

## Law and Power

# Impact of Empire

ROMAN EMPIRE, C. 200 B.C.—A.D. 476

*Edited by*

Olivier Hekster

*(Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands)*

*Editorial Board*

Stéphane Benoist

Lien Foubert

Marietta Horster

Anne Kolb

Luuk de Ligt

Elio Lo Cascio

Bernhard Palme

Michael Peachin

Francisco Pina Polo

Rubina Raja

Christian Witschel

Greg Woolf

VOLUME 49

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/imem*

# Law and Power

*Agents of Social and Spatial Transformation  
in the Roman West*

*Edited by*

Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz

Antonio López García

Anthony Álvarez Melero

Diego Romero Vera



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover image: Roman road found near the ancient city of Acci (Guadix, Granada, Spain).  
Copyright Antonio López García.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mataix Ferrándiz, Emilia, editor.

Title: Law and power : agents of social and spatial transformation in the  
Roman West / edited by Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz, Antonio Lopez García,  
Anthony Álvarez Melero, Diego Romero Vera.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill/Nijhoff, 2024. | Series: Impact of  
empire, 1572-0500 ; 49 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023045410 (print) | LCCN 2023045411 (ebook) | ISBN  
9789004685727 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004685734 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Municipal corporations (Roman law) | City planning and  
redevelopment law—Rome.

Classification: LCC KJA3090 .L39 2023 (print) | LCC KJA3090 (ebook) | DDC  
342/.09—dc23/eng/20231002

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023045410>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023045411>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 1572-0500

ISBN 978-90-04-68572-7 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-68573-4 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004685734

Copyright 2024 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands, except where stated otherwise.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis,  
Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system,  
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,  
without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be  
addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via [brill.com](http://brill.com) or [copyright.com](http://copyright.com).

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

# Contents

Acknowledgements	VII
List of Figures and Table	VIII
Notes on Editors and Contributors	x

- 1 Introduction 1  
*Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz and Anthony Álvarez Melero*

## PART 1

### *Integration*

- 2 Imperial Ideology and the Making of Baetican Epigraphic Landscapes 19  
*Javier Herrera Rando*
- 3 Gone with the Law: the Survival of Latin Onomastics in a *Peregrinorum Hispania* during the Republic 40  
*Cristina de la Escosura Balbás*
- 4 *Quattuorviratus* and *Latium* in *Hispania* 62  
*David Espinosa Espinosa*

## PART 2

### *Acculturation*

- 5 Collective Organisation of Matrons in Monarchic and Republican Rome and Its Visibility in Public Spaces 93  
*Daniel León Ardoy*
- 6 The Role of Women in Shaping the Funerary Landscape of *Ostia* and *Portus* 113  
*Francisco Cidoncha-Redondo*
- 7 Public and Private Employment of *Marmora* in *Italica*: a Symbol of Power and Romanness 133  
*Daniel Becerra Fernández*

- 8 *Damnosa hereditas? Italica and the Imperial Evergetism: an Approach to the Urban Vitality of the Colony in the Post-Hadrian Period*  
(AD 138–211) 147  
*Diego Romero Vera*
- 9 Home, Honour, *Hispania*: the Case of L. Minicius Natalis  
Quadronius Verus 167  
*Anna-Maria Wilskman*

### PART 3

#### *Interconnectedness*

- 10 Between *Mauretania* and *Numidia*  
*Provincial Boundaries, Land Connections and Imperial Administration in North Africa (1st–4th Centuries AD)* 191  
*Sergio España-Chamorro*
- 11 Blurred Boundaries and Terrestrial Connections between *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis*  
*The Territorium of Acci and the Influence of the Landscape* 218  
*Antonio López García*

- General Bibliography 241  
Index of Names 285  
Index of Toponyms 288  
Index of Ancient Sources 293

## Acknowledgements

This book grew out of an international conference entitled “Law and Imperial Power: Agents of Transformation of the Territorial and Urban Landscapes in Roman Hispania” and organised in Helsinki in October 2019 and funded by Universidad de Sevilla’s VI Own Plan for Research and Knowledge Transfer (PPIT-US). The workshop was co-organized by the research project Law, Governance and Space: Questioning the Foundations of the Republican Tradition (SpaceLaw), funded by the European research council (grant agreement: 771874) together with Dr. Diego Romero Vera from the University of Seville (Spain). We would like to thank Professor Kaius Tuori (Spacelaws’ PI) for hosting the event at the University of Helsinki and funding part of it. Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz would like to thank the financing of the European Union-Next generation EU, which has supported her María Zambrano fellowship of the University Basque country. Antonio López García has received funding from the Next Generation framework of the European Commission through the programme María Zambrano for the attraction of international talent at the University of Granada. This book is also part of the R&D&I project PID2022-138873NB-I00, funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033/ and ‘ERDF. A way of making Europe’. Likewise, this volume was conceived under the umbrella of the project “Italica Adrianea: la *Nova Urbs*. Análisis arqueológico del paradigma urbano y su evolución, y contrastación del modelo” (Ref. PID2020-114528GB-I00), funded by Ministry of Science and Innovation and the State Research Agency of the Government of Spain. On behalf of the team of this volume, we thank the amazing, supportive, and highly professional administration of the university of Helsinki, who encouraged and assisted with the organisation of the conference. We are very grateful to the editor of the Impact of Empire Series, Oliver Hekster, as well as to Giulia Moriconi and Lucas Faessen from Brill and for their steadfast and dedicated support of our project. And last but not least, we express our deep gratitude to all the contributors of this volume for their excellent research and fruitful collaboration.

# Figures and Table

## Figures

- 2.1 A political map of early-Roman Baetica 20
- 2.2 A) *Sestertius* from *Gades* (RPC, n° 78). B) *As* from *Abdera* (RPC, n° 125).  
C) *Dupondius* from *Italica* (RPC, n° 66) 24
- 2.3 Inscription from the theatre of *Italica* (CILa Se 2, 382) 37
- 4.1 Location of the *coloniae* and *municipia* from *Hispania* with *quattuorviratus* 80
- 6.1 Mausoleum of Clodia Prepusa 117
- 6.2 Tomb of Iulia Zoe 117
- 6.3 Mausoleum of *Scribonia Attice* 122
- 6.4 Mausoleum of Attia Psyche and C. Attius Alexander 127
- 6.5 Inscription from the tomb of Tutilia Rufa 129
- 7.1 Location of *Italica* 134
- 7.2 Neo-Attic altar from marmor Lunense 139
- 7.3 Marble fragments belonging to colossal statues from the *Traianeum*. A) Statue hand fragment made from Luni marble. B) Finger fragment made from Paros marble and C) Forearm made from Thasos marble 141
- 7.4 *Opus sectile* from the House of the Exedra in *Italica* on display in the Archaeological Museum of Seville 144
- 8.1 Portrait of Hadrian from *Italica*, Archaeological Museum of Seville 151
- 8.2 Pedestal dedicated to *Victoria Augusta* by *Vibia Modesta*, Archaeological Museum of Seville 156
- 10.1 *Mauretania* at Juba II and Ptolemy times (Coltelloni-Trannoy 2010) 201
- 10.2 *Cuicul* and *Suburbures* region (Dupuis, 1999) 205
- 10.3 The defensive systems of *Mauretania Caesariensis* (Le Bohec 1999) 207
- 10.4 Map of the traditional frontier between *Mauretania* and *Numidia* (Camps 1999) 217
- 11.1 The mountainous geography around Guadix 222
- 11.2 Epigraph of P. Octavius Flavus, flamen of *Baetica* 223
- 11.3 The territorium of *Acci* in the *conventus Carthaginiensis* of *Hispania Tarraconensis* 225
- 11.4 The excavations of the Roman theatre of *Acci* in August 2021 228
- 11.5 The natural borders of the territorium of *Acci*, the main Roman centres of the region (in green), and the location of the farthest epigraphic elements that mention the colony (in red) 231



11.6 The road network of the region (in black), the border between the provinces (in red), and the *conventus* (in green) 236

11.7 Remains of the Roman road of Peñas Negras (Hernán Valle, Guadix) 238

11.8 Main roads around *Acci* (in orange), possible secondary roads (in red dotted), boundary between provinces (in white dotted), and remains of ancient roads (blue dots) 239

Table

4.1 Historical evidence about *quattuorviri* in *coloniae* and *municipia* from *Hispania* 74

## Notes on Editors and Contributors

### *Anthony Álvarez Melero*

(Brussels, Belgium, 1981), educated at the Free University of Brussels (ULB) with a Ph.D. in History, Art, and Archaeology (2010), is now associate professor at the University of Seville. His research concentrates most on epigraphy, Latin onomastics, prosopography, women in ancient Rome and Roman social history, and he is the author of several books on these topics, such as *Matronae equestres. La parenté féminine des chevaliers romains originaires des provinces occidentales sous le Haut-Empire romain (I<sup>er</sup>–III<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Brepols 2018). He has also published works in English, French and Spanish in journals and books in prestigious scholarly publishing houses in Spain, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, the United States, Italy, Poland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. In addition, he is part of the team working on the publication of the new volume of inscriptions, CIL II<sup>2</sup>/4, as well as a member of several international research groups, such as ORDO and *Conditio feminae*, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.

### *Daniel Becerra Fernández*

developed his doctorate with a pre-doctoral contract corresponding to the projects of Excellence of the Junta de Andalucía and in 2019. He obtained his Ph.D. with the thesis entitled *Los materiales marmóreos del Traianeum de Italia*, under the direction of doctors P. León and J. Beltrán, who deserved the qualification of outstanding cum laude and the international distinction. In 2020, he enjoyed a postdoctoral contract from the Junta de Andalucía and since January 2021 he is a postdoctoral researcher “Juan de la Cierva-Formación” at the University of Córdoba. He has obtained a contract from the University of Málaga for the incorporation of doctors with an excellent research career. In 2022 he obtained the accreditation as Profesor Contratado Doctor (ANECA) and has carried out funded research stays at the University of Oxford, Sapienza University of Rome and at the German Archaeological Institute also in Rome. He has carried out most of his scientific activity in the field of Classical Archaeology, specifically in the study of marble in Antiquity, mainly in its characterisation, exploitation, use, dissemination and reuse.

### *Francisco Cidoncha Redondo*

graduated in History from the University of Seville in 2012. Ph.D. in Ancient History in the same university institution. Furthermore, he has also been a visiting researcher in the University of Oxford and the Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología in Rome. He is currently a professor in Ancient History in the

University of Seville. He has published several researches on Roman Family, mainly on the role of Roman women and other members of families such as slaves and freedmen. He is the author of one monograph *El concubinato y el contubernio en la sociedad romana (siglos I a.C. – III d.C.)*.

*Cristina de la Escosura Balbás*

is a Ramón y Cajal Researcher at the Complutense University of Madrid. After graduating from Sapienza University of Rome (Italy) and Complutense University of Madrid (Spain), de la Escosura obtained her Ph.D. from Autónoma U. of Madrid and Complutense. She has worked for the University of Zaragoza as a Juan de la Cierva Postdoctoral Fellow. Her research focuses on the Roman colonisation during the Republic. De la Escosura has a special interest in epigraphy, onomastics, and interactions between Romans and the local population. Her monography on *Carthago Nova's* population won the Géza Alföldy Prize awarded by AIEGL.

*Sergio España-Chamorro*

is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità of the Sapienza University of Rome and Associate Fellow of the Institut Ausonius, UMR 5607 CNRS-Bordeaux-Montaigne University. His main fields of research are Roman roads and milestones, connectivity processes, landscape archaeology, and Latin epigraphy in Africa, Hispania, and Italy.

*David Espinosa Espinosa*

Ph.D. in Ancient History by the Complutense University of Madrid. Postdoctoral fellow at the University of Santiago de Compostela and the University of Vienna. Assistant Professor in Ancient History at the University of Oviedo and the Complutense University of Madrid. With a wide track record in international mobility, he focuses on the granting of Latin rights in the western Roman provinces, the Roman civil wars during the Republic, and Roman epigraphy. He has among his publications the books *Plinio y los 'oppida de antiguo Lacio'. El proceso de difusión del Latium en Hispania Citerior* (Oxford 2014) and *Epigraphy in the Digital Age. Opportunities and Challenges in the Recording, Analysis and Dissemination of Inscriptions* (Oxford 2021, along with I. Velázquez Soriano).

*Javier Herrera Rando*

Javier Herrera Rando (Málaga, 1986). He graduated in History from the University of Málaga and obtained a Ph.D. in Ancient History from the University of Zaragoza. His main lines of research are the Romanization and linguistic Latinization of the Iberian Peninsula, the relationship between Roman and indigenous epigraphic cultures in the Western Mediterranean,

and the publication of epigraphic novelties. He has participated in the international projects *Ancient European Languages and Writings* (AELAW) or *El Nacimiento de las culturas epigráficas en el Occidente Mediterráneo* among others and has carried out research stays in Oxford, Rome, and Geneva. Currently, he is an FCT postdoctoral researcher at the University of Lisbon.

*Daniel León Ardoy*

graduated in History from the University of Seville in 2018 and completed the master's degree in advanced Historical Studies (Itinerary in Ancient History) at the same university in 2019, obtaining in both degrees several awards, from public and private institutions, for the best academic record of the promotion. Since the end of 2019, Daniel has been working on his doctoral thesis project on female participation in political conspiracies during ancient Rome through a FPU pre-doctoral contract. In recent years he has carried out research stays at the Spanish School for History and Archaeology in Rome and at the Sapienza University of Rome.

*Antonio López García*

(Granada, Spain, 1986) is a María Zambrano Fellow at the department of Prehistory and Archaeology at the University of Granada, where he directs a research project on the landscapes of the ancient colony of Acci. He is specialized in Roman archaeology and topography. He is affiliated with the ERC-funded *SpaceLaw Project* at the University of Helsinki, where he leads a subproject on the transformation of administrative space in the city of Rome. He obtained a Ph.D. in history and archaeology of the ancient world from the University of Florence, a master's degree in architecture for archaeology from the Sapienza University of Rome, and a degree in history from the University of Granada. Previously, he has been a fellow of the Royal Academy of Spain in Rome. As a field archaeologist, he has participated in numerous international projects in Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom and directed two archaeological excavations in Spain. During his career he has been a visiting researcher at the University of California Berkeley, the École française de Rome, the Finnish Institute of Rome, the German Archaeological Institute of Rome, and the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens, among others.

*Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz*

is a María Zambrano Fellow at the department of Roman Law at the University of the Basque Country. She has a Ph.D. in Roman law (University of Alicante and Faculty of Law of Palermo) and a second Ph.D. in Roman archaeology

(University of Southampton and Lumière-Lyon 2). She has held research positions in Helsinki, Belgium and in Germany. She has published extensively on Roman law and its maritime focus. She is the editor of two volumes, *Roman law and Maritime Commerce* (EUP 2022) and *Seafaring and Mobility in the Late Antique Mediterranean* (Bloomsbury 2022). She is also the author of one monograph *Shipwrecks, Legal Landscapes and Mediterranean Paradigms: Gone under Sea* (Brill 2022). She is currently working on her new monograph: *Ports, Law and Material Culture in the Roman World. Negotiating Commercial Practice* (OUP). He has also been a visiting researcher at many institutions, such as the University of Pavia, the University of Ghent, the French and British Schools at Rome or the Finnish Institute of Rome, among others.

*Diego Romero Vera*

received his bachelor's degree in history from the University of Seville. He continued his training at the University of Córdoba where he acquired a master's degree in Archeology and Historical Heritage. In 2012, he obtained a University Teaching Fellowship for the realization of a Ph.D. degree, which was defended in 2016. He had the opportunity to benefit from research stays at the University of Florence, at the German Archaeological Institute of Rome, the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Coimbra and the University of Oxford. He has completed his postdoctoral training at the Ausonius Centre of the University of Bordeaux-Montaigne and at the Department of Prehistory and Archaeology of the University of Seville, where he currently works as a Lecturer. His research has been mainly focusing on the urban evolution of the Roman cities in Iberia during Antonine Age and on the dynamism of these cities from the study of Epigraphical Sources. Other centers of interest are the study of the Epigraphic habit and the funerary associations in ancient *saltus Tugiensis* (Jaén), the analysis of the empty spaces or vacant areas located in the interior of the Hispano-roman cities, as well as the imperial properties in Hispania.

*Anna-Maria Wilskman*

She currently working on her Ph.D. in the project *Law, Governance and Space: Questioning the Foundations of the Republican Tradition*. Her background is in Latin Language and Roman Literature with a strong emphasis on Classical Archaeology and Museum Studies. Her upcoming dissertation concentrates on the ways especially young Roman magistrates utilised material culture in their political ambitions. Teaching, research, art, and cultural heritage are constant sources of inspiration for her.