

HANNIBAL'S OLCADES

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Los Ólcades en Hispania, sometidos por Aníbal en 221 a. de J.C. al hacerse general, habitaban probablemente el sur de La Mancha. La campaña de Aníbal aclara sus estrategias militar y política, y puede aclarar también las campañas romanas en la Hispania central en 181 y 179.

The Olcades in Spain, subdued by Hannibal in 221 BC as soon as he became general, probably dwelt in the southern La Mancha. Hannibal's campaign throws light on his military and political strategies, and may also illuminate the Romans' campaigns of 181 and 179 in central Spain.

I. When Hannibal succeeded his assassinated brother-in-law Hasdrubal as Carthage's general in Spain, in the second half of 221 B.C., he launched a military campaign at once. It was an attack on a community called the Olcades (Ὀλκάδες); he stormed their strongest town, received the submission of the rest of the tribe, and after levying money from them returned to winter at his headquarters, New Carthage. Both Polybius and Livy stress the quantity of money or plunder he acquired from the barbarians¹.

The Olcades never appear after 218 when they are listing as supplying a contingent to Punic forces sent to North Africa. Where they resided is thus rather a mystery.

Livy writes that 'ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginensium erat', which reminds the reader that a few chapters earlier he

¹ Plb. 3.13.5-7 (Ἀλθία); Liv. 21.5.3-4 (largely repeating Plb., but his MSS. vary on the town-name). Other sources, even Appian's *Iberica*, ignore this campaign. Date: G. V. Sumner, *Harvard Studies in Cl. Philol.* 72 (1967) 213, n. 27.

reported the Romans and Hasdrubal as dividing Spain between them, with the river Hiberus –the Ebro– as the demarcation-line. This is no help in locating the Olcades: the remark is just an obvious inference from the fact that they were independent until subdued by the new general. The Byzantine geographer Stephanus describes them as dwelling near New Carthage, though he may just be inferring this from Polybius².

Polybius names their chief town as Althia, while Livy's manuscripts vary between Cartala, Cartatta and Cartaia. Livy himself otherwise follows Polybius closely in his narrative, as he also does for the campaign of 220, but he may blend in a detail or two from elsewhere as he certainly does in his account of 220. Perhaps Coelius Antipater, the earlier Roman historian of Hannibal's War, supplied the variant town-name from an original source like Hannibal's own historian Silenus; or Livy may have consulted original sources himself. As sometimes noted, the form 'Cart-' resembles the Punic for 'city' (*Qart*). So it possibly echoes a Punic original account ('the city Althia') –by Hannibal himself, for instance in a report to the authorities at Carthage?– reflected via the history of either Silenus or Sosylus, both of them close to the general. This version of the name, then, may have been Cartaltia or Cartalthia³.

The divergence between Polybius and Livy need not be all that surprising, for ancient writers do not always agree on a single form of a Spanish place-name. A notable example is one Vaccaean town that Hannibal attacked the following year: variously named Helmantice (by Polybius), Hermandica (Livy), Salmatice (Plutarch and the Antonine Itinerary), Salmantice (Ptolemy and the Ravenna Geographer) and Salmatis (Polyaenus). Again, the Carpetani of central Spain are the Carpesii in Polybius, who also terms Oretes the people around the upper Guadiana generally known as Oretani (while in Diodorus they are Orissi). One of their chief towns was variously termed Orisia, Oria and Oretum⁴.

² Liv. 21.5.3, cf. 2.7 (Ebro 'treaty'); St. Byz. s.v. 'Αλθαία (an entry also in the Suda). St. inferring from Plb.: E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* (Halle 1924) 1. 401, n. 1; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1957) 317.

³ Plb. 3.33.10 (Olcades contingent in 218). Hannibal's campaign in 220: Plb. 3.14.1-9; Liv. 21.5.6-17; Sumner (n. 1) 217. Sumner, 216 n. 22, suggests that 'Cart-' may represent the Punic for 'city' and that Livy perhaps wrote Cartalta. On Cart- (as = *Qart*) here, similarly A. Schulten, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* 6: *Estrabón: Geografía de España* (Barcelona 1952) 233; M. Almagro-Gorbea in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 86 (1995) 199, n. 2. Silenus and Sosylus: Nep., *Hann.* 13.3.

⁴ Helmantice etc. (modern Salamanca): Plb. 3.14.1-3; Liv. 21.5.6-7; Plut., *Mulierum Virtutes* 10. 248e; *Itin. Ant.* 434; Ptol., *Geog.* 2.5.7; *Geogr. Rav.* 319; Polyaen., *Strat.* 7.48. Carpetani-Καρπησίου: Plb. 3.14.2. Oretes ('Ορητες), Plb. 3.33.10; Orissi ('Ορισσοί), D.S. 25.10.3; the geographer Artemidorus, ca. 100 bc, called them 'Οριτανοί and their chief town 'Ορισία (St. Byz., s.v. 'Οριτανοί). Str. 3.3.2, C152 names the town 'Ορία, unless his MSS. are to be emended (cf. Schulten, *FHA* 6. 62, 200-1). On the Oretani and Oretum see also A. Schulten, *RE* 18. 1018-19. Iberian coins issued by Orosi(s) are plausibly ascribed to the Oretani [J. Caro Baroja in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España* 1.3 (Madrid 1954) 733, cf. 737, fig. 50; cf. A. M. de Guadán, *Numismática Ibérica e Ibero-Romana* (Madrid 1969) 191]. For another example, the Ilergetes of the Ebro region had Ilerda as their centre (Str. 3.4.10, C161). All the same, 'Ilerdensis' could be used of a person from Ilerda (A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Lat. Liberae R. Pub.* [Firenze 1963] no. 515 [89 B.C.]; J. Vives, *Inscriptiones Latinas de la España Romana* [Barcelona 1971], no. 5323).

II. As it happens the geographer Strabo attests a Spanish town called Cartalia, but on the east coast north of Saguntum and near the mouth of the Ebro. Nothing else is known of it and it can, at best, be just a homonym of the Olcades' town. Just as one place sometimes has different name-forms in different writers, so too by contrast a number of different places in Spain bear identical or near-identical names (as the various occurrences of Segeda and Segida, Segontia, Ilipa, Ilipula, and Contrebia illustrate)⁵.

One suggestion for Althia-Cartala is modern Altea on the coast 50 kilometres, or 30 miles, north of Alicante, as the name echoes Polybius' version. Yet this area, especially its coastal strip, was improbably close and vulnerable to the Punic province to be still defiant as late as 221 (Polybius writes of Hannibal setting out to subdue [ὡς καταστρεψόμενος], not re-subdue, the Olcades). Nor is Alcoy, fifty kilometres inland in a straight line, any support. Quite apart from the oddity that the Olcades would have been dwelling sliced in two by a series of mountain ranges and with their 'strongest city' not powerfully-sited Alcoy but seaside Altea, Alcoy's name is Arabic, like many with the prefix 'Al-' in Spain, and dates from the Moorish era.

Aldaya, a town just outside Valencia further north which has also been considered a possibility, is no more likely, lying as it does on the open plain of the Valencian *huerta* very close to the then-existing town of Turis, in territory later considered that of the Edetani of nearby Edeta Liria, and not very far from the Roman-friendly city of Saguntum –on whose behalf the Romans nevertheless declined to intervene for another twelve months and then only after Hannibal's conquests in central and north-west Spain⁶.

Livy does claim that the attack on the Olcades was the start of a Hannibalic strategy of creeping aggression against Saguntum: 'ut ...rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset.' This might seem to support locating the Olcades somewhere near the east coast. But it is simply a Livian inference based on the belief –which he shared with Polybius and virtually all other ancient writers– that Hannibal was following an inherited plan of revenge in scheming to provoke war with the Romans. That this supposed plan existed is very debatable. But in any case, Hannibal's next campaign, which on Livy's logic ought to have been waged even nearer to Saguntum, was fought far away from there⁷.

⁵ Str. 3.4.6, C159. Ptol. 2.6.63 registers a Καρχηδών παλαιά in the same district; Schulten, *FHA* 6. 233 identifies the two. P. Jacob, *Ktema* 10 (1985) 265 in turn suggests that these were other names for Onusa (the place of Hannibal's famous dream: Liv. 21.22.5) which Schulten, *RE* 18. 534, had located at Peñíscola near the mouth of the Ebro. On various towns named Contrebia cf. below, n. 13; for different Segedas, etc., relevant entries in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*.

⁶ *Contra* Schulten, *Fontes Hisp. Antiq.* 3 (Barcelona 1934) 24 'nada que ver con Altea, al N. de Alicante', Sumner (n. 1) 216 suggests Altea and notes the name Alcoy. On the Arabic name Alcoy: *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1997 CD-ROM edn.) s.v. - Aldaya: cf. B. Taracena in Menéndez Pidal (n. 4) 215. Turis: B. D. Hoyos, *Unplanned Wars: the Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars* (Berlin-New York 1998) 188-91. Saguntines ignored until late 220: *Pib.* 3.15.1-2.

⁷ Liv. 21.5.3; tentatively invoked by Sumner (n. 1) 216, n. 36.

III. The Olcades more likely dwelt on another sector of the province's frontiers. Appian, whose grasp of Spanish geography is at best patchy, describes Hasdrubal as conquering Spain up to the river Iber (the Hiberus) –but this he defines as dividing Spain in the middle and flowing into the Northern Ocean, so he really means the Tagus. This is confirmed by Hannibal's second campaign, in 220, in which the lands north of the Tagus clearly were outside Punic control; similarly Polybius' comment that only when the campaign of 220 was over did Hannibal's control extend as far as the Ebro⁸.

Given that in 220 Hannibal marched beyond the Tagus to assault peoples beyond, and on his return march was attacked beside that river by the Carpetani and other peoples, the Olcades ought to be sought somewhere not too close to New Carthage and not too far from the Tagus. The Carpetani who attacked him on his return had changed their attitude under pressure from Olcades fugitives among others, another sign that the Olcades dwelt not too far away. It is reasonable then to look for them to the south or east of the Carpetani.

The Tagus' upper reaches run in a fish-hook-shaped curve from its source in the Iberian Cordillera (between Cuenca and Zaragoza), first to the north-west and then to the south-west, until near Toledo it turns more or less westwards. The Carpetani, whose chief centre was Toletum, obviously were not under Punic control before 220 but presumably were not openly hostile either (Hannibal left them in his rear on his march north). Over on the Mediterranean coast the Saguntines, in their small though prosperous city, were holding a similar attitude though, by 220, they had unfriendly neighbours who counted themselves as subjects of Carthage.

It seems reasonable then to infer that, before Hannibal, Punic dominance in Spain –tight in some areas, looser in others– reached as far as the Tagus in the west but, from central Spain on to the east coast, stopped short of that stream though embracing the Oretes-Oretani, whose town of Oretum was by the Jabalón river between the Guadiana and Tagus. Certainly no evidence suggests that the great plateaux and ranges of the Iberian Cordillera had been under Hasdrubal's sway. The Romans did later lump together the areas around the upper Tagus –in fact everything between the Iuga Carpetana (today's Sierra de Guadarrama) and the eastern side of La Mancha– as Carpetania, but names conferred on such broad regions were largely for convenience and could embrace many separately self-governing communities, as 'Turdetania' did the entire variegated Baetis valley. The Olcades would be southern neighbours of the Carpetani or a Carpetanian sub-group⁹.

⁸ App., *Hisp.* 6.24; Sumner, 215-17; Hoyos (n. 6) 172. Appian also describes the Iber as five days' journey from the Pyrenees, but this does not outweigh the other evidence that he or his source really meant the Tagus as Hasdrubal's boundary [despite J. Seibert, *Hannibal* (Darmstadt 1993) 50].

⁹ Saguntines: Plb. 3.14.9-15.1; Hoyos (n. 6) 174-91, suggesting that the people of Turis were the hostile neighbours. Turis was later replaced by the Roman foundation Valentia. Carpetani stretched northwards from Toletum: G. Alföldy (n. 12) 60. Although Livy mentions the Oretani and Carpetani

IV. One of the towns of central Spain south-east of Toletum was named Alces, according to the Antonine Itinerary of Roman times. It lay some sixty-seven Roman miles in a straight line, about 99 kilometres or 61 English miles, north-west of the town of Laminium: modern identifications are with Villacañas, 60 kilometres south-east of Toledo, or (less likely) Alcázar de San Juan another 25 kilometres further south-east. Livy in his turn mentions a town of Alce, plainly a strongly fortified centre, in 179 resisting the Roman invasion of what he calls 'furthest Celtiberia' ('ultima Celtiberiae')¹⁰.

Other centres of resistance that year are named as Certima, a 'praevalidam urbem', Munda and Ercavica. This invasion is much doubted since no other evidence attests towns named Certima or Munda in central Spain, while *Cartima* and Munda were towns in southern Spain (Munda of course the scene of Caesar's last battle, in 45). The kindest thing to do with Livy, some think, is to plead carelessness and confusions. Some suppose that the propraetor Gracchus was really co-operating with his colleague Postumius in Postumius' province of Hispania Ulterior, where *Cartima* and Munda lay¹¹.

Yet Alce is not a name matched anywhere in the far south, and Ercavica, a 'nobilis et potens civitas' in Livy's story, did lie in central Spain near the Tagus, north-west of Cuenca. Moreover Gracchus afterwards triumphed at Rome 'de Celtiberis Hispanisque'. 'Certima' and 'Munda' may indeed be confusions in naming (by Livy or his source for the 179 campaign), with real but obscure names being misremembered as better-known southern ones. Ptolemy's *Geography* registers a place called Mantua among the Carpetani: a modern suggestion is that it stood at Villamanta, some 40 kilometres (24 miles) south-west of Madrid and 50 kilometres north-west of Toledo. 'Certima' might be Caraca, a place in the neighbourhood of Ercavica or it might be the Cartala or Cartaltia of 220¹².

but not the Olcades as briefly restive during Hannibal's siege of Saguntum (21.11.13), nothing can be inferred from this about the Olcades; the reliability of his unknown source (Polybius does not have the episode) and the source's definitions of Carpetani and Oretani are unassessable.

¹⁰ Alces: *Itin. Ant.* 445; at Villacañas, K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart 1916, repr. Roma 1964) 173; at Alcázar de S. Juan, e.g. D. J. Hopkins (ed.), *Merriam-Webster's Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield 3rd edn. 1997) 27. (The name Alcázar of course does not derive from Alce, being from Arabic *al-Kasr* [from Latin *castra*].) Alce in 179: Liv. 40.48.1, 49.2. Alces in *Itin. Ant.* should be the same as Alce, despite G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* 4.1 (2nd edn. Firenze 1968) 449, n. 189. L. A. Curchin [*Emerita* 65 (1997) 259] suggests it lay 'in southeast Toledo or northeast Ciudad Real province, in the territory of the Carpetani'. 'Ultima Celtiberiae': Liv. 40.47.1, cf. 40.39.1.

¹¹ Munda, Certima, Alce and Ercavica in 179: Liv. 40.47.2–50.1. Gracchus co-operating with Postumius: A. Montenegro Duque in *Historia de España*, vol. II, 2nd edn. (ed. A. Montenegro Duque and J. M. Blázquez Martínez: Madrid 1982) 1. 68. Livy's account obscure: de Sanctis (prev. n.), 449–50; S. L. Dyson, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (Princeton 1985) 195; J. S. Richardson, *Hispaniae ... 218–82 B.C.* (Cambridge 1986) 101–2; W. V. Harris in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn., 8 (1989) 125.

¹² Ercavica: G. Alföldy, *Römisches Städtewesen auf der Neukastilischen Hochebene* (Heidelberg 1987) 66–74. Gracchus' triumph: *Acta Triumphalia* for 178; Liv. 41.7; T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Rom. Rep.* 1. 395–96. Mantua: Ptol., *Geog.* 2.6.56; Alföldy, 61, n. 189, citing A. U. Stylow; C. Müller, *Cl. Ptolemaei Geographia* (Paris 1883) 1. 175, offers the same identification, but mentions others such as Mondéjar, 50 km. east of Madrid. The name may be a Latinisation of the

The invasion of 179 was not the first time the Romans had operated in those parts. Invasions of Carpetania are reported for 193, 192, 185 and 181, and various battles around Toletum; Toletum was even, we are told, captured in 192. But even if all these details can be trusted, no lasting success was obtained. Gracchus' campaigns by contrast were followed by a range of treaties with Celtiberian communities and a lengthy period of (relative) peace in the north; and when war resumed they were largely concentrated in the lands around the Ebro and upper Duero, and in Lusitania. From the Guadiana river to the Sierra de Guadarrama and the headwaters of the Tagus, all would remain quiet¹³.

Even apart from Alce, it seems that Gracchus' invasion of 'furthest Celtiberia' ranged widely across central Spain, so Alce's distance south of the middle Tagus is not an argument for disbelieving Livy's account. By 'furthest Celtiberia' he obviously means country separate from and more distant than the valleys and uplands around the Ebro. Celtiberia was an elastic term: for the geographer Strabo, from the east you entered Celtiberia as soon as you crossed the Mons Idubeda range, the Iberian Cordillera. Likewise Segobriga, a strong town on the northern fringe of La Mancha, about 35 kilometres south-east of the upper Tagus and close to the historic fortress-town of Uclés, was Celtiberian according to Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy¹⁴.

Some Spanish tribes (as distinct from regional groupings like the Celtiberi and Turdetani) took their names from one of their towns: for instance Mastia, supposedly the predecessor of New Carthage, and Edeta in eastern Spain produced the Mastieni and Edetani respectively. As mentioned earlier, around the upper Guadiana, partly in southern La Mancha and partly in the Sierra Morena, dwelt the Oretani –this was their later name at any rate– whom Polybius calls Oretes, Diodorus Orissi. Their chief town was Oretum, or Orisia to early Greek writers, still commemorated it seems in the church of S. María de Oreto, 30 kilometres west of Valdepeñas on the Campo de Calatrava and

term *bandua*, often found in western Iberian religious contexts (Almagro-Gorbea [n. 3], 191-92), or be connected with Celtic **mandu-*, 'pony' (Curchin [n. 10], 269). Caraca: Ptol., *ibid.*; Müller, 175-76. Another candidate *might* be the town of Contrebia Carbica not far from Uclés (briefly described by Almagro-Gorbea [n. 3] 185, 189) and earlier known from coins (Guadán [n. 4] 207), but this is unlikely since the name Althia or Althaea could hardly then be explained.

¹³ Liv. 35.7.8; 35.22.8; 39.30-31; 40.30.3, 33.1. Contrebia, one of the towns mentioned in the campaign of 181, may not be Contrebia Leucada as usually thought [this lay on the river Jiloca, 100 km. or so south of the Ebro: Liv., fragm. 91; Schulten, *FHA* 3.212; *FHA* 4 (1957) 34-35, 189] or C. Belaisca = Botorrita on the river Jalón, even nearer the Ebro, find-spot of the *tabula Contrebiensis* [J. S. Richardson, *JRS* 73 (1983) 33-41] but rather Contrebia Carbica (so too Curchin [n. 10] 265): for Aebura, the other main centre of resistance, is identified as the later Libora on the Tagus, 30 km. west of Toletum (Ptol. 2.6.56; Geogr. Ravenn. 312; C. Müller [n. 12] 1. 176; Schulten, *FHA* 3. 212). Gracchus' achievements: Richardson (n. 11) 101-3, 105-6, 112-23.

¹⁴ Entering Celtiberia: Str. 3.4.12, C162; cf. Schulten (1952 [n. 3 above]) 242, 246-47; M. C. Fernández Castro, *Iberia in Prehistory* (Oxford / Cambridge 1995) 350-51; cf. Curchin (n. 10) 259, 'a term often used loosely to refer to the Spaniards of the interior.' Segobriga in Celtiberia: Str. 3.4.13, C162; Pliny, *NH* 3.25; Ptol. 2.6.57; Alföldy, 74-75. On the remains at Segobriga and Uclés: R. Collins, *Spain: an Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford 1998) 252-55.

near a bridge over the Jabalón. Orisia-Oretum gave the Oretani their name or names: this although their other and better-known chief centre was Castulo in the Sierra Morena, famous for its silver mines and as the home town of Hannibal's wife¹⁵.

Alce is at least a passable candidate, then, as the town from which the Olcades formed their name. Cartala or Cartaltia, Polybius' Althia –and perhaps the 'Certima' of 179– will have been another strongpoint of theirs and Hannibal's target in 220.

Near Uclés, a town in northern La Mancha not far from the upper Tagus, some 60 kilometres north-east of Villacañas and 60 west of Cuenca, a dedication of Roman times was set up by a 'familia Ocules. Use.' –the first seemingly an abbreviation of 'Oculensis' which G. Alföldy suggests may preserve Uclés' Roman name. If so Oculenses, perhaps reflecting a place-name Ocula, might just possibly be another Latinised survival of the name Olcades, and Uclés another of their settlements¹⁶.

The Olcades have occasionally been identified with the southern Celtiberian community Ocalcom-Ocalacom (coins bear one or other form), known from later coins. The location of the few coins found seems to lie in the Iberian Cordillera, south-east of Ercavica and modern Cuenca, causing the Olcades to be placed there on some maps. All the same this is not a guaranteed pointer, especially when a community's coins are as rare as Ocalacom's. For comparison, coins of Orosi –apparently the Orissi-Oretani or their town Orisia-Oretum– have turned up at Azaila near the middle Ebro river. Ocalacom is arguably identical with the Oculenses of 'Ocula'; and that Ocalacom and Oculenses were indeed part of the Olcades remains an intriguing, though unprovable, possibility.

Another Celtiberian centre, Arecoradas, deserves notice too because of the name, but identifying it with the Olcades is risky. (Of course if it is identical then Ocalacom cannot be, though this might still be the local name of the townsfolk at Uclés.) Arecoradas was a busy coin-issuer, with large numbers of coins surviving from the second and first centuries B.C; finds have been made as far a field as Extremadura, Córdoba, Jaén province and even Granada. Most of its coins, though, have been found in the northern Meseta and Ebro valley, and even in south-western France. This, and their frequency, seem less likely for a community as relatively obscure (at any rate in Roman times) as the Olcades. On the

¹⁵ Hannibal's wife from Castulo: Liv. 24.41.7; Sil. 3.97-99.

¹⁶ *CIL* 2. 5888 = Vives, *Inscr. Lat. de la Esp. Rom.*, no. 714, cf. Index p. 760 (where Vives' 'Usetan.' seems merely a guess); Alföldy (n. 12), 78, n. 248 'hier scheint der antike Name von Uclés erhalten zu sein'. Alföldy does not mention 'Use.', which may refer to the family's home village within the town's *territorium* or to the family's wider clan. For variant ways in which Iberian names were Grecised and Latinised compare Colouniocu (on coins) with classical Clunia (Guadán [n. 4], 207), Bolscan with Osca (*ibid.*, 202). S. Lancel, *Hannibal* (Paris 1995) 81 also thinks the Olcades may have occupied La Mancha; cf. Meyer (n. 2) l. 402 ('in der Nahe der Oretaner, etwa im Quellgebiet des Guadiana, zu suchen').

other hand no known community, even in the Ebro valley, can be identified with Arecoradas¹⁷.

V. The Olcades would not be the only Spanish people to appear in the historical record on their own fleetingly. As already noted they may all along have been a member of the Carpetanian group; or may later on have been so classified by the Romans. Comparable are the Belli and Titthi, warlike Celtiberian peoples near the Ebro who are mentioned on their own only in the 150s and 140s. Segeda, the town of the Belli in those days, by Strabo's time was ascribed to the more powerful Arevaci, who had perhaps absorbed them¹⁸.

The centre of Spain was more thinly populated than its southern and Mediterranean regions, but not as thinly as maps and diagrams often make it look. Extensive archaeological activity has begun over much of the region relatively recently and fruitful results are already evident: for instance a significantly fuller picture of the impact and spread of Romanisation in those parts. Pre-Roman habitation consisted not only of numerous, if small, hillforts but –especially in the region of the Tagus and to its south– various larger centres that can reasonably be seen as small towns, *oppida*. A few of these, like Contrebia Carbica in Cuenca province, were quite large, 20 to 40 hectares in size. Quite certainly not all have yet been discovered¹⁹.

As for the Olcades' wealth, the ancient sources are uninterested in its origins. If Olcades territory included some of La Mancha, they held a broad land, some of it cultivable (though arid), astride one of the main routes to and from the south-east; and not far to the north the Mons Idubeda ranges were a source of iron ore –so the Olcades may have won some wealth by trade and some by arms. Livy stresses the booty and money taken from the Spaniards in 179 too²⁰.

¹⁷ Ocal(a)com = Olcades: J. Caro Baroja in Menéndez Pidal (n. 4) 1.3. 718, 734. Part of a southern Aragonese group of mints: Guadán, 198-99. Find-site of Ocal(a)com coins: Caro Baroja, 737, fig. 50 no. 61; cf. 734. Coins of Clunia, the well-known city beyond the upper Duero in Celtiberia, have turned up not far away in Cuenca province: *ibid.*, fig. 50, no. 27. Orosi coins found at Azaila: Guadán, 85; perhaps others ('Olosi...') at Tivisa north-east of Tortosa, *ibid.* 100; on the Orosi-Orissi-Oretani, n. 4 above. Arecoradas: Guadán, 206; cf. Areicoraticos, 209 –with a suggested location at Ágreda, south-west of the Ebro, or Arguedas to its north (Caro Baroja, 738, cf. 746) because of name-similarities. Finds of Arecoradas coins: Guadán, 84-102 lists coin-finds by site, including Barcus (S.-W. France), Castra Caecilia [in Extremadura], Córdoba, Cazlona [near Linares, Jaén prov.], Villares (Jaén prov.) and Granada.

¹⁸ Belli and Titthi: Plb. 35.2.1-3.9; App., *Hisp.* 44.180-81, 48.204, 50.214-15, 63.268, 66.279. Segeda: App., 44.180-45.185; Str. 3.4.13, C162.

¹⁹ On problems and misconceptions of the urbanisation of ancient New Castile and surrounding regions: Alföldy (n. 12) 17-22. Archaeological excavations, which 'erst in den letzten zehn Jahren begonnen wurden, erbrachten sofort den Beweis für die Existenz mehrerer wichtiger urbaner Anlagen' (21). On the impact of Romanisation, *ibid.* 118-21. Hillforts and *oppida*: Almagro-Gorbea (n. 3) esp. 182-87, 196-99, with a rough estimate (196-97) of the density of population; see also G. Ruiz Zapatero and J. R. Álvarez Sanchís, *Proc. Br. Acad.* 86 (1985) 209-35. Contrebia Carbica: n. 12.

²⁰ Pre-Roman iron-working in the Iberian Cordillera: Fernández Castro, 362-63. Plunder taken by Romans in 179: Liv. 40.47.10, 49.1 and 4; cf. 41.7.2-3.



These aspects add perspective to Hannibal's initial campaigning. He was moving not into barely populated expanses but into landscapes with well-defined settlements and social organisations, the nearer of them already influenced to some degree by Greek and Punic culture from the coasts. If the Olcades lay between the Oretani to the south and the Carpetani around Toletum—that is, between the edges of Punic Spain and the upper Tagus—subduing them was a logical preliminary to Hannibal's drive beyond the Tagus the following year. The peoples of inland Spain were also of military relevance, as the powerful resistance to him by the Carpetani in 220 shows; so too his recruitment of Carpetani into his own army in 218, as well as the contingents of Oretani and Olcades, among others, sent to protect North Africa, and later the 4000 Celtiberian troops hired to fight against Scipio there in 203²¹.

Hannibal found the Olcades useful in other ways too. The plunder taken from them was lavished on his troops, so that 'he inspired much goodwill and great hopes in the army', as Polybius puts it. It was a method he would use again with the booty from Saguntum²². Moreover this had been his first independent campaign: his troops were given an encouraging taste of his leadership and he could send an early victory-bulletin home to Carthage. Had things gone awry, his soldiers and his fellow-citizens might have reconsidered their decision to put a twenty-five-year-old in Hasdrubal's place.

In sum, the Olcades' independent rôle in history was not very glorious or enduring; but as the first target and first success of one of history's most brilliant military careers they have perhaps been worth the search.

²¹ Greek and Punic influences in Spain: Almagro-Gorbea, 184-87; Fernández Castro (n. 14), 262-74, 312-46, 374-78. Recruitment of Carpetani in 218: Liv. 21.23.4 (rather sensibly they soon deserted the expedition), cf. Walbank (n. 2), 1. 367. Oretani and Olcades: Pol. 3.33.10. Celtiberian mercenaries in 203: Plb. 14.7.5-8.12; Liv. 30.7.10-8.9 (they fought to the last man at the Great Plains and saved their employers from total destruction).

²² 'Inspired much goodwill': Plb. 3.13.8, cf. Liv. 21.5.5. Booty from Saguntum: Plb. 3.17.7 and 10-11; cf. B. D. Hoyos, *Rhein. Mus.* 137 (1994) 271; *Unplanned Wars* (n. 6) 211.