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Resumen: La investigación arqueológica en la bahía de Sanitja en Menorca ha permitido recopilar un caudal de información sobre el proceso de asentamiento del ejército romano en Baleares. Los honderos baleáricos, apreciados desde época cartaginesa, se integraron en el sistema militar romano. Gracias a la investigación arqueológica desarrollada en Sanitja en los últimos diez años se clarifica el proceso de reclutamiento, formación y participación indígena en los conflictos romanos. Toda esta información, fijada en su contexto histórico, nos permite comprender mejor los procesos políticos y militares que se desarrollaron en el Mediterráneo occidental romano entre finales del siglo II y el pleno siglo I a.C.

Palabras clave: Menorca, ejército romano, honderos baleáricos, campamentos militares tardo-republicanos, Metelo.

Abstract: Archaeological research at Sanitja Bay in Menorca has provided a wealth of information about the settlement procedure of the Roman Army in the Balearic Islands. The Balearic Slings, appreciated since Punic times, were integrated into the Roman military system. The archaeological research carried out at Sanitja over the past ten years clarifies the process of recruitment, training and indigenous participation in Roman conflicts. All this information, fixed in its historical context, allows us to understand more fully the political and military processes that took place in the Roman West Mediterranean between the end of the II and all of the I century B.C.

Keywords: Menorca, Roman Army, Balearic Slings, late-Republican military camps, Metellus.

CENSORIUM

The site of Sanitja is located in the northernmost part of the island of Menorca (the Balearic Islands), in the natural setting of the Cape Cavalleria, a place of extraordinary beauty, rich in history and archaeology.

Since 1993 'Sa Nitja Association, Gestión del Patrimonio Mediterraneo', a non-profit organization, has been researching the archaeological remains at the Port of Sanitja.

The archaeological work of the area has been directed by the Ecomuseum of the Cape of Cavalleria with excavation projects included as part of its successful international courses aimed at people who are looking to gain archaeological experience. Because of these projects we have been able to identify a Roman military fort dating back to the moment of the Roman conquest of Menorca in the year 123 B.C.

The archaeological work that has been taking place over the previous years has focused on determining the size of the military fort, what the function of each unearthed area was and what the different phases of occupation were. The time frame of the different buildings is very precise, covering the years from the Roman conquest of the islands in 123 B.C. through to the year 45 B.C.

The reasons for the foundation of the military fort in this location are related to the fact that Sanitja was the best natural port for anchorage on the northern coast of Menorca, protected from the strong Tramuntana (Northern) winds, by a natural breakwater lying in shallow water which extends over 200 metres and connects the nearby Illa de los Porros to the mainland.

Another reason for its location was purely strategic. Situated on a flat at the top of a hill which rises 15 to 20 metres above sea level, it was easy to control the port (Figure 1). From here, there is ample visibility of the entrance to the port as well as of the northern horizon of Menorca. The promontory has a NW to SE orientation and the structures, which have, until now, been discovered along this promontory follow the same orientation until the contours of the land change to a N to S orientation demonstrating that the fort was built to adapt to the port.

Even though there were better and nearer sites to build a fort, i.e. flatter places or areas which were sheltered from the Tramuntana winds, the fort, throughout its history, was always up on the promontory with the port at its feet. This detail highlights the fact that the Romans were there not only to defend themselves against possible invasions but also in a later period, to have control over the traffic entering and leaving the port. It should be noted that this port not only received the incoming supplies for the military garrison but was also the point from which the Balearic Slingers departed for the battle fields.

As a result of the discoveries made at Sanitja, we would like to provide an insight into the historical context of the military fort and the role that the Balearic Slingers played in Roman politics and wars during the period in which the fort was active.

Hispania and the Balearic Islands Enter the Roman World.

Titus Livius described the Roman conquest of the Balearic Islands in his work 'Ad Urbe Condita'. Unfortunately, his book LX has not survived to this day and we can only refer to a few quotes made by other authors describing, very generally, General Quintus Caecilius Metellus' triumphant entrance into Rome after having

conquered the islands, where he established himself for a short period of time, between the years 123 and 121 B.C.

In the transitional period between the III and II century B.C. the Roman Republic was at constant war with the Carthaginians and Hispania became an almost permanent battlefield.

In 218 B.C. the Romans arrived on the Iberian Peninsula with an army that disembarked at Emporion (Ampurias). The conflict lasted until the year 201 B.C. when a peace treaty between Rome and Carthage was finally signed. From this moment Rome controlled a vast territory along the coast of the Peninsula stretching from the Pyrenees in the North to Cadiz in the South and extending inland along the rivers Ebro and Guadalquivir.

The specific period in which the conquest of the Balearic Islands took place was essentially characterised by the attempt at reform carried out by the Gracchus family at a moment in the history of the Republic of Rome where there was social and political crisis and upheaval. These were years of transition and change aimed at transforming the then obsolete and archaic Republic into what would later culminate in the new Imperial Regime.

The way these reforms were carried out, the knowledge of the most important Senatorial families and the internal struggles during the Late Republican period are of vital importance to understand the incorporation of the Balearic Islands into the Roman world and the role they played in the military fort of Sanitja.

The great Roman conquests in the previous decades had been possible because of a strong, powerful, disciplined and well prepared army. However, the recruiting system of new soldiers was not the most effective and became a serious problem, as Rome expanded. None of the political representatives supported reforming the system until two men, the brothers Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Roman Governor in Hispania, arrived in Rome.

Both men, first Tiberius and then Caius, tried to implement a series of innovations within the Roman system which would diminish the huge inequality which existed between the Senatorial oligarchy and the people.

It is important to note that the sector which had benefited the most from the favourable results in the wars against Carthage and from Roman territorial expansion had been, without a doubt, the Senate. This elite was governed by such oligarchic families as the Aemilii, the Scipions, the Metella, the Flaminius or the Minucia.

These Senatorial families dictated Roman foreign policies thus gaining economic wealth and prestige over the rest of the social classes of Roman. This "nobility" was arrogant, disunited, self-centred and ambitious in their drive to gain even more privileges and power for themselves. They would enter into any type of alliance and support whosoever to achieve this.

This is how, between the years 200 and 134 B.C., individuals of only 25 elite families gained admittance to the Consulate.

One of the most important of these groups was headed by P. Cornelius Scipio Emilianus, the adopted grandson of Scipio 'the African' who conquered Carthage in 146 B.C., was Consul during the years 147 to 134 B.C., Censor in 142 B.C. and who later would be victorious at the Battle of Numantia. Because of his renowned victories his prestige and fame were immeasurable to the extent that he became

the most important political figure in Rome at the time. He was supported by important people, such as Calpurnius Piso, Q. Mucius Scaevola, Q. Fabius Maximus and his dearest friend C. Lelius.

Another important group within the political arena was formed by the extremely influential Metella clan (Figure 2), whose leader was Q. Caecilius Metellus 'the Macedon'; and the Claudia clan, with Apicius Claudius Pulcher at its head. Both of these families, though they never formed a common 'Antiscipio' front, fought against Scipio's policies but for different reasons.

Family ties were the priority for the Metella family. Its sons became Consuls and its daughters married into other very influential families of the Oligarchy (DUPLA, 1987: 224). Consequently the Metella clan became one of the most respected gens of the Roman Oligarchy in Republican times, especially around 130 B.C.

Claudius Pulcher supported Tiberius Gracchus in his quest to gain leadership of the Tribune of the Plebe in 133 B.C. Metellus 'the Macedon' on the other hand, opposed Tiberius Gracchus's new reforms. The same happened with his son Q. Caecilius Metellus 'the Balearic', who due to the traditional views of his conservative family, was opposed to the reform proposals of Tiberius Gracchus' brother, Caius Gracchus, in the year 123 B.C. (VAN OOTEGHEM, 1967: 87).

Tiberius' social and agricultural reforms went directly against the interests of the Senate whose members controlled the majority of the large estates. Tiberius' measures cost him his life. He was murdered during an assembly summoned for the Senate by a Cornelius Scipio Nasica, a relative of Scipio Maximus.

Tiberius' violent and illegal death led to the abolition of his programme although at a later date, his brother Caius Gracchus would try to reintroduce it. The younger of the two Gracchus was elected to the Tribune of the Plebe in 123 B.C. and was re-elected the year after. However, he ended up suffering his brother's misfortune and his initiative for reform became another piece in the political game played by the very powerful Roman elite families.

Around this time, the Balearic Islands made an appearance on the Roman scene. Until then, the Talayotic society of the Balearides, prior to the Roman conquest, appears to have been dependent on Punic- Ebusitan culture for various needs but had an underdeveloped cultural level when compared to the island of Ebusus or to the contemporary communities closer to the Iberian Peninsula.

The one, key Balearic element that we discover from classical sources that we can single out from this period is the Balearic Slinger.

As we will see, this role in the Roman Army will help to explain the context and development of the Roman military fort at Sanitja.

The Balearic Slinger in Classical Records

We know from classical authors that the Balearic Slingers were much admired for their skills in the use of the sling and their bravery (Pliny³, 5, 76) and, according to Strabo (III, 1-2), the Balearic Slinger was the best among all other slingers and far superior to the men from Egio, Patras and Dimo (BLANES et alii, 1990: 35; TOVAR, 1989: 261).

One disadvantage that the sling had as a weapon was that the slinger required many years of training and experience, more so even than that of an archer. For this reason, the use of the sling as a weapon was restricted to those ethnic

societies that were specialised in its use (i.e. the Balearics, the Rhodes etc.) who, in turn, were hired as mercenaries (QUESADA SANZ, 1997: 475).

Continuing with the peculiar aspects of slingers, Strabo paints a very clear description of a slinger in battle (STRABO, 3, 5, 1). He mentions that they went into battle without body armour carrying their goatskin shield in one hand and a fire-hardened javelin in the other, and sometimes they also used a spear with a small metal point.

In two passages, Ovid (OVID, METAM II, 722; IV, 706) states that the shots used in the sling were made of lead (BLANES, 1990: 37). Logically, the first projectiles used were natural materials predominantly pebble stones collected from the beach, riverbeds and streams as is the case at Sanitja. Later on they would combine the use of stone shot with handmade ones formed out of terracotta or lead to give them a more aerodynamic shape and to improve their quality and efficiency.

At the military fort at Sanitja, a number of lead objects have been identified in the shape of sheets, plates and rings which could have been used as ingots for melting down. For example, the rings which were all more or less the same size and weight could have been shaped like that to make the lead easier to transport. Similar to those found at Sanitja are the discoveries made at Murray's excavations in Trepucó, the results of which have already been published.

Outside Menorca, lead ingots for melting down into shot, have been found in Lomba do Canho (Portugal), in Adria (Italy) (GUERRA, 1987: 166) and the Quipar River (Murcia) (FONTENLA, 2005: 70).

In his study of Balearic lead artefacts, Poveda mentions that due to the lack of mineral resources on the islands, it is logical to believe that lead was imported from the closest points on the Peninsula such as Carthago Nova or Castulo (POVEDA, 2000: 18).

Relying on classical references and also the discovery of sling shot at military forts and on battlefields, it seems plausible to state that the Balearic Slingers fought alongside the Carthaginian Army from around the VI century B.C. until the year 123 B.C. in campaigns such as Sardinia and Sicily (GUERRERO AYUSO, 1986: 374; 1989: 230; BLANES et alii, 1990: 49; MUÑOZ, 1974: 14; TOVAR, 1989: 260).

After the first Punic War (264- 241 B.C) they appear again during the next Roman-Carthaginian conflict. Polibius (3,33,5-7) and Livi (XXI,21,10) write about Hannibal's preparations in the winter of 219- 218 B.C., explaining that among his Hispanic troops there were 870 Balearic Slingers and in his brother Asdrubal's army there were another 500 (BLANES, 1990: 52- 53).

Again, the slingers were mentioned as having been recruited as mercenaries in the light infantry of the Carthaginian Army at the battles of Trebia (winter of 218 B.C.) (Polibius, III, 72, 3-4; Livi XXI, 35), of Trasimene (217 B.C.) (Livi XXII, 4, 3; Polibius, III, 83, 7) and of Cannas (216 B.C.) (Polibius 113,3-4; Livi XXII,46, 1), led by Hannibal, who defeated the Roman army at every battle as he made his way through the Alps and into the Italic Peninsula.

In Iberia, under Asdrubal's orders, the slingers would have been part of his victory at Castulo (Linares) over the Scipios and then again they were given a very special mention in the decisive battle that took place in the Iberian Peninsula giving victory to the Roman forces in 208 B.C. – *Baecula* (Cerro de las Albahacas de Santo Tomás, Jaen) (Livi XXVIII, 18, 7) (MUÑOZ, 1974: 17).

One of the wars which had most impact on Balearic historiographic documentation due to the problems arising over the foundation of Magón and Iamo was the one

that took place in the period between 208 and 205 B.C., when Magón recruited auxiliary troops from Menorca (Livi XXVII, 20, 7). From the island 2000 auxiliaries were recruited and sent to Liguria (Livi XXVIII, 37, 3) (BLANES et alii, 1990: 58-59). The last battle that the Balearic Slingers took part in with the Carthaginians was *Zama* (201 B.C.) where they were deployed as a spearhead along with Ligurian, Gaul and Mauritanian troops. In total there were some 12,000 foreign troops that Hannibal placed in the front line of his army, right behind his elephants, to fight against Scipio 'the Africanus' troops. (Polibius 15, 11, 1-3; Livi XXX, 33, 5) (MUÑOZ, 1974: 19).

The Carthaginians were defeated and from that point on the Balearic Slingers fought for the Roman Army.

In most cases, the slinger became an auxiliary of the army in exchange for rewards, booty or payment. Perhaps on other occasions, although not too frequently, and due to a series of extremely adverse conditions within the Carthaginian Army (such as heavy casualties and exhaustion amongst the men) the slinger would be forcibly conscripted. This could quite easily have happened in the final decades of the Second Punic War (NICOLAS, 1983:228), (GUERRERO AYUSO, 1997:220).

The Balearic Slinger and the Fort of Sanitja at the Mercy of Roman Politics.

As the Roman Empire increased in size, the greater became its need for fighting men and this necessity forced a re-structuring of the Roman Army which, by then, had become totally obsolete. These changes led to the recruiting of soldiers from amongst the populations of the territories that had been defeated, subdued and dominated (ROLDAN, 1996: 31-32).

After the Punic Wars, Rome decided to leave the boundaries of the Italic Peninsula and expand further but there was a need for non-Italian troops to serve as auxiliaries in the Roman army.

Their recruitment would not have been excessively strict or difficult. The commanders were indigenous while the troops would have been grouped together according to their nationality, their function in combat and the weapons in which they were skilled so that the Light Cavalry was made up of Numidae, the Balearics were the Slingers, the Cretans were the Archers and the rest were simply foot soldiers who carried the weapons of their countries. (ROLDAN, 1996: 34).

During the II century B.C. there was an increase in the number of Hispanic troops at the service of Rome. These were contingents of ethnic groups carrying their own native weapons and who would take part in different battles in function of the alliances each group had with the Romans. (ROLDAN, 1993: 40).

At first Rome had not wanted to annex the Balearic Islands despite their strategic location. The pirates who sailed around the western Mediterranean considered the islands as a perfect refuge. Rome, along other Mediterranean states, was not permanently hostile to them as they could be an excellent supplier of slaves and for certain operations could fight as auxiliaries.

Piracy was a well established occupation in the Mediterranean only to be abolished during the times of Augustus.

In the year 123 B.C., however, Rome feared an alliance had been made between the pirates established on the Balearic Islands and the indigenous people in Southeast Gaul, which could have posed a serious threat to the established trade throughout the western Mediterranean.

On December 10, 123 B.C., Caius Gracchus was appointed Head of the Tribune of the Plebe and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, elder son of Quintus Caecilius Metellus 'the Macedon', had been named Consul and sent to the Balearic Islands. His purpose there was not only to eradicate piracy but also to obtain the honours of victory and the necessary prestige to project himself into the high ranks of the *Nobilitas* and give his family (the Metellus) even greater power in the Senate. (VAN OOTEGHEM, 1967: 88).

In 123 B.C., at the time the Balearic Islands were conquered, Caius Gracchus had begun to pander to the *Equites* to convince them to his cause and also to pay special attention to the two areas where his family had vassals: Hispania and Asia. Moreover, and according to the historian Morgan, the main reason for annexing the islands was due to the Senate's desire to help accelerate the peace process in Transalpine Gaul and Sardinia both of which took place in the years 120 and 122 B.C. respectively.

Consequently, the Roman Senate put the Consul, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, in charge of annexing the islands for Rome. The war was probably straightforward although Classical sources (AN FLORO, *Bellum Balearicum*, 1, 43) mention that when the Roman General tried to disembark on the Balearic Islands he was met by a hostile crowd and had to defend himself from the shot launched by the slingers positioned on the coast.

Metellus remained on the islands for two years to reorganise the territories to Rome's specifications. According to Strabo (although this has been contested by modern historians) he founded two settlements named Palma and Pollentia where he placed 3000 Roman colonists whom he brought from Iberia and to whom he granted plots of land and who could be used as a military reserve corps in the event of a local uprising. In this way, the Balearic Islands became part of the Hispania Citerior province.

The researcher Knapp contradicts Strabo's words as he believes that Gracchus's colonies could not have existed in Spain, just as he does not consider it possible for these colonies to have been a segregated agricultural group which had emigrated from Italy. In his opinion, the 3000 people that came to the islands were *Hybridae*, or in other words, Romanised natives.

Van Ootegheim, on the other hand, using studies by Badian (VAN OOTEGHEIM, 1967: 90) argues that the colonies at Palma and Pollentia were populated by native Iberians which can be demonstrated through the large number of inscriptions found on the islands bearing Quintus' forename and even Quinta Caecilia's. (CIL II, 3676; CIL II, 3696 and CIL 3714 f). These names were not frequently used.

In addition to these hypotheses, researcher Mattingly suggests another, which to those of us who have seen the evidence from the excavations at the military fort at Sanitja, seems to be an extremely logical and convincing theory. Mattingly¹ re-interprets Strabo by placing the arrival of 3000 colonisers and the foundation of Palma and Pollentia into a context relating to the Sertorian wars (82-72 B.C.) This means that another member of the Metella saga might well have been the founder of the cities and this person could perfectly well have been Metellus Pius, Pompeii's ally in the wars against Sertorius. Mattingly states that the original Roman settlements built as soon as Quintus Metellus 'Balearicus' had conquered the islands in 123 B.C., would not have had full legal status as they were simply military institutions formed by garrisons within small forts or *Castella* and only in

¹ Mattingly's hypothesis coincides with a certain *Plotius*' or *Platius*' **Agricultural law** which provided land to the Hispania war veterans who had served under Pompeii and Metellus 'Pius'. With this law, the generals would pay for their troops' loyalty and help to restore peace to civilian life (AMELA, 2003b: 97).

later periods did they become true cities with a legal title. We believe that on the island of Mallorca one of these military installations could have been the fort of Ses Salines, which would now be buried under the modern town in the southernmost part of the island about 6 km from the coast. This theory has also been suggested by the historians Garcia Riaza and Victor Guerrero. A defensive ditch has been identified at this fort –*Fossa Fostigata*– which coincides with the principles of military architecture of the Republican Period. According to Victor Guerrero, inside the ditch they found pieces of ceramics dating to the time of Augustus which would suggest that this was the time it was abandoned. (GUERRERO, 1990: 227; BAUZA-PONÇ, 1998).

In the opinion of Garcia Riaza, apart from Ses Salines, the location of the new style military settlements of Palma and Pollentia would be related to the arrival of Quintus Caecilius Metellus Balearicus and suggests that they were primarily established for guarding the coast (GARCÍA RIAZA, 2002: 573).

In our opinion, Quintus Metellus Balearicus could have distributed his troops in garrisons located in strategic areas of Mallorca and Menorca to conquer the islands in a short period of time.

As we mentioned, the military fort of Sanitja, which our team is currently studying, was occupied until around 45 B.C. and so we will continue to describe every aspect we can relating to the period of history which spans from 121 B.C., a time when, for various reasons Gracchus's reforms began to disappear right up to the events involving Caesar and Gaul.

In the year 121 B.C., when Quintus Caecilius Metellus Balearicus returned to Rome after his victory over the Balearic Islands, Caius Gracchus was murdered. Immediately the Optimates took power and began a counter-reform aimed at erasing every measure that the *Populares* had managed to impose in the previous decade. Quintus Caecilius Metellus Balearicus was elected *Censor* in the year 120 B.C. and with him there began a decade dominated by the power of the Metellus clan and dedicated to protecting the financial interests of the Senators and Knights. (LE GLAY, 1990: 231).

Over the successive years the *Optimates* acquired similar conditions of supremacy to those they enjoyed prior to the Gracchii period. Around the same time, the years 112 B.C. to 106 B.C., the Roman military campaigns in Africa were taking place. The lack of Roman triumphs caused the armies to become demoralized. It was at this point in Roman history that the figure of Caius Marius appeared.

Marius had won great popularity amongst the soldiers and the people. He openly criticised Metellus' handling of the war in Africa which, according to the latter, would be over in no time. In doing this, in the year 107 B.C., he was able to gain the title of Consul and much to the opposition of Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the Senate made him commander in the war against Yugurta. It wasn't until 104 B.C., however, that Marius was finally able to defeat Yugurta.

Classical records refer to slingers taking part in the Yugurta campaign as Sila's escorts (SALUSTIO, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 105, 1-2) and, as archaeological material extracted from the excavations at the military fort at Sanitja would indicate, it would be fair to say that from this fort, and no doubt from others on the other islands, Balearic Slingers would have been recruited for this war.

It is worth noting that whenever the classical sources referred to a slinger in the context of a battle or in the results of the battle it was usually as part of an historic account. In the war against Yugurta, however, the slinger is mentioned as forming

part of General Sila's most trusted and faithful bodyguard. It is also important to point out that as Sila's ties with the Metellus family were very strong it would imply that the slingers were involved with the Metellus clan during the last stage of the Republic.

After the Yugurta conflict, Marius was not able to rest for long as he would have to fight against the Germanic hordes who were threatening to attack Rome. Marius' victories helped him gain re-election as Consul during the years 107 to 101 B.C. He had become the saviour of the Republic, hero and father to the Roman Empire.

Although the foreign conflicts had ended, Rome was still suffering from internal problems caused by personal hatred and squabbles amongst the different factions of the Senate which created such a tense and bitter atmosphere in the city that, by the year 100 B.C., the situation was so desperate that even Marius was forced to retire from political life.

The situation on the Italic Peninsula had deteriorated to such an extent that it ended in a civil war known as the 'War of the Allies' or '*Marsic Wars*', which lasted from 91 to 88 B.C. In 91 B.C. M. Livius Drusus, one of the ten Tribunes of the Plebe, failed in his attempt to obtain Roman citizenship for the Italic allies of Rome even though, at the time, he had the support of one of the most important families in the Senate which was, of course, the Metellus family (AMELA, 2003b: 17). Most of the Italic allies that had contributed to the wars of the *URBS* rose up against the Senate. Faced with this dangerous situation, Rome decided to offer citizenship to these allies and the rebellion came to an end.

We believe that the fort of Sanitja could have provided the Metellus clan with auxiliaries to put down the rebellion in Italy.

Furthermore, we believe that as the Republican troops would have been weakened because a large number of the men who had made up the conquering army were now fighting against Rome in this conflict, this would have been a perfect time for the Senate, and the Metella family, to call on the auxiliary troops in the Balearic Islands.

The Sertorian Wars and the Peak of the Balearic Military Settlements.

The Sertorian wars, which occurred between 83 and 73 B.C., correspond to one of the periods of the Civil War Era belonging to the Late Roman Republic in which Hispania was one of the theatres where its protagonists fought.

In 83 B.C. the confrontation between Lucius Cornelius Sila and one of the Senate groups known as the Popular Party moved the civil war to Hispania in the person of Quintus Sertorius who had been appointed Praetor of Hispania ceterior through the support of the popular group which C. Marius had been leader of years ago.

Sertorius moved to Hispania ceterior in a somewhat precarious manner because back in Rome, Sila was eliminating the resistance led by Marius' followers with the intention of declaring himself Dictator of the Republic. This he managed to do in 81 B.C. with the help of the powerful Metellus family which was the heart and soul of Sila's party and oligarchy.

Also in the year 81 B.C., the proconsul Caius Annius Luscus was appointed new Governor of Hispania substituting Sertorius who consequently became a fugitive. Two legions were sent to Annius Luscus to help him hunt down and capture Sertorius and this is how a decade of war began.

After fleeing to Africa, Sertorius disembarked on Ebussus where a garrison faithful to Annius Luscus was waiting to engage him.

The excavations of the fort at Sanitja, mainly the stratigraphical context in which some of the rooms appear to have been rebuilt, some with storerooms containing lead shot and a spear head, suggest that its foundation by Q. Caecilius Metellus 'Balearicus,' around the first quarter of the I century B.C., could have happened just before Sertorius' arrival in Ebussus so that Caius Annius Luscus' army may have landed at Sanitja to expel Sertorius from the islands and protect the supply of slingers.

Plutarch (Sert. XII.2) argues that various levies of slingers were recruited by C. Annius Luscus or, a short time after, by Domicius Calvinus when he became Proconsul of Hispania citerior. Annius Luscus was trying to ensure that the islanders would continue to be pro Sila and would strengthen their traditional ties with the Metellus family².

Once Annius Luscus had finished his business with the port of Sanitja, he probably sailed for Ebussus to engage Sertorius who was occupying its port. We consider this to be a possibility because of the underwater discovery of seventeen pieces of unmarked lead shot which could quite easily have had something to do with the ensuing siege. (PLANAS- MADRID, 1994: 11-12, 25)³.

According to historians García and Sanchez the 5000 hoplites that Luscus brought in to defeat Sertorius were used, after the battle, to reinforce the garrisons on the Balearic Islands and prevent Sertorius from trying to recuperate the strategic ports of Ebussus and the Balearic Islands (GARCÍA RIAZA- SANCHEZ LEÓN, 2000: 62)⁴. Various levies of mercenaries of Balearic Slingers were possibly used in the long war against Sertorius.

We know that from the port of Sanitja, of the many lead shot finds, two with inscriptions have been found, one bearing the epigraphic markings [S CAE] which clearly links it to Metellus 'Pius' and the other inscribed with the markings [S S (C)] which possibly links it to the same general. All this implies that the slingers were in the service of Consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus in the year 80 B.C.

Two more pieces of lead shot have been found with Quintus Caecilius Metellus 'Pius' inscription (Figure 6). A third piece with the same inscription was found in 'Cerro de

² Lead *Glandes* have been found at Mas d' Agenais, in the south of France bearing the inscription MANL, possibly referring to Lucius Manlius, Governor of Transalpine Gaul, who came to Metellus' aid in the year 77 B.C. thus reinforcing the links between this party's troops and the Metellus family and its cause.

³ From Ebussus we know of two examples of lead shot belonging to private collectors. Their stratigraphical context and the location in which they were found are unknown but their existence is worthy of mention.

Angel Martin has recovered 300 examples near the city of Ebussus. Another 100 lead pieces belong to Pedro Girón's collection; the same as the 24 pieces that belong to Joaquín Madrid and finally the 19 bullets found by Javier Torres Benet (PLANAS- MADRID, 1994: 11-12, 25). From the same island 21 lead sheets or ingots for forging shot were found at the Puig d'en Valls site on a cliff two kilometres from the city of Ebussus city during archaeological excavations at the beginning of the XX century and whose results were published by author Juan Román Calvet (PLANAS-MADRID, 1994: 25-26).

⁴ The historian, Zucca, suggests that around 78 to 77 B.C., when Sertorius regained strength in Hispania citerior the politics of the islands may have turned full circle due to the fact that the discovery of two pieces of lead shot bearing the inscription [Q SERTORI PRO CO(n)S(ulis)] found near the mining region of San Sixto (Huelva), reveals the presence of slingers in Sertorius' ranks.

la Alegría' in Monzón, Huesca and is also believed to be related to the Sertorius War (DOMINGUEA ARRANZ, A- MAESTRO, E., 2002: 87)⁵.

In line with the information provided by our classical sources, Q. Claudius Cuadrigarius, in an extract from his book XIX, describes a passage from the year 79 B.C. pertaining to the Sertorian War in which Q. Metellus Pius' troops besiege those led by Sertorius. The author gives the reader a tactical break from the rest of the description to explain that the slings were much more effective if they were fired upwards towards the walls from below (QUESADA SANZ, 1997:480).

Information passed on to us by classical authors about the military tactics used in the wars between Sertorius and Metellus Pius is extremely scarce. Metellus' operations took place in the Lusitanian region between the rivers Tagus and Guadiana. Schulten reconstructed the movements of the troops and General Metellus' strategy from place-names preserved in Lusitania such as; Caeciliana, Metellinum, Castra Caecilia, Vicus Caecilius all of which were names given to military forts which had probably been built around 80-79 B.C. by Metellus Pius.

The object of Pro-Consul Q. Metellus Pius was to establish a series of enclaves, the *Propugnacula Imperi*, to control the most strategic points of Lusitania. At this point we should remember the theory proposed by Mattingly which mentions the possibility of Palma and Pollentia being founded at this time and that perhaps Strabo may have been mistaken when he attributes the founding of these two cities to 'Balearicus' because they would relate perfectly to the approach that Quintus Metellus Pius was taking for founding new cities in Hispania Ulterior.

Finally, the combined work of Metellus Pius in Hispania Ulterior and Pompeii's ⁶ in Hispania Citerior, resulting in the assassination of Sertorius in 73 B.C., put an end to the war, a fact which Mattingly argues, would have been a perfect time to establish the two cities because, as Strabo cites, it coincided with the arrival of 3,000 men at the end of 70 B.C.

The Military Fort of Sanitja at the Time of Pompeii and Caesar.

With the exception of the war in Gaul, we do not know if Caesar or Pompeii used the Balearic Slingers as auxiliary troops in their other battles or if the fort at Sanitja was entrusted with any other duties of observation or command.

Evidence confirms that the fort lasted until 45 B.C. Before the wars in Gaul took place, Caesar was aware of the status of the Balearic Slingers and he may have employed them. Caesar, like Pompeii and other outstanding generals who had fought in the wars against Sertorius, had received their training in military tactics in Hispania at the advanced age of 40 when he was *Quaestor* there in 68 B.C.

In the year 61- 60 B.C. he was elected *Propretor* of Hispania Ulterior and according to Apianus, "he gathered an army and marched against the Hispanic towns,

⁵ Our research team has carried out a study on the collection of lead shots from various sites at Cinca Medio, very near Monzón, which will be published in CEHIMO magazine of Monzon during the course of this year 2007: F. Contreras, R. Müller, J. Muntaner, F. Valle (press). `` *Study on the Lead Artefacts deposited at CEHIMO* ``

⁶ For our study it is important to analyse Pompeii's position in relation to the Metellus family. With all probability he wanted to maintain good relations with them and to enjoy their friendship. This can be seen at various times such as when Pompeii married Sila's stepdaughter, Emilia who belonged to the Metellus family. By becoming a member of this family, Pompeii was able to gain access to the group of most noble families of the Republic (AMELA, 2003b: 49). When Emilia died in 80 B.C., Sila provided Pompeii with a new wife, Mucia, who was also from the Metellus family (AMELA, 2003b: 61).

attacking them one by one until the whole of Hispania was paying tribute to Rome, money which was sent to the *Urbs* for public funds." Plutarch (Caes 12) reminds us that "he caused a great stir in Hispania; in just a few days he added ten cohorts to the twenty he already had, marched against the Lusitanians and the Galicians, defeated them, marched on until he reached the ocean and then conquered every town and village that up till then had not yielded to the Romans".

In Lombda do Canto (Secarias, Argantil, Portugal) a military fort measuring 150 x 45 metres was excavated. A huge quantity of weapons such as darts, spear heads, catapult missiles and most of all, lead shot, were found.

Archaeologists believe that this military settlement was built by Caesar in the year 61- 60 B.C.(GUERRA- FABIAO, 1988: 315-316; FABIAO 1989: 48)

For us, this information is of the utmost importance as it ties the Balearic Slingers' activity to Caesar and also justifies the continuing existence of a military fort at Sanitja.

As we mentioned previously, we have no confirmation from Classical sources of the use of slingers until Caesar conquered Gaul. They talk of the participation of slingers in these campaigns but they never mention their nationalities. (DE BELLO GALLICO II, 10; II, 19,4; II, 24, 4; VII, 40).

The only specific reference to their Balearic origin was at the Battle of Bribax (57 B.C.) where the slingers fought as frontline troops between the Numidian cavalry and the Cretan archers.

Shortly after, during the civil war which set Caesar against Pompeii, the Balearic Islands were once again used as a strategic point by both of the warring factions although it seems the islanders favoured Pompeii more than his rival.

We know that when Pompeii was in Hispania during the Sertorian Wars he made a great impression on the territory which can be seen in the local's resistance to Caesar's presence in the year 49 B.C. Pompeii left Hispania in 71 B.C. but was always in contact with his allies.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that from 55 B.C. onwards, Pompeii governed the Hispanic provinces through his allies. Accordingly it would not have been strange for Pompeii to have counted on the support of his great civilian vassals to defend their Lord's cause, which is precisely what happened between the years 49 and 45 B.C., when Cneus and Sextus Pompeii (his sons) settled in the southern regions and confronted, first, the followers of Caesar and then Caesar himself in some regions of Hispania Ulterior.

In 49 B.C. Pompeii had the support of 7 legions. His forces were distributed around two main centres: Ilerda (Lleida) in the north and Corduba (Cordoba) in the south. Nevertheless, Caesar beat Pompeii in Farsalia in the year 48 B.C. and, although the latter managed to escape to Egypt, he died shortly afterwards.

Taking advantage of their feudal ties with the islands, Cneus Pompeii, Pompeii's eldest son, was in the Balearics preparing an expedition to disembark on the south coast of the Peninsula and regain control of Hispania which was now in the hands of Caesar's allies Q. Pedius and Q. Fabius Maximus (MUÑOZ, 1974: 20).

The final phase yet the most recent phase of the occupation of the military fort at Sanitja where we can appreciate the period of the restructuring of buildings carried out between 75 and 45 B.C. and confirmed by stratigraphical context, would have

been a perfect scenario for Cneus Pompeii to put together an army large enough to allow him to achieve his goals and, of which, the Balearic Slingers, would no doubt, have been a part.

To mark Cneus Pompeii's military activities, a few lumps of lead shot have been found in Utrera, *Ategua* (Teba la Vieja), *Ursao* (Osuna)⁷, *Ucubi* (Espejo, Cordoba), *Cerro de las Balas*⁸ bearing the inscription CN(eus) MAGN(us) IMP(erator) or in other words the name of Cneus. (Figure 6).

With the taking of some cities and the suppression of others, Cneus Pompeii, with the support of Corduba was able to gain control of Hispania Ulterior in the year 46 B.C. However, it would all come to an end at the Battle of Munda (Montilla, Cordoba) in 45 B.C. where Cneus Pompeii was totally defeated by Caesar.

The reason for the abandonment of the fort in 45 B.C. could have easily been to Caesar's reconstruction of the Roman army. During that time, Rome depended on a limited number of legions which were stationed at different frontiers so this could have forced a movement of the troops based in Hispania to other areas of conflict. At the same time, another logical reason for the withdrawal of these troops is that from that moment on, both the Islands and Hispania were at peace and had begun their process of Romanization.

⁷ Peman, a historian who has studied and interpreted in great detail the struggles between Pompeii and Caesar in the South of Hispania, mentions in an article that he had visited the local museum in Osuna, in which several pieces of lead shot bearing the inscription CN. MAGNUS/IMP were exhibited. He also met Francisco Fajardo Martos, a collector from this same town, who had collected a great quantity of lead shot, some of which were smooth and some inscribed very clearly with the letters CN(eus) MAG(nus) with the peculiarity that not all of the pieces found are from the same die as the letters of the inscriptions change in style and shape although the inscription itself is always the same. (PEMAN, 1988: 57).

⁸ 20 km between Ecija and El Rubio a hill known as the *Cerro de las Balas* rises 100 metres above the surrounding plain. It has been given this name because of the great quantity of lead shot found there. One of them bears the inscription C(neus) M(aximus) (PEMAN, 1988: 57).

For Peman this abundance of lead shot would confirm that there was a Pompeian military settlement here during the Salsum River campaign. From here the other side of the river could be easily flanked and at a distance of four miles there was a Caesarean fort known as *Castra Postumiana* (PEMAN, 1988: 58).

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FIGURES



Fig. 1: Aerial view of Sanitja's military fort and port.

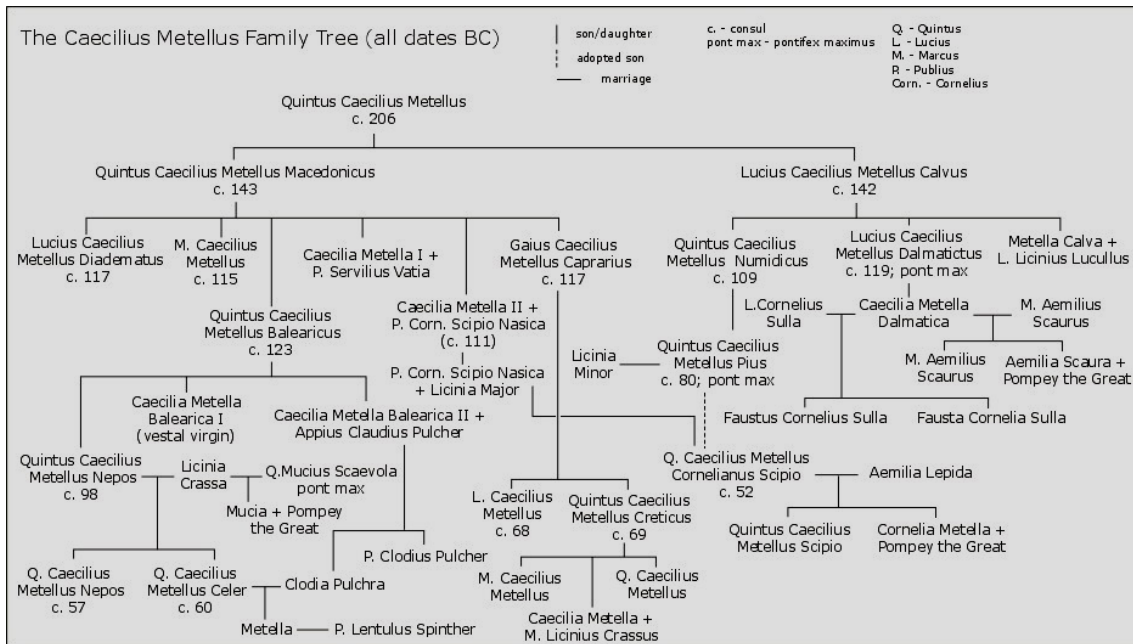


Fig. 2: Metella's family tree.

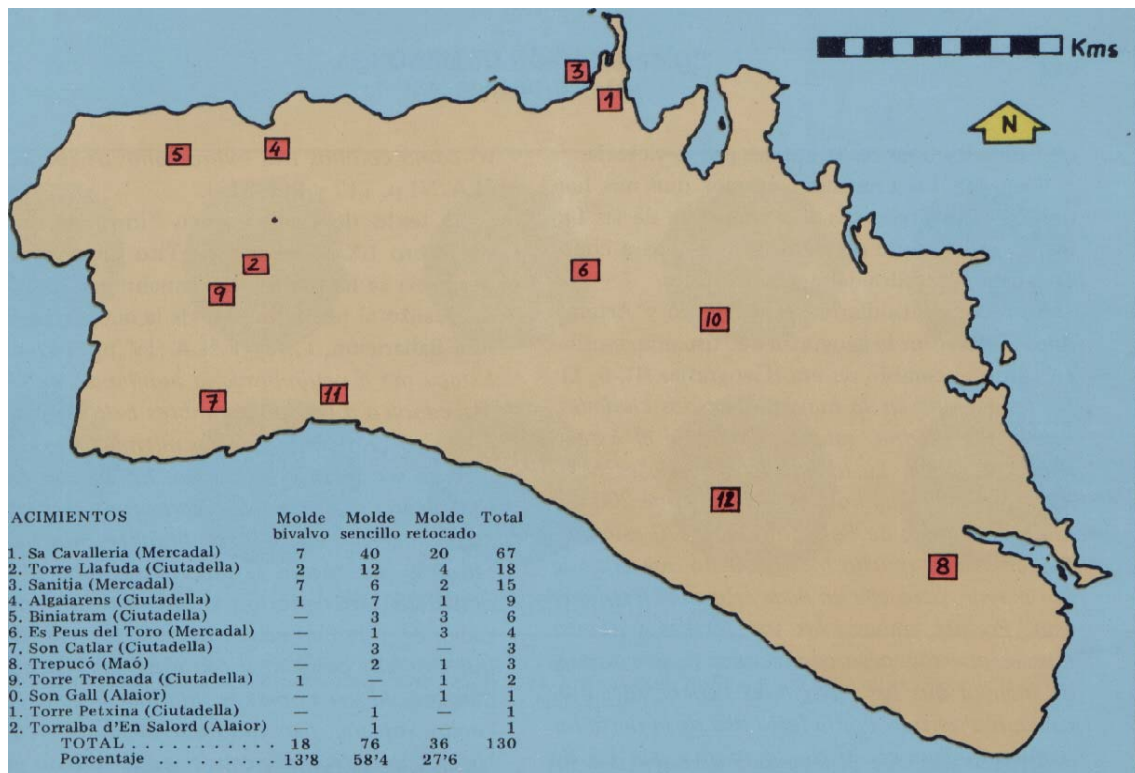


Fig. 3: Distribution of lead bullets found on Menorca (J.C. de Nicolás 1983)

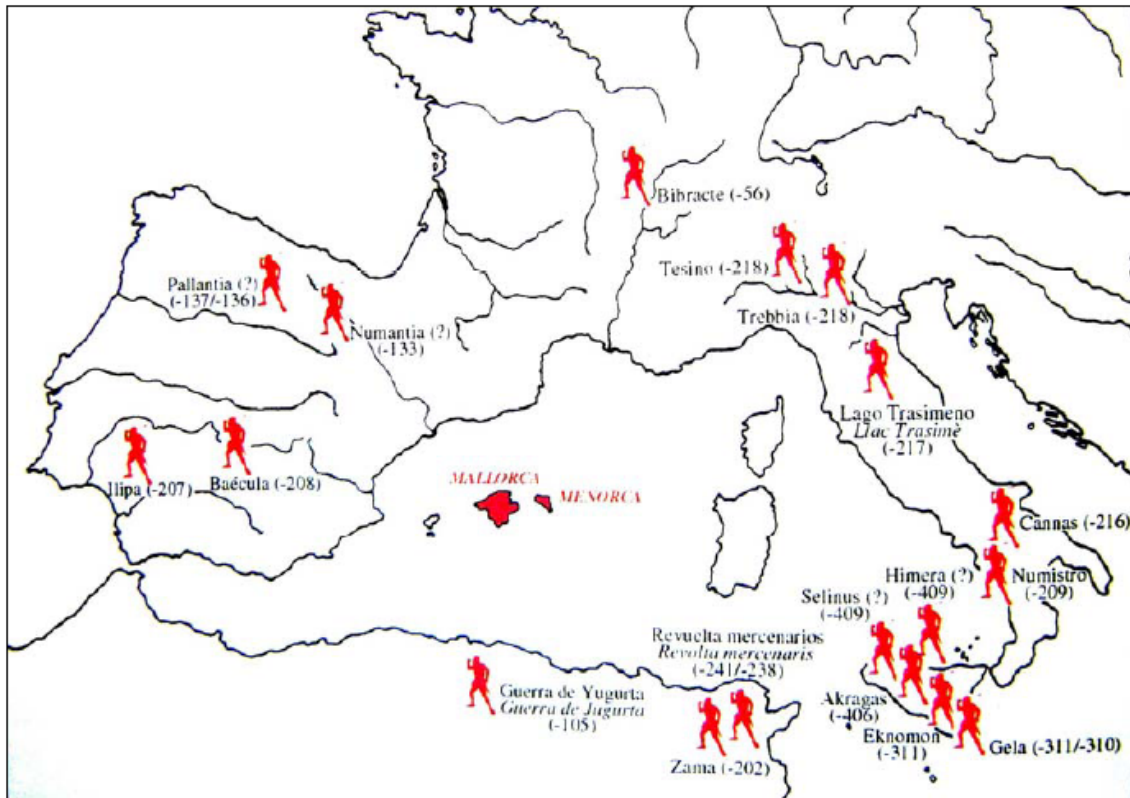


Fig. 4: Conflicts, in which, according to classical fonts and archaeological finds, Balearic Slingers participated (extract from the study of Son Fornes, AA.VV. 2001).

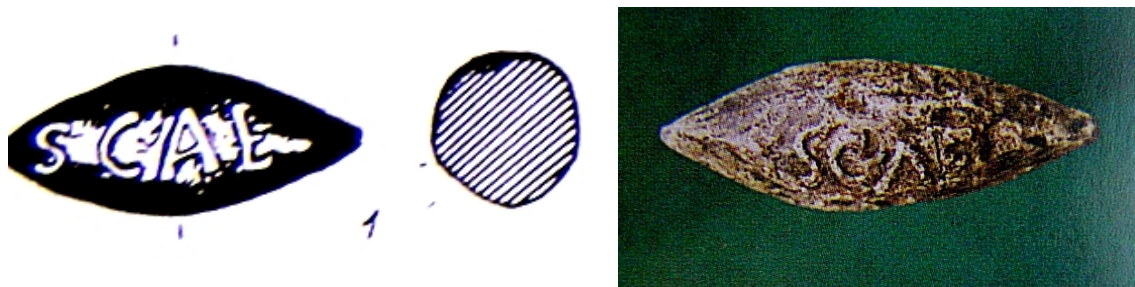


Fig. 5: To the left, a lead bullet with an epigraphic inscription found at Sanitja and studied by J.C. de Nicolás. To the right, another projectile with the same inscription found at the Cerro de la Alegría (Monzón, Huesca), related to the Sertorian wars.

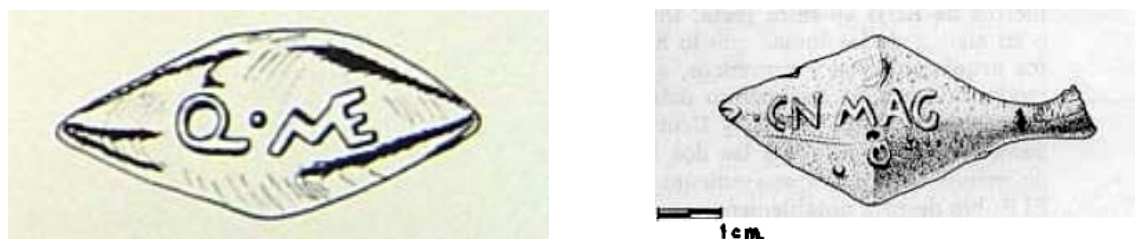


Fig. 6: To the left, a lead bullet with the epigraphic mark of Q. Cecilio Metelo found in Azuaga (Badajoz). To the right, a lead bullet alusive to Pompeii, found in the Cerro de las Balas, near Écija (Peman's study).