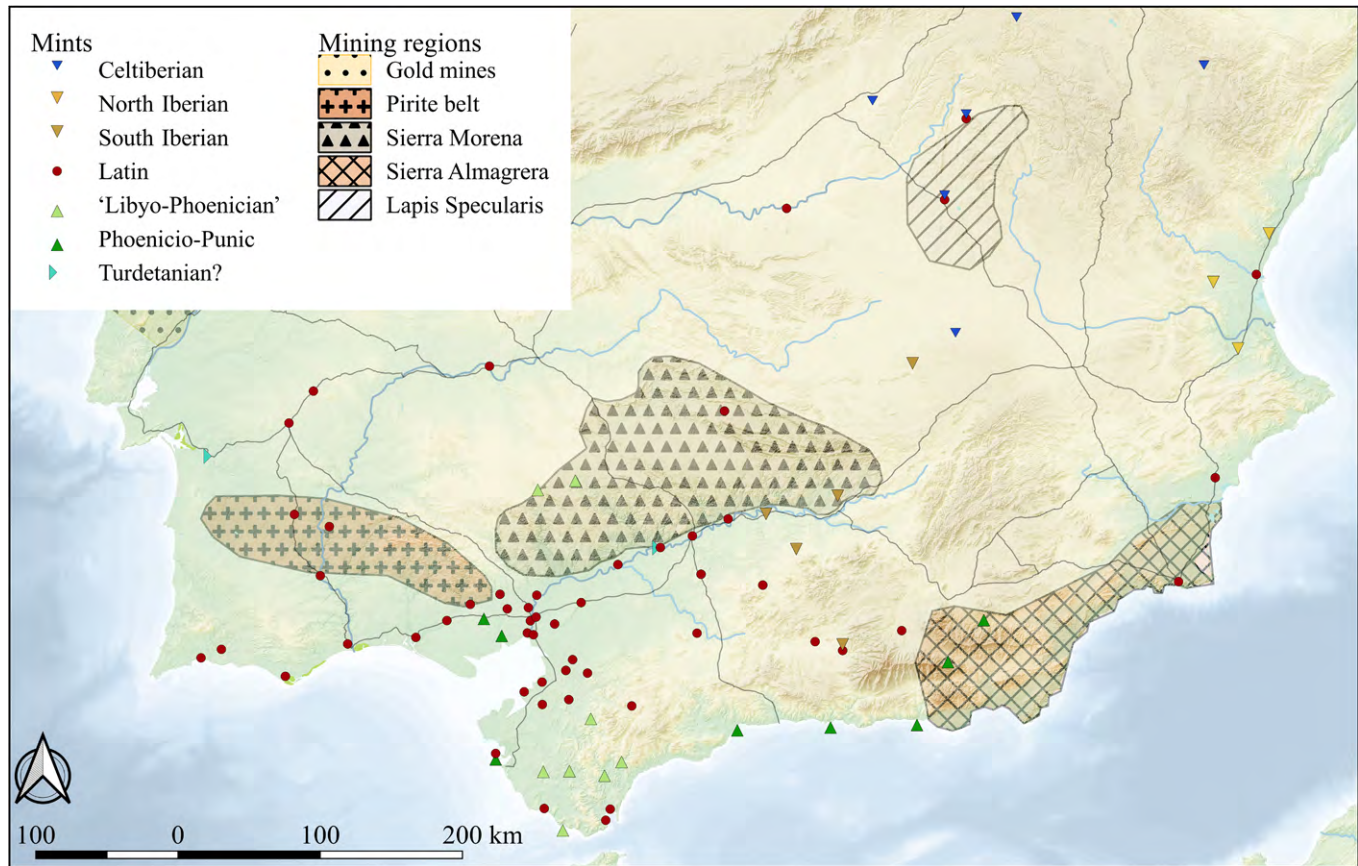
Fig. 3.4 Map showing mints by language of the legends and mining regions.

epigraphic record prevents going beyond this) would be a manifestation of the Phoenicio-Punic cultural influence in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. This would go some way to explaining the peculiar epigraphic habit in Ulterior, which is resistant to displayed inscriptions, Phoenicio-Punic-inspired coinage, and references in the geographical literature to Phoenician influence in the region.[46]

At the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire the differences in epigraphic behaviours in Baetica and Lusitania deepened. While, in the first, the written evidence of vernacular languages weakened and Republican Latin inscriptions are attested particularly in an area stretching from Santiponce to Valdeinfiernos and to its south (Fig. 3.5), in the second an interesting phenomenon in Lusitanian epigraphy took place, as we shall see. With regards to Baetica, in its eastern part Palaeohispanic coin legends disappeared in the first third of the first century BCE, and even Latin emissions that followed them in Obulco and Castulo do so in the middle of the same century. Of the graffiti, only one can be dated to around the turn of the era, a small graffito found in an archaeological context in Obulco with four Southern Iberian signs.[47] Very few inscriptions bear witness to the final stage of the vitality of Palaeohispanic languages, and in Baetica they are limited to a single case: an opisthographic plaque from Castulo. The older of the faces, from the second half of first century BCE, mentions an individual with the Roman *tria nomina*, M. Foluius Garos, followed by a series of words in an indigenous language in which the Iberian anthroponyms *Uninaunin* and *Uninit* can be identified. Although not certain, this can be interpreted as a funerary inscription. The second face dates to the final years BCE and contains an inscription by the freedman P. Cornelius P. l. Diphilus, ending the text with a word in an indigenous language, *castlosaic*, compatible both with an Iberian and Turdetanian root.[48]

The area of Phoenicio-Punic influence, with its profound cultural particularities, comprised the *conventus iuridicus* of Gades, whose limits clearly seem to have been drawn up with this in mind. The juridical changes at the end of the first century BCE led to the end of the use of the Punic alphabet on coins. Gades, the great Hispano-Phoenician city, adopted Latin in line with its ascent to Roman *municipium*, something that contrasts with other elements of cultural continuity, such as funerary rites or the iconography on coinage.[49] Seks does likewise on becoming the Latin *municipium*, Sexs Firmum Iulium. Curiously, the Latinization of the toponym adds an extra 'S', a phenomenon that also occurs in the North African mint of Lixus (Larache, Morocco).[50] Malaca, which at some point in the first century BCE became a federate city, ceased its monetary production in the

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[46] e.g. Strab. 3.2.13; Plin. *HN* 3.15. We shall return to this question in Section 3.4.
[47] *Hesperia* J.06.02.
[48] *ELRH* U.53 (= *CIL* II 3294, 3302; *Hesperia* J.03.01). See Simón (2014), 244–5; Estarán Tolosa (2016), 360–5.
[49] Fear (1996), 227–50; Machuca (2019), 29–316.   [50] Estarán Tolosa (2016), 473–6.

Republican epigraphy

1. Torreparedones (7 inscr.)
2. Córdoba (6)
3. Santiponce (6)
4. Linares (2)
5. Osuna (2)
6. Pinos Puente (2)
7. Alcalá de los Gazules
8. Alcalá del Río
9. Carmona
10. Cortijo de Carija
11. La Granjuela
12. La Guardia
13. La Rambla
14. Mesas de Asta
15. Nueva Carteya
16. Porcuna
17. Úbeda
18. Valdeinfiernos

Inscriptions
(Republican & Imperial)

Over 500
200
100
1

Provincial boundary
Main road
Secondary road
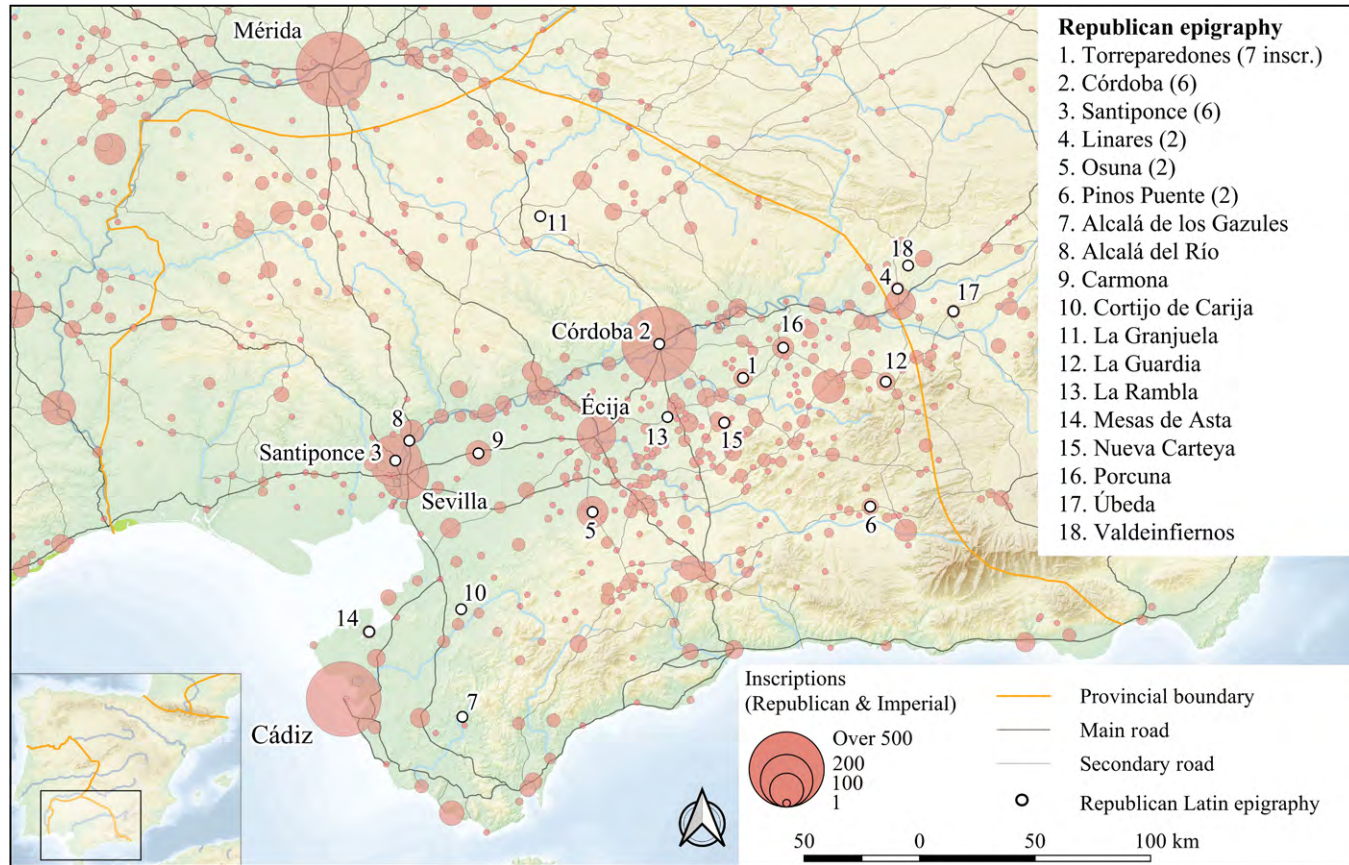○ Republican Latin epigraphy

50   0   50   100 km

Fig. 3.5 Map of locations of Republican Latin epigraphy and distributions of all Latin inscriptions.

middle of this century. A graffito on Italic *terra sigillata* dated to the beginning of the first century CE implies that the Punic language continued to be written in the first decades CE, and it can be assumed that in Malaca it remained a spoken language for a longer time.[51]

The case of Abdera is interesting for its conservatism in the expression of civic identity linked to linguistic choice. This city is another new *municipium*, which minted asses during the reign of Tiberius. While on the obverse appears an imperial bust with official titles, naturally in Latin, on the reverse a tetrastyle temple is represented in whose tympanum the toponym in Neo-Punic script is placed. This Neo-Punic text appears in some coin series alongside the Latin toponym, and in others, presumably of a later date, it ends up disappearing. Given this sequence, it must be assumed that there was not as much interest for the coin issuer in showing the linguistic reality of bilingualism, as combining language, iconography, and imperial imagery to express a new civic identity and stress the antiquity and the Phoenician origin of the city.[52]

3.3.2 Lusitania

In Lusitania, a very similar phenomenon to that in Baetica occurred, although at a later date. A number of mints issued coins whose legends were in Latin, or at least in the Latin alphabet, throughout the first century BCE, such as Baesuri, Balsa, Ebora, Ipses, Sirpens, or Murtillis.[53] Here, however, it can be said with greater certainty that there was not a vernacular script in use: the South-Western script had apparently disappeared some centuries earlier, and no Palaeohispanic inscription has been found in this region later than 350 BCE, with the exception of the mint of Salacia (Alcácer do Sal).[54] This city issued coinage between the second and first centuries BCE, and its coins contain interesting details for the study of Latinization in the region. Their legends consist of personal names written in the Latin alphabet, and in many cases compatible with Latin, accompanied by a second text whose writing system is very similar to that of the stelae in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, which disappeared in the fourth century BCE, as previously mentioned. The similarities with other coin issues of the time suggest that they are almost certainly toponyms. The different linguistic choice for each kind of information is very consistent in the issues of Salacia; however, it is not easy to interpret this fully. For now, this choice could be understood as a phenomenon diametrically opposed to the 'Hispano-Roman' coins from the

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[51] Gran-Aymerich (1991), 94 (fig. 73.6).   [52] Estarán Tolosa (2019b).
[53] Blázquez (2007).   [54] Jiménez Ávila (2021), 180–4.

Guadalquivir Valley mentioned before—that is to say, an explicit intention that Latin speakers would not understand to which city these coins belonged.[55]

The Latin inscriptions of Lusitania offer a complementary picture to the development of the epigraphic culture of Baetica from the Augustan age onwards. The number of Latin documents in this region from the Republican period does not reach twenty, as has been said. In contrast, the Latin inscriptions on stone from the imperial period number close to 5,000 according to the LatinNow database. The province saw a sudden increase in the production of inscriptions (an '*epigrafização*' to use the words of José D'Encarnação), which undoubtedly corresponds to the global phenomenon of the 'epigraphic boom' in the Augustan period.[56] It is in this context that the effective beginning of the Latinization of Lusitania can be placed, since it is from this time onwards that indigenous people begin to write or put up inscriptions in public spaces, a phenomenon that probably accelerated linguistic change.

It is difficult to be precise as to the number of languages that were spoken in the newly created province. The so-called South-Western language, by then extinct, had been the most represented language in pre-Roman inscriptions.[57] Certainly, according to the epigraphic record, Palaeohispanic languages active in this region at the turn of the era were (Gallaico-) Lusitanian and the Celtic language of the so-called Celtic Baeturia (which can be identified with the later *conventus Pacensis*).[58] Some toponyms (Ossonoba, Murtili, or Baesuri) can be linked to the Tartessian–Turdetanian language.[59] In any case, the absence of Palaeohispanic texts in this region is particularly notable, especially in the south of Lusitania,[60] so that the available evidence is mainly of an onomastic nature, consisting of theonyms, toponyms, and anthroponyms contained within Latin inscriptions.[61] The notable exception is five inscriptions in the Lusitanian language (Fig. 3.6).[62] Discovered in the central part of modern Portugal, all of them are rock inscriptions of considerable length compared to the rest of the Palaeohispanic corpus and show a cultic nature.[63] It is significant that their findspots are away from urban centres, confirming the Latinizing capacity of the city.

Although these inscriptions are written in Lusitanian, their authors had deep knowledge of the Latin alphabet, given that they applied it to the phonetic features of their language. In fact, the epigraphic context in which these inscriptions

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[55] On Salacia, see Estarán Tolosa (2016), 328–36; *Hesperia* mon. 103.
[56] See D'Encarnação (2016); also Chapter 1.   [57] Correa and Guerra (2019); Luján (2021).
[58] España (2021), 283–9; Vallejo (2021).   [59] Correa (2021).
[60] Houten (2022b).
[61] Vallejo (2016); Gorrochategui and Vallejo (2019); *Adopia*, adopia.huma-num.fr/es/atlas.
[62] On Lusitanian, see Luján (2019); Wodtko (2020). On the number of Lusitanian inscriptions, Luján (2019), 306–7; Wodtko (2020), 691–5.
[63] *Hesperia* CC.03.01 ('Arroyo de la Luz I-II'), CC.03.02 ('Arroyo de la Luz III'), GUA.01.01 (Cabeço das Fráguas), POA.01.01 (Arronches), VIS.01.01 (Lamas de Moledo). See Cardim Ribeiro (2021) and Cardim Ribeiro and Pires (2021).

Fig. 3.6 Map of find-spots of Lusitanian inscriptions and settlement types.

are found is eminently Latin: their palaeographic features, with abundant nex-uses and rounded letters, are similar to other Latin inscriptions in the province. Two of the five inscriptions show a Latin heading in which it is specified that certain individuals 'wrote' (*scribo* is the verb used) these texts:[64] *Rufinus et Tiro scripserunt* and *Ambatus scripsi(t?).* The text inscribed below was written in Lusitanian (and the Latin alphabet). In both cases, as with the other three Lusitanian inscriptions of considerable length, they commemorate an offering that possibly included animal sacrifice. The interpretation of these headings and the relationship between Rufinus, Tiro, and Ambatus and the inscriptions is not universally agreed: directors of the cult, local authorities who sanctioned the text, or writing professionals are some of the suggestions to explain the presence of these introductions in Latin.[65] We believe it plausible, although not certain, that they could have been writing professionals who emphasized their relevant social role in creating a written record of the celebration of a ritual sacrifice in a region that had been without writing until Roman dominance. This is the recent sugges-tion of Ignacio Simón, for whom the preeminent nature of *Rufinus et Tiro scrips-erunt* and *Ambatus scripsi(t?)* at the beginning of the inscription is linked to 'the exceptionality of writing down indigenous rituals in the Lusitanian language'.[66] We agree and would add that perhaps writing in Lusitanian, in general terms, is an exceptional act per se.

Knowing the role of Ambatus, Rufinus, and Tiro would help us to ponder the second unknown about these texts, a question that clearly reflects the polyhedric nature of the process of Latinization: why are the headings written in Latin and the rest of the text in Lusitanian? The fact that all Lusitanian inscriptions, written after their first contacts with Rome, are of a religious nature has led to them being placed during the final stages of the language's existence. According to these inter-pretations, Lusitanian was used only in the domain of religion. Following this interpretative framework, it has been suggested that the choice of the indigenous language for these long texts related to cult is owed to a greater ritual effectiveness,[67] or linguistic conservatism related to religion.[68]

However, what is certain is that the written documents do not support sub-stantial progress in Latinization after the turn of the era. It is presumed that the province of Lusitania was Latinized, but, in reality, funerary or religious texts on stone were inscribed in Latin with a strong formulaic element that consisted of names of people and more or less standardized formulae. We do not have any

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[64] *Hesperia* CC.03.01 and VIS.01.01. Simón (2021a) summarizes the possible interpretations of this verb.

[65] Cardim Ribeiro (2021), 248–53, provides a detailed review of the state of research on the inter-pretations of the Latin heading from Arroyo de la Luz, also applicable to the inscription from Lamas de Moledo.

[66] Simón (2021a), 271.   [67] Alfayé and Marco Simón (2008).

[68] See Beltrán Lloris (2011a), 43–7; Gorrochategui and Vallejo (2015); Estarán Tolosa (2019a).

texts of an everyday nature that confirm the indigenous people of central Portugal spoke Latin in the first century CE. Therefore, to affirm that Lusitanian was in retreat at this time, succumbing to a relatively quick Latinization of the interior of the province, would have to be assumed only from an epigraphic record consisting of formulaic lapidary inscriptions, a justification *ex silentio*.

If we look at the epigraphic and sociolinguistic context, it is evident that literacy in Lusitania goes hand in hand with Latin epigraphy. Latin is, therefore, the language of the written record. It is indisputable that, despite being written very sporadically, Lusitanian did not make the leap to the creation of its own written culture[69] as occurs in other Palaeohispanic cultures, a result perhaps of the early Romanization that took place in other regions in the peninsula.[70] In other words, the preservation of Latin texts on stone does not preclude us from suggesting that Lusitanian, the local language of this region, could have continued to be spoken at the turn of the era or in the first century CE (when the Lusitanian inscriptions are generally dated). In fact, the composition of the five identified Lusitanian inscriptions (which are relatively complex compared to the written record in Latin), and their notable length, denote a certain linguistic vitality. As a result, it is possible that Lusitanian remained on the margins of writing, with exceptions only for some special occasions, as Javier de Hoz suggests,[71] or simply for practical reasons: maybe the *cultores* did not know how to express the complex ritual content in Latin. If we are correct, the long Lusitanian texts could be placed in the earliest period of Latinization, not it its final stages, in which it was used only in the religious domain, as is usually assumed. In our opinion, this could be an example of Lusitanians writing in the Lusitanian language.

In this practice, however, the clear impact of Roman written culture can be seen, which is dominant for funerary or votive ends: the advantages of putting something into writing that had probably taken place for decades or centuries (in this case sacrifices) and that until this moment had not been considered necessary to engrave on stone. This innovation could reach Lusitania from Rome only through those who had the technical knowledge of epigraphic writing and also, of course, of the Latin alphabet and the Lusitanian language. Whether this is the case of Ambatus, Rufinius, and Tiro, we cannot know for certain.[72]

Continuing to widen the scope, we now turn to an altar from Viseu (Fig. 3.7).[73] This altar with high quality moulding has a finely carved inscription whose

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[69]   Javier de Hoz describes that there is no Lusitanian use of writing, rather an occasional use of the Latin alphabet to write Lusitanian (de Hoz 2013). See also Luján (2019), 308.

[70]   Beltrán Lloris (2011a), 45–6.   [71]   See n. 69.

[72]   It is not unusual for artisans to sign their work in a different language (or script) from that of the text that they engraved. There are some Gaulish examples, such as *naiskos* from Saint-Germain-Source-Seine or the stele from Genouilly (*RIIG* CDO-02–01, CHE-01–01) (Chapter 5). However, it is not easy to justify why artisans would sign the work at the beginning of the text in such a prominent place. The use of the verb *scribo* is also not expected. See Simón (2021a), 270.
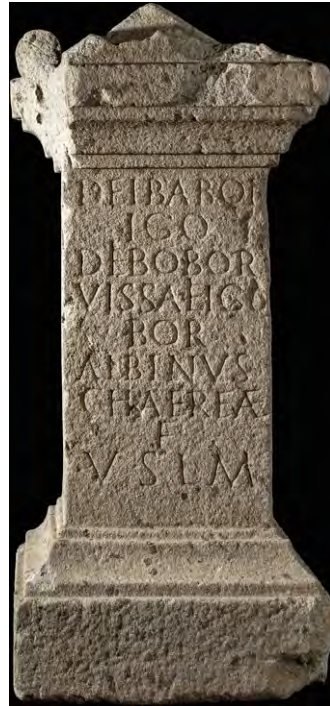
[73]   *Hesperia* VIS.02.0

Fig. 3.7 Altar of Viseu. (© José Alfredo/EON.)

appearance clearly reflects a Roman context datable to the second half of the first century CE. Its text reads: *Deibabor igo Deibobor Vissaieigobor Albinus Chaereae f(ilius) u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).* Nothing would differentiate this inscription from any other votive inscription in the Roman world were it not for its non-Latin inflection in the two theonyms (*-bor*) linked, furthermore, by a conjunction of the local language (*igo*) and qualified by the ethnic name of the city (*Vissaieigobor*).[74] Paradoxically, Albinus is linked via a *votum* (a characteristically Roman ritual) to the god and goddesses of Viseu, an expression that also seems to be an imitation of the Roman formula *diis deabusque (sacrum)*, which is developed from the Principate onwards.[75]

The fact that Albinus son of Chaerea refers to divinities in the local language and not Latin is not an isolated case. Code-switching in theonyms and votive dedications in Latin is a phenomenon that is widespread throughout the Gallaico-Lusitanian area, which is confirmed by around twenty other cases.[76] In the light

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[74] The linguistic categorization of the non-Latin part of this inscription is still *sub iudice*; see Luján (2019), §11.2, and Wodtko (2020), 698–9.

[75] Search in the *Epigraphic Database Roma*, last accessed 31 March 2022. On this formula in the provinces of Gaul and Germania, see Raepsaet-Charlier (1993), as well as Perea (1998), 171–80; Blázquez (2011) for Hispania.

[76] Gorrochategui and Vallejo (2010); (2015), 338–9, 50–1; Estarán Tolosa (2019a), 59–62.

of the above examples, it could perhaps be considered that the local language was retained to express terms relating to cult, specifically theonyms and their epithets, a phenomenon that has parallels, for example, in dedications to the mother goddesses in Germania Inferior and whose date *ante quem* is very difficult to determine.[77]

In our opinion, the sociolinguistic situation that is gleaned from the Lusitanian inscriptions with headings in Latin, on the one hand, and from the Latin religious dedications with code-switching in the theonyms, on the other, is different because these are not the same linguistic–epigraphic expressions: while rock inscriptions consist of complex sentences in Lusitanian, showing a certain degree of ethnolinguistic vitality, votive epigraphs are extremely formulaic. It is hard to draw any conclusions about what the dedicants' actual spoken language was in these inscriptions (even if the theonyms show local morphology it could be due to a kind of linguistic retention typical of the religious domain). This is not the only difference. Unlike the rock inscriptions mentioned before, the approximately twenty Latin examples with Gallaico-Lusitanian theonyms whose place of origin can be determined (many of them were reused in secondary contexts, especially built into hermitages and churches), come from urban contexts (Lucus Augusti,[78] Bracara Augusta,[79] Mêda,[80] Viseu[81]), and their geographic dispersion does not coincide with that of the longer Lusitanian inscriptions. Nor do their linguistic features fully coincide.[82] In any case, it is difficult to determine the precise level of Latinization that can be inferred from this group of inscriptions.[83]

3.4. The Principal Factors of Latinization

As has been highlighted, the early Latinization of the elite was one of the characteristics of the process of Latinization in Hispania Ulterior, which is especially visible in the south of the province. The success of the local elites in maintaining control of a large part of the economy and integrating into the Roman economic system favoured the progressive alignment of interests with the Roman state. The best example of this is seen in the Balbi family from Gades: L. Cornelius Balbus, a rich Gaditanian close to Pompey and Caesar and the first non-Italian to hold the consulship in 40 BCE, and his nephew of the same name, who held high magistracies with Octavian. Although less successful than the Balbi, everything points to the local elites in Ulterior, who were responsible for dealing with the provincial authorities and local commercial agents, adapting relatively quickly to the

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[77] On this group, Biller (2010); Eck (2021).
[78] *HEpOnl* 24548; Estarán Tolosa (2016), Lu2.
[79] *HEpOnl* 8247; Estarán Tolosa (2016), Lu6.
[80] *HEpOnl* 25444; Estarán Tolosa (2016), Lu9.
[81] Estarán Tolosa (2016), Lu12.
[82] Luján (2019), 309.   [83] Wodtko (2009).

political situation. This implied not only the early use of Latin, but also the pro-
gressive adaptation to Roman forms, including something as sensitive and
important as personal names.[84]

Ulterior has one of the best examples of this onomastic change of the provincial
elites, the so-called Mausoleum of the Pompeys in Torreparedones (Baena,
Córdoba),[85] a funerary chamber in which twelve inscribed urns were found (as
well as other uninscribed ones). Five dating to the middle of the first century BCE,
and another seven to the Augustan period and the first decades of the first
century CE, contain the remains of an indigenous family from the local elite.[86]
From the point of view of onomastics, these epitaphs reflect a situation that must
have been usual in this social context, an attempt to adapt local names (in this
case Turdetanian) to Roman forms, with the usual structure among *peregrini*
consisting of a personal name and filiation, and with inconsistent Latinizations.[87]
At some point in the second half of the first century BCE, a Roman colony, Virtus
Iulia, was established in the area, and this family integrated into the new
community, adapting its names to the new political conditions and adopting the
family name Pompeius. Considering that some of the members held magistracies,
their integration must have been successful. The indigenous elements of the
names became *cognomina* in the Roman *tria nomina*, as in the case of
Q. Pompeius Velaunis or M. Pompeius Icstnis.[88]

Besides allowing us to trace the process of onomastic change, the epitaphs
from Torreparadones highlight three points. First, Roman influence on the elite's
adoption of aspects of the Roman epigraphic habit—namely, the writing of
epitaphs—something that is practically unknown in the south before the first
century BCE. Second, the direct recourse to Latin language and writing instead of
indigenous ones for one type of presumably restricted epigraphic communication
(a family mausoleum), something that gives us an idea of the level of Latinization
of these local elites in the late Republican period, despite the adaptation to Latin
sometimes being problematic. The fact that Latin was taken up as the language
for family epitaphs reflects substantial changes at a sociolinguistic level. And,

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[84] Mayer (2002).   [85] Beltrán Fortes (2010; 2021).
[86] From the Republican period, the urns of Ildrons Velaunis f. (*ELRH* U.41 = *CIL* II²/5 414),
Igalghis Ildronis f. (*ELRH* U.42 = *CIL* II²/5 415), Velgana (*ELRH* U.43 = *CIL* II²/5 419), Sisean
Bahanonnis f. (*ELRH* U.44 = *CIL* II²/5 418), and Gracchi (*ELRH* U.45 = *CIL* II²/5 416). From the
Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods (following the order of *CIL* II²), the urns of M. Pompeius Icstnis
(*CIL* II²/5 409), Fabia Aninna (*CIL* II²/5 410), Q. Pompeius Sabinus (*CIL* II²/5 411), Pompeia Nanna
(*CIL* II²/5 412), Q. Pompeius Velaunis (*CIL* II²/5 413), Iunia Ingshana (*CIL* II²/5 417), and Cn.
Pompeius Afer (*CIL* II²/5 420).
[87] For example, in the name Ildrons Velaunis f. on the Republican urn *ELRH* U.41 we see that the
first element, in the nominative, is declined correctly in the genitive, Ildronis, on urn U.42; however,
the father's name in the genitive, Velaunis, reappears with the same form as a *cognomen* in the nom-
inative, Q. Pompeius Velaunis.
[88] Díaz Ariño, Estarán Tolosa, and Simón (2019), 402–5.

third, the enormous impact that the installation of colonies and the other socio-juridical changes had on the area after 49 BCE.[89]

In the middle of the first century BCE, epigraphic evidence appears for the activity of some of the magistrates of indigenous cities, whose legal status was as *peregrini* but who attempted to adapt their personal names to Roman forms. In Ilipa (Alcalá del Río, Sevilla), a *peregrinus* and magistrate, Urchail Attita f. Chilasurgun, constructed gates for the city.[90] The first element of his name, Urchail, is well documented in the Iberian language, while the patronym, Attita, is Turdetanian. The Latin word *f(ilius)* is added without affecting the vernacular morphology of the patronym, showing the gradual nature of the process of Latinization. The third word, Chilasurgun, is known only in this inscription and does not conform to any of the onomastics known in the area; perhaps it is a *cognomen* of indigenous origin, or an element in the indigenous language that is not a name, maybe his official position.[91] In 49 BCE, two local magistrates from La Rambla, Corduba, probably the city of Sabetum, also ordered the construction of city gates. They were the *decemvir maximus* Binsnes Vercellonis f. and *aedilis* M. Coranus Acrini f. Alpis.[92] The first has the usual onomastic formation for *per-egrini* in Hispania, with the name and patronym, both of them Celtic. In contrast, the aedile has the *tria nomina*, although with unusual *cognomen* and filiation. The attempt to bring the local institutional positions into line with the Roman forms is also interesting; there is no evidence that the city had a privileged status and, moreover, the decemvirate in Hispania appears only in communities of *per-egrini*. This is, therefore, an example of institutional *translatio*, alongside the change in onomastics.[93] That the two inscriptions, from indigenous political and cultural contexts, were written in Latin provides an extremely valuable indication as to the linguistic situation in Ilipa and Sabetum and one that can be extrapolated to the area of the Guadalquivir Valley at that time: local languages were not used for commemorative texts of mainly an official character, which instead are written directly in Latin. Although we do not know to what extent indigenous languages were still spoken at this time, it is clear that public communication was the domain exclusively of Latin.[94]

No doubt one of the most important means of linguistic contact between Latin and the population of Ulterior was through economic activities, characterized from 180 BCE by an intensification of farming and mining, as well as increasing integration into the Roman Mediterranean trade routes. Recently, archaeology

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[89] On the relationship between Latinization and the spread of citizenship, see Beltrán Lloris (2023); Meyer (2023).

[90] *ELRH* U.28 (= *CIL* II 1087).   [91] Herrera (2019), 263; Simón (2020b), 159–60.

[92] *ELRH* U.38 (= *CIL* II²/7 521).   [93] Herrera (2019), 263.

[94] Compare the Celtiberian inscriptions on bronze from the first century BCE, which use the vernacular language for official and religious communications, even with some cases of transliteration into Latin, such as the recently published bronze from Novallas, Zaragoza: Beltrán Lloris, Jordán, et al. (2020).

and numismatics have shown the division of the southern region into two large commercial areas, western Andalusia and the coastal areas with the surviving Hispano-Phoenician commercial activities in which the city of Gades stands out, and eastern Andalusia, with greater importance of Italico-Roman trade based on the import of Campanian ware. As shall be seen, the commercial importance of Gades and other cities of Punic origin was important for the diffusion of models of the use of writing.[95]

Of huge importance for the mobilization and movement of capital, goods, and labour is mining.[96] Based on indications made by classical writers, such as Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, silver mines (and those of lead, which was used in its processing) became magnets for the Italic population as well as using an enormous amount of slave labour.[97] Mining spread around Carthago Nova and Sierra Morena, especially near the cities of Castulo and Sisapo. Initially in the hands of individuals, from the first century BCE mining became professionalized and intensified, creating a series of private companies (*societates argentifodinarum*). Both organizational models have left epigraphic evidence of their activity through stamps on lead ingots, stamped lead countermarks on coins and tokens, all of them in Latin, which almost certainly functioned as the lingua franca in the mines, being places where people from diverse backgrounds came together.[98] In fact, the two earliest *termini* from Ulterior are associated with mining: a block of stone from Valdeinfierno, Jaén, marking the land of a private concessionary, the Roman citizen T. Pasidius, and a milestone found near Córdoba, indicating a private road belonging to the *societas Sisaponensis*, one of the most important mining companies. Both date to the middle of the first century BCE.[99]

Apart from mining, which was concentrated in the eastern part of the province, there are few references to the presence of Roman and Italic traders in Republican Ulterior. Early in the conquest there are mentions of *redemptores*, *mercatores*, and *mangones* who accompany the Roman army. As the conflicts moved inland, the references in the sources become more scarce, being limited to indicating the existence of the *conventus civium Romanorum* in Corduba and Hispalis.[100] In contrast to the neighbouring province, there is also no evidence of *collegia*, which were made up of freedmen involved in commerce, although we have already mentioned the importance of freedmen in the earliest Latin

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[95] Chaves and García (1991); García and García (2010); Chic (2011).

[96] On the impact of these factors on Latinization, see Wilson (2023).

[97] Diod. 5.36–38; Strab. 3.3.10. On mining in Hispania, see Domergue (1990); Zarzalejos, Hevia, and Mansilla (2012).

[98] On these companies, see Díaz Ariño and Antolinos (2019). On the epigraphic and numismatic material, see Casariego (1987); Arévalo (2000); Antolinos and Díaz Ariño (2015); *ELRH* SP 1–43 and P1–5 (pp. 275–95).

[99] *ELRH* U.56, and *CIL* II²/7 699a, respectively.

[100] *Mercatores*, or the army's suppliers (Liv. 18.22.3), *redemptores*, or contractors (Liv. 34.9.12), and *mangones* or *mercatores venalicii*—i.e. slave traders (Liv. 21.60.8 and 24.32.11). References to Caesar: *Bell. Alex.* 57; *Bell. Civ.* 2.20.

inscriptions in Ulterior.[101] The graffiti on imported Campanian ware (in many cases it is impossible to know if they were written in their place of origin or by the final owners of the product) are very limited, both in number and in the length of their text.[102]

Once again, we must stress the importance of cities as a vector that facilitated the spread of Latin. As well as previous indigenous urban centres, early colonial foundations involved the settlement of an Italic population, and, as has been said, they became focal points for immigration. Altogether, cities were catalysts for administration, trade, and economic activities, accelerating contact between Latin speakers and indigenous people. They also created a social and cultural infrastructure that favoured learning how to write and, especially after Augustus, the use of Latin. The close relationship between the urban network and Latinization is key for interpreting the difference in the speed of early Latinization in Baetica and Lusitania, a link that continued in the imperial period.[103]

A final factor that should be considered for the different pace of the diffusion of Latin in Ulterior is the existence of vehicular languages or lingua francas. Unlike the eastern part of the Empire with Aramaic and Greek, the absence of wide-spread lingua francas with high sociolinguistic vitality has been identified as an important factor in Latin's long-term success in the West. However, all the evidence points to certain indigenous languages achieving this role at a local level and, at least for a period of time, maintaining it—for example, Gaulish in certain parts of the provinces of Gaul.[104] In the case of southern Hispania, we have already noted the role that Phoenicio-Punic probably had as a vehicular language, even some time after the Roman conquest. From this point of view, the familiarity of using vehicular languages must have facilitated the acquisition of Latin by the local elites in Ulterior, which quickly also acquired these functions as its early and prolific use in local coins issues indicates. At the beginning of the second third of the first century BCE there is no evidence for the use of Phoenicio-Punic outside the central Hispano-Phoenician areas (where, it must be remembered, it lasted a long time), which suggests the end of its use as a lingua franca. For the Lusitanian part of Ulterior, the record is more limited, so the hypotheses are less certain, although we can suppose that initially there was linguistic fragmentation

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[101] In Republican Hispania Citerior, there are references to *collegia* of freedmen in Carthago Nova (Cartagena, Murcia) and its surroundings (*ELRH C*.10, *C*.50, C.52), Tarraco (Tarragona) (C.62), and La Cabañeta (El Burgo de Ebro, Zaragoza) (C.105). On these associations, see Rodríguez et al. (2016).

[102] Graffiti on Campanian ware has appeared in Bailo (*ELRH* U.4 and 5), Corduba (U.32), the mine of La Loba to the north of Córdoba (U.47) and in Asido (*AE* 2014, 628). Apart from the first, with the Greek anthroponym *Acamas*, and the last, with the Latin name *M. Flav*[—], the rest do not provide linguistic information.

[103] Caballos Rufino (2016); Houten (2023a).   [104] Beltrán Lloris (2023).

similar to that in Baetica, so Latin could have functioned as the first lingua franca in the region.[105]

3.5. The Latin of Baetica and Lusitania in the Imperial Period

It seems difficult to deny the existence of regional varieties of Latin in the territories of ancient Hispania Ulterior, especially in Lusitania, given the long duration of the linguistic shift that has been described in the previous pages.[106] However, it is certainly difficult to identify this regional diversification in the surviving epigraphic record, since much of the material published and available to researchers (which does not coincide with everything that has been found) was made to be publicly displayed and is markedly formulaic (epitaphs, votive dedications) or of a regulatory nature (laws on bronze tablets). This is one reason why J. N. Adams was cautious about the use of stone inscriptions as sources for the study of the regional diversification of Latin. Not only do they tend to reflect standardized language, but they are scattered, undated, and often the result of non-locals.[107] He preferred to use them combined with the support of non-literary documents or 'everyday writing', which for the Iberian Peninsula is only now receiving sustained interest.[108] Also useful can be the literary evidence, which is scarce for the territory of Ulterior and particularly focused on the area of Baetica.[109] For example, in his speech *Pro Archia*, Cicero shows that there were poets in Corduba with a rough and foreign accent.[110] Although it should be taken into account that Cicero often makes the contrast between the language of the inhabitants of the *Urbs* and other Latin speakers (today we would speak of snobbery),[111] it is not unusual that local variations would quickly develop in the province, including the maintaining of certain archaisms as a result of the early settlement of colonies. Varro notes that in Corduba as well as some cities in Italy the word *cenaculum*, which had fallen into disuse in other places, continued to be employed.[112] The case of the first speech in the Senate made by the future Emperor Hadrian in 101 CE is also well known. From Baetica, his pronunciation is described as *agrestis* and caused ridicule among the senators, which drove the young man to improve his diction. Despite

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[105]   On the relationship between vehicular languages and the Latinization of southern Hispania, see Beltrán Lloris (2011a), 37–43; Herrera (2020), 194–200.

[106]   See Adams (2007), 34–5. Difficult also is the question of what we understand by 'classical' or standard Latin; see Banniard (2012).

[107]   Adams (2007), 676.   [108]   See n. 24.   [109]   Adams (2007).

[110]   Cic. *Arch.* 26: *ut etiam Cordubae natis poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen auris suas dederet.*

[111]   Adams (2007), 124–47.

[112]   Varr. *Ling.* 5.16: *ubi cenabant cenaculum vocitabant, ut etiam nunc Lanuvi apud aedem Iunonis et in cetero Latio ac Faleriis et Cordubae dicuntur.*

the truth of this event in itself being more than questionable, given that Hadrian was an aristocrat who received a first-class education and spent the majority of his childhood and youth in Italy, the passage could attest to the existence of this provincial way of speaking and its negative perception in Italy.[113]

These details, which are scant and no different from other contemporary references to accents and local peculiarities, do not receive clear and evident support in the epigraphic record in the imperial period. In 1906, the French scholar Albert Carnoy attempted to isolate the particular features of Hispanic Latin in the epigraphic record, opening a line of academic debate.[114] Although the regional specificities of Latin are not denied, currently problems in identifying them clearly are highlighted, as Beltrán Lloris sets out:

> The manageable ancient evidence, whether it be inscriptions or literary texts, do not confirm the existence of a differentiated Latin in Hispania, rather, on the contrary, it reflects a substantially identical language to that attested in Italy and other places in the Roman West, with similar patterns of evolution. Distinguishing features will be looked for in vain among the 20,000 Latin inscriptions in Hispania, since no matter how much they contain some Hispanism, show signs of influences from the Palaeohispanic languages on occasions, or have certain phonetic peculiarities […] the epigraphic language basically fits the parameters of literary Latin.[115]

Even so, recent doctoral theses have confronted this thorny issue in relation to Baetica and Lusitania in an attempt to combine traditional views with new analytical tools. After a detailed revision of the epigraphic materials of the *Conventus Astigitanus* and the *Conventus Cordubensis* (those published systematically in the new editions of the *CIL*), Lidia Martín Adán has highlighted some relatively widespread phenomena, although very far from being in the majority, such as the confusion between *o* and *u*, and between intervocalic *b* and *u*, the loss of final -*m*, and the abundance of geminate consonants.[116] However, these phenomena are not only particular to the territory studied (they appear throughout Hispania and beyond), they tend to appear from the third century CE onwards, and alterations in the morphosyntax are not detected.[117] As for Lusitania, Béla Adamik identified a convergence of the nominal cases (nominative, acusative–ablative, and dative–genitive) in its Latin, found also in parts of Italy and Africa.[118] Silvia Tantimonaco has examined the language of Latin inscriptions from Lusitania,

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[113] *Vit. Hadr.* 3.1: *in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit.*
[114] Carnoy (1906). On the state of research on the Latin of Hispania, Beltrán Lloris (2004a); Gómez Pantoja (2004).
[115] Beltrán Lloris (2004a), 84–5.   [116] Martín Adán (2015).   [117] Martín Adán (2015).
[118] Adamik (2014), 658, table 1; Tantimonaco (2017), 429.

and identified some phonetic and morphosyntactical particularities of this region.[119] However, the huge amount of orthographic errors that she identifies makes it difficult to distinguish a 'material' mistake from a linguistic phenomenon. Ultimately, the biased nature of the documentation (lapidary inscriptions that are difficult to date with precision) hinders a clearer picture of the situation. Based on the surviving record and with due caution, it seems that the previous linguistic substrate did not clearly mark, at least visibly, the regional development of Latin in Ulterior.

It should not be overlooked that the particular characteristics of the surviving linguistic material in each province have possibly led to the evident regional imbalances in the approaches to this topic in the Roman West. For example, the quantity of published data available to evaluate 'everyday' Latin in Lusitania, as has been highlighted, is minuscule compared to the record of Britannia, for instance. As such, the results of the analysis of this information will necessarily be different. Research on Hispania has traditionally tended to focus on publicly displayed inscriptions, excluding the most prosaic examples of writing, despite it being very likely that most textual communication used perishable supports.[120] However, recently a change in this trend has been seen, which focuses on other types of supports that in the decades to come might produce results on the 'relaxed' Latin of the earliest Latin speakers in the Iberian Peninsula.[121] We believe that it is best to keep an open mind to the appearance of new information, perhaps in graffiti on walls and pottery or *defixiones*.[122]

3.6. Conclusions

The large territory of Ulterior constitutes an exceptional area in which to observe the complexity of the process of Latinization thanks to the variety of the evidence and the broad timeline, whose starting point is at the end of the third century BCE and whose end, which is much less clear, can be placed between the second and third centuries CE. The Latinization of this region was subject to a series of determining factors particular to this territory. The first contacts with Rome occurred very early on, in a context in which Latin quickly acquired its character as the language of power. Soldiers, colonial administrators, and traders acted as vehicles of diffusion of the new language, especially in Andalusia, where the foundation of

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[119] Tantimonaco (2017).   [120] Simón (2021b).

[121] The term 'Vulgar Latin' coined by Schuchardt in the nineteenth century has certain negative connotations. 'Relaxed' is the term used by Tantimonaco (2017), 15, inspired by Banniard (1992), 41–2.

[122] The collection of slates from the Visigothic period, studied in detail by I. Velázquez Soriano, has also not permitted the identification of a 'Latin of Hispania', or of any particular region of the Iberian Peninsula; see Velázquez (1989; 2004).

colonies and mining accelerated the process. Besides legal texts, the first documents in Latin always appear connected to cities. This link between Latin and the urban fabric has been amply highlighted, and the territorial differences between Baetica and Lusitania are very illustrative in this regard. Cities are, then, a focus for the spread of Roman culture and language.

The indigenous elite, selecting and reworking these exogenous elements among which were the Latin language and alphabet, adopted them as an instrument of power. In this way, these dominant social groups are the ones responsible for the earliest texts in Latin written by indigenous people, including coin legends. It is possible that through these short texts written in the Latin alphabet the indigenous elites wanted to express some kind of dependence on Rome. Whatever the motives, the Latin language and its writing spread throughout all of Ulterior.

There were, however, significant regional differences from the beginning. While the evidence points to the south having a long tradition of the use of writing, in Lusitania literacy began with the arrival of Rome. The greater urban density and the presence of a previous vehicular language, Punic, also eased the way for Latin in Baetica. Apart from some exceptions of a more symbolic, rather than practical, nature, such as the expressive Neo-Punic coin legends of Abdera, we can assume that Baetica was Latinized at the beginning of the first century CE. In stark contrast, Lusitania does not offer evidence for precise documentation of the evolution of the adoption of the new language. Throughout the first century, CE inscriptions, especially votive ones, were written in Latin with a strong indigenous influence (some even with code-switching in their theonyms) but with a language so formulaic that it is difficult to reconstruct its sociolinguistic context. In Lusitania, therefore, the lack of 'everyday' inscriptions, which would allow us to follow much more closely the process of linguistic change, is especially pronounced. The discovery and study of graffiti, *defixiones*, or collections of letters would allow us to determine more precisely than with lapidary inscriptions the different paces of the process of Latinization and any regional varieties.