

THE ROMAN ARMY IN HISPANIA. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL GUIDE

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León, 2006

ROMAN REPUBLICAN WEAPONS, CAMPS AND BATTLEFIELDS IN SPAIN: AN OVERVIEW OF RECENT AND ONGOING RESEARCH

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THE 'CLASSIC' SITES FOR THE STUDY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLICAN ARMY AND WEAPONS: RECENT REEXAMINATION OF OLD FINDS AND NEW RESEARCH

The archaeology of the Roman army has traditionally had one of its major sources of information in *Hispania*. Adolf Schulten's field research, early in the 20th century, focused on the Roman military camps of the Numantine Wars (154-133 BC) and particularly on the siege of *Numantia* by Scipio in 133 BC, as well as on other Republican camps in *Hispania*, providing us with some of the best archaeological correlation for Polybius' description of the Roman camp. Likewise, weapons found by Schulten were central to the discussion about the origin and evolution of the *pilum* and of other Roman weapons. A. Engel's and P. Paris research at Osuna brought light upon some relevant facts related to weapons and battles of the Civil Wars. In the same way, Paulsen's research in 1930 over the Sertorian age camp at Cáceres el Viejo widened Schulten's knowledge about Republican encampment fortifications. Some other minor works presented important Hispanic discoveries to the international scientific community, such as in the case of the Roman catapult from Ampurias, re-published by S. Reinach in 1914.

However, interest on Roman Republican military archaeology in *Hispania* languished from the decade of the thirties onwards. Only some isolated -and later- works approached the subject, as in the case of the relatively recent study by G. Ulbert on Cáceres el Viejo, or of some general studies by A. García y Bellido mainly dealing with Early Empire matters.

Yet, since 1990, we have witnessed a very vigorous renewal of Roman military archaeology in *Hispania*, with new contributions, especially on the Republican period, that relate to many different aspects.

In the first place, there has been a profound re-examination of the materials excavated during Schulten's "classic" excavations at *Numantia*, mainly by M. Luik, using all the most recent bibliography, and updating most of our knowledge about the evolution of Roman weapons during

the 2nd century BC. However, this is still a very recent work, so that it hasn't yet reached the general synthesis monographs. The renewal of archaeological work in *Numantia* and its surrounding camps has forced a re-examination of Schulten's digs at the circumvallation, and in recent years some new research projects have been undertaken by A. Jimeno and F. Morales, as well as by others such as Breuer, Luik and Müller. These projects, without modifying the main results and general layout of Schulten's reconstruction of the perimeter and circumvallation walls, do change the classification of some of the legionary 'camps' reducing them to 'forts', and altering the layout and topography of the interlinking walls. It seems that the supposed camp at La Rasa has no relation with the Scipionic siege, but that we must now include a new site, La Peña del Judío, in the Scipionic circumvallation. These studies will eventually allow us to confirm or to reject parts of the conclusions reached by M.J. Dobson in his recent doctoral thesis. On the other hand, some minor studies -the majority of which are very recent-, dealing with coinage and pottery found at the Roman camps, such as those by M.V. Romero, E. Sanmartí and others, allow us to reinterpret and/or modify some of Schulten's conclusions. For instance, it seems clear now that the lower layers of the 'Gran Atalaya' at Renieblas should now be considered contemporary with Scipio's siegeworks, a result that does not contradict the fact that the place was reoccupied during the Sertorian Wars. It looks as if we are going to witness some substantial variations in our knowledge of the siege of *Numantia* in the next few years.

The old discoveries of weapons at Osuna, of Caesarian and Pompeian date, have been very recently re-examined by Susan Sievers, putting them in relation with the contemporary finds from Alesia, updating the conclusions of P. Paris and A. Engel, as well as the more recent work by R. Corzo. The identification of a *gladius hispaniensis* and the new study of the numerous missile weapons are especially relevant. At the same time, the writings of J. Salas Álvarez have served to place the findings in their historic and historiographic context.

At the same time, new research has been done on the Sertorian age materials from the camp at Cáceres el Viejo, such as the -debatable-theory of Dietz proposing to identify a curious articulated artefact as a mould for making greaves. Would this be true, it should represent one of the very scarce evidence for weapon making in campaign conditions during the Republican age. As in *Numantia*, a new project for enhancing the touristic value of the site, financed by European funding, is being

developed at Cáceres el Viejo, and as a consequence, future digs are projected at the site.

SPECIFIC CONFERENCES ON ROMAN MILITARY ARCHAEOLOGY

Aside from the re-evaluation of museum materials, and the resumption of excavation at some 'classic' sites, the recent celebration of different conferences and symposia dedicated to Roman Military Archaeology bears a special interest. The *First Congress of Roman Military Archaeology in Hispania*, held in 1998 at Segovia, chaired by Ángel Morillo, has produced a voluminous publication with the Proceedings including around fifty articles. Nevertheless, only five of them are devoted to the archaeology of the Republican period, and another three deal with literary sources. The II Conference held at León in October 2004 under the supervision of A. Morillo (proceedings in press) had as its specific subject the '*Production and supplies in the military context*', and has produced many interesting contributions, though those dealing with the Republican period are still scarce. The '*Roman Military Archaeology in Europe*' Congress coordinated by Cesáreo Pérez González and Emilio Illarregui, held again at Segovia in July 2001, repeats the same pattern of relevant contributions related mainly to the Imperial Age. On the other hand, the Conference '*Defence and territory in Hispania from the Scipios to Augustus*' held in March 2001 at the Casa de Velázquez (Madrid), whose proceedings were published in 2003 under the supervision of A. Morillo, F. Cadiou and D. Hourcade, has produced some significant novelties, mainly related to the study of military camps, and of Rome's enemies in Iberia. We shall later return to this. It is also worth mentioning the Congresses on '*Towers, watchtowers and fortified houses. Exploitation and control over territory in Hispania*', edited in 2004 by P. Moret and T. Chapa; on '*War in the Iberian and Celtiberian worlds (VI-II century BC)*' coordinated by P. Moret and F. Quesada, and published in 2002; as well as the Conference on '*The Second Punic War in Iberia*' (1998) and on '*Carthaginian military organization*' (forthcoming) edited by B. Costa and J. Fernández.

WEAPONRY

It is surely in the field of specific studies on Roman republican weaponry where recent discoveries and research in Spain have produced the best results, as proved by the fact that the largest share of contributions, with up to seven papers, to the Colloquium on '*L'équipement militaire et l'armement de la République*' (held in September 1996 at Montpellier

and published under the coordination of M. Feugère in volume 8 of the *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies*), were dedicated to *Hispania*.

More recently Fernando Quesada has done some research on the interaction between 3rd to 2nd centuries BC Iberian and Roman Republican weapons, especially in relation to the supply of weapons to the Roman army in *Hispania* (Conferences of 2004 at León and 2005 at Toulouse). In both cases, emphasis was placed on the compatibility between many different types of Iberian weapons such as *soliferrea*, swords and daggers, with Roman individual fighting techniques.

The influence of Iberian weapons on the Roman Republican panoply has also been examined in depth by Fernando Quesada, especially in his 1997 monograph, and again in some specific papers related to the *gladius hispaniensis*, that seem to identify the prototype of the Roman Republican sword to the satisfaction of other scholars such as Peter Connolly (Fig. 1). This would be a local modification of the Gaulish La Tène I sword with a 60 to 65 cm. long blade and a strong triangular point. This sword type was still in use in Iberia long after it had been abandoned in Gaul and substituted by a longer, exclusively slashing weapon. The iron plate scabbard, vertically suspended from the waist by means of a 'pontet', typical of Gaulish swords, was replaced in Iberia by a metal frame scabbard (with wooden or leather core) suspended by rotating rings from a baldric placed across the chest, precisely the model of scabbard adopted by the Roman Army. The study of the findings at La Azucarera (Roman *Graccurrus*) – where the distinction between “La Tène I” swords and “*gladii hispanienses*” as argued by its authors seems redundant to us, is most important in this respect. We should also add the recent discovery of other swords of this type at the ‘Cerro de las Balas’ (Seville) – 2nd century BC. – La Caridad (Caminreal, Teruel) – first half of the 1st century BC –, Azaila (Teruel) – 1st century BC –. These and other similar finds are providing an enormous increase in the available evidence for Roman Republican time swords, in addition to other, purely Roman, weapon discoveries at places as far away as Slovenia or Israel, all in agreement with the hypothesis already posed.

As far as the *pilum* is concerned, some recently published discoveries provide us with some of the oldest known ranged *pila*, such as the Castellruf (Gerona) examples, dated to the end of the 3rd century BC, and therefore much earlier than the numantine *pila* (Fig. 2). The republican *pila* examples from Spain span a period from the Second Punic War down to the Caesarian period, with new examples from La Almoína (Valencia), found in a battlefield context together with other

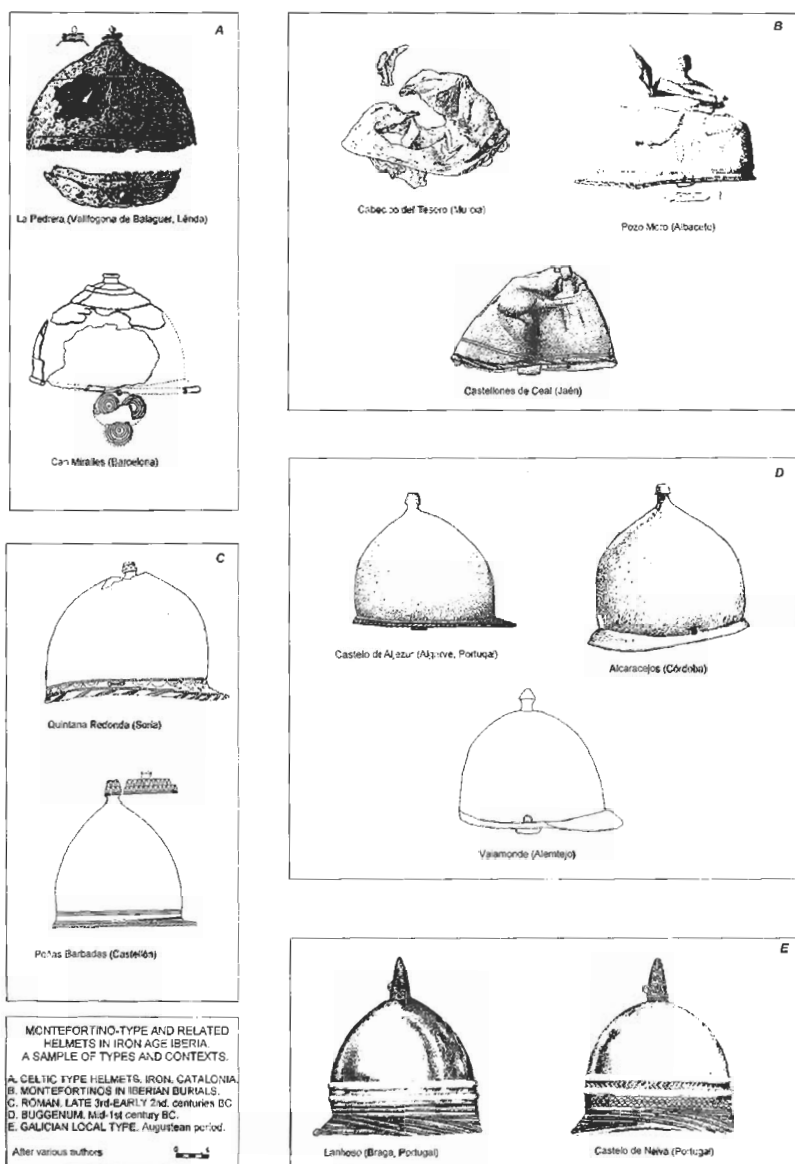


Fig. 2. Early roman *pila* (end 3rd century BC) from Castellruf (Gerona) (after Alvarez Arza and Cubero 1999).

weapons and even skeletons of executed prisoners. Both the light and heavy *pila* from La Caridad (Teruel), also dated to the 1st half of the 1st century BC, appeared in association with a variety of other weapons (Montefortino helmets, *scuta* boss plates, swords and even a catapult). To these very closely dated examples we must add a *pilum* from Bordegassos (Gerona), and those from Pontón de la Oliva and Langa de Duero, probably of Republican date. If we add to these the well known examples from *Numantia*, Cáceres el Viejo and Osuna, the repertory of *pila* from Spain is probably the biggest one known so far (Fig. 3).

It seems clear that the roman *pugio* derives from the Celtiberian *dobleglobular* (double disc hilt) dagger. This weapon might have been originally adopted by Roman legionaries as an attractive piece of booty during the Numantine (century 153-133 BC) or Sertorian Wars (century 75 BC). The temporal gap between these daggers and the Early Imperial ones, although still significant, is starting to be filled by discoveries such as the Basel example published by G. Helmig, dated around 15 BC, as well as a stele from Padua dated to 42 BC. At the present time some Research Projects focused on Celtiberian, Roman and transitional daggers are underway by C. Fernández and by E. Kavanagh. To these we should add the recent analyses by E. Cabré, C. Fernández, I. Filloy, E. Gil, F. Quesada and I. Ruiz Vélez, clarifying the history, typology and diffusion of these daggers. Some relevant discoveries are been made, especially related to the chronological classification of blades, hilts, and particularly the suspension system of these daggers.

Furthermore, some relevant new research dealing with Montefortino-type helmets (mainly related to the interaction between Roman republican and Iberian weapons in the Second Punic War and later on) has been done. On the one hand, some new discoveries have significantly increased the number of the known examples to more than sixty, as the cases of Pozo Moro –with a Latin inscription–, Almaciles –of the *Wellenranke* type–, La Carrova, Serreta de Alcoi, Guadalquivir, etc. On the other hand, catalogues, typological analysis and synthesis works due to J. García Mauriño and F. Quesada have clarified the situation. It is now possible to distinguish the different chronological phases of the different models of helmet in their archaeological context, their geographical distribution and typology. Around the second half of the 3rd century BC and the early decades of the 2nd, most of these helmets come from indigenous funerary contexts in the Southeast of Iberia. From the beginning of the 2nd century BC we witness the Roman army advance via the Ebro valley into the Eastern ‘Meseta’. There are some helmets with Latin epigraphic inscriptions such as the helmet from Pago

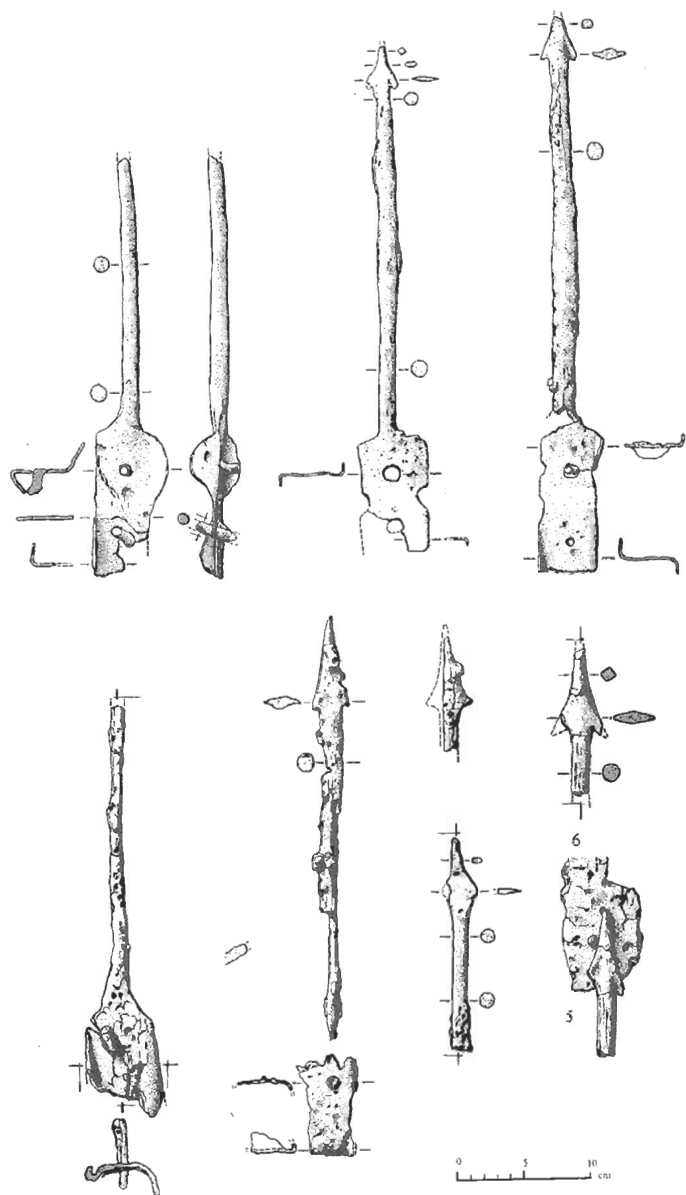


Fig. 3. A selection of Roman weapons of early first century date from La Caridad (Teruel) (after Vicente *et alii* 1997) (at different scales).

de Gorrita (Valladolid). The Buggenum-type helmets, already from Caesarian age, concentrate at the south-west of the Peninsula, while in the Augustean age we find local imitations in the Galician area (Fig. 4).

Scuta iron boss plates are rare, but they have appeared associated with Roman weapons at sites like La Azucarera, La Caridad and La Almoina, all of them dating to the end of the 2nd century BC or to the beginning of the 1st. They are characterized by iron bosses with trapezoidal wings or flaps, different from the rectangular wings characteristic of the sites with Celtic influence in Catalonia. The boss-plate from Alvarelhos, although originally published as bronze, is iron apparently.

The Iberian Peninsula has provided some of the most significant examples of ancient artillery of Republican date. They have been recently studied by R. Sáez Abad. To the long-known catapult from *Emporion* (Ampurias) we must add the Caminreal catapult, widely published and studied in recent years, together with elements of others found at Azaila (Teruel), subject of a very recent brief publication that we hope is only preliminary. A set of stone projectiles also found in Azaila is kept at the National Archaeological Museum (Madrid). The Azaila ensemble seems datable during the first half of the 1st century BC, the Sertorian period—according to the latest revision by F. García Díez—, as well as the Caminreal catapult, although the context of the latter at least seems to indicate that it was no longer in use by the time the site was abandoned.

Besides the Azaila catapult stones, we know of other lots found in long known sites, such as *Arcobriga* (Zaragoza), *Numantia*, Osuna and Cáceres el Viejo, to which we should now add the 314 projectiles found in Calahorra, as published in 2003. This is an important find, some of the stones bearing Latin inscriptions such as *castra Martia*; seemingly datable to Sertorian times. Finally, an extremely important and still largely unpublished set of Carthaginian stone artillery projectiles, dated to the Second Punic War, was found in the fortified Punic precinct of Tossal de Manises (Alicante), by the team directed by Manuel Olcina. It is thus possible that the first torsion artillery was introduced in Iberia by the Carthaginians before the coming of Rome, as may be inferred from the booty captured by Scipio in the arsenals of *Carthago Nova* (Cartagena). However, very recent work and revisions of old material from the heavily fortified site at Ullastret (Gerona), close to *Emporion*, undertaken by F. Gracia, might come up with some surprises of Hellenic origin.

Sling bullets (lead *glandes* and sometimes clay balls and even pebbles) and arrowheads are too plentiful to list here. For an initial repertoire of

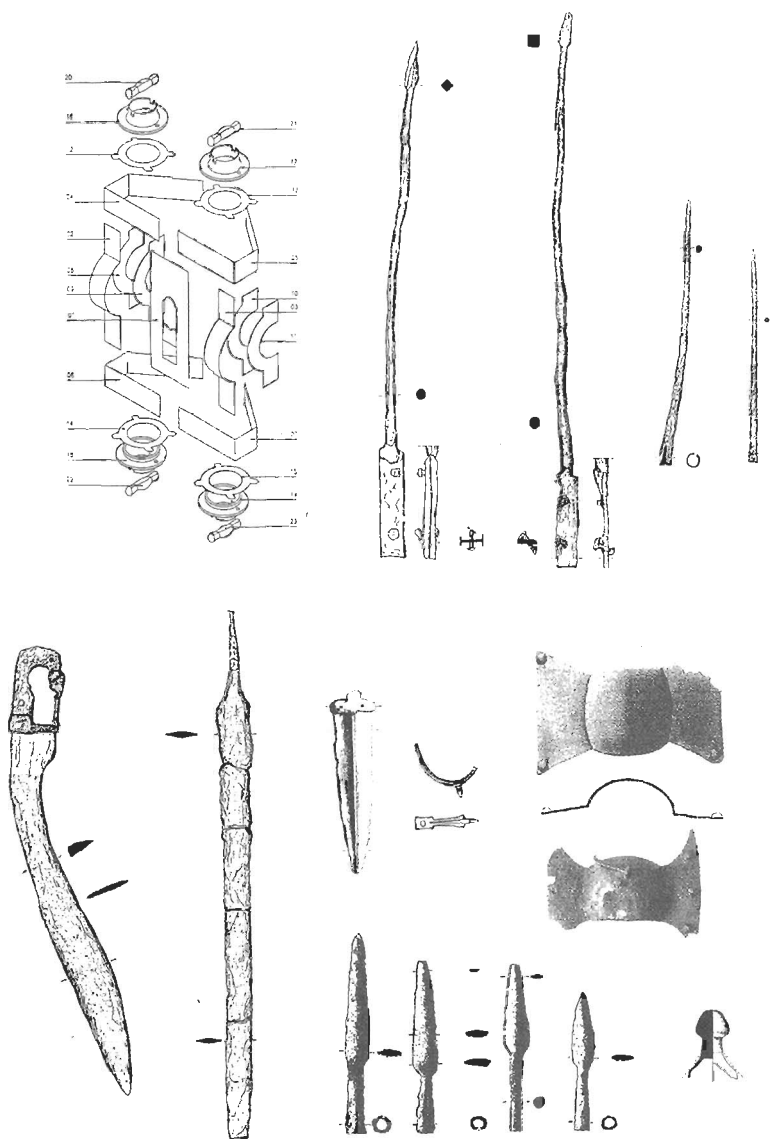


Fig. 4. Italic and Roman republican helmets in *Hispania* (after Quesada 1997).

glandes see Annex IV of F. Quesada 1997, completed by some later works, especially one due to C. Aranegui supporting the hypothesis of a more widespread early use of slings by the Iberians than maintained by Quesada, on the basis of some sling projectiles bearing Greek inscriptions, perhaps coming from Sagunto. The *glandes* from La Caridad still show remnants of flash, as they come straight out of the casting mould. Many lead *glandes* have been also found at the battlefields of *Baecula* (Santo Tomé, Jaén) (?), perhaps belonging to the Second Punic War, and at Andagoste (Navarra) (century 40-30 BC), as well as in many other possible battle sites, such as “Cerro de las Balas” (Écija, Seville), perhaps related to the battle of *Munda*, where furtive excavations using metal detectors have located literally hundreds of such projectiles, often bearing inscriptions.

Reasonably enough, Roman Republican military iconography is very scarce in Spain, although the Minerva relief with *scutum* carved at the walls of *Tarraco* is widely known. In this respect, the recent work by J. M. Noguera on Ibero-Roman sculpture, and the reappraisal both by P. Leon and P. Rouillard of the Osuna reliefs –a series of which clearly represents Roman auxiliary troops–, all constitute an essential starting point to the study of the Tarraco, Osuna and Estepa reliefs. Furthermore, we know of the existence of at least another unpublished sculpture wearing a *lorica hamata*, possibly Republican, in a private collection. The iconography of some pottery vessels of the so-called Liria style at S. Miguel de Liria might perhaps be read in a Second Punic War Roman or possibly Carthaginian context, as could be inferred from the quite homogeneous and complete weaponry worn by some of the warriors represented on these scenes, including some details that could perhaps depict scale or chain mail, which was not employed by Iberians, according to the exhaustive archaeological evidence so far examined. This question was previously posed by A. García Bellido (although with a mistaken date to Sertorian or Augustean times), and has been rekindled by F. Quesada in 1997, 2002 and 2003 in relation to its possible attribution to the Second Punic War, an opinion also held to a certain extent by F. Gracia.

MILITARY CAMPS

The study of military camps belonging to the Republican era in *Hispania* has received a considerable impulse in recent times, specially since the conference coordinated by A. Morillo *et alii*, published in 2003. The catalogue of military camps has also increased considerably. In the first place we have to mention those excavated by Schulten at the

beginning of the 20th century (Numancia, Aguilar de Anguita, Cáceres el Viejo, Renieblas), in relation to which the general 1996 work by Pamment Salvatore on Republican military camps provides an adequate summary of the data prior to recent research (Fig. 5). Most of these camps have not been subsequently re-excavated, although their chronologies have been subsequently updated on the basis of the modern study of known materials from the excavations carried out at the beginning of the 20th century (Fig. 6). Some topographical work at Renieblas, and the recent creation of an Archaeological Park at Cáceres el Viejo has been carried out that includes planning for future excavations. Besides these, we must take into consideration a series of very old camps, well known from literary sources, such as those at *Tarraco* and *Emporion*, which have only recently received some archaeological confirmation as a result of archaeological fieldwork.

To the previously cited list we must now add a new series of camp sites as a result of the development of surface surveying and of 'Spatial Archaeology', the best introduction to which is the complete synthesis written by A. Morillo in 2003 –including all the related bibliography–, a work that clearly reveals a extraordinary progress in comparison with another similar synthesis by the same author in 1991. The majority of Republican camps concentrate in the eastern part of the Meseta (the central plateau of Spain), most of them related to the Celtiberian and, later, to the Sertorian Wars (about a dozen of these, some of which still un-confirmed). A further group lies in *Lusitania* (about half a dozen camps). The most active research line emphasizes archaeological work in these sites, instead of just using literary sources to pinpoint possible locations for camps without real archaeological confirmation. In any case, research based primarily on literary sources, such as F. Cadiou, 2003, still does provide us with important information.

On the other hand, some relevant research on some possible Late-Republican camp sites is currently under way, as in the case of the digs at Villa Joiosa (Alicante), conducted by A. Espinosa, or of work in the area of the province of Granada (Andalusia) such as in Puebla de D. Fadrique, directed by A. Adroher. These works, together with other already mentioned finds, such as the battle camp at Andagoste (Álava), provide for a significant increase of the typological variety, chronology and spatial distribution of Republican camps, beyond the narrow chronological and spatial limits of their association with the best documented wars (Hannibalic and Numantine and Lusitanian Wars).

The discovery in Andalusia of some probable Carthaginian military camps, even earlier than the Second Punic War, is also relevant in the

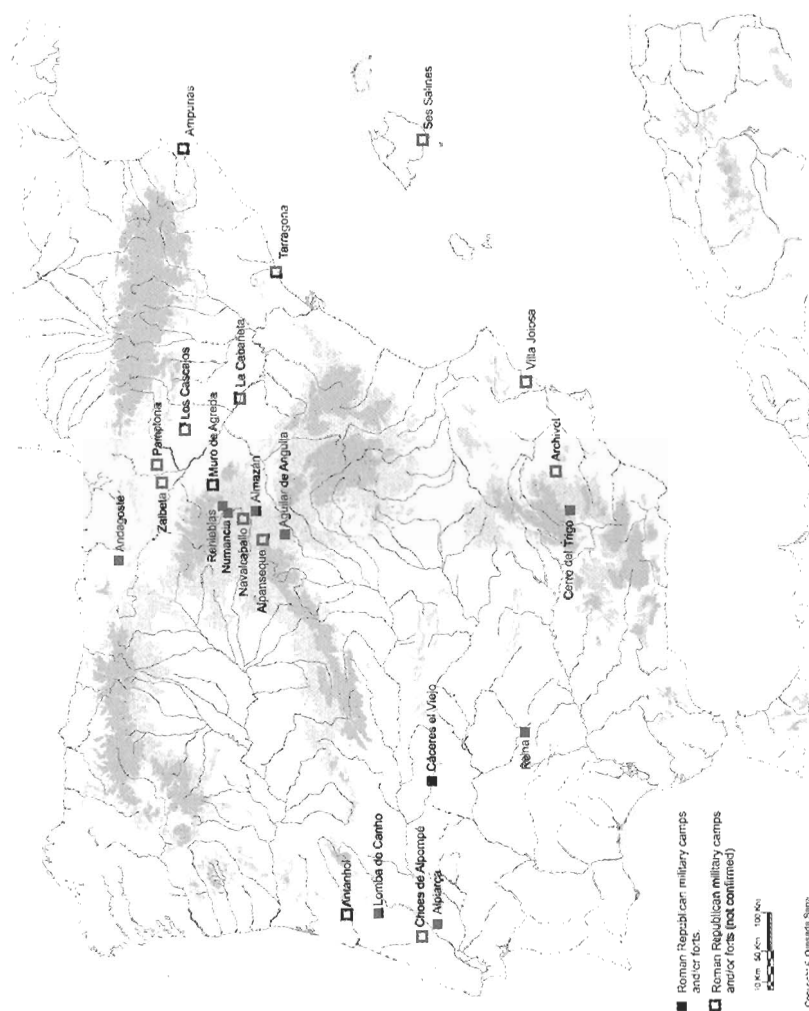


Fig. 5. Roman Republican camps in Hispania (after Morillo 2002 updated).

context of the wars fought in Iberia. However, their location is usually based on casual finds of coins and weapons, mainly projectiles, without proper archaeological context, such as in the case of the camp at Gandul (Alcalá de Guadaira, Sevilla). It would be also essential to obtain some archaeological confirmation for these interesting hypotheses put forward by authors such as M.P. García-Bellido, F. Chaves or R. Pliego.

PERMANENT FORTIFICATIONS

Permanent fortifications of Roman Republican age are best understood in the context of subsequent planning carried out by Augustus, as analyzed and synthesised by Hourcade in 2003, although some cases, such as the chronology and the different phases of the *Tarraco* city wall, now properly defined, find relevance in the context of the initial phase of the conquest, as has been proved by Xavier Aquilué, X. Dupré, J. Massó and J. Ruiz de Arbulo. A first –not too high– enceinte wall with many poterns for a large army, with the nearly immediate addition of towers capable of holding artillery, designed for a more reduced garrison, probably belongs to the age of Scipio, at the end of the 3rd century BC, or perhaps to the years around 197 BC. A second wall with straight walls without towers, but much higher, and partially filled with mudbrick, replaced this wall towards the middle of the 2nd century BC, an addition perhaps related to the increase of the garrison that might be related to the Numantine wars. M. Bendala's recent 2003 paper poses the novel idea of the possible existence of a previous Carthaginian stone fort, the remains of which –consisting of a stretch of ashlar masonry wall with mason's marks– are visible in the precinct of the modern Archbishop's palace.

Other relevant discoveries are being documented by different Research Projects dealing with Carthaginian walls of the second half of the 3rd century, often remodelled in Roman times. Such is the case of the *Carthago Nova*, Tossal de Manises, *Carteia* and Castillo de Doña Blanca city walls, and belonging to the Barcid Age, some of which document the casemate technique. In particular, the discovery of a well preserved stretch of the Barcid Period wall of *Carthago Nova* –re-used by Scipio after the conquest– has served to document the existence of different rooms inside the walls, connected by doors, that were used as storage space for weapons and food. This structure is similar to the one found at Doña Blanca which seems to have been another important Carthaginian base of ancient Phoenician origin in the bay of Cadiz. Both are in turn similar to the recently examined wall at *Carteia*, excavated by M. Bendala and J. Blánquez. The site at Tossal de Manises documents some artillery

towers, *proteichisma*, stone catapult projectiles, all of which is associated to Hannibal's war, followed by a Roman Republican period in the 2nd century BC which made partial use of the Carthaginian fortifications, according to the on-going research by M. Olcina. There is, on the other hand, a certain degree of disagreement in relation to the date and function of the bastion and gate at Carmona's city wall (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. The recently discovered 2nd century BC city wall at Segeda, enclosing one of the biggest urban areas in Iron Age Iberia.. In the background lies the city centre at Poyo de Mara (courtesy F. Burillo).

This is not the place to analyze the role of the permanent indigenous fortifications –either Iberian or Celtiberian– of the Republican period. An already huge bibliography is already available, the best starting point being the monograph written by P. Moret in 1996. However, some of these walls, such as that of *Segeda*, played a relevant role in triggering off the Roman military actions (*vid. infra*), and many others played a role in the operational and strategic planning of the Roman armies. Also in this respect, the recent works by P. Moret, L. Berrocal, and other authors represent a significant advance. The –relaxed– polemic that has been going on in *Gladius* between F. Gracia, P. Moret and F. Quesada since the year 2000, shows the amount of argument and disagreement on the relative degree of sophistication of Iberian fortifications and their

adjustment or not to Hellenistic types and poliorcetic techniques. The debate is lively and still current.

As far as watchtowers, towers and fortified houses of the Republican era are concerned, they pose different problems and contexts to those dealt with in this overview. The problems were adequately reviewed, updated and summarized in a recent Conference held at the Casa de Velázquez, coordinated by P. Moret y T. Chapa (2004). Research is particularly indebted to P. Moret for his relevant appreciations in relation to these small fortified settlements, along with A. Rodríguez and P. Ortiz among others (Fig. 8).

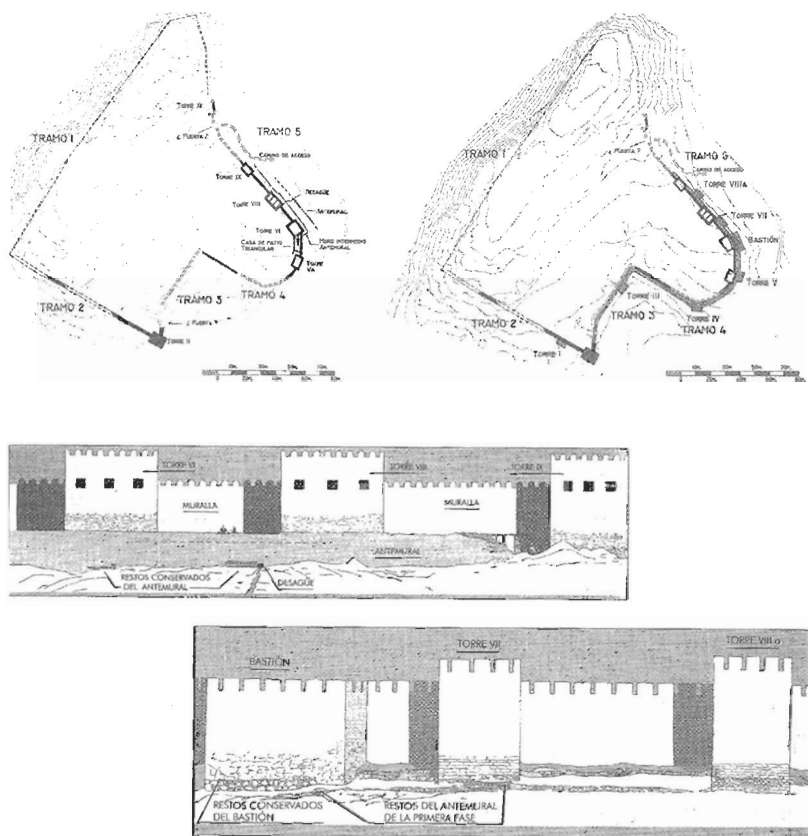


Fig. 8. Late 3rd century Carthaginian (left) and Roman mid 2nd century BC (right) walls at Tossal de Manises (after M. Olcina 1998).

BATTLEFIELDS

Some of the most interesting current Research Projects deal with the archaeological identification of battlefields of the Republican period. The traditional method first used literary sources to trace the strategic and operational situation, then pinpointed sites on the map, without much archaeological surveying and much less fieldwork. Arguments then became endless. Modern field surveying techniques using GPOS, combined with a much better knowledge of the timespan covered by many diagnostic materials (pottery, weapons) now allow us to check the *a priori* hypotheses with real archaeological data. Recent work on the site at Las Albahacas has located a promising battlefield that could probably be identified with the battle of *Baecula*: analysis of sources, Inherent military probability, local topography and surface surveying –that has yielded coins, arrowheads, sling bullets and some pottery–, all combine to create a much convincing picture for the location of *Baecula* at Santo Tomé-Las Albahacas than the traditional –and archaeologically unsubstantiated– location at modern Bailén. Ongoing work by a team directed by A. Ruiz will perhaps provide proof for what is now a promising hypothesis.

One of the most important ongoing projects in relation to the Numantine Wars is the archaeological study of *Segeda* and its surroundings, conducted by F. Burillo. One of his most relevant finds is the probable identification of the wall that was, according to Apianus, the *casus belli* in the year 154 BC and the justification given for Rome's declaration of war and the later intervention at *Numantia*. Furthermore, current research seems to have identified a Roman camp in the surroundings of this Celtiberian city.

Other works have provided us with indications related to the location of other battlefields, as in the case of *Munda* in Caesar's time, but the necessary systematic projects must be undertaken in order to add evidence of a scientific nature to the literary sources and to casual finds most of them part of private collections.

Finally, the works of Unzueta and Ocharán at Andagoste (Navarra) have served not only to locate a temporary camp of the triumviral period, towards 40-30 BC, but also to trace the development of a battle by analyzing the dispersion of remains, such as slingbullets, arrowheads and catapult projectiles, as well as *caligae* nails, and other non-specifically military objects. The detailed publication of the finds and, in particular, of detailed dispersion maps of the objects will represent a relevant advance in our knowledge about the last moments of the Republic prior to the Cantabrian wars of Octavius Augustus.

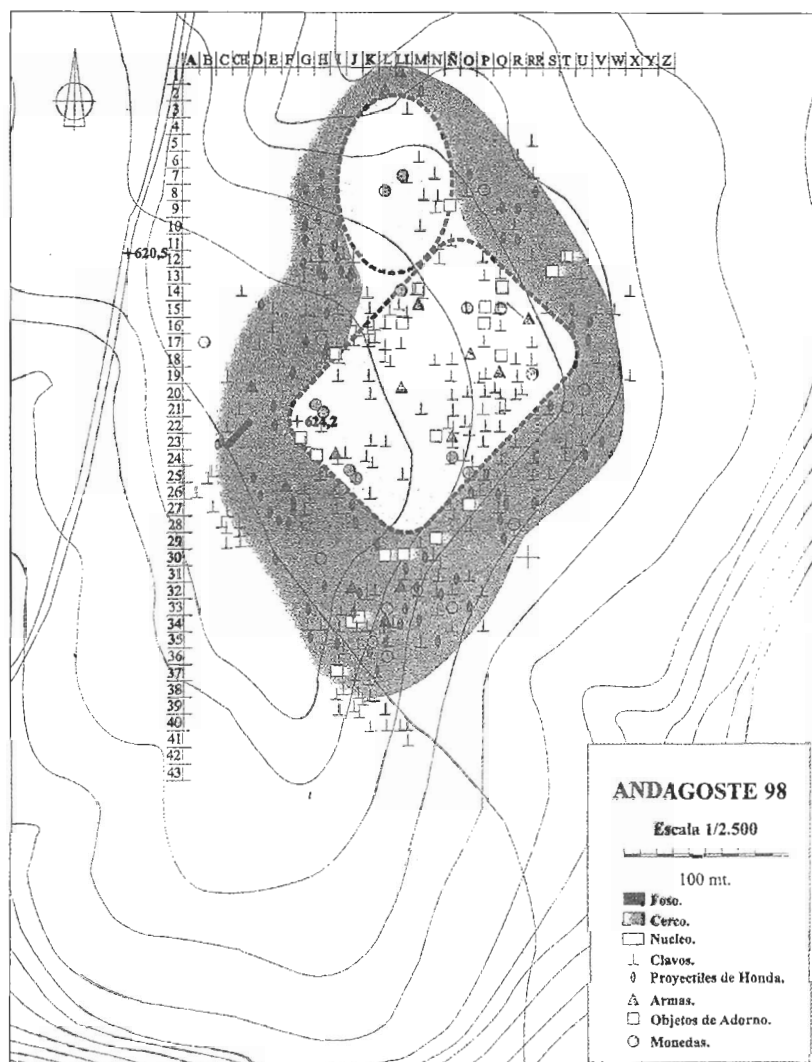


Fig. 9. Triunviral camp and battlefield at Andagoste (Navarra)
(After J. A. Ocharan and M. Unzueta, 2002).

Already in the transitional period to the Imperial Era, the work of E. Peralta on the now indisputable military camps and battlefields of the Cantabrian Wars, some showing evidence of belonging to the earlier campaigns, are likely to enhance our understanding of this last stage of the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

CONCLUSION

In this brief overview we have not dealt with the very relevant data provided by Numismatics, analyzed in a different chapter, nor with the works of a general historic nature mainly based on literary sources related to the Second Punic War in Iberia and to the conquest of Hispania, about which a considerable mass of information has already been published, often of a speculative nature as far as battlefield locations and the route followed by the armies are concerned. Although often very valuable, their methodology and focus are different from the archaeological matters we have been dealing with.

In general, we may conclude that since 1990 work on the Republican army in *Hispania* has experienced a most relevant improvement, especially as far as the different types of Roman weapons –always scarce–, temporary camps and battlefields is concerned. The numerous ongoing Research Projects on these and other aspects promise new and very substantial advances in the near future.